

A grammar of Doromu-Koki

A Papuan language of Papua New Guinea

by

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SIL International

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The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007. The research study proposal received human research ethics approval from the James Cook University Human Research Ethics Committee on 17 April 2019, Approval ID H7732.

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After more than 20 years of language development in collaboration with the Doromu-Koki community, it is a pleasure to make available a resource on this unique language and culture. My hope is that it may further promote ongoing preservation of the language and serve as a valuable resource for posterity, that means of reducing the encroachment of influences seeking to undermine their way of life would be enhanced accordingly.

Statement of contribution of others

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Abstract

A Grammar of Doromu-Koki covers major aspects of this previously minimally described language of Papua New Guinea. This Papuan language, classified as Southeast Manubaran, is spoken by approximately 2,000 speakers. Half continue to reside in the community area, in the Owen Stanley ranges to the east-southeast of the capital, Port Moresby, while the remaining speakers are presently living and working in the capital. This analysis consists of culturally appropriate examples from a corpus recorded and collected over a period of 18 years, following the *Basic Linguistic Theory* (Dixon 2010a, 2010b and 2012) and *The Art of Grammar* (Aikhenvald 2015c) framework. The grammatical analysis encompasses core aspects of the language: phonology and morphophonology, word classes, complex predicates and verb phrase structure, clause types and structure, clause combining, discourse-pragmatic devices as well as features of the lexicon. This comprehensive analysis further promotes the preservation of an endangered language for the benefit of its speakers, as well as for the benefit of linguistic and anthropological scholarship.

Textual examples are supplemented by forty-two interlinearised texts of several distinct genres, followed by indices further specifying details of these texts and others cited throughout the analysis. Various lexical items of interest are also included: homonyms, lexeme senses, verbal semantics, autochthonous versus borrowed synonyms, idioms, borrowed terms and biblical translation key terms. The work concludes with a vocabulary list of all Doromu-Koki words and affixes.

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Conventions/organisation/cross-references

Spelling conventions are according to Australian English. In prose, Doromu-Koki and other foreign words and phrases are written in *italics*. These are followed by glosses written within single ‘quotes’; any punctuation is located outside, as shown here. When multiple glosses are given, the first is considered primary. Cited quotations are indented or marked with double “quotes”.

Interlinear examples are numbered consecutively throughout each chapter, restarting with each subsequent chapter; numbering in the Appendix is also in consecutive order throughout, including line number (e.g. 15.07 is the seventh line of the fifteenth text). Figures, diagrams, maps and pictures are numbered according to chapter number (e.g. Table 2.2 is the second table found in Chapter 2), and also restart their numbering in each subsequent chapter. Cross-references are labelled according to the relevant section with the section symbol (§).

Interlinear examples consist of three lines. The first line includes the orthographic representation, based on the phonological conventions of the language, as well as morpheme boundaries. Constituents under discussion are indicated in **bold**. Pause breaks are normally marked with commas and sentences with full stops (.), or other punctuation as applicable. Ellipsis (...) is used to indicate a partial sentence, in which only that which is applicable to the analysis is included, or the speaker for one reason or another did not produce a complete sentence utterance. In general, an exclamation point (!) is used to show raised or high intonation, particularly with interjections or imperatives. An interrogative is indicated by a question mark (?).

The hyphen (-) is used to separate out affixes, and clitics are split from their hosts by means of the equal sign (=). Multi-word phrases or clauses are enclosed by square brackets, such as [relative clauses].

The second line includes morpheme-level glosses. SMALL CAPS indicate grammatical glosses, while the full stop (.) indicates portmanteau correspondences (e.g. subject person, number and tense affixes on verbs, 1SG.FUT) or where multiple glosses correspond to a single morpheme.

The third line provides a free English translation, which is marked with single ‘quotes’. A literal translation is provided in brackets after or within the translation (lit. ‘like this’) to provide further necessary clarification. Wherever possible, the free

translations are followed by a [bracketed reference] identifying the source of the example; this is where it can be found in the Appendix if applicable (e.g. 1.01 indicating text 1, line one). Otherwise the original source is indicated. There are 42 texts included in the Appendix; example numbers past that only indicate text number and are listed in the Appendix following text number 42 (Table A.2). It is there that the original source will be given. There are, however, everyday phrases quite frequently heard, which have never been formally recorded, in which case there are no references cited. Any ungrammatical examples, which may be included to clarify analysis, are marked with an asterisk (*). In addition, the whole of the New Testament translation, and the Old Testament book of Ruth, which are cited in some examples in chapters (*SUAR* or *SUARBB* respectively; cf. Abbreviations below), are accessible at <https://png.bible/kqc>. (They do not, however, include interlinearisation or free translation.) These translated texts are referenced according to page number in the print copy, followed by chapter and verse reference and the occasional footnote reference – book name is not included (e.g. *SUAR* 2017:560:21.20.t = Revelation 21.20, footnote t, found on p. 560). The examples from the dictionary are also cited as Bradshaw (2021a), where only the sentence in the language and the translation can be found; the morpheme-level glosses have been added for this analysis.

Abbreviations

-	affix	CC	complementation:
#	word boundary		“complement clause”
~	reduplicant	CL	clause
+	morpheme boundary	CMP	completive
<	foregrounding; derived from	CNJ/cnj	conjunction
=	clitic	COMP	complex, complement
>	is more accessible than; yields	CON	conative
1	first person	COND	conditional
2	second person	CONT	continuative
3	third person	CV, cv	complex verb
A	transitive subject	D	direct
ACCM	accompaniment	DC	dependent clause
ACT.FOC	action focus	DEC	declarative
ADD	addressee	DEF	definite
ADJ, adj	adjective	DEM,	demonstrative
ADV, adv	adverb	dem	
affirm	affirmative answer	DGHM	The dictionary and grammar of Hiri Motu (cf. References)
AIDS	acquired immune deficiency syndrome	DIR	direction
ALL	allative	DISTR	distributive
AMBTR	ambitransitive	DK	Doromu-Koki
APO	aide post orderly	dm	discourse marker
ATS	Air Training Squadron (Eight Years; cf. §1.1.1)	DPI	Department of Primary Industry
AUD	Australian dollar	DS	different subject
BAS	basic person marking	DSM	differential subject marker
BEN	benefactive	E	extended argument
C	consonant	ENG	English
CA	common argument	ERG	ergative
CAUS	causative	F	forceful, female
		FC	focal clause

fem	feminine	LMS	London Missionary Society
FRUST	frustrative		
FUT	future	LOC, loc	locative
FV	final verb	M	male
GEN	genitive	MC	main clause
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus	MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart Society
HM	Hiri Motu	MSP	Missionaries of the Society of the Philippines
HYPOTH	hypothetical		
I	indirect	MSU	minimal social unit
IC	independent clause	N, n	noun
IMM	imminent	NEG, neg	negative
IMP	imperative	NFV	non-final verb
IMPERV	imperfective	NOMZ	nominalisation
IND	indicative	NONPAST	non-past
INST	instrument	NP	noun phrase
interj	interjection	NSG	non-singular
interr	interrogative	NSP	former North Solomons Province ¹
ints	intensive		
IRC	Internal Revenue Commission	NUMB	number
		O	transitive object
IRR	irrealis	∅	null, zero
ITR	intransitive	OBL	oblique
K	kina – Papua New Guinea currency (K 1.00 currently = AUD 0.393)	PAST	past
		PERV	perfective
		PL/pl.	plural
		PMV	public motor vehicle
LINK	linker	PN, pn	pronoun
Lit.	literally	PNG	Papua New Guinea
LLG	local level government	PO	polite

¹ Now ‘Autonomous Region of Bougainville’.

POSB	possibilitative		(Tok Pisin word meaning
POSS	possessive		‘vernacular’) Education in
POSTP,	postposition		Papua New Guinea
postp		SU	subject
POT	potential	SUAR	<i>Sei di Uka Ago Ruaka</i>
PPR	present progressive		Doromu-Koki New
PRES	present		Testament (cf.
PROHIB	prohibitive		References)
PURP	purposive	SUARBB	<i>Sei di Uka Ago Ruaka di</i>
Q	question word		<i>Buka Bedakai</i>
qw	question word		Doromu-Koki translation
RC	relative clause		portions (cf. References)
REFL	reflexive	SVC	serial verb construction
REL	realviser	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
S	intransitive subject	TEMP	temporal constituent
SBL	summary bridging linkage	TOP	topic marker
SC	supporting clause	TP	Tok Pisin
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist	TR	transitive
SEQ	sequential	UPNG	University of Papua New
SG/sg.	singular		Guinea
SIL	Summer Institute of	V, v	verb, vowel
	Linguistics	VBR	verbaliser
SIM	simultaneous	VCC	verbless clause
sp.	species		complement
SR	switch-reference	VCS	verbless clause subject
SS	same subject	VOC, voc	vocative
STAT	stative, stationary	VP	verb phrase
STEP	Strengthening <i>Tokples</i>		

1. Introduction

Doromu-Koki is a Papuan language spoken by approximately 2,000 people inhabiting the highest reaches of the Kemp Welsh, Margaret and Ormand River valleys of the Inland Rigo District of Central Province, Papua New Guinea. ‘Koki’ refers to the central dialect, while the exact origin of ‘Doromu’ is unknown, but believed to have been given by outsiders.

This study is based on episodes of interaction and observation fieldwork in Kasonomu village in the Margaret River valley over a period of more than 18 years. The corpus includes audio and written texts, as well as a lexicon and numerous translated portions collected through the years.

The current analysis focuses on the central Koki dialect from which most of the data was collected. At times, as noted, Koki dialect data is compared with the other two (Kokila and Korigo) dialects.

The grammatical analysis is written according to the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012) theoretical framework, and as such the description aims to describe the language as it was spoken during the period of observation from 2001-2019.

This chapter includes background on the Doromu-Koki language and its speakers (§1.1) as well as topics related to the socio-cultural settings (§1.2). The relevance of the writing system of the language is also explored (§1.3). Outside influences (§1.4) have played a major role in the development of the community. The analysis of the language commences with discussion of previous research (§1.5) that has been carried out, and then elaborates on the basis and methodology (§1.6) used in the study. A typological profile (§1.7) and overview of the grammar (§1.8) are include as well as a supplementary Appendix to the Introduction (§1.9).

1.1 The Doromu-Koki language and its speakers

More detailed discussion of the location (§1.1.1) of the language community follows, in addition, the linguistic affiliation (§1.1.2) is particularly germane. A record of specific details assembled concerning historical aspects (§1.1.3) of the Doromu-Koki language community highlights characteristics unique to the language speakers.

1.1.1 Location: Geography and demography

The Doromu-Koki [do'romũ 'qok^hi] language community area is situated in the lowland rainforest of the Owen Stanley Range, in the Rigo North Rural Local Level Government

(LLG) area of the Rigo District of Central Province. By air it is situated at a distance of 80 kilometres east-southeast of the capital, Port Moresby, or by road and bush track, 136 kilometres. A portion extends east into neighbouring Oro Province (in the Korigo¹ dialect area). The main village, Kasonomu (also known as Efaika),² is located at 9.661452° S, 147.864679, 19° E³ at about 150 metres elevation. The area of the language community encompasses 400 square kilometres (Quigley and Quigley 1993:1), including the Mimani (Kemp Welsh)⁴ River, Uma (Margaret) River, a branch of the Mimani River, and to the west of Mount Brown (Dutton 1970:890), the Ora (Ormond) River valley. The area is bordered to the north and west by the Barai language (Southeast Papuan, Koiari/Baraic), to the south by Sinauḡoro (Oceanic), to the southeast by Maria (Southeast Papuan, Manubaran), to the west by Uare (Southeast Papuan, Kwalean), to the northwest by Grass Koiari (Southeast Papuan, Koiaric), and to the east by an uninhabited area in Oro Province.

Since the area is mountainous, inhabited communities are located either on the summits of ridges or in riverine valleys. Travel between villages is accomplished by passing over mountain ridges, along bush tracks, and following streams and rivers.⁵ From Port Moresby the distance travelled by road is 130 kilometres. Beyond Kwikila, the Rigo district station, the road is unsealed; travel is especially challenging during the rainy season. The Sinauḡoro village of Debadagoro is located on the road closest to the Doromu-Koki language area. From this village, one must undertake a vigorous walk of

¹ In the Korigo dialect this name is written as 'Origo. Spelling in the main dialect, Koki, will be used throughout the description to identify names (except in applicable dialect information below); reference to their corresponding forms in the other dialects will be included in brackets at the first occurrence (cf. Table 1.17).

² As readily observed, place names often end in *-ika* 'summit' or *-nomu* 'plain', formed by a compound of the name plus the location type; i.e. *Efa+ika* 'Efa-summit' or *Kaso+nomu* 'Kaso-plain/flatland' (cf. §11.2.1.2 and Table 11.6 for further elaboration). This is particularly relevant in this instance, as they refer to the same village, but to a different geographical feature or part of that area.

³ These coordinates (cf. satellites.pro) are located at the playing field (helicopter pad area) shown on Map 1.4.

⁴ Names which have been derived outside the language community are indicated in brackets following the autochthonous names. These names can often be found on many maps, in lieu of the first names.

⁵ See Purcell 2021:31 for trenchant commentary on bush travel in the area: "...a kind of natural purgatory through which one must pass to reach the paradise of Dorom." (Cf. also Purcell 2021:104.)

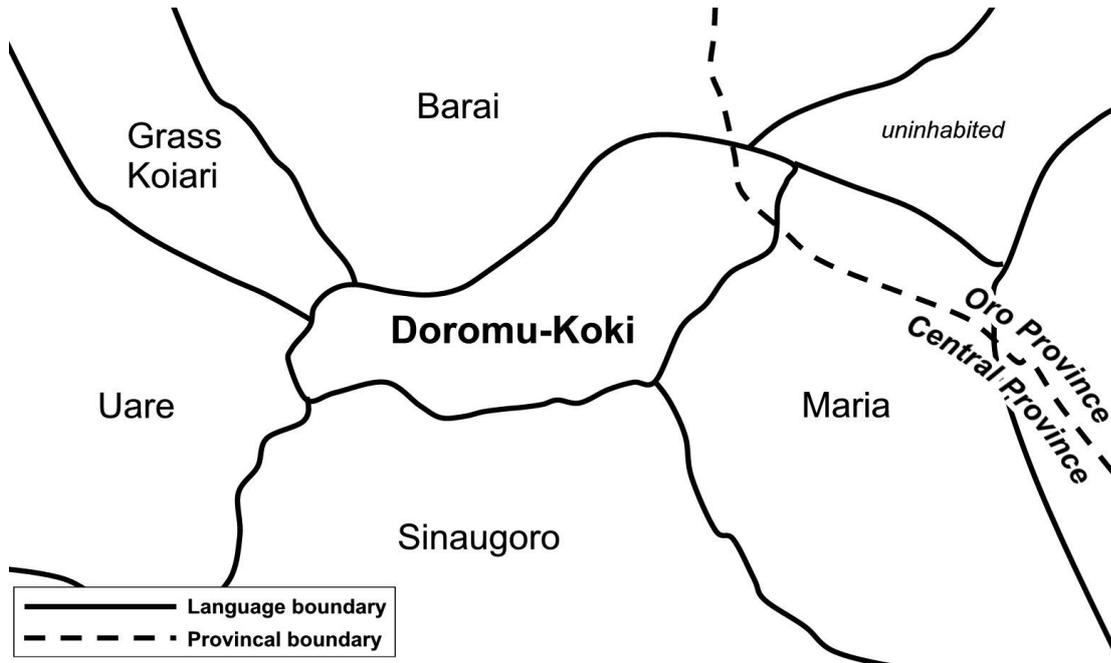
approximately six kilometres. It begins with a descent from the mountain ridge to the Uma River. Opposite the river lies the village of Gagaradobu, in the Kokila dialect area. Continuing on along the river course for a time, and then ascending a ridge, one arrives in the Oduika village, also in the Kokila dialect. From there it is a relatively short jaunt down into the village of Kasonomu, in the Koki dialect. (From a vantage point in Oduika, rooftops are visible in Kasonomu village, as seen in Picture 1.1; one part of a house in Oduika can be seen in the far left on the ridge.) Travel between other villages is comparable, over precipitous bush tracks and along river and creek courses, though in the Kokila dialect area, which is situated along the Mimani River, travel by raft or dinghy is common.

The three maps below include: 1) The location of Doromu-Koki in Central Province; 2) Languages neighbouring Doromu-Koki; and 3) Dialect boundaries in the language community area.

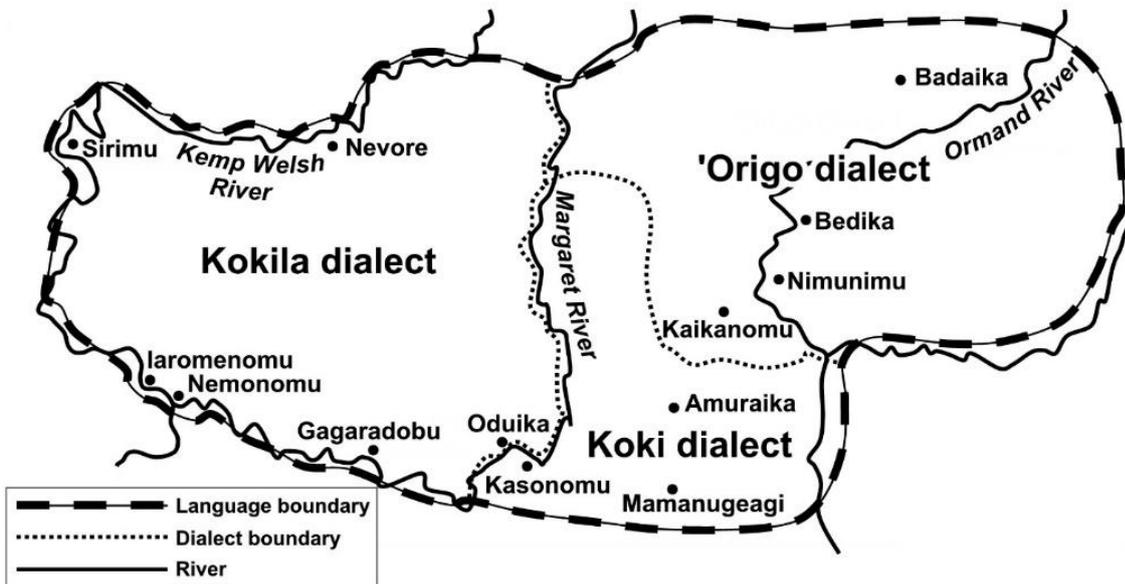
Central Province is situated in the Papuan or Southern portion of Papua New Guinea. Doromu-Koki is located to the east-southeast of Port Moresby, near the border with Oro Province, in the lower central portion of Central province. The largest language in the Rigo District, Sinauḡoro (Oceanic), is its neighbour to the south.



Map 1.1: *Doromu-Koki language location in Central Province, PNG (QGIS 2020)*



Map 1.2: Languages neighbouring Doromu-Koki (SIL-PNG)



Map 1.3: Dialect boundaries in the language community area (SIL-PNG)



Picture 1.1: *Doromu-Koki language area (2003; Robert L. Bradshaw)*

The Orom airstrip, one to two-day walk from Kaikanomu ('Ai'anomu), is located in the Maria language. Another further airstrip, located in the Dorobisoro village of the Barai language, is a three-day walk from Kaikanomu. Due to the distance and expense, Doromu-Koki people do not make use of these, instead preferring to travel by road to Port Moresby.

Elevation in the language community area ranges between 300-1,200 metres, and temperatures average 20-28°C (King and Ranck 1982:95). The area has been classified as a “hot wet climatic region with no marked dry season” (King and Ranck 1982:97). The wet season [time of heaviest annual rainfall of 2,000-3,500 mm (Rannells 1990:18)⁶] is between December and March (Rannells 1990:18).

The year has been organised around the appearance of particular flora and fauna agricultural activities. The calendar below expounds on different categories of culturally relevant events arranged approximate to the months of the year.

⁶ According to King and Ranck (1988:95) the annual rainfall is 2,500-3,000 mm.

Table 1.1: *Seasons*

Month	Season	Religious events	School/social events	Planting/harvesting	Animals	Plants	Environment	Hunting
January	<i>Amona</i> ‘flowering plant season/summer’ (Bradshaw 2021a:57)		School holiday	Planting banana, sugarcane, taro and yam			Flood	Hunting Catching prawns
February	<i>Bada</i> ‘grass species (season)’ (Bradshaw 2021a:66)	Ash Wednesday	School begins	Weeding Wrapping yam leaves around trees	<i>ogatu</i> ‘bird sp.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:201)			
March	<i>Doi</i> ‘cane species season’ (Bradshaw 2021a:87)	Proclamation to Mary		Food sprouts		<i>ibiyaka</i> ‘African tulip tree’ <i>sufagi</i> ‘fruit tree sp.’	Cold Flood Landslide Wind	
April	<i>Doi-gobu</i> ‘flowering cane species season’ (Bradshaw 2021a:88)	Palm Sunday- Holy week	School holiday Sports	Harvesting first taro and yam Offering feast	<i>adoudi</i> ‘bird sp.’ Gnats	<i>fodiya</i> ‘tree sp.’ <i>guna</i> ‘black palm’	Flood	
May	<i>Bunema</i> ‘season/remaining grass (season)’ (Bradshaw 2021a:78)	St. Peter’s day		Harvesting yam <i>tua</i> ‘nut tree sp.’	Frogmouth bird Dragonflies		All day rain showers Dark clouds	

Month	Season	Religious	School/social events	Planting/harvesting	Animals	Plants	Environment	Hunting
June	<i>Ava</i> 'yam harvesting season/winter' (Bradshaw 2021a:63)	Trinity		Harvesting and storing yams Clearing garden		<i>ibiyaka gaga</i> 'tulip tree flower'	No rain Cold	
July	<i>Koiso</i> 'season'	First apostles					Drizzle	Hunting Catching prawns
August	<i>Oketa</i> 'Tahitian chestnut/okari' (Bradshaw 2021a:201)	Ascension of Mary						Rain
September	<i>Oketa kaireka</i> 'Tahitian chestnut season' (Bradshaw 2021a:138)		Independence day Sports	Last planting Taro sprouts Rotting yams, taro		<i>fodiya</i> 'tree sp. flowers'	Flood	
October	<i>Gogonu</i> 'grass species with sharp long leaves' (Bradshaw 2021a:119)			Garden burning	Crickets		Creeks dry up	
November	<i>Ago</i> 'season'	King Jesus Christ		Last planting			Sporadic thunder	Hunting Catching prawns
December	<i>Davera</i> 'lightweight tree species/harvest time' (Bradshaw 2021a:84)	Christmas	Bride price ceremony School holiday				Flood	Hunting Catching prawns

The total population of the language group is currently estimated to be 2,000. This is based mainly on people's estimates.⁷ Half of the group now lives and works in Port Moresby, mainly due to the great isolation and subsequent lack of resources in the language community area. Those residing in town live primarily in the Hohola area, but also in Badili, Bomana, Burns Peak, Eight Mile, Eight Years,⁸ Erima, Gerehu, Gordons, Konebada, Morata, Nine Mile, Three Mile, Tokarara and Two Mile.



Picture 1.2: A Doromu-Koki family (2016; Robert L. Bradshaw)

Doromu-Koki speakers are evenly interspersed in the villages, but with a higher concentration living in Kasonomu village. More people from Kaikanomu are living in Port Moresby than in the village. Some speakers have moved to the coastal towns of Popondetta, Lae and Wewak, where they are now working or attending school. Some men have moved to their wives' home areas in the Mekeo and Koiari languages (both in

⁷ Both the 2000 and 2011 census figures were consulted; for the 2011 ward census figures (National Statistical Office, 2013:14) it was determined that the rural population was approximately 2,500-5,000, however, it is difficult to ascertain an accurate population figure for only the Doromu-Koki language community, since the ward figures also include other language communities.

⁸ Derived from ATS, an acronym for *Air Training Squadron*, the first activity in this newer section. Once it became an established part of the town it was renamed "Eight Years".

Central Province). Those who have migrated usually return for holidays, bride price ceremonies and other feasts and funerals. Depending very much on the individual, some return once or twice a year, some more often and some less. Interaction in the language area is in the Doromu-Koki language.

The mountainous interior is exclusively used for hunting (i.e. the northern portion of the Koki dialect, towards the Barai language area). The population is primarily concentrated along the Uma and Mimani river valleys, where most of the villages are located (cf. Map 1.3).

Many women from Kwale village (Uare language) intermarry and learn Doromu-Koki, as do their children. Some women from Manus and Rabaul have also intermarried and learned the language. In Kaikanomu, some have come from Mt. Brown in the Maria language and learned the Korigo dialect.

Clans found in the primary villages of each dialect are listed below; most villages are composed of three clans (cf. further elaboration of clans in §1.2.4).

Table 1.2: *Village clans (some data from Lambrecht, 2002a:5)*

Village (dialect)	Clans
Amuraika (Koki)	Arama, Budo, Taburoika, Yaugara
Kasonomu (Koki)	Kokourubu, Kuarimu, Vagaraika
Oduika (Kokila)	Gonimadiko, Rokudoro, Voravare
Kaikanomu (Korigo)	Orama, Sori, Tahume

Population is nearly equally distributed by gender.⁹ There are very few older people in the area. Many men move away, primarily to Port Moresby, seeking employment. But normally their families go with them, particularly for the sake of their children's education; thus the male/female balance in the language group area is maintained. (According to Purcell 2021:40, this is not a recent trend; it is claimed the population has been in decline since 1960.)

⁹ According to both the 2000 and 2011 census figures there are 52% males to 48% females (National Statistical Office, 2000, 2013).

1.1.2 Linguistic affiliation

Doromu-Koki is a Manubaran, Southeast Papuan language.¹⁰ Maria (or Manubara¹¹), for which a description has been written (Dutton 1970: 879-983), is the only other language in this subgroup. Dutton's (1970) description is a comparison of the Manubaran and Kwalean languages.

Other names used for the language include Doromu, Koki, Dorom and Durom. Much speculation has ensued concerning the names Doromu, Dorom or Durom, however nothing is known about their origins. One conjecture is that the name was given by an outsider,¹² and therefore is their identification to the outside community. It is probable, since the language does not have closed syllables. The entire language area is often referred to as Koki, since it is the central primary dialect. The name Doromu-Koki was coined soon after the translation project began as an attempt to be more inclusive; however its use is still sporadic. (Another frequently used term is Dorom-Kokila.) The other two dialects are Kokila and Korigo, spoken to the west and northeast of Koki, respectively. Koki has 93.3% shared cognates with Kokila and 91.7% with Korigo. Kokila also has 91.7% shared cognates with Korigo (Bradshaw 2008a:5) [cf. §1.2.5].

1.1.3 History

The following story relates how the first people came to be in the Doromu-Koki area:

The Koki people are said to have come out of a cave, Aire Bagu, near the village of Mamanu. Bush spirits guarded the cave and rolled away the stone that was blocking the entrance, thereby allowing the people to walk out into the outside world. They were boisterous people, wanting to have fun, and so when they were let out, they all tried to rush out at the same time. Their actions upset the guardians who blocked off the entrance before everyone could get out, trapping nearly two-thirds of them inside. It is said that they are still there today, and can be heard at

¹⁰ Tentatively classified as Manubaran, Southeast, putative Trans New Guinea; cf. Pawley (2005:94) or Trans-New Guinea phylum, Central and Southeastern stock, Manubaran family (Dutton 1970:882; Wurm 1975:614; Wurm 1982:163-4; Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021).

¹¹ "The Manubaran family is named after *Manubara* the local pronunciation of 'Mount Brown', a prominent peak in the area (Dutton 1970:978)".

¹² Purcell (2021:72) claims that 'Dorom' is the name of the people, but no other insight into its origin is provided.

certain times of the year, such as harvest time or when a death occurs in the outside world.

Those who could not get back in went up a small mountain, Nero Ika, and built the first Koki village there. The people believed they did not have their own traditional songs and dances, because they must have left those practices behind with the majority who remained trapped inside the cave. The only possession they had when they came out of the cave was their language. (Magio 2016. p.c.)

One of the earliest experiences with white (European) people (Australian administration) is described in the following story:

While already becoming civilized, when the white men arrived, our grandparents were fighting and killing each other. At this time a white man named Mr. English arrived in Rigo. Today we call it Kwikila.¹³ When this white man arrived, he first gave peace to the grassland peoples. When they were fighting he gave them peace and placed guns and councillors in each village. Once he finished this, he took guns and councillors to the bush and came looking for village people. They were trying to come and he gave his policemen guns. They also received tobacco, salt and lollies. When the white man and his people were arriving in the villages, the village people were fighting. But the police and councillors brought salt on the way and tried to pacify them all. They came and arrived at our place right at Dueika. Three elders named Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba tried to kill the white man with their spears and chase him with shields. They chased him and went down to Memera Agafa. When the white man saw this, he told his police to use their guns to make them leave. Varabu Foina told his brothers, 'You come and run down and kill this one that is trying to shoot me with a gun'. They kept coming so the white man let his dog loose, and then Varabu shot it with a spear and it died. When the white man saw that his dog died, he told the police they were to shoot Varabu, but not those standing there. They turned their guns and shot Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba. 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 she stopped it. When the white man, police and

¹³ The government station, set up in 1887 (Purcell 2021:39), where Mr. English was living (English 1896:35); George Hunter had preceded him (Purcell 2021:39).

councillors saw Bogara Vare lift up her grass skirt, at once they left. Bogara Vare did this so now we stopped fighting and are living in peace. [Story by Peter Tuga, in Bokana et al. 2002; also found in Appendix text (19)].¹⁴

The photo below, believed to have been taken in present-day Amuraika village, is dated a few years after the time period of the story above, giving an idea of how the people lived at that time.



Picture 1.3: *Group of Doromu-Koki men (attributed to E.P.W. Chinnery, 1912-13, Anthropology Department Lantern Slide Collection, University of Sydney; used by permission, Macleay Collections, Chau Chak Wing Museum, 'Central Division Papua - Rigo District - Durom Tribe - a group of men with tapa head coverings' HP99.1.483)*

Earlier, Gregory (1898:130) included a vocabulary list of the “Kokila inland tribe” compiled by Mr. W.E. Buchanan, however in a cursory look, the majority of the limited number of recognisable words could be considered Hiri Motu borrowings, while the vast majority do not seem to have any correlation with Doromu-Koki. Ray (1907:354) cites

¹⁴ A.C. English, a government resident of the Rigo district (Gregory 1898:xxiv, Haddon 1901:xi), reported an incident upon his visit to the “Kokila tribe” from 18-23 August 1895 (English 1896:35-8 and English 1901:139). While it does not have the same details as this story, it could conceivably have been around that same time period. However, it could be describing another area, possibly in the Boku dialect (Sinauḡoro language) to the south, as the place names seem rather of that type. Other later incidents in 1914 were described by the resident magistrate Ernest William Pearson Chinnery (West 1979) and armed constabulary patrol officer Thomas James Miller (Mullett 1914:28), in which seven people were shot, so again at variance with what is described above.

this list, and includes a comparative listing as well (Ray 1907:391-412). Insightfully, Ray (1907:354) notes: “This appears to be the same language as that called Barai by Dr. C.G. Seligmann (1906:427).... The language appears to have no connection with...the Papuan languages of the South East coast.” However, from personal observation (Oraro, Unini and Bradshaw 2015) no resemblance has been detected, although my interaction with Barai speakers has been limited to those from Oro Province who claim that the Barai spoken on the Central Province side is ‘different’ from their language. Dr. Seligmann’s analysis mentioned above (Seligmann 1906:427) also appears to refer to the neighbouring language to the west, Uare (Garia dialect). It also includes reference to Barai, to the north. Again, no resemblance to Uare (Kikkawa 1993), or even Sinauḡoro (Tauberschmidt 1995, 1999), as also mentioned above as a possibility, has been observed.

During World War II, American troops travelled the Kapa Kapa Trail, from Gabagaba on the Central Province coast to Buna, on the Oro Province coast. Their trek would have taken them through Doromu-Koki territory, but since they did not have any knowledge of the area, an accurate assessment of where exactly they travelled is problematic. It was reported that they spent a night north of the village of ‘Strinumum’ (Campbell 2007:106),¹⁵ which could conceivably be a cacoepy of Dirinomu, a village located in the Kokila dialect area. In this area the troops recruited a guide whom they identified as Romee (Campbell 2007:132). People today have heard memories expounding on these troops as they travelled along the Kemp Welsh¹⁶ River (Mimani), and then along the Margaret River (Uma) passing through Oduika, Larono and Mesigo¹⁷ before entering into the Barai language area and on into Oro Province (cf. Map 1.3: Doromu-Koki dialects).

Various community development schemes since European contact have transpired, including:

¹⁵ Note Campbell’s (2007:98) mention of an earlier patrol (emphasis mine): “He had just led a reconnaissance team for seventeen days across the mountains via an obscure trail that the Americans came to call the Kapa Kapa, which no one other than native hunters and a **1917 government patrol** had ever walked.” See also [Kapa Kapa Trail Expeditions](#) for further information on more recent trekking along the trail as well as a short video [Ghost Mountain Boys](#).

¹⁶ Named by Dr Lawes (presumably W.G. Lawes; cf. References) after a friend and treasurer of the LMS around 1877 (Purcell 2021:40).

¹⁷ This may possibly have been called “New Mexico”, as these troops had the habit of naming places after their home places in the USA, since they had difficulty properly pronouncing the autochthonous names.

The Department of Primary Industry (DPI) introduced cocoa and rubber trees in the late 1950s, but without adequate technical advice or a market, the venture was quickly abandoned. In the 1960s, the DPI introduced coffee, but it was abandoned by the 1990s, also due to lack of technical advice. The ventures were considered failures.

The London Missionary Society (LMS) was the first to enter the area.¹⁸ Around 1956, two young men, Raboni (baptised Anthony) from Doromu-Koki and Tome Abe (baptised Michael Joseph) from Boregaina,¹⁹ attended St. Michael's Catholic school in Hanuabada, a Motu village near Port Moresby (Purcell 2021:43, 81-2). These two were unhappy with the LMS school, so in 1961 they approached the archbishop, inviting the Roman Catholic Church into the area (Purcell 2021:30, 43).

The Catholic Church first began its work in Boregaina Mission on 1 January 1962 (Purcell 2021:30). [Fr. Desmond Moore](#), from Adelaide, was the first priest to enter the area. He first visited Dorom-Kokila and Amuraika that year (Purcell 2021:61). Fr. Des was followed by [Fr. Bill van der Linden](#), originally from the Netherlands. He is most fondly remembered; he lived in Kasonomu from 21 February 1972 (Purcell 2021a:73) until 1977 (Purcell 2021:123-4) and learned some of the language. Fr. Frank Dineen came in 1977, but returned to Boregaina the next year as living in Kasonomu proved too challenging for him (Purcell 2021:124). [Fr. Roger Purcell](#), an Australian, was based out of Boregaina from 1978-1987, making occasional patrols into the Doromu-Koki area.²⁰ These early priests were from the order 'Missionary of the Sacred Heart (MSC)'. Once they departed, no other priests resided in the area. The Roman Catholic Church has been the only established church. One clan in Kaikanomu is reportedly Baha'i.

Church buildings, St. Stephen's school and an aid post were built in Kasonomu in 1964 in response to the request made to Fr. Moore (Purcell 2021:31, 61, 65, 72-3) in the previous year. By this time there were several Doromu-Koki speakers in Catholic schools in Port Moresby, some of whom were Gerard Warikani (from Dorom), Anton Rabona

¹⁸ The exact date has not been ascertained. It was sometime after 1876, the year identified as when penetration into the interior of Papua began (London Missionary Society 1966:16); Purcell (2021:41) states that the LMS arrived in neighbouring Boku around 1900, so conceivably it was around that same time period.

¹⁹ About an eight-hour walk from Kasonomu, located in the Taboro dialect area of the Sinauḡoro language.

²⁰ Also see Purcell (2021:4, 136).

(from Efaika) and Peter Tuga (Purcell 2021:72). These and others from Rigo made the request. Catechism classes with instruction in Hiri Motu were conducted for adults (Purcell 2021:63). Church committees were also established (Purcell 2021:128). In 2016, two new classrooms were erected at what is now a government-run school.

Since the departure of Fr. Roger Purcell, Filipino priests from the ‘Missionaries of the Society of the Philippines (MSP)’ (Purcell 2021:124) have been administering the Boregaina mission station. Since priests are no longer based within the language area, Mass and other church activities at the St. Stephen’s Dorom Church in Kasonomu are conducted by a local worship leader. When a priest is stationed at Boregaina, it is normally for a two-year period; during that time, the priest makes two to three short visits into the Doromu-Koki area. Because of this, the priest is scarcely known before being replaced. Some feel neglected by the church hierarchy, being dissatisfied with the present situation. Some individuals have considered changing to other denominations, which are located in the closest Sinauḡoro villages. (A few presently do so in town.) Currently no priest is stationed in Boregaina.

The majority of the local population is regularly involved in church activities, engaging in prayer (rosary) and other fellowship meetings. Mass is conducted in the language, with the exception of some Scripture readings and songs, which are read in the national languages English and/or Hiri (or Police) Motu, due to unavailability in the vernacular. All announcements are in the vernacular, and many songs as well. Small chapels are located in the villages of Kaikanomu, Amuraika, Badaika (Badai'a), Mamanu, Nevore, Nimunimu, Oduika and Sirimu. Affiliation with the Catholic Church is approximately 95%. [According to Purcell (2021:73), in the 1960s it was reported to be 100%.]

My personal involvement with the Doromu-Koki community, under the auspices of SIL-PNG began in 2001. Since then, it has consisted in training and advising the translation team who produced the Doromu-Koki New Testament. It was dedicated 22 September 2018 in Port Moresby, began to be distributed at that time and is currently in use. The SIL organisation does not promote any one denomination, but strives to work with all the churches in the area, promoting the translation for all speakers of the language. Since in the language community area there is in effect only one denomination, all interaction has been with Catholic Church personnel.

While a majority attend the Catholic Church in Port Moresby, many individuals, especially among those who are permanently living there, have now become involved in diverse church denominations (i.e. Baptist, Christian Revival Crusade, PNG Revival, Salvation Army and Seventh Day Adventist).

The church remains very much a local institution, almost exclusively having local community involvement. Leaders favour use of the vernacular rather than Hiri Motu. As already elaborated, outside (priest) influence is rather infrequent. The priests primarily speak English, as they do not learn the vernacular during their short stint in the area.

The local leaders also promote literacy among church members, while the members themselves share analogous attitudes, seeing the value of such efforts. The shared belief is that the language will be preserved through literacy efforts. Those residing in Port Moresby share this outlook.

Willingness to develop and use vernacular materials has been expressed. Previous priests and bishops have been favourable to the language development work that has been taking place there, even contributing funds towards the translators' training.

The church building has been considered a good asset, but without direct local hierarchical leadership, people express feelings that the Church administration is not supporting the community in tangible ways (e.g. the building is in need of renovation).

A functioning aid post was situated in Kasonomu from 1964 until 1997. After that time, the two local Aid Post Orderlies (APOS) were retrenched. Presently there are aid posts in Kokorogoro in the Sinauḡoro language area, about a two-hour walk from Gagradobu (Kokila dialect area) and in Dirinomu and Nimunimu, which are each about a six-hour walk from Amuraika. Additionally, a health centre is located in Matanato, in the Maria language area. It is a six-hour walk from Amuraika, so not readily accessible. Due to the closure of the Kasonomu aid post, people in the most populated Koki dialect area have no readily available medical facilities. Due to this situation, few older people live in the area, but instead remain in Port Moresby where they can obtain close access to medical facilities. Traditional medicine is regularly practiced, especially in these areas lacking easy access to medical services.

In the early 1970s, road construction from Boku to Amuraika was initiated. Tools were provided by the local level government council, and local manpower was used. It was prompted by copper mining exploration in the Ora (Ormond) river area, but once that

was determined to be unviable, its completion was abandoned (Purcell 2021:39). There have been efforts to revive the work, but so far without success.

In general, people have been favourable to the projects that have come to their area. However, disappointment that the road was not finished remains, along with the feeling that it could have had great benefit to the community. Ongoing efforts to revive the project continue. An alternate proposal to build an airstrip also remains unsuccessful.

The Roman Catholic Church introduced goats in 1972; they were given to the school children, and consumed rather than raised. Presently, timber is not a commercial venture.

The only school, St. Stephen's Dorom Primary School, is located in Kasonomu (cf. further details below).

In general people have been resistant to outside influences. They would like assistance as much as possible, but want to proceed with caution to ensure success rather than failure, as they feel has been the norm in the past.

1.2 Socio-cultural settings

Doromu-Koki culture is primarily viewed through the lens of its worldview (§1.2.1). This encompasses other features such as held cultural values (§1.2.2) and religious beliefs (§1.2.3). The community socio-cultural setting includes various sociolinguistic aspects (§1.2.5). Other relevant factors include the economic base (§1.2.6) and other issue affecting community lifestyle (§1.2.7).

1.2.1 Worldview

Doromu-Koki ideology, or *moke-na* (think-NOMZ) 'thinking' is defined as one's philosophy, beliefs, principles and ideas concerning life (Bradshaw 2021a:181). The belief of the ancestors is related to the earliest cultural views. There are no stories regarding the formation of the universe.²¹

A man or woman is made of spirit and body. Pigs and dogs do not think, but people are able to think, reason, make decisions and have feelings. A child is formed through sexual relations between husband and wife.

²¹ This agrees with Kikkawa's (2001:5) findings for the neighbouring Uare language group.

There are four major types of illness in Doromu-Koki culture: 1) those caused by dirtiness, 2) those caused by germs or contamination of some other type, 3) those of a spiritual nature and 4) those caused by relational violations. Each is discussed below.

Dirtiness, or *kino fafau vare-ga dadi-do* (dirtiness on.top.of sleep-SIM.SS get.up-3SG.PRES), is concerned with a person's bedding, eating utensils, or failure to keep the house properly cleaned inside and out. An individual can also contract illness while taking care of a sick person. In order to be restored to full health, the house, eating utensils and/or bedding must be cleaned.

Germs or contamination result from various types of situations: 1) menstruation, 2) sexual relations, 3) salivation or 4) toilet use.

Menstrual contamination, or *eyo gauka* (month illness) [Bradshaw 2021a:100] results when a man's wife fails to be careful during her menstrual period. She must use care in cooking food with her hands, must not walk over her husband or his bedding or have sexual relations. Attendance at public meetings is forbidden. Lack of exercising care can expose her husband to difficulty in breathing, leading to premature death. The greatest risk occurs in eating improperly prepared food.

Extreme care must be maintained when a woman is having her menstrual period, but everyday interaction is still permissible. When poisonous vines (*imaga*; cf. Bradshaw 2021:128) are being used to kill fish, the menstruating woman is not permitted to approach the river, lest the fish revive and escape. These same restrictions apply to a pregnant woman.

It is forbidden to come in contact with menstrual blood. During a woman's menstrual period, her husband does not go to taboo places,²² or engage in hunting, fishing or gardening for a one-week period. He will not have any success if he does, but he may instead encounter spirit-possessed pythons, which are attracted by the smell of the blood. These pythons are quite long. According to one account, a ten-metre python was seen in Kasonomu village; a boy fed it a banana, and then a green grasshopper landed on its head, walking along the length of its body to its tail and flew away. The python then turned

²² These are places inhabited by a spirit or snake, usually a deep pool of water in the river or a certain area of the bush (cf. §1.2.3).

around and left the village. During that time young women were exhorted to remain inside since the python spirits had come looking for them.

For the protection of others, during a woman's menstruation, she is sent to live away from the family for six days. After her period she must wash well with herbs prior to returning home. Many of these prohibitions are no longer held by the younger generation.

Contact with blood requires bathing with *gigi mamata* 'tree species' (Bradshaw 2021a:117) leaves in hot water, followed by ingestion of ginger.

Sexual relations are euphemistically called *vare-na* (sleep-NOMZ). After having sexual relations with his wife, if a man does not wash first thing in the morning, and starts using his hands to eat, he will begin coughing, which may lead to difficulty in breathing and weight loss. In order to get well, the wife must spit into a bottle, add some boiled water, along with special leaves, and the sick husband must use it to take a steam bath. While the woman is the cause of the illness, she also provides the cure. A woman cannot get sick in this same way, because she is the one who is causing the illness.

Salivation, or *vena koru* (mouth water) [Bradshaw 2021a:262] can lead to illness through sharing of food, betel nut or tobacco.

For illnesses such as those caused by a woman's period, sexual relations or salivation, the woman causing the illness, or the one with whom food was shared, must bite into ginger and give it to the sick person in order for recovery to take place.

After using the toilet, hands must be washed to avoid illness. It is normally a woman's task to clean up her child's urine or excrement, except in the case of a widower or a man on his own with the child. Flower leaves found around the house are boiled and bathed in for cleansing from illness cause by urine or excrement germs.

Spiritually induced illnesses include those caused by 1) taboo places, 2) sorcery or 3) unholiness.

A taboo place, or *akeke sana* (special/holy place), is inhabited by a spirit or snake (possessed by a spirit). These places are avoided, so the remedies described below are rarely needed.

After going to a taboo place, plant leaves from the area are collected, hung around the neck or body of the sick person, or else used for bathing. When going to the taboo place

to obtain leaves one calls out: “We already know that it is you who is causing this person’s illness, so give his/her spirit back to us as we give you our goodness (i.e. blessing).”

Sorcery, or *yaumana* ‘magic’ (Bradshaw 2021a:268), is practiced by special practitioners and includes ‘jealousy’ and ‘leftover rubbish’ spells. The latter involves picking up leftover food, betel nut skin, cigarette butts, sugarcane skin or a piece of clothing, taking the item to a taboo place or graveyard and burying it. In this way, the person will become ill and death will eventually ensue (cf. Table 1.4 and §1.2.3). Only the one who initiated the magic can stop or reverse it, allowing for possibly recovery.

The term *rovaita kikifa de re-do* (body holy NEG do-3SG.PRES), ‘dishonouring the body’, is caused by overeating pork grease or forbidden foods (e.g. prawns, eel, bandicoot or some types of banana). The person may have failed to listen to the advice of the elders, as to when and why to make a garden, or where to go hunting, or to heed other issues concerning family or community. Failure to listen to such advice leads to a future of endless vain roaming and premature death. Adherence to the village elders’ traditional advice must be followed in order to be restored to full health. Eating forbidden foods can also refer to violating *goro* ‘activity/location restriction’ (Bradshaw 2021a:121), in which a person is expected to abstain from certain food(s) for various reasons.

Relational wrongdoing or violations of relationships include: 1) lack of proper respect for elders and 2) various other miscellaneous untoward behaviour. Such violations lead to headache, body ache, stomach ache or inability to urinate or constipation. These are cured by restoration of the broken relationship. If a man has family relationship problems, these can cause his wife’s delivery to be especially long and painful.

Lack of proper respect of elders includes ignoring their advice, negligence in helping or caring for them, failure to bring food or work for them, speaking gossip concerning them or showing no concern for lowering noise levels in their presence. This lack of respect will lead to illness, such as difficulty in urinating and constipation or development of boils. The guilty person must apologise and ask for forgiveness.

Other miscellaneous misdeeds include stealing, fighting or swearing. When one has been involved in any of these relational transgressions which caused another’s illness, confession must be made. It must be done with flowering plant leaves sent by the sick person’s relatives. In speaking out over them, the person identifies the anger, asks for pardon and implores the ancestral spirit to depart. At times, cracking fingers and casting

a spell over the ill person is also required. This involves identifying the reason for the anger so the ancestral spirit will leave. It is believed that the spirit of the violated person's ancestor has turned around and is looking at the offender, and in that way the person has become ill. All of these issues directly relate to traditional religion (cf. §. 1.2.3).

Death can be caused by old age or 'natural causes', as well as by sorcery (cf. §. 1.2.3), gossip, fighting, stealing, failure to share, vandalism and covetousness. In reality a death is never really considered 'natural', as it must always be determined who caused it. Some today, however, consider that HIV/AIDS or tuberculosis may lead to a 'natural' death.

Someone is considered dead when breathing ceases, the eyes are closed and there is no heartbeat, or when the body is stiff and cold. When an ill person is unresponsive to treatment, finally going into a coma (*sina ago koina ni-yo* [story word finish become-3SG.PAST] 'talking finished'), the person is considered to be on the journey to the spirit world. After death, the spirit of the deceased remains in the vicinity of the village for a period of months and then departs to the world of the ancestors, first going to *Iye ika* (leaves summit) 'Mt. Obree'. From that point on, the person belongs to the spirit world. There is a dependency relationship between a dead person's spirit and his/her living relatives. For some that relationship lasts a short time, and for others it can last a lifetime. After at least three generations a spirit becomes an ancestor. The ancestors continue to be referred to by their qualities and status in the community in order to encourage children to be better behaved.

It is considered a major issue when blood is drawn during a fight, since blood is considered to be 'life'. The issue has to be settled among the family or clan members. A peace ceremony must be arranged involving the killing of pigs and exchange of food.

Growth stages are recognised through several rite of passage ceremonies implemented in family or clan units, or at times within the entire village. These celebration feasts include: 1) birth, 2) first haircut, 3) transition to manhood,²³ 4) marriage or bride price feast, 5) mourning and 6) the offering feast. The most important celebration is the bride price feast.

Most celebrations allow time for family gatherings, at which time past failed relationships are overlooked. After separation due to extended work commitments, these

²³ There are no real initiation ceremonies for men or women.

celebrations serve as a joyful time of reunion among family, clans and individuals. During the celebrations, children meet various relatives: cousins, aunts, uncles and others. In preparation for such events, family issues are discussed and disagreements settled.

Occasionally politics are discussed, as those coming from other areas are desirous to learn how the local government operates in comparison to where they are living and working.

During these celebrations, many people consider them as a time of reconciliation and forgiveness among those against whom they have grievances. An invitation is sent to the person with whom one desires reconciliation and a special meal is prepared. Upon acceptance of the invitation, a meal is shared and they tell each other that they are sorry.

Nearly all these celebrations are a financial burden on the individuals, families or clans involved, as many resources go into hosting them. Factors determining the extent of the cost include the number of participants, transportation needs, facilities and celebration length. Hosting such an event displays the status of the organiser. Likewise, contributors are looked upon favourably, being considered eligible for reciprocity in their own times of need.

Birth of the firstborn child is particularly important. The name is given before birth or within two days after. The child is always named after someone, and always involves a celebration. Once the umbilical cord stump dries up and falls off, the woman is welcome to return to the family.

A baby's hair, which he/she had in the womb, is usually cut for the first time first by the child's *vada* 'uncle' (Bradshaw 2021a:254)²⁴ or namesake. When the clipping of hair is placed on young coconut fronds or the blades of sword grass, it is believed that these plants will accelerate growth of the baby's hair.

Male initiation is lacking in Doromu-Koki culture; instead, restrictions are placed on a young man between the ages of 15 and 16, which serve to guide in the transition to manhood. Once married, a boy is then considered a man. During the period of transition *godua yaku oyo re-go* (young.man DSM restriction do-3SG.FUT) 'a young man will have restrictions', and strives to look young, smart and strong. To achieve these goals the young man is not permitted to eat prawns, eel, bandicoot or particular banana species,

²⁴ See §1.2.4.1 below for further details on the obligations of the *vada* 'uncle'.

since these would make him weak and old looking. During this time, his father teaches him spells using ginger particular to hunting, fishing, fighting and gardening, as well as details concerning marriage. The restrictions are lifted at the bride price feast; literally these restrictions are 'broken open' by splitting a length of bamboo above the young man's head.

Marriage is considered to be the perpetuation of the family. Children are likewise considered the focal point of life and cultural practices. A wife is chosen by the groom's clan. The future wife will prove important to the clan's economic strength. Bearing children is important as well, as children are considered a means of social security for parents. Since marriages are primarily arranged between those outside the clan, in-law relationships are of absolute importance in ensuring that wives will be available in succeeding generations. Unmarried women have no acceptable niche in society.

Bride price, or *rema voi* (woman/wife buy) [Bradshaw 2021a:213], is a very important cultural practice. Some years after marriage, the husband's relatives, who will be paying the bride price, begin observing the wife to see if she is hard-working and respectful, as well as bearing children. These factors help determine payment, as well as the wishes of the bride's family, who often desire to decrease the observation period by asking for immediate payment.

In the past, marriage has been arranged between clans to establish alliances and thereby promote the receipt of benefits from a dominant clan (e.g. provision of a work force). Marriages are no longer arranged; there is now freedom to marry whomever one wants, yet preferably between clans. Distant cousins marry, but it is not considered prudent, and is thus uncommon. One major issue raised by such marriages is the concern over payment and receipt of the bride price, since both bride and groom are from the same clan. In such instances, reciprocal exchange is considered acceptable.

Marriage involves hosting a feast and providing bride price, including yams and pigs. These things are primarily provided by the family, with some provided by clan members as well. A marriage requires a church ceremony, the feast and bride price. The marriage is not considered finalised until the payment of the bride price and giving of the bride. There is no longer as much pressure to pay the bride price at a set time. Also, there is no set price, that being decided by the family according to how well they like the wife. The desired amount is normally accepted. Each family member is then told what share they

are to contribute. It is shameful to avoid paying bride price. When a woman goes away to marry a man, the family provides her with all the necessities to begin a household: dishes, yams, clothes, gardening tools, etc.

Three different examples show what is customarily given: 1) In 2016, the highest reported bride price of K 200,000²⁵ (also said to be the highest in Central Province) was given in the Boku village of Taitokomana, after a marriage of 12 years. Sadly, however, the husband died two years later. Also included in the payment was a truck and Trukai (brand) rice and Ox & Palm (brand) tin meat; 2) In 2008 a ‘step-pay’ (or down payment) of K 8,000 (~AUD 3,144) was given from the mother’s side of the family, and then later that year another ‘step-pay’ of the same amount was given by the father’s side. Then in 2017 the remaining K 48,000 (~AUD 18,864), along with 500 net bags, 50 kilograms of rice, 50 kilograms of flour, 28 yam baskets, seven pigs and many bananas and much sugarcane was given in the village of Selina, after a marriage of about 12 years; 3) In 2019 a bride price of K 30,000 (~AUD 11,790), 154 kilograms of rice, 150 net bags, five pigs, bananas, sugarcane and yams was given in Lepamakana village (Tubulamu area of Sinauḡoro language), after a marriage of 16 years. Note: many are in Sinauḡoro dialect areas due to intermarriage.

Acceptable reasons for divorce include adultery and abuse, usually leading to injury. People are not treated differently after a divorce.

Funerals involve a feast or mortuary ceremony, with contributions coming from everybody in the language community who knew the deceased and desires to contribute. A few months after the burial, a day is set aside to finalise the mourning process. During that time, family members set taboos on favourite activities liked or locations visited. Such activities might include forbidding combing or cutting the hair, avoiding a certain river, plot of ground or avoidance of fishing or hunting in a certain place, out of respect for the deceased. These may also include fasting from certain foods that the deceased particularly liked, or alternately some food that the survivor decides upon.

For the first year after the spouse’s death, a widow or widower is required to remain in the house and wear black clothes. On the set day, called *ini kori ori kamu rena* (3.POSS old.things burn completely do-NOMZ) ‘burning up their old things’, the family disburses

²⁵ Approximately AUD \$78,600 (PNG Kina = AUD .393 at time of writing).

the possessions of the deceased, either through burning them, if not salvageable, or by donation to family members and those who mourned. After this, the widow or widower is no longer bound to any restrictions.

Other significant (church) events include baptism, first communion and confirmation. These very important events involve ceremony and administration by the priest.

The *aira* (Bradshaw 2021a:55) ‘first harvest or offering feast’ is a very significant yearly event, prepared by landowners. It has traditionally taken place on Holy Thursday, in March or April. Now more frequently it occurs on the Saturday between Good Friday and Easter Sunday, during the harvest of the first yam crops in a new garden.

All family members are obligated to contribute toward the first harvest feast by means of harvesting garden food, fishing or hunting. The offering is normally composed of wild sugarcane, greens and a portion of an old leftover yam along with a newly harvested yam. Once a stone oven is prepared, food is burned or smoked inside. A portion is eaten and then leaves and vines extracted from the stone oven are placed on the door frame of the house. This is carried out by each family, or possibly two families together.

The feast is designed to placate and thank *Sei*,²⁶ for looking after the gardens and for abundant provision in the harvest, particularly of yams. It is believed that after the celebration, upon returning to normal harvesting, food, especially yams, will be plentiful. If this feast is not followed, the size of future yams will be diminished.

During the offering feast, many other significant events take place, including preparation of food as an invitation to participation in bride price. The recipient understands that the food and concomitant invitation indicate the obligation to begin preparations for the event, designated to occur at a specified time.

One clan owns the village but other clans also live there, and so these other clans are subject to the landowners. People respect and listen to the landowners’ leaders, which are the eldest in the family in order to gain hunting and gardening rights.

The *aufa* ‘grandfather’, *baba* ‘father’ and *vada* ‘uncle’ are the heads of the family households (cf. §1.2.4.1).

²⁶ ‘God’, or the divine spirit, an unseen being, more powerful and more respected than any of the other spirits (cf. §1.2.3).

The religious leaders are the catechists, church chairmen and Eucharist ministers. They do not have influence in other areas of leadership.

Introduced leaders include councillors, members (of parliament), magistrates and village constables. All of these have influence on the community, except for the members, who are outsiders. The councillors deal mainly with development issues. The members interact with the councillors and not directly with the people. However, members are free to come and interact with the people. Magistrates and village constables deal with law and order issues.

The traditional leaders and the introduced political leaders work together only when they are in the area together. However, for the most part, political leaders are also traditional leaders. At the clan level, political leaders, who are not also traditional leaders, are briefed, but have no say. They do not compete with one another because they have very little interaction.

The traditional chief system is no longer in use, and mostly forgotten, so there people feel that good village/clan level government is now lacking. This has happened because of people migrating to town or working in plantations as domestic workers, labourers, filing clerks and in offices, etc. Many have been buried at Nine Mile in Port Moresby, having never returned to the language group area. Many who left the villages had been the traditional leaders and trained warriors, but those were the types the plantation owners wanted – strong individuals who could work all day cutting grass, etc. The chiefs are a vestige, continuing as landowners, along with the represented family line. These landowners have some of the former chiefly duties, such as declaring and giving the bride price items to the family and the right to claim something for themselves that is being set out for the bride price.

Community decisions are made by clan elders. For example, in one instance leaders decided that it was now time for a husband to pay the bride price, since the groom had not yet initiated it. (If the groom does initiate it, then he goes to the leaders for assistance and advice. Otherwise, he waits until they upbraid him before he starts the process.) Firstly the leaders set a time and called a meeting. At that meeting it was determined how much should be paid. The leaders listed the names of those expected to contribute, and determined specific monetary figures for different specific kin. The bride was told to start

looking after pigs and gardens in preparation for the bride price feast. After the meeting, the news regarding the agreement was broadcast throughout the community.

A person gains political status by attaining money, influence, education and through involvement with the people, particularly in contributing towards social activities. Seniority or family headship gives inherent status.

A person with greater wealth is expected to contribute more than those with less means. A clan leader's decision cannot be disputed or refused, but it is acceptable to request further explanation.

Women have influence in the community through the women's church group and sometimes as chair of the church or school board, but not as traditional leaders. They are respected for hard work in the gardens and men will listen to what they have to say. Education does not endow a woman with more influence, but an academic task would probably then be considered valid. A wife can refuse to cook for her husband to show displeasure, or take her possessions and return to her family for a few days; however she is not permitted to remove her husband's possessions from the house if she is displeased with him. Such behaviour would lead to divorce.

Rules of etiquette when interacting with persons of higher status include the following: 1) Leaders are served food first; 2) One must limit the time spent with a leader or elder, not engaging in excessive talk or asking questions; 3) One cannot walk in front of a leader when sitting down but must pass behind. Also, different levels of etiquette are exhibited in different situations, such as funerals²⁷ or bride price. There are also rules of etiquette for various family relations; a man cannot shake hands with his *imokai* 'mother-in-law', let his shadow cross over her or let her shadow cross over him (cf. §1.2.4.1).

Important truths are most usually communicated by the traditional leaders by means of a secret given to a few select people. Other means include lecture style to a large group, a scolding that humiliates others, buying a secret, in writing or in music. Leaders that pass such truths include father to son, mother to daughter and *vada* 'uncle' to *vada* 'nephew'. Buying a secret normally involves receiving a hunting or gardening spell through payment of a pig.

²⁷ E.g. one cannot pass anything over a corpse, but must pass it around, out of respect for the deceased.

Individual and community disputes are generally over land, death, sorcery issues, marital problems (wife abuse, money or infidelity), bride price, family relationships and stealing or lying. These disputes are settled by the leaders on the family or clan level.

In order to disclose a conflict, one usually seeks an arbitrator. Other conflict resolution strategies include a letter, nonverbal signals, hidden talk or non-association. Nonverbal signals include body language by facial and hand movements. Settlement is decided by family, clan leaders or magistrates, determined according to the level of the dispute. (Note examples below.) The punishment is designed to fit the crime. One knows that there has been resolution because of hand shaking, saying sorry, organising a feast and killing a pig.

On one occasion, a dispute ensued over land boundaries with the neighbouring Boku people. The government officials from Kwikila (Rigo district headquarters) came to mediate between the Koki and Boku people. This took place around 2003. The Boku people had moved a boundary, taking land belonging to the Koki people. After much deliberation regarding family genealogy, both parties decided that the Boku people needed to move the boundary back and admit their wrongdoing. The Boku clan leader instructed the guilty party to return the land and apologize on behalf of the clan. Hands were shaken and food was given.

On another occasion, one clan was accused of sorcery by another and the matter was taken to court at the district level in Port Moresby. After the court proceedings, the magistrate determined that it was a traditional or customary matter and so referred it back to the village court. The Doromu-Koki village court invited magistrates from Boku and Taboro to avoid conflict of interest. After hearing the case, the three magistrates discussed the matter and decided that it was merely a rumour, lacking substance, and concluded that the groups needed to shake hands, exchange food and payments of K 200 (~AUD 78.60). The matter was thus resolved.

Normally the court system is used to deal with breaches of social norms, such as adultery, rape, abduction, homosexuality, incest, abortion, homicide, infanticide, self-injury, suicide, homicide by sorcery, breach of taboo and theft. Assault is usually dealt with family-to-family, while generally sorcery is dealt with by the traditional leaders or elders along with the community. If a matter cannot be settled within a set time, then it is taken to the court system.

The political jurisdictions over the Doromu-Koki language area are: 1) Central Provincial Government, 2) Rigo North Local Level Government, and 3) Ward 8 of Rigo North Local Level Government.

Traditionally music only involved dancing and beating the hourglass drum; it now also makes use of Western instruments such as the guitar. There are no restrictions on singing and dancing; children are especially encouraged to do so. The majority of dancing occurs at bride price ceremonies. Songs are used to express love, emotions of joy or loneliness, as traditional war songs, or in times of death. Dances are only for the benefit of people; none are considered to be for the benefit of spirits. Most dancing today is strictly for enjoyment. To boost the morale of warriors in the past, war songs would be sung.

During the preparation of dancing gear, sexual intercourse was prohibited. There were also restrictions observed to enhance the dancer's performance: that he would look "smart", that the headdress would sway properly, that the hourglass drum would produce particularly good sound effects, and that the singing would be harmonious. Traditionally these restrictions were observed on one particular day, but now are not so strictly practiced. There were also prohibitions on chewing betel nut, smoking or disturbing one during preparation of dancing gear, which could cause him to make a mistake. (Dancers or other invited guests receive the bride price.)

The Doromu-Koki people have adopted six different dances: 1) *Kitoro* (from the grasslands near the coast, particularly the villages of Bonanamu and Golobu), 2) *Ubi* (from the Nobone area to the east-southeast of the Doromu-Koki area), 3) *Kaniku* (from the Taboro dialect area of the Sinauḡoro language, along the Mimani river), 4) *Vaiga* (from the Boku dialect area of the Sinauḡoro), 5) *Sisiva* (from Popondetta and Dorobisoro in Oro Province; chiefly used in the Korigo dialect area) 6) and *Dandan* (from the same area in Oro Province). Those primarily used are the first three.

Young people have accepted and incorporated contemporary musical forms. These forms are also used in church services, incorporating instruments such as shells, hourglass drums and guitars. Contemporary songs are composed, sung and accompanied by guitar.

Art, or *bera* 'design' (cf. Bradshaw 2021:71) is employed primarily in house flooring. Each family has its own design. Tattoos, considered a remedy against pain, have

particular designs; these have no associated magic, although they may presumably have religious significance.

Property, whether personal or group owned, is thought of as being freely shared with fellow community members. One may freely enter the house of a relative without any formalities; however a non-relative should call out a greeting and/or knock or otherwise be invited in.

1.2.2 Values

A person looks to society for direction on values. Ancestors are included amongst the living people in regards to values, due to how they conducted themselves in legends. A human being is seen as a dichotomy between body and spirit. There is also a sharp distinction between male and female in almost all aspects of life. Formally the male is considered dominant, and so sexual contact is thought to be dangerous to a man, even in marriage, as it can weaken him. Thus physical contact between the sexes must be kept to a minimum and sexual temptation is considered a result of magic. Accordingly, when sexual temptation presents itself, one can claim that it was irresistible.

A man or woman of good character provides for orphans, widows and widowers, shares food and resources with others, is hospitable and concerned for the well-being of the community by working and contributing to family activities.

Personal prestige for the sake of the clan is highly desired and acquired by generosity, diligence in work, knowledge of myths and legends, oratorical ability, skill and bravery as a warrior and the ability to be a peacemaker. Through practice of these qualities an individual will accrue followers, making him a virtuous leader. Money is prized for its prestige value and what it provides, but considered to be frivolously spent due to failure to remember that it is essential.

When someone with a good character passes away, respect is shown by all members of the community through contributions towards the funeral. While the body of a deceased person is held in state, the community is informed, allowing arrival and viewing time for remote relatives. Many from neighbouring groups attend or send condolences to the immediate family. At the mourning site, dialogue centres around the upright character of the deceased. It is expected that all concerned relatives will be present before the burial; otherwise the expectation is that a gift will be forthcoming later at a visit to the gravesite,

indicating sorrow at being unable to attend the funeral. Whether the deceased was a decent person or not, his/her spirit is feared.

Human beings are considered part of a group (extended family, clan, village, etc.) which includes their ancestors and spirits. One's primary obligation is the edification and maintenance of their group.

Characteristics of a respectable person in Doromu-Koki society include generosity, peace, unity, outside competition (e.g. winning in a sport competition over an outside team), keeping busy, equality, good relationships and individual responsible freedom of action.

An important trait often passed down through a family, is to be a *rau~rau amiye* (share~INTS person) 'sharing person'. Generosity includes sharing everything one has: food, material items (clothing, net bags, tools, etc.) or money. Some are generous, while some only give grudgingly; only a minority are particularly adept. Whether grudgingly or not, sharing is expected, as failure to do so precipitates illness. Considering orphans, widows, mentally challenged and visitors in distribution of food is of paramount importance. This trait is encouraged by the phrase *ya kaya ga moke* (2 self PROHIB think) 'don't just think about yourself'. Exhibiting this attitude demonstrates a person of character. At times, immediate family members may be neglected due to overcommitment to this sharing mentality.

Maintenance of relationships [i.e. *auta re-ga ame-i-bi-na* (fellowship.with do-SIM.SS stay-LINK-FUT.IMPERV-NOMZ) 'staying in good relationship'] is vital; increased respect of others ensures their availability in times of need. Healthy respect includes sharing and visiting with others in good times and bad. Lack of adequate maintenance of these relationships may entail an absence of assistance when needed.

Concordant behaviour, or *uka yokoi maka* (stomach one only) 'agreement', is an important character attribute. Maintenance of enmity is discouraged, while minimising dissimilarity between family and community members is encouraged. Engaging in peaceful activities promotes unity within the community. Failure to exercise respectable relationships or seek to maintain peace occasions illness.

Another vital character trait is *gobuno re-na* (unite do-NOMZ) 'togetherness' (Bradshaw 2021a:118), signifying the advancement of harmonious relationships in working, sharing, living together and caring for one another. Self-care should be

accompanied by care of others in need. The principle of *vakoi gobuno re-nadi* (together unite do-1PL.IMP) ‘let’s get together’ supports the survival of future generations, having a greater impact on each successive generation. Togetherness is highly valued as a continual reminder of its importance in the survival of the community.

Competition, or *raga* ‘running’, is a concern, since competition as a means of challenging others is discouraged; people are uniquely talented. One person may be good at hunting, while another is an expert gardener. This applies to other areas of life as well. Thus competition is not considered to be a healthy contribution to society, except with those from outside of the community. It is never valued to exalt oneself above another. Some competition in bride price and education, however, has infiltrated the culture. Competition in bride price leads to escalation of prices, as one seeks to outspend another, while competition in education promotes pride in accomplishments relative to those of others.

Keeping busy, or *kita-kita re-ga ame-i-bi-na* (move~PL do-SIM.SS stay-LINK-FUT.IMPERV-NOMZ) ‘staying/living and moving’, is a core value. Children are constantly reminded by parents to always keep busy, because time will not wait. Doing many things does not permit time to be wasted. If something is in disarray (e.g. rubbish lying around), the situation should be immediately resolved. As future adults, children are taught to be self-motivated, not expecting it to be done by someone else by means of the maxim: “You need to do it yourself, because it is you who will go hungry.”

A person of individual freedom of action is referred to as *amiye ini moke-na dudu ini beika moke-do vegu moi raga re-go* (person 3.POSS think-NOMZ INST 3.POSS what think-3SG.PRES practice D.CAUS running do-3SG.FUT) ‘a person who runs the way he thinks he should run’. An overindulgence of freedom destroys societal core values. A major concern today is deficient respect of leaders, as young people have been encouraged to dispute the direction of an elder or leader rather than show deference. There is a perception that measures are needed to restrain freedom of speech and action. Individual freedom of action has the lowest value in society.

Children are taught respect of parents, grandparents, other family members and also non-relatives. Listening well and learning from elders in practical work such as gardening, hunting, fishing and housebuilding are greatly encouraged. Fighting or engaging in harmful activities is disapproved. A child is always reminded that he/she will

grow old one day; intelligence, understanding and knowledgeable in coping skills for everyday situations are vital.

Everything is taught through practical skills, in order to make the child a responsible and valuable person in the community. An ideal lifestyle is to be happily married and have children who listen and obey their parents and others.

A criminal, or *uru tufa* (night struggle) ‘night crasher/fighter (rascal)’ (Bradshaw 2021a:251), displays immoral character due to negligence in displaying respect towards elders, parents or government officials. This type of individual may lament his/her birth, having misgivings concerning illness, calamity or misfortune that may ensue as punishment for inappropriate behaviour. The community continues to permit these individuals to be involved in community activities such as sports and dancing.

Upright people can become depraved, while corrupt people can become respectable. Neglect in parental influence, being orphaned or experiencing domestic trauma can cause a person to revert to malicious behaviour. These individuals then consider such behaviour as a means of pleasing their peer group. A lack of education further directs such people to criminal activity, since the opportunity to learn information vital to productive living was withheld. It is possible for elders or family members to convince a corrupt person to repent. The spirit of a corrupt person is feared more than that of an upright person.

The causes of unscrupulous actions are varied. Many interpret illness, natural disasters (e.g. drought or poor harvest), children doing poorly in school or lack of success in daily activities as indications of having partaken in nefarious behaviour. Frequent deaths in the family or clan are also often attributed to a member’s inappropriate action.

Anger is caused by inner frustration rather than by spirits or sorcery. Anger is dispelled through immediate resolve to determine the cause. Fear, in contrast, is caused by belief in spirits and sorcery (§1.2.3).

Unseemly conduct includes anger, profanity, fighting, thief, disrespect, unloving behaviour, greed, selfishness and gossip. Spirit possession is assumed to be the cause of such behaviour.

Doctrinal differences between Christians cause conflict; the majority of these differences are extra-biblical. Some individuals claim that they are following true church doctrine, while others are not. All are in agreement that the Bible is considered the Word of God and for the benefit of all churches, regardless of denominational differences. One

who exhibits love and respect, contributing to the well-being of the community and his family is considered to be a respectable Christian.

Time, as known in the Western context, was previously unknown in Doromu-Koki culture. Events, rather than hours, minutes, and seconds were in focus, and so the passage of time was remembered by favourite events. Time was perceived as events following one after another, but in two different ways: 1) living memory or 2) ancestral time.

Living memory, or *agiya aineka gokai beika vata.ni-go* (tomorrow/yesterday day-before-yesterday/day-after-tomorrow how what happen.become-3SG.FUT) ‘what will happen tomorrow/yesterday and the day-before-yesterday/day-after-tomorrow’, covers both the fairly immediate future *gabi vata.ni-go* (later happen.become-3SG.FUT) ‘what will happen later’, and as many generations in the past as can be remembered by living community members. Living memory, in the human realm, is a natural manifestation, and thus bound by normal human limitations. Traditionally the routine passage of days, months, and seasons was insignificant, but this has changed (cf. Table 1.1). Today, time is measured in terms of events and their relationships to both human and supernatural beings.

Ancestral time is referred to as *sena tora vene duakau* (already big people during) ‘before the elders’ time’. Past events are most vividly seen in ancestral time, which is outside the realm of real time and considered to be in the supernatural realm. Myths or legends are part of this ancestral time. Legends portray incredible events as normal, since human limitations do not apply to that time period.

At the same time, rituals make it possible for people in living memory time to actually participate in the benefits of ancestral time as a need arises for application of the particular ritual. As a result, focus is on the past, for which the elders are greatly respected. The ancestral time is identified as *senagi* ‘before’, while the living memory time covers the present and future (i.e. now and later on).

In Doromu-Koki culture, space has landmark-based orientation, being perceived in terms of favourite points (e.g. a river, trees, valleys, mountains, villages, etc.). Clan divisions mentioned in legends are also particularly important. Tied to these legends are places that are considered *akeke* ‘taboo/sacred’ (Bradshaw 2021a:56), due to habitation by supernatural beings. Supernatural beings are immortal, unbounded to space in the same manner as humans (cf. §1.2.3).

The community is divided by various social, economic, political and spiritual issues. Many issues are regularly faced in village situations: children unable to attend school, unavailability of health services and increase in poverty. There is concern that poverty and lack of education will weaken the community, unless some means of economic improvement can be found. The rural population will not entertain any project that is not deemed economically viable.

Urban migration is increasing, leading to the demise of a community consensus. The feeling is that the culture is beginning to fragment into smaller subunits, as vital cultural cues are being ignored. Companionship maintained through interaction in various social units (e.g. family, clan, dialect, etc.) is in danger of being lost.

The need for adequate health services currently poses great difficulty. Older people no longer remain in the village due to the lack of health facilities and supplies. When medical attention is necessary, transportation to town can be exceedingly challenging.

Crime is not a problem in the village; people feel safe. Criminal activity on the road and in Port Moresby, however, is a major issue. Another safety concern is an area prone to landslide activity overlooking Kasonomu village. On 23 December 1973, most of the village was destroyed by a landslide [Purcell 2021:74; cf. Appendix text (9)]; a repeat is threatening. No means of prevention is available, although moving the village before another disaster occurs has often been considered. However, there is reluctance to vacate an idyllic position along the Uma River.

Fulfilment is difficult to gauge, and distinct for each people, yet there is a genuine feeling of contentment in life.

The necessity of an airstrip, a road, means of transportation, medical facilities and supplies, education, church, cash income, literacy, translation, dictionary (i.e. for language preservation) and church hierarchy involvement (e.g. patrols by the priest) are readily expressed needs by all community members, including the leaders. Some time ago, a teacher from outside the area who was married to a local woman and residing in the area, was in agreement with the local people concerning felt needs. However, there are currently no resident outsiders.

Basic needs are primarily met through production and outside sales of cash crops, such as betel nut, Tahitian chestnut, peanuts and vanilla. Aside from these, assistance is dependent on family members residing in Port Moresby.

Devotion to the Roman Catholic Church is strong, with great involvement in appropriate ceremonies and church committees, as well as assistance from the local prayer leaders. Local reform groups have also been organised. One such group is the Doromu-Koki Empowerment Group, whose goal is to liaison with government officials. This group seeks to address both the socio-economic and spiritual welfare of the people.

Forces accused of preventing realisation of felt needs include transportation difficulties (i.e. poor roads, unreliable PMV service), government mismanagement and lack of funds (cf. Purcell 2021:136-7). At present, the consensus is that there is a lack of power to control these issues or take appropriate action against them. Means of overcoming these issues are being sought, including a road and an airstrip. Negotiations with Road Works and government officials so far have been unsuccessful. The Doromu-Koki community constitutes a small minority in the district, so favourable votes are difficult to obtain.

The recent Bible translation activities have given the community a sense of empowerment. In 2001, under the auspices of SIL-PNG, an invitation to assist the community in language development and translation was offered to me. My role has been to advise and promote the translation, through training individuals as translators and other language consultants (back translators, checkers, etc.). This has required me to learn the language, study the culture, analyse the grammar and discuss ways of improving translation efforts. This involved thoroughly checking the translation for accuracy to the meaning in the original language (i.e. Koiné Greek), as well as checking the clarity of meaning and naturalness. Other activities in the translation process have included direction on decisions regarding the establishment of an orthography (through an Alphabet Design Workshop), phonological and sociolinguistic analysis, promoting and encouraging language use (through a Lexical Elicitation Workshop), writers' workshops, songwriters' course, a one-book translation course, producing and using translated materials in church and school activities and encouraging literacy and Scripture Use activities. The New Testament was published in 2017 and dedicated in September 2018.

1.2.3 Religion

The two types of supernatural beings include: 1) evil spirits (*bodaka*) and 2) good spirits (*vima*). In ancestral time, supernatural beings revealed to the ancestors of a particular clan or village the knowledge of how to use all materials. These supernatural beings and the ancestors who have since joined them usually live somewhere in the known Doromu-Koki realm, in localities such as a pool of water in a river or in a cave. At times they are visible in human or animal form. Illness and misfortune are always considered the result of some supernatural activity in the following ways: 1) retaliation due to disputes, such as relationship difficulties or offences (e.g. disturbing a gravesite or restricted place); 2) being implored by an enemy; 3) breaking a taboo; or 4) through sorcery or black magic activities.

The cause of a particular supernatural activity can be ascertained by prescribed contact with the supernatural being involved. Once the cause is known, it is possible to halt the activity through proper ritual. In practice, all activities of life are dependent on correct rituals, through use of secret and mysterious knowledge, known by the few having access. Included activities are gardening, hunting, fishing, fighting, gambling, trading, lovemaking, child development, fertility of wives, fertility of animals, divining trouble or causes of death, housebuilding, drum carving, etc. Without the guarantee of supernatural assistance through ritual [*veve* ‘good witchcraft’ (Bradshaw 2021a:262)], any human effort is of minimal effect. Any breakdown in the process is considered human failure in performance of the ritual, rather than a failure on the part of the supernatural being.

A supernatural being communicates with human beings through omens and dreams or visions when in a state of possession. Supernatural aid is necessary for development of leadership and performing melodies, rituals and dances.

Spirit dwelling places include particular rocks, trees, deep narrow valleys with steep mountain sides, mountains, dense rainforest or deep spots in a river bend. Such places are avoided. Some particular places include *Aire bagu*, a cave near Mamanu village; *Tabu moka*, a deep river pool near Amuraika village; and *Vaya moka*, a deep river pool near Kasonomu village. Some types of trees where spirits reside are *koi yabo* ‘tree species’ and rosewood. The spirits only inhabit the trees once they have become big. Upon approaching one of these spirit dwelling places, a person experiences goose bumps, which is an indication that a spirit is nearby. If a person becomes ill after passing near one of

these places, an offering of food, a bush knife, or plates or cups must be placed nearby to appease the spirit and ensure recovery.

Spirits are recognised by unusual signs, movements or sounds that are not otherwise experienced. If a person foolishly tries to kill a spirit, there is no chance of success; instead a family or clan member will soon experience fatal illness. The only means of successfully counteracting them is through proper magical chants designed to repel their attacks.

Doromu-Koki people have had numerous contacts with the spirit world, both voluntarily and involuntarily. Voluntary contact is most frequent; involuntary contact is greatly feared. Voluntary contact is desired, giving a sense of power; it is considered an acceptable means of harming others. There are three main types of voluntary contact, through: 1) ancestors, 2) power and 3) spiritual possession.

The three types of evil spirits in Doromu-Koki cosmology include: 1) humanlike, 2) animal-like and 3) environment spirits. These evil spirits cannot normally be seen with the naked eye, but can be perceived by the negative effects on a human being and his/her surroundings. However, they can become visible. Upon approaching a location in which evil spirits are known to reside, loud talking, yelling or cutting plants is prohibited, lest the spirits are aroused.

Failure to heed these restrictions by arousing or disturbing the spirit may allow it to enter the negligent person's body. Its power is stronger than that of an ordinary human being. Evil spirits carry out no positive actions toward human beings. A spirit can be exorcised by village elders, a person who knows the proper exorcism techniques, or the landowner of the location where the evil spirit dwells. An evil spirit is related or connected to a particular clan or group. Leaves or a stone collected from that location are used in the exorcism ritual.

There are five main humanlike evil spirits: 1) *aire sori* 'tall grotto person', 2) *busi* 'bush man', 3) *godiyō* 'living person', 4) *monogo* 'dwarf' and 5) *sibo* 'big hairy person'.

The *aire sori* 'tall grotto person' is tall with long rust coloured hair. It is born conjoined together at the hip and shoulder and carries long spears with *ifona gobe* (tree.sp. tree.fern.dish) 'palm tree species leaf base baskets' and special small bags. It dwells at *Aire Bagu* 'Bagu grotto' near *Nero ika* 'Mt. Obree', close to Mamanu village.

The *busi* 'bush men' (Bradshaw 2021a:80) are male or female spirits. They marry and have children, have either short or long hair and carry net bags. They fly up and down,

are lightweight and roam around in the bush. Seizing a bush man's net bag unseen, perhaps when it sets it down to go wash in the river, will provide the recipient with great luck, as the net bag will provide an abundance of food.

The dwarf bush men, like the bush men are similarly small. Contact brings illness, as these dwarf bush men deceive a person during sleep.

The *godiyo* 'living person's spirit' (Bradshaw 2021a:119) wanders during dreaming episodes or when sent out by a sorcerer. The living person's spirit moves rapidly, presumably at the speed of light, being unbound by time and space.

The *godiyo* is further differentiated as a) *godiyo foru* 'living animal-human person', which has taken on some animal characteristics or b) *godiyo monogo* 'dwarf living person' which is invisible and considered dangerous. This second type finds and attacks sorcerers who have come to the village. Both of these types do not harm other human beings, except in instances of possession of those knowing the related *godiyo sesere* 'living person chant/spell'. Upon completion of its mission, the dwarf living person returns to its host and continues to live on the top of a coconut palm or other tree. The possessed man does not realise how he arrived in the treetops or show remorse for any killing he has done.

The *monogo* 'dwarf' (Bradshaw 2021a:182) dwells near large trees in deep rainforest, having long hair and a beard dragging on the ground; it also possesses magical powers.

The *sibo* 'big hairy person' (Bradshaw 2021a:226) is the largest 'person' spirit, having a hairy body covered with growing plants.

Three types of animal-like evil spirits include: 1) *foru* 'animal-human', 2) *gabayo* 'python' and 3) *moko* 'diseased/stupid animal'.

The *foru* 'animal-human' (Bradshaw 2021a:108-9) has a mixture of animal and human characteristics, but not of any particular animal. It is further distinguished by the *foru monogo* 'animal-human dwarf', which has magical powers.

The *gabayo* 'python' (Bradshaw 2021a:112) is a spirit that is attracted to a woman's menstrual blood, as previously discussed (cf. §1.2.1).

The *moko* 'diseased/stupid animal' (Bradshaw 2021a:182) spirit rides on the back of wild pigs and dogs, beating the animal, causing its backside to fall to the ground, leading

to loss of use of the hind legs and eventual death. The *moko* ‘diseased/stupid animal’ is invisible, but its presence is evident by the visible signs described above.

There are four environmental evil spirits: 1) *araya* ‘firelight creature’, 2) *ayena* ‘lightning’, 3) *miya aura re-na* (rain wind do-NOMZ) ‘rain and wind/storm’ and 4) *mukuna gube* ‘darkness noise’. Also, when an earth tremor is felt, people query one another as to whether or not there will be a good harvest.

The *araya* ‘firelight creature’ (Bradshaw 2021a:59) is used to determine who caused a death. The spirit of a dead person is summoned to arise, grasp the ember of a fire (*araya* ‘firelight creature’) and indicate to those performing the ritual which people caused the death by moving toward the direction in which they are located. Once the firelight creature has arrived and obtained the ember, it is followed to the suspected village, where it can be seen glowing under the house of the one(s) who caused the death. On the evening of the burial, firewood is taken to the gravesite of the deceased victim and the spirit of the deceased is summoned to indicate through divination who caused the death.

During an electrical storm, all lamps should be dimmed or extinguished, and all cooking fires should also be extinguished. Otherwise the spirits of the lightning will be attracted by the light, increasing probability of a strike, in which posts may be split in two or a coconut palm may die from the top down. Lightning is a sign of anger, sent by twisting the leaf of a certain plant, casting a spell and then allowing the leaf to dry in the sun. Once it rains, lightning will strike. When the lightning strikes, in order to recover, the affected person must drink some rainwater remaining on the ground.

The *miya aura re-na* (rain wind do-NOMZ) ‘rain and wind/storm’ (Bradshaw 2021a:168) is very strong. Axes and spears are placed in front of houses while petitioning the spirits in the wind and rain for mercy and pardon. Upon completion of these petitions, the storm will diminish or completely end. Perhaps the storm was caused by infringement of a taboo place.

An environmental supernatural phenomenon is known as *mukuna gube* ‘darkness noise’ (Bradshaw 2021a:183). A howling wind comes up and trees begin to sway, with branches falling down, and then the place becomes dark. This storm is sometimes accompanied by a downpour. People have a feeling of imminent attack.

Petitioning ancestors, *sena tora vene* (already big people) for assistance remains informal, and is done mostly on a personal basis. It can be organised at the community level, in which case it is in response to some major problem.

Spirit possession is very common, and is a focal part of the majority of healing divination rituals. Spiritual possession occurs when a person acting as a medium is possessed by a particular spirit, especially of a recently deceased person or some other familiar spirit. The possessed person goes into a trance, and then the spirit speaks through the person revealing needed information. This information may be concerning issues involved around a death. During the spirit possession, the person loses all control, and so is considered irresponsible for actions performed during that time. To prevent self-harm, people are required to firmly hold down the possessed person, lest harm comes to someone else or destruction of property. A possessed person has supernatural physical strength. Once the divination ritual is completed, the spirit leaves the person.

Involuntary contact is feared and avoided, as it brings feelings of helplessness. Involuntary contact with any of these spiritual beings (*foru bodaka* ‘animal-human evil spirits’) results in illness or other physical harm. Some of the ways that this contact happens include: 1) violating the residence of a spirit or other sacred place; 2) breaking a ritual taboo, 3) through contact with spirits involving attack and resulting in illness within the offender’s family; 4) making noise in the house especially after the planting of a new garden; 5) through sorcery and magic;²⁸ 6) through ancestors, who are believed to voluntarily impart illness. (However, this is considered to be discipline as a result of disrespect to others, particularly elders within one’s own clan or village, or even those outside of the clan or village.); and 7) through others – interpersonal relationship issues (e.g. anger, gossip, arguments or fighting), which can sometimes cause illness.

There are five *vima*, or ‘good spirits’ (Bradshaw 2021a:263) which include 1) *Sei* ‘God’, 2) *Vima kikifa* ‘Holy Spirit’, 3) *muye-na vima* (die-NOMZ spirit) ‘spirit of the dead’, 4) *sena tora vene* ‘ancestors’ and 5) *uauga fani* ‘angels’.

The term *Sei* (Bradshaw 2021a:223) ‘God’ was selected for use in the Bible translation. This spirit has provided everything: food, land, animals, water, etc. Unlike *bodaka* ‘demons; evil spirits, devil’ (Bradshaw 2021a:74), *Sei* does not cause illness.

²⁸ When sorcery is employed against an individual, the person under attack is being involuntarily involved in the spirit world.

Hunger is the result of infraction of rules, such as a failure to follow proper protocol for carrying out the first harvest. One must be careful to avoid saying, “There is no food”; *Sei* may hear and indeed food may then become unavailable. In actuality, a lack of food is considered that person’s fault, through inadequate work. *Sei* has already provided for all needs; trust for that provision is what is needed. *Sei* is defined as a *vima kikifa* ‘showing honour spirit’.

The spirit *Vima kikifa* ‘Holy Spirit’ (Bradshaw 2021a:263), adopted by the Roman Catholic Church, is considered a good spirit, and therefore classified differently from other spirits. An upright person is considered to have the Holy Spirit living within, empowering him/her to accomplish good deeds.

Following death, the spirit of a dead person remains in the vicinity of the village for some time. Food is prepared by relatives and left in the house for the dead person’s spirit. During this period of time, all fear the spirit of the deceased, though harm only comes on the one who caused the death of the deceased. After the mourning period, from one month to one year, a feast is held, after which it is assumed the spirit will depart the village for the place of the dead, Mt. Obree. After that time, at the sound of thunder, it is believed that the spirits of the dead are warning that someone will die, calling upon him/her.

Upon entering the bush, a hunter will summon the ancestors known to be responsible for that section, petitioning them to bring game and cause blindness or possession by the *moko* spirit (cf. elaboration above), so that the animal will not be able to escape.

Before preparing a new garden, once a site is selected, the spirits of the ancestors are summoned to provide good crops.

Sometimes the spirits of the dead are virtuous, and sometimes they are malevolent. Most consider themselves good in life. Likewise, the ancestors are also considered to be virtuous or malevolent, dependent on how they behaved in life. It is said that if an hourglass drum is broken, an ancestor will turn around and see the responsible person, causing illness; the individual did not exercise proper care.

The *uauga fani* ‘angel’ is a spirit that appears in human form, like some known person, and then disappears. It does not engage in other activities and is very rarely seen.

For security purposes, elders encourage a person to become a traditional religious leader. These leaders include *yaumana amiye* ‘magicians’,²⁹ *veve amiye* ‘good witch doctors/mediums’, *tukanabu amiye* ‘bad witch doctors’, *ruru amiye* ‘good sorcerers’ and *ore amiye* ‘bad sorcerers’. These leaders go away somewhere else for training and are paid for their services.

There are five types of occult practices in Doromu-Koki culture, corresponding to the types of leaders: 1) *yaumana* ‘magic’, 2) *veve* ‘good witchcraft’, including curing illness, 3) *tukanabu* ‘bad witchcraft’, including inflicting illness, 4) *ruru* ‘good sorcery’ and 5) *ore* ‘bad sorcery’.

The most frequent practice is *yaumana* ‘magic’ (Bradshaw 2021a:268), affecting every area of Doromu-Koki life. It is composed of two subtypes (or poison): 1) *yaumana buni* (magic good) ‘white magic’ and 2) *yaumana no* (magic bad) ‘black magic’.

With all types of magic, chants, fetishes and potions are used. Fetishes and potions are termed *yaumana fore*, meaning ‘magic stones’ (Bradshaw 2021a:268). Fetishes include objects having magical powers, such as stones, ginger and various leaves and tree branches or bark. A potion, often some type of ginger, is chewed and then spit out.

The practice of *yaumana buni* ‘good magic’ is a daily occurrence, ranging from elaborate rituals for gardening to personal chants whispered over hunting spears.

A chant is made up of three to four phrases repeated two to three times, and includes non-verbal gestures such as foot stomping for hunting. In previous times, it was forbidden to write down the words; even now, if written they must be kept secret, not shared openly, lest they lose their potency. White magic uses chants for 1) gardening, 2) fishing, 3) hunting, 4) healing, 5) transforming dogs into good hunters, 6) fattening of pigs, 7) love, 8) war/fighting and 9) fertility.

Various purposes of white magic, fetishes and potions involved and any restrictions that must be observed are elaborated in Table 1.3.

²⁹ These can practice both good (white) and bad (black) magic, as will be seen below.

Table 1.3: *White magic chants*

Purpose		Fetishes/potions	Restrictions
Gardening	Yams	Leaves, ginger	Water, certain foods
	Bananas	Leaves	Sitting when planting
	Taro	None	
	Sugarcane Pumpkin	Leaves	None
Fishing	Prawn	Leaves	Sexual relations
	Fish	Ginger	Sexual relations, certain foods, dependent on particular chant
	Eel		None
Hunting	Pig		Sexual relations, sweeping/cleaning the house, visitors
		Leaves, ginger	
	Cassowary		Sexual relations, children playing
	Cuscus Tree possum		Certain foods
Healing		Bark, leaves	Dependent on particular chant
Transforming a dog into a good hunter		Leaves to pierce nose	Hitting a dog
Fattening a pig		Big river stone pieces	Hitting a pig
Love		Bark, ginger	Dependent on particular chant
War/fighting		<i>Komare</i> ginger (Bradshaw 2021a:151)	Sexual relations, certain foods, walking across the warrior's sleeping place
Fertility		Leaves	None

Nearly every purpose has its own set of rules governing what is or is not acceptable; all magic has its own particular chant.

The *muro sesere* ‘garden spell’ is used while planting yams, bananas, etc. Gardening is a traditional community way of life. There are certain garden chants for specific activities of garden preparation, including: 1) before clearing the garden site, 2) burning the felled trees and 3) selection of seedlings and suckers. These must be performed in order to achieve the best results. Once the size, quality and taste of the crop are observed, it will become evident that one is a *muro amiye* ‘garden man’.

In order to perform love magic, a Tahitian chestnut branch is burned and a small portion of the ashes is rubbed across or near the corner of the eyes. Once applied, a person will refrain from speaking until meeting the person whom they love. Another type of love magic used by a man to attract a woman is women’s ginger. Certain rules must be observed before and after its use.

The ginger species *komare* is eaten by warriors to drive away fear and cause them to be on a high alert level with an adrenaline charge before battle. Certain rules must also be observed before and after the battle. This magic was originally used by the grasslands (savannah) people, but then adapted into the Doromu-Koki culture after many people worked on plantations.

The *yaumana no* ‘bad magic’ is less frequently used than white magic. It is always feared and takes two forms: 1) potions or chants to bring about illness or death and 2) sorcery used for ritual murder.

When sorcery is used for ritual murder, the sorcerer can be transformed into a pig, dog, cat, etc. to evade detection and travel to locations otherwise impossible. Invisibility is also possible. Upon arrival in the desired location, he/she reverts to human form, ritually attacks the victim by breaking the hands and legs, dissecting the body, extricating internal organs and replacing them with stones or rubbish. The sorcerer then pronounces the date and cause of death, as a means of distracting and confusing the victim’s relatives or any others able to ascertain the cause of death. During this procedure, the victim is unconscious, but later he/she will have symptoms of fever or weight loss. The body is then sutured and revived; the victim is completely unaware of what has transpired. The cause of death can only be determined by divination.

When stealing has occurred in the village, the owner of the stolen property beats the poisonous *imaga* vine, which is also used for poisoning fish (cf. discussion above). This action causes sores on the criminal’s body. If appropriate apologies are not forthcoming, the sores increase in size, finally leading to death.

There are 11 different types of chants to initiate death or illness: 1) *damu sesere* ‘doom’, 2) *gonema* ‘jealousy’, 3) *tu sani sesere* ‘leftover rubbish’, 4) *seisei* ‘revenge/payback’, 5) *gauka* ‘illness’, 6) *kefuka no* ‘joint malfunction’, 7) *ne taufa* ‘blindness’, 8) *asa re-na* (breathe do-NOMZ) ‘difficulty in breathing’, 9) *koito* ‘ulcers/big sores’, 10) *godiyo* ‘living person’ (for possession and attack; cf. elaboration above) and 11) *guna sesere* ‘taboo spell’. Appropriate fetishes, potions and restrictions can be found in Table 1.4.

Table 1.4: *Black magic chants*

Purpose	Fetishes/potions	Restrictions
Death (doom, jealousy, leftover rubbish, revenge/payback)	Leaves, ginger	Sexual relations, food
Sickness (specific to illness)	Victim's belongings	
Joint malfunction	Leaves, ginger	Certain foods
Blindness		
Difficulty in breathing	Potions	
Ulcers/big sores	Leaves, ginger	
Possession/attack	None	None
Protection against theft/harm	Sign by tying leaves	

Healing, or white magic chants, have opposite effects to those of *yaumana no* 'black magic'. That is, often white magic used for a specific purpose can be modified to produce the opposite result (i.e. rather than halting the progression of an illness, it would cause one). Those who observe indications on a corpse are able to identify them as corresponding to a particular village, clan, family or individual belonging to the one who caused the death.

Doom is used to cause a spirit-induced natural disaster or incur thoughts of impending danger, leading to feelings of the necessity to immediately vacate the area.

The jealousy chant is used when one has feelings of jealousy toward another person. To invoke the 'leftover rubbish' chant, a piece of the intended victim's clothing, hair, leftover betel nut or cigarette butt is obtained, the appropriate chant is recited and the object is placed over a fire or grave. As the object becomes desiccated, so does the life of the victim. Once a sorcerer is remunerated, the cause can be determined and the spell reversed. Any dispute that led to the instigation of the magic is now able to be resolved. A sorcerer does not readily admit to performing sorcery; the probability of accepting payment is miniscule, since such an admission could precipitate legal action.

'Revenge' or payback, is sought after a death. This chant requires hair from the corpse. Traditionally, the one divined to be the murderer is tracked by relatives of the deceased while seeking revenge. Today, under the modern justice system, many of these matters are referred to the village court officials for appropriate penalties.

A limited amount of elders still practice the *godiyo* 'living person' chant in which a living person's spirit, usually that of the sorcerer, is consigned to perform the magic (cf. further discussion above).

The *guna sesere* ‘taboo spell’ is performed by affixing a taboo sign, consisting of some leaves, on an Areca palm trunk or other area to indicate that touching or removing anything is forbidden.

Good witchcraft is known as *veve*. When illness or death occurs, it is vitally important to determine the cause. In the case of illness, a *veve amiye* ‘medium’ (or ‘witch doctor’) will be consulted. A relative of the sick individual is subjected to a trance in order to divine the cause (cf. consideration of *araya* ‘firelight creature’ above).

Bad witchcraft, or *tukanabu*, employs portions of a victim’s belongings, analogous to *tu sani* ‘leftover rubbish’. Through utilization of the possessions, illness is caused (cf. Table 1.4) above.

Good sorcery and the employment of omens are known as *ruru* ‘sorcery or white magic’ (Bradshaw 2021a:220). At certain times during sleep, the spirit leaves the body³⁰ and wanders. This disembodied spirit is able to see, hear and perform various tasks. Therefore, every dream is important and must be interpreted; it portends future events. The cause of an illness or death is often revealed through the dreams of relatives.

It is not unusual for relatives residing away from home to be informed through a dream or sign of imminent death by means of the spirit of the deceased. After a death, the entire clan or village will be involved in determining the cause, even when medical personnel have claimed natural causes. Markings on the corpse determine the cause. The names of sorcerers are associated with particular trees, birds or insects. If a particular bird, for example, sings while the corpse is lying in state, this indicates that sorcerers from the bird’s associated village are responsible (e.g. when a chicken crows *kokoroku* [Hiri Motu ‘chicken’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198)], then *Kokorogoro* village will be suspected.³¹

³⁰ The spirit departs the body through the toes, so when unconscious or possessed, toes will be burned with charcoal to revive the person causing his/her spirit to return, or the evil spirit to depart. Likewise, when a person is dying, movement of the foot is scrutinised, since it is an indication of the spirit’s departure.

³¹ Located in the Taboro dialect area of the Sinauḡoro language area, to the south of the Doromu-Koki language area.

While travelling by foot, kicking a toe against a stone or tree root signifies that a meeting with an enemy (i.e. a sorcerer) is imminent; it is imperative to continue travel by an alternate route.

When illness is caused by interpersonal relationship problems, divination is employed to determine the issue causing the illness and the method necessary to initiate healing. Once an issue has been resolved, the expectation is that healing will come naturally.

In cases of involuntary spiritual contact, no ready cure is available. One resorts to traditional healers, or *ruru vene* ‘good sorcerers’. The victim’s relatives carefully diagnose the problem by means of divination. Before *obe rena* ‘healing rituals’ (Bradshaw 2021a:200) are initiated, there will be some form of divination to determine the cause. Only with a determined cause is there a possibility of affecting a cure.

When a bush spirit is suspected of causing a problem, the remedy must include the correct procedures needed to appease the offended spirit. Offences might include approaching a taboo place or engaging in sexual relations the night before hunting or during the wife’s menstrual period. At times it is difficult to discern the correct remedy; an incorrect one, directed at appeasement of the wrong spirit, will prove ineffective in realising recovery.

When ancestors are suspected, restoration of broken relations will resolve the problem. The likelihood of survival depends on what type of sorcery is involved, who performed it and whether relevant issues can be determined. If the culprit can be determined and persuaded by payment to withdraw the curse, then survival is guaranteed. The situation is doomed to failure without these stipulations. Payment to the culprit might include net bags, pigs or money. After the payment, further ritual must be performed to withdraw the curse.

The bark of the *beta tree*³² is used in the exorcism of malevolent spirits. The bark is chewed together with betel nut, lime and mustard and then vigorously spewed in a mist, repelling the spirits. Ginger is also used to exorcise spirits; the same procedure is followed (cf. elaboration of ginger above).

³² ‘Tree species; its bark is aromatic like cinnamon, or another spice or condiment...’ (Bradshaw 2021a:72).

Bad sorcery, or *ore* 'poison' (Bradshaw 2021a:203), is considered irreversible, swiftly leading to death. The practice was imported, presumably from the Uare or Taboro areas.

Today many people consider occult practices to be pagan, expressing the sentiment that they should be suspended, whether they involve love, war or gardening. It is considered an indication of lack of trust in God. Others remark that these practices are beneficial; they cause no harm. Many have syncretistic beliefs; prayer to God is followed by magic chants. This is particularly true for gardening, hunting or fishing.

Many in Port Moresby, as is endemic in a number of areas, have become involved in pyramid schemes (known as 'money rain'). Some payments are received, but most are not. Reinvestments usually end in complete loss. These activities are accompanied by prayer, worship and quoting Bible texts as encouragement toward patient waiting for payment. It is reported that individuals from Bougainville are the primary instigators of these schemes; funds are supposedly sent to the World Bank. The investments are supposed to multiply quickly. Many have fallen prey 'out of desperation'.

Nearly all exclusively hold onto traditional religious practices, claiming to be 'Christian'. For many syncretism has become an integral way of life; it is inconceivable to question the practice of reciting chants to plant yams after having prayed to God. Both the positive and negative implications of prayers offered for deceased relatives prior to burial are discussed. Many are not completely satisfied with the traditional religion; Christian beliefs have been accepted as well, as an extra measure.

Fifty to sixty percent of church members are not regular attendees; they are usually bored or unconvinced, declaring that the church is not doing enough to help people. They remain disillusioned.

1.2.4 Social organisation

Social orientation is directed primarily to 1) *usika oure-na* (younger be.first-NOMZ) ‘family’, followed by 2) *rubu* ‘clan’ and finally by 3) dialect group (i.e. *Koki*, *Kokila* or *Korigo*). Immediate family members are involved in new garden preparation while both clan and family members are involved in its maintenance and harvest.

Since orientation is directed primarily to extended family members, it is identified as the minimal social unit (MSU) in the culture. ‘Family’ members do not only include those related by blood, but also those related by marriage, adoption or residence. An individual may be referred to by kinship terms without actually being a direct family member; such reference, however, specifies that the individual is liable for the same responsibilities and obligations expected in corresponding relationships by blood or marriage.

Strained relationships can lead to a loss of respect, but the individual is still considered part of the family. Expulsion is not considered. After a disagreement or argument, one is free to leave; emigration is usually due to marriage or work in town, while for some the reasons are left unspecified.

Families work together in gardening activities (as in harvesting bananas below), bride price preparation, preparing and hosting other festivities and sharing food and possessions and providing general care for others. Older men represent the family in conducting relations with other families.



Picture 1.4: *Harvesting bananas (2015; Robert L. Bradshaw)*

A *rubu* ‘clan’ (Bradshaw 2021a:218) is composed of a group of two or more MSUs. Both family and clan membership is by birth, marriage or adoption.

A *rautu* ‘village’ (Bradshaw 2021a:211) is composed of a group of clans; issues applicable to the clan and family are also applicable to the entire village.

Age-based terms include *tora vene* ‘older people’ and *keika vene* ‘younger people’. Age distinctions also apply to *aufa* ‘grandparent/great uncle/great aunt’, *baba* ‘father/uncle’ and *nono* ‘mother/aunt’ (cf. §1.2.4.1 below). Gender-based terms include *rema* ‘woman/female’ and *rumana* ‘man/male’. The only friendship-based term is *asini* ‘friend’ or ‘mate’.³³

Occupations are identified in different ways: hunters are *vara/suma/u bo-do vene* (handle/bush/kill go-3SG.PRES person), while fishermen are referred to as *koru rafe-na vene* (water wash-NOMZ people). These give indications as to perceptions of what is involved in the role, i.e. a fisherman is often observed standing in the water, reminiscent of washing in the river. Other classifications include: *muro vene* (garden people)

³³ Note (cf. §1.2.4.1) that it has the plural form *asiyaka* ‘friends’.

‘gardeners’, *anarauda vene* ‘charitable/unselfish people’, *yava akuna vene* (house build-NOMZ people) ‘builders’, *adena vene* (dance people) ‘dancers’, *isira vene* (playing people) ‘athletes’, *irakuna vene* (feast people) ‘feast organisers’ and *guruo vene* ‘mourners’. Occupations do not appear to be hereditary.

Marriage is exogamous, i.e. between different clans. Marriages were previously arranged to establish alliances with a dominant clan and its concomitant benefits, e.g. provision of a formidable work force. However, they are no longer arranged; there is freedom to marry according to desire, yet primarily across clans. Marriage between cousins is considered unwise and for the most part uncommon. A major drawback concerns determining bride price payer and recipient, since both are members of the same clan. In such situations, the expectation is to permit certain reciprocity: contribute some and receive some.

1.2.4.1 Kinship

Doromu-Koki kinship is a modification of the Hawaiian type (Keesing 1975:104-5). Indeed,

...all male relatives of the parental generation are classed with father; and all female relatives are classed with mother. All relatives of the grandparental generation are classed with grandparents. All relatives of...ego’s...generation are classed with brother and sister (Keesing 1975:104).

The kinship terms in Doromu-Koki are in fact more complicated, also having some features of the Iroquois type [cf. [Schwimmer \(2001\)](#)]. The same form occurs on generational levels two or more (above or below) removed from ego, as seen in Table 1.5. These terms further distinguish between gender only on the first level. (The terms in bold are reciprocal, as noted by the connecting lines.)

Table 1.5: *Generational kinship terms*

Level	Term	Gloss(es)
3	<i>bobada</i>	‘great-grandparent/father/mother, great-great-uncle/aunt’
2	<i>aufa</i>	‘grandparent/father/mother, great-uncle/aunt’
1	<i>baba/nono</i>	‘father/mother’
0	EGO	
1	<i>ubama/vefa</i>	‘son/daughter, nephew/niece, second-cousin’
2	<i>aufa</i>	‘grandchild/son/daughter, great-nephew/niece’
3	<i>bobada</i>	‘great-grandchild/son/daughter, great-great-nephew/niece’

As exemplified in Table 1.6, addition of the adjectives *tora* (big) ‘older’ and *keika* (little) ‘younger’ function as a means of further distinction; they are limited to the kinship terms above or below ego (*baba* ‘father’, *nono* ‘mother’ and *aufa* ‘grandfather/grandchild’), excluding those immediately below, i.e. *ubama/vefa* ‘son/daughter’ which can be derived from *mida* ‘child’ (e.g. *mida rumuna keika* (child man little) ‘younger son’). (A further male/female distinction is described below.)³⁴

Table 1.6: Age distinctions in kinship terms

Older	Gloss(es)	Younger	Gloss(es)
<i>aufa tora</i>	‘older great-uncle/aunt’	<i>aufa keika</i>	‘younger great-uncle/aunt’
<i>baba tora</i>	‘older uncle’	<i>baba keika</i>	‘younger uncle’
<i>nono tora</i>	‘older aunt’	<i>nono keika</i>	‘younger aunt’

The kinship terms form a special subclass of nouns. On ego’s level there are distinct plural forms: *dubuini* ‘brother’³⁵ versus *dubuiyaka* ‘brothers’, *meraini* ‘cousin’ versus *meraiyaka* ‘cousins’ and *rasini/tobaini* ‘sister’ versus *rasiyaka/tobaiyaka* ‘sisters’. (It could be construed that the singular derivation is *-ni* and plural *-yaka*.) Some distinctions on different levels include: *aufa* ‘grandparent/child’ versus *aufakai* ‘grandparents/-children’, *baba* ‘father’ versus *bakai* ‘fathers’, *nono* ‘mother’ versus *nokai* ‘mothers’, *radini* ‘father/mother/son/daughter in-law’ versus *radiyaka* ‘-in-laws’ and *vada* ‘nephew/uncle’ versus *vadakai* ‘nephews/uncles’. These form a distinct set, yet demonstrate some resemblance in that the one form *radini/radiyaka* occurs on the same level.

The kinship charts below include (produced using GenoPro 2018 3.0.1.4): 1) Male affinal kinship chart and 2) Female affinal kinship chart, while the 3) Male consanguineal kinship chart and the 4) Female consanguineal kinship chart are located in the Appendix to the Introduction (§1.9). There are four different Doromu-Koki kinship charts, because distinct terms are used by men and women in reference to their relatives, as discussed further below.

Ego is indicated by the blue bordered yellow box. A square represents a male, and a circle a female (cf. Table 1.9 for meaning of abbreviations).

³⁴ These are limited to older generations, e.g. *aufa keika* is not used to describe a ‘younger grandchild’.

³⁵ The first term, *dubuini* ‘brother’, dissimilar to others, is frequently reduced to the informal form, *dubu*. This reduced form also conveys a generic sense, as a term of friendship or endearment.

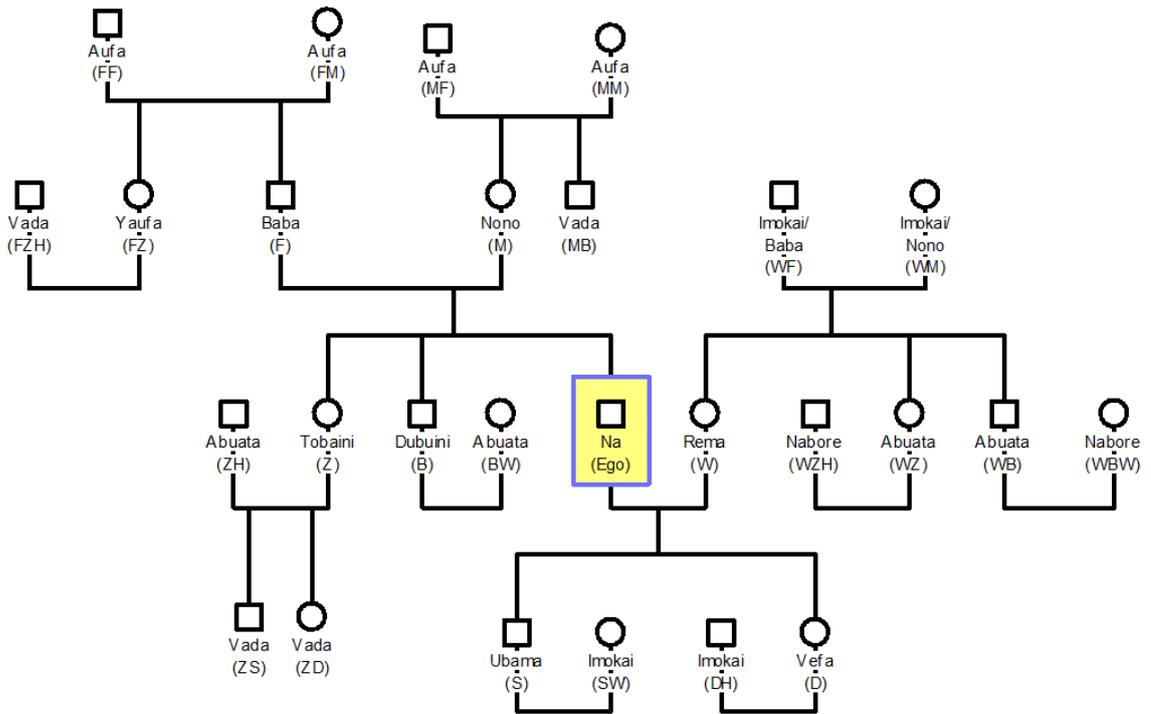


Figure 1.1: Male affinal kinship chart

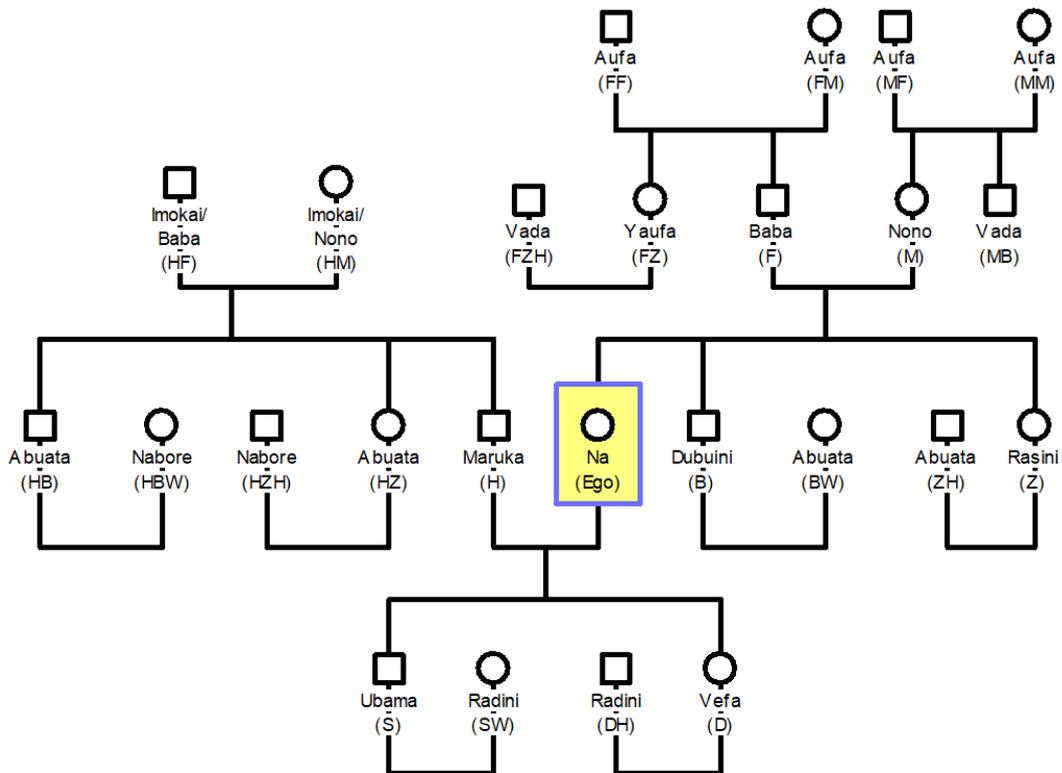


Figure 1.2: Female affinal kinship chart

The affinal term *nakimi* is used as a general ‘in-law’ term; it is borrowed from Hiri Motu (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200). Some terms, i.e. *imokai* and *radini*

‘father/mother/son/daughter-in-law’, cover relations both above and below ego, while one (*abuata* ‘brother/sister/son/daughter-in-law’) covers the same level as ego and below. The noun *rema* ‘woman’ is more frequently used to indicate the female spouse and *maruka* ‘husband’ for the male, while *odima* ‘wife’ is less generally used for the female and *rumana* ‘man’ for the male. These terms are classified below.

Table 1.7: *Affinal kinship terms*

Term	Gloss(es)	Term	Gloss(es)
<i>imokai/radini</i>	‘father/mother/son/daughter-in-law’		
<i>maruka/rumana</i>	‘husband’	<i>abuata/edini/egana/nabore</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law’
<i>rema/odima</i>	‘wife’		
<i>abuata/imokai/radini</i>	‘brother/sister/son/daughter-in-law’		

Kinship terms determine how different persons relate to one another by the way in which they are used and the various restrictions placed upon their use. Table 1.8 includes all the kinship terms attested in the language, along with the relationships they represent, English glosses, and a short definition or further explanation, as necessary. Note that a few are included which are not found on the charts; this is primarily because these “extra” terms are plural, or in other ways modify primary terms.

Table 1.8: *Comprehensive kinship terms*

Kinship term	Relationship(s)	Gloss(es)	Definition/explanation
<i>Abuata</i>	BW, ZH, SW, DH, HBW, HZH, FBSW, FBDH, FZSW, FZDH	‘brother/sister-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’	Spouse’s sibling, child’s spouse
<i>Aufa</i>	FF, FM, MF, MM, SS, SD, DS, DD	‘grandparent/child, great-uncle/aunt, great-nephew/niece’	Two generations removed from ego
<i>Aufakai</i>	FFP, FMP, MFP, MMP, SSP, SDP, DSP, DDP	‘grandparents/children, great-uncles/aunts, great-nephews/nieces’	(cf. <i>aufa</i>)
<i>Aufa keika</i>	FFYB, FFYZ, FMYB, FMYZ, MFYB, MFYZ, MMYB, MMYZ	‘younger great-uncle/aunt’	Grandparent’s younger sibling; not used for grandchild, or great-nephew/niece
<i>Aufa tora</i>	FFOB, FFOZ, FMOB, FMOZ, MFOB, MFOZ, MMOB, MMOZ	‘older great-uncle/aunt’	Grandparent’s older sibling; not used for grandchild, or great-nephew/niece
<i>Baba</i>	F, FB	‘father, uncle’	Father, agnatic uncle, one generation above ego
<i>Bakai</i>	FS, FBS	‘fathers, uncles’	(cf. <i>baba</i>)
<i>Baba keika</i>	FYB	‘younger uncle’	Father’s younger brother
<i>Baba tora</i>	FOB	‘older uncle’	Father’s older brother
<i>Bobada</i>	FFFF, FFFM, FFMF, FFMM, MMFF, MMFM, MMMF, MMMM, SSSS, SSSD, SSDS, SSDD, DDSS, DDSD, DDDS, DDDD	‘great-great-grandparent/child, great-great-great-uncle/aunt, great-great-great-nephew/niece’	Reciprocally four generations removed from ego
<i>Dubuiyaka</i>	BP, WBP, FBSP, MZSP, FFFP, FMFP, MFFP, MMFP, SSSP, SDSP, DSSP, DDSP	‘brothers, first cousins’	(cf. <i>dubuini</i>)
<i>Dubu(ini)</i>	B, WB, FBS, MZS, FFF, FMF, MFF, MMF, SSS, SDS, DSS, DDS	‘brother, first cousin’	Male’s brother, mother’s sister’s son, parent’s same sex sibling’s son

Kinship term	Relationship(s)	Gloss(es)	Definition/explanation
<i>Edini</i>	HZ, HB, WZ, WB, BW, ZH	‘brother/sister-in-law’	Spouse’s sibling, sibling’s spouse
<i>Ediyaka</i>	HZS, HBS, WZS, WBS, BWS, ZHS	‘brothers/sisters-in-law’	(cf. <i>edini</i>)
<i>Imokai</i>	SW, DH, WF, WM	‘father/mother-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’	Father’s child’s spouse, or a man’s wife’s parent
<i>Maruka</i>	H	‘husband’	
<i>Meraini</i>	HB, FZS, FZD, MBS, MBD	‘cousin’	Parent’s opposite sex sibling’s child
<i>Meraiyaka</i>	HBP, FZSP, FZDP, MBSP, MBDP	‘cousins’	(cf. <i>meraini</i>)
<i>Nabore</i>	WZH, WBW, BW, ZH	‘brother/sister-in-law’	Spouse’s sibling’s spouse
<i>Nono</i>	M, MZ, FBW	‘mother, aunt’	Mother, mother’s sister, father’s brother’s wife
<i>Nokai</i>	MS, MZS, FBWS	‘mothers, aunts’	(cf. <i>nono</i>)
<i>Nono keika</i>	FYZ	‘younger aunt’	Mother’s younger sister, or father’s younger sister
<i>Nono tora</i>	FOZ	‘older aunt’	Mother’s older sister, or father’s older sister
<i>Radini</i>	HF, HM, DH, SW	‘father/mother-in-law, son/daughter-in-law’	Mother’s child’s spouse, or a woman’s husband’s parent
<i>Radiyaka</i>	HFP, HMP, DHP, SWP	‘fathers/mothers-in-law, sons/daughters-in-law’	(cf. <i>radini</i>)
<i>Rasini</i>	MZ, MZD, FBD	‘aunt, cousin’	Woman’s parent’s same sex sibling’s daughter, female three generations removed from ego
<i>Rasiyaka</i>	MZP, MZDP, FBDP	‘aunts, cousins’	(cf. <i>rasini</i>)
<i>Rema/odima</i>	W	‘wife’	
<i>Tobaini</i>	Z, HZ, FBD, MDD	‘sister, cousin’	Parent’s same sex sibling’s same sex child, female three generations removed from a male, male three generations removed from a female
<i>Tobaiyaka</i>	ZP, HZP, FBDP, MDDP	‘sisters, cousins’	(cf. <i>tobaini</i>)
<i>Ubama</i>	S, BS, ZS	‘son, nephew, second cousin’	Any male one generation below ego, excluding <i>vada</i>
<i>Vada/ada</i>	WBS, MB, FZH	‘nephew, niece, uncle’	Maternal uncle, maternal nephew
<i>Vadakai</i>	WBSP, MBP, FZHP	‘nephews, uncles’	(cf. <i>vada</i>)

Kinship term	Relationship(s)	Gloss(es)	Definition/explanation
<i>Vefa</i>	D, BD, ZD	‘daughter, niece, second cousin’	Any female one generation below ego, excluding <i>vada</i>
<i>Yaufa</i>	FZ	‘aunt’	Paternal aunt

The meanings below correspond to the relationship abbreviations used above.

Table 1.9: *Key to Doromu-Koki kinship terms table*

Abbreviation	Meaning
B	Brother
D	Daughter
F	Father
H	Husband
M	Mother
O	Older
P	Plural
S	Son
W	Wife
Y	Younger
Z	Sister

Relational dyads between ego and each of the kinship terms are discussed below:

Abuata – Ego is prohibited from addressing *abuata* by their village name, but may use their baptised name to address them. Ego is obligated to use the term *abuata* in mention of them to someone else. Ego is required to show respect and exercise due care in the company of *abuata*, abstaining from flippant speech, and *abuata* is required to do the same around ego. The wife of an *abuata* is expected to make preparations for *abuata*’s brother. An ego determines that someone is an *abuata* because they are married to his sibling or her husband’s sibling or his or her child. A person becomes *abuata* upon marriage into the family. An *abuata* addresses ego as *abuata*.

Aufa – This term is used for any individual two generations removed from ego, meaning a grandparent/child, great-aunt/uncle/nephew/niece. An *aufa* employs the same term to describe ego. There is no distinction for an in-law at this level as in closer levels.³⁶ A younger *aufa* is obligated to show respect to any older *aufa*.

³⁶ In-law terms are only used on ego’s generation and one generation directly above and below ego’s generation (cf. Table 1.7 above).

On the older *aufa* generation only, age is distinguished relative to siblings by use of the adjectives *keika* (little) ‘younger’ and *tora* (big) ‘older’. These modified terms are used the same as the unmodified *aufa* in relation to ego (cf. Table 1.6 above).

Aufa keika – Is used to describe a younger sibling in relation to one’s *aufa*.

Aufa tora – Used to describe an older sibling in relation to one’s *aufa*.

Baba – This term, ordinarily glossed as ‘father’, also refers to one’s father’s brother (paternal uncle), but not to a maternal uncle (to be discussed below). Comparable to *aufa*, age is distinguished by use of the adjectives *keika* (little) ‘younger’ and *tora* (big) ‘older’, indicating the age of the *baba* relative to his brothers. A *baba* addresses ego as *ubama* or *vefa*, dependent on ego’s gender. Ego is required to show respect to a *baba*.

Baba keika – Used to describe a younger brother to one’s *baba*.

Baba tora – This term is used to describe an older brother to one’s *baba*.

Bobada – Used for any individual three generations removed from ego, meaning a great grandparent/child, great-great-great-aunt/uncle/nephew/niece. A *bobada* uses the same term to describe ego. There is no distinction for an in-law at this level.³⁷ There are no restrictions or obligations, because often these two generations have very limited contact, if any, because of the great range in age.

Dubuyaka – The plural form of *dubuini/dubu*.

Dubu(ini) – Refers to a man’s brother, or his mother’s sister’s son, and also to a male three generations removed from ego. A *dubuini* addresses ego as *dubuini*.

Edini – A taboo restriction prevents ego from addressing *edini* by their village name; it is permissible to address them by their baptised name. Ego is required to use the term *edini* in talking about them to someone else. Ego must exercise care around *edini*, showing respect, and *edini* does likewise around ego. The wife of an *edini* is expected to make preparations for *edini*’s brother. An ego knows that someone is an *edini* because of marriage to their sibling, or they are their spouse’s sibling. This term also has a generic function, but in general it is used similarly to *abuata*.

³⁷ Again, in-law terms are only used on ego’s generation and one generation directly above and below ego’s generation (cf. Table 1.7 above).

Imokai – Analogous to the use of *edini*, ego is prohibited from addressing *imokai* by their village name, but is permitted to address them by their baptised name. Ego must use *imokai* or *nakimi* (Hiri Motu borrowings) to talk about them to someone else. Ego must be careful around *imokai* showing proper respect, and *imokai* does the same around ego. Ego must avert their shadow from crossing over *imokai*, and *imokai* must not allow their shadow³⁸ to cross over ego. This practice is not always observed today. An ego realises that someone is an *imokai* because they are their spouse's parent or brother-in-law or their *vada*'s wife. *Imokai* refers to a father's child's spouse, or a man's wife's parent.

Maruka – Used for a woman's husband. The husband calls his wife *rema* 'woman' or *odima* 'wife'.

Meraini – This term is used to describe one's father's sister's child or one's mother's brother's child, i.e. a parent's opposite sex sibling's child, and is often glossed as 'cousin'. A *meraini* addresses ego as *meraini*.

Meraiyaka – Plural form of *meraini*.

Nabore – Ego is prohibited from addressing *nabore* by their village name, but may address or call them by their baptised name. Ego is required to use the term *nabore* to talk about them to someone else. Ego must exercise care around *nabore*, showing respect, and *nabore* does likewise around ego. An ego knows that someone is a *nabore* because of marriage to his wife's sibling or her own sibling.

Nono – This term is generally glossed as 'mother', however it also has reference to one's father's sister (paternal aunt); she is more usually referred to as *yaufa*. Comparable to *aufa*, age is distinguished by use of the adjectives *keika* (little) 'younger' and *tora* (big) 'older', again distinguishing the age of the *nono* relative to her sisters. A *nono* calls ego *ubama* or *vefa*, dependent on the gender of ego. Ego is obligated to show respect to a *nono*.

Nono keika – Used to describe a younger sister to one's *nono*.

Nono tora – Used to describe an older sister to one's *nono*.

³⁸ The shadow or *vima* also means 'spirit, soul, image, likeness' (Bradshaw 2021a:168), making it a real part of the person that would be transgressed.

Radini – Ego is forbidden from addressing *radini* by their village name, but may address them by their baptised name. Ego is required to employ the term *radini* to talk about them to someone else. Ego must be careful around *radini* showing respect, and *radini* does the same around ego. An ego knows that someone is a *radini* because she is his daughter-in-law. *Radini* is the same as *imokai*, i.e. *imokai* is used for males, and *radini* for females.

Rasini – Used to describe a woman's sister or her father's brother's daughter, or one's mother's sister (maternal aunt), or a mother's sister's daughter. A *rasini* addresses ego as *rasini*, unless ego is male, in which case he is called *ubama*.

Rasiyaka – The plural form of *rasini*.

Rema/odima – This term is used to describe a man's wife. The wife addresses her husband as *maruka* or *rumana* 'man'.

Tobaini – Refers to a man's sister, or his father's brother's daughter, or his mother's sister's daughter. A woman addresses her brother or her father's brother's daughter, or her mother's sister's son as *tobaini*. A *tobaini* addresses ego as *tobaini*.

Tobaiyaka – The plural form of *tobaini*.

Ubama – This term is used to describe any male child one generation below ego's generation. *Ubama* addresses ego as *baba* or *nono* (or *yaufa* or *rasini*) depending on ego's gender.

Vada/ada – Used for ego's mother's brother (maternal uncle), or ego's sister's son. The term *ada* is used for addressing a child in reference to their *vada*. This relationship is very important, carrying certain obligations, such as teaching the younger *vada* various skills, assisting with school fees, etc. The younger *vada* is expected to bring food and gifts to the older *vada*'s house. The best things are given to the older *vada*, because once his children marry, they belong to another clan, while the younger *vada* is still part of the family. The older *vada* assists the younger in organising bride price and provision of gifts for a bride's new family. Each *vada* also addresses ego as *vada*. In the western way of reckoning,³⁹ this would appear to be a consanguineal kinship term, however in Doromu-Koki culture it is actually an affinal term; it is used to highlight that the two are married

³⁹ Note that because of this, it is included on the consanguineal charts, not the affinal charts.

into the same family. This is to say that while it is true that the *vada* are blood relatives, the importance of their relationship is the affinal relationship – the relation by the younger *vada*'s mother's marriage. The younger *vada* is the older *vada*'s sister's husband's son.

Vadakai – Plural form of *vada*.

Vefa – This is the term used to describe any female child one generation below ego's generation. The *vefa* addresses ego as *baba* or *nono* (or *yaufa* or *rasini*), dependent on ego's gender.

Yaufa – Used to describe one's father's sister (paternal aunt). Like *baba*, a *yaufa* addresses ego as *ubama* or *vefa*, dependent on ego's gender. Ego must demonstrate respect to a *yaufa*.

Some non-kin, relational terms, which do not fit into the charts are discussed further below.

Egana – Brother/sister-in-law, analogous to *edini*.

Erega – This term refers to a buddy, or (age) mate, and is used rather informally with someone you can joke around with, not being under any obligations to show respect, as is the case with an in-law.

Mida – This means 'child', and is commonly used to describe one's own son or daughter: *rumana mida* (man child) 'son', *rema mida* (woman child) 'daughter'.

Nai roka (1SG.POSS name) – A child named after some adult, or a 'namesake'. The one for whom the child is named is able to make decisions regarding the child, and is also under obligation to help with school fees, bride price and teaching the child. The child must take care of the adult in old age and provide the best part of the butchered pig. The name is usually a village name, but it is also possible to use a baptism name, or rarely a combination, e.g. *Magjosh*, a combination of Magdalene and Joseph. It is always done between family members.

Nakimi – A Hiri Motu term, used as a general 'in-law' term, in the same sense as *imokai*.

Ourena (be.first.NOMZ) – This term describes an elder, older sibling, or firstborn, e.g. *ourena mida* 'firstborn child'.

Tora vene – This describes older people, literally meaning ‘big people’. The expectation is that they are to be shown respect (cf. the use of *tora* ‘big’ above with *aufa* ‘grandparent’, *baba* ‘father’ and *nono* ‘mother’).

Tutubena – Describes an ancestor or descendant.

Utari (in.middle) – This is used to describe a middle child, e.g. *utari mida* (in.middle child).

Viaigana – This describes the last-born child, or one born when a father has remarried. The structure of this term is uncertain, though *vi* ‘tail’ word initial may conceivably have some role in its derivation.

Vitu – This term is used for an only child. This could also be derived from *vi* ‘tail’ + *tu(mu)* ‘short’.

The most dominant relationships are *nono* ‘mother’ and *baba* ‘father’. These two are considered the most important, since they represent primary human relationships. As they are considered the foundational beginning of an individual’s life, it is imperative that they are shown obedience, respect, love and provisional care in old age. Children are expected to maintain proper respect because of the magnitude of energy and time that has been devoted to them by *nono* and *baba*. It is not acceptable to address them by name; restitution would be expected for such inappropriate behaviour as a demonstration of sorrow.

1.2.5 Sociolinguistic situation

According to Dutton (1970:890) the three Doromu-Koki dialects are as follows: Koki has 85.9% shared cognates with Kokila and 77.2% with Korigo while Kokila has 77.5% shared cognates with Korigo. Quigley and Quigley (1993:14) have differing figures: Koki has 86% shared cognates with Kokila and 87% with Korigo, while Kokila has 84% shared cognates with Korigo.

This later analysis (Bradshaw 2008a), based on a higher number of forms (c. 213, including adjectives, nouns, pronouns, oblique temporal constituents, verbs and verbal suffixes), has posited higher cognate percentages than these analyses cited above. Extensive research has further distinguished cognates, which previously may have been subject to elicitation errors. One item from all the available word lists is cited below, highlighting elicitation issues encountered:

Table 1.10: *Comparison of word lists*

Item	Word list source					
	Dutton 1970:954	Doromu survey word list 1973:1, 3	Purnell 1988:1, 4	Quigley 1993:1, 4	Lambrecht 2002b:1, 2	Table 1.17 below
'neck'	<i>kuri/uri/kuri</i>	<i>bauye kuri</i>	<i>kuri/kuri/kuri/</i>	<i>kuri/kuri/uri</i>	<i>sofuka/sofu'a</i>	<i>auri/kuri/uri</i>

Dictionary citations of each of these word cognates include:

- *bauye* 'throat; oesophagus, windpipe, neck' (Bradshaw 2021a:69)
- *kuri* 'neck' (Bradshaw 2021a:157)
- *sofuka* 'nape; back of neck, front of shoulder' (Bradshaw 2021a:229)

Lexical variation is substantial while grammatical or morphological variation is minimal.

Criteria used to determine shared include:

- Approximately 42% of the items elicited were identified as identical cognates, or able to be construed as such due to evidence from other remaining forms.
- Variation was routinely along dialect lines, e.g. the consistent suffix *-bai* from Badaika [cf. Table 1.17 items (91-121)],⁴⁰ or otherwise due to occasional minor vowel changes.⁴¹ Variation constituted 48.8% of elicited forms.
- Unrelated words account for only 6.6% of the data.

Consequently, 91.1% had shared cognates of some form. Shared cognate percentages from nine villages are included in Table 1.11. An SIL expanded and modified Survey Word List (Table 1.17) was elicited. A complete list of recorded variations for each term can be found in the Appendix to the Introduction (§1.9).

⁴⁰ This suffix is productive, being attested in 15.5% of the forms. It is alternately realised as *-ba* in three occurrences, and in five it also occurs in the other Korigo villages of Kaikanomu and/or Nimunimu. Particular list item numbers can be found in Table 1.17 in the Appendix to the Introduction (§1.9).

⁴¹ Vowel changes, however, were not productive, attested in only one to two examples; no further conclusions were possible. These vowel changes include i/e, i/u, e/o, and a/e.

Table 1.11: *Shared cognate percentages*

Sirimu						
98%	Gagaradobu					
98%	100%	Oduika				
92%	94%	94%	Kasonomu			
92%	94%	94%	100%	Amuraika		
92%	94%	94%	100%	100%	Mamanu	
92%	93%	93%	92%	92%	92%	Kaikanomu
92%	93%	93%	92%	92%	92%	99% Nimunimu
89%	90%	90%	91%	91%	91%	95% 95% Badaika

The villages have been categorised into three dialect groups, at a threshold of 95% shared cognates or above: 1) **Kokila**—Sirimu, Gagaradobu and Oduika; 2) **Koki**—Kasonomu, Amuraika and Mamanu; and 3) **Korigo**—Kaikanomu, Nimunimu and Badaika.

The second most frequent distinction is phonological variation. Systematic sound correspondences, in order of frequency include:

- The intervocalic voiceless velar plosive /k/ of the Kokila (excluding Sirimu village) and Koki dialects is realised as the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Korigo dialect (excluding Badaika village) and Sirimu village (Kokila dialect). 29 items (13.6%) are found in this category.
- The word initial rhotic /r/ (of all the dialects) is realised as the lateral /l/ in the extreme Kokila village of Sirimu. These variations constitute 4.7% of the data. In 40% of the items, Nimunimu village follows Sirimu, and the other Korigo villages do so as well in some occurrences.
- The word initial voiceless velar plosive /k/ of the Kokila and Koki dialects is realised as the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Korigo dialect. These constitute 4.2% of the data.
- The intervocalic voiceless labial fricative /f/ of the Kokila, Koki and Korigo dialects is realised as the velar fricative /h/ in Badaika village of the Korigo dialect. Exceptions have not been attested. These forms constitute 4.2% of the data.
- The intervocalic velar fricative /h/ of the village of Sirimu in the Kokila dialect is realised as the coronal fricative /s/ in all other villages. Exceptions include item (129) in Table 1.17 for Nimunimu and Badaika villages, with *-hi/-si*

‘SEQ.SS’, and item (130) *jahara/jasara* ‘wind’ in Table 1.17 for the Korigo dialect.⁴² These items make up 3.3% of the forms.

Dialect phonological variation is classified in Table 1.12 below. In general, the Kokila and Koki dialects are more closely related.

Table 1.12: *Comparison of phonological variations*

Kokila			Koki			Korigo		
Sirimu	Gagaradobu	Oduika	Kasonomu	Amuraika	Mamanu	Kaikanomu	Nimunimu	Badaika
vʔv			vkV			vʔv		vkV
#l			#r			#l/r		
		#k				#ʔ		
			vfV					vhV
vhV				VsV				

Disregarding unsubstantiated cases, four of the 12 Doromu-Koki consonant phonemes (or 33.3%) undergo phonological changes, affecting every articulator except nasals and the semi-vowel. When a voicing distinction is present, the variation occurs with the voiceless counterparts.

In cases in which these rules are not followed, it is often a form from a fringe village (either Sirimu or Badaika which neighbour two different languages), e.g. (144) *bei'a/beika* ‘what, why?’ in Table 1.17. This is realised as *beiha* in Badaika village; no other contrasts between ʔ/k and h have been attested. (For each variant except one, either Sirimu and/or Badaika village contrasts with the others in dialect classification.)

Several other changes are limited to one to two occurrences; due to insufficient data, no further conclusions are possible. These limited alternations include ʔ/r, ʔ/j, d/ʔ, d/b, d/r, d/s, n/d, n/j, r/ʔ, f/s, h/r, and j/β, as well as the vowel changes described above.

⁴² Items (131) *sena/hena* ‘already’ and (202) *-sa/-hia* ‘2SG.PRES’ in Table 1.17 have reverse correspondence s/h, however, due to lack of further information no conclusions can be drawn.

The term glossed ‘claw/nail’ [Table 1.17 item (121)] has undergone metathesis.⁴³ This term is realised as *goiso* in the Koki dialect, *giso* in the Korigo dialect; as *sigo/sigoi* in the Kokila dialect and *sigobai* in the village of Badaika in the Korigo dialect.⁴⁴

Grammatical or morphological variations are formal or phonological. Variances between grammatical forms, e.g. Table 1.17 item (122) *-afa/-aha* ‘1PL.PAST’, are consistent with the previously discussed phonological correspondences.

Variations such as Table 1.17 (129) *-hi/-si/-ro* ‘SEQ.SS’ and Table 1.17 (202) *-dia/-sa/-hia* ‘2SG.PRES’ can be classified as formal, since no change in structure is observed.

The Koki dialect is spoken in the villages of Amuraika/Dorom 1 (approximately 15 houses with 15 families), Kasonomu/Dorom 2,⁴⁵ and Mamanu (approximately eight houses with five families). The major population concentration within the language community area is in Kasonomu village, with approximately 170 people (about 30 houses with 12 families); otherwise distribution is evenly proportioned throughout the dialects. Vayanomu (abandoned village) was the previous location for the church, priest’s house, school and trade store.

The Kokila dialect is spoken in the villages of Buridobu/Buridom,⁴⁶ Dirinomu, Gagaradobu, Iaromenomu, Nemonomu/Nemoiaru, Nevore,⁴⁷ Oduika,⁴⁸ Redeme, Sirimu⁴⁹ and Voru (settlement).

The Korigo dialect is spoken in the villages of Kaikanomu, Badaika (mixed Maria and Barai with Doromu-Koki, relocated from Tomorovana, and with a slightly distinct pronunciation) and Nimunimu.⁵⁰ When this survey was conducted in 2007, Kaikanomu reportedly had about 100 people in Port Moresby and about 76 in the village.

⁴³ There is insufficient evidence to determine which form is original.

⁴⁴ The suffix *-bai* is a regular correspondence found in the Korigo dialect; cf. previous discussion.

⁴⁵ Previously relocated from Efaika and Eroroika.

⁴⁶ This village is said to be mixed Uare and Doromu-Koki due to intermarriage.

⁴⁷ Previously relocated from Arafara, Auduika and Barataka.

⁴⁸ Previously relocated from Bobenomumu and Vayanomu.

⁴⁹ Recently relocated from Keketavata, Muianomu and Waironomu.

⁵⁰ Previously relocated from Erenaika, Irononomu, Kofatika and Rofaika.

Each dialect group prefers its particular pronunciation, and yet maintains no negative perceptions or comprehension difficulties concerning the others. As the majority speak the centrally located Koki dialect, it has been recognised as prestigious and therefore able to unite the entire language speaking community in translation and literacy efforts. Likewise, its name has been deemed suitable as a name for the language as a whole. The majority of community events transpire in Kasonomu; it is the location of the school and main church building. On a patrol in 1963, the following description was written: “Duromu (sic) is built with a glorious river on three sides. It’s one of the best villages I’ve seen. Not very big – perhaps 20 houses, but with plenty of water which really makes it special (Purcell 2021:104).”

In interactions between speakers of differing dialect, normal practice is for each individual to speak his/her own. Differences are minimal (cf. phonological and lexical changes described above). Individuals residing in Port Moresby behave identically to those in the traditional homeland areas.

Knowledge of the neighbouring Barai, Uare, Sinauḡoro and Maria languages is limited, particularly in further removed areas. English is readily understood as well as Hiri Motu, which has been extensively used in the church. Tok Pisin use is primarily limited to Port Moresby.

Hiri Motu is used in conversing with Barai speakers. Some Kokila dialect speakers understand a number of Barai words, due to their proximity.

Travel to the Uare language villages of Tabunomu and Dirinomu in transit to Sirimu village is limited to elections or infrequent church gatherings. Uare language use is limited to a small group of older individuals, or those who have intermarried, especially in the village of Buridobu/Buridomu.

Regular travel through Baugabuna village, in the Boku dialect area of Sinauḡoro, occurs en route to Port Moresby; it is located about 3.5 km from the Koki village of Kasonomu. The purpose in travel to Port Moresby is to sell prawns or participate in feasts, marriages or funerals. Debadagoro village, as mentioned earlier, is in the Taboro dialect of Sinauḡoro; it is also a transit point en route to Port Moresby. Karaikamona, Lebunakomana and Boregaina (Yomo/Taboro dialect area) villages are also all transit points. Debadagoro is considered a key transiting point en route to Port Moresby; items are regularly stored there when passing through. It is necessary to maintain good relations,

so learning their language to some extent is considered a valuable asset, although conversation is primarily in Hiri Motu. Korigo dialect speakers do understand or converse in Sinauḡoro, unlike Koki and Kokila speakers. Reciprocity is maintained by exchange, including intermarriage, bride price, food, money, prawns, pigs, eel, net bags, store goods, clothing and *feta* 'baskets for carrying yams'.

Individuals from Kaikanomu village travel to Buradubura, in the Maria (or Manubara/Mt. Brown) language area; it is a five-hour walk away. There they participate in sports, feasts and bride price. They speak their Korigo dialect, slightly varying their accent so that Maria speakers can understand. Only Korigo speakers have some limited knowledge of Maria.

Those living in Port Moresby, as well as young people, have a reasonable knowledge of English and Hiri Motu, but mainly limit use to interaction with outsiders. Those who understand Tok Pisin have spent time in Port Moresby. Older people have a greater knowledge of Hiri Motu than the youth.

Attitude to use of the vernacular (as well as other languages) is favourable; language use fits the situation. The state of the language has remained stable since Quigley and Quigley's (1993) report; travel between villages and Port Moresby continues to keep the two communities in regular communication. Those with whom Lambrecht (2002a:3) spoke believed that their language would continue to be spoken. Port Moresby residents also continue to converse in the vernacular; despite influence from English, Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin and other languages, hope is high that the vernacular will not soon become obsolete.

Attitudes to neighbouring and national languages are also positive, particularly for English, Hiri Motu and Sinauḡoro. The highest value is placed on learning English, followed by Hiri Motu and lastly Tok Pisin. Awareness of Tok Pisin use appears to be less substantial than observed, perhaps especially when with a non-Doromu-Koki, non-Hiri Motu speaker as Lambrecht (2002a:3) says:

In Kasonomu, people said they prefer to use English to pidgin, but everyone seems to speak pidgin, and traveling to Kaikanomu we spoke mostly pidgin. When telling stories about snakes, they told stories in pidgin rather than English. One younger boy wanted to tell a story, he told it in Koki, and they translated it for me into pidgin. In Kaikanomu, they preferred to use pidgin rather than English. Motu is probably preferred to

either English or Pidgin in Kaikanomu.... In all places, the vernacular seemed to be the most preferred.⁵¹

Doromu-Koki is the language of preference in all situations, regardless of age, except in interaction with nonspeakers. Domains of language use for speakers living in Port Moresby are the same as for those in the traditional homeland. Domains of language use are classified in Table 1.13. (Doromu-Koki is only not used in two domains, i.e. district court and the Kwikila market, because it cannot be used in those situations.)

Table 1.13: *Domains of language use (Based on Lambrecht, 2002a:3-4)*

Doromu-Koki	Hiri Motu	English	Tok Pisin	Sinauḡoro
Announcements				
Home				
Preaching				
Bride price				
Village court				
Scripture readings		Scripture readings		
School		School		
Dancing				Dancing
	District court			
	Market (<i>Kwikila</i>)			
	Church singing			
	Port Moresby			
	Prayer at church/home			
	Sports			

Attitudes are difficult to assess, being primarily internal, but it is possible to deduce behaviour. Important issues include what is thought to be ideal, what is desired and perception of what is happening.

Great dialogue about code-switching with other languages, English, Hiri Motu, etc. is ongoing; this code-switching is perceived as a threat to the vitality of the language. Solutions considered have included the translation and literacy project as a means of preserving the language.

1.2.6 Economy

The perception is that basic needs are being adequately met in the group. Most food is obtained from gardens, through cash crops (peanuts, betel nut, bananas and sweet potato)

⁵¹ Through personal observation, and in conversation to assess perception, I would rate Tok Pisin lower than Lambrecht; I believe his conclusions are based on his own use of Tok Pisin as a means of communication. I consider its use lower than that of Hiri Motu, except in Port Moresby. The literacy rates also bear this out.

and exported foodstuffs in towns. Clothing is readily available in Port Moresby. The only individual-based projects have included chickens, betel nuts, peanuts and vanilla. The cash crops have proven successful as long as a viable means of transportation is available. When unavailable, the economic viability of the cash crops is met with failure. Transportation is the most important issue in the development of the community.

Development is desired, including a road, or if that does not eventuate, an airstrip. An increase in cash cropping (cocoa, coffee, rubber and vanilla) is also desired, but there is reticence to pursue such ventures unless there is reasonable expectation of tangible results, foremost of which would necessitate the completion of the road.⁵² It is felt that these would improve their standard of living and quality of life. Without adequate transportation, education is limited, health care remains unreachable, and dependence on those residing in Port Moresby to provide the means to purchase basic supplies remains high.

Supplies are mainly purchased in Port Moresby, or at times in Kwikila town station (Rigo district headquarters). The main source of cash is relatives living in Port Moresby. When transportation is available, limited betel nut is sold in Port Moresby. Transportation remains difficult to access. Without available road transportation at the usual contact point with the road, it becomes necessary to carry cash crops further to Boregaina, where travel is more accessible, but at the same time means another day in which the quality of the product decreases before arrival to the point of sale. Unfortunately then, the situation is aggravated as further travel by foot (i.e. increased effort) is only realised as less revenue in the end.

With a reliable means of transportation, independent of outsiders, greater avenues of development might be available.

Forms of wealth include *dona* 'pigs', *fore* 'money', *erena ueta* 'dancing feathers', *kono* 'ground/land', *yava tora* 'big house(s)' and cash crops (e.g. *oketa* 'Tahitian chestnut', *ima* 'betel nuts', *yuani* 'breadfruit' and *tua* 'nut tree species'). The *kofu* 'kina shell', which is traded with the coastal people, is also considered a form of wealth. Forms of wealth retained by chiefs include *auna gade* 'dog's teeth', *dona gade* 'pig's tusk' and

⁵² Betel nuts and peanuts are viable at present without the road.

ramuro ueta ‘bird of paradise feathers’. Previously, polygamy was a respected practice, as a form of wealth, but now it is no longer practiced.

Money is only obtained by work, not by inheritance,⁵³ while dancing feathers are distributed to the sons, the eldest receiving those used by the father. Cash crop trees are mainly inherited, although some are planted; Areca palm have more value than coconut. Pigs are caught in the wild or purchased. Birds of paradise are shot or caught in *afana* ‘booby traps’.

Goods purchased in town are distributed through interaction within social units. Inherited items are exchanged, as mentioned above. Purchased items include those for meeting basic needs: foodstuffs, clothing, housewares and gardening tools.

A special occasion, such as a religious celebration, demands village participation, involving gathering to share a mutual meal. All are expected to contribute; regular exchange of food demonstrates and promotes unity within the community. Reciprocity is an expected practice.

Exchange networks strive to promote peace and unity, stability, mutual understanding and friendship. Primary interaction is between clans which are most closely in contact.

Society values egalitarianism. Those residing in town have more possessions than those living in the villages, and with greater wealth they gain greater respect.

Previously the chief was to be informed before a visitor came into the area. Sometime after World War II, around the 1950s, this was no longer practiced as people began to emigrate. Increased wealth is permissible, because wealth is equalised through reciprocity.

One does not engage in exchange for profit; exchange is expected to be reciprocal. There is a moral obligation to participate; lack of participation is considered *udu* ‘selfish’ (Bradshaw 2021a:244). When there is unwillingness to participate in exchange, initially counsel is pursued, then a visit from family to encourage participation. If refusal continues, the inveterate individual will be shunned by the community.

⁵³ Inheritance is patrilineal.

Among the Doromu-Koki people thievery, selfishness, accumulation of possessions or other inhospitable behaviours are unusual and greatly discouraged. When they do occur, they are not blatant. This is considered an issue particular to Port Moresby.

A person with greater wealth is obligated to share with those less fortunate through hospitality and generosity. However, it is not considered wrong to possess more than others.

Cash is used to buy foodstuffs and housewares in town, pay bride price, funeral expenses, school fees and church donations. In town, many earn wages through employment, but in the village areas, cash crops sold in town are the only means of earning income. Only community youth groups and mothers' groups are remunerated for their labour. One trade store is located in Kasonomu and another in Gagaradobu, both run by local licensed individuals. Cash crops do not require a substantial time investment, about two days per week.

If one is in need of food, clothing, etc., a first recourse is the sale of cash crops. If that is impossible, one then resorts to social relations for assistance – primarily family, and then clan. This includes making requests to those in Port Moresby. Basic needs are usually met, dependent on the generosity of those residing in town. A shortfall may last one to two months. An increase in garden size will enable more cash crops to be sold. Immoral means of fulfilling basic needs is very minimal.

Eight to nine hours, five days each week, are spent on the work routine. This is the normal pattern outside of church celebrations, funerals or bride price. When one of these activities is in progress, the regular schedule is interrupted. Remaining non-work time is filled by worship in church, feasts and other leisure and social activities.

Men's work duties include planting bananas and clearing bush and cutting trees to prepare gardens for planting. Also included are housebuilding and engagement in various economic projects.

Women's work duties include planting, harvesting gardens and food production.

Groups made up of different ages and sex normally work together on projects which are community-wide in scope and based on the available labour force. Projects include cleaning schools, carrying supplies needed for the school or aid post, cleaning bush tracks, gardening and feasts, i.e. bride price, funeral or some other compensation.

The only technological resources available for agricultural and construction purposes are axes, tomahawks, hammers, saws and tape measures. Some are skilled in construction, but such specialisation is rare. Everyone performs the same tasks in gardening and housebuilding.

Land is readily available. Where extensive tree cutting has taken place, some land has been lost by landslides. Population growth is not an issue due to extensive emigration to Port Moresby. Land is controlled by and divided according to clan ownership, rather than by an individual. Land is obtained through inheritance. All clan landholders have the right to the produce of the land. Only a small percentage of the land, all located near the villages, is employed for gardening. Further away, bush areas are owned and used primarily for hunting and timber (i.e. providing housebuilding and firewood). Since cash cropping has limited viability, it requires minimal garden space. When garden land lies fallow, it reverts back to bush.

Both traditional and non-traditional religious activities are dependent on the economy in various ways. Non-traditional religious activities include dedication and tithing of resources and materials to the church, while traditional activities include hunting or gardening spells as means of profit.

Garden preparation begins with burning of the land. The garden is then prepared by groups and individuals using spades to break up the ground and clean out the area. The area is divided into sections with felled trees. When yams are planted, they are placed in mounds and covered over. Banana suckers, taro, melon and pumpkins, along with other crops are also planted in the garden. Wild sugarcane and taro are placed around the perimeter. These crops are planted from October through January (cf. Table 1.1).

Fasting from certain animals and fruits is required to ensure a bountiful garden; weeds must be controlled and a fence erected (to keep out predators). It is unadvisable to plant potatoes together with other seedlings, as this could cause them to die. Nothing is planted for protection of the garden; however, ritual spells are designed to provide that protection. Children begin working in the garden at about ten years of age.

There are two seasons, rainy and dry. In previous times knots were tied to mark off the passing of years. Planting is according to the seasons, beginning at the end of the dry season (cf. Table 1.1).

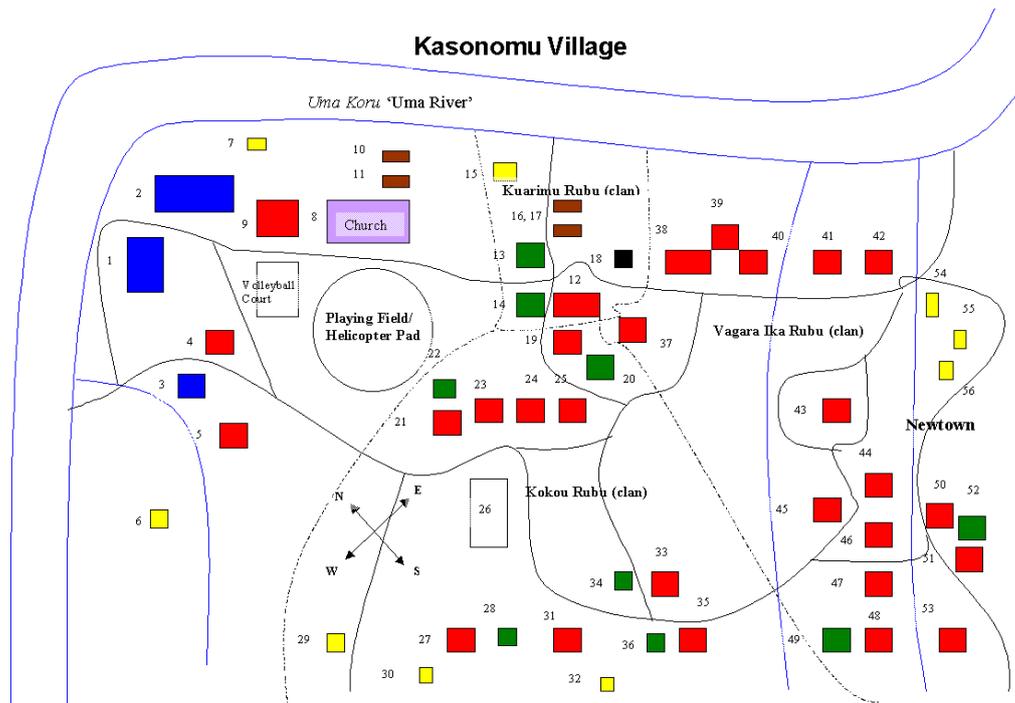
1.2.7 Lifestyle

How the community lives together (§1.2.7.1) directly affects their interaction. Along with construction of housing, other areas have greatly been influenced by outside interaction, including dress (§1.2.7.2) and food (§1.2.7.3).

1.2.7.1 Dwelling patterns: Housing

The 2000 census figures (National Statistical Office 2000) indicate that there were 137 households in the various villages. In Port Moresby, people live in houses, primarily in Hohola, but also in the other areas mentioned above (cf. §1.1.1).

Kasonomu village, as shown in Map 1.4 below, includes clan locations. This map was originally produced in 2006. Some information is no longer completely accurate (i.e. specific house locations, which change periodically), but in general it gives an overall picture of the village setting; most is still about the same. Houses are indicated in red, with corresponding 'kitchens' (cooking facilities) indicated in green. Toilets are indicated in yellow, and school facilities (excluding houses and toilets) are indicated in blue. Cemetery plots are indicated in brown and the Catholic Church is indicated in lavender. The Uma River and small creeks running through the village are indicated in blue. Paths through the village are indicated by solid black lines, while dashed (broken) black lines indicate clan divisions. (See the key after the map for the numbering of buildings and their respective owners at the time.)



Map 1.4: *Map of Kasonomu village* (from Bradshaw 2006b:6)

Key to Kasonomu village map

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Lower primary classroom | 20. Patrick's kitchen | 39. Peter's house |
| 2. Upper primary classroom | 21. Jeffery's house | 40. Raphael's house |
| 3. School office | 22. Jeffery's kitchen | 41. Theresa's house |
| 4. Teacher's house 1 | 23. Timothy's house | 42. Justin's house |
| 5. Teacher's house 2 | 24. Dorothy's house | 43. Robin's house |
| 6. School toilet 1 | 25. Peter's house (frame) | 44. Noel's house 1 |
| 7. School toilet 2 | 26. Platform | 45. Emmanuel's house |
| 8. Catholic church | 27. Alan's house | 46. Noel's house 2 |
| 9. Priest's house | 28. Alan's kitchen | 47. Gabriel's house |
| 10. Cemetery 1 | 29. Toilet | 48. Jim's house |
| 11. Cemetery 2 | 30. Alan's toilet | 49. Jim's kitchen |
| 12. Matthew and Charles' house | 31. Samuel's house | 50. Peter's house 1 |
| 13. Charles's kitchen | 32. Samuel's toilet | 51. Peter's house 2 |
| 14. Matthew's kitchen | 33. Nicholas' house | 52. Peter's kitchen |
| 15. Charles's toilet | 34. Nicholas' kitchen | 53. Patricia's house |
| 16. Cemetery 3 | 35. Joseph's house | 54. Newtown toilet 1 |
| 17. Cemetery 4 | 36. Joseph's kitchen | 55. Newtown toilet 2 |
| 18. Chicken house | 37. Mattias' house | 56. Newtown toilet 3 |
| 19. Patrick's house | 38. Michael's house | |

Village shelters and houses are constructed mainly of local bush materials, i.e. bamboo woven walls and sawn timbers; many houses have corrugated iron roofs (see photo below), while others have sword grass roofs. These roofs are usually recycled from an old house to a new one. New iron is purchased if funds are available. Nails are also purchased in town.

Two school classroom buildings, along with a house for the teacher and a nearby church building are located in the village, all of which have corrugated iron roofs.



Picture 1.5: *Typical Doromu-Koki house (2002; Philip Lambrecht, with permission)*

1.2.7.2 Dress

Dress is western style; men wear shorts or long trousers (usually to church), and thongs or shoes, dependent on the occasion. In early colonial days, men wore lap-laps.

Women are now wearing shorts or capris, whereas 20 years ago, skirts were always worn. At that time women might sometimes be topless, especially when nursing or for a dance; now that is considered unacceptable — a bra must be worn for a dance. Grass skirts are only worn for dances. (Note typical dress in Picture 1.2: A Doromu-Koki family above.)

1.2.7.3 Food

There are many varieties of banana (King and Ranck, 1982:51), the subsistence crop. (35 terms are attested in the dictionary [Bradshaw 2021a:490-1]). In relative order of consumption, other foods regularly consumed include: yams (*Dioscorea*), taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), greens (*Abelmoschus manihot*), fish, prawns (*Dendrobranchiata*), coconut (*Cocos nucifera*), pineapple (*Ananas comosus*), sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*), tomatoes (*Solanum lycopersicum*), wild sugarcane (*Saccharum robustum*), Malay apple (*Eugenia malaccensis*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), Tahitian chestnut (*Terminalia impediens*), *tua* (not scientifically identified), and pandanus (*Pandanus julianettii*). [Scientific names are supplied from Bourke (2007), *Compton's Interactive Encyclopaedia – 1995* (1994), Mihalic (1971) or Internet sources]. Store-bought items, which are purchased when funds permit, include rice, flour, tinned meats, butter, vegetable oil, tea, coffee, sugar, milk powder, biscuits and cordial.

The Uma River forms the northern border of Kasonomu village; it is the primary source of water, as are other rivers for other villages. This river is also used by the Kokila dialect villages of Gagaradobu and Oduika. There are no tanks or piped water supplies; rainwater is not generally collected, an exception includes pots or saucepans during heavy rainfall, because the river water becomes very muddy. The village of Amuraika has small springs.

1.3 Existing orthographies

During the course of the Alphabet Design Workshop, conducted 18-25 March 2002, the orthography (cf. §2.7) was developed. The language has two syllable patterns (CV, V; cf. §2.2) and no closed syllables or consonant clusters. The orthography has no digraphs. Stress occurs on the penultimate syllable (cf. §2.5.1). At the time this workshop was conducted no disagreements over the proposed orthography eventuated; only minor changes were instituted thereafter. The orthography was not complicated by any complex linguistic factors, i.e. morphophonemic issues.

The greatest orthographic issue was concerned with the writing of words with semivowels and/or vowel sequences (cf. § 2.4). Concern over the spelling of borrowed words (cf. §2.1 and Table 2.3) containing alphabetic characters not found in the Doromu-Koki alphabet was also raised. Deliberation centred around whether to add new alphabetic characters or to maintain those already found in autochthonous vocabulary. It was decided to spell names in translations as written in English, due to extensive English use, coupled

with easier access of Bible study materials in English. It also meshed well with the current practice of using English spelling for borrowed names.

The general consensus is that learning to read is valued, as it gives the ability to learn more, in order to better life and preserve language and culture. This ethos was also in evidence during the Lexical Elicitation Workshop held in Port Moresby in September 2004.

Religious reading material (i.e. the Bible) in the language has been highly desired, being the impetus behind translation and literacy efforts. These efforts are perceived as means of language preservation against the encroachment of English, Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin.

Letters, texts and social media (§10.2.3.5) are regularly used means of communication. Often these forms of communication are written in English, but occasionally in the vernacular. At other times a mixture of both English and the vernacular are used, which may also include limited Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin. Many songs have been written in the language. In church services, notices have also been written in the vernacular, but the majority are written in Hiri Motu or English. Since use of the vernacular was previously not taught in school, an ordinarily held perception is that it is too difficult to write. This explains the consensus behind the use of other languages.

Education is not new to the area, except that there was a period of time in which it was unavailable, as discussed above. Instead, it is the idea of vernacular education that is particularly new. Traditional and local church leaders have a favourable attitude to education in general, particularly children's education, and adult education to a lesser extent. Literacy activities are considered worthwhile, but the highest value is to ensure children are able to function as vital members of the community. Language use preference is primarily English and the vernacular, followed by Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin.

Upon leaving school, at any level, most students return to the village. Educational skills are used in reading, writing and church functions, or in employment in Port Moresby.

Consciously taught traditional topics include gardening and hunting. School age youths are taught by older individuals. Teaching of such topics or skills normally occurs within the family or clan. A man is not taught by a woman, although it is possible in limited circumstances. Otherwise there are no other restrictions on teaching.

The complexity of the particular skill determines how long the teaching will last; normally just a short period. Teaching methods are primarily by demonstration and repetition. The primary reward for the teacher is satisfaction. Motivation to learn is encouraged by involving the students in the process and specifying what the outcome will be.

1.3.1 Literacy issues

The only primary school, St. Stephen's Dorom Primary School, is located in Kasonomu village. (A school was previously located in Nimunimu village.) The majority of the students are from Kasonomu, while others are from the neighbouring Oduika village. Some children also commute from Amuraika and Gagaradobu. Instruction is in English, with the exception of an elementary component, with some explanation in the vernacular. Limited vernacular materials are available. During recess and lunch periods, interaction in the vernacular is permitted; at other times English must be used. Children learn their own dialect before attending school. In 1965, enrolment was reported to be 56 (Purcell 2021:65). Class size has changed little in the school's 57 years of existence.

While the school has at times been a great benefit to the community, many times it has remained empty, due to high absenteeism or a total lack of available teachers. Many are disinclined to work in such a remote site, especially for an extended period of time. At times when the school is closed, great disruption is the result, as families must resort to alternate means of ensuring the education of their children. This usually means the family must spend greater periods of time in Port Moresby or Boregaina. If they cannot physically remain there with their children due to commitments in the village, they must find family or clan members who can provide for their children while they attend school away from home. The situation, however, has recently been remedied by the addition of local teachers.

Most children finish grade 6; some go on to high school. Those who attend high school, do so mainly in Port Moresby, Boregaina, or Kwikila (the Rigo district headquarters). The majority of children in Port Moresby live in the Hohola area and attend Sacred Heart Primary School – Hohola. Table 1.14 includes education figures from the 2000 census.

Table 1.14: *Percentages of individual's education levels (2000 census figures)*

Category	Total	Male	Female
<i>Age 5-29 ever in school</i>	10.8	12.4	9.2
<i>Age 10+ ever in school</i>	50.6	57.1	45.5
<i>Age 10+ completed Grade 6</i>	50.2	54.6	42.1
<i>Age 10+ completed Grade 10</i>	9.7	12.9	5.6
<i>10+ literate in at least 1 language</i>	57.8	59.8	55.6

Tertiary education has been pursued by at least 16 individuals; names, current position, where education was received and location where presently employed can be found in Table 1.15.

Table 1.15: *Doromu-Koki speakers who have pursued tertiary education*

Name	Position (University/college)	Location where working
<i>Agustin B</i>	Civil engineer	Popondetta town
<i>Andrew W</i>	Lawyer	Port Moresby (deceased)
<i>Chris M</i>	Major, Defence Force	Murray Barracks (deceased) ⁵⁴
<i>Matthew M</i>	Seminarian (cf. Purcell 2021:126)	None
<i>Colum R</i>	Teacher	St. Joseph's International School – Boroko
<i>Eldi R</i>	High school teacher	Bomana
<i>Gordon A</i>	Human resources management	Ok Tedi mine
<i>Hilarian W</i>	Computer programmer	IRC – Port Moresby
<i>Jered V</i>	Pastor (Unitech)	SDA – Port Moresby
<i>Keti K</i>	Court judge	Port Moresby
<i>Luke B</i>	Warehouse (Arana Technical College, NSP)	Digicel – Port Moresby
<i>Petra T</i>	Training (UPNG)	Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province
<i>Rapheal T</i>	Mechanic (Unitech)	Swan's security – Port Moresby
<i>Robin T</i>	Botany lecturer (UPNG, University of Wellington)	UPNG – Port Moresby
<i>Sam W</i>	Teacher	Sacred Heart Primary School – Hohola
<i>Timothy R</i>	Mining engineer	(Deceased)

Table 1.16 (from Bradshaw 2004:14) displays the approximate percentages of illiterate men and women, and semi-literate and literate adults in English, Hiri Motu, Doromu-Koki and Tok Pisin for the villages and Port Moresby. The majority minimally read English and Hiri Motu; the difference in literacy level between men and women is

⁵⁴ A survivor of the 28 August 1972 Caribou crash in the Kudjera Pass of Morobe Province (Purcell 2021:129).

minimal. The lowest percentage of adults are those who are illiterate. Preference of reading materials is in English, but materials and skills available in other languages will also be used (e.g. church related items, such as missals, etc.).

Literacy rates for adults aged 25-40 are the same as for the general population of adults. Literacy levels are determined by geography; those areas having greater outside access have higher levels,⁵⁵ while more isolated areas have lower levels.

Table 1.16: *Adult literacy levels by village/centre*

Village/Centre	Population ⁵⁶	Illiterate		Semi-literate			Literate				
		Men	Women	English	Hiri Motu	Vernacular	Tok Pisin	English	Hiri Motu	Vernacular	Tok Pisin
<i>Amuraika</i>	60	7%	7%	77%	73%	37%	23%	10%	9%	8%	7%
<i>Badaika</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Buridobu</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Dirinomu</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Gagaradobu</i>	20	5%	5%	70%	60%	30%	20%	20%	19%	18%	17%
<i>Iaromenomu</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Kaikanomu</i>	70	7%	7%	51%	49%	34%	20%	34%	32%	30%	28%
<i>Kasonomu</i>	170	7%	7%	75%	74%	38%	24%	11%	10%	9%	8%
<i>Mamanu</i>	40	8%	8%	75%	70%	35%	25%	10%	9%	8%	7%
<i>Nemonomu</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Nevore</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Nimunimu</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Oduika</i>	60	7%	7%	77%	73%	37%	23%	10%	9%	8%	7%
<i>Port Moresby</i>	800	3%	3%	63%	50%	30%	56%	33%	29%	27%	31%
<i>Redeme</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Sirimu</i>	40	8%	8%	50%	45%	30%	20%	35%	33%	31%	29%
<i>Voru</i>	20	5%	5%	70%	60%	60%	20%	20%	19%	18%	17%
Total/Average	1,600	7%	7%	59%	54%	34%	23%	27%	25%	24%	23%

Presently there are no existing literacy programmes in place, although vernacular education in Kasonomu and Oduika has been attempted. Philip Bomena, of Amuraika

⁵⁵ Port Moresby has some lower levels, due to the presence of more elderly people. Also note, Port Moresby has a higher level of literacy in Tok Pisin than Hiri Motu, unlike the village areas. This is due to the higher use of Tok Pisin in Port Moresby.

⁵⁶ This is the total population of the village/centre. Children have been factored out in the percentage calculations. Note: These calculations are based on estimates, and cannot be taken as statistical facts.

village, attended the STEP⁵⁷ course at the SIL training centre in Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province with the notion to initiate a literacy programme. Cooperation and assistance have been minimal. No literacy programmes have been attempted in Port Moresby, as mixed language speaking composition of the schools and adult speakers spread throughout the city, with many working during the weekdays, has made such a venture difficult to initiate. Nevertheless, interest in literacy, especially for children remains high; materials are regularly translated into the vernacular, especially for Sunday Mass.⁵⁸

A “literate” person is defined as “an individual who can read some material and understand what he/she is reading”. Use of radios⁵⁹ or cassette player/recorders has been limited because of the difficulty in obtaining batteries, but now with increased solar charging capabilities the use of these could increase. However, mobile phones are replacing other technologies. Because many have gone to Port Moresby, exposure to video media has increased. The *Jesus Film* was shown in the villages of Kasonomu and Kaikanomu in March 2002. Once dubbed into the language, it was shown again in 2016 (in Kasonomu) and 2018 (in Port Moresby). A lower quality version is also available for use on Android phones.

Twenty-two of the twenty-eight participants in the Doromu Alphabet Design Workshop wrote stories for the Trial Spelling Guide (Bokana et al. 2002). Nine have expressed a particular interest in writing and/or translation. While these individuals are village based, those in Port Moresby are primarily interested in promotion rather than actual production, as many are employed.

1.4 External influences: Contact and borrowings

Interaction with neighbouring language communities is mainly limited to en route travel, particularly through the Taboro and Boku areas of Sinauḡoro (Oceanic). During those times, Hiri Motu or English are the primary languages of communication. Other interaction is limited; when it does occur, English and Hiri Motu are used. Thus, the majority of the borrowings have been from Hiri Motu and English (cf. §11.4.2).

⁵⁷ Strengthening *Tok ples* (Tok Pisin expression meaning ‘vernacular’) Education in PNG.

⁵⁸ I.e. The Lord’s Prayer, other prayers, songs and liturgical readings.

⁵⁹ Because of the mountainous terrain, reception of broadcasts is difficult to receive.

It has been readily realised that loan words form part of the language and cannot be avoided. The desire is to preserve as much as possible, acknowledging that in everyday conversation many words have already been replaced. For these, it would prove very difficult to revert to the old vernacular terms. It is preferred to spell loan words, especially names, as they are in the source language, particularly if they are borrowed from English. In this way, it is thought that bridging between the two languages and searching reference materials in English will be facilitated. Spelling is not usually an issue for borrowings from other languages, but if so, preference is to follow vernacular spelling convention.

1.4.1 Language vitality

The language is relatively stable. Influence from Hiri Motu and English is high, yet value on vernacular use also remains high. The major contributing influence of languages of wider communication is through borrowing. For some this is considered a threat; they want to do what they can to preserve the original language terms. Because of this felt need, a limited trial edition dictionary was distributed in 2007 and a full edition was recently published (Bradshaw 2021a). Internet and phone app versions are also available.

Permanent Port Moresby residents continue speaking the vernacular; they live in Doromu-Koki neighbourhoods and maintain regular interaction with travelling village residents. Most claim that if more services were regularly available in the rural areas, they would spend longer periods of time in the villages, and less time in the city.

1.4.1.1 Language shift

Due to the widespread use of code-switching and mixing (§10.2.3.5), language shift is a concerning issue. People express displeasure, yet it continues. The primary factor is the migration patterns of the language community. With greater numbers spending longer periods of time outside the original language community, interaction involves greater use of languages of wider communication, and subsequently less use of the vernacular. The vast majority of language use is centred on English. English is amongst one of three national languages used in government, business and education, and more importantly, as a language of wider communication in the southern region of PNG (Milne Bay, Central, Gulf and Western Provinces). This region is often referred to as Papua (or Southern region), in reference to its pre-independence days as the Territory of Papua.

Since the majority of ex-language community area time is spent in Port Moresby, a great deal of interaction also occurs in the Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu national languages. As the nation's capital, people from all parts of the country are attracted to Port Moresby.

Since the highlands region has the greatest population, Port Moresby also has an abundance of Highlanders. The Highlanders and others from the northern regions of PNG regularly use Tok Pisin rather than English.

Along with other groups from the southern region, who in the past regularly used Hiri Motu (cf. Dutton 1985), use amongst Doromu-Koki speakers continues to decrease, being replaced by English and Tok Pisin. Hiri Motu does remain prestigious among southern region groups, as a cohesive element. Different southern region members can be observed conversing in Hiri Motu together in locations outside the region (i.e. even in the Highlands, a strong Tok Pisin area).

English use continues to increase. The Doromu-Koki people celebrated the arrival of the New Testament in their language with a dedication held in Port Moresby on 22 September 2018. All the speeches during the ceremony given by Doromu-Koki speakers were in English; mine was the only one in the language. As the desire was to include the visitors not knowing the language, it is understandable, yet it also highlights the fact that the language is being supplanted by outside forces.

A. Code-switching and code mixing: Due to a transitory lifestyle, code-switching and code mixing (cf. Aikhenvald 2007a:330 and §11.4.2) are quite pervasive, especially amongst those living in the urban setting, as in “Get water and pour it; I might tell *aufa* (‘grandmother’)” [116]. Most often the switching or mixing will involve English, dependent on the situation at the time, what other language speakers are present and what the attitudes and expectations are, etc. Some examples of code-switching, all from one Doromu-Koki conversation, are *airstrip*, *appear*, *believe*, *biscuit*, *director*, *family*, *first*, *measurement*, *no choice*, *option*, *plastic*, *second* and *straight*. Social media adds further complexity; the usual motivation is the easiest route – the person may not really know how to say (or write) the concept in Doromu-Koki, as they have always known it in another language. Too much effort might be involved in determining how to convey the concept.

An example of code-switching from a Facebook (Dorom Kokila blood [i.e. ‘ancestry’] aka D.K Dava group)⁶⁰ posting is seen in (1).

⁶⁰ This example, and others following, are written as posted, with only italics added to Doromu-Koki words.

- (1) [*Nai aufa.kai, bobada.manone Nai dava, Nai*
1SG.POSS grandparents great-grandparent 1SG.POSS blood 1SG.POSS

tutben, Nai Kokira ago, Nai Sufa, Nai
ancestor 1SG.POSS (name) word 1SG.POSS bush 1SG.POSS

Ika, Nai Rautu, Nai Roroi Moka, Nai
mountain 1SG.POSS village 1SG.POSS area deep 1SG.POSS

Kobiro Moka, Nai Odu Moka, Nai “Oduika”]_{ADD}
(name) deep 1SG.POSS (name) deep 1SG.POSS “(name)

proud to be Rigo
(name)

‘My grandparents, great-grandparents, my relatives (lit. blood), my ancestors, my Kokira language, my bush, my mountain, my village, my deep area, my deep Kobiro, my deep Odu, my “Oduika”; proud to be Rigo...Open Candidate Rev.Jacob Bogaperi, (who is non (sic) other then (sic) my father) 2017 General Elections, may the Lord give us wisdom in the decisions we make today. Go with Gods (sic) grace everyone and vote wisely. Your today determines your tomorrow. Prayerfully I wish you all safe and happy polling next week.’ [33.01]

The text begins in Doromu-Koki, listing various people and places [‘My grandparents, great-grandparents, my relatives (lit. blood), my ancestors, my Kokira language, my bush, my mountain, my village, my deep area, my deep Kobiro, my deep Odu, my “Oduika” ’]. The remainder of the posting is in English.

In contrast, in (2), the writer begins with English, and intersperses Doromu-Koki and English before concluding with English.

- (2) *Is Robert Bradshaw on Facebook? Be ad re-nadi. I notice we*
some add do-1PL.IMP

losing (sic) our language *mo ago be bi sivon ago,*
and word some top white.man word

pidgin *ago, mo aida ago ai dui re-sifa! Re-ba*
word and some word put entering do-1PL.PRES do-and

Re-ba toto ni-gifa babu. Pls correct eachother (sic) as we go
do-and forgetting say-1PL.FUT lest

along so we keep our language in it’s (sic) pure form and pass it on for all generations coming. I’m teaching my kids, are you teaching yours? 😊:) Proud DK!

‘Is Robert Bradshaw on Facebook? Let’s add him. I notice we are losing our language and some words are white man’s words, Tok Pisin words, and some other words we are putting in! And doing so, doing so we might forget (our language). Please correct each other as we go along so we keep our language in its pure form and pass it on for all generations coming (up). I’m teaching my kids, are you teaching yours? Proud DK!’ [103]

In the expression *be add renadi* ‘let’s add some (presumably ‘him’)', the English word ‘add’ being used as a complement to create a complex verb with the simple associated verb *re-* ‘do’; this is the canonical method of incorporating loan verbs into the language (cf. §3.5). The usual *si(v)oni* ‘whiteskin’ has lost its final vowel.⁶¹

In (3-4), English and Doromu-Koki are mixed, but also Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu (italics of *Doromu-Koki*, bolding of **Tok Pisin** and underlining of Hiri Motu mine):

- (3) *rautu vene*, **toksave olsem**, **Mama** *Teresia Waibu* passed on
village people notice like mother (name) (name)

aste at about 11pm at POM Gen! **Hauskrai** at ATS...
yesterday mourning.house
‘village people, notice that, Mother Teresia Waibu passed on yesterday
at about 11pm at Port Moresby General (hospital)! Mourning
house at ATS...’ [108]

Writers vary in the amount of code-switching employed; here in (4) we see much less use than in (3).

- (4) *urusa buni*, *vada* *sivarai* *nokoi be*, *uka muyena remanu...*
night good uncle news one some stomach death two

toksave *maka be yadima ba de mina nida... varevo...*
notice only some they.did.and or NEG this I.say good.bye
‘good night, uncle one news here, two deaths’ concerns (lit. hearts)...only whether
to be giving some notice or not...good bye (sic)...’ [107]

Other languages found include Sinauḡoro (*bese* ‘tribe’⁶²), the neighbouring Austronesian (Oceanic) language (5). An example of disjunctivism occurs when the verb suffix *-fo* is separated from the stem *vare-* (*vare-fo* ‘sleep-2PL.PO.IMP).

⁶¹ This is a characteristic rapid speech phenomenon, e.g. *mini* > *min* ‘this’, *mokena* > *moken* ‘thinking’, *vegifa* > *vekfa* ‘we will see’ (with concomitant consonant devoicing), *amesifa* > *amesfa* ‘we live’, or *kato feyo* > *kato fe* ‘biscuit’ (lit. ‘flat mashed food’); cf. §2.8.2.6.

⁶² *Bese* ‘tribe’ (Tauberschmidt, 1995:4).

- (5) *Urusa buni nai bese ibounai... Vare fo*
 night good 1SG.POSS tribe all sleep 2PL.PO.IMP
 ‘Good night all my tribe...good bye (sic)’[101]

Shorthand type forms include *Vare4* (Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20), 29 February 2012) or *b* for *bi* ‘TOP’ (Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20), 29 February 2012).

B. Speech of semi-speakers: With increasing use of other languages, there are now those who would be considered semi-speakers: perhaps even having a knowledge of Doromu-Koki, but for the most part using it sparingly. Dal Negro (2016:68) states: “It seems that semi-speakers become part of a context of proper shift in which a clear generational gap in language transmission can be identified.” And indeed, semi-speakers are usually young people, who are regularly code-switching and mixing, as discussed above (cf. further consideration in §10.2.3.5).

1.5 Previous research

Prior to the current field work, only brief descriptions of the language (Dutton 1970, 1975; Kikkawa 1999) were available; a more comprehensive description of this endangered language is imperative. Study of the language also yields cultural insights.

Dutton (1970:884) has stated: ‘Very little is known about the structure of the Manubaran languages and nothing has been published in any of them’, and further 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.’

This situation must be rectified before it is too late. Language extinction has been greatly accelerating 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 less than 1,000 speakers are permanently residing in the language area, the language is especially ‘...at risk of extinction (Dixon 1991:230)’; many other languages in Central Province have already succumbed to such a fate (cf. also Kik et al. 2019).

Initially two area studies were completed, giving a brief overview of the language in comparison with other languages in the area:

Dutton (1970) provided some location facts and population figures for the Doromu-Koki language, including maps indicating village names and dialect boundaries. Some

brief phonological and grammatical details, examples, word lists and percentage of shared vocabulary figures were also included.

Dutton (1975) expanded on his previous study with further brief details, as well as a map showing the proposed Southeast Papuan families. This study focused on a comparison of these families, identifying typological features. Since at that time very little information was available on the Manubaran family, little could be deduced.

Following these, two phonological descriptions were written:

Kikkawa (1999) provided an initial phonological description of the language through data collected over one week, from one speaker no longer living in the community, and from another for one day in Port Moresby.

Bradshaw (2002) was based primarily on data from the Alphabet Design Workshop, and subsequently revised as Bradshaw (2010, 2016) as more data was collected and analysed.

Sociolinguistic studies began with the compilation of several word lists (Doromu survey word list 1973, Purnell 1988, Quigley 1993 and Lambrecht 2002b), and included a sociolinguistic study (Quigley and Quigley 1993) as well as notes on the sociolinguistic situation (Lambrecht 2002a).

Further words lists collected (Bradshaw 2008a, cf. §1.9 Appendix to Introduction, Table 1.17) led to the production of two descriptions of the sociolinguistic and dialect situation:

Bradshaw (2004) was an early study on the sociolinguistic situation, particularly focused on sustainability and viability factors relevant to the translation project being conducted at the time.

Bradshaw (2008a) provided a more in-depth study investigating mitigating factors concerning both dialect and overall language use in relation to acceptability to the translation project.

Two ethnographic descriptions were undertaken:

Bradshaw (2006b) provided a preliminary study of the Doromu-Koki culture with a focus on the stability of the language, kinship, social structure, politics, economy, development, problems and felt needs.

Bradshaw (2007b) gave details of the ideology, religion and values of Doromu-Koki culture.

The following short grammatical descriptions have also been written:

Bradshaw (2006a) was a paper presented during the Discourse workshop, held at Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province, giving an analysis at that time of Doromu-Koki development and topic markers.

Bradshaw (2007c) was a paper presented at the Linguistic Society of PNG meeting in Madang, comparing Doromu-Koki with the Fuyug language, another Southeast Papuan (Goilalan) language of Central Province.

Bradshaw (2008b) provided a grammatical and phonological sketch of the language, which was edited and published as Bradshaw (2012).

A trial dictionary was produced (Bradshaw 2007a), and a final edition has been published (Bradshaw 2021a) and distributed. There are 3,036 entries⁶³ in the main dictionary, which includes 1,257 subentries, for a total of 4,293 distinct forms. There are 4,949 entries in the English finder list. Entries include word classes (parts of speech) and if applicable, multiple senses ranked in order of relative use. English glosses and/or a definition are included as well. Some entries include a literal meaning where necessary (particularly for idioms). Scientific names for flora and fauna are given where possible to determine. Following these are one or more (when there are multiple glosses or senses) example sentences, which include an English free translation. Any further information about the entry, such as antonyms or synonyms, borrowed words and their origin, morphophonemic representations, indication of singular or plural forms, cross references, usage information and variants (usually dialects or alternate spellings) are given as well. Subentries include any of these types of details as applicable. Subentries are normally a form or term in which the first word is a form of the main entry. All verbs and verb phrases have a lexical citation form, being inflected with the ‘nominaliser’ *-na*, as the bare stem is the unmarked imperative form (cf. Bradshaw 2021:35, 43 for more details). An online version and accompanying Android phone app were also produced at that time ([Doromu-Koki dictionary](#)).

⁶³ Approximately 201 of these are homonyms (cf. §11.1.1).

During the course of my PhD candidature, the following materials were also produced or are currently in progress:

Bradshaw (2019a): a brief presentation on the Language of well-being in Doromu-Koki at the Language and Culture Research Centre (LCRC) – James Cook University (JCU) *Language of well-being symposium*, 24 April 2019.

Bradshaw (2019b): A paper on the Doromu-Koki adjective class given at LCRC – JCU Roundtable workshop, 31 July 2019.

Bradshaw (2019c): A paper given on versatile postpositions in Doromu-Koki at the Linguistics Society of Papua New Guinea conference, Port Moresby, 24 September 2019.

Bradshaw (2020a): A paper given on Doromu-Koki differential subject marker at LCRC – JCU Roundtable workshop, 9 July 2020.

Bradshaw (2020b): A paper given on questions in Doromu-Koki at LCRC – JCU Roundtable workshop, 23 September 2020.

Bradshaw (2020c): A video paper on Differential subject marking in Doromu-Koki given at Australian Linguistic Society Conference, 14 December 2020.

Bradshaw (2021b): An online poster presentation on frustrative in Doromu-Koki given at Austronesian and Papuan Linguistics Conference (APLL-13), 11 June 2021.

Bradshaw (2021c): A paper on frustrative in Doromu-Koki given at Linguistics Society of Papua New Guinea conference, 21 September 2021.

Bradshaw (2022a): A book chapter ‘Visual perception in Doromu-Koki’.

Bradshaw (2022b; forthcoming): A book chapter ‘Clause chaining and other means of clause linking in Doromu-Koki’ submitted for publication.

Bradshaw (forthcoming): A journal article ‘Contact-induced changes in clause-linking in Doromu-Koki: New genres, new strategies’ to submit for publication.

Various materials have been produced in the vernacular and distributed in the community as well. These materials range from a trial spelling guide with stories, writers’ workshop story booklets, various translated biblical passages, translated short stories, prayers, HIV/AIDS awareness booklet, calendar, songbook, New Testament and some Old Testament portion translations, audio recording of the New Testament translation and video dubbing of the *Jesus Film*.

1.6 Basis and methodology of study

1.6.1 Basis

This study has been based on nearly 18 years of language development amongst the Doromu-Koki people. Various speakers were interviewed or filled in questionnaires, or otherwise contributed data, including both oral and written texts, word lists, various historical, geographical, demographical and social-cultural facts and suppositions. Language data has included letters, firsthand narratives, legends, drama, behavioural, procedural and expository material, songs, mobile and Facebook Messenger texts and Facebook status postings (Facebook group: Doromu Kokila blood aka D. K Dava) from over 100 adults of various ages and backgrounds, some living in Port Moresby and some in the villages, some from the other two dialects (Kokila, Korigo), but most from the Koki dialect; approximately 70% male and 30% female. Written or transcribed texts include over 100 pages, constituting over 75 separate texts, many of which have been interlinearised. Audio recordings amount to over five hours, some of which have not yet been transcribed. Also available for added reference is copious annotated written and audio Scripture translation. Some of the series of papers written over the years (and listed above) are not dated. Any information sourced from these and incorporated into this present work has been checked and updated as necessary. Suppositions are continually being evaluated and revised and new data collected to fill in gaps and find solutions to queries raised. With the advent of electronic media, such texts are now an integral part of the milieu and subsequently have an influence on how the language is changing. The limited previous research, as noted, was consulted as well.

Significant societal and cultural features that are useful for understanding the grammar (Aikhenvald 2015c) are also presented, including examination of the history, worldview, values, religion, social organisation, sociolinguistic situation, economy and lifestyle of Doromu-Koki speakers. An overview of the putative genetic classification is included, as well as a suggested typological profile of the language.

1.6.2 Methodology

The Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon 2010a, 2010b, 2012) and The Art of Grammar (Aikhenvald 2015c) have been used as the main theoretical framework for this Doromu-Koki grammar. Other Papuan languages have been compared when applicable, especially areal languages such as Korafe (Farr 1999). Of particular interest will be some which

class are pronouns (§4.1), demonstratives (§4.2), locatives (§4.3), postpositions (§4.4), interrogatives (§4.5), polar question markers (§4.6), affirmative answer (§4.7), negatives (§4.8), degree adverbs (§4.9), conjunctions (§4.10), interjections (§4.11), vocative (§4.12) and discourse markers (§4.13).

Doromu-Koki verbs have a robust inflectional morphology (§6.2), with 31 suffixes and two causative prefixes. Suffixes primarily indicate non-spatial setting (§6.6), but also include switch-reference marking (§6.2.1). There are three classes of verbs (§6.1). The first class is composed of verb stems ending in *ar* (§6.1.1), the second consists of all those ending in the high and low-mid vowels [e, i, o, u] (§6.1.2) and the third is composed of two subclasses of uninflected verbs (1.7%) [§6.1.3].

Doromu-Koki is a nominative-accusative language; the grammatical roles A, S, O and E are indicated by constituent order (§8.1). There are five semantically-based subclasses of postpositions (§4.4): location (§4.4.1), directional (§4.4.2), temporal (§4.4.3), non-spatio-temporal (§4.4.4) and postpositional clitics (§4.4.5), two of which have heterosemous functions as conjunctions (cf. Table 4.11).

Doromu-Koki also has many prototypical Papuan characteristics among the following:

The switch-reference marking system (§6.2.1 and §9.2) with its use of *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’, *-ma* ‘sequential different subject’, *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’, and *-si* ‘sequential same subject’, as in (6) above and (7):

- (7) *Resi koru=ri vare-yo-ri aruma yaku ina fafau*
 SBL water=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS snake DSM 3 on.top.of

de-yo.

come.down-3SG.PAST

‘Then at the river while he was sleeping, a snake came down on top of him’. [3.04]

The complex verbs make use of the simple verbs (in relative order of frequency) *re-* ‘do’, *ni-* ‘say’, *ri-* ‘make’ and to a lesser extent 26 other verbs. There are two subclasses; the larger non-compositional and the smaller compositional in which the complements are nouns, adjectives or postpositions which can be used on their own (§3.5).

The three postpositional clitics *=ri* ‘in, at’ (8), *=sa* ‘with’ (9), and *=u* ‘by, on, in, with’ (10) are bound to other postpositions (8), nouns (9-10), adjectives, demonstratives, pronouns, temporal elements and verbs (§4.4.5).

- (8) *Dura bi yabo adina=ri.*
 net.bag TOP tree next.to=at
 ‘The net bag is next to the tree’. (Bradshaw 2021a:51)
- (9) *Na nai rema mida=sa bi buni ame-sifa.*
 1SG 1SG.POSS woman child=ACCM TOP good stay-1PL.PRES
 ‘I am living well with my wife and children’. [60]
- (10) *Yi ekama vana=u moi-si rautu di.*
 2.POSS mat hand=by get-SEQ.SS village go
 ‘Take your mat/bed by the hand and go home.’ (SUARBB 2011:11.2)

Doromu-Koki only has one past tense, and yet has a rich distinction between terms for days (§3.2.1.5C) in the past: *didoka* ‘five days before today’, *maitoka* ‘four days before today’, *neureka* ‘three days before today’, *aineka* ‘day before yesterday’, and *agiya* ‘yesterday/tomorrow’.⁶⁴

The Doromu-Koki number system is five-based.⁶⁵ Higher numbers are cumbersome, so that in general English numbers are preferred. These five are: *yokoi* ‘one’, *remanu* ‘two’, *regodenu* ‘three’, *vana raro* ‘four (lit. hand line)’ and *vana berou autu* ‘five (lit. empty side hand)’ [§3.3C.13].

Given the mountainous terrain of the area, upward and downward motion and direction are very important. Verbs of movement (§3.4.2.3A) indicating direction include *bae-* ‘come over’, *de-* ‘come down’ *bo-* ‘go up’, *di-* ‘go over’ and *ne-* ‘go down’; *dui re-* ‘come/go inside’, *orefar-* ‘come/go over’ and *yaku-* ‘come/go outside’. Locatives (§4.3) indicating direction include *yoiseni* ‘right up over there’, *yomironi* ‘right there’, *yomirodu* ‘right over there’, *yomini* ‘right here’, *forero* ‘up there’, *mironi* ‘there’, *mini* ‘here’, *iseni* ‘up over there’, *yoroni/soroni* ‘over there’, *mirodu* ‘over there’, *midu* ‘over here’ *isefu* ‘away up over there’, *yoisefu* ‘away right over there’ and *gaima* ‘far away; with demonstratives (§4.2) *yomirona* ‘that (one) there’, *yomina* ‘this (one) right here’, *mirona* ‘that (one)’, *mina* ‘this (one)’, *isena* ‘that (one) up over there’ and *yorona* ‘that (one) over there’.

⁶⁴ These all have realisations in the past and future, i.e. *didoka* also means ‘five days from now’.

⁶⁵ With qualification – There is only a lexical distinction for ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’ and ‘four/five’; the last two are variations on *vana* ‘hand’; the same reoccurs with ‘ten’ as *vana ufo* ‘hand clap’.

Verbless clauses are of the structure VCS *bi* ‘topic marker’ VCC (11).

- (11) [*Mina giro*]_{VCS} *bi* [*nai*]_{VCC}.
 this axe TOP 1SG.POSS
 ‘This axe is mine.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:118)

Most often relative clauses are external pre-head, juxtaposed to the head and restrictive (12).

- (12) [[*Geiti nari re-do*]_{RC} *amiye yaku*]_A *geiti*
 gate look.after do-3SG.PRES person DSM gate

eboka re-yo-ma dui re-i bo-si mina
 open do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS entering do-LINK go.over-SEQ.SS this

bouti tora ide=ri gui re-i bo-yaka.
 boat big inside=at ride.on do-LINK go.over-1SG.PAST
 ‘The gatekeeper (lit. ‘person who looks after the gate’) opened the gate and I entered and went inside the big boat.’ [11.09]

Complementation fills the whole argument slot of the verbless clause subject, verbless clause complement (13) or object argument slots. By far the most productive approach is for them to fill a reported speech.

- (13) ...[[*ini moke-na*]_{VCS} *bi* [*sioni iruku iri-gedi*]_{VCC}]_{CC}
 3.POSS think-NOMZ TOP white.man food eat-3PL.FUT

bao ni-yadi.
 assume say-3PL.PAST
 ‘...their thinking was that they assumed they would eat store-bought (lit. ‘white man’s) food.’ [15.07]

1.8 Overview of the grammar

This study of the Doromu-Koki language will include analysis of phonology and morphophonology (§2). Areas included will be the phoneme inventory (§2.1), syllable structure (§2.2), phonotactic analysis and distribution (§2.3), vowel sequences (§2.4), suprasegmental features (§2.5), morphophonemic processes (§2.6) and orthography considerations (§2.7). Word defining criteria will also be examined (§2.8). Discussion includes the structure of phonological word in contrast to grammatical word (§2.8.1), phonological adaptation of borrowings (§2.8.2.1) and unusual phonological items, such as onomatopoeia (§2.8.2.2), interjections (§2.8.2.3) and expressives (§2.8.2.4).

A chapter on word classes will discuss both open (§3.1) and closed word classes (§3.8), and the morphological and syntactic features of open classes (§3.1.1) – nouns

(§3.2), adjectives (§3.3), verbs (§3.4), verbal modifiers (§3.4.3) and adverbs (§3.6), as well as subclasses of nouns (§3.2.1) such as kinship terms (§3.2.1.4) and temporal nouns (§3.2.1.5), and subclasses of verbs (§3.4.1), including transitivity classes (§3.4.2.2), and special subtypes having special grammatical features (§3.4.2.3), such as verbs of perception, copulas and motion verbs. Class changing derivations (§3.7), i.e. nominalisations; §3.7.1, are also described. Most words fit well into posited word classes. However there other words which are fluid, functioning in multiple word classes. One such word is *tora* ‘big’; it has been primarily categorised as an adjective, but also functions as a noun, adverb or the complement in a complex verb construction.

Examination of closed classes includes personal (§4.1.1), possessive (§4.1.2), reflexive (§4.1.3) and impersonal pronouns (§4.1.4), demonstratives (§4.2) locatives (§4.3), postpositions (§4.4), interrogatives (§4.5), polar question markers (§4.6), affirmative answer (§4.7), negatives (§4.8), degree adverbs (§4.9), conjunctions (§4.10) and interjections (§4.11). Also included are the very small classes of vocative (§4.12), discourse markers (§4.13) and other particles (§4.14). There are two sets of reflexive pronouns as contrasted in (14-15):

- (14) *Inike vata ni-yo.*
 3.REFL born become-3SG.PAST
 ‘He’s by himself’. (Bradshaw 2021a:130)
- (15) *Garasi dudu na kaya ve-i-da.*
 glass INST 1SG REFL see-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I see myself with a mirror’. (Bradshaw 2021a:142)

Most nouns (§5) are concrete. Abstract nouns are few; most abstract concepts are realised as phrases, such as *mokena vari gira aena* ‘belief/faith’, which literally means ‘strongly implanting thinking’. Nouns are generally not marked for plural number, except in the case of kinship terms (§1.2.4.1 and §3.2.1.4B). Proper nouns (§3.2.1.3) will also be examined, from personal names to location names, and how some are compound forms (§3.2.1.6). As previously mentioned, there is very limited nominal affixation and relatively rich verbal affixation.

Verbs (§6) exhibit affixes distinguishing mood (§6.6.3) and modality (§6.6.1), aspect (§6.6.2), and the portmanteau tense-S/A person-number (§6.6.4). The four-way switch-reference (§9.2) system distinguishes succession and overlap, and different and same subject. The language has a highly productive derivational nominaliser affix *-na* (16).

- (16) *Vata ni-na vaitani aufa maka ni-da.*
 birth become-NOMZ from grandmother only say-1SG.PRES
 ‘From birth I only say grandmother’. [53]

Complex predicates will include consideration of serial verbs (§7.3) and complex verbs (§7.2). As with other Papuan languages, Doromu-Koki has productive complex verb constructions; the three verbs *ni-* ‘say’, *re-* ‘do’, and *ri-* ‘make’ are mainly used. Serial verb constructions are less frequent.

Both noun (§5.2.1) and verb phrase structure (§7) are also discussed. Doromu-Koki mainly conforms to the expectations of putative Trans New Guinea, Southeast Papuan languages. A major variance is lack of a noun classification system (cf. §3.2). Doromu-Koki maintains subject-object-verb constituent order, except for pragmatic effects (cf. §10.2.2.3).

Clause structure and clause types (§8) include examination of verbal (§8.1) and non-verbal clauses (§8.2), and clause types in terms of speech acts (§8.3) – declaratives (§8.3.1), interrogatives (§8.3.2) and imperatives (§8.3.3). Doromu-Koki has imperative (§6.6.3.2), prohibitive (§6.7.3), hypothetical (§6.6.3.4) and polite ‘imperative’ (§6.6.3.3) distinctions.

Following these will be analysis of clause combining (§9), which will include sentential elements, such as coordination (§9.2.1), subordination (§9.2.2), direct and indirect speech (§9.3), relative clauses (§9.5.3) and a passive clause forming strategy (§6.8.2) in which the agent is unspecified (17)

- (17) *Oure-si ago=ri bura re-yo bi...*
 first-SEQ.SS word=at write do-3SG.PAST TOP
 ‘At first it was written that...’ (SUAR 2017:196:i)

A chapter on discourse-pragmatic devices (§10) includes examination of genres (§10.1), such as narrative (§10.1.1), descriptive (§10.1.2), procedural (§10.1.3), expository (§10.1.3.1), conversational (§10.1.4) and songs and drama (§10.1.5); also included is elaboration of appropriate discourse devices. Doromu-Koki exhibits two discourse markers: the topic marker *bi* (§4.13.1) and differential subject marker *yaku* (§4.13.2). The language employs many means of cohesion (§10.2.2), one of which is switch-reference marking. Other strategies include recapitulation and summary bridging linkage (§9.5.2).

Features of the lexicon include consideration of kinship terms, homonyms (§11.1.1), figures of speech (§11.3), idioms (§11.3.3), names and nicknames, rhymes, and borrowed terms (§11.4.2). Doromu-Koki has a robust vocabulary of idioms and onomatopoeic forms (§11.4.1); other figures of speech, including metaphors (§11.3.1) and similes (§11.3.2) are less frequent. Through the use of *uka* 'stomach', the seat of emotion, abstractions are productively formed.

The Appendix provides a selection of 42 texts and several more comprehensive tables.

1.9 Appendix to Introduction

Consanguineal charts are exemplified in the two figures (Figures 1.3 and 1.4) below: 1) male consanguineal kinship chart 2) and female consanguineal kinship chart. Ego is indicated by a yellow box. A square represents a male, and a circle a female. Following these charts, the word lists used to determine the dialect situation can be found.

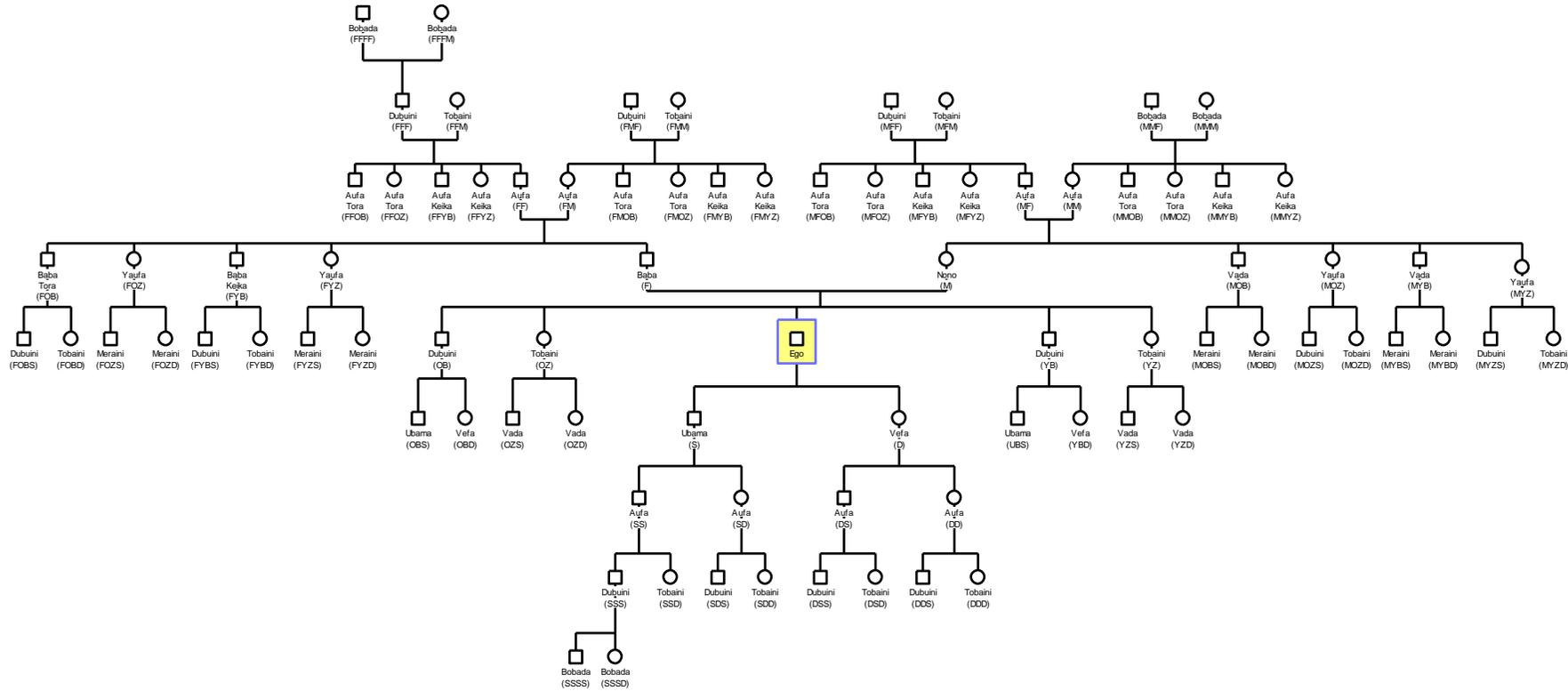


Figure 1.3: Male consanguineal kinship chart

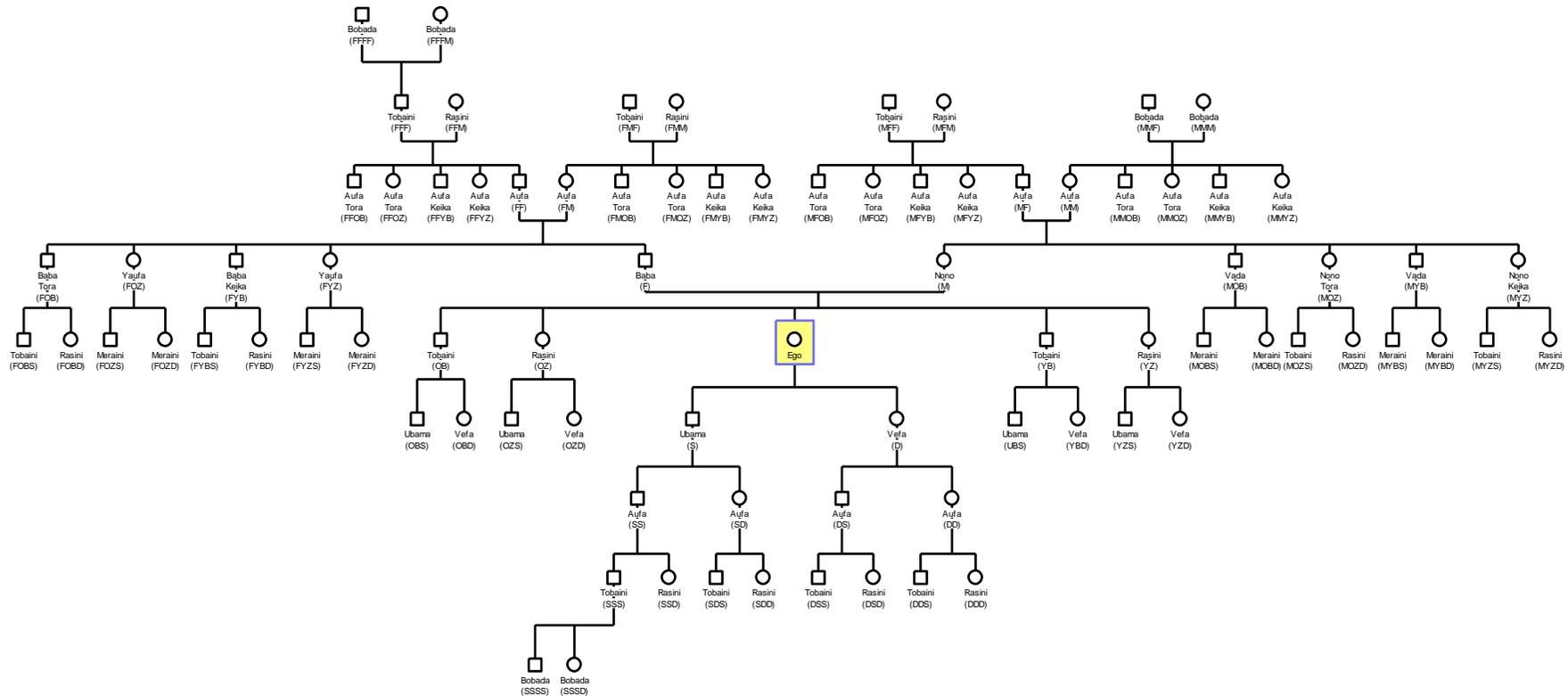


Figure 1.4: Female consanguineal kinship chart

In order to conduct the dialect survey, a standard SIL-PNG word list of 211 items was elicited. The morphemes were then separated to give the 213 items listed below. This list is alphabetised in Doromu-Koki for ease of finding items. The ‘Word list numbers’ column includes the numbers assigned to each of the 12 particular word lists. Following this list is a key to which village(s) is/are indicated with which of these number(s). (Note that some minor changes to the analysis have transpired in the 14 years since these lists were collected.)

Table 1.17: *Dialects word list*

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
1.	<i>ada</i>	‘head’	1, 5-12
2.	<i>afije</i>	‘tongue’	1, 5-12
3.	<i>agija</i>	‘yesterday, tomorrow’	1, 5-12
4.	<i>anema</i>	‘ear’	1, 5-12
5.	<i>are-</i>	‘stand’	1, 5-12
6.	<i>aruma</i>	‘snake’	1, 5-12
7.	<i>auna</i>	‘dog’	1, 5-12
8.	<i>autu</i>	‘empty’	1, 5-12
9.	<i>bae-</i>	‘come’	1, 5-12
10.	<i>bani</i>	‘yam’	1, 5-12
11.	<i>daru</i>	‘root’	1, 5-12
12.	<i>di-</i>	‘go over’	1, 5-12
13.	<i>diba</i>	‘know’	1, 5-12
14.	<i>dona</i>	‘pig’	1, 5-12
15.	<i>dubuini</i>	‘brother’	1, 5-12
16.	<i>ejo</i>	‘moon’	1, 5-12
17.	<i>erena</i>	‘bird’	1, 5-12
18.	<i>eta</i>	‘wing’	1, 5-12
19.	<i>fairo</i>	‘flame’	1, 5-12
20.	<i>fore</i>	‘stone’	1, 5-12
21.	<i>gade</i>	‘tooth’	1, 5-12
22.	<i>gadeva</i>	‘fierce’	1, 5-12
23.	<i>-gedi</i>	‘2/3PL.FUT’	1, 5-12
24.	<i>geduna</i>	‘elbow’	1, 5-12
25.	<i>-gida</i>	‘1SG.FUT’	1, 5-12
26.	<i>-gija</i>	‘2SG.FUT’	1, 5-12
27.	<i>-go</i>	‘3SG.FUT’	1, 5-12
28.	<i>gue</i>	‘louse’	1, 5-12
29.	<i>ida</i>	‘road, path’	1, 5-12
30.	<i>ina</i>	‘he, she, it, they’	1, 5-12
31.	<i>ini</i>	‘his, her, its, theirs’	1, 5-12
32.	<i>ita</i>	‘fire’	1, 5-12
33.	<i>ja</i>	‘you (sg./pl.)’	1, 5-12
34.	<i>jabo</i>	‘tree, wood’	1, 5-12
35.	<i>java</i>	‘house’	1, 5-12
36.	<i>jo</i>	‘yes’	1, 5-12
37.	<i>joga</i>	‘laugh’	1, 5-12

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
38.	<i>keto</i>	‘fall down’	1, 5-12
39.	<i>ma-</i>	‘give’	1, 5-12
40.	<i>-ma</i>	‘SEQ.DS’	1, 5-12
41.	<i>maena</i>	‘vine, rope’	1, 5-12
42.	<i>meda</i>	‘sun’	1, 5-12
43.	<i>mida</i>	‘child’	1, 5-12
44.	<i>mija</i>	‘rain’	1, 5-12
45.	<i>moi-</i>	‘get (catch)’	1, 5-12
46.	<i>na</i>	‘I, me’	1, 5-12
47.	<i>nao</i>	‘forehead’	1, 5-12
48.	<i>neide-</i>	‘hear’	1, 5-12
49.	<i>ni-</i>	‘say’	1, 5-12
50.	<i>nono</i>	‘mother’	1, 5-12
51.	<i>nuga-</i>	‘cut’	1, 5-12
52.	<i>-o</i>	‘3SG.PAST’	1, 5-12
53.	<i>oteima-</i>	‘show/teach’	1, 5-12
54.	<i>rauna</i>	‘hunger’	1, 5-12
55.	<i>re-</i>	‘do’	1, 5-12
56.	<i>=ri</i>	‘in, at, to’	1, 5-12
57.	<i>-ri</i>	‘SIM.DS’	1, 5-12
58.	<i>rumana</i>	‘man’	1, 5-12
59.	<i>sei</i>	‘god’	1, 5-12
60.	<i>tau</i>	‘all’	1, 5-12
61.	<i>tobaini</i>	‘sister’	1, 5-12
62.	<i>u-</i>	‘hit’	1, 5-12
63.	<i>uboma</i>	‘back’	1, 5-12
64.	<i>ueta</i>	‘feather, body hair’	1, 5-12
65.	<i>ugava</i>	‘old (person)’	1, 5-12
66.	<i>umuje-</i>	‘kill (D.CAUS-die)’	1, 5-12
67.	<i>una</i>	‘we, us’	1, 5-12
68.	<i>uruma</i>	‘nose’	1, 5-12
69.	<i>vana</i>	‘hand’	1, 5-12
70.	<i>vena</i>	‘mouth’	1, 5-12
71.	<i>vene</i>	‘people’	1, 5-12
72.	<i>-adi</i>	‘2/3PL.PAST’	7-12
73.	<i>bo-</i>	‘go up’	7-12
74.	<i>fidi</i>	‘shoot’	1, 5-9
75.	<i>-gi</i>	‘PURP’	7-12
76.	<i>jogije</i>	‘wallaby’	1, 5-9
77.	<i>saufa</i>	‘wallaby sp.’	1, 7-11
78.	<i>jomina</i>	‘this one’	7-12
79.	<i>mina</i>	‘this’	1, 5-9
80.	<i>kare</i>	‘taro’	7-9
81.	<i>kodu</i>	‘stick’	1, 5-9
82.	<i>mirona</i>	‘that’	5-11
83.	<i>nana</i>	‘walk’	1, 7-9
84.	<i>tauga</i>	‘banana (generic)’	5-9
85.	<i>namo</i>	‘banana sp.’	1, 7-9, 11-12
86.	<i>ne-</i>	‘go down’	1, 5-9

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
87.	<i>rafo</i>	'sole'	5-12
88.	<i>rivo</i>	'abdomen'	5-12
89.	<i>ufo</i>	'clap'	5-9
90.	<i>vibani</i>	'animal, protein'	5-12
91.	<i>aita</i>	'light (weight)'	1, 5-11
	<i>aitabai</i>		12
92.	<i>baba</i>	'father'	1, 5-11
	<i>babai</i>		12
93.	<i>bora</i>	'yellow'	1, 5-11
	<i>borabai</i>		12
94.	<i>buni</i>	'good'	1, 5-11
	<i>bunibai</i>		12
95.	<i>dava</i>	'blood'	1, 5-11
	<i>davabai</i>		12
96.	<i>doba</i>	'long, tall'	1, 5-11
	<i>dobabai</i>		12
97.	<i>dou</i>	'wet'	1, 5-11
	<i>doubai</i>		12
98.	<i>fejo</i>	'white'	1, 5-11
	<i>fejobai</i>		12
99.	<i>gabu</i>	'black'	1, 5-11
	<i>egobai</i>		12
100.	<i>ije</i>	'hair, leaf'	1, 5-11
	<i>ijebai</i>		12
101.	<i>itu</i>	'cold'	1, 5-11
	<i>itubai</i>		12
102.	<i>jo</i>	'seed'	1, 5-9
	<i>jobai</i>		10-12
103.	<i>keva</i>	'liver'	1, 5-10
	<i>kevabai</i>		11-12
104.	<i>nena</i>	'bone'	1, 5-11
	<i>nenabai</i>		12
105.	<i>no</i>	'bad'	1, 5-11
	<i>nobai</i>		12
106.	<i>toe</i>	'heavy'	1, 5-11
	<i>toebai</i>		12
107.	<i>tora</i>	'big'	1, 5-12
	<i>torabai</i>		11-12
108.	<i>tumu</i>	'short'	1, 5-11
	<i>tumubai</i>		12
109.	<i>udo</i>	'ashes'	1, 5-11
	<i>udobai</i>		12
110.	<i>unema</i>	'egg'	1, 5-11
	<i>unemabai</i>		12
111.	<i>vava</i>	'hot, warm'	1, 5-11
	<i>vavabai</i>		12
112.	<i>vi</i>	'tail'	1, 5-10
	<i>vibai</i>		11-12
113.	<i>ada gaigai</i>	'horn (sharp head)'	1, 5-12

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
	<i>javara</i>		10-11
	<i>javaraba</i>		12
114.	<i>jegu</i>	‘green, life’	1, 5-6, 10-11
	<i>vegu</i>		7-9
	<i>jegubai</i>		12
115.	<i>kaka</i>	‘red’	1, 5-9
	<i>'a'a</i>		10-11
	<i>'a'abai</i>		12
116.	<i>kei'a</i>	‘small’	1, 10
	<i>keika</i>		5-9
	<i>kei'abai</i>		11-12
117.	<i>kori</i>	‘old (object)’	1, 5-9
	<i>'ori</i>		10-11
	<i>'oribai</i>		12
118.	<i>lo</i>	‘skin, tree bark’	1, 10-11
	<i>ro</i>		5-9
	<i>lobai</i>		12
119.	<i>lo'o</i>	‘dry’	1, 11
	<i>roko</i>		5-9
	<i>ro'o</i>		10
	<i>ro'obai</i>		12
120.	<i>muha</i>	‘meat, muscle’	1
	<i>musa</i>		5-11
	<i>musabai</i>		12
121.	<i>sigo</i>	‘claw, nail’	1
	<i>sigoi</i>		5-6
	<i>goiso</i>		7-9
	<i>giso</i>		10-11
	<i>sigobai</i>		12
122.	<i>-afa</i>	‘1PL.PAST’	1, 5-11
	<i>-aha</i>		12
123.	<i>afa</i>	‘sugarcane’	1, 5-6
	<i>arefa</i>		7-11
	<i>areha</i>		12
124.	<i>fofire</i>	‘cliff’	5
	<i>fofure</i>		6-11
	<i>hohure</i>		12
125.	<i>-gifa</i>	‘1PL.FUT’	1, 5-11
	<i>-geha</i>		12
126.	<i>rafe-</i>	‘wash, swim’	1, 5-11
	<i>rahe-</i>		12
127.	<i>safi</i>	‘tasty, nice’	7-11
	<i>sahiba</i>		12
128.	<i>urufa</i>	‘night’	1, 5-6
	<i>urusa</i>		7-12
129.	<i>-hi</i>	‘SEQ.SS’	1, 11-12
	<i>-si</i>		5-9
	<i>-ro</i>		7-12
130.	<i>jahara</i>	‘wind’	1, 10-12

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
	<i>jasara</i>		5-6
	<i>aura</i>		7-9
131.	<i>sena</i>	‘already’	7-9
	<i>hena</i>		12
132.	<i>vaha</i>	‘sand’	1
	<i>vasa</i>		5-12
133.	<i>laga</i>	‘run’	1, 12
	<i>raga</i>		5-11
134.	<i>lalo</i>	‘line’	1
	<i>raro</i>		5-12
135.	<i>laufa</i>	‘tobacco’	1, 11
	<i>raufa</i>		5-10, 12
136.	<i>legode</i>	‘three’	1
	<i>regode</i>		5-6, 10
	<i>regode/nu</i>		7-9, 11-12
137.	<i>lema</i>	‘woman’	1
	<i>rema</i>		5-12
138.	<i>lemanu</i>	‘two’	1, 11
	<i>remanu</i>		5-10
	<i>jemanu</i>		12
139.	<i>lua'a</i>	‘new’	1
	<i>ruaka</i>		5-9
	<i>luve'a</i>		10-11
	<i>luve</i>		12
140.	<i>nadina</i>	‘cassowary’	1, 5-9, 11
	<i>jadina</i>		10, 12
141.	<i>-a'a</i>	‘1SG.PAST’	1, 10-11
	<i>-aka</i>		5-9
	<i>-a</i>		12
142.	<i>ato'a</i>	‘chin’	1, 10-12
	<i>atoka</i>		5-9
143.	<i>auri</i>	‘neck’	1
	<i>kuri</i>		5-9
	<i>'uri</i>		10-12
144.	<i>bei'a</i>	‘what, why’	1
	<i>beika</i>		5-11
	<i>beiha</i>		12
145.	<i>buni'a</i>	‘fat, grease’	1, 10-11
	<i>bunika</i>		5-9
146.	<i>buru'a</i>	‘elderly’	1, 10-12
	<i>buruka</i>		5-9
147.	<i>efo'a</i>	‘knee’	1
	<i>efuka</i>		5-9
	<i>efu'a</i>		10-11
	<i>ehu'a</i>		12
148.	<i>esiro'a</i>	‘cough’	1, 10-11
	<i>esiroka</i>		5-9
	<i>oto</i>		12
149.	<i>fisi'o</i>	‘bean’	1

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
	<i>fisiko</i>		5-9
	<i>bisi'o</i>		10-12
150.	<i>go'ai</i>	'how'	1, 10-11
	<i>gokai</i>		5-9
	<i>go'are'o</i>		12
151.	<i>go'ahanu</i>	'how many'	1
	<i>go'asanu</i>		5-6
	<i>gokaisa</i>		7-9
	<i>go'aisa</i>		10-12
152.	<i>go'va'a</i>	'when'	1, 10-12
	<i>goivaka</i>		5-9
153.	<i>i'a</i>	'mountain'	1, 10-12
	<i>ika</i>		5-9
154.	<i>iro'a</i>	'smoke'	1, 10-12
	<i>iroka</i>		5-9
155.	<i>jonema</i>	'leg, foot'	1
	<i>juka</i>		5-9
	<i>ju'a</i>		10-12
156.	<i>jo'oi</i>	'one'	1, 10-11
	<i>jokoi</i>		5-9
	<i>ebe</i>		12
157.	<i>jukana</i>	'walking stick'	7-9
	<i>ju'ana</i>		10-12
158.	<i>kae'e</i>	'who'	1, 5-6
	<i>kaere</i>		7-9
	<i>'aere</i>		10-12
159.	<i>kasire</i>	'knife'	1, 5-6
	<i>kaija</i>		7-9
	<i>'asire</i>		10-11
	<i>'aija</i>		12
160.	<i>kaijoma</i>	'sweet potato'	1, 5-6
	<i>mosara</i>		7-9
	<i>'aijoma</i>		10-12
161.	<i>kefu'a</i>	'ankle'	1, 10-11
	<i>kefuka</i>		5-9
	<i>kehu'a</i>		12
162.	<i>kojomu</i>	'rat'	1, 5-9
	<i>'ojomu</i>		10-12
163.	<i>kono</i>	'ground, earth'	1, 5-9
	<i>'ono</i>		10-12
164.	<i>ko'u</i>	'water, river'	1, 5-6
	<i>koru</i>		7-9
	<i>'oru</i>		10-12
165.	<i>ma'a</i>	'only, alone, just'	1, 10-12
	<i>maka</i>		5-9
166.	<i>me'o</i>	'fruit'	1, 10-12
	<i>meko</i>		5-9
167.	<i>me'una</i>	'round'	1, 10-11
	<i>mekuna</i>		5-9

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
	<i>me'uba</i>		12
168.	<i>moko</i>	'ball'	7-12
	<i>mo'o</i>		10-12
169.	<i>ro'a</i>	'name'	1, 10-12
	<i>roka</i>		5-9
170.	<i>tauva'ai</i>	'all'	1
	<i>tauvakoi</i>		5-9
	<i>noiganu</i>		10-12
171.	<i>u'a</i>	'stomach'	1, 10-11
	<i>uka</i>		5-9
	<i>outa</i>		12
172.	<i>urija'u</i>	'morning'	1, 10-12
	<i>urijaku</i>		5-9
173.	<i>adina</i>	'dance'	1, 5-6, 10-12
	<i>adena</i>		7-9
174.	<i>ame-</i>	'sit'	1, 5-11
	<i>amo-</i>		12
175.	<i>amije</i>	'person'	1, 5-10
	<i>ame</i>		11-12
176.	<i>behu</i>	'other'	1
	<i>berou</i>		5-9
177.	<i>-da</i>	'1SG.PRES'	1, 5-11
	<i>-bida</i>		12
178.	<i>de</i>	'no, not'	1, 5-6, 10-12
	<i>ide/de</i>		7-9
179.	<i>-dedi</i>	'2/3PL.PRES'	1, 5-11
	<i>-bedi</i>		12
180.	<i>-dibo</i>	'3SG.PRES'	1, 5-6
	<i>-do</i>		7-11
	<i>-bo</i>		12
181.	<i>gade</i>	'very (much)'	1, 5-11
	<i>ge</i>		12
182.	<i>goina'ere</i>	'which (one)'	1, 5-6
	<i>goini</i>		7-11
	<i>goinai</i>		12
183.	<i>goini</i>	'where'	1, 5-6
	<i>goidu</i>		7-12
184.	<i>iri-</i>	'eat'	1, 5-6, 10-12
	<i>ir-</i>		7-9
185.	<i>va-</i>	'sleep'	1, 5-6
	<i>vare-</i>		7-12
186.	<i>lauda-</i>	'lie down'	1
	<i>lu'e'a-</i>		10-11
	<i>lu'e-</i>		12
187.	<i>mini</i>	'here'	1, 5-11
	<i>minai</i>		12
188.	<i>ise</i>	'that one'	1
	<i>isena</i>		5-9, 11
	<i>isenai</i>		12

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
189.	<i>muje-</i> <i>lu'e'a-- muje</i> <i>lu'e muje-</i>	'die'	1, 5-10 11 12
190.	<i>nai</i> <i>nei</i> <i>na di</i>	'my/mine'	1, 5-9 10-11 12
191.	<i>ne</i> <i>nemoko</i>	'eye'	1, 5-6, 10-12 7-9
192.	<i>ojena</i> <i>vejona</i>	'fish'	1, 5-11 12
193.	<i>sisu</i> <i>susu</i>	'breast'	1, 10 5-9, 11-12
194.	<i>sosogi</i> <i>sosoge</i>	'spear (black palm)'	5-9 10-12
195.	<i>tobi'o</i> <i>tobije</i>	'frog'	1 5-12
196.	<i>uni</i> <i>una di</i>	'our/ours'	1, 5-11 12
197.	<i>urijenau</i> <i>urijena</i>	'afternoon'	1, 5-9 10-12
198.	<i>ve-</i> <i>veja'a-</i> <i>oja'a-</i>	'see'	1, 5-10 11 12
199.	<i>audi</i> <i>auri</i>	'spear (steel)'	1, 5-6 7-9
200.	<i>bajavo</i> <i>vata bajo</i> <i>buaru</i> <i>dulari</i> <i>fulubai</i>	'full'	1, 5-6 7-9 10 11 12
201.	<i>betara</i> <i>batara</i> <i>megea</i>	'shoulder'	1 5-6, 10-12 7-9
202.	<i>-dia</i> <i>-sa</i> <i>-hia</i>	'2SG.PRES'	1, 5-6 7-9 10
203.	<i>-difa</i> <i>-sifa</i> <i>-ifa</i> <i>-iha</i>	'1PL.PRES'	1, 5-6 7-9 10-11 12
204.	<i>dura</i> <i>inahi</i>	'net bag'	1, 5-11 12
205.	<i>ebuna</i> <i>bado</i>	'thumb'	1, 5-9 10-12
206.	<i>idona</i> <i>iseni</i> <i>isenai</i>	'there'	1, 5-6 7-11 12
207.	<i>ija</i> <i>nana</i>	'star'	1, 5-9 10-12

Number	Term	Gloss	Word list numbers
208.	<i>jai</i>	'your/yours'	1, 5-6
	<i>ji</i>		7-9
	<i>i</i>		10-11
	<i>ja di</i>		12
209.	<i>mariboi</i>	'flying fox'	1, 5-6
	<i>oro</i>		7-9
	<i>mauba</i>		10-12
210.	<i>mudije</i>	'taro sp.'	1, 5-11
	<i>mahi</i>		12
211.	<i>ora</i>	'fly, swim'	1
	<i>o'a</i>		5-6
	<i>fururu</i>		7-9
212.	<i>seu'a</i>	'cloud'	1, 5-6, 10-12
	<i>seuja</i>		7-9
213.	<i>viro</i>	'axe'	1, 5-9
	<i>mogo</i>		10-12

Number	Village name
1	<i>Sirimu</i>
5	<i>Gagaradobu</i> ⁶⁶
6	<i>Oduika</i>
7	<i>Kasonomu</i>
8	<i>Amuraika</i>
9	<i>Mamanu</i>
10	<i>Kaikanomu ('Ai'anomu)</i>
11	<i>Nimunimu</i>
12	<i>Badaika (Badai'a)</i>

⁶⁶ The numbers 2, 3, and 4 were originally reserved for the villages of *Nevore*, *Iaronenommu* and *Nemonomu*. Unfortunately, at the time the survey was conducted, no speakers were available.

2. Phonology and Morphophonology

Examination of the phonology and morphophonology of the language includes inventory of phonemes (§2.1), variation (§2.1.1) and contrasts (§2.1.2), syllable structure (§2.2), phonotactics (§2.3), vowel sequences and diphthongs (§2.4), prosodic features (§2.5), morphophonemic processes (§2.6), orthographic considerations (§2.7) and word defining criteria (§2.8), including further phonological phenomena (§2.8.2).

As appropriate, in the examples phonetic and phonemic symbols are used (unless otherwise indicated); in subsequent chapters the orthography will be used.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

The Doromu-Koki language (Koki dialect; cf. elaboration of dialects in §1.2.5) has 12 consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes. The consonant phonemes have five points of articulation (passive articulators: labial, dental, alveolar, palatal and velar), with four active articulators: labio-, apico-, lamino- and dorso-. They are realised in five manners (plosives, fricatives, nasals, rhotic and semi-vowel). Plosives and fricatives alone distinguish voicing; the remaining consonants are voiced only.

Allophonic variations will be discussed below. The consonant phonemes are displayed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: *Consonant phonemes*

Active articulator	labio-	apico-	lamino-	dorso-	
Passive articulator	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar
Voiceless aspirated plosives			t ^h		k ^h
Voiced plosives	b		d		g
Voiceless fricatives		f	s		
Voiced fricative¹	β				
Nasals	m		n		
Rhotic			r		
Semi-vowel					j

The phonemes /g/, /β/, /r/ and /j/ are written as <g>, <v>, <r> and <y> in the orthography.

¹ Doromu-Koki has three fricatives, as does the related Maria language (Dutton 1970:917). Concerning putative Trans New Guinea, Southeast Papuan languages, Wurm, Voorhoeve and McElhanon (1975:168) claim: ‘...fricatives are often restricted to one phoneme per language...’ while Dutton (1975:622) makes a more general statement, which agrees with what is observed in the Manubaran languages: ‘On the phonological level all South-East Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages usually have...**some** (emphasis added) fricatives...’

Marginal consonants have limited distribution, either in the Koki dialect or as correspondences in the other two dialects; they are displayed here in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: *Marginal consonant phonemes*

Active articulator	apico-	lamino-	dorso-	labio-	
Passive articulator	alveolar	palatal	velar	labial	glottal
Voiceless aspirated plosive				p ^h	
Voiceless unaspirated plosive					ʔ
Voiceless fricative					h
Nasal		ɲ			
Lateral	l				
Semi-vowel			w		

The phonemes /ʔ/ and /ɲ/ are written as <'> and <ny> in the orthography.

Of the 22 entries containing the bilabial aspirated voiceless plosive /p^h/ in the Doromu-Koki – English dictionary (Bradshaw 2021a:61, 102, 124, 140, 151, 152, 158, 206-7, 227, 231, 273),² all are borrowed terms, e.g. /p^hεroβεt^hα/ ‘prophet’; 64% of the occurrences are word initial. Three occur in non-canonical environments, e.g. closed syllables, such as word finally in /faⁱnap^h/³ ‘pineapple’. The bilabial voiceless plosive is also found in three autochthonous personal names, only one of which is word initial: /k^hap^hana/ <Kapana>, /mεt^hup^hα/ <Metupa> and /p^halak^hα/ <Palaka> (Bradshaw 2021a: 477).

Of the 77 occurrences of the voiceless unaspirated glottal plosive /ʔ/ (with seven instances of two in one entry), 15 are word initial (Bradshaw 2021a:273). 97% of the entries are variants, e.g. Korigo dialect /ʔoru/ ‘water’ and /αʔα/ ‘prawn’ (Bradshaw 2021a:64); only three are not: /foʔo ni-/ ‘pop, open up, explode’ (Bradshaw 2021a:109), /fuʔu rε-/ ‘cast spell’ (Bradshaw 2021a:111) and /joʔ/ ‘yes’ (for emphasis in response; in other instances /jo/).⁴ (The origin of these few occurrences of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the Koki dialect is unknown.) The first instance is due to the onomatopoeic nature of the word (cf. §2.8.2.2 and §11.4.1). The Sirimu village (Kokila dialect) and Korigo (dialect) variant /goʔβaʔα/ ‘when’ (Bradshaw 2021a:121) has unconventional consonant clusters;

² Cf. §1.5 for further details on the dictionary.

³ A superscripted vowel in a vowel sequence indicates the occurrence of a diphthong (cf. §2.4).

⁴ A possible borrowing from Hiri Motu *io* ‘yes’ (Wurm and Harris 1963:81); cf. §2.5.2B and §4.7.

further evidence is necessary since it was elicited in isolation for the dialect word lists [cf. Table 1.17 item (152)].

Approximately 36% of the 14 occurrences of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ are variants, as in Korigo dialect /hɛnɔgi/ ‘long ago’ (Bradshaw 2021a:124) and /rɛhi⁵/ ‘do and then’ (Bradshaw 2021a:212); 79% occur word initial (Bradshaw 2021a:124) while only 14% are borrowed from Hiri Motu or English, e.g. (from English) /hɑⁱwɛ/ ‘highway’. Two occurrences are onomatopoeic in nature: /hɑⁱhɑⁱ ni-/ (call.dog say) ‘call dog’ and /hu:/ ‘Wompoo fruit-dove song’ (cf. §11.4.1).

The only two instances of the lamino-palatal nasal /ɲ/ are both onomatopoeic: /ɲɑ^ɛ/ ‘mosquito buzz’ and /ɲɑⁱ/ ‘cricket chirp’ (Bradshaw 2021a:199) [cf. §11.4.1].

Of the 42 occurrences of the apico-alveolar lateral /l/ (with two instances in three entries, e.g. /lɔlonari/ ‘during’ [Bradshaw 2021:158]), 19 are word initial (Bradshaw 2021a:158); 42% are borrowed, e.g. /lohiabada/ ‘Lord’, while 37% are variants, e.g. /lɛgodɛ/ ‘three.’⁶ Only one entry is not able to be assigned to one of these categories: /lamit^hɑ/ ‘Lawes’ parotia.’ The phoneme /l/ is used in a few names (both place and person), such as /k^hok^hila⁷/ (Bradshaw 2021a:481), the name of one of the dialects, and /linɛlɔlɑ/ <Linelala> ‘person’s name’ (Bradshaw 2021a:477). In this respect, it may be considered a regular phoneme, though names could be borrowings. Four of the borrowed entries have /l/ in non-canonical environments, such as /blu/ ‘blue’ (Bradshaw 2021a:73); consonant clusters are not regular Doromu-Koki syllable structure (cf. §2.2).

Approximately 77% of the 12 occurrences of the semi-vowel /w/ are word initial (Bradshaw 2021a:265), only three of which do not appear to be borrowed: /wak^hɑ rɛ-/ (lick/scrape do) ‘lick, scrape’, /warik^hɑ/ ~ /βarik^hɑ/ ‘chief’ and /wasina/ ‘person’s name’ (Bradshaw 2021a:477). No explanation for the remaining entry /wɛⁱk^hik^hi rɛ-/ (spy do) ‘spy’ has been found. A borrowed example is /winido/ ‘window’ (Bradshaw 2021a:265).

⁵ These are cognate with Koki dialect /sɛnɔgi/ and /rɛsi/ respectively (cf. Bradshaw 2008a:5, 6).

⁶ This variant is from Sirimu village (Kokila dialect); its Koki dialect cognate form is /rɛgodɛnu/ (Bradshaw 2021a:212).

⁷ A variant spelling is <kokira>, although there is no evidence that it is realised as /k^hok^hira/.

Various other consonants or consonant sequences are borrowed (from English), mainly in names, as shown in Table 2.3 (in the orthography):⁸

Table 2.3: *Borrowed consonant phonemes/sequences*

Phoneme	Orthography	Example word	Meaning/gloss
/k ^h /	<c>	<i>Bosco</i> <i>Wax-c</i>	person's/place name person's name
/s/	<c>	<i>Francis</i>	person's name
/tʃ/	<ch>	<i>Charles</i>	person's name
/dʒ/	<j>	<i>Jonathan</i>	person's name
/f/	<ph>	<i>Philip</i> <i>Joseph</i>	person's name person's name
/ʃ/	<sh>	<i>Sheba</i>	place name
/θ/	<th>	<i>Mathias</i>	person's name
/ks/	<x>	<i>Rexi</i> <i>Alex</i>	person's name person's name
/z/	<z>	<i>zipa</i>	'zipper' (Bradshaw 2021a:273)

Vowels are either front unrounded, or back rounded; high, low-mid or low; they are listed in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: *Vowel phonemes*

	Front unrounded	Back rounded
High	i	u
Low-mid	ɛ	o
Low		ɑ

The phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɑ/ are written as <e> and <a> in the orthography.

While Maria has 21 phonemes (Dutton 1970:917; cf. §1.1.2), Doromu-Koki only contains 17. However, as mentioned above, /h/, /l/ and /ʔ/ <'> occur in the Korigo and Kokila dialects (cf. Bradshaw 2008a:5-6), bringing the Doromu-Koki total to 20, one less than Maria.⁹

⁸ The English <q> is written <ku>, e.g. <kuini> 'queen' (Bradshaw 2021a:156).

⁹ Additional phonemes in Maria are /ŋ/ and /æ/ (Dutton 1970:917); note Dutton (1970:917) further states: "In other dialects of Maria /ŋ/ and /æ/ do not seem to occur."

2.1.1 Allophonic variations

The three allophonic variations exhibited in the language include voiceless aspirated dorso-velar plosive backing, low-mid front unrounded vowel raising, and vowel nasalisation;¹⁰ they are described below.

A. Voiceless velar aspirated plosive backing. When preceding back rounded vowels, the voiceless aspirated velar plosive /k^h/ is realised as a voiceless aspirated uvular plosive [q^h] and before front unrounded vowels as [k^h].

[ʔɛq ^h u 're]	/bɛk ^h u rɛ/	<beku re>	(push do)	'push (it)'
[mɛ̃q ^h o]	/mɛk ^h o/	<meko>		'fruit'
[q ^h o'ɛq ^h ɑ]	/k ^h oɛk ^h ɑ/	<koeka>		'helmeted friarbird'
[q ^h at ^h o 're]	/k ^h at ^h o rɛ/	<kato re>	(scrape do)	'scrape (it) off'
[k ^h ɛβɑ]	/k ^h ɛβɑ/	<keva>		'liver'
[ak ^h i 're]	/ak ^h i rɛ/	<aki re>	(bite do)	'bite (it)'

B. Low-mid front unrounded vowel raising. Word finally the low-mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/ is raised to the mid front unrounded vowel [e].

[rɛ'gode]	/rɛgodɛ/	<regode>		'three'
[fɛre]	/fɛrɛ/	<fere>		'leave (it)'
[bare]	/barɛ/	<bare>		'louse'
[t ^h abɛt ^h abɛ 'rɛdo]	/t ^h abɛt ^h abɛ rɛdo/	<tabetabe redo>		'he is unsteady'

C. Vowel nasalisation. A vowel is nasalised following a nasal consonant.

[βɛnɛ̃]	/βɛnɛ/	<vene>		'people'
[binã 're]	/bina rɛ/	<bina re>		'clear the garden'
[mɛ̃q ^h o]	/mɛk ^h o/	<meko>		'fruit'
[ɑ'mĩɛ̃]	/amiɛ/	<amiye>		'person'
[u'mũɛ̃]	/umuɛ/	<umuye>		'kill (it)'
[nõnõ]	/nono/	<nono>		'mother'

Since nasalisation only occurs as far as the word boundary, it is a gauge of phonological word (cf. §2.8).

¹⁰ Some conclusions in this analysis are at variance with those of an earlier preliminary study (Kikkawa 1999). Kikkawa's findings, however, were quite tentative; data was collected over a one-week period from one speaker, who had been living outside of the language community for at least a decade, and another speaker visiting Port Moresby (Kikkawa 1999:3). The data was limited to one very short text and a word list.

2.1.2 Phonemic contrasts

Sets of phonemic contrasts are presented below. These contrasts include [b] with [f]; [b] with [β]; [f] with [β]; [t^h] with [d]; [t^h] with [r]; [d] with [r]; [k^h] with [g]; [i] with [ε]; [u] with [o]; [o] with [a]. Whenever possible or applicable, examples include initial, medial and final (vowels only) position. Vowel lengthen is contrastive in four of the eight attested words containing two lengthened vowels (cf. §2.4).

[b] [f]:	['bare]	/bare/	<bare>	'louse sp.'
	['fare]	/fare/	<fare>	'full, too much to carry'
	[bo'boro]	/boboro/	<boboro>	'top point of tree'
	[fo'foro 're]	/foforo rε/	<foforo re>	'blossom'
[b] [β]:	['bare]	/bare/	<bare>	'louse sp.'
	['βare]	/βare/	<vare>	'sleep'
	['baba]	/baba/	<baba>	'father'
	['βaβa]	/βaβa/	<vava>	'hot'
[f] [β]:	['fεre]	/fεrε/	<fere>	'leave (it)'
	['βεnē]	/βεnε/	<vene>	'people'
	['q ^h afe]	/k ^h afε/	<kafe>	'extinguish (it)'
	['t ^h aβε 'nī]	/t ^h aβε ni/	<tave ni>	'cheer'
[t ^h] [d]:	['t ^h umã]	/t ^h uma/	<tuma>	'wild'
	['dumã]	/duma/	<duma>	'steal'
	['βat ^h a 'nīnã]	/βat ^h a nina/	<vata nina>	'giving birth'
	['βada]	/βada/	<vada>	'uncle'
[t ^h] [r]:	['t ^h aq ^h u 'rɛnã]	/t ^h ak ^h u rɛna/	<taku rena>	'eating hungrily'
	['raq ^h u]	/rak ^h u/	<raku>	'scabies'
	['βat ^h a 'nīnã]	/βat ^h a nina/	<vata nina>	'giving birth'
	['βara]	/βara/	<vara>	'handle'
[d] [r]:	['dagu 'mã]	/dagu ma/	<dagu ma>	'stomp (it)'
	['raq ^h u]	/rak ^h u/	<raku>	'scabies'
	['βada]	/βada/	<vada>	'uncle'
	['βara]	/βara/	<vara>	'handle'
[k ^h] [g]:	['q ^h at ^h o]	/k ^h at ^h o/	<kato>	'mashed steamed food'
	['gado]	/gado/	<gado>	'house post'

	['uq ^h a]	/uk ^h a/	<uka>	'stomach, possum'
	['uga]	/uga/	<uga>	'cross over (it)'
[i] [ɛ]:	['isira]	/isira/	<isira>	'play'
	['ɛso]	/ɛso/	<eso>	'abdomen'
	['mĩda]	/mida/	<mida>	'child'
	['mɛ̃da]	/mɛda/	<meda>	'sun, day'
	['fifi]	/fifi/	<fifi>	'insect sp.'
	['fɛrɛ]	/fɛrɛ/	<fere>	'leave (it)'
[u] [o]:	['urusa]	/urusa/	<urusa>	'night'
	['ofa]	/ofa/	<ofa>	'lie, untruth'
	['mũt ^h u 'ri]	/mut ^h u ri/	<mutu ri>	'rub (it)'
	['mõda]	/moda/	<moda>	'bandicoot'
	['rut ^h u]	/rut ^h u/	<rutu>	'pulling'
	['rot ^h o 'ri]	/rot ^h o ri/	<roto ri>	'extend (it)'
[o] [a]:	['ofa]	/ofa/	<ofa>	'lie, untruth'
	['asa]	/asa/	<asa>	'breath'
	['rot ^h o 'ri]	/rot ^h o ri/	<roto ri>	'extend (it)'
	['raro]	/raro/	<raro>	'line'
	['raro]	/raro/	<raro>	'line'
	['sara]	/sara/	<sara>	'naked'
[ɛ] [ɛ:]:	['aɛ]	/aɛ/	<aɛ>	'put (it)'
	['aɛ:]	/aɛ:/	<aee>	'oh, ho'
[u] [u:]:	['buo 're]	/buo rɛ/	<buo re>	'swing (it)'
	['bu:ɔ]	/bu:o/	<buuo>	'tree sp.'

Approximately 35% of the examples above are minimal pairs.

2.2 Syllable structure

Concerning putative Trans New Guinea Southeast Papuan languages, Dutton (1975:624) claims: 'Nor are there the complex syllable patterns...that are found elsewhere.' Consequently, Doromu-Koki has only two syllable types, which can be represented as (C)V. The vowel slot can be filled with a long vowel or diphthong (cf. §2.4).

Consonant clusters and closed syllables are non-cannonical in Doromu-Koki; formerly a vowel was often inserted between consonants or before a final consonant in

borrowed words, e.g. English ‘spoon’ became *sifuni*. This vowel insertion now serves as an indication that a borrowed term is well established, as this is no longer current practice. Names and other more recently borrowed terms maintain their original structure and spelling conventions. Syllable type examples follow.

V	/u/		‘hit (it)’
	/a.k ^h a/		‘prawn’
	/u.ɛ.t ^h a/		‘feather’
	/o.a rɛ/	(swim do)	‘swim’
	/a ^u /		‘lime’
	/a ⁱ .t ^h a/		‘lightweight’
	/ga ⁱ .o bora/	(? yellow)	‘crow’
	/na ⁱ /		‘my, mine’
CV	/na/		‘I/me’
	/fu.ru.fu.ru rɛ/	(flow.ou .do)	‘flow out’
	/bu.ni/		‘good’
	/a.da/		‘head’
	/go ^u rɛ/	(burn do)	‘burn, flame’
	/nɛ ⁱ .dɛ/		‘hear, listen’
	/du.bu ⁱ .ni/		‘brother’
	/so.k ^h a ^u rɛ/	(jump.down do)	‘jump down’

Words are between one to six syllables in length. The most frequent length is three syllables, followed by two, then four, then one, then five and lastly six. Each word type is described below.

A. One syllable. One syllable words have two forms. These are the same as the two syllable types described above.

V	/i/	‘your, yours’ ¹¹
	/a ^u /	‘lime’
CV	/ba/	‘or’
	/na ⁱ /	‘my, mine’

Among monosyllabic CV words, many constitute a complete clause or sentence, since the imperative form of a verb is the uninflected stem (cf. §6.6.3.2). Some example words functioning as sentences or clauses are *bo* ‘go’, *me* ‘harvest (it)/get married’, *ne* ‘go down’, *ni* ‘say/tell (it)’, *re* ‘do (it)’, *ri* ‘make (it)’, *ve* ‘see/look at (it)’ and nonverbal

¹¹ This is a rapid speech shortened form; the normal speech form is /ji/ <yi>. The only other single vowel words are /ɛ/ <e> ‘oh’ and /o/ <o> ‘oh, or’. See also §2.8.2.6 below.

responses ‘*de*’ ‘no’ (rapid speech form of *ide* ‘no, not’; cf. §4.8) and *yo* ‘yes’. The minimal phonological word is CV, in which v is also realised as a diphthong; a single v does not usually stand on its own as a phonological word, as a syllable has to contain two morae, to be used as a phonological word (cf. §2.8).

B. Two syllables. Two syllable words have four possible forms; two with initial v syllable (v.v and v.CV) and two with initial CV syllables (CV.v and CV.CV).

V.V	/ε.o/		‘moon’
	/a ^u .a/		‘thing’
V.CV	/i.fi rε/	(rub do)	‘rub, wipe (it)’
	/a.k ^h a ^u ri/	(carry make)	‘carry (it) on shoulders’
	/a ⁱ .t ^h a/		‘lightweight’
	/a ⁱ .k ^h a ⁱ /		‘banana sp.’
CV.V	/bu.o rε/	(swing do)	‘swing (it)’
	/bu.a ^u rε/	(be.hoarse do)	‘be hoarse’
CV.CV	/bu.ni/		‘good’
	/so.k ^h a ^u rε/	(jump.down do)	‘jump down’
	/ma ⁱ .k ^h ε/		‘far away’
	/bu ⁱ .bu ⁱ rε/	(whirlpool do)	‘whirlpool’

The initial and final syllables in these two types are the same: v or CV; all combinations of two syllable types are permissible in two syllable words.

C. Three syllables. Three syllable words include five forms; two begin with initial v (v.CV.V AND v.CV.CV), two with initial CV syllable (CV.CV.V and CV.CV.CV) and one with initial CVV syllable (CVV.CV).

V.CV.V	/a.nu.a rε-/	(be.unable do)	‘be unable to’
V.CV.CV	/i.ri.da/		‘I eat’
	/a.di.na ^u /		‘nearby’
	/o.du ⁱ .k ^h a/		place name
	/a ⁱ .nε.k ^h a/		‘day before yesterday/tomorrow’
	/a ^u .fa.k ^h a ⁱ /		‘grandparents/grandchildren’
	/a ^u .t ^h a ^ε .t ^h a ^ε /		‘immature’
CVV.CV	/k ^h a ^ε .rε/		‘who’
CV.CV.V	/mε.gε.a/		‘shoulder’
CV.CV.CV	/mo.sa.ra/		‘sweet potato’
	/bε.sε.na ⁱ /		‘rebuke’
	/du.bu ⁱ .ni/		‘brother’

Due to diphthongisation, forms with adjacent v syllables have not been observed, i.e. v.v.v, v.v.CV and CV.v.v.

D. Four syllables. Four syllable words have six types; three contain initial v (v.CV.v.CV, v.CV.CV.v and v.CV.CV.CV) and three initial CV syllable (CV.v.CV.v, CV.CV.CV.CV and CV.CV.CV.v).

v.CV.v.CV	/a.t ^h ε.a.t ^h ε rεna/	(be.sick doing)	‘being sick’
v.CV.CV.v	/i.sa.go.ε/		‘scratch (it)’
v.CV.CV.CV	/a.mε.dε.di/		‘they stay’
	/a.mu.ra ⁱ .k ^h a/		place name
	/a.mε ⁱ .ba ⁱ .na/		‘advice’
	/a ^u .na.na.ba/		‘without cause’
CV.v.CV.v	/t ^h a.o.t ^h a.o/		‘tired’
CV.CV.CV.CV	/fu.ru.fu.ru rεna/	(flow.out doing)	‘flowing out’
	/bo.ro.ma.k ^h a ^u /		‘cattle’ ¹²
	/k ^h a ⁱ .k ^h a.no.mu/		place name
CV.CV.CV.v	/ba.si.lε ⁱ .a/		‘kingdom’

Any types with two or more adjacent v syllables are not permissible, i.e. CV.CV.v.v, CV.v.v.v, CV.v.v.CV, v.v.v.v, v.v.v.CV, v.v.CV.CV, v.CV.v.v, as well as one with a second syllable v (CV.v.CV.CV).

E. Five syllables. There are two types of five syllable words; one containing initial v (v.CV.CV.CV.CV) and one with initial CV (CV.CV.CV.CV.CV).

v.CV.CV.CV.CV	/a.ru.bo.k ^h o ⁱ .ja/	‘yam sp.’
	/a.k ^h u.mo.ro.ro/	‘spider sp.’
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/ba.βo.ro.βo.ro/	‘owl’
	/bε ⁱ .k ^h a.di.na.rε/	‘when’

Much less variation in syllable type is exhibited in these longer words; most syllables contain the CV form (cf. also F. Six syllables below).

F. Six syllables. There are two six syllable types (CV.CV.CV.CV.v.CV and CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV) .

¹² Note, this example *boromakau* ‘cow, beef’ and the one last in this section, *basileia* ‘kingdom’, are both borrowed words, but it is conceivable that such patterns would also be applicable to autochthonous terms.

CV.CV.CV.CV.V.CV /ma.ma.nu.gε.a.gi/ place name¹³
 CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV /ba.da.mi.si.ri.k^ha/ ‘Wallace’s fairy-wren’

Several inherently reduplicated forms have been borrowed, e.g. *guriguri* ‘prayer’ and *vorovoro* ‘excessively’, while others have not, e.g. *fuofuori* ‘while’, *gorogoro* ‘early’, *neinei* ‘each’, *toutou* ‘tradition’, *vayavaya* ‘very’ and *yafuyafu* ‘breeze’ (cf. §3.9).

2.3 Phonotactics

All consonant phonemes occur in initial and medial position (cf. Table 2.5). Consonants do not occur in final position, except in borrowed words (which sometimes insert an epenthetical vowel) or in other non-canonical environments.

Table 2.5: *Consonant phoneme distribution*

Phoneme	Example word	Gloss
/t ^h /	/t ^h ot ^h o/	‘forgotten’
/k ^h /	/k ^h ak ^h a/	‘red, ripe’
/b/	/baba/	‘father’
/d/	/dada/	‘so’
/g/	/gagani/	‘place’
/f/	/fafa ^u /	‘on top of’
/s/	/sisik ^h a/	‘smell’
/β/	/βaβa/	‘hot’
/m/	/mimani/	‘Kemp Welsh river’
/n/	/nono/	‘mother’
/r/	/ruru/	‘divination’
/j/	/jojaβa/	‘seedling’

All vowel phonemes occur in all positions: initial, medial and final.

Table 2.6: *Vowel phoneme distribution*

Phoneme	Example word	Gloss
/i/	/inik ^h i/	‘long-tailed parrot’
/ε/	/εgεrεgεrε/	‘okay’
/u/	/unugu/	‘banana sp.’
/o/	/odoro/	‘above’
/a/	/abat ^h a/	‘flood’

¹³ Place names are often compounds, e.g. *Mamanu-geagi* = ‘lookout+gum tree,’ *Amura-ika* = ‘Amura (place)+summit,’ *Kaika-nomu* = ‘Kaika (place)+plain’; cf. §11.2.1.2 and Table 11.6. As the vowels are diphthongised, the forms X-ika become one phonological unit derived from two grammatical words; in complex verbs, however, the vowels remain separate, e.g. *ni-egira re-* ‘encouragement’; cf. §2.8 and §3.5.

2.4 Vowel sequences and diphthongs

Every vowel sequence combination is possible, including some limited identical vowels (/ɛ/, /u/ and /o/ only).

Two instances of sequences of the low-mid front unrounded vowel /ɛ/ have been observed. They are both found in interjections and interpreted as vowel lengthening: /aɛ:/ <aee> ‘oh, ho’ (exclamation of surprise) and /ɛ:o/ <eeo> ‘oh, ah’ (exclamation of surprise or call of greeting).

Of the five attested instances of sequences of /u/, only two are onomatopoeic in nature: *hu*: ‘Wompoo fruit-dove song’ and /t^hu: ni-/ <tuu.ni-> ‘thunder clap.’ The remaining instances describe objects: *bu:o* ‘tree sp.’, *k^hu:ok^ha^uo* ‘mushroom sp.’ and *t^hu:ri* ‘hair end’. All other identical vowel sequences are onomatopoeic, e.g. the low-mid back rounded vowel /o/ in /k^hok^horo k^ho:/ ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’.

Non-attested sequences (i.e. */ii/ and */aa/) are shaded in black in Table 2.7, while those sequences with upward diagonal shading indicate diphthongs (/i^ɛ/, /ɛⁱ/, /ɛ^u/, /uⁱ/, /u^o/, /oⁱ/, /o^u/, /aⁱ/, /a^ɛ/, /a^u/ and /a^o/) and those with horizontal shading indicate attested identical vowel sequences (vowel lengthening), as mentioned above (/ɛɛ/, /uu/ and /oo/). Those which are separated into distinct syllables occupy the remaining white (blank) spaces (/i.u/, /i.o/, /i.a/, /ɛ.o/, /ɛ.a/, /u.ɛ/, /u.a/, /o.ɛ/ and /o.a/).

Diphthongs are composed primarily of a combination of a low or low-mid vowel with a higher vowel, i.e. /a^ɛ/, /aⁱ/, /a^o/, /a^u/, /ɛⁱ/, /ɛ^u/, /oⁱ/ and /o^u/. They cannot be considered as a combination of vowel and semi-vowel since the VC (closed) syllable pattern is not permissible; they are not regarded as VV as they are perceived and pronounced as one unit. One additional type is from back to front (/uⁱ/). The high vowel combination from front to back /iu/ is not considered a unit, but a two-syllable sequence, as are all the other combinations not previously described. (A closed VC syllable is considered a canonical pattern.)

Orthographically sequences, i.e. two syllables, rather than one, are written as two vowels together; those with the high front vowel *i*, however, are written with an inserted semi-vowel <y>, e.g. *iya* ‘star’, *iye* ‘leaf’, *iyo re-* ‘disturb’ and *ariyu* ‘daytime’. Also, those with the high back vowel *u* are not written with an epenthetic off-glide, that is with the dorso-velar bilabial semi-vowel *w*, e.g. *tua* ‘tree sp.’, *ueta* ‘wing’ and *fuofuori* ‘while’. Diphthongs can be distinguished from vowel sequences by observing stress, e.g. [‘aⁱ.nã]

/aⁱ.na/ <aina> ‘wild sugarcane’ or [a.ʼε.nã] /a.ε.na/ <ayena> ‘lightening’ (cf. §2.8.1 and §6.8.1).

Table 2.7: *Attested vowel sequences*

		Second vowel				
		<i>i</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>a</i>
First vowel	<i>i</i>					
	<i>ε</i>					
	<i>u</i>					
	<i>o</i>					
	<i>a</i>					

Vocalic sequences arranged with diphthongs first, followed by vowel sequences are exemplified below; these exclude identical forms which were discussed above. Initial, medial and final position examples are included, where attested.

/i ^ε /	/i ^ε .mu/		‘filthy’
	/i.r ⁱ ε.du.k ^h a/		‘sorrow’
	/a.mi ^ε /		‘person, man’
/ε ⁱ /	/ε ⁱ .na/		‘tree sp.’
	/bε ⁱ .k ^h a/		‘what’
	/sε ⁱ /		‘bright’
/ε ^u /	/sε ^u .ja/		‘cloud’
	/kε ^u ri/		‘ascend’
/u ⁱ /	/bu ⁱ .bu ⁱ rε/	(whirlpool do)	‘whirlpool’
	/du.bu ⁱ .ni/		‘brother’
/u ^o /	/u ^o u ^o u ^o /		‘bow wow wow’
	/du ^o .mu/		‘lazy’
	/ku ^o ni/	(cheer say)	‘cheer’
o ⁱ /	/o ⁱ .ba.nu/		‘whole’
	/k ^h o ⁱ .ma/		‘leech’
	/jo.k ^h o ⁱ /		‘one’
/o ^u /	/o ^u .rε.na/		‘elder’
	/k ^h o ^u .rε/		‘yam sp.’
	/do ^u /		‘wet’
/a ⁱ /	/a ⁱ .t ^h a/		‘lightweight’
	/ga ⁱ .ba.na/		‘eel’
	/k ^h a.ra ⁱ /		‘sulphur-crested cockatoo’

/a ^ɛ /	/a ^ɛ .na/ /k ^h a ^ɛ .rɛ/ /ba ^ɛ /		‘putting’ ‘who’ ‘come’
/a ^u /	/a ^u .fa/ /ra ^u .t ^h u/ /fa.f ^u /		‘grandparent, grandchild’ ‘village’ ‘above’
/a ^o /	/a ^o / /k ^h a ^o .ro/ /ga ^o /		‘wow’ ‘bee sp.’ ‘tree sp.’
/iu/	/ri.u.na/ /βi.u/		‘swelling’ ‘by the tail’
/io/	/i.o.rɛ/ /k ^h i.o.ma/ /ni.o/	(disturb do)	‘disturb’ ‘red hot’ ‘he/she said’
/ia/	/i.a/ /k ^h i.a.k ^h i.a/ /mi.a/		‘star’ ‘very slowly’ ‘rain’
/ɛo/	/ɛ.o/ /nɛ.o.t ^h .a/ /fɛ.o/		‘moon’ ‘be sleepy’ ‘white’
/ɛa/	/ɛ.a.rɛ ⁱ / /mɛ.a.di/ /mɛ.gɛ.a/		‘cause to drop’ ‘they (got) married’ ‘shoulder’
/uɛ/	/u.ɛ.t ^h a/ /su.ɛ.k ^h a/ /gu.ɛ/		‘body hair’ ‘dwarf koel’ ‘louse sp.’
/ua ¹⁴ /	/ru.a.k ^h a/ /t ^h u.a/		‘new’ ‘tree sp.’
/oɛ/	/o.ɛ.la/ /k ^h o.ɛ.rɛ.rɛ/ /t ^h o.ɛ/	(peel do)	‘oil’ ‘peel (it)’ ‘heavy’

¹⁴ Word initially only, the sequence [ua] is recognised as /wa/, as it forms one syllable and not two.

/oa/	/o.a.ma/	‘tree sp.’
	/ro.a.fa/	‘black-billed brush-turkey’
	/k ^h o.a/	‘immorality’

When a syllable begins with a diphthong it contains no other phonemes.

2.5 Prosodic features

Prosodic features include stress (§2.5.1) and intonation (§2.5.2); analysis will follow.

2.5.1 Stress

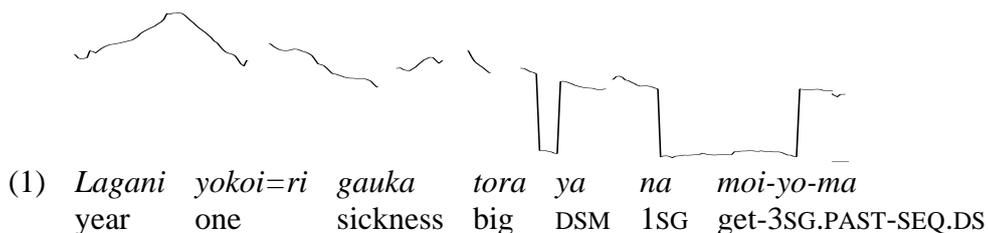
Stress is not phonemic, always occurring on the penultimate syllable in words of two or more syllables or otherwise on the ultimate syllable. Stress does not shift with the addition of a clitic or verbal suffix. Examples are shown below:

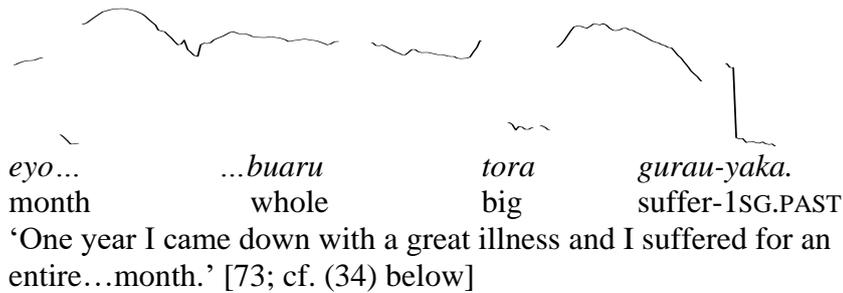
[nã]	/na/	<na>	‘I’
[‘bunĩ]	/buni/	<buni>	‘good’
[du‘bu ¹ nĩ]	/dubuini/	<dubuini>	‘brother’
[bara‘ginã]	/baragina/	<baragina>	‘eclectus parrot’
[ak ^h umõ‘roro]	/ak ^h umororo/	<akumororo>	‘spider sp.’
[badamĩsi‘rik ^h a]	/badamisirik ^h a/	<badamisirika>	‘Wallace’s fairy-wren’
[‘jaβa=ri]	/jaβari/	<yavari>	‘in/at the house’
[nĩ-bo-bi-gɛdi-mã]	/nibobigɛdima/	<nibobigedima>	‘you (pl.) might be saying and then’

2.5.2 Intonation

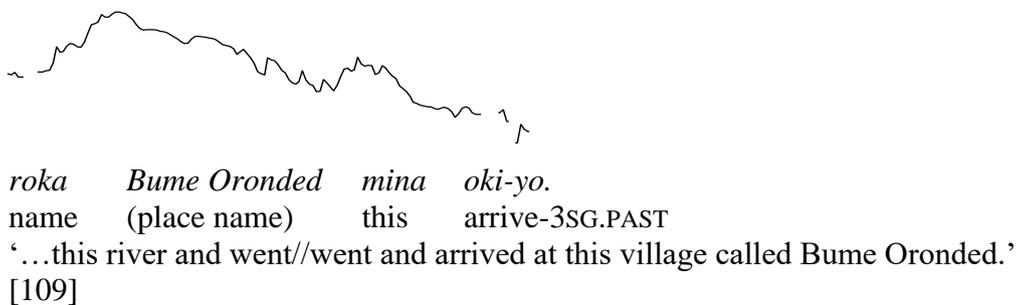
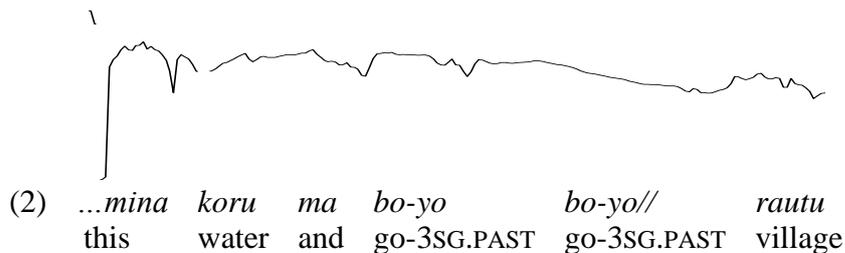
Intonation patterns for statements, questions, emotions, listing and calling are discussed below. [Contours were generated with Praat software (Boersma and Weenink 1992-2019).]

A. Statement. A declarative, or simple statement, is the most frequently observed intonation pattern. A falling pitch occurs at the end of the utterance. (Example sentences are written in the orthography throughout.) Note also the increase in pitch at the climax of the story, *eyo buaru* ‘a whole **month**’.



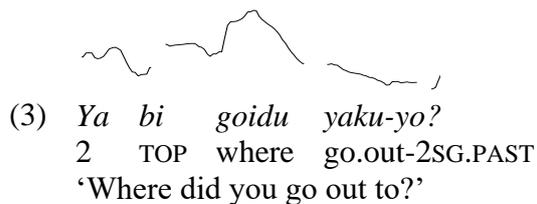


Other factors may intervene. In (2), the emphasis is on the movement of the participant; the contour remains level through the first occurrence of *bo-yo* (go-3SG.PAST) ‘he went’, and then begins its descent afterwards.



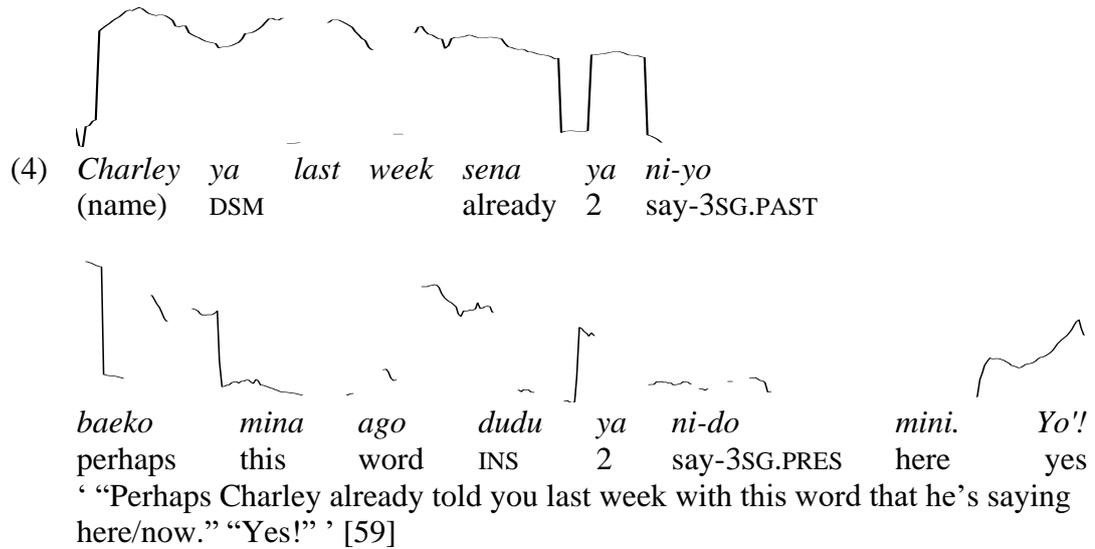
See also §6.9 (126), §7.3.6 (21-22), §8.3.1 (18), §9.2.1 (6) and §9.5.6 (56) for other examples of statement intonation. Commands have comparable contours [cf. §6.7.3 (106), §6.9 (127) and §8.3.3 (23)].

B. Questions. A content question or other form of interrogation, expecting a reply, or a rhetorical question, have the same downward contour, with a sharp rise at the end.



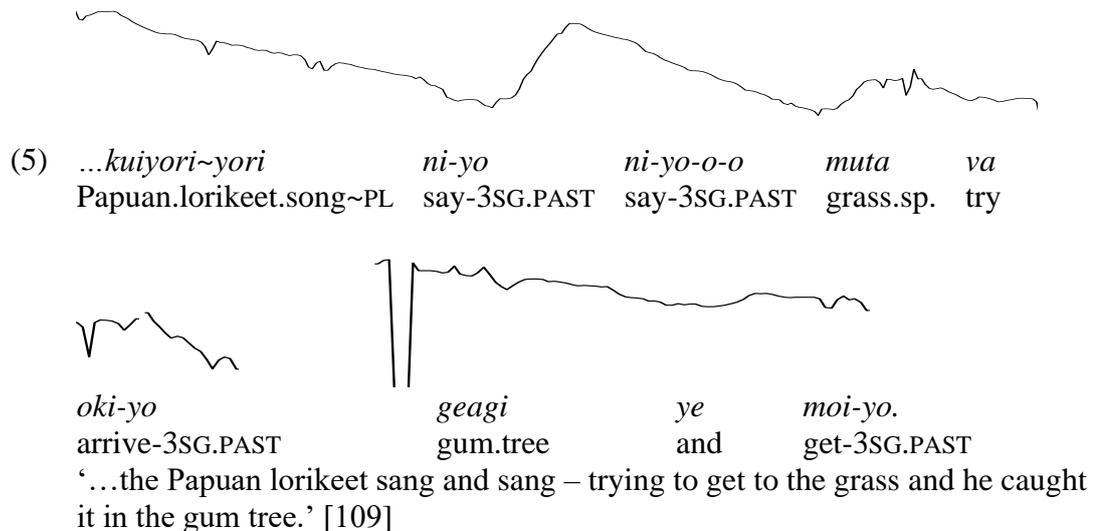
As an emphatic response, *yo* ‘yes’ occurs with a rising contour, concluding with a glottal stop. An immediate answer has a level contour. No other word exhibits such a

feature. The following statement (4), has a general downward contour, ending in a ‘yes’ response.



In this example, there is no implicit question, and so no final upward contour. (See also §8.3.2 (19-20) for other examples of question intonation.)

C. Emotions. Various emotions, such as excitement, scolding, anger and disgust are indicated by a sharply rising pitch contour, concluding with a final falling contour, as in the statement pattern. In the example below, the speaker expresses excitement over what the Papuan lorikeet is doing.



In comparison with other statement contours, these emotion intonation patterns do not exhibit correspondingly sharp rises.

D. Listing. Listing maintains a fairly level contour, until the end of the utterance, at which point the contour begins a gradual descent, as seen in the second line in (6) below.

This epenthetic vowel has been analysed as a linker, especially when it occurs on a verb being followed by another verb, i.e. serial verb construction. Its function, however, is less obvious before specific verbal suffixes (cf. also §6.2).

B. Vowel raising. Verbs ending in *ae* are changed to *ai*, i.e. the low-mid front, unrounded vowel /ɛ/ is realised as the high front unrounded /i/, when inflected, e.g. *bae*- ‘come’ is realised as *bai-do* (come-3SG.PRES) ‘she comes’. Approximant consonant epenthesis is also applied in (16).

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|---|---------------|-----------------|
| (13) | <i>ae#</i> | → | <i>ae</i> | ‘put (it)’ |
| (14) | <i>bae#</i> | → | <i>bae</i> | ‘come’ |
| (15) | <i>bae+si</i> | → | <i>baisi</i> | ‘come and then’ |
| (16) | <i>ae+afa</i> | → | <i>aiyafa</i> | ‘we put (it)’ |

Verbs ending in *oe*, e.g. *goe* ‘dig’, do not undergo vowel raising.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---|------------------|-------------------------|
| (17) | <i>goe+gifa+ri</i> | → | <i>goegifari</i> | ‘when we will dig (it)’ |
|------|--------------------|---|------------------|-------------------------|

C. Approximant consonant epenthesis. Since only open syllables are permissible, all verb stems (except those indicated in the rhotic deletion alternation below) and affixes end in a vowel. When inflected with an affix beginning with a vowel, a transitional lamino-palatal semi-vowel consonant /j/ <y> is inserted to separate the vowels.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|---|------------------|------------------------|
| (18) | <i>ni+go</i> | → | <i>nigo</i> | ‘she will say (it)’ |
| (19) | <i>re+na</i> | → | <i>rena</i> | ‘doing (it)’ |
| (20) | <i>oku+aka+ri</i> | → | <i>okuyakari</i> | ‘when I broke it open’ |
| (21) | <i>bo+o</i> | → | <i>boyo</i> | ‘he went’ |
| (22) | <i>neide+adi</i> | → | <i>neideyadi</i> | ‘they heard (it)’ |

D. Rhotic deletion. Deletion of the final apico-alveolar rhotic /r/ <r> occurs before an affix beginning with a consonant, or word finally with the Class I stem *ar* verbs (cf. §6.1.1) in order to maintain open syllable structure.

- | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (23) | a. | <i>mar+aka</i> | → | <i>maraka</i> | ‘I gave (it)’ |
| | b. | <i>mar+do</i> | → | <i>mado</i> | ‘he gives (it)’ |
| (24) | a. | <i>nugar+o</i> | → | <i>nugaro</i> | ‘you cut (past) (it)’ |
| | b. | <i>nugar+sa</i> | → | <i>nugasa</i> | ‘you cut (present) (it)’ |
| (25) | a. | <i>omar+afa</i> | → | <i>omarafa</i> | ‘we invited (him)’ |
| | b. | <i>omar+gifa</i> | → | <i>omagifa</i> | ‘we will invite (her)’ |
| (26) | a. | <i>oteimar+adi</i> | → | <i>oteimaradi</i> | ‘they showed (it)’ |
| | b. | <i>oteimar</i> | → | <i>oteima</i> | ‘show (it to) him’ |

These simple verbs may have been derived from earlier complex verb forms using the simple verb *re*- ‘do’ in which the final vowel was lost. Possible evidence is seen in the

related Maria language, e.g. *na mare* ‘give me’ (Dutton 1970:965) and *nukare* ‘break wood’ (Dutton 1970:968). (These correspond to Doromu-Koki *na ma* ‘give me’ and *nuga* ‘cut it’, respectively.) However, eleven other verbs have maintained stem-final re#, e.g. *vare-* ‘sleep’.

2.7 Orthographic considerations

The orthography was first developed during the Doromu Alphabet Design Workshop, held 18-25 March 2002 in Kasonomu village. Materials produced since that time have continued using this orthography, with only slight variations. The inventory includes <a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, m, n, o, r, s, t, u, v, w, y, '>. The consonants <h> and <'> were included due to the presence of participants from the Kokila and Korigo dialects where those are used. The consonant <w> was also included, although not listed in the dictionary words or stories, but only in one borrowed example <uwe> ‘crocodile’. The consonants <l> and <p> were considered borrowings (Bokana et. al. 2002; cf. analysis in §2.1 above).

Disagreements over the proposed orthography were not mentioned at that time. Printed Trial Spelling Guides were shown in home communities for further elaboration, however, no changes were considered. Since Doromu-Koki only has one digraph <ny> (cf. §2.1 consideration above) with very limited distribution and no consonant clusters or other complex linguistic factors, no pressing issues requiring resolution were presented. With borrowed words containing characters not found in the regular phonemic inventory, preference has been to write these words (and especially names) as written in the source language, particularly those from English. It has been felt this will facilitate bridging between the languages, promoting research with English language reference materials. Spelling is usually not an issue in borrowings; when it is, preference is to maintain vernacular spelling, though with a caveat: at times Hiri Motu words are changed, as a differentiation technique.

How words with semi-vowels and/or vowel sequences should be written has been an area of orthographic concern, as previously discussed (§2.4). The orthography (for both primary and marginal phonemes) is listed in Table 2.8.

Table 2.8: *Doromu-Koki orthography*

Phoneme	Orthography
/t ^h /	<t>
/k ^h /	<k>
/b/	
/d/	<d>
/g/	<g>
/f/	<f>
/s/	<s>
/β/	<v>
/m/	<m>
/n/	<n>
/r/	<r>
/j/	<y>
/p ^h /	<p>
/ʔ/	<ʔ>
/h/	<h>
/ɟ/	<ny>
/l/	<l>
/w/	<w>
/i/	<i>
/ɛ/	<e>
/u/	<u>
/o/	<o>
/a/	<a>

2.8 Word defining criteria

Doromu-Koki orthography appears to favour disjunctivism, in which “...relatively simple, and, therefore, relatively short, linguistic units are written and regarded as words (van Wyk 1967:230)”, but at other times it favours conjunctivism, in which “...simple units are joined to form long words with complex morphological structures (van Wyk 1967:230)”.¹⁶ The average Doromu-Koki word (type frequency) contains four phonemes; in written texts morphemes have sometimes been separated out into separate words, albeit mainly among those who have less than substantial practice in writing. Other speakers readily admit that such morphemes constitute one word. Among even those who have had additional practice in writing, variation in word breaks from one instance to another still occurs; at times morphemes are separated that cannot stand alone, and at other times, morphemes are joined that do not normally occur together. Perhaps these contradictory practices will wane as more practice in writing is developed, leading to the maintenance

¹⁶ See also Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002) and Dixon (2010b).

of a standard practice in writing.¹⁷ Examples of such disjunctivism and conjunctivism from two texts (*Di bone ka reyaka* ‘I was lazy’ by Joseph Toma¹⁸ and *Tabu moka* ‘Deep taboo water’ by Sam Ageva)¹⁹ follow. Wherever standard morpheme and word boundaries usually occur, but do not in these examples, that has been indicated (i.e. wherever # occurs in the middle of the word, the standard practice is to separate these into two words, although in this case that has not been done).

	<u>Disjunctivism</u>	<u>Conjunctivism</u>
(27)	a. <i>batara =ri</i> shoulder =on ‘on the shoulder blade’	b. <i>yokoi=ri (SA)</i> ²⁰ one=on ‘on one’
(28)	a. <i>re-yaka -ri#bi</i> do-1SG.PAST –SIM.DS#TOP ‘when I did (DS)’	b. <i>ni-yadi-ma</i> say-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS ‘and then they said and (DS)’
(29)	a. <i>nikaite -yaka</i> ask -1SG.PAST ‘I asked’	b. <i>reki#re</i> (non-compositional) move#do ‘move over’
(30)	a. <i>rafe -yadi-ri (SA)</i> wash -3PL-SIM.DS ‘when they washed (DS)’	b. <i>ya#bi</i> ²¹ 2#TOP ‘you are’
(31)	a. <i>de-i-da -ri#bi</i> come-LINK-1SG.PRES -SIM.DS#TOP ‘when I come (DS)’	b. <i>de#re-yo#ba</i> NEG#do-3SG.PAST#Q ‘did not do it?’

An orthographic determination of ‘word’ is rather fluid, especially in a medium in which the orthography is still relatively new. Perhaps cliticisation is also taking place. In spite of this fluidity, it is still possible to identify words.

¹⁷ Note, this is not merely an orthographic issue; this has also been attested in oral communication. Something more may be happening here.

¹⁸ Collected in 2001 during a translation awareness workshop in Kasonomu village; male, approximately 32 years of age [cf. full text (2) in Appendix]. All examples are from this first text, except two with bold SA (Sam Ageva) as indicated (cf. following footnote).

¹⁹ Collected in 2007, during a writers’ workshop in Kasonomu village; male, approximately 23 years of age.

²⁰ In a speech utterance, one does not pause before a clitic; (27b) more closely represents an actual utterance.

²¹ Instances such as these give further evidence that the topic marker is possibly functioning as a clitic (cf. §4.13.1).

2.8.1 Structure of phonological word in contrast to grammatical word

At a most basic level, a phonological word can be classified simply by examining stress. As has already been seen, stress primarily occurs on the penultimate syllable. Postpositional enclitics, which bear no stress, are regularly attached to the final constituent in a noun phrase, or even to a postpositional phrase.

- (32) [*Omuna tau tora gabire*]=*ri ame-i-sa*.
 mountain all big under=at stay-LINK-2SG.PRES
 ‘You live under (i.e. below; lit. ‘at underneath’) all the big mountains.’

In this way, two or more phonological words form one grammatical word, e.g. *yava=ri* ‘in the house’, *rema mida=sa* ‘with your wife and children (lit. woman-child=with; i.e. family)’, or *ida=u* ‘by/on the road’. Nasalisation (cf. §2.1.1C) is also limited to the phonological word, as previously mentioned, thus giving an indication of word boundary. Although written in the orthography as one word, there are two stressed phonological words; the two parts each exhibit their regular stress patterns.

Eighteen echo compounds (§11.4.1) have been identified. Characteristically the second element has no meaning outside of its echoing use, e.g. *duma re-* (stealing do) ‘steal’ is made into an echo compound *duma dama re-* with only slight iterative or plural emphasis; *dama* has no distinct meaning. In other instances, a shift of meaning occurs, producing an alternate interpretation, e.g. *keru re-* ‘turn’ versus *keru karo re-* ‘be very busy (i.e. turning this way and that in activities)’.

Other echo compounds have no individual elements at all, e.g. *bisu basu re-* ‘meddle’, *bisu re-* means ‘hide’ (Bradshaw 2021a:73) while *basu* means ‘inside part of fruit that is not eaten, breadfruit/pandanus shoot’ (Bradshaw 2021a:68). Thus, the compound is a grammatical word (cf. lower section of Table 11.10 for others of this type).

Grammatical words may consist of two phonological words in compounds (cf. §3.2.1.6), e.g. *nono baba* (mother-father) ‘parent’, and through reduplication (§3.2.1.4), e.g. *mida mida* (child-child) ‘children’. The components maintain their individual stress. In some instances, a vowel sequence can indicate a word boundary, as what would normally be a diphthong or phonetic vowel lengthening is instead realised as separate units, yielding separate phonological words. Such cases have been written with a hyphen, e.g. *iri-iri* ‘much eating’ and *ni-egogo re-* (say-meet do) ‘call together. These could be analysed as separate words or as one, dependent on the disjunctivism or conjunctivism

position held at the time, and would still be clearly understood by the reader. However, to aid reading fluency, the hyphen has been retained.

The low-mid front unrounded vowel raising alternation previously described (cf. §2.1.1B) provides another criteria for determining phonological word boundary. A form like *tau gade gade* (all very very) ‘very very much’ (also being written as two words *tau gadegade*), confirms phonological word boundaries as the alternation applies, regardless of orthographic convention used for *gade-gade* [‘gade ‘gade] (very very) /gade gade/.

Pausing and self-repair are further issues generally occurring at phonological word boundaries. In (33), a pause has occurred at a phonological word boundary, providing a plausible reason for the discrepancies in orthographic word, as mentioned above. Almost all morphological affixation (except clitics on NPs) occurs on verbs; a grammatical word is normally composed of a verb’s combined morphemic units, i.e. *oki-yadi-ri* (arrive-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS) ‘when they arrived’. Conceptually, switch-reference marking is seen as a separate grammatical unit combined with the topic marker and thus the pause. (The text was first written, and later read and audio recorded.) More compelling are natural audio recordings which follow the convention above, whereby the topic marker is separate; in these cases the phonological and grammatical word boundaries are one and the same.

- (33) ...*rautu oki-yadi// ri-bi ini ve-// vefa*
 village arrive-3PL.PAST SIM.DS-TOP 3.POSS da- daughter
- ofi yava-ri bi de ve-yadi rofu maina*
 young.woman house-in TOP NEG see-3PL.PAST so.that look.for
- re-gam-adi...*
 do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘...when// they arrived in the village they didn’t see their young da-//
 daughter in the house and they were looking for her...’ [20.04]

In (34), pauses occur at grammatical word boundaries (which are also phonological word boundaries) [cf. (1) above for intonation contours, minus repetitions].

- (34) ...*gauka tora ya// ya na moi-yo-ma eyo// buaru*
 sickness big DSM DSM 1SG get-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS month whole

<i>tora</i> //	<i>buaru</i>	<i>tora</i>	<i>gurau-yaka</i> .
big	whole	big	suffer-1SG.PAST
'...a great illness// it came upon me and I suffered an entire// entire month.'			
[73]			

Most affixation is through suffixes. Prefixation includes two different causative forms, *e-* 'indirect causative' and *u-* 'forceful causative', e.g. from the verb stem *muye-* 'die' are derived *emuye-* 'kill spiritually' and *umuye-* 'kill physically' (cf. §6.8.1). The forceful causative is derived from the verb *u-* 'hit' and is less productive than the indirect causative (38% vs. use of *e-* at 63%). Not only verbs are inflected with the indirect causative, but also adjectives, e.g. *e-gira* 'controlled' (from *gira* 'hard/strong'). As they cannot be separated; this type constitutes one phonological and one grammatical word.

The prohibitive *ga* is usually a separate orthographic word, but dependent on one's tendency toward disjunctivism or conjunctivism, e.g. *ga butu ri* (PROHIB collect make) 'do not gather it' versus *ga-re* (PROHIB-do) 'do not do it' (cf. §4.8). Alternatively, the prohibitive could be analysed as a clitic.

2.8.2 Further phonological phenomena

Further phonological phenomena include adaptation of borrowings (§2.8.2.1), onomatopoeia (§2.8.2.2), interjections and spontaneous speech (§2.8.2.3), expressives (§2.8.2.4), vocative (§2.8.2.5), rapid speech phenomena (§2.8.2.6) and songs (§2.8.2.7).

2.8.2.1 Adaptation of borrowings

As previously discussed, earlier borrowings conformed more closely to the language's phonological system, while more recent borrowings have not. In general, numbers and names have conformed the least. Even those that do have some adaptation contain other parts which do not, usually involving initial consonant clusters or closed syllables, e.g. *braun* 'brown', *indafeni* 'independence', *okid* 'orchid', *pensol* 'pencil', *simorohaus* 'toilet (outhouse)' and *trakita* 'tractor'. The first bisyllabic consonant cluster /n.d/ has been maintained in *indafeni*, while the bilabial voiceless aspirated plosive /p^h/ has become a labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/, and the second and third consonant cluster have not been maintained; one is reduced from /nd/ to /n/ and the other /ns/ is deleted, possibly because it is in one syllable in the original, and only initial consonant clusters are maintained.

Others that are conceivably older have fully adapted to the phonology, e.g. *anika* 'anchor' (from English), *baige* 'bag', *bainasi* 'bayonet' and *baruni* 'ballon'.

When a word appears to have English origin, having entered the language via Hiri Motu, a technique of differentiation is used to make it less like Hiri Motu, or possibly more like English. Examples include Hiri Motu *gavamani* ‘government’ is realised as *gavmani*, *kapeneta* ‘carpenter’ as *kapenta* and *keresini* ‘kerosene’ as *keresin*.²² Such differentiation agrees with the verbalised consensus to avoid ‘Motu’ words, which is not, however, always the reality. Younger people are increasingly becoming semi-speakers (cf. §1.4.1.1); in time some diversity will be lost (cf. §11.4.2 for further elaboration on borrowed terms).

2.8.2.2 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeic terms describe natural (environmental or animal) sounds, e.g. *teki.taki* ‘rustling of trees’ and *kaa kaa kaa* ‘sulphur-crested cuckoo song’. These terms often stray from systematic phonological conventions through lengthening of vowels or consonants, e.g. *sss*— ‘snake sound’, or repetition, e.g. *uo uo uo* ‘bow wow wow’. As well as describing these types of sounds, these terms may also involve calling animals, e.g. *dona ma— ni-* ‘call the pig’ or *auna me— ni-* ‘shoo the dog away’ (cf. §11.4.1 for further elaboration).

2.8.2.3 Interjections

Some interjections are monosyllabic; most are disyllabic. They occur in sentences and in isolation, providing a spontaneous reaction to a situation. All interjections are found in Table 2.9; example sentences follow.

Table 2.9: *Interjections*

<i>Interjection</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>mada</i>	‘certainly’
<i>aiyo</i>	‘oh, o, behold’
<i>ae^{e23}</i>	‘oh, o, ho’
<i>ai</i>	‘hey, wow’
<i>oe</i>	‘hey, yes’
<i>pilisi</i>	‘please’ (from English)
<i>aiso</i>	‘wow’
<i>amiyo</i>	‘wow, behold’
<i>ao</i>	‘wow, oh’

The interjection *mada* ‘certainly’ always co-occurs with the negative *ide* ‘not’.

²² A frequently used idiom for kerosene is *vabara koru* (lit. light water) [cf. §11.3.3].

²³ This is an instance of vowel lengthening /aε:/ (cf. previous discussion in §2.4).

- (35) *Ide mada!*
 not certainly
 ‘Of course not!’

Interjections have an exclamative meaning.

- (36) *Baba yi roka ni-yaka, ‘Aiyo baba!’*
 father 2.POSS name say-1SG.PAST oh father
 ‘Father, I said your name as, “Oh father!” ’ [63]

They can be used in a command.

- (37) *Ya raka ni-do; ‘Oe’ ni.’*
 2 call say-3SG.PRES hey say
 ‘He is calling you; (so) say “Hey.” ’ (Bradshaw 2021a:200)

They also occur in questions having a rhetorical meaning.

- (38) *Amiyo, mina bi amiye kaere maina re-sifa ba?*
 wow this TOP person who look.for do-1PL.PRES Q
 ‘Wow, isn’t this the man for whom we are looking?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:57)

Interjections add emotion to a conversation.

2.8.2.4 Expressives

Expressives iconically represent a state or action by sound symbolism (cf. Aikhenvald 2015c:98-99, 200-201). In Doromu-Koki, expressives are not always onomatopoeic. Often, the iterative nature of the action is expressed through reduplication (§6.6.2.4), e.g. *furu re* ‘bubble (up)’ becomes *furufuru re-* ‘flow out’, *туру re-* ‘tremble’ becomes *tururu re-* ‘startle’, and *yaga re-* ‘shake’ becomes *yagayaga re-* ‘shake greatly, earthquake’. Expressives involving sounds or utterances incorporate a complement + the verb *ni-say*’ (i.e. X say) as seen in Table 2.10.

Table 2.10: *Expressives*

Expressive	Gloss
<i>eseka ni-</i>	‘clear throat’
<i>esiroka ni-</i>	‘cough’
<i>kosu ni-</i>	‘cough’
<i>asiye ni-</i>	‘sneeze’

The complements do not occur without the associated verb *ni-* ‘say’ (cf. non-compositional complex verbs in §6.3.1); however, an adjective occurring between them modifies the complex verb.

- (39) *Nai bauye eve re-yo-ma eseseka tau*
 1SG.POSS throat itch do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS clear.throat all

ni-yaka.

say-1SG.PAST

‘My throat was itchy and I coughed a lot.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:97)

The remaining three expressives are used in an analogous manner.

2.8.2.5 Vocative

The only one vowel words observed are vocative, except for the rapid speech form *i* from *yi* ‘your(s)’ (cf. §2.8.2.6 and also §2.6A above). The vocatives often occur in songs and are used to indicate exclamation.

- (40) *Baba o, baba o, baba, goivaka be ni-gida?*
 father VOC father VOC father when some say-1SG.FUT
 ‘Oh father, oh father, father, when will I say something.’ [63]

Vocatives are seldom heard in conversation and are mainly used for calling out to someone (cf. further consideration in §4.12).

2.8.2.6 Rapid speech phenomena

Most rapid speech phenomena remain within the constraints of the phonological system, through deletion of a vowel, vowels or syllable; in some instances consonant clusters and closed syllables are formed, equivalent to what has been observed in recent borrowings. The examples below contrast rapid speech phenomena with their slower counterparts.

	Rapid form	Slower counterpart	Glosses	Free translation
(41)	<i>aru</i>	<i>ari=u</i>	(day=on)	‘one day’
(42)	<i>mibi</i>	<i>mina bi</i>	(this TOP)	‘this/that is’
(43)	<i>nausi</i>	<i>na usi</i>	(1SG follow)	‘come along with me’
(44)	<i>nokaru</i>	<i>nokoi ari=u</i>	(one day=on)	‘on another day’
(45)	<i>yandamin</i>	<i>ya nida mini</i>	(2 1SG.PRES.say here)	‘I’m telling you here/now’
(46)	<i>yokara</i>	<i>yokoi ari</i>	(one day)	‘now’ ²⁴
(47)	<i>yokaru</i>	<i>yokoi ari=u</i>	(one day=on)	‘once upon a time/one day’
(48)	<i>dekfa</i>	<i>de-gifa</i>	(come-1PL.FUT)	‘we will come’

Expressions are often reduced by the deletion of some constituent, e.g. in rapid speech *Uriyaku buni* ‘Good morning’ is realised as *Uriyaku* ‘morning’, which corresponds to its use in English from which it is a calque. Those using *nokoi/yokoi* ‘one’ (44, 46-47) do not follow normal constituent order; normally the number word follows the noun it is modifying, e.g. *auna yokoi* (dog one) ‘one dog’. This switch may be used to indicate a compound, rather than an NP; in nominal compounds the first constituent modifies the second, e.g. *rumana mida* (man child) ‘son’. Compound nouns are further elaborated in §5.2.4.

2.8.2.7 Songs

Songs often have lengthened vowels (indicated below, as written by songwriters, as V-V-V); at the beginning of a line, these lengthened vowels add emphasis to the topic of the stanza.

²⁴ Here **yokari* would be expected, however this form is produced to disambiguate it from *yokoiri* ‘at...one...’.

- (49) ***O-o-o-o** nono Maria, yi rautu
Fatima ferei baiyo
Yi rautu Fatima ferei baiyo
Miya ori de reyo, abata ori de
reyo
Suma itu sana baiyo
O-o-o-o Doromu Kokila, Korigo
Vene totona baiyo* ***‘O-o-o-o** mother Mary, you left your home
Fatima and came
You left your home Fatima and came
You weren’t afraid of rain, you weren’t
afraid of flood
You came to the cold bush place
O-o-o-o Doromu Kokila, Korigo
You came for the people’*
- [42.01-05]

Another phenomenon includes vowel lengthening on one word at the end of a line. One other line also includes a repeated syllable as a type of lengthening (written as <hu>).

- (50) *Baba na bi no reida, nai no moi tua
re
Hu hu hu hu i no bi koitegida
Ya bi **nai, nai** vana moisi nasa **bai-e-
e**
Nai mida, baba, nono, tobaini, rasini
Vegu kaini fere* *‘Father, I do wrong, help (lit. wait on)
my wrong
Hu hu hu hu I will wash away your
wrong
Come-e-e with me and take **my, my**
hand
My children, fathers, mothers, sisters,
cousins
Leave your practices behind’*
- [41.01-05]

Repetition of other words [*nai, nai* (my, my)] is also a norm for most songs.

2.9 Conclusion

The Doromu-Koki language does not exhibit complex phonology and morphophonology. As a representative Papuan language, the phoneme inventory (§2.1) is limited, having just 12 consonants and five vowels; several marginal consonants are restricted to dialects or borrowings. Three allophonic variations are very regular.

Doromu-Koki syllable structure (§2.2) is also limited, with only two types which can be represented as (C)V; words can contain up to six syllables – three being the most frequent.

There is no restriction on position of phonemes (§2.3) – all consonants occur in initial and medial position; likewise all vowels occur in initial, medial or final position.

All but two possible vowel sequences (§2.4) [*/ii/ and */aa/] are attested; three other identical sequences are observed. The greatest portion (44%) are diphthongs, which are mainly a combination of a low or low-mid vowel and a higher vowel. Many other sequences (36%) are interpreted as two distinct syllables.

Prosody (§2.5) includes stress and intonation. Stress is phonemic and unchanged by verbal suffixation. Five types of intonation are exhibited: statement, question, emotion, listing and calling.

Morphophonemic processes (§2.6) are limited to vowel and consonant epenthesis, vowel raising and rhotic (consonant) deletion.

The orthography (§2.7), first developed in 2002, has primarily had issues concerning vowels and borrowings.

Disjunctivism versus conjunctivism are issues particularly relevant to Doromu-Koki word defining criteria (§2.8). As writing becomes more established, these issues may be further clarified. Other relevant issues include stress, cliticisation, echo and other compounding, allophonic variations, pausing, self-repair and prefixation.

The language exhibits varying strategies in the incorporation of the many borrowings (§2.8.2.1) from languages of wider communication, particularly Hiri Motu and English.

Other phonological phenomena (§2.8.2) include onomatopoeia (§2.8.2.2), interjections (§2.8.2.3), expressives (§2.8.2.4), vocative (§2.8.2.5), rapid speech (§2.8.2.6) and songs (§2.8.2.7).

3. Word classes

3.1 Open word classes

Doromu-Koki has five open word classes: nouns (§3.2), adjectives (§3.3), simple verbs (§3.4), complex verbs (§3.5) and adverbs (§3.6). (Simple verbs and adverbs are semi-open classes.) The noun class has far more members than any other class; 43.8% of all entries and subentries (total of 4293) in Bradshaw (2021a) are classified as nouns. [This does not take into consideration personal and place names, which are listed in the appendix to the dictionary (Bradshaw 2021a:475-482, 486-488)]. The next largest class, complex verbs, comprises 37.5% of the dictionary entries (Bradshaw 2021a). Adjectives comprise 7.2%, simple verbs 5.5% and adverbs 1.1% (Bradshaw 2021a), respectively; less than 1% are found in the closed classes (cf. §3.8 and §4). The open classes accept new members through borrowings (cf. §1.4, §2.8.2.1, §11.4.2) or derivations (§3.7).

3.1.1 Morphological and syntactic features of open classes

Certain limited nouns (1a), adjectives (1b) and adverbs (1c) include forms which are reduplicated to indicate plurality or intensity; kinship terms have different singular and plural forms (1d) [cf. §3.2.1.4B].

- | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| (1) a. | <i>mida</i> | ‘child’ | <i>mida~mida</i> | ‘children’ |
| b. | <i>keika</i> | ‘little’ | <i>keika~keika</i> | ‘very (many) little’ |
| c. | <i>evade</i> | ‘quickly’ | <i>evade~evade</i> | ‘very quickly’ |
| d. | <i>aufa</i> | ‘grandparent/child’ | <i>aufakai</i> | ‘grandparent/children’ |

Verbs receive the most affixation, mainly through suffixes (2a-d). These include the most recurrent, portmanteau transitive/intransitive subject (A/S) person-number-tense marking (cf. §6.6.4). A limited inventory of prefixes (2e) [cf. §6.8.1 and §2.8.1] are also used. Default constituent order is AOV/SV (2b) [cf. §7 and Diagram 8.1].

- | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|----|-----------------------|----|---------------|
| (2) a. | <i>re-i-da</i> | c. | <i>re-yaka</i> | e. | <i>u-muye</i> |
| | do-LINK-3SG.PRES | | do-1SG.PAST | | F.CAUS-die |
| | ‘I do (it)’ | | ‘I did (it)’ | | ‘kill [it]’ |
| b. | <i>Raphael na u-yo</i> | d. | <i>Lucy vare-do</i> | | |
| | (name) 1SG hit-3SG.PAST | | (name) sleep-3SG.PRES | | |
| | ‘R. hit me’ | | ‘L. is sleeping’ | | |

Morphological reduplication is always total (3a), whereas inherent reduplication (cf. §3.9 below) is more frequently partial (3b).

- (3) a. *bouna* ‘another’ *bouna~bouna* ‘others’¹
 b. *akeke* ‘special’

Since morphological reduplication is total, direction is difficult to determine; inherent partial (always CV) reduplication occurs word-initially (4a) or word-finally (4b) and very rarely “word-internally”, as seen in verbal compounds (4c). Verbal compounds are formed by two verbs, in this instance the simple verb *ni-* ‘say’ + the non-compositional verb *mumugu re-* ‘whisper’ (cf. §3.4.2.1).

- (4) a. *dudubu* ‘shelter’
 b. *ravegeragera* ‘dangerous’
 c. *ni-mumugu re-* ‘grumble’
 say-whisper do

In most instances, the first nominal constituent in a compound noun modifies the second (5a); the reduplicant, in reduplicated forms, may likewise modify the nominal constituent, to express intensity (5b) [cf. Inkelas and Zoll 2005].

- (5) a. *rumana mida*
 man child
 ‘boy/son’
 b. *esika~esika*
 INTS~pain
 ‘lots of pain’

Accordingly, the reduplicant is also considered to be modifying the adverb.

- (6) *kiya~kiya bo-do*
 INTS~slowly go-3SG.PRES
 ‘he walks very slowly’

Adjectives follow the noun they are modifying, so that the reduplicant modifies the first constituent. (For comparison, all reduplication will be written similarly to that seen in the following example.)

- (7) *mida keika~keika*
 child little~PL
 ‘little children’

Post adjectival degree adverbs behave similarly, i.e. direction is away from the head. There is no suffixal reduplication.

¹ This adjective behaves like others; it occurs after the noun it modifies and can be headless. However, it precedes the noun *vene* ‘people’; it is therefore considered a subclass below.

- (8) *no iniye~iniye*
 bad very~INTS
 ‘very very bad’

Reduplication occurs on all open word classes, and some limited closed classes, such as subject/object pronouns (with verbs of cognition only; cf. §3.4.1.2).

- (9) *na~na diba ina*
 1SG~1SG know 3
 ‘I know him’

Dependent on semantics, reduplication of open word classes indicates plurality, intensity and/or distributive parameters as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: *Meanings of reduplication*

	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Manner adverbs
Plurality	+	+	+	+
Intensity		+		+
Distributive meaning	+	+		

Reduplication in all four word classes indicates plurality: Nouns (10a), adjectives (11a), verbs (12) and manner adverbs (13a), while intensity is only indicated on adjectives (11b) and manner adverbs (13b) and distributive meaning on nouns (10b) and adjectives (11c).

Nouns:

- (10) a. **Plurality** *usa~usa* b. **Distributive** *ida~ida*
 ‘prayers’ ‘different ways’

Adjectives:

- (11) a. **Plurality** *buni~buni* b. **Intensity** *kuni~kuni* c. **Distributive** *yokoi~yokoi*
 ‘many good (ones)’ ‘very tiny’ ‘each one’

Verbs:

Plurality (actually intensity; cf. §6.6.2.4 and §3.4.2.2)

- (12) *iri~iri*
 ‘eat and eat’

Manner adverbs:

- (13) a. **Plurality** *besa~besa* b. **Intensity** *kimo~kimo*
 ‘more and more’ ‘very carefully’

Reduplication within complex verbs is primarily limited to the smaller compositional subclass, in which the complement can stand on its own (14a), although there are exceptional non-compositional complex verbs which also undergo reduplication (14b).² Reduplication is not a productive means of distinguishing any apparent subclasses. It has varying functions, including (i) conveying distributive or intensive meaning, (ii) serving as an action nominaliser or (iii) in common with other word classes, indicating plural.

- (14) a. *usa~usa ni-* b. *yaga~yaga re-*
 prayer~PL say shake~PL do
 ‘pray and pray’ ‘shake and shake (earthquake)’

Nouns function as heads of NPs and complex or simple verbs function as heads of VPs, while limited adjectives also function as heads of NPs. Adjectives usually follow the nouns they are modifying, while adverbs usually precede the verbs they are modifying (cf. §3.2, §3.3, §3.4, §3.5 and §3.6 below for further elaboration).

3.2 Nouns

Nouns function as heads of an NP, including in the roles of transitive or intransitive subjects, transitive objects, oblique arguments, e.g. accompaniment, benefactive, genitive, instrument, locative, possessive and temporal, as well as nominal predicates occurring after the ‘topic marker’ *bi* (59) below [cf. §8.2 for consideration of verbless clauses]. One subclass of adjectives can also behave as nouns (cf. §3.3.2). Grammatical roles, such as transitive or intransitive subject or transitive object are chiefly determined by position. Number is only indicated for nouns in instances of reduplication, by use of number words, through verbal morphology (A/S person-number-tense) and by specific plural forms (mainly kinship terms). Nominalisation of verbs functions as a noun forming technique (cf. §3.7.1). Functions which nouns share with other open word classes are shown in Table 3.2.

² Complex verbs in which the complement cannot be separated from its associated verb (non-compositional) are written with a full stop between the complement and the associated verb, while complex verbs in which the complement can be used without the associated verb (compositional) are written as two words (cf. §3.5).

Table 3.2: *Syntactic functions of nouns, adjectives, verbs and manner adverbs*

Syntactic function	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs	Manner adverbs
Modifier to a verb		+	+	+
Modifier to another adjective		+	+	
Copula complement	+	+		
Head of NP and argument	+	+		
Modifier in NP	+	+		
Part of a complex verb: complement	+	+		
Head of predicate		+		

Nouns (or noun phrases [cf. §5.2]) occur in various constituent positions (A/S, O, E, OBL). The following examples demonstrate those syntactic functions in Table 3.2: head of NP and argument (15-24), modifier in NP (15-16), part of a complex verb: complement (17) [and as copula complement further below (53), as mentioned above].

Transitive subject:

- (15) [*Ini rema vene*]_{NP} *bi mosara goe-ga...*
 3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIM.SS
 ‘While their wives dug up sweet potatoes...’ [14.05]

Intransitive subject:

- (16) [*Odu keke erena*]_{NP} *yaku erara re-dedi.*
 eclectus.parrot feather bird DSM beautiful do-3PL.PAST
 ‘Male eclectus parrot feathers look beautiful.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:144)

Transitive object:

- (17) *uba dubui=sa bi [tufe]_{NP} ri-gedi*
 both brothers=ACCM TOP raft make-3PL.FUT
 ‘both brothers will make/build a raft’ [14.01]

Temporal (cf. §3.2.1.5):

- (18) *Na [mirona fura]_{NP=ri} bo-gida.*
 1SG that week=at go.up-1SG.FUT
 ‘I will go up next (lit. ‘that’) week.’

Locative (in a postpositional phrase) (cf. §4.3):

- (19) *Mida bi [yava]_{NP} ide=ri ame-do.*
 child TOP house inside=at stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘The child is inside the house.’

Accompaniment (cf. §4.4.5):

- (20) ...*dada [nai rumana]_{NP=sa} kefo bo-yafa...*
 so 1SG.POSS man=ACCM river.bank go.up-1PL.PAST
 ‘...so with my husband we went up the river bank...’ [71]

Table 3.3: *Word classes and functional slots checklist*

Functional slot	Verb	Noun	Adjective	Manner adverb
A. Within a clause				
• Argument		+	+	
• Subject-predicate clause		+	+	
• Head of intransitive predicate	+			
• Head of transitive predicate	+			
B. Within an NP				
• Head of NP		+	+	
• Possessee in NP		+	+	
• Possessor in NP		+		
• Modifier in NP		+	+	
C. Within a VP				
• Modifier of a verb	+		+	+

3.2.1 Noun subclasses

Five subclasses of nouns occur: proper [i.e. naming] (§3.2.1.1), plural (§3.2.1.2), temporal (§3.2.1.3), compound (§3.2.1.4) and adjectival (§3.2.1.5).

3.2.1.1 Proper nouns

Proper nouns, which are names of persons, animals, places or environmental features, cannot normally be modified³ by other constituents within an NP, i.e. demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, clitics or reduplication, or possessed [however note §4.4.1 (48) *uni Nobi* [1PL.POSS (name)] ‘our (dear) Nobi’]. At the time of baptism, borrowed (saint) names are given; these names add non-standard phonemes, e.g. /k^h/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /ʃ/, /ə/ and /ks/ (cf. Table 2.3), and non-standard phonological patterns, i.e. closed syllables. When a name was borrowed many years ago, it would conform to the phonology; presently, however, with increased awareness and use of English, changes are seldom made, e.g. Charles, Jacinta and Alex (cf. Table 2.3). Types of proper nouns include 160 place names, 128 men’s names, 106 women’s names, 47 mountain names,⁴ 43 river names, e.g. name + *koru* ‘water/river’, 35 deep water (pool) names, e.g. name + *moka* ‘deep water’, 16 names of river mouths, e.g. name + *ema* ‘river mouth’, five names of streams, e.g. name + *buruka* ‘stream’, four dance names (Bradshaw 2021a:475) and two spirit names (Bradshaw 2021a:493) [Counts are based on Bradshaw (2021a); since proper noun is considered an open class, members are being continually added, e.g. personal names and

³ A proper noun + generic noun (acting as a compound noun) as in *Uma koru* ‘Uma river’ can be marked with =*ri* ‘at’, e.g. *Uma koruri* ‘at the Uma river’. A personal name can also be marked with =*sa* ‘with’, which is normally written separately, e.g. *Imore sa* ‘with Imore’.

⁴ Mountain names are compounds composed of a place name + *ika* ‘summit’ (cf. §11.2.1.2 and Table 11.6).

outside place names.] Sample representation is shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: *Proper nouns*

Type	Examples	Type	Examples
Places	<i>Keininomu Buridobu</i>	Pools	<i>Ayaka moka Tabu moka</i>
Men	<i>Rabona Dagere</i>	River mouths	<i>Gatama ema Muya ema</i>
Women	<i>Imore Bravo</i>	Streams	<i>Efa buruka Seme buruka</i>
Mountains	<i>Rofaika Vauraika</i>	Dances	<i>Kariku Kitoro</i>
Rivers	<i>Vaya koru Tarua koru</i>	Spirits	<i>Aire sori Aneru</i>

Proper nouns are less common in texts than other subclasses of nouns. Complete lists of these proper nouns are included in Bradshaw 2021a:477-490.

3.2.1.2 Plural nouns

Most nouns are unmarked for number, A/S person-number-tense being marked on the verb. However, there are four limited subclasses of plural nouns: special/close kinship terms, more distant kinship terms, and two suppletive/semi-suppletive forms with only one member each. The first is *oyevani* ‘fish [pl.]’ (25) [versus *oyena* ‘fish (sg.)’], which may be due to the high importance of fishing to the community. The second is *vene* ‘people’ (15) [versus *amiye* ‘person’ (27)]. The kinship terms are further elaborated below (cf. **B. Kinship terms**; also §1.2.4.1).

A. Reduplication: The only other means, of limited scope, for indicating plural on nouns is through reduplication. Eighteen occurrences in total have been identified (and written as separate words in the orthography); they have been organised into three slightly distinct subclasses. These categories are basically semantic in nature, the first representing countable items, the second non-countable and the third distributive. Conceivably there could be others. Approximately half serve as complements in complex verbs; this, however, is not a requirement for them to undergo reduplication.

Culturally important notions indicating plural, i.e. many, lots of, as a ‘greater’ plural), include *bado bado* ‘pieces’, *duma duma* ‘stealing a lot’, *gagani gagani* ‘many places, nations’, *gauka gauka* ‘much illness’, *isaka isaka* ‘lots of crying’, *mida mida* ‘children’ (25), *ofa ofa* ‘lots of lies’, *ofi ofi* ‘many young women’, *sina sina* ‘many stories’ and *usa usa* ‘much praying, asking’.

- (25) *Nono-baba ma [mida~mida]_{NP} ame-i-nu re-si aka,*
 mother-father and child~PL stay-LINK-STAT do-SEQ.SS prawn

buko, oyevani, iruku ma vaisiyau=sa iri-sifa ada
 fish.sp fish (pl.) food and stew=ACCM eat-1PL.PRES happiness

dudu.

INST

‘We parents (lit. ‘mother-father’) and children sit and happily (lit. ‘with happiness’) eat prawns, *buko* fish, fish, food and stew.’ [57]

Those reduplicated forms indicating increased degree or intensity, i.e. really, very, are: *baku baku* ‘successful’ (26), lit. ‘really finding (what is needed for life)’, *dogo dogo* ‘really preparing (or caring for)’ (27), *esika esika* ‘great pain, suffering’, *maina maina* ‘searching and searching’ and *sufa sufa* ‘very great/big bush’ (28). The first two do not semantically appear to be nouns, but do grammatically as nominal constituents in compound nouns (cf. §3.2.1.6). Other noun properties include functioning as head of an NP, e.g. *dogo dogo meda* (preparation~INTS day) ‘preparation day’, or being used as an argument in a clause, e.g. *toga ame-i-bo-bi-go ita di esika~esika moi-gedi* (always stay-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT fire GEN pain~INTS get-3PL.FUT) ‘they will receive the punishment of eternal fire’.

- (26) *Ina bi baku~baku de vene; bi notoka nufa.*
 3SG TOP finding~INTS NEG people TOP empty with
 ‘They were destitute (unsuccessful) people; they had nothing.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:67)

- (27) *uriyaku gorogoro dadi-si ida di-na gugura moi*
 morning early get.up-SEQ.SS road go-NOMZ things D.CAUS

dogo~dogo re-si...

preparing~INTS do-SEQ.SS

‘he got up early in the morning and was really preparing the things for the road (travelling)...’

In (28), the meaning of *sufa sufa* is ‘big bush’, i.e. deep into the bush, not on the periphery.

- (28) *Yokaru ...na ...bona Mathaias [sufa~sufa]_{NP} di-yafa...*
 one.day 1SG and (name) bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST
 ‘One day...Mathaias and I...went deep into the bush (lit. ‘bushes/really bush’)...’ [4.01]

Three express distributive meanings: *ida ida* ‘different ways/roads’ (29), *roka roka* ‘different names’ and *yabo yabo* ‘different trees’. This distributive meaning could also be interpreted as countable, i.e. many.

(29) ...*oki-gam-adi-ri*, *moke-na* *buni* *vene* *yaku*
 arrive-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS think-NOMZ good people DSM

bi [*ida~ida*]_{NP}-*ma* *oki-si* *muye-na* *amiye*
 TOP road~DISTR-by arrive-SEQ.SS die-NOMZ person

ve-gam-adi.

see-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘...when they were arriving, good thinking people were coming from different ways to see the dead person.’ [54]

The largest subclass of plural nouns are the kinship terms, which will now be discussed.

B. Kinship terms: Two types of kinship terms exhibiting plural forms occur: 1) special/close (consanguineal) terms and 2) more distant (both consanguineal and affinal) terms. Dutton (1975:623) concurs regarding plural kinship subsets in Southeast Papuan languages.

Four kinship terms (with singular *-Ø/-a/-o* to plural *-kai* endings) are included in the upper section in Table 3.5. Those eight found in the lower section include singular *-ni* to plural *-yaka* endings [cf. §1.2.4.1 for more details on kinship, including those without distinct plural forms].

Table 3.5: Kinship and reared terms

Singular	Gloss(es)	Plural	Gloss(es)
<i>aufa</i>	‘grandparent, grandchild’	<i>aufakai</i>	‘grandparent(s), grandchildren’ ⁵
<i>baba</i>	‘father’ ⁶	<i>bakai</i>	‘father(s)’
<i>vada</i>	‘uncle, nephew’	<i>vadakai</i>	‘uncles, nephews’
<i>nono</i>	‘mother’	<i>nokai</i>	‘mother(s)’
<i>asini</i>	‘friend’	<i>asiyaka</i>	‘friends’
<i>dubuini</i>	‘brother’	<i>dubuiyaka</i>	‘brothers’
<i>edini</i>	‘in-law’	<i>ediyaka</i>	‘in-laws’
<i>madini</i>	‘father, daddy’	<i>madiyaka</i>	‘fathers, daddies’
<i>meraini</i>	‘uncle’s child’	<i>merayiaka</i>	‘uncle’s children, cousins’
<i>radini</i>	‘in-law’	<i>radiyaka</i>	‘in-laws’
<i>rasini</i>	‘sister’ ⁷	<i>rasiyaka</i>	‘sisters’
<i>tobaini</i>	‘sister’ ⁸	<i>tobaiyaka</i>	‘sisters’

A special/close plural term is shown in (30) and more distant in (31); no other changes would transpire if these terms were exchanged with the singular terms, e.g. *ya yaku aufa di ago amiye rofu oteimadedi* ‘you tell grandfather’s words to people’.

- (30) *Ya yaku aufa-kai di ago amiye rofu oteima-dedi.*
 2 DSM grandparent-PL GEN word person to tell-2PL.PRES
 ‘You tell the ancestors’ (lit. ‘grandparents’) words to people.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:63)

- (31) *Nai mida bi ini madi-yaka=sa di-yadi.*
 1SG.POSS child TOP 3.POSS cousin-PL=ACCM go-3PL.PAST
 ‘My children went with their cousins/fathers.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:159)

Unlike these, the kinship term *yaufa* ‘aunt’ (Bradshaw 2021a:268) does not have a distinct plural form.

3.2.1.3 Temporal nouns

Four types of temporal nouns include calendrical, cyclical, terms for days and relative temporal nouns. Characteristically they occur at the beginning or end of a clause, dependent on prominence (cf. §10.2.2.3); they behave as nouns, fill heads of verbless clause subject (cf. §5.2.3 and §8.2) or complement (cf. §3.5), function as constituents of a transitive (cf. §5.1.1) or intransitive subject (cf. §5.1.2) or transitive object (cf. §5.1.3)

⁵ Both the term *aufa* ‘grandparent/child’ and the next generation up/down *bobada* ‘great great grandparent/child’ are reciprocal (cf. Table 1.5).

⁶ This includes ‘classificatory father’; the same applies to *nono* ‘mother’.

⁷ The daughter of a same gender sibling of a parent of a woman or a female three generations removed from ego (cf. §1.2.4.1).

⁸ The same gender child of a same sex sibling of a parent or a female three generations removed from a male or a male three generations removed from a female (cf. §1.2.4.1).

NP and occur bound to the clitic =*ri* ‘at, in, on’ (cf. §4.4.5). It is semantically incompatible for these to occur with the clitics =*sa* ‘with (accompaniment)’ or =*u* ‘by’ (instrument).

A. Calendrical: Four temporal nouns relate to the calendar. Two primarily refer to heavenly bodies, i.e. sun and moon, while the two borrowed from Hiri Motu only have reference to time periods. The four are organised according to increasing length of the time period they express in Table 3.6; both borrowed and autochthonous terms occur in example (32) as indicated in bold.

Table 3.6: *Calendrical temporal nouns*

Temporal noun	Gloss
<i>meda</i>	‘day (sun)’
<i>fura</i>	‘week’
<i>eyo</i>	‘month (moon)’
<i>lagani</i>	‘year’

(32) *Mina moni bi, [fura remanu]_{NP} o eyo yokoi maka=ri*
 this money TOP week two or month one only=at

moi-na bi buni ba ide?
 get-NOMZ TOP good or NEG

‘Do you think it is good to get this money in two weeks or just one month (lit. ‘moon’)?’ [106]

Other examples included in the chapter are: for *meda* ‘day’ in (126); for *fura* ‘week’ in (18); and for *eyo* ‘month’ in (181).

B. Cyclical: Three temporal nouns refer to regular daily cycles (Table 3.7); they are now also regularly used as greetings (cf. §10.2.3.1); an example follows.

Table 3.7: *Cyclical temporal nouns*

Temporal nouns	Gloss
<i>uriyaku</i>	‘morning’
<i>uriyenau</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>urusa</i>	‘night’

(33) *Duaiya re-i vau de re-yo, dada urusa=ri bi*
 count do-LINK completely NEG do-3SG.PAST so night=at TOP

oma=ri kinifo.akifo re-dedi mini
 sky=in twinkle do-3PL.PRES here

‘He could not count all (of them), so at night they twinkle here in the sky.’ [18.14]

Further examples can be found for *uriyaku* ‘morning’ in (110) and (138-139); and *urusa* ‘night’ in (110).

C. Terms for days: Doromu-Koki has one past tense, yet many terms for days. Concurring with Dutton (1970:924), the one term *agiya* conveys both ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’, i.e. alternately glossed as ‘one day before/after (or removed from) today’. The remaining terms continue in the same manner, i.e. ‘two days before/after...’, ‘three days before/after...’ etc. These five terms, along with *gua* ‘today, now,’ are used to count off days; otherwise borrowed English days of the week are used. They are represented in Figure 3.1 below.

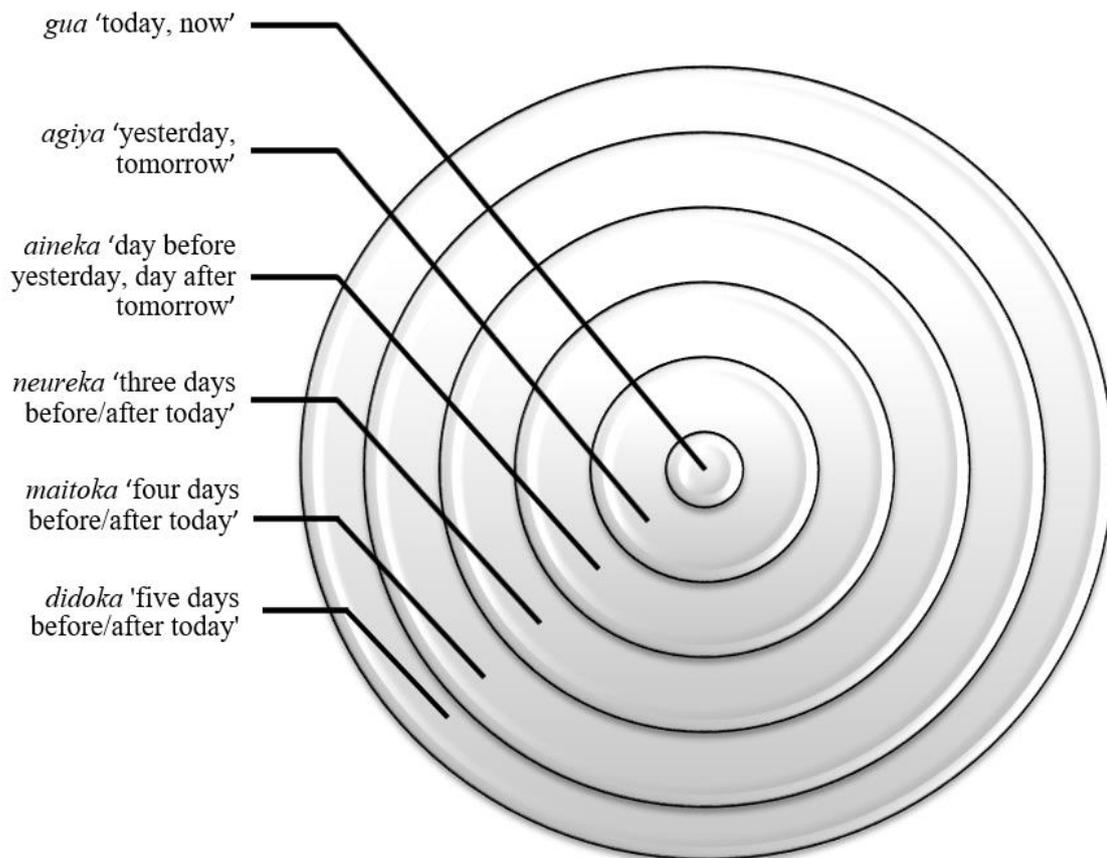


Figure 3.1: *Terms for days*

The terms for days are disambiguated by verbal tense morphology, giving a past interpretation in (34) and a future interpretation in (35). These terms behave as peripheral arguments.

- (34) *Kamini aineka bi mirona=ri oki-yafa.*
 so.then day.before.yesterday TOP that=at arrive-1PL.PAST
 ‘So then we arrived there the day before yesterday.’ [Bradshaw 2021a:55]

Bradshaw (2021a); representative examples are included in Table 3.8 below.

The first noun always functions as a modifier to the second, e.g. *ada bou* (head covering) ‘hat’; the modifying noun, much like an adjective, indicates what type of head noun it is delimiting. Most adjectives (cf. §3.3) follow the nouns they modify, in contrast to the way in which these nouns modify the head noun. It is rare to find reversed instances, e.g. *ada fore* ‘ignorance’ (lit. ‘head stone’), which may be perceived as a modifying adjective. In this instance one would expect **fore ada* ‘stone head’, describing the type of head the person has. But, as an ‘adjective’, the attested occurrence above would convey such an interpretation (cf. §3.3.2.2).

These compound nouns are of many differing varieties: animals *ara numa* (sore wasp) ‘stinging wasp’, body parts *atoka ueta* (chin body.hair) ‘beard’, clothing *bou varuka* (covering clothing) ‘jumper, coat’, cognition *moke-na vabara* (think-NOMZ light) ‘wisdom, knowledge’; comparable to *ada fore* (head stone) ‘ignorance’ above with a reversed order, geographical/environmental features include *kono ruba* (ground hole) ‘cave’, illnesses *ada gauka* (head sickness) ‘epileptic’ and types of people. Types of people include both singular *amiye* ‘person’ and plural *vene* ‘people’, e.g. *ekalesia amiye* (church person) ‘Christian’ or *rema vene* (woman people) ‘women’. In contrast, a possessive structure would indicate a part-whole type of relationship, e.g. *atoka di ueta* (chin GEN body.hair) ‘the chin’s hair’ (cf. §4.4.4).

The most familiar type of compound nouns are Root – Endocentric, that is they do not have a verbal base (Bauer 1983:164) and one element is treated as the head of the others (Bauer 1983:35). As an instance of the first constituent specifying the second, they are justified on the right in Table 3.8. Further specification types include abstract things and concepts, tangible things/objects, places and people. Of the Root type, exocentric is the least common, followed by coordinate.

There is only one type of synthetic (endocentric only) compounding, of the form *X re-do/re-na amiye* (*X do-3SG.PRES/do-NOMZ person*), as exemplified on the last line of the table. Synthetic compounds are composed of a verbal root accompanied by its argument (Aikhenvald 2007b:31). This type is also formulated with other verbs, e.g. *X ni-dedi/ni-na vene* (*X say-3PL.PRES/say-NOMZ people*), *Sei di ago ni-dedi vene* (God GEN word say-

3PL.PRES people) ‘prophets’⁹ or *ini abidi.re-yo vene* (3.POSS designate.do-3SG.PAST people) ‘his chosen people’. Compounds consist of two or more phonological words in which one modifies or coordinates with the other. When not seen as a unit, they are conjoined by the genitive *di*, e.g. *amiye di mida* (person GEN child/son) ‘son of man’. (See §5.2 for further examination on what constitutes an NP in opposition to a compound noun.)

Table 3.8: *Compound nouns*

Root		
Endocentric	Glosses	Free translation
<i>Doromu ago</i>	(Doromu word)	‘Doromu language’
<i>koru gena fou</i>	(water bamboo shot)	‘gunshot’
<i>uka esika moke-na</i>	(stomach pain think-NOMZ)	‘heartache’
<i>sioni iruku</i>	(white.man food)	‘store-bought food’
<i>kani konage</i>	(mustard stem)	‘mustard stem’
<i>Koki gagani</i>	(Koki place)	‘Koki land’
<i>koru seri</i>	(water shore)	‘riverbank’
<i>ekalesia amiye</i>	(church person)	‘Christian’
<i>furisi vene</i>	(police person)	‘police’
Exocentric		
<i>ita rafu sina</i>	(fire fellowship story)	‘argument’
<i>koru gena</i>	(water bamboo)	‘gun’
Coordinate		
<i>ada fore</i>	(head stone)	‘ignorance’
<i>ita ruvena</i>	(firewood small.firewood)	‘bundle of firewood’
<i>nono baba</i>	(mother father)	‘parent(s)’
<i>omuna ika</i>	(mountain summit)	‘mountaintop’
Synthetic		
Endocentric		
<i>sero re-do/re-na amiye</i>	(sell do-3SG.PRES/do-NOMZ person)	‘seller’

In a male-female pair, the female is always first, i.e. *nono-baba* mother-father ‘parents’ and *rema-rumana* woman-man ‘men and women’. A root endocentric compound is seen in (39).

- (39) *Mo kani bi nuga~nuga re-yaka sana mina=ri*
 at.once mustard TOP cut~NOMZ do-1SG.PAST place this=at
- ve-giya mini, [kadiri yabo rata]_{NP=ri}.*
 see-2SG.FUT here tree.nut tree trunk=at
- ‘And then at the place that I was cutting mustard you will see it there, at the *kadiri* nut tree trunk.’ [61]

⁹ As a complete clause *Ina vene yaku Sei di ago ni-dedi* (3 people DSM God GEN word say-3PL.PRES) ‘They tell God’s word’ would be expected (cf. §6.8.2).

Compounds can also be non-compositional, as seen in the following exocentric example.

- (40) [*Ita rafu sina*]_{NP} *fere-giya*.
 fire fellowship word leave-2SG.FUT
 ‘You will leave arguments (lit. ‘fire fellowship words’) behind.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:133)

Some other examples of these compounds include: for root coordinate *nono baba* ‘parents’ in (25) and (165); and synthetic endocentric *ago ni-dedi vene* (word say-3PL.PRES people) ‘word speaking people’ in Appendix (22.01) and (22.11).

3.2.1.5 Adjectival noun

The noun *vegu* ‘life’ (Bradshaw 2021a:260-261) also functions as an adjective, in a complex verb (41), or as a verbless clause complement, e.g. *fore bi vegu* (stone TOP green) ‘the stone is green’; cf. (52).

- (41) *Miya de-yo dada gagani vegu ni-yo*.
 rain come.down-3SG.PAST so place green become-3SG.PAST
 ‘The rain came down so the place became green/living.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:260)

3.3 Adjectives

The adjective class is a large open class, with around 200 members; adjectives can function as a verbless clause complement [cf. §5.2.3 and §8.2] and modify a noun in an NP, e.g. *rema buni* ‘good woman’. Most follow the noun they modify, and can also be modified (cf. §3.3.3). A small subclass also functions as nouns or adverbs (cf. §3.3.2.2).

- (42) *Mina bi [buni tora gade]*_{NP}.
 this TOP good big very
 ‘This is very very good.’

Mainly adjectives of colours (cf. §11.2.2) and numbers are borrowed from English and Hiri Motu. The adjective class shares many syntactic properties with nouns (cf. §3.2 and Table 3.2). They also share some limited properties with verbs (and manner adverbs); ‘modifier to a verb’ is due to the ability of adjectives (along with verbs and manner adverbs) to modify a complex verb, while ‘modifier to another adjective’ is due to the ability observed above as well as the use of adjectives in verbal compounds (complex verb) as seen in (43-44).

- (43) *Na bi beika nai moke=na=ri ame-do sina*
 1SG TOP what 1SG.POSS think=NOMZ=at stay-3SG.PRES word

ya=sa [gira anarauda re-gida]_{VP}

2=ACCM hard share do-1SG.FUT

‘I am going to firmly (lit. ‘hard’) share with you what I’m (lit. ‘is in my’) thinking.’ [106]

Here a verbal compound is formed incorporating the adjective *gira* ‘hard’ (cf. §3.4.2.1).

- (44) *Ina bi ada re-si ina vene [ni-gira re-yo]_{VP}*
 3 TOP happiness do-SEQ.SS 3 people say-hard do-3SG.PAST
 ‘He was happy and encouraged (lit. ‘say hard did’) them.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:192)

Adjectives share the most properties with nouns; according to the grammatical properties of the Doromu-Koki adjective class, adjectives are classified as type (b) under Dixon’s (2010b:67) parameters:

- (b)

NOUN

ADJECTIVE

VERB

Adjectives are a separate class, having homogeneous grammatical properties to nouns (Dixon 2010b), in opposition to verbs, with which they have only one item in common, i.e. modifier of a verb.

While in Table 3.2 adjectives share the first two properties with verbs, ‘modifier to a verb’ and ‘modifier to another adjective’, these properties are based on verb serialisation (cf. §7.3) and verbal compounding (cf. §7.1), not on single verbs. Another shared feature between adjectives and verbs is that they both allow for the Indirect causative prefixation (cf. §6.8.1), which can occur on postpositions (47). This is a feature of the language’s robust ability to generate verbal constructions by means of complex verbs.

Causative of an adjective:

- (45) *Agiya bafu [e-vava re-yaka]_{VP}*
 yesterday leftover I.CAUS-hot do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I reheated (lit. ‘caused to be hot’) yesterday’s leftover food.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:99-100)

Causative of a verb:

- (46) *Ma mirona amiye ...yava ...ina fafau yare-si*
 and that person house 3 on.top.of fall-SEQ.SS

e-muye-yo bi gokai?
 I.CAUS-die-3SG.PAST TOP how

‘And what about those people...on whom a...building fell and killed (lit. caused to die) (them)?’ (SUAR 2017:162:13.4)

Causative of a postposition:

- (47) *Mina bi ini vima yaku [e-negau.re-yo]_{VP}.*
 this TOP 3.POSS spirit DSM I.CAUS-near.do-3SG.PAST
 ‘This was revealed (lit. ‘caused to be/ draw near’) by his spirit.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:96)

Adjectives function as head of an NP, e.g. *tora-tora* ‘very big’ (48), and head of a predicate, as seen with *keika* ‘little’ (49). [Note also that *tora-tora* is possessee.]

- (48) [*Nai amiye di tora~tora*]_{NP} *di nemoko=ri ya yaku*
 1SG.POSS person GEN big~PL GEN eye=at 2 DSM

voi re-yaine.
 buy do-3SG.IMP

‘You ought to buy it in the presence (lit. ‘in the eyes [sight] of’) of my people’s elders (lit. ‘big ones’).’ (SUARBB 2011:4.4)

- (49) ...[*na keika*]_{VP=ri} *gutuna mina kana vegu ago tau vakoi*
 1SG little=at from this like practice word all together

moi gira re-i bai-da.
 D.CAUS hard do-LINK come-1.PRES

‘...since I was young (lit. ‘when I was little’) I have kept (lit. ‘firmly held onto’) all these practices’ words.’ (SUAR 2017:99:10.20)

A noun phrase consists of a noun followed by up to as many as three adjectives:

1. (DEM) (N) N (ADJ) (ADJ) (ADJ) (ADJ) (NUMB)
2. (PN_{POSS})

Like nouns, adjectives are also reduplicated, indicating plurality (50), intensity (51) and/or a distributive meaning (52) according to the semantic properties of the context.

- (50) ...[*sina buni~buni*]_{NP} *ni-yo dada*
 word good~PL say-3SG.PAST because.of
 ‘...because of the many good words/much good talk he was saying’
 (SUAR 2017:132:4.22)

- (51) ...*idu ago gira=ri [bura keika kuni~kuni yokoi]_{NP} ...de*
 but word hard=at writing little tiny~PL one NEG
roro ni-gedi
 disappear become-3PL.FUT
 ‘...but in this word each of the very tiny written parts, not one...will disappear’
 (SUAR 2017:9:5.18)
- (52) *bi [kamadaiforo bouna~bouna]_{NP} nufa*
 TOP colourfulness different~DISTR with
 ‘it was very colourful’ (lit. ‘it had differing/varying colourfulness’)
 (SUAR 2017:560:21.20.t)

Adjectives perform the two major semantic tasks of further specifying a referent, as we have seen above, and stating a property. In Doromu-Koki, the latter is realised as a head of predicate by means of a verbless clause complement (cf. §5.2.3 and §8.2), using the topic marker *bi*.

- (53) *Mida bi tumu.*
 child TOP short
 ‘The child is short.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:241)

As Doromu-Koki has a large open class of adjectives, the expectation would be that they encompass a wide range of semantic types, which is indeed what has been observed. Adjectives occur in each of the three core semantic sets as proposed by Dixon (2010b:73-4), with the majority in Dixon’s (2010b:73-4) Set B (categories: physical property and human propensity) and the least in Dixon’s (2010b:73-4) Set A (categories: dimension, age, value, and colour).¹⁰ All the categories of each set have some representation, except Difficulty and Speed.¹¹ Terms of the Difficulty category are expressed by polysemous adjectives in other categories (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: *Polysemous adjectives covering the ‘Difficulty’ semantic type*
 (From Bradshaw 2021a)

Adjective	Primary gloss	Alternate glosses
<i>amuta</i>	‘peaceful’	‘smooth, soft, nice, cool, simple , comfortable, kind, gentle, calm’
<i>buni</i>	‘good’	‘well, nice, beautiful, easy , reasonable, sensible, rational, logical, worthy’
<i>gira</i>	‘hard’	‘firm, strong, stiff, solid, thick, tough (rough), difficult ’
<i>toe</i>	‘heavy’	‘weighty, suffering, judged, problematic, loaded, difficult ’

¹⁰ These sets include core semantic types which are associated with varying size of language-specific adjective classes (Dixon 2010b:73).

¹¹ Glosses in the table indicated in bold include examples for Difficulty and Speed type.

Terms of the Speed category are instead expressed by manner adverbs.

Table 3.10: *Manner adverbs covering the ‘Speed’ semantic type*
(From Bradshaw 2021a)

Manner adverb	Gloss(es)
<i>evade</i>	‘ quickly , hurriedly’
<i>kimo</i>	‘carefully, slowly , quietly, easily, cautiously’
<i>kiya</i>	‘ slowly , carefully, cautiously’

The Physical properties category has the greatest number of members.¹² Table 3.11 includes sample representation (and exhaustive representation for smaller categories) for sets occurring in the language.¹³

Table 3.11: *Adjective semantic types* (Based on Dixon 2010b:73-74)

Set	Type	Example	Gloss(es)
A	1. Dimension (14)	<i>doba</i>	‘long, tall’
		<i>rome</i>	‘tall and slim’
		<i>romoga</i>	‘tall and slim’
		<i>yovirika</i>	‘long and smooth’
		<i>kuni</i>	‘tiny’
		<i>tumu</i>	‘short, little’
		<i>keika</i>	‘little’
		<i>giba</i>	‘thin’
		<i>kakaita</i>	‘narrow, tight, small’
		<i>kibobo</i>	‘narrow, tiny’
		<i>tora</i>	‘big’
		<i>feara</i>	‘flat’
		<i>feya</i>	‘flat’
		<i>rafo</i>	‘flat, wide’
	2. Age (13)	<i>autaetae</i>	‘immature, childish’
		<i>orova</i>	‘immature, green, unripe’
		<i>kiku</i>	‘immature (betel nut)’
		<i>matamata</i>	‘young’
		<i>ruana</i>	‘young’
		<i>ruaka</i>	‘new, clean, fresh, young’
		<i>bomudo</i>	‘old, deteriorating’
		<i>buruka</i>	‘elderly, old’
		<i>kokiya</i>	‘old’
		<i>kori</i>	‘old (things)’
		<i>sabedo</i>	‘old, worn out’
		<i>ugava</i>	‘old (person)’

¹² This category also contains a large subclass of corporeal properties, e.g. *aita* ‘light weight’, *faisara* ‘naked’ and *titi* ‘epicanthic fold eyes’. The adjective *faisara* ‘naked’ is a compound composed of *fai+sara* (trousers [i.e. generically clothing] + naked) (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:101-2, 222).

¹³ **Note:** When multiple glosses are given, the first is considered primary; in brackets below each type name are the total members of each category.

Set	Type	Example	Gloss(es)		
	3. Value (10)	<i>marada</i>	'wild, uncultivated'		
		<i>buni</i>	'good, well, nice'		
		<i>yariyari</i>	'good'		
		<i>guta</i>	'nice, good'		
		<i>dikadika</i>	'very good'		
		<i>burefe</i>	'best, very/really good'		
		<i>bere</i>	'nice and straight, quiet'		
		<i>no</i>	'bad, evil, wicked'		
		<i>irava</i>	'poor, destitute, worthless'		
		<i>akeke</i>	'special, sacred, holy, taboo'		
		<i>kikifa</i>	'honoured, special, holy, taboo'		
			4. Colour (8)	<i>gabu</i>	'black, blue, brown'
				<i>braun</i>	'brown'
<i>blu</i>	'blue'				
<i>vegu</i>	'green, living'				
<i>bora</i>	'yellow, orange'				
<i>kaka</i>	'red'				
<i>feyo</i>	'white'				
<i>nega</i>	'clear, transparent'				
B	5. Physical property (54)			<i>agubo</i>	'dull, unclear, dark, gloomy, foreboding'
				<i>isirema</i>	'slippery, oily'
		<i>kevo</i>	'bent, crooked, paralysed'		
		<i>mekuna</i>	'round'		
		<i>ravegeragera</i>	'dangerous, threatening'		
		<i>rigirigi</i>	'furry, hairy'		
		6. Human propensity (23)	<i>biyo</i>	'sad, sorrowful, despondent'	
			<i>duri</i>	'persistent, unrelenting, seductive'	
			<i>murono</i>	'lazy'	
			<i>negiyagiya</i>	'proud, arrogant, haughty, insolent'	
<i>vatoru</i>	'stupid'				
<i>vitu</i>	'alone, only, orphaned'				
C	9. Similarity (5)	<i>yora</i>	'understanding, listening, obedient'		
		<i>berou</i>	'other'		
		<i>ere</i>	'other (person)'		
		<i>idana</i>	'other, different'		
		<i>nokoi</i>	'other, another, various'		
	10. Qualification (7)	<i>kana</i>	'like, as, similar, about, approximate'		
		<i>egeregere</i>	'okay, well, alright, enough'		
		<i>girau</i>	'straight, right, indeed'		
		<i>rama</i>	'right, true, indeed, correct, real, sure'		
		<i>kotana</i>	'expert, full, whole, complete'		
<i>kurakura</i>		'a lot, very good/well'			
11. Quantification (21)	<i>yaudana</i>	'separate'			
	<i>girigiri</i>	'extreme'			
	<i>aida</i>	'some'			
	<i>be</i>	'some (sg.)'			
	<i>bedakai</i>	'some (pl.)'			
		<i>bede</i>	'any'		

Set	Type	Example	Gloss(es)
		<i>bouna</i>	‘another, different’
		<i>neinei</i>	‘each (one)’
		<i>vanu</i>	‘every’
		<i>tau</i>	‘many, plenty, a lot, all’
		<i>kava</i>	‘not one/all’
		<i>roada</i>	‘both’
		<i>uba</i>	‘both’
		<i>maka</i>	‘only, just, right’
		<i>ibounai</i>	‘all’
		<i>inauda</i>	‘all’
		<i>uda</i>	‘all’
		<i>buafu</i>	‘whole, entire’
		<i>buaru</i>	‘whole, entire’
		<i>idounai</i>	‘whole, all’
		<i>noibanu</i>	‘whole, a lot, all, entire, many’
12. Position (4)		<i>maike</i>	‘far (away), long way’
		<i>dabigara</i>	‘lower, bordering’
		<i>enana</i>	‘left’
		<i>viti</i>	‘high’
13. Numbers (11)		<i>yokoi</i>	‘one’
		<i>remanu</i>	‘two’
		<i>regodenu</i>	‘three’
		<i>vana raro</i>	‘four’
		<i>tuero</i>	‘twelve’

Selected examples of adjectives from each of the categories follow, preceded by any relevant argumentation.

A1. Dimension: Some adjectives regularly co-occur with others, e.g. *rome* ‘tall and slim’ in (54) always co-occurs with *doba* ‘long’¹⁴; while it is unusual to be reciprocal, e.g. *doba* also occurs on its own as in *ida doba* ‘long way/road’. Other co-occurring adjectives include *tuma gadeva* (wild fierce) [cf. (85)] or ones having a restricted use, only occurring with another specific word, e.g. *buni vayavaya* ‘very good’; the intensifying adverb *vayavaya* ‘very’ only occurs after *buni* ‘good’; cf. Table 3.14. Most adjectives do not have such restrictions.

- (54) *Riru yabo bi [doba rome]_{NP}.*
 tree.sp tree TOP long tall.and.slim
 ‘The *riru* tree is tall and slim.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:217)

¹⁴ It could be argued that *rome* ‘tall and slim’, like *vayavaya* ‘very’, may be interpreted as an intensifying adverb; unfortunately, the very limited data available leave the matter inconclusive.

A2. Age: Differing terms have differing scopes. The adjectives *ugava* or *kokiya* ‘old (person)’ are restricted to humans while the remaining age category adjectives, *bomudo* ‘old, deteriorating’ (55), *kori* or *sabedo* ‘old, worn out’ are not.

- (55) [*Nai varuka bomudo*]_{NP} *bi ori kamu re.*
 1SG.POSS clothing very.old TOP burn completely do
 ‘Burn up my very old clothes.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:74)

A3. Value: An interesting semantic set in this category is *akeke* ‘special, sacred, holy, and therefore taboo or forbidden, requiring honour and pleasing behaviours to be shown, otherwise danger can result’ (Bradshaw 2021a:56) and *kikifa* ‘honoured, special, holy, taboo, separated, respected, revered, hallowed, fasted from, avoided’ (Bradshaw 2021a:146). These two share many meanings; it is difficult to determine any clear distinction. The adjective *buni* is the most frequently used adjective with the meaning ‘good’ (Bradshaw 2021a:78), however, more unusual is *yariyari* ‘good’; the difference in meaning is uncertain.

- (56) *Nai mina sosogi bi yariyari.*
 1SG.POSS this black.palm.spear TOP good
 ‘This here spear of mine is good.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:268)

A4. Colour: Doromu-Koki colour terms exhibit a wider range than those in English. Original terms included only *feyo* ‘white’ and *gabu* ‘black, blue, brown’, i.e. ‘light’ and ‘dark’. Terms borrowed from Hiri Motu include *bora* ‘yellow, orange’ (57) and *kaka* ‘red, purple, ripe’, while later ones borrowed from English, allowing for further distinction, include *blu* ‘blue’ and *braun* ‘brown’ (cf. §11.2.2 for further elaboration, particularly on their development).

- (57) *Ari buni ni-go, oma bi [bora ni-do]*_{VP}
 day good become-3SG.FUT sky TOP orange become-3SG.PRES
dada.
 because
 ‘It will be a good day, because the sky is orange.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:75)

The modifying noun *vegu* ‘life’ added the meaning ‘green, living’.

- (58) *Mina bi vegu o blu-grin kana.*
 this TOP green or blue-green like
 ‘It is like green or like blue-green.’ (SUAR 2017:560:21.20.v)

B5. Physical property: As discussed above, physical property is the most populated category.

- (60) *una tau vanu bi [kino ni-yafa]_{VP} mini*
 1PL all every TOP dirty become-1PL.PAST here
 ‘all (or everyone) of us here have become dirty/defiled’ (Bradshaw 2021a:147)

Corporeal properties – This constitutes a subgroup of physical property. The NPs [*yabo abiye*] ‘dead tree’ and [*teteka*] ‘branch’ are juxtaposed.

- (61) *Kikima ya [yabo abiye]_{NP} teteka=ri*
 grey.headed.goshawk DSM tree dead branch=at

raka ni-do.
 call say-3SG.PAST
 ‘The grey-headed goshawk is calling out on the dead/dry tree branch.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:50)

B6. Human propensity: Note that *usi* ‘follow’ is always followed by a motion verb (cf. §3.4.2.3 and also above for examination of reduplication).

- (62) *Buko kana [ada duri~duri]_{NP} usi ne.*
 fish.sp like head persistent~INTS follow go.down
 ‘Keep on (lit. ‘go on’) persisting (lit. ‘continuing [with] very persistent head’) like the *buko* fish.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:90)

C9. Similarity: Many are quite prolific, e.g. *kana* ‘like, as, similar to, about, approximately’ or ...*di sisika kana* (GEN smell like) ‘like its smell’ [cf. (49), (58), (62)].

- (63) *Idu [yokoi ere]_{NP} yaku ema-gasa ni-yo...*
 but one other (person) DSM rebuke-SIM.SS say-3SG.PAST
 ‘But the other one rebuked him saying...’ (SUAR 2017:191:23.40)

The adjective *kana* modifies NPs functioning as VCS, VCC, CC, S or O (also cf. §9.2.3).

C10. Qualification:

- (64) ...*beika bura re-yadi mina [rama ni-yo]_{VP}...*
 what written do-3PL.PAST this true become-3SG.PAST
 ‘...what was written has been fulfilled (lit. ‘become true’)...’
 (SUAR 2017:250:1.16)

C11. Quantification: The adjective *be* ‘some (sg.)’ and *bedakai* ‘some (pl.)’ are the only adjectives to distinguish between singular and plural; *be* is used for uncountable items, e.g. *suga be na mafo* (sugar some 1SG give-2PL.PO.IMP) ‘give me some sugar’.

- (65) ...*uni* *uka* *ya* *vene* *rofu* *bi* *ya* [*ma-i* *buaru*
 1PL.POSS stomach 2 people to TOP DSM give-LINK whole

re-gam-afa]_{VP}.

do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST

‘...we have opened our hearts wide (lit. ‘were giving our stomachs wholly’) to you.’ (SUAR 2017:387:6.11)

C12. Position: The adjective *enana* only means ‘left’, while *rama* has many meanings: ‘right; true [cf. (64)], indeed, correct, real, genuine, sure, exact, amen’ (Bradshaw 2021a:209). A semantic pair is found in *mai*ke ‘far, long way’ indicating position, versus *gaima* (loc) ‘far away, separate from, apart’ (cf. §4.3) indicating movement.

- (66) *Ina* ...*bi* *oure-si* *kono* *di* [*soku* *dabigara*]_{NP} *rofu*
 3 TOP be.first-SEQ.SS ground GEN valley lower to

=*ka* *ne-yo*.

=also go.down-3SG.PAST

‘He also went down first into the ground’s lower valleys.’ (SUAR 2017:413:4.9)

C13. Number words: Dutton (1970:924) proposed 1, 2, 2+1, 5-1, 5 (= hand) for Doromu-Koki numbers and later regarding the Southeast Papuan languages Dutton (1975:623) claimed: ‘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 exhibits the latter, containing a basic three set of numbers, *yokoi* ‘one’, *remanu* ‘two’, and *regodenu* ‘three’. The number four, however, is not 2+2, but rather a variation on five (= hand), that is like 5-1 (or hand sans thumb): *vana raro* (lit. ‘hand line’) ‘four’. The number ‘five’ is also derived from the noun *vana* ‘hand’; *vana berou autu* (lit. hand empty side, i.e. ‘palm’) ‘five’.

The numbers ‘one’, ‘two’ and ‘three’ are regularly used. The numbers four and five are less frequently used, and beyond these English equivalents are an everyday occurrence. These higher more complex numbers are used when a speaker wants to ensure that an outsider will not comprehend. Numbers modify NPs in the same way as other adjectives. English loans are used in the same manner, after the noun, e.g. *amiye ten* ‘ten people’, and can be regularly used for any numbers, including one, two and three. The numbers are explained in Table 3.12, followed by an example (69). Since the numbers six through nine are unwieldy, they are seldom used, except for reasons previously mentioned.

Ordinal numbers are indicated on the lower portion of Table 3.12. The terms *oure(na)* ‘first’ and *usika* ‘next, last’ (67) also function as kinship terms; *ourena* has a meaning of

- (69) ...[rema **remanu**]_{NP} di roka bi Inu Mamaru bona
 woman two GEN name TOP (name) (name) and

Dau Mamaru.
 (name) (name)

‘...two women’s names were Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’ [16.03]

The number *yokoi* ‘one’ has a general or specific realisation according to position relative to the noun, e.g. specifically in *ari yokoi maka* (day one only) ‘just one day’ versus in general in *yokoi ari* ‘one day/once upon a time’, in which it functions as a compound.¹⁵ The number *yokoi* ‘one’ also has an indefinite article function.

- (70) ...[amiye **yokoi**]_{NP} roka Tau Yagabo yaku ini rautu
 person one name (name) (name) DSM 3.POSS village

vene omar-o ini muro vari-yaganedi.
 people invite-3SG.PAST 3.POSS garden plant-3PL.IMP

‘...a man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.’
 [15.01]

Reduplication of the number *yokoi* ‘one’ (cf. Table 3.1) provides a distributive meaning; here the reduplicated form is used as head of an NP.

- (71) ...kamini [**yokoi~yokoi**]_{NP} dadi-ga rautu urana di-yadi.
 so.then one~DISTR get.up-SIM.SS village toward go-3PL.PAST
 ‘...so then one by one as they got up they went back toward the village.’
 [15.09]

When *yokoi* ‘one’ is used with *maka* ‘only’ the meaning is ‘only/just one, alone’.

- (72) To [ini no **yokoi maka**]_{NP} bi oruma bo-yo
 but 3SG.POSS bad one only TOP grass go.up-3SG.PAST

vo.ni-do.

happen-3SG.PRES

‘But the only one bad thing is that weeds come up.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:161)

The adjective *maka* ‘only’ follows any NP (or pronoun, e.g. *ina maka* ‘just him/he alone’).

- (73) ...gabu yokoi **maka=ri** ame-i tairi.
 place one only=in stay-LINK settle
 ‘...settle down in one place.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:57)

¹⁵ Often these compounds are reduced in rapid speech, eg. *yokaru* (*yokoi-ari=u* day-one=on) ‘one day’ (cf. §2.8.2.6).

The two idiomatic expressions *koru ida* ‘six’ (lit. ‘waterway/course’) and *viro vara* ‘seven’ (lit. ‘axe handle’) iconically represent numbers. These expressions are used for activities such as playing card games, so that an individual with limited knowledge of the language will not be able to understand the meaning. The term *auna di yuka* ‘club’ (lit. ‘dog’s foot’) is also correspondingly used in card games; its literal sense is used as well.

Adjectives in every category available (about 44%) function as complements of complex verbs. Examples below include representative complex verbs using adjectives from nine of the categories. (Complements also include nouns and postpositions.)

A1. Dimension: A secondary gloss for *do* is ‘tall’.

- (74) *oki-si* *ame-yo* [*do* *ni-yo*]_{VP}
 arrive-SEQ.SS stay-3SG.PAST long become-3SG.PAST
 ‘he arrived and stayed on longer (lit. ‘it became long’)’ (SUAR 2017:433:i)

A2. Age: The primary gloss for *ruaka* is ‘new’; other glosses include ‘clean’, ‘fresh’ and ‘young’ (Bradshaw 2021a:218).

- (75) *Ya ura re-i-sa vonisi, ya yaku na [moi ruaka*
 2 want do-LINK-2SG if 2 DSM 1SG D.CAUS clean
*ri-giya]*_{VP....}
 make-2SG.FUT
 ‘If you want, you will cleanse/make new/renew (lit. ‘make clean’) me...’
 (SUAR 2017:76:1.40)

A3. Value: (cf. **A3. Value** discussion following Table 3.11)

- (76) *Ago rama dudu ina vene [moi akeke ri]*_{VP....}
 word true INST 3 people D.CAUS holy make
 ‘Sanctify (lit. ‘make holy’) them by the truth (lit. ‘true/right word’)...’
 (SUAR 2017:237:17.17)

A4. Colour:

- (77) *Muye-yo-ri bi ini roaita [bora ni-yo]*_{VP}.
 die-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS body yellow become-3SG.PAST
 ‘When he died his body was (lit. ‘became’) yellowed.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:75)

B5. Physical property:

- (78) *Rovaita [toe re-yo]*_{VP}, *adina ago no ni-yo.*
 body heavy do-3SG.PAST for word bad say-3SG.PAST
 ‘He was ashamed (lit. ‘his body was weighed down’), because he spoke badly.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:238)

C9. Similarity:

- (79) ...*yi* *moke-na* *moi* *ruaka* *ri-si* *dudu* *yi*
 2.POSS think-NOMZ D.CAUS new make-SEQ.SS INST 2.POSS

vegu [*moi* *idana* *ri-fa*]_{VP...}
 practice D.CAUS different make-2PL.IMP
 ‘...change your practices/ways by the renewing (lit. ‘make different’) of your thinking/mind...’ (SUAR 2017:342:12.2)

C10. Qualification:

- (80) [*Egeregere* *ni-yo*]_{VP}.
 okay become-3SG.PAST
 ‘He felt fine (lit. ‘became okay’).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:93)

C12. Position:

- (81) *Idu* *kaere* *iniye* [*moi* *odoro* *ri-go*]_{VP...}
 but who REFL D.CAUS above make-3SG.PAST
 ‘But whoever exalts (lit. ‘make above’) himself...’ (SUAR 2017:54:23.12)

C13. Numbers:

- (82) *moi* *gogo* *ri-si* [*moi* [*yokoi* *maka*]_{NP} *ri-yo*]_{VP}
 D.CAUS together make-SEQ.SS D.CAUS one only make-3SG.PAST
 ‘he has joined them together making them one’ (SUAR 2017:98:10.9)

Examination continues with antonymic adjectives (§3.3.1), adjective subclasses (§3.3.2) and other uses of adjectives: intensification (§3.3.3) and comparison (§3.3.4).

3.3.1 Antonymic adjectives

A small set of adjectives have antonym pairs. All are used together to express comparison (cf. §3.3.4); they cannot be paired together to form compounds. Due to a wide semantic range, the headings in Table 3.13 are somewhat imprecise.

Table 3.13: *Antonymic adjectives*

Positive/lesser	Gloss(es)	Negative/greater	Gloss(es)
<i>aita</i>	‘lightweight’	<i>toe</i>	‘heavy’
<i>amuta</i>	‘peaceful, smooth’	<i>kako</i>	‘rough’
<i>buni</i>	‘good’	<i>no</i>	‘bad’
<i>gabū</i>	‘black’	<i>feyo</i>	‘white’
<i>gira</i>	‘hard, firm, strong, stiff’	<i>yau</i>	‘soft, weak, faint’
<i>itu</i>	‘cold’	<i>vava</i>	‘hot’
<i>kakaita</i>	‘narrow, tight, small’	<i>rafo</i>	‘flat, wide’
<i>keika</i>	‘little, small’	<i>tora</i>	‘big’
<i>kiku</i>	‘immature’	<i>kiri</i>	‘dry/mature’
<i>mami</i>	‘tasty, delicious, savoury’	<i>ru</i>	‘bitter’
<i>roko</i>	‘dry, arid’	<i>dou</i>	‘wet, damp’
<i>rorobo</i>	‘straight, just’	<i>kevo</i>	‘bent, crooked’
<i>ruaka</i>	‘new, clean, fresh, young’	<i>ugava</i>	‘old’
<i>ruana</i>	‘young’	<i>kori</i>	‘old (things)’
<i>tumu</i>	‘short’	<i>doba</i>	‘long, tall’

Further examples of antonymic adjectives include *buni* ‘good’ in (27), (29), (42), (50), (57), (96), (100), (113), (117), (129), (133), and (180); *gira* ‘hard, firm, strong, stiff’ in (43), (44), (49), (51), (157) and (162); *keika* ‘little, small’ in (7), (49), (51), (92), (102) and (172); *ruaka* ‘new, clean, fresh, young’ in (75) and (79); *tumu* ‘short’ in (53); *toe* ‘heavy’ in (78) and (94); *no* ‘bad’ in (8), (67), (72), (78), (93), (98) and (156); *vava* ‘hot’ in (45) and (92); *tora* ‘big’ in (42), (48), (88f), (91), (95-97), (102), (117) and (177); and *doba* ‘long, tall’ in (54), (74), (103) and (105).

3.3.2 Adjective subclasses

Two subclasses of adjectives occur: pre-nominal (§3.3.2.1) and those which also function in other word classes (§3.3.2.2).

3.3.2.1 Pre-nominal adjectives

Approximately 11% (of 257 total) of adjectives precede the noun they modify; constituents do not intervene, including *iniye* ‘very’. Pre-nominal adjectives are not employed as an afterthought and do not occur in questions. They also do not function as nominal constituents and must modify a noun. Reference is to types of people, borrowed colour terms or physical properties. Since adjectives in Hiri Motu also follow the noun, e.g. *hahine buruka* (woman old) ‘old woman’ (Wurm and Harris 1963:20), such a representative NP (83) is interpreted as a compound noun, e.g. ‘old one-person’.

- (83) *Ina bi [buruka amiye]_{NP}.*
 3 TOP elderly person
 ‘He is an elderly person.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:80)

However, in (84) the pre-nominal use could instead be used for contrastive emphasis, as indicated in the translation.

- (84) [*Braun* *buka*]_{NP} *na* *ma*.
 brown book 1SG give
 ‘Give me the **brown** book.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:76)

The two adjectives *tuma* ‘wild’ and *gadeva* ‘fierce, ferocious, aggressive, brutal, savage’ function alone, e.g. *tuma amiye* ‘enemy’ (lit. ‘wild person’) and *gadeva auna* ‘fierce dog’, and also occur together preceding nouns. (The compound noun *dona auna* (pig dog) functions as a generic term for animals.)

- (85) *Ina* *vene* *bi* [*tuma* *gadeva* *dona* *auna*]_{NP} *kana*...
 3 people TOP wild fierce pig dog like
 ‘They are like wild fierce animals (lit. ‘pig-dog’)...’ (SUAR 2017:510:2.12)

The adjective *refei* ‘lazy’ follows the noun it modifies.

- (86) *Ya* *bi* [*mida* *refei*]_{NP} *baeko* *ya* *ve-i-da*.
 2 TOP child lazy perhaps DSM see-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I see that perhaps you are a lazy child.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:212)

Position may be a means of expressing prominence. However, this variation is an exceptional pair; no definitive conclusion is readily evident.

- (87) *Dibura* *bi* [*refei* *mida*]_{NP}.
 (name) TOP lazy child
 ‘Dibura is a lazy child.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:212)

The pre-nominal adjective *viaigana* ‘last-born’ is exemplified in (68) above. Occurrences of the pre-nominal adjectives are very limited.

The plural noun *vene* ‘people’ formulates compound idiomatic expressions with nouns and adjectives, as well as with the second and third person pronoun to distinguish between singular and plural. The same structure does not occur with the singular *amiye* ‘person’ as seen in (88e, f).

- (88) a. *ya vene* ‘you (pl.)’ *ya* ‘you (sg.)’
 b. *ina vene* ‘they’ *ina* ‘he/she/it’
 c. *rema vene* ‘women’ *rema* ‘woman’
 d. *rumana vene* ‘men’ *rumana* ‘man’
 e. *rua vene* ‘young people’ *amiye rua* ‘young man’
 f. *tora vene* ‘elders’ *amiye tora* ‘big person/elder’

Analysis now moves onto adjectives that also function as members of other word classes, identified here as performing “double-duty”.

3.3.2.2 Multiclass functioning: “Double-duty”

A limited set of adjectives function as nouns, adjectival modifiers or manner adverbs modifying verbs. These double-duty adjectives, include *aita* ‘light (weight)’ (89), *berou* ‘other’ (90), *buni* ‘good’, *gira* ‘hard’, *isivaga* ‘powerful’ (91), *keika* ‘little’ (92), *no* ‘bad’ (93), *toe* ‘heavy’ (94) and *tora* ‘big’ (95-97). Many function as headless NPs.

Adjectives do not modify pronouns, and only host postpositional enclitics as the head of an NP; as here with *aita* ‘light (weight)’, which also functions as the head of a predicate.

- (89) *Yokaru vo.ni-bo na [aita]_{NP=ri} nai baba bona na*
 one.day happen-POT 1SG light=at 1SG.POSS father and 1SG

sufa~sufa di-yafa.
 bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST
 ‘One day when I was young (lit. ‘at light weight’) my father and I went deep bush in the bush.’ [1.01]

A possessive construction is formed by the genitive postposition *di* between noun phrases (90-91); these adjectives function as headless NPs.

- (90) *Resi mina gagani di [berou~berou]_{NP=ri} raga*
 SBL this place GEN other~DISTR=from run

...re-gam-adi.
 do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘And they...were running from side to side (lit. ‘from other-another’) in this place.’ (SUAR 2017:90:6.55)

- (91) *Ye amiye di [isivaga]_{NP} bi tora...*
 so person GEN powerful TOP big
 ‘So people’s strength (lit. ‘powerfulness’) is great...’ (SUAR 2017:26:12.12)

The adjective *keika* ‘little’, while modifying the idiom *koru vava* ‘tea’ below, has a meaning of ‘small quantity’.

- (92) *mina ye [[koru vava]_{NP} keika]_{NP} moi-gasa mina di moimai*
 this so water hot little get-SIM.SS this GEN work

raga re-go
 run do-3SG.FUT
 ‘so that a little tea (lit. ‘hot water’) will be gotten/received and from this the work will continue’ [106]

Adjectives function as complements in complex verbs; here the adjective *no* ‘bad’ modifies the action with an adverbial function.

- (93) *ida=u de-gasa bi [abou no re-yaka]_{VP}*
 road=by come-SIM.SS TOP fall bad do-1SG.PAST
 ‘while coming on the road I had a bad fall (lit. ‘fell badly’)’ [82]

Adjectives with nominal function occur among a list of nouns.

- (94) *Uni rautu esika~esika, toe, mukuna=ri ame-sifa*
 1PL.POSS village pain~INTS heavy darkness=at stay-1PL.PRES

dada...

since

‘Since we are living in our village in suffering, heaviness (and) darkness...’
 [84]

A particular adjective will exhibit multiple functions. The adjective *tora* ‘big’ functions as head of an NP, consisting of another adjective (95) or adjectives (96) or as a nominal modifier (97).

- (95) *Dubuini [tora ere]_{NP} di mosara muro bi rama*
 brother big other GEN sweet.potato garden TOP true

ni tau~tau re-yo dada...
 become all~PL do-3SG.PAST because

‘because the brother’s other big brother (lit. ‘his other big one’)’s sweet potato garden greatly produced’ [14.02]

- (96) *...dada Sei rofu [buni tora gade]_{NP} ma-i-da ma ya*
 so God to good big very give-LINK-1SG.PRES and 2

rofu =ka.
 to =also

‘...so I thank (lit. ‘give very big goodness’) God and also you.’ [34.01]

- (97) *Grace di ini yuka bi [[esika tora]_{NP}*
 (name) GEN 3.POSS leg TOP pain big

re-gam-o]_{VP}
 do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

‘Grace’s leg was in great (lit. ‘was doing big’) pain’ [89]

Other means in which these adjectives have polyfunctional use are seen below.

3.3.3 Intensification

Adjectival intensification can be indicated by reduplication or through use of various terms as described in Table 3.14 (cf. §3.6.3).

Table 3.14: *Intensification*

Term	Gloss(es)	Uses
<i>gade</i>	‘very’	Only occurs after <i>tora</i> , with quantitative meaning ‘great’ as in (42), rather than the usual dimension meaning ‘big’, or after <i>tau</i> ‘many’.
<i>iniye</i>	‘very’	The most frequent form of intensification, homophonous with <i>iniye</i> ‘self’ (cf. §4.1.3); for non-quantitative meanings.
<i>tau</i>	‘many, plenty, a lot, all’	Quantitative intensification, countable items.
<i>tora</i>	‘great, much’	Quantitative intensification as in (42), uncountable.
<i>vanu</i>	‘every’	Occurs after <i>tau</i> ‘many’, further quantitative intensification.
<i>vayavaya</i>	‘very’	Only occurs after <i>buni</i> ‘good’.

Each form of intensification is exemplified below, unless reference is given to a previous example in the table.

- (98) *Budoka sau u-si [esiroka no iniye]_{NP}*
 dust odour inhale-SEQ.SS cough bad very

ni-yaka.

say-1SG.PAST

‘I inhaled the dust and coughed very badly (lit. ‘said very bad cough’).’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:78)

As indicated in Table 3.14, *gade* ‘very’ follows *tau* ‘many’, as seen here, or *tora* ‘big’; *amiye tora gade* would yield the slightly distinct meaning ‘crowd’, lit. very great (quantity of) people.

- (99) *Ye [amiye tau gade]_{NP} egogo re-yadi.*
 so people many very gather do-3PL.PAST
 ‘So very many people gathered together.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:235)

- (100) *Muro re-si ve-i-da bi [buni vayavaya]_{NP}.*
 garden do-SEQ.SS see-LINK-1SG.PRES TOP good very
 ‘I work the garden and then I see that it is very good.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:260)

- (101) *Mina sina ga ni-yainedi vo ni-yaka, idu*
 this word PROHIB say-3SG.IMP tell say-1SG.PAST but

ne-si

go.down-SEQ.SS

[*amiye*

person

tau

all

vanu]_{NP}

every

ni-yo.

say-3SG.PAST

‘I told him not to tell this news, but he went down telling it to everyone.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:257)

These intensification adjectival forms also convey further intensification through reduplication, e.g. *amiye tora~tora* ‘a crowd’ or *amiye tora gade~gade* ‘a large crowd’ (cf. Bradshaw 2012:62, 64).

3.3.4 Comparison

Comparison is achieved by statement of a positive characteristic of one individual and a negative characteristic of the other. This is also performed through the use of adjectives.

- (102) *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.’)

Comparison is also conveyed by use of the verb *ebu re-* ‘surpass; beat, win over, conquer, overcome, exceed’ (Bradshaw 2021a:92). The adjective *doba* ‘long’ is used here in a headless NP meaning ‘length/height’.

- (103) [*Nai doba*]_{NP} *bi* [*yi doba*]_{NP} *ebu re-yo.*
 1SG.POSS long TOP 2.POSS long beat do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My height surpassed your height.’ (i.e. ‘I’m taller than you.’)

Nouns and nominalised verbs are also used in these constructions.

- (104) ...[*vegu ame-na*]_{NP} *bi iruku ebu re-do*
 life stay-NOMZ TOP food surpass do-3SG.PRES
 ‘...living life surpasses food’ (SUAR 2017:159:12.23)

Superlative is indicated by modification of the subject/object pronoun with *maka* ‘only’; this is the only adjective to do so.

- (105) *Sikuru sana=ri bi [ina maka] bi ni-do doba.*
 school place=at TOP 3 only TOP become-3SG.PRES long
 ‘At school he alone is tall.’ (i.e. ‘He is the tallest in the school.’)

Doromu-Koki adjectives share analogous syntactic properties with nouns, i.e. copula complement, head of NP and argument, modifier in NP and part of a complex verb: complement; cf. Table 3.2, but also have unique properties (modifier to a verb, modifier to another adjective and head of predicate; cf. Table 3.2); adjectives form a distinct word class. As also characteristic to other word classes, adjectives can be used in complex verb, i.e. nouns, and as verbal modifiers, i.e. verbs and manner adverbs.

3.4 Verbs

Verbs fill the predicate slot, clause finally, and are inflected for mood and modality (cf. §6.6.1 and §6.6.3), aspect (cf. §6.6.2), tense (cf. Table 3.15 and §6.6.4) and switch-reference marking (cf. §6.2.1). They are classified according to transitivity (cf. §3.4.2.2)

as well as minor uninflected subclasses (cf. §3.4.1). When mood is indicated, no other verbal morphemes co-occur. Tense suffixes incorporate subject person and number in combinations of between four or five per tense. The second and third person forms contain the greatest under-differentiation. Verbs occurring in sentence medial clauses are distinguished from those occurring in sentence final clauses (cf. §6.2). A maximum co-occurrence of four suffixes after the verb stem has been observed (Table 3.15).

Table 3.15: *Verb formation*

Stem	Modality	Aspect	Mood/	Tense	Switch-reference
					-SIM.DS
	-POT	-PAST.IMPERV		-PAST	-SEQ.DS
				-PRES	
		-FUT.IMPERV		-FUT	
					-SIM.SS
					-SEQ.SS
			-IMP		
			-PO.IMP		
			-HYPOTH		
			-POSB		
			-PURP		
			-CON		

The 199 simple verbs are composed of two classes; the verb class is considered open due to the robust ability to form new complex verbs with a borrowed complement + associated verb (cf. §3.5). The majority of verb stems contain two syllables (53%), followed by three (25%), then one (17%). Only 5% are composed of four syllables; these are mainly compounds. The much smaller (11%) Class I contains verb stems ending in *ar*. The final rhotic *r* is retained when a verb is inflected with suffixes beginning with a vowel; before a suffix beginning with a consonant it is deleted (cf. 2.6D). Examples below with retained rhotic *r* are indicated in bold.

- (106) a. *mar-aka* *ma-i-da* *mar-**adu***
 give-1SG.PAST give-LINK-1SG.PRES give-SG.POSB
 ‘I gave’ ‘I give’ ‘could give (sg.)’
- b. *oteimar-o* *oteima-i-sa* *oteima-giya*
 tell-2SG.PAST tell-LINK-2SG.PRES tell-2SG.FUT
 ‘you told’ ‘you tell’ ‘you will tell’

Class II includes all verb stems ending in the remaining vowels (*e*, *i*, *o* and *u*); these comprise 87% of the verbs.

(107) a.	<i>re-yaka</i> do-1SG.PAST 'I did (it)'	<i>re-i-da</i> do-LINK-1SG.PRES 'I do (it)'	<i>re-gida</i> do-1SG.FUT 'I will do (it)'	<i>re-∅</i> do-2SG.IMP 'do (it) [sg.]'
b.	<i>di-yo</i> come-2SG.PAST 'you (sg.) came'	<i>di-sa</i> come-2SG.PRES 'you (sg.) come'	<i>di-giya</i> come-2SG.FUT 'you (sg.) will come'	<i>di-gasa</i> come-SIM.SS 'while coming'
c.	<i>bo-yo</i> go-3SG.PAST 'he went'	<i>bo-do</i> go-3SG.PRES 'he goes'	<i>bo-go</i> go-3SG.FUT he will go'	<i>bo-si</i> go-SEQ.SS 'go(es) and then'
d.	<i>oku-yafa</i> break-1PL.PAST 'we broke (it)'	<i>oku-sifa</i> break-1PL.PRES 'we break (it)'	<i>oku-gifa</i> break-1PL.FUT 'we will break (it)'	<i>oku-nadi</i> break-1PL.IMP 'let's break (it)'

3.4.1 Other minor verb classes

Two verb classes containing a very limited number of uninflected verbs are classified as verb of intention and verbs of cognition. The first class only has one member while the second has three.

3.4.1.1 'Secondary' verb of intention

The verb of intention, *va* 'try', has only been attested co-occurring with imperative forms and verbs of perception and counting, i.e. reading (108) or seeing (109). It cannot be negated or used in questions.

(108)	<i>Mina-dada</i> this-so	<i>vasa</i> sand	<i>ya</i> DSM	<i>ni-yo,</i> say-3SG.PAST	“[<i>Va</i> <i>uniye~uniye</i> try 1PL.REFL~PL
	<i>duaiya</i> count	<i>re-i</i> do-LINK	<i>ve-nadi</i> _{VP} ,” see-1PL.IMP	<i>vo</i> tell	<i>ni-yo.</i> say-3SG.PAST

'Therefore (lit. this-so) Sand said to him, "Let's try to see if we can count ourselves," he said.' [18.05]

(109)	[<i>Va</i> <i>di-si</i>] _{VP} try go-SEQ.SS	<i>mina</i> this	<i>ago</i> word	<i>di</i> GEN	<i>ini</i> 3.POSS	<i>adina</i> meaning	<i>ve-i</i> see-LINK
	<i>mona</i> properly	<i>re-fa...</i> do-2PL.IMP	'You (pl.) try to go and see properly this word's meaning/basis...' (SUAR 2017:19:9.13)				

Temporal and transitive object NPs can intervene between this verb of intention and its associated verb of perception or counting.

- (110) *Va uriyaku neinei bona urusa ini ago duaiya re-si*
 try morning each and night 3.POSS word count do- SEQ.SS
- usa~usa ni-nadi.*
 ask~PL say-1PL.IMP
 ‘Let’s try to read its words each morning and night and pray.’ [99]

Consideration will now continue with the remaining uninflected verbs.

3.4.1.2 Verbs of cognition/volition

The verbs of cognition and volition include the three verbs *diba* ‘know’ (111), *toto* ‘do not know, forget’ (115) [cf. §6.1.3] and *ura* ‘want, wish, like.’ This last verb forms a complementation strategy, as in (113), lit. ‘I want that you know...’. They are also able to be negated, but cannot be used in imperatives. They are uninflected, but also occasionally occur in a complex verb as the complement with the associated verb *ni-* ‘become’, e.g. *diba* ‘know’ (113) and *toto* ‘do not know’ (114), or with *re-* ‘do’, e.g. *ura* ‘want’ (75), (116), (133). These verbs often exhibit pronominal subject reduplication (111); the object pronoun follows the verb, unlike with other verbs.

- (111) *Na (na) diba ina.*
 1SG 1SG know 3
 ‘I know him.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:85)

A subject pronoun provides a means of co-referencing subject, due to zero verb morphology.

- (112) *Nai baba bi oyena fate vadi-na ina diba.*
 1SG.POSS father TOP fish net make-NOMZ 3 know
 ‘My father knows (lit. [has] knowledge [of]) how to weave fishing nets.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:85)

The use of associated simple verbs, i.e. forming a complex verb, *ni-* may give an extended stronger interpretation, i.e. ‘understand’.

- (113) *Na ura ya [diba ni-gedi]_{VP} nai muro=ri bi*
 1SG want 2 know become-2PL.FUT 1SG.POSS garden=in TOP
- sogona buni vare-do.*
 thing good plant-3SG.PRES
 ‘I want you to know/understand that there is something good planted in my garden.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:85)

The verb *toto* means either ‘forgotten’ (115) or more regularly ‘ignorant’ (114).

- (114) *Ina uda moke-fo,* [ga **toto** *ni-fa*]_{VP}.
 3 all think-2PL.PO.IMP PROHIB forget become-2PL.IMP
 ‘You should remember all of them, don’t forget them.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:239)
- (115) *Erena eta [toto keu ri-gida]_{VP}, mina ye nai*
 bird wing ignorant ascend make-1SG.FUT this so 1SG.POSS
- uka ide=ri ada bai-gam-o bi*
 stomach inside=at head come-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST TOP
- isivaga iniye.*
 powerful very
 ‘I did not know about flying in a plane, so the happiness coming into my heart (lit. stomach) was very great.’ [76]

The verb *ura* ‘want’ occurs as a complement together with an accompanying simple verb in a complex verb (116) or without (117). This complex verb formation provides a stronger (nominal to a verbal-like) interpretation: ‘your desire’ (117) versus ‘she likes’ (116).

- (116) *Nai nono bi kokoro eta iri-na [ura*
 1SG.POSS mother TOP chicken wing eat-NOMZ like
re-do]_{VP}.
 do-3SG.PRES
 ‘My mother likes/wants eating chicken wings.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:249)
- (117) *Ya ura yeiva dudu ma rovaita buni dudu tora*
 2 want strength INST and body good INST big
- ni-giya vonisi bi, yakita iye yaku ya*
 become-2SG.FUT if TOP bunch.of.leaves leaves DSM 2
- aede-go.*
 help-3SG.FUT
 ‘If you want to be strong and healthy, leaves can help you.’ [92]

The expression *na toto* for ‘I don’t know’ is more frequently used, however, the negative *na diba de* (1SG know NEG) is also observed. The negative follows, rather than precedes the verb, as with other verbs, e.g. *na de di-yaka* (1SG NEG go-1SG.PAST) ‘I didn’t go’. The unusual characteristics of these verbs may be due to calquing from Hiri Motu, as in *lau pidia diba lasi* (1SG shoot know NEG) ‘I don’t know how to shoot’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:89). Similarly, in Fuyug (Southeast Papuan, Goilalan) we find *na sisiban huwan* (1SG know NEG) ‘I don’t know’ (Bradshaw 2012:93) or from the Hiri Motu *ura* ‘want (to do something)’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:51) *hul ula ge talel finol ta*

(3SG.POSS want TOP forever whistle say) ‘he wanted to keep on whistling’ (Bradshaw 2012:169). The verb *toto* ‘do not know’ does not appear to have any counterpart in Hiri Motu [cf. Hiri Motu *toto* means ‘sore’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204)]. Data on these verbs is rather limited.

3.4.2 Other verbal strategies

Other means of expressing an action with a verb include single-word verbal compounds (§3.4.2.1), transitivity alternations (§3.4.2.2) or forming a complex predicate (§3.4.2.3).

3.4.2.1 ‘Single-word’ verbal compounds

While complex verbs (cf. §3.5) are very regular, two types of single-word verbal compounds also occur: 1) Those beginning with the verb *ni-* ‘say’ (as V_1) and 2) a group of others. The meanings of these verbal compounds (cf. §7.1) are compositional.

A. Verbs of speech: The simple verb *ni-* ‘say’ is repeatedly found in complex verbs, e.g. *yoga ni-* (laugh.say) ‘laugh’; this verb also functions as a prefix before another verb or complex verb, forming a compositional verbal compound, realised as one grammatical word. The verbs *ni-* ‘say’ and *oteimar-* ‘tell’ are symmetrical, both having to do with speech; together they form the compound *nioteimar-* ‘teach’.

(118) *Robert yaku rautu vene gokai sina bura re-na ma*
 (name) DSM village people how story writing do-NOMZ and

moi safi re-na di ini ida una
 D.CAUS nice do-NOMZ GEN 3.POSS way 1PL

[*ni-oteimar-o*]_{VP}.

say-tell-3SG.PAST

‘Robert taught (lit. ‘say told’) the village people the way to write and improve stories.’ [69]

An exhaustive list of these single-word verbal compounds can be found in Table 6.7.

B. Other compounds: Other compounds have undergone lexicalisation, such as *ourefeide-* ‘lead, direct, guide, reign/rule over, precede’ [composed of *oure-* ‘be first/eldest/oldest/ next’ and *feide-* ‘leave, depart’ (119)] and *youfeide-* ‘surrender, give up, quit, concede’ [composed of *you-* ‘throw [away]’ and *feide-* ‘leave, depart’ (120)].

(119) *Sei di Vima yaku una oure-feide-yaine.*
 God GEN spirit DSM 1PL be.first-leave-3SG.IMP
 ‘May God’s Spirit lead (lit. be first-leave) us.’ [97]

- (120) *Adina bi you-feide-go-ri bi ina bi kamini abata*
 for TOP throw-leave-3PL.FUT-SIM.DS TOP 3 TOP enough flood
yaku moi ne-go.
 DSM get go.down.3SG.FUT
 ‘Because when he would give up (lit. throw-leave) then the flood would carry him away.’ [78]

These are discussed further in §7.1.3.

3.4.2.2 Transitivity alternations

In order of frequency, verbs may be divided into transitive, intransitive, ambitransitive and ditransitive. Approximately 66.5% of verb and complex verbs¹⁶ are transitive, 26.1% intransitive, 4.0% ambitransitive (with a caveat – see below) and 3.4% ditransitive. The verb *rafe-* ‘wash, bathe, swim’ is reflexive without an overt object (cf. §5.1.3). There is no indication of transitivity on the verb; often a third person transitive object is implied.

- (121) *Ina yaku iruku ori-yadi mina be Ø mar-o.*
 3 DSM food cook-3PL.PAST this some give-3SG.PAST
 ‘He gave (her) some of the food that had been cooked.’

For other persons, the object pronoun is provided.

- (122) *Ya yaku remanu na mar-o.*
 2 DSM two 1SG give-3SG.PAST
 ‘You gave me two.’

A completely reduplicated verbal root acts as a segmental derivational suffix marking action nominalisation [ambitransitive (S=A)]; the derived form is then used as a complex verb nominal complement, usually with the associated verb *re-* ‘do’. Seven such occurrences have been attested (123-129). Presumably this could be a regular process whereby more could be generated.

- (123) *Karaga ri-yadi vene di feide-feide re-yafa.*
 tent make-3PL.PAST people GEN cook~NOMZ do-1SG.PAST
 ‘We cooked for people who built the tent (or ‘we did the tent-making people’s cooking’).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:104)

- (124) ...*vari-na de re-yo sana=ri goe~goe*
 plant-NOMZ NEG do-2SG.PAST place=at dig~NOMZ

¹⁶ This is within a lexicon of 4293 entries and subentries, of which 1193 are verbs and complex verbs.

re-i-sa.
do-LINK-2SG.PRES
'you harvest/ reap (lit. 'you do digging') where you did not plant.'
(SUAR 2017:61:25.24)

Other verb combinations are permissible; here, instead of the verb *re-* 'do, we encounter *koina ni-* (finish become) 'finish'.

- (125) *Iri~iri* *koina ni-yo-ri...* *vare-gi*
eat~NOMZ finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS sleep-PURP

ne-yo.
go.down-3SG.PAST
'When the eating was finished...he went down to sleep.' (SUARBB 2011:3.6)

- (126) *Vari~vari* *re-gedi* *meda moi-yo-ri...*
plant~NOMZ do-3PL.FUT day get-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
'When the day that they would do planting came...' [15.02]

At times the reduplicated verb has a purely nominal function (127); even taking nominal cases (128).

- (127) ...*ma* *dona auna di* *moke~moke.*
and pig dog GEN think~NOMZ
'...and the thinking of animals.' (SUAR 2017:91:7.22)

- (128) ...*yi* *neide~neide* *rofu bi taotao dada*
2.POSS hear~NOMZ for TOP dull because
'...you are so slow to understand/ uninterested (lit. 'your understanding/ obeying/ listening is dull')' (SUAR 2017:472:5.11)

The reduplicated verb stem may be modified with a possessive pronoun (128-129) and the postpositional clitic =*ri* (129).

- (129) *Nai* *ve~ve=ri* *bi buni ide.*
1SG.POSS see~NOMZ=at TOP good NEG
'My sight is not good.' (Bradshaw 2021a:261)

Both transitive and intransitive subject are indicated by noun phrases or optional pronouns (which function as both subject and object) and A/S person-number-tense marking on the verb. Transitivity increase may also be indicated through the use of the direct causative *moi-* 'get, take' (130-131) [cf. §6.8.1].

- (130) ...*moi* *ame-i-nu* *re-yo.*
D.CAUS stay-LINK-STAT do-3SG.PAST
'...he made him sit down.' (SUAR 2017:410:1.20)

- (131) *Herod di oki-yadi vene=sa di uka moi*
 (name) GEN arrive-3PL.PAST people=ACCM GEN stomach D.CAUS

ada re-yo.

happiness do-3SG.PAST

‘She pleased Herod and his guests (lit. ‘made their stomachs happy’).’

(SUAR 2017:88:6.22)

Other examples include (24), (49), (75-76), (79), (81-82) and (118).

The five ditransitive verbs include *mar-* ‘give’, *nimar-* ‘commend’ (lit. ‘say-give’), *nioku-* ‘testify, inform’, lit. ‘say-break’ (132), *nioteimar-* ‘teach’ (lit. ‘say-tell’) and *oteimar-* ‘tell, show’ (133). Four are concerned with speech, three being *ni-* ‘say’ compounds.

- (132) *Nai moke-na bi mina ago ya ni-oku-gida.*
 1SG.POSS think-NOMZ TOP this word 2 say-break-1SG.FUT
 ‘I thought I would inform (lit. say break) you.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:194)

- (133) *Ida buni goina bi ura re-i-sa mina ya*
 way good which TOP want do-LINK-2SG.PRES this 2

oteima-go.

tell-3SG.FUT

‘She will tell you which method is good that you want to do.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:204)

Other examples include: *mar-* ‘give’ in (65), (96), (106a) and (163); *oteimar-* in (30) and (106b).

3.4.2.3 Special subtypes having special grammatical features

This class of verbs includes three special subtypes: motion verbs, posture and causation verbs.

A. Motion verbs

Verbs of movement exhibit inherent deictic reference; orientation is directed toward the particular speaker or participant in focus, rather than the addressee. The seven verbs and one complex verb of movement are found in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16: *Verbs of movement*

	Come	Go		Come/Go
Up		<i>bo-</i>	Inside	<i>dui re-</i>
Over	<i>bae-</i>	<i>di-</i>	Over	<i>orefar-</i>
Down	<i>de-</i>	<i>ne-</i>	Outside	<i>yaku-</i>

The verb *bae-* ‘come’ indicates movement in the direction toward the speaker.

- (134) *Ina gua bai-do.*
 3 today come-3SG.PRES
 ‘He is coming today.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:121)

In (135), the verb *moi* ‘get’ remains unstated, since buying the items and coming implies to the speaker that they will be brought.

- (135) *Koima, evadi raga ne-si nai ima voi*
 son quickly run go.down-SEQ.SS 1SG.POSS betel.nut buy

re-si bae.
 do-SEQ.SS come
 ‘Son (lit. ‘leech’), go down quickly and buy my betel nuts and bring them (to me).’ [61]

The verb *de-* ‘come down’ indicates movement toward the speaker or participant in focus; this movement is directed toward a lower elevation (i.e. the speaker or participant in focus is at a lower elevation than the person or object moving).

- (136) ...*aruma yaku ina fafau-ma de-yo.*
 snake DSM 3 above-on come.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘...a snake came down on him from above.’ [3.04]

The verb *bo-* ‘go up’ indicates movement to a higher elevation away from the speaker.

- (137) *Oro imi-si bo-yadi.*
 flying.fox dip-SEQ.SS go.up-3PL.PAST
 ‘The flying foxes swooped down and went up.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:128)

A verb of movement followed by the verb *moi* ‘get’ forms a serial verb construction (cf. §7.3) to denote ‘bring’ or ‘take’, dependent on the direction of the verb of movement.

- (138) *Ya agiya uriyaku bo-giya Nunufa omuna=ri*
 2 tomorrow moring go.up-2SG.FUT (place name) mountain=at

ima moi-si de-giya.
 betel.nut get-SEQ.SS come.down-2SG.FUT
 ‘Tomorrow morning you will go up to Nunufa mountain and bring down some betel nut.’ [46]

The verb *di-* ‘go’ indicates movement away from the speaker or participant in focus along the same level.

- (139) *Uriyaku yokoi na bona nai mida Jacob=sa muro=ri*
 morning one 1SG and 1SG.POSS child (name)=ACCM garden=at

di-yafa.
 go-1PL.PAST
 ‘One morning my son Jacob and I went to the garden.’ [3.01]

The verb *ne-* ‘go down’ indicates movement away from the speaker or participant in focus to a lower elevation. [Note also the more specific verb *gote-* ‘descend/go/down a slope off the main track; cf. Appendix examples (15.11) and (21.03).]

- (140) *Moimai koina ni-yo-ri dairi-si rautu*
 work finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS return-SEQ.SS village
ne-yaka.
 go.down-1SG.PAST
 ‘When the work was finished I returned and went down to the village.’ [87]

Three other verbs of movement indicate direction relative to some other object; one expresses movement towards or away from the inside of an object, one towards or away from the outside, and one over (or across from). The complex verb *dui re-* is expressed as either ‘enter/come in’ (141) or ‘go in’ (142).

- (141) *Ida biri ni auna dui re-go babu.*
 door close become dog enter do-3SG.FUT lest
 ‘Close the door or the dogs might come in’ (Bradshaw 2021a:90)

- (142) *Nai ediyaka bi nai yava dui re-na bi*
 1SG.POSS in-law TOP 1SG.POSS house enter do-NOMZ TOP
etou re-dedi.
 be.shy do-3PL.PRES
 ‘My in-laws are reluctant to enter (or go into) my house.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:90)

The level movement *orefar-* ‘come/go/pass over’ can be seen in (149); the verb *yaku-* ‘come/go out(side)’ is expressed as ‘go out’ in (37) and as ‘come out’ in (143).

- (143) *Mi-bi gebe koru kebi ri-go*
 this-TOP penis water block make-3SG.FUT
yaku-bi-go baebu.
 come.out-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT lest
 ‘This is to prevent (lit. block) sperm (lit. penis water) from escaping (lit. lest it escape).’ [92]

These motion verbs are also used in compound verb constructions such as *nana-di-* ‘walk go’ (144), *usi-di-* ‘follow go (around)’ (145) and *usi-ne-* ‘follow go (down)’ (146).

- (144) *Na bi nana-di-yaka idu beika ve-yaka?*
 1SG TOP walk-go-1SG.PAST but what see-1SG.PAST
 ‘I walked but what did I see?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:186)

- (145) *Ina=ka ini goidu di-gam-o usi-di-yadi.*
 3=also 3.POSS where go-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST follow-go-3PL.PAST
 ‘They also followed him wherever he was going.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:252)
- (146) ...*mina ve-gasa bi usi-ne-yadi*
 this see-SIM.SS TOP follow.go.down-3PL.PAST
 ‘...when they saw this they followed him down’ (SUAR 2017:224:11.31)

These motion verbs also occur in other combinations, as listed in Table 3.17 in order of relative frequency of use.

Table 3.17: *Motion verb combinations*

Forms	Glosses	Composite meaning
<i>boi ne-</i>	go.over/up go.down	‘going up and down’
<i>di-bo- (re-)</i>	come.down go.over/up (do)	‘coming and going up, travel’
<i>bae-ne-</i>	come go.down	‘coming and going down’
<i>bae-de-</i>	come come.down	‘coming, coming along’

The combination *boi ne-* ‘going up and down’ expresses both up and downward movement.

- (147) *Kamini afara bo-i ne-yafa bona bora~bora eina*
 so.then ridge.top go-LINK go-1PL.PAST and yellow~PL tree.sp
- oki-si Airadi ne-yafa.*
 arrive-SEQ.SS (name) go.down-1SG.PAST
 ‘So then we went up and down on the ridge top and arrived at the yellow *eina* trees, and went down to Airadi.’ [4.08]

When a complex verb is formed from the combination of *di-bo-* ‘come.down-go.down’ + the simple verb *re-* ‘do’, another combination of coming and going with a more general meaning of ‘travel, move/walk (around)’ is derived.

- (148) *Ina bi gagani~gagani di-bo re-yo.*
 3 TOP place~DISTR come.down-go.over do-3SG.PAST
 ‘He travelled to different places.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:85)

The compound *bae-de-* ‘come, coming along’ is particularly used to describe travelling by sea, here from an island back to the mainland.

- (149) *Regina =sa keu ri-si orefa-i*
 (name) =ACCM board make-SEQ.SS cross.over-LINK
- bae-de-yafa re-si taraka gui re-si*
 come.come-down-1PL.PAST do-SEQ.SS vehicle ride.on do-SEQ.SS

taoni de-yafa.
 town come.down-1PL.PAST
 ‘We got on board with Regina and crossed over and came coming along, and doing so we rode on a vehicle and came to town.’ [79]

The serial verb construction *dei ne-* (go go.down), unlike those in Table 3.17 above, has an idiomatic meaning of ‘die’.

- (150) *Gua de-i ne-yo; una fere-yo.*
 today go-LINK go.down-3SG.PAST 1PL leave-3SG.PAST
 ‘Today he died (lit. went on down); he left us.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:84)

Analysis now transitions from verbs of movement to means of indicating lack of movement.

B. Posture

A stationary posture is only indicated on the stative verb *ame-* ‘stay’ together with the suffix *-nu* ‘stationary’ in conjunction with the verb *re-* ‘do’, meaning ‘remain’ (151) or often ‘sit down’ (152).

- (151) *Gua mamō yava vene ame-i-nu re-i vau*
 now then house people stay-LINK-STAT do-LINK complete

re-si ada re-yadi.
 do-SEQ.SS happiness do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Then now the people remain completely happy.’ [91]

- (152) *Koru ema=ri oki-yaka rofu ame-i-nu*
 water river.mouth=at arrive-1SG.PAST so.that stay-LINK-STAT

re-si ita ori-si bi yuvani ori-yafa.
 do-SEQ.SS fire burn-SEQ.SS TOP breadfruit cook-1PL.PAST
 ‘I arrived at the river mouth so that we sat down and burned a fire and cooked breadfruit.’ [83]

Without this particular verbal inflection, *ame-* remains simply an existential verb:

- (153) *Ina ame-yo.*
 3 stay-3SG.PAST
 ‘He stayed/lived/existed.’

Brief examination now continues with the highly productive means of showing causation.

C. Causation

Three methods of indicating causation are available in Doromu-Koki. One type is achieved through lexically compounded constructions. The verbs *u-* ‘hit’ and *muye-* ‘die’

(38), (154) give the meaning ‘kill’, as opposed to the form *e-muye* ‘cause to die (in a spiritual sense)’ (46). The first type, making use of the verb *u-* ‘hit’, involves direct physical engagement (or forceful causation) on the patient, whereas the second denotes indirect causation upon the patient.

- (154) ...*re-gasa* *iniye~iniye* ***u-muye-gam-adi***.
do-SIM.SS REFL~DISTR hit-die-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
‘...they were fighting and killing (lit. hitting-die) each other.’ [19.01]

These are discussed in greater depth in §6.8.1.

3.4.3 Verbal modifiers

Two verbal modifiers behave identically to aspectual constructions (§6.6.2.5), producing a complex verb in a serial verb construction, i.e. an uninflected verb preceding and the simple associated verb *re-* ‘do’ following. These modifiers, *mona* ‘properly, correctly, well, nicely, diligently’ (155) and *mama* ‘fully, completely’ (156), have an adverbial function, indicating how the action is carried out.

- (155) *Oukaka farofafo bi uforo re-i mona re-yo*.
(flower.sp) flower TOP bloom do-LINK properly do-3SG.PAST
‘The *oukaka* flower bloomed nicely.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:205)

- (156) *Be aede-si ni mama re-yo amiye no*
some help-SEQ.SS say completely do-3SG.PAST person bad

rofu.

to

‘He helped some and warned (lit. ‘said fully/completely’) them about a bad person.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:161)

The adjective *gira* ‘hard’, is also employed in the same manner, e.g. *rei gira re-* ‘do strongly’.

- (157) *Reremama re-i gira re-ga, ini auna bi baku*
conduct do-LINK hard do-SIM.SS 3.POSS profit TOP find

re-giya...

do-2SG.FUT

‘When you work hard, you will find profit...’ [91]

Others identically used include the adverb *vau* ‘completely’, seen in (33) and (151); the adjective *tau* ‘all’ in (95); and the frustrative adverb *tavoi* ‘in vain’, discussed further in §6.6.3.8. Quite infrequent is *vogovogo* ‘really’, e.g. *uru vogovogo re-yo* (swell really do-3SG.PAST) ‘it was really swollen’.

3.5 Complex verbs

Complex verbs consist of a complement and an associated simple verb. These complex verbs incorporate three associated verbs *re-* ‘do’, *ni-* ‘say/become’, *ri-* ‘make’, or to a lesser extent 26 others: *ae-* ‘put’, *ari-* ‘arrange’, *bae-* ‘come’, *bo-* ‘go’, *dadi-* ‘get up’, *di-* ‘go (around)’, *fer-* ‘leave’, *gurau-* ‘suffer’, *imi-* ‘pierce’, *iri-* ‘eat’, *mar-* ‘give’, *moi-* ‘get’, *ne-* ‘go down’, *nimar-* ‘commend’, *nioku-* ‘testify’, *nugar-* ‘cut’, *ode-* ‘break’, *ori-* ‘burn, cook’, *oure-* ‘be first’, *u-* ‘hit’, *vadi-* ‘weave’, *vai-* ‘burn’, *vari-* ‘plant’, *ve-* ‘see’ and *youfeide-* ‘surrender’. New complex verbs are formed through borrowings (as discussed further below).

There are two subclasses of complex verbs. The larger (61.9%) of the two is comprised of forms in which the complements do not occur on their own (non-compositional) without the associated verb (158). The smaller (compositional) subclass (38.1%) is comprised of forms in which the complements are nouns (159), adjectives (160) or postpositions (161); these complements also occur without associated verbs. A non-compositional complex verb is indicated by the occurrence of a full stop between the complement component and associated verb; this indicates that the complement cannot be used without the associated verb. The form *be* ‘some’ (sg.) in (158) is the rapid speech form of *bedakai* ‘some (pl.)’ [cf. §2.8.2.6].

- (158) *Ini ura bi rumana vene be abidi re-go.*
 3.POSS want TOP man people some designate do-3SG.FUT
 ‘He wanted to choose some men.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:49)

The verb *ni-* ‘say’ in the initial word of (159) is actually part of a verbal compound (cf. §3.4.2.1). This compound is perceived and written as a unit, yet this first verb component does not undergo reduplication along with the second component, i.e. **nivaunanivauna re-* (cf. §3.4.2.2 and §6.6.2.4), since it is non-compositional, i.e. **vauna* is not a unique form in the language.

- (159) *Ni-vauna~vauna re-yo-ri, miya, aura ma abata*
 say-venerate~PL do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS rain wind and flood

re-yadi.
 do-3PL.PAST
 ‘When he said a sorrow chant then it rained, and wind came and it flooded.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:49)

The adjective *bere* ‘nice and straight’ in conjunction with the simple associated verb *re-* ‘do’ yields the meaning ‘filled up’, i.e. now the stomach is full.

- (160) *Iruku iri-si bere re-yaka.*
 food eat-SEQ.SS nice.and.straight do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I ate food and was full.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:71)

When the postposition *negau* ‘near’ is used with the verb *ni-* ‘become’ the complex verb ‘draw near’ (161) is produced (cf. §4.4 for canonical uses of postpositions, including *negau* ‘near’).

- (161) *Ini muye-na bi negau ni-yo.*
 3.POSS die-NOMZ TOP near become-3SG.PAST
 ‘His death was drawing near.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:188)

The adjective of (162) and noun of (163) are both part of the complement; the composition is $V_1 + V_2$, i.e. complement + associated verb for this second verb.

- (162) *iniye [ni-gira re-yo]_{VP...}*
 REFL say-hard do-3SG.PAST
 ‘he defended (lit. ‘say hard did’) himself...’ (SUAR 2017:312:25.8)

The verb may be inflected for nominalisation.

- (163) *Mina.resi tuma amiye di [ni-fufuta re-na]_{NP} di ida*
 therefore wild person GEN say-back do-NOMZ GEN way

yokoi de ma-gedi.
 one NEG give-2PL.FUT
 ‘So as not to give our enemies (lit. wild people) any chance of speaking evil of
 (lit. saying back, i.e. backbiting) us.’ (SUAR 2017:448:5.14)

Complex verbs make use of both subclasses of verbs (cf. §3.4.1) as well as compound verbs (cf. §3.4.2.1).

3.5.1 Double complex verbs

Some complex verbs are considered ‘double complex’ as they require another initial ‘secondary’ associated verb or complement. Those with a secondary complement associated verb then function as an SVC as in (164), composed of *ae-* + *torekai re-* meaning ‘gather/store up’.

- (164) *Yi iruku bi [ae-torekai re-i-da] ma oki-si*
 2.POSS food TOP put-gather.up do-LINK-1SG.PRES and arrive-SEQ.SS

iri-na maka re-i-sa.
 eat-NOMZ only do-LINK-2SG.PRES
 ‘I gather up your food and you just come along and eat it.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:52)

The prohibitive morpheme *ga* intervenes as it is bound to the simple verb.

- (165) *Mida~mida bi ini nono-baba rofu [ae-mukora*
 child~PL TOP 3.POSS mother-father for put-store.away
ga re-yaganedi].
 PROHIB do-3PL.IMP
 ‘Children should not store away for their parents (lit. mother-father).’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:52)

The following is composed of the secondary complement verb *dadi-* ‘get up’ + *rae re-* all together meaning ‘rise (up)’. As with all those of this type, the secondary complex verb, i.e. *rae.re-*, cannot occur without the initial verb.

- (166) *Muye-na gutuna dadi.rae re-si vegu ni-yo.*
 die-NOMZ from rise do-SEQ.SS life become-3SG.PAST
 ‘He rose from death to life.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:82)

This type also includes echo-compounds (cf. §11.4.1 for further elaboration) which carry some extended meaning. Most often these echo-compounds indicate intensity, e.g. *dogo dago re-* ‘preparing and preparing’ versus *dogo re-* ‘prepare’. The noun complement *dogo* ‘preparation’ on its own forms the reduplication *dogo-dogo* ‘preparations’. Other meanings are extended to repetition and intensity: *keru re-* ‘turn’ becomes *keru kero re-* ‘be very busy’, i.e. ‘turning this way and that’. In other instances a further action is indicated: *koke re-* ‘chop’ becomes *koke kake re-* ‘chop and bring’. One such echo-compound (*nikito nakito vari-* ‘do last planting’) has no other form or use than with the associated verb *vari-* ‘plant’.

- (167) *Ago davera=ri nikito.nakito vari-sifa.*
 (season) (season)=in plant.last plant-1PL.PRES
 ‘In ago and davera season we do the last planting.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:193)

The construction *diye fa re-* ‘have diarrhoea’ is unique in that it has a ‘secondary’ noun complement that can stand on its own, but which also combines with another unspecified (and not able to be used on its own) primary complement. The noun complement *diye* alone means ‘faeces’, while *diye fa* means ‘diarrhoea, dysentery’ (Bradshaw 2021a:86). This primary complement, forming an NP before the associated verb, may originally have been composed of an adjective *fa* meaning ‘loose’, now no longer in use outside of this construction.

- (168) *...ina bi rovaita vaki~vaki ma diye fa re-si*
 3 TOP body heat~PL and faeces loose do-SEQ.SS

gurau-gam-o.
 suffer-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘...he was bedridden with fevers and dysentery (lit. ‘faeces loose do’)
 (SUAR 2017:319:28.8)

One construction includes a tertiary complement, the noun *seuya* ‘cloud’. The secondary complement, *fati* is most likely modifying the noun, perhaps with a meaning of ‘fog’. It includes the complex verb *fono re-* ‘cover’.

- (169) *Aiyura omuna bi seuya fati fono re-yo, dada*
 (place.name) mountain TOP cloud fog cover do-3SG.PAST so
- fereini dadi bo-na anua re-yo.*
 aeroplane get.up go-NOMZ be.unable do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Aiyura mountain was fogged in, so the plane couldn’t take off and go.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:225)

These more complex forms are quite rare. Further consideration on how complex verbs are formed follows (cf. also Table 6.6 for a complete listing).

3.5.2 Complex verb formation

Complex verb formation is a very productive means of forming new verbs in the language. When a term is borrowed, the associated verb in a complex verb will be *re-* ‘do’ unless the semantics require another, such as *ni-* ‘say/become’ as in *ane ni-* ‘sing song/hymn’ or *kebere ni-* ‘become bald’. Many borrowed complex verbs are compositional,¹⁷ but not all. This could be due to how a term is first understood upon entry into the language: If understood merely as an action, then a non-compositional complex verb is formed (indicated in the table by full stop between the constituents). If, conversely, the particular object (most likely a noun) is in focus, it can stand on its own. Borrowed complex verbs separated according to type (non-compositional, followed by compositional, both classified according to associated verb *re-* ‘do’, *ni-* ‘say’ and *ni-* ‘become’) are shown in Table 3.18.

¹⁷ The overall trend in autochthonous forms is the opposite – that is, the compositional subclass is much smaller (cf. §3.5).

Table 3.18: *Borrowed complex verbs*

Non-compositional	Gloss(es)	Source language
<i>abidadama.re-</i>	‘believe, trust’	HM <i>abidadama henia</i> ‘trust’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249)
<i>abitore.re-</i>	‘borrow’	HM <i>abitorehai</i> ‘borrow’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245)
<i>ariya.re-</i>	‘divide’	HM <i>haria</i> ‘divide’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:210)
<i>boiyo.re-</i>	‘be lost, lose way’	HM <i>boio</i> ‘be lost’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189)
<i>dabu.ni-</i>	‘lack, be in need of’	HM <i>dabu</i> ‘lacking, in need of’ (DGHM 1976:28)
<i>duaiya.re-</i>	‘count, read’	HM <i>duahia</i> ‘read, count’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191)
<i>durua.re-</i>	‘help, aid, assist’	HM <i>durua</i> ‘help, assist’ (DGHM 1976:191)
<i>faini.re-</i>	‘fine, cite’	HM <i>paini</i> (DGHM 1976:37)
<i>gasika.re-</i>	‘give off odour’	English <i>gas</i>
<i>karu.re-</i>	‘blossom, sprout’	HM <i>karu</i> ‘young coconut’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197)
<i>kiki.re-</i>	‘kick’	English
<i>pati.re-</i>	‘party’	English
<i>rini.re-</i>	‘ring, call’	English
<i>roho.re-</i>	‘fly, jump, leap’	HM <i>roho</i> ‘fly’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202)
<i>seke.re-</i>	‘check, verify’	HM <i>sekea</i> ‘check’ (DGHM 1976:39)
<i>tautore.re-</i>	‘betray’	HM <i>tauna torea</i> ‘betray’ (DGHM 1976:49)
<i>turiya.re-</i>	‘sew’	HM <i>turia</i> ‘sew, plait’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204)
<i>yusi.re-</i>	‘use’	HM <i>iusilaia</i> (DGHM 1976:79)
<i>ane.ni-</i>	‘sing song/hymn’	HM <i>ane abia</i> ‘sing’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:188)
<i>koroko.ni-</i>	‘be x o’clock’	English
<i>pou.ni-</i>	‘explode, burst’	HM <i>pou</i> (DGHM 1976:38)
<i>serafu.ni-</i>	‘tell to be quiet’	English <i>shut up</i>
<i>tanikiu.ni-</i>	‘say thank you’	English
<i>kebere.ni-</i>	‘become bald’	HM <i>kebere</i> ‘coconut shell, cup, bald’ (DGHM 1976:34)
<i>wini.ni-</i>	‘win, be victorious’	HM <i>uini</i> ‘win’ (DGHM 1976:80)

Compositional	Gloss(es)	Source language
<i>abata re-</i>	‘flood’	HM <i>abata</i> ‘flood, tide’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:187)
<i>babatiso re-</i>	‘baptise’	HM <i>bapatiso</i> ‘baptism’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:249)
<i>badu re-</i>	‘get angry’	HM <i>badu</i> ‘angry’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:188)
<i>davana re-</i>	‘pay for, redeem’	HM <i>davana</i> ‘wages, pay’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:190)
<i>gaukara re-</i>	‘work’	HM <i>gaukara</i> ‘work’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:192)
<i>ikoko re-</i>	‘nail’	HM <i>ikoko</i> ‘nail’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:196)
<i>kava re-</i>	‘unable to’	HM <i>kava</i> ‘empty’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:197)
<i>kota re-</i>	‘judge’	HM <i>kot(o)</i> ‘court’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:198)
<i>maruvo re-</i>	‘move’	English <i>movie, movement</i>
<i>samani re-</i>	‘report on, betray’	HM <i>samania</i> ‘accuse, allege, betray’ (DGHM 1976:39)
<i>senesi re-</i>	‘change’	HM <i>senesia</i> ‘exchange, barter’ (DGHM 1976:39)
<i>sikoma re-</i>	‘comb’	English
<i>sikuru re-</i>	‘train, study’	HM <i>sikulu</i> ‘school’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:243)
<i>guriguri ni-</i>	‘pray’	HM <i>guriguri</i> ‘pray’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:193)
<i>bero ni-</i>	‘be wounded/injured’	HM <i>bero</i> ‘wound, scar’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:189)
<i>biyaguna ni-</i>	‘inherit’	HM <i>biaguna</i> ‘owner’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:189)
<i>diba ni-</i>	‘know, understand’	HM <i>diba</i> ‘know, understand’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:190)
<i>egeregere ni-</i>	‘feel well/fine’	HM <i>hegeregere</i> ‘equal, adequate, fair, sufficient’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:195)
<i>ekalesia ni-</i>	‘become Christian’	HM <i>ekalesia</i> ‘church (institution)’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:249)
<i>foki ni-</i>	‘bend’	HM <i>foka</i> ‘pitchfork’ (DGHM 1976:30)
<i>rasta ni-</i>	‘rust’	HM <i>rasta</i> ‘rust’ (DGHM 1976:38)
<i>dabua ri-</i>	‘wear clothing’	HM <i>dabua</i> ‘clothes, clothing’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:190)
<i>fuse ri-</i>	‘bag (up)’	HM <i>puse</i> ‘bag, sack’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:202)
<i>babatiso mar-</i>	‘baptise’	HM <i>bapatiso</i> ‘baptism’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:249)
<i>meino mar-</i>	‘pacify’	HM <i>maino</i> ‘peace’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:199)
<i>susu mar-</i>	‘nurse, breastfeed’	HM <i>susu</i> ‘sap, liquid’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:203)
<i>guri ae-</i>	‘bury’	HM <i>guri</i> ‘hole in ground, pit’

Compositional	Gloss(es)	Source language
		(Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:193)
<i>susu iri-</i>	‘breastfeed, suckle’	HM <i>susu</i> ‘sap, liquid’ (Dutton and Voorhorve 1974:203)

The majority of these borrowed complex verbs are derived from Hiri Motu (84.6%), although 27.3% of those are originally derived from English; altogether 38.4% have their origin in English. (See §11.4.2 for further analysis on borrowed terms.)

3.6 Adverbs

Adverbs modify primarily verbs or adjectives, and form two subclasses: manner (§3.6.2) and degree (§3.6.3).

3.6.2 Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are pre-verbal, however other constituents intervene between the manner adverb and the verb, when the scope is over the whole complex verb, including modifying adjectives, conjunctions, negation, the agent of the clause, other manner adverbs or complex verb complements. Manner adverbs act as complements to a complex verb in an SVC, i.e. $V_1 + V_2$, in which V_2 is the complex verb. Their scope is limited to the clause in which they occur. An exhaustive list of manner adverbs, including representative glosses¹⁸ is shown in Table 3.19. The manner adverb class is considered semi-closed, having only one borrowing, *vorovoro* ‘excessively,’ from Hiri Motu.

¹⁸ For further glosses see Bradshaw (2021a).

Table 3.19: *Manner adverbs*

Adverb	Gloss(es)	Adverb	Gloss(es)
<i>makai</i>	‘like this, thus’	<i>yomakai</i>	‘like this/that, thus’
<i>tafa</i>	‘hardly, barely, scarcely’	<i>aunanaba</i>	‘without cause, for no reason’
<i>agode</i>	‘almost, nearly’	<i>kaini</i>	‘already, just, enough’
<i>besa</i>	‘much/even (more)’	<i>dibadiba</i>	‘distant(ly), long way’
<i>dudusa</i>	‘again’	<i>kaito</i>	‘starting’
<i>kamu</i>	‘completely’	<i>taina</i>	‘longer’
<i>tavoi</i>	‘longer’	<i>toga</i>	‘always’
<i>mona</i>	‘properly, correctly’	<i>foi</i>	‘meaninglessly, senselessly’
<i>taba</i>	‘settled, still’	<i>noga</i>	‘awake’
<i>vakoi</i>	‘together’	<i>gogo</i>	‘both, together’
<i>ata</i>	‘in advance, preceding’	<i>mibiko</i>	‘right away’
		<i>yeba</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>godeka</i>	‘very nicely, sweetly’	<i>goragora</i>	‘passionately’
<i>kiyaka</i>	‘patiently, steadfastly’	<i>mariada</i>	‘excitedly, enthusiastically’
		<i>oada</i>	‘excitedly, animatedly’
<i>kimo</i>	‘carefully, quietly’	<i>vorovoro</i>	‘excessively, hugely’
		<i>kara</i>	‘intently’
<i>kiya</i>	‘slowly, cautiously’	<i>ororo</i>	‘hurriedly’
<i>saka</i>	‘slowly (action)’	<i>evadi</i>	‘quickly, hurriedly (action)’

Manner adverbs most frequently occur immediately before the verb being modified, in this case as a verbal demonstrative.

- (170) *Makai ni-si ina remanu bo-yadi.*
 like.this say-SEQ.SS 3 two go.up-3PL.PAST
 ‘They said like this and the two of them went up.’

A verb may not be necessary, as in (171) in which the manner adverb follows the topic marker *bi*, functioning as a VCC (cf. §8.2).

- (171) *Nai moke-na bi yomakai...*
 1SG.POSS think-NOMZ TOP like.this
 ‘Thus is my thinking...’ (Bradshaw 2021a:271)

When a manner adverb intervenes in a complex verb it modifies the whole complex verb unit.

- (172) *Mida keika~keika ore vene ve-si kere vorovoro*
 child small~PL sorcery people see-SEQ.SS scream.out excessively

ni-yadi.
 say-3PL.PAST
 ‘The small children saw the sorcerers and really screamed out.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:264)

For pragmatic effect, the manner adverb may precede the agent (cf. §10.2.2.3).

- (173) [*Miya gaye-yo-ri*]_{CL1} [*yeba* [*fifi* *tau*]_s
rain dry.up-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS suddenly insect.sp many
- ni-yadi*]_{CL2}.
become-3SG.PAST
‘When the rain dried up suddenly the *fifi* insects increased.’
(Bradshaw 2021a:269)

More than one manner adverb may be juxtaposed, adding further emphasis.

- (174) *Iruku ve-yafa-ri* *amiye tua re-na de*
food see-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS person wait do-NOMZ NEG
- mibiko evade maka iri-na de*
right.away quickly only eat-NOMZ NEG
- roro re-yafa.*
finish do-1PL.PAST
‘When we saw the food we did not wait (lit. ‘there was no waiting’) for the people but right away we didn’t finish off eating (lit. ‘the eating of’) it (either).’
(Bradshaw 2021a:166)

3.6.3 Degree adverbs

The two attested types of degree adverbs are pre-verbal and post adjectival. The pre-verbal type indicating intensification are discussed above (cf. §3.3.3); as members of a closed class further elaboration is also included in §4.9.

3.7 Word class changing derivation

Nominalisation is a word class changing derivation frequently found in Doromu-Koki and described below.

3.7.1 Nominalisation

Nouns are created from other word classes through the process of nominalisation (Aikhenvald 2011b:280). In Doromu-Koki, these nouns are derived from verbs through use of the nominaliser affix *-na*. Both action (or non-stative) and object/result (or stative) nominalisations are formed, e.g. *ame-i-na* (stay-link-NOMZ) ‘staying’ and *diba ni-na* (know become-NOMZ) ‘knowing’. (Cf. another nominalisation technique by means of verbal root reduplication in §3.4.2.2.)

Like other nouns, these verbal nominalisations can be modified with adjectives (175), demonstratives or possessive pronouns (176). They can also be marked with postpositions, e.g. *butu~butu re-na di meda=ri* (harvest~PL do- NOMZ time=at) ‘at harvesting time’. They may also function as modifier in a compound noun (177), or as a

component of a complex predicate, e.g. *moke-na vari gira ai-yo* (think-NOMZ plant hard put-3SG.PAST) ‘belief/faith (lit. implanting strong/firm thinking)’. Nominalisations occur in transitive subject (177), intransitive subject (176), object (178), predicate (179), instrument (180) or temporal NP (181) slots.

- (175) [*Vakoi moi-bo-bi-gifa kumo*]_{MC} [[*ve-na*]_A *buni*
together get-POT-FUT.IMPERV-1PL.FUT in.order.to see-NOMZ good

ni-yaine]_{sc}.

become-3SG.IMP

‘We might be getting it together so that it will look good.’ (Lit. ‘...its looking will be good.’) [66]

- (176) [*Uni moke-na*]_s *bo-i tora ni-yo*.
1.POSS think-NOMZ go.up-LINK big say-3SG.PAST
‘Our thinking increased.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:75)

- (177) *Kamini* [*ni-feide-na vene*]_{A...} ...*ni-feide-gedi*.
enough say-leave-NOMZ people say-leave-3PL.FUT
‘Then the apostles (lit. ‘sent ones’)...will send them out.’
(SUAR 2017:286:15.22)

- (178) *Beika fafau* [*yi moke-na*]_o *ai-yo?*
what upon 2.POSS think-NOMZ put-2SG.PAST
‘On what do (lit. did) you base your thinking?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:101)

- (179) *Yi buni=ri bi una ve* [*fere-na de*]_{NP}.
2.POSS good=at TOP 1PL family leave-NOMZ NEG
‘During your good times you are not abandoning your family.’ [51]

- (180) *To mina bi eyo tau neinei* [*uni vegu re-na*
but this TOP month all each 1PL.POSS custom do-NOMZ
kana dudu]_{INST}.
like INST
‘But this is every month according to our custom.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:100)

- (181) [*Vata ni-na*]_{NP} *vaitani aufa maka ni-da*.
born become-NOMZ from grandmother only say-1SG.PRES
‘From birth I only say grandmother.’ [50]

These also form action nominalisations, as shown in an example from Dutton (1970:919).

- (182) *Mina amiye yaku auna u-na de re-go*.
this person DSM dog hit-NOMZ NEG do-3SG.FUT
‘This man will not hit the dog.’ (or more literally ‘This man will not do any dog hitting.’)

Inflectional verbs and complex verbs are not cited with the bare stem in the lexicon (Bradshaw 2021a:35); since the second person imperative is a zero morpheme, an imperative is considered an unacceptable neutral form. The nominalised form is preferred, e.g. *moi-* ‘get’ is cited as *moi-na* (get-NMLZ) ‘getting’ and *aki.re-* ‘bite’ is cited as *aki re-na* (bite.do-NMLZ) ‘biting’. [This has no relevance to the small class of uninflected verbs (cf. §6.1.3)].

Prior to examination of closed word classes, polyfunctional lexemes are summarised below, i.e. those which function in multiple word classes. The primary member gloss of each polyfunctional lexeme is indicated in the first column of the table. The primary word class gloss is indicated in bold.

Table 3.20: Polyfunctional forms

Class:	Noun (cf. §3.2)	Adjective (cf. §3.3)	Complex verb complement (cf. §3.5)	Pronoun (cf. §4.1)	Locative (cf. §4.3)	Postposition (cf. §4.4)	Interrogative (cf. §4.5)	Degree adverb (cf. §4.9)	Conjunction (cf. §4.10)
<i>amiye</i>	'person'								
<i>fufuta</i>	'back'		<i>fufuta mar-</i> 'reject' <i>ni-fufuta re-</i> 'gossip' <i>gedu mar-</i> 'ignore'	'(some)one'					
<i>gedu</i>	'lower back'								
<i>ika</i>	'summit'		<i>ni-ika re-</i> 'boast'						
<i>koru</i>	'water'		<i>ni-koru re-</i> 'speak flowery'						
<i>vabara</i>	'light'		<i>ni-vabara re-</i> 'emphasise'						
<i>vana</i>	'hand'		<i>ni-vana re-</i> 'support'						
<i>varika</i>	'chief'		<i>ni-varika (re-)</i> 'promise'						
<i>vegu</i>	'life'	'green'	<i>moi e-vegu re-</i> 'enliven'						
<i>aita</i>	'youth'	'lightweight'							
<i>akeke</i>		'holy'	<i>ni-akeke re-</i> 'command'						
<i>bere</i>		'quiet'	<i>e-bere re-</i> 'remain silent'						
<i>berou</i>	'side'	'other'							
<i>buni</i>	'goodness'	'good'	<i>ni-buni re-</i> 'speak well of'						
<i>doba</i>		'long'	<i>ni-doba re-</i> 'talk for a long time'						
<i>duri</i>	'difficulty'	'persistent'	<i>ni-duri re-</i> 'persist'						
<i>gira</i>	<i>egira</i> 'control'	'hard'	<i>e-gira (re-)</i> 'strengthen' <i>moi gira kiki ri-</i> 'hold onto tenaciously' <i>moi gira ri-</i> 'strengthen' <i>ni-e-gira re-</i> 'encourage' <i>ni-gira.re-</i> 'defend' <i>e-gogo.re-</i> 'meet' <i>ni-egogo re-</i> 'call together'						
<i>gogo</i> ¹⁹									
<i>isivaga</i>	'strength'	'strong'							

¹⁹ A manner adverb 'both, together' (Bradshaw 2021a:119; cf. §3.6.2 above)

Class:	Noun (cf. §3.2)	Adjective (cf. §3.3)	Complex verb complement (cf. §3.5)	Pronoun (cf. §4.1)	Locative (cf. §4.3)	Postposition (cf. §4.4)	Interrogative (cf. §4.5)	Degree adverb (cf. §4.9)	Conjunction (cf. §4.10)
<i>keika</i> <i>no</i>	‘little bit’	‘little’ ‘bad’	<i>ni-no re-</i> ‘swear’ <i>no ni-</i> ‘spoil’ <i>no re-</i> ‘do wrong’						
<i>rafo</i> <i>ruaka</i> <i>tau</i>	‘all of’	‘flat’ ‘new’ ‘many, plenty, all’	<i>u-rafo re-</i> ‘spread out’ <i>moi e-ruaka re-</i> ‘renew’						
<i>toe</i> <i>tora</i> <i>vava</i>	‘weight’ ‘elder’ ‘power’	‘heavy’ ‘big’ ‘hot’	<i>moi toe ri-</i> ‘weigh down’ <i>e-vava re-</i> ‘reheat’ <i>moi vava re-</i> ‘accept’ <i>moi vava ri-</i> ‘warm’ <i>ni-vava re-</i> ‘honour’ <i>e-gaima ri-</i> ‘distance’					‘very’	
<i>gaima</i> <i>adina</i> <i>fafau</i> <i>negau</i>					‘far away’	‘beside’ ‘on top of’ ‘near’			‘because of’ ‘concerning’
<i>odoro</i> <i>rofu</i> <i>kaere</i>			<i>e-negau re-</i> ‘reveal’ <i>moi negau ri-</i> ‘reveal’ <i>ni-negau re-</i> ‘witness’ <i>ni-odoro re-</i> ‘exalt’			‘above’ ‘for’			‘so that’
				‘who(m)’			‘who(m)’		

The largest group is complex verb components with adverbial function (41.1%), followed by nouns (23.3%) and then adjectives (21.1%). The remaining classes have few members. In order from greatest to least are postpositions (5.6%), conjunctions (3.3%), pronouns (2.2%); all the remaining degree adverb, interrogative, locative and manner adverb have only one member each. The only semi-open class without members is the verb class; this is due to the complex verb forming technique (cf. §3.5 and §6.3). The remaining classes for which double-duty is not in evidence are very small closed classes (in order of number of members from greatest to least – quantity indicated in brackets): interjections (8), demonstratives (6), negatives (3), discourse markers (2), polar question markers (2), vocative (2) and affirmative (1).

3.8 Closed word classes

The closed word classes include pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, postpositions, interrogatives, polar question markers, affirmative answer, negatives, degree adverbs, conjunctions, interjections, vocative and discourse markers. These will be discussed in the following chapter (§4.).

The percentage of members for each word class, including combined totals for open/semi-open and closed classes are included in Table 3.21; the classes are ranked in order of percentage of occurrence.

Table 3.21: *Word classes*

Open classes		Closed classes	
43.8%	Nouns (n)	0.97%	Postpositions (postp)
37.5%	Complex verbs (cv)	0.81%	Interrogatives (interr)
7.2%	Adjectives (adj)	0.72%	Conjunctions (cnj)
88.5%		0.67%	Pronouns (pn)
Semi-open classes		0.53%	Locatives (loc)
5.5%	Verbs (v)	0.25%	Demonstratives (dem)
1.1%	Adverbs (adv)	0.25%	Interjections (interj)
		0.17%	Negatives (neg)
		0.17%	Degree adverbs (adv)
		0.11%	Vocative (voc)
		0.08%	Discourse markers (dm)
		0.06%	Polar question markers (qw)
		0.03%	Affirmative answer (affirm)
95.1%		~4.9%	

The majority are open or semi-open, with only approximately 5% occurrence in the closed classes.

3.9 Inherent reduplication

While reduplication is a regular process indicating plurality (cf. §3.2.1.4A), intensity (§3.3.3), distributive meaning (§3.3) and valency changing (§3.4.2.2), inherent reduplication (i.e. words that appear to be reduplicated, but for which no un-reduplicated root occurs) is also a frequent occurrence. Inherent reduplication has been observed in most word classes: noun (*fonufonu* ‘bubbling’), complex verb (*boboka ri-* ‘put on top’), adjective (*akeke* ‘special’), adverb (*mama* ‘fully’), postposition (*fafau* ‘above’) and verb (*airuru-* ‘jump over’). Evidence indicates that several inherently reduplicated forms originally had grammatical significance, e.g. *туру re-* to *tururu re-* ‘tremble’ and *yaga re-* ‘shake/earthquake’ to *yaga~yaga re-* ‘shake and shake’. The complex verb *туру.re-* is an alternate form to *tururu re-*, while both *yaga re-* and *yaga ~yaga re-* are regularly used; some unreduplicated forms may have fallen into disuse, probably due to the inherent iterative (or plural) nature of the action they describe. The different types of inherent reduplication occurring in the language are expounded in Table 3.22.

Table 3.22: *Types of inherent reduplication*

Type	Example	Gloss(es)
Complete		
CV ^(V)	<i>neinei</i> (adj)	‘each’
	<i>nana</i> (adj)	‘itchy’
	<i>mama</i> (adv)	‘fully’
	<i>dada</i> (cnj)	‘so’
	<i>bebe mar-</i> (cv)	‘struggle’
	<i>gaigai</i> (n)	‘horn’
	<i>dudu</i> (postp)	‘with’
	<i>kiki-</i> (v)	‘shine’
CV ^(V) CV	<i>bugibugi</i> (adj)	‘sore covered’
	<i>goragora</i> (adv)	‘passionately’
	<i>bonobono re-</i> (cv)	‘bubble up’
	<i>vainavaina</i> (n)	‘net bag’
CVCVCV	<i>tekeretekere</i> (n)	‘willie wagtail’
VCV	<i>ateate re-</i> (cv)	‘be sick’
	<i>ureure</i> (n)	‘wave’
Initial		
CV	<i>kakaita</i> (adj)	‘narrow’
	<i>dudusa</i> (adv)	‘again’
	<i>boboka.ri-</i> (cv)	‘put on top’
	<i>dodoku</i> (n)	‘bowl’
	<i>fafau</i> (postp)	‘above’
	<i>tutumu-</i> (v)	‘disappear’
CVV	<i>fuofuori</i> (postp)	‘during’

Type	Example	Gloss(es)
Medial		
CV	<i>auanaba</i> (adv)	‘without cause’
	<i>eseseke ni-</i> (cv)	‘cough’
	<i>aruruta</i> (n)	‘grass species’
Final		
CV ^(v)	<i>autaetae</i> (adj)	‘immature’
	<i>akeke</i> (adj)	‘special’
	<i>ororo</i> (adv)	‘quickly’
	<i>tanini re-</i> (cv)	‘grow large’
	<i>badirara</i> (n)	‘thick cloud’
	<i>airuru-</i> (v)	‘jump over’
CVCV	<i>ravegeragera</i> (adj)	‘dangerous’
	<i>kivanivani re-</i> (cv)	‘skip’
	<i>bavorovoro</i> (n)	‘owl’

Complete inherent reduplication, e.g. CV^(v), CV^(v)CV, CVCVCV and VCV, is the type most frequently observed [37.3% of the 324 recorded in Bradshaw (2021a)]. All types (complete, initial, medial and final) have been observed in open word classes (adjectives, complex verbs and nouns), except for a medial type adjective. The medial type is the least prevalent (6.5%), only found in three word classes (adverb, complex verb and noun) and only one type of syllable pattern. The two closed classes of conjunction and postposition are limited in their distribution, i.e. only in Complete CV for conjunction and only in Complete CV and Initial CV and CVV for postposition, while the majority of closed classes do not exhibit any inherent reduplication. Further evidence that these inherent reduplications may have diachronic origin in an unreduplicated form are observed in reduplicative meanings mentioned above, i.e. plurality, intensity, distributive and valency changing. These reduplicative meanings are regularly observed in the open (and semi-open) word classes: 45.1% are nouns, 35.5% are complex verbs, 10.5% are adjectives; 3.1% are adverbs and 1.2% are verbs; only 4.6% are members of closed classes (postposition and conjunction).

Due to the preponderance of complete and initial reduplication (73.7%), it can be concluded that reduplication in Doromu-Koki is rightward,²⁰ always continuous (cf. Rubino 2005:18, Smith 2016:523, 526), mainly disyllabic CV.CV morpho-semantic (Inkelas and Zoll 2005:2), copying in the Complete type and primarily monosyllabic CV in the other types. These features may be an indication that an atypical form was not derived from an unreduplicated form, e.g. the monosyllabic complete *vava* ‘hot’ or the

²⁰ According to Rubino (2005:18) leftward is more usually observed.

disyllabic final *ravegeragera* ‘dangerous’, especially when one considers that some of these forms are borrowed, e.g. the monosyllabic complete CV *kaka* ‘red’²¹ and the disyllabic final CV.CV *egeregere* ‘okay’.

Full reduplication follows parallel patterns: always complete and mainly disyllabic (79.2%), of which 87% of those are of the form CV^(v).CV, e.g. *rautu~rautu* (village~PL) ‘villages’; the remaining are of the form V.CV, e.g. *ofi~ofi* (young.woman~PL) ‘young women’. 15.6% are trisyllabic, e.g. *gagani~gagani* (place~PL) ‘places’, including one double-word copy *ya.kaya~ya.kaya* (2.self~PL) ‘you yourselves’, 3.9% are monosyllabic CV, e.g. *na~na* (1SG~1SG) ‘I’, which frequently occurs preceding an uninflected verb, e.g. *diba* ‘know’. The trisyllabic forms are mainly V.CV.CV (58.3%), e.g. *esika~esika* (pain~INTS) ‘great pain’, followed by CV.CV.CV (33.3%), e.g. *dudusa~dudusa* (again~PL) ‘again and again’, followed by the one CV.V.CV, e.g. *kaere~kaere* (who~PL) ‘who(m)ever’. As with inherent reduplication, this type has also mainly been observed with open word classes: nouns (30.2%), adjectives (22.6%), complex verbs (5.7%) and semi-open classes. These semi-open classes include adverbs (13.2%) and verbs (11.3%). A further 15% are from the pronoun, postposition and interrogative closed classes.

The two types of reduplication (inherent and full) have analogous grammatical functions, that is iterativity, plurality, distributive meaning or valency changing. This can be readily observed in many cases, e.g. *bugibugi* ‘sore covered’, *vorovoro* ‘excessively’, *eseseka ni-* ‘cough’, *sesere* ‘chant’ and *kiki-* ‘shine’.

3.9 Conclusion

Inherent reduplication (§3.9) and compounding (§3.2.1.6 and §3.4.2.1) are regular features across many open word classes in the language, with varying effects. The open word classes (§3.1) are wide and varied, with nouns (§3.2) by far having the most members. Each class has several subclasses. Nouns include proper (§3.2.1.1), plural (§3.2.1.2), temporal (§3.2.1.3), compound (§3.2.1.4) and adjectival (§3.2.1.5) subclasses. Adjectives (§3.3) include antonymic (§3.3.1), pre-nominal (§3.3.2.1) and multiclass functioning (or ‘double-duty’) [§3.3.2.2]. They are modified for intensification (§3.3.3) and also used for comparison (§3.3.4). Verbs (§3.4) have three major classes as well as the minor classes of ‘secondary’ verb of intention (§3.4.1.1) and verbs of

²¹ Though interestingly, the Hiri Motu is *kakakaka* ‘red’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196); a possible instance of differentiation (cf. §2.8.2.1).

cognition/volition (§3.4.1.2). Other verbal strategies (§3.4.2) include single-word verbal compounds (§3.4.2.1), transitivity alternations (§3.4.2.2) and special subtypes (§3.4.2.3). Other verbal features discussed include verbal modifiers (§3.4.3). The second largest class, and a routine recipient of borrowing, is complex verbs (§3.5); this class also includes double counterparts (§3.5.1). Adverbs (§3.6) are of two types: manner (§3.6.2) and degree (§3.6.3). Other word class features include the class changing derivation (§3.7) and nominalisation (§3.7.1). Closed word classes (§3.8) are briefly mentioned in this chapter and are featured as the topic of the following chapter.

4. Closed word classes

The closed word classes include pronouns (§4.1), demonstratives (§4.2), locatives (§4.3), postpositions (§4.4), interrogatives (§4.5), polar question markers (§4.6), affirmative answer (§4.7), negatives (§4.8), degree adverbs (§4.9), conjunctions (§4.10), interjections (§4.11), vocative (§4.12), discourse markers (§4.13) and other particles (§4.14).

4.1 Pronouns

Three different sets of pronouns include subject/object (§4.1.1), possessive (§4.1.2) and reflexive (§4.1.3). Dixon (2010a:114) describes them as participant shifters. They replace NPs in a discourse, serving to provide participant reference and cohesion.

4.1.1 Subject/object pronouns

The four subject/object pronouns distinguish between singular and plural number only in first person (but not in second and third person); this is a frequent phenomenon in Papuan languages. There are no inclusive/exclusive, dual or gender distinctions (Dutton 1970: 922-3). These pronouns function as both transitive subject, intransitive subject and object (and object of postpositions); since the verbal morphology encodes subject, they are not always included in the subject position. Because these pronouns function in any of these grammatical roles, constituent order must be consistent (cf. §7.4):

(A/S) (O) (E)¹ (NEG) V
V-V
CV
SVC

Third person objects (and extended pronominal arguments) are often implied, e.g. *na maraka* ‘I gave (it) (to him)’ (cf. §10.2.2.1 for details on the conditions of their use). Number distinctions are neutralised in the second and third persons. The four A/S/O pronouns are listed in Table 4.1:

Table 4.1: *Subject/object pronouns*

	Singular	Plural
First	<i>na</i>	<i>una</i>
Second	<i>ya</i>	
Third	<i>ina</i>	

Pronouns functioning as transitive subject (1), intransitive subject (2), verbless clause subject (3), object (4) and extended argument (5) are exemplified below.

¹ E = extended argument, i.e. dative or locative (Aikhenvald 2015c:55).

Transitive subject:

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

Intransitive subject:

- (2) *ya siko muye-giya baebu*
 2 first die-2SG.FUT lest
 ‘lest you die’ [Bradshaw 2021a:226]

Verbless clause subject:

- (3) *Una =ka mironi de ame-yafa.*
 1PL =also three NEG stay-1PL.PAST
 ‘We also didn’t stay there.’

Object:

- (4) *Tufa re-gida=ri ya moke-gida.*
 struggle.in.darkness do-1SG.FUT=in 2 think-1SG.FUT
 ‘When I will be struggling in darkness I will think of you.’ [50]

Extended argument (recipient):

- (5) *Kokou rubu vene yaku dona eso una mar-adi.*
 (name) clan people DSM DSM belly 1PL give-3PL.PAST
 ‘The Kokou clan people gave us pork belly.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:98)

Often the plural noun *vene* ‘people’ is added to distinguish number in the second and third person (6), and is also seen in (16), (67) and (91) – a well-known pathway of grammaticalisation (Kuteva et al. 2019:328). Since the verbal morphology distinguishes between third person singular and plural, these pronouns are primarily used in a verbless clause (cf. §8.2), e.g. *ina vene bi mini* ‘they are here’ versus *ina bi mini* ‘she is here’.

- (6) ...*ina vene diba garasi bona foroka=sa*
 3 people know glass and basket=ACCM

di-yadi.

go-3SG.PAST

‘...they knew that they went with the (diving) glasses and the basket.’ [6.02]

Constructions with dual reference may include the addition of *remanu* ‘two’ (Dutton 1970:923).

- (7) *Ina remanu rafe-gi koru=ri ne-yadi.*
 3 two wash-PURP water=at go.down-3PL.PAST
 ‘They two went down to the river to wash.’

Reduplication of the subject pronoun frequently co-occurs with verbs of cognition (cf. §3.4.1.2), perhaps due to their lack of verbal morphology.

- (8) *Na~na diba de kosini bi nui ide=ri*
 1SG~1SG know NEG mother TOP sty inside=at

vare-gam-o.

sleep-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

‘I did not know the mother (pig) was sleeping inside the sty.’ [85]

The subject/object pronouns do not occur in verbless clauses (cf. §5.2.3) without the topic marker *bi* (9a-b) [cf. also §4.13.1]. These pronouns may be modified with the degree adverb *maka* ‘only’ (9c) [cf. §4.9], and may also be marked by the accompaniment postpositional clitic =*sa* (9d), but not by the postposition =*ri* ‘at, in, on’ (9e).

- (9) a. *ina bi buni *ina buni*
 3SG TOP good 3SG good
 ‘it is good’
- b. *mina bi ina *mina ina*
 this TOP 3SG this 3SG
 ‘this is it’
- c. *ina maka* d. *ina=sa* e. **ina=ri*
 3SG only 3SG=ACCM 3SG=at/on
 ‘him alone’ ‘with her’

Discussion of pronouns continues with the possessive set.

4.1.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive set contains four pronouns, distinguishing between singular and plural in first person, but not in second and third person. The possessive pronouns serve as dependents in the subject and object noun phrase. In (13), the possessive pronoun fills the VCC. Concerning putative 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.’ Accordingly, Doromu-Koki possessive pronouns were composed of the free A/S/O pronoun + *di* ‘genitive’; such forms are still in evidence in Badaika village (Korigo dialect) variants: *na di*, *ya di*, *una di* [cf. §1.9 items (190), (196) and (208)] and in the related Maria language: *na-adi* ‘mine’ (Dutton, 1970:920, 924). They began to form one word as the final pronoun vowel *a* (except for the first person singular) and the initial genitive *d* were dropped, i.e. *ya+di* > *yi*. No evidence remains for third person. Normally possessive pronouns cannot modify a proper noun,

however, note (48) below *uni Nobi* [1PL.POSS (name)] ‘our (dear) Nobi’. Analogous to the A/S/O pronouns, person distinctions are also neutralised in second and third person plural.

Doromu-Koki does not have inalienable or inherent possession; these pronouns are all used for both human and non-human possession as well as body part terms.

Table 4.2: *Possessive pronouns*

	Singular	Plural
First	<i>nai</i>	<i>uni</i>
Second	<i>yi</i>	
Third	<i>ini</i>	

Possessive pronouns are dependents within transitive subject (10), intransitive subject (11) and object (12), verbless clause complement (13) and oblique (14) arguments. In verbless clauses, the possessive pronoun can constitute the whole NP or be a modifier within the NP.

Transitive subject:

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

Intransitive subject:

- (11) *Nai rovaita no ni-do.*
 1SG.POSS body bad become-3SG.PRES
 ‘My body becomes bad (or spoiled).’

Object:

- (12) *Mosara fuse bona ini korikari=sa tufe fafau*
 sweet.potato bag and 3.POSS clothing=ACCM raft on.top.of

migigi ri-si...
 pack make-SEQ.SS

‘They packed the sweet potato bags with their clothing on top of the raft and...’
 [14.09]

Verbless clause complement:

- (13) *Mina giro bi nai.*
 this axe TOP 1SG.POSS
 ‘This axe is mine.’ [44]

Oblique (location):

- (14) *Rauna itu yaku yi yava dui re-do.*
 hunger cold DSM 2.POSS house entering do-3SG.PRES
 ‘Hunger and cold enter your house.’ [68]

The possessive pronouns also serve as dependents in temporals; the adjective *buni* ‘good’ is functioning as a headless adjective (cf. §3.3). (Below, the possessive pronoun *yi* ‘2.POSS’ is a possessor inside a temporal oblique.)

- (15) *Yi buni=ri bi una ve feide-na de.*
 2.POSS good=at TOP 1PL family leave-NOMZ NEG
 ‘In your good times you are not leaving us, your family.’ [50]

The genitive *di* is used to indicate possession when the second and third person pronouns are modified by the noun *vene* ‘people’. While the usual possessive pronoun, i.e. *yi* ‘2.POSS’, may be used, this construction ensures a plural interpretation, providing further evidence of the composition of the current possessive pronouns.

- (16) *ya vene di mosara*
 2 people GEN sweet.potato
 ‘your (pl.) sweet potato’

The genitive *di* also co-occurs with third person possessive for greater emphasis.

- (17) *Evade maka ini baba muye-yo-ri, ini mida~mida*
 quickly only 3.POSS father die-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS child~PL

gadi ma giniba moi-si muro re-na sana di ini
 spade and pitchfork get-SEQ.SS garden do-NOMZ place GEN 3.POSS

kono mina moi evairo~evairo re-yadi.
 ground this D.CAUS turn.over~PL do-3PL.PAST
 ‘Quickly when their father died, his children got spades and pitchforks and turned over and over the ground **of the** gardening place.’ [94]

The postposition *di* ‘genitive’ may occur several times in a sentence or clause finally; the following example contains three instances.

- (18) *Mina ame-sifa kono bi, Kokila vene di kono di*
 this stay-1PL.PRES ground TOP (name) people GEN ground GEN

Amiye roka Giro Yori di.
 person name (name) (name) GEN
 ‘This place where we live is one of the Kokila people’s land’ men named Giro Yori.’ [49]

Cf. §4.4.4 and §5.2.2 for further consideration.

4.1.3 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns convey emphasis or function as separate arguments. Comparable to the A/S/O and possessive pronouns, the same person/number forms are indicated (cf. Table 4.3); number distinctions are neutralised in the second and third persons. However, the third person has three variants (*inaike*, *inike* and *iniye*) and the first person plural one (*uniye*). The first person plural *uniye* (20) variant is similar in form to the final third person variant *iniye*. The reflexive pronoun (also having reciprocal use; cf. §4.1.3.1 below) functions as a full NP (cf. Dixon 2012:139) as A/S, O, E or OBL argument. The variant forms of the first person plural and third person reflexive pronouns in Table 4.3 are ordered according to relative frequency of use.

Table 4.3: *Reflexive pronouns*

	Singular	Plural
First	<i>naike</i>	<i>uniye/unike</i>
Second	<i>yaike</i>	
Third	<i>inaike/inike/iniye</i>	

While the reflexive pronouns have true reflexive meaning, functioning as intransitive subject or extended argument (19), in (20) they have an emphatic meaning, reinforcing the subject. This type is connected with auto-reflexive usage ‘myself’. Such a form may have intensive meaning (cf. §11.1.1).

- (19) *Uniye ni.kaite-yafa gokai.resi makai ni-do.*
 1PL.REFL ask-1SG.PAST how like.this become-3SG.PRES
 ‘We asked ourselves why it is happening like this.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:192)

- (20) *Naike yuka ma bo-i-da ma duma~duma vene ya*
 1SG.REFL leg by go-LINK-1SG.PRES and stealing~PL people DSM

na dobu re-yadi.
 1SG attack do-3PL.PAST
 ‘I was walking (lit. ‘going by foot’) by myself and thieves attacked me.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:186)

The third person variant *iniye* is homophonous with the degree adverb *iniye* ‘very’ (cf. §4.9). In (21), *iniye* modifies the noun *meda* ‘time’, yielding an ‘own’ (or ‘very’) emphatic meaning. This contrasts with the regular reflexive use, commonly with a person (or spirit), e.g. *Sei yaku iniye...* ‘God himself...’.

- (21) *Nai sina tau ni-yaka bi ini meda iniye=ri*
 1SG.POSS word all say-1SG.PAST TOP 3.POSS time 3.REFL=at

vata ni-go.

happen become-3SG.FUT

‘All the words that I said will come about at their own time.’ (SUAR 2017:121:1.20)

Unlike the previously described pronouns, the reflexive set has no means of distinguishing number in second and third person; verbal morphology then carries that load.

- (22) *Omuna ika tora yokoi=ri inaike maka bo-yadi.*
 mountain summit big one=on 3.REFL only go-3SG.PAST
 ‘They themselves went up on one big mountain summit.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:129)

The third person variant *inike* includes a vowel reduction, possibly due to rapid speech.

- (23) *Ma ina bi maruka ma mida de inike*
 and 3 TOP husband and child NEG 3.REFL

ame-gam-o.

stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

‘And she was living by herself, without husband or children.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:130)

Another means of formulating reflexives is through PN+*kaya* ‘self’, functioning as object (24), extended (25) and oblique argument (26). In (24), the reflexive object is coreferential with the subject. The form *kaya* ‘self’ does not occur on its own without the accompanying pronoun; the plural marker *vene* ‘people’ is also not permissible in this construction, i.e. **ina vene kaya*.

- (24) *Moke-na mina kana bi ina kaya ara u-dedi.*
 think-NOMZ this like TOP 3 self sore hit-3PL.PRES
 ‘Thinking like this they are hurting themselves.’ [62]

- (25) *...ma una yokoi =ka una kaya rofu muye-na de re-do.*
 and 1PL one =also 1PL self for die-NOMZ NEG do-3SG.PRES
 ‘...and each of us does not die for ourselves alone.’ (SUAR 2017:345:14.7)

- (26) *Na kaya di vava dudu bi beika yokoi de re-gida...*
 1SG self GEN heat INST TOP what one NEG do-1SG.FUT
 ‘By my own power I can do nothing/cannot do anything...’ (SUAR 2017:207:5.30)

The distinction between PN+*kaya* or a reflexive pronoun is often not clear.

4.1.3.1 Reciprocal

Reciprocal is indicated by reduplication of *uniye* ‘1PL.REFL’ (27), *iniye* ‘3.REFL’ (28) or the PN+*kaya* ‘self’ (29) constructions and always with a plural subject; *naike* ‘1SG.REFL’, *yaike* ‘2.REFL’ or *inaike/inike* ‘3.REFL’ have not been attested as reciprocals. These reciprocals function as A/O (27) or A/E (29) arguments.

(27) *Va uniye~uniye duaiya re-i ve-nadi....*
try 1PL.REFL~DISTR count do-LINK see-1PL.IMP
‘Let’s try to see if we can count each other...’ [18.05]

(28) *Iniye~iniye ini moimai=ri aede-yadi.*
3.REFL~DISTR 3.POSS work=at help-3PL.PAST
‘They helped each other with their work.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:130)

Only second (29) and third (30) person PN+*kaya* ‘self’ constructions have been attested.

(29) *Mina.resi ya kaya~ya.kaya niogau re-dedi ya bi Sei di*
therefore 2 self~DISTR say-appear do-2PL.PRES 2 TOP God GEN

ago ni-yadi vene umuye-yadi vene di
word say-3PL.PAST people kill-3PL.PAST people GEN

tutubena!
descendent

‘And so you confess (lit. say-appear) amongst yourselves (i.e. ‘to each other’) that you are descendents of those who killed the prophets (lit. ‘God’s word speaking people’).’ (SUAR 2017:56:23.31)

(30) ...*ya ina kaya~ina.kaya de iya re-gam-adi.*
DSM 3 REFL~DISTR NEG war do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
‘...they were not fighting amongst themselves.’ [8.10]

There are no apparent semantic constraints on which verbs take reflexive and which reciprocal. Four have been found to occur with either: *kikifa re-* ‘honour, respect’, *mar-* ‘give’, *nari re-* ‘wait, look after’ and *oteimar-* ‘tell, show’, e.g. *uniye uni yuka vana nari re-si* (1PL.REFL 1PL.POSS leg arm looking.after do-SEQ.SS) ‘we look after ourselves and’ versus *ya kaya~ya.kaya nari re-i mona re-fa* (2 REFL~DISTR looking.after do-LINK properly do-2PL.IMP) ‘you look well after each other’.

4.1.4 Generic reference

The noun *amiye* ‘person’ and the interrogative *kaere* ‘who’ function with generic or impersonal reference when they co-occur, and sometimes when occurring separately. The noun *amiye* ‘person’ is considered to be singular in opposition to the plural *vene* ‘people’.

At times, however, it has a plural sense, as seen in the verb morphology.

- (31) *Amiye yaku mina bi anua re-gedi, idu Sei rofu tau*
 person DSM this TOP be.unable.to do-3PL.FUT but God for all
noibanu re-na bi aita iniye.
 whole do-NOMZ TOP light very
 ‘No one (lit. ‘ones’) can do this, but for God everything is very easy (lit. ‘lightweight’).’ (SUAR 2017:46:19.26)

When used on its own with generic reference, the interrogative *kaere* ‘who’ means ‘whoever/whomever’ or ‘the one who’.

- (32) *Kaere bi ini beika.baika re-do rofu ni-ma-do,*
 who TOP 3SG whatever do-3SG.PRES to say-give-3SG.PRES
ma ina kaya kota re-gi di adina nufa de, bi
 and 3 self court do-PURP GEN reason with NEG TOP
buni tora gade moi-go!
 good big very get-3SG.FUT
 ‘The one who is commended (lit say-give) in whatever he/she does, and does not have any reason to be judged, will be blessed (lit. ‘receive very great goodness’)!’ (SUAR 2017:346:14.22)

When both of these co-occur, the interrogative *kaere* qualifies the noun *amiye*; otherwise reference would be to a particular person, rather than ‘the one’ or ‘whoever/whomever’.

- (33) *Mina amiye kaere yaku ya ve-i mama ri-yo ina*
 this person who DSM 2 see-LINK fully make-3SG.PAST 3
rofu bi buni tora gade ma-go!
 to TOP good big very give-3SG.FUT
 ‘Blessed (lit. ‘receive very great goodness’) be the one (lit. ‘this person’) who took notice (lit. ‘made to see fully’) of you!’ (SUARBB 2011:2.19)

Examination continues with how pronouns are used.

4.1.5 Pronominal reference

Pronouns occasionally function as a cohesive device between subsequent clauses and sentences, providing anaphoric reference. A pronoun establishes or reestablishes a referent as topic in order to maintain continuity of multiple participants.

When one participant is involved, ellipsis or recapitulative forms are used, in which the same participant is indicated in two clauses. Once a participant is established, continued reference is maintained through verb morphology and ellipsis. It is rare to find

a clause or sentence with a pronoun; participant tracking is primarily indicated through switch-reference marking (cf. §9.2.2.1). When pronominal reference occurs, it indicates an aside in the progression. In (34), the pronoun *ina* ‘they’ is indicated because the author wishes to make a point of the boys’ negligence – the topic of the story, as opposed to ...*bo-si diba de...* (go-SEQ.SS know NEG) ‘...they went and didn’t know that...’; subject pronoun use, however, is necessary for uninflected verbs (cf. §3.4.1.2).

- (34) *Anema garasi bo-yadi, ina diba de garasi*
 head.water glass go.up-3PL.PAST 3 know NEG glass

foroka=sa diyadi.
 basket=ACCM go-3PL.PAST

‘They (the boys) went up to the headwaters with their diving glasses, **they** did not know they went with their diving glasses left behind in the basket.’ [6.02]

Anaphoric reference is accomplished through pronouns.² Pronouns are used to give prominence to salient participants (cf. §10.2.2.1), while ellipsis is not unusual for those not currently in focus; the child only comes back into focus once the snake approaches him.

- (35) ...*nai mida bi koro=ri ame-si na ve-gasa*
 1SG.POSS child TOP border=at stay-SEQ.SS 1SG see-SIM.SS

ame-gam-o. Resi ∅ koro=ri vare-yo-ri
 stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST SBL border=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS

aruma yaku ina fafau-ma de-yo.
 snake DSM 3 on.top.of-on come-3SG.PAST

‘...my son was staying at the border where he could see me. Then when he was sleeping at the border a snake came down on him from above.’ [3.03-04]

In (36), the initial subject is only indicated by verbal morphology in the second clause (in bold), while the subject of the second clause is elided in the fourth and once again indicated in the fifth (in bold). The narrator is not salient to the narrative, while the snake is, and subsequently reintroduced accordingly (in bold).

- (36) [*Dada ∅ moimai fere-si*]_{CL1} [*raga bai-yaka nai*
 so (1SG) work leave-SEQ.SS run come-1SG.PAST 1SG.POSS

mida ro]_{CL2}, [*to aruma bi ori di-yo-ma*]_{CL3} [*∅*
 child to but snake TOP fear go-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS (1SG)

² Textual anaphora, however, employs the demonstrative pronoun *mina* ‘this’ (cf. §10.2.2.1 for further elaboration).

bai-si]_{CL4} [*Jacobo nikaite-yaka*, “*Aruma yaku aki re-yo*
 come-SEQ.SS (name) ask-1SG.PAST snake DSM bite do-3SG.PAST

ba ide?]_{CL5}”

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 Jacobo , ‘Did the snake bite (you)?’ ’ [3.06]

The boy, now in focus and so indicated by use of the third person pronoun *ina* (in bold), does not specify the snake in his reported speech; the snake is no longer in focus, the anaphoric reference is now reduced to ellipsis.

(37) *To ina yaku ni-yo*, “ \emptyset *bi* \emptyset *de aki re-yo*,”
 but 3 DSM say-3SG.PAST (3SG) TOP (1SG) NEG bite do-3SG.PAST

vo-ni-yo.

tell-say-3SG.PAST

‘And he said that, ‘It did not bite (me).’ ’ [3.07]

A pronoun may function as a recapitulative copy of a salient NP; the subject (and object) is elided while the extended argument is retained.

(38) *Gabi ro mo* \emptyset *una remanu di uni iruku una*
 later to at.once (3SG) 1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS food 1PL

mar-o-ma \emptyset \emptyset *iri-yafa ada dudu*.
 give-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS (1PL) (3SG) eat-1PL.PAST happiness INST

‘Then later (she) gave the two of us our food and we ate (it) happily.’ [3.10]

Cf. §9.5.4 and §10.2.2.1 for further elaboration on issues surrounding pronominal reference.

4.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are grammatical constituents used to point to an object in a discourse (Dixon 2010a:117). The two main demonstratives are *mina* ‘this’ and *mirona* ‘that’; further distinctions yield six forms (Table 4.4). The demonstratives occur both pronominally, functioning as a whole NP (and glossed with ‘one’), and adnominally pre-nominal, functioning as a modifier to a head noun. Three types include specific, generic and greater distal. Distance distinctions include proximal, distal and elevated. Three gaps occur: specific and generic elevated, i.e. above the level of the speaker and/or addressee, and greater distal proximal. This last one would yield a contradiction: distal-proximal, while the elevated specific may have fallen into disuse (cf. Table 4.5 for the corresponding locative *yoiseni* ‘right up over there’ and the current elevated greater distal

isena ‘that (one) up over there’). The initial morpheme *yo-* appears to indicate specificity, i.e. particular location deixis; however, it is unclear why the distal-greater distal *yorona* ‘that (one) over there’ also has this initial morpheme. The elevated greater distal form is derived from the borrowed elevated greater distance locative *iseni* ‘up over there’ (cf. §4.3).

Table 4.4: *Demonstrative pronouns*

	Specific	Generic	Greater distal
Elevated			<i>isena</i> ‘that (one) up over there’
Distal	<i>yomirona</i> ‘that (one) right there’	<i>mirona</i> ‘that (one)’	<i>yorona</i> ‘that (one) over there’
Proximal	<i>yomina</i> ‘this (one) right here’	<i>mina</i> ‘this (one)’	

The generic term is more frequently observed; the specific being used to highlight a particular item.

- (39) *Yomirona* *bani* *bi* *ga* *moi*.
 that.right.there yam TOP PROHIB get
 ‘Do not touch (lit. ‘get’) that yam right there.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:271)

When the postpositional clitic *=ri* ‘at’ is bound to one of these demonstrative pronouns, it produces a location. This may be evidence to the origin of the locatives as DEM=*ri*; the demonstrative pronoun final vowel *a* and postpositional clitic initial *r* **may** have been deleted, producing forms such as *mini* from *mina=ri* (cf. §4.3 below), although both forms remain in use.

- (40) *Yi* *moke-na* *bi* *odoro* *isena=ri*.
 2.POSS think-NOMZ TOP above that.up.over.there=at
 ‘Your thinking is up over there.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:132)

The rapid speech form *mibi* ‘this/these one(s) is/are’ is a combination of the demonstrative pronoun *mina* ‘this’ and the topic marker *bi* (cf. §2.8.2.6 and §4.13.1).

- (41) *Mi-bi* *yi* *vene* *bona* *dubu* *di* *ourefeide-na* *vene*
 this-TOP 2.POSS people and church GEN lead-NOMZ people

yaku, *ya* *na* *rofu* *afe-i* *bai-yadi*.
 DSM 2 1SG to take-LINK come-2PL.PAST
 ‘That is, you brought your people and the church leaders back to me.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:89)

4.3 Locatives

Locatives correspond with the demonstratives, but also include nine further distinctions,

The form *gaima* ‘far away’ does not properly fit into the table, being further still distant (but not proximal); nevertheless *gaima* functions as a locative.

- (43) *Mina amiye yaku gaima=ri etae ri-si*
 this person DSM far.away=to move.aside do-SEQ.SS
- are re-si usa~usa ni-yo.*
 stand.up do-SEQ.SS asking~PL say-3SG.PAST
 ‘The man moved away (apart by himself) and stood and prayed.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:113)

Further examples include *mini*: (162) and (173). The composition of the various components found in the demonstratives and locatives are summarised in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: *Demonstrative/Locative morphology*

Specific	Elevated/ Proximal	Distal	Greater/?/ Demonstrative/Locative
(yo-)	<i>ise-</i> (<i>mi-</i>)	(ro-)	<i>-du</i> (direction) <i>-fu</i> (further distal) <i>-na</i> (demonstrative) <i>-ni</i> (location)

There is insufficient data to draw any definitive conclusions. (However, compare with interrogatives (§4.5) for some possible interpretations.)

4.4 Postpositions

Postpositions are indicators of an NP’s function (Dixon 2010a:127). The postpositions word class includes borrowed terms; accordingly, this class is considered semi-closed. There are four subclasses of postpositions, based primarily on semantics: location, directional, temporal and non-spatio-temporal, in addition to three postpositional clitics which are included in the location and non-spatio-temporal subclasses, respectively. Many of the postpositions are also marked with the postpositional clitic =*ri* ‘at, in, on’ (44) [cf. §4.4.5]⁴ or the bound fast-speech variant of the non-spatio-temporal *rofu* ‘for, at, to, with, from’, i.e. as *-ro#*. In this way some forms have grammaticalised; these include *etofaro* ‘outside’ (44), *munaro* ‘this way/side’, *odoro* ‘above’ (40) and *vaifuro* ‘above’; they are indicated in bold in Table 4.7.

⁴ As such postpositional compounds [N (POST)=POST] are formed, e.g. [*koru (ide)=ri*] (water (inside)=at) ‘(inside)=at the water’. Postpositions occur in the oblique location slot following the head NP whereas a modifying noun in a compound precedes the head (cf. §3.2.1.6).

- (44) *Meda yokoi=ri mida keika ini yava etofaro=ri isira*
 day one=at child little 3.POSS house outside=at play

re-gam-o.

do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

‘One day a small boy was playing outside his house.’ [95]

Four are also grammaticalised, incorporating the postpositional clitic =*ri*, i.e. they have not been attested without this postpositional clitic: *etafari* ‘away from’, *fogori* ‘during’, *fuofurori* ‘while’ and *lalonari* ‘during’. These four forms are indicated in bold in their respective tables below (Tables 4.8 and 4.9). Three of the four are temporal in nature.

4.4.1 Location postpositions

Twelve location postpositions describe physical location relative to some stationary referent.

Table 4.7: *Location postpositions*

Item	Gloss(es)	Item	Gloss(es)
<i>fafau</i>	‘above, on (top of)’	<i>adina</i>	‘beside, close/next to’
<i>odoro</i>	‘above, over, on (top of)’	<i>atafu</i>	‘near, close/next to, beside, aside’
<i>vaifuro</i>	‘above’	<i>kefe</i>	‘beside’
<i>egona</i>	‘below, lower down’	<i>negau</i>	‘near, close (by)’
<i>gabire</i>	‘under(neath), below’	<i>etofaro</i>	‘outside’
<i>nefau</i>	‘in front (of)’	<i>ide</i>	‘inside, within, in’

All except *vaifuro* ‘above’ may also be marked with =*ri* ‘at’.

- (45) *oyevani koru ide=ri rafe-gasa maina*
 fish (pl.) water inside=at swim-SIM.SS looking for

re-sifa

do-1PL.PRES

‘while we are swimming in the water with the fish we are looking for them’ [57]

The location postposition *egona* ‘below, lower down’ may also be marked by *rofu*.

- (46) *Fidi re-gi re-yaka to, dui re-na kode vonisi*
 shoot do-PURP do-1SG.PAST but entering do-NOMZ not.yet if

ve-i

ne-yaka

egona *rofu.*

see-LINK go.down-1SG.PAST below to

‘I was going to shoot, but not yet entering I looked to see if I could see down below.’ [85]

The clitic =*u* ‘by, on’ bound to the postposition *adina* ‘beside, close/next to’ (47) yields *adinau* ‘nearby, close to/by’ (cf. §4.4.5).

- (47) ...*rautu adina omuna tora ...uratoku-yo-ma...*
 ...village near mountain big ...break.apart-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS
 ‘...near the village a big mountain...collapsed...’ [9.05]

Only slightly different *fafau* ‘above’, on (top of)’ describes position ‘resting/laying on’, while *odoro* ‘above, over, on (top of)’ describes position above, i.e. the item may be situated in the air (e.g. *oma odoro* ‘above/up in the sky’).

- (48) *Uni⁵ Nobi kono fafau fere-si...*
 1PL.POSS (name) ground on.top.of leave-SEQ.SS
 ‘Our Nobi (i.e. nickname for Norbert) left this earth and...’ [56]

The location postposition *vaifuro* ‘above’ refers to the item in relationship to the speaker, i.e. at a higher elevation.

- (49) *Uni muro bi vaifuro.*
 1PL.POSS garden TOP above
 ‘Our garden is above.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:255)

In opposition to *nefau* ‘in front of’ (50), *fufuta=ri* means ‘behind’ [lit. at the back] (106). Alternately, when speaking about a person, one regularly hears *nemoko=ri* for ‘in front of’, which literally means ‘in/at the eyes, i.e. presence’ [cf. Bradshaw 2022a:320]. Also *buda=ri* ‘in front’ is frequently used, e.g. *yi budari* ‘in front of you (lit. ‘at your front’)’ [cf. Bradshaw 2022a:320].

- (50) *Yava ida nefau ame-do boro mina kiki re-yaka.*
 house road in.front.of stay-3SG.PRES ball this kick do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I kicked the ball that is in front of the path to the house.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:75)

Four of the postpositions: *adina* ‘beside’, *atafu* ‘near’, *kefe* ‘beside’ and *negau* ‘close by’⁶ have corresponding meaning; the form *atafu* is used slightly more frequently for movement. Further examples of these location postpositions include: for *gabire* ‘under(neath)’ (81).

4.4.2 Directional postpositions

Four directional postpositions, which are significantly less in number than the relational postpositions, are seen in Table 4.8.

⁵ This is from a song, as it is unusual to find a possessive pronoun marking a name (cf. §4.1.2).

⁶ These last two have only been observed occurring on their own, i.e. without *=ri*.

Table 4.8: *Directional postpositions*

Item	Gloss(es)	Item	Gloss(es)
<i>etafari</i>	‘away from’	<i>urana</i>	‘to(ward)(s), for’
<i>gutuna</i>	‘from, out of’	<i>vaitani</i>	‘from, according to’

The postposition *gutuna* ‘from, out of’ (51) may also be marked by the postpositional clitic =*ri*, while *etafari* ‘away from’, is a grammaticalised form that includes =*ri* ‘at, in, on’ (52); *urana* ‘to(ward)(s), for’ never does (53).

- (51) *Ina bi 1980=ri Amuraika gutuna roku re-si dairi*
 3 TOP 1980=in (place.name) from migrate do-SEQ.SS return

ne-yadi ini kono fafau.
 go.down-3PL.PAST 3.POSS ground on

‘In 1980 they migrated from Amuraika and returned to their land/place.’ [8.21]

- (52) *Ya vegu no re-na vene tau na rofu etafari*
 2 practice bad do-NOMZ people all 1SG from away.from

di-fa!

go-2PL.IMP

‘Get away from me all you wicked people!’ (Bradshaw 2021a:98)

- (53) *...kamini yokoi~yokoi dadi-ga rautu urana di-yadi.*
 and.then one~DISTR get.up-SIM.SS village toward go-3PL.PAST
 ‘...and then as they got up one by one they went home.’ [15.09]

The non-spatio-temporal postposition *rofu* ‘for, at, **to**, with, **from**’ (Bradshaw 2021a:216) also conveys directional meaning [cf. §4.4.4 below] as seen in (46), (52), (59), (64), (66-67) and (71).

4.4.3 Temporal postpositions

The three temporal postpositions on the left in Table 4.9, which always end in =*ri*#, are indicated in bold (54); two on the right [*duakau* ‘during, when, whilst’ and *neitua* ‘little while, during’] (55) occur with or without =*ri* ‘at, in, on’.

Table 4.9: *Temporal postpositions*

Item	Gloss(es)	Item	Gloss(es)
<i>fogori</i>	‘amongst, during’	<i>duakau</i>	‘during, when, whilst’
<i>fuofuori</i>	‘while, during, when’	<i>neganai</i>	‘when, whilst’
<i>lalonari</i>	‘during, while, when’	<i>neitua</i>	‘little while, during’

- (54) *Mina fogori sioni amiye roka mista English Rigo*
 this during white.skin person name mister (name) (place.name)

=*ri* *soka* *re-yo*.
 =at arrive do-3SG.PAST
 ‘While this was happening a white man named Mr. English arrived in Rigo
 (district name).’ [19.02]

- (55) *Ye mina neitua keika gurau-gedi...*
 so this little.while little suffer-2PL.FUT
 ‘And so in this you (pl.) will suffer for a little while...’ (SUAR 2017:506:5.10)

These temporal postpositions all have close meanings and are used much the same way.

4.4.4 Non-spatio-temporal postpositions

Non-spatio-temporal postpositions mark argument function. Relationships include the semantic roles of ‘genitive’, ‘instrument’, ‘possessive’, ‘benefactive, recipient, purpose’ and ‘purpose’ (Table 4.10). Unlike the previous types, these non-spatio-temporal postpositions are not normally marked by another postposition; however, such an instance can be seen in (67), in which the clitic =*ri* ‘at’ is bound to the entire bracketed NP.

Table 4.10: *Non-spatio-temporal postpositions*

Item	Gloss(es)
<i>di</i>	‘genitive’
<i>dudu</i>	‘instrument’
<i>nufa</i>	‘possessive’
<i>rofu</i>	‘benefactive, recipient, purpose’
<i>totona</i>	‘purpose’

Two forms which are both regularly glossed in English as ‘with’ have the grammatical functions of instrument (56) and possessive (57), respectively. Without possessive marking, (57) would be rendered *Yi moni ame-do?* (2.POSS money stay-3SG.PRES) ‘Does your money exist?’ This is unconventional.

- (56) *John bi kodu dudu auna u-yo*.
 (name) TOP stick INST dog hit-3SG.PAST
 ‘John hit the dog with a stick.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:89)

- (57) *Ya moni nufa?*
 2 money POSS
 ‘Do you have any money?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:198)

The postposition *rofu* ‘for, in order that, to, from’ which in rapid speech becomes *ro* has multiple functions. The most frequent gloss for *rofu* is ‘to’, which points to an addressee or goal. Addressees are concomitant with the verb *ni-* ‘say’ (58). When used with a goal, together with a verb of motion, e.g. *bo-* ‘go (over/up)’ or *bae-* ‘come’, *rofu* indicates direction away (59) or toward (60), respectively; therefore it is also considered a directional postposition (cf. analysis in §4.4.2).

- (58) [*ina rofu*] *makai ni-yo*
 3 to likewise say-3SG.PAST
 ‘he spoke likewise to him’ (SUAR 2017:5:3.3)

- (59) *Sealark =ri sokau re-si bo-yaka. [nai tobaini tora*
 (ship.name) =on jump do-SEQ.SS go-1SG.PAST my sister big

rofu]

to

‘I got off of the Sealark and went over to my big sister.’ [11.22]

As a postposition, *rofu* follows an NP (59) or pronoun (58) and (60).

- (60) *idu ya bi [na rofu] bai-yo*
 but 2 TOP 1SG to come-2SG.PAST
 ‘but you came to me’ (SUAR 2017:6:3.14)

In some instances, the postposition *rofu* follows a VP or clause, expressing purpose, yet still as a goal (cf. elaboration of heterosemous use below).

- (61) *mina mida maina re-i mona re-gedi rofu*
 this child looking.for do -LINK well do-2PL.FUT in.order.to
 ‘in order to look properly for this child’

The second most recurrent gloss is ‘for’, also as a nominal case, in which it has a benefactive role (62) or indicates purpose (63).

- (62) ...[*ini vene rofu*] *moi rama ai-yo*
 3.POSS people for D.CAUS right put-3SG.PAST
 ‘...he fulfilled (lit. ‘put right’) it for his people’ (SUAR 2017:1:i)

- (63) *Mina muramura bi [malaria rofu] bi buni.*
 this medicine TOP malaria for TOP good
 ‘This medicine that is for malaria, is good.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:161)

As a source directional, *rofu* is glossed as ‘from, on’ (64) or ‘in, with’ (65).

- (64) [*Sei di gubuyo bai-go mina rofu*] *ori di-yaganedi*
 God GEN anger come-3SG.FUT this from fear go-3PL.IMP
 ‘you should flee from/be afraid of God’s coming anger’ (SUAR 2017:6:3.7)

- (65) *kaere bi [ina rofu] ada tora gade re-i-da.*
 who TOP 3 in happiness big much do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘in whom I am well pleased/with whom I am very happy’ (SUAR 2017:6:3.17)

It is also realised as ‘on’.

- (66) [*meda dadi-do eta rofu] ve-si...*
 sun come.up-3SG.PRES side on see-SEQ.SS
 ‘they saw it on the east (lit. ‘sun coming up’) side and...’ (SUAR 2017:3:2.2)

The clitic =*ri* ‘at’ may be bound to the final constituent of an NP, including another postposition, in this instance *rofu* ‘on’.

- (67) [*Ari uve-yo meda rofu]=ri, bi ina*
 day dawn-3.PAST sun on=at TOP 3

vene fere-si...
 people leave-SEQ.SS
 ‘At dawn, they left them and...’ (SUAR 2017:302:21.8)

When glossed as ‘at, from’, *rofu* expresses an extension or interval of time. (Here, however, it is not expressing a physical location.)

- (68) *ini lagani remanu ma egona rofu*
 3SG.POSS year two and below at
 ‘from two years old and under’ (SUAR 2017:4:2.16)

Use of the postposition *rofu* ‘at, in, on’ is distinct from the clitic =*ri* ‘at’, as it does not refer to physical location (in a stationary sense), as is the case with =*ri* ‘at’.

- (69) [*Mida keika~keika faisara koru]=ri rafe-gam-adi.*
 child little~PL naked water=at wash-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘Little children were swimming naked in the river.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:102)

In other instances *rofu* ‘at, in, on’ behaves quite differently; it can function as the head of an NP followed by *di* ‘genitive’, which is governed by the whole NP (72). In these constructions a type of “double case” is observed. In (70), *rofu* ‘in’ has a nominalised verb as object, whereas in (71) it is used with an independent inflected verb.

- (70) *Mina oteima-na vene yaku ni-yadi, ...bi [[moi vegu*
 this tell-NOMZ people DSM say-3PL.PAST TOP D.CAUS life

re-na rofu] di buni yokoi de.
 do-NOMZ in GEN good one NEG
 ‘These teachers (lit. teaching people) said...that there is no benefit in salvation (lit. getting life).’ (SUAR 2017:513:i)

- (71) [[*meda yokoi dadi-yaka*] ***rofu*** *di nai mida Adam*
 day one get.up-1SG.PAST on GEN 1SG.POSS child (name)

ni-yaka...

say-1SG.PAST

‘On one day’s getting up I said to my son Adam...’ [66]

In (72), the transitive object *Sei* ‘God’ is governed by *rofu* ‘in’, yet the whole NP is governed by *di* ‘genitive’.

- (72) *yi* [[*moke-na vari gira ai-na*] *Sei rofu*] *di sina*
 2.POSS think-NOMZ plant strong put-NOMZ God in GEN word
 ‘the news of your faith (lit. ‘strongly implanting thinking’) in God’
 (SUAR 2017:434:1.8)

In other cases, *rofu* functions as a conjunction connecting clauses, in opposition to regular switch-reference marking; replacing SR with *rofu* ‘so that’ below would yield *ma di-gam-adi rofu mina gagani=ri ame-gam-adi* (and go-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST so.that this place=at stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST) ‘and they went so that they were living in that place’. Switch-reference marking indicates sequentiality.

- (73) *Ma* [*di-si*] *mina gagani=ri ame-gam-adi*.
 and go-SEQ.SS this place=at stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘And they went and were living in that place.’ (SUARBB 2011)

As a clause chaining device, *rofu* ‘so that’ connects clauses which share the same subject, indicating consequence or cause-effect (cf. §9.2.2).

- (74) [*Uriyaku yokoi dadi-yaka*] ***rofu*** *nai mida*
 morning one get.up-1SG.PAST so.that my son

e-dadi-yaka.

I.CAUS-get.up-1SG.PAST

‘One morning I got up so that I woke up my son.’

In (75), the use of the differential subject marker *yaku* in the second clause has replaced the postposition *dudu* ‘instrument’; it appears that the noun *sosogi* ‘spear’ is being promoted to subject. [The locative has been moved to clause final position to indicate prominence (cf. §10.2.2.3).]

- (75) *Meki re-yo rofu sosogi yaku imi-yo ini*
 chase do-3SG.PAST so.that spear DSM shoot-3SG.PAST 3SG.POSS

getona=ri.

back=in

‘He chased it so that he shot it in the back with a spear.’ [7.05]

As Dixon (2002:238) says about Australian languages “...one recurrent feature is that nominal affixes are generally used to mark types of subordinate clause”; such is the case with Doromu-Koki. In (76) *=ri* ‘on’ is bound to a noun and in (77) to a verb with a conditional reading.

- (76) [*Nai baiya mina kono=**ri** fere-yaka*] **rofu**
 1SG.POSS bush.knife this ground=on leave-1SG.PAST so.that
ve-gi bo-yaka.
 see-PURP go-1SG.PAST
 ‘I left this bush knife of mine on the ground so that I could go see it.’ [85]
- (77) *Samuel de di-yagadu=**ri** bi aruma ve-yagadu.*
 (name) NEG go-HYPOTH=at TOP snake see-HYPOTH
 ‘If Samuel had not gone, he would have seen the snake.’ [75]

Often *rofu* functions as a non-spatio-temporal postposition, but in other instances as a clause chaining device (cf. Aikhenvald 2011a:25, Blake 1999). Other postpositions behave likewise; six out of 31 postpositions have two functions, displaying heterosemous patterns, dependent on the grammatical context. They function as exponents of grammatical roles of nouns with the NP and as clause linking devices, following the pattern described as “versatile cases” in Aikhenvald (2011a:8): “If a case morpheme occurs on an inflected verb, it is most likely to be used as a clause-linking device.”

Table 4.11: *Heterosemous postpositional/clause linking forms*

Form	Postpositional meaning	Clause linking meaning
<i>adina</i>	‘beside, close/next to’	‘because, meaning of’
<i>dudu</i>	‘instrument, with’	‘according to, thus’
<i>fafau</i>	‘above, on (top of)’	‘concerning, basis of, about’
<i>=ri</i>	‘at, in, on’	‘simultaneous different subject (while)’ ? (cf. analysis below)
<i>rofu</i>	‘for, at, to, with, from’	‘in order to, so that’

Both sets of meanings (excluding *rofu*, which has already been exemplified above) for these heterosemous forms are included below.

Postpositional:

- (78) *Nai [eneka **adina**=ri] etu tora ni-yo.*
 1SG.POSS pelvis near=at boil big become-3SG.PAST
 ‘I got a big boil close to my pelvis.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:96)
- (79) *John bi [kodu **dudu**] aruma u-yo.*
 (name) TOP stick INST snake hit-3SG.PAST
 ‘John hit the snake with the stick.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:89)

- (80) *Resi koro=ri vare-yo-ri aruma yaku ina*
 SBL boundary=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS snake DSM 3

fafau-ma de-yo.

on.top.of-on come.down-3SG.PAST

‘And then when he was sleeping on the boundary (of the garden) a snake came down upon him.’ [3.04]

- (81) *Omuna tau tora gabire=ri ame-i-sa.*
 mountain all big under=at stay-LINK-2SG.PRES
 ‘You live under all the big mountains.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:214)

Clause linking:

- (82) *adina na rofu gedu mar-o*
 because 1SG to back.of.neck give-3SG.PAST
 ‘because he ignored (lit. ‘gave back of neck’) me’

- (83) *Makai dudu beika ...yaku ni-yo bi rama ai-yo...*
 like.this thus what DSM say-3SG.PAST TOP true put-3SG.PAST
 ‘Thus what...he said was fulfilled (lit. ‘was put true’)...’ (SUAR 2017:5:2.17)

- (84) *...ye beika re-yo fafau iriyeduka re-si...*
 so what do-3SG.PAST concerning sorrow do-SEQ.SS
 ‘...and so he was sorry about what he had done and...’ (SUAR 2017:67:27.3)

The *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’ switch-reference marking could be interpreted as another case of heterosemy, if homonymous with *=ri* ‘at, in, on’ [cf. (81)]. This postposition is being interpreted as a clitic as it is bound to the final constituent of an NP, whereas the switch-reference marker *-ri* only occurs as a verbal affix (cf. §6.2.1).

- (85) *Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai.si na eru re-na*
 wash-FUT.IMPERV-1SG.FUT-SIM.DS come.SEQ.SS 1SG trick do-NOMZ

ga re-fa.

PROHIB do-2PL.IMP

‘While (or lit. ‘at/on’) I will be washing, don’t come and be tricking me.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:97)

One other switch-reference marking could constitute a homonymous pair: the coordinating conjunction *ma* ‘and’ (86) with *-ma* ‘sequential different subject’ marking (87). This is a different type of heterosemy as both are connectors, however connectors or “coordinands” are different (cf. §9.2).

- (86) *Nono-baba ma mida~mida ame-i-nu re-yadi.*
 mother-father and child~PL stay-LINK-STAT do-3PL.PAST
 ‘The parents (lit. mother-father) and children sat down.’ [57]

- (87) *Ina yaku dona u-yo-ma na di-yaka.*
 3 DSM pig hit-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 1SG go-1SG.PAST
 ‘He killed the pig and then I went.’

The postposition *totona* ‘for, in order to’ has been borrowed from Hiri Motu (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204); it functions comparably to *rofu* ‘for’.

- (88) *Uni isira uni gaukara mina totona*
 1PL.POSS play 1PL.POSS work this PURP
are re-yafa.
 stand do-1PL.PAST
 ‘Our play and our work, these are what we stand for.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:240)

The genitive postposition *di* differs from the other non-spatio-temporal 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* ‘genitive’ occurs in subject, verbless clause subject (89), object (90), oblique location (91), oblique temporal (92) and verbless clause complement (93).

Verbless clause subject:

- (89) ...[*rema remanu di roka*] *bi Inu Mamaru bona*
 woman two GEN name TOP (name) (name) and
Dau Mamaru.
 (name) (name)
 ‘...two women’s names are Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’ [16.03]

Object:

- (90) [[*Mista John di sina*]] *neide-yadi...*
 (name) GEN story hear-3PL.PAST
 ‘They heard Mr. John’s story...’ [66]

Location:

- (91) *Kamini moi-si [[ina vene] di vana]=ri ai-yo.*
 and.then get-SEQ.SS 3 people GEN hand=at put-3SG.PAST
 ‘So he took it and placed it in their hands.’

Temporal:

- (92) ...*to eyo tau neinei uni vegu re-na kana dudu,*
 but month all each 1PL.POSS practice do-NOMZ like INST
 [[*irakuna rau re-na di meda*]]=*ri...*
 feast share do-NOMZ GEN day=at
 ‘...but every month according to our custom, on the sharing feast’s day...’

Verbless clause complement (predicate):

- (93) *Rapheal bona Solo bi [[Robin] di [dubuiyaka]].*
 (name) and (name) TOP (name) GEN brothers
 ‘Rapheal and Solo are Robin’s brothers.’ [88]

The genitive postposition *di* in combination with a third person possessive pronoun indicates increased emphasis (cf. §4.1.2 above).

- (94) *rema di ini moimai bi gira tora*
 woman GEN 3.POSS work TOP hard big
 ‘a woman’s work is very hard’ [93]

Further examples of these non-spatio-temporal postpositions include: *di* ‘genitive’: (16-18), (26), (29), (32), (38) and (41) *dudu* ‘instrument’ (26), (38), (95), (142), (152) and (161); *nufa* ‘possessive’: (32), (57) and (151).

4.4.5 Postpositional clitics

Three postpositional enclitics, =*ri* ‘at’, =*sa* ‘accompaniment’ and =*u* ‘by’ are bound to the final constituent of a phrase, regardless of word class.

Table 4.12: *Postpositional clitics*

Item	Gloss(es)
= <i>ri</i>	‘at, in, on’
= <i>sa</i>	‘accompaniment, with’
= <i>u</i>	‘by, on, instrument’

The postpositional clitic =*ri* ‘at’ when marking a demonstrative, forms a locative: *mina=ri* ‘here’ and *mirona=ri* ‘there’.

- (95) *Ina bi gua mina=ri evade kaiya dudu dona nugar-o.*
 3 TOP no this=at quickly knife INST pig cut-3.PAST
 ‘And then at this time he quickly cut the pig with a knife.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:138)

The postpositional clitics =*ri* ‘at, in, to’ and =*sa* ‘with’ are bound to the argument, but in the case of proper nouns, they are written separately (96-97).

- (96) *Mareka bi ina [keika iniye]=ri rema tora yokoi yaku*
 (name) TOP 3 little very=at woman big one DSM

[dura]=ri adodi-si de-yo nai rautu
 net.bag=in carry-SEQ.SS come-3SG.PRES 1SG.POSS village

Amuraika =ri.
 (place.name) =to

‘When Mareka was very small one older woman carried him in a net bag to my village Amuraika.’ [10.02]

The postpositional clitic =*sa* only combines with NPs.

- (97) *Ma Moses ma Elijah ina rofu ogau ni-si Iesu*
 and (name) and (name) 3 to appear become-SEQ.SS (name)

=*sa* *sina* *ni-gam-adi*.

=ACCM story say-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘And Moses and Elijah appeared to them and were talking with Jesus.’

(*SUAR* 2017:39:17.3)

The postposition =*u* ‘by, on’ has been attested occurring on the 17 words exhaustively listed in Table 4.13. The majority, in the upper section, are nouns (98). In the lower section, =*u* marks two adjectives (99) and one postposition (100); in some instances the form has become lexicalised, e.g. *dobau* ‘ahead of time’. These words are compositional, but some have alternate meanings, e.g. *ari=u* ‘daylight’ or *meda=u* ‘midday’. Only one instance of *adina=u* ‘on the side’ has been observed (100).

Table 4.13: *Words containing the postpositional clitic =u*

Item	Glosses	Translation
<i>ada=u</i>	head=on	‘on the head’
<i>ari=u</i>	day=on	‘daylight, by day’
<i>fafa=u</i>	cover=on	‘on top of’
<i>ida=u</i>	road=on/by	‘on/by the road’
<i>ika=u</i>	summit=on	‘on the summit’
<i>meda=u</i>	sun/day=by	‘by day/midday’
<i>rava=u</i>	clearing=on	‘in the clearing’
<i>sana=u</i>	place=on	‘in the place’
<i>senau=u</i>	already=on	‘long time ago’
<i>tobo=u</i>	middle=on	‘in the middle’
<i>vana=u</i>	hand=by	‘by the hand’
<i>vasa=u</i>	sand=on	‘on the sand’
<i>vena=u</i>	mouth=on	‘entrance (i.e. mouth opening)’
<i>vi=u</i>	tail=by	‘by the tail’
<i>doba=u</i>	long=on	‘ahead of time’
<i>gira=u</i>	hard=on	‘straight, right’
<i>adina=u</i>	beside=on	‘on the side’

Examples from each word class represented are included below.

Nominal:

- (98) *Yi ekama vana=u moi-si rautu di*
 2.POSS mat hand=by get-SEQ.SS village go
 ‘Take your mat/bed by the hand and go home.’ (*SUARBB* 2011:11.2)

Adjectival:

- (99) *Doba=u oure-feide-na amiye ni-giya.*
 long=by be.first-leave-NOMZ person say-2SG.FUT
 ‘Ahead of time you will tell the leaders (lit be first leaving).’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:87)

Postpositional:

- (100) *Ini moimai ofi~ofi adina=u ame-i*
 3.POSS work young.woman~PL beside=on stay-LINK

di-gam-o.
 go-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘She was going around close to his young servant girls.’ (SUARBB 2011:2.23)

Noun arguments marked with postpositional clitics form temporal constituents, such as *fufuta* ‘back’ when combined with =*ri* ‘at’ producing *fufuta=ri* ‘behind, after’ (cf. §4.4.1).

- (101) *Meda be koina ni-yo fufuta=ri, di-yadi.*
 day some finish say-3SG.PAST back=at go-3pl.past
 ‘After some days passed, they went.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:110)

Further examples include: for =*ri* ‘at, in, on’ in (4), (7-8), (15), (21), (23), (28), (35), (44), (45), (51), (54), (59), (67), (69), (73), (75-78), (81), (91-92), (113), (116), (128), (133), (141), (146), (151) and (173); =*sa* ‘accompaniment, with’ in (6), (9d), (12), (34), (129) and (142); and =*u* ‘by, on, instrument’ in (174).

4.5 Interrogatives

Interrogatives occur in questions as a clause type (Aikhenvald 2015c:193). Eleven interrogatives are shown in Table 4.14. The majority (64% - in right-hand column) begin with *go-*,⁷ though it has no known meaning. Other formative parts correspond to those terms they relate to, as shown in Table 4.15. [Cf. appropriate sections for examination of these particular word classes to which the interrogatives relate: nouns (§3.2), temporal nouns (§3.2.1.5), adjective (§3.3), demonstratives (§4.2), locatives (§4.3) and instrument (§4.4.4).]

⁷ Four with *goi-* and three with *gokai-*.

Table 4.14: *Interrogatives*

Item	Gloss(es)	Relates to	Item	Gloss(es)	Relates to
<i>kaere</i>	‘who’	N/PN	<i>gokai</i>	‘how’	N
<i>beika</i>	‘what’	N/PN			(instrument/means)
<i>beika resi</i> ⁸	‘why’	N (reason)	<i>gokai resi</i>	‘why, how’	N
					(instrument/means)
			<i>gokaisanu</i>	‘how many/much’	ADJ (quantity)
<i>beikadinare</i>	‘when’	N (temporal)	<i>goivaka</i>	‘when’	N (temporal)
			<i>goina</i>	‘which (one)’	DEM
			<i>goidu</i>	‘where (direction)’	N/LOC
			<i>goini</i>	‘where (location)’	N/LOC

Table 4.15: *Interrogative formation*

Item	Gloss(es)	Related items	Gloss(es)
<i>gokaisanu</i>	‘how many/much’	<i>noibanu</i>	‘whole, a lot, all, entire, many’
		<i>regodenu</i>	‘three’
		<i>remanu</i>	‘two’
		<i>vanu</i>	‘every’
<i>goina</i>	‘which (one)’	<i>isena</i>	‘that (one) up over there’
		<i>mina</i>	‘this (one) here’
		<i>mirona</i>	‘that (one)’
		<i>yomina</i>	‘this (one) right here’
		<i>yomirona</i>	‘that (one) right there’
		<i>yorona</i>	‘that (one) over there’
<i>goidu</i>	‘where (direction)’	<i>midu</i>	‘over here’
		<i>mirodu</i>	‘over there’
		<i>yomirodu</i>	‘right over there’
<i>goini</i>	‘where (location)’	<i>iseni</i>	‘up over there’
		<i>mini</i>	‘here’
		<i>mironi</i>	‘there’
		<i>soroni</i>	‘over there’
		<i>yoiseni</i>	‘right up over there’
		<i>yomini</i>	‘right here’
		<i>yomironi</i>	‘right there’
		<i>yoroni</i>	‘over there’

The most frequently observed interrogative, *kaere* ‘who/whom’, functions as A/S, OBL, O, E (102) and VCC (103).

- (102) *Ya kaere rofu ago ni-sa?*
 2 who to word say-2SG.PRES
 ‘To whom are you speaking?’

⁸ Like Doromu-Koki, the national language Hiri Motu (*dahaka badina/dainai/totona*; Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190) and the neighbouring Sinauḡoro language (*kara dainai*; Oceanic; Tauberschmidt 1995:41) also have ‘what’ + another constituent to form ‘why’. This could be a calque from Hiri Motu.

Like several open class words, it also undergoes reduplication (cf. §3.1.1), with an idiosyncratic meaning of ‘whoever/whomever’.

- (103) *Mina bi kaere~kaere nai Baba yaku ina rofu dogo*
 this TOP who~PL 1SG.POSS father DSM 3 for preparation
re-yo maka.
 do-3SG.PAST only
 ‘This is only for whomever my Father has prepared it.’ (SUAR 2017:48:20.23)

The second most repeatedly used interrogative is *beika* ‘what’, functioning as O (104), E and VCC; other functions have not been attested.

- (104) *Nai nono beika ya ni-yo?*
 this TOP what 2 say-3SG.PAST
 ‘What did my mother say to you?’

The interrogative *beika* ‘what’ is also used as head of a relative clause.

- (105) *Beika bura ri-yaka bi kamini bura ri-yaka.*
 what writing make-1SG.PAST TOP and.then writing make-1SG.PAST
 ‘What I have written I have written.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:79)

Often *beika* is used in the echo-compound *beika baika*, meaning ‘whatever (things)’, a type of simulative plural (cf. §11.4.1).

- (106) *Tora vene yaku beika.baika re-gam-adi bi una*
 big people DSM whatever do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST TOP 1PL
yaku toto re-nadi.
 DSM imitate do-1PL.IMP
 ‘Let’s imitate whatever (things) the elders were doing.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:70)

The two interrogatives *beika resi* ‘why’ [*beika* + *re-si* ‘what + do-SEQ.SS (or SBL; cf. §9.5.2)] and *beikadinare* ‘when’ are derived from *beika* ‘what’; they both function as OBL.

- (107) *Beika.resi yoga ni-dedi?*
 why laugh say-2PL.PRES
 ‘Why are you (pl.) laughing?’

Dutton (1970:980) has suggested that the form *dinare* may be derived from the Hiri Motu *dina* ‘day, sun’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191) + *re* ‘at, on’, so that *beikadinare* would mean ‘on what day’. The form *re-*, however, looks to be the verb meaning ‘do’, while *=ri* ‘at, on’ would be a more likely candidate. This explanation seems plausible, especially since it is claimed by some speakers that this word may also be realised as *beikadinari*; this analysis would fit well in (108).

- (108) *Beikadinare ya vata ni-yo?*
 when 2 be.born become-2SG.PAST
 ‘When were you born?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:70)

This form, however, is seldom used; much more commonly observed is *goivaka* ‘when’, functioning as OBL (temporal) and CC.

- (109) *Goivaka mina yava ri-yo?*
 when this house make-2SG.PAST
 ‘When did you build this house?’

The interrogative *gokai* ‘how’ also functions as OBL (manner) and CC.

- (110) *Dura gokai vadi-yo?*
 net.bag how make-3SG.PAST
 ‘How did she make the net bag?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:120)

In some instances *gokai* ‘how’ is combined with the SBL marker *resi* ‘and then’, functioning as OBL in a statement; no distinction in meaning occurs.

- (111) *Uniye nikaite-yafa gokai.resi makai ni-do.*
 1PL.REFL ask-1PL.PAST how like.this say-3SG.PRES
 ‘We asked ourselves why it is happening like this.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:192)

The interrogative *gokaisanu* ‘how many’, is derived from *gokai* ‘how’ + *-nu* [having some adjectival meaning] and functioning as OBL, VCC and CC.

- (112) *Ma yi ada iye tau vakoi =ka gokaisanu ame-do*
 and 2.POSS head leaf all together =also how.many stay-3SG.PRES

bi duaiya re-yo.
 TOP count do-3SG.PAST
 ‘And even how many are all the hairs on your head have been counted.’
 (SUAR 2017:22:10.30)

The interrogative *goina* functions as S, VCS, OBL and O.

- (113) *Ya bi goina gutuna=ri bai-yo?*
 2 TOP which.one from=at come-2SG.PAST
 ‘From which (place) did you come?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:120)

There are two ways of describing ‘where’, *goidu* (functions at OBL, CC) and *goini* (functions as VCC); the first indicates movement direction (114) and the second stationary location (115).

- (114) *Ya goidu di-sa?*
 2 where.DIR go-2SG.PRES
 ‘Where are you going?’
- (115) *Mina amiye bi goini?*
 this person TOP where.STAT
 ‘Where is that man?’

Note the parallel with demonstrative/locative endings: *-du#* (direction), *-na#* (demonstrative) and *-ni#* (location) [cf. §Table 4.6]. Further examples include: for *kaere* ‘who’ (32-33) and (65); *beika* ‘what’ (26) and (83-84); *gokai* ‘how’ (155); and *gokaisanu* ‘how many/much’ (152). Position of interrogative words characteristically corresponds to the position of the word(s) they relate to.

Asking a question, either information-seeking or rhetorical, makes use of an interrogative word and has a downward pitch contour with a final sharp rise (cf. §2.5.2B).

Some questions can and do receive answers, but it is not required when the speaker already knows the answer. Questions may also serve as phatic greetings, e.g. *ya mini?* (2 here) ‘Is that you (lit. are you here)?’ or *rafe-giya (ba)?* (wash-2SG.FUT (Q)) ‘are you going to wash?’.

4.6 Polar question markers

A polar question marker is a tag added after a statement making it into a question; it has its own unique intonation unit (Dixon 2012:392). Dutton (1970:920) claims: ‘Yes-no questions seem to be distinguished from statements of the same form by intonation only.’ This intonation is a raised pitch (versus a downward contour for a statement).



- (116) *Ina Arizona =ri ame-do?*
 3 (place.name) =at stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘Does he live in Arizona?’ [39.05]

Dutton's claim is often the case, although more characteristically the markers *ba* 'eh', and somewhat less frequently *eni* 'eh', are used to indicate a polar question. The less frequent form *eni* 'eh' only co-occurs with *ba* (118) or *vo.ni* 'tell' (120) adding emphasis; it becomes *von* in rapid speech.

(117) *Ina arefa vari-dedi ba?*
 3 sugarcane plant-3PL.PRES Q
 'Are they planting sugarcane?'

(118) *Ya bi mirona amiye di ni diba maina*
 2 TOP that person GEN say know looking.for

re-i-sa amiye yokoi, eni ba?
 do-LINK-2SG.PRES person one eh Q
 'Are you the one looking after that person?'

These two (*eni ba*) can also be reversed, perhaps as an afterthought.

(119) *Bi dudu =ka de re-gida ba, eni?*
 TOP again =also NEG do-1SG.FUT Q eh
 'Won't I do it again with you, eh?'

(120) *Ya bi ne-giya, eni vo.ni? Yo, na bi*
 2 TOP go.down-2SG.FUT eh tell yes 1SG TOP

ne-gida.
 go.down-1SG.FUT
 'You are going down, aren't you? Yes, I am going down.' (Bradshaw 2021a:96)

The question marker *eni* (*vo.ni*) may function as a contrastive element, stressing the previous constituent and conveying 'is it (really) so/the case?'

4.7 Affirmative answer

An affirmative answer is indicated by the morpheme *yo* 'yes', either in a sentence response or in isolation.

(121) *Yo ni-yafa.*
 yes say-1SG.PAST
 'We said yes.'

In Doromu-Koki 'yes' and 'no' confirm or deny the quality of a question, rather than the response, as is the case in English; note the response in (123) literally means 'Yes, it is the case that I will not go'.

(122) *Ya bi di-giya ba? Yo, na bi di-gida.*
 2 TOP go-2SG.FUT Q yes 1SG TOP go-1SG.FUT
 'Will you go? Yes, I will go.'

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

When forming a complex verb with the verb *ni-* ‘say’, agreement is indicated by use of the affirmative answer, e.g. *ye yo ni-yo* (and yes say-3SG.PAST) ‘and he agreed’ (Bradshaw 2021a:270). Often *yo* ‘yes’ serves to acknowledge that the listener is hearing what the speaker has said, or simply to give further affirmation to a statement (cf. §2.5.2B for consideration on response variant).

4.8 Negatives

A verb phrase is negated when preceded by *ide* ‘negative’, which in rapid speech becomes *de* (125); in (124) it is negating the VCC *tora* ‘big’.

- (124) *Ya~ya diba nai vabara bi tora ide.*
 2~2 know 1SG.POSS light TOP big NEG
 ‘You know that my light is not great.’ [43]
- (125) *Ina bi tutubena di ida usi de di-do.*
 3 TOP ancestor GEN way follow NEG go-3SG.PRES
 ‘He does not follow the ways of the ancestors.’ [93]

The negative *ide* is also used in answer to a question.

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

In a complex verb, the negative is normally found between the complement and the simple verb or sometimes between verbs in serial verb constructions (125), dependent on the intended scope of negation (cf. §7.3.5). Also note its use after verbs of cognition as mentioned above (cf. §3.4.1.2). However, in instances in which the verb is elided (here *re-* ‘do’) or otherwise the predicate is a VCC [cf. (124)], the negative is located clause finally.

- (127) *Na bi gauka de.*
 1SG TOP sickness NEG
 ‘I am not sick.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:126)

The negative not only negates simple and complex verbs, but also adjectives (128), verbless complement clauses (124), (129) as well as a whole clause (130). The location of the negative determines its scope. The postpositional clitic =*ri* also occurs bounded to the negative [on a headless NP in (128)]. The negative also negates interrogatives, nominalised verbs (15), noun phrases (22), (70), and as a negative response (126).

- (128) *Doba de=ri bo-gam-adi-ri...*
 long NEG=at go-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS
 ‘Not long after they were going...’ (Bradshaw 2021a:126)

- (129) *Na=sa bi de iniye yo.*
 1SG=ACCM TOP NEG very yes
 ‘There is really nothing with me/I really don’t have anything.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:126)

- (130) *De mina re-i tavoi re-yo.*
 NEG this do-LINK in.vain do-3SG.PAST
 ‘He did not do this in vain.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:126)

Another negative form, *dia* ‘negative’, is used only on clause level, in contrast to use of *de* ‘negative’: *ya raka de ni-yaka* (2 call NEG say-1SG.PAST) ‘I did not call you’.

- (131) *Dia na yaku ya raka ni-yaka.*
 NEG 1SG DSM 2 call say-1SG.PAST
 ‘It is that I did not call you.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:85)

Other negatives include: *ga* ‘prohibitive’ (132-133), *kode* ‘not yet’ (134) and *koina* ‘nothing, finish’ (135). The prohibitive, like the negative, more frequently occurs before the final simple verb of a complex verb or serial verb construction (133). In (132), the nominalised complex verb is the intended scope of the prohibitive. At other times, the position appears to be free; a change in position does not yield a change in meaning or scope, e.g. *ori ga re* (fear PROHIB do) versus *ga ori re* (PROHIB fear do) ‘don’t be afraid’. At times, the prohibitive may also intervene between a non-compositional complex verb complement and associate simple verb, e.g. *keu.ri-* ‘ascend’: *keu ga ri* (ascend PROHIB make) ‘don’t go on (it)’, limiting the scope of negation to the simple verb only.

- (132) *Rafe-bi-gida-ri bai-si na eru re-na*
 wash-FUT.IMPERV-1SG.FUT-SIM.DS come-SEQ.SS 1SG trick do-NOMZ

ga re-fa.
 PROHIB do-2PL.IMP
 ‘While I will be washing don’t come and trick me.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:97)

- (133) *De-si* *moi-gedi-ri* *mida ni-giya* *iruku moi*
 come-SEQ.SS get-3PL.FUT-SIM.DS child say-2.FUT food get
- bo-gedi-ri* **ga** *moi* *forovai* *re-yagane.*
 go-3PL.FUT-SIM.DS PROHIB get confuse do-3PL.IMP
- ‘When they will bring it, tell the child, when they bring it, don’t get confused.’
 [60]
- (134) *sioni* =*ka* *oki-na* **kode**=*ri*...
 white.skin =also arrive-NOMZ not.yet=SIM.DS
- ‘when white people had not yet arrived...’ [19.01]
- (135) *Iruku* *ri-si* *mar-o* **koina** *ni-yo-ri*...
 food make-SEQ.SS give-3SG.PAST finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
- ‘When she had finished (or ‘it had become nothing’) making and giving out the food...’ [20.06]

Further examples of these negatives include: for *ide/de* ‘negative’ (8), (25-26), (30), (32), (34), (36-37), (77), (119), (123), (141), (153), (160) and (171); for *ga* ‘prohibitive’ (39), (85), (165); for *kode* ‘not yet’ (46); and for *koina ni-* ‘finish’ (101).

4.9 Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs modify a verb similarly to how an adjective modifies a noun (Dixon 2010a:301). The most frequently occurring degree adverb is *iniye* ‘very’, which is homophonous with the third person singular reflexive pronoun *iniye* (cf. §4.1.3).

The adverb *gade* ‘very’ only occurs after *tora* ‘big’ with quantitative meaning ‘great’ or after *tau* ‘many’.

- (136) *Yomirona* *yabo* *bi* *gira* *tora* **gade.**
 that.right.there tree TOP hard big very
- ‘That wood right there is very hard.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:112)

The adverb *vayavaya* ‘very’ only co-occurs with *buni* ‘good’.

- (137) *Buni* **vayavaya**, *na* *bi* *nai* *maruka* *rofu* *ruika* *maka*
 good very 1SG TOP 1SG.POSS husband to right.now just
- sina* *ni-ma-gida.*
 word say-give-1SG.PAST
- ‘Very well, right away just now I will commend (lit. say-give) my husband.’ [93]

When the adjective *tau* ‘many’ carries an adverbial function, it indicates quantitative intensification of mainly countable items. In (138) *tau* ‘much’ occurs between the complex verb complement and its corresponding simple verb even though *eseseka ni-* ‘cough’ is non-compositional (cf. §6.3.1). That is, *eseseka* (rapid speech form *eseka*) cannot be used on its own apart from the simple verb. However, here it must follow the 138 in order to modify it.

- (138) *Nai bauye eve re-yo ma eseka tau ni-yaka.*
 1SG.POSS throat itch do-3SG.PAST and cough much say-1SG.PAST
 ‘My throat was itchy and I coughed a lot.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:69)

The word *tora* ‘big’ functions primarily as an adjective, but also as a degree adverb, indicating quantitative intensification for uncountable items.

- (139) *Muro bi maike tora.*
 garden TOP far.away very
 ‘The garden is very far away.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:239)

The degree adverb *vanu* ‘every’ occurs after *tau* ‘many’ indicating further quantitative intensification.

- (140) *Amiye tau vanu ni-vava re-si yi ...usika oure-na*
 person all every say-hot do-SEQ.SS 2.POSS younger be.first-NOMZ

rofu uka ma-si...
 to stomach give-SEQ.SS
 ‘Honour (lit. say-hot do) everyone and love (lit. ‘give stomach to’) your brothers and sisters (lit. ‘younger-older’) and...’ (SUAR 2017:501:2.17)

Further examination of the degree adverbs can be found in §3.3.3 and Table 3.14. Other examples of these degree adverbs include: *iniye* ‘very’ (31), (96) and (129); and *tora gade* ‘very much’ (32-33), (65). The degree adverb *vanu* ‘every’ occurs after *tau* ‘many’ indicating further quantitative intensification.

4.10 Conjunctions

Conjunctions serve as coordinate or subordinate clause linkers; some also have temporal function. Analysis below covers both coordinating (§4.10.1) and subordinating (§4.10.2) conjunctions.

4.10.1 Coordinating conjunctions

Doromu-Koki has six additive (§4.10.1.1), two alternative (§4.10.1.2) and two contrastive (§4.10.1.3) coordinating conjunctions, differing according to what type of constituent they can coordinate, as exemplified in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: *Coordinating conjunctions*

Additive		Alternative	
<i>ma</i>	‘and’	<i>ba</i>	‘or, and’
<i>bona</i>	‘and’	<i>o</i>	‘or’
<i>=ka</i>	‘also, too, in addition to, and, as well as’	Contrastive	
<i>kumo</i>	‘and/even (then)’	<i>idu</i>	‘but, yet, nevertheless, even though’
<i>ma(mo)</i>	‘(and) even/then, until’	<i>to</i>	‘but’
<i>kamini</i>	‘(and) then’		

Each type is discussed below.

4.10.1.1 Additive

Additive relationships are conveyed by coordinating conjunctions. The additive conjunction *ma* ‘and’ is used to coordinate clauses, though the homophomous sequential different subject switch-reference marking is much more recurrent (36), (38), (47) and (92). In (141) the coordinands are noun and complex verb nominal complement derived through reduplication of a verb (cf. §3.4.2.2).

- (141) *Ma mina itua=ri =ka [moimai] ma [feide~feide] de*
 and this moment=at =also work and cook~NOMZ NEG

re-bi-go.

do-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT

‘And at that moment he will not keep working and cooking.’

The same conjunction may be used to coordinate noun coordinands within a noun phrase.

- (142) [*Nono-baba*] *ma* [*mida~mida*] *ame-i-nu* *re-si* [*aka,*
 mother-father and child~PL stay-LINK-STAT do-SEQ.SS prawn

buko, oyevani, iruku] *ma* [*vaisyau*]=*sa* *iri-sifa* *ada*
 fish.sp fish (pl.) food and stew=ACCM eat-1PL.PRES happiness

dudu.

INST

‘We parents (lit. mother-father) and children sit and happily (lit. ‘with happiness’) eat prawns, *buko* fish, fish, food and stew.’ [57]

This regularly used coordinating additive conjunction also has some other uses: as instrumental (143) or locative (144-145). These uses are rare and not clearly understood.

- (143) *Soka re-si bi basi moi-gfa ba yuka-ma bo-gfa*
 arrive do-SEQ.SS TOP bus get-1PL.FUT or leg-by go-1PL.FUT
ni-yafa to, mo make-na gokai.resi kamini.
 say-1PL.PAST but at.once think-NOMZ why so.then
 ‘We got off and discussed taking a bus or going by foot, so then but at once we did according to what we thought.’ [12.06]
- (144) *Gordons market-ma ma buruka seri~seri-ma uga bo-i*
 (place.name) market-at and creek bank~PL-by cross go-LINK
ne-yafa, berou feta.
 go-1PL.PAST other side
 ‘From Gordons Market, along the creek bank we crossed, along that side.’ [12.08]
- (145) *Nai baba ya na ni-yo, “Koima-o, Vi*
 1SG.POSS father DSM 1SG say-3SG.PAST “leech-VOC (name)
koru-ma bo-gifa.”
 water-to go-1PL.FUT
 ‘My father said to me, “Oh, boy (lit. leech), we will go to the Vi river.”’ [1.02]

Another very rarely seen ‘variant’, which instead behaves like the free morpheme *ma* in (146), is *-ba*.

- (146) *Resi de-si boboe re-ba fere-si ini rema bi*
 SBL go-SEQ.SS look.down do-and leave-SEQ.SS 3.POSS woman TOP
kono ide=ri dui re-yo.
 ground inside=at entering do-3SG.PAST
 ‘And doing so he went and looked down and left his wife when she had gone inside the ground.’ [17.06]

The borrowed *bona* was not used in the Bible translation, as it is considered to be ‘Motu’, though regularly used elsewhere (152) [cf. also (6), (12), (41), (89) and (93)].

- (147) [*Mina rema*] *bona* [*ini veifa*] *mosara iri-gedi.*
 this woman and 3.POSS daughter sweet.potato eat-3PL.FUT
 ‘This woman and her daughter will eat sweet potato.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:75)

The additive postpositional conjunction enclitic *=ka*, has several glosses: ‘also; too, in addition to, and, as well as’ (Bradshaw 2021a:136).

- (148) [Yi mida=**ka** bi] [gauka re-yo ma vi
2.POSS child=**also** TOP sickness do-3SG.PAST and tail.bone
feka ni-yo].
skinny become -3SG.PAST
‘Your son got sick too and his buttocks became skinny.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:136)

As a clitic, it occurs bound to NPs (25) (117), (139), pronouns (3), extended arguments, oblique temporal constituents (146), relative clauses, or complementation and adverbs (124). They can function as A, S, O, E or VCS, as seen in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: *Addition clitic distribution*

Example	Glosses	Meaning
[una] _A =ka	1PL= also	‘we also’
[amiye bedakai] _S =ka	[person some (pl.)]= also	‘also some people’
[yava] _O =ka	house= also	‘also the house’
[gabu] _{VCS} =ka	place= also	‘the place also’
[na rofu] _E = also	[1SG for]= also	‘for me also’
[muyei vau]=ka re-yadi	[die completely]= also do-3SG.PAST	‘also died completely’
kimo=ka	carefully= also	‘also carefully’
[nai adu nena bi]=ka	[1SG.POSS jawbone TOP]= also	‘my jawbone also’

The four additive conjunctions *kumo* ‘and/even (then)’ (149), *mamo* ‘(and) even/then, until, later’ (150), *mo* ‘at once, and, then’ (151) and *kamini* ‘(and) then, so’ (152) all indicate subsequent action (cf. §9.2.2 for further details on their use).

- (149) [Mina dabua bi ri **kumo**] [kino kokiya re-yaine].
this clothing TOP make and.then dirty come.out do-3SG.IMP
‘Soak these clothes and then it will make the dirt come out.’
(Bradshaw 2021a:157)
- (150) [John bi rafe-si **mamo**] [iruku tora iri-yo].
(name) TOP wash-SEQ.SS and.then food big eat-3SG.PAST
‘John washed and then ate a big meal.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:161)
- (151) [Nai tobaini ve-giya=**ri** bi] [**mo** diba
1SG.POSS sister see-2SG.FUT=**at** TOP at.once know
ni-giya ina bi toe nufa].
become-2SG.FUT 3 TOP heavy with
‘If you see my sister then you will know that she is pregnant.’
(Bradshaw 2021a:169)

The conjunction *kamini* usually occurs at the beginning of a sentence as a discourse device, linking it to the previous context (cf. §10.2.2.).

- (152) ...[*kamini mina rema tora nikaite-yo*], “*Mina dona keika*
 and.then this woman big ask-3SG.PAST this pig little
bi gokaisanu dudu sero re-i-sa?” *vo-ni-yo.*
 TOP how.much INST sell do-LINK-2SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘...and then this older woman asked, “For how much are you selling this piglet?” she said.’ [10.08]

Other examples of *kamini* ‘and then’ include (53), (91), (105) and (143) .

4.10.1.2 Alternative

Alternative coordination is indicated by the conjunction *ba* ‘or’. This conjunction occurs between the elements in question, including NPs, e.g. *yuka ba vana* ‘leg/foot or arm/hand’, and clauses, e.g. *amesifa ba disifa* ‘we stay or we go’. This conjunction is often used in questioning two alternative verbal propositions.

- (153) *Jacobo nikaite-yaka*, [“*Aruma yaku aki re-yo*” *ba* [*ide*]?”
 (name) ask-1SG.PAST snake DSM bite do-3SG.PAST or NEG
 ‘I asked Jacobo, “Did the snake bite (you) or not?”’ [3.06]

The borrowed disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’ is synonymous with the autochthonous *ba* ‘or’. It is less routinely attested.

- (154) [*Vana ma-giya*] *o* [*esika ma-giya*] *ba?*
 hand give-2SG.FUT or pain give-2SG.FUT Q
 ‘Will you help or harm?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:199)

Discussion resumes with contrastive coordinating conjunctions.

4.10.1.3 Contrastive

The autochthonous *idu* ‘but, yet, nevertheless, even though’ (155) and the borrowed *to* ‘but’ (156) are used to express a contrastive relationship between two junct; they initiate the second clause.

- (155) [*Mosara vari-fo ni-yaka*] [*idu vauya re-yadi*];
 sweet.potato plant-2PL.PO.IMP say-1SG.PAST but refuse do-2PL.PAST
ye gokai re-gedi maka?
 so how do-2PL.FUT only
 ‘I told you you should plant the sweet potato but you refused; so what will you do now?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:259)

- (156) [*Ina bo-go*] [*to na bi ame-gida*].
 3 go-3SG.FUT but 1SG TOP stay-1SG.FUT
 ‘He will go up but I will stay (here).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:237)

Other examples of these contrastive conjunctions include *idu* ‘but’ (31) and (60); *to* (36-37), (46) and (92). While identified as belonging to the second clause, infrequently they may intonationally be part of the first clause.

4.10.2 Subordinating conjunctions

Characteristically subordinate clauses convey presupposed information (cf. §10.2.2.2). Subordination in Doromu-Koki has four types: cause-effect (§4.10.2.1), result-reason (§4.10.2.2), conditional (§4.10.2.3) and negative consequence (§4.10.2.4). The ten subordinating conjunctions are listed in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18 *Subordinating conjunctions*

Cause-effect		Result-reason		Conditional	
<i>ye</i>	‘so, and’	<i>adina</i>	‘because’	<i>vonisi</i> ⁹	‘if, even though’
<i>ine</i>	‘so, because’	<i>badina</i>	‘because’	<i>bema</i>	‘if’
				Negative consequence	
<i>dada</i>	‘so (that), because’			<i>baebu</i>	‘lest, possibly, otherwise’
<i>mina</i> <i>dada/resi</i>	‘therefore, for this reason, because’			<i>baeko</i>	‘might, maybe, probably, possibly, perhaps’

Analysis will continue with each of these types.

4.10.2.1 Cause-effect

Cause-effect subordination is realised in reason-result causal constructions. The usual order of a cause-effect construction is:

Cause *ye/ine/dada/mina dada* ‘so/so that/therefore’ Effect

This relationship is primarily expressed in three forms: *ye* ‘so, and’ (157), *ine* ‘so, because’ (158) and *dada* ‘so (that), because, for that reason, since’ (159). The form *ine* is less frequently used.

(157) [*ye ago neide-yo-ri, bi kuri agu ri-si*
so word hear-3SG-SIM.DS TOP neck bend.down make-SEQ.SS

⁹ This form appears to be a grammaticalisation of *vo+ni-si* ‘happen+become-SEQ.SS’, cf. analogous forms with the verb *re-* ‘do’: *beika.resi* ‘why’, *gokai.resi* ‘why’ (§4.5); and *mina.resi* ‘therefore’ (this section); cf. also §9.5.2.

ve-si ni-yo...
 see-SEQ.SS say-3SG.PAST
 ‘...so when he heard (her) word, she turned her neck and looked (at him) and said...’

- (158) [*Asa re-yo*], [*ine ame-i-nu re*].
 breath do-2SG.PAST so sit-LINK-STAT do
 ‘You are breathing (hard), so sit down.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:130)

The conjunction *dada* ‘since’ indicates a purpose or intended result relationship.

- (159) [*Dubuini tora ere di mosara muro bi rama ni*
 brother big other GEN sweet.potato garden TOP right become
tau~tau re-yo dada], [*moi di-gedi moni be baku*
 all~PL do-3SG.PAST since get go-3PL.FUT money some find
re-gedi vonisi].
 do-3PL.FUT if
 ‘As/since the elder brother’s garden was bearing (lit. ‘becoming right’) a lot of sweet potatoes, they would take them if to see if they would find some money (from selling them).’ [14.02]

Another example of *dada* ‘so (that), because, for (that reason)’ includes (36). The form *mina dada* ‘therefore, so (then), because, for that reason’ is composed of *mina+dada* ‘this+so’. It indicates strong cause.

- (160) [*Ina bi dairi-na de re-go*] [*mina.dada ya bi besa*
 3 TOP return-NOMZ NEG do-3SG.FUT therefore 2 TOP more
ame-bi-giya].
 stay-FUT.IMPERV-2SG.FUT
 ‘He will not come back, therefore you will stay for some time longer.’

The form *mina resi* (29), composed of *mina+re-si* [this do-SEQ.SS (or SBL)] is used in the same way as *mina dada* with the same meanings.

4.10.2.2 Result-reason

Reason-result takes the following form:

Result *adina/badina* ‘because’ Reason

Result-reason conjunctions are often employed when the result and reason are not presupposed. The two forms, the autochthonous heterosemous postposition *adina* ‘beside’ (161) and the borrowed *badina* (162), are primarily glossed as ‘because’.

- (161) [*Mina vene bi moi babo ri*], [*adina ofa~ofa dudu*
 this people TOP D.CAUS mute make because lie~PL INST

fore moi-gika]....
 stone get-CON
 ‘Silence these people, because with lies they try to get money...’
 (SUAR 2017:460:1.11)

- (162) [*Ya bi ada de*], [*badina sikuru de re-i mona*
 2 TOP head NEG because school NEG do-LINK properly
re-yo].
 do-2SG.PAST
 ‘You are not stupid (lit. no head), because you didn’t attend (lit. do) school properly.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:50)

Many autochthonous forms have corresponding borrowed terms [cf. Chamacoco of Paraguay (Ciucci 2021:111-134) and Bradshaw (Forthcoming)]. The autochthonous form is more usual; other examples of *adina* in the chapter include (32) and (82).

4.10.2.3 Conditional

Condition-consequence has the following form:

Condition *vonisi* ‘if, even though’ Consequence

The autochthonous subordinating conjunction *vonisi* ‘if, even though, because’ occurs in the protasis clause.

- (163) [*Re-gida*] [*vonisi*] [*re-yaka*].
 do-1SG.FUT even.though do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I will do it even though I already did it.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:264)

The borrowed *bema* ‘if’, indicates hypotheticality; it occurs clause initial, i.e. *bema* Condition-Consequence. It is much less frequently used.

- (164) [*Bema oki-go-ri*] [*bi*] [*ni-oteima-gida*].
 if arrive-3SG.FUT-SIM.DS TOP say-tell-1SG.FUT
 ‘If/when he will come then I will tell him.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:70)

The autochthonous form *vonisi* is also found in (46) and (159).

4.10.2.4 Negative consequence

The form *baebu* ‘lest’ acts as a negative consequence or contrafactual and is often preceded by a prohibitive as in the first clause below.

- (165) [*Ga bo-fo*] [*auna yaku ya ak re-go*] [*baebu*].
 PROHIB go-2PL.PO.IMP dog DSM 2 bite do-3SG.FUT lest
 ‘You shouldn’t go up there otherwise the dog will bite you.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:63)

The conjunction *baeko* conveys uncertainty.

- (166) [*Yaduka no ve-yaka*], [*toe ogau ni-go*
 dream bad see-1SG.PAST heavy appear become-3S.FUT

baeko].

perhaps

‘I had a bad dream/nightmare, maybe something unfortunate (difficult; lit. heavy) will happen.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:238)

See also Table 4.11 and subsequent related consideration (cf. §4.4.4) of the heterosemous postpositions *dudu* ‘instrument, with’, *fafau* ‘above, on (top of)’ and *rofu* ‘for, at, to, with, from’ for their subordinating conjunction uses as ‘according to, thus’, ‘concerning, basis of, about’ and ‘in order to, so that’, respectively.

4.11 Interjections

Interjections serve to denote an emotional response (Dixon 2010b:27). The nine interjections found in the language are seen in Table 2.9. Many contain vowel sequences. The vocatives, such as *e* ‘ah’ (cf. §4.12), are sometimes also used as exclamations of surprise, e.g. during a celebration, especially for bride price, when dancers first arrive. Some are exemplified below (cf. §2.8.2.3 for more examples); they often occur clause initial (167-168).

- (167) *Aee*, *ya gokai re-yadi!*
 oh 2 how do-2PL.PAST
 ‘Oh, what’s wrong with you guys/what’s up with you!’ (Bradshaw 2021a:52)

In (173) we see a characteristic Doromu-Koki greeting, with usual reply.

- (168) *Ai, Gabriel ya mini? (Yo) na mini.*
 hey (name) 2 here yes 1SG here
 ‘Hey, Gabriel, is that you (lit. ‘you here’)? (Yes,) it’s me.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:55)

At other times, interjections constitute a complete clause.

- (169) *Rautu bo-gam-afa-ri ida=u duma~duma*
 village go-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS road=on stealing~PL

vene yaku una eriki-yadi. Ao!
 people DSM 1PL block-3PL.PAST wow
 ‘When we were going up to the village then rascals blocked us. Oh!’

We continue with the related vocative class.

4.12 Vocative

The vocative, used primarily to call out to someone (cf. §2.8.2.5), forms one grammatical word with the addressee, unlike interjections, which begin a sentence or otherwise

precede an addressee (cf. §4.11).

- (170) *Nai baba ya na ni-yo, “Koima o, Vi*
 1SG.POSS father DSM 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech VOC (name)
koru-ma bo-gifa.”
 water-to go-1PL.FUT
 ‘My father said to me, “Oh, boy (lit. leech), we will go to the Vi river.”’ [1.02]

It appears to be phonologically determined when the vocative is realised as the low-mid front vowel /ɛ/; it is realised as /o/ following a low vowel and /ɛ/ following a non-low vowel.

- (171) *Tomi e uni nono make-i-sa ba de?*
 (name) VOC 1PL.POSS mother think-LINK-SG.PRES or NEG
 ‘Oh Tomi, do you think about our mother or not?’ [50]

4.13 Discourse markers

Discourse markers function as a means of indicating prominence, topic or focus (Aikhenvald 2015c:98). There are two discourse postpositional markers, *bi* ‘topic marker’ and *yaku* ‘differential subject marker’. They occur frequently; *bi* occurs 12,466 times and *yaku* over 5,000 times¹⁰ (2.5%) in the New Testament translation (*Sei di Uka Ago Ruaka* ‘God’s New Covenant. 2017). While this class is limited to just two members, they carry a very substantial load.

4.13.1 Topic marker

The topic marker is pervasive throughout texts, though use varies from speaker to speaker. It marks an antecedent as topic in switch-reference marked clauses and as a relativiser. One ‘optional’ instance is when the differential subject marker *yaku* is used (172); the topic marker *bi* in place of *yaku* ‘differential subject marker’ points to the subject NP as the topic, whereas the differential subject marker develops the story (cf. §10.2.2.3B for details). In most instances the topic marker is obligatory, such as in a verbless clause (173) [cf. §8.2]. The head of the topic marker is a noun or verb phrase.

- (172) *Tau yaku ini vene raka ni edadi-yo*
 (name) DSM 3.POSS people call say wake.up-3SG.PAST
 ‘Tau called out waking up his people’ [15.02]

¹⁰ It is difficult to determine exact figures without a physically determined count as its rapid speech form *ya* is homophonous with the second person A/S/O pronoun (cf. §4.1.1).

- (173) [*Nai rautu*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Oduika omuna odoro=ri*]_{VCC}.
 1SG.POSS village TOP (place.name) mountain above=at
 ‘My village is on Oduika mountain.’ [5.00]

See §10.2.2.3D for further elaboration.

4.13.2 Differential subject marker

The differential subject marker *yaku* occurs immediately following the subject, mainly in sentence initial clauses or initial clauses of embedded complementation. It marks the most salient participant, particularly before the climax or other significant developments. Dutton (1975:629) categorises *yaku* as a subject marker, however, such an analysis fails to explain its absence. It is often used to emphasise the subject, particularly in answer to a question (174b), in which case the question asked would most likely be (174a):

- (174) a. *Kaere bi iruku mar-o?*
 who TOP food give-3SG.PAST
 ‘Who gave (him) the food?’
- b. *Na yaku iruku mar-aka.*
 1SG DSM food give-1SG.PAST
 ‘I gave (him) the food.’

See §10.2.2.3B for continued consideration of the differential subject marker.

4.14 Particles

Dixon (2012:95) describes a particle as an independent grammatical word. Other particles include fillers, such as *e* (175), *o* (176), *um* (177), which tend to be rather idiosyncratic in nature, as exemplified below.

- (175) *Koima o, dona e; kita ga re.*
 leech VOC pig eh movement PROHIB do
 ‘Oh, boy, a pig (there); don’t move!’ [1.07]
- (176) *Buni o.*
 good oh
 ‘Oh, okay.’ [37.05]
- (177) *Um, misin koina.*
 um machine finish
 ‘Um, the machine is finished.’ [37.02]

4.15 Conclusion

There are more closed word classes in Doromu-Koki than open, exhibiting some interesting features. Several have complex sub-classes.

Pronoun subclasses include transitive/intransitive subject/object (§4.1.1), possessive

(§4.1.2), reflexive (§4.1.3) and general reference (§4.1.4). The reflexive pronouns are also used in a reciprocal strategy (§4.1.3.1). The four basic forms of personal pronouns have four corresponding forms for the possessive and reflexive set, yet the reflexive also has some additional forms. Pronominal reference (§ 4.1.5) is used to track participants, but more often tracking is performed through subject marking of final verbs and switch-reference marking on non-final verbs.

The demonstratives (§4.2) are complex with three-way distance and elevation distinctions. The locatives (§4.3) have the same distinctions with an added greater distance distinction.

The postpositions (§4.4) are composed of five subclasses: location (§4.4.1), directional (§4.4.2), temporal (§4.4.3), non-spatio-temporal (§4.4.4) and postpositional clitics (§4.4.5). The location, directional and temporal have some grammaticalised forms. A few postpositions have heterosemous conjunction function (cf. Table 4.11). Conjunctions (§4.10) have many coordinating (§4.10.1) and subordinating (§4.10.2) functions, while the two discourse markers, topic marker (§4.13.1) and differential subject marker (§4.13.2) are heavily used.

Other minor closed classes found in the language include the larger interrogative (§4.5), degree adverbs (§4.9) and interjections (§4.11). The very small classes include polar question markers (§4.6), affirmative answer (§4.7), negatives (§4.8), vocative (§4.12) and other particles (§4.14). The topic marker is an element that is undergoing grammaticalisation to a copula, as seen in forms such as *mibi* from *mina=bi* (this=TOP) ‘this is’ (§4.13.1).

5. Nouns and their categories

As discussed earlier (cf. §3.1.1), Doromu-Koki nominal morphology is limited to reduplication, alternate singular and plural forms for kinship terms, one suppletive plural noun of *amiye* ‘person’ as *vene* ‘people’ and one semi-suppletive plural noun form of *oyena* ‘fish’ as *oyevani* ‘fish (pl.)’. Thirty-two reduplicated (i.e. plural) forms have been identified and are listed in the top section of Table 5.1. (Singular forms of these are the unreduplicated form, e.g. *bado* ‘piece’ versus *bado~bado* ‘pieces’.) The three items indicated in bold (*feki~feki* ‘knocking’, *kita~kita* ‘moving’ and *yaga~yaga* ‘shaking’) are complements of non-compositional complex verbs (cf. §3.5 and §6.3.1). Several others function as complements of compositional complex verbs; they are indicated in SMALL CAPS. Together these forms are grouped into two categories: 1) Countable and 2) Mass, or as a) Culturally important notions and b) Increased degree or intensity (cf. §3.2.1.4A).

The lower section of the table includes those other types which have their own plural forms (excluding kinship and reared terms found in Table 3.6), 1) Suppletive (*amiye/vene*) and 2) Semi-suppletive (*oyena/oyevani*).

Table 5.1: *Nominal morphology*

Countable	Gloss	Mass	Gloss
<i>bado~bado</i>	‘pieces’	<i>BAKU~BAKU</i>	‘finding’
<i>daru~daru</i>	‘roots’	<i>BUTU~BUTU</i>	‘collections’
<i>feki~feki</i>	‘knocking’	<i>DOGO~DOGO</i>	‘preparations’
<i>gagani~gagani</i>	‘places’	<i>DUI~DUI</i>	‘entering’
<i>GAUKA~GAUKA</i>	‘sicknesses’	<i>DUMA~DUMA</i>	‘stealing’
<i>ida~ida</i>	‘ways’	<i>ESIKA~ESIKA</i>	‘pain’
<i>mida~mida</i>	‘children’	<i>gube~gube</i>	‘darkness’
<i>OFA~OFA</i>	‘lies’	<i>ISAKA~ISAKA</i>	‘crying’
<i>ofi~ofi</i>	‘young women’	<i>kita~kita</i>	‘moving’
<i>rautu~rautu</i>	‘villages’	<i>MAINA~MAINA</i>	‘looking for’
<i>ROKA~ROKA</i>	‘names’	<i>NAIVO~NAIVO</i>	‘help’
<i>SINA~SINA</i>	‘stories’	<i>RAU~RAU</i>	‘sharing’
<i>tausini~tausini</i>	‘thousands’	<i>senagi~senagi</i>	‘long ago’
<i>yabo~yabo</i>	‘trees’	<i>sufa~sufa</i>	‘bush’
		<i>tobo~tobo</i>	‘middle’
		<i>USA~USA</i>	‘asking’
		<i>VOI~VOI</i>	‘buying’
		<i>yaga~yaga</i>	‘shaking’
(Semi-)suppletive	Singular		Plural
<i>amiye</i>	‘person’	<i>vene</i>	‘people’
<i>oyena</i>	‘fish (sg.)’	<i>oyevani</i>	‘fish (pl.)’

All other nouns are limited to expressing plurality through use of number words and/or the verbal morphology, e.g. *amiye remanu oki-yadi* (two men arrive-3PL.PAST)

‘two men arrived’. The plural *vene* ‘people’ is not used in this type of construction. The singular *amiye* is also modified with a number word or other adjectives, such as *amiye tau gade* (person many very) ‘very many people’, but cannot itself modify an NP. The plural form *vene* ‘people’, however, is used to modify an NP, pronoun or verbal clause as indicative of a plural number. Accordingly, *amiye tora* (person big) ‘big person(s)’ or *tora vene* (big people) are attested, but not **tora amiye* or **vene tora*. However, the plural of *rautu amiye* (village person) is *rautu vene* (village people), since *rautu* ‘village’ is modifying *amiye* ‘person’ or *vene* ‘people’, forming a compound noun (cf. §3.2.1.6).

The A/S/O pronouns *ina/ya* ‘he/she/it /you’ and possessive pronouns *ini/yi* ‘his/hers/its /your’ are modified with *vene* ‘people’ to indicate plural. In a verb clause, the verbal morphology is indicative of which form will be used, i.e. *amiye* ‘person’ or *vene* ‘people’, as seen in (1a-b).

- (1) a. *moimai re-do amiye* b. *moimai re-dedi vene*
 work do-3SG.PRES person work do-3PL.PRES people
 ‘working person’ ‘working people’

The singular noun *amiye* ‘person’ also has a generic interpretation (cf. §4.1.4), in which case it may also convey a correspondingly plural interpretation.

- (2) *na yaku ni-yaka-ma amiye rau re-yafa*
 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS people sharing do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I told them and we shared it with people (in general)’ [4.16]

Two derivational word-class changing strategies include 1) Verbal nominalisation and 2) Complex verb complement “ambitransitive” nominalisation.

Verbal nominalisation (cf. §3.7.1) is very productive, producing the lexical citation form for all verbs (Bradshaw 2021a:35). As the singular imperative is unmarked, a bare stem is perceived as commanding, e.g. *bo-* ‘go’ is seen as *bo-ø!* (go-2SG.IMP) ‘go!’. A nominalised verb occurs in all argument slots as described below (cf. §5.1), as well as predicate (cf. §3.7.1 for examples in the various slots). A nominalisation is formed when the suffix *-na* ‘nominaliser’ is bound to a verb root; no other affixation co-occurs. A nominalisation can function as a complement in a complex verb, e.g. *eru re-na ga re* (tricking do-NOMZ PROHIB do) ‘don’t be tricking’, or as head of an NP, e.g. *yi moke-na buni* (2.POSS think-NOMZ good) ‘your good thinking’, having all the features of other nouns [cf. its use in examples (13) and (19)].

Reduplication of a verb stem produces an ambitransitive form, which then often

functions as a nominal element in a complex verb, e.g. *iri~iri koina ni-yo* (eat~NOMZ finish become-3SG.PAST) ‘finished eating’ (cf. §3.4.2.2 for further details). These ambitransitive forms are regarded as “action nominalisations”.

5.1 Nominal roles

Nouns lack case marking; functional categories are identified by means of position. Oblique arguments, such as temporals and locatives, have some flexibility in position for pragmatic effect (cf. §10.2.2.3), while others others having fixed position (with constituents indicated in bold below) do not. Canonical constituent order is identified below (cf. Diagram 8.1).

(CNJ) (OBL_{TEMP}) (A/S) (OBL) (O) E VP

Descriptions of both transitive (§5.1.1) and intransitive subject (§5.1.2) positions follow.

5.1.1 Transitive subject

Transitive subject NPs occupy the second NP slot.

(3) [*Yokaru uriyaku*]_{OBL} [*uba dubui=sa*]_A *bi* [*tufe*]_O
 one.day morning both brother=ACCM TOP raft

ri-gedi *vo.ni-yadi*.
 make-3PL.FUT tell-say-3SG.PAST

‘One day in the morning, two brothers said they would build rafts.’ [14.01]

As with S, transitive subject can also be omitted.

5.1.2 Intransitive subject

Intransitive subject NPs occupy the same slot as transitive subject; Doromu-Koki has a nominative/accusative system.

(4) [*Yokaru vo ni bo na aita=ri*]_{OBL}, [*nai baba*]
 one.day happen become go 1SG light=at 1SG.POSS father

bona na]_S [*sufa~sufa*]_{OBL} *di-yafa*.
 and 1SG bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST

‘One day when I was young (lit. ‘at light weight’), my father and I went deep into the bush.’ [1.01]

Subject (A or S) is often elided, as it is indicated through the final verb morphology.

(5) [\emptyset]_S [*bai-si*]_V [\emptyset]_S [*Hohola.3-ma*]_E [*dui re-yo*]_V
 (2SG) come-SEQ.SS (2SG) (place.name)-at entering do-2SG.PAST
 ‘you came and (you) entered Hohola 3’ [38.27]

Note the extended argument occurs in final slot before the verb phrase, cf. (7).

5.1.3 Object

Object NPs occupy the fourth slot, i.e. the penultimate slot before the verb phrase.

- (6) [*Gua*]_{OBL} [*mida ya*]_A [*mina=ri*]_{OBL...} [*Koki ago*]_O
 now child DSM this=at (name) word

forovai re-do.

confuse do-3SG.PRES

‘Now the child here confuses/mixs up the Koki language.’

Extended argument NPs occur in the final slot before the verb (cf. §10.2.2.3B for examination of differential subject marking); they are less often implied from the context.

- (7) [\emptyset]_A [\emptyset]_O [*una*]_E *ya* [*rau re-gedi*]_V
 (3PL) (3SG) 1PL DSM sharing do-3PL.FUT
 ‘they will share (it) with us’ [116]

The O argument filled with a pronoun co-occurring with an E argument has not been attested (e.g. **ina una ya rau regedi*) [cf. (3) in §8.1 for co-occurrence of an NP O argument]. See §8.1 for further discussion on clause structure.

5.1.4 Oblique arguments

Oblique argument NPs are of two different types, filling two distinct slots: 1) Temporal oblique arguments and 2) other oblique arguments which include accompaniment, genitive, benefactive, instrument, possessive and locative roles.

Temporal oblique arguments include temporal nouns (cf. §3.2.1.5).

- (8) [*Meda yokoi*]_{NP=ri} *nai mida remanu garasi di-yadi.*
 day one=at 1SG.POSS child two glass go-3PL.PAST
 ‘One day my two boys went out with their diving glasses.’ [6.01]

The temporal oblique arguments fill the first NP slot, while the other oblique arguments fill the third slot [cf. (4)]. The other oblique argument roles are indicated by free postpositions or postpositional clitics (cf. §4.4), as indicated in bold in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: *Other oblique arguments*

Roles	Example	Gloss(es)	Translation
Accompaniment	<i>nai rema</i> <i>mida=sa</i>	1SG.POSS woman child=ACCM	‘with my wife and children’
Genitive	<i>ina vene di kono</i>	3 people GEN ground	‘their land’
Benefactive	<i>nai baba rofu</i>	1SG.POSS father for	‘for my father’
Instrument	<i>kodu dudu</i>	stick with	‘with a stick’
Possessive	<i>moni nufa</i>	money with	‘with/possessing money’
Locative	<i>yava ide=ri</i>	house inside=at	‘inside the house’

5.2 Noun phrase structure

The Doromu-Koki noun phrase structure is shown in Diagram 5.1. The head noun may be preceded by a modifying demonstrative (cf. §4.2), e.g. *mina amiye* (this person) ‘this man’ or a possessive pronoun (cf. §4.1.2), e.g. *nai auna* (1SG.POSS dog) ‘my dog’. The head noun may be a common noun (cf. §3.2), e.g. *rumana* ‘man’ or a proper noun (cf. §3.2.1.3), e.g. *Emmanuel* ‘Emmanuel’. A common noun may be followed by an adjective (cf. §3.3), e.g. *rema tora* (woman big) ‘big woman’; some adjectives, such as *tora* ‘big’ may also function as head (cf. §3.3.2.2), i.e., ‘the big one’. A second adjective may also follow the first. It will usually be a number word, e.g. *dona yokoi* (pig one) ‘one pig’, but may also be some other descriptive adjective, perhaps with similar meaning, e.g. *mida doba rome* (child tall tall.and.slim) ‘the tall and slim boy’. Finally, a postposition (cf. §4.4) or postpositional clitic (cf. §4.4.5) may end the NP to indicate its function, e.g. *yabo odoro* (tree above) ‘above the tree) or *yava=ri* (house=in) ‘in the house’.

Diagram 5.1: *Noun phrase structure*

Constituents
1. Demonstrative/Possessive pronoun
2. Noun (as a modifier)
3. Head noun/Proper noun
4. Adjective (or as head)
5. Adjective (number word) ¹
6. Postposition/Postpositional clitic

The NP structure allows for two to three constituents or headless NPs. An NP can also consist of just one adjective, e.g. *usika bi no ni-do* (younger TOP bad become-3SG.PRES) ‘the younger (one) is ruined’. A proper noun normally occurs alone, e.g. *Philip bi goidu?* ([name] TOP where) ‘Where is Philip?’; however, in one instance it is seen modified by a possessive pronoun (cf. example (48) in §4.4.1). When one constituent alone is present, it is presumed that the head of the NP is found in position 3 or 4.

A noun may be preceded by a possessive pronoun or a demonstrative, but not normally by both, e.g. *nai iruku* (1SG.POSS food) ‘my food’ or *mina iruku* (this food); however note (9) below; in the previous context the speaker was naming the items that he was taking.

¹ Cf. (10) and discussion following.

- (9) [*Nai* [*mina dinaga*]]_o *moi-si otuka gote-i-da*.
 1SG.POSS this load get-SEQ.SS backyard descend-LINK-1SG.PAST
 ‘I get this load of mine and go down to the backyard.’ [21.03]

Juxtaposed noun compounds are of the root endocentric, exocentric, coordinate and synthetic endocentric type (cf. §3.2.1.6), e.g. *koru gena fou* (water bamboo shot) ‘gun shot’.

The majority of adjectives (cf. §3.3) follow the noun they modify (cf. §5.2.4). Those that do not may actually be nominal constituents forming a compound (cf. §3.3.2.1 for further elaboration). Adjectives may also be modified with a following degree adverb, e.g. *amiye tumu iniye* (person short very) ‘the very short man’.

An accompaniment, genitive, benefactive, instrument, possessive or locative NP includes a postposition, and sometimes an additional postpositional clitic (mainly =*ri* ‘at, in, on’, or in one case =*u* ‘by, on, instrument’) [cf. §4.4 and §4.4.5]. Most NPs are limited in length, though longer ones are possible (10).

Dutton (1970:920) describes NPs as:

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

This would produce a noun phrase such as the following:

- (10) [*mina*]_{DEM} [*Koki*]_{ADJ} [*amiye*]_N [*tora*]_{ADJ} [*yokoi*]_{NUM}
 this (dialect.name) person big one
 ‘this one Koki elder’

It is preferable to interpret the adjective of ‘nationality’ as modifying noun (cf. §3.2.1.6) forming a compound noun. It is the case that the descriptive adjective must precede the number word (i.e. position positions 4 and 5 in Diagram 5.1 respectively).

5.2.1 Noun phrase coordination

Noun phrases are coordinated by use of the additive coordinating conjunctions, particularly *ma* ‘and’ and borrowed *bona* ‘and’.

- (11) [*Mina rema*] ***ma*** [*ini vefa*] *mosara iri-gedi*.
 this woman and 3SG.POSS daughter sweet.potato eat-3PL.FUT
 ‘This woman and her daughter will eat sweet potato.’

- (12) *Yokaru Saturday* [*na Raphael*] ***bona*** [*Mathias*] *sufa~sufa*
 one.day 1SG (name) and (name) bush~INTS

di-yafa.

go-1SG.PAST

‘One Saturday Raphael and I and Mathias went to the big bush...’ [4.01]

See §4.10.1.1 for further consideration of coordinating additive conjunctions.

5.2.2 Possessive noun phrases

Nouns are juxtaposed to form compound nouns, or bound by the non-spatio-temporal postposition *di* ‘genitive’ (cf. §4.4.4) to form a phrase. Recursive possessors (cf. Comrie 2019) are possible, though infrequent, mainly limited to two occurrences (13), and less frequently to three (14) [cf. §4.1.2].

- (13) *vima no di oure-feide-na amiye di vava*
 spirit bad GEN be.first-leave-NOMZ person GEN power
 ‘the power of the leader’s (lit be first leaving) evil spirits’ (SUAR 2017:20:9.34)

- (14) *Sei di [ago ni-yadi vene] di ago di adina*
 God GEN word say-3PL.PAST people GEN word GEN meaning
 ‘the meaning of the word of the speakers of the word of God’
 (SUAR 2017:14:7.12)

In general these longer chains are limited to translated texts.

5.2.3 Verbless clauses

Verbless clauses are formed by a verbless clause subject filled by an NP or pronoun + *bi* ‘topic marker’ + verbless clause complement, filled with an NP (15) or adjective (16-17).

- (15) [*Peter*]_{VCS} *bi* [*mida keika*]_{VCC/NP}
 (name) TOP child little
 ‘Peter is a little child’
- (16) [*na*]_{VCS} *bi* [*doba*]_{VCC/ADJ}
 1SG TOP long
 ‘I am tall’
- (17) [*nai nono*]_{VCS} *bi* [*buni*]_{VCC/ADJ}
 1SG.POSS mother TOP good
 ‘my mother is well’

See §8.2 for further discussion on verbless clauses.

5.2.4 Complex noun phrases

Noun phrases are composed of two to three juxtaposed nouns or nominalised complex verbs; they may also include a relative clause.

- (18) [[*Koki ago ni-dedi*]_{RC} *vene*]_S *bi* [*rautu tora*]
 (name) word say-3PL.PRES people TOP village big

regode=ri]_{OBL} *ame-dedi*.
 three=in stay-3PL.PRES
 ‘The Koki speaking people (or ‘the people who speak the Koki language’) live
 in three big villages.’ [22.11]

In some instances, the form *ni-dedi* (say-3PL.PRES) ‘they say’ is instead realised as *ni-na* (say-NOMZ) ‘saying’ (cf. §3.7.1); this yields an atemporal interpretation, i.e., not just those who speak it now, but also those who spoke it long ago. Such a construction would not fit the context in (18) as specific people are being identified. However, it does here below, yielding a more generic interpretation.

(19) *yi yauta ni-na vene yaku ini ni-yadi kana*
 2.POSS song say-NOMZ people DSM 3.POSS say-3PL.PAST like
 ‘like your singers were singing (and presumably still are)’
 (SUAR 2017:294:17.28)

5.2.5 Negation with noun phrases

When an NP is negated, the clausal negative *dia* is used, rather than the verbal *de* (cf. §4.8).

(20) [*dia i buni totona*] *bai-yadi*...
 NEG 2.POSS good for come-3PL.PRES
 ‘they came not for your good...’ [84]

Use of the negative *de* would yield *i buni totona de bai-yadi* (2.POSS good for NEG come-3PL.PAST) ‘they did not come for your good’ with the focus of negation on ‘their coming’ rather than on ‘your good’.

5.3 Conclusion

Doromu-Koki plural forms of nouns are limited on the one hand to cases of reduplication to indicate countable items, mass, culturally important items or increased degree or intensity. On the other hand, there are two types of plural forms: kinship terms and suppletive/semi-suppletive forms. The noun *amiye* ‘person’ also functions as a modifier, while the plural *vene* ‘people’ does not.

Nouns can be formed from nominalised verbs. Syntax plays a crucial part in determining the grammatical roles of noun phrases (§5.1), as there are no nominative/accusative case markings. There are, however, regular free postpositions used to indicate nominal roles in other oblique argument slots (§5.1.4).

Noun phrase structure (§5.2) and concomitant use vary from headless to the complex with multiple nouns or adjectives as well as other constituents which include pronouns,

demonstratives, adverbs and postpositions. Nouns can be juxtaposed to form complex nouns (§5.2.4) in addition to being linked by coordinating conjunctions (§5.2.1) or the genitive *di* (§5.2.2). Noun phrases occur in all argument slots, including verbless clause subject and verbless clause complement (§5.2.3). Distinct forms of negative are used to negate verbs and noun phrases (§5.2.5).

6. Verbs and their categories

Doromu-Koki verbs are limited to 199 simple verbs in two classes (cf. §3.4). However, there is a vast wealth of verbal complexes due to the language's many varied verb-forming strategies.

6.1 Verb classes

As all canonical words have open syllables, the two verb classes are based on the final stem vowel, albeit with a caveat: the Class I root does not actually end in a vowel.

6.1.1 Class I

In this first verb class (ending in *ar*), the second person singular imperative mood (cf. §6.6.3.2) ends in the low back rounded vowel /a/ since the apico-alveolar rhotic /r/ is deleted word finally or before a consonant (cf. §2.6), as seen in (1a) and (1c). Application of (the linker) vowel epenthesis (cf. §2.6 and also §6.2) is seen in (1d). The original stem, with canonical shape of VCVC, is seen in (1b). This class has no common semantic features; some verbs are transitive, some not, some are very frequently used and some not.

- (1) a. *oma-∅*
invite-2SG.IMP
'invite (it)'
- b. *omar-o*
invite-3SG.PAST
'he invited (him)'
- c. *oma-go*
invite-3SG.FUT
'she will invite (her)'
- d. *oma-i* *dairi-gida*
invite-LINK return-1SG.FUT
'I will invited (him) back'

See §3.4 for further examples. As there are five vowels (cf. §2.1), it might be estimated that approximately one-fifth of the verbs are in this class, however it is composed of only 11.7% of the 199 total simple verbs.

6.1.2 Class II

The second class covers the other 87% of the simple verbs. These all have verb stems ending in the remaining four vowels (*e*, *i*, *o* and *u*). In a sample text, the low back rounded vowel *a* is the most commonly occurring vowel at 33.4% (compared to 28.2% for *i*, 13.9% for both *e* and *o* and 10.5% for *u*). Table 6.1 shows the percentages for each vowel (including the *-ar* Class I verbs) versus the general frequency of use for the vowel of that class in the language; it is apparent there is no correlation.

Table 6.1: *Final ‘Vowel’ percentages for simple verbs versus general frequency*

Final ‘vowel’	Verbs stem final	General frequency of occurrence
<i>e#</i>	41.3%	13.9%
<i>u#</i>	22.9%	10.5%
<i>i#</i>	22.3%	28.2%
<i>a#</i>	11.7%	33.4%
<i>o#</i>	1.7%	13.9%

The following examples show variously inflected forms for each Class II final-vowel simple verb (cf. also §3.4 examples).

- (2) a. *are-∅*
collect-2SG.IMP
‘collect (them)’
- b. *are-i-do*
collect-LINK-3SG.PRES
‘he collects (them)’
- c. *are-yaka*
collect-1SG.PAST
‘I collected (them)’
- (3) a. *u-∅*
hit-2SG.IMP
‘hit (it)’
- b. *u-sifa*
hit-1PL.PRES
‘we hit (it)’
- c. *u-yo*
hit-3SG.PAST
‘she hit (it)’
- (4) a. *dadi-∅*
get.up-2SG.IMP
‘get up’
- b. *dadi-giya*
get.up-2SG.FUT
‘you will get up’
- c. *dadi-yafa*
get.up-1PL.PAST
‘we got up’
- (5) a. *bo-∅*
go.2SG.IMP
‘go’
- b. *bo-na*
go-NOMZ
‘going’
- c. *bo-yagane*
go-3PL.IMP
‘they should go’

Processes exemplified above include vowel epenthesis (2b) and approximant consonant epenthesis (2c), (3c), (4c) and (5c) [cf. §2.6].

6.1.3 Minor verb classes

Apart from these two classes, the remaining two verb classes are very minor: the first with one member and the second with three. They vary from the former verbs in that they remain uninflected; they are listed in Table 6.2. (See §3.4.1 for further elaboration.)

Table 6.2: *Other minor verb classes*

Verb class	Member	Gloss(es)
‘Secondary’ verb of intention	<i>va</i>	‘try’
Verbs of cognition/volition	<i>diba</i>	‘know’
	<i>toto</i>	‘do not know, forget’
	<i>ura</i>	‘want, wish, like’

6.2 Verbal morphology

Doromu-Koki has a rich inflectional morphology. Verbs primarily take suffixes (cf. §3.4); there are also three prefixes (cf. §6.8.1). Suffixes indicate non-spatial setting (cf. §6.6), while in some instances, prefixes are derivational. Indication of object roles is not indicated on the verb; they are encoded syntactically (cf. §5.1). Only A/S person are indicated in the portmanteau tense suffixes (cf. §6.6.4); on verb forms without tense, A/S person are determined by context.

There are over 1,700 different attested verb forms; for the verb *ame-* ‘stay’ alone there are 81 different inflected forms, e.g. *ame* ‘stay (sg.)’, *ame-bi* (stay-FUT.IMPERV) ‘be staying (sg.)’, *ame-bi-fa* (stay-FUT.IMPERV-2PL.IMP) ‘be staying (pl.)’, *ame-bi-fo* (stay-FUT.IMPERV-2PL.PO.IMP) ‘be staying (polite pl.)’, *ame-bi-gedi* (stay-FUT.IMPERV-3PL.FUT) ‘they will be staying’, etc. Table 6.3 shows verbal affixation grouped according to type and order. The actual components themselves will be described in the following applicable sections (as indicated in the table). Most stems are root; those that are not are compound verbs in which the original elements can be analysed, e.g. *oure-feide-* (be.first-leave) ‘lead’ (cf. §6.4).

Table 6.3: *The structure of verbal word*

	Prefix	Stem	Suffix(es)		
Type	Verb- (§6.4)			-Mood (§6.6.3)	
	Causative- (§6.8.1)		-Modality (§6.6.1)	-Aspect (§6.6.2)	-Tense (§6.6.4)
					-Switch-reference (§6.2.1)

Mood (§6.6.3) is the most productive suffix type, having six subtypes [imperative (§6.6.3.2.1), polite imperative (§6.6.3.2), hypothetical (§6.6.3.3), possibilitative (§6.6.3.4), purposive (§6.6.3.5) and conative (§6.6.3.6)] while Aspect (cf. §6.6.2) has three [perfective (cf. §6.6.2.1) and past (cf. §6.6.2.2) and future imperfective (cf. §6.6.2.3). Tense (§6.6.4) has only three (past, present and future) and Modality (§6.6.1) only one [potential (cf. §6.6.1.1)]. Tense is the most frequently found across all genres; it is obligatory whenever its slot is not already filled by Mood. There are only a total of four prefixes, as well as four switch-reference markers (cf. §6.2.1). Aspect, mood and tense do not co-occur with SS switch-reference, but only with DS (as shown below). Table 6.4 lists co-occurrences of TAM affixes.

Table 6.4: *Co-occurrence of TAM affixes*

Modality	Aspect	Mood Tense	Switch-reference
	<i>-bi</i> 'FUT.IMPERV'	<i>-nadi</i> '1PL.IMP' <i>-fa</i> '2PL.IMP' <i>-fo</i> '2PL.PO.IMP' <i>-ainedi</i> '3SG.IMP' <i>-agenedi</i> '3PL.IMP' <i>-agadu</i> 'HYPOTH'	
<i>-bo</i> 'POT'		<i>-gida</i> '1SG.FUT' <i>-giya</i> '2SG.FUT' <i>-go</i> '3SG.FUT' <i>-gifa</i> '1PL.FUT' <i>-gedi</i> '2/3PL.FUT'	<i>-gasa</i> 'SIM.SS' <i>-ri</i> 'SIM.DS'
	<i>-gam</i> 'PAST.IMPERV'	<i>-aka</i> '1SG.PAST' <i>-o</i> '2/3SG.PAST' <i>-afa</i> '1PL.PAST' <i>-adi</i> '2/3PL.PAST'	

Each type of affix is exemplified below.

- (6) a. **Verb prefix**
ni-oteimar-
say-tell-
'teach'
- b. **Causative**
e-muye-
I.CAUS-die-
'spiritually cause to die'
- c. **Modality**
amei-bo-bi-gedi
stay-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3PL.FUT
'they might be staying'
- d. **Aspect**
vare-gam-o
sleep-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
'it was sleeping'
- e. **Mood**
re-agadu
do-HYPOTH
'should do (it)'
- f. **Tense**
ri-yadi
make-3PL.PAST
'they made (it)'
- g. **Switch-reference**
bo-si
go.over-SEQ.SS
'go over and then'

As prefixes are independent of the suffixes, they do not have any effect on how suffixes are used. Certain suffixes, on the other hand, have limited distribution. All Mood suffixes cannot co-occur with tense suffixes; they occupy the same slot [cf. Table 6.3 and (6c)]; only the Modality suffix, *-bo* 'potential', co-occurs with future tense suffixes.

- (7) *ini obini tau ya ma-bo-bi-go*
 3.POSS compensation all 2 give-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT
 ‘he might be giving you all its reward’ (SUARBB 2011.12.2)

The aspect markers *-gam* ‘past imperfective’ and *-bi* ‘future imperfective’ only co-occur with their appropriate respective past (8) or future (9) tense marking.

- (8) *mo dona bi mini ame-gam-o*
 but pig TOP here stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘but the pig was staying here’ [1.13]
- (9) *gira baku re-bi-gifa-ri*
 hard find do-FUT.IMPERV-1PL.FUT-SIM.DS
 ‘when we will be finding it difficult’ (Bradshaw 2021a:118)

There are two sets of switch-reference markers in Doromu-Koki: one set to indicate same subject and the other to indicate different subject. When different subject marking occurs on the verb of the first clause, which is marked for aspect and A/S person-number-tense, the DS marking indicates that the second clause will involve a new participant. Accordingly the verb of the subsequent clause will be marked for aspect and A/S person-number-tense for this new participant (cf. §6.2.1), while the verb of the first clause is marked for sequential (10) and simultaneous (11).

- (10) *Uriyenau ni-yo-ma oki-yadi.*
 afternoon become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS arrive-3PL.PAST
 ‘It was the afternoon and then they arrived.’ [6.06]
- (11) *are re-yaka-ri dona bae are re-yo*
 stand do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS pig come stand do-3SG.PAST
 ‘when I stood a pig came and stood (there)’ [4.11]

Non-final clauses express fewer TAM categories than final clauses, taking only same subject marking; the corresponding TAM marking is indicated on the final verb, for sequential (12) and simultaneous (13), respectively.

- (12) *Na dadi-si viro bona baiya moi-si rarama*
 1SG get.up-SEQ.SS axe and bush.knife get-SEQ.SS clearing

ne-yaka.
 go.down-1SG.PAST
 ‘I got up and took my axe and bush knife and went down to the clearing.’ [3.02]
- (13) *Baba, dona bo-ga kita re-do iseni.*
 father pig go.over-SIM.SS move do-3SG.PRES up.over.there
 ‘Father, while the pig is going up it is moving up over there.’ [1.17]

All of the few morphophonemic processes in Doromu-Koki occur with verbs; they are highlighted here in reference to verbs only (cf. §2.6 for further consideration).

Vowel epenthesis (cf. §2.6A) is very productive. A verb ending in /ɛ/ or /o/ adds a high front unrounded linker vowel /i/ finally when the verb is uninflected¹ in a serial verb construction (14a) or before the morphemes *-bo* ‘potential’ (14b), *-da* ‘first person present’ (14c), *-sa* ‘second person present’ (92.1), (98e) or *-nu* ‘stative’ (14d). It does not occur with Class I verbs [cf. (97b, e, g), except in the uninflected serial verb construction form.

- (14) a. *moke-i* *itu* *re-go*
 think-LINK cold do-3SG.FUT
 ‘she will doubt (it) [lit. ‘think cold’]’
- b. *oure-feide-i-bo-bi-gedi*
 be.first-leave-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-2PL.FUT
 ‘they might be leading [lit. be first leaving] (them)’
- c. *neide-i-da*
 hear-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I hear’
- d. *ame-i-nu*
 stay-LINK-STAT
 ‘he made him sit’

The second morphophonemic process is vowel raising (cf. §2.6B), which is limited to just two verbs, *ae-* ‘put’ and *bae-* ‘come’; the final vowel /ɛ/ is raised to the high front unrounded vowel /i/ when the verb is inflected with a suffix beginning with a consonant, including the epenthetic lamio-palatal semi-vowel (15b, d).

- (15) a. *ae-∅* b. *ai-yadi*
 put-2SG.IMP put-3PL.PAST
 ‘put (it)’ ‘they put (it)’
- c. *bae-∅* d. *bai-gasa*
 come-2SG.IMP come-SIM.SS
 ‘come’ ‘while coming’

The third, a frequent process, is approximant consonant epenthesis (cf. §2.6C). When a vowel initial suffix is joined with a vowel final verb stem, a transitional semi-vowel /j/

¹ A second person singular imperative is zero marked, therefore it does not undergo vowel epenthesis, e.g. *moke* ‘think (about it)’.

intervenes. The nine such suffixes are seen below: all past tense forms (16a, c, h, i); third person (sg. and pl.) imperative (16e, g); hypothetical (16d) and (sg. and pl.) possibilitive (16b, f) moods.

(16)	a.	<i>fere-yaka</i> leave-1SG.PAST 'I left'	b.	<i>moi-yadu</i> get-SG.POSB '(sg.) might get'	c.	<i>ve-yafa</i> see-1PL.PAST 'we saw (it)'
	d.	<i>ori-yagadu</i> cook-HYPOTH 'ought to cook'	e.	<i>iri-yaganedi</i> eat-3PL.IMP 'they should eat'	f.	<i>re-yaidu</i> do-PL.POSB '(pl.) might do (it)'
	g.	<i>ai-yainedi</i> put-3SG.IMP 'she should put (it)'	h.	<i>oku-yadi</i> break-2/3PL.PAST 'you (pl.)/they broke (it)'	i.	<i>ni-yo</i> say-2/3SG.PAST 'you/he said (it)'

Verbs function as either non-final (§6.2.1) or final (§6.2.2) verbs.

6.2.1 Non-final verbs

A non-final (or medial) verb indicates a clause chain; the first clause is dependent on the last clause in the chain – it is there that TAM indication is derived. Only purposive or conative mood or switch-reference marking are indicated (for same subject); mood and A/S person-number-tense marking are indicated on the first clause (and subsequent clauses) for different subject.

Switch-reference signals a maintenance (SS) or change of subject (DS) between clauses in a clause chain. As simultaneity and sequentiality are co-referenced in Doromu-Koki SR marking, non-final clauses are accordingly chained in sequential or simultaneous temporal relations to the final verb. When the subject is the same between clauses, only SS is indicated; tense (and/or aspect) indication is reserved for the final verb. When the subjects are different between clauses, then tense (and/or aspect) is indicated on the non-final verb, corresponding to the subject of the first clause; the second (different) subject has its own appropriate (different) tense (and/or aspect) marking on the final verb. In a corpus of ten narrative texts, the genre with the highest occurrences of clause chaining, of the total 193 verbal clauses, 54% contained no chains and only one final verb. Of the remaining 88 clauses which included clause chaining, a full 61.4% contained only one non-final verb clause before the final verb clause, 28.4% contained two non-final verb clauses and only 10.8% contained three non-final verb clauses. Longer verbal clause chains have not been observed. The preference is for no chains, followed by one non-final verb + final verb chains.

Ordinarily non-final verbs cannot be followed by a coordinating or subordinating conjunction. Table 6.5 lists non-final verb morphology. Instances of non-final verbs occur less frequently than final verbs, most likely due to other forms of clause linking, e.g. temporal postpositions (§4.4.3) or conjunctions (§4.10). (Purposive and Conative, as mood suffixes, are described in §6.6.3.5 and §6.6.3.6 respectively.)

Table 6.5: *Non-final verb morphology*

Type	Subtype	Different subject
Switch-reference and TAM	<i>Sequential</i> (Mood) Tense	-ma
	<i>Simultaneous</i> (Mood) Tense	-ri
Switch-reference		Same subject
	<i>Sequential</i>	-si
	<i>Simultaneous</i>	-gasa
Mood	<i>Purposive</i>	-gi
	<i>Conative</i>	-gika

Strings of as many as three *-si* ‘sequential same subject’ marking (always concluding with a final verb) have been attested (17); they are most prevalent in narrative texts. The participant thus completes a succession of events.

- (17) *Nai nakimi amiye ro [taniku ni-si]_{v1} [raga*
 1SG.POSS in-law person to thank.you say-SEQ.SS run
ne-si]_{v2} ini dona keika [binu ma-si]_{v3} yava
 go.down-SEQ.SS 3.POSS pig little hug give-SEQ.SS house
ide=ri [dui re-i bo-yo]_{v4=SVC.}
 inside=to entering do-LINK go.over-3SG.PAST
 ‘She said thank you to my in-law and (then) ran and (then) hugged the piglet and (then) went into the house.’ [10.12]

In one other case, as many as six were found; however, the sixth occurrence may be due to speech repair. The speaker said *bo-si* ‘go-SEQ.SS’ in clause 5, when *bo-sifa-ri* ‘go-1PL.PRES-SIM.DS’ alone may have been intended.

- (18) [*Bo-si*]_{v1} [*bo-si*]_{v2} [*bo-i berou feta*]_{v3} *vada [bo-i*
 go-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.SS go-LINK other side then go-LINK
mina koi ita ebu re-si]_{v4} rava sana=ri [bo-si]_{v5},
 this tree.sp firewood pass do-SEQ.SS clearing place=at go-SEQ.SS
[bo-sfa-ri]_{v6}...
 go-1PL.PRES-SIM.DS
 ‘We were going, going along on the side and passed the *koi* trees and went into the clearing and when we had gone...’ [12.10]

A clause chain made up of two non-final clauses is the most frequent length found (19); they can be both simultaneous, both sequential or a combination of the two. (The least commonly used switch-reference marking marker is *-gasa* ‘simultaneous same subject’; there are approximately 700 occurrences of in the New Testament translation versus over 6,000 of *-si*. (The rapid speech form of *-gasa* ‘simultaneous same subject’ is *-ga*.)

- (19) *ye* [*ne-ga*]_{v1} [*bo-ga*]_{v2} *siausau* *mi-bi* *una* =*ka*
 so go-SIM.SS go-SIM.SS vehicle.noise this-TOP 1PL =also

[*orefa-na* *anua* *re-yafa*]_{v3}.
 cross-NOMZ be.unable do-1PL.PAST

‘...and while we went down and went there was vehicle (traffic) noise and we couldn’t cross (the road).’ [13.10]

Not only do *-ma* ‘sequential different subject’ (20) and *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’ (21) mark inflected verbs, but they are also homonymous with the coordinating additive conjunction *ma* ‘and’ (20) and the postpositional clitic =*ri* ‘at, in, on’ (21), respectively.

- (20) *Idu*, *miya* ***ma*** *unema* *bi* *toga* [*re-i* *bo-yo-ma*]_{v1}
 but rain and landslide TOP always do-LINK go-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS

uru *tobo=ri*, *Fada* *yaku* *omuna* *fafau* [*usa~usa* *ni-si*]_{v2},
 night middle=at Father DSM mountain about ask~PL say-SEQ.SS

[*blesiya* *re-yo-ma*]_{v3} [*fere-yo*]_{v4}.
 blessing do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS leave-3SG.PAST

‘But, the rain and landslide kept coming in the middle of the night, then Father prayed over the mountain, giving a blessing and then it stopped.’ [9.07]

- (21) *Suma* *tobo=ri* [*oki-yadi-ri*]_{v1} *ini* *auna* *yaku* *dona*
 bush middle=in arrive-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS dog DSM pig

di [*sau* *u-yo*]_{v2}.
 GEN smell hit-3SG.PAST

‘When they arrived in the middle of the bush his dog smelled [lit. hit (them)] a pig.’ [7.03]

The SR marker *-ma* ‘sequential different subject’ is most usually found alone conjoining just two clauses, but also in strings of up to at most three occurrences.

- (22) ...[*ugar-o-ma*]_{v1} *ini* *rumana* *ya* *kono*
 cross.over-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS man DSM ground

[*goe-gam-o-ma*]_{v2} [*uru ni-yo-ma*]_{v3}
 dig-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS

[*fere-si*]_{v4} [*vare-yo*]_{v5}.
 leave-SEQ.SS sleep-3SG.PAST
 ‘...she crossed over and her husband was digging in the ground, and it got dark
 and he left and went to sleep.’ [17.07]

As with *-ma* above, *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’ is usually found alone; one instance with two occurrences, a case of reiteration, has been observed.

- (23) *Mo dudusa* [*moi dadi faya re-yaka-ri*]_{v1} *kami*
 at.once again D.CAUS get.up shoot do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS enough
- [*fidi re-yaka-ri*]_{v2} *Airadi* [*de-si*]_{v3} [*muye-yo*]_{v4}.
 shoot do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS (place.name) come-SEQ.SS die-3SG.PAST
 ‘Then when I got up and shot (it), then when I shot (it), it came down to
 Airadi and died.’ [4.13]

As shown in the examples above, a clause chain can contain as many as four variously SR marked clauses before the final verb, e.g. SEQ.DS + SEQ.DS + SEQ.DS + SEQ.SS + FV, though these longer chains are infrequent (cf. §10.2.2.1B for further examination of switch-reference).

6.2.2 Final verbs

Final verbs are inflected with TAM marking; as many as four (including *-i* ‘linker’) suffixes occur on a verb stem (linker-modality-aspect-mood/tense), though more frequently verbs are only marked with one, that being tense, e.g. *ame-yo* ‘say-3SG.PAST’. Switch-reference markers are only found in dependent clauses.

- (24) a. *ame-i-bo-bi-gida* b. *ame-i-bi-yaine*
 stay-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-1SG.FUT stay-LINK-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.IMP
 ‘I might be staying’ ‘be staying’

Usually just two final verbs are juxtaposed in one sentence.² The penultimate verb, *re-dedi* (do-3PL.PRES) ‘they do’ in (25) is in an embedded clause; there are two main final verbs, *dadi-yo* (get.up-3SG.PAST) ‘got up’ in the initial clause and *re-yo* (do-3SG.PAST) ‘did’ in the final clause.

- (25) [*Nai baba dadi-yo*]_{FV} [*ini sosogi mina moi odoro*
 1SG.POSS father get.up-3SG.PAST 3.POSS spear this D.CAUS above
- ri-si*]_{NFV} [*koru gena yaku dona fidi re-gi [re-dedi*
 make-SEQ.SS water bamboo DSM pig shoot do- PURP do-3PL.PRES

² This is most often a means of indicating elaboration (cf. §10.2.2.3C).

kana] ***re-yo***]_{FV}.
 like do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My father got up and took up his spear and gun like they do to shoot pigs.’
 [1.09]

6.3 Complex verbs

Simple verbs are often found in combination with a nominal, adjectival or postpositional complement, forming a complex verb, e.g. *abidi re-* ‘designate, appoint’ or *isaka ni-* ‘cry, weep’ (lit. ‘crying + say’). Constituents cannot be negated or questioned independently. Some complements may be used on their own without the associated simple verb (26), while others cannot (27), i.e. *dabara* has no meaning apart from its use with its associated verb *re-* ‘do’.

(26) *Ave. ni-na tau ma isaka tau gade dudu Varika*
 humble become-NOMZ all and crying all very INST chief

amiye naivo re-gam-aka-ma...
 person service do-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS
 ‘With all humility and tears I have been serving the Lord and...’
 (SUAR 2017:301:20.19)

(27) *Tau no kana bi koyomu bani daru~daru yu fafau*
 (name) bad like TOP rat yam root~PL paste on.top.of

fama-si gobe=ri dabara re-yo ini vene
 dump.on-SEQ.SS dish=on set.out do-3SG.PAST 3.POSS people

di.
 GEN
 ‘Tau was bad having dumped a paste of stringy yams (lit. rat yam roots) on top of (the food) and setting them out for his people.’ [15.08]

A total of 973 complex verbs are recorded in Bradshaw (2021a).³ Those in which the complement cannot be used without an associated simple verb have been classified as non-compositional, while those for which their complement can be used in other contexts are classified as semantically compositional. The most recurrently used simple associated verbs are *re-* ‘do’, *ni-* ‘say/become’ and *ri-* ‘make’, however, there are a further 26 which are less repeatedly used; they are listed in §3.5. These associated verbs are from all verb subclasses except one (cf. §3.4.1.1). Those from the second minor verb class (cf. §3.4.1.2)

³ The total number of ‘verbs’ available in the language is 1,172 when including the 199 simple verbs.

make use of the associated verbs *ni-* ‘become’ and *re-* ‘do’ for an extended interpretation, e.g. *diba ni-* (know become) ‘know/understand’, *toto ni-* (not.know become) ‘not know/understand’ and *ura re-* (like/want do) ‘like/want’.

A complex verb is the main technique used to incorporate new verbs,⁴ primarily using the associated verb *re-* ‘do’, or otherwise *ni-* ‘say/become’, according to the pragmatics of the situation (cf. §3.5 for further details on complex verbs).

6.3.1 Non-compositional versus compositional complex verbs

The non-compositional verbs are the prevalent type; the majority of complements have not been observed occurring on their own. However, they are not strictly contiguous with their associated verb, presumably due to pragmatic issues such as focus or possibly limiting the scope of negation through intervening negative or prohibitive, e.g. *kita ga re* (move PROHIB do) ‘don’t move’ versus *ga kita re* (PROHIB move.do). This subclass also makes use of considerably less associated verbs.⁵ Both subclasses share 10 simple verbs in common, ranked in relative order of frequency across both subclasses: *re-* ‘do’, *ni-* ‘say/become’, *ri-* ‘make’, *mar-* ‘give’, *u-* ‘hit’, *ae-* ‘put’, *di-* ‘go’, *moi-* ‘get’, *imi-* ‘pierce’ and *ve-* ‘see’. The three least recurrent associated verbs for the non-compositional type, with only one occurrence each, do not occur with the compositional type. Sixteen of the 18 least frequent for the compositional type are uncommon to the non-compositional type. They are quite rare, in the 0.7-0.3% range, having only one or two occurrences. In reality the two types share the vast majority of the same associated verbs (99.4% for the non-compositional and 93.5% for the compositional).

Complex verbs (cf. §3.5.1) are exhaustively categorised in Table 6.6. The first group are echo-compound forms (cf. §11.4.1), carrying an extended, more intensive meaning. All except one involve a change of the first vowel in the original form to the vowel /a/ in the second replicand in their derived reduplication. The one exception to this convention instead has *kinifo.akifo re-* ‘twinkle and blink’; according to the characteristic pattern we would expect **kinifo.kanifo re-*. This is not the only ‘inconsistent’ form: the second, *bisu.basu.re-* ‘meddle’ has no known source – perhaps an earlier form has dropped out of the language. In a different way, we can see the source associated verb *vare-* ‘plant’ in the last form *nikito.nakito.vare-* ‘plant and plant’, but again there is no source for the

⁴ cf. §3.5.2 and Table 3.20 for further examination and a complete listing of those currently attested.

⁵ Only 13 are used, compared to twice that number for the compositional complex verbs.

complement; the whole form is a lexicalised semantically non-compositional unit (cf. Table 11.10 for a comprehensive listing of echo-compounds).

The second, ‘compositional’ category is composed of complement constituents which also occur separately outside of the complex verb construction. In the first item, *diye* ‘faeces’ occurs on its own forming the compound *diye fa* ‘diarrhoea’; together these form the complex verb *diye fa re-* ‘suffer diarrhoea’. The form *fa*, however, does not occur alone. The complements of others in this category are also compounds, e.g. *miya aura re-* (rain wind do) ‘storm’, in which two nouns are joined to form the complement. These two nouns also function separately in their own complex verbs, e.g. *miya re-* ‘rain’ and *aura re-* ‘blow wind’ (cf. §3.5.1).

The third ‘non-compositional’ category contains complement elements which have their own meanings and uses (i.e. they behave as compositional elements) as well as other parts which have no function outside these double complex verb constructions; those components which cannot stand alone are indicated in bold. Due to the inclusion of these non-compositional elements, they are considered non-compositional. For some, their complement is an NP, while for others a verb, causing them to be analogous to serial verb constructions, though they cannot be separated into two distinct verbs. In an NP type, for example, *seuya* ‘cloud’ and *fono re-* ‘cover’ occur independently. However, the complement component *fati*, possibly analogous to ‘thick/heavy’, only occurs in this particular complex verb construction. In an SVC type, the complement *tamatama* does not occur outside of the construction *muyei tamatama re-* ‘be unconscious’.

Table 6.6: *Complex verbs*

Type	Item	Gloss(es)	Source/comments
Echo-compound	<i>besu.basu ni-</i>	‘rush out’	<i>besu ni-</i> ‘emerge from’
	<i>bisu.basu re-</i>	‘meddle’	No known source
	<i>dogo.dago re-</i>	‘prepare and prepare’	<i>dogo re-</i> ‘prepare’ (v)
	<i>duma.dama re-</i>	‘steal and steal’	<i>duma re-</i> ‘steal’ (v)
	<i>kero.karo re-</i>	‘be very busy’	<i>kero re-</i> ‘turn’ (v)
	<i>kinifo.akifo re-</i>	‘twinkle and blink’	<i>kinifo re-</i> ‘twinkle’ (v)
	<i>koke.kake re-</i>	‘cut and bring’	<i>koke re-</i> ‘chop’ (v)
	<i>kumu.kamu re-</i> <i>nikito.nakito vare-</i>	‘wrap and wrap’ ‘plant and plant’	<i>kumu ri-</i> ‘wrap’ (v) <i>vare-</i> ‘plant’ (v)
Compositional	<i>diye fa re-</i>	‘suffer diarrhoea’	<i>diye</i> ‘faeces’ (n) > <i>diye fa</i> ‘diarrhoea’ (NP)
	<i>itu moya.re-</i>	‘poverty, suffering’	<i>itu</i> ‘cold’ (adj) + <i>moya</i> ‘craving’ (n)
	<i>miya aura re-</i>	‘storm’	<i>miya</i> ‘rain’ (n) + <i>aura</i> ‘wind’ (n)
	<i>miya itu dou re-</i>	‘be stormy’	<i>miya</i> ‘rain’ (n) + <i>itu</i> ‘cold’ + <i>dou</i> ‘wet’
	<i>miya nimunimu re-</i>	‘mist’	<i>miya</i> ‘rain’ (n) + <i>nimunimu</i> ‘mist’ (n)
	<i>nema dabu ni-</i>	‘empty, silent’	<i>nema ni-</i> ‘calm’ (v) + <i>dabu ni-</i> ‘lack’ (v)
Non-compositional	<i>ne basuni-</i>	‘be bug-eyed’	<i>ne</i> ‘eye’ (n)
	<i>ne osiosi re-</i>	‘be cheeky’	<i>ne</i> ‘eye’ (n)
	<i>ne otare-</i>	‘feel sleepy’	<i>ne</i> ‘eye’ (n)
	<i>ne taufa ni-</i>	‘become blind’	<i>ne</i> ‘eye’ (n)
	<i>ofu tuu ni-</i>	‘rumble (thunder)’	No known source
	<i>keriya fui re-</i>	‘whirlwind, dust devil’	No known source
	<i>kini biyoka re-</i>	‘gouge, dig out’	<i>biyoka re-</i> ‘scrape’ (v)
	<i>seuya fati fono re-</i>	‘fog (in)’	<i>seuya</i> ‘cloud’ + <i>fati</i> ‘?’ + <i>fono</i> ‘cover’ (n)
	<i>ae mukora re-</i>	‘store away’	<i>ae-</i> ‘put’ (v)
	<i>ae torekai re-</i>	‘gather up’	<i>ae-</i> ‘put’ (v)
	<i>amei imiye re-</i>	‘squat down’	<i>ame-</i> ‘stay’ (v)
	<i>dai buru ri-</i>	‘surround’	<i>buru ri-</i> ‘surround’ (v)
	<i>dadi rae re-</i>	‘rise, be raised’	<i>dadi-</i> ‘get up’ (v)
	<i>muyei tamatama re-</i>	‘be unconscious’	<i>muye-</i> ‘die’ (v)
<i>ori kamu re-</i>	‘burn completely’	<i>ori-</i> ‘cook’ (v)	
<i>ori yoba re-</i>	‘half cook’	<i>ori-</i> ‘cook’ (v)	
<i>ruru fiso re-</i>	‘take a shortcut’	<i>ruru-</i> ‘go over’ (v)	

6.4 Single-word verbal compounds

A productive means of forming complex predicates is through the formation of single word verbal compounds (cf. also §3.4.2.1A and lexicalised compounds such as *oure-feide-* (be.first-leave) ‘lead’ or *you-feide-* (throw-leave) ‘give up’ in §3.4.2.1B). The most productive technique involves the verbs of speech. The simple verb *ni-* ‘say/become’ is the second most regularly used verb to form a complex verb; it is realised as a verbal prefix, forming a single-word compound composed of *ni-* + another verb, an adjective, a noun or another complex verb. Those observed to date (and so exhaustive) are listed in Table 6.7. Those having somewhat dubious interpretations are accompanied by a question mark. Others are not attested elsewhere, however this documentation merely indicates those which may have some sort of relation, quite tenuous though it may be. In the future, more evidence may reveal some valid relation; otherwise, at this point, they remain speculative.

There are two types of single-word verbal compounds. The larger group, in the top section of the table (above the line on the second page) are those for which there is a known separable complement or component (right column). Those in the lower section (below the line) all involve verbs of speech; the *ni-* ‘say’ component is analysable, however, the other component does not have, or possibly no longer has, a corresponding separable component. These are non-compositional, and lexicalised as such. The last several verbs in each section, indicated in bold, are not complex verbs; they are treated as verbal compounds composed of *ni-* ‘say’ and some other verb, due to their non-compositional meanings (cf. §7.1 for further analysis).⁶ Transitivity values are included following the glosses given; 89.2% (of a total of 74) are transitive, 8.1% intransitive and 2.7% ambitransitive.

⁶ These last type are composed of two simple verbs, whereas those that become complex verbs are composed of complex verbs or some other element, such as adjectives or nouns.

Table 6.7: *Single-word verbs of speech compounds*

Item	Gloss(es)/Transitivity values	Complement/component
<i>niakeke re-</i>	‘command, sanctify, honour’ (TR)	<i>akeke</i> ‘special, sacred, taboo’ (adj)
<i>nibesena re-</i>	‘rebuke, scold’ (TR)	<i>besenai</i> ‘rebuke, scolding’ (n)
<i>nibesenai (re-)</i>	‘complain, protest, gripe’ (TR)	<i>besenai</i> ‘rebuke, scolding’ (n)
<i>nibun .re-</i>	‘speak well of, praise’ (TR)	<i>buni</i> ‘good, well, nice, kind’ (adj)
<i>nidada re-</i>	‘protect, permit, allow’ (TR)	<i>dada</i> ‘so, because’ (cnj)
<i>nidiba re-</i>	‘warn, advise, alert’ (TR)	<i>diba</i> ‘know, understand’ (v)
<i>nidoba.re-</i>	‘talk for long time’ (TR)	<i>doba</i> ‘long, tall’ (adj)
<i>nidur .re-</i>	‘persist, solicit, proposition’ (AMBTR; S=O)	<i>duri</i> ‘persistent, unrelenting’ (adj)
<i>niegira (re-)</i>	‘encourage, persuade’ (TR)	<i>egira (re-)</i> ‘strengthening’ (n) ⁷
<i>niegog re-</i>	‘call together’ (TR)	<i>egogo</i> ‘meeting, gathering’ (n) ⁸
<i>niekure re-</i>	‘(verbally) give away’ (TR)	<i>ekure re-</i> ‘give over/submit to’ (v)
<i>nierau re-</i>	‘reproach’ (TR)	<i>erau ni-</i> ‘expose, disclose’ (v) ⁹
<i>niete ri-</i>	‘slander, bad-mouth’ (TR)	<i>etei ri-</i> ‘surpass, overcome’ (v)
<i>nifufuta re-</i>	‘speak ill of, gossip’ (TR)	<i>fufuta</i> ‘back, behind’ (n)
<i>nigira re-</i>	‘defend’ (TR)	<i>gira</i> ‘hard, firm, strong, stiff’ (adj)
<i>niguyaguya re-</i>	‘plead, beg, implore’ (TR)	<i>guyaguya ni-</i> ‘ask earnestly’ (v)
<i>ni-ika re-</i>	‘boast, be arrogant/proud’ (TR)	<i>ika</i> ‘summit, hill, pillar’ (n)
<i>nikaka re-</i>	‘command, rebuke’ (TR)	<i>kaka</i> ‘red, ripe’ (adj)
<i>nikake re-</i>	‘claim, make, take, attach’ (TR)	<i>kake ni-</i> ‘stick to, adhere’ (v)
<i>nikava re-</i>	‘refuse’ (ITR)	<i>kava</i> ‘not one/all’ (adj)
<i>nikayamo re-</i>	‘debate, dispute, refute’ (TR)	<i>kayamo</i> ‘argument, quarrel’ (n)
<i>nikiraini re-</i>	‘curse, insult’ (TR)	<i>kiraini re-</i> ‘curse, magic’ (v)
<i>nikoru re-</i>	‘speak flowery’ (TR)	<i>koru</i> ‘water, liquid, fluid, river’ (n)
<i>nimeki re-</i>	‘chase/cast out, rebuke’ (TR)	<i>meki re-</i> ‘chase away’ (v)
<i>nimumugu re-</i>	‘grumble, babble’ (ITR)	<i>mumugu</i> ‘whisper, murmur’ (n)
<i>ningau re-</i>	‘(bear) witness, proclaim’ (TR)	<i>negau</i> ‘near, close (by)’ (post)
<i>nino re-</i>	‘swear, curse’ (TR)	<i>no</i> ‘bad, evil, wicked’ (adj)
<i>niodoro re-</i>	‘exalt, proclaim, praise’ (TR)	<i>odoro</i> ‘above, over, on top’ (post)
<i>niogau re-</i>	‘confess, proclaim, admit’ (TR)	<i>ogau ni-</i> ‘appear, be broadcast’ (v)
<i>nirausi re-</i>	‘proclaim, speak out, preach’ (TR)	<i>rausi re-</i> ‘pour, spill, overflow’ (v)
<i>niriu re-</i>	‘speak incessantly/non-stop’ (ITR)	<i>riuna</i> ‘swelling, inflammation’ ? (n)
<i>nirutu re-</i>	‘pull/gather together’ (TR)	<i>rutu (re-)</i> ‘pulling’ (n)
<i>nisui re-</i>	‘deny’ (TR)	<i>sui (ni-)</i> ‘in private/secret’ (n)
<i>nitore re-</i>	‘promise, swear, assure’ (TR)	<i>tore re-</i> ‘reserve, set aside’ (v)
<i>nitourage re-</i>	‘blame, reprove, remonstrate’ (TR)	<i>tourage re-</i> ‘accuse, incite’ (v)
<i>nivabara re-</i>	‘emphasise, stress’ (TR)	<i>vabara</i> ‘light, brightness’ (n)
<i>nivana re-</i>	‘support, confirm, concur’ (TR)	<i>vana</i> ‘arm, hand’ (n)
<i>nivarika (re-)</i>	‘swear, promise, pledge’ (AMBTR; S=O)	<i>varika</i> ‘chief, important’ (n)
<i>nivava re-</i>	‘honour, speak well of’ (TR)	<i>vava</i> ‘hot, power, authority’ (adj)
<i>niedadi-</i>	‘wake (someone) up’ (TR)	<i>edadi-</i> ‘get up/moving’ (v)
<i>nifeide-</i>	‘send, release, set free’ (TR)	<i>feide-</i> ‘leave, depart’ (v)
<i>nikuru-</i>	‘mock, ridicule, deride’ (TR)	<i>kuru-</i> ‘uproot, pull up’ (v)
<i>nimar-</i>	‘commend, endorse, approve’ (TR)	<i>mar-</i> ‘give’ (v)
<i>nioku-</i>	‘testify, bear witness, inform’ (TR)	<i>oku-</i> ‘break, divide’ (v)

⁷ From *gira* ‘hard, firm, strong, stiff, solid, thick, rough, difficult’ (Bradshaw 2021a:93, 117).⁸ From *gogo* ‘both, together’ (Bradshaw 2021a:94, 119).⁹ Possibly from *rau* ‘share, distribution’ (Bradshaw 2021a:96, 211).

Item	Gloss(es)/Transitivity values	Complement/component
<i>nioteimar-</i>	‘teach, instruct, tell’ (TR)	<i>oteimar-</i> ‘tell, show’ (v)
<i>nivai-</i>	‘rebuke, correct, prevent’ (TR)	<i>vai-</i> ‘burn, cook, roast’ (v)
<i>nivaigar-</i>	‘compose’ (TR)	possibly <i>vaiga.re-</i> ‘feel like, have urge’ (v)
<i>nive-</i>	‘test, ask’ (TR)	<i>ve-</i> ‘see, look watch’ (v)
<i>niyoku-</i>	‘proclaim, declare, speak out’ (ITR)	<i>yoku re-</i> ‘dig (with hand)?’ (v)
<i>nibesemo re-</i>	‘rebuke, scold’ (TR)	
<i>nidodi re-</i>	‘discuss, debate, talk about, gossip’ (TR)	
<i>nifafana re-</i>	‘criticise, slander, speak abusively, malign, insult, condemn’ (TR)	
<i>niguba re-</i>	‘urge, beg, plead, persuade, insist, convince’ (TR)	
<i>nigugume re-</i>	‘thunderclap, boom’ (ITR)	
<i>ni-itara re-</i>	‘explain, elucidate’ (TR)	
<i>nikabai re-</i>	‘answer, reply, respond’ (TR)	
<i>nikau (re-)</i>	‘engage, betrothal, pledge’ (TR)	
<i>nimatimati re-</i>	‘pray to, venerate, petition’ (TR)	
<i>nimumui re-</i>	‘giggle, snigger’ (TR)	
<i>nineu re-</i>	‘advise, instruct, admonish, remind’ (TR)	
<i>ninika ni-</i>	‘laugh/sneer/scoff at, joke with’ (TR)	
<i>nirorotari re-</i>	‘plan, work out, explain, discuss, decide, strategise, convince’ (TR)	
<i>nisebi re-</i>	‘speak euphemistically, talk around’ (TR)	
<i>nisegege re-</i>	‘agitate, be uncomfortable, be very hot’ (ITR)	
<i>nitetebi (re-)</i>	‘euphemism’ (TR)	
<i>nitona ni-</i>	‘raise voice, shout (in excitement)’ (TR)	
<i>nitugi re-</i>	‘fix, establish, arrange, give instruction’ (TR)	
<i>nivabi re-</i>	‘mention, allude to, discuss, propose, suggest, present, negotiate’ (TR)	
<i>nivasina re-</i>	‘boast, be proud of’ (TR)	
<i>nivauna re-</i>	‘venerate, chant, send spirit away’ (TR)	
<i>nikaite-</i>	‘ask, question, inquire’ (TR)	
<i>nimati-</i>	‘convince, approve’ (TR)	
<i>nirabe-</i>	‘credit, declare’ (TR)	
<i>nivake-</i>	‘worship, exalt, praise, serve’ (TR)	

Much more productive are *moi-* ‘get’ SVCs, of the form $V_1 + V_2 (+ V_3)$, where V_2 may be a compositional or non-compositional complex verb. Only one instance of a full set of three verbs has been observed. Including the 70+ verbs of speech compounds and the 200+ of these *moi-* ‘get’ SVCs, the total of possible verbs is over 1,400; it seems plausible that more could be generated. Serial verb constructions further increase verbal forms (cf. §7.3), as seen in the representative selection in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8: ‘Get’ SVCs

$V_1 + V_2$	Gloss(es)	Components
<i>moi bae-</i>	‘bring (up)’	<i>moi-</i> ‘get’ + <i>bae-</i> ‘come’
<i>moi rama ae-</i>	‘fulfil, make true’	<i>moi-</i> ‘get’ + <i>rama</i> ‘true’ + <i>ae-</i> ‘put’
<i>moi vata.bae-</i>	‘fill (up)’	<i>moi-</i> ‘get’ + <i>vata.bae-</i> ‘fill, limit’
<i>moi rorobo are re-</i>	‘erect’	<i>rorobo</i> ‘straight’ + <i>are re-</i> ‘stand (up)’
$V_1 + V_2 + V_3$		<i>moi-</i> ‘get’ + <i>etage ri-</i>
<i>moi etae ri ae-</i>	‘put/set aside’	‘move/go away/over’ + <i>ae-</i> ‘put’

The verb *moi-* ‘get’ is often used in a causative SVC (cf. §6.8.1).

- (28) *Dubusa ini amiye 12 [moi gaima ri-si] beika*
 again 3.POSS person twelve D.CAUS far.away make-SEQ.SS what
ina rofu vata ni-go mina ni-yo.
 3 to happen become-3SG.PAST this say-3SG.PAST
 ‘He again took his twelve men aside (lit. ‘get far away made’) and told them
 what was going to happen to him.’ (SUAR 2017:100:10.32)

6.5 Verb forming strategies

When a verbal concept is borrowed into the language, a complex verb is formed, incorporating the borrowed term (usually a noun or adjective) as the complement followed by the appropriate associated verb; most terms are borrowed from Hiri Motu (30-34), but some from English (29). Some are compositional (31-35) while others are non-compositional (30). The examples involve the most recurrent associated verbs, i.e. *re-* ‘do’ (29), *ni-* ‘say (31)/become (32)’, *ri-* ‘make’ (33), *mar-* ‘give’ (34) and *iri-* ‘eat’ (35). In (29-30), a verb has been borrowed to form the complex verb; such an occurrence is not predictable.

- (29) *Be ad re-nadi.*
 some add do-1PL.IMP
 ‘Let’s add him.’ [103]

Non-compositional:

- (30) *...vadaini vana ya turiya re-i-da.*
 already hand DSM sew do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘...then I’m sewing by hand.’ [37.02]

Compositional:

- (31) *Na =ka bai-si mina mida rofu guriguri ni-gida.*
 1SG =also come-SEQ.SS this child for prayer say-1SG.FUT
 ‘I will even come and pray for this child.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:123)
- (32) *Mina vene bi rovaita bero ni-yadi vene.*
 this people TOP body wound become-3PL.PAST people
 ‘Those people are injured people.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:71)
- (33) *Ini rema vene bi mosara goe-ga fuse*
 3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIM.SS bag

*ri-gasa...*¹⁰

make-SIM.SS

‘Their wives dug up the sweet potatoes and bagged them up...’ [14.05]

- (34) *Mina amiye feyo soka re-yo-ri, rabo-rava vene*
 this person white arrive do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS rope-clearing people

siko meino mar-o.
 first peace give-3SG.PAST

‘When this white man arrived, peace was first given to the (lit. rope-clearing) grassland peoples.’ [19.04]

- (35) *ma nono ini mida susu iri-do ina fafau bi*
 and mother 3.POSS child breast eat-3SG.PRES 3 upon TOP

no iniye~iniye!
 bad very~INTS

‘and it is/will be very bad for mothers whose children are breastfeeding.’
 (SUAR 2017:108:13.17)

See Table 3.20 for a complete listing of borrowed complex verbs along with information on references to source language.

6.5.1 Derived verbs

One of the three means of causative formation,¹¹ the prefix *e-* ‘indirect causative’ added to a nonverbal element derives verbs from word classes such as adjective (36), locative (38) or postposition (39). These then become the complement in a non-compositional complex verb, which is followed by the appropriate associated simple verb.

- (36) *Ye kodu ne-i e-beré re-na moi-si you*
 so stick go.down-LINK I.CAUS-silent do-NOMZ get-SEQ.SS throw

bo-yaka nui fafau.
 go-1SG.PAST sty on.top.of

‘And so I went down quietly (lit. ‘making myself silent’), got a stick and threw it on the pig sty.’ [2.11]

The adjective without the indirect causative marking is used to form an intransitive complex verb:

- (37) *Aura beré ni-yo-ma yafuyafu de*
 wind quiet become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS breeze NEG

¹⁰ When a complex verb is formed from *fuse* ‘bag’ + *ri-* ‘make’ the composite meaning is the transitive verb ‘bag (up)’.

¹¹ Of the three, this one is the least direct or forceful (cf. §6.8.1 for further consideration).

re-do.

do-3SG.PRES

‘The wind died down (lit. ‘became quiet’) and there is no breeze.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:71)

- (38) *Peter bi e-gaima ri-si usi kamini*
 (name) TOP I.CAUS-far.away make-SEQ.SS follow and.then

di-gam-o.

go-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

‘Peter followed him at a distance (lit. ‘distanced himself’).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:93)

- (39) *Mina bi ini vima yaku e-negau re-yo.*
 this TOP 3.POSS spirit DSM I.CAUS-near do-3SG.PAST
 ‘This was revealed (lit. ‘drawn near’) by his spirit.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:96)

The postposition *negau* ‘near’ is also used on its own in a complex verb construction.

- (40) *Ini muye-na bi negau ni-yo.*
 3.POSS die-NOMZ TOP near become-3SG.PAST
 ‘His death was revealed (lit. ‘became near’).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:188)

This indirect causative is frequently added to a simple (41) or complex verb (42) forming a comparable structure.

- (41) *uriyaku gorogoro Tau yaku ini vene raka ni*
 morning early.morning (name) DSM 3.POSS people call say

e-dadi-yo

I.CAUS-get.up-3SG.PAST

‘early in the morning Tau called waking up (lit. ‘causing to get up’) his people’
 [15.02]

- (42) *Lagani 23 December 1973 Sunday=ri, Doromu Kokila amiye*
 year Sunday=on (name) (name) person

tau vakoi e-gogo re-si isira
 all together I.CAUS-gather do-SEQ.SS playing

re-gam-afa.

do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST

‘On Sunday, 23 December 1973, all the Doromu Kokila people had gathered (lit. ‘caused themselves to be together’) and were playing (sports).’ [9.01]

Yet stronger causation is indicated on complex verb compounds using the verb *u-* ‘hit/F.CAUS’ together with an adjective (43); these are labelled ‘Forceful’.

- (43) *Kamini evade ini ago gagani tora noibanu=ri*
 enough quickly 3.POSS word place big whole=at

Table 6.10: *Aspect*

Aspectual suffix	Meaning
<i>-gam</i>	‘past imperfective’
<i>-bi</i>	‘future imperfective’

Examples below exemplify the distinction between the aspects for the verb *iri-* ‘.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Past imperfective | | Future imperfective | |
| (48) | a. | <i>iri-gam-aka</i> | b. | <i>iri-bi-gida</i> |
| | | eat-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST | | eat-FUT.IMPERV-1SG.FUT |
| | | ‘I was eating’ | | ‘I will be eating’ |

Discussion of the aspectual markers follows.

6.6.2.1 Past imperfective

The past imperfective is described as continuous or progressive in nature. Like the future imperfective, its use is limited; in this case before the past tense. It primarily occurs with first or third person, perhaps as it lends itself more to narrative uses.

- (49) *Na bi Acts di bura keika ame-gam-o bi*
 1SG TOP GEN writing little stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST TOP
- moi koina re-yaka mini.*
 D.CAUS finish do-1SG.PAST here
- ‘I have finished the small book of Acts that has been staying (here with me).’
 [98]

Further examples of the past imperfective include (6d), (8), (22), (26), (38), (42), (44), (48c), (62), (89), (94), (104), (117) and (133).

6.6.2.2 Future imperfective

The future imperfective describes continuous or progressive nature, only occurring before the future tense (50) or imperatives (51).

- (50) *Ame-i-bo-bi-gifa=ri ga toto ni i*
 stay-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-1PL.FUT=at PROHIB forgotten become 2.POSS

Koki rautu, i Koki vene bona i Koki
 (name) village 2.POSS (name) people and 2.POSS (name)

ago.

word

‘As we might go on living, don’t forget your Koki village, Koki people and Koki language.’ [8.29]

- (51) *Mina.dada beika tau ya ni-bi-gedi bi*
 therefore what all DSM say-FUT.IMPERV-3PL.FUT TOP

ni dogo re-si kora re-gifa ba gokai?
 say preparation do-SEQ.SS begin do-1PL.FUT or how
 ‘Which stories will we start preparing in the new year or what?’ [98]

- (59) *Yuani egore re-yo.*
 breadfruit.tree begin.to.bear.fruit do-3SG.PAST
 ‘The breadfruit tree was beginning to bear fruit.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:94)

The continuative aspect is indicated through a grammaticalisation of the verb *bo-* ‘go (over)’ in the third person singular forms: *bo-yo* (go-3SG.PAST) ‘was going’, *bo-do* (go-3SG.PRES) ‘is going’ and *bo-go* (go-3SG.FUT) ‘will go’. The person distinction has been neutralised with only the tense distinction remaining. The future form *bo-go* (go-3SG.FUT) is the most recurrent (60), while the present, *bo-do* (go-3SG.PRES) is least frequent (63).

In (60), we could expect *ame-bi-giya* (stay-FUT.IMPERV-2SG.FUT) ‘you will be staying’, but instead the continuative aspect is indicated through *bogo* to further emphasise the ongoing nature of the event. Iconically it is more protracted and appears to be a calque of the Hiri Motu verb *lao* ‘go’ which functions analogously (Wurm and Harris 1963:51). (Note also that the future is used here in a commanding sense; cf. §6.6.4.)

- (60) *Nai moimai vene=sa ame-giya bogo nai*
 1SG.POSS work people=ACCM stay-2SG.FUT FUT.CONT 1SG.POSS

barley moimai re-dedi mina moi koina re-gedi.
 work do-3PL.PRES this D.CAUS finish do-3PL.FUT
 ‘Keep/go on staying on with my people until my barley (harvesting) workers finish.’ (SUARBB 2011.2.21)

As well as agreeing in tense with the verb it follows, *bogo* is also used with other moods, such as imperative.

- (61) *vegu kero re; uni uka ma-nadi bogo Baba*
 practice turn do 1PL.POSS stomach give-1PL.IMP FUT.CONT father

ro
 to
 ‘turn away from (your) sin (lit. practices); let’s keep/go on loving (lit. giving stomach) the Father’ [55]

In (62) *boyo* ‘past continuative’ is being used in addition to the past imperfective suffix *-gam*, emphasising the ongoing nature of the action.

- (62) *...butu~butu re-gam-o boyo barley ma witi*
 collection do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST PAST.CONT and wheat

dogo *re-yadi* *koina* *ni-yo.*
 preparation do-3PL.PAST finish become-3SG.PAST
 ‘...she was going on continuing to harvest barley and wheat until all the preparation was completed.’ (SUARBB 2011.2.23)

(63) ...*be* *bi* *evade* *de* *moi-dedi* ***bodo*** *yabo* *ada*
 some TOP quickly NEG get-3PL.PRES PRES.CONT tree shade

vana *berou* *autu* *ebu* *re-do-ri.*
 hand side empty surpass do-3SG.PRES-SIM.DS
 ‘...some do not go on getting (it, i.e. AIDS) until five (lit. empty hand side) seasons/years (lit. tree shade) have passed.’ [62]

While not as productive as the usual *-gam* ‘past imperfective’ and *-bi* ‘future imperfective’ aspectual suffixes, these forms do permit means of expressing heightened continuativity.

6.6.3 Mood

The moods are discussed below. They include the imperatives (§6.6.3.1 and §6.6.3.2), hypothetical (§6.6.3.3), possibilitative (§6.6.3.4), purposive (§6.6.3.5), conative (§6.6.3.6) and frustrative (§6.6.3.7).

6.6.3.1 Imperative

The imperative is the most frequently used mood after indicative; it is unmarked in its most regular second person singular form.

(64) *Koim, kaini dairi-na di-Ø.*
 leech enough return-NOMZ go-2SG.IMP
 ‘Boy, just get back already.’ [1.18]

Only first person singular is not attested. It is unlikely that imperatives can be used together with reduplicated verbs, as they form complex verb complement nominals, though data is sparse [cf. §3.4.2.2]. The imperatives are used to give an order, command or request. An imperative has a slightly falling pitch.



(65) ...*uniye~uniye* *iri* *mama* *re-gasa* ***nari*** *re-i* ***mona***
 1PL.REFL~DISTR eat fully do-SIM.SS wait do-LINK fully

re-nadi.

do-1PL.IMP

‘...when we criticise (lit. eat up) each other, let’s be really careful.’ [71]

The third person singular (66) and plural imperatives have an optional longer form, carrying a stronger deontic overtone (67). This addition could be derived from the genitive *di*.

- (66) *uni Baba Sei yaku ya ma na una nari re-yaine*
 1PL.POSS father God DSM 2 and 1SG 1PL look.after do-3SG.IMP
 ‘may our Father God look after you and me’ [98]

- (67) “*Nai rema bi kono ide=ri,*” *ma na*
 1SG.POSS woman TOP ground inside=at and 1SG

*durua re-yaganedi ya ni-da.*¹³
 help do-3PL.IMP DSM say-1SG.PRES
 ‘“My wife is inside the ground,” and I say that they **must** help me.’ [17.11]

All of the imperatives may also co-occur with the aspect *-bi* ‘future imperfective’, implying continuation or durative aspect.

- (68) *Idu ya kaya gugura buni tau bi oma=ri*
 but 2 REFL thing good all TOP sky=in

ae torekai re-bi-fa.
 put store.up do-FUT.IMPERV-2PL.IMP
 ‘But be storing up for yourselves treasures in heaven.’ (*SUAR* 2017:13:6.20)

Further examples of each of the various imperatives follow: ‘second person singular’ (1a), (2a), (3a), (4a), (5a) and (15a, c); ‘third person singular’ (16g), (110) and (120); ‘third person plural’ (5c), (16e), (107e), (111) and (125); ‘first person plural’ (29), (61) and (124); and ‘second person plural’ (46), (106), (107a-d), (109) and (127). A further distinction in the imperatives is seen below.

6.6.3.2 Polite imperative

The polite imperative is limited to second person singular and plural. It functions as a weaker imperative, and is less regularly used. It implies respect of the addressee, but not in a social hierarchical sense. Instead, it serves as an entreaty or request, rather than a command.

¹³ This example is slightly different from the usual speech report style as seen in (70), (124) and (127), which has the form *vo ni-* ‘tell’.

- (69) “*Nai rautu vene gua bi nai meda, dada ya*
 1SG.POSS village people now TOP 1SG.POSS day so 2
usa ni-da dadi vau re-fo.”
 ask say-1SG.PRES get.up completely do-2PL.PO.IMP
 ‘“My village people, today is the day, so I ask you to all get up.”’ [15.02]

In the same story, the man’s wife also uses it when speaking to her husband, even in anger to make her plea a bit less brusque.

- (70) ...*bi gubuyo tora gade re-yo,* “*Na bi ya ni-yaka*
 TOP anger big very do-3SG.PAST 1SG TOP 2 say-1SG.PAST
raisi bona farava, bi beika.resi moi-na de re-yo?
 rice and flour TOP why get-NOMZ NEG do-2SG.PAST
Mo moi-vo!,” *vo-ni-si ini vene usi*
 but get-2SG.PO.IMP tell-say-SEQ.SS 3.POSS people follow
gote-yo.
 go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘...she was very angry (and said), “I told you to get some rice and flour, but why didn’t you get some? Don’t you get it (lit. ‘but get it’)?!” she said and went off with her people.’ [15.10-11]

In a Facebook status posting it was used with *plis* ‘please’ as a petition, rather than an order.

- (71) *Plis motu di sina mina duai re-fo...*
 please Motu GEN word this read do-2PL.PO.IMP
 ‘Please read this in Motu words...’ [104]

Its use in (72) is formulaic – *vare-vo* (2SG.PO.IMP) is a phatic leave taking, meaning ‘goodbye’.

- (72) *Iesu di roka dudu vare-vo.*
 Jesus GEN name INST sleep-2SG.PO.IMP
 ‘Goodbye (lit. ‘you should sleep’) in Jesus’ name.’ [110]

Like the canonical imperatives, the polite imperative can also co-occur with the future imperfective. However, it does not occur with the prohibitive.

- (73) *Mina.dada, ya gokai nana re-dedi¹⁴ ve-i mona*
 therefore 2 how walking do-2PL.PRES see-LINK properly

¹⁴ This complex verb *nana re-* ‘walk’ is also used to convey ‘living’, as also is the case for *raga re-* ‘run’, both English calques.

re-bi-fo.

do-FUT.IMPERV-2PL.PO.IMP

‘Therefore, be watching carefully how you live (lit. ‘walk’).’

(SUAR 2017:415:5.15)

Other greetings contain no imperatives at all, although time of day greetings, e.g. *uriyaku buni* (morning good), *meda buni* (day good), *uriyenau buni* (afternoon/evening good) and *urusa buni* (night good), have been calqued from English, but do not function in the same sense as in standard English. They instead follow PNG English conventions, e.g. *urusa buni* ‘good night’ is not a parting farewell greeting. When encountering someone it is likewise a salutatory greeting.

6.6.3.2.1 Other imperative strategies

An interrogative may express an imperative sense. Here the writer of the letter is requesting assistance from the recipient, framing it as a question, yielding a polite connotation.

- (74) ...*ya usa ni-da be na aede-giya ba ide?*
 2 asking say-1SG.PRES some 1SG help-2SG.FUT or NEG
 ‘...I’m asking if you will help me or not?’ [98]

A function of code-switching is to convey authority. In (75), various people are carrying on a conversation in Doromu-Koki when a girl approaches. The majority of the interaction is in English, except for that of one speaker. All but one line are imperatives. The remainder of the conversation is in the vernacular with some English words interspersed. Use of English reinforces the command and possibly also serves to reinforce the value of English use for the child.

- (75) 1: *Hagi, go and wash.*
 (name)
 2: *Hagi!*
 (name)
 1: *Wake your daddy up.*
 2: *We did not invite you.*
 3: *Bo-i baba ya du.*
 go-LINK father DSM look.around
 1: *Stand up.*
 1: ‘Hagi, go and wash.’
 2: ‘Hagi!’

counterfactual interpretation. It often co-occurs with the conjunction *vonisi* ‘if’, for further emphasis (for example, (79) would remain grammatical without it), in the protasis. It is not followed by any other conjunctions.

- (78) *Idu mina ago di ini adina ya diba ni-yagadu*
 but this word GEN 3.POSS meaning 2 know become-HYPOTH
vonisi...
 if
 ‘But if you would have known/understood the meaning of these words...’
 (SUAR 2017:26:12.7)

The hypothetical is often used in conjunction with the protasis clause moods *-adu* ‘singular possibilitative’ (79) or *-aidu* ‘plural possibilitative’ (80) as a contrafactual.

- (79) *Mina amiye bi Caesar di nemoko=ri kota re-yaine*
 this person TOP (name) GEN eye=at court do-3SG.IMP
mina usa de ni-yagadu vonisi, bi ina ni-feide-si
 this ask NEG say-HYPOTH if TOP 3 say-leave-SEQ.SS
erufu-yadu.
 release-SG.POSB
 ‘If this man would not have asked to be tried (lit. ‘taken to court’) before Caesar, he could have been released/set free (lit. say-leave).’ (SUAR 2017:315:26.32)

- (80) *Ye mina vegu ame-na=ri uni uka moke-na bi*
 so this life stay-NOMZ=in 1PL.POSS stomach think-NOMZ TOP
Keriso rofu maka, ai-yagadu vonisi, amiye tau noibanu di
 (name) in only put-HYPOTH if person all whole GEN
fogori bi besa una rofu iriyeduka iniye re-yaidu.
 amongst TOP more 1PL to sorrow very do-PL.POSB
 ‘And so if in living this life, we would only have hope in Christ, amongst all people we should be most pitied.’ (SUAR 2017:374:15.19)

Other examples of hypothetical include (6e), (16d) and (81-82).

6.6.3.4 Possibilitative

The possibilitative is contingent on the hypothetical with which it co-occurs (79-80); it is glossed as ‘could’ or ‘should’. The hypothetical in the first clause necessitates use of the possibilitative in the apodosis clause. As no A/S person-number-tense marking is indicated, the context or pragmatics carry the load; example (81) could also be translated as ‘you’ or ‘I’, etc. without the clarification of other context. The possibilitative has both singular (81) and plural (82) forms; they convey a deontic meaning.

- (81) *Algebra moi-yagadu bi mo mina gokai re-na ve-i*
 get-HYPOTH TOP at.once this how do-NOMZ see-LINK
mama re-yadu.
 properly do-SG.POSB
 ‘If you had taken algebra, at once you could have seen how to do this properly.’
 [86]
- (82) *Kita re-yagadu bi muro mo nufa ni-yaidu.*
 move do-HYPOTH TOP garden at.once with become-PL.POSB
 ‘We ought to move, and at once we could/should have a garden.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:148)

6.6.3.5 Purposive

Purposive *-gi* is glossed as ‘(in order) to’; A/S person-number-tense marking is indicated on the final verb following a purposive marked non-final verb.

- (83) *Dada na bi dairi-si rarama re-gi ne-yafa.*
 so 1SG TOP return-SEQ.SS clearing do-PURP go.down-1PL.PAST
 ‘So I returned and went down (in order) to do the clearing work.’ [3.08]

The purposive also conveys the meaning ‘about to’ or ‘on the verge of’.

- (84) *Gagani di-yaka-ma uru ni-gi re-do vonisi,*
 place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night become-PURP do-3SG.PRES if
dairi ida-ma kimo de-i-da.
 return road-on carefully come-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I went to the place and it was/on the verge of getting dark, so I came back carefully on the road.’ [2.02]

Further examples include (25) and (100). Purposive is possibly related to the conative, discussed below.

6.6.3.6 Conative

Conative expresses an attempt to accomplish a yet unrealised action; unlike other deontic moods, imposition is not indicated. Conative is glossed as ‘try’. Corresponding to other moods, A/S person-number-tense marking is not indicated; it is indicated on the final verb only. See also §3.4.1.1 for another strategy for conveying ‘try’ with imperatives.

- (85) *...amiye buka voi re-gika una nikaite-dedi, account =ri*
 person book buying do-CON 1PL ask-3PL.PRES =at
maka moni ai-gifa bi buni, vo-ni-dedi.
 only money put-1PL.FUT TOP good tell-say-3PL.PRES
 ‘...people trying to buy books tell (lit. ‘ask’) us only putting money into an account is good, they say.’ [34.03]

Both are non-final verbal suffixes, but not SR marking. They do not overtly indicate a change in subject (DS), but rather maintain the same subject. Frustrative marking, a New Guinea areal feature, is discussed below.

6.6.3.7 Frustrative

Another verbal modality construction, the frustrative (Overall 2017), expressed by *tavoi* (*re-*), has many evaluative meanings including ‘do in vain (87), haphazardly (88), be helter-skelter (86), be untidy, make a mess, be futile, do uselessly (90)’ (Bradshaw 2021a:236), with the general outcome being negative. The following is an excerpt from a story from the perspective of a mosquito.

- (86) *Tini girika koru kino ide=ri, mava kafena*
 tin coconut.shell water dirty inside=at coconut coconut.shell
- ame-i tavoi re-do-ma gagani goina bi sau no*
 stay-LINK FRUST do-3SG.PRES-SEQ.SS place which TOP odour bad
- re-do bi nai ura re-i-da sana.*
 do-3SG.PRES TOP 1SG.POSS want do-LINK-1SG.PRES place
 ‘Tins or coconut shells with dirty water inside, coconut shells sitting
 around helter-skelter and whatever place stinks is the place I like. [80]

The frustrative is often reduplicated for an intensive iterative interpretation.

- (87) *Idu na kaya re-i tavoi~tavoi re-si no baku*
 but 1SG REFL do-LINK in.vain~INTS do-SEQ.SS bad find
- re-yaka mini.*
 do-1SG.PAST here
 ‘But I really did it in vain and only bad came out of it.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:236)

Examples with various meanings follow: With a ‘haphazard’ meaning.

- (88) *...uni yava=ri bo-si varuka korikari mi-bi*
 1PL.POSS house=in go-SEQ.SS clothing belonging this-TOP
- moi-ga meri tavoi~tavoi maka baige=ri*
 get-SIM.SS put.in in.vain~INTS only bag=in
 ‘...we went in our house and when we got some clothes and belongings
 they were just put haphazardly/indiscriminately in a bag’ [45]

With an ‘aimless’ meaning.

- (89) *Gauka vare-bo-bi-giya-ma ni-gam-aka,*
 illness sleep-POT-FUT.IMPERV-2SG.FUT-SEQ.DS say-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST
- idu ya kaya yi re-i tavoi~tavoi*
 but 2 REFL 2.POSS do-LINK in.vain~INTS

The frustrative can be marked with the prohibitive.

- (93) *Mina=ri bi rautu vene yaku ni-yadi, "Mida-o, di*
 this=at TOP village people DSM say-3PL.PAST "child-VOC GEN
bo-i tavoit-tavoi ga re-fo."
 go.over-LINK in.vain~INTS PROHIB do-2PL.PO.IMP
 'Here the village people said, "Oh children, don't go over in vain.' [77]

The frustrative occurs with other aspects [past imperfective; (94)] and modalities [possibilitative; (95)].

- (94) ...*amiye be bi are re-i tavoit-tavoi*
 person some TOP stand do-LINK in.vain~INTS
re-gam-adi-ma ve-si ina vene rofu
 do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS see-SEQ.SS 3 people to
ni-yo...
 say-3SG.PAST
 '...some people were standing around with nothing to do and he saw them and said (to them)...'(SUAR 2017:46:20.3-4)

- (95) ...*ye ya bi vegu no nufa de amiye*
 and.so 2 TOP practice bad ACCM NEG person
nifafana de re-i tavoit re-yaidu.
 criticise NEG do-LINK in.vain do-PL.POSB
 '...and so you should not uselessly criticise people without sin.'
 (SUAR 2017:26:12.7)

The complement is able to occur without the associated verb as a modifier.

- (96) *Idu Sei rofu ni tavoit-tavoi ago bi egavoi re...*
 but God to say in.vain~INTS word TOP abstain.from do
 'But abstain from saying worthless/ foolish words to God...'
 (SUAR 2017:454:2.16)

The final and most frequently used non-spatial setting to be examined is tense.

6.6.4 Tense

Doromu-Koki exhibits three obligatory tenses – past, present and future. The three tenses are realised through portmanteau (or fusional) suffixes which also indicate A/S person. Second and third person distinctions are neutralised for both singular and plural in the past, and for plural only in the present and future. All the tense morphemes are listed in Table 6.12. For tense morphemes beginning with the vowel /a/, the palatal semi-vowel /j/ is inserted, as is the epenthetic linker vowel for stems ending in the low-mid vowels /ɛ/

or /o/ (cf. §6.2). Most of the underlying components of the portmanteau suffixes can be identified: *-da* ‘1SG’, *-o* ‘2/3SG’, *-a* ‘2SG (past/future)’, *-fa* ‘1PL’, *-di* ‘2/3PL’; *-a* ‘past’, *-d* ‘present’ and *-gi* ‘future’. According to Aikhenvald and Dixon (2011:195-6), tense is dependent on person; all the neutralisations involve 2/3 person (singular in past) and plural in all the tenses.

Table 6.12: Tense morphemes

Number	Past		Present		Future	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	<i>-aka</i>	<i>-afa</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>-sifa</i>	<i>-gida</i>	<i>-gifa</i>
2			<i>-sa</i>		<i>-giya</i>	
3	<i>-o</i>	<i>-adi</i>	<i>-do</i>	<i>-dedi</i>	<i>-go</i>	<i>-gedi</i>

Examples for each tense from the two different verb classes are exemplified below – Class I in (97), with the verb *nugar-* ‘cut’ and Class II in (98), with the verb *bo-* ‘go (over/up)’.

	Past	Present	Future
(97) a.	<i>nugar-aka</i> cut-1SG.PAST ‘I (did) cut’	b. <i>nuga-da</i> cut-1SG.PRES ‘I cut’	c. <i>nuga-gida</i> cut-1SG.FUT ‘I will cut’
d.	<i>nugar-o</i> cut-2/3.PAST ‘you (sg.)/he cut’	e. <i>nuga-sa</i> cut-2SG.PRES ‘you (sg.) cut’	f. <i>nuga-giya</i> cut-2SG.FUT ‘you (sg.) will cut’
		g. <i>nuga-do</i> cut-3SG.PRES ‘she cuts’	h. <i>nuga-go</i> cut-3SG.FUT ‘it will cut’
i.	<i>nugar-afa</i> cut-1PL.PAST ‘we (did) cut’	j. <i>nuga-sifa</i> cut-1PL.PRES ‘we cut’	k. <i>nuga-gifa</i> cut-1PL.FUT ‘we will cut’
l.	<i>nugar-adi</i> cut-2/3PL.PAST ‘you (pl.)/they cut’	m. <i>nuga-dedi</i> cut-2/3.PRES ‘you (pl.)/they cut’	n. <i>nuga-gedi</i> cut-2/3PL.FUT ‘you (pl.)/they will cut’

	Past	Present	Future
(98) a.	<i>bo-yaka</i> go-1SG.PAST 'I went'	b. <i>bo-i-da</i> go-LINK-1SG.PRES 'I go'	c. <i>bo-gida</i> go-1SG.FUT 'I will go'
	d. <i>bo-yo</i> go-2/3.PAST 'you (sg.)/he went'	e. <i>bo-i-sa</i> go-LINK-2SG.PRES 'you (sg.) go'	f. <i>bo-giya</i> go-2SG.FUT 'you (sg) will go'
		g. <i>bo-do</i> go-3SG.PRES 'she goes'	h. <i>bo-go</i> go-3SG.FUT 'it will go'
	i. <i>bo-yafa</i> go-1PL.PAST 'we (did) went'	j. <i>bo-sifa</i> go-1PL.PRES 'we go'	k. <i>bo-gifa</i> go-1PL.FUT 'we will go'
	l. <i>bo-yadi</i> go-2/3PL.PAST 'you (pl.)/they went'	m. <i>bo-dedi</i> go-2/3.PRES 'you (pl.)/they go'	n. <i>bo-gedi</i> go-2/3PL.FUT 'you (pl.)/they will go'

There are some instances when the tenses are not used in a canonical fashion. The present tense can be used to particularly highlight a participant in a story, or in giving a hypothetical [e.g. (9) in Appendix] or procedural text. In a hunting story, the whole text is in the past tense, except for the last clause below. The whole story revolves around this pig, so it is placed in focus here through use of the present tense.

- (99) *Nai baba yaku ne re-yo-ri bi odema*
1SG.POSS father DSM look do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP old.garden
- motona=ri bi dona yokoi mini nikura re-ga*
garden.bottom=at TOP pig one here dig do-SIM.SS
- ame-do.*
stay-3SG.PRES
'When my father looked there was (lit. 'is') a pig digging at the bottom of the old garden.' [1.06]

The text below begins with past tense, and then has a short string with present tense (indicated in bold) conceivably to highlight the setting before it reverts back to the past in the last clause and for the remainder of the story.

- (100) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa di-yaka.*
afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SEQ.SS bush go-1SG.PAST
- Gagani di-yaka-ma uru ni-gi re-do vonisi,*
place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night become-PURP do-3SG.PRES if

dairi ida-ma kimo de-i-da. Gabu roka Vayaika
 return road-on carefully come-LINK-1SG.PRES place name (name)

vatoru adina. Mina sana-ma de-i-da-ri, bi
 tree.sp near this place-to come-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP

dona mida yaku guga ni-yadi-ma
 pig child DSM oink say-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS

neide-yaka.

hear-1SG.PAST

‘One afternoon, I carried my gun (lit. ‘water bamboo’) and went to the bush. I went to the place and when it was (lit. ‘is’) getting dark I came (lit. ‘come’) back carefully on the road. That (was) at the place called Vayaika near a *vatoru* tree. When I came (lit. ‘come’) to that place, piglets were oinking and I heard them.’ [2.01-04]

The future is sometimes used to indicate a command, as a more polite and less harsh form, indicating assurance that the person will carry through, as seen in a letter in (101) and in giving instructions in (102) [cf. §6.6.3.2]. In the complement clause below, the first clause is marked with the future (for a less harsh tone) while the second is marked with the imperative (for a stronger command). Most often different subject SR does not also involve a shift in mood or tense, but primarily in person – here we observe both. This second clause is not personal, so illocutionary force is maintained through use of the imperative mood.

(101) *Ya usa gade ni-da [moni K500.00 kana moi*
 2 ask very say-1SG.PRES money like D.CAUS

feide-giya-ma koru vava dudu mina moimai raga
 send-2SG.FUT-SEQ.SS water hot INST this work run

*re-yaine]*_{cc...}

do-3SG.IMP

‘I really ask you that you will send about K500 [~AUD192] (in order that) with tea (lit. ‘hot water’) this work might proceed...’ [106]

(102) *Raphael, na bi mina Saturday ne-gida Port Moresby,*
 (name) 1SG TOP this go.down-1SG.FUT

dada ya agiya uriyaku bo-giya Nunufa omuna=ri
 so 2 tomorrow morning go-2SG.FUT (name) mountain=on

moi-si *ima* *de-giya.*
 get-SEQ.SS betel.nut come-2SG.FUT
 ‘Raphael, this Saturday I will go down to Port Moresby, so tomorrow morning go (lit. ‘you will go’) up on Nunufa mountain and get (some) betel nuts and bring (lit. ‘you will bring’) them.’ [23.01]

The future can also have abilitative overtones, e.g. *re-gida* do-1SG.FUT ‘I can (do it)’, or a modal meaning of uncertainty.

6.7 Negation

Three types of negation include phrasal (§6.7.1), clausal (§6.7.2) and prohibitive (§6.7.3). They are briefly highlighted here; for further consideration see §4.8.

6.7.1 Phrasal negation

Phrasal negation is indicated by *dia* ‘negative’ (cf. §4.8).

- (103) *dia i buni totona bai-yadi*
 NEG 2.POSS good for come-3PL.PAST
 ‘it was not for your good that they came’ [84]

6.7.2 Clausal negation

Verbs are normally negated through use of *de* ‘negative’ before the verb (104) or before the complex verb associated verb (105).

- (104) *re-i mona maka de re-yo*
 do-LINK properly only NEG do-2SG.PAST
 ‘just did not do it properly’ [2.14]
- (105) *...ya ina-kaya~ina.kaya de iya re-gam-adi.*
 DSM 3-REFL~DISTR NEG war do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘...they were not fighting amongst themselves.’ [8.10]

6.7.3 Prohibitive

The prohibitive marker is used in conjunction with imperative forms; it occurs before the verb, or usually before the complement, presumably dependent on the focus. The prohibitive has a rising pitch, while the remainder of the imperative form has a falling pitch (cf. §6.6.3.2).



- (106) *...ga make-fa ya bi Judah di ourefeide-na vene*
 ...PROHIB think-2PL.IMP 2 TOP (name) GEN lead-NOMZ people

— \

keika.

little

‘...don’t think that you are Judah’s little (least important) leaders/rulers.’ [114]

The prohibitive exhibits variable order: a) before a complex verb (107a), b) between a complex verb complement and associated verb (107b), c) before a final verb (107c), d) before a non-final verb (107d), and e) between components of an SVC (107e); it generally occurs before, but can also intervene to limit scope.

- (107) a. *ga nitore re-fa*
 PROHIB promise do-2PL.IMP
 ‘don’t promise (pl.)’
- b. *nitore ga re-fa*
 promise PROHIB do-2PL.IMP
 ‘don’t do promising (pl.)’
- c. *vegu no ga re-bi-fa*
 practice bad PROHIB do-FUT.IMPERV-2PL.IMP
 ‘don’t be doing bad practices (pl.)’
- d. *ga ve-gasa ni-fa*
 PROHIB see-SIM.SS say-2PL.IMP
 ‘don’t see and say (pl.)’
- e. *dairi ga bo-yaganedi*
 return PROHIB go-3PL.IMP
 ‘they should not bring (it) back’

The prohibitive only occurs with second and third person. Non-canonical position changes emphasis, as the first item after *ga* (as indicated in bold in the free translations) is the most prominent (108-110).

- (108) ...*na bi ya-rofu sorry tora-gade ya-ni-da; ga na*
 1SG TOP 2-to very-much 2-say-1SG.PRES PROHIB 1SG

badu re.

anger do

‘...I say ‘very sorry’ to you; don’t be angry with **me.**’ [110]

- (109) *sedi be una-ma-fa, ya remanu giridi ga re-fa...*
 shirt some 1PL-give-2PL.IMP 2 two greedy PROHIB do-2PL.IMP
 ‘give us some shirts, you two don’t **be** greedy...’ [102]

- (110) ...*yi* *vana enana* =*ka ga* *diba ni-yainedi*
 2.POSS hand left =also PROHIB know become-3SG.IMP
- vana rama yaku beika re-do bi*
 hand right DSM what do-3SG.PRES TOP
 ‘...don’t let your left hand **know** what the right hand is doing’
 (SUAR 2017:12:6.3)

The object is emphasised when preceded by the prohibitive.

- (111) *Na bi rumana vene nioteimar-aka, ga ya*
 1SG TOP man people tell-1SG.PAST PROHIB 2
- avaka moi-yaganedi...*
 touch get-3PL.IMP
 ‘I told the men to not touch **you**... (SUARBB 2011:2.8)

Pragmatically, polite imperatives would not normally make use of the prohibitive, though it is possible. The verb *vare-* ‘sleep’ marked in the imperative results in a speech formula, rather than a true command, meaning ‘goodbye’ (cf. §6.6.3.2), however, when marked with the prohibitive, a literal meaning is the result.

- (112) **Ga** *vare-vo.*
 PROHIB sleep-2SG.PO.IMP
 ‘You shouldn’t sleep.’

Examination now moves on to rather productive valency changing strategies.

6.8 Valency changing

There are two types of valency changing devices in Doromu-Koki: valency increasing causative (§ 6.8.1) and valency reducing passive strategy (§6.8.2). They will be discussed below.

6.8.1 Causative

There are three types of causatives. According to frequency they include Direct (or intentional), Indirect (or partial) and Forceful (or complete). An exhaustive list (166 total) is shown in Table 6.13. The Semantic categories are based on Dixon (2012:268-280).

Table 6.13: *Causative constructions*

Type	Form	Strength	Semantics
<i>Direct</i>	<i>moi X-</i>	‘make’	Control (A), intentionally affecting (O)
<i>Indirect</i>	<i>e- X</i>	‘cause’	Partial control (A), partially affecting (O)
<i>Forceful</i>	<i>u- X</i>	‘force’	Control (A), intentionally, completely affecting (O), with effort

Causative constructions are not limited to only simple verbs, and yet their output is

always a verb of some type, either a simple or a complex verb. If X is a simple verb, then the causative will likewise produce a simple verb, but if X is a member of some other word class (or already a complex verb), then a complex verb complement will be produced, requiring an associated verb, dependent on the pragmatics. Most usually the verb will be *re-* ‘do’. In many cases, the causative construction has been lexicalised; the meaning of the whole cannot be deduced from individual components. The tables below list the causatives according to the transitivity of the original verb: 6.14 – intransitive, 6.15 – ambitransitive, 6.16 – transitive (derived from verbs), 6.17 – transitive (derived from adjectives) and 6.18 – transitive (derived from noun/NPs, postpositions or adverbs); known complement components are indicated in the left-hand column. (All causatives produced are transitive unless otherwise indicated.) Note that the Indirect and Forceful types have very limited productivity, and in some instances have no Direct correspondence. The Direct type represents 79% of the causatives observed, while Indirect has 13.1% and Forceful only 7.9%. Additionally, *moi-* ‘get’ is used in directional serial verb constructions (cf. §7.3.8.1); these could be conceived as further causative constructions adding over 40 more (cf. Table 7.2). The Forceful causative is derived from the verb *u-* ‘hit’. The causative sometimes adds an argument (113-114).

While 49 of the original verbs are intransitive,¹⁵ allowing for ‘canonical’ causative constructions, 57 do not permit such constructions, being either ambitransitive¹⁶ (4) or already transitive (45). Therefore, many are ‘valency-preserving’ rather than valency changing (Aikhenvald 2011a:133), expressing the following parameters: 1) increase in manipulative effort, intentionality, volitionality and control in reference to A, 2) manipulative effort, intensive action and 3) complete affectedness of O (Aikhenvald 2011a:136). An intransitive verb becomes transitive when a causative is formed, that is S becomes A. A transitive verb forms a new transitive when a causative is formed, and an ambitransitive verb forms a new transitive (S/A becomes A). In each case the original A (causer) and O retain their marking (A/S or O constituent NP or pronoun in its canonical slot and same verbal final morphology) [cf. Dixon 2012:256]; the only change being the addition of the applicable Direct, Indirect or Forceful word before or prefix on the verb. Those forms that do not follow the transitivity value of others in their respective causative type column (i.e. Direct, Indirect or Forceful), are indicated. Causation also does not

¹⁵ 24 others are assumed, as there is no longer any known original verb.

¹⁶ Their types are indicated in the table; four being S=O and two being S=A.

occur with SVCs or other complex predicates other than the complex verbs as seen in the tables below.

Additional parameters have to do with the forceful transitive *u-* ‘hit’: 1) *u-* + an intransitive verb primarily produces a transitive causative, 2) *u-* + an ambitransitive verb (S=O) indicates increased manipulative effort, such as an abrupt movement or strong action of an intransitive nature, e.g. *uvaradau-* ‘crash down’ and *urausi re-* ‘erupt’. A forceful causee has semantic parameters of complete affectedness while the forceful causer has those of directness, intentionality and effort (Dixon 2012:269). An intransitive Forceful causative is also formed with some transitive source verbs, e.g. *udiko re-* ‘tolerate, bear/put up with, remain steadfast’, *uyare-* ‘topple, upset’ and *uririmo re-* ‘scatter’. One which remains intransitive is *ekaira re-* ‘approach, draw near, move close to’, indicated in bold in Table 6.15. For some the relationship is quite tenuous, since there is no synchronic evidence to verify suppositions; this includes *uru-* ‘ripen, rise up, swell, multiply’ in Table 6.16 [see (114) below]. Also indicated in bold are those Direct causatives which have an additional Indirect or Forceful type constituent (7.1% of Direct type).

Causatives are used in the same manner as other predicates, primarily increasing valency, e.g. *ada re-yaka* (happiness do-1SG.PAST) ‘I’m happy’ versus *na moi ada re-yo* (1SG D.CAUS happiness do-3SG.PAST) ‘she pleased me’, *dadi-yaka* (get.up-1SG.PAST) ‘I got up’ versus *e-dadi-yaka* (I.CAUS-get.up-1SG.PAST) ‘I woke him up’ or *yoyava fate-yadi* (seedling sprout-3PL.PAST) ‘the seedlings sprouted’ versus *u-fate-yadi* (F.CAUS-sprout-3PL.PAST) ‘they broke through’.

Direct causatives also have constructions that vary between two (or in a few instances three) different associated verbs, e.g. *moi maunu re-/moi maunu ri-* ‘make jealous’. Here, no clear distinction in meaning between use of *re-* ‘do’ and *ri-* ‘make’ is evident, however, in other instances distinctions are evident, e.g. *moi vabara re-* ‘shine’ versus *moi vabara ri-* ‘reveal, enlighten’. A direct causee has semantic parameters of partial affectness and for the causer of directness (Dixon 2012:269), while the Indirect causative exhibits causee parameters of partial affectedness as well as causer intention (Dixon 2012:269).

A three-way associated verb contrast includes *moi rama ae-/moi rama re-* ‘fulfil’ and *moi rama ri-* ‘justify’.

Table 6.14: *Causatives and similar derivations (All intransitive verb sources in first column)*

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful	
<i>ada (adj) re-</i>	‘be happy’	<i>moi ada re-</i>	‘please’				
		<i>moi afu re-</i>	‘calm, cool off’				
<i>are re-</i>	‘stand (up)’	<i>moi are re-</i>	‘stand (up)’				
<i>ave ni-</i>	‘be gentle’	<i>moi ave ni-</i>	‘humble’				
		<i>moi ave ri-</i>	‘subdue, tame’				
<i>boiyo re-</i>	‘get lost’	<i>moi boiyo re-</i>	‘lose’	<i>ebaba re-</i>	‘break into’	<i>ubaba re-</i>	‘tear open’
<i>buo re-</i>	‘swing’	<i>moi buo re-</i>	‘swing’				
<i>dadi-</i>	‘get/stand up’	<i>moi dadi-</i>	‘lift (up)’	<i>e-dadi-</i> (AMBTR S=0)	‘get up’		
<i>esika (n) re-</i>	‘hurt’	<i>moi esika re-</i>	‘harm, punish’				
		<i>moi faga ri-</i>	‘separate, open’				
		<i>moi faraka re-</i>	‘sprinkle, shake’				
<i>fate-</i>	‘sprout’					<i>u-fate-</i>	‘penetrate’
<i>fudika re-</i>	‘come loose’	<i>moi fudi re-</i> (ITR)	‘slip through, drop’				
		<i>moi fudika re-</i>	‘bring to end’				
		<i>moi fui re-</i>	‘mix, mash’				
<i>forovai re-</i>	‘be confused’	<i>moi forovai re-</i>	‘mess up’				
<i>gigi ni-</i>	‘be wedged in’	<i>moi gigi ri-</i>	‘hold tightly’				
<i>gogo (adv) re-</i>	‘gather’	<i>moi gogo re-</i>	‘join, cohere’	<i>e-gogo re-</i> (ITR)	‘meet, congregate’		
		<i>moi gogo ri-</i>	‘join together, unite’				
<i>guta (adj) re-</i>	‘be nice/good’	<i>moi e-gogo re-</i>	‘gather together’				
<i>inuka re-</i>	‘be stirred up’	<i>moi guta re-</i>	‘make nice/good’				
		<i>moi inuka re-</i>	‘stir up’				
		<i>moi isi-</i>	‘blow up’				
<i>isira (n) re-</i>	‘play’	<i>moi isira re-</i>	‘joke (with)’				
<i>kakaita (adj) re-</i>	‘be constricted’	<i>moi kakaita ri-</i>	‘squeeze, squish’				

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful	
<i>kake ri-</i>	‘stick into’	<i>moi kake ri-</i>	‘stick to, adhere’				
<i>eke-</i>	‘open (up)’	<i>moi eke-</i>	‘open (up)’				
		<i>moi kekevaita u-</i>	‘reject, disown’				
		<i>moi kekevata u-</i>	‘destroy, ruin’				
<i>kenoka (adj) re-</i>	‘be upset’	<i>moi kenoka re-</i>	‘upset, disturb’				
<i>kero re-</i>	‘turn (around)’	<i>moi kero re-</i>	‘turn, translate’			<i>u-kero re-</i>	‘destroy’
<i>keto re-</i>	‘fall’	<i>moi keto re-</i>	‘lead astray’				
		<i>moi kinikaka ri-</i>	‘open up wide’				
<i>kita re-</i>	‘move’	<i>moi kita re-</i>	‘move’				
<i>kiu ni-</i>	‘be secure’	<i>moi gira kiu re-</i>	‘hold on firmly’				
<i>koina (neg) ni-</i>	‘be finished’	<i>moi koina re-</i>	‘finish’				
		<i>moi koina ri-</i>	‘finish off’				
<i>kokofu re-</i>	‘go astray’	<i>moi kokofu re-</i>	‘lead astray’				
<i>kuvokuvo re-</i>	‘tremble’	<i>moi kuvokuvo re-</i>	‘make tremble’				
<i>maena (n) re-</i>	‘be ashamed’	<i>moi maena re-</i>	‘shame’				
<i>matuka (n) re-</i>	‘be proud’	<i>moi matuka re-</i>	‘adorn’				
<i>maunu ni-</i>	‘be jealous’	<i>moi maunu re-</i>	‘make jealous’				
		<i>moi maunu ri-</i>	‘make jealous’				
<i>muye-</i>	‘die, perish’			<i>e-muye-</i>	‘kill spiritually’ ¹⁷	<i>u-muye-</i>	‘kill physically’
<i>no (adj) re-</i>	‘do bad’	<i>moi no re-</i>	‘rubbish, disgrace’				
		<i>moi no ri-</i>	‘spoil, mar’				
<i>ogau ni-</i>	‘appear’	<i>moi ogau ni-</i>	‘reveal’				
		<i>moi ogau ri-</i>	‘show, unveil’				
<i>oure-</i>	‘be first’	<i>moi oure-</i>	‘make first’				
<i>raga (n) re-</i>	‘run’	<i>moi raga re-</i>	‘run, command’				
<i>rerevaida ni-</i>	‘be scattered’	<i>moi rerevaida u-</i>	‘scatter’				
		<i>moi erika re-</i>	‘pull out’				
<i>roki re-</i>	‘break’					<i>u-roki re-</i>	‘break off’
<i>roge (adj) re-</i>	‘be loose’	<i>moi roge re-</i>	‘hold loosely’				

¹⁷ Meaning by sorcery.

Uninflected verb		Direct	Indirect	Forceful	
<i>roro ni-</i>	‘disappear’	<i>moi u-roro re-</i> <i>moi erufu-</i> <i>moi seko sako re-</i>	‘do away with’ ‘forgive, set free’ ‘tremble in death’	<i>erufu-</i> ‘release, set free’	<i>u-roro re-</i> ‘abolish’
<i>siroko re-</i> <i>sisika (n) re-</i>	‘hang limp’ ‘smell’	<i>moi siroko re-</i> <i>moi sisika re-</i> <i>moi soroka re-</i> <i>moi tae re-</i>	‘swing’ ‘make smell’ ‘capsize, dump’ ‘stop, prevent’	<i>etae re-</i> ‘cut/shut off’	<i>utae re-</i> ‘flatten’
<i>tafo re-</i>	‘spill, slosh’	<i>moi tafo re-</i> <i>moi tagaga ri-</i> <i>moi tai re-</i> <i>moi tai ri-</i> <i>moi taniga re-</i>	‘billow, swell’ ‘move’ ‘overlook’ ‘brush aside’ ‘squeeze’	<i>etei ri-</i> ‘trample, tread’	<i>utaniga re-</i> <i>utei ri-</i> ‘beat, belt’ ‘hit, beat, kill’
<i>toime-</i> <i>torufuka re-</i> <i>tovo ni-</i> <i>tururu re-</i>	‘drip’ ‘break loose’ ‘disappear’ ‘tremble, shake’	<i>moi terau-</i> <i>moi toime-</i> <i>moi torufuka re-</i> <i>moi tovo ri-</i> <i>moi tururu re-</i>	‘smash’ ‘make drip’ ‘release’ ‘transform’ ‘shake, startle’	<i>e-tururu re-</i> ‘surprise’	
		<i>moi eriya re-</i> <i>moi erokoko re-</i> <i>moi ufara re-</i> <i>moi uturimo re-</i> <i>moi evairo re-</i> <i>moi evaivo ri-</i>	‘select’ ‘drag’ ‘smash, grind’ ‘unravel, separate’ ‘overtum’ ‘invert’	<i>eriyā ri-</i> <i>erokoko re-</i> ‘select’ ‘drag’	<i>evairo re-</i> (ITR) ‘twist, turn over’
<i>vata ni-</i>	‘happen’	<i>moi vata re-</i> <i>moi vata ri-</i> <i>moi e-vata ri-</i> <i>moi vataru re-</i> <i>moi e-yare-</i>	‘desire, want’ ‘produce, appear’ ‘make happen’ ‘place’ ‘make fall/fail’	<i>e-vata ri-</i> ‘produce, bear’	
<i>yare-</i>	‘fall’			<i>e-yare-</i> ‘drop, brush off’	<i>u-yare-</i> (ITR) ‘topple, upset’

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful
<i>yau</i> (adj) <i>ni-</i>	‘be soft/weak’	<i>moi yau ni-</i> (ITR)	‘become weak’			
		<i>moi yau re-</i>	‘soften, weaken’			
		<i>moi yau ri-</i>	‘weaken’			
<i>yoga ni-</i>	‘laugh’	<i>moi yoga ri-</i>	‘make laugh’			

Table 6.15: *Causatives and similar derivations (Ambitransitive verb sources)*

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful
<i>dogo</i> (n) <i>re-</i>	‘prepare, plan’ (S=O)	<i>moi dogo re-</i>	‘prepare for, plan’			
<i>kaira ni-</i>	‘be about to’ (S=O)			<i>e-kaira re-</i> (ITR)	‘draw near’	
<i>varadau-</i>	‘come apart’ (S=O)					<i>u-varadau-</i> (ITR) ‘crash down’
<i>ve-</i>	‘see, look’ (S=A)	<i>moi ve-</i>	‘fondle, caress’	<i>e-ve-</i>	‘tempt, present’	
<i>rausi re-</i>	‘pour, spill’ (S=O)	<i>moi rausi re-</i>	‘pour out/on’	<i>e-rausi re-</i>	‘pour/tip out’	<i>u-rausi re-</i> (ITR) ‘erupt’
		<i>moi e-rausi re-</i>	‘pour out’			
<i>uru-</i>	‘swell, rise up’ (S=A)	<i>moi uru-</i>	‘swell, multiply’			

Table 6.16: *Causatives and similar derivations (Transitive verb sources)*

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful
<i>aede-</i>	‘help’	<i>moi aede-</i>	‘give aid’			
<i>beku re-</i>	‘push (out)’	<i>moi beku re-</i>	‘push away’	<i>e-beku re-</i>	‘push, reject’	
<i>bisu re-</i>	‘hide, dump’	<i>moi bisu re-</i>	‘throw, dump’			
<i>biyoka re-</i>	‘scrape, pluck’	<i>moi biyoka re-</i>	‘pluck, tear out’			
		<i>moi boka re-</i>	‘open wide’	<i>e-boka re-</i>	‘open (up)’	
		<i>moi e-boka re-</i>	‘open (up)’			
<i>bu(ba) ni-</i>	‘avoid, shun’			<i>e-bu re-</i>	‘surpass, beat’	
<i>burivai re-</i>	‘tangle (around)’	<i>moi burivai re-</i>	‘entangle’			
<i>diba</i> (v) (ni-)	‘know’	<i>moi diba ni-</i> (ITR)	‘make known’			
		<i>moi diba ri-</i>	‘make known’			
<i>diko re-</i>	‘push (in)’	<i>moi e-diko re-</i>	‘push’	<i>e-diko re-</i>	‘push’	<i>u-diko re-</i> (ITR) ‘tolerate’
<i>eva ri-</i>	‘refuse, ignore’	<i>moi eva ri-</i>	‘mislead, confuse’			

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful	
<i>fare (adj) re-</i>	‘overload’			<i>e-fare re-</i>	‘burden’		
<i>fono re-</i>	‘cover’	<i>moi fono re-</i>	‘cover’	<i>e-fono re-</i>	‘cover up’		
<i>fufuta (n) mar-</i>	‘reject’	<i>moi fufuta mar-</i>	‘forget’				
<i>foyoma re-</i>	‘crush, squeeze’	<i>moi foyoma re-</i>	‘crush’				
<i>futu re-</i>	‘bump, trip’	<i>moi futu re-</i>	‘make stumble’				
<i>gana ri-</i>	‘block’	<i>moi gana ri-</i>	‘block, stop’				
<i>gaubo re-</i>	‘replace’	<i>moi gaubo re-</i>	‘replace’				
<i>ifi re-</i>	‘rub’	<i>moi ifi re-</i>	‘caress, wipe’				
<i>keu ri-</i>	‘ascend’	<i>moi keu ri-</i>	‘board’				
<i>kikifa (adj) re-</i>	‘honour’	<i>moi kikifa re-</i>	‘sanctify’				
<i>kukune (n) re-</i>	‘rubbish’	<i>moi kukune re-</i>	‘make rubbish’				
<i>kumu ri-</i>	‘wrap, clench’	<i>moi kumu ri-</i>	‘hold with fist’				
<i>kurevai re-</i>	‘roll’	<i>moi kurevai re-</i>	‘roll up/away’	<i>e-kure re-</i>	‘surrender’	<i>u-meki re-</i>	‘cast out/away’
<i>meki re-</i>	‘chase away’						
<i>nimar-</i>	‘commend’	<i>moi nimar-</i>	‘let, hire, rent’				
<i>ninika ni-</i>	‘laugh/scoff at’	<i>moi ninika re-</i>	‘joke about’				
<i>nirorotari re-</i>	‘plan, discuss’	<i>moi rorotari re-</i>	‘judge’				
<i>nivai-</i>	‘rebuke’	<i>moi nivai re-</i>	‘rebuke’				
<i>ode-</i>	‘break, bend’	<i>moi ode-</i>	‘break, bend’				
<i>oku-</i>	‘break, divide’	<i>moi oku-</i>	‘break apart’				
<i>ori-</i>	‘burn, cook’	<i>moi ori sisika re-</i> (ITR)	‘sacrifice’				
<i>rau ri-</i>	‘overshadow’	<i>moi e-rau re-</i>	‘disclose’	<i>e-rau ni-</i> (ITR)	‘expose’		
<i>ririmo re-</i>	‘shatter’					<i>u-ririmo re-</i> (ITR)	‘scatter’
<i>roto ri-</i>	‘extend, stretch’	<i>moi roto ri-</i>	‘hold out’				
<i>ru-</i>	‘remove, clean’	<i>moi u-ru-</i>	‘swell, expand’	<i>e-ru-</i> (ITR)	‘come/fall out’	<i>u-ru-</i>	‘multiply’
<i>siboroka re-</i>	‘disturb’	<i>moi siboroka re-</i>	‘cause uproar’				

Uninflected verb		Direct		Indirect		Forceful	
<i>sikori re-</i>	‘destroy’	<i>moi sikori re-</i>	‘destroy’				
<i>tanu mar-</i>	‘fill up, add’	<i>moi tanu mar-</i>	‘increase’				
<i>tanu re-</i>	‘fill, add more’	<i>moi tanu re-</i>	‘fill up’				
<i>tavoi re-</i>	‘do in vain’	<i>moi tavoi re-</i>	‘do worthlessly, extort’				
<i>tetevai re-</i>	‘divide up’	<i>moi tetevai re-</i>	‘disperse’				
<i>tore re-</i>	‘reserve’	<i>moi tore re-</i>	‘prepare’				
<i>ubaki re-</i>	‘separate’	<i>moi ubaki re-</i>	‘break apart’				
<i>ugar-</i>	‘wipe’	<i>moi ugar-</i>	‘wipe (away)’				
<i>usase re-</i>	‘uncover’	<i>moi usase re-</i>	‘uncover’				
<i>vai-</i>	‘burn, cook’	<i>moi vai-</i>	‘fire up, ignite’				
		(AMBTR S=O)					
<i>vata bae-</i>	‘fill (up)’	<i>moi vata bae-</i>	‘fill’			<i>u-vau re-</i>	‘defeat’
<i>vau re-</i>	‘be all/complete’						
<i>voruvoru re-</i>	‘shake’	<i>moi voruvoru re-</i>	‘shake off’				
<i>youn-</i>	‘untie’	<i>moi e-youn-</i>	‘loosen’	<i>e-youn-</i>	‘open (up)’	<i>u-youn-</i>	‘pardon, untangle’
<i>yova ri-</i>	‘join, accept’	<i>moi yova ri-</i>	‘join, bring in’				

Table 6.17: *Causatives and similar derivations (Adjective sources)*

Complement components		Direct		Indirect		Forceful	
<i>akeke</i>	‘special’	<i>moi akeke re-</i>	‘prefer’				
		<i>moi akeke ri-</i>	‘sanctify’				
<i>amuta</i>	‘peaceful’	<i>moi amuta re-</i>	‘appease’				
		<i>moi amuta ri-</i>	‘comfort’				
<i>babo</i>	‘mute, silent’	<i>moi babo ri-</i>	‘silence’				
<i>bere</i>	‘quiet’	<i>moi bere ri-</i>	‘quiet down’	<i>e-bere re-</i> (ITR)	‘silence’		
<i>berou</i>	‘other’	<i>moi berou ae-</i>	‘put aside’				
<i>bokona</i>	‘half-eaten’	<i>moi bokona ri-</i>	‘partially eat’				

Complement components		Direct		Indirect		Forceful	
<i>buni</i>	‘good’	<i>moi buni re-</i>	‘make prosper’				
		<i>moi buni ri-</i>	‘heal’				
<i>burefe</i>	‘very good, best’	<i>moi burefe ri-</i>	‘make best’				
<i>doba</i>	‘long, tall’	<i>moi doba re-</i>	‘lengthen’				
<i>dou</i>	‘wet, moist’	<i>moi dou re-</i>	‘moisten’				
		<i>moi dou ri-</i>	‘water’				
<i>feya</i>	‘flat’	<i>moi feyara.ri-</i>	‘flatten’	<i>e-feya.re-</i>	‘flatten’	<i>u-feya.re-</i>	‘take apart’
<i>feyo</i>	‘white’	<i>moi feyo ri-</i>	‘whiten’				
<i>gabu</i>	‘black’	<i>moi gabu ri-</i>	‘blacken’				
<i>gira</i>	‘hard’	<i>moi gira re-</i>	‘hold, grab, seize’	<i>e-gira re-</i>	‘strengthen’		
		<i>moi gira ri-</i>	‘strengthen’				
		<i>moi gira.kiki.re-</i>	‘hold tightly’				
<i>idana</i>	‘other, different’	<i>moi idana ri-</i>	‘change’				
<i>keika</i>	‘little, small’	<i>moi keika ri-</i>	‘make smaller, diminish’				
<i>kevo</i>	‘bent’	<i>moi kevo.kavo.re-</i>	‘make crooked’				
<i>kikifa</i>	‘special’	<i>moi kikifa ri-</i>	‘sanctify, honour’				
<i>kino</i>	‘dirty’	<i>moi kino ri-</i>	‘defile, spoil’				
<i>mekuna</i>	‘round’	<i>moi mekuna re-</i>	‘coil’				
<i>rafo</i>	‘wide, flat’	<i>moi rafo re-</i>	‘expand’				
		<i>moi u-rafo re-</i>	‘pour, widen’			<i>u-rafo.re-</i> (ITR)	‘spread (out)’
<i>rama</i>	‘right, true’	<i>moi rama ae-</i> (ITR)	‘fulfill’				
		<i>moi rama re-</i>	‘fulfill’				
		<i>moi rama ri-</i>	‘justify, make have victory’				
<i>remanu</i>	‘two’	<i>moi remanu ri-</i>	‘duplicate’				
<i>roko</i>	‘dry’	<i>moi roko ri-</i>	‘dry/wipe up’				
<i>rorobo</i>	‘straight’	<i>moi rorobo ri-</i>	‘straighten, rectify’				
<i>ru</i>	‘bitter’	<i>moi e-ru.re-</i>	‘deceive’	<i>e-ru.re-</i>	‘trick, deceive’		
<i>ruaka</i>	‘new, young’	<i>moi ruaka ri-</i>	‘purify, cleanse’				
		<i>moi e-ruaka re-</i>	‘renew, beautify’				
<i>safi</i>	‘tasty, sweet’	<i>moi safi re-</i>	‘improve’				
		<i>moi safi ri-</i>	‘make tasty’				
<i>tau</i>	‘many, all’	<i>moi tau ri-</i>	‘increase, harvest’				

Complement components		Direct	Indirect	Forceful	
<i>toe</i>	‘heavy’	<i>moi toe ri-</i>	‘offend, cause to stumble’		
<i>tora</i>	‘big’	<i>moi tora re-</i> <i>moi tora ri-</i>	‘make big’ ‘extend, enlarge’		
<i>tumu</i>	‘short’	<i>moi tumu re-</i>	‘shorten, lessen, reduce’		
<i>vava</i>	‘hot’	<i>moi vava.re-</i> <i>moi vava.ri-</i>	‘accept, heat’ ‘warm’	<i>e-vava.re-</i>	‘reheat’
<i>yokoi</i>	‘one’	<i>moi yokoi ri-</i>	‘make one, join’		
<i>yovade</i>	‘tame’	<i>moi yovade ri-</i>	‘tame, domesticate’		

Table 6.18: Causatives and similar derivations (Other [n, np, post, adv] sources)

Complement components		Direct	Indirect	Forceful	
<i>adaka</i>	‘joint’ (n)	<i>moi adaka ri-</i>	‘pull apart’		
<i>bunika</i>	‘fat, grease’ (n)	<i>moi bunika ri-</i>	‘fatten’		
<i>dikina</i>	‘mud’ (n)	<i>moi dikina re-</i>	‘make muddy’		
<i>foki</i>	‘bend’ (n)	<i>moi foki ri-</i>	‘bend (over)’		
<i>fu</i>	‘puff’ (n)	<i>moi u-fu re-</i>	‘make windy’	<i>u-fu re-</i> (ITR)	‘cause to blow’
<i>fufuta</i>	‘back’ (n)	<i>moi fufuta re-</i>	‘squeeze, break apart’		
<i>isaka</i>	‘crying’ (n)	<i>moi isaka re-</i>	‘make cry’		
<i>kafita</i>	‘betel nut skin’ (n)	<i>moi kafita ri-</i>	‘soften’		
<i>kota</i>	‘court’ (n)	<i>moi kota ae-</i>	‘judge, take to court’		
<i>ne taufa</i>	‘blind’ (np)	<i>moi taufa ri-</i>	‘make blind’		
<i>nomu</i>	‘plain’ (n)	<i>moi nomu re-</i> <i>moi nomu ri-</i>	‘settle, negotiate’ ‘flatten’		
<i>rau</i>	‘share’ (n)	<i>moi e-rau re-</i>	‘expose’	<i>e-rau ni-</i> (ITR)	‘expose, disclose, reveal’
<i>rivo</i>	‘abdomen’ (n)	<i>moi rivo ri-</i>	‘impregnate’		
<i>sui</i>	‘privacy’ (n)	<i>moi sui ri-</i>	‘deny, hide’		

Complement components		Direct	Indirect	Forceful
<i>utama</i>	‘in half’ (n)	<i>moi utama oku-</i>		
<i>vabara</i>	‘light’ (n)	<i>moi vabara re-</i> (ITR)		
<i>vana</i>	‘hand, arm’ (n)	<i>moi vabara ri-</i>		
<i>varika</i>	‘chief’	<i>moi vana re-</i>		
<i>vegu</i>	‘life’ (n)	<i>moi varika ri-</i>		
<i>yeiva</i>	‘strength’ (n)	<i>moi vegu ri-</i>		
<i>atafu</i>	‘near’ (post)	<i>moi e-vegu re-</i>		
<i>negau</i>	‘near’ (post)	<i>moi yeiva re-</i>		
<i>odoro</i>	‘above’ (post)	<i>moi atafu ri-</i>		
<i>gogo</i>	‘together’ (adv)	<i>moi negau ri-</i>		
		<i>moi odoro ri-</i>		
		<i>moi gogo re-</i>		
			<i>e-negau re-</i>	‘reveal, draw near’
			<i>e-gogo re-</i> (ITR)	‘meet, convene’

Examples below illustrate the way in which two of these causative constructions which have complete sets differ, e.g. *eru-* ‘come out’ (113), *moi uru-* ‘make swell’ (114) and *uru-* ‘ripen, husk’ (115); *erausi re-* ‘pour out’ (116), *moi rausi re-* ‘pour (out)’ (117) and *urausi re-* ‘erupt’ (118). The first group is posited to be derived from the simple verb *ru-* ‘collect, remove’ while the second from the complex verb *rausi re-* ‘pour, spill, overflow’. In (113) no A is specified (none have been attested and presumably would not be possible), and so it is a case of a valency-preserving structure.

- (113) *Nai yuka ebuna origima bi e-ru-yo.*
 1SG.POSS leg toe nail TOP I.CAUS-remove-3SG.PAST
 ‘My toenail came out/fell off.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:97)

The use of *moi-* ‘get’ produces the middle strength ‘Direct’ causative; in (114), the verb also has the Forceful causative prefix *u-*, so that a further distinction is made, conceivably the strongest. (Another such occurrence is *moi uroro.re-* ‘do away with’.)

- (114) *Mina bi beredi farava moi u-ru-na gauna.*
 this TOP bread flour D.CAUS F.CAUS-swell-NOMZ thing
 ‘This is something to make (lit. ‘forcefully make’) bread flour rise up/ expand.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:178)

A Forceful type normally occurs without *moi* Direct causative.

- (115) *Yi afena bi u-ru vogovogo re-yo.*
 2.POSS cheek TOP F.CAUS-swell really do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Your cheek has really swollen up.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:251)

A passive strategy construction (cf. §6.8.2 below) may occur with the Indirect causative.

- (116) *Idu [ini Vima kikifa]_O [ya vene fafau]_E e-rausi*
 but 3.POSS spirit holy 2 people upon I.CAUS-pour
re-yo.
 do-3SG.PAST
 ‘But his Holy Spirit was poured out upon you.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:96)

In (117), two *moi-* ‘get’ serial verb constructions occur; the first is non-compositional, and the second exemplifies the Direct causative, using a passive strategy construction (cf. §6.8.2).

- (117) *Moi fui re-si [amiye di ada]_O moi*
 D.CAUS mix do-SEQ.SS person GEN head D.CAUS

rausi re-gam-adi.
 pour do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘It was mixed and poured over a person’s head.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:176)

- (118) *U-rausi re-i de-yo-ma ori di-yafa.*
 F.CAUS-pour do-LINK come-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS fear go-1PL.PAST
 ‘It (the volcano) erupted (lit. ‘forcefully poured out’) and we ran away (lit. fear went).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:250)

Several have analogous meanings; it is the parameters that distinguish them. All have the canonical SV/AOV syntax (cf. Diagram 8.1). In some instances, e.g. *uroki re-* ‘break/tear off/apart/away’, derived from *roki re-* ‘break’, some types do not occur: Indirect: **e-roki re-*, Direct: **moi roki re-*.

- (119) *Kamini bi beredi be moi-si Sei rofu buni tora gade*
 and.then TOP bread some get-SEQ.SS God to good big very
- ma-si u-roki re-si ina vene ma-gasa*
 give-SEQ.SS F.CAUS-break.off do-SEQ.SS 3 people give-SIM.SS
- ni-yo...*
 say-3SG.PAST
 ‘And then he took some bread and blessed God (lit. ‘gave very great good’) and broke (it) off and while he gave (it) to them he said...’
 (SUAR 2017:185:22.19)

In other instances, there is no known intransitive counterpart, e.g. *utaniga re-* ‘beat, belt’: **taniga re-* ‘there is only one other type, Direct: *moi taniga re-* ‘squeeze’. (Second person singular imperative has a zero morpheme on the first clause below; cf. §6.6.3.2.)

- (120) *U-taniga re kumo fetaka ni-yaine.*
 F.CAUS-beat do and.then thin become-3SG.IMP
 ‘Belt him and he’ll become skinny.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:253)

Further examples of each of these are: Direct: (23), (25), (28), (50), (60), (76), (92) and (101); Forceful: (43-45); and Indirect: (6b), (36), (38-39) and (41-42). Doromu-Koki provides a very interesting causative system – some parts are valency-increasing ‘causative’ while others instead preserve valency, having other parameters that come into play, yet their exact organisation is generally opaque. The most productive by far is the Direct type.

6.8.2 Passive strategy

Typologically Papuan languages do not have a canonical passive; such is the case for Doromu-Koki. However, it does have a productive passive-like strategy, as seen in (116-

117) above. No valency changing takes place. This strategy cannot be considered ‘agentless’ (Dixon 2010a:167), because the agent is specified, but only by third person singular/plural final verb morphology. It lacks any specified NP or pronoun A, which also cannot be deduced from the context. Instead it is implied information. However, not all agentless clauses are passive, as the agent (as well as the intransitive subject) is often elided, and recoverable from context (cf. §10.2.2.1). In (116) the implied 3SG transitive subject is *Sei yaku* (God DSM) ‘God’ while in (117) the implied 3PL transitive subject is *Sei ma amiye utari naivo vene* (God and people amongst serving people) ‘priests’. In such instances the reader (or listener) recognises the agent for such actions. In the same way, in a conversation, the addressee has shared knowledge of who or what is the transitive subject. Through this unspecification of agent, the effect of the action [or even the object in (116)] is then in focus (Dixon 2010a:168). (cf. further elaboration in §9.4).

6.9 Speech report construction

A reported speech is characteristically of the form *ni-* ‘say’ [X] *vo.ni-* ‘tell, say, call’ (cf. §9.3 for other possibilities), where X= the speech being reported. The reported speech is in the O argument slot. (In other instances *ni-* remains transitive (or ditransitive), with an O of some speech type word, normally *ago* ‘word’.) An extended argument would include the recipient, as in *una* ‘us’ in (121). Nothing can intervene between the components of the frame; the speech being reported is in the form of a complement clause, of varying length. Even though the participant’s speech is already recorded through use of *ni-* ‘say’, the reiteration through use of *vo.ni-* ‘tell’ forms the speech report frame (cf. §9.3). The frame indicates a direct speech report.

- (121) *Doba de Sealark moi raga re-do amiye yaku*
 long NEG (name) D.CAUS run do-3SG.PRES person DSM
- dadi-si una ni-yo, “Una bi Alotau oki-yafa*
 get.up-SEQ.SS 1PL say-3SG.PAST 1PL TOP (name) arrive-1PL.PAST
- mini,” vo-ni-yo.*
 here tell-say-3SG.PAST
- ‘Not long after the Sealark captain got up and told us, “We have arrived at Alotau,” he said.’ [11.18]

Without the initial speech word, an indirect speech report is the result (122-123); the meaning of *vo.ni-* is ‘call’ or ‘tell’. Below, the relative clause describing the verbless complement clause is the object; as a passive strategy construction, the A is unspecified.

- (122) [Koki vene]_{VCS} [bi rema, rumana, mida]_{VCC} [kaere bi
 (name) people TOP woman man child who TOP
 gua “Doromu” vene]_o vo-ni-dedi.
 now (name) people tell-say-3PL.PRES
 ‘The Koki people are men, women and children who are now called (lit. tell-
 say) “Doromu” people.’ [8.02]
- (123) Na bi nai rovaita ori re-yo, badina bi
 1SG TOP 1SG.POSS body fear do-3SG.PAST because TOP
 bouti gui re-si ne-gida vo-ni-yo.
 boat ride.on do-SEQ.SS go.down-1SG.FUT tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘I was afraid (lit. ‘my body was afraid’), because I was told that I would ride
 down by boat.’ [11.05]

A direct speech report seeks to accurately report what was said (quotation), while an indirect speech report seeks to convey the speech as part of the general information of the conversation. Characteristically the same tense is used throughout for an indirect speech report, while for a direct speech report a difference in TAM marking may occur, e.g. the reported speech itself is in the imperative and the construction in the indicative.

- (124) “Ema odoro koru bona bo re-si omuna di-nadi,”
 river.mouth above water and go do-SEQ.SS mountain go-1PL.IMP
 vo-ni-yaka.
 tell-1SG.PAST
 ‘“Let’s go in the river mouth,” I said.’ [4.02]

A person may also report on their own speech, here in an imperative indirect speech report.

- (125) Yi rema mida kokora ni-yaka; vare-yagane
 2.POSS woman child greet say-1SG.PAST sleep-3PL.IMP
 vo-ni.oteima.
 tell-say-tell
 ‘I greet your wife and children; tell them that they must sleep (well).’ [98]

An indirect speech report may also occur in a question. The two examples following include pitch contours. (Clauses end in falling contours; cf. §2.5.2.)



- (126) [Beika.resi] [na rofu] [bi buni vo-ni-sa]?
 why 1SG to TOP good tell-say-2SG.PRES
 ‘Why do you call (lit. tell-say) me good?’ [113]

Other verbs of speech, e.g. *nikaite-* ‘ask’ or *nikabai re-* ‘answer’, also function as the first element in the frame.

- 
- (127) [Ye amiye yokoi yaku] [ya **nikaite-go,**] [“Beika.resi makai
and person one DSM 2 ask-3SG.FUT why like.that
- 
- re-dedi?*”] [vo-ni-go vonisi], [bi ni-fa]...
do-2PL.PRES tell-say-3SG.FUT if TOP say-2PL.IMP
‘And if someone asks you saying, “Why are you doing that?” say...’ [112]

The complex verb *vo-ni-* used for the reported speech construction has varied meanings: ‘tell, call, say, happen.’ The ‘tell, call’ meanings are transitive (as in those seen above), while ‘say, happen’ are intransitive, as in *makai vo-ni-yo* (likewise happen-become-3SG.PAST) ‘it happened like that’ (cf. introducer function in §9.3). It is not clear where it might have originated. (The conjunction *vonisi* ‘if’ may be derived from *vo-ni-si* (say/happen-SEQ.SS) ‘say/happen and then’.) In order to call upon someone *raka ni-* ‘call, shout, invite, summon’ is used. Speech reports give authority to a statement or particularly serve to highlight salient information in a discourse, as in (121) above. The full text can be found in the Appendix, where we can see that among others, this line (118) highlights the fact that the speaker has arrived at his intended destination, by the authority of the boat captain.

6.10 Other verbal strategies

Impersonal verb constructions describe an uncontrolled event, in these cases hunger (128) and illness (129), using the verb *moi-* ‘get’.

- (128) *Rauna na moi-yo.*
hunger 1SG get-3SG.PAST
‘I am hungry (lit. hunger got me).’
- (129) *Lagani yokoi=ri gauka tora ya na moi-yo-ma...*
year one=on illness big DSM 1SG get-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS
‘One year I got sick (lit. illness got me) and...’ [73]

In other situations the verbs *re-* ‘do’ (130), *ni-* ‘become’ (131) and *baku re-* ‘find’ (132) are used, covering such things as pain, fever and further illness.

- (130) *Nai ada esika re-do.*¹⁸
 1SG.POSS head pain do-3SG.PRES
 ‘I have a headache.’
- (131) *Ini rovaita vava ni-yo.*
 3.POSS body hot become-3SG.PAST
 ‘He has a fever.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:260)
- (132) *Magdalene bi kekomuta baku re-yo.*
 (name) TOP disease find do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Magdalene contracted a disease.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:144)

However, in other cases the illness is not considered to be uncontrolled (133);¹⁹ the verb *re-* ‘do’ is used, however in this case, the subject is first person, while the uncontrolled events themselves are the subjects for those described above.

- (133) *Gauka re-si esiroka ni-gam-aka.*
 sickness do-SEQ.SS cough say-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST
 ‘I was sick and coughing.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:98)

Thirst (134) and emotions (135) are not normally considered uncontrolled events.

- (134) *Mofa re-yaka bona koru vai-yaka.*
 sweat do-1SG.PAST and water thirst-1SG.PAST
 ‘I was sweating and thirsty.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:256)
- (135) *Ini rautu vene ada tora re-yadi.*
 3SG.POSS village people happiness big do-3SG.PAST
 ‘His village people were very happy/pleased.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:50)

However, at other times they can be uncontrolled, when the centre of emotion is given, allowing for a ‘fluid’ system of controlled versus uncontrolled outcomes.

- (136) *mina ve-yo-ri bi ini uka ada tora*
 this see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS stomach happiness big

gade iniye re-yo
 very very do-3SG.PAST
 ‘when he saw this his heart became very, very happy’ [15.06]

At times it is unclear, as here there is neither verb nor verbless clause topic marker.

¹⁸ Often in PNG one hears in English, “My head is paining.”

¹⁹ This is an isolated example from the dictionary; 1SG is the most plausible interpretation for ‘the first clause since inconsistent SR marking is limited to off topic comments with *-ri* ‘SIM.DS’ (cf. §9.2.2.1 and §10.2.1B).

- (137) *Ino na =ka biyo.*
 pity 1SG =also sad
 ‘I feel sorry for myself (lit. ‘pity I’m also sad’).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:73)

Sadness is also conveyed by an interesting idiomatic expression, using the centre of emotion *uka* ‘stomach’, translated as ‘heart’.

- (138) *Idu mina godua mina ago neide-si ini uka*
 but this young.man this word hear-SEQ.SS 3.POSS stomach

yare-na iniye re-yo-ma dadi-si di-yo...
 fall-NOMZ very do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS get.up-SEQ.SS go-3SG.PAST
 ‘But this young man heard this and he was crestfallen (lit. ‘his stomach really fell’) and then he got up and went away...’ (SUAR 2017:46:19.22)

Such forms give insight into Doromu-Koki worldview (cf. §1.2.1).

6.11 Conclusion

Although Doromu-Koki has a limited set of verbs (§6.1), it actually has many verbal strategies: both compositional and non-compositional complex verbs (§6.3.1), using simple verbs and nominal, adjectival or postpositional complements, verbal compounding for verbs of speech and ‘get’ SVCs (§6.4). Borrowed verbs are formed as complex verbs, and other verbs are formed by causative strategies, which vary in strength from Indirect to Direct to Forceful (§6.8.1).

Non-spatial setting (§6.6) is primarily indicated on final verbs (§6.2.2), though also on non-final verbs (§6.2.1) when required by the SR system, i.e. for different subject marking. Doromu-Koki is a somewhat agglutinative language, while also fusional with affixes such as A/S person-number-tense. Verbal morphology (§6.2) produces some of the longest words in the language, as otherwise most words on average contain four phonemes. The imperatives (§6.6.3.2) are reasonably complex and also include other strategies to convey command (§6.6.3.3.1).

Intransitive and transitive subject are only indicated in the tense morphemes (§6.6.4); in forms without tense, the person is determined by context. Causatives (§6.8.1) are productive in the language, but not always ‘causative’ in meaning, having other valency-preserving properties (§6.8).

The passive strategy (§6.8.2) is reasonably productive, as is the reported speech construction (§6.9). Some events are uncontrolled (§6.10), but at other times, those same events show control.

7. Complex predicates and verb phrase structure

Doromu-Koki complex predicates are classified into three groups: 1) Compound verbs (§7.1), 2) Complex verbs (§7.2) and 3) Serial verb constructions [SVCs] (§7.3). Within these groups, each is composed of differing elements.

Compound verbs (cf. §6.4) are formed by two verbs, usually *ni-* ‘say’ + another verb to form one complex predicate. (They form one grammatical and phonological word.) These include ambitransitive (S=A) verb forms in which the stem is reduplicated, standing on its own and usually followed by the verb *re-* ‘do’ to form the complex verb (cf. §3.4.2.2). Single-word verbs of speech compounds (cf. Table 6.7) and lexicalised SVCs (cf. Table 7.7) are also included in this type. This type also covers the simple verb Forceful causatives which are formed with the addition of the verb *u-* ‘hit’ + a simple verb (cf. §6.8.1).

Complex verbs (cf §3.5 and §6.3) consist of a complement and an associated simple verb. They contain two subclasses: non-compositional, in which the complement does not occur without the associated simple verb and compositional (cf. §3.5.2). The complement in a compositional complex verb consists of a noun, adjective or postposition, which can be used in other constructions. Complex verbs also enter into sets consisting of pairs or triplets with Indirect and Forceful causative meaning (cf. §6.8.1) and are mostly composed of a complement + a simple verb from a restricted set. All complex verbs and compound verbs form one grammatical word.

Serial verb constructions express direct causation (cf. §6.8.1) as well as various other related events by means of simple verbs and compositional or non-compositional complex verbs. All of these (compound, complex and SVC) are summarised in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1: *Complex predicates compared*

	Causative	Compositional	Non-compositional	Contiguous	Non-contiguous
Compound verbs	None	All ambitransitive: reduplication + optional simple verb <i>re-</i> ‘do’	None for ambitransitives	All; they cannot be separated as they are considered to be one grammatical word	None
Complex verbs	Use of <i>e-V₁</i> ‘I.CAUS’ or <i>u-V₁</i> ‘F.CAUS’ + simple verb	Majority for directional movement and speech: <i>V₁-V₂(-V₃)</i> ; one causative <i>e-</i> ‘I.CAUS’ or <i>u-</i> ‘F.CAUS’ + <i>muye-</i> ‘die’ = ‘kill’; do not include any complex verbs Majority (61.9%): complement with stand alone meaning + simple verb	Four speech verbal compounds <i>ni-</i> ‘say’ + some other verb form which cannot occur on its own Minority (38.1%): complement with no known meaning outside of construction + simple verb	Majority	Minority (of either compositional or non-compositional): mainly interrupted by <i>de</i> ‘negative’, <i>ga</i> ‘prohibitive’ or other minor elements
Serial verb constructions	Use of [<i>moi</i>] _{V₁} ‘D.CAUS/get’ + <i>V₂</i> (Direct – most productive form)	Majority (asymmetrical)	Minority: only one observed to date <i>moi terau-</i> ‘smash’ [cf. (19)]	Majority (symmetrical)	Minority; due to pragmatics, such as indicating object of <i>V₂</i> , extended argument or focus

7.1 Compound verbs

There are two types of compound verbs: 1) reduplicated verbal root and 2) one-word verbal compounds (cf. §3.4.2.1). Some examples of each are included below. A reduplicated verbal root together with the simple verb *re-* ‘do’ forms a complex verb (i.e. action nominalisation; cf. §3.4.2.2). These reduplicated constructions form a closed set (cf. §3.4.2.2); only seven have been attested.

- (1) *Vari~vari re-gedi meda moi-yo-ri bi, uriyaku*
 plant~NOMZ do-3PL.FUT day get-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP morning

gorogoro Tau yaku ini vene raka ni
 early.morning (name) DSM 3.POSS people call say

e-dadi-yo...

I.CAUS-get.up-3SG.PAST

‘When the day they would do planting came, and early in the morning Tau called his people waking (them) up....’ [15.02]

Without the simple verb, a nominal is formed; a reduplicated verbal root marks action nominalisation.

- (2) *Ye, oure-si moimai re-yadi vene bai-yadi-ri,*
 so be.first-SEQ.SS work do-3PL.PAST people come-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS

ini moke~moke ina bi moi tora re-gedi
 3.POSS think~NOMZ 3 TOP D.CAUS big do-3PL.PAST

vo ni-yadi.
 happen become-3PL.PAST

‘So, those who came first to work, their thinking was that they would receive more.’ (SUAR 2017:47:20.10)

A compositional one-word speech verb includes the verb *ni-* ‘say’ plus other constituents to form a complex verb; in this instance, the complement *mumugu* ‘murmur’ and the simple verb *re-* ‘do’. The noun *mumugu* can be used on its own or together with the verb *ni-* ‘say’ as a compositional complex verb *mumugu ni-* ‘grumble, mumble, babble’ (Bradshaw 2021a:183), but when formed into a one-word speech verb, *re-* ‘do’ is required.

- (3) *Amiye tau yaku mina ve-gasa bi ni-mumugu re-gi*
 person all DSM this see-SIM.SS TOP say-murmur do-PURP

kora re-gasa ni-gam-adi...
 begin do-SIM.SS say-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘When everyone saw this they began to grumble saying...’ (SUAR 2017:176:19.7)

A one-word directional compound as seen in (4) has become fully lexicalised (cf. §6.4). Four others of this type occur: *di-bo re-* (come.down-go.over do) ‘coming and going up, travel, *bae-ne-* (come-go.down) ‘coming and going down’ and *bae-de-* (come-come.down) ‘coming, coming along’ (cf. Table 3.19).

- (4) *Ya bi bo-ne auna kana rautu roena*
 2 TOP go.over-go.down dog like village alone

ame-i-sa.

stay-LINK-2SG.PRES

‘You are lazy (lit. ‘going over and down’) like a dog staying home alone.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:75)

Another closed set includes those composed the second verb *feide-* ‘leave’: *ni-feide-* (say-leave) ‘send’, *oure-feide-* (be.first-leave) ‘lead’ and *you-feide-* (throw.down-leave) ‘surrender, give up’ (cf. §3.4.2.1). Compound verbs referring to simultaneous or sequential actions are most productive with those involving the initial speech verb *ni-* ‘say’ (cf. §6.4 and Table 6.7), yet complex verbs are even more productive – they are discussed below.

7.2 Complex verbs

Compound verbs are not used to form causative constructions. Complex verbs are quite ubiquitous. They have previously been extensively discussed in §3.5 and §6.3. Issues discussed included double complex verbs (cf. §3.5.1 and Table 6.6), complex verb formation (cf. §3.5.2), borrowed complex verbs (cf. Table 3.20) and non-compositional versus compositional complex verbs (cf. §6.3.1). Each of these types is exemplified below. In (5), the double complex verb is composed of the simple inherently reduplicated verb *ruru-* ‘go over’ + the non-compositional *fisoi re-* to give a complete meaning of ‘take shortcut’.

- (5) *Evadi mina baka bi ne-si*
 quickly this shortcut TOP go.down-SEQ.SS

ruru fisoi re-nadi.
 go.over take.shortcut do-1PL.IMP

‘Hurry, let’s go down and take this shortcut.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:220)

As often is the case, borrowings are integrated into the language as non-compositional complex verbs. The complement below cannot occur without the associated simple verb *ni-* ‘say’.

- (6) *Nai rema ago ni-gam-o-ri, na yaku*
 1SG.POSS woman word say-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM
serafu ni-yaka-ma bere ni-yo.
 say.shut.up say-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS silent become-3SG.PAST
 ‘When my wife was speaking, I told her to shut up and she was quiet.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:225)

In a compositional complex verb, the complement, which may occur in other constructions without an associated simple verb, may itself be quite complex; the complement below consists of the NP *miya itu dou* (rain cold wet) ‘cold wet rain’.

- (7) *Miya itu dou re-do, ye ga di-bo*
 rain cold wet do-3SG.PRES so PROHIB go.around-go.over
re-fo.
 do-2PL.PO.IMP
 ‘It is stormy, so don’t go out and about.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:168-9)

7.3 Serial verb constructions

Serial verbs are quite similar to compound verbs, but differ in some unique ways. Compound verbs are limited to reduplicated forms indicating action nominalisation or to lexicalised speech, motion or leaving verbs, while SVCs remain distinct events in a chain. Compound verbs are limited to two verbs, while SVCs may be composed of up to three verbs. SVCs are used as the most productive means of indicating causation through use of the initial verb *moi* ‘get’.

A serial verb construction consists of two or more verbs together functioning as a single-predicate event (Aikhenvald 2006:10). Such a construction has no marking indicating coordination or subordination between the constituents (Aikhenvald 2006:1) as seen in example (8). The SVC here is monoclausal (Aikhenvald 2006:1, 6), formed with the verbs *moi*- ‘get’ + *oki*- ‘arrive’, giving the single event meaning of ‘bring’.

- (8) [*Moi oki-yo-ma*] *ini baba yaku ni-yo,*
 get arrive-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS father DSM say-3SG.PAST
 ‘He brought (lit. get-arrive) her and then her father said....’ [20.13]

In contrast, a two-clause structure would consist of some type of clause linking, producing distinct events, e.g. *moi-si oki-yo-ma...* (get-SEQ.SS arrive-3SG.PAS-SEQ.DS) ‘he got it and then he arrived and then...’. Defining properties of SVCs also include contiguity (§7.3.1), wordhood (§7.3.2), shared TAM and modality (§7.3.3), shared argument (§7.3.4) and shared polarity (§7.3.5).

7.3.1 Contiguity

Most SVCs are contiguous (Aikhenvald 2018:92).¹ When additional information only applicable to the subsequent verb, such as an object or other extended argument is required, they may not be contiguous. Contiguity reflects the argument structure of SVCs, so that O is not always shared. In (12), there are two non-contiguous SVCs. In the first instance, V_1 involves an instrument, i.e. bush knife, in which the objects of v_2 for that instrument, i.e. vine and load, are indicated, and not shared with v_1 . Subsequently, in the second SVC, an oblique location argument is indicated before v_3 . In the example below, the construction *ukita ri-* (tie make) ‘tie’ is considered a complex verb while *uakai-* ‘carry’ and *re-* (do) are considered separate verbs because *ukita* is an adjectival complement. It requires the simple verb *ri-* to indicate verbal action. The verbs *uakai-* and *re-* are individual verbs which can be used (and inflected) on their own; in this instance they are adjacent functioning as constituents in a SVC.

- (9) *Mina usi baiya [moi]_{V1} maena bona maduna [nuga-si,]_{V2}*
 this follow bush.knife get vine and load cut-SEQ.SS
- ukita ri-si, [uakai]_{V1} [re-i]_{V2} kamini rautu [moi]_{V3}*
 tie make-SEQ.SS carry do-LINK enough village get
- [oki-yafa.]_{V4}*
 arrive-1PL.PAST
 ‘Then we got a bush knife and cut a vine and load and tied it up, carried it and then brought it to the village.’ [4.14]

An object may intervene between V_1 and V_2 when it is the object of V_2 , the canonical object position.

- (10) *[Ne re-i]_{V1} dona [ve-yaka]_{V2} bi, tafa maka kita*
 look do-LINK pig see-1SG.PAST TOP hardly only move
- re-yo ve-yaka...*
 do-3SG.PAST see-1SG.PAST
 ‘I looked seeing the pig, I saw that it hardly moved...’ [1.17]

In (11), the oblique location *omuna* ‘mountain’ cannot precede the initial verb, as it is the argument of V_2 only.

¹ Note the inclusion of an epenthetic linking vowel (cf. §2.6A) on V_1 of two verb SVCs or V_1 and V_2 of three verb SVCs. While SVCs with a linker cannot be considered prototypical, since the linker is desemanticised, they are considered a marginal type (cf. examination of such in Urarina in Aikhenvald 2018:136).

- (11) ...*bona* [*bo-i*]_{v1} *omuna* [*iruruka re-yafa*]_{v2}.
 and go-LINK mountain climb.up do-1PL.PAST
 ‘...and went climbing up the mountain.’ [4.07]

The determination of word relevant to SVCs is included in the discussion below.

7.3.2 Wordhood

Most SVCs are composed of individual grammatical and phonological words (as in the examples above) [Aikhenvald 2018:93; cf. §2.8.1], but several have lexicalised into one-word units, as in (13) below (cf. §7.3.10). Some of these no longer have any compositional meaning, e.g. *moi.terau-* (get.smash) ‘smash’ in (19) below; **terau-* does not occur without *moi-* ‘get’. The largest group of one-word SVCs are verbs of speech; an exhaustive listing is found in Table 7.7.

7.3.3 Shared TAM and modality

Modality, aspect, mood/tense and switch-reference marking only occur on the final verb of an SVC (Aikhenvald 2006:8; 2018:27). Since there is only one suffix indicating modality (*-bo* ‘potential’; §6.6.1.1), it is rarely seen in SVCs.

- | | | | | | | |
|---------|--|--------------|-----------------|---------------|----------------|------------|
| | SVC | | Modality | Aspect | Tense | SR |
| (12) a. | <i>moi</i> | <i>dairi</i> | <i>-bo</i> | <i>-bi</i> | <i>-gedi</i> | <i>-ma</i> |
| | get. | return | -POT | -FUT.IMPERV | -3PL.FUT | -SEQ.DS |
| | ‘they might be taking (it) back and then...’ | | | | | |
| | | | | | Mood | |
| b. | <i>fere-i</i> | <i>de</i> | | | <i>-yagadu</i> | |
| | leave-LINK | come.down | | | -HYPOTH | |
| | ‘should leave coming down’ | | | | | |

Any illocutionary force would also be shared (Aikhenvald 2018:30) as in the one-word SVC *u.mu ye-* ‘kill’ in (13) below.

7.3.4 Shared argument

Serial verb constructions have shared subject (Aikhenvald 2006:12-14; 2018:40),² indicated on the final verb, except for switch-function (O=S) (Aikhenvald 2006:14), which indicates the initial A on the final verb (13); the hearer is the transitive subject, being instructed to kill the offending creature. Objects are normally a shared, i.e. single-verb, event, e.g. ...*u* (hit) ‘hit (it)’ (Aikhenvald 2018:43), except in the case of non-contiguity (cf. Aikhenvald 2018:40 and §7.3.1 above).

² Note that A/S is only indicated on the verb in the portmanteau A/S-person-number-tense morphemes (cf. §6.6.4) or by NP/PN in the subject constituent slot (cf. §5.1).

- (13) *Ya aki re-go baebu, u-muye.*
 2 sting do-3SG.FUT lest F.CAUS-die
 ‘Lest it sting you, kill (lit. ‘hit-die’) (it).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:249)

In (14), we see an intervening (between V₂ and V₃) instrument *yuka-ma* ‘by leg’ (cf. Aikhenvald 2018:43) as it is modifying V₃.

- (14) *Dubu dairi de Gordons soka re yuka-ma*
 again return come (place.name) arrive do leg-by

bai-yafa 21 club...
 come-1PL.PAST
 ‘We got back to Gordons again and arrived and came by foot to 21 club...’
 [12.24]

We will now continue with another feature of Doromu-Koki SVCs, shared polarity.

7.3.5 Shared polarity and scope of negation

The neighbouring (to the north) Barai language [Papuan, Southeast, Koiari/Baraic (Pawley, 2005)] has a unique negator that limits scope of negation of non-contiguous SVCs (Olson 1975:33 and Foley and Olson 1981:40). While Doromu-Koki does not have a special negator for SVCs, its negators do limit the scope of SVCs. Any negation applies to the whole of the SVC (Aikhenvald 2006:8-9; 2018:28, 30-31).

- (15) *ini uka de moi amuta re-yagane*
 3 stomach neg D.CAUS peaceful do-3PL.IMP
 ‘they refuse to be comforted (lit. their stomachs must not be made peaceful)’
 [SUAR 2017:5:2.18]

- (16) *...ni-oteimar-o, “Ga dairi bo-yagane.”*
 say-tell-3SG.PAST PROHIB return go-3PL.IMP
 ‘...he told (them), “**Don’t** go back (there).” ’ [81]

Another important feature relative to SVCs is their prosodic properties.

7.3.6 Prosodic properties

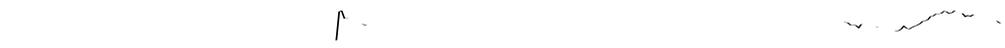
When SVCs are contiguous, like a single-verb clause, the pitch contour remains fairly constant throughout the SVC, lacking any intonation or pause break (Aikhenvald 2006:7; 2018:27). (SVCs are indicated in bold.)

- (17) *...Kasonomu rautu otuka=ri kono uratoku-si rautu*
 (name) village backyard=at ground break.apart-SEQ.SS village



tobo-ma rausi re-i de-gam-o.
 middle-at pour do-LINK come-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘...at the backyard of Kasonomu village the ground broke loose and was coming down upon the middle of the village.’ [9.04]

However, when they are non-contiguous, the pitch contours are correspondingly less constant, with an increase on the intervening elements; note particularly the elevated pitch for the oblique instrument.



 (18) *Dubu dairi de-i Gordons soka re-i yuka-ma*
 again return come-LINK (place.name) arrive do-LINK leg-by



bai-yafa 21 club...
 come-1PL.PAST
 ‘We got back to Gordons again and arrived and came by foot to 21 club...’
 [12.24]

The majority of Doromu-Koki SVCs are composed of two verbs, while the remainder are composed of three. Their composition will be further discussed below.

7.3.7 Composition of SVCs

The components of SVCs (cf. Aikhenvald 2018:55) take many forms, thus allowing for variation in the end result: a component in any of the three slots can consist of a simple verb or a verbal compound. Complex verbs do not occur in the final slot in three-verb forms. Table 7.2 below shows all possibilities. (Note that the $V_1 + V_2$ two simple verb and $[\text{COMP } V]_{V_2} + V_3$ types are conflated in the three verb types.)

Table 7.2: *Serial verb construction types*

Verbs	V ₁ slot	V ₂ slot	V ₃ slot
3		V ₂	(V ₃)
	V ₁	$[\text{COMP } V]_{V_2}$	(V ₃)
2		$[\text{V.V}]_{V_1-2}$	
	$[\text{COMP.V}]_{V_1}$	V ₂	
	$[\text{COMP } V]_{V_1}$		

Few Doromu-Koki SVCs are non-contiguous (cf. §7.3.1) and most are asymmetrical (cf. §7.3.8). Some are single-word compositional or non-compositional (cf. §6.3.1). The first slot constituent for the two verb SVC type in Table 7.2 ($[\text{COMP.V}]_{V_1}$) represents a non-

compositional serial verb, as in *moi* ‘get’ + *terau-* = ‘smash’.³

- (19) [*Moi terau*]_{V1-V2} *kumo* *muye-yaine*.
 get smash and.then die-3SG.IMP
 ‘Smash it and then it must die.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:178)

Three verb constructions ($V_1 + V_2 + V_3$) have just two types. The first type, composed of three simple verbs, forms an asymmetrical direction SVC (Aikhenvald 2018:56). The minor verb is a motion verb, such as *di-* ‘go’ (Aikhenvald 2018:56).

- (20) *Ve kumo, yi maruka moi di-si guri ai-yadi*
 see and.then 2.POSS husband get go-SEQ.SS bury put-3PL.PAST

vene bi ida vena=ri mironi, ye ya =ka [[uakai]_{V1}
 people TOP road mouth=at there so 2 =also carry

[[*moi*]_{V2} [*di-gedi!*]_{V3}]]_{SVC}
 get go-3PL.FUT

‘Look, the people who took your husband and buried him are there at the gate (lit. ‘road mouth’), and they will also take and carry you (out)!’

(SUAR 2017:259:5.9)

The second type is composed of a simple verb followed by a complex verb followed by another simple verb, forming a sequential symmetrical SVC (Aikhenvald 2018:73).

- (21) *Bi gabi usi-gida, [[moi]_{V1} [etae ri]_{V2} [ai-yaka]_{V3}]]_{SVC}*
 TOP later follow-1SG.FUT get move.away put-1SG.PAST

dada.

so

‘I will follow later, so I put it aside (lit. ‘take it, move it away and put it’).’

(Bradshaw 2021a:172)

The verb *moi* is glossed as ‘get’ in SVCs of direction, while in other verb constructions it functions as the Direct causative (cf. §6.8.1; Aikhenvald 2006:16-17).

7.3.8 Asymmetrical serial verbs

An asymmetrical serial verb (Aikhenvald 2018:72) consists of a major and a minor component. The major component is rarely limited, while the minor is limited to various semantic values. Those types of asymmetrical serial verbs found in Doromu-Koki are: 1) direction (§7.3.8.1), 2) instrumental (§7.3.8.2), 3) aspectual (§7.3.8.3), 4) modal (§7.3.8.4), 5) phasal (§7.3.8.5), 6) valency increasing/preserving (§7.3.8.6) and 7) event-

³ Note that *moi terau-* here is zero inflected for third person imperative (cf. §6.6.3.2).

argument (§7.3.8.7). Note the internal nesting structure as shown in (24) above.

7.3.8.1 Direction

Direction SVC (cf. Aikhenvald 2006:22-23; 2018:56) is a prolific type; many can also be viewed as sequential in nature. The ‘major’ components are the verbs of motion, providing directional, positional and aspectual specification, while the ‘minor’ components are of various types, and sometimes verbs of motion as well. Table 7.3 lists what verbs occur for each component for two-verb forms and Table 7.4 for three-verb forms, which are essentially two-verb forms preceded by the direct causative *moi-* ‘get’.

Table 7.3: *Direction SVC components: Two-verb forms*

‘Minor’ component		‘Major’ component	
<i>afe-</i>	‘take, lead’	<i>ae-</i>	‘put, place’
<i>bo-</i>	‘go (over/up)’	<i>bae-</i>	‘come’
<i>fere-</i>	‘leave’	<i>bo-</i>	‘go (over/up)’
<i>moi-</i>	‘get, take, hold’	<i>dadi-</i>	‘get/stand/rise (up)’
<i>ne-</i>	‘go (down)’	<i>dairi-</i>	‘return, come back’
<i>nugar-</i>	‘cut, chop’	<i>de-</i>	‘come (down)’
<i>oure-</i>	‘be first/eldest’	<i>di-</i>	‘go (around)’
<i>tare-</i>	‘dry/shrivel up’	<i>dui re-</i>	‘enter, go inside’
<i>uakai-</i>	‘carry, take’	<i>etage ri-</i>	‘move away/over’
		<i>feide-</i>	‘leave, depart’
		<i>maku-</i>	‘throw (away)’
		<i>mar-</i>	‘give’
		<i>meide-</i>	‘put in’
		<i>ne-</i>	‘go (down)’
		<i>oki-</i>	‘arrive’(telic)
		<i>orefar-</i>	‘come/pass over’
		<i>ourefeide</i> ⁴ -	‘lead, rule/reign over’(positional)
		<i>raudai re-</i>	‘lie down’
		<i>rutu re-</i>	‘pull, summon’(directional, asymmetrical)
		<i>soka re-</i>	‘arrive’(telic)
		<i>sokau re-</i>	‘jump (down)’
		<i>tae ri-</i>	‘clear, get out’
		<i>ugar-</i>	‘cross over, wipe off’(directional, asymmetrical)
		<i>yaku-</i>	‘go/come out’

⁴ Compound of *oure-* ‘be first’ + *feide-* ‘leave’ (cf. §6.4).

Table 7.4: *Direction SVC components: Three-verb forms*

First component	Second component	Third component
<i>moi-</i> ‘get, take, hold’ (direct causative)	<i>afe-</i> ‘take, lead’ <i>bae-</i> ‘come’ <i>dairi-</i> ‘return, come back’ <i>erokoko re-</i> ‘drag’ <i>etage ri-</i> ‘move away/over’ <i>feide-</i> ‘leave, depart’ <i>kayo re-</i> ‘scoop, bail (out)’ <i>ourefeide-</i> ‘lead, rule/reign’ <i>rutu re-</i> ‘pull, summon’ <i>uakai-</i> ‘carry, take’ <i>yaku-</i> ‘go/come out’	<i>ae-</i> ‘put, place’ <i>bae-</i> ‘come’ <i>bo-</i> ‘go (over/up)’ <i>de-</i> ‘come (down)’ <i>di-</i> ‘go (around)’ <i>fere-</i> ‘leave’ <i>maku-</i> ‘throw (away)’ <i>mar-</i> ‘give’ <i>ne-</i> ‘go (down)’

Both forms most often combine with *moi* ‘get’, and exclusively for the three-verb form, e.g. [*moi bae-*] ‘bring’, [*moi bo-*] ‘take over’, [*moi dadi-*] ‘bring up’, [*moi de-*] ‘bring down’ and [*moi di-*] ‘take around’. While *moi-* is mainly used with objects, *afe-* ‘take, lead’ is used with people.

- (22) *Gua bi urusa ni-yo-ma agiya mamō*
now TOP night become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS tomorrow and.then

afe-i bo-fo.
take-LINK go.over-2PL.PO.IMP
‘Now it has gotten dark, so lead/take (him) over tomorrow.’
(Bradshaw 2021a:53)

Tables 7.5 and 7.6 list all the directional combinations derived from the slots above. These combinations could alternately be considered Direct causatives (cf. §6.8.1); here, however, *moi* is glossed as ‘get’ to preserve the directional component.⁵ Those indicated in bold are non-contiguous, having some necessary compositional element, e.g. *moi fafau ae-* (get on.top put) ‘take putting on top’. (Since the intervening element is not a verb, and therefore considered a complement in a complex verb construction, these were not included in the previous table.)

⁵ Sub-entries to the verb *moi-* ‘get’ form a large section in the dictionary (Bradshaw 2021a:170-180).

Table 7.5: *Direction SVC combinations: Two verbs*

Item	Component glosses	Meaning
<i>afei bae-</i>	lead come	‘bring’
<i>afei de-</i>	lead come.down	‘bring down’
<i>ferei bae-</i>	leave come	‘leave coming’
<i>ferei de-</i>	leave come.down	‘leave coming down’
<i>moi ae-</i>	get put	‘put (down)’
<i>moi bae-</i>	get come	‘bring’
<i>moi bo-</i>	get go.over	‘take, lead (thing) over’
<i>moi dadi-</i>	get get.up	‘bring up’
<i>moi dairi-</i>	get return	‘take/bring back, return’
<i>moi de-</i>	get come.down	‘bring down’
<i>moi di-</i>	get go.around	‘take around’
<i>moi dui re-</i>	get enter	‘bring in, welcome’
<i>moi etagae ri-</i>	get move.away	‘move/take away’
<i>moi fafau ae-</i>	get on.top put	‘take putting on top’
<i>moi feide-</i>	get leave	‘send away’
<i>moi gabi dairi-</i>	get later return	‘take back later, borrow’
<i>moi guri ae-</i>	get hole put	‘take and bury’
<i>moi maku-</i>	get throw.away	‘take away’
<i>moi mar-</i>	get give	‘take giving’
<i>moi meide-</i>	get put.in	‘put in’
<i>moi odorō re-</i>	get above do	‘lift/pick up’
<i>moi oki-</i>	get arrive	‘bring’
<i>moi orefar-</i>	get come/pass.over	‘spread out over’
<i>moi ourefeide-</i>	get lead	‘take leading’
<i>moi raudai re-</i>	get lie.down	‘take lying down’
<i>moi rutu re-</i>	get pull	‘pull, drag’
<i>moi soka re-</i>	get arrive	‘bring, off load’
<i>moi sokau re-</i>	get jump	‘take jumping (down)’
<i>moi tae ri-</i>	get clear.out	‘take clearing out’
<i>moi ugar-</i>	get cross.over	‘take across’
<i>moi yaku-</i>	get go/come.outside	‘take/bring out’
<i>nu maku-</i>	cut throw.away	‘fell, cut down’
<i>ourei bo-</i>	be.first go.over	‘go first’
<i>tarei di-</i>	dry.up go.around	‘shriveled all up’
<i>uakai⁶ yaku-</i>	carry go/come.outside	‘carry out’

⁶ The verb *uakai-* is the generic term for ‘carry’; more specific terms include *adodi-* ‘carry on head by handle/rope’, *akau ri-* ‘carry child/dog/invalid on shoulders’, *kirokai-* ‘carry on shoulder’ and *maduna ri-* ‘carry load’ (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:449 [§7.3.1]).

Table 7.6: *Direction SVC combinations: Three verbs*

Item	Component glosses	Meaning
<i>moi</i> [afei bo-]	get lead go.over	‘take (person) over’
<i>moi</i> [bae de-]	get come come.down	‘bring coming down’
<i>moi</i> [dairi ae-]	get return put	‘take/put back’
<i>moi</i> [dairi mar-]	get return give	‘take giving back’
<i>moi</i> [erokoko rei bo-]	get drag go.over	‘take over dragging’
<i>moi</i> [etageae ri ae-]	get move.away put	‘move putting away’
<i>moi</i> [feidei di-]	get leave go.around	‘take sending around’
<i>moi</i> [feidei ne-]	get leave go.down	‘take sending down’
<i>moi</i> [gira rei bae-]	get hard do come	‘bring holding firmly’
<i>moi</i> [kayo rei maku-]	get scoop throw	‘take and bail out’
<i>moi</i> [odoro rei di-]	get above do go.around	‘take around lifting up’
<i>moi</i> [ori ne-]	get fear go.down	‘take running down (in fear)’
<i>moi</i> [ourefeidei re-]	get lead do	‘take leading on’
<i>moi</i> [rutu re- bae-]	get pull come	‘bring pulling/dragging’
<i>moi</i> [tau ri- fere-]	get all make leave	‘take all away’
<i>moi</i> [uakai bo-]	get carry go.over	‘take carrying over’
<i>moi</i> [yaku bo-]	get go/come.outside go.over	‘bring/take over outside’

In some instances the compositional meaning is at variance with the sum of the individual parts, as seen in (23-24). The verb *nugar-* ‘cut’ must be truncated to *nu*, as a closed syllable is not permissible. (In only dropping the final consonant, a second person singular imperative *nuga* ‘cut (it)’ would be derived.) This truncated form is most likely a special form reserved for SVCs.

- (23) *Yabo vana-raro [nu maku-yafa].*
 tree hand-line cut throw-1PL.PAST
 ‘We felled four (lit. hand-line) trees.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:198)

The constituent V_2 in (28) provides a specification of extent (cf. Aikhenvald 2018:58).

- (24) *Meda yaku moi-yo-ma [tare-i di-yadi].*
 sun DSM get-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS dry.up-LINK go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘The sun came up and they (leaves) were all shriveled up (lit. ‘went down drying up’).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:235)

7.3.8.2 Instrumental

Instrumental type SVCs (Aikhenvald 2018:2) are infrequent as they are non-contiguous. Otherwise, an SR construction would be used, e.g. *baiya moi-si* (knife get-SEQ.SS) ‘got a bush knife and...’.

- (25) *Mina usi baiya moi maena bona maduna nuga-si...*
 this follow bush.knife D.CAUS vine and load cut-SEQ.SS
 ‘Then we cut a vine and the load with a bush knife and...’ [4.14]

- (29) *Idu mina tau bi mida odi-na gera re-na esika [bae]_{V1}*
 but this all TOP child bear-NOMZ labour do-NOMZ pain come

[kora re-gedi]_{V2} kana.

begin do-3PL.FUT like

‘But all these (things) will be like childbearing labour pains.’

(SUAR 2017:57:24.8)

- (30) *[Nuga-i]_{V1} [koina ni-yo-ri]_{V2}, na yaku*
 cut-LINK finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM

ni-yaka-ma amiye rau re-yafa.

say-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS person share do-1PL.PAST

‘And when it was all cut up, I told people to come and get a share of it.’ [4.16]

In one instance, *kora* was used on its own without the associated verb; on occasion it can be used outside of an SVC. In (31), *kora* follows a verb inflected with *-gi* ‘purpose’, which normally precedes an inflected verb, e.g. *nana uga-i re-gi kora re-si* (walk cross-LINK do-PURP begin do-SEQ.SS) ‘we were beginning to walk across and’.

- (31) *...etofaro bi nana uga-i re-gi bi kora bi usa~usa*
 outside TOP walk cross-LINK do-PURP TOP begin TOP ask~PL

ni-yafa ma kamin bo-yafa.

say-1PL.PAST and and.then go-1PL.PAST

‘...outside as we were beginning to walk across we prayed and then went on.’

[12.03]

7.3.8.6 Valency increasing/preserving

The only valency increasing (or preserving) [cf. Aikhenvald 2006:25-26; 2018:62] device in Doromu Koki is the causative. The most productive Direct causative (§6.8.1) type forms SVCs through its use of *moi-* ‘get’ in the *V₁* slot (cf. Table 6.14). Direct causative are exemplified in (36-38).

7.3.8.7 Event-argument

Event-argument serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2006:27-28; 2018:68) are a means of indicating manner of action, with *moi-* ‘get’ + a postposition (32) or an adjective (33-34) + *ri-* ‘make’. These also occur with other minor verbs, e.g. *ni-odoro re-* (say-above.do) ‘exalt’ or *bae tumu ni-* (come short become) ‘shorten’.

- (32) *Nai baba dadi-yo ini sosogi mina [[moi]_{V1}*
 1SG.POSS father get.up-3SG.PAST 3.POSS spear this D.CAUS
[odoro ri-si]_{V2}]SVC koru gena yaku dona fidi re-gi
 above make-SEQ.SS water bamboo DSM pig shoot do-PURP
re-dedi kana re-yo.
 do-3PL.PRES like do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My father got up and took up his spear and did like what is done to shoot a pig
 with a gun (lit. water bamboo).’ [1.09]
- (33) *Kero re-si kamini vada nai adu gade mina [moi]_{V1}*
 turn do-SEQ.SS enough then 1SG.POSS jaw tooth this D.CAUS
[gira ri-si]_{V2} moi-yo maka...
 hard make-SEQ.SS get-3SG.PAST only
 ‘It turned around then and firmly grabbed a hold of my jawbone...’ [1.11]
- (34) *Nai vegu bi mina ya [moi]_{V1} [tumu ri-na]_{V2} no*
 1SG.POSS life TOP this DSM D.CAUS short make-NOMZ bad
ma bi kaini.
 and TOP already
 ‘This one did not shorten (lit. ‘make short’) my life.’ [12.20]

7.3.9 Symmetrical serial verbs

In symmetrical serial verb constructions (Aikhenvald 2018:73) one encounters a one-word lexicalised switch-function SVC (Aikhenvald 2018:12, 44) [cf. §7.3.4 above], i.e. the object of the first component is the subject of the second.

- (35) *...iya re-gasa iniye~iniye u-muye-gam-adi.*
 fight do-SIM.SS REFL~DISTR hit-kill-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘...when they were fighting they were killing each other.’ [19.01]

This type incorporates a sequence of sub-actions into one, as in (36) in which *usi* ‘follow’ precedes a motion verb,⁷ such as *di-* ‘go’, i.e. ‘follow and go...’, or *bae-* ‘come’, *fere-* ‘leave’, *gote-* ‘descend’ or *ne-* ‘go down’.

- (36) *Ina =ka ini goidu di-gam-o usi di-yadi.*
 3 =also 3.POSS where go-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST follow go-3PL.PAST
 ‘They also followed him wherever he was going.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:252)

These are in opposition to the directional type, which has a simultaneous interpretation (cf. Aikhenvald 2018:43). The two components are now seen as one action.

⁷ Note in (29) above a case in which it does not, in the expression *mina usi* (this follow) ‘then’.

- (37) ...*kamini boromakau di iruku iri-dedi maua=ri [moi]_{V1}*
 and.then cattle GEN food eat-3PL.PRES box=in get

[*ai-yo*]_{V2}

put-3SG.PAST

‘...and then she placed him in a cattle feeding trough’ (SUAR 2017:125:2.7)

7.3.9.1 Cause-effect

Cause-effect serial verbs (Aikhenvald 2006:29; 2018:75) have lexicalised, such as *umuye-* ‘kill, murder’, composed of the Forceful causative *u-* ‘hit’ (cf. §6.8.1) + *muye-* ‘die’ as seen in (39) above. This is also switch-function (cf. §7.3.4 and §7.3.9 above) with simultaneous experiencer resultative⁸ as the components do not share subject, i.e. in a non-reflexive situation such as *iya re-gasa ini tuma vene umuye-gam-adi* (fight do-SIM.SS 3.POSS wild people kill-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST) ‘when they were fighting they were killing their enemies’. The initial subject A ‘they’ do the ‘hitting’ and then the O ‘the enemies’ do the ‘dying.’ This is the only type of non-identical subject SVC.

7.3.9.2 Synonymous or parallel serialisation

While uncommon, synonymous serialisation (Aikhenvald 2018:79) can be found in Doromu-Koki, e.g. *ne re-* ‘look’ + *ve-* ‘see’ in (10) above, or in lexicalised forms, such as *di.bo* (go.around.go.over) ‘walk around’ or *bo.ne* (go.up.go.down) ‘lazy’.⁹

- (38) *Di bo-ne =ka re-yaka.*
 go.around go.over-go.down =also do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I was also lazy (lit. ‘going around, over and down’).’ [2.00]

Likewise, verbs of speech are parallel actions (Aikhenvald 2018:73), as in *ni-oteimar-* (say-tell) ‘tell’.

- (39) *Rautu oki-yafa-ri na ya ini nono sina*
 village arrive-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM 3.POSS mother story

ni-oteimar-aka-ma ini nono sena gubuyo re-yo...
 say-tell-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS mother already anger do-3SG.PAST
 ‘When we arrived in the village I told the story to his mother and she was already angry...’ [3.09]

⁸ That is, the O of V₁ = S/A of V₂ (cf. Aikhenvald 2006:17; 2018:45).

⁹ Note, no vowel epenthesis (§2.6A) takes place, as it is now a lexicalised form and no longer a verb.

7.3.9.3 Verbal action focus

Sometimes an SVC can indicate verbal action focus, in which seemingly the same action is being repeated or emphasised, as seen in Kana (a Cross River language of Nigeria) with *take + bring* (Aikhenvald 2018:176-7, ex 7.55). These are most commonly found in spontaneous story telling. In (40), ‘come’ is a component of all three verbs in the serial verb construction.

- (40) ...*Taboro vene, Arama vene Nero vene [orefa-i]*_{V1}
 (name) people (name) people (name) people come.over-LINK
- [bai]*_{V2} *[de-yadi]*_{V3} *ro Budo.*
 come come.down-3PL.PAST to (name)
 ‘...the Taboro people, Arama people and the Nero people who crossed over and came down to Budo.’ [8.16]

Component verbs of an SVC can also function independently (Aikhenvald 2018:3). An important feature in Doromu-Koki, lexicalisation in serial verb constructions in particular is discussed below.

7.3.10 Lexicalisation

There are several lexicalised SVCs (Aikhenvald 2006:30-31; 2018:218) in Doromu-Koki (cf. examination of other lexicalised one-word verbs in §3.4.2.1). They are considered to be one unit, not just as a grammatical word, but also as a phonological word; the first two no longer function as verbs. There is also a strong preference to write them as one unit, thus forming a new word from the two previous lexemes. They do not permit any intervening constituents, and as one unit, linking vowel epenthesis (cf. §2.6A) does not occur, e.g. **boine*. These lexicalised forms have two general types: directional and speech acts (all beginning with *ni-* ‘say’).

Table 7.7: *Lexicalised SVCs*

Item	Components	Meaning
<i>bo-ne</i>	go.over-go.down	'lazy'
<i>di-bo</i>	go.around-go.over	'walking/travelling around'
<i>e-you-ne-</i>	I.CAUS-throw.away-go.down	'release, open (up), allow, permit'
<i>ni-e-dadi-</i>	say-I.CAUS-get.up	'wake up'
<i>ni-feide-</i>	say-leave	'send (away), release, deliver'
<i>ni.kaite-</i>	say.ask	'ask, question, inquire'
<i>ni-kuru-</i>	say-uproot	'mock, ridicule, scorn'
<i>ni-mar-</i>	say-give	'commend, endorse, condone'
<i>ni.mati-</i>	say.convince	'convince, approve'
<i>ni-oku-</i>	say-break.open	'testify, inform, reveal'
<i>ni-oteimar-</i>	say-tell	'teach, instruct, proclaim'
<i>ni.rabe-</i>	say.credit	'credit, declare'
<i>ni-vai-</i>	say-burn	'rebuke, correct, scold'
<i>ni.vaigar-</i>	say.compose	'compose'
<i>ni-vake-</i>	say-exalt	'worship, praise, exalt, serve'
<i>ni-ve-</i>	say-see	'test, ask'
<i>oure-feide-</i>	be.first-leave	'lead, direct, reign over'
<i>u-you-ne</i>	F.CAUS-throw.away-go.down	'get rid/dispose of'
<i>you-feide-</i>	throw.away-leave	'surrender, concede, abandon'
<i>you-ne-</i>	throw.away-go.down	'untie, loosen, release'

In (41), the form *dibo* 'walk.around' functions as an NP, taking the postpositional clitic =*ri* 'in'.

- (41) *To yi memory maka ve-bi-gifa uni*
 but 2.POSS only see-FUT.IMPERV-1PL.FUT 1.POSS

di-bo=ri.

go.around-go.over=in

'But we will only be seeing your memory in our walking around (lit. go.around-go.over).' [63]

Constituent parts of lexicalised SVCs may be obscured; in some instances the non-speech component no longer has any readily identifiable meaning on its own (i.e. *kaite* below).

- (42) *Nai aufa rema mina sina una*
 1SG.POSS grandparent woman this story 1PL

ni-gam-o,

say-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST but big people again ask-LINK say-1PL.IMP

'My grandmother was telling us this story, but we should ask the elders again.' [117]

All of the known SVCs have been exhaustively listed in the tables above.

7.3.11 Other issues

Some other issues relevant to Doromu-Koki SVCs include ‘secondary’ verb of intention (§7.3.11.1) and neighbouring languages (§7.3.11.2).

7.3.11.1 ‘Secondary’ verb of intention

The ‘secondary’ verb of intention (cf. §3.4.1.1) is often a component of a serial verb construction, never occurring on its own without some other verb.

- (43) *Mina buka di adina bi Koki, Kokila bona 'Origo ago*
 this book GEN basis TOP (name) (name) and (name) word
- ni-dedi vene di ini rama alphabet [va]_{v1} [reto*
 say-3PL.PRES people GEN 3.POSS true try right
- re-na]_{v2}]_{svc} Doromu ago=ri.*
 do-NOMZ (name) word=in
- ‘The purpose of this book is for the Koki, Kokila and ‘Origo language speakers’ true alphabet’s verification in the Doromu language.’ [22.01]

In this example, an instance of nominalisation (§3.7.1) is also observed.

7.3.11.2 Neighbouring languages

As Doromu-Koki uses *moi-* ‘get’ in numerous SVCs to form causatives (§6.8.1), the Uare (Papuan, Southeast, Kwalean) language, neighbouring to the west, equivalently uses *mae-* ‘get’ [Kikkawa 1993:118, ex (551)]. Koiari (Papuan, Southeast, Koiaric) appears to employ a comparable method of indicating a causative with *mi* ‘get’ (Dutton 1996:68), and most likely Barai (Papuan, Southeast, Koiari/Baraic) as well (Olson 1981:157).

- (44) *Mani mae tunahuo ofa-duni...* (Uare)
 wallaby get basket.in put.inside.PAST-SEQ
 ‘I got and put (lit. cause to put inside) the wallabies inside a basket and...’

7.4 Verbal clause structure

Often a Doromu-Koki verbal clause does not include a subject, as the final verb gives such indication, but when present, the subject precedes the object. As we have already seen, negation can occur in various positions; below canonical position is indicated. A verbal clause is straightforward (cf. Diagram 8.1 for complete structure). Note that negation may intervene in complex verbs.

(A/S) (O) (NEG) V
 V-V
 CV
 SVC

The verbal argument consists of a simple (cf. §3.4), compound verb (cf. §6.4 and §7.1), complex verb (cf. §3.5 and §7.2) or serial verb construction (cf. §7.3). Serial verb constructions include varying combinations (cf. Table 7.2) of the previous types. They act as either non-final or final verbs. In (45) below, the various types of verbs are indicated in bold.

Simple verb:

- (45) a. (na) ya **u-yaka**
 1SG 2 hit-1SG.PAST
 ‘I hit you’
- b. (na) ya de **u-yaka**
 1SG 2 NEG hit-1SG.PAST
 ‘I did not hit you’

Compound verb:

- (46) a. (na) (ina) **u-muye-yaka**
 1SG 3 hit-die-1SG.PAST
 ‘I killed him’
- b. (na) (ina) de **u-muye-yaka**
 1SG 3 NEG hit-die-1SG.PAST
 ‘I did not kill him’

Complex verb:

- (47) a. (na) ya **abidi** **re-yaka**
 1SG 2 designate do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I chose (did not choose) you’
- b. (na) ya de **abidi** **re-yaka**
 1SG 2 NEG designate do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I did not choose you’

Serial verb construction:

- (48) a. (na) **moi yaku** **bo-si...**
 1SG get go.outside go.over-SEQ.SS
 ‘I took (it) over outside and...’
- b. (na) **mina moi yaku** **bo-si...**
 1SG this get go.outside go.over-SEQ.SS
 ‘I took this over outside and...’

These are the complex predicate structures in Doromu-Koki.

7.5 Conclusion

Complex predicates in Doromu-Koki take three forms: compound verbs (§7.1), complex verbs (§7.2) and serial verb constructions (§7.3). Each is a unique means of predication. Compound verbs are used either to increase transitivity or as compositional or non-compositional speech verbs or lexicalised forms (§7.3.10), often directional (§7.3.8.1) in nature.

Complex verbs also can be compositional or non-compositional, have a specific inventory of associated simple verbs and can have ‘double’ complexity as well as allow for non-contiguity (§7.3.1) in various situations. They may have valency changing (or preserving) function creating indirect or forceful causatives (§7.3.8.6).

Both multiple-word and single-word SVCs have been examined. Most usually they consist of two components, though many three-component constructions have been observed. The various verb slots are comprised of either a simple verb or a compositional or non-compositional complex verb. Both symmetrical (§7.3.9) and asymmetrical (§7.3.8), contiguous and non-contiguous SVCs (§7.3.1) occur in the language, covering many varying types. Non-contiguity is primarily due to pragmatic factors. Issues of wordhood (§7.3.2), shared TAM and modality (§7.3.3), shared argument (§7.3.4), shared polarity (§7.3.5) and prosodic properties (§7.3.6) help to distinguish SVCs from other verb forms such as non-final verbs.

8. Clause structure and clause types

Doromu-Koki has two primary types of clauses: verbal (§8.1) and verbless (§8.2), described below. Verbal clauses are either main or dependent clauses, while verbless are main clauses only.

8.1 Verbal clauses

Main clauses stand as complete sentences (cf. Dixon 2010a:75). Dependent clauses have either non-final verbs (cf. §6.2.1) or final verbs with coordinating (cf. §4.10.1) or subordinating clause linking conjunctions (cf. §4.10.2).

Non-final verbs are inflected with switch-reference marking (and non-spatial setting in the case of different subject marking; cf. §6.2.1). When same subject marking is used, non-spatial setting (modality, aspect and tense; cf. §6.6) is not indicated until the final verb of the clause.

Final verbs (cf. §6.2.2) are always inflected for non-spatial setting, and canonically are the final element in a clause. All clauses can be negated (cf. §4.8) with either *ide* or *dia* ‘negative’ or *ga* ‘prohibitive’ (in conjunction with an imperative marking).

The structure of the verbal clause is shown in Diagram 8.1, and is exemplified below.

Diagram 8.1: *Verbal clause structure*

Constituents
1. (Conjunction)
2. (Oblique _{TEMPORAL})
3. (Transitive/intransitive subject)
4. (Oblique NP)
5. (Object NP)
6. (Extended argument NP)
7. Verb phrase

It is rare to find a clause with all possible constituents; the following exemplifies the adjacent conjunction, oblique temporal and intransitive subject slots.

- (1) [ye]_{CNJ} [meda yokoi maka=ri]_{TEMP} [amiye 23,000]_S [muye-yadi]_V
and day one only=on person die-3PL.PAST
‘and on just one day 23,000 people died’ [SUAR 2017:365:10.8]

Below, adjacent oblique temporal, transitive subject, oblique and object slots are exemplified.

- (2) [*Yokaru*]_{TEMP} [*Zechariah bi*]_A [*Sei nivake-na yava=ri, Sei di*
 one.day (name) TOP God worship-NOMZ house=in God GEN
nemoko=ri]_{OBL} [*Sei ma amiye uta=ri naivo amiye di*
 eye=in God and person middle=in serving person GEN
moimai]_O [*re-gasa ame-do*]_{VP}
 work do-SIM.SS stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘One day Zechariah was doing (lit. is doing) priestly (lit. person serving between
 God and people) work in the temple (lit. God worshipping house) in before (lit in
 the eyes of) God’ [*SUAR* 2017:120:1.8]

This third example shows conjunction, transitive subject, object, extended argument and verb slots.

- (3) [*adina*]_{CNJ} [*Varika amiye yaku*]_A [*esika*]_O [*na*]_E [*mar-o*]_V
 for chief person DSM pain 1SG give-3SG.PAST
 ‘for the Lord (lit. Chief person) has given me pain’ [*SUARBB* 2011:1.20]

This constituent order is fairly fixed (especially for those indicated in bold), except as means of indicating prominence, by foregrounding of arguments, or elaboration, through postposing (cf. §10.2.2.3). Through foregrounding, A/S, O, OBL (location), ADV and VP are placed before any present conjunction that begins a clause.

- (4) ***dona*** *kamini* ve-yaka
 pig and.then see-1SG.PAST
 ‘and then I saw the pig’

Through postposing, an OBL [location (cf. §4.3)] or instrument then follows the VP.’

- (5) *na dona moi bai-yaka rautu=ri*
 1SG pig D.CAUS come-1SG.PAST village=to
 ‘I brought the pig to the village’

Oblique temporal constituents (cf. §3.2.1.5) are also able to change position for pragmatic effects (cf. §10.2.2.3C). Foregrounding of the extended argument has not been observed. [See §10.2.2.3 for further discussion of fronting (or foregrounding) and right-dislocation (or postposing).] An intransitive clause is exemplified in (2), while (1) shows a transitive clause. An intransitive clause could minimally contain only the verb *di-yafa* (go-1PL.PAST) ‘we went’; all constituents, apart from the verb (phrase) are optional. Transitivity distinction is indicated by the presence or lack of appropriate slots. A/S occupies the same slot; transitive or ditransitive clauses contain O and E slots immediately before the verb phrase, respectively (cf. also §3.4.2.2).

- (6) [*Yokaru Saturday*]_{TEMP} [*na Raphael bona Mathias*]_S [*sufa~sufa*]_{OBL}
 one.day 1SG (name) and (name) bush~INTS

[*di-yafa*]_{V...}

go-1PL.PAST

‘One Saturday, Mathias and I, Raphael went to the big bush...’ [4.01]

Example (7) contains three clauses; in the initial clause the optional intransitive subject, which is not stated in the second clause, functions as transitive subject in the second clause. These clauses have a dependent coordinate linking structure – forming a chain in which they are all dependent on the final clause verbal morphology to identify the A/S (as well as person, number and tense). Aside from the obligatory verb phrase, only the object is indicated in the second clause, while in the third only the location; each is relevant to the particular verb’s action.

- (7) [[*Na*]_S [*dadi-si*]_V]_{CL1} [[*viro bona baiya*]_O [*moi-si*]_V]_{CL2}
 1SG get.up-SEQ.SS axe and bush.knife get-SEQ.SS

[[*rarama*]_{OBL} [*ne-yaka*]_V]_{CL3}.

clearing go.down-1SG.PAST

‘I got up and took my axe and bush knife and went down to the clearing.’ [3.02]

In (8) we see both object and extended argument (indirect object) indicated.

- (8) [*Kokou rubu vene*]_A *yaku* [*dona eso*]_O [*una*]_E [*mar-adi*]_V.
 (name) clan people DSM pig abdomen 1PL give-3PL.PAST
 ‘The Kokou clan people gave us (the) pork belly.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:98)

A complete clause would consist of the verb alone: *maradi* ‘they gave (it)’.

8.2 Verbless clauses

Dixon (2010b:184) says that a verbless clause is one in which “..the predicate slot is unfilled but a copula-like relation is established between verbless clause subject (VCS) and verbless clause complement (VCC).” Creissels, Bertinetto and Ciucci (Forthcoming 2023) further state that a non-verbal predicative construction is one: “...consisting of an argument phrase and a predicate phrase in which the property- or relation-denoting element that acts as the semantic nucleus of the predicate phrase is not a verb.” Doromu-Koki verbless clause structure resembles the juxtaposition construction as addressed by Creissels, Bertinetto and Ciucci (Forthcoming 2023), realised as: VCS *bi* ‘topic marker’ VCC (cf. §5.2.3). (Note: the topic marker is obligatory in this clause type.) Verbless clauses cannot form dependent clauses or commands; these two require verbs, as in dependent clauses and commands using imperative forms (cf. §6.6.3.2 and §8.3.3).

Doromu-Koki has nominative-accusative case, indicated by constituent order; the verbless clause subject shares common position with both transitive and intransitive subject, and in particular with the latter. Verbless clause subjects are no different than transitive and intransitive subject; the only distinction in a verbless clause is use of the topic marker *bi* functioning strictly in a copula-like sense in place of a verb. Negation is indicated by the addition of the negative clause finally, e.g. example (9) would be *Koki bi ago roka de* [(name) TOP word name NEG] ‘Koki is not the name of the language’. There are four types of verbless clauses: equative (§8.2.1), attributive (§8.2.2), locative (§8.2.3) and existential (§8.2.4); they are each discussed below.

8.2.1 Equative

The verbless clause complement of the equative type is filled by a noun phrase. In (9), the verbless clause subject is also filled by an NP.

- (9) [*Koki*]_{vcs} *bi* [*ago* *roka*]_{vcc}.
 (name) TOP language name
 ‘Koki is the language name (or name of the language).’ [8.03]

The verbless clause subject may also be filled by a pronoun or demonstrative [cf. (14)], e.g. *na bi amiye doba* (1SG TOP person tall) ‘I am a tall man’ or *mina bi dona keika* (this TOP pig small) ‘this is a small pig’. The two subtypes of equative include interrogative (§8.2.1.1) and possessive (§8.2.1.2).

8.2.1.1 Interrogative

An interrogative (cf. §4.5, Table 4.14 for a list of interrogatives) occupies the slot of the verbless clause complement.

- (10) [*Koki* *vene*]_{vcs} *bi* [*kaere*]_{vcc}?
 (name) people TOP who
 ‘Who are the Koki people?’ [8.01]

Interrogatives retain the same constituent order as an equative (or declarative) clause, e.g. *yi roka bi beika?* (2.POSS name TOP what) ‘what is your name?’ or *baiya bi goini?* (bush.knife TOP where) ‘where is the bush knife?’ versus *baiya bi mini* (bush.knife TOP here) ‘the bush knife is here’ (a locative type; cf. §8.2.3).

8.2.1.2 Possessive

A possessive pronoun typically fills the complement slot (11);¹ it could be considered

¹ Genitive type constructions also occur, e.g. *ma yokoi bi Elijah di* (and one TOP (name) GEN) ‘and one is Elijah’s’.

pertensive as PN + *di* ‘genitive’ (cf. §4.1.2). The initial consonant of the genitive is deleted, as well as the final vowel of the original A/S/O pronoun, except in the case of first person singular, i.e. *na* + *di* > *nai*; *ya* + *di* > *yi*. The possessive pronouns are shown in Table 8.1 (see §4.1.2 for further elaboration on the possessive pronouns).

Table 8.1: *Possessive pronouns derivation*

A/S/O pronoun	Meaning	Possessive pronoun	Meaning
<i>na</i>	‘I, me’	<i>nai</i>	‘my, mine’
<i>ya</i>	‘you (sg./pl.)’	<i>yi</i>	‘you, yours (sg./pl.)’
<i>ina</i>	‘he, she, it, they’	<i>ini</i>	‘his, her(s), its, their(s)’
<i>una</i>	‘we, us’	<i>uni</i>	‘our(s)’

- (11) [*Mina giro*]_{vcs} *bi* [*nai*]_{vcc}.
 this axe TOP 1SG.POSS
 ‘This axe is mine.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:118)

In the possessive verbless clause the focus is on the possessor. Compare this type of ‘possessive’ clause with one such as (12) below. Perhaps the most characteristic would be found in (12), which most readily translates as ‘have’, focussing on physical location. The possessor focus type above could be translated as ‘belongs to/owes...’. However, some items cannot be possessed (‘belong to’ a person). For example, one cannot say **maruka bi ini* (husband TOP 3.POSS) ‘the husband is hers’, but instead *bi maruka nufa* (TOP husband POSS) ‘she has a husband’ or *ini maruka ame-do* (3.POSS husband stay-3SG.PRES) ‘her husband lives/exists’. The possessor focus type above is readily used with objects, as in (11) or *gugura bi uni* (thing TOP 1PL.POSS) ‘the things are ours’. However, states cannot be possessed: **esika bi nai* (pain TOP 1SG.POSS) ‘the pain is mine’, whereas possessive pronouns may modify a noun in an NP: *nai esika bi tora* (1SG.POSS pain is big) ‘my pain is great’. The type found in (20) is rare, more of a temporary possession.

A subtype is expressed through the postposition *nufa* ‘with’ marking the possessee (cf. §4.4.4).

- (12) [*Foketa*]_{vcs} *bi* [*fon nufa*]_{vcc...}
 pocket TOP phone POSS
 ‘The phone was in my pocket (lit. ‘the pocket had a phone’)...’ [12.11]

This type of predicative possession emphasises the relationship between the possessor and the possessee; the individual is concerned with his pocket, an extension (or ‘part’) of himself. This possessee, the location of the phone when it was taken, is also the topic in the story. The sentence could also be translated as ‘(My) pocket **had** a phone (in it).’ It is not, however, inalienable possession, as one could not say **na bi yuka nufa* (1SG TOP leg

POSS) ‘I have a leg’ or **na bi nono nufa* (1SG TOP mother POSS) ‘I have a mother’, but rather *nai nono ame-do* (1SG.POSS mother stay-3SG.PRES) ‘My mother lives/exists’.

8.2.2 Attributive

In the attributive type, the complement is filled by an adjective phrase (13), the instrumental postposition *dudu* (14), often glossed as ‘with’ or an adverbial, or with the conjunction *kamini* ‘and then’ or adverb *kaini* ‘already’ (15). In (13) the verbless clause subject is a transitive “complement clause” (cf. §8.4.2), which is possible with any of these types.

- (13) [*Mo* [*ya*]_A [*ya*]_E [*ma-gida*]_v]_{VCS} *bi* [*gira* *tora*]_{VCC}.
 but DSM 2 give-1SG.FUT TOP hard big:very
 ‘To give it to you would be very difficult.’ [16.18]

- (14) [*Mina*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*reto* *bura* *ni-oku-na*]_{NP} *bona* [*bura*
 this TOP right writing say-appear-NOMZ and writing
ri-na]_{NP}]_{NP} [[*Doromu* *ago*]_{NP} *dudu*]_{OBL}]_{VCC}.
 make-NOMZ (name) word INST
 ‘It (lit. ‘this’) is reporting (lit. say-appearing) on correct letters and writing in the
 Doromu language.’ [22.02]

In (15) the head NP contains a verbless clause, i.e. there is a verbless clause within the verbless clause subject of another verbless clause.

- (15) [[*Nai* *vegu*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*mina* *ya*]_A [*moi* *tumu* *ri-na*
 1SG.POSS life TOP this DSM D.CAUS short make-NOMZ
no *ma*]_{VCC}]_{VCS} *bi* [*kaini*]_{VCC}.
 bad and TOP satisfied/enough
 ‘This one did not (lit. wasn’t enough to) shorten (lit. make short) my life.’ [12.20]

After equative, attributive is one of the more productive types.

8.2.3 Locative

A verbless locative clause employs various locatives (cf. §4.3) in the verbless clause complement slot. (Cf. §8.1 for examples of locatives in verbal clauses).

- (16) ...[*nai* *adu* *nena*]_{VCS} *bi* [=ka *miron*]_{VCC}.
 1SG jaw bone TOP also there
 ‘...my jawbone was also there.’ [1.12]

A verbless locative clause complement can also be filled with a postpositional (cf. §4.3) phrase.

- (17) [*Nai rautu*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Oduika omuna odoro=ri*]_{VCC}.
 1SG.POSS village TOP (name) mountain above=on
 ‘My village is up on Oduika mountain.’ [5.00]

8.2.4 Existential

The existential verbless clause concludes with the topic marker; the verbless complement clause is empty. (Note that the whole clause has not been negated, only the complement clause/object.)

- (18) *Adina* [*yi Baba oma=ri ina diba* [*ya nufa de tau*]_O]_{VCS}
 for 2.POSS father sky=in 3 know 2 POSS NEG all

bi [\emptyset]_{VCC}.
 TOP
 ‘For your Father in heaven knows (what) all you are in need of (lit. ‘you do not have/doesn’t exist for you’).’ (SUAR 2017:14:6.32)

When an existential verbless clause is negated, the verbless clause complement is filled with the negative particle *de*.

- (19) ...[*kimo ame-na*]_{VCS} *bi* [*de*]_{VCC}.
 cautiously stay-NOMZ TOP NEG
 ‘...and cautiously didn’t remain (there).’ [1.16]

The topic marker *bi* is also used with verbal clauses. (See §4.13.1 and §10.2.2.3D for further discussion on this very prevalent discourse marker.)

- (20) ...[*na bi*]_A [*dura kori yokoi*]_O [*kirokai-yaka*]_V.
 1SG TOP net.bag old one carry.on.shoulder-1SG.PAST
 ‘...and I carried one old net bag on my shoulder.’ [1.03]

In fact, clauses can be embedded in such a verbal (topical) clause (21), in which case relative (cf. §8.4.1) and “complement clauses” (cf. §8.4.2) are formed.

- (21) [[[[*Na yaku*]_A *moke-yaka* *bi*, [*Mironi aka*]_O
 1SG DSM think-1SG.PAST TOP there prawn

u-dedi]_{CC}]_{CL1}, ” *bao* *ni-yaka*]_{CL2}.
 F.CAUS-die-3PL.PRES assume say-1SG.PAST
 I thought, “They are there killing prawns,” I assumed.’ [6.05]

In this way, quite complex structures are generated.

8.3 Sentence types in terms of speech acts

Three types of sentences distinguished in terms of speech acts include 1) statement (§8.3.1), 2) question (§8.3.2) and 3) command (§8.3.3).

8.3.1 Statement

Statement is the most frequent speech act, exhibiting general downward pitch contours for each clause, falling at the end of the sentence (cf. §2.5.2 for example of a statement pitch contour).



- (22) [*Misin koina dada*]_{CL1} [*vadaini vana ya*
 machine finish so already hand DSM



turiya re-i-da]_{CL2}.

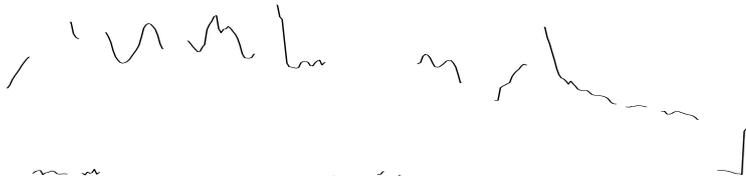
sew do-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘Since the machine is finished, then I’m sewing by hand.’ [37.02]

This type is the most frequently observed.

8.3.2 Question

Either a real or rhetorical content question requires an interrogative word and contains a downward pitch contour with a final sharp rise (cf. §2.5.2B for example of a another example of question pitch contour).



- (23) *Robert, ya goina Cairns kona beika=ri ame-dedi?*
 (name) 2 where corner what=in stay-2PL.PRES
 ‘Robert, in what corner of Cairns do you (pl.) live?’ [40.02]

In other instances, only a word expressing uncertainty, i.e. *baeko* ‘perhaps’, provides a clue as to the interrogative nature of the utterance; here with a quasi-questioning form, and yet no final rising pitch contour.



- (24) ...*cowboy movie ibounai mirona=ri act re-dedi baeko?*
 cowboy movie all there=at act do-3PL.PRES perhaps
 ‘...perhaps all the cowboy movies are filmed (lit. ‘acted’) there?’ [39.13]

It was most likely too late in the speaker's conversation to make an adjustment; he resorted to addition of the word *baeko* 'perhaps'. Polar questions behave in the same manner [cf. §2.5.2B example (4)].

8.3.3 Command

Commands are indicated by the use of the imperative verbal affixes (cf. §6.6.3.2), and as applicable, the prohibitive (cf. §6.7.3), as in (26).

- (25) *Vare-fo Sei yaku ya aide-yaine*
 sleep-2PST.PO.IMP God DSM 2 help-3SG.IMP
 'Goodbye, may God help you' [111]

Below, the second "complement clause" is the verbless clause complement of the first verbless clause and simultaneously the verbless clause subject of a second verbless clause.

- (26) ...[*nai beika Paul di bura =ri moi kero*
 1SG.POSS what (name) GEN writing =at D.CAUS turn
re-yaka]_{cc} *bi* [*ya rofu moi feide-i-da mini*
 do-1SG.PRES TOP 2 for get send-LINK-1SG.PRES here
 –2 *Pita 2:11-17*]_{cc} *bi ga moi bura re.*
 TOP PROHIB D.CAUS writing do
 '...what I am sending you now that I have translated from Paul's writing – 2 Peter 2:11-17, don't type (lit. 'write') (it).' [100]

As with statements, commands also have falling contour patterns.

- (27)  *Ide, English dudu ni.*
 NEG English INST say
 'No, say (it) in English.' [47]

The means of maintaining distinction between the two clauses is dependent on verbal morphology.

8.4 Other clause types

In addition to dependent clauses marked with switch-reference or other clause linking devices and main clauses with final verbs, one other type of clause occurs, that being the impersonal construction.

8.4.1 Impersonal construction

The passive-like strategy, as previously briefly discussed (cf. §6.8.2), mentioned that the subject is left unspecified (third person singular or plural). Through topicalisation of the object argument, an impersonal (quasi-passive) construction is generated. Otherwise

these clauses are the same as any other verbal clauses, since A/S is optional. If a subject was overtly specified (here indicated in bold, along with relativiser *mina* 'this') example (28) would instead be *adina **ina vene yaku** Amiye di mida bi muye-go, **mina** bura rey-adi kana...* (for **3 people DSM** person GEN child TOP die-3.FUT **this** writing do-3PL.PAST like) 'for as they wrote, the Son of man will die...' The context for the following example is that Christ was telling his disciples that one of them was to deny him. The focus is on the Son of man's death (which will be due to the one who will deny him), and not on the ones (prophets) who wrote about it.

- (28) [*Adina Amiye di mida bi muye-go*]_{SC1}, [*bura re-yadi*
 for person GEN child TOP die-3SG.FUT writing do-3PL.PAST
kana]_{FC1}, *idu mina amiye rofu bi iriyeduka no iniye...*
 like but this person to TOP sorrow bad very
 'For the Son of man will die, as it was written (lit. as they wrote), but it is very
 sorrowful for this person...' (SUAR 2017:64:26.24)

This construction is used to 1) background (or downplay) the subject, 2) foreground the object or 3) keep the subject generic (28).

8.5 Conclusion

Doromu-Koki clause structure and types have been examined. The two main types of clauses are verbal (§8.1) and verbless (§8.2). Verbal clauses have only one form, while verbless clauses, making use of the topic marker *bi* as a copula-like linker between the verbless clause subject and the verbless clause complement, exhibit four different types, all of the form VCS *bi* 'topic marker' VCC. The most frequently occurring is equative (§8.2.1), with a form VCS *bi* NP [or appropriate equivalents, e.g., pronoun, demonstrative, interrogative (§8.2.1.1) or possessive (§8.2.1.2)]. The other types include attributive (§8.2.2), in which the complement clause is filled with an adjective phrase, instrumental or adverb, locative (§8.2.3) and existential (§8.2.4).

We have also seen how pitch contours vary according to the speech acts of statement, question and command (§8.3).

9. Clause combining

Discussion of clause combining structure includes sentence structure in general (§9.1), clause linking (§9.2), direct and indirect speech reports (§9.3) and clause chaining (§9.4).

9.1 Sentence structure

Doromu-Koki sentences consist of from one to ten clauses. They frequently consist of two (31.0%) and most rarely of ten (0.6%). After two clauses, then starting with only one clause, the percentage decreases inversely to the number of clauses present (excluding nine, for which none were attested). Table 9.1 shows the percentages for each total number of clauses found per sentence in 24 texts of various genres. Over 90% of the sentences consist of five or less clauses, over 75% of three clauses or less, and over 50% of two or less. Looking at the figures across genres, these hold fairly consistently, except that conversations, social media and songs have higher occurrences of single clauses.

Table 9.1: *Number of clauses per sentence*

Sentence number of clauses	Percent occurrences	Running total
2	31.0%	31.0%
1	25.5%	56.5%
3	19.3%	75.8%
4	9.8%	85.6%
5	6.4%	92.0%
6	4.0%	96.0%
7	2.8%	98.8%
8	0.6%	99.4%
9	0.0%	99.4%
10	0.6%	100.0%

The two clause types are verbless (1) and verbal (2). The (single-clause) verbless clause (cf. §8.2) is of the form VCS *bi* ‘topic marker’ VCC, while a classic two-clause verbal clause (cf. §8.1) has switch-reference marking on the non-final verb (marking clause; cf. §6.2.1). (Focal clauses [FC]¹ and supporting clauses [SC] are also indicated where applicable; all clause linking devices are also highlighted in the examples below.)

¹ A focal clause is defined as the clause that “determines the mood of the whole sentence” (Dixon 2010a:133); cf. Dixon (2010a:133-136) for further discussion on focal and supporting clauses.

- (1) [*Mina rema remanu di roka*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Inu Mamanu*
 this woman two GEN name TOP (name) (name)
bona Dau Mamaru]_{VCC}.
 and (name) (name)
 ‘These two women’s names were Inu Mamanu and Dau Mamaru.’ [16.03]
- (2) [*Bo-yafa-ma*]_{DC} [*John di muro odema adina kami*
 go-1PL.PAST (name) GEN garden old.garden near and.then
oki-yafa]_{IC}.
 arrive-1PL.PAST
 ‘We went and then we arrived near John’s old garden.’ [1.05]

Example (3) contains ten clauses labelled sequentially; the corresponding clauses are indicated in the free translation as well. Three are non-final verb (cf. §6.2.1) clauses and seven final verb (cf. §6.2.2) clauses. The non-final verb clauses are dependent clauses, using switch-reference marking to give discourse continuity and temporal linking (cf. §9.2.2.2). When a simultaneous SR marking is used, the events of each of the two clauses occur simultaneously, and when a sequential SR marking is used, the events in the two clauses occur one after another. Summary bridging linkage (cf. Aikhenvald 2019:461, §9.4.2 and §10.2.2) *re-si* (do-SEQ.SS) ‘and then’ frequently occurs. (In some respects it could be argued that the third dependent clause is not really a clause because of its clause linking function, i.e. it is behaving as a “small” or “reduced” clause.) Frequently, at the conclusion of one sentence the summary bridging linkage *resi* ‘SBL’ will be used, as a link from one clause to the next. In this way, the discourse continues uninterrupted, avoiding the longer and less customary recapitulative linkage (or tail-head linkage) [cf. §9.4.2]. Both strategies used together are quite rare. The final verb clauses are independent clauses; here we see three embedded clauses. (Clause linking devices are indicated in bold.)

- (3) [*Rautu oki-yafa-ri*]_{DC1} [*na ya ini nono sina*
 village arrive-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM 3.POSS mother story
nioteimar-aka-ma]_{DC2} [*ini nono sena gubuyo re-yo*]_{IC1},
 tell-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS mother already anger do-3SG.PAST
 [*resi*]_{DC3} [*na nikaite-yo [aruma yaku aki re-yo ba*
 SBL 1SG ask-3SG.PAST snake DSM bite do-3SG.PAST or
de]]_{IC2}]_{IC3}, [*to na yaku ni-yaka bi [de aki re-yo]*]_{IC4},
 NEG and 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST TOP NEG bite do-3SG.PAST

[*no ni-yo*]_{IC5}_{DC4}, [*dada ini nono ada re-yo*]_{DC5}.
 bad become-3SG.PAST so 3.POSS mother happiness do-3SG.PAST
 ‘[When we arrived in the village]_{DC1} [I told the story to his mother and]_{DC2}
 [his mother was already angry]_{IC1}, [and then]_{DC3} [she asked me [if the snake
 had or had not bitten (him)]_{IC2}]_{IC3}, [and I told (her) [that (it) did not bite]_{IC4}
 [(or) harm (him)]_{IC5}]_{DC4}, [so his mother was happy]_{DC5}.’ [3.09]

Different means of combining clauses are exemplified above. Those will now be discussed along with various other means.

9.2 Clause linking

Doromu-Koki has various ways in which clauses can combine into sentences. In verbal clauses, clause linkers characteristically intervene between two clauses. These clause linkers are realised as temporal postpositions (§4.4.3) or conjunctions (§4.10). Otherwise clauses may be chained together through non-final verbal morphology (§6.2.1). Most frequently this involves switch-reference marking (§9.2.2.1), but in limited instances it includes the purposive (§6.6.3.6) and conative (§6.6.3.7). In verbless clauses (§8.2), the VCS and VCC are conjoined by means of the topic marker *bi* having a copula-like function. Relative clauses (§9.2.5) and “complement” clauses (§9.2.6) are joined to other clauses by apposition or for relative clauses in some situations by the demonstrative *mina* ‘this’ or the interrogative *kaere* ‘who’.

Coordination (§9.2.1) and subordination (§9.2.2) are used to link clauses, along with manner clause linking (§9.2.3). These are listed according to semantic type in Table 9.2 (based on Dixon 2009:2, 6) and whether they occur at the beginning of a supporting clause (initial) or end (final), or other (which will be then be elaborated further). Further examination of these clause linkers includes: coordinating conjunctions (§4.10.1), switch-reference (§6.2.1), temporal postpositions (§4.4.3), subordinating conjunctions (§4.10.2), heterosemous non-spatio-temporal postposition *rofu* (§4.4.4), purposive mood (§6.6.3.6) and conative mood (§6.6.3.7).

In general the semantic focal clause corresponds to the grammatical main or independent clause while the supporting clause corresponds to the dependent clause (Dixon 2009:40).

Table 9.2: *Semantic types of clause linking*

Linking type		SC initial	SC final	Other
Temporal	Succession	<i>kamini</i> ‘(and) then’ <i>ma(mo)</i> ‘(and) even/then, until’ (§9.2.1)	<i>kumo</i> ‘and/even then’ (§9.2.1) <i>-ma</i> ‘sequential different subject’ <i>-si</i> ‘sequential same subject’ (§9.2.2.1)	<i>ma/bona</i> ‘and’ [between clauses] (§9.2.1)
	Relative time		<i>fogori/fuofuori/neitua/neganai</i> ‘while’ <i>gabi</i> ‘after, later, last’ (§9.2.2.2) <i>-ga(sa)</i> ‘simultaneous same subject (while)’ <i>-ri</i> ‘simultaneous different subject’ (§9.2.2.1)	
Consequence	Conditional	<i>bema</i> ‘if’ (§9.2.2)	<i>vonisi</i> ‘if, when’ (§9.2.2)	
	Cause-effect	<i>mina dada/resi</i> ‘therefore’ <i>rofu</i> ‘so that’ <i>ye</i> ‘so, and’ (§9.2.2)	<i>dada</i> ‘so (that), because, for, according to’ <i>ine</i> ‘so, because’ (§9.2.2)	
	Result-reason	<i>adina/badina</i> ‘because’ (§9.2.2)		
Addition	Purposive		<i>-gi</i> ‘in order to’ (§9.2.2.1)	<i>=ka</i> ‘also, too, as well as’ (§9.2.1)
	Conative		<i>-gika</i> ‘try to’ (§9.2.2.1)	
	Negative consequence		<i>baebu</i> ‘lest, otherwise, possibly’ <i>baeko</i> ‘perhaps, maybe, probably’ (§9.2.2)	
	Same-event addition			
Alternative	Contrastive	<i>idu/to</i> ‘but, yet’ (§9.2.1)		<i>ba/o²</i> ‘or, and’ and’ [between clauses] (§9.2.1)
	Disjunction			
Manner	Real/hypothetical			<i>kana</i> ‘like, as’ (§9.2.3)

² This is placed between the FC and the SC, not marking either (cf. §9.2.1), although intonationally recognised as with the SC.

9.2.1 Coordination

Coordination is indicated through three types of coordinating conjunctions (cf. §4.10.1): additive (cf. §4.10.1.1), alternative (cf. §4.10.1.2) and contrastive (cf. §4.10.1.3) which are listed in Table 4.16.

The conjunction *bona* ‘and’ is mainly used for coordinating NPs, but can also be used to conjoin clauses (4); the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ (5) has the same segmental form as the ‘sequential different subject’ switch-reference suffix *-ma* to be discussed below (§9.2.2.1). The additive conjunctions *ma* and *bona* occur between clauses. As with the synonymous contrastive and alternative coordinating conjunctions, they are freely interchangeable – the distinction is that the second set, i.e. *bona* ‘and’, *to* ‘but’ and *o* ‘or’, are borrowed while the first, i.e. *ma* ‘and’, *idu* ‘but’ and *ba* ‘or’, are not. The borrowed terms are frequently used with a concomitant higher degree of code-switching (or using more ‘foreign’ words); therefore, it is mainly a matter of personal preference.

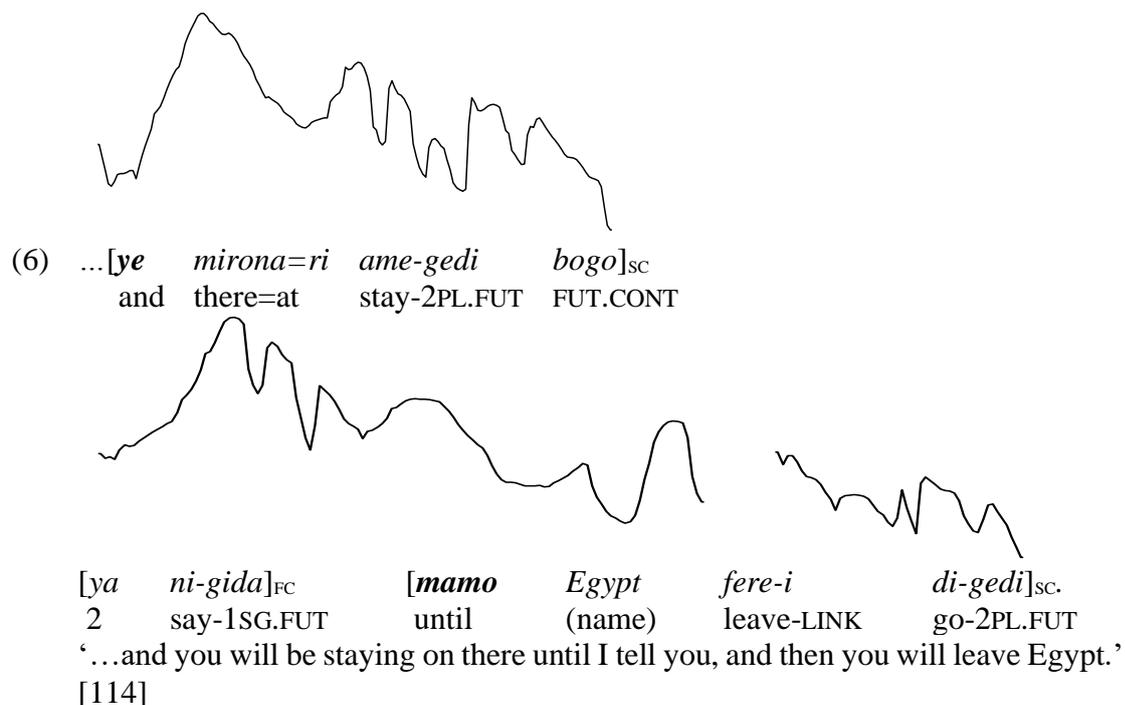
- (4) ...[de meki re-gam-afa] **bona** [bo-i omuna
 NEG chase.away do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST and go-LINK mountain
 iruruka re-yafa]
 climb.up do-1PL.PAST
 ‘...we weren’t chasing (it) and we went and climbed up the mountain’ [4.07]

Since the verbs are slightly different in each clause in (4) above, the aspectual distinction of past imperfective in the first clause and perfective (which is unmarked; cf. §6.6.2.1) in the second clause are retained through use of the conjunction *bona*; otherwise with same subject switch-reference marking on the first clause, the same TAM marking is maintained on the final verb. Also, the clauses belong to the unordered addition semantic type. In (5), the speaker adds another proposition through use of *ma* ‘and’.

- (5) [O Magdalene bi toga esiroka ni-do]_{FC} **idu** [ina bi
 oh (name) TOP always cough say-1SG.PRES but 3 TOP
 buni]_{SC} **ma** [dubu nai usa yokoi ya-ni-da bi...
 good and brother 1SG.POSS ask one 2-say-1SG.PRES TOP
 [vare-fo]_{IC}.
 sleep-2PL.PO.IMP
 O, Magdalene is always coughing, but she is well and brother my one petition to
 you is...Goodbye.’ [24.03]

The additive conjunction *mamo* ‘and then, until’ may be derived from the Hiri Motu *maoromaoro* ‘at once, immediately’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199). It occurs at the

beginning of the supporting clause, but prosodically is realised as concluding the focal clause (6), as is sometimes the case with other conjunctions. Intonational patterns are identical for both independent and dependent clauses, with a general final falling contour. Clause initially, a contour begins with a rise followed by a break (or pause) to signal transition to another clause. If used in a dependent clause, a slightly lower initial pitch and a shorter break occur. Successive dependent clauses tend to start successively higher and end successively lower. An independent clause will end even lower. Pauses between clauses with switch-reference marking are shorter in duration than those with other clause linking devices. All the remaining coordinating conjunctions are used specifically to link clauses (7-13).



The cliticised conjunction =*ka* ‘also, too, in addition to, and, as well as’ (7), normally occurs in the fixed position (cf. Aikhenvald, Dixon and White 2020:13) after the subject (A/S/VCS) or the foregrounded object or extended argument which it modifies. It occurs following other constituents, such as an adverb, when the subject is not overtly stated, e.g. *kimo =ka na ni-yo* (carefully =also 1SG say-3SG.PAST) ‘he also carefully told me’. Like other clitics, the conjunction =*ka* occurs on the final constituent of the NP it is marking (cf. §2.8 and §4.4.5). Also the conjunction *mamo* ‘and then’ is here realised in its rapid speech form *mo*.

- (7) ...[*beuka ni-si yai re-yo*]_{FC}, [***mo na =ka esika***
 grunt say-SEQ.SS knock.down do-3SG.PAST and 1SG=also pain
amute-si]_{SC} [*kimo ame-na bi de*]_{FC}.
 feel-SEQ.SS carefully stay-NOMZ TOP NEG
 ‘...it grunted and knocked (me) down, and then I also felt pain and carefully didn’t
 remain (there).’ [1.16]

The coordinating conjunction *kumo* ‘and then’ normally occurs at the end of the clause; conceivably because of the SR linking already occurring at the end of the second clause, as a form of emphasis of the sequential nature of the second action.

- (8) [*Robert, ya ame baba=sa*]_{FC}, [*na bo-si*]_{SC} [*koru inua*
 (name) 2 stay father=ACCM 1SG go-SEQ.SS water wash
re-gida kumo]_{SC}.
 do-1SG.FUT and.then
 ‘Robert, you stay here with (my) uncle (lit. father), and then I will go and wash.’
 [39.17]

The conjunction *kumo* also routinely co-occurs with imperatives.

- (9) [*Usa ni-fa kumo*]_{SC} [*ya ma-go*]_{FC}
 prayer say-2PL.IMP and.then 2 give-3SG.FUT
 ‘And then pray (and then) it will be given to you’ (*SUAR* 2017:14:7.7)

The additive conjunctions *mamo* and *kumo* appear to be nearly synonymous. There are, however, slight variations in their use: the form *kumo* mostly occurs after imperatives, as in (9), or future tense, as in (8). The conjunction *mamo* is more freely used, occurring after future [often *bogo* FUT.CONT ‘it will be ongoing’; cf. (6)] or past tense, e.g. *boyo* PAST.CONT ‘it was ongoing’, locations or temporal elements. In (10) [part of this included in (7) above] three of this same type all occur in one sentence: *mamo* ‘(and) even/then, until’ (with rapid speech form *mo* in its second occurrence) and *kamini* ‘(and) then’; their corresponding translations are indicated in bold in the free translation. Unlike the other conjunctions, *kamini* mostly occurs clause initial [however cf. (2) above]; it also has other discourse pragmatic functions (cf. §10.2). It may be derived from =*ka+mini* (also+this).

- (10) [*Naike mini*]_{FC} [***mamo dona mina ne-i de-si***]_{SC},
 1PL.REFL here and.then pig this go.down-LINK come-SEQ.SS
 [***kamini beuka ni-si***]_{SC} [*yai re-yo*]_{FC}, [***mo na=ka***
 and.then grunt say-SEQ.SS knock.down do-3SG.PAST and 1SG= also

esika amute-si]_{SC} [*kimo ame-na bi de*]_{FC}.
 pain feel-SEQ.SS carefully stay-NOMZ TOP NEG
 ‘I myself (was) right there, and then the pig went down and came, and then grunted and knocked (me) down, and then I also felt pain and carefully/quickly didn’t remain (there).’ [1.16]

Two of the alternative coordinating conjunctions used to link clauses are *ba* ‘or, and’ and *to* ‘but’. [Part of this example is also included in (3) above.]

- (11) ...[*na nikaite-yo* [[*aruma yaku aki re-yo*]_{FC} ***ba*** [*de*]_{FC}]_{SC}]_{FC},
 1SG ask-3SG.PAST snake DSM bite do-3SG.PAST or NEG

[***to*** *na yaku ni-yaka bi* [*de aki re-yo*]_{FC}]_{FC}
 but 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST TOP NEG bite do-3SG.PAST
 ‘...she asked me if the snake had bitten (him) or not, but I told (her) that it did not bite (him)’ [3.09]

The alternative coordinating conjunction *o* ‘or’ links the two supporting clauses and also conjoins NPs.

- (12) [*Goina sana=ri nai ne yaku dona kono=ri*
 which place=at 1SG.POSS eye DSM pig ground=on

ve-i-da]_{SC} ***o*** [*vi o uka yabo odoro=ri*
 see-LINK-1SG.PRES or possum.sp or possum tree above=in

neide-i-da-ri bi]_{SC}, [*are re-si*]_{SC} [*veifaite-na siko*
 hear-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP stand do-SEQ.SS perceive-NOMZ first

resi]_{SC} [*moke-i-da*]_{FC}.
 SBL think-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘In whatever place my eyes see a pig on the ground or when I hear one possum or another up in the trees, I stand (there) and first sensing/perceiving (it), I then think (about it).’ [21.07]

The contrastive coordinating conjunction *idu* ‘but, yet, nevertheless, even though’ also links clauses.

- (13) [*Evadi moi vana~vana re-yadi bi*]_{FC}, [*uru ni-gi*
 quickly D.CAUS hand~DISTR do-3SG.PAST TOP night become-PURP

re-yo]_{SC} [***idu***, *sena moi koina re-yadi*]_{SC}.
 do-3SG.PAST but already D.CAUS finish do-3PL.PAST

‘Right away they made them by hand; it was getting dark, but they were already finished.’ [14.06]

Amongst these examples of coordinate linking, instances of subordinate linking also occur; these will now be discussed further.

9.2.2 Subordination

The four types of subordinating conjunctions are cause-effect (cf. §4.10.2.1), result-reason (cf. §4.10.2.2), conditional (cf. §4.10.2.3) and negative consequence (cf. §4.10.2.4) which are found in Table 4.18.

The cause-effect conjunction *ye* ‘so, and’ often occurs sentence initial, however as in (14) below, it also occurs clause initial. It indicates that the next clause is a dependent clause. All of these conjunctions are of the order cause + cause-effect conjunction + effect, regardless if they occur sentence initial, medial or final. The conjunction *ine* ‘so, because’, borrowed from Hiri Motu, behaves much the same as the autochthonous *ye* ‘so’; it is rarely used, with only three instances in narratives. No further conclusions about its use have been formulated. As with the coordinating conjunctions above, some of the subordinating conjunctions also share an autochthonous (*ye* ‘so’, *adina* ‘because’, *vonisi* ‘if’) versus borrowed from Hiri Motu (*ine* ‘so’, *badina* ‘because’, *bema* ‘if’) distinction.

- (14) ...[*oure-na rema ofi yaku na ni no*
 be.first-NOMZ woman young.woman DSM 1SG say bad

re-yo]_{FC}, [*ye dairi bai-yaka*]_{SC} [*resi*]_{SC} [*ya rofu*
 do-3SG.PAST so return come-1SG.PAST SBL 2 to

ni-da]_{FC}.
 say-1SG.PRES
 ‘...the older one cursed me, so I came back and doing so I’m telling you.’ [16.07]

The most frequently observed cause-effect subordinating conjunction is *dada* ‘so (that), because’, seen in (3) above. It mainly occurs clause (or sentence) initial, but in some cases clause final, where it has its secondary meaning ‘because’.

- (15) [*Mina totona bona aura yafuyafu buni moi-ga*]_{SC}
 this for and wind breeze good get-SIM.SS

*[ame-i-da dada]*_{SC}, [*nai rautu bi ura*
 stay-LINK-1SG.PRES because 1SG.POSS village TOP like

re-i-da]_{FC}.
 do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘Because of this and the nice breeze that I get while living (there), I like my village.’ [5.02]

The heterosemous postposition *rofu* ‘for, at, to, with’ (cf. §4.4.4), when used as a clause linking device has the meaning ‘so that’.

- (16) [*Rautu oki-yo=ri*]_{sc} [*rofu ini rautu vene*
village arrive-3SG.PAST-at so.that 3.POSS village people

ni-yo]_{fc}.

say-3SG.PAST

‘He arrived in the village **so that** he could tell (lit. told) his village people.’ [7.08]

The use of *rofu* ‘so that’ as a clause linker is quite extensive and fully acceptable in a variety of meanings. The use of the same morpheme within NPs and as a clause chaining device can be described as an instance of heterosemy, whereby “...two or more meanings or functions...deriving from the same ultimate source, are borne by reflexes of the common source element that belong in different morphosyntactic categories” (Lichtenberk 1991:476).

This heterosemous type of cause-effect clause linking device is a regular feature in Papuan languages, e.g. Pennington 2018:246, 337-8 on Ma Manda, Aikhenvald 2011a:28-38 on Manambu and p.c. on Yalaku, and Merlan and Rumsey 1991:340-2 on Ku Waru. The Ma Manda benefactive is used to combine reason-result clauses (Pennington 2018:246). The reason stated in the first clause is linked to the second clause resultant action.

- (17) *Kunum flong tata kaalin attak wala* (Ma Manda)
heaven ALL custom good be-PRES-3SG that=BEN

nûndû wadûgût kame flong tawangka aatûkugû...

1NSG also earth ALL follow-SS remain-FUT.CONT

‘In heaven there are good customs, so we also must keep following him on earth until...’

And in Manambu (Aikhenvald 2011:34) the dative case indicates purpose.

- (18) *warya-k wa-na* (Manambu)
fight-PURP.SS say-ACT.FOC:3fem.sgBAS.NONPAST
‘She intends to fight (lit. ‘she said she was going to fight’)’

In Ku Waru, ergative/instrumental is used to indicate cause-effect (Merlan and Rumsey 1991:340) between the clauses, i.e. the first clause lit. ‘Koi what did **because**’.

- (19) *koi-n tim-n gai-yl* (Ku Waru)
(name)-ERG do-PERV-3SG-ERG sweet.potatoes-DEF

okum

come-PPR-3SG

‘because of what Koi did, the sweet potatoes are growing (lit. ‘coming’)’

As seen in (16), in Doromu-Koki *rofu* ‘so that’ is behaving as a cause-effect clause chaining device, replacing the usual switch-reference marking (cf. §6.2.1). This clause chaining use also expresses a goal or directional (20) or purpose (in order to) meaning (21).

- (20) *Giro, baiya re-yadi rofu, sufa urana di-yadi.*
 axe bush.knife do-3PL.PAST so.that bush toward go-3PL.PAST
 ‘They got their axes and bush knives, so that they went out to the bush.’
 [14.03]

- (21) *Ye ya kaya mida afe-si de-giya rofu Siau di*
 so 2 REFL child return-SEQ.SS come-2SG.FUT so.that (name) GEN

yava=ri moi-gedi.
 house=at get-3PL.FUT
 ‘So you yourself will bring the child in order that they will get him at Siau’s house.’ [60]

Also quite frequently used is the subordinating conjunction *mina dada* ‘therefore, for this reason, because’; it is almost always sentence initial (or otherwise clause initial). It has anaphoric reference (back to the cause). Another analogous construction is *mina re-si* (this do-SEQ.SS) as seen in (18); it is a calque of the Hiri Motu *inai dekenai* (this from) ‘because of, consequently’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190). This is one of many examples of areal diffusion of patterns (rather than forms) [Heine and Nomachi 2013 and Aikhenvald 2008:617, 621].

- (22) [*Amiye tau gade~gade ina atafu=ri egogo re-yadi*]_{IC},
 person all many~INTS 3 near=at gather.together do-3PL.PAST

[*mina.dada bi bouti=ri ame-i-nu re-gi*]
 therefore TOP boat=in stay-LINK-STAT do-PURP

keu ri-yo-ma]_{DC} [*amiye tau gade bi seri=ri*
 ride make-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS person all many TOP shore=on

are reyadi]_{IC}.
 stand do-3PL.PAST

‘There were so many people gathered together near him, therefore he got up onto a boat and everyone stood on the shore.’ (SUAR 2017:29:13.2)

- (23) [*Na bi asa tumu ni-yaka*]_{IC} [*mina.resi ya usa*
 1SG TOP breath short become-1SG.PAST therefore 2 ask

ni-da]_{DC}.

say-1SG.PRES

‘I am short of funds (lit. breath), therefore I’m asking you.’ [98]

The two result-reason subordinating conjunctions, *adina* and *badina*, are both glossed as ‘because’. They are used uniformly; the result precedes and the reason follows. The conjunction *badina* is borrowed from Hiri Motu, where it functions indistinguishably (cf. Wurm and Harris 1963:38). Like the cause-effect type, these two are also found clause initially. In (24), *adina* occurs at the beginning of the second clause, which concludes with *dada*. This is a distinctive form of recapitulation to close off the reason clause, setting it as the cause for the following clause (the effect). The following context is: ‘With my painful heart I arrived in the village and told them this story of what I had done....’ As with others mentioned previously, the borrowed terms are more likely to be observed when there is a higher degree of code-switching, or according to the particular speaker’s speech style.

- (24) [*Nai uka esika re-yo*]_{FC} [*adina fidi re-na*
 1SG.POSS stomach pain do-3SG.PAST because shoot do-NOMZ

dona to moi vegu ri-gika dada]_{sc}.
 pig but D.CAUS life make-CON because
 ‘My heart was in pain because of shooting the pig or letting it live.’ [2.13]

There are two conditional subordinating conjunctions: *vonisi* ‘if, even though’ (also realised as ‘when’), *bema* ‘if’. When the conditional conjunction *vonisi* ‘if’ occurs, usually the condition precedes it, with the consequence following. The conjunction *vonisi* is a grammaticalisation of *vo+ni-si* (happen+become-SEQ.SS), ‘it happens and then’ to be distinguished from the full complex verb *vo.ni-* ‘tell’ which is usually used in reported speech (cf. §9.3).

- (25) *Ye mina muye-yo amiye, rumana vonisi bi, ini*
 and this die-3SG.PAST person man if TOP 3.POSS

obu, muye-yo meda gutuna rafe-na de yava=ri
 widow die-3SG.PAST day from wash-NOMZ NEG house=in

ame-do...
 stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘And this dead person, if a man, from the day of his death, his widow remains in the house unwashed...’ [54]

In other instances *vonisi* is glossed as ‘when’, still with condition preceding and consequence following.

- (26) [*Gagani di-yaka-ma*]_{sc} [*uru ni-gi re-do*
 place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night become-PURP do-3SG.PRES

vonisi]_{SC}, [dairi ida-ma kimo de-i-da]_{FC}.
 when return road-on carefully come-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I went to the place and when it was getting dark, I came back carefully on the road.’ [2.02]

At times the consequence is left unstated, as it is implied by the condition.

- (27) [Dubuini tora ere di mosara muro bi rama
 brother big other GEN sweet.potato garden TOP true
 ni tau-tau re-yo]_{FC} [dada, moi di-gedi moni
 become all~PL do-3SG.PAST so get go-3PL.FUT money
 be baku re-gedi *vonisi*]_{SC}.
 some find do-3PL.FUT if
 ‘The older brother’s sweet potato garden was all ripening, so they were going to take them to see if they could find some money.’ [14.02]

A contrafactual is produced using *vonisi* together with hypothetical modality (cf. §6.7.3.3).

- (28) [Una yaku uni tutubena vene ame-gam-adi
 1PL DSM 1PL.POSS ancestor people stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 meda=ri ame-bi-yagadu *vonisi*, [bi ina=sa Sei di
 day=at stay-FUT.IMPERV-HYPOTH if TOP 3=ACCM God GEN
 ago ni-yadi vene di dava moi rausi de
 word say-3PL.PAST people GEN blood D.CAUS pour NEG
 re-yaidu].
 do-PL.POSB
 ‘If we would have been living in our ancestors’ days/time, we would not have been spilling the prophets’ (lit. speakers of God’s word) blood along with them.’ (SUAR 2017:56:23.30)

The conjunction *bema*, borrowed from Hiri Motu (Wurm and Harris 1963:38), occurs in the same position as it would in the source language (cf. Moravcsik 1978 and Curnow 2001), i.e. it precedes the condition. As a borrowing, this form is generally less regularly used than the autochthonous term, dependent on speaker preference.

- (29) [Ye *bema* dona ve-i-da-ri bi]_{SC} [ora yaku
 and if pig see-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP spear DSM
 you-si]_{SC} [imi-da-ma]_{SC} [muye-do]_{FC}, [mirona=ri Geresi
 throw-SEQ.SS pierce-1SG.PRES-SEQ.DS die-3SG.PRES there=at (name)

rautu *di-da*]_{FC}.
 village go-1SG.PRES
 ‘And if/when I see a pig, I throw (my) spear and pierce (it) and it dies; I go there to Geresi village.’ [21.08]

The two possible consequence subordinating conjunctions are *baebu* and *baeko*. *Baebu* ‘lest, possibly’ always occurs clause/sentence final, immediately following the contra-expectation, which itself is preceded by the concession ‘lest’.

- (30) ...[*bae* *senisi* *re-si*]_{SC} [*sikuru* *di-gedi*]_{FC}, [*de* *sikuru*
 come change do- SEQ.SS school go-2PL.FUT NEG school
- re-gedi* ***baebu***]_{SC}.
 do-2SG.FUT lest
 ‘...come change (your clothes) and go to school, lest you won’t be able to attend school.’ [67]

The conjunction *baeko* ‘might, maybe, probably, perhaps’ behaves in the same way. In the previous context, a story about a man and his wife, the man’s wife went down to the river where she was soaking *tua* nuts; her husband had killed a pig and called out to her, but because her mouth was full of the nuts, she couldn’t call out to him. The author focuses on that fact by using the summary bridging linkage *resi* (cf. §9.4.2) to begin the new sentence. This allows for a change in verb from *kuo.ni-na anua.re-yo* (cheer.say-NOMZ unable.do-3SG.PAST) ‘she couldn’t call out’ to a more generic *ago de ni-yo-ma* (word NEG say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS) ‘she didn’t say a word’.

- (31) [*Resi*]_{SC} [*ago* *de* *ni-yo-ma*]_{SC} [*ini* *maruka* *ya*
 SBL word NEG say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS husband DSM
- moke-yo* *bi*]_{FC}, [*tua* *iri-ga*]_{SC} [*ame-do-ma*]_{SC}
 think-3SG.PAST TOP tree.sp eat-SIM.SS stay-3SG.PRES-SEQ.DS
- [*kuo* *de* *ni-yo* ***baeko***]_{SC}.
 cheer NEG say-3SG.PAST perhaps
 ‘And (doing) so she didn’t say a word and her husband thought she is sitting eating *tua* nuts and perhaps (that is why) he didn’t call out to her. [17.05]

All of the subordinating conjunctions link dependent clauses to other clauses, while the additive coordinating conjunctions are divided into two groups, either linking dependent or independent clauses. The alternative coordinating conjunctions are all used for either function. Switch-reference marking as indicated in bold in the examples above functions as a clause linking device. It will now be discussed further as the major non-final verb clause linking device (§9.2.2.1), the other being temporal clause linking

(§9.2.2.2). A greater intonational pause occurs between subordinate clauses than between coordinate clauses (cf. §9.2.1).

9.2.2.1 Clause linking involving non-final verb clauses

Verbs (and clauses) have two types of function: non-final (cf. §6.2.1) and final (cf. §6.2.2). Only non-final verbs are marked with switch-reference, linking clauses in clause chains of between one and three non-final verbs followed by a final verb. Non-final verbs marked with same subject SR correspond in A/S person-number-tense with that indicated on the final verb, but can vary between use of the four suffixes with a chain. (The non-final verb suffixes are listed in Table 6.5.)

Each SR marking occurs multiple times in the examples above and following (listed in order of frequency): *-si* in (3), (7-8), (10), (12), (14), (30-31), (33), (35-37), (60), (69) and (72-76) [note: some of these are realised in the SBL construction *re-si* (do-SEQ.SS)]; *-ma* in (2-3), (22), (26), (29), (31-33), (63), (71), (78) and (80); *-ri* in (3), (12), (29), (37-38), (60) and (70); and *-ga(sa)*³ in (15) and (31). It may be proposed that sequential is used more frequently than simultaneous, and that simultaneous same subject is the least common. However, upon examination of a compilation of 80 texts, while *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’ is indeed the least frequent, sequential is not always the most frequent. The relative percentages for each are included in Table 9.3. Unlike the figures above, no specific conclusions can be drawn, other than that sequential same subject is much more frequently used than any of the others; more than all the others combined. The same ‘relative’ frequency applies across genres. The highest occurrence of *-si* ‘sequential same subject’ is in narratives and legends while the highest occurrence of *-ri* ‘simultaneous different subject’ and *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’ is found in legends. SR is also found much less in conversations and is quite rare in letters/notes, songs and social media, suggesting a possible modern trend toward decreased use of SR [cf. Bradshaw (Forthcoming)]. Due to the greatly decreased use in these other genres, it is hard to make a definitive statement as to the relative frequency order.

³ *-ga* is the rapid speech form of *-gasa* (cf. §2.8.2).

Table 9.3: *Frequency and context for use of SR markings*

SR marking	Relative frequency	Frequency in first SR marked clause	Context
<i>-si</i> 'SEQ.SS'	58.6%	50.0%	(DC/IC) ___DC/IC
<i>-ri</i> 'SIM.DS'	17.1%	23.3%	(DC/IC) ___DC/IC
<i>-ma</i> 'SEQ.DS'	13.1%	12.8%	(DC/IC) ___DC/IC
<i>-ga(sa)</i> 'SIM.SS'	11.2%	14.0%	(DC) ___DC/IC

For all four markers either a dependent or independent clause optionally precedes them (except for *-ga(sa)* 'simultaneous same subject', which normally can only have an optional dependent clause, as it initiates the action). Correspondingly a dependent or independent clause must follow all four markers. Dependent clauses cannot occur on their own.

In examination of ten texts the most regularly used SR marking is *-si* 'sequential same subject' and the least *-ma* 'sequential different subject'. Interestingly, however, *-ri* 'simultaneous different subject' is more frequently used than *-ga(sa)* 'simultaneous same subject'. By far most clause chains consist of one non-final verb SR-marked clause and one final verb clause. The longest chain has three SR-marked clauses preceding the final verb clause, occurring about half as frequently as two-SR clauses + final verb. The percentages are shown in Table 9.3 above.

Switch-reference tracks participants in a clause chain. A DS marking signals a new A/S in the subsequent clause, while SS signals maintenance of the current A/S in the subsequent clause. (See §10.2.2.1B for further discussion on switch-reference.) The temporal components indicate relative time between the clauses; either co-occurring, i.e. 'simultaneous' or in succession, i.e. 'subsequent'. In a few instances there appears to be a mismatch in use of SR marking, however, since the postpositional clitic *=ri* 'in, at, on' and *-ri* 'simultaneous different subject' are homophonous forms, it is possible that the former (*=ri* 'in, at, on') was used instead. In (32) we see such an instance. (If it were not analysed as the postpositional clitic, but in fact identified as the SR marking, then the SR marker *-ri* 'simultaneous different subject' would be the only one that behaves in a non-canonical manner. Further claims are currently impracticable due to limited data.)

- (32) [*Sioni mina ve-yo=ri*]_{FC} [*furisi vene*
white.man this see-3SG.PAST=on police people

ni-yo-ma]_{SC} [*koru gena fou re-yadi*
say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS water bamboo shot do-3PL.PAST

argument marking”, 2) “Medial clauses are inherently relational in terms of time reference” and 3) “Medial clauses contain backgrounded information in relation to final clauses” (Sarvasy 2015:668-9). These characteristics are also very much in evidence in Doromu-Koki dependent/non-final clauses. Likewise, as Dutton (1996:69) claims about the neighbouring Koiari (Southeast, Koiaric; Central Province) language, it can also be claimed concerning Doromu-Koki: “The marked clause always precedes the controlling (or final) clause,” and not the other way around.

9.2.2.2 Temporal clause linking

Relative time is a component of Doromu-Koki switch-reference markers, either simultaneous or subsequent – one event followed by another. Various temporal postpositions are also used to link clauses (cf. §4.4.3 and Table 4.9), having analogous meaning to the simultaneous SR markings. Because they are not SR markers, they do not track a switch or maintenance of subject between clauses; other means are used to ascertain subject.

In (36) below, a change of subject is evident because of TAM marking indicated on the final verb. If SR was alternately used, this sentence would begin as *iya re-gam-adi-ri* (war do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS) ‘when they were fighting...’. It is likely that temporal clause linkers are used to further highlight the temporal nature of the clause.

- (36) [*Iya re-gam-adi fogori*]_{SC} [*meino moi-si*]_{SC2}, [*rautu*
war do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST while peace get-SEQ.SS village

neinei furisi bona kanisoro ae di-yo]_{FC}.
each police and council put go-3SG.PAST
‘When they were fighting he brought them peace and placed police and
councillors in each village.’ [19.05]

In (37), the previous sentence provides the context for the use of *fuofuori* ‘while, during, when’. SR might prove beneficial as the TAM marking (3SG.PAST) is maintained between the previous and sequential clauses. However, because of the anaphoric demonstrative *mina* ‘this’, the referent in the previous clause can be presumed, i.e. the pig standing there.

- (37) [*Omuna tobo=ri ne-i are re-yaka-ri*]_{SC} [*dona bae*
mountain middle=at go-LINK open do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS pig come

are re-yo]_{FC}. [*Mina fuofuori*]_{SC} [*Mathias=ka ne re-i*
stand do-3SG.PAST this while (name)=also look do-LINK

ve-yo]_{FC} [*kamini are re-si*]_{SC} [*fidi moi dadi-si*]_{SC}
 see-3SG.PAST and.then stand do-SEQ.SS shot D.CAUS get.up-SEQ.SS

[*faya re-yaka*]_{FC}, [*to de faya ni-yo*]_{SC}.
 shot do-1SG.PAST but NEG explode say-3SG.PAST

‘In the middle of the mountain when I opened my eyes, a pig came and stood (there). At that time Mathias also looked and saw (it), and then I stood still, took up gun and shot at (it), but it did not fire/go off.’ [4.11-12]

The temporal postposition *duakau* ‘during, when, whilst’ is less used, as it is often used specifically in reference to ancestors. SR use would instead yield *tora vene amegasa...* (big people stay-SIM.SS) ‘while the big (ones) were living....’ These temporal constituents are identified as adjectives, modifying an NP. However, *duakau* can also take a clause, e.g. *itei re-gam-adi duakau=ri* (step do-IMPERV-3PL.PAST when=at) ‘when they were stepping on’.

(38) [*Sena tora vene yaku rema rumana me-si*]_{SC} [*ini*
 before big people DSM woman man marry-SEQ.SS 3.POSS

gokai dudu rema voi re-gam-adi]_{FC}. [*Tora*
 how INST woman buying do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST big

duakau]_{SC} [*ini rema rumana me-gam-adi-ri*
 during 3.POSS woman man marry-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS

bi]_{SC} [*ini yomakai dudu ini ve-si*]_{SC}
 TOP 3.POSS like.this INST 3.POSS see-SEQ.SS

[*me-gam-adi*]_{FC}.
 marry-PAST.IMPERV-3.PAST

‘How (our) ancestors married men and women and did bride price. During (the time of) the ancestors (lit. big ones), when they married men and women, this is how they were looking at and marrying them.’ [52]

The temporal postpositions *neitua* ‘little while, during’ and *neganai* ‘during, while’ (39) occur less regularly, but are also used as clause linkers in the same manner as other heterosemous temporal postpositions. Like *duakau*, *neganai* can also take an NP, e.g. *dodona aka di neganai* (prawn.sp prawn GEN during) ‘during *dodona* prawn season (lit. during)’.

(39) *Ago make-giya neganai, una uni sena tora vene*
 word think-2.FUT when 1PL 1PL.POSS already big people

ya, ini ago neide-gam-adi bi ina idana,
 DSM 3.POSS word hear-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST TOP 3 different

sena *tora* *vene*.
 already big people
 ‘When you think about the language, hearing our ancestors’ (lit. big people)
 language is different, those ancestors of long ago. [40.24]

Remaining temporal clause linkers include *senagi* ‘long time ago, already, before’ (rapid speech form *sena*) [(13) and (38-39) above] and *gabi* ‘after, later, last’ (40). These both occur supporting clause initially.

- (40) [*Yuata* *ni-yo*]_{FC1} *ba* [*de*]_{FC1}, [*gabi* *tanobada=ri*
 farewell say-3SG.PAST or NEG later world=to

ne-yo]_{SC1}.
 go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘Whether he said farewell or not, later he went down into the world.’ [50]

9.2.3 Manner clause linking devices

Another clause linking device, used to indicate manner, is *kana* ‘like, as, similar to, about, approximately’. It appears to function like a postposition or conjunction, but could be considered a type of complementiser.

- (41) ...[*ma* *James* *di* *rema* *ini* *moke-na* *ago*, *ini*
 and (name) GEN woman 3.POSS think-NOMZ word 3.POSS

maruka=sa *ni-dodi* *re-dedi*]_{SC1}, [[*uru* *ari* *neinei*
 husband=ACCM say-discuss do-3PL.PRES night day each

uka=ri *ame-do*]_{CC} *kana*]_{RC}, [*ni-ogau* *re-yo*]_{FC1}
 stomach=in stay-3SG.PRES like say-appear do-3SG.PAST
 ‘...and James’ wife’s thinking, in discussion with her husband, [like what was in
 their heart every night and day], (this) she disclosed (lit. say-appear)’ [13.15]

This manner adverb *kana* has also been analysed as a similarity adjective (cf. §3.3 and Table 3.13). In the example above, it modifies the bracketed complementation, which is functioning as O, i.e. it can modify either an NP or complementation. [cf. (35) and (57) for instances of its use.]

9.2.4 Envoi

Each clause in a sentence has a general downward pitch contour (cf. §8.3). Examples for various clause linkers can be found in previous chapters: *baeko* ‘perhaps’ [§2.5.2B (4); §8.3.2 (24)]; *dada* ‘so’ [§8.3.1 (23)]; *-ga(sa)* ‘simultaneous same subject’ [§6.6.3.2 (64)]; *ma* ‘and’ [§7.3.8.5 (35)]; *-ma* ‘sequential different subject’ [§2.5.2A (1)]; *-si* ‘sequential same subject’ [§7.3.8.7 (36-37)]; *vonisi* ‘if’ [§6.9 (127)]; and *ye* ‘so’ [§2.5.2C (5)]. Table 9.4 indicates the multiple functions of clause linking markers: temporal, conditional or

result-reason (based on Aikhenvald 2009b:390).

Table 9.4: *Multiple functions of clause linking markers*

Temporal		
<i>vonisi</i> ‘if, when’	Conditional	
	Cause-effect	
	<i>dada/ine</i> ‘so, because’	Result-reason
<i>mamo</i> ‘and then, until’	<i>ye</i> ‘so, and’	Addition

All of these clause linking markers are autochthonous except *ine* ‘so, because’, which is borrowed from Hiri Motu. In some contexts but not others, either the meaning ‘if’ or the meaning ‘when’ is acceptable for *vonisi* [cf. (26-28) and (32) above], while for *ye* ‘so, and’ either meaning is acceptable for all contexts [cf. (6), (14), (25) and (29) above]; alternately it can also be glossed as ‘and so’. The conjunction *mamo* ‘and then, until’ also varies in meanings according to context [cf. (6-7), (10) and (55?)]. Generally the meaning for *dada* changes according to position: SC initial ‘so’ and SC final ‘because’. The same applies to *ine*, seen in (42-43).

- (42) *Asa re-yo, ine ame-i-nu re.*
 breath do-2SG.PST so stay-LINK-STAT do
 ‘You are breathing hard, so sit down.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:130)

- (43) *Ya yi ara fafa ri, naguma re-do ine.*
 2 2.POSS sore cover make fly do-3SG.PRS because
 ‘Cover your sore, because of the fly/flyes.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:130)

The majority of clause linking conjunctions do not have multiple functions. Half of the autochthonous conjunctions have Hiri Motu borrowed corresponding terms. Table 9.5 lists those clause linking conjunctions with correspondences versus those without.

Table 9.5: *Autochthonous clause linking devices with or without borrowed correspondences*

	Autochthonous	Borrowed	Gloss	Without borrowed corresponding term	Gloss
Temporal	Succession				
	<i>kamini</i>	<i>vada(ini)</i>	‘so then’	<i>kumo</i> <i>mamo</i>	‘so then’ ‘at once’
Coordinating	Relative tense				
	<i>fogori/fuofuori</i>	<i>neganai</i>	‘while’		
	Additive				
Subordinating	<i>ma</i>	<i>bona</i>	‘and’		
	Contrastive				
	<i>idu</i>	<i>to</i>	‘but’		
Subordinating	Alternative				
	<i>ba</i>	<i>o</i>	‘or’		
	Contingent				
	<i>vonisi</i>	<i>bema</i>	‘if’	<i>baebu</i> <i>baeko</i>	‘lest’ ‘perhaps’
	Cause-effect				
<i>ye</i>	<i>ine</i>	‘so’	<i>dada</i> <i>mina.dada/resi</i> <i>rofu</i>	‘so’ ‘therefore’ ‘so that’	
	Result-reason				
	<i>adina</i>	<i>badina</i>	‘because’		

9.2.5 Relative clause

A relative clause modifies the common argument (CA=NP or pronoun shared between the main clause and the relative clause) in the main clause (Dixon 2010b:314). The three types of relative clauses are: 1) pre-head (CA) juxtaposed, 2) post-head juxtaposed and 3) post-head marked by *mina* ‘this’ or *kaere* ‘who’. Relative clauses are identified as a clause modifying the head of an NP filling an argument slot (Dixon 2012:93) and marked by the demonstrative *mina* ‘this’ or interrogative *kaere* ‘who’, or more regularly by juxtaposition. An RC preceding the CA is restrictive.

- (44) [[*Geiti nari re-do*]_{RC} *amiye yaku*]_A *geiti*
gate look.after do-3SG.PRES person DSM gate
- eboka re-yo-ma dui re-i bo-si mina*
open do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS entering do-LINK go.over-SEQ.SS this
- bouti tora ide=ri gui re-i bo-yaka.*
boat big inside=at ride.on do-LINK go.over-1SG.PAST
‘The gatekeeper (lit. ‘person who looks after the gate’) opened the gate and I entered and went inside the big boat.’ [11.09]

When the RC follows the CA, a non-restrictive relative clause results. When the demonstrative *mina* ‘this one’ is used to mark the RC, the saliency of the subject is increased.

- (45) [*Dona* [*ide=ri* *vare-do*]_{RC} *mina*]_s, *koe* *ni-si* *nui*
 pig inside=at sleep-3SG.PAST this.one squeal say-SEQ.SS sty

ukisivo *re-si* *ori* *di-yo*.
 startle do-SEQ.SS fear go-3SG.PAST
 ‘The pig **that** was (lit. ‘is’) sleeping inside squealed and was startled in the sty
 and fled (lit. ‘went in fear’).’ [2.12]

Without this demonstrative, we would instead expect *dona ide=ri vare-do koe ni-si...* (pig inside=at sleep-3SG.PRES squeal.say-SEQ.SS) ‘the pig that was sleeping inside [the sty]...’.

Alternately, the relativiser *kaere* ‘who’, an English calque (cf. §4.5), often also produces a post-head (non-restrictive) RC. Whereas *mina* ‘this’ occurs RC finally, *kaere* ‘who’ occurs initially, possibly due to source language influence. The interrogative relativiser occurring in the verbless clause subject slot is seen in (46), and in the verbless clause complement slot in (47). In (46), the RC is itself a verbless clause subject; only verbal clauses are juxtaposed or employ the demonstrative relativiser *mina* ‘this’. Another relevant issue concerns the addressee. A third person, for instance, would not require *kaere* ‘who’, e.g. *Koki dava ini rovaita=ri amededi vene...* (Koki blood 3.POSS body=in people TOP) ‘people who have Koki blood in their bodies are...’.

- (46) [*Ya* [*kaere~kaere* *Koki* *dava* *i* *rovaita=ri* *bi*]_{RC} *ya*]_{VCS}
 2 who~PL (name) blood 2.POSS body=in TOP 2

bi [*Koki* *mida*, *rema* *bona* *rumana*]_{VCC}.
 TOP (name) child woman and man
 ‘You who have Koki blood in your bodies are Koki children, women and men.’
 [8.28]

Example (47) could, on the other hand, be recast as the restrictive RC ... “*Doromu*” *vene vo-ni-dedi rema, rumana, mida* [(name) people tell-say-3PL.PRES woman man child] ‘women, men and children who are now called “Doromu”.’

- (47) [*Koki* *vene*]_{VCS} *bi* [*rema*, *rumana*, *mida* [*kaere* *bi* *gua*
 (name) people TOP woman man child who TOP now

“Doromu” *vene* *vo.ni-dedi.*]_{RC}]_{VCC}
 (name) people tell-say-3PL.PRES
 ‘The Koki people are women, men and children who are now called (lit. tell-say)
 “Doromu”.’ [8.02]

Common arguments include common or proper nouns, pronouns or demonstratives, or headless adjectives when used in a non-restrictive RC; in a restrictive RC only common nouns are permissible. Table 9.6 below compares the argument and other peripheral functions of the common argument in both the relative and main clauses. Some examples found in the chapter are indicated.

Table 9.6: *Functions of common argument in relative and main clause*

Relative clause	Main clause	Examples
A	A	(68), (53)
	S	
	O	(49), (54)
	E	
	LOC	
	INST	
	Addressee	
S	A	(50)
	S	(45), (52)
	VCS	(46)
	O	
	LOC	(55)
	INST	
	Addressee	
VCS	A	
	S	(51)
	O	
	LOC	
	INST	
	Addressee	
	O	A
S		
O		(47), (54)
LOC		
INST		
Addressee		
LOC		S
	O	
	LOC	

Relative clauses with S as a common argument are the most frequent. Also RC ‘subject’ with main clause ‘subject’ are very regular (A/A, A/S, S/A, S/S, S/VCS, VCS/A, VCS/S), including four of these six types, further highlighting that Doromu-Koki is a

nominative-accusative language in terms of its syntactic pivot.

In (48) we see a topicalised object, without an RC; such as a relative clause would be *mina bi sina Raphael Tuga yaku bura ri-yo* (this TOP story (name) (name) DSM write make-3SG.PAST) ‘this is the story that Raphael Tuga wrote.’ Through topicalisation, another type of passive strategy construction is generated (cf. §6.8.2).

- (48) [*Mina sina bi*]_O [*Raphael Tuga yaku*]_A *bura ri-yo*.
 this story TOP (name) (name) DSM write make-3SG.PAST
 ‘This story was written by Raphael Tuga (lit. Raphael Tuga wrote this story).’
 [4.18]

Other post-head examples are seen here in (49-50). In (49), the topicalisation construction promotes the object to the initial position, as the most salient item in the discourse; it is being modified with an RC.

- (49) [*Kani [ya ni-da]*]_{RC}_O *bi toto ga ni-fo...*
 mustard 2 say-1SG.PRES TOP forget PROHIB say-2PL.PO.IMP
 ‘You should not forget the mustard that I am telling you about...’ [23.05]

In (50), we see a post-head RC in the transitive subject slot, without the demonstrative relativiser *mina* ‘this.one’. The RC is a compound NP modifying a multiple-word head.

- (50) *Yokaru [amiye yokoi [roka Tau Yagabo]*_{RC} *yaku*_A *ini*
 one.day person one name (name) (name) DSM 3.POSS

rautu vene omar-o ini muro vari-yaganedi.
 village people invite-3SG.PAST 3.POSS garden plant-3PL.IMP
 ‘Once upon a time a man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.’ [15.01]

Relative clauses are quite productive in all core argument slots, as we will see below.

9.2.5.1 Syntactic position

According to the Accessibility hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66), relativisation follows a continuum; that is, the higher on the hierarchy that relativisation is found, it will also be found in all lower levels.⁴

⁴ Dixon (2010b:314) states that a relative clause construction “...involves two clauses—a main clause (MC) and a relative clause (RC)—making up one sentence which consists of a single unit of intonation. ...The underlying structures of these two clauses must share an argument. This can be called the common argument (CA). The CA is understood to function as an argument in the MC, and as an argument in the RC.”

Accessibility hierarchy

Subject > Direct > Indirect > Oblique > Genitive > Object of
 object object comparison

The subject is most accessible to undergo relativisation. All languages are able to relativise subject, whereas the object of comparison is the least accessible to relativising, and accordingly not attested in many languages. Also, if the object of comparison is relativised, then items preceding it in the hierarchy may also be relativised.

Subject (as defined by the hierarchy above) function of the common argument in the RC is the most usual, as can be seen in most of the examples above, and in the following as well; in (51) as verbless clause subject, in (52) as intransitive subject (verbless in the RC itself) and in (53) as transitive subject.

- (51) [[*Gua Mamanu=ri ame-dedi*]_{RC} *vene*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Nero vene*]_{VCC}.
 now (name)=at stay-3PL.PRES people TOP (name) people
 ‘The people who today are living in Mamanu are Nero people.’ [8.20]

- (52) [[*Berou rofu*]_{RC} *amiye*]_S *bi* *Owen Stanley Range gabire=ri*
 other for person TOP under=at

ame-dedi, Rigo District, Central Province =ri.
 stay-3PL.PRES (name) =at
 ‘The rest of the (lit. ‘at the side’) people are in the Owen Stanley Range in the Rigo District of Central Province.’ [22.09]

- (53) *Ma mina=ri* [[*moimai re-do*]_{RC} *rema yaku*]_A *yomakai*
 and this=at work do-3SG.PRES woman DSM like.this

na ni-yo, “Ya bi Tuisde rama=ri bouti
 1SG say-3SG.PAST 2 TOP Tuesday right=at boat

gui re-giya...”
 ride.on do-2SG.FUT
 ‘And there the working woman said to me, “You will ride on the boat right on Tuesday...”’ [11.07]

Direct object position is seen below, with two RCs, one preceding and one following the head. The direct object slot is also quite regular, but not as frequent as A/S/verbless clause subject.

- (54) [[*Uni tutubena ya vata ni-si ni-yadi*]_{RC} *ago*]_O
 1PL.POSS ancestor DSM happen become-SEQ.SS say-3PL.PAST word

[*roka Koki ago*]_{RC} *bi de toto ni-gifa.*
 name (name) word TOP NEG forgotten become-1PL.FUT
 ‘We will not forget the language called the Koki language, which our ancestors appeared and spoke.’ [8.26]

Indirect (extended) object: No clear examples of relativizing indirect objects have been found, although plausible, e.g. *amiye rofu ago mar-o mina ini ago dada umuye-yo* (person to word give-3SG.PAST this 3.POSS word according.to kill-3 SG.PAST) ‘the one to whom the word was given killed (him) according to the word (that was given)’.

The **oblique** slot is filled by a locative construction; it is more usual than the indirect object type.

(55) ...*kamini* [[*ini bai-si kake ni-yo*]_{RC} *sana*]_{OBL}
 and.then 3.POSS come-SEQ.SS adhere become-3SG.PAST place

kamini fere-si ramena koru tobo-ma ne-yo.
 and.then leave-SEQ.SS salt water middle-at go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘...and then it (the ship) left the place where it was attached and went out into the middle of the salt water.’ [11.12]

Relativisation in the genitive or object of comparison slots has not been attested; therefore oblique is the highest position on the hierarchy available in Doromu-Koki. Relative clauses are negated analogously to main clauses (53): [*moimai de re-do*] *rema* (work NEG do-3SG.PRES woman) ‘the non-working woman’. However, they cannot form commands or questions.

9.2.6 Complementation strategy

Complement clauses fill an argument slot in another clause (Dixon 2010b:370), and have no overt marking (or complementiser; cf. Dixon 2010b:372). Since a complement clause is a complete embedded clause, usually with a final verb, it is identified by apposition. The complementiser *kana* ‘like’, which functions as a manner linking device (cf. §9.2.3), as well as the purposive mood (cf. §6.6.3.5), also occur in complement clauses. These clauses are less frequent than relative clauses, yet productive nonetheless. They are most frequently expressed as a reported speech. Verbs used with these clauses include those of perception (*ve-* ‘see’), cognition (*bao ni-* ‘assume’), emotion (*ori re-* ‘fear’) and speech (*vo-ni-* ‘tell’, *ni-* ‘say’). Due to the pragmatics of such verbs, the complementation strategy does not fill A/S slots or other peripheral slots; complement clauses only function as verbless clause subject (37-38) or object (40-41).

In (56), we see complementation filling a verbless clause subject slot.

- (56) *Ye, [[Iesu Keriso ini gokai vata ni-yo]cc]vcs bi*
 and Jesus Christ 3.POSS how be.born become-3SG.PAST TOP

yomakai.

like.this

‘And how Jesus Christ was born was like this.’ (SUAR 2017:2:1.18)

While in (57) below, there are two “complement clauses”: one within the other.

- (57) ...[[[*account =ri maka moni ai-gifa]cc bi buni]]cc*
 =at only money put-1PL.FUT TOP good

vo-ni-dedi,

tell-say-3PL.PRES

dada

so

ya

2

nikaite-i-da.

ask-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘saying that it would be good if we only put money in an account, so I’m asking you.’ [34.03]

In (58), complementation is in the object slot.

- (58) ...[[*ini moke-na]vcs bi [sioni iruku iri-gedi]vcc]cc*
 3.POSS think-NOMZ TOP white.man food eat-3PL.FUT

bao ni-yadi.

assume say-3PL.PAST

‘...their thinking was that they assumed they would eat store-bought (lit. ‘white man’s) food.’ [15.07]

Again, in (59) complementation is in the object slot, but here replacing the single nominal of the first clause.

- (59) *Ne re-i dona ve-yaka bi, [tafa maka*
 look do-LINK pig see-1SG.PAST TOP hardly only

kita

move

re-yo]cc

do-3SG.PAST

ve-yaka...

see-1SG.PAST

‘I looked and saw the pig, I saw that it hardly moved...’ [1.17]

As the subject is not indicated until the final verb (not seen here; cf. Appendix (8) for remainder of text), the complementation object appears in initial position.

- (60) [*Uni Koki ago roro ni-go*]_{CC} *ori re-si...*
 1PL.POSS (name) word disappear become-3SG.FUT fear do-SEQ.SS
 ‘We fear that our Koki language will disappear...’ [8.27]

Complementation is extremely routine in reported speech (cf. §6.10), as here in the object slot.

- (61) *To ina ya ni-yo,* “[*Bi de na aki re-yo*]_{CC},”
 but 3 DSM say-3SG.PAST TOP NEG 1SG bite do-3SG.PAST

vo-ni-yo.
 tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘But he said, “It didn’t bite me,” he told (me).’ [3.07]

As with main clauses, complementation may be negated (61) and function as questions (62).

- (62) ...*ni-rutu re-si nikaite-yo,* “[*Keriso bi goina=ri*
 say-pull do-SEQ.SS ask-3SG.PAST (name) TOP which=at

vata ni-go]_{CC}?
 be.born become-3SG.FUT
 ‘...he gathered (them) together (lit. say-pull) and asked (them), “Where will Christ be born?”’ (SUAR 2017:3:2.4)

Complementation also function as commands.

- (63) [*Yaduka dudu besa beika re-yainedi*]_{CC} *mar-o...*
 dream INST more what do-3PL.IMP give-3SG.PAST
 ‘In a dream he was told (lit. given) what else they were to do...’
 (SUAR 2017:5:2.22)

In some respects the complementation strategy is more productive than relative clauses, but in most respects not, being limited to VCS or O slots.

9.3 Direct and indirect speech reports

Speech report constructions (cf. §6.9) are usually framed by the speech verb *ni-* ‘say’ and *vo.ni-* ‘tell’, but also make use of the two single-word verbal compounds (cf. § 6.4) *nikabai.re-* ‘answer’ and *nikaite-* ‘ask’. They are used in statements, commands and questions. (These verb forms are transitive or ditransitive; syntactically with A O E constituent order.)

Direct speech reports are much more usual than indirect. In some instances the speech reporting introducers *makai* ‘like this’ (64) or *yomakai* ‘like that’ (65) are used.

- (64) [*Bi makai ni-yo*]_{FC1}, “[*Na bi amiye 7,000 fere-yaka*]_{FC2}...
 TOP like.this say-3SG.PAST 1SG TOP person leave-1SG.PAST
 ‘Like this he said, “I have left 7,000 people...”’ (SUAR 2017:340:11.4)

The adverb *yomakai* is much more frequently used than *makai*. The latter is more often used with other verbs, e.g. *makai re-yo* (like.this do-3SG.PAST) ‘she did like this’. These introducers add emphasis to the speech report – ‘listen up, here is what was said...’.

- (65) [*Ma mina rema tora yaku yomakai ni-yo*]_{SC1}, “[*Mina*
 And this woman big DSM like.this say-3SG.PAST this

dona keika bi sero re-i-da]_{FC1},” [*vo-ni-yo*]_{FC2}.
 pig little TOP sell do-LINK-1SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘And this older woman said like that, “I’m selling this piglet,” she said.’ [10.05]

An indirect speech act does not use the initial speech verb. Below, an impersonal construction is used (cf. §8.4.3); for a direct speech we would expect either *ni-yo...re-fa* (say-3SG.PAST...do-2PL.IMP) ‘it was said...you (pl.) do’ or *ni-yadi...re-nadi* (say-3PL.PAST...do-1PL.IMP) ‘they said...let’s do’. This example comes from a legend about a girl who is lost and subsequently found and returned to her parents by a Papuan lorikeet. In the immediately preceding context, the parents had gone out looking for the daughter, and returned ashamed as they could not find her; perhaps in their shame an unnamed (and hence not in focus) person came along to encourage them.

- (66) [[*Iruku ri-si*]_{SC1} [*mar-o*]_{FC1}]_{FC2} [*koina ni-yo-ri*]_{SC2},
 food make-SEQ.SS give-3SG.PAST finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS

 [*ni-yo ini mida maina re-yagane*]_{FC3}]_{FC4}.
 say-3SG.PAST 3.POSS child look.for do-3PL.IMP
 ‘(They) were given food and when they had finished, (they) were told they must look for their child.’ [20.06]

Here in a transitive clause, the generic A is omitted, hence a passive translation. The *ni- X vo-ni-* (say X tell-say) frame is regularly used, likely as a means of adding further emphasis to the proposition.

- (67) *To ina ya ni-yo*, “[*Bi de na aki re-yo*,”
 but 3 DSM say-3SG.PAST TOP NEG 1SG bite do-3SG.PAST

vo-ni-yo.
 tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘And he said that, ‘It did not bite (me),’ he said.’ [3.07]

Further details on the properties of indirect speech reports can be found in §6.9. Indirect speech reports contain indirect commands; they do not contain a complementiser,

yet they fill the syntactic role O, which is determined by position. They are comparable to complementation, can be questioned, but cannot be referred to anaphorically, since they would then lose their discourse saliency function (cf. §6.9).

9.4 Clause chaining

In §9.1 above we saw that sentences can have up to ten clauses, and as discussed in §8.1 the canonical verbal clause is of the form (CNJ) (TEMP) (A/S) (NP_{OBL}) (NP_O) (NP_E) VP while the verbless clause is of the form VCS *bi* ‘topic marker’ VCC (cf. §8.2). In this section consideration on how they are chained together will examine the various non-canonical clauses, determining their function.

The four methods of verbal clause chaining described above include 1) through conjunctions: coordination (§9.2.1) and subordination (§9.2.2); 2) non-final verb morphology: switch-reference, purposive and conative (§9.2.2.1); 3) temporals (§9.2.2.2) and 4) manner (§9.2.3). However, there are other strategies used to link clauses: apposition (§9.4.1), recapitulation and summary bridging linkage (§9.4.2), relativisation (§9.4.3), ellipsis (§9.4.4), repetition (§9.4.5) and elaboration (§9.4.6).

9.4.1 Apposition

Apposition is used for emphasis or contrast, as in seen in (3) above: *de aki.re-yo_no ni-yo* (NEG bite-3SG.PAST_bad become-3SG.PAST) ‘(it) did not bite (or) harm (him)’; in this case, the speaker started out with ‘bite’, but then broadened the scope to ‘harm’. Apposition is considered non-canonical clause linking since it is marked in some way, but not the usual method.

9.4.2 Recapitulation and summary bridging linkage

Recapitulation repeats an action; one sentence finishes with a verb form and the next begins with the same verb form to maintain focus on the event at hand. It is very rare, normally occurring once or not at all in a discourse, being limited to the narrative genre. Recapitulation takes various forms: 1) copy of the previous verb form (68), 2) different inflect from the previous verb (69-70) or 3) intervention of limited constituents (or arguments) before the recapitulated verb form [identical copy or differently inflected copy] (71-72).

- (68) *Vi koru-ma kami ...bo-yafa. Bo-yafa-ma...*
 (name) water-to and.then go-1PL.PAST go-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS
 ‘So then we went to the Vi river. We went and then...’ [1.04-05]

In (69), both the verb in the first and second clauses are marked with the same aspect

and tense; the only difference is in person-number. In the first clause, the male narrator excludes himself from the women playing (netball). In the second clause he includes himself as both the men's group and women's group are playing (sports).

- (69) *isira re-gam-adi.* *Isira re-gam-afa* *fuofuori...*
 play do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST play do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST while
 'they (the women) were playing. While we were playing (sports)...' [9.02-03]

In (70) the complex verb *koina ni-* 'finish' is used to indicate that the action of the previous sentence was completed before moving on to the next event (cf. § 6.6.2.5).

- (70) *...nugar-o.* *Nuga-i koina ni-yo-ri...*
 cut-3SG.PAST cut-LINK finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
 '...he cut (it). When the cutting was completed...' [4.15-16]

In (71), the writer further specified where in the bush (*gagani* 'place') the people went.

- (71) *...sufa di-yaka.* *Gagani di-yaka-ma...*
 bush go-1.PAST place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS
 '...went to the bush. I went to the place and then...' [2.01-02]

Here in (72), the writer has grouped all his items listed in the initial clause (*viro* 'axe', *vabara* 'light' and *baiya* 'knife') together as *dinaga* 'load' in the second clause.

- (72) *...nai viro, vabara bona baiya moi-da. Nai*
 1SG.POSS axe light and bush.knife get-1SG.PRES 1SG.POSS

mina dinaga moi-si...
 this load get-SEQ.SS
 '...take my axe, matches (lit. light) and bush knife. I take my load and then...'
 [21.02-03]

Recapitulation is used to give discourse continuity, indicating emphasis (cf. Guérin and Aiton 2019:29) in established genres. These same types of recapitulation are found in several Southeast (areal) Papuan languages: Fuyug (Bradshaw 2007d), Korafe (Farr 1999:204), Ömie (Austing and Austing 1977:61) and Uare (Kikkawa 1993:165). However, more frequent in Doromu-Koki is summary bridging linkage, which makes use of the non-final verb *re-si* 'do-SEQ.SS'. Summary bridging linkage also occurs in Korafe (Farr 1999:204). The subject of the previous and following clauses always agrees, but there is not always agreement in tense between the two clauses (cf. (14) above) as there would be with use of the SR marking *-si* 'SEQ.SS'. An event occurring in the first clause is restated by use of *resi* 'and doing so' before moving onto the next event. Use of summary bridging linkage can be found in (3), (14) and (46), as well as here in (73-74):

- (73) [*Maina re-yadi*]_{FC1} [*resi*]_{SC1} [*de baku re-yadi*]_{FC2...}
 look.for do-3PL.PAST SBL NEG find do-3PL.PAST
 ‘They searched for (her); and doing so they didn’t find (her)...’ [20.05]

Summary bridging linkage occurs only once in a sentence, and can also begin a sentence (46), in which case it refers to the final clause of the previous sentence. It serves to link clauses as well as sentences in a discourse, e.g. CL1 *resi* ‘SBL’ CL3, as a means of foregrounding the previous clause.

- (74) [*Bai-si*]_{SC} [*Hohola.3-ma dui re-yo*]_{SC} [*resi*]_{SC}
 come-SEQ.SS (place.name)-at entering do-2SG.PAST SBL

 [*freeway cross re-si*]_{SC} *ma* [*de-yo*]_{FC}
 do-SEQ.SS and come-2SG.PAST
 ‘You came to Hohola 3 and entered, and doing so, you crossed the freeway and came.’ [38.27]

This is analogous to summary bridging linkage in the Papuan Ma Manda language (Morobe, PNG), as an abbreviated form of verbal ellipsis (Pennington 2018:474, 502). Otherwise a new sentence would be needed, i.e. instead using recapitulative linkage as ...*dui re-yo. Dui re-si...* (entering do-2SG.PAST entering do-2SG.PAST) ‘...and entered. You entered and...’. (The same could be said for (3); *re-yo* could be omitted so that the sentence would say ‘she was angry and asked me’, versus with inclusion of *resi* ‘SBL’, ‘she was angry, and being so, she asked me’.) Recapitulative linkage slows the discourse through its repetition, whereas summary bridging linkage presents a reduced and simplified transition. The summary bridging linkage *resi* ‘SBL’ correspondingly links clauses together similar to additive coordinating conjunctions. Unlike recapitulation, summary bridging linkage also occurs in legend and conversation genres. It can occur with the topic marker *bi*.

- (75) ...*oure-si bi ini rata ogau ni-do, resi*
 be.first-SEQ.SS TOP 3.POSS stem appear become-3SG.PRES SBL

bi ini imu mamō meko vare-do.
 TOP 3.POSS blossom and.then fruit sleep-3SG.PRES
 ‘first its stem/blade appears, and doing so, then it blossoms and bears (lit. sleeps) fruit/grain.’ (SUAR 2017:83:4.28)

Summary bridging linkage allows for variation in tense between the preceding and following clauses, but maintains A/S person, and can be considered a grammaticalised form, which is also found in three other constructions: *beika resi* (lit. what do-SEQ.SS) ‘why’, *gokai resi* (lit. how do-SEQ.SS) ‘how’ and *mina resi* (lit. this do-SEQ.SS) ‘therefore’.

9.4.3 Relativisation

Relative clauses are discussed in §8.4.1; they have a greater range than complementation, in which the CA occupies A/S/VCS, object and oblique argument slots. Relative clauses can make use of the relativiser demonstrative pronoun *mina* ‘this’ as a type of recapitulation, forming a post-head non-restrictive RC. This demonstrative pronoun is also used for emphasis, even when not functioning as a relativiser.

- (76) [[*Nai baba no kana bi ini varuka*] *mina*]_{SC1}
 1SG.POSS father bad like TOP 3.POSS clothing this
gagaba=ri maka iru ri-si]_{SC2...}
 waist=at only wear make-SEQ.SS
 ‘My father was bad as he only wore clothing around his waist...’ [1.03]

This type regularly links clauses as also seen in examples in §8.4.1.

9.4.4 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is a recurrent occurrence, as seen in (3) above *aki reyo ba de ∅ (=aki reyo)* ‘bite or not (bite)’, and here in (77). Through elision of the verb, which is normally the only required argument, a non-canonical clause is formed; it is implied from the context. This is customarily used to frame a question. Here we would expect *∅=ve-i-sa* (see-LINK-2SG.PRES) ‘you see’ for the elided portion.

- (77) [*Ya ve-i-sa*]_{FC1} [*ba de ∅*]_{SC1}, [*gokaisanu ago*
 2 see-LINK-2SG.PRES or NEG (see-LINK-2SG.PRES) how.many word
no tau ya rofu ni-tourage re-dedi]_{FC2?}
 bad all 2 to say-accuse do-3PL.PRES
 ‘Don’t you see (lit. ‘you see or don’t’) (with) how many bad words they accuse you?’ (SUAR 2017:114:15.4)

Ellipsis is a means of abbreviating the discourse; a second occurrence of the same verb is excluded, as a kind of de-emphasis. Since A and S are optional in any clause, then it cannot be said that they were elided, while O can indeed be elided. Third person pronouns are nearly always elided, e.g. if *dona* were realised as *ina* ‘it’, the sentence could be further reduced to *∅ ve-yaka-ma John=ka ∅ ve-yo* (*∅* see-1SG.PAST-SEQ.SS (name)=also *∅* see-3SG.PAST) ‘I saw (it) and John also saw (it)’, as the language operates on a nominative-accusative pivot.

- (78) *dona ve-yaka-ma John=ka ∅ ve-yo*
 pig see-1SG.PAST-SEQ.SS (name)= also (pig/3SG) see-3SG.PAST
 ‘I saw a pig and John also saw (the pig).’

Likewise, through switch-reference (cf. §6.2.1), once stated in the initial clause, repetition of A/S is unnecessary in subsequent clauses.

9.4.5 Repetition

Like most other non-canonical clause structures, repetition is used for marking extended action. The noun *ago* ‘word’ is repeated several times in (79), along with the synonym *sisina* ‘story’. The introductory *mina e* ‘oh this’ and the temporal noun *gua* ‘now’ are both repeated. The only other repetition is the SVC *ae reyafa* ‘we put’, an instance of recapitulation linkage (cf. §9.4.2).

- (79) *Mina e, ago mina sisina forovai re-yo. Mina e,*
 this eh word this story confuse do-3SG.PAST this eh
- gua, gua uni Word of God ae re-yafa mina New*
 now now 1PL.POSS put do-1PL.PAST this
- Testament ae re-yafa mina, mina ago, uni ago*
 put do-1PL.PAST this this word 1PL.POSS word
- di forovai re-go to, o, mina yaku bi mo*
 GEN confuse do-3SG-FUT but or this DSM TOP but
- ame-bo-bi-go toga.*
 stay-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT always
 ‘This, like this story is mixed up. This, now, now our Word of God that we put
 in this New Testament, this language, our language will be mixed up, but, this
 will remain forever.’ [40.27-28]

Repetition is most usually found in conversations.

9.4.6 Elaboration

Elaboration is used for clarification or possibly as an afterthought. This is an everyday practice; often some extra information (usually an NP) is added to the end of the sentence, after the verb. Below, the speaker continued to clarify who was met and further discussed the situation, then adding *taraka* ‘car’ he realises that further clarification as a ‘bus’ is needed. In the following four elaborations, the speaker adds oblique location finally, with no increased intonational break, as indicated in the last two lines. This phenomenon could also be due to the influence of English. The first location, *Gordons* is repeated in the following clause in the middle of an SVC; the locations are particularly salient in the conversation.

(80) *Bo-yafa* traffic *vene,* **transport board** *vene,* **police,**
 go-1PL.PAST people people

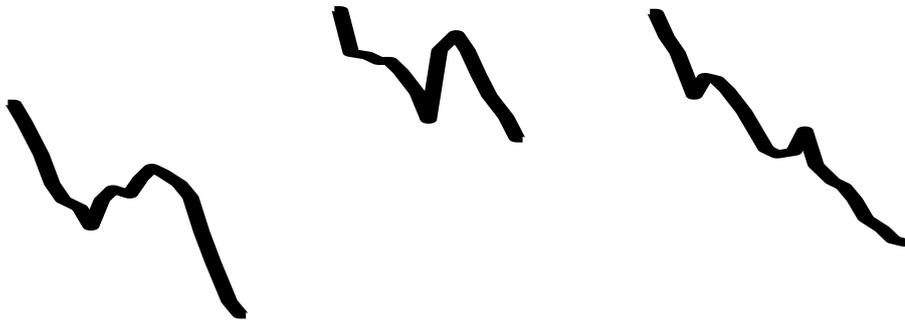
taraka license permit **ve-dedi** *vene* *mina* *kamini*
 car see-3PL.PRES people this and.then

ni-yafa-ma *taraka* **bas** *astopu* *re-yadi-ma* *dairi*
 say-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS car bus stop do-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS return

de-yafa **Gordons.** *Dubu* *dairi* *de-i* **Gordons**
 come-1PL.PAST (place.name) again return come-LINK (place.name)

soka *re-i* *yuka-ma* *bai-yafa,* *21* *club* *mina=ri* *gutuna*
 arrive do-LINK leg-by come-1PL.PAST this=at from

bas *moi-yafa* *bi* *kamini.* *Kam* *dairi* *keu* *ri* *moi*
 bus get-1PL.PAST TOP and.then and.then return ascend make get



ne-i *fere-yaka* *mini,* *moi* *ne-i* *fere-yaka*
 go.down-link leave-1SG.PAST here get go.down-link leave-1SG.PAST



Mapang=ri. *Na* *mo* *ne-yaka* **hospital.**
 (name)=at 1SG and.then go.down-1SG.PAST

‘We went up to the traffic people, transport board people, police, car license permit sighting people there, and we told them (about what had happened) and they had a car, bus stop and bring us back to Gordons. We got back to Gordons and arrived by foot and came, from there at 21 club we then got a bus. Then we got on and came back down; I took (him) and left (him) at Mapang. And I went to the hospital.’ [12.23-25]

This is unusual in written texts where longer processing time would normally occur,

but much more frequent in oral texts where less planning takes place in real time.

9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has included analysis of the various features of sentence structure (§9.1) and clause combining. In examination of sentence structure it was seen that the most usual length of a sentence is two clauses, followed by one, and then from three up to 10 have been observed. From there examination continued with various forms of clause linking (§9.2), including coordination (§9.2.1), subordination (§9.2.2), non-final verb clause chaining through switch-reference marking (§9.2.2.1), temporal (§9.2.2.2) and manner clause linking (§9.2.3).

Relative clauses (§9.2.5) are most repeatedly restrictive pre-head, and juxtaposed. Post-head RCs, on the other hand are non-restrictive and make use of the anaphoric demonstrative relativiser *mina* ‘this.one’. The language also makes use of the calqued interrogative *kaere* ‘who’ as a relativiser. Relative clauses in Doromu-Koki appear in intransitive and transitive subject position, verbless clause subject position, as well as in object and extended argument slots (§9.2.5.1).

Complementation (§9.2.6) also occurs embedded in verbless clauses, in subject and object position and is regularly found in speech report.

Other areas covered included direct and indirect speech reports (§9.3) and clause chaining (§9.4). There are several clause chaining strategies available in the language, including apposition (§9.4.1), recapitulation and summary bridging linkage (§9.4.2), relativisation (§9.4.3), ellipsis (§9.4.4), repetition (§9.4.5) and elaboration (§9.4.6).

10. Discourse-pragmatic devices

Discourse-pragmatic devices discussed include genres (§10.1) and information structure (§10.2).

10.1 Genres

Doromu-Koki discourse genres have been organised differently from those identified in Larson (1998:399-415); expository (or hortatory) [§10.1.3.1] is considered a subgroup of descriptive, while conversational is an addition. Doromu-Koki genres are grouped into five types (as opposed to Larson's six): narrative (§10.1.1), descriptive (§10.1.2), procedural (§10.1.3), conversational (§10.1.4) and songs and drama (§10.1.5). The characteristics of each in terms of person orientation, tense/mood, backbone and primary structure are shown in Table 10.1

Table 10.1: *Discourse genre characteristics* (loosely based on Larson 1998:400)

Genre	Person orientation	Tense/mood	Backbone ¹	Primary structure
Narrative	First, third	Past	Mainline events	Stimulus-response ²
Descriptive	Third	Present	Topics	Topic-comments ³
Procedural	First, second	Future, imperative	Procedures	Steps-goal ⁴
Conversational	First, third	Present	Topics	Topic-comments
Songs and drama	First, second	Various	Topics	Topic-comments

Each of these genres are discussed below.

10.1.1 Narrative genre

Narratives routinely begin with a time setting NP or CC (cf. §10.2.1), e.g. *lagani remanu koina ni-yo* (year two finish become-3SG-PAST) 'after two years', *meda yokoi=ri* (day

¹ That is, the main events of a discourse (Larson 1998:355).

² "The units of the discourse have relations to one another which are called **stimulus**-RESPONSE relations. ...A **question** is the **stimulus** for an ANSWER, or a **problem** is the **stimulus** for a RESOLUTION. The **stimulus** EVENT gives rise to or elicits the RESPONSE EVENT." (Larson 1998:353)

³ That is, topic + state (versus event) propositions (Larson 1998:400), which is not the topic-comment terminology of other traditions (cf. Cruse 2006:182-3).

⁴ "When the progression relation is present, some of the events are in a support relation to one of the events which is more prominent. That is, there may be a series of events which lead up to a final event which is the prominent one. The propositional cluster often consists of a series of steps leading up to a GOAL." (Larson 1988:309)

one=on) ‘one day’ or *uriyaku yokoi=ri* (morning one=on) ‘one morning’. The formulaic *yokaru* ‘one day’, reminiscent of English fairy tales beginning with ‘once upon a time’ is a regular occurrence; this form consists of *yokoi+ari=u* (one+day=on), as seen here in (1) below. [Some other time setting examples include (22-23), (25), (81a) and (90).]

- (1) [[**Yokaru** *April 18, 2005 uriyaku gorogoro*]_{TEMP} [*na Regina nai*
one.day morning early 1SG (name) 1SG.POSS

mida Felicity ma nai aufa Alphonse bi]_A [*Ufa*
child (name) and 1SG.POSS grandfather (name) TOP (name)

ema=ri gutu]_{LOC} *tufe=ri keu ri-yafa*]_{CL1} [*resi*]_{CL2}
river.mouth=at from raft=on ride.on make-1PL.PAST SBL

[[*Yogobada (Boregaina)*]⁵ *urana*]_{LOC} *re-yafa*]_{CL3}.
(name) (name) toward do-1PL.PAST

‘One day, April 18, 2005, early in the morning, I, Regina and my daughter (lit. child) Felicity and my grandfather Alphonse were riding on a raft from Ufa river mouth, and doing so we were going (lit. doing) towards Yogobada (Boregaina).’ [72]

Here in (1) the final *re-* ‘do’ functions as a generic verb, replacing the verb of motion *keu.ri-* ‘ride on’ of the first clause.

A historical account may begin with the formulaic *sena duakau* (already during) ‘long ago’ (cf. §9.2.2.2), however there are no corresponding ending conventions.

- (2) [[**Sena** *duakau, vabara moi-na kode=ri bona sioni=ka*
already during light get-NOMZ later=at and white.man=also

oki-na kode=ri bi]_{TEMP}, [*uni bobada.manone yaku*]_A
arrive-NOMZ not.yet=at TOP 1PL.POSS ancestor DSM

iya re-gasa]_{CL1} [*iniye~iniye u-muye-gam-adi*]_{CL2}.
war do-SIM.SS REFL~DISTR D.CAUS-die-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
‘Long ago, while not yet civilised (lit. getting light) and before white men’s arrival, our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.’ [19.01]

The mainline events are always cast in the past tense, with regular use of switch-reference marking (cf. §6.2.1, §9.2.2.1 and §10.2.2.1B below), recapitulation and summary bridging linkage [as seen in (1) *resi* ‘doing and’ above and (3a) below; cf. §9.5.2 and §10.2.2.1C]. Narrative is the primary discourse genre, following a chronological order. Moreover, it exhibits stimulus-response relations (Larson 1998:353), whereas other

⁵ Here the brackets are as in the original text.

discourse types may be based solely on logical relations. That is, a problem or question stimulates a resolution or answer response (Larson 1998:353). In (2) above, the problem was the fighting and killing amongst the people long ago; the resolution (the focus of the remainder of the text) was in how the people transitioned to peaceful relations [cf. Appendix, text (19)]. In (3) below, the author's son had an encounter or problem (3a) with a snake which stimulated a happy resolution (3b) response. Focal prominence, i.e. elaboration, by means of postposing a postpositional phrase (cf. §10.2.2.3A) also occurs in (3b).

- (3) a. [Resi]_{CL1} [koro=ri vare-yo-ri]_{CL2} [[aruma yaku]_s [ina
SBL border=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS snake DSM 3

fafau-ma]_{LOC} de-yo]_{CL3}. [Amute-si]_{CL1} [tururu re-si]_{CL2}
on.top.of-on come-3SG.PAST feel-SEQ.SS tremble do-SEQ.SS

[dadi-yo]_{CL3}, [resi]_{CL4} [na raka ni di ne-yo
get-up-3SG.PAST SBL 1SG call say go go.down-3SG.PAST

[na rofu]_E_{CL5}.
1SG to

‘And doing so, when he was sleeping at the border a snake came down upon him. He felt (it) and jumped up (lit. trembled and got up), and doing so, he called out to me to come down to him (lit. me).’ [3.04-05]

- b. [[Gabi ro]_{TEMP} mo [una remanu di uni iruku]_o
later to at.once 1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS food

[una]_E mar-o-ma]_{CL1} [iri-yafa [ada dudu]_{NP}_{CL2}.
1PL give-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS eat-1PL.PAST happiness INST

‘Later on then at once she gave the two of us our food and happily we ate (it).’ [3.10]

One text [excerpt in (4) below] uses the present tense on final verbs, as a ‘historic present’ conveying vividness. It does not set the scene with a time element. Like other narratives, it does make use of switch-reference marking (cf. §6.2.1 and §9.2.2.1) as a means of coherence (cf. §10.2.2.1B), indicating simultaneity of action between the relevant clauses. See also (64) for another pragmatic use of the present tense.

Occasionally, mismatches in subject agreement occur, as in the second and third clauses *vabara ni-gasa yaku-da* (light become-SIM.SS go.out-1SG.PRES) ‘as it gets light I go out’, since the S is impersonal, setting the scene and not considered a separate participant (cf. §6.2.1 and §9.2.2.1). Thus, the speaker maintains himself as the ongoing topic. This variance has been observed in temporal clauses in Papuan languages “...in

clauses that describe meteorological conditions and possibly other clauses which give some setting or background information (Reesink 1983:230).” This is the case in Doromu-Koki as well as these non-canonical constructions illustrate a lack of strict linearity in switch reference.

Recapitulation linkage (cf. §9.5.2) here as *yaku-da...yaku-gasa* (go.out-1SG.PRES...go.out-SIM.SS) ‘I go out...I go out’ serves as a cohesive device (cf. §10.2.2.1C), indicating the speaker’s sequential actions through backgrounding of one event before continuing with the next.

(4) [*Sufa=ri ere di-gi re-i-da-ri bi*]_{CL1}, [*uriyaku ari*
bush=to other go-PURP do-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP morning day

vabara ni-gasa]_{CL2} [*yaku-da*]_{CL3}. [[*Nai yava=ri*]_{LOC}
light become-SIM.SS go.out-1SG.PRES 1SG.POSS house=at

yaku-gasa bi]_{CL1} [[*nai viro, vabara bona baiya*]_O
go.out-1SG.PRES TOP 1SG.POSS axe light and bush.knife

moi-da]_{CL2}.
get-1SG.PRES

‘When I go hunting in the bush, in the morning as it gets light I go out. I go out of my house and take my axe, matches (lit. light) and bush knife.’ [21.01-02]

Narrative texts may also be classified as general (such as hunting, or other regular activities) or traditional stories, historical accounts, legends or myths, exhibiting all the regular features associated with narrative texts. [See legends/traditional practices in Appendix: (14-20).] Narrative texts are major components in many translations, e.g. the New Testament gospels [cf. *Sei di Uka Ago Ruaka* ‘God’s New Covenant’ (*SUAR*). 2017.]

After narrative, descriptive is a routinely used genre.

10.1.2 Descriptive genre

Descriptive discourse is restricted to third person and mainly present tense. Topics (cf. §10.2.2.3D) are often introduced by the demonstrative *mina* ‘this’ (in bold below) [cf. §4.2], as in (5-6). In this way a topic-comments structure, rather than the narrative genre’s stimulus-response structure, is followed. The topic is clause 1, with comments: 1) Clauses 2-3, 2) Clause 4 and 3) Reintroduction/review of topic in clause 5.

(5) [[*Nai rautu bi*]_O *ura re-i-da*]_{CL1}, [*badina [ne~ne*
1SG.POSS village TOP like do-LINK-1SG.PRES because go~NOMZ

re-gasa]_{CL2} [*gagani ve-i-da*]_{CL3}. [[*Mina totona*] *bona* [[*aura*
do-SIM.SS place see-LINK-1SG.PRES this for and wind

yafuyafu buni]_o *moi-ga*]_{CC} *ame-i-da*]_{CL4} [*dada,* [*nai*
breeze good get-SIM.SS stay-LINK-1SG.PRES because 1SG.POSS

rautu *bi*]_o *ura* *re-i-da*]_{CL5}.
village TOP like do-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘I like my village, because when I’m going around I see the view (lit. place(s)).
Because of this and because of the nice breeze that I get living (there), I like my
village.’ [5.02-03]

Nomalisations conceivably encode background events (in bold below; cf. Watters 2002:353, 358-9) [cf. §3.7.1 and §6.6] (6). A descriptive text can also give more details about a subject in order to add clarification for the reader/hearer, including giving reasons behind some action through a logical framework.

(6) [*Mina buka di adina*]_{VCS} *bi* [Koki, Kokila bona 'Origo
this book GEN basis TOP (name) (name) and (name)

ago]_o *ni-dedi*]_{CC} *vene*]_A]_{CC} *di ini rama alphabet va reto*
word say-3PL.PRES people GEN 3.POSS true try right

re-na]_{CC} [*Doromu ago=ri*]_{LOC}]_{VCC}.
do-NOMZ (name) word=in

‘The purpose of this book is for the Koki, Kokila and 'Origo dialect (lit. word)
speakers to try out a possible alphabet for (lit. in) the Doromu language.’ [22.01]

While the example above is from a written text, this focal NP postposing (elaboration), with a corresponding pause, is more observed in oral texts, as in (7).

(7) [[*Na*]_s *mo ne-yaka* *hospital*]_{CL1}.
1SG at.once go.down-1SG.PAST
‘And at once I went to the hospital.’ [12.25]

A descriptive text aims to give further details on the topic at hand.

10.1.3 Procedural discourse

Procedural discourse recounts a particular course of actions or traditional activities, and is characterised by use of the future tense and/or imperative mood. Note, however, in (8c) the use of past tense. Since the future was used in the previous clause (8b), the past now indicates a contrast; the person had to have already performed the previous action to have arrived at this new step. Future is used in describing the hearer/recipient’s actions, which then serve as a springboard into the given commands to be followed. This type follows a strict chronological ordering; it is used to describe the procedures involved in performing

some action, or giving instructions (Larson 1998:404), making use of switch-reference marking (cf. §6.2.1, §9.2.2.1 and §10.2.2.1B). In (8), the speaker is outlining the process involved in building a toilet, using only second person (indicative or imperative mood).

- (8) a. [[*Oru yava*]_o *ri-fa*]_{CL1}.
toilet house make-2PL.IMP
'Build a toilet.'
- b. [[[*Kono goe-giya*]_{CL1} *di ini sana*]_o *veika re*]_{CL2}. [*Oru yava bi*]_s [*koru ma yava rofu gaima=ri*]_{LOC} *∅*]_{CL2}.
ground dig-2SG.FUT GEN 3.POSS place prepare do toilet
house TOP water and house from far.away=at (should.be)

[*Kono goe*]_{CL1}.
ground dig
'Prepare the place where you (sg.) will dig the ground. The toilet (should be) far from the river and house. Dig the ground.'
- c. [*Yabo nuga-si*]_{CL1} [[[*kono goe-yo*]_{CL2} *odoro=ri*]_{LOC} *ae*]_{CL3}.
tree cut-SEQ.SS ground dig-2SG.PAST above=on put
'Cut the wood and put it up above the ground that you dug.'
- d. [[*Kono ba siment yaku*]_{INST} *koua re*]_{CL1}.
ground or cement DSM stop.up do
'Stop (it) up with ground or cement.'
- e. [[[[*Diye ni-na*]_{CC} *sana*]_o *ini ruba=ri*]_{LOC} *ma* [[[[*ini koua re-na*]_{CC} *gauna yokoi*]_o *ri*]_{CL1}.
faeces become-NOMZ place 3.POSS hole=in and 3.POSS
cover do-NOMZ thing one make
'Make a defecating place hole and something to cover (it).'
- f. [[*Ini yava*]_o *ri*]_{CL1}.
3.POSS house make
'Build its house (or erect its building).'
- g. [*Ruba koua re-giya-ma*]_{CL1} [*naguma [ruba ini ide=ri]*]_{LOC}
hole cover do-2SG.FUT-SEQ.DS fly hole 3.POSS inside=to

ga ne-yagane]_{CL2}.
PROHIB go.down-3PL.IMP
'You can cover the hole and the flies won't go down inside the hole.'
- h. [[*Oru yava*]_o *nari re*]_{CL1} [*ruaka dudu maka ame-yaine*]_{CL2}.
toilet house look.after do new INST only stay-3SG.IMP
'Look after (your) toilet and it will remain like new.' [90]

In the following procedural text, the speaker describes building a house. While the title *Yava ri-sifa* (house make/build-1PL.PRES) ‘We build a house’ is in the present tense, the speaker tells the story in the past, in order to relate it to past standard practices. The location *rautu=ri* (village=in) ‘in the village’ in the first line is postposed, giving an afterthought, which is separated from the rest of the utterance by a pause. In its canonical position, we would expect ...*siko rautu=ri nugai moi oki-gam-adi* (first village=to cut-LINK get arrive-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST) ‘...first cut and then brought into the village’. While an English translation of this SR use would be the same as that seen in the non-SR use, the string would no longer be considered one conceptual unit; it would then convey that cutting was a distinct event to transporting to the village. [Note however that O arguments can intervene (cf. §7.3).]

- (9) a. [[*Gado, yabo ma maena*]_o *siko nugai moi*
 post tree and vine first cut-LINK get

oki-gam-adi *rautu=ri*]_{CL1}.
 arrive-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST village=to
 ‘First the posts, wood and vines are cut and brought into the village.’
- b. [*Yava rama ai-gam-o-ri* *mamo*]_{CL1}
 house right put-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS at.once

 [*rabo* *abe-ga*]_{CL2} [*dobeka ibu* *re-ga*]_{CL3} [*faka*
 sword.grass roof-SIM.SS flooring spread.out do-SIM.SS wall

vadi-gam-adi]_{CL4}.
 weave-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘When the house was being placed right, at once it was being roofed with
 sword grass and flooring was being spread out and the walls were being
 woven.’
- c. [*Makai dudu [ini yava tora noibanu]*]_o *moi*
 like.this INST 3.POSS house big whole D.CAUS

bubu ri-gam-adi]_{CL1} [*rofu vare-ga*]_{CL2}
 finish make-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST so.that sleep-SIM.SS

[ame-gam-adi]]_{CL3}.
 stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘Thus his whole big house was being finished, so that they were
 staying sleeping (there in it).’ [58]

While the expectation might be for a procedural text to be in future tense, that is not always the case, as it is more explicit that an action has already been completed when the

past is used; next is an outline of the steps for how to do it again in future.

10.1.3.1 Epistolary genre

A particularly non-traditional emerging modern subtype of procedural genre is epistolary genre; it is also identified as behavioural or hortatory, in the sense that it urges or commands in the form of seeking behaviour changes. These commands are in the form of rebuke or exhortation, telling the listener what ought to be done and why. It follows a conceptual or logical framework, and therefore, not necessarily chronological order.

Often an epistolary discourse is represented by correspondence, such as a letter. It regularly begins with the addressee's name (indicated below in bold) [other addressee examples include (13-14), (19a, e), (25)/(81b)/(118), (26)/(81g), (111b), (116-117)], and makes particular use of present or future tense and imperative, interrogative or prohibitive mood. Like other procedural texts, epistolary also makes use of first and second person as a distinction between writer and addressee.

- (10) **Tom**, [beika]_{VCS} ∅ [de]_{VCC}, [[to rautu=ri [ya yaku]_A
 (name) what (TOP) NEG but village=in 2 DSM
- beika.baika re-yainedi*]_{CC} [ya ni-oteima-gi re-i-da]_{CL2}.
 whatever do-3PL.IMP 2 say-tell-PURP do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 'Tom, nothing much (lit. 'what is not/nothing'), but I'm trying to tell you
 whatever they must do in the village.' [60]

Again, first and second person are regularly used between the speaker and the addressee (11-12) [from the same text].⁶ An addressee may be only a name, or the relationship of the recipient (13-14).

- (11) **Raphael**, [[na bi]_S [mina Saturday]_{TEMP} ne-gida
 (name) 1SG TOP this go.down-1SG.FUT
- Port Moresby*]_{CL1}, [dada ya [agiya uriyaku]_{TEMP} bo-giya
 (name) so 2 tomorrow morning go-2SG.FUT
- [*Nunufa omuna=ri*]_{LOC}]_{CL2} [ima moi-si de-giya]_{CL3}.
 (name) mountain=to betel.nut get-SEQ.SS come-2SG.FUT
- [*Ima*]_{VCS} bi [tau gade]_{VCC}, [dada [mida yokoi]_E
 betel.nut TOP many very so child one

⁶ Segmentary person as explained by Henry (2013:282) has not been observed: "In their public speeches, it is quite common to hear big-men of the Western Highlands using the first-person singular in reference to their whole...clan, or even their entire tribe, and the second-person and third-person singular when referring to a segmentary group different from their own."

election is over!!! Its just a matter of asking cz I seriously see that we need development, especially in health, road & school, so please any update from the Is in POM!! Thankyou & God Bless

‘Hello relatives, young women, young men, uncles, just giving greetings!!!! Any latest issues regarding our village or??? Since the election is over!!! It’s just a matter of asking because I seriously see that we need development, especially in health, road and school, so please any update from the ones in Port Moresby!! Thank you and God bless’ [106]

This text has only four autochthonous words (*ofi* ‘young woman’, *godua* ‘young man’, *vada* ‘uncle’ and *maka* ‘only’), a Hiri Motu word *varavara* ‘relative’ and the remainder English, including two abbreviated texting forms (*cz* ‘because’ and *Is* ‘ones’). It is basically an English-based text, whereas (14) below is mainly Doromu-Koki, with a few borrowed Hiri Motu and English words interspersed (indicated in **bold**). There is only one (complex) verb found in the text [*duai re-fo* (count do-2PL.PO.IMP) ‘read’].⁸ The first three clauses (and the ultimate clause) have elided (cf. §10.2.2.1D below) a verb – most likely *vo-ni-da* (tell-say-1SG.PRES) ‘I say’ [as in clipped form in (13) above] and perhaps also *ya (rofu)* [2 to] ‘to you’.

(14) [[*Sina tora*]_O *sista motu*]_{ADD}]_{CL1}.. [***Tanikiu toragade***]_{CL2}.. [[*Uriyaku*
word big thank.you very.big morning

buni]_{NP} [*ya ibounai*]_O [*nai DK dawa*]_{RC}]_{CL3}... [***Plis***
good 2 all 1SG.POSS (name) blood

[*motu di sina mina*]_O *duai re-fo*]_{CL4}.. [***Ok [sande meda***
GEN word this read do-2PL.PO.IMP day good day

buni]_O [*ya [ya ibou]*]_E *fafau*]_{CL5}..
good 2 2 all upon

‘Big word (I say to you) Motu sister.. (I say) Thank you very much.. (I say) Good morning all of you my Doromu-Koki relatives (lit. ‘blood’)... Please read this in Motu words... Okay, (I say) good Sunday to you all..’ [104]

These texts have present or future tense marking [present (10), (12); future (8b, g), (11-12)], as well as narrative components (cf. §10.1.1 above), giving contextualisation to the commands being given. These contextualisations are not always required, but common [cf. (20-21)]. But, like other descriptive texts, they maintain a topic-comments structure, as exemplified in (11); Topic: I’m going to town; Comments: 1) Go to Nunufa mountain tomorrow morning; 2) Get some betel nut and bring it back; 3) There is a lot of

⁸ A contraction of *duaiya.re-* ‘read’. (Note some instances of ellipsis are indicated by author as .. rather than the conventional ...)

betel nut (to get); 4) So tell one boy to go with you (to help you carry it). [See also Bradshaw (Forthcoming) for further details on the impact of these newer genres.]

10.1.4 Conversational genre

Conversational genre, or dialogue, like social media, may also be terse and telegraphic (but at other times verbose), mainly due to the nature of the communication (cf. §10.2.3.4 for examination of conversational structures); much information is implied between the speakers, so that outsiders can easily find themselves lost. With inherent mutual intelligibility the conversational exchange progresses more rapidly. Conversational discourse primarily uses the present tense, as it is concerned with the here and now, but of course it makes use of the past through inclusion of narrative strings. Comparable to social media, it exhibits reduced use of clause chains (cf. §9.2.2.1 and §10.2.2.1B) and recapitulation and summary bridging linkage (cf. §9.5.2 and §10.2.2.1C), as is the case in (15). Increased use of code-switching (cf. §10.2.3.5) – two Hiri Motu words – which often appears to be individually or situationally dependent, also occurs. Like Descriptive, conversational discourse structure is topic-comments. Conversations include formulaic elements, e.g. *buni* ‘good’, *yo* ‘yes’, as well as fillers, e.g. *e* ‘oh’, *o* ‘oh’ or *um* (undoubtedly of English origin; cf. §4.14). These fillers cannot break up complex verbs or SVCs. Note in the following example, ellipsis (cf. §10.2.2.1D) of the VCS and the topic marker (as copula) in speaker 1’s responses and ellipsis of the complex verb’s associated verb *ni-yo* (become-3SG.PAST) in speaker 2’s first response (and repetition).

- (15) 1: [\emptyset]_{VCS} \emptyset [*Buni*]_{VCC} *o*.
 (3) (TOP) good oh
 ‘Oh good.’
- 2: *Um*, [*misin koina* \emptyset]_{CL1} [*Misin koina* \emptyset]_{CL2}
 um machine finish (became) machine finish (became)
- [*dada vadaini* [*vana ya*]_{INST} *turiya re-i-da*]_{CL3}.
 so already hand DSM sew do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘Um, the machine is broken (lit. ‘has become finished’). Since the machine
 is finished, then I’m sewing by hand.’
- 1: *E*, [\emptyset]_{VCS} \emptyset [*buni*]_{VCC}.
 oh (this) (TOP) good
 ‘Oh, okay (lit. ‘(this is) good’).’
- 2: *Um*, [[*nai buka*]_s *ame-do*]_{CL1}. [[*Nai mina*]_s
 um 1SG.POSS book stay-3SG.PRES 1SG.POSS this

ame-do]_{CL1}.
 stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘Um, I have my book. I have mine.’

1: [∅]_{VCS} ∅ [Buni]_{VCC} o.
 (this) (TOP) good oh
 ‘Oh, okay (lit. ‘(this is) good’).’

2: *Um*.
 um
 ‘Um.’ [37.01-06]

Speaker 2 was describing her current activity, and then mentioning her copy of the New Testament, i.e. *buka* ‘book’, and MegaVoice® audio player, i.e. *mina* ‘this one’; because of the speakers’ mutual contextual knowledge and/or visual cues, the implied further details were understood. No SR, recapitulation or summary bridging linkage were used.

Interrogatives are routine as a strategy for initiating a conversation as well as for turn taking.

(16) 3: [[*Ina*]_s *Arizona=ri* *ame-do*]_{CL1}?
 3 (place.name)=at stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘Does he live in Arizona?’

2: *Yo*, [∅]_s *Arizona=∅* ∅]_{CL1}.
 yes (3) (place.name)=(at) (stays)
 ‘Yes, (he lives in) Arizona.’

1: *So what is the climate, climate like there? Is it cold, or?*

2: [∅]_s ∅ [*Vava tora*]_{VCC}.
 (3) (TOP) hot big
 ‘(It is) Very hot.’

1: [∅]_s ∅ [*Vava tora*]_{VCC}. [∅]_s ∅ [*Mexico kana*]
 (3) (TOP) hot big (3) (TOP) (place.name) like

baeko]_{VCC}?
 perhaps
 ‘(It is) Very hot. Perhaps (it is) like Mexico?’

2: *Desert*.

1: *Desert? So* [*ina bi countryside ame-do* *eni von*,
 3 TOP stay-3SG.PRES eh eh

countryside]_{CL1}?

‘Desert? So does he live in the countryside, countryside?’

2: *Yo.*

yes

‘Yes.’

1: *Okay, Arizona.* [[*Cowboy movie ibounai*]_o *mirona=ri act*
all there=at

re-dedi baeko]_{CL1}?

do-3PL.PRES perhaps

‘Okay, Arizona. Maybe all the cowboy movies are acted there? (laughing)’

2: *Rama.*

true

‘True.’

1: *Rama eni von?*

true Q Q

‘Is that right?’

2: *Yo.*

yes

‘Yes.’ [39.05-16]

10.1.5 Songs and drama genre

The songs and drama discourse type is in fact a compilation of other discourse types, dependent on the situation at hand, and so includes narrative, descriptive, conversational types, etc. These mainly make use of first and second person and do not contain much switch-reference marking (cf. §6.2.1, §9.2.2.1 and §10.2.2.1B) or recapitulation and summary bridging linkage (cf. §9.5.2 and §10.2.2.1C). Songs also are often telegraphic in nature. Traditional songs are mainly limited to magic chants, which are short and repetitive. Their words cannot be shared, but must be guarded in order to maintain their power. (Cf. Tables 1.3 and 1.4 and §1.2.3 for further details on the varieties of chants used, along with their purposes, procedures and restrictions.) No traditional poems have been attested.

Following is an excerpt from a Good Friday passion play. Here narrative (cf. §10.1.1), conversation (cf. §10.1.4), summary bridging linkage (cf. §10.2.2.1.C below), ellipsis (cf. §10.2.2.1D), interrogative, imperative mood (cf. §6.6.3.2) and past, present and future (§6.6.4) [here with an abilitative sense] tense are all present.

- (17) **Rema mida:** [Ya]_{VCS} *bi* [mirona amiye di ini [[diba
 woman child 2 TOP there person GEN 3.POSS know

*maina re-i-sa]_{CC} amiye yokoi]_{NP}]_{VCC}, *eni*
 searching do-LINK2SG.PRES person one Q*

ba?

Q

Girl: ‘Are you one of this man’s wisdom seeking people?’

Ago nioku-na: [Pita nikabai re-yo]_{CL1} [rofu
 word testify-NOMZ (name) answer do-3SG.PAST so.that

ni-yo,
 say.3SG.PAST

Narrator: ‘Peter answered so that he spoke,’

Pita: “[[[Na]_{VCS} *bi* [∅ *de*]_{VCC}]_{CC}]_{CL2}.”
 (name) 1SG TOP (one) NEG

Peter: ‘“I am not (one of them) [lit. (of these people)].”’

Ago nioku-na: [Moimai vene bona naivo~naivo vene]_{VCS}
 word testify-NOMZ work people and serving~PL people

bi [itu]_{VCC} [dada, ita ori-yadi]_{CL2}, [resi]_{CL3}
 TOP cold because fire burn-3PL.PAST SBL

[[*ita adina=ri*]_{LOC} *are re-yadi,* [[*ini*
 fire near=at stand do-3PL.PAST 3.POSS

*rovaita]_O moi vava ri-gi]_{CC}]_{CL4}.
 body D.CAUS hot make-PURP*

‘Because the workers and servants were cold, they burned a fire, and doing so they stood near the fire, in order to warm themselves (lit. their bodies).’

[[*Pita bi*]_A [*ina ina=ka ini rovaita*]_O
 (name) TOP 3 3SG=also 3.POSS body

moi vava ri-gi ∅]_{CL1}.
 D.CAUS hot make-PURP (did)

‘Peter, he was also with them in order to warm himself (lit. his body).’

[*Kamini dubu di ourefeide-na amiye tora*
 so.then church GEN lead-NOMZ person big

*yaku*_A [*Iesu*]_E *nikaite-yo*, [[*ini* *diba*
DSM (name) ask-3SG.PAST 3.POSS know

maina *re-dedi* *vene* *rofu*]_E *bona ini*
searching do-3PL.PRES people to and 3.POSS

sina *ago* *re-do* *ida*]_{CC}]_{CL1}.
word word do-3SG.PRES way

‘So then a big church leader asked Jesus about his wisdom seeking people and his way of preaching (lit. words doing).’

[*Nikaite-yo*]_{CL1}, [[*Iesu* [*ina* *rofu*]_E
ask-3SG.PAST (name) 3 to

nikabai *re-si*]_{CL2} [*ni-yo*,
answer do-SEQ.SS say-3SG.PAST

Narrator: ‘He asked, (and) Jesus answered him saying,’

Iesu: [[*Kono=ri* *vene* *rofu*]_E *ago* *ni-ogau* *re-yaka*]_{CC}]_{CL3}.
ground=on people to word say-appear do-1SG.PAST
‘To people of the world I proclaimed (lit. say-appear) the word.’

[[*Meda* *tau* *gade*]_{TEMP} [*dubu* *ide=ri* *bona* *dubu* *akeke*
day all many church inside=at and church holy

yava=ri]_{LOC} [*na* *yaku*]_A *oteima-gam-aka*, [[*Judah*
house=in 1SG DSM teach-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST (name)

vene *yaku*]_S *ini* *egogo* *re-gam-adi*]_{CC} *sana*
people DSM 3.POSS meet do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST place

tau *vanu*]_{LOC}]_{CL1}.
all every

‘Very many days/all the time in the church and in the temple (lit. holy church house) I have been teaching, in each and every Jewish synagogue (lit. Judah people’s meeting places).’

[[*Nai* *ago* *bi*]_O *de* *moi* *sui* *re.gida*]_{CL1}.
1SG.POSS word TOP NEG D.CAUS hide do-1SG.FUT
‘I cannot hide my word.’

[*Beika.resi* *na* *nikaite-dedi*]_{CL1}?
why 1SG ask-2PL.PRES
‘Why are you (pl.) asking me?’

[[*Nai* *ago* *neide-yadi* *vene* *rofu*]_E *nikaite*]_{CL1}, [*ina*
1SG.POSS word hear-3PL.PAST people to ask 3

vene bi]_A [*ina diba* [*na=bi* *gokai dudu amiye*
 people TOP 3 know 1SG=TOP how INST person

oteima-gam-aka]_{CC}]_{CL2}.”
 teach-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST

Jesus: ‘Ask my listeners, they know how I have been teaching people.’ [64]

The portions below are from a translated poetic piece (from the Old Testament book of Exodus). This text follows a standard narrative style all in the past tense. During the Translators’ Training Course in which it was translated, the translators gave a performance, singing a song having a usual repetitive song style. It was based on the line *Davara kaka=ri tomu.ni di-yadi* (sea red=in sink.down.become go-3PL.PAST) ‘they were drowned in the Red Sea’, indicated in bold below.

(18) [[*Pharaoh di kariot ma ini iya vene bi*]_O *davara=ri*
 (name) GEN chariot and 3.POSS war people TOP sea=in

maku ne-yo]_{CL1};
 throw go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘Pharaoh’s chariots and his soldiers (lit. war people) were thrown down into the sea;’

[[*Ini veiga~veiga, iya ourefeide-na vene=ka*]_O [***Davara***
 3.POSS life~PL war lead-NOMZ people=also sea

kaka=ri]_{LOC} ***tomu*** ***ni*** ***di-yadi***]_{CL1}.
 red=in sink.down become go-3PL.PAST
 ‘Their lives/practices, and also the army officers (lit. war leaders) drown (lit. sank down) in the Red Sea.’

[[*Davara moka yaku*]_A *fono re-yo*]_{CL1} [*dada, [fore kana]*]_{NP}
 sea deep DSM cover do-3SG.PAST so stone like

ide=ri tomu ni di-yadi]_{CL2}.
 inside=at sink.down become go-3PL.PAST
 ‘So (since) the deep sea covered (them), they were drowned (lit. sank down) inside (the sea) like stones.’ [48]

If a transcript of the song performed nearly 17 years ago could be recovered, it would be most insightful. Most contemporary songs are intended for church services, as in (19). This song, recently composed in the language, includes use of past, present and future tense and imperative mood. Focal prominence devices such as location and adjectival (copy) foregrounding (cf. §10.2.2.3A), elaboration (including SR reduction) and adverbial postposing (cf. §10.2.2.3C) are also used. Note also, vowel repetition/lengthening (a a a), which is habitually found in songs.

- (19) a. *Iesu*, [[*yi* *vegu*]_o *de* *moke-yo*]_{CL1}, [[*Nai* *vegu*]_o
 (name) 2.POSS life NEG think-2SG.PAST 1SG.POSS life
moke-yo *dada*]_{CL2}.
 think-2SG.PAST because
 ‘Jesus, you didn’t think about your life, Because you thought about my life.’
- b. [[*Nai* *no* *fafau*]_E *na* *gaubo* *re-yo*]_{CL1}.
 1SG.POSS bad about 1SG replace do-2SG.PAST
 ‘You took away (lit. replaced) my sin (lit. bad) from/with me.’
- c. [[*Satauro* *odoro=ri*]_{Loc} *muye-yo*]_{CL1}.
 cross upon=on die-2SG.PAST
 ‘You died on the cross.’
- d. [*Mina.dada* *a a a* [*nai* *Iesu*, *ya*]_E *kuo* *ni-da*]_{CL1},
 therefore 1SG.POSS (name) 2 cheer say-1SG.PRES
 [*ya* *faiva* *ni-da*]_{CL2}.
 2 greet say-1SG.PRES
 ‘Therefore ah-ah-ah my Jesus, I cheer you, I greet/welcome/receive you.’
- e. *Iesu*, [*yi* *vegu~vegu* *buni*, *safi* *vegu~vegu* *safi*]_o
 (name) 2.POSS practice~PL good nice practice~PL nice
ide-ri *ame-gida* *toga~toga*]_{CL3}.
 inside=at stay-1SG.FUT always~INTS
 ‘Jesus, your good practices, I forever will live with (lit. in) (your) beautiful,
 beautiful practices.’
- f. [*Ye* [*nai* *vegu=ka*]_o *ya* *ma-i-da*]_{CL1}.
 so 1SG.POSS life=also 2 give-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘So I also will give you my life.’
- g. [[*Baba=sa* *na*]_E *ni-fo*]_{CL1}, [[*yi* *moke-na* *moimai*
 father=ACCM 1SG say-2PL.PO.IMP 2.POSS think-NOMZ work
sana]_{Loc}, [*na* *bi*]_A *yi* *naivo* *re-gida*]_{CL2}.
 place 1SG TOP 2.POSS serving do-1SG.FUT
 ‘With the Father tell me, (in/according to) your will (lit. thinking) working
 place, I will do your service.’ [117]

An interesting subtype of this genre is proverbs. According to the Macquarie dictionary (5th edition, 2009:1010) **proverb** is defined as: “1. a short popular saying, long current, embodying some familiar truth or useful thought in expressive language. 2. a wise saying or precept; a didactic sentence.” In Doromu-Koki these centre around the high value of retaining right relationships. In (20-21), these regularly heard sayings help reinforce certain restrictions on young people, lest they encounter negative consequences.

They may sound like a simple taboo, but their intent is rather didactic (cf. §1.2.2 and Bradshaw 2007b).

- (20) [[*Iruku koina ni-yo*]_{CC} *ga ni*]_{CL1}, [[*Sei yaku*]_A [*una*
 food finish become-3SG.PAST PROHIB say God DSM 1PL

 neide-go *babu*]_{CL2}.
 hear-3SG.FUT lest
 ‘Don’t say that the food is used up/finished, lest God hears us.’ (i.e. ‘Don’t
 complain about what you don’t have – look at what you do have.’) [96]

Unlike (20) above, in which the first clause final verb is marked with the zero morpheme $-\emptyset$ ‘2SG.IMP’ while the second clause has the pronoun *una* ‘us’, there is person agreement between the clauses in (21); $-\emptyset$ ‘2SG.IMP’ versus *-giya* ‘2SG.FUT’. In (20), with one person (second person singular) addressed, a generic construction is generated, since a corresponding first person plural imperative *ni-nadi* (say-1PL.IMP) ‘let’s say’ would imply that the speaker has previously been engaged in this prohibited activity, again reinforcing the idea that this is a precept to be heeded.

- (21) [[*Tora vene di ago*]_O *neide*]_{CL1}, [*ya siko muye-giya babu*]_{CL2}.
 big people GEN word hear 2 first die-2SG.FUT lest
 ‘Listen to/obey the elders’ (lit. big people) word, lest you die first.’ [96]

The adverb *siko* ‘first’ here has a meaning of ‘prematurely’, i.e. before others, a generally perceived consequence of ignoring the wisdom of the elders (cf. §1.2.2).

10.2 Information structure

Areas of information structure in Doromu-Koki discussed below include setting (§10.2.1), cohesion (§10.2.2) and other constructions (§10.2.3).

10.2.1 Setting

Various temporal and locational constituents, participants and other supporting arguments are introduced to convey the setting for a particular discourse. These types of frames are set out below in the following table (cf §8.1 for canonical clause structure). Example numbers are given as applicable.

Table 10.2: *Setting frames*

Constituents	Frame	Example	Glosses	Meaning
Temporal	NP=POSTP	<i>uriyenau</i> <i>yokoi=ri</i> (22)	(afternoon one=at)	‘one afternoon’
	NP	<i>uriyaku</i> <i>gorogoro</i> (1)	(morning early)	‘early in the morning’
		<i>yokaru</i> (1), (23)	(one.day.on)	‘once upon a time’
Locational	NP=POSTP	<i>wafu=ri</i> (29) <i>ida-ma</i> (32)	(wharf=to) (road-on)	‘to the wharf’ ‘on the road’
	NP	<i>sufa.sufa</i> (23)	(bush~INTS)	‘deep in the bush’
		LOC	<i>mini</i> (41), (122)	
Participants	NP	<i>Magdalene</i> (119)		‘Magdalene’
	PN	<i>una</i> (3b), (20)	(1PL)	‘we/us’
Supporting arguments (i.e. E, INST, O)	NP	<i>viro bona baiya</i> (40b)	(axe and) (bush.knife)	‘axe and bush knife’

Examples of each type in canonical position are included below. In (22), three items can be seen: 1) NP=POST temporal constituent, 2) NP supporting arguments (O; *koru.gena* ‘gun’) and 3) NP locational constituent (*sufa* ‘bush’). The speaker is encoded in the verb morphology. By cultural implication the location tells the reader/listener that the story involves hunting; that is the reason one goes to the bush. As Dingemanse, Rossi and Floyd (2017:3) indicate: “...listeners inspect place references in story beginnings for the kind of story they project...”. Likewise, when one hears *ida-ma* (road-on) ‘on the road’, it can be surmised that the speaker/writer was travelling; further details would let one know if it was by foot or vehicle. On the other hand, “...underspecification of place does not necessarily prevent recipients from making sense of a story. Such underspecification happens when the story is anchored in the here and now, and recipients can infer relevant activities and actors from the current situation (Dingemanse, Rossi and Floyd 2017:18),” as was previously seen in a conversation (15). In (15), the noun *masin* ‘machine’ refers to a sewing machine as it was visible to the speaker and addressee, whereas in (22-23), when the speaker underspecifies by saying ‘going to the bush’, the implication is ‘to hunt’.

(22) [[*Uriyenau yokoi=ri*]_{TEMP} *koru gena uakai-si*]_{CL1} [*sufa*
afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SEQ.SS bush

di-yaka]_{CL2}.

go-1.PAST

‘One afternoon, I carried my gun (lit. water bamboo) and went to the bush.’

[2.01]

In (23), three items can be seen: 1) NP temporal element (*yokaru Saturday*), 2) PN and NP participants (*na Raphael bona Mathias*) and 3) two NP locational elements (*sufa~sufa, gagani roka E*).

- (23) [*Yokaru Saturday*]_{TEMP} [*na Raphael bona Mathias*]_S *sufa~sufa*
 one.day 1SG (name) and (name) bush~INTS
- di-yafa,* [*gagani [roka E]_{RC}]_{LOC}]_{CL1!}
 go-1PL.PAST place name (name)
 ‘One Saturday, Mathias and I, Raphael, went deep in the bush, to a place called E!’ [4.01]*

In (24), one item can be seen: 1) NP=POST temporal element (*suma=ri*). Again the S participant is encoded in the verb.

- (24) [*Suma=ri some di-yo*]_{CL1!}
 bush=in hunt go-3SG.PAST
 ‘He hunted in the bush.’ [7.00]

Most texts make regular use of all of these setting elements, which can be seen in examples throughout the chapter and in the Appendix texts (cf. §A.1) as well.

10.2.2 Cohesion

Areas relevant to discourse cohesion to be discussed include participant reference (§10.2.2.1), conjunctions (§10.2.2.2) and prominence (§10.2.2.3).

10.2.2.1 Participant reference

Doromu-Koki has four devices for indicating participant reference throughout discourses: NP/pronoun (A/S/O), switch-reference marking, which are discussed immediately below, recapitulation and summary bridging linking (§10.2.2.1C) and textual anaphora and ellipsis (§10.2.2.1D).

A. Pronoun/Noun phrase

When a participant is first introduced, primarily through use of an NP, in subsequent clauses another copy of the NP can be given (25), or an appropriate pronoun (26) [cf. §4.1.1]. In the second sentence in (25), *nai baba* ‘my father’ is just one of the two S participants indicated in the first sentence, which is reintroduced as the sole A in the second sentence. The speaker has already been introduced in previous context; only a pronoun is used to contrast him with the snake, and then *na* (1SG) ‘me’ is used to clarify whom the son was calling.

- (25) [[*Yokaru vo-ni-bo na aita=ri*]_{TEMP}, [*nai baba*]
 one.day happen-become-POT 1SG light=at 1SG.POSS father

*bona na*_s *sufa~sufa* *di-yafa*_{CL1}. [[*Nai* *baba* *ya*]_A *na*
and 1SG bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST 1SG.POSS father DSM 1SG

ni-yo, “[[*Koima-o*, [*Vi* *koru-ma*]_{LOC} *bo-gifa*]_{CC}]_{CL1}.”
say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC (name) water-to go-1PL.FUT
‘One day when I was young (lit. ‘at light weight’), my father and I went deep
into the bush. My father said to me, “Oh, boy (lit. leech), we will go to the Vi
river.” ’ [1.01-02]

In example (26), *na* ‘me’ in the O slot at the end of the first line is reintroduced as *na* ‘I’ (s) in the following sentence; since the final verb indicates subject person, the pronoun is not necessary, but serves as a signal to the hearer/reader of shift of previous O to S (and movement away from the previous A *nai baba* ‘my father’).

(26) [[*Nai* *baba*]_A *kero* *re-si*]_{CL1} [*kimo=ka* *kimo=ka*
1SG.POSS father turn do-SEQ.SS carefully=also carefully=also

kami *na* *ni-yo*, “[[*Koima-o*, *dona* *e*]_{CL2}; [*kita*
and.then 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC pig eh movement

ga *re*]_{CL3}]_{CC}]_{CL1}!” [[*Na* *bi*]_s *kami* *bere* *maka*
PROHIB do 1SG TOP and.then quiet only

ni-yaka [*ini* *fufuta=ri*]_{LOC}]_{CL1}.
become-1SG.PAST 3.POSS back=at

‘My father turned around and carefully and quietly said to me, “Oh, boy, a pig
(there); don’t move!” I just remained silent there behind his back.’ [1.07-08]

Due to the regular use of switch-reference marking, in most cases NP copy or pronoun use is not necessary, and can add undue emphasis by overuse; instead pronoun copy serves to reintroduce participants (here above with *bi* ‘topic’) and also in (3b) [*una remanu di* (1PL two GEN) ‘the two of us’], adding prominence (cf. §10.2.2.3A). Once a participant has been introduced, unless it changes grammatical role, reintroduces an established topic, or gives it prominence, which can regularly be necessary and desirable, it may not be felicitous to do so.

B. Switch-reference

Doromu-Koki encodes reference to A/S NPs through verbal A/S person-number-tense suffixes; thus A/S does not always have to be marked explicitly (in non-final clauses). (Other means of marking A/S include NPs and/or pronouns, as above.) Switch-reference marking functions as a means of participant tracking. By regular use, longer clause chains may be formed, so that participants can readily be determined, though only explicitly

stated in limited occurrences (cf. §9.1 and §9.2.2.1). These SR clause chains are usually limited in length, serving to give temporal cohesion to a discourse. Most consist of just two clauses, as do the two sentences below, but may contain as many as four (cf. §6.2.1). Clauses have an average of 1.8 arguments each, varying from 1-4; 45.9% with two, 36.6% with one, 14.6% with three and just 2.9% with as many as four arguments. A full 82.5% of clauses contain two or less arguments, and 97.1% three or less. Also, 72.2% of clauses are intransitive and 27.8% are transitive. Clauses are evenly split at 50.6% new and 49.4% old arguments. DS marking on a verb indicates that the next verb will have a different subject, e.g. ‘he₁ hit him₂ and he₁ shouted (DS) and then he₂ ran away’, i.e. disjoint reference (cf. Bradshaw 2007d:151-2).

As seen in §6.2.1, Doromu-Koki has four switch-reference suffixes found on non-final verbs. Doromu-Koki exhibits isomorphic (i.e. same set of distinctions expressed in both sets) same subject/different subject and sequential/simultaneous markers. A separate form is indicated for four distinctions: ‘sequential same subject’, ‘sequential different subject’, ‘simultaneous same subject’ and ‘simultaneous different subject’. This system allows for complete co-reference (A=B) through SS marking or disjoint reference (A≠B) through DS marking. The subordinate marked clause is dependent on the controlling clause for marking (27b and 28b) as is the marked clause in a dependent non-subordinate clause (27a and 28a).

In the following examples (27a-b) and (28a-b), the contexts are the same in order to highlight the differences exhibited by the various SR marking. In each case, the first clause represents first person plural; the second clause is accordingly the same with same subject marking or else contrastively, third person singular with different subject marking. The events in each clause either follow one after another when indicated with sequential marking (normally glossed as ‘and then’ in the free translation) or co-occur if indicated with simultaneous marking (usually glossed as ‘when’ in the free translation). For (27a-b), SS is marked on the first clause, and accordingly person is marked only on the final verb.

- (27) a. [Rautu oki-*si*]_{CL1} [[ini nono]_E sina ni-oteimar-afa]_{CL2}.
 village arrive-SEQ.SS 3.POSS mother story say-tell-1PL.PAST
 ‘We_i arrived in the village **and then** we_i told his mother the story.’
- b. [Rautu oki-*gasa*]_{CL1} [[ini nono]_E sina ni-oteimar-afa]_{CL2}.
 village arrive-SIM.SS 3.POSS mother story say-tell-1PL.PAST
 ‘**When** we_i arrived in the village we_i told his mother the story.’

For (28a-b), DS is marked on the first clause (as well as person); the different person then being marked on the final verb.

- (28) a. [Rautu oki-yafa-ma]_{CL1} [[ini nono]_E sina
village arrive-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS mother story
*ni-oteimar-o*_{CL2}.
say-tell-3SG.PAST
‘We arrived in the village **and then** he told his mother the story.’
- b. [Rautu oki-yafa-ri]_{CL1} [[ini nono]_E sina
village arrive-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS mother story
*ni-oteimar-o*_{CL2}.
say-tell-3SG.PAST
‘**When** we arrived in the village he told his mother the story.’

As discussed in §9.1, sentences have been identified with as many as ten clauses (including juxtaposed final verb clauses, etc.), however this is quite rare, with the most usual being two; that is one medial, and one final. Amongst the four SR markings themselves, they are mostly limited to 2-3 together in a chain (-*gasa* ‘SIM.SS’ and -*ri* ‘SIM.DS’ at two and -*si* ‘SEQ.SS’ and -*ma* ‘SEQ.DS’ at three) [cf. §6.2.1], but longer when used together as seen in (29). In these two contiguous sentences we see all four SR markings used. An additional -*ma* ‘SEQ.DS’ on the first verb *bo-yaka* (go.over-1SG.PAST) ‘I went over’ may seem appropriate here, but because it is foregrounded, it is not included. It would not be necessary in its canonical position as, e.g. *Tuisde ni-yo-ri ame-i bo-yaka...* (Tuesday become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS stay-LINK go.over-1SG.PAST) ‘On Tuesday I stayed until I went over...’. In order to agree with the following verb, the verb here would have to be *bo-si* (go.over-SEQ.SS) ‘go over and then’, but then would instead be realised as meaning *bo-gam-aka* (go.over-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST) ‘I was going over’, thus being in agreement with the marking on the final verb. The various SR markings used may be followed by their meanings indicated in **bold** in the free translation. Here the participant is introduced through verbal morphology and first person is never explicitly stated with a pronoun. The speaker has already been established as the primary participant earlier in the discourse. Same subject marking is maintained until a new participant is introduced, and subsequently another verb with DS switch-reference marking, i.e. *eboka.re-yo-ma* (open.do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS) ‘opened and then’, directs the listener back to the initial participant.

- (29) [Ame-i bo-yaka [Tuisde ni-yo-ri
 stay-LINK go.over-1SG.PAST Tuesday become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
- bi*]_{TEMP}]CL1, [*ne-si*]_{CL2} [*wafu=ri bouti nari re-ga*]_{CL3}
 TOP go.down-SEQ.SS wharf=to boat wait.for do-SIM.SS
- [*ame-gam-aka*]_{CL4}. [[*Geiti nari re-do amiye*
 stay-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST gate look.after do-3SG.PRES person
- yaku*]_A *geiti eboka re-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [*dui rei bo-si*]_{CL2}
 DSM gate open do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS entering do go.over-SEQ.SS
- [[*mina bouti tora ide=ri*]_{LOC} *gui re-i*
 this boat big inside=at ride.on do-LINK

bo-yaka]_{CL3}.

go.over-1SG.PAST

‘I stayed until (**when** it became) Tuesday, **and then** (I) went down to the wharf and (I) **was** staying there waiting for the boat. The gatekeeper opened the gate **and then** I entered **and** went up inside boarding the big boat.’ [11.08-09]

Switch-reference marking adds coherence to a text as well as maintains participant tracking. Switch-reference marking is mostly regular [cf. case of mismatch of SS in a temporal clause in (4)], except primarily in the possible case of *-ri* ‘simultaneous same subject’; since it is homophomous with *=ri* ‘in/on/at’, it may instead be that in those situations, it is actually *=ri* (cf. elaboration of heterosemous postpositions in §4.4.4). An interpretation as *=ri* seems plausible, as this clitic postposition is regularly bound to other postpositions, e.g. *ide=ri* in (29) above or *adina=ri* ‘next to’, *etofaro=ri* ‘on the outside’, *odoro=ri* ‘above’, etc. (cf. §4.4.1), and as a component of some grammaticalised constituents as well, e.g. *etafari* ‘away from’, *fogori* ‘during’, *fuofuori* ‘while’ or *lalonari* ‘during’ (cf. §4.4.2). It can be seen in (30-31).

- (30) [*Sioni mina ve-yo-ri/=ri*]_{CL1}, [[*furisi vene*]_E
 white.man this see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS/=at police people
- ni-yo-ma*]_{CL2} [[*koru gena fou re-yadi*]_{CC}
 say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS water bamboo shot do-3PL.PAST
- fere-yagane vonisi*]_{CC}]_{CL4}.
 leave-3PL.IMP if
 ‘When (lit. at) the white man saw this, he told his police and they shot (their) guns [lit. water bamboo] (at them) to make them leave.’ [19.14]

If *-ri* is to be interpreted as SIM.DS, then it is most likely the case that the second participant *furisi vene* (police people) is actually considered background information

(Reesink 1983:230); otherwise (30) would have to be translated as ‘When the white man saw this, he told his police...’; correspondingly in (31) as well.

- (31) [[*Mina amiye feyo*]_s *soka re-yo-ri/=ri*]_{CL1}, [[*rabo-rava*
 this person white arrive do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS/=at rope-clearing
vene]_E *∅ siko mar-o*]_{CL2}.
 people (peace) first give-3SG.PAST
 ‘When (lit. at) this white man arrived, he first gave (it) [peace] to the
 grassland (lit. rope-clearing) peoples.’ [19.04]

Both interpretations are given in these examples above, but because of the fact that these types of anomalies are ordinary in Papuan languages and already discussed for SS types above (cf. §10.2.2.1B), it is preferable to interpret them as the DS switch-reference marking rather than the postpositional clitic =*ri*. This is the only attested non-canonical SR apart from juxtaposed meteorological conditions providing setting, such as *ari uve-yo* (day dawn-3SG.PAST) ‘it dawned’ [cf. §10.1.1 discussion following (3), (4) and Appendix (11.16-17), (14.08-09), (17.03) and (17.10-11)]; these take no SR marking [unless part of the storyline, e.g. (17.09-10)], serving as an aside to the storyline. The above anomalies also disrupt the clause chain, providing background information; once provided, the chaining recommences. As in (31) above, the white man was previously mentioned in (19.02) [cf. whole text in Appendix]. These are rarely attested; data is very limited.

C. Recapitulation and summary bridging linkage

Recapitulation and summary bridging linkage (cf. §9.5.2) are recurrent means of adding cohesion to texts, recapitulation (32) for backgrounding information, and summary bridging linkage (33) to summarise, as the name infers, maintaining the progression of the story (cf. §9.5.2). In (32) we see recapitulation, e.g. ...*di-yaka. Gagani di-yaka-ma...* (go-1SG.PAST place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS) ‘...I went. I went to the place and then...’, as a means of repetition (or backgrounding) of information. In the first clause, the speaker indicates where they went, and in the second, this information is no longer relevant – it is now time to move on to the next event.

- (32) [[*Uriyenau yokoi=ri*]_{TEMP} *koru gena uakai-si*]_{CL1} [*sufa*
 afternoon one=at water bamboo carry-SEQ.SS bush
di-yaka]_{CL2}. [*Gagani di-yaka-ma*]_{CL3} [*uru ni-gi*
 go-1.PAST place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night become-PURP
re-do vonisi]_{CL4}, [*dairi ida-ma kimo*
 do-3SG.PRES if return road-on carefully

de-i-da]_{CL5}.

come-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘One afternoon, I carried my gun (lit. water bamboo) and went to the bush. I went to the place and when it was getting dark, I came back carefully/slowly on the road.’ [2.01-02]

Conversely, summary bridging linkage does not repeat the previous verb, but instead uses the generic *re-* ‘do’ [cf. (1)] with SEQ.SS marking; here the action progresses more quickly, thus implying closer temporal proximity of subactions. Otherwise SR marking could be used, yielding *..ve-si koru.gena...* (see-SEQ.SS gun) ‘looked down...and then picked up...’. This would eliminate the summarising of the first action, simply moving straight on to the subsequent action.

(33) ...[[*dona nui ne re-si*]_{CC} *ve-yaka*]_{CL2}, [*resi*]_{CL3} [*koru gena*
pig sty look do-SEQ.SS see-1SG.PAST SBL water bamboo

moi odoro ri-si]_{CL4}

get above make-SEQ.SS

‘...I looked down at the pig sty, and doing so I picked up (my) gun (lit. water bamboo) and...’ [2.07]

Aside from SR usage, these constructions also provide cohesion through forms of verbal repetition, linking the clauses together in a different chaining format than that seen with just SR use alone (as noted above). Table 10.3 highlights the differences between these two clause linking strategies as to frequency, progression, story development and SR use.

Table 10.3 *Clause linking strategies compared*

Recapitulation	Summary bridging linking
Rare	Common
Slower progression along story line	A little quicker progression, but also
X. While X Y (SIM)	slower than simple SR SS use on its own
or X. X and then Y (SEQ)	X, doing so and then Y;
	(versus SR: X. X and then Y)
Backgrounding information	Progression/story development
Variable SR (SEQ.DS, SEQ.SS, SIM.DS, but	Always SEQ.SS only
SIM.SS not observed) on repeated verb	

(Cf. also Bradshaw Forthcoming for further elaboration on clause chaining strategies.)

D. Textual anaphora and ellipsis

Another means of identifying participants is through use of the demonstrative *mina* ‘this’, providing prominence. It is often also used as a relativiser, as further elaboration on a

participant (cf. §8.4.1). The demonstrative *mina* ‘this’ represents a participant or a whole chunk (NP, CC, complex verb complement). In (34) *mina* represents the NP *dona* ‘pig’, which in this case is modified by an RC, functioning as a relativiser.

- (34) [*Dona* [[\emptyset *ide=ri*]_{LOC} *vare-do*]_{RC}]_S, [*mina* *koe* *ni-si*]_{CL1}
 pig (sty) inside=at sleep-3SG.PAST this squeal say-SEQ.SS
*nui ukisivo re-si*_{CL2} *ori di-yo*_{CL3}.
 sty startle do-SEQ.SS fear go-3SG.PAST
 ‘There was a pig sleeping inside, it squealed and was startled and ran away from the sty.’ [2.12]

In (35), *mina* represents the whole verbal process [*moi forovai re- ni-* (get confuse do-say) ‘mixing up when speaking’] of the previous sentence. Cataphora has not been observed.

- (35) [*Taboro, Boku, Nobone, Kokila bona 'Origo ago~ago*
 (name) (name) (name) (name) and (name) word~PL
Koki=sa]_O *moi forovai re-ga*_{CL1} *ni-sifa*_{CL2}.
 (name)=ACCM D.CAUS confuse do-SIM.SS say-1PL.PRES
 ‘We mix up Taboro, Boku, Nobone, Kokila and 'Origo language with Koki when we speak.’
 [*Mina forovai fafau*]_{OBL} [*ago regode, [Motu, Pidgin bona*
 this confusion about word three and
English ya]_{RC}]_O *moi forovai ini re-yo*_{CL1}.
 DSM D.CAUS confusion 3.POSS do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Concerning this mixing, there are three languages that are mixed in, (Hiri) Motu, Pidgin (Tok Pisin) and English.’ [8.24-25]

Ellipsis is another productive cohesive device, as repetition of known information slows down the story, detracting from the new. It most frequently occurs with pronouns as verbal morphology normally tracks the participants, and so a pronoun would usually only be needed to introduce or add a new participant. In (36), it has already been established (old information) in the story that *ina* ‘he’ is the speaker’s son, so it is no longer necessary to explicitly state again. However, the second instance of *ina* ‘he’ is not elided because the son is now a salient participant – the listener needs to know where the snake went and the verb alone cannot provide that information.

- (36) [*Resi*]_{CL1} [[\emptyset]_A *koro=ri vare-yo-ri*]_{CL2} [[*aruma yaku*]_S [*ina*
 SBL (3) border=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS snake DSM 3

fafau-ma]_{LOC} *de-yo*]_{CL3}.
 on.top.of-on come-3SG.PAST
 ‘And doing so, when (he) was sleeping at the border a snake came down upon him.’ [3.04]

In (37) we see several instances of pronominal ellipsis: 1) In clause 1, a second use of A would take prominence away from the foregrounded O; 2) In clause 2, the transitive subject would be redundant because of the SR DS marking and the subsequent verbal morphology; 3) Also in clause 2, reintroducing the O, *una remanu di uni iruku* (1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS) ‘our food’ (or a pronoun *ina* ‘it’)⁹ would also be redundant as it is implied by the previous context.

(37) [[*Gabi ro*]_{TEMP} *mo* [∅]_A [*una remanu di uni iruku*]_O
 later to at.once (3) 1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS food

[*una*]_E *mar-o-ma*]_{CL1} [[∅]_A [∅]_O [*iri-yafa*
 1PL give-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS (1PL) (3/food) eat-1PL.PAST

[*ada dudu*]_{NP}]_{CL2}.

happiness INST
 ‘Later on then at once she gave the two of us our food and happily we ate (it/the food).’ [3.10]

Other forms of ellipsis include NPs [as seen above and here in (38) – the location *yava ide=ri* (house inside=at) ‘inside the house’ reflected in the translation] and verb (39).

(38) [*Makai dudu* [*ini yava tora noibanu*]_O *moi*
 like.this INST 3.POSS house big whole D.CAUS

bubu ri-gam-adi]_{CL1} [*rofu* [∅]_{LOC} *vare-ga*]_{CL2}
 finish make-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST so.that (house.inside) sleep-SIM.SS

[*ame-gam-adi*]_{CL3}.

stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘Thus their whole big house was being finished, so that they were staying sleeping (there in the house).’ [58]

In (39), the predicate¹⁰ is elided because it is extraneous understood information.

(39) [[*Oru yava bi*]_S [*koru ma yava rofu gaima=ri*]_{LOC}
 toilet house TOP water and house from far.away=at

⁹ It could be in fact either a pronoun or an NP that is elided, as indicated in the glosses and translation.

¹⁰ Which may be either *ame-yaine* (stay-3SG.IMP) ‘it should stay/be’ or *ri-yaine* (make-3SG.IMP) ‘it should be built’.

[∅]_V]_{CL1}.

(should.be)

‘The toilet (should be/be built) far from the river and house.’ [90]

Noun phrase/pronoun ellipsis includes elements with A (37), S (1, clause 3), O (37) or LOC (38) roles.

Various means of participant reference have been examined: Pronoun/NP, SR, recapitulation, summary bridging linking, anaphora and ellipsis. In the following narrative many of these are exhibited throughout the text: Pronoun/NP, SR, summary bridging linking and ellipsis. Following the text, here for reference, each type is included in Table 10.4 and further discussed.

- (40) a. [[*Uriyaku yokoi*]_{TEMP} [*na bona nai mida Jacob=sa*]_S
morning one 1SG and 1SG.POSS child (name)=ACCM

muro=ri di-yafa]_{CL1}.
garden=at go-1PL.PAST
‘One morning I went to the garden with my son Jacob.’
- b. [*Na dadi-si*]_{CL1} [[*viro bona baiya*]_O [*moi-si*]_{CL2} [*rarama*
1SG get.up-SEQ.SS axe and bush.knife get-SEQ.SS clearing

ne-yaka]_{CL3}.
go.down-1SG.PAST
‘I got up and took my axe and bush knife and went down to the clearing.’
- c. [*Ma nai mida bi*]_A [*koro=ri ame-si*]_{CL1} [*na ve-gasa*]_{CL2}
and 1SG.POSS child TOP border=at stay-SEQ.SS 1SG see-SIM.SS

[*ame-gam-o*]_{CL3}.
stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
‘And my son stayed at the border where he could sit and see me.’
- d. [*Resi*]_{CL1} [*koro=ri vare-yo-ri*]_{CL2} [[*aruma yaku*]_S [[*ina*
SBL border=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS snake DSM 3

fafau-ma]_{LOC} [*de-yo*]_{CL3}.
on.top.of-on come-3SG.PAST
‘And doing so, when he was sleeping at the border a snake came down upon him.’
- e. [[∅]_S [*Amute-si*]_{CL1} [*tururu re-si*]_{CL2} [*dadi-yo*]_{CL3}, [*resi*]_{CL4}
(3) feel-SEQ.SS tremble do-SEQ.SS get-up-3SG.PAST SBL

[[*na raka ni di ne-yo* [na rofu]_E]_{CL5}.
 1SG call say go go.down-3SG.PAST 1SG to
 ‘He felt (it) and jumped up (lit. trembled and got up), and doing so, he called out to me to come down (to him).’

- f. [*Dada* [∅]_A *moimai fere-si*]_{CL1} [*raga bai-yaka*
 so (1SG) work leave-SEQ.SS run come-1SG.PAST

[*nai mida ro*]_{LOC}]_{CL2}, [*to* [*aruma bi*]_S *ori*
 1SG.POSS child to but snake TOP fear

di-yo-ma]_{CL3} [*bai-si*]_{CL4} [*Jacobo nikaite-yaka*, “[*Aruma*
 go-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS come-SEQ.SS (name) ask-1SG.PAST snake

yaku]_A *ya aki re-yo* *ba ide* [∅]_{CC}]_{CL5?}”
 DSM 2 bite do-3SG.PAST or NEG (bit)

‘So I left my work and ran to my son, but the snake had gone away, and so I came and asked Jacobo, “Did (or didn’t) the snake bite you?”’

- g. [*To* [*ina ya*]_A *ni-yo*, “[[∅ *Bi*]_A *de na*
 but 3 DSM say-3SG.PAST (3) TOP NEG 1SG

aki re-yo]_{CC},” [*vo-ni-yo*]_{CC}]_{CL1}.

bite do-3SG.PAST tell-say-3SG.PAST

‘And he said that, ‘It did not bite (me),’ he said.’

- h. [*Dada* [*na bi*]_S *dairi-si*]_{CL1} [*rarama re-gi*
 so 1SG TOP return-SEQ.SS clearing do-PURP

ne-yafa]_{CL2}.

go.down-1PL.PAST

‘So I went back down to work on (lit. do) the clearing.’

- i. [*Rautu oki-yafa-ri*]_{CL1} [[*na ya*]_A [*ini nono*]_E *sina*
 village arrive-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM 3.POSS mother story

ni-oteimar-aka-ma]_{CL2} [[*ini nono*]_S *sena gubuyo*
 say-tell-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS mother already anger

re-yo]_{CL3}, [*resi*]_{CL4} [*na nikaite-yo* “[[*aruma yaku*]_A [∅]_O
 do-3SG.PAST SBL 1SG ask-3SG.PAST snake DSM (3)

aki re-yo *ba* [∅]_A [∅]_O *de* [∅]_{CC}]_{CL5?}”, [*to* [*na*
 bite do-3SG.PAST or (3) (3) NEG (bit) but 1SG

yaku]_A [∅]_E *ni-yaka* [[∅ *bi*]_A [∅]_O *de aki re-yo*,
 DSM (3) say-1SG.PAST (3) TOP (3) NEG bite do-3SG.PAST

[[∅]_O *no ni-yo*]_{RC}]_{CC}]_{CL6}, [*dada* [*ini nono*]_S *ada*
 (3) bad become-3SG.PAST so 3.POSS mother happiness

re-yo]CL7.

do-3SG.PAST

‘When we arrived in the village I told the story to his mother and she (lit. his mother) was already angry, and doing so she asked me if the snake had (or had not) bitten (him), and I told (her) that it did not bite or harm (him), so she (lit. his mother) was happy.’

- j. [[*Gabi ro*]_{TEMP} *mo* [*una remanu di uni iruku*]_O
 later to at.once 1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS food

una mar-o-ma]CL1 [[\emptyset]_O *iri-yafa* [*ada*
 1PL give-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS (3) eat-1PL.PAST happiness

dudu]_{OBL}]CL2.

INST

‘Later on then at once she gave the two of us our food and we ate (it) happily.’ [3.01-11]

In the chart below, the lines of the story are categorised by summary bridging linkage, A/S (A to left and S to right of column), SR, O, E, verbal affixation and elaboration prominence. Places where ellipsis has occurred are indicated in the text above, and commented on below.

Table 10.4: Chart of Doromu-Koki narrative text

	Summary	A/S	SR	A/S	O	E	SR	Affixation	Elaboration	
a.	<i>na bona nai mida Jacob=sa</i> 'I with my son Jacob' [S]							- <i>afa</i> 'we.did'		
b.		<i>na</i> 'I' [A/S]	- <i>si</i> SS		<i>viro bona baiya</i> 'axe and bush.knife'			- <i>si</i> SS	- <i>aka</i> 'I.did'	
c.		<i>nai mida bi</i> 'my son' [A]	- <i>si</i> SS		<i>na</i> 'me'			- <i>gasa</i> SS	- <i>o</i> 'he.did'	
d.	<i>resi</i> SBL		- <i>yo-ri</i> he.did-DS	<i>aruma yaku</i> 'snake' [S]					- <i>yo</i> 'it.did'	
e.		(<i>nai mida</i>) ('my son') [S]	- <i>si</i> SS					- <i>si</i> SS	- <i>yo</i> 'he.did'	
	<i>resi</i> SBL					<i>na</i> 'me'			- <i>yo</i> 'he.did'	<i>na rofu</i> 'to me'
f.		(<i>na</i>) ('I') [A]			<i>moimai</i>			- <i>si</i> SS	- <i>aka</i> 'I.did'	<i>nai mida ro</i> 'to my son'
		<i>aruma bi</i> 'snake' [S]	- <i>yo-ma</i> 'it.did- DS'							
		(<i>na</i>) ('I') [A]	- <i>si</i> SS				<i>Jacobo</i> 'Jacob'		- <i>aka</i> 'I.did'	
		<i>aruma yaku</i> 'snake' [A]			<i>ya</i> 'you'				- <i>yo</i> 'it.did'	
g.		<i>ina ya</i> 'he' [A]							- <i>yo</i> 'he.did'	
		(<i>aruma bi</i>) ('snake') [A]			<i>na</i> 'me'				- <i>yo</i> 'it.did'	
									- <i>yo</i> 'he.did'	

	Summary	A/S	SR	A/S	O	E	SR	Affixation	Elaboration
h.	<i>na (ma nai mida) bi</i>		<i>-si</i>					<i>-afa</i>	
	‘I (and my son)’ [S]		SS					‘we.did’	
i.			<i>-yafa-ri</i>	<i>na ya</i>	<i>sina</i>	<i><ini nono</i>	<i>-aka-ma</i>		
			‘we.did-DS’	‘I’ [A]	‘word/news’	‘his mother’	‘I.did-DS’		
	<i>ini nono</i>				<i>gubuyo</i>			<i>-yo</i>	
	‘his mother’ [A]				‘anger’			‘she.did’	
<i>resi</i>						<i>na</i>		<i>-yo</i>	
SBL						‘me’		‘she.did’	
	<i>aruma yaku</i>							<i>-yo</i>	
	‘snake’ [A]							‘it.did’	
	<i>na yaku</i>							<i>-aka</i>	
	‘I’ [S]							‘I.did’	
				<i>(aruma) bi</i>	<i>(nai mida)</i>			<i>-yo</i>	<i>-yo</i>
				‘(snake)’	‘(my son)’			‘it.did’	‘it.did’
				[A]					
	<i>ini nono</i>				<i>ada</i>			<i>-yo</i>	
	‘his mother’				‘happiness’			‘she.did’	
	[S]								
j.					<i>una remanu di uni iruku</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>-o-ma</i>		
					‘the two of us our food’	‘us’	‘she.did-DS’		
	<i>(una)</i>							<i>-yafa</i>	<i>ada dudu</i>
	‘(we)’ [A]							‘we.did’	‘with happiness’

In a. the newly introduced S is in the form of an NP *na bona nai mida Jacob=sa* ‘I with my son Jacob’. The final verb affixation (*-afa* ‘we.did’) agrees in person and number with this intransitive subject NP.

In b. the new A in the first clause (S in second clause) is introduced with the pronoun *na* ‘I’. Same subject marking and final verb morphology [*-si...-si...-aka* (-SEQ.SS...-SEQ.SS...-1SG.PAST)] maintain the same person-number-tense agreement.

In c. there is a shift to the other participant (A) of the two found in a., i.e. *nai mida bi* ‘my son’, marked as topic. Again same subject marking carries the person-number-tense marking from the final verb [*-si...-gasa...-o* (-SEQ.SS...-SIM.SS...-3SG.PAST)].

In d. the second participant *aruma yaku* (snake DSM) ‘a snake’ is introduced after DS marking, marked as focus, as a most salient participant.

In e. the S is ellided, as the ‘snake’ of d. as focus was off the main storyline; we now return to ‘my son’. Here we see an instance of elaboration with the postposing of *na rofu* (1SG to) ‘to me.’

In f. the A (E argument of previous clause) is elided. Again there is further elaboration: *nai mida ro* (1SG.POSS child to) ‘to my son’. Then the snake (S) is reintroduced and marked as topic. DS then signals a return to the previous A *na* ‘I’. The snake then shifts to A, and is marked as focus in the direct speech. The verbal ellipsis here, as well in the other instances, acts to avoid unnecessary repetition in a polar question construction.

In g. the son (A) is reintroduced, in focus, with his direct speech response. Because the snake (A) is established, it is elided and not reintroduced.

In h. the writer reintroduces himself, with his son left implied (from the previous clause) (S), marked as topic.

In i. after DS, we see a shift to the sole participant (the writer) (A), in focal prominence; *ini nono* (3.POSS mother) ‘his mother’ (E) is also prominent through foregrounding (as indicated by the chevron <; cf. §10.2.2.3A). The A of the next clause is then reintroduced after DS. In the mother’s direct speech, the snake (A) then is marked as focus. To shift back to the writer, we see *na yaku* (1SG DSM) ‘I’ (S) in focus (cf. §10.2.2.3B), with the topic of his direct speech again being the snake (A), now implied as well established to both participants at this point. The object is well established as well, i.e., *nai mida* (1SG.POSS child) ‘my son’, so that both are elided. A further elaboration (cf. §10.2.2.3C)

on the event is the juxtaposed second complex verb *no ni-yo* (bad become-3SG.PAST) ‘became bad’. In the final clause *ini nono* (3.POSS mother) ‘his mother’ is reintroduced as S.

In j. *iruku* ‘food’ is elided, as it is understood to be the object of *iri-yafa* (eat-1PL.PAST) ‘we ate’.

There are three instances of summary bridging linkage *resi* ‘SBL’ in the text in lines d., e. and i., to maintain story progression.

10.2.2.2 Conjunctions

Cohesion is also maintained through various conjunctions with aspectual-like meaning, listed in table 10.5 below.

Table 10.5: *Cohesive conjunctions with aspectual-like meaning*

Conjunction	Gloss(es)	Aspectual meaning	Frame
<i>kam(i)(ni)</i>	‘(and) then, so (then)’	Conclusive	X so then Y
<i>vada(ini)(HM)</i>	‘already’		
<i>rofu</i>	‘so that’		
<i>kumo</i>	‘(and) then, so (then)’	Completive	X finished then Y
<i>mamo</i>	‘at once, (and) even/then, until’	Immediacy/inceptive	X then start Y
<i>kaini</i>	‘already, just, enough, full’	Completive/terminative	x finished.

The first three have the meaning that something was brought to a conclusion, so that a new event will now come into focus. The first form *kamini*, a compilation of *ka+mini* (also-this), as an autochthonous form is the most familiar [see in also (17), (26), (47), (49), (50), (53-58), (64), (81d-e, g-h), (82h), (96), (100) and (105a, c)].

- (41) [[*Naike mini mamo*]_{CL1} [[*dona mina*]_s *ne-i de-si*]_{CL2}
 1PL.REFL here at.once pig this go-LINK come-SEQ.SS
- [*kamini beuka ni-si*]_{CL3} [*yai re-yo*]_{CL4...}
 so.then grunt say-SEQ.SS knock.down do-3SG.PAST
 ‘I was there and at once the pig went down, so then it grunted and knocked (me) down....’ [1.16]

The second conjunction, *vada(ini)* is a Hiri Motu borrowing used in the same manner. According to Wurm and Harris 1963:61 it functions “...as a connective in a narrative: approximately ‘then’...” (cf. also Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205: “...as a sentence introducer: then, all right...following a verb: completed action, ‘already’...”), as here in (42) [also seen in (15)/(74) and (58)/(105a)].

- (42) [[*Bo-si*]_{CL1} [*bo-si*]_{CL2} [*bo-i berou feta vada*]_{CL3} [*bo-i mina*
go-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.SS go-LINK other side already go-LINK this

koi ita ebu re-si]_{CL4} [[*rava sana=ri*]_{LOC}
tree.sp firewood pass do-SEQ.SS clearing place=at

bo-si]_{CL5}...

go-SEQ.SS

‘We were going, going along on the side and passed the *koi* trees and went into the clearing and....’ [12.10]

The third item, *rofu*, is the heterosemous postposition meaning ‘for, at, to, with, from’, and ‘so that’ used as a conjunction. (See examination in §4.4.4.) It behaves in the same way as the previous two conjunctions [see also in (9c), (17) and (77)].

- (43) [[*Nai vainavaina*]_O [*kirokai*]_{CL1} [*bona [baiya mina]*]_O
1SG.POSS net.bag carry.on.shoulder and bush.knife this

kono=ri fere-yaka]_{CL2}, [*rofu ve-gi bo-yaka*]_{CL3}.
ground=on leave-1SG.PAST so.that see-PURP go-1SG.PAST

‘I left my net bag that I was carrying on my shoulder and my bush knife there on the ground, so that I could go over to see (them).’ [2.06]

The completive aspectual type conjunction *kumo* ‘(and) then, so (then)’ indicates that one action has been finished and another will begin. Characteristically it follows a verb marked in an imperative mood [see also in (45) and (126)].

- (44) [*Nai vefa*]_{ADD}, [*tua re-i ve kumo [gabi beika*
1SG.POSS daughter wait do-LINK see so.then later what

vata ni-go]_{CC}]_{CL1}.

happen become-3SG.FUT

‘My daughter, wait (and) see even what will happen later.’ (*SUARBB* 2011:18.3)

The conjunction *kumo* is sometimes found in the frame *X kumo mamō Y*, meaning ‘finished/completed X then started Y’.

- (45) [*Iruku iri-nadi kumo*]_{CL1} [*mamo bo-nadi*]_{CL2}.
food eat-1PL.IMP so.then at.once go-1PL.IMP
‘Let’s eat food and once we are done then let’s go.’ [85]

The conjunction *mamo* is more regularly used on its own, conveying immediacy through the meaning ‘at once’; one action is completed, and the storyline moves directly into the following event [see *mamo* also in (9b), (41) and (92)].

- (46) [*Dairi-ga*]_{CL1} [**mamo** [*nai* *adu*]_o *avaka* *moi-yaka* *bi*]_{CL2};
 return-SIM.SS at.once 1SG.POSS jaw touch get-1SG.PAST TOP

mi *esika* *re-gam-o*]_{CL3}.
 this pain do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘When I came back at once I touched my jaw; it was giving (me) pain.’ [1.19]

Like *kumo*, *kaini* (possibly derived from *ka+ini* [also-3.POSS]) ‘already’ also indicates completion of action.

- (47) [*Tomatoma re-si*]_{CL1} [**kaini** *kero fuyo* *re-yaka* *bi*]_{CL2}
 panic do-SEQ.SS already turn turn.around do-1SG.PAST TOP

[nai *foketa* *kami* *uesi* *re-yo* *mini*]_{CL3}.
 1SG.POSS pocket so.then rip do-3SG.PAST here
 ‘I was panicking and I already turned around, and so then he ripped my pocket.’
 [12.16]

As well, *kaini* exhibits a negative meaning (i.e. ‘nothing’).

- (48) [*Nai* *vegu*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*mina ya*]_A [*moi* *tumu ri-na*]
 1SG.POSS life TOP this DSM D.CAUS short make-NOMZ

no *ma*]_{CL1}]_{VCS} *bi* [**kaini**]_{VCC}]_{VCC}.
 bad and TOP nothing
 ‘This had not even shortened my life (lit. ‘This one’s shortening my life was nothing’).’ [12.20]

In some instances SR marking or conjunctions co-occur with other conjunctions. At times this is merely a code-switching copy (reiteration) to indicate prominence (cf. §10.2.2.3A), e.g. *to idu* (but but), or *kamini vada* (so.then already) (58), and sometimes instances of repetition, but at other times not. Instances of SR marking + *kamini* ‘so then’ as in (49) are quite regular; others include *ma kamini* ‘and so then’, *mamo kamini* (so.then at.once) and *to mo* (but at.once), as seen in (50).

- (49) [*Naike mini mamo*]_{CL1} [[*dona mina*]_s *ne-i* *de-si*]_{CL2}
 1PL.REFL here at.once pig this go-LINK come-SEQ.SS

[kamini *beuka* *ni-si*]_{CL3} [*∅*]_o *yai* *re-yo*]_{CL4}...
 so.then grunt say-SEQ.SS (1SG) knock.down do-3SG.PAST
 ‘I was there and at once the pig went down, so then it grunted and knocked (me)
 down...’ [1.16]
- (50) [*Soka re-si* *bi*]_{CL1} [[[*basi moi-gfa*]_{CLa} [*ba yuka-ma*]
 arrive do-SEQ.SS TOP bus get-1PL.FUT or leg-by

bo-gfa]_{CLb}]_{CC} *ni-yafa*]_{CL2} [**to**, **mo** *moke-na* *gokai.resi*
 go-1PL.FUT say-1PL.PAST but at.once think-NOMZ why

kamini]_{CL3}.

so.then

‘We got off and discussed taking a bus or going by foot, so then but at once we did according to what we thought.’ [12.06]

These types of constructions add distance, possibly due to speech correction or motivated by personal preference; many speakers never produce them.

Other types of conjunctions are usual means of adding cohesion to texts; these include coordinating (cf. §4.10.1 and §9.2.1) and subordinating (cf. §4.10.2 and §9.2.2) conjunctions, as in (51) and (52) below. In (51), the coordinating conjunction *idu* ‘but’ is used to join two clauses: ‘...it was getting dark’ **but** because ‘they were already finished’ it was not an issue [cf. another instance of *idu* in (94b)].

- (51) [*Evadi moi vana~vana re-yadi bi*]_{CL1}, [*uru ni-gi*
quickly D.CAUS hand~DISTR do-3SG.PAST TOP night become-PURP
re-yo]_{CL2} [*idu, sena moi koina re-yadi*]_{CL3}.
do-3SG.PAST but already D.CAUS finish do-3PL.PAST
‘Right away they made them by hand, as it was getting dark, but they were already finished.’ [14.06]

In (52), the speaker joins the two clauses with *dada* ‘so’; the second clause provides the reason for the statement in the previous clause [cf. other instances of *dada* in (5), (11), (15), (17-18), (19a)].

- (52) [[*amiye [buka voi re-gika]*]_{RC}]_A *una nikaite-dedi* [[[*account*
person book buying do-CON 1PL ask-3PL.PRES
=ri maka]_{LOC} *moni ai-gifa*]_{CL1}]_{VCS} *bi [buni]*]_{VCC}]_{CC} *vo-ni-dedi*]_{CL2}
=at only money put-1PL.FUT TOP good tell-say-3PL.PRES
[dada ya nikaite-i-da]]_{CL3}.
so 2 ask-LINK-1SG.PRES
‘people trying to buy books ask us to put money in an account, saying that would be good, so I’m asking.’ [34.03]

There are several different conjunction use strategies (in relative order of frequency of use): 1) alone between clauses (the canonical pattern), 2) together with SR marking or 3) more than one together. These last two uses are most likely due to personal preference or self-correction as previously mentioned.

10.2.2.3 Prominence

Prominence includes focus: “This is important...” (Larson 1998:443) and topic or theme:

“This is what I am talking about (Larson 1998:443)”. Prominence devices are included in Table 10.6, followed by consideration of each of the two types listed.

Table 10.6: *Prominence type devices*

Prominence type	Focus	Topicalisation
Device	Foregrounding of arguments Nominalisation (verbal focus) Demonstrative ‘relativisation’/anaphora (RCs, CCs) Rhetorical questions Change of tense (clauses, sentences) Differential subject marking (A,S) Elaboration Postposing Pronominal copy Juxtaposition (SR reduction)	Topic marking

The first type of prominence to be discussed is focal.

A. Focal prominence

Since constituent order (OBL_{TEMP} A/S OBL_{NP} O E VP; cf. Diagram 8.1) is not free, it is primarily through constituent order changes that prominence is indicated. There are cases in which foregrounded material is fronted and other cases in which it is postposed (for elaboration; cf. §10.2.2.3C). According to Lambrecht (1994:213), focus is: “...the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition.” That is, the new information differs from the old, which is achieved by various means in Doromu-Koki, including foregrounding, nominalisation, demonstrative ‘relativisation’/anaphora, rhetorical questions, change of tense, differential subject marking or elaboration. Pragmatically, it appears that *bi* ‘topic marker’,¹¹ when in a focal position also carries a ‘focus’ meaning; in (53) it can be replaced by *yaku* ‘differential subject marker’ in the canonical, e.g. *kami na yaku...* (so.then 1SG DSM) ‘so then I...’ or forefronted position, e.g. *na yaku kami* (1SG DSM so.then) ‘so then I’, but its absence is less than satisfactory, e.g. *?kami na* (so.then 1SG) or *?na kami* (1SG so.then).

Foregrounding is used to focus on s (53), E (54), O (55), location (56), adverb (57) and verb (58), adding increased salience to an argument. (In each instance below, \emptyset indicates the bolded element’s canonical position and the arrows indicate its direction of

¹¹ “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent.” (Lambrecht 1994:131)

movement to its focal position.) In (53) we also see postposing of the location *ini fufuta=ri* (3.POSS back=at) ‘behind him’, from its canonical position in the second \emptyset slot, a method allowing for elaboration (cf. §10.2.2.3C); the canonical constituent order for (53) would be *kami na bi ini fufuta=ri bere maka ni-yaka* (so.then 1SG TOP 3.POSS back=at quiet only become-1SG.PST).

- (53) $\begin{array}{cccccccc} \sqrt{\quad\quad\quad} & & & & & & & \sqrt{\quad\quad\quad} \\ [[Na & =bi]_s & kami & \emptyset & \emptyset & bere & maka & ni-yaka & [ini \\ 1SG & =TOP & so.then & & & quiet & only & become-1SG.PAST & 3.POSS \end{array}$

fufuta=ri]_{LOC}]_{CL1}.

back=at

‘So then I just remained silent there *behind him* (lit. at his back).’ [1.08]

The s argument is already the topic, as it is marked with the topic marker *bi* (cf. §10.2.2.3D). In order to add prominence to the location, it has been postposed, providing further elaboration to the storyline. The (reflexive) extended argument has been foregrounded, from the canonical *kamini na kaya nikaite-yaka* (so.then 1SG REFL ask-1SG.PAST).

- (54) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \sqrt{\quad\quad\quad} & & & & & & \\ [Na & \sqrt{kaya}]_E & kamini & \emptyset & nikaite-yaka]_{CL1} \dots \\ 1SG & REFL & so.then & & ask-1SG.PAST \end{array}$
 ‘So then I told (lit. asked) myself...’ [2.10]

Object extraposition is also observed in Manambu of the East Sepik (Aikhenvald 2008:535), as seen here in Doromu-Koki.

- (55) $\begin{array}{cccccccc} & & & & \sqrt{\quad\quad\quad} & & & \\ [\emptyset]_{VCS} & Bi & [egere & de]_{VCC}, & [[ini & \mathbf{ada}]_O & kamini & \emptyset & kevo \\ (this) & TOP & okay & NEG & 3.POSS & head & so.then & & bent \end{array}$

ni-yo]_{CL1}.

become-3SG.PAST

‘But (it) was not right/okay, so then (the pig’s) head was turned (lit. ‘its head then it bent).’ [1.10]

In (56), the location is foregrounded with no overt s indicated (other than by verbal morphology).

- (56) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \sqrt{\quad\quad\quad} & & & & & & \\ [[Vi & \mathbf{koru-ma}]_{LOC} & kami & \emptyset & bo-yafa]_{CL1}. \\ (name) & water-to & so.then & & go-1PL.PAST \end{array}$
 ‘So then to the Vi river we went.’ [1.04]

The emphatic reduplicated adverbial is foregrounded below in the second clause.

- (57) $\begin{array}{ccccccc} & & & & \sqrt{\quad\quad\quad} & & \\ [[Nai & baba]_A & kero & re-si]_{CL1} & [[kimo=ka & kimo=ka]_{ADV} \\ 1SG.POSS & father & turn & do-SEQ.SS & carefully=also & carefully=also \end{array}$

$\overbrace{\text{kami } \emptyset \text{ na } \text{ni-yo}]_{\text{CL2}}, \text{ "[Koima-o]}_{\text{ADD}}, [\text{dona } e]_{\text{CL3}}; [\text{kita}}$
 so.then 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC pig eh movement

 $\text{ga } \text{re}]_{\text{CL4!}}$
 PROHIB do
 ‘My father turned around, so then carefully and quietly he said to me, “Oh, boy,
 a pig (there); don’t move!” ’ [1.07]

Here we see the complex verb foregrounded, which is unusual; nominalisation occurs much more frequently (discussed further below in this section).

(58) $\overbrace{[\text{Kero } \text{re-si}]_{\text{CL1}} [\text{kamini } \text{vada } \emptyset [\text{nai } \text{adu } \text{gade } \text{mina}]_{\text{o}}}$
 turn do-SEQ.SS so.then already 1SG.POSS jaw tooth this

 $\text{moi } \text{gira } \text{ri-si}]_{\text{CL2}} \text{ moi-yo } \text{maka}]_{\text{CL3.}}$
 D.CAUS hard make-SEQ.SS get-3SG.PAST only
 ‘So then already it turned around, and then it just grabbed a hold of my jawbone.’
 [1.11]

Nominalisation is also used to focus on a proposition; without the nominalisation, we would expect *ina remanu bi garasi koina* (3 two TOP glass nothing) ‘they were without/didn’t have any glasses’, which would simply mean that they did not possess any. In this case, for the remaining context of the story, the speaker wants to focus on the fact that the two boys neglected to get and take the diving glasses on a trip to collect prawns (cf. Appendix (6); also see (1) for another example use of the generic verb *re-* ‘do’).

(59) $[\text{Ina } \text{remanu}]_{\text{VCS}} \text{ bi } [\text{garasi } \text{re-na } \text{de}]_{\text{VCC.}}$
 3 two TOP glass do-NOMZ NEG
 ‘(But) they didn’t have (lit. do) the diving glasses.’ [6.03]

The demonstrative *mina* ‘this (one)’ is often used as a relativiser (cf. §8.4.1) to produce a post-head non-restrictive RC; that is an anaphoric use, adding cohesion (cf. §10.2.2.1D).

(60) $[\text{Dona } [\text{ide=ri } \text{vare-do}]_{\text{RC}} \text{ mina, } \text{koe } \text{ni-si}]_{\text{CL1}} [\text{nui}$
 pig inside=at sleep-3SG.PAST this.one squeal say-SEQ.SS sty

 $\text{ukisivo } \text{re-si}]_{\text{CL2}} \text{ ori } \text{di-yo}]_{\text{CL3.}}$
 startle do-SEQ.SS fear go-3SG.PAST
 ‘There was a pig sleeping inside, it squealed and was startled and ran away from
 the sty.’ [2.12]

As well as cohesion, in some cases, this demonstrative also serves to add prominence.

(61) $[[\text{Nai } \text{baba}]_{\text{A}} \text{dadi-yo}]_{\text{CL1}} [[\text{ini } \text{sosogi } \text{mina}]_{\text{o}} \text{ moi}$
 1SG.POSS father get.up-3SG.PAST 3.POSS spear this.one D.CAUS

odoro ri-si]_{CL2} [[*koru gena yaku*]_{INST} [[*dona fidi re-gi*]
 above make-SEQ.SS water bamboo DSM pig shoot do-PURP
re-dedi]_{CC} *kana*]_{CC} *re-yo*]_{CL3}.
 do-3PL.PRES like do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My father got up and took up his spear, (and with) this one, and did like what is
 done with a gun (lit, water bamboo) to shoot a pig.’ [1.09]

Rhetorical questions present another means of focussing on a proposition. While unanswered, a response giving the intention behind the question further highlights the speaker’s reaction: the speaker did not do the correct thing, so he was being chastised.

(62) [[*Uka esika dudu*]_{OBL} *rautu oki-si*]_{CL1} [[*beika re-yaka*]_{RC}
 stomach pain INST village arrive-SEQ.SS what do-1SG.PAST
mina ni-oteimar-aka-ma]_{CL2}, “[*Ya bi gokai.resi re-yo*]_{CC}?”
 this say-tell-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 2 TOP why do-2SG.PAST
ni-yadi]_{CL3}, “[*re-i mona maka de re-yo*
 say-3PL.PAST do-LINK properly only NEG do-2SG.PAST
ba]_{CL4}. ”

Q
 ‘With a heavy (lit. painful) heart (lit. stomach) I arrived in the village and told
 them this story of what I had done and they asked (lit. told) me, “Why did you
 do (that), you didn’t do it right.’ [2.14-.15]

In (63), the speaker knows and supplies the answer to the question, but wants to emphasise the answer by asking the question.

(63) [*Koki vene*]_{VCS} *bi* [*kaere*]_{VCC?} [*Koki vene*]_{VCS} *bi* [*rema,*
 (name) people TOP who (name) people TOP woman
rumana, mida [*kaere*]_{VCC/VCS} *bi* [[*gua* “[*Doromu*” *vene*]_O
 man child who TOP now (name) people
vo-ni-dedi]_{CL1}]_{VCC}]_{VCC}.
 tell-say-3PL.PRES
 ‘Who are the Koki people? The Koki people are men, women and children who
 are now called “Doromu” people.’ [8.01-.02]

In a narrative, in which all of the story is related in the past tense, a change to the present tense particularly highlights that event as climactic to the discourse; immediately after these two uses of the present – the actual confiscation of the speaker’s phone – the remainder of the story reverts back to the past tense (cf. (14) in Appendix for the entirety of the text).

- (64) [Ina bae de-s]_{CL1} [mina vene bubudo -si]_{CL2} [bae
 3 come come-SEQ.SS this people leftover -SEQ.SS come
 ne-si]_{CL3} [kai nai foket vaita e ai nis
 go-SEQ.SS trousers 1SG pocket hand.inside e hey put.arm.around
 kain]_{CL4}, [okay nai foketa kamin rutu re-do mini]_{CL5}.
 already 1SG pocket so.then pulling do-3SG.PRES here
 [[Na bi]_s [kaere amiye]_o bao ni kero re-si bi]_{CL1}
 1SG TOP who person assume say turn do-SEQ.SS TOP
 [mina, mi-bi rascal amiye]_A [nai fon]_o moi-go vonisi]_{CL2}
 this this-TOP person 1SG phone get-3SG.FUT if
 [du vau re-do mini]_{CL3}.
 look.around completely do-3SG.PRES here
 ‘He came from amongst those people and, hey, he put his hand in my pocket,
 and his arm around me, and so then he pulls there in my pocket. I was turned
 around to see who this person was, looking all around for this rascal who is going
 to take my phone.’ [12.13-14]

Foregrounding is the most recurrently observed means of conveying focus, however other strategies are useful when foregrounding is not possible. Pronoun copy (for elaboration) or demonstrative ‘relativiser’ (for focus) add prominence to an element that is already in initial position in the clause. Nominalisation adds prominence to a verb. More than one device may co-occur in one sentence or clause, with the effect being multiple items in focus. They are usually limited to two at most; often the second element will instead be in the clarification/elaboration postposing position.

Examination will now continue with another major means of indicating focus – reserved for subjects.

B. Differential subject marking

There are two usual discourse markers found in Doromu-Koki, *bi* ‘topic marker’ (cf. §10.2.2.3D) and *yaku* ‘differential subject marker’. The topic marker *bi* identifies a topic in any syntactic function, whereas *yaku*, in addition to its discourse function (showing contrast, foregrounding or increased agentivity), is restricted to marking subject (A, S and VCS), except as noted.

Like *bi* ‘topic marker’, *yaku* is pervasive throughout all discourse genres, and yet there are also (mainly shorter) texts in which it is not used at all; the marker *yaku* is not

restricted to any particular type or genre. When it does occur, it forms a constituent with the subject.

The marker *yaku* may follow an intransitive subject (65), a transitive subject (66) or an extended argument, which has been foregrounded (resulting in a passive-like effect (67), as reflected in the translation). (The form *ya* is the rapid speech variant of *yaku* – either form is acceptable in any contexts.) The following two examples (65-66) are dictionary entries; the marker *yaku* is used to indicate the prominence of the particular lexical entry, e.g. *badamisirika* ‘Wallace’s fairy-wren’ in (65) and *karai* ‘sulphur-crested/white cockatoo’ in (66).

- (65) [[*Badamisirika* [erena keika~keika]_{RC} **yaku**]_s [doi
Wallace’s.fairy-wren bird small~PL DSM cane

odoro=ri]_{LOC} raka ni-gam-adi]_{CL1}.
above=at call say-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
‘Wallace’s fairy-wrens, which are small birds, were singing on the cane.’
(Bradshaw 2021a:66)

- (66) [[*Nai baba ya*]_A [*karai erena ueta*]_o
1SG.POSS father DSM sulphur.crested.cockatoo bird feather

vadi-do [adena di]_E]_{CL1}.
weave-3SG.PRES dance GEN
‘My father is weaving sulphur-crested cockatoo feathers for dancing.’
(Bradshaw 2021a:140)

Below is an excerpt from a conversation about preparations for school children for an Independence Day celebration. Several women are discussing what needs to be done and who will do it, when a man interjects a comment into the conversation, emphasising that things are progressing well. The extended argument appears to be marked with *yaku*, but in fact it is marking the elided A (the extended argument is plural and the verb is marked in the singular), following the usual passive strategy (cf. §6.8.2).

- (67) [[*rautu vene*]_E **ya** dogo re-yo]_{CL1} mina]_{CC} ni-yadi]_{CL2}
village people DSM preparation do-3SG.PAST this say-3PL.PAST
‘they said that this was prepared for the village people (lit. (for) village people (it) was prepared, this they said)’ [114]

The marker *yaku* occurs in main clauses (65) and dependent clauses (86) and with animate (65) or inanimate subjects (68). In the previous context to (68), the writer was emphasising that worry over daily needs is unnecessary and futile.

- (68) ...[[*mina* *moke-na* ***yaku***]_A [*ini* *vegu*]_o *moi* *doba*
 this think-NOMZ DSM 3.POSS life D.CAUS long

re-go *ba*]_{CL1}?

do-
3SG.PAST Q

‘...can these thoughts lengthen his/her life?’ (SUAR 2017:13:6.27)

The marker *yaku* is used in declarative (67) and interrogative (69) clauses. In (69), the foregrounded object precedes the transitive agent. The author previously questioned the audience about their intentions; this rhetorical question emphasises that they were not just looking for a reed (but a person).

- (69) [[[[*Doi* *iye*]_o [*aura* ***yaku***]_A *moi* *raudai* *re-do*]_{CL1}
 reed.sp leaf wind DSM D.CAUS lie.down do-3SG.PRES

mina]_{CC} *ve-gika* *ba*]_{CL2}?

this see-CON Q

‘A reed being blown down by the wind, was that what you were trying to see?’
 (SUAR 2017:24:11.7)

In (70), we see a non-rhetorical question.

- (70) [[*Aruma* ***yaku***]_A *ya* *aki* *re-yo* *ba* *ide*]_{CL1}?
 snake DSM 2 bite do-3SG.PAST or NEG
 ‘Did the snake bite you?’ [3.06]

The marker *yaku* is not found in imperative clauses, but does occur in negative clauses in general. Example (71) also illustrates an instance in which *yaku* occurs in two clauses. The context concerns worry about responding to accusations; the hearer is encouraged to be unconcerned; any needed defence will be supplied when the situation eventuates.

- (71) [*Adina* [*mina* *kaere* ***yaku***]_A *ago* *ni-go*]_{CL1}]_{VCS} *bi* [[*ya* ***yaku***]_A
 for this who DSM word say-3SG.FUT TOP 2 DSM

de \emptyset \emptyset]_{CL2}]_{VCC}
 NEG (word) (say-2SG.FUT)

‘For it is not you who will be speaking [lit. the (one) who will be speaking is not you (speaking)]’ (SUAR 2017:22:10.20)

The marker *yaku* also occurs in complementation (67). However, it cannot be used with an uncontrolled event, since the verbal action is in focus rather than the subject.

- (72) *[[*Miya* ***ya***]_s *de-do* *ba*]_{CL1}?
 rain DSM come.down-3SG.PRES Q
 ‘*Is it raining?’

In limited situations *yaku* and *bi* co-occur in one clause, thus combining topic and

prominence ('it is the Creator who...' – indicated in bold in the free translation). Previous to this response, the speaker was being questioned about divorce; the response begins with the basis for marriage in the creation of men and women.

- (73) ...[[*ini* *adina=ri* *gutuna*]_{TEMP} [*Ri-yo* *amiye* ***yaku***
 3.POSS beginning=at from make-3SG.PAST person DSM

bi]_A [*rema* *ma* *rumana*]_O [*ri-yo*]_{CL1}
 TOP woman and man make-3SG.PAST
 '...from the beginning **it was the Creator who** made men and women'
 (SUAR 2017:44:19.4)

There are, however instances in which *yaku* is not found after the subject, but instead following an instrument.

- (74) [*Misin* *koina*]_{CL1} [*dada* *vadaini* [*vana* ***ya***]_{INST}
 machine finish so already hand DSM

turiya *re-i-da*]_{CL2}.
 sew do-LINK -1SG.PRES
 'The machine no longer works (lit. is finished), so I'm sewing by hand.' [37.02]

The usual *dudu* 'instrument' (75) or =*u* 'by' (76) postpositions are not present.

- (75) *Varabu* *yaku* [*sosogi* ***dudu***]_{OBL} *imi* *u-muye-yo*
 (name) DSM spear INST pierce D.CAUS-die-3SG.PAST
 'Varabu shot and killed (it) with a spear' [19.16]

 (76) *sosogi* *uakai-si* [*baiya* *vana=u*]_{OBL} *moi-yo-ma...*
 spear carry-SEQ.SS bush.knife hand=by get-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS
 'he carried a spear and took a bush knife in his hand and then...' [1.03]

However, *yaku* also follows the NPS *sosogi* 'spear' (77) and *koru.gena* 'gun' (78) as prototypical instruments, and also serves as disambiguation of who did what to whom. The previous context (with subjects marked with *yaku* in bold) follows: '**Waxy** killed a big pig with a dog. **Waxy** got his spear and his dog and went up to the bush to hunt. When they arrived in the middle of the bush **his dog** smelled a pig. **The dog** chased the pig and then Waxy ran with him (the dog).' The subject in focus will again be Waxy, with his spear.

- (77) [*Meki* *re-yo*]_{CL1} [*rofu* [*sosogi* ***yaku***]_{INST} *imi-yo* [*ini*
 chase do-3SG.PAST so.that spear DSM shoot-3SG.PAST 3.POSS

getona=ri]_{LOC}]_{CL2}.
 lower.back=in
 'He chased it and shot it with a spear in the lower back.' [7.05]

In the previous context to (78), the father commands the son not to move, which he obeys. Here, the constituent marked with *yaku* does not qualify as the subject (A) because of the verbal morphology, i.e. *re-dedi* (3PL.PRES).

- (78) [[*Nai* *baba*]_s [*dadi-yo*]_{CL1} [[*ini* *sosogi* *mina*]_o *moi*
 1SG.POSS father get.up-3SG.PAST 3.POSS spear this D.CAUS

odoro *ri-si*]_{CL2} [[[[*koru* *gena* ***yaku***]_{INST} *dona* *fidi* *re-gi*
 above make-SEQ.SS water bamboo DSM pig shoot do-PURP

re-dedi]_{CC} *kana*]_{CC} *re-yo*]_{CL1}.
 do-3PL.PRES like do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My father got up and raised his spear and did like what is done with a gun (lit.
 ‘water bamboo’) to shoot pigs.’ [1.09]

Often *dudu* is bound to more abstract nouns (79-80). According to Bradshaw (2021a:89) *dudu* is glossed much more broadly than the *yaku* instrumental uses as ‘with, according to, by (means of), through’.

- (79) *Mina* *bi* *nai* *yeiva* ***dudu*** *baku* *re-yaka*.
 this TOP 1SG.POSS strength INST find do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I found (him) on my own (lit. in my (own) strength).’ [16.17]
- (80) *bi* *i* *no* ***dudu*** *di-yo*
 TOP 3.POSS bad INST go-3SG.PAST
 ‘that was because of (lit. went by) his bad’ [17.12]

Alternately, it could be the case that diachronically there were two instrument postpositions, *dudu* as well as one homonymous with the current differential subject marker *yaku*, possibly varying in degree of focus on the instrument. The differential subject marker may represent an instance of grammaticalisation of an instrument marker into a marker of focused and agentive subject (cf. Narrog 2008, Wangdi 2020 regarding Brokpa [Tibeto-Burman], *inter alia*) since in its instrumental-marking function it is not compatible with *yaku* as a subject marker in the same clause.

Table 10.7 summarises the grammatical contexts in which *yaku* occurs. In some cases, as we have seen, *yaku* can be used with an extended argument or instrument, but these are limited to situations in which some strategy such as a passive-like construction or foregrounding prominence is used. In these instances, the intent is promotion to a subject-like role or as an extension of the subject. Much like *bi* ‘topic marker’, *yaku* has some limitations: correspondingly not found in imperative constructions or uncontrolled events and not occurring twice in one clause, but occurring in complementation [cf. (10)], as

well as with stative verbs [cf. (20)]. The differential subject marker *yaku* follows both common (3a) and proper nouns (17), noun phrases (2), pronouns (10) and relative clauses (65). Unlike *bi*, it never occurs twice in one clause. Furthermore, *yaku* and *bi* can occur together in one clause (73) and (99).

Table 10.7: *Grammatical contexts for yaku*

Context	Occurring
Subject (A/S – both animate and inanimate) of verbal clauses	Yes
Main clauses	Yes
Dependent clauses	Yes
Complementation	Yes
Relative clauses	Yes
Declaratives	Yes
Interrogatives	Yes
Imperatives	No
Negatives	Yes

Unlike *yaku*, the topic marker *bi* does not mark any specific grammatical relation. However, it is on its way towards being grammaticalised as a marker of a copula subject.

In the excerpt below from a story containing 44 clauses, only three (or 6.8%) contain *yaku*: one marking the transitive subject *nai baba* (1SG.POSS father) ‘my father’ (81b), while in the next sentence (81c), the same NP is unmarked. Three sentences on *nai baba* is marked again (81f). In the first occurrence (81b), the NP is marked [even though previously unmarked (81a)], as the focus is on what the father was telling the narrator concerning their movements. In the second unmarked occurrence (81c), only background information and further continuation along the storyline is provided. However, in the third occurrence of this same NP (81f), marked with *yaku*, the focus is on the father seeing a pig, a primary participant in the story. This accounts for two of the three occurrences of *yaku* in the text; the final occurrence (81i) occurs after the instrument *koru.gena* ‘gun’, as an extension of the transitive subject *nai baba* (1SG.POSS father) ‘my father’. The father is in focus since he is trying to shoot the pig.

- (81) a. [[[*Yokaru vo.ni bo na aita=ri*]_{TEMP}, [*nai baba bona*
 one.day happen go 1SG light=at 1SG.POSS father and
na]_S *sufa~sufa di-yafa*]_{CL1}.
 1SG bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST
 ‘One day when I was young (lit. ‘at light weight’), my father and I went deep
 in the bush.’
- b. [[*Nai baba ya*]_A *na ni-yo*]_{CL1}, “[*Koima-o, [Vi*
 1SG.POSS father DSM 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC (name)

koru-ma]_{LOC} *bo-gifa*]_{CL2}. ”
 water-at go-1PL.FUT
 ‘My father said to me, “Oh, boy (lit. leech), we will go to the Vi river.” ’

- c. [*Nai baba no kana bi*]_A [*ini varuka mina*]_O
 1SG.POSS father bad like TOP 3.POSS clothing this
- [*gagaba=ri maka*]_{LOC} *iru ri-si*]_{CL1} [*sosogi uakai-si*]_{CL2}
 waist=at only wear make-SEQ.SS spear carry-SEQ.SS
- [*baiya vana=u*]_O [*moi-yo-ma*]_{CL3} [*na bi*]_A [*dura kori*]
 bush.knife hand=by get-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 1SG TOP net.bag old
- yokoi*]_O [*kirokai-yaka*]_{CL4}.
 one carry.on.shoulder-1SG.PAST
 ‘My father was bad as he only wore clothing around his waist, and carried a
 spear and took a bush knife in his hand and I carried one old net bag on my
 shoulder.’
- d. [[*Vi koru-ma kami*]_{LOC} *bo-yafa*]_{CL1}.
 (name) water-to and.then go-1PL.PAST
 ‘Then we went to the Vi river.’
- e. [*Bo-yafa-ma*]_{CL1} [[*John di muro odema adina*]
 go-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS (name) GEN garden old.garden near
- kami*]_{LOC} [*oki-yafa*]_{CL2}.
 and.then arrive-1PL.PAST
 ‘We went and arrived near John’s old garden.’
- f. [[*Nai baba yaku*]_A *ne re-yo-ri bi*]_{CL1}
 1SG.POSS father DSM look do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP
- [*odema motona=ri bi*]_{LOC} [*dona yokoi*]_O *mini*
 old.garden garden.bottom=at TOP pig one here
- nikura re-ga*]_{CL2} [*ame-do*]_{CL3}.
 dig do-SIM.SS stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘When my father looked, there was a pig digging at the bottom of the old
 garden.’
- g. [*Nai baba*]_A [*keru re-si*]_{CL1} [*kimo=ka kimo=ka*]
 1SG.POSS father turn do-SEQ.SS carefully=also carefully=also
- kami na ni-yo*]_{CL2}, “[*Koima-o, dona e*]_{CL3}; [*kita*]
 and.then 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC pig eh movement

ga *re*]CL4. ”
 PROHIB do
 ‘My father turned around and quietly and carefully said to me, “Oh, boy (lit. leech) , a pig (there); don’t move.” ’

- h. [[*Na bi kami*]_s *bere maka ni-yaka* [*ini*
 1SG TOP and.then quiet only become-1SG.PAST 3.POSS

fufuta=ri]LOC]CL1.
 back=at
 ‘I remained silent there behind his back.’

- i. [*Nai baba*]_A [*dadi-yo*]_{CL1} [*ini sosogi mina*]_O *moi*
 1SG.POSS father get.up-3SG.PAST 3.POSS spear this D.CAUS

odoro ri-si]CL2 [*koru gena yaku*]_{INST} *dona fidi*
 above make-SEQ.SS water bamboo DSM pig shoot

re-gi *re-dedi*]CC *kana*]CC *re-yo*]CL3.
 do-PURP do-3PL.PRES like do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My father got up, took his spear and did like what they do to shoot a pig with a gun.’
 [1.01-09]

In isolation, a clause or sentence is considered to be grammatical with or without *yaku*; the whole clause or sentence is considered to be in focus when no surrounding context is available. (Native speakers cannot identify a specific English equivalent meaning for *yaku*.) However in a text, pragmatic factors determine whether or not it is obligatory. The default is to be unmarked; it is not required on the majority of subjects (93.2% in the above mentioned full text). Its use is reserved for indicating prominence of a subject slot participant.

Optional subject marking?

The marker *yaku* indicates A/S, but only select subjects, i.e. the most salient participants in a discourse. The relative use of *yaku* for various genres in a collection of 60 texts is shown in Table 10.8. The most prevalent use is found in legends, followed by other narratives, while the least prevalent use is in letters, notes and messages. In (81) above, only 6.8% of clauses have *yaku*, which is usual.

Table 10.8: *Use of yaku*

Genre	Average per text	Maximum attested per text
Legends	6.1	9
Narrative	3.5	6
Conversation	1.0	2
Letters/notes/messages	0.1	1

In the narrative below, having a relatively high frequency of occurrences, *yaku* maintains the focus on particular participants (indicated by underline in the translation).

- (82) a. [*Dona keika yokoi*]_s [[*ini roka*]_{vcs} *bi* [*Mareka*]_{vcc}]_{rc}]_{cl1}.
 pig little one 3.POSS name TOP (name)
 ‘There was a piglet named Mareka.’
- b. [*Mareka bi*]_o [*ina keika iniye=ri*]_{temp} [*rema tora yokoi*]
 (name) TOP 3 little very=at woman big one
- yaku*]_A *dura=ri adodi-si*]_{cl1} *de-yo* [*nai rautu*]
 DSM net.bag=in carry-SEQ.SS come-3SG.PRES 1SG.POSS village
Amuraika=ri]_{loc}]_{cl2}.
 (place.name)=to
 ‘When Mareka was little, one older woman carried (it) around in a net bag and brought (it) to my village Amuraika.’
- c. [[*Nai nono yaku*]_A *ne re-i ve-si*]_{cl1} [*ni-yo-ma*]_{cl2}
 1SG.POSS mother DSM look do-LINK see-SEQ.SS say-3SG.PAST
- [*moi bai-yadi* [*uni yava=ri*]_{loc}]_{cl3}.
 get come-3PL.PAST 1PL.POSS house=to
 ‘My mother looked and saw (it) and told (her) to bring (it) into our house.’
- d. [[*Nai nono yaku*]_A [*mina rema tora*]_E *nikaite-yo*]_{cl1},
 1SG.POSS mother DSM this woman big ask-3SG.PAST
- “[[*Mina dona keika bi*]_o *sero re-i-sa*]_{cl2} [*ba amiye*]
 this pig little TOP sell do-LINK-2SG.PRES or person
- ai-da ya ni-yadi-ma*]_{cl3} [*moi di-sa?*”
 help-1SG.PRES 2 say-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS get go-2SG.PRES
- vo.ni-yo*]_{cl4}.
 tell-3SG.PAST
 ‘My mother asked this older woman, “Are you going to sell this piglet so I can help people or are you taking it away?” she said.’
- e. [*Ma* [*mina rema tora yaku*]_s *yomakai ni-yo*]_{cl1}, “[*Mina*
 and this woman big DSM like.this say-3SG.PAST this

dona keika bi]_o *sero re-i-da*]_{CL2}, ” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL3}.
 pig little TOP sell do-LINK-1SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘And this older woman said this, “I am selling this piglet,” she said.’

- f. [[*Nai nono*]_{NP} [*ini uka bi*]_s =*ka ni-yo*]_{CL1}.
 1SG.POSS mother 3.POSS stomach TOP =also become-3SG.PAST
 ‘My mother’s heart was happy.’

- g. [[*Doba de*]_{TEMP} [*nai nakimi amiye*]_s [*ini yava*
 long NEG 1SG.POSS in-law person 3.POSS house

ide-ma]_{LOC} *yaku de-yo*]_{CL1}.
 inside-at go.out come-3SG.PAST
 ‘Not long after one of my in-laws came out of his house.’

- h. [*De-si kamini*]_{CL1} [*mina rema tora*]_E *nikai-te-yo*]_{CL2},
 come-SEQ.SS enough this woman big ask-3SG.PAST

“[[[*Mina dona keika bi*]_o [*gokaisanu dudu*]_{INST}
 this pig little TOP how.much INST

sero re-i-sa]_{CL3}, ” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL4}.
 sell do-LINK-2SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘He came and asked this woman, “For how much are you selling this piglet?”
 he said.’

- i. [[*Mina rema tora yaku bi*]_s *yomakai ni-yo*]_{CL1}, “[*Fifti*
 this woman big DSM TOP like.this say-3SG.PAST

kina dudu]_{INST} *sero re-i-da*]_{CL2}, ” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL3}.
 INST sell do-LINK-1SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘The older woman said this, “I’m selling it for fifty kina (~AUD 19.65),” she
 said.’

- j. [[*Nai nakimi amiye yaku*]_A [*ini fore*]_o *moi*
 1SG.POSS in-law person DSM 3.POSS stone get

yaku-si]_{CL1} [*mina rema tora*]_E *mar-o*]_{CL2} [*resi*]_{CL3}
 take.out-SEQ.SS this woman big give-3SG.PAST SBL

[[*nai nono*]_E *ni-yo*]_{CL4}, “[*De-si*]_{CL5} [*yi*
 1SG.POSS mother say-3SG.PAST come.down-SEQ.SS 2.POSS

dona]_o *moi*]_{CL6}, ” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL7}.
 pig get tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘My in-law took out his money (lit. ‘stone’) and gave it to this older woman,
 and then told my mother, “Come get your pig,” he said.’

- k. [[*Nai nono bi*]_s [*ada yaku*]_{INST} *rivai*
 1SG.POSS mother TOP happiness DSM overcome

re-yo]_{CL1}.
do-3SG.PAST
'My mother was overcome with joy.'

1. [[*Nai nakimi amiye ro*]_E *tanikiu ni-si*]_{CL1} [*raga*
1SG.POSS in-law person to thank.you say-SEQ.SS run

ne-si]_{CL2} [[*ini dona keika*]_O *binu ma-si*]_{CL2} [[*yava*
go.down-SEQ.SS 3.POSS pig little hug give-SEQ.SS house

ide=ri]_{LOC} *dui re-i bo-yo*]_{CL13}.
inside=to entering do-LINK go.over-3SG.PAST

'She said thank you to my in-law and ran and hugged the piglet and took it back into the house.' [10.01-12]

There are seven occurrences of *yaku* in the story. With each occurrence the focus shifts (or is otherwise maintained): 1) In b. on the older woman with the prized pig, 2) then in c. on the narrator's mother who wants the pig, 3) then in d. to maintain the focus on the mother, 4) then back on the older woman in e., 5) then to maintain the focus on the older woman again in i., 6) to shift now to the new participant, the in-law in j. who provided the money to acquire the pig and 7) finally to the mother's happiness in the acquisition in k. [Her happiness is the subject (s), as it is an extension of the person.] Out of 35 clauses, only five contain *yaku*, marking four transitive subjects and three intransitive subjects. In this manner participants are contrasted; if the marker were simply optional, that distinction would be lost.

The marker *yaku* is often used to add prominence to the A/S, particularly in answer to a question (83b); here *yaku* marks contrastive focus. The question is found in (83a).

- (83) a. [[*Kaere bi*]_A *iruku ∅ mar-o*]_{CL1}?
who TOP food 3 give-3SG.PAST
'Who gave (him) the food?'

- b. [[*Na yaku*]_A *iruku ∅ mar-aka*]_{CL1}.
1SG DSM food 3 give-1SG.PAST
'I (versus someone else) gave (him) the food.'

The use of *yaku* functions as a means of pragmatically differentiating between one participant and another. To state (83b) as **yaku iruku mar-aka* (DSM food give-1SG.PAST) 'I gave (him) food' would be ungrammatical, since the focal constituent *na* 'I' is unstated, unless another argument in a position of prominence was present, e.g. *mirona=ri yaku iruku mar-aka* (that=at DSM food give-1SG.PAST) 'there I gave (him) food'; cf. (67).

Quite often, the subject is not overtly stated in a clause, as it is indicated in the final verbal morphology. However, when *yaku* is used, the subject is always stated as a means of disambiguation. In the previous context, the older of the young women had shamed the boy; he goes to tell his mother what happened, and thus the young woman becomes the focus of his conversation.

- (84) [[*oure-na rema ofi yaku*]_A *na ni no*
 be.first-NOMZ woman young.woman DSM 1SG say bad
re-yo]_{CL1}...
 do-3SG.PAST
 ‘the older young woman cursed me...’ [16.07]

In a retelling of an incident in which the speaker was robbed of his phone, he used *yaku* only once in the climax of the story to emphasise that he was not physically harmed.

- (85) [*Nai vegu*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*mina ya*]_A [*moi tumu ri-na*
 1SG.POSS life TOP this DSM D.CAUS short make-NOMZ
no ma]_{CL1}]_{VCS} *bi* [*kaini*]_{VCC}]_{VCC}.
 bad and TOP already
 ‘This had not even shortened my life (lit. ‘This one didn’t have any bad to shorten my life’).’ [12.20]

The most salient participants are brought into focus through the use of *yaku*. In a conversation in which one speaker was talking about the influence of languages of wider communication, i.e. English, Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin, she used the only occurrence of *yaku* in the whole conversation to highlight her confidence in the permanency of the language due to the recent publication of the New Testament.

- (86) ...[[*mina New Testament*]_O *ae re-yafa*]_{CL1} *mina*]_O, [*mina ago*,
 this put do-1PL.PAST this this word
 [*uni ago*]_{RC}]_O *di forovai re-go*]_{CL2} [*to, o, [mina yaku]*]_S
 1PL.POSS word GEN confuse do-3SG.FUT but oh this DSM
bi mo ame-i-bo-bi-go toga]_{CL3}.
 TOP but stay-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT always
 ‘...this New Testament which we have written (lit. put down), these words, our language it will be confused/mixed up, but oh, **this** will remain on forever.’
 [40.28]

Conceivably this marker could be derived from the homonymous verb *yaku*- ‘go/come out(side)’ [note use of this verb in (82g) above]; however, there is no supporting evidence. Three alternative interpretations are possible: 1) subject argument marking is obligatory,

2) marking is optional or 3) it is obligatory in some contexts and optional in others. The first option is not supported by the data. The second option is not feasible, since its use does have a function: to focus on a particular participant, show contrast or indicate foregrounding or increased agentivity. The final option is the only reasonable solution.

The marker *yaku* should be considered a ‘differential subject marker’ in most of its uses as it combines a syntactic function, marking a subject, and also carries pragmatic overtones of contrastive focus (including in its instrumental uses). We now turn to a cross-linguistic perspective on differential subject marking.

Differential subject marking in cross-linguistic perspective

Various Papuan languages have markers which have discourse pragmatic functions. The Nungon (Papuan, Finisterre-Huon) language of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea has a variable ‘focus’¹² postposition =*ho*. It can serve to mark intransitive/transitive subject, possessor, instrument, manner, topicalised object arguments and focus (Sarvasy 2017:376) [my underlining added to indicate those analogous to what occurs with *yaku* in Doromu-Koki; and also below]. Likewise, =*ho* is used for disambiguation, emphasis, specification, clarification and ‘narrative rhythm’, and not used when focus is not needed (Sarvasy 2017:377).

The Yalaku (Papuan, Ndu) language of the East Sepik Province has a differential subject (A/S) marker, which occurs in “highly animate or specific” situations (Aikhenvald 2015b:241). It has been identified as ‘highlighted participant case’, used in foregrounding participants, increasing salience (Aikhenvald 2015b:261). Pennington (2013) also argues for differential subject (A/S) marking in Ma Manda (Papuan, Finisterre-Huon, Finisterre, Erap) of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Guérin (2019) argues as well for differential argument marking in Tayatuk (Papuan, Finisterre, East Finisterre, Uruwa), also of Morobe Province, contending that it is for contrast and prominence (Guérin 2019:33).

Fuyug (Papuan, Southeast, Goilalan), in Central Province, makes use of *ge* ‘topic marker’ which behaves in similar fashion to *bi*. An earlier study (Ray 1912:317) said that it may “...indicate reference to a preceding action in the sense of ‘being on the point of,’

¹² “The focus postposition =*ho* may also mark oblique arguments. When the postposition is used to mark Instrument arguments, this puts the marked NP in stronger focus than if the dedicated locative/instrumental postposition =*dek*...were used (Sarvasy 2017:377).”

Southeast, Kwalean) to the west has the ‘subject marker’ *a* which: “...often occurs following a switched subject or a new participant or in subordinate clauses” (Kikkawa 1993:94).

Other languages, while ergative, exhibit differential marking. One of these is Yali (Papuan, Dani) of West Papua. The enclitic *=en* is considered an optional ergative marker (Riesberg 2018:19), used to indicate such things as (prominent) subjects (Riesberg 2018:22), overtly realised subject (Riesberg 2018:25) or volitional activity (Riesberg 2018:26). According to Anderson and Wade (1988:10, 14), the use of the Folopa (Papuan, Teberan) of Gulf Province purported ergative marking (versus non-use) is mainly one of control. In Tayap (Papuan) of East Sepik Province, Kulick and Terrill (2019:109) claim that the ergative case is used optionally primarily for agentivity, control, animacy (Kulick and Terrill 2019:112), affectedness (Kulick and Terrill 2019:114) and intentionality (Kulick and Terrill 2019:118). Compare also the ergative language Eibela (Papuan, Central and south New Guinea) of Western and Southern Highlands Provinces of PNG (Aiton 2014).

Further afield, in the Tariana language (Arawak) of northwestern Brazil, the ‘focus S/A’ morpheme *-ne/-nhe* can be used to indicate contrastive focus, the main participant, or a newly introduced but already known participant, or for disambiguation (Aikhenvald 2003a:141-2). And also, in the same area, the Murui language (Witotoan) of northwestern Amazonia has differential A/S marking which depends on pragmatics, through pathways such as topicality (Wojtylak 2021:280).

In summary, there is ample precedence from other Papuan languages (as well as from other unrelated languages) for an analysis in which *yaku* is considered to be a ‘differential subject marker’, meaning that it obligatorily marks subject when the subject is in focus. When it is not, the subject remains unmarked. However, one unresolved issue is its use after an instrument; these limited instances appear to indicate promotion of the instrument to a subject-like role, such that they function as an extension of the subject.

Upon examination of Doromu-Koki texts, like the topic marker *bi* (cf. §10.2.2.3D), *yaku* is prevalent throughout. Due to use of the topic marker in a verbless clause, however, it is much more prevalent than the differential subject marker. Correspondingly, the differential subject marker appears to be optional, yet it has been argued that in fact it is

not, but instead is contingent on prominence. As with other languages considered, *yaku* indicates focus and other pragmatic notions much like in Murui:

“Differential subject marking implies that the subject (A/S) acquires case-marking if it is in focus, that is, undergoes ‘foregrounding’ as an indicator of its salience (see Cruse, 2006, p. 66 and references there) (Wojtylak 2021:193).”

Indeed *yaku* combines syntactic function, through subject marking, with pragmatic function, through foregrounding salient participants in the discourse.

It may also be the case that *yaku* is also undergoing an incomplete reinterpretation through its instrument marking use. [Cf. also Bradshaw (2006a), Bossong (1991) and Levinsohn (1976).]

C. Elaboration

Postposing functions as another means of elaboration, as an afterthought (90-93); this is further substantiated due to the fact that it is preceded by a pause. As noted in (53) above, postposing provides contrastive focus for further clarification or elaboration, as a type of afterthought. It can be seen for location (90-91), postpositional NP (92) and O (93).

- (90) [[*Agiya uriyaku*]_{TEMP} [*beika* \emptyset *vata ni-yo sina*]_O
 yesterday morning what happen become-3SG.PAST word
-
- [*na rofu bona Robert ro*]_E *nana bo-gam-fa-ri*
 1SG to and (name) to walk go-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS
- ↓
- [*Gordons*]_{LOC}_{CL1}.
 (place.name)
 ‘The story of what happened to me and Robert yesterday morning when we were walking from Gordons.’ [12.00]
- (91) [*Meki re-yo*]_{CL1} [*rofu [sosogi yaku]*]_{INST} \emptyset *imi-yo*
 chase do-3SG.PAST so.that spear DSM shoot-3SG.PAST
- ↓
- ini [getona=ri]*]_{LOC}_{CL1}.
 3.POSS lower.back=in
 ‘He chased (it) so that in the lower back he shot (it) with a spear (lit. a spear shot (it)).’ [7.05]
- (92) [[*Gabi ro*]_{TEMP} *mo* [[*una remanu*]_{NP} *di uni iruku*]_O *una*
 later to at.once 1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS food 1PL
- ↓
- mar-o-ma*]_{CL1} \emptyset *iri-yafa [ada dudu]*]_{INST}_{CL2}.
 give-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS eat-1PL.PAST happiness INST
 ‘Later on then she gave the two of us our food and we ate (it) happily.’ [3.10]

of a copula marker of VCS (94b), or otherwise marks another argument as new or previously established topic (94a) and (95b-c), independent of syntactic function. In (94), the writer wants to highlight his wife's health, subtly making a request for assistance.

- (94) a. [*o*, [*Magdalene bi*]_s *toga esiroka ni-do*]_{CL1},
oh (name) TOP always cough say-3SG.PRES
'Oh, Magdalene is always coughing,
- b. [*idu ina*]_{VCS} *bi* [*buni*]_{VCC}]_{CL2}...
but 3 TOP good
but she is well...' [24.03]

In (95a), the previous context make no use of *bi*, which is then found in (95b-c). The main participant, a man named Tau Yagabo, called on fellow villagers to help him plant his garden. As we can see, their arrival was important (95b), which is why the dependent clause is marked with *bi* (topic); the people got right to work and did specifically what was requested (comment): planting **all** the seedlings (95c).

- (95) a. [[*Amiye tau vakoi*]_s *dadi vau re-yadi*]_{CL1}, [*tora*
person all together get.up completely do-3PL.PAST big

vene, rema, rumana, ofi, godua tau vakoi]_s
people woman man young.woman young.man all together

dadi vau re-yadi]_{CL2}.
get.up completely do-3PL.PAST
'Everyone got right up, elders, men and women, young men and young women all together got up.'
- b. [[*Kasi rava=u*]_{LOC} *bo-si*]_{CL1} *oki-yadi-ri*
new.garden clearing=in go.over-SEQ.SS arrive-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS

bi]_{CL2} [*tua de re-yadi*]_{CL3}.
TOP wait NEG do-3PL.PAST
'When they went over and arrived in the new garden clearing, they did not wait.'
- c. [*Moi bo-gi de-gi re-si*]_{CL1} [*evade~evade*
get go-PURP come.down-PURP do-SEQ.SS quickly~INTS

yoyava bi]_o *vari vau re-yadi*]_{CL2}.
seedling TOP plant completely do-3PL.PAST
'They went right down and very quickly planted all (lit. completely planted) the seedlings.' [15.03-05]

In other instances, *bi* marks intransitive subject (96), transitive subject (97) [here indicated in the verb morphology in the second clause] or oblique argument (98). It may

even mark an object (99) as a passive strategy; otherwise the transitive subject and verb remain the same. In the previous context to (96), the narrator's father had just told him: 'Oh, boy, (there's) a pig (there); don't move.' He is emphasising his obedience.

- (96) [[*Na bi kami*]_S *bere maka ni-yaka* [*ini*
1SG TOP and.then quiet only become-1SG.PAST 3.POSS

fufuta=ri]_{LOC}]_{CL1}.
back=at

'So then, behind his back I remained silent.' [1.08]

The following example is from the same text; previous to this sentence the narrator had been injured by the pig, and had told his father, 'Father, the pig is going up and moving up over there.' His father then responds, 'Boy, go back.' And again, he obeys; however, as soon as possible, he seeks to determine the extent of his injury.

- (97) [*Dairi-ga mamō*]_{CL1} [[*nai adu*]_{CL1} *avaka moi-yaka*
return-SIM.SS and.then 1SG.POSS jaw touch get-1SG.PAST

bi]_{CL2}, [*mi esika re-gam-o*]_{CL3}.
TOP this pain do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

'At once I went back and touched my jaw and it was in pain.' [1.19]

In the previous context to example (98), the writer sets the scene: a man and his son are going to travel to town in the rainy season; the previous day the rivers have flooded and are still swollen; the road to town will be difficult. (The topic marker *bi* marks a newly established topic as well as a reintroduced old one.)

- (98) [[*Taoni ida bi*]_{OBL} [*koru yokoi maka mina*]_O *uru remanu ba*
town road TOP water one only this time two or

regode dakai uga-ga]_{CL1} [*re-giya*]_{CL2}.
three place cross.over-SIM.SS do-2SG.FUT

'On the road/way (to) town, one river, this one you will cross over at various places two or three times.' [78]

The following sentence from the preface to the Trial Spelling Guide was produced in the March 2002 Doromu Alphabet Design Workshop (Bokana et al. 2002). The writer was expounding on the purpose of the book: to describe the Doromu-Koki alphabet, the inclusion of a small dictionary and argumentation on orthographic concerns. He continues below to contrast the language with the goals of the book, i.e. to highlight features of the language itself.

- (99) [[*Uni* *Doromu* *ago* *bi*]_o [*1,500* *makai* *kana* *amiye* *yaku*]_A
 1PL.POSS (name) word TOP like.wise like person DSM
 ni-dedi]_{CL1}.
 say-3PL.PRES
 ‘Our Doromu language is spoken by about 1,500 people.’ [22.07]

The topic marker also occurs without an accompanying noun or pronoun (ellipsis) (cf. §10.2.2.1D). This example is from the same story seen in examples (96-97). Prior, the narrator’s father had tried to spear the pig; now the reason for lack of success is explained.

- (100) [[\emptyset]_{VCS} *Bi* [*egere* *de*]_{VCC}]_{CL1}, [*ini* *ada* *kamini* *kevo*
 (this) TOP okay NEG 3.POSS head enough bend
 ni-yo]_{CL2}.
 become-3SG.PAST
 ‘But it (the shooting of the pig) was not right (successful), as then it (the pig)
 bent its head around.’ [1.10]

The topic marker occurs in both main (96) and dependent (102) clauses. It is used to topicalise both animate (1), (40i) [the story teller, or animals] and inanimate (101) A/S or other arguments. (The topic marker *bi* may also have a dependent clause in its scope [CC, VCS, VCC, RC].) From the same story in examples (96-97) and (100), the narrator subsequently mentions his jawbone, as previously he indicated: ‘it (the pig) turned around and just got a hold of my jawbone.’

- (101) [*nai* *adu* *nenā*]_{VCS} *bi* [=ka *miron*]_{VCC}
 1SG.POSS jaw bone TOP =also there
 ‘my jawbone was also there’ [1.12]

The topic marker may occur twice in one sentence (63) and (102), but rarely in one clause (103b), to topicalise more than one item. From the same text in (96-97) and (100-101), the story continues. Previously the father and son had just begun their hunting trip; they crossed one river and then arrived at a place near John’s old garden. The current topic is not only that the father **looked** and saw something, but also on **where** he looked, since a main participant, the pig is discovered. Here, the two markers *yaku* and *bi* have differing scopes; *yaku* is also used in the topicalised clause to foreground s (cf. Table 10.9 below).

- (102) [[*Nai* *baba* *yaku*]_s *ne* *re-yo-ri* *bi*]_{CL1} [*odema*
 1SG.POSS father DSM look do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP old.garden
 motona=ri *bi*]_{LOC} [*dona* *yokoi*]_s *mini* *nikura* *re-ga*]_{CL2}
 garden.bottom=at TOP pig one here dig do-SIM.SS

[*ame-do*]_{CL3}.
 stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘When my father looked, at the bottom of the old garden a pig was there digging.’ [1.06]

The two occurrences of *bi* in (103b) indicate the speaker’s desire to focus on himself and what he will be doing, i.e. there are two topical elements: the established topic *na* ‘I’ and the new topic (the whole clause). Example (103a) provides the previous context; the writer was giving a progress report on his translation work as well as an update on his family and then asking for financial assistance. He wants to convey to the recipient that a response must quickly be forthcoming; ‘I will only be around for a short time.’

- (103) a. [[*Ma* [*ya* *fafau* =*ka*]_E [*yi* *usa~usa*]_O *ni-sifa*
 and 2 concerning =also 2.POSS pray~PL say-1PL.PRES

 [*uni* *Baba* *Sei* *rofu*]_E]_{CL1}...
 1PL.POSS father God to
 ‘And concerning you we also say prayers for you (lit. ‘your’) to God our Father...’
- b. [[*Na* *bi*]_S [*wiki* *nokoi* *maka*]_{TEMP} *ame-si* *bi*]_{CL1}, [*rautu*
 1SG TOP week one only stay-SEQ.SS TOP village

dairi-gida]_{CL2}.
 return-1SG.FUT
 ‘Having stayed one week (lit. ‘I will just stay one week’), then I will return to the village.’ [97]

As well as in declarative clauses, *bi* occurs in interrogative clauses (104a): at the end of a clause (cf. also (97), (102) and (103b) for declarative clauses) or sentence. Here in (104a), the topic marker *bi* has been written as one word with the pronoun, reflecting its clitic nature; it is an established topic. In the previous context the writer wrote: ‘Good, but my nose cold is lasting longer and I’m lying (lit. sitting) around sleeping!’ The marker *bi* is also used with negation (100) or (104b). The topic marker, like the differential marker, does not occur in imperative clauses.

- (104) a. [*Mo* [*ya*]_{VCS}=*bi* [∅]_{VCC}]_{CL1}?
 and 2=TOP
 ‘And (what about) you?’ [105]

- b. [*ini safi de*]_{VCS} **bi** [\emptyset]_{VCC}¹⁴
 3.POSS taste NEG TOP
 ‘it is tasteless’ [64]

The topic marker *bi* can mark an antecedent as topic in switch-reference (cf. §6.2.1 and §9.2.2.1 and §10.2.2.1B) marked medial clause constructions (105c), analogous to what was seen in the second occurrence of *bi* in (103b). Examples (105a-b) give preceding context; his jawbone was in focus, as it related to the cause of the pain, the pig (105b), and then what the speaker did after the incident; how he was affected (105c).

- (105) a. [*Kero re-si kamini*]_{CL1} [*vada nai adu gade mina*]_o
 turn do-SEQ.SS and.then then 1SG.POSS jaw tooth this

moi gira ri-si]_{CL2} [*moi-yo maka*]_{CL3}. [*Nai*
 D.CAUS hard make-SEQ.SS get-3SG.PAST only 1SG.POSS

adu nena]_{VCS} **bi** [=ka *miron*]_{VCC}.
 jaw bone TOP =also there
 ‘It (the pig) turned around then and grabbed a hold of just my jawbone. My jawbone was there.’
- b. [*Mo dona bi*]_s *mini ame-gam-o*]_{CL1}, [[*mida keika*
 but pig TOP here stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST child little

beika.baika e]_{ADD} [*nai adu nena bi*]_s [=ka *miron*]_{LOC}
 whatever eh 1SG.POSS jaw bone TOP =also there

esika re-i di-yo.]_{CL2}
 pain do-LINK go-3SG.PAST
 ‘And the pig was staying right there, whatever (it was like as a) small child, my jawbone was also in pain there.’
- c. [*Kamini dadi-yaka-ri bi*]_{CL1} [[*esika re-yo*]_{CL2}]_o
 enough get.up-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS TOP pain do-3SG.PAST

 [*amute-si.*]_{CL3}...
 feel-SEQ.SS
 ‘Then when I got up I felt the pain (that it was giving me) and then...’
 [1.11-14]

The topic marker occurs in relative clauses (106) as well as with reported speech (107). Below the writer gives a brief history of the Doromu-Koki people; prior to this he writes: ‘We are forgetting the language called Koki language, which our ancestors (first)

¹⁴ This example could also be realised as *ini safi bi de* (3.POSS taste TOP NEG) ‘it has no taste’, which follows the canonical VCS *bi* VCC structure, but produces a slightly different meaning.

appeared and spoke. Our Koki language will disappear I fear, unless we stay in our villages and do the work to translate God's word.' The writer once again highlights their Koki blood, and the concomitant inherent responsibility to remember their ancestry.

- (106) [Ya [kaere~kaere Koki dava i rovaita=ri **bi**]_{RC} ya]_{VCS}
 2 who~PL (name) blood 2.POSS body=in TOP 2
- bi* [Koki mida, rema bona rumana]_{VCC}.
 TOP (name) child woman and man
 'You who have Koki blood in your bodies are Koki children, women and men.'
 [8.28]

Previous to the example below, concerning his son's close call with a snake, the father said: 'When we arrived in the village I told the story to his mother and she was already angry, and so she asked me if the snake had bitten him'; now he focusses on his response.

- (107) ...[to [na yaku]_A ni-yaka **bi**]_{CL1} [de aki re-yo]_{CL2}
 but 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST TOP NEG bite do-3SG.PAST
 '...but what I told (her) was that it did not bite (him)' [3.09]

In verbless clauses *bi* it is obligatory, but in other clauses it is not, since it can mark a topical argument, varying from clause to clause, as seen in various examples above.

- (108) [Nai rautu]_{VCS} **bi** [Oduika omuna odoro=ri]_{VCC}.
 1SG.POSS village TOP (place.name) mountain above=at
 'My village is on Oduika mountain.' [5.00]

Below *bi* is used as opposed to *yaku*; example (111b)¹⁵ provides the original sentence with *yaku*. The use of *bi* in place of *yaku* marks the transitive subject NP as topic, whereas *yaku* foregrounds the argument in a discourse. The scope of the topic marker can include a pronoun (96), noun phrase (95c) or independent clause (97).

- (109) [[Tau **bi**]_A [ini vene]_E raka ni edadi-yo]_{CL1}.
 (name) TOP 3.POSS people call say wake.up-3SG.PAST
 'Tau called out waking up his people.'

The unmarked sentence would be as in (110); no topic or focus are indicated.

- (110) [Tau [ini vene]_E raka ni edadi-yo]_{CL1}.
 (name) 3.POSS people call say wake.up-3SG.PAST
 'Tau called out waking up his people.'

The highlighting in (111b) indicates what is being compared with (109-110). The free translations are the same for all three; it is difficult to convey the difference in English.

¹⁵ Example (111) provides the actual story as recorded with preceding context. The original sentence is being compared with proposed examples (109-110).

The distinction, however, is that *Tau* is the topic of the sentence (what it's about) in (109), unmarked in (110) and the focus (new information) in (111b).

- (111) a. [Yokaru [amiye yokoi [roka *Tau* Yagabo]_{RC} *yaku*]_A
 one.day person one name (name) (name) DSM
 [[ini rautu vene]_E omar-o [[ini muro]_O
 3.POSS village people invite-3SG.PAST 3.POSS garden
 vari-yaganedi]_{CC}]_{CL1}.
 plant-3PL.IMP
 'Once upon a time a man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to plant his garden.'
- b. [[Vari~vari re-gedi meda]_O moi-yo-ri *bi*]_{CL1},
 plant~NOMZ do-3PL.FUT day get-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP
 [[uriyaku gorogoro]_{TEMP} [*Tau* *yaku*]_A [ini vene]_E
 morning early.morning (name) DSM 3.POSS people
 raka ni e-dadi-yo]_{CL2}, "[Nai rautu vene]_{ADD}
 call say I.CAUS-get.up-3SG.PAST 1SG.POSS village people
 [gua]_{VCS} *bi* [nai meda]_{VCC}, [dada ya usa ni-da
 now TOP 1SG.POSS day so 2 ask say-1SG.PRES
 [dadi vau re-fo]_{CC}]_{CL1}."
 get.up completely do-2PL.PO.IMP
 'When the day they would do the planting came, early in the morning Tau called out waking up his people, "My village people, today is the (lit. 'my') day, so I ask you to all get up." [15.02]

The following example from Dutton (1970:920), while permissible, is seldom observed. Perhaps it was more usual 50 years ago when it was elicited.¹⁶ This may indicate that *bi* has grammaticalised as a copula-like marker for these otherwise verbless complement clauses, so that *bi* now has two functions. This appears to be the case with *yaku* as well. Example (113) provides the characteristic modern utterance.

- (112) [Mina]_{VCS} [amiye de]_{VCC}, [mina]_{VCS} [fore]_{VCC}.
 this person NEG this stone
 'This is not a man, this is a stone.'

¹⁶ "Most of the material was collected directly from native informants in their own villages, and where this was not possible from native employees of plantations or of the Administration. All information was elicited in English or Police Motu, and most of it was recorded on magnetic tape. Other information was obtained from Mission and Administration officers and records, and from other research workers." (Dutton 1970:881)

- (113) [*Mina*]_{VCS} ***bi*** [*amiye de*]_{VCC}, [*mina*]_{VCS} ***bi*** [*fore*]_{VCC}.
 this TOP person NEG this TOP stone
 ‘This is not a man, this is a stone.’

It is actually much more regular to find *mina bi*, as seen here in (113) reduced to *mibi* ‘this is,’ particularly in rapid speech; an indication of grammaticalisation accompanied by an ongoing phonological reduction process (parallel reduction hypothesis; cf. Kuteva et al. 2019:110). See also §2.8.1 for other examples of this process. The topic marker *bi* can be considered a clitic, as it is phonologically bound to the preceding constituent, and is sometimes written as one word [cf. (104a)]. That is, *bi* forms one phonological word with a monosyllabic antecedent. This, however, is not the case with *yaku/ya*; they form a phonological word on their own.

The topic marker *bi* obligatorily marks a VCS (here functioning as complementation), as well as marking a verbless clause subject slot (113).

- (114) [[*Mina vegu re-yo*]_{CC}]_{VCS} ***bi*** [[*ni-bo-bi-gedi*]_{CL1}]_{VCC}.
 this practice do-3SG.PAST TOP say-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3PL.FUT
 ‘This practice that he does they might be talking about it.’ [86]

In fact, clauses can be embedded in such a verbal (topical) clause in which relative clauses and complementation are formed. Previous to (115), the speaker said: “One day my two boys went out with their diving glasses. They went up to the headwaters with their diving glasses, believing they went with their diving glasses in the basket. But **they** didn’t have the diving glasses. They swam and felt the sun as they were sitting on a rock.” The one prior use of *bi* is indicated in bold in the translation above, highlighting a problem, which below contributed to the speaker’s issue, now the topic at hand.

- (115) [[*Na yaku*]_A *moke-yaka*]_{VCS} ***bi***, “[*Mironi aka u-dedi*]_{CC},”
 1SG DSM think-1SG.PAST TOP there prawn kill-3PL.PRES
bao ni-yaka]_{VCC}.
 assume say-1SG.PAST
 I thought, “They are there killing prawns,” I assumed.’ [6.05]

There are some limitations on the use of *bi*: not in imperative clauses, not normally co-occurring with *yaku* and having the same scope, except in the case of (86) where they occur on the same constituent. There are, however, exceptions like (102), (107) and (115) used to topicalise the entire clause, or in the case of (99) to mark the transitive subject which is now in a non-canonical position due to object foregrounding. The marker *bi* likewise does not normally occur twice in one clause, except in (102) to reactivate a topic

or to distinguish between an old and a new topic. Its use is optional, except in verbless clauses.

The scope of *bi* can be an NP (94a) or pronoun (83b), a main clause (97) or a non-main clause (95b). It can also occur on its own with an elided NP (100). The two discourse markers are compared in Table 10.9. Items at variance are indicated in bold.

Table 10.9: *Comparison of yaku and bi*

	<i>Yaku</i> ‘differential subject marker’	<i>Bi</i> ‘topic marker’
Marking	A, S, INST (prototypical), E (passive strategy), VCS	A, S, O , OBL VCS (elided NP or PN)
Animacy	Animate A, S Inanimate A, S	
Clauses	Main Dependent	SR-marked medial clauses
Mood	Complementation Relative Declarative Interrogative Imperative	
Negation	Yes	
Reported speech	Yes	
Co-occurrence	Rare (73), (82i), (86)	
Function	Most salient contrastive participant	Topic at hand
Uncontrolled event	No [verbal action is in focus/topic, cf. (72)]	
Prosody	No pause after	Pause after
Scope	A, S, E	CC, VCS, VCC, RC, NP/PN, main and non-main clauses
Occurrence	Once per sentence	Up to twice in one sentence and rarely in one clause

As we can see, the two markers share many common features.

E. Envoi

There are various discourse-pragmatic devices available to accomplish different aspects of foregrounding. Focus is accomplished by highlighting the subject through *yaku* ‘differential subject marker’, or various other means (foregrounding, demonstrative ‘relativiser’, nominalisation, rhetorical questions or change of tense). These include A, S, O, location, instrument, manner, adverb, verb and postpositional noun phrases. Elaboration (or clarification or afterthought) includes postposing, pronoun copy,

juxtaposition and SR reduction.

A topic is established through use of the topic marker *bi*, which also serves as verbless clause copula (cf. §8.2).

10.2.3 Other Constructions

Various other discourse-related constructions include forms of address and formulaic expressions (§10.2.3.1), answers to questions (§10.2.3.2), finalising discourse (§10.2.3.3), conversational structures (§10.2.3.4) and code-switching (§10.2.3.5).

10.2.3.1 Forms of address and formulaic expressions

Forms of address include name, relationship (or both) and also vocative (cf. §4.12), in the case of calling out, as seen in (116-118). In (116), a proper name has been used, as this was a written text; normally names are seldom used, while relationship terms are more frequent, as in (117) and (119). Instead, nicknames (cf. Table 11.4) are used to talk about someone rather than to address them directly.

- (116) [Sako gedu bo-gam-afa-ri]_{CL1}, [[na yaku]_A
 bag nape go-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM
 ni-yaka]_{CL2}, “[*Mathias*]_{ADD},” roka ni-si]_{CL3} “[*Mina gabu*
 say-1SG.PAST (name) name say-SEQ.SS this place
 bo-sifa]_{CL4}]_{VCS} bi [dona di tavara gabu]_{VCC}]_{CC},”
 go-1PL.PAST TOP pig GEN greens place
 vo-ni-oteimar-aka]_{CL4}.
 tell-say-tell-1SG.PAST
 ‘When we went with the bag(s) on the back of (our) necks I said, “Mathias,”
 calling out (to him), “Let’s go to this place where there are pig greens,” I said.’
 [4.05]

- (117) [*Dubu*]_{ADD}, [[uni buka bura=ri]_{OBL} vau re-gasa]_{CL1} moi
 brother 1PL book writing=in all do-SIM.SS D.CAUS
 feide-yaka]_{CL2} [tau bi baku re-yo-ba]_{CL3}?
 send-1SG.PAST all TOP find do-3SG.PRES-Q
 ‘Brother, I have done all of our book writing and sent it; did you get it?’ [24.02]

Example (118) illustrates a regular form used in addressing a small boy (due to resemblance of the penis to a leech). Another comparable term is *emo nono/baba* (fish.species mother/father) ‘daughter’s mother/father’ [cf. also 11.1.2 (13)]; it functions as an informal idiomatic address to one’s spouse.

Likewise, the negative (*ide* ‘no’ is used as a response to a question (cf. §4.8) as well as to make a response negative. An alternate response to such a question in a conversation could be the simple *Ide* (NEG) ‘No.’ Here the speaker wishes to report on what was actually said by the participant.

- (121) [*Jacobo nikaite-yaka*, “[[*Aruma yaku*]_A *ya aki re-yo ba*
(name) ask-1SG.PAST snake DSM 2 bite do-3SG.PAST or
ide]_{CC}]_{CL1}?” [*To [ina ya]*_A *ni-yo*, [[\emptyset “*Bi*]_A *de na*
NEG but 3 DSM say-3SG.PAST (3) TOP NEG 1SG
aki re-yo]_{CC},” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL1}.
bite do-3SG.PAST tell-say-3SG.PAST
‘So I left my work and ran to my son, but the snake had gone away, and so I
came and asked Jacobo, “Did (or didn’t) the snake bite you?” And he said that,
‘It did not bite (me),’ he said.’ [3.06-07]

Answers to questions add cohesion to a text, as a response refers directly back to the question asked. Other particles/fillers include *buni* ‘good’, *e* ‘oh’ and the English *um* or *okay* (cf. §4.14 and §10.1.4).

10.2.3.3 Finalising discourse

In general, most texts have no finalising discourse, however in the occasional written text the author may provide his/her name (122) and/or other details (123).

- (122) [*Nai sina keika*]_{VCS} \emptyset [*mini*]_{VCC}. [\emptyset]_{VCS} \emptyset [*Kapana*
1SG.POSS story little (TOP) here (this) (TOP) (name)
Sam di sina]_{VCC}.
(name) GEN story
‘This is my little story. Kapana Sam’s story.’ [6.10-11]
- (123) [[*Mina sina bi*]_O [*Raphael Tuga yaku*]_A *bura ri-yo*]_{CL1}.
this story TOP (name) (name) DSM write make-3SG.PAST
‘This story was written by Raphael Tuga.’ [4.18]

Other concluding remarks to notes and digital texts include farewells such as *vare-fo* (sleep-2PL.PO.IMP) ‘goodbye’ (119), *thankyou/tanikiu tora gade* (thank.you big very) ‘thank you very much’ (14) or *buni tora gade* (good big very) ‘thank you very much’ (125). In one narrative, the author included the location where the text was written: *Kasonomu rautu* ‘Kasonomu village’. Only very rarely does one provide a concluding explanation (124-125).

- (124) [[*Agiya di-giya di sina bi*]_O *ya ni-da*
tomorrow go-2SG.FUT GEN word TOP 2 say-1SG.PRES

mini]_{CL1}.

here

‘This is the word about where you will go tomorrow that I’m telling you.’

[23.06]

- (125) [*Ye*, [*sina keika gua de*, [*gua uriyaku beika re-yafa*]_{RC}
so story little now go now morning what do-1PL.PAST

sina]_S *bai-si*]_{CL1} *ma koina ni-yo mini*]_{CL2}. [\emptyset]_{VCS}
story come-SEQ.SS and finish become-3SG.PAST here (this)

\emptyset [*Buni tora gade*]_{VCC}.
(TOP) good big very

‘And so, this little story now, of what we did today in the morning, has come to an end. Thank you very much (lit. very great good).’ [13.17-18]

The only other terms of greeting/farewell are *faiva.ni-* (welcome.say) ‘welcome/greet’

(126) and *yuata ni-* (farewell say) ‘farewell/greeting’ (127).

- (126) [[*Mina amiye bi*]_A [*vegu no re-dedi vene*]_E
this person TOP practice bad do-3PL.PAST people

faiva ni-si]_{CL1} [*kumo ina vene=sa*]_E *iruku*
greet say-SEQ.SS so.then 3 people=ACCM food

iri-do]_{CL2}!

eat-3SG.PRES

‘This person welcomes/greets sinners (lit. bad practice doing people), and then eats with them!’ (*SUAR* 2017:166:15.2)

- (127) [[*Yi asiyaka*]_S *mina=ri =ka ini yuata*]_O [*ya rofu*]_E
2.POSS friends this=at =also 3.POSS greeting 2 to

ni-feide-dedi]_{CL1}. [[*Uni asiyaka mirona=ri ame-dedi*
say-leave-3PL.PRES 1PL.POSS friends there=at stay-3PL.PRES

=*ka*]_E [*uni yuata*]_{CL2} *ni*]_{CL1}.
=also 1PL.POSS greeting say

‘Your friends here also send (lit. say-leave) you their greetings. Greet also our friends staying there.’ (*SUAR* 2017:524:15)

When there is a closing of some kind, either through giving authorship, location or other summarising statement or farewell greetings, the speaker (or writer) thus signals to the hearer (or reader) that the discourse at hand is complete.

10.2.3.4 Conversational structures

A conversation is a good gauge of social interaction (Schegloff 2007). Sidnell (2016:1)

has identified four components of conversation: turn-taking, repair, action formation and ascription, and action sequencing.

Characteristics of normal conversation are outlined in the following points from Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974:700-701):

- (1) Speaker-change recurs, or at least occurs.
- (2) Overwhelmingly, one party talks at a time.
- (3) Occurrences of more than one speaker at a time are common, but brief.
- (4) Transitions (from one turn to a next) with no gap and no overlap are common. Together with transitions characterized by slight gap or slight overlap, they make up the vast majority of transitions.
- (5) Turn order is not fixed, but varies.
- (6) Turn size is not fixed, but varies.
- (7) Length of conversation is not specified in advance.
- (8) What parties say is not specified in advance.
- (9) Relative distribution of turns is not specified in advance.
- (10) Number of parties can vary.
- (11) Talk can be continuous or discontinuous.
- (12) Turn-allocation techniques are obviously used. A current speaker may select a next speaker (as when he addresses a question to another party); or parties may self-select in starting to talk.
- (13) Various 'turn-constructural units' are employed; e.g., turns can be projectedly 'one word long', or they can be sentential in length.
- (14) Repair mechanisms exist for dealing with turn-taking errors and violations; e.g., if two parties find themselves talking at the same time, one of them will stop prematurely, and thus repair the trouble.

Turn-taking is how speakers organise their utterances sequentially, switching from one to the other in a conversation (Schegloff 2007:xiv). In order for conversation to take place, turn-taking proceeds in a relatively orderly manner, that is, with minimal interruptions. Interruptions can occur for various interactional reasons.

The points listed above can be taken as givens in Doromu-Koki conversations. Transition between speakers is accomplished by various means, including response to a question (128.2) or other comment (128.5), fillers (128.3), affirmative/negative responses (128.6), commands (or attention getters), e.g. *neide* 'listen to him' in (128.8)¹⁷ or completing the other speaker's thought (129.2).

¹⁷ The conversations were recorded in Kasonomu village 9 April 2006. In the first conversation, gender and relative age of speakers is as follows: a=M, ~45, b=M, ~44, c=M, ~35, d=M, ~47, e=F, ~38. in the second conversation: a=M, ~44, b=F, ~38. (See Table A.2 in Appendix for further details on text [59]).

(128)

- 1 a: *ma ya diba*
and you know
'and do you know?'
- 2 b: *yokoi mokena bi na ro amega neideida*
one thinking is me to while.staying I.hear

ma afe-
and take
'one thinking that is staying with me I hear and take'
- 3 c: *uhuh*¹⁸
- 4 b: (laughing) *neideida ma na try regda ni*
I.hear and I I.will.do say
'I hear and say, "I will try," '
- 5 a: *una ya diba ada kava intelligent-*
we you know head not.one
'you know that (we are) not very intelligent-'
- 6 d: *yo*
'yes'
- 7 a: *ina ago nido*
he word he.says
'he speaks'
- 8 e: *neide*
listen
'listen to him'
- 9 a: *hospital no niyo-*
bad it.becomes
'the hospital was spoiled (i.e. gone downhill/no longer the same)'
- 10 e: *e ya nido*
oh you he.says
'oh, he says' [59]

In the conversation below, the repair happens to be in English; nonetheless speaker *b* completes the thought for *a*, and so then *a* confirms that as the correct interpretation before going on with the remainder of his dialogue.

¹⁸ Since this is the only case of this word observed to date, it is quite speculative as to its function; at this point it is considered a confirmation sustainer, most likely of English influence.

- (129)
- 1 a: ...*second-*
 2 b: *second option*
 3 a: *option – second option* [59]

Another example of repair (indicated in bold) is seen in (130).

- (130)
- 1 *uni ago mina uni **Bible** ago mina uni vegu*
 our word *this our word this our practice*
- Sei di vegu*
God 's practice
 ‘our word, our Bible word, our practice, God’s practice’ [119]

Action formation addresses the question:

“...how are the resources of the language, the body, the environment of the interaction, and position in the interaction fashioned into conformations designed to be, and to be recognized by recipients as, particular actions—actions like requesting, inviting, granting, complaining, agreeing, telling, noticing, rejecting, and so on—in a class of unknown size?” (Schegloff 2007: xiv)

The following table lists the types of actions performed by Doromu-Koki speakers, giving reference to appropriate examples in the chapter.

Table 10.10: *Action formation in conversations*

Action	Relevant example(s)
<i>Agreement</i>	(15.1), (16.2), (128.3), (128.6) (136b), (137b)
<i>Complaint</i>	(128.9), (131.4), (133)
<i>Notice</i>	(131.2), (135.2)
<i>Rejection</i>	(131.1)
<i>Request</i>	(16.1, 3), (83a), (128.1), (128.8)
<i>Response</i>	(16.2), (83b), (131.3), (136a)
<i>Telling</i>	(74), (86), (128.2), (128.5), (130), (131.5), (132), (134), (135.1), (137a)

Other means of social action formation include repetition of what the other speaker said, various forms of acknowledgement such as *yo* ‘yes’ (cf. §10.2.3.2), or other such fillers (*e* ‘eh’, *o* ‘oh’, *um*, *okay*, etc.) [cf. §4.14], as well as content and polar questions (cf. §4.6) and answers. These forms of acknowledgement vary in degree of formality, from a real answer to a question to only a quite informal simple indication that the other person’s utterance was heard (but not necessarily registered).

Action ascription is defined as: “...the assignment of an action to a turn as revealed by the response of a next speaker...” (Levinson, 2013:104). In the following text some action formation and sequencing as the participants interact is observed. Speaker *b*

attempts to elaborate on what she thinks *a* understands about the situation.

(131)

- 1 a: *to ini measurement bi nasa de rego*
 but its is with.me not it.will.do
 ‘but the measurement will not be done by me’
- 2 b: *mi sena Charley bona na niyo*
 this already and me it.said
 ‘it was already given (lit. said) to Charley and me’
- 3 a: *bogedi mironi*
 they.will.go there
 ‘they’ll go there’
- 4 b: *Charley vene yaku measure no niyadi*
 people - bad they.became
 ‘Charley’s people measured incorrectly’
- 5 a: *mirona moigedima mina vene nigedi*
 that they.will.get.and.then this people they.will.say
 ‘they will get it there and tell those people’ [59]

Oral communication also includes a visual dimension through presentation and observation of what is taking place and/or reference to objects or people relevant to the discussion at hand. Conversations can have a high occurrence of code-switching (indicated in bold), as means of action formation and ascription, serving as forms of reiteration (Gumperz 1982:78) or message qualification (Gumperz 1982:79). Code-switching (cf. §10.2.3.5) often serves to provide a less circuitous means of articulation when the language may have a more cumbersome or less readily used expression, such as *next year* (136) or *mitin* (137)¹⁹. Code-switching encodes various strategies (Auer, 1995:120), as shown in Table 10.11.

Table 10.11: *Code-switching strategies*

Strategy	Explanation
Reported speech	The speaker reports what was said (128.10), (132).
Change of participant	The speaker switched to English in order to accommodate the non-native speaker with whom he was conversing (16.1).
Reiteration	
Clarification	To emphasise that it was indeed cold (133).
Attract attention	The speaker wants to draw attention to the fact that other language words are mixed in by expressly doing so (134).
Topic shift	The speaker is changing the topic from the previous speaker’s discussion about a person to dialogue about money (135).

¹⁹ This word has a variant form *mitini* (cf. §A.2).

Some examples follow. Firstly **Reported speech**:

(132)

Mina bi Robert Bradshaw baeko ine doba~doba de deyo
this is perhaps so long~INTS not he.came

how did you come No I followed the map

‘Perhaps that is Robert Bradshaw, so you came in a short while; how did you come? “No, I followed the map.” ’ [38.20-21]

Clarification:

(133)

Gabu =ka itu mina ye buni
place =also cold this so good

Now it’ssss really cold yeah

‘The place (i.e. village) is cold which is nice. Now it’ssss really cold, yeah.’ [38.14]

To attract attention:

(134)

Okay mina tora vene ini ago gua baibai gua
this big people their word now bye-bye now

mina generation okiyo neganai ago mina bi
this it.arrived during word this is

berou pidgin fit rededi berou bi English like na gua
other they.do other is I now

ago nida neganairi mo mina nida veisa
word I.say during at.once this I.say you.see

‘Okay, these older people their language is now passé, when today’s generation arrived, this language is, they are fitting in some pidgin, some English, like I am now at once speaking you see this is what I’m saying.’ [40.25]

Topic shift:

(135)

1 a: ...*Jonathan nufa amedo mironi*
with he.stays there

‘...he is staying there with Jonathan.’

2 b. 305 *kina yet to be paid*

‘305 Kina (~AUD 119.87) yet to be paid.’ [118]

Conversation genre, as we have seen (cf. §10.1.4), is rather unique. While certain narratives (cf. §10.1.1), for example, can have some implied information, others cannot have much. Conversely, conversations flourish on implied information, such as the ‘New

Testament' and MegaVoice® audio player in (15) above, or common ground information, even so much so that at times one speaker finishes the conversation for the other (129.2). Speakers share cultural knowledge regarding worldview, norms of behaviour and protocols of language use.

An attention getter, or 'beginning' is used to initiate a conversation. Some will be taken up, and some will be ignored. And at times, dependent on the size of the group, these can spawn multiple conversations, which can continue on for some time or after a short period of time recede into one group discussion. Conversations are a rich dynamic phenomenon.

10.2.3.5 Code-switching

Code-switching has become an everyday occurrence in conversation as well as social media (and may in time become more so in other genres as well), as seen in (13-14) and (16). This is due to factors such as prestige, authority, persuasion, language loss or emphasis, e.g. in the doublets *kamini vadaini* 'so.then already' (58)/(105a). Other examples of code-switching include (136-137).

(136) a: [*Um, next year, next year*]_{VCS} *bi* [*gua di dubu di*
TOP now GEN church GEN

ini project]_{VCC}.

3.POSS

'Um, next year, next year, is now the church's project.'

b: [*Re-gfa yo*]_{CLI}.

do-1PL.FUT yes

'Indeed we will do (it).' [115]

The form *uo* 'oh' has not been observed in any other conversations, so it is difficult to posit any definitive statements; it appears to function as an indication of registering receipt of the information conveyed by the previous speaker.

(137) a: *Rautu ini mitin Sunday moi-yafa.*
village 3.POSS meeting get-1PL.PAST
'We had a meeting in the village on Sunday.'

b: *Uo.*

Oh.

'Oh.' [115]

In general, speakers are using the language with these code-switching elements acting as shortcuts, primarily reserved for items which might not have such a convenient or

succinct counterpart in the language. Such would be the case in both of these above. There is no easy way to say ‘next year’, the closest equivalent being *mina lagani di fufuta=ri* (this year GEN back=at) ‘after this year’. The term ‘meeting’ is not very complex as a nominalisation of the complex verb *egogo.re-na* (meet.do-NOMZ); but *mitin* is more straightforward, while a term for ‘project’ would not be so succinct: *nirorotari.re-na* (plan.do-NOMZ) ‘planning, working out, explaining, discussing, deciding, strategising, convincing, conspiring’ (Bradshaw 2021a:195). It could be the case with *mitin* versus *egogo.rena* that *mitin* is used for a more specific Western imported style, with agenda, etc., while the autochthonous term covers any gathering; the same could also be surmised for ‘project’ versus *nirorotari.rena*, especially with the realisation that the Doromu-Koki term has such a broad range of meanings. However, it should also be considered that since *mitin* deviates from Doromu-Koki standard phonology, it may, therefore, be considered a borrowing, notwithstanding the fact that we must also consider that it may simply have been influenced by PNG English convention.

Clyne (1987:740) defines code-switching as “...the alternative use of two languages either within a sentence or between sentences. The speaker stops using language A and uses language B, so that syntactic connections are now with items from the speaker’s language-B system.” This prefers those cases in which the speaker shifts from Doromu-Koki over to English, rather than the one-off word or term inserted into a Doromu-Koki discourse as seen in (14), (16) and (131). This appears to follow the notion of triggering (Clyne 1987:744), as seen in (13), in which once the speaker switches to the second language, the rest of the utterance continues in that language.

Either way, it is difficult to make an informed decision as to whether a term is a case of code-switching or merely borrowing. Factors in distinguishing between the two phenomena include frequency, phonological or morpho-syntactic integration into the language and lexical equivalence issues (Aikhenvald 2007a:333). One general principle would be that if a term has long-standing use in the language, it most likely is a borrowing from Hiri Motu. This distinction is further elaborated on in the following chapter (cf. §11.4.2).

10.3 Concluding remarks

Various discourse-pragmatic devices in Doromu-Koki have been examined, including genres (§10.1) and information structure (§10.2). Information structure included examination of setting (§10.2.1), cohesion devices (§10.2.2), such as pronoun/NP, switch-

reference (§10.2.2.1), aspectual type conjunctions (§10.2.2) and prominence (§10.2.2.3). Areas of prominence include focus and topic. There are several methods of accomplishing focus, including foregrounding, demonstrative ‘relativiser’, nominalisation, rhetorical questions, changes of tense, differential subject marking and elaboration, which take the form of postposing, SR reduction/juxtaposition or pronoun copy. Topic is marked through use of the topic marker *bi*.

Other constructions (§10.2.3) of interest include forms of address as well as various formulaic expressions (§10.2.3.1), answers to questions (§10.2.3.2) and ways of finalising a stretch of discourse (§10.2.3.3). Conversational structures (§10.2.3.4) and code-switching (§10.2.3.5) have also been briefly discussed.

11. Features of the lexicon

Topical issues in the structure of the lexicon of Doromu-Koki include specific subclasses of lexical items, the meanings of borrowings (§11.4.2) and onomatopoeia and echo-compounds (§11.4.1). The issues of introducing neologisms through Bible translation (§11.4.3) are also discussed.

11.1 Organisational aspects of the lexicon and salient semantic features

This section addresses homonyms (§11.1.1), extended meanings of selected terms (§11.1.2) and issues of synonymy (§11.1.3).

11.1.1 Homonyms

In the corpus, 201 homonyms, divided into 98 sets, have been identified. Most sets (96%) have two meanings, while only four have three meanings each, i.e. *ada* ‘happiness’ (n), ‘head’ (n) and ‘shade’ (n); *idu* ‘but’ (cnj), ‘flying fox species’ (n) and ‘step’ (n); *ne-na* ‘go-NOMZ’ (v), ‘look-NOMZ’ (v) and *nena* ‘bone’ (n).

Approximately 16.2% of the homonyms are produced by the introduction of a borrowed term (cf. §11.4.2); in some instances the term becomes more regularly used than the autochthonous word (indicated by 1 versus 2 below; numbering is somewhat arbitrary, mainly based on frequency of use); a sample is seen below in Table 11.1.

Table 11.1: *Autochthonous versus borrowed homonyms*

Autochthonous		Borrowed	
<i>bero</i> ₁	‘wound’ (n)	<i>bero</i> ₂	‘bell’ (n)
<i>buka</i> ₂	‘possum scent’ (n)	<i>buka</i> ₁	‘book’ (n)
<i>buruka</i> ₁	‘creek’ (n)	<i>buruka</i> ₂	‘elderly’ (adj)
<i>diba</i> ₂	‘spear’ (n)	<i>diba</i> ₁	‘know’ (v)

In very few instances, it is uncertain if the pair are in fact homonymous rather than representing related senses of the same lexical entry. The word *iniye*₁ is glossed as ‘second person reflexive/reciprocal: self, itself, himself, herself, themselves, each other’ (pn) (1) [cf. §4.1.3 (23)], while *iniye*₂ is glossed as ‘very’ (adv) (2). An intensive meaning (‘very’) is connected with auto-reflexive usage (‘itself’), which may acquire overtones of an intensive meaning. (This could be possible grammaticalisation, cf. Kuteva et al. 2019.)

- (1) *Nai* *sina* *tau* *ni-yaka* *bi* *ini* *meda* *iniye=ri*
 1SG.POSS word all say-1SG.PAST TOP 3.POSS time REFL=in

vata ni-go.
 happen become-3SG.FUT
 ‘The entire word that I said will come about at its own time.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:130)

- (2) *Budoka sau u-si esiroka no iniye ni-yaka.*
 dust odour inhale-SEQ.SS cough bad very say-1SG.PAST
 ‘I inhaled the foul dust and coughed very badly.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:130)

One other called into question is presently analysed as two distinct verbs due to their distinct directional attributes, i.e. *imi-* ‘pierce; poke, shoot, spear, stab, inject, prick’ versus *imi-* ‘bend, dip (down)’. On the other hand, with more data it might be shown that *siri* ‘part, phrase, chapter’ is in fact directly related to *siri* ‘river branch, oxbow’ (cf. *nanaka* ‘boundary, perpendicular to self, for making a garden; division, border, verse, row’).

One of the homonyms is onomatopoeic (3), while the other, most likely, is not (4).

- (3) *Oruma fu~fu=ri evade nuga-fa.*
 grass puff~PL=when quickly cut-2PL.IMP
 ‘When the grass is blowing quickly cut it.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:109)

- (4) *Bo-si Chris rofu fu moi-fa.*
 go.over-SEQ.SS (name) to apology get-2PL.IMP
 ‘Go get an apology from Chris.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:109)

The majority (68%) are nouns, followed by verbs at 14%. (Verbs that have a non-verb counterpart are considered homonymous in their citation form, i.e. stem+*na* ‘NOMZ’ form; e.g. *e-na₂* ‘twisting’ versus *ena₁* ‘sap’.) Other word classes represented in order of percentage are adjectives (6%), complex verbs (3%), adverbs (2%), conjunctions and pronouns (1% each); affirmative answer, demonstratives, negatives, postpositions, polar question words and vocative are all at approximately 0.5% each. As many sets are of the same class, they are disambiguated by context; most are quite distinct in meaning. The largest set is nouns (85.5%), followed by verbs (12.7%), with only one other set being complex verbs. A complete listing of the homonyms can be found in Appendix Table A.3.

11.1.2 Patterns of polysemy and heterosemy

Lexical senses are primarily distinguished by relative use, so that they can be rather arbitrary. The most regular heterosemous reinterpretation (total of 75; cf. Table A.4) is from adjective to noun (15%), followed by postposition to conjunction at just 4%. All other reinterpretations occur only once: adjective to adverb, adverb to adjective,

interrogative to pronoun, noun to adjective and noun to pronoun. Nearly three quarters (74%) do not change class, and belong to the open/semi-open adjective, complex verb, noun and verb word classes. Also included are three serial verb constructions (cf. SVCs in §7.3).

Polysemy, having a related meaning, is seen in *giba* ‘thin; having little weight, skinny’ (5) versus the additional sense of ‘sharp and pointed, forked’ (6).

- (5) *Ina bi ne giba nufa.*
 3 TOP eye thin with
 ‘He has a thin face (lit. eye).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:116)

- (6) *Yabo giba de ve-yaka.*
 tree sharp.and.pointed NEG see-1SG.PAST
 ‘I didn’t see (find) a sharp and pointed/forked piece of wood.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:116)

Heterosemous postpositional/clause linking forms are described in §4.4.4 (cf. Table 4.11). An extended meaning occurs with the double duty/polyfunctional adjective *berou* ‘other’ (7) in its additional nominal sense of ‘(other) side’ (8).

- (7) *Nai vana berou bi uroki re-yo.*
 1SG.POSS hand other TOP break do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My other hand is broken.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:71)

- (8) *Bai-de-i uta are re berou rofu =ka makai.*
 come-come.down-LINK middle stand do side to =also likewise
 ‘Come and stand there in the middle on the other side.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:71)

A heterosemous reinterpretation occurs between the adjective *tora* with one meaning of ‘big; great, grand, large, elder, older’ (adj) (9) and its additional meaning of ‘elder’ (n) (10) and another of ‘very’ (adv) (11).

- (9) *Taraka tora ya una etari re-yo-ma agode*
 truck big DSM 1PL bump.into do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS almost

evairo re-yafa.
 turn.over do-1PL.PAST
 ‘The big truck bumped/crashed into us and we almost turned over.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:239)

- (10) *Nai amiye di tora-tora di nemoko=ri ya yaku*
 1SG.POSS person GEN elder~PL GEN eyeball=at 2 DSM

voi re-yaine.
 buying do-3SG.IMP
 ‘You must buy it in the presence of my elders.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:239)

- (11) *Muro* *bi* *mai**ke* *tora*.
 garden TOP far.way very
 ‘The garden is very far away.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:239)

This last use is restricted to modifying select terms, e.g. *mai**ke* ‘far way’ as seen here, as an uncountable quantitative intensification (cf. §3.3.3).

Other homonyms are extensions that link flora (12) or fauna as a term of endearment (13) or some metaphorical meaning (cf. §11.3.1) that might intentionally make it difficult for an outsider to understand (14).

- (12) *Teteka* *buni* *ne-i* *kero* *re*.
 pretty.young.girl good see-LINK turn.around do
 ‘Turn around and see the pretty young girl (lit. branch).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:237)

- (13) *Nai* *emoga* *keika* *bi* *ne* *uruma* *de* *ve-yaka*
 1SG.POSS young.daughter little TOP eye nose NEG see-1SG.PAST

uriyaku=ri.

morning=in

I didn’t see my small young daughter’s (lit. fish species) face (lit. eye nose) in the morning.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:96)

- (14) *Ina* *vene* *yaku* *reiro* *iri-yadi*.
 3 people DSM rice eat-3PL.PAST
 ‘They ate the rice (lit. red ant species).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:212)

This now common use of *reiro* is based on the similarity between red ant eggs and grains of rice. Metonymy occurs with the use of various plant and grass species as names for the times or seasons in which they bloom (cf. Table 1.1), e.g. *amona* ‘flowering plant species’ meaning ‘summer’, as it blooms in January.

- (15) *Ya* *bi* *ni-giya* *amona* *bi* *bae* *negau*
 2 TOP say-2SG.FUT flowering.plant.sp TOP come near

ni-do.

become-3SG.PRES

‘You will say that summer (lit. *amona* flowering plant [season]) is coming soon.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:57)

Some are members of the double-duty category, e.g. *vai-* ‘burn, cook, roast’ (16) versus ‘thirst’ (17).

- (16) *Nai* *yava* *bi* *ita* *yaku* *vai-do*.
 1SG.POSS house TOP fire DSM burn-3SG.PRES
 ‘The fire is burning my house.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:255)

- (17) *Mofa re-yaka bona koru vai-yaka.*
 sweat do-1SG.PAST and water thirst-1SG.PAST
 ‘I sweated and I was thirsty.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:256)

Only five (or 6.7%) have an additional third extended sense (cf. Svensén 2009:205-212 for criteria on determining senses) as in (18-20) with the lexeme *uka* with senses of ‘stomach; belly, abdomen’, ‘womb, uterus’ and ‘heart; seat of emotion/soul’ (Bradshaw 2021a:245; cf. also (76) below), respectively. This extension is found across many languages of PNG; for example in Fuyug (Papuan, Southeast, Goilalan; Bradshaw 2007d), Hiri Motu (DGHM 1976), Koromu (Priestley 2002), Korowai (De Vries 2013), Kuot (Lindström 2002), Manambu (Aikhenvald 2015a:105), Selepet (McElhanon 1977) and Tok Pisin (Mihalic 1971, McElhanon 1978, Franklin and Thomas 2006).

- (18) *Vibani toga ga iri-fa yi uka ni-gedi*
 meat always PROHIB eat-2PL.IMP 2.POSS stomach become-3PL.FUT
baebu.
 lest
 ‘Don’t eat more protein or you’ll have worms in your stomach.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:245)

- (19) *ina bi ini nono di uka=ri Vima kikifa ya sena*
 3 TOP 3.POSS mother GEN womb=in spirit holy DSM already
vata bai-yo
 full.up come-3SG.PAST
 ‘he was already filled with the Holy Spirit in his mother’s womb’
 (SUAR 2017:120:1.15)

- (20) *adina amiye di uka moke-na bi sena*
 for person GEN heart think-NMLZ TOP already
veifate-yo
 perceive-3SG.PAST
 ‘for he already perceived the people’s thoughts in his heart’
 (SUAR 2017:201:2.25)

The most frequent word class containing these homonyms is noun (33.3%), followed by complex verb (21.3%), then adjective (20%), verb (13.3%), [SVC (5.3%),] postposition (4%), adverb and interrogative (both at 1.3%).

11.1.3 Synonyms

Bradshaw (2021a) lists 1339 synonyms, from entries with nearly identical meanings, e.g. *ababa nina* ‘shout, yell or scream’ (21) versus *imuna nina* ‘shout (out); call from far

away, yell’ (22), to those with only partial overlap, e.g. *afu nina* ‘be destroyed’ (23) versus *moi no rina* ‘spoil, mar, destroy, disfigure, blaspheme (traditional spirits), prevent’ (24).

- (21) *Ini efuka meimi-si goroka tora dudu ababa ni-gasa*
 3.POSS knee bend-SEQ.SS voice big with shout say-SIM.SS

niyo.

say-3SG.PAST

‘He knelt down (lit. bent his knees) and shouted/yelled/
 screamed out in a loud voice.’ (SUAR 2017:266:7.60)

- (22) *Idu mina vene bi imuna ni tora re-yadi.*
 but this people TOP shout say big do-3PL.PAST
 ‘But these people shouted/called out/yelled all the louder.
 (Bradshaw 2021a:129)

- (23) *Mina sei tora iniye, kaere bi ina rofu ni-vake-dedi,*
 this god big very who TOP 3 to say-worship-3PL.PRES

ini vava afu ni-go!

3.POSS power destroy become-3SG.FUT

‘This very great god’s power, whom they worship, his power will be destroyed!’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:53)

- (24) *John di ini moimai moi koina ri-na bi*
 (name) GEN 3.POSS work D.CAUS finish make-NMLZ TOP

miya yaku moi no ri-yo.

rain DSM D.CAUS bad make-3SG.PAST

‘The rain prevented John from finishing his work.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:176)

In some instances, there is no distinction between synonyms, e.g. *aka.ri-* and *eboka.re-*, both glossed as ‘open (up)’; they can be considered full synonyms, while others may have only partial overlap, e.g. *bone* ‘lazy in fishing and hunting; unproductive’ (Bradshaw 2021a:75) versus *duomu* ‘lazy (in general), idle’ (Bradshaw 2021a:90). The first instance is much more specific than the second.

Synonyms in the thesaurus section of Bradshaw (2021a), based on SIL International Semantic Domains, cover 74% of the 1792 available domains. For example, under the domain ‘Cloud’ (Bradshaw 2021a:373) the entries *badirara* (n) ‘thick/cumulus cloud’, *seuya* (n) ‘cloud, mist’, *seuya bou rina* ‘cloud over’ and *seuya fati fono rena* ‘fog (in)’ occur, as well as the cross-referenced entry *ari seuya tora nina* ‘be a cloudy/cloud filled day’, which is assigned the primary domain of ‘Weather’ (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:373).

When a semantic domain has no member, it is primarily the case that the category is irrelevant to Doromu-Koki culture, e.g. 1.6.1.1.1 Primate (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:358) – since no primates inhabit New Guinea, or specific terms have not been identified, e.g. 1.6.2.3 Parts of a fish (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:358), or more likely it is covered by some other term, e.g. 2.6.4.2.1 Rear a child (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:359) – there is no specific term for this; one would instead use the phrase *mida nari re-* (child look.after do). [The term *nari re-* has a broader range of meanings than simply the English ‘rear’: ‘wait (for), look after, care for, watch, guard’ (Bradshaw 2021a:187)], as in (25).

(25) ...*ina yaku dibura yava nari re-do amiye di vana=ri*
 3 DSM jail house guard do-3SG.PRES person GEN hand=in

ya ai-go

2 put-3SG.FUT

‘...he will place in in the jail guard’s hands/he will turn you over to the prison guard’ (*SUAR* 2017:10:5.25)

11.1.3.1 Specific semantic domains

As previously mentioned, the Doromu-Koki – English dictionary’s (Bradshaw 2021a) thesaurus section is based on SIL International Semantic Domains. Closer inspection gives some interesting insights. The noun *ne* ‘eye’ is used in various types of constructions (cf. Bradshaw 2022a:315, 318) including an NP *ne giba* (eye thin) ‘thin face’ [cf. (5) above], together with another noun to form a compound noun, e.g. *ne uruma* (eye nose) ‘face’, as a complement to a complex verb, e.g. *ne ota re-* ‘be sleepy/drowsy; half-dead’ or in a lexicalised form, e.g. *ne-moko* (eye + *meko* ‘round’) ‘eyeball’.¹

The verbs *ve-* ‘see; look, watch’ and *ne re-* ‘look at, see’ are nearly completely synonymous and both allow for comparable constructions to those seen above, i.e. NPs, complex verbs, lexicalised forms; the second more so, as it is an extension of *ne* ‘eye’. The primary visual verb *ve-* combines with compositional (adverbial) and non-compositional complex verbs to form SVCs, e.g. *vei kara re-* (see intently [adv] do) ‘stare’ and *vei deo re-* ‘look.around.do’,² respectively. As well as these two, there are other more specific verbs or complex verbs of visual perception; a few are seen here. (See Bradshaw

¹ In isolation the noun *moko* is an ‘animal-like spirit which rides on the back of wild pigs and dogs, causing them to be diseased’ (Bradshaw 2021a:182)’. Since no semantic link can be established, this is analysed as a homonym of the bound form.

² The component *deo re-* does not occur outside of this construction, so only *ve-* ‘see’ and *re-* can be identified on their own.

2022a for further elaboration on Doromu-Koki visual perception.)

Table 11.2: *Some specific verbs of visual perception*

Term	Gloss(es)
<i>ani ve-</i> (CV)	‘watch’
<i>boboe re-</i> (CV)	‘look down’
<i>kiki-</i> (V)	‘stare at’
<i>matai re-</i> (CV)	‘glance, look back’
<i>nari re-</i> (CV)	‘wait (for), look after, care for, watch, guard’
<i>nari gira re-</i> (CV)	‘watch out for, beware of (lit. look.for hard do)’
<i>ota ri-</i> (CV)	‘escort, accompany, watch’

The generic verb of consumption *iri-* ‘eat; drink, consume, ingest, partake, smoke (of comestibles)’ [Bradshaw 2021a:131] also includes the meaning of ‘spend/waste’.

- (26) *Ini rema toga fore iri-gam-o.*
 3.POSS woman always money eat-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘His wife is always spending/wasting money (lit. stone).’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:131)

Such a generic verb of consumption is a PNG areal feature, found in many languages; a selection includes Enga (Lang 1973), Kwoma (Bowden 1997), Manambu (Aikhenvald 2009a) and Yimas (Foley 1986:113).³ For some, at first no apparent means of teasing apart meanings are evident, such as ‘drinking’, ‘eating’ and ‘smoking’, e.g. *gomu di-*, *kukeni-* and *moude-* are all glossed as ‘swallow’, though some clues include the observation that they have different forms; the first as a complement + the verb *di-* ‘go (around), move about’, the second with another complement + the verb *ni-* ‘say/become’ and the third as a simple verb. The first may therefore be a general way of describing the movement involved in the swallowing action (27), the second, swallowing of liquids in general (28) and the third, solids (29).

- (27) *Koru gomu di-yo.*
 water swallow go-3SG.PAST
 ‘He swallowed the water (down).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:120)

- (28) *Koru notoka ga iri, idu yi uka ma yi*
 water alone PROHIB eat but 2.POSS stomach and 2.POSS

gauka~gauka re-i-sa dada, waini keika =ka
 illness~PL do-LINK-2SG.PRES because wine little =also

³ See Aikhenvald (2009a:102-104) for a more comprehensive list.

kuke **ni-bi.**
 swallow say-FUT.IMPERV
 ‘Don’t drink water alone, but because of your stomach and many illnesses, take
 (lit. swallow) a little wine.’ (SUAR 2017:449:5.23)

(29) *Kimisona biyo=ri bi moi kayo re-i maku-dedi*
 gnat cup=in TOP D.CAUS scoop do-LINK throw.out-2PL.PRES

idu kamelo bi iri moude-dedi!
 but camel TOP eat swallow-3PL.PRES
 ‘You strain out a gnat, but swallow a camel!’ (SUAR 2017:55:23.24)

Other verbs of consumption include *duduka re-* ‘drink, sip or suck by touching the mouth’, *gaga re-* ‘drink without touching the mouth’, *mutaka re-* and *tamuta re-* ‘chew’, *nu-* ‘chew (by an insect)’ and *vena maruvo re-* (lit. ‘move mouth’) ‘chew (as in gum)’ (cf. Aikhenvald 2009a:98). A more comprehensive sampling of some of these semantic domain topics are included in Appendix Table A.5.

There are several lexemes for ‘carry’ in Doromu-Koki; the generic term being *uakai-* ‘carry; take’.

(30) *Uriyenau yokoi=ri koru gena uakai-si sufa di-yaka.*
 afternoon one=on water bamboo carry-SEQ.SS bush go-1SG.PAST
 ‘One afternoon I took a gun (lit. water bamboo) and went to the bush.’ [2.01]

The verb *adodi-* means to ‘carry on head by rope/handle, such as with a string bag’ (31), while *akau ri-* means to ‘carry a child, dog or ill person on shoulders’ (32).

(31) *Nai rema bi dura adodi-si muro=ri*
 1SG.POSS woman TOP net.bag carry.on.head-SEQ.SS garden=to

ne-yo.
 go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘My wife carried the net bag on her head and went down to the garden.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:52)

(32) *Na gauka re-yaka-ma na akau*
 1SG sickness do-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 1SG carry.on.shoulders

ri-yadi.
 make-3PL.PAST
 ‘I was sick and they carried me on their shoulders.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:56)

There is also the human/non-human object distinction between *afe-* ‘take, bring, lead a person’ (33) and *moi-* ‘get; take, hold, have, acquire, receive, come up, inherit’ (34) [cf. (55-56) below for an analogous distinction for ‘fall’].

- (33) *Gua bi urusa ni-yo-ma agiya mamō*
 now TOP night become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS tomorrow and.then

afe-i bo-fo.

take-LINK go-2PL.PO.IMP

‘Now it has gotten dark, so take/lead (lit. ‘go take’) him over tomorrow.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:53)

- (34) *Yi fore moi-si bo.*
 2.POSS money get-SEQ.SS go
 ‘Take your pay and go.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:170)

It could be argued that *ori-* is the generic term for ‘cook’ as it also means ‘burn’ as well as ‘light, fry’ (35). Other specific verbs of cooking include *feide-* ‘cook, boil’ (36), *gabu ni-* ‘be(come)/get/turn black, darken, tan, roast’, *gagabo ni-* ‘blackened from insufficient heat, so that the inside is not fully cooked; half-cooked’ (37), *ita gabu re-* (fire black do) ‘roast’ (38), *kiro re-* ‘smoke; dry, roast’ (39), *ori yoba re-* ‘half/partially cook’ (40), *ota ori-* ‘cook in earthen oven/stones’ (41), *tarivai re-* ‘steam, cook’ (42) and *vai-* ‘burn, cook, roast’.

- (35) *Farava moi feyara ri-ga ori.*
 flour D.CAUS flatten make-SIM.SS fry
 ‘Flatten the flour and fry it.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:203)

- (36) *Nai nono yava ro bo-yo iruku feide-gi.*
 1SG.POSS mother house to go.over-3SG.PAST food cook-PURP
 ‘My mother went up to the house to cook food/boil.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:104)

- (37) *Tauga gagabo ni-yo.*
 banana half-cook become-3SG.PAST
 ‘The banana was half-cooked.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:113)

- (38) *Tauga ma bani be ita gabu re-fa.*
 banana and yam some fire black do-2PL.IMP
 ‘Roast some banana and yams.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:133)

- (39) *Oyena kiro re-yadi di ini tu yokoi mar-adi.*
 fish smoked do-3PL.PAST GEN 3.POSS short one give-3PL.PAST
 ‘They gave him some smoked fish and gave him his portion/little bit.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:147)

- (40) *Aka ori yoba re-si na ma; iri-gida.*
 prawn cook half-cook do-SEQ.SS 1SG give eat-1SG.FUT
 ‘Half-cook the prawn (and) give it to me; I’ll eat it.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:203)

- (41) *Nai nono maniga kato re-si ota*
 1SG.POSS mother cassava mash do-SEQ.SS earthen.oven

ori-yo.

cook-3SG.PAST

‘My mother mashed the cassava and cooked it in the earthen oven.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:204)

(42) *Aka tarivai re-si iri-giya bi guta.*

prawn steam do-SEQ.SS eat-2SG.FUT TOP nice

‘It is good for you to steam a lot of prawns and eat them.’

(Bradshaw 2021a:235)

Numerous other such examples can be found in the thesaurus (Bradshaw 2021a:355).

A number of autochthonous lexical entries have borrowed synonyms. In some cases they are fully synonymous, but more often they are only partial. In several instances they have a different scope, e.g. *suga* ‘sugar’ versus the autochthonous *arefa* ‘sugarcane’, which is sometimes also now used to refer to sugar. In other instances, they may refer to different species, as in the autochthonous *mosara* versus *kaema*, both meaning ‘sweet potato’. Often the borrowed term is more focussed, e.g. (from English) *mitini* ‘meeting, assembly’, versus the autochthonous *egogo.rena* ‘meeting, gathering’; i.e. *egogo.re-* has a much broader meaning: ‘meet/get/gather (together), convene, congregate, reunite’ (Bradshaw 2021a:94). In other instances, the autochthonous term was coined to give a hidden meaning that outsiders would not be able to understand, e.g. *reiro* versus *raisi* ‘rice’ [cf. (14) above].

A borrowed term (cf. §11.4.2) may also add a layer of distinction not previously seen in the language, e.g. *gabū* ‘black, blue, brown’ now being primarily interpreted as the first gloss with the addition of the two borrowed terms *blu* ‘blue’ and *braun* (from English) ‘brown’ (cf. also §11.2.2). Interestingly, some biblical translation terms (cf. §11.4.3) are borrowings, and while much shorter, they are usually not preferred. There is a general feeling that Hiri Motu borrowings in particular are considered threatening, encroaching too much on the language. This avoidance in the translation is considered a means of slowing that down. Many in fact have previous origins, e.g. *basileia* ‘kingdom’ from the Koiné Greek of the New Testament, used in the translation of the Hiri Motu Bible. For now this policy seems to be holding its own, but whether this will continue to endure is yet to be seen. One such instance is the phrase *Sei ma amiye utari naivo amiye* (God and person between serving person) ‘priest’, coined to replace the borrowed *fada* ‘priest, father’. A comprehensive table comparing the autochthonous and borrowed synonyms can be found in Appendix Table A.6.

See §3.2 and §5 for further details on nouns. The postposition *di* ‘GEN’ clause finally in (43) is a regular occurrence (cf. §4.4.4).

A. Mass nouns

Mass nouns are modified with general (not specific) quantity adjectives only, e.g. *ada tau* (happiness much) ‘much happiness’. They include emotions, liquids, semi-liquids, free-flowing particles, i.e. too small to count, and several complex verb complements which serve as actions or conditions outside of a complex verb construction (cf. §3.5 below). The terms for days, in the temporal subclass, are also part of this category (cf. §3.2.1.5). Examples of each type are included in Table 11.4.

Table 11.4: *Mass nouns*

Type	Examples			
Emotions	<i>ada</i>	‘happiness’	<i>badu</i>	‘anger’
Liquids	<i>dava</i>	‘blood’	<i>ayaka</i>	‘saliva’
Semi-liquids	<i>dikina</i>	‘mud’	<i>bidoka</i>	‘mucus’
Free-flowing particles	<i>ramena</i>	‘salt’	<i>budoka</i>	‘dust’
Complements	<i>baku</i>	‘finding’	<i>esika</i>	‘pain’
Terms for days	<i>agiya</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>aineka</i>	‘day after tomorrow’

Further examples of these mass nouns occur throughout the chapter: *ada* ‘happiness’ in (25), (44), (131) and (151); *baku* ‘finding’ in (26) and (157); *agiya* ‘yesterday’ in (35), (45) and (138); *budoka* ‘dust’ in (98); *esika* ‘pain’ in (5b), (94) and (97); and *aineka* ‘day after tomorrow’ in (34).

B. Count nouns

The majority of common nouns are countable, including both plant and animal generic and specific terms, objects and environmental features as exemplified in Table 11.5. Count nouns are modified with adjectives indicating specific quantity, e.g. *aina yokoi* (wild sugarcane one) ‘one wild sugarcane’.

Table 11.5: *Count nouns*

Type	Examples			
Generic plants	<i>oruma</i>	‘grass’	<i>tauga</i>	‘banana’
Specific plants	<i>adafa</i>	‘mushroom sp.’	<i>koyotu</i>	‘yam sp.’
Generic animals	<i>auna</i>	‘dog’	<i>dona</i>	‘pig’
Specific animals	<i>ramuro</i>	‘bird of paradise’	<i>bau</i>	‘lizard sp.’
Objects	<i>yava</i>	‘house’	<i>fore</i>	‘stone’
Environmental features	<i>omuna</i>	‘mountain’	<i>koru</i>	‘water, river’

Example count nouns in this chapter include: *oruma* ‘grass’ in (72); *auna* ‘dog’ in (24), (85), (127) and (175); *yava* ‘house’ in (19), (23), (46) and (151); *omuna* ‘mountain’ in (138) and (169); *dona* ‘pig’ in (24), (85) and (127); and *koru* ‘water’ in (92) and (152).

11.2.1.2 Proper nouns and address terms

First names are classically modern borrowed **names** of Western or Biblical/church origin; family names were traditionally the father’s name, but now continue through the generations as a surname. Modern names are given at the time of baptism or christening, while people retain their ‘village’ names and use them, but much less often. (cf. §3.2.1.3 and Bradshaw 2021a:477 for a listing of attested personal names.)

It is considered disrespectful for children to address their parents by name or for someone to do the same to an in-law. A deceased person’s name is avoided out of respect and to avoid sorrowful memories. A fondly remembered characteristic of a deceased person might instead be employed; for a living relative the kinship term is preferred over the name in personal address and often in other cases as well (cf. Ciucci and Pia 2019).

The use of **nicknames** is an everyday occurrence; often to exaggerate some character trait or physical feature of the individual. Names may also be changed or shortened. Table 11.6 lists known nicknames; where known, a description is included with the glosses.

Table 11.6: *Nicknames*

Term	Gloss(es)
<i>Ada tora</i>	‘Big head (proud)’
<i>Amiye doba</i>	‘Tall man’
<i>Aroro</i>	‘Announcer (village crier)’ ⁴
<i>Bouti</i>	‘Boatie’ (occupation)
<i>CB tora</i>	‘Big council boss’ (former counsellor)
<i>Gensi</i>	‘Gena’
<i>Kebere</i>	‘Bald’
<i>Kokoba</i>	‘Chest’ (man with unbuttoned shirt)
<i>Lobo</i>	‘Luke Bomena’ (play on name the first syllables of each name)
<i>Madan amiye</i>	‘Madang man’ (where from)
<i>Ne basu</i>	‘Bug-eyed’
<i>Nobi</i>	‘Norbert’
<i>Sioni</i>	‘John’ (referring to all white men)
<i>Stoa amiye</i>	‘Store man’ (occupation)
<i>Tootsie</i>	‘Raphael Totome’ (play on the first two syllables of the surname)
<i>Uboma foki</i>	‘Bent back’
<i>Vana tu</i>	‘Short arm’ (helpless)
<i>Vena ueta bora</i>	‘Yellow beard’
<i>Warder Koki</i>	‘Koki Warder’ (former occupation)
<i>Yaku kou amiye</i>	‘Go out and stop person’ (never finishing what he starts)

With the advent of social media, some very interesting names have been created. A sampling follows. Doromu-Koki (and/or English or Tok Pisin) are sometimes combined – those have, where possible, been translated; where unknown, it is left blank. Other features include using non-standard characters, e.g. those with diacritics as a sophisticated representation or other non-conventional spellings, e.g. *zuniør/jnr* for ‘junior’; *dii* for ‘the’, *aukol*, as a more phonetic form of ‘uncle’ and *baboh* for *baba* ‘father’. Glosses include indication of the language source: ENG (English); DK (Doromu-Koki); HM (Hiri Motu) or TP (Tok Pisin).

Table 11.7: *Social media names*

Name	Possible translations
<i>AK Rema</i>	AK Woman (DK)
<i>Auna AukolPaki</i>	Dog (DK) Uncle (ENG) Paki Father (DK)
<i>Baboh</i>	
<i>Bobopa Bobota</i>	(An echo-compound – although not following the usual pattern, cf. §11.4.1)
<i>Bori Loz Mida</i>	Bori Loz Boy (DK)
<i>Braiiko Kû</i>	
<i>Deannella Leejay</i>	
<i>Boo</i>	
<i>Dii-Shady Jay Siro</i>	The-Shady (ENG) Jay Siro

⁴ From HM *haroro tauna* ‘preacher, pastor’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:194).

Name	Possible translations
<i>Exryvia Zunior</i> <i>Palaka</i>	Exryvia Junior (ENG) Palaka
<i>Fah Lbaga</i> <i>It'β Ñiàh Zià</i>	It's Near Here (ENG)
<i>Jabah Blunt</i> <i>Jay Waks</i>	Jabah Blunt (ENG)
<i>Jnr Jason Ature</i> <i>JumacDii Dumo</i>	Junior (ENG) Jason Ature Jumac the (ENG) Eagle (DK)
<i>Ma Ry Anne</i> <i>May Ley Jali</i>	Marianne (ENG)
<i>Mike Ht</i> <i>Mss Kayla Siro</i>	Miss (ENG) Kayla Siro
<i>Pius Tauvakarua</i> <i>Atomu</i>	Pius (ENG) all(DK)-? Atom (ENG)
<i>Princess Ima Willie</i> <i>Ray Bee</i>	
<i>Siltiel Izko Ratu</i> <i>Şøtz Viāhněy'</i>	
<i>Tevel Blo Saw Dust</i> <i>Tønià Crøzzià</i>	Saw Dust Table (ENG) [+Blo (TP)] Tonia Crossia Sylvester
<i>βylvêßtèr</i> <i>Ūgly Áústéré</i>	Ugly (ENG) Austere (ENG) Palaka
<i>Pålākā</i> <i>Warika A'aron</i>	Warika Aaron

As often is the case in PNG societies, Doromu-Koki people also follow the practice of giving a name to a child of a relative which obligates the person to special treatment of their 'namesake' child, i.e. helping with school fees, etc. (cf. §1.2.4.1). Children are also often addressed by referential terms which may reflect a semantic extension, e.g. *emoga* 'fish species' [cf. (13) above] for a daughter and *koima* 'leech' for a small boy [cf. §10.2.3.1 (118)].

Other proper names include place names, which often follow a specific-generic pattern; they are combined into single units for village names and remain distinct units for bodies of water.

Table 11.8: *Place name types*

Place name	Component glosses	Type
<i>Gagara-dobu</i> ⁵	<i>Gagara</i> -deep.water	village
<i>Mamanu-geyagi</i>	<i>Mamanu</i> (or ‘lookout’)-gum.tree	village
<i>Kaso-nomu</i>	<i>Kaso</i> -plain	village
<i>Amura-ika</i> [a.mũ ¹ ra ¹ .k ^h a]	<i>Amura</i> -summit	village
<i>Efa buruka</i>	<i>Efa</i> stream	stream
<i>Uma koru</i>	<i>Uma</i> water	river
<i>Tabo moka</i>	<i>Tabo</i> deep.water	deep water

The most prolific of these types is x *koru* ‘water’ for river names; 43 have been attested (Bradshaw 2021a:441).

11.2.2 Colour adjectives

The colour adjectives in Doromu-Koki developed through borrowing. Initially there was only the autochthonous distinction between light, i.e. *feyo* ‘white’ or other ‘light colour’, and dark, i.e. *gabu* ‘black, blue, brown’, in conformity with Berlin and Kay’s (1969) hypothesis regarding primary colours (cf. Berlin and Kay 1969:17, Kay and McDaniel 1978 and Payne 2006). Upon initial borrowing from Hiri Motu, the primary colours *kaka* ‘red’, *bora* ‘yellow’ (Berlin and Kay 1969:18-19) and *blu* ‘blue’ (Berlin and Kay 1969:19) were introduced. According to Berlin and Kay (1969:4), *vegu* ‘life’ would have begun to have a polysemous meaning of ‘green’ at that time. Following on, *kaka* and *bora* began to cover the secondary colours of ‘purple’ and ‘orange’, respectively. Because the Hiri Motu *labora-labora bamona* (yellow like) was used for ‘orange’, the Doromu-Koki *bora* is likewise used for ‘orange’; there is no separate term. Later the English ‘purple’ (here a case of code-switching as no change in spelling occurs) was introduced along with the tertiary *braun* ‘brown’ (Berlin and Kay 1969:20-22). The colours are listed in Table 11.79.

⁵ From Sinauḡoro *dobu* ‘deep.water’ (Tauberschmidt 1995:10); named after the deep water adjacent to the village, which borders the Taboro dialect area of Sinauḡoro. Note, this word is not found in the language in isolation, but only in this particular compound.

Table 11.9: *Colour adjectives development (Berlin and Kay 1969)*

Autochthonous		Borrowed	
		Primary	Secondary
<i>feyo</i>	‘white’		
		<i>kaka</i>	‘red’
		<i>bora</i>	‘orange’
		<i>bora</i>	‘yellow’
		<i>vegu/grin</i> (ENG)	‘green’
		<i>blu</i>	‘blue’
		<i>kaka/ purple</i> (ENG)	‘purple’
		Tertiary	
		<i>braun</i> (ENG)	‘brown’
<i>gabū</i>	‘black’		

See §3.3 for further examination of adjectives.

11.2.3 Semantic features of verbs

There are 199 simple verbs (cf. §3.4) in the language. Three figure prominently in complex verbs (cf. §6.3): *re-* ‘do’,⁶ *ni-* ‘say/become’ and *ri-* ‘make’ and consequently are among the five most repeatedly occurring verbs; the other two being *moi-* ‘get’ [used regularly in Direct causative constructions (cf. §6.8.1) and many SVCs (cf. §7.3)] and *mar-* ‘give’.

Various single-word verbal compounds also occur; the most frequent are *ni-* ‘say’ single-word verbal compounds which are described in §6.4 (cf. also Table 6.7), followed by those beginning with the verb *you-* ‘throw (away)’, e.g. *e-you+ne-* (I.CAUS+throw+go.down) ‘release, open (up), hold loosely, allow, permit, untie’ (44). Another regular single-word verbal compound is formed from the verb *oure-* ‘be first(born)/eldest/older/next’, e.g. *oure+feide-* (be.first+leave) ‘lead, direct, guide, reign over, be/go first, precede’ (45).

- (44) ...*ma beika kono=ri e-you-ne-gedi, bi oma=ri*
 and what ground=on I.CAUS-throw-go.down-2PL.FUT TOP sky=in

=*ka e-you-ne-go.*
 =also I.CAUS-throw-go.down -3SG.FUT
 ‘...and whatever you release (lit. cause to throw down) on earth will be released in heaven.
 (SUAR 2017:43:18.18)

⁶ The verb *re-* ‘do’ is the most generic Doromu-Koki verb, which is also used in modifying constructions such as V ADV *re-*, e.g. *rei mona re-* ‘do well/properly’ (cf. §3.6.2).

- (45) *Ina bi amiye oure-feide-i no re-do.*
 3 TOP person be.first-leave-LINK bad do-3SG.PRES
 ‘He is misleading (lit. be first leaving doing bad) people.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:205)

Three primary positional verbs (the second is actually a complex verb) include *ame-* ‘stay; live, sit, be, exist, remain’, *are.re-* ‘stand (up)’ and *vare-* ‘sleep, lie (down)’. The verb *ame-* also conveys a general meaning of ‘live’ or ‘exist’.

- (46) *Gua ame-do ba? Yo, ame-do.*
 now live-3SG.PRES Q yes live-3SG.PRES
 ‘Is she (still) living/is it still there? Yes, she is (still) living/yes it is there.’

The verb *ame-* denotes ‘sitting’ as a default position. The second, *are.re-*, on the other hand, does not indicate a default position, as often it is used to indicate spontaneous action (immediacy):

- (47) *Gagani uta oku-si iniye~iniye berou~berou are*
 place middle break-SEQ.SS REFL~DISTR side~DISTR stand

re-si ruda re-go vonisi, bi berou~berou keto
 do-SEQ.SS fight do-3SG.FUT if TOP side~DISTR fall

re-go.

do-3SG.FUT

‘If a nation (lit. place) is divided and stands and fights against itself, it will fall apart.’ (SUAR 2017:27:12.25)

The complex verb *are re-* is used to indicate a tall object’s vertical position, i.e. a tree standing [e.g. *yabo are re-do* (tree stand do-3SG.PRES) ‘the tree stands’], whereas once cut down, the tree is then described as *yabo vare-do* (tree sleep-3SG.PRES) ‘the tree is lying down’. (Note also that the adjective *doba* is glossed as ‘tall’ or ‘long’ dependent on the position of the object.) The verb *vare-* is used to describe lying in general (48) or sleep specifically (49), which naturally takes place in the horizontal position (cf. Serra 1996).

- (48) *Egu aruma ya komo iye=ri kuki u vare-do.*
 green.snake snake DSM palm.tree.sp leaf=in coil hit sleep-3SG.PRES
 ‘The green snake is coiled up lying on the palm fronds.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:258)

- (49) *Na yaku ni-yaka dada iruku iri-na de re-yadi,*
 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST so food eat-NMLZ NEG do-3PL.PAST

resi rauna vare-yadi.

SBL hunger sleep-3PL.PAST

‘I said that, so they didn’t eat, and so doing, they went to bed (lit. slept) hungry.’
 [6.09]

It is also used euphemistically (50) and to describe fruit hanging on a tree (51).

- (50) *Ye Boaz yaku Ruth me-si ina=sa vare-yo.*
 so (name) DSM (name) marry-SEQ.SS 3SG=ACCM sleep-3SG.PAST
 ‘So Boaz married Ruth and had sexual relations (lit. slept) with her.’
 (SUARBB 2011:4.13)

- (51) *Mi-bi yabo rama vare-do.*
 this-TOP tree fruit sleep-3SG.PRES
 ‘This is a tree that bears fruit.’

Often *vare-* is used together with *ame-* in a symmetrical SVC as an expression for living in general.

- (52) *Uni vene moimai buni di make-na moi gira*
 1PL.POSS people work good GEN think-NMLZ D.CAUS hard

ri-si ari neinei di gugura fore moi negau
 make-SEQ.SS day each gen thing stone D.CAUS near

ri-si vare-i tavoi ame-i tavoi bi ga
 make-SEQ.SS sleep-LINK in.vain stay-LINK in.vain TOP PROHIB

re-yaganedi.

do-3PL.IMP

‘Our people must encourage thinking in doing good work and in providing daily needs and not in unfruitful living (lit. sleeping and staying).’

(SUAR 2017:463:3.14)

Positional verbs are marginally classificatory (cf. Aikhenvald 2003b:159 for consideration of PNG languages in which this is the case); i.e. their choice of use correlates with the horizontal or vertical position or shape of the s referent. There are also distinct directional actions, e.g. *ae-* ‘put; place, carry’ (53) versus *meide-* ‘put in’ (54). Distinctions also occur for falling, e.g. *keto re-* ‘fall (people)’ (55) versus *yare-* ‘fall (objects)’ (56). The verb *rausi.re-* ‘partially pour (out), spill, overflow, anoint’ (57) also has causative meanings (58).

- (53) *Kwikila=ri ima=sa ae-gida baba nari~nari kana*
 (name)=at betel.nut=ACCM put-1SG.FUT father look.after~PL like

fore be baku re-gida.
 money some find do-1SG.FUT

‘I will put it (mustard) with the betel nuts at Kwikila to get (lit. find) some money (lit. stone) while I’m waiting for father.’ [23.05]

- (54) *Mina bi gouti o vibani idana di ro waini*
 this TOP goat or animal different GEN skin wine

meide-si *moi* *di-gam-adi.*
 put.into-SEQ.SS get go-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘These were goats or different animals’ skins in which wine was put and carried.’
 (SUAR 2017:78:2.22k)

(55) *Koima, ame-yaka kana ame-giya bi buni de bi*
 boy stay-1SG.PAST like stay-2SG.FUT TOP good NEG TOP

keto re-giya baebu.
 fall do-2SG.FUT lest
 ‘Boy, it is not good that you will sit like I sat, otherwise you will fall down.’ [66]

Since *keto re-* is borrowed from Hiri Motu, conceivably there was originally no such distinction between people and objects falling.

(56) *Robert bi Yore afara bae ne-yo ma fereini*
 (name) TOP (name) ridge come go.down-3SG.PAST and aeroplane

ini yare-na sana ve-i di-gam-o.
 3.POSS fall-NMLZ place see-LINK go-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘Robert came down Yore ridge and was going to see the plane landing (lit. falling) place.’ [67]

There is no human/non-human distinction with *rausi.re-* ‘pour (out)’ as seen in (57-58), but instead a non-causative/causative distinction.

(57) *Koki vene, vata ni rausi re-yadi gagani vata*
 (name) people happen become pour do-3PL.PAST place fill.up

bai-yo.
 come-3SG.PAST
 ‘When the Koki people appeared and poured out (i.e. of the cave), the place/land was filled up (with them).’ [8.06]

(58) *Baketi koru vata bai-go-ri ya ura de*
 bucket water fill.up come-3SG.FUT-SIM.DS 2 want NEG

rausi re-go.
 spill do-3SG.FUT
 ‘When you have a bucket full of water you don’t want it to spill.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:211)

Since it does have such a generic use, it has been suggested that *rausi.re-* could be borrowed from the Tok Pisin *raus* ‘get out, be ousted/expelled/kicked out’/*rausim* ‘remove, chase out, drive away, get rid of, expel, oust’ (Mihalic 1971:164), though if so, it has lost any forceful focus in Doromu-Koki, as well as it being highly unusual to have a borrowing from Tok Pisin. Other related verbs include those of movement/motion (cf.

Table 3.18).

11.3 Figures of speech

A figure of speech is “...any form of expression in which the normal use of language is manipulated, stretched, or altered for rhetorical effect” (Matthews 2014:139). Two such forms of expression found in the language are metaphor (§11.3.1) and simile (§11.3.2). Idioms (§11.3.3) will also be discussed.

11.3.1 Metaphor

A metaphor is a ‘...figure of speech in which a word or expression normally used of one kind of object, action, etc. is extended to another’ (Matthews 2014:242). In (59), we see the expression *dona auna* (pig dog) extended to the characteristic of ‘foolishness’ when compared with human thinking, while in (60) the behaviour of *gadeva auna* ‘wild dogs’ is equated with ruthless individuals.

- (59) ...*amiye di uka ide=ri...* ...*dona auna di moke~moke.*
 person GEN stomach inside=at... pig dog GEN think~NOMZ
 ‘...foolishness (lit. ‘pig and dog’s thinking’)...is in people’s hearts.’
 (SUAR 2017:91.7.21-22)

- (60) ...*gadeva auna yaku yi fogori oki-si...*
 wild dog DSM 2.POSS amongst arrive-SEQ.SS
 ‘...ruthless people (lit. ‘wild dogs’) will come amongst you and...’
 (SUAR 2017:302.20.29)

An equivalent type of construction to what is seen in (60) above is *suma auna* ‘wild dog’ (lit. ‘bush dog’), yielding the following.

- (61) *Na yaku mamoe kana suma auna di fogori ya*
 1SG DSM sheep like bush dog gen amongst 2

ni-feide-i-da.

say-leave-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘I am sending (lit. say-leaving) you out helpless (lit. ‘like sheep’) amongst ruthless people (lit. ‘bush dogs’).’

11.3.2 Simile

Like a metaphor, a simile also involves comparison. One shared characteristic between two distinct items is highlighted. In English, an example simile is ‘he eats like a pig’. Attested similes are listed in Table 11.10.

Table 11.10: *Similes*

Term	Gloss(es)	Literal meaning
<i>auna kana</i>	‘greedily, lustfully’	‘like a dog’
<i>gaibana kana</i>	‘hard to catch, hold on to, slippery’	‘like an eel’
<i>mamoe kana</i> [cf. (61)]	‘helpless’	‘like sheep’
<i>uka kana</i>	‘whiteskin/Caucasian/albino’	‘like a cuscus’

Most involve animal characteristics, such as the English example: dog – *auna kana* ‘greedily, lustfully’ (62) and eel – *gaibana kana* ‘hard to catch, hold on to, slippery’ (63).

(62) *Rauna re-yo dada, bi auna kana ini iruku*
 hunger do-3SG.PAST because TOP dog like 3.POSS food

iri-yo.

eat-3SG.PAST

‘Because he was hungry, he ate his food greedily.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:63)

(63) *Gaibana kana mida moi gira re-gi anua re-yaka.*
 eel like child D.CAUS hard do-PURP unable do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I wasn’t able to hold onto the troublesome (lit. slippery) child.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:113)

The number of similes are limited; conceivably there are more than have so far been observed.

11.3.3 Idioms

An idiom is “...a set expression in which two or more words are syntactically related, but with a meaning like that of a single lexical unit” (Matthews 2014:182). Doromu-Koki has many idioms, some of which are used euphemistically; for some the connection is clearly evident while for others it is more opaque. (See Appendix Table A.7 for a comprehensive list.)

The term *abata=sa*, literally meaning ‘with flood’; it refers to white coffee, i.e. ‘with milk/white’, based on the resemblance to a river after a heavy rain.

(64) *Ya bi ti abata=sa iri-giya, ba?*
 2 TOP tea flood=ACCM eat-2SG.FUT Q

‘Will you drink your tea white/with milk (lit. with flood)?’ (Bradshaw 2021a:49)

The verb phrase *aufa ota oriyo*, which is defined as ‘skin blemish; birthmark, mole, freckle or whiteskin’, literally means ‘grandmother cooks (in an) earthen oven’, but functions as a nominal unit. It is based on the observation that an earthen oven leaves a dark burnt mark on the ground.

- (65) *Mina ara =ka bi aufa ota ori-yo.*
 this sore =also TOP grandmother earth.oven cook-3S.PAST
 ‘This sore is also a birthmark/mole (lit. grandmother cooked in an earth oven).’ (Bradshaw 2021a:62)

The idiom *reiro buri eke* ‘eat rice’ literally means ‘break open red ant nest’. It is based on the extension of the metaphor *reiro* ‘red ant species’ as ‘rice’, due to the similarity between ant eggs and grains of rice. The ant eggs, i.e. rice, are broken out of the nest, i.e. packet, to serve up to eat.

- (66) *Reiro buri eke-gifa.*
 red.ant.sp nest break.open-1P.FUT
 ‘We will eat rice (lit. ‘we will break open the red ant nest’).’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:212)

The extension *reiro* also occurs in two other idioms: *reiro feide*- (red.ant.sp cook) ‘show respect to spirits at end of planting season’ (i.e. by cooking up some rice) and *reiro gagaba* (red.ant.sp waist) ‘slim waist’. Idioms function as creative means of making the language come alive, e.g. *yuka ro* (foot skin) ‘shoe’, as code words, e.g. *viro vara* (axe handle) ‘seven’ in playing cards, as euphemisms, e.g. *dei-ne*- (come-go.down) ‘die’ or descriptive characteristics, e.g. *koru rafena amiye* (water washing/bathing person) ‘fisherman’, i.e. the fisherman spends considerable time in the water.

11.4 Other special lexical items

Other special lexical items include onomatopoeic forms and echo-compounds (§11.4.1), borrowings (§11.4.2) and Bible translation neologisms (§11.4.3).

11.4.1 Onomatopoeia and echo-compounds

Doromu-Koki has a robust inventory of onomatopoeic forms and echo-compounds. Table 11.9 lists onomatopoeic forms grouped by types of animal imitations (birds, domesticated animals and other animals) followed by animal calls and in the last section a few body noises. [Note the iconic lengthening (cf. Childs 1994:193), often exhibited as duplication or even triplication (cf. §2.8.1)].

Table 11.11: *Onomatopoeitic animal imitations, calls and body sounds*

Type	Term	Gloss(es)	Description
Birds	<i>ua ua ua</i>		bird of paradise song for dance
	<i>koo ni-</i>		crow sound
	<i>kua kua kua</i>	‘quack quack quack’	duck sound
	<i>kerarai re-</i>		female eclectus parrot song
	<i>tui ni-</i>		flying fox sound
	<i>kiroi kiroi kiroi</i>		male eclectus parrot song
	<i>kuiyori ni- kaa kaa kaa</i>		Papuan lorikeet song sulphur-crested cuckoo song
	<i>huu</i>		wompoo fruit-dove song
Domesticated animals	<i>niau niau niau</i>	‘meow meow meow’	cat sound
	<i>ni-</i>		
	<i>toru ni-</i>	‘bow wow wow’	dog bark
	<i>uo uo uo</i>	‘bow wow wow’	dog bark
	<i>vou</i>	‘bow wow wow’	dog bark
	<i>guma ni-</i>	‘growl’	dog growl
	<i>guga ni-</i>	‘oink’	pig grunt
	<i>koe ni- kokoroku</i>	‘oink’ ‘cock-a-doodle-doo’	pig grunt rooster call
Other animals	<i>nai... <nyai>⁷</i>		cricket chirp
	<i>tsi tsi tsi</i>	‘chirp chirp chirp’	gecko chirp
	<i>nae... <nyae></i>	‘buzz’	mosquito buzz
	<i>sss...</i>	‘sss...’	snake sound
Calls	<i>hāi hāi</i>	‘here dog’	call a dog
	<i>mā...</i>	‘here pig’	call a pig
	<i>mē...</i>	‘shoo’	chase a dog or pig
Body sounds	<i>buau buau...</i>	‘argh’	low hoarse voice
	<i>fu~fu</i> [cf. (3)]	‘puff puff’	blowing air
	<i>keao...</i>	‘grrr’	stomach rumble
	<i>ki...</i>		ringing ears

An echo-compound consists of at least two phonological words which are identical in form, but with one or more elements in the initial part or syllable of the two words (cf. Yip 1998:236-42). In Doromu-Koki, the first syllable vowel in the repeated (or second) element is changed to the low back rounded vowel /ɑ/; the original being any of the remaining high or low-mid vowels (*i*, *e*, *o*, *u*) [§3.9 for relevant elaboration of

⁷ The nasal /ɲ/ is limited to these two occurrences (‘cricket chirp’ and ‘mosquito buzz’).

reduplication]; the elements begin with a consonant in all cases but one (*iri ari* ‘eat hurriedly’). The majority (77.8% of 28 total) are of the form CV^(v).CV, including two in which the first vowel is realised as a diphthong (*beika baika* ‘whatever’ and *koite kaite re-* ‘wash’), with only three forms having three syllables (CV.CV.CV). The plosive /k/ is the most frequent consonant found in both the initial (33.3% of the time) and second consonant slot (38.9% of the time). These echo-compounds occur most often with complex verbs (61%), but also with two adjectives, some nouns, an interrogative and a verb-noun combination (*iri ari* ‘eat hurriedly’). The second element in these echo-compounds has no meaning by itself. Examples highlighting these follow Table 11.12. Neither component can occur on its own for those listed in the lower section of the table; these have no known derivational base.

Table 11.12: *Echo-compounds*

Term	Gloss(es)	Base	Gloss(es)
<i>beika baika</i> (interr)	‘whatever’	<i>beika</i>	‘what’
<i>dogo dago re-</i> (cv)	‘prepare and prepare’	<i>dogo</i> (n)	‘preparation’
<i>duma dama re-</i> (cv)	‘steal and steal’	<i>duma</i> (n)	‘stealing’
<i>iri ari</i> (v-n)	‘eat hurriedly’	<i>iri-</i> (v)	‘eat’
<i>kero karo re-</i> (cv)	‘be busy/prepare’	<i>kero.re-</i>	‘turn (around), stir’
<i>kevo kavo</i> (adj)	‘crooked’	<i>kevo</i>	‘bent’
<i>koite kaite re-</i> (cv)	‘wash (hands) well’	<i>koite-</i> (v)	‘wash’
<i>koke kake re-</i> (cv)	‘cut and bring’	<i>koke.re-</i>	‘remove, chop’
<i>korikari</i> (n)	‘clothing, belongings’	<i>kori</i> (adj)	‘old (things)’
<i>kumu kamu re-</i> (cv)	‘wrap and wrap’	<i>kumu.ri-</i>	‘wrap (around)’
<i>soku saku</i> (n)	‘pothole’	<i>soku</i>	‘hole, depression’
<i>teki taki</i> (n)	‘trees rustling’	<i>teki.re-</i> (cv)	‘crack/break off’
<i>toke take</i> (n)	‘trees crashing down’	<i>toke.re-</i> (cv)	‘make noise/sound’
<i>bisu basu re-</i> (cv)	‘meddle’	(Note: <i>bisu.re-</i>	‘hide’)
<i>misiri masiri</i> (n?)	‘itty-bitty fish’		
<i>moi seko sako re-</i> (cv)	‘make tremble in death’		
<i>nikito nakito vari-</i> (cv)	‘last planting’		
<i>sisifura sasifura</i> (n?)	‘itsy-bitsy trees’		

These echo-compounds can convey an iterative sense.

- (67) *Yi vana koite-kaite re-si mamō iruku iri.*
 2.POSS hand wash-wash do-SEQ.SS and.then food eat
 ‘Wash and wash your hands before you (lit. ‘and then’) eat (your) food.’
 (Bradshaw 2021a:150)

They also convey a plural or diminutive sense (68-69).

- (68) *Koru=ri misiri.masiri.*
 water=in itty-bitty.fish
 ‘There are (many) itty-bitty fish in the water/river.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:168)

- (71) *Raphael yaku boromakau voi re-yo.*
 (name) DSM cattle buying do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Raphael bought cattle.’ (Bradshaw 2021a:75)

As the Doromu-Koki people reside in a mountainous area, the sea was originally a foreign concept; with extensive vehicle travel it is now quite familiar. The autochthonous expression *koru moka tora* (water deep big) is also used to describe ‘sea’.

- (72) *Davara fafau erena oa re-dedi-ma ve-yaka.*
 sea above bird fly do-3PL.PRES-SEQ.DS see-1SG.PAST
 ‘I saw the birds flying above the sea.’ [87]

Police and councils were introduced by the Australian administration and accordingly have influenced borrowed terms. All the terms below are from a historical account, so they are well established in use. The conjunction *bona* in the example below, while regularly used, has been avoided in the Bible translation in favour of the autochthonous *ma* ‘and’.

- (73) *...rautu neinei furisi bona kanisoro ae di-yo*
 village each police and council put go-3SG.PAST
 ‘...he placed police and councillors in each village’ [19.05]

Likewise, the conjunction *to* ‘but’, while frequently used, was also not used in the translation in favour of the autochthonous *idu* ‘but, yet, nevertheless, even though’. It could be the case that such conjunctions are not incorporated into the language, but merely code-switches, making it normal to avoid them when felt necessary. In this respect, there would be no difference in meaning to replace *to* ‘but’ with *idu* ‘but’ in (74).

- (74) *To moke-yaka bi dona bi nui ide=ri dui*
 but think-1SG.PAST TOP pig TOP sty inside=at entering

kode vonisi...
 not.yet if

‘But I thought the pig might not yet have entered inside its sty...’ [2.08]

The borrowings cover 240 different semantic domains in every category. There appears to be no discrimination in what will be borrowed. Aikhenvald (2007a:330) gives the following parameters regarding the distinction between borrowing and code-switching:

Borrowings and code switches are extremes on a continuum potentially distinguished by

- . frequency of occurrence (code switches are often one-off occurrences);
- . phonological integration;
- . morpho-syntactic integration; and
- . lexical criteria:
 - (a) does an equivalent exist in the other language?
 - (b) if so, is it in use in the community?
 - (c) is the equivalent known to the speaker?
 - (d) to which language does the individual regard the word as belonging?
 - (e) is it in use by monolingual speakers?

This means that some terms might not be considered borrowed, but instead considered as code-switches as mentioned above, such as ones in the Bible translation or social media maintaining their English spelling, e.g. donkey. However, even equivalents can muddle the distinction as some, particularly conjunctions and more generic in-law terms, are interchangeable (§10.2.3.4 and §10.2.3.5).

11.4.3 Bible translation terms

An abstract noun is a concept that does not refer to any specific object or concrete reality. It is used to define a characteristic or quality. Abstract nouns are common in English and Koiné Greek, but in Doromu-Koki many borrowed from these languages must be realised as a phrase. These are often the biblical key terms that were needed in translation, but since they are somewhat foreign to the culture, they are difficult to define.

Very early on in the translation project, during the translators' training, the translators were given a list of 'key terms' with definitions, as well as examples of what had been used in other languages in PNG and other parts of the world, providing further ideas on what might apply in their own language. Throughout the translation process, the translators identified, recorded and continually referred to and revised these terms; this took about 15 years to complete. The translators did not work in isolation, but interacted with community members to devise an appropriate term, and then once incorporated into a passage of translated Scripture, it was checked with other community members and revised or replaced as deemed necessary. With each new passage of Scripture translated, the translators continued to refer to this list, using the same term again if still applicable or else adding an additional one or updating the list if a term was to be replaced. In my role as translation advisor, terms on this list were checked for consistency; if not consistent, in consultation with the translators and community it was necessary to

determine if more than one could be used in different contexts. In this manner the list became established.

The term for ‘God’ was of great importance to the community; there was much dialogue on what to use. Early on it was proposed to use *sei*, the name of a particular spirit, which most closely fit the attributes of the God of the Bible. *Sei* is defined as (cf. also §1.2.3):

“...a spirit which has provided everything, such as food, land, animals, water. *Sei*...does not cause illness as the *bodaka* ‘evil spirits’ do. When there is hunger, certain rules have been broken, such as the *aira* ‘first harvest’ was not properly followed. People are very careful to avoid saying, “There is no food,” as *Sei*...will hear...and there will not be any food. ...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’...(Bradshaw 2007b:14).

Because of some negative connotations, at first not all were satisfied, but as no other more adequate term was found, it was decided that *Sei* would be used and the Biblical traits emphasised. The previous term *Odoro amiye* (above person) better fits ‘Lord’ than ‘God’; the term *Varika amiye* (chief person) was decided upon for ‘Lord’ (cf. Renck 1990:103, 104), which was somewhat more descriptive. It was decided to maintain the Hiri Motu spelling of ‘Jesus’ as *Iesu* to set the name apart; it is the only name for which this was done, all others being spelt according to that used in the most popular English translation (Today’s English Version). In this way they were elevating English and moving away from Hiri Motu spelling as use of the lingua franca was already in decline. This would also further increase access in other English resources (English Bible translations and other Bible study aids). The term *ago gira* (word hard) ‘command(ment), law’ replaced the Hiri Motu *taravatu* ‘law, regulation, taboo’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204).

(75) *Ma Sei Varika amiye yaku ini ago gira mar-o...*
 and God chief person DSM 3.POSS word hard give-3SG.PAST
 ‘And the Lord God gave his commandment... (Genesis 2.16)’

Another difficult term was ‘glory’ for which it was felt that *vabara* ‘light’ (cf. Renck 1990:103) would fit well, and it has never been contested.

Some longer expressions were developed to replace borrowed terms, e.g. *Sei di ourefeidenana amena sana* (God GEN leading staying/living place) in the place of the Hiri Motu *basileia* ‘kingdom’ (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:250). Most of these terms, as well as many others, are defined in a glossary in the back of the published New Testament (*SUAR* 2017:563) for the benefit of a reader who might not yet be aware of their meanings.

As the adjective *buni* ‘good; well, nice, beautiful, reasonable, sensible’ has a broad semantic range, a rather nondescript expression may be produced, though adequate enough for expressions such as *ago buni* (good word) ‘gospel’ or *moi buni ri-* (D.CAUS good make) ‘heal’. With further modification, *buni* has been incorporated into expressions such as *buni tora gade mar-* (good great very give) to mean ‘bless’.

The word *uka* ‘stomach’ as ‘heart/centre of emotion’ is recurrent in many expressions (cf. examination in §11.1.2), as in the name of the New Testament: *Sei di Uka Ago Ruaka* (God GEN stomach word new) ‘God’s new covenant (i.e. agreement). This alludes to the fact that having one’s *uka* ‘stomach (or heart)’ in agreement is necessary to have a healthy relationship. As the centre of emotion, *uka mar-* (give stomach) is glossed as ‘love’.

(76) *Idu na~na diba yi uka=ri Sei rofu uka*
but 1SG~1SG know 2.POSS stomach=in God to stomach

ma-na de re-dedi.
give-NOMZ NEG do-2PL.PRES

‘But I know that you do not have the love of God in your hearts.’
(*SUAR* 2017:208:5.42)

A few further example translated sentences using other key terms follow. Salvation has been translated as *moi vegu ri-* (D.CAUS life make) ‘cause to live’. [*Ago gira* was previously discussed at example (75) above.]

(77) *Ma iniye ini ni-yo ari=ri ini ago moi*
and REFL 3.POSS say-3SG.PAST time=at 3.POSS word D.CAUS

ogau ri-yo; Sei una moi vegu ri-na
appear make-3SG.PAST God 1PL D.CAUS life make-NMLZ

amiye di ago gira fafau mina oteima-na moimai na
person GEN word hard on.top.of this tell-NMLZ work 1SG

ni-mar-o.

say-give-3SG.PAST

‘And now at his appointed time he has caused his word to appear; God our saviour has commended (lit. say-gave) this teaching work to me through his command.’ (*SUAR* 2017:459:1.3)

The Hiri Motu borrowed expression *abidadama re-* ‘believe/trust (in); have faith in’ has been replaced by the autochthonous *moke-na vari gira ae-* (think-NOMZ plant hard put) meaning ‘implant firm thinking’ and *vegu no* (bad practice) is used to mean ‘sin’.

- (78) *Abram Varika amiye rofu ini moke-na vari gira*
 (name) chief person to 3.POSS think-NOMZ plant hard
- ai-yo bona Sei =ka Abram ro ni-yo ina bi*
 put-3SG.PAST and God =also (name) to say-3SG.PAST 3 TOP
- vegu no yokoi ina rofu de.*
 practice bad one 3 to NEG
 ‘Abram believed the Lord and God said to Abram that he was righteous
 (Genesis 15.6).’

Even though sometimes longer, autochthonous coined terms have been preferred over Hiri Motu terms in the translation process. (Note the Hiri Motu *bona* ‘and’ used here in an early translation draft, which was later decided to be replaced with the autochthonous *ma* ‘and’, analogous to what was mentioned regarding *to* ‘but’ and the autochthonous *idu* ‘but’.)

11.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has been an overview of various organisational aspects and semantic features of the lexicon (cf. Bradshaw 2021a), such as homonyms (§11.1.1), polysemous and heterosemous patterns (§11.1.2), and synonyms (§11.1.3). Following this was consideration of semantic issues relative to the open word classes (§11.2), figures of speech (§11.3) and other special lexical items (§11.4), including onomatopoeia and echo-compounds (§11.4.1), borrowed terms (§11.4.2) and Bible translation terms (§11.4.3). Figures of speech included metaphor (§11.3.1), simile (§11.3.2) and idioms (§11.3.3).

Appendix

A.1 Selection of texts

Forty-two texts of various genres are grouped below, including narrative/autobiographical stories, conversations, descriptive (cf. §10.1.2), expository, legends, letters/notes, procedural text (cf. §10.1.3), social media, text messages and songs (cf. §10.1.5). They are of various media: handwritten, digital and transcribed audio recordings. Within each grouping, the texts are arranged chronologically. The authors and/or participants are identified in the introductory information to each text. (The title, if applicable, is numbered .00 and the text indicated in **bold**.) These texts are from a total of 20 male and 11 female speakers, ranging in age from 20-53 and 18-60 respectively, recorded over a period of 21 years (1999-2019).

Narrative/autobiographical stories

This category includes not only stories that a person has written about himself/herself, but also factual stories that are written about other individuals. There are 13 included here.

Text 1

The first text below was recorded on 28 October 2001 by Allan Simon (M, 26) [deceased], in Kasonomu village. It is a story about his misfortune as a boy on a hunting trip with his father.

(1.00) [***Sufa~sufa di-yafa***]_{CL1}.
bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST
'We went hunting in the big bush.'

(1.01) [[[*Yokaru vo-ni bo na aita=ri*]_{TEMP}, [*nai baba*]
one.day happen-bdcome go 1SG light=at 1SG.POSS father

bona na]_S *sufa~sufa di-yafa*]_{CL1}.
and 1SG bush~INTS go-1PL.PAST
'One day when I was young (lit. 'at light weight'), my father and I went deep into the bush.'

(1.02) [[*Nai baba ya*]_A *na ni-yo*]_{CL1}, "[*Koima-o, [Vi*
1SG.POSS father DSM 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC (name)

koru-ma]_{LOC} *bo-gifa*]_{CL2}."
water-to go-1PL.FUT
'My father said to me, "Oh, boy (lit. leech), we will go to the Vi river."'

- (1.03) [*Nai baba no kana bi*]_A [*ini varuka mina*]_o
 1SG.POSS father bad like TOP 3.POSS clothing this
- [*gagaba=ri maka*]_{LOC} *iru ri-si*_{CL1} [*sosogi uakai-si*]_{CL2}
 waist=at only wear make-SEQ.SS spear carry-SEQ.SS
- [*baiya vana=u*]_{OBL} *moi-yo-ma*_{CL3} [*na bi*]_A [*dura kori*
 bush.knife hand=by get-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 1SG TOP net.bag old
- yokoi*_o *kirokai-yaka*_{CL4}.
 one carry.on.shoulder-1SG.PAST
 ‘My father was bad as he only wore clothing around his waist, and carried a
 spear and took a bush knife in his hand and I carried one old net bag on my
 shoulder.’
- (1.04) [[*Vi koru-ma kami*]_{LOC} *bo-yafa*]_{CL1}.
 (name) water-to and.then go-1PL.PAST
 ‘So then we went to the Vi river.’
- (1.05) [*Bo-yafa-ma*]_{CL1} [[*John di muro odema adina*
 go-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS (name) GEN garden old.garden near
- kami*]_{LOC} *oki-yafa*]_{CL2}.
 and.then arrive-1PL.PAST
 ‘We went, so then we arrived near John’s old garden.’
- (1.06) [[*Nai baba yaku*]_A *ne re-yo-ri bi*]_{CL1}
 1SG.POSS father DSM look do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP
- [*odema motona=ri bi*]_{LOC} [*dona yokoi*]_s *mini nikura*
 old.garden garden.bottom=at TOP pig one here dig
- re-ga*]_{CL2} *ame-do*]_{CL3}.
 do-SIM.SS stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘When my father looked, there was a pig digging at the bottom of the old
 garden.’
- (1.07) [*Nai baba*]_A *kerore-si*]_{CL1} [*kimo=ka kimo=ka*
 1SG.POSS father turn do-SEQ.SS carefully=also carefully=also
- kami na ni-yo*]_{CL2}, “[*Koima-o, dona e*]_{CL3}; [*kita*
 so.then 1SG say-3SG.PAST leech-VOC pig eh movement
- ga re*]_{CL4}.”
 PROHIB do
 ‘My father turned around, so then he also carefully and quietly said to me, “Oh,
 boy, a pig (there); don’t move!”’

- (1.08) [[*Na bi kami*]_s *bere maka ni-yaka* [*ini*
1SG TOP and.then quiet only become-1SG.PAST 3.POSS
fufuta=ri]_{LOC}]_{CL1}.
back=at
'So then I just remained silent there behind his back.'
- (1.09) [*Nai baba*]_A *dadi-yo*]_{CL1} [*ini sosogi mina*]_o *moi*
1SG.POSS father get.up-3SG.PAST 3.POSS spear this D.CAUS
odoro ri-si]_{CL2} [*koru gena yaku*]_{INST} *dona fidi re-gi*
above make-SEQ.SS water bamboo DSM pig shoot do-PURP
re-dedi]_{CC} *kana*]_{CC} *re-yo*]_{CL3}.
do-3PL.PRES like do-3SG.PAST
'My father got up and took up his spear and did like what is done with a gun
(lit. water bamboo) to shoot a pig.'
- (1.10) [*Bi [egere de]*]_{VCC}]_{CL1}, [*ini ada kamini kevo*
TOP okay NEG 3.POSS head enough bend
ni-yo]_{CL2}.
become-3SG.PAST
'But it (the shooting of the pig) was not right (successful), as then it (the
pig) bent its head around.'
- (1.11) [*Kero re-si kamini*]_{CL1} [*vada [nai adu gade mina]*]_o
turn do-SEQ.SS and.then then 1SG.POSS jaw tooth this
moi gira ri-si]_{CL2} [*moi-yo maka*]_{CL3}.
D.CAUS hard make-SEQ.SS get-3SG.PAST only
'So then it turned around, and then it just grabbed a hold of my jawbone.'
- (1.12) [*Nai adu nena*]_{VCS} *bi* [=ka *miron*]_{VCC}.
1SG.POSS jaw bone TOP =also there
'My jawbone was also there.'
- (1.13) [*Mo [dona bi]*]_s *mini ame-gam-o*]_{CL1},
but pig TOP here stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
'And the pig was staying right there,'
- (1.14) [[*mida keika beika.baika e*]_{ADD} [*nai adu nena bi*]_s [=ka
child little whatever eh 1SG.POSS jaw bone TOP =also
miron]_{LOC} *esika re-i di-yo*]_{CL2}
there pain do-LINK go-3SG.PAST
'whatever (it was like as a) small child, my jawbone was also in pain there.'

- (1.15) [*Kamini dadi-yaka-ri* *bi*]_{CL1} [[*esika re-yo*]_{CL2}]_o
 enough get.up-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS TOP pain do-3SG.PAST
 [*amute-si,*]_{CL3} *aiyo-o-o-!*
 feel-SEQ.SS wow---
 ‘So then I got up and felt the pain it was giving (me), ow---!’
- (1.16) [[*Naike mini mamu*]_{CL1} [[*dona mina*]_s *ne-i de-si*]_{CL2}
 1PL.REFL here at.once pig this go-LINK come-SEQ.SS
 [*kamini beuka ni-si*]_{CL3} [*yai re-yo*]_{CL4}... [*mo*
 so.then grunt say-SEQ.SS knock.down do-3SG.PAST and.then
na =ka esika amute-si]_{CL5} [[*kimo ame-i-na*]_{VCS} *bi*
 1SG =also pain feel-SEQ.SS carefully stay-LINK-NOMZ TOP
 [*de*]_{VCC}]_{CL6}.
 NEG
 ‘I was there and at once the pig went down, so then it grunted and knocked
 (me) down, and then I also really felt pain and carefully/quietly didn’t stay
 (there).’
- (1.17) [*Ne re-i dona ve-yaka bi,*]_{CL1} [[*tafa maka*
 look do-LINK pig see-1SG.PAST TOP hardly only
kita re-yo]_{CC} *ve-yaka*]_{CL2}, [*dadi-si*]_{CL3} [[*nai baba*]_E
 move do-3SG.PAST see-1SG.PAST get.up-SEQ.SS 1SG.PAST father
ni-yaka, “[*Baba*]_{ADD}, [*dona bo-ga*]_{CL4} [*kita re-do*
 say-1SG.PAST father pig go-SIM.SS move do-3SG.PRES
iseni]_{CL5}]_{CL6}. ”
 up.over.there
 ‘I looked and saw the pig, I saw that it hardly moved, and I got up and told my
 father, “Father, the pig is going on and moving up over there.” ’
- (1.18) [[*Nai baba*]_A [*ne eta dudu*]_{OBL} *na ni-yo,*
 1SG.POSS father eye side INST 1SG say-3SG.PAST
 “[*Koim*]_{ADD}, [*kaini dairi-na di*]_{CL1}]_{CL2}. ”
 leech already return-NOMZ go
 ‘My father looking on the side said to me, “Boy, then (you had better) go back
 already.” ’
- (1.19) [*Dairi-ga*]_{CL1} [*mamo nai adu*]_o *avaka moi-yaka bi*]_{CL2};
 return-SIM.SS and.then 1SG.POSS jaw touch get-1SG.PAST TOP
 [*mi esika re-gam-o*]_{CL3}.
 this pain do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘When I came back then I touched my jaw; it was giving (me) pain.’

- (1.20) [*Mina=ri mamō kamini isaka maka*]_{CL1}.
 this=at and.then so.then cry only
 ‘So then all at once I just cried.’

Text 2

Another hunting story follows, recorded on 28 October 2001 by Joseph Toma (M, 32) [other texts by same speaker include (12-13), (24), (34), (87), (113), (117) and (120)] from Kasonomu village.

- (2.00) [*Di bone =ka re-yaka*]_{CL1}.
 go lazy =also do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I was also going on being lazy.’
- (2.01) [[*Uriyenau yokoi=ri*]_{TEMP} *koru gena uakai-si*]_{CL1} [*sufa*
 afternoon one=at gun bamboo carry-SEQ.SS bush
di-yaka]_{CL2}.
 go-1SG.PAST
 ‘One afternoon, I carried my gun (lit. water bamboo) and went to the bush.’
- (2.02) [*Gagani di-yaka-ma*]_{CL3} [*uru ni-gi re-do*
 place go-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night become-PURP do-3SG.PRES
vonisi]_{CL4}, [*dairi ida-ma kimo de-i-da*]_{CL5}.
 if return road-on carefully come-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I went to a place and when it was getting dark, I came back carefully/slowly on the road.’
- (2.03) [*Gabu [roka Vayaika]*]_{RC} [*vatoru adina*]_{CL1}.
 place name (name) tree.sp near
 ‘The place is called Vayaika, near the *vatoru* tree(s).’
- (2.04) [[*Mina sana-ma*]_{OBL} *de-i-da-ri,* *bi*]_{CL1} [[*dona mida yaku*]_S
 this place-to come-LINK-1SG.PRES TOP pig child DSM
guga ni-yadi-ma]_{CL2} [*neide-yaka*]_{CL3}.
 oink say-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS hear-1SG.PAST
 ‘When I came to that place, piglets were oinking and I heard (them).’
- (2.05) [*Are re-si*]_{CL1} [*boboe re-yaka-ri,* *bi*]_{CL2} [*dona nui*
 stand do-SEQ.SS look.down do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP pig nest
ve-yaka [*ida seri rama=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL3}.
 see-1SG.PAST road edge right=at
 ‘I stood and when I looked down I saw a pig sty right at the edge of the road.’
- (2.06) [[*Nai vainavaina*]_O *kirokai*]_{CL1} [*bona [baiya mina]*]_O
 1SG.POSS net.bag carry.on.shoulder and bush.knife this

kono=ri fere-yaka]_{CL2}, [*rofu ve-gi bo-yaka*]_{CL3}.
 ground=on leave-1SG.PAST so.that see-PURP go-1SG.PAST
 ‘I left my net bag that I was carrying on my shoulder and my bush knife there
 on the ground, so that I could go over to see (them).’

- (2.07) [[*Rabo fafau yabo abiye odororo*]_{OBL} *are re-si*]_{CL1} [[*dona*
 sword.grass over tree dead above stand do-SEQ.SS pig

nui]_O *ne re-si*]_{CL2} [*ve-yaka*]_{CL3}, [*resi*]_{CL4} [*koru gena*
 sty look do-SEQ.SS see-1SG.PAST SBL water bamboo

moi odororo ri-si]_{CL5} [[*nai batara=ri*]_{OBL} *ai-si*]_{CL6}
 D.CAUS above make-SEQ.SS 1SG.POSS shoulder.blade=at put-SEQ.SS

[*to ri ve-yaka*]_{CL7}.
 but make see-1SG.PAST

‘Over the sword grass above a dead tree I stood and looked down at the pig sty,
 and doing so I picked up (my) gun (lit. water bamboo) and put it on my
 shoulder and tried to see (them).’

- (2.08) [[*To moke-yaka bi*]_A [[*dona bi*]_S [*nui ide=ri*]_{OBL} *dui*
 but think-1SG.PAST TOP pig TOP sty inside=at entering

kode vonisi]_{CC}]_{CL1}, [*koru gena vana=u*]_{OBL} [*moi-si*]_{CL2}
 later if water bamboo hand=by get-SEQ.SS

[*reki re-i ne-si*]_{CL3} [*ve-i di-yaka*]_{CL4} [*to de*]_{CL5},
 move.over do-LINK go-SEQ.SS see-LINK go-1SG.PAST but NEG

[*ma dairi bai-yaka* [*riu atafu*]_{OBL}]_{CL6}.
 and return come-1SG.PAST swelling near

‘But thinking that the pig hadn’t yet entered the sty, I took the gun (lit. water
 bamboo) in (my) hand and moved on down to see but couldn’t, and (so) I came
 back near the swollen (river).’

- (2.09) [*Agu ri-si*]_{CL1} [*are re-i resi*]_{CL2} [*ve-yaka-ri*
 bend make-SEQ.SS stand do-LINK SBL see-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS

bi]_{CL3} [[*dona mida keika~keika*]_O *ve-yaka*]_{CL4} [*to* [*nai*
 TOP pig child little~PL see-1SG.PAST but 1SG.POSS

moa sau]_O *usi* [*nui ide=ri*]_{OBL} *dui re-yadi*]_{CL5}.
 sweat odour smell sty inside=at entering do-3PL.PAST

‘I bent down, and doing so, when I looked, I saw many (little) piglets, but they
 smelled the odour of my perspiration and went back inside the sty.’

- (2.10) [[*Na kaya*]_E *kamini nikaite-yaka*, “[*Va kodu yokoi moi-si*]_{CL1}
 1SG REFL so.then ask-1SG.PAST try stick one get-SEQ.SS

[*nui fafau*]_{OBL} *you* *bo-i* *ve* *a*]_{CC}]_{CL1}?”
 sty above throw go-LINK see QW
 ‘So then I told (lit. asked) myself, “Try and throw one stick on TOP of the sty to see if it will go inside.”’

- (2.11) [*Ye kodu ne-i* *e-bere* *re-na* *moi-si*]_{CL1} [*you*
 so stick go.down-LINK I.CAUS-silent do-NOMZ get-SEQ.SS throw

bo-yaka [*nui fafau*]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.
 go-1SG.PAST sty on.TOP.of
 ‘And so I quietly took a stick and threw (it) on the sty.’

- (2.12) [[*Dona ide=ri vare-do*]_{RC} *mina, koe ni-si*]_{CL1} [*nui*
 pig inside=at sleep-3SG.PAST this squeal say-SEQ.SS sty

ukisivo *re-si*]_{CL1} [*ori di-yo*]_{CL1}.
 startle do-SEQ.SS fear go-3SG.PAST
 ‘There was a pig sleeping inside, it squealed and was startled and ran away from the sty.’

- (2.13) [[*Nai uka*]_A *esika re-yo*]_{CL1} [*adina fid re-na dona*]_{CL2}
 1SG stomach pain do-3SG.PAST because shot do-NOMZ pig

[*to moi vegu ri-gika dada*]_{CL3}.
 but D.CAUS life make-CON because
 ‘My heart (lit. stomach) was in pain because of shooting the pig or letting (it) live.’

- (2.14) [[*Uka esika dudu*]_{OBL} *rautu oki-si*]_{CL1} [[*beika re-yaka*]_{RC}
 stomach pain INST village arrive-SEQ.SS what do-1SG.PAST

mina ni-oteimar-aka-ma]_{CL2}, “[*Ya bi gokai.resi re-yo*]_{CC}?”
 this say-tell-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 2 TOP why do-2SG.PAST

ni-yadi]_{CL3}, “[*re-i mona maka de re-yo ba*]_{CL4}.”
 say-3PL.PAST do-LINK properly only NEG do-2SG.PAST Q
 ‘With a heavy (lit. painful) heart (lit. stomach) I arrived in the village and told them this story of what I had done and they asked (lit. told) me, “Why did you do (that), you didn’t do it right.’

- (2.15) [*Yaku bura ri-yo* [*urusa rofu*]_{OBL}]_{CL1}.
 DSM expose make-2SG.PAST night at
 ‘“You did (it) at night.”’

Text 3

In the following story, the author relates an incident that happened to him and his son while he was working in the garden one day. It was recorded 21 March 2002 by Justin Gugunu (M, 45) [also from this speaker is text (57)] from Kasonomu village during the

Alphabet Design Workshop in 2002.

- (3.00) [*Baba bona mida di sina*]_{CL1}.
 father and child GEN story
 ‘Father and son story.’
- (3.01) [[*Uriyaku yokoi*]_{TEMP} [*na bona nai mida Jacob=sa*]_S
 morning one 1SG and 1SG.POSS child (name)=ACCM
muro=ri di-yafa]_{CL1}.
 garden=at go-1PL.PAST
 ‘One morning I went to the garden with my son Jacob.’
- (3.02) [*Na dadi-si*]_{CL1} [[*viro bona baiya*]_O *moi-si*]_{CL2} [*rarama*
 1SG get.up-SEQ.SS axe and bush.knife get-SEQ.SS clearing
ne-yaka]_{CL3}.
 go.down-1SG.PAST
 ‘I got up and took my axe and bush knife and went down to the clearing.’
- (3.03) [*Ma nai mida bi*]_A [*koro=ri ame-si*]_{CL1} [*na ve-gasa*]_{CL2}
 and 1SG.POSS child TOP border=at stay-SEQ.SS 1SG see-SIM.SS
[ame-gam-o]]_{CL3}.
 stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘And my son stayed at the border where he could sit and see me.’
- (3.04) [*Resi*]_{CL1} [*koro=ri vare-yo-ri*]_{CL2} [[*aruma yaku*]_S [[*ina*
 SBL border=at sleep-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS snake DSM 3
fafau-ma]_{OBL} *de-yo*]_{CL3}.
 on.TOP.of-on come-3SG.PAST
 ‘And doing so, when he was sleeping at the border a snake came down upon him.’
- (3.05) [*Amute-si*]_{CL1} [*tururu re-si*]_{CL2} [*dadi-yo*]_{CL3}, [*resi*]_{CL4} [[*na*
 feel-SEQ.SS tremble do-SEQ.SS get-up-3SG.PAST SBL 1SG
raka ni di ne-yo [*na rofu*]_E]_{CL5}.
 call say go go.down-3SG.PAST 1SG to
 ‘He felt (it) and jumped up (lit. trembled and got up), and doing so, he called out to me to come down to him (lit. me).’
- (3.06) [*Dada moimai fere-si*]_{CL1} [*raga bai-yaka* [*nai mida*
 so work leave-SEQ.SS run come-1SG.PAST 1SG.POSS child
ro]_{OBL}]_{CL2}, [*to* [*aruma bi*]_S *ori di-yo-ma*]_{CL3} [*bai-si*]_{CL4}
 to but snake TOP fear go-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS come-SEQ.SS

[*Jacobo nikaite-yaka*, “[*Aruma yaku*]_A *ya aki re-yo* *ba*
(name) ask-1SG.PAST snake DSM 2 bite do-3SG.PAST or

ide]_{CC}]_{CL5}?”

NEG

‘So I left my work and ran to my son, but the snake had gone away, and so I came and asked Jacobo, “Did (or didn’t) the snake bite you?”’

- (3.07) [*To [ina ya]*]_A *ni-yo*, “[*Bi*]_A *de na aki re-yo*]_{CC},”
but 3 DSM say-3SG.PAST TOP NEG 1SG bite do-3SG.PAST

vo-ni-yo]_{CC}]_{CL1}.

tell-say-3SG.PAST

‘And he said that, ‘It did not bite (me),’ he said.’

- (3.08) [*Dada [na bi]*]_S *dairi-si*]_{CL1} [*rarama re-gi ne-yafa*]_{CL2}.
so 1SG TOP return-SEQ.SS clearing do-PURP go.down-1PL.PAST
‘So I went back down to work on (lit. do) the clearing.’

- (3.09) [*Rautu oki-yafa-ri*]_{CL1} [[*na ya*]_A [*ini nono*]_E *sina*
village arrive-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM 3.POSS mother story

ni-oteimar-aka-ma]_{CL2} [[*ini nono*]_S *sena gubuyo*
say-tell-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS mother already anger

re-yo]_{CL3}, [*resi*]_{CL4} [*na nikaite-yo* [[*aruma yaku*]_A *aki*
do-3SG.PAST SBL 1SG ask-3SG.PAST snake DSM bite

re-yo *ba de*]_{CC}]_{CL5}, [*to [na yaku]*]_A *ni-yaka* *bi*]_{CL6}
do-3SG.PAST or NEG but 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST TOP

de aki re-yo]_{CL7}, *no ni-yo*]_{RC}]_{CC}]_{CL8}, [*dada [ini nono]*]_S
NEG bite do-3SG.PAST bad become-3SG.PAST so 3.POSS mother

ada re-yo]_{CL7}.

happiness do-3SG.PAST

‘When we arrived in the village I told the story to his mother and she (lit. his mother) was already angry, and doing so she asked me if the snake had bitten (him), and I told (her) that it did not bite or harm (him), so she (lit. his mother) was happy.’

- (3.10) [[*Gabi ro*]_{OBL} *mo* [*una remanu di uni iruku*]_O *una*
later to at.once 1PL two GEN 1PL.POSS food 1PL

mar-o-ma]_{CL1} [[*iri-yafa* *ada dudu*]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.
give-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS eat-1PL.PAST happiness INST

‘Later on then at once she gave the two of us our food and we ate (it) happily.’

- (3.11) [*Kasonomu rautu*]_{CL1}.
 (name) village
 ‘Kasonomu village.’

Text 4

This text was recorded 21 March 2002 by Raphael Tuga (M, 33), in Kasonomu village. It is a story about a hunting trip with a happy ending. [Also by this author is (86).]

- (4.00) [*Sufa~sufa di-na sina*]_{CL1}.
 bush~INTS go-NOMZ story
 ‘Hunting in the bush story.’

- (4.01) [*Yokaru Saturday*]_{TEMP} [*na Raphael bona Mathias*]_S *sufa~sufa*
 one.day 1SG (name) and (name) bush~INTS

di-yafa, [*gagani* [*roka E*]_{RC}]_{OBL}]_{CL1!}
 go-1PL.PAST place name (name)

‘One Saturday, Mathias and I, Raphael, went deep in the bush, to a place called E!’

- (4.02) “[*Ema odoro koru*]_{OBL} *bo-na bo resi*]_{CL1} [*omuna*
 river.mouth above water go-NOMZ go SBL mountain

di-na]_{CL1},” *vo-ni-yaka*]_{CL1}.
 go-NOMZ tell-say-1SG.PAST

‘I said, “Let’s go above the river mouth going onto the mountain.” ’

- (4.03) [*Di-gi re-yafa-ri*]_{CL1} [*ni-yaka,* “[*E ema*]_{OBL}
 go-PURP do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS say-1SG.PAST (name) river.mouth

soko dui re-nadi]_{CL2},” *vo-ni-yaka*]_{CL3}.
 first entering do-1PL.IMP tell-say-1SG.PAST

‘When we were trying to go, I said, “Let’s go first into the E river mouth,” I said.’

- (4.04) [*Kamini dui re-si bi*]_{CL1} [*sako gedu omuna*
 so.then entering do-SEQ.SS TOP bag nape mountain

keu ri-yafa]_{CL2}.
 ascend make-1PL.PAST

‘So then we went in ascending the mountain with (our) bags on the back of (our) necks.’

- (4.05) [*Sako gedu bo-gam-afa-ri*]_{CL1}, [*na yaku*]_A *ni-yaka*]_{CL2},
 bag nape go-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST

“[[*Mathias*]_{ADD},” *roka ni-si*_{CL3} “[[*Mina gabu bo-sifa*]_{CL4}]_{VCS}
 (name) name say-SEQ.SS this place go-1PL.PAST

*bi [dona di tavara gabu]_{VCC}CC,” vo-ni-oteimar-aka*_{CL4}.
 TOP pig GEN greens place tellsay-tell-1SG.PAST
 ‘When we went with the bag(s) on the back of (our) necks I said,
 “Mathias,” calling out (to him), “Let’s go to this place where there are pig
 greens,” I said.’

- (4.06) “[[*Mina.dada kimo~kimo bo-nadi*]_{CC},” *vo-ni-yaka*_{CL1}.
 therefore carefully~INTS go-1PL.IMP tell-say-1SG.PAST
 ‘“Therefore, let’s go carefully/slowly,” I said.’

- (4.07) [*Bo-ga*]_{CL1} [*ve-gam-afa-ri*]_{CL2}, [[*dona anuka maka*]_o
 go-SIM.SS see-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS pig print only

*ve-gam-afa*_{CL3}, [*to anuka de*
 see-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST but print NEG

*meki re-gam-afa*_{CL4} [*bona bo-i omuna*
 chase.away do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST and go-LINK mountain

*iruruka re-yafa*_{CL5}.
 climb.up do-1PL.PAST

‘We went and when we were looking, we were just seeing pig tracks, but we
 were following the tracks and went and climbed up the mountain.’

- (4.08) [*Kamini afara bo-i ne-yafa*]_{CL1} [*bona [bora~bora*
 so.then ridge.TOP go-LINK go-1PL.PAST and yellow~PL

eina]_{OBL} [*oki-si*]_{CL2} [*Airadi ne-yafa*]_{CL1}.
 tree.sp arrive-SEQ.SS (name) go.down-1SG.PAST

‘So then we went up and down on the ridge TOP and arrived at the yellow *eina*
 trees, and went down to Airadi.’

- (4.09) [*Odoro koru oki-yafa*]_{CL1} [*resi*]_{CL2} [*Airadi bo-yafa*]_{CL3}.
 above water arrive-1PL.PAST SBL (name) go-1PL.PAST
 ‘We arrived above the river, and doing so, we went on to Airadi.’

- (4.10) [*Bo resi*]_{CL1} [*ema oki-si*]_{CL2} [*omuna*
 go SBL river.mouth arrive-SEQ.SS mountain

*keu ri-yafa*_{CL3}.
 ascend make-1PL.PAST

‘Going there, then we arrived at the river mouth and ascended the mountain.’

- (4.11) [[*Omuna tobo=ri*]_{OBL} *ne-i are re-yaka-ri*]_{CL1} [*dona*
 mountain middle=at go-LINK stand do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS pig

bae are re-yo]_{CL2}.
 come stand do-3SG.PAST

‘When I stood there in the middle of the mountain a pig came and stopped (lit. stood) there.’

- (4.12) [[*Mina fuofuori*]_{OBL} *Mathias =ka ne re-i ve-yo*]_{CL1}
 this while (name) =also look do-LINK see-3SG.PAST

[*kamini are re-si*]_{CL2} [*fidi moi dadi-si*]_{CL3} [*faya*
 so.then stand do-SEQ.SS shot D.CAUS get.up-SEQ.SS shot

re-yaka]_{CL4}, [*to de faya ni-yo*]_{CL5}.
 do-1SG.PAST but NEG explode say-3SG.PAST

‘Right then Mathias also looked down and saw (it), so then I stood there and took up (my) gun and shot, but it didn’t fire.’

- (4.13) [*Mo dudusa moi dadi faya re-yaka-ri*]_{CL1} [*kami*
 at.once again D.CAUS get.up shoot do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS so.then

fidi re-yaka-ri]_{CL2} [*Airadi de-si muye-yo*]_{CL3}.
 hit do-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS (name) come-SEQ.SS die-3SG.PAST

‘Then at once when I took (it) up and shot (it) again, so then when it was hit, the (pig) came to Airadi and then died (there).’

- (4.14) [[*Mina usi*]_{OBL} *baiya moi [maena bona maduna]*_o
 this follow bush.knife D.CAUS vine and load

nuga-si]_{CL1} [*ukita ri-si*]_{CL2} [*uakai re-i kamini rautu*
 cut-SEQ.SS tie make-SEQ.SS carry do-LINK so.then village

moi oki-yafa]_{CL3}.
 D.CAUS arrive-1PL.PAST

‘Next we got a bush knife and a vine and cut the load, tied (it) up and carried (it); so then we brought (it) to the village.’

- (4.15) [[*Na Raphael yaku*]_s *Gabriel ni-yaka-ma*]_{CL1} [*de-si*]_{CL2}
 1SG (name) DSM (name) say-1SG.PAST come-SEQ.SS

[*nugar-o*]_{CL3}.
 cut-3SG.PAST

‘I Raphael, told Gabriel and he came and cut (it) up.’

- (4.16) [*Nuga-i koina ni-yo-ri*]_{CL1}, [[*na yaku*]_s
 cut-LINK finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS 1SG DSM

ni-yaka-ma]_{CL2} [*amiye rau re-yafa*]_{CL3}.
 say-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS person share do-1PL.PAST

‘And when (it) was all cut up, I told people to come and get a share (of it).’

(4.17) [*Ini tata feide-i iri-si*]_{CL1} [*kamini koina ni-yo*]_{CL2}.
 3.POSS each cook-LINK eat-SEQ.SS so.then finish become-3SG.PAST
 ‘Each one cooked and ate, so then it was finished off.’

(4.18) [[*Mina sina bi*]_o [*Raphael Tuga yaku*]_A *bura ri-yo*]_{CL1}.
 this story TOP (name) (name) DSM write make-3SG.PAST
 ‘This story was written by Raphael Tuga.’

Text 5

In the following short text, the writer, Skibo (M, ~20), discusses why he likes his village, Oduika, up on the mountain above Kasonomu, where this was recorded 22 March 2002, during the Alphabet Design Workshop.

(5.00) [*Nai rautu*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Oduika omuna odoro=ri*]_{VCC}.
 1SG.POSS village TOP (place.name) mountain above=on
 ‘My village is Oduika on the mountain.’

(5.01) [[*Nai rautu bi*]_o *ura re-i-da*]_{CL1}, [*badina ne~ne*
 1SG.POSS village TOP like do-LINK-1SG.PRES because go~NOMZ
re-gasa]_{CL2} [*gagani ve-i-da*]_{CL3}.
 do-SIM.SS place see-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I like my village, because when I’m going around I see the view (lit. place(s)).’

(5.02) [[*Mina totona*]_E [*bona aura yafuyafu buni moi-ga*]_{CC}
 this for and wind breeze good get-SIM.SS

[*ame-i-da*]_{CC} [*dada*]_{CL1}, [[*nai rautu bi*]_o *ura*
 stay-LINK-1SG.PRES because 1SG.POSS village TOP like

re-i-da]_{CL2}.

do-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘Because of this and because of the nice breeze that I get living (there), I like my village.’

Text 6

In the following text, a young man (presumably one of those involved in the story) recorded the story as told by Barbara Kapana (F, 43) [another text by the same speaker is (71)] of Kasonomu village 10 April 2002.

(6.00) [[*Meda yokoi=ri*]_{OBL} [*mida remanu*]_A *garasi di-yadi*]_{CL1}.
 day one=at child two glass go-3SG.PAST
 ‘One day two boys went out (with their diving) glasses.’

(6.01) [[*Meda yokoi=ri*]_{OBL} [*nai mida remanu*]_A *garasi di-yadi*]_{CL1}.
 day one=at 1SG.POSS child two glass go-3SG.PAST
 ‘One day my two boys went out with their diving glasses.’

- (6.02) [*Anema garasi bo-yadi*]_{CL1}, [*ina diba de garasi*
head.water glass go.up-3PL.PAST 3 know NEG glass

foroka=sa di-yadi]_{CL2}.
basket=ACCM go-3PL.PAST

‘They went up to the headwaters (with their diving) glasses, they did not know they went with their diving glasses left behind with/in (their) basket.’

- (6.03) [[*Ina remanu*]_{VCS} *bi* [*garasi re-na de*]_{VCC}.
3 two TOP glass do-NOMZ NEG
‘(But) they didn’t have (lit. do) the diving glasses.’

Below the second verb *imi-* ‘pierce’ ends with same subject marking, though *meda* ‘sun’ appears to be the subject; this is due to an intervening inanimate subject, so not central to the storyline:

- (6.04) [*Rafe-gasa*]_{CL1} [*meda imi-ga*]_{CL2}, [[*fore odoro*]_{OBL}
wash-SIM.SS sun pierce-SIM.SS stone above

ame-gam-adi]_{CL3}.
stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘As they swam (lit. washed) and lay out in the sun (lit. sun pierced), they were sitting on a rock.’

- (6.05) [[[[*Na yaku*]_A *moke-yaka bi*, “[*Mironi aka*]_O *u-dedi*]_{CC}]_{CL1},”
1SG DSM think-1SG.PAST TOP there prawn hit-3PL.PRES

bao ni-yaka]_{CL2}]_{VCC}.
assume say-1SG.PAST

‘I thought, “They are (there) catching (lit. hitting) prawns,” I assumed.’

- (6.06) [*Uriyenau ni-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [*oki-yadi*]_{CL2}.
afternoon become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS arrive-3PL.PAST
‘In the afternoon they arrived (lit. ‘it became afternoon and then they arrived’).’

- (6.07) [[*Na bi*]_A [*baguru, tauga, mava*]_O *moi-si*]_{CL1} [*oki-yaka*]_{CL2},
1SG TOP greens banana coconut get-SEQ.SS arrive-1SG.PAST

[*mo mida remanu di foroka=ri*]_{VCS} *bi* [*aka yokoi*
at.once child two GEN basket=in TOP prawn one

kava de]_{VCC}!
not.one NEG

‘I brought greens, banana and coconut, but at once there was not one prawn in the two boys’ basket!’

- (6.08) [[*Mina mida remanu bi*]_A *iruku iri-na de*]_{CL1}!
this child two TOP food eat-NOMZ NEG
‘These two boys were not going to eat any food!’

- (6.09) [[*Na yaku*]_s *ni-yaka*]_{CL1} [*dada iruku iri-na de re-yadi*]_{CL2},
1SG DSM say-1SG.PAST so food eat-NOMZ NEG do-3PL.PAST

[*resi*]_{CL3} [*rauna vare-yadi*]_{CL4}.
SBL hunger sleep-3SG.PAST

‘I said that, so they didn’t eat, and so doing, they went to bed (lit. slept) hungry.’

- (6.10) [*Nai sina keika*]_{VCS} [*mini*]_{VCC}.
1SG.POSS story little here

‘This is my little story.’

- (6.11) [*Kapana Sam di sina*]_{VCC}.
(name) (name) GEN story

‘Kapana Sam’s story.’

Text 7

In the following text, recorded 24 May 2002, Peter Paul (M, ~30) [deceased] from Kasonomu village relates a hunting story of another young man from the village.

- (7.00) [*Suma=ri some di-yo*]_{CL1}.
bush=in hunt go-3SG.PAST

‘He hunted in the bush.’

- (7.01) [[*Wax-c yaku*]_A [*dona tora*]_O [*auna dudu*]_{OBL} *u-yo*]_{CL1}.
(name) DSM pig big dog INST D.CAUS-die-3SG.PAST

‘Waxy killed (lit. caused to die) a big pig with (his) dog.’

- (7.02) [*Wax-c [ini sosogi bona ini auna]*]_O [*moi-si*]_{CL1} [*suma=ri*]
(name) 3.POSS spear and 3.POSS dog get-SEQ.SS bush=to

some di-yo]_{CL2}.

hunt do-3SG.PAST

‘Waxy got his spear and his dog and went to the bush to hunt.’

- (7.03) [[*Suma tobo=ri*]_{OBL} [*oki-yadi-ri*]_{CL1}, [[*ini auna yaku*]_A
bush middle=in arrive-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS dog DSM

[*dona di sau*]_O *u-yo*]_{CL2}.

pig GEN smell hit-3SG.PAST

‘When they arrived in the middle of the bush, his dog smelled a pig.’

- (7.04) [[*Auna yaku*]_A [*dona meki re-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [[*Wax-c=ka*]
dog DSM pig chase do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS (name) =also

ina=sa]_s [*raga re-yo*]_{CL2}.

3=ACCM running do-3SG.PAST

‘(His) dog chased the pig and then Waxy also ran along with him (his dog).’

- (7.05) [*Meki re-yo*]_{CL1} [[*rofu sosogi yaku*]_{INST} *imi-yo*
 chase do-3SG.PAST so.that spear DSM shoot-3SG.PAST
 [*ini getona=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.
 3.POSS lower.back=in
 ‘He chased (it) so that he shot (it) with a spear (lit. a spear shot (it)) in the lower back.’
- (7.06) [*Sufa=ri fere-si*]_{CL1} [*rautu dairi-yo rautu vene*
 bush=at leave-SEQ.SS village return-3SG.PAST village people
ni-gi]_{CL2}.
 say-PURP
 ‘He left the bush and returned to the village to tell the village people.’
- (7.07) [[*Ini anua bi*]_A *dona tua re-gam-o*]_{CL1}.
 3.POSS dog TOP pig wait do-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘His dog was waiting by the pig.’
- (7.08) [*Rautu oki-yo=ri*]_{CL1} [*rofu ini rautu vene*
 village arrive-3SG.PAST=at so.that 3.POSS village people
ni-yo]_{CL2}.
 say-3SG.PAST
 ‘He arrived in the village, so that he could tell (lit. told) his village people (about it).’
- (7.09) [[*Ini rautu vene*]_s *ada tora gade iniye re-yadi*]_{CL1}.
 3.POSS village people happiness big very very do-3PL.PAST
 ‘His village people were very very happy.’
- (7.10) [[*Ini rautu vene=sa*]_s *suma=ri di-yadi*]_{CL1}, [*resi*]_{CL2}
 3.POSS village people=ACCM bush=to go-3PL.PAST SBL
 [*dona moi-si*]_{CL3} [*rautu oki-yadi*]_{CL4}.
 pig get-SEQ.SS village arrive-3PL.PAST
 ‘With his village people they went to the bush, and doing so they got the pig and brought (it) to the village.’
- (7.11) [[*Mina dona*]_o *moi oki-si*]_{CL1} [[*ini rema*]_o *voi*
 this pig get arrive-SEQ.SS 3.POSS woman sell
re-yo]_{CL2} [*dada, rautu vene ada re-yadi*]_{CL3}.
 do-3SG.PAST so village people happiness do-3PL.PAST
 ‘They brought this pig for his bride price, so the village people were happy.’

Text 8

Below, Chris Magio (M, 42) [other texts by this speaker include (35), (49), (90) and (112)], from Amuraika village gives a little history of the Doromu-Koki people, and a

plea for the next generation to save their language. This text was recorded 14 September 2004.

- (8.00) [*Koki vene*]_{NP}.
(name) people
'Koki people.'
- (8.01) [*Koki vene*]_{VCS} *bi* [*kaere*]_{VCC?}
(name) people TOP who
'Who are the Koki people?'
- (8.02) [*Koki vene*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*rema, rumana, mida* [*kaere bi gua*
(name) people TOP woman man child who TOP now

"Doromu" vene vo-ni-dedi]_{RC}]_{VCC}.
(name) people tell-say-3PL.PRES
'The Koki people are men, women and children who are now called (lit. tell-say) "Doromu" people.'
- (8.03) [*Koki*]_{VCS} *bi* [*ago roka*]_{VCC}.
(name) TOP word name
'Koki is the name of the language.'
- (8.04) [*Koki ago*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*Neroika otuka, Aire bagu, fore*
(name) word TOP (name) backyard (name) grotto store

ruba-ma]_{OBL} *yaku-yadi*]_{CC} *vene*]_{CC} *di ago*]_{VCC}.
hole-from go.out-3PL.PAST people GEN word
'The Koki dialect is the language of Neroika backyard, the language of the Aire grotto people who came out of the cave (lit. 'stone hole').'
- (8.05) [*Koki ago di kosini*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*oyena keika*]_S [*uni*
(name) word GEN mother TOP fish little 1PL.POSS

koru=ri]_{OBL} *ame-dedi*]_{CC} - [[[*oyena keika, nena toe*]_S, [*imaga*
water=at stay-3PL.PRES fish little bone heavy vine.sp

ri-na=ri]_{OBL} *de muye*]_{CC} *di oyena*]_S, [*ada gira oyena*
make-NOMZ=at NEG die GEN fish head hard fish

roka Koki]_S]_{VCC}.
name fish.sp
'The Koki language's mother is a little fish that lives in our rivers - a little fish, with big (lit. heavy) bones, a fish that doesn't die from ingesting poisonous vines, an obstinate (lit. 'hard-headed') fish named Koki.'
- (8.06) [[*Koki vene*]_S, *vata ni rausi re-yadi*]_{CL1} [*gagani*
(name) people happen become pour do-3PL.PAST place

- vata bai-yo*]_{CL2}.
fill.up come-3SG.PAST
'When the Koki people appeared and poured out (i.e. of the cave), the place/
land was filled up (with them).'
- (8.07) [*Vata ni de-yadi*]_{CL1} [[*usika oure-na dudu*]_{OBL},
happen become come-3PL.PAST younger be.first-NOMZ INST

[*rautu, ika neinei yava*]_{OBL} [*ri-si*]_{CL1}
village summit each house make-SEQ.SS

[*ame-gam-adi*]_{CL2}.
stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
'They appeared and came in families, villages, and were building houses and
living on every mountaintop.'
- (8.08) [[*Mina rautu~rautu be bi*]_S *autu ni-yadi*]_{CL1}
this village~PL some TOP deserted become-3PL.PAST

[[*mo [be bi]*]_{OBL} *gua ame-sifa*]_{CL2}.
at.once some TOP now stay-1PL.PRES
'Some of these villages have become deserted and some are still with us today.'
- (8.09) [*Koki rautu roka~roka*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Neroika, Aramaika, Kokouika,*
(name) village name~PL TOP (name) (name) (name)

Taburoika, Budoika, Yaugaraika, Efaika]_{VCC}.
(name) (name) (name) (name)
'The Koki village names are: Neroika, Aramaika, Kokouika, Taburoika,
Budoika, Yaugaraika (and) Efaika.'
- (8.10) [[*Mina roka~roka rautu vene*]_S *ame-gam-adi-ri*]_{CL1}
this name~DISTR village people stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS

[[*ago idana*]_O [*rautu~rautu ya*]_A [*ina kaya~ina.kaya*]_E *de*
word different village~PL DSM 3 REFL~DISTR NEG

iya re-gam-adi]_{CL2}.
war do-PAST.IMPERV-3.PAST
'When these different named village people were living, there were different
dialects in the different villages and they were not fighting amongst
themselves.'
- (8.11) [*Iniye~iniye auta re-ga*]_{CL1} [*ame-gam-adi*]_{CL2}.
REFL~DISTR fellowship.with do-SIM.SS stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
'They were living in fellowship with each other.'
- (8.12) [[*Ini muye-na, ini irakuna, ini toe bi*]_O [*ina kaya*
3.POSS die-NOMZ 3.POSS feast 3.POSS heavy TOP 3 REFL

*ina kaya*_E *moi aede~aede re-ga*_{CL1} [*ame-i*
3 REFL D.CAUS help~NOMZ do-SIM.SS stay-LINK

*bai-gam-adi*_{CL2}.

come-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘They were living helping one another in life (lit. going along living) in their funerals (lit. deaths), in feasts and in trials (lit. heavy).’

- (8.13) [[*Mina auta re-i bai-gam-adi kana*]_{CC}
this fellowship.with do-LINK come-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST like

[*i gua mida ya*]_s *de re-sifa*_{CL1}. [*Beika.resi*]_{CL2}?
2.POSS now child DSM NEG do-1PL.PRES why

‘You children today are not following this fellowshipping together way. Why (not)?’

- (8.14) [[*Uni Koki rautu tora~tora vene tau bi*]_s *muye-i*
1PL.POSS (name) village big~PL people all TOP die-LINK

*vau =ka re-yadi*_{CL1}.
completely =also do-3PL.PAST

‘All our Koki village elders have also all already died.’

- (8.15) [*Gua ame-sifa rautu remanu Amuraika bona Kasonomu*]_{VCS}
now stay-1PL.PRES village two (name) and (name)

*bi [ruika ri-yadi rautu]*_{VCC}.
TOP now make-3PL.PAST village

‘Today we are living in just two villages that were built, Amuraika and Kasonomu.’

- (8.16) [[*Amuraika bi*]_O *1951=ri [Rigo Distrik di oure-feide-na*
(name) TOP 1951=in (name) district GEN be.first-leave-NOMZ

vene yaku]_s *ni-yadi-ma*]_{CL1} [[*Taboro vene, Arama*
people DSM become-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS (name) people (name)

vene, Nero vene]_{CL1} *orefa-i bae de-yadi* [*ro*
people (name) people come.over-LINK come come-3PL.PAST [to

Budo]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.

(name)

‘In 1951 the Rigo District leaders (lit. be first leavers) named Amuraika and the Taboro, Arama and Nero people crossed over and went (lit. came) down to Budo.’

- (8.17) [[*Yaugara vene=s a rautu yokoi maka*]_O *ri-yadi*]_{CL1},
(name) people=ACCM village one only make-3PL.PAST

- [[*rautu bi*]_o *gua Amuraika vo-ni-sifa mini*]_{CL2}.
village TOP now (name) tell-say-1PL.PRES here
'Just one village was built together with the Yaugara people, which village we now call (lit. tell-say) Amuraika.'
- (8.18) [[*Kasonomu rautu bi*]_o *1960=ri [Efaika rautu vene]*]_A
(name) village TOP 1960=in (name) village people

roku re-si]_{CL1} [*ne-yadi*]_{CL2} [*ro [rautu*
migrate do-SEQ.SS go.down-3PL.PAST so.that village

ri-yadi bi]_{CC} *gua Kasonomu vo-ni-sifa mini*]_{CL3}.
make-3PL.PAST TOP now (name) tell-say-1PL.PRES here
'In 1960, the Efaika village people migrated to Kasonomu and went down and built the village which we now call Kasonomu.'
- (8.19) [*Mamanu rautu*]_{VCS} *bi [Neroika otuka=ri]*]_{VCC}.
(name) village TOP (name) backyard=at
'Mamanu village is in Neroika's backyard.'
- (8.20) [[*Gua Mamanu=ri ame-dedi*]_{RC} *vene*]_{VCS} *bi [Nero vene]*]_{VCC}.
now (name)=at stay-3PL.PRES people TOP (name) people
'The people living today in Mamanu are Nero people.'
- (8.21) [[*Ina bi*]_s *1980=ri [Amuraika gutuna]*]_{OBL} *roku re-si*]_{CL1}
3 TOP 1980=in (name) from migrate do-SEQ.SS

dairi ne-yadi [ini kono fafau]]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.
return go.down-3PL.PAST 3.POSS ground on
'They migrated to Amuraika in 1980 and came back down to their land.'
- (8.22) [[[*Gua Mamanu, Amuraika bona Kasonomu=ri*]_{OBL} *ame-sifa*]_{CC}
now (name) (name) and (name)=at stay-1PL.PRES

vene be]_{VCS} *bi [[tutubena]*]_{VCS} *bi [Taboro, Boku, Nobone,*
people some TOP descendant TOP (name) (name) (name)

Kokila bona 'Origo dava vene]]_{VCC}]_{VCC}.
(name) and (name) blood people
'Some of us people living today in Mamanu, Amuraika and Kasonomu are descendents of (our) Taboro, Boku, Nobone, Kokila and 'Origo relatives.'
- (8.23) [*Gua*]_{OBL} [*mida ya*]_A [*Koki ago*]_o *ni-sifa-ri*]_{CL1}
now child DSM (name) word say-1PL.PRES-SIM.DS

[[*neide-giya bi*]_{CL2}, [[*Koki ago*]_o *forovai re-do*]_{CL3}.
hear-2SG.FUT TOP (name) word confuse do-3SG.PRES
'Today's children, when you speak the Koki language, (when) you listen, the Koki language is confused/mixed up.'

- (8.24) [*Taboro, Boku, Nobone, Kokila bona 'Origo ago~ago*
(name) (name) (name) (name) and (name) word~PL
Koki=sa]_O *moi forovai re-ga*]_{CL1} [*ni-sifa*]_{CL2}.
(name)=ACCM D.CAUS confuse do-SIM.SS say-1PL.PRES
'We mix up Taboro, Boku, Nobone, Kokila and 'Origo language with Koki
when we speak.'
- (8.25) [[*Mina forovai fafau*]_{OBL} [*ago regode, Motu, Pidgin bona*
this confusion about word three and
English]_O *ya moi forovai ini re-yo*]_{CL1}.
DSM D.CAUS confusion 3.POSS do-3SG.PAST
'There are three languages that are mixed in, Motu, Pidgin and English are
mixed in.'
- (8.26) [[[[[[[[*Uni tutubena ya*]_S *vata ni-si*]_{CC} *ni-yadi*]_{RC}
1PL.POSS ancestor DSM happen become-SEQ.SS say-3PL.PAST
ago]_{NP} *roka Koki ago bi*]_{RC}]_O *de toto*
word name (name) word TOP NEG forgotten
ni-gifa]_{CL1}.
become-1PL.FUT
'We cannot forget (our) language called Koki language which our ancestors
appeared and then spoke.'
- (8.27) [[*Uni Koki ago*]_S *roro ni-go*]_{CC} *ori re-si*]_{CL1}
1PL.POSS (name) word disappear become-3SG.FUT fear do-SEQ.SS
[[*Sei di ago*]_O *moi kero re-si*]_{CL2} [[*fari [uni*
God GEN word D.CAUS turn do-SEQ.SS fear? 1PL.POSS
rautu=ri]_{OBL} *ame-ga*]_{CL3} [*reremama re-sifa ida=ka moi*
village=in stay-SIM.SS conduct do-1PL.PRES way=also D.CAUS
kero re-na]_{CL4}.
turn do-NOMZ
'Our Koki language will disappear I fear unless we stay in our villages and also
do the work to translate God's word.'
- (8.28) [*Ya [kaere~kaere Koki dava i rovaita=ri bi*]_{RC} *ya*]_{VCS}
2 who~PL (name) blood 2.POSS body=in TOP 2
bi [Koki mida, rema bona rumana]]_{VCC}.
TOP (name) child woman and man
'You who have Koki blood in your bodies are Koki men, women and children.'
- (8.29) [*Ame-i-bo-bi-gifa=ri*]_{CL1} [*ga toto ni [i*
stay-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-1PL.FUT=at PROHIB forgotten become 2.POSS

Koki rautu, i Koki vene bona i Koki
 (name) village 2.POSS (name) people and 2.POSS (name)

ago]_o]_{CL2}.

word

‘As we go on living, don’t forget your Koki village, Koki people and Koki language.’

Text 9

This is a story about a landslide that occurred in Kasonomu village in 1973, destroying several houses (cf. also Purcell 2021:74). The story, as told by Emmanuel Kapana (M, 48) [deceased], was recorded 34 years later, on 17 October 2007, during a Writers’ workshop held in Kasonomu village.

(9.00) [*Unema me-yo sina*]_{NP}. [*Emmanuel Kapana di sina*]_{NP}.
 landslide slide-3SG.PAST story (name) (name) GEN story
 ‘Landslide story. Emmanuel Kapana’s story.’

(9.01) [[*Lagani 23 December 1973 Sunday=ri*]_{OBL}, [*Dorom Kokila amiye*
 year sunday=on (name) (name) person

tau vakoi]_s *egogo re-si*]_{CL1} [*isira re-gam-afa*]_{CL2}.

all together gather do-SEQ.SS play do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST

‘On a Sunday, 23 December, in the year 1973, all the Dorom Kokila people had gathered and were playing (sports).’

(9.02) [[*Rumana vene bi*]_s *soccer re-gam-afa-ma*]_{CL1} [[*rema*
 man people TOP do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS woman

vene bi]_s *netball isira re-gam-adi*]_{CL2}.

people TOP play do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘We men were playing soccer and the women were playing netball.’

(9.03) [*Isira re-gam-afa fuofuori*]_{CL1}, [[*miya tora*]_s *sibo*
 play do-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST while rain big ?

re-yo]_{CL2}.

do-3SG.PAST

‘While we were playing, a heavy rain came.’

(9.04) [[*Uriyenau meda nemoko regodenu*]_o *moi-yo-ri*]_{CL1},
 afternoon day eye three get-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS

[[*Kasonomu rautu otuka=ri*]_{OBL} *kono uratoku-si*]_{CL2} [[*rautu*
 (name) village backyard=at ground break.apart-SEQ.SS village

tobo-ma]_{OBL} *rausi* *re-i* *de-gam-o*]_{CL3}.
 middle-at pour do-LINK come-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘At three o’clock in the afternoon, the ground at the back (lit. backyard) of Kasonomu village broke loose and was pouring/rushing down upon the middle of the village.’

(9.05) [[*Rema rumana*]_S *isira fere-i* *ori raga di-ga*]_{CL1}
 woman man play leave-LINK fear run go-SIM.SS

[*bo-gam-afa* *fuofuori*]_{CL2}, [[*rautu adina*]_{OBL} [*omuna*
 go-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST while village near mountain

tora (Vaya omuna)]_S *uratoku-yo-ma*]_{CL3} [[*rautu yava*
 big (name) mountain break.apart-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS village house

vana raro kana]_O *fono* *re-yo*]_{CL3}.
 hand line like cover do-3SG.PAST

‘While we men and women stopped (lit. left) playing (sports) and were running away, a neighbouring village mountain (Vaya mountain) broke loose and about four (lit. hand line) houses were buried (lit. covered up).’

(9.06) [[*Amiye bi*]_S *vegu ni-yafa*]_{CL1}.
 person TOP life become-1PL.PAST
 ‘We people lived.’

(9.07) [*Idu, [miya ma unema bi]*]_S *toga re-i bo-yo-ma*]_{CL1}
 but rain and landslide TOP always do-LINK go-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS

[[*uru tobo=ri*]_{OBL}, [*Fada yaku*]_S [*omuna fafau*]_{OBL} *usa~usa*
 night middle=at father DSM mountain about ask~PL

ni-si]_{CL2}, [*blesiya re-yo-ma*]_{CL3} [*fere-yo*]_{CL4}.
 say-SEQ.SS blessing do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS leave-3SG.PAST

‘But, the rain and landslide kept coming and in the middle of the night, the priest (lit. Father) prayed over the mountain, giving a blessing and then it stopped (lit. left).’

Text 10

The following story, about a piglet, was written 28 February 2009 by Philip Bomena (M, 28) [other texts from the same speaker include (11), (38-39), (82-83), (93-94) and (97)] from Amuraika village, while attending the ‘Strengthening *Tok Ples* (Tok Pisin word meaning ‘vernacular’) Education in Papua New Guinea’ (STEP) course at Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province.

(10.00) [[*Dona keika*]_{NP} [*roka Mareka*]_{RC}]_{NP}.
 pig little name (name)
 ‘The piglet named Mareka.’

- (10.01) [[*Dona keika yokoi ini roka*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Mareka*]_{VCC}.
 pig little one 3.POSS name TOP (name)
 ‘There was a piglet named Mareka.’
- (10.02) [[*Mareka bi ina keika iniye=ri*]_{OBL} [*rema tora yokoi*
 (name) TOP 3 little very=at woman big one

yaku]_A *dura=ri adodi-si*]_{CL1} [*de-yo* [*nai rautu*
 DSM net.bag=in carry-SEQ.SS come-3SG.PRES 1SG.POSS village

Amuraika=ri]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.
 (place.name)=to
 ‘When Mareka was little, one older woman carried (it) in a net bag and brought (it) to my village Amuraika.’
- (10.03) [[*Nai nono yaku*]_A *ne re-i ve-si*]_{CL1} [*ni-yo-ma*]_{CL2}
 1SG.POSS mother DSM look do-LINK see-SEQ.SS say-3SG.PAST

 [*moi bai-yadi* [*uni yava=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL3}.
 get come-3PL.PAST 1PL.POSS house=to
 ‘My mother looked and saw (it) and told (her) to bring (it) into our house.’
- (10.04) [*Nai nono yaku*]_{CL1} [*mina rema tora*]_{CL1} [*nikaite-yo*]_{CL1},
 1SG.POSS mother DSM this woman big ask-3SG.PAST

 “[[[[*Mina dona keika bi*]_o *sero re-i-sa ba amiye*
 this pig little TOP sell do-LINK-2SG.PRES or person

aida]_{CC} *ya ni-yadi-ma*]_{CL1} [*moi di-sa*]_{CL2}?”
 some 2 say-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS get go-2SG.PRES

vo-ni-yo]_{CL3}.
 tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘My mother asked this older woman, “Are you going to sell this pig to whomever has asked for (it) or are you taking it away?” she said.’
- (10.05) [[*Ma mina rema tora yaku*]_s *yomakai ni-yo*]_{CL1}, “[[[*Mina*
 and this woman big DSM like.this say-3SG.PAST this

dona keika bi]_o *sero re-i-da*]_{CC},” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL1}.
 pig little TOP sell do-LINK-1SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘And thus this older woman said (to her), “I am selling this piglet,” she said.’
- (10.06) [[*Nai nono ini uka bi*]_s =*ka ni-yo*]_{CL1}.
 1SG.POSS mother 3.POSS stomach TOP =also become-3SG.PAST
 ‘My mother’s heart (lit. stomach) was also happy.’

- (10.07) [[*Doba de*]_{OBL} [*nai nakimi amiye*]_s [*ini yava*
long NEG 1SG.POSS in-law person 3.POSS house
ide-ma]_{OBL} *yaku de-yo*]_{CL1}.
inside-at go.out come-3SG.PAST
'Not long (after) one of my in-laws came out of his house.'
- (10.08) [*De-si*]_{CL1} [*kamini [mina rema tora]*]_E *nikaite-yo*]_{CL2},
come-SEQ.SS so.then this woman big ask-3SG.PAST
“[[*Mina dona keika bi*]_O [*gokaisanu dudu*]_{OBL}
this pig little TOP how.much INST
sero re-i-sa]_{CL1},” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL2}.
sell do-LINK-2SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
'So then he came and asked this woman, “For how much are you selling
this piglet?” he said.'
- (10.09) [[*Mina rema tora yaku bi*]_s *yomakai ni-yo*]_{CL1}, “[*Fifti*
this woman big DSM TOP like.this say-3SG.PAST fifty
kina dudu]_{OBL} *sero re-i-da*]_{CL1},” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL2}.
kina INST sell do-LINK-1SG.PRES tell-say-3SG.PAST
'So the older woman said, “I’m selling it for fifty kina,” she said.'
- (10.10) [[*Nai nakimi amiye yaku*]_A [*ini fore*]_O *moi*
1SG.POSS in-law person DSM 3.POSS stone get
yaku-si]_{CL1} [[*mina rema tora*]_E *mar-o*]_{CL2} [*resi*]_{CL3}
take.out-SEQ.SS this woman big give-3SG.PAST SBL
[[*nai nono*]_E *ni-yo*]_{CL4}, “[*De-si*]_{CL5} [*yi dona*]_O
1SG.POSS mother say-3SG.PAST come -SEQ.SS 2.POSS pig
vo-ni-yo]_{CL7}.
tell-say-3SG.PAST
'My in-law took out his money (lit. ‘stone’) and gave (it) to this older
woman, and doing so he told my mother, “Come get your pig,” he said.'
- (10.11) [[[*Nai nono bi*]_s *ada yaku*]_s *rivai re-yo*]_{CL1}.
1SG.POSS mother TOP happiness DSM overcome do-3SG.PAST
'My mother was overcome with joy.'
- (10.12) [[*Nai nakimi amiye ro*]_E *taniku ni-si*]_{CL1} [*raga*
1SG.POSS in-law person to thank.you say-SEQ.SS run
ne-si]_{CL2} [[*ini dona keika*]_O *binu ma-si*]_{CL3} [[*yava*
go.down-SEQ.SS 3.POSS pig little hug give-SEQ.SS house

ide=ri]_{OBL} *dui* *re-i* *bo-yo*]_{CL4}.
 inside=to entering do-LINK go.over-3SG.PAST
 ‘She thanked (lit. said thank you) to my in-law and ran down and grabbed a hold of (lit. hugged) the piglet and took (it) up into the house.’

Text 11

The following story was also written 28 February 2009 by Philip Bomena (M, 28) [other texts from the same speaker include (10), (38-39), (82-83), (93-94) and (97)], again while attending the above mentioned STEP; it is an autobiographical account of a sea voyage to visit his sister.

- (11.00) [*Sealark gui re-yaka*]_{CL1}.
 (name) ride.on do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I rode on Sealark.’
- (11.01) [[*Lagani remanu*]_S *koina ni-yo*]_{CL1}.
 year two finish become-3SG.PAST
 ‘Two years had passed.’
- (11.02) [[*Nai tobaini tora yaku*]_A *ago siyayai re-yo* [*na*
 1SG.POSS sister big DSM word send do-3SG.PAST 1SG
rofu]_E]_{CL1}.
 to
 ‘My big sister sent word to me.’
- (11.03) [[*Nai tobaini bi*]_A [*Samarai amiye yokoi*]_O *me-yo*]_{CL1}
 1SG.POSS sister TOP (name) person one marry-3SG.PAST
 [*resi*]_{CL2} [[*Alotau =ri*]_{OBL} *ame-dedi*]_{CL3}.
 SBL (name) =at stay-3PL.PRES
 ‘My sister had married a Samarai man and so they are living in Alotau.’
- (11.04) [*Alotau ne-gida vonisi*]_{CL1} [[*ini nakimi vene*]_A
 (name) go.down-1SG.FUT if 3.POSS in-law people
ni-yo-ma]_{CL2} *na ni-yadi*]_{CL3}.
 say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 1SG say-3PL.PAST
 ‘Her in-laws sent word asking if I could go down to Alotau.’
- (11.05) [[*Na bi nai rovaita*]_S *ori re-yo*]_{CL1}, [[*badina bi*
 [[1SG TOP 1SG.POSS body fear do-3SG.PAST because TOP
bouti gui re-si]_{CL2} [*ne-gida*]_{CL3} *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL4}.
 boat ride.on do-SEQ.SS go.down-1SG.FUT tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘I (lit. my body) was afraid, because they said I could come by boat.’

- (11.06) [[*Wiki yokoi*]_s *koina ni-yo-ri* *bi*]_{CL1},
 week one finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP
 [*ne-si*]_{CL2} [[*taoni=ri* [*bouti di ini tiket*]_o *voi*]
 go.down-SEQ.SS town=to boat GEN 3.POSS ticket buy
re-yaka]_{CL3}.
 do-1SG.PAST
 ‘When one week had passed, I went into town to buy a boat ticket.’
- (11.07) [[[*Ma mina=ri moimai re-do*]_{RC} *rema yaku*]_A *yomakai na*
 and this=at work do-3SG.PRES woman DSM like.this 1SG
ni-yo]_{CL1}, “[[*Ya bi*]_s [*Tuisde rama=ri*]_{OBL} *bouti*
 say-3SG.PAST 2 TOP tuesday right=at boat
gui re-giya]_{CL3},” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL4}.
 ride.on do-2SG.FUT tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘And there the working woman said to me, “You can ride on the boat right on
 Tuesday,” she said.’
- (11.08) [*Ame-i bo-yaka*]_{CL1} [[*Tuisde ni-yo-ri*
 stay-LINK go.over-1SG.PAST tuesday become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
bi]_{OBL}, [*ne-si*]_{CL2} [*wafu=ri bouti nari re-ga*]_{CL3}
 TOP go.down-SEQ.SS wharf=to boat wait.for do-SIM.SS
 [*ame-gam-aka*]_{CL4}.
 stay-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST
 ‘I stayed until Tuesday, and then went down to the wharf and was there
 waiting for the boat.’
- (11.09) [[*Geiti nari re-do*]_{RC} *amiye yaku*]_A *geiti*
 gate look.after do-3SG.PRES person DSM gate
eboka re-yo-ma]_{CL1} [*dui re-i bo-si*]_{CL2} [[*mina*
 open do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS entering do-LINK go.over-SEQ.SS this
bouti tora ide=ri]_{OBL} *gui re-i bo-yaka*]_{CL3}.
 boat big inside=at ride.on do-LINK go.over-1SG.PAST
 ‘The gatekeeper opened the gate and I entered and went up inside boarding
 the big boat.’
- (11.10) [*Mina bouti tora ini roka*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Sealark*]_{VCC}.
 this boat big 3.POSS name TOP (name)
 ‘This big boat was called Sealark.’
- (11.11) [[*Sealark odor=ri*]_{OBL} *bo-si*]_{CL1} [[*are re-i* [*ne=ri*
 (name) above=at go.over-SEQ.SS stand do-LINK eye=at

- bi*_{OBL} [*vovone tau yaku*]_s *na moi-yo*_{CL2}.
 TOP dizziness all DSM 1SG get-3SG.PAST
 ‘I went up onto Sealark and stood and when I looked down I was dizzy?’
- (11.12) [[*Doba de*]_{OBL} [*mina bouti tora*]_s *kukuroka ni-si*_{CL1} [[*kamini*
 long NEG this boat big noise say-SEQ.SS so.then

ini bai-si kake ni-yo]_{RC} *sana*]_{OBL} *kamini*
 3.POSS come-SEQ.SS adhere become-3SG.PAST place so.then

*fere-si*_{CL2} [[*ramena koru tobo-ma*]_{OBL} *ne-yo*]_{CL3}.
 leave-SEQ.SS salt water middle-at go.down-3SG.PAST
 ‘Not long after the boat made a noise, so then it left the place where it was
 docked (lit. attached), and so then it left (the port) heading out into the middle
 of the sea (lit. saltwater).’
- (11.13) [[*Nai moke-na*]_s *ne-yo*]_{CL1} [[*nai dava tu*
 1SG.POSS think-NOMZ go.down-3SG.PAST 1SG.POSS blood short

vene]_O *moke-i ne-yaka*]_{CL2}.
 people think-LINK go.down-1SG.PAST
 ‘I was thinking about (the fact) that I was going down to see my relatives (lit.
 short blood).’
- (11.14) [*Meda ve-i feide-yaka-ma*]_{CL1} [*ne-si*]_{CL2} [*tomu*
 day see-LINK leave-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS go.down-SEQ.SS short

ni di-yo]_{CL3}.
 become go-3SG.PAST
 ‘I saw that the sun was setting/going down and it was dusk.’
- (11.15) [[*Ma mina gagani tora*]_s *bo-si*]_{CL1} [*mukuna*
 and this place big go.over-SEQ.SS darkness

ni-yo]_{CL2}.
 become-3SG.PAST
 ‘And this big place got dark.’
- (11.16) [[*Sealark odoro=ri*]_{OBL} *vare-yaka-ma*]_{CL1} [*bo-si*]_{CL2} [*ari*
 (name) above=at sleep-1SG.PAST-SEQ.DS go.over-SEQ.SS day

uve-yo]_{CL3}.
 break-3SG.PAST
 ‘On Sealark I slept and then it was dawn.’
- (11.17) [*Dadi-yaka-ri bi*]_{CL1} [[[*gagani ve-na de*]_{CC} *sana*]_{OBL}
 get.up-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP place see-NOMZ NEG place

mina]_o *ve-yaka*]_{CL2}.
 this see-1SG.PAST
 ‘When I got up I didn’t see any land at all.’

- (11.18) [[[*Doba de*]_{OBL} *Sealark moi raga re-do*]_{CC} *amiye yaku*]_s
 long NEG (name) D.CAUS run do-3SG.PRES person DSM

dadi-si]_{CL1} [*una ni-yo*]_{CL2}, “[[[*Una bi*]_s *Alotau*
 get.up-SEQ.SS 1PL say-3SG.PAST 1PL TOP (name)

oki-yafa mini]_{CC},” *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL1}.
 arrive-1PL.PAST here tell-say-3SG.PAST
 ‘Not long after Sealark’s captain ran, got up and told us, “We have arrived at Alotau,” he said.’

- (11.19) [[*Nai uka bi*]_o [*ada yaku*]_A *rivai re-yo*]_{CL1}.
 1SG.POSS stomach TOP happiness DSM over.come do-3SG.PAST
 ‘My heart was overcome with joy.’

- (11.20) [[*Ini bae-na ide=ri*]_{OBL} *kiya=ka bo-si*]_{CL1} [[*bouti*
 3.POSS come-NOMZ inside=at slowly=also go.over-SEQ.SS boat

di ini vare-do sana=ri]_{OBL} *bo-si*]_{CL2}
 GEN 3.POSS sleep-3SG.PRES place=at go.over-SEQ.SS

[*kake ni-yo*]_{CL3}.
 adhere become-3SG.PAST
 ‘It also came up slowly to the place where it was docked (lit. attached).’

- (11.21) [[*Sealark odoro=ri*]_{OBL} *are re-si*]_{CL1} [*ne re-yaka-ri*
 (name) above=at stand do-SEQ.SS look DO-1SG.PAST-SIM.DS

bi]_{CL2} [[*nai tobaini*]_o *ne re-i ve-yaka*]_{CL3}.
 TOP 1SG.POSS sister look do-LINK see-1SG.PAST

‘When I was standing up above on Sealark and looking down I looked and saw my sister.’

- (11.22) [[*Sealark =ri*]_{OBL} *sokau re-si*]_{CL1} [*bo-yaka nai tobaini tora*
 (name) =on jump do-SEQ.SS go-1SG.PAST my sister big

rofu]_{OBL}]_{CL2}.

to

‘I got off of Sealark and went over to my big sister.’

- (11.23) [[*Nai tobaini tora*]_s *de-si*]_{CL1} [[*na*]_o *binu ma-si*]_{CL2}
 1SG.POSS sister big come.down-SEQ.SS 1SG hug give-SEQ.SS

[*isaka ni-yo*]_{CL3} [*resi*]_{CL4} [[*na*]_o *afe-i bo-yo*
 cry say-3SG.PAST SBL 1SG take-LINK go.over-3SG.PAST

yava=ri]_{OBL}]_{CL5}.

house=to

‘My big sister came and hugged me and cried and doing so then she took me to the house.’

Narrative 12

This text was recorded in Port Moresby 13 September 2019. The speaker, Joseph Toma (M, 50) [others texts by same speaker include (2), (13), (24), (34), (87), (113), (117) and (120)], gives his account of how he was robbed of his phone while walking along the road.

(12.00) [[*Agiya uriyaku*]_{OBL} [[*beika vata ni-yo*]_{CL1} *sina*]_O [*na*
yesterday morning what happen become-3SG.PAST word 1SG

rofu bona Robert ro]_E *nana bo-gam-fa-ri*
to and (name) to walk go-PAST.IMPERV-1PL.PAST-SIM.DS

Gordons]_{CL2}.

(place.name)

‘The story of what happened to me and Robert yesterday morning when we were walking from Gordons.’

(12.01) [[[*Nai fon*]_O *moi-yadi*]_{CL1} *di ini sitori*]_O *ni-gida*]_{CL1}.
1SG.POSS phone get-3PL.PAST GEN 3.POSS story say-1SG.FUT
‘I will tell the story of when my phone was taken.’

(12.02) [[*Agiya uriyaku*]_{OBL} *bai-fa*, [*Robert =sa*]_{OBL}]_{CL1}, [*ma*
yesterday morning come-1PL.PAST (name) =ACCM and

[*buka, [uni Koki ago buka*]_{RC}]_O *moi-gfa*]_{CL2} [*bai-ga*]_{CL3},
book 1PL.POSS (name) word book get-1PL.FUT come-SIM.SS

[*to ida biri re-yadi*]_{CL4} [*dada bi [redio maka*]_O
but road block do-3SG.PAST so TOP only

moi-yafa]_{CL5}]_{VCS} *bi kami*]_{VCC}...
get-1PL.PAST TOP so.then

‘Yesterday morning we came, with Robert, and the books, when we came and got our Koki language books, but well, on the way we were prevented so no (we weren’t able to)...so then we were only able to take radios (i.e. audio players)...’

(12.03) [*Yaku [geiti etofaro*]_{OBL} [[*bi nana uga-i re-gi*]_{CC}]_{CL1} [*bi*
go.out gate outside TOP walk cross-LINK do-PURP TOP

kora bi usa~usa ni-yafa]_{CL2} [*ma kamin bo-yafa*]_{CL3}.
begin TOP ask~PL say-1PL.PAST and so.then go-1PL.PAST
'Outside the gate as we were beginning to walk across, we prayed, so then we went on.'

- (12.04) [*Bo-yafa* [*Hohola, market bus stop*]_{OBL}, [*bas 6*]_O
go-1PL.PAST (place.name) bus

keu ri-yafa]_{CL1} [*kam ri-yafa Gordons*]_{CL2}.
ascend.on make-1PL.PAST and.then make-1PL.PAST (place.name)
'We went to Hohola market bus stop, and got on bus 6 and then made it to Gordons.'

- (12.05) [*Gordons bo-yafa*]_{CL1}, [*bi soka re-yafa*]_{CL2} [*bi, kam*
(place.name) go-1PL.PAST TOP arrive do-1PL.PAST TOP and.then

basi=ri kam soka re-yafa min]_{CL3}.
bus=at and.then arrive do-1PL.PAST here
'We went to Gordons, got off, and then we got off the bus there.'

- (12.06) [*Soka re-si*]_{CL1} [[[[*bi basi moi-gfa*]_{CL2} [*ba yuka-ma*
arrive do-SEQ.SS TOP bus get-1PL.FUT or leg-by

bo-gfa]_{CL3}]_{CC}]_O [*ni-yafa*]_{CL4} [*to, mo* [*moke-na gokai.resi*
go-1PL.FUT say-1PL.PAST but at.once think-NOMZ why

kamini]_{CL1}.
so.then

'We got off and discussed taking a bus or going by foot, so then but at once we did according to what we thought.'

- (12.07) [*Yuka-ma maka bo-yafa*]_{CL1}.
leg-by only go-1PL.PAST
'We just went by foot.'

- (12.08) [[*Gordons market-ma buruka seri~seri-ma*]_{OBL} *uga*
(place.name) market-at creek bank~PL-at cross

bo-i ne-yafa, [berou feta]]_{OBL}]_{CL1}.
go-LINK go-1PL.PAST other side

'From Gordons market, along the creek bank we crossed, along that side.'

Below we find a verbal suffix *-yadi* (3PL.PAST) devoid of its corresponding verb; an element *raro* 'line' has intervened. A most unusual phenomenon, nowhere else observed.

- (12.09) [[[[*Koi raro, vari raro -yadi*]_{CL1}]_{CC} [*eta rafo mina*
tree.sp line plant line -3PL.PAST side flat this

- ada-ma*_{OBL} *bo-gfa*_{CL2} [*ma kam bo-sfa mini*]_{CL3}.
 shade-at go-1PL.FUT and and.then go-1PL.PRES here
 ‘There was a line of *koi* trees, planted in a line in the flat (area) and we went along in the shade and were going along there.’
- (12.10) [*Bo-si*]_{CL1} [*bo-si*]_{CL2} [*bo-i berou feta vada*]_{CL3} [*bo-i*
 go-SEQ.SS go-SEQ.SS go-LINK other side already go-LINK
 [*mina koi ita*]_{OBL} *ebu re-si*_{CL3} [[*rava sana=ri*]_{OBL}
 this tree.sp firewood pass do-SEQ.SS clearing place=at
*bo-si*_{CL4}, [*bo-sfa-ri* *bi*]_{CL5}, [[*mina amiye*]_s, [*rascal*
 go-SEQ.SS go-1PL.PRES-SIM.DS TOP this person
amiye]_{RC} *bi sena ne re-i una ve-yo*_{CL6}, [[*na*
 person TOP already look do-LINK 1PL see-3SG.PAST 1SG
ve-yo [*nai foketa*]_{VCS} *bi fon nufa*_{VCC}]_{CC}]_{CL7}.
 see-3SG.PAST 1SG.POSS pocket TOP phone POSS
 ‘We were going, going along on the side and passed the *koi* trees and went into the clearing and, when we had gone, this man, a rascal had already come along and saw us, he saw that there was my phone in my pocket.’
- (12.11) [[[*Foketa*]_{VCS} *bi fon nufa*]_{VCC} *mina*]_{CC} *ne re-i una*
 pocket TOP phone POSS this look do-LINK 1PL
*ne re-i ve-yo*_{CL1} [[[*ma fufuta na rofu*]_E *bae*
 look do-LINK see-3SG.PAST and back 1SG to come
de-yo]_{CL2}]_{CC} *na toto*]_{CL3}.
 come-3SG.PAST 1SG not.know
 ‘He saw that (my) phone was in my pocket and he came and saw us and came up behind me without me knowing about it.’
- (12.12) [*Ma amiye bedakai=ka una usi bai-gam-adi*]_{CL1}.
 and person some (pl)=also 1PL follow come-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘And some other people were also coming along following us.’
- (12.13) [*Ina bae de-s*]_{CL1} [[*mina vene*]_{OBL} *bubudo -si*]_{CL2}
 3 come come-SEQ.SS this people leftover -SEQ.SS
 [*bae ne-si*]_{CL3} [*kai nai foket*]_O *vaita e*]_{CL4} [*ai*
 come go-SEQ.SS trousers 1SG pocket hand.inside e hey
nis kain]_{CL5}, [*okay nai foketa*]_O *kamin rutu*
 put.arm.around already 1SG pocket so.then pulling

re-do *mini*]_{CL6}.
do-3SG.PRES here
'He came from amongst those people and, hey, he put his hand in my pocket, and his arm around me, and so then he pulled there in my pocket.'

- (12.14) [[*Na bi* [*kaere amiye*]_O *bao ni kero re-si*]_{CL1}]_{VCS} *bi*
1SG TOP who person assume say turn do-SEQ.SS TOP

[*mina*]_{VCC}, [*mi-bi* [*rascal amiye*]_S [*nai fon*]_O *moi-go*
this this-TOP person 1SG phone get-3SG.FUT

vonisi]_{CL2} [*du* *vau* *re-do* *mini*]_{CL3}.
if look.around completely do-3SG.PRES here
'I was turned around to see who this person was, looking all around for this rascal who was going to take my phone.'

- (12.15) [*Na=ka ma bi kaini*]_{CL1}.
1SG=also and TOP already
'But I also couldn't (see him).'

- (12.16) [*Tomatoma re-si*]_{CL1} [*kaini, kero fuyo re-yaka*]_{CL2} [*bi*
panic do-SEQ.SS already turn turn.around do-1SG.PAST TOP

[*nai foketa*]_O *kami uesi re-yo* *mini*]_{CL3}.
1SG.POSS pocket so.then rip do-3SG.PAST here

'I was panicking and I already turned around, and so then he ripped my pocket.'

- (12.17) [[*Nai foket*]_O *uesi*]_{CL1} [*bi vana re-si*]_{CL2} [*bi* [*nai*
1SG.POSS pocket rip TOP hand do-SEQ.SS TOP 1SG.POSS

fon]_O *kam moi-yo* *min*]_{CL3}.
phone and.then get-3SG.PAST here

'He ripped my pocket and with his hand he took my phone.'

- (12.18) [*Moi-si*]_{CL1} [*kamin raga ori ne-yo* *min*]_{CL2}.
get-SEQ.SS so.then running fear go.down-3SG.PAST here
'So then he took it and ran away.'

- (12.19) [[*Nai fon*]_O *moke-yaka*]_{CL1} [*to, mo bero bi*
1SG.POSS phone think-1SG.PAST but at.once wound TOP

[*nai vegu*]_O *moke-yaka*]_{CL2}.
1SG.POSS life think-1SG.PAST

'I thought about my phone, but at once I thought too about the fact that my life was not injured.'

- (12.20) [[*Nai vegu*]_{VCS} *bi* [*mina ya*]_A [*moi tumu ri-na*
1SG.POSS life TOP this DSM D.CAUS short make-NOMZ

no ma]_{VCC}]_{VCS} *bi* [*kaini*]_{VCC}.
 bad and TOP already
 ‘This had not even shortened my life.’

- (12.21) [[*Nai fon*]_{CL1} *dada re-i* *moke-yaka*]_{CL1} [*to, kain*
 1SG.POSS phone so do-LINK think-1SG.PAST but already

fere-yaka]_{CL1}.
 leave-1SG.PAST
 ‘I thought about my phone, but I let that be.’

- (12.22) [*Ye Robert =sa* [*uni Erima James Kodana di*
 so (name) =ACCM 1PL.POSS (place.name) (name) (name) GEN

ini yava=ri bo-gfa vonisi]_{CL1}, [*bas fari makai*
 3.POSS house=to go-1PL.FUT if bus fare like.wise

-yadi ma kamini]_{CL2}.
 -3PL.PAST and so.then

‘And so with Robert, when we were going to go to Erima to James Kodana’s house, so then from there we couldn’t take a bus.’

- (12.23) [*Bo-yafa*]_{CL1} [[*traffic vene*]_O, [*transport board vene, police,*
 go-1PL.PAST people people

taraka licence permit ve-dedi vene mina]_{RC} *kamini,*
 car see-3PL.PRES people this so.then

ni-yafa-ma]_{CL2} [[*taraka bas*]_O *astopu re-yadi-ma*]_{CL3}
 say-1PL.PAST-SEQ.DS car bus stop do-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS

[*dairi de-yafa Gordons*]_{CL4}.
 return come-1PL.PAST (place.name)

‘We went up to the traffic people, transport board people, police, car licence permit sighting people there, so then we told them (about what had happened) and they had a bus stop and we came back to Gordons.’

- (12.24) [*Dubu dairi de-i Gordons soka re-i yuka-ma*
 again return come-LINK (place.name) arrive do-LINK leg-by

bai-yafa]_{CL1} [*21 club mina=ri gutuna bas moi-yafa*]_{CL2} [*bi*
 come-1PL.PAST this=at from bus get-1PL.PAST TOP

kamini, kam dairi keu ri moi ne-i fere-yaka
 so.then so.then return ascend make take go-LINK leave-1SG.PAST

*mini*_{CL3} [*moi ne-i fere-yaka Mapang=ri*]_{CL2}.
 here get go- LINK go.down-1PL.PAST (name)=at
 ‘We got back to Gordons and arrived by foot and came to 21 club and from there got a bus, and so then, so then we got on to go back and I left (you) at Mapang’

(12.25) [*Na mo ne-yaka hospital*]_{CL1}.
 1SG at.once go.down-1SG.PAST
 ‘And at once I went to the hospital.’

(12.26) [[[*Agiya beika vata ni-yo*]_{CL1} *sina keika*]_o *mo*
 yesterday what happen become-3SG.PAST word little at.once

ni-ogau re-yaka min]_{CL2}.
 say-appear do-1SG.PAST this
 ‘I have elaborated (lit. say-appear) at once on the little story of what happened yesterday.’

(12.27) [*Thankyou tora gade*]_{CL1}.
 big very
 ‘Thank you very much.’

Narrative 13

The following text, by the same speaker as the previous, Joseph Toma (M, 50) [other texts by same speaker include (2), (12), (24), (34), (87), (113), (117) and (120)], gives events that happened the following day, also recorded in Port Moresby 13 September 2019.

(13.01) [[*Gua uriyaku*]_{OBL} *Hohola 1*, [*na ya*]_s *siko, ne-i*
 now morning (place.name) 1SG DSM first go-LINK
oki-yaka]_{CL1} [[*bi, doba de Rob*]_{OBL}, *amei-da-ma*]_{CL2}
 arrive-1SG.PAST TOP long NEG (name) stay-1SG.PRES-SEQ.SS

[*Robert bai-yo*]_{CL3}.
 (name) come-3SG.PAST
 ‘This morning at Hohola 1, I came before, and I went down and arrived, not long after Rob, I was staying (lit. stay) and Robert came.’

(13.02) [*Robert bai-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [*mo buka moi-gifa*]_{CL2} [*vo-ni*
 (name) come-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS at.once book get-1PL.FUT tell-say

re-yafa]_{CL3} [*bi mo [yava vene]*]_E, [*Alex iduara*]_o
 do-1PL.PAST TOP at.once house people (name) door

biri ri-si]_{CL4} [*kamini di-yadi*]_{CL5} [*moimai una kamini*
 close -SEQ.SS so.then go-3PL.PAST work 1PL so.then

toyoko ni-yafa ine]_{CL6}.
 stranded become-1PL.PAST so
 ‘Robert came and, at once we tried to get books, and at once asked about the books from the house people, Alex had locked the door, and so then he had gone off to work and so then we were stranded.’

- (13.03) [*Ai, Siau, ni-yafa-ma*]_{CL1} [[*rin re-yo*]_{CL2}]_{VCS} *bi*
 hey (name) say-1PL.PAST-SEQ.SS ring do-3SG.PAST TOP

[*kaini*]_{VCC}, [*dubuini ere bai-yo*]_{CL3} [[*taraka, ki*]_O *moi*
 already brother other come-3SG.PAST car key get

bai-yo]_{CL4}, [[*yava biri*]_O *eboka re-yo-ma*]_{CL5} [*dui*
 come-3SG.PAST house door open do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS entering

re-i buka moi-yafa bi kamin]_{CL6}.
 do-LINK book get-1PL.PAST TOP so.then

‘Hey, Siau, we said and he rang, and already our brother came in (his) truck, he brought the key, and opened the door and we then went in; so then we got the books.’

- (13.04) [[*Ina una afe-i bai-go*]_{CC} *vo-ni-yo*]_{CL1}
 3 1PL take-LINK come-3SG.FUT happen-become-3SG.PAST

[[*Central Waigani tunnel mina=ri*]_{OBL} *una fere-go*]_{CC}
 (place.name) this=at 1PL leave-3SG.FUT

vo-ni-yo]_{CL2}, [[*mina=ri [bas 17]*]_O *moi bai-gifa*]_{CC}
 happen-become-3SG.PAST this=at bus get come-1PL.FUT

[*vo-ni-yo*]_{CL3}.

happen-become-3SG.PAST

‘He said he would take us, and leave us there at Central Waigani tunnel, and from there we would get bus 17.’

- (13.05) [*Ni-si*]_{CL1} [*kam keu ri-yafa*]_{CL2} [*bi, mo*
 say-SEQ.SS so.then ascend -1PL.PAST TOP at.once

[*moke-na buni yaku*]_A [*uka baeko moi amuta*
 think-NOMZ good DSM stomach perhaps D.CAUS peace

re-yo-ma]_{CL3} [*kamini una moi afe-i bai-yo*
 do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS so.then 1PL D.CAUS take-LINK come-3SG.PAST

[*Erima [mi James ini ame-do*]_{CC} *sana*]_{RC}]_{CL4}, [*to*
 (place.name) here (name) 3.POSS stay-3SG.PRES place but

yava=ka una toto]CL5.
house=also 1PL not.know

‘So then, that’s what he said and we got on, and at once because of his good thinking to pacify our hearts, and so then he took us, took us to Erima, to James’ living place, but we also didn’t know the house.’

- (13.06) [[*Mina ida-ma*]OBL *bai-sifa*]CL1 [*bi [James di ini*
this road-to come-1PL.PRES TOP (name) GEN 3.POSS

rema bi ina]S *getei dui re-do-ma*]CL2 [*kamini*
woman TOP 3 gate entering do-3SG.PRES-SEQ.DS so.then

raka ni-yaka mini]CL3.
call say-1SG.PAST here

‘We came to the road and James’ wife was going into the gate and so then I called out (to her).’

- (13.07) [[*Rumana ere di, rumana ere di ini roka*]O *toto*]CL1
man other GEN man other GEN 3.POSS name not.know

[*ni, [rumana di roka*]O *na raka ni James*]CL2.
say man GEN name 1SG call say (name)

‘Another man, another man whose name I don’t know, I called out to him James.’

- (13.08) [*James ni-yaka maka ne re-si*]CL1 [*ne re-i na*
(name) say-1PL.PAST only look do-SEQ.SS look do-LINK 1SG

ve-yo]CL2.
see-3SG.PAST

‘I just said James, and he saw me.’

- (13.09) [*Una bo-i de-yo*]CL1 [*round.about bo-i de-yo*
1PL go-LINK come-3SG.PAST go-LINK come-3SG.PAST

ro]CL2 [*de-si*]CL3 [*bi, [7 day dubu vairana mi*
to come-SEQ.SS TOP church front this.TOP

uta=ri]OBL]VCS *bi [kain*]VCC.
middle=at TOP enough

‘We went down to the roundabout and came, in front of the Seventh Day (Adventist) church there in the middle.’

- (13.10) [*Mo taraka*]VCS *mi-bi [uriyaku meda ma independence*
at.once car this-TOP morning day and

di mi vorivori]VCC [*ye ne-ga*]CL1 [*bo-ga*]CL2 [*siausau*]VCS
GEN here apprehension so go-SIM.SS go-SIM.SS vehicle.noise

mi-bi [[*una =ka orefa-na anua*
this-TOP 1PL = also cross-NOMZ be.unable

re-yafa]_{CL3}]_{VCC}.
do-1PL.PAST

‘And at once the cars (were) there in the middle of the morning and with Independence (Day) confusion we went down and there was vehicle noise and we also couldn’t cross.’

- (13.11) [*Ve-yafa [bakana ni Robert ni Robert vada]*]_{CC} *ma*
see-1PL.PAST space become (name) say (name) already and

[*raga maka re-i kam~kam raga re-yfa*]_{CL1}.
running only do-LINK and.then~INTS running do-1PL.PAST
‘We saw some space, and I told Robert, I told Robert and then we just ran, we ran across.’

- (13.12) [*Bai-de uta are re-i berou rofu=ka makai*]_{CL1}.
come-come middle stand do-LINK other to=also likewise
‘We came and also stood there in the middle.’

- (13.13) [*Uga-i bae de-yafa*]_{CL1}, [[*James di rema*]_A *una tua*
cross-LINK come come-2PL.PAST (name) GEN woman 1PL wait

ame-do]_{CL2}.
stay-3.PRES

‘We got across, and James’ wife was waiting for us.’

- (13.14) [*Ni-kabai~kabai re-yafa*]_{CL1} [*bi, uka moi, moi*
say-answer~PL do-1PL.PAST TOP stomach D.CAUS D.CAUS

ada re-yfa]_{CL2}, [*vana tuka re-si*]_{CL3} [*kam dui*
happiness do-1PL.PAST hand shake do-SEQ.SS and.then entering

re-yafa [yava ide]]_{OBL}]_{CL4}.
do-1PL.PAST house inside

‘We answered, and we were happy, shook hands and went inside the house.’

- (13.15) [*Dui re-yafa*]_{CL1} [[*yava ide=ri*]_{OBL} *ma, ame-i-nu*
entering do-1PL.PAST house inside=at and stay-LINK-STAT

egogo re-yafa]_{CL2} [*bi usa~usa siko ni, ni vau re-si*]_{CL3},
meet do-1PL.PAST TOP ask~PL first say say all do-SEQ.SS

[[*sioni ya*]_A *buka duaiya re-yo [uni ago*
white.person DSM book read do-3SG.PAST 1PL word

dudu]_{OBL}]_{CL4}, [[*mo e-gira sina keika~keika*]_O
INST at.once I.CAUS-hard word little~PL

uniye~uniye *ni, ni-e-gira re-yafa*]_{CL5}, [*ma* [*James*
1PL.REFL~DISTR say say-I.CAUS-hard do-1PL.PAST and (name)

di rema]_A [*ini moke-na ago*]_O, *ini maruka=sa*
GEN woman 3.POSS think-NOMZ word 3.POSS husband=ACCM

nidodi re-dedi]_{CC}, [*uru ari neinei, uka=ri ame-do*]_{CC}
discuss do-3PL.PRES night day each stomach=in stay-3SG.PRES

kana]_{RC}, *ni-ogau re-yo, neide-yafa bo, mo*
like say-appear do-3SG.PAST listen-1PL.PAST go at.once

vada koina ni-yo]_{CL6} [*ma ame-sifa*
already finish become-3SG.PAST and stay-1PL.PRES

min]_{CL7}.

here

‘We went inside the house and, we sat down together and first prayed, that done, then the white man read the book in our language, at once giving some little words to encourage (lit. say hard) us, we were encouraged, and James’ wife’s thinking, in discussion with her husband, every day and night, what was in (their) hearts, she elaborated on (lit. say-appeared), and we kept listening and then at once when she was finished we stayed there.’

- (13.16) [*Mina usi bi ma dairi ne-gfa yava=ri*]_{CL1}.
this follow TOP and return go.down-1PL.FUT house=to
‘Later we returned and went back home.’

- (13.17) [[*Ye, sina keika*]_S [*gua de, gua uriyaku*]_{OBL} *beika*
so story little now go now morning what

re-yafa]_{RC} [*sina*]_S *bai-si*]_{CL1} [*ma koina ni-yo*
do-1PL.PAST story come-SEQ.SS and finish become-3SG.PAST

mini]_{CL2}.

here

‘And so, this little story now, of what we did today in the morning, has come to an end.’

- (13.18) [*Buni tora gade*]_{VCC}.
good big very
Thank you very much (lit. very great good).’

Legends/traditional practices

Seven legends are included below.

Legend 14

The legend below was recorded by Kikkawa (1999:17), written by Rapheal Totome (M, 33) [other texts by the same speaker include (16), (30), (43-44), (47), (77) and (101)], at

Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands province in September 1999.

- (14.00) [*Uba dubui=sa*]_{CL1}.
both brother=ACCM
'Two brothers together.'
- (14.01) [[*Yokaru uriyaku*]_{OBL} [*uba dubui=sa*]_A *bi tufe*
one.day morning both brother=ACCM TOP raft
ri-gedi]_{CL1} *vo-ni-yadi*]_{CL2}.
make-3PL.FUT tell-say-3SG.PAST
'One day in the morning, two brothers said they would build rafts.'
- (14.02) [[*Dubuini tora ere di mosara muro*]_S *bi rama*
brother big other GEN sweet.potato garden TOP true
ni tau~tau re-yo dada]_{CL1}, [*moi di-gedi*]_{CL2}
become all~PL do-3SG.PAST because get go-3PL.FUT
[[*moni be*]_O *baku re-gedi vonisi*]_{CL3}.
money some find do-3PL.FUT if
'The older brother's sweet potato garden was all ripening, so they were going to take (them, i.e., sweet potatoes) to see if they could make (lit. find) some money.'
- (14.03) [[*Giro baiya*]_O *re-yadi*]_{CL1} [*rofu, [sufa urana]*]_{OBL}
axe bush.knife do-3PL.PAST so.that bush toward
di-yadi]_{CL2}.
go-3PL.PAST
'They got their axes and bush knives and headed out to the bush.'
- (14.04) [[*Yabo aita~aita maka*]_O *ve-gasa*]_{CL1} [*nu vau re-i,*
tree light~PL only see-SIM.SS cut completely do-link
doro maena]_O *ae inauda=ka moi vau re-i*
cane.sp vine put all=also D.CAUS completely do-link
yabo uvakai-ga]_{CL2} [[*koru seri=ri*]_{OBL} *moi-ga*]_{CL3}
tree carry-SIM.SS water shore=at get-SIM.SS
[oki-yadi]]_{CL4}.
arrive-3PL.PAST
'They only saw light trees and cut it all, and got it all with cane vines, also carried the wood to the riverbank and brought it.'
- (14.05) [[*Ini rema vene*]_A *bi mosara goe-ga*]_{CL1} [*fuse*
3.POSS woman people TOP sweet.potato dig-SIM.SS bag

ri-gasa]_{CL2}, [*moi oki-yadi* [[*koru seri=ri*]_{OBL} [[*rumana*
make-SIM.SS get arrive-3PL.PAST water shore=at man

vene]_A *tufe* *ri-gam-adi*]_{RC} *sana=u*]_{OBL}]_{CL3}.
people raft make-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST place=on

‘Their wives dug up the sweet potatoes and put them in bags and brought them to the riverbank, to the place where the men were building the rafts.’

- (14.06) [*Evadi moi vana~vana re-yadi*]_{CL1} [[*bi, uru*
quickly D.CAUS hand~DISTR do-3SG.PAST TOP night

ni-gi]_{CC} *re-yo*]_{CL2} [*idu, sena moi koina*
become-PURP do-3SG.PAST but already D.CAUS finish

re-yadi]_{CL3}.
do-3PL.PAST

‘Right away they made them by hand, as it was getting dark, but they were already finished.’

- (14.07) [[*Tufe remanu*]_O *ri-yadi*]_{CL1}.
raft two make-3PL.PAST
‘They made two rafts.’

- (14.08) [*Vare-yadi*]_{CL1}, [*ari uve-yo*]_{CL2}.
sleep-3PL.PAST day break-3SG.PAST
‘They slept and then it was dawn.’

- (14.09) [[*Mosara fuse bona ini korikari=sa*]_O [*tufe fafau*]_{OBL}
sweet.potato bag and 3.POSS belonging=ACCM raft on.TOP.of

migigi ri-si]_{CL1}, [*keu re-i vau re-i* [*Koki*
pack make-SEQ.SS ride.on do-link completely do-link (name)

urana Mimani koru]_{OBL} *moi ada ma-na maka*
towards (name) water D.CAUS happiness give-NOMZ only

fore maina]_{CL2}.
money look.for

‘They tied up the sweet potato bags and their belongings on the rafts and got all aboard, headed for Koki on the Mimanu river, to seek their fortune (lit. happiness).’

Legend 15

This legend was written in 2001 by Joe Warika (M, ~20), for the two participants attending the National Translators’ Course in Alotau that year.

- (15.00) *Oga*
Garden

- (15.01) [*Yokaru* [*amiye yokoi* [*roka Tau Yagabo*]_{RC} *yaku*]_A [*ini*
 one.day person one name (name) (name) DSM 3.POSS
rautu vene]_E *omar-o*]_{CL1} [[*ini muro*]_O
 village people invite-3SG.PAST 3.POSS garden
vari-yaganedi]_{CC}.
 plant-3PL.IMP
 ‘Once upon a time a man named Tau Yagabo invited his village people to
 plant his garden.’
- (15.02) [[*Vari~vari re-gedi*]_{CL1}]_{RC} *meda moi-yo-ri*]_{CL2} [[*bi*,
 plant~NOMZ do-3PL.FUT day get-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP
uriyaku gorogoro]_{OBL} [*Tau yaku*]_A [*ini vene*]_E *raka ni*
 morning early.morning (name) DSM 3.POSS people call say
e-dadi-yo]_{CL3}, “[*Nai rautu vene*]_{ADD} [*gua*]_{VCS} *bi*
 I.CAUS-get.up-3SG.PAST 1SG.POSS village people now TOP
 [*nai meda*]_{VCC}, [*dada ya usa ni-da*]_{CL4} [*dadi*
 1SG.POSS day so 2 ask say-1SG.PRES get.up
vau re-fo]_{CL5}]_{CC}.”
 completely do-2PL.PO.IMP
 ‘When the day they would do planting came, early in the morning Tau called
 his people to wake up (saying), “My village people, today is my day, so I ask
 you to all get up.”’
- (15.03) [[*Amiye tau vakoi*]_S *dadi vau re-yadi*]_{CL1}, [[*tora*
 person all together get.up completely do-3PL.PAST big
vene, rema, rumana, ofi, godua tau vakoi]_S
 people woman man young.woman young.man all together
 [*dadi vau re-yadi*]_{CL2}.
 get.up completely do-3PL.PAST
 ‘Everyone one together all got up, older people, women, men, young women,
 young men, they all together got up.’
- (15.04) [[*Kasi rava=u*]_{OBL} *bo-si oki-yadi-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi tua*
 old.garden clearing=in go.over-SEQ.SS arrive-3PL.PAST TOP wait
de re-yadi]_{CL2}.
 NEG do-3PL.PAST
 ‘When they went up and arrived in the old garden clearing, they did not wait.’
- (15.05) [*Moi bo-gi de-gi re-si*]_{CL1} [*evade~evade* [*yoyava*
 get go-PURP come.down-PURP do-SEQ.SS quickly~INST seedling

*bi*_o *vari vau* *re-yadi*_{CL2}.
 TOP plant completely do-3PL.PAST
 ‘They went to go down (to work), and doing so they very quickly planted all the seedlings.’

- (15.06) [[*Tau yaku*]_A *mina ve-yo-ri*]_{CL1} [[*bi ini uka*]_A
 (name) DSM this see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS stomach

*ada tora gade iniye re-yo*_{CL2}, “[*Nai vene*]_{ADD}
 happiness big very very do-3SG.PAST 1SG.POSS people

*kaini fere-i bai-fa*_{CL3}, [*meda tobo ni-yo*
 already leave-LINK come-2PL.IMP sun centre become-3SG.PAST

*dada*_{CL4} [*bai-si iruku iri-fa*]_{CL5} [*bona ada=ri*
 so come-SEQ.SS food eat-2PL.IMP and shade=in

*ame~ame re-fa*_{CL6}.”
 stay~NOMZ do-2PL.IMP

‘When Tau saw this in his heart he became very, very happy (and said), “My people it’s already good that you take a break and come as the sun is high; so come and eat some food and have a rest in the shade.”’

- (15.07) [[*Muro adau*]_{OBL} *bo-si*]_{CL1} [*ame-i vau re-yadi*
 garden TOP go.up-SEQ.SS stay-LINK completely do-3PL.PAST

*iruku iri-gi*_{CL2}, [[*ini moke-na*]_{VCS} *bi* [*sioni iruku*
 food eat-PURP 3.POSS think-NOMZ TOP white.man food

*iri-gedi*_{VCC}. *bao ni-yadi*_{CL3}.
 eat-3PL.FUT assume say-3PL.PAST

‘They went up to the top of the garden and they all sat down to eat food, they assumed that they would eat store-bought (lit. white man’s) food.’

- (15.08) [*Tau no kana bi* [*koyomu bani daru~daru yu*
 (name) bad like TOP rat yam root~PL paste

*fafau*_{OBL} *fama-si*]_{CL1} [*gobe=ri dabara re-yo* [*ini*
 on.TOP.of dump.on-SEQ.SS dish=on set.out -3SG.PAST 3.POSS

vene di]_E]_{CL2}.
 people GEN

‘Tau was bad having dumped a paste of stringy yams (lit. rat yam roots) on top of (the food) and setting them out for his people.’

- (15.09) [*Amiye mina ve-yadi-ri*]_{CL1} [[*bi ini uka*]_A [*gubuyo*
 person this see-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS stomach anger

tora gade re-yadi]_{CL2}, [*kamini yokoi~yokoi dadi-ga*]_{CL3}
 big very do-3PL.PAST so.then one~DISTR get.up-SIM.SS

[[*rautu urana*]_{OBL} *di-yadi*]_{CL4}.
village toward go-3PL.PAST

‘When the people saw this they were very, very angry, and so then one by one they got up and went to the village.’

(15.10) [[*Tau di rema*]_A *ka mina ve-yo-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi*
(name) GEN woman also this see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP

gubuyo tora gade re-yo]_{CL2}, “[*Na bi ya ni-yaka*
anger big very do-3SG.PAST 1SG TOP 2 say-1SG.PAST

[*raisi bona farava*]_O]_{CL3}, [*bi beika.resi moi-na de*
rice and flour TOP why get-NOMZ NEG

re-yo]_{CL4}?

do-2SG.PAST

‘When Tau’s wife saw this too she was very angry (and said), “I told you (to get some) rice and flour, (so) why didn’t you get (some)?” ’

(15.11) [[*Mo moi-vo*]_{CL1}]_{CC!} *vo-ni-si*]_{CL2} [*ini vene usi*]_{CL3}
at.once get-2SG.PO.IMP tell-say-SEQ.SS 3.POSS people follow

[*gote-yo*]_{CL4}.

go.down-3SG.PAST

‘Don’t you get (it)?!’ she said and went off following her people.’

Legend 16

This legend was written 12 September 2001 by Rapheal Totome (M, 35) [other texts by the same speaker include (14), (30), (43-44), (47), (77) and (101)], for the assignment for the two participants attending the National Translators’ Course in Alotau that year.

(16.00) ***Keni Raku***.
(name) (name)
‘Keni Raku.’

(16.01) [*Yokaru [mida yokoi [roka Urava Raku]*]_{RC}]_S
one.day child one name (name) (name)

ame-gam-o]_{CL1}.

stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST

‘Once upon a time there was a boy named Urava Raku.’

(16.02) [[*Rema ofi remanu*]_A *muro=ri oruma ri-gi*
woman young.woman two garden=to grass make-PURP

di-yadi]_{CL1}.

go-3PL.PAST

‘Two young women went to the garden to pull weeds.’

- (16.03) [*Mina rema remanu di roka*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Inu Mamaru*
 this woman two GEN name TOP (name) (name)
bona Dau Mamaru]_{VCC}.
 and (name) (name)
 ‘These two women were named Inu Mamaru and Dau Mamaru.’
- (16.04) [[*Urava Raku*]_A *bi* [*raku bona boreva*]_O *moi-si*]_{CL1}
 (name) (name) TOP scabies and ringworm get-SEQ.SS
 [*ame-gam-o*]_{CL2}.
 stay-HAB-3SG.PAST
 ‘Urava Raku was living with scabies and ringworm.’
- (16.05) [*Yokaru ne-yo* [*rarava gade=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL1} *ame-yo*]_{CL2}
 one.day go.down-3SG.PAST cliff edge=at stay-3SG.PAST
 [*rofu [ini bibo]*]_O *u-ga*]_{CL3} [*ame-gam-o-ri*]_{CL4} [*bi*,
 so.that 3.POSS flute hit-SIM.SS tay-HAB-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP
ini oure-na rema yaku]_S *ne-yo*]_{CL5} [*rofu*
 3.POSS be.first-NOMZ woman DSM go.down-3SG.PAST so.that
ve-yo-ri]_{CL6} [*bi yomakai ni-yo*, “[[*Ya no*
 see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP like.this say-3SG.PAST 2 bad
Keni, Keni]_{ADD} [*raku~raku yaku*]_S *ame-ga*]_{CL7}
 (name) (name) scabies~PL DSM stay-SIM.SS
ni-sa]_{CL8}]_{CC}]_{CL9}.’
 say-2SG.PRES
 ‘One day he went down to the edge of a cliff so that while he stayed there
 playing his flute, the older girl went down so that when she saw (him) she
 said this, “You are bad Keni, Keni sitting there with scabies.”’
- (16.06) [[*Keni Raku yaku*]_A *mina neide-yo-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi maena*
 (name) (name) DSM this hear-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP shame
re-yo]_{CL2}.
 DO-3SG.PAST
 ‘When Keni Raku heard this he was ashamed.’

Below we would expect to find *bo-si* (go.over-SEQ.SS) instead of *bo-yo* in the first line; this may be for added emphasis.

- (16.07) [*Dairi-si*]_{CL1} [*bo-yo*]_{CL2} [[*ini nono*]_E *ni-oteimar-o*,
 return-SEQ.SS go.over-3SG.PAST 3.POSS mother say-tell-3SG.PAST

“[[*Nono*]_{ADD}, [*beika ni-sa*]_{CL3} [*rema ofi remanu*,
mother what say-2SG.PRES woman young.woman two

oure-na rema ofi yaku]_A *na ni no*
be.first-NOMZ woman young.woman DSM 1SG say bad

re-yo]_{CL4}]_{CC}, [*ye dairi bai-yaka*]_{CL5} [*resi*]_{CL6} [*ya rofu*
do-3SG.PAST so return come-1SG.PAST SBL 2 to

ni-da]_{CL7}]_{CL8}.”

say-1SG.PRES

‘He returned and told his mother, “Mother, what do you say that between two young women, the older one cursed me, so I came back to tell you.”’

- (16.08) [[*Ini kosini*]_A [*mina sina*]_O *neide-yo-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi ini*
3.POSS mother this story hear-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS

mida rofu]_E *iriyeduka re-yo*]_{CL2}.
child to sorrow do-3SG.PAST

‘When his mother heard this story she was sorry for her son.’

- (16.09) [[*Kora, kukuru, tabo*]_O *moi-yo*]_{CL1}, [*fore ori-yo*]_{CL2},
taro.sp plant.sp yam.sp get-3SG.PAST stone cook-3SG.PAST

[*resi*]_{CL13} [*imi siu re-yo*]_{CL14}.
SBL dip steam do-3SG.PAST

‘She got some wild taro, *kukuru* plants, and yam, and cooked them in stones, and doing so, then she dipped (him) in the steam.’

- (16.10) [[*Ini mida*]_O *rafe mar-o*]_{CL1}, [*resi*]_{CL2} [*mina*
3.POSS child wash give-3SG.PAST SBL this

re-yo-ri]_{CL3} [*bi ini mida di rovaita*]_S *ruaka*
do-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS child GEN body new

ni-yo]_{CL4}.

become-3SG.PAST

‘She washed her son, and doing so, when she had done this her son’s body was like new.’

- (16.11) [[*Ini kosini*]_A *mina ve-yo-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi ini mida*]_E
3.POSS mother this see-3SG.PAST TOP 3.POSS child

ni-yo, “[*Koima*]_{ADD} *ya me-giya*]_{CL2}]_{CC}]_{CL3}.”
say-3SG.PAST leech 2 marry-2SG.FUT

‘When his mother saw this she said to her son, “Boy, you will get married.”’

- (16.12) [*To ini mida yaku*]_A *keru re-si*]_{CL1} [*ni-oteimar-o*,
but 3.POSS child DSM turn do-SEQ.SS say-tell-3SG.PAST

“[*Ide-o, de na na me-gida*]_{CL2}CC]_{CL3}!”
 NEG-VOC NEG 1SG 1SG marry-1SG.FUT
 ‘But her son turned and told (her), “No way, I will not get married!”’

- (16.13) [*Ye [mina mida]_A ne-si*]_{CL1} [[*ame-yo sana=ri*]_{OBL}
 so this child go.down-SEQ.SS stay-3SG.PAST place=at

dudu ne-si]_{CL2} [*ame-na=ri*]_{CL3} [*bi [ini bibo]*]_O *dudusa*
 again go.down-SEQ.SS stay-NOMZ=at TOP 3.POSS flute again

u-yo]_{CL4}.
 hit-3SG.PAST
 ‘So this boy went down and sat at that place and went down a little further
 and played his flute where he sat.’

- (16.14) [[*Mina fuofuori*]_{OBL} [[*rasini keika ere*]_A *de-si*]_{CL1}
 this while sister little other come-SEQ.SS

[veitao re-yo]]_{CL2}.
 discover do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Right then the younger sister came down and discovered what all he was
 doing.’

- (16.15) [[*Ye [ina remanu]_A kimo ame-dedi-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi [ini*
 and 3 two slowly stay-3PL.PRES-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS

oure-na yaku]]_S *de-si*]_{CL3} [*veitao re-yo*]_{CL4}.
 be.first-NOMZ DSM come-SEQ.SS discover do-3SG.PAST
 ‘So when the two of them were sitting there the older one came down
 carefully/slowly and discovered what all he was doing.’

- (16.16) [[*Rasini keika*]_E *nioteimar-o,* “[*Nai rasini*]_{ADD} [*ya yaku*
 sister little tell-3SG.PAST 1SG.POSS sister 2 DSM

baku re-yo]_{CL1}, [*ye na~na ma*]_{CL2}CC]_{CL3}.”
 find do-3SG.PAST so 1SG~1SG give
 ‘She told the younger sister, “My sister, give me what you have found.”’

- (16.17) [*Idu [rasini keika yaku]*]_S *ni-yo,* “[*Mina bi [nai*
 but sister little DSM say-3SG.PAST this TOP 1SG.POSS

yeiva dudu]_{OBL} *baku re-yaka*]_{CL1}]_{CL2}.
 strength INST find do-1SG.PAST
 ‘But the younger sister said, “I found (him) on my own.”’

- (16.18) [[*Mo ya ya ma-gida*]_{CL1}]_{VCS} *bi [gira tora]*]_{VCC}.”
 at.once 2 DSM give-1SG.FUT TOP hard big
 ‘“To give (him) to you would be very difficult.”’

- (16.19) [[*Keni Raku*]_A *dadi-si*]_{CL1} [[*ni-yo*, “[*Keni, Keni*
 (name) (name) get.up-SEQ.SS say-3SG.PAST “ (name) (name)
Raku]_{ADD} [*raku momo tari ae*
 (name) scabies disappear put.under put
vo-ni-yo-ri]_{CL2} [*bi [ini oure-na]*]_A *maena*
 happen-become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS be.first-NOMZ shame
re-yo]_{CL13}]_{CC}]_{CL4}.”
 do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Keni Raku got up and said, “Keni, Keni Raku scabies disappeared when the
 older one shamed him.”’
- (16.20) [[*Ye [rasini keika bona mina mida]*]_A, [*Keni Raku*]_{RC}, [*ina*
 so sister little and this child (name) (name) 3
remanu]_A *me-yadi*]_{CL1}.
 two marry-3PL.PAST
 ‘So the younger sister and this boy, Keni Raku, the two of them married.’

Legend 17

The following story is about a man’s loss of his wife. The story was written by a young man, Masela Rurumana, as told by Robin Maro (M, 43) on 28 October 2001.

- (17.00) *Sisina roka: Koeka Odu.*
 story name (name) (name)
 ‘Story name: Koeka Odu.’
- (17.01) [[*Koeka Odu ini rumana=sa*]_s *ne-yadi*
 (name) (name) 3.POSS man=ACCM go.down-3PL.PAST
koru=ri]_{CL1} [*tua feide-gam-adi*]_{CL2}.
 water=at tree.sp.nut leave-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
 ‘Koeka Odu went down to the river with her husband and they left the *tua*
 nuts there (to soak).’
- (17.02) [*Koina ni-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [*bai-yadi rautu=ri*
 finish become-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS come-3PL.PAST village=at
vare-yadi]_{CL2}.
 sleep-3PL.PAST
 ‘When that was finished they came into the village and slept.’
- (17.03) [*Aru uve-yo*]_{CL1} [*bi [ini rumana]*]_s *bi gagani*
 one.day break-3SG.PAST TOP 3.POSS man TOP place

*di-yo*_{CL2}.
go-3SG.PAST
'At dawn her husband went away to another place.'

- (17.04) [[*Ini rema*]_s *ne-yo*]_{CL1} [*tua re-ga*]_{CL2}
3.POSS woman go-3SG.PAST tree.sp.nut do-SIM.SS
- [*ame-gam-o-ri*]_{CL3}, [[*ini rumana*]_{CL1} *dona*
stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS 3.POSS man pig
- u-yo*_{CL4} [*ro raka.ni-yo*]_{CL5}, [*to ma [rema ere]*]_E [*bi*
hit-3SG.PAST so.that call-3SG.PAST but and woman other TOP
- tua ya*]_A [*ini vena*]_O *vata.bai-yo-ma*]_{CL6} [*kuo.ni-na*
tree.sp.nut DSM 3.POSS mouth fill-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS cheer-NOMZ
- anua.re-yo*]_{CL1}.
unable.to-3SG.PAST
'When his wife went down to do the *tua* nut (soaking), her husband killed a pig so that he called out, but another woman had *tua* nuts filling her mouth and couldn't call out.'

- (17.05) [*Resi*]_{CL1} [*ago de ni-yo-ma*]_{CL2} [[*ini maruka ya*]_s
SBL word NEG say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS husband DSM
- moke-yo* [[*bi, tua iri-ga*]_{CL3} [*ame-do-ma*]_{CL4}
think-3SG.PAST TOP tree.sp.nut eat-SIM.SS stay-3SG.PRES-SEQ.SS
- [*kuo de ni-yo baeko*]_{CL5}]_{CC}]_{CL6}.
cheer NEG say-3SG.PAST perhaps
'And doing so she didn't say anything and her husband thought that perhaps she was sitting there eating *tua* nuts and not calling out.'

- (17.06) [*Resi*]_{CL1} [*de-si*]_{CL2} [*boboe.re-ba fere-si*]_{CL3} [[*ini rema*]_s
SBL go-SEQ.SS look.down-and leave-SEQ.SS 3.POSS woman
- bi [kono ide=ri]*]_{OBL} *dui re-yo*]_{CL4}.
TOP ground inside=at entering do-3SG.PAST
'And doing so he went and looked down and left his wife when she had gone inside the ground.'

- (17.07) [[*Ini rumana ya*]_A *u-gi re-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [*kamini*
3.POSS man DSM hit-PURP do-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS so.then
- [*rema ere*]_A *bi [diya ro]*]_{OBL} *nu re-i*
woman other TOP NEG to cut do-LINK
- bo-gam-o-ma*]_{CL2} [[*ini rumana ya*]_A *vana=ri*
go-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS man DSM hand=at

*moi rutu.re-i ba ugar-o-ma*_{CL3} [[*ini*
D.CAUS pull.do-LINK or cross.over-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS 3.POSS

*rumana ya*_A *kono goe-gam-o-ma*_{CL4} [*uru*
man DSM ground dig-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS night

*ni-yo-ma*_{CL5} [*fere-si*_{CL6} [*vare-yo*_{CL7}.
become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS leave-SEQ.SS sleep-3SG.PAST

‘Her husband went to cross over, so then he was not going to the other woman and her husband pulled her by the hand and crossed over and her husband was digging in the ground and it got dark and he left and went to sleep.’

- (17.08) [*Aru uve-yo-ma*_{CL1} [*dudu goe-yo-ma*_{CL2}
one.day break-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS again dig-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS

[*vare-yo*_{CL3}.
sleep-3SG.PAST
‘At dawn he dug again and went to sleep.’

- (17.09) [*Aru uve-yo-ma*_{CL1} [*dudu goe-yo-ma*_{CL1} [*dudu*
one.day break-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS again dig-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS again

*vare-yo*_{CL1}.
sleep-3SG.PAST
‘At dawn again he dug and again he slept.’

- (17.10) [*Aru uve-yo*_{CL1} [*goe-yo-ma*_{CL1} [*dudu vare-yo*_{CL1}.
one.day break-3SG.PAST dig-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS again sleep-3SG.PAST
‘At dawn he dug and again he slept.’

- (17.11) [*Aru uve-yo*_{CL1} [*bi [rautu vene]*_E *raka.ni-yo*,
one.day break-3SG.PAST TOP village people call-3SG.PAST

“[*Nai rema*]_{VCS} *bi [kono ide=ri]*_{VCC}, [*ma na*
1SG.POSS woman TOP ground inside=at and 1SG

*durua.re-yaganedi*_{CL1}]_{CC} *ya ni-da*_{CL2}]_{CL3}.”
help-3PL.IMP DSM say-1SG.PRES
‘At dawn he called the village people (telling them), “My wife is inside the ground and I’m asking you to help me.”’

- (17.12) [[*Rautu vene*]_A *neide-si*_{CL1} [*ve-i, ba fere-si*]_{CL2} [[*ini*
village people go-go- SEQ.SS see-LINK and leave-SEQ.SS 3.POSS

ruba]_s *bi bubu ni-yo-ma*_{CL3} [[*rautu vene ya*]_s
hole TOP bold become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS village people DSM

*ni-yadi bi [[i no dudu]*_{OBL} *di-yo*_{CL4}]_{CL5}, [*resi*]_{CL6}
say-3PL.PAST TOP 3.POSS bad INST go-3SG.PAST SBL

[*ni-si*]_{CL6} [*dairi di-yadi rautu=ri o*]_{CL7}, [[*nai*
say-SEQ.SS return go-3PL.PAST village=to oh 1SG.POSS

sisina]_S [*bai-yo*]_{CL8} [*mina=ri koina ni-yo*
story come-3SG.PAST this=at finish become-3SG.PAST

mini]_{CL9}.
here

‘The village people went down to see and left and the hole increased and the village people said, “Ah, that was because of your bad,” and once they had said that they returned to the village, oh, my story has come to an end here.’

(17.13) [*Sina ni-na*]_{VCS} *bi:* [*Masela Rurumana; tora bi Robin*
story say-NOMZ TOP (name) (name) big TOP (name)

Maro]_{VCC}.
(name)

‘This story told by: Masela Rurumana; the elder being Robin Maro.’

Legend 18

The legend below is about a dialogue between a star and the sand as to who is greater, and the outcome. It was written 10 April 2002, but the author has remained anonymous.

(18.01) [*Yokaru uba meraini, [ini roka~roka bi vasa bona*
one.day both cousin 3.POSS name~PL TOP sand and

iya]_{RC}]_S [*ame-gam-adi*]_{CL1}.
star stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘‘One day there were two cousins, their names were Sand and Star.’

(18.02) [*Iya bi [oma odoro=ri]OBL ma vasa bi kono=ri*
star TOP sky above=in and sand TOP ground=on

ame-gam-adi]_{CL1}.
stay-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘Star was up in the sky and Sand was living on the ground.’

(18.03) [[*Ari yokoi=ri]OBL [iya ya]A vasa ni-yo, “[Na]_{VCS} bi*
day one=on star DSM sand say-3SG.PAST 1SG TOP

[*na tau gade iniye*]_{VCC}]_{CL1}.
1SG all very very

‘One day Star told Sand, “I am very very many.”

(18.04) “[*Na duaiya.re-i vau de re-giya*]_{CL1}.”
1SG count.do-LINK completely NEG do-2SG.FUT

‘ “You cannot count all of me.” ’

- (18.05) [*Mina.dada* [*vasa ya*]_A *ni-yo*, “*[Va uniye~uniye*
therefore sand TOP say-3SG.PAST try 1PL.REFL~DISTR
*duaiya.re-i ve-nadi]*_{CL1}]_{CC},” *vo.ni-yo]*_{CL2}.
count-LINK see-1PL.IMP say-3SG.PAST
‘Therefore Sand said (to him), “Let’s try to count ourselves,” he said.’
- (18.06) [[*Iya yaku*]_A *Vasa ni-yo*, “*[Ya siko na duaiya.re*
star DSM sand say-3SG.PAST 2 first 1SG count
*kumo]*_{CL1}]_{CC},” *vo.ni-yo]*_{CL1}.
and.then say-3SG.PAST
‘Star said to Sand, “Then you count me first,” he said.’
- (18.07) [*To* [*Vasa ya*]_A *ni-yo*, “*[Ya bi odoro*
but sand DSM say-3SG.PAST 2 TOP above
*dada ya siko de-si]*_{CL2} *[na duaiya.re kumo]*_{CL3}]_{CC},”
so 2 first come.down-SEQ.SS 1SG count and.then
*vo.ni-yo]*_{CL4}.
say-3SG.PAST
‘But Sand said (to him), “You are living up there so you come down first
and (then) count me,” he said.’
- (18.08) [[*Iya yaku*]_A *ni-yo*, “*[Na siko na duaiya.re*
star DSM say-3SG.PAST 1 first 1SG count
*kumo]*_{CL1}]_{CC},” *vo.ni-yo]*_{CL2}.
and.then say-3SG.PAST
‘Star said (to him), “Then you count me first,” he said.’
- (18.09) [[*Kaito* [*vasa ya*]_A *iya duaiya.re-i vau re-yo]*_{CL1}.
starting sand DSM star count.do-LINK completely do-3SG.PAST
‘Sand started to count Star.’
- (18.10) [[*Iya ya*]_A *vasa duaiya.re-yo]*_{CL1}, [*to duaiya.re-i vau*
star DSM sand count-3SG.PAST but count-link completely
*de re-yo]*_{CL2}.
NEG do-3SG.PAST
‘Star counted Sand, but he did not count (all of him).’
- (18.11) [*Mina.dada iya isaka ni-yo]*_{CL1}.
therefore star cry say-3SG.PAST
‘Therefore Star cried.’
- (18.12) [[[[*Ini ne koru*]_o *bi ari=u ve-do=ri]*_{CL1}]_{CC}
3.POSS eye water TOP day=on see-3SG.PRES=on

ve-giya-ri, [oruma yuveita dou ni-dedi=ri]_{CL2}CC]_{CL3}.
 see-2SG.FUT-SIM.DS grass vegetation wet become-3PL.PRES=on
 ‘When you can see his tears in the day is when you see grass leaves are wet.’

(18.13) [[Iya ya]_A vasa duaiya.re-i vau de re-yo]_{CL1}.
 star DSM sand count.do-LINK completely NEG do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Star did not completely count Sand.’

(18.14) [Duaiya.re-i vau de re-yo]_{CL1}, [dada urusa=ri bi
 count.do-LINK completely NEG do-3SG.PAST so night=at TOP

oma=ri kinifo.akifo.re-dedi mini]_{CL2}.
 sky=in twinkle.do-3PL.PRES here
 ‘He could not count all (of him), so at night they (the stars) twinkle in the sky.’

Legend 19

The following story is about how the people were pacified by an expatriate named Mr. English who came from the district headquarters at Kwikila (cf. §1.1.3 for further examination of this story), as told by Kasonomu resident Peter Tuga (M, 43) [deceased] on 6 June 2002.

(19.00) [[Gokai ida dudu]_{OBL} meino moi-yafa]_{CL1}.
 how way INST peace get-1PL.PAST
 ‘In which way we got peace.’

(19.01) [[Sena duakau, [vabara moi-na kode=ri bona
 already during light get-NOMZ later=at and

sioni=ka oki-na kode=ri]_{CL1}OBL bi, [uni
 white.man=also arrive-NOMZ not.yet=at TOP 1PL.POSS

bobada.manone yaku]_A iya re-gasa]_{CL2} [iniye~iniye
 ancestor DSM war do-SIM.SS REFL~DISTR

u-muye-gam-adi]_{CL3}.

F.CAUS-die-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST

‘Long ago, while not yet civilised (lit. getting light) and also before white men’s arrival, our ancestors were fighting and killing each other.’

(19.02) [[Mina fogori]_{OBL} [sioni amiye [roka Mista
 this when white.man person name mister

English]_{RC}]_S, Rigo=ri soka.re-yo]_{CL1}.
 (name) (name)=at arrive-3SG.PAST

‘At this time a white man named Mr English arrived in Rigo.’

- (19.03) [*Gua Kwikila vo.ni-sifa mini*]_{CL1}.
 now (name) say-1PL.PRES here
 ‘Today we call it Kwikila.’
- (19.04) [[[[*Mina amiye feyo*]_s *soka.re-yo=ri*]_{CL1}]_{OBL}, [*rabo.rava*
 this person white arrive.do-3SG.PAST=at grasslands

vene]_E *siko meino mar-o*]_{CL2}.
 people first peace give-3SG.PAST
 ‘When this white man arrived, he first brought (lit. gave) peace to the
 grassland peoples.’
- (19.05) [[*Iya re-gam-adi*]_{CL1} *fogori*]_{OBL} *meino moi-si*]_{CL2}
 war do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST when peace get-SEQ.SS

 [[*rautu neinei*]_{OBL} [*furisi bona kanisoro*]_O *ae*
 village each police and council put

di-yo]_{CL3}.
 go-3SG.PAST
 ‘When they were fighting he gave (lit. got) [them] peace and took and
 placed police and councillors in each village.’
- (19.06) [[*Koina ni-yo-ri*]_{CL1}]_{OBL} [*furisi kanisoro*]_O
 finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS police council

afe-si]_{CL2} [[*sufa rofu*]_{OBL} [*rautu vene*]_O *maina*
 take- SEQ.SS bush to village people look.for

bai-yo]_{CL3}.
 come-3SG.PAST
 ‘Once he finished (this), he took police and councillors to the bush and
 came looking for village people.’
- (19.07) [*Bai-gika bi [ini furisi vene]*]_E [*koru.gena asini*]_O
 come-CON TOP 3.POSS police people gun like

mar-o]_{CL1}.
 give-3SG.PAST
 ‘They were trying to come and he gave his policemen guns.’
- (19.08) [[*Kuku, ramena bona loli=ka*]_O *moi-yadi*]_{CL1}.
 tobacco salt and lolly=also get-3PL.PAST
 ‘They also got tobacco, salt and lollies.’
- (19.09) [[*Sioni ini vene=sa*]_s *rautu*
 white.man 3.POSS people=ACCM village

oki-gam-adi-ri]_{CL1} [[*rautu vene yaku*]_s *ruda*
 arrive-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS village people DSM fight

- re-gi* *re-gam-adi*]_{CL2}.
do-PURP do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST
'When the white man and his people were arriving in the villages the village people were trying to fight.'
- (19.10) [*Idu* [*furisi* *bona* *kanisoro* *yaku*]_A [*ramena* *ida*]_O *moi-si*]_{CL1}
but police and council DSM salt way get-SEQ.SS
- [*vau* *re-gam-adi* *meino* *moi-gika*]_{CL1}.
completely do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST peace get-CON
'But the police and councillors had a way bringing salt which they were completely doing to pacify (them).'
- (19.11) [*Resi*]_{CL1} [*bai-si*]_{CL2} [[*uni* *gagani=ri*]_{OBL} *oki-yadi*
SBL come-SEQ.SS 1PL.POSS place=at arrive-3PL.PAST
- [*Dueika* *rama=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL3}.
(name) right=at
'And doing do, they came and arrived at our place right at Dueika.'
- (19.12) [[[*Amiye* *tora* *regode* [*roka* *Varabu* *Foina*, *Itu* *Saraka*
person big three name (name) (name) (name) (name)
- bona* *Gomuna* *Kokoba*]_{RC} *yaku*]_A *sioni* [*ini*
and (name) (name) DSM white.man 3.POSS
- voru=sa*]_{OBL} *u-gika* [*ora*, *mari*]_O *re-i*
spear=ACCM hit-CON shield shield do-LINK
- meki.re-yadi*]_{CL1}.
chase.do-3PL.PAST
'Three elders named Varabu Foina, Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba tried to kill the white man with their spears and chase (him) with shields.'
- (19.13) [*Meki.re-i* *ne-yadi* [*Memera* *Agafa=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL1}.
chase.do-LINK go.down-3PL.PAST (name) (name)=at
'They chased (him) down to Memera Agafa.'
- (19.14) [*Sioni* *mina* *ve-yo=ri*]_{CL1}, [[*furisi* *vene*]_E
white.man this see-3SG.PAST-at police people
- ni-yo-ma*]_{CL1} [*koru.gena* *fou* *re-yadi* *fere-yagane*
say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS gun shot do-3PL.PAST leave-3PL.IMP
- vonisi*]_{CL2}.
if
'When the white man saw this, he told his police and they shot (their) guns (at them) to make them leave.'

- (19.15) [[*Varabu Foina yaku*]_A [*ini dubuiyaka*]_E *ni-yo*,
 (name) (name) DSM 3.POSS brothers say-3SG.PAST
 “[[*Ya raga re-i bo de-fo*]_{CL1} [*ne-si*]_{CL2}
 2 run do-LINK go come.down-2PL.PO.IMP go.down-SEQ.SS
 [[*u-na di mibi na=ka u-na*]_O *koru*
 hit-NOMZ GEN this.one 1SG=also hit-NOMZ water
gena ori fou fou re-bi-fo]_{CL1}]_{CC}]_{CL2}.”
 bamboo fear shoot shoot do-FUT.IMPERV-3PL.PO.IMP
 ‘Varabu Foina told his brothers, “You go run, go down and this one that
 is also trying to kill me, let’s shoot the gun (lit. water bamboo) to scare
 (him) away.”’
- (19.16) [*Toga bai-gam-adi vonisi*]_{CL1} [*sioni ini*]
 always come-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST when white.man 3.POSS
auna]_E *ni fere-ma*]_{CL2} [[*Varabu yaku*]_A [*sosogi dudu*]_{OBL}
 dog say leave-SEQ.DS (name) DSM spear INST
imi umuye-yo]_{CL3}.
 pierce kill-3SG.PAST
 ‘When they kept coming the white man let his dog loose, and then Varabu
 shot and killed (it) with a spear.’
- (19.17) [*Sioni [[ini auna]_S muye-yo*]_{CL1}]_{CC} [*ve-yo-ri*]_{CL2}
 white.man 3.POSS dog die-3SG.PAST see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
 [*bi, furisi ni-yo-ma*]_{CL3} [*Varabu fidi.re-yadi*]_{CL4}, [[*idu*
 TOP police say-3SG.PAST-SEQ.SS (name) shoot-3PL.PAST but
are-na de]_{CL5} *are ame-gam-o*]_{CL6}.
 stand-NOMZ NEG stand stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
 ‘When the white man saw that his dog had died, he told the police and
 they shot Varabu, but not standing there, he was (not) staying there.’
- (19.18) [*Furisi kero re-si*]_{CL1} [[*Itu Saraka bona Gomuna*
 police turn do-SB.SS (name) (name) and (name)
Kokoba]_O *fidi.re-yadi*]_{CL2}.
 (name) shoot-3PL.PAST
 ‘The police turned around and shot Itu Saraka and Gomuna Kokoba.’
- (19.19) [[[*Bogara Vare*]_A [[*ini tobaiyaka*]_S *muye-yadi*]_{CL1}]_{CC}
 (name) (name) 3.POSS brothers die-3PL.PAST
ve-yo-ri]_{CL2}, [*bi ini kefare*]_O *kutu-si*]_{CL3}
 see-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS grass.skirt strip-SEQ.SS

[[*moi odoro ri-yo makai, "[Ga re]*CL4,"
D.CAUS above make-3SG.PAST like.this PROHIB do

*ni-gasa*CL5 [[*kefare dudu*]_{OBL} *biri ri-yo*]_{CL6}CL7.
say-SIM.SS grass.skirt INST door make-3SG.PAST
'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).'

(19.20) [[*Sioni, furisi bona kanisoro*]_A [[*Bogara Vare*]_A [*ini*
white.man police and council (name) (name) 3.POSS

kefare]_O *moi odoro ri-yo*]_{CL1}CC *ve-si mamu*]_{CL2}
grass.skirt D.CAUS above make-3SG.PAST see-SEQ.SS at.once

[*kamini fere-yadi*]_{CL3}.

so.then leave-3PL.PAST

'When the white man, police and councillors saw Bogara Vare lift up her grass skirt, so then at once they left.'

(19.21) [[*Bogara Vare yaku*]_A *makai re-yo*]_{CL1}, [*dada gua*
(name) (name) DSM like.this do-3SG.PAST so now

iya fere-i meino moi ame-sifa mini]_{CL2}.
war leave-LINK peace get stay-1PL.PAST here

'Bogara Vare did this, so now we stopped fighting and are living at peace.'

Legend 20

The following legend is about a Papuan lorikeet finding the king's lost daughter and marrying her. It was told by Theresa Auye (F, 55) during a writers' workshop in Kasonomu village and written 17 October 2007 by Graham Gojobu (M, 22). It is interesting that it is about a king, since a king is not an autochthonous type of leader.

(20.00) *Sisina sina*.
legend story
'A legend story.'

(20.01) [*Sina*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*Thresa Auye ya*]_A *ni-yo*]_{CL1}]_{VCC}.
story TOP (name) (name) DSM say-3SG.PAST
'A story as told by Thresa Auye.'

(20.02) [*Bura*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*Graham Gojobu ya*]_A *ri-yo*]_{CL1}]_{VCC}.
writing TOP (name) (name) DSM make-3SG.PAST
'Written by Graham Gojobu.'

(20.03) [[*Kini di vefa ofi*]_S *bi yava=ri maka*
king GEN daughter young.woman TOP house=in only

- ame-gam-o*]CL1.
stay-PAST.IMPERV-3SG.PAST
'The king's daughter was only staying in the house.'
- (20.04) [*Yokaru [ini nono.baba]*]_S *muro=ri di-si*]CL1 [*rautu*
one.day 3.POSS parent garden=to go-SEQ.SS village
oki-yadi-ri]CL2, *bi [[ini vefa ofi]*]_O
arrive-3PL.PAST-SIM.DS TOP 3.POSS daughter young.woman
yava=ri bi de ve-yadi]CL3, [*rofu maina*
house=in TOP NEG see-3PL.PAST so.that look.for
re-gam-adi]CL4, [*idu de baku re-yadi*]CL5.
do-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST but NEG find do-3PL.PAST
'One day her parents went to the garden and when they arrived in the village,
they didn't see their daughter in the house, so that they were looking for (her),
but they didn't find (her).'
- (20.05) [*Maina re-yadi*]CL1 [*resi*]CL2 [*de baku re-yadi*]CL3, [*dada*
look.for do-3PL.PAST SBL NEG find do-3PL.PAST so
maena tau~tau mina ni-yo-ma]CL4 [*rautu*
shame all~PL this become-3SG.PAST-SEQ.DS village
oki-yadi]CL5.
arrive-3PL.PAST
'They were looking and doing so they didn't find (her), so they were very
ashamed about all this and then they arrived in the village.'
- (20.06) [*Iruku ri-si*]CL1 [*mar-o*]CL2 [*koina ni-yo-ri*]CL3,
food make-SEQ.SS give-3SG.PAST [finish become-3SG.PAST-SIM.DS
ni-yo [ini mida]]_O *maina re-yagane*]CL4]CL5.
say-3SG.PAST 3.POSS child look.for do-3PL.IMP
'Food was made and given (to them) and when they'd finished, it was said
that they must look for their child.'
- (20.07) [*Di-yadi*]CL1 [*idu de baku re-yadi-ma*]CL2 [*dairi*
go-3PL.PAST but NEG find do-3PL.PAST-SEQ.DS return
oki-yadi]CL3.
arrive-3PL.PAST
'They went, but didn't find (her) and came back.'
- (20.08) [*Mina=ri bi [erena yokoi [roka Yori]*]_{RC} *yaku*]_A
this=at TOP bird one name Papuan.lorikeet DSM

- (20.14) [Ni-yo]_{CL1} [resi]_{CL2} [[Yori yaku]_A me-yo]_{CL3}.
 say-3SG.PAST SBL Papuan.lorikeet DSM marry-3SG.PAST
 ‘He said (it) and doing so then the Papuan lorikeet married her.’

Descriptive/expository text

There are two of this type below:

Descriptive text 21

This is a hypothetical story, written 18 September 2004, mainly in the present tense, by Rebo Bore (M, 34). It is about how he would show his prowess in hunting.

- (21.00) [Ere di-da kana]_{CL1}.
 other go-1SG.PRES like
 ‘Like I go (hunting).’
- (21.01) [Sufa=ri ere di-gi re-i-da-ri]_{CL1} [[bi, [uriyaku
 bush=to other go-PURP do-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP morning
 ari]_S vabara ni-gasa]_{CL2}]_{OBL} [yaku-da]_{CL3}.
 day light become-SIM.SS go.out-1SG.PRES
 ‘When I go hunting in the bush, in the morning as it gets light I go out.’
- (21.02) [[Nai yava=ri]_{OBL} yaku-gasa]_{CL1} [bi [nai viro,
 1SG.POSS house=at go.out-1SG.PRES TOP 1SG.POSS axe
 vabara bona baiya]_O moi-da]_{CL2}.
 light and bush.knife get-1SG.PRES
 ‘I go out of my house and take my axe, matches (lit. light) and bush knife.’
- (21.03) [[Nai mina dinaga]_O moi-si]_{CL1} [otuka
 1SG.POSS this load get-SEQ.SS backyard
 gote-i-da]_{CL2}.
 descend-LINK-1SG.PAST
 ‘I take my (lit. this) load and descend the backyard.’
- (21.04) [[Mina vorivori sesere]_O ni-ga]_{CL1} [bi yaumana
 this nervousness chant say-SIM.SS TOP magic
 moi-da]_{CL2}.
 get-1SG.PRES
 ‘When I speak this nervousness chant, I get its magic (power).’
- (21.05) [Ni-da]_{CL1} [[nai ema afara]_{OBL}
 say-1SG.PRES 1SG.POSS river.mouth ridge
 oki-da-ri]_{CL2} [bi, sufa dui re-i-da]_{CL3}.
 arrive-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP bush entering do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘I say (it) and when I arrive at my river mouth ridge, I enter the bush.’

- (21.06) [*Saina de ago de*]_{CL1}, [[*kimo=ka [nai ne*
rustling.leaves NEG word NEG carefully=also 1SG.POSS eye

yaku]_A [*maka kono ma yabo odoro-ma*]_{OBL} *na*
DSM only ground and tree above-on 1SG

neide-i-da]_{CL2}.
hear-LINK-1SG.PRES
‘There is no rustling of leaves, no talking (lit. words), and also carefully/
slowly my eyes look and listen just on the ground and above in the trees.’
- (21.07) [[*Goina sana=ri [nai ne yaku*]_A *dona kono=ri*
which place=at 1SG.POSS eye DSM pig ground=on

ve-i-da]_{CL1} [*o vi o uka yabo odoro=ri*
see-LINK-1SG.PRES or possum.sp or possum tree above=in

neide-i-da-ri]_{CL2}]_{OBL} *bi, are.re-si*]_{CL3} [*veifaite-na siko*
hear-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP stand.do-SEQ.SS perceive-NOMZ first

[resi]]_{CL2} [*moke-i-da*]_{CL2}.
SBL think-LINK-1SG.PRES
‘Wherever my eyes see a pig on the ground or possum species or possum up
in the trees when I listen, I stand and first perceive, and doing so, then I think
about/contemplate (it).’
- (21.08) [*Ye bema dona ve-i-da-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi [ora yaku]*]_{CL1}
so if pig see-LINK-1SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP spear DSM

you-si]_{CL1} [*imi-da-ma*]_{CL1} [*muve-do*]_{CL1}, [[*mirona=ri*
throw-SEQ.SS pierce-1SG.PRES-SEQ.DS die-3SG.PRES there=at

Geresi rautu]_{OBL} *di-da*]_{CL1}.
(name) village go-1SG.PRES
‘And if I see a pig, I throw my spear and pierce (it) and it dies, and I go there
to Geresi village.’
- (21.09) [*Uriyenau oki-da-ri*]_{CL1} [*bi [nai rema]*]_E *siko*
afternoon arrive-3SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP 1SG.POSS woman first

nioteima-i-da]_{CL2}, [[*ago rama dudu o dona di vi ueta*
tell-LINK-1SG.PRES word true INST or pig GEN tail fur

dudu]_{OBL} *oteima-i-da*]_{CL3}.
INST show-LINK-1SG.PRES
‘When I arrive in the afternoon, first I tell my wife, (speaking) truthfully or
showing her the pig’s tail fur.’

- (21.10) [[*Ina yaku*]_A *mamo* [*rautu vene*]_E *ni-do*, “[*Ina dona*
 3 DSM at.once village people say-3SG.PRES 3 pig
u-yo]_{CL1},” *vo.ni-do-ma*]_{CL2}, [[*rautu vene*]_A
 kill-3SG.PRES tell-3SG.PRES-SEQ.DS village people
neide-dedi]_{CL3}.
 hear-3PL.PRES
 ‘And at once she tells the village people, “He killed a pig”, and the village
 people hear about (it).’
- (21.11) [*Vare-i-da*]_{CL1}, [*ari uve-do-ri*]_{CL2} [*bi* [*rautu*
 sleep-LINK-1SG.PRES day rise-3SG.PRES-SIM.DS TOP village
vene=sa]_S *di-si*]_{CL3} [*usi*]_{CL4} [*fere-i-da*]_{CL5} [*sana=ri*
 people go-SEQ.SS follow leave-LINK-1SG.PRES place=at
nuga-sifa]_{CL6} [*rofu* [*sufa vi*]_O *bi iri-si*]_{CL7} [[*rautu*
 cut-1PL.PRES so.that bush possum.sp TOP eat-SEQ.SS village
vibani]_O *bi moi rautu oki-sifa*]_{CL8}.
 animal TOP get village arrive-1PL.PRES
 ‘I sleep and at dawn I go with the village people following (them) and leave
 for the place, cutting (the bush) so that we eat the bush possum species taking
 the meat to the village.’
- (21.12) [[*Rautu vene=sa*]_A *vakoi ori-si*]_{CL1} [*iri-sifa*]_{CL2}.
 village people=ACCM together cook-SEQ.SS eat-1PL.PRES
 ‘Together with the village people we cook (it) and eat (it).’
- (21.13) [*Ye* [*vi o uka*]_O *ve-i-da* [*yabo*
 so possum.sp or possum see-LINK-1SG.PRES tree
odoro=ri]_{OBL}]_{CL1} [*bi*, [*yabo odororo*]_{OBL} *bo-si*]_{CL2} [[*ora*
 above=at TOP tree above go-SEQ.SS spear
yaku]_{OBL} *you-si*]_{CL3} [*imi-da-ma*]_{CL4} [*muye-do*]_{CL5}.
 DSM throw-SEQ.SS pierce-1SG.PRES-SEQ.DS die-3SG.PRES
 ‘And so (when) I see the possum species or possum up in the trees, I go up in
 the tree and throw (my) spear and pierce (it) and it dies.’
- (21.14) [[*Ina vene*]_A *bi kiki*]_{CL1} [*dada uakai-si*]_{CL2}
 3 people TOP story because carry-SEQ.SS
moke-i-da [*mina meda=u maka*]_{OBL}]_{CL3}.
 think-LINK-1SG.PRES this day=on only
 ‘Because they talk about (it) I think about carrying (it back) just at that time.’

- (21.15) [[*Rautu vene=sa*]_A *vakoi ori-si*]_{CL1} [*iri-sifa*]_{CL2}.
village people=ACCM together cook-SEQ.SS eat-1PL.PRES
'Together with the village people we cook (it) and eat (it).'
- (21.16) [*Mibi*]_{VCS} [[*na Rebo Bore*]_A *nai ere di-da*
this.TOP 1SG (name) (name) 1SG.POSS other go-1SG.PRES

kana]_{CL1}]_{VCC}.
like
'This is how I Rebo Bore go hunting.'
- (21.17) [*Ere~ere bi vibani ma na sufa=ri di-na*]_{CL1}.
other~DISTR TOP animal and 1SG bush=at go-NOMZ
'Going hunting for meat in the bush.'

Descriptive text 22

This text is the preface to the Trial Spelling guide produced at the Alphabet Design Workshop in Kasonomu village, 18-25 March 2002. It was recorded 21 March 2002 by Michael H Tuga (M, 40) [other texts by this speaker include (23), (46), (54) and (96)].

- (22.01) [*Mina buka di adina*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*Koki, Kokila bona 'Origo*
this book GEN basis TOP (name) (name) and (name)

ago]_O *ni-dedi*]_{CL1} *vene di ini rama alphabet va reto*
word say-3PL.PRES people GEN 3.POSS true try right

re-na Doromu ago=ri]_{VCC}.
do-NOMZ (name) word=in
'The purpose of this book is for the Koki, Kokila and 'Origo dialect (lit. word speakers to try out a possible alphabet for (lit. in) the Doromu language.'
- (22.02) [*Mina*]_{VCS} *bi* [*reto bura nioku-na bona bura*
this TOP right writing testify-NOMZ and writing

ri-na [*Doromu ago dudu*]_{OBL}]_{VCC}.
make-NOMZ (name) word INST
'It is to try for correct reading and writing in the Doromu language.'
- (22.03) [*Mina buka di moke~moke*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*ago moi*
this book GEN think~NOMZ TOP word D.CAUS

kero.re-na ago yokoi=ri de]_{CL1} [*to una moi vana~vana*
turn.do-NOMZ word one=at NEG but 1PL D.CAUS hand~DISTR

re-yaine]_{CL2} *bura ri-na*]_{CL3} [[[*amiye yaku*]_{VCS} *ago*
do-3SG.IMP writing make-NOMZ person DSM word

- ni-sifa kana*]_{CL4}]_{VCS}.
 say-1PL.PRES like
 ‘The intention/thinking of this book is not to translate the language into another but to help (lit. get hands on) us to write the language as we speak (it).’
- (22.04) [*Vena=ri mina*]_{VCS} *bi* [*reto re-na maka [uni ago*
 mouth=in this TOP right do-NOMZ only 1PL.POSS word
iniye dudu]_{OBL} *to*]_{VCC}.
 REFL INST but
 ‘But this is just to solve some issues in our own language.’
- (22.05) [*Gira baku re-bi-gifa-ri*]_{CL1} [[*uni buka*
 hard find do-FUT.IMPERV-1PL.FUT-SIM.DS 1PL.POSS book
nioku-na bona bura ri-na=ri]_{OBL} *una moimai odoro*
 testify-NOMZ and writing make-NOMZ=at 1PL work above
di]_{CL2}.
 GEN
 ‘When we will find it hard, in our reading and writing, that is our work.’
- (22.06) [*Mina ide=ri*]_{OBL}]_{VCS} *bi* [[*alphabet, dictionary, bura*
 this inside=at TOP writing
nioku-na bona sina~sina]_O [*Doromu ago dudu*]_{OBL}
 testify-NOMZ and word~PL (name) word INST
ri-yafa]_{CL1}]_{VCC}.
 make-1PL.PAST
 ‘In this we have produced an alphabet, dictionary, reading and stories in the Doromu language.’
- (22.07) [*Uni Doromu ago*]_{VCS} *bi* [[[*1,500 makai kana amiye*
 1PL.POSS (name) word TOP like.wise like person
yaku]_A *ni-dedi*]_{CLS}]_{VCC}.
 DSM say-3PL.PRES
 ‘The Doromu language is spoken by about/approximately 1,500 people.’
- (22.08) [*Ye uta uka de re-i berou*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*Port.Moresby*
 and middle stomach NEG do-LINK other TOP (name)
 =*ri ame-dedi*]_{CL1}]_{VCC}.
 =at stay-3PL.PRES
 ‘And (not quite) half live in Port Moresby.’
- (22.09) [*Berou rofu amiye*]_S *bi* [[*Owen Stanley Range gabire=ri*]_{OBL}
 other for person TOP under=at

ame-dedi, [Rigo District, Central Province
stay-3PL.PRES (name)

=*ri*]OBL]CL1]VCC.

=at

‘The rest of the people live under the Owen Stanley Range(s) in the Rigo District (of the) Central Province.’

- (22.10) [*Doromu* =*ri*]VCS *bi* [[[*ago* *regode*]_s *ame-dedi*]_{CL1}]VCC.
(name) =at TOP word three stay-3PL.PRES
‘There are three dialects in Doromu.’

- (22.11) [[[[*Koki* *ago*]_o *ni-dedi*]_{CL1} *vene*]_s *bi* [*rautu* *tora*
(name) word say-3PL.PRES people TOP village big

regode=*ri*]OBL *ame-dedi*]_{CL2}.

three=in stay-3PL.PRES

‘The Koki dialect speakers live in three main/big villages.’

- (22.12) [[[[*Kokila* *ago*]_o *ni-dedi*]_{CL1} *bi* [*rautu* *vana.berou.autu*=*ri*]_{OBL}
(name) word say-3PL.PRES TOP village five=in

ame-dedi]_{CL2}.

stay-3PL.PRES

‘The Kokila dialect speakers live in five villages.’

- (22.13) [[[[*Origo* *ago*]_o *ni-dedi*]_{CL1} *bi* [*rautu* *regode*=*ri*]_{OBL}
(name) word say-3PL.PRES TOP village three=in

ame-dedi]_{CL2}.

stay-3PL.PRES

‘The 'Origo dialect speakers live in three villages.’

- (22.14) [*Koina* *kode*=*ri*]_{CL1} [*bi*, *una* *uni* [*ada* *tora* *gade*]_o
finish not.yet=at TOP 1PL 1PL.POSS happiness big very

bo-go [SIL *vene* *rofu* Mr. Robert Bradshaw, Mr.
go-3SG.FUT (name) people to (name) (name)

Philip Lambrecht *bona* *Rapheal Totome*]_E]_{CL2}, [*ini* *rema*
(name) (name) and (name) (name) 3.POSS woman

mida fere-i *de-si*]_{CL3} [*una* *moi* *vana~vana* *re-i*
child leave-link come-SEQ.SS 1PL D.CAUS hand~DISTR do-link

uni *bura* *nioku-na* *moi* *rama*
1PL.POSS writing testify-NOMZ D.CAUS true

ai-yadi]_{CL4}.

put-3PL.PAST

‘Finally, we extend our appreciation to the SIL team (lit. people) of Mr. Robert Bradshaw, Mr. Philip Lambrecht and Rapheal Totome, who left their wives and children and came to help us in getting our reading and writing correct.’

(22.15) [*Vare-fo*]_{CL1}.

sleep-2PL.PO.IMP

‘Goodbye.’

Procedural/hortatory text 23

Below is one procedural text, a letter written 10 April 2006 by Michael Tuga (M, 44)

[other texts by this speaker include (22), (46), (54) and (96)].

(23.01) [*Raphael*]_{ADD}, [*na bi* [*mina Saturday*]_{OBL} *ne-gida*
(name) 1SG TOP this go.down-1SG.FUT

Port Moresby]_{CL1}, [*dada ya* [*agiya uriyaku*]_{OBL} *bo-giya*
(name) so 2 tomorrow morning go-2SG.FUT

[*Nunufa omuna=ri*]_{OBL}]_{CL2} [*ima moi-si*]_{CL3} [*de-giya*]_{CL4}.
(name) mountain=to betel.nut get-SEQ.SS come-2SG.FUT

‘Raphael, this Saturday I will be going down to Port Moresby, so you go to Nunufa hill tomorrow morning and bring the betel nuts.’

(23.02) [*Ima*]_{VCS} *bi* [*tau gade*]_{VCC}, [*dada* [*mida yokoi*]_E
betel.nut TOP many very so child one

ni-giya-ma]_{CL1} [*ya ota.ri-yaine*]_{CL2}.
say-2SG.FUT-SEQ.DS 2 escort.make-3SG.IMP

‘There are very many betel nuts, so you can tell a boy to escort you.’

(23.03) [[*Nunufa omuna=ri*]_{OBL} *ima ruku vau*
(name) mountain=at betel.nut pick.up completely

re-giya-ri]_{CL1}, [*bo-i ne-si*]_{CL2} [[*Ko koru=ri*]_{OBL}
do-2SG.FUT-SIM.DS go-LINK go.down-SEQ.SS (name) water=at

[*ima vaga remanu=ka*]_O [*ruku-si*]_{CL3} [*moi de-gedi*]_{CL4}.
betel.nut bunch two=also pick.up-SEQ.SS get come-2PL.FUT

‘When you pick up all the betel nuts, you can go down to Ko river and also pick up two bunches and bring (them).’

(23.04) [*Dairi de-gedi-ri*]_{CL1} [[*Gura koru=ri oketa*
return come-2PL.FUT (name) water=at Tahitian.chestnut

rata=ri]_{OBL} *kana* [*konage mina=ka*]_O [*nuga-si*]_{CL2} [*moi*
trunk=at like stem this=also cut-SEQ.SS get

de-gedi]CL3.

come-2PL.FUT

‘When you are returning, at Gura river, you can also cut the mustard stem on the Tahitian chestnut trunk and bring (it).’

- (23.05) [[*Kani* [ya *ni-da*]_{RC}]_O *bi toto ga ni-fo*]CL1;
mustard 2 say-1SG.PRES TOP forget PROHIB become-2PL.PO.IMP

[*Kwikila=ri ima=sa ae-gida*]CL2 [*baba nari-nari*
(name)=at betel.nut=ACCM put-1SG.FUT father look.after~PL

kana fore be baku re-gida]CL3.
like stone some find do-1SG.FUT

‘Don’t forget the mustard I am telling you about; I will put it with the betel nuts at Kwikila to get (lit. find) some money (lit. stone) while I’m waiting for father.’

- (23.06) [[[*Agiya di-giya*]CL1 *di sina*]_O *bi ya ni-da*
tomorrow go-2SG.FUT GEN word TOP 2 say-1SG.PRES

mini]CL2.

here

‘This is the word about where you will go tomorrow that I’m telling you.’

Letters/notes

The following are from two notes written to me by two of the Bible translators; the first one was written 17 August 2015 by Joseph Toma (M, 46) [others texts by same speaker include (2), (12-13), (34), (87), (113), (117) and (120)].

Letter 24

- (24.01) [*Robert*]_{ADD}, [[*buni tora gade*]_O *vo ya.ni-da* [*uni*
good big very tell 2SG.say-1SG.PRES 1PL.POSS

oure-na Iesu Keriso ini roka =ri]OBL]CL1. [*Rama*
be.first-NOMZ Jesus Christ 3.POSS name =in true

yo]VCC!

yes

‘Robert, I bless you in the name of our firstborn Jesus Christ. Yes indeed!’

- (24.02) [*Dubu*]_{ADD}, [[*uni buka bura=ri*]OBL *vau re-gasa*]CL1 [*moi*
brother 1PL book write=in all do-SIM.SS D.CAUS

feide-yaka]CL2 [*tau bi baku re-yo.ba*]CL3?
send-1SG.PAST all TOP find do-3SG.PRES.QW

‘Brother, I have done all of our book writing and sent it; did you get it?’

- (24.03) [[*o Magdalene*]_S *bi toga esiroka.ni-do*]CL1 *idu [ina]*VCS
oh (name) TOP always cough.say-1SG.PRES but 3

bi [*buni*]_{VCC} *ma* [*dubu*]_{ADD} [[*nai* *usa yokoi*]_o
 TOP good and brother 1SG.POSS ask one

ya.ni-da]_{CL2}]_{VCS} *bi*... [*vare-fo*]_{CL2}]_{VCC}.
 2.say-1SG.PRES TOP sleep-2PL.PO.IMP

‘Oh, Magdalene is always coughing, but she is well and brother my one
 petition to you is... Goodbye.’

Letter 25

The second note was written 20 April 2016 by Charles Ero (M, 49) [other texts by the same speaker include (36), (52), (60), (72), (99-100), (102), (108) and (114-116)].

(25.01) [*Hi dubu Bradshaw*]_{ADD}, [*meda=u buni*]_{CL1}, [*Ya buni ba*]_{CL2}?
 brother (name) day=by good 2 good Q
 ‘Hi brother Bradshaw, good day, are you well?’

(25.02) [*Ago adina: Ya usa~usa ni-da*]_{CL1} [*na aide-giya*]
 word meaning 2 ask~PL say-1SG.PRES 1SG help-2SG.FUT

di]_{CL2}: [*Dubu*]_{ADD} [*na Charles*]_{VCS} *bi* [*nai*]
 GEN brother 1SG (name) TOP 1SG.POSS

Doctor review, last *bi* *gua* *20/04/2016*]_{VCC}.
 TOP now

‘(This) word’s meaning: I’m asking if you can help me: Brother, I Charles,
 have my last doctor review today 20/04/2016.’

Social media

The eight texts below were collected from a Doromu-Koki Facebook group page (Dorom Kokila blood aka D.K Dava). Characteristic of Facebook, most postings are quite short, so longer ones were chosen if available as these are all from different individuals. Many contain complete sentences in English, some Hiri Motu words and smatterings of Tok Pisin as well. Non-standard spelling and word breaks are left intact, unlike any examples in the chapters above (unless referenced to these here). This first text was written 9 February 2012 by Phoenix Hera (F, ~40) [also from this speaker is text (105)].

Social media 26

(26.01) *Did you guys see the Kokorogoro houses on TV?* [*Irie doka*]_{CL1}.
 (place.name) sorrow
 ‘Did you guys see the Kokorogoro houses on TV? (So) sorry.’

The fourth word below *ameo* is standardly written *ame-yo* (stay-3SG.PAST); the same is the case for *niadi* to be written *ni-yadi* (become-3PL.PAST). This approximant consonant epenthesis morphophonemic process (cf. §2.6) was something proposed during the

Alphabet Design Workshop, but not always consistently followed.

- (26.02) [[*Aura tora*]_s [*meda remanu*]_{OBL} *ameo*]_{CL1}, [*mo* [*yava*
wind big day three stay.3SG.PAST at.once house

ibounai]_s *no niadi*]_{CL2}.
all bad become.3PL.PAST
'There were big winds for three days, and at once all the houses were
destroyed.'

- (26.03) [[*Sau vene*]_o *ni-gam-aka*]_{CL1}, [*mi*]_{VCS} [*nai*
odour people say-PAST.IMPERV-1SG.PAST this 1SG.POSS

rautu]_{VCC} ... *LOL...* *well at least the neares* (sic) *to it.*
village
'I say highlanders (lit. 'smelly people'), my village... Laughing out loud...
well at least the nearest to it.'

- (26.04) *After that.... Leg fire go lo bus! Super fit ya mi tok.*
let to bush yeah I talk
'After that....Let the fire go into the bush! I say really nice.'

- (26.05) *We need a road. We need bridges over the rivers so kids stop drowing* (sic)
in em (sic).

- (26.06) *We need that bloody airstrip. [Tora vene]_A should stop their*
big people

politics and work together for the benefit of all! The smell of a mine coming
soon? Well we have to be united so all of Doromu-Koki benefit and not just
the companies and the government.... Just thinking out loud.
'We need that bloody airstrip. The elders should stop their politics and work
together for the benefit of all! The smell of a mine coming soon? Well we
have to be united so all of Doromu-Koki benefit and not just the companies
and the government.... Just thinking out loud.'

Social media 27

This second text was written 14 February 2012 by Joseph Warika (M, ~20) [see also (104)
by by the same speaker].

- (27.01) [*koima*]_{ADD} [*buni*]_{VCS} *bi* [*min vondako..*]_{CL1}]_{VCC} [*egere e!*
leech good TOP this happen well e

a_a!]_{CL2}
ah!
'boy it is good this happened..well oh! Ah!

Social media 28

The third text was written on the same date by Gloria Kelebi (F, ~30).

(28.01) [*Meda buni [nai varavara vene]*_E]_{CL1}; [*dia sina beika*
day good 1SG.POSS relative people NEG word what

*buni*_{VCS} to; [[*sivoni vene yaku*]_A *ni-dedi*]_{CL2} *kana*]_{VCC}
good but white.skin people DSM say-3PL.PRES like

[*HAPPY VALENTINES [ia ibounai rofu]*_E]_{CL3}. *over to the experts, did it*
2 all to

I say properly... LOL... lovely day to all..

‘Good day to my relatives; not a good saying but; like white people say
HAPPY VALENTINES (sic) to everyone...over to the experts, did I say it
properly...lol..lovely day to all..’

Social media 29

A short one here written 24 February 2012 by Julsz Rema (F, ~30). *Diafa*, is to be written *di-yafa* (go-1PL.PAST). Also note the incorrect spelling of the Tok Pisin word *olgeta* ‘all, everyone’.

(29.01) [*Ame-sifa*]_{CL1} [*ba diafa*]_{CL2}, [[*meda=u buni*]_O
stay-1PL.PRES or go.1PL.PAST day=on good

olgeba (sic)]_E]_{CL3}.

everyone (from Tok Pisin)

‘Whether we stay or go, good day everyone.’

Social media 30

Another short text was written on the same date by Rapheal Totome (M, 46). A few non-standard forms are observed: *diyou* for *did.you*, *yabi* for *ya =bi*, *aroma* for *Aroma*, *rautu =ri* for *rautu=ri*, *re-gia* for *re-giya*.

(30.01) [*Diyou yabi [aroma ba uni rautu =ri]*_{OBL}
did.you 2.TOP (place.name) or 1PL.POSS village =at

moimai re-gia]_{CL1}?

work do-2SG.FUT

‘Did you, will you work in Aroma or in our village?’

Social media 31

The following writer, Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20) was a frequent contributor at the time (29 February 2012). More abbreviations include *dk* for Doromu-Koki.

(31.01) [*dk gokai..*]_{CL1} [[*mina lagani*]_{OBL} [[[*b [muye-na koru*
(name) how this year TOP die-NOMZ water

kana]_s *raga* *re-do-ma*]_{CL2}]_{CC} *ni-da*]_{CL3}, [*guri ni*
 like running do-3SG.PRES-SEQ.DS say-1SG.PRES pit say

yeiva *re-na* *ba* *gokai..*]_{CL4} [*moke-i* *ve-fa*]_{CL5}!
 strength do-NOMZ or how think-LINK see-2PL.IMP
 ‘Doromu-Koki (people) how.. this year death has been like water running
 and I say the strength of the grave or what.. think about it!’

Social media 32

The following was written 13 March 2012 by Rika Lulu Tee (F, ~18) [also by this speaker is text 109]. Here *urufa* is a dialectal variant of the Koki dialect *urusa* ‘night’ (cf. Bradshaw 2021a). There are many abbreviated English words here as well: *ur* = you are, *js* = just, *wana* = wanna (want to), *chck* = check, *r=* are; *exiting* is most likely ‘exciting’.

(32.01) [[*Urufa buni*]_o *varavara*]_{CL1}, *hope ur all fine out there???* *Js wana*
 night good relative

chck if we r exiting (sic), *hehehe*.

‘Good night relatives, hope you are all fine out there???

Just wanna check if we are excited (?), hehehe.’

Social media 33

This last text written 15 June 2017 by Bab Borana Boga (F, 29) began in Doromu-Koki, but then finished in English. There are various non-standard spellings here: *aufa.kai* for *aufakai*, *tutbena* for *tutubena* and *roroi* for *roroa*.

(33.01) [*Nai aufa.kai, bobada.manone Nai dava, Nai*
 1SG.POSS grandparents great-grandparent 1SG.POSS blood 1SG.POSS

tutben, Nai Kokira ago, Nai Sufa, Nai
 ancestor 1SG.POSS (name) word 1SG.POSS bush 1SG.POSS

Ika, Nai Rautu, Nai Roroi Moka, Nai
 mountain 1SG.POSS village 1SG.POSS area deep 1SG.POSS

Kobiro Moka, Nai Odu Moka, Nai “Oduika”]_{ADD}
 (name) deep 1SG.POSS (name) deep 1SG.POSS “(name)

proud to be Rigo
 (name)

‘My grandparents, great-grandparents, my relatives (lit. blood), my ancestors, my Kokira language, my bush, my mountain, my village, my deep area, my deep Kobiro, my deep Odu, my “Oduika”; proud to be Rigo...Open Candidate Rev.Jacob Bogaperi, (who is non (sic) other then (sic) my father) 2017 General Elections, may the Lord give us wisdom in the decisions we make today. Go with Gods (sic) grace everyone and vote wisely. Your today

determines your tomorrow. Prayerfully I wish you all safe and happy polling next week.’

Facebook Messenger 34

The following Facebook Messenger text was written 13 October 2018 by Joseph Toma (M, 49) [other texts by the same speaker include (2), (12-13), (24), (87), (113), (117) and (120)]. The last word on the first line *aide-* ‘help’ is normally spelled *aede-* (correspondingly *ai-* ‘put’ in (38.03) is normally spelled *ae-*); as well *toragade* is often written as two words *tora gade* (big very) ‘very big’.

(34.01) [*Dubu* [*urusa buni ma tanikiu toragade*]_o [*yi*
brother night good and thank.you big.very 2.POSS

aide-na yaku]_A *una moi aita ri-yo dada*]_{CL1}
help-NOMZ DSM 1PL D.CAUS light make-3SG.PAST so

[[*Central Gulf Translators convention Pinu rautu =ri*]_{OBL}
(name) village =at

oki-yafa-ma]_{CL2} [[*ini buni buni toragade*]_o *baku*
arrive-1PL.PAST-SEQ.SS 3.POSS good good big.very finding

re-yafa dada]_{CL3} [[*Sei rofu*]_E [*buni tora gade*]_o
do-1PL.PAST so God to good big very

ma-i-da [*ma ya rofu=ka*]_E]_{CL4}.
give-LINK-1SG.PRES and 2 to=also

‘Good night brother and thank you very much for your help that lightened us so that we arrived at the Central/Gulf translators convention in Pinu village and found blessings there, so I thank God and you also.’

(34.02) [*Ma yokoi*]_{VCS} *bi* [[*translators di bank account be nufa*]_{OBL}
and one TOP GEN some POSS

ba ide]_{VCC?}
or NEG

‘And one (other thing), is there a bank account for the translators?’

(34.03) [[[*Amiye buka voi re-gika*]_{CL1}]_{CC} *una nikaite-dedi*]_{CL2}
person book buying do-CON 1PL ask-3PL.PRES

[[*account =ri*]_{OBL} *maka moni ai-gifa*]_{CL3}]_{VCS} *bi* [*buni*
=at only money put-1PL.FUT TOP good

vo.ni-dedi]_{CL4}]_{VCC} [*dada ya nikaite-i-da*]_{CL5}.
tell-3PL.PRES so 2 ask-LINK-1SG.PRES

‘People trying to buy books ask us to put money in an account, saying that would be good, so I’m asking.’

Text messages

Following are two phone text messages; the first was received on 24 November 2015 from Chris Magio (M, 53) [other texts by this speaker include (8), (49), (90) and (112)] and the second 1 August 2016 from Charles Ero (M, 49) [other texts by the same speaker include (25), (52), (60), (72), (99-100), (102), (108) and (114-116)]. Unexpected spellings in (35) include *uruyaku* for *uriyaku* ‘morning’, *re-aka* for *re-yaka* ‘I did’ and *tui.re-* for *tua.re-* ‘wait’, as well as *nabi* for *na=bi* ‘I am’, *taun* to *taoni* ‘town’ and *debado* for *Debadogoro* in (36).

Text message 35

- (35.01) [*Uruyaku buni dubu*]_{CL1}. [*Nioteima-gida*]_{CL2}. [*Check.in re-aka*]_{CL3},
morning good brother tell-1SG.FUT do-1SG.PAST
- [*dadi-na maka tui.re-i-da*]_{CL4}. [*Vare-fo*]_{CL5}.
get.up-NOMZ only wait-LINK-1SG.PRES sleep-2PL.PO.IMP
‘Good morning brother. I will tell (you). I checked in, just getting up and waiting. Goodbye.’

Text message 36

- (36.01) [*Dubu uriyenau buni*]_{CL1}, [*nabi gua dinegida*]
brother afternoon good 1SG.TOP now go.go.down.1SG.FUT
- taun*]_{CL2} [*nabi [debado =ri]*]_{OBL} [*vata yokoi*]_O
town 1SG.TOP (place.name) =at truck one
- tua.rei-da*]_{CL3},
wait-1SG.PRES
‘Brother, good afternoon, I am now going down to town, I’m now at Debadogoro waiting for a truck,’

Conversational texts

There are four conversational texts included here. The following text was recorded from a short conversation between (1) Doromu-Koki speaker Mary Tuga (F, ~60) [deceased] and (2) myself. It took place in a Port Moresby neighbourhood 5 September 2019. The woman was describing her activity, and then mentioning her copy of the New Testament (i.e. *buka* ‘book’) and Megavoice® audio player (i.e. *mina* ‘this one’); because of our mutual contextual knowledge, I was able to understand what she was talking about.

Conversation 37

- (37.01) 1: [*Buni o*]_{CL1}.
good oh
‘Oh good.’

- (37.02) 2: [Um, misin koina]_{CL1}. [Misin koina dada]_{CL1} vadaini
 um machine finish machine finish so already
 [vana ya]_{OBL} turiya.re-i-da]_{CL2}.
 hand DSM sew.do-LINK-1SG.PRES
 ‘Um, the machine is finished. Since the machine is finished, then I’m
 sewing by hand.’
- (37.03) 1: [E, buni]_{CL1}.
 oh good
 ‘Oh, okay.’
- (37.04) 2: [Um, nai buka ame-do]_{CL1}. [Nai mina
 um 1SG.POSS book stay-3SG.PRES 1SG.POSS this
 ame-do]_{CL2}.
 stay-3SG.PRES
 ‘Um, I have my book. I have mine.’
- (37.05) 1: [Buni o]_{CL1}.
 good oh
 ‘Oh, okay.’
- (37.06) 2: [Um]_{CL1}.
 um
 ‘Um.’

Conversation 38

This text below involved a conversation between (1) a young man, Adam Bomena (M, 23) [another text by this speaker can be seen in (39)], (2) myself and (3) the young man’s uncle, Philip Bomena (M, 34) [other texts from the same speaker include (10-11), (39), (82-83), (93-94) and (97)], in a neighbourhood in Port Moresby. Like many young people, the young man used strings of interspersed English. His uncle did so as well to a lesser extent, and rather naturally I replied to English questions in English. When I would reply in Doromu-Koki I would normally get a corresponding response in the language. This conversation took place on 5 September 2019.

- (38.01) 1: [Ye mina]_{VCS} bi [no bankruptcy in the, in the economy, Papua
 so this TOP
 New Guinea]_{VCC}. We have lots of resources but, yet we are still...
 ‘And so there is no bankruptcy in the, in the economy, (unlike) Papua
 New Guinea (laughing). We have lots of resources but, yet we are still...’
- (38.02) [Ma [ini mina mida keika, [ini mida rema mida
 and 3.POSS this child little 3.POSS child woman child

remanu]_{RC}]_A, [*Katidanga rautu ago*]_O, *ni-dedi*]_{CL1},
two (place.name) village word say-3PL.PRES

[[*fluent, English*]_O *ni-ged*]_{CL2} [*ni-ged*]_{CL3} [*ma*
say-3PL.FUT say-3PL.FUT and

kamin]_{CL4}.

so.then

‘And these little children, their two girls, speak, Katidanga village language, and so then they can speak, can speak fluent English and...’

(38.03) [*Change re-go mini*]_{CL1}, [*res ma*]_{CL2}, [*ini ra, rautu*
di-3SG.FUT here SBL and 3.POSS vi- village

vene ro]_{CL3}.

people for

‘Here it will change, and then, their vi-, for their village people.’

(38.04) [[*Katidanga rautu ago*]_O *ni-ged*]_{CL1}.
(place.name) village word say-3PL.FUT

‘They can speak Katidanga village language.’

(38.05) [*Na-b are.re-si*]_{CL1} [*ve-gda-ma*]_{CL2}, [*bun bun von*]_{CL3}.
1SG-TOP stand-SEQ.SS see-1SG.FUT-SQDS good good eh

‘I will stand here and see and, good, good eh.’

(38.06) [*Buni momokani*]_{CL1}. *Did you catch bus and come or, you walked?*
good really.good

‘Really, really good. Did you catch the bus and come or, did you walk?’

(38.07) 2: Walked.

(38.08) 1: I don’t like the sun, it’s really hot now.

(38.09) 2: [*Meda sei*]_{CL1}.

day hot

‘It’s a hot day.’

(38.10) 3: [*Um, meda sei*]_{CL1}.

um day hot

‘Um, a hot day.’

(38.11) 2: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.

yes

‘Yes.’

(38.12) 3: [*Berou itu sasa re-do*]_{CL1} [*mina*]_{VCS} *ye* [*buni*]_{VCC}.
other cold breeze do-3SG.PRES this so good

‘On the side (of the house) is a cool breeze that is nice.’

- (38.13) 1: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
yes
'Yes.'
- (38.14) 3: [[*Gabu =ka itu*]_{CL1} *mina*]_{VCS} *ye* [*buni*]_{VCC}. *Now it'ssss really*
place =also cold this so good
cold, yeah. [*Rautu =ka itu*]_{CL1}, [*taoni =ka*
village =also cold town =also
itu]_{CL2}.
cold
'The place (i.e. village) is also cool which is nice. Now it'ssss really cold,
yeah. The village is also cold, town is cold as well.'
- (38.15) 2: [*Uriyaku=ri*]_{CL1}.
morning=in
'In the morning.'
- (38.16) 1: [*Explain re*]_{CL1}.
do
'Explain (that).'
- (38.17) 3: [[*Uriyaku meda=u uriyenau urusa*]_{OBL} *itu rautu =ka*]_{CL1}.
morning day=in afternoon night cold village =also
'(In the) morning, in the middle of the day, in the afternoon and at night
it is also cold in the village.'
- (38.18) 1: [*Rautu*]_{VCS} *bi* [*suma mina ya*]_{VCC}. [*Moresby mo*
village TOP bush this yes (place.name) at.once
sisina]_{CL1}.
story
'Well the village is bush there. (But) Port Moresby is (a different) story.'
- (38.19) [*Nokaru bi ame-ga*]_{CL1} [*ame-sfa*]_{CL2} [*bi,*
on.another.day TOP stay-SIM.SS stay-1PL.PRES TOP
ne.re-yaka]_{CL3} [*bi, E*]_{CL4!}
look.do-1SG.PAST TOP oh
'On another day while sitting there we were staying and, I looked and,
Oh!'
- (38.20) [*Mina*]_{VCS} *bi* [*Robert Bradshaw baeko ine*]_{VCC},
this TOP (name) (name) perhaps so
*[doba~doba de de-yo]*_{CL1};
long~INTS NEG come-3SG.PAST
'Perhaps that is Robert Bradshaw, so you came in a short while;'

- (38.21) How did you come? ‘No, I followed the map.
- (38.22) [*Map maka, bai-yo Hohola.3, a*]_{CL1}?
only come-2SG.PAST (place.name) a
‘Just with a map, you came to Hohola 3, ah?’
- (38.23) You took the back street, did you follow the main road last time? One time?
- (38.24) 2: Oh, last time?
- (38.25) 1: You came Murray Barracks way.
- (38.26) 2: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
yes
‘Yes.’
- (38.27) 1: [*Bai-si*]_{CL1} [*Hohola.3-ma dui re-yo*]_{CL2} [*resi*]_{CL3}
come-SEQ.SS (place.name)-at entering do-2SG.PAST SBL

[*freeway cross re-si*]_{CL4} [*ma de-yo*]_{CL5}. (*laughing*)
do-SEQ.SS and come-2SG.PAST
‘You came to Hohola 3 and entered and doing so, crossed the freeway and came (laughing)’.

Conversation 39

This text again involves the same three participants as the previous text [(1) a young man, Adam Bomena (M, 23) [another text by this speaker can be seen in (38)], (2) myself and (3) the young man’s uncle, Philip Bomena (M, 34) [other texts from the same speaker include (10-11), (38), (82-83), (93-94) and (97)], and was recorded at a later time that same day (5 September 2019).

- (39.01) 1: [*Foto mini*]_{CL1}
photo here
‘Here is a photo’
- (39.02) 2: [*Nai baba*]_{CL1}.
1SG.POSS father
My father.’
- (39.03) 3: [*Yo, ini baba=sa*]_{CL1}.
yes 3.POSS father=ACCM
‘Yes, with his father.’

- (39.04) 2: [*Ina bi Arizona=ri*]_{CL1}...
3 TOP (place.name)=at
'He is in Arizona...'
- (39.05) 3: [*Ina Arizona =ri ame-do*]_{CL1}?
3 (place.name) =at stay-3SG.PRES
'Does he live in Arizona?'
- (39.06) 2: [*Yo, Arizona*]_{CL1}.
yes (place.name)
'Yes, (in) Arizona.'
- (39.07) 1: *So what is the climate, climate like there? Is it cold, or?*
- (39.08) 2: [*Vava tora*]_{CL1}.
hot big
'Very hot.'
- (39.09) 1: [*Vava tora*]_{CL1}. [*Mexico kana baeko*]_{CL1}?
hot big (place.name) like perhaps
'Very hot. Perhaps like Mexico?'
- (39.10) 2: *Desert.*
- (39.11) 1: *Desert? [So ina bi countryside ame-do eni von,*
3 TOP stay-3SG.PRES eh eh
*countryside]*_{CL1}?
'Desert? So does he live in the countryside, countryside?'
- (39.12) 2: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
yes
'Yes.'
- (39.13) 1: [*Okay, Arizona*]_{CL1}. [*Cowboy movie ibounai mirona=ri act*
all there=at
re-dedi baeko]_{CL1}?
do-3PL.PRES perhaps
'Okay, Arizona. Perhaps all the cowboy movies are acted there?
(laughing)'
- (39.14) 2: [*Rama*]_{CL1}.
true
'True.'
- (39.15) 1: [*Rama eni von*]_{CL1}?
true eh eh
'Is that right?'

- (39.16) 2: [Yo]_{CL1}.
yes
'Yes.'
- (39.17) 1: [A, *siau*]_{CL1}. [*Robert, ya ame baba=sa*]_{CL1}, [*na bo-si*]_{CL12}
ah hot (name) 2 stay father=ACCM 1SG go-SEQ.SS

[*koru inua re-gida kumo*]_{CL3}.
water wash do-1SG.FUT and.then
'Ah, it is hot. Robert, you stay here with my uncle, and then I will go and wash.'
- (39.18) 2: [*Buni o*]_{CL1}.
good oh
'Okay, good.'

Conversation 40

This conversation with four participants took place in Port Moresby on 5 September 2019. It involved, in order of appearance, (1) Maggie Totome (F, 52), (2) myself, (3) Roseanne Magio (F, 58) and Bravo Totome (F, 33). Interestingly, the penultimate speaker, Roseanne Magio discussed code-switching in the language.

- (40.01) 1: [*Aiyo, na ni-gida*]_{CL1}.
wow 1SG say-1SG.FUT
'Wow, I will say.'
- (40.02) [*Robert*]_{ADD} [*ya [goina Cairns kona beika=ri]*]_{OBL}
(name) 2 where corner what=in

ame-dedi]_{CL1}?
stay-2PL.PRES
'Robert, in what section (corner) of Cairns do you (pl.) live?'
- (40.03) [*Una [next year]*]_{OBL} *bi ne-gifa Cairns*]_{CL1}.
1PL TOP go.down-1PL.FUT
'Next year we will be going down to Cairns.'
- (40.04) 2: *Yorkeys Knob*.
- (40.05) 1: [*Aaa*]_{CL1}!
Ahh
'Ahh!'
- (40.06) 2: [*Diba*]_{CL1}?
know
'(do you) know (it)?'

- (40.07) 1: [*Mina na diba*]_{CL1} [*to [mina gagani]*]_o *de ve-yaka*]_{CL2}.
 this 1SG know but this place NEG see-1SG.PAST
 ‘I know this one, but I haven’t seen that place.’
- (40.08) 2: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
 yes
 ‘That’s right (lit. yes).’
- (40.09) 1: [*Raun maka re-yaka*]_{CL1}.
 round only do-1SG.PAST
 ‘I just went around.’
- (40.10) 2: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
 yes
 ‘That’s right (lit. yes).’
- (40.11) 1: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
 yes
 ‘That’s right (lit. yes).’
- (40.12) 3: [*Ma ini roka*]_{VCS} [*Gabuna*]_{VCC...}
 and 3.POSS name (name)
 ‘And its name is Gabuna...’
- (40.13) 1: [*Gabuna bede ve*]_{CL1}, [*diba maoro re-yaka*]_{CL2}. [*Aiyo,*
 (name) any see know at.once do-1SG.PAST wow

[yi fon namba]]_o *moi-gfa*]_{CL3} [*ma ya rin*
 2.POSS phone number get-1PL.FUT and 2 ring

le-gfa]_{CL4}.
 do-1PL.FUT
 ‘See any Gabuna, I knew right away. Hey, we will get your phone number
 and we will ring you (laughing).’
- (40.14) 2: [*Yo*]_{CL1}.
 yes
 ‘That’s right (lit. yes).’
- (40.15) 3: [*Um... makai*]_{CL1}.
 um like.this
 ‘Um... likewise.’
- (40.16) 1: [*Yo*]_{CL1}. [*Una di ne, mirona-ri*]_{CL1}. *Next year.*
 yes 1PL go go.down there=at
 ‘Yes. We will go, go down there. Next year.’
- (40.17) 3: *Next year.*

- (40.18) 1: [*Um, [independence Septemba =ri]*]_{OBL}]_{CL1}.
 um September =in
 ‘Um, during Independence in September.’
- (40.19) 3: *Oh, September next year.*
- (40.20) 1: [*Ye... um, [Siau di ini gaukara]*]_O *o*]_{CL1}!
 so um (name) GEN 3.POSS work oh
 ‘And so...um, oh, Siau’s work!’
- (40.21) 3: [[*Ago, ago*]_O *ya diba*]_{CL1}?
 word word 2 know
 ‘The language, you know the language?’
- (40.22) 3: [*Study re-dedi vene mo ago, ago tata*]_{CL1}.
 do-3PL.PRES people at.once word word each
 ‘Studying people (i.e. students) and languages, different languages.’
- (40.23) [*Mo ina mo uni ago Koki, di ago*]_O *ae*
 at.once 3 at.once 1PL.POSS word (name) GEN word put

re-yo]_{CL1} [[*mina totona*]_{OBL} *ma ini mina gaukara*
 do-3SG.PAST this for and 3.POSS this work

re-do]_{CL3}.
 do-3SG.PRES
 ‘And at once they, our Koki language, the language was taken for this
 and this work has been done.’
- (40.24) [*Ago moke-giya neganai*]_{CL1}, [*una [uni sena tora*
 word think-2.FUT during 1PL 1PL.POSS already big

vene]]_A *ya, [ini ago]*]_O *neide-gam-adi*]_{CL2} [*bi ina*
 people DSM 3.POSS word hear-PAST.IMPERV-3PL.PAST TOP 3

idana, sena tora vene]_{CL3}.
 different already big people
 ‘When you think in the language, our ancestors, hearing their language is
 different, the old elders.’
- (40.25) [*Okay, [mina tora vene ini ago]*]_S *gua baibai*]_{CL1},
 this big people 3.POSS word now bye-bye(e)

 [*gua [mina generation]*]_S *oki-yo neganai*]_{CL2}, [*ago*
 now this arrive-3SG.PAST during word

mina bi, berou pidgin]]_O *fit re-dedi*]_{CL3}, [*berou bi*
 this TOP other do-3PL.PRES other TOP

English like na gua ago ni-da neganai=ri]_{CL4}
 1SG now word 1SG.PRES during=at

[[*mo mina ni-da*]_{CL5} [*ve-i-sa*]_{CL6}]_{CL7}.
 at.once this 1SG.PRES see-LINK-2SG.PRES
 ‘Okay, these older people their language is now passé, when today’s generation arrived, this language is, they are fitting in some pidgin, some English, like I am now at once speaking you see this is what I’m saying.’

(40.26) 2: [*Rama*]_{CL1}.

true
 ‘That’s right.’

(40.27) 3: [*Yo*]_{CL1}. [[*Mina e, ago mina sisina*]_o *forovai.re-yo*]_{CL1}.
 yes this eh word this story confuse.do-3SG.PAST
 ‘Yes. This, like this story is confused/mixed up.’

(40.28) [*Mina e, gua, [gua uni Word of God]*]_o *ae*
 this eh now now 1PL.POSS put

re-yafa]_{CL1} [*mina New Testament*]_o *ae re-yafa*
 do-1PL.PAST this put do-1PL.PAST

mina]_{CL2}, [[*mina ago, uni ago di*]_o *forovai.re-go*]_{CL3}
 this this word 1PL.POSS word GEN confuse.do-3S-FUT

[*to, o, mina yaku*]_s *bi mo*
 but or this DSM TOP but

ame-i-bo-bi-go toga]_{CL4}.
 stay-LINK-POT-FUT.IMPERV-3SG.FUT always

‘This, now, now our Word of God that we put in this New Testament which we have written (lit. put down), these words, our language it will be confused/mixed up, but oh, this will remain on forever.’

(40.29) [*Mida.mida [mina totona ma mina totona ma mina]*]_o
 children this for and this for and this

aei New Testament]_{CL1}, *mida.mida duaiya.re-ga*]_{CL2} [*ago*
 put children read.do-SIM.SS word

buni~buni mina]_s *ame-do mini, [uni ago*
 good~PL this stay-3SG.PRES here 1PL.POSS word

iboudiai mina]_o *ide=ri*]_{CL2}.
 all this inside=at

‘For the children and this was put in for the children, the children can read the New Testament, and very good language is there, all of our language inside this. ’ ’

Songs

Two native-authored songs are included below. The first song was written 18 September 2004 by Chris B (M, ~20), to be used in the church services.

Song 41

(41.01) [[*Baba*]_{ADD} *na bi no re-i-da*]_{CL1}, [[*nai no*]_O
 father 1SG TOP bad do-LINK-1SG.PRES 1SG.POSS bad

moi tua.re]_{CL1}.

D.CAUS wait.do

‘Father, I do wrong, help my wrong.’

(41.02) [[*Hu hu hu i no*]_O *bi koite-gida*]_{CL1}.
 2.POSS bad TOP wash-1SG.FUT

‘Hu hu hu hu I will wash away your wrong.’

(41.03) [*Ya bi [nai, nai vana]*]_O *moi-si*]_{CL1} [*na=sa*
 2 TOP 1SG.POSS 1SG.POSS hand get-SEQ.SS 1SG=ACCM

bae-e-e]_{CL2}.

come

‘You take my, my hand and co-m-m-e with me.’

(41.04) [[*Nai mida, baba, nono, tobaini, rasini*]_{ADD}
 1SG.POSS child father mother sister cousin

‘My children, fathers, mothers, sisters, cousins’

(41.05) *Vegu kaini fere*]_{CL1}.
 practice already leave

‘Leave your practices behind already.’

Song 42

This second song was also written 18 September 2004 by Owen Andy (M, 22) [other texts by this speaker include 55 and 69], again for church services.

(42.00) [*Nono Maria suma itu sana*]_{CL1}
 mother (name) bush cold place

‘Mother Mary of the cold bush place’

(42.01) [[*O-o- o-o nono Maria*]_{ADD}, [*yi rautu Fatima*]_{OBL}
 mother (name) 2.POSS village (name)

fere-i bai-yo]_{CL1}.

leave-LINK come-3SG.PAST

‘O-o-o-o mother Mary, you left your home Fatima.’

- (42.02) [[*Yi rautu Fatima*]_{OBL} *fere-i bai-yo*]_{CL1}.
 2.POSS village (name) leave-LINK come-3SG.PAST
 ‘You left your home Fatima and came.’
- (42.03) [*Miya ori de re-yo*]_{CL1}, [*abata ori de re-yo*]_{CL2}.
 rain fear NEG do-3SG.PAST flood fear NEG do-3SG.PAST
 ‘You weren’t afraid of rain, you weren’t afraid of flood.’
- (42.04) [[*Suma itu sana bai-yo*]_{CL1}.
 bush cold place come-3SG.PAST
 ‘You came to the cold bush place.’
- (42.05) [*o-o-o-o* [[*Doromu Kokila, Korigo vene totona*]_E *bai-yo*]_{CL1}.
 (name) (name) (name) people for come-3sg.PAST
 ‘o-o-o-o Doromu Kokila, Korigo you came for the people.’

Index of texts

Following is an index of the texts included above. (Length in minutes and seconds is included for transcribed audio recordings; any unknown information is left blank.)

Table A.1: *Texts index*

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
1	Allan Simon (M, 26) [deceased]	<i>Sufa.sufa diyafa</i> 'We went hunting in the big bush'	28-Oct-2001	
2	Joseph Toma (M, 32)	<i>Di bone ka reyaka</i> 'I was also going on being lazy'	28-Oct-2001	
3	Justin Gugunu (M, 45)	<i>Baba bona mida di sina</i> 'Father and son story'	21-Mar-2002	
4	Raphael Tuga (M, 33)	<i>Sufa.sufa dina sina</i> 'Hunting in the bush story'	21-Mar-2002	
5	Skibo (M, ~20)	<i>Nai rautu bi Oduika omuna odorori</i> 'My village is Oduika on the mountain'	22-Mar-2002	
6	Barbara Kapana (F, 43)	<i>Meda yokoiri mida remanu garasi diyadi</i> 'One day two boys went out with their giving glasses'	10-Apr-2002	
7	Peter Paul (M, ~30) [deceased]	<i>Sumari some diyo</i> 'He hunted in the bush'	24-May-2002	
8	Chris Magio (M, 42)	<i>Koki vene</i> 'Koki people'	14-Sep-2004	
9	Emmanuel Kapana (M, 48) [deceased]	<i>Unema meyo sina</i> 'Landslide story'	17-Oct-2007	1:17
10	Philip Bomena (M, 28)	<i>Dona keika roka Mareka</i> 'The piglet named Mareka'	28-Feb-2009	
11	Philip Bomena (M, 28)	<i>Sealark gui.reyaka</i> 'I rode on Sealark'	28-Feb-2009	3:55
12	Joseph Toma (M, 50)	<i>Agiya uriyaku beika vata.niyo sina na rofu bona Robert ro nana bogamfari Gordons</i> 'The story of what happened to me and Robert yesterday morning when we were walking from Gordons'	13-Sep-2019	3:40
13	Joseph Toma (M, 50)		13-Sep-2019	2:36

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
14	Rapheal Totome (M, 33)	<i>Uba dubisa</i> 'Two brothers together'	Sep-1999	
15	Joe Warika (M, ~20)	<i>Oga</i> 'Garden'	12-Sep-2001	
16	Rapheal Totome (M, 35)	<i>Keni Raku</i> 'Keni Raku'	12-Sep-2001	
17	Robin Maro (M, 43)	<i>Koeka Odu</i> 'Koeka Odu'	28-Oct-2001	
18	(Unknown)	(Sand and Star legend)	10-Apr-2002	
19	Peter Tuga (M, 43) [deceased]	<i>Gokai ida dudu meino moyafa</i> 'In which way we got peace'	6-Jun-2002	4:56
20	Theresa Auye (F, 55), Graham Gojobu (M, 22)	<i>Sisina sina</i> 'A legend story'	17-Oct-2007	1:57
21	Rebo Bore (M, 34)	<i>Ere dida kana</i> 'Like I go hunting'	18-Sep-2004	
22	Michael H Tuga (M, 40)	(Trial spelling guide preface)	21-Mar-2002	
23	Michael Tuga (M, 44)	(letter)	10-Apr-2006	
24	Joseph Toma (M, 46)	(note)	17-Aug-2015	
25	Charles Ero (M, 49)	(note)	20-Apr-2016	
26	Phoenix Hera (F, ~40)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	9-Feb-2012	
27	Joseph Warika (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	14-Feb-2012	
28	Gloria Kelebi (F, ~30)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	14-Feb-	

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
29	Julsz Rema (F, ~30)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	2012 24-Feb-	
30	Rapheal Totome (M, 46)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	2012 24-Feb-	
31	Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	2012 29-Feb-	
32	Rika Lulu Tee (F, ~18)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	2012 13-Mar-	
33	Bab Borana Boga (F, 29)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	2017 15-Jun-	
34	Joseph Toma (M, 49)	(Facebook Messenger)	2018 13-Oct-	
35	Chris Magio (M, 53)	(text message)	2015 24-Nov-	
36	Charles Ero (M, 49)	(text message)	2016 1-Aug-	
37	Mary Tuga (F, ~60) [deceased]	(conversation)	2019 5-Sep-	0:51
38	Adam Bomena (M, 23), Philip Bomena (M, 34)	(conversation)	2019 5-Sep-	2:04
39	Adam Bomena (M, 23), Philip Bomena (M, 34)	(conversation)	2019 5-Sep-	1:18
40	Maggie Totome (F, 52), Roseanne Magio (F, 58), Bravo Totome (F, 33)	(conversation)	2019 5-Sep-	2:37
41	Chris B (M, ~20)	(song)	2004 18-Sep-	
42	Owen Andy (M, 22)	<i>Nono Maria suma ita sana</i> 'Mother Mary of the cold bush place'	2004 18-Sep-	

Supplemental index of texts

In addition, 78 other texts not included above, but which contain portions used in examples throughout the body of this work are listed below chronologically, according to the date recorded (whether oral, written or digital). Any sections left blank are unknown or otherwise not recorded, i.e. several were not given a title. The numbers are those which are referenced at the end of an example sentence translation, e.g. [120]; since no complete interlinearised texts are given, they are devoid of any line numbers, such as would be seen for the texts above.

There were 22 male speakers and six female speakers in total, as many recorded multiple texts over the span of 19 years in which these were gathered. For each speaker, gender and approximate age at time of recording are indicated after their name. Age ranges were from 20-60 for the males and 18-50 for the females.

As with the texts included above, these texts are from a range of genres: conversations, letters, narratives, notes, social media (Facebook posts), songs, text messages, translated materials and New Testament audio recordings. (Length is included for transcribed audio recordings - total for above and below is 2:29:50.)

Table A.2: *Supplemental texts index*

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
43	Rapheal Totome (M, 35)		6-Oct-2001	0:51
44	Rapheal Totome (M, 35)		28-Nov-2001	23:01
45	Samuel Ero (M, 33)	<i>Nai rema midasa helekofeta gui resi taoni neyafa</i> 'My wife and children and I rode a helicopter to town'	21-Mar-2002	
46	Michael H Tuga (M, 40)		10-Apr-2002	
47	Rapheal Totome (M, 36)	Koki story	20-Apr-2002	4:23
48	Luke Bomena (M, 33), Charles Ero (M, 36), Michael H Tuga (M, 41)	Translators' Training Course 2 booklet: Genesis 1-4; Exodus 15.1-18	3-Jun-2003	
49	Chris Magio (M, 42)	Koki story	4-Apr-2004	
50	(Unknown)	Songs	9-Jul-2004	29:31
51	(Unknown)	<i>Una ka bi vitu vene</i> 'We are also orphans'	9-Jul-2004	
52	Charles Ero (M, 37)	<i>Rema rumana mesi ini voi rededi</i> 'Marrying men and women's bride price'	18-Aug-2004	
53	(Unknown)		7-Sep-2004	
54	Michael H Tuga (M, 42)	<i>Muyena vata nidori gokai regamadi</i> 'When death occurs what was done'	14-Sep-2004	
55	Owen Andy (M, 22)	Song: <i>Baba nono tobaini rasini vegu kaini fere</i> 'Father, mother, brother, sister leave (your) sins behind'	18-Sep-2004	
56	Sam Donal (M, ~25)	<i>Konori amesifa bi</i>	18-Sep-	

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
57	Justin Gugunu (M, 47)	'Our living on the earth' <i>Diyafa</i>	2004 18-Sep-	
58	Noel Babada (M, 31)	'We went' <i>Yava Risifa</i>	2004 20-Sep-	
59	Regina Ero (F, 38), et al	'We build a house' (Conversation)	2004 9-Apr-	5:18
60	Seba (M)	Letter	2006 26-Apr-	
61	Luke Bomena (M, 39)		2006 27-Apr-	
62	Norbert Gabona (M, 46) [deceased]	<i>Gauka no AIDS di ini ago</i> 'Words about the bad illness AIDS'	2006 12-May-	
63	(Unknown)	Song: <i>I sivarai neideyafa</i> 'We heard your story'	2006 27-Jul-	
64	(Unknown)	<i>Gud Faide di isira</i> 'Good Friday play'	2006 28-Jul-	
65	Luke Bomena (M, 39)		2006 1-Sep-	
66	Luke Bomena (M, 39)		2006 4-Sep-	
67	Lucy Raphael (F, 38)	<i>Gokai yavari amega reida</i> 'How I live in the house'	2007 17-Jul-	0:59
68	Owen Andy (M, 25)	(Song)	2007 19-Jul-	
69	Noel Babada (M, 34)	<i>Gokai sina bura rena di egogo reyafa sina</i> 'Story about how we gathered to learn about writing stories'	2007 17-Oct-	1:10
70	Barbara Emmanuel (F, 48)	<i>Abata digi reyaka sina</i>	2007 17-Oct-	2:34

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
71	Charles Ero (M, 40)	'My flood coming story' <i>Usika ourena vei tuma de</i>	2007 17-Oct-	2:01
72	Regina K Ero (F, 39)	'Not seeing family as enemies' <i>Gokai nai midasa Mimani koruri vegu niyafa</i>	2007 17-Oct-	2:41
73	Magdalene Joseph (F, 50)	'How my child and I survived (lit. became alive) on the Mimani river' <i>Gauka tora reyaka sina</i>	2007 17-Oct-	0:47
74	Patrick Kila (M, 35)	'My great illness story' <i>Sitori adina bi Ado yaku dona aunasa uyo</i>	2007 17-Oct-	0:46
75	Rapheal Totome (M, 42)	'The story of when Ado killed a pig with his dog'	2007 19-Feb-	
76	Noel Babada (M, 36)	<i>Gokai amuteyaka</i> 'How I felt'	2009 28-Feb-	
77	(Unknown)	<i>Gokai Mamana amiye tora okiyo Kasonomu rauturi</i> 'How a Mamana elder arrived in Kasonomu village'	2009 31-May-	
78	J W Loza	<i>Ini baba di mekori kimatau.reyo</i> 'He hung onto his father's heart'	2009 31-May-	
79	Augustine Makain (M, ~60)	<i>Muyena sina ma boi neyadi Yule Island ri</i> 'Death story and going up and down to Yule Island'	2009 31-May-	
80	Philip Bomena (M, 28)	<i>Nemona</i> 'Mosquito'	2009 30-Nov-	
81	Philip Bomena (M, 28)	<i>Iya yokoi di sina</i> 'One star's story'	2009 31-Dec-	
82	(Undentified writers' workshop participant)	<i>Aiyo, abou no reyaka</i> 'Oh, I had a bad fall'	2009	
83	Ephraim Robin (M, 27)	<i>Koruri rafegi diyafa</i> 'We went to wash/swim in the river'	2010 31-Jan-	
84	Raphael Tuga (M, 42)	<i>Aiyo</i>	2010 27-Apr-	

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
		'Wow'	2010	
85	Joseph Toma (M, 41)	<i>Di bone reyaka</i> 'I was lazy'	28-Apr- 2010	
86	Luke Bomena (M, 43)		30-Apr- 2010	
87	Philip Bomena (M, 29)	<i>Meda yokoiri koru diyaka</i> 'One day I went fishing'	4-May- 2010	
88	Chris Magio (M, 48)		5-May- 2010	
89	(Unknown)	<i>Grace di ini yuka</i> 'Grace's leg'	5-May- 2010	
90	(Unknown)		16-Jun- 2010	
91	Philip Bomena (M, 29)	<i>Awito yaku oru yava riyo</i> 'Awito built an outhouse'	16-Aug- 2010	
92	Philip Bomena (M, 29)	<i>Yakita iye yaku ya aedego</i> 'Leaves can help you'	16-Aug- 2010	
93	(Unknown)	<i>Mida bakana ma</i> 'Give children space'	16-Aug- 2010	
94	Michael H Tuga (M, 48)	<i>Sogona buni baku rena ida</i> 'Way of finding something good'	16-Aug- 2010	
95	Philip Bomena (M, 29)	<i>Mida kaere isaka niyo</i> 'The boy who cried'	18-Aug- 2010	
96	(Unknown)	<i>Mokena ago</i> 'Proverbs (lit. thinking words)'	25-Aug- 2010	
97	Charles Ero (M, 43)		3-Sep- 2010	
98	Charles Ero (M, 43)	(letter)	19-Nov- 2010	

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
99	Rapheal Totome (M, 44)		2010	
100	Charles Ero (M, 44)	(Text message)	23-Jun-2011	
101	Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	9-Feb-2012	
102	Joseph Warika (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	24-Feb-2012	
103	Phoenix Hera (F, ~40)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	3-Mar-2012	
104	Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	3-Mar-2012	
105	Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	3-Mar-2012	
106	Charles Ero (M, 45)	(letter)	24-Aug-2012	
107	Rika Lulu Tee (F, ~18)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	8-Mar-2013	
108	Pius Joseph Bori Waburi (M, ~20)	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	8-Jul-2013	
109	Chris Magio (M, 53)		31-Oct-2015	
110	Joseph Toma (M, 47)	(Text message)	8-Jan-2016	
111	Charles Ero (M, 49)	(Text message)	25-May-2016	
112	Charles Ero (M, 49)	(Text message)	1-Aug-2016	
113	Charles Ero (M, 50)	(SUAR 2017:99:10.18; 102:11.3 audio recording)	8-Mar-2017	16:48
114	Joseph Toma (M, 48)	(SUAR 2017:3:2.6, 4:2.13 audio recording)	8-Mar-2017	10:20

Number	Name (Gender, Age)	Title	Date	Length
			2017	
115	Roseanne Magio (F, ~50), Gibson (M, ~37), Solo Totome (M, ~40)	(Conversation 8)	5-Sep-2019	4:16
116	Joseph Toma (M, 46), Mother (F, ~35), Pascal Gabriel (M, ~35)	(Conversation 1)	8-Sep-2019	2:30
117	(Unknown)	(Conversation 4)	8-Sep-2019	2:00
118	Charles Ero (M, 48), Beatrice (F, ~28)	(Conversation 2)	10-Sep-2019	3:01
119	Selina (F, ~45)	(Conversation 2)	13-Sep-2019	1:16
120	Andrew Wasina (M, ~60) [deceased]	(Doromu Kokila blood aka D.K Dava Facebook group post)	17-Mar-2020	

Lexical items

The following tables contain exhaustive lists of information that is described in Chapter 11: Table A.3: Homonyms, Table A.4: Lexeme senses, Table A.5: Verbal semantics, Table A.6: Autochthonous versus borrowed synonyms, Table A.7: Idioms, Table A.8: Borrowed terms and Table A.9: Biblical key terms.

Homonyms

Following is an exhaustive list of homonyms found in Bradshaw 2021a (cf. analysis in §11.1.1 for further details).

Table A.3: *Homonyms*

Term	Gloss	Term	Gloss
<i>ada</i> ₁	‘happiness’ (n)	<i>bero</i> ₂	‘bell’ (n)
<i>ada</i> ₂	‘head’ (n)	<i>biri</i> ₁	‘door’ (n)
<i>ada</i> ₃	‘shade’ (n)	<i>biri</i> ₂	‘fish species’ (n)
<i>adafa</i> ₁	‘tree species’ (n)	<i>birina</i> ₁	‘fan cabbage’ (n)
<i>adafa</i> ₂	‘mushroom species’ (n)	<i>birina</i> ₂	‘dip-NOMZ’ (v)
<i>adu</i> ₁	‘jaw’ (n)	<i>biyo</i> ₁	‘cup’ (n)
<i>adu</i> ₂	‘banana hand’ (n)	<i>biyo</i> ₂	‘sad’ (adj)
<i>afena</i> ₁	‘take-NOMZ’ (v)	<i>buda</i> ₁	‘front’ (n)
<i>afena</i> ₂	‘cheek’ (n)	<i>buda</i> ₂	‘baby’ (n)
<i>aina</i> ₁	‘wild sugarcane’ (n)	<i>buka</i> ₁	‘book’ (n)
<i>aina</i> ₂	‘spit-NOMZ’ (v)	<i>buka</i> ₂	‘possum scent’ (n)
<i>amana</i> ₁	‘bamboo species’ (n)	<i>buruka</i> ₁	‘creek’ (n)
<i>amana</i> ₂	‘dam’ (n)	<i>buruka</i> ₂	‘elderly’ (adj)
<i>anema</i> ₁	‘ear’ (n)	<i>diba</i> ₁	‘know’ (v)
<i>anema</i> ₂	‘headwaters’ (n)	<i>diba</i> ₂	‘spear’ (n)
<i>are</i> ₋₁	‘collect’ (v)	<i>didibu</i> ₁	‘banana species’ (n)
<i>are</i> ₋₂	‘open up’ (v)	<i>didibu</i> ₂	‘tadpole’ (n)
<i>asika</i> ₁	‘shriveled up’ (adj)	<i>dina</i> ₁	‘go-NOMZ’ (v)
<i>asika</i> ₂	‘navel’ (n)	<i>dina</i> ₂	‘tree species’ (n)
<i>auna</i> ₁	‘dog’ (n)	<i>dokema</i> ₁	‘storehouse’ (n)
<i>auna</i> ₂	‘profit’ (n)	<i>dokema</i> ₂	‘nothing’ (n)
<i>auri</i> ₁	‘spear’ (n)	<i>ena</i> ₁	‘sap’ (n)
<i>auri</i> ₂	‘neck’ (n)	<i>ena</i> ₂	‘twist-NOMZ’ (v)
<i>ayena</i> ₁	‘lightning’ (n)	<i>eta</i> ₁	‘side’ (n)
<i>ayena</i> ₂	‘cassowary species’ (n)	<i>eta</i> ₂	‘hookworm’ (n)
<i>ba</i> ₁	‘or’ (cnj)	<i>etugai</i> ₁	‘snake species’ (n)
<i>ba</i> ₂	‘eh’ (qw)	<i>etugai</i> ₂	‘lizard species’ (n)
<i>bado</i> ₁	‘piece’ (n)	<i>eyo</i> ₁	‘moon’ (n)
<i>bado</i> ₂	‘finger’ (n)	<i>eyo</i> ₂	‘vine species’ (n)
<i>baguru</i> ₁	‘greens’ (n)	<i>feide</i> ₋₁	‘cook’ (v)
<i>baguru</i> ₂	‘placenta’ (n)	<i>feide</i> ₋₂	‘leave’ (v)
<i>bau</i> ₁	‘lizard species’ (n)	<i>fodiya</i> ₁	‘lazy’ (adj)
<i>bau</i> ₂	‘leftover food’ (n)	<i>fodiya</i> ₂	‘tree species’ (n)
<i>bero</i> ₁	‘wound’ (n)		

Term	Gloss
<i>fosi</i> ₁	'pimple' (n)
<i>fosi</i> ₂	'cat' (n)
<i>fou</i> ₁	'shot' (n)
<i>fou</i> ₂	'timber' (n)
<i>fu</i> ₁	'puff' (n)
<i>fu</i> ₂	'apology' (n)
<i>fute.re-1</i>	'mumble' (cv)
<i>fute.re-2</i>	'blink' (cv)
<i>gabayo</i> ₁	'banana species' (n)
<i>gabayo</i> ₂	'snake species' (n)
<i>gabu</i> ₁	'black' (adj)
<i>gabu</i> ₂	'place' (n)
<i>gade</i> ₁	'very' (adv)
<i>gade</i> ₂	'tooth' (n)
<i>gaton</i> ₁	'scorpion' (n)
<i>gaton</i> ₂	'tree species' (n)
<i>gavana</i> ₁	'governor' (n)
<i>gavana</i> ₂	'cuckoo-dove' (n)
<i>goro</i> ₁	'taboo' (n)
<i>goro</i> ₂	'gold' (n)
<i>guguna</i> ₁	'flea species' (n)
<i>guguna</i> ₂	'fish species' (n)
<i>guruna</i> ₁	'prick-NOMZ' (v)
<i>guruna</i> ₂	'razorback' (n)
<i>ide</i> ₁	'no' (NEG)
<i>ide</i> ₂	'inside' (postp)
<i>idu</i> ₁	'but' (cnj)
<i>idu</i> ₂	'flying fox species' (n)
<i>idu</i> ₃	'step' (n)
<i>ima</i> ₁	'betel nut' (n)
<i>ima</i> ₂	'bee species' (n)
<i>imi-1</i>	'pierce' (v)
<i>imi-2</i>	'bend' (v)
<i>iniye</i> ₁	'self' (pn)
<i>iniye</i> ₂	'very' (adv)
<i>irina</i> ₁	'eat-NOMZ' (v)
<i>irina</i> ₂	'brain' (n)
<i>iya</i> ₁	'star' (n)
<i>iya</i> ₂	'fight' (n)
<i>kafena</i> ₁	'extinguish-NOMZ' (v)
<i>kafena</i> ₂	'coconut shell' (n)
<i>kako</i> ₁	'rough' (adj)
<i>kako</i> ₂	'expert' (n)
<i>kana</i> ₁	'like' (adj)
<i>kana</i> ₂	'tree species' (n)
<i>karai</i> ₁	'sulphur-crested cockatoo' (n)
<i>karai</i> ₂	'coconut meat' (n)

Term	Gloss
<i>kiki-1</i>	'stare at' (v)
<i>kiki-2</i>	'shine' (v)
<i>kiki.re-1</i>	'kick' (cv)
<i>kiki.re-2</i>	'give off smoke' (cv)
<i>kofi</i> ₁	'coffee' (n)
<i>kofi</i> ₂	'foreskin' (n)
<i>kokiya</i> ₁	'lizard' (n)
<i>kokiya</i> ₂	'old' (adj)
<i>kota</i> ₁	'fence' (n)
<i>kota</i> ₂	'court' (n)
<i>maena</i> ₁	'shame' (n)
<i>maena</i> ₂	'vine' (n)
<i>nen</i> ₁	'go-NOMZ' (v)
<i>nen</i> ₂	'look-NOMZ' (v)
<i>nen</i> ₃	'bone' (n)
<i>o</i> ₁	'or' (cnj)
<i>o</i> ₂	'oh' (voc)
<i>oama</i> ₁	'tree species' (n)
<i>oama</i> ₂	'right' (n)
<i>rama</i> ₁	'fruit' (n)
<i>rama</i> ₂	'right' (adj)
<i>rara</i> ₁	'bush' (n)
<i>rara</i> ₂	'fellow' (n)
<i>roka</i> ₁	'name' (n)
<i>roka</i> ₂	'net bag handle' (n)
<i>ru-1</i>	'collect' (v)
<i>ru-2</i>	'serve (food)' (v)
<i>rumana</i> ₁	'man' (n)
<i>rumana</i> ₂	'help-NOMZ' (v)
<i>sasa</i> ₁	'breeze' (n)
<i>sasa</i> ₂	'saucer' (n)
<i>sei</i> ₁	'god, God' (n)
<i>sei</i> ₂	'bright' (adj)
<i>seri</i> ₁	'shore' (n)
<i>seri</i> ₂	'basket' (n)
<i>siko</i> ₁	'first' (adj)
<i>siko</i> ₂	'daring' (n)
<i>siri</i> ₁	'river branch' (n)
<i>siri</i> ₂	'part' (n)
<i>sori</i> ₁	'humanlike spirit' (n)
<i>sori</i> ₂	'sorrow' (n)
<i>tafa</i> ₁	'bush' (n)
<i>tafa</i> ₂	'hardly' (adv)
<i>toga</i> ₁	'always' (adv)
<i>toga</i> ₂	'ridge beam' (n)
<i>tuka.re-1</i>	'shake hand' (cv)
<i>tuka.re-2</i>	'suck' (cv)

Term	Gloss	Term	Gloss
<i>uka</i> ₁	‘stomach’ (n)	<i>vatoru</i> ₁	‘tree species’ (n)
<i>uka</i> ₂	‘possum’ (n)	<i>vatoru</i> ₂	‘stupid’ (n)
<i>una</i> ₁	‘we’ (pn)	<i>vena</i> ₁	‘see-NOMZ’ (v)
<i>una</i> ₂	‘hit-NOMZ’ (v)	<i>vena</i> ₂	‘mouth’ (n)
<i>unema</i> ₁	‘egg’ (n)	<i>vi</i> ₁	‘backside’ (n)
<i>unema</i> ₂	‘landslide’ (n)	<i>vi</i> ₂	‘possum species’ (n)
<i>uru</i> ₁	‘multiple’ (n)	<i>yo</i> ₁	‘yes’ (affirm)
<i>uru</i> ₂	‘current’ (n)	<i>yo</i> ₂	‘sprout’ (n)
<i>uru</i> - ₁	‘ripen’ (v)	<i>yoya</i> ₁	‘banana species’ (n)
<i>uru</i> - ₂	‘husk’ (v)	<i>yoya</i> ₂	‘yam’ (n)
<i>usika</i> ₁	‘second born’ (adj)	<i>yoyo</i> ₁	‘tip’ (n)
<i>usika</i> ₂	‘little finger’ (n)	<i>yoyo</i> ₂	‘overgrown’ (adj)

Lexeme senses

Following is an exhaustive list of 75 lexemes with multiple senses (cf. Bradshaw 2021a and examination in §11.1.2 for further details). Only five (or 6.7%) have a tertiary sense. Concomitant with word class frequency in general, here with the senses, the most frequent word class is noun (33.3%), followed by complex verb (21.3%), then adjective (20%), verb (13.3%), SVC (5.3%), postposition (4%) and adverb and interrogative (both at 1.3%) [cf. §11.1.3.1].

Table A.4: *Lexeme senses*

Entry	Senses		
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
<i>giba</i>	‘thin; having little weight, skinny’ (adj)	‘sharp-pointed, forked’	
<i>kaka</i>	‘red’ (adj)	‘ripe’	
<i>safi</i>	‘tasty; sweet, delicious, savory’ (adj)	‘nice, choice, beautiful’	
<i>aita</i>	‘light (weight)’ (adj)	‘youth’ (n)	
<i>berou</i>	‘other (side)’ (adj)	‘side’ (n)	
<i>buni</i>	‘good; well, nice, beautiful’ (adj)	‘goodness, blessing’ (n)	
<i>gira</i>	‘hard; firm, strong, stiff, solid, thick’ (adj)	‘difficulty’ (n)	
<i>isivaga</i>	‘powerful, valuable, great, clever’ (adj)	‘strength’ (n)	
<i>kamadaiforo</i>	‘colourful, attractive, sparkling’ (adj)	‘colourfulness’ (n)	
<i>keika</i>	‘little, small, young(er), junior’ (adj)	‘little bit; youth’ (n)	
<i>no</i>	‘bad, evil, wicked’ (adj)	‘evil, wickedness’ (n)	
<i>tau</i>	‘many, plenty, a lot, all’ (adj)	‘all of’ (n)	
<i>toe</i>	‘heavy, weighted, loaded; suffering’ (adj)	‘weight; burden, trial, problem’ (n)	
<i>vava</i>	‘hot’ (adj)	‘power, authority, dominion’ (n)	
<i>tora</i>	‘big; great, grand, large, elder, older’ (adj)	‘elder’ (n)	‘very’ (adv)
<i>tavoi</i>	‘(in) vain; purposelessly, aimlessly’ (adv)	‘ordinary’ (adj)	
<i>asanu.rena</i>	‘take over/possession of, get all of’ (cv)	‘assign to something, give something to do’	
<i>buba.nina</i>	‘avoid; shun, eschew, recoil from’ (cv)	‘disperse; throw away, scatter, shatter’	
<i>ebu.rena</i>	‘surpass; beat, win over, conquer’ (cv)	‘pass (through), miss mark’	
<i>fiu.nina</i>	‘sprout’ (cv)	‘jump out unexpectedly’	
<i>kosika.rena</i>	‘be tired/lazy, faint (whole body)’ (cv)	‘complain, get discouraged’	
<i>kuaita.rena</i>	‘swing at’ (cv)	‘lean against’	
<i>nigira.rena</i>	‘defend’ (cv)	‘encourage’	
<i>nirorotari.rena</i>	‘plan; work out, explain, discuss’ (cv)	‘reprove, judge’	
<i>nivai.rena</i>	‘fill up, saturate, spread throughout’ (cv)	‘correct, rebuke, stop, prevent’	
<i>rama nina</i>	‘speak correctly’ (cv)	‘be fulfilled’	

Entry	Senses		
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
<i>seru.rena</i>	‘befriend, be friendly toward’ (cv)	‘settle’	
<i>sisivo.nina</i>	‘get laryngitis, lose voice’ (cv)	‘fade, dry up, from sun’	
<i>siu.rena</i>	‘steam’ (cv)	‘extinguish, put out fire’	
<i>teki.rena</i>	‘be very hot’ (cv)	‘squish/squash between fingernails’	
<i>uai.rena</i>	‘hang oneself; commit suicide’ (cv)	‘hang’	
<i>yomayama.rena</i>	‘crawl, seethe’ (cv)	‘be hot’	
<i>kaere</i>	‘who(ever), whom(ever), everyone’ (intrr)	‘(one) who(m)’ (pn)	
<i>ada</i>	‘head, and by association its hair’ (n)	‘ear of grain’	
<i>amona</i>	‘flowering plant species’ (n)	‘season in January; summer’	
<i>anuka</i>	‘foot/hand print, mark’ (n)	‘leading’	
<i>emoga</i>	‘fish species’ (n)	‘girl, young daughter’	
<i>eta</i>	‘side’ (n)	‘wing’	‘praying mantis fore gut’
<i>eyo</i>	‘moon’ (n)	‘month’	
<i>fore</i>	‘stone; rock, gravel’ (n)	‘money; finance, needs’	
<i>fufuta</i>	‘back’ (n)	‘behind, after’	
<i>gade</i>	‘tooth, tusk’ (n)	‘edge’	
<i>ibiyaka</i>	‘African tulip tree’ (n)	‘tips/greens’	
<i>ida</i>	‘road, path, route’ (n)	‘way, method, means’	
<i>iroka</i>	‘smoke’ (n)	‘tobacco, drugs, narcotic’	
<i>iye</i>	‘leaf’ (n)	‘head hair’	
<i>kafu</i>	‘gap, interval’ (n)	‘opportunity, chance’	
<i>koima</i>	‘leech’ (n)	‘small boy’	
<i>maduna</i>	‘load on shoulders, hardship’ (n)	‘stretcher’	
<i>meda</i>	‘sun(shine)’ (n)	‘day, time’	
<i>raba</i>	‘rubber tree’ (n)	‘rubber, eraser’	
<i>reiro</i>	‘red ant species’ (n)	‘rice’	
<i>sau</i>	‘odour, smell, fume; good or bad’ (n)	‘highlander’	
<i>teteka</i>	‘branch’ (n)	‘pretty young girl’	

Entry	Senses		
	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
<i>udo</i>	‘dust; ash’ (n)	‘flour; bread’	
<i>uka</i>	‘stomach; belly, abdomen’ (n)	‘womb, uterus’	‘heart; seat of emotion’
<i>vegu</i>	‘practice; action, custom, behaviour’ (n)	‘green, living’ (adj)	
<i>amiye</i>	‘person, man’ (n)	‘generic pronoun; (any/some)one’ (pn)	
<i>adina</i>	‘beside; close/next to’ (postp)	‘because; basis for; reason, source, meaning’ (cnj)	
<i>fafau</i>	‘above, on (TOP of)’ (postp)	‘basis, about’ (cnj)	
<i>rofu</i>	‘for, at, to, with, from, against’ (postp)	‘so that’ (cnj)	
<i>akuna</i>	‘build; construct, erect, set up’ (v)	‘wear’	
<i>dadina</i>	‘get/stand/rise (up)’ (v)	‘dry up’	‘feel good; be excited’
<i>erufuna</i>	‘release; (set) free, liberate’ (v)	‘solve; figure out, resolve, rectify’	
<i>irina</i>	‘eat; drink consume, ingest, partake’ (v)	‘spend/waste (money)’	
<i>kikina</i>	‘shine, be bright’ (v)	‘light fire’	
<i>nina</i>	‘say; talk, tell, speak, state, express’ (v)	‘become, get, reach, act like, appear’	
<i>runa</i>	‘collect (firewood)’ (v)	‘remove, take out of’	
<i>ugana</i>	‘cross over’ (v)	‘come apart/out, break/wipe off’	
<i>una</i>	‘hit; kill’ (v)	‘fetch’	‘play/blow instrument’
<i>vaina</i>	‘burn, cook, roast’ (v)	‘thirst’	
<i>moi afu rena</i>	‘calm, cool off’ (SVC)	‘break down, damage’	
<i>moi negau rina</i>	‘reveal, proclaim, bring out’ (SVC)	‘reprove’	
<i>moi nomu rina</i>	‘flatten, make flat’ (SVC)	‘settle dispute’	
<i>mokei dairina</i>	‘repent’ (SVC)	‘despise, look down upon, oppress’	

Verbal semantics

The table below includes entries for some sample semantic domains (organised by SIL International), which include 1) weather, 2) the head (with focus on the eye and mouth), 3) perception (with focus on visual perception), 4) speaking, 5) food preparation and 6) movement. (cf. Bradshaw 2021a:357-473 for a complete list of lexemes arranged according to these semantic domains.)

Table A.5: *Verbal semantics*

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
1.1.3 Weather	
<i>ari feyo</i> (NP)	bright daylight (lit. white day)
<i>ari no ni-</i>	be bad weather (lit. be a bad day); day in which a person died, which leads to heavy continuous rain and flooding
<i>ari seuya tora ni-</i>	be a cloudy (lit. cloud-filled) day
<i>itu gagani</i> (cn)	cold climate (lit. cold place)
<i>meda amuta</i> (NP)	warm sun (lit. peaceful sun)
<i>meda buni</i> (NP)	fine day (lit. good day)
<i>miya gagani</i> (cn)	wet climate (lit. rain place)
<i>miya itu dou re-</i> (cn+cv)	be stormy (lit. cold rain moisten)
2.1.1 Head	
<i>ada</i> (n)	head, and by association its hair
<i>ada girika</i> (cn)	skull (lit. head coconut shell)
<i>ada meko</i> (cn)	crown; TOP of head (lit. head round.object)
<i>atoka ueta</i> (cn)	beard, goatee (lit. chin body.hair)
<i>bauye meko</i> (cn)	Adam's apple/laryngeal prominence (lit. throat ball)
<i>kuri re-</i> (cv)	have stiff neck, get neck ache (lit. do neck)
<i>ne giba</i> (NP)	skinny/thin face (lit. thin eye)
<i>ne uruma</i> (cn)	face (lit. eye-nose)
<i>soku ni-</i> (cv)	have dimple (lit. become hole/valley/depression)
<i>vena ueta</i> (cn)	moustache (lit. mouth body.hair)
2.1.1.1 Eye	
<i>daidai.re-</i> (cv)	spin (eyes); be dizzy
<i>kama.re-</i> (cv)	flicker, flash, shine, blink (eye)
<i>marai.ni-</i> (cv)	be blinded by light, have tired eyes
<i>ne bado</i> (NP)	big eyeball (lit. eye piece)
<i>ne basu.ni-</i> (cv)	be bug-eyed
<i>ne koru</i> (cn)	tear (lit. eye water)
<i>ne.ota.re-</i> (cv)	be sleepy/drowsy; half-dead
<i>ne ro</i> (cn)	eyelid (lit. eye skin)
<i>ne ueta</i> (cn)	eyelash, facial hair (lit. eye body.hair)
<i>ne ueta ueta</i> (cn)	(thick) eyebrow (lit. eye body.hair-body.hair)
<i>nemoko</i> (n)	eyeball, eye of coconut (lit. eye-ball)
2.1.1.4 Mouth	
<i>adu gade</i> (cn)	molar, back tooth (lit. jaw tooth)
<i>amaga ae-</i> (cv)	vomit, throw up (lit. put vomit)
<i>anoro.ve-</i> (cv)	yawn (lit. see yawn?)
<i>misika.ni-</i> (cv)	clicking sound made with lips, as a sign of hesitation or

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
<i>muma.re-</i> (cv)	disagreement to do something
2.3 Sense, perceive	gum, chew without teeth
<i>amute-</i> (v)	feel; be aware of, touch, find
<i>tuga.imi-</i> (cv)	feel; have intuition about, sense
<i>veifate-</i> (v)	perceive, become aware of, discern, notice
2.3.1 See	
<i>ve-</i> (v)	see; look, watch
2.3.1.1 Look	
<i>boboe.re-</i> (cv)	look down
<i>kiki-</i> (v)	stare at
<i>matai.re-</i> (cv)	glance, look back
<i>ne agu.ri-</i> (cv)	look down (lit. eye bend.down)
<i>ne-</i> (v)	look at, see
<i>vei.deo.re-</i>	look around
<i>vei feide-</i> (SVC)	look carefully (lit. see leave)
2.3.1.2 Watch	
<i>ani.ve-</i> (cv)	watch
<i>nari gira re-</i> (cv)	watch out for, beware of (lit. look.for hard do)
<i>nari.re-</i> (cv)	wait (for), look after, care for, watch, guard
<i>nemoko kiki-</i>	be alert, watch (lit. eye stare)
<i>ota.ri-</i> (cv)	escort, accompany, watch
<i>vei feidei ame-</i> (SVC)	watch out for (lit. see leave stay)
<i>vei kara re-</i>	stare (lit. see intently do)
<i>vei mona re-</i>	glare/look intently at (lit. see properly do)
2.3.1.3 Examine	
<i>seke.re-</i> (cv)	check, verify, confirm, examine
2.3.1.4 Show, let someone see	
<i>eve-</i> (v)	tempt, cause to see/present something
<i>moi ogau ri-</i>	reveal, show, unveil, disclose, expose (lit. make appear)
<i>uka maina regika nive-</i>	tempt/test (lit. stomach [heart] looking.for try.to.do test)
3.5.1 Say	
<i>vo.ni-</i> (cv)	tell, say, call, beg; happen, become (lit. happen say)
3.5.1.1 Voice	
<i>buau.re-</i> (cv)	hoarse/low voice
<i>sisivo.ni-</i> (cv)	get laryngitis, lose voice
3.5.1.1.1 Shout	
<i>ababa.ni-</i> (cv)	shout, yell or scream
<i>agaga.re-</i> (cv)	frighten, threaten or intimidate by shouting
<i>airata.ni-</i> (cv)	cheer, shout
<i>imuna.ni-</i> (cv)	shout (out); call from far away, yell
<i>kae.ni-</i> (cv)	shout, scream
<i>kere.ni-</i> (cv)	scream out in fear; be scared/afraid
<i>kuo.ni-</i> (cv)	loud joyful cheering
<i>nitona.ni-</i> (cv)	raise tone of voice in excitement, shout
3.5.1.1.2 Speak quietly	
<i>fute.re-</i> (cv)	mumble
<i>mumugu</i> (n)	whisper, murmur
3.5.1.1.3 Speak a lot	

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
<i>korai.ni-</i> (cv)	talk/speak a lot; be verbose/longwinded/wordy/talkative
<i>niriu.re-</i> (cv)	speak incessantly; say something/talk nonstop
3.5.1.1.5 Say nothing	
<i>moi babo ri-</i>	silence, quiet, make silent/quiet (lit. make silent make)
<i>tamai</i> (adj)	speechless, silent
3.5.1.1.8 Speak poorly	
<i>afiye aegagi.re-</i> (cv)	get tongue-tied (lit. tongue bite do)
<i>afiye evairo.re-</i> (cv)	misspeak; say opposite to what was intended (lit. tongue twist do)
<i>afiye forovai re-</i> (cv)	speak inappropriately; against prescribed protocol (lit. tongue confuse do)
<i>afiye kero.re-</i> (cv)	change talk/tune; say something different or in contradiction to what was said before (lit. tongue turn do)
<i>ago gira nimar-</i>	speak sternly (lit. word hard say-give)
<i>vari afiye</i>	double tongue, wishy-washy (lit. lizard tongue)
3.5.1.2.1 Announce	
<i>nirausi.re-</i> (cv)	proclaim, speak out, preach, announce, confess (lit. say-pour.out do)
3.5.1.2.3 Explain	
<i>ni-itara.re-</i> (cv)	explain, elucidate
<i>nirorotari.re-</i> (cv)	plan; work out, explain, discuss, decide, strategise, convince, conspire
3.5.1.2.4 Mention	
<i>nivabi.re-</i> (cv)	mention, allude to, discuss, propose, suggest, present, plead, negotiate, solve
3.5.1.2.8 Emphasise	
<i>nivabara.re-</i> (cv)	emphasise, stress (lit. say-light do)
3.5.1.3 True	
<i>bae rama ae-</i> (SVC)	be fulfilled, come true (lit. come true put)
<i>moi rama ae-</i>	fulfil, make true (lit. make true put)
3.5.1.3.2 Tell a lie	
<i>ofa ni-</i>	lie
<i>sakua</i> (n)	lie, falsehood, hypocrisy
3.5.1.3.3 Contradict	
<i>damani.re-</i> (cv)	refute, speak/argue against, disagree with
<i>nikayamo.re-</i> (cv)	argue, debate, dispute, refute (lit. say-argument do)
<i>nisui.re-</i> (cv)	deny (lit say-hide do)
3.5.1.4.1 Call	
<i>gaba.re-</i> (cv)	be hospitable; show hospitality, call/invite in, entertain
<i>haihai.ni-</i> (cv)	call dog
<i>ma.ni-</i> (cv)	call pig
<i>niegogo.re-</i> (cv)	call together (lit. say-gather.together do)
<i>raka.ni-</i> (cv)	call, shout, invite, sing, summon
<i>rini.re-</i> (cv)	ring; call on phone
<i>roka ni-</i> (cv)	call, name
3.5.1.4.3 Greet	
<i>faiva.ni-</i> (cv)	welcome (someone coming), receive, greet
<i>moi dui re-</i>	bring in, receive, welcome, greet (lit. make enter do)

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
<i>uka ada sina</i> (cn)	greeting (lit. stomach happiness word)
3.5.1.4.4 Say farewell	
<i>kokora.ni-</i> (cv)	say farewell/goodbye, pass greetings, express sorrow for rushing someone
<i>yuata ni-</i> (cv)	farewell, say goodbye
3.5.1.5 Ask	
<i>nikaite-</i> (v)	ask, question, inquire
<i>nikaitena ago</i> (cn)	question, query (lit. asking word)
<i>nive-</i> (v)	test, ask
<i>usa</i> (n)	asking, begging, imploring, prayer, request, urge, plea, appeal, petition
<i>usa ni-</i> (cv)	ask
3.5.1.5.1 Answer	
<i>nikabai.re-</i> (cv)	answer, reply, respond
3.5.1.5.2 Disclose	
<i>erau.ni-</i> (cv)	expose, disclose, reveal, pour/come out
<i>moi erau re-</i>	expose, disclose, reveal; manifest out in open (lit. make disclose do)
3.5.1.6 Debate	
<i>ita rafu sina</i> (cn)	argument (lit. fire fellowship story)
<i>nidodi.re-</i> (cv)	discuss/debate
3.5.1.6.1 Demonstrate	
<i>enegau.re-</i> (cv)	reveal; point out, show, demonstrate (lit. cause.near do)
<i>oteimar-</i> (v)	tell, show, demonstrate, remind
3.5.1.6.2 Quarrel	
<i>kayamo re-</i> (cv)	argue; dispute, disagree with, quarrel, have controversy with
3.5.1.7 Praise	
<i>nibuni.re-</i> (cv)	speak well of (lit. say-good do)
<i>niodoro.re-</i> (cv)	exalt, proclaim, praise, acclaim, extol, honour, laud, magnify, speak well of (lit. say-above do)
<i>roka moi odoro re-</i>	praise, worship, glorify (lit. name make above do)
3.5.1.7.1 Thank	
<i>buni tora gade mar-tanikiu.ni-</i> (cv)	bless, thank (lit. give very big good) say thank you; be thankful/grateful, give thanks, show gratitude
3.5.1.7.2 Flatter	
<i>buoru.re-</i> (cv)	trap with words
3.5.1.7.3 Boast	
<i>ni-ika.re-</i> (cv)	boast, be arrogant/prideful (lit. say-summit do)
<i>nivasina.re-</i> (cv)	boast, be proud of
3.5.1.8 Criticise	
<i>niete.ri-</i> (cv)	slander, badmouth
<i>nifafana.re-</i> (cv)	criticise, slander, speak abusively, malign, insult, talk against, reject, condemn, defame
<i>sina no ni-</i>	malign
3.5.1.8.1 Blame	
<i>iki mar-</i> (cv)	blame; hold against, fault
<i>nitourage re-</i> (cv)	accuse, blame, find fault with, reprove, remonstrate

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
3.5.1.8.2 Insult	
<i>nikiraini.re-</i> (cv)	curse, insult
<i>nino.re-</i> (cv)	swear, curse (lit. say-bad do)
3.5.1.8.3 Mock	
<i>nikuru-</i> (v)	mock; make fun of, ridicule, deride, scorn (lit. say-uproot)
3.5.1.8.4 Gossip	
<i>fufuta ago</i> (cn)	gossip (lit. back/behind word)
<i>nibesena.re-</i> (cv)	talk behind, not in presence of person; rebuke, scold
<i>nifufuta.re-</i> (cv)	speak ill/evil of, badmouth, backstab, gossip (lit. say-back/behind do)
3.5.1.8.5 Complain	
<i>ago tau</i> (NP)	complaint, often accompanied by too much talking (lit. many words)
<i>kosika.re-</i> (cv)	complain, get discouraged
<i>mumugu ni-</i> (cv)	grumble, mumble, babble
<i>nibesenai re-</i> (cv)	complain (about), protest, murmur, gripe
<i>nimumugu.re-</i> (cv)	grumble, babble (lit. say-grumble do)
3.5.1.9 Promise	
<i>nitore.re-</i> (cv)	promise, swear, guarantee, assure
<i>nivarika re-</i> (cv)	swear, promise, guarantee, pledge
<i>uka ago mar-</i>	promise, swear (lit. give stomach word)
5.2.1 Food preparation	
<i>amu</i> (n)	tree species; leaf used for toilet roll and to wipe bread fruit
<i>bake.ri-</i> (cv)	knead
<i>dabara.re-</i> (cv)	set/spread out/prepare/serve a meal
<i>dori.re-</i> (cv)	squeeze pandanus
<i>evava.re-</i> (cv)	reheat, warm up food (lit. cause-hot do)
<i>yegu.ni-</i> (cv)	be raw/uncooked
5.2.1.1 Cooking methods	
<i>feide-</i> (v)	cook, boil
<i>gabu ni-</i> (cv)	be(come)/get/turn black, darken, roast, tan, be foreboding
<i>gagabo.ni-</i> (cv)	blacken from insufficient heat, so that the inside is not fully cooked; half-cook
<i>ita gabu re-</i>	roast (lit. fire black do)
<i>kiro re-</i> (cv)	smoke; dry, roast
<i>ori.yoba.re-</i> (cv)	half/partially cook
<i>ori-</i> (v)	burn, cook, light, fry
<i>ota ori-</i> (cv)	cook in earth oven/stones
<i>tarivai.re-</i> (cv)	steam, cook
<i>vai-</i> (v)	burn, cook, roast
5.2.1.2.1 Remove shell, skin	
<i>isiva.re-</i> (cv)	husk (coconut)
<i>kaereka-</i> (v)	peel (Tahitian chestnut)
<i>kakasiya.re-</i> (cv)	scrape (food)
<i>kakoro ri-</i> (cv)	peel (banana/yam)
<i>koere.re-</i> (cv)	peel (banana)

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
<i>koka.re-</i> (cv)	shell, peel off (sugarcane leaves)
<i>raba fore</i>	long stone used to open <i>tua</i> nuts and Tahitan chestnut
<i>uru-</i> (v)	husk, peel (corn, betel nut)
5.2.1.4 Food storage	
<i>bafu</i> (n)	leftover; remainder, remnants
<i>bau</i> (n)	leftover food
<i>bubudo</i> (n)	leftover; bit, crumb, dust
<i>dubo</i> (n)	yam house
<i>feta</i> (n)	yam harvest basket made of coconut fronds
<i>foroka</i> (n)	loosely woven coconut frond basket
<i>gini</i> (n)	food/firewood basket, used as a dryer
<i>orobosi</i> (n)	cane basket
<i>seri</i> (n)	basket for yams, made with small sticks
<i>tu sani</i> (NP)	leftover
5.2.1.5 Serve food	
<i>gobe</i> (n)	tree fern; its base used to make a dish; animals eat it
<i>ru-</i> (v)	serve (food)
5.2.2 Eat	
<i>etoka.u-</i> (cv)	gag, choke
<i>gani.re-</i> (cv)	feed (child)
<i>gomu.di-</i> (cv)	swallow
<i>iri-</i> (v)	eat; drink, consume, ingest, partake, smoke
<i>kuke.ni-</i> (cv)	swallow
<i>moude-</i> (v)	swallow
<i>ubua.re-</i> (cv)	feed (dog)
7.2 Move	
<i>di-</i> (v)	go (around), move about
<i>iyana.re-</i> (cv)	move; walk, crawl, creep, flow
<i>kita.re-</i> (cv)	move
<i>maruvo re-</i> (cv)	move
<i>moi kita.re-</i>	move
<i>moi.tagaga.ri-</i>	move
7.2.1.1 Walk	
<i>bo-</i> (v)	go (over/up), walk, climb
<i>efamu.re-</i> (cv)	walk through uncleared bush, pushing/clearing away grass while doing so
<i>kefomar-</i> (cv)	walk along river bank
<i>nana.di-</i> (cv)	walk, go to garden
<i>nana.re-</i> (cv)	walk
7.2.1.1.1 Run	
<i>esi.re-</i> (cv)	run/go (away)
<i>ori di-</i> (SVC)	flee, escape, run away in fear
<i>raga re-</i> (cv)	run, flow, move, sail, compete (with), submit/be subject to
7.2.1.1.2 Crawl	
<i>yomayama.re-</i> (cv)	crawl, seethe
7.2.1.1.3 Jump	
<i>airuru-</i> (v)	jump over
<i>feruferu.re-</i> (cv)	bounce (up and down)

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
<i>fiu.ni-</i> (cv)	jump out unexpectedly
<i>nunu.ri-</i> (cv)	hide/dive in/into bush, jump
<i>sokau.re-</i> (cv)	jump (down)
<i>tebu.re-</i> (cv)	jump, bounce, leap
7.2.1.2 Move quickly	
<i>besu.basu.ni-</i> (cv)	rush/come out (in all/many directions)
7.2.1.2.1 Move slowly	
<i>deyofu.re-</i> (cv)	dawdle; take time to go somewhere; move slowly
<i>gibu.ni-</i> (cv)	dawdle; take time to go somewhere
7.2.1.3 Wander	
<i>barubaru.u-</i> (cv)	roam around
<i>sigobara.re-</i> (cv)	wander; go here and there, meander
<i>taotao re-</i> (cv)	wander around, meander
7.2.1.5 Walk with difficulty	
<i>moi futu.re-</i>	make stumble/fall away from
<i>oto</i> (n)	walking around, from place to place to visit with others; visiting, making rounds, stopping by, loitering
7.2.1.5.1 Slip, slide	
<i>fafasuka.re-</i> (cv)	slip, slide (down)
<i>gaibana kana</i> (NP)	slippery; hard to catch/hold onto
<i>isirema</i> (adj)	slippery, oily
<i>me-</i> (v)	slide
7.2.1.6 Steady, unsteady	
<i>taba</i> (adv)	settled, still
<i>tabe.re-</i> (cv)	be unsteady/unstable
7.2.1.7 Move noisily	
<i>ase.re-</i> (cv)	crash
<i>uvaradau-</i> (v)	crash down
7.2.2 Move in a direction	
<i>edadi-</i> (v)	get up/moving
7.2.2.2 Move back	
<i>yonu.re-</i> (cv)	reverse, move back
7.2.2.3 Move sideways	
<i>ritika.re-</i> (cv)	move over/aside/sideways a little to make space; budge, shift, get out of the way, make room for
7.2.2.4 Move up	
<i>dadi-</i> (v)	get/stand/rise (up)
<i>dadi.rae.re-</i>	rise (up), raise from, resurrect
<i>firu ri-</i> (cv)	climb
<i>guiya.re-</i> (cv)	board; get/ride on
<i>ito-</i> (v)	come up
<i>keu.ri-</i> (cv)	ascend, go/creep/climb/step (up), climb onto, ride on, board
<i>moi-</i> (v)	get; take, hold, have, acquire, receive, come up, inherit
<i>uve-</i> (v)	rise, as in the sun; come up, dawn, break forth
7.2.2.5 Move down	
<i>amei.imiye.re-</i> (cv)	squat down on toes
<i>amei tumuda.re-</i> (cv)	squat down behind something in order to hide
<i>efo.imi-</i> (cv)	crowd; converge, concentrate, mass, rush down/up

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
<i>gote-</i> (v)	descend/go down a slope off the main track
<i>imi-</i> (v)	bend, dip (down)
<i>moi soka.re-</i>	bring (in), take down/off, offload
<i>ne-</i> (v)	go (down)
<i>tumuda.re-</i> (cv)	squat down, lower self to hide behind something
7.2.2.5.1 Fall	
<i>abou-</i> (v)	fall down
<i>boko</i> (adj)	fallen out/away
<i>efeya.re-</i> (cv)	collapse, fall away, give way
<i>erausi.re-</i> (cv)	completely pour/tip/fall out, anoint (liquid or food)
<i>eru-</i> (v)	fall/come out/off
<i>eyare-</i> (v)	cause to drop/fall, brush off, lose
<i>keto.re-</i> (cv)	fall (people)
<i>koye.re-</i> (cv)	fall back
<i>moi fudi.re-</i>	slip through (fingers), drop (down)
<i>moi.kekevata.u-</i>	destroy, ruin, devastate, lay waste, collapse
<i>uyare-</i> (v)	make fall; push down, upset, topple, defeat
<i>varadau-</i> (v)	come apart; collapse
<i>yare-</i> (v)	fall (objects)
7.2.2.6 Turn	
<i>dai.buru.ri-</i> (cv)	surround, cause to turn
<i>daube.re-</i> (cv)	detour; go/walk around
<i>erorovoi.re-</i> (cv)	go around; skirt, detour
<i>evairo.re-</i> (cv)	twist; turn/flip over
<i>kero.re-</i> (cv)	turn (around), stir, return
<i>moi kero.re-</i>	turn (into), translate
7.2.2.7 Move in a circle	
<i>budibudi.re-</i> (cv)	revolve; turn around, circle
<i>deyo.re-</i> (cv)	come/spin around, turn, revolve
7.2.2.8 Move back and forth	
<i>buo.re-</i> (cv)	swing
<i>kuaita.re-</i> (cv)	swing at
<i>moi siroko.re-</i>	swing
7.2.3 Move toward something	
<i>ekaira.re-</i> (cv)	approach, draw near/close to
<i>negau ni-</i> (cv)	approach, draw near
<i>tagi.mar-</i> (cv)	bang into, press against, impact
7.2.3.1 Move away	
<i>bae ketei di-</i>	go away; depart, leave, get lost
<i>doa.re-</i> (cv)	go away to
<i>egaima.ri-</i> (cv)	distance, move away from
<i>etage.ri-</i> (cv)	move/go/take/turn away/aside/over
<i>kore.re-</i> (cv)	move out of place; twist, screw (up)
<i>moi di-</i>	take/sweep (away)
<i>moi gaima ri-</i>	distance, take aside/away (from)
<i>moi taga.ri-</i>	take away
<i>rei.negi.re-</i> (cv)	move away
7.2.3.2 Go	
<i>di-</i> (v)	go (around), move about

Semantic domain/Entry	Gloss(es)/definition
7.2.3.2.1 Come	
<i>bae-</i> (v)	come
<i>de-</i> (v)	come (down), fall (precipitation)
<i>eru-</i> (v)	fall/come out/off
7.2.3.3 Leave	
<i>eva.ni-</i> (cv)	leave/go for a while/for a time, not wanting to return, like a prodigal
<i>feide-</i> (v)	leave, depart
<i>fere-</i> (v)	leave, separate from; stop, desist, cease
<i>kete-</i> (v)	depart; leave, go away
<i>taga.ri-</i> (cv)	clear; get out of/give way, leave, depart, go away, scam
<i>tatava.ni-</i> (cv)	pass away, depart
7.2.3.3.1 Arrive	
<i>oki-</i> (v)	arrive
<i>rou.ri-</i> (cv)	bird or plane landing; alight, perch
<i>soka.re-</i> (cv)	arrive
<i>utae.ri-</i> (cv)	land; arrive, anchor
<i>yae-</i> (v)	arrive
7.2.3.4 Move in	
<i>dui re-</i> (cv)	enter
7.2.3.4.1 Move out	
<i>besu.ni-</i> (cv)	emerge from; come out of, issue forth, exit
<i>fete.u-</i> (cv)	pop out
<i>iruruka.re-</i> (cv)	come up out of water or climb up mountain
<i>yaku-</i> (v)	go/come out(side), get out, escape
7.2.3.5 Move past, over, through	
<i>bo-</i> (v)	go (over/up), walk, climb
<i>ebu.re-</i> (cv)	pass (through), miss (mark)
<i>orefar-</i> (v)	come/pass over, spread
<i>reki.re-</i> (cv)	move over
<i>ruru-</i> (v)	go/climb over
<i>ugar-</i> (v)	cross over
<i>yavoi.re-</i> (cv)	continue on; pass/travel through
7.2.3.6 Return	
<i>ae dairi-</i> (SVC)	replace, put back
<i>dairi-</i> (v)	return; turn around, come back
<i>moi dairi-</i> (SVC)	return; give/get/bring back
<i>moi de-</i> (SVC)	bring
7.2.4 Travel	
<i>amedidi.re-</i> (cv)	travel around
<i>dibo.re-</i> (cv)	travel, walk/move around
<i>oto di-</i> (cv)	journey, travel
<i>yava ika oto dina</i> (cn)	journey, trip
7.2.7.1 Stop moving	
<i>moi tae re-</i>	stop, prevent
<i>ogatu.ni-</i> (cv)	keep still
7.2.7.2 Stay, remain	
<i>ame-</i> (v)	stay; live, sit, be, exist, remain

Autochthonous versus borrowed synonyms

The table below contrasts autochthonous terms with their corresponding borrowed synonyms. If the word class borrowed term is different from the autochthonous, that is indicated. There are in fact just two, *adj > n* and *v > cv*.¹

The most usual word class is nouns, found in the first section. The next largest group (other items) is located in the last section. All of these involve a change in type (word class, etc.), as in the autochthonous *ago gira* (NP:word hard) ‘command(ment), law’ versus the borrowed noun *taravatu* ‘law, contract, command(ment)’. The autochthonous terms are sometimes longer, so that often preference is to use the more concise borrowed term (cf. §11.4.3). When multiple glosses are given, the one they share will be indicated in bold.

¹ This second one would normally be required to be of this type, as the usual technique in the language upon borrowing a verb is to form a complex verb (cf. §3.5.2).

Table A.6: *Autochthonous versus borrowed synonyms*

Autochthonous term	Gloss(es)	Borrowed term ²	Gloss(es)
<i>arefa</i> (n)	‘ sugar (cane)’	<i>suga</i>	‘sugar’
<i>ari</i> (n)	‘ time (period), day, season’	<i>taimi</i>	‘time’
<i>biri</i> (n)	‘door, gate , opening’	<i>geiti</i>	‘gate’
<i>biyo</i> (n)	‘traditional cup ; dish or container’	<i>kafosi</i>	‘cup’
<i>dakai</i> (n)	‘place’	<i>gabū</i>	‘place’
<i>gagani</i> (n)	‘ place , area, country, nation, land’		
<i>sana</i> (n)	‘place’		
<i>egogo.rena</i> (n)	‘ meeting , gathering’	<i>mitini</i>	‘ meeting , assembly’
<i>eboka</i> (n)	‘salt’	<i>ramena</i>	‘salt’
<i>edini</i> (n)	‘brother/sister- in-law ’	<i>nakimi</i>	‘in-law’
<i>ekama</i> (n)	‘mat, bed’	<i>bedi</i>	‘bed’
		<i>geda</i>	‘mat, bed’
<i>fore</i> (n)	‘ money ; finance, needs’	<i>moni</i>	‘money’
<i>gubuyo</i> (n)	‘ anger ; agitation, indignation, outrage’	<i>badu</i>	‘ anger ; indignation, outrage, rage’
<i>gugura</i> (n)	‘ thing , possession, property’	<i>gaudia/gauna/gauta</i>	‘(some) thing ’, property, wealth, cargo’
<i>sogona</i> (n)	‘general possessions; things , clothing’	<i>kohu</i>	‘property, wealth, cargo, materials’
<i>meda</i> (n)	‘ sun (shine)’	<i>solar</i>	‘sun’
<i>moimai</i> (n)	‘ work , job, labour’	<i>gaukara</i>	‘work’
<i>mosara</i> (n)	‘sweet potato’	<i>kaema</i>	‘sweet potato’
<i>otuka</i> (n)	‘backyard, toilet ’	<i>simorohaus</i>	‘ toilet , outhouse’
<i>raufa</i> (n)	‘tobacco’	<i>kuku</i>	‘ tobacco , cigarette’
<i>reiro</i> (n)	‘rice’	<i>raisi</i>	‘rice’
<i>sina</i> (n)	‘ story , word, news, report’	<i>sisina</i>	‘ story , legend’
		<i>sitori</i>	‘story’
		<i>sivarai</i>	‘story’
<i>tauga</i> (n)	‘Cavendish banana’	<i>samuna</i>	‘Cavendish banana’

² See Table A.8 for source language and source references of borrowed terms.

Autochthonous term	Gloss(es)	Borrowed term ²	Gloss(es)
<i>udo</i> (n)	‘ flour ; bread’	<i>farava</i>	‘flour’
<i>usa</i> (n)	‘asking, begging, imploring, prayer ’	<i>guriguri</i>	‘ prayer , worship’
<i>varuka</i> (n)	‘ clothes, cloth(ing) ; material’	<i>dabua</i>	‘ clothing; clothes , cloth, apparel’
<i>vava</i> (n)	‘ power , authority, dominion’	<i>fava</i>	‘electrical power ’
		<i>siau</i>	‘power’
<i>ba</i> (cnj)	‘ or ; or sometimes and’	<i>o</i>	‘or’
<i>dada</i> (cnj)	‘so (that), because , for (that reason)’	<i>badina</i>	‘because’
<i>idu</i> (cnj)	‘ but , yet, nevertheless, even though’	<i>to</i>	‘but’
<i>kamini</i> (cnj)	‘(and) then, so’	<i>mamo</i>	‘(and) even/then’
<i>ma</i> (cnj)	‘and’	<i>bona</i>	‘and’
<i>rofu</i> (cnj)	‘ for , at, to, with, from, in order to ’	<i>totona</i>	‘for, in order to’
<i>vonisi</i> (cnj)	‘ if , because, even though’	<i>bema</i>	‘if’
<i>ye</i> (cnj)	‘ so , and’	<i>ine</i>	‘ so , because’
<i>amuta</i> (adj)	‘ peaceful ; in a relaxed state; smooth’	<i>meino</i> (n)	‘ peace , harmony’
<i>gabū</i> (adj)	‘black, blue , brown’	<i>blu</i>	‘blue’
<i>gabū</i> (adj)	‘ black , blue, brown’	<i>niga</i>	‘ black (skin)’
<i>neinei</i> (adj)	‘ each (one)’	<i>tata</i>	‘each’
<i>rama</i> (adj)	‘ right ; true, indeed, correct’	<i>reto</i>	‘right’
<i>ruaka</i> (adj)	‘new, clean, fresh, young ’	<i>matamata</i>	‘ young ’
<i>tau</i> (adj)	‘many, plenty, a lot, all ’	<i>ibonai</i>	‘all’
<i>adena u-</i> (cv)	‘dance’	<i>disco re-</i>	‘disco, dance ’
<i>bura ve-</i> (cv)	‘read’	<i>duaiya re-</i>	‘count, read ’
<i>ebu.re-</i> (cv)	‘surpass; beat, win over’	<i>wini ni-</i>	‘ win , be victorious’
<i>fo'o.ni-</i> (cv)	‘pop, open up, explode ’	<i>faya ni-</i>	‘ explode ’
		<i>pou ni-</i>	‘ explode , burst’
<i>siri.re-</i> (cv)	‘ betray , deliver up, hand over’	<i>samani re-</i>	‘report on, give account, betray ’
		<i>tautore re-</i>	‘betray’
<i>tua.re-</i> (cv)	‘wait’	<i>nari re-</i>	‘ wait (for), look after, care for, watch’
<i>yauta ni-</i> (cv)	‘sing’	<i>ane ni-</i>	‘sing song/hymn’

Autochthonous term	Gloss(es)	Borrowed term ²	Gloss(es)
<i>duakau</i> (postp)	‘during; when, whilst’	<i>lalonari</i>	‘during, while, whilst, when’
<i>fogori</i> (postp)	‘among(st), during ’	<i>neganai</i>	‘ during , while; time (period)’
<i>fuofuori</i> (postp)	‘while, whilst, during, when’		
<i>rafe-</i> (v)	‘ wash , bathe, swim’	<i>inua re-</i> (cv)	‘wash’
<i>ago gira</i>	‘ command(ment) , law ’	<i>taravatu</i> (n)	‘ law , contract, command(ment) ’
<i>buni tora gade mar-</i>	‘bless, thank ’	<i>tanikiu ni-</i> (cv)	‘say thank you; be thankful/grateful’
<i>buni vayavaya</i>	‘glory, wonder, greatness’	<i>dikadika</i> (adj)	‘very good’
<i>gauka dogo amiye</i>	‘doctor, physician’	<i>doketa</i> (n)	‘doctor, physician’
<i>koru ida</i>	‘six’	<i>sikisi</i> (adj)	‘six’
<i>moi idana ri-</i>	‘(make) change’	<i>senesi re-</i> (cv)	‘change’
<i>mokena vari gira ae-</i>	‘believe, trust, have faith in’	<i>abidadama re-</i> (cv)	‘believe/trust (in); have faith in’
<i>naivo vima</i>	‘angel’	<i>aneru</i> (n)	‘angel’
<i>ourefeidena amena sana</i>	‘kingdom’	<i>basileia</i> (n)	‘kingdom’
<i>ourefeidena amiye</i>	‘leader; ruler, supervisor , elder, official’	<i>bosi</i> (n)	‘boss, overseer, manager, supervisor ’
<i>Sei ma amiye utari naivo amiye</i>	‘priest’	<i>fada</i> (n)	‘priest, father’
<i>Sei di ago nido amiye</i>	‘prophet’	<i>peroveta</i> (n)	‘prophet’
<i>usika ourena</i>	‘siblings; family , relatives’	<i>famili</i> (n)	‘family’
<i>vabara koru</i>	‘kerosene’	<i>keresin</i> (n)	‘kerosene’
<i>vana berou autu vana raro</i>	‘nine’	<i>naini</i> (adj)	‘nine’
<i>vana ufo</i>	‘ten’	<i>ten</i> (adj)	‘ten’
<i>Varika amiye</i>	‘Lord’	<i>Lohiabada</i> (n)	‘Lord’
<i>vima no</i>	‘ demon , evil spirit ’	<i>bodaka</i> (n)	‘ demon ; evil spirit , devil’
<i>viro vara</i>	‘seven’	<i>seven</i> (adj)	‘seven’
<i>yava rina amiye</i>	‘carpenter’	<i>kapenta</i> (n)	‘carpenter’
<i>yuka ro</i>	‘ shoe , sandal ’	<i>tamaka</i> (n)	‘ shoe , sandal , boot, footwear’

Idioms

A complete listing of idioms follows – for further elaboration on idioms see §11.3.3.

Table A.7: *Idioms*

Term	Gloss(es)	Literal meaning
<i>abata=sa</i>	‘white, referring to coffee or tea with milk ³ ’	‘with flood’
<i>ada fairo re-</i>	‘be angry, furious’	‘head flame’
<i>ada kevo ni-</i>	‘be angry’	‘bend head’
<i>afiye famu re-</i>	‘be angry’	‘bite tongue’
<i>ago sika ridedi vene</i>	‘gossipers’	‘taking apart word(s) people’
<i>anema u- (cv)</i>	‘remind’	‘hit eat’
<i>anema yu (cn)</i>	‘stubborn, disobedient’	‘earwax’
<i>aufa ota oriyo</i>	‘skin blemish; birthmark, mole’	‘grandmother cooked in the earthen oven’ ⁴
<i>auna di yuka</i>	‘flower petals, or clubs playing card suit ⁵ ’	‘dog’s foot (paw)’
<i>ava mida (cn)</i>	‘stunted, slow to grow, immature’	‘grass species child’
<i>aveta bura ni-</i>	‘be skinny/bony/thin/sickly’	‘have exposed ribs’
<i>baku baku de</i>	‘destitute’	‘not finding’
<i>dava tu (NP)</i>	‘relative’	‘short blood’
<i>dei ne- (SVC)</i>	‘dye (euphemism)’	‘come-go down’
<i>diye ruba ni-</i>	‘be frightened’	‘intestines open up/be perforated’
<i>dogema koina</i>	‘not empty’	‘no corners (showing)’
<i>fai kutu- (cv)</i>	‘broke, penniless, empty handed’	‘strip/take off trousers’
<i>ita rafu sina (cn)</i>	‘argument’	‘fire fellowship story’
<i>kimo =ka</i>	‘not make a pig of oneself’	‘slowly/carefully be gluttonous/ravenous’
<i>dadaga re-</i>	‘river dry up’	‘water get up (and leave)’
<i>koru dadi-</i>	‘gun, rifle’	‘water bamboo’
<i>koru gena (cn)</i>	‘alcohol’	‘hard/strong water’
<i>koru gira (NP)</i>	‘six’	‘water/river path’
<i>koru ida (cn)</i>	‘eat/drink water’	‘drown (and also drink water)’
<i>koru iri-</i>	‘stream’	‘water child’
<i>koru mida (cn)</i>	‘fisherman’	‘water washing/bathing person’
<i>koru rafena amiye (cn)</i>	‘tea, alcohol’	‘hot water’
<i>koru vava (NP)</i>	‘nature, environment’	‘water-trees-stones’
<i>koru yabo fore (cn)</i>	‘snake’	‘vine runner/creeper’
<i>maena vaga (cn)</i>		

³ Resembling a river after a heavy rain.

⁴ This is based on a dark burnt spot left on the ground afterwards.

⁵ Due to resemblance to a dog’s paw (print).

Term	Gloss(es)	Literal meaning
<i>moi rivo ri-</i>	‘impregnate’	‘make stomach’
<i>moi vena</i>	‘fondling, caressing erotically, committing adultery’	‘get mouth’
<i>mosara buni</i> (NP)	‘nice (young) girl’	‘good sweet potato’
<i>mumuna irisi</i>	‘child whom (I) fed and provided for’	‘peeling skin eating and growing up child’
<i>tora niyo mida</i>	‘realise troubles’	‘pinch bone’
<i>nenā kima re-</i>	‘get married’	‘fall off a cliff’
<i>raravari keto</i>		
<i>re-</i>		
<i>reiro buri eke-</i>	‘break open red ant nest’ (previous item)	‘eat rice’
<i>reiro feide-</i>	‘show respect to spirits at end of planting season’	‘cook red ants’
<i>reiro gagaba</i> (NP)	‘slim waist’	‘red ant waist’
<i>rema di gauka</i>	‘menstrual period (euphemism)’	‘woman’s sickness’
<i>rivo beko</i> (cn)	‘potbelly’	‘lump stomach’
<i>rivo kefuka</i> (cn)	‘potbelly’	‘hump stomach’
<i>rivo ni-</i>	‘become pregnant’	‘become stomach’
<i>ro aita ni-</i>	‘be relieved’	‘skin be lightened’
<i>roku baguru</i> (cn)	‘vegetables’	‘pawpaw greens’
<i>rovaita moi toe</i>	‘shame; disgrace, humiliate’	‘make body heavy’
<i>re-</i>		
<i>rovaita nugar-</i>	‘circumcise (euphemism)’	‘cut body’
<i>tuma dona</i>	‘beasts’	‘wild pigs-cassowaries’
<i>nadina</i> (cn)		
<i>uka dadi-</i>	‘be eager/alarmed’	‘stomach get up’
<i>uka iri-</i>	‘stir up/incite’	‘eat stomach’
<i>uka kabudo re-</i>	‘be hungry/famished’	‘stomach churn/bubble’
<i>uka koru rama</i>	‘have diarrhoea’	‘stomach pour water right out’
<i>rausi re-</i>		
<i>uka moi-</i>	‘find favour’	‘get stomach’
<i>uka unema re-</i>	‘have diarrhoea’	‘stomach do landslide’
<i>vabara koru</i> (cn)	‘kerosene’	‘light water’
<i>vana moi kita</i>	‘work hard’	‘make hands move’
<i>re-</i>		
<i>vana rafori ae-</i>	‘welcome’	‘put/place in palm of hand’
<i>vana re-</i>	‘feed, care for’	‘do hand’
<i>vana toe</i> (NP)	‘very slow in doing things’	‘heavy hands’
<i>vana tu</i> (NP)	‘helpless; short-handed’	‘short hand’
<i>vanari ae-</i>	‘deliver; hand over’	‘put in hand’
<i>varei muye-</i> (SVC)	‘be in a deep sleep; have heavy eyes’	‘sleep-die’
<i>varena ame-</i>	‘live, life’	‘sleeping stay’
<i>vari afiye</i> (cn)	‘double tongue, wishy-washy’	‘lizard tongue’
<i>variva moda</i>	‘creeping animals’	‘goannas-bandicoots-tree

Term	Gloss(es)	Literal meaning
<i>saufa</i> (cn)		kangaroos/wallabies'
<i>yabo feya</i> (NP)	'biscuit, cracker'	'flat tree/wood'
<i>yabo fore</i> (cn)	'vegetation, plants'	'trees-stones'
<i>yava ika oto di-</i>	'journey'	'go house summit visiting'
<i>yuka rafo</i> (NP)	'in respect to/of/for spirits at the end of planting'	'flat leg/foot'
<i>yuka ro</i> (cn)	'shoe, sandal'	'leg/foot skin'
<i>yuka vana nari</i>	'be self-controlled/disciplined'	'look after legs and arms'
<i>re-</i>		
<i>yuka yokoi</i>	'rain shower'	'only one leg'
<i>maka</i>		

Borrowed terms

The table below lists all the borrowed terms found in the dictionary (Bradshaw 2021a), as well as a few that have been used in other contexts, such as the Bible translation (indicated by NT in the first column). Those which have autochthonous synonyms are indicated by an asterisk (*) in the first column (cf. §11.4.2).

Table A.8: *Borrowed terms*

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>abata</i>	‘flood’ (n)	HM	<i>abata</i>	‘flood, tide’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:187
* <i>abidadama re-</i>	‘believe, trust’ (cv)	HM	<i>abidadama</i> <i>henia</i>	‘trust’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
<i>abitore re-</i>	‘borrow, lend’ (cv)	HM	<i>abitorehai</i>	‘credit, borrow’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>adikuna</i>	‘pillow’ (n)	HM	<i>ikwina</i>	‘wooden pillow, neck support’	DGHM 1976:33
<i>ahuna</i>	‘reward, share’ (n)	HM	<i>ahuna</i>	‘share, portion’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:187
* <i>ane ni-</i>	‘sing song/hymn’ (cv)	HM	<i>ane abia</i>	‘sing’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:188
<i>aonega</i>	‘cleverness, intelligence’ (n)	HM	<i>aonega</i>	‘wisdom, intelligence, wise, intelligent’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:188
<i>ariya re-</i>	‘divide’ (cv)	HM	<i>haria</i>	‘divide’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:210
<i>aroro</i>	‘announcer, preacher’ (n)	HM	<i>haroro tauna</i>	‘preacher, pastor’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:194
<i>asiye ni-</i>	‘sneeze’ (cv)	HM	<i>asimana</i>	‘sneeze’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:230
<i>auri</i>	‘spear, iron, steel, metal’ (n)	HM	<i>auri</i>	‘iron’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
* <i>badina</i>	‘because, cause, reason’ (cnj)	HM	<i>badina</i>	‘because’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:188
* <i>badu</i>	‘anger’ (n)	HM	<i>badu</i>	‘angry’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:188
<i>bauye</i>	‘throat’ (n)	HM	<i>baubau</i>	‘bamboo, smoking pipe, any pipe or tube; windpipe’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189, 230
<i>bava</i>	‘very large crab species’ (n)	HM	<i>bava</i>	‘crab’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
* <i>bema</i>	‘if’ (cnj)	HM	<i>bema</i>	‘if, when’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
<i>bero</i>	‘wounded/injured’ (adj)	HM	<i>bero</i>	‘wound, scar’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
<i>bibo</i>	‘flute, Jew’s harp’ (n)	HM	<i>bibo</i>	‘Jew’s harp’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:232
<i>biyaguna</i>	‘owner’ (n)	HM	<i>biaguna</i>	‘owner, person in charge, boss’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
* <i>bodaka</i>	‘evil spirit, demon’ (n)	HM	<i>bodaga</i>	‘rotten, over ripe’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
<i>boiyo re-</i>	‘be lost, lose way’ (cv)	HM	<i>boio</i>	‘be lost’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
* <i>bona</i>	‘and’ (cnj)	HM	<i>bona</i>	‘and’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
<i>bora</i>	‘yellow, orange’ (adj)	HM	<i>labora-labora</i> (<i>bamona</i>)	‘yellow/orange’	DGHM 1976:69
<i>buruka</i>	‘elderly’ (adj)	HM	<i>buruka</i>	‘(to be) old’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
<i>dabu ni-</i>	‘lacking, in need of’ (cv)	HM	<i>dabu</i>	‘lacking, in need of, having nothing’	DGHM 1976:28
* <i>dabua</i>	‘clothes, clothing, cloth’ (n)	HM	<i>dabua</i>	‘clothes, clothing, cloth’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190
<i>daiyutu</i>	‘room’ (n)	HM	<i>daiutu</i>	‘room’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:234
<i>davana</i>	‘price, pay, cost, wages’ (n)	HM	<i>davana</i>	‘wages, pay, reward, pay-back; price (of something)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190
<i>davara</i>	‘sea, ocean’ (n)	HM	<i>davara</i>	‘sea’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190
<i>diba</i>	‘know (how to), understand’ (v)	HM	<i>diba</i>	‘know, understand, understand’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190
<i>diba</i>	‘spear, arrow’ (n)	HM	<i>diba</i>	‘arrow’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191
<i>dibura</i>	‘jail, prison’ (n)	HM	<i>dibura</i>	‘darkness, prison’	Dutton and Voorhoeve

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
* <i>dikadika</i>	‘very good’ (adj)	HM	<i>dikadika</i>	‘badly’	1974:191 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191
* <i>disco re- dokona</i>	‘disco, dance’ (cv) ‘end, conclusion, finish’ (n)	HM HM	<i>disco</i> <i>dokona</i>	‘disco’ ‘end’	Dutton 2019:pc Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191
* <i>duaiya re- dubu</i>	‘count, read’ (cv) ‘church’ (n)	HM HM	<i>duahia</i> <i>dubu</i>	‘read, count, calculate’ ‘church’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191
* <i>durua re</i>	‘help, aid, assist, support’ (cv)	HM	<i>durua</i>	‘help, assist, assistance’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191
* <i>e egeregere</i>	‘oh, ah, o (vocative)’ ‘okay, well, enough’ (cnj)	HM HM	<i>e</i> <i>hegerege</i>	‘oh, ah’ ‘equal, adequate, fair, sufficient’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:29 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:195
<i>farai</i>	‘sail, canvas’ (n)	HM	<i>palai</i>	‘sail’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>feva</i>	‘bow and arrow’ (n)	HM	<i>peva</i>	‘bow (for shooting)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>fidi re-</i>	‘shoot, pound, hit’ (cv)	HM	<i>pidia</i>	‘shoot (with gun)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>firifou</i>	‘shorts, trousers’ (n)	HM	<i>piripou</i>	‘trousers’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:231
<i>fura</i>	‘week’ (n)	HM	<i>pura</i>	‘week’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
<i>gabi</i>	‘later’ (cnj)	HM	<i>gabeai</i>	‘afterwards, later’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
* <i>gabu</i>	‘place’ (n)	HM	<i>gabu</i>	‘place’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
<i>gagaba</i>	‘waist’ (n)	HM	<i>gaba(na)</i>	‘waist, tree trunk’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
<i>gai</i>	‘club, shield’ (n)	HM	<i>gahi</i>	‘stone club’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
* <i>gaudia</i>	‘thing, something’ (n)	HM	<i>gaudia</i>	‘thing, gear, belongings’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
* <i>gaukara</i>	‘work, job’ (n)	HM	<i>gaukara</i>	‘work, job’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
<i>gauna</i>	‘thing’ (n)	HM	<i>gau(dia/na)</i>	‘thing, gear, belongings’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
<i>gauta</i>	‘something’ (n)	HM	<i>gau ta</i>	‘something’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
* <i>geda</i>	‘bed, mat’ (n)	HM	<i>geda</i>	‘sleeping mat’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
<i>geyagi</i>	‘gum tree’ (n)	HM	<i>gea</i>	‘gum tree’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192
<i>gigini</i>	‘pain, sharp’ (n)	HM	<i>ginigini</i>	‘thorn’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:193
<i>gunika</i>	‘interior, inland’ (n)	HM	<i>gunika</i>	‘inland, interior’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:193
<i>guri</i>	‘grave, pit, bury, well’ (n)	HM	<i>guri</i>	‘hole in ground, pit’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:193
* <i>guriguri</i>	‘prayer, worship, pray’ (n)	HM	<i>guriguri</i>	‘to pray’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:193
* <i>ibonai, ibounai</i>	‘all’ (adj)	HM	<i>ibounai</i>	‘all, every(one)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196
* <i>idounai</i>	‘whole, all’ (adj)	HM	<i>idoinei</i>	‘every part of, the lot, the whole’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>ikoko</i>	‘nail’ (n)	HM	<i>ikoko</i>	‘nail’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196
* <i>ine</i>	‘so’ (cnj)	HM	<i>ine(i)/inai</i>	‘this’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196
* <i>inua re-</i>	‘drink’ (cv)	HM	<i>inua</i>	‘drink’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196
* <i>iseni</i>	‘up over there’ (LOC)	HM	<i>iniseni</i>	‘here’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:212
* <i>kaema</i>	‘sweet potato’ (n)	HM	<i>kaema</i>	‘sweet potato’	Dutton and Voorhoeve

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>kaiya</i>	‘knife’ (n)	HM	<i>kaia</i>	‘knife’	1974:196 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:233
<i>kaka</i>	‘red, ripe’ (adj)	HM	<i>kakakaka</i>	‘red’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196
<i>karai</i>	‘sulphur-crested cockatoo’ (n)	HM	<i>karai</i>	‘white cockatoo’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>karaudi</i>	‘harpoon, spear gun’ (n)	HM	<i>karaudi</i>	‘fishing spear’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>karoa re-</i>	‘paddle’ (cv)	HM	<i>kaloa</i>	‘paddle’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>karu re-</i>	‘blossom, sprout’ (cv)	HM	<i>karu</i>	‘young coconut’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>kava</i>	‘not one/all, in vain’ (adj)	HM	<i>kava</i>	‘empty, just, only, in vain’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>kebere ni- kerere</i>	‘become bald’ (cv) ‘trouble, mistake, accident’ (n)	HM HM	<i>kebere kerere</i>	‘coconut shell, cup, bald’ ‘be/do wrong, mistake, crime, trouble’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:34 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>keto re-</i>	‘fall’ (cv)	HM	<i>keto</i>	‘fall down (from upright position)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>kibi</i>	‘conch shell, horn, trumpet’ (n)	HM	<i>kibi</i>	‘conch shell, bugle’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>kimai</i>	‘hook’ (n)	HM	<i>kimai</i>	‘fish with hook & line, fishing tackle’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
* <i>kohu</i>	‘property, cargo’ (n)	HM	<i>kohu</i>	‘wealth, property’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>kokiya re-</i>	‘come out, take off’ (cv)	HM	<i>kokia</i>	‘remove, let go, do away with’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:197
<i>kone</i>	‘coast’ (n)	HM	<i>kone</i>	‘beach, coast’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
* <i>kuku</i>	‘tobacco, cigarette’ (n)	HM	<i>kuku</i>	‘tobacco, cigarette’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>lagani</i>	‘year’ (n)	HM	<i>lagani</i>	‘year’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
* <i>lalonari</i>	‘during, while, when’ (cnj)	HM	<i>lalonai</i>	‘inside, while, during’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
* <i>lohiabada</i>	‘Lord’ (n)	HM	<i>lohiabada</i>	‘Lord (chief/headman-big)’	Wurm and Harris 1963:52, 38; Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:250
<i>ma</i>	‘and’ (cnj)	HM	<i>ma</i>	‘and’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
<i>magu</i>	‘animal home, sty, dog house, paddock’ (n)	HM	<i>magu</i>	‘cage, enclosure’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
* <i>mamo</i>	‘at once’ (cnj)	HM	<i>maoromaoro</i>	‘straight, at once, immediately’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
<i>mamoe</i>	‘sheep’ (n)	HM	<i>mamoe</i>	‘sheep’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:254
<i>matabudi</i>	‘turtle, tortoise’ (n)	HM	<i>matabudi</i>	‘turtle’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
* <i>matamata</i>	‘young’ (adj)	HM	<i>matamata</i>	‘new, young’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
<i>maua</i>	‘box, suitcase, coffin’ (n)	HM	<i>maua</i>	‘box, chest’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
<i>meda sei</i>	‘hot day’ (np)-calque	HM	<i>dina sياهو</i>	‘hot day’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:191, 203
* <i>meino</i>	‘peace, pacify’ (n)	HM	<i>maino</i>	‘peace’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
<i>mereki</i>	‘dish, plate’ (n)	HM	<i>meleki</i>	‘plate’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
<i>mina resi</i>	‘therefore’ (cnj)-calque	HM	<i>inai dekenai</i>	‘because of, consequently’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:190
<i>misina</i>	‘pumpkin’ (n)	HM	<i>maosini</i>	‘pumpkin’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>mo</i>	‘but, at once’ (cnj)	HM	<i>mo</i>	‘only’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
<i>motumotu</i>	‘island’ (n)	HM	<i>motumotu</i>	‘island’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
<i>muko</i>	‘handkerchief’ (n)	HM	<i>muko</i>	‘handkerchief’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:231
* <i>nakimi</i>	‘in-law’ (n)	HM	<i>nakimi</i>	‘brother/sister-in-law, close friend’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
* <i>nari re-</i>	‘wait (for)’ (cv)	HM	<i>naria</i>	‘look after, take care of; wait, linger’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
* <i>neganai</i>	‘during, while; time (period), season’ (postp)	HM	<i>negana(i)</i>	‘when, at the time when’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>nemona</i>	‘mosquito’ (n)	HM	<i>nemo</i>	‘mosquito’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:253
<i>obu</i>	‘widow’ (n)	HM	<i>vabu</i>	‘widow’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:227
<i>oketa</i>	‘Tahitian chestnut’ (n)	HM	<i>okari</i>	‘okari’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>ono</i>	‘breadfruit’ (n)	HM	<i>unu</i>	‘breadfruit (tree)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>pune</i>	‘dove’ (n)	HM	<i>pune</i>	‘pigeon’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
<i>rabiya</i>	‘sago tree sp.’ (n)	HM	<i>rabia</i>	‘sago (palm)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
* <i>ramena</i>	‘salt’ (n)	HM	<i>damena</i>	‘salt’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:234
<i>reke</i>	‘fishing net’ (n)	HM	<i>reke</i>	‘fishing net’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:232
<i>roho re-</i>	‘fly, jump, leap’ (cv)	HM	<i>roho</i>	‘fly’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
<i>roku</i>	‘papaya, pawpaw’ (n)	HM	<i>loku</i>	‘pawpaw’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
<i>samani</i>	‘opponent (n)	HM	<i>samania</i>	‘accuse, allege, betray’	DGHM 1976:39

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>sena(gi)</i>	‘long ago’ (tmp)	HM	<i>sene</i>	‘ancestor’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
* <i>siau</i>	‘hot’ (adj)	HM	<i>siahu</i>	‘hot, energetic’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:203
<i>sisiba</i>	‘advice, knowledge’ (n)	HM	<i>sisiba</i>	‘advice, warning’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:203
* <i>sivarai</i>	‘story’ (n)	HM	<i>sivarai</i>	‘story, news, message, account’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:203
<i>susu</i>	‘breast, milk, nipple, nurse’ (n)	HM	<i>susu</i>	‘sap, juice’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:203
* <i>tamaka</i>	‘shoe, sandal’ (n)	HM	<i>tamaka</i>	‘shoe’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
<i>tanobada</i>	‘world’ (n)	HM	<i>tanobada</i>	‘world, mainland, nation’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
* <i>taravatu</i>	‘law, commandment, prohibition’ (n)	HM	<i>taravatu</i>	‘law, regulation, taboo’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
* <i>tata</i>	‘each’ (adj)	HM	<i>ta ta</i>	a few, several, each’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:203
* <i>tautore re-</i>	‘betray’ (cv)	HM	<i>tauna torea</i>	‘betray’	DGHM 1976:49
* <i>to</i>	‘but’ (cnj)	HM	<i>to</i>	‘but’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
* <i>totona</i>	‘purpose, for, in order to’ (cnj)	HM	<i>totona</i>	‘in order to’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
<i>tufe</i>	‘raft’ (n)	HM	<i>tupe</i>	‘raft’	DGHM 1976:40
<i>turiya re-</i>	‘sew’ (cv)	HM	<i>turia</i>	‘sew, plait’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
<i>tutubena</i>	‘ancestor, descendant, offspring, generation’ (n)		<i>tubuna</i> ⁶	‘grandparent/child’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
<i>ura</i>	‘want, wish, like’ (v)	HM	<i>ura</i>	‘to want, like, wish’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>urena</i>	‘pot, pan’ (n)	HM	<i>uro</i>	‘clay pot’	Dutton and Voorhoeve

⁶ cf. Eastern Polynesia *tupuga* ‘grandparent/child’ (Lawes 1885:vii).

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>ureure</i>	‘wave’ (n)	HM	<i>hurehure</i>	‘wave’	1974:205 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196
<i>uru</i>	‘multiple, time, generation’ (n)	HM	<i>uru</i>	‘generation, multiply’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:40
<i>utuma</i>	‘crowd, multitude’ (n)	HM	<i>hutuma</i>	‘crowd’	w&h 1963:67
<i>uwe</i>	‘crocodile’ (n)	HM	<i>huala</i>	‘crocodile’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:195
<i>vada(ini)</i>	‘then, already’ (cnj)	HM	<i>vada(n), vadaeni</i>	‘then, all right; already’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>vairana</i>	‘front’ (n)	HM	<i>vairana</i>	‘face, front’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>vaisiyau</i>	‘stew, soup’ (n)	HM	<i>vasiahu</i>	‘soup’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:234
<i>vaitani</i>	‘from, according to’ (postp)	HM	<i>vaitani</i>	‘finished action, intensifier, definitely (not)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>vanagi</i>	‘boat, canoe’ (n)	HM	<i>vanagi</i>	‘canoe’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>varavara</i>	‘relative’ (n)	HM	<i>varavara</i>	‘kinsman, relative’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:205
<i>varevo</i>	‘goodbye (lit. sleep)’ (v)- calque	HM	<i>ba mahuta</i>	‘goodbye (lit. sleep)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:188
<i>voi</i>	‘buying’ (n)	HM	<i>hoia</i>	‘buy, sell’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:195
<i>vorovoro</i>	‘noisy’ (adj)	HM	<i>vorovoro</i>	‘revolver, pistol’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:41
? <i>yo</i>	‘yes’ (affirm)	HM	<i>io</i>	‘yes’	Wurm and Harris 1963:81
<i>ain</i>	‘iron (roof)’ (n)	HM<	<i>aien</i>	‘iron’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:213
<i>aisi</i>	‘ice, snow’ (n)	HM<	<i>aisi</i>	‘ice, frost, snow, hail’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:27
* <i>aneru</i>	‘angel’ (n)	HM<	<i>aneru</i>	‘angel’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
<i>babatiso</i>	‘baptism’ (n)	HM<	<i>bapatiso</i>	‘baptism’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>baiburu</i>	‘Bible’ (n)	HM<	<i>baibel</i>	‘Bible’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
<i>baige</i>	‘bag’ (n)	HM<	<i>baege</i>	‘bag, sack, haversack, pack’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:29
<i>baketi</i>	‘bucket’ (n)	HM<	<i>baketi</i>	‘bucket, pail’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:28
NT <i>banika</i>	‘bank’ (n)	HM<	<i>benk, bank</i>	‘bank’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>baruni</i>	‘ballon’ (n)	HM<	<i>baruni</i>	‘ballon’	Dutton 2019:pc
<i>basi</i>	‘bus’ (n)	HM<	<i>basi</i>	‘bus, passenger vehicle, PMV’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:28
* <i>basileia</i>	‘kingdom’(n)	HM<	<i>basileia</i>	‘kingdom’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:250
* <i>bedi</i>	‘bed’ (n)	HM<	<i>bedi</i>	‘bed, bunk, couch’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:28
<i>beniga</i>	‘benezene’ (n)	HM<	<i>bensin</i>	‘gasoline’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>beredi</i>	‘bread’ (n)	HM<	<i>beredi</i>	‘bread’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:234
<i>bero</i>	‘bell’ (n)	HM<	<i>bero</i>	‘bell’	Dutton 2019:pc
<i>berota</i>	‘belt, sash’ (n)	HM<	<i>beleta</i>	‘belt, strap, waistband’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:28
* <i>blu</i>	‘blue’ (adj)	HM<	<i>bulu</i>	‘blue’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:28
<i>boro</i>	‘ball’ (n)	HM<	<i>bolo</i>	‘ball’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:28
<i>boromakau</i>	‘cattle, livestock, cow, bull, beef’ (n)	HM<	<i>boromakau</i>	‘cow, beef’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:189
* <i>bosi</i>	‘boss, manager, supervisor’ (n)	HM<	<i>bosi tauna</i>	‘boss’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:246
<i>botoro</i>	‘bottle’ (n)	HM<	<i>botolo</i>	‘bottle’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:232
<i>bouti</i>	‘boat’ (n)	HM<	<i>bouti, bot</i>	‘boat’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>buka</i>	‘book’ (n)	HM<	<i>buka</i>	‘book’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:239
<i>daki</i>	‘duck’ (n)	HM<	<i>daki</i>	‘duck’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:253
<i>daramu</i>	‘drum’ (n)	HM<	<i>daramu</i>	‘keg, drum, cask’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:29
* <i>doketa</i>	‘doctor, physician’ (n)	HM<	<i>dokta (tauna)</i>	‘doctor, medical officer’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:236

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>doniki</i>	‘donkey’ (n)	HM<	<i>doniki</i>	‘donkey’	DGHM 1976:56
<i>ekalesia</i>	‘church’ (n)	HM<	<i>ekalesia</i>	‘church (institution)’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
* <i>fada</i>	‘priest’ (n)	HM<	<i>fada</i>	‘priest’	DGHM 1976:30
<i>fainaforo,</i> <i>fainafu, fainap</i>	‘pineapple’ (n)	HM<	<i>painapu</i>	‘pineapple’	DGHM 1976:37
<i>faini re-</i>	‘fine, cite’ (cv)	HM<	<i>paini</i>	‘fine, penalty, tax’	DGHM 1976:37
* <i>famili</i>	‘family’ (n)	HM<	<i>family</i>	‘family’	DGHM 1976:30
* <i>farava</i>	‘flour’ (n)	HM<	<i>palaoa</i>	‘flour’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:234
<i>farofaro</i>	‘flower’ (n)	HM<	<i>parauparau</i>	‘flower’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>fata</i>	‘platform, table, chair, bench’ (n)	HM<	<i>pata(pata)</i>	‘table, platform’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
* <i>fava</i>	‘power’ (n)	HM<	<i>paua</i>	‘power’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:216
<i>faya ni-</i>	‘explode’ (cv)	HM<	<i>paia</i>	‘explode, explosion’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>fefa</i>	‘paper, manuscript’ (n)	HM<	<i>pepa</i>	‘paper’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:242
<i>fereini</i>	‘aeroplane’ (n)	HM<	<i>pileini</i>	‘aeroplane’	DGHM 1976:38
<i>foketa</i>	‘pocket’ (n)	HM<	<i>pokeit, pokede</i>	‘pocket’	DGHM 1976:38
<i>foki</i>	‘bend, crook, fork’ (n)	HM<	<i>foka</i>	‘pitchfork’	DGHM 1976:30
<i>fosi, pusi(kasi)</i>	‘cat’ (n)	HM<	<i>pusi</i>	‘cat’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:252
<i>furisi, purisi</i>	‘police’ (n)	HM<	<i>polis</i>	‘police’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201
<i>fuse, puse</i>	‘bag (rice), sack’ (n)	HM<	<i>puse</i>	‘bag, sack’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
<i>garasi</i>	‘glass(es), mirror, goggles’ (n)	HM<	<i>galasi, galasis</i>	‘mirror, glasses’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:192, 231
<i>gavana</i>	‘governor’ (n)	HM<	<i>gavana</i>	‘governor’	DGHM 1976:30

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>gavmani</i>	‘government’ (n)	HM<	<i>gavamani</i>	‘government’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:248
* <i>geiti</i>	‘gate’ (n)	HM<	<i>geiti</i>	‘gate’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:30
<i>girisi</i>	‘grease, oil’ (n)	HM<	<i>girisi</i>	‘grease’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>gita</i>	‘guitar’ (n)	HM<	<i>guitar</i>	‘guitar’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:30
<i>goro</i>	‘gold’ (n)	HM<	<i>golo</i>	‘gold’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>guava</i>	‘guava’ (n)	HM<	<i>guava, kuava</i>	‘guava’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:31, 61
<i>hosi</i>	‘horse’ (n)	HM<	<i>hosi</i>	‘horse’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:253
<i>hosifere</i>	‘hospital, clinic’ (n)	HM<	<i>hospitala</i>	‘hospital’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:236
<i>indafeni</i>	‘independence’ (n)	HM<	<i>indipendens</i>	‘independence’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:213
* <i>kafosi, kaposi</i>	‘cup’ (n)	HM<	<i>kapusi</i>	‘cup’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:232
<i>kamfani</i>	‘company’ (n)	HM<	<i>kampani</i>	‘company’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>kanisoro</i>	‘council’ (n)	HM<	<i>kaunsila</i>	‘councillor’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:246
* <i>kapenta</i>	‘carpenter’ (n)	HM<	<i>kapeneta</i>	‘carpenter’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:34
<i>karasi</i>	‘classroom’ (n)	HM<	<i>kalasi</i>	‘class’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:34
<i>kare</i>	‘carrier(s)’ (n)	HM<	<i>kare (tauna)</i>	‘carrier’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>amiye/vene</i>					
<i>keresimisi</i>	‘Christmas’ (n)	HM<	<i>kerismas</i>	‘Christmas’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
* <i>keresin</i>	‘kerosene’ (n)	HM<	<i>kerosin</i>	‘kerosine’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:237
<i>Keriso</i>	‘Christ’ (n)	HM<	<i>Keriso</i>	‘Christ’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
<i>ketoro</i>	‘kettle’ (n)	HM<	<i>kedolo</i>	‘kettle’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:232
<i>ki</i>	‘key’ (n)	HM<	<i>ki</i>	‘key’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:34
<i>kofa</i>	‘copper’ (n)	HM<	<i>kapa</i>	‘copper’	Dutton and Voorhoeve

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>kofi</i>	‘coffee’ (n)	HM<	<i>kopi</i>	‘coffee’	1974:245 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
<i>kokoro</i>	‘chicken’ (n)	HM<	<i>kokoroku</i>	‘chicken, rooster’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
<i>kokoroku</i>	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’ (n)	HM<	<i>kokoroku</i>	‘chicken, rooster’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
<i>kolseti</i>	‘pullover, sweatshirt’ (n)	HM<	<i>cold shirt</i>	‘pullover, sweatshirt’	Dutton 2019:pc
<i>kona</i>	‘corner’ (n)	HM<	<i>kona</i>	‘corner, angle, bend’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:35
<i>koni</i>	‘corn’ (n)	HM<	<i>koni</i>	‘corn’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
<i>kota</i>	‘court’ (n)	HM<	<i>kot(o)</i>	‘court’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:198
<i>kuini</i>	‘queen’ (n)	HM<	<i>kwin</i>	‘queen’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:248
<i>kutusi</i>	‘cartridge’ (n)	HM<	<i>katresi</i>	‘cartridge’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:232
<i>loli</i>	‘lolly, candy, sweets’ (n)	HM<	<i>loli, lole</i>	‘candy, lolly, toffee’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:36
<i>magoro</i>	‘mangrove’ (n)	HM<	<i>magoro</i>	‘mangrove’	w&h 1963:72
<i>malaria</i>	‘malaria’ (n)	HM<	<i>malaria</i>	‘malaria’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:199
<i>masisi</i>	‘match, lighter’ (n)	HM<	<i>masisi</i>	‘matches’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:233
<i>medikoro</i>	‘medical orderly’ (n)	HM<	<i>medikolo tauna</i>	‘medical orderly’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:237
<i>mereni</i>	‘watermelon’ (n)	HM<	<i>melen</i>	‘melon’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:215
<i>miruka</i>	‘milk’ (n)	HM<	<i>milika</i>	‘animal milk’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:36
<i>misin</i>	‘machine’ (n)	HM<	<i>masini</i>	‘machine’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:36
<i>misinari</i>	‘missionary’ (n)	HM<	<i>misinari</i>	‘missionary’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
<i>mista</i>	‘mister’ (n)	HM<	<i>mista</i>	‘mister’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:215
* <i>moni</i>	‘money’ (n)	HM<	<i>moni</i>	‘money’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>muramura</i>	‘medicine’ (n)	HM<	<i>muramura</i>	‘medicine’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:200
<i>naba</i>	‘number’ (n)	HM<	<i>namba</i>	‘number’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:242
<i>nanigose rema</i>	‘nanny goat’ (n)	HM<	<i>nanigosi, nani</i>	‘goat (female)’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:37
<i>nanigouti</i>	‘goat’ (n)	HM<	<i>nani</i>	‘nanny (goat)’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:67
* <i>o</i>	‘or’ (cnj)	HM<	<i>o</i>	‘or’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201 (Non-Central)
<i>ofesi</i>	‘office, booth’ (n)	HM<	<i>ofis</i>	‘office’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:215
<i>oira</i>	‘oil’ (n)	HM<	<i>wel</i>	‘oil’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:244
<i>pati re-</i>	‘party’ (cv)	HM<	<i>pati</i>	‘party’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:248
<i>pausi</i>	‘purse, bag’ (n)	HM<	<i>puse</i>	‘bag, sack’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
<i>pensol</i>	‘pencil’ (n)	HM<	<i>penisolo</i>	‘pencil’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:242
* <i>peroveta</i>	‘prophet’ (n)	HM<	<i>peroveta tauna</i>	‘prophet’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:251
<i>piksa</i>	‘picture’ (n)	HM<	<i>piksa</i>	‘picture, picture show, movies’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:38
* <i>pou ni-raba</i>	‘explode, burst’ (cv) ‘rubber’ (n)	HM< HM<	<i>pou</i> <i>raba</i>	‘explode, erupt, burst’ ‘rubber’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:38 Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:243
<i>raeni</i>	‘line’ (n)	HM<	<i>lain</i>	‘line’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:243
* <i>raisi</i>	‘rice’ (n)	HM<	<i>raisi</i>	‘rice’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:217
<i>ramefa</i>	‘lamp, light’ (n)	HM<	<i>lamepa</i>	‘lamp’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:233
<i>rasta</i>	‘rusted’ (adj)	HM<	<i>rasta</i>	‘rust, corrosion, corrode’	<i>DGHM</i> 1976:38

	Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
	<i>redio</i>	‘radio’ (n)	HM<	<i>redio</i>	‘radio’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:202
	<i>rini</i>	‘ring’ (n)	HM<	<i>ring</i>	‘ring’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:231
NT	<i>sabati</i>	‘Sabbath’ (n)	HM<	<i>sabati</i>	‘Sabbath’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:251
	<i>sasa</i>	‘saucer’ (n)	HM<	<i>sasa</i>	‘saucer’	Dutton 2019:pc
	<i>Satani</i>	‘Satan’ (n)	HM<	<i>Satana</i>	‘Satan’	DGHM 1976
	<i>satauro</i>	‘cross/crucifix’ (n)	HM<	<i>satauro</i>	‘cross, crucifix’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
	<i>seini</i>	‘chain’ (n)	HM<	<i>seini</i>	‘chain’	DGHM 1976:39
	<i>seke re-</i>	‘check, verify’ (cv)	HM<	<i>sekea</i>	‘check, inspect’	DGHM 1976:39
*	<i>senesi</i>	‘change’ (n)	HM<	<i>senesia</i>	‘adapt, affect, alter, alternate, change, convert, replace, exchange, swap’	DGHM 1976:39
	<i>serti</i>	‘shirt’ (n)	HM<	<i>sieti</i>	‘shirt’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:231
	<i>sevi</i>	‘razor’ (n)	HM<	<i>sievi</i>	‘shave’	DGHM 1976:39
	<i>sifeidi</i>	‘spade, shovel’ (n)	HM<	<i>sipeidi</i>	‘spade’	DGHM 1976:76
	<i>sifuni</i>	‘spoon’ (n)	HM<	<i>sipunu</i>	‘spoon’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:233
	<i>sigeres</i>	‘singlet, undershirt’ (n)	HM<	<i>singlesi</i>	‘singlet’	DGHM 1976:39
	<i>sikuru</i>	‘school’ (n)	HM<	<i>sikulu</i>	‘school’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:243
	<i>simenesi,</i> <i>siment</i>	‘cement’ (n)	HM<	<i>simenisi</i>	‘cement’	DGHM 1976:39
	<i>sisasi</i>	‘scissors’ (n)	HM<	<i>sisasi</i>	‘scissors’	DGHM 1976:74
	<i>sori</i>	‘sorrow’ (n)	HM<	<i>sori</i>	‘apology, excuse, regret, remorse, sorry, what a pity’	DGHM 1976:39
	<i>stoa</i>	‘store, shop’ (n)	HM<	<i>s(i)toa, stua</i>	‘store’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
	<i>suampa</i>	‘swamp, lake, pond’ (n)	HM<	<i>swampa</i>	‘swamp’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:203
*	<i>suga</i>	‘sugar’ (n)	HM<	<i>s(i)uga</i>	‘sugar’	Dutton and Voorhoeve

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>takesi</i>	‘tax(es)’ (n)	HM<	<i>takesi</i>	‘tax’	1974:234
* <i>tanikiu ni-</i>	‘say thank you’ (cv)	HM<	<i>tenkiu</i>	‘thank you’	DGHM 1976:40
<i>taoni</i>	‘town’ (n)	HM<	<i>tauni, taoni</i>	‘town’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:204
<i>taraka</i>	‘vehicle, car, truck, utility, ute (n)	HM<	<i>traka</i>	‘truck’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:249
<i>tauwera</i>	‘towel’ (n)	HM<	<i>tauli</i>	‘towel’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>teiboro</i>	‘table’ (n)	HM<	<i>teibolo</i>	‘table’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:231
<i>ti</i>	‘tea’ (n)	HM<	<i>ti</i>	‘tea’	DGHM 1976:40
<i>tini</i>	‘tin, cymbal, gong’ (n)	HM<	<i>tini</i>	‘can, tin, sheet metal, galvanized iron’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:234
<i>titiya</i>	‘teacher’ (n)	HM<	<i>titia, tisa</i>	‘teacher’	DGHM 1976:40
<i>tomata</i>	‘tomato sp.’ (n)	HM<	<i>tamato</i>	‘tomato’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:243
<i>tosi</i>	‘torch’ (n)	HM<	<i>tosi</i>	‘torch’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:255
<i>trakita</i>	‘tractor’ (n)	HM<	<i>trekta</i>	‘tractor’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:233
<i>wafu</i>	‘bridge, wharf’ (n)	HM<	<i>vopu</i>	‘wharf’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>waini</i>	‘wine’ (n)	HM<	<i>uaina</i>	‘wine’	Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:245
<i>wili</i>	‘wheel, tyre’ (n)	HM<	<i>uili</i>	‘wheel’	DGHM 1976:40
* <i>wini ni-</i>	‘win, be victorious’ (cv)	HM<	<i>uini</i>	‘win’	DGHM 1976:80
<i>winido</i>	‘window’ (n)	HM<	<i>uindo</i>	‘window’	DGHM 1976:40
<i>witi</i>	‘wheat’ (n)	HM<	<i>uiti</i>	‘wheat’	DGHM 1976:40
<i>yusi re-</i>	‘use’ (cv)	HM<	<i>iusilaia</i>	‘use’	DGHM 1976:79
<i>zipa</i>	‘zipper’ (n)	HM<	<i>sipa</i>	‘zip-fastener, trousers fly’	DGHM 1976:39
<i>anika</i>	‘anchor’ (n)	English	<i>anchor</i>		
<i>bainasi</i>	‘sword, bayonet’ (n)	English	<i>bayonet</i>		
<i>blesiya re-</i>	‘bless’ (cv)	English	<i>bless</i>		

Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
<i>braun</i>	'brown' (adj)	English	<i>brown</i>		
<i>busi</i>	'bush man, humanlike spirit, dwarf bush man' (n)	English	<i>bushy</i>		
<i>dereini</i>	'drain' (n)	English	<i>drain</i>		
<i>dinige</i>	'dinghy, boat' (n)	English	<i>dinghy</i>		
<i>drouin</i>	'drawing' (n)	English	<i>drawing</i>		
* <i>eti</i>	'eight' (adj)	English	<i>eight</i>		
<i>fani</i>	'pot, pan, angel' (n)	English	<i>pan</i>		
<i>farauasi,</i> <i>farovasi</i>	'flowers' (n)	English	<i>flowers</i>		
<i>fasisi</i>	'fare, passage' (n)	English	<i>passage</i>		
<i>fetoro</i>	'petrol' (n)	English	<i>petrol</i>		
<i>fisituro</i>	'pistol, gun' (n)	English	<i>pistol</i>		
<i>fon</i>	'phone' (n)	English	<i>phone</i>		
<i>gesi</i>	'gas' (n)	English	<i>gas</i>		
<i>giridi re-</i> <i>gouti</i>	'be greedy' (cv) 'goat' (n)	English	<i>greedy</i> <i>goat</i>		
<i>gudi garasi</i>	'Bermuda grass' (n)	English	<i>good grass</i>		
<i>haiwe</i>	'highway' (n)	English	<i>highway</i>		
NT <i>kamelo</i>	'camel' (n)	English	<i>camel</i>		
<i>karamu</i>	'crab' (n)	English	<i>crab</i>		
<i>kau</i>	'cattle, cow' (n)	English	<i>cow</i>		
<i>keten</i>	'curtain' (n)	English	<i>curtain</i>		
<i>kiki re-</i> <i>kini</i>	'kick' (cv) 'king' (n)	English	<i>kick</i> <i>king</i>		
<i>kiriniki</i>	'clinic' (n)	English	<i>clinic</i>		
<i>kisini</i>	'kitchen, cooking house' (n)	English	<i>kitchen</i>		
<i>koito</i>	'ulcer' (n)	English	<i>goiter</i>		
<i>kolonial</i>	'colonial' (adj)	English	<i>colonial</i>		
<i>koma</i>	'comma' (n)	English	<i>comma</i>		
<i>komposer</i>	'composer' (n)	English	<i>composer</i>		
<i>komunio</i>	'communion' (n)	English	<i>communion</i>		
<i>koroko ni-</i> <i>laki</i>	'be X o'clock' (cv) 'luck, chance, lot' (n)	English	<i>o'clock</i> <i>lucky</i>		

	Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
	<i>maketi</i>	‘market’ (n)	English	<i>market</i>		
	<i>maruvo</i>	‘movement (far away), ‘movie, video’ (n)	English	<i>movie,</i> <i>movement</i>		
NT	<i>mastadi</i>	‘mustard’ (n)	English	<i>mustard</i>		
	<i>mere</i>	‘mail’ (n)	English	<i>mail</i>	‘mail’	
	<i>metolo</i>	‘metal’ (n)	English	<i>metal</i>		
*	<i>mitini</i>	‘meeting’ (n)	English	<i>meeting</i>		
*	<i>naini</i>	‘nine’ (adj)	English	<i>nine</i>		
	<i>niduru</i>	‘needle’ (n)	English	<i>needle</i>		
*	<i>niga</i>	‘negro, black’ (adj)	English	<i>negro</i>		
	<i>okid</i>	‘orchid’ (n)	English	<i>orchid</i>		
	<i>pilisi</i>	‘please’ (intrj)	English	<i>please</i>		
*	<i>reto</i>	‘right’ (adj)	English	<i>right</i>		
	<i>rini re-</i>	‘ring, call’ (cv)	English	<i>ring</i>		
	<i>sako</i>	‘bag, sack’ (n)	English	<i>sack</i>		
	<i>serafu ni-</i>	‘tell to be quiet’ (cv)	English	<i>shut up</i>		
	<i>sero re-</i>	‘sell’ (cv)	English	<i>sell</i>		
*	<i>seven</i>	‘seven’ (adj)	English	<i>seven</i>		
*	<i>sikisi</i>	‘six’ (adj)	English	<i>six</i>		
	<i>sikoma</i>	‘comb’ (n)	English	<i>comb</i>		
*	<i>simorohaus</i>	‘toilet, outhouse’ (n)	English	<i>small house</i>		
	<i>sinou</i>	‘snow’ (n)	English	<i>snow</i>		
*	<i>sioni</i>	‘white man, Caucasian’ (n)	English	<i>John</i>		
	<i>sipanisi</i>	‘sponge’ (n)	English	<i>sponge</i>		
	<i>sireita</i>	‘sheet/piece of paper or leaf’ (n)	English	<i>sheet</i>		
	<i>siriva</i>	‘silver’ (n)	English	<i>silver</i>		
*	<i>sitori</i>	‘story’ (n)	English	<i>story</i>		
*	<i>solar</i>	‘sun’ (n)	English	<i>solar</i>		
*	<i>taimi</i>	‘time’ (n)	English	<i>time</i>		
	<i>tausini</i>	‘thousand’ (adj)	English	<i>thousand</i>		
*	<i>ten</i>	‘ten’ (adj)	English	<i>ten</i>		
	<i>tinifisi</i>	‘tin fish’ (n)	English	<i>tin fish</i>		
	<i>tuero</i>	‘twelve’ (adj)	English	<i>twelve</i>		

	Term	Gloss(es)	Source	Form	Gloss(es)	Reference
NT	<i>viniga</i>	‘vinegar’ (n)	English	<i>vinegar</i>		
	<i>wiki</i>	‘week’ (n)	English	<i>week</i>		
	<i>yisiti</i>	‘yeast’ (n)	English	<i>yeast</i>		
*	<i>samuna</i>	‘banana sp (Cavendish)’ (n)	Sinauḡoro	<i>samuna</i>	‘type of long eating bananas’	Tauberschmidt 1995:70
	<i>nuri pisina</i>	‘bird species’ (n)	Tok Pisin	<i>pisin</i>	‘pigeon’	Mihalic 1971:156

Biblical key terms

This last list includes terms that were coined or already in some use for inclusion in the Bible translation (cf. §11.4.3). At times it was an attempt to avoid borrowed terms. At any rate they were tested over the course of the 17 years of work on the translation. From the initial stages onward to the present, Sunday readings incorporate these terms, so that speakers are now regularly hearing them. Further time will tell if they will continue to be accepted. (cf. Table A.8 above for some of the borrowed terms they intend to replace.)

Table A.9: *Biblical key terms*

Term	Gloss(es)	Literal meaning
<i>ago buni</i> (NP)	‘gospel’	‘good word’
<i>ago gira</i> (NP)	‘commandment, law’	‘hard word’
<i>ago nirausi re-</i>	‘preach’	‘pour out saying word’
<i>buni tora gade</i> (NP)	‘grace’	‘very big good’
<i>buni tora gade mar-</i>	‘bless’	‘give very much good’
<i>esika esika mar-</i>	‘persecute’	‘give much pain’
<i>ita moka</i> (NP)	‘hell’	‘deep fire’
<i>koite maku-</i> (SVC)	‘forgive, release’	‘wash throw away’
<i>moi akeke ri-</i>	‘sanctify’	‘make holy/special’
<i>moi buni ri-</i>	‘heal’	‘make good/well’
<i>moi vegu ri-</i>	‘save’	‘get life’
<i>moimai rei tavoi redo</i>	‘slave’	‘working for nothing person’
<i>amiye</i>		
<i>mokena ago</i> (cn)	‘parable’	‘thinking word’
<i>mokena rorobo</i> (NP)	‘righteousness’	‘straight thinking’
<i>mokena vari gira ae-</i>	‘believe, faith’	‘strongly implant thinking’
<i>mokena vegu</i> (cn)	‘miracle’	‘thinking practice’
<i>nifeidena amiye</i> (cn)	‘apostle’	‘sent person’
<i>nivakena yava</i> (cn)	‘temple’	‘exalting house (building)’
<i>ori sisika re-</i>	‘sacrifice’	‘burn good smell’
<i>ori sisika rena fore fata</i>	‘altar’	‘good smelling burning stone platform’
<i>ourefeidena amena sana</i>	‘kingdom’	‘leading/ruling staying place’
(cn)		
<i>roka moi odoro re-</i>	‘glorify’	‘make name above’
<i>rorobo ni-</i> (cv)	‘justify’	‘say straight’
<i>Sei ma amiye utari naivo</i>	‘priest’	‘serving between God and people person’
<i>amiye</i>		
<i>Sei di ago nido amiye</i>	‘prophet’	‘God’s word speaking person’
<i>Sei di mokena kana rena</i>	‘godliness’	‘doing like God’s thinking’
<i>sui ago</i> (cn)	‘parable’	‘hidden word’
<i>tutubena idana amiye</i> (cn)	‘gentile’	‘different descendant person’

Term	Gloss(es)	Literal meaning
<i>uka ago</i> (cn)	‘covenant’	‘stomach word’
<i>uka amuta</i> (NP)	‘peace’	‘peaceful/soft stomach’
<i>uka maina regika nive-</i>	‘tempt’	‘test trying to search stomach’
<i>uka mar-</i>	‘love’	‘give stomach’
<i>uka mokena</i> (cn)	‘hope’	‘stomach thinking’
<i>usa usa yava</i> (cn)	‘synagogue’	‘praying house’
<i>usi dina amiye</i> (cn)	‘disciple’	‘following person’
<i>Varika amiye</i> (cn)	‘Lord’	‘chief person’
<i>vegu no</i> (NP)	‘sin’	‘bad practice’
<i>vegu rorobo ni-</i>	‘justify’	‘life/practices become straight’

A.2 Vocabulary list

The following is a list of all Doromu-Koki words, including a handful of SVCs to show contrastive functions (cf. Table A.4), including complex verbs and members of closed classes, found throughout the body of this grammar, with the exception of proper nouns and dialectical variants. (Fullstops for non-compositional forms are removed to maintain alphabetical order in conformity to the current orthographic practices.) Abbreviations used are listed here:

adj	adjective	dm	discourse marker	postp	postposition
adv	adverb	interj	interjection	pn	pronoun
affirm	affirmative	interr	interrogative	qw	question word
cnj	conjunction	loc	locative	SVC	serial verb construction
cv	complex verb	n	noun	v	verb
dem	demonstrative	neg	negative	voc	vocative

<i>ababa ni-</i>	‘shout’ (cv)	<i>adina</i>	‘beside/because’
<i>abata</i>	‘flood’ (n)		(postp/cnj)
<i>abe-</i>	‘roof’ (v)	<i>adodi-</i>	‘carry on head’ (v)
<i>abidadama</i>	‘believe, trust’ (cv)	<i>adoudi</i>	‘small brown bird sp.’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>adu₁</i>	‘jaw’ (n)
<i>abidi re-</i>	‘designate’ (cv)	<i>adu₂</i>	‘banana hand’ (n)
<i>abitore re-</i>	‘borrow’ (cv)	<i>ae-</i>	‘put, place’ (v)
<i>abiye</i>	‘dry, dead’ (adj)	<i>ae mukora</i>	‘store away’ (cv)
<i>abou-</i>	‘fall down’ (v)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>abuata</i>	‘in-law’ (n)	<i>ae torekai re-</i>	‘gather/store up’ (cv)
<i>ada₁</i>	‘happiness’ (n)	<i>aede-</i>	‘help’ (v)
<i>ada₂</i>	‘head/ear of grain’	<i>aee</i>	‘oh, o, ho’ (intrj)
	(n)	<i>afana nu-</i>	‘set trap’ (cv)
<i>ada₃</i>	‘shade’ (n)	<i>afara</i>	‘ridge top’ (n)
<i>adafa₁</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)	<i>afe-</i>	‘take, bring, lead’ (v)
<i>adafa₂</i>	‘mushroom sp.’ (n)	<i>afena</i>	‘cheek’ (n)
<i>adaka</i>	‘joint, branch’ (n)	<i>afiye</i>	‘tongue’ (n)
<i>adau</i>	‘top’ (n)	<i>afiye aegagi</i>	‘get tongue-tied’ (cv)
<i>adena</i>	‘dance’ (n)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>adikina</i>	‘pillow’ (n)		

<i>afu ni-</i>	'destroy' (cv)		(n)
<i>agaga re-</i>	'frighten' (cv)	<i>ane ni-</i>	'sing song/hymn'
<i>agiya</i>	'yesterday, tomorrow' (n)		(cv)
<i>ago₁</i>	'word', saying' (n)	<i>anema₁</i>	'ear' (n)
<i>ago₂</i>	'season' (n)	<i>anema₂</i>	'headwaters' (n)
<i>agode</i>	'almost, nearly' (adv)	<i>aneru</i>	'angel' (n)
<i>agubo</i>	'dull, unclear' (adj)	<i>ani ve-</i>	'watch' (cv)
<i>ahuna</i>	'reward, share' (n)	<i>anika</i>	'anchor' (n)
<i>ai</i>	'hey, wow' (intrj)	<i>anoro ve-</i>	'yawn' (cv)
<i>ai-</i>	'spit' (v)	<i>anua re-</i>	'be unable to' (cv)
<i>ai-</i>	cf. <i>ae-</i>	<i>anuka</i>	'foot print/leading'
<i>aida</i>	'some' (adj)		(n)
<i>aikai</i>	'banana sp.' (n)	<i>ao</i>	'wow' (intrj)
<i>ain</i>	'iron' (n)	<i>aonega</i>	'cleverness' (n)
<i>aina</i>	'wild sugarcane' (n)	<i>ara</i>	'sore' (n)
<i>aineka</i>	'two days removed'	<i>araya</i>	'firelight creature' (n)
	(n)	<i>are re-</i>	'stand (up)'
<i>aira</i>	'offering' (n)	<i>are-1</i>	'collect' (v)
<i>airata ni-</i>	'cheer, shout' (cv)	<i>are-2</i>	'open up' (v)
<i>airuru-</i>	'jump over' (v)	<i>arefa</i>	'sugarcane, sugar' (n)
<i>aisi</i>	'ice, snow' (n)	<i>ari</i>	'time, day, season'
<i>aiso</i>	'wow' (intrj)		(n)
<i>aita</i>	'light/youth' (adj/n)	<i>ari-</i>	'arrange' (v)
<i>aiyo</i>	'oh, o' (intrj)	<i>ariya re-</i>	'divide' (cv)
<i>aka</i>	'prawn' (n)	<i>ariyu</i>	'daytime/light' (n)
<i>akau ri-</i>	'carry on shoulder'	<i>aroro</i>	'announcer' (n)
	(cv)	<i>aru</i>	'one day' (n)
<i>akeke</i>	'special, sacred' (adj)	<i>arubokoiya</i>	'yam sp.' (n)
<i>aki re-</i>	'bite, sting' (cv)	<i>aruma</i>	'snake, python' (n)
<i>aku-</i>	'build/wear' (v)	<i>aruruta</i>	'grass sp.' (n)
<i>akumororo</i>	'spider sp.' (n)	<i>asa</i>	'breath, breathing'
<i>amaga</i>	'vomit' (n)		(n)
<i>amana₁</i>	'bamboo sp.' (n)	<i>asanu re-</i>	'take over, assign'
<i>amana₂</i>	'dam' (n)		(cv)
<i>ame-</i>	'stay, live, exist' (v)	<i>ase re-</i>	'crash' (cv)
<i>amedidi re-</i>	'travel around' (cv)	<i>asika₁</i>	'shriveled up' (adj)
<i>amei imiye</i>	'squat down' (SVC)	<i>asika₂</i>	'navel' (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>asini₁</i>	'friend, mate' (n)
<i>ameibaina</i>	'advice' (n)	<i>asini₂</i>	'like' (adv)
<i>amiye</i>	'person/ (some)one'	<i>asiyaka</i>	'friends, mates' (n)
	(n)	<i>asiye ni-</i>	'sneeze' (cv)
<i>amiyo</i>	'wow' (intrj)	<i>astopu re-</i>	'stop' (cv)
<i>amona</i>	'flowering plant sp./summer' (n)	<i>ata</i>	'ahead, before' (adv)
<i>amu</i>	'tree sp.' (n)	<i>atafu</i>	'near, close/next to, beside' (postp)
<i>amuta</i>	'peaceful, smooth'	<i>ateate re-</i>	'be sick/ill' (cv)
	(adj)	<i>atoka</i>	'chin' (n)
<i>amute-</i>	'feel, touch' (v)	<i>au</i>	'lime' (n)
<i>anarauda</i>	'generosity, sharing'	<i>aua</i>	'thing, possession'
			(n)

<i>aufa</i>	‘grandparent/child’ (n)	<i>baka</i>	‘shortcut’ (n)
<i>aufakai</i>	‘grandparents/ children’ (n)	<i>bakai</i>	‘fathers’ (n)
<i>auna₁</i>	‘dog’ (n)	<i>bake ri-</i>	‘knead’ (cv)
<i>auna₂</i>	‘profit, gain’ (n)	<i>baketi</i>	‘bucket’ (n)
<i>aunanaba</i>	‘without cause’ (adv)	<i>baku</i>	‘encounter’ (n)
<i>aura</i>	‘wind, air’ (n)	<i>bani</i>	‘yam’ (n)
<i>auri₁</i>	‘spear’ (n)	<i>banika</i>	‘bank’ (n)
<i>auri₂</i>	‘neck’ (n)	<i>bao ni-</i>	‘assume, guess’ (cv)
<i>auta re-</i>	‘fellowship with’ (cv)	<i>baragina</i>	‘eclectus parrot’ (n)
<i>autaetae</i>	‘immature’ (adj)	<i>bare</i>	‘louse sp.’ (n)
<i>autu</i>	‘deserted’ (adj)	<i>barubaru u-</i>	‘roam around’ (cv)
<i>ava</i>	‘plant sp., season’ (n)	<i>baruni</i>	‘balloon’ (n)
<i>avaka moi-</i>	‘touch, feel’ (cv)	<i>bas</i>	cf. <i>basi</i>
<i>ave ni-</i>	‘be gentle/humble’ (cv)	<i>basi</i>	‘bus’ (n)
<i>aveta</i>	‘rib, side’ (n)	<i>basileia</i>	‘kingdom’ (n)
<i>ayaka</i>	‘saliva, spit’ (n)	<i>basu</i>	‘shoot’ (n)
<i>ayena₁</i>	‘lightning’ (n)	<i>batara</i>	‘shoulder blade’ (n)
<i>ayena₂</i>	‘cassowary sp.’ (n)	<i>bau₁</i>	‘lizard sp.’ (n)
<i>ba₁</i>	‘or’ (cnj)	<i>bau₂</i>	‘leftover food’ (n)
<i>ba₂</i>	‘eh, huh, no’ (qw)	<i>bauye</i>	‘throat, oesophagus’ (n)
<i>baba</i>	‘father, uncle’ (n)	<i>bava</i>	‘crab sp.’ (n)
<i>babatiso</i>	‘baptism’ (n)	<i>bavorovoro</i>	‘owl’ (n)
<i>babo</i>	‘mute, silent’ (adj)	<i>be</i>	‘some (sg)’
<i>babu</i>	cf. <i>baebu</i>	<i>bebe mar-</i>	‘struggle’ (cv)
<i>bada</i>	‘grass sp./season’ (n)	<i>bedakai</i>	‘some (pl)’
<i>badamisirika</i>	‘Wallace’s fairy- wren’ (n)	<i>bede</i>	‘any’ (adj)
<i>badina</i>	‘because’ (cnj)	<i>bedi</i>	‘bed’ (n)
<i>badirara</i>	‘thick cloud’ (n)	<i>beika</i>	‘what’ (intrr)
<i>bado₁</i>	‘piece, part’ (n)	<i>beika baika</i>	‘whatever’ (n)
<i>bado₂</i>	‘finger’ (n)	<i>beika resi</i>	‘why, what for’ (intrr)
<i>badu</i>	‘anger, rage’ (n)	<i>beikadinare</i>	‘when’ (intrr)
<i>bae-</i>	‘come’ (v)	<i>beko</i>	‘lump’ (n)
<i>baebu</i>	‘lest, otherwise’ (cnj)	<i>beku re-</i>	‘push (out)’
<i>baeko</i>	‘maybe, perhaps’ (cnj)	<i>bema</i>	‘if’ (cnj)
<i>bafu</i>	‘leftover’ (n)	<i>beniga</i>	‘benzene’ (n)
<i>bagu</i>	‘grotto’ (n)	<i>bera</i>	‘marking, tattoo’ (n)
<i>baguru₁</i>	‘greens’ (n)	<i>bere</i>	‘nice and straight’ (adj)
<i>baguru₂</i>	‘placenta’ (n)	<i>beredi</i>	‘bread’ (n)
<i>bai-</i>	cf. <i>bae-</i>	<i>bero₁</i>	‘sore, wound’ (n)
<i>baibai</i>	‘bye-bye’ (n)	<i>bero₂</i>	‘bell’ (n)
<i>baibururu</i>	‘Bible’ (n)	<i>berota</i>	‘belt’ (n)
<i>baige</i>	‘bag’ (n)	<i>berou</i>	‘other/side’ (adj/n)
<i>baige</i>	‘bag’ (n)	<i>besa</i>	‘more’ (adv)
<i>bainasi</i>	‘sword, bayonet’ (n)	<i>besenai</i>	‘rebuke’ (n)
<i>baiya</i>	‘bush knife’ (n)	<i>besu basu ni-</i>	‘rush out’ (cv)
		<i>besu ni-</i>	‘emerge from’ (cv)
		<i>beta</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)

<i>beuka ni-</i>	‘grunt, oink’ (cv)	<i>braun</i>	‘brown’ (adj)
<i>bi</i>	‘topic marker’ (dm)	<i>bu ni-</i>	cf. <i>buba.ni-</i>
<i>bibo</i>	‘Jew’s harp’ (n)	<i>buafu</i>	‘whole’ (adj)
<i>bidoka</i>	‘mucus’ (n)	<i>buaru</i>	‘whole’ (adj)
<i>bina re-</i>	‘clear garden’ (cv)	<i>buaue re-</i>	‘be hoarse’ (cv)
<i>binu mar-</i>	‘hug, embrace’ (cv)	<i>buba ni-</i>	‘avoid’ (cv)
<i>biri-</i>	‘dip’ (v)	<i>bubu</i>	‘boldness’ (n)
<i>biri₁</i>	‘door’ (n)	<i>bubu ri-</i>	‘finish’ (cv)
<i>biri₂</i>	‘fish sp.’ (n)	<i>bubudo</i>	‘leftover, bit’ (n)
<i>birina</i>	‘fan cabbage’ (n)	<i>buda</i>	‘front’ (n)
<i>bisu basu re-</i>	‘meddle’ (cv)	<i>buda₁</i>	‘front’ (n)
<i>bisu re-</i>	‘hide, throw’ (cv)	<i>buda₂</i>	‘baby’ (n)
<i>biyaguna</i>	‘owner’ (n)	<i>budibudi re-</i>	‘revolve’ (cv)
<i>biyatete</i>	‘long time’ (n)	<i>budoka</i>	‘dust, dirt’ (n)
<i>biyo₁</i>	‘cup’ (n)	<i>bugibugi</i>	‘sore covered’ (adj)
<i>biyo₂</i>	‘sad’ (adj)	<i>buibui re-</i>	‘whirlpooling’ (cv)
<i>biyoka re-</i>	‘scrape’ (cv)	<i>buka₁</i>	‘book’ (n)
<i>blesiya re-</i>	‘bless’ (cv)	<i>buka₂</i>	‘possum scent’ (n)
<i>blu</i>	‘blue’ (adj)	<i>buko</i>	‘fish sp.’ (n)
<i>blu-grin</i>	‘blue-green’ (adj)	<i>bunema</i>	‘season/grass’ (n)
<i>bo-</i>	‘go (over/up)’ (v)	<i>buni</i>	‘good/goodness’ (adj/n)
<i>bobada</i>	‘great great grandparent/child’ (n)	<i>bunika</i>	‘fat, grease’ (n)
<i>bobada</i>	‘ancestors’ (n)	<i>buo re-</i>	‘swing’ (cv)
<i>manone</i>		<i>buoru re-</i>	‘trap (with words)’ (cv)
<i>boboe re-</i>	‘look down’ (cv)	<i>bura</i>	‘writing’ (n)
<i>boboka ri-</i>	‘put on top’ (cv)	<i>burefe</i>	‘best, very good’ (adj)
<i>boboro</i>	‘treetop’ (n)	<i>buregi numa</i>	‘bee sp.’ (n)
<i>bodaka</i>	‘demon, spirit’ (n)	<i>huri</i>	‘nest’ (n)
<i>bodo</i>	‘present continuative’ (v)	<i>burivai re-</i>	‘tangle’ (cv)
<i>bogo</i>	‘future continuative’ (v)	<i>buru ri-</i>	‘surround’ (cv)
<i>boiyo re-</i>	‘be/get lost’ (cv)	<i>buruka₁</i>	‘creek, spring’ (n)
<i>boko</i>	‘fallen out’ (adj)	<i>buruka₂</i>	‘elderly’ (adj)
<i>bokona</i>	‘half-eaten’ (adj)	<i>busi</i>	‘bush man’ (n)
<i>bomudo</i>	‘(very) old’ (adj)	<i>butu</i>	‘harvest’ (n)
<i>bona</i>	‘and’ (cnj)	<i>buuo</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)
<i>bone</i>	‘lazy’ (adj)	<i>dabara re-</i>	‘set out’ (cv)
<i>bonobono re-</i>	‘bubble up’ (cv)	<i>dabigara</i>	‘lower’ (adj)
<i>bora</i>	‘yellow’ (adj)	<i>dabu ni-</i>	‘lack’ (cv)
<i>boro</i>	‘ball’ (n)	<i>dabua</i>	‘clothing’ (n)
<i>boromakau</i>	‘cattle’ (n)	<i>dada</i>	‘so, because’ (cnj)
<i>bosi</i>	‘supervisor’ (n)	<i>dadaga</i>	‘gluttony’ (adj)
<i>botoro</i>	‘bottle’ (n)	<i>dadi-</i>	‘get/dry up/feel good’ (v)
<i>bou</i>	‘cover’ (n)	<i>dadi rae re-</i>	‘rise’ (cv)
<i>bouna</i>	‘another’ (adj)	<i>dagu mar-</i>	‘stomp, kick’ (cv)
<i>bouti</i>	‘boat’ (n)	<i>dai buru ri-</i>	‘surround’ (cv)
<i>boyo</i>	‘past continuative’ (v)	<i>daidai re-</i>	‘spin, dizzy’ (cv)

<i>dairi-</i>	‘return’ (v)	<i>dogo dago</i>	‘prepare and prepare’
<i>daiyutu</i>	‘room’ (n)	<i>re-</i>	(cv)
<i>dakai</i>	‘place’ (n)	<i>doi</i>	‘cane sp, season’ (n)
<i>daki</i>	‘duck’ (n)	<i>doi-gobu</i>	‘flowering cane sp./season in April’ (n)
<i>damani re-</i>	‘refute’ (cv)		
<i>damu emar-</i>	‘cast doom curse’ (cv)	<i>dokema</i>	‘storehouse’ (n)
<i>daramu</i>	‘drum’ (n)	<i>doketa</i>	‘doctor’ (n)
<i>daru</i>	‘root, vein’ (n)	<i>dokona</i>	‘end’ (n)
<i>daube re-</i>	‘detour’ (cv)	<i>dona</i>	‘pig, pork’ (n)
<i>dava</i>	‘blood’ (n)	<i>doniki</i>	‘donkey’ (n)
<i>dava tu</i>	‘relative’ (n)	<i>dori re-</i>	‘squeeze pandanus’ (cv)
<i>davana</i>	‘price, cost’ (n)	<i>doro</i>	‘cane sp., string’ (n)
<i>davara</i>	‘sea, ocean’ (n)	<i>dou</i>	‘wet, damp’ (adj)
<i>davera</i>	‘tree sp./harvest time’ (n)	<i>drouin</i>	‘drawing’ (n)
<i>de</i>	cf. <i>ide</i>	<i>du-</i>	‘look around’ (v)
<i>de-</i>	‘come (down)’ (v)	<i>duai re-</i>	cf. <i>duaiya.re-</i>
<i>dereini</i>	‘drain’ (n)	<i>duaiya re-</i>	‘count, read’ (cv)
<i>deyo re-</i>	‘revolve’ (cv)	<i>duakau</i>	‘during’ (postp)
<i>deyofu re-</i>	‘dawdle’ (cv)	<i>dubo</i>	‘yam house’ (n)
<i>di</i>	‘genitive’ (postp)	<i>dubu</i>	cf. <i>dubuini</i>
<i>di-</i>	‘go, move’ (v)	<i>dubu</i>	‘church’ (n)
<i>dia</i>	‘negative, not’ (NEG)	<i>dubuini</i>	‘brother, cousin’ (n)
<i>diba₁</i>	‘know’ (v)	<i>dubuiyaka</i>	‘brothers’ (n)
<i>diba₂</i>	‘spear’ (n)	<i>dudu</i>	‘with, by’ (postp)
<i>dibadiba</i>	‘distant’ (adj)	<i>dudubu</i>	‘shelter’ (n)
<i>dibo re-</i>	‘travel, walk’ (cv)	<i>duduka re-</i>	‘drink, sip’ (cv)
<i>dibura</i>	‘jail, prison’ (n)	<i>dudusa</i>	‘again, more’ (adv)
<i>didibu₁</i>	‘banana sp.’ (n)	<i>dui</i>	‘entering’ (n)
<i>didibu₂</i>	‘tadpole’ (n)	<i>duma</i>	‘steal, rob’ (n)
<i>didoka</i>	‘five days removed’ (n)	<i>duma dama</i>	‘steal and rob’ (cv)
<i>dikadika</i>	‘very good’ (adj)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>dikina</i>	‘mud’ (n)	<i>duomu</i>	‘lazy, idle’ (adj)
<i>diko re-</i>	‘push (in)’ (cv)	<i>dura</i>	‘net/string bag’ (n)
<i>dina</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)	<i>duri</i>	‘persistent’ (adj)
<i>dinaga</i>	‘load’ (n)	<i>durua re-</i>	‘help, assist’ (cv)
<i>dinige</i>	‘dinghy, boat’ (n)	<i>e</i>	‘oh, o’ (intrj/voc)
<i>disco re-</i>	‘disco, dance’ (cv)	<i>e-</i>	‘twist’ (v)
<i>diye</i>	‘faeces’ (n)	<i>ebaba re-</i>	‘break into’ (cv)
<i>diye fa</i>	‘diarrhoea’ (n)	<i>ebeku re-</i>	‘push, reject’ (cv)
<i>doa re-</i>	‘go away to’ (cv)	<i>ebere re-</i>	‘remain silent’ (cv)
<i>doba</i>	‘long, tall’ (adj)	<i>eboka</i>	‘salt’ (n)
<i>dobeka</i>	‘flooring’ (n)	<i>eboka re-</i>	‘open (up)’ (cv)
<i>dobu re-</i>	‘attack’ (cv)	<i>ebu re-</i>	‘surpass, pass through’ (cv)
<i>dobura numa</i>	‘honey bee’ (n)	<i>ebuna</i>	‘finger, toe’ (n)
<i>dodoku</i>	‘bowl’ (n)	<i>edadi-</i>	‘get up’ (v)
<i>dogema</i>	‘corner’ (n)	<i>ediko re-</i>	‘cause to push’ (cv)
<i>dogo</i>	‘preparation’ (n)	<i>edini</i>	‘in-law’ (n)

<i>ediyaka</i>	'in-laws' (n)	<i>eseka ni-</i>	cf. <i>eseseka.ni-</i>
<i>efamu re-</i>	'clear away' (cv)	<i>eseseka ni-</i>	'cough, clear throat'
<i>efare re-</i>	'demand, insist' (cv)		(cv)
<i>efeya re-</i>	'collapse, fall' (cv)	<i>esi re-</i>	'run (away)' (cv)
<i>efo imi-</i>	'crowd' (cv)	<i>esika</i>	'pain, agony' (n)
<i>efono re-</i>	'cover up' (cv)	<i>esiroka ni-</i>	'cough' (cv)
<i>efuka</i>	'knee' (n)	<i>eso</i>	'abdomen, belly' (n)
<i>egaima ri-</i>	'distance' (cv)	<i>eta1</i>	'side, wing/fore gut'
<i>egana</i>	'brother/sister-in-law'		(n)
	(n)	<i>eta2</i>	'hookworm' (n)
<i>egavoi re-</i>	'avoid, abstain' (cv)	<i>etae re-</i>	'cut/shut off' (cv)
<i>egere</i>	cf. <i>egeregere</i>	<i>etae ri-</i>	cf. <i>etage.ri-</i>
<i>egeregere</i>	'okay, well' (adj)	<i>etafari</i>	'away from' (postp)
<i>egira</i>	'control' (n)	<i>etage ri-</i>	'go away/over' (cv)
<i>egogo re-</i>	'meet/gather' (cv)	<i>etari re-</i>	'bump/run into' (cv)
<i>egona</i>	'below, lower down'	<i>etei ri-</i>	'surpass' (cv)
	(postp)	<i>eti</i>	'eight' (adj)
<i>egore re-</i>	'begin to bear fruit'	<i>etofaro</i>	'outside' (postp)
	(cv)	<i>etoka u-</i>	'gag, choke' (cv)
<i>egu</i>	'green snake' (n)	<i>etou re-</i>	'be shy' (cv)
<i>eina</i>	'tree sp.' (n)	<i>etu</i>	'boil' (n)
<i>eka</i>	cf. <i>ekama</i>	<i>etugai1</i>	'snake sp.' (n)
<i>ekaira re-</i>	'draw near' (cv)	<i>etugai2</i>	'lizard sp.' (n)
<i>ekalesia</i>	'church (people)' (n)	<i>etururu re-</i>	'cause surprise' (cv)
<i>ekama</i>	'bed, mat' (n)	<i>eva ni-</i>	'leave' (cv)
<i>eke-</i>	'open (up)' (v)	<i>eva ri-</i>	'ignore, refuse' (cv)
<i>ekure re-</i>	'submit to' (cv)	<i>evade</i>	cf. <i>evadi</i>
<i>ema</i>	'river mouth' (n)	<i>evadi</i>	'quickly' (adv)
<i>emar-</i>	'rebuke, reprove' (v)	<i>evairo re-</i>	'twist, flip' (cv)
<i>emoga</i>	'fish sp./girl' (n)	<i>evata ri-</i>	'cause to happen'
<i>emuye-</i>	'kill, murder' (v)		(cv)
<i>ena</i>	'sap' (n)	<i>evava re-</i>	'reheat' (cv)
<i>enana</i>	'left' (adj)	<i>eve-</i>	'tempt' (v)
<i>enegau re-</i>	'reveal' (cv)	<i>eve re-</i>	'itch' (cv)
<i>eneka</i>	'pelvis' (n)	<i>eyare-</i>	'cause to drop' (v)
<i>eni</i>	'eh' (qw)	<i>eyo1</i>	'moon/month' (n)
<i>erara</i>	'traditional clothing'	<i>eyo2</i>	'vine sp.' (n)
	(n)	<i>eyoune-</i>	'open (up)' (v)
<i>erau ni-</i>	'expose' (cv)	<i>fada</i>	'priest, father' (n)
<i>erausi re-</i>	'pour out, fall' (cv)	<i>fafa</i>	'cover' (n)
<i>ere</i>	'other (person)' (adj)	<i>fafasuka re-</i>	'slip, slide' (cv)
<i>erega</i>	'buddy, mate' (n)	<i>fafau</i>	'above/about'
<i>erena</i>	'bird' (n)		(postp/cnj)
<i>eriki-</i>	'block' (v)	<i>fai</i>	'trousers' (n)
<i>eriya ri-</i>	'select, pick' (cv)	<i>fainaforo</i>	'pineapple' (n)
<i>erokoko re-</i>	'drag' (cv)	<i>fainafu</i>	cf. <i>fainaforo</i>
<i>erorovoi re-</i>	'skirt, detour' (cv)	<i>fainap</i>	cf. <i>fainaforo</i>
<i>eru-</i>	'come/fall out' (v)	<i>faini re-</i>	'fine, cite' (cv)
<i>eru re-</i>	'trick, deceive' (cv)	<i>fairo</i>	'flame' (n)
<i>erufu-</i>	'release/solve' (v)	<i>faisara</i>	'naked, nude' (adj)

<i>faiva ni-</i>	‘greet, welcome’ (cv)	<i>foket</i>	cf. <i>foketa</i>
<i>faka</i>	‘wall (house)’ (n)	<i>foketa</i>	‘pocket’ (n)
<i>famar-</i>	‘slap, dump on’ (v)	<i>foki</i>	‘bend, fork’ (n)
<i>famili</i>	‘family’ (n)	<i>fon</i>	‘telephone’ (n)
<i>famu re-</i>	‘bite’ (cv)	<i>fono re-</i>	‘cover’ (cv)
<i>fani</i>	‘pot, pan’ (n)	<i>fonufonu</i>	‘bubbling’ (n)
<i>farai</i>	‘sail, canvas’ (n)	<i>fo'o ni-</i>	‘explode’ (cv)
<i>farauasi</i>	‘flower’ (n)	<i>fore</i>	‘stone/money’ (n)
<i>farava</i>	‘flour’ (n)	<i>forero</i>	‘up, above’ (postp)
<i>fare</i>	‘too much’ (adj)	<i>foroka</i>	‘basket’ (n)
<i>farofaro</i>	‘flower’ (n)	<i>forovai re-</i>	‘confuse’ (cv)
<i>farovasi</i>	cf. <i>farauasi</i>	<i>foru</i>	‘animal-human spirit’ (n)
<i>fasisi</i>	‘fare, passage’ (n)	<i>fosi</i>	‘cat’ (n)
<i>fata</i>	‘platform’ (n)	<i>fosi1</i>	‘pimple’ (n)
<i>fate</i>	‘net, snare’ (n)	<i>fosi2</i>	‘cat’ (n)
<i>fate-</i>	‘sprout’ (v)	<i>fou1</i>	‘shot’ (n)
<i>fava</i>	‘electrical power’ (cv)	<i>fou2</i>	‘timber’ (n)
<i>faya ni-</i>	‘explode’ (cv)	<i>foyoma re-</i>	‘crush’ (cv)
<i>faya re-</i>	‘shoot, fire’ (cv)	<i>fu1</i>	‘puff, blow’ (n)
<i>feara</i>	‘flat’ (adj)	<i>fu2</i>	‘apology’ (n)
<i>fefa</i>	‘paper, letter’ (n)	<i>fudika re-</i>	‘come loose’ (cv)
<i>feide-1</i>	‘cook’ (v)	<i>fufuta</i>	‘back/behind’ (n)
<i>feide-2</i>	‘leave, depart’ (v)	<i>fufuta mar-</i>	‘reject’ (cv)
<i>feka ni-</i>	‘become thin’ (cv)	<i>fuofuori</i>	‘while’ (postp)
<i>feki re-</i>	‘knock’ (cv)	<i>fura</i>	‘week’ (n)
<i>fere-</i>	‘leave’ (v)	<i>furisi</i>	‘police, guard’ (n)
<i>fereini</i>	‘aeroplane’ (n)	<i>furu re-</i>	‘bubble (up)’ (cv)
<i>feruferu re-</i>	‘bounce’ (cv)	<i>furufuru re-</i>	‘flow out’ (cv)
<i>feta</i>	‘basket’ (n)	<i>fuse</i>	‘bag, sack’ (n)
<i>feta</i>	cf. <i>eta</i>	<i>fute re-1</i>	‘mumble’ (cv)
<i>fetaka ni-</i>	‘become thin’ (cv)	<i>fute re-2</i>	‘blink’ (cv)
<i>fete u-</i>	‘pop out’ (cv)	<i>futu re-</i>	‘bump’ (cv)
<i>fetoro</i>	‘petrol’ (n)	<i>fuyo re-</i>	‘turn around’ (cv)
<i>feva</i>	‘bow & arrow’ (n)	<i>fu'u re-</i>	‘cast spell’ (cv)
<i>feya</i>	‘flat’ (adj)	<i>ga</i>	‘prohibitive’ (neg)
<i>feyo</i>	‘white’ (adj)	<i>gaba re-</i>	‘be hospitable’ (cv)
<i>fidi re-</i>	‘shoot’ (cv)	<i>gabayo1</i>	‘banana sp.’ (n)
<i>fifi</i>	‘insect sp.’ (n)	<i>gabayo2</i>	‘python sp.’ (n)
<i>firifou</i>	‘trousers’ (n)	<i>gabi</i>	‘after’ (postp)
<i>firu</i>	‘climbing’ (n)	<i>gabire</i>	‘under’ (postp)
<i>fisiko</i>	‘bean’ (n)	<i>gabu1</i>	‘black, blue’ (adj)
<i>fisituro</i>	‘pistol, gun’ (n)	<i>gabu2</i>	‘place’ (n)
<i>fiu ni-</i>	‘sprout, jump’ (cv)	<i>gade1</i>	‘very’ (adv)
<i>fodiya1</i>	‘lazy’ (adj)	<i>gade2</i>	‘tooth/edge’ (n)
<i>fodiya2</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)	<i>gadeva</i>	‘fierce’ (adj)
<i>foforo re-</i>	‘blossom’ (cv)	<i>gadi</i>	‘spade, shovel’ (n)
<i>fofure</i>	‘mountain’ (n)	<i>gado</i>	‘post’ (n)
<i>fogori</i>	‘when’ (postp)	<i>gaga</i>	‘tulip tree flower’ (n)
<i>foi</i>	‘meaninglessly’ (adv)	<i>gaga re-</i>	‘drink’ (cv)

<i>gagaba</i>	'waist' (n)	<i>girika</i>	'coconut shell' (n)
<i>gagabo ni-</i>	'be blackened' (cv)	<i>girisi</i>	'grease, oil' (n)
<i>gagani</i>	'place' (n)	<i>giro</i>	'axe' (n)
<i>gai</i>	'club, shield' (n)	<i>gita</i>	'guitar' (n)
<i>gaibana</i>	'eel' (n)	<i>gobe</i>	'tree fern, dish' (n)
<i>gaigai</i>	'horn' (n)	<i>gobuno re-</i>	'unite' (cv)
<i>gaima</i>	'far away' (adj)	<i>godeka</i>	'very nicely' (adv)
<i>gana ri-</i>	'block, close' (cv)	<i>godiyu</i>	'living person's spirit' (n)
<i>gani re-</i>	'feed (child)' (cv)	<i>godua</i>	'young man' (n)
<i>gao</i>	'tree sp.' (n)	<i>goe-</i>	'dig' (v)
<i>garasi</i>	'glass, mirror' (n)	<i>gogo</i>	'both, together' (adv)
<i>gasika re-</i>	'give off odour' (cv)	<i>gogonu</i>	'grass sp. with sharp long leaves' (n)
<i>gaton₁</i>	'scorpion' (n)	<i>goidu</i>	'where (movement)' (intr)
<i>gaton₂</i>	'tree sp.' (n)	<i>goina</i>	'which (one)' (intr)
<i>gaubo re-</i>	'replace' (cv)	<i>goini</i>	'where (location)' (intr)
<i>gaudia</i>	'thing' (n)	<i>goiso</i>	'nail' (n)
<i>gauka</i>	'sickness' (n)	<i>goivaka</i>	'when' (intr)
<i>gaukara</i>	'work' (n)	<i>gokai</i>	'how' (intr)
<i>gauna</i>	'thing' (n)	<i>gokai resi</i>	'why' (intr)
<i>gauta</i>	'thing' (n)	<i>gokaisanu</i>	'how many/much' (intr)
<i>gavana₁</i>	'governor' (n)	<i>gomu di-</i>	'swallow' (cv)
<i>gavana₂</i>	'cuckoo-dove' (n)	<i>gonema</i>	'jealousy' (n)
<i>gavmani</i>	'government' (n)	<i>goragora</i>	'passionately' (adv)
<i>gaye-</i>	'dry up' (v)	<i>goro₁</i>	'taboo' (n)
<i>gayo bora</i>	'crow' (n)	<i>goro₂</i>	'gold' (n)
<i>geagi</i>	cf. <i>geyagi</i>	<i>gorogoro</i>	'early' (adj)
<i>gebe</i>	'penis' (n)	<i>goroka</i>	'voice' (n)
<i>geda</i>	'mat, bed' (n)	<i>gote-</i>	'descend, go down' (v)
<i>gedu</i>	'nape' (n)	<i>gou re-</i>	'burn, flame' (cv)
<i>gedu mar-</i>	'ignore' (cv)	<i>gouti</i>	'goat' (n)
<i>geduna</i>	'elbow' (n)	<i>gua</i>	'today, now' (n)
<i>geiti</i>	'gate' (n)	<i>guava</i>	'guava' (n)
<i>gena</i>	'bamboo' (n)	<i>gube</i>	'darkness' (n)
<i>gera re-</i>	'strain, labour' (cv)	<i>gubuyo</i>	'anger, agitation' (n)
<i>gesi</i>	'gas' (n)	<i>gudi garasi</i>	'Bermuda grass' (n)
<i>getona</i>	'lower back' (n)	<i>gue</i>	'louse sp.' (n)
<i>geyagi</i>	'gum tree' (n)	<i>guga ni-</i>	'oink, grunt' (cv)
<i>giba</i>	'thin, little weight/ sharp pointed' (adj)	<i>guguna₁</i>	'flea sp.' (n)
<i>gibu ni-</i>	'dawdle' (cv)	<i>guguna₂</i>	'fish sp.' (n)
<i>gigi mamata</i>	'tree sp.' (n)	<i>gugura</i>	'thing' (n)
<i>gigi ni-</i>	'be wedged in' (cv)	<i>gui re-</i>	'ride (on)' (cv)
<i>gigini</i>	'pain, sharp' (n)	<i>guiya re-</i>	'board' (cv)
<i>gini</i>	'basket' (n)	<i>guma ni-</i>	'growl' (cv)
<i>giniba</i>	'pitchfork' (n)	<i>guna</i>	'fishtail palm' (n)
<i>gira</i>	'hard/difficulty' (adj/n)		
<i>girau</i>	'straight, right' (adj)		
<i>giridi</i>	'greedy' (adj)		
<i>girigiri</i>	'extreme' (adj)		

<i>gunika</i>	‘interior’ (n)	<i>ine</i>	‘so, because’ (cnj)
<i>gurau-</i>	‘suffer’ (v)	<i>ini</i>	‘his/her(s)/its/their(s)’
<i>guri</i>	‘pit, grave’ (n)		(pn)
<i>guriguri</i>	‘prayer, worship’ (n)	<i>inike</i>	‘third person
<i>guruo</i>	‘mourning’ (n)		reflexive’ (pn)
<i>guta</i>	‘nice, good’ (adj)	<i>iniki</i>	‘long-tailed parrot’
<i>gutu</i>	cf. <i>gutuna</i>		(n)
<i>gutuna</i>	‘from’ (postp)	<i>iniye1</i>	‘self’ (pn)
<i>guyaguya ni-</i>	‘ask, insist’ (cv)	<i>iniye2</i>	‘very’ (adv)
<i>hai hai ni-</i>	‘dog call’ (n)	<i>inua re-</i>	‘wash’ (cv)
<i>haiwe</i>	‘highway’ (n)	<i>inuka re-</i>	‘stir/dirty up’ (cv)
<i>hosi</i>	‘horse’ (n)	<i>irakuna</i>	‘feast, dinner’ (n)
<i>hosifere</i>	‘hospital’ (n)	<i>irava</i>	‘poor’ (adj)
<i>huu</i>	‘wompoo fruit-dove	<i>iri-</i>	‘eat, ingest/waste’ (v)
	song’ (n)	<i>irina</i>	‘brain’ (n)
<i>i</i>	cf. <i>yi</i>	<i>iriyeduka</i>	‘sorrow’ (n)
<i>ibiyaka</i>	‘African tulip	<i>iroka</i>	‘smoke/tobacco’ (n)
	tree/greens’ (n)	<i>iru ri-</i>	‘wear, fasten’ (cv)
<i>ibonai</i>	‘all’ (adj)	<i>iruku</i>	‘food, meal’ (n)
<i>ibou</i>	cf. <i>ibonai</i>	<i>iruruka re-</i>	‘come/climb’ (cv)
<i>ibounai</i>	cf. <i>ibonai</i>	<i>isagoe-</i>	‘scratch’ (v)
<i>ibu re-</i>	‘spread out’ (cv)	<i>isaka</i>	‘crying’ (n)
<i>ida</i>	‘road/way’ (n)	<i>isefu</i>	‘away up over there’
<i>idana</i>	‘other’ (adj)		(loc)
<i>ide1</i>	‘no, not’ (neg)	<i>isena</i>	‘that (one) up over
<i>ide2</i>	‘inside, in’ (postp)		there’ (dem)
<i>idounai</i>	‘whole, all’ (adj)	<i>iseni</i>	‘up over there’ (loc)
<i>idu1</i>	‘but, yet’ (cnj)	<i>isira</i>	‘play’ (n)
<i>idu2</i>	‘flying fox sp.’ (n)	<i>isirema</i>	‘slippery’ (adj)
<i>idu3</i>	‘step’ (n)	<i>isiva re-</i>	‘husk (coconut)’ (cv)
<i>ifi re-</i>	‘rub, wipe’ (cv)	<i>isivaga</i>	‘powerful/ strength’
<i>ifona</i>	‘flooring, tree sp.’ (n)		(adj/n)
<i>ika</i>	‘summit, pillar’ (n)	<i>ita</i>	‘fire(wood)’ (n)
<i>iki mar-</i>	‘blame’ (cv)	<i>ito-</i>	‘come up’ (v)
<i>ikoko</i>	‘nail’ (n)	<i>itu</i>	‘cold’ (adj)
<i>ima1</i>	‘betel nut, areca	<i>itu moya re-</i>	‘suffer’ (cv)
	palm’ (n)	<i>itua</i>	‘moment’ (n)
<i>ima2</i>	‘bee sp.’ (n)	<i>iya1</i>	‘star’ (n)
<i>imaga</i>	‘poisonous vine sp.’	<i>iyaz</i>	‘war, fighting’ (n)
	(n)	<i>iyana re-</i>	‘move, crawl’ (cv)
<i>imi-1</i>	‘pierce, shoot’ (v)	<i>iye</i>	‘leaf/head hair’ (n)
<i>imi-2</i>	‘bend, dip’ (v)	<i>iyemu</i>	‘filthy’ (adj)
<i>imokai</i>	‘in-law’ (n)	<i>iyo re-</i>	‘disturb’ (cv)
<i>imu</i>	‘blossom’ (n)	<i>=ka</i>	‘also, too’ (cnj)
<i>imuna ni-</i>	‘shout’ (cv)	<i>ka-a ka-a ka-</i>	‘sulphur-crested
<i>ina</i>	‘he/she/it/they’ (pn)	<i>a</i>	cuckoo song’ (n)
<i>inaike</i>	‘him/her/itself/	<i>kabudo</i>	‘bubble, foam’ (n)
	themselves’ (pn)	<i>kadiri</i>	‘nut tree sp.’ (n)
<i>inauda</i>	‘all’ (adj)	<i>kae ni-</i>	‘shout’ (cv)
<i>indafeni</i>	‘independence’ (n)	<i>kaema</i>	‘sweet potato’ (n)

<i>kaere</i>	‘who(m)(ever)/ (one) who(m)’ (intrr/pn)	<i>kariot</i>	‘chariot’ (n)
<i>kaereka-</i>	‘peel (Tahitian chestnut)’ (v)	<i>karoa re-</i>	‘paddle’ (cv)
<i>kafe-</i>	‘extinguish’ (v)	<i>karu re-</i>	‘blossom’ (cv)
<i>kafena</i>	‘coconut shell’ (n)	<i>kasi</i>	‘old garden’ (n)
<i>kafita</i>	‘betel nut skin’ (n)	<i>kasire</i>	‘bush knife’ (n)
<i>kafosi</i>	‘cup’ (n)	<i>kato</i>	‘mashed steamed food’ (n)
<i>kafu</i>	‘gap/chance’ (n)	<i>kau</i>	‘cattle, cow’ (n)
<i>kai</i>	‘trousers’ (n)	<i>kaudoni</i>	‘down there’
<i>kaikai</i>	‘scorpion’ (n)	<i>kava</i>	‘not one/all’ (anj)
<i>kain</i>	cf. <i>kaini</i>	<i>kaya</i>	‘self, reflexive’ (pn)
<i>kaini</i>	‘already’ (adv)	<i>kayamo</i>	‘argument’ (n)
<i>kaira ni-</i>	‘be about to’ (cv)	<i>kayo re-</i>	‘scoop out’ (cv)
<i>kaireka</i>	‘season’ (n)	<i>keao</i>	‘stomach rumble’ (n)
<i>kaito</i>	‘starting’ (adv)	<i>kebere ni</i>	‘be bald’ (cv)
<i>kaiya</i>	‘knife’ (n)	<i>kebi ri-</i>	‘block’ (cv)
<i>kaka</i>	‘red/ripe’ (adj)	<i>kefe</i>	‘beside’ (postp)
<i>kakaita</i>	‘narrow’ (adj)	<i>kefo</i>	‘river bank’ (n)
<i>kakasiya re-</i>	‘scrape (food)’ (cv)	<i>kefomar-</i>	‘walk along riverbank’ (v)
<i>kake ni-</i>	‘adhere’ (cv)	<i>kefuka</i>	‘joint, hump’ (n)
<i>kake ri-</i>	‘stick/graft in’ (cv)	<i>keika</i>	‘little/little bit’ (adj/n)
<i>kako₁</i>	‘rough’ (adj)	<i>keke</i>	‘feathers (decoration)’ (n)
<i>kako₂</i>	‘expert’ (n)	<i>kekomuta</i>	‘disease’ (n)
<i>kakoro</i>	‘peeling’ (n)	<i>kenoka</i>	‘upset’ (adj)
<i>kama re-</i>	‘flicker, flash’ (cv)	<i>kerarai re-</i>	‘female eclectus parrot song and dance’ (cv)
<i>kamadaiforo</i>	‘colourful/ colourfulness’ (adj/n)	<i>kere ni-</i>	‘scream out’ (cv)
<i>kamelo</i>	‘camel’ (n)	<i>kerere</i>	‘trouble’ (n)
<i>kamfani</i>	‘company’ (n)	<i>keresimisi</i>	‘Christmas’ (n)
<i>kami</i>	cf. <i>kamini</i>	<i>keresin</i>	‘kerosene’ (n)
<i>kamini</i>	‘(and) then’ (cnj)	<i>keriya fui re-</i>	‘whirlwind’ (cv)
<i>kamu</i>	‘completely’ (adv)	<i>kero karo re-</i>	‘be very busy’ (cv)
<i>kana₁</i>	‘like, as’ (adj)	<i>kero re-</i>	‘turn, return’ (cv)
<i>kana₂</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)	<i>kete-</i>	‘depart, leave’ (v)
<i>kani</i>	‘mustard’ (n)	<i>keten</i>	‘curtain’ (n)
<i>kanisoro</i>	‘council(lor)’ (n)	<i>keto re-</i>	‘fall (people)’ (cv)
<i>kaoro</i>	‘bee sp.’ (n)	<i>ketoro</i>	‘kettle’ (n)
<i>kapenta</i>	‘carpenter’ (n)	<i>keu ri-</i>	‘ascend’ (cv)
<i>kaposi</i>	cf. <i>kafosi</i>	<i>keva</i>	‘liver’ (n)
<i>kara</i>	‘intently’ (adv)	<i>kevo</i>	‘bent’ (adj)
<i>karaga</i>	‘tent, shelter’ (n)	<i>kevo kavo</i>	‘crooked’ (adj)
<i>karai₁</i>	‘sulphur-crested cockatoo’ (n)	<i>ki</i>	‘key’ (n)
<i>karai₂</i>	‘coconut meat’ (n)	<i>ki-</i>	‘ringing ear’ (n)
<i>karamu</i>	‘crab’ (n)	<i>kibi</i>	‘conch shell’ (n)
<i>karasi</i>	‘classroom’ (n)	<i>kibobo</i>	‘narrow’ (adj)
<i>karaudi</i>	‘harpoon’ (n)	<i>kiki</i>	‘secret’ (n)
<i>kare</i>	‘taro’ (n)	<i>kiki re-₁</i>	‘kick’ (cv)
<i>kare amiye</i>	‘carrier’ (n)		

<i>kiki re-2</i>	‘give off smoke’ (cv)	<i>koima</i>	‘leech/small boy’ (n)
<i>kiki-1</i>	‘stare at’ (v)	<i>koina</i>	‘finish’ (neg)
<i>kiki-2</i>	‘shine/light fire’ (v)	<i>koiso</i>	‘season’ (n)
<i>kikifa</i>	‘honoured’ (adj)	<i>koite-</i>	‘wash, anoint’ (v)
<i>kikima</i>	‘grey-headed goshawk’ (n)	<i>koite kaite re-</i>	‘wash’ (cv)
<i>kiku</i>	‘immature (betel nut)’ (adj)	<i>koito</i>	‘ulcer’ (n)
<i>kima re-</i>	‘pinch’ (cv)	<i>koka re-</i>	‘shell, peel’ (cv)
<i>kimai</i>	‘hook’ (n)	<i>koke kake re-</i>	‘cut and bring’ (cv)
<i>kimisoena</i>	‘gnat’ (n)	<i>koke re-</i>	‘chop’ (cv)
<i>kimisona</i>	cf. <i>kimisoena</i>	<i>kokiya re-</i>	‘come out’ (cv)
<i>kimo</i>	‘carefully’ (adv)	<i>kokiya₁</i>	‘lizard’ (n)
<i>kini</i>	‘king’ (n)	<i>kokiya₂</i>	‘old’ (adj)
<i>kini biyoka</i>	‘gouge out’ (cv)	<i>kokoba</i>	‘chest’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>kokofu re-</i>	‘go astray’ (cv)
<i>kinifo akifo</i>	‘twinkle and blink’	<i>kokora</i>	‘mature’ (adj)
<i>re-</i>	(cv)	<i>kokora ni-</i>	‘greet’ (cv)
<i>kinifo re-</i>	‘twinkle’ (cv)	<i>kokoro</i>	‘chicken’ (n)
<i>kino</i>	‘dirty’ (adj)	<i>kokoro koo</i>	cf. <i>kokoroku</i>
<i>kiraini re-</i>	‘curse’ (cv)	<i>kokoroku</i>	‘cock-a-doodle-doo’ (n)
<i>kiri</i>	‘dry, mature’ (adj)	<i>kolonial</i>	‘colonial’ (adj)
<i>kiriniki</i>	‘clinic’ (n)	<i>kolseti</i>	‘pullover’ (n)
<i>kiro</i>	‘smoked’ (adj)	<i>koma</i>	‘comma’ (n)
<i>kiroi kiroi</i>	‘male eclectus parrot	<i>komare</i>	‘ginger sp.’ (n)
<i>kiroi</i>	song’ (n)	<i>komo</i>	‘palm tree sp.’ (n)
<i>kirokai-</i>	‘carry on shoulder’ (v)	<i>komposer</i>	‘composer’ (n)
<i>kisini</i>	‘kitchen’ (n)	<i>komunio</i>	‘communion’ (n)
<i>kita re-</i>	‘move’ (cv)	<i>kona</i>	‘corner’ (n)
<i>kiu ni-</i>	‘be secure’ (cv)	<i>konage</i>	‘stem’ (n)
<i>kivanivani re-</i>	‘skip’ (cv)	<i>kone</i>	‘coast’ (n)
<i>kiya</i>	‘slowly’ (adv)	<i>koni</i>	‘corn’ (n)
<i>kiyaka</i>	‘patiently’ (adv)	<i>kono</i>	‘ground, land’ (n)
<i>kiyoma</i>	‘fiery’ (adj)	<i>koo ni-</i>	‘crow’ (cv)
<i>koa</i>	‘immorality’ (n)	<i>kora re-</i>	‘begin, start’ (cv)
<i>kode</i>	‘later’ (neg)	<i>korai ni-</i>	‘talk a lot’ (cv)
<i>kodu</i>	‘stick’ (n)	<i>kore re-</i>	‘twist’ (cv)
<i>koe ni-</i>	‘oink, squeal’ (cv)	<i>kori</i>	‘old (things)’ (adj)
<i>koeka</i>	‘helmeted friarbird’ (n)	<i>korikari</i>	‘belonging’ (n)
<i>koere re-</i>	‘peel’ (cv)	<i>koro</i>	‘boundary’ (n)
<i>kofa</i>	‘copper’ (n)	<i>koroko ni-</i>	‘be X o’clock’ (cv)
<i>kofi₁</i>	‘coffee’ (n)	<i>koru</i>	‘water, liquid’ (n)
<i>kofi₂</i>	‘foreskin’ (n)	<i>koru gena</i>	‘gun, rifle’ (n)
<i>kofu</i>	‘kina shell’ (n)	<i>kosika re-</i>	‘be tired/ complain’ (cv)
<i>kohu</i>	‘property’ (n)	<i>kosini</i>	‘mother’ (n)
<i>koi</i>	‘tree sp, spirit place’ (n)	<i>kosu ni-</i>	‘cough’ (cv)
<i>koim</i>	cf. <i>koima</i>	<i>kota₁</i>	‘fence’ (n)
		<i>kota₂</i>	‘court’ (n)
		<i>kotana</i>	‘expert’ (adj)
		<i>koua re-</i>	‘stop up’ (cv)

<i>koure</i>	‘yam sp.’ (n)	<i>maka</i>	‘only, just’ (adj)
<i>koye re-</i>	‘fall back’ (cv)	<i>makai</i>	‘like this’ (adv)
<i>koyomu</i>	‘rat, mouse’ (n)	<i>maketi</i>	‘market’ (n)
<i>koyotu</i>	‘wild bush yam sp.’ (n)	<i>maku-</i>	‘throw’ (v)
<i>kua kua kua</i>	‘quack quack quack’ (n)	<i>malaria</i>	‘malaria’ (n)
<i>kuaita re-</i>	‘swing at/ lean against’ (cv)	<i>mama</i>	‘fully’ (adv)
<i>kuini</i>	‘queen’ (n)	<i>mamanu</i>	‘look out’ (n)
<i>kuiyori</i>	‘Papuan lorikeet song’ (n)	<i>mami</i>	‘tasty’ (adj)
<i>kuke ni-</i>	‘swallow’ (cv)	<i>mamo</i>	‘at once’ (cnj)
<i>kuki u-</i>	‘coil’ (cv)	<i>mamoe</i>	‘sheep’ (n)
<i>kuku</i>	‘tobacco’ (n)	<i>maniga</i>	‘cassava’ (n)
<i>kukune</i>	‘rubbish’ (n)	<i>manone</i>	‘ancestor’ (n)
<i>kumo</i>	‘and then’ (cnj)	<i>mar-</i>	‘give’ (v)
<i>kumu kamu</i>	‘wrap’ (cv)	<i>marada</i>	‘wild’ (adj)
<i>re-</i>		<i>marai ni-</i>	‘be blinded’ (cv)
<i>kumu ri-</i>	‘wrap, clench’ (cv)	<i>mari</i>	‘shield’ (n)
<i>kuni</i>	‘tiny, small’ (adj)	<i>mariada</i>	‘excitedly’ (adv)
<i>kuo ni-</i>	‘cheer loud’ (cv)	<i>maruka</i>	‘husband’ (n)
<i>kurakura</i>	‘a lot’ (adj)	<i>maruvo</i>	‘movie, video’ (n)
<i>kurevai re-</i>	‘roll’ (cv)	<i>masisi</i>	‘match, lighter’ (n)
<i>kuri</i>	‘neck’ (n)	<i>mastadi</i>	‘mustard’ (n)
<i>kuri re-</i>	‘have stiff neck’ (cv)	<i>matabudi</i>	‘turtle’ (n)
<i>kuru-</i>	‘uproot’ (v)	<i>matai re-</i>	‘glance’ (cv)
<i>kutu-</i>	‘strip off’ (cv)	<i>matamata</i>	‘young’ (adj)
<i>kutusi</i>	‘cartridge’ (n)	<i>matuka</i>	‘pride’ (n)
<i>kuuokauo</i>	‘mushroom sp.’ (n)	<i>maua</i>	‘box, suitcase’ (n)
<i>kuvokuvo re-</i>	‘tremble’ (cv)	<i>maunu ni-</i>	‘become jealous’ (cv)
<i>lagani</i>	‘year, age’ (n)	<i>mava</i>	‘coconut’ (n)
<i>laki</i>	‘luck, chance’ (n)	<i>me- ni-</i>	‘shoo dog’ (cv)
<i>lalonari</i>	‘during’ (postp)	<i>me-1</i>	‘harvest’ (v)
<i>Lohiabada</i>	‘Lord’ (n)	<i>me-2</i>	‘marry, wed’ (v)
<i>loli</i>	‘lolly, candy’ (n)	<i>me-3</i>	‘slide’ (v)
<i>ma</i>	‘and’ (cnj)	<i>meda</i>	‘sun/day’ (n)
<i>ma- ni-</i>	‘call (pig)’ (cv)	<i>medikoro</i>	‘medical orderly’ (n)
<i>mada</i>	‘certainly’ (intrj)	<i>megea</i>	‘shoulder’ (n)
<i>madini</i>	‘father, daddy’ (n)	<i>meide-</i>	‘put in’ (v)
<i>madiyaka</i>	‘fathers’ (n)	<i>meimi-</i>	‘bend’ (v)
<i>maduna</i>	‘load/stretchers’ (n)	<i>meino</i>	‘peace’ (n)
<i>maena1</i>	‘shame’ (n)	<i>meki re-</i>	‘chase away’ (cv)
<i>maena2</i>	‘vine, rope’ (n)	<i>meko</i>	‘round object, fruit’ (n)
<i>magoro</i>	‘mangrove’ (n)	<i>mekuna</i>	‘round’ (adj)
<i>magu</i>	‘animal home’ (n)	<i>meraini</i>	‘cousin’ (n)
<i>mai ke</i>	‘far (away)’ (adj)	<i>meraiyaka</i>	‘cousins’ (n)
<i>maina</i>	‘looking for’ (n)	<i>mere</i>	‘mail’ (n)
<i>maitoka</i>	‘four days removed’ (n)	<i>mereki</i>	‘dish, plate’ (n)
		<i>mereni</i>	‘melon’ (n)
		<i>meri-</i>	‘put inside’ (v)
		<i>metolo</i>	‘metal’ (n)
		<i>mi-</i>	‘tie’ (v)

<i>mibi</i>	‘this/that is’ (dem)	<i>moi isi-</i>	‘blow up’ (cv)
<i>mibiko</i>	‘right away’ (adv)	<i>moi kekevaita</i>	‘reject’ (cv)
<i>mida</i>	‘child, son’ (n)	<i>u-</i>	
<i>midu</i>	‘over here’ (loc)	<i>moi kekevata</i>	‘destroy, ruin’ (cv)
<i>migigi ri-</i>	‘pack’ (cv)	<i>u-</i>	
<i>min</i>	cf. <i>mini</i>	<i>moi kero re-</i>	‘turn’ (cv)
<i>mina</i>	‘this (one)’ (dem)	<i>moi kinikaka</i>	‘open wide’ (cv)
<i>mina dada</i>	‘therefore’ (cnj)	<i>ri-</i>	
<i>mina resi</i>	‘therefore’ (cnj)	<i>moi negau ri-</i>	‘reveal/reprove’ (SVC)
<i>mini</i>	‘here’ (loc)	<i>moi nomu ri-</i>	‘flatten/settle’ (SVC)
<i>mirodu</i>	‘over there’ (loc)	<i>moi seko</i>	‘tremble’ (cv)
<i>miron</i>	cf. <i>mironi</i>	<i>sako re-</i>	
<i>mirona</i>	‘that (one)’ (dem)	<i>moi soroka</i>	‘capsize’ (cv)
<i>mironi</i>	‘there’ (loc)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>miruka</i>	‘milk’ (n)	<i>moi tagaga</i>	‘move’ (cv)
<i>misika ni-</i>	‘clicking sound’ (cv)	<i>ri-</i>	
<i>misin</i>	‘machine’ (n)	<i>moi tae re-</i>	‘stop’ (cv)
<i>misina</i>	‘pumpkin’ (n)	<i>moi tai re-</i>	‘brush aside’ (cv)
<i>misinari</i>	‘missionary’ (n)	<i>moi terau-</i>	‘smash’ (cv)
<i>misiri masiri</i>	‘itty bitty fish’ (n)	<i>moi ufara re-</i>	‘smash, grind’ (cv)
<i>mista</i>	‘mister’ (n)	<i>moi uturimo</i>	‘unravel’ (cv)
<i>mitin</i>	cf. <i>mitini</i>	<i>re-</i>	
<i>mitini</i>	‘meeting’ (n)	<i>moi vataru</i>	‘place’ (cv)
<i>miya</i>	‘rain’ (n)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>miya aura re-</i>	‘storm’ (cv)	<i>moi vava ri-</i>	‘warm’ (cv)
<i>miya itu dou</i>	‘be stormy’ (cv)	<i>moimai</i>	‘work’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>moka</i>	‘deep, pool’ (n)
<i>mo</i>	cf. <i>mamo</i>	<i>moke-</i>	‘think’ (v)
<i>moda</i>	‘bandicoot’ (n)	<i>mokei dari-</i>	‘repent/despise’ (SVC)
<i>mofa</i>	‘sweat’ (n)	<i>moko</i>	‘spirit’ (n)
<i>moi-</i>	‘get, take, D.CAUS’ (v)	<i>mona</i>	‘properly’ (adv)
<i>moi afu re-</i>	‘calm/break down’ (SVC)	<i>moni</i>	‘money’ (n)
<i>moi boka re-</i>	‘open wide’ (cv)	<i>monogo</i>	‘dwarf, ghost’ (n)
<i>moi erika re-</i>	‘pull out’ (cv)	<i>mosara</i>	‘sweet potato’ (n)
<i>moi eruaka</i>	‘renew’ (cv)	<i>motona</i>	‘bottom of garden’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>motumotu</i>	‘island’ (n)
<i>moi evaivo</i>	‘invert’ (cv)	<i>moude-</i>	‘swallow’ (v)
<i>ri-</i>		<i>moya</i>	‘craving, thirst’ (n)
<i>moi evegu re-</i>	‘enliven’ (cv)	<i>mudiye</i>	‘taro sp.’ (n)
<i>moi faga ri-</i>	‘separate’ (cv)	<i>muko</i>	‘handkerchief’ (n)
<i>moi faraka</i>	‘sprinkle’ (cv)	<i>mukuna</i>	‘dark(ness)’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>muma re-</i>	‘gum’ (cv)
<i>moi feyara ri-</i>	‘flatten’ (cv)	<i>mumugu</i>	‘whisper’ (n)
<i>moi fudi re-</i>	‘slip through’ (cv)	<i>mumuna</i>	‘peeling skin’ (n)
<i>moi fui re-</i>	‘mix, mash’ (cv)	<i>munaro</i>	‘this way’ (postp)
<i>moi gigi ri-</i>	‘hold tightly’ (cv)	<i>muramura</i>	‘medicine’ (n)
<i>moi gira kiki</i>	‘hold onto	<i>muro</i>	‘garden, field’ (n)
<i>re-</i>	tenaciously’ (cv)		

<i>murono</i>	'lazy' (adj)	<i>ni-</i>	
<i>musa</i>	'meat' (n)	<i>nema ni-</i>	'calm (down)' (cv)
<i>muta</i>	cf. <i>mutaka</i>	<i>nemoko</i>	'eyeball' (n)
<i>mutaka re-</i>	'chew' (cv)	<i>nemona</i>	'mosquito' (n)
<i>mutu ri-</i>	'rub, squeeze' (cv)	<i>nenā</i>	'bone' (n)
<i>muye-</i>	'die, perish' (v)	<i>neureka</i>	'three days removed' (n)
<i>muye</i>	'faint' (cv)	<i>ni-</i>	'say/become' (v)
<i>tamatama re-</i>		<i>niakeke re-</i>	'command' (cv)
<i>na</i>	'I, me' (pn)	<i>niau niau</i>	'meow meow meow' (n)
<i>naba</i>	'number' (n)	<i>niau</i>	
<i>nabore</i>	'brother/sister-in-law' (n)	<i>nibesemo re-</i>	'rebuke' (cv)
<i>nadina</i>	'cassowary' (n)	<i>nibesena re-</i>	'scold' (cv)
<i>naguma</i>	'fly' (n)	<i>nibesenai</i>	'rebuke' (n)
<i>nai</i>	'my, mine' (pn)	<i>nibunī re-</i>	'praise' (cv)
<i>naike</i>	'(by) myself' (pn)	<i>nidada re-</i>	'protect' (cv)
<i>naini</i>	'nine' (adj)	<i>nidiba re-</i>	'warn, advise' (cv)
<i>naivo</i>	'help, service' (n)	<i>nidoba re-</i>	'talk for long time' (cv)
<i>nakimi</i>	'in-law' (n)	<i>nidodi re-</i>	'discuss' (cv)
<i>namo</i>	'banana sp.' (n)	<i>niduri re-</i>	'persist' (cv)
<i>nana</i>	'itchy' (adj)	<i>niduru</i>	'needle' (n)
<i>nana di</i>	'walk' (cv)	<i>niedadi-</i>	'wake up' (v)
<i>nana re-</i>	'walk' (cv)	<i>niegira</i>	'encouragement' (n)
<i>nanigose</i>	'nanny goat' (n)	<i>niegogo re-</i>	'call together' (cv)
<i>rema</i>		<i>niekure re-</i>	'give away' (cv)
<i>nanigouti</i>	'goat' (n)	<i>nierau re-</i>	'reproach' (cv)
<i>nao</i>	'forehead' (n)	<i>niete ri-</i>	'slander' (cv)
<i>nari</i>	cf. <i>nari.re-</i>	<i>nifafana re-</i>	'criticise' (cv)
<i>nari gira re-</i>	'watch out for' (cv)	<i>nifeide-</i>	'send, release' (v)
<i>nari re-</i>	'wait' (cv)	<i>nifufuta re-</i>	'speak ill of' (cv)
<i>nausi</i>	'along with me' (pn)	<i>niga</i>	'black (skin)' (adj)
<i>ne</i>	'eye, sight' (n)	<i>nigira re-</i>	'defend/ encourage' (cv)
<i>ne agu ri-</i>	'look down' (cv)	<i>niguba re-</i>	'urge, beg' (cv)
<i>ne basu ni-</i>	'be bug-eyed' (cv)	<i>nigugume re-</i>	'thunderclap' (cv)
<i>ne osiosi re-</i>	'be cheeky' (cv)	<i>niguyaguya</i>	'plead, beg' (cv)
<i>ne ota re-</i>	'feel sleepy' (cv)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>ne re-</i>	'look, see' (cv)	<i>ni-ika re-</i>	'boast' (cv)
<i>ne taufa ni-</i>	'be blind' (cv)	<i>ni-itara re-</i>	'explain' (cv)
<i>ne-1</i>	'go (down)' (v)	<i>nikabai re-</i>	'answer' (cv)
<i>ne-2</i>	'look' (v)	<i>nikaite-</i>	'ask, question' (v)
<i>nefau</i>	'in front' (postp)	<i>nikaka re-</i>	'command' (cv)
<i>nega</i>	'clear' (adj)	<i>nikake re-</i>	'claim, take' (cv)
<i>neganai</i>	'during' (postp)	<i>nikau</i>	'engage' (n)
<i>negau</i>	'near' (postp)	<i>nikava re-</i>	'refuse' (cv)
<i>negiyagiya</i>	'proudful' (adj)	<i>nikayamo re-</i>	'debate' (cv)
<i>neide-</i>	'hear, obey' (v)	<i>nikiraini re-</i>	'curse, insult' (cv)
<i>neinei</i>	'each (one)' (adj)	<i>nikito nakito</i>	'last planting (cv)'
<i>neitua</i>	'little/short while' (postp)	<i>vare-</i>	
<i>nema dabu</i>	'empty' (cv)		

<i>nikoru re-</i>	‘speak flowery’ (cv)	<i>noga</i>	‘awake’ (adv)
<i>nikura re-</i>	‘dig, root out’ (cv)	<i>noibanu</i>	‘whole, all’ (adj)
<i>nikuru-</i>	‘mock’ (v)	<i>nokai</i>	‘mothers’ (n)
<i>nimar-</i>	‘commend’ (v)	<i>nokaru</i>	‘on another day’ (n)
<i>nimati-</i>	‘convince’ (v)	<i>nokoi</i>	‘(an)other’ (adj)
<i>nimatimati</i>	‘venerate’ (cv)	<i>nomu</i>	‘plain, flatland’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>nono</i>	‘mother, aunt’ (n)
<i>nimeki re-</i>	‘cast out’ (cv)	<i>notoka</i>	‘alone’ (adj)
<i>nimumugu</i>	‘grumble’ (cv)	<i>nufa</i>	‘with’ (postp)
<i>re-</i>		<i>nugar-</i>	‘cut, chop’ (v)
<i>nimumui re-</i>	‘giggle’ (cv)	<i>nui</i>	‘nest, sty’ (n)
<i>nimunimu</i>	‘mist, steam’ (n)	<i>numa</i>	‘bee, wasp.’ (n)
<i>ninegau re-</i>	‘witness’ (cv)	<i>nunu ri-</i>	‘hide, jump’ (cv)
<i>nineu re-</i>	‘advise’ (cv)	<i>nuri fisina</i>	‘bird sp.’ (n)
<i>ninika ni-</i>	‘laugh at’ (cv)	<i>nyae</i>	‘mosquito buzz’ (n)
<i>nino re-</i>	‘swear, curse’ (cv)	<i>nyai</i>	‘cricket chirp’ (n)
<i>niodoro re-</i>	‘exalt, praise’ (cv)	<i>o1</i>	‘or’ (cnj)
<i>niogau re-</i>	‘confess’ (cv)	<i>o2</i>	‘oh’ (intrj)
<i>nioku-</i>	‘testify’ (v)	<i>oa re-</i>	cf. <i>ova.re-</i>
<i>nioteimar-</i>	‘teach, tell’ (v)	<i>oada</i>	‘excitedly’ (adv)
<i>nirabe-</i>	‘credit’ (v)	<i>oama1</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)
<i>nirausi re-</i>	‘proclaim’ (cv)	<i>oama2</i>	‘right’ (n)
<i>niriu re-</i>	‘speak incessantly’ (cv)	<i>obini</i>	‘payback’ (n)
<i>nirorotari re-</i>	‘plan/ reprove’ (cv)	<i>obu</i>	‘widow’ (n)
<i>nirutu re-</i>	‘pull together’ (cv)	<i>ode-</i>	‘break, bend’ (v)
<i>nis</i>	‘put arm around’ (v)	<i>odema</i>	‘old garden’ (n)
<i>nisebi re-</i>	‘talk around’ (cv)	<i>odi-</i>	‘give birth’ (v)
<i>nisegesege</i>	‘agitate’ (cv)	<i>odima</i>	‘wife’ (n)
<i>re-</i>		<i>odoro</i>	‘above, on’ (postp)
<i>nisui re-</i>	‘deny’ (cv)	<i>odu</i>	‘eclectus parrot’ (n)
<i>nitetebi</i>	‘euphemism’ (n)	<i>oe</i>	‘hey, yes’ (intrj)
<i>nitona ni-</i>	‘raise voice’ (cv)	<i>oela</i>	cf. <i>oira</i>
<i>nitore re-</i>	‘promise’ (cv)	<i>ofa</i>	‘lie, falsehood’ (n)
<i>nitourage re-</i>	‘blame’ (cv)	<i>ofesi</i>	‘office’ (n)
<i>nitugi re-</i>	‘fix, establish’ (cv)	<i>ofi</i>	‘young woman/girl’ (n)
<i>nivabara re-</i>	‘emphasise’ (cv)	<i>ofu tuu ni-</i>	‘rumble (thunder)’ (cv)
<i>nivabi re-</i>	‘mention’ (cv)	<i>ogatu</i>	‘bird sp.’ (n)
<i>nivai-</i>	‘rebuke’ (v)	<i>ogatu ni-</i>	‘keep still’ (cv)
<i>nivai re-</i>	‘fill up/correct’ (cv)	<i>ogau ni-</i>	‘appear’ (cv)
<i>nivaigar-</i>	‘compose’ (v)	<i>oibanu</i>	cf. <i>noibanu</i>
<i>nivake-</i>	‘worship’ (v)	<i>oira</i>	‘oil’ (n)
<i>nivana re-</i>	‘support’ (cv)	<i>oketa</i>	‘Tahitian chestnut’ (n)
<i>nivarika</i>	‘swear’ (n)	<i>oki-</i>	‘arrive’ (v)
<i>nivasina re-</i>	‘boast’ (cv)	<i>okid</i>	‘orchid’ (n)
<i>nivauna re-</i>	‘venerate’ (cv)	<i>oku-</i>	‘break (open)’ (v)
<i>nivava re-</i>	‘honour’ (cv)	<i>oma</i>	‘sky’ (n)
<i>nive-</i>	‘test, ask’ (v)	<i>omar-</i>	‘invite’ (v)
<i>niyoku-</i>	‘proclaim’ (v)		
<i>no</i>	‘bad/evil’ (adj/n)		

<i>omuna</i>	'mountain' (n)	<i>radiyaka</i>	'in-laws' (n)
<i>ono</i>	'breadfruit' (n)	<i>raeni</i>	'line' (n)
<i>ora</i>	'spear, arrow' (n)	<i>rafe-</i>	'wash, swim' (v)
<i>ore</i>	'sorcery' (n)	<i>rafo</i>	'flat, wide' (adj)
<i>orefar-</i>	'pass over' (v)	<i>rafu</i>	'fellowship' (n)
<i>ori</i>	'fear' (n)	<i>raga</i>	'running' (n)
<i>ori-</i>	'burn, light' (v)	<i>raisi</i>	'rice' (n)
<i>ori di-</i>	'flee' (cv)	<i>raka ni-</i>	'call, shout' (cv)
<i>ori kamu re-</i>	'burn completely' (cv)	<i>raku</i>	'scabies' (n)
<i>ori yoba re-</i>	'half cook' (cv)	<i>rama ni-</i>	'speak correctly/ be fulfilled' (cv)
<i>origima</i>	'nail' (n)	<i>rama₁</i>	'fruit' (n)
<i>oro</i>	'flying fox' (n)	<i>rama₂</i>	'right, true' (adj)
<i>orobosi</i>	'cane basket' (n)	<i>ramefa</i>	'lamp, light' (n)
<i>ororo</i>	'do quickly' (adv)	<i>ramena</i>	'salt' (n)
<i>orova</i>	'immature' (adj)	<i>ramuro</i>	'bird of paradise' (n)
<i>oru</i>	'toilet' (n)	<i>raraga₁</i>	'bush' (n)
<i>oruma</i>	'grass, weed' (n)	<i>raraga₂</i>	'fellow' (n)
<i>ota</i>	'earth oven' (n)	<i>rarama</i>	'clearing' (n)
<i>ota ri-</i>	'escort' (cv)	<i>rarava</i>	'cliff' (n)
<i>oteimar-</i>	'tell, show' (v)	<i>raro</i>	'line' (n)
<i>oto</i>	'walking around' (n)	<i>raroko</i>	'finger' (n)
<i>otuka</i>	'backyard, toilet' (n)	<i>rasini</i>	'sister, aunt' (n)
<i>oukaka</i>	'plant sp.' (n)	<i>rasiyaka</i>	'sisters, aunts' (n)
<i>oure-</i>	'be first/eldest/older' (v)	<i>rasta</i>	'rusted' (adj)
<i>ourefeide-</i>	'lead' (v)	<i>rata</i>	'stem, blade' (n)
<i>ova re-</i>	'swim' (cv)	<i>rau</i>	'share' (n)
<i>oyena</i>	'fish' (n)	<i>rau ri-</i>	'overshadow' (cv)
<i>oyevani</i>	'fish (pl.)' (n)	<i>raudai re-</i>	'lie down' (cv)
<i>oyo re-</i>	'fast, restrict' (cv)	<i>raufa</i>	'tobacco' (n)
<i>pati re-</i>	'party' (cv)	<i>rauna</i>	'hunger' (n)
<i>pausi</i>	'purse, bag' (n)	<i>rausi re-</i>	'pour, spill' (cv)
<i>pensol</i>	'pencil' (n)	<i>rautu</i>	'village, home' (n)
<i>peroveta</i>	'prophet' (n)	<i>rava</i>	'clearing, field' (n)
<i>piksa</i>	'picture' (n)	<i>ravau</i>	'in clearing' (n)
<i>pilisi</i>	'please' (interj)	<i>ravegeragera</i>	'dangerous' (adj)
<i>plis</i>	cf. <i>pilisi</i>	<i>re-</i>	'do' (v)
<i>pou ni-</i>	'explode' (cv)	<i>radio</i>	'radio' (n)
<i>pune</i>	'dove' (n)	<i>refei</i>	'lazy' (adj)
<i>purisi</i>	cf. <i>furisi</i>	<i>regode</i>	cf. <i>regodenu</i>
<i>puse</i>	cf. <i>fuse</i>	<i>regodenu</i>	'three' (adj)
<i>pusi</i>	cf. <i>fosi</i>	<i>rei negi re-</i>	'move away' (SVC)
<i>pusikasi</i>	'cat' (n)	<i>reiro</i>	'red ant/rice' (n)
<i>raba</i>	'rubber tree/ eraser' (n)	<i>reke</i>	'fishing net' (n)
<i>rabiya</i>	'sago tree sp.' (n)	<i>reki re-</i>	'move over' (cv)
<i>rabo</i>	'sword grass' (n)	<i>rema</i>	'woman' (n)
<i>rabo rava</i>	'grassland' (n)	<i>remanu</i>	'two' (adj)
<i>radini</i>	'in-law' (n)	<i>reremama</i>	'deed, work' (n)
		<i>rerevaida ni-</i>	'be scattered' (cv)
		<i>reto</i>	'right' (adj)

<i>=ri</i>	‘at, in, on’ (postp)	<i>ruru-</i>	‘go/climb over’ (v)
<i>ri-</i>	‘make, build’ (v)	<i>ruru fiso</i>	‘take shortcut’ (cv)
<i>rigirigi</i>	‘furry, hairy’ (adj)	<i>rutu</i>	‘pulling’ (n)
<i>rini</i>	‘ring’ (n)	<i>ruvena</i>	‘burning firewood’ (n)
<i>rini re-</i>	‘ring’ (cv)	<i>=sa</i>	‘with’ (postp)
<i>ririmo re-</i>	‘shatter’ (cv)	<i>sabati</i>	‘Sabbath’ (n)
<i>riru</i>	‘tree sp.’ (n)	<i>sabedo</i>	‘old’ (adj)
<i>ritika re-</i>	‘move over’ (cv)	<i>safi</i>	‘tasty/nice’ (adj)
<i>riuna</i>	‘swelling’ (n)	<i>saka</i>	‘do slowly’ (adv)
<i>rivai re-</i>	‘be overcome’ (cv)	<i>sako</i>	‘bag, sack’ (n)
<i>rivo</i>	‘abdomen’ (n)	<i>sakua</i>	‘lie, falsehood’ (n)
<i>ro</i>	cf. <i>rofu</i>	<i>samani</i>	‘opponent’ (n)
<i>ro</i>	‘skin’ (n)	<i>samuna</i>	‘banana sp.’ (n)
<i>roada</i>	‘both’ (adj)	<i>sana</i>	‘place’ (n)
<i>roafa</i>	‘black-billed brush- turkey’ (n)	<i>sani</i>	cf. <i>sanika</i>
<i>roaita</i>	cf. <i>rovaita</i>	<i>sanika</i>	‘rubbish’ (n)
<i>roena</i>	‘alone, only’ (adj)	<i>sara</i>	‘naked, nude’ (adj)
<i>rofu</i>	‘for, at, to, from/so that’ (postp/cnj)	<i>sasa₁</i>	‘breeze’ (n)
<i>roge</i>	‘loose’ (adj)	<i>sasa₂</i>	‘saucer’ (n)
<i>roho re-</i>	‘fly, jump’ (cv)	<i>satauro</i>	‘cross’ (n)
<i>roka₁</i>	‘name(sake)’ (n)	<i>sau</i>	‘odour/highlander’ (n)
<i>roka₂</i>	‘net bag handle’ (n)	<i>saufa</i>	‘tree kangaroo’ (n)
<i>roki re-</i>	‘break (apart)’ (cv)	<i>sedi</i>	‘shirt’ (n)
<i>roko</i>	‘dry, arid’ (adj)	<i>sei₁</i>	‘God, god’ (n)
<i>roku</i>	‘pawpaw’ (n)	<i>sei₂</i>	‘bright, hot’ (adj)
<i>roku re-</i>	‘migrate’ (cv)	<i>seini</i>	‘chain’ (n)
<i>rome</i>	‘tall and slim’ (adj)	<i>seisei</i>	‘payback’ (n)
<i>romoga</i>	‘tall and slim’ (adj)	<i>seke re-</i>	‘check’ (cv)
<i>roro ni-</i>	‘disappear’ (cv)	<i>sena</i>	cf. <i>senagi</i>
<i>roro re-</i>	‘finish’ (cv)	<i>senagi</i>	‘already’ (n)
<i>roroa</i>	‘area, domain’ (n)	<i>senesi</i>	‘change’ (n)
<i>rorobo</i>	‘straight’ (adj)	<i>serafu ni-</i>	‘tell to be quiet’ (cv)
<i>roto ri-</i>	‘extend’ (cv)	<i>seri₁</i>	‘shore’ (n)
<i>rou ri-</i>	‘alight, perch’ (cv)	<i>seri₂</i>	‘basket’ (n)
<i>rovaita</i>	‘body’ (n)	<i>sero re-</i>	‘sell’ (cv)
<i>ru</i>	‘bitter’ (adj)	<i>serti</i>	‘shirt’ (n)
<i>ru-1</i>	‘collect/remove’ (v)	<i>seru re-</i>	‘befriend/settle’ (cv)
<i>ru-2</i>	‘serve (food)’ (v)	<i>sesere</i>	‘chant, spell’ (n)
<i>rua</i>	cf. <i>ruaka</i>	<i>seuya</i>	‘cloud, mist’ (n)
<i>ruaka</i>	‘new, young’ (adj)	<i>seuya fati</i>	‘fog (in)’ (cv)
<i>ruana</i>	‘young’ (adj)	<i>fono re-</i>	
<i>ruba</i>	‘hole, pit’ (n)	<i>seven</i>	‘seven’ (adj)
<i>rubu</i>	‘clan’ (n)	<i>sevi</i>	‘razor’ (n)
<i>ruda</i>	‘fight’ (n)	<i>siau</i>	‘power’ (n)
<i>ruika</i>	‘(right) now’ (n)	<i>sibo</i>	‘bushman’ (n)
<i>ruma-</i>	‘help’ (v)	<i>siboroka re-</i>	‘disturb’ (cv)
<i>rumana</i>	‘man, male’ (n)	<i>sifeidi</i>	‘spade, shovel’ (n)
<i>ruru</i>	‘divination’ (n)	<i>sifuni</i>	‘spoon’ (n)

<i>sigeres</i>	‘singlet’ (n)	<i>sosogi</i>	‘black palm spear’ (n)
<i>sigobara re-</i>	‘wander’ (cv)	<i>sss-</i>	‘snake sound’ (n)
<i>sika ri-</i>	‘take apart’ (cv)	<i>stoa</i>	‘store’ (n)
<i>sikisi</i>	‘six’ (adj)	<i>suampa</i>	‘swamp’ (n)
<i>siko₁</i>	‘first’ (adj)	<i>sueka</i>	‘dwarf koel’ (n)
<i>siko₂</i>	‘daring’ (n)	<i>sufa</i>	‘bush, forest’ (n)
<i>sikoma</i>	‘comb’ (n)	<i>sufagi</i>	‘fruit tree sp.’ (n)
<i>sikori re-</i>	‘destroy’ (cv)	<i>suga</i>	‘sugar’ (n)
<i>sikuru</i>	‘school’ (n)	<i>sui</i>	‘private’ (n)
<i>simenesi</i>	‘cement’ (n)	<i>suma</i>	‘bush’ (n)
<i>siment</i>	cf. <i>simenesi</i>	<i>susu</i>	‘breast, milk’ (n)
<i>simorohaus</i>	‘toilet’ (n)	<i>taba</i>	‘settled, still’ (adv)
<i>sina</i>	‘story, news’ (n)	<i>tabe re-</i>	‘be unsteady’ (cv)
<i>sinou</i>	‘snow’ (n)	<i>tabu</i>	‘prohibited’ (adj)
<i>sioni</i>	‘Caucasian’ (n)	<i>tae ri-</i>	cf. <i>taga.ri-</i>
<i>sipanisi</i>	‘sponge’ (n)	<i>tafa₁</i>	‘bush’ (n)
<i>sire ni-</i>	‘begin to ripen’ (cv)	<i>tafa₂</i>	‘hardly’ (adv)
<i>sireita</i>	‘sheet’ (n)	<i>tafo re-</i>	‘spill, slosh’ (cv)
<i>siri re-</i>	‘betray’ (cv)	<i>taga ri-</i>	‘clear, depart’ (cv)
<i>siri₁</i>	‘river branch’ (n)	<i>tagi mar-</i>	‘bang into’ (cv)
<i>siri₂</i>	‘part’ (n)	<i>taimi</i>	‘time’
<i>siriva</i>	‘silver’ (n)	<i>taina</i>	‘longer’ (adv)
<i>siroko re-</i>	‘hang limp’ (cv)	<i>takesi</i>	‘tax(es)’ (n)
<i>sisasi</i>	‘scissors’ (n)	<i>taku re-</i>	‘eat hungrily’ (cv)
<i>sisiba</i>	‘advice’ (n)	<i>tamai</i>	‘speechless’ (adj)
<i>sisifura</i>	‘itsy bitsy trees’ (n)	<i>tamaka</i>	‘shoe’ (n)
<i>sasifura</i>		<i>tamuta re-</i>	‘chew’ (cv)
<i>sisika</i>	‘smell, scent’ (n)	<i>tanikiu ni-</i>	‘say thank you’ (cv)
<i>sisina</i>	‘story, legend’ (n)	<i>tanini re-</i>	‘grow large’ (cv)
<i>sisivo ni-</i>	‘lose voice/dry up’ (cv)	<i>tanobada</i>	‘world’ (n)
<i>sitori</i>	‘story’ (n)	<i>tanu mar-</i>	‘fill up’ (cv)
<i>siu re-</i>	‘steam/extinguish’ (cv)	<i>tanu re-</i>	‘fill, add’ (cv)
<i>siusau</i>	‘vehicle noise’ (n)	<i>taoni</i>	‘town, city’ (n)
<i>sivarai</i>	‘story’ (n)	<i>taotao</i>	‘tired, dull’ (adj)
<i>sivon</i>	cf. <i>sioni</i>	<i>taraka</i>	‘vehicle, car’ (n)
<i>sivoni</i>	cf. <i>sioni</i>	<i>taravata</i>	‘law’ (n)
<i>sofuka</i>	‘nape’ (n)	<i>tare-</i>	‘dry/shrivel up’ (v)
<i>sogona</i>	‘possessions’ (n)	<i>tarivai re-</i>	‘steam, cook’ (cv)
<i>soka re-</i>	‘arrive’ (cv)	<i>tata</i>	‘each’ (adj)
<i>sokau re-</i>	‘jump’ (cv)	<i>tatava ni-</i>	‘pass away’ (cv)
<i>soku</i>	‘hole, valley’ (n)	<i>tau</i>	‘many/all’ (adj/n)
<i>soku ni-</i>	‘have dimple’ (cv)	<i>tauga</i>	‘banana’ (n)
<i>soku saku</i>	‘pothole’ (n)	<i>tausini</i>	‘thousand’ (adj)
<i>solar</i>	‘sun’ (n)	<i>tautore re-</i>	‘betray’ (cv)
<i>some di-</i>	‘go hunting’ (cv)	<i>tauwera</i>	‘towel’ (n)
<i>sori₁</i>	‘humanlike spirit’ (n)	<i>tavara</i>	‘greens’ (n)
<i>sori₂</i>	‘sorrow’ (n)	<i>tave ni-</i>	‘cheer’ (cv)
<i>soroni</i>	‘over there’ (loc)	<i>tavoi</i>	‘(in) vain/ ordinary’ (adv/adj)

<i>tebu re-</i>	‘jump, bounce’ (cv)	<i>tuga imi-</i>	‘feel, sense’ (cv)
<i>teiboro</i>	‘table’ (n)	<i>tui ni-</i>	‘flying fox sound’ (cv)
<i>tekeretekere</i>	‘willie wagtail’ (n)	<i>tuka re-1</i>	‘shake hand’ (cv)
<i>teki re-</i>	‘be very hot/ squish’ (cv)	<i>tuka re-2</i>	‘suck’ (cv)
<i>teki taki</i>	‘rustling of trees’ (n)	<i>tukanabu</i>	‘witchcraft’ (n)
<i>ten</i>	‘ten’ (adj)	<i>tuma</i>	‘wild’ (adj)
<i>teteka</i>	‘branch/pretty girl’ (n)	<i>tumu</i>	‘short, little’ (adj)
<i>tetevai re-</i>	‘divide up’ (cv)	<i>tumuda re-</i>	‘squat down’ (cv)
<i>ti</i>	‘tea’ (n)	<i>turiya re-</i>	‘sew’ (cv)
<i>tini</i>	‘tine, cymbal’ (n)	<i>turu re-</i>	cf. <i>tuturu.re</i>
<i>tinifisi</i>	‘tin fish’ (n)	<i>tururu re-</i>	‘tremble’ (cv)
<i>titi</i>	‘epicanthic fold’ (adj)	<i>tutubena</i>	‘ancestor, descendant’ (n)
<i>titiya</i>	‘teacher’ (n)	<i>tutumu-</i>	‘disappear’ (v)
<i>to</i>	‘but’ (cnj)	<i>tuu ni-</i>	‘thunder clap’ (cv)
<i>tobaini</i>	‘sibling, sister’ (n)	<i>tuuri</i>	‘hair end’ (n)
<i>tobaiyaka</i>	‘siblings’ (n)	=u	‘by, with’ (postp)
<i>tobiye</i>	‘frog’ (n)	u-	‘hit/fetch/play, blow’ (v)
<i>tobo</i>	‘middle, mid’ (n)	<i>ua ua ua</i>	‘bird of paradise song’ (n)
<i>toe</i>	‘heavy’ (adj)	<i>uai re-</i>	‘suicide/hang’ (cv)
<i>toga1</i>	‘always’ (adv)	<i>uakai-</i>	‘carry, take’ (v)
<i>toga2</i>	‘ridge beam’ (n)	<i>uauga fani</i>	‘angel’ (n)
<i>toime-</i>	‘drip’ (v)	<i>uba</i>	‘both’ (adj)
<i>toke re-</i>	‘make noise’ (cv)	<i>ubaba re-</i>	‘tear open’ (cv)
<i>toke take</i>	‘trees crashing down’ (n)	<i>ubaki re-</i>	‘separate, rip’ (cv)
<i>tomata</i>	‘tomato sp.’ (n)	<i>ubama</i>	‘son, nephew’ (n)
<i>tomatoma re-</i>	‘panic’ (cv)	<i>uboma</i>	‘upper back’ (n)
<i>tomu ni-</i>	‘drown (cv)	<i>ubua re-</i>	‘feed (dog)’ (cv)
<i>tora</i>	‘big/elder/very’ (adj/n/adv)	<i>uda</i>	‘all’ (adj)
<i>tore re-</i>	‘reserve’ (cv)	<i>udiko re-</i>	‘tolerate’ (cv)
<i>toru ni-</i>	‘(dog) bark’ (cv)	<i>udo</i>	‘ash/flour’ (n)
<i>torufuka re-</i>	‘release’ (cv)	<i>udodu</i>	‘down there’ (loc)
<i>tosi</i>	‘torch’ (n)	<i>udoni</i>	‘down there’ (loc)
<i>toto</i>	‘forget, ignore’ (v)	<i>udu</i>	‘greed’ (n)
<i>toto re-</i>	‘imitate’ (cv)	<i>uesi re-</i>	‘rip’ (cv)
<i>totona</i>	‘for’ (postp)	<i>ueta</i>	‘body hair, fur’ (n)
<i>tourage re-</i>	‘accuse’ (cv)	<i>ufate-</i>	‘penetrate’ (v)
<i>toutou</i>	‘tradition’ (n)	<i>ufeya re-</i>	‘take apart’ (cv)
<i>tovo ni-</i>	‘disappear’ (cv)	<i>ufo</i>	‘clap’ (n)
<i>trakita</i>	‘tractor’ (n)	<i>uforo re-</i>	‘unroll’ (cv)
<i>tsi tsi tsi</i>	‘gecko chirp’ (n)	<i>ufu re-</i>	‘blow away’ (cv)
<i>tu</i>	cf. <i>tumu</i>	<i>ugar-</i>	‘cross over/come apart’ (v)
<i>tua</i>	‘nut tree sp.’ (n)	<i>ugava</i>	‘old (person)’ (adj)
<i>tua re-</i>	‘wait’ (cv)	<i>uka1</i>	‘stomach/womb/heart’ (n)
<i>tuero</i>	‘twelve’ (adj)	<i>uka2</i>	‘possum’ (n)
<i>tufa re-</i>	‘get dark’ (cv)		
<i>tufe</i>	‘raft’ (n)		

<i>ukero re-</i>	'destroy' (cv)	<i>uyare-</i>	'fall, topple' (v)
<i>ukisivo re-</i>	'startle' (cv)	<i>uyoune-</i>	'pardon' (v)
<i>ukita</i>	'tied' (adj)	<i>va</i>	'try, test' (v)
<i>umeki re-</i>	'chase out' (cv)	<i>vabara</i>	'light' (n)
<i>umuye-</i>	'kill, murder' (v)	<i>vada</i>	'uncle, nephew' (n)
<i>una</i>	'we, us' (pn)	<i>vada</i>	cf. <i>vadaini</i>
<i>unema₁</i>	'egg' (n)	<i>vadaini</i>	'already' (cnj)
<i>unema₂</i>	'landslide' (n)	<i>vadakai</i>	'uncles' (n)
<i>uni</i>	'our(s)' (pn)	<i>vadi-</i>	'make, weave' (v)
<i>unike</i>	'ourselves' (pn)	<i>vaga</i>	'stem, creeper' (n)
<i>uniye</i>	'ourselves' (pn)	<i>vagoma</i>	'swarming black wasp.' (n)
<i>unugu</i>	'banana sp.' (n)	<i>numa</i>	
<i>uo uo uo</i>	'bow wow wow' (n)	<i>vai-</i>	'burn/thirst' (v)
<i>ura</i>	'want, wish' (v)	<i>vaifuro</i>	'above' (postp)
<i>urafo re-</i>	'spread (out)' (cv)	<i>vaiga re-</i>	'have urge' (cv)
<i>urana</i>	'to(ward)(s), for'	<i>vainavaina</i>	'net bag' (n)
	(postp)	<i>vairana</i>	'front' (n)
<i>uratoku-</i>	'break apart' (v)	<i>vaisiyau</i>	'stew, soup' (n)
<i>urausi re-</i>	'erupt' (cv)	<i>vaita</i>	'hand.inside' (n)
<i>urena</i>	'pot, pan' (n)	<i>vaitani</i>	'from' (cnj)
<i>ureure</i>	'wave' (n)	<i>vaki-</i>	'heat' (v)
<i>uririmo re-</i>	'scatter' (cv)	<i>vakoi</i>	'together' (adv)
<i>uriyaku</i>	'morning' (n)	<i>vana</i>	'arm, hand' (n)
<i>uriyenau</i>	'afternoon' (n)	<i>vanagi</i>	'boat, canoe' (n)
<i>uroki re-</i>	'break off' (cv)	<i>vanu</i>	'every' (adj)
<i>uroro re-</i>	'abolish' (cv)	<i>vara</i>	'handle' (n)
<i>uru</i>	cf. <i>urusa</i>	<i>varadau-</i>	'come apart' (v)
<i>uru tufa</i>	'night crasher' (n)	<i>varavara</i>	'relative' (n)
<i>uru₁</i>	'multiple' (n)	<i>vare-</i>	'sleep' (v)
<i>uru-₁</i>	'rise up, swell' (v)	<i>vari</i>	cf. <i>variva</i>
<i>uru₂</i>	'current' (n)	<i>vari-</i>	'plant' (v)
<i>uru-₂</i>	'husk, peel' (v)	<i>varika</i>	'chief' (n)
<i>uruma</i>	'nose' (n)	<i>variva</i>	'goanna' (n)
<i>urusa</i>	'night' (n)	<i>varuka</i>	'clothes' (n)
<i>usa</i>	'asking' (n)	<i>vasa</i>	'sand, shore' (n)
<i>usase re-</i>	'uncover' (cv)	<i>vata bae-</i>	'fill, limit' (cv)
<i>usi di-</i>	'follow' (cv)	<i>vata ni-</i>	'happen' (cv)
<i>usi ne-</i>	'follow down' (cv)	<i>vatoru₁</i>	'tree sp.' (n)
<i>usika₁</i>	'second' (adj)	<i>vatoru₂</i>	'stupid' (adj)
<i>usika₂</i>	'little finger' (n)	<i>vau</i>	'completely' (adv)
<i>uta</i>	'half/middle' (n)	<i>vauya</i>	'refusal' (n)
<i>utae re-</i>	'flatten' (cv)	<i>vava</i>	'hot/power' (adj/n)
<i>utae ri-</i>	'land, anchor' (cv)	<i>vayavaya</i>	'very' (adv)
<i>utaniga re-</i>	'beat, belt' (cv)	<i>ve</i>	'family' (n)
<i>utei ri-</i>	'hit, beat, kill' (cv)	<i>ve-</i>	'see, watch' (v)
<i>utuma</i>	'crowd' (n)	<i>vefa</i>	'daughter, niece' (n)
<i>uvaradau-</i>	'crash down' (v)	<i>vegu</i>	'practice, life/ green'
<i>uvau re-</i>	'defeat' (cv)		(n/adj)
<i>uve-</i>	'dawn' (v)	<i>vei deo re-</i>	'look around' (cv)
<i>uwe</i>	'crocodile' (n)	<i>veifa</i>	cf. <i>vefa</i>

<i>veifate-</i>	‘perceive’ (v)	<i>yaudana</i>	‘separate’ (adj)
<i>veiga</i>	‘life’ (n)	<i>yaufa</i>	‘aunt’ (n)
<i>veika re-</i>	‘fix, prepare’ (cv)	<i>yaumana</i>	‘sorcery’ (n)
<i>vena</i>	‘mouth/entrance’ (n)	<i>yauta</i>	‘song’ (n)
<i>vene</i>	‘people’ (n)	<i>yava</i>	‘house’ (n)
<i>veve</i>	‘witchcraft’ (n)	<i>yavoi re-</i>	‘continue on’ (cv)
<i>vi1</i>	‘tail, backside’ (n)	<i>ye</i>	‘so, and’ (cnj)
<i>vi2</i>	‘possum sp.’ (n)	<i>yeba</i>	‘suddenly’ (adv)
<i>viaigana</i>	‘lastborn’ (adj)	<i>yegu ni-</i>	‘be raw’ (cv)
<i>vibani</i>	‘animal, meat’ (n)	<i>yeiva</i>	‘strength’ (n)
<i>vima</i>	‘spirit, image’ (n)	<i>yi</i>	‘your(s)’ (pn)
<i>viniga</i>	‘vinegar’ (n)	<i>yisiti</i>	‘yeast’ (n)
<i>viro</i>	‘axe’ (n)	<i>yo1</i>	‘yes, yea(h)’ (intrj)
<i>viti</i>	‘high’ (adj)	<i>yo2</i>	‘sprout’ (n)
<i>vitu</i>	‘alone’ (adj)	<i>yoade</i>	‘tame’ (adj)
<i>vo ni-</i>	‘tell/happen’ (cv)	<i>yodoni</i>	‘down there’ (loc)
<i>vogovogo</i>	‘really’ (adv)	<i>yoga ni-</i>	‘laugh’ (cv)
<i>voi</i>	‘buying’ (n)	<i>yogiye</i>	‘tree kangaroo’ (n)
<i>von</i>	cf. <i>vo.ni-</i>	<i>yoisefu</i>	‘away right over there’ (loc)
<i>vonisi</i>	‘if, because’ (cnj)	<i>yoiseni</i>	‘right up over there’ (loc)
<i>vorovoro</i>	‘excessively’ (adv)	<i>yokara</i>	‘one day’ (n)
<i>voru</i>	‘spear’ (n)	<i>yokaru</i>	‘one day’ (n)
<i>voruvoru re-</i>	‘shake’ (cv)	<i>yokoi</i>	‘one’ (adj)
<i>vou</i>	‘dog bark’ (n)	<i>yoku re-</i>	‘dig (with hand)’ (cv)
<i>wafu</i>	‘wharf’ (n)	<i>yomakai</i>	‘like this’ (adv)
<i>waini</i>	‘wine’ (n)	<i>yomayama</i>	‘crawl/be hot’ (cv)
<i>wiki</i>	‘week’ (n)	<i>re-</i>	
<i>wili</i>	‘wheel, tyre’ (n)	<i>yomina</i>	‘this one here’ (dem)
<i>wini ni-</i>	‘win, be victorious’ (cv)	<i>yomini</i>	‘right here’ (loc)
<i>winido</i>	‘window’ (n)	<i>yomirodu</i>	‘right over there’ (loc)
<i>witi</i>	‘wheat’ (n)	<i>yomirona</i>	‘that (one) there’ (dem)
<i>ya</i>	‘you’ (pn)	<i>yomironi</i>	‘right there’ (loc)
<i>ya</i>	cf. <i>yaku</i>	<i>yonu re-</i>	‘reverse’ (cv)
<i>yabo</i>	‘tree, wood’ (n)	<i>yora</i>	‘understanding, listening’ (adj)
<i>yaduka</i>	‘dream’ (n)	<i>yori</i>	‘Papuan lorikeet’ (n)
<i>ya-</i>	‘arrive’ (v)	<i>yorona</i>	‘that (one) over there’ (dem)
<i>yafuyafu</i>	‘breeze, wind’ (n)	<i>yoroni</i>	‘over there’ (loc)
<i>yaga re-</i>	‘shake’ (cv)	<i>you-</i>	‘throw (away)’ (v)
<i>yai re-</i>	‘fell, knock’ (cv)	<i>youfeide-</i>	‘surrender’ (v)
<i>yaike</i>	‘yourself’ (pn)	<i>youne-</i>	‘untie’ (v)
<i>yakita</i>	‘bunch of leaves’ (n)	<i>yova ri-</i>	‘join, accept’ (cv)
<i>yaku</i>	‘differential subject marker’ (dm)	<i>yovade</i>	cf. <i>yoade</i>
<i>yaku-</i>	‘go/come out’ (v)	<i>yovirika</i>	‘long and smooth’ (adj)
<i>yandamin</i>	‘I’m telling you here/now’ (v)		
<i>yare-</i>	‘fall (objects)’ (v)		
<i>yariyari</i>	‘good’ (adj)		
<i>yau</i>	‘soft, weak’ (adj)		

<i>yoya1</i>	'banana sp.' (n)	<i>yuata</i>	'farewell' (n)
<i>yoya2</i>	'yam' (n)	<i>yuka</i>	'leg, foot' (n)
<i>yoyava</i>	'seedling' (n)	<i>yakana</i>	'walking stick' (n)
<i>yoyo1</i>	'tip' (n)	<i>yusi re-</i>	'use' (cv)
<i>yoyo2</i>	'overgrown' (adj)	<i>yuvani</i>	cf. <i>yuani</i>
<i>yu</i>	'pus, paste' (n)	<i>zipa</i>	'zipper' (n)
<i>yuani</i>	'breadfruit' (n)		

A.3 List of affixes

<i>-adi</i>	2/3PL.PAST	<i>-gedi</i>	2/3PL.FUT
<i>-adu</i>	S.POSB	<i>-gi</i>	PURP
<i>-afa</i>	1PL.PAST	<i>-gida</i>	1SG.FUT
<i>-agadu</i>	HYPOTH	<i>-gifa</i>	1PL.FUT
<i>-agane</i>	cf. <i>-aganedi</i>	<i>-gika</i>	CON
<i>-aganedi</i>	3PL.IMP	<i>-giya</i>	2SG.FUT
<i>-aidu</i>	P.POSB	<i>-go</i>	3SG.FUT
<i>-aine</i>	cf. <i>-ainedi</i>	<i>-i</i>	LINK
<i>-ainedi</i>	3SG.IMP	<i>-ma</i>	SEQ.DS
<i>-aka</i>	1SG.PAST	<i>-ma</i>	on, by
<i>-bi</i>	FUT.IMPERV	<i>-na</i>	NOMZ
<i>-bo</i>	POT	<i>-nadi</i>	1PL.IMP
<i>-da</i>	1SG.PRES	<i>-nu</i>	STAT
<i>-dedi</i>	2/3PL.PRES	<i>-o</i>	2/3SG.PST
<i>-do</i>	3SG.PRES	<i>-ri</i>	SIM.DS
<i>e-</i>	I.CAUS	<i>-sa</i>	2SG.PRES
<i>-fa</i>	2PL.IMP	<i>-si</i>	SEQ.SS
<i>-fo</i>	2PL.PO.IMP	<i>-sifa</i>	1PL.PRES
<i>-gam</i>	PAST.IMPERV	<i>u-</i>	D.CAUS
<i>-gasa</i>	SIM.SS	<i>-vo</i>	2SG.PO.IMP
<i>-ga</i>	cf. <i>-gasa</i>		

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