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COMMISSION

OF THE

1911

REPORT

ON THE

SUBLANGUAGES IN BUIN:  
PLAY, POETRY, AND PRESERVATION<sup>1</sup>

DON LAYCOCK

Linguistic play, avoidance usages, stylistic variants, and other sociolinguistic areas - called here 'sublanguages' for short - are still frequently ignored by the descriptive linguist (with the exception of the linguists represented in Hymes 1964). Reports of such phenomena by anthropologists and missionaries are often linguistically naive.<sup>2</sup> This paper, which may perhaps be anthropologically naive, endeavours to record in full the linguistic phenomena underlying Buin sublanguages.

Buin is a language<sup>3</sup> spoken by some 8000 Papuans in southern

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<sup>1</sup>Revised version of paper read at the 1968 Workshop of the Linguistic Society of Australia (Canberra, 28-29 June, 1968).

<sup>2</sup>For example, Thurnwald (1941:25) describes the poetic use of Ibiyei (correctly: Ipikei) for the village of Ibirai (correctly: Ipirai) as 'alte Aussprache', hereby missing completely the whole system operative in transforming ordinary language names into poetic ones, as described in this paper.

<sup>3</sup>For the understanding of this paper, some knowledge of Buin phonology is required. This may be summarised as follows:

*Phonemes:* /p t k g m n ŋ r a e i o u/. Consonant sequences permitted only with nasal as first member; nasals assimilate to point of articulation of following consonant. All vowel sequences, and gemination, permitted. No consonant other than /ŋ/ can occur word-finally; in this position the contrast with /m/ is neutralised. Phoneme /g/ does not occur word-initially. /r/ is [d] following /n/, and sometimes initially, and elsewhere [ʀ] in free variation with [l]. The sequence /ti/ is always [tsi], while /ta/ and /tu/ are sometimes [tsa], [tsu].

*Syllabification.* A syllable in Buin consists of any vowel plus any preceding consonant, /ŋ/ in any occurrence, and /m/ or /n/ preceding a consonant; thus, kuŋaka, kaaeko, and monriri (poetic forms of male names) all have four syllables.

*Reduplication*, which in Buin has a morphemic function, is of two types: R[(C<sub>1</sub>)V<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>2</sub>)V<sub>2</sub>], and R[(C<sub>1</sub>)V<sub>1</sub>N], where N is /ŋ/ if the next phoneme is a vowel, and elsewhere a nasal assimilated to the following consonant. Only the first type is permitted where the root word is of the shape (C<sub>1</sub>)V<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub>---; otherwise, the two types are functionally identical, the favoured use of one type or the other depending on the dialect of the speaker. EXAMPLES: tamu → tamutamu, tantamu; aku → akuaku, aŋaku; piipo → piipiipo; iako → iaiako.

Bougainville, an area which is administratively part of the Territory of New Guinea, but which is geographically very much a part of the Solomon Islands chain. The language is Papuan, one of about half a dozen interrelated Papuan languages spread across all of southern Bougainville (Allen and Hurd 1965). It shows, however, some slight influence from neighbouring Melanesian languages, principally those of the Shortland Islands (Mono and Alu).

The data here presented were recorded during fieldwork in Buin (Paariro village) between November 1966 and May 1967. The principal fieldwork task was the checking of manuscript dictionary materials recorded by R. Thurnwald during his visits to Buin in 1908-9 and 1933-4, but, as well, normal eliciting and recording of texts, principally songs, was carried out. As soon as special poetic forms had been observed in the songs, the informant, Paul Raukai Rorugagi, was asked for poetic forms for all words in the dictionary, as well as for information on other types of sublinguistic usage - avoidance forms and language play, for example. More often than not, the response to a question for a poetic form was "no change"; nevertheless, some 500 word-variants were recorded and are presented in this paper. Their use in the context of traditional songs can be seen in the two song texts appended to this paper, and also in Thurnwald 1912, *passim*.

In spite of over sixty years of mission and other European influence, Buin is still very much a land where the ghosts of dead men retain their interest in human activities, where natural spirits frequent areas of the bush and cause accidents and death to the unwary, where portents are seen by doomed men, and where animals share human social structure<sup>4</sup>, understand human languages - or the Buin language, at any rate - and, on occasion, even speak human languages<sup>5</sup>. In this sort of context, it is

<sup>4</sup>As evidenced in stories and songs, the sister of the python (eru) is the flying fox (moroken); the kingfisher (tiiŋ) is married to the mekotana (*Eurostopodus mystacalis?*), whose brother is the lizard motiga.

<sup>5</sup>Many bird calls are interpreted as utterances in the Buin language. In a story of how the motiga lizard was cured of constipation by the wagtail (itunto), the cries of three birds are given:

itunto: purikio, purikio, purikio, parikio, purikio parikio, tee ootoo  
toipakeine purikio, purikio, purikio parikio (*shit, shite, shit out those leaves you have eaten*)

tukikaamige mekotioo! mekotioo! (*away from his anus!*)

kuguroŋ (a type of pigeon): kupoukuu! kupoukuu! (*under the wing*)  
mekotana: noonoi noonoi, ikuiku kegurati, koural kunnu, kitukunnue  
tupo, roo tino tuorua, noonoi, noonoi, takamati kegurati, noonoi  
noonoi, roo tino tuorua (*brother, brother, in your patterned hat, black banana, covered with black bark, you won't get well, brother, brother, with your patterned panpipes, brother, brother, you won't get well*)

Elsewhere, the call of the kingfisher bird (kinaige) is interpreted  
(Continued on p.3)



not surprising that language retains much of its magical force. Accordingly, there are many times when ordinary language is inappropriate. One such time is in hunting; if the animal hears its name called, it will hide and not be found. So avoidance names are used; the freshwater shrimp (itaka) is called *uruitu*, *fern species*, the eel (maramo) is called *kuikuin*, *driftwood*, and all freshwater fish (*topi*; marine fish are called by the Melanesian word *iiana*) are referred to as *ukiuki*, 'swaying from side to side'.

Avoidance of a slightly different type is shown by the use of *mara ekenua* *the great spirit*, for the name *Oromurui*, the spirit who, in the shape of a meteor, carries away the souls of the dead.<sup>6</sup> Informants also claimed that the use of the word *maikuna* *dog* for *paaoi*, the supposedly 'true' word for 'shark', was an example of avoidance usage; if the true name were called on the coast, a shark would come and carry off someone in the village. However, the explanation in this case is only partially correct; *paaoi* is a Melanesian loanword, whereas *maikuna* is used in Buin not only for 'dog' and 'shark', but also for 'praying mantis'. In other words, *maikuna* represents in Buin the chief predator in the animal, piscine, and insect kingdom, and is accordingly, at least as far as the Buin language goes, the 'true' word for 'shark'.

Some other substitute names for animals do not rest on avoidance usage, but are simply descriptive or jocular names used in conversation and stories; thus, *topituumoru* *fish-killer* for *iritia* *hawk* and *paimuraku* 'who will carry him?' for the small red bird called *uririga*.<sup>7</sup>

---

5 (continued)

thus:

uugu konte no omio kinikin kinikin  
 muakiro roto tugupue kinikin kinikin  
 'hornbill, give me my beak, which you carried south to the sea'.

In a somewhat different manner, the calls of the tikiou bird (*Mino dumonti*) are treated as oracles in both Buin and Pidgin; thus, the bird may be thought to say in Buin, *moinio!* or *mururara!*, or in Pidgin *yu go bek!*, all of which mean 'you go back!', and which are warnings by the hearer.

<sup>6</sup>This brief account of *Oromurui*, based on current Buin beliefs, differs slightly from the fuller, and certainly more traditional, version given by H. Thurnwald (1950) (where the name is spelt *Orómrui*). The taboo on the name, coupled no doubt with missionary prohibitions, has been extremely successful; few of the generation under thirty in present-day Buin appear to have heard of the name of this spirit at all.

<sup>7</sup>It is related that the *uririga* bird (a terrestrial pigeon, *Chalcophaps stephani*) encountered a man in the forest, and considered killing him, but was deterred on reflecting *ropa aapoti tegua teeku pai muraku?* 'but I think if I were to kill him, who would carry him?' - whence the name *paimuraku*.

The poetic epithets and synonyms used in the songs form a much larger category of substitute names. For 'man' or 'chief' the list is fairly extensive; and it is to be noted that the synonyms usually occur in poetic form (here marked with an asterisk; see below for construction of poetic forms) as well as poetic meaning:

ioio\*, memmeti\*, roorana\* *pulpul*<sup>8</sup> species, karo tuumo red parrot<sup>9</sup>,  
 kumukana green parrot, kokapia<sup>10</sup> dance pole, kourai kunnu black  
 banana (species of wild banana), tuparia\*, piikuti ficus<sup>11</sup>, porapu\*  
 hornbill, topere river junction<sup>12</sup>, urepena\* centipede.

For 'child' (ite) we find the following: moromara (meaning unknown), pirigia red parrot<sup>9</sup>, turakoo\* bamboo shoot, and uugu, upata\* hornbill; the child of a chief is called tuutu *pulpul* species. For 'woman' (konegu) I have found only one epithet (minarura, meaning unknown), but there are several for naŋ vulva (kaukau flat fish, omugeti slit, taitoraure 'what they knew you by'<sup>13</sup>, urukonu burning doorway<sup>14</sup>) and for rape clitoris (igo hook on fruit-picking pole, tootati projection). 'Girl' (piniai) is represented by kioora (a borrowing from English 'girl'), by miorei and tuurei, the meanings of which are not known, and by the transposed form aipini (for which see below). A raised house (opo) may be called upurou posts in line, but panna (exact meaning unknown) is also found; see also note 17. A pig (urugito) is usually called kompena\* the tusked one<sup>15</sup>, or kuritou or korokua (meaning unknown),

<sup>8</sup>The Pidgin English word 'pulpul' (Tolai purpur) refers to the large class of plants used for making grass skirts or perfume, or worn in the hair or in armbands at dances. The connotation is always one of decoration, dancing, and flirtation.

<sup>9</sup>The general term for 'parrot' is karo; the red female is tuumo, the green male is kumuka. In referring to males as karo tuumo it is the colouring and not the sex that is uppermost in the singer's mind - as well, probably, as the fact that tuumo also means 'the most dangerous place in a battle'. The word pirigia refers to a different species, and is one of a set of words with the root \*piri-, all with a connotation of redness.

<sup>10</sup>Used as epithet for 'scarred man', in allusion to the carvings on the koka pole.

<sup>11</sup>The second word is a borrowing from English; the tree meant is the banyan-tree, with aerial roots, probably in allusion to the fact that a chief receives gifts from many sources (see note 12).

<sup>12</sup>From tuutopere river junction; a chief is so called because gifts flow to him from all directions, like water to a junction.

<sup>13</sup>That is, 'how they knew your sex when you were born'.

<sup>14</sup>Compare urugeu doorway and konuko 'I burn (something)'.

<sup>15</sup>The usual word for a pig tusk is kainope; kompe is a tooth.

occasionally also kemmoo *dirty nose* (from keŋ moorake). The sea (atiga) is called by several untranslatable words (aarono, oogona, tugupu[na], and tugupue); the first two of these are probably Melanesian loanwords. Also probably Melanesian in origin is the word oogoro<sup>16</sup> for apaito *club-house*; similarly, kogorona for kukurei *domestic fowl*. The sun (rua) has as its poetic form perepa[na], which in current normal speech usually means '*sunny weather*'. The sago palm (uatei) is called pogomiŋ, an inexplicable word which Thurnwald (MS notes) regards as being derived from pogoma miŋ *its name*, parallelling English forms such as '*His Majesty*'; this is not impossible, but this explanation was rejected by my informant.

There seems to be no general poetic term for taro (ame), but many varieties of taro are mentioned in the songs, usually in poetic forms (see below). In a similar way, shell money (generically aputa *coarse shell money of low value* and onu *valuable shell money*) is usually specified by the exact variety (of which there are about a score - see Thurnwald 1935).

Food in general (tamu) may be referred to as aitoi *something for eating*. To conclude this list, one onomatopoeic synonym may be mentioned: pimpaŋ for tuiruma *slitgong*<sup>17</sup>.

Of greater interest, perhaps, are however the systematic transformations of ordinary words to form poetic synonyms. Names - both personal names and place names - are particularly susceptible to this, and it is possible to see in this form of speech disguise a type of avoidance usage, to fool the spirits, who might otherwise do harm to the person or

<sup>16</sup>Thurnwald (1912:23) translates oogoro as '*Himmelswölbung, d.h. Meeresküste*', but there is no evidence for this; he apparently believed the word to be made up of oo *sky* and koro (not \*goro) *above*. It is just possible that both oogona and oogoro, if not Melanesian borrowings, are connected with the verb oogoto '*I dam water*'; but the semantic connection is far from clear.

<sup>17</sup>Thurnwald (1941; also 1936) gives a few further examples, which did not occur in the song texts I recorded:

|                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| <i>Normal</i>                     | <i>Poetic</i>  |
| kaikai <i>speech</i>              | lagara (better, ragara)                              |
| koci (better, koti) <i>garden</i> | taiga  |
| opo <i>house</i>                  | banauku (better, pannau kuu) <i>inside the house</i> |
| roikene <i>men</i>                | robana (for ropana?, meaning unknown)                |

The first two poetic forms are Melanesian loanwords.

place if they learned its real name.<sup>18</sup>

The usual system of transformation is to take the first two or last two syllables of the root word (the word in ordinary language), and add a two-syllable suffix, thereby creating a four-syllable word suitable for use in a song. As a variant, the retained two syllables of the root word may be reduplicated. Some three-syllabled words take a uniform suffix -na to form their poetic counterpart, while a few others undergo different, often irregular, transformations. All the types are dealt with below.

(M = male name; F = female name; R = river name; V = village name;  
L = name of uninhabited locality)<sup>19</sup>

A. Poetic forms retaining last two syllables of root word

1. suffix -gai: miimiti *type of onu shell money*.
2. suffix -gito: uuru *pig*.
3. suffix -kei: poopota *cane*, tokuaka *V*.
4. suffix -kena: aiapa *R*, aipia *R*, maamoko *M*.
5. suffix -koto: kugunia *Venus, M*, tagari *M*.
6. suffix -mai: agaruki *man of Alu*, muituru *V*, ruuroru *a lake where the dead live*.
7. suffix -mana: aarei *F*.
8. suffix -manu: naanou *M*, uoreku *bereaved sibling*.

<sup>18</sup>In certain areas of the bush in Buin, it is regarded as dangerous to use the true names of one's companions; in such cases, all interlocutors are sometimes known by the name of the owner of the piece of land. Thus, in an area near Numagai belonging to Kukue, all the men call each other kukue, or kukunaka (poetic form) until the danger area is passed. Not unconnected with the attitude reflected in this usage is the development, in English, of common nouns meaning 'man' from proper names (e.g. *charley, joe, alf, john*).

<sup>19</sup>A meaning can be given to some of the words glossed simply as names, usually in the form of a verbal statement ('*they missed him*', '*he disappeared*', etc.); nevertheless, it is certain that most of these names are regarded by Buin speakers as names only, without ordinary language meanings. Accordingly, I have refrained from giving glosses, and have resisted the dubious and often fanciful etymologising indulged in by R. Thurnwald (1912, especially).

<sup>20</sup>The normal word for 'pig' is urugito; uuru is a rare (but not poetic) variant. In this case what obviously began as a poetic transform has become part of normal usage, possibly because of the existence of a number of other suitable poetic epithets for 'pig'.

<sup>21</sup>The normal language form maamoko makes poetic mokotana when it means 'betel chew', but mokokena when it is used as a male name.

## 9. suffix -nei:

*Male names:* amakai, auparo, iiau, iikau, kaakai, kaarai, kaaupa, katirin, kenkua, kiipau, kirimpu, kogiau, kogomoni, kookua, koopana, kootaka, kuituu, kurioku, matiopi, meekai, mintipi, mintuo, moikenu, morepai, mouaro, nerau, nonkeri, noupiri, oikenu, paganou, pogotiga, paiomu, panitai, piinoko, pinkei, poopui, poretua, riitin, riupati, roopua, ruakenu, taipare, tanitai, tarapita, teepere, tiimpa, tinikai, tomiton, uiou, uukau, upakei.

*Female names:* aakai, iitia, itarua, kootui, kuukuma, mokopau, tuupio, unkiro, uutou.

*Place names:* tokuaka V, agura R, kiiata V, marapita V,L, uguregu V.

*Other:* aitau doorway, M, ariaku tree species, M, iirapa taro variety, irigara<sup>22</sup> M, iritia<sup>22</sup> hawk, M, kagarau raft, M, kakanetu snail, M, keerai sea hawk, kirituu palm species, M, kogituku frog species, M,F, koomau yam variety, kopokau crab, M, kuinua mortar, kuiperu bush spirit, kuitagubird species, M, mitakua beetle species, M, mutukenu small bat, naaporo taro variety, paampu pump, M, pakatau prepared sago, riimau mangrove crab, roitua murderer, M, ruukatu bird species, M, taamani outrigger spar, tagere bird species, tegerika nut species, tikinu lizard species, tikinou bird species, tompuu type of onu shell money, toomea banana species, toukenu bird species, tuiruma slitgong, tuparemu tree species, uarau spear barb, M, uremuu evening, M, uririga bird species, M, utukeu chief's staff, uupata hornbill, child, uomegu bamboo container.

10. suffix -nopi: maikei M.

11. suffix -nou: kaakata cockatoo, M, kegipore shell money worth \$10, moroken flying fox, M, ngapore shell money worth \$10.

12. suffix -nto: uupata hornbill, M.

13. suffix -pata: naanei hawk.

14. suffix -pij: maikuna dog.

15. suffix -rai:

*Village names:* akomororo, arakiru, iamaru, ituurekiru, kaakampaku, kaituu, kanauro, kekemono, kogitago, kokopoo, kooguikiru, maramuukuu, matakana, matikuru, mukitono, omitaro, paariro, piriraro, pogitago, pookuu, raitaro, toguregu, turekenu.

<sup>22</sup>The name irigara is itself a poetic derivative (B7) from iritia hawk, which is itself used as a male name; here these are transformed to the very different-looking forms garanei and tianeii.

*Other*: eekio moon, kimpuku *L*, timukaro mushroom, *V*.

16. suffix -rei: muuriko *R*.
17. suffix -rero: kaamua *disc*, *M*.
18. suffix -riŋ: tinotia *M*.
19. suffix -riri: pogotiga *M*, roopua *M*.
20. suffix -riu: naanako *duck*, *M*.
21. suffix -rogi: akomena *M*, morokana *M*, paupake *scorpion*, *M*,  
perokana *M*, raikena *F*.
22. suffix -roko: korimati *M*.
23. suffix -rou: inakia *rat*, maikuna *dog*.
24. suffix -tana: maamoko *betel chew*.

**B. Poetic forms retaining first two syllables of root word**

1. suffix -ai: tamu *food*.
2. suffix -aka:

*Male names*: meege, moio, moiru, moota, peemu, poroni, puiki.

*Other*: kokiri *beetle species*, *M*, kunti *tree species*, *M*, miru *tree species*, miruro *orphan*, moruko *sea eagle*, mukunu *turtle*, *M*, muugu *tree species*, nakuri<sup>23</sup> *lizard species*, neeki *bird species*, paiti *mango*, *M*, pirigi *parrot*, *M*, poiti *F*, puunau<sup>24</sup> *cat*, tete[pi] *bird species*, topiru *bird species*, *M*, uperu *tree species*, upii *bird species*, *M*.

3. suffix -ane: tokuan *sago leaf stem*.
4. suffix -au: kanutu *nosepin*, mareki *axe*, miriki *M*.
5. suffix -eko: kaagei *M*, kaakai *M*, kaara *M*.
6. suffix -gana: kaikai *talk*.
7. suffix -gara: iritia *hawk*.
8. suffix -ganu: moko *arrow*.
9. suffix -gena: kuanai *small*.
10. suffix -geni: karagai *wild taro species*.
11. suffix -goro: tuuketa *type of basket*.
12. suffix -kai: ana *mother*.
13. suffix -kana: ntukau *wild taro species*.
14. suffix -kanu: ana *mother*.
15. suffix -kau: korikorita *tree species*.
16. suffix -kei:

*Village names*: ipirai, ipiro, iura, kapagau, kararu, kirapaino,

<sup>23</sup>Also nakuru.

<sup>24</sup>Also puuti (borrowing from English), and muunau (onomatopoeic; see B25).

kugugai, kumirooguu, matiooguu, mogoroi, mongai, morono, morou, morura, mukoro, napaku, okomo, orapa, oria, orcroi, orumoi, paagui, paare, piarino, porupi, raguai, ramuai, rapaku, ropikou, tariai, tuaragai, tugioguu, tuparuu.

*Other: agaru Alu island, iu mountain near Iuru, kugara the mountain region, paana M, puturoko M, raukui M.*

17. suffix -kena:

*River names: iu, komou, kuṅkura<sup>25</sup>, miipo, mokupai, moku, morou, numagai, kumu, piopio, porou, roruai, topiru, uamai.*

*Female names: kapa, kapagau, mairai, moora, pouai, takoro.*

*Other: maunu R,F, maumau plant species, R,F, piriai type of onu shell money, riipa M, topura R,F, umagau possum species.*

18. suffix -keŋ: *piriai type of onu shell money.*

19. suffix -kero:

*Male names: apuapu, iimu, iipa, kaŋki, makau, manai, mukoro, ŋkau, poua.*

*Other: kumpa fern species, M, mukunu turtle, M, pouai F.*

20. suffix -kiki:

*Male names: kamuai, kurogai, napuai, roupai, rugapai.*

*Other: ropanai F, rugaŋ man, M, tuanau F, tuotuo F, umaki possum species.*

21. suffix -kiu: *purau earring, M, rorugagi emptyhanded, M.*

22. suffix -kono: *keerai sea hawk, kuuau pigeon, M.*

23. suffix -koo: *tuntura bamboo shoot.*

24. suffix -kori: *kenumau tree species, manukai F.*

25. suffix -koto:

*Male names: maakei, puumau, ropiau, ruaia, tiraŋ.*

*Other: muunau cat, M, umai F, uririga<sup>26</sup> bird species.*

26. suffix -kui: *rammanu M.*

27. suffix -kuŋ: *pogiago snake.*

28. suffix -kuu: *kere cane species, nakaro V.*

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<sup>25</sup>As a reduplicated form such as kuṅkura has a variant kurakura (note 3) it is impossible to be certain whether the retained syllables are the first two or the last two. All such forms have been entered in section B; other examples are piopio, maumau (B17), apuapu (B19), tuotuo (B20), tuntura (B23). The suffix is added to the full form of the reduplicated syllable; thus, kurakena, not kuṅkena.

<sup>26</sup>Also urieŋ.



29. suffix -mai:  
*Villages:* kikimooguu, kuturu, nakorei, rakoue, tiuru, tugiū.  
*Other:* itaanu M.
30. suffix -make: itūḡ taro variety.
31. suffix -mana: raukuu rostrum.
32. suffix -manu:  
*Male names:* kuerui, nukuitu, raukai, rugoru, tigere.  
*Other:* kuuruu owl.
33. suffix -mau: nuaku F, panaare taro variety, piruke M, ruatu F.
34. suffix -meri:  
*Male names:* kaḡki, kinani, okuau, toon.  
*Other:* tiaḡ taro variety.
35. suffix -mitu: turuai grasshopper.
36. suffix -mma: kaikei F.
37. suffix -nai: nima dragonfly.
38. suffix -naka: kukue M, petu charred wood.
39. suffix -nei: kenumau tree species.
40. suffix -paka: tikiḡou bird species.
41. suffix -panu: paapa mother's brother.
42. suffix -pata: ugu young hornbill, M.
43. suffix -pau: tompa bed.
44. suffix -pia: koka dancing pole.
45. suffix -rai:  
*Village names:* aakuu, morona, morou<sup>27</sup>, parero, parerono, paruoguu, reuro.
46. suffix -raku: kukurei rooster, pitikei cicada, M.
47. suffix -raḡ: tara pandanus.
48. suffix -raro: kemuroi M.
49. suffix -rau: tata shelf.
50. suffix -rei: toumo tree species, M.
51. suffix -reḡ: motiga lizard species.
52. suffix -rero: mukunu turtle, M, pukaḡ F.
53. suffix -ria: tupare ficus tree.
54. suffix -riku: kopokau crab species, M.
55. suffix -riri:  
*Male names:* kamo, kamuai, kepori, kinokua, metupa, montai, tiora, tiugu.  
*Other:* tiuri bird species.

<sup>27</sup>Also the name of a river; poetic form either mororai (as here), or morokena (B17).



56. suffix -rogi: maneu *M*, manuka *M*, manuoo<sup>28</sup> *battleship, M*.  
 57. suffix -roi: oreu *breadfruit*.  
 58. suffix -roko: kugunia *Venus, M*, putupuu *bird species, M*, tupunau *M*.  
 59. suffix -rui: koneana *M*.  
 60. suffix -rugu: maua<sup>29</sup> *lizard species*.  
 61. suffix -tari: komuŋ *cloud, M*.  
 62. suffix -uto: tiramai *small bat species*.

At this stage a few examples should enable the reader to fix the system clearly in his mind:

| <i>Normal</i> | <i>Poetic</i> |
|---------------|---------------|
| miimiti       | mitigai (A1)  |
| kugunia       | niakoto (A5)  |
| katirig       | rinnei (A9)   |
| tiimpa        | mpanei (A9)   |
| maikuna       | kunapiŋ (A14) |
| eekio         | kiorai (A15)  |
| meege         | meeaka (B2)   |
| kunti         | kuŋaka (B2)   |
| korikorita    | korikau (B15) |
| kumpa         | kuŋkero (B19) |
| tuntura       | turakoo (B23) |
| itaanu        | itamai (B29)  |
| kaikai        | kaimma (B36)  |
| tiramai       | tirauto (B62) |

In a small number of words, the first two syllables are reduplicated, instead of an arbitrary suffix being added:

63. Reduplication:

| <i>Normal</i>                    | <i>Poetic</i> |
|----------------------------------|---------------|
| iogai <i>pulpul species</i>      | ioio          |
| kamuai <i>M</i>                  | kamukamu      |
| katiai <i>M</i>                  | kaŋkati       |
| kepogai                          | kepokepo      |
| kepoganu } <i>pulpul species</i> | { keŋkepo     |

<sup>28</sup>From English 'man-o-war'.

<sup>29</sup>In this case the poetic form maurugu has become the normal language word for the monitor lizard, with maua a rare (non-poetic) variant.

| <i>Normal</i>                | <i>Poetic</i> |
|------------------------------|---------------|
| konegu <i>woman, F</i>       | konkone       |
| mareki <i>axe</i>            | mammare       |
| maria <i>M</i>               | mammari       |
| mirun <i>F</i>               | mimmiru       |
| morita <i>M</i>              | mommori       |
| piniai <i>young girl</i>     | pimpini       |
| ratina <i>pulpul species</i> | ratirati      |
| titika <i>pulpul species</i> | tintiti       |
| tiugai <i>pulpul species</i> | tiutiu        |
| turikau <i>bird species</i>  | turituri      |

The third productive method of forming poetic vocabulary is by the addition of the suffix *-na* to words of three syllables.<sup>30</sup> In this case, the longer forms are also occasionally heard in ordinary speech as well.

#### C. Forms with suffix *-na*

akako *tree species*, atiga *sea*, iroro *rainbow*, kete[pi] *bird species*, ketoro *plant species*, kitai *edge, horizon*, kompe *tooth*, kugito *door fastener*, maata *coconut stem*, maati *husband's sister*, maatu *aged man*, miiru *black dwarf coconut*, nuupa *tree species*, pagera *M*, perepa *fine weather*, puara *bow*, rate[pi] *canarium flower*, roora *pulpul species*, ruaru *parrot species*, taago *sorcerer's fee*, tanti *type of aputa shell money*, tete[pi] *bird species*, tikata *tree species, M*, tikiri *drip of water, M*, tiraka *comb*, tirame *plant species, M*, tiriru *old coconut palm*, tokura *bed*, tompa *bed*, tonupa *tree species*, tonka<sup>31</sup> *wood splinter*, tugia *midrib of palm leaflet*, tugi[ta] *casuarina, M*, tugupu<sup>32</sup> *sea*, tupare *figus*, tuumo *parrot species*, urepe *centipede*, utuka *wild taro species*, uuguamu<sup>33</sup> *plant species*.

In addition to the above systematic transformations, a few instances were recorded of irregular poetic forms. Some of these show resemblance to the regular transformations in type, and are irregular only in the shortening or changing of vowels; in these cases the type to which the transformation approximates is added after the poetic form.

<sup>30</sup>Some of the words have two-syllable variants in ordinary speech; in these cases, the third syllable is shown in square brackets. The suffix *-na* is always added to the full three-syllable form.

<sup>31</sup>Also poetic tonkai.

<sup>32</sup>Also poetic tugupue.

<sup>33</sup>The poetic form uuguamuna is the only recorded instance of a six-syllabled poetic form.

## D. Unsystematic poetic transformations

| <i>Normal</i> |                               | <i>Poetic</i> |                     |
|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|
| aaiti         | <i>island in Bougainville</i> | atinai        | (?)                 |
|               | <i>straits</i>                |               |                     |
| kaamouro      | V                             | mourai        | (B15) <sup>34</sup> |
| kitere        | <i>commoner</i>               | kiŋkita       | (B63)               |
| koniguru      | V                             | konerai       | (B45)               |
| kuge          | <i>belly</i>                  | kuerei        | (A16)               |
| kugugai       | V                             | kugikaro      | (cf.B19)            |
| kugumaruu     | V                             | marurai       | (B15)               |
| maati         | <i>husband's sister</i>       | matikei       | (A3)                |
| paapa         | <i>mother's brother</i>       | papogai       | (A1)                |
| rempo         | } <i>battle axe</i>           | repotana      | (A24)               |
| reepo         |                               |               |                     |
| rikopai       | <i>twig</i>                   | iririko       | <sup>35</sup>       |

It will be readily seen that the poetic vocabulary carries less information than the underlying forms, in that it is not usually possible, given the transformed poetic word, to be sure what the original word was. Thus, pitanei may be derived equally from the villages of marapita or tarapita, while poukena may come from the male name poua or the female name pouai. The form kenunei has no less than six underlying forms (kenumau, moikenu, oikenu, ruakenu, mutukenu, toukenu - the first four being male names, the last two being '*bat species*' and '*bird species*' respectively). The form kuurai is no less interesting: a hamlet name in its own right, it is also the poetic form of the villages aakuu, pookuu, and maramuukuu.

A number of words have, like kuurai, a status in the normal vocabulary; thus, muunei is a male name in the normal vocabulary, but it is also poetic for the male name uremuu. Other words undergo a 'double' transformation; thus, the normal word for '*hornbill*' is uugu, poetic uupata; but uupata is not only the transform of uugu and the poetic epithet for '*child*', but also a normal male name, of which the poetic transform is patanto. Only the context - linguistic as well as social - can fully determine the level at which a word is being used.

<sup>34</sup>The -ro of kaamouro is a locative suffix; if it is removed, the transformation becomes regular. However, the village is never known just as \*kaamou.

<sup>35</sup>The only example of prefixing encountered. Formally, it would be preferable to regard iririko as the underlying form, and rikopai the poetic (section A); but usage is against this.

It should also be mentioned that the poetic words function grammatically in exactly the same way as normal language words - that is, they take the same affixes, and fill normal syntactic roles in the sentence. Thus, in Text 2, we encounter the form *kugukeikuŋke*: *kugukei*, poetic transform of *kugugai* *village name*; *-ku*, *inhabitant of a village*, *-ŋke* *possessive suffix*. No poetic transforms of words other than nouns were encountered; however, verbs in songs often show archaic morphology, a subject outside the scope of this paper.

Two final types of Buin sublanguage must be mentioned. These are 'pig-latins', or 'ludlings'<sup>36</sup> - regular transformations of ordinary language utterances into a 'secret' language. Little information on the circumstances of their use could be obtained, although, like so many of these secret languages in other cultures, the first at least would seem to be a jargon used by adolescents. The mechanism of the first type can be described as follows:

disyllables:  $S_1S_2 \rightarrow S_2S_1$   
 trisyllables:  $S_1S_2S_3 \rightarrow S_3GS_1S_2$  (where G represents gemination of the vowel of  $S_3$ )  
 other polysyllables:  $S_1S_2S_3\dots S_n \rightarrow S_3\dots S_nS_1S_2$

Monosyllables remain unchanged. As in the previous poetic transforms, all assimilations of nasal consonants take place in the derived forms. The following list of examples will exemplify the procedure:

| <i>Normal</i>                     | <i>Ludling</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>disyllables:</b>               |                |
| moi <i>canarium almond</i>        | imo            |
| muo <i>coconut</i>                | omu            |
| roi <i>man</i>                    | iro            |
| <b>trisyllables:</b>              |                |
| iai <sup>37</sup> <i>that one</i> | eeia           |
| konno <i>sago leaflet</i>         | nookon         |

<sup>36</sup>As the term 'pig-latin' is too specific, and the term 'play-language' too broad, the author has introduced the term 'ludling' (from Latin *ludus* and *lingua*) to refer to such systematic deformations of ordinary language. The first use of the term was in an (unpublished) paper delivered at the Hobart meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (August 1965).

<sup>37</sup>Morphologically, but not phonemically, *iai* is \**iae* (*ia that* plus *-e focus marker*); this is recognised in the transformation to *eeia*, not \**iiia*.

| <i>Normal</i> |                      | <i>Ludling</i> |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------|
| kuruu         | <i>snake species</i> | uukuru         |
| omio          | <i>give me</i>       | oomi           |
| oreu          | <i>breadfruit</i>    | uore           |
| piie          | <i>yam variety</i>   | eepii          |

other polysyllables:

|            |                            |            |
|------------|----------------------------|------------|
| amanoko    | <i>many</i>                | nokoama    |
| inuati     | <i>plant species</i>       | atiinu     |
| itakene    | <i>children</i>            | keneita    |
| itamino    | <i>children</i>            | minoita    |
| kirituu    | <i>palm species</i>        | tuukiri    |
| koituru    | <i>coconut leaf midrib</i> | turukoi    |
| kuitau     | <i>ladder</i>              | tauuki     |
| kupogui    | <i>he set out</i>          | guikupo    |
| kuuruu     | <i>owl</i>                 | ruukuu     |
| mainiga    | <i>old men</i>             | nigamai    |
| moirui     | <i>he went home</i>        | ruimoi     |
| omiton     | <i>it is finished</i>      | tonomi     |
| paoi       | <i>shark</i>               | oipaa      |
| paampa     | <i>unused</i>              | mpapaa     |
| roikene    | <i>men</i>                 | keneroi    |
| ruunne     | <i>abandoned house</i>     | nneruu     |
| tiinura    | <i>mirror</i>              | nuratii    |
| temmoko    | <i>previously</i>          | mokoton    |
| tonugoko   | <i>many things</i>         | gokotonu   |
| tounoke    | <i>none</i>                | noketou    |
| uatei      | <i>sago palm</i>           | teiuu      |
| ummainerai | <i>all villages</i>        | maineraiuu |
| ummaru     | <i>village pig</i>         | maruuu     |

The following sentence shows the use of this sublanguage in connected text:

*Normal:* miginopumpigu      muruonno      ee      kuru miŋkarei  
*they having shown they returned that oil scraping*

onogoiparo                      akoi      muo  
*they knew from them those coconuts*

*(After being shown the method, they went home, and then they knew how to obtain oil by scraping coconuts.)*

Ludling<sup>38</sup>: nopumpigumigi onnomuru ee kuru kareimiŋ ga...  
 goiparoono iiako oomuo

Four words in ordinary language have variants (not poetic) that appear to be derived from this sublanguage. These are: kopakoo, var. kookopa *land snail*, kuukutu, var. kutukuu *chief's hat*, piniai, var. aipini *girl*, and pororiŋ, var. rimporo *florin* - the last a borrowing from English. The reasons for the play-language becoming fossilised in these few forms are not clear.

The second form of ludling does not appear to be productive. It is actually a blend of two transformations: the omission of stops between identical vowels, and the suffixation of -noko/-roko, the alternation between the two suffix-forms being, as other -n/-r suffixes in the language, morphologically determined. The short utterance recorded in this sublanguage comes from a text in which a dog discovers the first harvested coconuts piled by the side of the road. The men (Komaraaraa and Komakiikii) who place the coconuts there do not know the name of the new fruit, and it is the dog's use of muo *coconut*, albeit in disguised form, that gives them the word:

Normal: ia ŋkoma muo pai oromui kagatarei tou kagatokui  
*this my coconut who placed? shelling not I can shell.*  
 topokarei menu perekoku aruere topogorogui  
*breaking mountain if I roll on stone it will break*  
 (Who placed this coconut here for me? I cannot shell it, but  
 if I roll it down the mountain it will break on the stones.)

Ludling: ia ŋkoroko muoroko pai oromuinoko kaatarei tou kaatokui  
 tookarei menu perekoku aruere toogorogui

This utterance by a dog was regarded by my informant as extremely amusing, when we came to discuss it. His comment was "If a dog could speak the Buin language, that is probably just how he would talk". There is probably no better comment on the Buin attitudes to nature and language.

<sup>38</sup> There are some errors in the ludling forms. kuru should perhaps be \*ruku, although the informant said this word was 'invariable'; muo should give omu, the form in fact recorded when the word was said in isolation; and the informant hesitated in transforming onogoiparo.

## APPENDIX

### USE OF POETIC FORMS IN CONTEXT

The two songs which follow are typical of the Buin song-form pia (*lament*; see Thurnwald 1936, 1941), though there are formal differences between them in structure. Both songs deal with the same set of events: the killing of Kaara, and the revenge of his clansmen. Two brothers, Kaagei and Tiiruŋ, were hired to poison Kaara of Kugugai village; it is the mother of Kaara who sings the first lament. In revenge, Kaara's clansmen Kogomoni, Naanou, Noupiri, and Tiora, all of Kugugai, paid other clansmen, Kaakai and Moiru, a quantity of shell money to kill Kaagei and Tiiruŋ. The two brothers were tricked into going on a possum hunt, and killed; Moio, the younger brother of the two victims, assisted the murderers, but ran away when the deed was performed.

In the setting out of the text, the choruses and repeated half-lines are not shown after the first occurrence. In these repetitions, deletions and slight textual changes are common, but they are not significant enough to warrant inclusion. In the first song, lines 1, 9, 10, 14, 24 and 33 are not repeated.

Poetic forms and usages are marked with an asterisk.

#### 1. LAMENT FOR KAARA

1 ne mara pirukuti  
*I bad lamenting*

2 emu oogoro\* koomonnaa  
*now clubhouse I come to*

*CHORUS: uu aa ii and repeat line*

3 pirukuti tei miaguatina  
*lamenting the one sorrowing*

4 tuparia\* potoraipetipigu  
*figus because they poisoned*

- 5 kugikaro\* kooroiaroga  
*Kugugai from the top of the road*
- 6 imotoro tou morugiteguo  
*thus not you considered*
- 7 egu ogo rupokuotorutino  
*now also a place he makes you rot*
- 8 moninei\* tou mommoruketi  
*Kogomoni not you considered*
- 9 moninei\* rooropereguoru  
*Kogomoni the man you scorned*
- 10 ne mara pirukuti  
*I bad lamenting*
- 11 ako rato kaaeko\* toropeti  
*he north Kaakai you paid them well*
- 12 ee iitugi kiitako toroputino  
*these victims two a place he paid them well*
- 13 toropugu monaree kooronj  
*paying road ends*
- 14-18 Repeat verses 1-5
- 19 mani ketumoro rarokoipeti  
*well road-head you stare*
- 20 pirinei\* rooropereguoru  
*Noupiri the man you scorned*
- 21-23 Repeat verses 6, 7, 20
- 24 ne mara pirukuti  
*I bad lamenting*
- 25 paa ke kaaeko\* toropeti  
*what Kaakai paid you well*
- 26-28 Repeat verses 12, 13, 19
- 29 noumanu\* tou mommoruketi  
*Naanou not you considered*
- 30 noumanu\* rooropereguoru  
*Naanou the man you scorned*
- 31 imotoro tou morugiteguo  
*thus not you considered*



32 egu ogo komiguotorutino  
now also a place he makes you wither

33-37 Repeat verses 1-5

38 tioriri\* tou mommoruketi  
Tiora not you considered

39-40 Repeat verses 32, 31

41 tioriri\* rooropereguoru  
Tiora the man you scorned

#### TRANSLATION

1 Greatly lamenting 2 I come to the clubhouse; 3 I, a woman sorrowing,  
4 because you two have poisoned my son the banyan-tree,  
5 at Kugugai at the top of the road. 6 You did not suspect  
7 there would be a place where you two also would be laid to rot.  
8 You did not think of Kogomoni, 9 the man you used to scorn.  
10 I lament greatly; 11 Kaakai, in the north, you paid them well,  
12 there where he paid back those two victims, 13 where the road ends (at Kugugai).

14 Greatly lamenting 15 I come to the clubhouse; 16 I, a woman sorrowing,  
17 because you two have poisoned my son the banyan-tree,  
18 at Kugugai at the top of the road. 19 Now I am pleased that your two bodies stare at the head of the road. 20 You used to scorn Noupiri,  
21 but you did not suspect 22 there would be a place where you two also would be laid to rot; 23 you used to scorn Noupiri!

24 I lament greatly; 25 did not Kaakai pay you well, 26 there where he paid back those two victims, 27 where the road ends (at Kugugai);  
28 now I am pleased that your two bodies stare at the head of the road. 29 You did not think of Naanou, 30 the man you used to scorn;  
31 you did not suspect 32 there would be a place where you two also would be laid to wither.

33 Greatly lamenting 34 I come to the clubhouse; 35 I, a woman sorrowing,  
36 because you two have poisoned my son the banyan-tree,  
37 at Kugugai at the top of the road. 38 You did not think of Tiora,  
39 in the place you have also been laid to rot; 40 this you did not suspect!  
41 You used to scorn Tiora!

## 2. LAMENT FOR KAAGEI AND TIIRUNG

1 tei aatiototemuina m  
*the one awakened*

CHORUS: ruŋ pirigia\* koone *and repeat line*  
*child parrot young*

2 pimpaŋ\* aku tagugoipugu m  
*slitgong hand he beats*

3 pimpaŋ\* rugaŋe moiaka\* m  
*slitgong man Moio*

4 pipirupo rouganuponnu m  
*victim clansman*

5 ako mara ikoga puaguro m  
*he bad of those died*

6 ako mara ikoga tantina\* m  
*he bad of those shells*

7 iko mara kugunogu momugoko m  
*those bad spearlike short*

8 muugupa kugukeikuŋke\* m  
*different of Kugugai men*

9 tei numapie peroimuina m  
*the one breath lost*

10 moiaka\* pataguro ogugu m  
*Moiru arrived thinking*

11 emu kikikompuro kupogui m  
*now he lopped went*

12 kikikoŋ rugaŋe kaaeko\* m  
*lopping man Kaagei*

13-14 *Repeat lines 4-5*

15 ako mara ikoga puunei\* m  
*he bad of those shells*

16-17 *Repeat lines 7-8 in reverse order*

18 ne tei tou aapotina m  
*I the one not thinking*

19 inu rapanei\* kemerenapui m  
*taro iirapa he cut up*

- 20 tiugai\* ui kojkompugu m  
pulpul base he makes
- 21 omo ako rugane kaaeko\* m  
just that man Kaakai
- 22-23 Repeat lines 4-5
- 24 omo ako ikoga pirikena\* m  
just he of those shells
- 25-27 Repeat lines 8, 7, 18
- 28 inu itumake\* kemerenapui m  
taro itung he cut up
- 29-34 Repeat lines 21, 20, 5, 6, 8, 7.

#### TRANSLATION

- 1 I am a woman awakened from sleep (my parrot child) 2 as he beats the slitgong, 3 that man Moio; 4 the dead man was his clansman, 5 the man who died because of those bad things, 6 of all that bad tantina shell money, 7 the bad short ones like a spear, 8 a different kind, that of the Kugugai men. 9 Now breath leaves me; 10 Moiru has arrived, thinking 11 of how Moio cut down a tree and went away. 12 Kaagei was the man they cut down; 13 the dead man was his clansman, 14 the man who died because of those bad things, 15 of all that bad tompuu shell money, 16 a different kind, that of the Kugugai men, 17 the bad short ones like a spear.
- 18 I am not a woman who thinks 19 that he ever cut up iirapa taro for him (as I used to); 20 he made a chopped-down plant of him, 21 that man Kaakai. 22 The dead man was his clansman, 23 the man who died because of those bad things, 24 of all that bad piriai shell money, 25 a different kind, that of the Kugugai men, 26 the bad short ones like a spear.
- 27 I am not a woman who thinks 28 that ever he cut up itung taro for him (as I used to); 29 that man Kaara 30 made a chopped-down plant of him, 31 the man who died because of those bad things, 32 of all that bad tantina shell money, 33 a different kind, that of the Kugugai men, 34 the bad short ones like a spear.

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GENDER IN A NEW GUINEA LANGUAGE  
BARUYA<sup>1</sup> NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

RICHARD G. LLOYD

0. General Introduction.
1. Noun Stems.
2. Noun Classes.
3. Clitics, including Gender.
4. Noun Phrases.
5. Conclusion.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

|   |  |
|---|--|
| + | obligatory occurrence of unit following                                      |
| ± | optional occurrence of unit following  |
| - | obligatory non-occurrence of unit following                                  |
| : | means that the slot preceding this symbol is filled by<br>the unit following |
| ~ | separates allomorphs   |
| / | is used between alternatives   |

Superscript numbers in a formula mean the slot is repeated that number of times. If the number is 2, the slot is repeated twice.

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| Acc | accompaniment slot                           |
| acc | accompaniment morpheme                       |
| Aj  | adjective phrase                             |
| aj  | adjective                                    |
| AN  | appositional noun phrase                     |
| Ap  | apposition slot                              |
| Cc  | clitic slot (or combination of clitic slots) |
| CN  | co-ordinate noun phrase                      |

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <b>d</b>       | dual number                                  |
| <b>fem</b>     | feminine gender                              |
| <b>full</b>    | a wide range of possibilities (chart 3)      |
| <b>H</b>       | head slot                                    |
| <b>I.O.</b>    | indirect object                              |
| <b>It</b>      | item slot (in name and appositional phrases) |
| <b>Lim</b>     | limitation slot                              |
| <b>M</b>       | modification slot                            |
| <b>masc</b>    | masculine gender                             |
| <b>MK</b>      | modified kin phrase                          |
| <b>MN</b>      | modified noun phrase                         |
| <b>M Name</b>  | modified name phrase                         |
| <b>MQual</b>   | modified quality phrase                      |
| <b>N</b>       | noun phrase                                  |
| <b>n</b>       | noun   |
| <b>n adj</b>   | adjunct quality noun                         |
| <b>n doa</b>   | domestic animate noun                        |
| <b>n dof</b>   | domestic family animate noun                 |
| <b>nge</b>     | generic noun, animate or inanimate           |
| <b>nhua</b>    | human animate noun                           |
| <b>nhuf</b>    | human family animate noun                    |
| <b>n kin</b>   | referential kin noun                         |
| <b>n loc</b>   | location noun                                |
| <b>n nat</b>   | nature quality noun                          |
| <b>n place</b> | place noun                                   |
| <b>n prop</b>  | proper noun                                  |
| <b>n qual</b>  | quality noun                                 |
| <b>n sp</b>    | specific noun, animate or inanimate          |
| <b>NaP</b>     | name phrase                                  |
| <b>neut</b>    | neuter gender                                |
| <b>Num</b>     | numeral phrase (also numeral clause)         |
| <b>p</b>       | plural number                                |
| <b>poss</b>    | possessive                                   |
| <b>PossP</b>   | possessive phrase                            |
| <b>pron</b>    | pronoun                                      |
| <b>rep</b>     | representative                               |
| <b>Restr.</b>  | restricted range of possibilities (chart 3)  |
| <b>Sp</b>      | specification slot                           |
| <b>s</b>       | singular number                              |
| <b>spec</b>    | specifier                                    |
| <b>sum</b>     | summary word                                 |



## 0. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This paper describes gender, and the noun stems and phrases with which gender occurs. Gender refers to the sex of animate noun referents, or to the size, shape or importance of inanimate referents. These and other clitics are described in Section 3. The Behavioural Noun Classes described in Section 2 do not coincide with the Gender Classes. The paper is based upon the tagmemic model developed by K.L. Pike and expanded by R.E. Longacre (see Bibliography). Formulas are not given in the early part of the paper.

## 1. NOUN STEMS

1.0. Derived noun stems and noun roots, which occur with adjectivizer derivational morphemes, are discussed in this section. The formation of various types of compound nouns is also presented. Roots are single morphemes which carry the "basic meaning" of words. Stems are either single morphemes (roots) or sequences of morphemes. Compound stems are combinations of roots. Derived stems are one or more roots, plus one or more derivational affixes. Derived stems usually have a different distribution from the original roots.

### 1.1. NOUN ROOTS

Recurring partials have been noted within the noun roots, but these are only relevant in compound stems and the formation of adjectives. Historically it seems that all nouns had stem class markers, one of which actively survives as the substantive<sup>2</sup> morpheme. The historic class marker and the substantive morpheme can occur together.

|  |  |                |
|--|--|----------------|
| yí'-ta <sup>3</sup><br>tree-class marker | yí'-t-ya<br>tree-class marker-<br>substantive  | 'tree'         |
| k+n-na<br>sugar-class marker             | k+n-n-ya<br>sugar-class marker-<br>substantive | 'sugar cane'   |
| The class markers are:                   |  |                |
| ya <sup>4</sup>                          | taanya   | 'branch'       |
|  | gílya  | 'bag'          |
| e  | bule   | 'back'         |
|  | a'mwé  | 'person'       |
| ia                                       | y+kwia   | 'wrapping'     |
|  | ar+bwíá  | 'tree species' |

|    |          |                |
|----|----------|----------------|
| ta | bu'ta    | 'tadpole'      |
|    | yí'ta    | 'tree'         |
| ka | kwa'a'ka | 'ground'       |
|    | dí'ka    | 'fire'         |
| na | kinna    | 'sugar'        |
|    | bina     | 'bird species' |
| a  | anga     | 'house'        |
|    | tyaala   | 'salt'         |

## 1.2. DERIVED STEMS

(a) Adjectives may be derived from noun stems by affixing derivational suffixes to the noun root minus historic class marker (see Section 1.1.).

The derivational suffixes are:

|                    |                                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| -na'ka             | 'characterized by'               |
| -maaya             | 'not characterized by'           |
| -dya               | 'characterized by the colour of' |
| kun-na'ká          | 'wise'                           |
| wisdom-having      |                                  |
| tyí'dú'-maaya      | 'unknowledgeable'                |
| knowledge-without  |                                  |
| biwaa'-dyá         | 'blue-grey' (colour of clay)     |
| clay type-colour   |                                  |
| awí'-dya           | 'yellow' (colour of root)        |
| yellow root-colour |                                  |

(b) Any verb stem, when affixed by the substantive<sup>2</sup> morpheme, becomes a noun.

|                   |                      |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| balí-ya           | 'death; dead person' |
| die-substantive   |                      |
| yawí-rí-tá        | 'thought'            |
| think-substantive |                      |

The prefix na- 'for the purpose of' is also a derivational affix and occurs before some nominalized verb stems giving an idiomatic meaning to the noun thus formed.

|                     |            |
|---------------------|------------|
| na-balí-ya          | 'sickness' |
| for-die-substantive |            |

na-wala-bwarí-yá            *'sleeping mat'*  
 for-down-smooth-  
 substantive

na-mwaalí-ya-yíta        *'chair; roost'*  
 for-sit-substantive-  
 wood

### 1.3. COMPOUND STEMS

Any compound which includes a noun root is a noun. In compounds, noun and adjective roots lose their historic class markers, except when occurring as the final root. Various types of compound are illustrated below:

(a) Noun root - verb root

tyaal-gí'ní-ya            *'betrothal'*  
 salt-chew-substantive

ang-yírí'máarí-ta        *'a visit'*  
 house-visit-substantive

arí'madí-ya              *'animal species'*  
 nest-build-substantive

(b) Verb root - verb root

baikúrí-baikúrí-ta       *'insect species'*  
 jump-jump-substantive

baatyírí-ma'ní-yá        *'a shirt'*  
 open-put self into-sub-  
 stantive

(c) Direction root - verb root

na-wala-bwarí-yá        *'sleeping mat'*  
 for-down-smooth-sub-  
 stantive

Compounds as above, which end in a verb root, usually occur with feminine gender.

(d) Verb root -ya - noun root (Noun stem - noun root)

na-mwaalí-ya-yíta        *'a seat'*  
 for-stay-substantive-wood

## (e) Adjective root - noun root

|                 |                          |
|-----------------|--------------------------|
| yaa'-nyáanna    | 'insect species'         |
| white-insect    |                          |
| mudí'-wawínya   | 'time for working again' |
| new-work/garden |                          |

## (f) Noun root - adjective root

|              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| aalí'-yaa'ká | 'flood water' |
| water-white  |               |

## (g) Noun root - direction root - noun root

|                  |                  |
|------------------|------------------|
| ang-yíla-yagínyá | 'roof framework' |
| house-up-bone    |                  |

## (h) Noun root - noun root

These are the most common noun compounds.

|                 |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| bu'-gílyá       | 'net to catch tadpoles' |
| tadpole-bag     |                         |
| gí-l-yífví'tá   | 'possessions'           |
| bag-cape        |                         |
| dí'-kíráyá      | 'bundle of firewood'    |
| firewood-bundle |                         |

The resultant compound may also occur within another compound.

|                               |                          |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (dí'-kírá <sup>5</sup> )-wíla | 'rope to carry firewood' |
| fire wood-bundle-vine         |                          |
| (wawín-yí')-munné             | 'garden clearing feast'  |
| garden-tree-feast             |                          |
| sol-(mún-naanya)              | 'rattan belt'            |
| rattan-stomach-track          |                          |

The final noun root in a compound determines which gender occurs.

## 1.4. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The examples in Sections 1.2. and 1.3. have been written in their basic forms rather than their spoken forms which result from morphophonemic behaviour. Between morphemes and/or stems the following morphophonemic rules occur:

## 1. Preceding a consonant other than y or w

(a) p r and w become glottal stop. If r is the following consonant

it becomes t.

(b) b d g m n and ng become nasals at the same point of articulation as the following consonant. If the following consonant is p t or k, b d or g results respectively.

(c) l becomes i.

|  |                 |                        |
|--|-----------------|------------------------|
| ang-(a)-y+r+ 'máar-ta<br>house-class-visit-substantive | angy+r+ 'maa'ta | 'visiting'             |
| y+rap-ta<br>stoke fire-substantive                     | y+ra'ta         | 'fire stoking'         |
| ang-(a)-munné<br>house-class-feast                     | ammunné         | 'house building feast' |
| a'mwe-ng-ty+no<br>person-fem.they-with                 | a'mwédy+no      | 'and the woman'        |
| tyaal-(a)-gula<br>salt-class-gourd                     | tyaaigula       | 'salt gourd'           |

2. Before w, the glottal resulting from rule 1(a) usually disappears. The combination 'w is a rare occurrence in the language. The phoneme w does not occur following dental consonants. The phoneme n is dropped before w, except when n is word initial, in which case w is lost.

|   |             |                |
|---|-------------|----------------|
| mala'-(ta)-wawfnyá<br>yam-class-garden      | malawawfnyá | 'yam garden'   |
| tu'-(ta)-wawfnyá<br>track-class-garden/work | tu'wawfnyá  | 'road work'    |
| k+n-(na)-wawfnyá<br>sugar-class-garden      | k+wawfnyá   | 'sugar garden' |

3. Before y all consonants remain the same, except that the combination wy becomes y.

|                                       |                |                        |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| dy+l+k-(ka)-yaawarya<br>dog-class-pig | dy+l+kyaawarya | 'domesticated animals' |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|

4. A voiced stop following the morphophoneme VL becomes voiceless.

|  |                |                     |
|--|----------------|---------------------|
| gaVL-daa'káangalo<br>his-older brother referential | gataa'káangalo | 'his older brother' |
|--|----------------|---------------------|

5. When vowels occur together, unless the second is i, the second vowel is dropped. However e plus -i'ko 'neuter gender' becomes -i'ko.

|   |                 |           |
|---|-----------------|-----------|
| kwaari'ma'ta-í'ko<br><i>knife-neuter</i>            | kwaari'ma'tí'ko | 'a knife' |
| tí'k-e-í'ko<br><i>man's name-substantive-neuter</i> | tí'ki'ko        | 'Dick'    |

6. Usually vowels í and a are lost before y or w.

|   |                              |                |
|---|------------------------------|----------------|
| na-wala-bwar-yá<br><i>for-down-smooth-substantive</i> | n-wala-bwar-yá<br>nalabwaryá | 'sleeping mat' |
| a'mwa'(e)-á'mwe<br><i>person-class-person</i>         | a'mwa-á'mwe<br>a'mwá'mwe     | 'native doll'  |

7. Pitch-accent. There are three basic pitch-accent patterns on noun stems. Most have no pitch-accent, while others have pitch-accent on either the ultimate or penultimate syllable. Some compound stems have pitch-accent on syllables other than the ultimate and penultimate. Some morphemes have a basic pitch-accent.

The same morphotonemic rule applies to words, roots in Non-Idiomatic Pitch Compounds, and morphemes. The first syllable of the word, root or morpheme gains a pitch-accent, unless the following syllable or either of the preceding two syllables has a basic pitch-accent. All except the final pitch-accent in the word mǎngwǎlá in the following example result from this rule.

|  |
|--|
| kaimale-rí-ne mwa'ta mǎngwǎlá tyoimáanga tyaamǎnya-rí'ko                   |
| <i>boy-object-for, arrow, type of arrow, type of mingwila, long-gender</i> |
| 'A long soimanga mingwila arrow for the boy (I will buy).'                 |

When historic class markers are dropped in a Non-Idiomatic Pitch Compound perturbation occurs according to the above rule, except that it occurs on the second syllable of the second stem instead of the first. The first syllable reflects the accent or non-accent of the lost syllable. If the second stem had a basic accent on the third syllable, this is lost in favour of the perturbed pitch-accent on the second syllable.

|                             |                                     |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| dík-yígáa'pala              | 'insect species'                    |
| dík-(ka) yígaa'pala         |                                     |
| <i>fire to put out fire</i> |                                     |
| aalíkuraámya                | 'bird species'                      |
| aal-(ya) kuraámya           |                                     |
| <i>water bird species</i>   |                                     |
| dí'kwará'ka                 | 'burning stick (for lighting fire)' |
| dík-(ka) kwara'ká           |                                     |
| <i>fire egg</i>             |                                     |

a'mwá'mwe                      '*native doll*'  
 a'mwé a'mwé  
 person person

Idiomatic Pitch Compounds, as a unit, have the basic pitch-accent patterns of noun stems.

ara'bunya                      '*mud puddle*'  
 ara'-(ka) bunya  
 mud              lake

a'tyaminyá                      '*banana species*'  
 ar-(ta) tyaaminya  
 hand              long

### 1.5. BEHAVIOUR OF HISTORIC CLASS MARKERS

The Historic Class Marker -e reduces and a root final -a is pronounced. Pitch-accent perturbation then behaves as if a syllable has been dropped.

kwadamaanga                      '*edge of limestone (cliff)*'  
 kwade maanga  
 limestone edge

Noun roots which end in l and which occur with the Historic Class Marker -ya do not have the l changed to i when -ya is dropped. An i often occurs between l and the following root, but the pitch-accent perturbation behaves as if a syllable has been dropped.

aal+maangá                      '*river edge*'  
 aal-(ya) maanga  
 water              edge

gilyfpí'tá                      '*possessions*'  
 gíl-(ya) yípi'tá  
 bag              cape

Stem final aa before -ya, becomes e when -ya is dropped. The pitch-accent perturbation behaves as if a syllable has been dropped.

wa'pewáwinya                      '*sweet potato garden*'  
 wa'paayá wawinya  
 sweet potato, garden

yíredyíkínya                      '*shadow of cloud*'  
 yíraaya dyíkinya  
 cloud              dark

When Historic Class Marker -a is dropped, the pitch-accent perturbation does not behave as if a syllable has been dropped.

|              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| tyoimāanga   | 'arrow type'  |
| tyola maanga |               |
| rattan tooth |               |
| adú'ta       | 'house track' |
| anga tu'ta   |               |
| house track  |               |

## 2. NOUN CLASSES

2.0. This section describes the Behavioural Noun Classes. Chart 3 summarizes their main contrastive features.

Nouns occur as Subject, Actor, Object, Indirect Object, Instrument, Accompaniment, Benefaction, Adjunct<sup>6</sup> and Vocative. Other distributions are as Possessed and Possessor Items, Time, Location, Purpose, Reason and Reference.

### 2.1. ANIMATE NOUNS

Animate Nouns have obligatory<sup>7</sup> gender clitics according to sex. They co-occur in a clause with the verb stem mwaal+ 'to sit; live; remain'. They also occur in Slots<sup>8</sup> 1 and 2 of a Name Phrase.

The Human Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrase types 1 and 2 as follows:

Phrase 1. a'mwé tyaa'tya gyaa'káanga yabwin+mwá-lo  
*person, family name, his mother's brother, man's name-he*  
*'his uncle Mr Yambwinumwa Sasa'*

Phrase 2. a'mwé tyaa'tya aa'tá-lo  
*person, family name, grandfather(address)-he*  
*'Grandfather Sasa!'*

Other Human Animate Nouns are:

|                    |                                  |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| taayá-wo           | 'girl-she'                       |
| yaany+wáa'ka-wo/lo | 'person without a spouse-she/he' |
| g+láaya-wo/lo      | 'ghost-she/he'                   |

The Human Family Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase types 1 and 2 in the preceding examples. Other Human Family Animate Nouns are:

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| e'tya-wo     | 'Miss Esa'                                     |
| baaruya-lo   | 'Mr Baruya'                                    |
| y+duyá-raawo | 'the Yiduya people' (different cultural group) |



The Domestic Animate Nouns occur in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrase 3.

dy+l+'ka káam+dya ty+m+ná-lo  
*dog, family name, dog's name-he*  
*'the kaminja dog Simina'*

There are two Domestic Animate Nouns.

dy+l+'ka-lo                   *'dog-he'*  
yaawaryá-lo                   *'pig-he'*

The Domestic Family sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase 3 as in the preceding example.

kaam+dya-lo                   *(dog family name-he)*  
g+naal+'ka-wo                 *(pig family name-she)*

The Generic Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrase 7.

yu'ta tyáa'ka-lo             *'a saka bird'*  
*bird bird species-he*

Typical Generic Animate Nouns are:

yu'ta-lo/wo                   *'bird-he/she'*  
maa'nyanna-lo                *'insect-he'*  
yaangwia-wo                  *'hunted animal-she'*  
dyangwinya-lo                *'fish-he'*

The Specific Animate sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase 7 as in the preceding example.

kuraa'tá-lo                   *'insect species-he'*  
ty+waa'ka-lo                  *'animal species-he'*

Note the parallel between Generic sub-class and the Human and Domestic sub-classes. Also note the parallel between the Specific sub-class and the Human Family and Domestic Family sub-classes.

Two members of the class of Nature Nouns also occur with mwaal+ 'live'. They are ny+la 'sun', and langwe 'moon'. These do not, however, occur with all number possibilities of this verb, and they do not occur in a Name Phrase.

## 2.2. INANIMATE NOUNS

Inanimate Nouns occur with optional gender. They do not co-occur in a clause with the verb stem mwaal+ 'to sit; live; remain'. They occur with singular, dual and plural clitics as Actors of clauses in which the verb is always in third person and singular number.

yí'ta-ngó waay-í'ko                    *'Trees are standing.'*  
*tree-fem.plural, stand-stative third person singular*

The semantic range of Inanimate Nouns covers all vegetation, food, implements, housing, water etc.

The Generic Inanimate sub-class occurs in the Item 1 Slot of Name Phrases 4, 6 and 7.

yí'ta gáawalá                            *'a gawala tree'*  
*tree tree species*

anga                                        *'house'*

aalya                                       *'water'*

The Specific Inanimate Noun sub-class occurs in the Item 2 Slot of Name Phrase 7 as in the preceding example.

nadaaya                                    *'type of house'*  
 m̄ngwílá                                    *'type of arrow (carved)'*

Inanimate Nouns also occur in the Location Slot with Indirect Object clitics usually preceded by the substantive morpheme -ya.

gílya' áng-e-p̄no wá'dí'tyí            *'While the bag lay in the*  
*bag actor, house-substantive-her,            house...'*  
*while it lay*

a'mwéi gaawál-ya-r̄no yíládaapí'    *'The man is standing on the*  
*man actor, tree species-substantive-            gawala tree.'*  
*him, up he stands*

If further investigation should prove that all Inanimate Nouns do not so occur the ones which do occur could be called Locative Inanimate Nouns.

### 2.3. PROPER NOUNS

Proper Nouns are never modified. In all environments they occur with obligatory gender, but never with the substantive morpheme -ya.

The Human Proper Noun sub-class occurs in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 1.

gataa'káanga                            no'káa-lo                            *'his older brother Noka'*  
*his older brother man's name-he*

yaadíma'ní-mo                            *'Yandimatni-he'*  
 dyítýepariná-wó                            *'Jizevalina-she'*

The Address Kin Proper Nouns are listed in column 1 of Chart 1. They occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 2.

baaruya aa'tá-lo 'grandfather Baruya'  
family name, grandfather-he

níwáa-wo 'my mother-she'

Dog and Pig Proper Nouns occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 3.

dyíli'ka káam+dya tyfíná-lo 'the kaminja dog Simina'  
dog, dog family name, dog's  
name-he

mayaakwayá-lo pig's name he 'Mayagwaya'

The River and Lake Proper Nouns occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 4.

aalya yáaika-wo 'the Yaiga River'  
water river name-she

ma'nyíwe-lo 'Matnyuwe'  
lake name-he

#### 2.4. LOCATION NOUNS

Location Nouns are the only ones to co-occur with Place Nouns in Name Phrases. Only Location Nouns can occur, with or without the substantive morpheme *-ya*, with the location morphemes *-bano* 'at' or *-wíno* 'to' without gender morphemes. All other nouns occur with obligatory gender and obligatory substantive morpheme *-ya* preceding *-bano* or *-wíno*.

kwaa't-yá-bano 'at the resting place'  
bare patch-substantive-  
location

anga-bano 'at the village'  
village-location

yí'daryá-wíno 'in/to the forest'

wawínya-wíno 'to/at the garden'

kwaa'ta tyílaláada'ko 'Silaladak resting place'  
resting place, name of land

#### 2.5. PLACE NOUNS

Place Nouns do not occur in Representative Noun Phrases, whereas all other noun classes do occur there. Place Nouns occur in the Item 4 Slot of Name Phrase 5 and the Possessed Slot of a Possessive Phrase, or as the sole filler of a clause level slot. Place Nouns occur with fixed gender, case, person and number, while other nouns occur with variable case and usually variable person and number and sometimes variable gender.

Place Nouns never occur with the substantive morpheme *-ya*.

|                                    |                                  |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>kwaa'ta ty+laláada'ko</i>       | <i>'Silaladak resting place'</i> |
| <i>resting place, name of land</i> |                                  |
| <i>n+m+ré yáany+no</i>             | <i>'my Yanyi'</i>                |
| <i>my village name</i>             |                                  |

## 2.6. REFERENTIAL KIN NOUNS

Referential Kin Nouns contrast with all other nouns by their internal structure. They consist of a stem (as listed in column 2 of Chart 1) with an obligatory possessive prefix (as listed in Chart 2) and with a referential suffix *-áanga*. Most Referential Kin Nouns occur with obligatory *-áanga*, in some this morpheme is optional, and two nouns *rawa* 'husband of wife's sister' and *ya'mwe* 'friend', do not occur with *-áanga*.

Referential Kin Nouns occur with obligatory gender and rarely with substantive morpheme *-ya*. They occur within a Modified Kin Phrase and are the only nouns to occur in the Item 3 Slot of Name Phrases.

|  |                                  |
|--|----------------------------------|
| <i>nek+rí-nan-áanga</i>                                  | <i>'our (dual) older sister'</i> |
| <i>our dual-older sister-referential</i>                 |                                  |
| <i>dy+kim+l-áanga</i>                                    | <i>'your cross-cousin'</i>       |
| <i>your-cross cousin-referential</i>                     |                                  |
| <i>kup+n+pa'k-áanga</i>                                  | <i>'their siblings-in-law'</i>   |
| <i>their-siblings in law-referential</i>                 |                                  |
| <i>kír-ya'k-áanga</i>                                    | <i>'your (dual) grandmother'</i> |
| <i>your/their two-grandmother-referential</i>            |                                  |
| <i>a'mwé tyaa'tya gyaa'káanga yabwin+mwái</i>            |                                  |
| <i>person, family name, mother's brother, man's name</i> |                                  |
| <i>'his uncle Mr Yambwinumwa Sasa'</i>                   |                                  |

The stems for 'father' and 'mother' have two allomorphs (see Chart 1). The prefixes for 'my' and 'your' also have two allomorphs (Chart 2). The first allomorph of these stems occurs with the first allomorph of 'my' and 'your', and the second stem allomorph occurs with the second possessive prefix allomorph, respectively.

Instead of using the first person singular Referential Kin Nouns for 'father' and 'mother' most speakers of Baruya prefer to use the appropriate Address Kin Proper Nouns instead. These are listed in column 1 of Chart 1.

|                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>ne-n+m-áanga</i>           | <i>'our father'</i> |
| <i>our-father-referential</i> |                     |

|                                |                     |
|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| g+maam-áanga                   | 'your father'       |
| your-father-referential        |                     |
| g-w-áanga                      | 'your mother'       |
| your-mother-referential        |                     |
| ty+r+-n-áanga                  | 'your (pl.) mother' |
| your plural-mother-referential |                     |

There are two terms which do not signify biological kin, but which function as Referential Kin Nouns. These are y+k+p 'initiation guardian' and nya'kwal 'nose-piercing co-initiate'.

## 2.7. QUALITY NOUNS

Quality Nouns occur with optional gender. Quality Nature Nouns manifest the Actor Slot of a Nature Clause. Quality Adjunct Nouns occur in the Adjunct Slot of clauses. In both instances occurrence of clitics is the same and is very restricted. Some of these nouns when not occurring in Nature or Adjunct Clauses occur with all number possibilities, and therefore belong also to the Inanimate Noun class. The rest occur in singular number only.

### Quality Adjunct Nouns:

|                             |               |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| y+laayá gy+máry+wano        | 'I like you.' |
| affection, to you I take do |               |
| mala                        | 'war/fight'   |
| k+inna                      | 'weeping'     |
| kad+'ka                     | 'ear'         |

### Quality Nature Nouns:

|                       |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| m+dy+'ká ny+wá'ko     | 'I am hungry.' |
| hunger to me has done |                |
| y+raaya               | 'cloud'        |
| y+r+'ka purá'ko       | 'dawn dawned'  |
| dawn dawned           |                |
| mwanya                | 'morning'      |

Time Nature Nouns when occurring in a Time Slot can be suffixed by either -gaa'ko 'time' preceded by optional substantive -ya, or by -p+no 'third person singular feminine indirect object' which then has a temporal meaning. Other nouns occurring in time slots are suffixed by optional -ya plus -gaa'ko.

|                              |                  |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| mwaya-pfno<br>morning-her    | 'in the morning' |
| mwaya-gáa'ko<br>morning-time | 'in the morning' |
| yírí'ka                      | 'dawn'           |
| nyíla                        | 'sun'            |

### 3. CLITICS

3.0. Clitics are described in Elson and Pickett, 1962, on pages 101 and 102. In this paper clitics are analysed as bound forms which function at a level higher than the word level.

Gender is one important category manifested by clitics. The noun referent determines the gender of a noun phrase. Various clitics and allomorphs are described in this section.

#### 3.1. GENDER

(a) The nine genders, in their third person singular subject form, are:

|             |         |                        |
|-------------|---------|------------------------|
| Masculine   | -lo     | 'male/important'       |
| Feminine    | -wo     | 'female/general'       |
| Neuter      | -í'ko   | 'small, important'     |
| Masculine A | -baalo  | 'curved'               |
| Neuter A    | -rí'ko  | 'long thin'            |
| Neuter B    | -wa'ko  | 'long thick'           |
| Neuter C    | -míí'ko | 'small, insignificant' |
| Neuter D    | -pa'ko  | 'large, significant'   |
| Neuter E    | -tyí'ko | 'isolated/distinctive' |

An alternative analysis to the above is to recognise three genders, two of which occur with shape morphemes. These shape morphemes would be: -baa 'curved', -rí 'long thin', -wa 'long thick', -míí 'small', -pa 'large' and -tyi 'distinctive'. The shape morpheme -baa occurs with masculine gender and the other shape morphemes with neuter gender. This analysis has not been chosen for the following reasons:

1. In Neuter B and D the neuter morpheme -í'ko does not occur in accordance with morphophonemic rules number 6 of Section 1.4. However some names also end in -'ko rather than -í'ko, e.g. tyílaláada'ko (*land name*).

2. The Gender Class Morphemes -wa, -rí and -b, which occur with some Specifiers<sup>17</sup>, co-occur with certain gender or shape-gender combinations,

rather than with the three basic genders -lo, -wo and -i'ko. Masculine and Neuter genders occur with -wa, Feminine and Neuter A and D and Group genders occur with -ri, and Masculine A and Neuter C B and E occur with -b.

3. Shape morphemes occur with fixed genders -lo or -i'ko and are not interchangeable.

All the genders previously listed in this section occur with the noun root y+i'ta 'wood/tree' depending upon the referent.

|             |                |  |
|-------------|----------------|--|
| Masculine   | y+i'ta-lo      | 'big, tall tree'                       |
| Feminine    | y+i'ta-wo      | 'medium tree/a piece of wood'          |
| Neuter      | y+i't-i'ko     | 'small tree/shrub'                     |
| Masculine A | y+i'ta-báalo   | 'curved stick or tree'                 |
| Neuter A    | y+i'tá-ri'ko   | 'thin stick'                           |
| Neuter B    | y+i'ta-wá'ko   | 'thick stick/limb'                     |
| Neuter C    | y+i'ta-mfli'ko | 'nameless tree/insignificant tree'     |
| Neuter D    | y+i'ta-pá'ko   | 'big piece of wood'                    |
| Neuter E    | y+i'ta-tyf'ko  | 'significant, strong or isolated tree' |

The word anga 'house' and various other nouns can also occur with various genders.

Hockett, 1958, pp.231-233, states "To qualify as a gender system... every noun must belong to one of the classes, and very few can belong to more than one." The Baruya system fulfills the first requirement but not the second. As "shape" does not cover the category and "gender" is a better term than "shape-size-importance-sex" the term "gender" is used in this paper.

(b) The genders listed are all portmanteau morphemes with categories of not only gender, but person, number and case. In examples other than those previously listed, some are portmanteau morphemes whilst others show recurring partials. Examples for Masculine, Feminine and Neuter genders are shown in Chart 4. Note the recurring partials -aalo 'dual' and -aawo 'plural' in Masculine and Neuter, but not in Feminine gender, in second and third persons. The second person is based upon third person forms. Neuter dual and plural are very rare in second person. Morphemes -gino, -kilo and -ikilo are second person singular, dual and plural respectively. The order in second person is (1) gender-number and (2) person-number. In first person the recurring partial n is first person indicator, but in analogy with other persons has not been separated off. First person Masculine gender is -i. First person Feminine gender singular and dual is glottal stop, and the plural is n which results from ng by a morphophonemic rule. Morphemes -nyo, -naalo and -naawo are first

person singular, dual and plural respectively. First person singular neuter occurs with some men's names. The order of morphemes is the same as in second person, that is (1) gender and (2) person-number, though number is only indicated once.

The genders which are not listed on the chart occur in third person singular, dual and plural forms, and second person singular.

|           |                                 |
|-----------|---------------------------------|
| -r+'kaalo | neuter A third person dual      |
| -r+'kaawo | neuter A third person plural    |
| -r+'g+no  | neuter A second person singular |

(c) Another set of genders is the Group genders which refer to combinations of kin relationships. There are only two numbers, dual and plural. A plural group gender might indicate that there is more than one of either relation included in the group. For example 'brother and sister' plural may include more than one brother, or more than one sister. The group genders are listed in Chart 5. The dual morpheme is -aalo for all group genders except -y 'husband and wife' when it is -olo. The plural morpheme is -a'kaawo for all group genders except -y again, when it is -uraawo. Pronouns lose their final syllable -no and occur with Group gender clitics.

As the order of morphemes in group gender clitics remains reasonably constant these are described here. The first order clitic is the group gender morpheme, the second order is the number morpheme and the third is the person morpheme, which also shows number. However only gender and person-number orders occur in third person.

|  |                              |
|--|------------------------------|
| kirimi-nid-áalo                                | 'They, father and child.'    |
| they d.-father and child-dual(they)            |                              |
| kumi-nid-á'kaawo                               | 'They, father and children.' |
| they-father and child-plural(they)             |                              |
| kirimi-nid-áai-kilo                            | 'You, father and child.'     |
| you d.-father and child-dual-you<br>dual       |                              |
| tyarimi-nid-á'kaap-ikílo                       | 'You, father and children.'  |
| you all-father and child-plural-<br>you plural |                              |
| naarimi-nid-áai-naalo                          | 'We, father and child.'      |
| we d.-father and child-dual-we dual            |                              |
| nemi-nid-á'ka-naawo                            | 'We, father and children.'   |
| we-father and child-plural-we plural           |                              |



|                                      |                        |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| a'mwé-y-uraawo                       | 'A man and his wives.' |
| person-husband and wife-plural(they) |                        |
| dyili'ka- n-a'káawo                  | 'A dog and her pups.'  |
| dog-mother and child-plural(they)    |                        |

(d) A set of clitics occurs within a Representative Noun Phrase, usually with peoples' names to mean that that name is representative of a group. The morpheme -paawo which shortens to -pa appears to be a number morpheme meaning 'representative of a plural number'. The clitics are Masculine -rapaawo, Feminine -paawo, Neuter -i'kipaawo, and -mo<sup>18</sup> gender -mipaawo.

|                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| nokaa-rapá           | 'Noka and his group.'  |
| man's name-rep.masc. |                        |
| dyiwarya-pá          | 'Juworya and company.' |
| girl's name-rep.fem. |                        |
| aapaléwaa-'kípa      | 'Avalewa and friends.' |
| man's name-rep.neut. |                        |
| yaad+ma'nt-mfpa      | 'Yandimatni etc.'      |
| man's name-rep.(-mo) |                        |

(e) The morpheme -dyaa'ko meaning 'many' or 'a crowd' occurs without gender, and seems to be a type of gender itself. It is usually preceded by the substantive morpheme.

|                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| a'mwé-dyaa'ko         | 'many people' |
| person-many           |               |
| yu't-yá-dyaa'ko       | 'many birds'  |
| bird-substantive-many |               |

The morpheme -dyaa'ko occurs in first and second person plural.

|                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| a'mwé-dyaa'k-íktlo  | 'you many people' |
| person-many-you all |                   |
| a'mwé-dyaa'k-náawo  | 'we, many people' |
| person-many-we      |                   |
| a'mwédyaa'náawo     |                   |

### 3.2. CASE

(a) Subject or Actor case is portmanteau with person, number and gender. Examples in Section 3.1. are given in Actor case. The various cases are:

|                               |                  |
|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Subject, Actor                | as given in 3.1. |
| Object, Indirect Object       | -y+no            |
| Accompaniment, Instrument     | -ty+no           |
| Location in Space and Logic   | -ya-bano         |
| Location in Space (Direction) | -ya-w+no         |
| Time                          | ±-ya +-gaa'ko    |
| Benefaction                   | -y+-ne           |
| Possessor                     | -y+-re           |
| Reference                     | -y+-nana         |

Except for Benefaction and Possessor cases, or in calling out or clarifying an utterance, case morphemes usually occur in a shortened form. The final morpheme -no, -ngo or -mo<sup>18</sup> is dropped. Final -aawo is contracted to -a. Other morphemes contract as if preceding a consonant (see Section 1.4.).

|                             |                  |
|-----------------------------|------------------|
| a'mwé-i<br>person-he        | 'a man'          |
| mwa'tá-r+<br>arrow-neut.A   | 'an arrow'       |
| mwanya-gáa'<br>morning-time | 'in the morning' |
| kwala-i-ny+<br>male-masc.-I | 'I, a man'       |

(b) The Object, Indirect Object case allomorphs are -y+no occurring after any Actor case morpheme which ends in -no, and -+no after other Actor case morphemes. In all instances the o of the Actor case morpheme is dropped. If the remaining consonant is then l or w it changes to r or p respectively.

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| a'mwe-r-ǫ<br>person-masc.-I.O.           | 'to the man'     |
| a'mwe-ráap-+no<br>person-they masc.-I.O. | 'to the men'     |
| taaya-'-gfn-y+<br>girl-fem.-you-I.O.     | 'to you, a girl' |

(c) Accompaniment case has allomorph -y+no following morphemes ending in -lo which loses the vowel o. Morphemes ending in -aawo have this contracted to -a and occur with allomorphs -dy+no or -ry+no. Other morphemes lose the final o and the morphophonemic rules of Section 1.4. apply before allomorph -ty+no.

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| a'mwe-l-yíno<br>person-he-with           | 'and a man'     |
| a'mwe-i-ná-dyíno<br>person-masc.-we-with | 'with us men'   |
| a'mweinaryíno (alternative form)         |                 |
| mwa-ta-rí'-tyíno<br>arrow-neut.A-with    | 'with an arrow' |
| a'mwe-n-tyíno<br>person-they fem.-with   | 'and women'     |
| a'mwedyíno (alternative form)            |                 |

(d) The Location in Space, and Location in Logic or Reason, cases occur with gender morphemes with the following changes. In morphemes ending in -lo, -lo changes to r. Morphemes ending in -wo lose this, and other morphemes ending in o lose the o and -yabano affixes to the consonant. The y of nyo reduces preceding the y of -yabano. Some nouns occur without gender with these cases (see Section 2.4.).

|  |   |
|--|---|
| a'mwe-r-yá-bano<br>person-he-substantive-place                 | 'near the man'                            |
| a'mwe-ng-yá-bano<br>person-they fem.-substantive-<br>place     | 'because of the women; near the<br>women' |
| taaya-'-n-yá-bano<br>girl-fem.-I-substantive-place             | 'because of me, a girl'                   |
| kaimale-i-náa-ya-bano<br>boy-masc.-we-substantive-place        | 'near us boys'                            |
| aapaléwaa-'k-yá-wíno<br>man's name-he neut.-substantive-<br>to | 'to Avalewa'                              |

(e) Time case usually occurs without gender morphemes, except in the use of a'mwé 'person'. See also section 2.7. where the 'feminine indirect object' morpheme is used as a time morpheme.

|                               |                       |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| taaya-gáa'ko<br>girl-time     | 'when she was a girl' |
| mwanja-gáa'ko<br>morning-time | 'in the morning'      |
| burí'ka-gáa'ko<br>rain-time   | 'rain time'           |

*y+r+l-ya-gáa'ko* 'a cold season'  
*cold-substantive-time*

*a'mwe-'-tyf-ya-gáa'ko* 'when you/he was married'  
*person-she-with-substantive-time*

(f) The Benefaction case morpheme *-ne* always follows another case morpheme. It occurs after Indirect Object case, or Location in Space and Logic, or *-gaa'ko* time morpheme, from which the final *-ko* is lost.

*a'mwe-rf-ne* 'for the man'  
*person-him-for*

*aapaléwaa-'k-f-ne* 'for Avalewa'  
*man's name-neut.-for*

*a'mwe-yá-ban-ne* 'because of the woman'  
*person(fem.)-substantive-place-*  
*for*

*anga-ban-né* 'for the village'  
*village-place-for*

*mwanya-gáa'-ne* 'for the morning'

(g) Possessor case occurs following the modified Object or Indirect Object case morpheme *-y+*. This differs from Indirect Object in that *lo* plus *-y+*, and *no* plus *-y+*, both the *lo* or *no* and the *y+* are lost, and this is not so in Indirect Object.

*a'mwé-lo* *person-he* 'a man' becomes  
*a'mwé-re* *person(he)-possessor* 'a man's'  
*a'mwe-i-gf(no)* *person-masc.-you* 'you, a man' becomes  
*a'mwe-i-gf-re* *person-masc.-you-possessor* 'belong to you, a man'

*aapaléwaa-'k-i-re* 'Avalewa's'  
*man's name-neut.-I.O.-possessor*

*a'mwé-raap-i-re* 'men's'  
*person-they masc.-I.O.-possessor*

*taayá-ng-i-re* 'girls''  
*girl-they fem.-I.O.-possessor*

(h) Reference case *-nano*, like Benefaction, occurs with Indirect Object, Location in Space and Logic and also with Time case *-gaa'ko*, from which the final *-ko* is dropped. The Reference morpheme *-nano* also occurs with Adverbs and verb stems.

*a'mwé-r-i-nano* 'about the man'  
*person-him-about*

|  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| aapaléwaa-'k-í-na<br>man's name-neut.-I.O.-about           | 'concerning Avalewa'          |
| a'mwé-yá-ban-na<br>person(she)-substantive-place-<br>about | 'because of the woman'        |
| anga-wín-na<br>village/house-place-about                   | 'concerning the village'      |
| mwanja-gáa'-na<br>morning-time-about                       | 'in reference to the morning' |
| tínn-ya-'-ná<br>eye-substantive-she-about                  | 'with my eye (I want to see)' |

### 3.3. EMBEDDING (LAYERING)

All the preceding clitics can occur following Benefaction, Possessor, Reference and Accompaniment. In the latter two the substantive morpheme is evident preceding the additional clitics.

|   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| dí'k-e-'-né-'-ne-'<br>fire-substantive-she-for-she-<br>for-she      | 'for fire (I have come)'     |
| a'mwe-ráap-í-re-i<br>person-they masc.-I.I.-<br>possessor-he        | 'he, who belongs to the men' |
| dí'k-e-'-nán-ya-'<br>fire-substantive-she-about-<br>substantive-she | 'it, concerning the fire'    |
| a'mwe-l-yí-ya-'<br>person-he-with-substantive-she<br>(actor)        | 'she, with a husband'        |

### 3.4. EQUATIVE VERB CLITIC

The Indicative Equative Verb Clitic is -yíro occurring in final order. The Negative, Dubitative and Interrogative Equatives are separate words rather than clitics. The clitic -yíro occurs following all cases except possession to make an Indicative Equative Clause. When a morpheme ends in -aawo this is dropped and allomorph -ero occurs. Morphemes ending in -ngo or -nyo or -ko, lose the o and occur with -íro allomorph. Allomorph -ro occurs with -ne benefaction morpheme. Allomorph -tyíro occurs with -wo 'she' which contracts to glottal stop. Other morphemes occur with -yíro allomorph.

|   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| a'mwé-r-ero<br>person-they masc.-be       | 'They are men.'           |
| aapaléwaa-'k-íro<br>man's name-neut.-be   | 'He is Avalewa.'          |
| mwanaya-gáa'-ne-ro<br>morning-time-for-be | 'It is for the morning.'  |
| taaya-'-tyíro<br>girl-she-be              | 'It is a girl.'           |
| a'mwe-l-yíro<br>person-he-be              | 'He is a man.'            |
| kaimale-i-gín-yíro<br>boy-masc.-you-be    | 'You are a boy.'          |
| burika-gáa'k-íro<br>rain-time-be          | 'It is the rainy season.' |

3.5. Using Group genders with other than Subject case, the following order of affixes occurs:

gender      number      person      case      indicative equative

This could be considered the basic order of all clitics, even though third person singular non-Group genders in Subject case are portmanteau.

a'mwé-n+d-a'ká-na-dy+n-yíro  
person-father and child-plural-first person (plural)-with-be  
'They are with us, a father and his children'

a'mwé-l-yíro  
person-masc.singular third person subject-be  
'He is a man'

#### 4. NOUN PHRASES

4.0. The various Noun Phrases are described in this section with tagmemic formulas. Elson and Pickett, 1962, discusses symbols and formulas on pages 60, 68, 70 and elsewhere. Phrase formulas are discussed on pages 74, 75 and 104, 105 and 106.

There is a strong tendency for phrases in Baruya to be minimal. Thus a Head Slot and only one qualifying slot besides the clitic slot occur quite frequently. A Head Slot plus two qualifying slots sometimes occur, but a Head Slot and three qualifying slots are very rare. In the latter case most Baruya people would use an Appositional Phrase instead.

The examples in this section show words and clitics but not morphology within words.

#### 4.1. NAME PHRASE<sup>19</sup> NaP

NaP = (+It:n)<sup>2-4</sup> +/-Cc:clitics

A Name Phrase consists of two to four Item Slots filled by certain noun classes and sub-classes. Depending on the fillers of the Item Slots and the distribution of the phrase, clitics are either obligatory or optional.<sup>20</sup> Two slots are most common, but even more common is to use a single noun, i.e. not a Name Phrase.

Any Name Phrase consisting of Item 1 and 2 Slots only, may occur in a Modified Noun Phrase.

The possible combinations of nouns which may co-occur are described below in various Name Phrase sub-types:

Name Phrase 1 consists of:

+<sup>21</sup> (+It1:nhua ±It2:nhuf ±It3:nkin ±It4:nprop1) +Cc:clitics

The fillers of Item slots are respectively, a Human Animate Noun, a Human Family Animate Noun, a Referential Kin Noun and a Human Proper Noun. The use of Name Phrase 1 denotes respect to a person referent. Respect may also be shown by using a person's family name instead of his personal name.

a'mwé tyaa'tya gyaa'káanga yabwinimwa-i  
*person, family name, kin noun, man's name-he*  
*'his uncle Mr Yambwinumwa Sasa'*

Name Phrase 2 consists of:

+ (+It1:nhua ±It2:nhuf ±It4:nprop2) +Cc:clitics

This is almost the same as the preceding phrase except that when an Address Kin Proper Noun occurs in the Item 4 Slot, Item 3 Slot does not occur.

a'mwé baaruya aa'tá-i  
*person family name, grandfather-he*  
*'Mr grandfather Baruya'*

Name Phrase 3 consists of:

+ (+It1:ndoa ±It2:ndof ±It4:nprop3) +Cc:clitics

A Name Phrase Three consists of two or three slots plus a Clitic Slot. Item 1 and 2 Slots are filled respectively by a Domestic Animate Noun and a Domestic Family Animate Noun. The Item 4 slot is filled by a

Domestic Proper Noun.

dyɪlɪ'ka káamɪdya tyfminá-i  
*dog dog type dog's name-he*  
*'the kaminja dog Simina'*

yaawaryá gɪnaalɪ'ka mayaakwaya-i  
*pig pig type pig's name-he*  
*'the ginalika pig Mayagwaya'*

Name Phrase 4 consists of:

+It1:river/lake +It4:nprop4 +Cc:clitics

Name Phrase 4 consists of three obligatory slots. Item 1 Slot is filled by the nouns for 'river' or 'lake'. The Item 4 Slot is filled by Proper Noun subclass 4. The Clitic Slot is filled by suitable clitics as described in Section 3.

aalɪbunyá má'nyɪwe-i *'Matnyuwe lake'*  
*lake lake name-he*

aalya yáaika-' *'River Yaiga'*  
*water/river, river name-she*

Name Phrase 5 consists of:

+It1:nloc +It4:nplace +Cc:fixed gender

Name Phrase 5 also consists of three obligatory slots. The Item 1 and 4 Slots are filled by a Location and a Place Noun respectively. Only one clitic, other than the Indicative Equative, occurs with each Place Noun.

anga wɪya-pɪno *'Wiavi village'*  
*village, village name-her*

yɪ'daryá tyɪ'nyɪ-no *'Sitni forest'*  
*forest forest name-it*

Name Phrase 6 consists of:

+ (±It1:arrow ±It2:carved arrow ±It4:arrow type) ±Cc:clitics

Only one example of Name Phrase 6 has been found to date. It consists of from two to four slots, two of them being Item Slots. In an Equative Clause the Clitic Slot is obligatory. The fillers of the Item Slots are mwa'ta 'arrow', mɪngwɪlá 'carved arrow' and 'types of carved arrow' respectively. All these nouns belong to the Inanimate Noun class.

mwa'ta mɪngwɪlá aangwɪtyɪla *'an angwuzila carved arrow'*  
*arrow carved arrow, type of carved arrow*



Name Phrase 7 consists of:

+It1:generic noun +It2:specific noun ±Cc:clitics

Name Phrase 7 consists of two obligatory Item Slots filled by Generic and Specific Nouns respectively. These nouns are described in Sections 2.1. and 2.2. The Clitic Slot is optional.

yu'ta tyáa'ka                    'a saka bird'  
bird bird species

y+'ta gáawalá                    'a gawala tree'  
tree tree species

#### 4.2. MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE MN

MN = +H:n/NaP (±M:Aj)<sup>2</sup> ±Lim:gape ±Sp:spec/Num +Cc:clitics

A Modified Noun Phrase consists of two obligatory slots. The Head Slot may be filled by a noun or any Name Phrase which consists of Item 1 and Item 2 Slots only. Nouns which may occur are Animate, Inanimate and Location Nouns. The obligatory Clitic Slot is filled by the clitics described in Section 3. Optional slots are Modification, which may be repeated, Limitation and Specification. The Adjective Phrase which fills the Modification Slot is manifested by an adjective only, if the Modification Slot is repeated. The morpheme gape 'only' is the filler of the Limitation Slot. The Specification Slot is filled by a Specifier or a Numeral Phrase, and/or a Numeral Clause. If Numeral Phrases manifest Specification, clitics may also occur within the Numeral Phrase.

y+'ta d+rág+nya tyáam+náanga p+r+-'  
wood hard long one-fem.  
'(cut) a long hard tree'

a'mwé tewaanya gápe-l-yfro  
person good only-he-be  
'He is the only good man'

dy+l+'ka gápe áagakwa-i  
dog only unseen reflexive-he  
'Only that unknown dog'

yaawaryá g+naalf'ka da-ráai da-i  
pig pig species this-d.masc.,this-he  
'The three ginalika pigs'

Counting is usually by fingers and this accounts for the use of the root daVL 'this'.

a'mwé ke'ti-wáai ke'ti-'  
 person, up far-d.fem., up far-she  
 'Three women up far'

This is more common in apposition as:

a'mwé da-wáai da- k'é'ni-ngo  
 person, this-d.fem., this-she-up far(pl)-they fem.  
 three women those far up  
 'Those three women far up'

The Head Slot is obligatory when more than one of the optional slots occur. The Head can be optional when the meaning is obvious and there is only one optional slot. The resulting stem plus clitics appears then like a pronoun.

pwa-ra y+n̄kawo  
 another-they masc., are coming  
 'They/Others are coming.'

This is instead of a'mwé pwara  
 person, others  
 'other men'

#### 4.3. MODIFIED KIN PHRASE MK

MK = +H:nkin ±M:aj ±Lim:gape ±Sp:spec/Num +Cc:clitics

The Modified Kin Phrase is more restricted than a Modified Noun Phrase. The obligatory Clitic Slot is the same as in the Modified Noun Phrase, but the obligatory Head must be manifested by a Referential Kin Noun. It is rare for any optional slots to occur. Of the three optional slots any two have been elicited together and accepted by Baruya speakers. The Modification Slot may be manifested by the Adjective Phrase *tewaanya náanga* good, big 'very good', but more usually by one adjective.

nyídaa'káanga tewaanya gápe-l-yíro  
 older brother good only-he-be  
 'He is the only good older brother'

nyígwaaláanga k̄bangwé da-ráai da-i  
 younger brother, medium, this-d.masc., this-he  
 'Three younger (not youngest) brothers!'

nímaamáanga gape pwa-i  
 my father only another-he  
 'My father only'

## 4.4. MODIFIED QUALITY PHRASE MQual

MQual = +H:nqual ±M:aj/spec/Num + Cc:clitics

The obligatory Head of a Modified Quality Phrase is filled by a Quality Noun. The optional Modification Slot is filled by an adjective or a specifier. A few Quality Nouns may co-occur with Numeral Phrases.

kinna maalf'ka-'-ty+ro  
weeping, small-she-be  
'It is a little mourning.'

midy+'ka náanga-'-ty+ro  
hunger big-she-be  
'It is a famine.'

yag+nya áaga-'  
bone unseen-she  
'an unseen bone'

mala ké'ti-'  
fight, up far-she  
'a fight up there'

mala da-wáai da-'  
fight, this-d.fem., this-she  
'three fights'

mwanyá da-káa,<sup>22</sup>  
morning, this-time  
'this morning'

Most Time Nouns, a division of Nature Nouns, occur with Numeral Phrases.

dyar+'ta da-ryáai da-rí'  
clear weather, this-d.(time), this-it  
'three clear days'

## 4.5. MODIFIED NAME PHRASE MName

MName = +H:npropl,2 +M:Num +Cc:clitics

A Modified Name Phrase consists of three obligatory slots. The filler of the Head Slot is a Proper Noun subclass 1 or 2, i.e. Human and Address Kin Proper Nouns, in third person singular subject case. The filler of the Modification Slot is any numeral over one. In practice this is usually 2, as duplication of personal names is avoided. The Clitic Slot is usually manifested by subject case only.

nuyá-i kwa-ráai  
*man's name-he, reflexive-d.masc.*  
*'two men called Nuya'*

tʃ'ki-' pwa-ro pwa-i  
*man's name-it, another-d.masc., another-he*  
*'three men called Dick'*

aa'tá-i kwa-raai-kílo  
*grandfather-he, reflexive-d.masc.-you 2*  
*'you two grandfathers'*

#### 4.6. POSSESSIVE PHRASE PossP

PossP = +Possessor:pron poss./N-re +Possessed:nprop/nplace/MN/NaP

A Possessive Phrase consists of an obligatory Possessor Slot filled by a Possessive Pronoun or a Noun Phrase occurring with the final clitic -re 'possessor', and an obligatory Possessed Slot filled by a Proper Noun, Place Noun, Modified Noun Phrase or a Name Phrase.

nĩmĩ-ré dyĩlĩ'ka káamĩdya-i  
*I-poss. dog dog species-he*  
*'my kaminja dog'*

nĩmĩ-ré gĩlya téwaanya-'  
*I-poss. bag good-she*  
*'my good bag'*

a'mwé náanga-re yaawárya-i  
*person, big(he)-poss., pig-he*  
*'the old man's pig'*

nĩnnya appaléwaa-'  
*my own, man's name-it*  
*'my own Avalewa'*

Any phrase occurring in a Possessive Phrase is either minimal or nearly so.

#### 4.7. APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASES AN

AN = +It:N +Ap:N/pron/nprop

An Appositional Noun Phrase consists of two obligatory slots. The first, an Item Slot, is manifested by any Noun Phrase. The second, an Apposition Slot, is manifested by any Noun Phrase or pronoun, or Proper Noun. A pronoun or Proper Noun may occur in either the Item or the Appositional Slot, but not in both.

a'mwe náanga-i gam+tya-i  
*person, big-he, he that-he*  
*'that one, the old man'*

taayá tewaanya-' dyfwarya-'  
*girl good-she girl's name-she*  
*'Juworya, a good girl'*

a'mwé baakya-i aapaléwaa-'  
*person, family name-he, man's name-it*  
*'A Bakya, Avalewa'*

nĩmĩ a'mwé tewaanyá-i-nyĩ  
*I person, good-masc.-I*  
*'I, a good man'*

a'mwé-i gamĩ aapaléwaa-'  
*a man-he, he man's name-it*  
*'he, a man, Avalewa'*

The preceding example illustrates an Appositional Phrase within an Appositional Phrase.

anga-ba yáanyĩ  
*village, village name*  
*'Yanyi, a village'*

anga maalí'ke-ba kwadamaangĩrĩ  
*village, small-place, village name*  
*'Kwodamangiri, a small village'*

Another Appositional Noun Phrase consists of a Co-ordinate Noun Phrase filling the Item Slot and a Summary word, composed of the demonstrative root *tya* 'that' plus clitics, filling the Apposition Slot. This is AN2 = +It:CN +Ap:sum.

nĩmĩ-dyfw aapaléwaa-'-tyĩ tya-i-náai  
*I-with Avalewa-it-with that-masc.-we d.*  
*'I and Avalewa, we two'*

#### 4.8. CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE CN

CN = (+H:MN/MK/MQual/NaP/PossP/n/pron ±Acc:-tyĩno)  
 + (+H:MN/MK/MQual/NaP/PossP/n/pron ±Acc:-tyĩno)<sup>n</sup>

A Co-ordinate Noun Phrase consists of two or more Co-ordinate Head Slots. Following each Head Slot an optional Accompaniment Slot occurs filled by the accompaniment clitic *-tyĩno*. If an Accompaniment Slot occurs with the first Head Slot, then each of the following Head Slots

is also followed by an Accompaniment Slot. Each Head Slot may be manifested by a Modified Noun, Kin or Quality Phrase, a Name Phrase, a Possessive Phrase, any noun which does not occur in a modified phrase, or a pronoun. There are many possible combinations of fillers in all Head Slots. There are usually no more than four Head Slots. Most phrases occur in their minimal forms in Co-ordinate Phrases.

tí'ki-'ko wanyaawaryáa-'ko nímtí

man's name-it, man's name-it I

'Dick, Wonyaworya and I'

anga yáanyí wíyaví wáa'mai

village, village name, village name, village name

'Yanyi village, Wiavi and Wapme'

nímtí-dyí kuraariwáa-'k-í-re ganímáanga-l-yí a'mwé-dyí

I-with, man's name-it-IO-poss., his father-he-with, women-they with

'I and Kurariwa's father and some women'

wa'paayá kaa'ta gwá'ka kí'na

sweet potato, taro, edible shoot, sugar

'sweet potato, taro, shoots and sugar'

#### 4.9. REPRESENTATIVE NOUN PHRASE RN

RN = (+H:n +Cc:rep clitics) ±(+H:n + Cc:rep clitics)<sup>2</sup>

A Representative Noun Phrase consists of one or more Head Slots filled by any noun other than Place Nouns and marked with a representative clitic, see section 3.1(d). One Head Slot is obligatory, but three may occur. The referent of the noun is a representative of a much larger group of referents. Only closely related nouns may occur in the optional Head Slots. In a Representative Noun Phrase non Kin or non Proper Nouns occur with obligatory substantive marker *-ya* and feminine genders.

toyadáya-rapa dyíwárya-pa

boy's name-rep.masc., girl's name-rep.fem.

'Toyanda and his group, Juworya and her group'

nímwá-rapa-ri aa'tárapa-ri

my father-rep.masc.-with, my grandfather-rep.masc.-with

'with my father and his group and my grandfather's group'

aapaléwaa'k-í'páap-í

man's name-rep.neut.-I.O.

'Avalewa's group'

yu'tya-pa yáangwia-pa  
*bird-rep.fem., possum-rep.fem.*  
*'birds, possums, etc.'*

yuré'ka-pa  
*stream name-rep.fem.*  
*'Yureka and other streams'*

## 5. CONCLUSION

Gender is an important feature of Baruya nouns and Noun Phrases. The referent of each noun root or stem determines which gender occurs. The referent of the final noun root in compound noun stems determines the gender of the compound. In Animate Nouns gender is according to sex. Gender is obligatory with four of the seven Behavioural Noun Classes. Gender is one of the categories that is manifested by clitics. These clitics are often portmanteau morphemes occurring with person, number and case. The various Noun Phrases have been described showing the occurrence of gender and other clitics.

Hockett's definition of gender was quoted in section 3.1(a), where it was noted that Baruya gender applies to all nouns, but that some nouns belong to more than one gender, in fact a few belong to all genders. Though the gender of Animate Nouns is according to sex, the gender of Inanimate Nouns is determined by the shape, size or importance of each referent. Baruya has Behavioural Noun Classes (section 2), Historic Class Markers (section 1), and Gender Class morphemes (section 3.1(a)). Gender seems to be the best single term to cover the latter category. There are only nine genders in Baruya. These have the semantic range usually covered by gender.

### Chart 1: KIN NOUN STEMS

|   |                        |  |
|---|------------------------|--|
| aa'tá-lo  | ya'kwal + <sup>9</sup> | <i>All male relatives of grandparents' and grand-children's generation. Reciprocal term.</i>   |
| aa'táa-wo                                       | ya'k +                 | <i>All female relatives of grandparents' and grand-children's generation. Reciprocal term.</i> |
| n+mwá-lo <sup>10</sup><br>maaná-lo<br>ta'táa-lo | n+m-maam +             | <i>Father, father's brother. By some speakers, mother's sister's husband.</i>                  |

## Chart 1: KIN NOUN STEMS (continued)

|                        |                        |   |
|------------------------|------------------------|---|
| n+wáa-wo               | n~w +                  | Mother, father's wife. By some, father's    |
| náa-wo                 |                        | brother's wife, mother's brother's wife.    |
| wa'tyá-wo              | yuy +                  | Father's sister. By some, father's          |
|                        |                        | brother's wife, mother's brother's wife.    |
| ny+walyáa-mo           | y+waly <sup>13</sup> + | Father's sister's husband, wife's brother's |
| -no                    |                        | children. Reciprocal term.                  |
| aa'pí                  | yaa'k +                | Mother's brother.                           |
| aa'pyá-lo              |                        |   |
| aamáa-wo               | ny+wan +               | Mother's sister. By some, father's          |
|                        |                        | brother's wife, mother's brother's wife.    |
| ny+g+wo                | y+ktp <sup>13</sup> ±  | Female ego's nose piercer. Male ego's       |
|                        |                        | initiate guardian. Reciprocal term.         |
| daa'kwá-lo             | daa'k +                | Older brother, older male parallel          |
| gwaaikwá-lo            | gwaal +                | Younger brother, younger male parallel      |
|                        |                        | cousin.                                     |
| mwá-lo                 |                        | Male ego's nose-piercing co-initiate.       |
| míráa-lo               |                        | Reciprocal. Terms used according to age     |
| nya'kwá-lo             | nya'kwál ±             | group.                                      |
| y+'páa-lo              |                        |   |
| naangá-wo              | nan +                  | Older sister, older female parallel         |
|                        |                        | cousin.                                     |
| bwiká-wo               | nyaabul ±              | Younger sister, younger female parallel     |
| bwi                    |                        | cousin.                                     |
| mikwá-lo               | gim+ ±                 | Male ego's male cross cousin. Reciprocal.   |
| mi                     |                        |   |
| nya'kyá-lo             | nya'k +                | Female ego's male cross cousin.             |
| nya'kyá-wo             | nya'k +                | Female cross cousin.                        |
| ny+bwaal+wo            | bwaal+ ±               | Son, sibling's son, husband's sibling's     |
|                        |                        | son, wife's sister's son.                   |
| ny+raap+no             | raap ±                 | Daughter, sibling's daughter, husband's     |
|                        |                        | sibling's daughter, wife's sister's         |
|                        |                        | daughter.                                   |
| aa'pé-wo <sup>11</sup> | bal +                  | Wife.                                       |
|                        | kwál <sup>12</sup> +   | Husband.                                    |



Chart 1: KIN NOUN STEMS (continued)

|                          |            |  |
|--------------------------|------------|--|
| nyabá-lo                 | nyabal ±   | Co-wife, wife of husband's brother.<br>Reciprocal.   |
| ny+nipa-'ko              | nipa'k ±   | Sister's husband, wife's sister and<br>brother, wife's parents' siblings'<br>children. <sup>13</sup> Reciprocal. |
| ny+n्याangw+-lo          | nyaangul ± | Male ego's brother's wife, husband's<br>brother, husband's parents' siblings' male<br>children. Reciprocal.      |
| ny+rawa-lo               | rawa -     | Wife's sister's husband. Reciprocal.   |
| ny+luyaa                 | luy +      | Female ego's brother's wife, husband's<br>sister, husband's parents' siblings'<br>female children. Reciprocal.   |
| ny+n्याal+-mo            | nyaal+m ±  | Daughter's husband, wife's parents and<br>their siblings.  |
| nyaayá-lo                | yaay +     | Son's wife, husband's parents and their<br>siblings.   |
| -wo                      |            |  |
| -yolo <sup>14</sup>      |            |  |
| nyá'mwe-lo <sup>15</sup> | ya'mwe -   | Friend (brother/sister).   |
| -wo                      |            |  |
|                          | ya'mw +    | Female ego's puberty co-initiate. People<br>born at same time. Reciprocal.                                       |

Chart 2: POSSESSIVE PREFIXES OF REFERENTIAL KIN NOUNS

| PERSON | NUMBER                      |         |        |
|--------|-----------------------------|---------|--------|
|        | Singular                    | Dual    | Plural |
| First  | ny+- ~ n+-                  | nekiri- | ne-    |
| Second | dy+VL <sup>16</sup> - ~ gi- | kiri-   | tyiri- |
| Third  | gaVL-                       | kiri-   | kupi-  |

Chart 3: SYNOPSIS

| NOUN CLASS         | Gender | Sub-<br>stantive | In<br>RepN | Expand | Number | NaP<br>Item | NaP<br>Num. | Possess. |
|--------------------|--------|------------------|------------|--------|--------|-------------|-------------|----------|
| Animate            | +      | ±                | ±          | Full   | s,d,p  | 1,2         | 1,2<br>3,7  | Full     |
| Inanimate          | ±      | ±                | ±          | Full   | s,d,p  | 1,2         | 4,6<br>7    | Full     |
| Proper             | +      | -                | ±          | -      | s      | 4           | 1,4         | Full     |
| Location           | ±      | ±                | ±          | Full   | s,d,p  | 1           | 5           | Full     |
| Place              | +      | -                | -          | -      | s      | 4           | 5           | Restr.   |
| Referential<br>Kin | +      | ±                | ±          | Restr. | s,d,p  | 3           | 1           | Full     |
| Quality            | ±      | ±                | ±          | Restr. | s      | -           | -           | Restr.   |

Chart 4: GENDERS IN ACTOR OR SUBJECT CASE

|                      | SINGULAR | DUAL         | PLURAL        |
|----------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>Third person</i>  |          |              |               |
| Masc.                | -lo      | -ráalo       | -raawo        |
| Fem.                 | -wo      | -wáalo       | -ngo          |
| Neut.                | -í'ko    | -í'káalo     | -í'kaawo      |
| <i>Second person</i> |          |              |               |
| Masc.                | -i-g+no  | -ráai-kílo   | -ráap-ikílo   |
| Fem.                 | -l-g+no  | -wáai-kílo   | -ng-ikílo     |
| Neut.                | -í'-g+no | -í'káai-kílo | -í'káap-ikílo |
| <i>First person</i>  |          |              |               |
| Masc.                | -i-nyo   | -i-náalo     | -i-naawo      |
| Fem.                 | -l-nyo   | -l-náalo     | -n-naawo      |
| Neut.                | -í'-nyo  |              |               |

## Chart 5: GROUP GENDERS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Grandfather and child</i>                                     | -ya'kwai  |
| <i>Grandmother and child</i>                                     | -ya't     |
| <i>Father and child</i>  | -nɪd      |
| <i>Mother and child</i>  | -n        |
| <i>Child and father's sister</i>                                 | -yur      |
| <i>Child and father's sister's husband</i>                       | -nyɪwaly  |
| <i>Child and mother's brother</i>                                | -ya't     |
| <i>Child and mother's sister</i>                                 | -nyɪwar   |
| <i>Brother and brother</i>                                       | -dar      |
| <i>Male and co-initiate</i>                                      | -nya'kwai |
| <i>Brother and sister</i>  | -gɪnyɪr   |
| <i>Sister and sister</i>   | -nad      |
| <i>Male cross cousins</i>  | -gimɪl    |
| <i>Female cross cousins</i>                                      | -nya't    |
| <i>Male and female cross cousins</i>                             | -nya't    |
| <i>Husband and wife</i>  | -y        |
| <i>Man and wife's parent</i>                                     | -nyaiɪd   |
| <i>Man and brother's wife</i>                                    | -yawɪl    |
| <i>Man and wife's sister's husband</i>                           | -rawar    |
| <i>Man and siblings-in-law other than above</i>                  | -nɪba't   |
| <i>Woman and brother's wife</i>                                  | -lur      |
| <i>Woman and husband's brother's wife or<br/>woman's co-wife</i> | -nyabal   |

## NOTES

1. Baruya (alternative Barua) is a language belonging to the Kapau-Menye family of the Anga (Kukukuku) language stock. See Anga Bibliography. Upon completion of a survey of the Gulf District of Papua, the author plans to publish a preliminary comparison of Anga languages.

There are 4400 speakers of Baruya living in the Wonenara Sub-district of the Eastern Highlands District of New Guinea. There are two main dialects. The Wantakia dialect is spoken in the Wugamwa River valley and has 1260 speakers. The Baruya dialect has 3140 speakers who live along the upper Aziana River near Wonenara, and also along the Yaiga River near Marawaka. This paper is based upon the Baruya dialect, which was studied at the village of Yanyi during four years field work under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The data was checked with Nokai, a man about twenty-three years old, and Avalewa, about sixteen years old.

Thanks are due to Dr Alan Healey for his stimulus in writing this paper, and for various suggestions, especially in Section 2.

2. The substantive morpheme is a derivational morpheme in most instances. Its function appears to be one of neutralization of the class of stem to which it is affixed so that it can occur as noun, temporal or locative. A noun stem plus substantive morpheme may function in the same way as the original stem does. In this instance the substantive morpheme behaves as a noun marker.

The three allomorphs of the substantive morpheme are:

- ta which occurs after final consonants p r and w on verb stems of three syllables and over;
- e which occurs after k and ng on noun stems;
- ya which occurs elsewhere.

3. For a fuller description of the phonemes of Baruya see: Lloyd and Healey, "Barua Phonemes, A Problem in Interpretation". The consonants are p, t, k, ' , b, d, g, m, n, ng, l, r, w and y. The voiceless stops p, t and k have fortis allophones word initially and following glottal, and voiced fricative allophones elsewhere. Glottal stop has unreleased

p, t and k occurring syllable finally before stops and nasals at the same point of articulation. The voiced stops b, d and g are prenasalized. Alveolar flap has a flapped lateral allophone which occurs before i and y. Pitch-accent is symbolized by ˊ.

The vowels are i, e, ɨ, a, aa, u and o. Of these ɨ and a are short, i and u of medium length and e, aa and o are long. The allophones of ɨ and a range from front to back depending on the proximity to y or w respectively.

4. There is some evidence for the class markers -ya, -e, -ia and -ta being phonologically defined allomorphs. The allomorph -e occurs following stem final a, -ia occurs following w, and -ta seems to occur with one and two syllable roots ending in p, r, or w which has changed to glottal stop, or following compounds in which such roots are final. The allomorph -ya occurs elsewhere.

5. The final vowel is not lost here as morphophonemic rule 6 states.

6. Adjunct is a clause level slot which functions as a type of manner slot.

7. Nouns occurring within a Name Phrase with obligatory gender are each considered to occur with obligatory gender.

8. Slot refers primarily to grammatical function, but in Baruya Noun Phrases also to a definite position within a construction.

9. The plus symbol in column two means that the referential suffix -áanga obligatorily occurs with this stem, and ± indicates optional occurrence of -áanga, while - (minus) indicates that -áanga does not occur. This chart was checked with Yagirivawini, a youth of 18 years.

10. Where alternative terms occur the first is the most common. The third term is used by children only. Children may use all three terms.

11. The referential form is literally the stem meaning 'female', which as a Referential Kin Noun occurs with obligatory -áanga. Another alternative form is a'mwé 'person' without -áanga which occurs with feminine gender. These two forms occur with free possessive pronouns, not the prefixes of Chart 2.

aa'pé-wo 'wife'                      gannyá baláanga-wo 'his wife'  
 wife-she

a'mwe-'-gǝ́ 'wife'  
 person-fem-you

gannyá a'mwé-wo 'his wife'  
 his person-she

12. The term literally means 'male' and as a Referential Kin Noun occurs with obligatory -áanga. An alternative form is a'mwé 'person' without -áanga which occurs with masculine gender. These two forms also occur with free possessive pronouns.

a'mwe-i-gǝ́ 'Husband!'  
 person-masc-you

gannyá a'mwé-lo 'her husband'  
 her person-he

gannyá kwal-áanga-lo 'her husband'  
 her male-referential-he

13. Masculine gender occurs with a male referent of a Referential Kin Noun, feminine gender with a female referent.

14. The morpheme -yolo is 'husband and wife' group gender. Some address terms occur with only one affix, whether the person referred to is male or female. Referential kin terms referring to both sexes occur with the appropriate masculine and feminine gender.

15. Apparently based on the stem a'mwe 'person'. The last two terms have the same stem, but are used consistently to give the meanings shown.

16. See morphophonemics, section 1.4(4).

17. Specifiers occur in the Specification Slot of Noun Phrases. Specifiers will be described in a later paper.

18. The syllable -mo occurs with some Proper Nouns, see section 2.2. and Chart 1. It may be another gender, only occurring in singular number.

19. See symbols and abbreviations.

20. A later paper on clauses will enlarge on the distribution of both phrases and clitics.

21. From the general Name Phrase formula at least two slots must occur.
22. The demonstrative root *da* has the basic form *daVL*.

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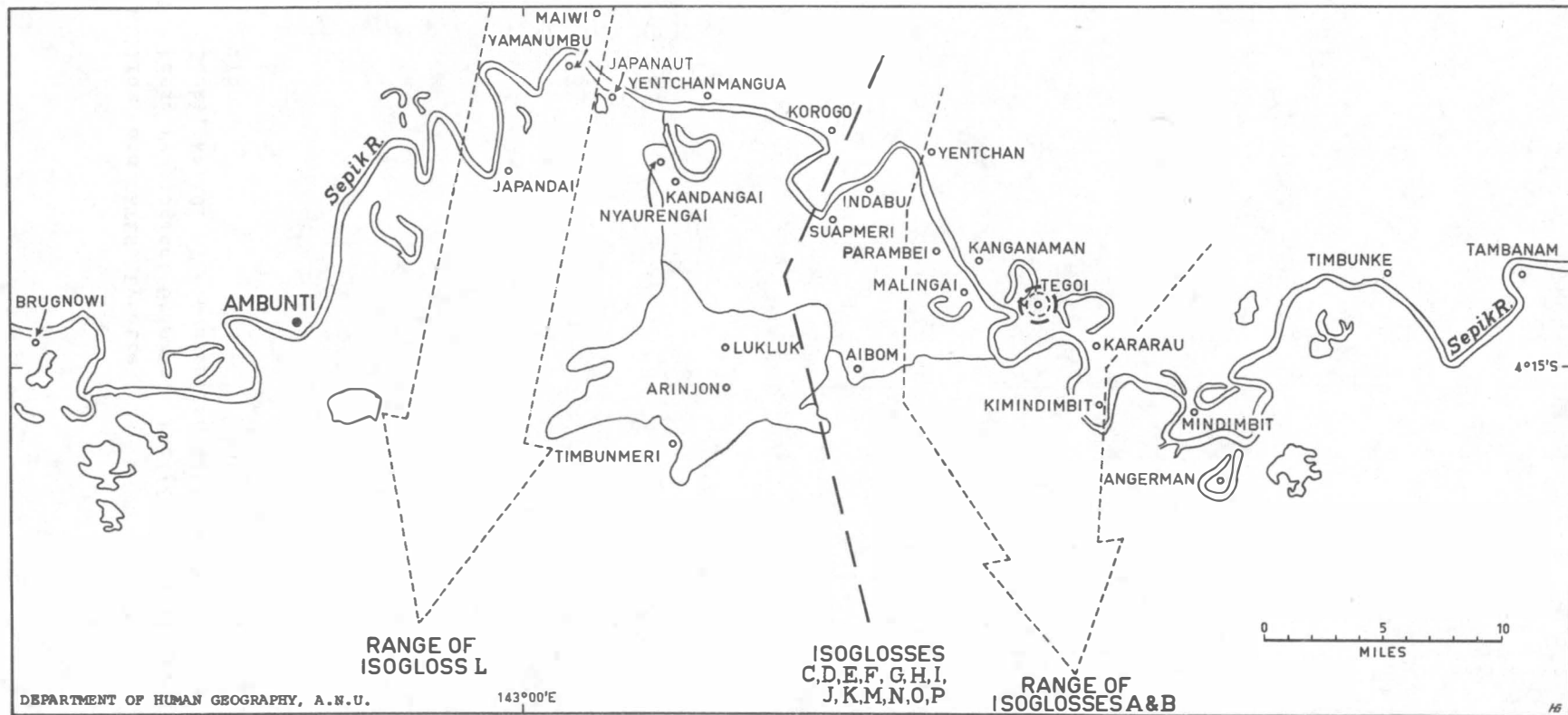
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# THE DIALECTS OF IATMUL

PHILIP STAALSEN

0. Introduction.
1. Native Reaction.
2. Lexical Differences.
3. Sound Correspondences.
4. Morphophonemic Differences.
5. Grammatical Differences.
6. Conclusions.
7. Word List Samples.

## 0. INTRODUCTION

Iatmul is spoken by approximately 8000 people living in the Ambunti and Angoram Sub-Districts of the Sepik District of the Territory of New Guinea.<sup>1</sup> In *A Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific* Capell cites Laycock to the effect that there are two dialects of Iatmul: the upriver dialect, Nayura, and the downriver dialect, Palimbei.<sup>2</sup> Laycock later comments on the dialects of Iatmul in *The Ndu Language Family* stating that he had little information as to the exact boundaries of Iatmul dialects but proposes four dialects.<sup>3</sup> It is hoped that data presented here will throw some light on the geographical distribution of and the differences between dialects of Iatmul.

The data presented here were collected by the author in October 1963 and August 1965. Most of the Iatmul villages were visited and word lists were collected from the residents of those villages not visited.

There are five types of evidence presented in this paper to distinguish the dialects of Iatmul: (1) Native Reaction; (2) Lexical Differences; (3) Sound Correspondences; (4) Morphophonemic Differences; and

## (5) Grammatical Differences.

## 1. NATIVE REACTION

Direct questioning about dialect differences yields a few dozen separate dialects, each considered to be an aberrant form of the idiolect spoken by the individual being questioned. The members of each village believe that their speech form is central and all others are corrupted to varying degrees. Such subjective data is commonly misleading.

Folk taxonomy concerning the language situation is more reliable. The term for the language spoken by the Iatmul is /nkəypma kwɨntɨy/ 'home-place voice'.<sup>4</sup> There is a further division into two subgroups of /nkəypma kwɨntɨy/, namely /ñawlə kwɨntɨy/ 'nyawra voice' and /palimbəy kwɨntɨy/ 'palimbei voice'. Those villages east of a line running between Korogo and Suapmeri on the river and Aibom and Arinjon on Chambri Lake recognise themselves to be speakers of /palimbəy kwɨntɨy/. Those west of the line are speakers of /ñawlə kwɨntɨy/. The village of Tegoī although east of this line is inhabited by speakers of /ñawlə kwɨntɨy/ who have broken away from the village of Yentchanmangua farther up-river.

This terminology ties in with Iatmul accounts of their own origins. They all came out of a hole in the ground at Ngegowrivwiy, which lies to the north of the village of Yentchan. From there they moved to Suapmeri which was then on the north side of the Sepik. At Suapmeri the first of many splits took place, one group going up river to found Nyaurengai, the other crossing over to found Parambei.

## 2. LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

Word lists were collected from each of the villages. The lists contained 217 items consisting of culturally relevant items from Swadesh's 200 word list, verb forms, and phrases pertinent to Iatmul. (See 7.)

Of the 217 items 153 or 71% are identical in every village, 47 items or 21% have variant forms which differed by regular sound correspondences, 15 items or 7% have variant forms which are cognates, and 2 items or 1% have variant forms which are non-cognates.<sup>5</sup> Therefore 99% of the items are the same or similar in all villages covered in the dialect survey.

The two items whose variants are non-cognate are both nouns (numbers 75 and 83). Verb stems show only regular variation. The non-cognate variation of the two items is represented by isogloss C, which is concurrent with the line described in 1.

### 3. SOUND CORRESPONDENCES

3.0. The form used on the eastern side of the isogloss has been considered the norm for economy of description in presentation of sound correspondences. For each sound correspondence the terms "eastern" and "western" are relative to the isogloss representing that sound shift.

3.1. Eastern  $/V_1V_2/$  vowel glide becomes western  $/V_1?V_2/$ ,

e.g.  $/ma^+y/$  vs.  $/ma?+y/$  'taro'.

This change is represented by isogloss A.

3.2. Eastern a: becomes western a?a. The eastern a: is sometimes slightly laryngealized,

e.g.  $/wa:lə/$  vs.  $/wa?a|ə/$  'dog'.

This change is represented by isogloss B.

3.3. Eastern word-final  $/l/$  becomes western word-final stop or is lost,  
e.g.  $/ta:kəl/$  vs.  $/ta?akwə/$  'woman';  $/mpəl/$  vs.  $/mpək/$  'pig'.

This change is represented by isogloss D.

3.4. Eastern sequence of  $[kŋ]$  may become western  $[g]$ ,

e.g.  $[t+kŋa|]$  vs.  $[t+gatN]$ ;  $/t+kna|/$  vs.  $/t+kat/$  'tongue'.

This change is represented by isogloss E.

3.5. Eastern  $[p]$  becomes western  $[p]$ ,

e.g.  $[k+wp+y]$  vs.  $[k+wp+y]$ ;  $/k+wp+y/$  vs.  $/k+wp+y/$  'new'.

This change is represented by isogloss F.

The differing geographical position of isoglosses D, E, and F, from A and B allows for 3 variant forms of some items. For example, the villages east of isoglosses A and B use the form  $[wa:l]$  'crocodile'. West of isoglosses A and B but east of isoglosses D, E, and F the form  $[wa?a|]$  is used. West of isoglosses D, E, and F the form  $[wa?akŋ]$  is used.

### 4. MORPHOPHONEMIC DIFFERENCES

4.0. The differences in the morphophonemic changes which occur are some of the most striking differences between the variant forms of Iatmul. The farther east one goes the fewer morphophonemic changes one encounters and hence a greater diversity of heterorganic consonant clusters. Toward the west morphophonemic changes increase and the consonant clusters

tend to be homorganic.

4.1. East of a line represented by isogloss G only homorganic sequences of nasal + stop occur. West of this line both homorganic and heterorganic sequences of nasal + stop occur,

e.g. eastern [tənpə] vs. western [təmpə] 'old';  
eastern [ŋkəŋkə] vs. western [ŋkəŋkə] 'leaf'.

4.2. East of a line represented by isogloss H the sequence of /k/ + /l/ becomes /kt/. West of this line the sequence of /k/ + /l/ becomes /t/,

e.g. eastern /kwɪnai-/ + /-lɪkəntɪ/ becomes /kwɪnaktɪkəntɪ/ 'he repairs'  
vs.  
western /kwɪnak-/ + /-lɪkəntɪ/ becomes /kwɪnatɪkəntɪ/ 'he repairs'.

4.3. East of a line represented by isogloss I the sequence of /k/ + /b/ remains unchanged, while west of this line /k/ + /b/ becomes /pm/,

e.g. eastern /kwɪnak-/ + /-bak/ becomes /kwɪnakbək/ 'in order to repair'  
vs.  
western /kwɪnak-/ + /-bak/ becomes /kwɪnapmak/ 'in order to repair'.

4.4. East of a line represented by isogloss J the sequence of /k/ + /m/ does not change, while west of this line /k/ + /m/ becomes /pm/,

e.g. eastern /kwɪnak-/ + /-mɪn/ becomes /kwɪnakmɪn/ 'he repaired'  
vs.  
western /kwɪnak-/ + /-mɪn/ becomes /kwɪnapmɪn/ 'he repaired'.

4.5. East of a line represented by isogloss K the sequence of stop<sub>1</sub> + nasal + stop<sub>2</sub> does not change while west of that line stop<sub>1</sub> + nasal + stop<sub>2</sub> becomes stop<sub>2</sub> + nasal + stop<sub>2</sub>,

e.g. 1. Eastern /kwɪnak-/ + /-ntɪ/ becomes /kwɪnakntɪ/ 'he repaired'  
vs.  
western /kwɪnak-/ + /-ntɪ/ becomes /kwɪnatntɪ/ 'he repaired'.  
2. Eastern /kwɪnak-/ + /-mpɪk/ becomes /kwɪnakmpɪk/ 'they 2 repaired'  
vs.  
western /kwɪnak-/ + /-mpɪk/ becomes /kwɪnapmpɪk/ 'they 2 repaired'.

4.6. There is another morphophonemic difference which occurs west of the bundle of isoglosses C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, and K. This change occurs gradually over a wide area and is represented by isogloss L. West of this isogloss the sequence stop<sub>1</sub> + nasal + stop<sub>2</sub> shown in 4.5. is reduced to stop<sub>2</sub>,

e.g. /kw+nak-/ + /-nt+/ becomes /kw+nat+/ 'he repaired'.

Almost all people living in Brugnawi and Japandai make this change in their speech. At Yamanambu some individuals use the form /kw+nat+/ and others use /kw+natnt+/. At Japanaut the form /kw+nat+/ is not acceptable.

4.7. East of a line represented by isogloss M the sequence of word-final stop + word-initial /y/ remains unchanged while east of this line word-final stop + /y/ becomes /t/ + /ñ/,

e.g. western /waak/ 'crocodile' + /y+nt+/ 'he went' becomes /waat ñ+nt+/ '(the) crocodile went'.

4.8. All Iatmul villages have two morphophonemic changes in common:

1. Word initial /t/ becomes /l/ following a word ending in a vowel, /w/, or /y/,

e.g. /t+ɪpma/ 'coconut' when preceded by eastern /l+kŋə/ 'dry' or western /l+kə/ 'dry' becomes /l+kŋə lɪpma/ or /l+kə lɪpma/.

2. [k] + [k] reduces to [k],

e.g. [wuk-] + [-kə] becomes [wukə] 'hearing'.

## 5. GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES

5.0. Although a thorough grammatical comparison was not undertaken, the following grammatical differences were noted.

5.1. East of a line represented by isogloss N, the phrase /y+kə t+k w+n/ 'I am going' or its shortened form /y+kətəw+n/ is used to express incipient action, but west of this line it is replaced by /y+bat y+kəw+n/ 'I am going' or its shortened form /y+bat+kəw+n/. East of isogloss N /y+bat y+kəw+n/ is ungrammatical,

e.g. /y+kə t+kəw+n/ = y+-kə t+-kə-w+n literally 'going I am'  
go-ing be-pres.tense-I

/y+bat y+kəw+n/ = y+-bat y+-kə-w+n literally 'to go I am going'  
go-to go-pres.tense-I

5.2. West of a line represented by isogloss O the imperative forms of the verb have a different person-number marker than do the indicative

forms. East of this line the person-number markers are the same for both imperative and indicative verb types, e.g.

|            | Eastern    | Western      |                         |
|------------|------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| Imperative | a-l̥-m̥n   | a-l̥-m̥l̥ə   | 'you be' (male sing.)   |
|            | a-l̥-ñ̥n   | a-l̥-ñ̥l̥ə   | 'you be' (fem.sing.)    |
|            | a-l̥-mp̥k  | a-l̥-mp̥l̥ə  | 'you be' (dual)         |
|            | a-l̥-nkw̥k | a-l̥-nkw̥l̥ə | 'you be' (plural)       |
| Indicative | l̥-m̥n     | l̥-m̥n       | 'you were' (male sing.) |
|            | l̥-ñ̥n     | l̥-ñ̥n       | 'you were' (fem.sing.)  |
|            | l̥-mp̥k    | l̥-mp̥k      | 'you were' (dual)       |
|            | l̥-nkw̥k   | l̥-nkw̥k     | 'you were' (plural)     |

5.3. East of a line represented by isogloss P the first person dual person-number marker has two forms which fluctuate freely: /-a/ and /-l̥y/. West of this line the form /-l̥y/ occurs only in two types of constructions: (1) first person dual imperative (hortatory), e.g. /y̥+l̥y/ y̥-l̥y 'lets us 2 go'; and (2) in external focus verbs, e.g. /y̥+l̥yan/ y̥-l̥y-a-n 'since we 2 went'.<sup>6</sup> In all other verbs west of this line the form /-a/ occurs, e.g. /y/ y̥-a 'we two went' or /y̥+k̥yaa/ y̥-k̥ya-a 'we 2 will go'.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The data indicate that there are four distinct varieties of Iatmul: one spoken west of isogloss L; another between isogloss L and the bundle of isoglosses C-K, M-P; another between this bundle of isoglosses and isoglosses A and B; and a final variety spoken east of isoglosses A and B.

The differences represented by isoglosses L, A and B are slight when compared with the differences represented by the bundle of isoglosses C-K, M-P. For this reason I conclude that there are two dialects of Iatmul: one lies east of the bundle of isoglosses C-K, M-P and the other lies west of this line. I call these dialects /ñaw̥l̥ə kw̥nt̥y/ and /pal̥mp̥əy kw̥nt̥y/ respectively, mutually intelligible dialects of the language /nk̥əyp̥ma kw̥nt̥y/, following folk taxonomy.

It appears that one could make the switch from the Palimbei dialect to the Nyawra dialect more easily than the reverse. However the two dialects are mutually intelligible even to children who have had no previous contact with the other dialect. About two-thirds of the Iatmul speak the Palimbei dialect and the remaining one-third the Nyawra dialect.



Since the dialects are so similar either would be a useful means of communication in any of the Iatmul villages but the Palimbei dialect should be easier to master due to its smaller number of morphophonemic changes.

## 7. WORD LIST SAMPLES

Word lists collected at Tambanam (T), Kanganaman (Ka), Korogo (Ko), and Brugnowi (B), with their English translations, are shown below as samples of the variants of Iatmul. All listings are in phonetic transcription. The words in the phrases at the end of the list are counted only if they have not already occurred. For example, No.200-201 is a phrase containing three words but since one of the words has already been used it is recorded as containing only two items.

|    |                  |                  |                   |                  |
|----|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
|    | 1. <i>hair</i>   | 2. <i>head</i>   | 3. <i>mouth</i>   | 4. <i>nose</i>   |
| T  | nɪmpɪ            | nɑ:mpu           | ŋka:ŋkə           | ntɑ:ma           |
| Ka | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
| Ko | "                | "                | ŋkaʔaŋkə          | ntaʔama          |
| B  | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
|    | 5. <i>eye</i>    | 6. <i>neck</i>   | 7. <i>belly</i>   | 8. <i>skin</i>   |
| T  | mɪnisɪkŋ         | kwəl             | ya:l              | mpɑ:ŋkɪ          |
| Ka | "                | "                | yaʔal             | "                |
| Ko | "                | kwəkŋ            | yaʔakŋ            | "                |
| B  | "                | "                | yaʔatN            | "                |
|    | 9. <i>knee</i>   | 10. <i>man</i>   | 11. <i>woman</i>  | 12. <i>dog</i>   |
| T  | kwa:ʔiman        | ntu              | ta:gwəl           | wa:ʔə            |
| Ka | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
| Ko | kwaʔaʔiman       | "                | taʔagwə           | waʔaʔə           |
| B  | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
|    | 13. <i>road</i>  | 14. <i>stone</i> | 15. <i>fire</i>   | 16. <i>smoke</i> |
| T  | yɛmpɪ            | kampəkŋ          | yə                | yəgɪmpɪ          |
| Ka | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
| Ko | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
| B  | "                | "                | "                 | "                |
|    | 17. <i>ashes</i> | 18. <i>ear</i>   | 19. <i>tongue</i> | 20. <i>teeth</i> |
| T  | yɛmpaw           | wɑ:n             | t+kŋal            | nɪmpɪ            |
| Ka | "                | waʔan            | "                 | "                |
| Ko | mpaw             | "                | t+gatN            | "                |
| B  | "                | "                | "                 | "                |

|    |                     |                  |                     |                    |
|----|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
|    | 21. <i>breast</i>   | 22. <i>hand</i>  | 23. <i>foot</i>     | 24. <i>sun</i>     |
| T  | mwuña               | ta:mpə           | man                 | ñə                 |
| Ka | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
| Ko | "                   | ta?ampə          | "                   | "                  |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
|    | 25. <i>moon</i>     | 26. <i>star</i>  | 27. <i>sky</i>      | 28. <i>rain</i>    |
| T  | mpəpM               | tʃiŋkwutN        | ñinaŋkwu            | ma <sup>i</sup> kŋ |
| Ka | "                   | "                | "                   | me?itN             |
| Ko | mpəkŋ               | "                | ñinaŋkwutN          | me?ikŋ             |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
|    | 29. <i>water</i>    | 30. <i>tree</i>  | 31. <i>root</i>     | 32. <i>leaf</i>    |
| T  | ŋku                 | mi               | ntsinqwutN          | ŋkənkə             |
| Ka | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
| Ko | "                   | "                | "                   | ŋkəŋkə             |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
|    | 33. <i>meat</i>     | 34. <i>fat</i>   | 35. <i>egg</i>      | 36. <i>louse</i>   |
| T  | w+mpu               | kwia             | mpənt+              | ñikŋə              |
| Ka | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
| Ko | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
|    | 37. <i>shoulder</i> | 38. <i>back</i>  | 39. <i>forehead</i> | 40. <i>elbow</i>   |
| T  | ña:mpwutN           | mpuni            | ma:kŋə              | kwaʃiləmpə         |
| Ka | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
| Ko | ña?ampwutN          | "                | ma?agə              | kwaʃaʃiləmpə       |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
|    | 41. <i>finger</i>   | 42. <i>chin</i>  | 43. <i>heart</i>    | 44. <i>liver</i>   |
| T  | tʃik tampa          | ŋka:ŋkəba        | ma:wul              | wutmwi             |
| Ka | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
| Ko | tʃ+t tampa          | ŋka?əŋkəba       | ma?awutN            | wupmwin            |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |
|    | 45. <i>bone</i>     | 46. <i>blood</i> | 47. <i>feather</i>  | 48. <i>wing</i>    |
| T  | aba                 | yəgwen           | yuwi                | biyo               |
| Ka | "                   | yəfoɣwen         | "                   | "                  |
| Ko | "                   | "                | "                   | wiyo               |
| B  | "                   | "                | "                   | "                  |

|    |                       |                    |                          |                    |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
|    | 49. <i>claw</i>       | 50. <i>tail</i>    | 51. <i>boy</i>           | 52. <i>girl</i>    |
| T  | ɔʃəʃu                 | ŋkɪni              | nəntogwəñən              | tagwañən           |
| Ka | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | "                  | nontañən                 | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
|    | 53. <i>baby</i>       | 54. <i>old man</i> | 55. <i>old woman</i>     | 56. <i>person</i>  |
| T  | mək ñən               | əbɪt ntu           | əbɪt tagwa               | ñən                |
| Ka | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| Ko | mat ñən               | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
|    | 57. <i>father</i>     | 58. <i>mother</i>  | 59. <i>older brother</i> | 60. <i>sister</i>  |
| T  | ñá <sup>i</sup> tN    | nani <sup>me</sup> | ñamwun                   | ñan <sup>ke</sup>  |
| Ka | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| Ko | ñáʔəkN                | n <sup>i</sup> me  | "                        | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
|    | 61. <i>name</i>       | 62. <i>pig</i>     | 63. <i>cassowary</i>     | 64. <i>wallaby</i> |
| T  | tʃ+                   | mpəl               | amwiyə                   | yempu              |
| Ka | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| Ko | ʃ+                    | mpəkN              | "                        | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
|    | 65. <i>flying fox</i> | 66. <i>rat</i>     | 67. <i>frog</i>          | 68. <i>snake</i>   |
| T  | kɪmpwi                | máʃi               | kɪtkɪtN                  | kəmpoy             |
| Ka | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | "                  | kɪkɪkN                   | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
|    | 69. <i>catfish</i>    | 70. <i>taro</i>    | 71. <i>chicken</i>       | 72. <i>sugar</i>   |
| T  | kami                  | mai                | ñá:kŋə                   | ŋkwɪ               |
| Ka | "                     | "                  | ñáʔakŋə                  | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | máʔi               | ñáʔagə                   | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |
|    | 73. <i>yam</i>        | 74. <i>banana</i>  | 75. <i>sweet potato</i>  | 76. <i>axe</i>     |
| T  | ñá <sup>i</sup> n     | labu               | ntʃəntʃəməŋku            | kwuʃa              |
| Ka | ñáʔən                 | "                  | "                        | "                  |
| Ko | ñáʔeŋ                 | "                  | kəbayawi                 | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                  | "                        | "                  |

|    |                       |                        |                        |                    |
|----|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
|    | 77. <i>knife</i>      | 78. <i>spear</i>       | 79. <i>netbag</i>      | 80. <i>sand</i>    |
| T  | ka:ma                 | biŋkwa                 | kwəʔu                  | ya:wiya            |
| Ka | kaʔama                | yiŋkwa                 | "                      | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | bi                     | "                      | yaʔawiya           |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
|    | 81. <i>ground</i>     | 82. <i>house</i>       | 83. <i>mountain</i>    | 84. <i>wind</i>    |
| T  | kɪpma                 | ŋkay                   | nɪmpukŋ                | mwutN              |
| Ka | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | "                      | ntuwi                  | mwukŋ              |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
|    | 85. <i>bark</i>       | 86. <i>seed</i>        | 87. <i>tobacco</i>     | 88. <i>coconut</i> |
| T  | miʃɪmpɪ               | ʃɪkŋ                   | yəgi                   | tɪpma              |
| Ka | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
|    | 89. <i>betel nut</i>  | 90. <i>lime</i>        | 91. <i>sago</i>        | 92. <i>bamboo</i>  |
| T  | mpankaʔe              | kwəyabu                | na:w                   | kayn               |
| Ka | "                     | "                      | naʔaw                  | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
|    | 93. <i>canoe</i>      | 94. <i>paddle</i>      | 95. <i>fishtrap</i>    | 96. <i>fishnet</i> |
| T  | ba:ʔe                 | ŋkusa                  | namwi                  | ntʃuʔa             |
| Ka | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| Ko | baʔaʔe                | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
|    | 97. <i>fish spear</i> | 98. <i>grass skirt</i> | 99. <i>sago thatch</i> | 100. <i>eel</i>    |
| T  | mɪntʃa                | kwa:ʔe                 | ntʃɪl                  | wa:ŋki             |
| Ka | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | kwaʔaʔe                | ntʃɪkŋ                 | waʔaŋki            |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | "                  |
|    | 101. <i>turtle</i>    | 102. <i>crocodile</i>  | 103. <i>mosquito</i>   | 104. <i>river</i>  |
| T  | ŋkustɪ                | wa:l                   | kɪbiya                 | abɪsetN            |
| Ka | "                     | waʔal                  | "                      | "                  |
| Ko | "                     | waʔakŋ                 | "                      | "                  |
| B  | "                     | "                      | "                      | abɪsekŋ            |

|    |                       |                                  |                         |                   |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
|    | 105. <i>swamp</i>     | 106. <i>betel pepper</i>         | 107. <i>one</i>         | 108. <i>two</i>   |
| T  | ka:mp+                | piyakŋə                          | kitə                    | b+l+kŋ            |
| Ka | "                     | piya?akŋə                        | "                       | "                 |
| Ko | ka?amp+kŋ             | piya?agə                         | kətə                    | b+l+l+kŋ          |
| B  | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
|    | 109. <i>three</i>     | 110. <i>four</i>                 | 111. <i>five</i>        | 112. <i>six</i>   |
| T  | kubukŋ                | aynakŋ                           | tampanakŋ               | tš+lək+tə         |
| Ka | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
| Ko | "                     | aynətN                           | tampanatN               | "                 |
| B  | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
|    | 113. <i>seven</i>     | 114. <i>eight</i>                | 115. <i>nine</i>        | 116. <i>ten</i>   |
| T  | tš+ləb+l+kŋ           | tš+ləkubukŋ                      | tš+řaynəkŋ              | tampři            |
| Ka | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
| Ko | tš+ləb+li             | "                                | "                       | tampab+li         |
| B  | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
|    | 117. <i>eleven</i>    | 118. <i>twenty</i>               | 119. <i>morning</i>     |                   |
| T  | tampři kiyeli kitə    | kitəntumi                        | ŋkampi                  |                   |
| Ka | "                     | "                                | "                       |                   |
| Ko | tampab+li kiyeli kətə | kətəntumi                        | "                       |                   |
| B  | "                     | "                                | "                       |                   |
|    | 120. <i>afternoon</i> | 121. <i>night</i>                | 122. <i>yesterday</i>   | 123. <i>today</i> |
| T  | ŋkřampu               | ŋkan                             | nəřempa                 | mpampřa           |
| Ka | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
| Ko | "                     | "                                | na:pmpa                 | "                 |
| B  | "                     | "                                | na:pa                   | "                 |
|    | 124. <i>tomorrow</i>  | 125. <i>day before yesterday</i> | 126. <i>fishing day</i> |                   |
| T  | kiña                  | nəŋkaytN                         | tšətš+ba                |                   |
| Ka | "                     | "                                | "                       |                   |
| Ko | "                     | "                                | "                       |                   |
| B  | "                     | "                                | "                       |                   |
|    | 127. <i>good</i>      | 128. <i>bad</i>                  | 129. <i>long</i>        | 130. <i>short</i> |
| T  | a <sup>i</sup> pman   | kabře                            | š+břa                   | tampři            |
| Ka | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |
| Ko | apma                  | "                                | "                       | "                 |
| B  | "                     | "                                | "                       | "                 |

|    |                          |                       |                         |                         |
|----|--------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|    | 131. <i>old</i>          | 132. <i>new</i>       | 133. <i>many</i>        | 134. <i>all</i>         |
| T  | tənpə                    | kup <i>i</i>          | sək <i>wət</i> N        | a <sup>i</sup> wa       |
| Ka | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| Ko | təmpə                    | kup <i>i</i>          | "                       | "                       |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
|    | 135. <i>who</i>          | 136. <i>when</i>      | 137. <i>where</i>       | 138. <i>dry</i>         |
| T  | kəntə                    | anta ntš+mp <i>řa</i> | antampa                 | l+k <i>ŋə</i>           |
| Ka | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| Ko | "                        | "                     | "                       | l+g <i>ə</i>            |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
|    | 139. <i>yes</i>          | 140. <i>no</i>        | 141. <i>he went</i>     | 142. <i>he ate</i>      |
| T  | awa                      | kayək <i>ŋa</i>       | y+nt+                   | k+nt+                   |
| Ka | "                        | kayak <i>ŋ</i>        | "                       | "                       |
| Ko | "                        | ka? <i>i</i>          | "                       | "                       |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
|    | 143. <i>he descended</i> | 144. <i>he sat</i>    | 145. <i>he ascended</i> | 146. <i>he laughed</i>  |
| T  | nta? <i>int+</i>         | ntař+ <i>int+</i>     | wokent+                 | kašent+                 |
| Ka | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| Ko | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
|    | 147. <i>he saw</i>       | 148. <i>he was</i>    | 149. <i>he covered</i>  | 150. <i>he came</i>     |
| T  | b+int+                   | ř+inti                | ka? <i>apmēt+</i>       | yənt+                   |
| Ka | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| Ko | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
|    | 151. <i>he talked</i>    | 152. <i>he slept</i>  | 153. <i>he killed</i>   | 154. <i>he died</i>     |
| T  | want+                    | š+intu kwant+         | batñent+                | kiyənt+                 |
| Ka | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| Ko | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | "                       |
|    | 155. <i>he fell down</i> | 156. <i>he hit</i>    | 157. <i>he cried</i>    | 158. <i>he detained</i> |
| T  | ntant+                   | b+iyənt+              | ŋkřant+                 | kemēlnt+                |
| Ka | "                        | "                     | "                       | keməknt+                |
| Ko | "                        | "                     | "                       | kemētnt+                |
| B  | "                        | "                     | "                       | kemēt+                  |

|    |                                       |  |                                    |                                |
|----|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|    | 159. <i>he heard</i>                  | 160. <i>he repaired</i>                  | 161. <i>he made</i>                | 162. <i>I</i>                  |
| T  | wuknt+                                | kwunaknt+                                | kwuknt+                            | wun                            |
| Ka | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
| Ko | wutnt+                                | kwunatnt+                                | kwutnt+                            | "                              |
| B  | wut+                                  | kwunat+                                  | kwut+                              | "                              |
|    | 163. <i>we 2</i>                      | 164. <i>we all</i>                       | 165. <i>you</i><br>(male sing.)    | 166. <i>you</i><br>(fem.sing.) |
| T  | an                                    | n+n                                      | m+n                                | ñ+n                            |
| Ka | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
| Ko | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
| B  | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
|    | 167. <i>you 2</i>                     | 168. <i>you all</i>                      | 169. <i>he</i>                     | 170. <i>she</i>                |
| T  | mp+kŋ                                 | ŋkwukŋ                                   | nt+                                | ʃ+                             |
| Ka | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
| Ko | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
| B  | "                                     | "  | "                                  | "                              |
|    | 171. <i>they 2</i>                    | 172. <i>they all</i>                     | 173-174. <i>he is in the house</i> |                                |
| T  | mp+kŋ                                 | nti                                      | ŋkaympa l+gənt+                    |                                |
| Ka | "                                     | "  | "                                  |                                |
| Ko | "                                     | "  | "                                  |                                |
| B  | "                                     | "  | "                                  |                                |
|    | 175-176. <i>he will hit me</i>        | 177-178. <i>it was mine he got</i>       |                                    |                                |
| T  | wuŋkət biyakiyənt+                    | wunana kʃanta                            |                                    |                                |
| Ka | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |
| Ko | wuŋkəp miyakiyənt+                    | "  |                                    |                                |
| B  | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |
|    | 179-180. <i>having gone, I came</i>   | 181. <i>I came paddling</i>              |                                    |                                |
| T  | y+ʃa yawun                            | ŋkusa kaɡə yawun                         |                                    |                                |
| Ka | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |
| Ko | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |
| B  | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |
|    | 182-184. <i>I came to get bananas</i> | 185-186. <i>if you give, I will take</i> |                                    |                                |
| T  | ʃabu kʃabak yawun                     | kwimeyan kʃakiyowun                      |                                    |                                |
| Ka | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |
| Ko | ʃabu kʃabat ñawun                     | "  |                                    |                                |
| B  | "                                     | "  |                                    |                                |

- 187-190. *if he had gotten, I would have gone*  
 T kʃage yɪntan yige yiwun  
 Ka "  
 Ko "  
 B "
- 191-194. *I am about to go down there*  
 aŋkɪnta yige tɪkowun  
 "  
 aŋkɪnta yibat ñikowun  
 "
- 195-196. *what are you making?*  
 T məntana biyaʃuma  
 Ka "  
 Ko "  
 B "
- 197-198. *he having made a canoe, they came*  
 ba:ʃə kwunakntɪ maʔa yənti  
 "  
 baʔaʃə kwunatntɪ maʔa yənti  
 baʔaʃə kwunatɪ maʔa yənti
199. *another kind*  
 T kampa mpaŋkɪ  
 Ka "  
 Ko "  
 B "
- 200-201. *there is only one*  
 kitə mɪna lɪgəntɪ  
 "  
 kətə mɪna lɪgəntɪ  
 "
- 202-204. *he gives on our behalf*  
 T niŋkət tɪgə kwilɪgəntɪ  
 Ka "  
 Ko "  
 B "
- 205-206. *where are they all going?*  
 antamaʃa yɪntʃeya  
 "  
 "  
 "
- 207-208. *he just took the taro*  
 T ma<sup>i</sup> kwo kʃantɪ  
 Ka "  
 Ko maʔi kwo kʃantɪ  
 B "
- 209-212. *their way of life is not right*  
 yetɪʃɪntʃa ba<sup>i</sup> ana ŋklakntɪ  
 yetɪlɪntʃa bat ana ŋklatntɪ  
 yetɪlɪntʃa bat ana ŋklatɪ
- 213-214. *it was I who got*  
 T wunayɪ klaʔa  
 Ka "  
 Ko "  
 B "
- 215-217. *it is not a big dog*  
 nɪma wa:ʃə ana ntɪ  
 "  
 nɪma waʔaʃə ana ntɪ  
 "



## NOTES

1. The term *Iatmul* was first used by Bateson in "Social Structure of the Iatmul People of the Sepik River", *Oceania* vol.II, No.3, March 1932, p.249, footnote. Bateson admits that this is probably an inadequate name. /nkəypma kwintiy/ 'home-place voice' and /nkəypma kwintiy ñənkiw/ 'home-place voice people' are the only generic terms I have found which are accepted by all villages mentioned in this paper. However in this paper the term *Iatmul* has been used as a language name equivalent to /nkəypma kwintiy/.
2. Capell, 1962, p.44.
3. Laycock, 1965, p.112.
4. For pronunciation guide see Staalsen, 1966.
5. Two items with the same meaning are considered to be cognates if half or more of the sounds in the two items are the same and in the same order, or if they differ on the basis of regular sound correspondences.
6. External focus verbs are a class of verbs obligatorily suffixed by /-a/ 'external focus marker'. These verbs always call attention to some item in the clause other than the verb, and they cannot constitute an independent structure by themselves. They may focus on object, subject, location, or verb of a following clause. They occur with a unique set of person-number actor markers, the 2nd person dual of which is /-l+y/.

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