# A GRAMMAR SKETCH OF MOUNTAIN KOIALI

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## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

- 1.1 Mountain Koiali is a member language of the Koiarian Language Family of Central Papua. 1 It is spoken by approximately 3700 speakers scattered over the southern and northern slopes of the Owen Stanley Range of the Central and Northern Districts, Papua. This paper describes the principal grammatical features of the dialect spoken in and around the village of Efogi in the headwaters of the Brown River. 2
- 1.2 In the forthcoming description the following orthographic symbols and abbreviations will be used:

# 1.21 Orthography

The following symbols are used to represent twelve consonant and five vowel phonemes, which contrast in the following analagous or identical environments:

Phoneme Contrasts	Examples	Principal Variants
t//d	/ata/ people /ada/ hand	[t]; [d]
g//k	/goianu/ burnt /koianu/ tear down	[g]; [k]
b//v	/bata/ moon /vata/ ground	[b]; [p] initially [b] medially
g//h	/vagana/ wet season /lahanu/ sleep	[g]; [x] initially [g] medially
k//h	/komo/ here /homo/ roofing leaf	[k]; [x] initially [g] medially
t//s	/tava/ below /sava/ wet	[t]; [s] initially [z] medially
1//s	/lavanu/ to weed /savanu/ to be wet	[1]; [s] initially [z] medially
1//d	/luti/ abdomen /duti/ asparagus-like plant	[1]; [d]
m//n	/mama/ father /nana/ older brother	[m]; [n]
i//e	/ivi/ name /ive/ seed	[i]; [e]
i//u	/ive/ seed /uve/ banana	[i]; [u]
e//a	/vate/ skin /vata/ ground	[e]; [a]
e//o	/eno/ neck /ono/ what	[e]; [o]
a//o	/dabanu/ cold /dobanu/ to fall	[a]; [o]
u//o	/tu/ nape /to/ dog	[u]; [o]

## 1.22 Abbreviations

lst	first person	3rd	third person
2nd	second person	A	Axis

dem	demonstrative	poss	Possessive Noun Phrase
emph	emphatic	Poss NP	Possessive Noun Phrase
equat	equative	pred	predicate
equat	exclusive	pres	present
			pronoun
fc	future continuous	pro	
fut	future	prog	progressive
Н	Head	<b>d</b> w	query marker
imp	imperative	quan	quantifier
incl	inclusive	R	Relator
ind	indicative	sing	singular
Ind Equat Cl	Indicative Equative Clause	sm	subject marker
inst	instrument	spec	specifier
intran	intransitive	spm	subject plural marker
Listing NP	Listing Noun Phrase	st	stem
loc	locative	subj	subject
Loc P	Locative Phrase	Subj Coord P	Subject Coordinate Phrase
man	manner	Subj QP	Subject Query Phrase
med	medial tense marker	t	tense
mnm	modified noun marker	Time P	Time Phrase
mod	modifier	tran	transitive
n	noun	v	verb
		vol	volitional
neg	negative	wd	word
nom nom adj	nominaliser nominalised adjective	+	obligatory
		T	

# 2.0 STEMS

## 2.1 General

A distinctive feature of the Mountain Koiali language is that there is only one derivational suffix, the nominalising suffix -ve,

which is itself homophonous with the third person singular possessive suffix -ve. (Various non-verbal stems are verbalised simply by the addition of verbal inflectional suffixes.)

#### 2.2 Derived Noun Stems

The suffix -ve nominaliser is added to adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives, to produce the related noun-stems:

## Adjectives:

isu heavy toela bad
isu-ve the heavy one toela-ve the bad one
Demonstrative Pronouns:

ko this ke that ko-ve here ke-ve there

Locatives:

vava beside ia behind

vava-ve the place beside ia-ve the place behind

The suffixes -ve, third person singular possessor, and -eabe, third person plural possessor, are added to certain verb stems to make abstract noun stems:

vabuato fearnegoato be strongvabu-vehis fearnego-vehis strengthvabu-eabetheir fearnegoe-eabe their strengthuvuato be sadvahaehoato be happy

vahaeho-ve his happiness

uvu-ve-u uoholi-sege vahaeho-ve-u loho-n-u sad-his-sm finish-when happy-his-sm come-sing-past When his sadness finished, his happiness came.

uvu-ve his sadness

Note that in the first set of examples above, i.e. the adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives, the meaning of possession is absent, and the -ve is never replaced by the -eabe. For these reasons, that -ve was said to be a nominalising suffix. However, because of its close parallelism with the clearly possessive suffixes on the verb stems, it would be possible to consider the nominalising suffix -ve as the possessive suffix, also, by saying that it loses its possessive meaning on adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, and locatives.

#### 2.3 Derived Verb Stems

Most adjective and noun stems are made into verb stems by the addition of verb inflectional affixes, including even the medial-verb forms.

kolia-n-u

husband-sing-past

got a husband/married

venea-n-u

firewood-sing-past

got firewood

egea-n-u

tall-sing-part

was tall

taea-n-u

white-sing-past

was white

When the stem does not end in /a/, as in ege tall, an /a/ is added to the stem when verbal suffixes are present.

## 2.4 Reduplicated Stems

There are only a few reduplicated stems in Mountain Koiali.

(i) Reduplicated Noun Stems ukolikoli eternal life

(ii) Reduplicated Verb Stems

dikoha to split

dikodikoha to split in many places

vilia to go around

vilivilia to go around

many times

### 2.5 Compound Verb Stems

There is a small class of verb stems that appear to be compound verb stems consisting of two stems, the second of which is ti to go. However, when these compound stems have plural subjects, the allomorphic adjustment is different from that of the isolated verb stem ti to go.

ese-ti

child-go

stumble

heva-ti

down-go

descend

ese-luvi

child-go.plural.subject

(many) stumble

heva-luvi

down-go.plural.subject

(many) descend

#### 2.6 Borrowed Stems

Mountain Koiali often borrows stems from Motu, Pidgin, and English and inflects them as normal Mountain Koiali stems.

#### (i) Borrowed Noun Stems

beleidi bread

valamisi flying machine/airplane

kota court

misini mission/machine

bula week (< Motu pura week)

kulu kunai grass (< Motu kurukuru sword grass)

gabu place (< Motu gabu place)

### (ii) Borrowed Verb Stems

kotanu to go/take to court

sekihania shake hands senisia to change

badua to be angry (< Motu badu angry)

diba to know (< Motu diba know)

bolo kikia to kick the ball

haukala to work (< Motu gaukara to work)
labana to hunt (< Motu labana to hunt)

#### 3.0 WORDS

Word classes in Mountain Koiali are as follows: nouns, adjectives, verbs, numerals, adverbs, pronouns, interrogatives, temporals, locatives, and connectives.

#### 3.1 Nouns

Nouns occur as fillers of the Head slots of Noun Phrases and take the third person possessive suffixes.  $^3$  There are two classes of nouns: regular nouns and kinship nouns. The kinship nouns take a first order plural marker, -uvu, that the regular nouns do not take.

## 3.11 Regular Nouns:

regular noun = regular noun nucleus ± possessive marker

non-kinship	-ve	his/her/its
noun stems	-eabe	their

o-ve o-eabe o-e dua house-his house-their house-mnm good his house their house good house o-ve dua house-his good his good house o-eabe dua house-their good their good house

## 3.12 Kinship Nouns:

kinship noun stems	-uvu plural s	-ve his/her/its -eabe their
neina-ve	nein-uvu-eabe	nein-uvu-e dua
mother-his	mother-s-their	mother-s-mnm good
his mother	their mothers	good mothers

## 3.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are uninflected and expound the modifying slot in Noun Phrase. In most texts, few or none occur. In conversation, adjectives are more frequently found, but it is more frequent to put the adjective in a verbal form in a separate clause.

o-e toela	idi-e isu
house-mnm bad	tree-mnm heavy
bad house	heavy tree
o toelanu	idi isuanu
house good.was	tree heavy.was
the house was good	the tree was heavy

## 3.3 Verbs

## 3.31 General

Verbs expound Predicate slots of Transitive and Intransitive Clause Types and are inflected with verb suffixes. Except for the object-number-marker suffix which occurs only in the transitive verbs, both transitive and intransitive verbs take the same suffixes. Different sets of suffixes, however, distinguish between Declarative and

Imperative Modes. Each set of suffixes will be presented and discussed separately.

## 3.32 Verbs in the Declarative Mode

#### 3.32.1 General Structure

Verbs in this mode have the structure shown in Chart 1. In this schema brackets around  $\pm$  object number marker are used to distinguish between the structure of transitive and intransitive verbs as already noted. That is, intransitive verbs never contain an object number marker slot (since they do not have objects), transitive verbs always do, except for the cases noted later.

+ verb nucleus	<pre>+ subject number marker</pre>	object number marker	+ verb manner	+ neg	+ num (subj)	+ tense
				-livebene will not		
verb stem	-{laha} they/ you/we	-eve them/ you/us	numeral	-holi not	-i fu -gei co	-u past -iale med.nom. who -iege if (med) -ata for a time (med)  ntinuous ture ntinuous future en (med)

CHART 1: THE MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS IN THE DECLARATIVE MODE

The rest of the list of the morphemes that expound the tense slot is as follows:

```
-sege while
-lage whenever/anytime
-live intending to
-i and (medial)
-ime so
-ale who (nominal)
-male prog who (nominal)
-veve future who (nominal)
-ale
-male + lua because
-veve
```

For examples see Section 6.0 below.

### 3.32.2 Subject Number Marker

The plural subject suffix in the subject number marker slot has several allomorphs which replace parts of the preceding verb stem. The most frequent allomorph is -laha which replaces the final /a/ of a verb stem that ends with a vowel plus /a/.

di ogo totoa-n-u no ogo toto-laha-l-u
I clothes wash-sing-past we clothes wash-pls-pl-past
I washed clothes we washed clothes

di emoa-i abu emo-laha-i I wash-fut they wash-pls-fut I will wash (myself) they will wash (themselves)

Another allomorph is -v- which replaces the /m/ in many verbs that end with /m/ plus a vowel.

 di
 lami-n-u
 no
 la-v-i-l-u

 I
 stand-sing-past
 we stand-pls--pl-past

 I
 stood
 we stood

The -laha and -v- allomorphs never co-occur with the plural object suffix. If the plural object suffix is present, the unmarked form of the verb stem occurs.

Many other verb stems take other allomorphs of the plural subject suffix. As mentioned earlier, the compound verb stems whose last component is the verb stem ti to go take a special allomorph, -luvi, which replaces the ti.

hati die ha-luvi die-pl eseti stumble ese-luvi stumble-pl

Other verb stems take other allomorphs:

laha sleep la-deve sleep-pl
hovelaha get up hove-deve get up-pl
velema arrive vele-hovo arrive-pl
belema meet bele-hovo meet-pl

In general, these other allomorphs of the plural subject suffix may co-occur with the plural object suffix, if the verb stem is a transitive verb stem. (Most of the verb stems above are intransitive.)

#### 3.32.3 Object Number Marker

The object number marker slot occurs only in transitive verbs and has as its only exponent the morpheme -eve, plural object. -eve usually occurs with plural objects, but sometimes does not as with a

collective type noun such as ogo clothes or idi wood. However, with the addition of plural numerals such as ogo moaga many clothes or idi abui two pieces of wood, the plural object suffix would always occur. The presence of -eve causes certain allomorphic adjustments as follows:

 When the -eve follows a /ha/ syllable, the /a/ is dropped and the /h/ is replaced with a non-fricative /g/.

eleha-n-u
see-sing-past
saw one...

eleg-eve-n-u
see-plo-sing-past
saw many...

uaha-n-u
bite-sing-past
bite one...

uag-eve-n-u
bite-plo-sing-past
bite many...

(2) Often, when the -eve follows an open syllable whose initial consonant is /m/ or /v/, the open syllable is dropped and the -eve is reduced to -ve.

ehoma-n-u
follow-sing-past
followed one...

eho-ve-n-u
follow-plo-sing-past
followed many...

(3) When -eve follows an /ei/ sequence, it becomes -ove.

bei-n-u
weave-sing-past
wove one...

bei-ove-n-u
weave-plo-sing-past
wove many...

(4) When the syllable before -eve ends with a vowel plus /a/, the /a/ is dropped.

totoa-n-u
wash-sing-past
wash one...

toto-eve-n-u wash-plo-sing-past wash many...

#### 3.32.4 Verb Manner

The verb manner slot is expounded by a small class of numeral words, which otherwise occur in the Quantifier slot of a Noun Phrase, but here occur bound within the verb with related adverbial meanings. The list of numerals includes (with their adjectival meanings and their adverbial meanings):

igae one, once abui two, twice abuita igaita three, three times abuita abuita four, four times

baluga big, much true, really seleve many, many times moaga

other, another time/again mole

va-molea-n-u

unaha only

ti-abuita-n-u go-twice-sing-past do-again-sing-past (he) went twice (he) did (it) again

## 3.32.5 Negative

The negative slot is expounded by a set of two negative morphemes: -holi not and -livebene will not. -holi is used with all tenses for normal negative. -livebene is a portmanteau morpheme of negative, future and volition. Its occurrence precludes any further suffixation.

> di ugu moaga eleq-eve-holi-n-u I bird many see-plo-not-sing-past I did not see many birds.

> di ogo moaga toto-eve-livebene I clothes many wash-plo-fut.neg I will not wash a lot of clothes.

When the verb manner slot is expounded by -seleve really and the negative slot is expounded by -holi, the -holi is reduplicated. The combination is quite emphatic.

> di ugu moaga eleg-eve-seleve-holi-holi-n-u I bird many see-plo-really-not-not-sing-past I really did not see many birds.

#### 3.32.6 Number

The number slot has two exponents: -n singular subject and -1 plural subject. The exponent in this slot must agree in number with the exponent or lack of exponent in the subject number marker slot. The number slot is obligatory with only certain tense exponents, i.e. -u past, -iale medial nominal who, -iege if, and -ata for a time; with all other tense exponents, the number slot is obligatorily absent.

a enoa-n-u

you cough-sing-past

you coughed

no idi hei-l-ata...

we tree cut-pl-for.a.time

we cut trees for a while, (and then...)

da-na loho-n-iege...
I-qm come-sing-if
If I come, (then...)

### 3.32.7 Tense

There are five independent verb tenses and thirteen dependent verb tenses, as shown in the bi-dimensional array in Chart 1 above. The independent tenses are: -u past, -ma progressive/continuous, -i future, -gei future continuous, and -livebene portmanteau for negative and volitional future. The -i future has an allomorph -si which occurs following /i/.

 di
 ti-n-u
 di
 ti-ma

 I
 go-sing-past
 I
 go-prog

 I
 went
 I
 am
 going

 di
 hei-si
 di
 ti-gei<sup>5</sup>

 I
 cut-fut
 I
 go-fc

 I
 will
 cut
 I

di loho-livebene
I come-neg.fut
I will not come

The dependent tense exponents tend to be more functional in meaning, in that they indicate the temporal and logical relationship between the clause they appear in and the following clause. Hence, they are quite important to the structure of a sentence. For example, the four nominal tense morphemes, -ale, -male, -veve, and -iale are most frequently used to recapitulate the previous sentence. Further discussion of the dependent tense exponents will be found in Section 6.0 of this paper which deals with sentence structure.

di ti-ale-u laha-molea-n-u I go-who-sm sleep-other-sing-past

I who went slept again or I, having gone, slept again (The previous sentence ended with a verb based on the verb stem to go.)

hoilaha-i loho-ge abu di ehova-l-u return-and come-when they me follow-pl-past When (I) came back, they followed me.

### 3.33 Verbs in the Imperative Mode

The structure of verbs in this mode differs from that of those in the declarative mode by having fewer and different suffixes.

As in the declarative mode, so in the imperative mode, the transitive and intransitive verbs take the same suffixation except that the transitive verb has the object number marker slot and the intransitive verb does not.

The formula and array for verbs in the imperative mode is as given in Chart 2 below:

+ verb nucleus	(t object)	± imperative negative	t imperative subject number
verb	-eve them/	-hale not (sing)	-nela you (sing)
stem	you/ us	-haleva <i>not</i> (plural)	-ve you (plural)

CHART 2: MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS IN THE IMPERATIVE MODE

Intransitive and transitive verbs are distinguished as above by the brackets around  $\pm$  object number marker.

The allomorphic adjustments accompanying the -eve are the same as were described under the declarative mode above.

The -hale and -haleva are homophonous with the verb stem hale stop. -haleva is the allomorphic form used with plural subjects.

In singular imperative forms, the -nela is often left off, but in plural commands, the -ve is always present.

ogo totoa
clothes wash!
Wash the clothes!

ogo totoa-nela clothes wash-sing Wash the clothes!

hei-haleva-ve
cut-neg.pl-pl
Don't (you all) cut it!

hei-ove-haleva-ve
cut-them-neg.pl-pl
Don't (you all) cut them!

loho loho-hale-nela come come-neg.sing-sing Don't come!

loho-ve loho-haleva-ve come-pl come-neg.pl-pl
Come (you all)! Don't come (you all)!

## 3.4 Numerals

Numeral words expound the Quantifier slot of the Noun Phrase and the verb manner slot of verbs in the declarative mode, q.v. This class of words is uninflected and includes the following words:

igae	one	baluga	big
abui	two	mole	other
abuita igaita	three	seleve	really
abuita abuita	four	unaha	only
ada mole	five	bahata/baita	all
moaga	many		

The words in the second column are included in this class because they have the same distribution as the true numerals. Also when following a noun there is no modified noun marker (mnm) -e present.

malaha abui-ea-u ti-l-u
man two-pls-sm go-pl-past
Two men went.

di mama seleve-u loho-n-u
my father true-sm come-sing-past
 My real father came.

malaha ke-u ti-abuita-n-u
man that-sm go-two-sing-past
That man went twice.

di ko va-molea-n-u
I this do-other-sing-past
 I did this again.

### 3.5 Adverbs

Adverbs expound the Manner slots in various Clauses. This is a very small set of words; it includes only:

baita hard
tota again
neiniai properly
vali may

di baita hama-n-u
I hard hit-sing-past
I hit hard.

beleini-u tota doba-n-u
plane-sm again fall-sing-past
The plane landed again.

di ogo neiniai toto-holi-ma
I clothes properly wash-not-prog
I am not washing clothes properly.

da-na vali a-iti ta-i
I-qm may you-with go-fut
May I go with you?

There is another construction that also has an adverbial meaning. It consists of a Medial Clause with its Predicate expounded by saiamo-i slow-and or soleka-i fast-and or reduplications of these, saiamo-saiamo-i or soleka-soleka-i, followed by an Independent Clause consisting of only its Predicate.

a-u soleka-i ti-n-u
you-sm fast-and go-sing-past
You went fast.

to-u saiamo-saiamo-i ta-i dog-sm slow-slow-and go-fut The dog will go very slow.

#### 3.6 Pronouns

### 3.61 Person Pronouns

Person pronouns are a class of nouns which substitute for a noun or a Noun Phrase in various syntactic positions. Chart 3 gives a listing of four common sets.

		Subject	Object	Benefaction	Accompaniment
lst	sing	di/da-u <sup>6</sup>	di/da	daho	daiti
2nd	sing	a-u	a	aho	aiti
3rd	sing	au/ke-u	ke	avuho	avuti/avui
lst	pl(excl)	no/noea-u	no	noheho	nohehi
lst	pl(dual incl)	nai	no	naitiho	naiti
lst	pl(pl incl)	nahi	no	nahiho	nahehi
2nd	pl	la/laea-u	1 a	laheho	lahehi
3rd	pl	abu/kea-u/ kebia-u/ea-u	kebia	kebiaho/ abuho	abuhi

CHART 3: PERSON PRONOUNS

#### 3.62 Possessive Pronouns

Mountain Koiali has a very simple system of possessives involving free forms preceding the noun. In third person there are also suffixes following the noun. The third person free form and suffix seem to be interchangeable in usage. In longer more complicated Noun Phrases, which are rare, the free form will usually be used.

	Singular	Plural
lst	di	no(excl)/nahi(incl)
2nd	a	la
3rd	au/-ve	abu/-eabe

There is also a set of possessive pronouns which can be used as person pronouns in Subject and Object slots.

	Singular		Plural	
lst	daele	mine	noele(excl) nahiele(incl)	ours
2nd	aele	yours	laele	yours
3rd	ele/avuele	his	ebiaele/abuele	theirs

#### 3.63 Demonstrative Pronouns

These pronouns can be used to modify nouns, phrases and clauses. They can also be used as a substitute for the Noun Phrase. And they can be suffixed with location suffixes to be used to fill Location slots. They indicate relative distance.

ko	this	uoke	that in further distance
ke	that	iko	emphatic this
uke	that in the distance	ike	emphatic that

The emphatic demonstratives manifest a morphophonemic change; after words ending in /i/ they become like and like.

## 3.64 Reflexive Pronouns

There is one class of reflexives that acts much like the reflexives in English. They follow personal pronouns or Noun Phrase, taking an appositional position in the Clause. There is another class of pronouns which will be included here, called isolative. These also

take an appositional position and take the meaning to do it alone (by myself, by yourself, etc.).

	Reflexive	Isolative
lst sing	debia/debika	dahuvela
2nd sing	aebia/aebika	ahuvela
3rd sing	ebia/ebika	ahuvela
lst pl	noebia/noebika	nohuvela
2nd pl	laebia/laebika	lahuvela
3rd pl	abuebia/abuebika	abuhuvela

malaha ke-u ahuvela haukala-ma man that-sm alone work-prog

That man is working alone.

### 3.7 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are question words which require an answer other than yes or no. They fill various slots on Clause level depending on the meaning of the interrogative. It is interesting to note that when and why are different manifestations of the same root word hosio with appropriate endings. The same is true of where, which and who-all have the same root ole with suffixation. Also, the other word used for when and the word for how many have the same root.

why hosioho - verbal benefactive hosiomalela/vaesuela - time slot when vaesute - numeral slot how many ole - Subject slot, Object slot who where oleve - Location slot which olete - Modifier slot oleteale - embedded clause position onole/onode - Subject or Object slot what hosio - verbal (with appropriate ending can mean what are you doing) how oleve kateai - verbal slot with appropriate verbal endings

#### 3.8 Temporals

There are two classes of temporals. The first class cannot take the Time Phrase clitics, while the second takes these clitics at the end of the Time Phrase. They both fill the same Time slot and can be used to modify each other. The second class acts much as a noun by taking the modified noun marker -e when followed by an adjective. See Time Phrase description Section 4.22.2.

## Class 1

subuta	before	alamege	day after tomorrow
nivu	tomorrow	vavitege	three days hence
vavita	morning	bae	later/then
gabie	later		

#### Class 2

vavi	night	bata	month	
gutu	afternoon	monide	Monday	
vani	day	bula	week/Sabbath	(from
doga	now/today		Motu pura)	

The time word bae *later* always follows the subject which is the usual position for time words. Other time words can permute before the subject, but bae cannot.

vavita vavita no ti-l-u di gutu-mo eleha-n-u morning morning we go-pl-past I afternoon-on see-sing-past We went very early in the morning. I saw (it) in the afternoon.

di bae ta-i subuta bula ke-u loho-n-u

I later go-fut before week that-sm come-sing-past

I will go later. He came last week.

bula-e<sup>7</sup> vavita malaha ke-u loho-n-u
Sabbath-mnm morning man that-sm come-sing-past
That man came Saturday morning.

## 3.9 Locatives

o-e vava

Locatives are words that fill the Locative Modifier slot of the Locative Phrase. These words can be nominalised by adding the suffixes -ve at, -mo on and -la progression towards. The nominalised form then replaces the Locative Phrase.

house-mnm beside	beside-nom
beside the house	the place beside
o ke vala	vala-ve
house that under	under-nom
under that house	the place under

#### 3.10 Connectives

The great majority of connectives are used on Sentence level and have a general verb root i thus doing or being that takes various subordinate verb suffixes and serves on Sentence level to tie things together.

There are also two additional connectives, mena or and mesoho maybe used in only certain sentence types. Further discussion of these connectives with examples are found later in the paper with the discussion on sentences.

## 4.0 PHRASES

#### 4.1 Verbal Phrases

There are no verbal phrases in Mountain Koiali--tense, number, modifier, plural object marker are all elements in the verbal word. There are a limited number of adverbs that fill a Manner slot at clause level. Verbs do not combine into coordinate verb phrases but are a series of clauses.

## 4.2 Non-Verbal Phrases

In these we shall distinguish between those that occur as subject or object of verbs and those that occur in other positions. The reason for this is that in Mountain Koiari subjects are usually marked by -u in declarative sentences and by -na in corresponding yes-no question sentences and that different forms are used for joining units in subjects as against objects. More will be said about these features in the discussion to follow in which we shall refer to the two types of phrases as Noun Phrases and Other Phrases respectively.

## 4.21 Noun Phrases

#### 4.21.1 Common Noun Phrase

#### 4.21.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

Any NP can be possessed by placing a proper noun, noun or possessive pronoun before the noun in the NP. In third person the suffixes -ve his and -eabe their can be used in place of the free form pronouns.

di o baluga ke
 my house big that
 my big house
(Note: baluga is a number word)

## 4.21.3 Subject Noun Phrase

That is, the Subject Phrase is filled by an obligatory Head filled by a Noun Phrase, Appositional Phrase, pronoun, noun proper, numeral or adjective, plus an optional subject plural marker -ea and the obligatory subject marker -u.

#### Rules:

- 1. When the pronoun di I is present, the subject marker -u is not present. When possessive di my is present, the subject marker is added at the end of the Noun Phrase.
- 2. When the subject plural marker -ea follows an /e/, that /e/ is dropped.
- 3. Numerals and adjectives may function as Head in context. Adjectives must have the specifier -te or nominaliser -ve when functioning as Head.

malaha k-ea-u loho-l-u
man that-spm-sm come-pl-past
Those men came.

Ebe-u ti-n-u

Ebe-sm go-sing-past

Ebe went.

abuita-ea-u dobaluvi-l-u two-spm-sm fall-pl-past Two fell down.

isu-te-u toela-n-u
heavy-spec-sm bad-sing-past
The heavy one is bad.

#### 4.21.4 Subject Query Noun Phrase

Subj Q P = + Head + Query

NP -na (qm)
np
pro
Subj Coord P
Add P

That is, the Query Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper, a pronoun, a Subject Coordinate Phrase or an Additive Phrase, plus an obligatory Query marker filled by the suffix -na (query marker).

#### Rules:

1. When the suffix -na (qm) is used in the Subject Coordinate Phrase, the -na (qm) is placed on the first Head to replace the subject marker -u.

2. When the suffix -na (qm) is used with pronouns, the following forms are used:

Singular - lst da-na
2nd a-na
3rd ke-na/au-na
plural - lst excl no abu·na/noeabu-na/no-na
lst incl nahi-na/nahiabu-na
2nd la-na/laeabu-na
3rd abu-na/keabu-na

3. When the query marker suffix -na (qm) is used with the first person, a yes-no answer is not required but it suggests doubt by the speaker. In first person, this is only used with future tense.

da-na bae ta-i
I-qm later go-fut
I might go later.

maua isu-te ke-na ti-n-u
box heavy-spec that-qm go-sing-past
Did that heavy box go?

malaha ke-na au keate-ti lovilaha-l-u
man that-qm his woman-and work-pl-past
Did that man and his wife work?

a-ta-na lovia-n-u
you-also-qm work-sing-past
Did you also work?

au-na gebeu-ta i-n-u
he-qm sweet.potato-also eat-sing-past
Did he eat sweet potato also?

au-na ovo bi-n-u mena to bi-n-u
he-qm pig shoot-sing-past or dog shoot-sing-past
Did he shoot a pig or a dog?

#### 4.21.5 Additive Noun Phrase

Add P = + Axis + Relator

NP	-ta also
np	
pro	

That is, the Additive Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun plus an obligatory Relator filled by the suffix -ta also. Note, however, that when the affix ta- also is used with the subject noun phrase, noun or pronoun the subject marker -u is omitted.

da-ta lovi i-n-u malaha ke-ta ti-n-u I-also food eat-sing-past man that-also go-sing-past I also ate food. That man also went.

ke-u gebeu-ta i-n-u  $he\text{-sm sweet.} potato-also \ eat\text{-sing-past}$  He ate sweet potato also (1.e., in addition to other food).

### 4.21.6 Subject Coordinate Noun Phrase

That is, the Subject Coordinate Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by a Subject Phrase, an obligatory Head two filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper, or a pronoun plus an obligatory Link filled by the suffix -ti and. The Head two plus the Link can occur repeatedly.

malaha ke-u au mahina-ti ti-l-u man that-sm his wife-and go-pl-past

That man and his wife went.

Nanaba-u Ebe-ti Omi-ti Kobulu-ti haukala-ma
Nanaba-sm Ebe-and Omi-and Kobulu-and work-prog
Nanaba, Ebe, Omi and Kobulu are working.

## 4.21.7 Object Coordinate Noun Phrase

Obj Coord P = 
$$+ \text{ Head}_1 + (\text{Head}_2)^n$$
Add P Add P

That is, the Object Coordinate Phrase consists of an obligatory Head one filled by an Additive Phrase and an obligatory Head two filled by an Additive Phrase.

di Dioni-ta Ladia-ta Su-ta eleg-eve-n-u
I John-and Roger-and Sue-and see-plo-sing-past
I saw Roger, John and Sue.

## 4.21.8 Appositional Noun Phrase

That is, an Appositional Phrase consists of an item filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun, plus an obligatory Apposition filled by a nominalised adjective, a Noun Clause or a Noun Phrase.

#### Rule:

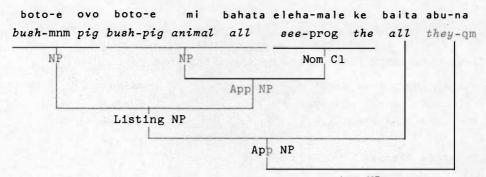
1. When the Appositional Phrase is expounding a Subject slot, the subject marker clitic -u is suffixed to both the Item and Apposition.

maua ko-u isu-ve-u toela-n-u box this-sm heavy-nom-sm bad-sing-past This box, the heavy one, is bad.

ta-live di benisola ese-ve ke ma go-with.intent my pencil small-nom that get Go get my pencil, that small one.

## 4.21.9 Listing Noun Phrase

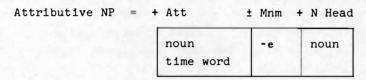
The Listing Noun Phrase consists of a series of noun Heads expounded by Noun Phrases or Appositional Noun Phrases or Attributive Noun Phrases, followed by an optional Summary slot expounded by words such as baita all, abu they or even a Noun Phrase that refers to all the members of the series.



App NP expounding subject

The bush pigs and all the bush animals that we see all the time, all of them...

#### 4.21.10 Attributive Noun Phrase



The Attributive Noun Phrase consists of an obligatory Attributive filled by a noun or time word plus an optional Modified noun marker filled by the suffix -e and an obligatory Noun Head filled by a noun.

ugu-e vomo
bird-mnm feather
bird's feather

nivu-e lovi yesterday-mnm food yesterday's food

boto-e ovo
bush-mnm pig
bush pig

Note that although the Modified noun marker -e is usually present, some exceptions have been observed:

matama-e ovo/matama ovo
place-mnm pig place pig
wild pig / wild pig

subuta ata
before people
ancestors

## 4.21.11 Benefactive Noun Phrase

That is, a Benefactive Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis slot filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun, plus an obligatory Relator slot filled by the clitic -ho for.

malaha buka-te-ho da-ho
man black-spec-for me-for
for the black man for me

### 4.22 Other Phrases

#### 4.22.1 Time Phrase

Time  $P = + \text{Head } \pm (+ \text{Mnm} + \text{Mod}) \pm \text{Quan } \pm \text{Dem } \pm \text{Limiter}$ 

time wd <sub>2</sub>	-е	adj	num	dem pro	-mo on
					-la progression

That is, the Time Phrase consists of an obligatory Head filled by time word two, an optional Modified noun marker filled by the suffix -e, an optional Modifier filled by an adjective, an optional Quantifier filled by a numeral, an optional Demonstrative filled by a demonstrative pronoun, and an optional Limiter filled by a time suffix.

#### Rules:

- 1. The Modifier slot in Time Phrases is very seldom filled, and with only a limited number of adjectives such as  $ese\ small$  and  $dua\ good$ .
- 2. The suffix -e is present only when Modifier is present.
- 3. The limiters -mo and -la are usually used with vavi night and gutu afternoon. When -mo is attached to vani day or sun, it takes the meaning mid-day. With other words in this class the limiters are used only occasionally, probably to stress the meaning.
- 4. A Time Phrase will not be found with all of the above fillers present.
  - di gutu-mo ta-i Ebe-u vani mole ike loho-n-u I afternoon-on go-fut Ebe-sm day other emph come-sing-past I will go in the afternoon. Ebe came that other day.

#### 4.22.2 Location Phrase

Loc  $P = + Loc H \pm Loc mod \pm Limiter$ 

NP	locative	-е	at, to
np		-mo	on
pro		-la	progression

That is, the Location Phrase consists of an obligatory Location Head filled by a Noun Phrase, a noun proper or a pronoun, plus an optional Location modifier filled by a locative, plus an optional Limiter filled by the suffixes -e, -la or -mo.

#### Rules:

- 1. The location suffix -e at is homophonous with the Modified noun marker -e.
- 2. When the Noun Phrase is filled only by a noun and then is followed by the Location modifier, the modified noun marker -e is placed on the noun. See third example below and also Noun Phrase description of Modified noun marker.
  - a soe-u idi tolo-te ke vala-e doba-n-u
    your axe-sm tree hard-spec that under-at fall-sing-past
    Your axe fell under that hardwood tree.

di launumu-e ti-ma
I Launumu-to go-prog
I am going to Launumu.

malaha ke-u o-e vava-e u-ma
man that-sm house-mnm beside-at be-prog
That man is stopping beside the house.

It is interesting to note that there are no co-ordinate Time Phrases or Location Phrases. These ideas are expressed with Clauses.

da-na nivu va-i alamege va-i

I-qm tomorrow do-fut day.after do-fut

I will do(it) tomorrow and (I) will do (it)

(the) day after.

abu o ko-ve ha-i isi ke-ve ha-l-u
they village this-nom plant-and and that-nom plant-pl-past
They planted at this village and (they) planted at that (one).

## 5.0 CLAUSES

## 5.1 General

Mountain Koiali Clauses have the general pattern: Subject - Object - Predicate, with the Predicate being the only obligatory item. Other peripheral items such as Time, Location, Benefaction, Manner, and so on, all occur between the Subject and the Object.

Clauses are also distinguished as being Final Clauses, Medial Clauses, and Nominalised Clauses. These distinctions are reflected only in the final inflection on the final verb in a clause; hence, we will give the structures of the various clauses without regard to the final inflection, and then later, discuss the inflections and the way clauses combine in Sentences.

#### 5.2 Transitive Clauses

## 5.21 Indicative Transitive Clause

The structure of the Indicative Transitive Clause is shown in the following array:

Indicative Transitive Clause =

± Subj ± Time ± Loc ± Ben ± Inst ± Manner ± Obj ± Pred

Subj P Add P	Time P	Loc P nom loc wd	Ben P	Add P	adverb	NP np	ind tr v
App P		Loc Cl				pro	
N Cl						Obj Coord P	
	100	35				nom adj	
-3.67		17	18 h			num	
1						App P N Cl	
		W. J			Take 1		

That is, the Indicative Transitive Clause may consist of an optional Subject slot filled by a Subject Phrase, an Appositional Phrase, an Additive Phrase or a Noun Clause; plus an optional Time slot filled by a Time Phrase or time word one; plus an optional Location slot filled by a Location Clause, a Location Phrase or a nominalised location word; plus an optional Benefactive slot filled by a Benefactive Phrase; plus an optional Instrument slot filled by an Additive Phrase; plus an optional Manner slot filled by an adverb, plus an optional Object slot filled by a Noun Phrase, an Appositional Phrase, a noun proper,

a pronoun, an Object Co-ordinate Phrase, a nominalised adjective, a numeral or a Noun Clause; plus an obligatory Predicate filled by an indicative transitive verb.

#### Rules:

- 1. The Time slot can permute to a position before the Subject slot.
- 2. The Location slot can permute to a position following the Predicate at the end of the clause.
- 3. Except for the above permutations the position of slots is fixed.
- 4. Although the Instrument can be expressed with an Additive Phrase, the preferred way seems to be to use the verb ma get with a medial clause construction to express the same idea. For example:

di soe ma-i idi dikoha-i
I axe get-and tree chop-fut
I will get an axe and chop the tree.

- 5. Numerals and adjectives may function as fillers of the Object slot.
- 6. The normal number of slots filled is 3 to 5. The order is relatively fixed. Short clauses occur frequently with series of clauses used to express more complex ideas.

di eleg-eve-n-u
I see-plo-sing-past
I saw them.

di doga-ve ma-n-u
I new-nom get-sing-past
I got the new one.

di nivu baita to hama-n-u
I yesterday hard dog hit-sing-past
I hit the dog hard yesterday.

a-u o-e da-ho ogo male-n-u
you-sm house-at me-for clothes get-sing-past
You got the clothes for me at the house.

malaha ke-u soe-ta idi dikoha-ma
man that-sm axe-with tree chop-prog
That man is chopping the tree with an
axe.

## 5.22 Query Transitive Clause

The Query Transitive Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Transitive Clause except that the Subject is expounded by the Subject Query Phrase. The Query Clause anticipates only a yes or no answer.

a-na ogo totoa-n-u ebe-na aike idi dikoha-ma
you-qm clothes wash-sing-past Ebe-qm now wood chop-prog
Did you wash the clothes? Is Ebe chopping wood now?

malaha ke-na beleini-mo gebeu ma-i ti-n-u
man that-qm plane-on potato get-and go-sing-past
Did the man take the potatoes and go on the plane?

### 5.23 Interrogative Transitive Clause

The Interrogative Transitive Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Transitive Clause except that one of the non-predicate tagmemes is expounded by an appropriate interrogative word, such as who, what, where, why, etc. The Interrogative Clause expects an informative answer, not yes or no.

a oleve.ogo totoa-n-u a hosio-ho ke va-ma you where clothes wash-sing-past you what-for that do-prog Where did you wash the clothes? Why are you doing that?

ole-u gebeu ha-ma
who-sm potato plant-prog
Who is planting potatoes?

a hosiomalela lovi i-n-u
you when food eat-sing-past
When did you eat food?

## 5.24 Imperative Transitive Clause

The Imperative Transitive Clause has the same basic structure as the Indicative Transitive Clause except that it has no Subject tagmeme and the Imperative Transitive Predicate is expounded by an imperative transitive verb. The Imperative Clause has a second person implied subject, singular or plural. In the Imperative Clause, the Manner tagmeme has an additional possible exponent, nehane must. This form, nehane must, has not been completely analysed at this time, but seems to always occur with imperative forms. There is also another negative form, inaho must not that occurs with a final form -live. This also has not been completely analysed at this time.

va-nela
do-sing.imp
Do it.

balta to hama hard dog hit Hit the dog hard.

ogo toto-haleva-ve clothes wash-neg.pl-pl.imp
Don't wash the clothes.

nehane bae hiloka must then know You must know (that). a inaho ta-live
you must.not go-vol(?)
You must not go.

### 5.3 Intransitive Clauses

The Intransitive Clauses parallel the Transitive Clauses. They have the same basic structure except that the Intransitive Clauses have no Object Clause and have a corresponding Intransitive Predicate expounded by a corresponding intransitive verb.

## 5.31 Indicative Intransitive Clause

da-ta nivu ti-n-u
I-also yesterday go-sing-past
 I also went yesterday.

nanaba-u o-e uvu-e ladia-ho haukala-n-u
Nanaba-sm house-mnm inside-at Roger-for work-sing-past
Nanaba worked for Roger inside the house.

mahina-ve-u siga-ta neniai lovia-ma wife-his-sm knife-with properly work-prog His wife is working properly with the knife.

Interrogative Intransitive Clause

a-u oleve ti-ma you where go-prog Where are you going?

ebe-u hosiomalela o-e ta-i

Ebe-sm when house-to go-fut

When will Ebe go to the house?

ole-u da-ho loho-n-u

who-sm me-for come-sing-past

Who has come for me?

## 5.32 Imperative Intransitive Clause

uvu-e loho-ve house-mnm inside-to come-pl.mood

Come inside the house.

aike laha-nela now sleep-sing.mood Go to sleep now.

siga-ta te knife-with go Go with the knife (Take the knife with you).

bahata nehane i-nela eat-sing.imp. this all must You must eat all this.

## 5.4 Equative Clauses

The Equative Clauses are non-verbal clauses with only two tagmemes: an Item and a Comment. Equative Clauses are Indicative, Query or Interrogative.

## 5.41 Indicative Equative Clause

Ind Equat C1 = + Subject + Comment

Subj P	nom adj
A PERSON	NP

#### Rules:

- The nominalised adjective dua-ve the good one is used often, but other adjectives are usually verbalised and cast in the form of an Intransitive Clause.
- 2. The NP usually has from one to three slots filled.

ma ke-u dua-ve girl that-sm good-nom That girl is a good one.

ke-u doga-ve that-sm new-nom That is a new one.

malaha ke-u malaha-e toela that-sm man-mnm bad That man is a bad man.

ata-e dua a-u you-sm person-mnm good You are a good person.

ma ke-u toela-ve girl that-sm bad-nom That girl is a bad one.

(Note: this is sometimes heard, but more often it is put in the intransitive form below.)

ma ke-u toela-n-u
girl that-sm bad-sing-past
That girl is bad.

## 5.42 Query Equative Clause

The Query Equative Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Equative Clause except that the Subject is expounded by a Subject Query Phrase.

ma ke-na dua-ve
girl that-qm good-nom
Is that girl a good one?

idi ko-na idi-e isu
tree this-qm tree-mnm heavy
Is this tree a heavy tree?

## 5.43 Interrogative Equative Clause

The Interrogative Equative Clause has the same structure as the Indicative Equative Clause except that the Subject is expounded by an interrogative word in a Subject Phrase, i.e., ol-u who-sm or olete-u which-sm.

ole-u ma-e toela
who-sm girl-mnm bad
Who is a bad girl?

olete-u malaha buka-te
which-sm man black-spec
Which is the black man?

ole-u dua-ve
who-sm good-nom
Who is a good one?

- 5.5 Nominalised Clauses
- 5.51 Location Clause

Location Cl = + Axis

+ Relator

Tran Cl nom	keve there
In Cl nom	gabu-e place-at
Clauses must end with	-ve to
-ale past who	-la towards
-male prog who	-mo on
-veve fut who	o-e house-at

Location clauses consist of an obligatory Axis filled by nominalised Transitive Clauses and nominalised Intransitive Clauses plus an obligatory Relator filled by some locator words and suffixes.

#### Rules:

1. Often the Location Clause will permute to the end of the clause.

ke-u beledi maho-male gabu-e ti-n-u
he-sm bread cook-prog place-at go-sing-past
He went to the place where they always cook bread.

di abu ovo bi-ale keve ti-n-u
I they pig shot-past where go-sing-past
I went to where they shot the pig.

di ti-ma abu nivu kulu hama-male-ve I go-prog they yesterday kunai hit-prog-to I am going to (where) they cut kunai yesterday.

### 5.52 Noun Clause

Noun Clause = + Axis

**±** Relator

Tran Cl nom	ke that/the
In cl nom	ko this/the
Clause must end with	
-ale past who	
-male prog who	
-veve fut who	

The Noun Clause consists of an obligatory Axis filled by nominalised Transitive Clauses and nominalised Intransitive Clauses plus optional relators filled by the demonstratives ke that and ko this. Clauses inflected with -ale past -male prog -veve fut may expound the Apposition slot of an Appositional Phrase.

di kove loho-ale vahaehoa-nu
I here come-past.who happy-past
I who came here was happy.

subuta atat-ea-u haluvi-mal-ea-u munanab-ea-u before people-spm-sm die-prog.who-spm-sm spirit-spm-sm ancestors, who have died, spirits

abu loho-ale k-ea-u vele-hovo-l-u

they come-past.who that-spm-sm arrive-pls-pl-past

They who came arrived.

## 5.6 Miscellaneous Clause Usage

#### 5.61 Resemblance:

This is quite commonly seen in Mtn. Koiali.

ni abuita mole nahate face two other like
The two faces are just alike.

#### 5.62 Comparative Degree:

There is no special word to indicate degree of comparison, but the construction is accomplished by contrastive statements.

mo ke-u baluga isito da-u ese-ve boy that-sm big but I-sm small-nom That boy is big but I am small.

## 5.63 Figures of speech:

#### 5.63.1 Simile

keate ke-u uve vovo nahate
woman that-sm banana ripe similar
That woman is like a ripe banana (meaning she
is a soft or weak person, not a good worker).

## 5.63.2 Metaphor

ovo ike ke
pig emphthat
He's a pig!

## 5.63.3 Euphemism

ovo ke-u laha-n-u
pig that-sm sleep-sing-past
The pig slept (died).

a-u mahoho ke-ti gilulaha-l-u
you-sm girl that-with play-pl-past
You played with (sexual relations) that girl.

# 5.63.4 Hyperbole

ata bahata ti-l-u
person all go-pl-past
Everyone went (actually some did not go).

# 5.63.5 Metonomy

o bahata-ea-u loho-l-u village all-spm-sm come-pl-past
All the villages (the people of the villages) came.

### 5.63.6 Irony

a-u ata-e dua
you-sm person-mnm good
You're a good person. (Actually meaning just
the opposite and said in a certain tone of voice.)

## 5.63.7 Synecdoche

di vava-u savasava-n-u
my skin-sm soft-sing-past
My skin is soft. (Meaning all is well with
the person.)

### 6.0 SENTENCES

This analysis of the Sentences in Mtn. Koiali is still tentative and, possibly, incomplete, but we list the types we have found so far.

#### 6.1 Co-ordinate Sentence

In a Co-ordinate Sentence, all clauses except the last one end with a verb carrying the medial ending-i/-si (-si occurs following/i/ and -i occurs elsewhere) and. The last verb is given one of the other final or nonfinal tenses. The Clauses in a Co-ordinate Sentence tend to occur in the temporal order in which the events take place or to be simultaneous, but this type of sentence is rather neutral about time sequence; it does not signal temporal sequence between the Clauses.

di lovi male-i maho-i i-n-u
I food get-and cook-and eat-sing-past
I got food, cooked (it) and ate (it).

di ta-i ogo ma-i totoa-i
I go-and clothes get-and wash-fut
I will go get the clothes and wash (them).

In the Co-ordinate Sentence, all the Clauses have the same subject and that subject is established in the first Clause either by overt reference or from the context. If there is an object, it is mentioned in the first Transitive Clause.

There are no restrictions on the tense of the final verb.

The free conjunction corresponding to the co-ordinating medial suffix is is! and which may introduce a Sentence or serve as the link between Clauses within a Sentence.

... hohav-e-n-u. Isi au deiada lou-i
call-plo-sing-past and his story say-and
kebia namig-eve-n-u
them tell-plo-sing-past

... called (them). And (he) told them his story.

... abu-hi kainatu-e ta-i isi ti-l-u

them-with Kainantu-to go-fut and go-pl-past
... (we) would go with them to Kainantu and (we) went.

#### 6.2 Temporal Sentences

The following three Sentence types involve temporal relationships between the parts, i.e. Sequence and Simultaneity.

#### 6.21 Simple Sequence Sentence

In the Simple Sequence Sentence the first Base is expounded

by a Clause or a Sentence, the last verb of which is inflected with the sequence marker -ge when, and the second Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence. The subjects of the two parts may be the same or different, and there is no restriction on the inflection of the final verb of the second Base. The Simple in the name of this sentence is used simply to contrast this sentence type with the following Delayed Sequence Sentence.

di idi hei-ge bokolaha-n-u
I tree cut-when fall-sing past
When I cut the tree, it fell down.

di haoka loho-ge di vahaehoa-n-u
my friend come-when I happy-sing-past
When my friend came, I was happy.

When the final Clause is inflected with the future tense, this Sentence type becomes a kind of a conditional Sentence.

di ti-ge malaha ke-u da hamo-i
I go-when man that-sm me hit-fut
If I go, that man will hit me.

The first part of the Simple Sequence Sentence often recapitulates the action of the previous Sentence.

I return-sing-past return-and come-when they
di ehova-l-u
me follow-pl-past

... I came back. When I came back, they followed me.

The first Base of a Simple Sequence Sentence may be repeated one or more times, each repetition having a different exponent.

di basiketi bei-ge uo-holi-ge di ma-i

I basket weave-when be-neg-when I get-and
ta-i voia-i
go-and sell-fut

When I weave a basket, when it is finished, I will take (it) and go and sell (it).

(The above example could also be analysed as a Simple Sequence Sentence with a Simple Sequence Sentence expounding its second Base.)

There is an idiomatic form of this sentence type with a minimal Equative Clause consisting only of a Comment expounded by dua-ve or a Predicate expounded by a verbalised adjective.

ke i-ge dua-ve isito ko i-ge toela-n-u
that eat-when good-nom but this eat-when bad-sing-past
That is good to eat but this is bad.

(The above example is an Antithetical Sentence with Simple Sequence Sentences expounding both its Bases.)

The free conjunction corresponding to the sequence marker suffix is ige then. It usually introduces a Sentence.

ige au loho-ma
then it come-prog
Then it kept coming.

ige may also occur Sentence-medially, but note that in the following example, the preceding verb has a final verb inflection.

ke-u nivu uve i-n-u ige da-ta he-sm yesterday banana eat-sing-past then I-also He ate a banana yesterday, then I also (ate one).

lovi ko-u dua-ve ige ke-ta dua-ve food this-sm good-nom then that-also good-nom This food is good and that also is good.

### 6.22 Delayed Sequence Sentence

The Delayed Sequence Sentence consists of two Bases.

The first Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence, the last verb of which is inflected with -ata for a time, and the second Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence. The subjects must be the same in the exponents of the two Bases, and there is no restriction on the inflection on the exponent of the second Base. The first exponent describes an action that persisted for a time and then was followed by the second action.

no idi hei-l-ata haleva-i loho-l-u we tree cut-pl-for.a.time leave-and come-pl-past We cut the trees for a while, left and came.

di gebeu lovo-n-ata male-i loho-n-u

I potato dig-sing-for.a.time get-and come-sing-past

I dug potatoes for a time, got (them) and came.

The free conjunction corresponding to the delayed sequence suffix is inata having finished, which usually introduces a sentence.

malaha ke-u negoa-n-u inata
man that-sm strong-sing-past having.finished
hau ke ma-n-u
thing that get-sing-past

That man is strong. As a result, he took that thing.

to-u ovo i-ma inata hale-i

dog-6m pig eat-prog having.finished leave-and

o-e ti-n-u

house-to go-sing-past

The dog was eating the pig. Having finished, he went to the village.

no gilu-laha-l-u ilata haleva-i
we play-pls-pl-past having.finished leave-and
o-e ti-l-u
village-to go-pl-past

We played. Having finished we left and went to the village.

## 6.23 Simultaneous Sentence

The Simultaneous Sentence consists of two Bases, the first Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence, the last verb of which is inflected with the simultaneous suffix -sege while, and the second Base expounded by a Clause or a Sentence, which may have any inflection. The subjects of the two Bases must be different.

di kulu hei-sege beleini-u loho-n-u

I kunai cut-while plane-sm come-sing-past

While I was cutting grass, the plane came.

di a eleha-sege a-u lovi i-ma
I you see-while you-sm food eat-prog
While I watched you, you were eating.

The first Base may be repeated one or more times, each repetition with a different exponent.

ti-sege vani-e ni-mo ehuda-mo u-sege go-while sun-mnm face-on above-on be-while While (I) was going, while the sun was high above ... The free conjunction corresponding to the simultaneous verb suffix is isege at the same time/meanwhile. It usually introduces a Sentence.

isege di loho-ma
meanwhile I come-prog
Meanwhile I was coming.

The preceding three Sentence types have been Sentences that signal temporal relationships between actions. We turn now to Sentences with logical relationships.

#### 6.3 Antithetical Sentence

The Antithetical Sentence consists of two Bases with an intervening Link expounded by the adversative conjunction isito but. The exponent of the first Base must end with a verb inflected with the medial ending i and or with a final-verb tense. The exponent of the second Base is not restricted in its inflection.

di isivia-n-u isito di isivi-holi-n-u
I want-sing-past but I want-not-sing-past
I wanted to but I did not want to (undecided).
or I want to but I don't want to (undecided).

mo ke-u baluga isito da-u ese-ve boy that-sm big but I-sm small-nom That boy is big but I am a small one.

ke-u toloa-n-u isito ko-u tolo-baluga-n-u that-sm hard-sing-past but this-sm hard-big-sing-past That is hard, but this is really hard.

au-na mune-mo ugulamo-i isito au bae vata-mo he-qm stone-on sit-and but he then ground-on ugulamo-livebene sit-will.not

He will sit on a stone but he will surely not sit on the ground.

ke i-ge dua-ve isito ko i-ge toela-n-u
that eat-when good-nom but this eat-when bad-sing-past
That is good to eat but this is bad to eat.

(In the above example, each Base of the Antithetical Sentence is expounded by a Simple Sequence Sentence.) (Some of the above examples show how the Antithetical Sentence encodes a deep-structure comparison.)

isito but is also used to introduce a Sentence.

isivi-holi-l-u da havo-ho. isito haleva-i want-not-pl-past me hit-for but leave-and hoideve-l-u return-pl-past

(they) did not want to kill me. But (they) left and went back.

want-pl-past but I that want-neg-sing-past
... want. But I do not want that.

#### 6.4 Alternative Sentences

There are two types of Alternative Sentences. The first is the Alternative Question Sentence, and the second is the Uncertainty Alternative Sentence.

### 6.41 Alternative Question Sentence

The Alternative Question Sentence consists of two Bases with an intermediate alternative Link expounded by mena or. The exponent of the second Base is a Clause, all of which is elided except for a single Clause constituent which contrasts with a corresponding constituent in the exponent of the first Base. The first Base is usually expounded by a single Query Clause with a final-verb tense.

a-na anani-ho isivia-n-u mena uve-ho
you-qm mandarin-for want-sing-past or banana-for
Do you want a mandarin or a banana?

au-na mune-mo ugulamo-i mena vata-mo he-qm stone-on sit-fut or ground-on Will he sit on the stone or on the ground?

au-na lovi i-si mena laha-i
he-qm food eat-fut or sleep-fut
Will he eat or will he sleep?

### 6.42 Uncertainty Alternative Sentence

The Uncertainty Alternative Sentence consists of two Bases and an Uncertainty Link expounded by mesoho maybe preceding each Base. The exponent of the last Base is often elided except for the contrasting constituent.

mesoho au-na mune-mo ugulamo-i mesoho vata-mo maybe he-qm stone-on sit-fut maybe ground-on Maybe he will sit on the stone, maybe on the ground?

mesoho au-na lovi i-si mesoho laha-i maybe he-qm food eat-fut maybe sleep-fut Maybe he will eat food, maybe he will sleep?

### 6.5 Conditional Sentences

There are two types of Conditional Sentences. One is the Simple Conditional Sentence, and the other is the Generalised Conditional Sentence.

## 6.51 Simple Conditional Sentence

The Simple Conditional Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base must have its final verb inflected with -iege if, and the exponent of the second Base must have the same subject as the exponent of the first Base and must be inflected with a non-past tense, i.e., progressive, future, or imperative.

a loho-n-iege di soe-ta ma you come-sing-if my axe-with get If you come, get my axe!

da-na loho-n-iege a-ho imi-ta ma-i
I-qm come-sing-if you-for sugar.cane-with get-fut
 If I come, I will get some sugar cane for you.

In the following example, a Simple Conditional Sentence is expounding the second Base of an Antithetical Sentence, the result being a contrary to fact Sentence.

di beleini-mo ti-holi-n-u isito di beleini-mo I plane-on go-neg-sing-past but I plane-on ti-n-iege hati-ma go-sing-if die-prog I did not go on the plane, but if I had gone on the plane, I would have died.

In the following example, and in the one above, the progressive tense may be either present or past.

di ti-n-lege hati-ma
I go-sing-if die-prog

If I go, I will die/ If I had gone, I would have died.

a-u idi ko bai i-n-lege nehane hati-nela
you-sm tree this fruit eat-sing-if must die-sing.imp
If you eat the fruit of this tree, you must die.

#### 6.52 Generalised Conditional Sentence

The Generalised Conditional Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base must end with a verb inflected with -lage anytime, everytime, whenever, and the exponent of the second Base may have the same or a different subject from that in the first exponent, and must be inflected with the past tense.

di idi hei-lage di bego tumua-n-u
I tree cut-everytime my shoulder hurt-sing-past
Everytime I cut trees, my shoulder hurts.

no eleg-eve-lage abu nohe-hi lou-l-u we see-plo-everytime they us-with talk-pl-past Everytime we see them, they talk with us.

### 6.6 Cause-Result Sentences

There are two types of Cause-Result Sentences: the Simple Cause Sentence and the Situational Cause Sentence.

#### 6.61 Simple Cause Sentence

The Simple Cause Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base must end with a verb inflected with -ime so. The exponent of the second Base must have the same subject as the first exponent.

di haoka-ho uvua-ime nina-n-u
my friend-for sad-so cry-sing-past
I was sad for my friend so (I) cried.

di ute eleha-ime vabua-n-u
I snake see-so afraid-sing-past
I saw a snake so (I) am/was afraid.

In the following example, the two Bases are transposed.

ke-u evogi hale-i ti-n-u vabua-ime he-sm Evogi leave-and go-sing-past afraid-so He left Evogi because he was afraid.

### 6.62 Situational Cause Sentence

The Situational Cause Sentence consists of two Bases. The first Base is expounded by a nominalised Clause plus the suffix -lua because. (A nominalised Clause is a Clause inflected with one of the nominalising suffixes: -ale who, male prog.who, and -veve

fut.who.) The exponent of the second Base may have the same subject as the first exponent or a different subject.

di lovi i-holi-ale-lua nego-holi-n-u
I food eat-neg-who-because strong-neg-sing-past
Because I did not eat food, I am not strong.

a nivu ti-veve-lua loho-ge nahi
you tomorrow go-who.fut-because came-when we
lovi i-si
food eat-fut

Because you will go tomorrow, when you come let us eat food.

a kate-ale-lua da-na bae va-i
you similar-who-because I-qm then do-fut
Because you (think) like that, I will probably do it.

The free conjunctions corresponding to the -ime and -lua are iale so and imale so. Both are used to introduce sentences.

a sikulu aiohavo-n-u iale a-u bae you school spoil-sing-past so you-sm then sikulua-livebene school-attend

(You) ruined your schoolwork. So you can't attend school.

imale-u di loho-male avue-mo loho-ma
so-sm I come-prog.who him-on come-prog
So as I was coming, (I) kept coming upon it.

### 6.7 Complement Sentences

There are three Complement Sentences: the Intent Sentence, the Purpose Sentence, and the Quotation Sentence.

## 6.71 Intent Sentence

The Intent Sentence consists of two Bases. The first Base is expounded by a Clause or a Sentence whose final verb is inflected with -live with the intention of. The exponent of the second Base

must have the same subject and must be inflected with future tense or imperative mood.

nahi ta-live namig-eve-i
we(incl) go-intending.to tell-plo-fut
 Let's go tell them.

no loho-live i-si
we come-intending to eat-fut
We come intending to eat.

ta-live di benisola ese-ve ke ma go-intending.to my pencil small-nom that get Go get my pencil, that small one.

## 6.72 Purpose Sentence

The Purpose Sentence consists of two Bases. The exponent of the first Base is a Clause whose final verb is inflected with the benefactive suffix -ho for. The second Base is expounded by a Clause or Sentence. The subjects must be the same in the two exponents. The order of the Bases is freely and often interchanged.

di isivi-holi-n-u tali-ho
I want-neg-sing-past go-for
I do not want to go.

di vani mole boto-e di es-ea-u ugu ili-ho
I sun other bush-to my child-spm-sm bird eat-for
isivia-ge labana-ho ti-n-u
want-when hunt-for go-sing-past
The other day, when my children wanted to eat bird, I
went to hunt in the bush.

Note that in the above Sentence, there is a Purpose Sentence expounding the first Base of a Simple Sequence Sentence, with part of the exponent of the second Base transposed to the front of the Sentence.

loho-male-u humaha tava-e di mino-ho u-ma
come-prog.who-sm road middle-at me wait-for be-prog
As (I) was coming, it was waiting for me in the middle of the road.

ugu ke-u di mino-ho ugulamo-i ua bird that-sm me wait-for sit-and be That bird sat waiting for me. (They) followed me for a while, (they) did not want to kill me.

The same sequences of verbs may also be encoded into a Co-ordinate Sentence.

di di suveka ma-i isivia-i mihatu-i

I my bag get-and want-and throw-fut

I took my bag and wanted to throw (it).

## 6.73 Quotation Sentence

The various possible Quotations have not yet been sorted out. Preliminary investigation indicates that direct and indirect quotation, verbal and non-verbal, all take about the same grammatical form. They almost always begin with a Quotation Formula, and occasionally they are concluded with a Closing Quotation Formula. The Quotation Formula is expounded by some form of the verb lou say or huhua think plus -i and plus kosea like (used with first and second persons) or avoe or mose (used with third person speaker).

di huhua-i kosea mesoho di hoilaha-i
I think-and like maybe I return-fut
I thought, "Maybe I will go back."

ige di bae ugu ke eleha-i huhua-i kosea then I later bird that see-and think-and like mesoho ko-u nova avu-na di melame-i ti-n-iege maybe this-sm today it-qm me lead-and go-sing-if o-la velema-i

village-at arrive-fut

Then, later, I saw that bird and thought like this, "Maybe today this one will lead me and go and (I) will arrive at the village."

... ta-livebene katea-i lou-ge ke-u ti-n-u go-fut.vol.neg like-and say-when he-sm go-sing-past ... (you) won't go. Saying like that he went.

#### 7.0 SENTENCE TOPIC

Almost all the preceding Sentence types may be preceded by a Sentence Topic expounded by a non-future Nominalised Clause. The function of the Sentence Topic is to recapitulate the previous Sentence in order to link the Sentences together into a narrative sequence. The Nominalised Clause often bears the subject marker -u, even when the actor or thing referred to in the Nominalised Clause is not the subject of the whole Sentence, or even of the following Clause.

A Nominalised Clause is one that is inflected with -ale who, -male prog.who, and -iale who (exact meaning is still unanalysed).

di gebeu lovo-ale kabebia-n-u
I potato dig-who tired-sing-past
I who dug potatoes am tired.
or Having dug potatoes, I am tired.

di vavi-mo loho-ale da-u levaleva ma-n-u
I night-on come-who I-sm letter get-sing-past
I who came at night got the letter / Having come at night,
I got the letter.

di idi hei-male kabebia-n-u
I wood cut-prog.who tired-sing-past
I who cut wood all the time am tired / Having been cutting
wood, I am tired.

The following examples demonstrate how Clauses may be linked into a long Co-ordinate Sentence or into several smaller Sentences with recapitulating Sentence Topics:

di boto-e ti-ale vene dikoha-i male-i
I bush-to go-who firewood chop-and get-and
hoilaha-i loho-n-u

return-and come-sing-past

Having gone to the bush, I cut firewood, got it and came back.

di boto-e ti-n-u Boto-e ti-ale di vene

I bush-to go-sing-past bush-to go-who I firewood
dikoha-n-u vene dikoha-i uoholi-ge
chop-sing-past firewood chop-and finish-when
di male-i hoilaha-i loho-n-u

I get-and return-and come-sing-past

I went to the bush. Having gone to the bush, I chopped firewood. When I finished chopping the firewood, I got (it) and came back.

Note that in the last Sentence, the recapitulation is performed by a Co-ordinate Sentence expounding the first Base of a Simple Sequence Sentence.

ige au tota di hale-i loho-n-u loho-ale-u
then it again me leave-and come-sing-past come-who-sm
di hale-i ti-selevea-n-u
I leave-and go-true-sing-past

Then again it left me and came. It coming, I left and really went.

#### 8.0 TEXT

- di isivia-i hotohotoa-i
   I want-and talk-fut
   I want and will talk.
- di vani mole boto-e
   I sun other bush-to
   I other day to the bush,

di es-ea-u ugu ili-ho isivia-ge labana-ho ti-n-u my child-spm-sm bird eat-for want-when hunt-for go-sing-past when my children wanted to eat bird, went to hunt.

- ti-ale-u laha-molea-n-u go-past.who-sm sleep-other-sing-past
   who went slept again.
- 4. ti-sege vani-e ni-mo ehuda-mo u-sege subuta
  go-while sun-mnm face-on above-on be-while before
  While going, while the sun's face was high above,
  atat-ea-u ha-luvi-mal-ea-u munanab-ea-u
  person-spm-sm die-pls-prog.who-spm-sm spirit-spm-sm
  the ancestors, the people who have died, the spirits,
  boto-e u-ma 5. iale k-ea-u di lobo-havo-l-u
  bush-at be-prog so that-spm-sm me tease-pls-pl-past
  were living in the bush. So they teased me.
- 6. ige di dahuvela ti-ale di lovi ma-i di suveika then I alone go-past.who my food get-and my bag Then I alone went and got my food and got my bag ma-i kibidi ebamo-i ti-ale-u abu tota get-and shotgun carry-and go-past.who-sm they again and carried shotgun and going, they again di lobo-havo-molea-l-u me tease-pls-other-pl-past teased me.

- 7. ige di ti-ale-u tota abu di lobo-havo-ge then I go-past.who-smagain they me tease-pls-when I Then as I went, when they again teased me, I hoilaha-n-u return-sing-past came back.
- 8. hoilaha-i loho-ge abu di ehova-l-u return-and come-when they me follow-pl-past When (I) came back, they followed me.
- 9. di loho-ge ugu mole ivi igae ugu-e nana I come-when bird other name one bird-mnm older.brother When I came, a bird with one name, the older brother of birds, somoki ugu ke-u taho-te Somoki bird that-sm red-spec (named) Somoki, that bird is red.
- 10. iale-u da-ho uliholi-n-u 11. loho-male-u so-sm me-for grasp.nose-sing-past come-prog.who-sm So it guided me (grasped my nose). As (I) was coming, humaha tava-e di mino-ho u-ma road middle-at me wait-for be-prog in the middle of the road, (it) was waiting for me.
- meanwhile I come-prog Meanwhile I was coming. avue-mo loho-ma him-on come-prog

di loho-ma

I took my bag and wanted to throw (it).

12. isege

- (I) kept coming upon it.
- 13. imale-u di loho-male so-sm I come-prog.who So as I was coming,
- 14. ige au loho-ma then it come-prog Then it kept coming.
- 15. ige ata k-ea-u di lobohavo-ale-u then person that-spm-sm me tease-past.prog-sm Then those people who teased me seleve-ta ea-u da uaha-i 16. di ehoma-i true-with they-sm me bite-fut I follow-and really (wanted) to bite me. When I came following, loho-qe di di suveka ma-i isivia-i mihatu-i come-when I my bag get-and want-and throw-fut
- baiba-ve ke 17. loho-i kibidi equma-i come-and shotgun break-and pipe-nom that carry-and (I) came and dissassembled shotgun and the barrel ma-i loho-n-u get-and come-sing-past (I) took and carried and came.

18. loho-n-iale humaha tava-e loho-ge ugu ke-u di come-sing-past.who road middle-to come-when bird that-sm me

As (I) came, on the way when I came, that bird sat

mino-ho ugulamo-i ua 19. ige di bae ugu ke eleha-i wait-for sit-and be then I later bird that see-and waiting for me.

Then I upon seeing that bird

huhua-i kosea mesoho ko-u nova avu-na di melame-i ti-n-iege think-and similar maybe this-sm today it-qm me lead-and go-sing-if thought like this, 'Maybe this one, if today it will lead me and go, o-la velema-i 20. di loho-ale-u

village-at arrive-fut

it was dark inside.

I come-past.who-sm

(I) will arrive at the village.' I came

loho-ge matama mole ivi igae balia kulu ke loho-ale-u come-when place other name one Balia kunai that come-past.who-sm and when I came, another place named Balia with kunai, coming there, gidu-ve vaha-mo

21. ugu ke-u loho-i dark-nom inside-on

bird that-sm come-and

goe uvu-mo loho-ale-u di hale-i loho-ale-u cloud inside-on come-past.who-sm me leave-and come-past.who-sm coming inside a cloud, (it) left me as it came,

vaki mole ua side other be and was on the other side. 22. ige di loho-ge goe
then I come-when cloud
Then when I came, the cloud

The bird come and

ke-u kulu ke koi-ge di huhua-i kosea mesoho di hoilaha-i that-sm kunai that cover-when I think-and like maybe I return-fut that kunai covered and I thought, 'Maybe I will go back.'

- 23. isito di hoilaha-veve ke huhui-ge ke-u dae-mo toela-n-u but I return-fut.who that think-when that-sm me-on bad-sing-past But when I thought about returning, that was bad for me.
- 24. da-na hoilaha-n-iege bae alu da uaha-i I-qm return-sing-med then ghost me bite-fut If I go back, then the ghosts will get me.
- 25. ige di hale-i loho-i goe ke uvu-mo then I leave-and come-and cloud that inside-on Then I left and came and came inside that cloud.

- 26. goe ke uvu-mo loho-ale da-u eleha-ge cloud that inside-on come-past.who I-sm see-when Coming inside that cloud, when I looked, idi-te-la loho-i eleha-ge ugu ke-u uoke di tree-spec-at come-and see-when bird that-sm there me when I came inside the trees and looked, that bird over there mino-ho ugulamo-i idi-e ada-mo ua wait-for sit-and tree-mnm arm-on be was sitting waiting for me.
- 27. ige di loho-ale avue-mo loho-n-u then I come-past.who it-on come-sing-past
  Then I came and came upon it (bird).
- 28. ige au tota di hale-i loho-n-u then it again me leave-and come-sing-past Then again it left me and came.
- 29. loho-ale-u di hale-i ti-selevea-n-u come-past.who-sm I leave-and go-true-sing-past As it came, I left and really went.
- 30. isege di loho-ale loho-sege alu k-ea-u mesoho meanwhile I come-past.who come-while ghost that-spm-sm maybe Meanwhile, while I was coming, those ghosts maybe
- 31. di ehova-l-ata isivi-holi-l-u da havo-ho me follow-pl-for.a.time want-neg-pl-past me hit-for followed me awhile and didn't want to kill me.
- 32. isito haleva-i hoideve-l-u 33. isege di loho-ale-u
  but leave-and return-pl-past meanwhile I come-past.who-sm
  But (they) left and went back. Meanwhile, I came and on
  humaha laha-n-u 34. laha-sege vavi-mo ugu
  road sleep-sing-past sleep-while night-on bird

the way slept. While I slept, in the night mole ivi kekoia hotoi-lage hotoi-lage va-u vi-e other name Kekoia talk-everytime talk-everytime day-sm night-mnm another bird named Kekoia kept talking, kept talking, until in the vigo-mo ke-ve ke-u hoto-holi-n-u middle-on that-nom that-sm talk-neg-sing-past middle of the night it stopped talking.

35. ige di laha-lage va-u alamo-ge di bae then I sleep-everytime day-sm open-when I then Then I kept sleeping and when the sun rose, I then

hovelaha-i lovi maho-i i-holi-si to vae-ta arise-and food cook-and eat-neg-and but hunger-with got up and did not cook and eat food, but came hungry loho-ale-u o-la velema-n-u come-past.who-sm village-at arrive-sing-past and arrived at the village.

36. hoto-u ke-mo katea-i ua talk-sm that-on similar-and be The above talk was like that.

### FREE TRANSLATION OF TEXT.

1. I am going to tell a story. 2. The other day, when my children wanted some bird meat to eat, I went to the bush to hunt. 3. I slept as I went. 4. On the way, at mid-day, the ancestors, the spirits of those who have died, were in the bush and they teased me. 5. Then, being by myself, I got my food and my bag, and taking my shotgun, I left. 6. And again, they teased me. 7. Then when they again teased me, I turned back. 8. When I did that, they followed me. 9. As I came, a bird appeared -- a red bird, the brother of all birds. 10. So that bird guided me. 11. As I came along, it was always waiting for me on the way. 12,13. All the time I was coming, I kept coming upon it. 14. Then it would keep coming. 15. Then those spirits who had teased me really wanted to gobble me up. 16. As I came following the bird, I took my bag in order to throw it away. 17. I disassembled the shotgun and took the barrel (for a weapon) as I came. 18. I kept coming and on the way there was that bird waiting for me. 19. When I saw the bird, I thought like this, 'Maybe now he will lead me back to the village.' 20. Then I came to another place called Balia where there is kunai, and it was dark inside. 21. The bird left me, went inside a cloud and was on the other side (of the kunai). 22. Then as I came, the clouds came down over the kunai and I thought, 'Maybe I will go back.' 23. But when I thought about returning, that was no good. 24. (I thought) 'If I go back the ghosts will get me.' 25. So I left and went inside the cloud. 26. As I went into the cloud, I looked, and when I came inside the trees, I looked, and there was that bird sitting on a tree branch waiting for me. 27,28. Then when I came upon the bird, it again left me and took off. 29. Then I left and really came fast. 30,31. Meanwhile, as I was coming, the ghosts probably followed me for awhile but did not really want to kill me. 32. Rather, they left me and went back. 33. So I came and on the way I slept. 34. While I slept, in the night a bird named Kekoia kept singing and singing until sometime in the night, it stopped.

35. Then I slept and slept, and when the sun rose, I got up and without cooking or eating, I came and arrived hungry at the village.
36. That's how it happened.

# NOTES

- 1. See Dutton (1969) for a description of this family and sketches of its member languages.
- 2. Data for this paper were collected during 1971 and 1972 in Efogi. We are indebted to several language helpers as well as to our many Efogi friends for the material contained in this paper. "This research has been supported in part by a grant from the Research Fund of the Papua New Guinea Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics." Mr. Charles Peck, Linguistic Consultant for the Summer Institute of Linguistics, kindly assisted in preparing this paper for publication. Our thanks to him for many suggestions regarding form and content.
- 3. First and second person possessives are free-form possessive pronouns.
- 4. The modified noun marker is obligatory when an adjective or a locational follows in the Phrase.
- 5. The suffix -gei future continuous usually is found at the end of a sentence filled with other clauses.
- 6. -u = subject marker. See section 4.2.
- 7. Since many Mountain Koiali speakers are Seventh Day Adventists bula is interpreted as Saturday.

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