HIGHLIGHTS OF ÖMIE MORPHOLOGY

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

Ömie is the smallest member of the Koiarian Language Family of
Central Papua. It is spoken by some 1000 inhabitants of the south-
western slopes of Mount Lamington and the upper reaches of the Kumusi
River in the Northern District of Papua.[1] This distribution corre-
sponds to two dialects of the language which have been identified and
named Asafa and Zuwadza respectively. The former, centred around
Asapa village numbers approximately 800 speakers, and the latter,
centred around Namanaia (or Wora) village numbers approximately 200
speakers.

In this paper is concerned solely with the Asafa, or as it will be
spelled hereafter, Asapa dialect. It is based on data collected under
the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, much of which was
contributed by one of the present authors, Mr. Randolph Upia, a native
speaker from Asapa village.[2]

In the forthcoming description the following abbreviations will
be used to identify affixes:

ab	ablative	pf	perfect
al	allative	pl	plural
aux	auxiliary verb	po	potential
ben	benefactive	pr	present
ch	characterizer	prim	primary medial
des	desiderative	proj	projected aspect
excl	exclusive	sec	secondary medial
fu	future	set	setting
gen	general tense	sg	singular
imp	imperative	sp	specific
loc	locative	ref	direct referent
p	prominence	rel	relator
pa	past	t	terminator

2.0   PHONOLOGY[3]

2.1   Phonemes

In transcribing Ömie the following symbols are used to represent
twentytwo separate consonant and vowel phonemes the principal variants
of which are shown in square brackets following each symbol:

t[tʰ], k[kʰ], ʔ, b, d, j[dž], g, p[ƥ],
v[ƀ,v,w], r[ĭ,ř], m, n, s[s,ts], h[h,ƥ],
i, e, ë[æ], a, ö[ɔ], δ[o], o[aˀ], u.

Following a vowel, : is used to indicate that the syllable containing that vowel is stressed.

Phonemes contrast in analogous or identical environments as follows:

v//b//m//n	/i:ve/ *net* /i:be/ *eating*
	/i:me/ *sugarcane* /i:ne/ *eat* (imperative)
n//d	/ʔa:ne/ *hit* /ʔa:de/ *branch*
t//d	/hö:te/ *tree type* /hö:de/ *flame*
t//s	/butie:/ *knot* /gusie:/ *tree type*
d//j//s	/da:je/ *skin* /ja:je/ *drum* /sa:se/ *light*
d//r	/de:je/ *back* /re:je/ *taboo place*
h//p	/a:ho/ *the man* /a:po/ *father*
g//ʔ//h//#	/ga:ne/ *see* (imperative) /ʔa:ne/ *hit* (imperative)
	/ha:ne/ *leaf* /a:ne/ *tooth*
k//g	/ka:vuëʔe/ *red* /ga:vuëʔe/ *we are seen*
k//ʔ	/mökö:je/ *name of bird* /nugöʔö:je/ *send*
v//u//vu	/vð:nuge/ *stop* /uo:ho/ *the hair*
	/vuo:he/ *chew* (imperative)
i//e//a//ð//ö//u	/i:je/ *tree*
	/e:je/ *shield*
	/a:je/ *wife's father-in-law*
	/ô:je/ *door*
	/ö:je/ *plant*
	/u:je/ *banana*
e//ë//a//o	/bire:ge/ *he scolds me*
	/birë:ge/ *he scolds them*
	/bira:ge/ *he scolds you*
	/biro:ge/ *flesh*
o//ð	/ʔiro:me/ *construct* /ʔirð:me/ *pluck*
o//u	/i:jore/ *afterwards* /i:jure/ *in the nest*
o//ö	/hi:rohe/ *he prospers* /hi:röhe/ *he is to sit*

Stress is contrastive and is characterized by timing rather than intensity. Compare:

hije: *grandparent*   hi:je *sit*.

Note that for some speakers h and p represent one phoneme. Some speakers use the allophone [h], others [ɸ]; still others fluctuate between the two. However, some younger speakers recognize a difference and tend to pronounce h in some words consistently as [ɸ] and in others consistently as [h].

Otherwise the only other major allophonic variation is found with the phoneme v which is generally pronounced as a labiodental

fricative or lightly articulated bilabial fricative except when occur-
ring immediately preceding a back vowel when it is pronounced more
like [w] than [ƀ].

2.2 Syllable Types

A syllable in Ömie consists of an onset, optional word initial,
obligatory elsewhere, followed by an obligatory simple or complex nu-
cleus. The following syllable types occur: (bracketed symbols indi-
cate optional occurrence)

                Word initial: (C)V; (C)(V)VV
                Elsewhere: C(V)(V)V.

The distribution of phonemes within the syllable is restricted.
In the following chart each of the eight Ömie vowels is assigned a
number. Components of syllable nuclei will be referred to by these
numbers.

	Front	Central	Back
High	2 /i/		1 /u/
Mid	7B /e/	4 /o/	3 /ɵ/
Low	7A /ë/	6 /a/	5 /ö/

CHART 1: ÖMIE VOWELS

Simple vowel nucleus when word initial may be any vowel but 4 in
the chart.[4] Elsewhere it may be any vowel. Complex nuclei consist of
vowels in ascending numerical sequence only. The initial vowel is
never 3 or 4. In triple vowel nuclei, the final vowel is always 7A or
7B. The following chart lists examples of the only combinations of
phonemes in (C)VVV syllables.

	uae	uaë	iae	iaë	iöe	iöë
g	x	x				
j	x	x				
h	x	x	x	x		
m	x	x	x	x		
r	x	x	x	x		
d			x	x		
#			x	x		
v			x	x	x	x
n			x	x	x	x
?					x	x

CHART 2: CONSONANT VOWEL NUCLEAR COMBINATIONS

When the nucleus consists of two vowels the following restrictions have been found in the onset. With nucleus 1,5, the onset is /m/, /h/ or /?/. With nucleus 2,3, the onset is one of /b,v,d,s,n/.

The consonant /k/ is rare. Apart from loan words, these are the only words recorded which contain /k/: /kinë?e/ *bush spirit* /kavue/ *turn red* /köe/ *blood* /kaejöe/ *knife* /mököje/ *name of bird* /kдva?ie/ *name of bird*.

Some dialects substitute /?/ for /k/ in the first three words.

Other combinations have not yet been observed: /tua/ /die/ /duд/ /suд/ /iö/.

3.0   MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following rules apply to affixes and clitics except for the special cases given in Sections 12.1, 12.11, 13.12 and 13.3 below.

(1) Final stem vowels are reduced when an enclitic or suffix beginning with the same vowel is added.

$$\text{papa} + \text{are} > \text{papare}$$
uncle + genitive > *uncle's*

(2) The phoneme /e/ is reduced when /e/ and /ë/ come together in either order as a result of the addition of an enclitic or suffix.

$$\text{sisë} + \text{e} > \text{sisë}$$
bad + terminator > *bad*

$$\text{sue} + \text{ëni} > \text{su-ëni}$$
cloud + allative > *cloud*-allative
for a cloud

(3) Final vowels of morphemes may be weak or strong. Strong vowels are /ö/, /e/, /ë/ and /a/. When another morpheme whose initial phoneme is a vowel is added, the strong vowel is retained except where rule 2 applies. The vowels /o/ and /д/ are reduced directly following a strong vowel.

sa?a-ëni
land-allative
for land

$$\text{sa?a} + \text{ohuni} > \text{sa?a-huni}$$
land + prominent.allative > *land*-prominent.allative
for the land

Weak vowels are /д/ and /o/. They are reduced when any vowel is added.

<pre>
        ʔamo   +   ëni   > ʔamëni
        village + allative > for the village
</pre>

<pre>
      na-ʔð +   oho   > naʔoho
      I-too + prominence > nor I
</pre>

The phonemes /i/ and /u/ on some morphemes are strong. However,
if a morpheme beginning with /o/ is added, the /o/ is retained.

<pre>
      muri-ëni   muri-ohuni
  first.born-allative   first.born-prominent.allative
</pre>

On other morphemes, /i/ and /u/ are weak.

<pre>
      öri + ëni   > öröni
      road + allative > for a road
</pre>

(4) Morpheme final /o/ becomes /ð/ when a monosyllabic morpheme
consisting of a consonant + /ð/ is added.

<pre>
      jeʔo +   rð   > jeʔðrð
      bush + non-specific.locative > in bush country
</pre>

<pre>
      apo + ʔð > apðʔô
      father + with > with father
</pre>

(5) Depending on the speaker word final /o/ is frequently re-
placed by /ð/. This change is especially common in shouted speech con-
tour final.

<pre>
      juvae ij-o   > juvae ij-ð
    coconut eat-let's!   Let's eat coconut.
</pre>

(6) The Asapa dialect is distinguished from Zuwadza by the pres-
ence of -e terminator on certain classes of words and suffixes. -e is
suffixed when the word or morpheme is considered independent of what
follows. What is meant by independent differs according to the word
or suffix class and will be discussed in the morphology.

<pre>
Zuwadza   Asapa
[a] man   a-e
                       man-t
                       man

[sina] skin   sino + e > sin-e
                       skin-t
                       skin
                       sino-re
                       skin-on
                       on the skin
</pre>

[ba?-ɛ?i]   va?-ë?i + e > va?-ë?-e
 go-past(perfect?)   *go*-perfect-t
 has gone, went   *has gone*
                    va?-ë?i-rð
                    go-perfect-*when*
                    when he went

4.0   NOUNS

Nouns are not inflected for number. Number may be signalled by other words in the same phrase or clause.

There are two classes of nouns, common and appellative.

4.1   Common Nouns

Common nouns, including borrowed words, are distinguished from appellative nouns by the terminator -e when they occur in isolation.

                  kuku-e
                  tobacco-t
                  tobacco

-e is not added (a) when suffixes or clitics are added or (b) when a morpheme to which one might otherwise expect it to be added is considered to be subordinate to a following word. Nouns in the latter category will be called dependent nouns. Examples (c) and (d) contain dependent nouns a and kuku.

           (a)   huono-re
                bamboo-in
            in the bamboo

           (b)   a-e sisë
                man-t bad
              bad man

           (c)   a sisë
                man bad
                bad one

           (d)   kuku huon-e
             tobacco bamboo-t
             tobacco pipe

4.2   Appellative Nouns

Appellative nouns contrast with common nouns in that they do not have a terminator -e suffix in isolation:

apo *father* (used for address or endearment)

as opposed to

vavu-e *father*-t *father* (used for identification).

Proper names of people are included in the appellative class.

Appellative nouns contrast further with common nouns in that they take a genitive (gen) suffix -are, appellative locative -arð and vocative suffix -ð. Common nouns do not take these suffixes.

apo + are > apare
father + genitive(gen)
father's

apo + arð > aparð
father + appellative.locative
to/with father

apo + ð > apð
father + vocative
Father!

5.0   ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are categorized as qualifiers or quantifiers.

5.1   Qualifiers

Qualifiers take -e terminator. Only qualifiers may function as a quality descriptive in a modified noun phrase. Unless emphasized, the qualifying adjective immediately follows the noun it modifies.

ij-e böröm-e
tree-t *big*-t
a big tree

If emphatic, the qualifier immediately precedes the noun.

böröm-e ij-e
big-t *tree*-t
a big tree

Qualifiers are reduced or increased in intensity by a closed set of modifiers. These are typical examples of comparison but not all of these phrases would occur with every adjective. Phrase medial qualifiers occur without -e terminator.

bisemu böröme
only.a.little big
somewhat big

böröme
big

börömo böröme
big big
quite big

börömo mae
big true
truly big

börömo bëhe
big very
very big

börömo börömo mae
big big true
truly very big

börömo bëhi mae
big very true
truly very big

börömo börömo bëhe
big big very
very very big

The strongest intensity is achieved by litotes.

bogo mae bogo bise?e vadu?oho
not truly not little perhaps
truly not little, no doubt about it

Adjectives are not marked to agree with the noun they modify.
Some adjectives of size, however, are used only with nouns whose referent is singular, others are used only with nouns whose referent is
plural.

a-e böröm-e
man-t big-t
a big man

a-e masij-e
man-t big-t
big men

munë bise?-e
stone small-t
a small stone

munë inin-e
stones small-t
small stones

5.2   Quantifiers

The quantifier does not characteristically occur with -e terminator. It follows the qualifier in a modified noun phrase.

ae böröme gemu
man important one
one important man

Numerals constitute an important set of quantifiers.

gemu
one

nið?i
two

ëhi niδ?i ëhi gemu
like.that two like.that one
three

ëhi niδ?i ëhi niδ?i
like.that two like.that two
four

övo gö mine
hand one number
the number of one hand; five

övo gö mine övo gö-re gemu
hand one number hand other-on one
one hand and one (finger) on the other; six

övo gö mine övo gö mine
hand one number hand other number
one hand, the other hand; ten

övo gö mine övo gö mine höru gö mine
hand one number hand other number foot one number
one hand, the other hand, one foot; fifteen

Other quantifiers include ahδ?δ *many*, ahδ?δbëhe *very many*,
vemino e *few*, gemu gemu *one one* i.e. *few*, gö *another*.
Certain quantifiers may be intensified. E.g.

ahδ?δ-bëhi mae
many-very truly
very many

6.0   MANNER WORDS

Manner words do not have -e terminator. They are of two types.
Those derived from qualifiers, or homophonous with them, immediately
precede the verb they modify.

muoho sisë-?i ë?e
work bad-manner he-does
He is doing the work poorly.

Other manner words, not derived from adjectives, need not be
adjacent to the verb.

burëro ?am-ëro rδvadeje
quickly village-to he.came
He quickly came to the village.

Some stems appear to be derived from nouns.

<div style="text-align:center">

buru + ëro > burëro
wind + by > quickly

u?i + emu > u?emu
smoke + only > slowly

darugo + ð > darugð?ð
strength + with > vigorously

</div>

Others are simple stems.

<div style="text-align:center">

saginiëri *carefully, secretly*

</div>

All manner words are usually preceded by the limitator ma *just* for slight emphasis:

<div style="text-align:center">

ma burëro *just quickly*

</div>

The addition of the manner word bisemu *a little* immediately preceding another manner word means *to some extent, rather.*

<div style="text-align:center">

bisemu burëro
a.little quickly
somewhat quickly

</div>

Manner words are intensified in irregular ways.

<div style="text-align:center">

burëro burëro   darugð?ð
quickly quickly   *vigorously*
very quickly

</div>

<div style="text-align:center">

darugo ma-ër-emu
vigour truly-with-only
very vigorously

</div>

7.0   TEMPORALS

Temporals are distinguished from other words in that when unmarked by a clitic, they function as a grammatical temporal indicator in a clause or noun phrase.

<div style="text-align:center">

nasi hujeji jöho   hujeji na va?ejð
my later talk   *later I shall.go*
my future message   *Later I'll go.*

</div>

Unlike nouns, adjectives, and manner words, temporals never occur with a preceding limitator ma *just*. This can be seen by comparing the homophonous words u?emu *later* and u?emu *slowly*.

<div align="center">

jaruvo ma u?emu juve   u?emu ma burëro juvð?ejð
today just slowly I.walk *later just quickly I.will.walk*
Today I'm just walking slowly. *Later I'll walk quickly.*

</div>

Some temporals are derived by adding the suffix -?e to adjective or noun stems:

<div align="center">

mami-?e
old-temporal.suffix
before, already.

</div>

In the same way temporals which constitute the diurnal subclass are derived from the nouns sisðnue *morning,* majae *sun, day, time,* jenie *afternoon,* vö?öe *evening,* vahie *night.* Diurnal temporals include not only words, but phrases:

<div align="center">

sisðnu-?e   maja-?e
morning-time   *sun-time*
in the morning *at the time from 10a.m. to noon*

jeni-?e   vö?ö-?e
afternoon-time   *evening-time*
in the afternoon   *in the evening*

vahi-?e   vahi ma-?e
night-time   *night true-time*
at night   *well on in the night*

sisðnu-?e mae [*sic*]   vahi riri-?e
morning-time true   *night middle-time*
on in the morning   *at midnight*

</div>

A diurnal temporal may be modified by an immediately preceding temporal.

<div align="center">

nëri sisðnu?e
tomorrow morning

</div>

The use of diurnal temporals should be compared with that of nouns. Note that *mid-day* is expressed by a relator-axis noun phrase, not a temporal (see Section 13.22):

<div align="center">

maja riri-re
sun middle-setting.enclitic
mid-day

</div>

Only the noun may be modified by a deictic:

<div align="center">

di vahi-re
which (deictic) *night.*(noun)-setting.enclitic
which night?

</div>

> ave vahi-re
> *this night-setting*
> *this night*

On the other hand, the diurnal temporal is used if a deictic is not selected:

> jaruvo vahi?e
> *today night*
> *tonight*

Another category of temporals indicates the succession of days.

jaruvo	*today*
nëri	*1st day before or after today*
jiame	*2nd day before or after today*
riome	*3rd day before or after today*
riröhe	*4th day before or after today*

Temporals are intensified irregularly:

> mami-?e   mami gö gö-?e
> *old-time*   *old some some-time*
> *long ago*   *very long ago*
>
> u?emu   hujeji u?emu
> *later*   *after later*
>   *much later*

8.0   DEICTICS

Deictics are of two types: pure deictics, and locative deictics.

8.1   Pure Deictics

The pure deictic forms are:

ë	*that, there*
ëhunö	*in that area*
ëhi	*in this/that manner*
evare	*at that time*
ëmino?e	*that amount*

The pure deictics frequently function anaphorically to sum up a phrase, clause, paragraph or discourse.

> Aëro Asapa ?amo-re ë höröjadeje.
> *the.man Asapa village*-setting *there came*
> *The man arrived at Asapa village.*

Ae niô?i gemu ëmino?e rôvareje.
man 2 1 that.many came
Three men, that many, came.

Ëhi ë?adeje.
like.that he.did
That's what he did.
(sums up an entire discourse)

ë *that,* ëhi *like that* and evare *then* occur phrase initial in a modified noun phrase, manner phrase and temporal noun phrase respectively. Deictics do not occur in appellative noun phrases. The noun phrases terminate with either a prominence (p) marker or specific setting marker (sp.set) (see Section 13.0).

Ë kinë?e sisë-huro rôvadeje.
that spirit bad-p.ablative he.came
That bad spirit came

Ëhi ma burëro rôvadeje.
like.that just quickly he.came
He came that quickly.

Evare   maja-re rôvadeje.
that.time time-sp.set he.came
He came at that time.

Deictics may occur absolutely when the referent is known.

Aëro ë va?adeje
man there went
The man went there.

Evare   va?adeje.
at.that.time he.went
He went at that time.

8.2   Locative Deictics

There are four basic locative deictics; see Chart 3: A, B, C and D. The initial /a/ wherever it occurs in the chart, is optional. In This discussion, lower case letters refer to the line in the chart, and numbers refer to the examples to follow.

Deictic Focus	A *here*	B *there*	C *down there*	D *up there*
(a) setting (extreme)	ave	arue	anume	aruhe
(b) setting (proximal)	aviëre	aruëre	anumëre	aruhëre
(c) *this way* (extreme)	aviëhi	aruëhi	anumëhi	aruhëhi
(d) *this way* (proximal)	aviërëhi	aruërëhi	anumërëhi	aruhërëhi
(e) area-prominence	viënöho	ruënöho	numënöho	ruhënöho
(f) area-identifier	viënörire	ruënörire	numënörire	ruhënörire
Locative Focus	**A** *here*	**B** *there*	**C** *down there*	**D** *up there*
(g) *at, to* (extreme)	aviae	aruae	anumiae	aruhiae
(h) *at, to* (proximal)	averiae	arôriae	anumôriae	aruhôriae
(i) additional (proximal)	veri?ô	rôri?ô	numôri?ô	ruhôri?ô
(j) *somewhere* (extreme)	aviari?ere	aruari?ere	anumiari?ere	aruhiari?ere
(k) *somewhere* (proximal)	averiari?ere	arôriari?ere	anumôriari?ere	aruhôriari?ere

CHART 3: LOCATIVE DEICTICS

Each of the locative deictics may be deictic focus, (a) to (f), or locative focus, (g) to (k). The contrast is clear between (a) (b) and (g) (h): (a) (b) may refer to either space or time (1) (2). They frequently serve to direct the attention of the hearer to a change in setting or to the identity of a participant in a discourse (2). The locative focus deictics (g) and (h), on the other hand, give information only about space or direction (3).

(1)   Ruëre   vadune   gö-re   rue?ë?e.
    just.over.at.that year   other-sp.set *he.will.come*
    He will come just this next year.

(2)   Ruhe dö-re ?ano?i ?ömie bijiogoho ?ajiomamu
    up.at.that top-sp.set *to.kill Ömie native go.up*

        gagoro ?ömi-ëro hi?ihö gavajo uve mami?e
    after Ömie-subject *sitting saw Orokaiva already*

        anumëre rðjðmamugo
    just.down.at.that coming.up

    *(The Orokaiva) was climbing up there to the top
    to kill the Ömie countryman. Then the Ömie,
    as he was sitting, saw just down there an
    Orokaiva was already climbing the tree.*

(3)   Anumiae ?abue?ejð.
    down.there I.shall.go.down
    I'll go down there.

A second distinction which is made in the four locative deictics
is between extreme and proximal. The proximal implies a short distance
from the narrator or the participant from whose viewpoint the discourse
is being presented. The extreme simply indicates direction without
specific reference to distance. However, if proximal and extreme loc-
ative deictics other than those in column A are contrasted, proximal
signifies *near* and extreme signifies *far*. The situation for those in
column A is the reverse. Extreme signifies *right here* and proximal
signifies *close to here*.

    aviae   *right here* (extreme)
    averiae   *not right here but close to here* (proximal)
    aruae   *over there* (extreme)
    arðriae   *a short distance over there* (proximal)

Enclitics on locative deictics occur singly or in strings.
Since their usage is specialized, it will be discussed here. Their
occurrence on noun and temporal phrases will be described in Section
13.0.

    Sets (a) (b) (g) (h) have already been illustrated. Enclitics
or suffixes which may be isolated include -ë bound allomorph of the
pure deictic ë (b), setting enclitic -re ∿ -r (b) (h), and locative
-iae ∿ -ae (g) (h). Forms class (a) are unmarked.

    -ëhi *in that manner/way* occurs in two sets of forms (c) and (d).
Examples illustrate the usage first of the extreme, then the proximal
form.

(1)   Avi-ëhi rȏvadeje.

this.here-way he.came

He came in the direction of this place here.

(2)   Aviër-ëhi huhosumoromo rȏ vaʔadeje.

near.this-way detouring come he.went

*He passed by, making a detour on this side (of
that object located) near here.*

The extreme, (c), may refer to time or manner:

Hura biseʔo-re röhu vi-ẹ̈hi rueʔë̈ʔe.

week small-on but this-way he.will.come

*He will come this side of Saturday (i.e. before
Saturday).*

Avi-ëhi ë̈ʔadeje.

this-way he.did

He did just as I am demonstrating here.

-ënöho *on this part of* (e) is composed of the pure deictic ë
that plus area locative -nö plus the prominence marker -oho. Set (e)
replaces (c) if it is sentence theme, or in a negative or information
interrogative sentence (see Section 14.2).

Jȏvȏ vi-ënöho iae aëro hije.

water this.here-area certainly man sits

There is someone on this side of the river.

Hura vi-ënöho bôgô rueʔi ru-ëhi evare rueʔë̈ʔe.

week this.here-area not come there-way then he.will.come

*He will not come this part of the week; towards the
latter part, at that time, he will come.*

-ënörire *in this area* (f) consists of -nö *area*, -ri (?), and -re
setting.

Vi-ënörire jȏvȏ-re aëro hije.

this.here-in.this.area water-at man sits

*There is a person at the water in this area (as opposed
to the water in the other area).*

-ȏ *and, in addition, more* (i):

Rȏri-ʔȏ vaʔone.

just.over.there-more go

Move over there a little or *Get out of the way!*

-riʔere *somewhere near,* is composed of -ri (?) plus -ʔe charac-
terizer, plus -re *setting.* It may be suffixed to an absolute (j) or
relative (k) form.

```
        arua-ri?ere
absolute.there-near
somewhere over there

        arðria-ri?ere
relative.there-near
somewhere just a short distance over there
```

The following forms may be substantivized (13.3) by adding the prominence marker -oho. The final /e/ is reduced except in (a) forms.

(a)   **ave-ho**
      this-p
      this one

(b)   **aviër-oho**
      near.this-p
      the one in the place near here

(f)   **vi-ënörir-oho**
      this-in.area-p
      the one in the area this way

(j) and (k)   **aruhðria-ri?er-oho**
              just.up.there-somewhere.near-p
              the one just up there somewhere

9.0   INTERROGATIVES

Omie has both information and performative interrogatives. Information interrogatives are used by a narrator when a response or reaction is desired. Performative interrogatives are used by the speaker to express his own doubt or uncertainty.

              rahuro rðvadeje
                who came
                (information)
              Who came, I ask you?

              vaduro rðvadeje
                who came
                (performative)
              Let me think, who came?

The inclusion of information interrogatives in a clause results in the prominence marker being added to other phrases in the clause (14.2). The performative interrogative effects no changes.

Information interrogatives are classified as deictic, nominal and pronominal.

The deictic form is di *which*. It occupies the same initial position as the deictic ë in modified noun phrases (13.2). The phrase concludes with the prominence marker or specific setting marker (13.11, 13.12).

di mah-oho
which pig-p
which pig?

di öri-re
which road-sp.set
on which road?

diae
which place?

dinö?e
where?

dihunö?e
which area?

dehi or diëhi
how?

dimino?e
how many?

divare
when?

The information interrogative common noun rab-e *what*-t (stem rabu) *what?* may be modified and possessed. It takes the clitics in the same way as other common nouns (13.1). The answer sought would range from a person to an abstract idea.

Nasi rabu böröm-ëro rôvadeje?
my what big-subject *came*
What was it that was big belonging to me that came?
(May refer either to human or non-human participants.)

Rab-ëro bejadeje?
what-subject *fell*
What fell?

Rab-ëni rôvaneje?
what-for did.you.come
Why did you come?

Rabu-?e sinöm-ëro rôvadeje?
what-kind cargo-subject *came*
What sort of thing arrived?

The information interrogative pronoun rahuo *who* like other pronouns may not be modified or possessed. Clitics and suffixes are added to form rahu on the analogy of appellative nouns. For example

rahu-are
who-gen
whose?

The function of the interrogative pronoun is to inquire concerning a name. It frequently stands in apposition to a dependent noun.

Jðvð rahuo jie?
river who is
What is the name of the river?

Rahu-ro rðvadeje?
who-subject came
What is the name of the one who came?

Performative interrogatives are comprised of the performative noun vad-e *what-t what?*, pronoun vaduo *what name?* and the verb vadë?e *what does he do?*. The first two occur with clitics or suffixes after the analogy of rabe and rahuo. vadë?e is composed of vad *what* plus ë?e *do*. It is conjugated like a regular verb.

Na va?oromo vadë?ejð ?ua?ejð.
I going what.shall.I.do I.shall.tell.him
I will go and (do what?) tell him.

10.0 PRONOUNS

Pronouns may not be possessed or modified. They are displayed in Chart 4. Bracketed forms are of less frequent occurrence. Neutral means unmarked stem.

		Neutral		Genitive-Reflexive	
		Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1	na	nð (nðmë)	nasi	nðsi
2	ja	jemë	jasi	jemësi
3	hu	jabumë (jabu)	hesi	jabesi

CHART 4: PRONOUNS

The morpheme -më on jemë and jabumë is the animate plural associative (13.13) and may be added to 1 pl. form, nð, to emphasize plurality, nðmë. The abbreviated 3 pl. form sometimes occurs with ablative and comitative enclitics (13.11). It may also occur before a word with which it is closely related.

jabu-?ð   jabu nið?i
3.pl.pronoun-comitative   *they two*
with them   *they two*

The intensifier -ehu occurs on na, ja, -hu on other neutral pronouns. In addition to other functions (12.7,,14.12.3, 14.22(3)) -ehu on 1 and 2 persons neutral serves as emphasis in exclamations.

O muen-ohuro na-ehu ijumevë?eje!
O cousin-p.subject me-intensive has.ruined
O, my cousin has ruined me!

The genitive pronoun is characterized by the suffix -si.

na-si mu-e
me-gen work-t
my work

The genitive pronoun occurs following a temporal or a noun phrase. A common noun or adjective is dependent if it immediately precedes a genitive pronoun.

vavu hesi jöho   nëri hesi jöho
father his talk   *tomorrow its talk*
father's message   *talk about tomorrow or the*
                            talk to be given tomorrow

Isolation and reflexive pronominal phrases consist of the genitive pronoun plus optional common nouns, sivue *self* (isolation), ?arijo?arije *self* (reflexive).

Na na-si sivu-e rôvôdeje.   Na-si ?arijo?arij-oho mueberove.
I me-gen isolation-t I.came   *me-gen reflexive-p I.care.for.myself*
I came by myself.   *I'm caring for myself.*

Na-si ma rôvôdeje.   Na-si imôdeje.
me-gen just I.came   *me-gen I.bought*
It was my own idea that I come. *I bought it for myself.*

The genitive of the personal pronoun without ?arijo?arije *self* serves as reflexive for inanimate participants.

Ojoho hesi ëma tugorohadeje.
door of.itself just shut
The door just closed by itself.

11.0 PARTICLES

Particles are words which are never followed immediately by an enclitic.[5] There are three types:

(1) *Modal Particles*. The following is a representative list only.

      iae   *certainly*

      io?o   *yes*

      bôgô   *no, not*

      nadi   *don't* (from a defective verb nadi?e *wait*)

      bôgave   *don't*-emphatic (from bôgô *not* and gave *see*;
                  it may take the medial form bôgavego op-
                  tionally)

      ëma ~ ma   *just*

      nani   *perhaps*

      na   *yes-no* interrogative

(2) *Ejaculations*

      ojo?e   *surprise*

      asë?e   *surprise, anger, pleasure, greeting*

(3) *Conjunctions*

      röhu   *but, and*

      ô   *or, and, but*

      amo   *but anyway*

      na   *then* (in narrative text)

      dero   *well next* (frequent in procedural texts)

12.0   VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

Verbs consist of a simple or complex stem usually followed by a unique set of suffixes. They function as predicate and normally occur clause final. Verbs may be intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, or factive.

12.1   Morphophonemics

Verb roots, stems, and many suffixes end in syllable onset /i, u, m, n, g, h, ?, j, v/. Other verb roots end in a syllable pattern consonant plus /i/ or /u/. This syllable occurring verb root final must be regarded as onset plus the first vowel of a syllable nucleus. Thus the syllable is fragmentary.

The syllable may be completed by a suffix beginning with a vowel. Otherwise the following changes occur:

(1) A final /j/ is reduced. (In the examples sg means singular; pr means present.)

        ij-e   i-romo
      eat-3.sg.pr   *eat*-secondary.medial
        He eats.   *eating*

ǐ gav-e
eat see-3.sg.pr
He samples the food.

The final stem /j/ is reduced in all examples except in the first. In the first example, the syllable beginning with /j/ is completed by a vowel suffix -e, 3 singular present. Verb morphemes following the analogy of ij are called weak morphemes.

(2) When a verb morpheme ends in a phoneme other than /j/ or /v/, the final syllable is normally completed by /o/. However, when the 1 singular future (fu) suffix -?ejδ is added, /δ/ is substituted for /o/ through vowel harmony as is illustrated in the third example.

?an-e   ?an-o-?ejo
hit-3.sg.pr   *hit*-syllable.complement-1.pl.fu
he hits   *we shall hit*

?an-δ-?ejδ
hit-syllable.complement-1.sg.fu
I shall hit

Verb morphemes following the analogy of ?an are called strong morphemes.

When a suffix beginning with a glottal is added to a morpheme ending in a glottal, the morpheme is often not augmented by /o/ or /δ/, but instead, one glottal is reduced:

va?-o-?ejo
go-syllable.complement-1.pl.fu

or more frequently:

va-?ejo
go-1.pl.fu
we shall go

(3) All verb suffixes and some verb roots which end in /v/ are strong. Other verb roots are weak.

(a)   ' rav-e
clear-3.sg.pr
he clears

(b)   ravo-?ejo
clear-1.pl.fu
we shall clear

(c)   gav-e
          see-3.sg.pr
          he sees

(d)   ga-ʔejo
          see-1.pl.fu
          we shall see

Example (b) shows that rav is augmented by /o/ as was ʔan in ʔanoʔejo *we shall hit*. Thus rav is a strong morpheme. Example (d) shows that /v/ is reduced before the consonant /ʔ/, so that gav is a weak morpheme.

12.2 Verb Stems

Verb stems may be simple:

baeje   vaʔe
take   *go*

or they may be compound:

ba-vaʔe
take-go
take away

Stems may be derived from nouns, adjectives, or from other verb roots. The most common verb stem forming suffix is -v. When -v is added, the resulting verb stem is always strong.

ëgo-v-e
tall-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr
he grows tall

urejo-v-e
wild.beast-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr
he acts crudely

Some stems are formed by the reduplication of the verb root:

hi-hi-v-e
sit-sit-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr
he sits for a short time

The reflexive-reciprocal verb stem suffix or infix is -ro.

ʔano-ro-v-e (root: ʔan *kill*)
kill-reflexive-verb.forming.suffix-3.sg.pr
he kills himself

```
                    togo-ro-h-e  (root: tugoh close)
              shut-reflexive-verb.root.final.consonant-3.sg.pr
                          it closes by itself
```

On some roots, the reflexive morpheme is used as a reciprocal instead:

```
                          biro-ro-h-ö
              find-reflexive-root.final.consonant-3.pl.pr
                        they meet each other
```

Some stems contain number implicit in them. These include stems formed by the suffix -bijioh.

```
              tutuv-e                      tutu-bijioh-e
            run-3.sg.pr                  run-pl.stem-3.sg.pr
              he runs                        they run
```

Other stems have roots with number implicit:

```
              hije                            ?arije
         one person sits               a few people sit

                          rarome
                     many people sit
```

12.3 Affix and Enclitic Inventory

An affix inventory is listed below. Allomorphs are not listed. Numbers indicate classes and orders of affixes. Where a form represents a person-number conjugation, the 3 singular is normally recorded to represent all persons and numbers. All imperatives are represented in the 2 singular form. A morpheme representative of a class is surrounded by angle brackets: <-amij>.

```
        10 Stem referents
            11  <-amij> direct referent
            12  <-ah>   benefactive

        20 Adverbial
            21   -anov  attenuative

        30 Quantitative
            31   -ruom  collective
            32   -?am   extentive

        40 Aspect
            41   -növ   habituative
```

50 Modal (1)
    51   -av   sensory

60 Modal (2)
    61   -hij   evidential
    62   -?ibej   contrafactual
    63   -?iro   potential
    64   -?ihöj   intentive

70 Active Subject Markers
    71   <-o>   short form person-number
    72   <-ade>   long form person-number
    73   <-öhe>   projected aspect person-number
    74   <-aje>   present tense person-number
    75   <-?a?aje> future tense person-number
    76   <-ne>   future imperative-number
    77   <-e>   immediate imperative-number

80 Final markers
    81   -ehu   intensifier
    82   -aj   quotative

90 - 102 Non-final forms
90 Medial tense/aspect/mode
    91   -nugo   cessative
    92   -rije   primary medial contrafactual
    93   -e   primary medial general
    94   -?e   primary medial present
    95   -amu   primary medial past
    96   -?iramu   primary medial future
    97   -ë?e   perfect
    98   -juvo   continuative
    99   -arume   unrealized potential
   100   -jöro   imposed will
   101   -jöëni   circumstantial reason
   102   -emu   durative

110 Conjunctivity
   111   <-oho>   prominence, deictic and setting
                   clause relators; single enclitic
                   or enclitic string
   112   -ëni   purposive
   113   -ëro   ablative medial clause relator
   114   -go   primary medial clause relator
   115   -goro   perceptual medial clause relator
   116   -romo   secondary medial clause relator

                117   -?iro   temporal neighbourhood
                118   -be   distributive

        120 Closure
                121   -vo   disjunctive[6]

Affixes occur in ascending numerical order, i.e. left to right,
except that 75, 76, or -o from 71 may follow 82. Direct referent mark-
ers are either infixes, replacives or suffixes. They may even be an
obligatory part of the stem. All other affixes are suffixes. There
can be no co-occurrences within decades or among suffixes 91-102. The
range of possible affixes per stem is 0 to 6.

12.4 Stem Referents

Stem referents, Class 10, are so called from their position in
the verb. They are either suffixed directly to the verb stem or they
form a part of the stem. Stem referents usually consist of a person
number morpheme plus a function marker. Stem referents may be either
direct (ref) or benefactive (ben).

Direct referent morphemes have many allomorphs. Verb stems are
classified into five subclasses according to whether or not they take
the direct referent, and according to what allomorphs of the direct
referent they take.

Chart 5 displays two representative sets of allomorphs. Numbers
refer to persons. Ø stands for zero allomorph.

	Class 1			Class 4	
	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
1	-ev	-avu or -övu	1	-emij	-amuij
2	-av	-ëv	2,3	-amij	-ëmij
3	Ø				

CHART 5: DIRECT REFERENT

Class 1 take the direct referent as suffix. The function marker
is v.

The Class 2 function marker is g. On some verbs the direct ref-
erent Class 2 is a suffix while on others it is a replacive. The
paradigm is the same as for Class 1. In these examples the referent
agrees in person and number with the object.

<pre>
        ?an-Ø-e   ?an-eg-e
    hit-3.sg.ref-1.sg.pr   hit-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
        I hit him.   He hits me.

        masuv-Ø-e   mas-eg-e
    marry-3.sg.ref-1.sg.pr   marry-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
        I marry him.   He marries me.
</pre>

In Class 3 verbs the final consonant of the stem serves as the
function marker. The immediately preceding vowel is replaced in non-
3 singular forms.

<pre>
        ja?ih-e   ja?ahu-e
    bite.3.sg.Ø.ref-3.sg.pr   bite.1.pl.ref-3.sg.pr
        It bites him.   It is biting us.
</pre>

Class 4 verbs may be further subdivided into two subclasses.
Some verbs take the function marker -mije (with weak /i/) freely
alternating with -m. Other verbs take -hij alternating with -h as
part of the verb stem. Chart 5 displays a sample paradigm.

Of the Class 5 verbs, some occur with the Class 1 referent suf-
fixes in first person only to signify a state of inability.

<pre>
                Na bôgô hej-ev-e.
            I not hear-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
                I can't hear you.
</pre>

Other verbs, such as juhuonive *fear*, have not been observed with a
direct referent.

There is a wide range of relationships possible between the
participant signalled by a direct referent, and the action or state
represented by the verb. (In the examples, ab means ablative, al
means allative 13.1, pa means past, aux means auxiliary verb 12.8)

<pre>
        Direct object:
                Na nah-ev-ade-je.
            me search-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
                He searched for me.

        Indirect object:
                Nasi örire im-ev-ade-je.
            me to sell-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
                He sold it to me.

        Owner of participant in subject or object relation:
                Nasi öv-ëro rid-emij-e.
            my hand-ab emits.fragrance-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
                My hand is fragrant.
</pre>

Nasi muoho ?aj-emij-e.
my work help-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr
He is helping me in my work.

Subject of a factive clause:
Na höm-ev-ade-je.
I hungry-1.sg.ref-pa-aux
I was hungry.

Subject of a perfect aspect (pf) active clause:
Na-ro rôv-ë?e j-ev-e.
I-ab come-pf be-1.sg.ref-pr
I have come.

Telic relationship:
Na-ni ?uv-ev-ade-je.
me-al *call*-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
He called for me (to come).

The final example should be contrasted with the following:

Na-ni ?uv-eh-ade-je.
me-al *call*-1.sg.ben-3.sg.pa-aux
He called on my behalf. (I didn't want to call.)

This sentence is an example of the benefactive (ben). The function marker of the benefactive is h. Except that h does not alternate with -hij, its paradigm is analogous to that of Class 4 direct referents. The benefactive may be referred to elsewhere in the clause by an allative form as in the above example or by a possessive.

Nasi muoho bej-eh-adeje.
my work fall-1.sg.ben-3.sg.pa
My business failed on me.

Some verbs apparently have no benefactive forms.

12.5 Active Subject Markers

Active subject markers refer to the same participant as the active subject of the clause, expressed or understood. In factive clauses and certain verb phrases (12.8) the form is always 3 singular.

Unlike stem referents, active subject markers remain the same in all five verb classes. However, different sets of suffixes are selected according to the mood, tense or aspect to be signalled. Sometimes the choice of suffixes depends on whether a verb is final

or non-final. Final verbs are those which function as predicate in
independent clauses. Non-final verbs occur in dependent clauses of
various kinds. Where there is a choice of two forms in the paradigms
in Chart 6, the bracketed forms generally occur word final. The un-
bracketed forms always occur if suffixes or auxiliary verbs follow.
In the remainder of this paper these paradigms will be referred to by
letter:

Paradigm A Short Forms		
	Singular	Plural
2	-ane	-arije
1	-ô (-ômu immediate desiderative)	-are (-o)
3	-o	

Paradigm B Long Forms		
	Singular	Plural
2	-ane	-arije
1	-ôde	-are
3	-ade	

Paradigm C Projected Aspect		
	Singular	Plural
2	-ane	-arije
1	-ôde	-öhe
3		

Paradigm D Present Tense		
	Singular	Plural
2	-anue (-e)	-aruje (-ö)
1,3	-aje (-e)	-arue (-ö)

Paradigm E Future Tense		
	Singular	Plural
2	-?a?anue	-?a?aruje
1	-?ejô	-?ejare (-?ejo)
3	-?a?aje (-?ë?e)	-?a?arue (-?ë?ö)

Paradigm F Imp 2 Person		
	Singular	Plural
Immediate	-e (-enö)	-he
Future	-ne	-re

CHART 6: ACTIVE SUBJECT PARADIGMS

12.6 The Selection of Person and Number

Morphemes classes 10 and 70 signal person and number of certain
participants in the state or action denoted by the verb. However,
sometimes 3 person plural number is considered as a single group and
referred to in the verb by the singular person-number markers. In

fact inanimate participants are usually referred to by the singular unless there is special attention drawn to a number of particular individual items as in the second of these two sentences:

> Ije ahô?ôbëhe huö?öjë?e-j-∅-e.   Ije niô?i gemu j-ëv-e.
> *tree many felled-be*-3.sg-pr   *tree two one be*-3.pl-pr
> > *Most of the trees have been felled.   There are
> > now just three trees.*

In the first of these sentences there is no special emphasis on individual trees and so the verb referent marker is singular. (However, the stem of the verb itself refers to plurality.)

The quantitative suffixes (30) occurring optionally on many verbs sometimes denote plurality. -ruom (31), probably related to the verb root ruom *flow in a torrent*, may refer only to animate participants; -?am (32) may refer either to animate or inanimate participants. There are further distinctions. On intransitive verbs -ruom refers to participants who are engaged in the action at the same time. -?am refers to participants engaged in the action at different times.

> **Rue-ruom-ade-je.**
> *come-collective*-3.sg.pa-aux
> *They came in a group.*

> **Rue-?am-ade-je.**
> *come-extentive*-3.sg.pa-aux
> *They came (arriving at different times).*

-ruom refers to the subject of transitive verbs while -?am refers to the object.

> **Ga-ruom-are-je.**
> *see*-collective-3.pl.pa-aux
> *Many people saw it.*

> **Magonah-oho ga-?am-ade-je**
> *woman-p see*-extentive-3.sg.pa-aux
> *He saw many women. (He lived promiscuously.)*

-?am sometimes denotes extent; ch means characterizer.

> **Öri ari-?e ga-?am-ade-je.**
> *path land-ch see*-extentive-3.sg.pa-aux
> *He had an extensive view of the landscape.*

12.7 Mode-Tense-Aspect

Active subject suffixes help distinguish mode, tense and aspect of both active and factive clauses. In the past, present and future

indicative, imperative and immediate desiderative, these person-number suffixes alone make distinctions. To signal other modes, they must be used with suffix sets 40, 50 and/or 60.

Past indicative is signalled by paradigm B. However, in some older people's narrative texts -o, 3 person from paradigm A, is frequently used for past tense on final verbs.

To the past tense in final form is added either an auxiliary (12.8) or a performative intensifier -ehu (81). The performative intensifiers signal emotion on the part of the narrator and is equivalent to the English *let me tell you*.

<div align="center">

Na iae a-ëro nah-ar-ehu.

then certainly man-ab search-3.pl.pa-intensifier

Well then, let me tell you, they searched for him.

</div>

Present and future indicative must be signalled by suffixes in paradigm D and E respectively. Where there are two forms, the unbracketed suffixes may be used if special attention is drawn to the verb. Otherwise, the bracketed forms are substituted in word or verb phrase final position.

<div align="center">

Ae rôv-aje.

person come-3.sg.pr

Someone's coming!

Iae hu rôv-e.

certainly he come-3.sg.pr(abbreviated form)

Yes, he's coming.

</div>

The first example is a shouted proclamation to the village of new information. The second example attaches no special emphasis to the verb. Accordingly, the abbreviated form is used.

In questions, if the present active subject marker is verb phrase final all three persons are signalled by -e in the singular and -ö in the plural. If future, the second person future imperative forms are substituted for the indicative.

<div align="center">

Ja va?-anue.

you(sg) go-2.sg.pr(long form)

You are going.

Na ja va?-e.

Question you(sg) go-2.sg.pr(abbreviated)

Are you going?

</div>

Ja va-ʔaʔanue.   Na ja vaʔo-ne.
you go-2.sg.fu.indicative   Question you go-2.sg.fu.imp
You'll go.   Will you go?

When the combination /ʔaʔa/ immediately follows the phoneme /o/, one /ʔa/ is reduced.

bamo-ʔaʔanue > bamo-ʔanue
put-2.sg.fu   you will put

The future may be translated *will, can, must*; or it may signal customary action without regard to time.

Ja ga-ʔaʔanue jiobo ë momoröʔöj-aj-oho.
you see-2.sg.fu eels there sleep(pl.root)-3.sg.pr-p
One can see eels sleeping there.

Nð avoho raromo-ʔejo.
we properly sit-1.pl.fu
We must behave properly.

Döho sur-ëro vae-ʔëʔe.
top large.leaf-ab make-3.sg.fu

They would construct the roof (of the initiation quarters) of large leaves. [Note: The first sentence in this discourse established the time as past. The rest of the description of this discontinued custom is in the future tense.]

Unlike past or present active subject forms which may be final or non-final, future forms are always final.

Imperatives (imp) may be immediate or future (paradigm F). The negative is nadi *don't*. Non sp set means non specific setting 13.1.

Vaʔo-ne.   Na hiʔ-ejð.
go-3.sg.fu.imp   I sit-1.sg.fu
You can go.   I shall stay (i.e. Goodbye).

Saʔa-rð hij-e!
ground-non.sp.set sit-2.sg.immediate.imp
Take a seat!

When phrase final, alternate forms of the immediate imperative singular may be used for greater urgency. Some verb stems may be shortened by removing the final consonant of the stem.

tutu (from tutuve *he runs*)
Run!

Alternatively the suffix {-enö} may be substituted for -e word final. -enö only occurs on strong stem verbs.

<div align="center">

Bam-enö!
put-2.sg.immediate.imp
Put it down!

</div>

Either -enö or -nö occurs on weak stems.

<div align="center">

hi-nö or **hij-enö**
sit-2.sg.immediate.imp
Sit!

</div>

In persons other than second, the desire of the speaker is expressed by some form of desiderative (des). An immediate desiderative, corresponding to the immediate imperative, is expressed by the short suffixes of paradigm A. When word final, a longer form of the suffix, -ðmu, signals 1 singular. In fact, the longer form must be used if the sentence in which the verb occurs consists of a single clause.

<div align="center">

Na juvae ij-ðmu.
I coconut eat-1.sg.immediate.des
I want to eat coconut.
(The speaker uttered this as he put the coconut
to his mouth.)

</div>

<div align="center">

Juvae ij-o.
coconut eat-1.pl.immediate.des
Let's eat coconut now!

</div>

The above examples assume that the coconut is immediately available so that the immediate desiderative is selected.

It is more usual for the desiderative to occur in the final clause of a sentence containing also a medial imperative clause. This is always the case when the immediate desiderative is 3 person. In the example, prim.rel means primary medial relator (12.10).

<div align="center">

Ie bojam-e-go hu ij-o.
food give-2.sg.imp-prim.rel *he eat*-3.sg.immediate.des
Give him some food so he can eat right away.

</div>

The potential (po) desiderative consists of the potential form -?iro (63) plus the short person number endings:

<div align="center">

Ijoho tarivo-?ir-o
trees trim-po-3.sg
I wish he'd trim the trees.

</div>

The negative with the third person is **nadi** the negative imperative.

> Nadi tarivo-?ir-o.
> neg.imp *trim*-po-3.sg
> *He must not trim them.*

Since the 2 person future imperative generally functions as 2 person desiderative, the second person potential desiderative seems to occur only with the strong negative imperative bôgave.

> Bôgave tarivo-?ir-ane.
> strong.negative.imp *trim*-po-2.sg
> *You must not trim them.*

Like the immediate desiderative, the potential desiderative usually occurs as the final verb in a sentence of more than a single clause. Unlike the immediate desiderative the potential desiderative does not imply immediate fulfilment is expected. In the example gen. prim. means general tense, primary medial and prim.rel means primary medial relator (12.10).

> le bojam-e-go hu i-?ir-o.
> *food give*-gen.prim-prim.rel *he eat*-po-3.sg
> *Give him food so that he can eat.*

The projected aspect (proj) is composed of the potential -?iro plus the projected aspect person number markers (paradigm C). In its final form, it is used as a future desiderative. The wish is not expected to be fulfilled until after an interval of time. The final form normally occurs with an auxiliary (12.8). In the example, quo means quotative (12.11).

> Uv-ade-je ëne ji-e-go rð bijioho-?ir-ðde höjo.
> *think*-3.sg.pa-aux *rain is*-gen.prim-prim.rel *come spear*-po-1.sg aux(quo)
> *He thought, "When it rains, I plan to come and spear (the pig)."*

When non-final, the projected aspect not only serves as future desiderative, it also serves as a non-final future and future imperative. The -oho on the first word in the following example indicates the verb is non-final (12.9; 12.10).

> Va-?ir-öh-oho rue ujavu?-oho baeromo rue-?ë?e.
> *go*-po-3.pl.proj-p *those initiates*-p *taking come*-3.sg.fu
> *They would go, bring those boys who were being initiated*
> *and come.*

The past intentive is expressed by -?ihöj the intentive modal form (64) plus suffix set paradigm B. The modal form is really a suffix string composed of a short allomorph of the potential -?i plus the stem of a defective quotative verb höj *be.*

The intentive always indicates there was a thought or intention
in the past which is unfulfilled.

> Na ga-ʔihöj-ðde-je. Röhu huro bôgð rôvadeje.
> I *see*-intentive-1.sg.pa-aux *but he not did.come*
> *I expected to see him. However, he didn't come.*

The contrafactual is expressed by the modal -ʔibej plus active
subject suffixes, paradigm A if final, paradigm B if non-final. Final
contrafactual verbs occur as predicate in contrafactual sentences any
number of which may be strung along paratactically.

> ʔö-ho bôgð baʔamo-ʔibej-o. Ë mi-oho bôgð i-ʔibej-o.
> *dog*-p *not drop*-contrafactual-1.pl *that game*-p *not eat*-contrafactual-1.pl
> *If we had not taken the dog hunting, we would not have
>   had that meat to eat.*

The contrafactual in the second and third persons can also denote
a criticism. If negative, the negative imperative nadi or the emphat-
ic negative imperative bogave is used.

> Nadi ʔano-ʔibej-ane.
> negative.imp *hit*-contrafactual-2.sg
> *You shouldn't have hit him.*

The evidential is expressed by the evidential modal suffix -nɪj
(61) plus the suffixes paradigm A. It either signals that the event
expressed by the verb is seen by the speaker, or it indicates a query
as to whether the event is seen by the hearer.

> Magonah-ëro rue-hij-o.
> *woman*-ab *come*-cognitive-3.sg
> *I see/saw a woman coming.*

The sensory marker (51) is -av, or -avav for emphasis. The suf-
fix lays emphasis on the hearing or feeling of the subject. It may co-
occur with the evidential(61 + 71), or with the present tense active
suffixes (74) or with medials (94 - 96). In other words the event
must be present time as far as the subject is concerned.

> Uge rôv-av-e.
> *bird come*-sensory-3.sg.pr
> *A plane is coming; I hear it.*

The habituative aspect -növ (41), may co-occur with any other
suffix:

> Vaʔo-növô-ʔejð.
> *go*-habituative-1.sg.fu
> *I shall make a habit of going.*

?ame barë-növ-ade-je.

village finish-habituative-3.sg.pa-aux

One village after another was destroyed.

The attenuative -anov (21) *as it were* weakens the meaning of the verb. It may co-occur with any other suffix.

?inömo-?inöm-oho bahij-anov-ade-je.

things-things-p *put.many-as.it.were*-3.sg.pa-aux

He laid the offering down (only to take it away later).

Dahor-ëro namij-anov-ade-je.

mountain-ab *stand-as.it.were*-3.sg.pa-aux

A mountain of people was standing there, as it were.
(i.e. there was a vast army occupying the area.)

Of suffixes 20-50, any three may co-occur. The following example illustrates how the suffixes may be combined in a final verb to express the exact shade of meaning required:

Vi?eh-eg-anov-?am-av-e.

ache-1.sg.ref-*as.it.were*-extent-sensory-3.sg.pr
    (11)   (21)   (32)   (51)   (74)

I (11) *definitely feel* (51)*a little* (21) *pain* (stem) *all over* (32) *now* (74).

12.8 Verb Phrases

Certain modes, aspects and tenses must be expressed by verb phrases consisting of a main verb, or main verb phrase, plus an auxiliary.

One common auxiliary verb is jie ~ je (according to the speaker), *is*. If the form is 3 singular and monosyllabic, it is suffixed to the main verb. Otherwise it is written separately.

12.81 *Past, Normative and Projected Verb Phrases*

The main verb may be past, present or projected. The auxiliary verb, je, generally remains 3 person present tense for all persons and numbers.

Mami?e va?-ade-je.

already go-3.sg.pa-aux

He already went.

Ja dinö?e va?-ane j-av-e?

you where go-2.sg.pa aux-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pr

Where on earth did you go?
[In this unusual example the auxiliary agrees with the second person subject and indicates impatience; it is addressed to a child.]

Only when the main verb is present tense, is there a contrast between the presence and absence of the auxiliary. When the auxiliary is omitted, the tense is present. When it is written, the normative aspect is signalled. Exceptions to this rule will be described later (12.9; 12.10).

> Aviae hij-aje!
> *here stay-3.sg.pr*
> *Here he is!*

> Aviae hij-aje-je. Röhu jaruvoho bôgô-jie.
> *here stay-3.sg.pr-aux but today not-is*
> *He normally lives here, but today he isn't around.*

12.82 *Perfect Verb Phrases*

The auxiliary, je, agrees in person and number with the active subject. The direct referent of the auxiliary agrees with a first or second person active subject as in example (a) below. The active subject marker agrees with a third person active subject, example (b).

The main verb is a perfect medial form made up from the verb stem with the possible addition of any three suffixes 10 - 40 plus the perfect suffix -ë?e. The perfect verb phrase (pf) signals that the action took place before the time of the auxiliary but that the effects of the action are felt at the time indicated by the auxiliary.

> (a)   Na-ro rôv-ë?e j-ev-e.
> *I-ab come-pf be-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr*
> *I have come.*

> (b)   Jabumë-ro rôv-ë?e ji-ö.
> *they-ab come-pf be-3.sg.pr*
> *They have come.*

One use of the perfect is to shift information focus away from the action itself. In the first example, the verb is past tense, so that the focus is partially on the action. In the second example, the verb is in the present perfect, and the focus shifts away from the action.

> Mah-oho a-ëro ?an-ade-je.
> *pig-p man-ab kill-3.sg.pa-aux*
> *Someone <u>killed</u> the pig (it didn't die a natural death).*

> Mah-oho magonah-ëro ?an-ë?e-j-e.
> *pig-p woman-ab kill-pf-be-3.sg.pr*
> *It is a <u>woman</u> who has killed the pig.*

Instead of je-, a verb for *stay*, hije (one person), ʔarije (a few people), rarome (many people) may occur. The phrase emphasizes the state of the person at the time of the auxiliary verb.

Na ëhi uehorov-ëʔe hij-e.
I like.that think-pf stay-3.sg.pr
It's on my mind constantly.

12.83 *Aptative Auxiliary Verb Phrases*

These consist of an aptative participial phrase plus the auxiliary verb, je. The aptative participial phrase consists of the main verb stem, plus hesi (3 singular genitive pronoun) or varijëne (simulfactive).

Vaʔo hesi-j-e.   Vaʔo varijëne-j-e
go gen-be-3.sg.pr   *go simulfactive-be-3.sg.pr*
He is likely to go.

If the main verb is transitive, the same rules of agreement apply as for the auxiliary je of the perfect verb phrase (12.82). If the main verb is intransitive, the direct referent of all persons refers to the subject, which is neutral, not ablative. In example (a) below, the subject is marked with the ablative because the main verb is transitive. In (b), the subject is neutral because the main verb is intransitive.

(a)   Jabumë-ro mahoho ʔano hesi ji-ö.
      they-ab pig kill gen be-3.pl.pr
      They are likely to kill the pig.

(b)   Jabumë ʔamëro vaʔo hesi j-ëv-e.
they (neutral) *to.their.village go gen be-3.pl.ref-3.sg.pr*
      They are going to go to their village.

12.84 *Explanatory Verb Phrase*

This verb phrase serves as the predicate in an imperative explanatory clause. An imperative explanatory clause is not imperative itself, but it is so called because it must depend on an imperative clause. The verb je *be* functions as auxiliary of explanatory verb phrases.

The main verb of the explanatory phrase may be perfect. Or, it may be present in form. In that case, the active subject suffixes refer to the active subject of the clause. Since it is followed by an auxiliary, the tense-aspect is normative, not present. Or, the main

verb may bear an immanent future suffix -ʔiëʔe, composed of -ʔi poten-
tial, plus ëʔe *do* (see 12.86 below). The suffix does not indicate
person and number.

     The auxiliary verb is always present tense. As in the perfect
phrase, the direct referent shows cross reference to a 1 or 2 person
subject. The active subject marker shows cross reference to an active
third person subject. The free subject is never marked by an ablative
but by -oho prominence marker, because it always signals theme (14.2).
In all persons the full form of the active subject markers must appear
on the auxiliary.

<div align="center">

Vaʔ-ëʔe ji-aje ja-ʔð vaʔo-ne.

go-pf aux-3.sg.pr *you-also go*-2.sg.fu.imp

He has gone, and so you also go.

</div>

<div align="center">

Vaʔ-anue j-av-aje vaʔo-ne!

go-2.sg.pr aux-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pr *go*-2.sg.fu.imp

You normally go; therefore go!

</div>

<div align="center">

Asisöʔ-oho ë va-ʔiëʔe ji-arue boj-ëmi-ne.

children-p *there go*-immanent.fu aux-3.pl.pr *give*-3.pl.ref-2.sg.fu.imp

The children are about to go there, and so, give it to them.

</div>

12.85 *Durative Verb Phrase*

     The main verb of a durative verb phrase is marked by the exclu-
sive suffix -emu *only* (102). The final consonant of weak verbs is
reduced:

<div align="center">

hij + emu > hiemu

sit + excl *only sit*

only sit

</div>

The auxiliary verb is another form of the same verb.

<div align="center">

Vaʔ-emu vaʔ-ade-je.

go-only go-3.sg.pa-aux

He went on without stopping.

</div>

12.86 *Iterative and Anticipatory Verb Phrase*

     The main verb of the iterative and anticipatory verb phrases is
the potential medial (63). This form has three allomorphs -ʔi ∿ -ʔiro
∿ -ʔirögoro. The auxiliary of the iterative is a verb meaning *stay:*
hije for a singular subject and ʔarije for a plural subject.

A harihëro nivo-ʔi hij-adeje.
boy small cry-po *stay*-3.sg.pa
The small boy cried repeatedly.

The auxiliary for the anticipatory verb phrase is ëʔe *do*.

Na va-ʔirögoro ëʔ-e.
I go-po *do*-3.sg.pr
I'm about to go.

When the shortest form of the potential, -ʔi, is selected, the auxiliary verb is phonologically bound to the main verb. The Ömie verb phrase in the immediately previous example could take the form of a single verb,

Va-ʔi-ëʔ-e.
go-po-*do*-3.sg.pr
I'm about to go.

12.87 *Compound Verb Phrases*

These consist of two verbs: the first a verb stem including the stem referents (10) if applicable; the second verb takes any appropriate affixes:

Baej-evo va-ʔëʔe.
take-1.sg.ref *go*-3.sg.fu
He will take me away.

In this category may be included the conative, thoroughtative, distributive and dubitative verb phrases. The second verb in those compounds are gave *see, try*; ʔavohe *do properly*; rδve *come* and/ or vaʔe *go* and vadëʔe *what's he doing.*

Conative

ʔu-e g-e-ne.
speak-1.sg.ref *try*-1.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.imp
Ask me.

Thoroughtative

Höm-evo ʔavoh-e.
hungry-1.sg.ref *prepare*-1.sg.pr
I am very hungry.

Distributive

ʔame ahδʔδbëhe jio rδ vaʔ-e.
villages many be come go-3.sg.pr
There are many villages scattered about.

The dubitative verb phrase requires special note. It consists of any stem plus vadë?e *what is he doing*, the performative interrogative. In the affirmative clause, only the potential which, in this case, refers to the present or future time, and the future forms are used:

Hu Port Moresby hi vadë-?ir-o.
he Port Moresby stay performative.interrogative-po-3.sg
He could be in Port Moresby.

Hu Port Moresby va?o vadë-?ë?e.
he Port Moresby go performative.interrogative-3.sg.fu
Perhaps he'll go to Port Moresby.

The negative occurs with the dubitative phrase in the potential to signal doubt:

Hu Port Moresby bôgô hi vadë-?ir-o.
he Port Moresby not stay performative.interrogative-po-3.sg
Perhaps he isn't in Port Moresby.

The negative is used with past, perfect, present or future to signal emphatic denial.

Hu Port Moresby bôgô va?o vadë-?ë?e.
he Port Moresby not go performative.interrogative-3.sg.fu
He'll not go to Port Moresby; there's no doubt about it.

12.9 Subordinate Verbs

Non-final verbs may be medial or subordinate. Subordinate verbs are those which function as predicate in a subordinate clause (14.1). Subordinate verbs may be past indicative, intentive, projected, present, normative, contrafactual, perfect. The subordinate verb resembles the corresponding final forms except: (1) any form of the auxiliary je *be* is deleted; as a result the present and normative subordinate verbs will have the same shape. (2) Paradigm B person number suffixes are substituted for paradigm A in contrafactual. (3) Certain enclitics are suffixed to the verb or, if the clause is embedded in a phrase, the enclitic occurs instead on the last word in the phrase.

jöv-ôde jö-ho
speak-1.sg.pa *talk*-p
the story which I have told

Since the subordinate clause is embedded in the noun phrase, the enclitic -oho prominence is added to jöe, the final word in the phrase.

When adding any enclitic to a verb, morphophonemic rules are
analogous to those of weak /i/ stem nouns (Section 2). The final /e/
of the verb is the terminator:

<div align="center">

va?-ade

go-3.sg.pa

he went

va?-adi-re

go-3.sg.pa-sp.set

where he went

va?ad-ohuro

go-3.sg.pa-p.ab

the one who went...

</div>

Subordinate verbs may be indefinite or definite. Indefinite
subordinate verbs are formed from the perfect. The person and number
of an active subject are unmarked in the verb. To the perfect aspect
one of the following enclitics or enclitic strings is added: -r-ohuro
set-p.ab; -r-oho *set*-p; -ohuro p.ab; -oho p.

<div align="center">

va?-ë?i-r-oho

go-pf-set-p

if ever (he) goes or *whenever (he) goes*

</div>

If the principal clause, that is the clause on which the sub-
ordinate clause depends, is an information interrogative -roho or -oho
must occur on the subordinate verb. If the principal verb is present
factive, the setting marker may not occur on the subordinate verb.
Otherwise the suffixes seem to be used interchangeably. The forms
with -ohuro (p.ab) (or -rohuro) (set.p.ab) are much less common and
perhaps serve to emphasize the conditional relationship. The principal
clause must be normative, present factive, future indicative or future
imperative.

<div align="center">

hu dinö?e dinö?e va?ë?iroho na-?ô ë va?ejô

va?ë?irohuro

va?ë?ohuro

va?ë?oho

he where where goes I-too there shall.go

Wherever he goes, I shall go.

hu {va?-ë?-oho na bijön-eg-e

{ va?-ë?-ohuro

he {*go*-pf-p   *I   not.want*-1.sg.ref-pr

{*go*-pf-p.ab

I don't want him to go.

</div>

```
          rov-ë?i-r-oho rabëni ¡oho bôgô bôj-ami-ne
        {
          rov-ë?-oho
        {come-pf-set-p why food not give-3.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.imp
        { come-pf-p
          If he comes why won't you give him food?
```

Some definite subordinate clauses are embedded within a phrase
or a principal clause. Others are externally related to a principal
clause.

An embedded clause is affected by an information interrogative
or negative principal clause in the same way a phrase performing the
same function would be affected (14.22). An external subordinate clause
would not be affected in the same way.

```
          rôv-ad-ohuni-oho bôgô vavaen-ego-?ë?e
        come-3.sg.pa-p.al-p not feel.sorry-1.sg.ref-3.sg.fu
        I shall not feel sorry for the one who has come.
```

```
          rôv-ad-ohuni ë-huni bôgô vavaen-ego-?ë?e
        come-3.sg.pa-p.al that-p.al not feel.sorry-1.sg.ref-3.sg.fu
        Because he has come, I shall not be sad.
```

-oho has been suffixed to rôvadohuni in the first example be-
cause the principal clause is negative (14.22). Therefore rôvadohuni
in the first clause is an embedded subordinate clause. rôvadohuni
in the second clause has not been affected by the negative principal
clause. Therefore it is an externally related subordinate clause.

Embedded clauses fill the same function as nouns, temporals and
manner words.

The following enclitics occur: -oho prominent marker, -ohuro
prominent ablative, -ohuni prominent allative; setting and locative
enclitics: -re specific setting, -rô non specific setting, -riae
emphatic locative, -?e-re characterizer-setting (near), -nö area loca-
tive; bound allomorphs of manner and temporal deictics -ëhi just as
and -evare then. Some of these enclitics may occur on any of the
modes, tenses or aspects listed at the beginning of this section. It
should be noted that the perfect aspect has its regular meaning.

```
          kuku huono buej-ë?-oho barôv-ade-je
        tobacco bamboo burn-pf-p bring-3.sg.pa-aux
        He brought the pipe on which he had burned the design.
```

With certain enclitics there are tense-aspect-mode restrictions
-ëhi just as, -re specific setting, -riae emphatic locative, -?ere
near do not occur on the perfect. -ëhi just as may signal overlapping
time only with the past tense of the subordinate verb. -rô non

specific setting signals indefinite time when affixed to the perfect
time or place with the past, and signals place only, with the present
or normative. It has not been found with any other mode or tense.

In contrast to -rð, -re specific setting always signals definite
location. Notice three time relationships possible when the verb is
past.

<blockquote>
ugo bej-adi-rð nð rðvareje
bird fall-3.sg.pa-non.sp.set we came
We came sometime after the plane landed.
</blockquote>

<blockquote>
ugo bej-ad-evare evare nð rðvareje
bird fall-3.sg.pa-temporal temporal.deictic we came
We came at the time that the plane landed.
</blockquote>

<blockquote>
ugo bej-ad-ëhi evare nð rðvareje
bird fall-3.sg.pa-just.as temporal.deictic we came
We came just as the plane landed.
</blockquote>

Externally related subordinate clauses express reason, causal,
and adversative relationships. The reason clause signalled by -ohuni,
prominent allative, on the verb gives the explanations in the mind of
narrator or participants for events. The causal clause, signalled by
-ohuro prominent ablative on the verb, expresses the means by which
another event takes place quite apart from the mind of the narrator or
participant. The adversative is expressed by -oho prominence marker.
There is a switch in time or mood, or there is a change from statement
to question involved in the contrast. If the main clause is informa-
tion interrogative, -ohuni or -ohuro may not be suffixed to the sub-
ordinate verb; only -oho is permissible.

<blockquote>
hu ?aj-amij-ad-oho rabëni bðgð mana ?aj-amij-ane-je
he help-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-p why not back help-3.sg.ref-2.sg.pa-aux
He helped you; so why didn't you help him in return?
</blockquote>

There are certain restrictions regarding the tenses/aspects and
modes of the verbs. An externally related definite clause may not
contain a verb in the perfect aspect. Moreover, the verb in a causal
clause is restricted to the present (or normative) and past tenses.
The verb in a reason clause is restricted to the present (or normative)
past, intentive and projected tense-aspects. Adversative has no re-
striction of moods or tenses beyond what has already been stipulated.
When joined to the rest of the sentence subordinate clauses are often
followed by a deictic, ë-huni *that*-p.al *for that reason;* ë-huro *that*-
p.ab *as a result of that;* or the conjunction röhu *but.*

ʔaj-emij-an-ohuni ë-huni jasi örire mae ʔu-av-e
help-1.sg.ref-2.sg.pa-p.al *that*-p.al *your human.*locative *good say*-2.sg.ref-1.sg.pr
Because you helped me I am thanking you.

ʔaj-emij-an-ohuro ë-huro muoho burëro barëj-ðde-je
help-1.sg.ref-2.sg.pa-p.ab *that*-p.ab *work quickly finish*-1.sg.pa-aux
By reason of your help I quickly finished the work.

ʔaj-ami-ʔibej-ðd-oho röhu nasi muoho ahðʔðbëhe-je
help-2.sg.ref-contrafactual-1.sg-p *but my work much-is*
I'd help you but I have a lot of work.

Subordinate verbs differ in function and distribution from medial verbs, the other type of non-final verb. Subordinate verbs focus not so much on the event represented by the verb, as on the relationship of that event to a main event. A description has already been given of the medial explanatory clause in an imperative sentence. A comparison of this medial clause with a reason subordinate clause will illustrate the difference:

a-ho ʔaj-amij-ë?e ji-aje ë-huni i harihe bðj-ami-ne
man-p *help*-2.sg.ref-pf *be*-3.sg.pr *that*-p.al *food small give*-3.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.imp
The man has helped you and so give him a meal.

a-ehu ʔaj-amij-ad-ohuni ë-huni i harihe bðj-ami-ne
man-intensive *help*-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-p.al *that*-p.al *food small give*-3.sg.ref-2.sg.fu.imp
Because the man helped you, therefore give him a meal.

Subordinate clauses are rare in narrative and procedural texts. In such texts there must be a steady flow of events in temporal sequence. Even parenthetical information is introduced by medial clauses. However, the indefinite clause typically marks the theme at the beginning of a procedural text:

iae nô niögu ruaho-ʔi n-agu-ë?i-r-oho vaʔ-arue-je
in.fact we bark.cloth wrap.around.a.skirt-po *want*-1.pl.ref-pf-set-p *go*-1.pl.pr-aux
Well now, whenever (if) we want to make a bark skirt, we normally go.

Moreover, brief subordinate clauses sometimes replace nouns, particularly with a locative function.

uv-ehu vaʔ-aji-re hu-ʔo ma burëro juʔebiromo vaʔ-o
Orokaiva-intensive *go*-3.sg.pr-sp.set *he-too just quickly fleeing go*-3.sg.pa
Where the Orokaiva was going,[7] *he too quickly fled and went.*

On the other hand subordinate clauses figure prominently in expositions, exhortations and dialogue in which logical argument is the order of the day.

12.10 Medial Verbs

There are five types of medial verbs. The medial explanatory verb phrase has already been described (12.8). The other types are: ablative and allative medials; sequential medials; non finite medials; and primary medials.

(1) Ablative and allative medial verbs are characterized by the ablative or allative enclitic without the prominence marker. These verbs occur in clauses which never depend on an imperative clause.

The following ablative and allative medial verb constructions signal purpose or reason.

Two of the suffixes uninflected for person and number are formed from the noun jöe *talk, sake*. -jöëni (101) circumstantial reason is composed of jö plus the allative -ëni *for*.

ja nëri vaʔo-jöëni rδv-δde-je
you tomorrow go-for.the.sake.of come-1.sg.pa-aux
I came because, sad to say, you are going tomorrow or
I came in case you should go tomorrow.

i rabe i-jöëni vëni rumoʔe niav-ade-je
food what eat-for.the.sake.of fire without sleep-3.sg.pa-aux
He slept without a fire, for what food was there to eat?

-jöro (100) imposed will is composed of jö plus the short form of the ablative -ro. The medial clause and the principal clause must have different subjects.

mie ʔan-eho-jöro ë-huni hu iraej-ëgo rδv-δde-je
game kill-ben.1.sg-imposed.will that-p.al bring-2.pl.ref come-1.sg.pa-aux
It was for you to kill game for me that I brought you (dogs).

-ëro ablative and -ëni allative occur on the projected aspect forms (paradigm C) to represent purpose to be fulfilled after a time lapse. Only the ablative has been found in narrative texts. As will be shown later in this section the ablative occurs on other forms to interrupt the narrative time sequence and to insert background information which is logically prior. That might be its use with the projected tense; -ëro ablative might signal that the intention was prior to the event in the principal clause. On the other hand -ëni far more specifically represents purpose. In conversation -ëro and -ëni seem interchangeable. The first of these examples is from a narrative text. The clause the predicate of which is iʔiröhëro *with the intention of eating* depends on ʔanavavamu *beating*.

```
        hej-o gumue ?an-avav-amu sisônuv-e-go ae magu?ô
        i-?ir-öh-ëro
```
hear-3.sg.pa dance beat-sensory-pa.prim morning.comes-gen.prim-prim.rel
person with.taro eat-po-proj-ab
He heard the drums beating for a dance they were having because
they intended to eat a man next morning.

```
        im-oho bamô-?ejô höm-ev-e-go i-?ir-ôd-ëni
        or i-?ir-ôd-ëro
```
sugar.cane-p put-1.sg.fu when.hungry-1.sg.ref-gen.prim-prim.rel eat-po-1.sg.proj
or eat-po-1.sg.proj-ab
I'll put the sugarcane aside to eat when I am hungry.

The ablative perfect medial verb phrase may be past, normative
or projected. The tense aspect auxiliary verb je *be* is in the perfect
aspect. To this is added the ablative enclitic -ëro, which indicates
temporal or logical priority, to give

```
        ji-ë?-ëro
```
be-pf-ab
having been.

If the main verb in the medial verb phrase is perfect, it optionally
takes the ablative enclitic by attraction. If the main verb is any
other tense or aspect, it must take the ablative. The auxiliary verb
may be omitted as in the following example, where the auxiliary jië?ëro
could equally well have immediately followed gavë?ëro. For the primary
medials see point (4) of this section.

```
        ?u-avu-o rôv-e-go guôjave gav-ë?-ëro rôv-e-go
        guôjave va?o i-ar-ëjo
```
say-1.pl.ref come-gen.prim-prim.rel vulturine.parrot see-pf-ab come-gen.prim
prim.rel vulturine.parrot go catch-1.pl.immediate.des-quo
He said to us, "Come" (he had seen a vulturine parrot)
"Come, let's go catch a vulturine parrot."

If the ablative perfect medial clause is stative-equational, the verb
jië?ëro often appears without an auxiliary, and the noun or adjective
immediately preceding it takes an ablative by attraction.

```
        nasi ?am-ëro ji-ë?-ëro va-?ejô
```
my village-ab be-pf-ab go-1.sg.fu
Since it is my village, I shall go to it.

Sometimes jië?ëro is omitted from stative-equational clauses without
any apparent change of meaning, leaving the word that would have imme-
diately preceded with the ablative. It is from such sentences as the
above example that the ablative directional (13.11) originates.

                     amu-?-ëro ë-huro masijorae-?ë?e
                   breast-ch-ab *that*-p.ab *grow.big*-3.sg.fu
                 Being breast fed, that way they would develop.

In that example, amu?ëro *(being) with breast*, could also have been
rendered amu?ëro jië?ëro.

   The ablative perfect construction expresses an event which begins
some time before the event of the principal verb. In the normative,
when subjects of the medial and principal clauses are the same, the two
events are in sequence. When the subjects are different, the two
events continue at the same time.

              Asapa va?-aj-ëro ji-ë?-ëro ma burëro va-?ejô.
            Asapa go-1.sg.pr-ab *be*-pf-ab *just quickly go*-1.sg.fu
            *I have been accustomed to go to Asapa village so that
            I shall get there quickly.*

              Jôve rôv-aj-ëro ji-ë?ëro juv-oho im-oho dej-oho
                 maro?ego nô ij-ö.
            water come-1.sg.pr-ab *be*-pf-ab *bananas*-p *sugar.cane*-p
            yams-p *getting-ripe we eat*-1.pl.pr
          *Because the river has flowed and is still flowing, we now
          have bananas, sugarcane, and yams to eat when they mature.*

   When the medial verb is perfect, it occurs with a subject which
may be either the same as or different from that of the principal verb.
Clauses thus formed introduce explanatory background information.

              Hij-ôde-je. Hiromo nasi vabor-ohuro im-oho
                 io bam-eh-ë?e ji-ë?-ëro ij-ôde-je.
            sit-1.sg.pa-aux *sitting my wife*-ab.p *sugar.cane*-p
            cut put-1.sg.ben-pf *be*-pf.ab *eat*-1.sg.pa-aux
          *I sat down. Sitting (my wife had cut and sent me
          sugarcane) I ate.*

   The perfect, past and projected tense-aspects occur in ablative
perfect construction to express temporal sequence with an intervening
time lapse. The subjects of the medial and principal verbs must be
the same.
              Je?o-re gurihi nugo-r-öh-ëro[8] sisônuvo?iramu
                 hujeji mavorovo-?ë?e.
            forest-sp.set *hide leave*-po-3.proj-ab *when.morning.will.come*
             later dance.in.pairs-3.sg.fu
          *They would leave them hidden in the forest and later, when
          morning would come, they would dance in pairs.*

   (2) Sequence Medials. At least two other constructions besides
the ablative perfect signal temporal sequence. As will be apparent,

both constructions involve medial verb forms which are identical in
shape to certain subordinate verbs. Moreover, as is true in subordi-
nate clauses, means is marked by the intensive -ehu (14.1). However,
unlike subordinate clauses these medial clauses are members of a
clause chain.[9]   As such, the verbs predict that the same subject will
follow. Also, the subject may be marked by the ablative, whereas the
subject of a subordinate clause may not.

Verbs of motion may be related sequentially to a following clause
in a prominent motion sequence construction. The past, present (with
normative significance) or projected forms may be selected. The forms
are identical with the corresponding subordinate verb with enclitic
-oho. The construction signals that the motion ends just when the
next event begins.

> A-huro hôj-ehu va?-ad-oho va?-ad-oho va?-ad-oho
>   va?o ?amo-re höröj-ade-je.
> *man*-p.ab *ridge*-intensive *go*-3.sg.pa-p *go*-3.sg.pa-p *go*-3.sg.pa-p
>   go village-sp.set *come.out*-3.sg.pa-aux
> *The man went by means (way) of the ridge, went and went,*
> *going he came out at the village.*

The overlapping sequence medial verb construction is identical in
form with the manner subordinate verb with the enclitic -ëhi *just as*.

> Uv-ëro guruoj-ad-ëhi ?uv-o ...
> *Orokaivas*-ab *dance*-3.sg.pa-*just.as* *think*-3.sg.pa
> *As the Orokaivas were dancing, it dawned on them that* ...

(3) Non Finite Medials. Non finite medials are those verb forms
without an enclitic and without a tense marker of their own. Instead
they take the same tense as that of the verb on which they depend. Non
finite medials are not conjugated for person and number and so do not
take suffix set 70. Only where indicated in the following discussion
may suffixes set 60 occur. Unless otherwise indicated, non finite me-
dials predict the same subject. Except for suffixes which take -vo
(suffix 121), the distinguishing suffixes occur verb final.

-arume, unrealized potential (99) contrasts a potential event
with an actual event. The principal clause is always a rhetorical
question.

> Mae hij-arume rab-ëni sisë?i-oho hij-e?
> *well* sit-unrealized.potential *what*-al *badly*-p sit-3.sg.pr
>   *He could be living well; why is he living poorly?*

-goro, perceptual clause relator (115), signals the subject's
feeling, hearing, seeing as the reason for his subsequent action.

Huë bae-goro rôv-ôde-je.
throat take-perceptual *come*-1.sg.pa-aux
I felt sorry and so I came.

I-goro i-ne.
eat-perceptual *eat*-2.sg.fu.imp
If you feel like eating, eat.

Ug-ohuro a-ho ga-goro huoj-ade-je.
bird-p.ab *man*-p *see*-perceptual *fly.squawk*-3.sg.pa-aux
The bird saw the man and therefore flew around squawking.

-be, distributive suffix (118), occurs on the verb when the event it represents is related to a verb of motion. The motion referred to may be either spatial or temporal.

Mu ma-emu ë?o-be rôv-ôde-je.
work good-excl *do*-distributive *come*-1.sg.pa-aux
I have been doing good work all along.

-?i ∿ -?iro ∿ -?irögoro, potential medial (63) indicates an immanent event, or a purpose soon to be fulfilled.

Apo ?u-a-?irögoro ë-huni rôv-e.
father tell-3.sg.ref-po.medial *that*-p.al *come*-1.sg.pr
I am going to tell Father, and that's why I'm coming.

-?i ∿ -?iro ∿ -?irögoro, temporal neighbourhood suffixes (117) are homophonous with potential suffixes. They indicate that the event occurs at least at approximately the same time as that of the principal verb and is antithetical to it. The subjects may be the same or different.

Bôgô ma-huro nam-?irögoro a?i Uvo bijiog-ëro muebej-ëv-ade-je.
not pig-p.ab *stand*-temporal.neighbourhood *but Orokaiva native*-ab
watch-3.pl.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
It was not a pig standing there, but instead there was a native Orokaiva watching them.

-ë?e, the perfect medial (97), functions concessively. In the main clause, ëma *just, anyway*, is expressed or implied.

Höm-ev-ë?e na ëma va?-e.
hungry-1.sg.ref-pf *I just go*-1.sg.pr
Although I'm hungry I'm just going anyway.

Öre tugoroh-ë?e ëma va?arueje.
road close-pf *just we.go*
Although the track is overgrown, we just go anyway.

Bôgô g-ev-ë?e ëma va?-ade-je.
*not see-*1.sg.ref-pf *just go-*3.sg.pa-aux
He went without seeing me.

-ë?i ∿ -ë?iro ∿ -ë?irögoro, the temporal neighbourhood perfect
medial suffix string, consists of the perfect suffix, -ë?i without -e
terminator, plus the temporal neighbourhood suffix {-?iro}. One /?i/
syllable is reduced. The perfect element indicates an action or state
previous to but with results which last up to the time of the principal
verb. The temporal neighbourhood signals simultaneity of the results
of the previous action and the following action. Unlike the pure tem-
poral neighbourhood construction, the subjects must be identical in the
temporal neighbourhood perfect construction.

Niav-ë-?i niv-e.
*sleep-*pf-temporal.neighbourhood *cry-*3.sg.pr
He is crying in his sleep.

-juvo, continuative suffix (98), probably related to the root juv
walk, signals that the event of the medial verb continues for an extend-
ed period. The subjects of the medial and principal clauses may be the
same or different.

Uvô-?ô ?ömi-?ô muorovo-juvo Uvo ?ame niô?i barë
?Ömie ?ame niô?i barëj-ade-je.
*Orokaivas-and Ömies-and fought-*continuative *Orokaiva village two finish*
*Ömie village two finish-*3.sg.pa-aux
The Orokaiva people and Ömie people kept on fighting
each other until two Orokaiva villages were destroyed
and two Ömie villages were destroyed.

-romo,[10] secondary medial (116) (sec), is the most common of the
non finite medials. A number of secondary medial clauses may be joined
together in a closely-knit sequence, or chain.

The secondary medial indicates that there is a high degree of
dependence on the last verb of the chain. Some secondary medial chains
share a common subject. If this is the case, the subject must either
be active throughout (example (a) below) or factive throughout, as in
example (b). The event of the secondary medial verb begins prior to
the verb on which it depends even though the two actions may continue
simultaneously.

(a)   A-ëro ?ö-ho ?ano-romo va?-ade-je.
          *man-*ab *dog-*p *hit-*sec *go-*3.sg.pa-aux
          A man hit the dog and went.

(b)   Na vadun-ëro guôm-evo-romo be-romo ?an-eg-ade-je.
*I hunger-*ab *die-*1.sg.ref-sec *fall-*sec *hurt-*1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
      I was very hungry and fell and hurt myself.

Sometimes a secondary medial modifies the meaning of the verb on which it depends.

> Tutuvo-romo rôv-ade-je.
> *run*-sec *come*-3.sg.pa-aux
> *He came running.*

> Ug-oho ae ga-romo ë?-e.
> *bird*-p *person see*-sec *do*-3.sg.pr
> *The bird sees someone, that's what it's doing.*

It is less usual for secondary medials not to have a common active or common factive subject. When the subjects are different, however, the events themselves are closely related in time. Although the events might begin in chronological sequence, what is important is that they are continuing simultaneously, and are co-terminous.

> Ěne rue-romo bure rôv-ade-je.
> *rain come*-sec *wind come*-3.sg.pa-aux
> *It was raining and the wind was blowing.*

In the following chain, the first two clauses share a common subject, tugobaje *whiskers*. Moreover, the events of the first two clauses are continuing throughout the event of the third clause. Thus the three clauses are joined by secondary sequence markers.

> Tugobaje[11] rijo?övo-romo hövohövo-romo Malakas
>   vavaenim-ade-je.
> *animal.whiskers spread.out*-sec *turn.yellow*-sec *Malakas*
>   *was.sad*.3.sg.ref-pa-aux
> *As the rays (of the setting sun) were spreading out like whiskers and were turning yellow, Malakas was feeling sad.*

With the secondary medial may occur the cessative suffix -nugo *after*, (91) (related to the root nug *leave*), and the intentive -?ihöj (64). When -?ihöj occurs, the subject of the following clause is not predicted.

> Jôv-oho eguo-nugo-romo hi-nugo-romo rôv-ôde-je.
> *water*-p *wash*-cessative-sec *sit*-cessative-sec *come*-1.sg.pa-aux
> *I took a bath and after that I sat and after that I came.*

> Tuboru harih-ohuro deje i-?ihö-romo huë-re
>   rav-ajo.
> *cassowary fledgling*-p.ab *yam eat*-intentive-sec *throat*-sp.set
>   *burn*-3.sg.pa.quo (12.11)
> *(It is said that) the young cassowary was meaning to eat yams when he burned his throat.*

Before the verbs gave and heje, the suffix string -ʔihö-romo is idiomatically reduced to -ʔihö or -ʔi with the meaning *while*.

Hi-ʔihö gav-o Ibito bôgô vejöʔ-oho öʔamu.
sit-intentive *see*-3.pl.pa *Ibito not now*-p *coming*
As they sat there they saw Ibito was not returning when expected.

When -romo occurs on an anticipatory verb phrase (12.8), the implication is that the event that seemed immanent was not carried out.

Va-ʔi-ëʔo-romo vônug-ôde-je.
go-po-*do*-sec *stop*-1.sg.pa-aux
I was going to leave but gave up the idea.

(4) Primary Medial Verbs are those verbs which optionally take the primary medial relator suffix -go (114). They are marked for tense, aspect or mode. Many forms are not inflected for person and number. These verbs take suffixes 92-96 instead of 60-70. Suffixes 92-94 must be followed by the suffix -go or some other relator to be discussed. After 95 and 96 the relator is optional. Such verb phrases as perfect, immanent and iterative are common.

vaʔ-ëʔe ji-amu
go-pf *be*-prim.pa
had gone

va-ʔi-ëʔ-amu
go-po-*do*-prim.pa
was about to go

If the perfect auxiliary is present it is usually deleted and the relator is suffixed to the perfect suffix.

vaʔ-ëʔe jio-ʔe-go > vaʔ-ëʔe-go
go-pf *be*-prim.pr-prim.rel > *go*-pf-prim.rel
has gone

In addition there are four inflected mode tenses: present and future imperative, normative, and projected. These are formed by deleting the tense/aspect auxiliary je *be* and adding -e general (93) plus a relator to the appropriate active subject suffix (73, 74, 76, 77). In this example -aj in rôvajego is suffix class 74:

Rôv-aj-e-go bôj-ami-ʔejô.
come-3.sg.pr-gen.prim-prim.rel *give*-3.sg.ref-1.sg.fu
Because he normally comes I shall give it to him.

The primary medial usually has a different subject from the one on which it depends. This is always the case when the verb is in the

projected aspect. Apart from the signal for change of subject, the
primary medial projected aspect functions in the same way as projected
purpose clauses whose verb relator is -ëni or -ëro (12.10 (1)).

Im-oho bam-ah-e ja uʔemu i-ʔir-an-e-go.
sugar.cane-p *put*-2.sg.ben-1.sg.pr *you later eat*-po-2.sg-gen.prim-prim.rel
I'm laying aside the sugarcane for you to eat later.

Likewise, the primary medial normative corresponds to the abla-
tive perfect medial, normative aspect. Both give an explanation for
the event in the principal clause, which is never imperative.

In contrast, however, the primary medial indicates at once both
change of subject and sequence.

ʔaj-emij-aj-e-go ëhuni na mana ʔaj-ami-ʔejô.
help-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr-gen.prim-prim.rel *therefore I back help*-3.sg.ref-1.sg.fu
He helps me from time to time and so now I will help him in return.

Primary medials other than projected or normative contrast with
secondary medials. If sequence is in focus, primary medials signal
change in kind of subject (active to factive or vice versa) or a
change in subject identity. When the change is from factive to active
subject, the secondary medial never occurs. Otherwise the rules for
the secondary medial apply (12.10 (3)).

A harih-ohuro hömo-ʔe-go niv-e.
person young-p.ab *hungry*-pr.prim-prim.rel *cry*-3.sg.pr
The baby is crying of hunger.

The verb höme *be hungry* is a factive verb and takes a neutral
subject. a harihohuro is ablative subject of the entire chain. Since
the last verb in the chain is active, the chain subject is active.

These primary medials are subject to certain mode, tense, aspect
restrictions. The imperative medials must depend on a desiderative
principal clause.

Barue-n-e-go na ga-ʔir-ô.
bring-2.sg.imp-gen.prim-prim.rel *I see*-po-1.sg
Bring it here so I can see it.

Future medials must depend on a future; past medials on a past;
contrafactual on a contrafactual.

Sisônuv-amu riʔöj-ade-je.
Morning.comes-pa.prim *rise*-3.sg.pa-aux
When morning came he got up.

The present may refer either to the present or past time. If it
refers to the present, it may depend on another present or on a future.

If it refers to the past, it depends on a habituative verb or iterative
verb phrase (12.8), or on a past primary medial.

> Sisônuvo-?e-go ri?ö-?ë?e.
> *morning.comes*-pr.prim-prim.rel *rise*-3.sg.fu
> *Since day is dawning, he will get up.*

> Sisônuvo-?e-go ri?ö-növ-ade-je.
> *morning.comes*-pr.prim-prim.rel *rise*-habituative-3.sg.pa-aux
> *Each morning he would rise.*

> Gav-o sisônuvo-?e-go vavu-oho ri?öj-amu.
> *see*-3.sg.pa *morning.comes*-pr.prim-prim.rel *father*-p *rise*-pa.prim
> *He saw that when morning came his father was getting up.*

The general primary medial shows no tense limitation. It may
take the place of the contrafactual medial and depend on a contra-
factual principal verb. Or it may depend on an imperative, desidera-
tive, potential, projected, or normative.

> Sisônuv-e-go ri?öj-arue-je.
> *morning.comes*-gen.prim-prim.rel *rise*-1.pl.pr-normative.aux
> *When day breaks we get up.*

> Jenirom-e-go i-oho nemo-ne. Sisônuv-e-go i-?ir-ane-je.
> *afternoon.comes*-gen.prim-prim.rel *food*-p *cook*-2.sg.fu.imp
> *morning.comes*-gen.prim-prim.rel *eat*-po-2.sg.proj.aux
> *When afternoon comes cook the food. I want you to (so that
> you can) eat it when day dawns.*

Primary medials serve as predicate in the perceptual clause of
a perceptual sentence. Generally a perceptual sentence consists of the
verb gave *see* or heje *hear, feel* followed by a perceptual clause. The
perceptual predicate may be past, present, future, general according
to the tense/aspect of the verb for *see* or *hear*. The predicate may be
a perfect or anticipatory verb phrase.

> Na gav-e hu rue-?e-go.
> *I see*-3.sg.pr *he come*-pr.prim-prim.rel
> *I see him coming.*

Special medial forms for gave and heje occur. Their shapes re-
semble those of the final form except that any tense/aspect auxiliary
is deleted.

> Hej-ade ug-oho rôv-av-amu...
> *hear*-3.sg.pa *bird*-p *come*-sensory-pa.prim
> *He heard the plane coming and...*

A sentence need not end with a perceptual clause. The clause
may be joined to the subsequent clauses simply by -go primary relator
(or -amu or -?iramu without -go). Instead of -go, a non final form of
gave *see* or heje *hear* may immediately follow the perceptual clause.
One of two medial suffixes may occur: -goro perceptual (115) ga-goro
see-perceptual.medial *after seeing* or {-ë?i} perfect-temporal neigh-
bourhood (97-117) suffix string.

> gav-ë-?i
> *see*-perfect-temporal.neighbourhood
> *no sooner (did he) see*

gavë?i (or hejë?i) signals overlapping sequence. gagoro signals
that the second event begins after the first. Sometimes, instead of
the gagoro or hegoro the perceptual suffix is suffixed to the primary
medial form.

> va?-amu ga-goro
> *go*-pa.prim *see*-perceptual
> *after seeing (him) go*

> may be written

> va?-amu-goro
> *go*-pa.prim-perceptual.

In narratives the verbs gagoro and gavë?i often lose the meaning
of *see* and serve purely as time relators.

> A-huro va?o hij-amu gav-ë-?i röhu kinë?-ohuro rôvajo.
> *man*-p.ab *go* *sit*-pa.prim *see*-pf-temporal.neighbourhood *but bush.spirit*-p.ab *came*
> *No sooner had the man departed and settled down elsewhere*
> *but the bush spirit arrived on the scene.*

In place of such forms as gagoro two other non final forms of
gave and heje may occur: the ablative perfect, e.g.

> gav-ë?-ëro
> *see*-pf-ab
> *(he) saw and sometime later*

and the indefinite perfect, e.g.

> gav-ë?-oho
> *see*-pf-p
> *if (he) sees.*

Unlike gagoro or gavë?i both retain their perceptual meaning and
both control the tense of the primary medial verb they directly follow.
Since they are both perfect aspect, the tense of the primary medial

must be past. The following examples show that the influence of the
indefinite perfect gavë?oho over the tense of the primary medial takes
precedence over that of the projected perceptual verb, ga?irane,
introducing the primary medial clause.

> Ga-?ir-ane ae rôv-amu gav-ë?-oho...
> *see*-po-2.sg.proj *man come*-pa.prim *see*-pf-p
> *Whenever you see a man coming...*

> Ga-?ir-ane ae rôv-e ga-goro...
> *see*-po-2.sg.proj *man come*-gen.prim *see*-perceptual
> *When you see a man coming...*

Whereas a secondary medial never concludes a clause chain, a
primary medial may do so. Thus it can bear greater information focus.
In the following two examples, contrast muebej-amu *watch*-primary with
muebe-romo *watch*-secondary. The former terminates the chain; the
latter does not:

Ugoho ?ano?i muebej-amu gagorovo ënohuro bejevamu ?amëro rôvôdeje.
bird to.kill watch-pa.prim *after rain fell.on.me home I.came*

*I __was__ keeping watch so I might kill a bird. However, rain fell
on me and I came home.*

> Ugoho ?ano?i muebe-romo ënëro bejevamu ?amëro rôvôdeje.
> *bird to.kill watch*-sec *rain fell.on.me home I.came*

*I was watching in order to kill a bird and then rain fell
on me so I came home.*

In the second example, the secondary medial signals that the
active subject (1 singular) is not finished his series of actions.
The clause whose subject is ëne *rain* is an intrusion which affects
the original subject's course of action in that chain. Had the sen-
tence ended with bejevamu *fell on me,* mueberomo would have been
muebejamu to indicate a change of active subject.

Medial verbs not only join clauses within a sentence, but link[12]
sentences and paragraphs together by repeating at least part of the
previous clause.

> Na iae Evi birumijo. Birumij-amu na Evi guomo.
> *then in.fact Evi he.worked.magic.against*
> *work.magic.against*-pa.prim *then Evi died*
> *Then he in fact worked magic against Evi. As a result,
> Evi died.*

12.11 Quotative Markers (quo)

These are those forms which conclude a quoted sentence. Therefore, these markers are useful in delimitating a grammatical sentence in Ömie. When a quoted sentence is not embedded in a subsequent non-quotative sentence, -aj takes morpheme -o, probably from Class 71. Here, the function of -o is merely to mark finality. To mark eliptical or interrupted sentences, the quotative may be added to any word, noun, non-final verb or enclitic. In independent sentences, quotatives may be added only to those suffixes which are unbracketed in paradigms A-F.

The following morphophonemic processes operate: -aj is added to high vowels without any change.

<div align="center">

Gav-ë-ʔi-ajo!

see-pf-temporal.neighbourhood-quo

"(Act) while seeing!" or *"Watch out!"*

</div>

When added to mid vowels a of the quotative is reduced, and the mid vowel is replaced by the low vowel at the same tongue position.

<div align="center">

Ae rôv-aje.

man come-3.sg.pr

A man is coming.

Ae rov-aj-ëjo. (from rovaje + ajo)

man come-3.sg.pr-quo

"A man is coming."

Bôjemego na ij-öjo (from ij-ô + ajo)

give.me I eat-1.sg.immediate.des.quo

"Give me some to eat."

Bôjamego hu ij-ajo.(from ij-o + ajo)

give he eat-3.sg.immediate.des.quo

"Give him some to eat."

</div>

When added to low vowels, a is reduced.

<div align="center">

ʔamonö-jo (ʔamonö + ajo)

outside-quo

(He said) "Outside!"

</div>

The verb je *be* has an irregular 3 person present form höjo. A form of höjo must be used when it is a tense-aspect auxiliary, 12.81.

Rôv-ade-je.
come-3.sg.pa-aux
He came.

Rôv-ade höjo.
come-3.sg.pa aux.quo
"He came."

If the quoting verb is future indicative or imperative, the appropriate suffixes (75 or 76) may be added in place of -o (71) following regular morphophonemic rules (12.1).

Jej-amij-ôde hö-ne.
greet-3.sg.ref-1.sg.pa aux.quo-2.sg.imp
"Tell him I greeted him." ("Give him my greetings.")

Quotatives added to paradigm A constitute a traditional narrative past tense.

Kinë?ohuro rôv-ajo.
the.bush.spirit come-3.sg.traditional
The bush spirit came (they say).

A quotative sentence may be joined to a subsequent non-quoted sentence by adding certain of the non-final suffixes already described.

Muenohuro ?uv-ajo mae ?u-ev-aj-ë-romo va?-ad-oho...
the.cousin think-3.sg.traditional *true say*-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pr-quo-sec *go*-3.sg.pa-p
The cousin thought, "He's telling me the truth", and so
he went and...

The following non-final suffixes are permissible following the quotative: temporal neighbourhood, primary and secondary medials (93-96; 114-117); imposed will (100); circumstantial reason (101); and indefinite perfect (97 + 111).

Only the verb ?uve *think, shout* or ?uave *say* may open a quote. If medial, their forms are analogous to those of **gave** introducing a perceptual clause, see ?ua?irane, example below. The may optionally close it. If it is chosen to have ?uve or ?uave in the same sentence immediately following the quotative, the final /j/ of the quotative is deleted (12.1).

?u-a-?ir-ane na va-?ejö ?u-av-ë?-oho...
say-3.sg.ref-po-2.sg.proj *I go*-1.sg.fu.quo *say*-3.sg.ref-pf-p
If you say "I shall go"...

13.0 NOUN AND RELATOR-AXIS PHRASES

13.1 Postpositives and Non-Verbal Phrases

Most postpositives are bound enclitics, but a few are free forms. They may follow any word or phrase except a particle. Their occurrence, allomorphs and function on verbs was discussed in Section 12.9.

13.11 *Functional Enclitics*

These follow nouns, pronouns or noun phrases to show their function in the clause. There are seven sets discussed below.[13] Some are combined with the prominence clitic (13.12) and suffixed to deictics to mark the same semantic relationships between pairs of clauses, sentences and even higher level elements in a discourse. Bound forms in Sections 13.11.5 to 13.11.7 below do not occur affixed directly to neutral appellatives or pronouns.

13.11.1 Neutral[14]

Obligatory absence of a functional postpositive on noun phrases marks the neutral form. The neutral noun phrases serve as objects of transitive or ditransitive clauses, subject of factive clause types, specifier of specified descriptive clauses, comment of stative-equational clauses (14.1). The examples show the neutral form as object then as subject of a verb.

> Mahe bijiohôdeje.
> *pig I.speared*
> *I speared a pig.*

> Ja dadivave.
> *you don't.know*
> *You don't know.*

13.11.2 Ablative (ab)

{-ro} : -ro ∿ -ëro *from the source of, by means of.* -ëro occurs on common noun and adjective stems; -ro occurs elsewhere. One of its functions is to mark the subject of an active clause. {-ro} occurs as active subject marker only for clarity, or emphasis.

Rules for clarity appear to be determined by the number of participants and the way in which they are manifested within the boundaries of a discourse unit between a clause and sentence. This unit, which might be called a single participant orientation clause chain,

requires further analysis. The ablative is obligatory on pronominal subjects if there is also a neutral pronoun in the clause chain.

> Na (or na-ro) ae ?anôdeje.
> *I (or I-ab) man I.hit*
> *I (or I) hit a man.*

> Na-ro hu ?anôdeje.
> *I-ab him I.hit*
> *I hit him.*

The ablative is obligatory on nouns if the clause chain includes a transitive or ditransitive verb.

> A-ëro ë?adeje.
> *man-ab did*
> *A man did it.*

These rules may be overriden by other considerations such as that of theme (14.2).

In other cases the ablative is optionally added for emphasis.

> Ae rôvaje!   A-ëro rôve.
> *man is.coming*   *man-ab is.coming*
> *Someone's coming!*   *A man is coming.*

In addition to its use to mark active subject, the ablative is obligatory to mark a means relationship within a clause as in the first example below. It may also indicate means relationship between clauses, or chunks on higher levels of discourse. In the second example the means relationship is expressed by ëhuro *from that cause.*

> Hesi öv-ëro ijajeje.
> *his hand-ab he.eats*
> *He eats by means of his own hand. (He can feed himself.)*

> Bôgô ma mae tögömoromo ë-hu-ro bôgô aevo?ë?e.
> *not just right exploding that-prominence-ab not will.start*
> *The engine will not explode properly and as a result will not start.*

A special use of the ablative on certain common nouns is termed directional ablative. The directional ablative indicates both destination and basis of the journey. The basis, signalled by the ablative is the residency of the traveller, or the presence of another person he is going to join.

Hu hesi ʔam-ëro vaʔe.

he his village-directional.ab *go*

He is going to his village because he lives there.
(i.e. he is going home)

13.11.3 Allative (al)

{-ni} -ni ∿ -ëni *for*. -ëni occurs on common noun, adjective and temporal stems, -ni occurs elsewhere. -ni allative marks an underlying semantic telic or benefactive relationship. On the surface clause level, -ni marks the grammatical telic; it marks the grammatical bene-factive in active clauses having an animate subject. Above clause level, -ni marks the grammatical reason or purpose.

Nër-ëni ja-ni bamahôdeje.

tomorrow-al *you*-al *I.put.for.you*

I put it aside for you for tomorrow.

Rab-ëni rôvaneje?

what-al *you.came*

For what (why) did you come?

Paraede sisônuʔe nani nô Kôkôda vaʔejo. Ë-hu-ni nani
    no Satade sienëro Asapa rueʔejo.

Friday morning perhaps we Kokoda will.go that-prominence-al *perhaps*
    we Saturday back Asapa will.come

Friday morning perhaps we shall go to Kokoda. For that reason
perhaps we shall return to Asapa on Saturday.

13.11.4 Comitative

-ʔô *with, and* may be added to noun and temporal phrases. Occur-ring with one of two or more noun phrases it signifies accompaniment, occurring on two or three noun phrases it signifies co-ordination.

Apô-ʔô mamô-ʔô vaʔareje.

father-and mother-and they.went

Both father and mother went.

Apo-ro mamô-ʔô vaʔadeje.

father-ab mother-with he.went

Father went with mother.

A comitative phrase followed by the particle röromo means *for, instead of.*

        Na-?ô röromo va?adeje.
        me-and for he.went
        He went in my place.

13.11.5 Setting (set) and Locative (loc)

These markers occur on noun phrases. They form part of the stem of some temporals. Setting markers may refer to either place, direction or time; locatives to place or direction. The setting marker is -r. To it may be added non-specific marker -ô (non.sp), or the specific marker -e (sp) or the emphatic locative -iae. Note the contrasting examples of non-specific as over against specific setting.

        Ug-ëro dö-rô va?adeje.
        bird-ab *top*-non.sp.set *it.went*
        The bird flew high.

    Ijo dö-re va?adeje.   Hura maja-rô va?adeje.
    tree top-sp.set *it.went*   *week day*-non.sp.set *he.went*
    It flew right over the tree.   *He went on a Sunday.*

    Hura maja-re va?adeje.   Dö-riae hije.
    week day-sp.set *he.went*   *top*-loc.set *he.sit*
    He went last Sunday.   *He is sitting up <u>there</u> at the top.*

Area locative -nö (-nörire emphatic?), signals *surface* or *region round about.*

        Javu dö-nö hijadeje.
        house top-area *it.sat*
        It perched on the roof.

13.11.6 Characterizer (ch)

-?e *having* occurs on noun phrases which function as subjective completion in an equative clause, and substance descriptive in a modified noun phrase.

    Vavu-?e a-ho.   Sa?aho ijo-?e jie.
    father-ch *man*-p   *the.land trees*-ch *is*
    the man whose father is living   *The land has trees.*

The characterizer enclitic occurs at the end of a compound noun phrase. A compound noun phrase consists of two closed sets of nouns combining to give the genus of which the nouns are species.

Jasi nu ano-ʔe mae jie.

your nose teeth-ch good is

Your appearance (i.e. what is characterized by nose and teeth) is attractive.

Other examples of compound noun phrases:

dë saʔa-ʔe

excrement earth-ch

dirt (as in a motor)

ahi juri-ʔe

brother-in-law parent-in-law-ch

in laws

ö mueno-ʔe

brother cousin-ch

relatives

öri ari-ʔe

track land-ch

landscape; weather

ugo buruhi-ʔe

bird eagle-ch

feather headdress

Privative characterizer is a free form rumoʔe *without.*

Saʔaho ijo rumoʔe jie.

the.land tree without is

The land is without trees.

13.11.7 Analogy

This may be expressed by various clitics.

(1) Manner Deictic Bound Allomorph -ëhi *like that* occurs on common nouns:

Dahor-ëhi jiadeje.

mountain-like it.was

There was a big crowd like a mountain.

On temporals which indicate the succession of days, -ëhi indicates that the terms are used with no reference to the present.

jiame

day after tomorrow

jiam-ëhi

day.after.tomorrow-like

on the third day .

(2) Simulfactive Enclitics vaʔëne, -ëne, varijëne. The free allomorph vaʔëne (occasionally the bound allomorph -ëne) expresses any type of likeness.

A juvijoho Michael varijëne (or vaʔëne) jie.

male the.youth Michael exactly like (like) is

The youth is like Michael.

A juvijoho jiobo vaʔëne (not varijëne) jie.
male the.youth eel like (not exactly.like) is
The youth resembles an eel (he is so handsome).

Ijoho hiʔö bôrôt-ëne jiadeje.
the.stick bamboo.knife edge-like was
The stick was as sharp as a bamboo knife.

(3) Analogical Characterizer Enclitic -nöʔe *having the character-istic of, in the manner of.*

Aho ijo-nöʔe jie.
the.man tree-analogical.characterizer is
The man is tree-like (he is so tall).

13.12 *Prominence Enclitic* (p) -oho

Perhaps the basic meaning of -oho is specificity, marking some-thing the hearer already knows or something of which the speaker wants the hearer to take special note. Apart from the exception mentioned in footnote 5, the prominence marker is never added to particles. Although the marker may occur following suffixes on appellatives and pronouns to form substantives (13.3), it never occurs directly on their neutral forms. Otherwise the prominence marker may occur at the extreme right position of a string of enclitics on any part of speech. Also after nouns, adjectives, deictics and pronouns the prom-inence marker may occur a second time on an enclitic string to the left of function markers.

(a) Occurrence at the extreme right position: -oho marks theme (14.2), negation and elicitation (14.3). In such cases it should be noted that -oho does not occur on locative focus forms, Chart 3 rows (g) and (h). Instead the corresponding deictic focus form in (a) and (b) is substituted for that of (g) or (h) respectively before -oho is added. -oho also occurs obligatorily following the setting marker -r when the clause subject is 2 person.

Ja mu-r-oho vaʔaneje.
you garden-set-p you.went
You went to the garden.

The setting marker plus the prominence is an optional way of expressing direction from.

Mu-r-oho rôvadeje.
garden-set-p he.came
He came from the garden.

(The usual way of expressing *from* would be a two clause utterance of
the type *Being in the garden, afterward he came.*)

The prominence marker on the extreme right may also form a sub-
stantive (13.3).

(b) Occurrence to the left of function markers: As has been in-
dicated at the beginning of 13.2 appellatives and pronouns do not take
-oho directly on the stem. The reason is that they are already con-
sidered "specific". Thus in talking to a child about his father
either the common noun **vavue** plus the prominence marker might be used,
or the appellative **apo**. The second term would be more intimate but
the two would be equally specific.

<div align="center">

vavu-oho   or   **apo**

father-p   *Father*

father

</div>

Thus the common noun stem followed immediately by the prominence
enclitic serves as vocative.

<div align="center">

ö-ho

brother-p

Brother! (religious context)

</div>

On noun phrases -oho is added to common noun or adjective stems
to mark the conclusion of the deictic's influence:

Ë ae böröm-oho gemu.	**Ë ae böröme gemu-oho.**
that man important-p *one*	*that man important one*-p
That important man only.	*That same important man.*

Without a deictic, -oho occurs to draw particular attention to
the phrases so marked. This is especially the case with neutrals; for
they have no function marker such as the ablative to draw attention to
their importance in the discourse.

Mue ravo.	**Mu-oho ravo.**
garden weeded	*garden*-p *weeded*
She weeded the garden.	*She weeded the garden.*

Prominence markers are useful in setting up antitheses:

<div align="center">

Muen-oho ejahonövajo muen-oho juahaminövajo.

cousin-p *used.to.accept cousin*-p *used.to.reject*

*The one cousin she used to accept. The other cousin
she used to reject.*

</div>

A special morphophonemic rule applies when a prominence marker
is followed directly by another enclitic beginning with a consonant;
the final o of -oho becomes /u/.

```
-oho + -ro > -ohu-ro
p + ab > p-ab
```

From this point onwards in this paper the prominence plus the immediately following enclitic will be written in the examples as a fused form: -ohuro p.ab.

The prominence marker is not fused with setting enclitics. However, the form -ohuro (homophonous with -ohuro prominent ablative) or its allomorph -oro is substituted for enclitics indicating specific location or direction (-re or -riae or -iae) in imperative sentences. -ohuro may occur on deictics, common nouns and adjectives. -oro may occur on common nouns and adjectives.

Jôv-ohuro vaʔo-ne.	Ave-huro rue-ne!
water-p.loc *go*-2.sg.fu.imp	*this.here*-p.loc *come*-2.sg.fu.imp
Go to the water.	*Come here!*

The prominence marker may occur twice on a single string of enclitics.

Muen-ohuni-oho bôgô vavaenimadeje!
cousin-p.al-p *not miss*
He did not miss his cousin!

The prominence marker -ohu to the left of the function clitic -ni indicates a specific cousin is meant. The prominence marker to the right indicates the word is part of a negative clause.

The prominent marker may occur to the left of function markers to form a substantive (13.3).

13.13 *Number Enclitics*

13.13.1 Dual Animate Associative -mu

This signals that the noun to which it is attached specifies one of the two animate participants. The participants may be identified by an immediately preceding plural personal pronoun or the other first participant may be identified by a preceding appellative. The animate dual associative is added only to appellative nouns. The corresponding prominence-fused form -ohumu must be substituted on common nouns. A noun with -mu must be a member of a phrase which functions as clause subject.

Nô mamô-mu niôʔi-ro vaʔ-areje.
we mother-dual.associative *two*-ab *go*-1.pl.pa
We two, including mother, went.

Nô vëm-ohumu va?-areje.
we mother-p.dual.associative *go*-1.pl.pa
We, including mother, went.

Matthias vavu-ohumu rôvareje.
Matthias father-p.dual.associative *they.came*
Matthias and father both came.

13.13.2 Plural Pronominal Associative -më

This also signals accompaniment.   It may be added only to appellatives. The prominence plural associative must be added to common nouns.

mamo-më	vëm-ohumë
mother-pronominal.associative	*mother*-p.pronominal.associative
mother and others with her	*mother and others with her*

Mamo *mother* is an appellative noun and takes the pronominal associative -më; vëme *mother* is a common noun and takes the prominence pronominal associative -ohumë. The pronominal associative takes the same endings as do free pronouns.

Mamo-më-ro va?-areje.
mother-pronominal.associative-ab *they.went*
Mother and her associates went.

mamo-më-si sa?ae
mother-pronominal.associative-gen *land*
the land of mother and her people

13.13.3 Exclusive Enclitic (excl) -emu

This is a bound allomorph of gemu *one, only*. Since the bound forms are restricted in occurrence, gemu marks exclusiveness elsewhere. -emu follows only neutral, ablative, and setting forms of noun phrases.

?amo-r-emu hijadeje.
village-set-excl *he.stayed*
He did not leave the village.

Hesi ?am-ëni gemu uehorovadeje
his village-al excl *he.thought*
He took thought only for his village.

The form -emu is not added to appellative stems nor to any but monosyllabic free pronouns.

```
na-emu
me-excl
only me
```

An emphatic variant -remu may be added to any pronominal form.

```
mamo-më-remu
mother-pronominal.associative-emphatic.excl
only Mother and her friends
```

Otherwise -remu must be prominent, -ohuremu.

```
Ĕ mu-ohuremu uehorovadeje.
that work-p.emphatic.excl he.thought
He devoted all his attention to that work.
```

There is a unique ablative-exclusive fused form, -remuëremu, which occurs only on free pronouns:

```
Na-remuëremu hu gavôdeje.
I-ab.excl him I.saw
Only I saw him. (or I saw him but he didn't see me.)
```

13.2 Phrases

13.21 *Noun Phrases*

13.21.1 Modified Noun Phrase

This consists of a noun head plus up to three modifiers in the order to be named. Preceding the head may be deictic, genitive, qualifier or noun (the noun may be dependent or with setting, characterizer, simulfactive or analogical characterizer markers). Following the head may be a qualifier, and a quantifier.

```
ave nasi mu javu-oho                hesi jaruvore jö-ho
this my garden house-p              his present talk-p
my garden house here                his present speech
```

```
di a sisë-ho
which person bad-p
which bad person?
```

13.21.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

This consists of a series of noun phrases. If three or fewer, -ô *and* may be suffixed to each phrase. Or the free conjunction ô *and, or* may occur between each phrase. Only the context would distinguish between a collection or alternative relationship. Especially in longer lists, however, the noun phrases are arranged paratactically.

A co-ordinate noun phrase is frequently summed up by a deictic such as ëho (ë *that* plus -oho prominence, 13.3) or ëhi *like that*.

> Gabriel Edward Francis ëhi vaʔadeje.
> *Gabriel Edward Francis like-that went*
> *Gabriel, Edward and Francis went.*

> Numëre dejoroho ëho BiPi ô Stimsip jëve.
> *just.down.there behind those BP and Steamships they.are*
> *Those buildings down behind are BP's and Steamship's.*

13.21.3 Apposition Noun Phrase

This consists of an item plus apposition. Both may be noun phrases. The first may be a noun, the second a pronoun to signal the person and number of the noun. The first may be a pronoun and the second a numeral.

> A ihe Beherio ʔuavarehu.
> *man name Beherio they.said.to.him*
> They said to a man named Beherio. (literally, *a man name, Beherio*)

> Jeffrey na-ro vaʔôdeje.
> *Jeffrey I-ab went*
> *I, Jeffrey, went.*

13.22 *Relator-Axis Phrases*

These consist of a noun phrase or a temporal axis followed by a postpositive relator.

a-ëni	nër-ëni
man-al	*tomorrow-al*
for a man	*for tomorrow*

a *man* and nëri *tomorrow* are the axes and -ëni allative is the relator.

13.3 Substantives

Single clauses and relator-axis phrases may be semantically embedded descriptive clauses which grammatically have the same function as a noun within a clause. Substantives are formed when the prominence marker or the genitive pronoun follows deictic stems:

ë-ho	ë hesi
that-p	*that its*
that one	*of that one*

Substantives are formed also by adding prominence marker, genitive
pronoun, or various types of location clitics to adjective stems, to
genitives, allatives, characteristic, simulfactive and setting
clitics. Manner may occur on setting clitics. The identical function
suffix or clitic does not occur twice in a single substantive. For
example, there may not be two genitives or setting clitics in one sub-
stantive. However, there may be a fused and unfused prominence marker
in a substantive.

<div align="center">

(a)   böröm-oho

big-p

the big one

</div>

<div align="center">

(b)   sisë-rô

bad-non.sp.set

to/in a place where circumstances are bad

</div>

<div align="center">

(c)   Muen-ohuni-oho rue gôvari-nö ?ahajo.

cousin-p.al-p *there outside-surface spread*

*The one for his cousin, he spread out with
the outside surface (on the ground).*

</div>

<div align="center">

(d)   ?amo-r-ëhi

village-set-manner

as it is in the village

</div>

In (c) the first prominent marker -ohu indicates that the cousin is
specific; the second, -oho, indicates a substantive in this context.
muenohunioho should be compared with the same combination of morphemes
in 13.12, final example.

When adding clitics, certain morphophonemic rules should be
noted:

(1) -ri (weak /i/) is first regularly suffixed to genitive pronouns.

<div align="center">

na-si-ri-re

me-gen-nominalizer(?)-sp.set

at my place

</div>

(2) The genitive suffix of appellative nouns, -are is composed of -ari
(weak /i/)genitive plus -e terminator. Likewise the simulfactives
varijëne and va?ëne are composed of a stem ending in weak /i/ + -e
terminator.

<div align="center">

Jasi amo va?ëni-re hijodeje.

your village like-set *I.sat*

I was in a village like yours.

</div>

Mam-ari-re hije.
mother-gen-sp.set *he.sits*
He is at mother's place.

Ap-ar-ohuro vuô?ejô.
father-gen-p.ab *I.shall.chew*
By means of father's I shall chew betel-nut. (i.e. I will use father's (lime) to chew the betel-nut.)

(3) The /e/ in -?e characterizer is reduced before a prominence enclitic and retained before a setting enclitic.

Jôvô-?e-re va?adeje.
water-ch-sp.set *he.went*
He went to a place having water. (i.e. He went near the water.)

Vaboro-?-ohuro rôvadeje.
wife-ch-p.ab *he.came*
The one with a wife came.

As many as two semantic clauses may be represented by a single word and enclitic string. For example, apariroho in

Ap-ari-r-oho ujuoho rôvôdeje.
father-gen-set-p *take* (plural) *I.came*
I brought the things which were at Father's place.

represents (1) *things are at a place* and (2) *the place belongs to Father.*

14.0 CLAUSES

14.1 Types

Two fundamental types of clauses may be distinguished on the basis of their grammatical subject. The subject is that element which bears on whether primary or secondary medial suffixes will occur in clause chains. It need not be the unmarked theme.

For example, it might be thought that na is subject and ijëro is grammatical means in the following sentence:

Na ij-ëro ?an-eg-ade-je.
I stick-ab *hit*-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
I got hit by a stick.

That ijëro is subject is shown by the following secondary medial chain indicating same subject:

Ij-ëro beruvebi-romo ?an-eg-ade-je.
stick-ab *fall*-sec *hit*-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
A stick fell and hit me.

The two clause types are active and factive.

14.11 Active Clauses

These characteristically take an optional free active subject
which may be marked by the ablative enclitic {-ro}. The active sub-
ject suffixes in the verb refer to the clause subject (except certain
verb phrases 12.8).

Active clauses may be further subdivided on the basis of other
characteristic participants.

14.11.1 Intransitive Clauses

These are characterized by the obligatory absence of an object
and by the presence of an intransitive verb.

Sigob-ëro ?ajiomajo.
snake-ab *went.up*
A snake went up.

14.11.2 Transitive Clauses

These are characterized by one object. If the subject and ob-
ject represent human participants, the object may be either direct or
indirect according to the type of verb. A direct object is always
neutral. An indirect object may be neutral or, in non narrative dis-
course, it may optionally be expressed by an oblique phrase: noun
phrase plus the human locative örire. In the following examples the
oblique phrase is selected if it is ever permissible.

A-ëro na g-ev-ade-je.
man-ab *me* *see*-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
A man saw me.

A-ëro nasi örire ?an-eg-ade-je.
man-ab *my* human.locative *hit*-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
A man hit me.

A-ëro ?öho ?an-ade-je.
man-ab *dog*-p *hit*-3.sg.pa-aux
A man hit the dog.

14.11.3 Ditransitive Clauses

These contain both direct and indirect objects.

A-ëro vavu-oho hae bôj-am-ade-je.
man-ab *father*-p *betel.nut give*-3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
A man gave father betel-nut.

14.12 *Factive Clauses*

These never take a free active subject. Instead the subject if expressed is neutral. The subject is marked in the verb by the direct referent or the benefactive.

Factive clauses are subdivided into three categories.

14.12.1 Unspecified Animate Descriptive Clause

This is a clause which describes the experience of an animate subject. The subject is the only neutral permitted in the clause. Some animate descriptive verb phrases include an adverbial dependent noun (övo in the second example).

Na saʔa-re bej-ev-ade-je.
I ground-sp.set *fall*-1.sg.ref-pa-aux
I fell on the ground.

Na övo dun-eg-e.
I arm ache-1.sg.ref-pr
I have an aching arm.

14.12.2 Specified Animate Descriptive Clause

This is characterized by two neutrals, the subject and the specifier. The specifier is inanimate unless the subject is first person and the verb is nime *like* or bijönime *dislike*.

Na ja n-eg-e.
I you want-1.sg.ref-pr
I want you.

Na jôve bijön-eg-e.
I water dislike-1.sg.ref-pr
I don't want water.

Na jôve j-ev-e.
I water be-1.sg.ref-pr
I have water.

Na mu-oho barëj-ev-e.
I work-p *finish*-1.sg.ref-pr
I'm finished with the work.

14.12.3 Stative Equational Clause

This always takes a form of jie ∿ je *be* as predicate. If the comment is a noun phrase, a participle or an adjective, the negative is placed before the comment and either the prominence enclitic -oho or the intensive -ehu is suffixed; the difference between the two enclitics is not clear.

Hu bôgô ae ma-ehu ji-∅-e.
he not man true-intensive *be*-3.sg.ref-pr
He is not a true man.

Jôv-oho bôgô be varijën-oho ji-∅-e.
water-p *not cross* aptative-p *be*-3.sg.ref-pr
The water is not crossible.

Sa?a-ho ijo-?e ji-∅-e.
land-p *tree*-ch *be*-3.sg.ref-pr
The land is with trees (the land has trees).

Otherwise the predicate is suffixed to the negative.

I-oho bôgô-ji-e.
food-p *not-is*.3.sg.ref-pr
There is no food.

The predicate may be suffixed to other expressions functioning as comment if the comment is emphatic.

I-oho ia-je.	I-oho iae jie.
food-p *in.fact-is*	*food*-p *in.fact is*
There's certainly food.	*Yes, there is food.*

The direct referent usually shows cross reference with the subject. If there is a human locative phrase, the direct referent optionally agrees with it in person and number if affirmative and obligatorily agrees with it if negative. The benefactive may occur on the verb and refer to the owner of the subject.

Sa?ae nasi örire j-ev-e.
land my human.locative *be*-1.sg.ref-pr
Land is in my possession.

Jasi ijo baje j-ah-e.
your tree fruit be-2.sg.ben-pr
There is money for you.

Any of the clause types may also contain a temporal, accompaniment, locative and telic expression. Active clauses may take benefactive. Active and a few animate descriptive clauses take manner and means. However, the maximum number of elements in addition to the predicate is three. Also, modal particles such as nani *perhaps,* na interrogative, bogo negative and the affirmative iae *certainly, in fact,* may be included. However, they should be discussed on a level higher than clause.

Ablative Subject Number of Neutral Forms	Present	Absent
0	intransitive	--
1	transitive	animate descriptive
2	ditransitive	specified animate descriptive
± comment	--	stative-equational

CHART 7:   SUMMARY OF CLAUSE TYPES

The usual order, unmarked for theme is as follows: temporal, followed by subject, accompaniment or indirect object, and direct object or comment. These are followed by the other expressions listed and finally by the predicate. However, an animate object precedes an inanimate subject.

<p style="text-align:center">Na kaejö-ëro nem-ev-ade-je.
me knife-ab hurt-1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux
I got hurt with a knife.</p>

In subordinate clauses, nouns have the following pecularities: Active subjects are marked by -ehu intensive. Locatives are never marked by the non-specific setting -rô. Prominence marker is used only to mark definiteness. Other nouns are dependent.

<p style="text-align:center">a-ehu mi ?an-ë?-oho...
man-intensive game(dependent) kill-pf-p
if the man kills game...</p>

14.2 Information Marking

14.21 *General Rules*

Theme or given information, and information focus or new information are marked by variation of enclitics and shifting of word order. Theme is marked by the prominence marker -oho and tends to be early in the clause. Information focus occurs later in the clause. In the first example the regular word order and use of enclitics show that all

the information is new. In the second the temporal jaruvo *today* is
marked by -oho for theme. In the third sentence, the subject, ae *man*,
is the theme because -oho replaces the ablative -ëro and the temporal
jaruvo is new information because it is shifted nearer to the end of
the clause.

<div align="center">

Jaruvo a-ëro rôv-ade-je.   A-ho jaruvo rôv-ade-je.

today man-ab *come*-3.sg.pa-aux   *man*-p *today come*-3.sg.pa-aux

Today a man came.   *The man came <u>today</u>.*

Jaruv-oho ae gemu-ëro rôv-ade-je.

today-p *man one*-ab *come*-3.sg.pa-aux

Today, <u>only one man</u> came.

</div>

14.22 *Special Rules*

(1) When a medial or final clause is negative in sense, or is
part of an information question, -oho prominence is normally suffixed
to all expressions other than the information interrogative phrase
itself, particles and appellative or pronoun stems. The predicate is
excluded from this rule unless it is embedded as a substantive in a
negative or elicitation clause.

<div align="center">

Rabu suvor-e osa-r-oho bamahadeje.

what gift-t *house*-set-p. *put.for.you*

What gift did he put aside for you in the house?

</div>

Bôgô hu-ʔô na-ʔ-oho rôvareje.   Dehi-ʔ-amu burër-oho rôvadeje?

not he-and I-and-p *came*   *how-happen*-pa.prim *quickly*-p *came*

Neither he nor I came.   *How is it that he came quickly?*

(2) The active subject and means require special note. In chang-
ing from an affirmative to a negative or information interrogative the
following rules apply: -ëro ablative becomes -oho prominence. However,
-ro ablative, -ër-emu ablative-exclusive, or an unmarked active subject
of the type ae *man*, all remain unchanged.

(3) If the negative is emphatic, -ehu is substituted for the
-oho.

<div align="center">

Ë magonah-ohuro bôgô rôv-ade-je.

that woman-p.ab *not come*-3.sg.pa-aux

That woman didn't come.

</div>

Na ave hi-romo uehorov-aj-ëjo dehi ör-oho vaʔo-jöëni.

I this.here sit-sec *think*-1.sg.pr-quo *how*   *road*-p̱(by means of)

  go-for.the.sake.of

"I am sitting here thinking, for what way/means of escape is there?"

Ae bôgô rôv-e.
*person not come-*3.sg.pr
No one is <u>coming</u>.

Bôgô magonah-ehu rôv-ade-je.
*not woman-*intensive *come-*3.sg.pa-aux
It wasn't a woman who came.

(4) In purpose clauses, the ablative is unaffected unless the clause on which it depends is negativized. Compare aëro and aho:

Na ?ua?ejô a-ëro bôgô ?amo-r-oho rue-jöro.
*I will.talk.to.him man-*ab *not village-*set-p *come-*imposed.will
*I will talk to him so that a man may not come to the
village.*

Na bôgô ?ua?ejô a-ho rue-jöro.
*I not will.talk.to.him man-*p *come-*imposed.will
I will not speak to him for a man to come.

(5) A clause with the animate specified descriptive verb bôgôjie *not-have* behaves as if it were a positive statement, perhaps on the analogy of such specified descriptive verbs as bijönime *not like* or dadive *not know*. We should expect the neutral form javue to take -oho:

Na javue bôgô-j-ev-e.
*I house not-be-*1.sg.ref-pr
I don't have a house.

There are other special rules or exceptions to the general rules given above but these have not yet been studied in detail.

15.0 TEXT

This is a short story narrated by Silas, a man aged about sixty years, from Asapa village.

Nasi apo-ro   ëhi   maj-ehij-ade-je.   Apo-ro
*my father-*ab *like.this tell-*1.sg.ref-3.sg.pa-aux *father-*ab

iae   ruëre   Gurino jôvô-re   hi-?i
*certainly that.just.over.there Gurino water-*sp.set *stay-*intentive

?u-av-o   saemoro   bëhi-re.   Jajëjo
*say-*3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa *poinciana.tree vicinity-*sp.set *Jajejo*

?u-av-o   jôv-e be-romo   ?ajio   im-e   ?io
*say-*3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa *water-*t *ford-*sec *go.up.and sugarcane-*t *get.and*

rue-n-ëjo.   Iae   Jajëjo-ro   ?ajiom-o.
come-2.sg.fu.imp-quo *certainly Jajejo*-ab *go.up*-3.sg.pa

?ajiom-ad-oho   im-oho   ?io-romo   iae   ruvebij-o.
go.up-3.sg.pa-p *sugarcane*-p *get*-sec *certainly come.down*-3.sg.pa

          Ruvebij-amu   ga-goro   ruëre
come.down(active.verb)-pa.prim *see*-perceptual *that.just.over.there*

Ebu   ?ah-aji-re   iae   bej-amu-go
Ebu fall-3.sg.pr-sp.set *certainly fall*(factive.verb)-pa.prim-prim.rel

na   Vövömo-ro rue-romo   iae   bae-romo   va?-o.   Bae-romo
then Mamama-ab *come*-sec *certainly take*-sec *go*-3.sg.pa *take*-sec

va?-amu   ga-goro   Nôna-ro   rôriae   hij-ad-ëro   ë
go-pa.prim *see*-perceptual *Nona*-ab *just.over.there sit*-3.sg.pa-ab *that*

hujej-oho jijö-romo   iae   rô   Vövömo   ba
stick-p *take*-sec *certainly come.and Mamama* emphasis

          ?an-ë-?i   rue-romo   ?u-av-o   Jajëjo
hit-pf-temporal.neighbourhood *come*-sec *say*-3.sg.ref-3.sg.pa *Jajejo*

bae-romo va?-ane   j-av-aje   röhu na   baej-ev-ëjo.
take-sec *go*-2.sg.pa *be*-2.sg.ref-3.sg.pr *so me take*-1.sg.ref-2.sg.

              Ëhi-?o   va?o röhu rue   ioni-re
immediate.imp.quo *like.that-do.and go.and then there side*-sp.set

ravôjômo-romo ruae   ?ajio   hij-o.   Vaevë?e   vabor-oho
step.up-sec *there go.up.and stay*-3.sg.pa *to.be.pitied   wife*-p

jôv-ëro   ba-va?-o.   Nasi jö-ho   iae   barëj-e.
water-ab *take-go*-3.sg.pa *my   story*-p *certainly finish*-3.sg.pr

Free Translation:

My father, Nona, told me a story like this. When father was
staying just over at the Gurino stream, near the poinciana tree, he
spoke. He said to his wife, "Jajejo, cross the river, go up, and
bring some sugarcane."

Well, Jajejo did that. She went up, got the sugarcane and came
down with it. However, she fell into the water at the Ebu waterfall
and the Mamama river came and swept her away.

Nona had been sitting close by when he saw her carried away.
He got up, took a particular stick, and came into the river. As he
waded, he hit the water and said, "You have carried Jajejo away;
therefore take me." He did that as he went. Then he stepped up on
to the bank, went up there and stayed. As for his poor wife, she was
carried away by the river. That's the end of my story.

NOTES

1.   See Dutton (1969, especially pp.74-76) for further details. Note, however, that since that monograph was written, the spelling of the language has been changed from Aomie to Ömie.

2.   Research into the Ömie language was first begun by Alan and Minnie Tobitt of the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1963 and 1965. Since then their work has been continued by John and June Austing in co-operation with one of the present authors, Mr. Randolph Upia of Asapa village. 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. In this study, use was made of a concordance of Ömie text materials made on the IBM System/360 computer at the University of Oklahoma under a joint project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation. We are indebted to Charles Peck and June Austing of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for their help in preparing this paper.

3.   The phonemic analysis in the present paper differs only slightly from that described by A. and M. Tobitt, "Aomie Phonemes", unpublished manuscript (Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics).

4.   /o/ [ə] in the Asapa dialect corresponds to the sound [ɑ] in examples checked from the Zuwadza dialect.

Zuwadza	English	Asapa
[ahaʔo]	*many*	*[ahəʔo] > [ahôʔô]
[sina]	*skin*	[sinə]
[uehařaʙa]	*think*	[uehəřəʙə]

The phonetic Zuwadza data in this paper were collected from Wora villagers who were visiting Asapa.

5.   Exceptions: The final /e/ on iae is -e terminator. iae *certainly* may be substantivized by adding a prominence marker -oho: iaho *the person there*. The characterizer -ʔe may be added to bôgô so that it functions as a clause comment adjective.

ioho bôgô-ʔe-je.
food not-characterizer-*is*
There isn't any food.

6.   -vo is not discussed in this paper. However it occurs optionally
on potential, temporal neighbourhood and perceptual medial relators.
It may also occur on allative enclitics.

7.   When the principal clause verb refers to the past time, the tenses
of the setting clause verb are peculiar in that they indicate time
relationship to that of the principal clause. Thus vaʔajire in the
example is present tense because the action is simultaneous with that
of the principal clause verb vaʔo.

8.   Two features about this example should be noted. (1) -röh 3 pl is
an abbreviated form of -ʔiröh; (2) Although the projected aspect is
used, this construction differs from the medial purpose in that the
auxiliary jië?ëro *being* may optionally occur here. In a purpose con-
struction jië?ëro could not occur.

9.   Robert C. Thurman in "Chuave Medial Verbs" (MS., Summer Institute
of Linguistics) describes chaining as follows: "True chaining occurs
only in the New Guinea Highlands where it serves to chain together a
sequence of clauses by predicting the subject of the next clause. The
emphasis of chaining, then, is on the joining of a number of clauses
in chronological sequence."

10.   Sometimes the secondary medial is expressed by the verb stem or a
fragment of it. However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to dis-
cuss this.

11.   This is a nocturnal furred animal which lives in a burrow in the
ground near water, but which has not yet been specifically identified.

12.   Thurman, op.cit.: "Linking, in Longacre's words, 'basically con-
sists in repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the
onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding
sentence' (1968). In most if not all instances, linking seems to be a
cohesive device that the speaker can use to thematize parts of his
discourse (Halliday 1967; Vachek 1966)." See Austing (n.d.) for se-
mantic relations signalled by linkage in Ömie.

13.   Not included here (because its range is not fully understood) is
-oharo *because you are* or *in your role as*, which appears to occur only
on common nouns functioning as 2nd person subject of clauses; e.g.,

Harih-oharo   ?ajami?ibej-ane   iae   mae jio?ibejo.
son-in.your.role.as would.help.him-2.sg certainly good would.be
If you would help him as a son should, it would be good.

14. These enclitics are discussed more fully in Austing (n.d.), al-
though the terminology used in that description is somewhat different
from that used in the present article. In particular the terms neu--
tral and active subject replace the terms ergative and nominative
respectively in the earlier account.

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