SOME MUHIANG GRAMMATICAL NOTES

John Alungum, Robert J. Conrad, and Joshua Lukas Summer Institute of Linguistics

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0 INTRODUCTION

This is a brief outline of some features of the grammar of the Muhiang (Southern Arapesh) language of the Arapesh family in the Torricelli Phylum. Muhiang is a language spoken in the Maprik and Yangoru Sub-Provinces, East Sepik Province. It has three principal dialects: Begetef (also called Supari or Northern dialect), Central (Balif dialect), and Southern (also called Ilahita or (Filifita). This study is based on the Central or Balif dialect.

Previous grammatical studies were made by S.J. Matthews and others of the South Seas Evangelical Mission. Their type scripts include notes on pronouns, noun classes, morphology, a dictionary, and a few notes on interclausal particles. The present study builds on their work and adds a fuller description of the verb morphology and the clause and sentence connectives.

Because of the elaborate noun concordance system, and because the subject and object and indirect object affixes on the verb are keyed into the noun concordance system, this study begins with nouns on the word level and works up to phrase, clause, and sentence.

The phonemes of Muhiang are p, t, k, b, d, g, ' (glottal stop), k^{W} , g^{W} , 'w (labialised glottal stop), f, s, h, m, n, 1, w, i, e, a, é (high to mid-high central vowel), and u.

The orthography used is the practical orthography for printing vernacular materials.

0.1 Abbreviations and Symbols

adj	adjective
asp	aspect *
benef	benefactive
С	sentence conjunction
cert	certainly
c1	noun class
dem	demonstrative
displ.ref	displaced reference
exc1	exclusive
f	feminine
fut	future
habit	habitual
imper	imperative

ind.obj	indirect object
incl	inclusive
10	indirect object tagmeme
jnr	junior
L	location tagmeme
m	masculine
mix	mixed gender (masculine and feminine)
neg	negative
0	object tagmeme
obj	object
p1	plural
poss	possessive
pred	predicate
p.t	past tense
Purp	purpose tagmeme
r	real aspect
sg	singular
T	temporal tagmeme
unr	unreal aspect
~	alternating with, or
()	<pre>enclosed material is optional (when used with vernacular): implied information (if used with free English translation)</pre>
?	means interrogative intonation when occurring with vernacular
	becomes (in morphophonemic rules and transformations)
· ,	final intonation (when used with vernacular): non-final intonation (when used with vernacular): used in morpheme by morpheme translations to join the meaning components of a single morpheme

1 WORD

The word level in Muhiang is an area of considerable complexity, due to the noun class system which is keyed into every adjective, verb, pronoun, and demonstrative in the language.

1.1 Nouns

Nouns in Muhiang are defined as a word class occurring with one of a closed set of 17 suffixes, the majority of which are differentiated for singular and plural. Nouns occur with possessive modifiers and with possessive suffixes. Nouns also occur with other modifiers. In nearly every case the modifiers have obligatory suffixes which agree in number and class with the noun phrase concordance. Usually these modifiers follow the noun.

There are 17 classes of count nouns, based on their occurrence with 17 suffixes which in most classes are different for singular and plural. Two other classes of nouns, proper names and place names, are not included in this analysis. The suffixes are indicated in Noun Class Matrix I which follows. Note that in this matrix many of the noun suffixes and verb prefixes are identical and also that many of the adjective suffixes can be formed by adding -i to the noun suffix.

The only noun classes with any systematic semantic features are class 16 which includes all 'male' nouns, class 8 which includes all female nouns and classes 5 and 6 which include nouns of unspecified or unknown sex.

Class 17 applies to Pidgin loans ending in -s. There are a few irregularities in many of the classes, but these will not be described in this analysis.

Proper names and place names, the two unincluded classes of nouns, will not be described here, except to note that place names can undergo a nominalisation transformation as illustrated below: -e is simply a transition vowel.

 $\frac{\text{Yangoru} + -\underline{n} + -\underline{e} + \underline{i}}{\text{Yangoru} - 3.m.sg-the.one.who}} \rightarrow \frac{\text{Yangoru} - \underline{n} - \underline{e} \underline{i}}{\text{Yangoru} - 3.m.sg-the.one.who}}{\text{'the man from Yangoru'}}$

NOUN CLASS MATRIX I

Class no	English gloss	Example	Singular Noun Adj Verb		Noun	Plural Adj	Verb	
110 g1055 5g/p1		sg/pl			prefix			
1	pig	bol bongof	- <u>1</u>	- <u>li</u>	<u>1</u> -	- <u>ngof</u>	- <u>ngufi</u>	<u>f</u> -
2	name	éngél angof	- <u>ngé1</u>	- <u>ngili</u>	<u>g</u> -	- <u>ngof</u>	- <u>ngufi</u>	<u>f</u> -
3	tooth	nalof nalelef	- <u>f</u>	- <u>fi</u>	<u>f</u> -	- <u>lef</u>	- <u>lefi</u>	<u>f</u> -
4	clothes	lowaf lu'ongof	- <u>f</u>	- <u>fi</u>	<u>f</u> -	- <u>nguf</u>	- <u>fi</u>	<u>f</u> -
5	child, baby	batéwin batéwis	- <u>n</u>	- <u>ni</u>	<u>n</u> -	- <u>S</u>	- <u>si</u>	<u>s</u> -
6	friend	alupini alupisi	- <u>ni</u>	- <u>ni</u>	<u>n</u> -	- <u>si</u>	- <u>si</u>	<u>s</u> -
7	dog .	nombat nombangw	- <u>t</u> -ta	- <u>tei</u>	<u>t</u> -	- <u>ngw</u>	- <u>ngwi</u>	gw-
8	woman	nemata'w nematawa	- <u>'w</u>	- <u>kw</u> i	<u>kw</u> -	- <u>wa</u>	- <u>wei</u>	<u>w</u> -
9	eye	nam naep	~ <u>m</u>	- <u>mi</u>	<u>m</u> -	- <u>p</u>	- <u>pi</u>	<u>p</u> -
10	tree	lawang lawah	- <u>g</u> - <u>ga</u>	-gwei	<u>g</u> -	- <u>h</u>	-ngéhi	<u>h</u> -
11	betel nut	bemb bembeh	- <u>b</u>	- <u>mbi</u>	<u>b</u> -	- <u>h</u>	-mbihi	<u>h</u> -
12	knife	nongwatop nongwatoh	- <u>p</u>	- <u>pi</u>	<u>p</u> -	- <u>h</u>	- <u>hi</u>	<u>h</u> -
13	village	wambel walemb	- <u>mbel</u>	- <u>mbili</u>	<u>b</u> -	- <u>lemb</u>	- <u>lembi</u>	<u>b</u> -
14	pigeon	mai'una ma'unamb	- <u>a</u>	- <u>ni</u>	<u>n</u> -	- <u>amb</u>	- <u>mbi</u>	<u>b</u> -
15	crested pigeon	usin usimb	- <u>n</u>	- <u>ni</u>	<u>n</u> -	- <u>b</u>	- <u>mbi</u>	<u>b</u> -
16	man	aman amam	- <u>n</u>	- <u>nei</u>	<u>n</u> -	- <u>m</u>	- <u>mi</u>	<u>m</u> -
17	course	kos kos	- <u>S</u>	- <u>si</u>	<u>s</u> -	- <u>s</u>	- <u>si</u>	<u>s</u> -

1.2 Verbs

Verbs in Muhiang are bound stems which occur with three types of person-number-gender affixes.

Type 1 verbs occur with all verb prefixes listed in Noun Class Matrix I, and also the following prefixes:

Person	Singular	Plural			
First incl	$\frac{e}{a}$ -(unreal aspect)	<u>m</u> -			
excl	-	$\frac{o}{w}$ -(unreal aspect) $\frac{o}{w}$ -(real aspect)			
Second	<u>n</u> -	<u>p</u> -			
Third m f mix or un-	<u>n</u> - <u>Kw</u> -	<u>m</u> – <u>w</u> –			
known	<u>n</u> -	<u>s</u> -			

All type I verbs occur with a vowel prefix indicating real or unreal aspect. Real aspect denotes something that has really occurred, while unreal aspect denotes something that did not occur or has not yet occurred. Note that the aspect prefix can be fused with the person-number prefix, as in $\underline{\text{e-fe'}}$ 'I will go'. Time words are optional. Often the real aspect is accompanied by the past tense $\underline{\text{a'}}$ preceding the verb.

Unreal aspect <u>e</u> - ~ <u>o</u> -	Real aspect <u>a</u> -				
Naman ae' e-fe'. 1.sg.unr-go	$\frac{\text{Namboti'}}{\text{yesterday}} \frac{\text{ae'}}{\text{I}} \frac{\text{a-fe'}}{\text{1.sg.r-go}}.$				
'I will go tomorrow.'	'I went yesterday.'				
$\frac{\text{In\'e'}}{\text{you.sg}} \frac{\text{n-e-fe'}}{\text{2.sg-unr-go}}.$	$\frac{\text{Iné'}}{\text{you.sg}} \frac{\text{n-a-fe'}}{\text{2.sg-r-go}}.$				
'You (singular) will go.'	'You (singular) went.'				
$\frac{\text{En\'en}}{\text{he}} \frac{\text{n-e-fe'}}{\text{3.m.sg-unr-go}}.$	$\frac{\text{\'en\'en}}{\text{he}} \frac{\text{n-a-fe'}}{\text{3.m.sg-r-go}}.$				
'He will go.'	'He went.'				
$\frac{\text{\'eko'w}}{\text{she}} \frac{\text{kw-o-fe'}}{\text{3.f.sg-unr-go}}.$	$\frac{\text{\'eko'w}}{\text{she}} \frac{\text{kw-a-fe'}}{\text{3.f.sg-r-go}}.$				
'She will go.'	'She went.'				

Note that the forms for any singular class 7 noun will be the same as the last two examples.

Type 1 verbs are either transitive or intransitive. Either can occur with a benefactive suffix. The transitive verbs may occur with any object suffix, while the intransitive verbs never occur with an object suffix. Intransitive verbs of motion only occur with a different location suffix -o'o.

Transitive verbs occur with the following object suffixes:

Person	Singular	Plural
First incl excl	- <u>e</u>	- <u>apa</u> -afa
Second	- <u>iné</u>	-epa
Third m f mix or unknown	- <u>éné</u> - <u>a'w</u> -an ~ -ane	- <u>am</u> - <u>aw</u> -as

Examples:

Intransitive

Atési e-fo'o.

later 1.sg.unr-go.displ.ref

'Later I will go there (to a different place from where I am now).'

Transitive

<u>Énén</u> <u>n-a-h-éné</u>.

he 3.m.sg-r-hit-3.m.sg.obj

'He hit him.'

A-s-o-nga-we-f.

p.t.-3.mix.pl-r-habit-understand-c1.3.sg.obj(talk)

'They (men and women) really understood (God's talk) well.'

S-a-ipa-apa-ef.

3.mix.pl-r-tell-1.pl.incl.ind.obj-cl.3.sg(talk)

'They (men and women) told us (inclusive) the talk (God's talk).'

The following idiomatic uses of the verb $-\underline{h}$ - 'to hit, get' illustrate the full range of the object suffixes:

(N) olom m-a-h-e.

hunger c1.9.sg-r-hit-1.sg.obj

'I am hungry.'

Umbel m-a-h-iné.

fear cl.9.sg-r-hit-2.sg.obj

'You are afraid.'

Nolom m-a-h-éné.

hunger cl.9.sg-r-hit-3.m.sg.obj

'He is hungry.'

```
Umbel m-a-h-a'w.
fear
      cl.9.sg-r-hit-3.f.sg.obj
'She is frightened.'
No1om
       m-a-h-epa.
hunger c1.9.sg-r-hit-2.pl.obj
'You (plural) are hungry.'
Umbe1
      m-a-h-apa.
fear cl.9.sg-r-hit-l.pl.in.obj
'We (inclusive) are afraid.'
No1om
       m-a-h-am.
hunger cl.9.sg-r-hit-3.m.pl.obj
'They (male) are hungry.'
Umbel m-a-h-awa.
fear
      cl.9.sg-r-hit-3.f.pl.obj
'They (female) are afraid.'
Nolom
       m-a-h-as.
hunger c1.9.sg-r-3.mix.pl.obj
'They are hungry.'
Ekep
      p-a-h-ana.
pains cl.9.pl-r-hit-3.m.sg.obj
'He is in pain.'
     Type 1 verbs also occur with the benefactive suffix -m \sim -ma and
with the habitual prefix nga-.
Intransitive:
A-lutu-ma
                       bas.
1.sg.r-stand.up-benef bus
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'I stood up (waited) for the bus.'

W-a-nga-péni.
1.pl.ex-r-habit-be.those

'We (exclusive) customarily stayed there.'

Transitive:

 $\frac{\text{N-a-nda'-m-e}}{\text{3.m.sg-r-do-benef-1.sg.obj}} \quad \frac{\text{ae'-alifi.}}{\text{I-cl.3.pl.}} \text{(teeth)}$

'He did (fixed) my teeth for me.'

S-a-nga-nda gwé'isi-ma stof awési-na.

3.mix.pl-r-habit-do food-place stove bad-cl.5.sg.

'The place where they habitually cook food, the stove, was no good.'

Type 2 verbs are a very small set and occur with the same object suffixes as in Chart 3 above, except that first singular is -wi and the initial vowel of all the other suffixes in Chart 3 is omitted.

The only known members of class 2 so far are <u>alihi</u>- 'to be full' and owahipi- 'to be sorry'.

Examples:

 $\frac{\text{Ae'}}{\text{I}}$ $\frac{\text{alihi-wi.}}{\text{full-l.sg}}$

'I am full.'

Ina' alihi-ne. full-2.sg

'You are full.'

Anan alihi-né. full-3.m.sg

'He is full.'

 $\frac{\text{Ako'w}}{\text{she}} \quad \frac{\text{dihi-'w}}{\text{full-3.f.sg}}$

'She is full.'

Afa' alihi-fa. full-1.pl.excl

'We (exclusive) are full.'

Apa' alihi-pa.

we.incl full-1.pl.incl

'We (inclusive) are full.'

 $\begin{array}{cc} \underline{\text{At\'et}} & \underline{\text{alihi-ta.}} \\ \overline{\text{it}(\text{dog})} & \overline{\text{full-cl.7.sg}} \end{array}$

'The dog is full.'

Owahipi-wi. be.sorry-1.sg

'I was sorry.'

Type 3 verbs are a very small set and occur with the same object suffixes as in Chart 3 above, except that 2nd singular is $-\underline{n\acute{e}}$ instead of iné. Type 3 verbs contrast with type 1 and type 2 in that they require a referent marker $-\underline{m}$ 'about' followed by a referent suffix. The referent suffix is either another of the object suffixes from Chart 3 or a noun suffix from Noun Class Matrix I, with a morphophonemic vowel following the $-\underline{m}$. The $-\underline{m}$ is lost if the first object suffix ends in a consonant (see the third example below). Also the morphonemic rule $\underline{a} + \underline{a} \rightarrow \underline{a}$ applies. A free pronoun subject occurs when the subject is emphasised.

Examples:

Sonah-e-m-ef.

be.happy-1.sg-about-c1.3.sg

'I am happy about the talk.'

Sonaha-né-m-ef.

be.happy-2.sg-about-c1.3.sg

'You (singular) are happy about the talk.'

Sonaha-as-ef.

be.happy-3.mix.pl-cl.3.sg

'They are happy about the talk.'

Sonaha-afa-m-ef.

be.happy-1.pl.excl.-about-cl.3.sg

'We (exclusive) are happy about the talk.'

Sonaha-am-angof.

be.happy-3.m.pl-c1.2.pl

'The men are happy about the pigs.'

Ae' sonaha-e-m-éné.

I be.happy-1.sg-about-3.m.sg

'I am happy about him.'

The verb in these examples is the only known verb so far in Class 3.

1.3 Pronouns and Demonstratives

Pronouns in Muhiang are used to substitute for nouns or noun phrases in clauses. The following are used when the referent is nearby:

Person	Singular	Dua1	Plural	
First incl	ae'	ae' iné'	apé' (hipéi)	
excl		afé' biafa	afé' (hiéfei)	
Second	iné'	<u>ipé'</u> bipa	<u>ipé'</u> (<u>hipei</u>)	
Third m f mix or unknown	énén éko'w énin	émom biém aowou biawa ésis biés	<pre>émom (hiémi) aowou (hiéwei) ésis (hiési)</pre>	

Note that dual pronouns usually use the form $\underline{\text{bi}}\text{--}$ 'two'.

The other third person pronouns are as follows:

Non-Personal Pronouns

Noun Class	Singular	Plural
1	élal_	afof
2	éngal	afof
3	ofof	ofef
4	<u>aféf</u>	<u>efif</u>
5	<u>énin</u>	<u>ésis</u>
6	<u>énin</u>	<u>ésis</u>
7	<u>étét</u>	angongw
8	<u>éko'w</u>	awou
9	<u>énom</u>	<u>énip</u>
10	angéng	<u>ahéh</u>
11	<u>énemb</u>	<u>énémbeh</u>
12	<u>énop</u>	énoh
13	<u>énémbe</u> l	<u>énélemb</u>
14	<u>énin</u>	énemb
15	<u>énim</u>	énemb
16	<u>énén</u>	émom
17	ésis	<u>ésis</u>

The demonstrative pronouns (i.e. this, that, these, those) are displayed in Demonstrative Pronoun Class Matrix I which will follow on pages 102 and 103

1.4 Locatives

The following locative roots have been identified:

'where?'	enima ~ ésima ~ éni ~ éti
'here'	na'a
'there'	gani ~ ganimba
'over there (on the other side)'	gani wa'él
'outside'	andé'
'inside'	nomon

'middle'	<u>la'afen</u>
'behind'	bale'ang
'underneath'	<u>lafel</u> ~ <u>owin</u>
'down below'	<u>owin</u>
'close'	fele
'very close'	felefele'
'distant'	laongoma, laongini
'deep'	1aonguma
'above'	<u>ilif</u>
'a place, another place'	énip ~ étap ~ wa'él

1.5 Adjectives

The following bound adjective stems have been identified (in each case the form for the third person masculine singular is given):

11 1	/
'hot'	<u>nifiné</u>
'white'	<u>efitinei</u>
'black'	alinei ~ alialinei
'red'	akwéhinei ~ okokohinei
'yellow'	batefunei
'blue'	kulukuwéinei
'bad'	aona
'cold'	pihisim ~ pihisina
'bitter'	nubutina
'dead'	afina
'full up'	si'ina
'smelly'	hi'épina ~ hikepina
'new: raw food'	namunei
'heavy'	nimanina
'sweet'	usihina
'watery'	ambalina
'good'	bo'ona ~ <u>fasifasinei</u>
'strong'	sisihina
'sick'	awésinei
'light-weight'	kofalina

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN CLASS MATRIX I

I	ļ			al.				æ l			Ja)a
Distant	Near hearer	fafumba	fafumba	fafelimba	fafimba	sasimba	sasimba	gwangumba	waumba	papimba	gangahimba	bambahemba
Dis	Near speaker	fafi	gwangwafi	fafeli	fafi	sasi	sasi	gwangwi	wawi	papi	gangahi	bambehi
Plural	Near hearer	afamba	angwafamba	afalemba	ifimba	isimba	isimba	ongwomba	owamba	ipimba	angahemba	ambahemba
P11	Near speaker	angwafe'e	angwafe'e	afale'e	ifi'i	isi'i	isi'i	ongwa'e	awa'e	ipi'i	aha'e	ambahe'e
	Distant	lali	géngali	fafi	fafi	nani	nani	tati	kwa'wi	mami	gangi	bambi
Singular	Near hearer	alamba	angalemba	afalemba	ifimba	inimba	inimba	atamba	akwamba	amamba	angamba	ambamba
	Near speaker	ala'e	angale	afa'e	afa'e	ini'i	ini'i	atale	akwai	ama'e	anga'e	amba'e
Class English Example	sg/pl	bol bongof	maléngél malongof	mandof mandelef	lowaf lowenguf	batéwin batéwis	alupini alupisi	nombat nombangw	nemata'w nematawa	wasom	lawang lawah	kofemb
English	gloss	pig	mouth	vine	tree	child	friend	gop	woman	cane	cloth	egg
Class	ou	1	7	3	4	5	9	7	∞	6	10	11

	lba	I	.1		
hahimba	bambelimba	bambimba	bambimba	mamumba	saimba
hahi	bambeli	bambi	bambi	mami	sasi
ahamba	ambalémba	ambémba	ambémba	amémba	isimba
aha'e	ambale'e	amba'e	amba'e	ama e	isi'i
<u>papi</u>	bambeli	nani	nani	nani	sasi
apamba	bambélimba	nanimba	nanimba	anémba ~ nanumba	isimba
apa'e	ambale'e	ini'i	ini'i	ana'e	isi'i
dos	indambel indalelem	mai'una mai'unamb	usin ini na usimb	amaen	kes
	fence	dove	pigeon		box
2	3	4	2	9	7

1.6 Numerals

Numerals are a class of bound stems which occur with the noun suffixes listed in Noun Class Matrix I.

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Examples:
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amam bi-ém two-cl.16.pl
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nimatawa wan-owa three-c1.8.pl

'three women'

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{nimatawa}} & \underline{\text{bi-owa-i}} \\ \overline{\text{women}} & \overline{\text{two-cl.8.pl-and}} & \underline{\text{bi-owa}} \\ \end{array}$

'four women'

 $\begin{array}{ccc} \underline{\text{amam}} & \underline{\text{wan-om}} & \underline{\text{bi-\'em}} \\ \overline{\text{men}} & \overline{\text{three-c1.16.p1}} & \overline{\text{two-c1.16.p1}} \end{array}$

'five men'

 $\frac{\text{bongof}}{\text{pigs}} \quad \frac{\text{wan-\'engof}}{\text{three-cl.1.pl}} \quad \frac{\text{wan-\'engof}}{\text{three-cl.1.pl}}$

'six pigs'

'seven men'

bongof
pigswa'angél
handsi'i-ngil
full-cl.2.sgwa'angél
handwan-éngof
three-cl.1.pl

'eight pigs'

 $\begin{array}{cccc} \underline{\text{nimatawa}} & \underline{\text{wa'ang\'el}} & \underline{\text{si'i-ngil}} & \underline{\text{wa'ang\'el}} & \underline{\text{bi-owa-i}} \\ \underline{\text{women}} & \underline{\text{hand}} & \underline{\text{full-cl.2.sg}} & \underline{\text{hand}} & \underline{\text{two-cl.8.pl-and}} \end{array}$

bi-owa two-cl.8.pl

'nine women'

bongof ilifuname-inguf above-cl.1.pl

'ten pigs'

^{&#}x27;two men'

1.7 Responses

Responses are uninflected free stems:

 ahé'
 'yes, all right'

 owa'
 'no'

 owa'
 étin
 'not at all'

 ata owa'
 'not yet, more'

2 STEM

Nouns derived from adjectives: nouns are derived from adjectives by the addition of noun endings from the Noun Class Matrix I plus \underline{i} or ei.

Examples:

3 ORDER OF ELEMENTS IN PHRASES, CLAUSES, AND SENTENCES

3.1 Phrases

3.1.1 Noun phrases

In Muhiang noun phrases have phrase concordance. That is, each modifier has an affix which matches the suffix on the nouns showing which of the 17 noun classes is indicated.

3.1.1.1 In ordinary noun phrases, modifiers and demonstratives follow the noun and the numerals follow demonstratives.

Examples:

maola-n work-cl.5.sg i-ni-mba this-cl.5.sg-this

'this work'

 $\frac{\text{base-f}}{\text{talk-cl.3.sg}} \quad \frac{\text{bu'we-fi}}{\text{good-cl.3.sg}}$

'good talk'

3.1.1.2 Articles (showing new or old information) precede the noun.

Examples:

 $\frac{\acute{e}n-in}{a-cl.5.sg}$ $\frac{miti-n}{meeting-cl.5.sg}$ $\frac{lu'wa-ni}{big-cl.5.sg}$ $\frac{af\acute{e}'-i-ni}{1.pl.excl-poss-cl.5.sg}$ 'a big meeting of ours' or 'our big meeting'

 $\frac{\text{wiki-fah}}{\text{weeks-cl}.10.\text{pl}} \quad \frac{\text{a-ngahe-mba}}{\text{these-cl}.10.\text{pl-these}} \quad \frac{\text{bi-angah}}{\text{two-cl}.10.\text{pl}}$

'these two weeks'

 $\frac{\text{\'en-ef}}{\text{a-cl.4.sg}}$ $\frac{\text{nema-f}}{\text{day-cl.4.sg}}$

'one day' or 'a certain day'

3.1.1.3 In noun phrases containing $\underline{ama} \sim \underline{ma}$ 'of, about, in, concerning, at, from', the ama follows the head noun.

Examples:

 $\frac{\acute{e}n-\acute{e}n\acute{e}}{a-cl.16.sg} \quad \frac{hetma-n}{leader-cl.16.sg} \quad \frac{ama}{of} \quad \frac{sios-i}{church-the.one.who}$

'the one who is a leader of the church'

 $\frac{\text{base-f}}{\text{talk-cl.3.sg}} \quad \frac{\text{God-i}}{\text{God-poss}} \quad \frac{\text{ama}}{\text{in}} \quad \frac{\text{di-nga}}{\text{language-cl.10.sg}} \quad \frac{\text{apé'-i-ngei}}{\text{1.pl.incl-poss-cl.10.sg}}$

base-f
talk-c1.3.sg
ofange-fa
meaning-c1.3.sg

'the meaning of God's talk in our own language'

- 3.1.2 Verb phrases
- 3.1.2.1 In verb phrases containing the verb -nda 'to do, to work', this verb occurs first in the phrase. The second verb is often a Pidgin loan, either a verb or a noun.

Examples:

 $\frac{\text{w-a-nda'}}{\text{1.pl.excl-r-do}} = \frac{\text{statim}}{\text{start}}$

'we (exclusive) started'

p-e-nda' raitima
2.pl-unr-do write

'you (plural) will write'

 $\frac{A-nda'}{1.sg.r-do}$ $\frac{sosowale}{trial}$

'I tried'

3.1.2.2 In verb phrases with the verb -'i 'to say' used to mean 'want', or 'desire', this verb occurs first and the second verb occurs in unreal aspect.

Examples:

<u>Ipé'</u> <u>p-a-'i</u> <u>p-e-nda'</u> <u>taipraita?</u> you.pl 2.pl-r-want 2.pl-unr-do typewriter

'Do you (plural) want to do typing?'

 $\frac{\text{Ae'}}{\text{I}} \quad \frac{\text{a-'i}}{\text{1.sg.r-want}} \quad \frac{\text{i-'i}}{\text{1.sg.unr-say}} \dots$

'I want to say...'

 $\frac{\text{Af\'e'}}{\text{we.excl}} \quad \frac{\text{w-a-'i}}{\text{1.pl.excl-r-want}} \quad \frac{\text{w-u-fi'i}}{\text{1.pl.excl-unr-come}}$

'We (exclusive) wanted to come.'

3.1.2.3 Verb phrases with <u>a-</u> or <u>a'-</u>: certain verb phrases, particularly those involving verbs of motion, are marked with a prefix $\underline{a-} \sim \underline{a'-}$, which can occur only once in the phrase. When occurring with real aspect on the verb, this prefix means certainty or completed action. When occurring with unreal aspect it means future or unrealised action which is likely to occur.

Examples:

 $\frac{\text{a'-k-o-tanima}}{\text{p.t-3.f.sg-r-return}} \quad \frac{\text{kw-a-fi'i.}}{\text{3.f.sg-r-come}}$

'...she (certainly) returned and came.'

 $\frac{\text{O-tanima}}{\text{1.pl.excl.r-return}} \quad \frac{\text{a'-w-a-fe'}}{\text{p.t-l.pl.excl-r-go}}.$

'We (exclusive) returned and went.'

 $\underline{A'-o-tanima} \qquad \underline{w-a-fe'}.$

p.t-l.excl.pl.r-return 1.pl.excl-r-go

'We (exclusive) (certainly) returned and went.'

A'-w-a-la o-laoma ...

p.t-1.pl.excl-r-work 1.pl.excl.unr-find

'We worked (certainly) to find...'

Ama so fut-3.m.sg-unr-habit-go wambel tesi wambomota.

fut-3.m.sg-unr-habit-go village now afternoon.

'So he will go to the village now, this afternoon.'

3.1.2.4 Motion verb phrase: if the motion verb phrase contains the verb of accompaniment -loma 'with', then the motion verb occurs first.

 $\frac{N-a-fe'}{3.m.sg-r-go}$ $\frac{n-a-loma}{3.m.sg-r-with}$

'He went with...'

If a motion verb contains two verbs for which the chronological and logical order is important, the chronological order is preserved.

Examples:

 $\frac{A-fe'}{1.sg.r-go}$ $\frac{a-p\acute{e}ni}{1.sg.r-stay}$...

'I went and stayed...'

W-a-fe' w-a-tanga ...

1.pl.excl-r-go l.pl.excl-r-arrive

'We (exclusive) went and arrived...'

i-safel a'-fi'i ...

1.sg.r-get.up 1.sg.r-come

'I got up and came...'

3.1.2.5 If a nominalised clause modifies a noun, the nominalised clause occurs following the noun.

Examples:

 $\frac{\text{\'en-is}}{\text{some-cl.5.pl}}$ $\frac{\text{ama-m}}{\text{man-cl.16.pl}}$ $\frac{\text{nemata-wa}}{\text{woman-cl.8.pl}}$

s-o-ngo-loloma tok pisin-i
3.mix.pl-r-habit-not.understand language Pidgin-those.who
'some men and women who do not understand Pidgin English well'

pepa i-ni-mba o tok save i-ni-mba paper this-cl.5.sg-this or information this-cl.5.sg-this s-a-nga-sa'-afa-'én-i

3.mix.pl-r-habit-give-1.pl.excl.ind.obj-cl.5.sg.obj-that.which 'this paper or information which they gave to us...'

- 3.1.3 Temporal phrases
- 3.1.3.1 In temporal phrases using fowa 'before', fowa occurs first.

Examples:

fowa démbéndémbé first

'the first (or, base) time'

fowa gani before there

'a long time ago'

3.1.3.2 In temporal phrases using ingil 'year', ingil occurs last.

Examples:

déké ingil year

'last year'

 $\frac{\text{namboti'}}{\text{yesterday}} \quad \frac{\text{ingil}}{\text{year}}$

'a few years ago'

némbéwa' ingil few.days.ago year

'quite a few years ago'

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wanimhewa' ingil
four.days.ago year
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'four years ago'

3.1.3.3 In temporal phrases involving time units, $\underline{\text{wig}}$ 'week', $\underline{\text{aun}}$ 'month', or nemaf 'day', those units occur first.

Examples:

$$\begin{array}{ll} \underline{au-n} & \underline{namboti-nei} \\ \underline{moon-cl.5.sg} & \underline{yesterday-cl.5.sg} \end{array}$$

'a few months ago'

'today'

'next week'

3.1.4 Interrogative phrases

In Interrogative phrases with no noun, the interrogative $\underline{\acute{e}mi}$ occurs first. When a noun occurs, it will occur first.

Examples:

 $\frac{\text{bo-l}}{\text{pig-cl.1.sg}} \quad \frac{\text{émi-li?}}{\text{who-cl.1.sg}}$

'Whose pig?'

3.2 Clauses

3.2.1 Clauses with object (0) present

In clauses with an object present, the subject precedes the verb and the object (0) follows it.

$$\frac{\text{Mis}}{\text{Miss}} \quad \frac{\text{Eleen}}{\text{Eileen}} \quad \frac{\text{kw-a-nda'}}{\text{3.f.sg-r-do}} \quad \frac{\text{raitima}}{\text{write}} \quad \frac{\text{én-in}}{\text{a-cl.5.sg}} \quad \frac{0}{\text{pepa.}}$$
'Miss Eileen wrote a paper.'

If location (L) also occurs, it occurs following the object (0).

'God's talk helps men and women in every place on earth.'

If direct object (0) and indirect object (IO) both occur, and if the indirect object is not marked in the verb, the indirect object occurs first, following the verb. If the indirect object is marked in the verb, then the direct object occurs first. The purpose (Purp) occurs following the object and/or indirect object when it (Purp) is not marked with -ma in the verb. If the purposive marker -ma occurs in the verb, then the purpose occurs immediately following the verb.

Examples:

'John gave pigs to Joshua.'

$$\frac{\text{N-a-'ipa}}{\text{3.m.sg-r-tell}} \quad \frac{\frac{\text{IO}}{\text{ap\'e'}}}{\text{we.pl.incl}} \quad \frac{\frac{\text{O}}{\text{basef}}}{\text{talk}} \quad \frac{\text{God-i.}}{\text{God-poss}}$$

'He told us God's talk.'

$$\frac{\text{wambomota}}{\text{afternoon}} \quad \frac{\text{Bob}}{\text{Bob}} \quad \frac{\text{n-a-sé'-éné}}{\text{3.m.sg-r-give-3.m.sg.ind-obj}} \quad \frac{\text{nainti}}{\text{ninety}} \quad \frac{\frac{\text{O}}{\text{toea}}}{\text{toea}} \quad \frac{\frac{\text{IO}}{\text{Mak}}}{\text{Mark}}$$

Purp

ama n-o-ngo-wandoma PMV.

purposive 3.m.sg-unr-fut-find public.motor.vehicle

^{&#}x27;...in the afternoon Bob gave Mark 90 toea for the purpose of finding a public motor vehicle.'

Purp kos i-si-mba ama W-a-nda' statim start course this-cl.17.sg-this purpose 1.pl.excl-r-do

basef. o-nda s-i-timba-'m-afa 3.mix.pl-unr-show-benef-l.pl.excl.obj 1.pl.-excl.unr-do talk

'We (exclusive) started this course for the purpose of showing us how to do (translate) talk.'

Purp apé ' N-a-nda-'ma ét-in. skul 3.m.sg-r-do-benef we.pl.incl school only-cl.5.sg

If the direct object (0) is not marked in the verb, then the object occurs following the verb and the instrument (I) occurs following the object.

Jon n-a-ha Joshua tamiok. 3.m.sg-r-hit Joshua

'John hit Joshua with an axe.'

'He taught school only for us.'

3.2.2 Clauses with no object present

In clauses with no object present, time (T) usually occurs last in the clause, following the subject and the verb in that order.

T aféngél Énén n-u-tanga 1950. 3.m.sg-r-come.up " of year

'He came up in the year 1950.'

Location (L) usually follows the verb.

Sios Walahuta apé' Ilahita Balif Balif church Ilahita Walahuta and we.pl and

m-a-ndakolas-i Balif. m-a-nda mitin 1.pl.incl-r-gather-come 1.pl.incl-r-do meeting

'(The leaders of) the Ilahita Church and Walahuta and we at Balif (Church) gathered together and came and had a meeting at Balif.'

If both time (T) and location (L) occur, they occur following the verb in either order depending on the verb.

Examples:

$$\frac{\text{m-o-safel}}{\text{1.pl.incl-r-get.up(leave)}} \frac{\frac{T}{\text{twol-oklok}}}{\text{12-o'clock}} \frac{\underline{L}}{\text{Wayembange}}.$$
'...we (inclusive) left Wayembange at 12 o'clock.'

$$\frac{\text{m-a-fe'}}{\text{1.pl.incl-r-go}} \quad \frac{\text{m-a-tanga}}{\text{1.pl.incl-r-arrive}} \quad \frac{\frac{L}{\text{Wewak}}}{\text{Wewak}} \quad \frac{\frac{T}{\text{a}}}{\text{of}} \quad \frac{\text{tri-oklok}}{\text{3-o'clock}}$$

'...we (inclusive) went and arrived in Wewak at 3 o'clock...'

3.3 Sentences

3.3.1 Sentence continuation

The first item in a sentence is an optional sentence conjunction (C) which indicates the relationship of the sentence to the preceding sentence.

Examples:

'But the many men and women who do not understand Pidgin English well, they don't understand God's talk well.'

basef God-i ama tok ples language.vernacular

<u>ésés-i-s</u>.

they.mix.pl-poss-cl.17.sg

'And therefore many men and women are happy about (having) God's talk in their own language.'

3.3.2 Sentence topic

Although the normal word order is sentence conjunction-subjectverb-object-time, it is possible to highlight any element in the sentence (except subject) by moving it to the subject position--that is, immediately following sentence conjunction.

Examples:

Direct object (0) as sentence topic:

 $\frac{0}{\text{Mak}} = \frac{\text{n-o-nda'}}{1.\text{sg.r-bring-3.m.sg.obj}} = \frac{\text{ma}}{\text{to}} = \frac{\text{n-o-nda'}}{3.\text{m.sg-unr-do}} = \frac{\text{raitima}}{\text{write}} = \frac{\text{basef}}{\text{talk}} = \frac{\text{a}}{\text{with}}$ $\frac{\text{taipraita.}}{\text{typewriter}}$

'As for Mark, I brought him in order to (learn to) write talk on the typewriter.'

Subject of a following clause as sentence topic (note that sentence conjunction amba' 'but' still occurs first):

Subject Amba' ae' masta Bob n-a-'i but Mr. Bob 3.m.sg-r-say about i-lim-éné i-liana Wewak ama 1.sg.unr-with-m.sg.obj 1.sg.unr-go.down Wewak purpose u-ti dokta ama malelef. 1.dual.excl.unr-go 1.dual.excl.unr-see dentist about teeth 'But as for me, Mr. Bob said that I will go down to Wewak with him for the purpose of our (exclusive) seeing the dentist about our teeth.'

Time (T) as sentence topic:

 $\frac{T}{\frac{\text{D\'emb\'end\'emb\'e}}{\text{first.time}}} \underbrace{\frac{\'en-\'en\'e}{a-3.m.sg}}_{\text{dem}} \underbrace{\frac{n-a-nga-f-o'o}{3.m.sg-r-habit-go-displ.ref}}_{\text{missionary}} \underbrace{\frac{ang\'el-i-na-ma}{name-poss-3.m.sg-of}}_{\text{Mr.}} \underbrace{\frac{pinga}{Finga}}_{\text{Finger}}.$

'The very first time a missionary (male) went there (a different place from where the narrator was when he told the story), his name was Mr. Finger.

3.3.3 Temporal clause in a sentence

A temporal clause usually occurs sentence initial.

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Temporal Clause
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 $\frac{A-fa-mba}{this-cl.4.sg(day)-this}$ $\frac{n-a-nda'-m-apa}{3.m.sg-r-do-benef-1.pl.incl.obj}$ $\frac{skul}{school}$

 $\frac{ap\acute{e}'}{we.incl}$ $\frac{m-a-tanga}{1.pl.incl-r-arrive}$ $\frac{kuhumbita}{morning}$ $\frac{m-a-safela}{1.pl.incl-r-start}$ $\frac{skul}{school}$

 $\frac{\text{ea'}}{\text{finished}}$ $\frac{\text{n-e-hemba'-m-apa}}{3.\text{m.sg-r-show-benef-l.pl.incl.obj}}$ $\frac{\text{waf}}{\text{custom}}$ $\frac{\text{a}}{\text{of}}$

 $\frac{\text{m-o-nda'}}{1.\text{pl.incl-r-do}} \frac{\text{beten.}}{\text{pray}}$

'When we had school for us, we arrived in the morning and we started school; when it was finished, he showed us the custom of praying.'

3.3.4 Nominalised clause in a sentence

A nominalised clause often occurs sentence final, but it can be fronted if it is the sentence topic.

Nominalised Clause

I-ni-mba

this-cl.5.sg-this

Nominalised Clause

s-a-nga-sa'-afé'-én-i

3.mix.pl-r-habit-give-1.pl.excl.ind.obj-cl.5.sg.obj.that.which

<u>s-a-nda'</u> <u>angof</u> <u>ésis-i-ngufi</u> <u>wapéni</u> <u>ama</u> <u>pepa</u> 3.mix.pl-r-do names they.mix.pl-poss-cl.2.pl also or paper

<u>i-ni-mba</u> afé' <u>w-a-nda'-én-i</u>.

this.cl.5.sg-this we.pl.excl 1.pl.excl-r-work-cl.5.sg-that.which

'Concerning this paper which they gave to us (exclusive), they signed their names also on this paper for which we (exclusive) worked.'

4 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CLAUSES

4.1 Conditional: $i'i \sim a'a$ and $-ima \sim -ma \sim -a$

The first clause is marked by <u>a'a</u> or <u>i'i</u> at the beginning and <u>a</u> or $-\underline{ma}$ or $-\underline{ima}$ at the end. Both clauses are in unreal aspect. With this type of conditional, the condition is uncertain: it may occur or it may not.

Examples:

 $\frac{\text{A'a}}{\text{if}} \quad \frac{\text{naman}}{\text{tomorrow}} \quad \frac{\text{n-i-nga-fi-'i}}{\text{3.m. sg-unr-habit-come}} \quad \frac{\text{ma}}{\text{if}}, \quad \frac{\text{ae'}}{\text{I}}$

i-si'-éné 1.sg.unr-give-3.m.sg.obj otamba.

'If he comes tomorrow (but I don't know if he will), I will give him money.'

I'i naman a'ésuf-a, ae' a'-i-péni.

if tomorrow rain-if I certainly-l.sg.unr-stay

'If it rains tomorrow, I certainly will stay (where I am).'

 $\frac{\text{I'i}}{\text{if}} \quad \frac{\text{naman}}{\text{tomorrow}} \quad \frac{\text{\'esaf}}{\text{rain}} \quad \frac{\text{f-i-nga-kei-ma,}}{\text{cl.3.sg-unr-habit-rain-if}} \quad \frac{\text{ae'}}{\text{I}}$

<u>a-i-péni</u>. certainly-l.sg.unr-stay

'If it rains tomorrow, I certainly will stay (where I am).'

There is another type of conditional in which the condition is certain to occur. In this case the first clause is marked by non-final intonation only and both clauses are in unreal aspect.

Naman a'-n-i-fi'i i certainly-3.m.sg-unr-come i-si'-éné 1.sg.unr-give-3.m.obj money

'When he comes tomorrow, I will give him money.'

4.2 Contrary to fact conditional: ei

The first clause is marked with ei 'contrary to fact conditional' and both clauses are in unreal aspect. Also there is often a negative marker at the end of the sentence to indicate that both the condition and result are untrue.

Examples:

Kar
carae'-i-nei
1.sg-poss-cl.6.sgfoa wil
four.wheelm-u-pona,
cl.9.sg-unr-haveei
cl.9.sg-unr-have

 $\frac{\text{ina}}{\text{not}}$ $\frac{\text{sisihi-na}}{\text{stuck-cl.5.sg}}$ $\frac{\text{n-i-tawa}}{\text{cl.5.sg-unr-be}}$ $\frac{\text{ufia'w.}}{\text{road}}$ $\frac{\text{owa'}}{\text{no}}$ $\frac{\text{owa'}}{\text{no}}$

'If my car had 4-wheel drive, it would not have been stuck on the road. But it doesn't.'

'I tried to find a car and if there hadn't been any, I would still be at Balif.'

However, \underline{ei} can also be used for a real condition (i.e. not contrary to fact), if i'i or a'a also occur.

Examples:

'Tomorrow if they come and they will kill a pig, we will see them (do it).'

'If they come, and whatever happens, if it's night, we will stay there (and sleep).'

4.3 Alternative: a'a

The alternative <u>a'a</u> 'or' occurs at the end of the first clause to mark an alternative 'or not'. It is often followed by owa' 'not'.

Examples:

$$\frac{\text{I-i}}{\text{1.sg.unr-say}}$$
 $\frac{\text{Jon}}{\text{John}}$ $\frac{\text{a'a}?}{\text{or}}$

'Is it John or not?'

'But I don't know about the doctor, whether Bob has some work for him to do or not.'

4.4 Conjunction: a ~ a'

The joining of two classes by $\underline{a} \sim \underline{a'}$ 'and' is very common. This is not to be confused with the many other uses of $\underline{a} \sim \underline{a'}$. It can mean 'certainly' when occurring with unreal aspect, or 'past tense completed action' when occurring with real aspect. In some cases with unreal aspect, $\underline{a} \sim \underline{a'}$ means nothing more than the Pidgin predicate marker i.

4.4.1 $\underline{a'} \sim \underline{a}$ meaning 'and', conjoining clauses

Examples:

'I also heard God's talk and it is good and helps me and gives me knowledge and happiness.'

Note in this next example the first \underline{a} means past tense and the last three mean 'and'.

dei' a-f-a-tanga basef God-i f-a-fe' God-poss p.t-cl.3.sg-r-appear cl.3.sg-r-go and.then now talk ae'-émbil-i a amam nematawa village I-cl.13.sg-poss and men women many-c1.5.pl s-a-mboma opalef, 3.mix.pl-r-hear-cl.3.sg.obj \overline{a} nd 3.mix.pl-r-turn stomachs ma basef God-i and $\overline{3.\text{mix.pl-r-say}}$ all.right to talk God-poss and.then

 $\frac{\text{s-a-tanga}}{\text{3.mix.pl-r-come.up}} \frac{\text{Kristen.}}{\text{Christians}}$

'And then (at that time) God's talk went to my village (i.e. people at my village heard it) and many men and women heard it and repented and said it was all right and they became Christians.'

4.4.2 a' \sim a in its other uses

Examples:

Meaning 'certainly' with unreal aspect:

Naman a'-m-u-pan.
tomorrow certainly-l.pl.incl-unr-stay
'Tomorrow we will stay.'

Meaning 'past tense':

 $\frac{\text{Dei'}}{\text{now}} \quad \frac{\text{a'-m-a-pan.}}{\text{p.t-1.pl.incl-r-stay}}$

'Now we stayed.'

Meaning 'predicate marker':

Amba' ae' ina a'-i-ngawa dokta, but I don't know about the doctor,...'

5 RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENTENCES

5.1 Sentence conjunction na'amba 'therefore'

<u>Na'amba</u> 'therefore' (typically) encodes the result of an immediately preceding reason. It occurs sentence initial when functioning

in this manner.

Examples:

nematawa s-o-ngo-lolama Apa' amam 3.mix.pl-r-habit-not.understand but some-3.mix.pl men women pisin-i s-a-me'-ef tok ina language Pidgin-those.who neg 3.mix.pl-r-hear-cl.3.sg.obj Na'amba s-a-hali' esis therefore they.mix.pl 3.mix.pl-r-ask we.pl.incl well m-a-mbom-ef dinga ourselves 1.pl.incl-r-translate-cl.3.sg.obj language apa-i-ngei ama amam nematawa we.pl.incl-poss-cl.5.sg so.that men women s-a-me'-ef. 3.pl.mix-r-hear-cl.3.sg.obj

'But some men and women who don't understand Pidgin English well, didn't understand (God's) talk well. Therefore, they asked us (inclusive) ourselves to translate it into our language so that the men and women will hear it and obey it.'

éno'w Dei' apé' a'-m-o-ngawa ufia'w now we.incl p.t-1.pl.incl-r-understand one-cl.8sg for s-o-nga-me' basef God-i nematawa 3.mix.pl-r-habit-hear talk God-poss by men women andeandé' dinga s-o-ngo-ngaw-ef ma 3.mix.pl-r-habit-understand-cl.3.sg well in language apé'-i-ngei. Na'amba afé' ofisas sios we.incl-poss-cl.10.sg therefore we.excl church a-w-a-ndatamei Balef Walahuta Ilahita p.t-pl.excl-r-come Balef Walahuta Ilahita o-nduwa'ani-ma a-w-a-nda' miting. 1.pl.excl.r.gather-for p.t-1.pl.excl-r-do meeting

.'Now (at present) we (inclusive) really understand a way for men and women to hear and obey God's talk well by habitually understanding it well in our own language. Therefore, we (exclusive) church leaders came from Balif and Walahuta and Ilahita and gathered for a meeting.'

5.2 <u>Sentence conjunction</u> <u>dei'</u> 'now, so, therefore'

The function of sentence conjunction <u>dei'</u> is very similar to <u>na'amba</u> 'therefore', except that it has the <u>additional</u> meaning component of 'now'.

Examples:

Ea'-a s-a-nda' makima Jon Alungum i ae' and.then 3.mix.pl-r-do designate John Alungum and I

 $\frac{\text{s-a-nda'}}{\text{3.mix.pl-r-do}} \quad \frac{\text{dep-afa}}{\text{designate-1.dual.excl.obj}} \quad \frac{\text{ama}}{\text{for}} \quad \frac{\text{o-nda'}}{\text{1.dual.unr-do}}$

 $\frac{\text{maolan}}{\text{work}}$ $\frac{\text{i-ni-mba}}{\text{this-cl.5.sg-this}}$ $\frac{\text{s-a-hali'-afa}}{3.\text{mix.pl-r-ask-l.dual.excl.obj}}$ $\frac{\text{ama}}{\text{about}}$

 $\frac{a-n-a-'ip-afa}{p.t-3.m.sg-r-tell-1.dual.excl.obj}$ $\frac{ama}{about}$ $\frac{kos}{course}$

<u>i-si-mba</u> <u>s-o-nga-tanga</u> <u>afangél</u> <u>1976</u>. this-cl.17.sg-this <u>cl.17.sg-unr-fut-appear</u> <u>year</u> 1976.

'And then they designated John Alungum and me, they designated us two (exclusive) for doing this work (in the future). They asked us two (exclusive) about our thoughts and we (exclusive) again said, "Yes" (agreed). Now, therefore, Mr. Bob told us (exclusive) about this course (for National Translators) which will run in the future, in the year 1976.'

Basef God-i s-a-ipa'-apa-ef alk God-poss S-a-ipa'-apa-ef 3.mix.pl-r-tell-l.pl.incl.ind.obj-cl.3.sg.obj

tok pisin bola' apé' language Pidgin and.later we.pl.incl

 $\frac{\text{m-a-mbem-ef}}{\text{1.pl.incl-r-translate-cl.3.sg.obj}} \frac{\text{dinga}}{\text{language}}$

 $\frac{\text{apé'-i-ngei}.}{\text{we.pl.incl-poss-cl.10.sg}} \quad \frac{\text{Dei'}}{\text{now}} \quad \frac{\text{hi\acute{e}-si}}{\text{many-cl.5.pl}} \quad \frac{\text{a-s-a-me'}}{\text{p.t-3.mix.pl-r-hear}}$

 $\frac{\text{basef}}{\text{talk}} \quad \frac{\text{God-i}}{\text{God-poss}} \quad \frac{\text{a}}{\text{and}} \quad \frac{\text{\'esis}}{\text{they.mix.pl}} \quad \frac{\text{s-a-nda'}}{\text{3.mix.pl-r-do}} \quad \frac{\text{skul}}{\text{school}} \quad \frac{\text{tok}}{\text{language}}$

 $\frac{\text{a-s-o-ngaw-ef}}{\text{p.t-3.mix.pl-r-understand-cl.3.sg.obj}} \frac{\text{andeandé'}}{\text{well}}.$

'They told us (inclusive) God's talk in Pidgin English and later we (inclusive) translated it into our language. Now, (at that time), therefore, many people certainly heard God's talk (and obeyed it) and they went to school in Pidgin English and they read the talk and understood it well.'

5.3. Sentence conjunction owa' 'but'

The particle $\underline{\text{owa'}}$ is used infrequently to contrast two sentences in a paragraph.

'Barnabas worked to find a road (a way) (and) he came and was with Mr. Bob and asked him about whether he would help us with this road (translation project), or not at all. But Mr. Bob said, "Yes", he said, "all right".'

5.4. Sentence conjunction dei' méin 'why'

Infrequently reason and result is encoded by stating the result in the first sentence, followed by <u>dei' méin</u> 'why' and then the reason in the second sentence.

'I also heard (and obeyed) God's talk and am very happy about it. Why? Because I saw (experienced) God's talk helped me and I also am happy about it.'

5.5 Combination of particles meaning 'later'

Our data shows one example each of four different combinations of particles meaning 'later':

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a'i owa''a week or a month or so later'a'i owa' méin'a few weeks or months later'ea' a'and then later (same day)'ea' méin'a few days later'
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Examples:

Illustration of a'i owa':

'But Mr. Bob said, "Yes", he said, "all right". Later (a week or maybe a month) at this meeting he disclosed this talk and told us (inclusive) church leaders.'

Illustration of a'i owa' méin:

'A little while later we finished school and he told us, "Now you close your eyes," and he prayed for us: a few weeks or months later, he told us and taught us (inclusive) God's talk so that many men and women heard and obeyed it and were very happy about it.'

Illustration of ea' a:

Ea' ésis s-a-me'a basef i-fi-mba and then they mix.pl 3.mix.pl-r-hear talk this-cl.3.sg-this ahé'-m-ef s-a-nda' $\overline{3.\text{mix.pl-r-say}}$ $\overline{\text{yes-about-cl.3.sg.obj}}$ and $\overline{3.\text{mix.pl-r-do}}$ én-om amam m-o-nga-nda' designate some-cl.16.pl men 3.m.pl-unr-fut-do work i-ni-mbé-i ama m-o-nga-mboma this-cl.5.sg-this-that.which of 3.m.pl-unr-fut-translate Baibel. Ea'a s-a-nda' book Bible and then (same day) 3.mix.pl-r-do designate talk ae' Alungum s-a-nda' dep-afa John Alungum and I 3.mix.pl-r-do designate-1.dual.excl.obj o-nda' maolan i-ni-mba. ama 1.dual.excl.unr-do work this-cl.5.sg-this for 'And then they heard this report and they said "Yes" about it (they agreed) and they designated some men to do the work of translating the talk in the Bible book in the future. And then,

(the same day) they designated John Alungum and me, they designated us two (exclusive) for doing this work in the future.'

Illustration of ea' méin:

S-a-pe s-o-nifa ufia'w a-kwa-mba $\overline{3.\text{mix.pl-r-be}}$ $\overline{3.\text{mix.pl-r-talk}}$ $\overline{\text{road}}$ this-cl.8.sg-this about s-o-nga-nda' Baibel n-e-nga-fe' dinga 3.mix.pl-unr-fut-do Bible cl.5.sg(Bible)-unr-fut-go language Ea**⊾** méin én-éné apé'-i-ngei. $\overline{\text{we.pl.incl-poss-cl.10.sg}}$ $\overline{\text{later(different day)}}$ $\overline{\text{a-cl.16.sg}}$ hetman ama sios-i Banambas Ke'en, leader of church-the.one.who Barnabas Ke'en $\overline{3.m.sg}$ n-a-fe' n-a-loma én-is misin $\overline{3.\text{m.sg-r-go}}$ $\overline{3.\text{m.sg-r-with}}$ $\overline{\text{some-cl.5.pl}}$ $\overline{\text{mission}}$ ama s-o-nga-topalopa-apa $\overline{3.\text{m.sg-r-want}}$ for $\overline{3.\text{mix.pl-unr-fut-help-1.pl.incl.obj}}$ buk Baibel f-e-nga-fe' s-o-nga-mbema basef 3.mix.pl-unr-fut-translate talk book Bible cl.3.sg-unr-fut-go apé'-i-ngei. language we.incl.pl-poss-cl.10.sg

'They continued to discuss this matter concerning that they will translate the Bible and in the future it will go into our own language. Later, (a different day), a leader of the church,

Barnabas Ke'en, went with some missionaries called S.I.L. and he wanted them to help us (inclusive) in the future to translate the message in the Bible book and it will go into our (inclusive) language.'

6 RELATIONSHIPS INVOLVING BOTH CLAUSE AND SENTENCE

There are three particles which function both in joining clauses together and in joining sentences together. Therefore, they are described in a separate section, showing both clauses and sentences as examples.

These three particles are: $\underline{ea'}$ 'and, and then, finished', \underline{ama} 'so that, later, for that purpose, when, now, in order to, and then, in, with, about', and $\underline{amba'}$ 'but'.

6.1 Particle ea'

When used to join clauses, $\underline{ea'}$ is followed by non-final intonation.

6.1.1 Clause examples

Note that this first example illustrates the use of both <u>ea'</u> 'finished' and ama 'later':

$$\frac{\text{Ama}}{\text{later.not.long.time}} \frac{\text{m-a-nda'}}{\text{l.pl.incl-r-do}} \frac{\text{skul}}{\text{school}} \frac{\text{ea'}}{\text{finished}}$$

$$\frac{\text{n-a-'ip-ape}}{3.\text{m.sg-r-tell-l.pl.incl.obj}} \frac{\text{dei'}}{\text{now}} \frac{\text{ipé'}}{\text{you.pl}} \frac{\text{naip}}{\text{eyes}}$$

$$\frac{\text{p-e-sé'-epa}}{\text{cl.9.pl-imper-close-2.pl.obj}} \frac{\text{n-a-nda-m-ape}}{3.\text{m.sg-r-do-benef-l.pl.incl.obj}}$$

$$\frac{\text{beten.}}{\text{pray}}$$

'A little while later we finished school and he told us (inclusive) "Now close your eyes," and he prayed for us (inclusive).'

This next example illustrates ea' 'and' and ama 'so that':

'A few weeks or months later he told us God's talk and taught us God's talk so that many men and women heard it and obeyed it and were very happy about it.'

6.1.2 Sentence example

This example is an illustration of <u>ea'</u> 'and then' and three uses of ama 'in order to', 'and then', 'in':

afé' N-o-fa w-a-fi'i, w-a-fi'i, 3.m.sg-r-get 1.dual.excl 1.dual.excl-r-come 1.dual.excl-r-come usi'ifa Wayembange. 1.dual.excl-r-come without.detouring to Wayembange and.then w-a-nda' statim kos i-si-mba 1.pl.excl-r-do start course this-cl.17.sg-this in.order.to s-i-himba'-m-afa o-nda' 3.mix.pl-unr-show-benef-1.pl.excl.obj 1.pl.excl.unr-do talk and apé'-i-ngei f-e-nga-ngi'ma dinga c1.3.sg-unr-fut-follow language we.incl-poss-c1.10.sg ét-éngé amam nematawa apé'-isi ama only-cl.10.sg and then men we.incl-poss-cl.5.pl women s-o-ngo-ngawa basef God-i 3.mix.pl-unr-fut-understand talk God-poss in language apé'-i-ngei basef ofange-fa. we.incl-poss-cl.10.sg talk meaning-c1.3.sg

- 'He got us two (exclusive) and we came, we came directly to Wayembange without any detours. And then we (exclusive) started this course in order to show us (exclusive) how to translate God's talk in the future and follow our language exactly and then our (inclusive) men and women will understand the meaning of God's talk in our (inclusive) own language.'
- 6.2 <u>Particle ama</u> ~ <u>ma</u> 'so that, later, for that purpose, when, now, in order to, and then, in, with, about'

6.2.1 Clause examples

For an illustration of \underline{ama} 'so that', refer back to 6.1.1, second example, and see 6.1.2 for illustrations of \underline{ama} 'in order to', 'and then', and 'in'.

Illustration of ama ~ ma 'about, with':

```
n-o-laoma
                                       ufia'w n-a-fi'i
Banambas
         n-a-la
Barnabas 3.m.sg-r-work 3.m.sg-unr-find road 3.m.sg-r-come
                Masta
                       Bob n-a-hali'-éné
  n-a-loma
  3.m.sg-r-with Mr.
                       Bob 3.m.sg-r-ask-3.m.sg.obj
                                                   about
                helimbim-apa
                                         ufia'w a-kwa-mba
  n-o-nda'
                                   ma
  3.m.sg-unr-do help-1.pl.incl.obj with road this-cl.8.sg-this
             ét-in?
       owa'
```

'Barnabas worked to find a road (way)--(and) he came and was with Mr. Bob and asked him about whether he would help us with this road (translation project) or not at all.'

6.2.2 Sentence examples

not only-c1.5.sg

For an illustration of \underline{ama} 'later', see Paragraph 6.1.1, first example.

Illustration of ama ~ ma 'and, for, now':

Ae' a-loma-s a'ihi Mapao Sarare owamb, ma 1.sg.r-with-3.mix.pl there Mapao Saturday night and a-sa'of kuhimbita Sande i-safel a-fi'i $\overline{\text{Sunday}}$ $\overline{\text{1.sg.r-wash}}$ $\overline{\text{1.sg.r-get.up.go}}$ $\overline{\text{1.sg.r-come}}$ morning bas, $\frac{\text{ana'e}}{\text{here}}$ $\frac{\text{a}}{\text{and}}$ $\frac{\text{AOG}}{\text{AOG}}$ 1.sg.r-stand.up for bus bas s-a-fi'i s-a-nga-po-ma. Ama a-nda' 3.mix.pl-r-habit-be-where now bus cl.17.sg-r-come l.sg.r-do a-fi-méi lotu flag.down-cl.17.sg l.sg.r-come-to worship Kreer Wewak

<u>Kristen</u> <u>Felosip.</u> Christian Fellowship

'I stayed with them there at Mapao Saturday night, and Sunday morning I washed and got up and came and stood up and waited for the bus, here where the Assembly of God Mission personnel live. Now the bus came and I flagged it down and came to worship at Kreer, Wewak Christian Fellowship.'

Illustration of ama 'until , for':

 $\frac{\text{wan-ongah}}{\text{three-c1.10.p1}} \quad \frac{\text{wan-ongah}}{\text{three-c1.10.p1}} \quad \frac{\text{ama}}{\text{until}} \quad \frac{\text{hi'al-angah}}{\text{finish-c1.10.p1}}$

 $\frac{\text{w-a-nda'}}{\text{1.pl.excl-r-do}} \quad \frac{\text{pinis}}{\text{finish}} \quad \frac{\text{a-w-a-fe'}}{\text{p.t-l.pl.excl-r-go}} \quad \frac{\text{wambel}}{\text{village}} \quad \frac{\text{owa'a}}{\text{but}} \quad \frac{\text{Masta}}{\text{Mr.}}$

 $\frac{\text{p-e-nda'}}{\text{2.pl-unr-do}} \quad \frac{\text{taipraita}}{\text{typewriter}} \quad \frac{\text{a'a}}{\text{or}} \quad \frac{\text{owa'?}}{\text{not}} \quad \frac{\text{Ama}}{\text{for}} \quad \frac{\text{p-e-nda'}}{\text{2.pl-unr-do}} \quad \frac{\text{raitima}}{\text{write}}$

 $\frac{\text{basef}}{\text{talk}} \quad \frac{\text{God-i}}{\text{God-poss}} \quad \frac{\text{a}}{\text{by}} \quad \frac{\text{masin.}}{\text{machine}}$

'And then we (exclusive) remained for these six weeks until they (the weeks) finished and we (exclusive) finished (the course) and went to the village, but Mr. Bob asked us (exclusive) and he said, "Do you (plural) want to do a typing course or not? ... For writing God's word by machine."'

Illustration of ama 'in (the time of)':

 $\frac{\text{A-loma}}{\text{1.sg-and}}$ $\frac{\text{Luk-iam-i}}{\text{Luke-his.family-those.who}}$ $\frac{\text{w-a-'\acute{e}h}}{\text{1.pl.excl-r-sleep}}$

 $\frac{\text{Kwanumbi.}}{\text{name.of.ground}} \cdot \frac{\text{Ama}}{\text{in}} \cdot \frac{\text{lala}}{\text{daylight}} \cdot \frac{\text{kuhimbita}}{\text{morning}} \cdot \frac{\text{a-fi'i}}{\text{1.sg.r-come}} \cdot \frac{\text{a-loma}}{\text{1.sg.r-with}}$

 $\frac{\text{Bun}}{\text{Bun}} \quad \frac{\text{w-a-fi'i}}{\text{1.p1.excl-r-come}} \quad \frac{\text{n-a-hapen-e}}{\text{3.m.sg-r-bring-1.sg.obj}} \quad \frac{\text{Maprik}}{\text{Maprik}} \quad \frac{\text{a}}{\text{and}}$

 $\frac{\text{a-fi'i}}{1.\text{sg.r-come}} \quad \frac{\text{na'a.}}{\text{here}}$

'I and Luke and those of his family, we (exclusive) slept at the place named Kwanumbi. In the morning at daylight I came with Bun. We (two) came and he brought me to Maprik and I came here (Wayembange).'

6.3 Particle amba' 'but'

Contrast is usually marked by $\underline{amba'}$ 'but' and/or by sentences with different actors or different \underline{goals} .

6.3.1 Clause examples

 $\frac{\text{f-a-tanga}}{\text{cl.3.sg-r-come.up}} \quad \frac{\text{lu-'uf.}}{\text{big-cl.3.sg}}$

'He went there (a different place from where the narrator was when he told the story), and he taught us school only at first, but he didn't tell us God's talk so that it would come up big (many hear and obey).'

 $\frac{\text{Joshua}}{\text{Joshua}} \quad \frac{\text{a'-n-a-fi'i}}{\text{p.t-3.m.sg-r-come}} \quad \frac{\text{amba'}}{\text{but}} \quad \frac{\text{\'eko'w}}{\text{she}} \quad \frac{\text{kw-a-p\'eni}}{\text{3.f.sg-r-stay}} \quad \frac{\text{wambel.}}{\text{village}}$

'Joshua came, but his wife stayed in the village.'

<u>Joshua</u> n-a-nda' maol ea' amba' Jon ata owa' Joshua 3.m.sg-r-do work finish but John yet not

 $\frac{\text{\'et}-\text{in}}{\text{only-c1.5.sg}}$

'Joshua finished his work, but John didn't finish yet.'

Note however, that if the actors and goals are both the same, as in the following example, amba' cannot occur. It is replaced by owa' ea'.

Joshuaina
Joshuan-a-nda'
negmaol
3.m.sg-r-doahi'al-an
workowa'
finish-cl.5.sgea'
notfele-fele'
and

ma ahi-nga-la-n. to finish-habit-finish-cl.5.sg

'Joshua didn't finish the work (yet) but he is nearly finished.

6.3.2 Sentence examples

 $\frac{\text{Ea'}}{\text{and.then}} \quad \frac{\text{\'esis}}{\text{they.mix.pl}} \quad \frac{\text{a-s-a-nda'}}{\text{p.t-3.mix.pl-r-do}} \quad \frac{\text{skul}}{\text{school}}$

 $\frac{\text{s-o-ngawa}}{\text{3.mix.pl-r-understand}} \quad \frac{\text{ma}}{\text{about}} \quad \frac{\text{a-s-a-nda'}}{\text{p.t-3.mix.pl-r-do}} \quad \frac{\text{rit}}{\text{read}} \quad \frac{\text{a}}{\text{in}} \quad \frac{\text{pisin}}{\text{Pidgin}}$

tok ples a tok pisin. Amba' amam nematawa vernacular and language Pidgin but men women

 $\frac{\text{hi-\acute{e}si}}{\text{many-3.mix.pl}} \quad \frac{\text{ina}}{\text{neg}} \quad \frac{\text{s-o-ngo-ngawa}}{\text{3.mix.pl-r-habit-understand}} \quad \frac{\text{tok}}{\text{language}}$

 $\frac{\text{pisin-ia}}{\text{Pidgin-those.who}} \quad \frac{\text{\'esis}}{\text{they.mix.pl}} \quad \frac{\text{ina}}{\text{neg}} \quad \frac{\text{s-o-ngawa}}{\text{3.mix.pl-r-understand}} \quad \frac{\text{basef}}{\text{talk}}$

God-i andeandé'.

God-poss well

'And then they really did (went to) school and they understood about reading in Pidgin English and they habitually understood God's talk in the vernacular and in Pidgin English. But the many men and women who do not understand Pidgin English well, they don't understand God's talk well.'

 $\frac{\text{Af\'e'}}{\text{we.excl}}$ $\frac{\text{w-a-'i}}{\text{1.pl.excl-r-want}}$ $\frac{\text{w-u-fi'i}}{\text{1.pl.excl-unr-come}}$ $\frac{\text{o-pan}}{\text{1.p.t.excl.unr-be.stay}}$

 $\frac{\text{ma}}{\text{and}}$ $\frac{\text{Fonde}}{\text{Thursday}}$ $\frac{\text{a'-o-tanima}}{\text{p.t-l.pl.excl.unr-return}}$ $\frac{\text{a'-o-ndowasa'}}{\text{p.t-l.pl.excl.unr-go.up}}$

 $\frac{\text{\'en-in}}{\text{some-cl.5.sg}}$ $\frac{\text{maolan}}{\text{work}}$ $\frac{\text{ma}}{\text{for}}$ $\frac{\text{\'en\'en}}{\text{him(doctor)}}$ $\frac{\text{n-o-nda'-an}}{\text{3.m.sg-unr-do-cl.5.sg}}$

 $\frac{a'a}{or} = \frac{owa'}{not}$.

'We (exclusive) wanted to come and stay here (Wewak) for a week and a half (until a week and a half had finished), and return and go up to a higher elevation (Maprik) on Thursday. But I don't know about the doctor, whether Bob has some work for him to do, or not.'