

**Data Papers on  
Papua New Guinea Languages**

**Volume 56**

**Iyo Grammar Sketch**

**Paul Minter**

2009  
SIL-PNG Academic Publications  
Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea

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Published 2009

Printed by SIL Printing Press  
Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province  
Papua New Guinea

ISBN 9980-0-3527-7

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# *Abbreviations*

1d	1st dual suffix	DIM	diminutive
1DO	1st person direct object	DIR	directional
1p	1st plural suffix	DISC	discrete
1s	1st singular suffix	DIST	distributive
1S	1st singular pronoun	DO	direct object
2/3d	2nd/3rd dual suffix	DS	different subject
2/3p	2nd/3rd plural suffix	DUR	durative
2/3s	2nd/3rd singular suffix	EMPH	emphatic
2D	2nd dual pronoun	EXCL	exclusive
2s	2nd singular suffix	FOC	focus
2S	2nd singular pronoun	FUT	future
3	3rd person pronoun	FUT.IMP	future imperative
ABL	ablative	HAB	habitual
ACC	accompaniment	INCEP	inceptive
ALL	allative	INDEF	indefinite
AUX	auxiliary	INST	instrumental
COMPL	completive	INTENS	intensive
COND	conditional	INTENT	intentional
CONJ	conjunction	ISOL	isolating
CONT	continuative	LIM	limiting
DEF	definite	LOC	locative
DEM	demonstrative	MAN	manner
DESID	desiderative	NEG	negative

NOM	nominaliser
OK	discourse marker
OPP	oppositional
PART	participle
PL	plural
PLOBJ	plural object
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
PROM	prominent
PST	simple past
PURP	purposive
QUAN	quantity
RED	reduplicated
RECIP	reciprocal
REF	reference
REL	relative
RPST	remote past
SEQ	sequence
SiCh	sister's child
SS	same subject
SS.IMP	same subject imperative
SUB	subordinating
TOP	topical
UNC	uncertainty
XOR	exclusive or
YNQ	yes/no question



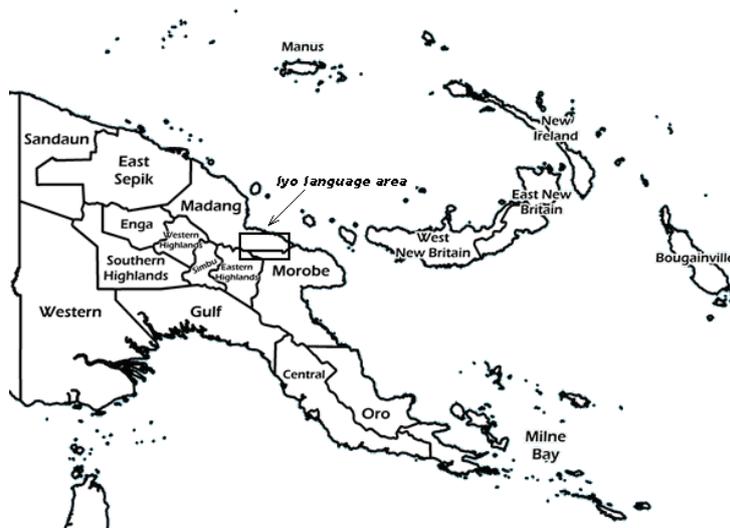
# 1. Introduction

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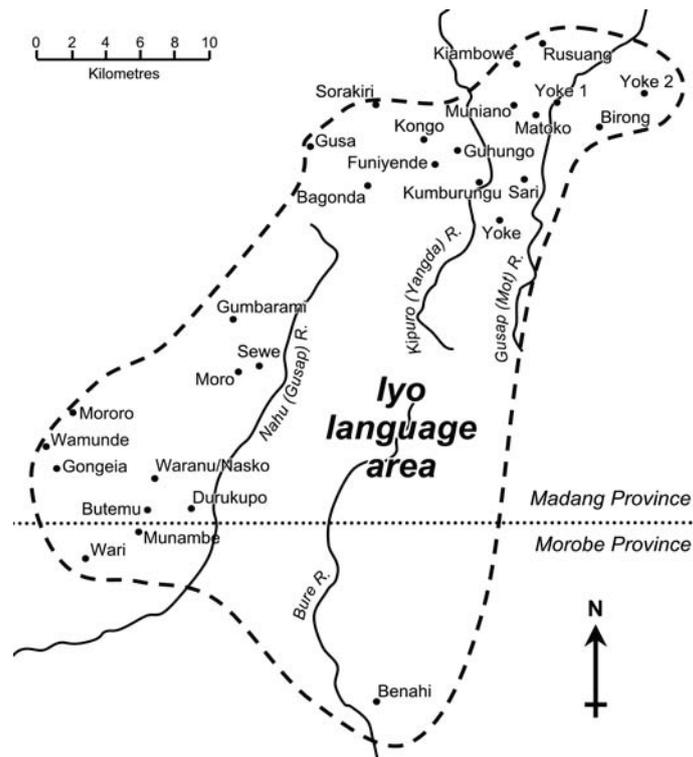
## 1.1 Location and speakers

The Iyo language (previously known as Nahu) is a language of Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. The ISO 639-3 language code for Iyo is nca. It is spoken by roughly 6,900 speakers who live in an area straddling the main east-west ridgeline of the Finisterre Mountains. On the southern flank of those mountains, communities are strung along the gorge of the Gusap (Nahu) river from 2,200 metres high in the mountains down to 500 metres, almost to where it flows out of the mountains into the main Ramu river valley. In the foothills to the east along the Bure river is a smaller collection of settlements. On the northern flank of the Finisterres, known as the Rai Coast, approximately half of the population live in villages between 500 and 1,500 metres above sea level along the Kipuro and Kasang rivers which flow north to the ocean. The language is spoken in all these areas with little variation - mainly in lexical choices (see §1.3).

MAP 1.1 THE IYO AREA WITHIN PNG



MAP 1.2 THE IYO LANGUAGE AREA



## 1.2 Language name

Over the generations since outsiders have been in contact with the Iyo people, several names have been used for different parts of the language group. The original language work by SIL was initiated on the southern slopes of the Finisterres in the villages along the Nahu river. That group of people were known to the Australian administration of Papua and New Guinea as being part of the Naho-Rawa administrative district, and the people described themselves as the Nahu people. Thus the language was first listed in the Ethnologue with the name 'Nahu'.

The communities on the other river systems in the language area were not called by that name, however. Those along the Bure river used that name, while those on the northern, Rai Coast, slopes went by the name 'Do' language. Because of the high grammatical, phonological and lexical similarity among all the villages, and because of their shared cultural origins, a move was pressed to find an overarching name for the whole group.

As a result, the name 'Iyo' (the word for 'yes') was first affirmed by groups of informed leaders in various villages, then chosen by a group of students from various areas at a vernacular teacher training program. The official name in the Ethnologue was subsequently updated, while the older names were retained as variants.

### **1.3 Dialects**

The members of the Iyo language group, while divided among various clans, do not compete in the usual sense along those lines. The family groups are basically free to join or not join with other family groups in marriage or common work. What competition there is comes from inter-village rivalries, although these are fairly mild. One village may decide not to join in with a group project or other activity. There may be hard feelings because of real or perceived injustices at the hands of another village.

No one village or geographical area has more apparent prestige than another. Each village tends to hold itself in slightly higher esteem than any other place. Each village considers that the way they speak is superior to that of any other village, because they speak the true language; everyone else has changed it a bit. This however only applies to a small number of words in any given village. Children will learn the entire lexicon, that is, all the names for any given item, but tend to speak the subset of the village they grow up in. Because of a period of heavy earthquake activity in 1993, there has been a bit of reshuffling of populations. Those adults and young people who have ended up in other villages tend to retain their particular idiosyncratic lexicon. Those children born to the new settlers will tend to use the lexicon of the new village.

A speaker is readily identifiable as a resident of a particular village, at least amongst the four main villages in the Nahu 1 area (the upper section of the Nahu valley). And speakers from either the Rai Coast or Nahu 2 (the lower section of the Nahu valley) are identifiable as such. The result of all this is a general understanding of the cohesion of the language group and a lack of distinct dialect boundaries.

### **1.4 Language use**

The Nahu 1 language area, since it is more remote and less accessible than the other areas, is linguistically fairly homogeneous, with little intermarriage outside the language area. The Nahu 2 and Rai Coast areas have more intermarriage with neighbouring groups. In the Nahu 1 area nearly everyone is a fluent vernacular speaker. Iyo is the dominant language in all domains except in some aspects of worship in church (e.g. reading of the liturgy in Tok Pisin - the language of wider

communication) or in interactions with outsiders. This pattern is true of the other two areas as well.

In church there are at least two and sometimes three languages used. Amongst the older population there will be songs and/or liturgy conducted in Kâte, a language of the Finschhafen area which was introduced by the first evangelists. Many who were then young children attended village schools where they learned to read Kâte and became familiar with the song book and the liturgy. In the last fifteen years these village schools have died out and the population under the age of 25 in general is ignorant of Kâte.

Those who are about 50 years old or younger will generally know Tok Pisin, although there are many women in this age group who do not. Tok Pisin is used for all interactions with outsiders, whether during trips to town, or should an outsider enter the area. Tok Pisin has become the dominant language of worship. Until the last few years all sermons and prayers were conducted in Tok Pisin. In some Lutheran churches there was use of a liturgy in Kâte at times, and some singing in Kâte. In the other churches it was all in Tok Pisin. Among the congregations of newer denominations in the area all aspects were in Tok Pisin.

There are people in all areas that are conversant to some extent with the surrounding languages, although probably no one would describe themselves as fluent. On the southern slopes some older people can understand spoken Rawa. On the northern slopes some older ones can understand Ngaing or Karo. But there is always a strong distinction held by Iyo speakers between themselves and any other language. There is a pride of culture which keeps the vernacular strong in all the geographic areas and, except for border villages with higher intermarriage, the knowledge of these other languages does not seem to affect their idiolects.

Tok Pisin is seen as a necessary tool for anyone to have. Those who have found work elsewhere have had to learn it and have taught it to their children. But it seems that the vernacular is still the predominant language for the domains of family life, local work, play, arguments, etc. At one time the teachers in the Nahu 1 community school chided the parents of new students, telling them they had to do a better job of teaching their kids Tok Pisin in order to make the transition into school easier. Those in the community schools are learning English, but as there is very little outlet for its use in the area it is seldom heard. Kâte has almost died out, certainly amongst the younger population. These last two languages hold some prestige value, but only when there is an occasion to actually use it in speech. Then the one who knows a bit of that language will step forward and make use of it. Otherwise, there is not much advantage gained by knowing it.

As a largely endogamous group the only real use for Tok Pisin is for the liturgy and Bible used in church, for contact by radio or personally with government, or for interactions with people in town or on the job. Those villages more on the periphery will more likely find a need for Tok Pisin. Those in the centre may go for long stretches of time without the necessity of speaking anything but Iyo. The middle-aged men and young boys and girls are more likely to know Tok Pisin than older men and women or middle-aged women.

Where there are villages on the periphery of the group they will more likely have occasion to interact with surrounding languages. Such interactions might happen to some extent in those languages, but more likely in Tok Pisin, since the knowledge of that other language is mostly limited to understanding it, not speaking it. There are at least two villages which are seen as villages of mixed language. One village is on the south-western edge of the area and one on the north-western edge. They both have a sizable population which has intermarried with Rawa/Karo speakers (two dialects of the same language which are geographically separated by the spine of the mountains). In the northern village reportedly the children of these marriages tend to mix quite a bit of the other language into their speech. In both the dialect situation is seen as being unique to those two villages.

Most names are adapted phonologically to Iyo and their appropriate spelling is accepted. Other names are pronounced according to Tok Pisin phonology and their reproduction in Iyo is confusing. There is no apparent preference for either method. Each name has to be taken on its own merits.

## **1.5 Culture**

The Iyo people live in a traditional egalitarian society, in a variety of mountain settings, some in closer contact with outside cultures than others. Before the advent of the Lutheran church in the area, extended families lived together in small, scattered settlements. Since the mid-1950s they have been collected into village settings throughout the area, each village being organised around the local church building. As time has gone on, and the denominational makeup of the group has become more diverse, the social organisation has begun to resume its more distributed character.

The people's diet consists, in the main, of root vegetables such as taro and sweet potato, supplemented with corn, beans, green, leafy vegetables and fruit. They farm the steep mountain slopes using slash and burn techniques, rotating amongst different family-owned plots through the years. Pigs are owned by some, but live in a semi-wild state beyond the boundaries of the villages. They are generally reserved for feasts marking special occasions. In most locations houses are constructed almost

entirely of materials obtained from the surrounding forests. The only outside materials might be nails and hinges and an occasional corrugated metal roof.

At various times the growing of coffee has been a lucrative income-producing activity, as has vanilla bean production on the Rai Coast. There has also at times been an active trade by the people in the higher reaches of the language group selling cool-weather vegetables with the dwellers of the Ramu valley.

## 1.6 Typology

Iyo is a Papuan language of the Trans-New Guinea family. Within that large family it belongs to the Finisterre-Huon subfamily, being included in the Gusap-Mot subgroup. It is most closely related (approximately 50% cognate) to the Karo-Rawa language, located immediately to the west in river valleys on both the southern (Rawa) and northern (Karo) slopes of the Finisterres. Iyo is an agglutinative language with a high degree of verbal morphology. It is characterised by a rich morphology, by an extensive switch reference system encoded on medial verbs and by final verbs marked for person, number, object, tense and aspect. It employs verb serialisation, tail-head linkage across sentence boundaries, deixis enriched by the mountain environment and a productive relative clause strategy.

## 1.7 Acknowledgements

This paper is a revision and expansion of the Grammar Essentials of the Nahu Language published in 1994. It is based on a corpus of texts gathered by Colin Murphy during the years 1985, 1986 and 1990, and by Paul and Jennie Minter during the years from 1992 to 2006. The texts include ancestral stories, personal experiences, hortatory discourses, prayers, expositions, procedural texts and pre-school curricula. Some have been transcribed from cassette tape with the help of Tiepe Bapinuo and Sesinu Buyuwe. Others were the result of writer's workshops or teacher training workshops.

I also wish to acknowledge the contributions of Cindi Farr, Eileen Gasaway and Ian Tupper in helping to refine the description of the grammatical structure of the Iyo language in this paper. I also acknowledge the editorial acumen of René van den Berg and the layout expertise of Lisa Gilliland in the final production of this work. Finally, I thank God for the opportunity to work among the Iyo people and to be enriched by their lives and their language.

## *2. Phonology and morphophonemics*

---

This chapter presents an overview of the phonological structure of the Iyo language, including the phonemic inventory and allophonic variation, suprasegmentals, stress and intonation patterns and morphophonemic processes. More information may be found in Minter (1998a).

### 2.1 Phonemic inventory

The Iyo language has the following consonant phonemes. There is an unusual pattern of voiceless velar and uvular plosives.

TABLE 2.1 IYO CONSONANT PHONEMES

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
<b>Plosive</b>	p b	t d		k k <sup>h</sup> g	q	
<b>Nasal</b>	m	n		ŋ		
<b>Tap/Flap</b>		r				
<b>Fricative</b>		s z				h
<b>Approximant</b>	w		j			

The vowel phonemes are listed in Table 2.2:

TABLE 2.2 IYO VOWEL PHONEMES

	-back	+back
<b>+high, -low</b>	i	u
<b>-high, -low</b>	ɛ	o
<b>-high,+low</b>		ɑ

Each of the vowels may exist with a nasal suprasegmental (see §2.4.3). These nasal features occur at morpheme boundaries.

/kama/	['ka.ma]	‘not’	/kamá/	['ka.mã]	‘song’
/kate/	['ka.te]	‘various’	/katé/	['ka.mã]	‘bird type’
/kini/	['ki.ni]	‘no’	/kiní/	['ki.nĩ]	bite-3sDS
/woso/	['wo.so]	3sDO-pull	/wosó/	['wo.sõ]	‘grass skirt’
/tuku/	['tu.ku]	‘cough’	/tukú/	['tu.kũ]	‘later’

Diphthongs are limited to the following vowel clusters:

/au̯/	/hausuwo/	‘pour out’	/bau/	‘banana flower’
/ai̯/	/ojai/	‘house type’		
/ou̯/	/kou/	‘lime’		

See §2.5.2 for further discussion of the vowel clusters.

## 2.2 Allophonic variation

a) The voiced plosive phonemes /b d g z/ are always prenasalised word-medially. The prenasalisation is an automatic process on the part of the speaker and is only avoided with difficulty. Word-initial voiced plosives are not, as a rule prenasalised, but see below. Since there are no closed syllables there are no word-final voiced plosives.

/taba/	['ta <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘rat’	/yabo/	['ja <sup>m</sup> bo]	‘song’
/kade/	['ka <sup>n</sup> de]	‘hand’	/wode/	['wo <sup>n</sup> de]	‘old’
/nage/	['na <sup>n</sup> ge]	‘only’	/soga/	['so <sup>n</sup> ga]	‘few’

This prenasalisation (and consequent voicing, see §2.6.6) is also evident in fast speech when the inter-word spaces get compressed.

/ke dano/	[ke dano] ~ [ke <sup>n</sup> dano]	‘Where are you?’
/uni kato/	[uni kato] ~ [uni <sup>n</sup> gato]	‘a man’

b) The aspirated voiceless velar plosive phoneme /k<sup>h</sup>/ has been deduced through minimal pairs rather than direct audition (see §2.3.1). Although it has a low

frequency, analysed only in two basic roots: /k<sup>h</sup>o/ ‘garden, work’ and /k<sup>h</sup>e/ ‘leg, road’, those roots carry a high functional load. It has only been discerned word-initial.

c) The phoneme /s/ has two allophones: [s] ~ [ts] with only two known instances:

/kusiɾo/ [kutsiɾo] ‘thunder’ /pusiri/ [putsirĩ] ‘finger’

d) The phoneme /r/ has two allophones in free variation: [r] ~ [l].

/balusi/ [balusi] ~ [barusi] ‘airplane’

/risá/ [risã] ~ [lisã] ‘smell’

e) In two known transitive verb roots, /dowo/ and /doŋo/, which take a prefixed direct object (see §3.4.7.4) the initial /d/ becomes voiceless when in their unmarked state (i.e. when there is a 3s direct object).

/yondowo/ 3pDO-hold /towo/ 3sDO-hold

/nondonote/ 1DO-cut-PRES /tonote/ 3sDO-cut-PRES

f) The phoneme /i/ is pronounced [ɪ] preceding /r/.

/mitoro/ [mitoro] 3sDO-tell-SS /mirote/ [mirote] 3sDO-tell-PRES-3s

/wítu/ [witũ] ‘window’ /wiri/ [wiri] ‘wing’

g) The phoneme /e/ is pronounced [ɛ] in certain environments, the rules for which are as yet not well defined. In most cases the [ɛ] occurs in stressed syllables and when preceding the phoneme /k/, while [e] is most often found at the end of a root.

## 2.3 Orthography

/ a ã b d e ã g h i ï k k<sup>h</sup> m n ŋ o õ p q r s t u ã w j z /

< a á b d e é g h í k kh m n ŋ o ó p q r s t u ú w y z >

Although not phonemic, the prenasalisation of word-medial voiced plosives is represented orthographically. The aspirated voiceless plosive /k<sup>h</sup>/ is represented orthographically as a digraph. The phoneme /s/ is consistently spelled <s>, and the phoneme /r/ is consistently spelled <r>. The nasal suprasegmental is represented orthographically with an acute mark over the vowel.

### 2.3.1 Minimal pairs

#### q/k

<i>qa</i>	‘cook’	<i>ka</i>	‘one’
<i>qene</i>	‘look at’	<i>keré</i>	‘bird type’
<i>qo</i>	‘faeces’	<i>ko</i>	CONJ
<i>quno</i>	‘dance’	<i>kuno</i>	‘give you[sg]’

#### k/kh

<i>ko</i>	CONJ	<i>kho</i>	‘work/garden’
<i>ke</i>	2s	<i>khe</i>	‘leg/road’
<i>kindaqe</i>	‘crack’	<i>khindó</i>	‘heel’
<i>kumo</i>	‘pull out’	<i>khumo</i>	‘die’

#### g/k

<i>gako</i>	‘grub type’	<i>kako</i>	‘one.FOC’
<i>gima</i>	‘productive’	<i>kimo</i>	‘buy’
<i>goŋgó</i>	‘soot’	<i>koŋgo</i>	‘from’
<i>gunjute</i>	‘necklace’	<i>kuŋgu</i>	‘newborn’

#### s/z

<i>gasiwa</i>	‘rifle bird’	<i>gawanzi</i>	‘spider type’
<i>kisó</i>	‘not cold’	<i>kinzé</i>	‘blue’
<i>kusi</i>	‘tie’	<i>kunzi</i>	‘shrub’
<i>pusó</i>	‘dirty’	<i>kumunzó</i>	‘lip’

## 2.4 Suprasegmentals

### 2.4.1 Stress

Stress is very predictable in Iyo. The general rule is that the penultimate syllable has primary stress. Secondary stress, though seldom present, is placed on syllables which are fourth from the end, sixth from the end, etc. Stress placement can often be used to disambiguate word division; i.e., a word with apparent stress on the first or third syllable can often be acceptably divided to conform to the general pattern.

<i>ya</i>	‘house’	<i>ko.ndo.'wo.te</i>	‘he holds you’
<i>'ya.ne</i>	‘my house’	<i>ko.ndo.wo.'te.to</i>	‘we hold you’
<i>ya.'ne.mo</i>	‘in my house’	<i>ko.ndo.wo.yo.'te.ŋgo</i>	‘they are holding you’
<i>ya.ne.'mo.ŋgo</i>	‘from my house’		

This general rule of stress placement is sometimes violated according to the intonation patterns of the phrase. That is, when the phrase has the intonation pattern of an interrogatory, the stress of the final word is on the final syllable rather than the penultimate. Stress is also often found on the final syllable of a root which is [+nasal] (see §2.4.3).

<i>pa.'rá</i>	‘big’
<i>pa.'rá.mi</i>	‘very big’
<i>pa.'rá.mi.mo</i>	‘on [the] very big [one]’

## 2.4.2 Intonation

The general contour of Iyo intonation is an unvarying pitch throughout the phrase until the final syllable. On that syllable the pitch of an indicative, imperative or content interrogative phrase falls while that of a yes/no interrogative rises. The Iyo speaker utilises tail-head linkage frequently, moving past the final verb, and then pausing after the first medial clause which recapitulates the previous verbal idea. Thus the linkage between sentences is both grammatical and phrasal.

## 2.4.3 Nasalisation

Nasalisation in the Iyo language may be seen as a feature not of the segment but as a suprasegmental located on certain roots and suffixes. These roots and suffixes exist in the lexicon with a [+nasal] feature, realised phonetically on their final vowels. Furthermore, some lexemes have a [+nasal] feature which has no surface realisation, but which still motivates certain morphophonemic processes as if it did (see §2.6.6).

## 2.5 Syllables

### 2.5.1 Structure

The syllable structure of Iyo is open, with only a few vowel clusters and no consonant clusters. The following natural structure of Iyo has been observed:

(C)V(V)

**V***á* ‘dog’    *o.re*    ‘road’    *u.sa.e.ro* ‘spread out’    *hu.í* ‘his hair’**CV***no* ‘I’    *so.no*    ‘water’    *ku.hu.rí* ‘heavy’    *ka.ma* ‘not’**CVV***kou* ‘lime’    *hau.su.wo* ‘pour out’    *ki.nau* ‘shell.type’

In certain verbs derived from Tok Pisin, the cluster <mr̩> may be found, and in certain personal names taken from Kâte the cluster <ŋk> may be found.

Tok Pisin derivations

*bukimr̩ote* ‘book [a ticket]’    *salimr̩ote* ‘send it’

Kâte names

*Wŋkeo*    *Honerŋke*

## 2.5.2 Vowel sequences

The following vowel sequences have been observed:

TABLE 2.3 VOWEL SEQUENCES

	<b>a</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>i</b>	<b>o</b>	<b>u</b>
<b>a</b>		ae	ai		au
<b>e</b>					
<b>i</b>	ia			io	
<b>o</b>		oe			ou
<b>u</b>	ua		ui	uo	

Vowel sequences are interpreted in the following fashion:

Sequences of [-high][+high] vowels ([ou], [au], [ai]) receive only one stress, on the first vowel, and are treated as a single syllable peak.

Sequences of [+high][-high] vowels ([io], [ia], [uo], [ua]) receive two stresses and are treated as two syllable peaks.

Sequences of [-high][-high] vowels and [+high][+high] vowels ([ae], [oe], [ui]) receive two stresses and are treated as two syllable peaks.

### 2.5.3 Semi-vowels

Minimal pairs which serve to illumine the presence or absence of semi-vowels are rare but they do exist. Consider the following data:

[i.o]	‘yes’	[ko.e]	‘wallaby.type’	[ma.e]	‘come’
[ʔo]	‘be’	[ko. <sup>w</sup> e]	‘skin’	[nã. <sup>j</sup> e]	‘their mother’

Older Iyo speakers prefer to insert a semi-vowel between the [+high][-high] vowel sequences [io], [ia], [uo] but not always between the [+high][+high] sequence [ui] nor the [-high][-high] sequences [ae], [oe]. In light of these data it seems that the semi-vowels /j/ and /w/ are indeed phonemes.

A possibly diachronic change is found in two examples. The speakers in one portion of the language area pronounce a single morpheme, /ka/ ‘one’, as [k<sup>w</sup>a]. And all speakers pronounce the word for ‘tomorrow’ as [k<sup>w</sup>iepo] but prefer to spell it *kuyepo*.

## 2.6 Morphophonemics

Iyo is a rich language morphophonemically. The various processes may be summarised as follows with the details found in Minter (1998a).

### 2.6.1 Vowel elision

A vowel is elided preceding a vowel across a morpheme boundary.

TABLE 2.4 VOWEL ELISION

<b>UF</b>	ne + a	made + ĩ	raŋo + i
<b>ELIS</b>	n + a	mad + ĩ	raŋ + i
<b>SF</b>	na	madĩ	raŋi
	‘eat-PST’	‘talk-3sPOSS’	‘throw-2/3pDS’

### 2.6.2 Vowel raising

The final mid vowel of a prefix, stem or root is raised to the height of the vowel of a following syllable.

TABLE 2.5 VOWEL RAISING

<b>UF</b>	sowe + nĩ	te + ri	no + muro
<b>VR1</b>	sowi + nĩ	ti + ri	nu + muro
<b>SF</b>	sowinĩ	tiri	numuro
	‘join-3sDS’	‘do-2/3dDS’	‘1DO-shoot’

The specialised direct object words *nere*, *kere* and *yere* have their vowels raised to the height of the vowel of a following suffix. This rule must also be in an ordered relation with the Elision Rule stated above.

TABLE 2.6 VOWEL RAISING: SPECIAL DIRECT OBJECT WORDS

<b>UF</b>	nere + nĩ	kere + i
<b>VR2</b>	niri + nĩ	kiri + i
<b>ELIS</b>	----	kir + i
<b>SF</b>	nirinĩ	kiri
	1DO-3sDS	2sDO-2/3pDS

### 2.6.3 Backing

A vowel becomes [+back] following the [+back] vowel of the direct object prefix.

TABLE 2.7 BACKING

<b>UF</b>	no + howe	no + ino	no + uro
<b>BK</b>	----	no + uno	----
<b>ELIS</b>	----	n + uno	n + uro
<b>SF</b>	nohowe	nuno	nuro
	‘1DO-follow’	‘1DO-give’	‘1DO-hit’

### 2.6.4 Backness assimilation

The vowel of the direct object prefix assimilates to the backness of the first [+high] vowel of a consonant-initial root. This rule must be applied in an ordered way with the three other rules affecting prefixes: Backing, Elision and Vowel Raising 1 (see above) to achieve the correct surface forms.

TABLE 2.8 BACKNESS ASSIMILATION

<b>UF</b>	no + re	no + howe	no + qa	no + ino	no + uro	no + muro	no + ki
<b>BK</b>	----	----	----	no + uno	----	----	----
<b>ELIS</b>	----	----	----	nuno	nuro	----	----
<b>VR1</b>	----	----	----	----	----	nu + muro	nu + ki
<b>BA</b>	----	----	----	----	----	----	ni + ki
<b>SF</b>	nore	nohowe	noqa	nuno	nuro	numuro	niki
	‘1DO-get’	‘1DO-follow’	‘1DO-burn’	‘1DO-give’	‘1DO-hit’	‘1DO-shoot’	‘1DO-bite’

### 2.6.5 Labialisation

The initial coronal nasal of the locative suffix becomes labial in the environment of a [+nasal] root.

TABLE 2.9 LABIALISATION

<b>UF</b>	[+nasal]	[-nasal]
	k <sup>h</sup> o-ye + no	suwo + no
<b>LB</b>	[+nasal]	----
	k <sup>h</sup> o-ye + mo	
<b>SF</b>	k <sup>h</sup> oyemo	suwono
	‘garden-2/3pPOSS-LOC’	‘night-LOC’

### 2.6.6 Nasal Spreading

A nasal autosegment on a root or suffix spreads to the following suffix, voicing and prenasalising a morpheme-initial voiceless plosive. This process only extends to the immediately following morpheme and not beyond.

TABLE 2.10 VOICING

<b>UF</b>	[+nasal]	[+nasal]	[+nasal]	[-nasal]
	yedē + ke	usisĩ + to	kade-ye + po	pare + ke
<b>NS</b>	[+nasal]	[+nasal]	[+nasal]	----
	yedē + ge	usisĩ + do	kade-ye + bo	
<b>SF</b>	yɛ <sup>n</sup> dē <sup>n</sup> ge	usisĩ <sup>n</sup> do	ka <sup>n</sup> deye <sup>m</sup> bo	pareke
	/yendéŋge/	/usisíndo/	/kandeyembo/	/pareke/
	‘village-2sPOSS’	‘ancestor-FOC’	‘hand-2/3pPOSS-INST’	‘woman-2sPOSS’

The three suffixes shown in Table 2.9: *-ke*, *-to* and *-po*, are the only ones to evidence this spreading. All other relevant suffixes begin with a nasal segment which masks any spreading that might be occurring.

One avenue of investigation of this feature was to determine an environmental conditioning for the voicing and prenasalisation that was observed. However, this proved an unproductive route, yielding no consistent phonological environment. For example:

/kande/	‘hand’		
/kandeke/	‘hand-2sPOSS’	/kandeye/	‘hand-3pPOSS’
/kandekepo/	‘hand-2sPOSS-INST’	/kandeyembo/	‘hand-3pPOSS-INST’

In the examples above, it seems evident that the morpheme *-ye* is exerting an influence rightward, an influence not found proceeding either from the root (because *-ke* is not affected) nor from the morpheme *-ke*.

Another approach was to find out whether a nasal segment in the immediate environment was responsible for the voicing and prenasalisation. This also failed to gain consistency as an explanation. Witness the following examples:

/kame/	‘husband’	/toŋe/	‘eye’
/kameke/	‘husband-2sPOSS’	/toŋeŋge/	‘eye-2sPOSS’
/kamekepo/	‘husband-2sPOSS-INST’	/toŋeŋgepo/	‘eye-2sPOSS-INST’

Again, in the case of *kame*, there is no evidence of voicing and prenasalisation of the affixed voiceless plosive even though there is a closely situated nasal segment. With *toŋe*, that result is expressed on the suffix *-ke* yet not on the following suffix.

One more approach was to seek a class of words or concepts which would show this kind of effect. While the affected roots are all nouns, most often nouns which are obligatorily possessed, there was no other semantic relationships found among the data. No such class of words was discovered, in part because some of the lexemes are affixes.

The analysis has thus been advanced that there is a nasal autosegment found on some roots and some affixes. This nasality is sometimes expressed on the surface, but sometimes not, only appearing when a suffix beginning with a voiceless plosive is added. The nasal feature spreads to that initial plosive, voicing and then automatically prenasalising it. The reach of the nasality only extends to a single morpheme and not beyond.

Thus there are three possible outcomes. A morpheme beginning with a voiceless plosive is affixed to a root or suffix

- a) which does not have the [+nasal] feature.

/pare/	‘woman’	/pareke/	‘your woman’
/ka/	‘one’	/kato/	‘one.FOC’
/suke/	‘knife’	/sukepo/	‘with a knife’

b) which has a [+nasal] feature that is realised on the surface

/wosó/	‘grass skirt’	/wosónge/	‘your grass skirt’
/usisí/	‘his ancestors’	/usisíndo/	‘his ancestors.FOC’
/kandí/	‘his hand’	/kandímbo/	‘with his hand’

c) which has a [+nasal] feature that is not realised on the surface

/toŋe/	‘eye’	/toŋeŋge/	‘your eye’
/awa/	‘father’	/awando/	‘father.FOC’
/pareye/	‘their women’	/pareyembo/	‘by their women’

# 3. Word

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## 3.1 Nouns

### 3.1.1 Possession

A noun may take a suffix which indicates possession and person/number (from the point of view of the speaker).

TABLE 3.1 POSSESSIVE NOUN SUFFIXES

PERSON	NUMBER		
	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>-ne</i>	<i>-nari</i>	<i>-nani</i>
2	<i>-ke</i>		
3	<i>-i</i> <i>-ŋo</i> <i>-yó</i>	<i>-yari</i>	<i>-ye</i>

The variants of the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessive are suppletive forms with no apparent phonological, grammatical or semantic motivation governing their variation.

#### 3.1.1.1 Inalienable possession

Body parts are obligatorily possessed; that is, they do not occur unless they have a possessor marker attached.

- (1) *kande-ne*  
hand-1sPOSS  
'my.hand'
- (2) *toŋe-ye*  
eye-2/3pPOSS  
'your/their.eyes'

- (3) *pare-ke*  
 woman-2sPOSS  
 ‘your.wife’

When marked for third singular possession such nouns may be used more abstractly as modifiers to a head noun.

- (4) *uni kamba-i*  
 man head-3sPOSS  
 ‘leader (lit. ‘head man’)

### 3.1.1.2 Kin terms

Kin terms are generally possessed, but they may also appear as just a stem when used vocatively (see Appendix: Traps, line 22) or with the focus clitic attached (see §3.4.4.3 example (122) below).

- (5) *awa-ne*  
 father-1sPOSS  
 ‘my.father’
- (6) *pa-ke*  
 older.sibling-2sPOSS  
 ‘your.older.sibling’

### 3.1.1.3 Common nouns

- (7) *ya-yó*  
 house-3sPOSS  
 ‘his.house’
- (8) *opiyo-nani*  
 dog-1pPOSS  
 ‘our.dog’
- (9) *sowo-yari*  
 story-2/3dPOSS  
 ‘your/their.story’

Another means of indicating possession is with the relativising pronoun.

- (10) *no-ndo ya qu*  
 1S-FOC house REL  
 ‘my house (the house which is mine)’

- (11) *nore mande qu*  
 1P talk REL  
 ‘our talk’
- (12) *Nuwimbo ka qu rero inoní...*  
 nuwe-í-mbo ka qu Ø-re-ro Ø-ino-ní  
 cousin-3sPOSS-FOC INDEF REL 3sDO-get-SS 3sDO-give-3sDS  
 ‘His cousins got one of his and gave it to him...’

### 3.1.2 Plural

Nouns are generally not pluralised. The subject agreement on the verb is usually sufficient to indicate number. However, when plurality is to be made explicit it can be indicated by stem reduplication or the reduplication of a diminutive particle.

- (13) a. *mande* ‘talk’  
*mande-mande* ‘lots of talk’  
 b. *awane* ‘my father’  
*awa-awane* ‘my fathers’  
 c. *pare ta* ‘girl’  
*pare ta-ta* ‘little girls’
- (14) *Kunditeyoni nyaya mande-mande yero tarowó.*  
 kundite-yo-ní nyu-ya mande-RED ye-ro te-a-ro-wó  
 sit-CONT-3sDS DEM-ACC talk-PL say-SS do-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘He was sitting [there] and we two made lots of talk with him.’

### 3.1.3 Distribution

Geographical distribution is expressed through reduplication as well, along with the addition of a distributive morpheme *-ne*.

- (15) a. *yendé* ‘village’  
*yendéne-yendéne* ‘various villages’  
 b. *mira* ‘area’  
*mirane-mirane* ‘various areas’
- (16) *Mirane-mirane uni sara, uni iriyó keño*  
 mira-ne-RED uni sara uni iriyó ke-ño  
 area-DIST-DIST man white man black 2s-POSS  
*mandeke iñoro...*  
 mande-ke iño-ro  
 talk-2s hear-SS  
 ‘In various lands white men and black men hear your talk and...’

### 3.1.4 Derivation

#### 3.1.4.1 Nominalised verbs

Nouns may be derived by reduplication of a verb stem.

- (17) a. *woso* 'pull'  
*woso-woso* 'saw file'
- b. *sopo* 'guard'  
*sopo-sopo* 'leader'
- c. *huru* 'gather'  
*huru-huru* 'gathering'
- (18) *Dandiro tatoqo meté tini huru-huru*  
*ɲandiro te-ato-qo meté te-ní huru-RED*  
 thus do-1pDS-SUB good do-3sDS gather-NOM
- ɲanoko towato kondéreweya.*  
*ɲa-no-ko Ø-towo-ato kondére-weya-Ø*  
 DEM-LOC-TOP 3sDO-hold-1pDS strengthen-FUT-2/3s
- 'If we do thus [the decision] will be good and we will hold it [i.e. make it] in this meeting and it will be strong.'

#### 3.1.4.2 Reciprocals

Reciprocal nouns are derived by reduplication of a verb stem and the use of a preceding reciprocal auxiliary word *epe*. The whole complex then becomes the content of the verb *te* 'do'. These nouns often do not have easy English equivalents.

- (19) a. *ino* 'give'  
*epe ino-ino* 'reciprocal giving (exchange)'
- b. *uto* 'hit'  
*epe uto-uto* 'exchange of blows'
- c. *ki* 'bite'  
*epe ki-ki* 'biting of each other'
- d. *muto* 'shoot'  
*epe muto-muto* 'exchange of shots'

- (20) *Bopi puri koya Buromburo puri koya epe*  
 Bopi purí koya Buromburo purí koya epe  
 Bopi mountain ACC Buromburo mountain ACC RECIPIENT  
*muto-muto tariyó.*  
 muto-RED te-a-ri-yó  
 shoot-RECIP do-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘Bopi mountain and Buromburo mountain shot each other.’

### 3.1.4.3 Generic nouns

Generic nouns may be formed by combining representative nouns into a single phonological unit.

- (21) a. *awa ná* → *awa-ná*  
 ‘father’ ‘mother’ → ‘parents’  
 b. *nú qare* → *nú-qare*  
 ‘bird’ ‘cuscus’ → ‘wild animal’  
 c. *umu kamba-í* → *umu-kembé*  
 ‘nose’ ‘head-3sPOSS’ → ‘his face’

- (22) *Unipare simó-namboyó mahero soŋa ŋuro*  
 unipare simó-nambo-yó mahe-to soŋa ŋu-ro  
 people son-daughter-3sPOSS come-SS headman DEM-REF  
*umu-kembé qeneto.*  
 umu-kamba-í qene-Ø-to  
 nose-head-3sPOSS see-PST-1p  
 ‘People and his children came and we saw the face of that headman [who had died].’

### 3.1.4.4 Dyadic nouns

A set of dyadic nouns generically denote various dual kinship groupings. They are each built on a stem, *yere*, followed by a form of a kinship term, ending in the morpheme *-sa*.

- (23) *yerenasa* ‘mother (*ná*) and child’  
*yerewasa* ‘father (*awa*) and child’  
*yerepasa* ‘older and younger siblings’ (*pa* = ‘older sibling’)  
*yerekuwosa* ‘two sisters’ (*kuwo* = ‘sister’)

## 3.2 Pronouns

### 3.2.1 Personal

The subject of an Iyo clause may be minimally indicated by the person/number suffix on the verb. In fact, a fully formed clause may consist of only a final or imperative verb. Pronouns are used when the subject or object of the clause is potentially ambiguous or emphasised. Person is not exhaustively marked on verbs, so that second and third persons are most often distinguished contextually (see §3.4.1.3). In such cases a pronoun will be used if the context does not disambiguate the actor in view. However, even the pronominal system is potentially ambiguous in the first person dual and plural and third person.

TABLE 3.2 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	S	D	P
1	<i>no</i>	<i>nore</i>	
2	<i>ke</i>	<i>yari</i>	<i>ye</i>
3		<i>ene</i>	

In example (24) below the speaker must disambiguate the referent of the second verb, since it is not clear from the medial verb system if the subject of that verb is 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

- (24) *Topone, o keta neyate yendo kewá*  
 topo-ne o keta Ø-ne-yate ye-ndo kewá  
 friend-1sPOSS food new 3sDO-eat-DUR 2P-FOC fire  
*ŋa qayuri yiyoyate ŋuro*  
 ŋa Ø-qa-yo-i yo-iyo-yate ŋu-ro  
 DEM 3sDO-burn-CONT-2/3pDS 3pDO-see-DUR DEM-REF  
*umbuteno.*  
 umbu-te-no  
 come.down-PRES-1s

‘Friend, I was eating raw food and I was seeing that you were burning this fire and I came down because of that.’

- (25) *Tini kini tini ene yendémo uyarewe yero*  
 te-ní kini te-ní ene yendé-no uyare-we ye-ro  
 do-3sDS NEG do-3sDS 3 village-ALL go-1sDS say-SS  
*nuwí Apilala miraró.*  
 nuwe-í Apilala Ø-miro-a-Ø-ró  
 cousin-3sPOSS Apilala 3sDO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He did it and it finished and he thought, I will go to the village, and he told his cousin Apilala.’

Notice in example (25) above that the internalised speech act utilising a first person switch reference marker is potentially confusing in this third person narrative. Thus the third person pronoun is what defines it as an indirect quote of the thought process of the story participant, rather than an obtrusion of the narrator into the story.

In the example below, at the beginning of this story, the participants are introduced by name and by using a pronominal reference.

- (26) *Asa Yunare mahini asa nore Dana kopatowó.*  
 Asa Yunare mahe-ní asa nore Dana kopo-a-to-wó  
 Alright Yunare come-3sDS alright 1P Dana gather-PST-1p-RPST  
 ‘Alright Yunare came and we gathered at Dana.’

Pronouns are required in equative clauses since there is no copula verb to mark person.

- (27) *No-ndo Boyopenu.*  
1S-FOC Boyopenu  
 ‘I am Boyopenu.’

### 3.2.2 Interrogative

#### 3.2.2.1 Content

The interrogative pronoun *do*, along with the indefinite particle *ka*, functions as a content interrogative, that is, for the idea of what.

- (28) *Da do ka?*  
 ŋa do ka  
 DEM what INDEF  
 ‘What is this?’

*Do*, together with *karo*, make the interrogative, why [i.e. in reference to what?].

- (29) *Ke do karo tendote?*  
 ke do ka-ro tendo-te-Ø  
 2S what INDEF-REF cry-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘Why are you crying?’

When is expressed simply by juxtaposing *do* with *naru* ‘time’.

- (30) *Do naru maheró?*  
 do naru mahe-Ø-Ø-ró  
 what time come-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘When did he come?’

### 3.2.2.2 Particularising

A particularising interrogative, one which asks for a differentiation among possibilities, is based on the pronoun *da*.

Where is formed by adding *-na* (discreteness) or *-sina* (side) to *da*.

- (31) *Pareke dana yote?*  
 pare-ke da-na yo-te-Ø  
 wife-2sPOSS which-DISC be-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘Where is your wife?’

Who is the combination of *da* and *-ni* (person).

- (32) *Dani kato tendote?*  
 da-ni ka-to tendo-te-Ø  
 which-PERS INDEF-FOC cry-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘Who is crying?’

How, or how much, are the affixation of *-te* (manner) or *-tiro* (quantity) to *da*.

- (33) *Uni date tojengo?*  
 uni da-te toje-Ø-ŋgo  
 man which-MAN go-PST-2/3p  
 ‘How [i.e. which way] did the men go?’

- (34) *Purí itaqero ma toṅetewero Nahu*  
 purí itaqe-ro ma toṅete-wero Nahu  
 mountain cross-SS XOR look.around-INTENT Nahu  
*howero ṅano yendé datiro?*  
 Ø-howe-ro ṅa-no yendé da-tiro  
 3sDO-follow-SS DEM-LOC village which-QUAN  
 ‘[If] you were crossing over the mountain or looking around and following the Nahu [river] how many villages are there?’

### 3.2.3 Demonstrative

Demonstrative pronouns point to an object or event and denote its relative distance from the speaker and/or listener in space or time.

TABLE 3.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

- |          |    |
|----------|----|
| proximal | ṅa |
| distal   | ṅu |
- (35) *Asa yendé ṅa towato kini tini sokome*  
 asa yendé ṅa Ø-towo-ato kini te-ní sokome  
 alright village DEM 3s-make-1pDS NEG do-3sDS letter  
*inanowó.*  
 Ø-ino-a-no-wó  
 3s-give-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘Alright we made this village and it finished and I gave him a letter.’
- (36) *Purine, oya giramu saṅano tombo*  
 puri-ne o-ya giramu saṅa-no tombo  
 brother-1sPOSS go.up-SEQ slit.drum on.top-LOC bracelet  
*ṅu re umbuka raṅowe.*  
ṅu re umbu-Ø-ka raṅo-we  
 DEM get come.down-SEQ make-1sDS  
 ‘Brother, go bring that bracelet on the drum, I’m going to work on it.’

Unaffixed demonstratives occur in oral speech to point out physical objects or to affirm something that has been said.

- (37) *Du iṅoteno.*  
 ṅu iṅo-te-no  
 DEM know-PRES-1s  
 ‘I understand that.’

They may also be used in a sandwiched demonstrative phrase in which the unaffixed form precedes the referent being highlighted, followed by the same demonstrative with the focus clitic. In this case the proximal demonstrative is cataphoric, while the distal demonstrative is anaphoric.

- (38) *Da mande sowo ηako no yendé ηuno yotoro*  
*na mande sowo na-ko no yendé ηu-no yoto-ro*  
 DEM talk story DEM-TOP 1S village DEM-LOC stay-SS  
*noko ηuno khono rimiηguri mu*  
 noko ηu-no kho-no rimi-Ø-ηgo-rí mu  
 ground DEM-LOC garden-LOC plant-PST-2/3p-RPST REL  
*kamba kono qeneyanowó.*  
 kamba kono qene-yo-a-no-wó  
 banana.type banana see-CONT-PST-1s-RPST

‘As far as this story goes, I was in the village and I saw the ground where they planted the *kamba* banana in the garden.’

- (39) *Du yendémo ηunoko uni kini, pare yendé*  
*ηu yendé-no ηu-no-ko uni kini pare yendé*  
 DEM village-LOC DEM-LOC-TOP man NEG woman village  
*nange.*  
 nange  
 DISC

‘In that village [there] were no men, [it was] a women’s village only.’

Their highest usage is with locative postpositions.

- (40) *Koreko are rotoro ηuwore mahenowó.*  
 kore-ko are roto-ro ηu-wore mahe-Ø-no-wó  
 above-LOC come.up leave-SS DEM-DIR come-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘Coming up I left it and came by that [road].’

- (41) *Yini ηano yate awa khumoní*  
 ye-ní ηa-no yate awa khumo-ní  
 say-3sDS DEM-LOC DUR father die-3sDS  
*ηano tapumoro...*  
 ηa-no tapu-mo-ro  
 DEM-LOC bury-3sDO-SS

‘He said [that] and while he stayed here father died and (I) buried him here and...’

At the discourse level, *ηu* is used heavily as an anaphoric reference device, employed after a participant has been introduced. It fills the role of definite article following a noun phrase.

- (42) *Wonde Noki ηu enemata ηuno yaró.*  
 wonde Noki ηu ene-mata ηu-no yo-a-Ø-ró  
 old Noki DEF 3-ISOL DEM-LOC be-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘That old man Noki was there by himself.’

- (43) *Po parámi tiní re kho ka tewero*  
 po pará-mi te-ní re kho ka te-wero  
 pig big-INTENS do-3sDS get work INDEF do-INTENT  
*ijoro enenjombo po ηu kama*  
 ijo-ro ene-ηo-mbo po ηu kama  
 think-SS 3-POSS-INST pig DEM NEG

*mutoyotengo.*

Ø-muro-yo-te-ηgo

3sDO-shoot-CONT-PRES-2/3p

‘[When] the pig gets big and [the owners] want to get it and do a work [with it] they themselves do not shoot the pig.’

It may also stand in for a previously mentioned element of the narrative and take any of the postpositions or clitics normally attaching to nouns.

- (44) *Umukiqo sono ka, owé Yamo,*  
 u-muko-i-qo sono ka owé Yamo  
 go.down-COMPL-2/3pDS-SUB water INDEF name Yamo  
*ηuko tojeró.*  
ηu-ko toje-Ø-Ø-ró  
 DEM-TOP leave-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘When they all went down, a river named Yamo left.’

- (45) “*Ye Dana iyari qembe,*” *yangurí.* *Nore*  
 ye Dana iyare-i qembe ye-a-ηgo-rí nore  
 2P Dana go-2/3pIMP FUT.IMP say-PST-2/3p-RPST 1P  
*ηu howero Dana iyaretowó.*  
ηu Ø-howe-ro Dana iyare-Ø-to-wó  
 DEM 3sDO-follow-SS Dana go-PST-1p-RPST

‘“You go to Dana,” they said. We followed that [command] and went to Dana.’

### 3.2.4 Reflexive

Reflexive constructions (when the actor and the undergoer of a clause are co-referent) employ a personal pronoun, the 3<sup>rd</sup> singular possessive suffix *-ŋo* (see §3.1.1) and the instrumental clitic (see §3.12.4).

- (46) *Eneŋombo kowí ura.*  
 ene-ŋo-mbo kowe-i Ø-uro-a-Ø  
 3-POSS-INST body-3sPOSS 3sDO-hit-PST-2/3s  
 ‘He hit himself.’
- (47) *Okene, kini, “Kimoyó muko keŋombo*  
*oke-ne kini kimo-yó mu-ko ke-ŋo-mbo*  
 SiCh-1sPOSS NEG price-3sPOSS REL-TOP 2S-POSS-INST  
*te qembe,” ye.*  
*te qembe ye*  
 do FUT.IMP say  
 ‘Nephew, no, [you] say, “You must do [i.e. pay] its price yourself.”’

### 3.2.5 Relativiser

Relativisation is a productive aspect of the Iyo language. Almost anything can be relativised by the addition of one of the relativisers *qu* or *mu* after the sentence unit to be relativised. The relativiser becomes the surrogate for the phrase or clause which precedes it, and the whole is then embedded in the larger clause.

- (48) *Tendaŋguri qu yewe teteno.*  
 tendo-a-ŋgo-rí qu ye-we te-te-no  
 cry-PST-2/3p-RPST REL say-1sDS do-PRES-1s  
 ‘I am going to say what they cried [out].’
- (49) *Noko usisiyembo nimiranguri*  
 no-ko usi-RED-ye-mbo no-miro-a-ŋgo-rí  
 1S-TOP ancestor-PL-2/3pPOSS-FOC 1DO-tell-PST-2/3p-RPST  
*mu, nore ŋu iŋoyoteto qu, nopa nanje*  
 mu nore ŋu iŋo-yo-te-to qu no-pa nanje  
 REL 1P DEM hear-CONT-PRES-1p REL 1S-PROM DISC  
*ye yimirowe teteno.*  
 ye yo-miro-we te-te-no  
 2P 3pDO-tell-INCEP do-PRES-1s  
 ‘What your ancestors told us, what we are hearing, I myself am about to tell you.’

This device is often used in the introduction to a story, a sort of synopsis of what is to follow.

- (50) *Dopeke koya Takeme koya tariyó qu.*  
 Dopeke koya Takeme koya te-a-ri-yó qu  
 Dopeke ACC Takeme ACC do-PST-2/3d-RPST REL  
 ‘What Dopeke and Takeme did.’

The relativiser may also appear with adjectives with the meaning ‘the one which is...’. For instance, in a heavy noun phrase with many modifiers, the second or third modifier will be relativised.

- (51) *wondo kutá irisa tomó ta qu*  
 wondo kutá irisa tomó ta qu  
 stone round two small DIM REL  
 ‘two small round stones’

Possessives may also utilise the relativiser (see §4.6) as in the following construction:

- (52) *Keto ya qu da?*  
 ke-to ya qu da  
 2S-FOC house REL where  
 ‘Where is your house (the house which is yours)?’

The relativiser, as surrogate for the thing relativised, takes the clitics such as focus or locative which would normally attach to a nominal.

- (53) *No tomó ta quno awandoya sikuno*  
 no tomo ta qu-no awa-ndo-ya siku-no  
 1S small DIM REL-LOC father-FOC-ACC deep.forest-ALL  
*tojerowó.*  
 toje-Ø-ro-wó  
 go-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘When I was small I went with my father to the bush.’
- (54) *Ko mira simburí muko koretero quno*  
 ko mira simburí mu-ko korete-ro quno  
 CONJ locale owner REL-TOP be.first-SS dance  
*rangurí.*  
 re-a-ŋgo-rí  
 do-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘And the ones who were the owners of the place were first and danced.’

- (55) *Koro hamó yaró mundo.*  
 ko-ro hamó ye-a-Ø-ró mu-ndo  
 TOP-REF true say-PST-2/3s-RPST REL-FOC  
 ‘What you said about that is true.’

### 3.2.6 Vocative

In direct address, two vocative pronouns are sometimes used. These are never inflected and usually occur as attention-getters at the beginning of a speech act.

- (56) *orisa* ‘you two’  
*okite* ‘you all’
- (57) *Dunde ηuroko na, awa okite, topo okite...*  
 ηunde ηu-ro-ko na awa okite topo okite  
 thus DEM-REF-TOP DISC father you.all friend you.all  
 ‘Therefore, all you fathers, all you friends...’
- (58) *Nowosoro raηuni “Orisane oka*  
 no-woso-ro raηo-ní orisa-ne oka  
 1sDO-pull-SS throw-3sDS you.two-1sPOSS something  
*teteno,” yewego...*  
 te-te-no ye-we-qo  
 do-PRES-1s say-1sDS-SUB  
 ‘[It] pulled me and threw and when I said, “My two [friends], I am doing something,”...’

These pronouns are also used following a particular kin term to mean ‘all (or both) of you (fathers, mothers, friends ...)’.

- (59) *Asa awa okite kunditetengo ηuko iηotengo.*  
 asa awa okite kundite-te-ηgo ηu-ko iηo-te-ηgo  
 alright father you.all sit-PRES-2/3p DEM-TOP know-PRES-2/3p  
 ‘Alright, all you fathers sitting [there] know [that].’

### 3.2.7 Inflection

#### 3.2.7.1 Possession

A possessive pronoun may supplement the possessive marker on the noun or occur in isolation as a predicate, such as an answer to a question. It is formed by the suffixation of *-ηo* to the personal pronoun set, except that the first person singular stem is the variant *nene*.

- (60) *ke-ŋo*  
2S-POSS  
'yours'
- (61) *yari-ŋo*  
2D-POSS  
'yours/theirs'
- (62) *nene-ŋo*  
1S-POSS  
'mine'
- (63) *Ke-ŋo pa-ke?*  
2S-POSS older.sibling-2sPOSS  
'Is he your older brother?'
- (64) *No qeneteno. Neneŋo!*  
no Ø-qene-te-no nene-ŋo  
1S 3sDO-see-PRES-1s 1S-POSS  
'I see it. It's mine!'

### 3.2.7.2 Prominence

The pronominal subject can be emphasised by adding the suffix *-pa* when a non-topicalised subject is in momentary prominence. This is often followed by the discrete particle *nange*.

- (65) *nore-pa*  
1P-PROM  
'we ourselves'
- (66) *Nore ŋu iŋoyoteto qu, nopa nange ye*  
nore ŋu iŋo-yo-te-to qu no-pa nange ye  
1P DEM hear-CONT-PRES-1p REL 1P-PROM DISC 2P  
*yimirowe teteno.*  
yo-miro-we te-te-no  
2/3pDO-tell-INCEP do-PRES-1p  
'What we hear [i.e. know], I myself am about to tell you that.'

### 3.2.7.3 Isolation/exclusivity

A subject can be described as being alone or isolated by adding the isolation suffix *-mata* to a pronoun. The affixed pronoun then either stands in isolation as the

subject or is a kind of modifier to a nominal subject. It is most commonly found in conjunction with the verb *yo* ‘be’.

- (67) *Uyari Samaingo enemata yaró.*  
 uyare-i Samaingo ene-mata yo-a-Ø-ró  
 go.down-3pDS Samaingo 3-ISOL be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘They went down and Samaingo was by himself.’
- (68) *Towo nini pari enemata yoni.*  
 Ø-towo Ø-ne-ní pare-í ene-mata yo-ní  
 3sDO-hold 3sDO-eat-3sDS woman-3sPOSS 3-ISOL be-3sDS  
 ‘Holding him, [the bird] ate him and his wife was all alone.’

A pronominal subject may be described as exclusively doing some action through the exclusive suffix *-só*.

- (69) *Keko keḡombo roneneḡo, no nenesó*  
 ke-ko ke-ḡo-mbo ronene-ḡo no nene-só  
 2S-TOP 2S-POSS-FOC straighten-3sDO 1S 1S-EXCL  
*reweka. Uni yeweya ḡuko newonde*  
 Ø-re-we-ka uni ye-weya-Ø ḡu-ko newonde  
 3sDO-get-1sDS-SEQ man say-FUT-2/3s DEF-TOP insides  
*surumí kama teweya.*  
 surumí kama te-weya-Ø  
 pain not do-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘You by yourself straighten it [saying], I myself must get it. The man who says that will not be sorry.’

### 3.3 Modifiers

#### 3.3.1 Adjectives

The class of adjectives is a fairly well represented group of independent words which are used to modify nouns. They are found within the noun phrase and as predicate modifiers. They include colour words and words with descriptive meanings such as weak, strong, dry, wet, crooked, dirty, hot, cold, etc. There is no classification of adjectives for gender or animacy or any other known category. When it is part of a noun phrase, any affixes which would normally go on the head noun are affixed to the postposed adjective.

- (70) *Dokoro nyaya kho meté tatowó.*  
 dokoro nyaya kho meté te-a-to-wó  
 because also work good do-PST-1p-RPST  
 ‘Because we also did good work.’

Examples:

<i>meté</i>	‘good’	<i>mando</i>	‘red’
<i>piyo</i>	‘bad’	<i>sara</i>	‘white’
<i>pará</i>	‘big’	<i>tiwi</i>	‘hot’
<i>tomo</i>	‘little’	<i>kiño</i>	‘cold’
<i>tukuni</i>	‘short’	<i>pusú</i>	‘dirty’
<i>piru</i>	‘tall’	<i>kondé</i>	‘strong’
<i>kutá</i>	‘round’	<i>ime</i>	‘weak’

### 3.3.1.1 Intensification

Adjectives may be intensified by adding the suffix *-mi*.

- (71) a. *pará* ‘big’  
       *parámi* ‘very big’  
 b. *mando* ‘ripe’  
       *mandumi* ‘very ripe/red’  
 c. *piyo* ‘bad’  
       *piyimi* ‘very bad’
- (72) *Yoto-yoto piyimi usindo awando*  
 yoto-RED piyo-mi usi-ndo awa-ndo  
 alive-NOM bad-INTENS grandfather-FOC father-FOC  
*ñande yanguri.*  
 ñande yo-a-ñgo-rí  
 thus be-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘Our fathers (and) grandfathers thus lived bad lives.’

A further level of intensification is expressed through full or partial reduplication.

- (73) a. *piyo* ‘bad’  
       *pi-piyimi* ‘extremely bad’  
 b. *iriyó* ‘black’  
       *iri-iriyó* ‘very black’  
 c. *kape* ‘ignorant’  
       *kape-kape* ‘crazy’

- (74) *Kama iji tondaṅini kape-kape tero...*  
 kama iḡo-i tondaṅe-ní kape-RED te-ro  
 NEG know-2/3pDS break-3sDS ignorant-INTENS do-SS  
 ‘They did not understand and he went crazy and...’

### 3.3.1.2 Plural

Adjectives applied to plural subjects are partially or fully reduplicated.

- (75) a. *meyowo* ‘other’  
*meyo-meyowo* ‘others’  
 b. *tomó* ‘small’  
*tomó-tomó* ‘small (ones)’
- (76) *Arisa yendé pará-paráko kapusa nanḡe yaró.*  
 arisa yendé pará-RED-ko kapusa nanḡe yo-a-Ø-ró  
 alright village big-PL-TOP three DISC be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Alright, there were only three big villages.’

### 3.3.2 Adverbs

Adverbs are a small set of words which serve to modify the verb, giving duration, intensity or negation; or they modify the clause giving temporal orientation. Those which modify the verb immediately precede it and nothing may intervene. Of those, the negative is most closely associated with the verb. Temporal adverbs most often come at the beginning of the sentence, except when a topicalised proper noun, pronoun or kin term comes first. In that case the adverb is at the beginning of the comment.

#### 3.3.2.1 Phrasal

Examples:

- |              |          |                |           |
|--------------|----------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>doṅe</i>  | ‘during’ | <i>mondó</i>   | ‘easily’  |
| <i>esone</i> | ‘very’   | <i>taṅo</i>    | ‘slowly’  |
| <i>hamó</i>  | ‘truly’  | <i>wambaka</i> | ‘almost’  |
| <i>kama</i>  | ‘not’    | <i>waka</i>    | ‘quickly’ |
- (77) *Nuwene, waka are.*  
 nuwe-ne waka are-Ø  
 cousin-1sPOSS quickly come.up-2sIMP  
 ‘Cousin, come up quickly.’

- (78) *Asa noko mande piru kama yewano.*  
 asa no-ko mande piru kama ye-wa-no  
 alright 1S-TOP talk long NEG say-FUT-1s  
 ‘Alright, I will not say a long talk.’
- (79) *Dunde yini iwimbo ηande yaró,*  
 ηunde ye-ní awa-í-mbo ηande ye-a-Ø-ró  
 thus say-3sDS father-3sPOSS-FOC thus say-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 “*Naṅone, hamó nimirote.*”  
 naṅo-ne hamó no-miro-te-Ø  
 son-1sPOSS truly 1DO-tell-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘He spoke thus and his father said, “My son, you are telling me truly.”’

### 3.3.2.2 Sentential

Examples:

- |              |          |               |                      |
|--------------|----------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>ime</i>   | ‘later’  | <i>kuyepo</i> | ‘tomorrow’           |
| <i>itaka</i> | ‘now’    | <i>tukú</i>   | ‘afterwards’         |
| <i>komo</i>  | ‘before’ | <i>yaṅini</i> | ‘day after tomorrow’ |
- (80) *Komo usisambako kowena toṅewero...*  
 komo usisamba-ko kowena toṅe-wero  
 earlier ancestors-TOP friends go-DESID  
 ‘Earlier, when the ancestors wanted to go to friends...’
- (81) *Itaka naṅge kho tomó ka teya o yuwo*  
 itaka naṅge kho tomó ka te-ya o yuwo  
 now DISC garden small INDEF do-SS.IMP food seedling  
*ṅa rimiya neyuri.*  
 ṅa rimi-ya Ø-ne-yo-ri  
 DEM plant-SS.IMP 3sDO-eat-CONT-3pIMP  
 ‘Just now make a small garden and plant these seedlings and eat.’
- (82) *Suwo kano nore Biliau nonṅo arero*  
 suwo ka-no nore Biliau nonṅo are-ro  
 night INDEF-LOC 1P Biliau ABL come.up-SS  
*Apilalako Doka purí etatowó.*  
 Apilala-ko Doka purí ete-a-to-wó  
 Apilala-LOC Doka mountain sleep-PST-1p-RPST  
 ‘One night we came up from Biliau and slept on Apilala [i.e. the main ridge of mountains] [on] Doka mountain.’

### 3.3.3 Quantifiers

#### 3.3.3.1 Cardinal numbers

The counting system is base five organised around the fingers of one hand.

TABLE 3.4 CARDINAL NUMBERS

<i>kanata</i>	'one'
<i>irisa</i>	'two'
<i>kapusa</i>	'three'
<i>nimí kini</i>	'four' (lit. 'without its mother' i.e. 'without the thumb')
<i>kandeka</i>	'five' (lit. 'one hand')
<i>kande saŋiyo kanata</i>	'six' (lit. 'one on top of the hand' i.e. hand plus one)
<i>kande saŋiyo irisa</i>	'seven'
<i>kande saŋiyo kapusa</i>	'eight'
<i>kande saŋiyo nimí kini</i>	'nine'
<i>kande irisa</i>	'ten' (lit. 'two hands')
<i>kande irisa kanata</i>	'eleven' (lit. 'two hands and one')
<i>kande irisa irisa</i>	'twelve'
<i>kande irisa kapusa</i>	'thirteen'
<i>kande irisa nimí kini</i>	'fourteen'
<i>kande irisa khe kanata</i>	'fifteen' (lit. 'two hands and one leg')
<i>kande irisa khe kanata kanata</i>	'sixteen' (lit. 'two hands, one leg and one')
<i>kande irisa khe kanata irisa</i>	'seventeen'
<i>kande irisa khe kanata kapusa</i>	'eighteen'
<i>kande irisa khe kanata nimí kini</i>	'nineteen'
<i>khe kande soso (uni piŋo)</i>	'twenty' (lit. 'all legs and hands' or 'a man's body')

This system of counting, at least in the higher numbers, is being superseded by numeracy in Tok Pisin (the language of wider communication). From one to five, the old system is almost universally used, six to ten are less common, and above ten the Tok Pisin numbers, derived from English, are almost universally used, the correct way of speaking such higher numbers a matter of much dispute amongst speakers.

### 3.3.3.2 Ordinal numbers

The ordinal numbers are formed as a relativised clause (see §5.6). The adjectives for ‘first’ *korete* and ‘last’ *weŋa* are used for the end points. ‘Second’ and ‘third’ use the third singular possessive suffix on the respective cardinal number. Beyond three the ordinals are the same as the cardinal numbers but in the relative clause framework.

TABLE 3.5 ORDINAL NUMBERS

<i>korete qu</i>	‘first’
<i>irisayó qu</i>	‘second’
<i>kapusayó qu</i>	‘third’
<i>nimí kini qu</i>	‘fourth’
<i>kandeka qu</i>	‘fifth’
<i>kande sanjiyo kanata qu</i>	‘sixth’

### 3.3.4 Negators

A noun, adjective or adverb which is the predicate of an equative clause is negated with the word *kini* which follows the phrase.

- (83) *Noko kupuwo kini, noko uni.*  
 no-ko kupuwo kini no-ko uni  
 1S-TOP eel NEG 1S-TOP man  
 ‘I am not an eel, I am a man.’
- (84) *Du yendémo ŋunoko uni kini, pare*  
 ŋu yendé-no ŋu-no-ko uni kini pare  
 DEF village-LOC DEM-LOC-TOP man NEG woman  
*yendé naŋge.*  
 yendé naŋge  
 village DISC  
 ‘In the village [there were] no men, [it was] only a women’s village.’
- (85) *Ariqo uni ŋundo, “Qare ŋunde kini,”*  
 are-i-qo uni ŋu-ndo qare ŋunde kini  
 come.up-2/3pDS-SUB man DEF-FOC cuscus thus NEG  
*yeyaró.*  
 ye-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 say-CONT-PST-3s-RPST  
 ‘When they came up that man was saying, “Cuscusses are not like that.”’

The negator *kini* is also used as a negative response to an assertion or question. It is also part of an idiomatic construction with the verb *te* ‘do’ which is used to speak of something being completed or exhausted.

- (86) *Hongo reyato kini tiniqo asa kimani*  
 hoŋgo re-yo-ato kini te-ni-qo asa kimani  
 fence make-CONT-1pDS NEG do-3sDS-SUB then beginning  
*rero so-somo qaro roŋgaruwoyoteto.*  
 re-ro RED-somo Ø-qa-ro roŋgaru-wo-yo-te-to  
 make-SS INTENS-bits 3sDO-burn-SS prepare-3sDO-CONT-PRES-1p  
 ‘We make the fence and when it is finished we make a beginning and  
 burn the little bits and prepare [the garden].’

Negation of a verb in the indicative mode is accomplished by the adverb *kama* which immediately precedes the verb.

- (87) *Eneŋombo po ŋu kama utoyotengo.*  
 ene-ŋo-mbo po ŋu kama uto-yo-te-ŋgo  
 3-POSS-INST pig DEM NEG kill-CONT-PRES-2/3p  
 ‘They themselves do not kill that pig.’
- (88) *Kiripo koqate, kama khumoweya.*  
 kiri-po ko-qa-te-Ø kama khumo-weya-Ø  
 nettle-INST 2sDO-burn-PRES-2/3s NEG die-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘Nettles burned you, you won’t die.’

Negation of a verb in the imperative mode consists of the adverb *ma* immediately preceding a verb marked for intentional aspect. *Ma* is often used as a generic prohibitive interjection to desist from doing something.

- (89) *Minembape, kota ma yewero no khumowe teteno.*  
 Minembape kota ma ye-wero no khumo-we te-te-no  
 Minembape lie NEG say-INTENT 1S die-INCEP do-PRES-1s  
 ‘Minembape, don’t lie, I’m about to die.’
- (90) *Ke ma uyarewero, rotoka etato.*  
 ke ma uyare-wero roto-ka ete-ato  
 2S NEG go-INTENT leave-SEQ sleep-1pIMP  
 ‘Don’t go, leave off and let’s sleep.’

### 3.4 Verbs

Medial verbs may take suffixes to indicate aspect, to register that the subject of one verb is the same as the next, to identify the person and number of the current

subject (when a change of subject is anticipated) and establish that the current verb happened in a sequence. Direct objects are also marked on medial transitive verbs, either as a prefix (see §3.4.7.4) or, in the case of third person singular, as a suffix (see §3.4.7.5).

Final verbs may take suffixes to establish the person and number of the subject, indicate the third person singular direct object, tense, aspect and mood. For the majority of transitive verbs any object other than the third person singular is marked by an auxiliary word (see §3.4.7.5).

A restricted set of transitive verb stems take a prefixed direct object marker rather than a suffix or auxiliary.

Imperative final verbs take the same set of suffixes and/or prefixes as the different subject medial verbs but occur clause final.

### 3.4.1 Morphology

#### 3.4.1.1 Same subject medial verb

A medial verb expresses a part of the narrative stream which is by nature incomplete. Its most common use is as part of a sequential series of events leading up to the final verb. When one of the participants of the narrative engages in such an event series, each stem is marked to indicate that it is the same actor involved, along with the direct objects, if any, of the action of the verb. This sequence of same subject (SS) medial verbs continues until the final verb is reached or the actor is expected to change before that final verb. Such a SS medial verb may also be temporally subordinated, usually as part of tail-head linkage. The SS medial verb may be part of an imperative stream describing a series of events to be performed by the addressee.

TABLE 3.6 SAME SUBJECT (SS) MEDIAL VERBS

	±DO		+stem	±3sDO	±same subject	±CONJ
	s	p			-ro	-qo (±LIM -ta)
1	no-			-ŋo/-yo/ -wo/-mo	±SEQ -ya	
2	ko-	yo-			±DUR -yate	
3	∅-					

- i) A prefixed DO only occurs on a small, restricted set of verb stems and may not co-occur with a suffixed 3sDO (see §3.4.7.4).
- ii) The SEQ morpheme is only used in an imperative stream.

iii) The 3sDO morphemes are suppletive forms.

Examples:

- (91) *nondoworo...*  
no-towo-ro  
1DO-hold-SS  
'he held me and...'
- (92) *pisiyoroqota...*  
pisi-yo-ro-qo-ta  
give.birth.to-3sDO-SS-SUB-LIM  
'just when she gave birth to [3s] ...'
- (93) *maheya...*  
mahe-ya  
come-SEQ  
'come and...'

### 3.4.1.2 Different subject medial verb

Like the SS medial verb, the different subject (DS) medial is a part of the narrative stream leading up to the final verb. However, the suffix attached both indicates (minimally) the person and number of who has been the actor since the most recent final or DS medial verb, and that there will be a change of actor with the next clause. Also, aspect may be marked on the DS medial verb. The DS medial verb may be temporally subordinated, usually as a part of tail-head linkage.

TABLE 3.7 DIFFERENT SUBJECT (DS) MEDIAL VERBS

±DO		+stem	±3sDO	±ASP	±different subject			±SEQ -ka (±LIM -ta)	
s p					s	d	p		
1	no-		-yo	CONT	1	-we	-(a)ro	-(a)to	
2	ko-   yo-		-yo	COMPL	2	-i	-ri	-i	±CONJ -qo (±LIM -ta)
3	∅-		-wo	-muko	3	-ní			
			-mo		DUR -yate INCEP -wero				

- i) A prefixed DO only occurs on a small, restricted set of verb stems and may not co-occur with a suffixed 3sDO (see §3.4.7.4).
- ii) The optional /a/ in the 1d and 1p different subject forms occurs on those verbs which normally take the past tense morpheme -a.

- iii) The SEQ morpheme only occurs as part of an imperative stream.
- iv) The 3sDO morphemes are suppletive forms.

Examples:

- (94) *iyato...*  
yo-iyō-ato  
2/3pDO-look.at-1pDS  
'we looked at them and...'
- (95) *kusiyika...*  
kusi-yo-i-ka  
tie.up-3sDO-2/3pDS-SEQ  
'you [pl] tie it up and then...'
- (96) *maheyowe...*  
mahe-yo-we  
come-CONT-1sDS  
'I was coming and...'
- (97) *teyate...*  
te-yate  
do-DUR  
'did (it) on and on and...'
- (98) *yiniqota...*  
ye-ní-qo-ta  
say-3sDS-SUB-SEQ  
'when he spoke, then...'

### 3.4.1.3 Final verb

The Iyo final verb is fully inflected for person/number, tense and aspect as well as direct object, if any (for auxiliary object see §3.4.7.5). The person/number suffixes distinguish among singular, dual and plural subject number. However, they only distinguish between first and second/third subject persons.

TABLE 3.8 FINAL VERBS

±DO		+stem	±3sDO	±ASP	±tense	+subject			±RPST					
s	p					s	d	p	s	d	p			
1	no-		-ŋo -yo -wo -mo	CONT -yo COMPL -muko	PST -a/-∅ PRES -te FUT -weya -wa	1	-no	-ro	-to	-wó				
	2	ko-					yo-	2	-∅	-ri	-ŋgo	-ró	-yó	-rí
		∅-												
				HAB -a (2/3s -yara)										

- i) The RPST morpheme always co-occurs with the past tense morpheme.
- ii) A prefixed DO only occurs on a small, restricted set of verb stems and may not co-occur with a suffixed 3sDO (see §3.4.7.4).
- iii) The past tense morpheme  $-\emptyset$  only occurs on a restricted subset of verbs including verbs of motion and certain monosyllabic verbs with stem-final /e/ (see §3.4.7.2).
- iv) The habitual morphemes  $-a$  and  $-yara$  take the subject morpheme but do not co-occur with the RPST morpheme.
- v) The future tense morpheme  $-weya$  has a variant  $-wa$  in some parts of the language group in all but the 3s.
- vi) The 3sDO morphemes are suppletive forms.

Examples:

- (99) *Korotano-wó.*  
ko-roto-a-no-wó  
2sDO-let.go-PST-1s-RPST  
'I let you [sg] go.'
- (100) *Samakanŋato.*  
samaka-ŋo-a-to  
help-3sDO-PST-1p  
'We helped him [yesterday].'
- (101) *Teyotero.*  
te-yo-te-ro  
do-CONT-PRES-1d  
'We both are doing [it].'

- (102) *Neyara.*  
 Ø-ne-yara  
 3sDO-eat-3SHAB  
 ‘He habitually ate.’
- (103) *Qenemukoweya.*  
 gene-muko-weya-Ø  
 see-COMPL-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘She will see completely.’

### 3.4.1.4 Imperative final verb

The imperative final verb has the same shape as a DS medial verb. However, it takes the place of a fully inflected final verb in an imperative clause.

TABLE 3.9 IMPERATIVE FINAL VERBS

±DO		+stem	±3sDO	+IMP		
s	p			s	d	p
1	no-		-ŋo/-yo/ -wo/-mo	1	-(a)ro	-(a)to
2	ko-	2		-Ø	-ri	-i
3	Ø-	yo-		3	-ní	

- i) A prefixed DO only occurs on a small, restricted set of verb stems and may not co-occur with a suffixed 3sDO (see §3.4.7.4).
- ii) The optional /a/ in the 1d and 1p imperatival forms occurs on those verbs which normally take the past tense morpheme -a.
- iii) The 3sDO morphemes are suppletive forms.

Examples:

- (104) *Hokato.*  
 Ø-hoko-ato  
 3sDO-lift-1pIMP  
 ‘Let us lift it.’
- (105) *Yoqani.*  
 yo-qa-ní  
 2/3pDO-burn-3sIMP  
 ‘Let it burn them.’

- (106) *Rokóŋi.*  
 rokó-ŋo-i  
 mark-3sDO-2/3pIMP  
 ‘[You] mark it.’

### 3.4.2 Inflection

#### 3.4.2.1 Final verbs

Final verbs occur at the end of clauses (they may stand alone as an entire clause) and carry the main story line in Iyo discourse. While any given sentence may contain many medial verbs which move the action along, switching back and forth between participants and locations, the final verb anchors the story in time and space. Final verbs are inflected for person/number and aspect, although the extent of governance of that inflection is only as far back as the last different subject marker, final verb and/or aspect morpheme in the stream. Final verbs are also inflected for tense, which governs the time orientation of the entire stream since the last final verb.

#### 3.4.2.2 Medial verbs

Medial verbs are verb stems inflected for aspect (occasionally) and a subject referential suffix. They are not inflected for tense but are dependent on the final verb for temporal orientation. They normally occur as medial clauses leading up to a final clause, except when used in commands or sentence fragments (as in some speech acts).

The subject referential system identifies the continuity or discontinuity of subject for each succeeding verb (see §6.4.2). Thus, given two succeeding verbs A and B, then this is the pattern.

- a) if the subject of A is the same as the subject of B, the suffix on A is *-ro*.
- b) if the subject of A is different from the subject of B, the suffix on A is *-we*, *-ni*, *-to* or *-i* depending on the subject of A.

- (107) *Oro nikiwero sopo nereyoní*  
 o-ro no-ki-wero sopo nere-yo-ní  
 go.up-SS 1DO-bite-INTENT wait 1DO-CONT-3sDS

**subj:** (the pig) (the pig)  
 ‘[The pig] went up and in order to bite me was waiting for me and

*Dopenuka howini umbuni*  
 Dopenuka Ø-howe-ní umbu-ní  
 Dopenuka 3sDO-chase-3sDS come.down-3sDS

**subj:** (Dopenuka) (pig)

Dopenuka chased it and it came down and

*murowe poto no nikini*  
 Ø-muro-we po-do no no-ki-ní  
 3sDO-shoot-1sDS pig-FOC 1S 1DO-bite-3sDS

**subj:** (narrator) (pig)

I shot it and the pig bit me and

*no kiwanowó.*  
 no kiwe-a-no-wó  
 1S yell-PST-1s-RPST

**subj:** (narrator)

I yelled.'

### 3.4.2.3 Modal verbs

The modal suffix *-wero* performs several functions. It can indicate the inceptive aspect when used as a final verb in a speech act (see §3.4.4.6). It also encodes the intensive or desiderative mode (see §3.4.5.3). Preceded by the negative particle *ma* it forms a prohibitive clause (see §5.8). Followed by the relative pronoun *qu* suffixed with the referential marker *-ro* the modal verb expresses purpose or use of something.

- (108) *Yiriqo enepa mande topé*  
 ye-ri-qo ene-pa mande topé  
 say-2/3dDS-SUB 3-PROM talk response  
*yimiraguri,* “*Duko yikiwero*  
 yo-miro-a-ngo-rí nu-ko yo-ki-wero  
 2/3pDO-tell-PST-2/3p-RPST DEM-TOP 2/3pDO-bite-INTENT  
*quro kini, nu-ko merembo siriwero*  
 qu-ro kini nu-ko merembo siri-yo-wero  
 REL-REF NEG DEM-TOP pandanus gather-3sDO-INTENT  
*quro se reyoteto.”*  
 qu-ro se Ø-re-yo-te-to  
 REL-REF get.PLOBJ 3sDO-put-CONT-PRES-1p

‘When they said that he responded to them saying, “That’s not for biting you, that’s [something] for gathering pandanus that we put [there].”’

The imperative modal verb is analogous to the medial subject referential system in that it uses most of the different subject-marking morphemes. The person/number marking indicates either the assumed subject of the commanded action, or the patient of that action (in the case of 3s).

- (109) *Woso umbuni!*  
 woso umbu-ní  
 pull come.down-3SIMP  
 ‘Pull it down!’
- (110) *Oya kondó parámi ηu reya*  
 o-ya kondó pará-mi ηu Ø-re-ya  
 go.up-SS.IMP bowl big-INTENS DEM 3sDO-get-SS.IMP  
*umbuya ηano ri.*  
 umbu-ya ηa-no Ø-re-i  
 come.down-SS.IMP DEM-LOC 3sDO-put-2/3pIMP  
 ‘[You all] go up and get that big bowl and come down and put it here.’
- (111) *Kondéqato.*  
 kondéqe-ato  
 bow.the.head-1pIMP  
 ‘Let us bow.’

### 3.4.3 Tense

There are four tense distinctions in Iyo, marked only on the final verb along with the full suite of final affixation. Medial verbs receive their time orientation from the final verb.

#### 3.4.3.1 Remote past

Remote past is used for any event which occurred at least two days (more or less) before the time in focus in the narrative or whose time frame in the past is unknown. This is the normal narrative tense.

- (112) *Nuwí qeneró.*  
 nuwe-í qene-Ø-Ø-ró  
 cousin-3sPOSS see-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He saw his cousin.’

#### 3.4.3.2 Past

Past tense speaks of the time range extending from a few hours ago back through yesterday. Because of this limited range reference the past tense’s use in stories is

limited except in direct quotes. Also, because of its limited use in ordinary narrative, the simple past form also frequently serves as habitual aspect.

- (113) *Du wekokaŋgo qu ŋu kama qateto.*  
 ŋu wekoko-a-ŋgo qu ŋu kama Ø-qa-te-to  
 DEM drill-PST-2/3p REL DEM NEG 3sDO-burn-PRES-1p  
 ‘[The dynamite] which they drilled [yesterday] we did not burn [i.e. explode] it [today].’

Note that this was a part of a story about a trip the day before to continue the process of building an airstrip.

- (114) *Sirá rimiyaŋgo ŋu naŋge qeneroqo*  
 sirá rimi-yo-a-ŋgo ŋu naŋge qene-ro-qo  
 taro plant-CONT-PST-2/3p DEM DISC see-SS-SUB  
*sirá sowe tero rimiyoŋgo.*  
 sirá sowe te-ro rimi-yo-te-ŋgo  
 taro continuation do-SS plant-CONT-PRES-2/3p  
 ‘Seeing it simply as the type of taro they always planted they added it to the taro they are planting now.’

The context of this story is all in the remote past. Thus the intrusion of a simple past into the narrative unambiguously marks it as a habitual aspect used in narrative.

### 3.4.3.3 Present

Present tense is used for a narrow range of time reference which extends from a short time before now (usually less than a few hours) up to the current event time. It indicates something a participant is in the process of doing or has just recently completed.

The present tense is most often found with the continuative aspect morpheme (see §3.4.4.1) indicating something which is on-going. When the continuative aspect is not in focus the present tense represents either a mild past tense (see §3.4.6) or a stative sense (i.e. with no time frame).

- (115) *Du iŋoteno.*  
 ŋu iŋo-te-no  
 DEM know-PRES-1s  
 ‘I understand that.’

### 3.4.3.4 Future

Future tense indicates an action which will probably happen in the near to distant future. It usually is used for anything whose time frame is not known.

- (116) *Balusi naru kano areweya ŋu*  
 balusi naru ka-no are-weya-Ø ŋu  
 airplane time INDEF-LOC come.up-FUT-2/3s DEM  
*Seweko o siyoni uweya.*  
 Sewe-ko o siyo-ní u-weya-Ø  
 Sewe-TOP things get.PLOBJ-3sDS go.down-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘At whatever time the plane will come up, Sewe will get their things and it will go down.’

### 3.4.4 Aspect

Commonly, an Iyo verb has no aspectual marking (or a zero marker) and is viewed as punctiliar. That is, the duration or quality of the action is not in focus. Aspect may be overtly encoded by a suffix on the verb or by a free verb. It may be marked on a medial verb stem with a different subject switch reference marker or on a final verb stem to indicate the manner or quality of the action. These suffixes may then be followed by switch reference (and conjunction) markers to form a medial verb, or by tense and person/number markers to form a final verb ending. In the case of the inceptive aspect, the inflected verb stem itself indicates the aspect of a paired final verb.

#### 3.4.4.1 Continuative

Imperfective aspect is marked by *-yo*. Its primary usage is to encode continuative aspect, although its use shades into habitual aspect depending on the context. It has the same shape as the verb stem, *yo*, which means ‘to be’ or ‘to stay’.

- (117) *Seyoníqo nore utowó.*  
 se-yo-ní-qo nore u-Ø-to-wó  
 dig-CONT-3sDS-SUB 1P go.down-PST-1p-RPST  
 ‘As she was digging, we came down.’
- (118) *Naru rokóŋoro ŋunde nanje teyaró.*  
 naru rokó-ŋo-ro ŋunde nanje te-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 time measure-3sDO-SS thus DISC do-HAB-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Marking out the time he would always do this.’

#### 3.4.4.2 Completive

Completive aspect is marked by *-muko*. This suffix is often used to indicate that the action of the verb was done by all those participants in view.

- (119) *Sotamako tutu weyoyate weyomuko rotoní...*  
 sotama-ko tutu weyo-yate weyo-muko roto-ní  
 sand-TOP star count-DUR count-COMPL let.go-3sDS  
 ‘The sand was counting the stars and when it had counted [them all] it quit...’
- (120) *Sono tomó ta-ta ηuno qu*  
 sono tomó ta- RED ηu-no qu  
 water small DIM-PL DEM-LOC REL  
*umukanğuri.*  
 u-muko-a-ηgo-rí  
 go.down-COMPL-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘The small rivers that were there all went down.’

The verb *roto* ‘let go’, properly inflected for either medial or final verb status, or uninflected as a member of a serial construction, can be used for completive aspect.

- (121) *Tapumoro rotoro topé nekoro...*  
 tapu-mo-ro roto-ro topé neko-ro  
 bury-3sDO-SS let.go-SS family call-SS  
 ‘He buried it and finished and called its family...’

### 3.4.4.3 Durative

The durative aspect *-yate* may be marked on any medial verb. It may also exist as an independent word, even taking final verb affixation, undoubtedly because it was at one time a verb stem itself. As a free-standing word it may be reduplicated to give intensity. The affixed stem may also be reduplicated for the same reasons.

- (122) *awando powera qeneyate, qare ka*  
 awa-ndo powera qene-yate qare ka  
 father-FOC big.trap see-DUR cuscus INDEF  
*reró.*  
 Ø-re-Ø-Ø-ró  
 3sDO-get-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Father was looking at traps and got a cuscus.’
- (123) *Oyate oyate oyate purímo oro*  
 o-yate o-yate o-yate purí-no o-ro  
 go.up-DUR go.up-DUR go.up-DUR mountain-LOC go.up-SS  
 ‘We went up and up and up the mountain...’

- (124) *Uni ka opiñoṅomboya yateyariyó.*  
 uni ka opiño-ṅo-mboya yate-yo-a-ri-yó  
 man INDEF dog-POSS-ACC DUR-CONT-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘A man and his dog were out walking along.’  
*Yateyori sono mituku tero...*  
yate-yo-ri sono mituku te-ro  
 DUR-CONT-2/3dDS water downpour do-SS  
 ‘They were walking and a rain storm came...’

#### 3.4.4.4 Habitual

The habitual aspect is frequently indistinguishable from the continuative aspect (see example (118) above). It is often encoded by the simple past forms, being disambiguated from them by their use in the normal narrative framework of remote past final verbs (see §3.4.1.3 and §3.4.3.1). The most obvious presentation of the habitual aspect is the unique use of the suffix *-yara* for 3<sup>rd</sup> singular habitual aspect.

- (125) *Ḍako mande piyimi ka newondimo*  
 ṅa-ko mande piyo-mi ka newonde-í-mo  
 DEM-TOP talk bad-INTENS INDEF insides-3sPOSS-ALL  
*kama uyara uni ṅuko waraka kama*  
 kama u-yara uni ṅu-ko waraka kama  
 NEG go.down-3sHAB man DEM-TOP quickly NEG  
*khumoyara.*  
 khumo-yara.  
 be.sick-3sHAB  
 ‘[Like] this, [if] bad talk doesn’t habitually go down into a man’s insides that man doesn’t habitually get sick.’

#### 3.4.4.5 Perfective

The verb *te* ‘do’, inflected with the past tense morpheme, can be used to indicate perfective aspect for a preceding clausal unit (1+ clauses).

- (126) *Wimbí tero taqo asa po mutoyoteṅgo.*  
 wimbí te-ro te-a-qo asa po Ø-muro-yo-te-ṅgo  
 strength do-SS do-PST-SUB OK pig 3sDO-shoot-CONT-PRES-2/3p  
 ‘They would gain strength, and having done so, would shoot the pig.’

#### 3.4.4.6 Inceptive

The inceptive aspect encodes an incipient action, something planned or possible within a few hours. The inceptive aspect suffix has the same shape, *-wero*, which may

be abbreviated to *-we*, as the suffix which marks intentional mode (see §3.4.5.3). However, the verb thus inflected is followed by either the medial or final form of the verb *te* ‘do’, on which is marked the person and number of the incipient actor.

- (127) *Yowe qare sorewero umbuníqo*  
 yo-we qare sore-wero umbu-ní-qo  
 be-1sDS cuscus run.away-INTENT come.down-3sDS-SUB  
*murowero tewé kowe roto sore te*  
 Ø-muro-wero te-we kowe roto sore te  
 3sDO-shoot-INCEP do-1sDS CONJ leave run.away tree  
*suwómo ko oró.*  
 suwó-mo ko o-Ø-Ø-ró  
 top-ALL again go.up-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘I was [there] and when the cuscus came down intending to run away, I was about to shoot it and then it left and was running away and it went up again to the top.’

### 3.4.5 Mode

#### 3.4.5.1 Indicative

The indicative mode is the normal or unmarked construction of medial or final endings.

#### 3.4.5.2 Imperative

The imperative mode is marked by a zero suffix for 2nd singular, by *-i* for 2nd plural, by *-(a)ro* for 1st dual, by *-(a)to* for 1st plural (hortatory) and by *-ní* for 3rd singular (jussive).

TABLE 3.10 IMPERATIVE MODE

	2s	2p	1d	1p	3s
<i>woso</i> ‘pull’	<i>woso</i>	<i>wosi</i>	<i>wosaro</i>	<i>wosato</i>	<i>wosoní</i>
<i>ne</i> ‘eat’	<i>ne</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>naro</i>	<i>nato</i>	<i>niní</i>
<i>u</i> ‘go down’	<i>u</i>	<i>uyi</i>	<i>uro</i>	<i>uto</i>	<i>uní</i>

The different subject sequential suffix *-ka* is normally used in a stream of imperative medial verbs with the following verb being the result of the medial stream. Thus

- (128) *Wosoka umbuni!*  
 Ø-woso-ka umbu-ní  
 3sDO-pull-SEQ come.down-3sIMP  
 ‘Pull it and (let) it come down!’

Often only the verb stem with the SEQ suffix is spoken as a command, leaving the result implicit.

The future imperative employs the same form as the immediate imperative with the addition of the particle *qembe* following the final verb (see §3.11.4).

The negative imperative is formed with the particle *ma* and verb in the intentional mode (see below).

- (129) *Ma newero!*  
 ma Ø-ne-wero  
 NEG 3sDO-eat-INTENT  
 ‘Do not eat it!’

### 3.4.5.3 Intentional

The intentional mode expresses purpose or intent to a verb. It is marked by the suffix *-wero* on the verb stem. It is usually followed by another verb of which the purposed verb is intended to be the outcome (‘in order to’). For instance, in example (130), the verb *yo* ‘be’ is the intended outcome of the action of the verb *mahe* ‘come’.

- (130) *Uni ka noreya yowero mahenguri.*  
 uni ka nore-ya yo-wero mahe-Ø-ηgo-rí  
 man INDEF 1P-ACC be-INTENT come-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘Some men came to be with us.’

### 3.4.6 Combination sample

In the following example a narrator relates his experience interacting with a friend who was from another country and did not realize that he had used nettle leaves on a tender part of his anatomy.

- (131) *Witu nirini ηa, “Kiripo koqate, kama*  
 witu nere-ní ηa kiri-po ko-qa-te-Ø kama  
 show 1DO-3sDS DEM nettle-INST 2sDO-burn-PRES-2/3s NEG  
*khumoweya,” ye mirowe yaró,*  
 khumo-weya-Ø ye Ø-miro-we ye-a-Ø-ró  
 die-FUT-2/3s say 3sDO-tell-1sDS say-PST-2/3s-RPST

“*Minembape, kota yewero no khumowe teteno!*”  
 Minembape kota ye-wero no khumo-we te-te-no  
 Minembape lie say-PURP 1S die-INCEP do-PRES-1s

‘He showed me and I told him, “Nettles burned you, you will not die,”  
 and he said, “Minembape, you trying to trick [me], I am about to die!”’

Notice that the present tense is only used in the reported speech, in a story about something that happened some time ago. Also notice the alteration between the future tense which encodes an uncertain outcome, balanced by the inceptive aspect used for what is expected to definitely happen.

### 3.4.7 Verb classes

Verbs fall into four classes based on their morphology and syntax: intransitive, transitive with no object marking, transitive with prefixed objects, transitive with suffixed or auxiliary objects.

A closed sub-class of intransitive verbs exists based solely on morphology, primarily of verbs of motion, which do not take the past tense morpheme *-a*.

#### 3.4.7.1 Intransitive verbs

Verbs in this open class never occur with an object in the clause and thus do not take object prefixes or suffixes, nor are they associated with object auxiliaries.

Examples:

<i>are</i>	‘come up’	<i>otoqo</i>	‘get up’
<i>ete</i>	‘sleep’	<i>puqe</i>	‘rot’
<i>hahaje</i>	‘be out of breath’	<i>sóqe</i>	‘hide’
<i>image</i>	‘rest’	<i>toqe</i>	‘go’
<i>kaje</i>	‘stand’	<i>u</i>	‘go down’
<i>khumo</i>	‘die’	<i>wote</i>	‘grow’
<i>mahe</i>	‘come’	<i>yo</i>	‘be’
<i>o</i>	‘go up’	<i>yomo</i>	‘smile’

- (132) *Merembo koro sikuno toqewano.*  
 merembo ko-ro siku-no toqe-wa-no  
 pandanus TOP-REF forest-ALL go-FUT-1s  
 ‘I am going to the bush for pandanus.’

- (133) *Daniel yano etete.*  
 Daniel ya-no ete-te-Ø  
 Daniel house-LOC sleep-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘Daniel is sleeping in the house.’
- (134) *Dunde yewe asa ijoro yendémo orowó.*  
 Dunde ye-we asa iŋo-ro yendé-no o-Ø-ro-wó  
 Thus speak-1sDS alright hear-SS village-ALL go.up-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘I spoke thus and he heard and we went up to the village.’
- (135) *Teyowe kumone kato mahero*  
 te-yo-we kumo-ne ka-to mahe-ro  
 do-CONT-1sDS brother-1sPOSS INDEF-FOC come-SS  
*uroní kumaró.*  
 Ø-uro-ní khumo-a-Ø-ró  
 3sDO-hit-3sDS die-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘I was doing [thus] and my brother came and hit it and it died.’

### 3.4.7.2 Intransitive verbs with no past tense suffix

This closed class of verbs do not accept the ordinary past tense morpheme *-a*. The class may be much larger if verb stems which end in *-a* are included, but there is no way of determining whether such verbs do not take the past tense morpheme or elide the final stem segment during suffixation.

Examples (an exhaustive list):

<i>are</i>	‘come up’	<i>re</i>	‘make’
<i>iyare</i>	‘go’	<i>toje</i>	‘leave’
<i>mahe</i>	‘come’	<i>u</i>	‘go down’
<i>o</i>	‘go up’	<i>umbu</i>	‘come down’
<i>qene</i>	‘see’	<i>uyare</i>	‘go’

### 3.4.7.3 Transitive verbs with no object marking

This open class of verbs are often transitive, that is, there is a noun in the clause or the discourse context upon which the action is focused either directly or indirectly. But there is no marking on the verb itself to indicate person or number of that object noun. They may also be used intransitively.

Examples:

<i>ijo</i>	‘hear’	<i>purote</i>	‘smash’
<i>kindaɓe</i>	‘crack’	<i>raɓo</i>	‘throw’
<i>koro</i>	‘climb’	<i>rimbo</i>	‘chop’
<i>kundo</i>	‘play’	<i>rimi</i>	‘plant’
<i>mondo</i>	‘dip and fill’	<i>rondaɓe</i>	‘weigh’
<i>momo</i>	‘steal’	<i>se</i>	‘dig’
<i>peso</i>	‘peel’	<i>ye</i>	‘say’

- (136) *Moyembanu sono sumeyo te ka koraró.*  
 Moyembanu sono sumeyo te ka koro-a-Ø-ró  
 Moyembanu water beside tree INDEF climb-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Moyembanu climbed a tree beside the stream.’
- (137) *Wondo ka parámi mu seyaró.*  
 wondo ka pará-mi mu se-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 stone INDEF big-INTENS REL dig-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He was digging up a big stone.’
- (138) *Yamboyo ɲande yeyango.*  
 yambo-yó ɲande ye-yo-a-ɲgo  
 song-3POSS thus say-CONT-HAB-2/3p  
 ‘They would be singing its song thus.’

#### 3.4.7.4 Transitive verbs with direct object prefix

These verbs make up a closed set in which the object of the verbal action is indicated on the verb stem with a prefix marked for person and number. The actual object need not be explicit in the clause itself, perhaps existing only in the discourse context. The 3sdo prefix is the null morpheme Ø. Although the final verb person/number suffixes contain forms for the dual person, the object prefixes do not. In the first person, both singular and plural have the same form. The second and third person plural forms are the same, analogous to the final verb suffixes (see §3.4.1.3). Three in this class exhibit a stem medial *r* which becomes /t/ when unaffixed or taking either the same subject marker or the completive aspect suffix (see example (140) below).

Examples (an exhaustive list):

<i>howe</i>	‘follow’	<i>re</i>	‘get/put’
<i>hoko</i>	‘lift’	<i>roto</i>	‘let go’
<i>ino</i>	‘give’	<i>tojo</i>	‘cut’
<i>iyó</i>	‘see’	<i>towo</i>	‘hold’
<i>ki</i>	‘bite’	<i>uro (uto)</i>	‘hit’
<i>miro (mito)</i>	‘tell’	<i>wendaqe</i>	‘cut’
<i>muro (muto)</i>	‘shoot’	<i>woso</i>	‘pull’
<i>ne</i>	‘eat’	<i>wowe</i>	‘drive out’
<i>qa</i>	‘burn’		

- (139) *Uni parámimbo kho kunaró.*  
 uni pará-mi-mbo kho ko-ino-a-Ø-ró  
 man big-INTENS-FOC work 2sDO-give-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Big Man gave you the work.’
- (140) *Tembá tero Toso uni yutomukaró.*  
 tembá te-ro Toso uni yo-uro-muko-a-Ø-ró  
 landslide do-SS Toso man 2/3pDO-hit-COMPL-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘A landslide happened and hit [i.e. killed] all the men of Toso.’
- (141) *Yewe yaró, “Oka kato*  
*ye-we ye-a-Ø-ró oka ka-to*  
 speak-1sDS speak-PST-2/3s-RPST something INDEF-FOC  
*nikite.”*  
 no-ki-te-Ø  
 1DO-bite-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘I spoke and he said, “Something bit me.”’

### 3.4.7.5 Transitive verbs with either a suffixed or auxiliary object

This class of verbs, while more open than the prefixed object class, are nevertheless limited in number. The third singular direct object suffix has four suppletive forms: *-ŋo*, *-mo*, *-yo* and *-wo*.

Other objects besides the 3sDO of this class of verbs occur as auxiliary lexemes. These auxiliaries are a stylised form of a ‘doing’ verb (*re* ‘do’) with direct object prefix and can be used as verbs in their own right in certain situations. The form of the prefix exhibits either an underlying form that is different from the ordinary DO prefixes (*ne-*, *ke-* and *ye-* as opposed to *no-*, *ko-* and *yo-*), or a vowel harmony that

does not occur anywhere else in the language. When the auxiliary takes the usual verbal suffixes the vowel raising morphophonemic process (see §2.7.2) takes effect without being extended across the initial word boundary to the verb stem itself (see example (144) below).

Examples:

<i>asá</i>	‘send’	<i>pisi</i>	‘give birth to’
<i>huru</i>	‘meet with’	<i>rohoré</i>	‘turn’
<i>kaná</i>	‘trick’	<i>sopo</i>	‘wait for/supervise’
<i>kasi</i>	‘scrape’	<i>taka</i>	‘surpass’
<i>kusi</i>	‘tie’	<i>tapu</i>	‘bury’
<i>neko</i>	‘call’	<i>tupi</i>	‘pinch’
<i>osese</i>	‘ask’	<i>windoró</i>	‘pour out’
<i>pasi</i>	‘carry’	<i>witu</i>	‘show’

- (142) *Pane pasí nereró.*  
 pa-ne pasí nere-Ø-Ø-ró  
 older.sib-1sPOSS carry IDO-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘My older brother carried me.’
- (143) *Noko ke sopo kereyoteno.*  
 no-ko ke sopo kere-yo-te-no  
 1S-TOP 2S wait.for 2SDO-CONT-PRES-1s  
 ‘I am waiting for you.’
- (144) *Uni sara misini owé Kunderi, ηundo*  
 uni sara misini owe-í Kunderi ηu-ndo  
 man white missionary name-3sPOSS Kunderi DEM-TOP  
*asá yirini mahero Dana ηuno kunditangurí.*  
asá yere-ní mahe-ro Dana ηu-no kundite-a-ηgo-rí  
 send 2/3pDO-3sDS come-SS Dana DEM-LOC sit-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘A white missionary named Kunderi sent them and they came and stayed at Dana.’
- (145) *Ná kanáηariyó.*  
 ná kaná-ηo-a-ri-yó  
 mother trick-3sDO-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘They tricked [their] mother.’

## 3.5 Postpositions

### 3.5.1 Locative

The locative is an enclitic postposition which occurs in two suppletive forms *-ko* and *-no* (for the surface form *-mo* see §2.7.7) and attaches to the rightmost margin of a noun phrase, a relativised clause (see §5.6.4) or a demonstrative pronoun (see §3.2.3). It specifies the spatial or temporal location of the head noun or of the action of the relativised clause or referent of the deictic.

- (146) *yendé parámi-mo*  
village big-LOC  
'in the big village'
- (147) *Sonda-no*  
Sunday-LOC  
'on Sunday'
- (148) *Yuwoyó muko puṅgeko puṅgeyoro*  
yuwo-yó mu-ko puṅge-ko puṅge-yo-ro  
seedling-3sPOSS REL-TOP string.bag-LOC bag-3sDO-SS  
*mahero makono pikaró.*  
mahe-ro mako-no piko-a-Ø-ró  
come-SS door-LOC hang-PST-2/3s-RPST  
'He bagged up his seedling in his string bag and came and hung it on the door.'
- (149) *No tomó ta quno yiyanowó.*  
no tomó ta qu-no yo-iyo-a-no-wó  
1S small DIM REL-LOC 3DO-see-PST-1s-RPST  
'When I was small I saw them.'
- (150) *Khí soṅayómo sopoyowe mahini*  
khe-í soṅa-yó-no sopo-yo-we mahe-ní  
leg-3sPOSS sign-3sPOSS-LOC wait-CONT-1sDS come-3sDS  
*ṅando murowe iyareró.*  
ṅa-ndo Ø-muro-we iyare-Ø-Ø-ró  
REL-FOC 3sDO-shoot-1sDS go-PST-2/3s-RPST  
'I was waiting beside its trail and it came and I shot that one and it went.'

- (151) *Sambaye*                      *wonde Noki ŋu enemata ŋuno*  
 samba-ye                      wonde Noki ŋu ene-mata ŋu-no  
 ancestor-2/3pPOSS old Noki DEM 3-ISOL DEM-LOC  
*yaró.*  
 yo-a-Ø-ró  
 be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Their ancestor old Noki, he was there by himself.’

### 3.5.2 Allative

The allative postposition has the same form as the locative, but is used in the context of verbs of motion and encodes the goal of movement to any of the referenced entities or actions.

- (152) *Dunde yewe asa iŋoro yendémo orowó.*  
 ŋunde ye-we asa iŋo-ro yendé-no o-Ø-ro-wó  
 thus say-1sDS alright hear-SS village-ALL go.up-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘I spoke thus and he heard and we went up to the village.’
- (153) *Mira owí Kembo ŋuno maheró.*  
 mira owé-í Kembo ŋu-no mahe-Ø-Ø-ró  
 area name-3sPOSS Kembo DEM-ALL come-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He came to an area called Kembo.’
- (154) *Uriyó. Uyate nambisiko uroqo...*  
 u-Ø-ri-yó u-yate nambisi-ko u-ro-qo  
 go.down-PST-2/3d-RPST go.down-DUR coast-ALL go.down-SS-SUB  
 ‘They both went down. They were going down and when they had gone down...’

### 3.5.3 Ablative

The ablative clitic, *-ŋgo* affixes to the locative postpositions (see §3.5.1) to form separate words. It also attaches to the oppositional postposition (see §3.5.4) or to the various spatial deictics (see §3.8). It indicates movement away from a location or the origin of a participant.

- (155) *Kore koŋgo sono umbuyote.*  
 kore ko-ŋgo sono umbu-yo-te  
 above LOC-ABL water come.down-CONT-PRES  
 ‘Rain comes down from above.’

- (156) ...*mandakawiyako te saŋa awe noŋgo ŋande*  
 mandakawiya-ko te saŋa awe no-ŋgo ŋande  
 bird.type-TOP tree on.top above LOC-ABL thus  
*yaró...*  
 yo-a-Ø-ró  
 say-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘...the *mandakawiya* bird from the tree above spoke thus...’
- (157) *Asa Moro yendé moŋgo, Colin, no ŋundiro, Sewe*  
 asa Moro yendé no-ŋgo Colin no ŋundiro Sewe  
 alright Moro village LOC-ABL Colin 1S thus Sewe  
*urowó.*  
 u-Ø-ro-wó  
 go.down-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘Alright, Colin and I thus went down to Sewe from Moro village.’

### 3.5.4 Oppositional

The oppositional postposition *-sina* specifies a referent as being on one side as opposed to another. It may attach to any referent the allative suffix attaches to.

- (158) *Seyoní koneyó sopoyate rotoro*  
 se-yo-ní kone-yó sopo-yate roto-ro  
 dig-CONT-3sDS younger.sibling-3sPOSS wait-DUR leave-SS  
*uro kasirasina uro yaró.*  
 u-ro kasira-sina u-ro yo-a-Ø-ró  
 go.down-SS underside-OPP go.down be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He was digging and his younger sibling waited and waited and left and went down and went to the underside [of a big rock] and stayed.’
- (159) *Uní monimbu nimímbo*  
 u-ní monimbu ná-í-mbo  
 go.down-3sDS snake.type mother-3sPOSS-FOC  
*kembésina toworo tinditaró.*  
 kamba-í-sina Ø-towo-ro tindite-a-Ø-ró  
 head-3sPOSS-OPP 3sDO-hold-SS tighten-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘It went down and the snake’s mother held its head end and tightened [i.e. pulled strongly].’

### 3.5.5 Directional

The directional postposition *-wore* indicates the path along which a referent moves, often including the idea of ultimate goal. By extension this postposition may encode the idea of means (see example (198) in §3.12.1.1).

- (160) *Oro sikuwore yate-yate suwo tini mahero*  
 o-ro siku-wore yate-RED suwo te-ní mahe-ro  
 go.up-SS forest-DIR DUR-INTENS night do-3sDS come-SS  
*te qariyó.*  
 te Ø-qa-Ø-ri-yó  
 fire 3sDO-burn-PST-2/3d-RPST

‘They two went up through the forest and as they were going along night fell and they came and made a fire.’

- (161) *Po ŋu pikuyówore maheniqo...*  
 po ŋu piku-yó-wore mahe-ní-qo  
 pig DEM trail-3sPOSS-DIR come-3sDS-SUB  
 ‘When that pig came along his trail...’

### 3.6 Participles

Participles (adjectival verbs) are derived from verbs by adding the suffix *-wí* to the verb stem. They then function as modifiers in the clause. This is potentially a very productive aspect of the language, but Iyo speakers are not generally given to free invention. There are some such participles which are accepted while new coinages are not readily adopted.

- (162) a. *roneneŋo* ‘straighten’  
           *roneneŋowí* ‘straight’  
 b. *koŋe* ‘swell’  
           *koŋiwí* ‘swollen’  
 c. *qa* ‘cook’  
           *qawí* ‘cooked’

- (163) *Iḡoníqo*            *o*        *keta* *ḡuro*        *nuḡguri*    *qu*  
 iḡo-ní-qo            o        keta ḡu-ro        nuḡguri    qu  
 know-3sDS-SUB    food    new    DEM-REF    sweetness    REL  
*enesó,*    *qawí*            *quro*        *nuḡguri*    *qu*    *enesó.*  
 enesó    qa-wí            qu-ro        nuḡguri    qu    enesó  
 different    cook-PART    REL-REF    sweetness    REL    different  
 ‘Then he knew [ i.e. realised] that the sweetness of raw food is one thing  
 and the sweetness of cooked food is another.’

### 3.7 Loan words

There can be frequent and easy borrowing of words from the dominant language of wider communication, Tok Pisin, a pidgin of English. New items in the environment are either taken up after appropriate phonological adjustments, or new descriptives are constructed to account for the novelty.

- (164) *keseti*    ‘cassette’ (Tok Pisin *keset*)  
*sipeti*        ‘spade’ (Tok Pisin *spet*)  
*balusi*        ‘airplane’ (Tok Pisin *balus*)
- (165) *balusi*    *tembá*  
 airplane    landslide  
 ‘jet airplane’

Almost all transitive verbs in Tok Pisin end in *-im*. Therefore, when such are imported, the original form is adapted to Iyo style by treating it as a transitive verb stem ending in a nasal and adding the third singular direct object to it when appropriate. For instance, in Tok Pisin, to book a flight on an airplane is *bukim balus*. In Iyo, the following is used.

- (166) *balusi*    *bukimḡaró*  
 balusi        bukim-ḡo-a-Ø-ró  
 airplane    make.booking-3sDO-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘he booked a plane [i.e. bought a plane ticket]’

### 3.8 Deixis

#### 3.8.1 Spatial

Spatial locatives are used to describe the position of an object in space relative to the speaker and/or addressee. In general they reflect the realities of living in a mountainous environment by identifying objects as being higher than, lower than or

on the same level as the speaker and/or addressee and relatively close or far away. They appear in an attributive position to a noun or can stand alone. They may be unaffixed but most often take the *-no* locative postposition, the discreteness postposition *-na* or an indicative postposition *-qe* which is an emphatic marker.

TABLE 3.11 SPATIAL LOCATIVES

		<b>close</b>	<b>far</b>
	<b>higher</b>	<i>awe</i>	<i>o</i>
	<b>across</b>	<i>ande</i>	<i>andu</i>
	<b>lower</b>	<i>ame</i>	<i>amu</i>
	<b>beside (the addressee)</b>	<i>dina</i>	<i>ande</i>
	<b>behind (the addressee)</b>	<i>mina</i>	<i>amu</i>
(167)	<i>ya amena</i> ya <u>ame</u> -na house below-DISC '(the) house just down there'		
(168)	<i>Asa ηunde tiniqo</i> asa ηunde te-ni-qo alright thus do-3sDS-SUB <i>quko anduno kañeyaró.</i> qu-ko <u>andu</u> -no kañe-yo-a-Ø-ró REL-TOP over.there-LOC stand-CONT-PST-2/3s-RSPT 'Alright, when he had done thus, the man who was to kill the [other] man would stand over there.'	<i>asa uni urowero uni</i> asa uni uro-wero uni alright man kill-INTENT man	

### 3.8.2 Temporal

Temporal locatives describe a time either before or after the present. They have the same shape as certain spatial locatives and take some of the same suffixes.

- (169) *ame* 'previous'  
*awe* 'next'
- (170) *hombá amena*  
hombá ame-na  
year previous-DISC  
'just last year'

### 3.9 Temporals

Temporal words in Iyo are generally found at the left margin of a clause, making the temporal framework explicit in the discourse. There is a conceptual nucleus of specified time surrounding the present that extends backwards and forwards for three days.

(171)	<i>komo suki-suki</i>	‘very long ago’
	<i>komo suki</i>	‘long ago’
	<i>komo</i>	‘earlier’
	<i>yindi</i>	‘three+ days ago’
	<i>yaŋe</i>	‘two days ago’
	<i>suwo</i>	‘yesterday (last night)’
	<i>itaka</i>	‘now (today)’
	<i>kuyepo</i>	‘tomorrow’
	<i>yaŋini</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
	<i>yindimbo</i>	‘three+ days from now’
	<i>imemoŋgo</i>	‘later’
	<i>imemoŋgo horé</i>	‘truly later’

Beyond the span of three days the Iyo speaker may refer to time in terms of months or years, although these concepts have generally been imported after contact with the outside. Traditionally there were no words for such abstract concepts and older Iyo speakers do not, as a rule, know how old they are.

The Lutheran missionaries brought the idea of a ‘year’ using the word *hombá* from the official church language Kâte which came into popular use. There is little seasonal variation in the language area, so there are no words for seasons as such. However, there is a regular time of resting after garden planting that occurs somewhat near Christmas time (i.e. December) which they call *kumima naru* ‘rest time’, or sometimes *kopiru naru* ‘taro time’.

The ancestors were aware of the variation in the moon’s light so, even though there was no traditional word for month, the use of *kombo* ‘moon’ for month found easy acceptance.

The Lutheran evangelists also taught the Iyo folk the notion of a week, marking off Sunday, which was called *Sonda*, again from Kâte. This came to be extended to the concept of a seven day period.

(172)	<i>kumima naru amena</i>	‘last year’ (lit. ‘rest time just below’)
	<i>kombo amena</i>	‘last month’ (lit. ‘moon just below’)
	<i>sonda amena</i>	‘last week’ (lit. ‘Sunday just below’)
	<i>itaka</i>	‘now’
	<i>sonda awero</i>	‘next week’ (lit. ‘Sunday just above’)
	<i>kombo awero</i>	‘next month’ (lit. ‘moon just above’)
	<i>kumima naru awero</i>	‘next year’ (lit. ‘rest time just above’)

### 3.10 Conjunctions

#### 3.10.1 Sequential

The conjunctions *ko* and *kowe* coordinate main clauses sequentially.

(173)	<i>Balusi naru kano areweya ŋu Seweko</i>	
	balusi naru ka-no are-weya-Ø ŋu Sewe-ko	
	plane time one-LOC come.up-FUT-2/3s EMPH Sewe-TOP	
	<i>o siyoní uweya.</i>	
	o siyo-ní u-weya-Ø	
	thing get.PLOBJ-3sDS go.down-FUT-2/3s	

‘One time when the plane comes up [the people of] Sewe will send their stuff down.’

<i>Ko naru kano Moro, Dana, Beṅgumu o</i>
<u>ko</u> naru ka-no Moro Dana Beṅgumu o
CONJ time INDEF-LOC Moro Dana Beṅgumu thing
<i>siyoyi uweya.</i>
siyo-yi u-weya-Ø
get.PLOBJ -3pDS go.down-FUT-2/3s

‘And another time [the people of] Moro, Dana and Begumu will send their stuff down.’

(174)	<i>...uyarini muroyi khumaró.</i>
	uyare-ní Ø-muro-yi khumo-a-Ø-ró
	go-3sDS 3sDO-shoot-2/3pDS die-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘...it went down and they shot it and it died.’

<i>Kowe simó katoko opiño rero...</i>
<u>kowe</u> simó ka-to-ko opiño Ø-re-ro
CONJ boy INDEF-FOC-TOP dog 3sDO-get-SS

‘And a boy got the dog...’

These conjunctions sometimes coordinate medial clauses in spontaneous oral discourse, but tend to be removed in written discourse, or the preceding medial clause is transformed into a final one.

### 3.10.2 Contrastive

The conjunction *quko* ‘but’ joins clauses which are contrastive and is formed from the relative pronoun *qu* suffixed with the topic particle *ko*.

- (175) *Nuwene oka ka ηana yero*  
 nuwe-ne oka ka ηa-na ye-ro  
 cousin-1sPOSS thing INDEF DEM-DISC say-SS  
*kimiroweyano, quko keto piyimiηoweya.*  
 ko-miro-weya-no qu-ko ke-ndo piyimi-ηo-weya-Ø  
 2sDO-tell-FUT-1s REL-TOP 2S-FOC be.bad-3sDO-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘Cousin, there is something I want to tell you [something], but you will be upset.’

- (176) *Asa námbó nore kapusa pisi*  
 asa ná-mbo nore kapusa pisi  
 alright mother-FOC 1P three give.birth  
*nereró, quko irisa khumori nondo*  
 nere-Ø-Ø-ró qu-ko irisa khumo-ri no-ndo  
 1DO-PST-2/3s-RPST REL-TOP two die-2/3dDS 1S-FOC  
*na yoteno.*  
 na yo-te-no  
 DISC live-PRES-1s  
 ‘Alright, mother gave birth to us three, but two died and only I am living.’

### 3.10.3 Disjunctive

Disjunction is expressed by the negative particle *ma* and the interrogative suffix *-pe*. This produces a series of negative questions indicating exclusive alternatives.

- (177) *Iyarero Moro ñanope ma Danape ma*  
 iyare-ro Moro ña-no-pe ma Dana-pe ma  
 go-SS Moro DEM-LOC-YNQ NEG Dana-YNQ NEG  
*Komberokope ma Beṅgumupe ma uni ṅuno...*  
 Komberoko-pe ma Beṅgumu-pe ma uni ṅu-no  
 Komberoko-YNQ NEG Beṅgumu-YNQ NEG man DEM-LOC  
 ‘He would go and whether here in Moro or Dana or Komberoko or  
 Begumu that man [would]...’

### 3.10.4 Reason/causal

The conjunctions *asa* (and variants *arisa* and *harisa*), when used within a sentence, provide reason/result connectiveness. When sentence initial they serve the discourse function of marking the foreground (see below, §7.2).

- (178) *Dana iyarini asa nore iyaretowó.*  
 Dana iyare-ní asa nore iyare-Ø-to-wó  
 Dana go-3sDS so 1P go-PST-1p-RPST  
 ‘The people of Dana went and so we went.’
- (179) *Dunde yewe asa iṅoro yendémo orowó.*  
 ṅunde ye-we asa iṅo-ro yendé-no o-Ø-ro-wó  
 thus say-1sDS so hear-SS village-ALL go.up-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘I spoke thus and he listened and we went up to the village.’

One sentence initial strategy for reason-result is the phrase (*Dunde*) *ṅuroko*.

- (180) *Duroko yepa nange simóye*  
ṅuroko ye-pa nange simó-ye  
 therefore 2P-PROM DISC child-2/3POSS  
*yimiri qembe.*  
 yo-miro-ri qembe  
 3DO-tell-2/3pIMP FUT.IMP  
 ‘Therefore you yourselves tell [it] to your children.’

Another sentence initial reason conjunction is formed by two words: *asa ko* ‘and so’.

- (181) *Asa ko parámi tewé awanembo*  
 asa ko pará-mi te-we awa-ne-mbo  
 alright CONJ big-INTENS do-1sDS father-1sPOSS-INST  
*qarendoro tini yero ñande yero puriñoyó*  
 qare-ndo-ro te-ní ye-ro ñande ye-ro puriño-yó  
 cuscus-FOC-REF do-3sDS say-SS thus say-SS gift-3sPOSS  
*nimiraró.*  
 no-miro-a-Ø-ró  
 1DO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘And so I got big and my father thought, he will do [things related to getting] a cuscus, and spoke his gift [i.e. blessing] to me.’

A final reason-result strategy is to use the word *dokoro*, which may be understood as being constructed like this:

- (182) *dokoro*  
 do-ko-ro  
 what-TOP-REF

*Dokoro* may be found at the beginning of any clause, giving the reason for the preceding assertion or event.

- (183) *Anutu awanani, noreño tero mirako umbu*  
 Anutu awa-nani nore-ño te-ro mira-ko umbu  
 Anutu father-1pPOSS 1P-POSS do-SS ground-ALL come.down  
*tunoqe nunaró. Dokoro...*  
 tunoqe no-ino-a-Ø-ró dokoro  
 appear 1DO-give-PST-2/3s-RPST because  
 ‘Anutu our father, you did [something] for us and coming to the ground appeared to us. Because...’

### 3.10.5 Conditional

A conditional clause is formed by appending the word *tiniqo* to an indicative clause. The most straightforward usage of this device is to temporally subordinate the clause, which yields a weak conditional sense as well.

- (184) ...yate nambo-simóye moré tiniqo, yepa  
 yate nambo-simó-ye moré tiniqo ye-pa  
 DUR daughter-son-2/3pPOSS have COND 2P-PROM  
 simóye yimiri qembe.  
 simó-ye yo-miro-i qembe  
 children 3DO-tell-2/3pIMP FUT.IMP  
 ‘...continuing on when/if you all have children, you yourselves tell them [this].’

### 3.11 Particles

#### 3.11.1 Discreteness

The particle *nange* (or its short form, the clitic *na*) marks discreteness, and may follow and modify nouns, pronouns (personal and reflexive), adverbs, postpositions, quantifiers, intentional and durative marked medial verbs.

With nouns, the discreteness particle isolates the referent from all other possible referents.

- (185) *Náme khumoni re tapumoro ko*  
 ná-ne khumo-ní re tapu-mo-ro ko  
 mother-1sPOSS die-3sDS get bury-3sDO-SS CONJ  
*awane nange kongomu tini...*  
 awa-ne nange kongomu te-ní  
 father-1sPOSS DISC old do-3sDS  
 ‘My mother died and my father buried her and then he himself became old...’

With pronouns, the effect is the same as with nouns.

- (186) *Meté norepa nange tukú yohoweweyaro.*  
 meté nore-pa nange tukú yo-howe-weya-ro  
 good 1P-PROM DISC later 3pDO-follow-FUT-1d  
 ‘[It is] good that we ourselves will follow them later.’

With adverbs, the discreteness particle limits the manner of the action which the adverb modifies.

- (187) *Asa kowe Dee koro ηunde nanɣe kondó toŋo*  
 asa kowe Dee ko-ro ηunde nanɣe kondó toŋo  
 alright CONJ Dee TOP-REF thus DISC bowl cut/carve  
*inanowó.*  
 Ø-ino-a-no-wó  
 3sDO-give-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘And so thus only for Dee I carved a bowl gave it to her.’

When used with intentional medial verbs, this particle limits the scope of the intention.

- (188) *Mandí teroqo asa qa newero nanɣe teteto.*  
 mande-í te-ro-qo asa qa ne-wero nanɣe te-te-to  
 talk-3sPOSS do-SS-SUB alright cook eat-INTENT DISC do-PRES-1p  
 ‘After he does his talk, alright we are cooking [it] just in order to eat.’

When used with durative medial verbs, the effect is to define the exclusiveness, or single-mindedness, of the durative action.

- (189) *Kho teyate, kho teyate nanɣe asa uni John Park*  
 kho te-yate kho te-yate nanɣe asa uni John Park  
 work do-DUR work do-DUR DISC alright man John Park  
*ηu Australia noŋgo uni ηu maheró.*  
 ηu Australia no-ŋgo uni ηu mahe-Ø-Ø-ró  
 DEM Australia LOC-ABL man DEM come-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘[We] were just continuing to work and work and the man John Park, the man from Australia, came.’

With postpositions the discreteness particle’s usage is a bit different. It indicates that the postpositional phrase presents what is unsurprising, or common knowledge, to the speaker, but may or may not be for the listener. This is similar to the use of the Tok Pisin *tasol* in this situation.

- (190) *Kho uni kako Jimmy Russo ηu America*  
 kho uni ka-ko Jimmy Russo ηu America  
 work man INDEF-TOP Jimmy Russo DEM America  
*noŋgo nanɣe...*  
 no-ŋgo nanɣe  
 LOC-ABL DISC  
 ‘A work man, Jimmy Russo, from America of course...’

With quantifiers the particle is an assurance that the number in view is limited to the number mentioned, as opposed to other possible numbers.

- (191) *Tini kanata nanjeko re pungeyoro*  
 te-ní kanata nange-ko re punge-yo-ro  
 do-3sDS one DISC-TOP get bag.up-3pDO-SS

*utowó.*

u-Ø-to-wó

go.down-PST-1p-RPST

‘He did [that] and I got just one and bagged it up and we went down.’

Discourse closing

Its highest percentage of use of this particle is with the adverb *ηunde* ‘thus’ as the final sentence of a story. This is the standard closing formula for a discourse, setting this discourse in its entirety off from all other discourses.

- (192) *Dunde nange.*

thus DISC

‘That is all.’

### 3.11.2 Uncertainty

The particle *peka* expresses the speaker’s uncertainty about a particular subject. It may appear at any position in a clause, but it is only one of three elements which may follow a final verb, along with the emphatic demonstrative and the future imperative auxiliary.

- (193) *Kuyepo balusi areweya peka.*  
 Kuyepo balusi are-weya-Ø peka  
 tomorrow plane come.up-FUT-2/3s UNC

‘The plane might come up tomorrow.’

- (194) *Mira kanata na toworo ηano peka roto*  
 mira kanata na towo-ro ηa-no peka roto  
 ground one DISC make-SS DEM-LOC UNC leave

*nunote.*

no-ino-te

1DO-give-PRES

‘[Anutu] made just one ground here perhaps and gave it for us.’

### 3.11.3 Emphasis

The demonstrative pronouns *ηa* and *ηu* may follow a final verb for added emphasis.

- (195) *Mahe qenero, “Kiyoteto ηu,”*  
 mahe qene-ro ko-iyo-te-to ηu  
 come see-SS 2sDO-look.at-PRES-1p EMPH  
*yanğuri.*  
 ye-a-ηgo-rí  
 say-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘They came, saw him and said, “We see you!”’

### 3.11.4 Future imperative

The imperative forms are built with the different subject markers (see §3.4.1.2). When that commanded action should take place sometime beyond the immediate present, an auxiliary particle *qembe* follows the imperative.

- (196) *Ye kuyepo nanğe bako puñgeyoro kewá*  
 ye kuyepo nanğe bako puñge-yo-ro kewá  
 2P tomorrow DISC sweet.potato bag.up-3sDO-SS firewood  
*puñgeyoro Dana iyari qembe.*  
 puñge-yo-ro Dana iyare-i qembe  
 bag.up-3sDO-SS Dana go-2/3pIMP FUT.IMP  
 ‘Tomorrow you all bag up sweet potato and bag up firewood and go to Dana.’

### 3.11.5 Indefinite

When a new, unknown participant is introduced in a narrative, the indefinite particle *ka* is used (see §7.1.2).

- (197) *Uni kato nombiyó nokopa pikaró.*  
 uni ka-to nombiyó nokopa piko-a-Ø-ró  
 man INDEF-FOC bird.type trap hang-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘A man hung traps for *nombiyó* birds.’

## 3.12 Clitics

Various concepts are encoded by clitics, particles which are phonologically bound to a phrasal unit.

### 3.12.1 Focus

While there may be many participants in an Iyo discourse, some are more prominent than others, at least within the scope of a given predication. The same participant may not be marked for prominence in surrounding clauses for various

reasons, but in the clause where it is marked it is thereby highlighted. Sometimes this is necessary simply to disambiguate which participant is the agent in a given clause, sometimes a shift in the direction of the discourse is marked by one of these forms of the focus clitic.

### 3.12.1.1 *-ndo*

The basic form of the focus marker is *-ndo*. It may occur in any environment except segments marked for possession.

- (198) *Asa unindo kasumburiwore toworo tinditanḡurí.*  
 Asa uni-ndo kasumburi-wore Ø-towo-ro tindite-a-ḡgo-rí.  
 alright men-FOC tail-DIR 3sDO-hold-SS tighten-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘Alright, the men held it by the tail and tightened [it].’

In this story the men who are pulling on the snake’s tail are highlighted, in contrast to the snake’s mother (mentioned in the preceding clause) who is pulling on its head to prevent it being captured.

- (199) *Yini nondo miranowó, “Date qundo*  
 ye-ní no-ndo Ø-miro-a-no-wó date qu-ndo  
 say-3sDS 1S-FOC 3sDO-tell-PST-1s-RPST what REL-FOC  
*kikite?”*  
 ko-ki-te-Ø  
 2sDO-bite-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘He said [that] and I told him, “What kind of thing bit you?”’

The narrator focuses on how he responded to the other man’s complaint that something bit him. This kind of reference actually has a double focus in that the personal pronoun is not syntactically necessary, being marked on the verb. So its presence is itself a focus, doubled by the presence of the focus marker.

### 3.12.1.2 *-to*

The phonological variant of *-ndo*, when there is no nasal segment in the immediate environment, is *-to*.

- (200) *Yewe yaró, “Oka kato*  
 ye-we ye-a-Ø-ró oka ka-to  
 say-1sDS say-PST-2/3s-RPST something INDEF-FOC  
*nikite.”*  
 no-ki-te-Ø  
 1sDO-bite-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘I said [that] and he said, “Something is biting me.”’

### 3.12.1.3 *-mbo*

The variant *-mbo* performs much the same function as *-ndo* but does it within sonorant environments exclusively (i.e. nasals and *w*, *y* or *r*). On the face of it there would seem to be a pragmatic function specifically encoded by *-mbo* because one of the primary environments in which it is found is suffixed to nouns with possessive markers. But these markers overwhelmingly have some sonorant segment which conditions the use of *-mbo*.

- (201) *Mahiní iwímbo osese yaró,*  
 mahe-ní awa-i-mbo osese ye-a-Ø-ró  
 come-3sDS father-3sPOSS-FOC question say-PST-2/3s-RPST

“*Ke dokoro mahete?*”

ke dokoro mahe-te-Ø  
 2S why come-PRES-2/3s

‘He came and her father asked, “Why did you come?”’

- (202) *Kowe Bopi purímbo Buromburo purí*  
 kowe Bopi purí-mbo Buromburo purí  
 and Bopi mountain-FOC Buromburo mountain

*muroní kaṅgáṅaró.*  
 Ø-muro-ní kaṅgáṅe-a-Ø-ró  
 3sDO-shoot-3sDS miss-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘And Bopi mountain shot Buromburo mountain and it missed.’

Notice that, since the word order in Iyo is at least minimally free, the actor in example (202) is potentially ambiguous. Therefore *-mbo* serves to keep the actor role clear as well as contrasting the actor of this clause with the actor of the previous one, in which Buromburo mountain shoots and hits Bopi mountain with its arrow.

### 3.12.1.4 *-po*

The phonological variant of *-mbo* found predictably in non-sonorant environments is *-po*.

- (203) *Mondanoko unipare sosopo oweyato.*  
 Monda-no-ko unipare soso-po o-weya-to  
 Monday-LOC-TOP people all-FOC go.up-FUT-1p

‘On Monday all of us people will go up.’

The clitic *-po*, along with its variant *-mbo*, is also used as an instrument marker (see §3.12.4), as is *-to* in certain cases, but *-ndo* is never found to mark instrument.

### 3.12.2 Topic

The topic of an Iyo discourse is that element which “sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds.” (Chafe, 1976:50) Because the topic in Iyo is often left-dislocated it seems to be what has been called a ‘Chinese topic’. It provides the background information which sets the stage for the predication which follows, whether at the discourse, paragraph, sentence or clause level.

#### 3.12.2.1 *-ko*

The topic marker *-ko* may be attached to subject NPs, whether nouns, pronouns, demonstratives or relativised constructions functioning as nouns. This topicalised element is often left-dislocated, sometimes with an intonational break before the remainder of the predication is uttered. Although it may function as an ordinary subject of a transitive or equative clause, if it is left-dislocated there is often a syntactic disjunction between it and what follows. In other words, the topicalised form provides the framework inside which other things not syntactically (but semantically) related to it may be said.

- (204) *Po sawako unindo suwono ηana toηero*  
 po sawa-ko uni-do suwo-no ηa-na toηe-ro  
 pig wild-TOP men-FOC night-LOC DEM-DISC go-SS  
*kheyó qenero...*  
 khe-yó qene-ro  
 trail-3sPOSS see-SS  
 ‘[Concerning] a wild pig, men go just at night and find its trail...’
- (205) *Rimɨŋurí muko meyowo ye*  
 rimi-Ø-ηgo-rí mu-ko meyowo ye  
 plant-PST-2/3p-RPST REL-TOP other say  
*ɨŋaŋurí mu...*  
 ɨŋo-a-ηgo-rí mu  
 hear-PST-2/3p-RPST REL  
 ‘What they planted, they thought it was another kind...’

- (206) *Apilala koya Kanangiyi koya sowoyari.*  
 Apilala ko-ya Kanangiyi ko-ya sowo-yari  
 Apilala TOP-ACC Kanangiyi TOP-ACC story-2/3dPOSS  
*Duko ηande.*  
 ηu-ko ηande  
 DEM-TOP thus

‘The story of Apilala and Kanangiyi. That [story] is like this.’

### 3.12.2.2 -*qo*

Closely related to the topic marker *-ko* is *-qo*. Whereas *-ko* topicalises structures which function as nouns in the clause, *-qo* attaches to medial verbs. A typical usage marks the clause at the beginning of one sentence which links to the final clause of the preceding sentence. It thus subordinates the initial clause to those which follow, often in terms of spatial or time reference, establishing the setting in which the following clauses (potentially a string of medial verbs culminating in a final verb) may be understood to take place.

- (207) *Pare tukuni ka, owé Ruru, ηu khoyómo*  
 pare tukuni ka owe Ruru ηu kho-yó-no  
 woman short INDEF name Ruru REL garden-3sPOSS-LOC  
*bako seyaró.*  
 bako se-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 sweet.potato dig-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘A short [i.e. old] woman, named Ruru, was digging sweet potato in her garden.’

- Seyoníqo nore utowó.*  
 se-yo-ní-qo nore u-Ø-to-wó  
 dig-CONT-3sDS-SUB 1P go.down-PST-1p-RPST

‘While she was digging we went down.’

The marker *-qo* does not have to function only as a tail-head link, but can be used anywhere in the verb sequence to establish setting.

- (208) *...nimí wonde soporo yaró.*  
 ...ná-í wonde sopo-ro yo-a-Ø-ró  
 ...mother-3sPOSS old wait-SS be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘...his mother was waiting.’

*Yoníqo      naḡuni      mahiníqo      ḡande*  
 yo-ní-qo      naḡo-ní      mahe-ní-qo      ḡande  
 be-3sDS-SUB      son-3sPOSS      come-3sDS-SUB      thus

*miraró...*

Ø-miro-a-Ø-ró  
 3sDO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘While she was waiting, when her son came, she told him...’

### 3.12.2.3 -ro

A third means of topicalising an element of the discourse is the clitic *-ro*. More properly understood as a referential marker (see §3.12.5), it nevertheless serves to set off some element as the thing being referred to by the other elements. It may only be affixed to structures which refer to nouns obliquely, such as demonstratives or relative pronouns, or to a focus or topic marker. It may never be attached to a noun directly. It is frequently used at the beginning of a discourse to set the stage for the story to follow.

(209) *Asa ḡako monó koya nú ta-ta irisa*  
 asa ḡa-ko monó ko-ya nú ta-RED irisa  
 alright DEM-TOP cassowary TOP-ACC bird small-PLUR two

*ḡuro piḡa mandeye yewe teteno.*  
 ḡu-ro piḡa mande-ye ye-we te-te-no  
 DEM-REF explanation talk-2/3pPOSS say-INCEP do-PRES-1s

‘Alright, this is an explanatory talk concerning the cassowary and two small birds which I am going to talk [about].’

(210) *Supiro koro piḡa ḡunde yeweka ke iḡo.*  
 supiro ko-ro piḡa ḡunde ye-we-ka ke iḡo-Ø  
 arrow TOP-REF explanation thus say-1sDS-SEQ 2S hear-2sIMP

‘I will say an explanation about arrows and you listen.’

### 3.12.3 Ablative

The ablative clitic attaches to the locative postpositions *-no* and *-ko* to form separate words (see §3.5.3).

- (211) *Enemata yoníqo kapo ka sono nongo*  
 ene-mata yo-ní-qo kapo ka sono no-ngo  
 3-ISOL be-3sDS-SUB spirit INDEF water LOC-ABL  
*oró.*  
 o-Ø-Ø-ró  
 go.up-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘While he was there alone, a spirit went up from the river.’
- (212) *Asa Moro yendé mongo Colin no, ηundiro Sewe*  
 asa Moro yendé no-ngo Colin no ηundiro Sewe  
 alright Moro village LOC-ABL Colin 1S thus Sewe  
*urowó.*  
 u-Ø-ro-wó  
 go.down-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘Alright, from Moro village Colin and I went thus up to Sewe.’
- (213) *Kore kongo sono umbuyote.*  
 kore ko-ngo sono umbu-yo-te-Ø  
 above LOC-ABL water come.down-CONT-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘Rain comes down from above.’

### 3.12.4 Instrumental

The instrumental clitics *-mbo* and *-po* have the same shape as two of the focus clitics (see §3.12.1.3, §3.12.1.4), but express the idea of instrumentality or utility.

- (214) *Uni sara ka kiripo qaró,*  
 uni sara ka kiri-po Ø-qa-Ø-Ø-ró  
 man white INDEF nettle-INST 3sDO-burn-PST-2/3s-RPST  
*ηuro mande.*  
 ηu-ro mande  
 DEM-REF talk  
 ‘A story about a white man (who was) burned by nettles.’
- (215) *Dunde yi no kusumbonembo ijanowó.*  
 ηunde ye-i no kusumbo-ne-mbo iηo-a-no-wó  
 thus say-2/3pDS 1S ear-1sPOSS-INST hear-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘They spoke thus and I heard it with my ears.’

### 3.12.5 Reference/result

The clitic *-ro* encodes reference (‘in relation to’) or result (‘therefore’). It attaches to the focus clitics *-ndo*, *-to*, *-mbo* and *-po*, to the topical clitic *-ko* to form a separate

word, to the relative pronoun *-qu*, or to the demonstratives *ηa* and *ηu*. It may also be used as a topical marker (see §3.12.2.3)

- (216) *Nahu turi amuno qarendoro sepa*  
 Nahu turi amu-no qare-ndo-ro sepa  
 Nahu waterfall down.there-LOC cuscus-FOC-REF deadfall.trap  
*reyate...*  
 re-yate  
 put-DUR  
 ‘Down there at the Nahu waterfall we were putting deadfall traps for cuscus...’
- (217) *Sono koro mandí ηundiyo.*  
 sono ko-ro mande-í ηundiyo  
 water TOP-REF talk-3sPOSS thus  
 ‘The story about the rivers [was] like that.’
- (218) *Usisambapukoto tanguri quro mande piña*  
 usisambapuko-to te-a-ηgo-rí qu-ro mande piña  
 ancestor-TOP do-PST-2/3p-RPST REL-REF talk lesson  
*yewe teteno*  
 ye-we te-te-no  
 say-1sDS do-PRES-1s  
 ‘I am going to tell a story about what the ancestors did.’
- (219) *Khumoní ηuro topé-topé mahero*  
 khumo-ní ηu-ro topo-í-RED mahe-ro  
 die-3sDS DEM-RES friend-3sPOSS-PL come-SS  
*huruwanguri.*  
 huruwo-a-ηgo-rí  
 gather-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘He died and because of that his friends came and gathered.’

### 3.12.6 Accompaniment

The accompaniment clitic *-ya* attaches to the focus clitics *-ndo*, *-to*, *-mbo* and *-po*; to the topical clitic *-ko* to form a separate word; to the relative pronoun *-qu*; to the demonstratives *ηa* and *ηu*; or to any of the personal pronouns.

- (220) *Umbinemboya*                      *námemboya*                      *Dana*  
 umbi-ne-mbo-ya                      ná-ne-mbo-ya                      Dana  
 grandmother-1sPOSS-FOC-ACC mother-1sPOSS-FOC-ACC Dana  
*iyaretoqo*      *Kunderi* *ŋu*      *Sewe* *umburó.*  
 iyare-to-qo      Kunderi      ŋu      Sewe      umbu-Ø-Ø-ró  
 go-1pDS-SUB      Kunderi      REL      Sewe      come.down-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘When we went to Dana with my grandmother and mother, Kunderi came  
 down to Sewe.’
- (221) *Sotama* *koya*      *tutu* *koya*      *tariyó*                      *mu*  
 sotama      ko-ya      tutu      ko-ya      te-a-ri-yó                      mu  
 sand      TOP-ACC      star      TOP-ACC      do-PST-2/3d-RPST      REL  
 ‘What the sand and the stars did.’
- (222) *Umburi*                      *simó* *ŋuya*                      *wasawore*      *nokono*  
 umbu-ri                      simó      ŋu-ya                      wasa-wore      noko-no  
 come.down-2/3dDS      boy      DEM-ACC      ladder-DIR      ground-ALL  
*umburó.*  
 umbu-Ø-Ø-ró  
 come.down-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘They came down and the boy also came down the ladder to the ground.’
- (223) *Noya*      *Bapinuo* *koya*                      *Hambiya* *suruŋo*      *uro...*  
 no-ya      Bapinuo      ko-ya                      Hambiya      suruŋo      u-ro  
 1S-ACC      Bapinuo      TOP-ACC      Hambiya      slope      go.down-SS  
 ‘Bapinuo and I went down Hambiya mountain...’

### 3.12.7 Interrogative

The interrogative clitic *-pe* may attach to any part of a question which is being emphasised (see §6.3).

- (224) *Kepe*      *meté* *are*                      *samaka* *nere* *kho*      *teweya?*  
 Ke-pe      meté      are                      samaka      nere      kho      te-weya-Ø  
 2S-YNQ      good      come.up      help      1DO      work      do-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘Can you come up and help us work?’
- (225) *Hamómbe?*  
 Hamó-pe  
 true-YNQ  
 ‘Is that true?’

# 4. *Phrase structure*

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## 4.1 Noun phrase

The Iyo noun phrase has as a minimal structure:

NP → { <sup>N</sup> Pronoun } (AdjP) (REL) (Quantifier) (DEM)

- (1) *po sawa*  
pig wild  
'wild pig'
- (2) *pare tukuni ka*  
woman short INDEF  
'a short [i.e. old] woman'
- (3) *simó irisa ŋu*  
boy two DEM  
'those two boys'

This is a description of the possible noun phrase structure, although in most discourse the full expansion is seldom if ever used. Too many modifiers to the head noun are avoided. Additional layers of modification, if required, utilise relative constructions and demonstratives.

- (4) *bali tomó ta quko mandumi ŋu kutá*  
ball small DIM REL-TOP red DEM round  
'the ball which is small, that red one, is round'

Possession is normally marked on the possessed noun.

- (5) *Apilala pari kowí*  
Apilala pare-í kowe-í  
Apilala wife-3sPOSS skin-3sPOSS  
'Apilala's wife's body'

Nouns are usually modified by following adjectives as in example (2) above. However, a second noun is sometimes used, forming a two-headed noun phrase. The first noun is the modifier of the second.

(6) *sono naru*  
rain time  
'wet season'

(7) *wondo uni*  
money man  
'rich man'

Noun phrases coordinate in various ways. If the NPs are the subject or object of the clause they are listed consecutively (as in the village names in example (173) in §3.10.1) or joined by the focus marker and accompaniment marker (as in example (220) in §3.12.6). If they are the goal they will occur as goals of separate clauses joined by the ablative postpositional phrase.

(8) *Bengumu uro                    ηu nongo Butemu*  
Bengumu u-ro                    ηu nongo Butemu  
Bengumu go.down-SS DEM ABL Butemu  
*uró.*  
u-Ø-Ø-ró  
go.down-PST-2/3s-RPST

'He went down to Bengumu and from there he went down to Butemu.'

## 4.2 Verb phrase

### 4.2.1 Simple

The verb most often exists as an independent structure with all modifying features encoded as affixes. However, the verb may be modified by a preceding adverb. It may be followed only by the uncertainty particle, an emphatic pronoun, or the future imperative particle (see §3.11.2, §3.11.3, §3.11.4 respectively).

VP → (Adv) V (AUX)

(9) *Po ηu kama utoyotenngo.*  
po ηu kama uro-yo-te-ηgo  
pig that NEG hit-CONT-PRES-2/3p  
'They don't kill that pig.'

- (10) *Nuwene waka are,*” *yaró.*  
 nuwe-ne waka are-Ø ye-a-Ø-ró  
 cousin-1POSS quickly come.up-2SIMP say-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘‘Cousin, come up quickly,’’ he said.’

#### 4.2.2 Serial verbs

Some verbs may join with other verbs to form a single predicate. This predicate is a semantic unit, usually with a continuous action sequence more tightly bound than would be the case with ordinary medial verb same subject suffixes. Most often this occurs with either the verbs of motion or getting, although other verbs may also be involved, particularly actions in the train from ‘getting’ to ‘going’.

<i>o</i>	‘go up’	<i>re</i>	‘get’
<i>u</i>	‘go down’	<i>se</i>	‘get (2 or more)’
<i>are</i>	‘come up’		
<i>umbu</i>	‘come down’		
<i>mahe</i>	‘come’		
<i>iyare</i>	‘go’		
<i>toje</i>	‘leave’		
<i>howe</i>	‘follow’		

A serial verb construction consists of an inflected verb, either medial or final, preceded by one or more uninflected verb stems. In such a construction the verbal ideas of each of the stems combine to express a more complex idea. For instance, the verbal idea ‘bring’ would be made up of the serial construction of ‘get’ and ‘come’. At other times the sequence of verb stems express activities that are more tightly bound together in time or in effect than would be the case with a succession of medial verbs.

- (11) *Dunde yero wuru komiri se sopoyaró.*  
 ɲunde ye-ro wuru komiri se sopo-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 thus say-SS betelnut leaf get.PLOBJ wait-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He spoke thus and getting his betelnut and pepper leaf was waiting.’

- (12) *Rotoní okoko teyoní, turú genero umbu*  
 roto-ní okoko te-yo-ní turú qene-ro umbu  
 let.go-3sDS sound do-CONT-3sDS bird.type see-SS come.down

*towaró.*

Ø-towo-a-Ø-ró

3sDO-hold-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘She left him and he was making noise and the *turú* bird saw and came and down grabbed him.’

- (13) *Yiyoro sore umbu mahero sono Sisiyo*  
 yo-iyoro-ro sore umbu mahe-ro sono Sisiyo  
 3pDO-see-SS run.away come.down come-SS river Sisiyo

*howe*

*oró.*

Ø-howe

o-Ø-Ø-ró

3sDO-follow go.up-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘He saw them and ran away and came down and followed the Sisiyo river and went up.’

Serial verb constructions may have locative phrases and/or adverbs inserted.

- (14) *...umbu Dana iyareró. Umbu iyarini...*  
 umbu Dana iyare-Ø-Ø-ró umbu iyare-ní  
 come.down Dana go-PST-2/3s-RPST come.down go-3sDS

‘...he came down and went to Dana. He came down and went and...’

In a serial construction, which may include more than two verbs, only the last one takes any suffixation, whether medial or final. Motion verbs combine to reflect a movement in continuous sequential directions.

- (15) *u iyare*  
 go.down go.across  
 ‘go down and across’

- (16) *umbu o-ro*  
 come.down go.up-SS  
 ‘come down and up’

- (17) *sore are umburiyó*  
 sore are umbu-Ø-ri-yó  
 run.away come.up come.down-PST-2/3d-RPST

‘they ran away, came up and came down’ [a common feature of travel in the mountains]

A serial construction with the ‘getting’ verbs are used to indicate an action which implies motion to grasp followed by the other verbal idea(s). Whether one object, or more than one, is intended is carried by the alteration of *re* / *se*.

- (18) *re towo-ro*  
get hold-SS  
‘grab’
- (19) *se nuno*  
se no-ino-Ø  
get.PLOBJ 1DO-give-2sIMP  
‘give them to me [implying the speaker doesn’t have them right now]’
- (20) *re kusiyo koroworo*  
re kusi-yo koro-wo-ro  
get tie-3sDO carry-3sDO-SS  
‘tie it up and carry it’

Serial predicates, when occurring at the end of a final clause, are often utilised in the tail-head linkage of the following clause.

- (21) ...*wuru komiri kiwiyo se inaró.*  
wuru komiri kiwiyo se Ø-ino-a-Ø-ró  
betelnut leaf lime get.PLOBJ 3sDO-give-PST-2/3s-RPST  
*Se inoní...*  
Se Ø-ino-ní  
get.PLOBJ 3sDO-give-3sDS  
‘...he gave him the betelnut, leaf and lime. He gave them to him and...’

Serial verb constructions such as these may have a postpositional phrase interposed in between the two verbs.

- (22) ...*mepémo tete yeroqo, se towo*  
mepémo te-te-Ø ye-ro-qo se Ø-towo  
sufficient do-PRES-3s say-SS-SUB get.PLOBJ 3sDO-hold  
*yendémo mahero...*  
yendé-mo mahe-ro  
village-ALL come-SS  
‘...when he thinks it is sufficient, getting and holding it he will come to the village...’

The continuous aspect suffix *-yo* is the same shape as the verbal lexeme *yo* ‘be’. It may at one time have been more fully verbal and thus been a part of a very frequent

serial verb construction. Over time this construction has assimilated from two separate clauses to a lexical item.

### 4.3 Adjective phrase

An adjective phrase may be formed with other modifiers to express either an intensive or comparative idea.

AdjP → (Adj) Adj (Adj)

#### 4.3.1 Intensive

For the intensive, a head adjective is followed by another adjective such as *horé* ‘true’ or, in typical Melanesian style, *piyimi* ‘very bad’.

- (23) *kondé* ‘strong’  
*kondé piyimi* ‘extremely strong’

#### 4.3.2 Comparative

Iyo has no true comparatives. When comparing the attributes of two referents one will be described as being an intensive of the other. When three are involved, an adjective phrase is formed by preceding the head adjective with either a modifier or zero.

- (24) *soŋga parámi* < *parámi* < *parámi horé*  
‘a little big’ ‘big’ ‘truly big’

However, natural language examples are unknown. This pattern has only occurred in elicited samples.

### 4.4 Locative phrase

The ordinary strategy for a locative reference is to affix a locative or allative postposition on the noun or noun phrase. However, in almost all cases the Iyo speaker does not leave such a bare locative on its own. Rather, that spatial orientation is reinforced with a demonstrative pronoun, also with a locative.

- (25) *Arero no norero Hambiya yano ŋuno*  
are-ro no no-re-ro Hambiya ya-no ŋu-no  
come.up-SS 1S 1sDO-get-SS Hambiya house-LOC DEM-LOC  
*norotoro...*  
no-roto-ro  
1sDO-leave-SS  
‘We came up and he got me and left me in the house in Hambiya...’

## 4.5 Postpositional phrase

A postpositional phrase may be formed from a noun phrase relative clause which is standing in for a noun phrase and locative, allative, ablative, reference or accompaniment postposition. In the case of a noun phrase the postposition attaches to the final element of the phrase.

- (26) *Yate mako kano mahiniqo awaye*  
 yate mako ka-no mahe-ni-qo awa-ye  
 DUR door INDEF-LOC come-3sDS-SUB father-2/3pPOSS  
*kato yaró...*  
 ka-to ye-a-Ø-ró  
 INDEF-FOC say-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Continuing on when she came to one of the doors, one of their fathers said...’

By the same token, a postposition may attach to a relative pronoun.

- (27) *Asa enepa nanjeko naru yatowó muno*  
 asa ene-pa nanje-ko naru ye-a-to-wó mu-no  
 alright 3-PROM DISC-TOP time say-PST-1p-RPST REL-LOC  
*ñunoko asa Wili maheró.*  
 ñu-no-ko asa Wili mahe-Ø-Ø-ró  
 DEM-LOC-TOP alright Wili come-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Alright, at just the time that he himself had said, Will came.’

## 4.6 Possessive phrase

A possessive phrase is formed by preceding a noun with a pronoun. Either the noun, or pronoun, or both, may have a possessive suffix. The suffix may be replaced with a relative pronoun (see §3.2.5)

$$\text{PossP} \rightarrow \text{PRO} \quad (-\text{POSS}) \quad \text{N} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (-\text{POSS}) \\ \text{REL} \end{array} \right\}$$

- (28) *Nene mirako Dana iyarenowó.*  
 nene mira-ko Dana iyare-Ø-no-wó  
 1S area-ALL Dana go-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘I went to my area of Dana.’

- (29) *Uni sara, uni iriyó keḡo mandeke iḡoro...*  
 uni sara uni iriyó ke-ḡo mande-ke iḡo-ro  
 man white man black 2S-POSS talk-2sPOSS hear-SS  
 ‘White men and black men hear your talk...’
- (30) *Oro pare eneḡo mako qu kosoro yano*  
 o-ro pare ene-ḡo mako qu koso-ro ya-no  
 go.up-SS woman 3-POSS door REL open-SS house-ALL  
*oró.*  
 o-Ø-Ø-ró  
 go.up-PST-3s-RPST  
 ‘He went up and opened his wife’s door and went up into the house.’

# 5. Clause

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## 5.1 Simple clause structure

A minimal clause in Iyo may be a verb, whether inflected as a final verb or as a final imperative. If there are more than one constituent in the clause, the unmarked order is an SOV structure with the possibility of a post-positional phrase inserted:

Cl → (SubjNP) (PP) (ObjP) VP

- (1) *No kombono qare seqanowó.*  
no kombo-no qare seqa-a-no-wó  
1S moon-LOC cuscus look.for-PST-1s-RPST  
'I hunted cuscus in the moonlight.'

The first noun phrase in the clause is usually the subject, although it can often only be disambiguated by the agreement on the verb. When there is a second noun phrase in the structure it will be the object of the verb since the word order is fairly rigid, except when the subject is marked for focus. In that case, the subject and object positions may be reversed.

- (2) a. *Koporé mira pokamote.*  
cloud ground cover-PRES-2/3s  
b. *Koporéko mira pokamote.*  
cloud-TOP ground cover-PRES-2/3s  
c. *Mira koporéko pokamote.*  
ground cloud-TOP cover-PRES-2/3s  
'Clouds are covering the ground.'  
d. \**Mira koporé pokamote.*  
ground cloud cover-PRES-2/3s

The subject of a final verb (and of any preceding same subject medial verbs) is marked on the final verb by a person/number suffix. The subject of a medial verb is only explicit when the subject will change with the next verb stem. The nominal, pronominal or demonstrative subject (see §3.2.3) normally occupies the initial noun

phrase position in the clause, except when there is a discourse level orienter. It may be marked for possession.

The object may or may not be marked on the final and medial verbs depending on the type of verb. The nominal, pronominal or demonstrative object normally occupies the second noun phrase position in the clause and may be marked for possession.

Neither subject nor object phrases are required in the clause, since both can be marked on the final verb, remaining implicit to the clause.

## 5.2 Transitive

A transitive clause will usually have an explicit noun phrase filling the role of patient in the clause, although the patient may be in the wider context and simply be marked on the verb, particularly in a medial clause.

- (3) *Sirá kumaró.*  
sirá kumo-a-Ø-ró  
 taro pull.out-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘She pulled out taro [from the garden].’
- (4) *Awa khumoní ηano tapumoro...*  
awa khumo-ní ηa-no tapu-mo-ro  
 father die-3sDS DEM-LOC bury-3sDO-SS  
 ‘Father died and I buried him here and...’

## 5.3 Ditransitive

A ditransitive clause has both a primary object as recipient and a secondary object as patient. The recipient of the action in an Iyo ditransitive verb is coded by a prefixed object.

- |     | secondary   |               |             | primary                |                  |
|-----|---|---------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------|
| (5) | <i>Qare</i>   | <i>ka</i>     | <i>rero</i> | <i>nunoní</i>          | <i>puṅgeyoro</i> |
|     | <u>qare</u>   | <u>ka</u>     | Ø-re-ro     | <u>no</u> -ino-ní      | puṅge-yo-ro      |
|     | cuscus  | INDEF         | 3sDO-get-SS | 1DO-give-3sDS          | bag.up-3sDO-SS   |
|     | <i>rumowe</i>   | <i>suruṅo</i> | <i>saṅa</i> | <i>oyarowó.</i>        |                  |
|     | rumo-we   | suruṅo        | saṅa        | o-yo-a-ro-wó           |                  |
|     | carry-1sDS  | slope         | atop        | go.up-CONT-PST-1d-RPST |                  |
|     | ‘He got a cuscus and gave it to me and I bagged it up and carried it and we went up the slope.’ |               |             |                        |                  |

## 5.4 Intransitive

An intransitive clause involves action which does not have a specific object upon which it operates. Thus there is no encoded object in the clause.

- (6) *Dundiro yini no soporo kunditanowó.*  
 ɲundiro ye-ní no sopo-ro kundite-a-no-wó  
 thus say-3sDS 1S wait-SS sit-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘He spoke thus and I waited and sat.’

## 5.5 Descriptive

In the Iyo language there is no explicit copula verb (‘to be’). A descriptive clause, then, is composed of a noun phrase as subject and an adjectival phrase as predicate.

- (7) *Otoqoro orowó. Khe piru.*  
 otoqo-ro o-Ø-ro-wó khe piru  
 get.up-SS go.up-PST-1d-RPST road long  
 ‘We got up and went up. It was a long road.’
- (8) *Qare parámi mu ɲuna.*  
 qare pará-mi mu ɲu-na  
 animal big-INTENS REL DEM-DISC  
 ‘There is is a big animal just there.’

## 5.6 Relative

The particle *qu* functions as a relativiser in Iyo discourse. It can relativise structures ranging from a simple adjective all the way up to a complete discourse, making them available for use as NPs. This strategy allows the language to construct elaborately modified NPs. With no affixation it may be used as either the unfocused subject or the object of a clause. It may also take the focus marker *-ndo*, the topic marker *-ko*, the referential marker *-ro* or the postpositional locative *-no*.

The relativiser marker may also be used in a noun phrase to tie together the modifiers following the head (see §4.1)

A suppletive form of this particle, *mu*, performs the same function as *qu* but is motivated partly from phonological reasons (i.e. in a nasal environment), partly from pragmatic reasons (usually found on left-dislocated topics marked with *-ko*), partly from semantic reasons (personifies body parts). However, because of seemingly random variation, speaker preference/performance would seem to be the dominant reason why *mu* is used as over against *qu*.

### 5.6.1 Unaffixed markers

- (9) *Asa, ye kutaqemo woso ηano mahika*  
 asa ye kutaqe-no woso ηa-no mahe-i-ka  
 alright 2P near-LOC pull DEM-LOC come-2/3pDS-DS.SEQ  
*usisambayembo oka tanğuri qu*  
 usisamba-ye-bo oka te-a-ηgo-rí qu  
 ancestor-2/3pPOSS-FOC something do-PST-2/3p-RPST REL  
*yeweka iηoya yepa yate*  
 ye-we-ka iηo-ya ye-pa yate  
 say-1sDS-DS.SEQ hear-SS.SEQ 2P-PROM DUR  
*nambo-simóye moré tiniqo, yepa*  
 nambo-simó-ye moré te-ní-qo ye-pa  
 daughter-son-2/3pPOSS have do-3sDS-SUB 2P-PROM  
*simóye yimiri qembe.*  
 simó-ye yo-miro-i qembe.  
 child-2/3pPOSS 2/3pDO-tell-2/3pIMP FUT.IMP

‘Alright, you pull in close here and I will say what your ancestors did and you listen and if as time goes on you have children, you tell your children.’

*Noko usisiyembo nimiranguri*  
 no-ko usi-RED-ye-bo no-miro-a-ηgo-rí  
 1S-TOP grandfather-PLUR-2/3pPOSS-FOC 1DO-tell-PST-2/3p-RPST  
*mu, nore ηu iηoyoteto qu, nopa nanje ye*  
mu nore ηu iηo-yo-te-to qu no-pa nanje ye  
REL 1P DEM hear-CONT-PRES-1p REL 1S-PROM DISC 2P  
*yimirowe teteno.*  
 yo-miro-we te-te-no  
 2/3pDO-tell-INCEP do-PRES-1s

‘I am going to tell you what your grandfathers told us, what we are hearing.’

Notice the variation between *qu* and *mu* in the example above. In the opening sentences of this story both refer to the same concept with no apparent difference in syntactic or pragmatic motivation.

### 5.6.2 With focus clitic

- (10) *Khumaṅguri qundo mande ti iṅanowó.*  
 khumo-a-ṅgo-rí qu-do mande te-i iṅo-a-no-wó  
 die-PST-2/3p-RPST REL-FOC talk do-2/3pDS hear-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘Dead men [i.e. men who had died] spoke and I heard.’

- (11) *O koretero teyoteto quko*  
 o korete-ro te-yo-te-to qu-ko  
 thing do.first-SS do-HAB-PRES-1p REL-TOP  
*awa-námbo unipareto po enesó-enesó*  
 awa-ná-mbo unipare-to po enesó-RED  
 father-mother-INST people-INST pig different-PL  
*wutuwoyotengo.*  
 wutu-wo-yo-te-ṅgo  
 feed-3sDO-HAB-PRES-2/3p  
 ‘What we do first, (our) parents and [other] people, feed various pigs.’

In example (10) above the VP is made available as a subject and is focused as the ones in particular who spoke. In example (11) the VP is cast as the topic of the sentence.

### 5.6.3 With referential marker

The opening sentence of a story usually sets the referential topic of which the story is the extended comment. Here the topic of the story is presented as a relative clause.

- (12) *No misini Morobe noṅgo ṅano mahṅguri*  
 no misini Morobe noṅgo ṅa-no mahe-Ø-ṅgo-rí  
 1S missionary Morobe ABL DEM-ALL come-PST-2/3p-RPST  
*quro mandí tewé teteno.*  
qu-ro mande-í te-we te-te-no  
 REL-REF talk-3sPOSS do-INCEP do-PRES-1s  
 ‘I am about to tell about the coming of the missionaries from Morobe to here.’

### 5.6.4 With locatives

In the following example the VP is made available as an oblique locative phrase.

- (13) *Balusi yendé towoyoteto quno ηuno*  
*balusi yendé towo-yo-te-to qu-no ηu-no*  
 airplane place make-CONT-PRES-1p REL-LOC DEM-LOC  
*mahiníqo asa unipare, simó-namboyó maheto...*  
*mahe-ní-qo asa unipare simó-nambo-yó mahe-to*  
 come-3sDS-SUB alright people son-daughter-3sPOSS come-1pDS...  
 ‘When he came to where we are making the airstrip, alright we people  
 [along with] his sons and daughters came...’

The relativiser can also be used to tie descriptives to the head which they modify in the NP. Typically this will happen when more than one modifier is present, but is often used when there is only one.

- (14) *Norendo uni meté qu umbuto...*  
*nore-do uni meté qu umbu-to*  
 1P-FOC man good REL come.down-1pDS  
 ‘We good men came down...’
- (15) *Sono howe umburo po ka parámi mu*  
*sono howe umbu-ro po ka pará-mi mu*  
 river follow come.down-SS pig INDEF big-INTENS REL  
*qenero kañaró.*  
*qene-ro kañe-a-Ø-ró*  
 see-SS stand-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Following the river he came down and saw a big pig and stood.’

## 5.7 Complement

### 5.7.1 Direct quotes

Direct quotation has the following formula:

DQ → (speech final verb) “. . .” (speech final verb)

The speech verb preceding the embedded speech act is almost always present in formal speech, but sometimes omitted in a running dialogue where alternation of speakers is understood. The following speech verb is only rarely used except when the embedded speech act is part of a medial clause.

- (16) *Awaye kato yaró, “Simóne*  
*awa-ye ka-to ye-a-ró simó-ne*  
 father-2/3pPOSS one-FOC say-PST-2/3s-RPST child-1sPOSS  
*meté yirika arini.”*  
*meté ye-ri-ka are-ní*  
 good say-2/3dDS-SEQ come.up-3sIMP  
 ‘One of their fathers said, “My children, you two can tell her to come up.”’
- (17) *Yewe yaró, “Iyo, meté teteno,”*  
*ye-we ye-a-Ø-ró Iyo meté te-te-no*  
 say-1sDS say-PST-2/3s-RPST yes good do-PRES-1s  
*yaró.*  
*ye-a-Ø-ró*  
 say-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘I said that and he said, “Yes, I am alright.”’
- (18) *Sowe-sowe teyoníqo mahe qenero, “Itaka*  
*sowe-RED te-yo-ní-qo mahe qene-ro itaka*  
 join-PLUR do-CONT-3sDS-SUB come see-SS now  
*kiyoteto ŋu,” yanguri.*  
*ko-iyo-te-to ŋu ye-a-ŋgo-rí*  
 2sDO-see-PRES-1p EMPH say-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘As he was joining them together, they came and saw and said, “Now we see you!”’

### 5.7.2 Indirect quote/cognition

All internal mental processes: thinking, wishing, knowing and internal dialogue are handled by complementation. The complement clause is followed by the verb *ye* ‘say’ with a switch reference ending, or by the verb *ijo* ‘hear/know’ or both. The complement may contain a verb with final inflection, the intentional suffix, or other medial endings—usually switch reference.

- (19) *Naru kano Boyopenu koya Moyembanu taku*  
 naru ka-no Boyopenu ko-ya Moyembanu taku  
 time one-LOC Boyopenu TOP-ACC Moyembanu dam  
*wandewero yero sono howariyó.*  
 wade-wero ye-ro sono Ø-howe-a-ri-yó  
 put.in-INTENT say-SS water 3sDO-follow-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘One time, Boyopenu and Moyembanu thought they wanted to make a dam and followed a stream.’
- (20) *Tini kini tini ene yendémo uyarewe...*  
 te-ní kini te-ní ene yendé-no uyare-we  
 do-3sDS NEG do-3sDS 3 village-ALL go.across-1sDS  
*yero nuwí Apilala miraró.*  
 ye-ro nuwe-í Apilala Ø-miro-a-Ø-ró  
 say-SS cousin-3sPOSS Apilala 3sDO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He did that and it finished and he wanted to go back to his village...and he told his cousin Apilala.’
- (21) *Kiweyoníqo Dosana koya Winkeyo*  
 kiwe-yo-ní-qo Dosana ko-ya Winkeyo  
 sing.out-CONT-2/3s-SUB Dosana TOP-ACC Winkeyo  
*koya, uni kato uroní*  
 ko-ya uni ka-to Ø-uro-ní  
 TOP-ACC man one-FOC 3sDO-hit-3sDS  
*kiweyote yero, sukepo*  
 kiwe-yo-te-Ø ye-ro suke-po  
 call.out-CONT-PRES-2/3s say-SS knife-INST  
*tonjaró, yero mahiriyó.*  
 Ø-tonjo-a-Ø-ró ye-ro mahe-Ø-Ø-riyó  
 3sDO-cut-PST-2/3s-RPST say-SS come-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘When he was calling out, Dosana and Winkeyo thought that a man is hitting him and he is calling out, and they [also] thought that the man cut him with a knife, and they came.’

- (22) *Nuwendo o meté tero neyotiri*  
 nuwe-ndo o meté te-ro Ø-ne-yo-te-ri  
 cousin-FOC food good do-SS 3sDO-eat-CONT-PRES-2/3d  
*yero ijoro...*  
 ye-ro ijo-ro  
 say-SS hear-SS  
 ‘(My) cousins make and eat good food, he decided...’

## 5.8 Prohibitive

The prohibitive mode is formed from the negative particle *ma* and either the verb stem with the intentional aspect suffix for singular or the corresponding imperative ending for plural.

- (23) *Ma tuḡowero.* ‘Don’t close it.’  
*Ma tendoyi.* ‘Don’t you all cry.’  
*Ma toḡato.* ‘Let’s not go.’

Often only, “Ma!” is spoken to forbid some action, particularly if speed of response is important or emotion is high.

## 5.9 Permissive

The permissive mode is formed from the adjective *meté* ‘good’ and the imperative.

- (24) a. *Meté u.* ‘You may go down.’  
 b. *Meté yi.* ‘You all may speak.’  
 c. *Meté oto.* ‘We can go.’

## 5.10 Negative

The negative mode is an adverbial aspectual formation with *kama*.

- (25) *Sewe kama uwano.*  
 Sewe kama u-wa-no  
 Sewe NEG go.down-FUT-ls  
 ‘I will not go down to Sewe.’

## 5.11 Hypothetical

The hypothetical mode is marked on a medial verb with the subordinating conjunction *-go*. The meaning is derived from context.

- (26) *Maheroqo re mahewano.*  
 mahe-ro-qo re mahe-wa-no  
 come-SS-SUB get come-FUT-1s  
 ‘If I come I will bring it.’

If the hypothetical situation is expressed in a final clause (including a zero copula equative), the subordinated third singular medial form of the verb *te* ‘do’ follows that clause.

- (27) *Du mandumi tiniqo re nuno.*  
 ŋu mandumi te-ní-qo re no-ino-Ø  
 that red do-3sDS-SUB get 1DO-give-2sIMP  
 ‘If that is red, give it to me.’

## 5.12 Causal

In a causal clause the verb *re* ‘get’ marks the action of the causal agent (identified as the subject of that verb). It is then marked for different subject and the result of the causal actions follows.

- (28) *Panembo wondo rini umbu*  
 pa-ne-mbo wondo Ø-re-ní umbu  
 older.sibling-1sPOSS-TOP stone 3sDO-get-3sDS come.down  
*nurote.*  
 no-uro-te-Ø  
 1DO-hit-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘My older brother caused a stone to come down and hit me.’
- (29) *Asa gavmanko ŋunde yero sokome ri*  
 asa gavman-ko ŋunde ye-ro sokome ri  
 alright government-TOP thus say-SS letter get-2/3pDS  
*ŋano mahini qenero...*  
 ŋa-no mahe-ní qene-ro  
 DEM-LOC come-3sDS see-SS  
 ‘Alright, the government said that and sent a letter here and we saw and...’

## 5.13 Temporal

The temporal element is often at the left margin of a sentence which sets the temporal framework. This element can be a word, phrase or subordinate clause.

- (30) *Itaka Gumbarami oteto.*  
 itaka Gumbarami o-te-to  
 today Gumbarami go.up-PRES-1p  
 ‘Today we are going up to Gumbarami.’
- (31) *Naru kano Boyopenu koya Moyembanu*  
 naru ka-no Boyopenu ko-ya Moyembanu  
 time INDEF-LOC Boyopenu TOP-ACC Moyembanu  
*koya taku wandewero yero sono howariyó.*  
 ko-ya taku wande-wero ye-ro sono howe-a-ri-yó  
 TOP-ACC dam put.in.dam-INTENT say-SS river follow-PST-2/3d-RPST  
 ‘One time Boyopenu and Moyembanu, wanting to put in a dam, followed the river.’
- (32) *Ko naru kumimo ηuya nú ηuna*  
 ko naru kumi-mo ηu-ya nú ηu-na  
 CONJ time some-LOC DEM-ACC bird DEM-DISC  
*parámi yiyoroqo ηuya supiro toηoteto.*  
 pará-mi yo-iyo-ro-qo ηu-ya supiro Ø-toηo-te-to  
 big-INTENS 3pDO-see-SS-SUB DEM-ACC arrow 3sDO-cut-PRES-1p  
 ‘And some times also when we see that the birds there are big, we also cut arrows.’

As can be seen in the above example, this temporal subordination may also be accomplished with the subordinating conjunction on the medial verb. This subordination sets the prior temporal condition for the following predication.

## 5.14 Purpose

A purpose clause may be encoded simply by the intentional suffix *-wero* on a verb stem.

- (33) *Tojiri*            *nore ore tojoyate uro po*  
 toje-ri            nore ore tojo-yate u-ro po  
 leave-2/3dDS 1P road cut-DUR go.down-SS pig  
*momote iyare eteyoni urowero*  
 momo-te-Ø iyare ete-yo-ní Ø-uro-wero  
 steal-PRES-3s go sleep-CONT-3sDS 3sDO-kill-INTENT  
*orowó ηu.*  
 o-Ø-ro-wó ηu  
 go.up-PST-1d-RPST EMPH

‘They both left and we were cutting a path and went down and while the thieving pig was sleeping, we went up to kill it.’

Very often, however, the purpose is expressed as interior speech. The intended action follows the speech verb.

- (34) *Nuwene, oka ka ηana yero*  
 nuwe-ne oka ka ηa-na ye-ro  
 cousin-1sPOSS thing INDEF DEM-DISC say-SS  
*kimirowano quko keto piyimiηoweya.*  
 ko-miro-wa-no quko ke-to piyimi-ηo-weya-Ø  
 2sDO-tell-FUT-1s CONJ 2S-FOC dislike-3sDO-FUT-2/3s

‘Cousin, I intend to tell you something, but you will dislike it.’

# 6. Sentence

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## 6.1 Declarative

Declarative sentences are the normal unmarked type of sentences.

- (1) *Dopeke koya Takeme koya tokono*  
Dopeke ko-ya Takeme ko-ya toko-no  
Dopeke TOP-ACC Takeme TOP-ACC forest-ALL  
*oriyó.*  
o-Ø-ri-yó  
go.up-PST-2/3d-RPST  
'Dopeke and Takeme went up to the forest.'

## 6.2 Imperative

Imperative sentences are essentially sentence fragments in that they end in a medial verb inflected only for imperative mode. There is no fully inflected final verb form.

- (2) *Asa, ye woso kutaqemo mahika.*  
Asa ye woso kutaqe-no mahe-i-ka  
alright 2P pull nearby-ALL come-2pIMP-SEQ  
'Alright, you all come up close beside me.'
- (3) *Daro sowo mandi yeweka iji.*  
ɲa-ro sowo mande-í ye-we-ka iño-i  
DEM-REF story talk-3sPOSS say-1sDS-SEQ hear-2/3pIMP  
'I will tell this story and you will listen.'

The imperative construction often leaves the outcome of the command as an implicit result, given its uncompleted aspect. Thus, in example (2) above there is a sequential marker that would ordinarily require another verb to follow. Here it is left understood.

## 6.3 Interrogative

Interrogative sentences may contain an interrogative pronoun (for content questions) or the interrogative sentence level clitic *-pe* (for yes/no questions). They will usually employ a rising intonation which rapidly falls at the end of the question. The normal order of sentence elements pertains.

- (4) *Date qundo kikite?*  
date qu-ndo ko-ki-te-Ø  
 what REL-FOC 2sDO-bite-PRES-2/3s  
 ‘What was it that bit you?’
- (5) *Hamómbe?*  
 hamó-pe  
 true-YNQ  
 ‘Is that true?’
- (6) *Ðako ijotengope?*  
 ŋa-ko iŋo-te-ŋgo-pe  
 this-TOP understand-PRES-2/3p-YNQ  
 ‘Do you all understand?’
- (7) *Kopipe neweya?*  
 kopi-pe Ø-ne-weya-Ø  
 coffee-YNQ 3sDO-drink-FUT-2/3s  
 ‘Will you drink some coffee?’

In principle, any sentence element may receive the interrogative marker, and often there are many in a given sentence. Besides categorising the sentence as a yes/no question it also serves to highlight what is being asked.

Thus, in example (7) above, the NP ‘coffee’ is marked, presumably to distinguish it from other possible drinks on offer. If the act of drinking is in question, as opposed to other possible acts, only the verb would be marked.

It is also possible for both elements to receive the YNQ marker, effectively eliminating the distinction. At the same time, the marker may be absent and the fact of it being a question carried by intonation alone.

## 6.4 Coordination

### 6.4.1 Conjunctive

The subordinating conjunction *-qo* can be used for a variety of connections between clauses. The specific temporal or causal meanings are context specific. For

instance, a conditional clause is generally indicated if the final verb is in the future tense.

- (8) *Etiníqo*                    *uwano.*  
 ete-ní-qo                    u-wa-no  
 sleep-3sDS-SUB    go.down-FUT-1s  
 ‘If he sleeps I will go down.’

The use of the conjunction on stative verbs gives the temporal idea of simultaneity; on action verbs that of temporal succession.

- (9) *Nimí*                    *wonde*    *soporo*    *yaró.*  
 ná-í                    wonde    sopo-ro    yo-a-Ø-ró  
 mother-3sPOSS    old        wait-SS    be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
*Yoníqo*                    *naḡuni*                    *mahiníqo*                    *ḡande*  
 yo-ní-qo                    naḡo-í                    mahe-ní-qo                    ḡande  
 be-3sDS-SUB    son-3sPOSS    come-3sDS-SUB    thus

*miraró,...*

Ø-miro-a-Ø-ró

3sDO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘His old mother was waiting for him. While she was waiting, when her son came in, she told him thus,...

- (10) *Dunde*    *yewe*                    *asa*    *iḡoro*                    *yendémo*                    *orowó.*  
 ḡunde    ye-we                    asa    iḡo-ro                    yendé-mo                    o-Ø-ro-wó  
 thus    say-1sDS                    alright    hear-SS                    village-ALL                    go.up-PST-1d-RPST

*Yendémo*                    *oroqo*                    *Pastor*    *ḡuno*

yendé-mo    o-ro-qo                    Pastor    ḡu-no

village-ALL    go.up-SS-SUB    Pastor    DEM-LOC

*kunditeyaró.*

kundite-yo-a-Ø-ró

sit-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘I spoke thus and alright, he heard and we two went up to the village. When we went up to the village, Pastor was sitting there.’

Temporal connection between clauses is not normally indicated, although the common understanding is that events happen in sequence. Therefore, when this succession is desired to be explicit, the clausal conjunction is used.

Sentences are also conjoined with the coordinating conjunction *kowe* (shortened form *ko*). See §3.10.1.

### 6.4.2 Chaining

The switch reference system in Iyo serves to maintain participant identity through the clause chain. Since the language does not utilise proper names to any great extent, or even pronouns, this system is vital to keep the hearer/reader aware of who is doing what. Participants are usually identified at the beginning of a discourse, and then are referred to by the same subject/different subject markers or by subject agreement on the final verbs. They may be maintained through nominal or pronominal reference when the participant mix has gotten confused or when ambiguity is high.

The sentence unit in Iyo, that is, a clause chain ending in a final verb, may more properly be understood as a paragraph. It contains subjects and predicates which centre on a basic topic. Consider the following example (SS=same subject, DS=different subject, FV=final verb):

Sentence #1 (Introduction)

I was(SS) at Nagada and with my brother we two chased a pig(FV).

Sentence #2 (We chase a pig)

It ran away(DS) and Ima followed the pig's tracks(DS) and I waited by the pig trail(DS) and the pig came(DS) and I shot at it(DS) and it ran away(DS) and I went to the house(SS) and told Dopenuka(SS), "Come let's chase it(DS), it ran up into the kunai," I said(SS) and we two went up(FV).

Sentence #3 (The pig is chased toward me, bites me, is shot and dies)

It went up(SS) and was waiting for me in order to bite me(DS) and Dopenuka followed it(DS) and it came down(DS) and I shot at it(DS) and the pig bit me(DS) and I cried out(DS) and a boy came(SS) and he shot the pig(DS) and it died(FV).

Sentence #4 (I am taken to be helped)

Dopenuka carrying me, we came to KPI(SS) and he told a white man(DS) and he talked on the telephone to the hospital(DS) and an ambulance came down(SS) and it took us to the Madang hospital(FV).

When the subject of one clause is included in the subject of a following or preceding clause the relationship is encoded with the same subject marker. For instance, if the subject changes from 1st plural to 1st singular (and vice versa), the same subject marker is used.

# 7. Discourse considerations

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## 7.1 Participant tracking

### 7.1.1 Introduction of known participants

Participants in Iyo narrative discourse are introduced in one of two ways. When they are assumed to be known by the listener/reader, the participants are often named.

- (1) *Asa Moro yendé mongo, Colin, no, ηundiro Sewe*  
asa Moro yendé mongo Colin no ηundiro Sewe  
alright Moro village ABL Colin 1S thus Sewe  
*urowó.*  
u-Ø-ro-wó  
go.down-PST-1d-RPST

‘Alright, from Moro village, Colin and I thus went down to Sewe.’

In this first sentence of a report elicited by Colin, the speaker is describing what he and Colin did. The participants and the locations are known to both.

This naming of participants in narrative is frequently placed in an introductory sentence which establishes the topic of the discourse before it actually begins.

- (2) *Bopi purí koya Buromburo purí koya epe*  
Bopi purí ko-ya Buromburo purí ko-ya epe  
Bopi mountain TOP-ACC Buromburo mountain TOP-ACC RECIP  
*muto-muto tariyó, ηuro mandí.*  
muto-RED te-a-ri-yó ηu-ro mande-í  
shoot-RECIP do-PST-2/3d-RPST DEM-REF talk-3sPOSS

‘This is the talk about Bopi mountain and Buromburo mountain shooting each other.’

As the story progresses the actors in this story alternate their activity, and each is named as appropriate. However, such re-identification is not considered necessary if the speaker assumes his hearers are completely familiar with the story. In the

following example the introductory sentence is generic, while the next one more explicitly names the three participants.

- (3) *Wiwike koya uni irisa koya tanğuri, ηuro*  
Wiwike ko-ya uni irisa ko-ya te-a-ηgo-rí ηu-ro  
 Wiwike TOP-ACC man two TOP-ACC do-PST-2/3p-RPST DEM-REF  
*mande. Wiwike, Tanu, Takeme ηundiro Sewe nonğooro...*  
 mande Wiwike Tanu Takeme ηundiro Sewe nonğoo-ro  
 talk Wiwike Tanu Takeme thus Sewe ABLgo.up-SS  
 ‘A story about what Wiwike and two men did. Wiwike, Tanu, Takeme  
 thus went up from Sewe...’

As this story proceeds, even though all three participants play roles in the narrative, no more names are used. Thus, to an uninitiated listener/reader, their 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular suffixes on the verbs are ambiguous, but to the knowledgeable listener names are unnecessary.

After an opening sentence which introduces the main participant(s), new actors may be introduced and named simply by identifying their kin relation to the main actor.

- (4) *Wonğe koro sowo mande. Nuwí*  
Wonğe ko-ro sowo mande nuwe-í  
 Wonğe TOP-REF story talk cousin-3sPOSS  
*Wangiruko sono koro piyo teyate domu*  
Wangiru-ko sono ko-ro piyo te-yate domu  
 Wangiru-TOP water TOP-REF bad do-DUR betelnut  
*siyoro punğeyoro rumoro nuwí Wonğe*  
 siyo-ro punge-yo-ro rumo-ro nuwe-í Wonğe  
 get.PLOBJ-SS bag.up-3sDO-SS carry-SS cousin-3sPOSS Wonğe  
*qenewero arero nuwí inaró.*  
 qene-wero are-ro nuwe-í Ø-ino-a-Ø-ró  
 see-INTENT are-SS cousin-3sPOSS 3sDO-give-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘A story about Wonğe. His cousin Wangiru was bad for water [i.e.  
 thirsty] and got his betelnut and bagged it up and came up to see his  
 cousin Wonğe and gave it to him.’

### 7.1.2 Introduction of unknown participants

When the speaker/writer assumes that his audience will not know the main participant, or when the identity is either unknown or unimportant, that participant is introduced with the indefinite particle *ka*.

- (5) *Simó kato wondo saṅano eteyoní*  
simó ka-to wondo saṅa-no ete-yo-ní  
 boy INDEF-FOC stone atop-LOC sleep-CONT-3sDS  
*ya kama rero kina yate.*  
 ya kama re-ro kina yate  
 house NEG make-SS without DUR

‘A boy was sleeping on a stone and they did not make houses and they continued without.’

In this instance the boy is never named in the story about how houses were first discovered and built. In the following example the overall story is about how a lake, which is named only in this opening sentence, came to be. The animate participants of the story are never named.

- (6) *Karuwasa koṅiwimboro mande piṅayó. Asa, uni*  
 Karuwasa koṅe-wí-mbo-ro mande piṅa-yó asa uni  
 Karuwasa swell-PART-FOC-REF talk report-3sPOSS alright man  
*kato opiṅoṅomboya sikuno toṅiriyó.*  
ka-to opiṅo-ṅombo-ya siku-no toṅe-Ø-ri-yó  
 INDEF-FOC dog-3sPOSS-FOC-ACC forest-ALL go-PST-2/3d-RPST

‘A report about Karuwasa swelled (water) [i.e. lake]. Alright, a man and his dog went to the forest.’

### 7.1.3 Subsequent tracking

A participant who has been named previously in the discourse will be subsequently tracked by re-use of that name or by the person/number markings on the verbs involved.

- (7) *Bapinuoko topo irisa koya oka*  
 Bapinuoko-topo irisa ko-ya oka  
 Bapinuoko-TOP friend two TOP-ACC something  
*tangurí, ṅuro mandí yewe.*  
 te-a-ṅgo-rí ṅu-ro mande-í ye-we  
 do-PST-2/3p-RPST DEM-REF talk-3sPOSS say-INCEP

‘Bapinuoko and two friends did something, I’m going to speak about that.’

- Duko ṅandiro, pare tukuni ka, owé Ruru,*  
 ṅu-ko ṅandiro pare tukuni ka owe-í Ruru  
 DEM-TOP thus woman short INDEF name-3sPOSS Ruru

*ŋu khoyómo bako seyaró.*  
 ŋu kho-yó-mo bako se-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 DEM garden-3sPOSS-LOC sweet.potato dig-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘That is like this, a short [i.e. old] woman, named Ruru, she was digging sweet potato in her garden.’

*Seyoníqo nore utowó.*  
 se-yo-ní-qo nore u-Ø-to-wó  
 dig-CONT-3sDS-SUB 1P go.down-PST-1p-RPST

‘While she was digging, we went down.’

Notice that the speaker, Bapinuo, begins by introducing himself and his (unnamed) friends. When he enters the story proper it is sufficient that there is a 1p marking on the verb.

However, in the case of the old woman, a different strategy is used. She is introduced first by the indefinite particle, then named, then referred to by the demonstrative pronoun. As the story progresses later she is only identified by the alternation of switch reference suffixes and the person/number suffixes on the final verbs.

This use of the demonstrative is employed in the early part of a discourse to refer to a previously identified participant. As the discourse continues, agreement on the verb predominates, although if a participant has not been mentioned in a while, or if the alteration of participations in the switch reference has become ambiguous, a re-identification becomes necessary. This may be accomplished by using a previously used name, or through a pronominal reference, or by a descriptive noun phrase along with the demonstrative to refocus the reference. In the example below, A and B above underlined noun phrases identify two different participants.

A

- (8) Uni misini amana Tambimbi mahɛŋguri.  
 uni misini amana Tambimbi mahe-Ø-ŋgo-rí  
 man missionary new Tambimbi come-PST-2/3p-RPST

‘New missionaries came to Tambimbi.’

*Mahi*            *nore* *ɲa*    *usuró*    *simó*    *ye*  
 mahe-i            nore    ɲa    usuró    simó    ye  
 come-2/3pDS    1P    DEM    initiate    boy    say

*soreyatowó.*

sore-yo-a-to-wó

run.away-CONT-PST-1p-RPST

‘They came and we the initiated boys wanted to run away [i.e. were scared].’

**B**

*Soreyato*                            *Dana*    *noŋgo*    *uni*    *parámi*  
 sore-yo-ato                            Dana    noŋgo    uni    pará-mi  
 run.away-CONT-1pDS    Dana    ABL    man    big-INTENS

*ka*    *owé*                            *Panduŋa*    *ɲundo*    *naŋge*    *o*  
 ka    owe-í                            Panduŋa    ɲu-ndo    naŋge    o  
 INDEF    name-3sPOSS    Panduŋa    DEM-FOC    DISC    food

*puŋgeyó*            *omboro*                            *qoyemboro*  
 puŋge-yo            ombo-ro                            qo-ye-mbo-ro  
 bag.up-3sDO    go.downandup-SS                            feces-2/3pPOSS-TOP-REF

*tero*    *ɲuya*            *topo*    *tero*    *ɲuno*    *yate.*  
 te-ro    ɲu-ya            topo    te-ro    ɲu-no    yate  
 do-SS    DEM-ACC    friend    do-SS    DEM-LOC    DUR

‘We were scared and a big man from Dana named Panduŋa, he alone bagged up food and went down and up and did their food [i.e. fed them] and made friends with them and was there [with them].’

**B**

*Ɖu*    *noŋgo*    *uni*    *parámi*                            *Panduŋa*    *ɲundo*    *naŋge*  
 ɲu    noŋgo    uni    pará-mi                            Panduŋa    ɲu-ndo    naŋge  
 DEM    ABL    man    big-INTENS    Panduŋa    DEM-TOP    DISC

**A**

*uni*    *ɲu*    *yowosoro*                            *Dana*    *iyareró.*  
 uni    ɲu    yo-woso-ro                            Dana    iyare-Ø-Ø-ró  
 man    DEM    3pDO-pull-SS                            Dana    go-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘From there that big man Panduŋa, he alone pulled those men and went to Dana.’

Notice in example (8) above how the second use of noun phrases A and B would be ambiguous if not specified in some way. Since plural nouns are not generally

marked (see §3.1.2) the second B phrase is necessary to know who pulled whom. Because the missionaries had already been mentioned right at the beginning, the noun phrase and the demonstrative is utilised to point back toward them.

## 7.2 Foreground/background

As a discourse is laid out along the event timeline the action sometimes moves into events which are not focal to the story as a whole. Those predicates give information which is backgrounded. This happens without explicit marking, simply moving off the main line into material that is important for the story but only as supporting information.

Often the opening move of the foregrounded story begins with a time orienter. Then, if background information has obtruded and the speaker wishes to resume the main story the conjunction *asa* (with its variants *arisa* and *harisa*) begins the new foregrounded predication.

- (9) *Colin, no itaka Gumbarami otowó quro*  
 Colin no itaka Gumbarami o-Ø-to-wó qu-ro  
 Colin 1S today Gumbarami go.up-PST-1p-RPST REL-REF

*kaŋuya yeweka, ke ŋuno toŋo.*  
 kaŋuya ye-we-ka ke ŋu-no Ø-toŋo-Ø  
 again speak-INCEP-SEQ 2S DEM-LOC 3s-cut-2sIMP

‘Colin, today I’m going to speak again about our going up to Gumbarami, you cut it there [i.e. record it].’

*Mondano kimani tero nore Gumbarami*  
 Monda-no kimani te-ro nore Gumbarami  
 Monday-LOC beginning do-SS 1P Gumbarami

*otowó quro mandí tanowó.*  
 o-Ø-to-wó qu-ro mande-í te-a-no-wó  
 go.up-PST-1p-RPST REL-REF talk-3sPOSS do-PST-1s-RPST

‘On Monday I made a beginning and told how we went up to Gumbarami.’

*Arisa ŋu toŋaró qu naru*  
 arisa ŋu toŋo-a-Ø-ró qu naru  
 alright DEM cut-PST-2/3s-RPST REL time

*rokóŋomo kini oyoteto.*  
 rokó-ŋo-mo kini o-yo-te-to  
 mark-3sPOSS-LOC NEG go.up-CONT-PRES-1p

‘Alright, in reference to what you recorded, we do not always go up.’

In the example above the speaker begins by setting the topic of the discourse, which is to speak about the practice of going up to Gumbarami to work. Then he refers back to a recording session previously conducted. This is background information. Having provided that information he picks up the thread, proceeding to what he is currently going to speak about. This is foreground information. It is marked by *arisa* as the resumptive strategy.

In the following example the story is told about how the people came to eat the various foods they do. In the story the people only eat a certain vine, which leaves them hungry and unable to sleep. So they stay up all night just talking. To this point all the information given is background, setting up the story as a whole. The first move into the foreground comes with a time orienter when an old woman loads up the different types of food and comes to each house of the village but is turned away.

- (10) *Naru kano pare wonde kato bako,*  
 naru ka-no pare wonde ka-to bako  
 time INDEF-LOC woman short INDEF-FOC sweet.potato  
*sirá, kupino, kono, o soso khono rimi*  
 sirá kupino kono o soso kho-no rimi  
 taro yam banana food all garden-LOC plant  
*neyoteto ña siyoro kumo siriyo-ro*  
 ne-yo-te-to ña siyo-ro kumo siri-yo-ro  
 eat-CONT-PRES-1p EMPH get.PLOBJ-SS pull.out gather-  
 3sDO-SS  
*mahero mako kano qene rotoyango.*  
 mahe-ro mako ka-no qene Ø-rototo-yo-a-ngo  
 come-SS door INDEF-LOC see 3sDO-leave-CONT-PST-2/3p

‘One time an old woman got sweet potato, taro, yam, banana, all the food we plant in the garden and eat, and pulling them out she gathered them and came and at each door they were rejecting her.’

As the story moves along she is brought into one of the houses, where she shows them all the food she has brought, pouring it out into a bowl.

- (11) *...kondó ñu reyoní maṅgoraró.*  
 kondó ñu re-yo-ní maṅgore-a-Ø-ró  
 bowl DEM put-CONT-3sDS fill.up-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘...she pulled it out and was putting it in the bowl and it filled up.’

*Yuwoyó muko puŋgeko puŋgeyoro*  
 yuwo-yó mu-ko puŋge-ko puŋge-yo-ro  
 seedling-3sPOSS REL-TOP string.bag-LOC bag.up-3sDO-SS

*mahero makono pikaró.*  
 mahe-ro mako-no piko-a-Ø-ró  
 come-SS door-LOC hang-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘The seedlings she bagged up in a string bag and hung them on the door.’

*Asa uni, pare, simó ŋu qaro nero suwo*  
 asa uni pare simó ŋu Ø-qa-ro Ø-ne-ro suwo  
 alright man woman child DEM 3sDO-cook-SS 3sDO-eat-SS night

*doŋe-doŋe ŋuno qu ne-ne tero etangurí.*  
 doŋe-RED ŋu-no qu ne-RED te-ro ete-a-ŋgo-rí  
 during-DUR DEM-LOC REL eat-NOM do-SS sleep-PST-2/3p-RPST

‘Alright, those men, women and children cooked it and ate and throughout the night they feasted and slept.’

After giving them the food, the point of the story, she hangs up the seedlings on the door, which is off the story-line. The resumption is marked by *asa* and the story continues to its conclusion.

This method is common in a crafted story which has been well thought out or practiced. Very often the discourse as a whole begins with “*Asa...*” which sets what follows immediately into the foreground. However, with some people speaking colloquially, particularly in public speaking, almost every clause begins with this conjunction.

### 7.3 Tail-head linkage

Since Iyo is a chaining language one of its distinctives is the close coordination between medial verbs inside the sentence. Each medial verb feeds into the next in a continuing movement of thought until a final verb establishes the whole chain in the main story line.

When these sentences are hooked together into a discourse, that close coordination often continues – sentences being linked together through a recapitulation of the final verb of one sentence in the beginning medial clause of the next sentence. This is a feature which is most prominent in spoken texts, since it serves to keep the story line in the listener’s minds. Those stories which get written down are more likely to have the tail-head linkage edited out, with the estimation that such reinforcement is not necessary in a permanently encoded text which can be

reviewed at leisure. This is illustrated in (12) where *t#* marks the tail and *h#* marks its associated head.

- (12) *Uhú kato Ropange saɲano oró,*  
 uhú ka-to Ropange saɲa-no o-Ø-Ø-ró  
 bushrat INDEF-FOC Ropange upon-LOC go.up-PST-2/3s-RPST  
*ɲuro mande.*  
 ɲu-ro mande  
 DEM-REF talk

‘This is a story about when a bushrat went up on top of Ropange.’

*Asa, no naru kano pare ta-ta*  
 asa no naru ka-no pare ta-RED  
 alright 1S time INDEF-LOC woman DIM-PLUR

*kumimbo uhú sewero yi*  
 kumi-mbo uhú se-wero ye-i  
 some-FOC bushrat dig-INTENT say-2/3pDS

- t1 *tojetowó.*  
 toje-Ø-to-wó  
 go-PST-1p-RPST  
 ‘Alright, one time some girls and I wanted to dig up bushrats and we went.’
- h1 *Toɲero no ka*  
 toje-ro no ka  
 go-SS 1S INDEF
- t2 *seyanowó.*  
 se-yo-a-no-wó  
 dig-CONT-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘We went and I was digging one up.’
- h2 *Seyoweqo uhú tokó ka*  
 se-yo-we-qo uhú tokó ka  
 dig-CONT-1sDS-SUB bushrat large INDEF
- t3 *areró.*  
 are-Ø-Ø-ró  
 come.up-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘While I was digging, a large rat came up.’
- h3 *Ariní urowero*  
 are-ní Ø-uro-wero  
 come.up-3sDS 3sDO-hit-INTENT

- t4 *howanowó.*  
 Ø-howe-a-no-wó  
 3sDO-chase-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘It came up and I chased it intending to kill it.’
- ↓  
 h4 *Howeweqo simó ka enepa arero*  
 Ø-howe-we-qo simó ka ene-pa are-ro  
 3sDO-chase-1sDS-SUB child INDEF 3-PROM come.up-SS  
*tupune saŋariri*  
 tupu-ne saŋariri  
 spine-1sPOSS atop
- t5 *oró.*  
 o-Ø-Ø-ró  
 go.up-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘When I chased it, a baby itself came up and went up along my spine.’
- ↓  
 h5 *Oní kiwero rero toworo*  
 o-ní kiwe-ro Ø-re-ro Ø-towo-ro  
 go.up-3sDS cry.out-SS 3sDO-get-SS 3sDO-hold-SS  
*rukusuwoyanowó.*  
 rukusuwo-yo-a-no-wó  
 be.unable-CONT-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘It went up and I cried out and was unable to get it or hold it.’  
*Teyowe kumone kato mahero*  
 te-yo-we kumo-ne ka-to mahe-ro  
 do-CONT-1sDS brother-1sPOSS INDEF-FOC come-SS  
*uroní*  
 Ø-uro-ní  
 3sDO-hit-3sDS

	t6	<i>khumaró.</i>				
		khumo-a-Ø-ró				
		die-PST-2/3s-RPST				
		‘I was doing (that) and one of my brothers came and hit it and it died.’				
↓	h6	<i>Khumoní</i>	<i>rero</i>	<i>oro</i>	<i>sikuno</i>	<i>qaro</i>
		khumo-ní	Ø-re-ro	o-ro	siku-no	Ø-qa-ro
		die-3sDS	3sDO-get-SS	go.up-SS	forest-LOC	3sDO-cook-SS
		<i>narowó.</i>				
		Ø-ne-a-ro-wó				
		eat-PST-1d-RPST				
		‘It died and we both got it and went up in the forest and cooked and ate it.’				

Notice how in all but two sentences (the introduction and one body sentence) the final verb (t#) is recapitulated at the beginning of the next sentence (h#). In the one body sentence where there is no strict recapitulation, linkage would be difficult to make with the previous final verb. Therefore a generic ‘doing’ verb is substituted to achieve the same effect.

## 7.4 Ellipsis

In Iyo, as in Papuan languages in general, the verb is the necessary and sufficient constituent of a clause. Elision of the subject and/or object from a clause is frequent and unmarked. Elision of the verb is not possible.

From clause to clause in a medial setting, the participants are maintained by subject agreement. When the subjects of medial clauses are different in absolute number but the same in relative terms, the same subject marker is used. That is, if the subject of a following verb is a subset of the subject of a previous verb (or a plural subject which includes the previous singular or dual), the same subject marker is used, instead of the absolute reference to the new subject. Thus, there is a specification of inclusion by omitting the otherwise obligatory different subject marking (see §6.4.2).

# Appendix: Sample texts

## 1. Sweet potato

This is a traditional story which tells how the people came to eat the various kinds of food they now eat.

- (1) *Bako sirá kono pono o qonanimboro*  
 bako sirá kono pono o qo-nani-mboro  
 sweet.potato taro banana pitpit thing faeces-1pPOSS-REF  
*tumular, ηuro sowo mande piŋayó.*  
 tunoqe-a-Ø-ró ηu-ro sowo mande piŋa-yó  
 become-PST-2/3s-RPST DEM-REF story talk report-3POSS

‘This is a story about how sweet potato, taro, banana, pitpit and things for our faeces [i.e. things to ingest - food] appeared.’

- (2) *Yendé ka owe Kongo, kowe noko owe Ririmbo*  
 yendé ka owe Kongo kowe noko owe Ririmbo  
 village a name Kongo CONJ ground name Ririmbo  
*ηuno unipare yangurí.*  
 ηu-no unipare yo-a-ηgo-rí  
 DEM-LOC people be-PST-2/3p-RPST

‘In a place called Kongo in the area of Ririmbo people were living.’

- (3) *Dundo qoyemboro khumoro suwo*  
 ηu-ndo qo-ye-mboro khumo-ro suwo  
 DEF-FOC faeces-2/3pPOSS-REF die-SS night  
*doŋe-doŋe tero utó ka owe tokome*  
 doŋe-RED te-ro utó ka owe tokome  
 during-INTENS do-SS vine.rope one name vine.type  
*komiri ηu nanŋe qaro nero*  
 komiri ηu nanŋe Ø-qa-ro Ø-ne-ro  
 leaf PRO DISC 3sDO-cook-SS 3sDO-eat-SS



- (6) *Dunde yimironi umburo pare wonde ŋu*  
 ŋunde yo-miro-ní umbu-ro pare wonde ŋu  
 thus 2/3pDO-tell-3sDS come.down-SS woman elderly DEM  
*rero yano oŋguri.*  
 Ø-re-ro ya-no o-Ø-ŋgo-rí  
 3sDO-get-SS house-ALL go.up-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘He told them this and they went down and got that old woman and they went up into the house.’
- (7) *Oro kunditeroqo osese yeraró, “Ye*  
 o-ro kundite-ro-qo osese yere-a-ró Ye  
 go.up-SS sit.down-SS-SUB ask 3PDO-PST-2/3s-RPST 2P  
*do ka nero yotengo?”*  
 do ka Ø-ne-ro yo-te-ŋgo  
 what INDEF 3sDO-eat-SS be-PRES-2/3p  
 ‘They went up and when they sat down, she asked them, “What do you all eat?”’
- (8) *Yiniqo, ŋande miraŋguri, “Noreko*  
 ye-ní-qo ŋande Ø-miro-a-ŋgo-rí Nore-ko  
 say-3sDS-SUB thus 3sDO-tell-PST-2/3p-RPST 1P-TOP  
*qonanimboro kinimboro kinange tokome komiri*  
 qo-nani-mboro kinimboro kinange tokome komiri  
 faeces-1pPOSS-REF not-REF simply vine.type leaf  
*qaro nero yoteto.”*  
 Ø-qa-ro Ø-ne-ro yo-te-to  
 3sDO-cook-SS 3sDO-eat-SS be-PRES-1p  
 ‘When she said that they told her, “We are without food except this vine leaf we cook and eat.”’
- (9) *Dunde yiqo yaró, “Oya*  
 ŋunde ye-i-qo ye-a-Ø-ró o-ya  
 thus say-2/3pDS-SUB say-PST-2/3s-RPST go.up-SS.IMP  
*kondó parámi ŋu reya*  
 kondó pará-mi ŋu Ø-re-ya  
 wooden.bowl big-INTENS DEM 3sDO-get-SS.IMP

*umbuya*                    *ηano*            *riri.*”  
 umbu-ya                    ηa-no            Ø-re-i  
 come.down-SS.IMP    DEM-LOC    3sDO-put-2/3p.IMP

‘When they spoke thus, she said, “Go, get that big bowl and come and put it here.”’

- (10) *Yini,*            *kondó*                    *parámi*            *ηu*    *rero*  
 ye-ní            kondó                    pará-mi            ηu    Ø-re-ro  
 say-3sDS    wooden.bowl    big-INTENS    DEM    3sDO-get-SS  
*umburo*            *riqo*                                    *bako*            *sirá* *kupino*  
 umbu-ro            Ø-re-i-qo                                    bako            sirá kupino  
 come.down-SS    3sDO-put-2/3pDS-SUB    sweet.potato    taro    yam  
*kono*    *qahí*                    *quro*    *koηgo*    *taηoro*    *kondó*  
 kono    qahu-í                    qu-ro    koηgo    taηo-ro    kondó  
 banana    belly-3sPOSS    REL-REF    ABL    pull.out-SS    wooden.bowl  
*ηu*    *reyoní*                                    *maηgoraró.*  
 ηu    Ø-re-yo-ní                                    maηgore-a-Ø-ró  
 DEM    3sDO-get-CONT-3sDS    be.full-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘She spoke and they got that big bowl and brought it down and put it and she pulled out sweet potato, taro, yam, banana from inside her belly and was putting them in that bowl and it filled up.’

- (11) *Yuwoyó*                    *muko*    *puηgeko*  
 yuwo-yó                    mu-ko    puηge-ko  
 seedlings-3POSS    REL-TOP    string.bag-LOC  
*puηgeyoro*                    *mahero*    *makono*    *pikaró.*  
 puηge-yo-ro                    mahe-ro    mako-no    piko-a-Ø-ró  
 put.in.bag-3sDO-SS    come-SS    door-LOC    hang-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘The seeds and seedlings she bagged up in a string bag and came and hung it on the door.’
- (12) *Asa*    *unipare*    *simó ηu*    *qaro*                    *nero*            *suwo*  
 Asa    unipare    simó ηu    Ø-qa-ro                    Ø-ne-ro            suwo  
 alright    people    child that    3sDO-cook-SS    3sDO-eat-SS    night  
*doηedone*                    *ηuno*            *qu*    *ne-ne*    *tero*  
 doηe-RED                    ηu-no            qu    ne-ne    te-ro  
 during-INTENS    DEM-LOC    REL    feast    do-SS

*etanğuri.*

ete-a-ηgo-rí

sleep-PST-2/3p-RPST

‘Alright, so the people all cooked and ate and throughout that very night they feasted and slept.’

- (13) *Dunde tiqo ya kumimo uni ηundo*  
 ηunde te-i-qo ya kumi-no uni ηu-ndo  
 thus do-2/3pDS-SUB house some-LOC man DEF-FOC  
*yimitoyanğuri, “Ye do tero mande*  
 yo-miro-yo-a-ηgo-rí Ye do te-ro mande  
 2/3pDO-tell-CONT-PST-2/3p-RPST 2P what do-SS talk  
*ne-ne tero etanğo?”*  
 ne-ne te-ro ete-a-ηgo  
 feast do-SS sleep-PST-2/3p

‘When they had done thus, some of the men in the other houses told them, “What did you all do [that you] talked and did a feast and slept?”’

- (14) *Yiqo yanğuri, “Noreko yendo pare*  
 ye-i-qo ye-a-ηgo-rí Nore-ko ye-ndo pare  
 say-2/3pDS-SUB say-PST-2/3p-RPST 1P-TOP 2P-FOC woman  
*wonde ka mahini howeyuri noreno*  
 wonde ka mahe-ní Ø-howe-yo-ri nore-no  
 elderly INDEF come-3sDS 3sDO-chase-CONT-3pDS 1P-ALL  
*mahini rero yano oto ηundo*  
 mahe-ní Ø-re-ro ya-no o-to ηu-ndo  
 come-3sDS 3sDO-get-SS house-ALL go.up-1pDS DEF-FOC  
*qonanimboro nunoni qaro nero*  
 qo-nani-mboro no-ino-ní Ø-qa-ro Ø-ne-ro  
 belly-1pPOSS-REF 1DO-give-3sDS 3sDO-cook-SS 3sDO-eat-SS  
*mande ne-ne tero etato ηu.”*  
 mande ne-ne te-ro ete-a-to ηu  
 talk feast do-SS sleep-PST-1p EMPH

‘When they spoke thus, the people said, “An old woman came and you chased her away and she came to us and we got her into the house and she gave us food and we cooked and ate and we talked and feasted and slept!”’

- (15) *Dunde yimiraró.*  
 ɲunde yo-miro-a-Ø-ró  
 thus 2/3pDO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘She thus told them.’
- (16) *Asa pare wonde ɲundo o yuwoyóboroko,*  
 Asa pare wonde ɲu-ndo o yuwo-yó-mboro-ko  
 alright woman elderly DEF-FOC thing seedlings-3POSS-REF-TOP  
*ɲande yaró, “Itaka nanɲe kho tomó ka*  
 ɲande ye-a-Ø-ró Itaka nanɲe kho tomó ka  
 thus say-PST-2/3s-RPST now DISC garden small INDEF  
*teya o yuwo ɲa rimiya*  
 te-ya o yuwo ɲa rimi-ya  
 do-SS.IMP thing seedlings DEM plant-2sIMP  
*neyuri.”*  
 Ø-ne-yo-ri  
 3sDO-eat-CONT-2/3pIMP  
 ‘Alright, in reference to seedlings, that old woman thus said, “Right now make a small garden and plant these seedlings and eat.”’
- (17) *Pare wonde ɲuro owi muko Koronɲane.*  
 Pare wonde ɲu-ro owi mu-ko Koronɲane  
 woman elderly DEF-REF name REL-TOP Koronɲane  
 ‘That old woman’s name was Korogane.’
- (18) *Da mande sowo ɲako no yendé ɲuno yotoro*  
 ɲa mande sowo ɲa-ko no yendé ɲu-no yoto-ro  
 DEM talk story DEM-TOP 1S village DEM-LOC stay-SS  
*noko ɲuno kono rimiɲguri mu*  
 noko ɲu-no kono rimi-Ø-ɲgo-rí mu  
 ground DEM-LOC banana plant-PST-2/3p-RPST REL  
*kamba kono qeneyanowó.*  
 kamba kono qene-yo-a-no-wó  
 banana.type banana see-CONT-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘As for this story, I stayed in that village and in that ground I saw the banana which they planted, the *kamba* banana.’

## 2. Legs and hands

This is a traditional story about a man who habitually removes his legs and hands and puts them in the sun.

- (19) *Uni kato khe kandí wesajero kosano*  
 uni ka-to khe kande-í wesaje-ro kosa-no  
 man one-FOC leg hand-3POSS take.off-SS sun-LOC  
*reyaró,* *ηuro piηa mandeyó.*  
 Ø-re-yo-a-Ø-ró ηu-ro piηa mande-yó  
 3sDO-put-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST DEM-REF report talk-3POSS

‘This is a report about a man who was taking off his legs, hands and putting them in the sun.’

- (20) *Uni kato pare-simó yini khono*  
 uni ka-to pare-simó ye-ní kho-no  
 man INDEF-FOC family say-3sDS garden-ALL  
*toηi ene yano yotoro khe kandí*  
 toηe-i ene ya-no yoto-ro khe kande-í  
 leave-2/3pDS 3 house-LOC stay-SS leg hand-3POSS  
*wesajero kosano ene-ene rini*  
 wesaje-ro kosa-no ene-RED Ø-re-ní  
 take.off-SS sun-LOC 3-DIST 3sDO-put-3sDS

*hareyaró.*  
 hare-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 dry.out-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘A man spoke to his family and they went to the garden and he stayed at the house and took off his legs and arms and put each of them in the sun and they were drying.’

- (21) *Naru rokóηoro ηunde nange teyaró.*  
 naru rokó-o-ro ηunde nange te-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 time mark-3sDO-SS thus DISC do-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST

‘All the time he was doing just thus.’

- (22) *Naru kano pare-simó kumi asá yirini toji*  
 naru ka-no pare-simó kumi asá yere-ní toje-i  
 time one-LOC family some send PLDO-3sDS go-2/3pDS  
*kanatako sóqero qeneyaró.*  
 kanata-ko sóqe-ro qene-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 one-TOP hide-SS see-CONT-PST-2/3s-PPST  
 ‘One time he sent some of his family and they left and one of them hid  
 and was watching.’
- (23) *Qeneyoníqo khe kandí ko wesajero*  
 qene-yo-ní-qo khe kande-í ko wesaje-ro  
 see-CONT-3sDS-SUB leg hand-3POSS again take.off-SS  
*reyaró.*  
 Ø-re-yo-a-Ø-ró  
 3sDO-put-CONT-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘As he was watching, he was taking off his legs and arms again and  
 putting them [in the sun].’
- (24) *Reyoní qene roto uro nimí,*  
 Ø-re-yo-ní qene roto u-ro ná-í  
 3sDO-put-CONT-3sDS see let.go go.down-SS mother-3POSS  
*topé yimiraró.*  
 topo-í yo-miro-a-Ø-ró  
 siblings-3POSS 2/3pDO-tell-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He was putting them and seeing that, he left and went down and told his  
 mother and siblings.’
- (25) *Yimitoro mahəngurí.*  
 yo-miro-ro mahe-Ø-ηgo-rí  
 2/3pDO-tell-SS come-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘He told them and they all came.’
- (26) *Purímo mahero mande yero umbəngurí.*  
 purí-no mahe-ro mande ye-ro umbu-Ø-ηgo-rí  
 mountain-LOC come-SS talk say-SS come.down-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘They came to the mountain and talked about it and came down.’

- (27) *Umbiqo ene kowe khe kandi*  
 umbu-i-qo ene kowe khe kande-í  
 come.down-2/3pDS-SUB 2/3 again leg hand-3POSS  
*siyoro kowe sowe-sowe teyoníqo mahe*  
 siyo-ro kowe sowe-RED te-yo-ní-qo mahe  
 get.PLOBJ-SS and join-INTENS do-CONT-3sDS-SUB come  
*genero, “Kiyoteto ŋu,” yangurí.*  
 gene-ro ko-iyo-te-to ŋu ye-a-ŋgo-rí  
 see-SS 2sDO-look.at-PRES-1p EMPH say-PST-2/3p-RPST  
 ‘When they came down, the man again got his legs and arms and as he was joining them together, they came and saw it and said, “We see you!”’

### 3. Traps

This is a true experience story about a man’s reminiscence of a trip to the forest with his father to set traps.

- (28) *Iyo, sowo mande ka yewe.*  
 Iyo sowo mande ka ye-we  
 yes story talk INDEF say-1sDS  
 ‘Yes, I will tell a story.’
- (29) *No tomó ta quno awandoya sikuno toŋerowó.*  
 No tomó ta qu-no awa-ndo-ya siku-no toŋe-Ø-ro-wó  
 1S small DIM REL-LOC father-FOC-ACC forest-ALL go-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘When I was small I went to the forest with my father.’
- (30) *Toŋerowó mu bako ka kama*  
 toŋe-Ø-ro-wó mu bako ka kama  
 go-PST-1d-RPST REL sweet.potato INDEF NEG  
*puŋgerowó.*  
 puŋge-Ø-ro-wó  
 put.in.bag-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘At our leaving we didn’t bag up any sweet potatoes.’
- (31) *O ka kama rerowó.*  
 o ka kama Ø-re-Ø-ro-wó  
 thing INDEF NEG 3sDO-get-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘We didn’t take anything.’

- (32) *Kinange toŋerowó.*  
 kinange toŋe-Ø-ro-wó  
 nothing go-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘We simply left.’
- (33) *Toŋe yate-yate awando powera qeneyate qare ka*  
 toŋe yate-RED awa-ndo powera qeneyate qare ka  
 go DUR-ITER father-FOC big.trap see-DUR cuscus INDEF  
*reró.*  
 Ø-re-Ø-Ø-ró  
 3sDO-get-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘We were going along and father was looking at the traps and found a  
 cuscus [in one].’
- (34) *Qare ka rero nunoní puŋgeyoro*  
 qare ka Ø-re-ro no-ino-ní puŋge-yo-ro  
 cuscus INDEF 3sDO-get-SS 1DO-give-3sDS put.in.bag-3sDO-SS  
*rumowe suruŋo saŋa oyarowó.*  
 rumo-we suruŋo saŋa o-yo-a-ro-wó  
 carry-1sDS slope on.top.of go.up-CONT-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘He got the cuscus and gave it to me and I bagged it up and carried it and  
 we went up slope.’
- (35) *Oyate oyate oyate purímo oro*  
 o-yate o-yate o-yate purí-no o-ro  
 go.up-DUR go.up-DUR go.up-DUR mountain-LOC go.up-SS  
*rotoroqo asa awando yaró, “Kondotawa*  
 roto-ro-qo asa awa-ndo ye-a-Ø-ró Kondotawa  
 let.go-SS-SUB alright father-FOC say-PST-2/3s-RPST firemaker  
*wosoya puká wosowe.”*  
 Ø-woso-ya puká Ø-woso-we  
 DO-pull-SS.IMP tobacco 3sDO-pull-1sDS  
 ‘We went up and up and up the mountain and when we quit father said,  
 “Pull on the firestick, I am going to smoke a cigarette.”’
- (36) *Yiní no sopo kunditeyowe awando*  
 ye-ní no sopo kundite-yo-we awa-ndo  
 say-3sDS 1S wait sit.down-CONT-1sDS father-FOC  
*kondotawa woso qaní puká*  
 kondotawa Ø-woso Ø-qa-ní puká  
 firemaker 3sDO-pull 3sDO-burn-3sDS tobacco

*wosoníqo asa ηuno otoqarowó.*  
 Ø-woso-ní-qo asa ηu-no otoqo-a-ro-wó  
 3sDO-pull-3sDS-SUB alright DEM-LOC stand.up-PST-ld-RPST

‘He spoke and I was waiting sitting down and father was pulling on the firemaker and it lit and when he had smoked his cigarette we both stood up.’

- (37) *Otoqoro orowó.*  
 otoqo-ro o-Ø-ro-wó  
 stand.up-SS go.up-PST-ld-RPST

‘We stood up and went up.’

- (38) *Khe piru.*  
 khe piru  
 road long

It was a long road.

- (39) *Oyate oyate oro purímo oro asa*  
 o-yate o-yate o-ro purí-no o-ro asa  
 go.up-DUR go.up-DUR go.up-SS mountain-LOC go.up-SS alright

*kunditeroqo iyarerowó.*  
 kundite-ro-qo iyare-Ø-ro-wó  
 sit.down-SS-SUB go-PST-ld-RPST

‘We went up and up the mountain and after we had sat down, we went on [along the level].’

- (40) *Iyarero yano iyarero kunditero bako ta*  
 iyare-ro ya-no iyare-ro kundite-ro bako ta  
 go-SS house-ALL go-SS sit.down-SS sweet.potato DIM

*kanata na reró mu reró.*  
 kanata na Ø-re-Ø-Ø-ró mu Ø-re-Ø-Ø-ró  
 one DISC 3sDO-put-PST-2/3s-RPST REL 3sDO-get-PST-2/3s-PPST

‘We went on and on to a house and sat down and he got just one small sweet potato that he had put there.’

- (41) *Yano rini rotorogo asa powera genero*  
 ya-no Ø-re-ní roto-ro-qo asa powera qene-ro  
 house-LOC 3sDO-put-3sDS let.go-SS-SUB alright big.trap see-SS  
*yini tojerowó.*  
 ye-ní toje-Ø-ro-wó  
 say-3sDS go-PST-ld-RPST  
 ‘He put it in the house and when we left, he said he wanted to look at traps and we left.’
- (42) *Powera qeneyate mahero noya yaró, “Ke*  
 powera qene-yate mahe-ro no-ya ye-a-Ø-ró Ke  
 big.trap see-DUR come-SS 1S-ACC say-PST-2/3s-RPST 2S  
*ηano sopo nere otoka.*  
 ηa-no sopo nere o-to-ka  
 DEM-LOC wait 1DO go.up-1pDS-SEQ  
 ‘He was looking at traps and came and told me, “You wait for me here and then we will go on up.’
- (43) *Iyarewe, iyare powera pikowe.”*  
 iyare-we iyare powera piko-we  
 go-1sDS go big.trap hang-1sDS  
 ‘I am going to go and hang traps.’”
- (44) *Ɔundiro yini no sopo kunditanowó.*  
 ηundiro ye-ní no sopo-ro kundite-a-no-wó  
 like.that say-3sDS 1S wait-SS sit.down-PST-1s-RPST  
 ‘He spoke thus and I waited and sat down.’
- (45) *Kunditeyowe awa iyareró.*  
 kundite-yo-we awa iyare-Ø-Ø-ró  
 sit.down-CONT-1sDS father go-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘I was sitting down while father went.’
- (46) *Utó uraró.*  
 utó uro-a-Ø-ró  
 vine.rope hit-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘He cut a rope.’
- (47) *Iyare powera piko roto yaró.*  
 iyare powera piko roto-ro yo-a-Ø-ró  
 go big.trap hang let.go-SS be-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 ‘Going along he hung traps and left them.’

- (48) *Naru piru yoní no soporo piru yorano.*  
 naru piru yo-ní no sopo-ro piru yoro-a-no  
 time long be-3sDS 1s wait-SS long stay-PST-1s  
 ‘He was gone a long time and I waited and stayed a long time.’
- (49) *Yate kukuniko parámi nikini*  
 yate kukuni-ko pará-mi no-ki-ní  
 DUR mosquito-TOP plenty-INTENS 1sDO-bite-3sDS  
*ɲuno yanowó, “Awa, awa, maheka.”*  
 ɲu-no ye-a-no-wó Awa awa mahe-Ø-ka  
 DEM-LOC say-PST-1s-RPST father father come-2sIMP-SEQ  
 ‘A lot of mosquitoes were biting me and I said, “Father, Father, come!”’
- (50) *Dunde yewe awando yaró, “Naṅone,*  
 ɲunde ye-we awa-ndo ye-a-Ø-ró Naṅo-ne  
 thus say-1sDS father-FOC say-PST-2/3s-RPST son-1sPOSS  
*rotoka.”*  
 roto-Ø-ka  
 let.go-2sIMP-SEQ  
 ‘I spoke thus and father said, “My son, wait.”’
- (51) *Yini kunditeyowe yaró, “Asa*  
 ye-ní kundite-yo-we ye-a-Ø-ró Asa  
 say-3sDS sit.down-CONT-1sDS say-PST-2/3s-RPST alright  
*iyareteno.”*  
 iyare-te-no  
 go-PRES-1s  
 ‘He spoke and I was sitting there and he said, “Alright, I’m coming.”’
- (52) *Dunde yini awa powera re pikoro roto*  
 ɲunde ye-ní awa powera re piko-ro roto  
 thus say-3sDS father big.trap get hang-SS let.go  
*maheroqo asa yano urowó.*  
 mahe-ro-qo asa ya-no u-ro-wó  
 come-SS-SUB OK house-ALL go.down-1d-RPST  
 ‘He spoke thus and father got a trap and hung it and when he left it he came and we both went down to the house.’
- (53) *Yini umburowó.*  
 ye-ní umbu-Ø-ro-wó  
 say-3sDS come.down-PST-1d-RPST  
 ‘He spoke and we both came down.’

- (54) *Umburowó*                      *mu yano umburo*  
 umbu-Ø-ro-wó                      mu ya-no                      umbu-ro  
 come.down-PST-ld-RPST REL house-ALL come.down-SS  
*kondotawa wosoní qaní yano*  
 kondotawa Ø-woso-ní Ø-qa-ní ya-no  
 firemaker 3sDO-pull-3sDS 3sDO-burn-3sDS house-LOC  
*kewá qaro rotoroqo yaró,*  
 kewá Ø-qa-ro roto-ro-qo ye-a-Ø-ró  
 firewood 3sDO-burn-SS let.go-SS-SUB say-PST-2/3s-RPST  
 “*Bako kanata na horé re puñgeyarowó.*”  
 bako kanata nanje horé re puñge-yo-a-ro-wó  
 sweet.potato one DISC true get put.in.bag-3sDO-PST-ld-RPST  
 ‘When we came down to the house, he pulled on the firemaker and it lit  
 and he started a fire in the house and when he left it he said, “We only  
 got one sweet potato and put it in the bag.”’
- (55) *Duno qu rero qa nero*  
 ŋu-no qu Ø-re-ro qa Ø-ne-ro  
 DEM-LOC REL 3sDO-get-SS cook 3sDO-eat-SS  
*rotoroqo suwo saja ŋako qonanimboro*  
 roto-ro-qo suwo saja ŋa-ko qo-nani-mboro  
 let.go-SS-SUB night on.top.of DEM-TOP faeces-lpPOSS-REF  
*khumoro awando merembo siyoní umbuní*  
 khumo-ro awa-ndo merembo siyo-ní umbu-ní  
 die-SS father-FOC pandanus get.PLOBJ-3sDS come.down-3sDS  
*qa rotoro etarowó.*  
 qa roto-ro ete-a-ro-wó  
 cook let.go-SS sleep-PST-ld-RPST  
 ‘We got that one and cooked and ate it and when we finished, in the  
 middle of the night we were dying for food and father got some pandanus  
 nuts down and we cooked them and finished and slept.’
- (56) *Merembo neyate rotoro etarowó.*  
 merembo Ø-ne-yate roto-ro ete-a-ro-wó  
 pandanus 3sDO-eat-DUR let.go-SS sleep-PST-ld-RPST  
 ‘We were eating the pandanus nuts and finished and slept.’

- (57) *Etarowó mundo yate saraḡoníqo qare*  
ete-a-ro-wó mu-ndo yate saraḡo-ní-qo qare  
sleep-PST-1d-RPST REL-FOC DUR dawn-3sDS-SUB cuscus  
*re puḡeyoní nunaró.*  
re puḡe-yo-ní no-ino-a-Ø-ró  
get put.in.bag-3sDO-3sDS 1DO-give-PST-2/3s-RPST  
‘When we had slept, dawn came and he put the cuscus in the bag and gave it to me.’
- (58) *Puḡeyo rumuweqo yate yate yate*  
puḡe-yo rumo-we-qo yate yate yate  
put.in.bag-3sDO carry-1sDS-SUB DUR DUR DUR  
*yendémo umburowó.*  
yendé-no umbu-Ø-ro-wó  
village-ALL come.down-PST-1d-RPST  
‘When I had put it in the bag put it on my shoulder, we went on and on and on and came down to the village.’
- (59) *Ḑunde naḡe.*  
ḡunde naḡe  
thus DISC  
‘That’s all.’

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