

YADE GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

1.....	first person
2.....	second person
3.....	third person
accom.....	accompaniment
adject.....	adjectivizer
adv mkr.....	adverb marker
away.....	away from speaker
bcl.....	b class verb
ben.....	benefactive
cmpl.....	completive
co.....	command
comp.....	comparative
conn.....	connector
cont.....	continuous
dt.....	detransitivizer
dir.....	direction
du.....	dual
dubi.....	dubitative
dcl.....	d class verb
e.....	east
end mkr.....	marks end of story
enum.....	enumerator
f.....	feminine
far.....	distance
fu.....	future
hd.....	hesitational device
imp.....	imperative
indic.....	indicative
infin.....	infinitive
inst.....	instrumental
inter.....	interjection
intn.....	intensifier
irr.....	irrealis
kcl.....	k class verb
loc.....	locative
m.....	masculine
mle.....	main line event marker
mkr.....	marker
neg.....	negative
nonhum.....	nonhuman
ob.....	object
ob mkr.....	object marker
pl.....	plural
poss.....	possessive
pr.....	present
prep.....	preposition
purp or pur.....	purpose
pst.....	past
ques.....	question
redup.....	reduplication
rlu.....	relative location unmarked
s.....	singular
spec.....	specifier

sb.....subject
spkr.....speaker
sud.....suddenly
t.....t class verb
tc.....transitional consonant
tv.....transitional vowel
twds.....towards
voc.....vocative
w.....west

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1.0 Introduction

The Yadë (Nagatman, Nagatiman) language is first mentioned by Loving and Bass (1964) as a linguistic isolate. D.C. Laycock (1975) classifies it as a Trans-New Guinea Phylum level isolate. (see also Laycock (1973))

The Yadë language is a Non-Austronesian language spoken by approximately 580 speakers living in the West Sepik Province. The eight villages which comprise the language group are located in the lowland rainforest halfway between Amanab and Edwaki. There are no known dialects.

In May 1984 we began language study and analysis in the village of Nagatiman following a monolingual approach. The information presented in this paper is based primarily on spoken texts and other data obtained during our stays in the language area.

1.1 MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following morphophonemic rules are general tendencies to note for future reference.

- a) $\text{ë} + \text{ë or e} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{ë}$
- b) $\text{C} + \text{CV} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{CeCV}$
- c) $\text{o} + \text{o} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{owo}$
- d) $\text{dV} + \text{NV} \text{ ----} \rightarrow \text{nUNV}$
where N is a nasal consonant

2.0 WORDS

2.1 NOUNS

Nouns can occur by themselves, or they can be suffixed to indicate plurality. Only a few nouns take a plural suffix. Nouns can also be possessed.

2.1.1 PLURALIZING NOUNS

A plural suffix *-rě* or *-re* is added on to certain nouns to indicate plurality. The stress is shifted to remain on the penultimate syllable when the plural suffix is added. The pluralized form is one phonological unit.

1) `nēba child	nē`ba-re child-pl
`child'	`children'
2) `ama dog	a`ma-re dog-pl
`dog'	`dogs'
3) `dife village	di`fe-rě village-pl
`village'	`villages'

Some nouns take on completely different forms when being pluralized.

4) mise woman	one women
`woman'	`women'

There are certain plural suffixes which can only occur with kin terms. They are used in conversational speech, as well as in texts.

- 5) Sebo bi afu-nino ëtani me-na-me-t-r-a.
 1pl poss grandfather-pl long ago like-dt-3pl.sub-pst-d-pl

'Our grandfathers did it like this long ago.'

- 6) Sebo bi semre-nino o aia-nino
 1pl poss great grand parent-pl or father-pl

'Our great grandparents or our fathers

2.1.2 COUNTABLE NOUNS

Countable nouns include common nouns, animal and plant names, and animate and inanimate objects. They can be modified and possessed.

- 7) do
 house

'house'

- 8) ama
 dog

'dog'

- 9) nage
 sago palm

'sago palm'

- 10) Bo bo bi do wa n-u-i-o.
 1s 1 poss house to 1.sb-go-s.sb-indic

'I'm going to my house.'

- 11) Bo ama-re tëde.
 1s dog-pl two

'I have two dogs.'

- 12) Bo sēfa debotako.
is arrow many

'I have many arrows.'

2.1.3 PROPER NAMES

Proper nouns include peoples' names, and land and river names. A person's name may be the name of a common noun, such as 'bat', 'mouse', 'spider' or 'grubworm'. When these common nouns are used to signal a person's name, they cannot be possessed.

- 13) Anisowai
male name

'Anisowai'

- 14) Kanēko
land name

'name of bush'

- 15) Mara
river name

'name of river'

- 16) Jede
female name, fruit bat

'Jede' or 'fruit bat'

2.1.4 UNCOUNTABLE NOUNS

Proper nouns and mass nouns make up the set of uncountable nouns. Following is a list of some mass nouns: These nouns cannot generally be possessed.

- 17) tu
water

'water'

- 18) wino
blood

'blood'

- 19) ahëa
 smoke
 `smoke`

2.1.5 INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS

Kinterms make up the only set of inalienable possessed nouns. The bound prefix is used to distinguish second and third possessive. First person possessive uses the free pronoun with the possessive marker *bi*, along with the kin term. Even though it is acceptable to use the possessive marker *bi* along with the second and third possessed kin terms, it is more common to use the bound possessed forms alone.

Some of the kin terms follow a phonological pattern when possessed in the second and third person. The vowel *i* always appears with the second person possessive morpheme. The vowel *o* always appears with the third person possessive morpheme. A transitional consonant *-j-* is infixed in kin terms that begin with the vowel *a*.

- 20) afa
 older sibling
 `older sibling`

- 21) bri-j-aha
 2 poss-3c-older sibling
 `your older sibling`

- 22) Bodi-j-aha gadi Dawi.
 2 poss-3c-older sibling talk Dawi
 `His older sibling, Dawi said.`

- 23) Ke bodi-j-aya me sede-mo-t-r-o-bë.
 that 3 poss tc father ob mkr trick-3du.sb-t-3sm.ob-du-when
 `When those two were tricking their father.`

- 24) Aya me gadi-no-do-d-ë.
 father ob mkr talk-1s.sb-d-3sm.ob-s
 `I say to my father.`

- 25) bri-j-aya
 2 poss-tc-father
 'your father'
- 26) Ekokwadome bri-j-afu-ju na.
 2s.sb/go east/co 2 poss-tc-father in law-? with
 'You go east with your father-in-law's.'

Some kin terms have irregular possessed forms that do not resemble the unpossessed forms.

- 27) bo bi fiweni
 1s poss sister's child
 'my sister's child'
- 28) ju bi bi-noda
 2s poss 2 poss-sister's child
 'your sister's child'
- 29) bu bi bo-noda
 3s poss 3 poss-sister's child
 'his sister's child'
- 30) bo bi nēba
 1s poss child
 'my child'
- 31) ju bi bi-ko
 2s poss 2 poss-child
 'your child'
- 32) bu bi bo-ko
 3s poss 3 poss-child
 'his child'

Body parts do not appear to be inalienably possessed, and can stand by themselves. If they are possessed, they take on the possessive marker *bi*.

33) *ato afabo bu bi*
body flesh 3s poss

'his/her flesh'

34) *Fato me hi-dë-g-re-me.*
shin ob mkr eat-3sm.sb-fu-d-fu

'He bites the shin.'

2.2 POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions function as locatives, referentials, instrumentals, accompaniment, and exclusives, as in 'only' and 'also'.

<i>mago</i>	'from' or 'thing used for'
<i>wa</i>	'to' or 'only'
<i>na</i>	'with'
<i>me</i>	'object marker', 'locative', 'purpose', 'about something'
<i>matabo</i>	'also', 'same', 'that's the way it is'
<i>mata</i>	'also'
<i>fawa</i>	'only'
<i>mu</i>	'really'

35) *Ke tato nage na mohueijo*
those lizzard sago with 3du.sb/carry/from bush3pl.ob

bota mago.
3 poss mother from

'Those two carry back from the bush those lizzards with sago from their mother.'

- 36) Na ke gade fa-më-t-o matasfa wa fo.
and that turtle take-3pl.sb-t-du-sb sky to throw up

'And those two took that turtle and threw [it] up to the sky.'

- 37) Na mo me ke na hohui-në-t-aya.
and fish ob mkr these with look for-1.sb-t-3pl.ob

'And we look for fish with these.'

The postposition *me* appears to operate on a human/animate, nonhuman/inanimate hierarchy, when occurring as the object marker in a clause. Although no conclusive data is yet available, several examples seem to substantiate this theory. *Me* always marks the object of a clause when that object is a proper name or pronoun. It does not mark the object of a clause when that object is an inanimate object such as 'stone' or nonhuman object, such as 'dog'.

- 38) Bo Misawadiji me hui-no-d-ǵ-ë.
1s name ob mkr see-1.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

'I see Misawadiji.'

- 39) Bo bu me hui-no-d-ǵ-ë.
1s 3 ob mkr see-1.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

'I see her.'

- 40) Bo ama teke-no-d-ǵ-ë.
1s dog hit-1s.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

'I hit the dog.'

- 41) Bo aniji hui-no-d-ǵ-ë.
1s stone see-1s.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb

'I see the stone'.

- 42) Ta bo ebë gadi me këme gadi-ne-d-ë.
finish 1s this talk about therefore talk-1.sb-d-1s.sb

'Now that is why I'm talking about this talk.'

- 43) Weteke këme Dëmëji me dëde yanowai na.
Weteke therefore Demeji ob mkr shoot sorcery with

'That is why Weteke shot Demeji with sorcery.'

- 44) Kwe bo dunuju do me nēdebēmēme.
but 1s wounds house in rest/1.sb/3pl.ob

'But I rest my wounds in the house.'

- 45) Na bota nage me tuju. 3sf.s/pst/go
and 3 poss mother sago purpose

'And their mother went out for the purpose of getting sago.'

- 46) Na sebo bi aya-nino na matabo.
and 1pl poss father-pl and same

'And it was the same with our forefathers.'

- 47) Kredi dēde jowa wa.
pig shoot one only

'We shot only one pig.'

- 48) Na kwe bu wa hi-me-d-a-me
and but 3 only eat-3pl.sb-d-pl-?

'But they alone eat [pig].'

Fawa means 'only' when two or more people could be included in the thought, but only one is mentioned.

- 49) Na mogo bu me fawa hui-to-d-ǧ-ë.
and corpse 3 ob mkr only see-pst-d-3sf.ob-1s.sb

'And I saw only her corpse.'

- 50) Na bu me fawa huju-të-t-ǧ-ë.
and 3 ob mkr only get up-pst-t-3sf.ob-1s.sb

'And I got only her up.'

The intensifier mu is a postposition which modifies nouns, adjectives and negatives.

- 51) Na ti feidawa mu fata-me-t-r-e.
and wood many intrn appear-3pl.sb-pst-d-tv

'And a whole lot of wood appeared.'

- 52) Ètani ho mu kë wame-me-t-r-a-bë,
 long ago man real those fight-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb-when

'When those real men (warriors) fought long ago.'

- 53) Kwe hanane mu fa-fa me.
 but neg really redup-take ob Kmr

'Then you really will not catch [fish].'

2.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

The following forms make up the demonstrative pronouns. Ebë means 'this' or 'these' and usually refers to things that are close. Kë means 'that' or 'those' and usually refers to things farther away.

	CLOSE	FAR	
DEMONSTRATIVE	| ebë |	| kë |	

- 54) Ebë ihe tako yadë bi-ne.
 this canoe big who poss-ques

'Whose big canoe is this?'

- 55) Ke kredi mogo kide-n-u-d-ë-me.
 that pig carcass leave-1-far-d-s.sb-?

'I left that pig carcass [far away] behind.'

- 56) Ta ebë Dëmëji bi gadi të-no-t-r-ë.
 finish this Demeji poss talk tell-1s.sb-t-3sm.ob-s.sb

'I am now telling this talk of Demeji's.'

Kë when used in conjunction with the morpheme na, see example 59, means 'with'. When kë is used with the morpheme bë and affixed to the verb, it marks a relative clause. See section 4.4 in Relative Clause. Kë is also the normal form of the demonstrative used to encode definite-given information in texts. It usually occurs preceding the noun it modifies.

57) Na mana kë gade fa-më-t-o.
and then that turtle take-3du.sb-t-du.sb

'And then those two took that turtle.'

58) Na kë mi-si-a.
and those 3pl.sb-come-pl.sb

'And they return.'

59) Na sëga-tami meta wë-no-k-ou na kë
and sago basket in pour-1pl.sb-k-back and forth and that
na mana kedi-damë.
with then set-3sf.sb

'And we pour [the water] back and forth into the sago basket, and with that [water], the [sago] sets.'

Occasionally kë occurs following the noun it is modifying, as in example 60.

60) Na gade kë fa-fa-më-t-r-a.
and turtle those redup-take-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

'And they took those turtles.'

2.4 PRONOUNS

Free pronouns are free forms which occur in subject and object position in clauses and substitute for nouns in the noun phrase. They are possessable. Pronouns also serve as referentials in texts when the name of the participants are not mentioned. They are listed in chart below.

PRONOUNS

Person	Number	
	singular	dual & plural
1	bo	sebo/se
2	ju	sobo/so
3	bu	bu

Pronouns fill object slots in clauses. The shortened form of the pronouns occurs when it functions as the object of the clause.

61) Sebo korabë ase-t-u-d-o.
1pl night walk-pst-far-d-1du.sb

'We two went walking at night.'

62) Bo tosë enino na kahuru-të-t-g-ë.
1s torch teeth with clench-pst-t-3sf.ob-1s.sb

'I clenched the torch with my teeth.'

63) Ju dadowa-ne.
2s well-ques

'Are you alright?'

64) Bo me bu me-mi-n-a.
1s ob mkr 3 3pl.sb-spear-1s.ob-pl.sb

'They speared me.'

65) Bu me ini-sike-wa.
3 ob mkr all-give(pl)-all

'[They] give all [of it] to him.'

- 66) Bu se me hui-do-do-na.
3 1pl ob mkr see-3sm.sb-d-1pl.ob
`He sees us.'
- 67) Bu so me hui-do-dë-o.
3 2pl ob mkr see-3sm.sbd-2pl.ob
`He sees you all.'
- 68) Naba bu bi yaya-wa-me-t-r-a.
eye 3 poss crazy-cmpl-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb
`Their eyes were completely crazy.'
- 69) Sebo bi adiji fieme-edidi-me-de-ne.
1pl poss intestine why-pain-3pl.sb-d-ques.
`Why are our bellies aching'?
- 70) Kwe bo bi ato wa-sabu-t-re.
but 1 poss body cmpl-exhausted-3ps-pst-d
`But my body felt exhausted.'
- 71) Bu bi adibaho jine-tretre.
3 poss spirit send back-3sm.sb/3sm.ob
`He sent his spirit back.'

2.5 NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS

The counting system is quinary. To form the numbers five on up additional suffixes are added. When the plural suffix *-rë* is suffixed to *toba* 'hand', it becomes *toba-rë*, and the meaning changes from 'hand' to 'five'.

2.5.1 NUMERALS

joa	`one'
tëde	`two'
aona	`three'
nidina	`four'

toba-rë			'five'
toba-rë	ita	joa	'six'
hand-pl	again	one	
toba-rë	ita	tëde	'seven'
hand-pl	again	two	
toba-rë	ita	aona	'eight'
five-pl	again	three	
toba-rë	ita	nidina	'nine'
hand	again	four	

Some numerals undergo phonological changes when the morpheme *afe*, meaning 'times', is suffixed to it to indicate how many times something occurred. A verb can be added after this, and that will show what action occurred.

- 72) *Ao-afe ni nidi-afe ni na tobarë-afe me*
 three-times sleep four-times sleep and five-times on
tebo-da-t-re.
 bad-dt-pst-3s.sb

'For the 3rd night, 4th night, and 5th night he was getting sick.'

There is another classifying suffix occurring with numerals which is used for counting human nouns only, from two on up. The suffix *-madë* encodes this. It is not acceptable to use it for counting inanimate or non-human animate entities. These are counted by using the unaffixed number words.

- 73) *nidi-madë ho*
 four-enum man
 'four men'

- 74) *ao-madë ho*
 three-enum man
 'three men'

- 75) *kredi aona*
 pig three
 'three pigs'

76) Kredi dēde jowa wa.
pig shoot one only

'[We] shoot only one pig.'

2.5.2 QUANTIFIERS

Quantifiers are words which modify nouns. There is a distinction between partial and complete, as in 'some' and 'all.'

77) nēba-re feidawa
child-pl many

'many children.'

78) Wesibi tokwefo dēgehidena.
thing small carry/3sm.sb/3sm.ob

'He brings back a few small things.'

79) Ato afabo bu bi ini hi-medetra.
body flesh 3 poss all eat-3pl.sb/3sm.ob

'They ate all of his flesh.'

80) Bo inedu tēde wa ju me sike.
Is greens two only 2s ob mkr give(pl)

'I'm giving you a few greens.'

81) debotako ho
many man

'many men'

82) Wadi ho mujame.
some man go/3pl.sb

'Some men go.'

83) Kwe fri wa mujame.
but others only 3pl.sb/go

'But only the others go.'

- 84) Di gwa-metetaia.
other put-3pl.sb/3sf.ob

'They put the other aside.'

Two words are used to express the whole part as opposed to the remaining part, i.e., not whole. Manogwa and anata both mean 'the whole part', whereas dëne means what is left over. Examples (85-87) will show these.

- 85) Wame sëfa dei manogwa tika.
fight arrow bind whole open

'[They] unwrap all of the arrows [that are bound].'

- 86) Niji anata bu me edëdemo
breadfruit whole 3 ob mkr you/give/him/co

'Give him the whole breadfruit.'

- 87) Bu me dëne sike asa.
3 ob mkr left over give(pl) neg

'Don't give him part of it.'

2.6 TEMPORALS

Temporals manifest the time slot on the clause level. All unanalyzed words are single morphemes. Following is a list of the temporals observed thus far.

odobadë	'morning'
krijina	'afternoon'
tabokri	'dusk'
kodabë	'night'
eije	'today, immediate past'
edi	'now, immediate future'
yame	'yesterday'
ëbame	'before, distant past'
ëtani	'remote past'

ködëna	`day after tomorrow'
diodëna	`two days after tomorrow'
uniji	`tomorrow'
tokwafe	`later'
yaoame	`last time'
anebo	`long ago'

88) O sebo u dabu wa ne-u-o eije-o.
oh 1pl spirit ground to 1.sb-go-du.sb today-indic
`O we two went to the spirit ground today.'

89) Bo anebo gadi te-no-go-t-r-ë-me.
is long ago talk tell-1.sb-fu-t-3sm.ob-1s.sb-fu
`I'm going to tell the talk from long ago.'

90) Ètani me-na-metra.
remote past like this-dt-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb
`They did it like this many years ago.'

91) Yame bo me-na-ne.
yesterday is like this-dt-1s.sb
`I did it like this yesterday.'

92) Tosë na t-u-i kodabë.
torch with pst-go-1s.sb night
`At night I went with a torch.'

93) Odo badë esogo-tredëdë.
morning follow-pst/1s.sb/3sm.ob
`In the morning I followed it.'

94) Uniji sebo negëuna.
tomorrow 1pl go/fu/1du.sb
`Tomorrow we two will go.'

2.7 NEGATIVES

There are three forms of negatives. *Hanane* is used for negating a stative clause or negating ownership. *Asa* occurs exclusively with imperative clauses. *Jua* and the longer form *adujua* mean 'without' or 'not available.'

95) Ebë fresu hanane.
this hornbill neg

'This is not a hornbill.'

96) Asa eju.
neg 2p.sb/go/co

'Don't [you sing.] go.'

97) Du asa.
touch neg

'Don't touch.'

98) Bo fratobowa eho jua.
is naked clothes without

'I was naked, without clothes.'

99) Do adujua.
house without

'There are no houses available.'

2.8 LOCATIVES

Locatives are a class of different location words which follow the noun. Stative locatives are formed by a location word followed by complex stative verbs, which when inflected, mark gender, number and characteristics of position. It appears that there are several different acceptable ways of stating any position. The demonstrative *Kë* and *Këbo* are used to designate the item being described. *Kë* refers to things close, and *Këbo* refers to things farther away.

Following is a list of the location words.

dokwadëfe	'underneath'
meta	'on'
di-meta	'next to'

dëmadu	'under'
mëtawa	'outside of'

The three charts below show the morphemes that make up the different locative words. The first column indicates whether the item being described is masculine or feminine. The second column indicates the location of the object (on top, down below, in). The third column indicates whether the item is seen or unseen. Note: Unseen objects do not encode the location morpheme.

MASCULINE

The knife is...	gender	loc	seen/unseen
in the water (unseen)	dë	ʃ	temudo
in the bilum (unseen)	dë	ʃ	temodo
in the bilum (seen)	dë	du	be
up on top of (unseen)	d	o	temodo
up on top of (seen)	d	o	be
on top (seen)	dë	ʃ	be
down below (seen)	do	to	be

FEMININE

The money is..	gender	loc	seen/unseen
in the water (unseen)	e	ʒ	temëja
in the bilum (unseen)	e	ʒ	temoëa
in the bilum (seen)	e	du	banë
up on top of (unseen)	ʒ	o	tomëa
up on top of (seen)	ʒ	o	banë
on top (seen)	ʒ	o	banë
down below (seen)	e	to	banë

PLURAL

The Knives are:	gender	loc	seen/unseen
in the water (unseen)	më	Ø	temudo
in the bilum (unseen)	më	Ø	temodo
in the bilum (seen)	më	du	be
up on top of (unseen)	m	o	temode
up on top of (seen)	m	o	be
on top (seen)	më	Ø	be
down below (seen)	mo	to	be

The enclitics *bedë* and *edë* mean 'towards' or 'near'. *Bedë* is used exclusively with humans and *edë* is used with non humans.

- 100) Ju aya-bedë eju.
2s father-towards 2s.sb/go/co

'Go to father.'

- 101) Nage wayo di-edë me.
sago base next to-near to

'Neat to the base of the sago palm.'

Dodi means 'close' and kakë means 'far'. Jede means 'the other side'. The morpheme fo 'sap', when added to jede means 'across the water'.

- 102) Tobo jedë dë jedë
plate support other side put in ground other side

dë
put in ground

'[I] put one plate support in the ground on one side, and one plate support in the ground on the other side.'

- 103) Sebo jede fo wa su-tëkakëjo.
1pl other side to cross over-pst/move/1du.sb

'We [two] crossed over to the other side [of the water].'

2.9 INTERROGATIVES

An indicative statement is turned into a question by adding an interrogative enclitic -ne to the final element of the clause. Question words are inserted in a clause either preceding a verb or noun which is being interrogated, or clause final. The intonation in a question clause usually drops down at the point where the question enclitic is inserted.

Following is a list of question words.

habedë or ha	'where'
hame or hameta	'where'
fieme	'why'
fie	'what'
yadë or ya	'who'
habenadë	'when'
afena or habedi	'how'
habenju	'how many, how much'
habë	'which'

- 104) Ju habedë eju-ne.
2s where 2s.sb/do-ques
'Where are you going?'
- 105) Ju ha mago esi-ne.
2s where from 2s.sb/come-ques
'Where have you come from?'
- 106) Bo bi fiso hameta-ne.
is poss Knife where-ques
'Where is my knife?'
- 107) O ju fieme esi-ne.
o 2s why 2s.sb/come-ques
'Oh, why have you come?'
- 108) Sebo bi adiji fieme edidi-mede-ne.
1pl poss intestine why pain-3pl.sb-ques
'Why are our bellies aching?'
- 109) Ta fie toba-nëgedëme-ne.
now what handle-1s.sb/fu-ques
'Now what will I handle next?'
- 110) Fie wesibi hohui-ëtatre-ne.
what thing look for-2s.sb-ques
'What things are you looking for?'
- 111) Sebo bi sega ya owë-dëde-ne.
1pl poss sago who mix-3sm.sb-ques
'Who made our sago?'
- 112) Ebë ihe tako yadë bi-ne.
this canoe big who poss-ques
'Whose big canoe is this?'

When a question, such as (111) is used, the third person singular masculine form of the verb is used. The response is unknown and the speaker does not know who is responsible for a certain action.

113) Inie nage me ya na mëu-ne.
 Inie sago purpose who with 3du/go-ques

'Who did Inie go with to get sago?'

Question (113) assumes that only two people went somewhere, thus the third person dual form of the verb is used.

114) Ju Amanab wa habenadë egujume-në.
 2s Amanab to when 2s.sb/go/fu-ques.

'When are you going to Amanab?'

115) Ju habë adëge egujume-ne.
 2s which trail 2s.sb/go-ques

'Which trail are you going to take?'

116) Ju bu me habë gadi-ne.
 2s 3 ob mkr which talk-ques

'What relation are you to him/her?'

117) Habedi yahi-nëgedime-ne.
 how write-1s.sb/fu-ques

'How will I write it?'

118) Afena doene-mëgrame-ne.
 how know-3pl.sb/fu-ques

'How are they supposed to know?'

Example (117) seems to indicate more certainty, i.e. there is a solution to the problem. Example (118) refers to a situation where the people involved had no possible way of knowing what was going to happen.

119) Ju habenju-afe ni-egubëme-ne.
 2s how many-times sleep-2s.sb/fu-ques

'How many nights will you spend [in the bush]?'

120) Habebenju ho-ne.
 how many man-ques

'How many men are there?'

Reduplication can occur on question words, as in (120).

- 121) Ebë kosi baditi habenju-ne. many-ques
 this knife money how

'How much did this knife cost?'

Words occurring by themselves can take the question enclitic -ne and thereby change to an interrogative.

- 122) Ju dadowa-ne Dëmëji-o.
 2s well-ques Demeji-indic

'D;em;eji, are you alright?'

- 123) Bo-ne.
 1s-ques

'Me?'

Free pronouns, standing by themselves can take on the enclitic -ne, and it becomes a question, as in (123).

2.10 HESITATIONAL DEVICES

Hesitational devices do not occur frequently in texts, but they are often heard in everyday speech.

- 124) Mise neho mago bë-o.
 woman hd from spec-indic

'You know, the woman from....'

- 125) Bo yafe neho notokwefrëme. away/1s.sb/3sm.ob
 1s attempt hd get

'I tried, um, to get away from him.'

- 126) E na esodehuba gadi na.
 Um and hair talk with

'Um, and the hair talks.'

2.11 RESPONSES

Responses to questions carry heavy intonational devices as well as actual morphemes which encode responses to questions. The basic responses to polar questions are as follows.

wë	`yes'
we	`no'
tokwafe	`later'

The intonational patterns on the two response words, wë, and we are distinctly different. The intonation on wë starts low and goes high. The intonation on we starts high and goes low.

The response ei has the same intonational pattern as the response we. When the suffix -ta is added on, ei is the response to a question which reveals that the questioner is mis-informed about the situation. Ei is also a response to a threatening question, i.e., one which may reveal the true intent of the person being questioned, be it good or bad.

- 127) Ju budame emi-ne.
2s cassowary 2s/shoot-ques

`Did you shoot a cassowary?'

- 128) Wë bo budame mogo kide-nedë-o
yes 1s cassowary carcass leave-1s.sb-indic

`Yes, I left a cassowary carcass behind [in the bush].'

- 129) Ju da-eju-ne.
2ps ?-2s.sb/go-ques

`Are you going?'

- 130) We bo hana-nui-o.
no 1s neg-1s.sb/do-indic

`No, I'm not going.'

- 131) Ju habinadë egujume-ne.
2s when 2s.sb/go-ques

`When are you going?'

- 132) Bo tokwafe noguimo.
 1s later 1s.sb/fu/go

'I'm going later.'

- 133) Bu bi ato fieme-sëse-dëde-ne.
 3 poss body why-swell-3sm.sb-ques

'Why is his body swollen?'

- 134) Ei ta bu bi ato afabo wa-hi-meda.
 no no 3 poss body flesh cpl-eat-3pl.sb

'No, they ate his flesh (worked sorcery on him.)' ('It is not swollen because of the reason you are referring to.')

The above examples, (133) and (134) show the use of the negative response *ei ta*. In question (133) the speaker is assuming that the body is just swollen for no reason at all when really it is swollen because of sorcery and the person responding has this special knowledge and is correcting him.

- 135) Sobo ha mago esijo-ne.
 2pl where from 2pl.sb/come-ques

'Where have you all come from?'

- 136) Sebo Kainantu wa nitowo.
 1pl Kainantu to 1du/go north

'We two have gone north to Kainantu.'

- 137) Fieme eito-ne.
 why 2pl/go north-ques

'Why have you gone north?'

- 138) Ei sebo boksin hui-me-nitia-o.
 no 1pl boxing see-purp-1pl.sb/go north-indic

'No, we all have gone north [to Kainantu] to see the boxing matches.'

Examples (135-138) show a series of questions that were asked and the responses that were given. We inquired as to the reason for the response *ei* to question (137), and our helpers indicated that they were fearful that we would be upset with them because they had spent their

market money on buying public transportation to Kainantu. They were defending themselves by replying this way. See (138).

2.12 MODIFIERS

Modifiers make up both adverbs and adjectives, and fill the modifier slot in both the Verb Phrase and the Noun Phrase. It appears that certain words can fill both the adverb and adjective slot. Usually adverbs appear preceding the verb in a clause.

2.12.1 ADVERBS

Following is a list of all the known adverbs.

adabuju	'carefully' or 'slowly'
hokwinawa	'quickly'
yafe	'unsuccessfully'
dadowa	'well' or 'able'
tako	'big'
atineha	'accidentally'

139) Na bo kë adabuju fe-nekakëme.
and is those carefully move-1s.sb/move

'And I carefully move [those wounds].'

140) Bo yafe neho notokwefrëme.
is unsuccessfully try hd get away/1s.sb/3sm.ob

'I tried, um, to get away from him.'

141) Tafa-tre dadowa.
sit-pst/3s.sb well

'He was doing alright.'

142) Bu tako sigri-da-dedo.
3 big grow up-dt-3sm.sb

'It grows up big.'

- 143) Bo atineha tākene.
 is accidentally hit
 'I accidentally hit [it].'

2.12.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives do not follow any set pattern of position in the Noun Phrase. They can occur either preceding or following the noun, depending on what is being emphasized.

Following is a list of known adjectives.

tako	'big'
tokwefo	'little'
afuduja	'short'
kaia	'bitter'
tebo	'bad'
dade	'good'
odokofo	'green' (modifies fruit)
nigriji	'ripe' (modifies fruit)
amayo	'stingy'

- 144) Wesibi tokwefo dēghidena.
 thing small 3sm.sb/bring/3sm.ob
 'He brings back a few small things.'

- 145) nou nigriji
 banana ripe
 'ripe bananas'

- 146) ti wayo tako
 tree base big
 'big tree base'

- 147) Bu dade ho.
 3 good man
 'He is a good man.'

- 148) Bu amayo ho.
3 stingy man

'He is a stingy man.'

2.12.3 COLOR WORDS

Most color modifiers are made up of a noun or a combination of nouns plus the similarity postposition -wa, 'like'. The word for 'color' is a combination of the word ato 'body' and the postposition -wa 'like'. Thus if you want to ask, 'What color is it?', the proper form to use is:

Ebë fie ato-wa-ne.
this what body-like-ques

The color words fill the modifier slot in a Modified Noun Phrase. Like adjectives, there is no set order that they appear in the noun Phrase.

Following is a list of known color words.

tati-wa	palm heart-like	'white'
odo-fo-wa	ginger-sap-like	'yellow'
swadë-fo-wa	ginger-sap-like	'yellow'
wino-wa	blood-like	'red'
krë-ato-wa	mud-body-like	'blue'

There are some exceptions to the normal form of color words.

daba-tuja	leaf-fresh	'green'
nibitu-dego	unanalyzed morphemes	'black'

- 149) Ju tati-wa ho mu.
2s palm heart-like man intr

'You're really a white man.'

- 150) Bu bi ama nibitudego.
3 poss dog black

'His black dog.'

2.13 CONJUNCTIONS

The words *na*, *kwe* and *mana* all function as conjunctions. *Mana* has two different meanings. They are 'remain' and 'then'. *Kwe* functions as an adversative conjunction. It can co-occur with the conjunction *na*. *Na* functions as instrument, accompaniment, as a connector between clause or sentence level and as a main line event marker on the discourse level.

- 151) Na sēga-tami meta wē-nokou na kē
 mle sago-basket in pour-1pl.sb/back and forth and that

na mana Kedi-damē.
 with then set-3sf.sb

'We pour [the water] back and forth into the sago basket and then it sets, with that [water].'

- 152) Na kē kokwedi fe-nēdedēda na mana monweiji-dēde.
 mle that behind move-1pl.sb/3sm.ob and remain burrow-3sm.ob

'And we move [from] behind and it is still burrowing in the ground.'

- 153) Bo me-nane. Tosē na tui.
 is like this-1s.sb torch with pst/go/1s.sb

'I did it like this. I went with a torch.'

- 154) Mo taba gro-tra na tē-tēke-tra.
 fish vine get(pl)-pst/1pl.sb and redup-beat-pst/1pl.sb

'We got some fish vines and we beat [them].'

- 155) Na tokwafe fri wa mujame kwe bo do me
 mle later others only 3pl.sb/go but is house in

nēdebēmēme.
 rest/1s.sb/3pl.ob

'Later only the others go, but I rest [my wounds] in the house.'

- 156) Bo bonē na yafe dēde kwe dasogo.
 is bamboo arrow with attempt shoot but miss

'I try to shoot [them] with an arrow, but I miss.'

Kwe also co-occurs with the conditional and contrary to fact aspect of the verbs. It is like the 'if...then' clause.

- 157) Bo sega nëgebë kwe ju me nëgrëmo-feno.
 1s sago 1s.sb/have then 2s ob mkr give/1s.sb/2s.ob

'If I had some sago, then I would give [it] to you.'

2.14 PARTICLES

The uninflected particles *ta*, *te*, *tei*, *se* and *sei* occur widely in conversational speech. However, the particles *ta* and *tei* appear more frequently in text material. *Ta* functions as a marker of closure, either to signify the end of a particular discourse or the end of an entire text. It can be seen and understood more fully on the discourse level. Particles *te* and *se* usually occur with imperatives, both directed imperatives ('you go') and suggested imperatives ('let's go').

- 158) Ta sebo neba-re-tono ebë këme esogo-nëdedëda.
 finish 1pl child-pl-? this therefore follow-1pl.sb/3sm.ob

Ta tei bo bi gadi.
 finish finish 1s poss talk

'Now that's why we children follow it. My talk is finished.'

- 159) Te ma-nuja.
 come on let-1pl.sb/go

'Come on! Let's go!'

- 160) Se ma-nuja.
 come on let-1pl.sb/go

'Come on! Let's go!'

2.15 COMPLEX FORMATIONS

Complex formations consist of compound noun stems, derived stems and reduplication.

2.15.1 COMPOUND NOUN STEM

When two nouns are joined together, the stress patterns are altered and stress shifts one syllable to the right on the compound noun stem.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|---|------------|---|-------------------|
| 161) | <u>`tob</u> | + | <u>`ti</u> | = | to <u>`boti</u> |
| | arm | + | wood | = | top plate (house) |

162)	`maba	+	`ti	=	ma`bati
	breast	+	wood	=	rafter (house)
163)	`näba	+	`musu	=	nä`bamusu
	baby	+	bilum	=	womb
164)	`mise	+	`ti	=	mi`seti
	woman	+	wood	=	old woman
165)	`mise	+	`näba	=	mi`senäba
	woman	+	baby	=	sister or young girl
166)	`one	+	`ti	=	o`neti
	women	+	wood	=	old women
167)	`naba	+	`tu	=	na`batu
	eye	+	water	=	tear

Sometimes the stress pattern remains on the first syllable of the first word of the compound stem. These words all have to do with people. We have not found any other examples with this stress pattern that did not involve people.

168)	`one	+	`ho	=	`oneho
	women	+	man	=	people
170)	`mise	na	`ho	=	`misenaho
	woman	with	man	=	married man
171)	`ho	na	`mise	=	`honamise
	man	with	woman	=	married woman
172)	`mise	+	`ho	=	`miseho
	woman	+	man	=	brother-in-law

2.15.2 DERIVED STEM

Adjective stems can be derived from verbs by adding the adjectivizer -tabo onto the verb root.

173) Bo ti kaka-notomö.
 is wood split-is.sb/3pl.ob/indic

'I'm splitting wood.'

174) ti kaka-tabo
 wood split-adject

'The wood that is split' or 'The split wood.'

175) bo atëte-nanedëo
1s hot-1s.sb/indic

`I am hot'

176) atëte-tabo tu
hot-adject water

`hot water'

The verb roots kaka- and atëte- when attached to the adjectivizer -tabo become adjectives.

Adjective stems can also be derived from nouns.

177) Tomaba-tabo dekrifa-notoma nage.
coconut mesh-adject unwrap-1pl.sb/3pl.ob sago

`We unwrapped the coconut meshed sago.'

The suffix -dego is added onto some words and it appears that these words become adjectives. In some cases the words can be used by themselves without the -dego with the same meaning, but the derived form with dego is preferred. The word dego-, when used by itself means 'noise'.

178) tri-dego tu
cold-adject water

`cold water'

179) fra-dego
soft-adject

`soft'

Below is an example of the derived stem for 'hard', but we have not determined the meaning of Kade and have not heard Kade in isolation.

180) Kade-dego
???-adject

`hard'

One verb stem *hi-* occurs preceding the noun *wesibi* 'thing' to form the noun 'food.'

181) *Ita adibaho wa-toba-medëme hi-wesibi.*
 again spirit cml-hand-3pl.sb/3pl.ob eat-thing

'Again the spirits handled the food.'

2.15.3 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication can occur with verbs as well as nouns and adjectives. Usually the first two phonemes of the verb stem are reduplicated and prefixed to the stem.

Reduplication signals plurality of object with reduplicated verbs, and plurality of the head noun with reduplicated adjectives.

Some nouns, when reduplicated to indicate plurality, also have a meaning of exclusiveness when suffixed by *-wa*. Following are some reduplicated forms.

VERBS

<i>gwa</i>	'put'	<i>gogwa</i>	'put many'
<i>sike</i>	'put in'	<i>sisike</i>	'put many in'
<i>fë</i>	'call a name'	<i>fëfë</i>	'call many names'
<i>okri</i>	'jump'	<i>okokri</i>	'jump many times'
<i>trë</i>	'cut'	<i>të-trë</i>	'cut many'
<i>fri</i>	'pull out'	<i>fifri</i>	'pull out many'
<i>tiji</i>	'close'	<i>titiji</i>	'close many'

ADJECTIVES

<i>tako</i>	'big'	<i>tatako</i>	'many big'
<i>tokwefo</i>	'little'	<i>tokwetokwë</i>	'many small'
<i>tebo</i>	'bad'	<i>tetebo</i>	'completely bad'

NOUNS

iko 'boy' ikoiko-wa 'only boys'
 nemosa 'girl' nemosanemosa-wa 'only girls'

182) Ho wenji fë-fë-totometenë.
 man name call-redup-3s.sb/pst/3pl.ob

'She told me the mens' names.'

183) juba ta-tako
 sore redup-big

'many big sores'

184) Bu bi neba-re iko-iko-wa.
 3 poss child-pl boy-redup-only

'He/she has only boy children.'

2.16 VERBS

Verbs are an open class of words defined by a set a special affixes. There are two basic types of verbs. The most common type are the subject suffix verbs where the subject#1 marker is suffixed to the verb root. The other less common type are the subject prefix verbs where the subject#1 marker is prefixed to the verb root. They are illustrated by Charts I and II on the following pages. Section 2.16.1 - 2.16.9 refer primarily to subject suffix verbs.

2.16.1 VERB ROOT

The verb root of the subject suffix verbs may be reduplicated. In most cases, only the first syllable is reduplicated. Reduplication seems to be indicating that the object of the action is plural. It also may be indicating that the action is repeated. We have not come to a definite conclusion about this because more research data is needed.

185) Na të-tëke-ß-t-r-a.
and redup-beat-1.s-pst-d-pl.sb

'And we beat [the fish vine]. (repeatedly?).'

186) Na sebo ino ti-tiji-në-d-a.
and 1pl door redup-close-1.sb-d-pl.sb

'And we close the doors.'

187) Sëfa kë me go-gwa-në-d-ë.
arrow that on redup-place-1.sb-d-s.sb

'I placed the arrows on that.'

See Section 3.15.3 for more on reduplication.

ASPECT	VB RT	ASPECT	DETRAN	SUB#1	DIST	TENSE
wa (cpl)	redup	wa (cpl)	da (dt)	nV (1s/pl/du)	u (far)	ǰ (pres)
ma (?)		ma (?)		ǰ/e (2s)	e (neut.)	tV (past)
hana (neg)		hana (neg)		dV (3sm)		gV...m (fut)
da.... (sudnly)		...wa (cpl)		e/eo (3sf)		
				e (2du/pl)		
				mV (3pl)		

continued

CLASS	MOTION	OBJECT	SUB#2	MOOD	OTHER?
dV	kakë (?)	n (1s/pl)	ë (1s)	o (indic)	bë (?)
tV	bakë (?)	ǰ (2s)	ǰ (2s)	mo (com)	na (when?)
kV	eke (?)	d (3sm)	ǰ (3sm)	ne (ques)	me (?)
s	bou (?)	ë (3sf)	ǰ (3sf)	nawa (dubit)	
	te (?)	ëo (2du/pl)	o (1/3du)	fe (intn)	
	kou (?)	m (3pl)	a (/3pl)		
		m (3pl)	o (2du/pl)		

CHART I
SUBJECT SUFFIX VERB

ASP	DT	S#1	TNS	VB RT	MOTION	OBJ	S#2	MOOD	OTHER

CHART II
SUBJECT PREFIX VERB
(TENTATIVE)

We have not had time to analyze this type of verb completely and so the ordering indicated in the charts is tentative.

Although chart II cannot be filled in at this time, we do make the following observations.

- a. There appears to some differences in the subject and object markers when compared with the subject suffix verbs.
- b. This type of verb does not appear to have a class marker.
- c. In some verbs, the verb root is hard to determine and some of the verb roots seem to change when the object is plural.

A fuller analysis of this type of verb will follow at a later date.

The following are some examples of this type of verb:

- 188) Ne-mi-d-ä.
1.sb-shoot-3sm.ob-s.sb
`I shoot him.'
- 189) Š-te-mi-de.
3s.sb-pst-shoot-3sm.ob
`He shot him.'
- 190) Ni-si-o.
1s.sb-come-indic
`I come.'
- 191) Me-mi-n-o-wo.
3du/pl.sb-shoot-1s.ob-du.sb-indic
`Those 2 shoot me.'

2.16.2 ASPECT

There are several aspect markers in Yade. The aspect marker occurs immediately before or after the verb root.

WA

Wa indicates completed action. Wa occurs with the uninflected verb root, the present tense form of the verb, and sometimes with the past tense form of the verb.

192) Na mogo wa-hui.
and carcass cpl-see

'And [I] saw the carcass.'

193) O Demeji wa-huju-o wa-huju-o.
oh Demeji cpl-get up-indic cpl-get up-indic

'Oh, Demeji got up, [he] got up.'

194) O bo me kredi wa-hi-de-d-o.
Oh is ob mrk pig cpl-eat-3s.sb-d-indic

'Oh, a pig bit me.'

195) Naba bu bi yaia-wa-me-t-r-a.
eye 3 poss crazy-cpl-3su/pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

'These eyes became crazy.' '(They were disoriented)'

196) Bo bi ato wa-sabu-t-re.
is poss body cpl-exhaust-pst-d

'My body was exhausted.'

Da.....Wa

Da usually occurs in combination with wa to indicate an action which took place suddenly. Da always precedes the verb root and rarely occurs without wa. Wa follows the verb root when it occurs with da in subject suffix verbs, but it comes at the end of the verb word in subject prefix verbs. In all these cases, where wa occurs with da, we feel the wa is the same morpheme as the wa mentioned above and indicates completed action.

Da with Wa after the verb root:

- 197) Na mogo da-gri-wa-t-re.
and carcass suddenly-die-cmpl-pst-d

'And the carcass suddenly died.'

- 198) Na Dēmēji da-gri-wa-t-re.
And Demeji suddenly-die-cmpl-pst-d

da with wa at the end of the verb:

- 199) Kwe bu ifinu fuduju wa
but 3 stem base hole to

da-β-tē-te-ti-gwia-wa.
suddenly-3s.sb-pst?-fall-3sf.sb-cmpl

'But it [tree possum] suddenly fell into the hole at the base of the stem.'

da without wa

Occasionally the da occurs without the wa. At this point we are not sure if there is a difference in meaning or why the wa does not occur. Possibly the da without the wa may be a lack of emphasis on the action being completed.

- 200) Bo me da-hui-do-β-no-nē.
1s ob mkr suddenly-see-3sm.sb-pr-d-1s.sb

'He suddenly sees me.'

ma

We have very few cases of ma, which occurs either before or after the verb root. We have not noticed it co-occurring with other aspect markers and it does occur in the same place as other aspect markers. Ma seems to indicate a suggested course of action but its exact meaning is not clear yet.

- 201) Ahoju me sa-ma-ne-β-d-o.
fire by dry-let-1.sb-pr-d-du.sb

'Let us two dry by the fire.'

- 202) Ma-ne-dedu-j-o KofeKofe me.
let-1.sb-bring-3sf.ob-du.sb exchange purpose

'Let us to bring her in order to exchange [her].'

203) Ma-~~g~~-t-rë-bou-ja.
let-3s.sb-pst?-run away-3sf.sb

'Let it run away.'

hana

The morpheme *hana* negates the verb in all tenses. It always occurs either immediately before or after the verb root. It cannot stand alone or be separated from the verb root by other words or morphemes.

204) Hana-huju-~~g~~-t-re. Tei gri-~~g~~-t-re.
neg-get up-3s.sb-pst-d finish die-3s.sb-pst-d

'He did not get up.' 'He was dead!!'

205) Gari-hana-dë-g-re-me.
talk-neg-3sm.sb-fut-d-fut

'He will not talk.'

Hanane

Hanane is related to *hana* although its distribution is different. In those cases where it occurs either immediately before or after the verb root, it is functioning the same as *hana*. In other cases where its distribution is different, it appears to be functioning as a clause level negator. (Refer to section 4.5 for more examples and explanation.)

2.16.3 Detransitivisor or Continuous Marker

We are not sure at this point of the total function of the morpheme *-da*. *-Da* occurs before the subject#1 slot. In some ways it seems to be functioning as a detransitivisor. At times when no object is mentioned, then *-da* is used in the verb. (Compare example 225) with examples 226) - 228) .)

With object specified

206) Bo sega hi-~~g~~-ne-d-ë-o.
1s sago eat-dt-1.sb-d-s.sb-indic

'I am eating sago.'

With object unspecified

- 207) Bo Ø hi-na-ne-d-ë-o.
1s ob eat-dt-1.sb-d-s.sb-indic

'I am eating.'

- 208) Tri-na-ne-d-o.
cold-dt-1.sb-d-du.sb

'We two are cold (are in a state of being cold?).'

- 209) Ho mu wame-na-me-t-r-a.
Man intn fight-dt-3du/pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb

'The warriors were fighting. (fought?).'

At other times, *da* seems to be indicating incomplete action. Possibly it is an aspect marker indicating an action which is or was on going. We have occasionally noticed two verbs used side by side in a text where the only difference is the presence of *da* in one of the verbs. We have not observed *da* occurring with other aspect markers.

- 210) Gri-da-Ø-t-re. Gri-Ø-t-re. Na ita
die-dt-3s.sb-pst-d die-3s.sb-pst-d and again

huju-Ø-t-re.
get up-3s.sb-pst-d

'He was dying. He died. And he got up again.'

- 211) Ao-wafe ni nidi-afe ni na tabadi-afe me
three-enum sleep four-enum sleep and five-enum on

tebo-da-Ø-t-re. Tebo-Ø-t-re. Na gri-Ø-t-re
sick-dt-3s.sb-pst-d sick-3s.sb-pst-d and die-3s.sb-pst-d

mana
then

'For the 3rd night, 4th night, and 5th night he was getting sick. He got sick. And then he died.'

We are considering the possibility that *da* indicates continuous or incomplete action and thereby lowers the transitivity of the verb. It is also possible that in certain verbs, which indicate state, *da* is acting as the verb 'to be'.

Da needs more study to come to any definite conclusions. Since it does not occur often in texts, we cannot draw any definite conclusions

at this time. (When it occurs in examples, it will be glossed as 'dt' meaning detrasitivizor.)

2.16.4 SUBJECT AFFIXES

The person and number of the subject is marked in the verb word by a set of affixes which basically remain the same with only minor variations when they co-occur with the object suffixes.

Subject suffixes are indicated in the following chart.

	SUBJECT#1	SUBJECT#2	COMMENTS
1s	-nV.....	.....-ë	
2s	-e or -eo...	.....-ß	-eo when object is 3sf
3sm	-dV.....	.....-ß	
3sf	-eß or -eo..	.....-ß	-eo when object is 3sf, 2s, or 2pl
1pl	-nV.....	.....-a	a --> ß when object is 1pl
1du	-nV.....	.....-o	
2du/pl	-e.....	.....-o	o --> a when object is 1pl
2du/pl	-e.....	.....-a	when object is 1s
3pl	-mV.....	.....-a	
3du	-mV.....	.....-o	

SUBJECT AFFIXES

Rules: When object is 2du/pl, subject#2 is ß.

If subject is 2du/pl, and object is 1pl, subject#2 is ß.

NOTES:

1. We only found one case where there was an -a in the subject#2 slot for 3sf. Normally no marker is found there. We attribute this to speaker error or individual variation.
2. Although the usual form for the dual subject#2 marker is -o and the plural subject#2 marker is -a, the marker for both 'you dual' and 'you plural' is always -o. 'You plural' is never marked by -a.
3. In our data we found one case when the subject#2 marker did not drop off when the object was 1pl. In that particular case, the dual marker -o occurred in the subject#2 slot. This did not occur in

other paradigms with other speakers so possibly this was speaker error or individual variation.

There appear to be some differences in the subject 2 markers in Subject Prefix Verbs and in some forms of the subject suffix verbs. These have not been analyzed yet and so these differences will not be described at this time.

EXAMPLES OF SUBJECT AFFIXES

1s.sb

212) Hi-ne-d-è-o.
eat-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

'I eat.'

2s.sb

213) Hi-e-d-ø-o.
eat-2.sb-d-2s.sb-indic

'You eat.'

3sm.sb

214) Hi-de-d-ø-o.
eat-3sm.sb-d-3sm.sb-indic

'He eats.'

3sf.sb

215) Hi-e-d-ø-o.
eat-3sf.sb-d-3sf.sb-indic

'She eats.'

1du.sb

216) Hi-ne-d-o-wo.
eat-1.sb-d-du.sb-indic

'We 2 eat.'

1pl.sb

217) Hi-ne-d-a-o.
eat-1.sb-d-pl.sb-indic

'We eat.'

2du/pl

218) Hi-e-d-o-wo.
eat-2.sb-d-du.sb-indic

'You 2 or you all eat.'

3du.sb

219) Hi-me-d-o-wo.
eat-3du.sb-d-du.sb-indic

'Those 2 eat.'

3pl.sb

220) Hi-me-d-a-o.
eat-3pl.sb-d-pl.sb-indic

'They eat.'

2.16.5 OBJECT SUFFIXES

The person and number of the object is marked in the verb word by a set of suffixes which are shown in the following chart:

PER/NUM	OBJECT SUFFIX	COMMENTS
1s	-ne	subject singular
	-n	subject plural
2s	-e	subject singular
	-eo	subject plural (1)
3sm	-d	
3sf	-e	(2)
1pl	-na	
1du	no data (3)	
2du/pl	-o	
3pl	-m	
3du	no data (3)	

OBJECT SUFFIXES

NOTES

- (1) We are assuming that the speaker was using the 2pl/du form of the object marker when the subject became plural. If this is so, it would account for the 2du/pl form -eo which is shown here
- (2) The verb paradigms for 3sf and 2s are usually almost identical. The differences found in the object markings could be due to the to the problems discussed in number (1) above.
- (3) We could not consistently elicit data for 1du and 3du objects. Possibly there is no differentiation between plural and dual objects.

EXAMPLES OF OBJECT SUFFIXES

1s.ob

221) Hui-do-no-në-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-1s.ob-indic

`He sees me.'

2s.ob

222) Hui-do-d-ë-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-2s.ob-indic

`He sees you.'

3sm.ob

223) Hui-do-do-d-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-3sm.ob-indic

`He sees him.'

3sf.ob

224) Hui-do-d-ë-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-3sf.ob-indic

`He sees her.'

1pl.ob

225) Hui-do-do-na-o.
see-3sm.sb-d-1pl.ob-indic

`He sees us.'

2du/pl.ob

226) Hui-do-d-ëo-wo.
see-3sm.sb-d-2du/pl.ob-indic

`He sees you all.'

3pl.ob

- 227) Hui-do-do-m-o.
 see-3sm.sb-d-3pl.ob-indic
 'He sees them.'

2.16.6 RELATIVE LOCATION

The vowel occurring after the subject#1 marker indicates the relative distance of the action with respect to the speaker or hearer.

- 228) Bo tafa-n-e-d-ë-o.
 1s sit-1.sb-rlu-d-1s.sb-indic
 'I am sitting.' (non specific location)

- 229) Bo tafa-n-u-d-ë-o.
 1s sit-1.sb-far-d-1s.sb-indic
 'I am sitting.' (distant location)

There appear to be two forms:

1. -e is the neutral form and is illustrated in example 228) above. This is the most common form when the speaker is not specific whether the action is close or far from the speaker/hearer.
2. -u is the marked form and is illustrated in example 229) above. This form is uncommon but is used where the speaker wishes to be specific about the location. We have not determined when this form must be used.

2.16.7 TENSE

There are three basic tense distinctions: Present, Past, and Future.

PRESENT

The present tense encodes an action which occurs approximately simultaneous with the speech act although it is commonly used to refer to an action which has recently been completed. In some texts, the present tense is used even though the action took place in the past. Possibly this is a discourse feature related to genre type or speaker style. The present tense is the unmarked form, which contrasts with -tU 'past' and -gV.....-m 'future'.

PAST

The past tense indicates an action which has been completed at a point sometime before the speech act. It is marked by the suffix -tV.

FUTURE

The future tense indicates an action which will occur at a time after the speech act. The future tense is marked by the discontinuous affix -gV.....-m. (The -m occurs after the subject#2 slot.

PRESENT TENSE

	eat-sub-pr-d-sub-indic	
1s	hi -ne -Ø -d- ë -o	'I am eating.'
2s	hi -e -Ø -d- -o	'you are eating.'
3sm	hi -de -Ø -d- -o	'he is eating.'
3sf	hi -e -Ø -d- -o	'she is eating.'
1du	hi -ne -Ø -d- o -wo	'we 2 are eating.'
1pl	hi -ne -Ø -d- a -o	'we are eating.'
2du/pl	hi -e -Ø -d- o -wo	'you all are eating.'
3du	hi -me -Ø -d- o -wo	'they are eating.'
3pl	hi -me -Ø -d- a -o	'those 2 are eating.'

PAST TENSE

	eat-sub-pst-d-sub-indic	
1s	hi - Ø -te -d- ë -o	'I ate.'
2s	hi - Ø -t -r- -o	'you ate.'
3sm	hi - Ø -t -r- -o	'he ate.'
3sf	hi - Ø -t -r- -o	'she ate.'
1du	hi - Ø -te -d- o -wo	'we 2 ate.'
1pl	hi - Ø -t -r- a -o	'we ate.'
2du/pl	hi - Ø -te -d- o -wo	'you all ate.'
3du	hi -me -te -d- o -wo	'they ate.'
3pl	hi -me -t -r- a -o	'those 2 ate.'

RULE: When the verb is in the past tense subject#1 ---> Ø except for the 3pl marker -me. This means there is no distinction between 2s, 3sm and 3sf forms of the the past tense verbs. Also there is no distinction between 1du and 2du/pl forms of the past tense verb.

FUTURE TENSE

	eat-sub-fu-d-sub-fu-indic	
1s	hi -ne -ge-d- ë -m -o	'I will eat.'
2s	hi - e -ge-d- e -m -o	'you will eat.'
3sm	hi -de -ge-d- e -m -o	'he will eat.'
3sf	hi - e -ge-d- e -m -o	'she will eat.'
1du	hi -ne -ge-d- o -m -o	'we 2 will eat.'
1pl	hi -ne -ge-d- a -m -o	'we will eat.'
2du/pl	hi - e -ge-d- o -m -o	'you all will eat.'
3du	hi -me -ge-d- o -m -o	'they will eat.'
3pl	hi -me -ge-d- a -m -o	'those 2 will eat.'

2.16.8 VERB CLASS

Verbs may be classified according to a consonant occurring in the middle of the verb. (see Chart I and II). So far we have grouped the verbs into 5 classes on the basis of 5 different consonants which occur. The classes are: -d class, -t class, -b class, -k class, and the subject prefix verb type, without a class marker called -s class.

We have observed the following tendencies:

-d class verbs. Tend to be either intransitive or less transitive than -t class verbs. Included in this class of verbs are verbs which encode emotions or states (i.e. wama- 'angry', flesu- 'happy', tebo- 'bad') bodily functions (i.e. tètremo- 'cough', hëhë- 'smell', atisisi- 'sneeze'). Other actions which are lower in transitivity or actions which partially affect the patient but not necessarily alter the patient, (i.e. hui- 'see', kiki- 'combing hair') are also included in this class.

We have noticed some -d class verbs which don't seem to fit: (i.e. tēke- 'hit', sēsere- 'butcher').

-t class verbs. Tend to be highly transitive. With many of these verbs, the agent is altering the state or condition of the patient. (i.e. fufu- 'slice', trë- 'cut', sere- 'sharpen', tebo- 'cause sickness').

-b class verbs. The few examples found are highly intransitive. -b class verbs include a state in which the subject is inactive, inert or not functioning. Some indicate a state where the person's spirit is thought to have left the body. (i.e. ni- 'sleep', debo- 'die', mumu- 'to be ignorant').

-s class or subject prefix verbs. Tend to depict motions or movement. i.e. (duju- 'he goes', disi- 'he comes', dehou- 'he carries away', dedebou- 'he runs away', also 'release', 'give', 'distribute'. Note: since -s class verbs tend to be somewhat irregular and since the verb root is not always apparent we have not given vernacular examples for some of these.

-k class verbs. The very few examples in our data tend to also indicate motions: (i.e. su- 'crossing over', and fe- 'go up into'. It is possible that these verbs may be verbs of other classes which have had the class marker replaced by one of the motion morphemes, many of which begin with a -k.

These are just the tendencies. There are verbs in each class which don't seem to fit exactly. Part of this is probably due to our perceived degree of transitivity being different than the peoples'.

There is also a difference in class with some verbs depending on whether the object is singular or plural. For example: When opening one door the verb root tika- takes a -t class marker but when opening two or more doors, the same verb root takes a -d class marker.

Possibly when the object is plural then the action is less individuated and lower in transitivity.

Sometimes a verb will be changed to another class to indicate a change in transitivity or movement.

230) Ho tēbo-dē-de.
Man bad-3sm.sb-d class

'A man is sick'

231) Sakē adibaho tēbo-do-te-d-o.
sake spirit bad-3sm.sb-t class-3sm.ob-indic

'A sake spirit makes him sick.'

In the above examples (230) and 231)) the switch is from a -d class to a -t class verb with increased transitivity encoded.

232) Kosi na wa ji-g-te-d-ē.
knife with only fly-1.sb-pst-d class-1s.sb

'I flew with only a knife.'

233) Ji-g-to-k-ou-ē.
fly-1.sb-pst-k class-movement-1s.sb

'I flew along.'

In the above examples (232) and 233)), the switch is from a -d class verb to a -k class verb and possibly indicates more movement.

2.16.9 MOOD

There are several mood suffixes which occur verb final. (see Chart I and II)

Mood markers include: indicative, interrogative, imperative, dubitative, and emotive.

Indicative

The indicative mood is indicated by an optional suffix -o. The rules of occurrence are not known.

234) O bo me kredi wa-hi-dë-d-o.
oh bo obj mkr pig cpl-eat-3sm.sb-d-indic

'Oh, a pig bit me!'

235) We, bo budame mogo kide-ne-d-ë-o.
Yes, 1s cassowary carcus leave-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

'Yes, I left behind a cassowary carcus.'

236) Na sebo kë wesibi hi-ne-d-a-o.
and 1pl that thing eat-1.sb-d-pl.sb-indic

'And we eat those things.'

237) Egu hohui-ne-ta-t-ë-o-wo.
Possum look for-1.sb-?-pst-3sf.ob-du.sb-indic

'We two are looking for a tree possum.'

The intonational pattern rises slightly on the penultimate syllable and then drops again on the final syllable and remains constant.

Interrogative

The interrogative is marked with *-ne*. The intonational pattern is essentially the same as the pattern mentioned above for the indicative. It rises slightly on the penultimate syllable and then drops again on the final syllable (on the *-ne*) and remains constant.

-ne is used to indicate either a polar or information question.

238) Sobo sega hi-e-d-o-ne.
2du/pl sago eat-2.sb-d-du/pl.sb-ques

'Are you eating sago?'

239) Ju bu me hui-e-do-d-β-e-ne.
You 3 ob mkr see-2.sb-d-3sm.ob-2s.sb-tv-ques

'Do you see him?'

240) Ju budame e-mi-β-ne.
2s cassowary 2.sb-shoot-2s.sb-ques

'Did you shoot a cassowary?'

- 241) O ju fieme e-si-Ø-ne.
 Oh 2s why 2.sb-come-2s.sb-ques

'Oh, why did you come?'

-ne is also used to indicate a question with non-verbal words. See Section 2.9 for examples.

Dubitative

The morpheme -nawa functions to indicate doubt or uncertainty. The intonation rises slightly at the beginning of -nawa and remains at the same pitch over both syllables.

- 242) Bu di-gi-si-m-e-nawa.
 3 3sm.sb-fu-come-fu-tv-dubi

'Is he coming (or not)?'

- 243) Bu gri-nawa.
 3 die-dubi

'Is he dead (or not)?'

The morpheme -nawa can also occur immediately after a noun. In most cases when it occurs after a noun a verbal idea has been deleted but is recoverable from previous context.

- 244) Na degresi nawa, dabu nawa.
 and wall dubi, floor dubi

'And perhaps [I will do] the walls, perhaps [I will do] the floor.'

This may be better analyzed as a dubative postpositional phrase. We are not sure at this time.

Another example of where -nawa follows a noun is when there is uncertainty about the answer to a question. In this case the speaker will sometimes answer using this morpheme.

- 245) Ebi fie wesibi ne.
 This what thing ques

'What is this thing?'

246) Fie wesibi nawa.
What thing dubi

'What could it be?'

Imperative

The imperative is formed in several ways. In all forms the intonation drops on the last syllable of the verb. Also the volume is usually louder and the syllables more stacato.

a) The verb root alone can be used, (with the above mentioned intonation), to signal the imperative mood.

247) Huju.
get up

'[you] get up!!'

A difference can be made between singular or plural addressees if necessary by the addition of a free pronoun.

b) The present tense form of the verb including its affixes minus the modal affixes can also be used. (with proper intonation.)

248) Huju-e-g-d-e.
get up-2.sb-pr-d-tv

'You stand up!!'

The indicative form of this verb is

249) Huju-e-g-d-o.
get up-2.sb-pr-d-indic

'You are standing up?'

The interrogative form of this verb is:

250) Huju-e-g-d-e-ne.
get up-e-pr-d-tv-ques

'Are you standing up.'

c) The full form of the imperative includes **-mo** suffixed to the fully inflected present tense verb.

251) Ita huju-e-~~ß~~-d-e-mo.
Again get up-2.sb-pr-d-tv-imp

'You stand up again!!!'

252) Sobo huju-e-d-o-mo.
2p stand up-2.sb-d-du.sb-imp

'You all stand up.'

It seems like the shorter the imperative form, then the stonger the command. The longest form used with the suffix **-mo** may be considered a polite command in most cases.

Intensifier

The morpheme **-fe** seems to be indicating intense emotion. It does not co-occur with any other mood markers so perhaps it should be considered another mood marker. It seems to indicate high speaker or hearer interest such as regret, excitement or disappointment.

253) O kë ho kwe budame mogo. Kide-dë-d-e-fe
Oh that man ? cassowary carcass leave -3sm.sb-d-s.sb-intn

'Oh, that man left [behind] a cassowary carcass!!!'

254) Tu na momweiji-dë-d-e-fe.
water in burrow-3sm.sb-d-s-sb-intn

'Oh boy!! [A pig] is burrowing in the wet ground!'

255) Oue Iwau bi neba me-mi-ti-a-fe.
Oh Iwau poss child 3pl.sb-shoot-?-pl.sb-intn

'Oh no!! They are spearing (working sorcery on) Iwau's child.'

256) Yafe hohui-ne-ta-t-ë-o-fe.
try look for-1.sb-pst-t-3sf.ob-du.sb-intn

'Oh!!! We 2 unsuccessfully looked for it!!!'

Sometimes **-fe** occurs after a noun. Even in these cases it seems to be indicating intense emotion and a verbal idea is implied.

257) Bo kwe bo me aribaho fe.
 is ? is ob mkr spirit intr

'Oh no!! A spirit [is after] me!!'

2.16.10 UNRESOLVED VERBAL AFFIXES

There are several verbal affixes which we have not fully analyzed yet. They will be mentioned here with our preliminary observations and comments.

-me

-me occurs verb finally. It does not co-occur with other mood markers. It seems to substitute for the indicative marker. We have not found any clear pattern in its occurrence. In some texts the majority of the verbs end in this suffix. In other similar type texts only a few or no verbs end in -me. We notice -me occurring most frequently in text materials. The text where it occurred most frequently was a true story which was about an emotional experience.

Possibly -me indicates some sort of mood or possibly it has a discourse function of benefactive.

See Section 2.2 for an explanation of -me in other contexts indicating purpose when it occurs with a verb root and as an object marker. Possibly these are related forms.

258) Tekre-tekre-no-t-r-e-me.
 redup-hit-1.sb-t-3sm.ob-s.sb-?

'I repeatedly hit him.'

259) Tu me ko swa-no-to-m-ë-me.
 water in blood wash-1.sb-t-3pl.ob-1s.sb-?

'I wash the blood in the water.'

260) Na bo kë adabuju fe-ne-k-ak-ë-me.
 and is that carefully move-1.sb-k-movement-s.sb-?

'And I carefully move those [wounds].'

-na

The morpheme -na occurs verb finally. It does not co-occur with other mood markers. In some cases it seems to indicate when. In other cases it seems to indicate if or a conditional.

-na indicating when

261) ětani afu-nino ětani
before grandfather-pl before

me-me-da-mě-t-r-a Kredi me
redup-like this-dt-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb pig ob mkr

yonoti-me-t-r-a-na.
can't kill-3pl.sb-pst-d-pl.sb-when

'Before, the grandfathers did it like this, when they could not kill pigs.'

-na indicating conditional (or possibly when)

262) Ju waiye hi-e-g-r-e-na. Kwe, ju
2s millipied eat-2s.sb-fu-d-s.sb-if (when?) then 2s

gri-e-g-e-m-o
die-2s.sb-fu-d-2.sb-fu-indic

'If you eat millipieds, then you will die!!'

-na does not occur very often in texts.

-bë

The morpheme -bë occurs verb finally. It does not co-occur with other mood markers. Bë seems to be indicating 'when' or simultaneous action and relates two clauses. Usually the clause with the -bë occurs first and the other clause follows.

-bë is often associated with -gV or -g which usually occurs in the same verb along with -bë. At times the -gV or -g could be taken to indicate future (see section 2.16.7 on tense). At other times the past tense marker -tV occurs in the same verb immediately before the -gV. We have not sorted this out yet. We have not yet been able to determine if it is a present tense (with tense unmarked) with a -gV inserted or just a future tense verb.

Examples of -gV.....-bë

- 263) Do wa ni-gi-si-bë na kwe bu adibaho
house to 1s.sb-?-return-when conn then 3 spirit

arëge me tafa-dë-d-e.
trail on sit-3sm.sb-d-tv

'While, I was returning to the house, then his spirit was sitting on the trail!'

- 264) Erefi-ß-te-g-r-ß-e-bë na bu
dance-3sf.sb-pst-?-d-3sf.sb-tv-when conn 3

gari-ß-te-r-ß-e.
talk-3sf.sb-pst-d-3sf.sb-tv

'While she was dancing, she said,'

- 265) Na bo me tafa-ß-të-ge-r-ë-bë na
conn 1s this way sit-1s.sb-pst-?-d-1s.sb-while conn

ni-ß-të-ge-b-ë-bë na Daita me mana
sleep-1s.sb-pst-?-b-1s.sb-while conn Daita ob mkr then

hi-më-t-r-a.
eat-3pl.sb-pst-d-3pl.sb

'And while I was sitting in this way, and while I was sleeping, then they ate (worked sorcery on) Daita.'

Motion, Movement, or Location

We have not fully analyzed this part of the verb. There are several morphemes which occur in the verb word which indicate that a type of motion is going on, or specify a location.

We initially think that these morphemes indicate if the action is coming toward the speaker or away, or towards the bush or away from it. Also some of these seem to indicate action such as 'back and forth'.

Not all but many of these morphemes have a -K in them. We think that possibly these morphemes are substituting for the class marker in some verbs. That could help to explain what we have previously called K class verbs. (see section 2.16.8).

- 266) Na sega-tami meta wë-no-K-ou.
conn sago-basket into pour-1.sb -K-movement along

'And we pour [the water] along the basket.'

267) Ji-~~g~~-to-k-ou-ë.
fly-1.sb-pst-k-movement along-1.sb

'I flew along.'

268) Na bo adabuju fe-ne-k-ak-ë-me.
conn 1.sb carefully move-1.sb-k-move away-1s.sb-bene?

'And I carefully moved away.'

Some of these morphemes seem to specify where an action is located.

269) Bo tafa-ne-d-ekef-ë-o.
1s sit-1.sb-d-here-1s.sb-indic

'I sit here (at this place).'

270) Bu tafa-me-d-ekef-o-wo.
3 sit-3pl.sb-d-here-du.sb-indic

'They sit here (at this place).'

This set of examples does not completely cover this set of morphemes. We have simply listed a few more obvious ones. Much more investigation is needed.

3.0 PHRASE

Phrases are constructions composed of two or more words.

3.1 NOUN PHRASE

3.1.1 MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE (MNP)

The MNP consists of one or more modifiers and a noun. A possessive modifier will always be followed by the possessive marker *bi*. The MNP has the following order.

MODIFIER(S) + N or N + MODIFIER(S)

There does not seem to be a fixed order as to where the modifier(s) in a MNP can occur. Further investigation will have to be made, but possibly the order depends on the linguistic content or pragmatic factors of the text.

The number of acceptable modifiers in a MNP is usually one, but occasionally two. If there are two modifiers, one is almost always a possessive or demonstrative, (see examples 276) and 277)).

271) *nēba-re feidawa*
child-pl many

'many children'

272) *feidawa ho*
many man

'many men'

273) *imo sebo bi*
stomach 1pl poss

'our stomachs'

274) *Hawa bi esodahuba.*
Hawa poss hair

'Hawa's hair'.

275) *Iwau bi nēba memitia.*
Iwau poss child spear/3pl.sb/3sf.ob

'They shot Iwau's child'.

276) ebë ihe tako
this canoe big

'this big canoe'

277) bo bi tokwefo gadi
is poss small talk

'my short talk'

278) masta tatiwa enëne bë
master white people spec

'the white people'

3.1.2 APPOSITIONAL NOUN PHRASE (ANP)

The ANP consists of a noun and a MNP which are in apposition to each other. The intonational features of the ANP are a rising in intonation on the second word(s), and a dropping off of intonation at the end of the phrase. There does not appear to be a pause between the two nouns that are in apposition to each other.

It has the following order:

MNP + N or N + MNP or N + N or MNP + JNP

279) bo bi misenëba Idei
is poss sister Idei

'my sister, Idei'

280) Kemao sebo bi yanowai ho
Kemao 1pl poss sorcerer man

'Kemao, our sorcerer'

281) sebo yanowai
1pl sorcerer

'we sorcerers'

3.1.3 COORDINATE NOUN PHRASE (CNP)

The CNP consists of a series of from two to five nouns, or MNP sometimes followed by the enumerator -o.

The intonational features of the CNP vary depending on whether the enumerator -o is present. If the enumerator -o is attached to the nouns in the CNP, the intonational pattern drops down at each word, and picks up at the start of the next word. It follows this pattern for the entire length of the noun phrase. If the enumerator -o is not used, as in (283), the intonation rises at the end of each word, instead of dropping.

The CNP has the following order:

(MNP or N +/- -o) + (MNP or N +/- -o) etc.

282) nou daba-o fie daba-o yagibe daba-o
 banan leaf-enum what leaf-enum wild coconut leaf-enum

atokouba daba-o marë daba-o
 vine leaf-enum wild banana leaf-enum

'banana leaves, this or that leaf, wild coconut leaves, vine leaves, wild banana leaves'

283) hi wesibi sega babaia kredi fie fie wesibi
 eat things sago papaya pig what what thing

'food, sago, pig, papaya, all kinds of things'

3.1.4 JUXTAPOSED NOUN PHRASE (JNP)

This type of noun phrase consists of two nouns juxtaposed, and has the following formula:

N + N

The first noun usually modifies the second.

284) yabe ho
 friend man

'man friend'

285) tu dabu
 water place

'water hole'

286) sēfa wenji
arrow name

'name of arrow'

287) matafa wesibi
sky thing

'star'

288) esi sēfa
sago stem arrow

'sago stem arrow'

289) kredi miti
pig track

'pig tracks'

3.2 VERB PHRASE

There are three types of verb phrases: These are the repeated, serial and modified.

3.2.1 REPEATED VERB PHRASE

A verb may be repeated several times in a sequence. This repetition seems to encode several things. Primarily it encodes an action or an event which is taking place over time and encodes the passage of time in a discourse. A repeated verb phrase is also used to indicate reported speech which was repeated over and over again in a story.

When an action or event is being encoded the verb is usually fully inflected, but when repeated speech is being encoded the verbs have either little or no inflection.

Often the repeated verb phrase is used when the speaker is relaying a highly emotive situation with lots of excitement.

A repeated verb phrase has the following formula.

+/- ADVERB + VERB +/- ADVERB + VERB.....

The verb is repeated as often as necessary.

Repeated verb phrase indicating passage of time.

290) (Biaka dife di) sigri-to-t-r-a (di)
 (Biaka village another) pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb another

sigri-to-t-r-a (di) sigri-to-t-r-a
 pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb another pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb

(di) sigri-to-t-r-a.
 another pass-pst-t-3sm.ob-1pl.sb

'We passed (another Biaka village), we passed (another), we passed (another), we passed (another), we passed (another).'

291). Mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë
still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë
still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë
still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

mana asase-te-g-r-a-bë.
still move (fly)-pst-?-d-1pl.sb-cont

'We continued to fly, and to fly, and to fly, and to fly.'

292) T-u-gu-ja-bë t-u-gu-ja-bë t-u-gu-ja-bë
pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont

t-u-gu-ja-bë t-u-gu-ja-bë.
pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont pst-go-?-1pl.sb-cont

'We went, and we went, and we went, and we went, and we went.'

Repeated verb phrase indicating repeated speech act.

293) (Demeji) wa-gri-o wa-gri wa-gri wa-gri
(Demeji) cml-die-indic cml-die cml-die cml-die

wa-gri-o.
cml-die-indic

'(Demeji) has died, has died, has died, has died, has died!'

294 (Demeji) wa-huju-o wa-huju-o.
(Demeji) cml-get up-indic cml-get up-indic

'(Demeji) got up, got up!' [rose from the dead]

3.2.2 SERIAL VERB PHRASE

We have not found any examples of serial verb phrases. There are lots of cases where two or more different verbs occur in a sequence but we have analyzed them as separate verbs and not part of a verb phrase. We have not found any cases where a sequence of verbs has a special meaning when considered together. Possibly as we obtain more data we will discover some of these.

3.2.3 MODIFIED VERB PHRASE

The most common type of verb phrase is the modified verb phrase. In most cases the modifier comes first and then the verb. There is usually only one modifier.

The modified verb phrase has the following formula:

+/- MODIFIER + MODIFIER + VERB +/- MODIFIER

295) (Na bo) adabuju fe-ne-k-ak-ë-me.
conn 1s slowly move-1.sb-away-1s.sb-?

'(and I) carefully moved away.'

296) Ø-t-u-ite-r-ë adabuju.
1.sb-pst-go-?-3sm.ob-s.sb slowly

'I slowly went [towards] him.'

297) Tei gri-Ø-t-r-e.
finish die-3s.sb-pst-3sm.ob-tv

'He is really dead.'

298) Ita yafe ahokwane.
again try unsuccessfully hear

'[I] tried to listen again.'

4.0 CLAUSE

There is no significant distinction between medial and final clauses. With the exception of a few verbs, which will be discussed below, every verb which is analyzed as a separate clause (i.e. not part of a verb phrase) is affixed in essentially the same way--(as described in section 2.16 under Subject Suffix Verb Root and Subject Prefix Verb Root.)

When the verbs in clauses are not fully inflected this can usually be explained by the pragmatics of the situation. The exceptions are the following types of verbs.

1. Imperative forms are often uninflected or only partially inflected. The fully inflected imperative has the suffix *-mo* and is the more polite form of the imperative. The less inflected or uninflected forms indicate a stronger command. (See imperative under section 2.16.9)

299) tafa
sit

'sit!!!'

300) kuju
quiet

'Be quiet!!!'

2. A few verbs which are analyzed as separate clauses have little or no affixation. The precise condition for the occurrence of non-affixed or partially affixed verbs include discourse content and pragmatic considerations beyond the scope of this paper. However, they seem to have the following characteristic:

When they are part of an expectancy chain and are describing an expected cultural event, the second verb is often uninflected or partially inflected.

301) Sebo natoba yafe titititi-trë-ǰ-të-o. Yafe hohui.
1pl sego stem try redup-cut-1.sb-pst-du.sb try look for

'We 2 repeatedly tried to cut the sego stem. [We 2] tried to look for [it].'

302) Na hede-ǰ-dë-de-ǰ-dë. Na mogo hui.
and track-pr-3sm.sb-d-3sf.ob-s.sb and carcass see

'And he tracked it. And saw the carcass.'

- 303) Diji atobeida wa fa-Ø-të-ta-t-Ø-ë. Ke
 cane cane only take-1s.sb-pst-ben-t-3sf.ob-1.sb that
 toku. Toba meta gwa.
 give hand in put

'I took only the cane for her. [I] gave that [to her]. [I] placed [it] in the hand.'

In clauses, excluding the above exceptions, both agent and patient are marked on the verb. In contemporary narrative texts, and presumably many others as well, the normal clause contains the verb, a subject only if different from the subject in the previous clause, and an object if one is required by the case frame of the verb.

4.1 TRANSITIVE/INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The most frequent and normal order of the elements in a clause is as follows:

TIME - SUBJECT - OBJECT - INSTRUMENT - LOCATION - VERB

The order is determined by linguistic context and pragmatic factors, and variations in this order are often found. It is unusual to have more than 2 or 3 elements occurring together in one clause.

Examples of various orderings.

Subject - Object - Verb

- 304) Bo kredi mogo kide-ne-d-ë-o.
 1s pig carcus leave-1.sb-d-1s.sb-indic

'I leave a pig carcus behind'

- 305) Sebo ho tabi-në-d-a.
 1pl man count-1.sb-d-pl.sb

'We count the men.'

Object - Verb

- 306) Mogo hui.
 carcus see

'[He] sees the carcus'

Subject- Instrument- Verb

- 307) One sodo na fa-fa.
 women fish net with take-take

'The women take [fish] with the fishnet.'

Time - Subject - Verb - Location

- 308) Uniji sebo ne-gë-o-na difeku wa.
 tomorrow 1pl 1pl.sb-go-du.sb-? village to

'Tomorrow, we two will go to the village.'

Locative - Verb

- 309) Do meta ni-më-be
 house in sleep-3pl.sb-b

'They sleep in the house.'

Time - Subject - Verb

- 310) Eije Faifo wafi-gadi-dë-de.
 today Faifo cml-talk-3sm.sb-d

'Today Faifo already talked.'

Transitive clauses include both a subject and object. There are degrees of transitivity as has been discussed at more length in the section on verb class, section 2.16.8.

Intransitive clauses do not occur with an object. The intransitive clauses are generally made up of -d class verbs and -b class verbs. See section on verb class, 2.16.8.

The subject of a transitive and the subject of an intransitive clause are marked in the same way, thus Yade is not an ergative-absolutive system.

4.2 DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The usual order of elements in a ditransitive clause is as follows:

SUBJECT - INDIRECT OBJECT - DIRECT OBJECT - VERB

The subject and indirect object are indicated in the verb by affixation, but the direct object is not indicated in the verb.

Many verbs can take the benefactive affixation on them, and are considered ditransitive verbs. Some of the verbs that fit into this category are tell, teach, distribute, etc.