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Janessa L. Brown

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A BRIEF SKETCH OF URAMA GRAMMAR WITH SPECIAL CONSIDERATION OF
PARTICLES MARKING AGENCY, ASPECT, AND MODALITY

by

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Bachelor of Arts, University of Calgary, 1999

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Chair

This thesis meets the standards for appearance, conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABBR	Term	ABBR	Term
1CR	1 st person core argument	NP _S	Noun Phrase Subject
1S	1 st person singular	PA	Plural Absolutive
2/3CR	2 nd or 3 rd person core argument	PAUC	Paucal
3DL	third person dual	PL	Plural
3PL	3 rd person plural	POSS	Possession
3S	3 rd person singular	PP	Postpositional Phrase
ACCM	Accompaniment	PRF	Perfect
ACT	Actuality	PST	Past
ADV	Adverb	PU	Plural Undergoer
AG	Agentive	Q	Question
AUX	Auxiliary	SUBCL	Subordinate Clause
BK	Backgrounding	V	Verb
BEN	Benefactive		
CAU	Causative		
CCJN	Coordinating Conjunction		
CERT	Certantive		
CL:COND	Conditional Clause Marker		
DEC	Declarative		
DEO	Deontic		
DL	Dual		
FDEM	Far Demonstrative		
FUT	Future		
INTRPAST	Intermediate Past		
IPFV	Imperfective		
ITR	Iterative		
LOC	Locative		
NP	Near Past		
NP _O	Noun Phrase Object		

ABSTRACT

Urama is a Kiwai language spoken by the Urama people of Papua New Guinea. Very little has been published in the Kiwai language family and although Urama has been mentioned in a few papers nothing focusing on the Urama language has been published.

This thesis presents a brief grammar sketch outlining key grammar features. It describes 1) basic word order, 2) nouns, 3) verbs, 4) postpositions, 5) clausal relations and 6) some problematic particles. The particles addressed mark agency, aspect and modality.

The first particle is *ro*, an agent marker occurring mainly on the subjects of transitive verbs. Its use, however, is wider than marking a subject of a transitive verb. Conditions for the occurrence of *ro* are guided by discourse considerations of focus versus backgrounding and of participant reference.

Two particles show aspect: imperfective is shown by *va*, and perfect is shown by *ha*. Urama can be described as having Repetitive (Iterative and/or Habitual) and Continuative senses of the imperfective. This aspect is also used as a backgrounding device, specifically in the setting of a narrative. The default usage of the perfect is to produce a resultant state, and there are at least two discourse uses of the perfect. In narratives this aspect also becomes the resultant state and it is used to highlight the climactic peak of a series of events.

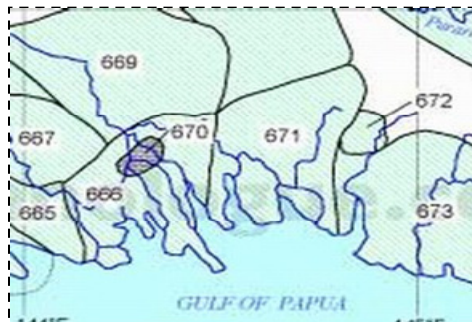
Finally, two particles marking modality in Urama are *ma*, which expresses varying degrees of actuality, and *ka* which marks declarative mood. The senses of actuality expressed by *ma* range from Deontic to Hypothetical to Optative. The declarative marker, *ka*, is used as the default way of encoding clauses in narrative text.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Kiwai language family is located along the southwest coast of Papua New Guinea, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Map of the Kiwai Languages of Papua New Guinea



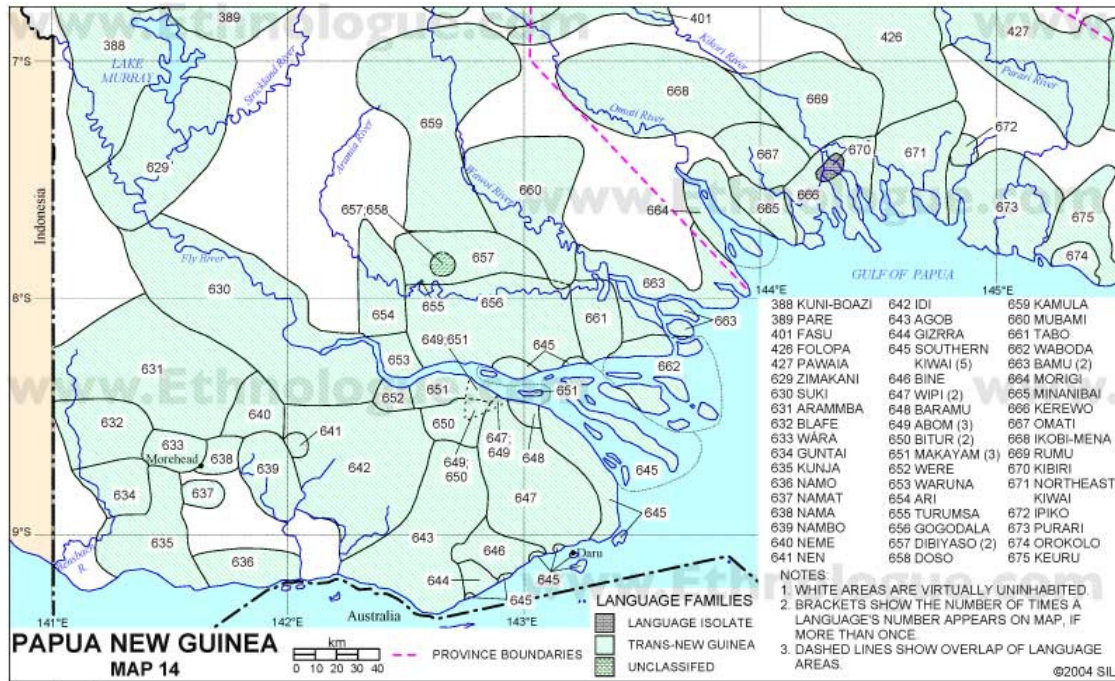
Very little has been published on the languages of the family. Ray (1933) wrote a grammar of Island Kiwai, and Clifton (1990, 1995) has published works on selected aspects of Kope grammar. Wurm (1973) published a comparative lexical study of all the Kiwai languages. This leaves a significant gap in the literature for descriptive grammars on the bulk of the Kiwai languages. This work is an attempt to fill in that gap for the Urama dialect of North-Eastern Kiwai.

1.1 Geographical Situation

The Urama people live in the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea. The Urama language is a dialect of North-Eastern Kiwai, a Papuan language in the Trans-Fly language family. The other dialects are Kope (or Gope), Gibaio and Arigibi, although some authors consider Arigibi a separate language. There are approximately 4000 speakers of North-Eastern Kiwai, of whom

1700 speak Urama (Wurm 1973:225).

Figure 2: Map of the Gulf of Papua New Guinea¹



1.2 Source of Data

This study is based on an online corpus of 18 stories from childhood, 12 short texts on culture, 5 personal experience stories, and 5 texts of history and legends (Petterson 2006), a total of 48 short story narratives. Within these narratives, 8 texts were previously analyzed by Petterson. The corpus also contains 9 jokes and poems and 10 health posters though these were not used for analysis. These texts were written by native speakers at a Writer's Workshop held in October of 2005. Free translations were written in conjunction with a native English speaker. The bulk of the analysis has been done on seven narratives, while the remainder of the corpus was consulted to find supporting evidence. Some selected texts are attached as examples of the narratives in Appendix A. The seven narratives studied consist of 120 sentences, and roughly 206

¹ Map adapted from http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=PG

clauses. Along with the texts, there is a limited lexicon available online that has been used to analyze the raw data. Also a verbal paradigm of Urama, Appendix H, was consulted.

In addition to the published analyses of Island Kiwai (Ray 1933) and Kope (Clifton 1990, 1995), I have also consulted unpublished work in Kope (John and Deborah Clifton, personal communication) and Bamu (Phil and Chris Carr, personal communication). Geographically Island Kiwai is the southernmost language, Bamu is almost halfway between Island Kiwai and Urama, and Urama is part of the northernmost Kiwai language. The lexical relationships between the three languages are shown in Table 1, adapted from Wurm (1973:222).

Table 1: Percentage of Lexical Similarity

Island Kiwai					
58	Bamu				
60	52	Urama			
55	50	83	Kope		
64	53	85	81	Gibiao	
58	51	77	75	72	Arigibi

Urama and Kope are much more lexically similar than either Urama and Island Kiwai, or Urama and Bamu. Taking this as an indication of degree of closeness, work in Kope should be particularly insightful to Urama. Although there are general grammatical tendencies in the language family that all share,² grammatical insights from Island Kiwai and Bamu are likely to not be as useful as those gained from Kope.

1.3 Statement of Purpose and Scope

In light of the very limited published work in the language I herein attempt to describe certain aspects of the Urama grammar which I have found particularly interesting. The function of particles are notoriously hard to define in Papuan languages, and in this analysis I attempt to

² These similarities include basic word order of SOV and the use of postpositions, as broad examples, and more specifically, use of certain postpositions: *rautu* ‘with’ and *oito* ‘to’; use of grammatical particles; *ro* ‘Agentive’ and *ai* ‘Certaintive’ and use of a similar pronominal system.

describe a few of them. In order to discuss these particles a foundation for the basic grammatical patterns in the language is needed. In Chapter 2 I will briefly sketch some major aspects of the grammar including basic word order, case marking morphology, person and number marking morphology, and some tense, aspect and modality particles. This is not an attempt at a complete grammar and in an effort to focus this work I have set aside certain recurring and problematic phenomena. One specific issue is *-i* which appears as a suffix in many places, such that sometimes there will be forms that seem to end in *-i* but actually do not. I will not comment further on this.

In later chapters, I discuss possible analyses for a few particles.

I will address the agentive marker *ro* in some detail in Chapter 3 showing that its occurrence cannot be predicted by any single criterion such as case marking, animacy or transitivity. Instead I will show how a combination of factors occurring together with specific discourse conditions will condition the appearance of the agentive marker.

In Chapter 4 I will focus on a few of the verbal aspect and modality particles. Aspect has not been considered relevant to Kiwai grammar previously. I will propose that *va* is an imperfective aspect marker and *ha* is a perfect aspect marker. I will then address modality; specifically degrees of actuality. I will show, using Tom Payne's typology (class notes), how *ma* can be used to express several degrees of actuality. Finally I define the particle *ka* as a simple declarative marker.

1.4 Brief Overview of Urama Orthography

The orthography does not represent some phonological features that other authors have mentioned in related languages. It is reported that other Kiwai languages and perhaps Urama, have contrastive tone and/or vowel length (Wurm, 1973:226 and Petterson, personal communication). Neither of these phenomena are represented in the orthography. I assume that

the information these phonological features encode is generally recoverable from the context of the narratives. What the orthography does represent is shown in the consonant and vowel charts Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2: Phonemic Consonant Inventory as Represented by Urama Orthography

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d	k g	ʔ ³
Nasal	m		n		
Fricative		v	s		h
Approximate			r		

Table 3: Phonemic Vowel Inventory as Represented by Urama Orthography

i		u
		o
ɛ		
	a	

Urama has no consonant clusters and no closed syllables, but does allow vowel sequences as, for example, in the proper name *Paiai*. If a sequence of consonants arises due to affixation, an epenthetic vowel is inserted to maintain the open syllable structure. The favored epenthetic vowel is *i*, although there appears to be some vowel harmony process as well. This is seen especially in the verbal morphology when the *p-* past tense prefix is joined to the *n-* First Person Core Argument prefix as in Example (1).

- 1) a) *iovodo* ‘move.in’ *niovodo* ‘I/we move in’ *piniovodo* ‘I/we moved in’
 b) *ovado* ‘take.down’ *novado* ‘I/we take down’ *ponovado* ‘I/we took down’

In (1a) when the *p-* prefix is added, the epenthetic vowel is *i*, while in (1b) the epenthetic vowel is *o*, presumably harmonizing with the vowel in the subsequent syllable. The variation in

³ Glottal stop is represented in the orthography as an apostrophe as in *aro'o* ‘that’.

epenthetic vowels will not be further addressed in this work.

There is some disagreement among authors regarding the location of the word breaks. In fact even within the same narrative a single author may insert word breaks inconsistently. When this is relevant to the analysis I have made note of it.

CHAPTER 2

BRIEF GRAMMATICAL SKETCH

In this chapter, I provide a brief background of select grammatical topics that will aid the reader in the discussion of specific particles in chapters 3 and 4. Where available there are references to more complete discussion within this work, or that contained in the works of others.

2.1 Basic Word Order

2.1.1 Active Clauses - Transitive and Intransitive

A basic transitive sentence consists of a subject noun phrase, an object noun phrase and a verb,⁴ in that order.

2) (NP_S) (NP_O) V

Examples of this ordering are shown below.

3) Ka maniki ni p-iho va-dio
 and Monkey 3PL PST-eat IPFV-AUX
 NP_S NP_O [V] ⁵

And the monkey would often eat them. (MS 7)

⁴ In Section 2.3 verbs are discussed in depth. A Verb Phrase for the purposes of this paper can be defined as Crystal (1997:410) explains “a group of verbs which together have the same syntactic function as a single verb. In such phrases, one verb is the main verb, and the others are subordinate to it.”

⁵ Here and throughout, square brackets [] are used to draw attention to specific phrases within the clause. I am suggesting in this case that what has been listed in the lexicon as an Adverb, *vadio*, is to be considered part of the verb for the purposes of illustrating the basic constituent order.

- 4) Umui ro bomoi adedeai ka.
 dog AG pig bite DEC
 NP_S NP_O V

The dog bit the pig. (PH6)

Above there is no overt verbal morphology indicating agreement with the subject. However, Urama does mark person and number agreement on the verb for plural subjects. Agreement with a plural subject is generally indicated with a suffix.⁶

- 5) Ka ni pei iohou-**moi** da, Daubai Mubai da aiha p-eve'au-**mo**.
 CCJN 3P canoe seek-PL LOC Daubai Point LOC CERT.then PST-see-PL

And when they looked for the canoe at Daubai Point, they found it there. (C21)

- 6) Aro'o hibai ro niti **iohoi** ri ovaharoi ka oboi tuai.
 that crocodile AG 3D **seek** SUBCL start DEC water middle

That crocodile started looking for them in the river. (ANC8)

Note that the suffix *-mo* occurs in (5) when the subject is the third person plural pronoun *ni*, and the object is the singular *pei* 'canoe'. In (6) it does not occur when the subject is the singular *hibai* 'crocodile' and the object is the third person dual pronoun *niti*. One way to identify a subject is that the subject is the NP which the verb agrees with. The suffix *-mo* is used to mark agreement with dual and plural subjects. The NP that triggers this verbal morphology most often is the first NP in a clause, so we can say that the subject is generally the first element of a clause for the purpose of establishing the basic word order. In the next example we see the plural affix *-mo* on the verb indicating that the subject is plural even though the subject is not realized as an overt NP.

⁶ See Section 2.3.1 for further explanation of subject and object agreement

- 7) Daubai Mubai idi'ai-**moi** ka.
 Daubai Point go.up-**PL** DEC
 NP_O V

They swim back onto Daubai Point (C14b)

In the examples (3) and (4) we saw the overt NP; in (7) we see the verbal morphology, but no overt NP. The NP_S and/or the NP_O can be omitted from the clause if the participants are recoverable from either the surrounding text, or from morphology on the verb as in (5).

The plural subject morphology on the verb can occur without the overt NP_S as in (5) or within the same clause as the overt NP_S as seen in the example below.

- 8) Hinida **ni-ro** ge'i rautu p-ovidiai-**mo** go'otoi oito.
 then **3PL-AG** happy with PST-carry.back-**PL** village to
 NP_S PP V PP

They brought it up (dancing) with joy to the village (TF15)

- 9) Ka **mo** **mamioi** ro bomoi i-eve'au-**moi** da
 and **1SPOSS** **aunties** AG pig BK-see-**PL** LOC
 NP_S NP_O V

And when my aunties saw the pig... (PH9a)

In example (8) the overt NP is the third person plural pronoun *ni* while the verb has the plural subject agreement morpheme *-mo*. In (9) *mo mamioi ro* 'my aunties' is the plural subject, and there is also agreement on the verb.⁷

So far we have seen only the suffix *-mo* marking agreement with plural subjects. In Kiwai languages the subject agreement system includes singular, dual, paucal, and plural (Wurm 1973). The singular is distinguishable from the non singular as it is the unmarked number. While the number system is seen much more clearly in the pronoun system, the verbs consistently take subject agreement suffixes as follows: *-∅* for singular, *-do* for dual and *-mo* for paucal and

⁷ The reader will notice the *ro* agentive marker on each of these subjects, for further discussion see section Chapter 3.

plural. The whole paradigm in Urama is not recoverable from my text corpus. Using the verbal paradigm (Appendix H) as a guide it is possible to see enough of the agreement system to interpret the Urama texts in situ. For more on agreement see Section 2.3.1 and Chapter 3.

It should be noted that although SOV is the basic word order, there can be considerable variation from this, as shown in (10).

- 10) Io'ui do nu'a gemai ne'ei, [maniki nu-ha p-imada'iai nu'ai ohui oito.]
 go DL tree big place [monkey 3S-PRF PST-jump.up tree high to]
 V NP_O⁸ [NP_S NP_O V PP]

They came to where the big tree was, and the monkey jumped up into it. (MS 29)

The second clause of example (10) above (in brackets) shows the most common constituent order, with the subject before the verb. In this clause there is an adjunct postpositional phrase showing the location or direction of action following the verb phrase. For further discussion of postpositional phrases see Section 2.4 An alternate word order occurs in the unbracketed first clause above. It is a less common constituent order of VO.

Besides the verb initial order, there are also instances of the subject and object switching places occasionally that are not expected in our basic constituent order. See example (11) below where the subject and object are transposed.

- 11) Hinita mo hivo'a dubu ata ro omodoiai ka,
 then 1S message man FDEM AG hold DEC
 NP_O NP_S V

A preacher there laid hands on me, (Jehovah is my Healer 24)

When this switching occurs there is an obligatory agent marker *ro* on the subject in order to disambiguate the NPs in the clause. It is plausible to suggest that both the verbal preposing and the object fronting may occur for discourse reasons and further study is required to show the exact factors determining the distribution of both of these constructions.

⁸ Alternatively, this could be analyzed as a PP with no postposition, or there may be reason to consider *ne'ei* 'place' a postposition. Further study required on the nature of *ne'ei*.

- 14) Uhoi **o'u**ita ka nahi'oi aiha eve'ai ka.
 Fish **come**-TIME ADVDEC bait ?-PRF see DEC

As soon as the fish sees the bait, it comes to it.

Lit: The fish comes, when (it) sees the bait. (Fishing 7)

2.1.2 *Stative*

Stative clauses in Urama are most commonly found as the introduction to a narrative. In this capacity they are most often equational or presentational in function. This is illustrated in examples (15) to (17).

- 15) Mo painai Tom
 1s name Tom

My name is Tom (PH1)

- 16) Aro'o omoi painai nu Aupamoi **ka**.
 that creek name 3S Aupamoi **DEC**

The name of that creek was Aupamo (What I Did When I Was Small, Teggi 2)

- 17) Dubu ata nu merei netoa ka.
 Man one 3s child two Dec

A man had two sons. (Simeon4 2)

The most common stative clause in the narrative texts is equation by means of juxtaposition.

Usually *ka* occurs clause finally as in (16). Note that (17) is presentational and (15) is equational.

Ka occurs in many of the stative clauses throughout the text, but it is not necessary as seen in the equative clauses above. There is no copula necessary; although the exact nature of *ka* is still unknown, it may carry some verbal properties. See section 4.3.2 for further discussion of *ka*.

2.2 Nouns

A noun can be modified by adjectives, demonstratives and quantifiers. The head noun will generally precede these modifiers as in (18) through (20), but there are cases when the order may be transposed as in (21) below where the adjective precedes the noun. Multiple adjectives may

occur modifying a single head noun, and when adjectives and demonstratives are present in the noun phrase, the adjective(s) will follow the noun and the demonstrative will follow the adjective(s) as in (18).

- 18) nu'a huna gema ata
tree huge big FDEM
A certain big tree (MS 3)

- 19) tipia kehi
spear small
A small spear (TF4)

- 20) go'ota atai
coconut one
One coconut (CC11)

- 21) epui auboi tuiiai
first wave middle
The middle of the first wave. (C12)

Nouns can be combined to add description or modify one another as (22) below. The brackets show the noun plus noun as a separate construction within the noun phrase.

- 22) [[Indini pe] gaa'u ata]
[[motor canoe] one FDEM]
One (certain) motor canoe (C4)

When nouns are combined in this way the descriptor precedes the described noun as in 'motor canoe' above and examples (23) and (24) below. In (24) three nouns, 'pig', 'spoor', and 'scent' combine in the noun phrase making both 'pig' and 'spoor' descriptors to head noun 'scent'.

- 23) nu'a titma ata
tree ship FDEM
a logging ship (C2)

- 24) bomoi natoi niboi
pig spoor scent

Scent of a pig spoor/ pig spoor smell (PH3)

Ray (1933:11) refers to gender in Island Kiwai, however I do not find any evidence for grammatical gender in Urama. Nouns are not marked for number or gender, although the concept of both number and gender are encoded in the language in specific instances. These ideas are communicated by context and by lexically plural or gender specific nouns, for example the masculine *dubu* ‘man’, feminine *obo* ‘woman’, and plural *ubi* ‘people’. As shown in section 2.3.1, in some instances the number of the noun is shown by agreement on the verb.

2.2.1 Possession

The possessor noun precedes the possessed item. A pronoun or a full noun phrase can be a possessor.

- 25) mo mamui
1s mother
my mother (TF7)

- 26) Gauri ubii
Guari people
the people of Guari (C18)

2.2.2 Pronouns

Following is a table of personal pronouns. All can also be used as possessive pronouns (as seen in (25)).

Table 4: Personal Pronouns

	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular (s)	mo	ro	nu
Dual (d)	nimoiti	rioti	niti
Paucal (pc)	nimoibi	riobi	nibi
Plural (pl)	nimo	rio	ni

Dual number is common in Papuan languages; however the trial or paucal is noted in only a few language families (Foley 1986:72). The occurrence of these pronouns is not common in the texts. Most of the remainder of the paradigm has been filled out by referencing the lexicon provided with the texts. Although no third person paucal is listed in the lexicon or found within the texts studied, third person paucal was filled in using information from the verbal paradigm found in Appendix H. There are also other pronouns (for example, *amia* ‘some’), however their distribution and extent of their reference is unclear without further analysis.

2.2.3 Case

Ray (1932:13) describes Island Kiwai using the terms Nominative and Accusative, however, from his discussion it is clear that he is referring to the classical Romance language use. He uses these terms mainly in remarking on the position of the subject and object relative to the verb in the clause and does not claim that there is any case marking morphology. We cannot use word order in a discussion of grammatical relations as would be appropriate in an SVO language as Urama is SOV. Foley (1986:110) claims that “the basic Papuan case system is verbal marking on an accusative pattern for the core relations, S, A, and U, and nominal case-marking for peripheral nominals.”¹⁰ Urama follows Foley’s pattern in that peripheral nominals are case marked with postpositions (see section 2.4 for more on postpositions).

Foley (1986:105-110) also describes many Papuan languages that have optional case marking on core arguments. The use of the case markings is determined by animacy and ambiguity of participants. One possible example of optional case marking in Urama is the nominal particle *ro* that marks actors. This is illustrated in example (27) below.

¹⁰ S (Subject) refers to the subject of a transitive verb, A (Agent) refers to the subject of an intransitive verb and P (Patient) refers to the direct object.

27) Aro'o hibai ro iti i-oho ri ovahoroi ka oboi tuai
 then crocodile AG 3D BK-see SUBCL start DEC water amongst

The crocodile started looking for them in the river. (ANC8)

In this sentence *ro* appears with *hibai* 'crocodile' indicating that it is the actor. The exact factors which condition the appearance of this marker are somewhat murky as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.3 Verbs

Verb roots in Urama are phonologically restricted in that they must begin with a vowel. Roots belonging to other grammatical categories can also begin with a vowel, but verbs are the only class of roots that must. Verb forms that contain a prefix *p-* which marks past tense or *n-* which marks a first person core argument are common in the texts studied. So while verb roots (the bare verb with no morphology) can only begin with vowels, verbs can begin with vowels or consonants.

Foley (1984:119) states that many Papuan languages use a set of generic verbs, and Urama follows this pattern. There are a few basic verbs that carry a wide base of meanings. *A'a* 'do', *o'a* 'be', and *ova* 'make' are some of the most commonly used. Note the usage of *a'a* in examples (28)-(29).

28) Ka nu-ro i-eve'ai da ka nu ma hi'a ge'i p-a'ai.
 DEC 3S-AG BK-see LOC DEC 3S ACT very happy PST-do

When she saw it she got excited (TF9)

29) Ubii bomo kerekerei im-a'a-ti ka.
 person pig pieces BK.BEN-do-ITR DEC

and shared out the pig pieces amongst the people. (PH12)

A'a 'do' is used with a stative predicate adjective expressing attribution in (28), it is used in a serial verb construction in (59), and it is used with a benefactive morpheme to mean 'do.for' in

(29).¹¹

Ray (1933:29) notes a distinction in Island Kiwai between verb stems ending with *e, i, o, u* (non-low vowels) and those ending in *a*, or *ai*. Those ending in non-low vowels, like *abodo* ‘sing’ or *aberumo* ‘beat’, imply continual motion, while those ending in *a*, or *ai*, like *otoai* ‘cut’ or *opodia* ‘break’, imply momentary action. Foley (1984:148) refers the momentary action verbs as ‘punctiliar’ and notes that some verbs have both continuative and punctiliar stem forms. An example is the pair *orobi* ‘hold’ and *orobai* ‘catch hold of’. This seems a useful marker for aspect for some verbs in Urama. Consider (30) and (31) below showing two forms of the verb ‘to stand’.

30) A'o nu'ai, omoi barai ta **p-oti.**
that tree creek side LOC **PST-stand**

That tree stood close to the river. (MS 4)

31) Ita bana pipi tiri hobobo hi'ai-ro nama v-ohiai, iobi'otai
must mangrove seed cherry/fruit soft very-AG here 2/3CR-catch fall?

da ka imei guri hi'ai ka aiha **p-oto'a.**
LOC CCJN crab rib?? very DEC CERT.then **PST-stand**

Then the mangrove seed got very tired and dropped, piercing the forehead of the crab. (Lit: ...it falls and then very the crab's rib and then stood.) (The Mangrove Seed and the Crab 7)

The form *oti* in (30) is more common in the texts meaning to stand in a continual manner; it is often glossed ‘was standing’ and can refer to a state as it does here. The form *oto'a*, with a low vowel, is used in (31) when the mangrove seed drops from the tree, and catches the crab, suddenly beginning to stand on the crab (pierce the crab).

This distinction between low and non-low vowel verb stems seems to have broken down in Urama because there are forms like *opiova* ‘hide’ and *oru'apua* ‘hold’ listed in the lexicon.

¹¹The verb in 29 is also common in the texts as *ema'ai* ‘give’

Although they have the low vowel endings, it is hard to imagine them as punctiliar actions. Based on a study of the texts it is not possible to test if this is a productive process in the language.

Further testing would be required to determine if this is frozen in selected verb forms as part of their inherent aspectual properties, or if this could be considered part of the aspectual system.

There is another pattern of verb classification noted in the texts of Urama. There are verbs ending with a suffix *-dio* that can be grouped together with an iterative sense and some with a suffix *-ti* that can be grouped together as well with a continuative sense. The verbs in (32) ending with *-ti* have an interative sense.

- 32) aruruti ‘run’ ohi’ibuti ‘singe’,¹²
 ohuti ‘butcher’ ova’ati ‘work’

These verbs describe actions done over and over again. Run involves taking many steps over and over again, butchering implies cutting many pieces off of a carcass, and singe involves burning many hairs off of a carcass. The last example *ova’ati* ‘work’ is something done over and over again.

If this is productive morphology, I would expect to find *ohu* ‘cut’ and *ohi’ibu* ‘burn’. Such forms do not occur in the text corpus, although there is a form *ohu’u* meaning ‘break’ in the lexicon. The existence of this form points to a need for further study on a larger corpus or work with a native speaker.

The verbs in (33) ending in *-dio* have a continuative sense.

¹² In the texts studied ‘singe’ refers to a time consuming activity of singing all the hair off an animal, not the punctiliar sense of getting too close to a heat source one time and feeling a quick burn.

- 33) idudio ‘drift, float’ emidio ‘stay’
 e’edio ‘live’ arodio ‘watch’

Floating, staying, watching and living are all actions that are done for extended periods of time.

In this set of verbs though, it is more difficult to imagine a root without the continuative sense.

While it may be possible to float, stay, watch or live for a moment, the norm is for these activities to be ongoing through a period of time. John Clifton (personal communication) reports that there is a contrast in Kope between *emidio* 'stay' and *emi'e* 'stay'. Both can be used in the imperative, but with different aspectual meanings. The imperative *emidio* would be used to tell someone to continue staying in a particular place, while *emi'e* would be used to tell someone to begin to stay. The verb *emidio* is common in texts, while *emi'e* is quite rare. I do not have any data indicating this is also the situation in Urama, so this is an area for further research.

There is an auxiliary verb *dio* which carries a meaning of continual or habitual that may have fused to these verbs. In the corpus there are no occurrences of what would be the roots of these forms. *Idu*, *emi*, and *e'e* do not occur at all and *aro* is listed in the lexicon as ‘shoot’. It may be argued that ‘watch’ is a semantic extension of ‘shoot’ as in order to shoot one must watch for an extended time period but again, this would need to be tested in the speech community or in a much larger corpus.

Because these verb forms are entered into the lexicon as single unanalyzed words, it is difficult to tell if the verbs in (32) and (33) are roots, that is single morphemes, or if the *-dio* and *-ti* are affixes.. It may be the case that these are derivational suffixes that affect the verb’s inherent aspectual properties. It may also be the case that these are inflectional suffixes that are part of the aspectual system. For this reason, these verb forms are revisited in Section 4.2 as they may have some bearing on the aspectual system in Urama.

2.3.1 Person and Number Marking

In this section I present the person and number marking on verbs, and then in section 2.3.2 I present the tense markers. A full verbal paradigm for Urama showing all these suffixes is given in Appendix H.

2.3.1.1 Number Suffixes –mo, -do, and -bi

As we saw in 2.1.1, Urama marks number agreement with the subject as a suffix: -Ø for singular, -do for dual and –mo for paucal and plural.¹³ Examples with the plural suffix –mo are shown in (34) and (35) while the dual –do is shown in (36).

- 34) **Go'otoi ubi amiai** erehei da p-idudiou-mo nitiha p-iarodiou-**mo**.
village people some turn.round LOC PST-drift-PL 3DL-PRF PST-watch-**PL**
Some local people were parked in their canoes in the distance watching them. (Aunt and Niece and Crocodile 9)

- 35) Ka **ni-ro** hinida hetei rautu p-ovaivai-**mo** go'otoi oito.
and **3PL-AG** then dance with PST-carry-**PL** village to
And then they carried it back to the village with dancing. (TF12)

- 36) Ka **nimeiti Amai** mamu oti rautu iadoi-**do** ka.
CCJN **1D** **Amai** mother each with go-**DL** DEC
Amai and I, we went with them, each with our mother. (TF2)

The –do suffix is not used in (37) where the subject is singular, even though the object is dual.

- 37) Aro'o **hibai** ro niti iohoi-Ø ri ovahoroi ka oboi tuai
then **crocodile** AG 3DL seek-**SG** SUBCL start DEC water amongst
The crocodile started looking for them in the river. (ANC8)

Compare that with example (36) where the –do suffix occurs with a dual subject.

The *do* morpheme which marks dual subject agreement usually occurs directly following the verb as in (38) and (39).

¹³ In at least one story of a boy, his father and mother, the three of them are referred to with the –mo plural suffix, indicating that plural number can be as little as three people.

- 38) Omei ro a'oi ka, “Miaha ka, amaivai doi ka ro gi'opui **eidai do-i.**”
 shark AG say DEC good.then DEC return DL DEC 2S heart **take DL-i**
 NP_S V V AGRSu NP_O V AGRSu

The shark said, “Alright, let’s go back and get your heart.” (MS 27)

- 39) ...**odai doi** ka”
 ...**go DL** DEC
 V **agree** Dec

...good, let’s go” (MS 15b)

Sometimes the number morpheme is found on the auxiliary verb and not on the main verb.

Note in (40) that the *do* does not immediately follow the main verb.

- 40) Niti tuniha hivioi hiabou pa'ai **vadioi do.**
 3PL all sun same PST-do **IPFV-AUX DL**
 NP_S Adv NP_O V **Aux Agree**

Every day they would do the same thing. (MS 10)

The lexicon glossed *vadio* as an adverb ‘often’ however I analyze this as an auxiliary.

Further explanation of the *vadio* lexeme can be seen in Section 2.3.3 in a discussion of auxiliary verbs.

In the verbal paradigm given in Appendix H, another number morpheme, *bi*, is shown representing the paucal, that is, a number more than two and less than many. The only clear example I have found in the texts is shown below in (41).

- 41) I-n-iadou-mo avau ne'ei, mamio-bai orodo-**bi** ka gahoi rautu.
 BK-1S-go-PL pool place aunties-? get.in.water-**PC** DEC trap with

When we reached the Place, the women started their trapping. (TF 3)

2.3.1.2 Person Prefixes *n-* and *v-*

The person agreement markers *n-* First Person and *v-* Second and Third Person are used when the person is a core argument, either the actor or undergoer. The *v-* only occurs in questions, and so is only found in reported speech in my text corpus. Narratives are often told from a first person perspective and the first person *n-* is much more common.

- 42) "Vihiao, ro-ro mo taua ita p-on-odu'ai."
 friend 2s-AG 1s before must FP-1CR-tell

"My friend, you should have told me earlier." (MS 25)

- 43) Mo gi'opui nu'a gemai ohui ta aiha n-emeheidio ka.
 1S heart tree big high on CERT.then 1CR-leave.behind DEC

I left my heart on top of the big tree. (MS 26)

In example (42) the undergoer of 'tell' is first person, and in example (43) the actor of 'leave' is first person. Note that the *n-* prefix occurs in both cases. While the first person marker was relatively common in the text corpus, the larger corpus was consulted to find examples of the *v-* second and third person marker.

- 44) Ka nu imaro ka "Hio, Gi'epuo, vanai ire v-odau ra."
 CCJN 3S scream DEC hoy Little.Brother bandicoot there 2/3CR-go CL:COND

And she screamed, "Hoy younger brother, there goes a bandicoot!" (A Story From Childhood, Moses 19)

- 45) Mo abiai ro mo atohotai ka, "Baigu, ro kikiha na'uri v-odau-ra?"
 1S father AG 1S call DEC Baigu 2S secretly what.for 2/3CR-go-Q

My father then called out, "Baigu why didn't you tell us that you were going?"
 (When I was a Little Boy, Baigu 15)

Example (44) illustrates the morpheme *v-* attaching to *odau* 'go' followed by the conditional clause marker *ra*. This suggests that the translation of this sentence would be better as follows:

"Hoy, younger brother, is that a bandicoot going there?"

Examples (46) – (48) show first person subject in singular, dual and plural numbers.

- 46) Do'ou mo-ro ro pupuo n-ema'ai ka...
 today 1S-AG 2S strong 1CR-give DEC...

Today I give you authority ...(The Calling of Jeremiah 13)

- 47) Ka nimeiti tipia kehi oti rautu ni kekai p-i-n-i-ovodo-rau-do.
 CCJN 1P.DL spear small each with they beside PST-BK-1CR-?-take-DL

While they were doing that, the two of us were walking alongside with a small spear each. (TF4)

- 48) Hinita bomoi i-n-uhoumo oropoi'oi ka.
 then pig BK-1CR-eat-pl finish DEC.

Then we ate the pig all up. (PH13) (1st person from context)

The above examples show the first person as the subject. Below see example (49) where the first person is the object.

- 49) Kaukua hinita p-en-ema'a-ti nu-ro mo muramurai aro'o gimoi ma
 immediately then PST-1CR-give-ITER 3S-AG 1S medicine that sickness ACT
 oropoi'oi ri.
 finish SUBCL

Immediately he admitted me to hospital in order to treat the paralysis. (Lit:
 Immediately then he gave to me medicine so that the sickness would finish.)
 (My Life Story, Aisi 14)

While Clifton (1995:55) claims that this prefix occurs in Kope whenever there is a first person core argument, this is not always the case in Urama as seen in (50).

- 50) Hintabo mo-ro idiai ka motoi, mo mamui re abiai re i-m-adu'oi ka,
 then 1S-AG go.up DEC house 1S mother and father and BK-1CR-tell DEC

Then I went up to the house and told my mother and father, (CC8)

In example (50) we see a first person subject marked with *ro* and no verbal prefix. Although the *n-* only occurs when there is a first person core argument, it does not obligatorily occur. It seems to occur only when the *ro* marker is present in reported speech as in (46).¹⁴

In example (51) we see a third person subject specified with *ro*.

- 51) Hinita mo hivo'a dubu ata ro omodoiai ka,
 then me message man FDEM AG hold and

A preacher there laid hands on me, (My Life Story, Aisi 25)

Again there is no *n-* to indicate the first person object. But there are other clauses with a first

¹⁴ There were two examples in the texts studied of the *n-* prefix occurring in the same clause as the *ro* marker. Both instances had a second person agent *roro*, and both instances were reported speech where the first person was the object; *ponodu'ai* 'told me' (MS 25), and *ainematuhia* 'trick me' (MS 30) In (46) the *n-* prefix also occurs this time with the first person subject, but this sentence is also within a paragraph of reported speech in context..

person core argument with no *n-* marker even though they have no *ro*. Consider example (52).

- 52) Ka nimeiti Amai mamu oti rautu iadoi-do ka.
 CCJN 1D Amai mother each with go-DL DEC

Amai and I, we went with them, each with our mother. (TF2)

In (52) the subject is the first person dual pronoun and there is no *ro* particle and still there is no *n-* prefix on the verb. In the seven primary texts, whenever *moro* ‘I’, first person singular pronoun with the agentive *ro* marker occurs, *n-* does not occur. In the larger data corpus, however, there were 13 occasions where *moro* and *n-* occur in the same clause as opposed to 29 occasions where *moro* occurred and *n-* did not. It is unclear why this prefix is not consistent. For further discussion of the *ro* particle see Chapter 3.

2.3.1.3 *i-* Prefix

While the agent is marked with a particle following the agent, in Kope a plural undergoer is indicated with the prefix *i-* on the verb. (Clifton 1995:56) In Urama however this prefix has a different function, that of marking backgrounded information.

There is no overt morphology for the singular. Consider the following sentence.

- 53) Aro’o hibai ro **niti** i-ohoi ri ovahoroi ka oboi tuai.
 That crocodile AG **3DL** ?-seek SUBCL start DEC water middle
 NP_S NP_O V Clause V PP

The crocodile started looking for them in the river. (ANC8)

Note that the singular subject marked with the agentive *ro* does not trigger overt agreement on the verb as third person singular has a zero form. It seems the *i-* prefix agrees with the dual object pronoun *niti*. The *i-* is also triggered by a plural subject of an intransitive clause.

- 54) Omo keke i-abudiou-mo gu’oboi ka.
 creek small ?-swim-PL cold DEC

They emerged from the small creek, all cold, (C17)

In (54) above the subject is not overt, however the agreement suffix *-mo* shows the presence of a

plural subject. *Abudiou* is an intransitive verb, so there is no object for *i-* to agree with, even if the small creek could be considered an object, it is singular so *i-* must be agreeing the plural subject. It appears that the *i-* is a plural absolutive marker.

There are a few problems with this analysis though. Firstly, not all plural objects trigger this *i-* marker, as in (55).

- 55) Niti bihaito **i**-oho ha'imai da, utu keke ra nu'a keke
 3DL NEG ?-seek dislike LOC nipa small.ones and tree small.ones
 ito'au-ti ri ovaharoi ka.
 stand.up-HAB SUBCL start DEC

But when it couldn't find them, it started to tear out small nipa palms and saplings.
 (ANC12)

In the first clause the prefix is found and there is a dual object, however in the second clause with the plural object of the nipa palms and saplings, there is no prefix on the verb. *Ito'au* 'stand.up' is the root of the verb.

Secondly, there are a few occurrences of the *i-* marker in intransitive sentences with singular subjects. In (56) the intransitive verb *erehe'ea* takes the *i-* prefix even though Noma is not plural.

- 56) Ka Noma **i**-erehe'eai ta ga'ai ha pimidai...
 CCJN Noma ? turn.round LOC bow PRF PST-take...

Then he turned around, taking his bow... (Two Brothers and a Crocodile 6)

Thirdly, this *i-* marker sometimes occurs on the same verb that is already marked plural, as in (54). Marking one verb twice to indicate the same grammatical information seems typologically odd. Finally, note in example (57) that the *n-* first person marker comes after the *i-* marker.

- 57) **i**-n-odau-**mo** havai arioumoi ka
 ?-1CR-go-PL sago.swamp arrive-PL DEC

we paddled along until we arrived at the swamp. (Making Sago 3)

In Kope, this is not the order of verbal morphemes. In Kope, the first person marker precedes the plural object marker while in Urama, the first person core argument prefix follows

the *i-*.

These objections to the absolutive analysis require further explanation. It may be that there are discourse considerations that influence the distribution of this marker. However, because Kope and Urama are so closely related we would expect the morphology to attach affixes to the verb in the same order, so I am going to rule out the plural absolutive analysis and suggest alternatives for further research.

One is that there may be two homophonic morphemes, one marking the plural absolutive, and the other marking some other feature. A second alternative is that there may be some discourse consideration that explains the entire distribution.

With regard to discourse considerations for this marker, Petterson has suggested that the *i-* may mark backgrounded information. This is consistent with examples such as (58) below which seem to indicate simultaneous action.

- 58) Ka ni **i**-o'umoi da, Daubai Mubai omoa'ei ka, odoro ri
CCJN 3P ?-come-PL LOC Daubai Point stop DEC come.in SUBCL

i-evehe'eai-moi da,
?-turn-PL LOC

They came along until they rounded the point, and then as they turned to go on up the river, (C9)

When there is more than one clause in a sentence, the *i-* usually occurs on the non main clause(s). In the example above the 'coming along' isn't as important as arriving at the destination. Daubai Point is the point of the setting for the rest of the story. The final clause is also a subordinate clause (marked by the locative postposition *da*), and the verb is marked with the *i-* prefix, perhaps indicating that 'as they turned' is simultaneous action, and background information to the main verb 'stop'. For the rest of this thesis, *i-* will be glossed as BK for backgrounded information.

2.3.2 *Tense*

It is common in Papuan languages to have several strategies to mark tense. The Kiwai language family is no different. A few tenses are used more commonly than others in the corpus of narrative texts studied for this thesis. For example, there are many occurrences of past tense because the stories are about childhood adventures or historical legends. It is much rarer to find examples of future tense, although there are a few. I will comment on a few phenomena readily observable in the narratives.

Tense in Island Kiwai, is shown by “the Personal Prefixes, by infixes and suffixed Particles, and by the position of the particles of Number” (Ray 1933:47). Most of the personal prefixes that Ray refers to in Island Kiwai, however, do not exist in Urama. The only personal prefixes found in the Urama texts are the *n*- 1st person and *v*- 2/3rd person prefixes discussed in Section 2.3.1. Since Ray claims these exist in all tenses in Island Kiwai it is impossible to analyze them as tense markers. He also says that the 1st person exclusive agreement marker is a prefix *r*- in the present, *g*- in the past and *w*- in the future (Ray 1933:47), but I do not see this variation at all in the data for Urama. Infixes *-duru-* for present, *-ru-* for past and *-du-* for future exist in Island Kiwai (Ray1933:48), however once again, I see no evidence for these in the Urama texts. In the rest of this section I discuss how tense is marked in Urama. I refer the reader to Appendix H for a fuller picture of verb paradigms.

2.3.2.1 *Future tense*

In the verbal paradigm in Appendix H, there is a future tense marked by the presence of an auxiliary verb *a'a*. One example of this from the text is shown below as (59).

- 59) ...ka mo gimini ta eme'ei **a'ai** ka."
 ...CCJN 1S back on sit **do** DEC
 ... then you can sit on my back." (MS 14b)

Most of the texts described events occurring in the past, so it would be useful to test this with native speakers of Urama in the future. See section 2.3.3 for more discussion of auxiliary verbs.

There is also a suffix *-ri* in the texts that usually carries a sense of an action that is uncertain, is tentative, or has not yet occurred. Ray (1933:50) calls this suffix ‘future’ in Island Kiwai. This suffix can be analyzed in a different way though. By looking at several occurrences in the texts, it is better stated that syntactically *ri* can be a clausal subordinator. For further discussion see Section 2.5. A typical Urama example is shown below.

60) Hinita omei ro nuha perehe'ai amaivai **ri** natoi oito.
 then shark AG with.it PST-go.back return **SUBCL** spoor to

So they swam back the way they had come. (MS 27)

In example (60) above there are two verbs. The second verb *amaivai* ‘return’ has the *-ri* suffix.¹⁵

In context this shows that once the shark had turned back, he would return along the same path that he came. Often this is glossed in English as ‘in order to’. It does not mark tense in Urama.

Ray (1933:47) also claims that in the future tense of IK the number marker is a prefix, immediately preceding the verb root, while in the present and past tenses the number marker is the final suffix added to the root. While I have already shown that in the present and past the number markers are the last morpheme added to the stem (see 2.3.1.1), I do not have clear examples of number markers in the future tense.

2.3.2.2 *Past tense*

The past tense is marked by *p-* as in example (60). Ray (1933:49) makes a distinction between recent past and a definite past in Island Kiwai, while Clifton (1990:2) distinguishes between far past, mid past and near past in Kope.¹⁶ The *p-* marks the far or definite past in

¹⁵ Urama writers usually treat this suffix as a free word.

¹⁶ Petterson distinguishes between near, intermediate, and far past in the verb paradigm for Urama given in Appendix H.

Urama. Ray, Clifton and I agree that *p-* is a past tense marker. Compare the verb *odau* ‘go’ in examples (61) and (62)

61) Nu-ro imini da a'oi ka, "Kaukia mo ihiai oito **n-odau** ka."
 3S-AG think CLAUSE say DEC and.so 1S die to **1CR-go** DEC
 "Now I am going to my death," he said to himself. (MS 25)

62) Mo kehiboi tabo, ata hivioi bomo ahoi **p-on-odau** ra, mo
 1S small time FDEM time pig hunting **PST-1CR:go** CL:COND 1S
 himiha ga'uha umui rautu.
 self together dog with

When I was a little boy, I decided to go hunting for pigs by myself with my dog (Lit: When I was a little boy, one time I went hunting, me, myself, with a dog.).
 (PH1b-2)

In (61) the form *nodau* ‘I go’ is in reported speech referring to what the speaker thinks is presently going on, and is unmarked for tense. Verbs in present tense normally occur unmarked. This contrasts with the time reference in (62) where the form is *ponodau* ‘I went’¹⁷ because the speaker is reporting on something that has already happened in the past.

For further discussion of the TAM system see Chapter 4.

2.3.3 Auxiliary Verbs

In the verbal paradigm the auxiliary verb *a'a* occurs in the future tense. There is also a generic verb *a'a* ‘do’ which is semantically vague.¹⁸ When used in combination with a full lexical verb, this auxiliary occurs after the verb, before the declarative clause marker *ka*, and takes the number agreement morphology. Example (59) is repeated here as (63) to show the verb plus auxiliary construction in the future tense.

¹⁷ The vowel between the past tense marker and the 1st person marker is epenthetic and phonologically conditioned by the first vowel in the verbal stem.

¹⁸ See 2.3 for a discussion of the uses of *a'a*.

- 63) ...ka mo gimini ta eme'ei a'ai ka."
 ...CCJN 1S back on sit do DEC
 ... then you can sit on my back." (MS 14b)

Applying the same criteria used to analyze the auxiliary *a'a*, it is possible to analyze *dio* as an auxiliary as well. In the introduction to Section 2.3, we discussed the possibility of *dio* being a derivational verb suffix, changing punctual verbs to have a continual meaning. It is likely that *dio* acts as an auxiliary. In the verbal paradigm *dio* occurs as a variant of the near past and the far past. Apparently both tenses can occur with or without *dio*.¹⁹ *Dio* can take verbal morphology. The *va* particle, having imperfective aspect, can attach to *dio* and creates *vadio*, glossed as 'often' and analyzed as an adverb previously. This is semantically opaque as something continuative in the imperfective can be conceived of as having the meaning 'often'. *Vadio* is also seen with the number agreement morphology following it as in (40) repeated here as (64).

- 64) Niti tuniha hivioi hiabou p-a'ai va-dioi do.
 3PL all sun same PST-do IPFV-AUX DL
 NP_S adv NP_O V Aux Agree
 Every day they would do the same thing. (MS 10)

In (64) *a'a* is a full verb, taking the past tense marking, and the auxiliary *dio* occurs, just as the *a'a* auxiliary, following the verb and preceding the declarative *ka* marker as in (65).

- 65) Mo tuniha hivioi ro go'otoi ha noroho va-dio ka."
 1S all time 2S village PRF 1CR-go.about IPFV-AUX DEC
 I'm always coming to your village."(MS 12)

2.3.4 Transitivity

There is evidence in Kope for a transitivity morpheme *Vm* that transforms intransitive verbs to transitive, and transitive verbs to ditransitive (Clifton 1995). This is seen in part in

¹⁹ There is no meaning change noted with the addition of *dio* to these tenses. This is an area for further research.

Urama on the verb *ema'a* ‘to give’ derived from the root *a'a* ‘do’. When the *em-* is added it changes the number of arguments that the verb requires, and the meaning of the derived verb becomes ‘give’. In example (66) there are three arguments of the verb.

- 66) [Ubii] [bomo kerekerei] i-m-a'a-ti ka.
 [person] [pig pieces] BK-BEN-do-ITR DEC
 He shared out the pieces amongst the people. (PH12)

The three arguments are as follows: the subject ‘he’ is implied, object *kerekerei* ‘pieces’, and the indirect object *ubii* ‘people’ that were receiving the pieces.

2.3.5 Summary of Verbal Morphology

To conceptualize the distribution of the verbal morphology discussed so far we can use a position class chart. This chart is filled in using the texts with the exception of the Intermediate Past tense markers, which I have taken from the verbal paradigm in Appendix H to show a more complete chart.

Table 5: Position Class Chart of Inflectional Verbal Morphology²⁰

Tense	Person	ROOT	#	tns	Aux	#	Modality
p-FarPast	n-1 st person		-bi Paucal	va: NearPast	a'a 'do'	-do dual	ka Declarative
	v-2/3 person			ra IntrPast	dio 'cont'	-mo Pauc/Pl	
				du IntrPast			

I will refrain from commenting on the bound vs. free status of these morphemes. Where marked, the affix notation ‘-’ represents the normal orthographic practice in the texts studied. The near past tense marker *va:* with vowel length²¹ should not be confused with the aspect particle *va*, to

²⁰ By verbal morphology I mean any morpheme related to the verb, not just those morphemes bound as affixes or clitic to the verb.

²¹ Petterson notes that length was not marked consistently during the collection of the verb paradigm. It is not clear whether this suprasegmental feature is actually length or tone.

be discussed in 4.2.1. The number markers *-do* and *-mo* may occur directly following the root, or they may occur directly following the auxiliary. I have placed a column for the auxiliary to show where it would occur in the sequence of verbal morphology. The intermediate past tense shown in this position class chart, the morphemes *ra* and *du*, are not found in the narratives analyzed for this thesis, so I will not discuss them. The morpheme *ra* is also seen in the narratives, but the distribution in the texts is completely different from that shown in the verbal paradigms, so it is analyzed as a clausal subordinator in Section 2.5.3. I suggest if *ra* as an intermediate past tense marker is found, there would be a separate morpheme that is the clausal subordinator. Further research should be undertaken to find examples of these morphemes in Urama narratives. Aspect will be discussed in Chapter 4 with modality.

2.4 Postpositions

Urama, like most Papuan languages, uses postpositions. Foley(1986: 95-98) suggests that these postpositions mark case on the noun they appear with. A full discussion of postpositions is beyond the scope of this thesis. This section will serve to briefly show the distribution of postpositional phrases in the sentence.

Postpositional phrases are generally found in two places, immediately preceding the verb, or in clause final position, illustrated in (67) and (68), respectively:

67)	Maniki	[nu'a huna	gema	ata	to]	p-e'idio	va-dio.
	monkey	[tree huge	big	FDEM	at]	PST-live	IPFV-AUX
	NP _S	[PP]	V	Adv

The monkey lived on a big tree (MS 3)

68)	Maniki	o'uai	ka	[nu'ai	ohui	ta.]
	Monkey	climb.down	DEC	[tree	high	on]
	NP _S	V		[PP]

and climbed down from the tree. (Lit: Monkey climbs down, from the top of the tree) (MS 16)

In example (67) the postpositional phrase is in the preverbal position, whereas in example (68) the postpositional phrase is clause final. In addition, the *ka* default narrative declarative marker occurs immediately following the verb, although it generally marks the end of a clause or sentence. Postpositional phrases often occur following this particle. Clifton (1995:55) claims that peripheral arguments in Kope are consistently realized as postpositional phrases and this is true of Urama as well, specifically with postpositional phrases of location and accompaniment.

Postpositions of location in space occur immediately preceding the verb as shown in (69).

- 69) A'o nu'ai, [omoi barai **ta**] p-oti.
 that tree [creek side **LOC**] PST-stand
 that stood close to the river. (MS 4)

Postpositions of accompaniment can occur postverbally or, as shown in (70), preverbally.

- 70) Ka obo ata [nu merebehei **rautu**] pe kehi ta ahi'iai ka
 CCJN woman FDEM [3S girl **ACCM**] canoe small in depart DEC
 go'u ma odai ri.
 fishing ACT go SUBCL

A certain lady decided to go crabbing with her niece in their small canoe. (ANC 2)

Other common postpositions in Urama are listed in (71)

- 71) a) ta/to 'at, in,on'
 b) oito 'to, toward'
 c) ato 'in'
 d) ito 'to, toward'

2.5 Clausal Relations

There are several particles that seem to relate clauses. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate these in depth, but there are a few things to note with respect to how clauses relate to

each other in Urama.

2.5.1 Subordination – Reason or Intent

First there is a particle *ri* that marks a subordinate clause of reason or intent. As noted in section 2.3.2.1, *ri* analyzed as a future tense marker. Although *ri* does have to do with events that often will happen in the future, it can occur when the main verb of the sentence is in the past tense.

- 72) [Hinita omei ro nuha p-erehe'ai] [amaivai **ri** natoi oito.]
[then shark AG with.it PST-go.back] [return **SUBCL** spoor to]

So they swam back the way they had come. (MS 28)

This sentence is definitely not in the future tense; it is clearly in the past as shown by the tense marker on the main verb *erehe'ai* ‘go.back’ in the first clause. But it has the meaning of intent or purpose. They turned around, intending to return along the path that they had come on.

The morpheme *ri* has an inceptive use in constructions with *ovaharo* ‘start’ as in (73) below.

- 73) Aro'o hibai ro [niti iohoi **ri**] ovaharoi ka oboi tuai.
that crocodile AG [3D seek **SUBCL**] start DEC water middle

The crocodile started [looking for them] in the river. (ANC8)

It appears that the verb ‘start’ takes a clausal complement marked with *ri*. There are occurrences of *ri* with other clauses as well, usually with a meaning of ‘in order to’. Consider (74) and (75).

- 74) Ka ni hinita ahi'iai-moi ka [odai **ri**] [ov-a'ati.]
CCJN 3P then leave-PL DEC [go **SUBCL**] [CAU-do]

So the men left [to go] and get work there. (C3)

- 75) Ka obo ata nu merebehei rautu pe kehi ta ahi'ai ka [go'u
 CCCJ woman FDEM 3S niece with canoe small in cross DEC [fish
 ma odai ri.]
 ACT go SUBCL]

A certain lady decided [to go crabbing] with her niece in their small canoe. (ANC2)

These subordinate clauses can occur embedded in the main clause as in (73), as part of a series of clauses following the main clause as in (74) and sentence finally as in (75).

2.5.2 Subordination – Adjunct Time and Location Clauses

Another clause marker, *da*, is used to mark an adjunct time clause as shown in (76) below.

This is commonly glossed in English as ‘when’ or ‘as’ and can be conceptualized as ‘location in time’.

- 76) [Ka maniki ro nu vihai eve'ai **da**], ka amiai va omodo'oi ka.
 [CCJN monkeyAG 3S friend see LOC] CCJN some IPFV drop.for DEC

Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him. (MS 9)

There is also a postposition that marks adjunct postpositional phrases of location in space, shown (77).

- 77) Hinita nuro eme'ei ka [omei gimini ohui **da**].
 then 3S-AG sit DEC [shark back top LOC]

Then he sat on the back of the shark. (MS 17)

In the clausal use *da* follows a verb; in the postpositional use it follows a noun phrase. In the clausal use it carries the meaning of ‘when’ or ‘whenever’, as a postposition it is a definite location that is specified.

In one text there is a morpheme *ta* that tends to pattern like *da*, but because of the similarity of the two forms, and the fact that *ta* is only used like this in one text, I suggest this may be phonological variants of a single morpheme. Based on an interview with an Urama speaker from Kinomere village, Petterson (personal communication) also suggests that *ta* and *da* may be interchangeable.

2.5.3 Subordination – Conditionals

The morpheme *ra* acts as a clause marker indicating conditional relationship. The conditional clause can be postposed to follow the main verb as in (79). This can manifest as an actual conditional statement, or as a sense of some kind of temporal dependency. Example (78) shows a classic ‘if-then’ relationship.

- 78) Omei ro a'oi ka, "Ro tiai i-abudoi umuo tato **ra** ato, ka mo
 shark AG say DEC 2S middle BK-swim know none **CL:COND** from CCJN 1S
 gimini ta eme'ei a'ai ka."
 back on sit do DEC

The shark replied, "If you don't know how to swim, then you can sit on my back."
 (MS14)

This is a dependency on actuality; the act of sitting on the back depends on the not knowing how to swim. The sentence in (79) is a temporal dependency. The agent could only strike something once he prodded around in the water.

- 79) Ka mo, im-ahiai ha-ma boboi tipiai da io'io ha
 CCJN 1S BK.BEN-cut PRF-? pit spear LOC touching PRF
 p-i-ni-ovodora, ita ka va'ema aiha p-onovadomudii **ra**.
 PST-BK-1S-move.in must DEC turtle CERT.then PST-strike(with.a.spear) **CL:COND**

Suddenly I came to a hole full of water, and when I prodded around with my spear
 in the water it struck a hard surface. (TF5)

2.6 Problematic Particles

The *ka* particle mentioned above is one of the particles in Urama that is not easily classified. There are several others which I will present here to aid in reading glosses throughout the rest of this work. I will not attempt to discuss in detail at this point, but will simply illustrate each particle and point to further discussion where relevant.

80) *ka* – clausal conjunction ‘and’

Ka maniki ni p-iho vadio
CCJN monkey 3PL PST-eat IPFV-AUX

And the monkey used to feed on them.. (MS 7)

This clausal conjunction use of *ka* is seen often at the beginning of sentences or clauses.

81) *ka* – modality ‘Declarative’

Maniki o'uai **ka** nu'ai ohui ta.
Monkey climb.down DEC tree high on

And climbed down from the tree. (Lit: Monkey climbs down, from the top of the tree) (MS 16)

Ka as a default declarative marker appears in almost every text. There is a detailed list describing the conditions under which it occurs in Section 4.3.2.

82) *ha* – aspect ‘Perfect’

Ka ni Kivaumai ato tia **ha** podaumo,
CCJN 3P Kivaumai from middle PRF PST-go-PL

They went from Kivaumai (Lit: Then they, having gone from Kivaumai,) (C5)

Ha as a perfect marker is described in detail, including some discourse functions in Section 4.2.2.

83) *ma* – modality ‘Irrealis’- Deontic or Optative

Ka obo ata nu merebehei rautu pe kehi ta ahi'ai ka go'u
CCJN woman FDEM 3S niece with canoe small in cross CCJN fish

ma odai ri.
ACT go SUBCL

A certain lady decided to go crabbing with her niece in their small canoe. (ANC2)

The morpheme *ma* is discussed in Section 4.3.1 using Payne’s (2006) Typology of Modality.

84) *ro* – Agentive marker

Ka maniki **ro** nu vihai eve'ai da, ka amiai va omodo'oi ka.
CCJN monkey AG 3S friend see LOC CCJN some IPFV drop.for DEC

Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him. (MS 9)

Although *ro* marks agentivity, it is not clear in every case as to why a constituent may need to be specified as the agent. This is discussed in Chapter 3.

85) *ra* –nominal conjunction ‘and’

Epui to hivioi ta pe'idio vadioido [maniki **ra**] [ome **rai**].
 first at time LOC PST-live IPFV-AUX-DL [monkey **and**] [shark **and**]

Once upon a time there lived a monkey and a shark. (MS 1)

The nominal conjunction morpheme joins equal NPs. As shown in Example (85) *ra* –nominal conjunction ‘and’), *ra* follows each of the conjoined NPs. There are three other homophones to *ra* listed in the lexicon: a question marker, shown below in (86); a clausal subordinator, discussed in Section (2.5.3); and one labeled a postposition glossed ‘that’, not discussed in this paper, nor found in the text corpus. In further research it would be useful to check if any of these apparent homophones differ in vowel length or tone.

86) *ra* Yes/No Question marker

Ata hivioi, omei ro a'oi ka, "Vihiao, modobo **ra** mo rautu odaidoimo
 FDEMtime shark AG say DEC friend-VOC enough **Q** 1S with go-DL-PL

go'otoi oito?
 village to

One day the shark said, "Friend, can you come with me to my village? (MS 11)

In the question construction *ra* occurs near the beginning of the clause. In the texts studied, this is the only example and it occurs with in a reported speech clause, although examples listed in the lexicon suggest that it also occurs in poetic narratives written in first person.

87) *va* – aspect ‘Imperfective’

Ka maniki ro nu vihai eve'ai da, ka amiai **va** omodo'oi ka.
 CCJN monkey AG 3S friend see LO CCJN some **IPFV** drop.for DEC

Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him. . (MS 9)

The imperfective is discussed in Section 4.2.1.

88) *va* – ‘Near Past’

Ita vadeiro p-odau, mamui mauamioi idu'aika, "Nio mudu-merei morio
must talk AG PST-go mother uncle tell DEC ? nephew first.time

va'emaï eve'a **va** ka.
turtle see **TNS:NP** Dec

Soon the word got around, and my mother's brother was told, "Your nephew has found his first turtle." (TF13)

In the context of the narrative, the nephew has just found his first turtle, which would justify the use of a near past in this sentence. According to the paradigm in Appendix H, the near past is distinguished from the *va* Imperfective by vowel length, although the length is not certain. There are two reasons for the uncertainty. First, vowel length is not shown in the orthography currently used for Urama, and so is impossible to recover from the written texts alone. Second, Petterson (personal communication), the researcher who collected the data for the paradigm, says that vowel length is not marked consistently on the paradigm. This is definitely an area for further research.

CHAPTER 3

ro: AGENT MARKER

3.1 The Data

In this section I will discuss why *ro*, a postposition I gloss ‘AG’ for Agentive, is not a nominative (as Ray (1933:13) proposes for Island Kiwai), is not an ergative marker (as one might expect from Foley’s (1983:106) typology of Papuan languages), and is not a marker of animacy. Instead the postposition *ro* seems to be conditioned by a set of factors, none of which alone can be used to predict when *ro* will occur. Below I present the data that illustrates where *ro* does and does not occur, and then I discuss each of these theories in turn before explaining how a combination of the factors more fully explains the data.

In the seven narratives studied, 43 clauses contain the *ro* marker. Of these 43 clauses, 32 are transitive clauses, 10 are intransitive, and only one is a ditransitive clause. This information is given in the second column of Table 6. The fourth column indicates how frequently each type of clause appears with *ro*.

Table 6: Distribution of *ro* in Clauses Studied

	Total Number of Clauses	Number of <i>ro</i> Occurrences	% of all of each clauses containing <i>ro</i>
transitive clause	115	32	27%
intransitive clause	79	10	12%
ditransitive clause	3	1	33%
Total Clauses	197 ²²	43	

²² There were also 9 verbless stative clauses in the text corpus which are not relevant to this discussion.

Within the texts studied 27% of all transitive clauses have the *ro* marker, while only 12% of intransitive clauses have it. The distribution of ditransitive clauses with *ro* is somewhat clouded by the small number of occurrences in the seven primary texts. In a search of the entire corpus, *ro* occurs much more frequently in ditransitives, especially with *ema'ai* ‘give’.²³

The *ro* postposition occurs exclusively on subjects, never on objects or other elements of the clause. It sometimes occurs marking the subject of intransitive clauses as in (89).

- 89) **Ni** tuniha 18 ubii **ro** p-odau-**mo**.
3P all 18 person **AG** PST-go-**PL**
 They, all 18 people, went. (C4)

More commonly, however, it marks the subjects of transitive clauses as in (90) with the transitive verb *eve'a* ‘see’.

- 90) Ka **mo mamioi ro** bomoi i-eve'au-**moi** da, ni ge'i
 CCNJ **1S** **aunties** **AG** pig BK-see-**PL** CLAUSE 3PL happy
 hetei a'ai ka.
 dancing do DEC

When my aunties saw the pig, they danced for joy.

The subject is clearly *mo mamioi* ‘my aunties’, triggering the number agreement morpheme *-mo*.

In (91) also we see the *ro* postposition occurring with the subject of a transitive clause.

- 91) Ka i-n-odau havai, hinidabo **umui ro** bomoi nato i niboi ibumai ka
 CCNJ BK-1S-go sago.swamp then **dog** **AG** pig spoor scent smell DEC
 I went to the sago place, when suddenly the dog picked up a pig spoor. (PH3)

In general, when *ro* appears there are two animate or two inanimate participants and the *ro* marker seems to disambiguate which is the agent as in (92) where the two participants are *maniki* ‘monkey’ and *nu vihia* ‘his friend’.

²³ See section 3.2.1.

- 92) Ka **maniki ro** nu vihai eve'ai da, ka amiai va omodo'oi ka.
 CCJN **monkey AG** 3S friend see LOC CCJN some IPFV drop.for DEC
 Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him. (MS 9)

Although *ro* occurs on subjects of transitive verbs, it does so only 27% of the time. Often it does not occur as in example (93). Note that both example (92) and (93) have the same verb, *eve'ai* 'see'.

- 93) Nu one aroi tuhaha eve'ai ka.
 3S sago.grub log all see DEC
 He checked all his sago grub logs. (Joe1 10)

If there are two equally animate participants the *ro* can frequently be found, but unequally animate participants can also be differentiated by *ro*. This is seen in clauses involving a deity, which is a very animate or potent participant, as in examples (94) and (95) below.

- 94) Aba **Ihova ro** Ieremaia pu'oi a'apuai ka tui ta,
 Father **Jehovah AG** Jeremiaiah mouth hold DEC hand LOC
 Father God then touched Jeremiah's lips with his hand. (The Calling of Jeremiah 9)

- 95) Hinitabo Aba **Ihova ro** apui ka uhoi, Iona ma om-omo'ai ri,
 then Father **Jehovah AG** point.at DEC fish Jonah ACT CAU-fall SUBCL
 voi ohui ta, ka nu aiha p-orododeai.
 sand high LOC CCJN 3S CERT.then PST-get.on
 Then the Lord ordered a fish to vomit Jonah up onto a beach, and it did. (The Story of Jonah 19)

In these examples the participants are unequally animate: a deity and a human participant in (94), and a deity and an animal in (95).

The agent in a ditransitive clause normally takes the *ro* marker. The subject of *ema'ai* 'to give' always has the *ro* marker as in (96), even if the other participants are not very animate.

- 96) Ka do'ou Kinomere orio painai ka, **bogobogo ubi ro** i-ema'ai-mo
 CCJN now Kinomere new name DEC **white people** AG BK-give-PL
 painai ka.
 name DEC

And nowadays Kinomere has a new name which the white people have given it.
 (Family History 17)

Example (97), which has multiple clauses, has no *ro* marker at all. The first clause is intransitive where we would not normally expect the postposition, and even if there are several transitive clauses in the sentence, as long as they share the agent in the first clause *ro* does not occur.

- 97) [**Hibai** oboi ohui ha p-oroho,] [niti i-ohoi,] [niti bihaito i-oho
Crocodile water top PRF PST-go.about 2PL BK-seek 2PL NEG BK-seek
 ha'imai da,] [utu keke ra nu'a keke ito'au-ti ri] [ovaharoi ka.]
 dislike LOC nipa.palm small and tree small stand.up-ITR SUBCL start DEC.

The crocodile was going round and round on the surface of the water, looking for them, but when it couldn't find them, it started to tear out small nipa palms and saplings. (ANC11-12)

The first clause is intransitive, so it is not expected to have *ro*. The following clauses, however, have transitive verbs *oho* 'seek' and *ito'au-ti* 'stand something up'. In a sentence just prior to this in the text the subject of *oho* 'seek' has the *ro* marker.

- 98) **Aro'o hibai ro** niti iohoi ri ovaharoi ka oboi tuai.
that crocodile AG 3D seek SUBCL start DEC water middle

The crocodile started looking for them in the river. (ANC8)

Why is *hibai* 'crocodile' not marked with *ro* in Example (97) when it is the subject of the verb *oho* 'seek' (as well as several other transitive verbs)? It does take *ro* in Example (98) with the same verb. Examples (97) and (98) indicate that the verb in the same clause as the subject is the only relevant one when it comes to marking the subject with the agentive *ro*. We might expect to see the *ro* in the non-matrix clause if the subject were repeated in that clause, or if the subject changes.

3.2 Four Possible Explanations

In this section I examine four possible explanations for the distribution of *ro*: nominative case marking, ergative case marking, animacy, or transitivity.

3.2.1 Nominative Case Marker

In a nominative/accusative case system we would expect to see the *ro* occurring on all subjects, regardless of transitivity. Granted, it does occur on all types of clauses, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive, but there is an unequal distribution across these clauses. The fact that ditransitives have the *ro* marker 86% of the time,²⁴ while other transitives take the *ro* marker only 27% of the time, and intransitives have an even lower percent, 12%, of *ro* occurrences, suggests that *ro* is not a general marker of subjects, but only of a specific subset of subjects.

3.2.2 Ergative Case Marker

Because the particle is more common in transitive clauses, and is never found on objects, it is reasonable to hypothesize that it may be an ergative case marker.²⁵ The morpheme *ro* occurs with both singular and plural subjects, present and past tense verbs, and first, second and third person subjects, so any common split ergative system is not applicable here. Strictly speaking, to call this a case marking particle it should be obligatory. But as the reader will note in (93), repeated as (99) below, *ro* is clearly not obligatory as the marker of a transitive subject.

99) Nu one aroi tuhaha eve'ai ka.
 3S sago.grub log all see DEC

He checked all his sago grub logs. (Joe1-10)

Eve'ai 'see' is a transitive verb usually requiring an experiencer and a theme. In the sentence

²⁴ This ditransitive percentage is calculated by taking the verbs from the three ditransitive clauses in the text and searching for all the occurrences of those verbs in the larger data corpus. Of all of the times that these verbs occur in the larger data corpus, *ro* occurs within the clause 87% of the time.

²⁵ According to Crystal (1997:153), formal ergativity is "a formal parallel between the object of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive one. The subject of the transitive verb is referred to as 'ergative'."

above both are present, and yet there is no agentive marker on the subject. It is not the case that *ro* will not occur with pronouns; the forms *roro* (2S-AG) and *nuro* (3S-AG) are common. We would expect the form *nuro* in this sentence if the *ro* were obligatory.

This particle tends to occur more frequently in transitive clauses, and only occurs on subjects. For that reason it can be analyzed as ergative. McGregor states that the optional nature of the ergative marker in transitive and intransitive clauses is not uncommon in Papuan languages. “Within the neglected field of optional ergative marking, the occasional and non-obligatory ergative marking of intransitive Actor/Medium NPs is an even more neglected domain. Nevertheless, it is attested in at least some intransitive environments in a not insignificant number of languages, included those on the following brief and very incomplete list:” (MacGregor 2007:219). He goes on to list six language families with several languages in each family, including eleven Papuan languages. In Urama, if this is ergative, the marker seems to be triggered by something more than having a direct object in the clause. If only 27% of all transitive clauses are marked with the ergative marker, a significant question is why most of these sentences are not being marked for ergativity.

Sentences with two overt NPs without the *ro* are rare. Although the verb may be a transitive verb, .eg. *oho* ‘seek,’ if one of the participants is encoded only by verbal morphology, and there is only one overt NP, whether that is the subject or the object, there is no *ro*. It could be said that *ro* is used to distinguish between participants when it is ambiguous as to which NP in a transitive clause is the Actor/Agent. This is the analysis that Foley (1986:107) gives for another Paupuan language, Dani: “If there is potential ambiguity and especially, if the actor is the more unlikely of the two animate nominals, then the ergative marker is used.”

3.2.3 Animacy

Although there is a basic word order in Urama, word order can vary, creating potential ambiguities. The hypothesis that the use of *ro* is determined by animacy is strengthened by the fact that there is a strong preference for ditransitive clauses to occur with the *ro* subject marker. With more participants in the clause there is greater chance for confusing the roles or the participants, so *ro* is used more frequently. In fact, clauses with the verb *ema'ai* 'to give' always have the *ro* agent marker if the agent NP is present.²⁶

100) Do'ou mo-**ro** ro pupuo n-ema'ai ka...
today 1S-AG 2S strong 1CR-give DEC...

Today I [Lord Jehovah] give you authority ... (The Calling of Jeremiah 13)

At first glance there seems to be no need to mark anything if there is an obvious animate participant, and an obviously inanimate participant (for example, a human and a tree). However, there may be two NPs that are equally animate in nature (for example, a monkey and a shark), or equally inanimate (for example, a canoe and water). In these cases the *ro* is present. Consider example (4) above repeated here as (101).

101) Umui **ro** bomoi adedeai ka.
dog AG pig bite DEC

The dog bit the pig. (PH6)

The same degree of agency or animacy exists for *umu* 'dog' and *bomo* 'pig', and both of these participants have already been introduced, there may be ambiguity as to which participant was actually doing the biting. This clause is in the expected basic word order, however because of the variability of the word order in the language, there may be some ambiguity as to which participant is the subject. The *ro* serves to disambiguate the agent.

²⁶ There were three *ema'ai* clauses in the larger data corpus that did not have an expressed agent. One of those clauses was an imperative and the other two had a sense of defocusing the agent, where it was not important who was doing the giving, only that something was given.

However, a counterargument to this analysis is apparent when looking at clauses that involve a deity and a human, or a deity and an animal. We can expect that the language would treat deities at least as high on an animacy scale as a human. When a deity (for example, God or Lord Jehovah in this corpus) is present, it always has the agent marker. This is unexpected under this analysis. If the deity and a lower animate participant occur in one sentence, as in (102) and (103) below, I would expect the deity to be the clear agent with no need then to disambiguate.

102) Inai Aba Iohova **ro** otiodai ka, pupuo hi'a kavaiai, omo gemai tuai
 but Father Jehovah **AG** send DEC strong very wind water big middle
 oito.
 to

But the Lord sent a strong wind on the sea. (The Story of Jonah 8)

103) Hinitabo Aba Iohova **ro** apui ka uhoi, Iona ma om-omo'ai ri,
 then Father Jehovah **AG** point.at DEC fish Jonah DEO CAU-fall SUBCL
 viori ohui ta, ka nu aiha p-orododeai.
 sand high LOC CCJN 3S CERT.then PST-go.up/get.onto

Then the Lord ordered a fish to vomit Jonah up onto a beach, and it did. (The Story of Jonah 19)

In (102) there is no need to disambiguate between the deity and the wind, just as in (103) there is no need to disambiguate between the deity and the fish. So we cannot say that the only purpose of *ro* is to mark animacy. Quite the opposite, in this case not only is the deity obviously the most animate participant, the *ro* here seems to be emphasizing this characteristic, not disambiguating it.

Although animacy can account for some of the occurrences of the *ro* marker, animacy can not be used to predict when *ro* will occur in all cases. There must be some other factor or factors involved in the clause that triggers the presence of *ro*.

3.2.4 Transitivity

In ditransitive clauses throughout the larger data corpus the frequency of *ro* occurrences is 87%. The less transitive the clause is, the lower the frequency of *ro* occurrences. This was illustrated in Table 6. In examining the frequency of *ro* occurring in transitive sentences it is significant that it occurs in simple transitive sentences far less frequently than in ditransitive sentences. Obviously, not all transitive clauses are equal. There are some clauses that are more transitive than others and this concept can contribute to our understanding of what factors trigger the appearance of the *ro* agentive marker.

Consider a broader definition of transitivity originally put forth by Hopper and Thompson (1980), organized by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:80) into a chart of a transitivity scale shown below as Figure 3.

Figure 3: Transitivity Scale

Type	High Transitivity	Low Transitivity
Participants	2 or more A & O	1 participant
Kinesis	action	non-action
Aspect	telic	atelic
Punctuality	punctiliar	durative
Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
Affirmation	affirmative	negative
Mode	realis	irrealis
Agency	A high in potency	A low in potency
Affectedness of O	O totally affected	O not totally affected
Individualization of O	O highly individualized	O non individualized

Using this Transitivity Scale we can say that *ro* marks the subject when the clause is more transitive. The high occurrence of the *ro* with ditransitive sentences is explained, because if having two participants makes a clause high in transitivity, by extension having three participants makes it even higher in transitivity so the subject is marked with *ro*. Having multiple high transitivity attributes would make a clause even more transitive than having only one or two of

the high transitivity attributes. The ditransitive clauses²⁷ by nature, are more highly transitive in the areas of Kinesis, Aspect, Punctuality²⁸, Volitionality, Affirmation, Mode, Agency and Affectedness of Object. According to the transitivity chart, if there is only one participant the transitivity is low. So even if the clause has a transitive verb, if one of the participants is only represented by verbal morphology, or even more abstractly by context, the transitive clause is much less transitive than a clause with the same verb with both participants overtly realized in the clause. If the participant is so defocused that it is not represented by a noun phrase or pronoun in a clause, of course there would be no agentive marker in the clause. That accounts for why there is no *ro* when there is no overt subject, but we could still expect to see the marker on an overt subject when there was no overt object. And, we do see this *ro* marker on some verbs that would be considered intransitive.

In example (101) above repeated here as (104), there are two participants, dog and pig, and the clause is highly transitive.

104) Umui **ro** bomoi adedeai ka.
 dog **AG** pig bite DEC
 The dog bit the pig.

The verb is high in action (Kinesis); it is a volitional act (Volitionality) – the dog certainly isn't biting by accident; it is an affirmative action (Affirmation); the object is highly affected (Affectedness of Object) – the pig is no longer being chased; and it is a single occurrence (Punctuality). We can consider this clause to be highly transitive, and thus the subject is marked with *ro*.

Conversely a sentence without the *ro* marker should display more of the low transitivity

²⁷ I am referring especially to the typical ditransitive *ema'ai* 'give'

²⁸ One of the ditransitive examples that did not have the ergative marker had a habitual verb, causing it to be durative rather than punctiliar, which according to the Transitivity Scale is less transitive.

attributes, even if the verb is one that is considered transitive in the sense that it takes two arguments. The verb *a'a* 'do' is such a verb. Consider the discussion in Section 2.3 regarding the types of clauses that *a'a* can occur in. In all of them *a'a* had an object. Sometimes the object was an abstract noun like *ge'i* 'happiness', and sometimes it was a concrete noun like *ubi* 'the people'. Consider *a'a* 'do' in (105).

105) Niti tuniha hivioi hiabou p-a'ai va-dio-ido.
 3D all time same PST-do IPFV-AUX-DL
 Every day they would do the same thing. (MS 10)

Why doesn't this transitive verb trigger the *ro* marker? Using the Transitivity Scale, we can see that the clause is not very transitive: the action is atelic (Kinesis), durative (Punctuality), the object is not highly affected (Affectedness of Object) and the object is not highly individualized (Individualization of Object).

This raises the question, of what is transitive enough to merit the marker *ro*. Can we draw a consistent line at 7 out of 10 high transitivity features? Are each of these features equally weighted? For example if a clause has three participants does that outrank the other features, even if they are all low in transitivity? These are all questions that need to be addressed before following the transitivity theory much farther, but they cannot be answered on the basis of the texts this study is based on. There are some ways that transitivity theory explains the *ro* postposition, but it is too hard to quantify and without these features ranked and weighted this theory will not predict when the marker will occur.

3.3 Discourse Marker – Focus Structure: A Combination Solution

McGregor (2007) proposes that the ergative marker is used for focus in Warrwa, an Australian language. Although Warrwa is unrelated to Urama, McGregor claims that this phenomenon is very widespread, spanning five major language families, including Australian, Indo-Iranian, Tibeto-Burman, Caucasian, and Papuan as well as language isolates such as

Basque. If *ro* in Urama is an ergative marker we expect to find it on subjects of transitive verbs. According to McGregor, the non-use of the ergative marker on the subject of transitive verbs indicates defocusing or backgrounding of the NP. Conversely, the use of the ergative marker where it is not expected, as subject of intransitive verbs, highlights or brings the NP to the foreground. (McGregor 2007:202-203)

Consider examples (106) and (107) in light of this proposal.

- 106) Ka i-n-odau havai, hinidabo **umuiro** bomoi natoï niboi ibumai ka.
 CCNJ BK-1S-go sago.swamp then **dog AG** pig spoor scent smell DEC
 I went to the sago place, when suddenly the dog picked up a pig spoor. (PH3)

- 107) **Umui ro** obodoï ka.
dog AG follow DEC
 He started to chase the pig. (PH4)

These are consecutive sentences in a single text. In (106) *umu* ‘dog’ is the subject. We would not expect the *ro* to occur in (107) by the previous explanations. There is no ambiguity, as the only overt NP in the clause *umu* ‘dog’ is the actor/agent. This clause would score very low on the transitivity scale and should not merit the *ro* marker by that hypothesis. I suggest that *bomo* ‘pig’ has been so far defocused in (107) that it does not overtly appear in the clause, and *umu* ‘dog’ is being focused as the activity in the text heightens. In context, the storyteller is setting up the story in the previous clauses. He is introducing the participants and setting, wandering through the sago swamp, and when suddenly when the action begins, we see the *ro* marker on consecutive sentences. The agent is highlighted with the *ro* marker as the action picks up and the climax of the story nears.

Conversely, if the *ro* ergative marker is not present in a transitive clause where we would expect to find the agent marked, it could be said to be defocused. In the story of the Two Brothers and a Crocodile (Appendix D) *ro* is used to mark the agent in line 4, shown here as (108), when Noma uses his sorcerer’s power.

108) Noma ro nu ebihai o'ai nai aroipi ta Pairubo tuihai aiha
 Noma AG 3S sorcery be thing log LOC Pairubo middle CERT.then
 p-urai.
 PST-block

Noma used his magic power to put a log across the whole river and succeeded in blocking it off. (TBC4)

Then as he fights off the crocodile, the *ro* marker is not used in a series of sentences where we would expect it on transitive verbs such as snatch, kill and spear. The first of those sentences is shown here as (109).

109) Ka nu [i-erehe'eai ta] [nu nia vapo hiba ma'atai niroi
 CCJN 3S [BK-turn.round LOC] [3S brother after crocodile mouth belly
 ta ovahi'iti ka.]
 LOC snatch DEC]

Then turning around he snatched his brother out of the mouth of the crocodile.(TBC5)

The agent is clear and is doing all of these actions, so there is no need to continue to mark this agent. *Nu* is subject of both the main verb *ovahi'iti* and the verb in the subordinate clause, *erehe'eai*. This is not a situation of conjoining of two main clauses where we would definitely expect the *ro* to be determined by the first verb. Since in this sentence, the first verb is in a subordinate clause (marked by *ta*), it might be that *ro* would be determined by the verb in the main clause. In that case, we would expect *ro*, since the main verb is definitely transitive. But even if *ro* is determined by the verb in the subordinate clause, we would expect *ro*, since the verb *erehe'eai* is one of the intransitives that takes *ro*. See example (110).

110) Hinita omei ro nuha p-erehe'ai amaivai ri natoi oito.
 then shark AG with.it PST-go.back return SUBCL spoor to

So they swam back the way they had come.

So because the agent is clear in (109) it is not until several clauses later that the crocodile becomes the agent that the *ro* occurs again. According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:133) this

is a common pattern concerning participant references: “When coding is less than the default amount, this is typically because the referent is a VIP;²⁹ there is only one major participant on stage, or a cycle of events is being repeated.”

Using *ro* as a referent marking device explains the occurrence on subjects as opposed to objects or other participants, as subjects are generally the more important or focused participant in a narrative. The non-occurrence in the transitive sentences can also be explained using the referent marking theory. Regardless of the transitivity of the clause, the subject may still be an important participant in the discourse, so it is not unexpected to find the *ro* marker on intransitive as well as transitive clauses. So *ro* may be triggered by grammatical relations, in the sense that it is always a subject that is marked, and it may be triggered to disambiguate animate participants, but when neither of these conditions are met *ro* can still be serving a discourse function, that of highlighting a participant in the narrative.

The marker *ro* also has a patterned distribution with verbs of saying. The subjects of *a’o* ‘say’ and *odu’ai* ‘tell’ are always marked with *ro*. This may be due to the nature of these clauses in a narrative. Usually the speaker is introduced, and each time the speaker starts talking the author starts a new paragraph, and a new agent is marked. The conversation in the Monkey and Shark story (Appendix A 11-15, 24-27) shows this clearly.

3.4 Summary of *ro*

So while we can call *ro* an agent marker, occurring mainly on the subjects of transitive verbs, its use in a narrative is wider than just marking a subject of a transitive verb. Conditions for the occurrence of the agent marker *ro* are guided by discourse considerations of focus versus backgrounding and of participant reference. Interestingly, Ray (1933:4) called *ro* a “particle of emphasis...used to distinguish the most important pronoun in the sentence.” A major difference

²⁹ Very Important Participant

between Urama and Island Kiwai is that Ray claims the *ro* particle occurred on all parts of speech in Island Kiwai. While we do not see this distribution in Urama, *ro* does seem to be used in discourse to emphasize subjects.

CHAPTER 4

PARTICLES MARKING ASPECT AND MODALITY

4.1 Overview of Tense, Aspect and Modality in Urama

Particles such as *ma* and *ha* tend to occur preverbally, but there are occasions where they can occur postverbally, albeit much less commonly. Other particles such as *ka* and *va* tend to occur postverbally, although they may be found in other positions as well. In the lexicon provided with the texts, these particles have not been defined clearly and in some cases they are not defined at all. In this section I attempt to categorize and explain the occurrences of the particles *ma*, *ha*, *va*, and *ka*. I will show their distribution and then present possible interpretations. For some of the particles the regular syntactic use is merely the default, and there are more marked conditions under which the particle occurs that are motivated by discourse functions. This is particularly true for the *ha* perfect marker. Other particles such as *ka* relate to the clause as a whole, often providing a convenient way to determine clause boundaries. Finally, I will discuss how these particles interact with each other when they co-occur in certain clauses.

In the Urama texts studied there is evidence for two tenses: present (unmarked), past marked with a prefix *p-*, and In the verbal paradigm in Appendix H, forms for an intermediate past tense are given and a future marked with the auxiliary verb *a'a.*, but I have not found these forms in the texts studied. Clifton (personal communication) confirms that far, mid and near past tenses all occur in Kope. Examples of each can be found in Clifton (1995), although the focus of that paper is not on tense. Ray (1933:49-54) claims that Island Kiwai distinguishes only two pasts, recent and definite; but three futures, indefinite, immediate, and remote. Foley (1986:159)

remarks that almost all Papuan languages have several degrees of past tense, and some have several degrees of future, so this remains a topic for further study.

Aspect, on the other hand, is not mentioned by Clifton for Kope. Ray (1933:54) posits a future habitual, a completed action, an incomplete action and a repeated action for Island Kiwai. In Urama I suggest that there are two aspectual particles that are not classified as such in the verb paradigms. In Section 2.3.3 I used a position class chart of the verbal morphology to help situate the auxiliary verbs. Here I will use this chart to focus on the aspect and modality particles. In Table 7 the aspect and modality columns are filled in to include the four particles that this chapter is concerned with.

Table 7: Position Class Chart of Verbal Morphology and Particles

Modality	Aspect	Tense	Person	ROOT	#	Tense	#	Modality
ma Optative Deontic	va Imperfective	p- FarPast	n- 1 st person			va: NearPast	-do dual	ka Declarative
ai Certaintive ³⁰	ha Perfect		v- 2/3 person		-bi Paucal	ra IntrPast	-mo Pauc/Pl	haka Negative
						du IntrPast		

In this chart there are two columns for modality, but both of these are at extreme edges of the verb. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:45-52) claim there is a relationship between where the morpheme is located in relation to the verb root and what the scope of the morpheme can be. They propose morphemes relating to the internal structure of a verb will be located closer to the verb root than a clause-level morphemes. Since aspect is related to the internal structure of the verb, while tense is considered to operate at the clause level, they predict that aspect morphemes should occur closer to the verb root than tense morphemes. In Urama, and perhaps other Kiwai languages, I show that this is not the case. For example, while the tense morpheme *p-* marking

³⁰ I use this term following Clifton (1995). I have largely ignored this morpheme, but tentatively label it Certaintive based on similar distribution of *ai* in Kope.

past tense occurs as a prefix immediately preceding the stem, or the subject agreement marker on the stem, preverbal aspect is further from the verb root than tense.

Modality in Papuan languages according to Foley (1986:152) is handled ‘by bound morphemes or serialized verb constructions.’³¹ In Urama at least one modality is expressed through a preverbal morpheme, *ma* (Deontic or Optative). I discuss the clause final *ka* particle as a modality in this section because its normal use is with a declarative statement.

4.2 Aspect

Payne (2007:317) defines aspect as that which “describes the internal temporal shape of events or states.” In Urama there are two aspects which are differentiated grammatically by the use of particles. *Va* is used to mark imperfective aspect where the “situation is viewed from ‘inside,’ as an ongoing process” (Payne 2007:320). *Ha* is used to mark the perfect where “a currently relevant state [is] brought about by the situation (normally an event) expressed by the verb” (Payne 2007:320). In the following sections I will give examples of how these two markers are normally used, and show how they can be used in marked situations for discourse functions.

4.2.1 *va – the Imperfective*

Two morphemes spelled *va* are entered into the lexicon: one is listed as a suffix marking near past; the other is listed as a free morpheme adverb. The near past tense *va* is shown in the verbal paradigm as having vowel length, or high pitch. Wurm (1973) states, “One special characteristic of North-Eastern Kiwai is the fact that many of the homophones, or near-homophones resulting from the shortening of words are distinguished by suprasegmental features including tone.” He also says that long vowels are more common in Urama than in other Kiwai

³¹ Ray (1933:56) uses Mood as a classic Romance language notion including categories such as Participle, Infinitive, Imperative, Permissive, and Conditional. These notions are best discussed as illocutionary force. Perhaps for that reason, there is little reference to Modality in related languages.

languages, possibly due to a seemingly higher functional load for tone and stress. (1973:249-250)
 Unfortunately the orthography doesn't represent long vowels or tone at all, and length is not marked consistently in the Urama paradigm in Appendix H. This is an area where further research is required.

When *va* occurs postverbally, it is often followed immediately by *ka* in the texts, as seen in (111) below.

- 111) Ita vadei ro p-odau, mamui mauamioi idu'aika, "Nio mudu-merei morio
 must talk AG PST-go mother uncle tell DEC ?? nephew first.time
 va'emai eve'a **va** ka.
 turtle see **TNS:NP** Dec

Soon the word got around, and my mother's brother was told, "Your nephew has found his first turtle." (TF13)

In the context of the narrative, in the segment just before this sentence the nephew has found his first turtle, which would justify the use of a near past in this sentence. The *vaka* combination is seen as *va:ka* in the paradigm, and I suggest that the near past suffix *va* listed in the lexicon should be *va:*.³²

The remainder of this section will be devoted to the preverbal morpheme *va*, as seen in the following two examples.

- 112) Omei **va** o'ui ka maniki ihi'e nu'a hurai ihoi.
 shark **IPFV** come DEC monkey throw tree fruit eat.them

The shark would swim in and eat the fruit that the monkey would throw him. (MS 8)

- 113) Ka maniki ro nu vihi'ai eve'ai da, ka amiai **va** omodo'oi ka.
 CCJN monkey AG 3S friend see LOC CCJN some **IPFV** drop.for DEC

Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him. (MS 9)

³² Since the verbal paradigm was not collected under ideal circumstances, my analysis of this is subject to verification with native speakers.

I suggest that the preverbal *va* is an imperfective aspect marker and propose there are at least two kinds of imperfective aspect.

4.2.1.1 Distribution

Examples (112) and (113) show the normal position of the *va* morpheme, immediately preceding the verb. In (114) below we see that *va* can be used with an ongoing state, not just an ongoing action.

114) Nu-**va** hurai topo hi'a ka.
 3S-**IPFV** fruit sweet very DEC

Moreover its fruit was very sweet, (MS 6)

Example (114) is the only instance of *va* in a stative clause in the corpus. From our discussion of stative clauses in Section 2.1.2, we know that the normal structure of a stative clause is a noun phrase (Subject) followed by a predication (usually another noun phrase). In certain instances, however, *ka* could occur between the two juxtaposed elements. In (114) *va* occurs in that same position; as there is no verb to precede, it simply precedes the predication.

The morpheme *va* may occur postverbally when attached to other morphemes. The resulting compound is analyzed as an adverb, as for example, for *vapoi* ‘after’. It may also occur in *vadio*, which is listed in the lexicon as an adverb meaning ‘often’. If that is true, *vadio* is a semantically opaque adverb with *va* carrying an imperfective sense, and the suffix *-dio* carrying a continual or habitual sense. I analyze it differently, though, because the morpheme *-dio* is normally only seen on verbs, not aspect markers. In my analysis, *dio* is the auxiliary verb discussed in 2.3.3. When *vadio* occurs in a sentence, it immediately follows the verb.

115) Niti tuniha hivioi hiabou p-a'ai **va-dioi** do.
 3PL all day/sun same PST-do **IPFV-AUX** DL

Every day they would do the same thing. (MS 10)

Interestingly, *vadio* occurs before the subject agreement markers *-do*, as in (115) above and *-mo*, as we would expect with the auxiliary verb.

So when *va* occurs after the main verb, it attaches to the beginning of an auxiliary verb. In that sense, even when it follows the main verb, it is still preverbal, and it fits the distribution pattern of the preverbal aspect marker as opposed to the long vowel, postverbal tense marker *va*:. One related issue is whether *va* can occur preverbally with verbs that have *-dio* or *-ti* as part of the root. There are no examples of this in the texts, but it is an issue that should be addressed in further study.

Taking into consideration Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997:45-52) claim regarding ordering of internal and external operators, we would expect the preverbal *va* to occur closest to the verb root, but that is not the case. Note the position of the aspect *va* in respect to the past tense prefix *p-* in example (116) below.

- 116) Nimo i-n-idiiai-moi ta, va bitoi tuhaha p-eneve'a raime,
 we BK-1CR-go.up-PL LOC IPFV cuscus empty PST-1CR-see ??
 mo-ro i-n-eve'a vati ta.
 1S-AG BK-1CR-see place at

We all walked up to the place where I had seen the cuscus, but we couldn't see it. (A Little Story From Childhood, Jeffery 6)

The aspect marker *va* in this example is clearly farther away from the root than the past tense marker *p-*.

4.2.1.2 Default and Discourse Functions

Consider Examples (112) and (113) repeated here as (117) and (118). These examples have a habitual and continuous meaning.

- 117) Omei va o'ui ka maniki ihi'e nu'a hurai ihoi.
 shark IPFV come DEC monkey throw tree fruit eat.them

The shark would swim in and eat the fruit that the monkey would throw him. (MS 8)

118) Ka maniki ro nu vihai eve'ai da, ka amiai **va** omodo'oi ka.
 CCJN monkey AG 3S friend see LOC CCJN some **IPFV** drop.for DEC

Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him. (MS 9)

There is a sense in these examples that the same event would regularly occur over and over again. This seems habitual, or iterative. Note the absence in these sentences of any verb forms ending in *-dio* or *-ti*, which carry these aspectual senses as discussed in Section 2.3. Similarly, Example (119) carries the imperfective sense: the fruit was sweet before, is sweet right up to the present, and may even continue being so.

119) Nu-**va** hurai topo hi'a ka.
 3S-**IPFV** fruit sweet very DEC

Moreover its fruit was very sweet, (MS 6)

Tom Payne (class notes) has posited a Typology of Tense and Aspect, within which Imperfective Aspect has two main branches: Continuative and Repetitive. Each of these branch further: Continuative divides into Progressive and Gnomic, while Repetitive divides into Iterative and Habitual. While I have not found a clear instance of Gnomic in the texts, Example (119) may fit the category. It at the least represents a continuative sense of the imperfective. So there are instances of Repetitive (Iterative and/or Habitual) and Continuative senses of the imperfective in the data as shown in examples (117), (118), and (119).

Shifting from the senses of the imperfective to its discourse functions, the most common discourse function for the imperfective aspect cross-linguistically is to mark backgrounded information, especially in contrast with foregrounded information which is often presented in the perfect aspect (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:83). In the narrative about the Monkey and the Shark, from which examples (112) and (113) are taken, the imperfective is used to describe the setting. Eight of the first ten sentences in the narrative have *va*, in both the preverbal and

postverbal positions.³³ This is exactly where we would expect the imperfective to occur as a backgrounding device, at the beginning of a narrative, setting the stage for the real action of the story.³⁴

In the narratives studied, preverbal *va* is much less common than postverbal *va*. Preverbally, *va* occurs with main verbs like *o'a* ‘come’ and *omodo'o* ‘drop’ that do not have intrinsically continuous meanings. Postverbally, *va* joins with the auxiliary *-dio* to appear as *vadio*. The subject agreement markers *-do* (dual) and *-mo* (plural and paucal) follow *vadio*. In a verbless clause *va* occurs with *ka*, separated by a predication.

4.2.2 *ha* – the Perfect

The morpheme *ha* often occurs immediately preceding verbs with the *p-* past tense prefix. In many cases it has a perfect feel to it – an action or an event in the past that is completed has brought about a resultant state with implications for a future event. In some instances, however, it is difficult to make the typical perfect definition fit. In the lexicon provided with the texts *ha* is defined as ‘adverbializer’, with no specific meaning.

4.2.2.1 Distribution

The morpheme *ha* occurs immediately preceding the verb, preceding the verbal prefixes for tense and agreement as shown in (120) and in the second clause of (121). It also occurs postverbally when the *ma* modality marker is in the clause as in first bracketed clause of (121).³⁵

³³ See ‘The Monkey and the Shark’ in appendix A.

³⁴ Another common discourse use of the imperfective is to mark backgrounded events just prior to a climactic peak, especially one that is highlighted or foregrounded by use of the perfect aspect. Although the perfect is used in this manner, the imperfective does not appear to be used in Urama to mark this contrast. Instead, backgrounded clauses that are not the main point are often marked by using an *i-* prefix on the verb. This prefix has been previously analyzed as a plural absolutive marker, however its use in intransitive clauses with singular agent/actors calls this into question for Urama. I hypothesize that *i-* marks non-main events in a series of events, or in simultaneous events. A full study of the foregrounding and backgrounding devices in Urama would be needed to substantiate this claim. See section 2.3.1.3.

³⁵ There is a form *haka* throughout the data that is a negative. *Haka* occurs clause finally and should not be confused with the *ha* morpheme discussed here.

- 120) “...Mo tuniha hivioi ro go'otoi **ha** n-oro ho va-dio ka.”
 1S all time 2S village **PRF** 1CR-go.about IPFV-AUX DEC
 “...I’m always coming to your village.” (MS 12)
- 121) Ka mo, [i-m-ahiai **ha**-ma boboi] [tipiai da io'io **ha**
 CCJN 1S [BK-BEN-cut PRF-ACT pit] spear LOC³⁶ touching PRF
 p-i-n-ovodora,] [ita ka va'ema **aiha** ponovodomudii ra.]
 PST-BK-1S-move.in] [must CCJN turtle CERT.then strike. (with.a.spear?) CL:COND]
 Suddenly I came to a hole full of water, and when I prodded around with my spear
 in the water it struck a hard surface. (TF5)

Example (121) could be better translated as follows: ‘Having come to a hole, when prodding with a spear, I moved in, then I struck a turtle.’³⁷ In this example we can see that *ha* is not limited to one occurrence in a sentence, although it is only found once per clause in the texts. This is to be expected as each clause has its own verb, and each verb can carry its own aspect.

The morpheme *ha* may occur in stative clauses as in (122). In this instance *ha* occurs at the end of the clause as *ka* does in other stative clauses.

- 122) [Nana tiato **ha**] guruoi **ha** p-iovodou-mo Gauri go'otoi.
 [things none **PRF**] lower.ground **PRF** PST-move.in-PL Gauri village
 Then without their gear they walked down to Gauri village. (C15)

Ha is often seen compounded with *ai-*, rendering the form *aiha*, however it still functions as a perfect in those situations, so I will treat these the same as the un-compounded preverbal occurrences.³⁸

³⁶ In Kope there is some evidence for *da* LOC used as an instrumental postposition (Clifton, personal communication).

³⁷ Some cultural information is required to interpret this sentence. If one is moving through a sago swamp and finds a hole, it will be filled with water. Before going through it, one would check to see what could possibly be in the hole.

³⁸ The function and meaning of *ai* is uncertain. It is labeled as an adverb ‘then’ in the Urama lexicon, functioning to move the narrative along. Clifton (1995), following Ray (1933), analyses it as a particle showing assertion or certainty.

4.2.2.2 Default use

In a canonical use of the perfect we would expect to see a “currently relevant state brought about by the situation (normally an event) expressed by the verb” (Payne 2007:320). Another way to say this is that the perfect produces a resultant state. In example (123) below that is precisely the function of *ha*.

123) Ka ni Kivaumai ato tia **ha** p-odau-mo, Mirimailau ohodi ka.
CCJN 3P Kivaumai from middle **PRF** PST-go-PL Mirimaila pass DEC

They went from Kivaumai going by the river past Mirimailau. (C5)

The first clause can probably be translated “They had gone from Kivaumai.” The result of their going is that they are in the state of being gone. This state is necessary in order for them to pass by Mirimailau, as we can assume that these two locations are at least some distance from one another. Note that the perfect *ha* is used here with a past tense verb, marked with the prefix *p-*.

Example (121) above, repeated here as (124), shows a series of perfect events which produce a series of states.

124) Ka mo, [i-m-ahiai **ha**-ma boboi] [tipiai da io'io **ha**
CCJN 1S [BK-BEN-cut PRF-ACT pit] spear LOC³⁹ touching PRF
p-i-n-iovodora,] [ita ka va'ema ai**ha** p-onovadomudii ra.]
PST-BK-1S-move.in] [must CCJN turtle CERT.then PST-strike.with.a.spear CL:COND]

Suddenly I came to a hole full of water, and when I prodded around with my spear in the water it struck a hard surface. (TF5)

The following sentences in the text⁴⁰ show the narrator becomes terrified, turns away and calls his aunties. The first two clauses show our expected resultant state, the state of being at a hole, and the state of having a spear prodding in the water, although the last clause does not seem not to fit the expected pattern for perfect aspect.

³⁹ As noted in footnote 36, there is some evidence for *da* LOC used as an instrumental postposition in Kope (Clifton, personal communication).

⁴⁰ See appendix E.

4.2.2.3 Two Discourse Functions

If the default usage of the perfect is to produce a resultant state, there is a slight shift in the function when the verb that is taking the perfect aspect also becomes the resultant state. Note the shift in meaning when the perfect is used in (125).

125) Noma ro nu ebihai o'ainai aroipi ta Pairubo tuihai aiha p-urai.
Noma AG 3S sorcery be thing log LOC Pairubo middle CERT.then PST-block

Noma used his magic power to put a log across the whole river and succeeded in blocking it off. (Two Brothers and a Crocodile 4)

In (123) the *ha* plus main verb does some action and the resultant state is relevant in the next clause. They had gone from one point so that they could pass by another. In (125) *ha* plus the main verb does some action that is relevant at that time; the state produced is emphasized in the punctiliar sense of the verb. Here Noma blocks the river. The act of blocking the river is in the perfect aspect, but the state of being blocked is the point of the verb. There is no future relevance as a default usage would expect.

This is one of the special functions of the perfect in Urama. The other use of the perfect in Urama discourse is to highlight the climactic peak of a series of events. In this usage the perfect is used punctiliarly. Often this coincides with another feature used for highlighting the climax of a narrative, that of employing shorter sentences when ordinarily there are longer sentences with subordinate and coordinate clauses (Levinsohn 2008:80). In the Capsizing narrative (Appendix B) this is clearly seen. Leading up to the actual capsizing and even including the capsizing, there are a series of short clauses, each with the perfect. The wave lifts them up (12), water floods in (13), the boat capsizes (14a), the things go down (14b), and then they all swim to Daubai Point (14c). Each of these events, except for the final one, are encoded with the perfect marker. Then the narrative switches constructions and does not use the perfect marker for the last clause in the series.

4.2.3 Interaction Between Particles

Ha and *va* do not occur simultaneously in a single clause. This is expected as they express mutually exclusive ideas of a completed action and an incompleting action. It may appear that *ha* occurs in clauses where *vaka* follows the verb, but *vaka* is not the same as the imperfective *va*. The near past tense *vaka* can occur with a completed perfective aspect. An instance of this is in example (126) following.

126) “**Aiha** naraivai **vaka.**”
CERT-PRF 1S-arrive NP

“I came back straight away.” (Collecting Coconuts 12)

The morpheme *ha* often occurs with far past verbs, which illustrates the order of operators of the verb.

The broader implications of this discussion of *ha* are the same as those of *va*. Both aspectual particles occur preverbally, and farther away from the verb root than the past tense prefix *p-*. This directly contradicts the claims made by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:45-52) about the universal order of operators on the verb.

4.3 Modality

Modality encodes speakers attitudes or evaluations about the information expressed (Payne 2006:123). In this section I will examine two modality particles: *ma*, which expresses actuality, and *ka*, which marks declarative mood.

4.3.1 *ma* – Expressing Actuality

4.3.1.1 The Data

In Urama, *ma* occurs immediately preceding the verb, and is used to express varying degrees of actuality. Payne (class notes) provides some useful labels to discuss *ma*. He posits that Actuality is one of three branches of Modality, the other two being Epistemic (Evidential,

Mirative, and Validational) and Traditional (Imperative, Interrogative, and Declarative).

Actuality then includes Conditional, Deontic, Hypothetical and Optative. The senses of actuality expressed by *ma* range from Deontic to Hypothetical to Optative. The only of Payne's Actuality categories that is not expressed by *ma* is the Conditional.⁴¹

Example (127) shows the Optative sense of *ma*; the author is being asked about his desire to go back with someone.

- 127) Hinita nuro mo odu'ai ka nu rautu **ma** odairi Kukipi go'otoi oito.
then 3S-AG 1S tell DEC 3S with **ACT** go-SUBCL Kukipi village to
While here she asked me if I'd go back with her to Kukipi.

Example (128) shows a Hypothetical sense of *ma*.

- 128) Oubua ra, ka aratohotai ro Paidubui oito, **ma** ivabai ka, ka-iri nu-ro
Get.up that CCJN call.out 2S chief to **HYP** help DEC CCJN-iri 3S-AG
nimo gi'epu ima'ai n-a'ai ka nimo i'iroi ri.
1P throat give.them 1CR-do DEC 3P grow CL:PUR
Get up, pray to your God. Maybe he will show us compassion and allow us to live.
(The Story of Jonah 12)

Example (129) below shows the deontic sense.

- 129) Mia hi'ai ta **ma** iadiboumoi oroihi ubi.
good very by **DEO** mourn dead people
So we must mourn for them properly.

There is a strong sense of obligation that the people must be mourned for. Payne (2007:327) states, "Deontic mode expresses the subject's duty or obligation to perform the irrealis act expressed by the verb." Payne explains that deontic is often a continuum within a language, meaning that the degree of duty or obligation the subject is under can vary considerably. In the example above, the author is strongly charging the audience. A weaker sense of this is shown in

⁴¹ Conditional clauses are marked by *ra*. See section 2.5.3 for more details.

(130).

130) Mo-ro mo mamui atoho-tai ka, "Mama-o, **ma** o'u nanai eve'ai."
1S-AG 1S mother call-?? DEC Mother-VOC **DEO** come thing see

I called out to my mother, "Mummy! Come and see what this is."(TF7)

Here the speaker is telling his mother to come and look at something. It is not a strong obligation that must be done, but rather a child's request of his mother.

4.3.1.2 Interaction Between Particles

The morpheme *ma* is often found in *ri* clauses. This can be explained easily because *ri* marks the occurrence of an intention or purpose, non-main clause, while *ma* marks the actuality modality expressing the degree to which the intention set forth in the intention or purpose clause is likely to be fulfilled.

131) Do'ou mo-ro ro pupuo n-ema'ai ka, tuniahavati nanai **ma** ita'auti
Today 1S-AG 2S strong 1S-give DEC all place things **ACT** destroy.it

ri, via **ma** idodeai ri.
CL:PUR. and **ACT** make CL:PUR

Today I give you authority to destroy and build up every nation. (The Calling of Jeremiah 13)

The subject, marked by *ro*, is given the ability, but not necessarily the charge or order to build and destroy in this sentence. The decision to act on the ability is left up to the recipient and the hypothetical act of destroying or building is marked by *ma*. Because of presence of the purpose clause marker *ri*, these clauses may be translated more clearly as 'in order that you might destroy' and 'in order that you might build'.

The combination *ha* plus *ma* involves perfect aspect, and either deontic or optative modality.

- 132) Ka mo, imahiai **ha-ma** boboi tipiai da io'io **ha**
 CCJN 1S BK.BEN-cut **PRF-DEO** pit spear LOC touching **PRF**
 p-i-n-iiovodora, ita ka va'ema **aiha** p-onovadomudii ra.
 PST-BK-1S-move.in must DEC turtle CERT.then PST-strike.with.a.spear ?
 Suddenly I came to a hole full of water, and when I prodded around with my spear
 in the water it struck a hard surface.

The morpheme *ha* is being used in the discourse to signal a series of events in short clauses building up to the climax of the story. The specific sense of *ma* is unclear; it may have the optative or deontic sense.

4.3.2 *Ka Declarative Mood*

In the lexicon there is an entry for *ka* as a conjunction and a separate entry for *ka* as a topic/declarative marker. This seems to be supported by the texts. Both of these morphemes are so prevalent throughout the texts that it becomes more practical to discuss why they are not present than why they are. The declarative marker is used as the default way of encoding clauses in narrative text.

The conjunction *ka* occurs clause initially, while the declarative *ka* occurs clause finally or postverbally. One of the major ways to determine if *ka* is at the beginning or the end of a clause is to use the punctuation in the orthography. In (133) below both patterns of *ka* are illustrated.

- 133) [Hibai utu nu'a kekei ito'au-ti vapoi]₁, [ma'ata gegai aheheai
 [crocodile nipa tree small.ones stand.up-ITR after] [mouth big open
ka.]₂ [Nu vapoi da]₃ [oboi irihati **ka,**]₄ [**ka** aiha p-o'umudio
DEC] [3S after LOC] [water hit.it **DEC**] [**CCJN** CERT.then Pst-come
 oboi goroi oito.]₅
 water under to]

After pulling out the nipas and plants, it opened up its huge mouth and snapped it shut, and hitting the water with its tail, dived under the water. (ANC11-12)

There are five clauses to consider in this example marked for identification by subscript numbers. Clauses 1 and 3 have no *ka* anywhere, clauses 2 and 4 have the declarative *ka* clause

finally, and clause 5 has the conjunction *ka* initially.

4.3.2.1 Conjunction

The conjunction *ka* can only conjoin main clauses; it does not conjoin other constituents such as nouns.⁴² An example of this can be seen in (134).

- 134) Vihia-o, ro-ro mo ai-n-ematuhia va ka, **ka** ro nuri n-ematuhia ka.
friend-VOC 2S-AG 1S CERT-1CR-trick IPFV DEC CCJN 2S it.why 1CR-trick DEC
"Friend, you tricked me, and so I have tricked you." (MS30)

This example also shows nicely the difference between the two morphemes. The coordinating conjunction occurs at the beginning of the second clause. Often this is the beginning of a sentence as well, but in this example it is conjoining two clauses within a single sentence. Both clauses in (134) also end in *ka*, but this is the declarative *ka*.

4.3.2.2 Declarative

The list of factors describing the conditions in which the declarative *ka* occurs is more complex. This morpheme occurs postverbally and clause finally. Only postposed items and adjunct postpositional phrases may follow it in a clause. Following is a list of statements describing the distribution of *ka*.

- *Ka* only occurs on main clauses.
- *Ka* normally occurs on non-pasts.⁴³
- Whenever *o'a* 'say' is used in a non-past tense, *ka* occurs.
- *Ka* sometimes occurs on statives and equational sentences which do not have an overt verb.
- *Ka* never occurs in interrogative clauses.

⁴² Urama has a nominal conjunction *ra* discussed in section 2.6.

⁴³ There is one example in the entire corpus of *ka* co-occurring with a verb form in the far past with the *p-* prefix. I have no explanation for this other than perhaps the clause breaks are incorrect in the analysis.

- *Ka* occurs on affirmative statements only, while *haka* occurs on negative statements.

Ka occurs on main clauses, as opposed to subordinate clauses, which are marked with *ri* or *da*.⁴⁴ In the texts *ka* generally occurs as the final element in a clause. However, in the verb paradigm, *ka* is seen preceding the subject agreement of the verb in the present, future and near past tenses. There is only one instance of *kaumo* in all of the clauses of the texts studied. This may be due to fact that the narrative texts are in the past tense and *kaumo* is associated with non-past tenses. The precise meaning of *kaumo* is unclear. In the lexicon it is listed as a continuative suffix, while in the verb paradigm, *-mo* is clearly the plural number suffix. In further research this use of the morpheme *ka* should be investigated.⁴⁵ In addition to being followed by the subject agreement marker, *ka* can be followed by a postposed element, an adverb, or postpositional phrase of time or location.

The verb *a'o* 'say' is used to introduce direct speech, and sometimes can be used to introduce indirect speech as in (135).

135) Maniki ro **a'oi** ka, "Miaha ka, odai-doi ka."
 monkey AG **say** DEC well DEC go-DL DEC

The monkey said, "Good, let's go," (MS15)

In these cases, *a'o* is in a main clause and has the *ka* marker following it, unless of course, the clause is in the far past.⁴⁶

Equational clauses such as (136) are often marked by *ka*, even though there is no verb or other tense marker.

⁴⁴ See section 2.5 for more on clausal relations.

⁴⁵ In this usage *kau* may pattern like the auxiliary *dio*, but it is impossible to tell from only one instance.

⁴⁶ The verb paradigm in Appendix H includes an intermediate past form, but I have not found this form in the texts.

136) Aro'o omoi painai nu Aupamoi **ka**.
 that creek name 3S Aupamoi **DEC**

The name of that creek was Aupamo (What I Did When I Was Small, Teggi 2)

I have found no interrogative clauses with *ka*. In the texts examined, the interrogative can be marked with *ra*, the conditional clause marker, but *ra* is not limited to this function. In the verb paradigm it is common for *ra* to occur in the interrogative where *ka* occurs in the declarative.

The morpheme *ka* is the default way of marking a simple declarative proposition in Urama. Out of 148 main clauses in the texts studied, 91 of them have the declarative marker. That means we need explanations for why *ka* does not occur in the other 57 main clauses. The absence of *ka* in the majority of these clauses can be explained using the conditions in the list above. Forty of the main clauses not marked with *ka* take the far past tense marker *p-* affix.

In a narrative, *ka* interacts at the discourse level with verbs taking the far past *p-* affix. The far past form is used instead of *ka* in two situations, both of which can be illustrated by the story “Aunt and Niece and a Crocodile, found in Appendix F. In the discussion of this text, I will refer to the sentence numbers in the Appendix.

First, the far past form is used to background a clause with respect to what follows, prior to a main event in the narrative. In the opening sentence, the far past form occurs, backgrounding the first sentence with respect to the second sentence, which is marked with the default *ka* declarative. This happens again in sentences (11) and (12). Sentence (11) is takes the far past form backgrounding the crocodile going around looking for the two in the water, while the next sentence has the default *ka* declarative again, returning the reader to the main chain of events in the narrative.

Second, the far past verb form occurs with *aiha*, which marks the perfect, on sequential clauses leading up to and including the final event in a sequence. In sentences (4) and (5) in “The Aunt and Niece and a Crocodile” story, the *aiha* perfect occurs immediately preceding the far past form on two sequential events leading up to and including one of the climactic points in the

story. The crocodile reaches the river and bites the canoe, and then the canoe tipped over. This is the discourse use of the perfect discussed in Section 4.2.2.3. Important to our discussion of the default *ka*, it is used in the next sentences in the text (6, 7, and 8), until another backgrounding comment is made in sentence (9).

There are still a few simple declaratives in which the absence of *ka* cannot be explained. For example, I have no explanation for why *ka* does not appear in the following clause

137) Pei niroi nu obo haro iodudio.
 canoe belly 3S water PRF-AG BK-float

Water flooded into the canoe. (C13)

This example meets all the conditions in the list above. This is an unusual clause for another reason as well: *haro* is not found anywhere else in the texts. The agentive *ro* does not ordinarily attach to or follow aspect markers. We would expect *ro* to occur with the noun *obo* ‘water’, and *ha* to occur with the verb *iodudio* ‘float’. In the text, this represents a major climax, and so it is unusual to have ‘water’ as the agent of clause. It is unclear if either of these two observations have anything to do with the presence of *haro* and the absence of *ka*. This is a topic for further research.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In conclusion, there are several significant claims made in this paper. With very little research published about the language group one of the major accomplishments is simply to have a grammatical description of a previously undescribed language. I have addressed several specific areas that may contribute to the analysis of related languages as well.

Firstly, I have determined that *ro* is a tool for focus structure. It is not merely subject, case, animacy or transitivity, but rather *ro* focuses the participant in the discourse that can have agentive properties based on any or a combination of these factors.

Secondly, aspect can be used as a category to better describe some of what was considered tense previously and to describe some homophonic variations that were previously undefined. I have looked specifically at *va* as an imperfective and *ha* as a perfect. Similarly, modality can be used as a category to better describe some of what was considered tense, or was previously undefined as well. Both the particle *ma* and *ka* fall under this umbrella expressing actuality and declarative respectively.

Throughout the study of Urama I have found significant confirmation of some similarities between Urama and related languages such as nearby Kope and even in more distant Island Kiwai. At the same time there has also been proof of differences between some languages, particularly with *i*- backgrounding and with *n*- 1st person marker (specifically between Kope and Urama)

During the consideration of the particles I have also documented some discourse functions of certain grammatical constructions, particularly regarding highlighting climactic peaks, and backgrounding information that is not in focus.

With such findings, come more areas for further research. Much of the research proceeding from this work should involve interaction with the native speakers of Urama as this work is merely preliminary stemming from a small corpus of written texts.

One of the first things that should be verified is the issue of contrastive vowel length or tone and along with that the question of whether that will need to be necessarily defined in future orthographic reform.

I have only looked at a few of the possible aspects or modalities in the corpus of narrative texts. Further research in TAM is required discover if some of the other ‘tenses’ can be analyzed as aspect or modality. This is especially important in present and future tenses as these have been under-represented in the texts studied.

APPENDICES

Appendix A The Monkey and the Shark

Maniki ra ome rai kikai ka
'The Monkey and the Shark'
Jeffrey Habia

1. Epui to hivioi ta p-e'idio va-dioi-do maniki ra ome rai.
first at time LOC PST-live IPFV-AUX-DL monkey and shark and
Once upon a time there lived a monkey and a shark.
2. Niti vihia ra vihia ra ka.
3DL friend and friend and DEC
They were very good friends.
3. Maniki nu'a huna gema ata to p-e'idio va-dio.
monkey tree huge big FDEM at PST-live IPFV-AUX
The monkey lived on a big tree
4. A'o nu'ai, omoi barai ta p-oti.
that tree creek side LOC PST-stand
that stood close to the river.
5. Nu ete'etei omoi barai haito p-i-amei-dio.
3S branches creek side where PST-BK-reach.out-CONT
Its branches reached out over the river.
6. Nu-va hurai topo hi'a ka.
3S-IPFV fruit sweet very DEC
Moreover its fruit was very sweet,
7. Ka maniki ni p-iho va-dio.
CCJN monkey 3PL PST-eat.them IPFV-AUX
and the monkey used to feed on them.

8. Omei va o'ui ka maniki ihi'e nu'a hurai ihoi.
shark IPFV come DEC monkey throw tree fruit eat.them
The shark would swim in and eat the fruit that the monkey would throw him.
9. Ka maniki ro nu vihi'ai eve'ai da, ka amiai va omodo'oi ka.
CCJN monkey AG 3S friend see LOC CCJN some IPFV drop.for DEC
Whenever the monkey saw his friend, he would drop some fruit for him.
10. Niti tuniha hivioi hiabou p-a'ai va-dioi-do.
3DL all time same PST-do IPFV-AUX -DL
Every day they would do the same thing.
11. Ata hivioi, omei ro a'oi ka, "Vihia-o, modobo ra mo rautu
FDEM time shark AG say DEC friend-VOC enough Q 1S with
odai-doi-mo go'otoi oito?
go-DL-PL village to
One day the shark said, "Friend, can you come with me to my village?"
12. Mo tuniha hivioi ro go'otoi ha n-oroho va-dio ka."
1S all time 2S village PRF 1CR-go.about IPFV-AUX DEC
I'm always coming to your village."
13. Maniki ro iraromo, ita p-a'o, "Inai mo tiai i-abudio va-dioi haka."
monkey AG think must PST-say but 1S middle BK-swim IPFV-AUX NEG
The monkey thought for a moment, and then said, "But I don't know how to swim."
14. Omei ro a'oi ka, "Ro tiai i-abudioi umuo tato ra ato,
shark AG say DEC 2S middle BK-swim know none CL:COND from
ka mo gimini ta eme'ei a'ai ka."
CCJN 1S back on sit do DEC
The shark replied, "If you don't know how to swim, then you can sit on my back."
15. Maniki ro a'oi ka, "Miaha ka, odai-doi ka."
monkey AG say DEC well DEC go-DL DEC
The monkey said, "Good, let's go,"

16. Maniki o'uai ka nu'ai ohui ta.
 monkey climb.down DEC tree high LOC
 and climbed down from the tree.
17. Hinita nu-ro eme'ei ka omei gimini ohui da.
 then 3S-AG sit DEC shark back top LOC
 Then he sat on the back of the shark.
18. Omei ro nu vihia hinita ovabui ka tia hi'ai.
 shark AG 3S friend then take.across DEC middle very
 The shark took his friend right out to sea.
19. I-odai-do oroha tia hi'ai, nu'a epu i-a'atatoi ta, omei ro
 BK-go-DL true middle very tree head BK-shoulder LOC shark AG
 maniki odu'ai ka,
 monkey tell DEC
 When they had gone right out to where the treetops had disappeared, the shark told
 the monkey,
20. "Vihia-o, nimo omei hunai gimo a'ai ka.
 friend-VOC 3PL shark huge sick do DEC
 "Friend, our king is very sick,
21. Nu niro ka maniki gi'opui uhoi, ka ro nuri n-ov-odau ka."
 3S belly CCJN monkey heart eat CCJN 2S it.why 1CR-CAU-go DEC
 and he wants to eat the heart of a monkey, and that is why I am taking you there."
22. Maniki hinita iraromoi aiha p-oropoi'o.
 monkey then think CERT.then PST-finish
 The monkey's mind went blank.
23. Nu-ro imini da a'oi ka, "Kaukia mo ihiai oito n-odau ka."
 3S-AG think LOC say DEC and.so 1S die to 1CR-go DEC
 "Now I am going to my death," he said to himself.

24. Maniki ro iraromo, ita a'oi ka, "Vihia-o, ro-ro mo taua ita po-n-odu'ai.
 monkeyAG think must say DEC friend-VOC 2S-AG1S earlier must PST-??-tell
 The monkey thought a bit, and then said, "My friend, you should have told me earlier.
25. Mo gi'opui nu'a gemai ohui ta aiha n-emehei-dio ka.
 1S heart tree big high LOC CERT.then 1CR-leave-HAB DEC
 I left my heart on top of the big tree."
26. Omei ro a'oi ka, "Miaha ka, amaivai-doi ka, ro gi'opui eidai-doi."
 shark AG say DEC well DEC return-DL DEC 2S heart take-DL
 The shark said, "Alright, let's go back and get your heart."
27. Hinita omei ro nuha p-erehe'ai amaivai ri nato i oito.
 then shark AG with.it PST-go.back return SUBCL spoor to
 So they swam back the way they had come.
28. I-o'ui-do nu'a gemai ne'ei, maniki nuha p-imada'iai nu'ai ohui oito.
 BK-come-DL tree big place monkey with.it PST-jump.up tree high to
 They came to where the big tree was, and the monkey jumped up into it.
29. Nu-ro nu'ai ioroi ka ohui, ita p-a'o, "Vihia-o, ro-ro mo
 3S-AG tree go.up DEC high must PST-say friend-VOC 2S-AG 1S
 ai-n-ematuhia va ka, ka ro nuri n-ematuhia ka.
 ?-1CR-trick IPFV DEC CCJN 2S it.why 1CR-trick DEC
 He climbed up to the top of the tree and said, "Friend, you tricked me, and so I have tricked you.
30. Gi'opui i-m-ehe nai haka. Nimo gi'opui rautu n-oroho kaumo."
 heart BK-BEN-remove? thing NEG 3PL heart with 1CR-go.about CONT
 The heart is not something that can be left behind. We take them wherever we go."
31. Kaukia, hinitabo, omei orohoi aiha p-oropoi'o maniki ne'ei oito.
 and.so then shark go.about CERT.then PST-finish monkey place to
 From then on the shark never came back again to the monkey's place.

32. Na kikai hinita oropoi'o ka.
This story then finish DEC

This is the end of the story.

Appendix B Capsizing

Kivaumai ubii amia auboi ro pivoto Daubai Mubai da.
‘How Some Kivaumai People Were Capsized in the Waves off Daubai Point’
Moses Noho

1. Bunio 2003 ato, ka aro'o bunio hivio ata to.
year 2003 from CCJN that year time FDEM at

It happened one day in 2003.

2. Nu'a titima ata ro p-odoro Paiai to.
tree ship FDEM AG PST-come.in Paiai at

A logging ship had come into Paia shipping point,

3. Ka ni hinita ahi'iai-moi ka odai ri ov-a'a-ti.
CCJN 3PL then leave-PL DEC go SUBCL CAUSE-do-ITER

so the men left to go and get work there.

4. Indini pe gaa'u ata to p-ahi'iai-mo. Ni tuniha 18 ubii ro
motor canoe one FDEM in PST-leave-PL 3PL all 18 person AG

p-odau-mo.
PST-go-PL

They all left in one motor canoe, 18 people altogether.

5. Ka ni Kivaumai ato tia ha p-odau-mo, Mirimailau ohodi ka.
CCJN 3PL Kivaumai from middle PRF PST-go-PL Mirimaila pass DEC

They went from Kivaumai going by the river past Mirimailau.

6. Gamo'o p-odorou-mo Ivi ipi, ka niro gamo'o ha p-abumo
straight PST-come.in-PL Ivi middle CCJN inside straight PRF PST-go.out

ebebeai hohoi.
passage mouth (of river or track)

The current was going up the Ivi reach, and they went out into it and stopped at the
mouth of a passage.

7. Ka ubi amiai araharoi ka otoi to odau ri.
 CCJN person some get.out DEC foot at(by) go SUBCL

Some people got out and walked through the passage on foot,

8. Amiai inidini pei ta p-a'eu-mo aubo tui ai Daubai Mubai
 Some engine canoe LOC PST-be.in??-PL wave middle Daubai Point
 mamoa'ei ri.
 ?? SUBCL

while others remained in the motor canoe in order to round Daubai Point through the waves.

9. Ka ni i-o'u-moi da, Daubai Mubai omoa'ei ka, odoro ri
 CCJN 3PL BK-come-PL LOC Daubai Point stop?? DEC come.in SUBCL
 i-evehe'eai-moi da,
 BK-turn-PL LOC

They came along until they rounded the point, and then as they turned to go on up the river,

10. epui auboi ro ivi'iai ka,
 first wave AG lift DEC

the first wave lifted them up,

11. ka aro'o auboi i-orohodi da, ipi tui ai n-am-avivi'iai,
 CCJN that wave BK-paddle LOC middle middle 1CR-BEN-lift

and then as that wave passed by, the second wave lifted them up,

12. ka epui auboi tui ai ha p-ivamitai.
 CCJN first wave middle PRF PST-swamp

and thrust them into the middle of the first wave.

13. Pei niroi nu obo ha-ro i-odudio.
 canoe belly 3S water PRF-AG BK-float

Water flooded into the canoe.

14. Ka aiha p-omohobiau-mo, nanai ha ivio'uodu-mo. Daubai
 CCJN CERT.then PST-capsize-PL things PRF make.go.down-PL Daubai
 Mubai idiai-moi ka.
 Point go.up-PL DEC
 As it passed them, the luggage was tipped out. They swam in to Daubai Point.
15. Nana tiato ha guruoi ha p-iovodou-mo Gauri go'otoi.
 things none PRF lower.ground PRF PST-move.in-PL Gauri village
 Then without their gear they walked down to Gauri village.
16. Viha ra obo arui tiai p-iovodou-mo,ini m-a'a hi'a gu'oboi pa'aimo.
 rain and water tide middle PST-move.in-PL? ASP-do very cold PST-do-PL
 It was raining hard, and the tide was coming up, and they were getting cold.
17. Omo keke i-abudiou-mo gu'oboi ka.
 creek small.ones BK-swim-PL cold DEC
 They emerged from the small creek, all cold,
18. Gauri ubii ro iv-abai ka.
 Gauri person AG CAU/BEN-do? DEC
 but the people of Gauri helped them,
19. Dui ima'ai-moi ka, tama hipurai re.
 sago give.them-PL DEC body blanket and
 giving them food and blankets.
20. Ka hinita titima kehi ata ro p-iv-abu Paia Kampai oito.
 CCJN then ship small FDEM AG PST-CAU-go.out Paia Kampai to
 Then a tug boat took them out from Paia Camp,
21. Ka ni pei iohou-moi da, Daubai Mubai da aiha p-eve'au-mo.
 CCJN 3PL canoe seek-PL LOC Daubai Point LOC CERT.then PST-see-PL
 and when they looked for the canoe at Daubai Point, they found it there.
22. Ka aha p-oruhobiatidio, indini hati oboi ro aiha p-iv-ahu'eta.
 CCJN then PST-upside-down engine cover water AG CERT.then PST-CAUSE.PL-remove
 The canoe was upside down, and the water had taken off the engine cover.

23. Ka inidini behai ha p-eve'au-mo, pei vapoī ta.
CCJN engine only PRF PST-see-PL canoe after LOC

They found nothing else-just the engine on the stern of the canoe.

Appendix C Pig Hunt

Mo morio bomoi inai'ia nakikai ka. 'The First Time I Killed a Pig'
Tom Gemeai

1. Mo painai Tom. Mo kehiboi tabo,
1S name Tom 1S small time
My name is Tom. One time when I was a little boy

2. ata hivioi bomo ahoi p-on-odau ra, mo himiha ga'uha umui rautu.
FDEM time pig hunting PST-BEN-go ? 1S self together dog with
I decided to go hunting for pigs by myself with my dog.

3. Ka i-n-odau havai, hinidabo umui ro bomoi nato'i nibo'i ibumai ka
CCNJ BK-1S-go sago.swamp then dog AG pig spoor scent smell DEC
I went to the sago place, when suddenly the dog picked up a pig spoor.

4. Umui ro obodoi ka.
dog AG follow DEC
He started to chase the pig,

5. Hinitabo mo aruruti ka. Mo-ro hinitabo bomoi obodoi ka.
then 1S run DEC 1S-AG then pig follow DEC
and I started to run after the dog, and chase the pig too.

6. Umui ro bomoi adedeai ka.
dog AG pig bite DEC
The dog bit onto the pig,

7. Mo-ro hinita bomoi amuai ka. Bomoi nituo ha ihiai ka.
1S-AG then pig spear DEC pig dead PRF die DEC
and I speared the pig and killed it.

8. Mo-ro hinitabo ge'ii a'ai, ka mo-ro bomoi a'atai ka ovaivai ka
 1S-AG then happy do DEC 1S-AG pig shoulder DEC carry DEC
 go'otoi oito.
 village to

After that I was very happy. I carried the pig back to the village on my shoulders.

9. Ka mo mamioi ro bomoi i-eve'au-moi da, ni ge'i hetei a'ai ka.
 CCNJ 1S aunties AG pig BK-see-PL LOC 3PL happy dancingdo DEC

When my aunties saw the pig, they danced for joy.

10. Hinitabo bomoi ohi'ibuti ka.
 then pig singe Dec

Then we singed the hair off the pig,

11. Mo abiai ro ohuti ka.
 1S father AG butcher DEC

and my father butchered it

12. Ubii bomo kerekerei i-m-a'a-ti ka.
 person pig pieces BK-BEN-do-ITR DEC

and shared out the pieces amongst the people.

13. Hinita bomoi i-n-uhou-mo oropoi'oi ka.
 then pig BK-1S-eat-PL finish DEC

Then we ate the pig all up.

Appendix D Two Brothers and a Crocodile

Nia ra Namu rai nakikai ka 'A Story about Two Brothers'

Oscar Akaua

1. Ata hivioi dubu ata, paina ka Noma, nu nia vapoi Garie rautu,
FDEM time man FDEM name DEC Noma 3S ? after Garie with

ai-p-odau-i-do Pairubo tuiiai oito goma ivotoi.
??-PST-go-DL Pairubo middle to fish.sp kill

One day a man named Noma and his youngest brother Garie went out fishing to a river called Pairubo.

2. Niti Pairubo tuiiai ta gomai ivotoi-doi ta, Garie gomai idi-moi
3DL Pairubo middle LOC fish.sp kill-DL LOC Garie fish.sp go.up-PL

imada'ui ita hibai ro aiha p-atia.
jump then crocodile AG CERT.then PST-attack

When they were fishing in the Pairubo, Garie was diving in and out of the water fetching the fish, when a crocodile attacked him.

3. Ka nu namui Noma ohioi tabo, ebihai tauo p-obai.
CCJN 3S brother Noma boy with sorcery earlier PST-obtain

Now when Noma was a child, he had obtained magical powers in the bush.

4. Noma ro nu ebihai o'ai nai aroipi ta Pairubo tuiiai aiha p-urai.
Noma AG 3S sorcery be thing log LOC Pairubo middle CERT.then PST-block

Noma used his magic power to put a log across the whole river and succeeded in blocking it off.

5. Ka nu i-erehe'eai ta nu nia vapoi hibai ma'atai niroi ta
CCJN 3S BK-turn.round LOC 3S brother after crocodile mouth belly LOC

ovahi'iti ka.
snatch DEC

Then turning around he snatched his brother out of the mouth of the crocodile.

6. Ka Noma i-erehe'eai ta ga'ai ha p-imidai, ka hibai
 CCJN Noma BK-turn.round LOC bow PRF PST-take.them CCJN crocodile

aiha p-obo havo'oi tabo nituo ha ovuta'ai ka.
 CERT.then PST-shootspear with dead PRF lay.out DEC

Then turning around Noma took his bow, and started shooting the crocodile with his arrows, until he left it lying dead on the bank.

7. Noma hinitabo i-erehe'eai ta pei obai ka, hiba nituoi
 Noma then BK-turn.round LOC canoe obtain DEC crocodile dead

oviai ka pei niroi tabo.
 put.in DEC canoe belly with

Then turning around, Noma brought the canoe to where the carcass of the crocodile was, and put it into the canoe.

8. Ka nu nia vapoi, Garie, hibai ro i-a'adede vati temetemei rautu,
 DEC 3S brother after Garie crocodile AG BK-bite place pain with

oviai ka pei niroi tabo, go'otoi Kinomere ito oviodi ri.
 put.in DEC canoe belly with village Kinomere to ??-because SUBCL

Then he put his young brother, Garie, with all his painful wounds from the crocodile, into the canoe, and paddled home to Kinomere.

Appendix E Turtle Finding

Mo kehiboi da morio va'emai ineve'ai na kikai ka. 'A Story of When I as a Boy
Found My First Turtle'

Toru Gariboi

1. Ata hivioi Ne'edai mamioi gahoi p-iadou-mo Barari.Avaui atiti.
FDEM time Ne'edai aunties trap PST-go-PL Barari.Point trap
Once upon a time the Ne'edai women went trapping at Barari Point.

2. Ka nimeiti Amai mamu oti rautu iadoi-do ka.
CCJN 1DL Amai mother each with go-DL DEC
Amai and I, we went with them, each with our mother.

3. I-n-iadou-mo avau ne'ei, mamio-bai orodo-bi ka gahoi rautu.
BK-1S-go-PL pool place aunties-? get.in.water-PC DEC trap with
When we reached the Place, the women started their trapping.

4. Ka nimeiti tipia kehi oti rautu ni kekai p-i-n-iovodorau-do.
CCJN 1DL spear small each with 3PL near PST-BK-1S-move.in-start??-DL
While they were doing that, the two of us were walking alongside with a small spear each.

5. Ka mo, i-m-ahiai ha-ma boboi tipiai da io'io ha
CCJN 1S BK-BEN-cut PRF-? pit spear LOC touching PRF
p-i-n-iovodora, ita ka va'ema aiha p-onovodomudii ra.
PST-BK-1S-move.in must DEC turtle CERT.then PST-strike.(with.a.spear?) CLAU:CON
Suddenly I came to a hole full of water, and when I prodded around with my spear in the water it struck a hard surface.

6. Hinida mo toei erehe'eidio ka.
then 1S fear turn DEC
Then I got scared, and turned away.

7. Mo-ro mo mamui atohotai ka, "Mama-o, ma o'u nanai eve'ai."
1S-AG 1S mother call-?? DEC Mother-VOC ?? come thing see
I called out to my mother, "Mummy! Come and see what this is."

8. Mo mamui i-o'ui da eve'ai ka.
 1S mother BK-come LOC see DEC
 My mother came and looked at it.
9. Ka nu-ro i-eve'ai da ka nu ma hi'a ge'i p-a'ai.
 DEC 3S-AG BK-see LOC DEC 3S ?? very happy PST-do
 When she saw it she got excited
10. Nu-ro hinida nu mauamioi-upi i-atoho-tai ka.
 3S-AG then 3S uncle-?? BK-call-?? DEC
 and called her brother's wife.
11. "O'u-mo, mo merei va'emai om-ovaivai go'otoi oito."
 come-PL 1S child turtle BEN-carry village to
 "Come and carry my son's turtle home," she said.
12. Ka ni-ro hinida hetei rautu p-ovaivai-mo go'otoi oito.
 CCJN 3S-AG then dancing with PST-carry-PL village to
 And then they carried it back to the village with dancing.
13. Ita vadeiro p-odau, mamui mauamioi idu'ai ka, "Nio mudu-merei morio
 must talk AG PST-go mother uncle tell DEC ?? nephew first.time
 va'emai eve'a va ka.
 turtle see IPFV DEC
 Soon the word got around, and my mother's brother was told, "Your nephew has found his first turtle."
14. Ni hinida ge'i rautu p-or-ovodo-mo davarai oito.
 3PL then happy with PST-?-take.down-PL ?? to
 At that, they came down to the sea (with their kundu drum), much excited.
15. Hinida ni-ro ge'i rautu p-ovidiai-mo go'otoi oito.
 then 3S-AG happy with PST-?-go.up-PL village to
 Then they brought it up dancing with joy into the village.

Appendix F Aunt and Niece and a Crocodile

Kivaumai Go'otoi ta Hibai ro Ivotoi Imodoboia Mere ra Mamu rai Kikai ka 'A Story of a
Crocodile Attack on a Niece and her Aunt at Kivaumai'

Mailaku Meka

1. Ata hivioi va-ti mea hi'ai p-ov-aho, kikioi vade-vadei mea hi'ai
FDEM time IPFV-HAB good very PST-CAU-rise egret talk-talk good very

p-i-a'ou-mo, oboi rautu mea hi'ai p-o'a.
PST-BK-say-PL water with good very PST-be

One day the day dawned beautifully, the birds were singing to each other, and the
water in the rivers was calm and still.

2. Ka obo ata nu merebehei rautu pe kehi ta ahi'iai ka
CCJN woman FDEM 3S girl with canoe small LOC depart DEC

go'u ma odai ri.
fishing DEO go SUBCL

A certain lady decided to go crabbing with her niece in their small canoe.

3. Niti omoi i-odoroi-doi da, hiba gegai aruruti ka.
3DL creek BK-come.in-DL LOC crocodile big run DEC

When they entered a creek, a large crocodile was running down the bank towards
them.

4. Nu i-odoi da, niti pei giri da aiha p-adedeai.
3S BK-go.river LOC 3DL canoe teeth LOC CERT.then PST-bite

When it reached the river it sank its teeth into the canoe,

5. Niti aiha p-imuhobia mama.
3DL CERT.then PST-capsize ??

and the canoe turned over.

6. Aro'o mere ra mamu rai, i-amoi imaru-ti ka, Iesu painai
that child and mother and BK-breast BK.BEN-tide-ITER DEC Jesus name

aho'ou-ti ka pupuo hi'ai da,
call-DL DEC strong very LOC

The niece and the aunt were swimming and shouting loudly, calling on the name of Jesus.

7. mamui ro merebehe kehi benai da ov-ome'ei ka, pe kehi
mother AG girl small shoulder LOC CAU-sit DEC canoe small

gimini da eme'ei titi-doi ka.
back LOC sit ??-DL DEC

Then the aunt put her niece on her shoulders, and got onto the back of the small canoe.

8. Aro'o hibai ro niti iohoi ri ovaharoi ka oboi tuai.
that crocodile AG 3DL seek SUBCL start DEC water middle

The crocodile started looking for them in the river.

9. Go'otoi ubi amiai erehei da p-idudiou-mo nitiha p-iarodiou-mo.
village person some side LOC PST-drift-PL 3DL-PRF PST-PST-carry?-PL

Some local people were parked in their canoes in the distance watching them.

10. Ni toei da niti iv-abai modoboi haka.
3PL fear LOC 3DL CAU.PL-do? enough NEG

They were too afraid to help them.

11. Hibai oboi ohui ha p-oroho, niti iohoi ri.
crocodile water high PRF PST-go.about 3DL seek SUBCL

The crocodile was going round and round on the surface of the water, looking for them,

12. Niti bihaito ioho ha'imai da, utu keke ra nu'a keke
3DL NEG seek dislike LOC nipa small.ones and tree small.ones

ito'au-ti ri ovaharoi ka.
stand.up-HAB SUBCL start DEC

but when it couldn't find them, it started to tear out small nipa palms and saplings.

13. Hibai utu nu'a kekei ito'auti vapoi, ma'ata gegai aheheai
 crocodile nipa tree small.ones stand.up-HAB after mouth big open
- ka. Nu vapoi da oboi irihati ka, ka aiha p-o'umudio
 DEC 3S after LOC water hit.it DEC CCJN CERT.then PST-come
- oboi goroi oito.
 water under to

After pulling out the nipas and plants, it opened up its huge mouth and snapped it shut, and hitting the water with its tail,dived under the water.

14. Erehei da idudiou-mo ubi o'ui ka. Niti ni pei ta i-oviai
 side LOC drift-PL person come DEC 3DL 3PL canoe in BK-put.in
- mamai ka idebi rautu.
 women DEC sobs with

The people parked in their canoes came and, with tears, helped the pair of woman into their canoes.

Appendix G Collecting Coconuts

Mo kehiboi inoroho kikai avadu'oi na'ai ka 'What I Did When I Was Small'

Teggi Kuto

1. Ata hivioi mo odai ka go'otai ime'edei omo atai to.
FDEM time 1S go DEC coconut collect creek one at

One day I went up a small creek to collect some coconuts.

2. Aro'o omoi painai nu Aupamoi ka.
that creek name 3S Aupamoi DEC

The name of that creek was Aupamo.

3. Hinitabo odoroi ka ginoi ne'ei arioi ka.
then come.in DEC coconut.plantation place stop DEC

I went up and arrived at the coconut plantation.

4. Hinitabo i-n-idiai ka, potoi go'otai ime'edei ta, mo-ro vipa
then BK-1CR-go.up DEC higher.groundcoconut collect LOC 1S-AG snake
gemai eve'ai ka.
big see DEC

Then I went up onto the top of the bank, and as I was collecting coconuts, I saw a very large snake.

5. Mo toei n-a'a ka.
1S fear 1CR-do DEC

I was very frightened.

6. Hinitabo mo i-n-erehe'eidioi da odai ka pei ne'ei oroi ka.
then 1S BK-1CR-turn LOC go DEC canoe place get.on DEC

Immediately I turned around and went back to the canoe place, and hopped into the canoe.

7. Pei tabo odai ka go'otoi arioi ka.
canoe with go DEC village stop DEC
I went off in the canoe and arrived at the village.
8. Hinitabo moro idiai ka motoi, mo mamui re abiai re i-madu'oi ka,
then 1S-AG go.up DEC house 1S mother and father and BK-TELL DEC
Then I went up to the house and told my mother and father:
9. "Mo gi'epu hi'a ka, mo go'otai ime'edei haka.
1S sadness very DEC 1S coconut collect NEG
"I was so worried," I said, "that I did not collect any coconuts.
10. Mo i-n-idiai raida vipa gemai ha n-eve'a va ka.
1S BK-1S-go.up ?? snake big PRF 1S-see IPFV DEC
When I went up the bank, I saw a huge snake.
11. Ka toei ta mo-ro go'ota atai ime'edei haka.
CCJN fear LOC 1S-AG coconut one collect NEG
I was so afraid I did not collect any coconuts.
12. Aiha n-araivai va ka."
CERT.then 1S-return IPFV DEC
Instead I came back straight away."

Appendix H Urama Verbal Paradigm

This paradigm for the Urama verb *oti* 'to stand' is from Rob Petterson, which was the result of an interview held by Petterson with an Urama speaker from Kinmere village, July 14, 2008 (Petterson, personal communication). Where distinguishable, possible contrastive vowel length is marked by underlining of the vowel. I have chosen not to retranscribe these as vowel length is not marked consistently on all of the forms. Therefore, to represent length as phonetically long /a:/, for example, would incorrectly imply that all the vowels not marked are definitely not long. As it is unclear if all the unmarked vowels are in fact not long, I have chosen to leave possibility of length shown as Petterson originally indicated.

Present

	1	2/3	NEGATIVE
sg	ainoti	aioti ka	oti haka
dl	ainoti kaido/kaudo	aioti kaido	oti doi haka
pl	ainoti kaumo	aioti kaumo	oti moi haka
pc	ainoti bikaumo	aioti bikaumo	oti bimoi haka

Present Y/N Q

	1	2/3
sg	anoti	avoti
dl	anoti dudo	avoti dudo
pl	anoti dumo	avoti dumo
pc	anoti bidumo	avoti bidumo

Present Wh-Q

	1	2/3
sg	noti	voti
dl	noti dudo	voti dudo
pl	noti dumo	voti dumo
pc	noti bidumo	voti bidumo

Present without ai-

	1	2/3
sg	noti	oti
dl	noti kaido/kaudo	oti kaido/kaudo
pl	noti kaumo	oti kaumo
pc	noti bikaumo	oti bikaumo

Imperative

	2	NEG
sg	oti	oti aike
dl	oti do	
pl	oti mo	
pc	oti bimo	

Future

	1	2/3	NEG
sg	oti na'ai	oti a'ai	oti a'ai haka
dl	oti na'ai kaido/kaudo	oti a'ai kaido/kaudo	oti doi a'ai haka oit a'ai doi haka
pl	oti na'ai kaumo	oti a'ai kaumo	oti moi a'ai haka oti a'ai moi haka
pc	oti bi na'ai kaumo	oti bi a'ai kaumo	oti bimoi a'ai haka

Future Y/N

	1	2/3
sg	oti ana'ai	oti ava'ai
dl	oti ana'ai dudo	oti ava'ai dudo
pl	oti ana'ai dumo	oti ava'ai dumo
pc	oti bi ana'ai dumo oti ana'ai bidumo	oti bi ava'ai dumo oti ava'ai bidumo

Future Wh-Q

	1	2/3
sg	oti na'ai	oti va'ai
dl	oti na'ai dudo	oti va'ai dudo
pl	oti na'ai dumo	oti va'ai dumo
pc	oti bi na'ai dumo	oti bi va'ai dumo

Near Past

	1	2/3	NEG

sg	noti v <u>aka</u>	oti v <u>aka</u>	oti haka
dl	noti v <u>akaido</u>	oti v <u>akaido</u>	oti doi haka
pl	noti v <u>akaumo</u>	oti v <u>akaumo</u>	oti moi haka
	noti bi v <u>akaumo</u>	oti bi v <u>akaumo</u>	oti bimoi haka

Near Past Y/N

	1	2/3
sg	anoti / anoti <u>ra</u>	avoti / avoti <u>ra</u>
dl	anoti <u>do</u> / anoti <u>raido</u>	avoti <u>do</u> / avoti <u>raido</u>
pl	anoti <u>raime</u> /raumo	avoti <u>raime</u> /raumo
pc	anoti biraime/biraumo	avoti <u>biraime</u> / <u>biraumo</u>

Near Past Wh-Q

	1	2/3
sg	noti <u>ra</u>	voti / voti <u>ra</u>
dl	noti <u>do</u> / not <u>iraido</u>	voti <u>do</u> / voti <u>raido</u> / <u>raide</u>
pl	noti <u>mo</u> / not <u>iraime</u>	voti <u>mo</u> / voti <u>raime</u>
pc	noti bimo / not <u>iraime</u>	voti bimo / voti <u>biraime</u>

Intermediate Past

	1	2/3	NEG
sg	noti raie / not <u>ira</u>	oti raie	oti haka
dl	noti dudo	oti dudo	oti doi haka
pl	noti dumo	oti dumo	oti moi haka
pc	noti bidumo	oti bidumo	oti bimoi haka

Intermediate Past Y/N

	1	2/3
sg	anoti raie / anoti <u>ra</u>	a'oti <u>ra</u>
dl	anoti dudo	a'oti dudo
pl	anoti dumo	a'oti dumo
pc	anoti bidumo	a'oti bidumo

Intermediate Past Wh-Q

	1	2/3
sg	noti raie/ <u>ra</u>	oti raie/ <u>ra</u>
dl	noti dudo	oti dudo
pl	noti dumo	oti dumo
pc	noti bidumo	oti bidumo

Intermediate Past with –dio

	1	2/3
sg	notidio	otidio
dl	notidio dudo	otidio dudo
pl	notidio dumo	otidio dumo
pc	notidio bidumo	otidio bidumo

Far Past

	1	2/3	NEG
sg	pinoti	poti	oti haka
dl	pinoti do	poti do	oti doi haka
pl	pinoti mo	poti mo	oti moi haka
pc	pinoti bimo	poti bimo	oti bimoi haka

Far Past Y/N

	1	2/3
sg	anoti	a'oti
dl	anoti dudo	a'oti do
pl	anoti dumo	a'oti mo
pc	anoti bidumo	a'oti bimo

Far Past Wh-Q

	1	2/3
sg	noti	oti
dl	noti do	oti do
pl	noti mo	oti mo
pc	noti bimo	oti bimo

Far Past with -dio

	1	2/3	NEG
sg	pinotidio	potidio	oti haka
dl	pinotidioi do	potidioi do	oti doi haka
pl	pinotidiou mo	potidiou mo	oti moi haka
pc	pinotidio bimo	potidio bimo	oti bimoi haka

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