Maisin: a grammatical description of an Oceanic language in Papua New Guinea

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Abstract

Maisin: a grammatical description of an Oceanic language in PNG is a descriptive study of the Maisin language, spoken in Collingwood Bay, on the north coast of Oro Province, Papua New Guinea, with particular treatment of those features that distinguish the language from other Austronesian languages within the Papuan Tip cluster.

Some of the distinctive features of Maisin described here include its topic and focus marking system; its use of postpositional phrases (showing proto-Austronesian forms, but following Papuan categories); chaining of co-ordinate dependent clauses preceding an independent clause; marking of tense, mood and aspect by suffixes rather than by prefixes; the existence of a closed set of intransitive verbs which mark subject person and number by suffixation only; and a typically Papuan style marking of medial and final verbs.

After providing an overview of the phonology and syntactic structure of the language, the thesis concludes by giving particular attention to the topic and focus marking system, and some tentative suggestions regarding the interaction of these markers within the information structure system of the language.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to my supervisor , Dr. Jae Jung Song, for his patience and flexibility in taking me on, not only as a long-distance student but as one long removed from the world of academic study. I have appreciated his prompt and helpful comments provided at each stage of writing.

 I'm also grateful to many of my colleagues within the Papua New Guinea SIL branch – especially the late Cindi Farr, who gave much assistance in the early stages of my coming to grips with Maisin grammar, and whose deep familiarity with Korafe helped to shed light on the influence that language may have had on its Austronesian neighbour. Britten Årsjö also provided valuable input, and René van den Berg has been of huge encouragement in his passionate advocacy of the need to see the languages of Papua New Guinea documented, even if (as in the present case)   incompletely and imperfectly.

From the very beginning of our fieldwork in Uiaku village, John Barker has been endlessly generous in making available not only the fruits of his own extensive anthropological research among the Maisin community, but also the many Maisin texts he collected during his own fieldwork, which have supplied some of the linguistic data for the present work. The maps in Chapter One are adapted from his earlier drafts, by means of technical assistance kindly provided by my sister, Catherine Ward.

And thanks to Margaret Mclagan's eagle eyes and insightful comments towards the final stages of this work, the errors that remain (all my own!) are considerably fewer than they would otherwise be.

To date the primary work on Maisin has been Malcolm Ross's *Maisin: a preliminary sketch,* which has been an invaluable guidebook to me from the earliest stages of fieldwork. Notwithstanding differences in analysis at some points, the huge debt owed to that study will be regularly apparent in the following pages.

An even bigger debt is owed to the Maisin people of Uiaku and Ganjiga villages, not only for their patient and tireless tutelage in their language and culture but for the warmth and kindness with which they welcomed two clueless *bariyawa momorobi* into their community. I especially want to acknowledge the late George Sevaru and his family, Aaron and Leah Kasai, Reuben and Christabel Seri, Copland King and Dulcie Ganeba and Roland and Celestine Wawe and their families for what their friendship, hospitality and practical help has meant to me and Marisa. *Bada asane akuteren areregeti!*

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Maisin family, Uiaku Village

Maisin children, Uiaku Village

Tending the cooking pots, Ganjiga Village.

Maisin women dancing, Uiaku Village

Maisin men dancing, Uiaku village

Tapa cloth designing, Ganjiga Village

Some aerial views of Uiaku Village

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List of gloss conventions and abbreviations

-	*morpheme boundary*
=	*clitic boundary*
1	*first person*
2	*second person*
3	*third person*
ABL	*ablative*
ACMP	*accompaniment*
ADJ	*adjectival*
ADJN	*adjectival noun*
ADV	*adverbialiser*
AGT	*agent/instrument*
CFAC	*counterfactual*
CNJ	*conjunction*
CONT	*continuative*
DEM	*demonstrative*
DIR	*directional (towards speaker/hearer)*
DS	*different subject*
DUAL	*dual*
ETP	*emphatic topic marker*
E	*emphatic*
EXC	*exclusive*
FOC	*focus*
FUT	*future tense*
GEN	*genitive*
HON	*honorific*
IMP	*imperative*
INC	*inclusive*
IR	*irrealis*
ISOL	*isolating*
IT	*irrealis topic*
LMT	*limiter*
LOC	*locative*
NEG	*negative*
NOM	*nominaliser*
NP	*noun phrase*
O	*object*
PAST	*past tense*
PL	*plural*
POSS	*possessive predicate*
POT	*potential*
PQ	*polar question*
PRO	*pronoun*
PSR	*possessor*
RECIP	*reciprocal*
RL	*realis*
REF	*referential*

RLSEQ	*realis sequential*
ROT	*rotative*
S	*subject*
SEQ	*sequential*
SG	*singular*
SIM	*simultaneous*
SS	*same subject*
TP	*topic*

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1 Introduction

1.1 Environment

The Maisin people live in two distinct regions of Oro Province (see Map 1, page 15.) Latest census figures[1] indicate that there are around 2000 people resident in the coastal Maisin-speaking villages of Collingwood Bay, and about 600 in the Kosirava-dialect area in the Musa Basin. In addition, several hundred Maisin speakers are living in other parts of the country, most of them employed in towns or cities, or undertaking further education.

The Kosirava-speaking Maisin live in 6 small villages in the Musa basin, an area widely regarded as the place of origin for all Maisin speakers prior to their later migration to the coast of Collingwood Bay. They are entirely surrounded by speakers of Baruga, a Papuan language of the Binandere family, with which there is widespread bilingualism. (See Map 1) There is now little regular interaction between the Kosirava and coastal Maisin speakers, who are widely separated from each other geographically, and the present dissertation will confine its focus to the speakers of the coastal dialect, often referred to as 'Uiaku' , taking its name from the name of the largest Maisin-speaking village in the area.

The coastal Maisin inhabit 9 villages covering an area of about 45 kilometres along the shores of Collingwood Bay, southeast of Cape Nelson. (See Map 2, page 16). Most of the villages are contiguous but there is a settlement of Maisin speakers in Uwe village in the midst of the Arifama-Miniafia community and bordered by the Ubir and Korafe languages. Uwe village is, in fact, unusual in that it is jointly populated by Maisin and Miniafia speakers. A boundary marker demarcates the two communities, but the whole village population is effectively bilingual in both languages.

The remaining 8 villages are are gathered in 4 main areas, Yuwayu, Uiaku, Sinapa and Airara (see Map 3, page 17). Uiaku includes the sizable village of Ganjiga, from which it is separated only by a river, Sinapa includes the smaller neighbouring hamlets of Konyasi and Sinipara,

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[1] This data is from the census taken in 2000. A further census was conducted in 2011 but figures are not yet available.

and Airara includes the adjacent settlement of Marua at the southernmost end of the language group, close to the border with Milne Bay Province. There is regular and frequent interaction between the members of these communities, and much interconnection through marriage and kinship. There is no road access to Collingwood Bay and travel within the area is by foot, outrigger canoe or motorised dinghy.

Much of the shoreline between the villages consists of mangrove swamps, or of volcanic sand beaches. Although their territory stretches back to the Gorofi mountains, most of the Maisin have established their villages and gardens within about 4km of the coast. They live by subsistence gardening and practise swidden agriculture. Although occasionally affected by drought and flood, the area is generally fertile and the Maisin enjoy a good variety of garden food. The primary staple is taro, but sweet potato, plantain, pumpkin, corn, and various greens are also plentiful, as are such fruits as bananas, pawpaw, pineapple, mangoes and guava. Sago, traditionally a famine food, tends to be used mostly nowadays for feasts and special occasions.

The Maisin diet is also enriched by their ready access to an abundant supply of wildlife (pigs, cassowaries, bandicoots and wallabies) in the grasslands and bush behind the villages, as well as of shellfish in the mangrove swamps and of a large variety of fish in the waters of Collingwood Bay. There are two main seasons to the year, the rainy season from late November to April, and the drier, windy season from May to early November. Annual rainfall averages anywhere between 1800mm and 3300mm.

1.2   Culture and lifestyle

The Maisin community live a subsistence lifestyle whereby their extensive forest and garden land furnishes them not only with their food but also with the wherewithal for their housing, canoes and many other material needs (mats, fishing equipment, spears, drums etc.) There is a gender-based division of labour to the effect that the work of house-building, canoe-making, garden clearing, fishing with nets, hunting and sago-making is an exclusively male domain. However the regular work of garden maintenance and food-gathering, firewood collection, water fetching, childcare and cooking primarily falls to the women. Planting the garden is perhaps the main sphere of labour jointly engaged in by both sexes.

Maisin people have long been known within their immediate area, and in more recent years even further afield, for their distinctive tapa cloth designs. The cloth is made from the beaten bark of the paper mulberry tree and painted with natural dyes. It was regularly traded with the neighbouring Ubir people for the clay pots produced in and around Wanigela. Traditionally the cloth was used for clothing although its use in that form is now reserved for feasts and ceremonial occasions. Tapa cloth production and design were once exclusively the province of women, and while the laborious task of stripping and beating the bark remains a feminine chore, men have more lately become involved in designing the beaten cloth. Since it has become a commercial product, its uses have also diversified, and Maisin people now make such items as hats, bags, purses, and tablemats from it, and market them in towns and cities around the country, as well as overseas.

Significant occasions traditionally marked by the Maisin community include the birth of children, especially of firstborn offspring, the bride price ceremony which gives final validation to a marriage, the coming of age rites and the mortuary feasts. Over the last twenty or thirty years, the coming of age rites in particular have largely slipped out of usage, perhaps partly because of increasing numbers of Maisin teenagers leaving the village for High School education, and because church rituals such as confirmation are seen as taking over some of the function of the original ceremonies. The intricate facial tattoos of Maisin women, which formed part of their coming of age rites as teenagers, are no longer carried out and are now only visible on the faces of women in their thirties and over. However the other life events cited continue to provide an occasion for traditional feasting, in particular the mortuary rituals which are analysed in some detail by John Barker (1986, pp. 271-285).

1.3 Language Use

Within the community, the Maisin language is readily used in all domains of life, although with a degree of code-mixing at occasions such as church services, public meetings etc, where the national languages, English and Tok Pisin (Melanesian Pidgin) may also be used. English has traditionally been the preferred language for use with those from outside the area, but as a result of increasing movement around the country in recent years, Tok Pisin is becoming more widely known and used and is particularly popular with young men. The other national language, Hiri Motu, sometimes known as Police Motu, seems to be understood primarily by older members of the community and is little used in the village setting.

English is the official language of schooling, although in the mid 1990's, the Maisin community began to establish pre-schools in the main centres (Yuwayu, Uiaku, Sinapa and Airara) with a view to giving children their first introduction to literacy in their mother tongue, before transferring to English. Since around 2000, these have tended to be absorbed into the government-sponsored Elementary system, which has sought to provide vernacular literacy for the first year or two of schooling, bridging into English instruction thereafter. This policy is currently under government review and looks likely to be replaced by a return to English medium education, but with a vernacular component retained in some form.

Literacy and education in general are highly valued among the Maisin for both sexes and most village children attend primary schooling through to Grade 6. Factors such as cost and distance mean that a minority continue on to High School. Nevertheless, a significant number of Maisin people have carried on to higher education and attained positions of responsibility and influence in the government, the medical profession, the Anglican church and elsewhere. Small communities of Maisin people are resident in Port Moresby, Lae, Popondetta and Alotau.

While many Maisin marry within the language group there is also considerable intermarriage of Maisin men with women from the surrounding languages especially Korafe, Ubir, and Miniafia. Since all the Collingwood Bay communities tend to be both patrilineal and patrilocal, many women from these language groups, and to a lesser extent from further afield as well, have come to settle in Maisin villages. With rare exceptions they have all become fluent speakers of Maisin, although they will often choose to use their mother tongue with their own children. As a result, there is within the Maisin community a high degree not only of kinship connection with these neighbouring languages, but also of passive bilingualism in them.

1.4 History of Contact

Maisin speakers trace their beginnings to a cave in the ground in the Musa basin, near the area where the Kosirava Maisin community still live. The date of their departure from there and their settlement, in stages, along the coast of Collingwood Bay, cannot be definitively asserted, but has been tentatively suggested as taking place in the latter half of the 19th century (Barker, 1986, p. 36). What is more certain is that by the last decade of that century they had established a fearsome reputation as warriors and raiders throughout Collingwood Bay and even as far as Cape Vogel. The first resident magistrate of the area has chronicled some stirring accounts of their successful inroads on neighbouring communities as well as their own vulnerability to the incursions of the mountain-dwelling Doriri tribes behind

them (Monckton, 1927, pp. 17-22, 53-62, 75-102). He also tells of the Maisin's submission to the colonial administration, and acceptance of government authority around 1900, after which time the inter-tribal raiding parties largely came to an end (1927, p. 69.) Maisin contact with Europeans had, however, occurred even earlier than that, when William McGregor, Lieutenant Governor of the Territory and Albert Mclaren, leader of the Anglican Church mission to New Guinea, made a preliminary tour of the north coast in 1890, which included a visit to Uiaku village. An Anglican mission station was then established at the neighbouring Ubir-speaking settlement at Wanigela in the late 1890's. After pacification of the Maisin in 1900, the first Anglican missionary was stationed at Uiaku, and in succeeding years the Maisin were served by a succession of missionary teachers recruited by the Anglican Mission from other parts of Melanesia, especially the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides (Wetherell, 1977, p. 105). The first Anglican priest, Rev. Arthur Prout Jennings, was assigned to Uiaku in 1917, and these first decades of the new century were in general characterised by increasing adherence to the norms imposed by the presence of the church and government.

Throughout the 1920's and 30's, many Maisin men were recruited by the government as labourers for plantations in neighbouring Milne Bay province. At the same time, educational and vocational training opportunities started to become available to them through the schools and teacher training college at Dogura. All of this had the effect of exposing many of the Maisin community to the wider world, increasing their access to European store goods, and generally broadening their world view.

That process was further accelerated by the involvement of the Maisin in World War II, which served as something of a watershed for many small communities in Papua New Guinea. Although the Maisin area was not itself a scene of battle, many Maisin men served as carriers and labourers for Australian and American troops, particularly along the Kokoda Trail. The post-war rebuilding period was marked by a rapid increase in educational and employment opportunities (Barker (1986, p. 77) which Maisin people have consistently taken advantage of in ensuing decades, with the result that to date they continue to have a considerable representation (relative to their numbers) in government, medical, teaching and business professions.

1.5   Linguistic Classification

Maisin has most recently been classified as a member of the Papuan Tip cluster of south eastern New Guinea, itself a subgroup of Western Oceanic. Specifically, it has been classed as originating from the Are-Taupota Chain within the Papuan Tip group (Dutton, 1995, p. 215). However, as its origins have been the subject of much discussion since its earliest documentation, and it has often been referred to simply as a 'mixed' language, even listed as 'unclassified', it is worth giving some space here to review the history of its classification.

Debate over its origins began as early as 1911 with the publication of two articles in the same issue of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society, both recognising the presence of typically Austronesian[2] and Papuan features of the language, but drawing opposite conclusions from the same evidence.

William Strong argued the case for Maisin being basically an Austronesian language, but one which had been heavily affected by contact with Papuan languages in the area. He expressed some uncertainty about the likely sources of this influence, given that he saw little obvious resemblance to neighbouring Binanderean languages, although recent studies have indicated considerable lexical and structural parallels with, in particular, Korafe and Baruga, two nearby members of the Binandere family.[3] As evidence of a basic Austronesian pedigree for Maisin, he adduces such features as: inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural marking, object suffixation on the verb, suffixed possessive pronouns on inalienably possessed nouns (albeit a much more limited range of such nouns than in other Austronesian languages), subject marking by prefixation on the verb, and the formation of prepositions (actually postpositions) from the noun. As examples of non-Austronesian features he cited a system of case-marking suffixes to 'decline'[4] the noun, the numerals, and the practice of tense/aspect marking by suffixation on the verb (Strong, 1911).

Sidney Ray drew on the same data, but asserted the language's Papuan heritage, on the rationale that while it is not uncommon for Papuan languages to borrow both lexical items and grammatical particles from Austronesian languages, there is no precedent for a Austronesian language adopting other than vocabulary items and idioms from a Papuan

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[2] Both Strong and Ray actually used the term 'Melanesian' but in the interests of clarity Austronesian is used throughout this summary of their discussion.
[3] Cindi Farr, personal communication

[4] Strong's terminology here is probably influenced partly by the allomorphy which as Ross (1996:200) points out, may have kept him from recognising the distinct postpositional forms, and perhaps also by the highly inflectional Latin paradigms in which he had likely been educated.

language. He further claimed that the phonology of the language appeared more Papuan than Austronesian, citing such features as the nasal consonant clusters [ŋg, mb, nj] and the absence of sequences such as [kw, gw]. Like Strong, he notes such typically Papuan syntactic features as the case-marking system, drawing comparisons with Mailu and Binandere, and the Noun-Adjective ordering, although he acknowledges that this last feature is equally typical of Austronesian languages. And he agreed with Strong to the extent of acknowledging the Austronesian origin of such features as the subject prefixes, object suffixes and the use of reduplication within the verb (Ray, 1911). Ray's assessment was supported by Capell in a 1943 paper, which also accorded Papuan status to Maisin, while Lynch later sided with Strong and classed the language as basically Austronesian, but with much Papuan overlay (Lynch, 1977). Capell later put the rather controversial case for the classification of Maisin as a genuinely 'mixed' language, not intending thereby to assign it equal membership of two different families, but rather to claim that the contributions of both the true genetic ancestor and the 'invading' language are sufficiently evenly weighted in terms of both lexical items and syntax, that a true mixture has occurred (Capell, 1976).

Even more recently Malcolm Ross, whose sketch of Maisin remains the primary published account of the language to date, has summarised the arguments on both sides and presented his own case, favouring the conclusions drawn by Strong and Lynch, and claiming that Maisin is indeed an Austronesian language, but one that has undergone extensive adaptation as a result of contact with Papuan languages. He has coined the term 'metatypy' for this process, defining it as the restructuring of a community's language through ongoing contact with an intergroup language, in a situation where there is bilingualism in both languages (1996, p. 192f).

Ross locates the reason for the different conclusions arrived at by earlier linguists as residing in their use of different methodologies. He claims that Strong correctly identified Maisin's correspondences in both meaning and form with other Papuan Tip languages, while the two most notable Papuan features he recognised (postpositional enclitics on the noun phrase, and tense/aspect enclitics) were similarities of structure only, not of form. According to Ross, Ray and Capell by contrast, focused only on structural parallels and failed to see formal correspondences, perhaps because these resemblances are often masked by the complex morphophonemic processes that Maisin has undergone, and because of the high proportion of non-Oceanic vocabulary in the Maisin lexicon.

Ross went on to attribute both this morphophonemic complexity, and the preponderance of non-Austronesian lexical material to the results of esoterogeny, a process designed to make a particular language more inaccessible to outsiders and preserve its exclusiveness, and one which may occur in conjunction with the metatypy resulting from bilingualism. He claims that while there is evidence of some general metatypy that has affected most of the Papuan Tip languages, with resulting consistent changes throughout the grouping in e.g. constituent order, Maisin appears to have been the subject of an additional process, distinguishing it even further from its Papuan Tip neighbour (M. D. Ross, 1996, p. 192). Assuming that Ross, and Strong and Lynch before him, are right in their conclusions that Maisin can properly be classed as an Austronesian language, (albeit one whose speakers all affirm their ancestral origins from a Trans New Guinea enclave in the Musa basin!) there is still much to be discovered about the circumstances under which it acquired its many non-Austronesian lexical items, and its more typically Papuan structures, as well as identifying languages which served as the sources of those features.

1.6   Data collection and fieldwork

As members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, I and a fellow-researcher began fieldwork in the Maisin language in April 1997. Our research has involved extended periods (with a cumulative total of around three and a half years) living in Uiaku village, the largest Maisin settlement, and gaining familiarity with both the language and cultural environment. Much of the data used in preparation of this paper was gathered in and around Uiaku between 1997 and 2009. It comprises oral texts, both narrative material and informal conversations, which have been recorded and later transcribed, as well as a body of written materials. There are a range of sources for the written texts. These include a few personal letters, some stories written and edited at writer's workshops held in Uiaku and Ganjiga villages, reading books produced for use in vernacular pre-schools and portions of the New Testament translated into Maisin, and revised and edited by teams of Maisin speakers.

This dissertation also draws on a collection of 24 narrative texts transcribed from recordings made in 1981/82 in Uiaku village by John Barker and later compiled into book form (Barker & Seri, 1995). We are very grateful to John Barker for making available to us a collection of tapes containing further recorded stories collected during his time in Uiaku conducting anthropological fieldwork. Some of these stories have now been transcribed and translated, while others are still in process. The text collection as a whole includes a large number of traditional stories, some personal narratives and some procedural texts. It

amounts to around 80 texts in Maisin, totalling approximately 250 pages. A Maisin-English dictionary is in the process of compilation and the lexical database currently has around 3000 entries.

1.7   Typological Characteristics

1.7.1   Word Order

Unmarked word order in Maisin is SOV. Other ordering patterns include: Noun-modifier, Genitive-Noun and Noun-Relative Clause. The language is primarily postpositional with much cliticisation of postpositions to preceding NP's.

Other typological features are set out below. Listed first are those features most typical of other members of the Papuan Tip cluster to which Maisin has been assigned, and then those more generally associated with Papuan languages. Of course the boundaries between the two are not clear-cut, and there is a degree of overlap, but in general the features have been grouped according to their more Austronesian- or Papuan-like resemblances.

More typically Austronesian features include: possessor pronominal suffixation on inalienably possessed nouns, exclusive/inclusive distinction within 1st person plural, reduplication, and subject-marking by prefixation on the verb.

1.7.2   Possessor pronominal suffixation on inalienably possessed nouns

In Maisin, this comprises a rather narrower range of nouns than in its Oceanic neighbours, being limited to body parts and a small number of location nouns. Kin terms are not marked for possession in this way.

(1.1)	matau	(1.2)	faken	(1.3)	kei
	mata –u		fake –n		ke –i
	eye -1SG.PSR		hand -2.PSR		foot -3PL.PSR
	my eye		*your hand(s)*		*their feet*

1.7.3   Subject-marking by prefixation on the verb

The forms of the subject prefixes are all clear reflexes of the normal paradigm for Oceanic languages. The paradigm below shows the basic forms, but there is considerable morphophonemic variation according to the type of verb stems they attach to.

	Singular	Plural
1EXC	*a-*	*ka-*
1INC		*ta-*
2	*ku-*	*ku-*
3	*i-*	*ti-*

1.7.4 Exclusive/inclusive distinction within 1st person plural

This distinction is encoded in personal and possessive pronouns, possessor suffixes, and subject and object affixation on the verb.

(1.4)   anso   (1.5)   aitika   (1.6)   an   yabi
        an=so   aiti=ka   an   yabi
        1EXC.PRO=REF   1INC.PRO=TP   1EXC.PSR   father
        for us(exc)   *we(inc)*   *our(exc) father*

(1.7)   ati   wakki
         1INC.PSR   village
        our(inc) village'

1.7.5 Reduplication

This occurs within the verb to indicate continuous, repeated or habitual action.

(1.8)   i- **maa**- matu
        3SG.S- CONT- sleep
        She's sleeping

(1.9)   kara =TP   isa a- **ya-** yan =ka
        betelnut=TP   NEG 1SG.S-CONT- chew=TP
        I don't chew betelnut

It is also used with some human nominals to denote plurality.

(1.10)   morobi   **mo**morobi   (1.11)   toma   **to**toma
         girl   *girls*   *(male) friend* *(male) friends*

More typically Papuan features include: subject-marking by suffixation (applying to a closed class of verbs), tense/aspect marking by suffixation, postpositional phrases

with case-marking by cliticisation, the marking of topic and focus, and serial constructions with medial and final verbs.

1.7.6   Subject marking by suffixation

This applies to a closed class of intransitive verbs. To date, all the verbs that have been identified in this class appear to be cognate with items in the neighbouring non-Austronesian languages, Korafe and Baruga.[5]   The suffixed subject markers show some formal resemblance to their prefixed counterparts.

(1.12)   man=e   sirorari**–kon**
            what=LOC   be.born -2S
            Where were you born?

(1.13)   nen =e   arore   toru **–kan**
            there=TP   together collide-1EXC.S
            We came up against each other there.

1.7.7   Tense/aspect marking by suffixation

(1.14)   yun   a- kun **=anan**
            water   1SG.S- drink =FUT
            I'll drink some water.

(1.15)   i- ma- matu **=me**   (1.16)   ku- fe **=aka**
            3SG.S- CONT- sleep =PAST   2S- fall =POT
            He was sleeping.   *You might fall!*

1.7.8   Post-postional phrases with case-marking by cliticisation

As Ross notes, (1996, p. 194) the postpositions show parallels with Proto-Austronesian forms where they co-occur, but the categories encoded are typically Papuan and comprise a larger number than those normally found among Maisin's Papuan Tip neighbours. They include the locative/allative *=e,* referential/benefactive *=so*, ablative *=efe*, accompaniment *=ton*, and instrumental/agentive *=en*. These enclitics always attach to the final element in the NP.

1.7.9   Topic marking

The topic-marking enclitic *=ka* operates at both a syntactic level, marking the subject in topic-comment clauses, and at a pragmatic level where it is used to track participants and establish temporal and spatial settings in discourse. The irrealis topic marker *=a* performs the same role in questions, prohibitions and reported speech.

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[5] Cynthia Farr, personal communication

(1.17)	kato **=ka**	ka-wawe	(1.18)	ai **=ka**	tamati	ratti
	thatch =TP	1EXC.S –get		3SG.PRO =TP	man	old

As for roof thatch, we got some.   *He's an old man.*

(1.19) a. ari   asan**=a**   sera=e?
         3SG.GEN   name=IR.TP   who= POSSPRED
         What's his name?

      b. ari   asan**=ka**   Reuben
         3SG.GEN   name=TP   Reuben.
         His name is Reuben.

(1.20)   an   nan **=a**   ku- nane
         NEGIMP   thus =IR.TP   2S- do
         Don't do that!

1.7.10 Focus marking

The focus-marking enclitic /=na/ is of much more limited distribution than the topic marker, and primarily attaches to object and patient subject NPs, where it serves to highlight new information being supplied. It is never used with agent subject NPs, where focus is instead signalled by the use of the instrument/agentive case-marking postposition /=en/. This may be indicative of a partial ergative/absolutive tendency in the language.

(1.21)   Duncan   wanno Salius   ei**=na**   ti- mati
         Duncan   and Salius   3PL.PRO=FOC   3PL.S- die
         Duncan and Salius, they're the ones who died.

1.7.11 Serial constructions marking medial and final verbs

Maisin exhibits a number of serial verb constructions whereby final tense/aspect marking is carried only on the last verb in the series, but medial tense/aspect-marking enclitics are used to indicate the relationship between the two clauses.

1.7.11.1 Medial enclitics

Medial enclitic /=ate/ (realis sequential) locates the action of the first clause as sequentially prior to that of the final clause, in the case of actions that are definitely asserted to have taken place.

(1.22)   morobi =ka   i-wawe **=ate**   ti- ra =me   begati =e
           girl =TP   3SG.S- get =RLSEQ   3PL.S-   go =PAST   garden =LOC

ti- rau
3PL.S- go.in

She took the girl and then they went into the garden.

/=fe/ (irrealis sequential) again indicates sequentially prior acton in the case of verbs with with future time orientation or with no specific time frame in view.

(1.23)   e- kute –ri **=fe**   ti- taramosari   ti- ra
            3SG.S- greet -3PL.O =IR.SEQ   3PL.S- leave   3PL.S- go

            ti- too =anan
            3PL.S sleep =FUT

            He'll farewell them, then they'll go (home) and sleep.

The following two medial suffixes suggest that Maisin verb morphology includes an element of switch reference, another element atypical of Austronesian languages.

/-n/ (same subject simultaneous) attaches to the verb stem and indicates simultaneous action and identity of subject (or at least some referential overlap) with the verb immediately following it.

(1.24)   ti- kayawa **-n**   te- e
            3PL.S- fear –SS.SIM   3PL.S-   go
            They went away frightened.

(1.25)   ku-eise**-n**   ta- ra
            2S-stand-SS.SIM   1INC.S-   go
            Get up and we'll be off!

/-n/a (different subject simultaneous) indicates a change of subject in the immediately following clause, where the actions of both clauses are concurrent or overlapping. It is also used in contexts where the subject of the following clause remains the same, but a different argument is in focus, as in (1.27) below. This analysis differs from Ross's description of *–na* as indicating durative aspect in relation to the punctiliar action of the following clause (1984, p. 70) but accords better with our data.

(1.26)   tamati   ratti nen =ka   yum =e
         man   old DEM =TP   water =LOC

         e- uki   ye- ye **=na**   furen   nen =ka
         3SG.S- go.down   CONT-bathe =DS.SIM   wallaby   DEM =TP

         i- rauku
         3SG.S- come.out

         The old man went down to the water (and) while he was bathing a wallaby came out.

(1.27)   buram =e   siko =en   i- vasus –i **=na**
         bush =LOC   pig=AGT   3SG.S- give.birth -3PL.O =DS.SIM

         nuka –i =e   tamatan teiti =na
         middle-3PL.PSR =LOC   human   boy =FOC

         3SG.S-give.birth -3SG.O
         i- vasus –en

         In the bush, a pig gave birth (to a litter) and in their midst she gave birth to a human boy.

The ensuing chapters of this dissertation will explore different aspects of the Maisin language as follows: Chapter Two will list the phonemes and those phonological rules that have been identified. Chapter Three will list the closed word classes in the language and give examples of usage within each class. Of the open word classes, nouns and noun phrases will be dealt with in Chapter Four, while verbs and verb phrases will be the subject of Chapter five. Chapter Six will describe various kinds of clauses and simple sentences and Chapter Seven will go on to deal with complex sentences, including serial verb constructions, clause coordination strategies, relative clauses and complements. Finally, Chapter Eight will explore the system of topic and focus marking in Maisin, and illustrate this by means of a couple of extended interlinearised texts.
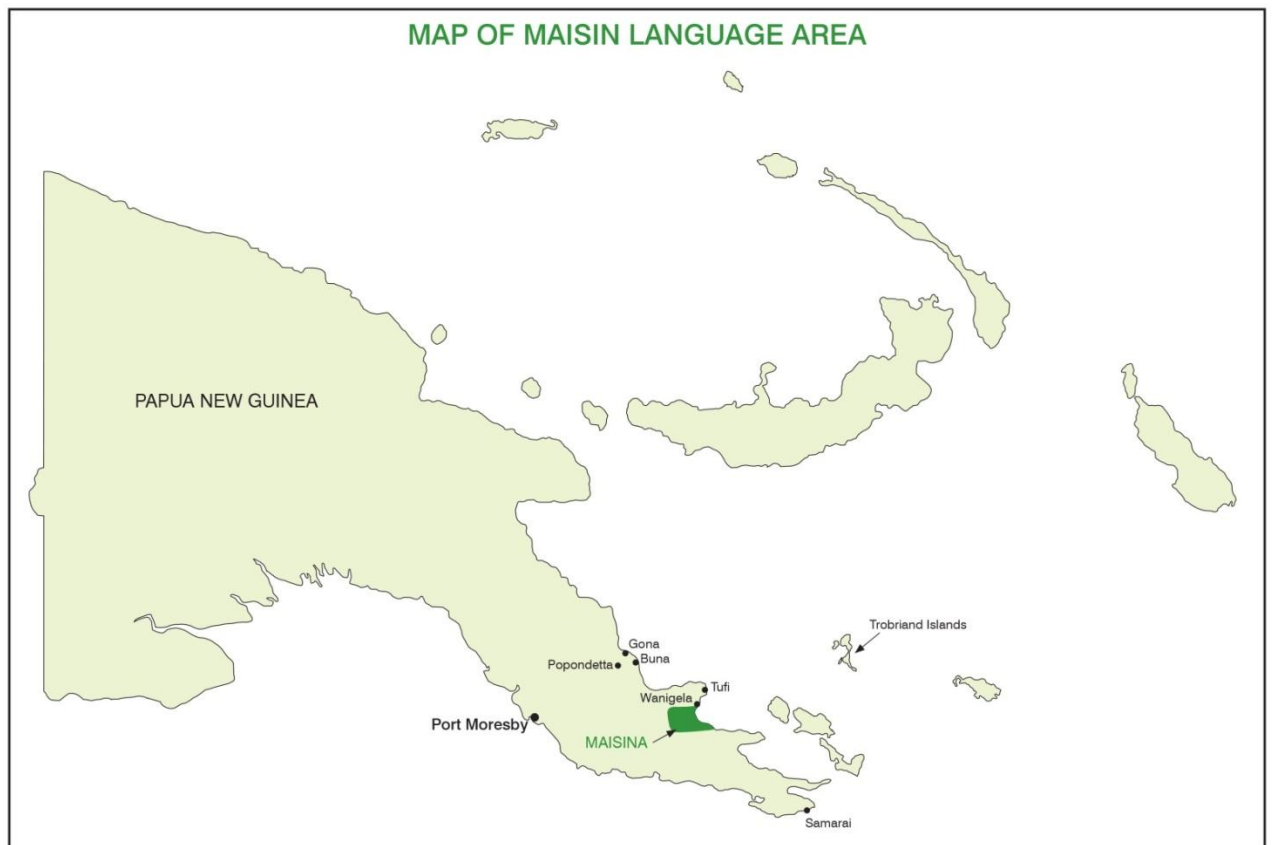
Map 1:Overall Map of Maisin language area, showing its location withing Papua New Guinea
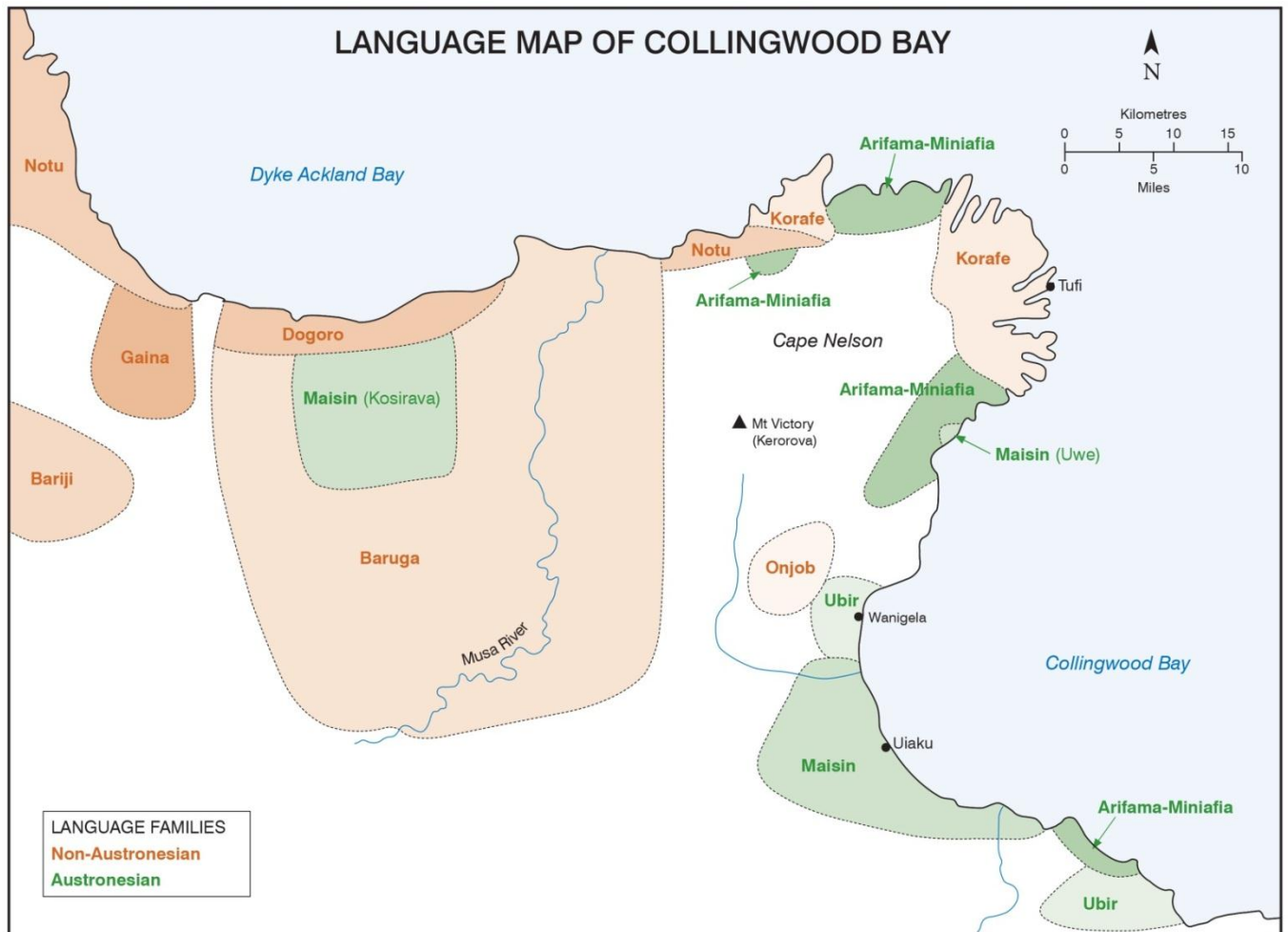
Map 2: Language Map of Collingwood Bay and Cape Nelson area, Oro Province
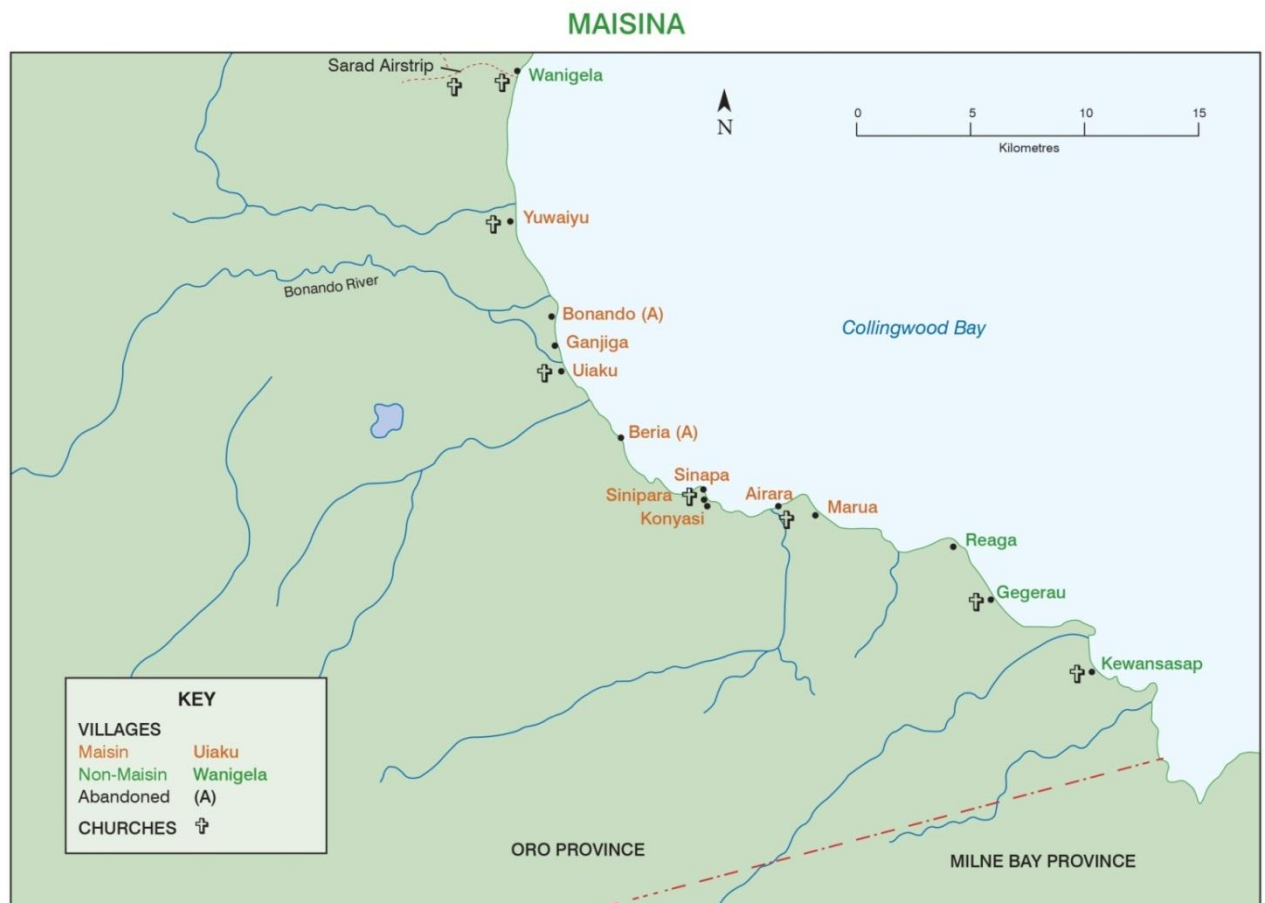
Map 3: Map showing Maisin settlements

2 Phonology

To date, the only published analysis of Maisin phonology is contained in Malcolm Ross's 1984 *Maisin: a preliminary sketch*, which includes a valuable description of the main phonological rules and morphophonemic processes as well as a coherent account of its mora-timed syllable structure. Since the amassing of a larger corpus of data has led to the modification of certain of those rules, most of the explicit references to Ross's work in the following pages will focus on areas of divergence from his conclusions. This should not, however, obscure the extent to which the present writer is indebted at every point to the careful analysis and clear description provided by Ross and upon which this chapter seeks to build.

2.1 Phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants
Table 1 Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	b		t, d			g, k
Nasal	m		n			
Flap			ɾ			
Affricate				dʒ		
Fricative		f, v	s			
Approximant					j	w

2.1.2 Vowels
Table 2 Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-mid	e		o
Open-mid			
Open			ɑ

2.1.3 Phonemic and orthographic inventory

List of phonemes: / ɑ b d e f g i dʒ k m n o ɾ s t u v w j /

Orthographic inventory: < a b d e f g i j k m n o r s t u v w y >

3   Ross's claim that [o] and [u] never occur word-initially (1984, p. 4)is not consistent with our data and may again be attributable to his more limited range of available

material. Since [a], [e] and [i] all function as inflectional prefixes on the verb, their distribution at word-initial position is much wider within the text corpus as a whole than that of [o] and [u]. However based on a current lexical database of around 3000 items, there is no significant difference in the frequency of any of the vowels' occurrences word-initially. In fact, of all attested vowel-initial lexical items, [o] has the second-highest frequency after [a]. Examples such as /unguba/ *elbow*, /ube/ *fjord* /umo/ *pigeon*, /obun/ *heart*, /ore/ *tuna* and/oote/ *elder* attest to the regular presence of these vowel phonemes word-initially in everyday speech.

2.2 Phonotactics

2.2.1 Syllable patterns

The basic structure of a Maisin syllable consists of a nucleus V, with optional onset C.

Possible syllable patterns include: V, VV, VC, CV, CVV, CVC and CVVN. Ross also notes the possibility of CVVC, where the final consonant is other than a nasal (1984, p. 7) but no such instances occur in our data, and the one example he supplies [i.kii.kias.si] *he is digging it* is more accurately analysed as a disyllabic sequence [i.kii.ki.ya.si] on the grounds that there are no other examples of the 'ia' sequence as a single syllable, and if that were the case, then one would expect the reduplication here to be [i.kia.kias.si] rather than [i.kii.kias.si.]

Consonant-final syllables may only occur word-finally or immediately preceding a consonant-initial syllable.

While all consonants may occur word initially and word medially, the nasal stops are the only consonants to occur word-finally, where they are phonetically realised as [ŋ].

2.2.2 Consonant sequences.

Maisin does not exhibit any true consonant clusters. Two consonants will only co-occur across syllable boundaries. In such instances, they will either be identical or the first will be a nasal stop homorganic with the immediately following consonant. All stops, voiceless fricatives and the affricate [ʤ] may occur as a lengthened (i.e. geminate) consonant word-medially.

[yab.be.ɾi] /yabberi/ *uproot*

[tod.di] /toddi/ *sky*

[i.ta.ra.wug.gu.ɾi] /itarawugguri/ *he is hitting them*

[bedʒ.dʒi] /bejji/ *large*

 [wak.ki]/wakki/ *village*

[fas.si] /fassi/ *sweat*

[ka.tu.wat.te] /katuwatte/ *teach*

Ross apparently excludes the nasal stops from this process (1984, p. 3) but this would disallow such widely attested forms as /wenna/ *strength*, /imommon/ *he is thinking,* /wanno/ *also.*

Ross rightly analyses the surface form [kʷ] as deriving from a /k/ + rounded vowel sequence and so does not posit the labialised form as an independent phoneme (1984, p. 4). By far the majority of the attested occurrences of this sequence arise from the inflectional subject prefixes /ku-/ and /ko-/ attaching to a vowel-initial verb stem, although a small number of lexical items with initial [kʷ] have also been identified. For reasons of orthographic convenience, Maisin speakers have elected to represent the inflectionally derived forms using the approximant /w/ , but to use /kV/for discrete lexical items. In at least one instance this gives rise to different spellings for the homophones /kweefi/ 'you said' [ko- ifi] and /koifi/ 'tapa loincloth'.

It seems reasonable to apply the same principle to [fʷ], which Ross has however listed as a separate phoneme (1984, p. 4). Our own lexical data to date includes only a single instance of [fʷ], /fʷee/ *white*. In locally authored texts, it is regularly spelt /foe(e)/, suggesting that speaker intuitions support the extension of Ross's analysis of [kʷ] to this instance of labialisation as well.

 Two occurrences of [bʷ] have also been attested. One of these, [bʷera] *pot* (from 'boiler') is a result of borrowing and the other, [bʷara] /*shellfish variety*/, could similarly be analysed as a sequence of /b/ + rounded vowel. In the interests of consistency and economy, all three surface forms [kʷ, fʷ, bʷ] are treated here as such sequences.

Ross goes on to remark the non-occurrence of [v] immediately before [o] or [u] (1984, p. 4) but this apparent gap may simply be due to paucity of available data at the time, since instances of both [vo] and [vu] are well attested in the present text corpus e.g. /ivo/ *turtle* ,

/vuvudi/ *body hair,* /evovi/ *custom.* However there appears to be considerable free variation of [v] and [w] before a following [u]. They include [tawu~tavu] *triton shell* [wuwu~vuvu] *cyclone* and [wuwusi~vuvusi] *paper mulberry tree.*   This might offer evidence, albeit unsubstantiable, of the existence of a voiced bilabial fricative [β] in the language at some earlier stage, later neutralised to [v~w] perhaps under the influence of an English-oriented orthography which couldn't accommodate the unfamiliar segment.

2.2.3   Vowel sequences

All five vowels can occur in lengthened forms, which are sequences of two like vowels.

/faafi/ *husband*, /beedo/ *sore*, /kooti/ *message*, /fii/ *bird*, /buuti/ *island*

Sequences of like vowels also occur across morpheme boundaries. In the case of [a] and [u], a reassignment of syllable boundaries takes place:

[i.ta.maa.na]
/i- tama =ana/
3S.S-wash=FUT
He will wash them.

[tuu]
/tu –u/
knee-1S.PSR
My knee

However, with [e], [i] and [o], syllable boundaries are maintained:

[ve.ti.mo.we.eŋ]
/vetimowe =en/
faith=INSTR
with faith

[ku.va.si.iŋ]
/ku- vasi =in/
2S—come.up=PQ
Did you come up?

[ku.to.o]
/ku- to =o/
2S-sleep=??
*You sleep (*leave-taking formula towards end of day*)*

In these cases, the transitional approximant [y] or [w] which intervenes between the vowels is usually represented in the orthography to disambiguate the sequence from a normal lengthened vowel, giving rise to written forms like 'kutowo!', 'vetimoweyen' and 'kuvasiyin?'

The following sequences of unlike vowels also occur and form glides within syllable boundaries:

[au] /sauki/ *woman*, /gau/ *hole*

[oi] /soini/ *fly*, /roise/ *siblings*

[ei] /weisi/ *yesterday*, /beisiga/ *argument*

[ou] /tou/ *sugarcane*, /wouki/ *cooking pot*

[ae] /gaevo/ *seaweed*, /songae/ *bush rope*

 [ao] /kaoo/ *rafter*

[ai] /baimara/ *famine*

All of these sequences also occur across stem-affix boundaries, resulting in the resyllabification of the resulting strings.

[tei.se]
/te- ise/
3P.S-stand
they're standing

[kou.ku]
/ko- uku/
2S-come.down
You came down.

[tau.ki]
/ta- uki/
1.INC.S-go.down
Let's go down!

[tai.te.ɾe.ta.nan]
/ta- (k)i te-ret(i)=anan/
1INC.S-see-1INC.O=FUT
We'll see each other.

[koi.se]
/ko- ise/
2S-stand
Stay there! (lit. 'stand')

Ross suggests (1984, p. 19) that there is a discernible contrast between phonetic glides occurring within a single morpheme, and constituting a single syllable, and the sequence of the same vowels across a morpheme boundary in which case they are disyllabic, but this does not accord with our own data above. All of the examples he cites, like those above, involve stem/affix boundaries, so it is unclear whether this indicates a shift in Maisin usage in the interim, or a difference in the formality of usage of the speakers who provided the data.

His broader claim that syllable boundaries persist at word/enclitic boundaries is, however, consistent with the data in the present corpus, as the following examples demonstrate.

[ku.tau.ke.in]
/ku-tauke=in/
2S.S-stay=PQ
Are you home? [lit. are you staying/]

[i.vo.in]
/ivo=in/
turtle=DEM
This turtle

The sequences [ea], [ia], [eu], [oa], and [ua] also occur frequently across morpheme boundaries, and within morphemes, separated by a transitional approximant /y/ or /w/

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Within a single morpheme this transitional approximant has the quality of a full phonetic segment and is represented in the orthography e.g. [te.ya] /teya/ *leech,* [be.yun] /beyun/ *heron*, [si.ya] /siya/ *string*, [ru.wa] /ruwa/ *hear*, [du.ro.wa] /durowa/ *beauty*

At morpheme boundaries, however, it functions with reduced value as a transitional sound and is not usually written.

[ku.fe.a.nan]/ku- fe =anan/*You'll fall!*

[te.u.ku] /te-uku/ *They came dow.*

[i.ba.gi.a.te] /i-bagi =ate/ *He stole and then…*

[a.ma.tu.a.ka] /a- matu =aka/ *I want to sleep.*

[ti.ro.a.te] /ti- rau =ate/ *They went in and then…*

2.3   Phonological processes

2.3.1   Rules affecting nasal consonants

2.3.1.1 Word-final nasal neutralisation
This rule provides that all nasal consonants neutralise to velar position word finally.

[ɾasiɾaŋ]   /rasiram/   *morning*

[saŋ]   /san/   *beach*

[taɾaŋ]   /taram/   *call*

In each of these cases, evidence for the underlying final phoneme is supplied by instances of its occurrence immediately before a vowel-initial enclitic:

[ɾasiɾame]   /rasiram=e/   *in the morning*

[sane]   /san=e/   *at the beach*

[itaɾamanaŋ] /i-taram=anan/   *He will call.*

Occasionally in casual speech the word boundary constraint may not apply:

[ɾasiɾamaɾi suɾiya]   /rasiram ari suriya/   *breakfast (morning's meal)*

This last example seems also to offer counter-evidence to Ross's categorisation of the possessive personal pronouns, like /ari/ above, as proclitics (1984, p. 18) . Other, frequently attested instances of utterances such as:

[ɾotaɾi fuɾa]   [teɾetaɾi fuɾa]
/roti ari fura/   /tereti ari fura/
ro-ti   ari   fura   tere-ti   ari   fura
 face-1INC.PSR   3SG.GEN week   back-1INC.PSR   3SG.GEN week
next week (lit. 'our(inc) face/front's week')   *last week* (lit. 'our(inc) back's week)

suggest that, if anything, the possessive pronoun functions like an enclitic since, at least in casual speech, it results in application of the i-deletion rule outlined below (2.3.3.1). However, its regular occurrence in clause-initial position assures its status as an independent word.

2.3.1.2 Pre-consonantal nasal assimilation

According to this rule, all nasal consonants assimilate to the place of articulation of the immediately following consonant.

[imommoŋ]   /i- mon- mon/   *He's thinkin.g*

[foiŋka]   /foim=ka/   *night*

Ross has supplemented this with two further rules, to be applied before the voiceless fricatives [f] and [s], where free variation apparently allows for the nasal to be realised as either [n] or [ŋ](1984, p. 16). Our data suggests that this modification   could also be extended to include the alveolar consonants [t] and [r]. Further examination, however, indicates that in the case of each of these consonants, the alveolar nasal [n] consistently occurs where the word at issue, even if morphologically analysable, has become sufficiently 'set' in common usage as to be regarded as monomorphemic at a psychological level.

Thus, no such variation occurs with the following words:

[afunfe]
/afun=fe/
now=IR.SEQ
later

[ɾoɾovanteŋ]
/roro=anten/
yesterday=??
recently

 [itatansi]
/i-tatam-si/
3S.S-be.sick-SG
He is sick.

However, each of the following instances, where there is a 'looser' association between the stem and enclitics, the nasal may be realised in casual speech either by the alveolar or velar form:

[keŋseŋ~kenseŋ]
/ke-m=sen/
foot-2.PSR=INSTR
with your feet

[aŋtoŋ~antoŋ]
/am=ton/
1EX.PRO=ACMP
us too

[neŋɾo~nenro]
/nen=ro/
DEM=ETP
***that** one*

[ɾasiɾaŋfe~rasiranfe]
/rasiram=fe/
morning=IR.SEQ
morning and then..

Given the acceptibility of the /Nf/sequence the following form appears to be an anomaly to the nasal assimilation rule, since there is no phonological constraint against such a form as *[ifunfun]:

[ifuffuŋ]

/fun/   burn   /i-fun/   it burned   /i-fun-fun/   it's burning

2.3.1.3 Post-nasal stopping
According to this rule, the palatal consonant /j/ becomes the affricate [ʤ] immediately after a palatal nasal.

[ijoñʤoŋki]   /iyonjonki/   /i- yon- yonki/   *it's lost*

In rightly noting that this process affects only [y] of the potentially available consonants, (/r/, /v/ and /w/), Ross provides a counter-example for /r/, [kanɾuwan] showing that /r/ does not undergo the same stopping process, and cites the lack of evidence in the case of both /v/ and /w/ (1984, p. 15). An instance of the /Nv/ sequence has since been identified, but does not contradict his original conclusion, since the /v/ retains its fricative quality after the nasal in the following example:

[jaŋveɾi] /yanveri/   *rest*

2.3.2   Rules affecting non-nasal consonants

2.3.2.1 Non-nasal assimilaton
This rule requires that all non-nasal consonants assimilate to the following consonant across syllable boundaries. Across morpheme boundaries, its primary application is to the reduplication process and to object affixation within the verb, since verb stems are the only morphemes that may end with a non-nasal consonant.

[iɾossi]
/i-ror –si/
3SG.S- pack -3SG.O
He packed it.

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[itettesi]
/i- ter- ter –si/
3SG.S- CONT- put -3SG.O
He's putting it.

[ikikkite]
/i- kit-kite/
/3SG.S- CONT- see/
He's seeing them.

Ross posits a further rule of /s/ assimilation (1984, p. 41) to account for the apparent anomalies in the following examples where the above rule would have predicted a geminate /s/ in the surface form:

[ikefotti]
/i- kefot –si/
3SG.S- shut -3SG.O
He closed it.

[aɾotti]
/a- rot –si/
1SG.S- tie -3SG.O
I tied it

2.3.2.2 Non-nasal stopping

This rule, which applies to the output of the non-nasal assimilation rule, causes two consecutive voiced fricatives or approximants to become stops at the identical point of articulation. Ross provides a very helpful rationale for this process in terms of its articulatory motivation, through the loss of the feature of rate, and the subsequent closure to form stops (1984, p. 14f).

[iwawuggureŋ]
/i-wawur- wur –ren/
3SG.S- CONT- defeat -1/2.O
It's getting the better of you.

[iwaggaseɾeŋ]
/i- was- waseri –eren/
3SG.S- CONT- growl.at -1/2.O
It's growling at me.

 [ijaʤʤasiŋ] /iyajjasin/
/i- yas- yasi –n/
3SG.S- CONT- open -3SG.O
He's opening it.

[jan kuvebbeɾijiŋ]
/yan ku- vev-veri =in/
rest 2S- CONT- rest =PQ
Are you resting?

The following example is included as supplementary data to support Ross's claim that the modification of the /vv/sequence immediately above, does not apply to the voiceless fricative sequences /ff/ and /ss/ which do not involve the same effort of articulation.

[ifoffosi]
/i- fos- fosi/
3SG.S- CONT- float
It's floating.

2.3.3   Rule affecting vowels

2.3.3.1 i-deletion

As stated by Ross, this rule results in the deletion of /-i/ immediately before a vowel across morpheme and word boundaries (1984, p. 17). Our data suggest that the rule should be restricted to allow for the loss of /-i/ only in certain environments, since there is clear evidence of its retention in many contexts.

It is deleted after the following consonants:

/f/   [aafanan]   /a- ifi =anan/   *I'll say*

/k/ [wakke]   /wakki=e/   *to the village*

      [koukate]   /ko- uki=ate/   *You went down and then…*

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/s/ [ivasusaka]   /i-vasusi=aka/   *She would give birth.*

   [itatansate]   /i-tatam-si=ate/   *He was sick and then…*

/t/ [taiteɾetanan] /ta-kite-reti=anan/   *We(inc) will see us(inc)*

/j/ [beʤʤen]   /bejji=en/   *big*=AGT

/b/ [moɾoba]   /morobi=a/   *girl*=IR.IT

   [jaben]   /yabi=en/   *father*=AGT

/d/ [titoddanan] /ti-toddi=anan/   *They'll marry*

However it is retained after the following consonants, even in casual speech:

/g/ [ibagiaka]   /i-bagi=aka/   *He would steal.*

/m/ [isomiate]   /i- som-i=ate/   *He wrapped them and then…*

/n/ [tibuniate]   /ti- buni=ate/   *They gathered it up and then…*

/r/ [titeɾianan]   /ti-ter-i=anan/   *They will put them.*

/v/ [ekesevianan] /e-kesev-i=anan/ *He will split them.*

/w/ [tinawianan] /ti-nawi=anan/   *They will kill them*

An apparent anomaly is that although /i/ is usually deleted after /s/, there are two verbs, /kusi/ *leave* and /vasi/ *come up*, in which it is consistently retained, at least in careful speech, as the following examples illustrate:

/s/ [tikusiate]   /ti-kusi=ate/   *They left them and then…*

   [avasianaŋ]   /a-va-si=anan/   *I will come up here*

The rule could be reformulated to allow for the loss of /i/across word/enclitic and stem/suffix boundaries and immediately preceding a vowel when it occurs after a stop or a voiceless fricative. This appears to be the most economical way to handle the data, but it does not account for the anomalous position of /s/, nor for the regular retention of /i/ after /g/, (as in [ibagiaka] above)which would present an exception to the postulated rule.

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2.4 Stress

Syllables with vowel sequence CVV always receive word stress, no matter where they occur in the word:

/ˈbai.ma.ra/   *famine*   /ga.ˈnai.so/   *white palm*

A CC sequence in a Masin word always crosses a syllable boundary. In such words, the initial consonant in the lengthened sequence functions as the coda in the syllable in which it occurs, making that a 'heavy' syllable and attracting word stress:

/ˈkad.di/   *thigh*,   /ˈtas.sa.re/   *in the sea,*   /ˈat.ti/   *I saw it.*

 In disyllabic and trisyllabic uninflected words, stress usually falls on the first syllable or the first VV syllable, if present:

/ˈfa.na/   *table*   /ma.ˈnaa/   *fish*

/ˈmo.ro.bi/   *girl*   /wa.ˈkaa.si/   *in vain*

In words of more than three syllables, the third syllable generally carries primary stress, unless there is a VV or VC syllable in another position, which will automatically attract stress:

/ko.du.ˈre.re/   *papaya*   /ve.gu.ˈre.re.vi/   *key*

/ve.no.noˈwat.ti/   *preparation*   /i.ˈmaa.ma.ti/   *he is dying*

2.5 Orthographic conventions

Reference has already been made at various points to certain features of Maisin orthography, but the main conventions are summarised here:

2.5.1 Long vowels

All vowels may be lengthened. Long vowels are represented orthographically by the repetition of the vowel in question.

[aːfanan] ⇒ <aafanan> *I will say*, [wiːvi] ⇒ <wiivi> *sister-in-law*

2.5.2   Nasals

The velar nasal [ŋ] is written as <n> since it is not a phoneme and its occurrence is entirely predictable from its position and environment (word-finally or preceding a velar consonant.)

2.5.3   Labialised /k/

The sequence /ku+V/ is written as <kwV>:

[kuit.ti]   /ku- kite-si/   <kwitti>   *you saw (it)*

The sequence /koV/ is written as /koV/ in all contexts except   when it occurs as an inflectional subject marker with the verb /ifi/:

[koise]   /ko-ise/ <koise> *you stood*

[koi]   /koi/   <koi>   *(female) friend*

[koifi]   /ko-ifi/   <kweefi>*you said*

2.5.4   Approximants

<w> and <y> are written intervocalically

1. where they occur as full phonetic segments at morpheme internal syllable boundaries:

 [vija]   <viya> *game,*   [nuwa]   <nuwa> *tooth*

2. where they occur epenthetically before following high vowels at morpheme boundaries

 [baimarajeŋ]/baimara+en/ <baimarayen> *with the famine*

[faafowe]   /faafo+e/   <faafowe>   *at the harbour*

3. where their presence may be required to disambiguate a sequence from a long vowel or diphthong

eg [te.ɾe.eŋ]   /tere=en/   <tereyen> *the younger one* (AGENT)

[ku.tau.ke.iŋ] /ku-tauke=in/ <kutaukeyin>   *are you staying?*

They are not normally written at morpheme boundaries preceding non-high vowels. In practice this applies primarily to the affixation of tense and aspect markers within the verb, as the following examples show:

[avasianaŋ]   /a-vasi=anan/   <avasianan> *I will come up*

[imatuaka]   /i-matu=aka/   <imatuaka>   *he wants to sleep*

3 Word Classes and Morphology

3.1 Open Word Classes

Maisin verbs and nouns are open word classes in that they comprise sets to which new items can be added, e.g. through derivation, borrowing or coinage of new forms, and in that a comprehensive list of all forms cannot be made. Each of these classes will be treated in a separate chapter, and the remainder of this chapter will be confined to a presentation of those word classes considered to be closed sets.

3.2   Closed Word Classes

3.2.1   Pronouns

Maisin pronouns distinguish between first, second and third person, with no marking for gender or animacy. First person plural forms make a further distinction depending on whether the hearer is included or not. There are only two categories of grammatical number, singular and plural, with the exception of the uninflected dual personal pronoun /yaisen/ which may reference either first (inclusive and exclusive), second or third person (see 3.2.1.1.3 below.)

3.2.1.1   Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns may appear as free forms, but most commonly occur as bound stems with topic, focus or case-marking enclitics attached. The forms are as follows:

Table 3: Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 EXC	aa/a-	yaisen	an/an-
1 INC		yaisen	aiti/aiti-
2	ee/e-	yaisen	en/en-
3	ai/ai-	yaisen	ei/ei-

Free forms occur predominantly in the following contexts:

a.   before the corresponding genitive pronoun:

(3.1)   **aiti**   ati   buuro
         1INC.PRO   1INC.GEN   work
         Our(inc) work

b.   with a postpositional particle:

(3.2)   **ai**   kora
         3SG.PRO   only
         He alone

(3.3)   e=ka   **an**   aro   ta-tauke=ana
             2SG.PRO   1EXC.PRO   with   1INC.S-stay=FUT
             You'll stay with us(exc) .

c.   with nouns in apposition:

(3.4)   **an**   Maisin
             1EXC.PRO   Maisin
             We Maisin

d.   as the object of a nominalised verb:

(3.5)   **aa**   karafe-∅=so
         1SG.PRO   bite-3PL.O=REF
         ...to bite me

e.   Less commonly, the free form may occur as the subject NP of an active clause:

(3.6)   **ei**   ti-ra=ana**ai**   i-ra=ana
         3PL.PLRO   3PL.S-go=FUT   3SG.PRO 3SG.S-go=FUT
         They will go (their way), he will go (his way).

The bound form occurs with much greater frequency, with case, topic or focus marking enclitics attached to form a pronominally-headed noun phrase (see Chapter 5.2.5 pronominally headed NP).

It also occurs as a bound stem with the following two forms:

3.2.1.1.1   Predicate marker /-e/

The predicate marker /-e/ is used only with personal pronouns and proper nouns. The following are the only pronominal forms so far attested:

(3.7)   Awe!   eye   aire   eiye
         aa-e   **ee-**e   **ai-**e   **ei**=e
         1SG.PRO=PRED   2SG.PRO=PRED   3SG.PRO=PRED   3PL.PRO=PRED
         It's me!   *It's you!*   *It's him!*   *It's them!*

3.2.1.1.2   Rotative marker /-misin/
The postposition /misin/, when suffixed to the appropriate personal pronoun in subject position, indicates the subject's right or obligation, by rotation, to perform the action of the verb:

(3.8)   a-misin   a-vav-si   ka-kan=anan
         1SG.PRO-ROT   1SG.S-cook-3SG.O 1EXC.S-eat=FUT
         It's my turn to cook something for us to eat.

(3.9)   nen=so   e-misin   wanno   ku-me-n i-rai
         DEM=REF   2SG.PRO-ROT   also   2S-give-3SG.O 3SG.S-come
         ...so it's your turn also to send one.

3.2.1.1.3   Dual pronoun /yaisen/
One personal pronoun which behaves differently from the above set is the free form /yaisen/, which may be used in reference to any two individuals, regardless of person. No case-marking or other post-positions are attached to it, and it always fills the subject actor role in the clause. The /-sen/ ending, with its resemblance to the case-marking enclitic /=en/, used to denote agent/instrument, may reflect agentive marking that has now become a 'frozen' form.

(3.10)   vaa=e   **yaisen**   ti-ra-raro
         house=LOC   DUAL.PRO   3PL.S-CONT-fight
         The two of them are fighting in the house.

(3.11)   Inate   **yaisen**   ka-uki..
         Then   DUAL.PRO   1EXC.S- go.down
         Then the two of us went down...

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3.2.1.2 Genitive Pronouns

The genitive pronouns are free forms which occupy the slot between the possessor noun or pronoun and the possessed noun.

Table 4: Genitive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1 EXC	au	an
1 INC		ati
2	ai	en
3	ari	ei

These forms may follow the possessor noun phrase, or occur NP-initially:

(3.12) **au**   yabi   **ari**   begati
        1SG.GEN   father   3SG.GEN   garden
        My father's garden

(3.13) mo-morobi   sandei   **ei**   babbasi
        PL-girl   two   3PL.GEN   verandah
        The two girls' verandah

Ross (1984, p. 29) classifies these forms as proclitics which attach to the possessed noun in possessive noun phrases but the existence of such forms as /an marawawawe/ *our(exc) love* and /en mon/ *your(pl) thinking* suggests otherwise, since the nasal assimilation one might expect as a result of cliticisation has not taken place. Moreover, our data indicates that if they were to be regarded as clitics at all, they function more like enclitics to the preceding noun, as the following examples show:

(3.14)   a.   raddamari suriya   b.   airari taukiramara
             raddam **ari**   suriya   ai   **ari**   taukiramara
             evening 3SG.GEN meal   3SG.PRO   3SG.GEN lifestyle

             The evening meal   *His behaviour*

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In an example like (3.14) a, if /ari/ were not an enclitic to the preceding noun, we would expect the final nasal of /raddam/ to neutralise to /n/ in accordance with the phonological rule regarding word final nasals. In (3.14) b, the epenthetic /r/ linking /ai/ and /ari/ again suggests cliticisation. However, since the genitive pronouns can occur noun phrase initially, without a preceding noun phrase they are best treated as independent forms.

3.2.1.2.1   Isolating suffix /-fi/

The bound suffix /-fi/ is used with the genitive pronouns to create a pronominal form which denotes isolation or aloneness:

	Singular	Plural
1 EXC	aufi	anfi
1INC		aitifi
2	aifi	enfi
3	aifi	eifi

It is unclear whether these forms are derived from the personal pronouns or the genitive pronouns since the plural first exclusive, second and third person forms are identical for both sets. In the above table, the first inclusive and third singular forms are the same as the personal pronouns, while the first singular and second person forms resemble the genitive pronouns.

These forms may modify a preceding personal pronoun or they may stand alone as the head of a pronominal noun phrase. They are frequently used in conjunction with the personal pronoun and the emphatic topic marker /=ro/:

(3.15) **ei-fi**   vaa=e   ti-too
         3PL.GEN-ISOL   house=LOC   3PL.S-lie (for sleep)
         They slept by themselves in the house.

(3.16)   ei=ro   **ei-fi**   ti-ra=anan
            3PL.PRO=ETP   3PL.GEN-ISOL   3PL.S-go=FUT
            They'll go all by themselves.

3.2.1.3   *Reciprocal pronoun /toto/*

The reciprocal pronoun /toto/ is not inflected for person or number. It occupies the slot in the verb phrase that would normally be filled by the object of a transitive verb:

(3.17)   **toto**   ka-kowa-ren
            RECIP 1EXC.S-miss-1/2.O
            We missed each other.

(3.18)   yaisen   **toto**   ti-gi=ate
            DUAL.PRO   RECIP   3PL.S-hold=RL.SEQ
            The two of them held on to each other and then…

3.2.2   Demonstratives

3.2.2.1   */nen/ 'that'*

Of the two Maisin demonstrative enclitics, /nen/ *that* is the more frequently occuring and performs a range of functions within the language.

As a deictic, it attaches to noun phrases:

(3.19)   vaa   bejji=**nen**
            house big=DEM
            That big house

It may combine with the locative case-marking postposition /=e/ to give the locative pronoun /nenke/ *there*, with the ablative marker /=efe/ to give /nenkefe/ *from there*, and with the referential marker /=so/ to give /nenso/ *therefore*. It is most frequently found in conjunction with the topic marker /=ka/, or focus marker /=na/, in which cases it is used as a clause nominaliser in relative clause constructions, temporal contingencies and conditional expressions (see section 7.1.4). With the locative marker /=e/, it gives the form /nenke/ *here.* As Ross points out (1984:28) its deictic force in these contexts is largely lost.

3.2.2.2   /in/ 'this'

The proximal demostrative /in/ is not used to nominalise clauses, but otherwise has the same range of distribution as /nen/, and occurs with topic, focus and case-marking enclitics. As a deictic, it is used with greater specificity than /nen/, and indicates closer relative distance to the speaker.

(3.20)   mee   ando**=in**   se   i-kayo-vi
          banana   skin=DEM   who   3SG.S-peel-3PL.O
          Who peeled these banana skins?

3.2.2.3   Demonstrative pronouns

3.2.2.3.1   /nenin/ 'that (one)', /inin/ 'this (one)'

The pronominal forms of /nen/ and /in/, /nenin/ and /inin/ respectively, may function as the heads of noun phrases, and host the full range of topic, focus and case-marking enclitics.

(3.21)   saukitamati   roma   **inin**   ti-kite-si
          people   whole   DEM.PRO   3PL.S-see-3SG.O

nen=ka
DEM=TP
          When all the people saw this…

(3.22)   **nenin**=ka   isa   tauban=ka
          DEM.PRO=TP   NEG   good=NEG
          That's not good.

3.2.2.3.2   Semblative /nenanan/ 'like this', /inanan/ 'like that'

The forms /nenanan/ and /inanan/ appear to derive originally from the demonstrative enclitics attached to /nan/ *thus* and are best glossed along the lines of   *like this/that, in this/that way.* They may host all the focus, topic and case-marking enclitics, and may fill the predicate slot in the clause, but they do not function as the head of a noun phrase. Like other predicates, they may occur with the future enclitic /=anan/ although the only attested examples of this are restricted to nenanan.

(3.23)   tatoddi   yove   ari   kin-kindi=ka **nenanan**=ana
          marriage   side   3SG.GEN   PL-time=TP   like.that=FUT
          In the area of marriage, that's what the customs will be like.

(3.24) deacon   ti-so-som-i   **nenanan**   a-som-eren=fe
        deacon   3PL.S-CONT-wrap-3PL.O   like that   1SG.S-wrap-1/2.O=IR.SEQ
        I'll dress the way deacons dress then…

(3.25) **inanan**   fake-n=en   ka-gi=fe   **inanan**
        like.this   hand-1/2.PSR   1INC.S-hold=IR.SEQ   like.this

        ka-ra=anan
        1INC.S-go=FUT

        We'll hold our hands like this and move along in this way.

With quantifying expressions, /nenanan/ often has the sense of *approximately*:

(3.26) 3:00   nenanan   Leah,   Doreen   ti-rai.
        3:00   like.that Leah   Doreen   3PL.S-come
        Leah and Doreen arrived around 3:00 p.m.

3.2.3   Interrogative/indefinite

Interrogative pronouns usually occur in the same position in the clause as the noun they replace. Their usage will be discussed further below (6.5 Interrogative sentences). There are five basic interrogative pronouns, from which other interrogatives are derived. All may be used in the formation of both interrogative and indefinite constructions.

3.2.3.1   Quantifier /viisi/ 'how much, how many'

/viisi/ is used to indicate quantity or amount. It may host topic or focus markers, but no examples of case-marking have been attested.

(3.27) kukun=na   **viisi**   ku-kan
        taro=FOC   how.many   2S-eat
        How much taro did you eat?

3.2.3.2   Temporal /isaa/ 'when'

/isaa/ *when* does not occur with topic, focus or case-marking enclitics. When used with future reference, however, it often hosts the irrealis sequential marker /=fe/:

(3.28) isaa=fe   ta-kite-eren=anan   nen=ka   isa kasan=ka
        when.IR.SEQ   1INC.S-see-1/2.O=FUT DEM=TP   NEG knowledge=TP
        I don't know when we'll see each other.

3.2.3.3   Relative /man/ 'which'

The deictic pronoun /man/ *which* occurs with focus and case-marking enclitics, but not with topic markers. It is frequently used with the locative and ablative markers to give the forms /manke/ *where (to)* and /mankefe/ *where from.* Ross (1984, p. 51) suggests that it cannot occur without one of these markers, but our data indicates otherwise. When occurring alone it often retains the locative force (see (3.31) below).

(3.29)   e=ka   **man**=kefe   ku-rai
          2SG.PRO=TP   which=ABL   2S-come
          Where did you come from?

(3.30)   **man**=na   boregi=anan=ka   ti-wawe=ana
          which=FOC   good.PL=FUT=TP   3PL.S-get.PL=FUT
          They'll take the ones that are good….

(3.31)   yei   a=kam=a   **man**
          older.sibling   1SG.PRO=POSS.PRED=IT   which
          Sister, where's mine?

3.2.3.4   Non-human /avan/ 'what'

As with /man/, a range of content question words are derived when /avan/ *what* combines with topic, focus and case-marking postpositions. These include /avanso/ *why*, *what for*, /avanken/ *with what/what(agent),* /avanna/ *what(foc)* and /avankefe/ *from what.* /avasu/ *how* appears to have a similar derivation, although the original morphology is now opaque. Like /man/, and contrary to Ross's data, /avan/ may occur without enclitics.

(3.32)   **avan**   buuro   ka-nane=ana   nen
          what   work   1EXC.S-do.CONT=FUT   DEM
          Whatever work we'll be doing…

(3.33)   **avan**=en   ti-kakko-ren
          what=AGT   3PL.S-stab-1/2.O
          What is it that's stabbing me?

(3.34)   **avan**=so   ku-te-tesi
          what=REF   2S-CONT-cry
          Why are you crying?

3.2.3.5   Human /se(ra)-/ 'who'

/se(ra)/ combines with various noun phrase enclitics to give the following forms: with predicate /=e//serae/ *who is*,   with focus marker /=na//serana/ *whom(foc)*, with possessive predicate /=kam/ /sekan/ *whose*, with referential /=so/ /seraso/ *to, for whom*, with agent/instrument /=en/ /seren/ *with whom.* In subject position it is prefixed to the verb, taking the place of the otherwise obligatory subject marker.

(3.35)   ate   mee   ando=in   **se-**kayo-vi
          but   banana   skin=DEM   who-peel-3P.O
          But who peeled off these banana skins?

(3.36)   **sera**=so   ti-buwandi=ana   nen=ka   ei=kan
          who=REF   3PL.S-share=FUT DEM=TP   3PL.PRO=POSS.PRED
          (The ones) to whom they distribute them, they belong to them.

(3.37)   saukitamati   moturam=a   **sera**=e
          person   true=IT   who=PRED
          Who is the true human being?

The indefinite interrogative form /sewakki/ expresses the idea of *whoever* and most commonly occurs in agent role with instrumental case marking /sewakkesen/ although it may host other postpositions as well.

(3.38)   **sewakki**=en   wenna=ri   ti-nane   ti-bibiti=anan
          whoever=AGT   strong=PL   3PL.S-do   3PL.S-speed=FUT
          Whichever ones are strong, will move quickly.

(3.39)   s**ewakki**=na   a-rature   a-wawe   wanno   a-mei=anan
          whoever=FOC   1SG.S-cheat   1SG.S-took.3PL.O   and/again   1SG.S-give=FUT
          Whoever I cheated and stole from, I'll give back (to them)

3.2.4   Adverbs

Maisin adverbs form a varied class, in terms of their semantics, syntax and morphology. They generally encode such ideas as temporal relations, manner and modality. Common features are that they modify some constituent other than the noun, they cannot function as an argument of the predicate and they are not normally inflected, or marked for topic, focus or case. Typically they precede the constituent that they modify.

3.2.4.1   Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs may be distinguished from other adverbial forms by the fact that some of them may host the topic marker /=ka/. This raises the question as to whether they should be analysed as nouns. However, unlike temporal nouns, they cannot occur with case-marking enclitics, nor function as arguments of the predicate. Temporal adverbs include the following forms:

/afunanten/   *right now*

/rorovanten/   *recently*

/weisinukaran/   *three days ago*

/ran nenna kakan/   *always*

/wanfaya/   *already*

/wannani/   *again*

/wauwan/   *at first*

3.2.4.2   Manner adverbs: adverbialiser /-an/

Most manner adverbs so far identified appear to be derived from corresponding nouns or verbs by means of the adverbialising suffix /-an/. Although this was clearly once a productive process it is no longer used in the formation of new adverbs. Several of the temporal adverbs in the previous section show evidence of having been derived by a similar process. In some cases (and contrary to the general rule of adverbs being uninflected) a plural form /-arin/ has been found, when a plural subject of the modified predicate is in view.

(3.40)   afun=ka   **to-rarin** en   tooyabu=so   isoro
            now=TP   self-ADV.PL   2PL.GEN country=REF   war

            ku-nane=aka
            2S-do=POT
          …now you yourselves should fight for your own country.

(3.41)   **kivan** tere yove=e   a-yagi-n   a-va
          slowly backside=LOC   1SG.S-climb-SS.SIM   1SG.S-go.up
          Slowly I climbed my way up on the back side of it.

Manner adverbs which have been attested are listed below with (where known) the forms from which they are derived.

/anoran/	*powerfully*	/ano/	*power, might*
/babasan/	*with pleasure*	/babasi /	*pleasure, goodwill*
/birin/	*quickly*	/biri/	*lightning*
/dadadan/	*hurriedly*	/dadadi/	*haste*
/dedeyan/	*slowly*	/dede/	*slowness*
/dekiyan/	*lamely*	/dekii/	*lameness*
/eregagan/	*lazily*		
/fefesan/	*quickly, easily*	/fefe/	*light, easy*
/fufuttan/	*often*	/vefufutte/	*put close together*
/gangan/	*twistedly*	/gangi/	*twistedness*
/inanan/	*like this*	/in/	*this*
/jajajan/	*stutteringly*		
/jarajarayan/	*quickly*		
/kavenayan/	*forcefully*	/kavena/	*force, strength*
/kivan,kivarin/	*quietly, slowly*	/kivii/	*secret*
/motten/	*straight, directly*	/kemotte/	*straighten*
/nenanan/	*thus, like that*	/nen/	*that*
/nombowan/	*loudly*	/nombo/	*largeness*
/sososan/	*quickly*		

/sisan,sisarin/	*badly*	/sii,sisari/	*bad (one/s)*
/toran,torarin/	*by oneself,selves*	/to/	*self*
/vekivisiyan/	*jostlingly*	/vekivisi/	*jostle*
/wararasan/	*gropingly*	/wararasi/	*grope, feel one's way*
/wasifan/	*stealthily*	/wasifi/	*creep up on*
/wennaran/	*strongly*	/wenna/	*strength, hardness*
/yonkan/	*secretly*	/yonki/	*be lost, hidden*

3.2.4.3   Modal adverbs

The following modal adverbs have been identified. They immediately precede the clause they modify.

/aworeta/ (often abbreviated to /awe/)   *perhaps/I'm thinking this is so…*

(3.42)   **aworeta**   wakki=so=ka   isa=viya   ku-mon-mon=ka
          perhaps   village=REF=TP   NEG=little   2S-CONT-think=NEG
          I think you're missing the village a lot.

(3.43)   **awe**   tambun   October 1999   nenanan   nen=e   a-me-n
          maybe   month   October 1999   like that   DEM=LOC   1SG.S-give-3SG.O

i-rai
3SG.S-come
    I think I sent it around October 1999.

/amai/   *just/only*

(3.44)   kayan   ti-nane   nen=na   **amai**   a-kite-n   a-tauke
          school   3PL.S-CONT.do   DEM=FOC   just   1SG.S-see-SS.SIM   1SG.S-sit
          I just sat and watched while they had their course.

/sei/ *maybe*

(3.45) nuka-m=e   teititamati   ite   ai=so=ka
        midst-2SG.PSR=LOC boyman   other   3SG.PRO=REF=TP

        ta-mu-muwan   ai=ton=a   **sei**   i-rai=ana
        1INC.S-CONT- respect   3SG.PRO=ACMP=IT   maybe   3SG.S-come=FUT

        nen=so   an   kefe   tauban=e=a   ku-tau-toki
        DEM=REF   NEG.IMP   place   good=LOC=IT   2S-CONT-sit.
          ...maybe someone else will come amongst you, someone important, so don't sit in

          the good place.

/towon/ *'trying'* This adverb gives conative force to the clause it modifies:

(3.46) **towon**   ai.ari   tauki.ramara ta-kite-si
        try   3SG.PRO.3SG.GEN   behaviour   1INC.S-see-3SG.O

        ta-regeti=anan
        1INC.S-do.properly=FUT
          We'll try to take a good look at his way of life.

(3.47) toddi=e   ko-kira i-va   **towon**   damana nen   ku-yavi
        sky=LOC   2S-see   3SG.S-go.up   try   stars   DEM   2S-count

        Look up at the sky, try to count the stars.

3.2.5   Numerals and quantifiers

3.2.5.1   Numerals

The traditional Maisin numbering system is based on the digits of the hands and feet. Because this schema becomes increasingly cumbersome as it proceeds, most counting beyond the first five digits is now done in English. The Maisin forms are as follows:

sesei   *one*

sandei   *two*

sinati   *three*

fusese   *four*

faketi tarosi   *our(inc) hand on one side (= five)*

faketi tarosi ikawe taure sesei	*our(inc) hand on one side, one across on the other (= six)*
faketi tautau	*both our(inc) hands (= ten)*
faketi tautau euki keti sesei	*both our(inc) hands, one down on our(inc) foot (=eleven)*
faketi tautau euki keti tarosi	*both our(inc) hands, our(inc) foot on one side (=fifteen)*
tamati sesei	*one man (= twenty)*
tamati sesei faketi tautau	*one man, both our(inc) hands (=thirty)*
tamati sandei	*two men (= forty)*
tamati sinati	*three men (= sixty)*

These forms are used for counting, as quantifiers in the noun phrase (where they follow any adjectival nouns but precede the demonstrative), and as ordinals, with the single exception that, in the case of ordinals, /mataa/ *first(lit. eye)* is used to indicate the first in a series. The last in a series is indicated by the noun /tugata/:

(3.48)   ve-yavi**mataa**=ka… ve-yavi   **sandei**=ka
          NOM-read first=TP NOM-read   two=TP
          The first reading is…, the second reading is…

(3.49)   au   kooti   **tugata**=ka
          1SG.GEN   message   last=TP
          My last notice is…

As well as modifying nouns, numerals may function as the head of a noun phrase, or as the predicate in a clause. They may host topic, focus and case-marking enclitics, as well as tense/aspect enclitics:

(3.50)   sirari   **sinati**=e=ate   kaa nombo=i=ka   a-tar-i
          day   three=LOC=RL.SEQ   tree large=PL=TP   1SG.S-chop-3PL.O
          Three days later, I chopped down the large trees.

(3.51)　　ari　　　　morobi=ka　**sese**　　kora
　　　　　　3SG.GEN　girl=TP　　one　　　only
　　　　　　He has only one daughter.

Distributive numerals are formed by the reduplication of the numeral or of its first two syllables:

(3.52)　　ei　　　　yaa=ka　　**sina-sinati**　　kora=ana
　　　　　　3PL.GEN　year=TP　　three-three　　　only=FUT
　　　　　　They'll each be three years old.

(3.53)　　ei　　　　jobi=a　　viisi?　　**sande-sandei**
　　　　　　3PL.GEN　price=IT　how.much?　two-two
　　　　　　How much are they?　Twenty toea [two coins] each.

3.2.5.2　Quantifiers

The following non-numeral quantifiers have been identified:

tauri　　　　　　　*some, others*

wataa　　　　　　　*many*

wataa sirara keisi　*very many (lit. 'many no light')*

seseka　　　　　　　*all, every*

roma　　　　　　　　*whole, entire*

saviyaka　　　　　　*plenty*

sajooka　　　　　　　*not many*

ye　　　　　　　　　*somewhat, a bit*

ye raati　　　　　　*a little*

amu/amura　　　　　*none*

Like numerals, these quantifiers may modify nouns, or may serve as the head of a noun phrase:

(3.54)   ari   fana=ro   **tauri**=en   ti-wi-n=anan
              3SG.GEN   platform=ETP   others=AGT 3PL.S-build-3SG.O=FUT
              Others will construct his stretcher.

(3.55)   a=kam=e   vekute o   kooti   **tauri**=ka
              1SG.PRO=POSS.PRED   question or message   others=TP
              amura
              none
                        I don't have any other questions or messages.

3.2.6   Enclitics

All Maisin enclitics attach to the preceding noun phrase.

3.2.6.1   *Semantic case-marking enclitics*

There are five semantic case-marking enclitics which will be discussed in more detail below (5.2.7 Case marking on noun phrases.) Their forms and range of meaning are presented in the following table:

Table 5: Case-markers

Locative (LOC)	Ablative (ABL)	Referential (REF)	Accompaniment (ACMP)	Instrument (AGT)
=e	=efe	=so	=ton	=en
Location, goal	Source	Goal, recipient, beneficiary	Accompaniment, possession	Agent, instrument

Ross (1984, p. 30ff) includes /=fe/ and /=kam/ in his list of case-marking enclitics, however in the present analysis, /=fe/ is treated as the medial irrealis sequential marker even when it attaches to temporal nouns. Since there are instances of it occurring with the locative marker /=e/ in contexts where the usage is distinct from the ablative marker /=efe/, and no other case markers co-occur in this way, it seems preferable to conclude that it is functioning as a tense aspect marker in all occurrences.

Similarly, /=kam/ is here classed as a possessive predicate marker rather than marking possessive case. Unlike other case-marking enclitics, /=kam/ may be followed the case-markers /=e/,/=efe/, and /=ton/, none of which may co-occur with each other. Also, its

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application is limited to animate noun phrases, a restriction which does not apply to other case-marking enclitics.

3.2.6.2   Topic markers

3.2.6.2.1   Topic marker /=ka/

The topic marker /=ka/ may attach to noun phrases, case-marked phrases and to demonstratives functioning as clause nominalisers. The item to which it attaches may be the subject or object of the clause, or may be part of the clause periphery as in the case of temporal and locative postpositional phrases. As part of its syntactic function, it obligatorily attaches to the subject of a non-verbal equative or descriptive clause. When attached to a clause-nominalising demonstrative, it marks the dependent clause in a temporal or conditional construction, or a relative clause construction.

At a pragmatic level, /=ka/ has several uses. Its primary function as Ross, following Comrie, notes (1984, p. 62ff) is to establish the topic to be discussed and, as necessary, to bring a topic previously introduced back into prominence. It may, therefore, be dealing with information that is totally new to the hearer, or with information supplied earlier but requiring reactivation. At a discourse level it also "…sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds."(W.L Chafe, 1976, p. 50) And it is used in identifying and tracking participants in narrative discourse. Its range of use appears very similar to that recorded in some non-Austronesian languages e.g Ama.(Årsjö, 1994)

(3.56)   ai**=ka**   tamati   ratti
          3SG.PRO=TP   man   old
          He's an old man.

(3.57)   mana=in   wawe=so**=ka**   iva nen   kora   ti-ter-ter-si
          fish=DEM   get=REF=TP   net DEM   only   3PL.S-CONT-put-3SG.O
          As for getting this kind of fish, they just put nets out.

(3.58)   afun   rasiram=e**=ka**   a-rauku   vabbasi=e
          now   morning=LOC=TP   1SG.S-come.out   verandah=LOC
          This morning I came out onto the verandah.

3.2.6.2.2   Irrealis topic marker /=a/

The irrealis topic marker /=a/ occurs in three main environments:

1. Questions, where it occupies the slot that would normally be filled by the topic marker in the corresponding declarative sentence:

(3.59)   ari   asa**=a**   sera=e
            3SG.GEN   name=IT   who=PRED?

            ari   asan=ka   Reuben
            3SG.GEN name=TP   Reuben

       What's his name?   His name's Reuben.

2. Prohibitions, where it may attach to a nominal within the predicate:

(3.60)   an   nen=e**=a**   ku-tau-toki
            NEGIMP   DEM=LOC=IT   2S-CONT-stay
            Don't settle there.

(3.61)   an   nen=ton**=a**   ku-mon-mon
            NEGIMP   DEM=ACMP=IT   2S-CONT-think
            Don't worry about that as well.

3. Relative clauses or reported questions:

(3.62)   a-marun   kefe**=a**   man=e   begati**=a**   a-nane=ana
            1SG.S-set.off   place=IT   which=LOC   garden=IT   1SG.S-do=FUT

            nen=e   a-a
            DEM=LOC   1SG.S-go
            I set off for the place where I will make my garden.

(3.63)   ku-ra   ku-kute avan=so   ari   mara-a   vita**=a**
         2S-go   2S-ask   what=REF   3SG.GEN heart-3SG.PSR   pain**=IT**
         Go ask him what he is sad about.

Ross (1984, p. 63) terms this an interrogative topic marker, but its wider distribution than purely questions seems to justify it being classified as marking topic in irrealis contexts.

3.2.6.2.3   Emphatic topic marker /=ro/

Ross (1984, pp. 34, 65) seems right in classifying the enclitic /=ro/ as a more emphatic version of the topic marker /=ka/, given that its distribution is almost identical with that of /=ka/. Both can attach to noun phrases, temporal nouns and to case-marked phrases. Unlike /=ka/ however, /=ro/ cannot follow the demonstrative /nen/ when it is used as a clause nominaliser. Sometimes it carries the sense of 'even, also':

(3.64)   funa   enjigi   enjigi   wanno   tatami**=ro**   e-ketatam-i
          body   weariness   weariness   and   sickness=**ETP**   3SG.S-feel-3PL.O

          She was very tired and was even experiencing sickness.

It may also carry a contrastive sense:

(3.65)   an   wakki=e   ka-ra=ana   en**=ro**
          1EXC.GEN   village=LOC   1EXC.S-go=FUT   2PL.PRO**=ETP**

          en   wakki=e   ko-ra=ana
          2PL.GEN   village=LOC   2S-go=FUT.
          We'll go to our village, and as for you, you will go back to your village too.

Following a nasal consonant, /=ro/ sometimes assimilates to the preceding nasal to give the surface form /=no/.

(3.66)   siko   nen**=ro**   ti-fas-si-n   te-uku
          pig   DEM=ETP   3PL.S-carry-3SG.O-SS.SIM   3PL.S-descend

          ti-sam-si   ti-fune-si   ti-buwandi   ti-kan
          3PL.S-roast-3SG.O   3PL.S-butcher-3SG.O   3PL.S-share   3PL.S-eat

          As for that pig, they brought it down, roasted it, butchered it, shared it out and ate it.

3.2.6.3   Focus marker /=na/

The focus marker /=na/ has a much more limited distribution that the topic marker. It attaches only to noun phrases, most frequently to object noun phrases although also to undergoer subjects and to the subject noun phrases of stative verbs. Unlike the topic marker /=ka/ it never follows a case-marked phrase and is never used with an agent subject noun phrase, lending weight to Ross's suggestion (1984, p. 67)that the agent/instrument case-marking postposition /=en/ is used to mark focus for agent subjects, while /=na/ performs

the same function for object and patient subject, lending support to arguments for the existence of a partial ergative system in Maisin. (see 4.2.9.5) The principal function of the focus marker is to highlight the important new information that is being given concerning the topic. "The focus marker marks an essential piece of new information, in contrast to information which is given. The topic marker marks 'what I am talking about' in contrast to the comment i.e. 'what I am telling you about it.'" (M. D. Ross, 1984, p. 62) Hence it often attaches to the interrogative morphemes /se/ *who*, /man/ *which*, /avan/ *what* and /visii/ *how much*, which are used for ascertaining new information.

(3.67) ei   kayan   tuufa**=na**   i-tu-katuwatte-ri
        3PL.GEN   school   short=FOC   3SG.S-CONT-teach-3PL.O
        She's teaching them a short workshop.

(3.68)   ai=ton   wanno   Magdalen   ei**=na**   ti-mati
        3SG.PRO=ACMP   and   Magdalen   3PL.PRO=FOC   3PL.S-die
        She and Magdalen, they're the ones who died.

(3.69) e=ka   ai   buro=a   avan**=na**   ku-nan
        2SG.PRO=TP   2SG.GEN   work=IT   what=FOC   2S-CONT.do
        As for you (and) your work, what do you do?

3.2.6.4   Delimiter /kora/

The particle /kora/ follows noun phrases, including case-marked phrases, to restrict the scope of the argument to the noun phrase so marked. Its distribution appears to be parallel to that of the topic marker /=ka/ with which it never co-occurs. There are, however, also no instances of its co-occurrence with the focus marker /=na/ and semantically, it appears to have an inherently focal role, in that it regularly references information which is essentially new, and not predictable or recoverable from the context.

(3.70) ei=ro   kumuti   **kora**   ti-kai-kan   ti-tauke
        3PL.PRO=ETP   taro   LMT   3PL.S-CONT-eat   3PL.S-stay
        They lived on taro alone.

(3.71) Maume   wakki=e   kora   mati   sandei   ti-nane
        Maume   village=LOC LMT   death   two   3PL.S-do
        Only in Maume village there were two deaths.

3.2.6.5 Polar question marker /=in/

The polar question enclitic /=in/ always attaches to the sentence terminus, and coincides with sentence-final rising intonation. Word order in polar questions follows the order found in declarative clauses.

(3.72)   raddan   suriya   arore   ta-ve=anan**in**
                evening   meal   together   1INC-get.3SG.O=FUT=PQ
                Shall we have our evening meal together?

(3.73)   ai=so=a   ku-ka-kayawa**in**
                3SG.PRO=REF=IT   2S-CONT-fear=PQ
                Are you afraid of him?

3.2.6.6 Possessive predicate marker /=kam/

The possessive predicate marker /=kam/ attaches to a possessor noun or pronoun in a possessive noun phrase. It is used only with animate possessor nouns and often attaches to proper nouns.

(3.74)   moofi   nen=ka   tamati   ratti   nen**kam**
                Malay apple   DEM=TP   man   old   DEM=POSS.PRED
                Those fruit belong to that old man.

When an enclitic marking location/goal (/=e/) or source (/=efe/) is used with a noun referencing a human being, the possessive predicate /=kam/ must always be inserted before the case-marking enclitic.

(3.75)   isa   birin   en**kam**=efe   pepa   a-ve=ka
                NEG   quickly   2PL.PRO=POSS.PRED=ABL paper   1SG.S-get.3SG.O=NEG
                I haven't received a letter from you very quickly.

(3.76)   ti-ramara-n   ei   yau**kam**=e   ti-ra
                3PL.S-get.up-SS.SIM   3PL.GEN   mother=POSS.PRED=LOC   3PL.S-go

                They got up and went to their mother.

3.2.6.7 Comitative /=aro/ 'with'

Like /=kam/, /=aro/ occurs only with animate nouns, and is used to indicate shared participation in the action of the verb.

(3.77)   ari   ma-maaki=aro   ti-ra
          3SG.GEN   PL-brother-in-law=with   3PL.S-go
          He went with his brothers-in-law.

(3.78)   sewakki=aro   ku-tauke?
          who=with   2S-stay
          Who do you live with?

3.2.6.8   Semblative /naniti/ 'like'

The postposition /naniti/ serves to reference similarity to the preceding noun phrase.
When following a plural noun phrase it occurs with plural enclitics /=a=ri/ to give the
surface form /nanitari/. It may host topic, focus and case-marking enclitics as well as
tense/aspect enclitics.

(3.79)   nen=so   a=ka   en   yo   en   yabi   naniti=ari
          DEM=REF   1SG.PRO=TP   2PL.GEN   mother 2PL.GEN father   like=PL
          So I am like your parents.

(3.80)   fii   umo   naniti=en   ai=kam=e   i-uku
          bird   dove   like=AGT   3SG.PRO=POSS=LOC   3SG.S-come.down
          A bird like a dove came down to him.

(3.81)   ei=ka   aiti   naniti=anan
          3PL.PRO=TP   1INC.PRO   like=FUT
          They'll be like us.

3.2.7   Conjunctions

The following conjunctions have been identified. Their usage will be discussed further in
Chapter 7, Complex Sentence Structure, but the main forms, with brief definitions and
illustrations are listed below.

3.2.7.1   Co-ordination /wanno/

The form /wanno/ appears to derive from a combination of /waun/ *new* and the emphatic
topic marker /=ro/ and is occasionally realised by the surface forms /waunno/ and
/waunro/. Its basic function is to add a new constituent or idea to the discourse. It is used
to conjoin both noun phrases and clauses. It may also occur as the first or second element in

a clause, where it is perhaps best glossed along the lines of *and another thing…* or *furthermore…*

(3.82)   saukifaafi   **wanno**   ei   morobi   ratti
          wife.husband   and   3PL.GEN   girl   small
          The couple and their young daughter

(3.83)   nen=efe   **wanno**   ti-ramara   ti-ra   Tafoti   kava=e   ti-tauki
          DEM=ABL   and   3PL.S-get.up   3PL.S-go   Tafoti   mouth=LOC   3PL.S-stay
          From there and [=another thing happened], they went and settled at the Tafoti
              mouth.

3.2.7.2   Disjunction

Two forms encoding alternation or disjunction have been identified, with some overlap of usage.

3.2.7.2.1   /=ai/ 'or'

The enclitic /=ai/ attaches to one or more alternatives in a series, where the alternatives in view are regarded as mutually exclusive.

(3.84)   i-toddi**=ai**   i-mati
          3SG.S-marry=or   3SG.S-die
          Did she get married or is she dead?

(3.85)   yau   a-ifi=anan**=ai**   yaya   a-ifi=anan**=ai**   abu
          mother   1SG.S-say=FUT=or   auntie   1SG.S-say=FUT=or   granny

          a-ifi=in?
          1SG.S-say=PQ
          Will I call her 'mother' or 'auntie' or do I say 'granny'?

3.2.7.2.2   /o/ 'or'

The free morpheme /o/ occurs much more frequently than /=ai/ and may be a borrowing from English. It is often used interchangeably with /=ai/ but is not limited to contexts where mutually exclusive alternatives are at issue, and may also encode more inclusive lists as well as contexts where the same idea is being rephrased.

(3.86)   a=kam=e   vekute **o** kooti   tauri
          1SG.PRO=POSS.PRED=LOC   question o message   others

          amura
          none
          I don't have any other questions or news.

(3.87)   san=e   **o** varo=e   ti-wamara-ri   ti-yavari=anan
          beach=LOC   or   plaza=LOC 3PL.S-unfold-3PL.O 3PL.S-spread=FUT
          They'll unfold them and spread them on the sand, or in the open space between the houses.

3.2.7.3   *Adversative/contrastive*

3.2.7.3.1   /ate/ 'now, but'

The conjunction /ate/ (not to be confused with the realis sequential marker /=ate/) is used to introduce a new thought or episode, signal a change in time, action, attitude etc, or to serve as a mild adversative.

(3.88)   ti-bu-buwandi-n   ti-ra.   **Ate** tamati ite=ka   ari
          3PL.S-CONT-share-SS.SIM   3PL.S-go.   But man   one=TP   3SG.GEN

          sauki   jamen=so=ka   isa   i-me-n=ka
          wife   boy.PL=REF=TP   NEG   3SG.S-give-3SG.O=NEG
          They shared them out as they went. But one man didn't give any to his family.

(3.89)   ei   yo=ka   sora   i-nane=me   **ate**
          3PL.GEN   mother=TP   grief   3SG.S-do.CONT=PAST   now

          ari   sauki=ka   kena   i-nane
          3SG.GEN   woman=TP   widow   3SG.S-do
          Their mother was grieving [for him]. And/Now/but his wife became a widow.

3.2.7.3.2   /ataika / 'but'

The form/ataika/ which appears to derive from the sequence /ate=ai=ka/ has a stronger adversative force than /ate/ and signals a sharper contrast between the conjoined clauses.

(3.90)   i-kan   ari   suriya   i-kun-kun=me   **ate=ai=ka**
          3SG.S-eat   3SG.GEN broth   3SG.S-CONT-drink=PAST but=3SG.PRO=TP

          funa-a   tafa=ka   i-fer-fe-n
          skin-3SG.PSR   top=TP   3SG.S-CONT-throw-3SG.O
          She ate [and] was drinking her broth, but she was losing weight.

The shorter form /aika/ performs the same function. Because it is homophonous with the topic-marked 3rd singular personal pronoun, unambiguous examples are harder to identify, but they do occur:

(3.91)   en   vaa   kefe=ka   nene   kora   **aika**
          2PL.GEN   house   place=TP   OK   only   but

          fusi=en   ti-fu   yan=ka   si=sari   ti-nane
          cat=AGT   3PL.S-defecate   mat=TP   bad=PL   3PL.S-do
          Your house is just fine, but the cats have soiled it and the mats are spoiled.

(3.92)   seseka a-wawe   **aika**   Joanna=en   au   fasoro   raati
          all   1SG.S-get   but   Joanna=AGT   1SG.GEN   parcel   small

          NZ=efe   ku-me   i-ra   nen=ka   isa
          NZ=ABL   2S-give   3SG.S-come   DEM=TP   NEG

          a-ve=ka
          1SG.S-get.3SG.O=NEG
          …I got everything, but I didn't get the parcel you and Joanna sent me from New Zealand.

3.2.7.3.3   /eseka/ 'but (unexpectedly)'

/eseka/ *but* is less frequent adversative conjunction, used in contexts where the conjoined clause references a situation contrary to the expectation of the subject of the preceding clause.

(3.93)   i-kira   i-uki   **eseka**   morobi nen=e   i-tauke
          3SG.S-look 3GS.S-go.down   but   girl   DEM=LOC   3SG.S-sit

          He looked down and [to his surprise] there was a girl sitting there.

3.2.7.4 Sequential

3.2.7.4.1 /ineate/ 'then' (realis)

The sequential conjunction /ineate/, variously realised by surface forms /inate/ /neate/ and /nate/ derives from the following sequence, now bleached of any verbal force:

i-nane=ate
3SG.S-do=RL.SEQ
He did and then...

It is always used in the context of past actual events, and serves to locate one action as following another in a sequence.

(3.94)   i-taisukki   i-vasi   i-kko-si   **inate**   a-kaffari
            3SG.S-run   3GS.S-go.up 3GS.S-shoot-3SG.O   then   1SG.S-jump

            a-uki   yabu=e   a-ise=ate
            1SG.S-go.down   ground=LOC 1SG.S-stand=RL.SEQ
              ...he ran up and shot it. Then I jumped down to the ground and...

3.2.7.4.2 /inefe/ 'then' (irrealis)

Like /ineate/, /inefe/ and its alternate surface form /nefe/ derives from a construction involving the verb /nane/:

i-nane=fe
3SG.S-do=IR.SEQ
he will do and then...

It is used to locate one action sequentially after another, with reference to future events and in the context of actions where there is no specific time frame in view.

(3.95)   begati=fe   ta-ra=ana   **inefe**   rasi=ka
            garden=IR.SEQ   1INC.S-go=FUT   then   tomorrow=TP

            ta-ra   buuti=e   ta-siye
            1INC.S-go   island=LOC   1INC.S-bake.3PL.O
           We'll go to the garden then tomorrow let's go and picnic on the island.

(3.96)   ran   sinati   i-kuven   ti-mayati=anan   **inefe**   sora=ka
            time   three   3SG.S-blow   3PL.S-pull=FUT   then   wailing=TP

            ti-wafikkon=anan
            3PL.S-begin=FUT.
              He'll blow three blasts [on the conch] then they'll start wailing.

3.2.7.5   *Causal*

3.2.7.5.1   /nenso/ 'therefore'

/nenso/ derives from the demonstrative /nen/ with the referential case-marking enclitic /=so/ and is used to encode result in a reason-result clause sequence. Although it may usually be accurately glossed with the meaning *therefore* and is treated here as a conjunction coordinating two clauses, its derivation from the demonstrative indicates that is more properly to be regarded as nominalising the clause it attaches to and forming a subordinate clause with referential case-marking.

(3.97)   kaifi   a-nane   a-wakasi   **nenso**   wanno
            waiting   1SG.S-do   1SG.S-do.in.vain   so   new

            a-ka-kayam-si
            1SG.S-CONT-write-3SG.O
              I waited to no avail so I'm writing again.

It may encode both realised and unrealised results:

(3.98)   ei=en   en   vaa   aifi ti-nane   **nenso**
            3PL.PRO=AGT   2PL.GEN   house   care 3PL.S-do   so

            isa   ku-mon=anan=ka
            NEG   2S-think=FUT=NEG
              They're looking after your house, so don't you worry.

3.2.7.5.2   /watika/ 'because'

The conjunction /watika/ *because* derives from the noun /wati/ *base, source* with the topic marker /=ka/. As reason-result is the unmarked clausal order for expressing logical relations, /watika/ occurs with much less frequency, and usually when the reason is receiving particular focus.

(3.99)   ai=ka   ti-ku-kuwan   watika   ari   faafi

             3SG.PRO=TP   3PL.S-CONT-forbid   because   3SG.GEN husband

             ti-katete-n   timosa.

             3PL.S-choose-3SG.O finish.

         They forbid that[sleeping around] to her, because they've already chosen her husband.

3.2.7.6   Negation markers

The following morphemes are all used in various contexts to express negation. Usage of the discontinous morpheme /isa…=ka/ and the negative imperative /an/ will be discussed at greater length below in the sections dealing with clause negation (6.3) and commands and prohibitions (6.6) respectively.

3.2.7.6.1   Negative predicate /keisi/

The negative interjection /keisi/ *no* occurs both as a negative response to polar questions and operates at phrase level to negate noun phrases. It may host topic and focus markers, a full range of case-marking enclitics and tense/aspect markers. When negating a noun phrase with plural sense, it may host the plural enclitic(s) /=a=ri/. With the exception of its use in polar questions therefore, it behaves syntactically and morphologically very similarly to an adjectival noun.

(3.100)   sauki   ratti   ite=ka   kena   wanno   jamemmomorobi **keisi**

           woman   old   one=TP widow and   boys.girls   no

           One old woman was a widow and she had no children.

(3.101)   nane   **keisi**=anan=ka   afunfe   i-wawe-ren   ku-ra

           deed   no=FUT=TP   later   3SG.S-get-1/2.O   2S-go

            If that isn't done, later he'll take you away…

3.2.7.6.2   Clause negator /isa =ka/

The discontinuous morpheme /isa…=ka/, often realised in spoken form as /sa…ka/ is used to negate propositions at clause level.

(3.102)   isa   sii=ka

           NEG   bad=NEG

           It's not bad

(3.103)   **isa**   ti-kaito-n**=ka**
            NEG   3PL.S-cut-3SG.O=NEG
            They didn't cut it.

   3.2.7.6.3   Negative imperative /an/

The negative imperative /an/ *don't* is used at clause level to negate prohibitions.

(3.104)   **an**   funa-i=e   ku-tau-toki
             NEG.IMP   body-3PL.PSR=LOC   2S-CONT-sit
            Don't sit near them.

   ### 3.2.7.7   *Interjectives*

A number of interjections have been identified which encode surprise, grief, empathy or some other emotional response.

The following encode surprise at hearing new or unexpected information, often along with some disbelief and consternation:

Ojoove!   *My goodness!*

Atai!   *No kidding!*

Aga!   *Surely not!*

(3.105)   **Aga,**   in=ka   tamati=na   a-kko-si!
            Oh no   DEM=TP   man=FOC   1SG.S-spear-3SG.O
            Oh no, it's a man I've speared!

Ijii!   *Yikes!*

(3.106)   **Ijii!** Gena=en   yum=efe   i-kaffari   i-vasi
            Yikes! Frog=AGT   water=ABL   3SG.S-jump   3SG.S-come.up
            Yikes, a frog jumped up out of the water!

These next two express empathy and may be juxtaposed to form single expression:

Eri!   *Ooooh!*

Mara/makase   *Poor thing/s!* (*makase* is used when a plural object of

                     sympathy is in view)

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The next expression is often used as an attention getting device, and/or a greeting:

Are!   *Hey!*

4 Nouns and noun phrases

4.1 Nouns

These comprise a large class of general nouns, as well as the smaller, closed classes of temporal nouns, human nouns, directly possessed nouns and adjectival nouns which are further described below.

4.1.1 General nouns

The majority of nouns fall into this category. They occur as free forms and are uninflected, though they may undergo morphophonemic processes when clitics are attached. There is generally no marking of plural forms although the occasional exception to this rule has been noted, as in the case of the two following examples, where plural is marked by reduplication on the first syllable:

/gaiti/   *dirt*   /gaigaiti/   *dirty things*

/dewo/ *piece of material/clothing*   /dedewo/   *pieces of clothing, rags*

4.1.2   Temporal nouns

These include nouns referencing both relative and absolute times. They are morphologically distinguished from general nouns only in that they are able to host the medial sequential enclitics /=fe/ (irrealis sequential) and /=ate/ (realis sequential), effectively forming a verbless temporal clause. This class includes the relative time markers /weisi/ *the day before yesterday*, /roro/ *yesterday*, /afun/ *now*, *today* /rasi/ *tomorrow* /meeta/ *the day after tomorrow*.   It also includes the temporal nouns /rasiran/ *morning* /raruti/ *afternoon*, /raddan/ *evening*, /foin/ *night* and /kindi/ *time.* Like general nouns, they are not generally marked for plural, although the exception to this is /kindi/ *time*, which has a plural form /kinkindi/ *times, sometimes.*

Depending on whether the relative time expression is of past or future orientation, it will host the realis or irrealis sequential enclitic respectively:

(4.1)   rasi=fe   wakki=e=ka   ta-ra=ana
          tomorrow=IR.SEQ   village=LOC=TP   1INC.S-go=FUT
          Tomorrow we'll go to the village

However, the absolute temporal nouns may host either enclitic:

(4.2) raddam=e=ate   nene   ti-kan
       evening=LOC=RL.SEQ   OK   3PL.S-eat
       (It became) evening and then OK they ate.

(4.3) ku-vav-i   ku-kan=fe   raddan=fe   totoruga
       2S-cook-3PL.O   2S-eat=IR.SEQ   evening=IR.SEQ   meeting

       ku- nane
       2S-do
       Cook and eat and then in the evening have a meeting.

4.1.3 Human nouns

Nouns denoting human beings occur with both singular and plural forms. The two main strategies for plural-formation are:

(a) /-e/ suffixation, with *or* without an epenthetic /s/:

/sauki/	*woman*	/sauke/	*women*
/fin/	*younger sibling*	/finse/	*younger siblings*
/ro/	*opposite sex sibling*	/roise/	*opposite sex siblings*
/fu/	*grandparent*	/fuse/	*grandparents*
/faafi/	*husband*	/faafe/	*husbands*
/yabi/	*father*	/yabe/,/yabise/	*fathers*
/yau/	*mother*	/yowe/	*mothers*
/ooti/	*elder*	/oote/	*elders*
/susukki/	*young woman*	/susukke/	*young women*
/nombi/	*namesake*	/nombe/	*namesakes*

The following example involves an epenthetic /r/ instead:

/koi/	*female friend*	/koire/	*female friends*

(b) reduplication of the initial syllable, or, in one case, the second syllable:

/morobi/	*girl*	/momorobi/	*girls*
/toma/	*male friend*	/totoma/	*male friends*
/kena/	*widow*	/kekena/	*widows*
/katu/	*widower*	/kakatu/	*widowers*
/benon/	*orphan*	/bebenon/	*orphans*
/gamun/	*single mother*	/gagamun/	*single mothers*
/jiwo/	*young man*	/jijiwo/	*young men*
/rukan/	*cousin*	/rukakaman/	*cousins*

In a few cases any initial long vowel is reduced and all but the initial syllable replaced with /-kiki/:

/wiivi/	*sister-in-law*	/wikiki/	*sisters-in-law*
/kawara/	*brother-in-law*	/kakiki/	*brothers-in-law*
/fuwesi/	*grandchild*	/fukiki/	*grandchildren.*

In one case, the initial CV reduplicates and receives a /-ki/ suffix:

/ma/	*brother-in-law*	/mamaki/	*brothers-in-law*

The plural for /teiti/ boy is a suppletive form /jamen/.

Human nouns that are inherently plural include /janka/ *males*, /sasingi/ *children*, /saukitamati/ *people* and /waunkaru/ *young people*.

Human nouns, personal names and anthropomorphised general nouns (usually denoting animate creatures) may host the honorific suffix /-be/:

(4.4) kekeyo-**be**   i-wawe-n   i-uku
       cockatoo-HON   3SG.S- bring-3SG.O   3SG.S-come.down
       The white cockatoo brought it down

(4.5) jiwo-**be**=ka   i-ise=na   i-kite-si
       young.man-HON=TP 3SG.S-stand-DS.SIM   3SG.S-see-3SG.O
       As for the young man, she saw him standing there.

In a few cases, this suffix appears to have become fused with the host noun to give a separate meaning, no longer retrievable from the individual morphemes: /katube/ *husband*, /kenabe/ *wife*, /koibe/ *great-grandmother*, /tomabe/ *great-grandfather.*

The possessive suffix /-a/, which Ross (1984, p. 26) notes as affixing to a noun denoting a possessor is restricted to human nouns and personal names:

(4.6)   ari   yabi-a   nombi
           3SG.GEN   father-3SG.PSR   namesake
           His father's namesake

Like other nouns, human nouns may host the full range of case-marking suffixes. However, when the locative marker /=e/ or ablative marker /=efe/ attaches to a human referent, the possessive predicate marker /=kam/ always precedes the case marker:

(4.7)   i-uki   ari   sauki**=kam**=e
           3SG.S-go.down   3SG.GEN   wife-POSSPRED=LOC
           He went down to his wife.

4.1.4   Directly possessed nouns

This class comprises inalienable nouns which are obligatorily marked for possession by a series of suffixes indicating the person and number of the possessor.

Table 6:Possessor suffixes on directly possessed nouns

	Singular	Plural
1EXC	-u	-m
1INC		-ti
2	-m	-m
3	-VV	-i

The normal surface representation for the 3rd singular suffix is a lengthened vowel. In the case of four nouns: /jira/ *head*, /kariya/ *ear*, /katera/ *liver* and /marawa/ *feeling*, the final syllable is apocapated in the 3rd singular to give surface forms /jii/, /katee/ /karii/ and /maraa/

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Inalienable nouns primarily encode body parts, including such non-human body parts as /foyan/ *tail* and /fefe/ *wing*, for which the 2nd possessor forms /foyanan/ and /feferan/ have been recorded, but a small number of other nouns have also been identified as belonging to this class: /asa/ *name*, /fona/ *speech,* /marawa/ *feeling, desire* and /wowo/ *grave.*

When vowel-initial case-marking enclitics are attached, an epenthetic /s/ is inserted immediately after the possessor-marking suffix for 1st singular, 1st plural exclusive, and 2nd and 3rd plural forms, as illustrated in the following paradigm for /tere/ *back*:

	Singular	Plural
1EXC	tereuse /tere-u=e/ back-1SG.PSR=LOC behind me	terense /tere-m=e/
1INC		terete /tere-ti=e/
2	tereme /tere-m=e/	terense /tere-m=e/
3	terere /tere-e=e/	tereise /tere-i=e/

Non-body part locations which also form part of this class include /nuka/ *middle* /kakko/ *underneath* /tafa/ *top* and /wowo/ *topside*:

(4.8) nuka-i=e   tamatan   teiti=na   i-vasus-en
       middle-3PL.PSR=LOC human   boy=FOC   3SG.S-give.birth-3SG.O
       In their (i.e. the litter of pigs) midst, it gave birth to a human boy.

(4.9) kaa   tafa-m=e   gugugi-en=anan
       canoe top-2PSR=LOC   sink-3SG.S=FUT
       …the canoe will capsize on top of you.

4.1.5   Adjectival nouns

Adjectival nouns do not have a constellation of features associated with them semantically, but rather express a single basic feature that is an abstract quality. They are treated here as a subclass of noun on the basis of their conformity with the definition offered by Ross of an adjectival noun as 'a subclass of noun whose members (i) serve as modifier of a noun and (ii) have the predicate syntax of a noun.' (1998, p. 97).

Syntactically Maisin adjectival nouns resemble general nouns in that they can serve as predicates and function as the head of a noun phrase, can fill the slots both of possessor and of the possessed noun in a possessive noun phrase, and can be modified by other adjectival nouns and by quantifiers. Unlike general nouns, however, they follow, rather than precede the noun that they modify.

Morphologically they differ from general nouns in that they may host plural enclitics, which resemble in form the plural object markers on many transitive verbs.

Adjectival nouns may function:

    a.   attributively as modifiers of nouns in modified NP's:

(4.10)   morobi   ratti
           girl   small
           a small girl

(4.11)   vaa   waun   ti-wi-wi-n
           house new   3PL.S-CONT-build-3SG.O
           They're building a new house.

    b.   as the predicates of topics:

(4.12)   vaa=ka   nombo
           house=TP   large
           The house is large.

    c.   as heads of noun phrases:

(4.13)   nombo=ka a=kam,   raati=ka e=kam
           large=TP   1SG.PRO=POSSPRED   small=TP2SG.PRO=POSSPRED
           The big one's mine, the small one's yours.

As the head of a noun phrase, an adjectival noun may modify and replace a noun lost through ellipsis, as in the above example or it may function as a substantive in its own right:

(4.14) ari   sii=ka
        3SG.GEN   bad=TP
        The bad thing about it is...(lit. its badness is...)

(4.15) mati ari   vavatta=ka   timosa
        death 3SG.GEN   heavy/heaviness=TP finished
        The hard/heavy part of the death is finished.

Like human nouns, adjectival nouns have plural forms, and the primary strategy for plural formation is the attaching of plural enclitic /=(Ca)ri/ to the noun. (An exception is /nombowi/ where the rounded final vowel of /nombo/ gives rise to/=wi/ instead. If the word has a lengthened segment, it is shortened when the suffix is added:

Singular		Plural	Singular		Plural
/sii/	*bad*	/sisari/	/ratti/	*small*	/ratiri/
/tuufa/	*short*	/tufari/	/mosse/	*long*	/moseri/
/muu/	*red, ripe*	/murari/	/wenna/	*strong*	/wenari

The following two adjectival nouns form the plural by suffixation of /-e/ and /-eri/ respectively:

Singular		Plural
/raati/	*small*	/raate/
/bejji/	*large*	/bejeri/

Adjectival nouns /tauban/ *good* and /boresi/ *good/beautiful* share a suppletive plural form /boregi/. In most of the attested instances of /boresi/, it precedes the noun it modifies and has the surface form /boresa/, and may be analysed as the adjectival noun with the possessive suffix /-a/, which is otherwise restricted to human nouns.

(4.16) ai=ro   boresi-a   sauki
        3SG.PRO=ETP   loveliness-3SG.PSR woman
        She is a lovely woman.

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/airon/ *old* frequently occurs in a similar construction, but using the genitive pronoun, rather than the possessive suffix:

(4.17)   airom ari   kindi
           old   3SG.GEN   time
           olden times/long ago

Plural marking may optionally be omitted from the adjectival noun if plurality is indicated elsewhere in the noun phrase, for example by the presence of a quantifier:

(4.18)   tamati ratti sandei nen   ei=ka   ti-raro
           man   old   two   DEM   3PL.PRO=TP   3PL.S-fight
           Those two old men, they fought.

(4.19)   kayan   vaa   waun   sinati
           school   house   new   three
           Three new classrooms

(4.20)   jamen ratti=ri   seseka
           boys small=PL   all
           All the small boys

Adjectival nouns so far recorded are listed below, with their plural forms, and according to the semantic types associated with adjectival forms (Dixon 2004:3)

  1. Dimension

   bejji   bejjeri   *large (one)*

   mosse   moseri   *length, long (one)*

   nombo   nombowi   *size, big (one)*

   raati   raate   *small (one)*

   ratti   ratiri   *small (one)*

   tuufa   tufari   *shortness/short (one)*

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2. Age

airom	airoma	*old (one)*
rora	rorari	*elder*
waun	wauna	*newness,new (one)*
ratti	ratiri	*old (person)*

3. Value

boresi	boregi	*loveliness/lovely*
tauban	boregi	*goodness/good (one)*
sii	sisari	*badness, bad (one)*
faya	fayari	*produce, meaning, reality*
moturam	moturami	*truth, true*

4. Colour

foe	foeya	*white (one)*
gambubi	gambuba/gambubari	*black (one)*
muu	murari	*red/ripe (one)*
gabo	gaborari	*yellow (one)*

5. Physical property/human propensity

radu	radua	*wetness, wet (one)*
mamasa	mamasari	*dryness, dry (one)*
vavatta	vavattari	*weight, heavy (one)*
fefe	feferi	*lightness/easiness*

wenna	wenari	*hardness, hard (one)*
ano	anori	*power, powerful (one)*
kaveve	kaveveri	*softness/kindness*

4.1.5.1 Adjectivaliser /fafusi/

The adjectival morpheme /fafusi/ , best glossed as 'characterised by' may follow any noun or nominalised verb stem to form an adjectival phrase. When modifying a plural referent, it hosts the plural enclitic /=ari/ to give the surface form /fafusari/:

(4.21)   ei=ka   buro   **fafusi**=ari
         3PL.PRO=TP   work   ADJ=PL
         They are hard-working.

This is a fully productive process with no apparent restriction on stems which may precede the adjectival morpheme. The following list demonstrates a few of the many attested instances:

/rature fafusi/	deceive ADJ	*l*	*ying, deceptive*
/burama fafusi/	goods ADJ		*wealthy*
/kasan fafusi/	knowledge ADJ		*clever*
/fona fafusi/	voice ADJ		*talkative*
/kan fafusi/	eat ADJ		*greedy*

Like adjectival nouns, nouns to which this adjectival morpheme is attached may function as predicates and as the heads of noun phrases:

(4.22)   afun karu   waun=ka dagari **fafusi**=ari
         now   grow.up new=TP lazy   ADJ=PL
         Today the young people are lazy.

(4.23)   burama   **fafusi**=ka   buran   ari   sissi   naniti
         wealth   ADJ=TP   bush   3SG.GEN flower   like
         e-kisiran=fe
        3SG.S- shine=IR.SEQ

The rich (man) will be beautiful like a bush flower and then....

When in attributive function, there appears to be some flexibility in terms of whether they precede or follow the nouns they modify:

(4.24)   tamati saraman   **fafusi**=ari   nen=e   ti=ra
          man   good.thinking   ADJ=PL   DEM=LOC   3PL.S-go
          The clever men went there.

(4.25)   burama   **fafusi**   tamati   nen=ro   i-mati
          wealth   ADJ   man   DEM=ETP   3SG.S-die
          The rich man himself died.

4.2 Noun phrase

The noun phrase consists minimally, of a head, which slot is usually filled by a noun or a verb stem.

Optional pre-head constituents include a genitive NP and a specifier consisting of another noun or of a nominalised verb stem.

Optional post-head constituents include: a modifier phrase of one or two adjectival nouns, a quantifier or numeral and a demonstrative clitic. A relative clause may also fill the modifier slot in the NP (See 7.4.3 Relative clauses).

(Genitive NP) (Specifier) Head (Modifier) (Modifier NP) (Quantifier) (Demonstrative)

(4.26)   teiti   raat i   ite   nenka
          boy   small   one DEM=TP
          That other small boy

(4.27)   kayan vaa   waun   sandei
          school house   new   two
          Two new classrooms

4.2.2   Compound nouns

The head of a noun phrase may be a compound noun formed by a sequence of two root morphemes. This sequence may be distinguished from a phrase by the fact that it attracts a

single primary stress, and that the two roots may not normally be interrupted by any other item. Compound nouns include the following kinds of sequences:

4.2.2.1 Noun + Noun
These comprise a sequence of two noun roots, whereby the first noun in some way modifies the second, (in contrast to the modifier phrase, where the head noun precedes the adjectival noun which modifies it.) Where directly possessed nouns are involved, as in (4.28) b. and c. below, the first noun may be inflected to indicate possessor.

(4.28) a.   gere wuwuji   b.   ke-e   munju   c.   marawa vitta
         crab centipede   leg-3SG.PSR egg   heart/feeling pain
         scorpion   *calf*   *sadness*

This category also includes compounds referencing particular groups or sets , especially those comprising human members:

(4.29) a.   jamen momorobi   b.   sauki   tamati   c.   roise siname
         boys   girls   woman man   siblings friends
         children   *people*   *friends & relations*

4.2.2.2 Verb + Noun
In these instances, a nominalised verb stem precedes and modifies the head noun which follows it. This is a highly productive process, where the meaning is usually transparent from the components being combined and new items can easily be added to the lexicon.

(4.30) a.   kuma vaa   b.   bagi   tamati   c.   kafofo kooti
         buy   house   steal   man   prohibit talk
         store   *thief*   *law*

4.2.2.3 Noun + Verb
This category involves sequences of a noun followed by a nominalised verb stem, with third plural object marking in the case of transitive verbs. The noun generally functions as an incorporated object of the following verb. These compounds frequently, but not exclusively, reference the object or instrument used for the action of the verb.

(4.31) a. gameti feri   b.   fake   gi
           paint   throw   hand   hold
           index finger(used for applying face paint)   *handrail*

      c. kesa   teri   d. yaa   kite   e. kooti   gugubi
          hair   put   hour   see   message   speak
          hat   *clock/watch*   *speech*

4.2.2.4

4.2.2.5 Verb + Verb
A small number of compound nouns comprise two verb stems.

(4.32) a. kanyan   b. vekkiwa
           eat.chew   dig.plant
           feasting   *gardening*

4.2.3   Possessive noun phrase
The possessive NP normally comprises the structure: (NP) Genitive pronoun possessed N

(4.33)   au   ifa   bejji
           1SG.GEN   knife   large
           My large knife

(4.34)   Tamati   ite   ari   begati
           man   one   3SG.GEN   garden
           Another man's garden

With human possessors only, the possessive NP may take the form of a possessor noun with the possessive suffix /-a/, followed by the possessum:

(4.35)   ari   sauki-**a**   jobi=ka
           3SG.GEN   wife-POSS   price=TP
           His wife's bride price

As in the above example, it is not uncommon for one possessive noun phrase to be embedded within another noun phrase:

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(4.36)   [[en]   rai   ari]   kindi=ka
          2PL.GEN   coming   3SG.GEN   time=TP
          As for your return date...

4.2.4   Appositional noun phrase
An appositional noun phrase consists of a noun phrase juxtaposed with another noun phrase which has an identical referent or referents.

NP NP (where NP=NP)

(4.37)   Ei   ruwan=ka   yaisen   ei=ro   kumuti
          3P.GEN   food=TP   DUAL.PRO   3P.PRO-ETP   charcoal

          kora   ti-kai-kai-n   ti-tauke
          LIMIT   3P.S-CONT-eat-SS.SIM   3P.S-stay

          The two of them, they just stayed eating charcoal for their food.

(4.38)   an   Maisin
          1EXC.PRO   Maisin
          We Maisin people

4.2.5   'Headless' noun phrase
Quantifiers and modifiers may take the place of a head noun in a noun phrase. In such cases the missing head noun is usually recoverable from context:

(4.39)   tauri=ka   te-e
          others=TP   3PL.S-go
          Others went.

(4.40)   an   nombow-i=en   te-ef=ate
          1EXC.GEN   big-PL=AGT   3PL.S-say=RL.SEQ
          Our big ones (leaders) told us then...

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4.2.6 Modifier noun phrase
ADJN (ADJN)

A modifier noun phrase typically consists of an adjectival noun, optionally followed by another adjectival noun which carries intensifying force. It may also comprise a nominal followed by the adjectival morpheme /fafusi/ described above (4.1.5.1).

(4.41) a.   sii   moturan
             bad true
             really bad

      b.   nombo   bejji
             large   big
             enormous

      c.   raati   ratti
             small   little
             tiny

      d.   foe vavatta
             white   heavy
             really white

Sequences of more than one modifier phrase within a noun phrase occur only rarely. Insofar as any generalisations can be made about their ordering, modifiers denoting colour appear to precede dimensional properties. There are no instances of more than two modifiers modifying the head within a single noun phrase.

(4.42)   kamora   gambubaraate   sandei
         stone/money   black-PL small-PL   two
         Two small copper coins

(4.43)   umo   foe   raati
         pigeon white   small
         A small white pigeon

4.2.7 Pronominally headed noun phrase
A pronominally headed noun phrase consists of a head, in the form of a personal pronoun, usually followed by a topic or focus marker, or by the delimiter /kora/. Occasionally a noun

phrase may comprise the pronoun alone with no other marking as in example (3.6) above, but this is rare.

(4.44)   **ei=ka**   afun   rasiram=e   ti-ra
                3PL.PRO=TP   now   morning=LOC   3PL.S-go
                They left this morning.

(4.45)   **ai**   kora   i-ra
                3SG.PRO   only   3SG.S-go
                She alone went.

4.2.8   Co-ordinate and serial noun phrases
Two or more noun phrases may be coordinated in one of the following ways:

4.2.8.1 Juxtaposition
One strategy comprises simple juxtaposition of the noun phrases in question. This sis particularly common in the case of pairs of noun phrases which are regularly associated with each other to the point of being regarded as a single semantic unit.

(4.46)   sauki faafi   jamen momorobi   kee fakee
                husband wife   boys   girls   leg arm
                married couple   *children*   *limbs*

It may also be used to conjoin noun phrases in a serial construction:

(4.47)   wakki   tamata   seseka ganan, goji, bere,   ifa   ti-wawe-n
                village   people   all   spear   club axe   knife   3PL.S-get-SS.SIM
                All the village men got their spears, clubs, axes and knives.

The co-ordinating conjunction /wanno/ may optionally occur between conjoined noun phrases, most commonly before the last item in a serial list.

(4.48)   iva   imangi **wanno**   damun   nen=en   mana=ka
                net   derris.root and   torch   DEM=AGT   fish=TP

                ti-wawe=me
                3PL.S-get=PAST

                Nets, derris root and lighted coconut leaf torches, that's how they used to fish.

(4.49) au   sauki   au   teiti **wanno** au   morobi te-kute-ren
        my   wife   my   son and   my   daughter 3PL.S-greet-1/2.O

My wife, my son and my daughter send their greetings to you.

4.2.8.2 Accompaniment marker /=ton/

The case-marking enclitic /=ton/ may be affixed to one or more of the conjoined items. Again, the conjunction /wanno/ may optionally occur as well.

(4.50) a-kute-ren   a-re-regeti,   **e=ton**   ai
        1SG.S-greet-1/2.O   1SG.S-CONT-do.properly 2SG.PRO=ACMP   2SG.GEN

        yo   ai   yabi   wanno ai   ro=e
        mother   2SG.GEN   father and   2SG.GEN sibling=PL

        sinan=e**ton**
        friend=PL=ACMP

I send my warmest greetings to you, your father, your mother and your family and friends.

A pronominally headed NP, when conjoined with another NP, always hosts the accompaniment marker:

(4.51) **ai=ton**   wanno Magdalen   ei=na   ti-mati
        3SG.PRO=ACMP and   Magdalen   3PL.PRO=FOC   3PL.S-die

She and Magdalen, they're the ones who died.

4.2.8.3 Instrumental marker /=en/

The agent/instrument case-marking enclitic /=en/ may be used to coordinate two animate (usually human) noun phrases when functioning as the subject of the clause:

(4.52) tamati   nen=ka   ari   sauki**en**   begati=e   ti-ra
        man   DEM=TP   3SG.GEN wife=AGT   garden=LOC 3PL.S-go

The man and his wife went to the garden.

(4.53) au   rawa   sauki   au   rawa   tamati**en**
        1SG.GEN   in-law woman   1SG.GEN in-law   man

        te-kute-ren
        3PL.S-greet-1/2.O

My parents-in-law send you their greetings.

4.2.9 Case-marking on noun phrases

All of the case-marking enclitics listed in section 3.2.6.1 may be attached to noun phrases to form case-marked phrases. The case marker always attaches to the last item of the noun phrase but precedes any topic or focus marking. Case markers are mutually exclusive, such that a single noun phrase cannot host more than one case-marking enclitic. The range of uses of the various case-markers is illustrated in the examples below.

4.2.9.1 Locative

The locative marker /=e/ includes adessive, inessive and allative functions. It is used to indicate location in space, a point in past time, or a goal towards which movement is directed.

(4.54)   tamati   nen=ka   ari   sauki=en   begati**=e**   ti-ra
           man   DEM=TP   3SG.GEN wife=AGT   garden**=LOC** 3PL.S-go
           That man went with his wife to the garden.

(4.55)   Maume   wakki**=e**   kora   mati   sandei ti-nane.
           Maume   village**=LOC** only   death   two   3PL.S-do
           Only in Maume village there were two deaths.

(4.56)   ei=ka   afun   rasiram**=e**   ti-ra
           3PL.PRO=TP   now   morning**=LOC**   3PL.S-go
           They left this morning.

4.2.9.2 Ablative

The ablative marker /=efe/ marks source or origin. Historically, it may originate from a combination of the locative marker /=e/ and irrealis sequential marker /=fe/, as noted by Ross (1996, p. 195). Most commonly it marks the point from which an action originates, usually a person or place:

(4.57)   isa   birin   en=kam**=efe**   pepa=ka
           NEG   fast   2PL.PRO=POSSPRED=ABL paper=TP

           a-wawe=ka
           1SG.S-get.3SG.O=NEG

           I haven't quickly received a letter from you.

However, it may also reference more abstract states:

(4.58) ei   tatami**=efe**   i-nane   jebuga-ten
        3PL.GEN   sickness=ABL   3SG.S-do   heal-3PL.S
        He made them recover from their sicknesses.

Like the locative marker, it may mark origin in time as well as space:

(4.59) yaa   nuka   yove**=efe**   gumema=ka   ti-rauku=ana
        sun   middle   side=ABL   wake=TP   3PL.S-come.out=FUT
        From around midday, they'll gather for the wake.

4.2.9.3 Referential
The referential[6] marker /=so/ *to, for, about,* has a wide range of usage. It includes the concepts of beneficiary/recipient.

(4.60) ati   morobi   in=ka   ai**=so**
        1INC.GEN daughter DEM=TP   3PL.PRO=REF

        ta-me-me-n
        1INC.S-CONT-give-3SG.O

    We're giving him our daughter.

(4.61) **a=so**   nen=e   ko-rakke-ri   ti-kite
        1SG.PRO=REF   DEM=LOC   2S-show-3PL.O   3PL.S-see.3PL.O

        ti-kuma
        3PL.S-buy
        Show them there for me, so people will see them and buy them.

It is routinely used with most verbs of speaking, thinking, fearing, etc to indicate the goal:

(4.62) ari   yei-e=ka   ai**=so**   ti-bewusi-n   ti-ra
        3SG.GEN sibling-PL=TP3SG.PRO=REF   3PL.S-be.cross-SS.SIM 3PL.S-go
        His brothers were cross with him as they went (home) together.

---

[6] Ross's terminology (1984:30f) has been retained here for convenience and ease of comparison.

(4.63) wakki**=so**   isa   viya   ku-mon-mon=ka
        village=REF   NEG   little   2S-CONT-think=NEG
        You're thinking of the village a lot.

With a noun, or with a verb stem in a nominalised clause, it frequently indicates purpose:

(4.64) kaa   fifi**=so**   tauri=ka   begati=e   ti-ra=anan
        tree   chop=REF   others=TP   garden=LOC   3PL.S-go=FUT
        Others will go to the gardent to chop wood.

(4.65) seseka baya**=so**   iko=e   ti-rau
        all   sago=REF   sago.swamp=LOC 3PL.S-go.out
        They all went off to the sago swamps to make sago.

With the demonstrative marker /nen/ *that* and the interrogative /avan/ *what,* it gives the forms /nenso/ *therefore* and /avanso/ *why,* and is used to express cause or reason.

4.2.9.4 Accompaniment
The accompaniment marker /=ton/ is regularly used to used to co-ordinate noun phrases (see section 4.2.8.2 above).

It also serves to indicate possession

(4.66)   tamati mata**=ton**   nen=en   i-ifi
         man   eye=ACMP   DEM=AGT   3SG.S-say
         The man who had eyes (i.e. the sighted man) said, "...

As its name suggests, it is often used to reference an item or attitude that accompanies an action:

(4.67)   dombon**=ton**   a-kiru-n   i-moya   ta-kan
         coconut=ACMP   1SG.S-squeeze-3SG.O   3SG.S-cooked   1INC.S-eat
         I'll squeeze it together with the coconut and when it's cooked we'll eat.

(4.68)   Kefi=ka   riri**=ton**   i-toki=me
         Kefi=TP   rejoicing=ACMP   3SG.S-sit=PAST
         Kefi sat there happily.

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In the case of negative existential clauses, /=ton/ appears to be obligatorily attached to the noun phrase being negated, although it would not normally be present in the positive counterpart of the same clause:

(4.69)   ai=kam=e=ka   isa   baimara**ton**=ka
           3SG.PRO=POSS.PRED=LOC=TP   NEG   famine=ACMP=NEG
           There won't be any shortage of food for him.

(4.70)   isa   kefe**ton**=ka
           NEG   place=ACMP=NEG
           There's no room.

4.2.9.5 Instrument

The use of the instrument marker /=en/ to co-ordinate two animate noun phrases in subject role has already been referred to in Section 42.8.3 of this chapter. Its more prototypical uses are to mark agent subject in a clause,

(4.71)   buram=e   siko**en** i-vasus-i
           bush=LOC   pig=AGT 3SG.S-give.birth-3PL.O
           In the bush, a pig gave birth to a litter.

(4.72)   yei   e**en**   ko-uki   ku-wawe=ate
           older.sibling   2SG.PRO=AGT   2S-go.down   2S-get.3PL.O=RL.SEQ
           Sister, you go down and get it.

and to mark the instrument used for an action:

(4.73)   ari   embobi**en**   funa i-kayami
           3SG.GEN   tapa.skirt=AGT   skin 3SG.S-wipe
           She wiped his skin with her skirt.

(4.74)   ketu=e   ifa**en**   a-ta=aka   a-nane
           neck=LOC   knife=AGT   1SG.S-hit=POT   1SG.S-do
           I was about to hit it on the neck with my knife.

It also marks nouns denoting a natural force such as 'wind' , 'rain', 'clouds' etc, when they are functioning as subjects of their sentences. In these cases the word order is usually OSV: Object Subject=en Verb:

(4.75)　　　too　　roma=ka　　forogi**=en**　　i-kefot-si
　　　　　　　　land　　all=TP　　　cloud=AGT　　3SG.S-shut-3SG.O
　　　　　　　　Clouds covered the whole area.

The use of /=en/ to mark agent subject is not obligatory and Ross has suggested (1984, p. 67)that at discourse level it serves to mark focus for subjects, much as /=na/ does for objects. He concedes that the evidence for this is largely an 'argument from silence' i.e. the lack of attested examples of instrument-marked subjects also functioning as topics. While our own data do include instances of noun phrases which exhibit both instrument and topic-marking, all those so far identified reference the noun in the semantic role of instrument rather than as agent, so Ross's suggestion remains feasible and persuasive. If true, it would also be evidence of a partial ergative system within the Maisin structure, at least where assignment of focus is concerned, since the focus-marking enclitic /=na/ is used solely with patient objects and undergoer subjects, while /=en/ is reserved for indicating focus on agent subjects, as in the following two examples:

(4.76)　　　　a=ro　　　　　en　　　yabi　　**a=en**　　　　　en
　　　　　　　　1SG.PRO=ETP　　2PL.GEN father　　1SG.PRO=AGT　　2PL.GEN

　　　　　　　　pepa　　　　　a-yam-i
　　　　　　　　paper　　　　　1SG.S-write- 3PL.O
　　　　　　It's me your father, writing this letter to you.

(4.77)　　　kee　　fakee=ka　　ka-rot-i=ate　　　　　　　**a=en**　　　　mataa=ka
　　　　　　　leg　　arm=TP　　1EXC.S-tie-3PL.O=RLSEQ　　1SG.PRO=AGT　　first=TP

　　　　　　　a-faf-si-n　　　　　　　ka-rai
　　　　　　　1SG.S-carry-3SG.O-SS.SIM　　1EXC.S-come

　　　　　We tied (the pig's) legs up and I was the one who took the first turn carrying it back.

5   Verbs and verb phrases

5.1 Verbs

Most Maisin verbs consist of a verb stem with a prefix marking subject person and number and suffixes marking object person and number. A small, closed class of intransitive verbs mark subject by suffixation. Progressive/continuous aspect is marked by reduplication within the verb stem, while other tense/aspect markers occupy the slot immediately following the object suffixes in the verb word. These fall into two categories, medial and final tense/aspect markers. Medial verb forms relate the verb in question to a following verb, while final verbs carry tense/aspect marking clitics which express the tense/aspect of the whole predicate and which are usually clause final.

5.1.1   Subject prefixes

The basic subject marking prefixes attaching to Maisin verb stems are set out in the following table:

Table 7 Subject Prefixes

	Singular	Plural
1st exc	a-	ka-
1st inc		ta-
2nd	ku-	ku-
3rd	i-	ti-

The manner in which these prefixes combine with verb stems , however, gives rise to three different surface forms, and it is convenient to categorise Maisin verb stems which mark subject by prefixation into three separate classes, according to these different morphophonemic processes:

5.1.1.1 Class 1: Consonant-initial stems

Since all the verb stems which host these prefixes are consonant-initial, and there is no apparent other common feature that characterises them, we have adopted Ross's terminology for this class (1984, p. 36), labelling it as consonant-initial. It should be noted,

however, that this is potentially misleading since the converse does not apply, i.e. not all consonant-initial stems necessarily belong to this class.

(5.1)   aramara   a-ramara   *I got up*

        kuramara   ku-ramara   *you got up*

        iramara   i-ramara   *s/he got up*

        karamara   ka-ramara   *we(exc) got up*

        taramara   ta-ramara   *we(inc) got up*

        tiramara   ti-ramara   *they got up*

5.1.1.2 Class 2:Vowel-initial stems

Again, the nomenclature for this class carries some limitations, and is adopted here for convenience rather than strict accuracy. While all vowel-initial verb stems belong to this class, it is not restricted to them, and includes a wide variety of consonant-initial stems as well, as demonstrated below.

This class of stems hosts the following subject prefixes:

Table 8 Subject prefixes with vowel lowering

	Singular	Plural
1 Exc	a-	ka-
1 Inc		ta-
2	ko-	ko-
3	e-	te-

The subject prefixes in this class have undergone a process of vowel-lowering such that *ku-*, *i-* and *ti-* become *ko-*, *e-* and *te-* respectively. The first person forms, which do not involve high vowels, remain unchanged. According to Ross (1984, p. 38), this process applies to vowel-initial stems, and to certain /k/-initial stems, and many verbs in this class do fall into one or other of those categories:

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(5.2) /uki/   /kute/   /kira/   /ise/

        /e-uki/   /ko-kute/   /te-kira/   /ko-ise/

        3SG.S-go.down   2S-ask   3SG.S-search   2S-stand

        He went down.   *You asked.*   *They searched.*   *You stood.*

However, examples can be found of verb-stems participating in this process which begin with almost every consonant in the Maisin inventory. (/d/ and /w/ alone are not represented):

(5.3) /sinasi/   /timowe/   /yavi/   /rakkeri/

        /e-sinasi/   /ko-timowe-n/   /te-yavi/   /e-rakke-ri/

        3SG.S-joke   2S-believe-3SG.O   3PL.S-read   3SG.S-show-3PL.O

        He joked.   *You believed him.*   *They read.*   *He showed them.*

5.1.1.3 Class 3: k-initial stems

All of the stems in this class are k-initial, but, as with the consonant-initial stem class, not all k-initial stems belong to this class. These stems undergo a more complex set of changes, according to the following sequence, which has been helpfully described in greater detail by Ross (Ross, 1984:36f) and is summarised below:

1. deletion of the initial /k/ of the verb stem after /a/ and /u/, followed by

2. loss of the initial vowel of the verb stem where it is identical with that of the subject prefix

3. labialisation of the resulting /kuV/ sequence to give /kwV/

Since the /k-/deletion occurs only after prefix vowels /a/ and /u/, not /i/, these processes affect 1st and 2nd person forms of the verb only and give rise to paradigms such as the following:

/kakku/ *bow:*   /a-/ + /kakku/ →/akku/   /ku-/ + /kakku/ → /kwakku/

	Singular	Plural
1	akku	kakku/takku
2	kwakku	kwakku
3	ikakku	tikakku

Once again, Ross's application of the process solely to certain /ka-/ and /ki-/- initial stems needs to be widened to include a fuller range of /k-/-initial stems. All /ke/-initial stems so far identified belong to this class, as well as some /ku/-initial stems in common use, and a number of /ko/-initial stems.

 This last is of particular interest in that, although Ross notes the dearth of /V+o/ sequences in Maisin because there are no /o/-initial verb stems (Ross, 1984:19), the /k-/-deletion process gives rise to such an otherwise rare sequence, when /ko/-initial verb stems combine with first person subject markers. Although several /ko/-initial stems have been identified, however, the only attested example of such a sequence in the current data is

(5.4)   isa   ta-(k)ovi=anan=ka
           NEG   1INC.S-deny=FUT=NEG
           We won't deny it.

Some examples of /ke/- and /ku/-initial stems which undergo this process include the following:

   (5.5) /kefotti/ *shut*

[afotti]   [kwefotti]   [ikefotti]
/a-kefot-si/   /ku-kefot-si/   /i-kefot-si/
1SG.S-shut-3SG.O   2.S-shut-3SG.O   3SG.S-shut-3SG.O
  I shut it   .   *You shut it.*   *He shut it*

(5.6) /kwemotte/   straighten

[amotteɾi]	[kwemotteɾi]	[ikemotteɾi]
/a-motte-ri/	/ku-kemotte-ri/	/i-kemotte-ri/
1SG.S-straighten-3PL.O	2.S-straighten-3PL.O	3SG.S-straighten-3PL.O
I straightened them.	*You straightened them.*	*He straightened them.*

In the case of /ku/-initial verb stems, the /k/-deletion results in a /ku-u/ sequence in 2ⁿᵈ person forms, which then becomes /ku/ through the vowel reduction rule, so the final process of labialisation does not take place:

(5.7) /kusi/ *leave*

[ausiŋ]	[kusiŋ]	[ikusiŋ]
/a-kusi-n/	/ku-kusi-n/	/i-kusi-n/
1SG.S-leave-3SG.O	2.S-leave-3SG.O	3SG.S-leave-3SG.O
I left him.	*You left him .*	*She left him.*

(5.8) /kuma/ *buy*

[kaumasi]	[kumasi]	[tikumasi]
/ka-kuma-si/	/ku-kuma-si/	/ti-kuma-si/
1EXC.S-buy-3SG.O	2.S-buy-3SG.O	3PL.O-buy-3SG.O
We bought it.	*You bought it.*	*They bought it.*

5.1.2   Verbs with subject-marking by suffixation

A closed class of intransitive verbs exists in Maisin which behave differently from other verbs in terms of their subject marking. In the case of these verbs, subject person and number is marked by suffixation on the verb stem, rather than the normal prefixation. The suffixes show some formal resemblance to the subject prefixes, as the following table indicates:

Table 9 Subject-marking suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1 exc	-an	-kan
1 inc		-tan
2	-kon	-kon
3	-en	-ten

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(5.9)   kaa   sekara=e   jeri-**en**
               canoe reef=LOC   get.stuck-3SG.S
               The canoe got stuck on the reef.

(5.10)   Japan=ka   ti-va   nen=e   arore   toru-**kan**
               Japan=TP 3PL.S-go.up DEM=LOC   together   collide-1EXC.S
               The Japanese went up and we came up against each other there.

Tense and aspect marking enclitics follow the subject marking on the verb:

(5.11)   kaa   tafa-m=e   gugugi-**en**=**anan**
               canoe top-2.PSR=LOC   sink-3SG.S=FUT
               (Your) canoe will sink on top of you.

(5.12)   te-ifi   mui-**en**=**aka**
               3PL.S-say   be.quiet-3SG.S=*POT*
               They told him to be quiet.

No examples have yet been attested of continuous aspect reduplication occurring with this class of verb.

Some of the verb stems in this class may also occur in nominalised form with the verb /nane/ *do* to form a verb phrase that is semantically equivalent to the suffixed verb form:

(5.13)   sirorari   ti- nane   sirorari-ten
               happening 3PL.S-   do   happen-3PL.S
                 They came into being.

(5.14)   jebuga   ti-nane   jebuga-ten
               healing   3PL.S-do   heal-3PL.S
                 They became well/recovered.

To date, nearly 50 verbs have been identified as belonging to this class, and many of those appear to be cognate with items in the neighbouring non-Austronesian languages, Korafe

and Baruga.[7] Verbs so far recorded are listed below, with 3rd singular subject markers attached. Where known, Korafe cognates are also listed.

Maisin verb		Korafe cognate form	
buruwen	*flare up*	burughari	*flare*
buwen	*jump up*		
dayen	*drip*		
didiyen	*become taut*		
diyen	*be full*		
doiyen	*be adjacent*		
dururen	*come to a stop*		
fasiyen	*pop up*	fasifasighari	*move up and down*
fauwen	*rebound*		
fesiyen	*rain lightly*	fesighari	*drip steadily*
feyen	*become light(in weight)*	feghako	*light weight*
fufufi	*become hot*		
fufunowen	*shatter, smash*	fufuno	*crumbs, crumbled*
gasayen	*pour out*		
gegegen	*crack*		
gisiyen	*move, inch one's way*	gisighari	*move along bit by bit*
gogogen	*roll down*	gogogoghari	*plunge down a slope*
gososen	*slide together*		
gossaya	*go down (swelling, tide)*	gosaghari	*go down, subside*
gugugen	*sink*		

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[7] Cynthia Farr, personal communication

jakiyen	*dive*	jakinghari	*make splash in water*
jebugayen	*recover*	jebugari	*become well, healthy*
jeretayen	*be filled in*		
jeriyen	*be beached, run aground*	jerighari	*run aground, get beached*
jofuwen	*bounce off, fall out*		
joruwen	*sprout, come up*	jorughari	*leap, jump*
jouwen	*jump up*		
kiriyen	*bubble up*	kirighari	*flood, become inundated*
kokkayen	*come into view*		
kouwen	*come up for air*	kounghari	*lift head above water*
muiyen	*be quiet*		
sarayen	*capsize*	saraghari	*capsize, turn over*
sariyen	*tug, pull*	sarighari	*jerk, tug*
sauwen	*spring up*		
sereren	*glide*	serereghari	*slope, slide*
siyen	*become bad*		
sikiyen	*tighten, fasten*	sikighari	*become tight*
siriren	*get straightened out*		
siorari	*come into being*	sirorari	*be born, happen*
sisisen	*be swollen, inflated*		
sumbeiyen	*squat*	sumbei ari	*crouch*
taiyen	*become tight*		
tataten	*become rough (of sea)*		

teuwen   *jump back*   teunghari   *move back and forth*

toruwen   *collide*

tuwen   *stop*

5.1.3   Object suffixes

The underlying forms of the object suffixes are as follows:

Table 10 Object-marking Suffixes

	Singular	Plural
1 EXC	-eren/ren	-eren/ren
1 INC		-ereti/reti
2	-eren/ren	-eren/ren
3	-n/-en	-ri
	-si	Ø
		-i
		-wi
		-ki

5.1.3.1 Third person object marking

Ross (1984, p. 40f) gives a detailed account of the way these suffixes combine with verb
stems and the surface forms that result. Two of the 3ʳᵈ plural object forms listed above, /-ki/
and /-wi/, do not occur in his data. As he notes, there is no clear correlation between third
person singular and plural forms, but the following generalisations can be made:

1. Where the verb stem ends in a consonant, the 3ʳᵈ singular object suffix will be /-si/,
    and the 3ʳᵈ plural form will be /-i/

    (5.15)   ter   tes-si   ter-i   *put*

               kayam   kayan-si   kayam-i   *write*

2.   Where the 3ʳᵈ plural object is /-ri/, the 3ʳᵈ singular will be /-n/. (Ross 1984:40)

    (5.16)   rafara   rafara-n   rafara-ri *find*

               kafofo   kafofo-n   kafofo-ri *forbid*

Some counter-evidence has been found to Ross's suggestion (1984, p. 40) that if a vowel-final stem takes singular /-si/, the plural suffix will be a zero form; /-wi/ is also attested in certain cases:

(5.17)   wata   wata-si   wata-wi   *bury*

             wamo   wamo-si   wamo-wi   *demolish*

A small number of verb stems which host the 3ʳᵈ singular object suffix /-si/ appear to take a plural suffix /-ari/:

(5.18)   watav   watavi-si   watav-ari   *change*

             sasav   sasas-si   sasav-ari   *hollow out*

             ketav   ketavi-si   ketav-ari   *sort, sift*

             kasinau   kasinau-si/nosi   kasinaw-ari   *pass over*

             kemasa   kemasa-si   kemasaw-ari   *push aside*

Three verb stems have been identified which mark 3ʳᵈ singular object with the suffix /-en/:

(5.19)   vasusi   vasus-en   vasus-i   *give birth*

             yogi   yog-en   yog-i   *drain*

             yomi   yons-en   yom-i   *hide*

One instance has been found of a 3ʳᵈ plural suffix /-ki/:

(5.20)   yau   yausi/yosi   yauki/yoki   *pull out*

No distinction for number is normally made in the second person subject marking, as the 2ⁿᵈ subject marker /ku-/ may reference singular or plural subject. An exception to this occurs however, in the case of transitive verbs where a plural second person subject, and third singular object are in view. In these situations the plurality of the subject is indicated by plural object marking on the verb, as the following examples illustrate:

(5.21)   ku-ramara kasimon   ku-yasi-ri   a-vasi
            2S-get.up   door   2S-open-3PL.O   1SG.S-come.up
            You(pl) get up and open the door, I'm coming up.

(5.22)   morobi   ku-wawe=in
           girl   2S-get.3PL.O=PQ
           Did you(pl) get the girl?

5.1.3.2 First and second person object marking

The first and second person object markers /-eren/, /-ereti/ attach to consonant-final and vowel-final verb stems respectively, with the exception that where a verb stem ends in /r/, the initial /-er/ of the object suffixes is lost:

(5.23)   ku-ter-en   a-uki
           2.S-put-1/2.O   1SG.S-go.down
           Put me down!

5.1.3.3 Object marking on ditransitive verbs

In the case of semantically ditransitive verbs, Maisin appears to exhibit some flexibility in terms of which argument is referenced by the object-suffix on the verb stem.

/verakke/ *show* most commonly marks recipient by suffixation and theme by a separate noun phrase:

(5.24)   kukun=ka   a-rakke-ren
           taro=TP   1SG.S-show-1/2.O
           I showed you the taro.

(5.25)   yeta   sinati   in=en   wowawa   sese=na   ti-rakke-reti
           road   three   DEM=AGT   thing   one=FOC   3PL.S-show-1INC.O

           These three roads show us one thing.

However, in the following example, the theme receives the object suffix marking as well as pronominal reference within the verb phrase:

(5.26)   to=arin   en=na   ku-rakke-eren   ti-kite-eren
           self=PL   2PL.PRO=FOC   2S-show-1/2.O   3PL.S-see-1/2.O
           Show yourselves to them, they'll see you

/mei/ *give* normally references the theme with the object suffix and recipient is either left implicit or indicated by a noun phrase with referential case-marking:

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(5.27)   dombon   a-vira-n   mo-morobi=so   a-me-n
           coconut   1SG.S-scrape-3SG.O   PL-girl=REF   1SG.S-give-3SG.O
               I scraped a coconut (and) gave it to the girls.

(5.28)   an   pepa=ka   ka-me-i   i-kite-∅
           1EXC.GEN paper=TP   1EXC.S-give-3PL.O   3SG.S-see-3PL.O
           We gave him our papers to look at.

However, in the following examples, the verbal suffix marks the recipient, and the theme is referenced only in the preceding noun phrase:

(5.29)   funa=na   i-me-ti=ate   teiti raati....   i-kan
           skin-FOC   3SG.S-give-1INC.O=RL.SEQ   boy small   3SG.S-eat
           He gave us(inc) his skin and then the small boy ate (the man's skin).

(5.30)   avan=so   ta-fafa   nen=ka   i-me-ti=anan
           what=REF 1INC.S-ask.for   DEM=TP   3SG.S-give-1INC.O=FUT
           Whatever we(inc) ask for, he will give us(inc).

In these last two examples, the form of the 1st inclusive object-suffix /-ti/ appears to be an abbreviated form of the expected /-reti/. If the suffix that references first person exclusive and second person has undergone similar modification, the resulting form would be /-en/ , which gives the potential for ambiguity regarding the analysis of utterances such as the following, since /kumen/ could conceivably be treated as suffixed for either 3rd singular, or 1st exclusive object marking:

(5.31)   yau   susi-an   ku-kaito-n   ku-me-n/ren?
           mother   breast-2PSR   2S-cut-3SG.O   2S-give-3SG.O/1/2.O?
           Mother, cut off your breast and give it/me?

It is not yet conclusive what factors govern the choice of argument for object affixation with both /verakke/ and /mei/. However, in all the above examples where the recipient is marked with the object suffix, the recipient is in 1st or 2nd person, i.e. a speech participant. It is possible that this is the motivating factor for according such marking to the recipient rather than to the theme in these instances.

/katuwatte/ *teach*, the only other verb so far identified which can take three nominal arguments does not seem to exhibit the same fluidity with regard to object affixation. In the

following example, both object suffixes reference the recipients of the teaching, not the material taught. All attested examples of this verb follow this pattern.

(5.32)   taukiramara...   i-katuwatte-ri=ate   ti-katuwatte-reti
            behaviour   3SG.S-teach-3PL.O=RL.SEQ 3PL.S-teach-1INC.O
            The behaviour he taught them and they taught us(inc).

5.1.4   Continuous aspect reduplication

Continuous or habitual aspect is usually marked by the reduplication of one of the syllables of the verb stem, most commonly the initial syllable, but sometimes the second or third. Some lengthening of the reduplicated syllable often takes place as well.

5.1.4.1 Reduplication of first syllable

5.1.4.1.1   CV-reduplication

The most common form of reduplication in Maisin involves the repetition of the first syllable of the verb stem. Where this is a CV syllable, the vowel is lengthened in the reduplicated syllable:

(5.33)   /i-bagi/   *he stole*   /i-baa-bagi/   *he's stealing*

            /a-kayan-si/   *I wrote it*   /a-kaa-kayan-si/   *I'm writing it*

            /ti-maru/   *they set out*   /ti-maa-maru/   *they're setting out*

In a number of cases where the first syllable of the verb stem is a glide, the contrast in length between the reduplicated syllable and the stem is achieved by a vowel reduction in the stem:

(5.34)   /tauki/   *sit*   /i-tau-toki/   *he is sitting*

            /rau/   *go in*   /i- rau- ro/   *he is going in*

            /yauki/   *pull out* /i-yau-yoki/   *she is pulling out*

            /nauwi/   *kill*   /i-nau-no-si/ *he is killing him*

            /weisi/   *weave*   /i-wei-wosi/   *she's weaving*

            /mei/   *give*   /i-mei-me-n/   *he's giving it*

Not all verb stems with glides in the first syllable follow this pattern however:

(5.35)   /rauku/ *come out* /a-rauku/ *I came out*   /a-ra-rauku/ *I'm coming out.*

   /baire/ *replace*   /i-baire-si/*he replaced him*   /-bai-bairesi/ *he's replacing him*

5.1.4.1.2   CVC-reduplication

Where the first syllable of a verb stem is a CVC sequence, the entire syllable may be reduplicated, resulting in CVCCVC sequence, which is then subject to the nasal assimilation, non-nasal assimilation and non-nasal stopping rules outlined in the previous chapter. There is no lengthening of the vowel in the reduplicated syllable .

(5.36)   [imoŋ]   /i-mon/ *He thought.*   [imommoŋ]   /i-moŋmoŋ]   *He's thinking.*

   In the following three examples, the doubling of the consonant in the reduplicated syllable entails the loss of the geminate consonant in the following syllable, in keeping with the rule that prevents two consecutive syllables with geminate consonants (1984, p. 22).

(5.37)   [itessi]   /i-ter-si/   *He put it.*   [itettesi] /i-ter-ter-si/ *He's putting it.*

(5.38)   [tikitti]   /ti-kit-si/   *They saw it.*   [tikikkiti]/ti-kit-kit-si/*They're seeing it.*

(5.39)   [aɾoti]   /a-rot -i/   *I tied them.*   [aroddoti]/a-rot-rot –i/*I'm tying them.*

Not all verb stems with a CVC sequence are necessarily CVC-reduplicating as the following example illustrates:

(5.40)   /yan/   *chew*   /a-yan/ *I chewed.*   /a-yaa-yan/   *I'm chewing.*

Verb stems containing geminate consonant sequences might be expected to undergo CVC-reduplication but three different reduplication strategies have been identified in these cases and there is no clear motivation for the choice of each. Some undergo partial (CV) reduplication of the first syllable, with vowel lengthening:

(5.41)/radde/*pick up*   /i-radde */He picked them up.*   /i-raa-radde/*He's picking them up.*

Others undergo CVC-reduplication:

(5.42)   /vassi/ *boil*   /a-vassi/*I boiled (it).*   [avabbasi]   /a-vas-vasi/   *I am boiling (it).*

Still others appear to undergo reduplication of the second syllable, but with the transferral of the final consonant of the first syllable to the reduplicated syllable, preserving its length:

(5.43) /kaffari/ *jump* /i-kaffari/*He jumped.* /i-kafaf-fari/ *He is jumping.*

/kibbari/ *belt* /i-kibban/*He fastened a belt.* /i-kibab-bari/ *He is fastening his belt.*

The following example appears to be an anomaly:

(5.44) /toddi/ *marry* /i-toddi/*She married.* /i-tod-doti/*She's marrying.*

5.1.4.1.3 Reduplication by vowel lengthening

With some verb stems, there is no consonantal reduplication, but vowel lengthening takes place in the initial syllable. Ross rightly observes that this occurs almost exclusively in verb stems where there are already two identical syllables in the verb stem. However his conclusion that this is grounded in a Maisin tendency to avoid a sequence of three consecutive identical consonants (1984, p. 22) does not seem to to tally with such common and well-attested forms as /titettesi/ *they put*, /gugugen/ *it sank*, /kakakku/ *we worshipped* etc.

(5.45) /susi/ *suckle* /i-susi/ *she suckled* /i-suusi/ she is suckling

/gugubi/*speak* /ku-gugubi/ *you spoke* /ku-guu-gubi/ *you're speaking*

/fafa/ *beg* /i-fafa/ *he begged* /i-faa-fa/*he's begging*

5.1.4.2 Reduplication of 2nd or 3rd syllable

A number of verbs reduplicate not on the first, but on the second or third syllable of the stem. Ross plausibly suggests that in these cases, the initial syllables may have originated as a prefix to the verb stem, which has since ceased to be productive and effectively become frozen as part of the stem (1984, p. 35). Prefixes of this kind so far identified include:

/ba-bisiri/ *push*

/fa-wuri/ *wrap*

/ka-mato/ *swallow*

/kai-to/ *cut*

/kara-fe/*bite*

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/ke-metari/   *dawn*

/ki-sese/   *scrape*

/ra-mara/   *get up*

/tai-sukki/   *run*

/ta-miyawi/   *take down*

/tara-wuri/   *hit*

/ko-vari/   *sew*

/ku-te/   *ask*

/wa-mowi/   *demolish*

/ya-tori/ *carry*

Our data indicates that, contra Ross (1984, p. 43) the reduplicated syllable in these instances does not undergo the vowel lengthening that occurs in the case of reduplication of the first vowel:

(5.46)   /i-ramara/   *he got up*   /i-ra ma-mara/   *he's getting up*

   /i-katuwatte-ren/ *he taught me* /i-ka tu-tuwatte-ren/   *he's teaching me*

Where the first, non-reduplicating syllable, involves a VV sequence, vowel reduction takes place in that syllable:

(5.47)   /kaito/ *cut*   /i-kaito-n/   *he cut it* /i-ka to-to-n/ *he is cutting it*

   /taisukki/ *run*   /ti-taisukki/   *they ran* /ti-ta su-sukki/ *they are running*

   /kaikosi/ *gather*   /i-kaikosi/ *he gathered* /i- ka ko-kosi/ *he is gathering up*

5.1.4.3 Irregular reduplication

5.1.4.3.1   Verbs of motion

Some irregular variations on the normal reduplication process for progressive and habitual aspect include the following verbs of motion. In each of these instances, the common element seems to be that length, where applicable, is maintained on the verb stem rather than the reduplicated syllable:

1. /ra/ *go*

The irregular non-future paradigm of this verb involves loss of the underlying /r/ to give the surface forms /a-a/ /ko-o/ /e-e//ka-a//ta-a/ and /te-e/. Progressive aspect is expressed by the lengthening of the vowel in the verb stem, to give the following forms:

(5.48)   /a-raa/, /ku-raa/ /i-raa/ /ka-raa/ /ta-raa/ and /ti-raa/.

2. /rai/ come

There is vowel reduction in the verb stem, which is reduplicated, but without the normal lengthening of the reduplicated syllable:

(5.49)   /a-rai/   *I came*   /a-ra-ra/   *I am coming*

3. /vaa/go up   and /vasi/   *come up*

Again, the reduplicated syllable remains unlengthened:

(5.50)   /a-vaa/ *I went up* /a-va-vaa/   *I'm going up*

           /ku-vasi/   *you came up*   /ku-va-vasi/ *you're coming up*

4. /uki/ *go down* and /uku/ *come up*

In both cases the final syllable of the verb stem is lengthened. In the case of /uki/, the vowel changes from /i/ to /a/.

(5.51)   /a- uki/   *I went down*   /a-ukaa/ *I'm going down*

           /e-uku/   *he came down*   /e-ukuu/*he's coming down*

   5.1.4.3.2   Other verbs
Other common verbs which depart from the regular rules of reduplication, and are noted by Ross (1984, p. 44) include:

/ise/   *walk, stand*,   which allows two forms of reduplication depending on which semantic sense of the verb is in focus:

(5.52)   /a-ise/   *I stood/walked*   /a-isee/*I'm standing*   /a-se-se/*I'm walking*

/ifi/ *say, tell* Again, alternative reduplication strategies are used according to the relevant sense of the verb:

(5.53) [aafi] /a-ifi/ *I said/told* /a-ifaafi/*I'm telling* /a-ifan/ *I'm saying*

/nane/ *do* Ross cites the verb stem as /nei/ (1984, p. 44) but since /nane/ is also regularly used as the nominalised form of this verb, it seems preferable to treat this form as the stem, realised in non-future by the reduced form /nei/:

(5.54) /i-nei/ *he did* /i-nan(e)/ *he is doing (them)*

5.1.5 Verb nominalisation

Nominal forms can be derived from Maisin verb stems. A nominalised verb is not indexed for subject. It may function as the head of a noun phrase and host case-marking and topic and focus-marking enclitics.

(5.55) to-arin asa gi ramara=ka isa tauban=ka
        self-PL name hold get.up=TP NEG good=NEG
        Lifting up their own names isn't good.

It may also serve as an attributive modifier within the noun phrase, in which case, unlike an adjectival noun, it precedes the noun it modifies.

bagi tamati   kuma vaa   katuwatte sauki

steal man   buy house   teach   woman

thief   *store*   *(female) teacher*

Often, as in the following examples, these nominalised stems are used to form embedded clauses. These wil be discussed further below in the context of complementation (section 7.1.5)

(5.56) mana wawe ari yetaka wataa
        fish get.3PL.O 3SG.GEN path=TP many
        There are many ways of catching fish.

(5.57) ...vasi tamatari ei ruwan vaaviso
        visit person-PL 3PL.GEN food cook.3PL.O=REF
        ...for cooking the visitors' food.

5.1.5.1 Intransitive verbs

Most intransitive verb stems, minus the subject-marking prefixes, may function as nominals, without the need for further affixation to signal a derivational change of word class. In effect these forms become deverbal nouns. Examples include: /mon/ *to think/thinking,* /kasi/ *to paddle/canoe paddle,* /matuku/ *to dream/dream*

5.1.5.2 Transitive verbs

A nominal form derived from a transitive verb normally consists of the verb stem with the 3rd plural object suffixation. As the following two examples demonstrate, this marking does not change even if the object of the nominalised verb is of a different person and number:

(5.58)   isa   kindi=ton   i-watavi-si=ka,   aa
               NEG   time=ACMP   3SG.S-change-3SG.O=NEG 1SG.PRO

               karafe-∅=so
               bite-3PL.O=REF
               In no time, it turned around to bite me.

(5.59)   vaa   bejji   wi-ri=so   i-mon-mon=anan
             house big   build-3PL.O=REF   3SG.S-CONT-think=FUT
             He'll be thinking about building a big house.

However, in some instances where the nominalised form is being used with attributive function and the object is unspecific or not in focus, the 3rd plural suffix is not attached, and the stem is used without any affixation. Compare (5.60) with (5.56) and (5.61):

(5.60)   ei   verakke katuwatte-ri=na ku-gi   ku-regeti
             3PL.GEN   show   teach-3PL.O=FOC 2S-hold 2S-do.properly
             You hold fast to their example and teaching.

(5.61)   katuwatte=ka   i-wafikko-n
             teach=TP   3SG.S-begin-3SG.O
             He started teaching.

Similarly, the verb kafofo *forbid* normally takes the 3rd plural suffix /-ri/

(5.62) saukitamati tauri=ka i-kafofo-ri ti-ise

people other=TP 3SG.S-forbid-3PL.O 3PL.S-stand

He forbade the other people (and) they stood still.

but occurs without affixation in the following construction where it fulfils an attributive function:

(5.63) kafofo kooti=ka kasan ku-nane

prohibit talk=TP knowledge 2S-do

You know the law.

5.1.5.3 Nominalising prefix /ve-/

Verb stems belonging to Class 2, whose subject prefixes undergo the vowel-lowering processes outlined above (1.1.2.1.2) derive their nominal forms differently from other verb classes. Both transitive and intransitive verbs in this class require the nominalising prefix /ve-/ in order to function as a nominal. Like the other verb stems, however, they lose subject-prefix marking, and in the case of transitive verbs, they retain the 3rd plural object suffix.

(5.64) ai=kam=e=ka isa **ve-**imosi-∅=ton=ka

3SG.PRO=POSS.PRED=LOC=TP NEG NOM-help-3PL.O=ACMP=NEG

She didn't get any help (lit. 'with her there wasn't help')

(5.65) nene ari ve-nonowatti=ka in=FOC

OK 3SG.GEN NOM-prepare=TP DEM=FOC

OK, the preparation for it is like this...

5.1.5.4 Function of nominalisation

Semantically the nominal forms may reference, among other things:

(a) the instrument used for the activity of the verb

kasi *canoe paddle/to paddle*

taran *radio, telephone/to call*

vevirari *coconut scraper/to scrape (coconuts)*

vegurerevi   *door key/to pick (e.g. ear, nose, any hole)*

(b) the state or condition resulting from the verb

tatami   *sickness/be sick*

mati   *death/die*

(c) the reification of the action as an entity which can be observed and described (Bugenhagen, 1995).

(5.66)   kaito=ka   i-wafikko-n=anan
          cut=TP   3SG.S-begin-3SG.O=FUT
          He'll start cutting.

(5.67)   vaa   wi-ri   yove=e
          house build-3PL.O   side=LOC
          In the matter of building houses…

5.1.6   Final tense/aspect markers

All the final tense/aspect markers below are enclitics which may attach to non-verb predicates as well as to verb stems.

5.1.6.1 Non-future

Non-future tense is marked by a zero morpheme, i.e. the verb stem with subject marking only, or, in the case of transitive verbs, with object marking also. It is most commonly used to denote simple past tense:

(5.68)   Ganjiga   tamati=aa=en an   vaa=na   ti-wi-n
          Ganjiga   man=PL=AGT 1EXC.GEN   house=FOC   3PL.S-build-3SG.O
          Ganjiga men built our house.

(5.69)   roro   foin=ka   kuta=na   ka-vav-si
          yesterday   night=TP   sweet.potato=FOC   1EXC.S-cook-3SG.O

          ka-kan
          1EXC.S-eat
          Last night we cooked and ate sweet potato.

With second person subject marking, it may encode imperative mood:

(5.70)   ku-ra   maa   ku-tama-Ø
             2S-go   plate(s) 2S-wash-3PL.O
             Go wash the dishes!

With first person inclusive subject marking, the hortatory mood is often indicated:

(5.71)   san=e   ta-uki
             beach=LOC   1INC.S-go.down
             Let's go down to the beach!

5.1.6.2 Past /=me/

The past tense marker /=me/ may be attached to either the simple or continuous (reduplicated) form of the verb stem. /=me/ most commonly occurs with the continuous aspect, since the non-future is the default unmarked past form. In conjunction with the continuous aspect, it may express an incomplete action in the past:

(5.72)   kakayu=na   ti-si-siye**me**
             snail=FOC   3PL.S-CONT-roast.3PL.O=PAST
             They were roasting snails.

It may also encode a past habitual action:

(5.73)   ka-va   kumuti   kora   ka-kan=fe
             1EXC.S- go.up   charcoal   only   1EXC.S-eat=IR.SEQ

             ka-too-to**=me**
             1EXC.S-CONT-lie=PAST
             We would go up and eat nothing but charcoal and then lie down (to sleep).

It may occur with the non-future simple verb stem to express a completed past action:

(5.74)   tamati ratti   ari   begi   nen=ka   i-rauku
             man   old   3SG.GEN   first   DEM=TP   3SG.S-come.out

ti-rafaraddi**=me**
3PL.S-meet=PAST
Her first old man came out and they met each other.

It also attaches to the predicate in the protasis of a counterfactual conditional sentence:

(5.75) nene**=me** afun=ka   yabu=en   ti-wi-wi-ri=akafen
        OK=PAST   now=TP   ground=AGT 3PL.S-CONT-build=3PL.O=CFAC
        If it had been OK, they'd be building their houses with mud today.

5.1.6.3 Future /=anan/

The future-marking final suffix /=anan/ attaches to both verbs and other predicates. In spoken Maisin, the final nasal is often omitted word-finally, giving the surface form /=ana/. It is primarily used to denote future events.

(5.76) ivo=in   ta-sam-si   ta-fune-si**=anan**
        turtle=DEM   1INC.S-roast-3SG.O 1INC.S-butcher-3SG.O=FUT
        We'll roast this turtle and butcher it.

When it is used sentence-medially in a nominalised clause, it may indicate a temporal contingent relationship with the following clause, or may express a future conditional state:

(5.77) borun i-nane**=anan**=ka   yabu=ka   i-kaveve**=anan**
        rain   3SG.S-do=FUT=TP   ground=TP   3SG.S-get.soft=FUT
        When it rains, the ground will become soft.

(5.78) susi-a   a-kaito-n   a-me-n**=anan**=ka
        breast-1SG.PSR   1SG.S-cut-3SG.O   1SG.S-give-3SG.O=FUT=TP

        a-mati=anan
        1SG.S-die=FUT
        If I cut my breasts off and give them (to you) I will die.

With the second person subject marking, the future tense marker is sometimes used to express a polite imperative:

(5.79)   en   wowawa=ka in=e   vaa=e   ku-ter-i**anan**
           2PL.GEN   thing=TP   DEM=LOC   house=LOC   2S-put-3PL.O=FUT
           Put your things here in the house.

The following sentences are examples of /=anan/ attached to predicates other than the verb:

(5.80)   afun=ka   a=ka   ai   vaa=e**anan**
           today=TP   1SG.PRO=TP   2SG.GEN   house=LOC=FUT
           Today I'll be at your house

(5.81)   man=na   boregi**anan**=ka   ti-wawe**anan**
           which=FOC   good.ones=FUT=TP   3PL.S-get.3PL.O=FUT
           Whichever ones are good, they'll take them.

5.1.6.4 Potential /=aka/

The potential-marking clitic /=aka/ attaches to the verb stem, with or without object suffixation Its primary function is to express purpose, intention or desire. It generally occurs in conjunction with another final verb which may precede or, more commonly, follow it:

(5.82)   yun   a-ye**aka**   a-uku
           water   1SG.S-bathe=POT   1SG.S-come down
           I came down here to bathe.

(5.83)   au   marawa=ka   en   aro   ta-viya**aka**
           1SG.GEN   desire=TP   2PL.PRO   together   1INC.S-play=POT
           I want to play with you.

Occasionally it is used with a verb stem which is reduplicated to mark continuous aspect:

(5.84)   avasu   ta-naan**aka**   i-ifi
           how   1INC.S-CONT.do=POT   3SG.S-say
           What did he say we should be doing?

It is often used with the verb /ifi/ and related verbs, to encode reported speech and commands:

(5.85)   buuti nen=e   a-ter-si**=aka**   i-ifi
          island DEM=LOC   1SG.S-put-3SG.O=POT   3SG.S-say
          He told me to put him on the island.

(5.86)   i-kawa-si**=aka**   i-ifi
          3SG.S-cross-LOC=POT   3SG.S-say
          He said he would come across.

In the following construction, with the verb /nane/ *do* functioning as an auxiliary verb, /=aka/ expresses the idea of immediate future, being on the point of performing an action:

(5.87)   a-wagirisi a-fe**=aka**   a-nane
          1SG.S-slip 1SG.S-fall=POT   1SG.S-do
          I slipped (and) was about to fall.

When used in isolation, independently of another verb, it may express possibility or intention:

(5.88)   ko-uki   ku-fe**=aka**
          2S-go.down   2S-fall=POT
          Get down!   You might fall!

(5.89)   man=e   ku-ra**=aka**
          which=LOC   2S-go=POT
          Where are you wanting to go?

Like other final tense/aspect enclitics, /=aka/ can attach to non-verb predicates:

(5.90)   ari   mara-a=ka   kasan   fafusi**=aka**
          3SG.GEN   desire-3SG.PSR=TP   knowledge   ADJ=POT
          He wanted to be clever.

(5.91)   ai   jamen   mo-morobi=ka   a-wawe ti-ra
          2SG.GEN boy.PL   PL-girl=TP   1SG.S-get.PL 3PL.S-come

          sese=e**=aka**
          one=LOC=POT
          I would get your children to come together in one place.

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5.1.6.5 Counterfactual

5.1.6.5.1   /=akafen/

The counterfactual enclitic/akafen/ is used to denote an action that would occur (or would have occurred) if a certain condition applied.

(5.92)   mayedi   isa   i-tauke=me=ka   watika
          luck   NEG   3SG.S-stay=PAST=NEG   because

          i-mati**=akafen**
          3SG.S-die=CFAC
          It's lucky she wasn't at home because she would have died.

Like other tense/aspect marking enclitics, it may attach to non-verbal predicates:

(5.93)   tamati   nen   sirorari   keisi=me aika   tauban**=akafen**
          man   DEM   birth   no=PAST 3SG.PRO   good=CFAC
          If that man hadn't been born, it would have been good.

It may also reference a hypothetical scenario:

(5.94)   a   manaa   nombo=me   a=ka   isa i-mayat-eren**=akafen**
          1SG.PRO   fish   big=PAST   1SG.PRO=TP   NEG 3SG.S-pull-1INC.O=CFAC
          If I were a big fish, they wouldn't pull me in.

5.1.6.5.2   /=ateene/

The application of /=akafen/ to past conditions, demonstrated above in (5.92) and (5.93) seems at odds with Ross's designation of /=ateene/ as the counterfactual past morpheme (1984, p. 48), although the example he cites clearly supports that analysis. As he rightly notes, instances of this morpheme are rare, but the few occurrences in our own data, while demonstrating the desiderative force he also attributes to it, do not have past reference:

(5.95)   siko   bejji   buram=e   i-sese   nene   a-kan**=ateene**
          pig   large   bush=LOC   3SG.S-walk   OK   1SG.S-eat=CFAC?
          I'd like to eat a large pig that roams in the bush.

More data is needed before the status of this morpheme can be clearly determined.

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5.1.7 Medial tense/aspect markers

Ross (1984:48) identifies three medial tense/aspect markers: /-n/, /-na/ and /-fe/. For reasons that will be detailed further below, a fourth such enclitic /=ate/ is here added to that list, two of them are considered to be suffixes rather than enclitics and there is some modification of the functions he ascribes to them.   These four markers seem to subdivide naturally into two groups:

1.   /-n/ and /-na/ which are suffixed to the medial verb stem and denote same subject or different subject respectively where the action of the medial verb is simultaneous with that of the final verb.

2.   /=fe/ and /=ate/, which locate the action of the medial verb in sequential relation to the final verb. Unlike /-n/ and /-na/, these sequential markers are enclitics which may attach to a non-verbal predicate.

5.1.7.1 Same subject simultaneous /-n/

The same subject simultaneous marker /-n/ attaches to the verb stem and is followed by another verb marked for same subject person and number. Its usage is discussed in more detail in Section 7.1.1.1 on verb serialisation. No other constituent normally intervenes between the medial and final verb.

(5.96)   ku-ve-**n**   ku-rai
           2S-get.3SG.O-SS.SIM 2S-come
           Bring it here!

(5.97)   amai   a-kite-**n**   a-tauke
           just   1SG.S-see.3PL.O-SS.SIM   1SG.S-sit.
           I just sat and watched.

Although Ross suggests (1984, p. 48) that it attaches only to a verb with no other tense or aspect marking, our data include many instances of it attached to the reduplicated verb stem, marking continous aspect:

(5.98)   baya   gombun=e   i-ki-kira-n   e-e
          sago   end=LOC   3SG.S-CONT-search-SS.SIM 3SG.S-go
          At the end of the sago, he went looking for it.

(5.99)   karata=na   i-ka-kakki-n   i-ra-ra=me
          lizard   3SG.S-CONT-spear-SS.SIM   3SG.S-CONT-go=PAST
          He was going along, spearing lizards.

Usually the subject of both verbs is identical, but in many instances referential overlap occurs, where the subject of the marked verb is included in the subject of the following verb:

(5.100)   ko-ise-**n**   ta-a
          2S-stand-SS.SIM 1INC.S-go
          Get up and we'll go!

5.1.7.2 Different subject simultaneous /-na/
The different subject simultaneous marker /-na/ attaches to both simple and reduplicated forms of the verb and signals a change of subject with the final verb. The action of the verb so marked is concurrent with that of the following verb. Ross (1984, p. 48) sees this marker as denoting a durative verb in relation to a following punctiliar but some of our data does not support this distinction:

(5.101)   nan   i-ifafi-**na**   waa   tamati   nen=ka i-ese=me
          thus   3SG.S-say-DS.SIM   ghost   man   DEM=TP 3SG.S-stand=PAST
          i-ruwa
          3SG.S- hear
          While she was saying that, the spirit man was standing listening.

(5.102)   i-ma-matu-**na**   e-so   leta   tufa
          3SG.S- CONT-sleep-DS.SIM   2SG.PRO-REF   letter   short

          a-ka-kayam-si
          1SG.S-CONT-write-3SG.O
          While she's sleeping, I'm writing (this) short letter to you.

Often however, the second verb of the sequence does reference a more punctiliar action:

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(5.103)   a-ma-matu-**na**   aifi   i-kan   nen=so
           1SG.S-CONT-sleep-DS.SIM   alone   3SG.S-eat   DEM=REF

           a-bewusi-n...
           1SG.S-cross-SS.SIM
           While I was asleep, she ate it all herself, so I got cross (and came)

5.1.7.3 Irrealis sequential /=fe/

The irrealis sequential marker /=fe/ attaches to the simple or reduplicated form of the verb. It locates the action of the verb so marked sequentially before that of the following verb(s). It does not imply co-referentiality or otherwise of subject between the marked clause and the subsequent clause. Noun phrases with or without case-marking, may intervene between the two clauses

(5.104)   au   funa   ku-me-n   a-ter-si=**fe**   a-ra
           1SG.GEN   skin   2S-give-3S.O 1SG.S-put-3S.O=IR.SEQ   1SG.S-go
           Give me my skin, I'll put it on and go.

(5.105)   Wanigela=e   ka-wawe-ren=**fe**   wakki=e=ka   ta-ra
           Wanigela=LOC   1EXC.S-get-1/2.O=IR.SEQ   village=LOC=TP   1INC.S-go
           We(exc) will get you at Wanigela and then we(inc) will go to the village.

While /=fe/ often indicates futurity, it may also be used in conjunction with past habitual forms to mark sequence, as well as in contexts where the time frame is unspecified:

(5.106)   ka-va   kumuti   kora   ka-kan=**fe**
           1EXC.S-go.up   charcoal only   1EXC.S-eat=IR.SEQ

           ka-too-to=me
           1EXC.S-CONT-lie=PAST
           We would eat only charcoal and then lie down (to sleep.)

Reference has already been made to the use of /=fe/ with temporal nouns (4.1.2) and its use is attested with other non-verbal predicates as well:

(5.107) san   binon   tauban**=fe**   fii   asan   ayako   i-te-tesi
         beach calm   good=IR.SEQ   bird name   ayako   3SG.S-CONT-cry

         nen=ka
         DEM=TP
       When it's a good, calm sea and the ayako bird will be crying….

5.1.7.4 Realis sequential /=ate/

Ross (1984, p. 49) classes this morpheme as a conjunction rather than a tense/aspect-marking enclitic, on the dual grounds of its formal resemblance to the clause-initial free morpheme /ate/ and the fact that it does not fill the slot occupied by other tense/aspect markers, but rather follows them. As evidence of this, he includes a text from Capell's data where /=ate/ occurs immediately after the counterfactual marker. That example is reproduced here:

ifeemeakafemate keisi
i-fee-me-akafem-ate   keisi
he-fall-PAST-CFAC-and no
He could have fallen but he didn't   (M. D. Ross, 1984, p. 44)

No other examples of /=ate/ following a tense/aspect marker are cited by Ross, and none appear in our own data. The free translation supplied to accompany Capell's example further suggests that in this instance /ate/ might be better analysed as an occurrence of the free morpheme conjunction, which has an adversative force not found in the meaning of the sequential enclitic /=ate/. Admittedly, the fact that the nasal consonant in /=akafem/ has not here neutralised to the expected word-final /n/ points to the enclitic being in view here, but it is not uncommon in rapid speech for otherwise free forms to undergo the morphophonemic processes that normally only apply to affixes and clitics.

Our own reasons for treating /=ate/ as a separate form from its unbound homophone are as follows:

1. There is, as alluded to above, a definite semantic difference between the two forms. The conjunction /ate/, as Ross rightly notes (1984, p. 49) signals a change in topic, or, as in the above example, carries an adversative sense. The enclitic serves only to indicate sequence of action in relation to events that have actually occurred.

2. The enclitic /=ate/ appears to occur in precisely parallel environments to its irrealis counterpart /=fe/ and to perform the same function in relation to actual realis events that /=fe/ does for unrealised actions. Neither morpheme co-occurs with other tense aspect markers.

3. The existence of the conjunctions /ineate/ *then, next* and /inefe/ *then(with future reference), so that,* along with their various surface representations /inate, nate, neate/ and /nefe/. These forms are clearly derived from the sequences /i-ne=ate/ and /i-ne=fe/ and are discussed later in this chapter in the section on conjunctions. Their relevance to the present discussion is to underline the parallel functions of /=fe/ and /=ate/ and to distinguish /ineate/ in both form and function from the separate conjunction /ate/.

While /=fe/ marks futurity or non-specific time and locates the action in relation to the following verb, /=ate/ marks an actual event or point in time and relates it sequentially to the action of the verb it precedes. Like /=fe/, it does not entail identity of subject between the two clauses, and other constituents may intervene:

(5.108)   funa=na   i-me-ti**ate**   teiti raati   nen   funa=na
           skin=FOC   3SG.S-give-1INC.O=RL.SEQ   boy small   DEM   skin=FOC

           i-kan
           3SG.S-eat
           He gave us(inc) his skin and the small boy ate the skin.

It may attach to the reduplicated verb stem:

(5.109)   ari   vaa=na   ti-rau-ro**ate**   i-ifi
           3SG.GEN   house=FOC   3PL.S-CONT-go.in=RL.SEQ   3SG.S-say
           i-kagere
           3SG.S-clear.throat
        They were going into his house then he spoke, he cleared his throat..

It may attach not only to temporal expressions (4.1.2) but to other non-verbal predicates:

(5.110)   a-va   vaa=e=**ate**   in=e=ka   a-wasi
           1SG.S-go.up   house=LOC=RL.SEQ   DEM=LOC=TP   1SG.S-come.across
           I went up into the house and then came across here.

This last usage, with the locative case-marking, appears to be the single environment in which /=ate/ and /=fe/ do not both occur, since there are no attested instances of /=fe/ attaching to locative case-marked phrases. However this apparent gap may prove less of a counter-example to their parallel distribution if Ross is correct in positing (1996, p. 195) that the ablative marker /=efe/ is in fact derived originally from a sequence of the locative enclitic /=e/ and the sequential marker /=fe/.

5.1.8 Verbs of motion and direction

A small number of verbs of motion are marked, usually by suffixation, to indicate direction towards or away from, the hearer/speaker. As several of these verbs demonstrate some irregularities in terms of their tense/aspect marking, the complete paradigms are set out below.

Table 11: Verbs of motion and direction

		Movement towards speaker			Movement away from speaker		
Verb	**Tense/aspect**	**Root**	**Singular**	**Plural**	**Root**	**Singular**	**Plural**
come/go	Non future	*rai*	*ara(i)*	*kara(i)* *tara(i)*	*ra*	*aa*	*kaa* *taa*
			kura(i)	*kura(i)*		*koo*	*koo*
			ira(i)	*tira(i)*		*ee*	*tee*
	Present Continuous		*arara*	*karara* *tarara*		*araa*	*karaa* *taraa*
			kurara	*kurara*		*kuraa*	*kuraa*
			irara	*tirara*		*iraa*	*tiraa*
go down	Non future	*uku*	*auku*	*kauku* *tauku*	*uki*	*auki*	*kauki* *tauki*
			kouku	*kouku*		*kouki*	*kouki*
			euku	*teuku*		*euki*	*teuki*
	Present Continuous		*aukuu*	*kaukuu* *taukuu*		*aukaa*	*kaukaa* *taukaa*
			koukuu	*koukuu*		*koukaa*	*koukaa*
			eukuu	*teukuu*		*eukaa*	*teukaa*
go up	Non future	*vasi*	*avasi*	*kavasi* *tavasi*	*va*	*ava*	*kava* *tava*
			kuvasi	*kuvasi*		*kuva*	*kuva*
			ivasi	*tivasi*		*iva*	*tiva*

	Present Continuous		*avavasi*	*kavavasi* *tavavasi*		*avava*	*kavava* *tavava*
			kuvavasi	*kuvavasi*		*kuvava*	*kuvava*
			ivavasi	*tivavasi*		*ivava*	*tivava*
go across	Non future	*wasi*	*awasi*	*kawasi* *tawasi*	*kawa*	*awe*	*kawe* *tawa*
			kwawasi	*kwawasi*		*kwawe*	*kwawa*
			ikawasi	*tikawasi*		*ikawe*	*tikawe*
	Present Continuous		*aawasi*	*kaawasi* *taawasi*		*aawa*	*kaawa* *taawa*
			kwaawasi	*kwaawasi*		*kwaawa*	*kwaawa*
			ikaawasi	*tikaawasi*		*ikaawa*	*tikaawa*
go in/out	Non future	*rauku*	*arauku*	*karauku* *tarauku*	*rau*	*arau/aro*	*karau/karo* *tarau/taro*
			kurauku	*kurauku*		*kurau/kuro*	*kurau/kuro*
			irauku	*tirauku*		*irau/iro*	*tirau/tiro*
	Present Continuous		*ararauku*	*kararauku* *tararauku*		*arauro*	*karauro* *tarauro*
			kurarauku	*kurarauku*		*kurauro*	*kurauro*
			irarauku	*tirarauku*		*irauro*	*tirauro*

5.2 Verb phrases

The head, and only obligatory element, of the verb phrase is the verb, which must be marked for subject person and number and, if transitive, for object person and number. It may also host various tense, aspect and mood marking suffixes and clitics, as described in section 5.1.6 above.

5.2.1 Aspectual verb phrases

The following verbs, when used in serial construction following another verb, modify in some way the action of the preceding verb. Both verbs are marked for subject, but any tense/aspect marking occurs only on the second verb in the series and continuative aspect reduplication applies only to this second, 'aspectual' verb. Nothing can intervene between the two verbs and the combination functions as a single predicate.

5.2.1.1 /regeti/ 'do properly'

The verb /regeti/ when used in isolation has the lexical meaning of *put in order, straighten* but in serial construction with another verb, has the effect of intensifying or modifying the action of that verb to give the sense of *do properly, do thoroughly*.

(5.111)   a-kute-ren   a-re-regeti
            1SG.S-greet-1/2.O   1SG.S-CONT-do.properly
            I send my warmest greetings (lit. greet you properly).

(5.112)   ai=na   ta-kit-si   ta-regeti=anan
            3SG.PRO=FOC   1INC.S-see-3SG.O 1INC.S-do.properly=FUT
            We'll take a good look at him.

5.2.1.2 /wakasi/ 'do to no avail'

Like /regeti/, /wakasi/ has an independent lexical meaning, (*be lacking*), in its non-aspectual usage. However, when used in conjunction with a preceding lexical verb, it modifies the action of that verb to give the sense of performing that action unsuccessfully or fruitlessly.

(5.113)   kaifi   <u>a-nane</u>   <u>a-wakasi</u>   nenso   wanno
            waiting   1SG.S-do   1SG.S-do.in.vain   DEM=REF   anew

            a-kayam-si
            1SG.S-write-3SG.O
          I waited [for your letter] to no avail, so I'm writing again.

(5.114)   wakki=so   ti-mon   ti-ka-wakasi
            village=REF   3PL.S-think   3PL.S-CONT-do.in.vain
            They are missing the village.

5.2.1.3 /timosa/ completive

The word /timosa/ no longer functions as a verb root, is not inflected for subject person and number and might be alternatively analysed as an aspectual particle. It has nevertheless been included in this section on serial aspectual verb phrases because it still retains the vestiges of verb morphology, in that it undergoes continuative aspect reduplication and because, like the other serial verb auxiliaries, it carries tense and aspect marking for the entire verb phrase. It indicates completion of the action of the verb which immediately precedes it. The existence of a separate morpheme /mosa/ *end* lends weight to the

possibility that the initial syllable of /timosa/ may reflect original subject marking on what has now become a 'frozen' form.

(5.115) kayan vaa   sandei=ka   ti-wi-ri   timosa.
         school house   two=TP   3PL.S-build-3PL.O finish.
         As for the two classrooms, they've finished building them.

(5.116) sombi   ku-ta   timosa=anan=ka
         (canoe) ends   2S-hit   finish=FUT=TP
    When you finish carving the ends..

5.2.2 Nominal + 'do' verb phrases

A widely occurring type of verb phrase in Maisin involves the use of a noun or noun phrase in conjunction with the light verb /nane/ *do*

(5.117) si-en   isa   buuro=ka   i-nane=ka
         go.bad-3SG.S   NEG   work=TP   3SG.S-do=NEG
         (The telephone) is broken, it's not working.

(5.118) foim=e   borun=ka   i-nane   nen=so
         night=LOC   rain=TP 3SG.S-do   DEM=REF
         It rained at night so…

This appears to be a highly productive strategy for the formation of new verbs, in that borrowed words from neighbouring languages, and from English are often formed into verb phrases by being incorporated into a /nane/ + NOMINAL construction. The following two examples are taken from a text (describing a Maisin speaker's wartime experiences) notable for a high degree of borrowing and code-switching:

(5.119) whistle=ka   i-nane=ate
         whistle=TP   3SG.S-do=RL.SEQ
         He blew the whistle and then…

(5.120) vasa=ka   start ti-nane
         war=TP   start3PL.S-do
         They started the fighting.

6 Clauses and simple sentence types

6.1 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses in Maisin include equative, locative and possessive clauses. The basic structure of all these clause types is a subject noun phrase obligatorily marked for topic followed by a general noun phrase, a modifier phrase or a case-marked noun phrase.

6.1.1 Equative clauses

An equative clause consists of two juxtaposed noun phrases, filling the roles of topic-comment, where the second noun phrase characterises or identifies the referent of the preceding subject noun phrase. The topic noun phrase obligatorily hosts the topic marker /=ka/ and may comprise a general noun phrase or a pronominally headed noun phrase. The comment slot may be filled by a noun phrase or modifier phrase.

(6.1)   ai=ka   sauki   ratti
          3SG.PRO=TOP   woman   old
          She's an old woman

(6.2)   en   vaa=ka   nombo   bejji
          2PL.GEN   house=TOP   large   big
          Your(pl) house is very big.

6.1.2 Locative clause

A locative clause consists of a subject noun phrase obligatorily marked for topic, followed by a noun phrase with locative case-marking. Non-verbal locative clauses are relatively rare (since existential clauses are the more usual means of expressing location) and most often occur as the response to a 'where' question.

(6.3)   ai=ka   vaa=e
          3SG.PRO   house=LOC
          He's in the house.

(6.4)   au   mo-morobi=ka   in=LOC
          1SG.GEN   PL-daughter=TOP   this=LOC
          My daughters are here.

6.1.3   Possessive clauses

Two categories of non-verbal possessive clauses exist in Maisin, depending on whether the possessor and possessum are functioning as subject or predicate respectively.

6.1.3.1   *Possessor as subject*

Where the possessor is the subject and the possessum the predicate, the clause comprises the possessor noun with obligatory topic marking followed by the possessum, with the accompaniment case-marking enclitic /=ton/

(6.5)   buro   tamati=ka   ai=ro   ari   vina=ton
          work   man=TOP   3SG.GEN=ETP   3SG.GEN reward=ACMP
          The workman has his payment.

(6.6)   e=ro   mata-n=ton=in
          2SG.PRO=ETP   eye-2PSR=ACMP=PQ
          Do you(s) have eyes?

6.1.3.2   *Possessum as subject*

Where the possessum is the subject it is the initial constituent in the clause and hosts a topic-marking enclitic. It is followed by the possessor noun phrase with the possessive predicate enclitic /=kam/.

(6.7)   in=ka   au   yei=kam,   in=ka   a=kam
          DEM=TP   1SG.GEN   sibling=POSS this=TP   1SG.PRO=POSS
          This one is my sister's, this one is mine.

(6.8)   moofi   nen=ka   tamati ratti nen=kam
          Malay apple   DEM=TOP   man old DEM=POSS
          That fruit belongs to the old man.

6.2   Verbal clauses

6.2.1   Existential clauses

Verbal existential clauses generally feature one of the following three verbs, among which there appears to be some overlap of both form and meaning:

/ toki/ *sit, stay, live* is used exclusively of human subjects. Depending on which lexical sense of the verb is in focus, there are two forms of the continuous/habitual aspect. Where the primary sense is that of being seated, the reduplicated form is /tautoki/. However when the verb is used to express continued existence, or residence in a particular location, the

present continous form is /tauke/. In the following two examples, context will determine which of these two latter senses are indicated:

(6.9)   ai   yo   ai   yabi   ti-tauke=in
            2SG.GEN   mother 2SG.GEN   father   3PL.S-live.CONT=PQ
            Are your parents still alive?

(6.10)   ai   yabi   i-tauke=in
            2SG.GEN   father   3SG.S-stay.CONT=PQ
            Is your father home?

/toke/ *stay, be* is used with both human and inanimate subjects to indicate continuing existence:

(6.11)   yeta   nuka=e=ka   kaubi=na   i-toke
            path   middle=LOC=TOP pond=FOC   3SG.S-exist
            There was a pond in the middle of the pathway.

(6.12)   marawa-nwawe   roma boregi e=kam=e=ka   i-toke
            love-1/2.PSR   all   2SG.PRO=POSS=LOC=TP   3SG.S-stay
            All our(exc) love is with you(sg).

(6.13)   morobi   nen=ka i-toke=me   i-ifi   Wo jamen
            girl   DEM=TP 3SG.S-stay=PAST 3SG.S-say   Hey boy.PL
            The girl was there, she said, "Hey, boys!"

/tomi/ *stay, exist* is used primarily, but not exclusively, with inanimate nouns to indicate the presence or ongoing condition of an entity or, less commonly, a person.

(6.14)   Sarad nan   buran   i-tomi   isa ti-kaito-n=ka
            Sarad thus   bush   3SG.S-stay   NEG 3PL.S-cut-3SG.O=NEG
            Sarad (airstrip) is still overgrown, they didn't cut it.

(6.15)   baya   viisi=na   ti-tomi
            bread   how.many=FOC   3PL.S-exist
            How many breads are there?

With a locative case-marked phrase it is often used to express possession:

(6.16)   e=kam=e   mee   muu-a   ti-tomi=in
           2SG.PRO=POSS=LOC banana   ripe-PL   3PL.S-be=PQ
           Do you have any ripe bananas?

6.2.2   Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause is one in which has a subject and an intransitive verb, but no object. The subject may be expressed by an overt noun phrase or proper noun, or may be indicated simply by the subject marking on the verb. The subject may function semantically as either agent or patient.

(6.17)   siko   nen=ka   e-uku
           pig   DEM=TP   3SG.S-come.down
           That pig came down

(6.18)   foim=e   ti-rai
            night=LOC   3PL.S-come
            They came last night.

(6.19)   ei=na   ti-mati
           3PL.PRO=FOC   3PL.S-die
           They're the ones who died.

(6.20)   ku-fe=anan
           2S-fall=FUT
           You'll fall!

(6.21)   amai   a-si-sinasi
           just   1SG.S-CONT-joke
           I'm only joking.

6.2.3 Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause is one in which there is a subject and an object both of which are marked for person and number by prefixation and suffixation respectively on the verb, and which may also be expressed by noun phrases. One or both arguments may be overtly expressed by a noun phrase, or both may be marked only by the verb affixation. In the following three

examples both subject and object arguments are expressed by noun phrases, although such instances are comparatively infrequent:

(6.22)   mata=ton   nen=en   ikosi=na   i-kite-si
          eye=ACMP   DEM=AGT   coconut=FOC   3SG.S-see-3SG.O
          The man with eyes saw the coconut tree.

(6.23)   teiti ratti   ari   fu tamati=ka   kaa
          boy small   3SG.GEN   grandfather=TP   canoe

          farafa=e   i-ter-si
          platform=LOC   3SG.S-put-3SG.O
          The small boy put his grandfather on the canoe platform.

(6.24)   ari   yo-a   susi=ka   i-kaito-n
          3SG.GEN   mother-PSR   breast=TP   3SG.S-cut-3SG.O
          i-me-n
          3SG.S-give-3SG.O
          His mother cut off her breast (and) gave it (to him).

In the next two examples, subject and object arguments respectively are marked only by affixation on the verb.

(6.25)   baimara=na   ti-rafara-n
          famine=FOC   3PL.S-find-3SG.O
          They met with famine.

(6.26)   Leah   i-kute-ren   i-re-regeti
          Leah   3SG.S-greet-1/2.O 3SG.S-CONT-do.properly
          Leah sends you her warmest greetings.

In the following example, both subject and object are marked only by affixation on the final verb.

(6.27)   bari=na   timosa=fe   ti-wata-si=anan
          prayer=FOC   finish=IR.SEQ   3PL.S-bury-3SG.O=FUT
          After the prayers, they'll bury him.

In the case of some semantically transitive verbs, there is no object-marking suffixation on the verb, but an object noun phrase may fill the object slot of the clause. *Kan* 'eat' and *ruwa* 'hear' are two notable examples.

(6.28)   ei=ka   kukun=na   ti-kai-kan
           3PL.PRO=TP   taro=FOC   3PL.S-CONT-eat
           They're eating taro.

(6.29)   ratu   i-ruwa   nen=ka   i-ifi   sesei
           noise 3SG.S-hear   DEM=TP 3SG.S-say   one
           When he heard the noise he said, "One!"

Conversely, certain verbs which would normally be classed as intransitive in that they take only a single argument, are morphologically transitive, with both subject and object marking by affixation. These are generally condition verbs where the marked object is coreferential to the undergoer subject. In these cases, the object marking distinguishes number only, not person:

(6.30)   a.   i-tatam-si   b.   ti-tatam-i
              3SG.S-be.ill-SG.O   3PL.S-be.ill-PL.O
              She's sick.   *They are sick.*

(6.31)   a.   a-taba-n   a-tauke   b.   ka-taba-ri   ka-ise
              1SG.S-lean-SG.O   1SG.S-stay   1EXC-lean-PL.O1EXC-stand
              I'm leaning (in sitting position)   *We're leaning as we stand here.*

6.2.4   Other constituents of the clause and clause ordering possibilities

Optional constituents of both transitive and intransitive clauses include adverbs and case-marked noun phrases expressing temporality, location, instrumentality, source and beneficiary/reference. Case-marking for beneficiary/reference using the referential enclitic *=so* is used to mark the indirect object of verbs of giving, speaking etc although, as discussed in section 5.1.3.3 some semantically ditransitive verbs e.g /rakke/ *show* and /katuwatte/ *teach* use the object suffix to mark the recipient and a separate noun phrase for the theme. The constructions which do use referential case-marking are not being treated here as ditransitive clauses because they do not require that an indirect object be marked, such marking is normally by postpositions on the noun phrase rather than by verb morphology, and the resulting clause does not differ structurally from any other clause which includes case-marked noun phrases to express oblique arguments.

The 'default' order of core and peripheral constituents in a clause is as follows:

(TIME)(LOC)(AGENT/ARGUMENT)(SOURCE)(SUBJECT)(OBJECT)(BENEF/REF) PREDICATE

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although the predicate is rarely preceded by more than three of these other constituents. This ordering is not firmly fixed and there is considerable fluidity, particularly in the ordering of non-core constituents. Temporal reference is always clause-initial and subject normally precedes object with no intervening elements, but adverbs and noun phrases marking location, purpose, instrument and source may occupy different slots in the clause, and the ordering of elements rests primarily on pragmatic considerations. Examples (6.32) –(6.34) below demonstrate this freedom of ordering in relation to locative and referential marked phrases especially:

TIME   LOCATIVE   REFERENCE   PREDICATE

(6.32)   kindi   ite   Kokombi=e   kaivi=so   ka-va
          time   other   Kokombi=LOC   hunting=REF 1EXC-go.up
          One time we went up to Kokombi on a hunting expedition.

          REFERENCE   LOCATIVE   OBJECT   PREDICATE

(6.33)   ari   kauna=so   kari-i=e   fake-e   i-ter-si
          3SG.GEN   ring=REF   ear-3SG=LOC hand-3GS.PSR   3SG.S-put-3SG.O
          She put her hand up to her ear (to feel) for her ring.

          SUBJECT   OBJECT LOCATIVE   PREDICATE

(6.34)   ari   wiivi-ki   wusufake-e=e   ti-ter-si=anan
          3SG.GEN   sister-in-law-PL   pot hand-3SG=LOC   3PL.S-put-3SG.O=FUT
          Her sisters-in-law will put a pot in her hands.

          SUBJECT   OBJECT   ADVERB PREDICATE

(6.35)   ari   yo   kibubi=ka   toran   i-wawe=ate
          3SG.GEN   mother   coconut.shell=TP herself   3SG.get..O=RLSEQ
          His mother took the coconut shell herself and …

The default Subject-Object order may occasionally be reversed as in the following two examples:

	TIME	OBJECT	SUBJECT	PREDICATE

(6.36)   foim=e   sauki=TP   mana   bejji=en i-kamato-n
night=LOC   woman=TP fish   big=AGT 3GS.S-swallow-3SG.O
In the night, a large fish swallowed the woman.

	OBJECT	SUBJECT	INSTRUMENT	PREDICATE

(6.37)   keefake=ka   siko nen   nuwatatow=en   i-kaito-Ø
limbs=TP   pig DEM   tooth.tusk=AGT   3SG.S-cut-3PL.O
The pig cut up her arms and legs with his teeth and tusks.

Although Maisin is basically an SOV language, it is not at all uncommon for any one of the pre-verbal constituents to be moved to a position immediately following the verb to form a clause 'tail'. This may be to give emphasis to that particular element of the clause, or to make the first part of the clause less 'heavy'.

(6.38)   Ei   kayan   tuufa   i-tu-katuwatte-ri   Airara   wakki=e
3PL.GEN   school short 3SG.S-CONT-teach-3PL.O   Airara   village=LOC
She's teaching a workshop for them, in Airara village.

(6.39)   a-kute-ren   e=ton   ai   yo
1SG.S-greet-1/2.O   2SG.PRO=ACMP   2S.GEN   mother

ai   yabi=ton
2SG.GEN   father=ACMP
I send you greetings, and to your mother and father as well.

(6.40)   tambun nen=na   i-wawe=aka   ari   sirara=so
moon   DEM=FOC   3SG.S-get.3SG.O   3SG.GEN light=REF
She would get hold of the moon, to serve as her light.

6.3   Clause negation

The discontinuous marker *isa….=ka* is used to negate both non-verbal and verbal clauses. As Ross notes (1984, p. 50), this marker is comprised of an independent word (*isa*, or frequently, *sa*) and an enclitic *=ka*. This latter is homophonous with the topic marking enclitic, but it is best treated as a separate morpheme, since there are no other instances of

the topic marker attaching to a verb phrase, and since the topic marker often occurs separately within the negated clause (see examples (6.46) and (6.47) below).

6.3.1 Non-verbal clause negation

In the case of non-verbal clauses the negative marker *isa* is the initial constituent in the comment and the =*ka* is the final constituent in the comment.

(6.41)   siko   nen=ka   isa   raati=ro=ka
             pig   DEM=TP   NEG   small=ETP=NEG
             That pig is really huge. (lit. 'not really small')

(6.42)   en=ka   isa   in=e=ka
             2PL.PRO=TOP   NEG   DEM=LOC=TP
             You weren't here.

6.3.2 Existential clause negation

As referred to in section 4.2.9.4 above, on case-marked phrases, the negation of a non-verbal existential clauses requires the accompaniment enclitic /=ton/ to be attached to the predicate as well as the negative markers:

(6.43)   isa   avan   sii ite=ton=ka
             NEG   what   bad other=ACMP=TP
             There's no other problem.

(6.44)   ai=kam=e=ka   isa   veimosi=ton=ka
              3SG.PRO=POSS=LOC=TP NEG   help=ACMP=TP
             There's no help for her.

6.3.3 Verbal clause negation

In the case of verbal clauses, the negation most frequently brackets the verb phrase alone, but may also include any other constituents of the clause , in which case these other constituents are included within the scope of negation. In (6.45), it brackets only the verb phrase.

(6.45)   letters koraa-wawe   o   fasoro=ka   isa
             letters only 1SG.S-get.3PL.O   or   parcel=TP   NEG

               a-wawe=ka
               1SG.S-get.3PL.O=NEG
               I only got letters, I didn't receive any parcels.

However, in (6.46), it brackets the entire predication:

(6.46)   isa   birin   en=kan=efe   pepa=ka   a-wawe=ka
               NEG   fast   2PL.PRO=POSS=ABL   letter=TP   1SG.S-get.3PL.O=NEG
               I haven't received a letter from you very quickly.

The following two examples, taken from two separate traditional stories with similar themes, illustrate the flexibility available in terms of setting the scope of negation:

(6.47)   isa   ari   sauki   fona-a=ka   i-ru-ruwa=ka
               NEG   3S.GEN wife   talk-3S.PSR=TP   3S.S-CONT-hear=NEG
               He isn't listening to his wife's talk.

(6.48)   ari   sauki   fona-a=ka   isa i-ru-ruwa=me=ka
               3SG.GEN wife   talk-3SG.PSR=TP NEG 3SG.S-CONT-hear=PAST=NEG
               ?That talk of his wife's, he wasn't listening to it.

Inclusion of an overt subject within the scope of negation is rare but permissible:

(6.49)   isa   a=en   ai   wakki=e   a-rai=ka
               NEG   1SG.PRO=AGT   2SG.GEN   village=LOC 1SG.S-come=NEG
               It wasn't me who came to your village.

The negative enclitic /=ka/ is the final element of the clause, except where the polar interrogative enclitic /=in/ occurs, in which case the latter is always clause-final:

(6.50)   fana=e   bosa   si=ari   isa   ti-toke=ka=in
               table=LOC   leftover bad=PL   NEG   3PL.S-stay=NEG=PQ
               Is there any old leftover food on the table?

6.4   Declarative sentences

The declarative sentence is the normal, unmarked sentence type in Maisin and involves no special inflections or particles. A falling final intonation followed by a breath pause distinguishes a simple sentence from a clause that forms part of a complex sentence

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structure. Otherwise a simple declarative sentence follows the form of the clause structure outlined in the preceding section.

(6.51)   tamati   nen=ka ari   sauki=en   begati=e   ti-ra
              man   DEM=TP 3SG.GEN   wife=AGT   garden=LOC 3PL.S-go
              The man went to the garden with his wife.

(6.52)   wakki nen   ei   begati   yeta   nuka=e=ka
              village DEM   3PL.GEN garden path   middle=LOC=TP

              kaubi=na   i-toke
              ditch=FOC 3SG.S-stay.
            In that village, there was a ditch in the middle of the path leading to the gardens.

6.5   Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences fall into two subcategories, polar questions which require a yes/no response, and content questions which expect a fuller informational response.

6.5.1   Content questions

Word order in content questions is the same as for declarative clauses, with the content question word occupying the slot in the clause that would normally be filled by the information being sought. A phrase which would normally carry the topic marker *=ka* in a corresponding declarative clause is marked with the irrealis topic marker *=a* in a content question (except in the case of personal pronouns where the topic marker *=ka* is retained.) There is also usually rising intonation at the sentence end. As the examples below demonstrate, many of the content question words comprise interrogative stems combined with case-marking postpositions or other enclitics.

(6.53)   yau   **avan**=en   mana=a   a-kakko=anan
              mother   what=AGT   fish=IT   1SG.S-spear=FUT
            Mother, what will I use to spear fish?

(6.54)   afunfe **avan**=na   buuro   a-nane=anan
              later   what=FOC   work   1SG.S-do=FUT
            Later on what work will I do?

(6.55)　　　e=ka　　　　**man**=e　　　ku-ra=aka　　ku-nane?
　　　　　　　2SG.PRO=TP　which=LOC　2S-go=POT　2S=do
　　　　　　　Where are you about to go?

(6.56)　　　kukun=na　**viisi**　　　　ku-kan
　　　　　　　taro=FOC　how.many　　2S-eat
　　　　　　　How much taro did you eat?

(6.57)　　　en=ka　　　　**sera**=so　　ku-if-ifi
　　　　　　　2PL.PRON=TP　who=REF　　2S-CONT-speak
　　　　　　　Who are you speaking to/about?

6.5.2　Polar questions

Polar questions are formed by the use of the polar question marker *=in* at the sentence terminus, and by final rising intonation. Word order in polar questions follows the order found in declarative clauses. As with content questions, the irrealis topic marker *=a* attaches to any phrase that would carry the topic marker *=ka* in a declarative clause.

(6.58)　　　ai　　　　　sauki=en　　ku-tauke**=in**
　　　　　　　2SG.GEN　　wife=AGT　　2S-stay**=PQ**
　　　　　　　Are you and your wife at home?

(6.59)　　　morobi　　　　　ku-wawe**=in**
　　　　　　　girl　　　　　　　2S-get.3PL.O**=PQ**
　　　　　　　Did you(pl) get the girl?

(6.60)　　　ai=so=a　　　　　ku-ka-kayawa**=in**
　　　　　　　3SG.PRO=REF=IT　2S-CONT-fear**=PQ**
　　　　　　　Are you afraid of him?

6.6　Commands and prohibitions

6.6.1　Commands

Commands are expressed by the use of the 2nd person subject marking and zero marking for tense on the verb. A subject noun phrase is normally omitted but may be expressed. Word order follows that of declarative clauses.

(6.61)   en=ka   begati=e   ku-ra
          2P.PRO=TP   garden=LOC 2S-go
          Go to the garden!

Sequences of imperative verbs may occur, as in the following example:

(6.62)   en   yau=so=ka   ku-kuma   ku-wawe-n   ku-rai
          2PL.GEN   mother=REF=TP 2S-buy   2S.get-SS.SIM 2S-come
          Buy it and bring it here for your mother.

(6.63)   yau   susa-n   ku-kaito-n   ku-me-n
          mother   breast-2PSR 2S-cut-3SG.O 2S-give-3SG.O
          Mother, cut off your breast and give it (to me)!

Similarly the 1st person inclusive marking with the non-future form of the verb encodes a hortatory construction.

(6.64)   buuti nen=e   ku-kasi   ta-ra
          island DEM=LOC   2S-paddle   1INC.S-go
          You paddle (and) let's go to that island.

        As with imperatives, hortative verbs may occur in sequence:

(6.65)   ta-a   ta-kite
          1INC.S-go   1INC.S-see.3PL.O
          Let's go see them!

6.6.2   Prohibitions

Prohibitions are formed by the use of the negative imperative /an/ with the 2nd person continuous form of the verb. The negative imperative /an/ occurs clause initially as a free form, and the irrealis topic marker *=a* attaches to any noun phrase that would normally host the topic marker *=ka* in a corresponding declarative sentence. The scope of the negative imperative morpheme includes both prohibitive ('don't do that!') and cessative ('stop doing that!') functions.

(6.66)   an   au   somi   ku-gi-gi
          NEGIMP   1SG.GEN   shirt   2S-CONT-hold
          Stop holding on to my shirt!

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(6.67)　　　an　　　　　kava-m-a　　　　ku-ya-yasi
　　　　　　NEGIMP　　mouth-2PSR-IT　2S-CONT-open
　　　　　　Don't open your mouth.

(6.68)　　　e=ka　　　　　　an　　　　funa-i=e　　　　　ku-tau-toki
　　　　　　2SG.PRO=TP　　NEGIMP　skin-3PL.PSR=LOC　2S-CONT-sit
　　　　　　Don't sit next to them.

7 Complex Sentence Structure

Maisin exhibits a number of complex clause combinations running along a continuum that expresses the level of integration operative between the two clauses. At one end of the continuum are serial-type constructions where a single predicate is in view and the combination is effectively two clauses merged into one. Futher along the continuum are the coordinate-dependent structures where two or more distinct clauses or clause cores are clearly present but in a mutually dependent relationship. Ross, following the terminology used by Olson (1979) and later taken up by Foley and Van Valin (1984), refers to these as cosubordinate structures in his description of Maisin complex constructions. (1984, p. 67) There are also complex sentences where the clauses are in a more clearcut coordinate or subordinate relationship to one another. Each of these constructions will be outlined below, and reference made to any significant differences from Ross's analysis.

7.1   Serial constructions/merged clauses

These are constructions which take the form of two verb phrases being joined to form a single complex verb phrase. Tense and aspect for the whole phrase is marked on the second verb, and nothing can intervene between the two verbs.

7.1.1   'Adverbial' SVC:

This category comprises verb stems which may follow any other verb to give it adverbial force. Two such verbs have so far been identified, /wakasi/ *do in vain, to no purpose* and /regeti/ *do properly.* (When occurring independently of the serial construction, each of these verbs has a separate lexical meaning: /wakasi/ *be lacking* and /regeti/ *put [things]in order,* but their most frequent occurrence in Maisin discourse is with this adverbial function.) As the following examples demonstrate, both continuous aspect reduplication and final tense marking occur on the second verb in the series.

(7.1)   An-so   ku-ra-na a-afi   a-ka-wakasi
           what-REF   2S-go-DS.SIM 1SG.S-say   1SG.S-CONT-do.in.vain
           Why are you leaving while I talk to no purpose?

(7.2)   Ari   taukiramara=na   ta-kite-si   ta-regeti=anan
             3SG.GEN behaviour=FOC   1INC.S-see-3SG.O 1INC.S- do.properly=FUT
             We(inc) will take a good look at his behaviour.

As with all such merged clauses, polarity is shared across the verb phrase:

(7.3)   isa   i-ra   i-regeti=ka
          NEG   3SG.S-go 3SG.S-do.properly=NEG
          He didn't go to the right place (lit. he didn't go properly.)

7.1.2   Directional focus SVC

This category involves sequences of two verb stems where the second verb expresses movement in a particular direction and so modifies the action of the first verb.

Constructions of this kind are very common in Maisin, and again are characterised by the marking of tense/aspect for the entire verb phrase only on the second verb:

(7.4)   Kaa   wowo=refe   i-fe   e-uku=me
          Tree   above=ABL   3SG.S-fall   3SG.S-come.down=PAST
          He fell down from the top of the tree.

(7.5)   Ei=ka   wakk=e   ti-ra   ti-rauku
          3PL.PRO=TP   village=LOC 3PL.S-come   3PL.S-come.out
          They came out to the village.

In both of the above examples, the locative phrase operates over the whole verb phrase, and nothing intervenes between the two verbs. These may be distinguished from examples such as the following, which need to be seen as separate clauses, as evidenced by the locative phrase which precedes the final verb, and the intonation pattern which includes a brief pause after the first verb.

(7.6)   Te-e   yum=e   te-uki
          3PL.S-go   water=LOC   3PL.S-go.down
          They left [and] went down to the water.

(7.7)   Ti-ra   wakk=e=ka   ti-rauku
          3PL.S-come   village=LOC=TP   3PL.S-come.out
          They came out to the village.

Both the adverbial serialisation and the directional focus SVC appear to fit the category of nuclear cosubordination described by Foley and Van Valin (1984, p. 262f) in that they share directional and aspectual inflection as well as all arguments.

7.1.3 Constructions involving the medial suffix /-n/

This marker serves to indicate simultaneous action and identity of subject with the verb it marks and the verb that immediately follows it. Both verbs carry subject marking, but final tense marking is indicated only on the second verb in the series, and nothing ordinarily intervenes between the two verbs. Although Ross (1984, p. 69) claims that the medial verb is always unreduplicated, one of his own examples, (308), seems to belie that, and our own data includes several instances of continuous aspect reduplication on the verb that hosts the medial marker. (See example (7.8), (7.9), (7.13) below).

Constructions involving this marker fall into two primary categories:

7.1.3.1 Continuous SVC: Lexical verb + existential verb

This construction involves the use of any lexical verb with the existential verb *tauke* 'stay', here used with aspectual force to indicate continuation of the action of the first verb.

(7.8) Nen=so   kaubi   kava=e   i-te-tesi-**n**   i-tauke
       DEM=REF   pond   edge=LOC   3SG.S-CONT-cry-SS.SIM   3SG.S-stay
       So she went on crying beside the pond.

(7.9) Nen=e   baya   ti-nane-**n**   ti-tauke
       DEM=LOC   sago   3PL.S-do.CONT-SS.SIM   3PL.S-stay
       There they went on making sago.

It often involves the continuous aspect form of the medial verb, as in the preceding example, but the unreduplicated form may also be used:

(7.10) Nen=ke   dobu   ti-wi-ri-**n**   ti-toki
        DEM=LOC   shelter   3PL.S-build-3PL.O-SS.SIM   3PL.S-stay
        They were busy building shelters there.

7.1.3.2 Lexical verb + verb of motion

All other instances of this construction involve a lexical verb marked with /-n/, followed by a verb of motion. The most frequent lexical verb in this context is /wawe/ 'get', but any verb may occur in the initial position.

(7.11) Rasi=ka   taru   raati   a-ve-n   a-ra=anan,
        tomorrow=TP   dog   small   1SG.S-get.3SG.O-SS.SIM 1SG.S-go=FUT
        Tomorrow I'll take the small dog with me.

(7.12) Siko   nen=ro   ti-faf-si-**n**   te-uku
        pig   DEM=ETP   3PL.S-carry-3SG.O-SS.SIM   3PL.S-come.down
        They carried the pig too down.

(7.13) Bangu=na   ti-ra-radde-n   ti-sese
        shellfish=FOC   3PL.S-CONT-pick.up-SS.SIM 3P.S-walk
        They were collecting shells as they walked.

(7.14) Ari   yei=e   ai=so   ti-bewusi-**n**
        3SG.GEN   sibling=PL   3SG.PRON=REF   3PL.S-be.cross-SS.SIM

        ti-ra
        3PL.S-go
        His brothers were cross with him as they went along.

Although the subject of the medial verb is normally identical with that of the final verb, there may also be referential overlap, where the subject of the marked verb is included within the reference of the subject of the final verb (There are, however, no attested instances of the same subject medial suffix being used in the converse overlap situation, where the subject of the final verb is included in the subject of the medial verb)

(7.15) i-faf-si-**n**   ka-rai   vaasi=e=ka   ka-rauku
        3SG.S-carry-3SG.O-SS.SIM 1EX.S-come   camp-LOC=TP   1EX.S-come.out
        We arrived back at the camp with him carrying it.

This construction also frequently includes sequences of two verbs of motion, the first of which has a more specific directional focus, and the second more general, typically *ra* 'go' or *rai* 'come'.   This form of serialisation appears to have the same semantic force as that described above under 1.1.2 Directional Focus SVC, where the two verb forms are simply juxtaposed without any medial verb marking.

(7.16) Buram=e   ti-va-**n**   ti-ra
        bush=LOC   3PL.S-go.up-SS.SIM   3PL.S-go
        They went up into the bush.

(7.17) Ka-uki-**n**   ka-ra   Manumanu=e   ka-too
        1EX.S-go.down-SS.SIM   1EXS-go   Manumanu=LOC 1EX.S-sleep
        We went down and stayed the night at Manumanu.

In the overwhelming majority of instances of this construction, the conjoined verbs form a tight semantic unit with no intervening elements between them. However examples like the following seem to indicate that there is no syntactic barrier to either of the verbs governing an argument of its own:

(7.18) I-te-tesi-**n**   begati=e   i-ra=me
        3SG.S-CONT-cry-SS.SIM   garden=LOC 3SG.S-CONT-come=PAST
        She came crying to the garden.

(7.19) ti-rot-si   ti-ve-**n**   wakki=e   ti-ra
        3PL.S-tie-3SG.O   3PL.S-get-SS.SIM   village=LOC 3PL.S-go
        They tied him up [and] took him to the village.

Although this form of serialisation has much in common with the with adverbial and directional merged clauses described in the preceding section, the freedom of the individual verbs to take separate arguments, even if rarely used, seems to confirm that Ross is right in treating this as an example of core, rather than nuclear, cosubordination. (1984, p. 69)

7.1.4   Object-subject serial causative

In the absence of morphological causative marking in Maisin, this construction is regularly used to express causation. It involves a series of two verbs in which the object of the first is identical with the subject of the second. All tense/aspect marking, medial or final is carried by the second verb, and continuative aspect reduplication is only marked on the second verb.   Although the verbs have different subject marking for person and number, the construction is viewed as a single event with two actions merged and shares the same polarity.

(7.20) Sauki   nen=ka   ari   jamen   arore
        woman   DEM=TP   3SG.GEN   boy.PL   together

       i-tarawur-i   ti-mati.
       3SG.S-hit-3PL.O 3PL.S-die.
       He killed (lit. 'he hit they died') that woman together with her children.

(7.21)   Nen=na   a-me-n   i-ra-ra
               DEM=FOC   1SG.S-give-3SG.O 3S.S-CONT-come

       ku-kite-si=fe
       2S-see-3SG.O=IR.SEQ
     I'm sending it for you to look at and …

(7.22)   ku-ter-en   a-uki
               2S-put-1/2.O   1SG.S-go.down
               Put me down!

(7.23)   Au   letter   vina   **isa ku-kayam-si**
               1SG.GEN   letter   answer NEG 2S-write-3SG.O

       i-ra=ka
       3SG.S-come=NEG
         You didn't write back an answer to my letter.

    No other clause constituent may intervene between two verbs which combine to form this construction. In the following example, the first two verbs comprise one of these 'merged clauses' but the second two, separated by the locative case-marked phrase are to be analysed as two separate clauses.

(7.24)   **Ti-gi**   **i-ramara**   ti-fe-n   yum=e
               3PL.S-hold 3SG.S-get.up 3PL.S-throw-3GS.O   water=LOC

       e-uki
       3SG.S-go.down
     They picked him up and threw him down into the river.

Although Ross classes this construction as the coordination of two cores it it seems to better meet the criteria for treatment as core cosubordination in that in all the above instances the verbs have one core argument in common, as well as sharing tense, polarity and all peripheral arguments. (Foley & Van Valin, 1984, p. 261)

Related to this form of serialisation is the more formulaic combination *ifi ruwa* 'tell (lit. 'say-hear'). Here the two verbs share the same object argument (though neither marks it morphologically) rather than the object of the first being the subject of the second. This is a very tightly knit construction, which is semantically and structurally treated as a single clause. As with the preceding examples all tense/aspect marking is borne by the second verb, nothing can intervene between them and they share polarity. They are individually marked only for subject person and number.

(7.25) Ai   rai   kindi   ku-ifi   i-ruwa=fe
        2SG.GEN   come   time   2S-say   3SG.S-hear=IR.SEQ
        Tell her your return date and then…

(7.26) a-rau   afun   totoruga in=na   **a-ifi**
        1SG.S-go.in   today   meeting DEM=FOC   1SG.S-say

        i-ruwa=aka
        3SG.S-hear=POT
          I went to tell him about today's meeting.

A form of syntactic causation involving the verb /nane/ 'do, make' and another, intransitive verb has also been identified. In most of the instances of this attested to date the intransitive verb belongs to the class of verbs which mark subject by suffixation, but example (7.30) below indicates that this is not an obligatory feature of this construction.

(7.27) Tatami   tamata-ri=na   **i-nane**   **jebuga-ten**
        Sickness   person-PL=FOC   3SG.S-do   recover-3PL.S
        He healed sick people.

(7.28) Fusi=yen   ti-fu   **ti-ne**   **sii-en**
        cat=AGT   3PL.S-defecate 3PL.S-do   go.bad-3SG.S
        The cats soiled and ruined it.

(7.29) Ei   fu   tamati   **i-ne**   **sirorari-yen**
        3PL.GEN   grandfather man   3SG.S-do   happen-3PL.S
        Their grandfather made it happen.

(7.30) Ti-ne   dagari   i-ne=anan   o   ti-ne
        3PL.S-do   disabled 3SG.S-do=FUT   or   3PL.S-do

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i-mati=aka
3SG.S-die=POT
They'll make him disabled or they'll make him die.

7.2 Clause chaining/coordinate dependent clauses

The term 'coordinate dependent' describes clauses in a clause chain 'in which all clauses except the last are incompletely marked for aspect and mood: the final [independent] clause is marked for the aspect and mood of the whole chain.'[8] These clauses are not coordinate in the sense of existing independently of one another, nor is there a one-way relationship of dependence between them that would justify one of them being classed as a subordinate clause. This clause chaining is a standard feature of Maisin discourse and involves the use of medial verb enclitics and suffixes, expressing switch reference and sequential action, in relationship with final tense-aspect marking on the final verb in a clause chain. All verbs are marked for subject person and number and may have their own arguments in the form of subject and object noun phrases and case-marked phrases, but final tense/aspect marking only occurs on the final verb in the series. Each of these markers is described below, and examples given of their usage in clause chains.

7.2.1.1 Irrealis sequential marker =fe

The irrealis sequential enclitic /-fe/ marks the action of the clause as sequentially prior to the action of the following final clause, which may be marked for future or non-future tense. This marking is typically used in discourses with a future time orientation, or those in which no specific time frame is in view. It does not necessarily imply co-referentiality of subject with the clause which immediately follows it.

(7.31) Ai   rai   kindi=ka ku-ifi   i-ruwa**fe**   i-ra
        2SG.GEN   come   time=TP 2S-say   3SG.S-hear=IR.SEQ   3SG.S-come

        Wanigela=e   kaifi i-nan-na   ku-ra**fe**
        Wanigela=LOC   wait 3SG.S-do=DS.SIM   2S-come=IR.SEQ

arore   wakki=e   ku-ra-aka   i-ifi.
 together   village=LOC   2S-go=POT   3SG.S-say

---

[8] Ross 1996:187

She said for you to tell her your return date and she will come and wait for you at Wanigela and when you come you'll all go to the village together.

(7.32)   ku-tar-si   i-ra   i-to   ku-ikam-si
              2S-chop-3SG.O 3SG.S-come 3SG.S-lie   2S.-measure-3SG.O

              ku-kaito-n**fe**   ku-watavi-si-na   ari   deeki
              2S-cut-3SG.O=IR.SEQ   2S-turn-3SG.O-DS.SIM 3SG.GEN stern

              bougi=na   ku-wakiro-si=**fe**   sombi=ka   ku-ta=ana
              prow=FOC 2S-check-3SG.O=IR.SEQ   ends=TP   2S-carve=FUT

You chop it down, then measure it and as you turn it over and over you will check where you will put the stern and the prow and then you'll carve the ends.

As the following example shows, the two clauses do not need to share the same polarity:

(7.33)   Wakki ite=e   ku-ro**fe**   isa   nene
              village one=LOC   2S-go.in=IR.SEQ NEG   OK

              te-ifi=anan=ka
              3PL.S-say=FUT=TP
                You'll enter a village then if they don't say OK…

7.2.1.2   Realis sequential =ate

The realis sequential marker /=ate/ also locates the action of the clause so marked as sequentially prior to the following clause, and is used of actions that can be asserted to have definitely taken place at a certain point in time. It is most commonly used in past tense narrative. Like /=fe/, /=ate/ does not imply co-referentiality or otherwise of subject with the following clause.

(7.34)   Inate a-kaffari   a-uki   yabu=e   a-ise=**ate**
              Then   1SG.S-jump   1SG.S-go.down   ground=LOC 1SG.S-stand=RL.SEQ

              wanno   sinati=en   wannani   ka-kiro   timosa**ate**
              and   three=AGT   again   1EX.S-laugh completed=RL.SEQ

an	kodurere=ka	ka-mossi	ka-kan=**ate**	siko
1EX.GEN	papaya=TP	1EX.S-peel	1EX.S-eat=REAL.SEQ	pig

kee	fake=ka	ka-rot-i=**ate**	a=en	mataa=ka
leg	arm=TP	1EX.S-tie-3PL.O=RL.SEQ	1SG.PRO=AGT	first=TP

a-faf-si-n	ka-rai	nuka=e=**ate**
1SG.S-carry-3SG.O-SS.SIM	1EX.S-come	middle=LOC=RL.SEQ

Remengius	wanno	i-faf-si-in	ka-ra
Remengius	and	3S.S-carry-3S.O-SS.SIM	1EX.S-come

vaasi=e=ka	ka-rauku
camp=LOC=TP	1EX.S-come.out

Then I jumped down to the ground and when the three of us had stopped laughing we peeled and ate our pawpaw. Once we had tied up the pig I started carrying it, then about halfway Remengius took over and so we took it back to our campsite.

As Ross has noted (1984, p. 50), when a clause marked by the enclitic /=ate/ is negated, the negative enclitic /=ka/ cannot be used and the negation is expressed only by the preceding negative suffix /isa/:

(7.35)	isa	i-ruwa=ate	tere-i=e	i-ra=me
	NEG	3SG.S-hear=RL.SEQ	back-3PL.PSR=LOC	3SG.S-go=PAST

ti-tarawur-si
3PL.S-hit-3SG.O

He didn't listen then he went off behind them [and] they beat him.

Ross regards the enclitic /=ate/ as a conjunction, and so treats it as a means of expressing clause coordination rather than an example of serialisation. (1984, p. 73). However, as discussed above (5.1.7.4) /=ate/ seems to operate semantically and phonologically in a different manner from the conjunction /ate/, notwithstanding their likely common historical origins, and it has a clear parallel function to its irrealis counterpart /=fe/. In clause chains both markers serve to reference sequence of action and both depend on a following final verb for tense and aspect marking.

7.2.1.3 **Switch reference marker /–na/**

Ross (1984:48; 70f) classes this morpheme as a durative medial enclitic, preceding a final verb that is normally (but not obligatorily) punctiliar in sense. Although he states that it may attach to either simple or progressive aspect verb form, all the examples he cites involve the reduplicated progressive or continuous aspect, as do all instances of it attested in our own data, indicating that this is may be an obligatory condition of its usage.

This marker is here being treated as a switch-reference suffix, rather than a durative enclitic, because our data suggest that the affix primarily denotes change of subject and simultaneous/overlapping action between the marked clause and the reference clause. Classing it as a marker of switch reference does, however, entail defining that term more broadly than as simply indicating change or otherwise of syntactic subject in the succeeding clause. Examples of various such 'violations' of the subject conditon of a canonical switch reference system are discussed by Stirling. (1993, p. 25ff) In his survey of switch reference in Papua New Guinea, Roberts also illustrates the use of switch-reference systems to track not only subject but agent or topic, concluding that in Papua New Guinean languages, most such systems are topic-oriented rather than agent-oriented (1997, p. 177).

Maisin too appears to relate switch-reference to pragmatic, and not just syntactic features, although with regard to focus rather than to topic. The majority of attested occurrences of /-na/do involve a change of syntactic subject, as in the following examples:

(7.36)	a-ma-matu-**na**	ai-fi	i-kan
	1SG.S-CONT-sleep-DS.SIM	3SG.PRO-ISOL	3SG.S-eat

While I was asleep, she ate it all by herself.

(7.37)	i-uki	i-ye-ye-**na**	furen	nen=ka
	3SG.S-go.down	3SG.S-CONT-bathe-DS.SIM	wallaby	DEM=TP

       i-rauku
       3SG.S-come.out.

He went down [and] while he was bathing, a wallaby came out.

This may include instances of referential overlap, where the subject of the final verb is included in the subject of the medial verb. (This is in contrast to the reverse situation, where the subject of the first verb is included in that of the second verb, and the same subject marker is used.)

(7.38)   begati   ti-kai-kan-**na**   siko=ka   kukun-na
           garden   3PL.S-CONT-eat-DS.SIM   pig=TP   taro=FOC

           ti-kai-kan
           3PL.S- CONT-eat
           They [i.e. the pigs and the human boy] were eating the garden food, the pigs were
    eating the taro.

In some cases, the subject of the medial verb is the object of the final verb:

(7.39)   mana   nen=ka   i-ra-rauku-**na**   i-kakko-si
           fish   DEM=TP   3SG.S-CONT-come.out-DS.SIM   3SG.S-spear-3SG.O
           While that fish was coming out, he speared it.

(7.40)   kayami   wanno   spelling=ton   ti-ka-kayami-**na**
           write   and   spelling=ACMP   3PL.S-CONT-write=DS.SIM

           a-imosi
           1SG.S-help.3PL.O
           I helped them with writing their words and spelling.

In each of the following three examples, however, the subject of the final clause is the syntactic subject of the medial verb, but pragmatic considerations, particularly in terms of a change of focus, appear to have motivated the use of the switch-reference marker.

In (7.41) the instrumental marking on the pig as agent of the first clause indicates focus, but in the second clause, although the pig is still the agent subject, focus is marked on the patient object, (which comprises surprising new information) and the different subject marker is used:

(7.41)   buram=e   siko=en i-va-vasusi-**na**
           bush=LOC   pig=AGT 3SG.S-CONT-give.birth-SS.SIM

           nuka-i=se   tamatan teiti=na   i-vasus-en
           middle-3LP.PSR=LOC   human   boy=FOC   3SG.S-give.birth-3SG.O

In the bush, a pig gave birth [to a litter] and in the midst of them, she bore a human boy.

Similarly, in (7.42), taken from the same story, the human pig-boy is the subject of both clauses, but a different patient object is in focus in the final clause and again /-na/ is used to mark the switch. (Note that this example, like (7.38) above, does not entail a punctiliar action in the final clause.)

(7.42)   ando=ka   i-fe-fe-ri-**na**   faya-ri   kora
           skin=TP   3SG.S-CONT-throw-3PL.O-DS.SIM   fruit-PL only

           i-kan-kan=me
           3SG.S-CONT-eat=PAST
     He was throwing away the peel and was eating only the fruit.

Although this last example does not explicitly include the focus marker /=na/, it is arguable that the meaning of the delimiting particle /kora/ supplies an inherently focal element, allowing for the use of the different subject marker in this context.

In the following example, excerpted from a text on how to make a canoe, the subject of both verbs is the same, but the shift in focus to the particular parts of the canoe have motivated the use of the switch reference marker:

(7.43)   ku-ta-watavi-si-**na**   ari   deeki   bougi=na
           2S-CONT-turn-3SG.O-DS.SIM   3SG.GEN   stern   prow=FOC

           ku-wakiros-si=fe   sombi=ka   ku-ta=anan
           2S-check-3SG.O=IR.SEQ   end=TP   2S-carve=FUT
     As you're turning it over, you'll check out its stern and prow and then you'll carve the ends.

7.3   Coordinate constructions

Independent clauses and simple sentences may be conjoined by a range of coordinating conjunctions, or by simple juxtaposition, to form complex sentences.

7.3.1   Clause coordination using conjunctions

7.3.1.1   Coordinate sentences

The conjunction /wanno/ is sometimes used to conjoin noun phrases but may also be used to conjoin clauses.

(7.44)   Tauri=ka   ti-mu-mutu   **wanno** tauri=ka   daibi
           others=TP 3PL.S-CONT-dive and   others=TP   hook

ka-fe-fe-ri=me
1EX.S-CONT-throw-3PL.O=PAST
Some were diving [for fish] and others of us were casting fishing lines.

In the following example /wanno/ can be found coordinating two clauses and two noun phrases

(7.45) a-kute-ren   a-re-regeti   wanno
        1SG.S-greet-1/2.O   1SG.S-CONT-do.properly   and

        au   sauki   au   teiti wanno   au   morobi
        1SG.GEN   wife   1SG.GEN   son and   1SG.GEN girl

        te-kute-ren   ti-re-regeti.
        3PL.S-greet-1/2.O   3PL.S-CONT-do.properly.
        I send you my warmest greetings and so do my wife, my son and my daughter.

7.3.1.2   *Contrastive sentences*

The contrastive conjunctions /ate/ now, however, /ataika,aika/ but, and /eseka/ but (contrary to expectation) are used to conjoin two clauses where a contrast is being drawn between them. /ate/ is the most frequently occurring and carries the least adversative force.   /ataika/ marks a stronger contrast, and /eseka/ is used to denote an unexpected, and usually unwelcome, result. All three occur between the two clauses that are being conjoined.

(7.46) May 19ka aiti=ka   SIL **ate** en=ka   isa
        May19=TP 1INC.PRO=TP SIL but 2PL.PRO=TP   NEG

        in=ke=ka.
        DEM=LOC=TP
        May 19th is [the day set down for] us as SIL, but you aren't here.

(7.47) Tambun   nen=e   a-me-n   i-rai   **ate**
        month DEM=LOC   1SG.S-give-3SG.O 3SG.S-come   but

        au   vinaka   isa   ku-kayam-si   i-ra=ka.
        1SG.GEN   answer=TP   NEG   2S-write-3SG.O   3SG.S-come=NEG
        I sent it that month but you haven't written back.

(7.48) i-ramara   i-kafatte-n   **eseka**   kosin
        3SG.S-get.up   3SG.S-uncover-3SG.O but   taro.skin
        She got up and lifted the pot lid but (to her disappointment) [she saw] only taro
        skin.

(7.49) Ti-rauku   ti-kira   **eseka**   babbasi=e=ka   amura
        3PL.S-come.out   3PL.S-search but   verandah=LOC=TP   none
        They came back and looked around but [to their surprise and annoyance] the
        verandah was empty.

(7.50) En   vaa   kefe=ka   nene   kora   **aika**   fusi=en
        2PL.GEN   house   place=TP   OK   only   but   cat=AGT

        ti-fu   yan=ka   sisari.
        3PL.S-defecate   mat=TP   bad-PL
            Your house is just fine, but the cats defecated and so the mats are spoiled.

7.3.1.3   Disjunctive sentences

The disjunctive enclitic /=ai/ is used to conjoin two or more alternative clauses. The free
form /o/ (from English 'or') is also being increasingly used for this function. As discussed in
section 3.2.7.2 above, the main distinction between them is that /ai/ is limited to separating
mutually exclusive alternatives, while /o/ may be used more generally. Both morphemes
occur between the two clauses that are being contrasted.

(7.51)   i-mati**=ai**   i-tauke=a   ai=kam=e
            3SG.S-die=or 3SG.S-stay=IR.T   3SG.PRO=POSS=LOC

            a-rai=aka   a-ra-rai=me
            1SG.S-come=POT   1SG.S-CONT-come=PAST
                Whether she died or is alive, I was coming to see her.

(7.52) Fii   asan   ayako   i-te-tesi   **o**   i-ya-yan
        bird   name   ayako   3SG.S-CONT-cry   or   3SG.S-CONT-chirp

        nen=ka   teiti raati   nen=en   ari   yo=so
        DEM=TP   boy small   DEM=AGT   3SG.GEN mother=REF

i-te-tesi
3SG.S-CONT-cry
When that bird called 'ayako' is crying or chirping, that small boy is crying for his mother.

7.3.1.4   **Sequential sentences**

The conjunctions /ineate/, /neate/, /inate/, /nate/ and /inefe/, /nefe/ are used to denote temporal sequence between clauses. Morphologically they can be analysed as original medial clauses with aspect/mood marking for realis sequential and irrealis sequential respectively.

(7.53) a.   ineate   b.   inefe
        i-nane=ate   i-nane=fe
        3SG.S-do=RL.SEQ   3SG.S-do=IR.SEQ
        he did and then…   *he will do and then…*

However, these forms no longer undergo any kind of inflection or affixation and have become 'frozen' as conjunctions linking independent clauses to mark the sequential ordering of the clauses.

(7.54)   Ti-bewusi   ti-rasoso   **inate**   tamati   nen=ka   i-ifi
        3PL.S-be.cross   3PL.S-argue   then   man   DEM=TP   3SG.S-say
        They got cross and argued then that man said…

(7.55)   Au   rasiran   fufufi   a-wawe   **nate**   in=e=ka
        1SG.GEN   morning   hot   1SG.S-get   then   DEM=LOC=TP

        a- rai
        1SG.S-come
        I had my breakfast then I came here.

(7.56)   Ran   sinati   ti-kuven   ti-mayati=anan   **inefe**   sora=ka
        time   three   3PL.S-blow   3PL.S-pull=FUT   then   wailing=TP

        ti-wafikko-n=anan
        3PL.S-start-3SG.O=FUT
        They'll blow three long blasts [on the conch] and then they'll   start wailing.

Although the final clause in a sentence of clauses conjoined by /inefe/ will often be marked for future tense, this is not obligatory:

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(7.57)   Kaa=e   a-ter-i=fe   a-vasi   **inefe**
           boat=LOC   1SG.S-put-3LP.O=IR.SEQ   1SG.S-come.up   then

           ta-uki-n   ta-ra
           1INC.S-go.down-SS.SIM   1INC.S-go
           I'll put them in the boat and come up, then let's go down and be off.

7.3.1.5   Causal sentences

The conjunction /watika/ is used to conjoin two clauses where one is semantically linked to the other by cause.

(7.58)   isa   dinunu i-ra   morobi ite=ka
              NEG   mistake 3SG.S-go   girl   other=TP

              i-va=ana   **watika**   ari   sauki=ka
              3SG.S-go.up=FUT   because   3SG.GEN   wife=TP

              ti-katete-n   timosa
              3PL.S-choose-3SG.O   finish.
              He won't mistakenly go after another girl because they've already chosen his
              wife.

(7.59)   Ai   kora,   watika ai   kora   tamati   tauban
           3SG.PRO   only   because 3SG.PRO only   man   good
           [We will look at] Only him, because he is the only good man.

7.3.2   Clause coordination by juxtaposition

7.3.2.1   Potential marker /=aka/

The potential marker /=aka/ may also be   used to coordinate two clauses which otherwise operate with independent arguments and mood. The semantic relation between the clauses is generally one of purpose, and as the following examples illustrate, the clause marked with /=aka/ may either precede or follow the clause with which it is conjoined:

(7.60)   Inate   i-watavis-si   ari   foyan=e
           Then   3SG.S-turn-3SG.O 3SG.GEN tail=LOC

           i-karafe=**aka**
           3SG.S-bite=POT
              Then he turned around, in order to bite at his tail.

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(7.61)   e=na   a-kite-ren=aka   a-uku   a-ra
           2SG.PRO=FOC   1SG.S-see-1/2.O=POT   1SG.S-come.down 1SG.S-come
           I came down to see you.

7.3.2.2   Counterfactual conditional

As described earlier (5.1.6.5) the counterfactual conditional is expressed by a past tense
marker on the first clause and counterfactual enclitic on the second.

(7.62)   Nene=**me**, afun=ka yabu=wen   ti-wi-wi-ri=**akafen**?
           OK=PAST,   now=TP earth=AGT   3PL.S-CONT-build-3PL.O-CFAC
           If it had been OK, wouldn't they be building [houses] with mud now?

(7.63)   Aa   mana   nombo=**me**   mana   raat-e=ka
           1SG.PRO   fish   big=PAST   fish   small=PL=TP

           a-n-kan=**akafen**
           1SG.S-CONT- eat=CFAC
             If I were a big fish, I'd be eating small fish.

7.4   *Subordinate-Main structures*

Subordination only takes place in Maisin at clause level. In subordinate-main structures, a
subordinate clause is nominalised by the addition of the demonstrative /nen/. Thus
transformed into an NP, it may host topic, focus or semantic case markers, like any other NP,
and is used to express a range of functions, including temporal and conditional
contingencies, reason- result and relative clauses.

7.4.1   Temporal/conditional contingencies

In a temporal contingency the temporal clause precedes the main clause and hosts the
demonstrative clitic /nen/. The resulting nominalised clause is marked for topic by the
clitic /=ka/. The temporal clause may have past, present or future reference. Future
temporal contingencies and conditional contingencies are syntactically identical.

(7.64)   [en=so   Leah   e-kute   nen=ka] a-ifi   ei=ka
           2P.PRO=REF   Leah   3S.S-ask DEM=TP 1S.S-say 3P.PRO=TP

afun rasiram=e ti-ra
now   morning=LOC 3P.S-go
   When Leah asked about you, I said, 'They left this morning.'

(7.65) [Ari   kefe venonowatti=so ti-raa   nen=ka]
      3SG.GEN place prepare=REF 3PL.S-go.CONT DEM=TP

       tauri=en ari   fana=ro   ti-wi-n=anan.
       some=AGT 3SG.GEN stretcher=ETP   3PL.S-build-3SG.O=FUT
       When they go to prepare his [burial] place, others will make his stretcher.

As Ross (1984:76) notes, the nominalising demonstrative /nen/ may be deleted from a sequence of/ =anan=nen=ka/ to avoid a string of nasal consonants.

(7.66) [E=ka   arore   ku-ra=anan=ka] ti-nau-eren=anan=ka
      2SG.PRO=TP together 2S-go=FUT=TP   3PL.S-kill-1/2.O=FUT=TP
      If you go with them, they will kill you.

(7.67) [susa a-kwaito-n   a-me-n=anan=ka]   a=ka
      breast 1SG.S-cut-3SG.O 1SG.S-give-3SG.O=FUT=TP 1SG.PRO=TP

      a-mati=anan
      1SG.S-die=FUT
     If I cut off my breast and give it [to you], I will die

7.4.2 Reason-result clauses

In a reason-result construction, a subordinate clause indicating cause or reason precedes a main clause expressing result. The nominalised clause is marked for referential case, by the addition of the case-marking clitic / =so/.

(7.68) A=kam=e   kaa   keisi **nen=so** isa
      1SG.PRO=POSS=LOC boat   no   DEM=REF NEG

      a-uki=ka
      1SG.S-go.down=NEG
     I had no canoe, so I didn't go down.

(7.69)   Stanley   ari   wowawa=ro   ka-me-n   **nen=so**
         Stanley   3SG.GEN   thing=ETP   1EX.S-give-3SG.O DEM=REF

         an   nen=tom=a   ku-mon-mon
         NEGIMP   DEM=ACMP=IT 2S-CONT-think.

We gave Stanley his things too, so don't worry about that.

7.4.3   Relative clauses

Relative clauses are also formed using the clause nominalisation strategy. Maisin relative clauses are postnominal in that they follow rather than precede the nominals which they modify. No non-restrictive relative clauses have been attested in our data. The basic structure of a relative clause is the head or domain noun, followed by the restrictive clause which is nominalised by the demonstrative /nen/.

Ross (1984, p. 76f) regards Maisin relative clauses as being internally headed, in that the head noun phrase occurs within the relative clause itself rather than in the matrix clause. The normal constituent ordering of Maisin can lead to some ambiguity as to whether the relative clauses are to be regarded as internally or externally headed. For instance, the first example provided by Ross (346, reproduced twice below for convenience, with separate bracketing to indicate the varying analyses) could be anaylsed either as internally headed, where the head noun /tauri/ remains entirely inside the relative clause as Ross claims:

(346)   [tauri bangi   ti-rot-i=nen=ka]   ti-ra
         [some raft 3PL.S-tie-3PL.O=DEM=TP] 3PL.S-come
         Those who had made rafts came.

Or it could be understood as externally headed, as the bracketing below indicates. In this case the head noun is functioning explicitly as head of the matrix clause and there is a gap in the subject position in the relative clause.

(346)   tauri [bangi   ti-rot-i=nen=ka]   ti-ra
         some [raft 3PL.S-tie-3PL.O=DEM=TP] 3PL.S-come
         Those who had made rafts came.

 Many of the extant examples of Maisin relative clauses are subject to this ambiguity and hence could apparently be treated as either externally or internally headed. However, it

seems preferable to analyse them as externally-headed, on the basis of examples such as the following:

(7.70)   Au   letter   [tere-ti   ari   yaa   a-me-n
          1SG.GEN   letter   back-1INC.PSR   3SG.GEN   year   1SG.S-give-3SG.O

          i-ra   nen]ku-ve=in
          3SG.S-come DEM   2S-get.3SG.O=PQ
            Did you get the letter I sent last year?

Since the default position for time expressions is initial in the clause, if the relative clause were internally-headed, we would expect to see the head noun /au letter/ occurring immediately after the temporal phrase. Its initial position in the sentence suggests, instead, that it is to be regarded as part of the matrix clause and that there is a corresponding gap in the relative clause where that noun would otherwise occur.

No examples of relativisation on objects of comparison occur in our data, but otherwise relativisation is possible at every point of the accessibility hierarchy. Where the head noun is functioning as either subject or object of the relative clause, the primary means of relativisation is the gapping strategy just described. In the following example, the NP /tamati/ serves as the subject of both matrix and relative clauses, but receives no explicit reference in the latter.

(7.71)   Tamati [i-yonki   i-tauke=me   nen=]ka i-ramara
          man   3SG.S-hide   3SG.S-stay=PAST   DEM=TP 3SG.S-get.up
            The man who was in hiding got up.

In the next example, /au letters/ is the direct object of the verbs in both matrix and relative clause, and again, the noun phrase is absent from the relative clause itself.

(7.72)   au   letters   [ku-me   ti-rai   nen]=ka seseka
          1SG.GEN   letters   2S-give   3PL.S-come   DEM=TP all

          a-wawe.
          1SG.S-get.3PL.O
            I received all the letters which you sent me.

Where the relativisation involves roles other than subject or object, however, the domain noun retains its place in the matrix clause and a pronoun, with appropriate case-marking, fills its expected slot in the relative clause:

(7.73)   Morobi   [ai=so   ta-nane=me   nen]=ka
          girl   3SG.PRO=REF   1INC.S-do=PAST   DEM=TP

          dagari   in=en   i-ta-n
          disfigured DEM=AGT   3SG.S-marry-3SG.O
          As for the girl we were all after, that disfigured guy married her.

Occasionally a coreferential pronominal form may also occur in the matrix clause, as in the following example, where the pronoun /eina/, referencing the already stated head noun phrase /yeiyabi tauri/, follows the relative clause, and occurs in additon to the pronoun in the relative clause itself.

(7.74)   yeiyabi   tauri   [eiaro   buuro   ta-nane   nen]
          brother.father some   3LP.PRO.with   work   1INC.S-do   DEM

          ei=na   a-ifi   ti-ruwa=fe
          3PL.PRO=FOC   1SG.S-say   3PL.S-hear=IR.SEQ
          I'll tell some of the elders with whom we work.

Only one example of relativisation on the genitive occurs in our data, and involves the possessor pronominal suffix on directly possessed nouns, rather than a separate possessive pronoun:

(7.75)   Tamati [ke-**e**   fake-**e**   ti-mati   nen]=ka
          man   leg-3SG.PSR   arm-3SG.PSR   3PL.S-die   DEM=TP
          The man whose arms and legs were dead (i.e. the man who was paralysed)

Headless relative clauses are permissible in Maisin where the head noun is easily recoverable from context or is indefinite.

(7.76)   [A-ifi   nen]   ku-ne=in?
          1SG.S-say   DEM   2S-do=PQ
          Did you do what [action] I said?

(7.77)   [Tafotikuda=e   ti-tauke=me   nen]   ti-ramara
         Tafoti mouth=LOC 3PL.S-stay=PAST DEM   3PL.S-get.up
         nen=ka
         DEM=TP
         When those [people] who lived at the Tafota river mouth got up…

Note that the above example also illustrates the embedding of one nominalised clause inside another, a not infrequent occurrence.

(7.78)   teiti   rora=ka   [ei   yau   tiran
         boy   older=TP   3PL.GEN   mother   weeds

         i-sa-sava-ri   nen]=e   woo
         3SG.S-CONT-carry-3PL.O DEM=LOC   fire

         i-isu-sum-si-na
         3SG.S-CONT-kindle-3SG.O- DS.SIM
         While the older boy was starting a fire at [the place] where their mother was
carrying weeds…

The nominalised relative clause often carries topic, focus or semantic case marking according to its role in the matrix clause. In the following two examples, the relative clauses are marked for instrumental and locative case, respectively:

(7.79)   [au   ifa   bejji   a-gi-gi=me   nen]**=en**
         1SG.GEN   knife   big   1SG.S-CONT-hold=PAST   DEM=AGT

         ji=e   a-ta-ta
         head=LOC   1SG.S-CONT-hit
         I was hitting it on the head with the large knife which I was holding.

(7.80)   [kaa   sirava-u=e   i-ise   nen]=kam**e**
         tree   side-1SG.PSR=LOC   3SG.S-stand DEM=POSS=LOC

         a-kaffari
         1SG.S-jump
         I jumped onto the tree which stood beside me.

Ross notes that, with one exception, all the relative clauses cited by him are marked with the topic marker /-ka/, and suggests that subordinate clauses generally tend to reference

presupposed material and so to be marked for topic (1984, p. 77f) .This may be true, but the above two examples indicate that Maisin relative clauses are susceptible to a range of different roles in the matrix clause, not all of which will entail topic marking. Several examples in our corpus of relative clauses which are either marked for focus (see (7.81), (7.82) below) or which have no particular marking (e.g. (7.76), (7.77) above), further suggest that the trend to topic-marking on relative clauses may be less pervasive than Ross proposes:

(7.81)   [Kayan   ti-nane   nen]=na   amai   a-kite-n
         school   3PL.S-do   DEM=FOC   just   1SG.S-see.3PL.O-SS.SIM

         a-tauke
         1S.S-sit
     I just sat watching the ones who were doing the workshop.

(7.82)   a=ka   buran   veise   tamata-ri[ti-ra-ra
         1SG.PRO=TP   bush   stand   man=PL 3PL.S-CONT-come

         nen]=na   a-ki-kit-e
         DEM=FOC   1SG.S-CONT-see-3PL.O
     I'm watching the men who come hunting.

7.4.3.1   **Indefinite relative clauses**

An indefinite relative clause in Maisin is one in which the head noun slot is filled by an interrogative pronoun or relative pronoun. There may be an antecedent noun phrase preceding the clause, as in (7.83) below, but it is not obligatory. When a noun phrase does occur in that position, it hosts the irrealis topic marker / =a/.

(7.83)   a-marun   kefe=a   [man=e   begati=a   a-nane=anan
         1SG.S-set.out   place=IT   which=LOC   garden=IT   1SG.S-do=FUT

         nen]=e   a-ra
         DEM=LOC   1SG.S-go
     I set out and went to the place where I will make my garden.

(7.84)   isaa=fe   [ta-kite-reti=anan   nen]=ka isa
         when=IR.SEQ   1INC.S-see-1INC.O=FUT   DEM=TP NEG

kasan=ka
knowledge=NEG
I don't know when we will see each other.

(7.85) ku-kayam-si   i-rai   kasan   a-nane   avasu
2S-write-3SG.O   3SG.S-come   knowledge   1SG.S-do   how

[ku-tauke   nen=ka]
2S-stay   DEM=TP
Write to me [so] I will know how you are.

7.5   *Complements*

Some Maisin predicates, both verbal and non-verbal, take arguments in the form of complement clauses. Noonan (Noonan, 1985, p. 49) observes that 'all languages have some sort of sentence-like complement type, one that without its complementisers has roughly the same syntactic form as a main clause.' This generalisation is true of Maisin, where complement clauses tend to comprise either an independent clause which follows the complement-taking predicate and which may be nominalised by the demonstrative /nen/, or a nominalised verb phrase, with or without case-marking, which generally precedes the complement-taking predicate. Some complement-taking predicates may employ either of these strategies.

Listed below are some of these predicates along with an account of how they combine with complement clauses. This list does not purport to be exhaustive, and is ordered according to semantic, rather than syntactic properties

7.5.1   Utterance predicates

The complements of utterance predicates may appear as direct quotation of the discourse itself, or indirectly as the reporting of it. Since Maisin employs different strategies for each of these options, they are presented separately here.

7.5.1.1   Direct quotations

In direct quotations, any reporting clause always precedes the quoted speech. The qoted speech may be a statement, command or question. In the vast majority of cases the utterance predicate in the preceding clause is /ifi/ *say*, but this is not obligatory and other verbs such as /kute/ *ask* /taran/ *call* and /mon/ *think* are also attested.

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(7.86)   ari   yau=so   i-ifi   yau   susa-n
             3SG.GEN   mother=REF 3SG.S-say   mother breast-2.PSR

          ku-kaito-n   ku-me-n
          2S-cut-3SG.O   2S-give-3SG.O
          He said to his mother, "Mother, cut off your breast and give it [to me]!"

(7.87)   ei   yau   e-kute   en   fin
             3PL.GEN   mother 3SG.S-ask   2P.GEN   sibling

          ratti=a   man
          small=IT   where
          Their mother asked, "Where is your small brother?"

In oral narratives, where the identity of the speakers and the boundaries of the quoted material are recoverable from context and intonation, the reporting clause is sometimes omitted altogether, as in the following exchange:

(7.88)   "Ku-too=in?"
           2S-sleep=PQ
           "Have you slept?"

           "Ka-too."
           1EX.S-sleep
           "We slept."

         "En   begat=a kw-ite=yin?"
         2PL.GEN   garden=TQ   2S-see=PQ?
        "Did you see your garden?"

         "Ka-kite-ti"
         1EX.S-see-3SG.O
        "We saw it."

7.5.1.2   **Indirect quotations**

7.5.1.2.1   Using potential aspect marker /–aka/

The potential aspect marker /-aka/ is used with the verb ifi *say* for reported commands and statements in irrealis mode . In contrast to the direct speech formula, the speech predicate is always sentence final in this construction:

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(7.89)   ai=ka   buuti   nen=e   a-ter-si=aka   i-ifi
          3SG.PRO=TP   island   DEM=LOC   1SG.S-put-3SG.O=POT 3SG.S-say
          He told me to put him on that island.

(7.90)   i-kawasi=aka   i-ifi
          3SG.S-come.across=POT   3SG.S-say
          He said he would come across here.

(7.91)   ku-rai=fe   arore   wakki=e=ka   ku-ra=aka
          2S-come=IR.SEQ   together   village=LOC=TP   2S-go=POT

          e-ifi
          3SG.S-say
          She said that when you come you'll go to the village with her.

7.5.1.2.2   Using realis sequential marker /=ate/

The realis sequential marker -ate is used with the verb ifi *say* to express reported commands in realis mode. Here the speech predicate precedes the resulting action.

(7.92)   nen=so   i-ifi=ate   ku-ra
          DEM=REF   3SG.S-say=RL.SEQ 2S-go
          That's why she sent you (lit. 'told you and you went.)

(7.93)   ei   vaa=e   ti-ifi=ate   ka-rai
          3PL.GEN   house=LOC   3PL.S-say=RL.SEQ 1EX.S-come
          They invited us to their house. (lit. told us and we came.)

7.5.2   Predicates of propositional attitude and knowledge

The content of some predicates of thought and cognition is expressed by a nominalised clause, involving a verb of cognition, thought etc. followed immediately by a clause expressing the content of that propositional attitude.   In these constructions, the nominalised clause is always marked for topic.

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(7.94)   kasan   a-nane   nen=ka e=ka   nene   kora   ku-tauke
          knowledge 1SG.S-do   DEM=TP 2SG.PRO=TP OK   only   2S-stay
          I know that you're just fine.

(7.95)   a-mon-mon   nen=ka   isaviya   buuro=TP
          1SG-CONT-think   DEM=TP   NEG.little   work=TP

          ku- nane=ka
          2S-do=NEG
          I think that you're working very hard.

However, like the predicates of direct quotation cited above, these predicates may simply be followed by the content clause, without any clause nominalisation taking place. There is no apparent difference in semantic force between these two constructions. Compare the following two examples with (7.94) above.

(7.96)   kasan   a-nan   e=ka   nene   kora   ku-tauke
          knowledge   1SG.S-do   2SG.PRO=TP OK   only   2S-stay
          I know you're just fine.

(7.97)   kasan   a-nan   Ukarumpa=ka   kororo bejji
          knowledge   1SG.S-do   Ukarumpa=TP   cold   big
          I know Ukarumpa is really cold.

The transitive verb /vetimowe/ *believe*, however, does not appear to be able to take a complement clause as its object argument in the same manner as the predicates in the above examples. All attested examples of /vetimowe/ involve either a noun phrase object or relative clause:

(7.98)   ari   yei   i-ifi   nen=ka   isa
          3SG.GEN   sibling 3SG.S-say DEM=TP   NEG

          i-timowe-n=ka
          3SG.S-believe-3SG.O=NEG
          She didn't believe what her sister said.

(7.99)   kooti=in   ti-ruwa   nen=ka   ti-timowe
          talk=DEM   3PL.S-hear   DEM=TP 3PL.S-believed
          They believed this message that they heard.

7.5.3   Predicates of modality

This diverse group of both verbal and non-verbal predicates includes abilitative, conative, inceptive and desiderative modalities. As no generalisations can be made about the complement-taking strategy of this class each predicate will be described individually.

7.5.3.1   *Abilitative /kam/*

The impersonal verb /kam/ *be adequate/able* which must always bear 3rd singular person marking, is used to express ability to perform an action. It most commonly occurs in present continuous aspect and may be followed by an independent clause, usually with future or potential tense/aspect marking.

(7.100)   i-ka-kam=in   arore   ta-ra=anan
           3SG.S-CONT-be.able=PQ   together   1EXC.S-go=FUT
           Can we go together?

However it also occurs frequently with nominalised verb stems which, while uninflected for subject person, may host tense/aspect and case marking.

(7.101)   Isa   i-kan-kam=ka   jobi=ka   nane=anan=ka
           NEG   3SG.S-CONT-able=NEG   price=TP   do=FUT=TP
           If it isn't possible to pay the price,

(7.102)   o rai=so   isa   i-ka-kam=anan
           or come=REF   NEG   3SG.S-CONT-able=FUT
           Or, [maybe] he won't be able to come [lit. 'concerning coming, it won't be possible.']

7.5.3.2   *Desiderative /marawa/*

The noun /marawa/ *want/desire* may also take a complement in the form of an independent clause or a nominalised verb stem. In the former case, the verb in the complement clause is usually marked for future or potential tense/aspect marking. The clause may precede or follow the complement taking predicate.

(7.103)   wanno   au   marawa=ka ketu=e   a-va=aka
          and   1SG.GEN want=TP   neck=LOC   1SG.S-go.up=POT
          And I wanted to go up onto the neck [of the coconut cluster]

(7.104)   a-mati=aka   ai   marawa-n
          1SG.S-die=POT 2S.GEN   want-2PSR
          Do you want me to die?

(7.105)   ei   marawa=TP ti-ta   ti-toddi=anan
          3PL.GEN   want=TP   3PL.S-marry 3PL.S-get.married=FUT
          They want to get married.

When the complement clause takes the form of a nominalised verb stem, it normally precedes the predicate:

(7.106)   a=ka   isa   ai   fona-n   ruwa marawa=ka
          1SG.PRO=TP   NEG   2SG.GEN talk-2PSR   hear   want=TP
          I don't want to do what you say. (lit. 'hear your talk')

(7.107)   kaa   sasava-ri   marawa-n i-nane=anan=ka
          tree   hollow-3PL.O   want-2PSR 3SG.S-do=FUT=TP
          When you want to hollow out a tree [to make a canoe]…

7.5.3.3   Inceptive /wafikko/

Like some of the other predicates of modality, /wafikko/ *begin* may take a complement in the form of an independent clause, which it precedes:

(7.108)   i-wafikko-n   manaa i-sou-i   i-kakko
          3SG.S-begin-3SG.O   fish 3SG.S-chase-3PL.O   3SG.S-spear
          He began chasing fish and spearing them.

More commonly however, the complement clause is a nominalised verb stem embedded in the matrix clause:

(7.109)   kaa nombo-wi tari=ka   a-wafikko-n
          tree big-PL   chop-TP   1SG.S-begin-3SG.O
          I began chopping down large trees.

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(7.110)   morobi   raati   nen=ka   tesi=ka   i-wafikko-n
          girl   small   DEM=TP   cry=TP   3SG.S-begin-3SG.O
          That small girl started crying.

7.5.4   Predicates of immediate perception

The verbs /kite/ *see* and /ruwa/ *hear* may both be preceded by complement clauses which comprise the object of the perception predicate in the matrix clause. The complement clause normally takes one of two forms. In some cases it consists of a clause with the medial switch reference marker /-na/, indicating change of subject and simultaneity of action:

(7.111)   taru=en   ro-u=e=ka   i-ise-na
          dog=AGT   face-1SG.PSR=LOC=TP 3SG.S-stand-DS.SIM

          a-kite-si
          1SG.S-see-3SG.O
          I saw a dog standing in front of me.

(7.112)   ari   fii   raati=ka   ti-ya-yan-na
          3SG.GEN   bird small=TP   3PL.S-CONT-sing-DS.SIM

          i-ru-ruwa=ate
          3SG.S-CONT-hear=RL.SEQ
          He heard his small birds singing.

Alternatively it may comprise a subordinate clause nominalised by the demonstrative /nen/, in which case it is formally identical to a relative clause.

(7.113)   kayan ti-nane   nen=na   amai   a-kite-n
          school 3PL.S-do   DEM=FOC   just   1SG.S-see-SS.SIM

          a-tauke
          1SG.S-sit
          I just sat and watched them doing their workshop.

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(7.114) i-tesi   i-wan   i-ta-taran   nen
         3SG.S-cry   3SG.S-scream 3SG.S-CONT-call   DEM

         ku-ru-ruwa=in
         2S-CONT-hear=PQ
           Can you hear her crying and screaming and calling out?

8 Topic and Focus

8.1 Introduction

Topic and focus markers have been briefly mentioned in Chapter 3 in the context of word classes and morphology but little comment was made there about their functions and interrelationship at a discourse level. The present chapter will seek to provide some initial exploration of these issues, with the proviso that considerable study remains to be done on the information structure of Maisin and any conclusions presented here should be considered very tentative. Nor will the coverage be entirely even-handed, since more attention has been given to the topic marking system than to the less frequently occurring focus marker.

8.2 Topic and focus markers

As outlined in 3.2.6.2, there are three enclitics marking topic in Maisin, /=ka/ the 'default' topic marker, /=a/ the irrealis topic marker and /=ro/ the emphatic topic marker. All three may attach to noun phrases, case-marked postpostional phrases and demonstratives functioning as clause nominalisers. At a syntactic level, /=ka/ obligatorily attaches to the subject NP in a non-verbal equative or descriptive clause. Pragmatically it performs several other functions which will be explored below. /=ro/ has identical distribution to /=ka/ but occurs with less frequency, and adds contrastive emphasis to the constituent so marked. The irrealis topic marker /=a/ marks topic in questions, prohibitions, indefinite relative clauses and reported statements. (This was termed an interrogative topic marker by Ross (1984, p. 63) but is here referred to as irrealis topic marker to acknowledge its occurrence in broader contexts than simply interrogative constructions.)

The focus marker /=na/ has a much more restricted distribution than the topic markers and attaches only to noun phrases. While, it primarily marks noun phrases filling the patient object role in their clause, , it may also mark undergoer subjects, and the subjects of stative verbs. It never occurs with case-marked phrases, nor with agent subject noun phrases. Although it most often marks patient object , it is not an obligatory marker of object, and its primary purpose appears to be to highlight essential new information.

8.3 Defining Topic

Topic is far from an easy term to pin down, although there is general agreement that in very broad terms it denotes 'the thing being talked about'. As Lyons puts it, "we will call the person or thing about which something is said 'topic' and the statement made about this thing 'comment'." (1968, p. 335). Dik makes the same point: "Topicality characterizes those entities 'about' which information is provided or requested in the discourse" (1989, p. 266).

Reference to 'persons' or 'things' or 'entities' however, tends to imply nominal properties, and as both Årsjö (1994, p. 2) and Seiler (1983, p. 158) point out, topicality at a discourse level often requires an interpretation broad enough to include non-NP topics, such as clauses and adverbials. At any rate, as far as Maisin topic-marking is concerned, the concept of topic as the 'thing being talked about' is a good starting point.

Also of relevance to topic-marking in Maisin is an element already referred to, namely the 'givenness' of the information, in contrast to new or focal information. This also provides the rationale for the use of the topic marker in many Papuan languages, including Maisin, to mark subordinate clauses. "The use of the topic marker to mark subordinate clauses is semantically appropriate because both topics and subordinate clauses express given information which set the frame of reference for the rest of the sentence." (Foley, 1986, p. 203) Haiman notes the same tendency specifically in relation to topic-marking on the protasis of a conditional clause. (Haiman, 1985, p. 36) Temporal and conditional clauses in Maisin are obligatorily marked for topic, and other dependent clauses optionally so marked.

An additional important element of topic is highlighted in a study of topic marking in Ama, a Papuan language of Papua New Guinea belonging to the Left May family in the East Sepik province. The function of the Ama topic marker /mo/ bears some striking similarities to that of the Maisin topic-marking enclitic /=ka/ at both a syntactic and pragmatic level. In defining topic as it is expressed in Ama discourse, Årsjö, like Ross, draws on the terminology used by Comrie, contrasting topic, as the given information, or 'point of departure', with focus, the new information supplied by the sentence. (Årsjö, 1994, p. 2) However, she goes further to include a broader understanding of the concept of topic, and cites Chafe, whose interpretation of topic is also quoted here because it seems particularly relevant to Maisin. "Typically, it would seem the topic sets a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds." (Wallace L. Chafe, 1976, p. 50)

Årsjö interprets the 'individual framework' referred to by Chafe as referring to the identification of participants, and illustrates how, in Ama, /=mo/ is regularly used to establish the temporal and spatial deictic centres in a discourse, and to re-establish them as necessary, as well as to introduce and track main participants. All of these functions are also carried out by the Maisin topic marker /=ka/. Her observation that the topic marker occurs

more frequently with temporal than with locative expressions is also true of Maisin, as is her further comment that when the action in a given text is judged to have moved too far from the original centre, a new spatial centre will be established and marked for topic. (1994, p. 14) As applied to Maisin then, Chafe's treatment of topic usefully supplements the concepts of 'aboutness' and 'givenness' already mentioned.

8.4 Previous discussion of Maisin information structure

8.4.1 Topic
In terms of the function of the topic marker in Maisin discourse, Ross (1984, p. 62) refers to the distinctions made by Comrie (1981) between topic and comment, defining the topic as what the speaker is talking about, as opposed to what he is saying about it.   He then illustrates this with reference to a series of examples of information questions in Maisin, where the topic marker clearly attaches to the component about which the question is being asked.

Ross goes on to use an extended extract from a Maisin narrative text to demonstrate the way that the topic markers are used to signal the introduction of a new topic in a discourse, or to re-activate a topic that may need to be brought back into the hearer's immediate awareness (1984, p. 64ff). The topics occurring in this text include noun phrases in subject and object roles as well as time expressions and case-marked phrases. No specific instances of topic-marked locative phrases are included, although these occur regularly in our own data, and will be referred to below in the context of one of the topic's functions of setting a spatial framework for the discourse.

Ross further notes the tendency for the topic marker to attach to nominalised subordinate clauses, including relative, temporal and conditional clauses, in keeping with an observable pattern in languages in Papua New Guinea whereby such clauses are treated as presupposed information, and so marked for topic. (1984, p. 78) In our own data, temporal and conditional clauses are regularly marked for topic [9], but relative clauses do not obligatorily receive topic marking.

8.4.2 Focus
Ross again draws on Comrie's terminology in treating focus as 'the essential piece of new information that is carried by the sentence.' (Comrie, 1981, p. 57). Once more he illustrates this both from information questions, where the focus marker may attach to a non-case-marked question word, highlighting the unknown, hence new, information being sought,(1984, p. 62f) and from narrative text, where it again signals unpredictable, new information. (1984, p. 66f)

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[9] Haiman (1978: 564 'Conditionals, like topics, are givens which constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition), or felicitous (if not).'

His suggestion (1984, p. 67) that one of the functions of the agent/instrument marker /=en/ when attached to a subject is to mark focus, seems well-founded. Our own data supports his claim that no subject marked with /=en/ functions also as the topic of its sentence. (Although there are attested instances of /=en/ with the topic marker /=ka/ attached, all those so far identified involve /=en/ in an instrumental role, rather than functioning as agent subject.) While he rightly points out that this claim can only be adduced as negative evidence for the topic-marking status of /=en/ rather than positive evidence for its focus-marking capacity, examples from our data, such as the following, may offer a more solid basis for the focus-marking function of /=en/.

In the following exchange, involving a content question, the topic is the rooster (/biyoki=a/) and the information-seeking wh-element of the question is inherently focal. The new information being sought can also be expected to be the focus of the response, and it here comprises the personal pronoun /a/ with the agent marker /=en/, lending weight to Ross's proposal, that /=en/, attached to a subject NP, is being used to indicate focus.

(8.1)   Sauki   ratti nen=ka e-efi,   "Se=ate
                 woman   old DEM=TP 3SG.S-say   who=RL.SEQ

                 au   biyoki=a   i-vavan   inate   i- ya-yan
                 1SG.GEN   rooster=IT   3SG.S-disturb then   3SG.S-CONT-crow

                 i-ra-ra?"
                 3SG.S-CONT-come

That old woman said, "Who's disturbed my rooster and now it's running round crowing?"

(8.2) Morobi nen=ka   e-efi,   "Abu,   **a=sen**
     Girl   DEM=TP   3SG.S-say   Granny   1SG.PRO=AGT

a-ra-ra=me   ai   biyoki=ka   a-vavan
1SG.S-CONT-come=PAST   2SG.GEN rooster=TP   1SG.S-disturb

inate   i- ya-yan   i-taisukki   i-ra-ra."
then   3SG.S-CONT-crow   3SG.S-run   3SG.S-CONT-come

*The girl said, "Granny, **I'm the one** who was coming disturbing your rooster so that he's running round crowing."*

8.5 Topic in Maisin

At least three broad statements can then be made about the use of the topic marker in Maisin. It signals the 'thing being talked about' in any given discourse. It marks given or presupposed information by contrast with that which is new or unpredictable. It sets the framework for the discourse in terms of time, place and individual participants and re-establishes that framework as appropriate throughout the discourse.

These functions will be illustrated with reference to two extended texts which are set out below, but a few prior comments can be made about topic and focus-marking in Maisin, on the basis of examination of a corpus of 32 texts, comprising 20 narratives, 8 personal letters and 4 procedural texts.

Firstly, the topic marker occurs a great deal more frequently than the focus marker. Typically, instances of topic marker /=ka/ or emphatic topic marker /=ro/ average about one occurrence for every 3 clauses (although their distribution was not necessarily even throughout the text.) By contrast, occurrences of the focus marker were much rarer and some texts lacked any explicit focus marking. Appropriate use of the topic marker appears thus to be essential to the flow of the discourse, as opposed to the more 'discretionary' employment of the focus marker.

In the narrative texts, and in the personal letters, the topic marker was most commonly used to track main participants in the discourse, and to a lesser degree for props, for subordinate clauses and for expressions of time or of spatial setting.

In the procedural texts, this pattern is reversed, as more than half the occurrences involved temporal clauses, and there was considerably more topic marking of inanimate props than of human participants. This is perhaps to be expected, since such texts necessarily involve detailing successive stages of an activity or custom, and the human participants are less prominent than these temporal phases and than the equipment used for the activity at each stage.

Where the topic marker attached to a noun phrase, the overall tendency was for it to be more often used with a subject NP than an object NP, but the difference was not significant, and in some individual texts the object NP received more frequent topic marking. As

mentioned above, it was also not uncommon for both subject and object arguments to receive topic marking within the same clause:

(8.3)   Tamati   nen=**ka** ari   sauki   fona=**ka**   isa
             man   DEM=TP 3SG.GEN wife   voice=TP   NEG

             i-ru-ruwa=me=ka
             3SG.S-CONT-hear=PAST=TP

             That man wasn't listening to his wife's talk.

8.5.1 Topic and focus in a narrative text

The following text, about a woman who is swallowed by a fish but later returned to her family, comprises 76 clauses, containing 30 instances of topic marking with /=ka/ or /=ro/ and 10 instances of focus marking with focus marker /=na/ or agent marker /=en/.

The primary use of the topic markers in this text is to track the 4 main participants (the husband and wife, with their daughter, and the big fish.) All three human participants are introduced in the opening sentence with no explicit marking for either topic or focus. Unusually, the wife is marked with the agent enclitic (and hence bears focus, following Ross's suggestion above) four times in the first six sentences of the story. This may reflect her atypical, hence unpredictable, role as primary initiator of the action in the opening episodes. In sentence (8) however, where she is no longer in control, the focus transfers to the unexpected new participant, the big fish, and the woman receives topic marking to signal her re-introduction as the patient/victim of the fish's actions. Although she is physically absent from the scene, her topical status is retained throughout sentences (9) to (12) as her husband and daughter discuss what happened to her. When the woman resurfaces (literally!) in sentence (18) she is marked for focus, with the agentive enclitic /=en/ perhaps because, since she had been given up for dead, her re-entry here constitutes unexpected new information.

The husband, introduced in the first sentence, does not play any further significant part in the narrative until sentence (9) where his reactivation is signalled with topic marking. Similarly the daughter is marked for topic at each new episode in the narrative where she plays a role – in sentence (2) when she accompanies her parents to the garden, in sentence (10) when she learns of her mother's disappearance, and in sentence (14) where there has been a change in both time and setting and she needs to be re-activated. Finally, the fish is explicitly mentioned four times in the story. In the first three of these, (sentences (8), (12) and (15)) it receives agent/focus status, probably because both its first appearance when it

swallows the woman, and its reappearance to regurgitate her, are unlikely and unanticipated occurrences, rather than given information. In its final appearance in sentence (19), the fish is now a participant known to the hearers and is reintroduced with a topic marker, following several clauses relating the wife and daughter's actions.

Each of the new locations in the narrative receives topic marking, as it sets the spatial framework for the ensuing action. So the enclitic /=ka/ is found marking the garden (sentence (2)), the island (sentence (5)), and the village (sentences (13) and (15)), as the action of the story moves alternately through each of these settings. In the same way, the temporal subordinate clauses in sentences (4), (9), (13), (15), (18) and (19), all of which carry obligatory topic marking, set the framework, in terms of timing, within which the ensuing main predicate holds.

Less clear is the motivation for the topic marking on, for example, the canoe (/kaa=ka/) in sentence (4), a prop which receives no further mention in the text, unless perhaps its implicit 'givenness' as the necessary means of conveyance to the island is adequate reason for it to receive topical status here. A similar example is the topic-marked weeping (/tesi=ka/) in sentence (13) (which also provides an example of a single clause in which both syntactic subject and object are marked for topic). This is perhaps a case of the topic switching to the girl, then more specifically to her activity of weeping, which is further commented on in the following clause.

The focus-marking on both the woman and the fish in their roles as agents of unlikely activity has already been mentioned, but there are also three instances of focus marking on the sun (/yaa=na/ in sentences (3) and (6)) the basis for which is less obvious.

Sauki	I-yonki=ate		Wanno Ti-rafara-n
woman	3SG.S-be.lost=RL.SEQ	And	3PL.S-find-3SG.O

The Woman who was lost and found

(1) Sauki fafi wanno ei morobi ratti nan
    wife husband and 3PL.GEN girl small thus

ti-tauke=me sirari ite=rate sauki**=en** e-efi,
3PL-stay=PAST day other=RL.SEQ wife=AGT 3SG.S-say

"Tamati=in afun**=ka** ta-ra begati=fe
man=DEM today=TP 1INC.S-go garden=IR.SEQ

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ta-ra=ana	inefe	rasi**=ka**	ta-ra	buuti=e
1INC.S-go=FUT	then	tomorrow=TP	1INC.S-go	island=LOC

ta-siye."
1INC.S-roast.3PL.O

There was a married couple with their young daughter, one day the wife said, "Husband, let's go to the garden today then tomorrow we'll go to the garden and picnic."

(2)
Nen=so	ti-ramara	sauki=**en**	morobi=**ka**
DEM=REF	3PL.S-get.up	wife=AGT	girl=TP

i-ve=ate	ti-raa=me	te-e
3SG.S-get=RL.SEQ	3PL.S-CONT.go=PAST	3PL.S-go

begati=e=**ka**	ti-rau.
garden=LOC=TP	3PL.S-go.in.

So they got up, the woman took the daughter and they went off to the garden.

(3)
Te-sese=me	yaa=**na**	i-raa	nen=so
3PL.S-walk=PAST	sun=FOC	3SG.S-CONT.go	DEM=REF

sauki=**en**	e-efi,	"Tamati=in,	nene=ate	yaa=**na**
wife=AGT	3SG.S-say	man=DEM	OK=RL.SEQ	sun=FOC
i-raa		nen=so	wakki=e	ta-ra=ana."
3SG.S-CONT.go		DEM=REF	village=LOC	1INC.S-go=FUT

They walked, the sun was going down so the wife said, "Husband, OK, the sun is going down so we'll return to the village."

(4)
Ti-ra	ti-too	e-si-kisiran	nen=**ka**
3PL.S-came	3PL.S-sleep	3SG.S-CONT-dawn	DEM=TP

te-uki	kaa=**ka**	ti-gi	e-uki
3PL.S-go.down	canoe=TP	3PL.S-hold	3SG.S-go.down

ti-maru.
3PL.S-set.out

They arrived, they slept and when dawn was breaking they went down, pulled down the canoe and set off.

(5)   Ti-raa=me   te-e   buti=e=**ka**   ti-rau.
        3PL.S-CONT.go=PAST   3PL.S-go island=LOC=TP   3PL.S-go.in
        They were making their way, then they came to the island.

(6)   Ti-ro   nen=e   ti-si-siye=me   yaa=**na**
        3PL.S-go.in   DEM=LOC   3PL.S-CONT-roast=PAST   sun=FOC

        e-e   nen=so   sauki=**en**   e-efi,   "tamati=in
        3SG.S-go   DEM=REF   wife=AGT   3SG.S-say   man=DEM

         in=e   ta-too=fe   rasi=fe
        DEM=LOC   1INC.S-sleep=RL.SEQ   tomorrow=RL.SEQ

        wakki=e=**ka**   ta-ra=ana."
        village=LOC=TP   1INC.S-go=FUT."

They went in, they cooked there, the sun went down so the wife said, "Husband, let's sleep here then tomorrow we'll go back to the village."

(7)   Nen=so   nen=e   ti-too.
        DEM=REF   DEM=LOC   3PL.S-sleep
        So they slept there.

(8)   Ti-to=anan-na   foim=e   sauki=**ka**   mana
        3PL.S-sleep=FUT-DS.SIM night=LOC   wife=TP   fish

        bejji=**en**   i-va   i-kamato-n   e-uki
        big=AGT   3SG.S-go.up   3SG.S-swallow-3SG.O   3SG.S-go.down

tina   tere=e.
stomach   inside=LOC
While they were sleeping at night a large fish went up and swallowed the woman down

inside its stomach.

(9)   Ari   fafi=**ka**   i-tomi=me   mana   nen
             3SG.GEN   husband=TP   3SG.S-stay=PAST   fish   DEM

             e-uki=aka   i-yavaddi   nen=**na**   i-ruwa
             3SG.S-go.down=POT   3SG.S-flap   DEM=FOC   3SG.S-hear

             nen=so   i-ramara   e-kira   nen=**ka**
             DEM=REF   3SG.S-get.up   3SG.S-search   DEM=TP

             ari   sauki   ari   kefe=e=**ka**   amura.
             3SG.GEN   wife 3SG.GEN   place=LOC=TP   nothing.
Her husband was still there, he heard the fish flapping its way down so he got but

when he searched, his wife's place was empty.

(10)   Nen=so   ari   morobi=**ka**   funa=e   i-gi
             DEM=REF   3SG.GEN girl=TP   body=LOC   3SG.S-hold

              e-ise=ate   e-efi,   "Aiti=**ka**   ta-ra=ana
             3SG.S-stand=RL.SEQ 3SG.S-say   1INC.S=TP   1INC.S-go=FUT

             wakki=e."
             village=LOC
So he shook his daughter awake, he said, "We're going back to the village."

(11)   Nen=so   ari   morobi   e-efi,
             DEM=REF   3SG.GEN girl   3SG.S-say

              "Ate   au   yau=**ka?**"
             But   1SG.GEN mother=TP
                So the girl said, "But my mother?"

(12)   "Ai=**ka**   foim=e   mana=**en**   i-vei."
           3SG.PRO=TP   night=LOC   fish=AGT   3SG.S-get.3SG.O
           "She was taken by a fish in the night."

(13)   E-e   nenanan ari   yabi   e-efi
           3SG.S-go   thus   3SG.GEN father   3SG.S-say

           nen=**ka**   morobi raati   nen=**ka** tesi=**ka**
           DEM=TP   girl   small   DEM=TP crying=TP

           i-wafikko-n,   i-te-tesi-n   te-e
           3SG.S-begin-3SG.O   3SG.S-CONT-cry-SS.SIM   3PL.S-go

           wakki=e=**ka**   ti-rau.
           village=LOC=TP 3PL.S-go.in
When she went in accordance with what her father said, that small girl started crying,

she was crying as they went back to the village.

(14)   Ti-tauke=me   kindi   ite=ate   morobi nen=**ka**
           3PL.S-stay=PAST   time   one=RL.SEQ   girl   DEM=TP

           koraifu=e   e-sese-n   i-raa=me
           beach=LOC   3SG.S-walk-SS.SIM   3SG.S-CONT.go=PAST

           ute   waati=e   i-va   i-tauki.
           ute.tree   base=LOC   3SG.S-go.up 3SG.S-sat.
They were living there then one day the girl was walking along the beach, then she

went up and sat under an ute tree.

(15)   i-tauke=me   tassa   torafa=e   e-kira   nen=**ka**
           3SG.S-sit-PAST   sea   surface=LOC   3SG.S-look   DEM=TP

           mana   bejji=**en** i-va-vasi-n
           fish   big=AGT 3SG.S-CONT-come.up-SS.SIM

           i-kite-si.
           3SG.S-see-3SG.O
She was sitting there and when she looked at the surface of the sea a large fish was

coming up and saw her.

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(16)   Nen=so   i-ramara-n   buram=e   i-rau.
         DEM=REF   3SG.S-get.up-SS.SIM   bush=LOC   3SG.S-go.in
         So she got up and went into the bush.

(17)   Ai   i-yonki   i-tauke   nen=**ka** mana
         3SG.PRO   3SG.S-hide   3SG.S-sit   DEM=TP fish

         nen=ka   i-vasi   jeri=en.
         DEM=TP   3SG.S-come.up   beach=3SG.S
         While she sat in hiding the fish came up and beached itself.

(18)   Inate   kava   i-ya-yasi   nen=**ka** sauki=**en**
         Then   mouth   3SG.S-CONT-open DEM=TP woman=AGT

         sau-en   i-rauku   morobi nen=**ka** i-tauke=me
         jump-3SG.S   3SG.S-com. out   girl   DEM=TP 3SG.S-sit=PAST

         e-komossen   nen=**ka** ari   yau=**na**
         3SG.S-crane.neck   DEM=TP 3SG.GEN mother=FOC

         i-kite-si   nen=so   i-ramara
         3SG.S-see-3SG.O DEM=REF   3SG.S-get up

          i-te-tesi-n   i-taisukki   e-uki.
         3SG.S-CONT-cry-SS.SIM   3SG.S-run   3SG.S-go.down
         Then when it opened its mouth a woman jumped out, when the girl sitting there craned

         her neck, she saw her mother so she got up and ran crying down.

(19)   E-ukaa   nen=**ka** mana   nen=**ka**
         3SG.S-CONT.go.down   DEM=TP fish   DEM=TP

         i-watavi-si-n   sibo=e   e-uki.
         3SG.S-turn-3SG.O-SS.SIM   deep=LOC   3SG.S-go.down
         When she was going down, the fish turned and went back into the deep water.

         Nate   morobi nen=**ka** ari   yau=**en**
         Then   girl   DEM=TP 3SG.GEN   mother=AGT

ti-rotti	ti-tesi	timosa=ate	ei
3PL.S-hug	3PL.S-cry	finish=RL.SEQ	3PL.GEN

wakki=e=**ka**   te-e.
village=LOC=TP 3PL.S-go
Then the girl and her mother hugged each other and wept and went to their village.

8.5.2 Topic and focus in a procedural text

The text below is an account of the customs and procedures followed when a member of the community dies. Within its 77 clauses there are 8 occurrences of focus marking, and 26 instances of the topic marking enclitics, a ratio comparable with that in the narrative text described above. In terms of the kinds of constituents which receive the topic marking, however, the distribution differs from that of the narrative text. Here, nearly half (12) of the topic-marked elements are time expressions or temporal clauses and the remaining 14 are evenly divided between human participants and inanimate props, each of which may occur only once or twice in the entire discourse.   Rather than track the actions of a group of main participants, as in the narrative, the topic marking here traces a series of chronological stages within the overall event and switches from topic to topic in recounting what happens at each of those stages.

So for example, in the first sentence the topic-marked temporal clause sets the basic framework for the entire discourse (When a person dies…) and then the topic of what happens first (/wawaun=ka/) is introduced. In sentence (2) the topic switches to the mourning (/sora=ka/), with a description of that, then in sentence (3) to the burial place (/kefe=ka/) and its preparation. In sentence (4) the temporal clause establishes that the grave is ready, and the topic switches yet again, this time to the stretcher (/fana=ro/) and then in sentence (5) to the treatment of the dead person's body (/mati saukitamati nen=ka/). In this way, at frequent intervals, the topic markers indicate where we are in terms of the timeframe of the operation, and then alert us to the topic under consideration at that point. This topic may be the action being undertaken, the instrument used or the people performing the action, as in sentences (10), (11) and (12) where the topic switches in turn from the actions of the womenfolk (/sauke momorobi=ka/) , to those of the youth (/waunkaru=ro/) and finally to those of the elders (/yeiyabi wanno sauke roi=ka/).

Of the eight instances of focus-marking in this text, five involve the focus marking enclitic /=na/ attaching to a direct object NP, (in sentences (3), (5), (6) and (15)) and three involve the agent enclitic /=en/ attaching to a subject agent (in sentences (3), (4) and (8). Unlike the topic marker, the focus marker is never obligatory and is presumably used in each of these instances because the speaker wishes to highlight the new information being given about the topic of the sentence. So for example in sentence (3), the main topic is the burial place, but the use of the agent/focus marking /yeiyabi=en/ highlights the fact that it is the elders who determine the location of the burial site. Similarly, in sentence (6) the village

community (/saukitamati=ka/) are the topic (as 'given' participants in any occasion of mourning) but focus attaches to less predictable elements such as the Triton shell (/tavu=na/) which drew them out for the mourning, and on the string bags (/yati=na/) which they bring with them to the wake.

Mati	Kindi	ari	Kikiki
Death	Time	3SG.GEN	Story

Story about when someone dies

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(1) | Sauki | o | tamati | i-mati=anan=**ka** | wawaun=**ka** |
|-------|---|--------|---------------------|---------------|
| woman | or | man | 3SG.S-die=FUT=TP | first=TP |

ikosi	yun	wanno	sissi	masa=tom=en
coconut	water	and	flower	smell=ACMP=AGT

te-iyou-si	funa	ti-ma-masi	yan	embobi
3PL.S-bathe-3SG.O	body	3PL.S-CONT-rub	mat	tapa.cloth

ti-ne	ti-ter-si=fe	i-to=fe,	kariyateri
3PL.S-do	3PL.S-put-3SG.O=IRSEQ	3SG.S-stay=IRSEQ	notice

tavu=**ka**	ran	sinati	ti-kuven	ti-mayati=ana.
Triton=TP	time	three	3PL.S-blow	3PL.S-pull=FUT

When someone dies first they will bathe the body in coconut water and rub fragrant flowers on it, then they'll put tapa cloth and mats over it and then announce the death with three long blasts of the Triton shell.

(2) | Inefe | sora=**ka** | ti-wafikko-n=anan. |
|-------|------------|--------------------|
| Then | mourning=TP | 3PL.S-begin-3SG.O=FUT |

Then they'll begin the mourning

(3) | Nan | ti-ve-n | ti-tauke-n | saukitamati |
|-----|---------|-----------|-------------|
| Thus | 3PL.S-get.3SG.O-SS.SIM | 3PL.S-stay-SS.SIM | people |

o	ari	roise	siname	ti-rauku
or	3SG.GEN	sibling.PL	friend.PL	3PL-come.out

ti-kit-kite-n	sora	ti-nan-na
3PL.S-CONT-see.PL.O-SS.SIM	mourning	3PL.S-CONT.do-DS.SIM

yaa**=na**	i-vasi=fe	yeiyabi**=en**	te-efi	ti-ruwa
sun=FOC	3SG.S-rise=IRSEQ	elders=AGT	3PL.S-say	3PL.S-hear

kefe**=ka**	kasan	ti-ne=fe	waunkaru**=ka**	ti-ra
place=TP	knowledge	3PL.S-do=IR.SEQ	youth=TP	3PL.S-go

tamati	wowo-i=se	ari	vaa	kefe**=ka**
man	grave-3PL.PSR=LOC	3SG.GEN	house	place=TP

te-nonowatti=ana.
3PL.S-prepare=FUT.

While that's going on, people, especially the deceased's friends and relations will come out and be watching, and while the mourning is going on the sun will come up and the elders will tell people the place, then the youth will go and prepare his burial place in the graveyard.

(4)
Ari	kefe	ve-nonowatti=so	ti-ra	nen**=ka,**
3SG.GEN	place	NOM-prepare=REF	3PL.S-come	DEM=TP

ari	fana**=ro**	tauri**=sen**	ti-wi-n=ana.
3SG.GEN	stretcher=ETP	others=AGT	3PL.S-build-3SG.O=FUT

While some come to prepare his burial place, others will construct a stretcher for him.

(5)
Tuvi	te-nonowatti	timosa	ti-raveresi	ti-rai=anan**=ka,**
Grave	3PL.S-prepare	finish	3PL.S-return	3PL.S-come=FUT=TP

ti-va	mati	saukitamati	nen**=ka**
3PL.S-go.up	death	person	DEM=TP

ti-som-si=fe	fana=e	ti-su-n
3PL.S-wrap-3SG.O=IR.SEQ	stretcher=LOC	3PL.S-carry-3SG.O

ti-ra	ari	tuvi=e	ti-ter-si
3PL.S-go	3SG.GEN	grave=LOC	3PL.S-put-3SG.O

e-uki	i-toke	bari**=na**	timosa=fe
3SG.S-go.down	3SG.S-stay	prayer=FOC	finish=IR.SEQ

ti-wata-si=ana.
3PL.S-bury-3SG.O=FUT

When they get back from preparing the grave, they'll go and wrap the body of the deceased and carry it down on a stretcher, then they'll put it down into the grave, complete the prayers and bury it.

(6) Ate saukitamati**=ka** rasiram=e mati ari
Now people=TP morning=LOC death 3SG.GEN

 tavu**=na** ti-ruwa=ate ti-rauku nen=so
 Triton=FOC 3PL.S-hear=RL.SEQ 3PL.S-come.out DEM=REF

 ti-raveresi ti-ra vaa kefe=e yun ti-ye
 3PL.S-return 3PL.S-go house place=LOC water 3PL.S-bathe

 ti-mamasi ei yati**=na** ti-wawe=fe
 3PL.S-dry 3PL.GEN string.bag=FOC 3PL.S-get.3PL.O=IR.SEQ

 ti-ra=ana mati kefe=e gumema=so.
 3PL.S-go-FUT death place=LOC wake=REF

Now people heard the death announcement on the Triton shell in the morning and came out, so they will go back home, bathe, change their clothes, get their string bags and go to the dead person's home for the funeral vigil.

(7) Waunkaru ti-raveresi ti-rai=anan**=ka** ikosi
Youth 3PL.S-return 3PL.S-come=FUT=TP coconut.tree

 ti-yagin ti-sese-ri woo bejji te-vetta-n
 3PL.S-climb 3PL.S-husk-3PL.O fire big 3PL.S-kindle-3SG.O

 ikosi nen=**ka** ti-siye saukitamati jamen momorobi
 coconut DEM=TP 3PL.S-roast.PL.O people boys girls

 gumema ti-tauke nen=e ti-me ti-ka
 wake 3PL.S-sit DEM=LOC 3PL.S-give 3PL.S-eat

 ti-kum=ana.
 3PL.S-drink=FUT

When the youth come back, they'll climb coconut tries, husk the coconuts, make a big fire, roast those coconutes and give them to the adults and children at the wake for them to eat and drink.

(8) Inefe yaa i-ra raddan i-nan nen=**ka**
Then sun 3SG.S-go evening 3SG.S-CONT.do DEM=TP

mati	wakki	nen	rora	ite**=en**	fona	i-va
death	village	DEM	older	one=AGT	voice	3SG.S-go.up

e-kute-ri=fe	ti-taramosa-ri	ti-ra
3SG.S-greet-3PL.O=IR.SEQ	3PL.S-leave-PL	3PL.S-go

ti-to=ana.
3PL.S-sleep=FUT

Then when the sun is going down, one of the elders at the dead person's village will speak up, thank the people then they will leave and go home to sleep.

(9)
I-siran	rasi=**ka**	mati	ari	kindi	sandei,
3SG.S-dawn	tomorrow=TP	death	3SG.GEN	time	two

nen=so	wanno	mati	wakki=e	gumema.
DEM=REF	again	death	village=LOC	wake.

The next day is the second day after the death, so the funeral vigil continues at the dead person's village.

(10)
Rasiram=e	mati	kefe	nen	sauki-e	mo-morobi=**ka**
morning=LOC	death	place	DEM	woman-PL	PL-girl=TP

kaa	fifi=so	tauri=**ka**	begati=e	te-ra=ana.
wood	chop=REF	others=TP	garden=LOC	3PL.S-go=FUT

In the morning at the dead person's place, some of the women and girls will chop firewood, others will go to the garden.

(11)
Waunkaru=**ro**	nan	san=e	buram=e	ti-ra=ana
Youth=ETP	thus	beach=LOC	bush=LOC	3PL.S-go=FUT

Likewise, the youths will go fishing in the sea, or hunting in the bush.

(12)
Yeiyabi	wanno	sauki-e	roi=**ka**	yaa	nuka
Elders	and	woman-PL	sisters=TP	sun	middle

yove=e=fe	gumema=**ka**	ti-rauku=ana	mati	kefe.
side=LOC=IRSEQ	wake=TP	3PL.S-come.out=FUT	death	place

The older men and women will come out to the funeral vigil in the dead person's village around the middle of the day.

(13)   Yaa i-ra   yeo   i-kasisino-si=anan=**ka**
             Sun 3SG.S-go   plot   3SG.S-pass.over-3SG.O=FUT=TP

              ti-rau-n   ti-ra=me   nen   ti-rauku=anan**=ka,**
             3PL.S-go.in-SS.SIM 3PL.S-go=PAST   DEM   3PL.S.come.out=FUT=TP

              ti-kassi   ti-vav-si   saukitamati gumema
             3PL.S-bake 3PL.S-boil-3SG.O people   wake

              tamata-ri=ton   seseka   ti-me   ti-kan
             owner-PL=ACMP all   3PL.S-give   3PL.S-eat

              ti-kun=fe   ti-taramosan=ana.
             3PL.S- drink=IRSEQ   3PL.S-leave=FUT

When the sun has passed over that piece of ground, and the ones who went in come out again, they will cook and give food to all the people at the wake and its leaders, they will eat and drink and then depart.

(14) Ate   sirari   sinati**=ka**   mati   ari   yun   ye
       Now   day   three=TP   death   3SG.GEN water   bathe

kasu   ter-i   kindi.
smoke   put-3PL.O   time.

Now the third day is the time for bathing and letting the smoke go up again after the death.

(15)   Nen=so   ai=**ro**   nan   rasiram=e
             DEM=REF   3SG.PRO=ETP   thus   morning=LOC

              ti-rau-n   ti-ra   begati=e   wanno
             3PL.S-go.in-SS.SIM   3PL.S-go   garden=LOC and

              vav-i   siye   ari   kaa=so   san
             boil-3PL.O   bake.3PL.O 3SG.GEN wood=REF   beach

              buran=**na**   nan.

bush=FOC   thus

So then in the morning, they'll go to the garden, and look for firewood for all the cooking and likewise go fishing and hunting.

(16)   Seseka   ti-ve-n   ti-rauku=fe,
        All   3PL.S-get.3SG.O-SS.SIM   3PL.S-go.out=IR.SEQ

        raruti=ka   mati   ari   yun   ye   kasu   te-ri.
        afternoon=TP death   3SG.GEN   water   bathe   smoke   put-3PL.O

They'll bring everthying back, then in the afternoon will be the bathing and smoke putting for the dead person.

(17)   Nefe   sauki-e   mo-morobi   ti-kassi   ti-vav-si
        Then   woman-PL   PL-girl   3PL.S-bake.3SG.O   3PL.S-boil-3SG.O

        ti-buwandi   gumema   tamata-ri   aro   ti-kan   ti-kun
        3PL.S-share   wake   owner-PL   with   3PL.S-eat 3PL.S-drink

        toto   te-kute-ri=fe   ti-taramosa-ri=ana.
        RECIP   3PL.S-greet-3PL.O=IR.SEQ   3PL.S-depart-PL=FUT

Then the women and girls will cook, the food will be shared out, they'll eat and drink with the chief mourners, then they'll take leave of each other and go home.

(18) Nene   mati   ari   vavatta=ka   timosa.
     OK   death   3SG.GEN   heavy=TP   finish.

OK, then the main part of the death observance is over.

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