

Lorna MacDonald
A Dictionary of Tauya

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Lorna MacDonald

A Dictionary of Tauya

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Abbreviations

1PL ~ 1pl.	1st person plural
1PL.EXC ~ 1 Exc.	1st person exclusive plural
1PL.INC ~ 1 Inc.	1st person inclusive plural
1SG ~ 1sg.	1st person singular
1/2PL ~ 1/2pl.	1st and 2nd person plural
1/2SG ~ 1/2sg.	1st and 2nd person singular
3PL ~ 3pl.	3rd person plural
3SG ~ 3sg.	3rd person singular
A/A	adessive/allative
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
ASSER	assertive
ASSOC	associative plural
BEN	benefactive
CF	counter-factual
COLLEC	collective
COM	comitative
CON	conative
CONJ/conj.	conjunction
COORD	coordinate
C.TOP	contrastive topic
D	deictic
D/D	durative/distributive
deictic pro.	deictic proform
dep.loc.	dependent locative root
Det.	detaminer
DS	different subject
DUB	dubitative
EMPH	emphatic
ENV	environment noun
ERG	ergative
EXCLAM	exclamatory
EXP	experiencer
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual

IMP	imperative
INCEP	inceptive
IND	indicative
INDEF	indefinite
INESS	inessive
INSTRU	instrumental
INTEN	intensive
ITER	iterative
interrog.pro.	interrogative proform
loc.pro.	locative proform
n.	noun
NEC	necessitive
NEG	negative
n.inalien.	inalienable noun
n.loc.	locative noun
NMZ	nominalizer
O ~ OBJ	object
PART	partitive
PERF	perfective
pers.pro.	personal pronoun
POST	postposition
pro.	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PRT	particle
Q	interrogative
quant.	quantifier
REDUP ~ Redup.	reduplicated
S/A ~ SBJ	subject
s.o.	someone
SS	same subject
s.t.	something
STAT	stative
SUB	subordinate
TOP	topic
TR/PERF	transitive/perfective
v.	verb
v.ambi-tr.	ambi-transitive verb
v.di-tran.	ditransitive verb
v.imper.	imperative verb
v.impers.	impersonal verb

v.intr.	intransitive verb
VOC	vocative
v.tr.	transitive verb

Introduction

1 Background

Tauya is a Papuan language spoken by about 400 people living in the Ramu River valley, Madang Province, Papua New Guinea (latitude 5° 44' S, longitude 145° 25' E, approximately 225 metres above sea level). Although Z'graggen (1975) gives *Inafosa* as an alternate name for the Tauya language, Tauya speakers identify *Inafosa* as the Tauya name for Goroka, a town in the highlands. The Tauya name for themselves is *Foʔu*, and their language, *Foʔu Po* (*po*, 'word, language'). Tauya belongs to the Trans New Guinea family. It was previously grouped with three other languages – Biyom, Isabi and Faita – into a small subgroup (Brahman Stock-Level Family) of the Madang-Adelbert Range sub-phylum (Wurm 1982; Z'graggen 1975). More recently it has been suggested that, of these four languages, only Tauya and Biyom share a close genetic relationship; both are now assigned to the Rai Coast subgroup of Madang languages (Pawley 2005).

During the time data were collected for the present study, most Tauya people lived in one village, Tauya, located on the west bank of the Tauya River at the foothills of the Bismarck Range. There was a second smaller village, Kausi, about 7 km away to the west, adjacent to Brahman Catholic Mission. Others lived in small hamlets consisting of a single nuclear or extended family. Most of these hamlets were clustered close to Tauya village or the mission; a few were a little more isolated. Tauya was accessible by truck for most of the year via a logging road built by the mission and a footpath. However, only mission personnel used the logging road and the sporadic arrival of a mission truck was an event attracting a considerable amount of attention. In fact, few outsiders ventured to the village during that time, even on foot.

The Tauya people were divided into five exogamous clans. There was some intermarriage with Biyom-speakers living in Tuguma, a village in the highlands to the south. Since residence was primarily patrilocal, there were Biyom women living in Tauya and some Tauya people had a degree of fluency in that language. Although a handful of people were employed by Brahman Mission, the vast majority still had a traditional lifestyle based upon slash-and-burn agriculture. Until December 1981 when a bridge was constructed over the Ramu River close to Brahman Mission, there was limited contact with the north coast but people made frequent trips on foot south into the highlands. After construction of the bridge, contact with the coast became more frequent and some people found employment or educational opportunities in Madang or Lae.

The future of the Tauya language is uncertain due to encroachment by Tok Pisin and English. In 1981–82, when fieldwork for this study began, many children and some adults living in Tauya village were fluent in Tok Pisin but Tauya was the language of daily life. A few adults had little or no knowledge of Tok Pisin; only one young man was fluent in English. When fieldwork resumed in 1991, Tok Pisin was used much more frequently by all age groups, even by elderly people living in isolated hamlets, and many children were attending primary school at the mission where the language of instruction was English. The Tauya people themselves were aware that their language was endangered and many of them, particularly the elderly, were saddened by this situation.

Data for this study were collected in three fieldtrips over a 10-year period, in 1981–82, 1991 and 1992; the data collected in 1981–82 formed the basis for a grammar of the Tauya language (MacDonald 1990a). All data collection was carried out in Tauya village, where I resided in 1981–82. In 1981–82 my initial informant was John Etrus, a young man living in a hamlet near Tauya who was selected for this task by the Tauya people themselves because of his knowledge of English. In 1991 and 1992 my constant companion was Anna Soufa, a young woman living in a hamlet adjacent to Brahman Mission who was fluent in Tauya, Tok Pisin and English. Throughout all three field trips my primary informant was Aresa Pemu, a middle aged man living in Tauya who was fluent in Tauya and Tok Pisin. However, the data on which the present study is based were collected from many people, primarily middle-aged women and men.

2 Typology

Tauya has many of the structural characteristics which are typical of Trans New Guinea languages (Foley 1986). The phonemic inventory is relatively small. Consonants have 4 places of articulation and there are 5 distinctive vowels; syllable structure is open. It is a strict V-final language with SOV as the unmarked word order:

- (1) *Niʔisana safe-ra sai ni-pe-i-na ...*
 long ago ancestor-TOP snake eat-HAB-3PL-SUB
 Long ago the ancestors ate snakes ...

- (2) *Ai ne-pi-ʔa-ra pofa oʔo*
 sibling 3SG-GEN-COLLEC-TOP PRT firewood
ʔamai-oʔonou-te-i-na ...
 pick up-collect-get-3PL-SUB
 All of her older sisters picked up and collected firewood ...

However, clauses in which all core argument positions are lexically filled are uncommon; many clauses consist solely of an inflected verb (MacDonald 1993):

- (3) *Pu-pa pu-pa yate ʔatou-ti-a-na ...*
 run-SS run-SS go arrive-PERF-3SG-SUB
 He ran and ran and went and arrived ...
- (4) *Yate ʔamai-ti mepi-a-te fai-pa ni-pa ...*
 go carry-CONJ come down-3SG-DS cut-SS eat-SS
 He went and carried it down and they cut it and ate it ...

Tauya is a suffixing language. Core arguments are marked primarily by verb agreement and secondarily by case marking. While case marking is typically ergatively patterned, verb agreement is accusative. Peripheral constituents in a clause are case-marked.

Nominal morphology is relatively simple; the only obligatory inflection on NPs is case. Nouns are not inflected for number; singular vs. plural reference of core arguments is marked by verb agreement. Verbal morphology is agglutinative and considerably more complex than nominal morphology, in part because it reflects the syntactic relationships between clauses. As is typical of Papuan languages, there is a distinction between verbs in non-final/dependent clauses ('medial verbs') and verbs in final/independent clauses ('final verbs'). Final verbs occur with the full range of inflectional categories while medial verbs are inflectionally reduced; the nature of this reduction depends in part upon the particular kind of medial verb involved.

Medial verbs in Tauya mark switch-reference, that is, they indicate whether the subject of the medial clause is the same as or different from the subject of the following clause. In Tauya, switch-reference is restricted to coordinate medial verbs, i.e., verbs in clauses which are in a coordinate relationship with the following clause.

3 Phonology

Tauya has the following inventory of consonant phonemes:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
		<i>k^w</i>	<i>ʔ^w</i>
(<i>b</i>)	(<i>d</i>)	(<i>g</i>)	
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		
	<i>r</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

Table 1: Tauya consonant phonemes

Four of the consonants have restricted distributions. With a handful of exceptions, *r* is restricted to word-medial position, the velar stops *k* and *k^w* are restricted to word-initial position¹, and the labialized glottal stop *ʔ^w* is restricted to morpheme-initial position. *b*, *d* and *g* have been assigned marginal phonemic status. Phonemic voiced stops are very infrequent, attested only in a few forms which appear to have been borrowed. A single form has been found with an initial voiced stop, *Boriye*, n. personal name. Elsewhere, voiced stops are always prenasalized, e.g., *ambo* n. ‘namesake’ (which also occurs as *apo*); *ferengariya* n. ‘mother-of-pearl’; *kangora* n. ‘initiate’ (borrowed from Biyom); *marakanda* n. ‘tobacco’ (identified by speakers as archaic; the usual form is *yute*); *Mesirirondo* n. personal name (attested in a single folktale and possibly borrowed from Isabi).

Voiced labial and alveolar stops, however, are common phonetically. When an unstressed vowel is deleted between a nasal consonant and a following homorganic voiceless stop, the stop consonant is voiced:

(5) *Ni-ene-te ...* → *Niyende ...*
 eat-1/2PL-DS
 We ate and the others ...

(6) *Wame-pe?* → *Wambe?*
 what-BEN
 Why?

¹ Some words exhibit a *k* ~ *ʔ* alternation, suggesting that non-initial *k* has been neutralized to *ʔ*, e.g., *kaifa* ~ *ʔaifa* n. ‘white cockatoo’, *kokoraʔa* ~ *ʔoʔoraʔa* n. ‘chicken’, etc.

Due to both restrictions on the distribution of *k* and the lack of a velar nasal consonant, voiced velar stops do not arise in this way.

Tauya has a 5-vowel system:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

Table 2: Tauya vowel phonemes

The mid-front vowel *e* is subject to a variety of raising, assimilation and rounding rules which apply word-finally and across morpheme boundaries (see MacDonald 1990a). For example:

- (7) *yate#* → *yati* v.intr. ‘go’
wate-ʔai (house-A/A) → *wataʔi* ‘to/at the house’
na-ʔemasi (2SG-back) → *naʔamasi* ‘your (sg.) back’
yau-fe-pa (see-TR/PERF-SS) → *yaufopa* ‘X saw it and X ...’
mene-ʔafe- (stay-PROG) → *miniʔafe-* ‘be staying’

Since the two deictic pronouns and four of the six personal pronouns include the vowel *e*, their surface manifestations often obscure their underlying forms (see Appendix).

Syllable structure in Tauya is open with a maximum of one consonant at the onset, (C)V(V). The only C-final morphemes found are the plural forms of the personal pronouns, all of which have final underlying *n* (see 4.1.1.). This surfaces only when the pronouns are cliticized to V-initial transitive verbs, impersonal verbs and inalienable nouns to mark objects, experiencers and possessors, respectively, and when they are inflected with the genitive suffix *-pi* (see Appendix).

4 Word Classes

The major word classes in Tauya are noun and verb; there are also adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, particles, interrogative proforms, and quantifiers². It is important to note that the boundaries between various word classes are not always rigid; many words can have more than one syntactic function without undergoing any derivational modification. This is perhaps most evident for nouns and verbs. In 4.1.3. two derivational classes of nouns are described which include a suffix, *-mo* or *-fo*; these nouns also function as adjectives and many have corresponding intransitive verbs (see 4.2.6.), e.g., *wamo* n./adj. ‘big, grown (one)’ ~ *wame-* v.intr. ‘grow’; *ʔufumo* n./adj. ‘weight, heavy’ ~ *ʔufume-* v.intr. ‘be heavy’. A number of other words function as both nouns and verbs. For example, *etemu* is both a noun (‘bowstring, rope used in trap’) and a transitive verb (‘set a trap’); *fofani* is both an inherently locative noun (‘cleared ground, clearing in the forest’) and an ambi-transitive verb (‘be visible, reveal s.t.’); *yei* is both a noun (‘wind’) and an intransitive verb (‘[wind] blows’); etc. There are also some words which change syntactic category after reduplication, i.e., from noun to verb or from verb to noun. For example, when the inalienable noun *-potiyafo* ‘hand, arm’ is reduplicated it forms the intransitive verb *potipotiyafe-* ‘reach out’; when the intransitive verb *mei-* ‘cry’ is reduplicated it forms the noun *meimei* ‘cry’.

4.1 Nouns

Personal pronouns, deictic pronouns and full nouns constitute distinct syntactic subclasses. Evidence for this includes the following:

- (i) Some nominal suffixes, e.g., *-na*, emphatic, *-nasi*, restrictive, and *-ʔunama* ‘too’, are only added to the personal pronouns: *ya-nasi* ‘I myself’; *ne-na* ‘he/she’, emphatic; *na-ʔunama* ‘you (sg.) too’. These suffixes do not occur with the deictic pronouns; to mark a full noun for one of these categories, the noun must occur in apposition with an inflected pronoun, e.g., *Maria ne-nasi* ‘Maria herself’.
- (ii) There are 5 dependent locative roots in Tauya (see 4.1.2.), i.e., locative forms which cannot occur independently. They can combine with a deictic pronoun, e.g., *afa-ʔe* ‘that one above’, *ofe-me* ‘this one below’, etc.; they do not combine with personal pronouns or full nouns.

² There is also a class of five dependent locative roots; these are briefly described in 4.1.2. and examples are provided in the Appendix.

4.1.1 Personal Pronouns

Tauya personal pronouns always have human referents³; they distinguish 3 persons and 2 numbers:

	SG	PL
1	<i>ya</i>	<i>sen</i>
2	<i>na</i>	<i>ten</i>
3	<i>ne</i>	<i>nen</i>

Table 3: Tauya personal pronoun roots

The personal pronouns occur independently in various case forms, including the unmarked absolutive case. With the exception of 3sg. *ne*, they also occur as proclitics on transitive and impersonal verbs to mark objects and experiencers respectively, and on inalienable nouns to mark possessors.

- (8) *Ne-ni nen-yau-a-ʔa.*
 3SG-ERG 3PL-see-3SG-IND
 She saw them.
- (9) *Na-ʔisafe-a-ʔa.*
 2SG-angry-3SG-IND
 You are angry.
- (10) *ya-neme*
 1SG-head
 my head

The 3sg. pronoun is only used independently; 3sg. objects, experiencers and possessors of inalienable nouns are typically unmarked:

- (11) *Ya-ni yau-e-ʔa.*
 1SG-ERG see-1/2SG-IND
 I saw her.

³ The 3pl. personal pronoun *nen-* may have non-human but animate reference when it is cliticized to transitive verbs to mark the object; see 5.1.1.

(12) *Yuʔa ne-pi-pe ʔisafe-a-ʔa.*
 friend 3SG-GEN-BEN angry-3SG-IND
 He was angry at his friend.

(13) *neme*
 his/her head

4.1.2 Deictic Pronouns

There are two deictic pronoun roots in Tauya, *me*, proximal, ‘this (one)’ and *ʔe*, distal, ‘that (one)’; they do not distinguish number. The deictics are used independently with inflection for case and as pre-nominal modifiers (determiners):

(14) *Me te-e-ʔa.*
 D get-1/2SG-IND
 I got this one.

(15) *ʔe-ʔusa imai-fe-pa ...*
 D-INESS carry in container-TR/PERF-SS
 She carried it in that one ...

(16) *me fenaʔa*
 D woman
 this woman/these women

(17) *ʔe nono*
 D child
 that child/those children

The deictic pronouns participate in a variety of derived forms. Combined with a derivational suffix *-i*, they create the locative proforms *mei* ‘here’ and *ʔei* ‘there’. They also combine with five dependent locative roots to refer to entities above and below the speaker, *afa-* ‘above’, *pise-* ‘uphill’, *ofe-* ‘below’, *tofe-* ‘downhill’, and *ma-*. The latter marks mid-distal and slightly modifies the positions specified by the deictics [see Appendix].

Of the two deictic pronouns, distal *ʔe* is the unmarked form. In the ablative case it can refer to time (*ʔe-sami* ‘then’) and it is found with very high frequency

in discourse where it functions as a resumptive pronoun for left-dislocated constituents⁴:

- (18) *Oʔaisa-ʔe ʔatou-ti-i-na-ra wayamo*
 afternoon-D arrive-PERF-3PL-SUB-TOP wife
ne-pi-na amena-ʔe topu-a-te ...
 3SG-GEN-GEN breast-D swell-3SG-DS
 In the afternoon, they arrived; his wife's breasts, they were swollen ...

4.1.3 Full Nouns

There are no grammatical noun classes in Tauya. However, animacy does have an effect on agreement⁵. Verbs show agreement in person and in number with core arguments which are animate; they show agreement in person only with core arguments which are inanimate (see 5.1.1., 5.1.3.).

Animacy also has an effect on case marking, that is, whether or not the subject in a transitive clause is in the ergative case depends in part on the animacy of the object (see 11.1.). In addition, full nouns can be grouped into 3 semantically based classes (animate, inanimate and inherent locative) according to the form of the locative case suffixes they occur with (see 11.2.), and common nouns can be classified as alienable or inalienable according to the kind of possessive construction they occur in (see 12.).

Most full nouns in Tauya have no internal structure, for example, *fenaʔa* 'woman', *fanu* 'man, person', *nono* 'child', *pai* 'pig', *yute* 'tobacco', *ʔaufu* 'betelnut', etc. Other nouns are derived via suffixation or compounding.

Three derivational suffixes are found on nouns, *-mo*, *-fo* and *-sa*. The suffixes *-mo* and *-fo* occur with fairly high frequency but are not synchronically productive. Many terms which refer to parts of the body or parts of plants include one of these suffixes, e.g., *-otamo* 'knee'; *-ʔosineimo* 'navel'; *-potiyafo* 'hand, arm'; *-tufafo* 'thigh'; *ʔafumo* 'seedling'; *orufo* 'flesh of plants'; etc. Some body part terms have suppletive stems used when the possessor is 3sg. (see 12.1.); most of these suppletive stems include the suffix *-fo*, e.g., *aʔifo* 'his/her eye' (vs. *-aʔe*, other possessors); *ʔ^waʔifo* 'his/her ear' (vs. *-oʔaʔe*, other possessors); *parufo* 'his/

⁴ When forms derived from the two deictic pronouns are coordinated, those based upon distal *ʔe* occur first, e.g., *ʔiʔamo muʔamo* 'that kind and this kind, all kinds'; *ʔesami mesami* 'from there and from here, from all over'.

⁵ Animate entities include humans and animals; all other entities are inanimate.

her neck' (vs. *-pare*, other possessors). Some kinship terms have suppletive stems used with 3sg. possessors (see 12.2.); the majority of these include the suffix *-mo*, e.g., *wayamo* 'his wife' (vs. *fenaʔa*, other possessors), *aniyamo* 'his/her mother' (vs. *afe*, other possessors), *omamo* 'his/her father' (vs. *awa*, other possessors), etc. These suffixes are also found on many forms which function as both adjectives and nouns (see 4.3.), e.g., *famo* 'small (one)'; *amufo* 'large (one)'. The suffixes *-mo* and *-fo* are optional for some nouns (e.g., *paru(fo)* 'neck', 3sg. possessor; *towai(fo)* 'seed/fruit'), and they are always omitted in reduplication (e.g., *fafamo* 'small ones'; *nutunutumo* 'ends').

The suffix *-sa* derives locative nouns, e.g., *ʔ^weisa* 'night' (*ʔ^wei-* v.intr. 'be night'); *oʔaisa* 'afternoon' (*oʔai-* v.intr. 'be afternoon'); *awisa* 'two days hence' (*awi* n./quant. 'two'); *otusa* 'in front of him/her' (*otu(fo)* n.inalien. 'nose, face', 3sg. possessor); *maʔasisa* 'behind him/her' (*maʔasi* n.inalien. 'back', 3sg. possessor), *tetisa* 'highlands'; *awasa* 'lowlands'; etc. It can be added to the dependent locative roots (see 4.1.2.) to create locative proforms, e.g., *tofesa* 'downhill', *afasa* 'overhead', etc. *Sa* also marks the adessive/allative case on inherently locative nouns (see 11.2.). It is also a noun ('sky') and functions as the subject of clauses referring to the general environment:

- (19) *Sa putu-a-te ...*
 ENV tear-3SG-DS
 [The earth] tore (i.e., there was an earthquake) ...

The derivation of nouns via compounding is a productive process in Tauya, e.g., *yene wawi* 'sacred flute' (bird#old man); *ipai omamo* 'policeman' (arrow#father); *ipai aniyamo* 'bow' (arrow#mother); *sene towai(fo)* 'coin' (stone#seed); *sene towai wemo* 'paper money' (stone#seed#leaf); *yau tini* 'tinned fish' (fish#tin), *yau tini ʔ^wayamo* 'fish tin' (fish#tin#shell). Nominal compounds are frequently used to refer to various species of plants and animals, with the generic term preceding the specific term, e.g., *amo yaye* 'yaye tree'; *amu puru* 'puru wasp'; *sai firisari* 'firisari snake'; *yau eti* 'eti fish [trout]'. In addition, many of the forms which are typically used as adjectives also function independently as nouns (see 4.3.); therefore, constructions consisting of a noun modified by an adjective can often be analyzed as compounds, e.g. *wate ʔasamo* 'squat house' (house-squat (one)); *wate amufo* 'big house' (house-big (one)).

Included in the class of compound nouns is a small set of dyadic kinship terms, all of which include the noun/quantifier *awi* 'two', and triadic kinship terms, which include the noun/quantifier *eni* 'three'. Unlike other nominal compounds, some dyadic and triadic kinship terms have been lexicalized and exhibit phonological modification/reduction. Examples include *awiʔafu* 'married couple'

(cf. *?afo* ‘husband’, 3sg. possessor); *awiniyamu* ‘mother and child’ (cf. *aniyamo* ‘mother’, 3sg. possessor); *awimamu* ‘father and child’ (cf. *omamo* ‘father’, 3sg. possessor); *eni?afu* ‘man and his two wives’; *enimamu* ‘father and his two children’.

4.2 Verbs

There are five syntactic classes of verb roots in Tauya: intransitive, transitive, ambitransitive, impersonal, and imperative⁶.

4.2.1 Intransitive

Intransitive verbs have a single core argument, the subject (S). The four basic verbs of motion belong to this class (*fofe-* ‘come’, *yate-* ‘go’, *mai-* ‘come up’, *mepi-* ‘come down’⁷), along with a variety of others.

- (20) *Yate yate yate pofa amufi mene-a-na ...*
 go go go PRT close be-3SG-SUB
 He went and went and went then he was close by ...

- (21) *?e wawi-ra ?umu-a-te ...*
 D old man-TOP die-3SG-DS
 That old man died ...

4.2.2 Transitive

Transitive verbs have two core arguments, the subject (A) and the object (O).

- (22) *Na-ou-wa?ase-fe-e-na* *?e-e!*
 2SG-pierce-nearly-TR/PERF-1/2SG-SUB D-EXCLAM
 I nearly shot you!

⁶ Di-transitive verb stems are derived with the auxiliary *-fe-*; see 4.2.6.

⁷ The verbs *mai-* and *mepi-* refer to ascending and descending motion toward the speaker. To refer to motion away from the speaker, compounds are used, i.e., *mai yate-* ‘go up’, *mepi yate-* ‘go down’.

- (23) *Ipai feti-pa tu-a-te ...*
 arrow sharpen-SS give-3SG-DS
 She sharpened an arrow and gave it to him ...

4.2.3 Ambitransitive

There are many S/O ambitransitive verbs in Tauya. Examples include *poru-* ‘fall out, pull s.t. out’; *ferai-* ‘unwind (s.t.), untie (s.t.), unroll (s.t.)’; *topu-* ‘swell, plant s.t.’; *afai-* ‘gather together, pile s.t. up’; *tes-* ‘bend (s.t.), fold (s.t.)’.

- (24) *Amena maʔa poru-a-ʔa.*
 breast tooth fall out-3SG-IND
 His baby teeth fell out.
- (25) *ʔufiya nen-pi wame poru-pa ni-pa ...*
 sweet potato 3PL-GEN what pull out-SS eat-SS
 They pulled out their sweet potatoes and things and ate ...
- (26) *Moʔo ferai-ferai-a-te ...*
 vine unwind/REDUP-3SG-DS
 As the vine was unwinding ...
- (27) *ʔe-ra ferai-pa oʔonou-pa...*
 D-TOP untie-SS collect-SS
 He untied those [bandicoots] and collected them ...

4.2.4 Impersonal

Many physiological and psychological states are expressed with impersonal verbs. These verbs have the surface forms of transitive verbs: the experiencer is marked by a proclitic and the verb is invariably inflected for a 3sg. A. However, no independent subject NP can be included in the clause.

- (28) *Na-sapu-a-ʔa.*
 2SG-ashamed-3SG-IND
 You are ashamed.

- (29) *Ya-sepame-a-ʔa.*
 1SG-sick-3SG-IND
 I am sick.

4.2.5 Imperative

Two intransitive verbs are attested which only occur in the imperative, *k^we-* ‘try’ and *si-* ‘get out of the way’. Whereas imperative forms of other verbs are in the future tense, *k^we-* and *si-* are always used in the aorist tense.

- (30) *K^we-ene!*
 try-2PL
 Try!

- (31) *Na si-e!*
 2SG get out of the way-1/2SG
 You get out of the way!

The intransitive verb *ari-* ‘come on’ is also restricted to the imperative mood but this verb is always used in the future tense.

- (32) *Ya-ra ʔiʔapa fofe-e-ʔa. Ari-a-e!*
 1SG-TOP like that come-1/2SG-IND come on-2SG.FUT-IMP
 I came like that. Come on!

4.2.6 Verb Stem Derivation

Many verb stems in Tauya have no internal structure, e.g., *pomu-* v.intr. ‘fall over’, *ni-* v.tr. ‘eat s.t., drink s.t., smoke s.t.’, *eʔi-* v.tr. ‘make s.t.’, *ʔinau-* v.ambi-tr. ‘snap off, snap s.t. off’, *-sapu-* v.impers. ‘be ashamed, embarrassed, shy’, etc. Other verbs are derived by suffixation or compounding, or with the transitive/perfective auxiliary *-fe-*.

Three derivational suffixes found on verbs are not synchronically productive; their status as suffixes is suggested by the fact that they are omitted in reduplication. The suffix *-ne-* is fairly common, particularly on intransitive verbs: *momune-* ‘sit’, *ʔutine-* ‘fall down’, *piyarene-* ‘clear up (of air)’, etc. The suffixes *-me-* and *-fe-* (cognate with *-mo* and *-fo*, see 4.1.3.) are found on both intransitive and impersonal verbs: *nunume-* v.intr. ‘be red, be ripe’, *wame-* v.intr. ‘grow up’, *-sepame-*

v.impers. ‘be sick’, *-oname-* v.impers. ‘be hungry’, *amufe-* v.intr. ‘be large’, *-ʔisafe-* v.impers. ‘be angry’, *-ʔoraife-* v.impers. ‘not want s.t., be tired of s.t.’.

A few intransitive and transitive verbs are derived from nouns with the suffix *-ti-*: *wesaʔati-* v.intr. ‘turn over’ (cf. *wesaʔa* n. ‘other side, other end’), *wameti-* v.tr. ‘do something’ (cf. *wame* interrog. pro. ‘what?’).

Compounding of verb stems is a productive process in Tauya, e.g. *ʔini-pou-fe-* v.intr. ‘sleep until dawn’ (sleep-dawn-Tr/Perf), *epi-porone-* v.tr. ‘divide with feet’ (stand-share). *ʔu-tei-* v.tr. ‘dig from ground by hand’ (dig-grasp), etc.

There is a variety of generic verbs in Tauya, i.e., semantically bleached verb roots which combine with nouns to create more specific meanings. For example:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (33) | <i>saniya</i> n. ‘work’ | <i>te-</i> v.tr. ‘get s.t.’ | <i>saniya te-</i> ‘work’ |
| | <i>wimo</i> n. ‘hair’ | | <i>wimo te-</i> ‘steal’ |
| | <i>mune</i> n. ‘song’ | | <i>mune te-</i> ‘sing’ |
| | <i>po</i> n. ‘word’ | <i>fei-</i> v.tr. ‘boil s.t.’ | <i>po fei-</i> ‘talk’ |
| | <i>mi</i> n. ‘thought’ | | <i>mi fei-</i> ‘think’ |
| | <i>ʔori</i> n. ‘trap’ | | <i>ʔori fei-</i> ‘check traps’ |

A number of impersonal verbs are derived with the generic verb *-ʔofe-* following an intransitive verb root. *-ʔofe-* is cognate with the inalienable noun *-ʔofo* ‘belly’:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|
| (34) | <i>yei-</i> v.intr. ‘[wind] blows’ | <i>yei -ʔofe-</i> ‘feel cold’ |
| | <i>kororo-</i> v.intr. ‘flow down’ | <i>kororo -ʔofe-</i> ‘need to urinate’ |
| | <i>ʔeri-</i> v.intr. ‘fear’ | <i>ʔeri -ʔofe-</i> ‘feel afraid’ |

The auxiliary verb *-fe-* is very productive in verb derivation. Its primary function is to increase the valency of a verb. For example, it derives transitive/causative verbs from intransitive verb roots, e.g., *ʔumu-* ‘die’, *ʔumu -fe-* ‘kill s.o.’; *ʔini-* ‘lie down, sleep’, *ʔini -fe-* ‘knock s.o. down’; *momune-* ‘sit’, *momune -fe-* ‘sit s.o. down’; *ʔatou-* ‘arrive’, *ʔatou -fe-* ‘create s.t., introduce s.t.’. *-Fe-* also derives causative verbs from impersonal verb roots, e.g., *-ʔisafe-* ‘be angry’, *ʔisafe -fe-* ‘make s.o. angry’; *-sepame-* ‘be sick’, *sepame -fe-* ‘make s.o. sick’, and ditransitive verbs from transitive verb roots, e.g., *-te-* ‘get s.o./s.t.’, *-te -fe-* ‘get s.o./s.t. for s.o.’; *eʔi-* ‘make s.t.’, *eʔi -fe-* ‘make s.t. for s.o.’; *ʔepi-* ‘fasten s.t. on own arm/leg’, *ʔepi -fe-* ‘fasten s.t. on s.o.’s arm/leg’. When added to transitive verbs which occur with non-human objects, it can derive verbs which occur with human objects, e.g. *sotou-* ‘bury s.t.’, *sotou -fe-* ‘bury s.o.’; *epetati-* ‘push s.t.’, *epetati -fe-* ‘push s.o.’. The auxiliary *-fe-* is also used in the derivation of a handful of impersonal verbs, e.g., *inimo -fe-* ‘taste pleasant to’; *neʔe -fe-* ‘belch’, *noumo -fe-* ‘be itchy’, *pitane*

-fe- ‘crave s.t.’⁸ and is occasionally added to transitive verbs borrowed from Tok Pisin, e.g., *onim -fe-* ‘turn s.t. on’; *rewainim -fe-* ‘rewind s.t.’, *winim -fe-* ‘win s.t., prevail over s.o.’.

Along with its derivational function, the auxiliary *-fe-* marks perfective aspect on transitive verbs (see 5.2.).

4.3 Adjectives

Although adjectives in Tauya typically follow the noun which they modify, they do occasionally precede it:

- (35) *ʔite amoʔo* vs. *amoʔo yene*
 garden new/live new/live bird
 new gardens live birds

Many adjectives function independently as nouns; others are strictly adjectival.

Some adjectives have no apparent internal structure, e.g., *amoʔo* ‘new/live’, *orou* ‘long, tall’, *ifiri* ‘wild, undomesticated’, *itire* ‘ragged, run-down’. The non-derived adjectives generally have strictly adjectival function.

Other adjectives can function independently as nouns; the majority of these include one of two derivational suffixes, *-mo* or *-fo* (cf. 4.1.3.). Examples include, *amufo* ‘large (one)’, *fomafo* ‘short (one)’, *ʔufumo* ‘heavy, weight’, *nunumo* ‘red (one), ripe (one)’, etc.

- (36) *sene ʔufumo*
 stone heavy
 heavy stone

- (37) *ʔufumo saʔane-ti-a-ʔa.*
 heavy intensive-PERF-3SG-IND
 The weight was extreme.

8 The transitive/perfective auxiliary *-fe-* is distinct from the derivational suffix *-fe-* on impersonal verbs (see above). For impersonal verbs with the derivational suffix, the proclitic marking the experiencer is added to the verb stem; for those derived with the auxiliary, the proclitic is added to the auxiliary; see 5.1.1.

Adjectives can be derived from nouns with the suffix *-ʔamu*, ‘with, characterized by’. This process is fully productive.

(38) *fenaʔa fanu-ʔamu*
 woman man-with
 married woman

(39) *wawi neme ʔuruna-ʔamu*
 old man head hole-with
 old man with a hole in his head

Of the six colour terms in Tauya, four are derived with *-ʔamu*: *inaomoʔamu* ‘red’ (*inaomo* n. ‘blood’), *ʔ^wereiʔamu* ‘yellow’ (*ʔ^werei* n. a kind of root which yields yellow dye), *amo wemoʔamu* ‘green’ (*amo wemo* n. ‘tree-leaf’), *umumuʔamu* ‘green, blue’ (*umumu*, unidentified). The remaining two colour terms are intransitive verbs: *apou-* v.intr. ‘be white’, *pusitime-* v.intr. ‘be black, be brown, be dirty’.

4.4 Adverbs

4.4.1 Manner Adverbs

There is a variety of manner adverbs in Tauya, e.g., *ʔafaʔu* ‘together’, *aʔafo* ‘expectantly’, *peima* ‘carefully, quietly’, *satiyafo* ‘quickly’, *soromu* ‘without purpose/direction’, *fapa* ‘(hunt) without dogs’, etc.

(40) *ʔafaʔu firo-i-ʔa.*
 together roam-3PL-IND
 They roamed around together.

(41) *Aʔafo yate mene-e-ʔa.*
 expectantly go be-1/2SG-IND
 I went and stayed, expecting something.

Some manner adverbs are derived as same-subject coordinate medial verbs with the SS medial verb suffix *-pa* (see 6.2.1.), for example *sisine-pa* ‘forcefully’,

nisine-pa ‘diligently’. Two such adverbs have been lexicalized, *ʔiʔapa* ‘like that’ and *maʔapa* ‘like this’⁹:

- (42) *ʔiʔapa-ʔe ʔai-i-te ...*
 like that-D do-3PL-DS
 They did it like that ...

The suffix *-sisi* derives manner adverbs from noun roots.

- (43) *Kiyorifa-sisi fetaʔiri-we-a-na...*
 cassowary-like flop-CON-3SG-SUB
 He flopped around briefly like a cassowary ...
- (44) *Totu-sisi oʔonou-pa...*
 fence-like collect-SS
 He collected [bandicoots] as if they were fence [posts] ...

4.4.2 Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs in Tauya include *ʔ^wisa* ‘after, later’, *aifu* ‘a while ago’, *apu* ‘today’, *pate* ‘tomorrow’, *omo* ‘still’, *iteite* ‘always’, *niʔisana* ‘long ago’, etc.

- (45) *Aifu Frainde-ʔai-ra ...*
 a while ago Friday-A/A-TOP
 A while ago, on Friday ...
- (46) *ʔ^wisa ʔiʔapa ʔai-a-fe-ra ...*
 after like that do-2SG.FUT-DS-TOP
 After you do it like that ...

4.4.3 Spatial Adverbs

Most forms expressing location in Tauya are inherently locative nouns or nouns inflected with locative case suffixes. However there are some adverbs which

⁹ The adverbs *ʔiʔapa* and *maʔapa* are derived as *ʔe/me - ʔai - pa*, i.e., a deictic pronoun followed by the verb *ʔai-* ‘do’ inflected as a same-subject coordinate medial verb.

express location, most of which appear to be derived from nouns, e.g., *amufi* ‘close’ (cf. *amufo* n./adj. ‘large (one)’), *sautu* ‘on the road, on the path’ (cf. *sa* n. ‘road, path’), *oʔotei* ‘outside’ (cf. *oʔosi* n. ‘ground’), *yaʔatei* ‘near the river’ (cf. *yaʔe* n. ‘water, river’).

(47) *Amufi fofe-pa ...*
close come-SS
He came close.

(48) *Sautu paʔo-e-ʔa.*
on road encounter-1/2SG-IND
I encountered him on the road

4.5 Postpositions

4.5.1 *wase* and *neri*

Two nominal postpositions are cognate with transitive verb roots. *Wase* ‘for’, in the sense of ‘hunt for, search for’, is cognate with the verb *wase-* ‘watch for s.o./s.t.’. The postposition *neri*, which is attested in only a single example, designates items to be traded and is cognate with the verb *neri-* ‘buy s.t., trade s.t.’.

These two postpositions are likely derived from the cognate transitive verbs in serial verb constructions, i.e. NP V → NP POSTPOSITION. Although synchronically in Tauya only the four basic intransitive verbs of motion occur as uninflected serial verbs (see 8.1.), serial verbs are a common source for nominal postpositions cross-linguistically (Heine, Claudi and Hünne Meyer 1991).

In most contexts *wase* and *neri* are virtually indistinguishable from serial verbs:

(49) *Samo wase panei wase yene wase yate-pa ...*
sago grub POST bandicoot POST bird POST go-SS
He went [hunting] for sago grubs, bandicoots and birds ...

(50) *Awa Sasime ʔe-sa pai neri sema neri yatifofuse-i-ʔa*
D-A/A pig POST pot POST go back and forth-3PL-IND
Awa and Sasime [people] went back and forth at that place, [trading] pigs and pots.