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Preliminary studies in the Moni language. (New Guinea)

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PRELIMINARY STUDIES IN THE MONI LANGUAGE

Introduction.

Moni is a language spoken by an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Negritoes of central Netherlands New Guinea, located some 10 to 70 miles northeast of the Wissel Lakes. The name *Moni*, the name of the tribe as given by *Kapauku* (a neighboring tribe) informants, is more correctly, *Migani*, as given by *Moni* informants. The term *Moni* is here used because of its more popular usage with the foreigner.

The writers have been studying *Moni* for about 21 months. While they are indebted to Rev. and Mrs. William Cutts, missionary-linguists, for access to their word-expression file, a series of Bible story booklets, and a number of tape recordings in *Moni*, the writers nevertheless assume full responsibility for all data and conclusions of this paper.* The *Moni* informants have all been men or boys ranging from about 15 to 35 years of age, and of the dialect as spoken in the *Kemandoga* valley. This work is done under the auspices of the Christian and Missionary Alliance.

The paper on *Moni Phonemes* is a revision of the paper, *A Tentative Statement on the Phonemes of Moni*, written and submitted to members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during the summer of 1953. Mr. John Crawford of the same institution has in turn criticized the first paper and the writers have made corrections accordingly.

The second paper, *A Tentative Statement on Moni Morphology*, is a revision of a paper by the same title written and submitted to Dr. E. Nida of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Dr. J. C. Anceaux of the Royal Institute for Anthropology and Linguistics, Hague, Holland in 1954. Each has in turn criticized the first paper and the writers

* The writers are also indebted to Dr. J. V. de Bruyn for access to his word file of the *Moni* language which he compiled before World War II on survey trips through *Moni* territory as District Officer of the Wissel Lakes area of Central Netherlands New Guinea.

have made corrections accordingly. It is to be noted that for purposes of orthography the symbols choosen to represent the phonemes in this paper on Morphology are the same as those presently used among the Moni tribe in the Kemandoga valley. They deviate from the description given in the paper on *Moni Phonemes* on the following points: *g* and *j*, submembers of /k/ and /z/ respectively, are written with separate symbols, /v/ is changed to *w*, and vowel stress and nasalization are not written because of their infrequent occurrence.

Postscript December 1957.

Since the second revision of these two articles, *Moni Phonemes*, and *A Tentative Statement on Moni Morphology*, Dr. William A. Smalley of the American Bible Society and Myron Bromley, fellow missionary-linguist of the Baliem valley, Netherlands New Guinea, have pointed out some minor suggested changes, some of which were made in the final draft, and one we mention here. This latter suggestion pertains to section 2.11.22.2 of *Morphology* and footnote 5 of *Moni phonemes*. The "close-knit and loose-knit" compounding of words is probably best understood if we assume Moni has a phoneme of juncture. However, since this juncture contrast can only be proven to occur when Moni intonation patterns are more fully analyzed, especially intonation stress patterns, we here postulate the juncture phoneme /-/ as tentative and to be described in the future.

The writers regret that Moni syntax is not yet written. This is due to the fact that our field assignments have been in linguistic survey and initial analysis of dialects of other languages of central Netherlands New Guinea to the east of Wisselmeren, especially Woda (or Wolani), Uhunduni, and Lani (of the Dani stock) since 1955.

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I. MONI PHONEMES.

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1.0 FORMATIONAL STATEMENT.

Moni has nineteen segmental phonemes: /p, b, mb,¹ t, d, nd, k, ng, m, n, v, z, s, h, i, e, a, o, u/; and two vowel suprasegmental phonemes: stress and nasalization, indicated by /' / and /, / respectively.

1.1 Segmental Phonemes.

1.11 Consonants: All non-vocoids; ² all vocoids occurring, either following another vocoid of the same quality or word initial, and preceding a more syllabic vocoid.

1.11.1 Stops: A series of (1) voiced, (2) voiceless aspirated, and (3) homorganic nasal plus voiced stops ³ occur bilabial and alveolar, the latter two of which (2,3) occur also velar, as follows:

- (1) /b,d/ (b,d),⁴ /boka/ ('bogwa) 'book, fetish', /doka/ ('dogwa) 'having taken'; (2) /p,t,k/ (p^h, t^h, k^h), /pi/ (p^hi) 'native waist band or belt', /ti/ (t^hi) 'fear', /ki/ (k^hi) '2nd pr. pl. benefactive pronoun'; (3) /mb, nd, ng/ (mb, nd, ng) /'mbaku/ ('mbagu) 'hair', /ndaka/ ('ndaga) 'was made', /ngaka/ ('ngaga) 'in'.

The voiceless aspirated velar stop (k^h) of /k/ occurs only word initial or initial of the second half of a semi-bound ⁵ repetitive word; elsewhere

¹ /mb, nd, ng/ are regarded as single phonemes.

² By "vocoid" the writers mean, "A sound during which the air escapes from the mouth over the center of the tongue without friction in the mouth, i.e., a central resonant oral" (*Phonemics*, Pike, K., p. 253).

³ or "homorganic voiced stop released nasals".

⁴ Letters within parenthesis represent phonetic norms of the phonemes.

⁵ By "semi-bound" the writers mean, "bound by morphemic or syntactic distribution but not subject to normal allophonic and morphophonemic occurrence".

allophones voiced velar stop (g) freely fluctuating with voiced velar fricative (ɣ) occur:

/kiki/ ('k^higi) ('k^higi) 'cowrie shell, money', /ki-ki/ ('k^hi'k^hi) 'sand which has or is stirring around as in water', /ko-kai/ ('k^ho'k^həi) 'name of bird that makes a "ko,ko" sound', /ka/ (k^ha) '2nd pr. sg. benefactive pronoun', /aka/ ('aga) '2nd pr. sg. subj.-obj.-poss. pronoun', /oko/ ('ogo) ('ogo) '3rd pr. sg. subj.-obj.-poss. pronoun'.

The homorganic nasals of /mb, nd, ng/ occur shortened utterance initial, and somewhat lengthened utterance medial:

/mbai/ ('^mbai) 'forbidden', /aumba/ ('əumba) 'far away when referring to people', /ndae/ ('ⁿdae) 'you move over', /emondani/ ('emo'ndani) 'sun', /ngae/ ('ⁿgae) 'to not want', /okoti ngaeo/ ('ogóti 'ŋ:gaeo) 'he said he did not want it'.

Voiced bilabial and alveolar stops with egressive pharynx air (b') and (d') may occur in utterance initial syllable as allophones of /b/ and /d/, freely fluctuating with (b) and (d) respectively; /d/, besides (d) and (d'), has voiced alveolar lateral (l), lateral affricated (dl), and flap (ɾ) as allophones: (l) and (dl) occur only utterance medial and freely fluctuate; (ɾ) occurs only between identical high front vowels /i/ utterance medial, freely fluctuating with (l) and (dl); (d) occurs only utterance medial preceding high front vowel /i/ freely fluctuating with (l) and (dl), and elsewhere:

/beka/ ('bega) ('b'ega) 'bird', /dabe/ ('dabe) ('d'abe) 'tongue', /ada/ ('ala) ('adla) 'skin', /idi/ ('iɾi) ('ili) ('idli) 'five', /mbode diza/ ('^mbole 'diya) ('^mbole 'liya) 'to fight, make war'.

Palatalization and labialization of velar stops /k/ and /ng/ occur as follows: (1) Palatalized (g^y and k^y) and (ŋg^y) occur immediately following the vowel sequence /ai/, and (2) labialized (g^w and k^w) and (ŋg^w) occur immediately following high or mid back rounded vowels /u/ or /o/, either of which, (1) or (2), freely fluctuates with (k^h) and (ŋg) respectively when the occurrence is following word or semi-bound word-medial juncture:

(1) /aika/ ('əig^ya) 'sky, heavens', /hainga/ ('həing^ya) 'thought, perf. action', /mai ka/ ('məi k^ha) 'this ground', /mai ngaka/ (məi 'ŋgaga) ('məi 'ŋg^yaga), (2) /boka/ ('bog^wa) 'book, fetish', /hongaiza/ ('hoŋg^waiya) 'to open as a door', /zu ka/ ('zu k^wa)

(^hzu k^ha) 'this boy', /du ngaka/ (^hdu ^hgaga) (^hdu ^hg^waga) 'in the water', /ko-kai/ (^hk^ho^hk^wəi) (^hk^ho^hk^həi) 'name of bird that makes sound of "ko, ko" '.

1.11.2 Fricatives: Voiced bilabial and voiced and voiceless alveolar fricatives /v/ (b), and /z,s/ (z,s) occur:

/vitiza/ (bⁱt^hiya) 'to descend', /ziniza/ ('ziniya) 'to twist', /sini/ ('sini) 'name of reddish colored tree'.

Alveopalatal allophones (ž) and (š) occur only immediately preceding high close back rounded vowels /u/ and freely fluctuate with (z) and (s) respectively:

/zu/ (žu) (zu) 'boy', /susu/ ('šušu) ('susu) 'help, to assist'.

The allophones of /v/ are as follows: voiced bilabial fricative (b) occurs only preceding front vowels /i/ or /e/, high open back rounded vocoid (u) occurs only between word medial center vowels /a/, high close vocoid (u) or vocoid glide (w) occurs elsewhere:

/vi/ (bi) 'husband', /zava/ ('zʌʌ) 'ear', /va/ (wa) 'taro'.

The allophones other than (ž) of (z) are as follows: high open front non-syllabic vocoid (ɪ) occurs only word medial following mid back or center vowels /o/ or /a/ and preceding /o/ or /a/,⁶ high close front vocoid (i) or vocoid glide (y) occurs following high front or back vowels /i/ or /u/ and preceding /a/, (z) occurs elsewhere:

/hozaiza/ ('ho^hʌiya) 'to choose', /ho zaiza/ ('ho ^hzəiya) 'to advise or warn', /izi/ ('izi) 'sugar cane', /daizoko/ (dʌiyogo) 'if (it) has been'.

1.11.3 Nasals: Bilabial and alveolar voiced nasals /m, n/ (m, n) occur. Palatalized (n^ʲ) occurs only immediately following the vowel sequence /ai/, freely fluctuating with (n); (n) occurs elsewhere:

/mi/ (mi) 'who?' /ni/ (ni) 'younger brother', /mai nuva/ 'māi n^ʲuwa) ('māi 'nuwa) 'to intend to eat the ground, as a pig'.

1.11.4 Non-syllabic Vocoids: Voiceless high front and back, mid front,

⁶ At present the writers have not discovered final evidence as to whether or not the vocoid sequences (ɛʌ) and (oʌ) must always be interpreted as a sequence of two vowels /ea/ and /oa/, which they are in this paper, or a sequence of /eja/ and /owa/, in the light of the two VV and CVC syllable patterns.

center and back vocoids (I, U, E, A, O) of /h/ each occur immediately preceding their respective voiced vowels of the same quality:

/hiza/ ('Iiya) 'two', /hedo/ ('Eelo) 'three', /hane/ ('Λane) 'hand',
/hu/ (Uu) 'flesh, fine burnt ashes of a fire', /ho/ (Oo) 'room'.

1.12 Vowels: All single vocoids; all two vocoid clusters occurring other than word initial; the two most syllabic vocoids of a three vocoid cluster; all vocoids of a two or three vocoid cluster when each seems to be equally syllabic.

All vowels may occur slightly nasalized when occurring immediately preceding or following nasals or preceding homorganic plus stops as follows:

/mene/ ('mɛɲɛ) 'people, person', /bamba/ ('bʌɲba) ('bʌɲba) 'fat, greese', /ama/ ('ʌma) ('ʌma) 'mother'.

1.12.1 Front Vowels: High and mid front unrounded vocoids /i, e/ (i, e) occur as follows:

1.12.11 /i/ is normally high close (i), however high open (ɪ) occurs only immediately preceding velar stops /k, ŋ/ freely fluctuating with (i):

/pita/ ('pʰitʰa) 'first', /i/ (i) 'house', /mbikiki/ ('ᵐbɪgɪgɪ) 'Jew's harp', /hingiza/ (hʌŋgiya) 'to burn'.

1.12.12 /e/ is normally mid-semi-close front vocoid (e↓), however, mid open (ɛ) occurs only word initial immediately preceding consonants, immediately following velar stops, preceding or following center vowel /a/, and utterance final syllable, freely fluctuating with (e↓); mid close (e) occurs only immediately following bilabial stops freely fluctuating with (e↓); (e↓) elsewhere:

/mene/ ('me↓ne↓) 'people, person', /eze/ ('ɛɛɛ) ('e↓ze↓) 'name',
/kebava/ (kʰɛ'ɛbʌwa) (kʰe↓'bʌwa) 'baby', /pea/ (pʰɛa) ('pʰe↓a)
'white', /me/ ('mɛ) (me↓) 'come' /beka/ ('bega) ('be↓ga) 'bird'.

1.12.2 Center Vowel: /a/ is normally voiced mid open central unrounded vocoid (ʌ), however, low open front (a) occurs only utterance final, freely fluctuating with (ʌ); mid close central (ə) occurs only immediately preceding high close front or back vowels /i/ or /u/; (ʌ) occurs elsewhere:

/ama/ ('ʌma) 'mother, breast', /aka/ ('ʌga) 'you, your',
/aumba/ ('əumba) 'far away', /aita/ ('əita) 'father'.

1.12.3 Back Vowels: High and mid back rounded vocoids /u, o/ (u, o) occur. /u/ is normally high close (u), however, high open (u) may occur immediately following vowel /a/, freely fluctuating with (u):

/auma/ ('əuma) ('əuma) 'uncle on mother's side', /kunu/ ('kʰunu) 'cloud', /koma/ ('kʰoma) 'boat'.

1.2 Suprasegmental Phonemes.⁷

1.21 Vowel Stress /'/. The following minimal contrasts exhibit the occurrence of phonemic stress with at least the two vowels /i/ and /a/, the pitch level of each when stressed is raised:

/ui/ (ui) 'gourd when growing', /ui/ (ui) '3rd pr. pl. pronoun';
/koa/ ('kʰoa) 'walking cane', /koá/ (kʰóá) 'a jungle nut'.

1.22 Vowel Nasalization /,/. The following contrasts exhibit the occurrence of phonemic vowel nasalization:

/ae/ ('ae) 'life', /ʌʌ/ ('ʌʌ) 'to call as a pig by its master'; /hozaiza/ (ho'ʌiya) 'to choose', /hɔzɔ/ ('hɔɔ) 'name of large white bird';
/hɔzɔ-hɔɔ/ ('ɪɪyɔ'ʌʌ) 'to be confused', /hiza/ ('ɪiya) 'two'.

2.0 DISTRIBUTIONAL STATEMENT.

Distribution of the phonemes is in relation to the syllable. A syllable consists of a single vowel, a sequence of two vowels, or a sequence of three seemingly equally syllabic vowels, the vowel or sequences of which may be preceded by a consonant: V, VV, VVV, CV, CVV, CVVV. Each single vowel syllable has potential stress placement, and each two or three vowel sequence syllable has actual stress placement either initially or on the mid-vowel /a/:

/i/ 'house', /ae/ ('ae) 'life', /iui/ ('iui) 'to be sick in the stomach',
/eae/ (e'ae) 'you pour it, as water', /bo/ 'wood, tree', /boa/ ('boa)
(bo'a) 'snake', /boao/ (bo'ao) 'a snake, as said in response to
some-one'.

⁷ Lenis and fortis syllable stress, length of vowel, raised pitch, and rising and falling glides are phonemic in *Moni* intonation. These, and vowel stress and nasalization, are not intended to be written in *Moni* orthography, except where diacritical markings will be adequate. See discussion in forthcoming paper, *A Tentative Statement on Moni Syntax on Moni intonation.*

2.1 Distribution of Vowels: There are no limitations in V syllable; may occur in any two-vowel sequence except high plus mid or mid plus high vowels /ie, io, ue, uo, ei, eu, oi, ou/; may occur in any mid-center-mid three vowel sequence and the high vowel sequence /iui/; no limitations following consonants; examples of the three vowel sequences are as follows:

/veao/ 'I don't know', /zoae/ 'you build', /eae/ 'pour', /boao/ 'snake', /iui/ 'a stomach ache'.

2.2 Distribution of Consonants: There are no limitations.

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II. A TENTATIVE STATEMENT ON MONI MORPHOLOGY.

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1.0 MORPHOPHONEMICS.

The following intra-morphemic reduction, adjunction, and assimilation of vowel and consonant clusters occur:

1.1 Vowel and Consonant Reduction.

1.11 A sequence of identical vowels, the latter of which may be preceded by *h*, reduce to a single vowel of the same quality:

zamba 'he cut it' (< *zamba-* 'to cut' + *-ga* 'completed action'),
timudi 'lightening bug' (< *timu* 'darkness' + *udi* 'a kind of bug'),
uija '3rd pr. dual pronoun' (< *ui* 'they, 3rd pr. pl.' + *hija* 'two').

1.12 A sequence of two, non-identical, other than word-initial syllable, vowels, occurring (1) verb medial, the first of which is not *a*,⁸ or (2) other than verb-medial, the second of which is not *a* and may be preceded by *h*, reduce to the (1) second, or (2) first vowel respectively:

(1) *asugija* 'to have peace' (< *asugu-* 'to have peace' + *-ija* 'indicative'), *zinuwa* 'to intend to turn' (< *zini-* 'to turn' + *-uwa* 'intention'), *zina* 'having turned' (< *zini-* 'to turn' + *-a* 'perf.'),
 (2) *dudumba* 'head ache' (< *dudu* 'sound as of the heart beat' + *imba* 'pain'), *zandomo* 'up country' (< *zando* 'upward' + *emo* 'atmosphere, country'), *madado* 'bow string' (< *mada* 'arrow' + *hodo* 'jungle rope').

1.13 A sequence of two consonants, the latter of which is *g*, reduces to the first consonant:

dota 'taken' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-ga* 'remote past tense'), *duginda* 'I will take it' (< *dugind-* 'will take' + *-ga* '1st person subject').

1.2 Vowel Adjunction.

A sequence of a consonant or the vowel *a* plus the consonant *nd* or *n* results in the interposed occurrence of the vowel *i*:

⁸ Except that *i* plus *u* does not always reduce to *u* verb medial with some speakers: *iniuwa* or *inuwa* 'to intend to see' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-uwa* 'intention.').

dugindi 'he will take it' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-ndi* '3rd pr. sg. subj., future'), *duginu* 'he wants you to take it' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-nu* 'intention by other than subject of sentence'), *zambainde* 'you will cut it' (< *zamba-* 'to cut' + *-nde* '2nd pr. sg., fut. tense').

1.3 Vowel and Consonant Assimilation.

1.31 Partial regressive vowel assimilation of the patterns (1) V1(C) + (C)V2 > V1↓ (C) + (C)V2 or (2) V1CV1 + V2 > V1↓ C + V2 occur⁹ when high vowels *i* or *u* of class 1, II-3 or II-2 verb stems are followed by syllable with mid or mid-low vowels *o*, *e* or *a*, to the lowering of the high vowels to mid *e* or *o* respectively:¹⁰

mea 'having come' (< *mi-* 'to come' + *-a* 'perfect action'), *toe* 'be!' (< *tu-* 'to be' + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. imperative'), *doga* 'having taken' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-a* 'perf. act.'), *mendogo* 'if he arrives' (< *mind-* 'to arrive' + *-ogo* 'condition'), *soga* 'having brightened' (< *sugu-* 'to brighten' + *-a* 'perf.'), *tonda* 'I will be' (< *tu-* 'to be' + *-nda* '1st pr. sg. subj., fut.').

1.32 Regressive assimilation, and reduction, occur in the sequence of an alveolar or velar stop *t*, *nd*, or *g*, plus, either the sequence of the bilabial fricative *w* plus high front vowel *i*, or high back rounded vowel *u*, to the loss of the fricative *w* and the assimilation of the alveolar or velar stop to the point of articulation of the bilabial fricative and the rounding of the back vowel as follows:

mimbitau 'to have not yet given it to him' (< *mind-* 'to give to the 3rd pr. obj.' + *-witau* 'incomplete action'), *hipurwa* 'to intend to become' (< *hit-* 'to become' + *-urwa* 'intention'), *wapurwa* 'to intend to shoot' (< *wag-* 'to shoot' + *-urwa* 'intention').

2.0 MORPHOLOGY PROPER.

The distribution of the morphemes within words distinguishes six principle word classes: (1) nouns, (2) verbs, (3) attributives, (4) pronouns, (5) numerals, and (6) particles.

⁹ V, 1, C, 2, and ↓ stand for vowel, first, consonant, second, and lowered respectively.

¹⁰ Except that with *di-* 'to make, be', vowel reduction occurs as with class III-1 verb stems (cf. 1.12(1)), except for *denda* 'I will make' (< *di-* + *-nda* '1st pr. sg. subj., fut.') and *dende* 'you will make' (< *di* + *-nde* '2nd pr. sg. subj., fut.').

2.1 Nouns.

2.11 Derivation of Nouns.

2.11.1 Simple Nouns:

bo 'tree, wood', *ae* 'life', *baga* 'tooth', *mbadagai* 'sweet potatoes'.

2.11.2 Derived Nouns.

Nouns are derived by suffixation and compounding.

2.11.21 Nouns Derived by Suffixation.

2.11.21.1 1st Order Derivational Noun Suffixes expressing (1) location, (2) family or clan relationships, and (3) miscellaneous meanings occur.

2.11.21.11 Locational Suffixes.

The locational suffixes (1) *-age* 'inside of', (2) *-ea* 'within, as a native carrying bag', (3) *-sigi* 'disposal area', (4) *-abu* 'river, tributary', (5) *-ndoga* 'valley', (6) *-siga* 'pertaining to a village area', and, (7) *-tadi* 'pertaining to a village area, as on a hill top', occur with nouns (1) *i* 'house', (2) *ombo* 'carrying bag', and (3) *ba* 'dung' respectively, and (4)–(7) proper noun roots as follows:

(1) *iage* 'inside the house' (< *i* 'house' + *-age*), (2) *ombea*¹¹ 'in the carrying bag' (< *ombo* 'carrying bag' + *-ea*), (3) *basigi* 'toilet' (< *ba* 'dung' + *-sigi*), (4) *Kemabu* 'Kema river' (< *Kema* + *-abu*), (5) *Kemandoga* 'Kema valley' (< *Kema-* + *-ndoga*), (6) *Moesiga* 'name of village' (< *Moe-* + *-siga*), (7) *Debatadi-pa* 'name of village' (< *Deba-* + *tadi* + *pa* 'on').

2.11.21.12 Family and Clan Relationship Suffixes.

The family and clan relationship suffixes (1) *-mugu* 'children other than first born', (2) *-wa* 'blood brother-sister relationship', (3) *-mbi* 'older sister relationship (?)',¹² (4) *-mau* 'pertaining to brother-sister or parent-child relationship (?)', (5) *-ta* 'pertaining to the father', and (6) *-au* 'pertaining to the clan', occur with nouns (1)–(4), the noun stem *ai-* 'upward, superior', (5), and (6) proper noun roots respectively as follows:

¹¹ This is the only occurrence known of *o* + *ea* > *ea*.

¹² *-mbi* also occurs with *oa* '3rd pr. sg. fem. pronoun with apparent meaning of 'ability to produce offspring': *oambi* 'fertile female with reference to animals'.

- (1) *zumugu* 'male children other than the first born' (< *zu* 'boy' + *-mugu*), (2) *niwa* 'younger brother', (< *ni* 'younger brother' + *-wa*), (3) *nambi* 'older sister' (< *na* 'younger sister, sister' + *-mbi*), (4) *nazumau* '2nd daughter' (< *nazu* 'older brother or sister' + *-mau*), (5) *aita* 'father' (< *ai-* 'superior' + *-ta*), (6) *Hodombeau* 'name of clan' (< *Hodombe-* + *-au*).

2.11.21.13 Miscellaneous Suffixes.

The suffixes (1) *-tapu* 'sharp or pointed', (2) *-tata* 'chip of', (3) *-sogo* 'food grasping', (4) *-ngu* 'with heavy foliage', (5) *-ga* 'abstractivizer', and (6) *-agi* 'half, one side of, when with body parts', occur with classes I and IV nouns. The mid-vowels *e* and *o*, when occurring noun-final and in sequence with the *a* of *-agi* are lost except *segoagi* 'chin' (< *sego* 'chin' + *-agi*):

- (1) *botapu* 'sharp stick' (< *bo* 'wood' + *-tapu*), (2) *botata* 'chip of wood' (< *bo* + *-tata*), (3) *koasogo* 'impliment to pick up food or hot stones' (< *koa* 'cane' + *-sogo*), (4) *daungu* 'dau tree with heavy foliage' (< *dau* 'name of tree' + *-ngu*), (5) *soga* 'brightness' (< *so* 'light' + *-ga*), (6) *badagi* 'a leg' (< *bado* 'foot' + *-agi*).

2.11.21.2 The 2nd Order Derivational Noun Suffix *-ni* 'people' occurs with proper noun stems, class IV nouns, and attributives as follows:

- Moni* 'the *Mo* people, e.g. the Moni tribe' (< *mo-* + *-ni*), *Kemando-gani* 'people of the *Kema* valley' (< *Kema* + *-ndoga* 'valley' + *-ni*), *Zandoni* 'the up-country people' (< *zando* 'upward' + *-ni*).

2.11.22 Nouns Derived by Compounding.

Reduplicative and non-reduplicative compounding occur.

2.11.22.1 Reduplicative Compounding.

Class V Nouns, or Semi-verbs,¹³ are partially distinguished by their derivation from identical and partial loose-knit¹⁴ reduplicative compounding of nouns, verbs, and verb stems of the following syllable patterns: (1) identical, CV, CVV, VCV, VVCV, VCVCV, (2) partial, CV-CVV, VCV-CVCV, and (3) identical and partial, CVCVCV,

¹³ See 2.12.21 for definition of Semi-verbs, e.g. class V nouns.

¹⁴ By "loose-knit" the writers mean, "the intra-morphemic occurrence of morphemes not subject to the vowel and consonant reduction defined in section 1.1, and junctures of which are not necessarily subject to normal allophonic occurrence".

CVCV, the latter CVCV pattern of which may also occur with class I nouns:

- (1) *ke-ke* 'the squealing of a pig' (< *ke* 'the squealing of a pig')
ngau-ngau 'to howl as a dog' (< *ngau* 'to howl')
iwa-iwa 'to divide up as a pig' (< *iwa* 'arm, bone')
uima-uima 'to travel much' (< *uima* 'straight through, fast')
inigi-inigi 'to go along as if looking things over'
 (< *inigi* 'to see, subordinative form')
- (2) *ngi-ngau* 'to grit the teeth' (< *ngi* 'unknown', *ngau* 'source of a river or tongue')
oto-poto 'to work a lot' (< *oto* 'to work a lot')
- (3) *watigi-watigi* 'to go along singing or dancing' (< *watigi* 'to dance, subordinative form')
mbisugu-mbasaga 'to tie up as broken string' (< *mbisugu* 'to untie')
wogo-wogo 'to crawl' (< *wogo* 'pig')
zigu-zaga 'to be happy, very happy' (< *zigu* 'happy')
ndigi-ndugu 'to tap on something' (< *ndigi* 'to tap on something')
pane-pane 'a kind of flower' (< *pane* 'single lady')
bugi-bagi 'family' (< *bugi* 'family').

2.11.22.2 Non-reduplicative Compounding.

Nouns derived by non-reduplicative close-knit and loose-knit compounding of nouns, attributives, attributive stems, verbs, and particles occur as follows: (1) noun plus noun, (2) noun plus attributive, (3) verb plus noun, (4) attributive stem plus noun, and (5) noun plus particle plus noun:

- (1) N + N: *madado* 'bow string' (< *mada* 'arrow' + *hodo* 'jungle rope'), (2) N + At: *emondani* 'sun' (< *emo* 'weather, atmosphere' + *ndani* 'hot'), (3) V + N: *toa-kebe* 'earth worm' (< *toa* 'having been, perf. of to be' + *kebe* 'section of, as a trunk of tree'), (4) At-s + N: *hoakebe* 'body, trunk section of body' (< *hoa-* 'whole of, truthful or right' + *kebe* 'section of'), (5) N + Par + N: *dagupado* 'hat' (< *dagu* 'head' + *pa* 'on' + *hodo* 'jungle rope').

2.12 Inflection of Nouns.

Nouns occur with one inflectional prefix and one order of inflectional suffixes.

2.12.1 Inflectional Prefixation of Nouns.

The 3rd person singular possession prefix *na-* occurs with class III nouns as follows:

naita 'his father' (< *na-* + *aita* 'father'), *nambao* 'his grandfather' (< *na-* + *mbao* 'grandfather').

2.12.2 Inflectional Suffixation of Nouns.

Nouns are inflected for (1) pluralization, (2) vocative, and (3) personalization by suffixation.

2.12.21 Pluralization.¹⁵ Nouns are divided into five classes on the basis of the occurrence of pluralizing suffixes and reduplicative compounding of 2.11.22.1: Class I *-ngama* 'plural with masc. and neut. nouns', II *-ndaga* 'pl. with fem. nouns',¹⁶ III *-mena* 'pl. with family relationship nouns', IV nouns that are non-pluralized, other than class V nouns, and V nouns that are non-pluralized, may be derived by reduplicative compounding as in section 2.11.22.1, and are called Semi-verbs because of their syntactic occurrence as verbs. Semi-verbs are non-inflectable, and when inflection does occur, it is with one of three helping verbs: (1) *dija* 'to be, to make', (2) *hitija* 'to be, become', or (3) *ndaija* 'to make, cause':

I, *mengama* 'men' (< *me* 'man' + *ngama* 'pl.'), II *minandaga* 'women' (< *mina* 'woman' + *-ndaga* 'pl. fem.'), III *aumamena* 'men of the mother's clan' (< *auma* 'uncle on mother's side' + *-mena* 'pl.'), IV *ae* 'life', *bango* 'porch', V *mbode* 'war, to fight', *ndapu* 'ball, to play ball', *zigu-zaga* 'happy, to be happy'.

(1) Class V Nouns with *dija* 'to make, be':¹⁷
sizu 'to love, want', *sizu de* 'make love' (< *di-* (stem of *dija*) + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. imper.').

(2) Class V Nouns with *hitija* 'to be, become':
zagi 'to know, understanding', *zagi hitija* 'to learn' (< *hit-* + *-ija* 'indicative').

¹⁵ or "Collectivizing suffix".

¹⁶ *-ndaga* also occurs with *me* 'man' a masculine noun when the speaker is addressing a group: *mendaga* 'friends, men'.

¹⁷ The helping verbs are presented with the *-ija* suffix meaning 'indicative' since with *-ija* the verb occurs almost as the free form of the verb.

- (3) Class V Nouns with *ndaija* 'to make, cause':
zagi 'to know, understanding', *zagi ndaija* 'to teach' (< *nda* + *-ija* 'indicative').

2.12.22 Vocative. The vocative suffix *-je* (*-o* ∞ *-i*) occurs with personal nouns as follows: *-je* occurs only following high-vowel final nouns, while *-o* occurs with other than high-vowel final nouns and freely fluctuating with *-i* with *a*-final nouns:

tuwanije 'oh Tuan' (< *tuwani* 'Tuan' + *-je*), *aitao* 'oh father' (< *aita* 'father' + *-o*), *aitai* 'oh father' (< *aita* 'father' + *-i*).

2.12.23 Personalization. The personalizing suffix *-ne* occurs with class I and II nouns:

mene 'men, person' (< *me* 'man' + *-ne* 'personalizer'), *pane* 'single lady' (< *pa* 'little creature, small animal' + *-ne*).

2.2 Verbs.

2.21 Derivation of Verbs.

The verbalizing suffix *-gi* occurs with classes IV and V nouns as follows:

agigija 'to stand up' (< *agi* 'upright thing, kind of weed, stem' + *-gi* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *ngabagija* 'to be old and fried out as a piece of wood' (< *ngaba* 'tired' + *-gi* + *-ija* 'indicative').

2.22 Inflection of Verbs.

Verbs occur with three orders of inflectional prefixes and three orders of inflectional suffixes.

2.22.1 Prefixation of Verbs.

2.22.11 1st Order Verb Prefixes.

The prefixes *n-*, *k-*, and *z-* ∞ *m-* occur only with stems of class II-2 and II-3 verbs expressing 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person object or indirect object respectively:

zatiya 'to relate to him' (< *z-* '3rd pr. obj.' + *-atiya* 'to relate'), *nutiya* 'to kill oneself' (< *n-* '1st pr. sg. obj.' + *-utiya* 'to kill'), *kutija* 'to kill you' (< *k-* '2nd pr. obj.' + *-utiya* 'to kill'), *zaguzija* 'to show to them' (< *z-* '3rd pr. ind. obj.' + *-aguzija* 'to show, reveal'), *mindija* 'to give to 3rd pr.' (< *m-* '3rd pr. ind. obj.' + *-indija* 'to give').

2.22.12 2nd Order Verb Prefixes.

The second order verb prefix *ma-* 'causitive' occurs:

mabitija 'to put it out, as a fire' (< *ma-* + *bitija* 'to shut or put out as eyes or a fire'), *maundija* 'to put to sleep' (< *ma-* + *undija* 'to rest, sleep').

2.22.13 3rd Order Verb Prefixes.

The 3rd order verb prefix *ki-* 'negative' occurs with all classes of the verb:

kimabitija 'to not put out' (< *ki-* + *mabitija* 'to put out'), *kimindija* 'to not give to him' (< *ki* + *mindija* 'to give to 3rd pr.'), *kimuwa* 'to not intend to come' (< *ki-* + *muwa* 'to intend to come').

2.22.2 Suffixation of Verbs.

2.22.21 Classes of Verbs.

Verbs are divided into three classes on the basis of syllable structure, stem-final vowel and consonant occurrence, and morphophonemic regressive vowel assimilation of section 1.31 that takes place when suffixation occurs: (1) Class I, single-syllable vowel final CV pattern stems, (2) class II, single syllable consonant-final C, VC, CVC pattern stems, and (3) two or more syllable vowel-final stems.

2.22.21.1 Class I Verbs: *-i/-e, -u/-o* stems.

Class I verbs occur only with stem-final high vowels *-i* and *-u* becoming *-e* and *-o* respectively according to the regressive vowel assimilation of section 1.31:¹⁸

mea 'having come' (< *mi-* 'to come' + *-a* 'perf.'), *soe* 'sell it!' (< *su-* 'to sell' + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj., imper.').

2.22.21.2 Class II Verbs: *-C* final stems.

Class II verbs are divided into three subclasses: the basic stems of which occur (1) with vowel *a* nucleus and consonant-final *-g*, (2) with *i, u* or *a* nucleus and final *-t* or *-nd*, and (3) with *i/e* or *u/o* nucleus and final *-t* or *-nd*, the latter sub-class of which occurs with regressive

¹⁸ Except *pu-* 'to go' which becomes *pug-* or *pog-* when suffixed with *-ije* '2nd pr. pl. imper.', and *a* and *e* initial suffixes: *pugije* 'you all go', *poge* 'you go!' (< *pog-* + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj.').

vowel assimilation of section 1.31. *-t* and *-nd* of sub-classes (2) and (3) occur, and *-g* of sub-class (1) is lost, with the occurrence of *e*-initial suffixes and the suffix *-ija* 'indicative'. *-t* and *-g*, and *-nd* become *-p* and *-mb* respectively according to the reduction and assimilation of section 1.32. Elsewhere, *-t* becomes *-d* with sub-class (2) and *-g* with sub-class (3). *-nd* becomes *-ng*, freely fluctuating with *-g*, preceding *nd* and *n* initial suffixes, elsewhere becomes *-m* with sub-class (2); *-nd* becomes *-n* elsewhere with sub-class (3):¹⁹

(1) (*wa- ∞ wap-*) ∞ *wag-* 'to shoot, kill 3rd pr. obj.': *waija* 'to shoot him' (< *wag-* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *wapuwuwa* 'to intend to shoot him' (< *wag-* + *-uwuwa* 'intention'), *waga* 'having shot him' (< *wag-* + *-a* 'perf.').

(2) (*hit- ∞ hip-*) ∞ *hid-* 'to die', (*bat- ∞ bap-*) ∞ *bad-* 'to boil', (*hind- ∞ himb-*) ∞ (*hing- ∞ hig-*) ∞ *him-* 'to sew': *hitija* 'to die' (< *hit-* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *hidaija* 'to have died' (< *hit-* + *-aija* 'perf. act. and indicative'), *batija* 'to boil' (< *bat-* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *badai* 'it has boiled' (< *bat-* + *-ai* 'perf. act. and 3rd pr. sg. subj.'), *hindija* 'to sew' (< *hind-* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *hinginda* or *higinda* 'I will sew' (< *hind-* + *-nda* '1st pr. sg. subj., fut.'), *hime* 'you sew it' (< *hind-* + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj. imper.').

(3) (*dut- ∞ dup-*) ∞ (*dug- ∞ dog-*) 'to take', (*mind- ∞ mimb-*) ∞ (*min- ∞ men-*) 'to give to 3rd pr. obj.': *dutija* 'to take' (< *dut-* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *duginde* 'you will take' (< *dut-* + *-nde* '2nd pr. sg., fut.'), *doge* 'you take' (< *dut-* + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj. imper.'), *mindija* 'to give to him' (< *mind-* 'to give to 3rd pr. obj.' + *-ija* 'indicative'), *miniye* 'you all give it to him' (< *mind-* + *-ije* '2nd pr. du./pl. imper.'), *mena* 'having given it to him' (< *mind-* 'to give to 3rd pr. obj.' + *-a* 'perf. act.').

2.22.21.3 Class III Verbs: -V Regular stems, or -V-R stems.

Class III verbs are divided into two classes on the basis of occurrence (1) without and (2) with regressive vowel assimilation of section 1.31. The former constitute the vast majority of the verbs, and having phonologically definable allomorphs, are regarded as regular verbs:

¹⁹ Except *nd-* 'to say' becomes *ng-* with *nd* and initial suffixes, and *n* elsewhere; *ind-* 'to cook, bake', occurs with regressive vowel assimilation and yet the final *nd* becomes < *ng* and *m* as with sub-class (3) stems: *ndija* 'to say' (< *nd-* + *-ija* 'indicative'), *ne* 'say' (< *n-* + *-e* '2nd pr. subj.'), *indija* 'to cook' (< *ind-* + *-ija*), *eme* 'cook' (< *ind-* + *-e* '2nd pr. subj.').

(1) *zini-* ∞ *zin-* 'to turn', *zamba-* 'to cut': *zinija* 'to turn' (< *zini-* 'to turn' + *-ija* 'indicative'), *zina* 'having turned' (< *zini-* + *-a* 'perf. action'), *zambae* 'you cut' (< *zamba-* 'to cut' + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj.').

(2) *sugu-* ∞ *sug-* ∞ *sog-* 'to shine': *suguwa* 'to intend to shine' (< *sugu-* + *-uwa* 'intention'), *sugije* 'you all shine' (< *sugu-* + *-ije* '2nd pr. du./pl. imper.'), *soga* 'having shown' (< *sugu-* + *-a* 'perf. action').²⁰

2.22.22 Order of Inflectional Verb Suffixes.

There are three orders of inflectional verb suffixes: (1) 1st order; action and mood, (2) 2nd; tense and mood, and (3) 3rd; person-subject and object suffixes.

2.22.22.1 1st Order Verb Suffixes.

2.22.22.11 Verb Suffixes of Aspect.

First order (1) past progressive, (2) perfect or complete, (3) incomplete, (4) repetitive, (5) subordinate, and (6) "of itself" suffixes of action occur with all classes of the verb, except (6) which occurs only with class II and III verbs.

2.22.22.11.1 Past Progressive Action, *-gitogo*:

tugitogo 'was being' (< *tu-* 'to be' + *-gitogo*), *dutitogo* 'was taking' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-gitogo*).

2.22.22.11.2 Perfect or Complete Action, *-a*:

mea 'having come' (< *mi* + *-a* 'to come'), *doga* 'having taken' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-a*), *pogai* 'it has gone' (< *pog-* 'to go' + *-a* + *-i* '3rd pr. sg. subj.').

2.22.22.11.3 Incomplete Action, *-witaui*:

iniwitaui 'to not yet see' (< *ini-* + *-witaui*), *dupitaui* 'to have not yet taken' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-witaui*).

²⁰ Except *ini-* ∞ *inig-* 'to see'; *inig-* occurs with *a* initial suffixes, *ini-* elsewhere; *ine* 'look' (< *ini-* + *-e* '2nd pr. subj.'), *iniga* 'to have seen' (< *inig* + *-a* 'perf. action'); and *di-* ∞ *de* 'to make, be'; *de-* occurs with consonant initial *a* and *e* suffixes, elsewhere *di-* occurs as class III-1 verb stem: *denda* 'I want to do' (< *di-* + *-nda* 'fut. 1st pr. sg. subj.') *de* 'do it' (< *di-* + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj.').

inigi pija 'to go looking' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-gi* + *pija* 'to go'),
duti pija 'to takingly go' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-gi* 'sub. action' +
pija 'to go').

2.22.22.11.6 "Of Itself" Action, -ug- ∞ -og- ∞ -ag-: suffix apparently occurs as follows: The vowel of the "action of itself" is basically a back or center vowel *u*, *o* or *a* which when suffixed to a class III-1 verb final stem, results in the loss of the stem final vowel *a* (as well as other vowels according to 1.12) and is regressively assimilated to the height of the stem vowel second from the point of juncture of the stem and suffix. By "of itself" action, the writers mean, "action upon the object apart from any known subject". It occurs only with the 2nd order suffix *-ija* 'indicative':

hagugija 'is broken open, as a potatoe' (< *haugi-* 'to break open' + *-ug-* + *-ija*), *hongogija* 'was opened' (< *honga-* 'to open' + *-og-* + *-ija*), *zambagija* 'was cut' (< *zamba-* 'to cut' + *-ag-* + *-ija*).

2.22.22.12 Verb Suffixes of Mood.

First order (1) hortatory subjunctive and (2) 2nd person dual-plural imperative occur with all classes of the verb.

2.22.22.12.1 Hortatory Subjunctive, -wi:

puwi 'let's go' (< *pu-* 'to go' + *-wi*), *mimbi* 'let's give to him' (< *mind-* 'to give to 3rd pr. obj.' + *-wi*).

2.22.22.12.2 2nd Person Dual-plural Imperative, -ije:

inije 'you all look' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-ije*), *dugije* 'you all take' (< *dug-* 'to take' + *-ije*).

2.22.22.2 2nd Order Verb Suffixes.

2.22.22.21 Verb Suffixes of Tense.

Second order (1) remote past, (2) less remote past, (3) immediate past, and (4) future tense suffixes occur with all classes of the verb,

2.22.22.11.4 Repetitive Action, -awi:

meawi 'to come repeatedly, periodically' (< *mi-* 'to come' + *-awi*).

2.22.22.11.5 Subordinate Action, -gi. It subordinates the action of the verb to another verb:

the latter three of which require the 3rd order subject person suffixes in their occurrence.

2.22.22.21.1 Remote Past Tense, *-ga*:

mega 'came' (< *mi-* 'to come' + *-ga*), *iniga* 'saw' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-ga*).

2.22.22.21.2 Less Remote Past Tense, *-mu-*:

pogamuga 'I went a while ago, e.g. yesterday or so' (< *pog-* 'to go' + *-a* 'perf. action' + *-mu* + *-ga* '1st pr. subj.'), *pogamigi* 'we went a while back' (< *pog-* 'to go' + *-a* 'perf. act.' + *-mu-* + *-igi* '1st or 2nd pr. du./pl. subj.').

2.22.22.21.3 Immediate Past Tense, *-g-*:

inigagi 'he just saw it' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-a* 'perf. act.' + *-g-* + *-i* '3rd pr. sg. subj.').

2.22.22.21.4 Future Tense, *-nd-*:

zinindi 'he will twist' (< *zini-* 'to twist' + *-nd-* + *-i* '3rd pr. sg. subj.'), *zogainde* 'you will have heard' (< *zut-* + 'to hear' + *-a* 'perf. act.' + *-nd-* + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj.').

2.22.22.22 Verb Suffixes of Mood.

Second order (1) indicative, (2) intention, (3) intention by other than subject of verb, and (4) condition (also cause and result) suffixes of mood occur with all classes of the verb.

2.22.22.22.1 Indicative Mood, *-ija*:

kindija 'to give to you' (< *kind-* 'to give to 2nd pr. obj.' + *-ija*), *tuija* 'to be' (< *tu-* 'to be' + *-ija*), *dogaija* 'to have taken' (< *dut-* 'to take' + *-a* 'perf. act.' + *-ija*).

2.22.22.22.2 Mood of Intention, *-uwa*:

inuwa 'to intend to see' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-uwa*), *togauwa pa* 'place where it has intended to stay' (*tu-* + *-ga* 'past tense' + *-uwa* + *pa* 'on, place').

2.22.22.22.3 Mood of Intention by Other Than Subject of Verb, *-nu*:²¹

²¹ The subject appears to usually be the 2nd person, and the 3rd person the one intending the action of the verb.

minu nga 'he wants you to come!' (< *mi-* 'to come' + *-nu* + *nga* 'particle of exclamation'), *inigainu* 'has he wanted you to see' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-a* 'perf. act.' + *-nu*).

2.22.22.22.4 Mood of Condition, *-jogo* ∞ *-ogo*:

The mood of condition may also express cause or result. Alternate *-jogo* occurs only following *a-*, *-ogo* elsewhere:

dogo 'if, because, since it is' (< *di-* 'to be, make' + *-ogo*), *dajogo* 'if, because, since it has been' (< *di-* 'to be, make' + *-a* 'perf. act.' + *-jogo*), *mendogo* 'if given to him' (< *mind-* + *-ogo*).

2.22.22.3 3rd Order Verb Suffixes.

2.22.22.31 Verb Person Subject Indicator Suffixes.

The 3rd order 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular and dual-plural suffixes occur with all classes of the verb. Initial *i* of two or three syllable subject indicator suffixes is lost when occurring immediately following *a*:

Person	Singular	Dual-Plural
1st	<i>-ga</i>	{ <i>-igi</i> ∞ <i>-gi</i>
2nd	<i>-e</i>	
3rd	<i>-i</i>	(<i>-igija</i> ∞ <i>-gija</i>) ∞ <i>-aga</i>

dega 'I am' (< *di-* 'to be, make' + *-ga* '1st pr. sg. subj.'), *toe* 'you be' (< *tu-* 'to be' + *-e* '2nd pr. sg. subj.'), *pogaindi* 'he will have gone' (< *pug-* 'to go' + *-a* 'perf. or completed action' + *-ind-* 'fut.' + *-i* '3rd pr. sg. subj.'), *pundigi* 'we will go' (< *pu-* 'to go' + *-nd-* 'fut.' + *-igi* '1st or 2nd pr. du./pl. subject'), *pogagija* 'they have all gone' (< *pog-* 'to go' + *-a* 'perf. action' + *-gija* '3rd pr. du./pl. subject'), *pondaga* 'they will go' (< *po-* 'to go' + *-nd-* 'fut.' + *-aga* '3rd pr. du./pl. subject').

2.22.22.32 The 2nd Person Singular Object Suffix *-me* occurs only following the 2nd order suffix *-uwa* 'intention':

dupuwame 'I intend you to take it' (< *dut-* + *-uwa* 'intention' + *-me* '2nd pr. object'), *inuwame* 'I intend you should look' (< *ini-* 'to see' + *-uwa* 'intention' + *-me*).

2.3 Attributives.

Attributives are simple and derived expressing time, manner, limitation and negation, and description.

2.31 Simple Attributive:

ao 'afterward', *eaga* 'watchfully', *hinda* 'now', *bagu* 'tall'.

2.32 Derived Attributives.

Attributives are derived by suffixation and compounding.

2.32.1 Attributives Derived by Suffixation.

Suffixes of (1) attribution, and (2) direction occur.

2.32.11 The Attributivizing Suffix *-ma* occurs with attributives, classes IV and V nouns, verbs and numerals:

pogoma 'only' (< *pogo* 'only' + *-ma*), *aema* 'unripe, uncooked' (< *ae* 'life' + *-ma*), *tawama* 'not-ing-ly, not' (< *tarwa* 'negative, no' + *-ma*), *hitijama* 'dyingly' (< *hitija* 'to die' + *-ma*), *hagoma* 'same, at-one' (< *hago* 'one' + *-ma*).

2.32.12 The Directionalizer Suffix *-ndo*, *-to* occurs with class IV nouns and noun and attributive stems. *-to* occurs with *ai*-final stems, whereas *-ndo* occurs with other than *ai*-final stems.

aito 'across' (< *ai*- 'idea of superior, upward, and apparently across' + *-to*), *agindo* 'under' (< *agi* 'straight or erect thing' + *-ndo*), *hondo* 'downward' (< *ho*- 'down' + *-ndo*).

2.32.2 Attributives Derived by Compounding.

Attributives derived by the compounding of an attributive or bound attributive stem plus the attributive *pogo* 'only' occur:

obopogo 'fat, round' (< *obo* 'round' + *pogo*), *bijapogo* 'small' (< *bija*- 'small' + *-pogo*).²²

2.4 Pronouns.

2.41 Derivation of Pronouns.

Pronouns are derived by suffixation and compounding.²³

²² Also compare *epogoma* 'many' (< *e*- 'idea of good' + *pogo* 'only' + *-ma* 'attributivizer').

²³ Except where designated otherwise, compounding is close-knit (compare ft. 14).

2.41.1 Pronouns Derived by Suffixation.

The suffix *-gi* 'demonstrativizer' occurs with and partially distinguishes class II-2 pronouns:

kogi 'this small thing' (< *ko* 'this diminutive' + *-gi*), *hangigi* 'down over there' (< *hangi* 'down over there' + *-gi*).

2.41.2 Pronouns Derived by Compounding.

The class II pronoun *uija* 'they two, 3rd pr. du.' is derived by the compounding of the class I pronoun *ui* '3rd pr. pl., they' plus the numeral *hijā* 'two'.

2.42 Classification of Pronouns.

There are two classes of pronouns: I inflectional and II non-inflectional pronouns.

2.42.1 Inflectional Pronouns, class I.

Inflectional pronouns 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person, singular, dual and plural, and 3rd person feminine occur with one order of suffixes:

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	<i>a</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>i</i>
2nd	<i>aga</i>	<i>ija</i>	<i>igi</i>
3rd	<i>ogo</i>	<i>uija</i>	<i>ui</i>
3rd fem.	<i>oa</i>		

2.42.11 The Suffix *-duma* 'inclusive' occurs with all dual and plural inflectional pronouns:

enaduma 'we two' (< *ena* '1st pr. du.' + *duma*), *uiduma* 'they' (< *ui* '3rd pr. pl.' + *-duma*).

2.42.12 The Suffix *-ndi* ~ *-ti* occurs with all inflectional pronouns expressing genitive of possession and source, and subject of sentence. *-ndi* occurs with single vowel V stems, whereas *-ti* occurs with other than single vowel V stems:

andi 'I, my' (< *a* + *-ndi*), *ogoti* 'he, his' (< *ogo* '3rd pr. sg.' + *-ti*).

2.42.2 Non-inflectional Pronouns, class II.

Non-inflectional pronouns are sub-divided into two classes: (1) personal benefactive and (2) demonstrative pronouns, the majority of the latter of which occur with the derivational suffix *-gi* 'demonstrative'.

2.42.21 Benifactive Pronouns, II -1

1st person and 2nd person singular and dual-plural, and 3rd person singular-dual-plural benifactive, or indirect object, pronouns occur as follows:

Person	Singular	Dual-Plural
1st	<i>na</i> 'for me'	<i>ni</i> 'for us'
2nd	<i>ka</i> 'for you'	<i>ki</i> 'for you'
3rd	<i>za</i> 'for him'	<i>za</i> 'for them'

na da mija 'to bring it for me' (< *na* '1st pr. sg. benifactive pro.' + *da* 'to take up' + *mija* 'to come'), *za di de* 'you do it for him' (< *za* '3rd pr. benifactive pro.' + *di* 'that' + *de* 'you make').

2.42.22 Demonstrative Pronouns, 11-2:

ka 'this', *digi* 'that', *kogi* 'this small thing'.

2.5 Numerals.

There are a total of six numbers: (1) *hago* 'one', (2) *hija* 'two', (3) *hedo* 'three', (4) *hui* 'four', (5) *idi* 'five', and (6) *hanagi* 'ten'.²⁴

The suffix *-to* occurs with any number expressing 'calculation, and':²⁵

hagoto hijato hedoto 'one and two and three' (< *hago* 'one' + *hija* 'two' + *hedo* 'three' + *-to* 'calculationalizer').

2.6 Particles.

The following particles of a V, CV, and CVCV syllable pattern occur:

o 'quotativizer', *ta* 'subordinator', *nga* 'emphasizer', *no* 'questionizer', *ma*²⁶ 'apparently idea of making definite that which preceeds (?)', *wa* 'idea of agreement with', *ndo* 'directionalizer',²⁶ *na* 'also', *pi* 'placement of time, temporalizer', *pa* 'on, place', *mba* 'to', *soja* 'side of', *naga* 'like, as', *dange* 'for, in behalf of', *ngaga* 'in', *nema* 'and'.²⁷

²⁴ Each of the numerals 1 to 5 occur with *amo ne* 'the other and' to express numbers 6 to 10; *bado pa* 'on the foot' or *agi ne* 'the under and' to express 11—15; *bado amo ne* 'the foot and the other' to express 16—20; and *menendo* 'the whole man' to express 20, 40, 60, 80, and 100 respectively.

²⁵ *-to* also occurs with *epogoma* 'many': *epogomato* 'many times'.

²⁶ *ma* and *-ndo* are not to be confused with the attributive derivational suffixes of 2.32.1.

²⁷ A number of clitics occur in Moni, three of which are *-go* 'definitivizer, about like the definite article in English', *-ge* 'genitive of separation, subjectivizer with nouns', and *-ja* meaning not fully defined; probably definite article with 3rd person. These are to be discussed in a forth-coming paper on the syntax of Moni.

3.0 TEXT and 3.1 LITERAL TRANSLATION: 28

- 1 *Mbubu-mbabage emo zopugija.* 2 *Me hago mina hago*
Mbubu-mbabage country was-split-open. Man one woman one
- da ta-ge-ja, Migani dode, emondani mina*
 was having-from-the, the-people-of-Miga speech, the-sun woman
- tinawi.* 3. *Da ta, mija o ta amunga mutu sima,*
 moon. Been having, "Come", having-said just mutu-ants ga-
- pada si ma da ta.* 4 *Mea*
 theringly came, pada-ants gatheringly came been having. Come
- ta, mija mija mija da ta, Hakutu-makutu uguga*
 having, coming, coming, coming, been having, Hakutu-makutu tied-up
- doga.* 5 *Sedege koa ndebe-ndebe da woga ta,*
 was-taken. Sedege Cane quickly picked-up ascended having,
- Hakutu-makutu uguga woga ta-go mea ta, Kangai-ja*
 Hakutu-makutu tied-up ascended having-the, came having, Kangai-the
- hawage ko noa si ma, ka noa si ma.*
 from down-there those-little-things gatheringly came, these things
 gatheringly came.

3.2 Free Translation:

1 The land of *Mbubu-mbaba*²⁹ was split open. 2 From one man and one woman according to speech of the Miga people came the sun woman and the moon. 3 After that, having said to come, the *mutu* ants just gathered together, and the *pada* ants gathered together. 4 After they came, having come and come and come, they took and tied up *Hakutu-makutu*. 5 When they had quickly picked up and ascended with the *Sedege* Cane, having tied up and ascended with *Hakutu-makutu* and come, at the lower part of *Kangai* everything was gathered together.

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²⁸ This text was taken by tape recorder from *Isa-sa-bo*, a middle-aged Moni. It is the beginning of a creation story as found in Moni tradition.

²⁹ *Mbubu-mbaba* is apparently only the name of the place where creation took place in the Moni tradition.