

Text: Birth of Pe's baby #2  
Cassette No 1

Informant: Maigipohoasi, sister  
to the grandmother in the story

Background information: The mother giving birth is about 14 years old, married to a man about 45-50. Her name is Pe, his is Hoagaixoxai. The young girl's parents have gone on a fishing trip, and everyone is quite upset because they are not there to help look after her. The baby is born down at the river, and the young mother is very weak. She tries to come up the river bank but nearly falls so her husband calls me (Steve) to come with a hammock to get the mother. She doesn't want to but we bring her up in the hammock anyway.

FREE TRANSLATION

1. R Hoagaixoai said, aogioso is still not here.
2. Are you going to delay long aogioso.
3. S Pii is having labor pains
4. D Pii has not given birth to it yet.
5. R Hoagaixoai said, are you going to delay long? *when did she quite stop*
6. S Pii is having labor pains
7. P She is not giving birth yet.
8. S' Does it want to remain in her stomach.
9. S She has not given birth
10. R Hoagaixoai said, the child is already born.
11. R Hoagaixoai said, Pii just now gave birth.
12. S<sub>I</sub> Hoagaixoxai put his son on the floating dock when his wife gave birth.
13. R Hoagaixoxai said, Opisi are you going to delay long?
14. S Pii is having labor pains.
15. R Hoagaixoxai said, Pii is having labor pains at night.
16. (I) Is he going to delay long?
17. R Hoagaixoxai said, she is not giving birth. (P in Quotes)
18. I Aogioso will you delay?

19. I Is Aogioso going to delay long?

20. Aogioso, Pii is not giving birth! *PN in quotes*

PP? 21. ? Hoagaixoxai said, Pii has just now given birth!

PP? 22. Hoagaixoxai said, Steve will we not bring her in the hammock.

23. S She is weak.

24. R Hoagaixoxai said, we will bring her in the hammock.

25. PI Hoagaixoxai then is bringing the hammock.

26. R Hoagaixoxai said, Pii almost came up from the float.

27. Pii is nearly weak.

28. I She is not coming up. *Incomplete*

⌞ 29. Then Pii bringing her son just now fell. *Inceptive*

30. I So Hoagaixoxai grabbed his wife's arm there, like this. *Incomplete*

31. Pii lets go, because your legs are very weak. *Inceptive (Quote)*

32. P With her son she must not come! *(Prog Statue Negative)*

33. P Hoagaixoxai, intends to bring her up in the hammock.

34. P Hoagaixoxai will be bringing his wife.

by → 35. P Hoagaixoxai said, Lets go.  
on say

36. P Pii is weak.

*Is this indirect speech.*

by → 37. P Hoagaixoxai said to his wife that he would bring her.  
on say

⌞ 38. You (Pii) will go up to the house, will arrive at the house, and afterwards will sleep, said Hoagaixoxai.

39. R Pii said, I am staying weak.

40. I do not intend to go.

41. My legs are weak.

42. My legs are useless. *(P in quotes)*

by & 43. I won't go on land!

→ 44. P Hoagaixoxai then said, we will bring you in the hammock  
ecl on

say 45. You will arrive lying down in the hammock. *(prediction in quotes)*

46. P He is bringing his wife just now.

47. P He is coming bringing her in the hammock just now.

48. RHe (Steve) said, is she weak?

49. She is not coming. RR

50. RHoagaixoxai then said, we will bring her in the hammock.

51. PHoagaixoxai is just now bringing his wife in the hammock.

52. RHoagaixoxai said, Pii has just now given birth!

53. Hoagaixoxai put his son on the floating dock.

54. Hoagaixoxai's wife gave birth.

cl 21 p8 please explain

cl 22, 24 What is a relative?

4.

Birth of Pa's Baby, Cassette No 1

1.    3   2 2 2                      3   1   3                      3   2 2 2  
      hoagaixoxai                      hi - ga - sai                      hoagaixoxai  
      hoagaixoxai                      he   say- rest                      hoagaixoxai  
      (father of baby)

What does this do?  
see p62

      3   3   3   1                      3 3 3  
      hi - ab - iig - a                      aogioso.-  
      she neg cont. ded.                      aogioso.

⌞ 2.    1 3           3   3   3           3 3 1  
      gixi - oa - og - ab - oxoihi  
      You       delay des. dur.       inter.

      3 3 3    3 1  
      aogioso hoagi.  
      aogioso

What does this  
do?

3.    3 1           1 1   2                      23  
      ita - hoagai i                      pii .  
      hurt - become -stat.                      pii

What other uses does  
hoagai have?

⌞ 4.    23           3   3   3           3   1                      23  
      pii           i - op - i - hiab - iig - a                      pii  
      pii           it   give stat   neg.   cont. ded.                      pii  
                         birth

5.    3   2 2 2                      3   1   3                      3   3   3   3   3 3 1  
      hoagaixoxai                      hi- ga - sai                      hi - oa - og - ab - oxoihi  
      hoagaixoxai                      he-say-rest.                      she delay des. dur. - inter.

6.    23           3 1           1 1   2                      23  
      pii           ita - hoagai - i                      pii  
      pii           hurt   become   stat.                      pii.

7. 3 3 3 3 3 1  
 i - op - i - hiaba - xai  
 it give stat. neg. prog.  
 birth

8. 3 1 1 3 3 1313 1  
 i - aigi - sog - i - soiaihi  
 it stomach des. stat. interr.  
 remain

What are the allomorphs of  
 the various kinds of  
 interrogative? how are they  
 defined, + used?

9. 3 3 3 3 3  
 i - op - i - hiaba  
 it give stat. neg.  
 birth

How does clause 9 related to clause 10 in  
 meaning? Is clause 10 at a different  
 time for cl 9 or is there a time  
 break between 9 + 10

10. 3 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 2 2 2  
 hoagaixoxai hi - ga - sai hoagaixoxai  
 hoagaixoxai he say rest. hoagai

11. 3 1 3 3 1  
 tio baha soxa.  
 child already

11. 3 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 3 1  
 hoagaixoxai hi - ga - sai hi - soxa  
 hoagai he say rest. she already

- 2 3 1 1 23  
 ka - op - aha pii  
 from give incept. pii  
 birth

3 2 2 2      3    3 13      2 3    3 3  
 12. hoagaixoxai    hi - aigia      aboi - apai  
       hoagai        he    rel.      paixaba head  
    float

1      3 1      3    23      1 1      31      3 3  
 i - hoagi      hi - aop - aha      ia      kagi  
 it    son      he - put - incept.      float      wife

3      1      1      1      3  
 hi - a - op - i - so  
 her from birth stat. when.  
    give

When

Is this a morpho-  
 phonemic vowel  
 insertion

p+s → pis.

3 2 2 2      3 2 2 2      3    1    3      3 1 3  
 13. hoagaixoxai    hoagaixoxai    hi - ga - sai      opisi  
       hoagai.        hoagai.      he -say- rest.      opisi

3      3      3      3      3 3 1  
 hi - oa - og - ab - oxoihi  
 he -delay - des. - dur - inter.

Does this mean he or  
you?

14. 3 1      1 1 3      23  
 ita - hoagai -i      pii  
 hurt - become -stat.      pii

3 2 2 2      3      1      3      3 2 2 2  
 15. hoagaixoxai      hi - ga - sai      hoagaixoxai  
       hoagai      he - say -rest.      hoagai.

23      3 1      1 1      3      3      23  
 pii      ita - hoagai - i      ahoaii.  
 pii      hurt - become -stative      night.

16. 3      3      3      3      3      3 1  
       hi - oa - og - ab - oxoihi.  
       he -delay-des.-dur.- inter.

3      1      3      3 2 2 2      3      1      3  
 17. hi - ga - sai      hoagaixoxai      hi - ga - sai  
       he -say- rest.      hoagai      he -say- rest.

3 3      3      3 3      1  
 i - op - i - hiaba - xai  
 it birth stat. neg. prog.  
       give

18. 3 3 1 3 3 1      3  
       aogiosohoagi      hi - oao  
       aogioso      she      delay

19.      3 31 3 3 1      3    3    3    3    3 3 1  
aogiosohoagi      hi - oa - og - ab - oxoihi.  
aogioso      she delay-des. dur. inter.

*desiderative*

20.      3    3      3      3 3      1      3 31 3      23  
i - op - i - hiaba - xai      aogioso      pii  
it birth stat. neg. - prog.      aogioso      pii  
give

21.      3 2 2 2      3    3 13      1      3 3      3 2 2 2  
hoagaixoxai      hi - aigia - ga - xaiai      hoagaixoxai  
hoagai-      he - rel. -say      hoagai

22.      3    3 1      2    3    1 1      .23      3 13      1 3  
hi - soxoa      ka - op - aha      pii      pixai - xiga  
she already      from birth incept. pii      now - emph.  
give

- (22.)      3 2 2 2      3    3 13      1      3 3      3    3 31 3  
hoagaixoxai      hi - aigia - ga - xaiai      i saitaogi  
hoagai      he - rel. - say -      Steve

- 31    3 3    3      3    3    3    3 3    31  
bao sai pis - o      iig - op - i - kaba - hai  
hammock - in      bring - mot. - stat. - neg. - incompl.



23.       3       3       1       3  
hi - bio - ai - xi  
she-weak - is-stative

- Why do we need a pronoun here. Is it a kind of emphasis?

24.      3 2 2 2      3    3 13      3 2 2 2      3    1    3  
hoagaixoxai    hi - aigia    hoagaixoxai    hi - ga - sai  
hoagai          he - rel.          hoagai          he-say- rest

31 3 3 3 3 3 3 31  
bao sai pis - o iig - op - ihai  
hammock -in bring -mot.-incompl.

25.      3 2 2 2            3    3 13            31 3 3 3            3    3            1 31  
         hoagaixoxai       hi - aigia       bao sai pisi       iig - ai - p - ihai  
         hoagai            he - vel.            hammock       bring-prog -?-incompl

26.       3 2 2 2           3   1       3           23       3 3 3   3 23   3  
hoagaixoxai   hi - ga - sai   pii       ia -op -a - pabai - xi  
          hoagai       he -say -rest   pii   float-come-ded.nearly stat.

puzzling

27.      23            2            3            3            23  
pii            i - bio - ab - aa  
pii            she-weak- dur.-nearly

Could you explain this more?

- 3      3      3      3 3 1 1  
 28. op - ai - hiab - ihai  
 come prog. neg. incomp.

29.      3      3 1 3      3 1      3      2 3      1 1      2 3  
 hi - aigia      hoagi - xiig - aob - aha      pii  
 she rel.      son- bring -fell -incep.      pii

30.      3      2 2 2      3      3 1 3      3 3 1      3 1 3      3 3  
 hoagaixoxai      hi -aigia      apipa      giaii      kagi  
 hoagai      he - rel.      arm      there      wife

- 3      3 2 3      3      3 1      3 2 3 3  
 hi - abaa - hoi - hai      agiiso  
 he - grab -mov. incomp. like this.

31.      2 3      1 3      3 1      3 3 1 1      1 1      3 1 3  
 pii      gixa - kaxao      aho -ibig -aha - taio  
 pii      you      let's go      leg- very incep. because

32.      3      3 1      3      3      3      3 3      3 1  
 a - hoagi      ap - i - xai - hiabi - koi  
 with son      come stat. prog neg. emph.

*this one puzzles me?*

*or is it a morphophonemic vowel insertion*

33.      3 2 2 2          3 3 13          31 3 3 3          3 3 31 31  
hoagaixoxai hi- aigia baosaipis - o aop -ai - xii - hai.  
             hoagai he- rel. hammock in bring prog.intent.incompl.  
   come

34.        3 2 2 2        3 3 13        31 3 3        3        3 3  
hoagaixoxai    hi-aigia    baosaipis -o    kagi  
              hoagai    he    rel.    hammock    in    wife

3      1      23      3      31  
hi - iig - aop - ai - hai  
he bring come prog. incompl.

35.      3   2 2 2      3      3 13      1      3      3 1  
hoagaixoxai    hi - aigia - ga - xai    kaxao  
                 hoagai    he    rel.    say    prog.    let's go.

36.      23            3            3            1            23  
         pii        hi - bio - ai        pii  
         pii        she        weak prog.        pii.

distinguish this from 23 also 27,  
 $hi^3 - bi^3 - ai'xi^3$  39, 41  
 48  
 Is the  $ai'$  that is sometimes glossed  
 as is (eg cl 23), the same as the  
 progressive?

Compage 44

37.        3 2 2 2        3        1        3        1        3 3  
hoagaixoxai    hi - ga - xai    ao - kagi  
              hoagai    he say prog.    to wife.

*Indirect Speech marker.*

12.

3 3 23 3 3 13 3 2 2 2  
hi - iig - aop - a - pabai hoagaixoxai  
he bring come deol. ? hoagai

*Is this indirect speech*

38. 1 3 3 31 31 3 3 3 3 31  
gix - op - ihai kai -o abop - ihai ait -du  
you go incompl. house in arrive-incompl.

3 1 3 3 31 3 3 3 2 2 2 3 1 3  
ait - ab - op - ihai gabai. hoagaixoxai hi- ga- sai  
sleep dur mot. incompl. afterwards. hoagai he say rest.

39. 23 3 1 3 3 3 3 13  
pii hi - ga - sai ti - bio - ab - ai  
pii she say rest. I weak dur. prog.

40. 3 3 3 31  
op - i - hiab - aa  
go stat. neg. intent.

*Is it the intention that  
makes it stative?*

41. 3 3 3 13  
ti - xahoa - bio  
my leg weak

42. 3 3 1 3 13 3 3  
 aho - abahio - xi - ai  
 leg useless stat. prog.

43. 31 3 3 3  
 oo - xai - hiaba  
 land do neg.

44. 3 2 2 2 3 3 13 1 3 3  
 hoagaixoxai hi - aigia - ga - xai - a  
 hoagai he rel. say prog. ded.

compare 37

Why are all these  
 affixes on the say verb  
 - note that on the say  
 verb in 1 etc there aren't  
 these affixes at all

45. 3 2 2 2 31 3 3 3 3 3 3 31  
 hoagaixoxai baosaipis -o iig - op - ihai  
 hoagai hammock in bring mot. incompl.

45. 1 3 3 1 3 3 31 31 3 3 3  
 gixi - ait - abop - ihai baosaipis - o  
 you sleep arrive incompl. hammock in  
 (lay down)

46. 3 3 3 1 3 1 3 1 3  
 kagi hi - iig - aop - a - paha - xi  
 wife he bring come decl. incept. prog.

Note the train of  
 suffixes here too.

47. 31 3 3 3 1 3 1 3 1 3  
 baosaipis - o iig - aop - a - paha - xai  
 hammock in bring come ded. incep. prog.

REPETITION  
 ASSEMBLY

48. 3 1 3 3 1 3 1 1 1  
 ao - ga - sai i - bio - ab - oxoihi  
 he say restat. she weak dur. inter.  
 (Steve)

49. 3 1 1 3 3 1 3 3  
 i - op - i - hiaba - xai isai  
 she come stat. neg. prog. restat.

Is negative always a  
 state - when is it, +  
 when is it not?

50. 3 2 2 2 3 3 1 3 3 2 2 2 3 1 3  
 hoagaixoxai hi - aigia hoagaixoxai hi - ga - sai  
 hoagai he rel. hoagai he say rest.

- 31 3 3 3 3 3 3 31 3 3  
 baosaipis - o iig - op - ihai isai  
 hammock in bring mot incompl. restat.

51. 3 2 2 2 3 3 1 3 31 3 3 3 1 3 3  
 hoagaixoxai hi-aigia baosaipis - o i - kagi  
 hoagai he rel. hammock in she wife

3      3      1      3 1      3  
 iig - aop - a - paha - xai  
 bring come decl. incept. prog.

52.      3 2 2 2      3 3 13      3 2 2 2      3 1 3  
 hoagaixoxai      hi -aigia      hoagaixoxai      hi - ga - sai  
                  hoagai      he rel.      hoagai      he say rest.

23      3 3 1      2 3      1 1      3 13      1 3  
 pii      hi -soxoa      ka - op - aha      pixai - xiga  
 pii      she already      from birth incept.      now      emph.  
    give

53.      3 2 2 2      3 3 13      1 3 3 3      3 1 3  
 hoagaixoxai      hi -aigia      aboi - apai      i - ap - ai  
                  hoagai      he rel.      Paixuba-head      it on do

3 1      3 1 3      3 1  
 hoagi      hi - aop - i - haxai  
 son      he put on-stat. ?

54.      3 2 2 2      3 3      3 1 1 3      3  
 hoagaixoxai      kagi      hi - a - op - i - sai  
                  hoagai      wife      she-from-birth-stat. restat.  
    give

101. 3 3 1 1  
sa - aba - o - xai

cry- neg -loc.-prog.

102. 3 3 1 3  
hi - hog - ao - hoi

hi - milk - when - not

23 3 1 3 1 3 1 3 1  
sii - hiab - ao - aita - hoi - ta - xai

cry - neg -when-sleep - mov -recur.-prog.