

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 Hoagaixoxai 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 Hoagaixoxai said, are you going to delay long?
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 Hoagaixoxai said, the child is already born.
11. R Hoagaixoxai said, Pii just now gave birth.
12. S 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 Stative Negative)*

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

34. P Hoagaixoxai will be bringing his wife.

*prog on say* → 35. P Hoagaixoxai said, Lets go.

36. P Pii is weak. *Is this indirect speech.*

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

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)*

43. I won't go on land!

*prog + decl on say* → 44. P Hoagaixoxai then said, we will bring you in the hammock

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.

Ch 12, 24 What is a relative?

27

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 p 62

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

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

3 31 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  
 interrogatives? 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 from 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 soxoa,  
 child already

11. 3 2 2 2 3 1 3 3 3 1  
 hoagaixoxai hi - ga - sai hi - soxoa  
 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 1 3      2 3    3 3  
 12. hoagaixoxai    hi - aigia      aboi - apai  
       hoagai        he     rel.      paixaba head  
    float

1      3 1            3    2 3      1 1            3 1      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      2 3  
       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 - xai ai      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 - xai ai      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.

*Does this mean "go and bring her"?*



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

- Why do we need a pronoun here, isn't 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

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

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

..... could you explain this more?

3 3 3 3 311  
 28. op - ai - hiab - ihai  
 come prog. neg. incompl.

29. 3 3 13 3 1 3 23 1 1 23  
 hi - aigia hoagi - xiig - aob - aha pii  
 she rel. son- bring -fell -incep. pii

3 2 2 2 3 3 13 3 3 1 3 13 3 3  
 30. hoagaixoxai hi -aigia apipa giali kagi  
 hoagai he - rel. arm there wife

3 3 23 3 31 3 23 3  
 hi - abaa - hoi - hai agiiso  
 he - grab -mov. incompl. like this.

31. 23 1 3 3 1 3 3 1 1 1 1 313  
 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 31  
 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*

*p+x → pix.*

- 33.
- |  |             |          |       |   |           |     |    |                            |   |   |   |    |    |
|--|-------------|----------|-------|---|-----------|-----|----|----------------------------|---|---|---|----|----|
|  | 3           | 2        | 2     | 2 | 3         | 3   | 13 | 31                         | 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,  
39,  
48  
 $hi^3 - bi^3 - ai'xi^3$

Is the  $ai'$  that is sometimes glossed  
as is (eg cl 23), the same as the  
progressive?

Comp: 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 stativé?

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

51. 3 2 2 2 3 3 13 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

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

cry- neg -loc.-prog.

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

hi - milk - when - not

23 3 1 3 1 31 3 1  
sii - hiab - ao - aita - hoi - ta - xai

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