A descriptive grammar of the Bukawa language of the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea
Pacific Linguistics 585

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A descriptive grammar of the Bukawa language of the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea

W. Eckermann

Pacific Linguistics
Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
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Acknowledgements

The author acknowledges and thanks the many Bukawa people in the Cape Arkona area and also in the other dialect areas, who have willingly shared their language with him and who have helped with learning and understanding the language.

Special appreciation is also given to Robert Bugenhagen for his role as SIL grammar consultant and for his willingness to advise and help with the content, organisation and presentation of this work.
List of abbreviations

** signifies ungrammatical content in an example
+ obligatory constituent; inclusive
+/- optional constituent
1P first person plural
1P+ first person plural inclusive
1PX first person plural exclusive
1S first person singular
2P second person plural
2S second person singular
2/3 second or third person (ambiguous)
3P third person plural
3S third person singular
A answer
ADJ adjective
Buk Bukawa
COMP complementising preposition bu
DEM demonstrative particle dau
DEPREC deprecatory/diminutive adverb
DL dual
DL+ dual inclusive
DLX dual exclusive
exc exclusive
FEM female suffix -w(h)ê
FRUST frustrative aspectual adverb apu
GAUX genitive auxiliary noun n(d)ê
GEN1 genitive marker (ŋ) for first person
GEN2 genitive marker (m) for second person
GENPF genitive prefix ŋa-
GIV demonstrative naŋ (relative clause boundary marker)
inc inclusive
INSTR instrumental particle ŋa
IR irrealis mode
lit literally

xiii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mat</td>
<td>maternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>verbal/adverbial/adjectival negator <strong>dom</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.EX</td>
<td>existential negator <strong>mba(si)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>non-realis modal adverb <strong>oc</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>zero morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat</td>
<td>paternal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P/pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective aspectual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural suffix <strong>-i</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>potential modal adverb <strong>bu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPClit</td>
<td>post-positional clitic <strong>-ŋga</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>realis mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>complementiser for relative clauses: <strong>naŋ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>(alternative) relative clause complementiser <strong>goc</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECP</td>
<td>third person plural reciprocal pronoun <strong>dandi</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFPN</td>
<td>reflexive pronoun <strong>dau</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHQ</td>
<td>rhetorical question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject; singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.th.</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSSIB</td>
<td>same sex sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSUC</td>
<td>unsuccessful aspectual adverb <strong>gimba</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>peripheral clause constituent; exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XSSIB</td>
<td>cross-sex (opposite sex) sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yab</td>
<td>Yabém (language)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 Introduction

1.1 Language name

The name BUKAWA in this work accords with popular spelling used by community and government in Papua New Guinea. Sometimes the name is evidenced as Bukaua, for example, as it is written by some of the local people, or in the 2004 Ethnologue (Grimes 2004), (which also lists the alternate names Bukawac, Kawa, Kawac, and Yom Gawac). The final c in several of these alternatives represents a glottal stop which concludes the name as pronounced by native speakers. However, as the glottal stop is not represented in the English alphabet, and the name is commonly pronounced by non-native speakers without the glottal stop, the spelling Bukawa will be used throughout the work. The name is used to refer to the language, to the people as either individuals or a group, to the language area as a whole, and it is also the name of a village in the vicinity of Cape Arkona.

In the Cape Arkona area, the name is pronounced as Bugawac (the 2004 Ethnologue lists it under this name), and the language is referred to as Yom Gawac (yom = ‘talk’). (In a similar way the Bukawa speakers refer to the old church language Yabêm as Yom Apêm). The use of the ‘k’ in the name Bukawa reflects the use of Yabêm throughout the area in names of places, rivers, and so on. The reversal of the voicing of stops in related words is a common difference between Yabêm and Bukawa, so that a voiceless stop such as k in Yabêm frequently corresponds to a voiced stop g in the Bukawa language (or vice versa). For further detail on some of the differences between Bukawa and Yabêm the reader is directed to Ross (1993).

The Bu- in the name normally means ‘water’ or ‘river’. Many rivers in the Huon Gulf area have this Bu component (e.g. the Buhem, Buso, Busu, etc.). While very few local people can identify any actual river or stream named Bugawac, some suggest that it is the name of a small spring near Bukawa village. The name Gawa/Kawa is also observed in several place names in the area, for example Singawa, where a big fight once occurred (siŋ = ‘fight’); Salakawa where Bukawa trading canoes went ashore (salaŋ = ‘bay, cove’); Bukawasip – the most eastern Bukawa village (sip means ‘to descend’ and is how people from the Cape Arkona area speak about going eastwards: ‘to go down the coast’).
Map: Bukawa language area showing main villages
1.2 Location of the language

The Bukawa language is an Austronesian language which is spoken by coastal inhabitants of the Huon Peninsula in the Morobe Province of Papua New Guinea (see map). The Bukawa villages are all situated on the coastal plain of the Huon Peninsula. Apart from two small sections of coast along the Huon Gulf inhabited by other language groups (Tami and Labu), the Bukawa area extends from Bukawasip (near Finschhafen) as far as Asini (near Salamaua). There are over 30 main villages.

The city of Lae is located on traditional Bukawa territory, and the villages of Butibam, Hengali, Kamkamung, Wagang (Sipaia) and Yanga are still inhabited by Bukawa speakers. The language continues to be spoken in these villages, especially among the older people. However, day to day contact with other language groups in Lae and the surrounding settlements means that there is considerable stress on the language, and younger people and those who marry outside of the Bukawa group widely or solely use Tok Pisin or English.

1.3 Population

According to McElhanon as cited in the 2004 Ethnologue, the Bukawa speaking population numbered 9694 in 1978. More recent statistics, which the author has not been able to procure, would probably reveal a population of well over 10,000.

1.4 Dialects

The geographical spread of the language group along a long coastal strip has resulted in the development of several distinct dialects. These can be broadly classified (with their main villages) as follows:

Central – Buhalu, Bukawa, Mundala I and II (Abongbôc), Awadêc, Ugilim, Yambo, Wideru.

Central Eastern – Busong, Buengim, Aec, Bugang, Buac.

Eastern – Ulugidu, Tigedu, Butala, Buseng, Bukawasip.

Central Western – Wakangluhu, Aluki, Apo, Talec and Tikeleng.

Western – (Lae city) Butibam, Kamkamung, Hengali, Wagang, and Yanga.

South Western – Busamang, Buakap and Asini.

These dialects are all mutually intelligible. The chief differences are in the areas of voicing and prenasalisation of stops, intonation patterns, and some minor lexical differences.

The Eastern dialect is the most divergent dialect from the Central dialect. It shares a number of features with the Yabêm language, most likely due to geographical proximity and consequent interaction between it and Yabêm. In spite of this, this author has witnessed younger men reading translated materials produced in the central dialect, while simultaneously adapting the written text to their own dialect. These men had not received any training to do this; it was the result of their own motivation and practice. But it does confirm the observation that the dialect difference should not present any major barrier to the use of materials published using the central dialect.
The following is a very brief and general summary of the main differences between each dialect area and the Central dialect:

Central Eastern: In general there is slightly less pre-nasalisation of voiced stops; some initial voiced stops are devoiced; the letter h is omitted in some words; and speakers in general seem to use a lower pattern of intonation (their speech is deeper or lower voiced). Bugang and Buac villages have to a major extent abandoned Bukawa for the Yabêm language, although the Central dialect people refer to it as not ‘true’ Yabêm.

Eastern: The changes evident in the Central Eastern dialect are stronger; forms of verb prefixation reflect Yabêm influence (e.g. sôm ‘to say’ in the Central dialect, is a Class I verb where 3S forms have no subject or modality prefixation – in the Eastern dialect the prefix gê- occurs on the 3SR form: gesôm ‘he said’. There are also some vowel changes, and still lower intonation. As in the Central Eastern dialect there is less prenasalisation of voiced stops. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>damba</td>
<td>daba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinda</td>
<td>dida</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, one curiosity is that in several instances, words that are not prenasalised in the Central dialect are prenasalised in the Eastern Dialect. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñadau</td>
<td>ñandau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Central Western: Very similar to Central; initial b is often changed to m.

Western: Here there is some reversal of the voicing patterns in the Central dialect area and also initial b is often changed to m; higher overall intonation; vowel changes in some words, for example the complementiser bu (Central) is pronounced bi in the Western dialect.

South Western: many words with initial a have an added l. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amba</td>
<td>lamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atù</td>
<td>latù</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other main changes are that the Central vowel õ is not used in Busamang – it becomes a low toned ô. Some of the genitive auxiliary nouns (showing possession) that accompany pronouns differ from those used by the remainder of the Bukawa language group. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South Western</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aõ neŋ</td>
<td>aõaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iŋ ndê</td>
<td>iŋa (and also iŋ ndê)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The dialect spoken in Buakap and especially Asini villages seems to be closer to the Central dialect than that spoken in Busamang.

1.5 Language data

This presentation draws chiefly on material elicited and recorded in the Central dialect from residents of Bukawa village and the surrounding villages near Cape Arkona. The data in the bulk of the work is presented using the orthography as proposed by the writer for the Bukawa language – see notes in §2.3 on Phonology.
1.6 Research

The data presented in this work is obtained from records and observations made by William and Dianne Eckermann, who worked in the Bukawa language area from May 1991 until 2002. The Eckermans worked under the auspices of Lutheran Bible Translators Australia, and were seconded to the PNG branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1999. They have also presented papers on Bukawa phonology and the Bukawa orthography and these are on file at the Summer Institute of Linguistics centre in Papua New Guinea at Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province. The data presented in Chapter 2 represents a summary of these papers.

Other reference works include Capell (1949); Ross (1993), (1998a) and (1998b); and the Bukawa dictionary, W. and D. Eckermann (2002).

While his work was not specifically of a linguistic nature, Ian Hogbin lived among the Busamang people (South Western dialect) and documented some of his anthropological research. See for example Hogbin (1946) and (1947).

1.7 Methodology

The aim of this work is to present an a-theoretical description of the Bukawa language rather than present it according to any specific grammatical analysis model. If anything it leans towards a tagmemic approach (as presented in Joan Healey, Doing grammar, SPSIL Australia, 1988).

After an overview of general structure and language features and some notes on phonology, a detailed description beginning at lower level (word) and proceeding to higher levels of structure will be presented.

1.8 Overview

The basic word order of the Bukawa clause or simple sentence is SP(O)(X), where S = subject, P = predicate, O = (direct)object, and X = peripheral arguments.

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
S & P & O & X \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

(1)  
Yaki | kéŋ | i daŋ | têŋ aö.

Yaki | 3S.give | fish a/one | 3S.go.to 1S

‘Yaki gave me a fish.’

NOTE: The term predicate is usually used in reference to all the constituents P O and X in the above formula, and in this example P could well be replaced by V for Verb. However, the Bukawa language also has non-verbal predicates, and fillers of this slot are not necessarily verbs, and hence P has been used here.

Basically the language exhibits a nominative-accusative system of distinguishing actors and undergoers in the clause. The S, P and O components have a close grammatical and structural relationship, and the peripheral arguments are normally related to the rest of the clause by prepositions. There is no morphological system of case marking, so the grammatical function of any particular component of a clause or sentence is indicated by its position in the clause, or by the preposition or other adposition that occurs with it.
The verb is without doubt a major feature of the language. Lexically, it is significant in that constructions with verbs make up for some lexical gaps in the area of nouns. The most common examples are where the post-positional clitic -ŋga ‘of/for’ and a verb serve to modify the head noun in a noun phrase. A common example is the expression gow danıŋ-ŋga used for ‘food’, for which there is no separate noun:

(2)  
\[ \text{éŋ danıŋ -ŋga} \]
\[ \text{thing 1P+IR.eat -of/for} \]
\[ \text{‘food’ (lit. ‘something for us (inc) to eat’)} \]

The Bukawa post-positional clitic -ŋga is presented in more detail in §3.9.

Verbs are marked for the person of the subject and mood (although there is considerable ambiguity depending on the verb class). Thus it is common for the subject person noun phrase or pronoun to be omitted, as the identity of the subject may be obvious from the verbal person marking.

Another common feature is verbal serialisation (co-subordination), where sentences may consist merely of a subject and a string of verbs.

A special feature of the Bukawa verbal system is the phenomenon of complex predicate phrases (see §3.3.4 and §4.2.3), where a limited set of main verbs can be combined with either an event noun (examples (3) and (4)) or a manner adverbial particle ((5) and (6)). While the main verb is inflected for subject person and mood, it is the event noun or adverb that really conveys the meaning of the construction. Following are several examples in which the underlining indicates the components of the complex predicate phrase (in examples (3) and (4) this consists of a verb-noun combination, and in (5) and (6) a verb-adverb combination):

(3)  
\[ \text{Iŋ gic mın yom.} \]
\[ \text{3S 3SR.hit story talk} \]
\[ \text{‘He related/told.’ (lit. ‘he hit-story talk’)} \]

(4)  
\[ \text{Iŋ gêm mbec balêkoc.} \]
\[ \text{3S 3SR.do blessing children} \]
\[ \text{‘He blessed the children.’ (lit. ‘he did blessing (of) children’)} \]

(5)  
\[ \text{Ŋac sic gatam ahuc.} \]
\[ \text{3P 3PR.hit door coveringly} \]
\[ \text{‘They closed the door.’ (lit. ‘they hit the door closingly’)} \]

(6)  
\[ \text{Ŋac sem yom kwi.} \]
\[ \text{3P 3P.do talk turningly} \]
\[ \text{‘They translated the talk.’} \]

Embedding is common in the Bukawa language. A construction such as a clause or sentence may be embedded in another construction, even one at a lower level such as a noun phrase. This is commonly achieved by means of adpositions and subordinating constructions.

The Bukawa language does not have a lot of derivational morphology. This results in some ‘fluidity’ of word class. The same forms can function as both adjectives and adverbs, and some verbs are used in an uninflected form in serialised preposition-like constructions.
Another feature of lexical interest is that homonyms are common. For example \textit{bu} has the following lexemes:

(7) \hspace{1cm}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{bu}_1 & ‘water’ \hspace{1.5cm} \text{NOUN} \\
\textit{bu}_2 & POT (potential mode) \hspace{1.2cm} \text{MODAL ADVERB} \\
\textit{bu}_3 & COMP (complementiser) \hspace{1.2cm} \text{PREPOSITION} \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{bu}_3 is a complementising preposition which is glossed as COMP. It introduces utterances, perceptions, reasons and purposes.

Bukawa is a tonal language and tone is not predictable. However, context often makes the intended meaning clear, so it is rarely necessary to represent tone in written Bukawa. Where necessary, acute and grave accents are used to represent high and low tone respectively. Homonyms with similar tone are still common, for example \textit{sù}:

(8) \hspace{1cm}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{sù}_1 & ‘sea-shell’ \hspace{1.5cm} \text{NOUN} \\
\textit{sù}_2 & ‘outer limb joint’ (wrist/ankle) \hspace{1.2cm} \text{NOUN} \\
\textit{sù}_3 & ‘to give birth (animal)/lay egg’ \hspace{1.2cm} \text{VERB} \\
\textit{sù}_4 & ‘PERF (perfective)’ \hspace{1.5cm} \text{ASPECTUAL ADVERB} \\
\textit{sù}_5 & ‘ABLATIVE (away)’ \hspace{1.5cm} \text{MANNER ADVERB} \\
\texttt{cf. sú} & ‘milk/breast’ \hspace{1.5cm} \text{NOUN} \\
\end{tabular}

This feature of homophony makes it difficult to consistently gloss texts and examples on a one morpheme/one gloss basis. Rather than using subscripted numbers (or always marking tone) to indicate the different lexemes, the reader is asked to bear with the fact that when homonyms are encountered with different glosses, these represent separate lexemes.
This analysis of the Bukawa phonological system is based upon data collected from the Central dialect of the language. Conventions used include // to indicate a phoneme; and [ ] to indicate underlying allophones of a phoneme.

IPA symbols are used in the following charts to describe the Bukawa phonemes. After some brief notes, and a description of the allophones in the charts, comments will be made to indicate how the IPA symbols relate to the characters used in the Bukawa orthography, with brief comments as to the rationale behind the orthography. Following that, all data presented will use the proposed Bukawa orthography.

2.1 Bukawa phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLOSIVES – voiced</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Prenasalised</td>
<td>m b</td>
<td>m p</td>
<td>n d</td>
<td>n t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Labialised</td>
<td>b w</td>
<td>p w</td>
<td>d w</td>
<td>ɡ w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Prenasalised/labialised</td>
<td>m b w</td>
<td>m p w</td>
<td>ɡ w</td>
<td>ɡ k w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASALS</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– Labialised</td>
<td>m w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVES</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LATERAL – voiced</td>
<td>l [l, ɾ]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– voiceless</td>
<td>ɾ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMIVOWELS – voiced</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– voiceless</td>
<td>ɹ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: An alternative analysis of the Bukawa consonants could be to list the pre-nasalised and/or labialised consonants as consonant clusters rather than individual segments. This would make the consonant chart much simpler, as the pre-nasals m, n and ŋ and the w used to represent labialisation all exist as separate individual phonemes.
However, that would make a much more complicated syllable pattern chart with the multiple consonant sequences. Because the pre-nasalisation component is closely related to the consonant in the unit in terms of point of articulation, it does seem more appropriate to treat them as single phonemes rather than as consonant clusters. In the orthography, these units are represented by separate individual letters.

2.1.2 Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>FRONTAL Unrounded</th>
<th>CENTRAL Rounded</th>
<th>BACKED Rounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH – closed</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– open</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MID – closed</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES

i. Vowel nasalisation

Bukawa vowels in a penultimate word position are often nasalised when followed by a nasal, and especially if that sequence is preceded by a nasal. The following nasal is commonly weakened, and in some cases it disappears completely. Because of this, some Bukawa people want to write such words without the word final nasal. The frequency of this process varies according to speaker, and possibly dialect.

Examples of nasalisation are:

- iŋ ~ ĩ ‘he/she/it’
- guŋ ~ ɡi ‘to eat (R)’
- meŋ ~ mē ‘to come’
- ɲapaŋ ~ ɲapā ‘always’
- huŋ ~ hū ‘banana’

| ɲ ~ ɲ | ‘to give’ |
| ☛       |           |
| ɡuŋ ~ ɡi | ‘to eat (R)’ |
| neŋ ~ nē | ‘to eat (IR)’ |
| bonaŋ ~ boʔnā | ‘thus’ |
| hōŋ ~ hō | ‘all’ |
| gameŋ ~ gamē | ‘area’ |

ii. Mid back rounded allophones [ɔ] and [ɔ]

This pair of allophones would probably be more accurately represented as Mid-Open (as in English ɔar) and low-closed (as in English pot). However, for simplicity and symmetry they have been listed as ‘middle’ vowels in the above table.

2.2 Allophones

/p/ [p] and [ph]

[p] occurs word finally:

- kip (sa) ‘3S dig out’
- ñgop ‘lime; betel nut mixture’
Chapter 2

\[\text{[p}^\text{h}]\text{occurs elsewhere:}\]
\begin{align*}
\text{p}^\text{hi} & \quad \text{'go up'} & \text{p}^\text{he} & \quad \text{'cook'} \\
\text{p}^\text{ha} & \quad \text{'3S adze planks'} & \text{p}^\text{u} & \quad \text{'news'} \\
\text{ap}^\text{h} & \quad \text{'adzed plank'} & \text{ap}^\text{h} & \quad \text{'slingshot'}
\end{align*}

\(/\text{t}/ = [\text{th}]\]

The segment \(\text{t}\) has not been found other than pre-vocalically, and hence is always the aspirated form \([\text{th}]\):
\begin{align*}
\text{the} & \quad \text{'dislike'} & \text{that}^\text{h} \quad \text{'look at directly'} \\
\text{th}^\text{umat} & \quad \text{'peninsula'} & \text{th}^\text{u} & \quad \text{'complain'}
\end{align*}

\(/\text{k}/ = [\text{kh}]\]

\(/\text{k}/\) also only occurs pre-vocalically, and does not occur word finally, and is thus always the aspirated form \([\text{kh}]\):
\begin{align*}
\text{kh} & \quad \text{'to fasten'} & \text{k} & \quad \text{'to stand up'} \\
\text{ukh} & \quad \text{'round'} & \text{um} & \quad \text{'to do'}
\end{align*}

\(/\text{l}/ \quad \text{[l] and [ɾ]}\]

These two segments occur in free variation, depending upon individual speakers, though [l] is by far the most common. As can be seen in the following examples, a preceding \(\text{d}\) is obviously one of the factors influencing the [ɾ] variant:
\begin{align*}
\text{ndi} & \quad \text{ndil} & \quad \text{'left-overs'} \\
\text{ndere} & \quad \text{ndele} & \quad \text{'very ripe betel nut'} \\
\text{dale} & \quad \text{'fowl'} \\
\text{dadale} & \quad \text{'late afternoon'} \\
\text{du} & \quad \text{dulu} & \quad \text{'broken pieces'} \\
\text{dölö} & \quad \text{'powerful'} \\
\text{gale} & \quad \text{'coconut scraper'} \\
\text{mijer} & \quad \text{miggelep} & \quad \text{'algae'}
\end{align*}

\(/\text{o}/ \quad \text{[o] and [ɔ]}\]

\[\text{[o]}\text{ occurs word finally:}\]
\begin{align*}
\text{go} & \quad \text{'bush-rope'} & \text{po} & \quad \text{'laplap'} \\
\text{[ɔ]} \text{ (more common) occurs elsewhere:}\]
\begin{align*}
\text{ɔm} & \quad \text{'Sunday'} & \text{gɔlɔm} & \quad \text{'(it) burnt'}
\end{align*}

2.3 The Bukawa orthography

The practical orthography as proposed for the Bukawa language has been intentionally modelled on the orthography used for the Yabêm language. This is chiefly in consideration of the importance that Yabêm has played as a church language in Bukawa history. As well
as evangelism, preaching, teaching and hymnody, Yabêm was also as an educational language. By 1930 virtually all of the Bukawa villages had access to mission schools in which Yabêm was the language of teaching. Although the teaching of Yabêm in church schools ceased soon after 1960, Yabêm was still being used until the end of the century for hymnody and occasionally for liturgy, but rarely for preaching. This means that a majority of the Bukawa people over the age of 45–50 are still literate in Yabêm.

The following tables below indicate the correlation between the IPA system and the Bukawa orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUKAWA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUKAWA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following sections, special notes will be made on the consonants and vowels in the Bukawa orthography that differ from the standard Roman alphabet.

### 2.3.1 Consonants

#### 2.3.1.1 The glottal stop e

As seen in the following consonant distribution chart, the letter k does not occur word finally, and the glottal stop, represented by the letter e, never occurs word initially.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>b</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>l h</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>w</th>
<th>wh</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>yh</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Word initial</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intervocalic</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word final</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples indicate that even though both occur intervocally, k never appears in syllable final position, and e only appears in syllable final positions.

- **ku.ku** ‘round’
- **(gie) ba.keh** ‘(do) climbing using hands only’
- **kec.u** ‘vine sp.’
- **hec.eh** ‘yes’

In spite of this mutually exclusive distribution pattern, it would be impractical to try to use k in the orthography to represent the glottal stop, because syllable breaks are not marked in Bukawa texts. Also, one occasionally hears borrowed words which have a word final k (e.g. **trak** ‘truck’).

The use of e (rather than other representations such as ʔ or ́) is based on the familiarity of Bukawa people (even younger ones) with the Yabêm orthography.
2.3.1.2 Devoiced consonants lh, wh and yh

Rather than introducing a separate single character to represent these consonants, a digraph using h is being used, as h is already in the phoneme inventory for the language.

2.3.2 Vowels

2.3.2.1 Front rounded vowel ö

Many of the older Bukawa people from the central dialect who try to write the language use ö to represent this vowel, even though it does not occur in the church language Yabêm, with which these older people are familiar. Possibly the early German missionaries to the Bukawa area used the German ö to represent this vowel when they encountered it in the Bukawa language, and passed it on to their fellow Bukawa workers and students. While the Bukawa pronunciation of this vowel is often more central than frontal as with the classical ò, this seems to be the most convenient way to represent it.

As mentioned in the general description of the Bukawa dialects, the people of the Busamang-Buakap area pronounce it as ô (with a low tone). Many from that dialect area are somewhat perplexed when they first encounter this letter in written text, but understand what it represents after it has been explained to them.

2.3.2.2 High-front-open vowel ê

The distinction between the high-front-closed vowel i and the high-front-open vowel ê is very minimal, and often not even distinguished by someone new to the language. When the nasal ŋ follows, the distinction is even more difficult to discern. However, the distinction between them is crucial for meaning. Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>buc</th>
<th>‘taro leaves’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bôc</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndi</th>
<th>‘to go (IR)’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndê</td>
<td>‘to peel food’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ndip</th>
<th>‘coconut’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndêp</td>
<td>‘urine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.3 High-back-open vowel ô

The distinction between the closed/open Bukawa high-back vowels u and ô is not as difficult for non-native speakers of Bukawa as that for the high front pair mentioned above. Examples of contrast are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>buc</th>
<th>‘betel nut’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbu</td>
<td>‘to return’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bôc</th>
<th>‘pig’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

| mbô | ‘pandanus’ |

2.4 Supra-segmentals

2.4.1 Tone

Tone is a very complex feature of the Bukawa language. Contrast is evident between high and low tones, and where marked orthographically, it is indicated by acute or grave accents over the vowels.
There are many examples of minimal pairs (see examples below) with contrastive tone. But even when a speaker ignores tone, the listener is rarely confused as to what is intended as the meaning is usually clear from the wider context in which the word is used.

There is possibly some interaction between tone and intonation, and perhaps even stress, such that the same word can be heard with different tone in various circumstances. For example ŋayhám ‘good’ is normally heard with a high tone, yet when emphasised or at the end of a sentence, it can often be heard as nááyhám, with lengthening and heightened tone of the first vowel, and then low tone on the final vowel.

In the Yabêm language tone correlates with the voicing or non-voicing of associated stops. However, the Bukawa system of tone does not follow such rules. The following sets of minimal pairs depict the lack of correlation between tone and associated voicing, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yabêm</th>
<th>Bukawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akwá</td>
<td>akwà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atú</td>
<td>atù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinàŋ</td>
<td>dinàŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñêngilí</td>
<td>ñêngilí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gélíc bóm</td>
<td>gélíc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húc</td>
<td>húc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéc</td>
<td>kéc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóm</td>
<td>kóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùŋ</td>
<td>kùŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbác</td>
<td>mbác</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñasi</td>
<td>ñasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>púŋ</td>
<td>púŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìŋ</td>
<td>sìŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sú</td>
<td>sú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tám</td>
<td>tám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>túŋ</td>
<td>túŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapác</td>
<td>wapác</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wê</td>
<td>wê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Bukawa devoiced semivowels have no counterpart in Yabêm – there we find that contrast in tone distinguishes the meaning, whereas in Bukawa the devoiced counterpart usually still bears high tone. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yabêm</th>
<th>Bukawa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awé</td>
<td>awê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wé</td>
<td>wê</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence it does not appear that the tonal difference in Yabêm is catered for in Bukawa simply by devoicing of the semivowels.

The glottal stop in Bukawa usually has a high tone preceding. This may also be linked with stress. But again there are exceptions, as can be seen from the list of examples above.

In some cases an imperative mood of the verb is signalled by a high tone. For example:

(1) tanôm mbúc
eye.GEN2 3S.close
‘close your eye!’
In terms of a working orthography it seems only necessary to mark tone on minimal pairs of words of the same word class, or where confusion could possibly result. Context and difference in word class in many cases reduce the need to mark tone, for example:

(3) dináŋ ‘my mother’ – a noun
(4) dinàŋ ‘that’ – a demonstrative

Writing either of these without tone marking is unlikely to cause confusion. The same would apply to the following minimal pair with contrastive tone:

(5) atú ‘son, baby’ – a noun
(6) atù ‘big’ – an adjective

Even with minimal pairs of words of the same word class which are contrasted only by tone, contextual factors such as co-occurring adverbs may obviate the need to mark tone. For example with the following verbs:

(7) kóm ‘cover; cause harm’ and
(8) kôm ‘make/do’

The former verb commonly co-occurs with manner adverbs such as ahuc ‘closingly’ or si ‘downwardly’. These do not occur with the latter verb, so in the context the meaning would be clear without marking the tone:

(9) kóm (s.th.) ahuc ‘cover over; surround’
(10) kôm (s.th.) si ‘cover (by placing down into a wrapping or net bag)’

2.4.2 Stress

Stress is not phonemic and much of the language is mono-syllabic anyway. In general, the final syllable is stressed, with these provisos:

(a) Dialect variation: Although only brief word lists have been taken in other dialects, there seems to be a tendency in the Eastern dialects for stress to occur on first syllables.

(b) Suffixed or compound words: The stress is normally retained on the final syllable before suffixation, for example the post-positional clitic nga ‘of/for’ is very common. When added to a word, stress does not pass to it:

(11) tu di'naŋ + - nga → tu di'naŋ-nga ‘because of that’
(12) a'maŋ + daŋ → a'maŋdaŋ ‘five’ (lit. ‘one hand’)
(13) dô'mbwê + ŋa'kwa → dô'mbwêkwa ‘spine, backbone’
Emphasis: exclamations are often stressed on the first syllable. For example:

(14) na'whê ‘wife’ cf. ‘nawhê ‘(call or summons to) wife’

2.4.3 Intonation

Bukawa intonation patterns are not unlike English, generally falling at the end of statements of fact, rising at the end of questions or hesitant questions. There are some comments and examples of question intonation in §6.6.4.

2.4.4 Vowel length

Vowel lengthening has already been mentioned as a ‘decorative’ feature of the language. For example:

(15) abôm ‘large’ cf. áábôm (for emphasis)

The conjunction e which encodes continuative aspect (cf. Tok Pisin ‘igo igo’) is very often lengthened which in a sense verbally highlights the aspect. For example:

(16) Sésa gwêc si sêmbo eee ŋasec sa.

3P.go.out sea 3SR.go 3S.be/stay and/until darkness up/out

‘They went out to sea and stayed on and on until darkness came.’

2.5 Morpho-phonemics

Two morpho-phonemic processes occurring in the Bukawa language will be described briefly in this section.

2.5.1 Genitive agreement marking

When the second person genitive agreement suffix m is suffixed to a noun where the final vowel is u (high-back-round-closed), the nasal influences that vowel so that it becomes like the more open vowel ô. For example:

(17) gatu ‘soul/spirit (3S/P)’

   gatu + m → gatum (pronounced gatôm) ‘your spirit’

Some other examples:

(18) dau ‘3S/P self (REFPN)’ / daôm ‘yourself/selves’
(19) atuwê ‘daughter’ / atômwê ‘your daughter’

In the orthography, this vowel change is represented by spelling such words phonetically.

2.5.2 Nasal cluster reduction

When class III verb prefixes with a final nasal (ŋ or m) come before a stem beginning with a homorganic nasalised consonant, there is reduction of this nasal cluster. The fact that the verb stem begins with a nasal is indicated by the fact that it surfaces in the realis form.
Some examples:

(20) êmasanŋ [êm-masāŋ] ‘3S will prepare’
    cf. Realis mode kēmasanŋ ‘3S prepared’

(21) ēgiŋŋ [ēŋ-ŋiŋ] ‘it will intoxicate’
    cf. Realis mode kēgiŋŋ ‘it intoxicated’

(22) eŋgec [eŋ-ŋgec] ‘3S will scare’
    cf. Realis mode keŋgec ‘3S scared’

2.6 Borrowed words

When foreign words are borrowed into the Bukawa language, there is a limited attempt to conform to phonological structure of the language such as no word final n or s. However, certain common borrowed words as bas ‘bus’ or mas ‘must’ are not regularised. Bukawa lacks a good imperative term such as ‘must’, and even though the borrowed mas is used quite commonly in daily speech, there is reluctance to use it in translated or written materials.

The German Lutheran missionaries introduced several German words into the Yabêm language to fill lexical ‘gaps’ in Yabêm, and many of these have been also adopted into Bukawa. An interesting example is kēlepē ‘pen/pencil’, which has been derived from the German griffel (the following changes result in kēlepē – g is devoiced; r and f are changed to l and p; the final l is dropped; a vowel is inserted between k and l; then vowel harmony). Some introduced words are quite curious e.g. pesalem ‘psalm’ – even though the p and l of the original English word are silent, they have been preserved in the derived Yabêm/Bukawa words. Other words such as konigi ‘king’ from German könig are still used by Bukawa speakers, even though in the Yabêm Bible kīŋ and kwin were used (at least in the latest revision).

Older people for whom the Yabêm language was their language of education, prefer to follow borrowed words as introduced into Yabêm. The younger generation of Bukawa speakers have been educated in Tok Pisin and English, and are familiar with spelling from those languages. These people are happy to transliterate borrowed words, or follow Tok Pisin spelling. The letter r is accepted for names such as Rome or Rachel, and j for names such as James, but letters such as z, f, v and x would be replaced by s, p, b, and ks.

Many Bukawa people have a ‘church’ name under which they were baptised. Such names are derived from Yabêm and have religious significance. Some examples:

- biganōo (= Bukawa yom ɲandō-wê ‘true talk-FEM’)
- bigedēŋ (= Bukawa yom gitēŋ ‘straight talk’)
- kēpuctôŋ (= Bukawa puc dōŋ ‘he strengthened/supported’)
- yanamsao (= Bukawa wanem sa-wê ‘I will help-FEM’)
- yateŋ (= Bukawa wateŋ ‘I will ask/pray’)

It is becoming more common to borrow English names, and even to adopt English spellings which are not part of Bukawa or even Tok Pisin for example. Names such as Philip or Stephen are often written using the ‘ph’ spelling, but pronounced as ‘Pilip’ or ‘Stepan’. 
3  Word classes and morphology

In this description of the Bukawa language a word is defined as a construction that represents the smallest free form in the language. Word structure in Bukawa is relatively simple, especially considering that many Bukawa words are mono-morphemic, consisting merely of simple stems.

This section will firstly present the main word classes of the Bukawa language and describe the morphological processes that occur in each class. Following that, several general morphological processes that may affect words across class divisions will be presented.

NOTE on citation form – where words have personal marking or are inflected for person/modality, the general citation form for the root is that for third person, as this usually represents the simplest form for both nouns and verbs.

3.1 Nouns

Nouns (and noun phrases) in the Bukawa language can function in many roles in the sentence – as subject, object, and in other slots that can indicate location, direction, goal, purpose, etc. There is no case marking on nouns to indicate function at phrase, clause or sentence level structures. A noun phrase's function is indicated by its position in the clause, and by co-occurring ad-positions for peripheral arguments.

There is little morphemic complexity in Bukawa nouns. The sources of multi-morphemic structure in nouns will be presented according to the following sub-sections:

3.1.1 Compound nouns
3.1.2 Genitive agreement on nouns
3.1.3 Plurality
3.1.4 Other noun notes

3.1.1 Compound nouns

There is only a small group of Bukawa compound nouns. Many of these are body part and kin terms that also exhibit genitive agreement, and will be dealt with in more detail in §3.1.2 below. Only general notes will be made here.
In many cases the two free forms that make up a compound noun remain unchanged in the compound. However there are certain phonological criteria that favour describing these words as compounds rather than two separate words:

(a) Vowel reduction – in compound words where the first morpheme ends in a vowel and the second begins with a vowel, there is vowel reduction, with usually the first vowel of the second morpheme being lost. For example:

(1) **lau** + **awhê** —› **lauwhê** ‘women’

(b) Contraction – often the second morpheme is contracted in form. For example, words with the genitive prefix **ŋa-** lose the prefix in compound forms.

(2) **dômbwê** + **ŋakwa** —› **dômbwêkwa** ‘backbone/spine’

(3) **amba** + **ŋayha** —› **ambayha** ‘fingernail’

(4) ** tô** + **ŋakwa** —› ** tôkwa** ‘jaw/mouth area bones’

(5) ** tô** + **ŋamlic** —› ** tôlic** ‘lips’

In a small group of compounds the first component is based on **ta**, a contracted form of **tandô** ‘eye’ – some of these exhibit contraction of both parts:

(6) **tandô** + **ŋakwa** —› **takwa** ‘temple bone’

(7) **tandô** + **ŋakôp** —› **takôp** ‘eye-ball’

(c) When the two free forms are used as a compound word, no other modifying words occur between them.

(d) Stress pattern – simple Bukawa words generally have stress on the final syllable. In the majority of compound nouns, the first morpheme maintains its stress, and appears to over-ride the stress of the second morpheme that loses its stress. (See examples in §2.4.2).

**NOTE:** The words **ŋgac** ‘man’ or **awhê** ‘woman’ are often used as the second part of compounds to denote sex. This is common with kin terms, although some ‘unmarked’ kin terms are by default understood as being masculine e.g. **dôwa** ‘(man’s) older brother’. When compounded with **lau** ‘people’, for some reason the compound seems to preserve the stress of the final syllable. For example:

(8) **lau** + **a'whê** —› **lau'whê** ‘women’

(9) **lau** + **ŋgac** —› **lau'ŋgac** ‘men’
But compare the more typical syllable pattern for compounds:

\[ (10) \quad \text{dô'wa} + \text{a'whê} \rightarrow \text{dô'wawê} \quad \text{‘(girl’s) older sister’} \]

older. SSSIB + woman

(In some cases such as the latter example, the devoiced element wh of awhê becomes a simple voiced w. The reason for this process is not clear, but there could possibly be voicing assimilation of the wh with the earlier voiced w.)

NOTE: The constituent morphemes that combine to make up Bukawa compound nouns are almost always nouns. Examples of other compounds consisting of words from different word classes will be presented in §3.12.2 on word derivation. However, the following examples of compounds consist of a noun + adjective combination, and are presented here as a prelude to the next section on genitive agreement on nouns:

- **dambasauŋ**  ‘uncle, father’s younger brother’  (lit. ‘father+small’)
- **dindasauŋ**  ‘aunt, father’s younger sister’  (lit. ‘mother+small’)

### 3.1.2 Genitive agreement marking of nouns

The Bukawa noun class has a small sub-class of words that are morphologically marked for the person of an associated genitive argument. These nouns can be categorised as:

(a) body parts
(b) kin terms
(c) abstract personal terms

Not all body parts, kin terms etc. are so marked, and it is difficult to find some category such as ‘inalienability’ to determine which body parts are or are not marked. Included are abstract personal terms and emotions such as waê ‘honour/reputation’, or maya ‘shame’, and things that are or can be alienated from the person, such as waŋga ‘footprint’ and wahên ‘perspiration’.

At the same time there are other ‘inalienable’ body parts that are not marked. To a degree the limitation may be phonological, as words such as kêcmbu ‘back of head’, or kêclauŋ ‘hair’, that are not marked, do seem phonologically difficult to either suffix or infix according to the systems shown below.

The affixes indicating the identity of the genitive argument are added by means of suffixation, infixation, and in an isolated incident, a combination of both of these. The markers only indicate person; they do not indicate number:

- ƞ first person S/P  (glossed as GEN1)
- ơm second person S/P  (glossed GEN2)
- Ø third person S/P  (where indicated, glossed as GEN3)

#### 3.1.2.1 Suffixation

The simplest examples are where the root morpheme ends in a vowel that is not immediately preceded by a pre-nasalised stop. The person marking morphemes shown above are then suffixed. For example:
The group of Bukawa noun roots that exhibit genitive marking according to this pattern is limited. The list below includes all examples recorded to date (excluding roots that have a prenasalised stop preceding the final vowel – see note ii. below).

- **BODY PARTS:**
  - ali (andô) ‘cheek’
  - ēmbala ‘tongue’
  - gatöŋ ‘gums (dental)’
  - ôli ‘skin’
  - awha ‘voice/mouth’
  - gahi ‘leg’
  - lhô ‘tooth’

- **KIN TERMS:**
  - asi ‘younger brother’ (male’s – SSSIB)
  - dôwa ‘older brother’ (male’s – SSSIB)
  - lawa ‘male-in-law’

- **ABSTRACTS/EMOTIONS/OTHER:**
  - bata ‘anticipation’
  - mala ‘place (personal)’
  - waê ‘reputation’
  - waka ‘namesake’
  - gatu ‘soul/spirit’
  - maya ‘shame’
  - waheŋ ‘perspiration’

**NOTES**

i. The endings still apply (with some accommodation and some ambiguity), where the third person form of a word already has a final nasal e.g. waheŋ ‘perspiration’; gatöŋ ‘gums (dental)’. For example:

(12) waheŋ ‘perspiration’ (waheŋ/wahem/waheŋ)

ii. Stop Deletion Process. There is a morpho-phonological process that occurs when the first or second person marker is added to words that have a prenasalised stop immediately preceding the final vowel. This even occurs with a labialised prenasalised stop e.g. mbw – (see dômbwêkwa ‘backbone’ in §3.1.2.2 below). The influence of the nasal affix spreads back to the prenasalised stop and seems to over-ride the oral component, i.e. the stop is deleted. The word amba ‘hand’ is one example of this process:

(13) amba + ŋ —› amañ ‘my/our hand(s)’
amba + m —› amam ‘your hand(s)’
amba + Ø —› amba ‘his/her/their hand(s)’

Other examples are as follows. (This is an exhaustive listing of the mono-morphemic stems in this class. Examples in compound stems are given in §3.1.2.2 below):
NOTE: An alternative hypothesis that has been posited is a ‘nasal implosion’ process, where a syllable ending with a nasal-vowel sequence in a noun becomes the associated prenasalised stop – vowel sequence. For example, with a word such as damba ‘(his) father’, the root or underlying form would be dama- which is conjugated daman/damam/damba.

However this would mean a hypothetical form for the lexicon rather than an actual word. Such a difficulty is accentuated when listing the lexical forms for compound words such as dambaka ‘older paternal uncle’, which would have to be listed lexically as dama-ka.

Also, not all words or syllables that end in a nasal-vowel sequence exhibit such a process. For example:

êlêmê ‘repetitively’
lamu ‘shield’
ma ‘and’

Therefore it seems more feasible to explain the process in terms of stop deletion, which occurs with morphemes ending with a prenasalised stop-vowel sequence when that morpheme becomes suffixed with a monosyllabic nasal morpheme (namely, one of the genitive agreement suffixes, which are the only ones in the Bukawa language).

The process is only triggered across a morpheme boundary – where a word final nasal follows a prenasalised stop-vowel sequence within a single morpheme, the stop deletion process does not occur. The following examples demonstrate this:

umboŋ ‘sky’
dahucmbôŋ ‘lizard sp.’

iii. There is one irregular form:

sêcbala ‘forehead’ (sembala/sembalam/sêcbala)

This is one of a few compound noun forms where the person marker is suffixed rather than infixed as described in §3.1.2.2 below. However, the addition of the suffix leads to prenasalisation of the preceding stop (and deletion of the preceding glottal stop). There are no other recorded compound nouns involving sêc- to help form any firm conclusion as to the reason for this apparent irregularity.

iv. When the second person genitive agreement suffix m is suffixed to a noun where the final vowel is u (high-back-round-closed), the nasal influences that vowel so that it becomes more open. Examples of this process have been described in §2.5.1.
3.1.2.2 Infixation

The person marker is added as an infix to the initial word of compounds that exhibit genitive agreement marking. For example:

(14) \(\text{têc} \text{‘nose/step’} + \text{suŋ} \text{‘hole’} \rightarrow \text{têcsuŋ} \text{‘nostril’}\)

\(\text{têc-ŋ-suŋ} \) ‘my/our nostril(s)’
\(\text{têc-m-suŋ} \) ‘your nostril(s)’
\(\text{têc-Ø-suŋ} \) ‘his/their nostril(s)’

(15) \(\text{dômbwê} \text{‘back’} + (ŋa)kwa \text{‘bone’} \rightarrow \text{dômbwêkwa} \text{‘back/spine’}\)

\(\text{dômwê-ŋ-kwa} \) ‘my/our back(s)’
\(\text{dômwê-m-kwa} \) ‘your back(s)’
\(\text{dômbwê-Ø-kwa} \) ‘his/their back(s)’

The second morpheme in compounds never takes the suffix, with one exception – \(\text{tôkwa} \text{‘jaw (mouth area-bone)’} \) – see below under note ii. This one exception is doubly marked with both an infix and a suffix genitive agreement marker.

(NO:T: The stop deletion process mentioned above occurs with the labialised prenasalised stop in example (15) above. Other examples of prenasalised stops exhibiting the stop deletion process are marked with an * below).

Examples of other compound nouns showing infixation are:

* BODY PARTS

- \(\text{ambayha}*\) (\(\text{amba}+ŋ\text{ayha}\)) ‘fingernail’ (lit. ‘hand+shell’)
- \(\text{apuhu}\) (\(ŋ\text{apu}+ŋ\text{ahu}\)) ‘thigh’ (lit. ‘underneath+source’)
- \(\text{asêkwa}\) (\(asê+ŋ\text{akwa}\)) ‘jaw’ (lit. ‘jaw+bone’)
- \(\text{bakêyac}\) (\(bakê-ŋ\text{ayac}\)) ‘shoulder’ (lit. ‘shoulder+flat.shell’)
- \(\text{daŋgahu}*\) (\(daŋga+ŋ\text{ahu}\)) ‘side of face’ (lit. ‘ear+origin/basis’)
- \(\text{daŋgalauŋ}*\) (\(daŋga+ŋ\text{alauŋ}\)) ‘outer ear’ (lit. ‘ear+leaf’)
- \(\text{daŋgasuŋ}*\) (\(daŋga+suŋ\)) ‘ear canal’ (lit. ‘ear+hole’)
- \(\text{dôwawê}\) (\(dôwa+awhê\)) ‘female’s older sister’ (lit. ‘older.SSSIB+female’)
- \(\text{gahipwê}\) (\(gahi+ŋ\text{apwê}\)) ‘heel’ (lit. ‘leg+apex’)
- \(\text{gasêapu}\) (\(gasê+ŋ\text{apu}\)) ‘armpit’ (lit. ‘__+underneath’)  
- \(\text{haduc}\) (\(ha+duc\)) ‘knee’ (lit. ‘leg+upper.limb.joint’)
- \(\text{tagasi}\) (\(tandô+gasi\)) ‘eyelash’ (lit. ‘eye+__’)
- \(\text{tôlic}\) (\(tô+ŋ\text{amlic}\)) ‘lips’ (lit. ‘mouth.area+skin’)
- \(\text{wahô}\) (\(awha+ŋ\text{ahô}\)) ‘breath’ (lit. ‘mouth+__’) 
- \(\text{whasuŋ}\) (\(awha+suŋ\)) ‘throat’ (lit. ‘mouth+hole’)

* KIN TERMS

- \(\text{asiwê}\) (\(asi+awhê\)) ‘female’s younger sister’ (lit. ‘younger.SSSIB+female’)
- \(\text{atuwê}\) (\(atu+awhê\)) ‘daughter’ (lit. child+female’)

\(\text{Note ii:}\)
**Word classes and morphology**

**dambaka** (*damba+ka*) ‘uncle, older paternal’ (lit. ‘father+older:parental:sibling’)

**dambasauŋ** (*damba+sauŋ*) ‘uncle, younger paternal’ (lit. ‘father+small’)

**dindaka** (*dinda+ka*) ‘aunt, older maternal’ (lit. ‘mother+older:parental:sibling’)

**dindasauŋ** (*dinda+sauŋ*) ‘aunt, younger maternal’

**lawawê** (*lawa+awhê*) ‘female in-law’ (lit. ‘in-law+female’)

### NOTES

**i.** The above lists are not exhaustive, as there are many Bukawa compound words in which reference to various body parts are combined. For example:

Compounds involving the hand/arm *amba*:

- **ambaduc** (*amba+duc*) ‘elbow’ (lit. ‘arm+upper:limb:joint’)
- **ambasu** (*amba+su*) ‘wrist’ (lit. ‘arm+lower:limb:joint’)
- **ambasoki** (*amba+soki*) ‘little finger’ (lit. ‘arm+__’)
- **ambayha** (*amba+yha*) ‘fingernail’ (lit. ‘arm+shell’)

Compounds involving the leg – both *gahi- and ha-*:

- **gahiduc** (*gahi+duc*) ‘knee’ (lit. ‘leg+upper:limb:joint’)
- **gahiapa** (*gahi+apa*) ‘sole of foot’ (lit. ‘leg+flat:surface’)
- **gahidôm bwê** (*gahi+ŋadôm bwê*) ‘top of foot’ (lit. ‘leg+back’)
- **hakwa** (*ha+ŋakwa*) ‘shin bone’ (lit. ‘leg+bone’)
- **hagalôc** (*ha+galôc*) ‘sinews, behind knee/ankle’ (lit. ‘leg+sinew’)

Compounds involving the eye *tandô* – these all use a shortened form *ta-*:

- **tabalêp** (*tandô+balêp*) ‘crust on eyelash’ (lit. ‘eye+crust’)
- **takwa** (*tandô+ŋakwa*) ‘temple bone’ (lit. ‘eye+bone’)
- **tapu** (*tandô+pu*) ‘eyebrow’ (lit. ‘eye+__: possibly ŋapu although this normally means ‘underneath’)
- **tasulu** (*tandô+sulu*) ‘tears’ (lit. ‘eye+water:soup’)

There is an obvious relationship between the ‘*ta-*’ part of these compound nouns and the word *tandô* ‘eye’. It may be that the word *tandô* ‘eye’ is actually a reduced composite of *ta + andô* ‘eye’ + ‘true’ (cf. other body part terms such as *ali andô* ‘cheek’ and *aŋô andô* ‘face (front part)’. If that is the case, then the two components have become ‘fixed’ together in time such that the word is inflected as a whole (*tanôg, tanôm, tandô*) rather than as would normally be expected – *ta-ŋ-andô/ta-m-andô* etc.).

**ii.** There are some irregularities in person marked compounds as follows:

- **Vowel changes:**
  - **atuŋgac** (*atu-ŋgac, atô-m-ŋgac*) ‘son’
  - **lhuŋgac** (*lhu-ŋgac, lhô-m-ŋgac*) ‘brother’ (female’s XSSIB)
  - **lhuwê** (*lhu-ŋ-wê, lhô-m-wê*) ‘sister’ (male’s XSSIB)
nêsip (ne-ŋ-sip, ne-m-sip) ‘nephew’

nêsipwê (ne-ŋ-sipwê, ne-m-sipwê) ‘niece’

têwê (te-ŋ-wê, te-m-wê) ‘female cousin’ (male’s XSSIB)

(The first three examples exhibit the morphophonemic vowel change process described in §2.5.1. In the last three examples the vowel ê is lowered to the vowel e when the infix is added.)

Loss of glottal stop:
sôcgaloc (sôŋgaloc, sômgaloc) ‘navel (belly button)’

A doubly marked compound that is marked with both an infix and a suffix:
tôkwa ( tôŋkwâŋ, tômkwam) ‘jaw (mouth area-bone)’

The reason for this double marking is hard to explain as there are many other compounds involving ŋakwa ‘bone’ that are not doubly marked. If it were defined as a true phrase consisting of two separate nouns rather than as a compound noun, it would be the only example of tô ‘mouth’ existing as a free morpheme, and also an unusual instance of the noun ŋakwa occurring as an independent word without the genitive prefix.

One other irregular form is the following:
tawaŋga (tawaŋaŋ, tawaŋam) ‘corner of eye’

This is one compound form based on ta(ndô) ‘eye’ (see others under note ii. above) where instead of the infix marking following ta, the genitive agreement marking is suffixed, and the stop deletion process also occurs.

### 3.1.2.3 Derived body part compounds

Bukawa has a range of (predominantly) compound words based on nouns that carry genitive agreement marking, but which distribute and function in ways other than as heads of noun phrases. The majority of these compounds are based on ta(ndô) ‘eye’.

The most common of these other functions is that of non-verbal predicates. Other alternative functions are as attributive modifiers and adverbials.

#### 3.1.2.3.1 Body part nouns functioning as non-verbal predicates

Some of the non-verbal predicates described in this section consist of a compound between a body part noun and a verb. In others, the second part of the compound is a particle that does not otherwise occur independently. However, even when compounded with verbal forms, the body part of the compound seems to over-ride normal verbal inflection even though the compound functions as a predicate.

Non-verbal predicates are described in more detail in §4.2.2, however these are presented here because of the relationship with the body part noun constructions described in this section.

Because of the genitive marking, the non-verbal predicates in this class show distinction for subject person, but there is no distinction for plurality or modality. Many of the Bukawa body part predicates encode experiential notions or emotions.
NOTE: Body part predicates are not the only instance of Bukawa nouns functioning as predicates. The complements of equative clauses (as described in §4.2.2.3) are other examples of this. In distinction from those however, the non-verbal predicates described in this section are all body part nouns, most of which are compounds with another word. A further distinction from equative clauses is the fact that body part predicates commonly co-occur with manner adverbs, whereas equative clauses do not (see NOTES below).

There is only one example of a body part predicate that is a simple word (daê ‘to be pregnant’) rather than a compound:

(16) daê-ŋ ‘I/we be pregnant’ (lit. ‘belly/insides.GEN1’)
daê-m ‘you-S/P are pregnant’
daê-Ø ‘she/they are pregnant’

(17) am oc daêm ma kóc balêkoc ŋgac
2S NR stomach.GEN2 and 2/3S.take child(ren) man
‘You will be(come) pregnant and bear a son.’

The rest of the body part predicates are compound forms, which have the genitive agreement marking infixed between a body part noun and the second part of the compound. For example:

(18) ta-ŋ-walô ‘1S/P pity/have mercy’ (lit. ‘eye-strap’)
ta-m-walô ‘2S/P pity’
ta-Ø-walô ‘3S/P pity’

(19) Aô taŋwalô iŋ ndu andô.
1S eye.GEN1 strap 3S intensely true
‘I really pitied/felt sorry for him.’

(20) Yisu tawalô lau ti gêmabac.
Jesus eye strap people with sickness
‘Jesus felt sorry for sick people.’

Other examples (note that in examples involving ta- ‘eye’, the person marker infix immediately follows ta-):

kwasa (kwaŋsa etc.) ‘be revived’ (lit. ‘bone-go.out/up’)
kwapac (sa) (kwaŋpac etc.) ‘be tired’ (lit. ‘bone-sink’)
tagatu ‘to covet’ (lit. ‘eye-shadow’)
tagêlic ‘to turn head around’ (lit. ‘eye-looked’)
tagôlô ‘to be faint’ (lit. ‘eye-grab’)
tagwalec (sa) ‘to be startled’ (lit. ‘eye-be.unripe’)
tahê ‘to stare at’ (lit. ‘eye-pull’)
takwê ‘to expect’ (lit. ‘eye-dig’)
tapo (sa) ‘to open eye’ (lit. ‘eye-break.open’)
taso ‘to search for’ (lit. ‘eye-miss’)
tatac ‘to look up (at)’
tatiq ‘to watch closely’ (lit. ‘eye-hit.against’)
tatu (sa) ‘to be scared and run away’
tôbatu (tôŋbatu etc) ‘to exhibit suppressed anger’ (lit. ‘mouth-lump’)
tôbau (tôŋbaö etc) ‘to have cross expression’ (lit. ‘mouth-hill’)
tôyaê (tôŋyaê etc.) ‘to have a disdainful expression’ (lit. ‘mouth bitter/pungent’)

NOTES

i. Co-occurrence with manner adverbial formulations was mentioned above as a further distinction between body part predicates and equative clauses. For example, the only further qualification of the complement of an equative clause such as ḫêkôdôñwaga ‘He (is a) teacher’ would be noun phrase modification such as ‘He is my teacher’ or ‘He is a good teacher’. However, body part predicates can be modified for manner. For example:

(21) Aö kwaŋpac ŋalê sac.
1S bone.GEN1.sink GENPF.way bad
‘I am extremely tired.’

(22) Pômdau tawalô yac ndu andô.
Lord eye.strap 1P intensely true
‘The Lord really pities/has mercy on us.’

ii. Several of the above examples are listed with sa bracketed, due to the fact that sa commonly co-occurs with that example. The uninflected verb sa (‘up/out’ – see §3.3.5) is given as the ‘expected’ completive of the expression. As an uninflected verb sa is often used to refer to natural phenomena or experiences ‘happening’. See further notes in §3.3.5. It is also commonly used with other examples from this list, in which case it gives the added nuance of meaning that the experience has developed rather than that it is a state. Compare the two following examples:

(23) İŋ tac ŋandê.
3S belly hot
‘He is angry.’

(24) İŋ tac ŋandê sa.
3S belly hot up/out
‘He became angry.’

3.1.2.3.2 Body part compounds as attributive modifiers

Several body part compounds function as attributive modifiers, for example in the equative clause below:

(25) Mâc lau tampec.
2P people eye.GEN2.cook
‘You (are) blind people.’

Another common example is tali ‘alive’ (lit. eye-stirred.up) which functions as an antonym of batê ‘dead’. For example:

(26) Yisu oc mbu meq ma êŋsañê lau tali
Jesus NR 3S.return 3S.come and 3SIR.test people eye.stirred
ti lau batê.
with people dead
‘Jesus will return and test/try the living and the dead.’

Other examples:

daŋgapèc (daŋgapèc etc.) ‘disobedient’ (lit. ‘ear-faeces’)
tôdahuŋ ( tôgdahuŋ etc.) ‘heavy.smoker’ (lit. ‘mouth-smoke’)
tômbwac ‘smiley/smiling’ (lit. ‘mouth-laugh’)
tôyôp ‘whistler’ (lit. ‘mouth-whistle’)

NOTE: This type of construction represents one of the types of filler of the qualitative modifier slot of the Bukawa noun phrase, which is described in §4.1.2. However, examples are given here because of the obvious relationship of the construction with others being presented in this section.

3.1.2.3.3 Body part compounds functioning adverbially

There are two examples of body part compounds functioning adverbially:

tali ‘alive’ (lit. ‘eye-stirred.up’). This has been noted above as also having a function as an attributive modifier. As a manner adverb, it occurs in class III adverb position (see §3.5.3.3):

(27) Yisu ti sa ma mbo tali tiyham.
Jesus 3S.get.up up/out and 3S.be/stay eye.stirred again
‘Jesus rose and is alive again.’

tawasê ‘alone’ (lit. ‘eye-(alone?)’). This word is unusual in that when it is marked for first or second person, it has both a genitive marking infix and suffix. It is also a ‘flexible’ form that in some instances can function as a predicate as in (28), but more commonly is used as an adverb in either class II or class V positions (29):

(28) Êlu tawasê.
3S.DL eye.alone
‘They-2 (were) alone.’

(29) Yham dom bu mac (tamwasêm) akôm gweleŋ
good NEG COMP 2P eye.GEN2.alone.GEN2 2P.do work
(tamwasêm) ŋapaŋ.
eye.GEN2.alone.GEN2 always
‘It is not good that you (alone) do work (alone) always.’

Further reference is made to these particular body part compounds functioning adverbially in the section on adverbial modification – see §3.5.3.2 and §3.5.3.5.

3.1.3 Plurality

There are two morphological methods by which plurality of a very limited group of Bukawa nouns is indicated. Plurality of nouns in most cases is indicated at the phrase
level, by the use of quantifiers or numbers in the noun phrase – see §3.6, and in a few cases by reduplication of the adjective – see §3.12.3. And at clause level, the person marking of the verb can help to indicate the plurality of a subject noun that by itself is ambiguous.

3.1.3.1 The -i post-clitic

There is a small group of nouns to which the post-clitic -i can be added to signify plurality. These are all personal nouns, although not all personal nouns take the clitic. As the group is limited, all words so far recorded that take the suffix will be listed.

- **abaŋ-i** 'my/our male ancestors’ (beyond grandfather)
- **abaŋwê-i** ‘my/our female ancestors’ (beyond grandmother)
- **abuŋgac-i** ‘my/our grandfathers/grandsons’
- **abuŋwê-i** ‘my/our grandmothers/grand daughters’
- **apa-i** ‘male ancestors’ (beyond grandfather)
- **apawê-i** ‘female ancestors’ (beyond grandmother)
- **asidôwa-i** ‘brothers’ (general term)
- **asidôwawê-i** ‘sisters’ (general term)
- **asi-i** ‘younger brothers’ (SSSIB)
- **asiwê-i** ‘younger sisters’ (SSSIB)
- **atu-i** ‘children, generally male’
- **atuŋgac-i** ‘sons’
- **atuwê-i** ‘daughters’
- **balê-i** ‘boys’
- **bawhê-i** ‘girls’
- **damba-i** ‘fathers’
- **(ŋa)dau-i** ‘owners, masters’
- **dinda-i** ‘mothers’
- **dôwa-i** ‘elder brothers’ (SSSIB)
- **dôwawê-i** ‘elder sisters’ (SSSIB)
- **lawa-i** ‘male in-laws’
- **lawawê-i** ‘female in-laws’
- **luŋgac-i** ‘female’s brothers’ (XSSIB)
- **luuwê-i** ‘male’s sisters’ (XSSIB)
- **pu(ŋgac)-i** ‘grandfathers’
- **puwê-i** ‘grandmothers’
- **sêŋom-i** ‘young men (women), disciples’
- **wacwhê-i** ‘maternal aunts’
- **wangac-i** ‘maternal uncles’

NOTES

i. The plural post-clitic is added after any genitive affixation as described in §3.1.2.2 above. For example:
dôwa-ŋ-i ‘my elder brothers’ (SSSIB)
dôwa-ŋ-wê-i ‘my elder sisters’ (SSSIB)

ii. Since -i is a clitic it can occur either on individual coordinated nouns, or on the noun phrase as a whole. The following pairs are equal in meaning:

damba ti dinda-i ‘(father and mother)s’
damba-i ti dinda-i ‘fathers and mothers’

3.1.3.2 Compounds indicating plurality

The word lau ‘people’ occurs in compounds indicating plurality. For example:

lau ‘people’ + ñgac ‘male’ —› lauñgac ‘men’
lau ‘people’ + awhê ‘female’ —› lauwhê ‘women’

NOTE: The -i plural clitic has been noted with both these compound words that are already semantically plural. The explanation given by an older Bukawa person for this phenomenon is that the -i clitic ‘extends’ the meaning of the word to include the whole group of people involved, such that:

lauñgac ‘men’ lauñgac-i ‘all the men’
lauwhê ‘women’ lauwhê-i ‘all the women’

3.1.4 Other noun notes

3.1.4.1 Genitive auxiliary noun n(d)ê

There is a set of genitive auxiliaries that indicate the person and (with some ambiguity) the number of the genitive argument. Most of these consist of the form n(d)ê + genitive suffix, but the first person plural exclusive and third person plural forms are irregular.

The stop deletion process described in note ii. of §3.1.2.1 is evident with forms having the genitive suffixes. There is also a minor vowel change between the marked forms, and the unmarked singular form (the ê of the unmarked form becomes e in the marked forms).

The auxiliaries are as follows (see also §3.2.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>GENITIVE AUXILIARY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>nem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ndê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>nem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘my thing possessed’
‘your thing possessed’
‘his/her thing possessed’
‘our (inc) thing possessed’
‘our (exc) thing possessed’
‘your thing possessed’
‘their thing possessed’

The noun phrase construction in which the genitive auxiliary noun occurs is:
(NP\textsubscript{genitive}) $n(d)\tilde{e}$ N\textit{possessed}. For example:

(30) a$\tilde{o}$ ne$\tilde{e}$ b$\tilde{e}$c  
1S GAUX.1 pig  
‘my pig’

The NP\textsubscript{genitive} component of such constructions is normally expected, but it is bracketed in the above formula because at discourse level it can be omitted. For example:

(31) $\tilde{D}ac$ s$\tilde{e}$k$\tilde{c}$ôc (Ø) si wapa ma s$\tilde{e}$lh$\tilde{o}$ si.  
3P 3P.take (Ø) GAUX.3P goods and 3P.leave 3PR.go  
‘They took their things and left.’

The use (or non-use) of these auxiliaries is mainly dependent on whether or not there are any other indicators relating to the genitive argument. There is some freedom, but as a general rule the genitive auxiliary noun is normally expected when an item does not have either a genitive agreement affix (§3.1.2), or the genitive prefix $\tilde{g}$a- (§3.12.1). It occurs commonly, but less frequently, with items having the genitive prefix, and it is least likely to occur when the ‘possessed’ item is inflected with a genitive agreement affix. These three general categories are illustrated by the following examples:

(a) Possessed items with neither a genitive agreement affix nor a genitive prefix – the genitive auxiliary noun is expected:

(32) $\tilde{g}$amalac andô nd$\tilde{e}$ andu  
person old/true GAUX.3S house  
‘(the/an) old person’s house’

(33) yac mba game$\tilde{e}$  
1P GAUX.1PX area  
‘our (exc) area/place’

(b) Possessed items with the genitive prefix – the genitive auxiliary noun commonly co-occurs. Where the prefixed word ‘normally’ has the genitive prefix, then the auxiliary noun is expected. Where the prefixed word can occur freely with or without the prefix, then it seems that the norm is to have either the prefix, or the auxiliary noun, but not both:

(34) i$\tilde{n}$ nd$\tilde{e}$ kachu / i$\tilde{n}$ $\tilde{g}$akachu (** i$\tilde{n}$ nd$\tilde{e}$ $\tilde{g}$akachu)  
3S GAUX.3S throat / 3S GENPF.throat  
‘his throat’

The following examples also illustrate this as a general principle. Even though lôm ‘room/inside’ can occur freely alone, when the meaning is ‘stomach’, the genitive prefix is normally added. On the other hand, atac ‘stomach’ occurs freely alone or with the genitive prefix:

(35) am nem $\tilde{g}$alôm / am $\tilde{g}$alôm  
2S GAUX.2S GENPF.inside / 2S GENPF.inside  
‘your stomach/insides’
(36) ** am nem atac ṗalôm / am ṗatac ṗalôm  
   2S GAUX.2S stomach GENPF.inside / 2S GENPF.stomach GENPF.inside  
   ‘(inside of) your stomach/your insides’  

Each of the two alternatives in (36) would be acceptable, indicating that the genitive auxiliary noun is not always essential. On the contrary, use of the auxiliary plus a genitive prefix on a word such as atac ‘stomach’ that does not necessarily require the genitive prefix, would not be acceptable:

(37) ** am nem ṗatac ṗalôm  
   2S GAUX.2S GENPF.stomach GENPF.inside  
   ‘(inside of) your stomach/your insides’  

In contrast to its meaning in examples (35) to (37) above, ṗalôm when used of plural subjects can also convey the meaning of ‘among them’. In such a situation, the argument is one of spatial location rather than a genitive relationship, and hence the auxiliary is not used. Compare the two following examples:

(38) ṗalau sac sêmbo ṗac si ṗalôm.  
   spirit bad 3P.be/stay 3P GAUX.3P GENPF.inside  
   ‘Bad/evil spirits were in their insides (hearts).’

(39) Lau ti gauc daêsam sêmbo ṗac ṗalôm.  
   people with thinking many 3P.be/stay 3P GENPF.inside  
   ‘Many wise people were among them.’

(c) Person marked nouns (inalienable) – in the case of these body parts, kin terms etc., the auxiliary noun is optional, being used more commonly with third person genitives whose person marker is a zero morpheme, and less commonly with first and second person genitives:

(40) aö anôŋ  
   1S face.GEN1  
   ‘my face’

(41) iŋ ndê aŋgô  
   3S GAUX.3S face  
   ‘his face’

(42) aö dinaŋ / aö neŋ dinaŋ  
   1S mother.GEN1 / 1S GAUX.1 mother.GEN1  
   ‘my mother’

(NOTE: while the second part of example (42) is acceptable, it probably would occur mainly as an answer to a question such as ‘Whose mother is that?’)

3.1.4.2 Proper nouns

There are few formal or grammatical distinctions in the Bukawa language between proper and common nouns. Most Bukawa people are familiar with the convention of using capitals to write names of people and places.
One of the grammatical restrictions that apply to proper nouns is that in general, proper nouns do not occur in (NP_{genitive}) constructions such as ‘my John’ or ‘his Bukawa’ etc. In addition, proper nouns do not often take quantifiers such as ‘one Fred’ or ‘four Markhams’.

### 3.2 Pronouns

#### 3.2.1 Free pronouns

The Bukawa pronouns with the associated genitive auxiliary nouns (see §3.1.4.1) are shown in the following table. The system of pronouns is fairly simple, with no case marking for the non-genitive forms. The same basic pronominal form (even the dual forms) can appear in place of nouns or noun phrases wherever they would occur in a clause or sentence. Clause position indicates whether a pronoun functions as subject or object, and adpositions usually indicate other functions such as recipient or beneficiary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>PRONOUN</th>
<th>PRONOUN + GAUX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>aö</td>
<td>‘I, me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aö neŋ</td>
<td>‘my, mine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DLX</td>
<td>alu</td>
<td>‘we two (exc)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DL+</td>
<td>hêclu/yêclu</td>
<td>‘we two (inc)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>‘you(s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>am nem</td>
<td>‘your/s (s)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DL</td>
<td>amlu</td>
<td>‘you two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amlu nem</td>
<td>‘your/s (DL)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>iŋ</td>
<td>‘him, her, it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iŋ ndê</td>
<td>‘his/hers/its’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DL</td>
<td>iŋ lu</td>
<td>‘they/two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iŋ lu si</td>
<td>‘theirs (DL)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>yac</td>
<td>‘we, us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yac mba</td>
<td>‘our/s (X)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>yac</td>
<td>‘we, us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yac neŋ</td>
<td>‘our/s (+)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mac/mwac</td>
<td>‘you (pl)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mac nem</td>
<td>‘your/s (pl)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>njac</td>
<td>‘they, them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>njac si</td>
<td>‘their/s’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES**

i. As can be seen in the above chart, the Bukawa pronouns have little or no morphemic structure. Only two groups show further structure:

(a) the dual forms: -lu (‘two’) is phonologically bound to the pronoun and pronounced as one word. The reduction of aö + lu to alu ‘we two (exc)’ demonstrates this close phonological combination.

Occasionally the 3S.DL form iŋ lu ‘they two’ may be simply reduced to the numeral lu ‘two’. For example:

(43) **Kêcsôwa daŋ ... kôc iŋ sa ma lu si sêmbo**
    cassowary a/one 3S.take 3S up/out and two 3PR.go 3P.be/stay
    iŋ ndê malac.

3S GAUX.3S village

‘A cassowary took him and they went and lived at its place.’
The forms hêclu and yêclu ‘we two (inc)’ seem to be in free alternation, depending on individual speakers. The former appears to be the more common of the two.

(b) there is a compound form of the 1S pronoun and the 1S genitive:

\[
aö \ neq \rightarrow \ aneq \quad \text{‘my/mine’}
\]

ii. Mwac is not used as commonly as mac, and is favoured more by some individuals than others. It seems to be used in contexts that are more ‘affectionate’ and less exhortative or imperative.

iii. While the third person plural pronoun njac ‘they’ has never been noted in reference to inanimate objects, there seems to be a change taking place in the Bukawa language when reference is made to inanimate objects by means of the 3S pronoun in ‘it’. Such usage is not common among older people, however, it is often noted among younger speakers of the language, and may reflect some influence of the Tok Pisin em or the English it.

Generally, reference to an inanimate object is by means of a noun or noun phrase, by demonstratives for example gêñ dinâñ ‘that thing,’ or by zero ellipsis after the object has been introduced. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
Iŋ \ kóc \ gêñ \ dau \ sa \ ma \ bu \ pec \ (Ø) \ neq \\
3S \ 3S.\text{take} \ \text{thing/s DEM up/out and POT} \ 3S.\text{cook} \ (Ø) \ 3SIR.\text{eat}
\end{align*}
\]

(Ø) magoc ya mba.
(Ø) but fire NEG.EX
‘She took the thing and wanted to cook (it) (and) eat (it), but there was no fire.’

3.2.2 Reflexive pronoun dau

The reflexive pronoun dau (glossed as REFPN) is distinguished from a homonym dau which functions as a demonstrative particle (glossed as DEM – see §3.7), on the basis of the following:

(a) The reflexive pronoun dau takes the genitive agreement affixes, whereas the demonstrative is uninflected:

\[
\begin{align*}
aö/yac \ dauq \quad & \text{‘I myself/we ourselves’} \\
äm/mac \ daöm \quad & \text{‘you yourself/you yourselves’} \\
iŋ/njac \ dau \quad & \text{‘he himself – she herself- it itself/they themselves’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) The reflexive pronoun can stand alone as a pronoun, whereas the demonstrative only occurs in the appropriate slot of noun phrases. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
Iŋ \ gauc \ gêm \ têŋ \ dau \quad & \ldots \\
3S \ 3S.\text{think} \ 3SIR.\text{do 3S-go.to REFPN.3} \\
& \text{‘He thought to himself ... ’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Iŋ \ som \ têŋ \ bawhe \ dau \quad & \ldots \\
3S \ 3S.\text{say 3S-go.to girl DEM} \\
& \text{‘He said to the/that girl ... ’}
\end{align*}
\]
The reflexive pronoun can be added to the free pronoun forms to indicate focus or intensity, as shown in example (45) above. One example of this focus is when the post-positional clitic -ŋga is combined with dau to signify individuality or separateness:

(48)  gàŋ daŋ dau -ŋga
thing a/one REFPN.3 -of/for
‘a different/separate thing’

(49)  mac andöc daôm -ŋga
2P 2P.sit REFPN.2 -of/for
‘you (pl) sit separately/apart’

Another function is to convey the sense that the person/s involved came alone or empty-handed:

(50)  Yac dauŋ dec amoreŋ.
1P REFPN.1 this 1PX.come
‘We alone have come/We have come just as we are.’

The reflexive pronoun also occurs with some Bukawa verbs in an object slot, to signify several things:

– reflexivity of action:
  yob dau  ‘3S take care; look out’ (lit. ‘care for self’)
  pu dau  ‘3S be humble/repent’ (lit. ‘put down self’)
  hu dau  ‘3S fall down’ (lit. ‘to launch (in flight) self’)

– a personal state:
  tôc dau  ‘3S be afraid’ (cf. tôc s.th. ‘3S fear s.th.’)
  hêgo dau  ‘3S be worried’
  kêwhoŋ dau  ‘3SR rested’

3.2.3 Reciprocal pronoun dandi

Bukawa also has a distinct third person plural reciprocal pronoun dandi ‘each other.’ (This has only been noted for 3P referents – there are no forms for 1P or 2P).

(51)  Ñac sic dandi.
3P 3PR.hit RECIP
‘They hit/fought with each other.’

(52)  Ñac sêsôm dandi.
3P 3P.speak RECIP
‘They argued.’ (lit. ‘they scolded each other’)

The reflexive pronoun dau (§3.2.2) is also commonly used to signify reciprocity with 3P referents – see for instance, example (138) below. (With 1P or 2P referents dau is the only means to indicate reciprocity). In rare instances dandi has been noted in use where there is no actual reciprocity of action (perhaps to imply ‘communal inclusivity’). For example:
3.2.4 Interrogative pronoun

When the interrogative pronoun is used, a distinction is made between human and non-human referents:

- for humans the pronoun is **asa** ‘who(m)’, and
- for non-humans the pronoun is **sake** ‘what’ (sometimes abbreviated to **ake**).

The same form is used for referents in both subject and object position. There are no plural forms, but a plural human referent is sometimes indicated by **lau asa** ‘which people/who(m)’:

(54)  **Asa kôm gêŋ dinaŋ?**
who 3S.do thing/s that
‘Who did that (thing)?’

(55)  **Am kêŋ téŋ lau asa?**
2S 2/3S.give 3S.go.to people who
‘Which people (whom) did you give (it) to?’

(56)  **Am kôm gêŋ sake/ake?**
2S 2/3S.do thing/s what
‘What did you do?’

Sometimes the interrogative pronoun **asa** is used for an ‘uncertain’ human referent meaning ‘who(m)ever’ rather than as a direct interrogative. In such cases a relative clause introduced by the complementiser **naŋ** usually further qualifies the referent. Some examples:

(57)  **Asa naŋ bu nem gweleŋ naŋ oc tap ṇaôle sa.**
who RC POT 3SIR.do work GIV NR 3S.find payment up/out
‘Whoever does work, he will get pay.’

(58)  **Mac lau asa naŋ tac whiŋ bu aneŋ gêŋ naŋ ameŋ.**
2P people who RC belly with COMP 2PIR.eat thing/s GIV 2P.come
‘You whoever want to eat, come.’

Indefinite non-human referents are often referred to simply as **gêŋ** ‘(some)thing/s’, which is sometimes further qualified using **bocke** ‘what/how’. This is possibly a contraction of **boc** ‘like’ and (s)ake ‘what’. For example:

(59)  **Ma taso gêŋ bu tap ndip basô me gêŋ**
and eye.miss thing/s COMP 3S.find coconut dry or thing/s
**bocke** sa ma neŋ.
what/(ever) up/out and 3SIR.eat
‘And (she) searched for (some)thing, to find a dry coconut or whatever, and eat it.’
NOTE: See §6.6.1 for a further description of this and other Bukawa question words such as ‘when’, ‘where’, ‘how’ and ‘why’.

3.3 Verbs

The characteristic function of a verb is defined as the head or nucleus of the predication in which it occurs. Bukawa has several different classes of verbs that are differentiated on the basis of the forms of their prefixation.

Before presenting paradigms for the classes of Bukawa verb classes, brief comments will be made on modality.

MODALITY

The Bukawa language distinguishes two moods, namely realis and irrealis. Realis mood is used where the action has either been completed, or is currently in progress. For example:

(60) ŋac sic bôc daêsam ndu.

3P 3PR.hit pig many intensely
‘They killed many pigs.’

(61) ŋac seŋ gê sêmbo.

3P 3PR.eat thing/s 3P.stay
‘They were eating.’

Irrealis mood can be used to signify a range of things:

(a) Events that are expected to occur in the future. For example:

(62) ŋac oc sêndic bôc daêsam ndu.

3P NR 3PR.hit pig many intensely
‘They will kill many pigs.’

(b) Imperatives:

(63) Am ndi!

2S 2/3SIR.go
‘You go!’

(c) Statements of volition introduced by the modal adverb bu ‘want to’:

(64) Aô bu wanôm bu.

1S POT 1SIR.drink water
‘I want to drink water.’

(d) Many complements introduced by the complementiser bu (see §6.2.2) are expressed in irrealis:

(65) Am tac whîŋ bu neŋ gêŋ me mba?

2S belly 3S.be.with COMP 2/3SIR.eat thing/s or NEG.EX
‘Do you want to eat (something/food) or not?’
(e) Statements of purpose are expressed in irrealis:

(66) **Alhabêc aö gasip saleŋ bu wansalê wata.**
    yesterday 1S 1SR.descend bush COMP 1SIR.seek meat
    ‘Yesterday I went into the bush to find game.’

(f) Irrealis mood is used in clauses that introduce ‘incipient’ speech complements in which a person explains what he/she is about to say (even though the speech has actually begun):

(67) **Aö wasôm têŋ mac bu inŋ gac ñgayham.**
    1S 1SIR.say 3S.go.to 2P COMP 3S man good
    ‘I tell you that he is a good man.’

(68) **Aö wanem danŋe am tu gêŋ đanŋe -ŋga -ŋga.**
    1S 1SIR.do thanking 2S for thing/s 1P+IR.eat -of/for -of/for
    ‘I thank you for (the) food.’

(g) Conditional statements and their outcomes:

(69) **U bu ndic dec yac oc andi dom.**
    rain POT 2/3SIR.hit so 1P NR 1PXIR.go NEG
    ‘If it rains, then we will not go.’

(h) Counter-factual statements:

(70) **Aö bu wameŋ dom dec aö oc watap gêŋ ñhayham**
    1S POT 1SIR.come NEG so 1S NR 1SIR.find thing/s good
    
    **dindec sa dom boqdinäŋ.**
    this up/out NEG like/that
    ‘If I had not come, then I would have not found this good thing.’

(i) Procedures that would occur under normal circumstances are often related using the irrealis mood. For example in one recorded story (the Python text), after a brief introduction, there is an excursus explaining the traditional practice associated with the rite of passage for young girls upon the attainment of sexual maturity. The use of irrealis throughout this section is as if to say, ‘This is the way they would do it ...’. Even though such events have actually happened, that particular description did not refer to any one particular event.

**VERB MORPHOLOGY**

The morphology of Bukawa verbs (apart from class V non-inflecting verbs) consists of prefixation that indicates person and modality, although there is some ambiguity. In general the person marking prefix is identical for both 1PX and 2P forms, and 2S and 3S person marking is ambiguous in most classes. Modality is ambiguous in the plural forms of all classes except class IV – designated as the ‘modality class’ for that reason.

The following verb classes have been defined (the prefixes shown in brackets represent the form of the 3SR/3SIR prefixes):
3.3.1 Class I: The zero prefix group

In this class neither the 3SR or the 3SIR forms of the verb show prefixation, so only the 1S forms distinguish modality. A small group of verbs in this class have a semi-vowel insertion process in the 2S forms. Virtually all the verbs in this class have a mono-syllabic stem.

**Basic format**, for example sôm ‘say’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>MODALITY</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ga-sôm</td>
<td>wa-sôm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>sôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>sôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>da-sôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>a-sôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-sôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>sê-sôm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTES**

i. There is a semi-vowel insertion process to the 2S form of verbs that have a word initial labial, for example p, m and mb, followed by any unrounded vowel. No examples of verbs beginning with b have been noted in this class. The following list of examples is exhaustive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mbác</th>
<th>‘3S weaken/wilt’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbác ndu</td>
<td>‘3S die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meŋ</td>
<td>‘3S come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>‘3S hew planks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pec</td>
<td>‘3S cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peŋ</td>
<td>‘3S fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pê</td>
<td>‘3S hold in hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pèc</td>
<td>‘3S defecate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pêŋ</td>
<td>‘3S punch/chop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi</td>
<td>‘3S go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piŋ</td>
<td>‘3S carry on chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pip</td>
<td>‘3S squeeze’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii. The 3P prefix (sê-) occasionally shows vowel harmony with verb stems that have the lower vowel e. This process appears to be in free fluctuation, varying according to speaker. For example:

sêmeŋ ~ semẹŋ ‘3P (they) come’

iii. Other variations – With the 2S form of verbs beginning with n, this is sometimes altered to an m, however this also fluctuates according to the speaker. For example:

ndöc ‘3S sit’ → mdöc ‘2S sit’

This could have resulted from a reduction of the basic formulation with the 2S pronoun:

(a)m (n)döc → mdöc

Another variant of this phenomenon is the word blic ‘2S look/see.’ This is derived from the verb lic ‘to see’ (class II below). This 2S form is possibly also a result of the reduction of (a)m lic → mlic, and then interplay between the nasal m and its associated stop b to produce blic. It is the only example of class II verbs (all beginning with the letter l) where the phenomenon has been noted.

### 3.3.2 Class II: The gV-/Ø- prefix group

This class of verbs is distinct from class I verbs in that the 2/3SR prefix is gV- rather than Ø. The prefix is cited as gV- because the vowel in the prefix assimilates to the vowel that follows it in the verb stem.

All of the verbs in this class are mono-syllabic and have l (or lh) as their initial consonant. (In several instances (see note below) where the verb stem contains the devoiced lh, the prefix consonant g exhibits voicing harmony with that consonant and becomes the devoiced k.)

Another feature of the verbs in this class is that in realis mode the stem is low toned, whereas in irrealis mode it has high tone.

**Basic format**, for example lic ‘see’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ga-lic</td>
<td>wa-lic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>gê-lic</td>
<td>lic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>gê-lic</td>
<td>lic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>da-lic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>a-lic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-lic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>sê-lic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** The 2SR and 3SR prefix vowel assimilates to the vowel in the verb stem:
Chapter 3

ga- precedes stems with the vowel a e.g. galac ‘2SR/3SR sail’
go- precedes stems with the vowel o e.g. golom ‘2SR/3SR go across’
gô- precedes stems with the vowel ô e.g. gôlôn ‘2SR/3SR assent’
gu- precedes stems with the vowel u e.g. guluc ‘2SR/3SR vomit’
gê- precedes stems with ê or i e.g. gêlic ‘2SR/3SR see’
gôlôc ‘2SR/3SR assent’
ge- precedes stems with the vowel e e.g. gele ‘2SR/3SR singe’
(k)ö- precedes stems with vowel ô e.g. kölhô ‘2SR/3SR depart’

NOTE: There are three known class II verbs for which the prefix consonant g reverts to a k (at least in the central dialect). As the root of both of these begins with the devoiced lh, this is probably an isolated example of voicing harmony that has been preserved from earlier times. The vowel assimilation rules still apply:

ka-lhaç ‘2SR/3SR stood up’
ke-lhec ‘2SR/3SR skin s.th.’
kö-lhô ‘2SR/3SR depart’

The form kalhaç alternates with kac ‘to stand’ in the central dialect.

3.3.3 Class III: The kê/êŋ- prefix group

Verbs in this class all have inflection of the basic stem by prefixation indicating person and/or modality. The basic form of the 3S prefixes is kê-/êŋ-. These prefixes distinguish modality in the singular forms, but not in the plural forms. While the roots of many of the verbs in this class are multi-syllabic, this is not always the case.

Singular realis prefixes and plural prefixes resemble those of class II except that the voiced stops of the class II prefixes (g for SR forms and d for 1P+ form) are devoiced in this class.

The other distinction of prefixes in this class is that singular irrealis prefixes and all the plural prefixes have a final nasal added. For the 2SIR prefix the nasal is always m. For the other SIR and plural prefixes, the nasal is most commonly n, however this nasal assimilates to the initial consonant of the verb stem (see NOTES below).

Basic format, for example êŋkuc ‘3SR (he will) follow’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ka-kuc</td>
<td>waŋ-kuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>kê-kuc</td>
<td>êm-kuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>kê-kuc</td>
<td>êŋ-kuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td></td>
<td>taŋ-kuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td></td>
<td>aŋ-kuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td></td>
<td>aŋ-kuc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td></td>
<td>sêŋ-kuc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES

i. Nasal assimilation – the nasals on all the SIR prefixes (apart from 2SIR) and plural prefixes in this class assimilate phonologically to the first consonant of the verb stem, where that consonant is a stop or a nasal. The assimilation matches the point of articulation of that verb stem consonant.

If -N- is used to represent the basic form of the nasal in these prefixes, then the variant forms are as follows:

-N- → -n- / preceding stem initial d, and t. For example:

- wan-ti  ‘I will run’
- ên-dôhôŋ  ‘he will teach’

-N- → -m- / preceding stem initial b, p and m. For example:

- tam-balip  ‘we-inc scatter’
- êm-piŋ  ‘he/it will come near’
- sêm-masaŋ*  ‘they prepare’

-N- → -ŋ- / elsewhere. For example:

- sêŋ-gapiŋ  ‘they cut (with scissors)’
- aŋ-kuc  ‘we-exc/you-pl follow’
- taŋ-sêlêŋ  ‘we-inc walk’
- waŋ-lhip (mbu)  ‘I will draw (breath)’
- êŋ-ŋiŋ*  ‘it will inebriate/confuse’
- êŋ-wic  ‘he will shake’
- taŋ-whaŋ dauŋ  ‘we-inc rest’
- êŋ-yalê  ‘he will know’

*NOTE: the nasal cluster reduction process occurs when similar nasals come together.

The allomorphs of the class III verb prefixes are thus:

- waŋ- / wan- / wam-  ‘1SIR prefix, class III’
- êŋ- / ên- / êm-  ‘3SIR prefix, class III’
- taŋ- / tan- / tam-  ‘1P+ prefix, class III’
- aŋ- / an- / am-  ‘1PX/2P prefix, class III’
- sêŋ- / sên- / sêm-  ‘3P prefix, class III’

The second person irrealis prefix remains as êm- in all contexts:

- êm-baliŋ  ‘2SIR throw’
- êm-galêm  ‘2SIR invite’
- êm-liŋ (siŋ)  ‘2SIR forget’
- êm-piŋ  ‘2SIR be near’
- êm-ti  ‘2SIR run’
- êm-whaŋ daôm  ‘2SIR rest’
- êm-dôhôŋ  ‘2SIR teach’
- êm-kuc  ‘2SIR follow’
- êm-masaŋ  ‘2SIR prepare’
- êm-sau  ‘2SIR deceive’
- êm-yalê  ‘2SIR know’
There is some fluctuation in the allomorphs that precede stem initial wh, l, lh and y. With some Bukawa speakers the nasal of the prefix is dropped out altogether. This occurs most notably with the 3P forms, and preceding stems beginning with l. The following fluctuations may be heard (examples given are for 3P forms, but other forms too exhibit the fluctuation):

\[\text{sēŋlaŋ} \sim \text{sēlaŋ} \quad \text{‘they broadcast’}\]
\[\text{sēŋsēlēŋ} \sim \text{sēsēlēŋ} \quad \text{‘they walk’}\]
\[\text{sēŋwhaŋ} \sim \text{sēwhaŋ (dau)} \quad \text{‘they rest’}\]
\[\text{sēqyalē} \sim \text{sēyalē} \quad \text{‘they understand’}\]

ii. Prefix vowel assimilation – there is a small group of verbs in this class where the prefix vowel ê (front-high-open) becomes e (front-mid-closed). This is due to vowel assimilation with open front or back root vowels (e or o) in the stem of these verbs:

\[\text{embelec/kebelec} \quad \text{‘to come loose’}\]
\[\text{empweŋ/kepweŋ} \quad \text{‘to boil greens’}\]
\[\text{endehe/kedehe} \quad \text{‘to weigh down’}\]
\[\text{entoc/ketoc} \quad \text{‘to boil’}\]
\[\text{eŋ(ŋ)gec/keŋgec} \quad \text{‘to make fun of’}\]
\[\text{eŋgeleŋ/kegeleŋ} \quad \text{‘to scout around, hunt for (game)’}\]
\[\text{eŋlhec/kelhec} \quad \text{‘to strip bark, skin’}\]
\[\text{eŋseleŋ/keseleŋ} \quad \text{‘to flow (water/river)’}\]
\[\text{eŋsenem/kesenem} \quad \text{‘to splash’}\]

iii. An alternative analysis could be to regard the nasal as part of the stem instead of the prefixes, and postulate that this nasal drops off the stem in the singular realis forms. However, while it would seem fairly natural to postulate that stems beginning with stops become prenasalised in the irrealis forms, that process would not be so easy to explain for stems beginning with non-obstruents such as l(h), s, w, or y. And such an approach may be hard to maintain in light of the fact that the nasal remains in the plural forms for both realis and irrealis mood.

3.3.4 Class IV: The modality group

The distinctive feature of class IV Bukawa verbs is that the verb stems consist of grammatically conditioned allomorphs that distinguish between realis and irrealis modality. Hence for want of a better term the class has been named the modality group.

The stems in irrealis mode all begin with n, (or nd) which is lost in the realis mode. This process could be described as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CV} & \rightarrow \text{ØØ}/[\text{realis}] \\
1 & 2 & 3 \\
[\text{irrealis}] & 1 & 2 & 3
\end{align*}
\]

For example (with the stem underlined):

\[\text{CV} \rightarrow \text{ØØ}/[\text{realis}] \]
\[\text{1} \quad 2 \quad 3 \\
[\text{irrealis}] \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad 3\]
The verb prefixes in this class share general similarities with those in verb class II without vowel harmony, though for the 1P+ prefix there is a voicing distinction between realis (ta-) and irrealis (da-), and there are some vowel differences between the realis and irrealis prefixes for 2S, 3S and 3P subject persons.

Two of the verbs in this class (gic/ndic and gêm/nem) commonly function in combination with other words to produce a very diverse range of meanings. There are two general types of such combinations:

(a) The verb plus an event noun form a complex predicate. At sentence level there is often another noun that functions as the object of the complex predicate. Examples (78–80) and (84–85) below depict such usage.

(b) The verb combines with an adverb, which helps to define the meaning of the predicate. The majority of such combinations are with class III manner adverbs (see §3.5.3.3), where the adverb closely follows the object in the sentence. Example (81) depicts this type of combination.

These verb-event noun and verb-adverb combinations will be described in this paper as ‘complex predicates’. Some such event nouns and adverbs have only been recorded as constituents of such predicates, whereas others commonly occur as free words.

The range of combinations between these verbs and event nouns or adverbs will be described with the relevant verb paradigm in this section, rather than repeating some of this material in the section on phrases.

Glossing examples of this verb class is complicated by the fact that modality is ambiguous with several of the prefixes and so is really only evident from the verb root. To be technically correct the gloss should reflect this. For example the 2P forms for irrealis and realis of ndic ‘hit’ should be glossed as shown here:

(72) **andic** and **ac**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2P.hit(IR)</th>
<th>2P.hit(R)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

However, for the sake of simplicity and consistency in this paper, examples will be glossed to indicate modality on the prefix, even though modality for some of the forms of these Class IV verb is only indicated on the verb stem.

Because there is a limited set of verbs in this class, a complete paradigm of each one will be given below. Each will be identified by the 3SR/3SIR forms.

### 3.3.4.1 gic/ndic

The stem of this verb could be represented as (ndi)c. (Only the glottal stop remains in the realis form of the stem). The verb is a very common constituent of complex predicates, but it does also occur alone where it has the general meaning ‘to hit, fall’ or ‘cut’.

**Format**: The example gic/ndic hu ‘to start’ (lit. ‘to hit the base/origin’) will be used to give the paradigm for this verb. The stem of the verb is underlined in the chart:
Chapter 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ga-č hu</td>
<td>wa-ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>gi-č hu</td>
<td>ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>gi-č hu</td>
<td>ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>ta-č hu</td>
<td>da-ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>a-č hu</td>
<td>a-ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-č hu</td>
<td>a-ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>si-č hu</td>
<td>sê-ndîc hu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES: The following lists of examples are not exhaustive, but are given to demonstrate various usages of the verb gic/ndic.

In some cases gic/ndic functions alone as the predicate of a sentence. For example:

(73) Ŋac sic dahuc.

3P 3PR hit conch
‘They blew conch shells.’ (lit. ‘they hit conch’)

(74) Iŋ gic kwâŋ.

3S 3SR hit grass
‘He cut (the) grass.’ (lit. ‘he hit grass’)

(75) Aö bu wandic gita.

1S POT 1SR hit guitar
‘I want to play the guitar.’ (lit. ‘I want to hit guitar’)

In other instances gic/ndic is used of natural phenomena. For example:

(76) U gic.

rain 3SR hit
‘Rain fell.’ (lit. ‘rain hit’)

(77) Wapap gic.

thunder 3SR hit
‘Thunder struck.’ (lit. ‘thunder hit’)

However, the most common usage of gic/ndic is where it combines with an event noun to form the ‘semantic core’ of the predicate in a sentence that has a separate object. The following examples demonstrate this:

(78) Iŋ gic bata gweleŋ andu -ŋga.

3S 3SR hit expectation work house -of/for
‘He finished work on the house/finished the housework.’

(79) Ŋac bu sëndic gawi waŋ wakuc.

3P POT 3PR hit blessing canoe new
‘They want to bless a/the new canoe.’
(80) **Iŋ gic miŋ yom hoŋ têŋ ŋac.**  
3S 3SR.hit story talk all 3S.go.to 3P  
‘He told them everything.’

(81) **Iŋ gic (y)atu yom ma sôm bu ...**  
3S 3SR.hit command talk and 3S.say COMP  
‘He commanded and said thus ...’

Other examples of this type (for simplicity the verbs listed will be cited in the irrealis form *ndic* rather than repeating *gic/ndic* for each example):

- **ndic dabiŋ**  ‘to complete (lit. ‘hit completion’)
- **ndic mpwêŋ**  ‘to cuddle’  (lit. ‘hit hug’)
- **ndic yao**  ‘to forbid/put a taboo on s.th.’  (lit. ‘hit prohibition’)

The other common usage of the verb *gic/ndic* is in combination with manner adverbs. In nearly all instances these are class III manner adverbs that follow the object of the sentence. For example:

(82) **Iŋlu sic gatam ahuc su.**  
3S.DL 3PR.hit door closely PERF  
‘They had closed the door.’

Other examples of this type of verb – adverb combination:

- **ndic ... kêsi**  ‘to visit’  (lit. ‘hit visit(ingly)??’)
- **ndic ... kôc**  ‘to cut/divide’  (lit. ‘hit partingly – soft objects’)
- **ndic ... sa**  ‘to collect/gather’  (lit. ‘hit up/out’)
- **ndic ... ndu**  ‘to kill’  (lit. ‘hit intensely’)

The final example in the above list is a combination with a class IV manner adverb – these occur between the O and X clause constituents (and following class III adverbs).

### 3.3.4.2 *gêm/nem*

The stem of this verb is represented as *(ne)m*. The verb has the general meaning ‘to do’ and it occurs almost exclusively in combination with either event nouns or adverbs that help to delineate just what in particular is being done.

**Format:** Using the example **gêm/nem gweleŋ** ‘to do work’ (stem underlined):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ga-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td>wa-<em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>gê-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td><em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>gê-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td><em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>ta-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td>da-<em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>a-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td>a-<em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td>a-<em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>se-<em>m</em> gweleŋ</td>
<td>sê-<em>nem</em> gweleŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTES: The following lists of examples are not exhaustive, but are given to show various aspects of the usage of gêm/nem. For the sake of simplicity they will be cited in the irrealis form rather than repeating gêm/nem for each example.

Sometimes the combination of this verb plus an event noun depict a ‘complete’ action, and so they do not occur with another object in the sentence. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gêm/nem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nem ... angô</td>
<td>‘to do representing’ (lit. ‘do/be (someone’s) face’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem gweleŋ</td>
<td>‘to do work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem kwâŋ</td>
<td>‘to do barking (dog)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem wê</td>
<td>‘to sing’ (lit. ‘do song/singing’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem yomgalôm</td>
<td>‘to converse’ (lit. ‘do conversing’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In some cases the event noun can be a noun phrase. For example:

(83) **Iŋ gêm gweleŋ andu -ŋga.** 3S 3SR.do work house of/for
‘He/she worked on the house/did housework.’

Gêm/nem can also be used for the occurrence of natural phenomenon, where the sense is more ‘it happened’ rather than ‘did’. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gêm/nem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiyhô gêm</td>
<td>‘earthquake did/happened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatóŋ gêm</td>
<td>‘landslide did/happened’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, much more commonly (as with gic/ndic) gêm/nem and an event noun combine to form the ‘semantic core’ of the predicate in a sentence that has a separate object. The following examples demonstrate this:

(84) **Iŋ gêm kaŋ nac si wapa.** 3S 3SR.do stealing 3P GAUX.3P goods
‘He stole their goods.’ (lit. ‘he did stealing …’)

(85) **Yac bu anem lhi gēŋ daneŋ -ŋga.** 1P POT 1PXIR.do payment thing/s 1P+IR.eat -of/for
‘We want to buy food.’ (lit. ‘do purchasing …’)

Other examples (in all of these examples, any separate object would follow the event noun in the clause):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gêm/nem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nem akîŋ</td>
<td>‘to do serving/worshipping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem dabuŋ</td>
<td>‘to do taboo-ing/setting apart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem gÔliŋ</td>
<td>‘to do ruling/steering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem lêmûŋ</td>
<td>‘to do jealousy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem mai (yom)</td>
<td>‘to do keeping secret (talk)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem malô</td>
<td>‘to do quieting/consoling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem mbec</td>
<td>‘to do blessing/prayer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem mêtê</td>
<td>‘to do good news/preaching’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem ñandô</td>
<td>‘to do fruiting/bearing fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem oso</td>
<td>‘to do anointing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem siliŋ</td>
<td>‘to do mediation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem wapu (gô)</td>
<td>‘to do fasting/taboo-ing (taro)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nem yaom</td>
<td>‘to do caring for’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The precise meaning of the associated word in each of the two following complex verb phrases involving gêm/nem is not clear. However, they will be classified in this section (verb+event noun) rather than postulating the associated word as an adverb. No other adverbs have been recorded between the predicate and the object positions in the sentence:

- nem dala (dau) ‘to show off’ (lit. ‘do flamboyantly? (self.’)
- nem séŋ (gweleŋ) ‘to do (work) vigorously/energetically’ (lit. ‘to make a ‘road’ for (work).’)

The other common usage of gêm/nem (as with gic/ndic) is in combination with adverbial particles of manner, with the adverb following the object of the sentence, for example:

- nem _ (s.th.) ahuc ‘to cover/fill’ (lit. ‘do (s.th.) closingly’)
- nem (dau) dôŋ ‘to be quiet’ (lit. ‘do self firmly’)
- nem _ kwi ‘to turn around/translate’ (lit. ‘do … turningly’)
- nem _ sa ‘to help’ (lit. ‘do … up/out’)
- nem _ si ‘to save’ (lit. ‘do … protectively’)
- nem (ŋatu) su ‘to miscarry (a baby animal)’ (lit. ‘do (baby) away’)

An interesting example is gauc gêm (gauc means ‘thinking; wisdom’). The meaning appears to be ‘did thinking’, however it is really ‘thinking/thought happened’. That is indicated by the fact that gêm/nem applies to gauc ‘thought’ rather than to any previous subject person – the forms are either gêm or nem to show modality, for example:

(86) aö gauc gêm ‘I thought’ (lit. ‘my thinking did/happened.’)
iŋ gauc gêm ‘he/she thought’ (lit. ‘his thinking did/happened.’)
yac gauc gêm ‘we (exc) do not know’

Irrealis usage with this verb is usually imperatival with the meaning ‘remember (lit. ‘thinking, let it be done/happen’), and pronominal reference to the addressee is then omitted:

(87) (Am/mac) gauc nem ... (2S/2P) thinking 3SIR.do
‘Remember …’

There are a few instances where gêm/nem does NOT seem to follow the general meaning of ‘to do/happen.’ One curious example is gêm/nem gauc ‘to not know/be ignorant about’ (cf. gauc gêm above). In keeping with the sense of meaning in the above lists of examples, one would expect the meaning to be ‘to do thinking’, however it is almost the opposite. Perhaps the meaning is that the subject has ‘done thinking’ without coming to an understanding or realisation of the matter. With this example gêm/nem is inflected for subject person:

(88) aö gam gauc ‘I do not know’
iŋ gêm gauc ‘he/she does not know’
yac am gauc ‘we (exc) do not know’
Another interesting example is *gêm/nem ŋgac/awhê* ‘to marry man/woman.’ To give the meaning of ‘do’ to *gêm/nem* this literally means ‘to do a man/woman.’ The meaning is usually ‘to marry’ but sometimes it does have sexual connotations (‘to have sex with’). To alleviate any ambiguity the adverbial particle *sa* is sometimes added to make it clear that the reference is to marriage:

(89)  

\[ \text{Iŋ gêm awhê sa.} \]  
\[ 3S \text{ 3SR.do woman up/out} \]  
\[ ‘He married a woman.’ \]

This could still be ambiguous and mean ‘he helped a woman’ – see that meaning in the list above. But context would usually clarify which sense is intended. Or alternatively, it can be made completely unambiguous as follows:

(90)  

\[ \text{Iŋ gêm iŋ ti ndê awhê.} \]  
\[ 3S \text{ 3SR.do 3S 3S.become GAUX.3S woman} \]  
\[ ‘He married her as his wife.’ \]

### 3.3.4.3 *gê/ŋne* ‘to eat’

The stem of this verb is *(ne)ŋ*. The format is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ga-ŋ</td>
<td>wa-neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>gê-ŋ</td>
<td>neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>gê-ŋ</td>
<td>neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>ta-ŋ</td>
<td>da-neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>a-ŋ</td>
<td>a-neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a-ŋ</td>
<td>a-neŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>se-ŋ</td>
<td>sê-neŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.4.4 *gi/ndi* - ‘to go’

This is a very common verb. It is interesting in that the basic stem for the realis form is a zero morpheme – the stem is thus represented as *(ndi)Ø*.

**Format:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ga</td>
<td>wa-ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>gi</td>
<td>ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>da-ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a-ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a-ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>sê-ndi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOTE: The verb *gitôm*/nditôm*, which means ‘to be enough; be able; go as far as,’ appears to be a compound between the verb *gi/ndi* and *tôm* ‘be able/enough’. While on the surface it appears to be another class IV verb, the only compound forms in use are the 3S realis (*gitôm*) and 3S irrealis (*nditôm*) forms (or 2S which would be the same). Forms that would fit the class IV paradigm have not been noted for other subject persons, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SIR</td>
<td>** wanditôm**</td>
<td>‘I will be able’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+IR</td>
<td>** danditôm**</td>
<td>‘we-inc will be able’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, for all forms other than 3S, the compound seems to break down, as evidenced by the following example for the 2PIR form:

(91) \( \text{Mac oc andi atôm bu akôm gêŋ hoŋ.} \)
\( \text{NR 2PIR.go 2P.able COMP 2P.do thing/s all} \)
‘You(pl) will be able to do all things.’

3.3.4.5 *giŋga/nŋa*

The meaning of this verb is ‘to be finished, gone, lost, die.’ It is mainly observed in the 3S forms, and first and second person realis forms are absent for obvious reasons. The basic stem is *(n(d)i)ŋga* and it is irregular in several ways:

* the *d* in the irrealis stem only occurs in the 1S, 1P and 2P forms.
* the *ŋga* component shows person agreement suffixation for 1S, 1P and 2P person forms, as well as the stop deletion process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODALITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PERSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.5 Class V: Non-inflecting verbs

There is a small group of Bukawa verbs that are not inflected for subject person or mood. All of these express experiential notions, or encode aspect or manner. The following characteristics indicate such words to be verbs:

(a) They do not function as the head of a noun phrase.

(b) They do not fit into the frame *gêŋ ... dinaŋ* ‘that ... thing’ i.e. they do not function as the qualitative (adjectival) modifier of a noun or noun phrase.
(c) They may co-occur with the same adverbs as inflected verbs, though this is limited by the range of notions that these verbs express.

Examples of non-inflecting verbs are:

**boc** ‘(be) like’ – use of this as an independent uninflected verb has only been noted in some of the dialects of the language. However, its use (and meaning) is preserved in compounds with demonstratives such as the following (see §3.7 for examples):

**boc**(di)naŋ ‘like that’ – used as a class V manner adverb meaning ‘thus/likewise’ (see (§3.5.3.5); and also a demonstrative used in discourse to indicate something with a normally backward reference.

**boc**(din)dec ‘like this – a demonstrative generally used in discourse to indicate something with a normally forward reference.

dulu ‘to break/be separated/parted’ – this verb normally applies to solid/hard objects. For example:

(92) Ịgba amba dulu.
3S hand break
‘His arm broke.’

(93) A dulu.
3S tree break
‘(The) tree broke.’

**NOTE:** An ‘adjectival’ interpretation of dulu with the meaning ‘broken one’ could also fit each of the above examples. However, one could never use it in a framework into which other qualitative type adjectives would normally be placed such as noun____quantifier. For example:

(94) a **dulu** lu
3S tree broken(one) two
‘two broken trees’

Such a notion would normally be encoded by something like:

(95) a lu naŋ dulu su
3S tree two RC break PERF
‘two trees that have broken’

**NOTE:** dulu occurs in close association with a limited range of other Bukawa verbs, and on the surface these appear to be ‘phrase-like’ combinations similar to other complex predicates. However, because it also occurs independently as a non-inflecting verb as depicted here, and the fact that the general sense of ‘separation’ encoded by dulu is preserved in such associations, this will be analysed as a form of pivotal co-subordination or serialisation (see §6.3.2) rather than as a complex verbal predicate phrase consisting of a verb and a manner adverb.

The following is a list of the recorded co-subordinate or serialised combinations involving dulu. (… indicates where the object of the sentence may occur.):
Word classes and morphology

**Word classes and morphology**

`ndic (...) dulu` ‘to divide up, pass on (news/traditions etc.)’
(lit. ‘hit – be separated’)

`ku ... dulu` ‘to defeat’ (lit. ‘push/fall over – separate’)

`kwê ... dulu` ‘to break by treading on’ (lit. ‘step – separate’)

`pô ... dulu` ‘to break by pressing’ (lit. ‘press – separate’)

`pôŋ ... dulu` ‘to break by bending’ (lit. ‘bend – separate’)

`tê dulu` ‘to trade’ (lit. ‘fill up/collection – separate’)

---

96) `ŋac sic dulu i sip waŋ lu lu e meŋhu.`
3P 3PR hit break fish 3S. descend boat two two and/until be.filled
‘They divided up the fish into both boats until they were filled.’

97) `ŋac lau sêtê dulu gêŋ -ŋa.`
3P people 3P fill break thing/s -of/for
‘They are dealers/trading (business) people.’

98) `ŋ kŵê a daŋ dulu ma ŋakêcsia sa.`
3S 3S tread tree a/one break and noise up/out
‘He trod on a branch – it broke and there was a noise.’

**gimba** – this is a non-inflecting verb that indicates an unsuccessful or frustrated aspect (glossed as UNSUC). It is possibly a compound consisting of `gi` ‘to go’ and the existential negator `mba`. The fact that it may stand alone in a clause following the conjunction `e` ‘and/until’ in the following example shows that it can function predicatively.

99) `Dinda gêlic bu ŋ ndê balêkoc anqô mba ma kêsalê kêsalê mbo e gimba.`
mother 3SR see COMP 3S GAUX 3S child(ren) face NEG EX and
be/stay and/until UNSUC
‘The mother saw (that) her children were missing, and kept searching for them and (was) unsuccessful.

**kic** ‘to tear/be severed’. For example:

100) `Po baliŋ naŋ kêgalêŋ lôm dabuŋ naŋ kic gi lu.`
cloth long RC 3SR hang room holy GIV tear 3SR go two
‘The long cloth (curtain) that hung in the temple tore in half.’

**meŋhu** ‘to be filled’ (lit. ‘come to basis’) – an verb that encodes the aspect of ‘fullness’ as it applies to containers. For example:

101) `ŋac sêyeč i daêsam e waŋ meŋhu.`
3P 3P pull fish many and/until canoe be.filled
‘They caught many fish and the canoe was filled.’

**pacndê** ‘to end/be finished’ – an aspectual verb signifying completion. For example:

102) `ŋac si gweleŋ hoŋ pacndê su.`
3P GAUX 3P work all be.finished PERF
‘All their work is finished.’
paŋ ‘to go right up to’ is an uninflected verb usually occurring with another verb of motion to encode the aspectual notion that the motion has completely reached its goal.

(103) Ịṣ sóc andu gi ndóc paŋ damba.
3S 3SR.enter house 3SR.go 3S.sit go.right.to father
‘He entered the house and sat near/against (his) father.’

(104) Sic aheŋ kêsêlêŋ ŋapaŋ e tên  Apêm ma
3SR.hit message 3SR.walk always and/until 3S.go.to Yabêm and
Dambi nduc ma paŋ e Lahê ti Gala.
Tami island and go.right.to and/until Lae with Kela
‘They sent out the message (and) it kept going as far as Yabêm (area) and Tami Island and all the way to Lae and Kela.’

There is an associated compound form meŋpaŋ that is used in phrases such as the following to convey the meaning ‘neighbour’ (literally meaning ‘one who comes right up to (is/lives near) you.’):

(105) lau meŋpaŋ am -ŋga
people come.go.right.to 2S -of/for
‘your neighbours’

sa is a common inflected verb that is glossed as ‘(to go) up/out.’ As a non-inflected verb it commonly co-occurs with the encoding of natural phenomena, and personal emotions or experiences, especially when there is a development process involved. Examples of usage as a non-inflected verb:

(106) Ńasec sa (su).
dark up/out (PERF)
‘It became (has become) dark.’

(107) Gameŋ ŋaŋeŋ sa.
area quiet up/out
‘The place was/became quiet.’

(108) Ịŋ ndê ôm ŋandô sa su.
3S GAUX.3S garden fruit up/out PERF
‘His garden has borne fruit.’ (lit. ‘its fruit has come up/happened’)

(109) Ìac hoŋ atac ŋayham sa.
3P all belly good up/out
‘They all were/became happy.’

Another extremely common usage of the non-inflecting form of the verb sa is in co-subordinate constructions or verb serialisation – (see §6.3.2), even though in many such instances its general sense of ‘up/out’ is not always apparent (see for example gêm/nem sa, suŋ sa, tap sa). This is a listing of the most common usages:

êŋgalêm ... sa ‘to invite, summons’
êŋyaliŋ ... sa ‘to choose, appoint, mark out’
gêm/nem ... sa ‘to help’ (lit. ‘do up/out’)
gic/ndic ... sa ‘to gather up, assemble’ (lit. ‘hit up/out’)

hôc ... sa ‘to lift up’
kac ... sa ‘to assemble; to open’
kip ... sa ‘to investigate’ (lit. ‘dig up/out’)
kôc ... sa ‘to take, receive, accept’ (lit. ‘get up/out’)
ku ... sa ‘to fall over, be up-rooted’
li ... sa ‘to stir up, agitate’
sê ... sa ‘count’ (lit. ‘brush with hand – out’)
suŋ ... sa ‘to come/be near’
tap ... sa ‘to find, discover, meet’
toc ... sa ‘to respect, honour’ (lit. ‘place up/out’)
whê (yom) sa ‘to explain’ (lit. ‘weave (talk) up/out’)

yô ‘to cause need (thirst, hunger)’ – in these examples the cause of the deprivation is encoded in subject position (or agent), and the one deprived as object (or patient). The patient is often thematised in such cases. For example:

(110) (Aö) bu/geh/hêc yô aö.
(1S) water/thing(s)/sleep 3S.cause.need 1S
‘I am thirsty/hungry/tired.’ (lit. ‘(As for me) water (etc.) makes me needy.’)

3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives form a distinct class of words in the Bukawa language. The following criteria distinguish adjectives from nouns and other word classes:

(a) An adjective can never occur alone in the head slot of a noun phrase.

(b) Adjectives can never be possessed. For example one does not normally speak of someone’s ‘goodness’. Instead, one must say either that he is a ‘good man’ or speak of some characteristic of his that is good:

(111) Iŋ ngac ṭayham.
3S man good
‘He (is a) a good man.’

(112) Iŋ ndê métê ṭayham.
3S GAUX.3S behaviour good
‘He has good behaviour/his good behaviour.’

(c) An adjective is negated by the verbal/adverbial/adjectival negator dom (NEG), whereas nouns and noun phrases are negated by the nominal/existential negator mba (NEG.EX):

(113) lau daësam dom
people many NEG
‘not many people’

In this example the adjective is negated. Compare the following examples where the head noun is negated:
Example (112) could also be negated by each of these negators, and the resultant meanings depict this basic difference between negation of adjectives and nouns:

(115)   **Ị ndé mêté ọhayham dom.**  
  3S GAUX.3S  behaviour  good  NEG  
  ‘His behaviour (is) not good.’

(116)   **Ị ndé mêté ọhayham mba.**  
  3S GAUX.3S  behaviour  good  NEG.EX  
  ‘He has no good behaviour.’

(d) In distinction from the majority of Bukawa verbs, adjectives are never inflected for person or mood. While the lack of marking for modality also applies to body-part predicates (see §3.1.3), adjectives are not marked with the genitive person markers as many of these are.

There are two exceptions to this latter criterion:

i.  **tali**  ‘alive’ (lit. ‘eye stirred up’) – most commonly functions as a manner adverb and has genitive marking (**taŋli**/**tamli/**tali). It commonly occurs with a verb (e.g. **mbo** ‘to be/stay’ or **ndöc** ‘to sit’) to convey the meaning ‘to be alive’. However, there are also instances of adjectival use. For example:

(117)   **Pômdua kê ọgh ọgh tali  tidau tidau.**  
  Lord  3S  give  thing/s  eye.stirred  with.REFPN  with.REFPN  
  ‘The Lord created (lit. ‘put/gave’) all kinds of living things.’

   ii.  **tapec**  ‘blind’ (lit. ‘eye-cook’). For example:

(118)   **Mac lau tampec.**  
  2P  people  eye.GEN2.cook  
  ‘You (are) blind people.’

Other comments on and descriptions of these two words have been made in §3.1.2.3.2 and §3.1.2.3.3.

The most commonly used Bukawa adjectives are listed below:

(a)  **Size/shape:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yoruba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td><strong>abôm</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td><strong>apê</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘little’</td>
<td><strong>atèc/têc</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td><strong>atù</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘long/tall’</td>
<td><strong>baliŋ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘round’</td>
<td><strong>kuku</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td><strong>sauŋ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thin’</td>
<td><strong>wapi</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Colour – there are a limited number of colour adjectives, all the known ones are listed here. Many show partial or complete reduplication.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>batacbatac</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
<td>gwalam</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koc/ko(c)koc</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>(ma)mâyán</td>
<td>grey/dark blue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sêp/sêsêp</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>yaŋyaŋ</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yec/ye(c)yec</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Quality/value (not exhaustively listed):</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akwà</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>basô</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batac</td>
<td>‘unripe’</td>
<td>batê</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dabuŋ</td>
<td>‘holy’</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>‘light (weight)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasaŋ</td>
<td>‘vacant, empty’</td>
<td>goloŋ</td>
<td>‘open, loose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ŋ)andô</td>
<td>‘true’</td>
<td>*ŋadehe</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñaŋeŋ</td>
<td>‘quiet-natured’</td>
<td>ñaŋga</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñadômbwi</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
<td>ñaganda</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñagengô</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
<td>ñalhuc</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñamahom</td>
<td>‘lukewarm’</td>
<td>ñamaim</td>
<td>‘warm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñamakic</td>
<td>‘bitter/salty’</td>
<td>ñamata</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñandê</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>ñawa</td>
<td>‘clear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñayham</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>pôm</td>
<td>‘rotten/wild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sac</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>sambuc</td>
<td>‘whole/entire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawa</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>‘wrong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solop</td>
<td>‘straight/correct’</td>
<td>tali</td>
<td>‘living/alive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasaŋ</td>
<td>‘false’</td>
<td>wakuc</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapác</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* See the note below on the genitive prefix that occurs on a number of these forms.)

All of these Bukawa adjectives can be used as stative clause complements (see §4.2.2.2). However, there seem to be three different patterns of encoding when they are used in statements describing a process or development. The patterns are as follows:

(a) Attributes or qualities that are ‘fluid’ or can develop. The process of development is encoded by means of the verb *ti* ‘to become’ (as described under ‘*ti* process phrases’ in §4.2.1). For example:

(119) Ị ndê balêkoc hoŋ sêti atu su.
3S GAUX.3S child(ren) all 3P.become big PERF
‘All his children have grown up.’ (lit. ‘they became big.’)

(b) Qualities that are ‘stative,’ or that relate to attributes that are of a more polar nature — the attainment of the particular state is encoded by means of the non-inflecting verb *sa* ‘up/out’ (described in §3.3.5). For example:

(120) Ị ndê ñakwê ñadômbwi *sa.*
3S GAUX.3S clothing dirty up/out
‘His clothing is/became dirty.’

(121) Ị ñayham *sa su.*
3S good up/out PERF
‘He is better (has recovered after some illness).’
NOTE: The majority of these are the attributes in the list above that have the genitive prefix. It could perhaps be argued that these are stative nouns encoding not ‘dirty’ but ‘dirtiness’, or not ‘good’ but ‘goodness’. However, they still conform to the criteria for distinguishing adjectives and nouns as listed in the introductory comments. See other related comments in §3.12.1.

(c) Attributes that are not attained by any means or process – these are seen as being intrinsic or fixed. These are not used in either of the above ‘development type encodings,’ but only as stative clause complements. For example:

(122) A ɲandó dau kuku.
  tree fruit DEM round
‘The fruit of the tree is round.’

3.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are defined as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. They are typically uninflected, and encode notions such as modality, aspect, manner, as well as temporal notions.

As well as the notional classes, Bukawa adverbs can also be classified syntactically according to the position in the clause/sentence in which they occur. Following the generalised schema of SPOX to represent the constituents of a Bukawa sentence, the following classes of adverbs are differentiated:

Class I – adverbs that precede S
Class II – adverbs that occur between S and P
Class III – complex predicate adverbs that immediately follow O (adverb particles)
Class IV – adverbs of intensification or evaluation
Class V – adverbs that follow O (and class III and IV adverbs) and either immediately precede or immediately follow X
Class VI – sentence final adverbs
Class VII – adverbs that modify phrase components (degree adverbs). The majority of Bukawa adverbs function at clause and sentence level. This small group of ‘degree adverbs’ function at phrase level, to modify adjectives and quantifiers, that is, they function to ‘modify modifiers’ of the noun phrase.

The following table depicts the position in which the adverbs that modify clause and sentence (classes I to VI) occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSITION</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S  P  O  X
The sub-sections below will present Bukawa adverbs according to their notional class, commenting on the form or positional class of each one. Because of the wide range of adverbs used to encode manner, the sub-section on manner adverbs will present the Bukawa manner adverbs according to their morphological class. At the end of this section, a table will be presented to summarise the Bukawa adverbs according to both morphological and notional classes.

NOTE: In addition to adverbs that belong to the word class of ‘adverb’, Bukawa also has other mechanisms by which adverbial notions are encoded. Examples of the latter will be given in §5.4 on modification of clause/sentence. A complicating factor is the fluidity that has been noted in the Bukawa language across word classes. For example, when a non-inflecting verb is used to encode an adverbial notion, it could be described in the section on the non-adverbial means of encoding adverbial notions, or alternatively it could be explained as fluidity of word class in which one form can function both verbally as well as adverbially. The following criteria will be followed in this paper:

(a) if the two forms encode semantically different notions, the words will be classified as separate homonyms.

(b) when a word of one class occurs in a position that is atypical for members of that class, then it will be described as a word that is fluid in terms of its class and categorised as a member of both classes.

3.5.1 Modal adverbs

Modal adverbs are generally class II adverbs that occur immediately preceding the main predicate, or sentence final class VI adverbs. Bukawa modal adverbs are:

a glossed as ‘eh?’ This adverb is used in direct speech (with rising intonation at the end of a sentence – class VI position) where the speaker uses a rhetorical question to indicate a reproachful mood or attitude towards the addressee, for example:

(123) Aö gam wapu dauŋ gambo ma sep ma am
1S 1SR.do underneath REFPN.1 1SR.be/stay and shortly and 2S
mweŋ su aö susu a?
2S.come 2S.put 1S ridicule eh
‘I am fasting, and all of a sudden you come and make fun of me, eh?’

bu conditional/volitional – glossed as POT (potential mode). It occurs normally in class II (and also rarely class I) adverb position, and the associated predicate is modally irrealis, though not all predicates are inflected to indicate modality. Where a predicate clearly indicates the subject person, it always agrees with the person of the subject – a feature that in some cases helps to distinguish the modal adverb bu from the complementiser bu (which often introduces a subordinate clause that may have a different subject – see further comments in §6.2.1.4).

This modal adverb has two seemingly separate functions:
Chapter 3

(a) Conditional = ‘if’, for example:

(124) ŋac bu sêndê su oc sêsu sip gêŋ bocdec bocdec.

3P POT 3P.cook PERF NR 3P.put 3S.descend thing/s like.this like.this

‘If they have cooked (it) they will fork it into something like this.’

(The reduplication shows repeated action as the speaker demonstrates the procedure.)

(b) Volitional = ‘want to’ – used to show desire on the part of the subject:

(125) yac bu alic ŋandô.

1P POT 1PX see fruit

‘We(ex) want to see results.’

(126) iŋ dau bu pi deŋ ndi.

3S REFPN.3 POT 3S.ascend shelf 3SIR.go

‘She herself wanted to get up on to the shelf.’

Although there is sometimes ambiguity as to which sense is intended, context often makes it clear. ‘If’ clauses occur in sentences that normally have an apodosis or consequence clause. Bu normally occurs in the class II adverb position (between the subject and predicate for both senses), but in a few (rare) instances of conditional usage such as example (136) below, the adverb precedes the subject.

It is tempting to analyse these as two separate homonyms, one that encodes conditional mode, and one that encodes volitional mode. However, because of the fact that they distribute so similarly, they have been treated here as the one modal adverb with two functions.

dom NEG – the negator dom is a modal adverb that implies the denial of a proposition. As a class VI (sentence final) adverb, it functions to negate the predicate (as in example (127) below), and it also functions as an adverbial and adjectival negator at phrase level (class VII adverb). Examples of the latter will be given in §3.5.3.7.

êlêmê ‘always’ – this is a class II adverb that encodes both mood and aspect. It is used of an activity that has a continual, repetitive or habitual aspect, but one that is viewed by the speaker with a somewhat negative mood. Either the activity is seen disdainfully, or it is a ‘frustrated’ activity – done repeatedly but unsuccessfully.

(127) awhe dinâŋ iŋ ndê mêtê sac, êlêmê yob

woman that 3S GAUX.3S behaviour bad always 3S.care.for

ŋac atêc dinâŋ ŋapep dom.

man little that well NEG

‘That woman’s behaviour was bad, she continually did not care for that little boy properly.’

This is defined as a modal adverb rather than as an aspectual adverb, because it occurs in the class II adverb position which is more common for modal adverbs, and in distinction from the aspectual adverb ŋapan ‘always’ (see below) which encodes the same aspectual notions of continual, repetitive or habitual activity without a modal component.
ma – a rarely used homonym of the common conjunction ma ‘and’. It is used in rhetorical questions following the question asa ‘who’ to indicate that in the mind of the speaker there is an impossibility of the content of the rhetorical question being realised. It occurs in the class II adverb position. It will be glossed as ‘could-RHQ’. An example:

(128) Asa ma sôm yom, lau hoŋ sêntitec.
who could-RHQ 3S.say talk people all 3P.tremble
‘Who (of us) could speak, everyone was trembling.’

maŋ ‘must’ – a cohortative or imperatival mood. This is a class VI adverb. It is probably a borrowing from Yabêm as it is not commonly heard in natural conversation. Bukawa people say the language has no word for ‘must’ and the Tok Pisin mas is commonly used in conversation. However, many people reject the use of mas as a borrowed work in written Bukawa. One common example of the use of maŋ is in the translation of the Lord’s Prayer (which was translated closely following the Yabêm – note also the thematised object):

(129) Am nem ŋayê lau sênem dabuŋ maŋ.
2S GAUX.2 name people 3PIR.do holy must
‘People must make/keep your name holy.’

mboe ‘perhaps’ – hypothetical or speculative class I modal adverb. It normally precedes the subject, that is, it occurs in the Theme slot of the sentence. (In example (131) the subject is elided, but if the pronoun ŋac ‘they’ was added, it would follow mboe).

(130) Mboe propet naŋ sêsôm bu iŋ meŋ nom -ŋga
perhaps prophet RC 3P.say COMP 3S 3S.come ground -of/for
naŋ oc ŋgac dau dec me?
GIV NR man DEM this or
‘Perhaps the prophet who was said to come to earth, could it be this man.’

(131) Bocnaŋ lau andô sêhêgo dau bu mboe (Ø) oc
like.GIV people true 3P.worry REFPN.3 COMP perhaps (Ø) NR
sêndê sam dom.
3P.cook feast NEG
‘So the ancestors worried that perhaps they should not host the feast/meeting.’

The following example shows a thematised subject, with mboe following. As such it would still precede the normal S position in the sentence:

(132) Êgac dindec mboe seŋ aneŋ lau su.
man this perhaps 3S.destroy 1S.GAUX.1 people away
‘This man, perhaps (he is the one who) destroyed my people.’

ŋambwa ‘baseless(ly); without purpose’ – this adds the modal sense that in the mind of the speaker, something was done rashly or for no purpose. This adverb occurs in the class V adverb position, and also functions to encode manner (see §3.5.3.5 and further comments there). An example of the modal use:
(133) Dindai ti dambai sic gêŋ sa ŋambwa.
mother.PL with father.PL 3PR.hit thing/s up/out baseless(ly)
‘The (their) parents gathered up things (food) pointlessly.’

**oc** Non-realis class II modal adverb – glossed NR. In virtually all instances, the modal adverb **oc** which is being termed ‘non-realis,’ mirrors the entire range of events that are expressed using irrealis mood. These have been listed (and depicted with examples) in the introductory comments to the verb in §3.3. Because the inflection of verbs in several classes leaves modality ambiguous, the modal adverb **oc** is often used to clarify irrealis mood in such cases.

However, there is one recorded instance where **oc** is used in conjunction with a following verb in realis mood, where it applies to a surmise about something that might already have happened, but the ‘reality’ of which seems uncertain in the mind of the speaker. For this reason this adverb is glossed as ‘non-realis’ (NR) rather than irrealis. The following example depicts this:

(134) Aneŋ bawhê akuwê oc giŋa dê.
1S.GAUX.1 girl initiation.FEM NR 3SR.be.finished there
‘My mature-age daughter might have died there.’

An alternative explanation is that when used with an intonational stress, the sense of **oc** can be imperatival, and perhaps the intention here is not ‘maybe she has died’, but perhaps ‘surely she has died.’

**oc** usually occurs in the class II adverb position (after S / before P):

(135) Ḋac oc sêkac sa têŋ ôbwêc.
3P NR 3P.stand up/out 3S.go.to night
‘They will assemble/meet at night.’

**Note:** There is a homonym of this modal adverb that functions as a conjunction in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. Such usage is fairly rare, but when it does occur it seems to encode a modal notion of certainty of the (as yet un-realised) outcome expressed in the apodosis. This is depicted in the following two examples:

(136) Bu am mbo oc giam sêseŋ am.
POT 2S 2S.be/stay then dog 3P.bite 2S
‘If you stay, dogs will bite you.’

(137) Iŋ gêlic bu Ḋac bu sêmbu atac sawa oc gêŋ yô Ḋac.
3S 3SR.see COMP 3P POT 3P.return stomach empty then thing/s
3S.cause.need 3P
‘He saw that if they would return (home) without eating, then they would be hungry.’

### 3.5.2 Aspectual adverbs

These are the aspectual adverbs in Bukawa:
apu glossed as FRUST (frustrated) this is an aspectual adverb that occurs in class IV adverb position. It encodes a very specific aspect indicating the frustrated or unsuccessful attempt to do something. For example:

(138) Ganeŋ ŋasec sa ma lau sambob sëlic dau apu.
area dark up/out and people all 3P.see REFPN.3 FRUST
'It became dark and all the people were unable to see one another.'

gacgeŋ conveys an emphatic aspect to the predicate. It is somewhat difficult to gloss – it is often used with predicates specifying location or motion. With the former, the aspectual notion is that the subject ‘stayed put’ (often in contrast to someone else who went away), and with the latter, it signifies that the subject went ‘all the way’ somewhere. It can also be used to intensify an action or event, or show that it was fully carried out. For simplicity the gloss ‘entirely’ will be used.

gacgeŋ occurs in the class II adverb position. In the second example below, a serial sentence, it modifies the following verb rather than the preceding one. The fourth example (142) represents a pivotal construction where the object of the first clause becomes the subject of the following clause, in which gacgeŋ still occurs in the class II position:

(139) ḇgac atëc dau gacgeŋ mbo whiŋ ŋamalac andô.
man small DEM entirely 3S.be/stay 3S.be.with person true
‘The boy stayed put with the old man.’

(140) Ịŋ sôc malac ma kêsêlêŋ gacgeŋ gi 3a daŋga.
3S 3S.enter village and 3SR.walk entirely 3SR.go 3S.go.out other.side
‘He entered the village and kept going all the way through it.’

(141) Bêc naŋ ịŋ kêŋ su gacgeŋ yêc.
day RC 3S give PERF entirely 3S.be/lie
‘The day that he had marked had still not come yet.’

(142) Lau dau seŋ e sêtëc ŋadili gacgeŋ yêc.
people DEM 3PR.eat and/until 3P.leave leftovers entirely 3S.be/lie
‘The people ate, and left the excess still staying.’

ŋapaŋ ‘always’ – a class V adverb that indicates a repetitive, continued or habitual aspect:

(143) Bawhê dau ndöc andu ŋapaŋ.
girl DEM 3S.sit house always
‘The girl stayed in the house always.’

(144) Dasap iŋ dön ŋapaŋ maŋ.
1P+.adhere 3S firmly always must
‘Let us-inc cling firmly to him always.’

The conjunction e ‘and/until’ often links a sentence ending with ŋapaŋ to indicate that the action or event depicted in the former sentence continued until the ensuing event. For example:
They kept running until they reached the village.

They kept following that snake’s trail until they came to the hole under the stone.

paŋpaŋ ‘totally’ is not a commonly used adverb, but when used it adds an aspect to motion clauses that indicates that the motion has brought the subject all the way to its goal. As such it shares the sense of the non-inflected verb paŋ ‘to go all the way’, of which this adverb is a reduplicated form. While sharing some of the meaning of gaqgeŋ (above), this is a more specific adverb and functions at sentence level solely with predicates of motion.

This adverb normally occurs in the class II adverb position:

He came right up onto the shore.

NOTES: The above example could also be an instance where the non-inflecting verb paŋ is reduplicated and used in a serial verb construction, although in most recorded instances the non-inflecting verbal form follows a main verb rather than preceding it (see §3.3.5).

This adverb is also used to encode manner (degree modification), in which case it occurs in the class IV adverb position, as depicted in the following example:

They ate (the) taro and the pig, completely forgetting themselves.

sù – perfective or completive aspect – glossed as PERF. It indicates the completeness or totality of an action or event. It occurs in the class V adverb position (it can precede complements that encode factual notions such as perception and knowledge – see examples in §6.2.2.7 and §6.2.2.8). The following example shows the use of sù in a serial sentence:

She brought the dry coconut, husked it, broke it, and ate it.

In the next example sù occurs after an equative clause, which seems rather curious, as there is no action or event in the clause. In the context of the discourse in which it was recorded, food baskets were being dealt out, at the completion of which the one group saw that they had not received many. So in combination with negation (dom), the sense is probably ‘not yet many’ (imperfect).
Word classes and morphology

(150) Ḑac si  gatop daësam su dom.
     3P GAUX.3P baskets many PERF NEG
‘Their baskets were not yet many.’

There is also a homonym of sù that is classified as a class III adverbial particle (see below under manner) with an ablative sense – glossed as ‘away’. In some instances it is difficult to differentiate between the two. In the following example, the fact that su follows a verb in irrealis mode would seem to indicate that it is an ablative sense that is being encoded rather than the perfective aspect:

(151) Sêkwê sam têŋ mbac hoŋ bu sêneŋ sù.
     3P.build feast 3S.go.to bird all COMP 3PIR.eat away
‘They provided a feast for all the birds to eat up.’

tiyham ‘again’ – indicates a repeat of the action/event (152), or the return to a former state/activity (153). As a class VI adverb tiyham can occur either immediately preceding, or immediately following X clause components – see example (154) below.

Some examples:

(152) Malô goc ŋawê sa tiyham goc sêlic dau tiyham ma
     soon then light up/out again then 3P.see REFPN.3 again and
ŋasec sa tiyham e sêlic dau apu.
     darkness up/out again and/until 3P.see REFPN.3 FRUST
‘In a little while it became light again and they saw each other again, and it became dark again and they were unable to see each other.’

(153) Saŋ gêm dau kwi ti ŋamalac tiyham.
     pandanus 3SR.do REFPN turningly 3S.become person again
‘The pandanus changed itself into a person again.’

(154) Goc dinda sôm (tiyham) têŋ iŋ (tiyham) ...
     then mother 3S.say (again) 3S.go.to 3S (again)
‘Then the/his mother said to him again …’

NOTE: tiyham can also function as a class VI degree adverb modifying the quantifier phrase (see §3.5.3.7.2).

3.5.3 Manner adverbs

There is a large range of adverbs that can modify a Bukawa clause or sentence for manner, and they will be presented in this section according to their class. Notions of manner generally occur following the constituent that they modify, although there are some exceptions that will be noted.

3.5.3.1 Class I manner adverbs

The majority of class I adverbs encode temporal notions. The adverb ŋagahô ‘quickly’ encodes manner in both the class II and class V positions, and has also been noted to occur in the theme position (see examples below). While this could possibly be an existential or predicative type of function (i.e. with the sense ‘(It was) quickly (and) …’), there is no
intonational separation from what follows, and it seems that it is probably being thematised as a discourse feature to signify a rapid procession of events rather than to specifically modify the following predicate (although this may be the case in the second of the following examples).

(155) ŋagahô balè daŋ ti sa kalhac ma sôm ...
quickly boy a/one 3S.get.up up/out 3SR.stand and 3S.say
‘Quickly a boy stood up and said ...’

(156) Têŋ ndoc iŋlu sèmbwala gêŋ ti apan, ŋagahô
3S.go.to time 3S-DL 3P.untie thing/s with covering quickly
mboc këŋ dau pitiŋëŋ tiham.
snake 3S.put REFPN.3 3S .ascend.one again
‘When they-2 untied the packages, quickly the snake put itself together again.’
(The snake in the story had previously been cut up and cooked in the packages).

NOTE: In this last example, the theme slot has two components – the relative clause indicating time, and the adverb ŋagahô that follows.

3.5.3.2 Class II manner adverbs

In the following list is a small range of class II manner adverbs. Of these, all have been also noted in other adverb positions except salaŋ.

boc(din)dec ‘thus’ (also class VI)
ŋagahô ‘quickly’ (also class VI)
salaŋ ‘hurriedly’
solop ‘directly’ (normally used adjectivally meaning ‘straight’; also class VI)
tawasê ‘alone’ (also class V. Reference is also made to this word in §3.1.2.3.3 which presented Bukawa body part nouns.)

Some examples:

(157) Mbocdnə dau ŋagahô gi seq iŋ sip ŋasu ma
python DEM quickly 3SR.go 3S.bite 3S 3S.descend neck and
ŋampê ti ŋangue salaŋ gi hi pi iŋ ŋakachu.
middle with tail hurriedly 3SR.go 3S.wrap 3S.ascend 3S GENPF.throat
‘The python quickly went and bit her on the neck and its body and tail hastily wrapped around her throat.’

(158) Iŋ solop sip gi ma kòc ya.
3S straight 3S.descend 3SR.go and 3S.take fire
‘So he went straight down and took fire (coals).’

(159) Lau andô si miŋ daŋ (bocdec) yêc (bocdec).
person true GAUX.3P story a/one (thus) 3S.be/lie (thus)
‘One of the ancestors’ stories is like this.’
3.5.3.3 Class III manner adverbs

All the adverbs in this class are adverb particles that function with quite a range of lexical verbs to form ‘complex predicates’ such as the English look up (‘visit’), bring on (‘induce’), take off (‘imitate’) where the combination with the adverb particle often adds quite a different sense to the lexical verb. While there may seem to be similarity between the particles described here and the non-inflected verbs described in §3.3.5, the fact that these ONLY function in association with another lexical verb is the basis for their classification as a separate class here. Reference has already been made to the combinations of some of these particles with two of the lexical verbs in the modality verb class (see §3.3.4.1 and §3.3.4.2).

The adverb particles in this class closely follow the object, and are distinguished from class IV (and V) adverbs (that may also occur between sentential O and X components), because of their specific roles as complex predicate constituents, and by the fact that where class III adverbs co-occur with those in classes IV and V, the class III adverb always precedes the others.

Because of the special role of these adverb particles, each one will be listed below, followed by a listing of the complex predicates in which it can occur, and an example will be given for most of them. The lists may not be exhaustive as the range of possible combinations is large, but they do include the most commonly used examples.

**ahuc** glossed as ‘coveringly’ – the range of meanings encoded includes ‘surrounding, filling, covering, blocking, closing’. A list of common examples:

- ꃚŋgiatoc ... ahuc ‘to cover’ (lit. ‘cover-coveringly’)
- ꃚŋgihi ... ahuc ‘to surround, encircle’ (lit. ‘go around-coveringly’)
- ꃚm/nem ... ahuc ‘to fill’ (lit. ‘do-coveringly’)
- ꃚic/ndic ... ahuc ‘to close’ (lit. ‘hit-coveringly’)
- ꃚŋ ... ahuc ‘to cover’ (lit. ‘put-coveringly’)
- lhac ... ahuc ‘to impede’ (lit. ‘stand-coveringly’)
- poc ... ahuc ‘to stop/block’ (lit. ‘push up-coveringly’ – used of the blockage of waterways)
- sëc ... ahuc ‘to deny knowledge of’
- wë dau ahuc ‘to be distracted/preoccupied’ (lit. ‘lead self coveringly’)

Some examples:

(160) Ḯḷu sic gatam ahuc su.
3S-DL 3PR.hit door closingly PERF
‘They-2 had closed the door.’

(161) Lau daêsam sêŋgihi Yisu ahuc sambuc.
people many 3P.go.around Jesus closingly completely
‘Many people completely surrounded Jesus.’

**asê** glossed as ‘out’ – it adds a sense to the main verb of something going ‘out’ or ‘up’. For example:

- ꃚm/nem ... asê ‘to harvest (taro)’ (lit. ‘do out’)
- hoc ... asê ‘to reveal, speak out, confess, denounce, betray’
hôc asê  ‘to arrive at’ (intransitive; lit. ‘lift out’)
kwê ... asê  ‘to beget, father’
lom asê  ‘to ignite’ (intransitive; lit. ‘go across/out’)
po asê  ‘to break open, explode’ (intransitive)
sôm ... asê  ‘to speak out’

An example:

(162) ŋac sêhoc yom asê pi gê ŋa hôc asê ŋac.
 3P 3P.reveal talk out 3S.ascend thing/s RC 3S.lift out 3P
‘They spoke out about the thing that happened to them.’

dôŋ ‘firmly’ – a very commonly used adverb. As well as physical firmness, it can add a
sense of being ‘confirmed’ or ‘established’ to the main verb. A list of examples:
êŋgwiniŋ ... dôŋ  ‘to put down, suppress’ (lit. ‘put down firmly’)
gêm/nem (dau) dôŋ  ‘to be quiet, shut mouth’ (lit. ‘do self firmly’)
gic/ndic ... dôŋ  ‘to fasten, nail down’ (lit. ‘hit firmly’)
bê ... dôŋ  ‘to hold firmly; detain’ (lit. ‘pull firmly’)
hôc ... dôŋ  ‘to fill; satisfy’ (lit. ‘lift firmly’)
kwê ... dôŋ  ‘to trample down, step on’ (lit. ‘step firmly’)
lô ... dôŋ  ‘to capture’ (lit. ‘grab firmly’)
puc ... dôŋ  ‘to support, strengthen’ (lit. ‘push firmly’)
sap ... dôŋ  ‘to cling to’ (lit. ‘stick firmly’)
sô ... dôŋ  ‘to tie up’ (lit. ‘tie firmly’)
te ... dôŋ  ‘to hold to’ (lit. ‘hold firmly’)

One example:

(163) Yac àŋ gê hôc yac dôŋ.
 1P 1PXR.eat thing/s 3S.lift 1P firmly
‘We ate (food) and were filled/satisfied.’

kêsi ‘visit(ingly)’ – this is probably a borrowing from Yabêm, and there is only one
type of visits(ingly):
gic/ndic ... kêsi  ‘to visit’ (lit. hit-visit(ingly))

(164) Àô bu wândic mac kêsi tiyham.
 1S POT 1SIR.hit 2P visitingly again
‘I want to visit you again.’

kôc ‘asunder’ – this is used to indicate that a soft or malleable object has been broken or
separated into two parts. (Bukawa distinguishes items in this area – the result of
breaking hard objects is expressed using pivotal co-subordinate constructions with the
non-inflecting verb dulu ‘break’ – see notes in §3.3.5; when fibrous materials (cloths)
are broken/torn/sundered, this is also expressed by means of a pivotal construction
using the non-inflecting verb kic ‘tear’).
êŋsêlé ... kôc  ‘to cut in half’
gic/ndic ... kôc  ‘to cut, divide’
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hôc ... kôc  ‘to burst (from pressure)’ (lit. ‘lift asunder’)
pô ... kôc  ‘to break (soft object – by hand)’ (lit. ‘press asunder’)  
whê ... kôc  ‘to divide into lots’ (lit. ‘weave-asunder’)  

An example:

(165) Ịŋ pô bolom kôc.  
3S 3S.press cereal asunder  
‘He broke the bread in two.’

kwi  this is glossed as ‘turningly’, and occurs in the following combinations:

gêm/nem ... kwi  ‘to translate, turn around’ (lit. ‘do turningly’), thus:
gêm/nem ŋ alôm kwi  ‘to repent’ (lit. ‘do insides turningly’)
êŋsalê (gameŋ) kwi  ‘look here and there’ (lit. ‘seek (area) turningly’)
kac ... kwi  ‘to turn around/over’ (lit. ‘stand turningly’)
si ... kwi  ‘to hide (under/inside s.th.)’ (lit. ‘hide turningly’)

For example:

(166) Hoc dau gêm dau kwi ti ŋamalac.  
stone DEM 3SR.do REFPN.3 turningly 3S.become person  
‘The stone changed itself into a person.’

popoc  ‘destructively’ – adds the sense of becoming ‘rubbish, ruined’ for example:

kac ... popoc  ‘to tear apart’ (lit. ‘open destructively’)
gic/ndic ... popoc  ‘to smash’ (lit. ‘hit destructively’)
sec ... popoc  ‘to crush’ (lit. ‘squash destructively’)
seŋ ... popoc  ‘destroy’ (lit. ‘rouse destructively’)

For example:

(167) Ịŋ kac ndê ŋakwê popoc.  
3S 3S.stand GAUX.3S clothing destructively  
‘He tore his clothing to shreds.’

si  ‘protectively’ – there are only a few examples:

ēmpaŋ ... si  ‘to wrap up’ (lit. ‘cover protectively’)
ēggatöc ... si  ‘to cover up’
gêm/nem ... si  ‘to save, protect’ (lit. ‘do protectively’)

sic  ‘downwardly’ – adds the sense of going ‘down’:

kêŋ ... sic (LOC)  ‘to put s.th. down (in)to a LOC’
ndöc sic  ‘to sit down (human referent)’
yêc sic  ‘to sit down (animal referent)’

(168) Kôc buku dec ma kêŋ sic aneŋ hac.  
2S.take book this and 2S.put downwardly 1S.GAUX1 string.bag  
‘Take this book and put (it) into my string bag (bilum).’
su ‘away’ – has an ablative sense. Examples:

- hôcgêlêc ... su  ‘to pass, surpass’
- kac ... su  ‘to take off’ (lit. ‘open away’)
- kôc ... su  ‘to take away’
- lêc ... su  ‘to open’ (e.g. a door, away from speaker)
- neŋ ... su  ‘to eat up’ (lit. ‘eat away’)
- seŋ ... su  ‘to destroy’ (lit. ‘rouse away’)

For example:

(169) Iŋ kêtî hôcgêlêc balêkoc hoŋ su.
3S 3SR.run 3S.surpass child(ren) all away
‘He ran faster than (surpassing) all the (other) children.’

**NOTE:** With this verb-adverb combination the sense is still that the subject has overtaken or surpassed the object of the clause – in a sense it is ‘out front and away from it.’

siŋ ‘divestingly’ adds the sense that something has been given up, forfeited, or lost. For example:

- kêc ... siŋ  ‘pour out’
- hu ... siŋ  ‘to stop, leave behind’ (lit. ‘fly divestingly’)
- êŋlhiŋ... siŋ  ‘to forget’

For example:

(170) Yac ahu lôm bapia siŋ têŋ 1942.
1P 1PX.leave room paper divestingly 3S.go.to 1942
‘We-exc left school in 1942.’

### 3.5.3.4 Class IV manner adverbs

The adverbs in this class all function to modify or qualify the predicate in terms of (a) degree (intensification); (b) quality (evaluation), and (c) location or motion modification. This distinguishes them from the class III adverb particles that function in complex predicates.

There are also instances where adverbs of both classes co-occur, in which case the class III adverb occurs first (as in examples (173) and (174) below). In distinction from class V adverbs, in instances where a clause has an X component, class IV adverbs always precede it, whereas class V adverbs may either precede or follow it. In instances where class IV and V adverbs co-occur, the class IV adverb occurs first.

(a) Class IV adverbs of degree/intensity:

- andô  ‘truly’
- atu  ‘big(ly)’
- babalec  ‘lots’
- basô  ‘really’ (lit. ‘dry’)
- *kêlêc  ‘many/much’ (lit. ‘surpassingly’)
- ndu  ‘intensely’
sambuc  ‘entire(ly)’
ŋadinda  ‘hugely’ (used of wind blowing or seas being rough)
ŋagec  ‘a little’
ŋamata  ‘sharp(ly)’ (see example (196))
ŋaŋga  ‘strongly’

Some examples:

(171) Tiyhô gêm  atu  tên  ac  kac  lhu.
quake  3SR.do  big(ly)  3S.go.to  sun  3SR.stand  middle
‘An earthquake happened strongly at midday.’

(172) Ŋac  sic  in  basô.
3P  3PR.hit  3S  really
‘They really beat him.’

(173) Hoc  dinaŋ  sip  meŋ  e  kıom  Ŋac
stone  that  3S.descend  3S.come  and/until  3S.cover  3P
si  wapa  ahuc  sambuc.
GAUX.3P  goods  coveringly  entirely
‘That stone came down until it completely covered their goods.’

*NOTE: kêlêc is a class III verb. It also functions as a class VII phrase modification adverb. As these are relatively small classes of adverbs, kêlêc will be described here rather than with other non-adverbial means of encoding adverbial notions. An example of its use as a class IV adverb:

(174) Ŋac  sauŋ  dinaŋ  toc  dau  sa  kêlêc.
man  little  that  3S.lift  REFPN.3  up/out  3SR.(sur)pass
‘That small man is extremely proud/arrogant.’

(b) Class IV adverbs of evaluation:

(ge)gelec  ‘secretively’
ŋaŋeŋ  ‘quietly’
ŋapep  ‘well, correctly, carefully’
ŋayham  ‘good(ly)’
sō  ‘wrongly’

For example:

(175) In  siŋ  dau  kwi  ᵇapep.
he  3S.hide  REFPN.3  turningly  well
‘He hid himself well.’

(176) Ŋac  sêkôm  si  geŋ  hoŋ  ōayham  enŋ.
3P  3P.do  GAUX.3P  thing/s  all  goodly  only
‘They do everything (that they do) well.’

(c) Adverbs modifying location or motion

babalip  ‘scattered(ly)’
bambaliŋ  ‘haphazardly’
**3.5.3.5 Class V manner adverbs**

The adverbs in this class occur either immediately prior to, or following an X (i.e. oblique) clause component. The members of this class are:

- **boc(di)naŋ** ‘also, likewise’
- **bod(din)dec** ‘thus’ (cataphoric reference – see example (159))
- **ŋagahô** ‘quickly’
- **ŋambwa** ‘baseless(ly)’ (a. ‘freely/at no cost’; b. ‘thoughtlessly’)
- **tali*** ‘alive’ (lit. ‘eye.stirred’)
- **tawasê*** ‘alone’
- **teŋ** ‘un-movingly’
- **tôhôŋ** ‘also’ (to take s.th along with)

*(NOTE: the two examples marked with an asterisk are body part compounds. See notes on both in §3.1.2.3.3 and also on **tawasê** in §3.5.3.2).*

Some examples:

(178) **Lau malachu sêtê wê daêsam ma sêkôm doadao**
people village.basis 3P.dance song many and 3P.do folk.dance

**daêsam bocdinaŋ.**
many also
‘The local villagers danced many dances and did many folk dances also.’

(179) **Lau dau oc sêmeŋ ambâ sawa dom, sêkóc si**
people DEM NR 3P.come hand empty NEG 3P.take GAUX.3P

**wapa siŋ -ŋga tôhôŋ.**
goods fight -of/for also
‘The people would not come empty-handed, they (would) bring their weapons with them.’

*(NOTE: **ŋambwa** is another Bukawa word that is fluid in terms of word class. It fits the **gêŋ ... dinaj** ‘that … thing’ framework for an adjectival modifier of noun phrases, where it has two senses. For example:)*

(a) **gêŋ ŋambwa** ‘a small/worthless thing’; and
(b) **gaŋgac ŋambwa** ‘only sand/gravel (i.e. nothing else).’
The gloss ‘baseless(ly)’ is being used in order to provide a general sense that endeavours to cover all the ranges of meaning of ɲambwa, both adjectival as well as adverbal. Its use as a class V modal adverb has already been noted (see §3.5.1). As a class V manner adverb it has two senses:

(a) It has the sense ‘freely/at no cost’. For example:

(180)  Aō wakê ɡê dau (ɲambwa) tê iŋ (ɲambwa).
1S 1SIR.give thing/s DEM (baseless(ly)) 3S.go.to 3S (baseless(ly))
‘I will give the thing to him for nothing.’

(b) As a modal adverb (see §3.5.1) with the sense ‘purposelessly, thoughtlessly’:

(181)  Dayob dau bu taŋyaiŋ Pōmdau ndê mwasiŋ ɲambwa dom.
1P+.care REFPN.1 COMP 1P+.waste Lord GAUX.3S blessing
baseless(ly) NEG
‘Let us take care not to thoughtlessly waste the Lord’s blessings.’

3.5.3.6 Class VI manner adverbs

There in only one manner adverb in this class: eŋ ‘only, always’. For example:

(182)  Bawhê dau ndôc andu teŋ eŋ.
girl DEM 3S.sit house unmovingly only
‘The girl remained in the house at all times.’

3.5.3.7 Class VII adverbs

Class VII adverbs modify phrases in terms of intensity or degree, and normally occur at the end of the phrase. While many of the class VII adverbs are also used as class IV adverbs, the distribution is different in that these modify phrases, while the latter function at sentence level. Many class VII adverbs are words from other classes, especially adjectives, which demonstrates the fluidity of some Bukawa words across class boundaries.

(It is acknowledged that the contents of this section could also be presented in Chapter 4 on phrases, but will be given here to keep the presentation of Bukawa adverbs together).

3.5.3.7.1 Adverbs modifying adjectives

Adjectives in Bukawa can be modified by a small group of degree adverbs. This may be either for intensification or for diminution. The latter sometimes takes the form of negation of the adjective (184), and this may occur in conjunction with another class VII adverb (185). For example:

(183)  ɲayham andô
good true
‘truly (very) good’
Although these resulting adjective phrases could fill the qualitative modifier slot of the Bukawa noun phrase (see §4.1.2), most instances occur as complements of equative clauses. Noun phrases that included an adjective phrase as modifier would tend to be ‘overloaded’ and would only be used where someone wanted to distinguish very carefully between two things, or if it happened to be something in focus. For example:

(187) Ịŋ kôc iŋ ndê bieŋ ŋamata babalec dinaŋ ... 3S 3S.take 3S GAUX.3S knife sharp very that
‘He took that really sharp knife of his … ’ (i.e. as distinct from the not so sharp or blunt one.)

Class VII adverbs that can modify adjectives are as follows:

- **andô**  ‘truly’
- **babalec**  ‘very’
- **dom**  ‘NEG’
- **hic**  ‘DEPREC’ (has a diminutive/deprecatory functions)
- **ŋagec**  ‘a little bit’
- (ŋa)sac  ‘very’
- **sambuc**  ‘completely’
- **solop**  ‘straight (i.e. really)’

NOTES

i. One exception to the normal order of adjective-degree adverb is with the word hic  ‘DEPREC’ (see note in list above). When this is used, it precedes the adjective that it is modifying. It seems to have a ‘de-intensifying’ or moderating function i.e., when applied to something that is stated to be small, it modifies it to be ‘not so small’. Examples:

(188) ŋasawa hic sauŋ  
space DEPREC small  
‘a relatively small time/space’

(189) (Aö kasêlêŋ) ŋasawa hic baliŋ su.  
(1S 1SR.walk) space DEPREC long PERF  
‘(I walked) a fairly long way.’
ii. Sometimes adjectives with similar meanings are used together to reinforce each other.

In the following example, the têc ‘tiny’ (an abbreviated form of atêc ‘small/tiny’) has only been noted in conjunction with sauŋ ‘small’, so hardly warrants classification as a degree adverb as listed above:

(190) gêŋ sauŋ têc
thing small tiny
‘a very small thing’

3.5.3.7.2 Adverbs modifying quantifiers

It is obviously logically impossible to further modify many (either numeric and non-numeric) quantifiers. However, a small list of Bukawa quantifiers can sometimes be modified adverbially.

The only example recorded of further modification of a numeric quantifier is the use of the adverb eŋ ‘only’ with the numeral one, to emphasise the singularity of the topic. For example, the answer to a question such as ‘How many fish did you catch?’ could be:

(191) (Aō gakôc i) tigeŋ eŋ.
(1S 1SR.take fish) one only
(I caught) only one (fish).’

In the list of Bukawa non-numeral quantifiers (see §3.6.1.3) the word daêsam ‘many’ is the solitary example that can be modified in several ways:

(192) lau daêsam andô / daêsam ŋasac
people many truly / many GENPF.bad
‘very many people’

(193) İŋ kôc i daêsam dom.
3S 3S.get fish many NEG
‘He did not get many fish.’ (lit. ‘He got not many fish.’)

The aspectual adverb tiyham ‘again’ can also used to modify quantifiers in the noun phrase. For example:

(194) Bêc daŋ tiyham İŋ sip saleŋ gi.
day a/one again 3S 3S.descend jungle 3S.go
‘(On) another day he went to the jungle.’

3.5.3.7.3 Adverbs modifying adverbs

Several adverbs can be used in adverbial phrases as class VII adverbial modifiers of other adverbs. These are:

andô ‘truly’
dom ‘NEG’
bocke ‘what(ever), how’ (implies great intensity)
Gêŋ yô aö ndu andô.
‘I am extremely hungry.’

Lau hoŋ sêntitec ẓamata bocke.
‘Everyone was trembling greatly.’

When adverbs are negated by the use of dom ‘NEG’, the result is an adverbial phrase with the opposite meaning. For example:

ŋagahô dom ‘not fast, slowly’
solop dom ‘not straight, incorrectly’
sep dom ‘not quickly’

3.5.4 Temporal adverbs

The most common location for temporal expressions is in the theme slot of the clause and sentence (see §6.1), especially in narrative type discourse where such themes help to link and relate discourse components. Less commonly, temporal expressions occur as the X component of clauses.

Temporal expressions in the Bukawa language are of three types:

(a) temporal adverbs
(b) temporal nouns or noun phrases; and
(c) temporal subordinate clauses.

The latter two types will be described in §5.4.4 where non-adverbial means of encoding temporal notions are presented.

The Bukawa temporal adverbs occur in either class I or class V adverb position. As temporal notions are one of the typical X components of sentences, and class V adverbs occur either prior to or following X constituents, the question could be asked as to whether class V temporal adverbs are actually filling the adverb class position, or the X position. In this analysis, adverbs will be interpreted as filling the adverb class V position, and temporal notions encoded using a phrase or a subordinate clause will be regarded as X constituents.

The class I temporal adverbs are:

alhabêc ‘yesterday’
((ŋa)ga)laŋšê ‘tomorrow’
kwaheic (dec) ‘now’
malô ‘soon’ (lit. ‘slowly’)
muŋ-ŋga ‘before’ (lit. ‘of/for earlier’) tîŋambu(-ŋga) ‘later’

Some examples:

(197) Tîŋambu / galaŋšê ŋac sêŋsêlēŋ sêmbo seŋ ... later / morning 3P 3P.walk 3P.be/stay road ‘Later/(in the) morning they were walking along the road ...’
Alhabêc aö gapi Lahê ga.
yesterday 1S 1SR.ascend Lae 1SR.go
‘Yesterday I went to Lae.’

NOTES

i. **tiŋambu** ‘later’ has only been noted in the class I adverb position, however when the post-positional clitic -ŋga ‘of/for’ (see §4.1.2.4) is added to it, it usually only occurs in the class V position. For example:

Aö oc wapi Lahê tiŋambu -ŋga.
1S NR 1SIR.ascend Lae later -of/for
‘I will go to Lae later.’

The difference is that as a class I adverb (without the PPClitic) its function is as a temporal sequencer (X happened, and later, Y ...), whereas in the class V position with the PPClitic it seems to indicate a general reference to a non-specific later time.

ii. The temporal adverbial **muŋ-ŋga** normally occurs in class I position, however it has been noted in isolated cases in class II and class V position. A more common encoding in class V position to encode a similar notion, is an adverbial phrase incorporating the perfective aspectual adverb: muŋ su ‘earlier’.

iii. **(ga)laŋsê** ‘tomorrow’ – sometimes this occurs with the genitive prefix ŋa-, most commonly in discourse where the proposition being introduced is being related to what had occurred on the day before. The sense is ‘That time, its tomorrow ...’

The class V temporal adverbs are:

- gwananŋ ‘beforehand’
- sep ‘shortly’
- tiŋambu-ŋga ‘later’
- wandêc ‘(a) long time (previously)’
Some examples:

(202) **Ać pi wandëc su e kac ṣalhu su.**

sun 3S.ascend long.time PERF and/until 3S.stand middle PERF

‘The sun had risen a long time and was high in the sky.’

One instance has been recorded (see the following example), where the adverb **gwanaŋ** ‘beforehand’ appears in an unusual position between P and O. As no other adverbs have been recorded between P and O, this remains as a curiosity rather than classifying a separate adverb class for that position, or broadening the definition of class III adverbs to include occurrences between P and O. Perhaps **gwanaŋ** has been brought nearer to the predicate because of the long relative clause formulation for the object, or the fact that the relative clause itself ends with a temporal adverb:

(203) **Iŋ gēlic gwanaŋ gēŋ naŋ oc hōc asê tīŋambu -ŋga.**

3S 3SR.see beforehand thing/s RC NR 3S.lift out later -of/for

‘He saw ahead of time, the things that would happen.’

The adverbs **ŋagahō** ‘quickly’ and **sep** ‘shortly’ often seem to have some overlap semantically. However, the former is encoding manner, whereas the latter encodes temporal ‘quick-ness’. In the following example **sep** does not qualify the speedy manner of going to the village (or not), but the temporal closeness of the action:

(204) **Aō oc wasa malac sep dom.**

1S NR 1SIR.go.out village shortly NEG

‘I will not go to the village soon.’

Many of these temporal adverbs are also commonly used in adverbial phrases encoding temporal adverbial notions. These will be listed here rather than with other phrases in the section on non-adverbial encodings of adverbial notions. Many of these phrases are preposition-like phrases introduced by **tēŋ** ‘go to’ (see §3.8.2):

- **muŋ su** ‘earlier’
- **sep tigeŋ** ‘quickly’ (lit. ‘shortly one’)
- **tēŋ kwahic dec** ‘now’ (lit. ‘at this here’)
- **tēŋ tēm kwahic dec-ŋga** ‘at the present time’ (lit. ‘to the this here time’)
- **tēŋ wandëc daŋ** ‘a long time ago’ (lit. ‘to one long.time (ago)’; class I position)
- **wandëc daŋ su** ‘a long time ago’ (lit. ‘one long.time PERF’; class V position)

The following tables present a summary of the Bukawa adverbs classified according to their locational classes and their notional classes:
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<td></td>
<td>manner</td>
<td>paŋpaŋ</td>
<td>entirely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñagahô</td>
<td>totally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>salaŋ</td>
<td>quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>solop</td>
<td>hurriedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tawasê</td>
<td>directly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class III</td>
<td>manner</td>
<td>ahuc</td>
<td>coveringly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>asê</td>
<td>out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dónŋ</td>
<td>firmly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kësi</td>
<td>visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kóc</td>
<td>asunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>popoc</td>
<td>destructively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>up/out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si</td>
<td>protectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sic</td>
<td>downwardly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>siŋ</td>
<td>divestingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>su</td>
<td>away (ablative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positional class</td>
<td>Notional class</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class IV</td>
<td>manner (intensity)</td>
<td>atu, (ŋ)andô, babalec, basô, ndu, paŋpaŋ, sambuc, ŋadinda, ŋagec, ŋamata, ŋaŋeŋ, (ge)gelec, ŋaŋga, ŋapep, ŋayham, so, babalip, bambaliŋ, dau-ŋga, malô, têtêŋ</td>
<td>big(ly), truly, lots, really, intensely, totally, entirely, hugely, a little, sharply, quietly, secretly, strongly, well, good(ly), wrongly, scattered(ly), haphazardly, separatedly, slowly, divergingly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manner (evaluation)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manner (location and motion)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class V</td>
<td>aspectual</td>
<td>apu, ŋapaŋ, su, tiyham, bocdec, bocdinaŋ, ŋagahô, ŋambwa, tali, tawasê, teŋ, tôhôŋ, gwananŋ, sep, tiŋambu-ŋga, wandêc</td>
<td>FRUST (frustrated), always, PERF (perfective), again, thus, also (as well), quickly, baselessly, freely, alive, alone, unmovingly, also (accomp), beforehand, shortly, later, long time previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class VI</td>
<td>modal</td>
<td>a, maŋ, dom, eŋ</td>
<td>eh (RHQ), must, NEG, only/always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modal (negation)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positional class</td>
<td>Notional class</td>
<td>Item</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class VII</td>
<td>manner (degree) –</td>
<td>andô</td>
<td>truly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* of adjectives</td>
<td>babalec</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dom</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* of quantifiers</td>
<td>hic</td>
<td>DEPREC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* of adverbs</td>
<td>këlêc</td>
<td>much/many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñagec</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ñ)asac</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sambuc</td>
<td>completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>solop</td>
<td>really (lit. straight)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>andô</td>
<td>truly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dom</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñasac</td>
<td>really</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tiyham</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>andô</td>
<td>truly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bocke</td>
<td>how(ever) (= greatly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dom</td>
<td>NEG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Quantifiers

3.6.1 Numbers

3.6.1.1 Cardinal numbers

The Bukawa number system is based upon units of five and twenty, which correspond to the normal complement of digits of one person. The word for five amaŋdaŋ means literally ‘my one hand’, and twenty is ñgac sambuc daŋ ‘one complete man’. The five basic numerals are as follows:

- **tigeŋ**: ‘one’
- **lu**: ‘two’
- **tö**: ‘three’
- **hale**: ‘four’
- **amaŋdaŋ/limdaŋ**: ‘five (one hand)’

NOTES

i. The alternative word limdaŋ for the number ‘five’ seems to be used interchangeably with amaŋdaŋ. It (or a form of it) takes the place of amaŋ(daŋ) in numerals from fifteen to nineteen – see below.

ii. Sometimes the indefinite article daŋ ‘a/one’ is used alternatively for ‘one’. Tigeŋ is always used rather than daŋ in counting 1-2-3 etc., and in instances where the topic is the ONLY one rather than just ANY one. For example:
Iŋ gic ŋac si daŋ ndu.
1S 3SR.hit 3P GAUX.3P a/one intensely
‘He killed one of them.’

Aö gatap i daŋ sa.
1S 1SR.find fish a/one up/out
‘I caught a fish.’

Aö gatap i tigeŋ sa.
1S 1SR.meet fish one up/out
‘I caught (only) one fish.’

Beyond five the counting is literally ‘one hand plus one; one hand plus two’ etc. The
‘plus’ is expressed by prefixing ŋandô ‘fruit’ to the units, so that six is literally ‘one hand +
its fruit one’. The ‘one hand’ is sometimes omitted, for example ‘nine’ may be given
simply as ŋandôhale.

(It is acknowledged that most of the following examples are phrases that should
possibly be placed in Chapter 4 (phrases), but in order to keep the presentation of the
Bukawa number system together, they are presented here).

amaŋdaŋ ŋandôtigeŋ
‘six’ (one hand (5) plus 1)

amaŋdaŋ ŋandôlu
‘seven’ (1x5 plus 2)

amaŋdaŋ ŋandôtö
‘eight’ (1x5 plus 3)

amaŋdaŋ ŋandôhale
‘nine’ (1x5 plus 4)

amaŋlu/sahuc
‘ten’ (lit. ‘two hands’)

amaŋlu/sahuc ŋandôtigeŋ
‘eleven’ (2x5/ten plus one)

amaŋlu ŋandôlu
‘twelve’ (2x5 plus two)

amaŋlu ŋandôtö
‘thirteen’ (2x5 plus three)

amaŋlu ŋandôhale
‘fourteen’ (2x5 plus four)

sahuc ŋalim
‘fifteen’ (ten plus its five)

sahuc ŋalim ŋandôtigeŋ
‘sixteen’ (ten, its five plus one)

sahuc ŋalim ŋandôlu
‘seventeen’ (ten, its five plus two)

sahuc ŋalim ŋandôtö
‘eighteen’ (ten, its five plus three)

sahuc ŋalim ŋandôhale
‘nineteen’ (ten, its five plus four)

ŋgac sambuc (ŋgac) daŋ
‘twenty’ (lit. ‘complete man – one (man)’)

Numbers above twenty are expressed by a co-ordinate phrase consisting of ‘twenty and
one’ etc., thus:

ŋgac sambuc daŋ ma tigeŋ
‘twenty one’

Further units of twenty are given as:

ŋgac sambuc lu
‘two whole men (= 40)’

ŋgac sambuc tö
‘three whole men (= 60)’ etc.
Today one rarely hears the Bukawa numbering system used in the community for counting much beyond four or five. The English numerals are well enough known to make expression of hundreds, thousands etc., much simpler. Few people, even older ones, are really confident about using the traditional numeral system.

For the purpose of Bible translation, the fact that the Yabêm Bible uses English numerals for numbers beyond six means that most people readily accept such practice in written Bukawa also.

3.6.1.2 Ordinal numbers

These are formed by adding a ti- prefix as well as the -ŋga PPClitic. The exception is ‘first’, which does not have the prefix, and which uses ŋamata ‘its front’ as its root rather than the numeral for ‘one’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinal Number</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋamata-ŋga</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilu-ŋga</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titö-ŋga</td>
<td>‘third’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tihale-ŋga</td>
<td>‘fourth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilim-ŋga</td>
<td>‘fifth’  (or ti-amaŋdaŋ-ŋga)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because of the obvious unwieldiness, ordinals above fifth are hardly ever used. Again, in written language, the way that ordinal numbers are written in the Yabêm Bible in the style ti-6-ŋga ‘6th’ etc., sets an easy precedent to follow.

In the following list of names for days of the week, the ordinals from ‘second’ to ‘fifth’ (omitting the -ŋga suffix) are used with gweleŋ ‘work’ to represent the days from Tuesday to Friday. Monday and Sunday are transliterated from the English day names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mônnda</td>
<td>‘Monday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gweleŋ) tilu</td>
<td>‘Tuesday’ (lit. ‘second work day’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gweleŋ) titö</td>
<td>‘Wednesday’ (lit. ‘third work day’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gweleŋ) tihale</td>
<td>‘Thursday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(gweleŋ) tilim</td>
<td>‘Friday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonam</td>
<td>‘Saturday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonda</td>
<td>‘Sunday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1.3 Non-numeral quantifiers

There is a small group of non-numeral quantifiers in Bukawa as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>babalec</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daêsam</td>
<td>‘many, plenty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daŋ</td>
<td>‘a, one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiŋga</td>
<td>‘how many?’ (also idiomatic for ‘plenty/innumerable’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoŋ</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋandôlu</td>
<td>‘very few’ (lit. ‘fruit-two’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋató</td>
<td>‘few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sambob</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.7 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Bukawa differentiate between the nearness or remoteness (both spatially and temporally) of the person or thing in focus, and to some degree, whether it is visible or not. The point of reference is the speaker or narrator.

The following is a list of the Bukawa demonstratives:

- **boc(di)naŋ** ‘like that’ – a discourse level demonstrative with anaphoric reference (which also functions as a class V manner adverb).
- **boc(din)dec** ‘like this’ – a discourse level demonstrative with cataphoric reference (and also class II/V manner adverb).
- **dau** ‘the/that (one)’ – demonstrative particle glossed as DEM
- **dindê/dê** ‘that one/those ones’ (distant)
- **dinaŋ** ‘that one/those ones’ (distant, past)
- **kelec/lec** ‘this one/these ones here’ (usually visible)
- **kêlê/lê** ‘that one/those ones there’ (usually visible)
- **naŋ** glossed as GIV (given information) – an abbreviated form of dinaŋ.

Notes on some of these:

**dau** has two major functions:

(a) It is used in discourse to refer to a character or topic that has been previously introduced. For example, the following is a typical Bukawa story introduction that first introduces a new (non-given) character with the indefinite daŋ ‘a/one’, and then when giving further information about the (given) character, uses the demonstrative particle dau:

(208) Bawhê daŋ ndöc akuwê. Bawhê dau ...
girl a/one 3S.sit initiation.FEM girl DEM
A girl sat in the house because she had come of age. That girl ...

Further comments will be made on dau in Chapter 7 (especially §7.1.2.11) which focusses on discourse and participant reference.

(b) It is used to give focus to something, or to differentiate it in contrast to other things. In such instances it is commonly followed by another of the demonstratives:

(209) gêŋ dau dinaŋ
thing DEM that
‘that very thing’

(210) Andu dau dec aneq ganeŋ dec.
house DEM this 1S.GAUX.1 area this
‘This very house (is) my place here.’

(211) Lau andô sêli bu akuwê -ŋa ṭalêŋ dau dindec.
people true 3P.wash water initiation.FEM -of/for GENPF.way DEM this
‘The old people had female coming of age washing rituals, this (is) the very way.’
(din)dec ‘this/these/here’ and dinaŋ ‘that/those’ are commonly used demonstratives in Bukawa noun phrases. Dindec is used deictically as a demonstrative to refer to something that is:

(a) physically proximate – usually visible and near to the speaker, and often the hearer as well. It can be used to identify the current location, sometimes with ellipsis of any noun phrase (212). Self reference by the speaker (213), or reference to a third party or to the audience/hearer will often use (din)dec as the demonstrative. For example:

(212) Alic a atu naŋ sêlhac dindec.
2P.see tree big RC 3P.stand this
‘Look at the big trees (that stand) here.’

(213) Yac lau dindec ame akêŋ malac Bugawac.
1P people this 1PX.come from village Bukawa
‘We (people here) come from Bukawa village.’

(b) temporally proximate – it has happened recently or is currently happening. Phrases such as têm dindec ‘this time (= now)’ or kwahic dec ‘now’ are common indicators of temporal notions.

(c) topically proximate – something that may be abstract or even of ancient occurrence, but is in focus on the current discourse.

(din)dê ‘that/there’ is in some ways a counterpart to dindec (above), and is generally used in direct speech as a deictic reference to physical places and things that are spatially remote from the speaker and hearer, but probably known and possibly visible (as distinct from kêlê which is normally only used where the item is visible). Dindê is never used as a demonstrative to refer to temporal propositions (dinaŋ is normally used). Very occasionally the abbreviated form dê is used for time (e.g. têm dê ‘that time (before)’). The main usage of (din)dê as a deictic in direct speech is one further distinction from dinaŋ. Some examples:

(214) Mac atêŋ malac atu dê andi.
2P 2P.go.to village big there 2PIR.go
‘You(p) go to that big village there.’

(215) Wakêŋ am ndöc agatê atu dê tî gap poc
dê bu ndöc naŋ.
1SIR.put 2S 2S.sit tree.drifting big there with flotsam 3S.float there COMP 2S.sit GIV
‘I will put you (to) sit on the big drifting tree there, floating with flotsam there, to sit on that.’

dinaŋ ‘that/those’ is far more widely used than dindê, especially to indicate temporal location, as well as people, events and places that are spatially remote from the speaker and hearer. Dinaŋ can be used when an item being referred to is not visible, or even not physically existent (e.g. abstract ideas, temporal notions), whereas (din)dê is more likely to be used in direct speech where the person or thing being indicated is visible and physically existent.
**dinaŋ** is commonly used at discourse level to indicate a previously mentioned character or thing, but with not quite the same ‘definiteness’ as **dau**. The former is more commonly used to refer to characters or inanimate referents that have low prominence in the discourse, and also those that are less topical in the immediate context. Its usage is anaphoric, referring to someone or something that is known or has been previously referred to. (While the first use of **dinaŋ** in the following example refers to a day still to come, it is nevertheless a day that has been previously discussed and known to the listener):

(216) **Bêc dinaŋ yac ... taŋgalêm mbac hoŋ sa sêmeŋ sêŋgawê**

day that 1P 1P+.invite bird all up/out 3P.come 3P.dig.up

hoc dinaŋ sa.

stone that up/out

‘(On) that day ... let us(inc) invite all the birds to come and dig up that stone.’

In the next example, **dinaŋ** could feasibly be interchanged with **dau**, however in the context both characters referred to have been previously introduced in the discourse and are topically ‘current’:

(217) **Bawhê dinaŋ sip ma ŋiŋlu ŋamalac andô dinaŋ sêsargwê**
girl that 3S.descend and 3S.DL person old that 3P.go.out

gwêc si.

sea 3PR.go

‘That girl went down (from the house) and she and that old man went out to the sea.’

(ke)lec and (kê)lê function as counterparts that indicate spatial proximity (the former) and spatial remoteness, and in distinction from the other Bukawa demonstratives that may be used in similar situations, these are used almost exclusively in direct speech to indicate something that is normally (but not necessarily) visible to both speaker and hearer. The exclamation **kec** ‘look; here!’ is probably related to the demonstrative kelec ‘here’:

(218) **Lic gêŋ kelec.**

2S.see thing/s this/here

‘Look at (the/this) thing here.’

(219) **Aö neŋ andu kêlê kac lê.**

1S GAUX.1 house there 3SR.stand there

‘(That is) my house there standing there.’

Such references generally involve physical referents, although an exception has occasionally been noted where the abbreviated form lê occurs in the temporal phrase **muŋ-ŋa lê** ‘before (there/then)’. In most (but not all) cases recorded, either the speaker or the hearer was present at the time being indicated, that is, there is some ‘known-ness’ about the referent. For example:

(220) **Muŋ-ŋa lê aö kadôhôŋ lôm gambo Wasutieŋ.**

earlier -of/for there 1S 1SR.teach room 1SR.be/stay Wasutieŋ

‘Before, I taught school at Wasutieŋ.’
**naŋ GIV** is an abbreviated form of **dinaŋ** and occasionally functions with a similar role (some of the dialects of Bukawa have been observed to interchange the two terms more frequently). It more commonly functions to delineate the boundary of embedded relative clauses – not to be confused with the relative clause complementiser **naŋ** (see further comments in §4.1.4.2). In sentences with relative clauses introduced by **naŋ RC**, there is usually a minor intonation break at the end of the clause (before **naŋ GIV**).

**NOTE:** In relation to the prominence or definiteness of a subject in discourse, there are instances where a noun subject without a demonstrative may still be ‘definite’. For example the python in one text is introduced indefinitely (with **daŋ** ‘a/one’), and later just referred to as ‘python’ which would logically be glossed definitely as ‘the python’:

(221) *Mboçnda atu *daŋ akên saleŋ sa meŋ.

python big a/one from bush 3S.go.out 3S.come

‘A big python came out from the bush.’

(222) *Mboçnda kêsahê iŋ e gêlic bu iŋ mbac

python 3SR.test 3S and/until 3SR.see COMP 3S 3S .weaken

ndu qandô.

intensely true

‘The python tested her until it saw that she had really died.’

Such in-frequent instances of ‘implied definiteness’ as depicted in the above examples would only apply to subjects. However, one could not generalise from this and say that subjects are definite unless they are overtly marked as non-definite. Further comments will be made in the discourse section.

**NOTE:** It is observed here that these Bukawa demonstratives are rarely, if ever used as demonstrative pronouns. In normal usage the demonstrative fills the demonstrative slot of the Bukawa noun phrase (see §4.1.4) to indicate the particular referent that is delineated in the head slot of the noun phrase, for example **gê dindec** ‘this thing’, **lau dinaŋ** ‘those people’.

In isolated instances **dinaŋ** ‘that/those’, and **dindec** ‘this/these’ are used alone in the object position of a clause. For example:

(223) *Aö tac whîŋ dinaŋ/dindec.

1S belly 3S.be.with that/this

‘I want/would like that/this.’

However, a statement such as the above would only be made in a situation where the object being referred to is clear to both speaker and hearer.

### 3.8 Prepositions

Bukawa has a small range of words that function only as prepositions, and also a range of verbs that are used in constructions that are seemingly similar to those incorporating the ‘true’ prepositions, but that will be classified in this analysis as serialisation constructions. In both cases, such constructions are most commonly used to express ‘oblique’ arguments (the X constituents) of sentences.
(a) ‘True’ prepositions that only function as such:

\[
\begin{align*}
akê & \quad \text{‘from’} & \quad \text{ŋa} & \quad \text{‘with (INSTR)’} \\
ti & \quad \text{‘with (comitative)’} & \quad \text{tu} & \quad \text{‘to/for’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Bukawa verbs used in serialised constructions:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi} & \quad \text{‘ascend’} & \quad \text{sip} & \quad \text{‘descend} \\
têŋ & \quad \text{‘go to’} & \quad \text{tôm} & \quad \text{‘as/like’} \\
\text{whiŋ} & \quad \text{‘with’} & \quad \text{yêc} & \quad \text{‘be/lie’}
\end{align*}
\]

NOTE: All of these verbs occur commonly as normally inflecting forms. When they are used in a ‘preposition-like’ manner in the serialised constructions that are depicted in §3.8.2, it is noticeable that they are not inflected as they would be in normal usage. In light of that fact, it may seem contradictory to the reader that they are glossed as 3S in the following examples. Such glossing has been done for the purpose of consistency throughout this work.

3.8.1 True prepositions

akê ‘from’ – this preposition has an ablative sense of ‘from, out of’, thus is used mainly to express source.

\[
\text{Iŋ meŋ akê gameŋ ac pi -ŋga.} \\
3S \quad 3S.\text{come from area sun 3S.ascend -of/for} \\
\text{‘He came from the east.’ (lit. ‘area of sun-coming-up.’)} \\
\]

\[
\text{Sêmeŋ akê gameŋ baliŋ sac andô.} \\
3P.\text{come from area long bad true} \\
\text{‘They came from a very long way away.’} \\
\]

ŋa – the preposition ŋa is used to express instrument, and also means, manner or agency:

\[
\text{Iŋ oc êŋku mac ŋa Ñalau Dabuŋ.} \\
3S \quad 3SIR.baptise 2P \quad \text{INSTR Spirit Holy} \\
\text{‘He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit’}. \\
\]

\[
\text{Mboc dau kêsahê iŋ ŋa êmbala.} \\
\text{snake DEM 3SR.test 3S INSTR tongue} \\
\text{‘The snake tested her with its tongue.’} \\
\]

\[
\text{ti ‘with/and’ is used as a preposition to encode adverbial notions of manner. As will be seen in §4.1.2.5, it can also be used as a preposition to modify another noun phrase. It also functions as a conjunction that conveys the sense of ‘with/and’. There is an unrelated verbal homonym ti that means ‘to get up, become’.} \\
\]

Examples of the use of ŋi to encode manner:

\[
\text{Iŋ kôm gweleŋ ŋi ŋi ndê licwalô sambuc.} \\
3S \quad 3S.do work with 3S \quad \text{GAUX.3S strength complete} \\
\text{‘He worked with all his strength.’} \\
\]
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(229) Ṯac oc sêneŋ ḋamwasiŋ atu ti atac ḋayham.
3P NR 3PIR.eat GENPF.feast big with belly good
‘They would eat the big feast happily.’

tu ‘because of, to, for’ normally functions at sentence level to encode reasons, explanations or purposes. In many cases it is used in constructions bounded by the post-positional clitic -ŋga (see §3.9). One common example is its usage as a conjunction phrase with the demonstrative dinaŋ to specify a preceding event or action as the reason for what follows:

(230) Tu dinaŋ -ŋga iŋ ndê damba ti ndê lau
for that -of/for 3S GAUX.3S father with GAUX.3S people
sêkê iŋ ndöc andu.
3P.put 3S 3S .sit house
‘Because of that (what preceded) her father and his/her people confined her to the house.’

(231) Dakôm mwasiŋ tu aneŋ bawhê -ŋga.
1P+.do feast for 1S.GAUx.1 girl -of/for
‘We will have a feast for my daughter.’

(232) Goc balê dau sip meŋ ma gic miŋ yom ...
then boy DEM 3S.descend 3S.come and 3SR.hit story talk
tu gêŋ naŋ iŋ gêlic mboc kôm têŋ iŋlu lhuwê.
for thing/s RC 3S 3SR.see snake 3S.do 3S.go.to 3S.DL XSSIB.FEM
‘Then the boy came down and told … about the thing that he saw the snake do to him and his sister.’

NOTE: In this latter example pi (see examples below) would seem to be more applicable and could certainly be used, but perhaps the sense intended here is ‘on account of/because of’ rather than ‘about’.

3.8.2 Serialised constructions

The verbs in this section are being analysed as a form of serialisation (or pivotal co-subordination as described more fully in §6.3.2). The normal form of these is predicate one involving X as object – X becomes subject of predicate two. Or, to use the verb têŋ as an example, the form kêŋ X têŋ Y is literally ‘give X – (it (X)) goes to Y’. Not all of the examples in this section fit clearly into such serialisation pattern – for example temporal type formulations such as in examples (241), (246), (247) or (252). And it has already been noted that the verbs used in these ‘preposition-like’ constructions are somewhat reduced in form as they are not inflected.

However, because all of these verbs occur as normally inflecting forms, and the sense of meaning conveyed in the ‘predicate-like’ formulation is in most cases related to that of the normally inflecting form, the analysis as serialisation in this subsection seems preferable to postulating that each of the verbs has a related prepositional form.
pi ‘ascend’ and sip ‘descend’ (described next) are verbs with semantically opposite meanings, but both function similarly in serialised constructions to indicate the focus or locus of a particular psychological or physical activity. Examples of pi ‘ascend’:

(233) Damba kôc gauc pi hocsuŋ dau.
father 3S.get thinking 3S.ascend stone.hole DEM
‘The/her father thought about the stone hole.’

(234) Pômdau tawalô ŋac pi ŋeŋ hinya?
Lord eye.heavy 3P 3S.ascend thing/s how.many
‘The Lord pitied them concerning how many things?’

(235) Ŋampê ti ŋangue salaŋ gi hi pi iŋ ŋakachu.
middle with tail hurriedly 3SR.go 3S.wrap 3S.ascend 3S GENPF.throat
‘Its middle and tail quickly wrapped around/on her throat.’

(236) Bêc dinanŋ yac dandic ŋeŋ daneŋ -ŋa hoŋ sa pi
day that 1P 1P+IR.hit thing/s 1P+IR.eat -of/for all up/out 3S.ascend malac.
village
‘(On) that day we will gather all the food in/into the village.’

(237) Sêkê ŋ sacbalê pi dandi ôli.
3P.put mud 3S.ascend RECIP skin
‘They put mud onto each other’s skin.’

In the following example, pi seems to be used to express instrument rather than the locus of the activity. However, as to ‘see’ something implies that one uses one’s eyes, it would seem redundant to specify the instrument here. What is probably being emphasised is that the speaker has really seen the object.

(238) Aô galic pi tanôŋ su.
1S 1SR see 3S.ascend eye.GEN1 PERF
‘I have seen (it) with my (own) eyes.’

As an example of verb serialisation, the object of the first clause has been elided, but remains the underlying subject of the following clause i.e. ‘I saw (it) – (it) ascended to my eye.’

sip ‘descend’ (see initial comments under pi above). Some examples:

(239) Mbocnda dau ŋagahô gi seŋ iŋ sip ŋasu.
python DEM quickly 3SR.go 3S.bite 3S 3S.descend neck
‘The python quickly went and bit her on the neck.’

(240) Pômdau kôc yac sa datî iŋ ndê balêkoc.
Lord 3S.take 1P up/out 1P+.become 3S GAUX.3S child(ren)
ŋahu sip yac neŋ dakêŋ whiŋ.
basis 3S.descend 1P GAUX.1 1P+.put with
‘The Lord accepts us as his children, the basis pertains to our belief/believing.’
têŋ ‘go to’ – is a very common verb of motion that is also used in many serialised constructions that express temporal location (time), addressee, experiencer and recipient or beneficiary.

(241) \textit{têŋ têm dinaŋ}  
$3S$.go.to $time$ that  
‘at that time’

(242) \textit{Iŋ gic miŋ têŋ aō.}  
$3S$ $3SR$.hit story to $1S$  
‘He told (a) story to me.’

(243) \textit{Sêlic gêŋ dalô naŋ iŋ kôm têŋ lau gêmbac -ŋga.}  
$3P$.see thing/s sign $RC$ $3S$ $3S$.do $3S$.go.to people sick -of/for  
‘They saw the miracles that he did to sick people.’

(244) \textit{Iŋ kên gêŋ daêsam têŋ ŋac.}  
$3S$ $3S$.give thing/s plenty $3S$.go.to $3P$  
‘He gave many things to them.’

It is interesting that when a person asks or prays for something from someone in Bukawa, it is expressed as asking for the thing to that person. Such expressions use têŋ, and as such could be categorised as addressee phrases. A Bukawa example:

(245) \textit{Gêŋ sake naŋ mac ateŋ têŋ Damaŋ anem aō aŋôŋ}  
thing what $RC$ $2P$ $2P$.ask $3S$.go.to father.$GEN1$ $2PIR$.do $1S$ face.$GEN1$  
\textit{naŋ iŋ oc kêŋ.}  
$GIV$ $3S$ $NR$ $3S$.give  
‘Whatever you (pl) ask to my/our Father in my name, he will give (it) (to you).’

tôm – ‘to be like, able, enough’, is used in serialised constructions and normally expresses the extent or distribution of something in either time (duration) or space (similar to Tok Pisin \textit{inapim} ‘to each’):

(246) \textit{Tôm bêc hoŋ ...}  
for day all  
‘Every day ...’

(247) \textit{tôm yala lu dinaŋ}  
for year two that  
‘for those two years’

(248) \textit{Iŋ kêsêlêŋ tôm gameŋ hoŋ.}  
$3S$ $3SR$.walk for area all  
‘He walked/went to every place.’ (Tok Pisin: ‘\textit{inapim olgeta hap}’)

whiŋ ‘to be with’ is used in serialised constructions to encode accompaniment:

(249) \textit{Neŋ i ŋambwa dom. Neŋ (O) whiŋ gō}  
$2/3PIR$.eat fish baselessly $NEG$ $2/3SR$.eat (O) $3S$.be.with taro
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ti nöm bu.
with 2/3S.drink water
‘Don’t eat only fish. Eat (it) with taro and drink water.’

(250) Dandic mboc dau ndu ma ŋac sêneŋ whiq bôc ti
1P+IR.hit snake DEM intensely and 3P 3PIR.eat 3S.be.with pig with
mwasiŋ naŋ yac dandê.
feast RC 1P 1P+.cook
‘And we will kill the snake and they will eat (it) with the pig and the feast
that we prepare.’

yêc ‘lie/sleep/stay/be’ – when used in these serialised constructions yêc generally has a
locative function with the more typically prepositional meaning ‘in/at’. It mainly
expresses spatial or temporal location, but can also have an ablative sense ‘from/out of’
to express source. It will be glossed ‘be/lie’ as for the normally inflected form.

(251) Yac atê wê acsalô sambuc tô yêc Hagen.
1P 1PX.dance song midday complete three 3S.be/lie Hagen
‘We danced for three complete days in (Mount) Hagen.’

(252) Yêc yala dinaŋ ŋalôm ...
3S.be/lie year that GENPF.inside
‘In/during that year ... ’

(253) Iŋ kôc mone dau su yêc iŋ ndê talhi.
3S 3S.take money DEM away 3S.be/lie 3S GAUX.3S bag
‘He took the/that money out of his bag.’

(There is some overlap in usage between this and the preposition akên which also often
encodes ‘source’. In some cases, a distinction seems to be that yêc (perhaps in keeping
with its usual verbal meaning) is used where the object in focus has been ‘lying/staying’ at
that location prior to coming out of it, whereas akên merely states the source).

3.9 Postpositional -ŋga

The Bukawa post-positional -ŋga is a clitic which occurs with Bukawa words, phrases,
and even clauses. Its most common function is to incorporate each of those types of
constructions into noun phrases as modifiers of the head noun.

This post-positional clitic -ŋga has a range of meanings including ‘belonging to,
behaving characteristically, associated with.’ The Tok Pisin word bilong is a good
translational equivalent, so for want of a simple gloss the English ‘of/for’ has been used.
The following examples demonstrate each of the above English equivalents:

Belonging to:

(254) lau malac -ŋga
people village -of/for
‘people of the village’ (‘manmeri bilong ples’)

Behaving characteristically:
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(255) ŋgac tê wê -ŋga
man 3S.dance song -of/for
‘man who likes to dance’ (‘man bilon danis’)

Associated with:

(256) wapa siŋ -ŋga
goods fight -of/for
‘weapons/armour’ (‘kago bilong pait’)

In the following examples -ŋga governs more complex constructions including phrases and clauses:

(257) lau gameŋ dindec -ŋga
people area this -of/for
‘people of this area’ (manmeri bilong dispela hap)

(258) gêŋ ŋac sêneŋ -ŋga
thing 3P 3PIR.eat -of/for
‘things they eat/things for them to eat’ (samting bilong ol i kaikai)

The meaning of example (258) is ambiguous, as is shown in the free translation. The complementiser bu can be used to make the intended meaning explicit:

(259) gêŋ bu ŋac sêneŋ -ŋga
thing COMP 3P 3PIR.eat -of/for
‘things for them to eat’

Sometimes these constructions involving -ŋga are introduced by the relative clause complementiser naŋ:

(260) Naŋ sem gauc gêŋ naŋ iŋ bu kôm -ŋga.
3P 3PR.do thinking(= not know) thing/s RC 3S POT 3S.do -of/for
‘They did not know the thing that he wanted to/would do.’

The post-positional clitic is also used in the common Bukawa expression yêc-ŋga
‘don’t worry, leave it’ (often close in meaning to Tok Pisin ‘maski’). For example:

(261) Hu siŋ yêc -ŋga.
2/3S.leave divestingly 3S.be/lie -of/for
‘Give it up/away.’ (lit. ‘leave it – it’s for staying’)

The same sense can also carry over to phrases where yêc-ŋga is expanded:

(262) Giso yêc yac -ŋga dom.
wrong 3S.be/lie us -of/for NEG
‘We have no fault/blame.’

There are examples of the embedding of -ŋga constructions within each other, and in most such cases the clitic is only used once:

(263) Naoli gwelen bêc tö dinan -ŋga
pay work day(lit. sleep) three those -of/for
‘Pay for those three days’ work.’
 Fully expanded, this would represent two -ŋga constructions:

(264) ŋvocabli (gwelen béc tô dinan -ŋga) -ŋga.

pay work day three those -of/for -of/for

‘Pay for those three days’ work/Pay of (work of those three days).’

Repetition of -ŋga sometimes does occur, for example when a phrase with the clitic is embedded in a tu ... -ŋga ‘for/because of’ preposition construction (see §3.8.1):

(265) ... tu iŋ pônda gêŋ danen -ŋga -ŋga

for 3S 3S.need thing/s 1P+IR.eat -of/for -of/for

‘... because he was in need of food.’

3.10 Conjunctions

The Bukawa language has a range of forms to express the combination of propositions. Conjunctions are not inflected, but some of the simpler forms of conjunctions can be compounded to form more complex ones.

Combination at phrase level uses a limited set of the same conjunctions that function at clause and sentence level. There are additional notes and examples depicting the combination or coordination of noun phrases in §4.1.6.1, and clause/sentence level coordination is described in §6.4.

This section will give a summary listing of the principle Bukawa conjunctions with a brief description and examples. Phrase level conjunctions with brief notes will be presented prior to the list of clause/sentence and discourse level conjunctions that are used to combine predications. The noun/noun phrase conjunctions are as follows:

lu DL – a homonym of the numeral lu ‘two’ – it combines nouns/noun phrases that are very closely related:

(266) damba lu dinda
father DL mother
‘father and mother’

(267) awhê lu ŋgac
woman DL man
‘woman and man’ (usually husband and wife)

It is interesting that when reference is made to ‘husband and wife’ as in the preceding example, the combination is woman first, then the man.

ma ‘and’ – the most widely used and general conjunction for coordination of noun phrases. The following example depicts both ma and ti (see below):

(268) Ya gêŋ ŋgac dau ti ndê balêkoc ma lauwhê
fire 3SR.eat man DEM with GAUX.3S child(ren) and people.FEM

ma lau hoŋ dinan.
and people all that

‘The fire destroyed that man and his children and womenfolk and all those people.’
me ‘or’ – used to combine noun phrases that are contrastive or possible alternatives:

\[(269) \text{Taso } \text{gêŋ } \text{bu tap } \text{ndip } \text{basô } \text{me } \text{gêŋ} \]
\[
\text{eye.miss thing/s COMP 3S.find coconut dry or thing/s}
\]
\[
\text{bocke } \text{sa } \text{ma neŋ.}
\]
\[
\text{what/every up/out and 3SIR.eat}
\]

‘She looked around to find a dry coconut or whatever else and eat it.’

\(\text{ti ‘and/with’ – a homonymous conjunction related to the manner preposition } \text{ti} \) (see §3.8.1). It normally indicates a closer relationship between the items combined than \(\text{ma,} \) though it is often used in alternation with \(\text{ma} \) (perhaps as a stylistic device to reduce repetition) when a lengthy series of items is combined. For example:

\[(270) \ldots \text{kêcsôwa } \text{ti } \text{ma} \text{ntucwê } \text{ma } \text{kiŋkec } \text{ti } \text{mbac gwayam } \text{ma} \]
\[
\text{cassowary with coucal and coot with bird wild.fowl and}
\]
\[
\text{mbac matô } \text{ti } \text{seleŋac } \text{ma } \text{socŋkwiŋ } \ldots
\]
\[
\text{bird mud with bower.bird and wagtail}
\]
\[
\ldots \text{cassowary and coucal and coot and wild fowl and ground bird and bower}
\]
\[
\text{bird and willy wagtail } \ldots
\]

The Bukawa conjunctions that are used to combine predications are described in detail in §6.4 and will be simply listed here with brief notes:

\(\text{bu} \) the complementiser (COMP) \(\text{bu} \) also functions as a causal conjunction that introduces a REASON complement, i.e. ‘Clause1 because Clause2’.

\(\text{dec} \) ‘so/then’ – a conjunction that normally indicates a causal relationship between the clauses combined i.e. ‘Clause1 happened and as a result, Clause2.’ It also sometimes functions as a conjunction in conditional sentences, especially where there is a strong causal dependency between the outcome expressed by the apodosis and the protasis.

\(\text{e} \) ‘and/until’ – a conjunction that often encodes the aspectual notion of continuity of Clause1 until the inception of Clause2, or that what is expressed in Clause2 is the result of the activity expressed in Clause1.

\(\text{goc} \) ‘then’ – used to combine predicates that are temporally sequential, and where there is a change of subject. It also links the protasis of a conditional sentence with the apodosis, where the temporal aspect of the conditionality is in focus.

\(\text{gocdec} \) ‘then (closely following)’ – a compound made of the former conjunction and the demonstrative \(\text{dec} \) that combines predications in which the ‘here/now’ temporal sequence is emphasised, i.e. ‘Clause1 happened and then straight away, Clause2’.

\(\text{gocdê} \) ‘then’ – a rarely used compound between \(\text{goc} \) and the demonstrative \(\text{dê} \) ‘there/then.’ It does not appear to signify that the clauses combined are temporally separated.

\(\text{ma} \) ‘and’ – a very common conjunction that is used for the simple structural combination of predicates that are distinct events. Those events may occur simultaneously, successively, or where determined by the context, \(\text{ma} \) can be used to signify mild contrast (‘but’).
madec ‘and then/and so’ – not widely used, but like goedec is a compound form with ‘here/now’ demonstrative dec. Because of limited data it is difficult to propose specific parameters for the use of this conjunction. However, it is possible that it is used when there is some subordination or presupposition of the preceding clause, or when the speaker wishes to depict closer temporal sequence than simply ma.

mbo ‘lest’ – a conjunction that encodes a ‘cautionary’ mode – usually preceded by a negated Clause₁ i.e., ‘(Do) not Clause₁ lest Clause₂’.

me ‘or’ – a conjunction that connects contrastive or alternative predications. It is often used in alternative or yes-no questions.

oc ‘then’ – a rarely used conjunction specifically used in conditional sentences.

ti ‘with/and’ is used to combine predications that occur simultaneously.

3.11 Interjections

Bukawa has a short list of interjections that usually occur sentence initially, and help to signify the speaker’s attitude, feelings or intentions. They do not have major impact upon the grammar, nor exhibit any inherent morphemic structure, but will be listed here under word level for interest:

- aêc ‘yes’ – signifies agreement to a question or statement.
- alu(e) – signifies surprise, bewilderment, fright. (Tok Pisin oloman)
- aô ‘yes (I’m here)’ – a response when called.
- aôŋ ‘yes’ – consent to a proposal.
- ayôc ‘OK, let’s do it; let’s go’ – a signal for action.
- bocke ‘How/Why?’ – used when the motive or reason for something is questioned.
- ēi ‘Hey!’ – signifies surprise.
- heceŋ ‘yes’ – affirmation following a yes-no question.
- kec ‘look, here it is’ – calling attention to something (visible).
- mba ‘no’ – signifies disagreement to a question or statement.
- oyaê ‘Oh, Woe!’ – an expression indicating something bad has happened, or could happen.
- yêc-ŋgâ ‘don’t worry, leave it’ – signifies unwillingness to accept or do something offered or suggested (similar to Tok Pisin maski).

3.12 Word level morphological processes

This section will present several processes that mainly affect word level morphology. These are:

3.12.1 The genitive prefix ŋa-

3.12.2 Word derivation

3.12.3 Reduplication
3.12.1 The genitive prefix ŋa-

When the genitive prefix ŋa- is prefixed to a word, it normally encodes a genitive relationship between that word and the preceding word. For example:

(271) a ŋa-mlic
   tree GENPF-skin
   ‘tree bark’ (lit. ‘tree, its-skin’)

However, a definition of ŋa- as a prefix is not without some complications. Words beginning with ŋa- comprise over 5% of the Bukawa lexicon. Approximately half of these words do have separate free forms, and so ŋa- is clearly a prefix in those cases. Some examples:

(272) lôm ‘room’ (andu) ŋa-lôm ‘(a house) its room’
(273) dali ‘edge’ (gwêc) ŋa-dali ‘(sea) its edge = seaside’
(274) gôc ‘scar’ (gamboc) ŋa-gôc ‘(a sore) its mark’

Other words beginning with ŋa- do not have free forms, and even though there is often a genitive relationship signified in such cases, ŋa- does not appear to be functioning as a prefix. Perhaps in those cases the prefix has become ‘frozen’ over time to the root, such that the root can no longer occur in isolation. Some examples that portray a genitive relationship are:

(kwa ŋ a) ŋ agatôm ‘(grass) its shoot’
(mbac ŋ a) ŋ agulu ‘(bird) its egg’
(andidu) ŋ apu ‘(a house) its underneath’

There are also examples of forms beginning with ŋa- that do not require or even imply an inherent genitive relationship:

ŋakwê ‘clothing’
ŋalasê ‘a hole, gap’
ŋamsôm ‘meat/flesh’

(NOTE: other words of this form are marked ++ in the list below.)

Words from each of these latter two groups also function as adjectives and adverbs where the genitive relationship is characteristic or descriptive of the subject rather than signifying a whole-part relationship as the examples above show.

Adjectival forms:

(ndip) ŋabu ‘green (drinking) coconut (i.e. with ‘wet-ness’)’
(coconut) GENPF.water
ŋadêche ‘heavy (i.e. with heaviness)’
ŋadômbwi ++ ‘dirty (i.e. with dirtiness)’
ŋaganda ++ ‘sweet’
ŋagêngô ++ ‘slippery’
ŋamakic ‘bitter/sour’
ŋandô ‘true’
ŋayham ‘good’
ŋanga ++ ‘strong, hard’
ŋasaŋ ++ ‘skinny’

Adverbial forms:
ŋagahô ‘quickly’
ŋambwa ‘nothingly (pointlessly)’
ŋaŋeŋ ++ ‘quietly/steadfastly’
ŋapep ++ ‘correctly’
ŋawahô ++ ‘greedily’
ŋayham ‘well (goodly)’

In this presentation, words such as those marked in the preceding lists with ++ will be described as single root words, that co-incidentally begin with ŋa. Words in which a genitive relationship is evident will be regarded as genitive prefix inflected words.

NOTES
i. Some comments have been made in §3.1.4.1 as to the use of the genitive auxiliary noun and the genitive prefix ŋa-to depict genitive relationships. It is also noted here that the genitive auxiliary noun would rarely (if ever) be used when the subject of the genitive argument is inanimate. This is irrespective of whether or not the subject is specific and definite. Example (271) above depicts a general, non-specific reference to tree bark. Even if the reference was to ‘the’ bark of one particular tree, one would still use the genitive prefix, for example:

(275) a boŋ atu dinaŋ ŋamlic
tree kwila big that GENPF.skin
‘the bark of that big kwila tree’

ii. This prefix is one of the Bukawa mechanisms whereby the root from one word class can be used to form a word of another class. With this function ŋa- cannot be classified simply as a nominaliser or an adjectiviser as there are examples of nouns formed from verbal and adjectival roots, and adjectives formed from verbal and noun roots: Some examples:

Verb —› Noun:
êŋkuc ‘to follow’ —› ŋakuc ‘extension, addendum’
nem gôliŋ ‘to steer/rule’ —› ŋagôliŋ ‘rule, principle’
êndênaŋ ‘to line up’ —› ŋadênaŋ ‘a line up, list’
ndic têku ‘to extend’ —› ŋatêku ‘extension’
nem lhi ‘to buy’ —› ŋamlhi ‘payment/price’
ô/yô ‘exchange/repay’ —› ŋagêyô ‘repayment, punishment’

(Note: the gê in ŋagêyô probably shows an influence from Yabêm).

Adjective —› Noun:
sawa ‘empty/clear’ —› ŋasawa ‘time/space’
Verb → Adjective:

- àmahom ‘to warm’  → àmypom ‘warm’
- ndéhe ‘to weigh down’  → àdèhe ‘heavy’
- àndé ‘to cook’  → àndé ‘hot’

Noun → Adjective:

- bu ‘water’  → àbu ‘wet (with water)’
- dahuŋ ‘smoke’  → àdaunphauŋ ‘smoky, unclear’ *
- dinda ‘mother’  → àdinda ‘great’ (idiomatic)
- tô ‘part/section’  → àtô ‘some/others’ (quantifier)

* There is reduplication of dahuŋ with loss of the ‘h’. Probably another influence from Yabêm.

iii. Specificational use of the àa- genitive prefix. Occasionally at discourse level, àa- is prefixed to a particular thing that has already been mentioned or specified. For example:

- àa-bêc ‘the specified day’
- (balè) àa-damba ‘(the boy’s) previously mentioned father’
- àa-mwasiŋ ‘the (previously mentioned or planned) feast.’

3.12.2 Word derivation

In general, Bukawa is not a very ‘productive’ language in terms of using nominalisers, adverbialisers etc. to derive words of one class from another class. Perhaps the lack of productive morphological mechanisms for deriving words is the reason for the ‘fluidity’ of some items that function as several different word classes.

Brief comments on the Genitive Prefix àa- have already demonstrated its irregular use in deriving words from another class (see §3.11 NOTES). There are several other mechanisms of minor significance for word derivation within the Bukawa language. They will be outlined below.

3.12.2.1 Compounds

Sometimes compounding is used to derive new lexical units. In many cases of compounding, the senses of the original morphemes are largely retained, and the compound does not normally cross word class boundaries.

Noun+Verb → Noun

(276) batec kēti

rat 3SR.run
‘top plate (of house frame)’ (the place where rats usually run)

Another example of a noun-verb compound is tactaŋ ‘flatulence’ (lit. ‘bell-cry’).
Verb+Numeral —› Verb

(277) \textit{pi} -tige
3S.ascend -one
‘to be together/united’

Noun+Verb+Noun —› Noun

(278) \textit{bu} -gic -toŋ —› bugictoŋ ‘lake’
water -3SR.hit -group

A few examples combine words from different classes, and produce ‘new’ meaning, as in the following example:

Verb+Verb —› Adj

gicso dau ‘crossed over itself’. For example:

(279) Sêkêŋ Yisu pi a gic -so dau gi.
3P.put Jesus 3S.ascend tree 3SR.hit -3S.miss REFPN.3 3SR.go
‘They put Jesus on a (wooden) cross.’

Preposition+Demonstrative —› Adj

A compound of the manner preposition \textit{ti} (see §3.8.1) and the demonstrative \textit{dau} (when it encodes emphasis or contrast) when reduplicated is used to signify variety. For example:

(280) Anötö kêmasaŋ gêŋ tali tidau tidau.
God 3SR.prepare thing/s eye.stirred with.REFPN with.REFPN
‘God made all kinds of living things.’

The non-verbal body part predicates (§3.1.2.3) are other examples of compounds using components from several word classes. For example:

(281) ta -hê ‘to stare at’ (Noun+Verb)
eye -pull

(282) kwa -sa ‘be revived, re-energised’ (Noun+Verb)
bone -up/out

There are several compounds consisting of noun-\textit{mbu}. For example:

kêcmbu ‘back of head’
gahimbu ‘back of foot/leg’

The \textit{mbu} morpheme in these compounds could be related to the verbal form meaning ‘to return’, or the associated noun \textit{ŋambu} ‘later/after/behind’ which loses the genitive prefix \textit{ŋa}- in the compound form.

3.12.2.2 Suffixation

The post-positional suffix \textit{-waga} is another mechanism within the language whereby a small group of nouns are derived from verbs. It functions as a ‘profession-forming’ suffix that is added to some verbs to derive a noun signifying a ‘habitual doer’ or person who does the action in a professional manner. (It sounds like ‘worker’ – that is also an approximate meaning and convenient gloss). Some examples:
Word classes and morphology

(283)  kédôhôŋ -waga
3SR.teach -worker
‘teacher’ (sometimes shortened to kédôŋwaga)

(284)  op -waga
3S.care -worker
‘caretaker/shepherd/congregational leader’

This suffix is also used with some (normally event) nouns to make compounds referring to the role or occupation of a person. For example:

(285)  góliŋ -waga
steering -worker
‘ruler’

(286)  aheŋ -waga
message -worker
‘evangelist’ (cf. Yabêm yaŋwaga)

(287)  akiŋ -waga
serving -worker
‘servant’

Another rare (though seemingly acceptable) usage of the -waga suffix adds it to a verbal form with 3P prefixation when there is more than one person referred to (i.e. a plural form). For example:

(288)  sêndôhôŋ -waga
3P.teach -worker
‘teachers’

Use of a relative clause introduced by the complementiser naŋ (see §4.1.5.2) is a more common way for Bukawa speakers to express plural subjects. For example:

(289)  lau naŋ sêndôhôŋ ...
person RC 3P.teach
‘(the) people who teach ... ’

This suffix is another mechanism that has probably carried over to Bukawa as a result of the extensive use of the Yabêm church language throughout the area. Older Bukawa speakers say that the proper Bukawa suffix is -ka rather than -waga. They would claim, for example that opwaga ‘caretaker’ should really be opka. However, words with the -ka ending are rarely used, and some people even want to use the full Yabêm term gêyobwaga, rather than opwaga, as the former has become so familiar through usage. Others who wish to remain ‘true’ to the Bukawa language, want to reject the suffix altogether, and use longer formulations such as in the example above.

There are examples in the Yabêm translation of the Bible that have quite complex and lengthy derivations using this suffix as a clitic (e.g. II Cor 7:6 NIV ‘downcast’ is translated with lau-ŋalôlôm-ŋawapac-waga which would have a meaning something like ‘people (with) habitually troubled insides’). However, Bukawa equivalents of such expressions have never been recorded in common everyday speech. The Yabêm lexicon also lists a
feminine form (-waga-o) for female ‘professionals/workers/doers’. Again, a Bukawa equivalent (which would be probably -waga-wê) has never been recorded.

3.12.2.3 Null deverbal nominalisations

Sometimes verbal forms can also function as nouns with no change in the morphological structure at all. For example compare the following clauses:

(290) Yisu mbac ndu.

Jesus 3S.weaken intensely
‘Jesus died.’

(291) Yisu ndê mbac ndu.

Jesus GAUX.3S 3S.weaken intensely
‘Jesus’ death.’

(292) Lau si sêkac sa.

people GAUX.3P 3P. stand up/out
‘(The) people’s assembly/gathering/meeting.’

Constructions such as the latter are not overly common, however they do seem to be accepted when used. This may be a relatively new development in the language. Perhaps it has developed through church usage as a means of using verbal formulations to fill lexical gaps for abstract nouns.

3.12.2.4 Verb-noun relationships

There is a relationship between the roots of a few class III verbs and an associated noun: 

êŋgapiŋ ‘3SIR.cut’ —› gapîŋ ‘scissors/tongs
êŋgatöc ‘3SIR.cover’ —› gatöc ‘a cover/lid’
êŋgôlôŋ ‘3SIR.decorate’ —› gôlôŋ ‘decoration’
êpsahê ‘3SIR.test’ —› saê/ŋasahê ‘test’
êntô ‘3SIR.cough’ —› tô ‘cough’
êmbwac ‘3SIR.laugh’ —› mbwac ‘laugh’

However, there is by no means a consistent relationship of this nature throughout this class of verbs. For example:

êŋgôlîŋ ‘3SIR.allege/accuse’ cf. gôlîŋ ‘steering/rule’

(But cf. gêm/nem gôlîŋ ‘to do steering/ruling.’)

A few examples of nouns derived from class III verbs are commonly expressed using the Yabêm equivalent that has an additional lê-. However these are all borrowed words, and it seems there is no equivalent Bukawa mechanism for such noun derivation:

êntôm (cf. Yabêm êlêtôm) ‘3SIR.tempt’ —› lêtôm ‘temptation’
êŋwhaŋ (cf. Yabêm êlêwaŋ) ‘3SIR.rest’ —› lêwaŋ ‘holiday’

A few Bukawa nouns beginning with gê- are related to verbs of other classes:
**3.12.3 Reduplication**

Reduplication is not a major feature of the Bukawa language. Verb roots are not reduplicated, although there is sometimes repetition of the verb for emphasis or to signify ongoing action. For example:

(293) \[1ŋ \ pô \ gô \ sù \ ma \ pô \ pô \ ma \ kêŋ \ kêŋ\]
\[3S \ 3S.\text{press} \ \text{taro} \ \text{PERF} \text{and} \ 3S.\text{press} \ 3S.\text{press} \text{and} \ 3S.\text{give} \ 3S.\text{give} \]
\[kêŋ \ \kêŋ. \]
\[3S.\text{give} \ 3S.\text{give}\]

‘He broke the taro, and broke and broke and gave and gave and gave ... ’
(From a sermon on the feeding of the 5000).

There are only a few examples of nouns or noun phrases where reduplication is evident. Adjectives, numerals and adverbs in Bukawa are sometimes reduplicated, either fully or partially. The semantic functions of reduplication include the following:

(a) **INTENSIFICATION**

Reduplication can intensify the meaning of a word as in the following example where the change from partial to full reduplication seems to express greater intensity:

\[\text{malô} \ ‘\text{slowly’} \]
\[\text{ma-malô} \ ‘\text{quite slowly’} \]
\[\text{malô malô} \ ‘\text{very slowly’} \]

Another example is the adjective \[\text{mwa-mbwa} \ ‘\text{small}’ \] probably derived by partial reduplication of \[\text{ŋmbwa} \ ‘\text{baseless(ly) (pointless, worthless)}’ \].

(b) **PLURALITY**

When adjectives are either partially or fully reduplicated, it is generally implied that there is more than one of the thing being modified.

\[\text{sauŋ} \ ‘\text{small’} \ → \ \text{sa-sauŋ} \ ‘\text{small ones’} \]
\[\text{atu} \ ‘\text{big’} \ → \ \text{atu-(a)tu} \ ‘\text{big ones’} \]

(c) **VARIETY**

In addition to signifying plurality as in (b), reduplication may also indicate variety:

\[\text{mbac atu} \ ‘\text{big bird/s’} \]
\[\text{cf. mbac atu-atu} \ ‘\text{big kinds of birds’} \]
gêŋ ŋatô ‘some things’
cf. gêŋ ŋatô-tô ‘some kinds of things’
yom sac ‘bad talk’
cf. yom sac-sac ‘lots of (kinds of) bad talk’

Reduplication of compound forms using the manner preposition ti (see §3.12.2.1) is also used to show variety:

(294) mbaç ŋatô / tikaiŋ tikaiŋ
bird with.REFPN / with.kind with.kind
‘all kinds of birds’

Other examples:

(titoŋ titoŋ ‘various groups’ (lit. ‘with.group-with.group’))
tiyê tiyê ‘various names’ (lit. ‘with.name (ŋayê)-with.name’)

The Bukawa noun dalô ‘sign’ (with GENPF ŋa-dalô = ‘marking, colour’) can be partially reduplicated to show variety. The resultant form is the adjective da-dalô ‘multi-coloured/variegated’.

(d) DISTRIBUTION

Reduplication of the smaller Bukawa numerals signifies distribution:

tiŋeŋ ŋeŋ ‘one by one; each one’
lu lu ‘two by two; both’
tò tò ‘three by three; all three’

For example:

(295) ŋalau dabuŋ gic sam iŋ ndê mwasiŋ têŋ ŋac
spirit holy 3SR.hit feast 3S GAUX.3S blessing 3S.go.to 1P

lau tigeŋ tigeŋ.
people one one
‘The Holy Spirit apportioned his gifts/blessings to each of us.’

Phrases using the manner preposition ti are sometimes reduplicated to indicate distribution:

(296) bu ti akôp ‘water in (lit. ‘with’) a coconut shell container’
(297) bu ti akôp ti akôp ‘water in several/many shells’

Other examples:

ti bèc ti bèc ‘every day’ (lit. ‘with.day-with.day’)
titêm titêm ‘throughout all times’ (lit. ‘with.time-with.time’)

(e) REPETITION

The use of reduplication to signify repeated action has been mentioned in the introductory comment and depicted in the first example for this section. The following
examples depict reduplication of other verbs, adverbs and even adjectives to indicate repetition or continuity of the action:

(298) Ịŋ pó bolom dau kôc.
3S 3S.press bread DEM asunder
‘He broke the bread once (in half).’

(299) Ịŋ pó bolom dau kôc kôc.
3S 3S.press bread DEM asunder asunder
‘He broke the bread repeatedly (into some/many pieces).’

In the following example the uninflected verb kic is reduplicated in a serialised construction to show repeated action:

(300) Sêtim (mboc) kic kic.
3P.cut (snake) tear tear
‘They cut (the snake) into many pieces.’

The repetition in the former example is further amplified by the repetition of a following adjective:

(301) Sêtim kic kic apê apê.
3P.cut tear tear short short
‘They cut (it) into many short pieces.’

NOTE: There is a seeming similarity of form between the structure pô … kôc ‘break into pieces’, and tim … kic ‘cut into pieces’ as depicted in examples (298) and (300) above. However, the analysis of kôc as a class III adverb (see §3.5.3.4) and kic as a non-inflecting verb is based on the fact that the latter can function as a predication on its own, and could feasibly be used in a clause that fits a framework such as ‘(a) thing that ___’, whereas that would not be possible with kôc. See the following examples:

(302) po naŋ kic
cloth RC tear
‘(a/the) cloth that has torn’

(303) ** bolom naŋ kôc
    cereal RC asunder
    ‘**bread that (is??) asunder’

As indicated by the asterisks, the last example with kôc is ungrammatical, because kôc cannot function independently as a predicate. To express what is intended in the above example in an acceptable manner would require something like:

(304) bolom naŋ īŋ pô kôc
    cereal RC 3S 3S.press asunder
‘the bread that he broke’

The following example shows reduplication of the main verb to signify continued action, or perhaps collective participation. It is unclear whether this represents reduplication of the verb stem with no inflection, or whether mbwac is functioning as a noun ‘laugh’. If the former, it is rare, as no other examples of repetition of the verb stem
have been noted. Perhaps when the example was recorded, the person marking prefix was not heard in the pronunciation of the combination:

(305) **Mac lau ambwac mbwac.**

2P people 2P.laugh laugh
‘You people (all) are laughing.’

(f) **OTHER**

Some Bukawa words seem to consist of an inherently reduplicated form naturally. Colours are a common class of adjectives where this is evident – see §3.4. Other examples:

- **galaŋlaŋ** ‘raspy (throat)’ – no non-duplicated form has been noted.
- **gadaŋdaŋ** ‘smoky, unclear’ – this word is probably derived from the noun **dahuŋ** ‘smoke’
- **gasēgasē** ‘small scabs’ – may be reduplicated because there are lots of them? This is not related to the singular form **gasē** ‘left(handed)’
- **babalē** ‘soft/rubbery’
4 Phrases

A phrase is defined as a construction involving one or more words functioning together as constituents of that construction, but which does not form a complete sentence by itself. Phrases (and words) are the ‘building blocks’ with which clauses, which have a verb or predicate and can stand alone as a complete utterance, are composed.

Formulas are used below to help describe the construction of some phrases. In so doing, a ‘slot’ is defined as one of the ordered segments of a construction, and a ‘filler’ as the various types of constituents that may occur in any slot.

4.1 Noun phrases

Noun phrases commonly function as subjects and verbal objects in clauses, and as peripheral components of clauses, in which case the relationship to the rest of the clause is usually mediated by ad-positions.

In this analysis of the Bukawa noun phrase, any constituent that has a genitive relationship to the head of the phrase will be regarded as filling a ‘topic’ slot of the noun phrase, which precedes the head and other constituents. This noun phrase topic slot is distinct from the discourse topic (or theme) slot of a clause or sentence, which is described later in this paper. The concept of a topic slot within a noun phrase as used in this work is drawn from Bugenhagen (1995).

The reader is referred to §3.1.4.1 for a description of the genitive auxiliary noun (GAUX), which was presented there rather than in this section on Bukawa phrases.

Because of some complexity associated with constituents of the topic slot and the genitive relators used to relate them to the noun phrase head, the basic Bukawa noun phrase structure will first be presented without any reference to genitives. Following that the topic slot and associated genitive relationships will be described.

The following general formula describes the basic Bukawa noun phrase structure:
Chapter 4

NP = + HEAD +/- MODIFIER (QUALITY) +/- MODIFIER (QUANTITY) +/- DEMONSTRATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>body part compound adjective NP -ŋga PPClitic construction ti preposition modifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun head noun complex</td>
<td>number quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To help depict the Bukawa noun phrase formula above in examples in the following introductory section, each phrase slot position is given by a number in brackets following the free translation of each example. The numbers correspond to slot positions numbered from left to right as 1 to 4 (i.e. slot 1 is head). The head constituent of the noun phrase is underlined in each example.

The word order of the basic Bukawa noun phrase (i.e. ignoring any genitive relationship), is a direct reversal of that of the English noun phrase. For example, an English noun phrase such as ‘those two big black dogs’ translated literally into Bukawa, would be expressed as:

(1) **giam** **yeyec** atu** lu dinaj**
    dog black big two that
    ‘those two big black dogs’

(NOTE: the above translated example is marked as ungrammatical because a combination of two adjectives does not normally occur in Bukawa noun phrases. The example is given merely in order to portray the above generalisation regarding word order.)

Some other examples:

(2) **mbac** **saŋam** sauŋ daŋ
    flying group fox small a/one
    ‘a small flying fox’

(3) **gê** **naŋdô ôm** -ŋga
    thing/s fruit garden -of/for
    ‘garden produce’

(4) balêkoc lôm bapia -ŋga hoŋ dinaj
    children room paper -of/for all that
    ‘all those school children’

(5) ngač ti wapa daêsam.
    man with goods plenty
    ‘a rich man’

(6) lau hoŋ naŋ sêndôc Wideru
    people all RC 3P.sit Wideru
    ‘all the people who live at Wideru’

(1, **2**, 2**, 3, 4)
4.1.1 Head slot

Nouns, pronouns and head noun complexes are listed as fillers of the head slot in the above NP formula. Head noun complexes are described in §4.1.1.2 below after some brief comments on pronouns in §4.1.1.1. The head slot of noun phrases that have a genitive constituent may also have a relator which indicates the genitive relationship – these are described in §4.1.5.

4.1.1.1 Pronouns

Both free (personal) pronouns and interrogative pronouns can fill the head slot of the Bukawa NP. In §3.7 (demonstratives) it was noted that the Bukawa demonstratives are rarely, if ever, used as demonstrative pronouns. The normal function of demonstratives is in the demonstrative modification slot of the NP.

When a free or personal pronoun functions as the head of the NP, there is not normally any further modification of the pronoun. Occasionally an appositional noun phrase type of construction (§4.1.6.2) supplies a ‘parenthetic’ type of qualification of the free pronoun. For example (see also the final example in §4.1.6.2):

(7) Ịŋ ịgac atu dau meŋ su dom.
    3S man big DEM 3S.come PERF NEG
‘He, that big/important man, has not come yet.’

While interrogative pronouns more commonly fill the demonstrative slot of noun phrases (see §4.1.4.1) and modify another noun which is the head of the phrase – see the third of the following examples, it is also possible for them to stand alone as the head of the NP, as depicted in the first two of the following examples:

(8)  Asa kôm gê dînàŋ?
    who(m) 2/3S.do thing that
‘Who did that (thing)?’

(9)  Am kôm sake?
    2S 2/3S.do what
‘What did you do?’

(10) Am kôm gê sansake?
    2S 2/3S.do thing/s what
‘What did you do?’

4.1.1.2 Head noun complexes

One of the possible fillers of the Bukawa noun phrase head slot is a string of two to three nouns which are here termed a head noun complex. The characteristics of these complexes are as follows:

(a) The sequence of the words is in a progression from less specific to more specific.
    Many of the examples are in fact in the form of a generic group noun followed by another noun designating a specific member of that group.
(b) No other modifiers can occur between any of the constituents.

(c) The first noun is the head of the complex, in that with few exceptions, the meaning of the complex would be lost or unclear if that were omitted. On the contrary, if the following ‘modifiers’ are omitted, the sense is not lost even though the meaning of the remaining head noun is far more general.

Some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEAD MODIFIER 1 MODIFIER 2 (meaning)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbac flying.group gwalam white.kind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lau people bata front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gêŋ thing/s ñawhê GENPF.shoot/seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbac flying.group dalec gapoc poultry male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbac flying.group lelêp gudubu butterfly birdwing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboc wêm gwalam atu daŋ snake.group poisonous.sp white big a/one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: The Bukawa word gwalam most commonly occurs as an adjective meaning ‘white.’ However, rather than postulating adjectives as constituents of the Bukawa head noun complex, it is proposed that gwalam as depicted in the examples above is a related noun homonym used to identify species, and glossed as ‘white.kind’.

It is clear that gwalam in the examples above is part of the complex, rather than an adjective in the following qualitative modifier slot. As mentioned in the introductory comments, a combination of two adjectives does not usually occur in Bukawa noun phrases, and an example such as mboc wêm gwalam ‘white poisonous snake species’, could feasibly be further qualified by a slot 3 adjective. For example:

(17) mboc wêm gwalam atu daŋ snake.group poisonous.sp white big a/one ‘a big snake of a certain (white, poisonous) species’

As can be seen, many of these head noun complexes represent groups of plants or animals and are of the form genus-species. Some species are on occasion referred to by the species name alone, for example dalec ‘poultry’ is well enough known to be understood as referring to ‘poultry’ without having to always specify mbac ‘flying group’. However, the tendency is for both genus and species to be stated, and many would never be expressed by the species name alone.

Some typical generic groupings are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>‘trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huŋ</td>
<td>‘bananas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwáŋ</td>
<td>‘grasses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboc</td>
<td>‘snake group’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatim</td>
<td>‘cucurbits (melons)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘fish group’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbác</td>
<td>‘flying group’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wac</td>
<td>‘vines’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a tendency for the two units to be phonologically combined. For example:

- aboŋ ‘(tree) kwila’
- ibaya ‘tuna fish’
- mbocnda ‘python’

The Bukawa generic groupings do not correspond with the genus/species classifications of the Western world. For example the class mbác, which is often used to refer simply to ‘bird/s’, also includes such members as butterflies and bats. And the ‘fish group’ i, has the crocodile (i wa⁵) as one of its members.

An unusual example is the word for millipede:

(18) mboc kep tandó mba
    snake.group millipede eye NEG.EX
    ‘millipede’ (lit. ‘snake.group member named ‘kep’ (with) no eyes’)

This is possibly an example of an appositional noun phrases (§4.1.6.2) where the fact of having no eyes (tandó mba) is added parenthetically to the genus/species complex. An alternative would be to analyse the mboc kep as a head noun complex with tandó mba as a noun phrase slot 3 modifier (see §4.1.2.3 below). However, the former approach seems more likely, because no reference to any other members of the mboc kep group has yet been recorded, and also they ALL have no eyes, so tandó mba is not functioning as a modifier to describe some particular millipedes.

### 4.1.2 Qualitative modifier slot

#### 4.1.2.1 Body part compounds

Because of their relationship as a set with other body part noun constructions, a description of these as one type of modifier of noun phrase was presented in §3.1.2.3.2. Examples can be found in that section.

#### 4.1.2.2 Adjectives

The Bukawa adjectives are described in §3.4. As well as single adjectives, adjective phrases consisting of an adjective plus a class VII adverb may fill this slot. For examples and comments see §3.5.3.8.1.

#### 4.1.2.3 Noun phrases as modifiers

One form of qualitative or descriptive modifier of Bukawa noun phrases is another noun phrase. For example:

(19) lau ŋalôm sawa
    people inside empty
    ‘poor people’ (lit. ‘people (with) empty insides’)

Sometimes this can take the form of a noun or noun phrase which is negated by the existential negator *mba(si)*:

(20)  
\[
\text{lau waê mba} \\
\text{people honour NEG.EX} \\
\text{‘lowly people’ (lit. ‘people (with) no reputation/name’)}
\]

(21)  
\[
\text{ŋgac gauc mbasi} \\
\text{man thinking NEG.EX} \\
\text{‘stupid man’ (lit. ‘man (with) no thinking’)}
\]

### 4.1.2.4 *-ŋga* (PPClitic) constructions as modifiers

Phrases consisting of the post-positional clitic *-ŋga* (glossed as ‘of/for’) are described in detail in §4.3. Phrases of this type when used as qualitative modifiers of noun phrases generally consist of a noun phrase, as in (22), or a predicate phrase, as in (23) below:

(22)  
\[
\text{lau têm dindec -ŋga} \\
\text{people time this -of/for} \\
\text{‘people of this time (this generation)’}
\]

(23)  
\[
\text{ŋgac nem wê -ŋga} \\
\text{man 3SIR.do song -of/for} \\
\text{‘a (habitually) singing man’}
\]

### 4.1.2.5 *ti* preposition phrases as modifiers

The preposition *ti* ‘with/and’ (see §3.8.1) in connection with a noun or noun phrase can be used as a slot 3 (qualitative) modifier of Bukawa noun phrases. For example:

(24)  
\[
\text{lau ti waê} \\
\text{people with honour} \\
\text{‘important people’ (lit. ‘people with reputation/name’)}
\]

(25)  
\[
\text{ŋgac ti licwalô atu} \\
\text{man with strength big} \\
\text{‘(a) strong man’}
\]

(26)  
\[
\text{A atu dinaŋ ti ŋalili (poc gwêc).} \\
\text{tree big that with buttress (3S.drift sea)} \\
\text{‘That big tree with buttresses (drifted on the sea).’}
\]

The last example shows a *ti* preposition phrase following and modifying the noun phrase *a atu dinaŋ* ‘that big tree’ which is already a complete noun phrase. Because examples of this type are not common, rather than postulating a further noun phrase slot following the demonstrative, the construction here will be classed as a form of appositional construction (see also §4.1.6.2) which further modifies the noun phrase, i.e. ‘that big tree, (the one) with buttresses ... ’

(Alternatively, it could be analysed as an instance of embedding where an NP is embedded as a filler of slot 1 of another NP, though other examples that would support such an analysis have not been encountered.)
4.1.3 **Quantifier slot**

The Bukawa numbers and quantifiers are described in §3.6. It was mentioned that the higher Bukawa numbers consist of phrases. Number phrases consisting of either numeric or non-numeric quantifiers plus a class VII adverb may also fill this slot – see examples and comments in §3.5.3.7.2.

4.1.4 **Demonstrative slot**

4.1.4.1 **Demonstratives**

Of the Bukawa demonstratives described in §3.7, these are the three which most commonly occur in noun phrases (see examples of each in §3.7):

- dau ‘the/that (one)’ – demonstrative particle glossed as DEM
- dinaŋ ‘that one/those ones’
- dindec ‘this one/these ones’

Other fillers of this slot are the question word bocke ‘what(ever)’ which is commonly used in question sentences, and also the interrogative pronouns asa ‘who’ for human referents or sake ‘what’ for non-human referents (both described in §3.2.4). For example:

(27) \[\text{Am oc tê gamen bocke ndi?}\]
\[2S \ NR \ 2S.go.to \ area \ what(ever) \ 2/3SIR.go\]
‘To what place will you go?’

Other examples of the use of bocke are given in §6.6.1.

4.1.4.2 **Relative (subordinate) clauses**

Relative clauses introduced by the relative clause complementiser naŋ (glossed RC) are common fillers of the demonstrative slot of noun phrases.

The boundary of such embedded clauses is commonly signalled by a homophonous form which in this analysis is glossed as GIV (given). The second naŋ also has a related role as a demonstrative (see §3.7). The placement of the negator dom in relation to naŋ (GIV) can be crucial to meaning – see the discussion of negation in §6.5.

Quite often the final naŋ is omitted when the noun phrase containing the relative clause occurs at the end of a sentence. There seems to be a tendency of younger Bukawa speakers to omit it even when the sentence continues after the noun phrase.

(28) \[\text{ŋamalac andô naŋ kôm tasaŋ têŋ iŋ ma kôc iŋ}\]
\[\text{person \ old \ RC \ 3S.do \ lie \ 3S.go.to \ 3S \ and \ 3S.take \ 3S}\]
\[\text{sa gi hu iŋ siŋ naŋ.}\]
\[\text{up/out \ 3SR.go \ 3S.leave \ 3S \ divestingly \ GIV}\]
‘The old man who lied to her and took her out and left her (that one).’

The complementiser bu is another means whereby a subordinate clause may be embedded as a modifier in the demonstrative slot of a noun phrase. Subordinate clause modifiers of this type often signify some sort of purpose for the item that is the head of the noun phrase. (Subordinate clauses indicating purpose at sentence level are described in
§6.2.1.4). In the following example **bu** governs all of the constituents that are underlined (by both single and double underlining): these function as a modifier of the noun **bêc** ‘day’ (or more literally ‘sleep’). Comments on the doubly underlined section follow the example:

(29)  *Ŋabêc  bu  sêliŋ  bu  ti  sêkôm  mwasiŋ  tu  iŋ  ndöc*

GENPF.day  COMP  3P.wash  water  and  3P.do  feast  for  3S  3S.sit

**akuwê -ŋga  yêc  dön  yêc.**

menstruation -of/for 3S.be/lie  firm  3S.be/lie

‘The day for them to wash and make a feast for her coming of age was still to come.’

‘Purpose’ type subordinate clauses embedded in noun phrases are also (but less commonly) governed by the preposition **tu** (see §3.8.1) and bounded by the PPCLitic (see §3.9) to make up the form **tu ... -ŋga**. An example of that form is shown in the doubly underlined part of example (29) where the subordinate clause modifies the noun **mwasiŋ** ‘feast’. Another example:

(30)  *Ŋandoc  tu  gêlic  avô -ŋga  pacndê.*

GENPF.time  for  3SR.see  moon -of/for  be.finished

‘The time of (her) having her period was finished.’

Sometimes the PPCLitic **-ŋga** is also used with the complementiser **bu** to define the boundary of subordinate clauses that modify noun phrases. For example:

(31)  *Ma  dinda  tôc  gêŋ  naŋ  bu  sêsù  gô  sip -ŋga*

and  mother  3S.show  thing/s  RC  COMP  3P.put  taro  3S.descend -of/for

**naŋ  bop  ŋakwac  me  gêŋ  bocke  naŋ.**

GIV  palm  sheath  or  thing  whatever  GIV

‘And his mother showed the thing that is/was for forking taro into, which was limbum sheath or whatever thing.’

4.1.4.3 *Null complementiser relative clause constructions*

The following example shows one type of subordinate clause modification of noun phrases which has no overt complementiser. This is a simple parenthetic type of construction (which is thematised (see §6.1) as indicated by the pronominal reference that co-references it in the main clause):

(32)  *Mbâc  toŋ  daŋ  sêsam  naŋë  bu  gaicgaoc,*

flying.group  group  a/one  3P.call  name  COMP  gaicgaoc

**ŋac  sêlhô  ti  sêtaŋ.**

3P  3P.leave  and  3P.cry

‘One group of birds called *gaicgaoc*, they left crying.’

**NOTE:** This could also be expressed by means of a **naŋ ... (naŋ)** type construction for noun phrase modification, would result in identical meaning, but in this example the dependent clause is just placed in apposition to the noun phrase that it expands.
4.1.5  Topic (genitive) slot

When a Bukawa noun phrase contains a person or thing that has a genitive relationship with the head of the noun phrase it occurs in a ‘topic’ slot, which precedes the NP head. There are four different types of construction used to encode such relationships, as follows:

(a) Genitives involving a genitive agreement marker
(b) Genitives governed by the genitive auxiliary noun
(c) Genitives governed by the ŋa- genitive prefix
(d) Genitive noun phrases where the relationship has no marking.

4.1.5.1  Genitives involving a genitive agreement marker

A genitive relationship involving the head of a noun phrase can be signalled by the genitive agreement markers described in §3.1.2. Because the third person singular and plural marker is a zero morpheme, the relationship may not have any overt indicator in the head slot of the noun phrase, though a third person pronoun in the topic slot would normally be used to signify the genitive relationship involved. An example (with the head of the phrase underlined):

(33)  iṇ amḅa anḍo -ŋga
      3S  hand  true  -of/for
      ‘his right hand’

However, when a referent that is obligatorily marked for genitive agreement is referred to in the first or second person, then the genitive agreement marker will be indicated by an affix on the head noun for example (marker underlined):

(34)  am  amam  anḍo -ŋga
      2S  hand.GEN2  true  -of/for
      ‘your right hand’

This type of genitive relationship will only be overtly marked in Bukawa noun phrases where (a) the head noun is one obligatorily taking the genitive agreement marking, and (b) the genitive association involves a first or second person topic. In such instances, the associated first or second person pronouns are possible fillers of the topic slot of the noun phrase. However, pronouns are not obligatory fillers of the topic slot because often the genitive agreement marker is a sufficient indicator of the genitive relationship. For example:

(35)  tanôm  lu  lu
      eye.GEN2  two  two
      ‘both your eyes’

While such an example is ambiguous as to whether the second person is singular or plural it should be clear from the context whether the speaker was addressing one single person, or more. A single addressee would probably be more likely.
4.1.5.2 Genitives governed by the genitive auxiliary noun

The Bukawa genitive auxiliary noun (G AUX), has been described in §3.1.4.1. This is the most common relator used to signify genitive associations between the head noun and its genitive. The genitive auxiliary noun may govern genitive relationships with nouns that are obligatorily marked for genitive agreement, as well as nouns that do not take the genitive agreement marking.

(36) am nem andu
2S GAUX.2 house
‘your house’

(37) lau dau si licwalô
people DEM GAUX.3P strength
‘the/those people’s strength’

While this type of genitive association normally has an NP \textit{genitive} filler of the topic slot, it is not obligatory. In a passage of discourse that has an ongoing topic, there is often ellipsis of the topic NP. For example (noun phrase square bracketed):

(38) 
\begin{verbatim}
Lau dau oc sêmeŋ amba sawa dom, sêkôc
people DEM NR 3P. come hand empty NEG 3P. take
\end{verbatim}
[si wapa siŋ -ŋga] tôhôŋ.
GAUX.3P goods fight -of/for also
‘The people would not come empty-handed, they (would) bring
[their weapons] with them.’

Quite commonly there is overlap between the genitive relationships described in §4.1.5.1, and these GAUX type genitives. This is probably because most noun phrases are expressed in the third person, in which case (as mentioned above) the marker for genitive agreement marked nouns is a zero morpheme. In such cases the GAUX noun ‘supplements’ the genitive marking and helps to make the relationship more overt. For example:

(39) iŋ ndê aŋgô / iŋ aŋgô
3S GAUX.3S face / 3S face
‘his face’

The above examples show that the GAUX noun is not obligatory in cases where it co-occurs with genitive agreement marked nouns. Notes were made in §3.1.4.1 on the co-occurrence of the GAUX noun with the genitive agreement markers (as well as its co-occurrence with the genitive prefix described in §4.1.5.3 below).

4.1.5.3 Genitives governed by the \textit{ŋa-} genitive prefix

A third type of genitive relationship associated with an NP involves the genitive prefix \textit{ŋa-}, as described in §3.12.1. It was noted there that there are many Bukawa words beginning with \textit{ŋa}, in which there is no inherent genitive relationship involved, or where the prefix has become ‘fixed’ over time such that it always occurs, even when there is no implied genitive relationship (thus a caution not to immediately associate a genitive relationship with words beginning with \textit{ŋa}).
Some examples:

(40) **andu** **dau** ŋa- **gatam**
house DEM GENPF- door
‘the house’s door’

(41) **ŋ** ŋa- **tac** ŋa- **lôm**
3S GENPF- belly GENPF- inside
‘(the) inside of his stomach’
(Note that there is embedding in this example.)

4.1.5.4 Genitive noun phrases where there is no marking

There are a few examples of genitive noun phrases where there is no overt morphological marking of the genitive relationship. Most of these relationships can also be represented by the genitive prefix as in §4.1.5.3. Perhaps because of common association between the topic and the NP subject, the prefix has come to be omitted.

While it has been noted that the GAUX noun can co-occur with an NP in which the head of the phrase also has either genitive agreement marking (§4.1.5.1) or the genitive prefix (§4.1.5.3), it is not possible for the GAUX noun to occur between the constituents of any of the noun phrases in this group.

One common example:

(42) **ndip** **kwi** (sometimes also **ndip** ŋa-**kwi**)
coconut juice
‘coconut oil’

**NOTE:** The word ŋakwi ‘juice/water’ is commonly used of the juice or sap of fruit and plants. The phrase **ndip** ŋakwi would normally be used of the ‘cream’ as squeezed from scraped coconut (white, watery). The phrase **ndip** kwi is used of the clear oily product that can be produced/refined from the coconut cream. This would suggest that there is more signified by the use/non-use of the genitive prefix than simply omission through familiar association and usage. Perhaps the refinement of the product has destroyed the genitive relationship?

Other examples:

(43) **gwêc** **dali** (commonly also **gwêc** ŋa-**dali**)
sea edge
‘coastline/shore’

(44) **bu** **akôp** (never **bu** **ŋa**-(a)kôp)
water shell
‘coconut shell water container’

As indicated, the last example is one that has never been recorded with the genitive prefix. That is probably because there IS no genitive association between the water and the container, but the associatiation between them is through common practical usage. In other associations involving akôp ‘shell’, the genitive prefix is evident e.g. waŋ (‘boat’) ŋakôp ‘boat hull.’
4.1.5.5 Other notes on genitives

(a) Genitives and NP structure

Some minor modifications to the structural formula given for the Bukawa NP at the start of §4.1 should enable this range of genitive constructions to be included in the formula. It is proposed that an additional topic slot preceding the head slot will cater for the NP\textsubscript{genitive} component (including the genitive auxiliary noun (§4.1.5.2) as an optional element), and the head noun part of the formula needs to indicate the genitive agreement affix (§4.1.5.1) and the genitive prefix (§4.1.5.3) as possible constituents. The fourth type (§4.1.5.4) has no relator to incorporate into the formula so is covered by the addition of the topic slot.

The resulting formula (ignoring the slots/elements following the head slot, which remain as for the original formula) would be as follows:

\[
\text{NP} = \quad +/- \text{TOPIC} \quad \quad \quad + \text{HEAD} \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{etc. …}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+/- TOPIC</th>
<th>+ HEAD</th>
<th>etc. …</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun +/- GAUX</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>noun + genitive agreement marker</td>
<td>etc. …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP +/- GAUX</td>
<td>prn +/- GAUX</td>
<td>prn</td>
<td>prn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prn +/- GAUX</td>
<td>head noun complex</td>
<td>head noun complex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: It is possible to find examples where (according to the formula proposed above) there is NO filler for the head slot, which is supposed to be obligatory. For example:

(45) \textit{Anōtō kēgalēm yac sa dati iŋ ndē.}
\textit{God 3S.invite 1P up/out 1P+.become 3S GAUX.3S}
\textit{‘God called us to be his (people).’}

(46) \textit{Sēkôc ęaclai yēc iŋ ndē.}
\textit{3P.take power 3S.be/lie 3S GAUX.3S}
\textit{‘They received of his power (lit. from his).’}

However, in such examples, the ‘missing’ head is the result of discourse level ellipsis of contextually given referents.

(b) Comparison with English NP structure.

The generalisation made in the introductory comments of §4.1 about Bukawa and English noun phrases having directly opposite structures does not normally hold true when the noun phrase contains a genitive modifier. Always in Bukawa, and in most instances in English (where the phrase has no demonstrative), the genitive precedes the other phrase constituents. For example, to add the genitive relationship ‘your’ to the hypothetical example, ‘two big black dogs’, results in the phrase ‘your two big black dogs’.

If one wished to include a demonstrative in the English phrase, then the genitive would most probably be expressed at the end of the phrase. For example, as ‘those two big black dogs of yours’, thus the generalisation about the opposite word order of the noun phrases in each language again holds true.
In the Bukawa noun phrase, either with or without a demonstrative, the genitive always precedes the other phrase constituents. For example, (omitting one of the ungrammatical double adjectives):

(47)  am nem giam atu lu / am nem giam atu lu dinaŋ
2S GAUX.2 dog big two / 2S GAUX.2 dog big two that/those
‘your two big dogs/those two big dogs of yours’

4.1.6 Noun phrase notes

4.1.6.1 Noun phrase coordination

Two or more noun phrases can be linked together. Usually this is done by means of a conjunction, although when more than two phrases are coordinated, the conjunction is optional up until the final phrase.

The conjunctions used to combine Bukawa noun phrases are the same as used to combine individual words, and these have been outlined in §3.9. The particular conjunction used can give some indication as to the degree of ‘closeness’ of the phrases coordinated. The closest relationship is indicated by either *lu* ‘two (dual)’ or the alternative conjunction *me* ‘or’ when this applies to contrastive alternatives. When *me* simply lists a range of possible alternative options (as in (49) below) there is no close relationship necessarily implied. The other two main conjunctions are *ma* ‘and’, and *ti*, glossed as ‘with’. Of these, *ti* usually indicates a closer relationship than *ma*, however, as noted in §3.9, they are often used alternately when combining a series of noun phrases, probably as a matter of style. Some examples:

(48)  awhê dau lu lhuŋac sauŋ daŋ
woman DEM DL XSSIB.man little a/one
‘the girl and a little brother of hers’

(49)  ndip basô me gêŋ bocke
coconut dry or thing whatever
‘dry coconut or whatever thing’

(50)  damba ti dinda ma ŋac si lau
father with mother and 3P GAUX.3P people
‘the father and mother and their people’

A list of bird species in one recorded text demonstrates both the *ti* ... *ma* alternation, as well a list of words combined where the conjunction is omitted until the final phrase:

(51)  këcsôwa ti macntuçwê ma kiŋkec ti mbac gwam
 cassowary with coucal and coot with bird wild.fowl

ma (4 more) ... ma mbac naŋ sêmbô lôlôc naŋ têampiŋ
and (4 more) ... and bird RC 3P.be/stay above GIV hornbill

macmpoŋ gwalam balusi ... (5 more) ... gapôrwalô ma mbac hoŋ
 eagle cockatoo pigeon ... (5 more) ... sunbird and bird all
‘cassowaries and coucal and coots and wildfowl and (4 more) ... and the birds
that stay above (tree-living), namely: hornbills, eagles, white cockatoos, pigeons,
(5 more), sunbirds and all the birds’
4.1.6.2 Appositional (parenthetic) noun phrases

Sometimes one noun phrase follows another with no conjunction linking them, and the content of the second phrase is parenthetic or epexegetical, giving a further description of the former. For example (the symbol // shows the point of apposition):

(52) kecsoc // lau mwambwa dinaŋ
small.bird.sp. // people small those
‘kecsoc: those small ones’

(Note: these birds in example (52) are personified as ‘people’ in the narrative from which the example was taken.)

The close relationship of two phrases in apposition is shown in the next example by the fact that the negation applies to both phrases (the appositional phrase consists of a coordinate noun phrase with the conjunction ti):

(53) Iŋ kôm gêŋ daŋ // ŋakècsia ti wiwic daŋ dom.
3S 3S.do thing/s a/one // noise with movement a/one NEG
‘He didn’t do anything: (he made no) noise and/or movement.’

Another fairly common example of appositional noun phrases consists of a pronoun as the first component, which is then qualified or described by the following phrase. For example:

(54) Tac lau bata malac Bugawac -ŋga ...
1P people first village Bugawac -of/for
‘We, (the) leaders of Bugawac village ... ’

The analysis of example (54) as an appositional noun phrase would only apply if it is associated with a predication as either subject or object. If it was uttered as a complete statement with no associated predication then it would function as an equative clause (see §4.2.2.3) with the intent ‘We are the leaders of Bukawa village.’

Note also that this analysis classifies phrases that begin with a pronoun here rather than under head noun complexes (§4.1.1.2), as they do not fit the overall rule for such complexes of general-specific-more specific ordering from left to right.

4.2 Predicate phrases

As seen in §3.1.2.3.1, not all Bukawa predicates are verbal, and hence using the syntactic category predicate phrase rather than verb phrase allows greater generalisation in describing sentence structure. This section will outline the core or nuclear types of predicate phrases that occur in the Bukawa language, namely those types of phrases that constitute the P part of the generalised Bukawa sentence structure SPOX.

The following are the Bukawa predicate phrase types (from the less common to the more common types):

(a) ti process phrases
(b) Non-verbal predicate phrases
(c) Verbal predicate phrases
4.2.1 ti process predicates

The verb ti ‘to become’ can be used with an adjective to form a complex process or development type predicate. The verb is inflected, but being a class I verb, modality is only distinguished for the 1S form, and subject person is sometimes ambiguous (2S/3S and 1P/2P). Hence these predicates usually require an overt subject, as well as clause level indicators of modality and aspect.

Some examples (with the predicates bracketed with square brackets):

(55) **Huŋ [ti lôwê] su.**
    bananas 3S.become ripe PERF
    ‘(The) bananas have ripened.’

(56) **Aö neŋ andu [ti sac] su.**
    1S GAUX.1 house 3S.become bad PERF
    ‘My house has deteriorated/is old/worn out.’

(57) **Ị ndê atui hoŋ [sêti atu] su.**
    3S GAUX.3S son.PL all 3P.become big PERF
    ‘All his sons have grown up.’

The familiar pronunciation of predicates of this type as a unit means that it would also be possible to analyze them as a single compound word predicate rather than as a phrase. Many of the Bukawa people prefer such items to be written as a single word.

A distinction is also made between the types of ‘nuclear’ process predicates involving adjectives as depicted above, and other sentence types where the verb ti precedes a noun or noun phrase and indicates a more complex development process. In such cases, the noun/noun phrase is analyzed as a constituent of the wider sentence rather than of the core predicate phrase. For example:

(58) **Awhê dau mbo e ti awhê atu solop.**
    woman DEM 3S.be/stay and/until 3S.become woman big straight
    ‘The woman stayed until she became/was a very big (mature) woman.’

4.2.2 Non-verbal predicates

The Bukawa language has three types of non-verbal predicates:

(a) Body part constructions
(b) Stative clause complements
(c) Equative clause complements

4.2.2.1 Body part constructions

Body part predicates were introduced in §3.1.2.3.1, where Bukawa body part nouns that are marked with genitive agreement marking were described. As well as the simple and compound word examples listed in that section, there are many other examples where the predicate is complex, consisting of several words.
Each word in these complex predicates carries a single primary stress, which is phonological evidence that they are phrases consisting of separate words rather than compound forms. However, the words in the predicate are closely related in that they are never separated by other clause constituents.

These complex predicates consist of a body part and another word, often a verb. Not all the body part words carry the genitive agreement marking. When the second word is a verb, it is not inflected. Clauses involving this type of predicate phrase thus rely on adverbial clause components to signify things such as aspect and modality. A subject is usually obligatory, to indicate ‘whose’ body part is in focus.

In spite of the apparent genitive relationship between the subject and the body part, the body part noun is clearly incorporated into the predicate rather than being a part of the subject NP. This is shown by the fact that pre-predicate modal adverbs can only occur before the body part, never after it. For example:

(59) **Mac bu daŋam (**bu wambu aneq yom ...
2P POT ear.GEN2 (**POT) obey? 1S.GAUX.1 talk
‘If you (p) obey my talk ...’

The fact that the non-verbal predicate takes an object in the preceding example is notable as it is probably quite rare.

As can be seen in the following list of examples, many of the complex predicates involving body part constructions encode emotional or experiential type notions. Examples that carry the genitive agreement marking will be given before non-marked examples:

Examples that carry genitive agreement marking:

- aŋgō lo (aŋŋō lo etc.) ‘to be angry towards’ (lit. ‘face break’)
- aŋgō yaē (aŋŋō yaē etc.) ‘to be disdainful towards’ (lit. ‘face stink’)
- aŋgō masiŋ (aŋŋō m. etc.) ‘to be upset, sad’
- daē suc (daē suc etc.) ‘be convicted in heart’ (lit. ‘belly disjointed’)
- daŋa wambu (daŋaŋ w. etc.) ‘to obey’
- ōli pi (ōliŋ pi etc.) ‘to be excited’ (lit. ‘skin ascend’)  

Examples that do not carry genitive agreement marking:

- (a)tac ŋandē ‘to be angry’ (lit. ‘belly hot’)
- (a)zac ŋayham ‘to be happy’ (lit. ‘belly good’)
- atac tec ‘to dislike’ (lit. ‘belly leaves’)
- atac wiŋ ‘to like, love, want’ (lit. ‘belly be with’)
- lic ŋakam ‘to be weary of s.th.’ (Tok Pisin les long)

### 4.2.2.2 Stative clause complements

Another type of non-verbal predicate is the complement of stative clauses. These clauses consist of a subject, followed by an adjectival type complement. Such expressions do not require any copula verb. For example:
It was demonstrated in §4.1.2.3 that noun phrases can function as modifiers of noun phrases. These can also be the complements of stative clauses (where they function to modify or qualify the subject), even though as noun phrases one would normally expect them to belong in the next section on equative clauses. An example:

(62) **Bawhê dau awha mba.**
    girl DEM mouth NEG.EX
    ‘The girl was speechless (lit. had no mouth/voice).’

### 4.2.2.3 Equative clause complements

As with the complement of stative clause s, equative clause complements are another type of non-verbal predicate. Equative clauses consist of a subject, followed by an noun or noun-phrase type complement. As with stative clause complements, such Bukawa expressions do not have a copula verb. Some examples:

(63) **Hocsuŋ dau dinâŋ mboc ndê andu solop.**
    stone.hole DEM that snake GAUX.3S house straight
    ‘That very hole (was) really the snake’s home.’

(64) **Iŋ gęŋ hoŋ ĕdata iŋ.**
    3S thing/s all lord 3S
    ‘He (is) lord of everything.’

**NOTE:** In the second example the pronoun is repeated – the first pronoun is in the topic/theme slot of the sentence (see §6.1).

### 4.2.3 Verbal predicates

This is the most common type of predicate. Reference was made to complex verbal predicates in the introductory section for class IV modal verbs (§3.3.4), to two of the verbs in that class, namely (*ndi*) ‘to hit’ (§3.3.4.1), and (*ne*) ‘to do’ (§3.3.4.2) which commonly function in complex verbal predicates together with a noun or event noun. Such nouns function as a sort of ‘inner’ object of the complex predicate, which in turn often has a second object at clause level. However, there is flexibility in that the event noun in some phrases does not always function at the phrase level. Compare the two following examples based on the phrase **gic miŋ** ‘to tell a story/expound’:

(65) **Goc balê ... gic miŋ yom têŋ ȵac.**
    then boy 3SR.hit story talk to 3P
    ‘Then the boy related talk to them.’ (lit. ‘hit story talk’)

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*(Phrases)* 121
(66) Akê dağam ma wandic neği miği.
   2P.give ear.GEN2 and 1SIR.hit GAUX.1 story
   ‘Listen and I will tell my story.’

In the first example miği ‘story’ functions as the ‘object’ of the complex verbal predicate, which at clause level has the object yom ‘talk’. The phrase têŋ ŋac ‘to them’ is an ‘oblique’ argument of the sentence. However, in the second example the word miği is part of the noun phrase neği miği ‘my story’ which in that example functions as the object of the clause.

Further examples and descriptions involving class IV verbs can be seen in the sections mentioned above.

Class IV verbs are not the only ones that function in complex verbal predicates. The following example of a class I verb functioning in a complex predicate (bracketed):

(67) Iŋ [hec yom] balêkoc hoŋ.
   3S.3S.scold talk child(ren) all
   ‘He scolded all the children.’

The class III manner adverbs are also used in association with regular verbs to form complex predicates. Further discussion and examples can be seen in §3.5.3.3.
A clause is defined as a grammatical unit headed by a predicate or predicate phrase. In the Bukawa language there are two main clause types, namely independent clauses, which can stand alone as complete grammatical units, and subordinate (or embedded) clauses, which cannot stand alone as complete units.

There is some degree of overlap between clauses and sentences – the simplest sentences consist merely of one clause. The analysis of clause structure in §5.1 will attempt to describe simple independent clauses in which there is only one main and unembedded predicate.

The notes on clause structure and modification apply generally to subordinate clauses as well as independent clauses. However, as subordinate clauses are part of more complex constructions, they will be more fully described in §6.2. Subordinate clauses that function as noun phrase modifiers have already been described in §4.1.4.2.

5.1 Clause structure

As was noted in the overview, the basic word order of the Bukawa clause (or simple sentence) is $S P (O) (X)$. There is no system of morphological case marking to delineate the function of any of the clause components.

Brief mention will be made in the following comments to a sentence or discourse level theme slot that precedes these clause components. This sentential theme or topic slot is described more fully in §6.1.

These are the general characteristics of each of these clause constituents:

5.1.1 Subject

(a) Position – a pronoun or noun phrase that encodes subject immediately precedes the predicate. The only exception is where a limited range of class II (pre-predicate) modal, aspectual and manner adverbs may intervene between the Subject and predicate.

(b) Agreement with predicate – when the head of the predicate is an inflected verb, the subject person is indexed on the verb by its prefix, although there is some ambiguity. With person-marked body part predicates, the genitive agreement affix in the predicate indexes the subject person.
When the reflexive pronoun dau (see §3.2.2) occurs in the predicate, it co-references with the subject person.

NOTE: The following example seems to contradict the principle that there is agreement between the subject person and the person indexed on the predicate affixation. One would expect that the quantifier daŋ ‘a/one’ modifying the innately plural noun lau ‘people’ would indicate a third person singular referent. However, the verbal prefix indexes a third person plural referent:

(1) Lau daŋ sêmbɔ dom.
    people a/one 3P.be/stay NEG
    ‘No-one was there.’

While the free translation expresses the English equivalent of this example, the intent of the Bukawa is that, ‘Not one of the people were there.’ The meaning of daŋ is thus wider than just ‘a/one’ but can also be ‘any’. Compare the following slightly different example, where daŋ occurs as the quantifier in a genitive noun phrase (in which the head is elided):

(2) ŋac si (Ø) daŋ meŋ su dom.
    3P GAUX.3P a/one 3S.come PERF NEG
    ‘Not one of them has come.’

Other exceptions to the general principle of agreement between the subject person and the person indexed by the verb are emotional or experiential notions that are often expressed using a body part plus a verb (see §4.2.2.1). Even though these experiences may be shared by a number of persons, the verb is invariably singular. For example:

(3) Lau malac -ŋga hoŋ ōli pi.
    people village -of/for all skin 3S.ascend
    ‘All the people of the village were excited.’ (lit. ‘their skin (it) ascended.’ (not ‘skins (they) ascended.’))

(4) ŋac si ŋalôm pitigeŋ su
    3P GAUX.3P GENPF.inside 3S.ascend.one PERF
    ‘They were agreed’ (lit. ‘their inside was (not insides were) one.’)

(c) Subjects are not governed by adpositions.

5.1.2 Object

(a) Position – a pronoun or noun phrase that encodes the object of a simple sentence immediately follows the head of the predicate phrase. Occasionally in discourse, an object may be thematised and occur in the topic slot of a sentence – see §6.1.

(b) There is no grammatical agreement between the object and the head of the predicate phrase, though there are obviously selectional restrictions between items that can function as objects for particular predicates.

(c) Objects are not governed by adpositions.
5.1.3 Peripheral clause constituents

The range of possibilities for the peripheral components of clauses is obviously much greater, but the following characteristics are typical:

(a) Prepositional relators – peripheral constituents are normally governed by prepositions or preposition-like serialised constructions. These prepositions help to define the semantic function of the constituent in the clause. Example (6) below may be an exception – it demonstrates a location with no relator.

(b) Position – they usually follow the S-P-O constituents. Time constituents however, usually precede the subject and occur in the sentence theme slot, rather than as clause-internal constituents.

The only other example that seems to be an exception to the principle that X constituents follow S-P-O constituents is the following (source constituent):

(5) Mboçnda atu daŋ akên saleŋ sa meŋ.
python big a/one from jungle 3S.up/out 3S.come
‘A big python came out from the jungle.’

However, it is not clear whether in this case the preposition phrase akên saleŋ ‘from the jungle’ is functioning at clause level as a source component, or whether it is actually a modifier of the noun phrase i.e. ‘a big snake from the jungle.’

(c) Indirect object/beneficiary/recipient – the basic S P (O) (X) format could possibly be extended by adding an additional place for indirect object (or beneficiary-recipient). This would be represented by S P (O (IO) (X). The indirect object is normally encoded by a serialised construction using the verb têŋ ‘go to.’ However, in spite of the fact that the IO closely follows the object in the clause, in respect to comments (a) and (b) above, it is just like the other X components.

Maintaining the simpler format SPOX means that allowance may have to be made for multiple fillers of the X slot, although Bukawa does tend to avoid clauses that become too lengthy and ‘heavy’. An example of multiple components of the X slot:

(6) Séto dalô iŋ aŋgô andô ti ndê ŋamlic ŋa mbwêc kokoc.
3P.draw sign 3S face true with GAUX.3S skin INSTR tree.sp red
‘They drew markings (on) her face and body with red paint from the mbwêc’ tree.’ (i.e. S-V-O-LOC-INST)

NOTE: The fact that there is no preposition introducing ‘her face and body’ in this example could lead to the alternate and quite probable analysis of to dalô ‘draw a sign/mark’ as a complex verbal predicate (see §4.2.3), and the noun phrase ‘her face and body’ as the object of that predicate. However, a serialised preposition-like construction with the verb pi ‘ascend’ could feasibly be added to introduce the phrase iŋ aŋgô andô ‘her face’ as a location (or goal) component of the clause, as in the following example:

(7) Sékên sacbalê pi dandi Ôli.
3P.put mud 3S.ascend RECIP skin
‘They put mud on each other’s skin.’
For further examples of the main types of X constituents in Bukawa clauses, refer to §3.8 where the Bukawa prepositions are described.

5.2 Subordinate clauses

Detailed notes on subordinate clauses appear in various sections of this work (see especially §6.2) and are not repeated here. However, this section will briefly summarise the types of Bukawa subordinate clauses and make some general comments on structure.

There are three main types of subordinate clause in the Bukawa language:

(a) Clauses occurring as noun phrase modifiers – this is the most common type and comments and examples will be given below.

(b) Clauses occurring as adverbial modifiers within main clauses and sentences. These can indicate notions such as time, location, reason, purpose, and the protasis of conditionals etc. (see §6.2.1). Apart from time and location modifiers that usually take the form of relative clauses, the restrictions to clause structure that are outlined for type (a) clauses in the notes below, do not apply to these subordinate clause types.

(c) Complement clauses that function as arguments of a predicate. These will be presented in §6.2.2.

NOTES on clauses that modify noun phrases:

Subordinate (or relative) clauses may be embedded as modifiers in noun phrases. There are two main types of such relative clauses:

(a) clauses governed by the relative clause complementiser naŋ.

A schema such as ‘The person who did X ... ,’ depicts the general structure of this type. Examples can be seen in §4.1.4.2.

(b) clauses governed by the post-positional clitic -ŋga.

(General schema: ‘The person of/for doing X ... ’) Some of the examples in §3.9 and §4.1.3.3 demonstrate subordinate clauses of this type embedded as modifiers of noun phrases.

NOTE: A rarer form of clause subordination in this category consists of clauses governed by the word goć (a homonym of the conjunction goć ‘then’), being used as a complementiser in a very similar manner to naŋ above. For example:

(8) Kêdölöŋ lôn ti gêŋ goć kêgalëŋ ndoc naŋ.

3SR.collect pot with thing/s RCC 3SR.hang maun GIV

‘He collected the pots and things that were hanging in the maun tree.’

(The fact that kêgalëŋ ‘to be hung’ has a reflexive meaning and can only apply to the ‘pot/s and things’, and also the context of this example make it clear that the things had previously been hung in the maun tree, and that goć here is not simply being used as a conjunction.)

There is one main difference between relative clause structure and that of independent clauses as presented in §5.1. When the subject or object of a relative clause co-references
a noun in the main clause, the relative clause co-referent is usually omitted. This is always the case when the main clause noun has a subject role in the relative clause – for both animate and inanimate noun referent. For example:

(9) \textit{lau naŋ Ø sêhôc asê}  
\textit{people RC Ø 3P.lift out}  
\textit{‘(the) people who came’}  

(10) \textit{gêŋ naŋ Ø hôc asê}  
\textit{thing RC Ø 3S.lift out}  
\textit{‘(the) thing that happened’}

Main clause nouns that have a co-referential role in the relative clause as either an object (example (11)), or a peripheral clause constituent (12), are only co-referenced in the relative clause if they are animate, in which case they are represented by the appropriate pronominal form. Inanimate noun referents (13) that have the above mentioned roles in relative clauses have no co-referent in the relative clause:

(11) \textit{lau naŋ iŋ gic nac ndu}  
\textit{people RC 3S 3SR.hit 3P intensely}  
\textit{‘(the) people whom he killed’}  

(12) \textit{nžamalac naŋ sêsôm yom pi in sêmbo}  
\textit{person RC 3P.say talk 3S.ascend 3S 3P.be/stay}  
\textit{‘(the) person about whom they were talking’}  

(13) \textit{andu naŋ ya gêŋ Ø su}  
\textit{house RC fire 3SR.eat Ø PERF}  
\textit{‘(the) house that was burnt’}

5.3 Simple clause types

The distinction between transivity and intransivity is not a major one for Bukawa clauses. A noun phrase construction in the object slot of a clause would normally indicate that that particular clause is transitive. However, apart from that there is no obvious distinction in terms of the morphology of the S and P constituents of transitive and intransitive clauses.

Several Bukawa verbs that normally express semantically intransitive notions, have in some instances been noted to function transitively. The distinction between transitive and intransitive constructions is minimal in Bukawa. For example:

(14) \textit{Mbac atu hoŋ sem asê ti sêmbwac nac.}  
\textit{bird big all 3SR.do out with 3P.laugh 3P}  
\textit{‘All the big birds called out and laughed at them.’}

The meaning of the verb \textit{mbwac} is thus both ‘to laugh,’ and ‘to laugh at’.

Another example of this is the verb \textit{ndöc} ‘to sit’ used in the following (transitive) expression. (English occasionally uses the verb ‘sit’ in a similar manner, e.g. ‘I sat the boy on the horse’.) A Bukawa example:
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(15)  Yosep dôwai sêndöc iŋ ndê ŋakwê sip
Joseph older.SSIB.PL 3P.sit 3S GAUX.3S clothes 3S.descend

bôc ndê dac.
animal GAUX.3S blood

‘Joseph’s older brothers put (lit. sat) his clothes in an animal’s blood.’

Semantic roles such as location, goal, source, benefactive, patient or experiential stimulus may be encoded as post-predicate noun phrase constructions in the object slot without any adpositional relator (as in examples (16) and (19)), and also as noun phrase constructions in the peripheral component slot (with an adpositional relator as in example (15)). Examples (18) and (20) depict clauses with noun phrase constructions in both the O and X slots:

(16)  Aö gahu neŋ andu siŋ.
1S 1SR.l eave GAUX.1 house divestingly

‘I left my house.’  (SOURCE)

(17)  Aö gameŋ akêŋ malac.
1S 1SR. come from village

‘I came from the village.’  (SOURCE)

(18)  Iŋ kôc mone su yêc iŋ ndê talhi.
3S 3S.take money away 3S.be/lie 3S GAUX.3S bag

‘He took (the) money out of his bag.’  (SOURCE)

(19)  Yaki gêm aö sa.
Yaki 3SR.do 1S up/out

‘Yaki helped me.’  (BENEFACTIVE)

(20)  Yaki kêŋ i daŋ têŋ aö.
Yaki 3S.give fish a/one 3S.go.to 1S

‘Yaki gave me a fish.’  (RECIPIENT/BENEFACTIVE)

In either case, the above general comments on clause structure and relationships between subject, predicate, object and peripheral clause components apply.

The main types of simple Bukawa clause types are presented in the following section.

5.3.1  Existential and locative clauses

Bukawa uses a range of verbs ‘of being’ to express notions such as existence and location. These verbs may also encode ‘possession’ in the sense that an expression such as ‘X has something’ is expressed in Bukawa in the form ‘X’s thing is/exists’.

There are several different verbs ‘of being’ and these are described below.

mbô ‘to be, stay’ – this is normally used of human subjects to indicate general location, and also as a statement of a human referent’s existence. For example:

(21)  Konigi daŋ mbo.
king a/one 3S.be/stay

‘There was a king.’ (lit. ‘a king is’)  (EXISTENCE)
Clauses

(22) Iŋ ndé balêkoc hale sêmbo.

3S GAUX.3S child(ren) four 3S.be/stay

‘He has four children.’

(EXISTENCE)

NOTE: A very similar meaning to that of the above example would be conveyed by an equative clause without the verb sêmbo (i.e. iŋ ndé balêkoc hale ‘He has four children.’) However, the focus of the equative clause is more to give information as to how many children the person has, rather than to make a statement as to their existence. Examples of equative clauses can be seen in §4.2.2.3.

Serialised constructions involving the verb mbo are also commonly used to encode the location of a human referent. For example:

(23) Iŋ damba lu dinda sêkôm gwele sêmbo ôm.

3S father DL mother 3P.do work 3P.be/stay garden

‘His/her father and mother were working in the garden.’ (LOCATION)

yêc ‘to be, lie’ – this is normally used to express the existence of animate (non-human), and inanimate subjects. It is also used to encode the location of a human referent. Some examples:

(24) Lau andô si miŋ daŋ bocdec yêc.

people true GAUX.3P story a/one like.this 3S.be/lie

‘There was a story of the ancestors like this.’

(EXISTENCE)

When reference is made to the location of an inanimate object, a distinction is made on the basis of its shape, which affects how it is/can be spatially oriented. If it is a flat object e.g. book, paper, knife, axe etc., then the verb yêc is used with the sense of ‘laying’ to show its location (ndöc ‘to sit’ is also sometimes used of an inanimate object – see later):

(25) Bapia ŋatô sêyêc tebo

paper some 3P.be/lie table

‘Some papers were on the table.’

,LOCATION)

When used of a human subject, yêc takes the secondary sense of ‘lying’ or ‘sleeping,’ rather than ‘being’:

(26) Aö gayêc lau si gapo.

1S 1SR.be/lie people GAUX.3P men’s.house

‘I slept in their men’s house.’

,LOCATION)

(27) Êgac dau yêc bèc yêc agayu ŋasaŋ.

man DEM 3S.be/lie sleep 3S.be/lie tree.ficus GENPF.aerial.root

‘The man slept (lying) at the roots of the ficus tree.’

,LOCATION)

lhac ‘to stand’ – this is used for the existence or location of inanimate things where the orientation is more vertical than horizontal (e.g. trees, houses, cars). Some examples:

(28) Iŋ hoc asê gameŋ naŋ a daêsam sêlhac.

3S 3S.lift up area RC tree many 3P.stand

‘He came to a/the place where there were many trees.’

(EXISTENCE)
(29) Iŋ ndē andu kalhac bu ŋamakē.
3S GAUX.3S house 3SR.stand water GENPF.edge
‘His house was/stood at the edge of the river.’

NOTES
i. lhac is also used with its basic sense ‘to stand’ to signify the location of human referents when they are actually standing in a certain place.
ii. The Central dialect often uses the shorter (class I verb) form kac for the realis form.

ndōc ‘to sit’ – is used of human and some inanimate referents, mainly to specify location. This verb is not used of animals which are said to ‘lie’ (yēc) rather than ‘sit’. The focus when locating human referents is either that they are physically sitting somewhere (examples (30) and (31)), or that they reside in a particular location (32). The verb mbo ‘be, stay’ can be used when enquiring to find out if a particular person is at home, but it is also common to ask if he is ‘sitting’ in/at his house:

(30) Damam ndōc me mba?
father.GEN2 3S.sit or NEG.EX
‘Is your father there or not?’

(31) Awhē dau lu lhuŋgac sauŋ daŋ sēndōc malac.
woman DEM DL XSSIB.man little a/one 3P.sit village
‘The girl and her/a younger brother sat in the village.’

(32) Ao damaŋ lu dinaŋ sēndōc Bugawac.
1S father.GEN1 DL mother.GEN1 3P.sit Bukawa
‘My father and mother live at Bukawa.’

There seems to be overlap between the use of yēc and ndōc to locate inanimate objects, or to show their existence:

(33) Mone hiŋga ndōc / yēc?
money how.many 3S.sit / 3S.be/lie
‘How much money is there?’

5.3.2 Motion clauses

Another simple clause type is that used to express motion or movement. There is quite a range of motion verbs, and several perspectives in the mind of the speaker determine which particular one is used.

One of these perspectives is whether the motion is towards or away from the speaker (and/or the listeners). In narrative type discourse, this perspective is commonly realised by serialisation, where a motion clause/sentence typically ends with either gi/ndi ‘to go’ or meŋ ‘to come. For example:

(34) Iŋ kēsēlēŋ gi // iŋ kēsēlēŋ meŋ.
3S 3SR.walk 3SR.go // 3S 3SR.walk 3S.come
‘He went.’ // ‘He came.’
(cf. Tok Pisin ‘Em i wokabaut i go.’ // ‘Em i wokabaut i kam.’)
When motion clauses are part of reported speech or narrative, the directional perspective is nearly always one of ‘going.’ When the narrator is involved, or when the motion is towards the location where the narration is being done, then the perspective used is that of ‘coming.’ For example, in New Testament narrative people are often said to have ‘come’ to Jesus. In translation, the directional perspective used by Bukawa people is usually always that of ‘going’ – those people ‘went to Jesus.’

Bukawa speakers also seem to have a concept of ‘here’ and ‘there’ for certain locations – familiar locations being regarded as ‘here’ and vice versa. The ‘coming or going’ perspective accords with this. For example, in the Python text, the snake ‘comes’ from the jungle to the village (not towards the narrator, but towards a familiar location) and then ‘goes’ to the jungle. (This may also be a narrative device to draw the listener into the story – the snake is coming, not just going to some neutral location):

(35) **Ma têm dinaŋ mbocnda atu daŋ akêŋ saleŋ sa meŋ.**
and time that python big a/one from jungle 3S.go.out 3S.come

Iŋ kêŋ malô malô sa e meŋ pi nac
3S 3S.put slowly slowly 3S.go.out and/until 3S.come 3S.ascend 3P

si andu.
GAUX.3P house
‘And (at) that time a big python came out from the jungle. It came crawling slowly out until it came to their house.’

On the basis of these things, it would seem that the Bukawa hierarchy for the deictic centre of motion clauses would be something like:

Speaker > Hearer > Familiar territory (e.g. village /Bukawa area) > key character in story.

Another perspective of motion clauses is that of geographical orientation. For example, at Bukawa village (slightly inland from the sea), people say they will go out towards the coast or the sea, and they again say that they will go out when they leave the shore and go out to sea by boat:

(36) **Yac dasa gwêc dandi.**
1P 1P+.go.out sea 1PIRC+.go
‘We will/Let’s go (out) to the sea/coast.’

(37) **Sêuc waŋ su sêsa gwêc si.**
3P.scrape canoe away 3P.go.out sea 3PR.go
‘They dragged out the canoe and went (out) to sea.’

When people from the villages in the Cape Arkona area (central north coast of the Huon Peninsula) travel westwards along the coast towards Lae, they say they are going up:

(38) **Malaka lu Jessi sêpi Lahê si.**
Malaka DL Jessi 3P.ascend Lae 3PR.go
‘Malaka (Mark) and Jessi went (up) to Lae.’

Conversely, when people travel eastwards towards Finschhafen, they say that they are going down the coast:
(39) Sêlac waŋ sêsip Bugaŋ.
3P. sail canoe 3P. descend Bugang
‘They sailed (down) to Bugang.’

And when going inland (but not into the mountains) away from the coast, or even
towards the coast from out at sea, people say that they are going in. If, as is often the case
along the Huon Peninsula, going inland involves going into the mountains, then the
perspective of going ‘up’ seems to over-ride that of going ‘in’:

(40) Aö gahôc asê Lahê ma gasôc Ampo.
1S 1SR. lift out Lae and 1SR. enter Ampo
‘I arrived at Lae and went (in) to Ampo.’

(41) Aö gapî Hocpoi.
1S 1SR. ascend Hocpoi
‘I went (up) to Hocpoi.’ (An old mission station inland
and on a hill above Bukawa)

NOTES
i. The geographical perspective is a relative one that varies in different locations. The
perspectives given above would hold true in all areas east of Lae, but at Busamang,
Buakap and Asini, south of Lae, people either say they will go ‘out’ (sêsa) or ‘in’
(sêsôc) to Lae. They say they are going ‘down’ the coast (sêsip) when they go south
past Salamaua.

ii. In all of these examples, the semantic role of goal is realised in the object slot of the
clause, rather than by a peripheral constituent with a prepositional relator.

The word tëŋ ‘to go/go to’ is often used as a general word for movement ‘to
somewhere’ when geographical orientation is not important. For example, when the mode
of going is specified by the main verb, a serialised construction using tëŋ is often used to
indicate the goal of the motion. The geographical perspectives are also used in such cases:

(42) Ñac sêqsêlêŋ sêtêŋ lôm bapia si.
3P 3P. walk 3P. go.to room paper 3PR. go
‘They walked to the school.’

iii. There are several other verbs of motion that have specific uses:
loc ‘to come there’ – this is normally used to express motion towards the hearer or to a
determined goal. Some examples:

(43) Mac amuŋ andi ma malô aô oc waloc.
2P 2P. precede 2PIR. go and shortly 1S NR 1SIR. come. there
‘You go ahead and in a short while I will come (to where you are).’

(44) Akôc lacluh sa loc.
2P. take cup up/out 3S. come.there
‘Take the cup (from me to you).’

lom ‘to go across’ – this is used to speak of ‘crossing over’ something. It applies to both
space (e.g. bridges, rivers) and to time (e.g. to cross over into a new month/year etc.).
An example:
Clauses

(45) Aö bu walom bu.
1S POT 1SIR.go.across water
‘I want to cross the river.’

pi ‘to ascend.’ As well as being used to give the directional perspective of going to a higher location, pi is also used specifically to speak of going across a river, in which case it over-rides the ‘east-west’ travel perspective. A person crossing a river while going east (down) would still say he is going ‘up’ to the other side of the river. For example:

(46) Aö wapi bu daŋga wandi.
1S 1SIR.ascend water other.side 1SIR.go
‘I will go to the other side of the river.’

sip ‘to descend’ – this also has some specific uses, for example going to the jungle, and to the toilet (perhaps because houses are built up off the ground and toilets are built on the ground):

(47) Laŋgaŋ hoŋ sèsip saleŋ si su.
people.male all 3P.descend jungle 3PR.go PERF
‘All the men have gone to the jungle.’

(48) Ñŋ sip andu sauŋ.
3S 3S.descend house small
‘He went to the toilet.’

5.3.3 Passive notions

Bukawa has no verb form or modification to signify the passive voice. There are three main mechanisms for dealing with passive notions:

(a) The implied or understood subject or actor is specified, thus encoding the notion as a normal clause/sentence.

(b) An indefinite third person plural ‘they’ is given as the subject. For example, a passive statement like ‘We will be killed’ can be expressed as:

(49) Oc sëndic yac ndu.
NR 3PIR.hit 1P intensely
‘They will kill us.’

(c) When the passive notion concerns normal practice or ‘common everyday’ wisdom, then it is often expressed by means of a first person plural inclusive subject. For example Jesus’ proverbial saying ‘A new patch is not sewn onto an old garment’ would be most likely expressed in the form ‘We don’t/wouldn’t do X ...’:

(50) Oc dasë po wakuc pi po akwa dom.
NR 1P+.sew cloth new 3S.ascend cloth old NEG
‘We wouldn’t sew new cloth onto an old cloth (laplap).’
5.3.4 Experiential clauses

Many experiences are encoded in the Bukawa language in the regular clause format S-V-O, for example X saw/heard/smelt (etc.) Y. (Section 6.2.2 on sentential complement clauses also describes this type of formulation.) There is also another format for Bukawa clauses that express experiences, in which the experiencer is encoded as the object. (See also the use of body part predications used to express experiential notions in §4.2.2.1).

For bodily deprivations, the verb commonly used is yô which means something like ‘to cause a need/be a need for’. When this is used, it is common for the experiencer to be referred to in the theme/topic slot as well as in the object slot:

(51) Lau daŋ gêŋ yô ŋac dom.
    people a/one thing 3S.cause.need 3P NEG
    ‘No-one was hungry.’

(52) (Aö) bèc yô aö // bu yô aö.
    1S sleep 3S.cause.need 1S // water 3S.cause.need 1S
    ‘I am tired.’ // ‘I am thirsty.’

Other examples using different verbs:

(53) Ňamlic kôm aö.
    skin 3S.harm 1S
    ‘I feel sick (‘out of sorts’).’ (lit. ‘(my) skin harms me’)

(54) Aneŋ ำlôm kac aö bu wandi.
    1S.GAUX.1 GENPF .inside 3S.stand 1S COMP 1SIR.go
    ‘I feel compelled to go.’ (lit. ‘my insides stand me to go’)

5.3.5 Comparison clauses

Bukawa has no productive morphological mechanism for modifying adjectives in order to express comparative or superlative notions such big, bigger, biggest. It was noted in §3.12.3 however, that reduplication was one means of encoding different degrees of intensity.

Comparison can also be expressed by means of paired clauses (commonly equative) in which a contrast in attributes is made. Such devices commonly make use of the theme slot to indicate or identify the subject of the comparison. For example:

(55) Yaki ǐŋ ำgač sauŋ ma Gêbob ǐŋ ำgač atu.
    Yaki 3S man little and Gêbob 3S man big
    ‘Gêbob is bigger than Yaki.’ (lit. ‘Yaki, he is a small man, and Gêbob, he is a big man.’)

There are also other ways to encode a comparison with similar meaning:

(a) Degree adverbs e.g. ‘Yaki is big, and/but Gêbob is very big.’

(b) Negation e.g. ‘Gêbob is big, and/but Yaki is not big/not very big.’

(c) The verb hócgêlêc (su) ‘to surpass’ (alone and with negation). For example:
    ‘Gêbob is big, he surpasses Yaki.’
    ‘Yaki is big/a bit big, but he does not surpass Gêbob.’
This verb (or its negation) can also be used to express a superlative attribute. For example:

(56)  Samson iŋ ŋgac ti licwalô atu hôcgêlêc lau hoŋ su.
Samson 3S man with strength big 3S.surpass people all away
‘Samson is a strong man, (he) surpasses everyone.’

(57)  Samson iŋ ŋgac ti licwalô atu lau daŋ sêhôcgêlêc
Samson 3S man with strength big people a/one 3P.surpass
iŋ su dom.
3S away NEG
‘Samson is a strong man, no-one surpasses him.’

Another means of encoding superlative notions is through the use of the verb (gi/nditôm) ‘to be like/able/enough’. For example:

(58)  Iŋ ŋgac ti licwalô atu lau daŋ sêtôm iŋ dom.
3S man with strength big people a/one 3P.be.like 3S NEG
‘He is a strong man, no-one is like him.’

This verb is also the normal way that simile type comparisons are expressed. For example:

(59)  Am sôm yom gitôm ŋgac gauc mbasi -ŋga.
2S 2S.say talk/s 3SR.go.like man thinking NEG.EX -of/for
‘You are speaking like a foolish man.’

5.3.6 Phenomena clauses

Mention was made in §3.3.5 of the use of the non-inflected form of the verb sa ‘(to be) up/out’ to express the occurrence of natural phenomena, and experiences or emotions. For example:

(60)  걏awê sa tiyham goc sêlic dau tiyham ma ŋasec
light up/out again then 3P.see REFPN.3 again and darkness
sa tiyham ...
up/out again
‘It became light again, and they could see each other again, and it became dark again ... ’

(61)  Dinda tali sa tandô ŋawa sa gêlic baö ...
mother eye.shine up/out eye clear up/out 3SR.see shore
‘(His) mother opened her eye (lit. her eye became shining), her eye became clear, (and) she saw the shore ... ’

(62)  Nda gêlic e tac ŋayham sa sambuc.
mother 3SR.see and/until belly good up/out completely
‘(His) mother saw it and became extremely happy.’ (lit. ‘... belly good (come) up completely.’)
Happiness is also expressed in the form \( X \text{ inə atac ɲayham atu} \) ‘(As for) X, he (is/was) very happy’. The distinction implied when \( \text{sa} \) is used in the formulation is that a change has occurred in X who before was either sad, cross or indifferent.

Sometimes phenomena are expressed without any verb, as non-verbal existential constructions. For example:

\[
\text{(63) } \text{Gatam mbu sa meŋ ma ɲakęcsia.}
\]

\[
\text{door } 3S.\text{return } 3S.\text{go.out } 3S.\text{come and noise}
\]

‘The door swung back and (made a) noise.’

In this example one would perhaps expect words that say something like ‘the door made a noise’ (as in the free translation), or ‘a noise occurred’. However, it is simply stated ‘noise’. Perhaps the Tok Pisin expression \( \text{dua nais} \) ‘the door noised’ is an equivalent to such ‘noise’ expressions. Another example that bears this out is:

\[
\text{(64) } \text{Mac mwambwa dec ɲanta ti ambwac mbwac andöc.}
\]

\[
\text{2P little(ones) here noise with 2P.laugh laugh 2P.sit}
\]

‘You little birds here sit (making) noise and laughing.’

5.4 Adverbial notions at clause level

Section 3.5 described the range of adverbs that modify Bouka wa clauses (and phrases). There are also many non-adverbial mechanisms that can be used to encode modal, aspectual or temporal notions in Bouka wa clauses. These are presented in the following section.

5.4.1 Non-adverbial indicators of modality

As seen in §3.3, verb morphology is one means where Bouka wa makes a distinction between realis and irrealis modality. Bouka wa has several other means of expressing modal notions:

5.4.1.1 Verbs encoding modality

\( \text{gi/ndi)tôm} \) this a verb meaning ‘(to be) able, enough’ and is commonly used to encode both abilitative and permissive moods by means of complement clauses (see also §6.2.2.2). The modality-marked forms \( \text{gitôm} \) (realis) or \( \text{nditôm} \) (irrealis) are used when the speaker wants to specify either mood, but often the form used is simply \( \text{tôm} \).

When this verb is used to express ability modally, the format used is either:

\[
\text{(a) X is able/not able to do Y}, \text{ (examples (65) and (66))}, \text{ or:}
\]

\[
\text{(b) ‘It is possible/not possible that … (example (67) and (68) or ‘Doing X, it is not possible.’ (example (69)):}
\]

\[
\text{(65) } \text{Yac oc atôm bu anem mac sa.}
\]

\[
\text{1P NR 1PX.able COMP 1PXIR.do 2P up/out}
\]

‘We (exc) are/will be able to help you.’
(66) Mwac atôm gweleŋ dec dom.
2P 2P.able work this NEG
‘You are not capable for this work.’

(67) Oc tôm bu (yac) andi.
NR 3S.able COMP 1P 1PXR.go
‘It will be possible that we(ex.) go.’

(68) Oc nditôm dom bu am kêc aö.
NR 2/3SIR.go.able NEG COMP 2S 2/3S.take 1S
‘It will not be possible that you take me.’

(69) Am oc kêc aö nditôm dom.
2S NR 2/3S.take 1S 2/3SIR.go.able NEG
‘You will not be able to take me.’

Permissive mood as expressed by the form gitôm (bu) X (do Y) may have the sense ‘X can do Y/X could have done Y’, but normally it encodes a question with the sense ‘Can X do Y?’ Intonation generally indicates the intended sense; rising intonation at the end of the clause would indicate that it is a question. Such questions are often used when the speaker wants to request something in a polite manner (there is no word for ‘please’ in the Bukawa language). For example:

(70) Gitôm bu am nem aö sa?
3SR.go.able COMP 2S 2/3SIR.do 1S up/out
‘Can you help me?’

(71) Gitôm mwac akêŋ ṣasawa têŋ yac.
3SR.go.able 2P 2P.give space 3S.go.to 1P
‘Can you give us space/room?’

gic/ndic (ŋa)waê ‘be proper/fitting (lit. hit its news/report/reputation)’ – this verb can be used to give an imperatival or cohortative mood. It is used either in a serialised construction with another clause (example (72)), or as the main predicate governing a complementary clause (73):

(72) Danem daŋge Pômdau nditôm bêc sambob dancic ŋawaê.
1P+IR.do thanks Lord 3SIR.go.able day all 1P+IR.hit GENPF.report
‘We (inc) must/should thank the Lord every day.’

(73) Yac tac waê bu danem daŋge Pômdau.
1P 1P+IR.hit report COMP 1P+IR.do thanks Lord
‘We (inc) must/should thank the Lord.’

5.4.1.2 Conjunctions encoding modality

mbo ‘lest’ – a caveat or cautionary mode. It is used to link two clauses where the second clause specifies the possible outcome if a caution in the former clause is ignored:

(74) Gitôm bu am whiŋ aö dom mbo oc dandi waŋ pac.
3SR.go.able COMP 2S 2S.be.with 1S NEG lest NR 1P+IR.go canoe 3S.sink
‘You can’t come with me, lest if/when we go the canoe will sink.’
me ‘or/eh’ – modal hesitant question. When used in direct speech at the end of the clause or sentence, it indicates that speaker has a positive attitude about the truth of the proposition, or the probability of it being realised. For example:

(75) Ma bocke bu wangôlôŋ am whiŋ me.
    and what(ever) POT 1SIR.decorate 2S 2S.be.with or
    ‘And what (then), will I decorate you also, eh?’

oc ‘then’ (a homonym of the modal adverb described in §3.5.1) – this is a conjunction that links the apodosis of a conditional sentence with the protasis. It conveys a dual modal meaning. Firstly, because the sentence is conditional, it indicates that the outcome expressed in the apodosis is ‘non-realis’, but secondarily, it indicates that in the speaker’s mind, the outcome is certain.

Other comments and examples of this have been given in §3.5.1.

5.4.2 Non-adverbial indicators of aspect

Aspectual notions can be encoded in the Bukawa language by verbs and other mechanisms.

5.4.2.1 Verbal forms encoding aspect

gimba ‘unsuccessfully’ – glossed UNSUC. An uninflected verbal form which is possibly a compound based on the verb gi ‘to go’ and NEG.EX mba ‘no/not’ – literally meaning ‘It went – no.’ It is used at the end of a statement to show frustration or lack of success:

(76) Balêkoc dinda ti damba sêŋsalé ŋac gimba ma sêlhö si.
    child/ren mother with father 3P.seek 3P UNSUC and 3P.leave 3PR.go
    ‘The children’s mother and father searched for them unsuccessfully, and went away.’

gi/ndi ‘to go’ and meŋ ‘to come’

Both these verbs occur in serialised constructions with motion clauses to signify the direction of movement from the perspective of the speaker: whether movement is ‘away from,’ or ‘towards’ him/her. Other comments have already been made in §5.3.2.

Occasionally this directional perspective is encoded by means of a duplicate series of the verb gi/ndi, in which case the second occurrence is not inflected to agree with the subject person, but appears in the simple 3S form. Such duplications may also encode the added aspect of continuation or extension of the action. For example:

(77) Iŋ ti ndê lau hoŋ sênti si ŋi.
    3S with GAUX.3S people all 3P.run 3PR.go 3SR.go
    ‘He and all his people went running.’

(78) Yac alac a gi apoc kêpiŋ nduc Kios.
    1P 1PX.sail 1PXR.go 3SR.go 1PX.float 3SR.be.near island Kios
    ‘We sailed and went and anchored near Kios island.’
gie/ndic hu ‘to begin’ (lit. ‘to hit the basis/origin’) – indicates an inceptive aspect: the beginning of an activity that is usually encoded as a complement clause (see also §6.2.2.3):

(79) Ṣac sic hu sêtucdiŋ. 
3P 3PR.hit basis 3P.complain 
‘They began to complain.’

mbo ‘to be/stay’ – a Class I verb used to indicate ongoing activity. It is added in series with another clause to indicate that the activity of that clause was ongoing (continual aspect).

(80) Sêsôc ôm si sem gweleŋ gō -ŋa sêmbo. 
3P.enter garden 3PR.go 3PR.do work taro -of/for 3P.be/stay 
‘They went to the garden and were doing work cultivating taro.’

Often mbo and e are used in sequence to indicate that the action of the former clause continued until another action/event:

(81) Ḣlu sêngihi sêngihi sêmbo e awhē dau gêlic 
3S.DL 3P.circle 3P.circle 3P.be/stay and/until woman DEM 3SR.see 
pacndê. 
be.finished 
‘They kept circling around and around until the woman had seen (it).’

meŋhu ‘to be filled’ – a non-inflecting verbal aspect that applies specifically to containers, indicating the aspect of completion of a filling action. (See §3.3.5 for notes on meŋhu.)

muŋ ‘to precede’ – a verbal aspect that is used in serialisation constructions to show that the action (or a certain part of it) occurred prior to another:

(82) Mboconda kêkôŋ bawhē dau ŋagôlôŋ muŋ. 
python 3SR.swallow girl DEM head 3S.precede 
‘The python swallowed the girl’s head first.’

(83) Am oc kôc sa muŋ ndi. 
2S NR 2/3S.take out/up 2/3S.precede 2/3SIR.go 
‘You will take (it) away first.’

pacndê ‘to be finished’ – another non-inflecting Bukawa verb that indicates the aspect of completed action:

(84) Sekôm boedinaŋ e pacndê. 
3P.do like.that and/until be.finished 
‘They continued to do that until it was finished.’

NOTE: The perfective adverb su can also be used to indicate completive aspect. If it co-occurs with pacndê, then the former precedes su.

(85) Gweleŋ dau pacndê su goc lau hoŋ sêlhō têŋtêŋ. 
work DEM be.finished PERF then people all 3P.leave separately 
‘The work was finished so everyone went their separate ways.’
**tôm** verbal preposition phrases governed by **tôm** ‘to be like, to be enough’ can be used to encode the aspect of extent, either in time or space. Examples have been given in §3.8.

### 5.4.2.2 Other non-adverbial means of encoding aspect

The aspect of repeated action can be encoded by phrases showing frequency of occurrence. These use **tidim** ‘(number of) times’ plus a numeral; or **ti têm ti têm** ‘on occasion, regularly, frequently’ (lit. ‘with time with time’):

(86) Balê dau puc daŋgibo ti gêm wê dau tidim lu su.

`boy DEM 3S.poke dirge with 3SR.do song DEM times two PERF`

‘The boy had sung the dirge and the song twice.’

Reduplication is another means whereby the aspect of ongoing activity is encoded, as seen in example (81). Section 3.12.3 gives other examples.

The following are other common non-adverbial means of encoding aspect:

**e** ‘and/until’ – a conjunction that encodes the aspect of continuity or duration of an action or event. For example:

(87) Mboc kôm gê dau e gic dabiŋ.

`snow snake 3S.do thing DEM and/until 3SR.hit finish`

‘The snake did that thing until it/he was finished.’

In some cases e is used as a conjunction when the action of the following clause cannot begin until that of the former clause is completed, or the following clause expresses the outcome of the former clause. For example:

(88) Íŋ ndê lau hoŋ sêŋô e sêlic ñayham.

`3S GAUX.3S people all 3P.hear and/until 3P.see good`

‘All his people heard and regarded (it) favourably.’

In other cases, e appears merely to indicate that the action occurred for a period of time (or that some time passed), but not necessarily that the former action had to be completed before the next one could begin:

(89) Íŋ pi ñac si andu gi e tawalô lhuwê.

`3S 3S.ascend 3P GAUX.3P house 3SR.go and/until eye.strap XSSIB.FEM`

‘He went into the house and (after a while) felt sorry for his sister.’

### 5.4.3 Non-adverbial means of encoding manner

#### 5.4.3.1 Verbal forms encoding manner

**ênlêc/kêlêc** ‘(sur)pass’ – is a class III verb that is commonly used to encode intensity of manner. As such it occurs to encode intensity at both predicate level, where it occurs in the same clause position as class IV manner adverbs (90), and also at phrase level, where it occurs as for class VII manner adverbs (91):

(90) Íŋ tac whiŋ yac kêlêc.

`3S belly 3S.be.with 1P 3SR.(sur)pass`

‘He really loves us.’
5.4.3.2 Other means of encoding manner

(a) Noun phrases – phrases indicating a personal or physical condition often qualify the manner in which a person conducts an activity. For example:

- amba sawa ‘empty handed(ly)’
- atac sawa ‘hungrily’ (lit. ‘(with) empty stomach’)
- ṣalēŋ sac ‘greatly’ (lit. ‘(in a) bad way’)

(b) ti ‘and/with’ manner constructions – examples of these have been given in the section on prepositions (§3.8.1).
5.4.4 Means of encoding temporal notions

Bukawa has a wide range of means to encode temporal notions, and these (as is the case with temporal adverbs – see §3.5.4) usually occur in the theme slot of the clause and sentence. They can be classified into two main groups:

(a) Temporal nouns or noun phrases
(b) Temporal subordinate clauses

5.4.4.1 Temporal nouns or noun phrases

Bukawa nouns involving time are commonly used in phrases that function as temporal adverbials. Time words (and phrases) include:

- acsalô ‘midday’
- ayô ‘month’
- bèbèc ‘this morning’
- bèbèc ganduc ‘first light’ (lit. ‘morning dark’)
- maniŋhu ‘midnight’
- ŋasawa ‘time period/space’
- ôbwêc ‘night’
- ôbwêc lôm ‘late night (3–5 am)’
- pêchuc ‘twilight’
- têlha ‘afternoon’
- têm ‘time’
- wake ‘week’
- yala ‘year’

Temporal nouns and noun phrases are normally governed by têŋ ‘go to’ – as in example (96). However, this is occasionally omitted, as in example (97):

(96) Têŋ acsalô lau daŋ sêmbo dom.
     3S.go.to midday people a/one 3P.be/stay NEG
     ‘At midday there was no-one around.’

(97) Bêc daŋ damba ti dinda sêtêŋ ôm si.
     day a/one father with mother 3P.go.to garden 3PR.go
     ‘One day the/her mother and father went to the garden.’

The first clause of the following example depicts a temporal clause in which there is elision of the head of the noun phrase (it would probably be either ŋasawa ‘time span’ or têm ‘time’), so that the time phrase is simply the adjectival modifier of the noun phrase. The clause is also verbless, but the sense is ‘… (it was) not long …’:

(98) Ma baliŋ dom ma tiy hô gêm tiyham.
     and long NEG and quake 3SR.do again
     ‘And (it was) not long and an earthquake happened again.’

Demonstratives such as dec/lec/dindec ‘here/this’ and dê/dinaŋ ‘there/that’ are used with temporal noun phrases, to help delineate present times and past times, for example ôbwêc dê ‘last night’; bèbèc lec ‘this morning’.
The genitive prefix ŋa- is another means of linking a particular time with the time that is ‘current’ in the discourse. For example ŋagalaŋsê ‘next morning’ (lit. ‘whatever time its morning’). The following example shows the use of the genitive prefix in a time phrase in the theme slot, as well as a temporal phrase occurring as a peripheral clause constituent:

(99) Bēc dau dinaŋ ŋabębēc ganduc damba ti sa
day DEM that GENPF.morning dark father 3S.get.up up/out
tēŋ ôbwêc lôm.
3S.go.to night inside
‘(At) the pre-dawn of that particular day, the father rose while it was still dark.’

5.4.4.2 Temporal subordinate clauses

Subordinate (dependant) clauses are another common means of encoding temporal adverbial constructions. These will be described more fully in §6.2, but the following examples illustrate their usage. Note that as mentioned above, the verb tēŋ ‘go to’ is often omitted from the clause:

(100) Dalec taŋ ŋamata -ŋga iŋ ti sa.
poultry 3S.cry GENPF.front -of/for 3S 3S.get.up up/out
‘(When) the rooster first crowed, he got up.’

(101) (Tēŋ) ndoc naŋ bawhê dau mbac ndu goc
3S.go.to time RC girl DEM 3S.weaken intensely then
mboc dau kēsahê iŋ.
snake DEM 3SR.test 3S
‘(At the) time that the girl died, the snake tested her.’
The simplest form of sentence in the Bukawa language is a clause consisting of a single main predicate. The structure and main types of such clauses have been described in the previous section on clauses. However, relatively little Bukawa discourse consists merely of a series of mono-clausal sentences. Bukawa discourse is multi-propositional, exhibiting combinations of clauses or simple sentences to form complex sentences. The mechanisms for producing complex Bukawa sentences are:

(a) Subordinate adverbial clauses embedded in independent clauses, which encode notions such as time, location, reason, result, purpose, and the protases of conditional sentences. As well as the comments and examples below, see also §5.2 on subordinate clauses.

(b) Co-subordination (verb/predicate serialisation) – sentences can consist of a string of juxtaposed abbreviated clauses, often made up of just single verbs. In such cases there is not embedding of one clause within another, but their close juxtaposition and abbreviated nature indicates that they share some degree of mutual ‘dependence’.

(c) Coordinate combinations of independent clauses to indicate things such as temporal simultaneity or sequence, and comparison and contrast.

6.1 Sentence theme slot

Several references have already been made to the theme or topic slot of sentences. A variety of different constituents may occur in a sentence initial position hereby designated as a ‘theme’ slot. A single sentence may have more than one constituent in its theme slot, and thus a more precise formula for the Bukawa sentence structure would be (Theme 1...n ) SP (O) (X).

Temporal constituents are often placed in this theme position to help orient the sentence to the surrounding discourse. Subjects of clauses or sentences are sometimes thematised for emphasis. Other constituents that are thematised include locations, interjections, vocatives, and even objects.

Examples of thematised temporal constituents can be seen in §3.5.4 (temporal adverbs), and §5.4.4 (non-adverbial means of encoding temporal notions). This section will depict some of the other thematised constituents mentioned above.
THEMATISED SUBJECT

The second sentence in the following example has a thematised subject. It is noted that such a thematised subject is indexed in the subject slot by a pronoun copy in the main part of the sentence:

(1) **Bawhê daŋ ndöc akuwê. Bawhê dau iŋ ndê têm**
girl a/one 3S.sit initiation.FEM girl DEM 3S GAUX.3S time

gêlic ayô -ŋŋga meŋ sa.
3SR.see moon -of/for 3S.come up/out
‘A girl sat (in the house) because she had come of age. That girl, her periods had started.’

THEMATISED OBJECT

When an object is thematised, it is often (though not necessarily) indexed by a pronoun copy occurring in the normal object position. For example:

(2) **Bawhê naŋ kêŋ iŋ sip ndöc agatê.**
girl GIV 3S.put 3S.descend 3S.sit tree.drifting
‘That girl, (he) put her down to sit on the drifting tree.’

(NOTE: example (15) below contains another example of a thematised object occurring in an embedded reason construction. In that example there is no pronoun copy of the thematised object, probably because it has an inanimate referent.)

THEMATISED EXPERIENCER

Some comments have been made on experiential clauses in § 5.3.4, where it was noted that it is common in such clauses for the experiencer to be encoded both in the theme slot, as well as by a pronoun copy in the object slot of the clause. For example:

(3) **Aö gêŋ yô aô.**
1S thing/s 3S.cause.need 1S
‘(As for) me, I am hungry.’ (lit. ‘... thing/food is a need for me.’)

LOCATION

(4) **Yêc andu dau namakê saŋ lu sêlhac.**
3S.be/lie house DEM GENPF.edge pandanus two 3P.stand
‘Two pandanus trees stood at the side of the house.’

VOCATIVES

(5) **O aneŋ lau. Pômdau atac whîŋ yac ndu andô.**
Oh 1S.GAUX.1 people Lord belly 3S.be.with 1P intensely truly
‘Oh my people, the Lord truly loves us.’
Chapter 6

REASON

Although reason is usually formulated by subordinate clauses occurring in the X slot of the clause (described later in this section), it can also be expressed by a subordinate clause encoded in the form tu ... -ŋga ... ‘for, because of ...’, occurring in the theme slot of the sentence. For example:

(6) Tu damba gic yao iŋ -ŋga dec iŋ sip
    for father 3SR.hit taboo 3S -of/for so/then 3S 3S.descend
    saleŋ gi dom.
    bush 3SR.go NEG
    ‘Because (his) father forbade him, he did not go into the bush.’

More commonly, a reason is encoded as an independent sentence, and the result is introduced by a thematised propositional phrase such as tu dinaŋ-ŋga ‘because of that’, or bocdinaŋ ‘thus, so’ (lit. ‘like that’). For example:

(7) Ŋac dau gêm iŋ sa ŋapep, ma tu dinaŋ-ŋga
    man DEM 3SR.do 3S up/out well and for that -of/for
    dec iŋ tac ŋayham atu.
    so/then 3S belly good big
    ‘That man helped her well, and because of that she was very happy.’

(8) Gweleŋ dau pacndê su ma bocdinaŋ yac ambu ameŋ.
    work DEM be.finished PERF and like.that 1P 1PX.return 1PX.come
    ‘The work was finished and so we came back.’

Subordinate clauses in Bukawa may also have a theme slot. The following example has a subordinate complement clause with dual fillers of the theme slot:

(9) Lau malac -ŋga hoŋ ôli pi bu ŋac si
    people village -of/for all skin 3S.ascend COMP 3P GAUX.3P
    bawhê dan galoc iŋ ...
    girl a/one now 3S
    ‘All the villagers were happy because one of their girls, now, she ...’

NOTE: Examples (1) and (2) depicting thematised subject and object could be distinguished from the other examples above as instances of left-dislocation in which the thematised constituent has a pronominal reference within the clause, and there is normally a slight pause after the fronted element. While there is also a pause after the thematised vocative in (5), there is no pronominal referent in the following clause. And whereas the example of thematised experiencer in (3) does have a pronominal referent, there is no intonational break between the theme and the rest of the clause.

6.2 Subordinate clauses

Many Bukawa sentences consist of a main independent clause with an embedded subordinate clause which adds further information to the main clause. The subordinate clause functions as either an adverbial modifier of the sentence, or as a sentential complement.
6.2.1 Adverbial modifiers of sentences

6.2.1.1 Time and location

Both time and location are commonly encoded in the form of a time or location noun modified by a relative clause. The relative clause complementiser in such cases is typically naŋ.

The normal format is TIME/PLACE naŋ X happened, naŋ ...

(10) Ndoc naŋ mboc kôm gêŋ dau mbo naŋ ...
    time RC snake 3S.do thing/s DEM 3S.be/stay GIV
    ‘While the snake was doing that, ...’

(There is normally a minor intonation break before the second naŋ ‘GIVEN’ – as indicated in the above formula by the comma.)

Formulations such as this are one of the main means whereby Bukawa indicates temporal simultaneity. A serialised construction with the verb mbo ‘to be/stay’ (encoding continuing or ongoing aspect) is often included in the subordinated clause to indicate that the activity/event was still happening when the following one occurred.

Location also can be encoded as a thematised relative clause:

(11) Yêc gameŋ naŋ sêkôm gweleŋ dau sêmbo naŋ ...
    3S.be/lie place RC 3P.do work DEM 3P.be/stay GIV
    ‘At the place where they were working, ...’

6.2.1.2 Protasis of conditionals

The protasis of a conditional sentence is dependent upon a following apodosis. A protasis is formulated using the conditional (POT) modal adverb bu. For example:

(12) U bu ndic dom dec yac oc api Lahê andi.
    rain POT 3SIR.hit NEG so/then 1P NR 1PX.ascend Lae 1PXIR.go
    ‘If it does not rain, then we will go to Lae.

It is possible to have more than one clause in the protasis of a sentence. The maximum number recorded so far is three:

(13) Ma bu dinda awhê dau sù gô sa ma bu
    and POT mother woman DEM 3S.put taro up/out and POT
    kôc sa pi andu ma naŋô bu lhac ti
    3S.take up/out 3S.ascend house and some POT 3SIR.stand with
    sambec lhac ma iŋ sip ndi kôc.
    basket 3SIR.stand and 3S 3S.descend 3SIR.go 3S.take
    ‘And if that woman forks out (the) taro and if she takes it up to the house, and if some is left in the basket, and/then he (would) go down and get it.’

6.2.1.3 Reason

Reason and purpose are most commonly encoded in Bukawa by means of subordinate clauses which occur as peripheral clause constituents, but may also occur in the theme slot.
of the sentence as in example (6) above. These subordinate clauses are governed by either the complementiser bu, or the preposition tu ‘for’ (see §3.8.1). In most cases the closing boundary of the subordinate clause is indicated by the post-positional clitic -ŋga ‘of/for.’

As will be seen in the examples below, the modality of the verb in the subordinate clause distinguishes whether what is being encoded is reason (realis mode) or purpose (irrealis mode).

Examples of reasons encoded by the complementiser bu:

(14) Ĭŋ tac ŋayham atu bu lau daesam sêmen ma
3S belly good big(ly) COMP people plenty 3P.come and

sem int sa.
3P.do 3S up/out

‘He was very happy because many people came and helped him.’

(15) Yac akôc gauc bu oc alhö bocke -ŋga
1P 1PX.take thinking COMP NR 1PX.leave how -of/for

bu sen dau dê in kac ahuc su.
COMP road DEM there 3S 3SR stand coveringly PERF

‘We thought about how we could escape, because that road there, he had blocked it.’

(The first bu in example (15) introduces a sentential complement, and the reason introduced by the second bu has a thematised object).

Sometimes a reason is encoded by means of a separate explanatory sentence introduced by ্nya bu ... ‘the reason is ...’ (lit. ‘its basis (is) thus ...’). For example:

(16) Lau andô sic yao gêŋ kaiŋ dinaŋ têŋ balêi.
people old 3PR.hit taboo thing/s kind that 3S.go.to boy.PL

Nyahu bu lauwhê oc sêtèc ্ña.
GENPF.basis COMP people.woman NR 3P.dislike 3P

‘The ancestors forbade those kinds of things to the boys. The reason (is/was) that the women would dislike them.’

The theme slot is the most common sentence position for reasons encoded by the referent preposition tu (see example (6) above). However, they do also occur as oblique arguments (X constituents) of sentences. An example:

(17) Ĭŋ atac ŋayham tu atûggac gêm in sa -ŋga.
3S belly good for child.man 3SR.do 3S up/out -of/for

‘She was happy because her son helped her.’

6.2.1.4 Purpose

As was mentioned above, subordinate clauses that encode purpose are distinguished by irrealis modality of the verb in the clause. However, modality is not marked on all the verb forms in some of the verb classes, so there is sometimes ambiguity. Purpose clauses are introduced by both bu and tu.

Some examples of purpose clauses governed by bu:
Iŋ gêŋ gêŋ ma kêŋ têŋ dinda bu neŋ.
3S 3SR.eat thing/s and 3S.give 3S.go.to mother COMP 3SIR.eat
‘He ate, and gave to his mother to eat.’

NOTE: Because the potential adverb bu occurs in class II adverb position (between subject and predicate), it could perhaps be argued that bu in this case is the potential adverb (see §3.5.1) and the clause has a zero complementiser. However, in the example above one could feasibly repeat the subject dinda (or its corresponding pronoun) following bu (iŋ kêŋ têŋ dinda bu dinda/iŋ neŋ) which would support the classification here as a complementiser.

The following examples, where there is a change of subject following bu, more clearly depict its usage as a complementiser:

(19) Kôc sip têŋ lec bu ya neŋ am dom.
2S.take 3S.descend 3S.go.to here COMP fire 3SIR.eat 2S NEG
‘Hold it down here so that the fire will not burn you.’

(20) Sêndê gêŋ daēsam bu lau naŋ sêkac sa sêmbo
3P.cook thing/s plenty COMP people RC 3P .stand up/out 3P.be/stay naŋ sêneŋ gêŋ atu.
GIV 3PIR.eat thing/s big
‘They (would) cook many things so that the people that were gathered there would eat lots of things (food).’

The following example has two embedded purpose clauses, the first of which is introduced by the complementiser bu, and the second is introduced by tu:

(21) Lau mba bu sêhêc aō tu wayêc ibaya -ŋga.
people NEG.EX COMP 3P.paddle 1S for 1SIR.pull tuna of/for
‘There is no-one to paddle me so that I can catch tuna.’

Another example of a purpose clause introduced by the referent preposition tu:

(22) Iŋ pi Lahê tu nem lhi wapa stoa -ŋga.
3S 3S.ascend Lae for 3SIR.do payment goods store -of/for
‘He went to Lae to purchase store goods/supplies.’

The modal adverb bu (glossed as POT – see §3.5.1) which indicates volitional mode, is often used to strengthen the intent of purpose clauses governed by tu. The use of the PPCLitic to signal the boundary of the subordinate clause seems to be less commonly used when the clause is lengthy:

(23) Iŋ kêsahê tu bu lic iŋ mbac ndu me iŋ kêsau.
3S 3SR.test for POT 3SIR.see 3S 3S.widen intensely or 3S 3SR.deceive
‘He tested in order to see whether she had died or was pretending.’

NOTES
i. Subordinate clauses that modify noun phrases may in some circumstances also indicate some sort of purpose for the subject of the noun phrase. Some examples were given in §4.1.4.2.
ii. In many instances it seems that subordinate clauses indicating reason or purpose could be governed by either bu or tu ... (-ŋga) with little change in meaning. For instance example (17) above could equally be expressed as:

(24) Ị nj atac Ị ayham bu atuŋac gêm Ị sa.
     3S belly good COMP son 3SR.do 3S up/out
     ‘She was happy because her son helped her.’

The following general comments are made:

• Subordinate clauses encoding reason are more commonly governed by bu.
• Clauses governed by tu are normally shorter, whereas longer formulations seem preferably governed by bu. In example (17) it is possible that tu focuses the subject’s joy on the son (who helped him/her) whereas in example (24) bu gives a wider focus on the son’s helping him/her.
• In some examples a purpose clause introduced by bu seems to be more closely related temporally to the rest of the sentence than one introduced by tu. Consider the following two variations of example (16) above:

(25) Ị ... kê Ị tê Ị dinda bu neŋ.
     3S 3S.give 3S.go.to mother COMP 3SIR.eat
     ‘He ... gave (it) to his mother to eat.’

(26) Ị ... kê Ị tê Ị dinda tu neŋ -ŋga.
     3S 3S.give 3S.go.to mother for 3SIR.eat -of/for
     ‘He ... gave (it) to his mother to eat.’

Several Bukawa people concurred in explaining the difference between these two as follows. Example (25), where the subordinate clause is introduced by bu, means that the food was given to the woman to eat at that time, whereas example (26) merely states that it was given to her to eat, but no specific time is implied (perhaps it could be translated as ‘for eating’).

6.2.2 Sentential complement clauses

Another subordinate clause type is the sentential complement clause. A complement of a sentence is defined as an embedded clause or sentence that functions as an argument of the predicate.

Bukawa sentential complements can be sub-categorised into three main forms:

(a) Complements that share the same subject as the main clause. These have no overt subject NP of their own, but any subject marking of the predicate is coreferential with the main clause subject. Examples are the achievement, modal and aspectual type complements – see §6.2.2.1, §6.2.2.2 and §6.2.2.3.

(b) ‘Pivotal’ type complements, the subject of which is the object of the main clause, but which is not usually represented again by any overt NP in the complement. For example, the manipulative type complements – see §6.2.2.4.
(c) Complements which have an overt subject NP, but not necessarily any co-reference in the main clause. These usually occur in sentences where the main clause has no overt object for example the attitudinal type complements – see §6.2.2.5.

The majority of Bukawa sentential complements are governed by the complementiser bu and are expressed with irrealis modality. Perception, emotional attitude and knowledge type complements consist of predications which are ‘factual,’ and these have realis modality.

The classification of the main types of Bukawa sentential complements in the section below is based upon Noonon’s (1985) cross-linguistic survey of complementation, though several of the types of complementation that he listed have been combined in this presentation. The types classified for Bukawa are as follows:

1. Achievement type complements
2. Modal type complements
3. Aspectual type complements
4. Manipulative complements
5. Attitudinal type complements
6. Utterance type complements
7. Perception type complements
8. Knowledge type complements

6.2.2.1 Achievement type complements

This basic format of achievement type complements is: X acted/made TO ... This is usually encoded as X kôm bu ... ‘X made/did to ... ’

Complements of this type are expressed in irrealis mood, and the subject of the complement is co-referential with the subject of the main clause. For example:

(27) Lau dau sêkôm bu sêndic iŋ ndu.
people DEM 2P.do COMP 3PIR.hit 3S intensely
‘The people made/acted to kill him.’

6.2.2.2 Modal type complements

Modal type complements express notions such as ability or compulsion, which are expressed in the form X is able/is not able/is ‘destined’ TO (must) ... OR It is possible for X TO ...

The two main Bukawa verbs used to encode this type of complement are:

gitôm/nditôm ‘to be able/ enough’
gic/ndic (ŋɔ)waê ‘to be meant/destined for’ (lit. ‘hit (X’s) report/reputation’)

(See other discussion on these verbs in §5.4.1.1.) Some examples:

(28) Am oc nditôm bu lom bu.
2S NR 3SR.go.able COMP 2SIR.cross water
‘You will be able to cross the river.’
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(29) ṇac sic waê bu sēniṅga.
 3P 3PR.hit report COMP 3PIR.be.lost
‘They are destined to be lost.’

(30) Oc tôm (dom) bu ka sēlom bu (dom).
  NR 3S.able (NEG) COMP car 3P.cross water (NEG)
‘It is (not) possible that cars cross the river.’

NOTE: When sentences with ‘abilitative’ modal complements are negated (as shown bracketed in the previous example), the negation may either precede or follow the complement.

6.2.2.3 Aspectual type complements

The main aspectual type complement in Bukawa expresses the inception of an activity using the verb gic/ndic hu ‘to begin’ (lit. ‘hit the basis’). Usually there is no complementiser. For example:

(31) ḋụ gic hu sōm yom.
  3S 3SR.hit basis 3S.say talk
‘He began to speak.’

6.2.2.4 Manipulative type complements

Manipulative complements have an obligatory object of the main clause, which is co-referenced in the complement. The complement types in this group include the following forms X urged/forbade/asked/commanded/conned Y TO ...

The Bukawa predicates used to encode such notions include:

- gic/ndic (y)atu ‘to order, command’ (this may also be used as a predicate for utterance type complements (see §6.2.2.6), in which case it may simply have yom ‘talk’ as its object, or no object at all.)
- gic/ndic yao ‘to prohibit’ (lit. ‘to hit a taboo/prohibition’)
- kac ‘to urge, compel’ (lit. ‘to stand’)
- lhac ... ahuc ‘to stop, block’ (lit. ‘to stand coveringly’)
- mbae (mbae) yom ‘to con’ (lit. ‘to rub-rub talk’ cf. Tok Pisin grisim)
- ndac ‘to ask’
- teŋ ‘to beg, pray, ask’

Some of these are demonstrated in the following examples and comments:

(32) ṇac sic yao balêi hoŋ bu sēlîŋ gwêc dom.
  3P 3PR.hit taboo boy.PL all COMP 3P.wash sea NEG
‘They forbade all the boys to swim in the sea.’

Prohibitions such as the above are always expressed negatively i.e. the sense of the above example is not ‘They forbade them to swim in the sea’, but rather ‘They made a prohibition that they NOT swim in the sea’.
The following example of a prohibition (negative command) is somewhat atypical in that the pronoun referent of the main clause is co-referenced in the complement by both a pronoun and the verbal prefix. A reason clause following the complement explains the basis for the prohibition:

(33) \( Iŋlu\) sic yomsu yac bu yac aŋsêlêŋ têŋ
\( 3S.DL\ 3PR.hit\ commandment\ 1P\ COMP\ 1P\ 1PX.walk\ 3S.go.to\)
\( ôbwêc\ dom\ bu\ mboc\ oc\ seŋ\ yac.\)
\( night\ NEG\ COMP\ snake\ NR\ 3S.bite\ 1P\)
‘They forbade us to walk at night, because a snake would bite us.’

Because manipulative type complementation has an associated goal, there would seem to be some ambiguity as to whether some examples represent complementation, or sentences with purpose adjuncts. The criteria proposed in this work is that where the Subject of the subordinate clause is co-referential with the object of the main clause, it is an example of manipulative type complementation. If the subject of the subordinate clause is the same as that in the main clause, then it is an example of a purpose adjunct. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

(34) \( Iŋ\ mbač\ mbač\ yom\ ñac\ bu\ sêkêŋ\ gêŋ\ daneŋ\)
\( 3S\ 3S.rub\ 3S.rub\ talk\ 3P\ COMP\ 3P.give\ thing/s\ 1P+IR.eat\)
-\( ñga\ têŋ\ ñi.\)
\(-of/for\ 3S.go.to\ 3S\)
‘He conned them to give food to him.’ (COMPLEMENT)

(35) \( Iŋ\ mbač\ mbač\ yom\ ñac\ bu\ kôc\ ñac\ si\ gêŋ\)
\( 3S\ 3S.rub\ 3S.rub\ talk\ 3P\ COMP\ 3S.get\ 3P\ GAUX.3P\ thing/s\)
daneŋ -\( ñga.\)
\( 1P+IR.eat\ -of/for\)
‘He conned them to get their food.’ (PURPOSE)

6.2.2.5 Attitudinal type complements

Three main types of attitudinal type complements have been classified:

6.2.2.5.1 Propositional attitude type complements

These express an attitude regarding the truth of the proposition formulated in the complement. The form of these is: \( X\) believed/thought/\( THAT\ \ldots\), using the verbs:

- \( gauc\ gêm/nem\ ‘to think’ (lit. ‘thinking – it happens’)
- \( kêŋ\ whiŋ\ ‘to believe’ (lit. ‘to put with’)

With this type, the complementiser used is \( bu\), and there is usually no co-reference between the subject of the complement and any argument of the main clause. Modality can be either irrealis, or realis in cases where the proposition formulated in the complement relates to something that may have already happened, but has not yet been verified by the speaker. Both possibilities are depicted in the following example:
6.2.2.5.2 Desiderative type complements

Desiderative type complements express a desire or wish of the subject of the main clause. The mode of the predicate in the complement clause is always irrealis. The basic form of complements in this group is \(X\) wanted/tried/hoped/expected \(TO/THAT\) ...

NOTE: The difference between the forms encoded as ‘desire \(TO\) ...’ and ‘desire \(THAT\) ...’ is that in the former, the subject of the main clause also has the role of subject in the complement clause, whereas the complement has a different subject with the latter form. Compare the following:

(37) \(\text{Aö tac whiŋ bu wanôm bu.}\)
1S belly 3S.be.with COMP 1SIR.drink water
‘I want to drink water.’

(38) \(\text{Aö tac whiŋ bu am nôm bu.}\)
1S belly 3S.be.with COMP 2S 2/3S.drink water
‘I want that you drink water.’

The Bukawa predicates used to encode such desiderative type complements include:

- **tac whiŋ** ‘to want, like’ (lit. belly (be) with’)
- **kêŋ bata** ‘to hope, anticipate’ (lit. ‘to put expectation’)
- **takwê** ‘to expect’ (lit. ‘eye-dig’)
- **(atac) tec** ‘to dislike, not like/want’ (lit. ‘(belly) to leave’)

As well as the complementiser **bu**, the referent preposition **tu** ‘for’ is occasionally used as a complementiser with this type of complement. An example of the latter:

(39) \(\text{Mbac dau ... kêsahê tu neŋ gêŋ -ŋga.}\)
bird DEM 3SR.test for 3SIR.eat thing -of/for
‘The bird tried to eat something.’

6.2.2.5.3 Emotional attitude type complements

Complements of this type express an emotional attitude of the subject of the main clause towards some event or proposition. They take the form \(X\) was worried/ashamed/afraid/excited \(TO/THAT\) ...

(The note in §6.2.2.5.2 on the distinction between \(TO\) and \(THAT\) also applies here). Bukawa predicates used to encode this type of complement include the following:

- **atac ŋayham** ‘to be happy about’ (lit. ‘stomach (be) good’)
- **hêgo dau** ‘to worry’
- **lic ŋayham** ‘to favour, like’ (lit. ‘see (as) good’)
- **maya (dau)** ‘to be ashamed’
ŋalôm ŋawapac ‘to worry’ (lit. ‘insides (be) heavy’)
ôli pi ‘to be excited’ (lit. ‘skin (be) up (have goose-bumps?)’)
tôc dau ‘to be afraid’

The speculative modal adverb mboe ‘perhaps’ commonly occurs with this type of complement, as seen in example (40) below.

The modality of the complement with this type is always irrealis – if realis mode is used, then the sentence expresses a reason adjunct rather than a sentential complement. Compare the following two examples:

(40) ŋac sêhêgo dau bu mboe ŋac si gêŋ daneŋ
3P 3P.worry REFPN.3 COMP perhaps 3P GAUX.3P thing/s 1P+IR.eat
-ŋga oc nditôm dom.
-of/for NR 3SIR.go.able NEG
‘They were worried that perhaps they would not have enough food.’

(41) ŋac sêhêgo dau bu ŋac si gêŋ daneŋ -ŋga
gitôm dom.
3SIR.go.able NEG
‘They were worried because they did not have enough food.’

However, in some instances where modality is not specifically indicated by either predicate affixation or adverbs, there is ambiguity as to whether an embedded subordinate clause is an emotional type complement or a reason. Following is one such example:

(42) Lau malac -ŋga hoŋ ôli pi bu ŋac si
people village -of/for all skin 3S.ascend COMP 3P GAUX.3P
bawhê daŋ galoc iŋ ndê ndoc kêpiŋ [bu oc
girl a/one now 3S GAUX.3S time 3SR.be.close [COMP NR
nem ŋac].
3SIR.do man]

This could be translated as either:

(a) ‘All the villagers were excited that now the time had come near for one of their girls [to get married].’ or
(b) ‘All the villagers were happy because now the time had come near for one of their girls [to get married].’

However, the embedded purpose clause (square bracketed in the example), introduced by the complementiser bu and indicated by the irrealis mode of the verb, may influence the classification of this as a complement expressing an emotional attitude rather than a reason, i.e. to follow translation a) above.

As with desiderative type complements, emotional type complements are sometimes governed by the referent preposition tu. For example:
6.2.2.6 Utterance type complements

The basic format of utterance type complements is: \(X\) said/asked/agreed/commanded/deceived \(THAT\)... OR \(X\) promised TO ...

The Bukawa complement taking predicates in this category include:

- êmatiŋ yom ‘to promise’ (lit. ‘to tie talk’)
- êŋsa ‘to deceive’
- gic/ndic (y)atu ‘to command’ (lit. ‘to hit command’ – see note on this verb in §6.2.2.4)
- lôc ‘to consent, agree’
- ndac ‘to ask’
- ndic bata ‘to promise’ (lit. ‘to hit expectation’)
- ndic yom sec ‘to whisper’ (lit. ‘to hit talk ??’)
- sôm ‘to say’

The modality of the complement of utterance type predicates such as ‘promise’ or ‘agree’ is usually irrealis. Speech type predicates such as ‘saying’ or ‘asking’ however, can have extremely varied content in their complements, which may be expressed with either irrealis or realis modality.

While the complementiser \(bu\) regularly introduces direct speech quotations (example (44)), it is also sometimes omitted (45). In other examples the quotation is introduced by means of a ‘demonstrative’ in the form of \(bocdec\) ‘like this’, and often this is used in conjunction with \(bu\) (46). Examples of each of these:

(44) Sêlic ŋayham ma sêlôc bu, ‘Oc dakôm nditôm dinaŋ’.
\(3P.\)see good and \(3P.\)consent \(COMP\) NR \(1P+.\)do \(3SIR.\)go.like that
‘They regarded it favourably and agreed (thus), “We will do like that.”’

(45) Dinda sôm, ‘Ê aö gaŋ gêŋ kaiŋ dinaŋ tidôŋ dom’.
mother \(3S.\)say \(hey\) \(1S\) \(1SR.\)eat thing/s \(kind\) that \(be.\)firm \(NEG\)
‘His mother said, “Hey, I am not accustomed to eating that kind of food.”’

(46) Goc balê dau ndac ĩŋ bocdec bu, ‘Am gêŋ gêŋ
then \(boy\) \(DEM\) \(3S.\)ask \(3S\) like.this \(COMP\) \(2S\) \(2/3SR.\)eat thing/s
\(ŋalêŋ \ bocke?\’
\(GENPF.\)way \(how(ever)\)
‘Then the boy asked her like this, “How do you eat food?”’

When speech is reported indirectly, \(bu\) is virtually always used to introduce the reported speech complement. The person marking on the verb, and pronouns (when used) in the reported speech usually help to clarify whether a speech unit is direct or indirect speech. For example:
Lau hoŋ sêsôm bu ŋac oc sêkae sa têŋ ôbwêc dau.
‘All the people said that they would meet on that night.’

Compare the same sentence given as direct speech:

Lau hoŋ sêsôm (bu), ‘yac oc dakac sa têŋ ôbwêc dau.’
‘All the people said, “We will meet on that night.”’

Usually with direct speech, there is a slight pause following the verb (or where used, the complementiser). This is a phonological indicator that can help distinguish direct and indirect speech.

When proper names are cited, the name is often introduced with bu:

Ma mbac toŋ daŋ sêsam ŋayê bu gaicgaoc ...
‘And a group of birds that they call gaicgaoc ...’

6.2.2.7 Perception complements

Perception type complements include sensory experiences. There are two basic types of these complements:

(a) those that express the perception of factual stimuli (realis mode). The basic form of these is:

X saw/heard/felt/tasted/smelt THAT ...

(b) those that indicate ongoing or unrealised perception (irrealis mode). The basic form of this type is:

X watched/spied IF/WHETHER ...

The Bukawa complement-taking predicates in this category include:

êŋsahê ‘to taste, feel’
lic ‘to see’
ŋgô ‘to hear’
ŋgu ‘to smell’
tahê ‘to stare at’ (lit. ‘eye pull’)
tatiŋ ‘to watch carefully’ (lit. ‘eye go-against’)
tip ‘to spy’

For example:

Iŋ gêlic bu iŋ mbac ndu ŋandô.
‘He saw that she was really dead.’

Perception complements are sometimes of a more ‘pivotal’ type structure, and have no overt complementiser. The difference in meaning is generally that when there is no complementiser, the fact or immediacy of the perception is in focus, whereas when there is
a complementiser, some response or evaluation of the fact is in focus. Example (50) above
would be ungrammatical if the complementiser was omitted*, as the intensifying manner
adverb ŋandô ‘truly’ would be out of place. For example:

(51) Iŋ gêlic iŋ mbac ndu (**ŋandô).
     3S 3SR.see 3S 3S.weaken intensely (**truly)
     ‘He saw him die.’

(* Though see the very similar example (98) below which is an exception
to this general comment.)

When complements involve the verb ŋgô ‘to hear,’ the use or non-use of the
complementiser bu is more significant. Aural perception is expressed as an immediate
perception without any complementiser (as in example (52) below). When the
complementiser is used, the phrase ŋgô bu ‘to hear that ...’ implies either that:

(a)  the speaker wants to make an evaluation of some aural stimulus; or
(b)  he has heard a report about what is expressed in the complement. Such a situation
resembles the knowledge type complements as described in §6.2.2.8. Compare the
following examples:

(52) Aö gaŋgô awhê dau taŋ.
     1S 1SR.hear woman DEM 3S.cry
     ‘I heard the woman crying.’

(53) Aö gaŋgô bu awhê dau taŋ.
     1S 1SR.hear COMP woman DEM 3S.cry
     ‘I heard that the woman cried/was crying.’

(54) Aö gaŋgô bu ŋac sêmęŋ su.
     1S 1SR.hear COMP 3P 3P.come PERF
     ‘I heard that they had come.’

Because the majority of complements of this type express factual or realised situations,
it is common for the perfective aspectual adverb su to co-occur. This is a class V adverb
that can either precede or follow X constituents of sentences. When it precedes a
perception type complement it indicates the reality of the act of perception; if it follows the
complement it would apply to whatever it was that was being perceived. Compare the
following examples (even though the difference in actual meaning between the two forms
is minor):

(55) ņac sëlıc su bu iŋ mbac ndu.
     3P 3P.see PERF COMP 3S 3S.weaken intensely
     ‘They had already seen that he had died.’

(56) ņac sëlıc bu iŋ mbac ndu su.
     3P 3P.see COMP 3S 3S.weaken intensely PERF
     ‘They saw that he had already died.’

The verbs tip ‘spy’ and tatiŋ ‘watch carefully’ apply to circumstances where the
situation expressed in the complement is an ‘unrealised’ or ‘desired’ perception. For
example:
(57) (ŋŋ) ... tip bu lau sêsù gô sa sip sambec  
(38) ... 3S.spy COMP people 3P.put taro up/out 3S.descend basket  

\[ \text{ma iŋ oc meŋ kôc.} \]

and 3S NR 3S.come 3S.take  
‘He spied for people to fork taro out into a basket, and he would come and take (it).’

6.2.2.8 Knowledge type complements

Predicates associated with this type of complement normally relate to factual type situations, and are of the form:

\[ X \text{ knew/realised/thought/found out/was aware/saw/heard THAT ...} \]
(or the negative counterparts of such types of formulations).

Associated Bukawa verbs include:

\[ êŋyalê \quad \text{‘to know, understand’} \]
\[ gauç gêm/nem \quad \text{‘to think’} \]
\[ gauç sa \quad \text{‘to realise’ (lit. ‘thinking (be) up/out’)} \]
\[ tap sa \quad \text{‘to find out, realise’ (lit. ‘to meet up/out’)} \]

As well as these, two of the verbs used for visual and auditory perception (§6.2.2.7), namely \[ lîc \quad \text{‘to see’} \] and \[ ñgô \quad \text{‘to hear’} \], can be used to express knowledge type complements, probably because the associated stimuli are ‘understood’ i.e. ‘see evidence’ or ‘hear news.’ Some examples:

(58) Pômdau kêyalê su bu yac dapônda gên daneŋ -ŋga.  

\[ \text{Lord 3SR.know PERF COMP 1P 1P+.need thing/s 1P+IR.eat -of/for} \]
‘The Lord already knows that we need food.’

(59) Têŋ dinaŋ aö neŋ gauç sa bu iŋ ñgac naŋ  

\[ \text{3S.go.to that 1S GAUX.1 thinking up/out COMP 3S man RC} \]
\[ gêm kaŋ aneŋ bięŋ. \]
\[ \text{3SR.do stealing 1S.GAU.1 knife} \]
‘At that time I realised that he was the man who had stolen my knife.’

Similar comments as made in §6.2.2.7 concerning the perfective aspectual adverb \[ su \] apply to knowledge type predicates. In certain circumstances this also applies to the negator \[ dom. \] For example:

(60) Ñac sêŋyalê dom bu iŋ mbac ndu su.  

\[ \text{3P 3P.know NEG COMP 3S 3S.weaken intensely PERF} \]
‘They did not know that he had already died.’

(61) Ñac sêŋyalê bu iŋ mbac ndu su dom.  

\[ \text{3P 3P.know COMP 3S 3S.weaken intensely PERF NEG} \]
‘They knew that he had not yet died.’
Included in this category are situations of ongoing acquisition of knowledge such as teaching or planning. In this case, the complements have irrealis modality. The form of these is: *X taught Y TO/THAT* ... or *X pondered/planned TO/THAT* ... .

Related Bukawa verbs are:

- êndôhôŋ: ‘to teach, learn’
- kôc gauc: ‘to ponder, consider, plan’ (lit. ‘to take/get thinking’)

An example of each:

(62) Dinda kêdôhôŋ atuŋac dau bu neŋ go.  
mother 3SR.teach child.man DEM COMP 3SIR.eat taro  
‘The mother taught that son to eat taro.’

(63) Yac akôc gauc bu oc alhô bocke -ŋga.  
1P 1PX.take thinking COMP NR 1PX.leave how(ever) -of/for  
‘We pondered how we could (possibly) escape.’

### 6.3 Co-subordination (serialisation)

Co-subordination or serialisation is extremely common in the Bukawa language. It consists of two or more predicates occurring in a close relationship, which makes them mutually dependent. The relationship is distinguished from subordination (§6.2) in that one predicate is not embedded within another, and from coordination (§6.4) in that there are no conjunctions linking the clauses encoding the predications. The close relationship is also indicated by the sharing of core arguments such as subject, and other operators such as modality, negation etc.

There are three types of co-subordination in Bukawa:

#### 6.3.1 Same subject co-subordination

With this type of co-subordination, all of the conjoined predications share the same subject.

Some common examples of this type of serialisation have already been described in previous sections e.g. serialisation to indicate location (§5.3.1); directional perspective of motion clauses (§5.3.2); and ongoing activity (§5.4.2).

Some other examples:

(64) Am lhô pwi ndi ndôc dinaŋ.  
2S 2/3SIR.leave 2S.ascend 2/3SIR.go 2/3S.sit that/there  
‘You leave (and) go up (and) sit there.’

(65) Sêpi waŋ sêsa gwêc si.  
3P.ascend canoe 3P.go.out sea 3PR.go  
‘They got on the canoe (and) went out to sea.’

NOTE: The close relation or dependency of co-subordinate clauses is shown by the fact that negation applies to all of the verbs in the sentence. For example:
6.3.2 Pivotal co-subordination

In this case the same referent that is the object of the first clause assumes the role of subject in the co-subordinate clause(s). This type of serialisation is common in causal type constructions where the first clause encodes a causitive type action done to the referent, and the following clause expresses the result of that action with that referent encoded as subject. Some examples:

(67) ŋkēmasuc gatam soc gi.
3S 3SR.push door 3S.enter 3SR.go
‘He shoved the door inwards.’

(68) ŋac oc sēndic on taŋ asē.
3P NR 3PIR.hit kundu 3S.cry out
‘They will beat their kundu drum(s) to sound.’

(69) Tangalêm mbac hon sa sēmen sēngawē hoc dinan sa.
1P+.invite bird all up/out 3P.come 3P.dig stone that up/out
‘We will invite all the birds (to) come and dig up that stone.’

NOTE: The pivotal co-subordination depicted in this previous example is somewhat complicated in that it is part of a speech complement stating an intent or purpose. It could be argued that the serialisation ends at sēmen ‘3P.come’, and what follows is a statement of purpose with no complementiser. It would appear that the complementiser bu could feasibly be added after sēmen.

6.3.3 Ambient co-subordination

This involves the serialisation of two predicates where the proposition encoded by the first predication serves as the subject of the second predication. Thus there is no specific referent in the former predication, but the second predication relates generally to the proposition as a whole. Aspectual notions such as ongoing-ness, extent or completion, are encoded in this manner (see §5.4.2.2). An example:

(70) ŋac seŋ gēŋ pacndē.
3P 3PR.eat thing/s be.finished
‘They finished eating.’

6.4 Coordination of clause/sentence

Co-ordination involves the combination of independent clauses and sentences. Even though the clauses are independent, discourse level cohesive factors may result in things such as elision of co-referential noun phrases. A study of participant reference in narrative discourse is presented in §7.1.2.
When analysing sequences of clauses in Bukawa, it is not always clear how to delineate sentence boundaries. One of the reasons is that the same major conjunctions (especially ma ‘and’) can be used to link clauses within an individual sentence, as well as to initiate new sentences. The main features that seem to delineate one sentence from another are:

(a) Phonological – at the end of a sentence there is a fall in intonation and usually a pause. The need to breathe imposes a natural limit upon the length of a sentence.

(b) Semantic cohesion – the clauses in sentences usually exhibit common participants, events or circumstances (especially time). When new information is introduced, such as a change of subject, topic, event, activity, new participants or the passage of time, this usually correlates with the beginning of a new sentence. However, as was seen with pivotal type co-subordination, a change of subject does not necessarily require a new sentence.

### 6.4.1 Temporal relationship and succession

Bukawa has a number of devices to connect events that are temporally related, and which indicate the temporal relationship between them. This section and the following one describes temporal relationships and the conjunctions that are used to relate successive events/activities.

Normally, events are presented in order of their temporal succession. However, the perfective aspect su is occasionally used in conjunction with the negator dom to indicate either (a) contemporaneous events, i.e. Event X had commenced but was not yet complete before event Y began; or (b) that one event had not started at the time another event occurred. In this latter case, the actual temporal order of the events is the opposite of the order in which they are presented. The sense is: Event X was not yet, and Y happened (i.e. Before X, Y happened). For example:

(71) **Ịṅ học  asè malac su  dom ma tiy hô  gêm.**

3S 3S.lift out village PERF NEG and earthquake 3SR.do

‘He had not yet arrived at the village when there was an earthquake.’

OR: ‘Before he arrived at the village, there was an earthquake.’

As indicated by the two possible free translations of the previous example, it actually represents both of the possible senses: (a) and (b), which were mentioned above. The reason is that the formulation ‘had not arrived’ implies that something is already under way, namely, motion towards the village.

The other situation in which events are not related following the actual temporal sequence is when events occur simultaneously. This often occurs when focus is being shifted from one referent to another, or to what that other referent was doing at the same time as the event that is in focus.

While the sequence su dom can be used to encode events that occur simultaneously, the most common means of encoding such events is to use a thematised relative clause (as described in §6.2.1.1) with an ongoing aspect conveyed by the verb mbo ‘to be, stay’. For example:
While the snake was doing that, the small boy who was sitting on the open shelf, he kept quiet.

Coordinate of closely related events that occur simultaneously or during the same period of time, can also be encoded by means of the conjunction ti ‘with, and’. When this is used to coordinate events or activities, it indicates a close relationship between them (as is the case with noun phrases joined by ti – see comments in §4.1.6.1). The high level of ‘inter-dependency’ of the events is evidenced by the fact that they always have the same subject. For example:

They heard the boy crying a dirge and singing that song.

Then they (would) sing and beat kundus.

The day that they would wash (her) and have a party ... had not come yet.'
awhe dau lu luŋac sauŋ sëndôc malac.
woman DEM DL XSSIB.man little 3P.sit village
'The father and mother and all the people went to the garden and that girl
and her little brother stayed in the village.'

Lack of conjunctions between juxtaposed events may also signify temporal simultaneity. This is often the case when ‘epexegetical’ or explanatory information is given regarding a preceding event. For example:

(78)  Iŋ êŋsêlêŋ bambilq dom timêtê dau bu lau
3S 3SIR.walk haphazardly NEG 3S.discipline REFPN.3 COMP people

dañ sêlic iŋ tu gêlic ayô naŋ dom.
a/one 3P.ssee 3S for 3SR.ssee month GIV NEG

‘She wouldn’t walk around; she took care that people would not observe that
she was having her period.’

The encoding of a sequence of events by means of serialisation indicates close temporal succession between the events. Serialised events also usually share a close semantic relationship, as indicated in the following example by a sequence of verbs of motion which are serialised (no conjunctions), but the following non-motion verb is introduced in a separate clause by means of conjunction ma:

(79)  Iŋ ti sa sip gi kac malac ñamkê
3S 3S.get.up up/out 3S.descend 3SR.go 3S.stand village GENPF.edge

ma ta yom ...
and 3S.call talk

‘He got up, went down (from the house), stood at the edge of the village,
and called out ... ’

Serialisation involving pivotal co-subordination (§6.3.2) also indicates very close succession of the events encoded.

Temporal discontinuity between juxtaposed events is usually indicated in Bukawa discourse by means of temporal constructions. These temporal devices usually give some indication as to the degree of disjunction e.g. days, weeks etc. There are many other factors that may indicate a temporal disjunction of some degree, such as various ways of encoding participant reference or the use of tail-head linkage to signal new episodes. The most significant grammatical device is the type of conjunction used, and these will be discussed below.

6.4.2 Temporally related clauses

The main conjunctions used in Bukawa to coordinate events which have a sequential temporal relationship will be described below.

The following chart summarises data for the main conjunctions (including causal conjunctions) in the texts used for the study of discourse level participant reference in §7.1.2. The final column in the table shows the percentage of instances for each conjunction where there was continuity of the subject between the conjoined clauses.
### 6.4.2.1 *ma* coordination

The form *ma* is used as a conjunction for the purpose of simple structural coordination. The figures in the table indicate that it is clearly the most common conjunction used in Bukawa narrative. In two-thirds of instances it is used where there is subject continuity. As a conjunction it has the following range of interpretations:

(a) Coordination of clauses encoding events/activities which are simultaneous or where temporal sequence is unimportant. These often contain circumstantial information, as was depicted by example (77) above. Another example:

(80) **Têŋ acesalô lau daŋ sêmbo dom, gameŋ ŋañeq**

3S.go.to midday people a/one 3P.be/stay NEG place quiet

*ma* iŋlu sêyêc  bèc.  
and 3S.DL 3P.be/lie sleep

‘At noon there were no people around, the place was quiet and they slept.’

(b) Coordination of clauses encoding events/that do occur in temporal sequence. As such *ma* functions as an initiator of new sentences, and also to coordinate clauses within sentences, as can be seen in the following example:

(81) **Ma iŋ dau bu pi deŋ ndi ma mbocnda**

and 3S REFPN.3 POT 3S.ascend shelf 3SIR.go and python

dau ŋagahô gi seŋ iŋ sip ŋasu ma ŋampê
DEM quickly 3SR.go 3S.bite 3S 3S.descend neck and middle

ti ŋaguc salaŋ gi hi pi iŋ ŋakachu
and tail quickly 3SR.go 3S.encircle 3S.ascend 3S GENPF.throat

*ma* gêm kiŋ iŋ kachu ahuć.
and 3SR.do constrict 3S throat closely

‘And she wanted to go up onto the shelf but the python quickly bit her neck, and encircled its body and tail around her throat, and strangled her.’

(c) Coordination of clauses encoding events that are logically contrastive. This is depicted in the previous example, where the girl wanted to escape to the shelf, but the snake frustrated that intention and hence *ma* is translated as ‘but’ in the free translation. Contrast is frequently implied when the second of two clauses conjoined by *ma* is negated, as in the following example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUNCTION</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>% of total</th>
<th>Same subject %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goç</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dec</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goçdec/goçdê</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madec</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Iŋ gi kôc gêŋ hoŋ sôc andu ma iŋ mbu
3S 3SR.go 3S.take thing/s all 3S.enter house and 3S 3S.return

gi kôc bawhê naŋ dom.
3SR.go 3S.take girl GIV NEG
‘He went and took all the things into the/his house, but he did not go back and get that girl.’

6.4.2.2 **goc coordination**

The conjunction **goc** also occurs both sentence internally and sentence initially. (It also occurs sentence internally as a causal conjunction – see examples in §6.4.3.1). The main areas of distinction between **ma** and **goc** are as follows:

(a) **goc** is used to coordinate clauses encoding events that are sequential but have no temporal overlap. That is, the previous event was completed before the one linked by **goc** began. This is highlighted by the fact that **goc** frequently follows indicators of completive aspect such as the perfective adverb **su**, or the non-inflecting verb **pacndê** ‘to be finished’. For example:

(83) Sêkôm bocdinaŋ e pacndê goc samkê ta yom
3P.do like.that and/until be .finished then feast.host 3S.call talk
têŋ ṭacłę ... 
3S.go to visitor
‘They kept doing like that (dealing out food) until it was finished and then the feast host called out to the visitors ...’

(84) Mboć kôm gêŋ dau e gic dabin goc kölhô
snake 3S.do thing/s DEM and/until 3SR.hit completion then 3SR.leave
... gi.
3SR.go
‘The snake kept doing that (swallowing her) until it finished, then it left.’

(b) **goc** is used more often than **ma** when there is discontinuity of subjects between conjoined clauses. From the texts studied there is subject continuity in only 45% of the clauses conjoined by **goc**, whereas 65% of the clauses conjoined by **ma** have continuity of subject.

(c) **goc** is used as a connective between clauses that have a mild causal connection – see examples in §6.4.3.1.

6.4.2.3 **The conjunction **e**

Examples and notes on the use of the conjunction **e** as a non-adverbial means of encoding ongoing aspect are presented in §5.4.2.2. It is used as a conjunction between clauses where the event or activity in the former clause was one which:

- continued for some time
- established a status quo that continued for some time, or
• continued until completion so that the following event could begin, or to provide some basis for the following event.

There is a high level of subject continuity between clauses linked by e.

Examples (83) and (84) above depict the use of e as a conjunction.

NOTE: several isolated instances of the use of e seem to depict it being used as an adverb rather than as a conjunction. In these instances, one of which is depicted in the example below, the meaning encoded is still that of ongoing aspect. Perhaps this is a rare instance of a whole clause being elided (shown as ((Ø)) in the example):

(85) Lau bôc geleŋ -ŋa si sêŋgeleŋ bôc e ((Ø)) su ma sêmbu sêmeŋ.
    people pig scout -of/for 3PR.go 3P.scout pig and/until ((Ø)) PERF
    ‘The pig scouts went and scouted for pigs for some time and when finished they came back.’

6.4.2.4 Other temporal conjunctions

madec – this compound of ma and dec is relatively infrequent in Bukawa narrative. The sense added by dec ‘here, this’ seems in accord with its use as a demonstrative (see §3.7) rather than that of causal relationship as will be seen in §6.4.3. The meaning normally encoded is close temporal succession with the event encoded in the previous clause – the sense is ‘and then/next.’ It would appear from the limited data that perhaps it is used to coordinate clauses with less subject continuity than those linked by ma. An example:

(86) Goc bawhê dinaŋ sip madec iŋlu ŋamalac andô
    then girl that 3S.descend and.then 3S.DL person true
    dinaŋ sêsa gwêc si.
    that 3PR.go.out sea 3PR.go
    ‘So the girl went and then she and the old man went out to the sea.’

gocdec – this is another compound form, which like goc is mainly used to conjoin events which are temporally sequential, and where the former event has been completed before the next one commences. The data presented in the table above would indicate that in distinction from goc, this compound form is used more in situations where there is continuity of the subject between the conjoined clauses. For example:

(87) Ma iŋ ndê gêŋ e pacndê gocdec ta
    and 3S 3S.cook thing/s and/until be.finished then.here 3S.call
    atuŋac sip gi.
    child.man 3S.descend 3SR.go
    ‘And she cooked food and when it was ready then she called her son to come down.’
Another feature of \textit{gocdec} is that it is sometimes used to introduce a new development or episode in a discourse – when there has been some passage of time since the previous event. The demonstrative characteristic of \textit{dec} ‘this, here’ probably functions to give focus to the new development. An example:

\begin{quote}
(88) \textit{Yob iŋ bocnaŋ mbo e mbac dau ti atu.}
\text{3S.care.for 3S like.that 3S.be/stay and/until bird DEM 3S.become big}
\textit{Gocdec mbac ...}
\text{then.here bird}
\text{‘She cared for him like that until the bird grew up. \textit{Then} the bird ... ’}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
(89) \textit{Atuŋac dau ti ŋac ŋanga. Gocdec bèc daŋ lu}
\text{child.man DEM 3S.become man strong then.here day a/one two}
\textit{sen ŋen sêndêc ...}
\text{3PR.eat thing/’s 3P.sit}
\text{‘Her son became a strong man. \textit{Then} one day, the two were sitting eating, ... ’}
\end{quote}

Occasionally \textit{gocdec} is used as a connective between clauses which have a mild causal connection:

\begin{quote}
(90) \textit{Sêmbo sêmpiŋ ya nan dom gocdec iŋ solop sip}
\text{3P.be/stay 3P.be.near fire GIV NEG then.here 3S straight 3S.descend}
\textit{gi ma kôc ya.}
\text{3SR.go and 3S.take fire}
\text{‘There was no-one near the fire, so he went straight down and took some fire.’}
\end{quote}

\textit{gocdê} – another compound between \textit{goc} and a demonstrative (\textit{dê} ‘there’). This is rarely used, so it is difficult to determine any significant semantic distinction from other conjunctions such as \textit{goc} or \textit{gocdec}. One would expect that in keeping with the demonstrative sense of \textit{dê}, it may indicate that the speaker regarded the event encoded by the clause being conjoined as remote in distance or time. However, such a conclusion does not seem to be supported by the solitary instance where \textit{gocdê} has been recorded in a Bukawa text. In the example cited below, \textit{gocdec} or even \textit{goc} could seemingly be substituted with no significant change of meaning:

\begin{quote}
(91) \textit{Mbocnda kêsahê e gêlic bu iŋ mbac ndu}
\text{python 3SR.test and/until 3SR.see COMP 3S 3S.weaken intensely}
\textit{ŋandô, gocdê kôm gweleŋ tu bu ŋkôŋŋ iŋ.}
\text{truly then.there 3S.do work for POT 3SIR.swallow 3S}
\text{‘The python tested and saw that she had truly died, \textit{then} it worked to swallow her.’}
\end{quote}

\textbf{NOTE:} There appears to be a decline in the usage of the three compound forms listed above. They may also be a stylistic device used only by some individual Bukawa speakers. Of the five texts studied for participant reference in §7.1.2, no instances of these compound conjunctions were evident in texts obtained from younger people. The only examples were found in the two texts elicited from one older person. And a comparison of those two texts (one of which that person wrote, and the other recorded orally), reveals only one occurrence in the written text, as against 18 usages in the orally recorded text.
6.4.3 Causally related clauses

The conjunctions in this section join clauses encoding events that have some sort of causal relationship. Even though the events encoded may be of necessity temporally sequential, the main focus is on the causal connection involved, for example, reason or cause and effect.

6.4.3.1 goć coordination

It was mentioned above that goć conjoins clauses encoding events that have both temporal and causal relationships. It could perhaps be argued that the coordination involved is that of events in natural temporal sequence and that the notion of cause is simply inferred from the context. Consider the following examples:

(92) Mbac kecsoc ŋac sëndōc ti ŋanta, goć mbac atu atu
bird kecsoc 3P 3P.sit with noise then bird big big
sēhec yom ŋac.
3P.scold talk 3P
‘The kecsoc’s sat noisily, so the bigger birds scolded them.’

(93) Gatam mbu sa meŋ ma ŋakēcsia. Goc bawhê
door 3S.return 3S.go.out 3S.come and noise then girl
daŭ tali sa.
DEM eye.shine up/out
‘The door swung back out and (made a) noise. So that girl woke up.’

6.4.3.2 dec coordination

Although there seems to be some overlap between goć ‘then’ and dec ‘so’, dec is used more often than goć to conjoin clauses encoding events or activities that have a causal connection, whereas goć has a greater role as a temporal conjunction. (Note that the use of dec as a causal connective shares some of the diectic function of the demonstrative dec which means ‘here, this’ in terms of conveying the sense ‘because of this.’) Dec is used to link clauses as well as sentences together. Some examples:

(94) înlu sic gatam ahuc su dec mboc dau kôm
3S.DL 3PR.hit door coveringly PERF so snake DEM 3S.do
bu sôc gatam ndi -ŋga.
COMP 3S.enter door 3SIR.go -of/for
‘They had closed the door, so the snake made/tryied to enter the door.’

(95) (în) gêlic hoc kêŋ lau hoŋ ahuc dec taŋ.
(3S) 3SR.see stone 3S.put people all coveringly so 3S.cry
‘He saw that the stone had covered all the people, so he cried.’

In keeping with its use as a causal conjunction, dec frequently occurs following thematised prepositional phrases which are used to indicate causal relations. Bocdinaŋ ‘like that, so, thus’ and tu dinan-ingga ‘because of that’ are two commonly used prepositional phrases. For example:
6.4.4 Other types of coordination

6.4.4.1 Alternative sentences

The common way to express an alternative is by using the coordinate conjunction *me* ‘or’. This often occurs in questions:

(97) *Mbac taŋ me ŋamalac sem wê?*  
bird 3S.cry or person 3PR.do song  
‘(Is that) a bird calling or (are) people singing?’

(98) *Iŋ kêsahê tu bu lic iŋ mbac ndu ŋandô me*  
3S 3SR.test for POT 3SIR.see 3S 3S.weaken intensely truly or  
iŋ kêsau.  
3S 3SR.deceive  
‘He tested in order to see whether she had really died or whether she was pretending.’

With polar (yes-no) questions, the alternative is usually expressed using the phrase *me mba* ‘or not’:

(99) *Am -gitôm bu nem aŋ sa me mba?*  
2S 2/3SR.go.able COMP 2/3SIR.do 1S up/out or NEG.EX  
‘Can you help me or not?’

6.4.4.2 Contrast/antithetical sentences

Contrast or antithesis in Bukawa is achieved by three main conjunctions. It has already been noted that the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ can have a contrastive interpretation ‘but’ in certain contexts. Two other conjunctions always have a contrastive sense: *tige* and *magoc* – both of which are glossed as ‘but’. Both are used sentence internally and sentence initially, and often the two seem interchangeable. *Magoc* is used more frequently, and *tige* seems to be used in situations that are more contrastive.

(100) *Iŋ ta ŋomaŋ magoc lau daŋ sêyô iŋ ndê ŋom dom.*  
3S 3S.call talk always but people a/one 3P.exchange 3S  
GAUX.3S talk NEG  
‘He kept calling out but no-one replied.’

(101) *Ŋgacsêŋomi sêhêgo dau tige Pômdau hêgo dau dom.*  
man.youth.PL 3P.worry REFPN.3 but Lord 3S.worry REFPN.3 NEG  
‘The disciples were worried, but the Lord wasn’t.’
6.4.4.3 Comparison sentences

The format for comparing two or more things in Bukawa was described in §5.3.5. See that section for examples.

Clauses that encode topics which are being compared, are coordinated using either ma ‘and’ or magoc/tigen ‘but’.

6.5 Negation of clause/sentence

Various comments have been made about negation throughout the sections on Bukawa clause and sentence. The following is a general summary.

There are two negators in the Bukawa language:

(a) dom (glossed as NEG) – functions to negate verbal, adverbial and adjectival propositions.

(b) mba/mbasi (glossed as NEG.EX) this is a negator of existential propositions. The word mba also functions as a negative interjection ‘no’, or as the alternative in a polar ‘yes/no’ question (see §6.4.4.1 and example (99)).

Mba as an existential negator only applies to propositions that state whether a person or thing exists or not. Verbless clauses where there is a verb ‘implied’ (e.g. Equative clauses) are still negated by dom. Compare the following two examples:

(102) (Iŋ) aneŋ balêkoc dom.
   (3S) 1S.GAUX.1 child(ren) NEG
   ‘(He/she is) not my child.’

(103) Aneŋ balêkoc mba.
   1S.GAUX.1 child(ren) NEG.EX
   ‘I have no child(ren).’

The following example also demonstrates the use of mba as a negative answer:

(104) Iŋ sôm, ‘Mba. Am oc kôc aô tôm dom.’
   3S 3S.say NEG.EX 2S NR 2/3S.take 1S 2/3S.be.able NEG
   ‘He said, ‘No, you will not be able to take me.’

Both negators are sometimes intensified. For example:

(105) Oc tôm bu dandic sam lau daësam sêneŋ -ŋga dom andô.
   NR 3S.be.able COMP 1P+IR.hit feast people many 3PIR.eat of/for NEG truly
   ‘It would surely not be possible for us to deal out a feast for many people to eat.’

(106) Gëŋ dinaŋ tôm bu sêneŋ gitôm? Mba!
   thing/s that 3S.be.able COMP 3PIR.eat 3SR.go.able NEG.EX
   Mba! Lau, mba solop.
   NEG.EX people NEG.EX straight
   ‘Were those things enough for them to eat enough? No! No! People, no indeed!’
SUMMARY OF CLAUSE/SENTENCE NEGATION

(a) Independent clauses – the negator dom comes at the end of the clause which it negates. The exception is for clauses linked by ti (see notes and examples in §6.4.1), in which case the negation applies to both clauses:

(107) Ị mbwêc ti ta vom dom.
3S 3S.shout and 3S.call talk NEG
‘She did not shout or call out.’

(b) Co-subordinate sentences (serialised) are negated as a unit:

(108) Ị mbu gi kôc bawhê naŋ dom.
3S 3S.return 3SR.go 3S.take girl GIV NEG
‘He didn’t go back and get the girl.’

(c) Subordinate clauses – when the subordination involves a sentential complement, the position of the negator indicates whether it applies to the main clause, or to the complement. For example:

(109) Ị kêyalê dom bu Pômdau iŋ gêŋ sambob ŋadau.
3S 3SR.know NEG COMP Lord 3S thing/s all GENPF.master
‘He didn’t know that the Lord was the master of everything.’

If the negator followed the complement, it would convey the wrong information. However, sometimes negation of the main clause is achieved with a sentence final negator, in which case lec ‘here’ (a variant of dec) or naŋ ‘that’ (GIV) are used to delineate the boundary of the complement. For example, using the example above:

(110) Ị kêvalê bu Pômdau iŋ gêŋ sambob ŋadau
3S 3SR.know COMP Lord 3S thing/s all GENPF.master
lec / naŋ dom.
here / GIV NEG
‘He didn’t know that the Lord was the master of everything.’

An example depicting negation of the complement:

(111) Ị sôm bu sêndic gêŋ ŋapopoc sa bu gêŋ daŋ niŋga dom.
3S 3S.say COMP 3PIR.hit thing/s GENPF.broken up/out COMP thing
a/one 3SR.be.lost NEG
‘He told them to gather up the pieces so that nothing would be lost.’

Complement clauses expressing abilitative or permissive modality (§5.4.1.2) are an exception to this principle. Negation of such complements can apply to either the main clause or the complement with no essential change in meaning:

(112) Mac atôm (dom) bu akôm gêŋ dinâŋ (dom).
2P 2P.be.able (NEG) COMP 2P.do thing (NEG)
‘You cannot/are unable to do that.’

When a subordinate clause is embedded as a modifier of a noun phrase, the position of the negative can be crucial to the meaning. For example:
(113) Anötö tac whiŋ lau naŋ sêkôm mêtê sac naŋ dom.
God belly 3S.be.with people RC 3P.do behaviour bad GIV NEG
‘God does not like people who do bad behaviour.’
(Negation applies to the main verb.)

(114) Anötö tac whiŋ lau naŋ sêkôm mêtê sac dom.
God belly 3S.be.with people RC 3P.do behaviour bad NEG
‘God likes people who do not do bad behaviour.’
(Negation applies to the noun phrase modifier.)

6.6 Questions

There are various means of indicating interrogativity in the Bukawa language:

6.6.1 Question words

The various Bukawa question words (and common question phrases in which they are involved) are:

asa ‘who/whom’
bocke ‘what(ever)’ (possibly from boc (s)ake ‘like what’)
– ŋalêŋ bocke ‘how’ (lit. ‘what(ever) way’)
hiŋga ‘how many’
nde ‘where’
– tên nde ‘when’ (lit. ‘to time where’)
– tên (têm) nê-ŋga ‘when’ (lit. ‘to what time’)
– yêc nde ‘where/from where’ (lit. ‘be where’)
sake (ake) ‘what’
– tu (s)ake-ŋga ‘why’ (lit. ‘for what’)

In general, these words occur in the same position in the sentence in which the constituent being questioned would occur in a non-interrogative sentence. For example, asa ‘who’ in a sentence such as ‘Who hit the girl?’ occurs in subject position, as it would in a non-interrogative formulation such as ‘X hit the girl’.

The same word is used to express ‘whom,’ in which case it occurs in the object position, so that a Bukawa question involving ‘whom’ (e.g. ‘Whom did the girl hit?’) does not follow the English sentence order but is expressed as ‘The girl hit whom?’ For example:

(115) Asa gic bawhê dau? (as in) Aö gac bawhê dau?
who 3SR.hit girl DEM 1S 1SR.hit girl DEM
‘Who hit the girl?’ ‘I hit the girl.’

(116) Bawhê dau gic asa? (as in) Bawhê dau gic aö?
girl DEM 3SR.hit who girl DEM 3SR.hit 1S
‘Whom did the girl hit?’ ‘The girl hit me.’

See also §3.2.4 for further notes on asa where it was presented as a relative pronoun for Bukawa. Examples of the other Bukawa question words:
bocke ‘what(ever)’ – this question word occurs most commonly in the demonstrative slot of noun phrases to convey indefiniteness of the entity in question (examples (117) and (118)). The former example depicts the use of the phrase ṣalèng bocke ‘how’ which is commonly used to question the manner of some action:

(117) Mac aŋ gêŋ ṣalèng bocke?
2P 2PR. eat things GENPF. way what(ever)
‘How do you eat (food)?’

(118) ḩŋ taso gêŋ bu tap ndip basô me gêŋ
3S eye. miss thing/s COMP 3S. find coconut dry or thing
ˈbocke sa ma neŋ?
what(ever) up/out and 3SIR. eat
‘She searched (trying) to find a dry coconut or whatever and eat it.’

In some instances bocke is used with no associated noun phrase. For example:

(119) Mac gauc gêm bocke?
2P thinking 3SR. do what(ever)
‘What do you think?’

(120) Yac akôc gauc bu oc alhö bocke -ŋga?
1P 1P+. do thinking COMP NR 1PX. leave what(ever) -of/for
‘We pondered how we should escape?’

The use of bocke has a degree of rhetorical force. For example, if the PPClitic -ŋga has not been included with bocke in the previous example, the meaning implied would be more that there is NO way of escape, whereas adding -ŋga makes the question more of a real question.

Bocke is more of an abstract question word, and used for more general questions than sake ‘what’. Compare the two following examples:

(121) Yac oc dakôm bocke?
1P NR 1P+. do what(ever)
‘Whatever shall we do?’

(122) Yac oc dakôm sake?
1P NR 1P+. do what
‘What shall we do?’

The example using bocke has a more abstract and rhetorical force, whereas the latter is more likely to be interpreted as a ‘real’ question.

Bocke is also used as an interjection with the sense of ‘why/how,’ as in the following examples:

(123) Ma bocke bu wàngôloŋ am whîŋ me?
and what(ever) POT 1SIR. decorate 2S 2S. be. with or
‘And what/how (about it)? Do you want me to decorate you also, or (not)?’

(124) Ma bocke dec am gauc gêm bu êŋsau aŋ?
and what(ever) here 2S thinking 3SR. do COMP 3SIR. deceive 1S
‘And how/why then do/did you think to deceive me?’
hiŋga ‘how many’ – as a question word this occurs in the quantitative modifier slot of the noun phrase:

(125) ḩac sêtap i hiŋga sa?
   3P  3P.find fish how many up/out
   ‘How many fish did they catch?’

nde ‘where’ – this is a question word that normally applies to spatial notions, but it can also be used in question phrases such as tेण nde ‘when’ (see below) in temporal questions.

(126) Am nem balēkoc sёмbo nde?
   2S GAUX.2 child(ren) 3P.be/stay where
   ‘Where are your children?’

tेण nde ‘when’ (lit. ‘to (at) where’) is a phrase using nde to pose a temporal question, and it usually occurs in the X constituent slot of the sentence. Tेण (tेम) nेŋga is a variant form of this with virtually identical meaning, using a shortened form of nde with a slight vowel change. (One further alternative formulation of ‘where’ uses bocke ‘what(ever)’ in a similar phrase construction). For example:

(127) Am mweŋ tेण nde / tेण (tेम) nेŋga /
   2S 2S.come 3S.go.to where / 3S.go.to (time) where -of/for /
   tेण tेम bocke?
   3S.go.to time what(ever)
   ‘When did you come?’

NOTE: Other temporal nouns may interchange with the temporal noun in the phrase using bocke, depending on the time period in question e.g. tेण bेण/wake/ayो/yala bocke ‘what day/week/month/year?’

yēc nde ‘where/from where’ is another question phrase using nde which also usually occurs as an X sentence constituent. For example:

(128) Yac danem lhi gō yēc nde bu dakēŋ
   1P 1P+IR.do payment taro 3S.be/lie where COMP 1P+.give
   lau dec sēneg?
   people these 3PIR.eat
   ‘(From) Where can we buy taro (food) to feed these people?’

sake ‘what’ (sometimes abbreviated to ake) – this often occurs in the demonstrative slot of the noun phrase (example (129)) but it can also stand alone, as in (130) and (131). The sentence position of this question (or the noun phrase in which it occurs) depends on whether the constituent in question or the object of the sentence (as with asa ‘who/whom’). For example:

(129) Gёŋ ake kōm ʒanta atu dē?
   thing what 3S.do noise big there
   ‘What is making that big noise there?’
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(130) **Sake kóm am?**
what 3S.harm 2S
‘What caused you harm/ails you?’

(131) **ŋac sêsôm bu sêkôm sake têŋ am?**
3S 3S.say COMP 3S.do what 3S.go.to 2S
‘What did they say they would do to you?’

**(NOTE:** The verb in (130) is differentiated by high tone from the verb in examples (129) and (131) which has low tone. The high-toned word means ‘to cause harm, deprivation, illness’).

**tu sake-ŋga** ‘why’ – because the response to such a question can be quite complex, the general rule about position in the sentence may not always hold true. It occurs either in the initial theme slot of the sentence, or (less commonly) as an X constituent. For example:

(132) **(Tu sake -ŋga) am kôm gêŋ dinaŋ (tu sake -ŋga)?**
(for what -of/for) 2S 2S.do thing that (for what -of/for)
‘Why did you do that?’

### 6.6.2 Alternative questions

Examples depicting the use of **me** ‘or’ and **me mba** ‘or not’ in alternative and polar questions were given in §6.4.4.1 on alternative sentences. Several more examples:

(133) **Iŋlu sêkêŋ yao kac bu laŋ sêndic siŋ me**
3S.DL 3P.give taboo 3S.stand COMP people a/one 3PR.hit fight or
daŋ sêsêq sam dec popoc dom.
a/one 3P.destroy meeting this/here broken NEG
‘The two of them established a prohib ition that no-one would fight or break up this meeting.

(134) **Iŋ bu êŋsadê ngac dau oc ti ma yoc oc kic me mba.**
3S POT 3SIR.test man DEM IR 3S.get.up and binding IR tear or NEG.EX
‘He wanted to test if the man would get up and the binding break, or not.’

### 6.6.3 Permissive or abilitative modality

**Gitôm (bu) ...** ‘Can ...?’; ‘Is it possible ... ?’, is used to encode permissive or abilitative modality (see §5.4.1.1). It can also be used to pose a question. For example:

(135) **Gitôm (bu) mwac akêŋ ŋasawa têŋ yac?**
3SR.go.able (COMP) 2P 2P.give space 3S.go.to 1P
‘Can you give us space?’

### 6.6.4 Question intonation

Intonation is another means of indicating a question. Rising intonation at the end of what would otherwise be an indicative statement indicates that it is a question. For
example, the question of abilitative modality in the previous example would have rising intonation on the final syllable to show that it is a question:

(136) Gitôm bu mwac akêŋ ṣasawa têŋ yac?
3SR.go.able COMP 2P 2P.give space 3S.go.to 1P
‘Can you give us room?’

cf. a statement of ability:

(137) Mać atôm bu akêŋ ṣasawa têŋ yac.
2P 2P.able COMP 2P.give space 3S.go.to 1P
‘You can give us room ... .’

Raised intonation also occurs on some of the question words listed in §6.6.1, irrespective of their position in the clause, to indicate that they are pragmatically focussed e.g. asa ‘who’; bocke ‘what(ever)’; hiŋga ‘how many’ and sake ‘what’. For example:

(138) Asa kêŋ gêŋ dau têŋ am?
who 3S.give thing/s DEM 3S.go.to 2S
‘Who gave that to you?’

(139) Am kêŋ gêŋ dau têŋ asa?
2S 2S.give thing/s DEM 3S.go.to who
‘Whom did you give that to?’

6.6.5 Hesitant questions

Both me ‘or’ and a ‘eh’ (borrowed from Tok Pisin) can be used to pose hesitant questions. When the latter is used it sometimes conveys an accusatory modality, as in example (141). For example:

(140) U ocndic me.
rain NR 3SR.hit or
‘Will rain fall?’ OR: ‘Do you think that rain will fall?’

(141) Am ŋgac dinaŋ dec gić aneŋ lau e
2S man that here 3SR.hit 1S.GAUX.1 people and/until
malac sawa ma aö̱ gam wapu dauŋ gambo ma
village empty and 1S 1SR.do taboo REFPN.1 1SR.be/stay and
sep ma am mweg su aō susu a?
quickly and 2S 2S.come 3S.put 1S ridicule eh
‘You are the one who killed my people and now the village is empty and
I am here mourning and now do you quickly come to ridicule me, eh?’
This chapter will focus mainly on the characteristics of narrative discourse, with some general comments on hortatory discourse.

7.1 Narrative discourse

7.1.1 Discourse structure

Up until recent times Bukawa has been an oral language, and so written language concepts such as the paragraph probably do not come into the consideration of the speaker or story teller. However, during the telling of a story, pauses and intonation give phonological clues as to the beginning and conclusion of significant episodes within the whole story. Breaks in the sequence of events are also indicated by temporal adverbial constructions, change of key participants, or devices such as tail-head linkage (though this is not widely used).

7.1.1.1 Openings

There is no set formula for the commencement of a Bukawa narrative. Sometimes there is a short introductory statement that prepares the listener for the type of discourse that follows. For example:

(1) Lau andô si miŋ popocwê daŋ bocdec yêc.
   people true GAUX.3P story fable a/one like.this 3S.be/lie
   ‘A legendary story of the ancestors was like this.’

Another common method of introduction is to introduce the main character of the story, or the activity that is the focus of the story. For example:

(2) Konigi daŋ mbo ...
   king a/one 3S.be/stay
   ‘There was a king ...’

(3) Lau malac daŋ sêti si bu sêkie huc.
   people village a/one 3P.get.up 3PR.go COMP 3P.tie pig.net
   ‘The people from one village went out to set pig-nets.’
7.1.1.2 Digressions

The events of the story are generally recounted in temporal sequence. When background information or digressions to the main story line are made, these may be signalled by a time reference e.g. *Muŋŋalê ‘Before (there) ... ’*, to introduce a past custom or practice. Often however, there is no overt signal of a digression.

In one of the texts studied (the ‘Python’ text), the narrator introduces the subject which is a girl who had reached the age of sexual maturity, and then goes into a long digression describing the traditional rite of passage for girls who had come of age. The events are presented using irrealis mood. Although the practices described had obviously occurred many times, it appears that irrealis mood was used because this description did not refer to any particular event in the speaker’s mind. In the middle of this ‘historical’ digression, the narrator gave this summary statement:

(4) Lau andô sêliŋ bu akuwê -ŋga ŋalêŋ
dau dîndec.
people true 3P.wash water initiation.FEM -of/for GENPF.way

DEM this
‘The ancestors had a girl’s coming of age washing in this way.’

After a digression there is often a repetition or recapitulation of the last event before the digression in order to resume the story. For example in the Python text mentioned above, the end of the digression is signalled by both summary type statements and a recapitulation of the information about the girl sitting in the house:

(5) Tu dinaŋ -ŋga ñdî ñdâ ñdê lau
for that -of/for 3S GAUX.3S father with GAUX.3S people
sêkê ñdî ndôc andu ma sêhôŋ ƞabêc ti ndoc bu
3P.put 3S 3S.sit house and 3P.wait GENPF.day with time POT
pacndê goc sêndic mwasiŋ sa. Gêŋ dau bocnaŋ
be.finished then 3PIR.hit feast up/out thing/s DEM like.GIV
dec ƞac sic têku têm pi ƞaic gi.
so/then 3P 3PR.hit extension time 3S.ascend little 3SR.go
Ma bawhê dau ndôc andu ƞapaŋ.
and girl DEM 3S.sit house always
‘Because of that her father and her people made her stay in the house and
wait for the day and passage of time and then they would put together a feast.
The thing was like that, so they extended the time a bit. And the girl sat in the
house always.’

Some of the information in the following section also relates to the matter of returning to a story following a digression, especially point (c) of the summary notes.

7.1.1.3 Tail-head linkage

The feature of Bukawa narrative described in this section is not the precise grammatical mechanism of tail-head linkage that is found in some languages. It could rather be termed
‘back reference’ or the repetition of a previous predicate. However, for the purpose of this work, it will be termed tail-head linkage.

Only one text has been recorded in which tail-head linkage featured prominently. However, it seems that rather than being used as a regular grammatical device, it was used by the speaker (who was relating his life history onto a tape recorder) as a mechanism to collect his thoughts as he pondered the next significant detail to recount. A sample of that text:

(6) \textbf{Anen} awhê tap gêmbac sa, ma alu ambu
1S.GAUX.1 woman 3S.find sickness up/out and 1S.DL 1PX.return
\textit{asip} \textit{amen}. \textit{Amen} ma andöc malac sauŋ
1PX.descend 1PX.come 1PX.come and 1PX.sit village small (time)
\textit{ma aneŋ} awhê mbac \textit{ndu}. \textit{In} mbac \textit{ndu},
and 1S.GAUX.1 woman 3S.weaken intensely 3S 3S.weaken intensely
\textit{ma sêkê} \textit{gwele} gêyobwaga \textit{-nga} pi aö. Ma gakôc
and 3P.give work care-worker -of/for 3S.ascend 1S and 1SR.take
\textit{gwele} gêyobwaga \textit{-nga} ...
work care-worker -of/for
‘My wife became sick, and we came back down (from the highlands). We came and lived in the village for a short time and my wife died. She died, and I was given the work of (spiritual) caretaker. I took on that work ... ’

Apart from occasional instances such as this where tail-head linkage is used by a particular speaker to facilitate the arrangement of sequential events in his mind, it has several main functions in the Bukawa language:

(a) To signify ongoing-ness of the event being described, as well as to give a basis for adding further details about that event. For example:

(7) \textit{In} ... kêsêlê \textit{gi} \textit{pi} ndoc ai daŋ. \textit{Pi}
3S 3SR.walk 3SR.go 3S.ascend maun trunk a/one 3S.ascend
\textit{mbo} \textit{gi} ndöc \textit{ŋapwê} andô dau goc \textit{tan}
3S.be/stay 3SR.go 3S.sit GENPF.top true DEM then 3S.cry
\textit{lhuwê}. \textit{In} \textit{tan} ma gêm wê daŋ bocdec ...
XSSIB.fem 3S 3S.cry and 3SR.do song a/one like.this
‘He ... went and climbed a maun tree. He was climbing and went and sat at the very top and cried for his sister. He cried and sang a song like this ... ’

(8) \textit{Ma} \textit{ŋamalac andô daŋ meŋ kêsau in. Kêsau}
and person true a/one 3S.come 3SR.deceive 3S 3SR.deceive
\textit{bawhê} dinaŋ bocdec ...
girl that like.this
‘And an old man came and deceived her. He deceived that girl like this ... ’

(b) In a thematised temporal relative clause, to introduce an event that was taking place at the same time as the preceding event in order to indicate what was happening to another character in the story at that particular time. For example:
7.1.1.4 Conclusions

The following proverbial type statement was used to conclude one of the texts under study:

(12) **Dandic bata:** *Seŋ gō ti bōc sēwē dau ahuc paŋpaŋ.*  
1P+IR.hit finish 3SR.eat taro with pig 3P.lead REF.PN.3 coveringly totally  
‘Let us conclude: People should not be self-centred when they eat a feast.  
(They should be thankful for what they have.)’
However, speakers most commonly indicate that their story is ended by means of a short and simple concluding statement. The following have been observed:

(13) **Aneŋ miŋ apè dinaŋ.**
    1S.GAUX.1 story short that
    ‘That is my little story.’

(14) **Yom dau dinaŋ.**
    talk DEM that
    ‘That is the talk.’

(15) **Aneŋ yom meŋ têŋ dindec.**
    1S.GAUX.1 talk 3S.come 3S.go.to this
    ‘My talk has come to here.’

### 7.1.2 Participant reference

The following study of participant reference in narrative discourse is based upon a methodology suggested by Dooley and Levinsohn (1999, Chapter 18: A methodology for analyzing reference patterns). Briefly, they propose charting participant reference according to the following contexts:

**SUBJECT ROLES**

- **S1** – the subject is the same as in the previous clause or sentence.
- **S2** – the subject was the addressee of a closed conversation reported in the previous sentence.
- **S3** – the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than **S2**.
- **S4** – other changes of subject than those covered by **S2** and **S3**.

**NON-SUBJECT ROLES**

- **N1** – the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence.
- **N2** – the addressee of a closed conversation was the subject (speaker) in the previous sentence.
- **N3** – the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a role other than **N2**.
- **N4** – other non-subject references than those covered by **N1** – **N3**.

As well as the contexts proposed by Dooley and Levinsohn, two additional ones have been added in this work, namely:

- **S0** – the first reference to a subject referent in the discourse.
- **N0** – the first reference to a non-subject referent in the discourse.

The object of charting participant reference in those contexts is to establish a default method of referent encoding for each context, and then to investigate encodings that differ from the default and postulate factors that may result in a higher or lower level of encoding than the default.
Comments will be made later in this section on the ‘referential distance’ and ‘persistence’ of a referent. Givón (1995) defines referential distance as the number of clauses separating a referent’s present occurrence from its last occurrence in the preceding text. Persistence of a topic is defined as the number of times the referent recurs within the next ten clauses following its present occurrence. (The reader will note that this work does not follow the same method of assigning values to these criteria as used by Givón, who uses the values 1, 2/3 and >3 for referential distance (RD), and 0 to 10 for topical persistence).

Five different levels of encoding participant reference for Bukawa are proposed as follows (from highest to lowest):

\[ \text{NP}_{\text{spec}} > \text{NP} > \text{pronoun} > \text{predicate reference} > \text{zero} \]

An NP_{spec} reference is a noun phrase that is specified by means of either a demonstrative or a relative clause, whereas a NP is not specified by any of those means. The names of people or places (proper nouns) are included in the classification NP_{spec}. Predicate reference includes person marking that may be indicated by verb prefixation, or by genitive marking on non-verbal predicates. Zero reference is only charted when a referent that is clear from the context is elided – most commonly for referents that are objects.

Following this methodology, the following table presents a summary of the results of studies on a corpus of 668 narrative units taken from five texts elicited from four different speakers (or writers). In this part of the analysis, participant references embedded in subordinate clauses such as sentential reasons, purposes or complements, and those in co-subordinate clauses have not been charted. Comments on those will be presented later in this paper.

<table>
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<th>NP_{spec}</th>
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<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Pred.</th>
<th>Zero</th>
<th>DEFAULT</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>12.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>NP_{spec}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N0 80</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1 67</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3 28</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N4 155</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is acknowledged that any conclusions made from such data will be of a fairly elementary nature. The data for S2 and N2 contexts in the texts studied is limited. However, some general features of Bukawa participant reference can be deduced.

Each of the above contexts will be examined in the following sub-sections, and comments made as to default and non-default participant reference encodings. Some figures will also be presented as to the types of noun phrase used to encode the referent (where NPs are used). These NP referents will be categorised into the general groups of
Beyond the sentence

major characters, minor characters, animate props and inanimate props. ‘props’ in the story are things such as villages, trees, food, etc. which are peripheral to the main characters.

Noun phrases will be classified according to the following major types:

NP\text{dau} – a NP with the demonstrative \text{dau}.

NP\text{dinaŋ} – NP with the demonstrative \text{(di)naŋ}. (The classification \text{NP}_\text{RC} will also be used in §7.1.2.11.2 for NPs that have a relative clause modifier.)

NP\text{gen} – NP that has a genitive relationship indicated.

NP\text{other} – any other NP that is qualified in some manner.

NP\text{daŋ} – an ‘indefinite’ NP qualified by \text{daŋ} ‘a/one’ (in the reference encoding schema used in the table above, these are classified as plain NPs and not \text{NP}_\text{spec}).

Plain NP – all other unspecified NPs.

NOTES

i. Columns in the tables present the percentage breakdown of the types of NP for each kind of character or prop. Noun phrase types which are not represented in the data for a particular context will not be listed in the table for that context.

ii. Classifying noun phrases as \text{NP}_\text{gen} is not without some difficulty as many referents that obligatorily have the genitive person marking are referred to in third person, where the marking is a zero morpheme. Another difficulty is that in one of the texts the major participants are a girl and an eagle, and these are referred to as ‘mother’ and ‘son’. It seems likely that these are just titles given as a means of identification of the two characters, rather than any particular genitive relationship between them being in focus.

In the texts under study, any phrase based on a noun that is obligatorily person marked and that encodes a third person referent, has been classified as \text{NP}_\text{gen} unless there are factors that would indicate otherwise.

7.1.2.1 Introduction of subject participants (S0)

(References: 96% NP; 3% pronoun; 3% predicate)

From the texts analysed, the clear default encoding for introduction of a subject for the first time in a narrative is by an unmarked or indefinite NP. The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage) that encode S0 subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{NP}_\text{gen}</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{NP}_\text{daŋ}</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the exceptions to the default NP encoding, one pronominal reference is noted where the subject being introduced included the speaker who introduced himself and his fellows with a pronoun and an associated parenthetical NP:

(16)  
Têŋ yala 1957 vac lau  toŋ daŋ asôc lôm 
3S.go.to year 1957 1P people group a/one 1PX.enter room

bapia ambo Hocpoi.
paper 1PX.be/stay Hocpoi
‘In 1957 we, a group of people, went to school at Hocpoi.’

Obviously, in a more detailed study it would be necessary to treat first and second person participants differently from third person ones.

The other exception, where a new subject was encoded by a predicate reference, was where the ‘new’ subject was a general comment on circumstances rather than a new character or prop, e.g. (text unit underlined):

(17)  
... ma bocdinaŋ ŋapaŋ e lau hoŋ si su 
and like.that always and/until people all 3SR.go PERF

goc Ń kęŋ ņasawa sa ... 
then Ń 3S.give space up/out
‘... and it continued like that until everyone had gone, so giving/making
space ... ’

It could be argued that this unit does not really introduce a new subject, as the subject of the clause is actually the cumulative result of preceding events.

Conclusions for S0:

• New subjects are almost always introduced into a discourse by means of a noun phrase.
• Main characters are normally introduced by an indefinite NP daŋ ‘a …,’ for example:

(18)  
Bêc daŋ ma batec daŋ kêsêlêŋ mbo ...
day a/one and rat a/one 3SR.walk 3S.be/stay
‘One day a rat was walking … ’

In cases where a main character (or characters) is being introduced and it has a genitive relationship with another referent that has already been introduced in the discourse, a NPgen signifying that relationship is used. If the new character is in first (or second) person, one would most likely expect a pronominal or even more specific reference (as in example (16) above).

• Minor characters are generally introduced by either an indefinite NP or one indicating a genitive relationship with a ‘known’ character in the discourse.
• Plain NPs are used to introduce inanimate props or incidental referents. For example:

(19)  
Bawhê dinaŋ sip, madec iŋlu ŋamalac andô dinaŋ 
girl that 3S.descend and.then 3S.DL person true that
sêsâ gwêc si. Sêuc waŋ su ma sêsâ e 
3P.go.out sea 3PR.go 3P.drag canoe PERF and 3P.go.out and/until
si sêmbo sêyêc ibaya.
3PR.go 3P.stay 3P.pull fish.tuna
‘The girl came down (from the house) and then she and that old man went out to
(the) sea. They pulled out a canoe and went out until they were catching tuna.’

7.1.2.2 Ongoing subject participants (S1)

(References: 4.5% NPspec; 5% NP; 12.5% pronoun; 78% predicate)

The default encoding for ongoing subjects is fairly clearly person marking on the
predicate (78% of referents). There are no examples where an S1 subject has a lower level
of encoding than this default.

Some of the factors that may result in a higher level of encoding are:

• A reference to a subject immediately following his/her introduction. In the following
equivalent example such a context triggers a pronominal reference:

(20) Bawhê daŋ yêc malac daŋ. In ndê ndoc ndöc
girl a/one 3S.be/lie village a/one 3S GAUX.3S time 3S.sit
akuwê -ŋga, bocnaŋ in ndöc andu.
initiation.FEM -of/for like.that 3S 3S.sit house
‘There was a girl at a village. It was the time of her coming of age, so she
sat in the house.’

• Reference to a subject immediately following its re-activation or promotion to subject
role. In the following example such a context triggers both a thematised NPspec
reference as well as a pronominal reference:

(21) Ma (bawhê) yob iŋ bocnaŋ mbo e mbac dau
and (girl) 3S.care-for 3S like.that 3S.be/stay and/until bird DEM
ti atu. Gocdec mbac dau in kêsahê tu neŋ
3S.become big So.then bird DEM 3S 3SR.test/try for 3SIR.eat
gêŋ -ŋga.
thing/s -of/for
‘And (she) kept caring for him like that until the bird grew up. Then the bird,
he tried to eat food.’

• The beginning of a new episode, or the development of the plot. For example:

(22) Kêŋ dinda pi ndöc dinaŋ ma kêwhaŋ dau.
3S.put mother 3S.ascend 3S.sit there and 3SRelieve REFPN.3
Ma ngac dau ndac dinda bu ...
and man DEM 3S.ask mother COMP
‘He put the/his mother to sit up there (on the house), and rested. And the/that
man asked the/his mother thus ... ’

• In adjacent units that are alternatives. The following example has a repeated pronominal
reference:
Chapter 7

(23) Galaŋsê iŋ kôc daŋ tiyham me telha iŋ kôc
dañ tiyham.
a/one again
‘Next morning he (would) get another one (fish), or in the afternoon he would get another one.’

• When there is a disruption to the consecutive units of a discourse. Speech units (e.g. example (28)), passages of time, and lengthy complements as depicted in example (24), are examples of such disruption:

(24) Iŋ gi ndöc a ndöc ma tatiŋ bu lauwhê
sêwhi bu ti akôp ti akôp ma sêwhi sêmbo
sequ. Iŋ solop sip gi keŋ daŋ su ... road 3S straight 3S.descend 3SR.go 3S.suspend a/one away
‘He went and sat on a tree and watched carefully for women to be carrying water containers (in string bags) along the road. He went straight down and grabbed one (net bag/container) away ... ’

In the charting of the textual data, pivotal co-subordination units were not included, and comments on participant reference in such units will be made later. As will be seen, a return to the main subject after a pivotal co-subordination unit does not necessarily entail re-activation of the subject by an NP or pronominal reference. However, such units (as shown in the following example by bracketing) are sometimes sufficiently ‘disruptive’ to warrant such reference. The pronominal reference in the following example could also be partly due to a change of focus (see the next comment below) i.e. the focus changes from the activity the character was doing for another character, to what she wanted to do for herself:

(25) (Iŋ) piŋ luŋgac sauŋ naŋ sa këbalŋ iŋ [pi (3S) 3S.cuddle XSSIB.man little GIV up/out 3SR.throw 3S 3S.ascend
deq golŋ gi]. Ma iŋ daŋ bu pi deŋ ndi ... shelf open 3SR.go and 3S.REFPN.3 POT 3S.ascend shelf 3SIR.go
‘She grabbed that little brother of hers and put him up onto the shelf. And she herself wanted to get up on the shelf ... ’

• When there is a change of focus, for example one particular member of a plural subject comes into focus (26), or when other characters join with an ongoing subject to constitute a plural subject (27). The change may be signalled by either an NP or pronominal:

(26) Lu sëŋghi sëŋghi sëmbo e awhê dau gëlic paendê.
two 3P.circle 3P.circle 3P.be/stay and/until woman DEM 3SR.see be.finished
‘The two of them kept circling until the woman had seen (his power).’

(27) Këcsôwa daŋ kësêlęŋ meŋ e tap balê dau
cassowary a/one 3SR.walk 3S.come and/until 3S.find boy DEM
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sa ma kôc iŋ sa. Ma iŋlu si sêmbo iŋ
up/out and 3S.take 3S up/out and 3S.DL 3PR.go 3P.be/stay 3S
ndê malac.
GAUX.3S village
‘A cassowary came along and found the boy and took him. And they went and stayed/lived at its place.’

• Explanatory comments or the introduction of background information related to the subject usually have an NP or pronominal reference. For example:

(28) (Iŋ) toŋ gameŋ ma sôm, ‘O têŋgac, ti iŋ sa.
(3S) 3S.strike area and 3S.say Oh cousin 3S.get-up up/out
Sîŋ meŋ.’ Iŋ bu ŋsahê ṭgac dau oc ti ma
fight 3S.come 3S POT 3SIR.test man DEM NR 3S.get.up and
yoc oc kic me mba.
amband NR tear or NEG.EX
‘He struck the ground and said, ‘Oh cousin, get up! There is a fight!’
He wanted to test if the man would get up and the binding break, or not.

• A concluding or summary statement. For example:

(29) Sëŋku iŋ ti ṭgac lauwê hoŋ. Sêliŋ matob ti
3P.baptise 3S with 3P women all 3P.wash clay with
sëkëŋ sacbalê pi dandi ôli. Lau andô sêliŋ
3P.put mud 3S.ascend RECIP skin people true 3P.wash
bu akuwê -ŋga ŋalêŋ dau dindec.
water initiation.FEM -of/for GENPF.way DEM this
‘They ritually washed her and all those women. They put clay and mud daub on each other’s skin. The ancestors underwent/had a girl’s coming of age washing in this particular way.’

• A pronominal or NP reference sometimes occurs in a section of discourse that has only one main character. From the data studied, it would appear that such pronouns are used where there is a change in activity, or after a passage of time. The narrator’s use of such pronouns possibly signals the start of what is intended to be a sentence unit. (Alternatively, it may be a stylistic device to break up the long string of predicate-only references). An example:

(30) (Macmpoŋ) këbalâŋ sa pi gi këgihi këgihi
(eagle) 3PR.lift up.out 3S.ascend 3SR.go 3SR.circle 3SR.circle
mbo e tôm. Iŋ kôc sa mбу meŋ
3S.be/stay and/until 3S.enough 3S 3S.take up/out 3S.return 3S.come
toc malô sip gi yêc ma sôm ...
3S.drop slowly 3S.descend 3S.go 3S.be/lie and 3S.say
‘(The eagle) lifted it up and flew up and around and around until (he’d done it) enough. He took it and came back and put it slowly down and said … ’
In the texts studied, the largest number of consecutive units with only predicate subject reference was nine. Of all the sections where there were more than four consecutive predicate-only S1 references, the average number was six.

- The climax of a story can also result in a higher than default level encoding for a referent. An inanimate subject has repeated NP references in the climax of the story in the following example (while a pronominal reference to such a subject would not be normal, it could have been referenced merely on the predicate in normal circumstances):

(31) Ma ôbwêcŋgac dau yêc bêc malac su, ŋac sêuc
and night man DEM 3S.be/lie sleep village PERF 3P 3P.drag
ya societàgac dau yêc bêc malac su, ŋac sêuc
fire 3S.enter underneath 3SR.go fire 3SR.eat wood with coconut.leaf
Ya gêng a tî dawêŋ
that fire 3S.enter underneath 3SR.go fire 3SR.eat
Ya gêng
fire 3S.enter underneath

Ma ôbwêcŋgac dau yêc bêc malac su, ŋac sêuc
and night man DEM 3S.be/lie sleep village PERF 3P 3P.drag
Ya gêng
that fire 3S.enter underneath 3SR.go fire 3SR.eat

Ya sîp 3Sdescend
Ya gêng
that fire 3S.enter underneath
Ya gêng
that fire 3S.enter underneath
Ya gêng
that fire 3S.enter underneath
Ya gêng
that fire 3S.enter underneath

The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage for each type of participant) that encode S1 subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPDau</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPdinaŋ</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPgen</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPother</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions for S1 subjects:

- When a subject has been activated and is ongoing, most references are by predicate marking.
- Noun phrases and pronouns are used to establish a main character, and to provide focus or re-focus on that character after disruptions or digressions.
• Noun phrase references to major characters are mainly some form of NP_{spec}, whereas minor characters and especially inanimate props are more likely to be referenced by plain noun phrases.

• Minor characters and especially props rarely function as S1 subjects.

7.1.2.3 Participants whose role shifts from addressee to subject (S2)

(References: 32% NP_{spec}; 29% NP; 32% pronoun; 7% predicate)

The data studied does not include many such referents, but the default encoding seems to be fairly evenly shared by NP_{spec}, NP and pronoun references. The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage for each type of participant) that encode S2 subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERs</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{dau}</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{dinaŋ}</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{gen}</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP_{other}</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Analysis of NP types is complicated by the fact that it is difficult to determine whether many of the third person referents in the data encode a genitive relationship (which would put them in the NP_{spec} category), or whether they are merely simple noun phrases.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the limited data, is that S2 encodings are very much determined by the context. Lower level encoding such as by pronominal reference is more common when there is a singular subject as speaker and plural addressee, or vice versa. There is also insufficient data in the texts studied to determine whether there is any significant difference in encoding S2 subjects where the reference is in second person as compared to third person referents.

The two examples where there was only predicate encoding of the subject, involve dialogue between two single characters (the girl (mother) and the eagle (son)). However, the content of the previous speech unit, and the reply or response of the S2 subject made it clear who the subject was without any higher level encoding. In the following example, the subject of the following predicate (underlined) could at first seem ambiguous. However, in light of his response and his previous activities, it should be clear to the listener:

(32) **Ma (iŋ) sôm, ‘Dinaŋ, aö wakôc am nditôm dinaŋ.’**

and (3S) 3S.say mother.GEN1 1S 1SIR.take 2S 3SIR.go.like that

**Iŋ sôm, ‘Mba, am oć kôc aö tôm dom’**.

3S 3S.say NEG.EX 2S NR 2S.take 1S 3S.be.able NEG
And (he) said, “Mother, I will take you like that.” She said, “No, you will not be able to take me.” So (he) went back and picked up a large drifting tree.

Alternatively, there are other examples where context makes the identity of an S2 subject clear, but for other reasons (e.g. focus), encoding is of a higher level than would appear warranted for the purpose of mere identification. The following example depicts a single speaker to a group of people, who when coming into S2 role are referenced by an NPgen. The influencing factor could be the disruptive nature of the long speech, or the intent of the narrator to emphasise the unanimity of the response:

(33) Ị̀n sôm bocdec, ‘Aö neŋ atac whiŋ bu ...
3S 3S.say like.this 1S GAUX.1 belly 3S.be.with COMP

(53 word description).’ Ị̀n ndê lau hoŋ sêŋgô
(description) 3S GAUX.3S people all 3P.hear
e sêlic Ị́n hayham.
and/until 3P.see good
‘He said thus, “I want ... (long explanation).” All his people heard and thought it was good.’

Conclusions for S2 subjects
(with reservations due to the limited amount of data)

- Encoding has no clear default, but is influenced by factors other than simply clarification of the subject’s identity.
- Most closed speech units occur between major characters, and to a lesser extent minor characters.

7.1.2.4 Participants whose role shifts from object to subject (S3)
(References: 35% NPspec; 17% NP; 25% pronoun; 23% predicate)

The default encoding proposed for S3 subjects is NPspec, although the data shows that pronominal and predicate references, and to a lesser degree plain noun phrases are also commonly used.

(It is noted again that the approach used in this analysis did not chart data for pivotal co-subordination, on which comments will be made later in this work. Had that data been included, the default encoding for S3 subjects would obviously swing markedly towards predicate reference).

Encoding less than the default NPspec may occur:

- When the S3 subject was the object of an experiential notion in the previous unit. This can result in both pronominal (34) and predicate references (35). For example:

(34) Ya gêŋ ングac dau pacndê ma in ti ndê toŋ
fire 3SR.eat man DEM be.finished and 3S with GAUX.3S group
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sêmbac ndu pacndê.
3P.weaken intensely be.finished
‘The fire burnt that man, and he and his family died.’

(35) Gêŋ yô iŋ ma taso gêŋ.
thing/s 3S.cause.need 3S and eye.miss thing/s
‘She was hungry for food and she searched for something.’

• When singular and plural subjects can be adequately distinguished by pronominal reference:

(36) (Yac) ac miŋ têŋ yac mba dinaŋ ti
(1P) 1PXR.hit story 3S.go.to 1P GAUX.1PX mother.GEN1 with
damaŋ bu yac alic balôm ma nac sêkêŋ whiŋ dom.
father.GEN1 COMP 1P 1PX.see ghost and 3P 3P.put with NEG
‘We related to our parents that we had seen a ghost, and/but they did not believe (us).’

• When the context or semantics of the discourse unit make participant identification clear. For example:

(37) (Kêcsôwa) gôlôm iŋ e Ø ti atu.
(cassowary) 3SR.care.for 3S and/until Ø 3S.become big
‘The cassowary looked after him until he grew up.’

(38) Nom kac kwi ma kêgatöc lau ahuc sambuc
ground 3S.open turningly and 3SR.cover people coveringly completely
ma Ø siŋa.
and Ø 3PR.be.finished
‘The ground turned over and covered the people completely and they were destroyed.’

• In some cases of co-subordination – where a participant that has been the object of a previous unit combines with the subject of that unit to become part of a joint ongoing subject. Many such instances are reflected in merely predicate reference, because in a sense part of the combined subject is an ongoing S1 referent, for which the default encoding is by means of the predicate reference. (Brief comments on participant reference in pivotal co-subordination constructions are made in §7.1.2.11.3.)

Examples of pronominal (39) and predicate reference (40) encoding can be seen in the following examples:

(39) Goc bawhê dinaŋ sip, ma dinaŋ maŋalac andô
then girl that 3S.descend and.then 3S.DL person true
dinaŋ sêsa gwêc si.
that 3P.go.out sea 3PR.go
‘Then that girl went down (from the house) and that old man went out to the beach.’
(40) (Iŋ) wê ŋac sa sêgêlêg sêgêkuc mbonda dau
3S 3S.lead 3P up/out 3P.walk 3P.follow python DEM
ŋagolec dinan.
genPF.trail that
‘He led them out and they went following that trail of the python.’

• When the S3 subject is an inanimate prop. These are normally referenced by plain noun phrases (though not necessarily so – see (42) below). The door in example (41) becomes the subject in a pivotal co-subordination construction (bracketed), and then becomes the subject of the next main clause:

(41) (Iŋ) kêmasuc [gatam sôc gi] ma gatam mbu
(3S) 3SR.push door 3S.enter 3SR.go and door 3S.return
sa meŋ.
3S.go.out 3S.come
‘It pushed the door inwards, and the door came back out.’

(42) Kêguluŋ dau sa yêc a ŋalili. A atu dinan
3SR.curl REFPN.3 up/out 3S.be/lie tree buttress tree big that
ti ŋalili poc gwêc.
with buttress 3S.float sea
‘She curled herself up and lay in the buttresses of a tree. That big tree with buttresses was drifting on the sea.’

The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage for each type of participant) that encode S3 subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPdau</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPinan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPinan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPinon</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusions for S3 subjects:**

• Main characters in S3 contexts are normally encoded by specific noun phrases, in nearly 50% of cases in the form NPdau. Minor characters and inanimate props are more commonly encoded by plain NPs.
• When contextual and semantic factors make participant identification clear, lower levels of encoding for main characters may be used.
7.1.2.5 Re-activation of a participant as subject (S4)

(References: 44.5% NP\text{spec}; 15% NP; 28% pronoun; 12.5% predicate)

The default encoding for subjects being reactivated (S4 contexts) is a specified noun phrase, with pronominal references also being relatively common. Minor use is made of plain NPs and predicate references.

The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage for each type of participant) that encode S4 subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP\text{dau}</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP\text{dinaŋ}</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP\text{gen}</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP\text{other}</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contexts that may result in lower than the default encoding are described in the following comments and examples:

• The table of noun phrase types indicates that plain NPs are used mainly for reference to minor characters and props. A plain NP is also often used for a normally inanimate item that is personified and becomes a main character in the narrative. For example:

(43) \text{ŋac seŋ gēŋ paŋdē ma bu sēyēc bēc.}  
3P 3PR.eat thing/s be.finished and POT 3P.be/lie sleep

Ma hoc gauc gēm bu ...  
and stone thinking 3SR.do COMP

‘They finished eating and wanted to go to sleep. And (the) stone thought thus ... ’

• Pronouns are used when a narrative is told in first person – it is natural to use pronouns when the narrator or those with him are being re-activated. For example:

(44) \text{ŋac dau dinaŋ dec kēgatōc dau si ʂa po}  
man DEM that here 3SR.cover REFPN.3 protectively INST cloth

\text{gwalam ma yac am gauc iŋ bu balōm.}  
white and 1P 1PXR.do thinking 3S COMP ghost

‘That man had covered himself up with a white cloth, and we thought that he was a ghost.’

• Contextual factors that make a participant’s identity clear often result in pronominal reference, even in sequences involving only two 3S referents. For example:
Chapter 7

(45) Sôm su ma tim iŋ kachu kic. Ńgac dau mbac
3S.say PERF and 3S.cut 3S neck tear man DEM 3S.weaken

ndu su goc iŋ kölhô.
intensely PERF then 3S 3SR.leave
‘He said that and cut his throat. The man died, and he left.’

• The previous example also depicts another factor that influences less than default S4 encoding, namely, that if there is only a short disruption to a narrative sequence in which there is one major character, a lower level of encoding is adequate to re-activate that character, i.e. there is a short referential distance for one main character.

Common minor disruptions are descriptions of physical circumstances or ‘aside’ comments. Sequences in example (46) depict physical circumstances that result in both a pronominal reference and a predicate reference for the re-activated character (the physical circumstances are underlined):

(46) Bawhê dau ... ndöc bocdinaŋ ndöc e ôbwêc sa
girl DEM 3S.sit like.that 3S.sit and/until night up/out
bocnaŋ iŋ ndöc e nasec sa ma yêc bèc.
like.that 3S 3S.sit and/until darkness up/out and 3S.be/lie sleep
‘The girl sat like that until nightfall, so she sat until it was dark and slept.’

Conclusions for S4 subjects
• The default means of encoding a subject that is being reactivated is NP spéc. Factors that result in lower levels of encoding are contextual and semantic factors, as well as short referential distance.
• Minor characters and props are most often encoded by means of plain NPs.

7.1.2.6 Introduction of non-subject participants (N0)

(References: 10% NP spéc; 90% NP)

The default means of introducing a non-subject participant is a plain NP. The only exceptions found in the data were more specific types of NP that had the following purposes:

• To delimit the non-subject being introduced, e.g. i ŋatô ‘some fish’; i ŋambwa ‘only fish.’
• To indicate a genitive relationship between the item and another character. For example:

(47) (Yac) ac miŋ têg yac mba dinaŋ ti
1P 1PXIR.hit story 3S.go.to 1P GAUX.1PX mother.GEN1 with
damaŋ ...
father.GEN1
‘We told about it to our mother and father.’

• When an N0 referent is being introduced by his/her proper name – usually only when that person is known to the hearers of the narrative.
The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage for each type of participant) that encode N0 non-subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npdau</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npđinaŋ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npgen</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npother</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npdaŋ</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions for N0 non-subject reference:

- The default encoding for N0 non-subject referents is a plain NP, only further specified when required in certain contexts.
- Although the table above shows 100% of major characters being encoded by means of a Npdaŋ noun phrase, that figure represents only ONE referent from the data. This indicates that major characters are normally introduced into a narrative as an S0 subject rather than a non-subject.
- The N0 context is used mainly for the introduction of inanimate props.

7.1.2.7 Ongoing non-subject participants (N1)

(References: 25.5% Npspec; 12% NP; 34% pronoun; 0% predicate; 28.5% zero)

Reference encodings are fairly diverse for N1 non-subjects, and two defaults are proposed depending on whether the participant is animate (pronominal reference) or inanimate (zero reference).

It is nevertheless notable that combined NP references make up 37% of the data. This table shows details of noun phrase encodings for N1 non-subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npdau</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npđinaŋ</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npgen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Npother</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1.2.7.1 Animate N1 participants

The default encoding is a pronominal reference for animate participants:

$$\text{(48) Damba } \ldots \text{kac } \text{ndê } \text{lau } \text{hoŋ } \text{sa } \text{ma } \text{tôc}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{father } 3S.\text{stand} \\
\text{GAUX.3S people all up.out and } 3S.\text{show}
\end{array}
\text{ndê } \text{gauc } \text{dau } \text{asê } \text{têŋ } \text{nac.}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{GAUX.3S thinking DEM out } 3S.\text{go.to } 3P
\end{array}
\text{‘The (girl’s) father gathered all his people and showed that idea of his to them.’}

However, a more specific encoding by means of an NP reference may occur for animate participants in the following situations:

• where there are two 3S referents, to help to identify which one is subject and which one is non-subject. For example:

$$\text{(49) } \text{Iŋ ti } \text{ndê } \text{balêkoc } \text{sêkêŋ } \text{gêŋ } \text{sôc } \text{ŋgac } \text{dau } \text{ndê}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{3S with GAUX.3S child(ren) } 3P.\text{put thing/s} \\
\text{3S.enter man DEM GAUX.3S}
\end{array}
\text{wapu } \text{gi } \text{e } \text{gi } \text{gôlôc. } \text{Pacndê } \text{ma } \text{iŋ } \text{sôm}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{underneath 3SR.go and/until } 3SR.go \\
\text{3SR.fill be.finished and } 3S \text{ 3S.say}
\end{array}
\text{têŋ } \text{ŋamalac } \text{andô } \text{dau } \ldots
\begin{array}{l}
\text{3S.go.to person true DEM}
\end{array}
\text{‘He and his children put (the) things underneath that man’s house until it was filled up. When it was finished he said to that old man … ’}

• when a referent is singled out of a previous group of non-subject referents. For example:

$$\text{(50) Samkê } \ldots \text{ta } \text{lau } \text{dau } \text{si } \text{ŋayê. } \text{Iŋ } \text{ta } \text{mbac}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{feast.source } 3S.\text{call people DEM GAUX.3P name } 3S \text{ 3S.call bird}
\end{array}
\text{kehrco si } \text{ŋayê ti } \text{ŋamata.}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{kehrco GAUX.3P name } 3S.\text{become GENPF.front}
\end{array}
\text{‘The feast host called out the names of those people (birds). He called the}
\text{‘Kecsooc’ birds name first.’}

Occasionally there is less than the default encoding or zero reference for an animate N1 non-subject. The following example depicts a character that has ceased to be a character and has become an inanimate prop which has zero reference:

$$\text{(51) Sênti si } \text{gi } \text{sic } \text{mboc } \text{dau } \text{ndu } \text{ma } \text{sêtim}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{3P.run 3PR.go } 3SR.go \\
\text{3PR.hit snake DEM intensely and } 3P.\text{cut}
\end{array}
\text{Ø kic kic apê apê ma } \text{sêkôc } \text{Ø sa } \text{si.}
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ø tear tear short short and } 3P.\text{take Ø up/out } 3PR.go
\end{array}
\text{‘They ran and killed the snake and cut (it) into short pieces and they took}
\text{(it/them) away.’}

Zero reference to an N1 participant was also observed in a purpose adjunct in the peripheral slot of a sentence, but the reason for this may simply be that the subject is plural and so there is no need to further identify the singular non-subject:
Beyond the sentence

7.1.2.7.2 Inanimate props as N1 referents

For inanimate props, the default encoding is a zero reference. For example:

(52) Balê ndê lau sêŋyalê balê dau ma sêkôm bu
boy GAUX.3S people 3P.know boy DEM and 3P.make COMP
sêŋgaho Ø su.
3P.pull.away Ø away
‘The boy’s relatives recognised the boy and tried to rescue (him).’

(53) ̣ Iŋ gêlic ndip basô ŋatô sêpoc gwêc sêpoc gap dinan.  
3S 3SR.see coconut dry some 3P.float sea 3P.float flotsam that
Iŋ kôc Ø meŋ pô Ø su golo Ø su ma gêŋ Ø.  
3S 3S.take Ø 3S.come 3S.press Ø PERF 3S.break Ø PERF and 3S.eat Ø
‘She saw some dry coconuts floating in the sea among that flotsam. She brought (one/some), husked (it/them), broke (it/them) open and ate (it/them).’

• Zero reference is also common for inanimate N1 props in pivotal co-subordination constructions:

(54) (Iŋ) gi kôc göwhê ti huŋwhê ... kê
(3S) 3SR.go 3S.take taro.seedling with banana.seedling 3S.give
Ø tëŋ balê sô Ø.  
Ø 3S.go.to boy 3S.plant Ø
‘It went and took taro and banana seedlings ... (and) gave (them) to the boy to plant (them).’

• Zero reference was also noted for a non-subject referent that had a summariial role or general association with something that had preceded. For example:

(55) Dinda kêdôhôŋ atuŋac bu neŋ gô ma neŋ i
mother 3SR.teach child.man COMP 3SIR.eat taro and 3SIR.eat fish
ya gêŋ società -ŋga ti nôm bu whiŋ iŋ.  
fire 3SR.eat 3S.enter -of/for with 3S.drink water 3S.be.with 3S
Bocnaŋ ŋac dau kôm Ø e Ø tidônŋ iŋ.
like.that man DEM 3S.do Ø and/until Ø 3S.become.firm 3S
‘The mother taught her son to eat taro and cooked fish and drink water with her. So that man did (that) until (it) was customary/known to him.’

(NOTE: The N1 reference in the above example is the first Ø. That referent then becomes subject (also with zero reference) in the following clause, and so would be classified as an S3 predicate reference).

When reference to an inanimate N1 non-subject is higher than the default of zero, it is rarely pronominal as it is not usual for pronouns to be used for reference to inanimate things. For example:
Mbac hoŋ sêkac sa sêmeŋ ma sêtêŋ hoc dau
bird all 3P.stand up/out 3P.come and 3P.go.to stone DEM
si sêkac hoc dau sêmbo.
3PR.go 3P.open stone DEM 3P.be/stay
‘All the birds assembled and came to that stone and were lifting the stone.’

Other situations in which noun phrases may be used for reference to inanimate N1 non-subjects include the following:

• A specific NP reference is often used to refer to a participant which has been introduced in the previous narrative unit as an N0 referent (as was the case with S0 and S1 referents). In the following example (and also example (59) below) there is a form of tail-head linkage (see notes in §7.1.1.3) and this may be the factor influencing the higher than default level of encoding for this non-subject:

(57) ŋac si ŋalôm pitige su goc sêkê bêc têŋ
3P GAUX.3P GENPF.inside 3S.ascend.one PERF then 3P.give day 3S.go.to
dandi. ŋac sêkôc bêc dau sêlhö têŋ têŋ si su.
RECIP 3P 3P.take day DEM 3P.leave divergently 3PR.go PERF
‘They were agreed so they marked a day among themselves. They took (heed of) that day and went their ways.’

• when the reference is encoded as a proper noun, e.g. for a location, the name of which cannot be represented by a pronoun. For example:

(58) Yac ... asôc lôm bapia ambo Hocpoi. Têŋ ndoc
1P 1PX.enter room paper 1PX.be/stay Hocpoi 3S.go.to time
dinaŋ lôm kédôhôŋ - waga -ŋga kac Hocpoi.
that room 3SR.teach- worker -of/for 3S.stand Hocpoi
‘We ... attended school at Hocpoi. At that time there was a teacher’s (training) school at Hocpoi.’

• This also applies to referents which are abstract concepts, for which pronouns are not normally used. In such cases the reference is usually a plain NP. For example:

(59) Damba kôc gauc pi hocsuŋ dau ... lŋ kôc
father 3S.take thinking 3S.ascend stone.hole DEM 3S 3S.take
gauc mbo ...
thinking 3S.be/stay
‘The father had thoughts about that stone cavity ... (lit. ‘took thinking’).
He had thoughts ...’

Conclusions for N1 referents:

• Reference is widely spread between pronouns, NPs and zero reference. The default is pronominal reference for animate participants, and zero reference for inanimate props.

• NPs often replace these default encodings. For animate referents NPs are used to help identify participants. In the case of inanimate props, NPs are often used because pronouns are not normally used for inanimate referents or the names of locations.
Focus on a particular ongoing non-subject referent is reflected by the use of specific NP references.

7.1.2.8 Participants whose role shifts from speaker to object/addressee (N2)

(References: 100% pronoun)

The limited data for N2 contexts reflected the exclusive use of pronominal references. There were several instances where in a closed conversation between two participants, no addressee was included in the response. While it is clear from the context that the other participant was the addressee, it is unclear whether that should have been classified as a zero referent, and such data was not charted. For example:

(60) \text{Ịọ̀ sọ́m, ‘Đińań, am kẹsahẹ́ bọ̀cẹ́? Aọ́ gakọc am gitọm?’} \text{Ịọ̀ sọ́m Ĭ, ‘Aẹc, gitọm oc dandi.’}

2S 3S.say mother.GEN1 2S 2SR.test what(ever) 1S 1SR.take

‘He said, ‘Mother, what do you think? Was I able to carry you?’ She said (to him), ‘Yes, we can go.’

7.1.2.9 Participants whose role shifts from subject to object (N3)

(References: 18% NPspec; 7% NP; 71% pronoun)

The default encoding for this category is clearly pronominal, with occasional higher level reference encoded by an NP.

NP references that were used to encode N3 non-subjects in the data are categorised in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP</th>
<th># / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTERS</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinan</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following situations may influence a higher level encoding for an N3 referent than the default pronominal reference:

• When one member of a plural subject in one unit of the narrative assumes a non-subject role in the following unit. For example:

(61) \text{Lu seń gẹń sẹńdọć e atungac ndac dindia}

two 3PR.eat thing/s 3P.sit and/until child.man 3S.ask mother
The two sat eating and the boy asked the/his mother like this ... ’

- When a referent that normally has a non-subject role was the subject of an explanation or elaboration in the previous unit, and returns to its non-subject role. (The NP dau reference in the following example is also an abstract entity, and as such would not normally be referenced pronominally). For example:

(62)  Wê daŋgibo naŋ iŋ gêm naŋ bocdec ... Iŋ gêm 
song dirge RC 3S 3SR.do GIV like.this 3S 3SR.do 
wê dau ma tāŋ ... 
song DEM and 3S.cry 
‘The dirge that he sang was like this ... He sang that song and cried ... ’

Conclusions for N3 referents

- A referent that is already prominent by virtue of having had a subject role is normally referenced by a pronoun when moving into a non-subject role.
- Higher level references may occur for abstract entities and those that for reason of elaboration have had a temporary subject role, and for participants that have been part of a previous subject group.

7.1.2.10 Re-activation of a participant as object (N4)

(References: 33% NP SPEC; 37.5% NP; 12% pronoun; 0% predicate; 17.5% zero)

Plain NPs are the default encoding for N4 referents (participants reactivated as objects), with specified noun phrases used almost as frequently. Minor use is made of zero and pronominal references.

Lower than default encoding for N4 referents is realised by both pronouns and zero references, and the use of these may be influenced by the following factors:

- Pronominal references are used when the narrator was involved in the discourse, and hence uses a first person pronoun to refer to episodes involving himself (63) or where a third person pronominal reference is clear from the context between two participants (64):

(63)  Balôm dau ... ti sa kac solop ma gêm 
ghost DEM 3S.get.up up/out 3S.stand straight and 3SR.do 
dōmbwê vac. 
back 1P 
‘The ghost ... got up and stood erect, and turned his back to us.’

(64)  Dinda gêlic paendê ma som tēŋ iŋ ... 
mother 3SR.see be.finished and 3S.say 3S.go.to 3S 
‘The (his) mother saw (it) and said to him, ... ’
In both of these examples the referents are significant characters in the narrative, and thus one would expect a high degree of topical persistence. There is also a minimum of ‘distraction’ between the reactivation of the referent and previous reference to it (i.e. it has high contextual ‘given-ness’).

• Zero reference can occur in contexts where the referent is inanimate and/or has high contextual given-ness. For example:

(65) ęŋ kôc ġeng dau sa ma kôc O mbo
3S 3S.take thing/s DEM up/out and 3S.take O 3S.be/stay
e bu pec O neŋ O.
and/until POT 3S.cook O 3SIR.eat O
‘She got the thing and took (it) and stayed until she wanted to cook (it) and eat (it).’

NOTE: The first and last zero reference in the above example are both N1 references – it is the middle zero referent that is being reactivated after the short intervening clause mbo e ‘she stayed until’.

• Zero reference may also apply to main characters in the narrative that are being reactivated in a non-subject role. For example:

(66) kôc dinda tiyham ma kôc O sip solop gi
3S.take mother again and 3S.take O 3S.descend straight 3SR.go
kêŋ O sip ŋac si malac lôm.
3S.put O 3S.descend 3P GAUX.3P village inside
‘Then (he) got the/his mother again and took (her), went straight down and put (her) in the middle of their village.’

NOTE: In this example (66) it is the second zero reference that is an N4 reference, re-activated after a short intervention of serialised motion clauses.

In the texts studied, the maximum number of intervening clauses between a zero reference to an inanimate prop and its prior reference was three (one of which was a lengthy pivotal co-subordination unit). However, the referent was obvious because of the repetition and nature of the associated predicate. For example:

(67) ŋac naŋ ġem wapu dau naŋ pó voc sip iŋ
man RC 3SR.do taboo REFPN.3 GIV 3S.press armband 3S.descend 3S
gahi ti amba magi ġem a ĳasaŋ whiŋ. Ma
leg with hand and 3SR.go 3SR.do tree GENPF.aerial.root with and
ŋampê ti ŋasu boćdnaŋ. Kôm mbo ma ŋac
GENPF.middle with GENPF.neck like.that 3S.do 3S.be/stay and man
dau yëc béc këlhiŋ dau siŋ. Pô O su ... 
DEM 3S.be/lie sleep 3SR.forget REFPN.3 divestingly 3S.press O PERF
‘The man who was fasting wove an armband around his legs and hands and around the aerial roots of the tree also. And (around) his waist and neck likewise. He was doing that, and that man slept deeply. He finished weaving (the armband) ... ’
In several instances of closed conversation between two participants, no addressee was mentioned in a situation where one would expect reactivation of that participant. Data was not charted for N2 referents of such nature (see comment about N2 referents in 7.1.2.8). However, the following example was included as a zero reference for an N4 referent because of the fact that the participant was addressed vocatively in the actual conversation:

(68)  \( (I)nj \) toŋ gameŋ ma sôm Ø, ‘O têŋgac, ti sa.’
\( (3S) \) 3S.knock area and 3S.say Ø Oh cousin 3S.get.up up/out
‘(He) knocked the ground and said (to him), ‘Oh cousin, get up.’

The following table presents the various kinds of noun phrase (by percentage for each type of participant) that encode N4 non-subjects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NP # / TYPE</th>
<th>CHARACTER</th>
<th>PROPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># of referents</td>
<td>Major</td>
<td>Minor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPPdau</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPDinaŋ</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPgen</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPopother</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain NP</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows a higher number of specific NP references used to encode props than for any other context examined. The following are some of the contexts that may stimulate such encoding for props:

- When a particular part of a previously established referent is specified. For example:

(69)  \( Iŋ \) ... pi ndoc ai daŋ. Pi mbo gi
\( 3S \) 3S.ascend maun trunk a/one 3S.ascend 3S.be/stay 3SR.go
\( ndöc \) napwê andö dau.
\( 3S .sit \) GENPF.top true DEM
‘He ... went and climbed a maun tree. He kept climbing and went and sat on the very top.’

- When there is an explication (example (70)) of some previous referent, or a general summary (71) that makes reference to preceding circumstances or events. For example:

(70)  Macmpoŋ ŋatu dau kôm gitôm dinaŋ. Kôc
eagle offspring DEM 3S.do 3SR.go.like that 3S.take
\( wapa \) hön dinaŋ ...
goods all those
‘The baby eagle did like that. He took all those things ... ’
After an important prop has been de-activated for a particularly long time, for example, the trail left by the snake was re-introduced after a break of 48 units by an NPGen specified by *dinaŋ*:

(72) **mboc dau ŋagolec dinaŋ**
    snake DEM GENPF.trail that
    ‘that trail of the snake’

Mention has already been made of the difficulty of classifying a specific noun phrase that has a third person referent, as NPgen. However, the data as analysed and summarised in the table above shows that when main characters are re-activated as non-subjects by means of a specific NP, any genitive relationship that exists with other referents is normally indicated.

**Conclusions for N4 referents**

- The major factor influencing the encoding used to re-activate a discourse referent that has already been introduced is the degree of ‘given-ness’ of that referent. A table showing the average referential distance for participant references can be seen in §7.1.2.11.1.
- The default encoding is a plain NP, however a zero reference may be used where there is a short referential distance for the referent, i.e. it has only recently been de-activated. On the other hand, higher level encoding by means of some form of NPspec is used to re-activate a participant as a non-subject when that participant has low contextual given-ness.
- Specific noun phrases are used to re-activate both main characters and inanimate props.

7.1.2.11 Other participant reference notes

7.1.2.11.1 Demonstratives *dau* and *dinaŋ*

A short study was made on several of the texts studied above, to look at the usage of *dau* DEM, and *dinaŋ* ‘that/those,’ the two main demonstratives used with noun phrases.

The following table presents data for the persistence of referents encoded by noun phrases with each of these two demonstratives in the various contexts, except for S0 and N0 in which they do not occur. Persistence is defined as the number of following units for which the referent remained ‘topical,’ either in a subject or a non-subject role. A default maximum of 20 units was set for persistence, and the count included the unit in which the NP occurred.
These figures show that **dau** is used as a demonstrative associated with participant reference over three times more often than **dinaŋ**. Although referents specified by **dau** (see the table in §7.1.2.11.2 below) have a shorter average referential distance than those specified by **dinaŋ**, the persistence of the former is more than double that of the latter.

There were four instances where the combination **dau dinaŋ** occurred. Two of these were in thematised temporal clauses to focus on a particular time, and two in a summarial or explanatory statement. For example:

(73) (Yac)  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{atap sa bu balôm mboloc dinda naŋ yac}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{meet up/out COMP ghost stupid mother RC 1P}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{alic têŋ òbwêc naŋ balôm dom, ma Ŋaniniŋ akwa.}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{see 3S.go.to night GIV ghost NEG and Ŋaniniŋ old}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{Ngaŋ dau dinaŋ dec kêgatic dau si ŋa}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{man DEM that this/here 3SR.cover REFPN.3 protectively INSTR}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{po gwalam ma yac am gauc iŋ bu balôm.}\]  
\[(\text{1P}) \text{cloth white and 1P 1PXR.do thinking 3S COMP ghost}\]  
\(\text{‘(We) found out that that great stupid ghost that we saw in the night was not a ghost, but old Nganining. That very man had covered himself up with a white cloth, and we thought that he was a ghost.’}\)

### 7.1.2.11.2 Referential distance (RD)

The following table shows a summary of the average RD for each of the S4 and N4 referent encodings for both Characters (Char) and Props. (All other contexts for referents that have been introduced have an RD of 1 by definition of those contexts).
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Encoding</th>
<th>S4 referents</th>
<th>N4 referents</th>
<th>Total references</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Character</td>
<td>Prop</td>
<td>Character</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP&lt;sup&gt;dau&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP&lt;sup&gt;dinaŋ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>6.0*</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPRC</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP&lt;sub&gt;gen&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP&lt;sub&gt;Other&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>8.0*</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prn</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pred</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* signifies a very limited number of references.

### NOTES

i. Data for the persistence of noun phrases modified by a relative clause were not charted for each separate context in the NP tables in §7.1.2.11.1 above, but were there included in each context with data for NP<sup>dinaŋ</sup> because there were so few examples in the texts studied. However, they have been charted separately for the RD table above, and are listed as NPRC.

ii. A default maximum RD of 20 units was made when analysing the data.

Several general conclusions can be made from the data in the above table.

- When a main participant has been de-activated for an extended time, re-activation is often done by means of a NPRC. Had a default maximum RD of 20 units not been set, the data may reflect that to an even greater degree.

- NP<sup>dinaŋ</sup> encoding, although not as commonly used as NP<sup>dau</sup> encoding, would appear to be used rather than NP<sup>dau</sup> for participants that have a higher RD. Otherwise, any genitive relationship seems to be important when re-activating a referent, to clarify that referent’s relationship with any other participant that is already activated.

- Zero references (for N4) and predicate references (for S4) are used only when the RD is low.

### 7.1.2.11.3 Pivotal co-subordination clauses

A total of 26 clauses involving pivotal co-subordination were examined from the texts studied. Participant reference data from these was not included in the analysis of participant reference in §7.1.2.1 to §7.1.2.10 above, apart from the first reference to the participant involved in the pivotal clause. That would have been charted as an ‘N’ referent in those sections. (Complement clauses often also include referents from the main clause/sentence, and these will be described separately below.)
The following figures demonstrate the basic structure of the 26 co-subordinate clauses examined. (X is used to represent the referent that had a subject role in the initial clause; Y represents a non-subject referent of that clause that became the subject in the pivotal clause/s; and Z represents a referent that was neither X or Y):

X-Y-X : 20 instances (77%) of the clauses. X resumed a subject role following the pivotal clause/s (underlined). For example:

(74) (Iŋ) kêŋ dinda pi ndöc diñañ ma kêwhañ dau. (3S) 3S.put mother 3S.ascend 3S.sit that/there and 3SR.relieve REFPN.3
‘He put his mother up to sit there (in the house), and (he) rested.’

X-Y-(X+Y) : 2 instances – both refersents combined in the following clause. For example:

(75) (Iŋ) ta atungac sip gi. Iŋlu sen gê ... 3S 3S.call child.man 3S.descend 3SR.go 3S.DL 3PR.eat thing/s
‘She called her son (and) he went down. They ate food ... ’

X-Y-Y : 2 instances. For example:

(76) Ñac sêuc ya sôc wapu gi. Ya gê a ti dawëq diñañ. with coconut.leaf that/those
‘They shoved fire under the house. (The) fire burnt that wood and coconut fronds.’

X-Y-Z : 2 instances. For example:

(77) Kecsoc ñandõhale ... sêkac hoc atu diñañ pup kecsoc fruit.four(few) 3P.stand stone big that/those impact
ti gê sa gi ndöc diñañ -nga. Ma mbocnä naŋ 3P.drag fire 3S.enter underneath 3SR.go fire 3SR.eat wood
one up/out 3SR.go 3S.sit REFPN.3 -of/for and python RC
‘A few kecsoc birds ... lifted up that big stone with one effort (lit. one impact) and it went and lay by itself. And the python that was in the cavity ... ’

In summary, in approximately 84% of instances of pivotal co-subordination, the initial subject, or a member of its group remained in that role following the pivotal clauses. In 8% of cases, the referent involved in the ‘pivot’ assumed the role of subject following the pivot. And in 8% of cases, a different referent altogether became the following subject.

Pivotal units were in general very brief, consisting basically of one predicate or several in series. In all of the examples studied, there was only one instance where there was any reference to either X or Y in the pivotal unit (other than Y’s initial role as subject), and that was in a clause encoding an experiential type notion where the experiencer (X) became the object of the co-subordinate clause. For example:
Iŋ gêŋ (gêŋ) hoc iŋ dôŋ, nôm ñabu hoc
3S 3SR.eat thing/s 3S.lift 3S firmly 3S.drink GENPF.water 3S.lift

iŋ dôŋ. Iŋ tac ñayham.
3S firmly 3S belly good
‘She ate food and was filled, (and) drank water and was filled. She was happy.’

Other clause constituents noted in the pivotal co-subordination units were:

• a location – see wapu ‘underneath (of house)’ in example (76) above.
• occasional adverbial expressions such as pup tîgeŋ ‘one impact’ and dau-ŋga ‘individually’ as in example (77) above. The latter instance (dau-ŋga), was the only example where these adverbials were not associated with the predicate preceding the pivotal unit. In some cases the adverbial modification logically applies to the whole construction i.e. to both the preceding predicate as well as that/those in the pivotal unit, as is the case in this example:

(79) (Iŋ) ... toc (agatê atu daŋ) malô sip gi
3S 3S.drop (tree.drifting big a/one) slowly 3S.descend 3SR.go
yèc ma sôm ...
3S.be/lie and 3S.say
‘(He) dropped (the big driftwood) slowly down to lie, and said ... ’

The use of e ‘and/until’ – a conjunction that encodes the aspectual notion of continued action was also noted in one example:

(80) (Hoc) kêgalêm u ti wapap ma sickac sip
(stone) 3S.invite rain with thunder and lightening 3S.descend
e kêgalap mbo ma kêbulu [ŋac sêsôc
and/until 3SR.crawl 3S.be/stay and 3SR.chase 3P 3P.enter
hoc ñapu siŋ.
stone GENPF.underneath 3PR.go
‘(Stone) invited rain and thunder and lightening and it was flashing/striking around on the ground, and chased [them under the stone].’

(NOTE: there is an embedded pivotal co-subordination unit in the above example indicated by square brackets. Because a third person singular verb form is used for the personified natural elements in the example, the subject of the final underlined unit is ambiguous – it could apply to either the ‘stone’ or to the natural elements. However, the facts that the goal of the ‘chasing’ is the stone and that there is no reflexivity expressed when reference is made to it, seem to favor the interpretation of the natural elements as the subject.

The number of clause units involved in co-subordinate clauses of the X-Y-X and X-Y-(X+Y) type ranged from one to three. The table below shows the number of clauses containing the Y referent, and the means of encoding X as the following subject. (Data marked with an asterisk was from the X-Y-(X+Y) type pivotal units.):
Chapter 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th># of clauses in pivotal unit</th>
<th>Animate Y referents</th>
<th>Inanimate Y referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Prn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1+1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1+1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the chart it can be concluded that X subjects remain topical through co-subordinate clauses involving both animate and inanimate Y referents, and the default encoding in the following clause is a predicate reference. When X and Y combine in the following unit, the normal encoding is a pronoun.

The maximum number of units in the X-Y-Y pivotal types was two. The encoding of Y in the following units was:

- Ndau – for an animate referent after one pivotal clause, and
- NP – for an inanimate referent after two pivotal clauses.

In both of the X-Y-Z pivotal types, the following Z referents were both animate referents that occurred after two pivotal clauses, and they were encoded by means of NP_{spec}: NRC as in example (77) above; and Ndinaŋ in example (81) below:

(81) (U ti wapap ma sickac) ... kēbulu ŋac sēsōc
(rain with thunder and lightening) 3SR.chase 3P 3P.enter

hoc ŋapu si. Ma balê sauŋ dinanŋ ...
stone GENPF.underneath 3SR.go and boy small that
‘(The rain and thunder and lightening) chased them underneath the stone.
And that little boy ... ’

7.1.2.11.4 Complement clause participant reference

Complement type clauses often involve reference to a previous subject or object, however they exhibit far more variety in terms of participant reference and additional clause constituents that may occur within the complement. Because of this variety, it is difficult to formulate tight rules for participant reference in complement clauses. Some general features that were noted in the texts studied will be presented in this section.

Because of the diverse nature of speech type complements, these were ignored in the texts studied. Twenty seven other complement type clauses were noted in the texts, and these were of the following structure:

X-Y-X : 19 (70%)

(X+Z)-Y-X : 1 (4%) – one member (X) of an initially plural subject (X+Z) assumed the role after the complement. For example:

(82) ſaac sēŋgō balê dau puc daŋgibō ti gēm wē
3P 3P.hear boy DEM 3S.poke dirge with 3SR.do song
'They had heard the boy crying the dirge and singing twice, and the/his mother recognised that voice.'

The number of clause units involved in complement clauses of the X-Y-X type ranged from one to five. The table below shows the number of clauses involved in the complement, and the means of encoding X as the following subject:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of clauses</th>
<th>Animate Y referents</th>
<th>Inanimate Y referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Prn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table it seems that predicate references are often adequate to encode an ongoing (X) subject following a complement involving an inanimate referent. Pronouns are most commonly used to encode X where the referent is animate. A predicate reference may still be adequate when context makes participant identity clear. Consider the following example:

(83) (Ŋgac dau) ndê gauc sa ma gauc gêm ŋgac
    (man DEM) GAX.3S thinking up/out and thinking 3S.do man
    dindec mboe seŋ aő neŋ lau su siŋga
    this perhaps 3S.destroy 1S GAX.1 people away 3PR.be.finished
    madec meŋ su aő susu kac. Ma kêsau
    and.then 3S.come 3S.put 1S ridicule 3PR.stand and 3S.deceive
    yô iŋ awha bu ...
    3S.exchange 3S mouth COMP
    ‘(The man) was aware (of the situation) and thought, “This man is perhaps the one who has destroyed my people and now has come and stands mocking me.” And (he) deceived, answering him thus ... ’

The verb kêsau ‘he deceived’ in the example is in itself ambiguous as to subject identity, as the episode involves two single participants. However, the context and nature of the dialogue between the two participants clarifies which of them is the subject of the verb kêsau.

The following examples depict some of the other variations found in the complements studied. Each of X, Y and Z participants were referenced in the complement. Example (84) depicts a complement of the X-X-Y format, in which participant X is referenced in the
complement by a pronoun, and the addressee of the clause preceding the complement switches role to subject of the one following the complement (where it is referenced by a pronoun). The fact that X is a singular referent and Y is plural means that there is little ambiguity as to the identity of the referents:

(84) (Yac) ac miŋ téŋ yac mba dinaj ti
(1P) 1PXR.hit story 3S.go.to 1P GAUX.1PX mother.GEN1 with
damaj bu yac alic balōm. Ma ŋac sēkēŋ whın dom.
father.GEN1 COMP 1P 1PX.see ghost and 3P 3P.put with NEG
‘(We) related to our parents that we had seen a ghost. And/but they did not believe.’

The following examples depict complements in which a Y participant is referenced in the complement. Example (85) is of the form X-Y-X, and shows an embedded speech complement (bracketed). Example (86) is of the form X-Y-Y and includes both a Y referent and a reason clause:

(85) Iŋ ñgō bu yac asōm (bu ateŋ mbec), ma iŋ
ti sa ...
3S 3S.hear COMP 1P 1PX.say COMP 1PX.ask prayer and 3S
‘He heard that we said we would pray, and he stood up ... ’

(86) Iŋlu sic yomsu yac bu yac aŋsēlēŋ téŋ
3S.DL 3PR.hit commandment 1P COMP 1P 1PX.walk 3S.go.to
ōbwēc dom, bu mboc oc seŋ yac. Yac aŋgō ...
night NEG COMP snake NR 3S.bite 1P 1P 1PX.hear
‘They commanded us that we not walk at night, because a snake would bite us. We heard ... ’

The main clause preceding the complement in the following example does not have a Y participant, which essentially would be ‘knowledge’. The complement includes Z (‘the ghost’) and X participants:

(87) Yac atap Ø sa bu balōm naŋ yac alic ...
1P 1PX.find Ø up/out COMP ghost RC 1P 1PX.see
‘We found out that the ghost that we saw ... ’

7.2 Hortatory discourse

In hortatory discourse, attention is often gained by exhortations to hear. For example:

(88) Angō ŋaper!
2P.hear well
‘Listen(you-pl) well!’

(89) Akēŋ daŋam!
2P.give ear.GEN2
‘Listen(you-pl)!’ (lit. ‘put/give your ears’)

7.2 Hortatory discourse
A speaker may also use vocative exclamations to involve and get the attention of the audience. For example:

(90) **O lau bu -ŋga ŋhayham naŋ Pōmdau kēvaliŋ mac sa.**

> Oh people water -of/for good RC Lord 3SR.choose 2P up/out
> ‘Oh, good Christians whom the Lord has chosen.’

(‘people of water’ is a common Bukawa expression used as a reference to those who have been baptised).

Normally when the subject or object of a relative clause co-references a noun in the main clause, the relative clause co-referent is omitted. However, it is noted in the previous example that the addressee of the main clause is also referenced in the relative clause by a pronoun. This higher level of encoding may be another feature of hortatory discourse that helps to engage the attention of the audience.

Main points may also be highlighted or introduced by a brief reference. For example:

(91) **Yom ŋamata -ŋga.**

> talk GENPF.front- of/for
> ‘First talk (i.e. For a start …) ...’

(92) **Ma gēŋ daŋ tiyham.**

> and thing a/one again
> ‘And another thing ...’

There is no verb form or commonly used modal adverb to indicate the imperative mood, but intonation, and the short abrupt manner of exhortation often mark it as being imperatival. Another indicator of imperatival mood is the lack of pronouns in the exhortation. For example:

(93) **Aô, asa ŋagahô ameŋ akôm gēŋ dau; ameŋ ŋagahô!**

> Oh 2P.go.out quickly 2P.come 2P.do thing DEM 2P.come quickly
> ‘Oh! Come quickly! Do this thing! Come quickly!’

The structure of argumentation in Bukawa hortatory discourse can be of either:

(a) **GROUNDS** ... **therefore** ... **EXHORTATION**; or

(b) **EXHORTATION** ... **because** ... **GROUNDS**

For example:

(94) **Anōtō ndê yom ŋandô eŋ, ma bocđinaŋ dakēŋ**

> God GAUX.3S talk true only and like.that 1P+.put
> whiŋ iŋ dandić ŋawaĉ.

> 3S.be.with 3S 1P+IR.hit GENPF.reputation
> ‘God’s talk (is) only true, and so we should/must believe (in) him.’

(95) **Yac dakēŋ whiŋ Anōtō ndê yom dandić**

> 1P 1P+.put 3S.be.with God GAUX.3S talk 1P+IR.hit
We should/must believe God’s talk, because his talk is only true.

However, from general observation it seems that format a) is preferred, especially if the grounds for the exhortation is lengthy. That is, multiple or detailed grounds are spelled out first, then the exhortation (which is usually shorter) is introduced with either bocdinaŋ (dec) ‘so then/therefore’; or tu dinaŋ-ŋga (dec) ‘because of that’.
Appendix: Samples of Bukawa texts

The following samples of text are presented in the hope that they will help the reader gain a broader picture of the structure and style of Bukawa narrative. Rather than present the text in separate clauses or sentences it has been presented in a running style (trying as much as possible to keep word glosses and free translation together) in an effort to keep the story flowing.

SAMPLE 1: Macmpoŋ lu Bawhê (An Eagle and a Girl – the first section)
(As narrated by Mr Ƞaniniŋ Yalu at Bukawa in 1990)

Lau andô si miŋ daŋ bocdec yêc. Yac asam ɳayê bu
people true GAUX.3P story a/one like.this 3S.be/lie 1P 1PX.call name COMP
A story of the ancestors was like this. We call it
pocpocwê. Bawhê daŋ yêc malac daŋ. Ƞ ndê ndoc ndöc
fable girl a/one 3S.be/lie village a/one 3S GAUX.3S time 3S.sit
a fable. There was a girl at a village. (It was) her time of sitting (in the house) for the
akuwê -ŋga. Bočnaŋ iŋ ndöc andu, ma iŋ ndê damba lu
initiation.FEM -of/for like.GIV 3S 3S.sit house and 3S GAUX.3S father two
female initiation washing (rite of passage). So she sat in the/her house, and her father
dinda sêsôc ōm si sem gweleŋ gö -ŋga sêmbo. Bêc ɳató
mother 3P.enter garden 3PR.go 3PR.do work taro of/for 3P.be/stay day some
and mother had gone to the garden and were doing work cultivating taro. Some days
meŋ giŋga su, tigeŋ ɳabèc bu sèliŋ bu ti
3S.come 3SR.be.gone PERF but GENPF.sleep COMP 3P.wash water with
had passed, but the day for them to wash and
sêkôm mwasiŋ tu iŋ ndöc akuwê -ŋga yêc dôn yêc.
3P.make feast for 3S 3S.sit initiation.FEM of/for 3S.be/lie firmly 3S.be/lie
have a feast for her coming of age was still to come.
Ma ɳalac andô daŋ nmeŋ kêsau iŋ. Kêsau bawhê dinaŋ
And person true a/one 3S.come 3SR.deceive 3S 3SR.deceive girl that
And an old man came and deceived her. He deceived that girl
bocdec bu, ‘Lau mba bu sēhèc aö tu wayèc i baya
like this COMP people NEG.EX COMP 3S.paddle 1S for 1SIR.pull fish tuna
like this (saying), ‘There is no-one to paddle the canoe so that I can catch tuna,
-ŋga, bocnaŋ aö oc wateŋ am bu am mweŋ hèc aö ma
-of/for like.GIV 1S NR 1SIR.ask 2S COMP 2S 2S.come 2S.paddle 1S and
so I will ask you to come and paddle (for) me and

hèclu dandi dayèc i baya.’ Goc bawhê dinaŋ sip, madec
1P+DL 1P+IR.go 1P+IR.pull fish tuna then girl that 3S.descend and.then
we will go and catch tuna’ So that girl went down (from the house) and then

ĩŋlu ŋamalar andò dinaŋ sēsa gwèc si. Sēuc waŋ su ma
3S.DL person true that 3P.go.out sea 3PR.go 3P.scrape canoe away and
she and that old man went out to the beach. They dragged the canoe out, and

sēsa e si sēmbo sēyèc i baya. ŋamalar andò dinaŋ
3P.go.out and/until 3PR.go 3P.be/stay 3P.pull fish tuna person true that
went out to sea, and they went and were there and caught tuna. That old man

yèc i baya kēlēlēc e waŋ gi gōlōc. Ma kēsa
3S.pull fish tuna 3SR.surpass and/until canoe 3PR.go 3SR.hit.top and 3SR.deceive
cought many tuna so that the canoe was filled to the top. And he deceived

bawhê naŋ bocdec bu, ‘I meŋhu yèc waŋ, ma gitôm bu
girl GIV like.this COMP fish be.filled 3S.be/lie canoe and 3SR.go.able COMP
the girl like this (saying), ‘Fish have filled the boat, and it is not possible that

am whiŋ aö dom mbo dandi waŋ pac. Bocnaŋ aö wakōc am
2S 2S.be.with 1S NEG lest 1P+IR.go canoe 3S.capsize like.GIV 1S 1SIR.take 2S
you come/be with me, lest (when) we go the canoe will sink. So I will take you

sa wandi, wakēŋ am ndōc agatē atu dē ti gap poc dē
up.out 1SIR.go 1SIR.put 2S 2S.sit tree.drift big there with flotsam 3S.float there
and put you to sit on that big drifting tree there, floating with the flotsam there,

bu ndōc naŋ. Ma aö wakōc i ti gēŋ hoŋ wandi e
COMP 3S.sit GIV and 1S 1SIR.take fish with thing/s all 1SIR.go and/until
to sit there. And I will take the fish and all the (other) things and I will go and

wakēŋ sip baŋ, naŋ goc wambu wameŋ ma wakōc am
1SIR.put 3S.descend shore GIV then 1SIR.return 1SIR.come and 1SIR.take 2S
put them on the shore, and then I will come back and get you

ma dalhō dandi.’
and 1P+leave 1P+IR.go
and we will go (back).’

Bawhê naŋ kēŋ iŋ sip gi ndōc agatē naŋ ndōc, ma
girl GIV 3S.put 3S 3S.descend 3SR.go 3S.sit tree.drifting GIV 3S.sit and
(As for) that girl, he put her down to sit on that drifting tree, and
Samples of Bukawa texts

iŋ kōlhō gi, bèc waŋ sa kōc i sa meŋ
3S 3SR.leave 3SR.go 3S.paddle canoe up/out 3S.take fish up/out 3S.come
he left and paddled the canoe away (and) brought the fish back to the

sōc baö. Iŋ gi kōc gēŋ hoŋ sōc andu gi ma iŋ
3S.enter shore 3S 3SR.go 3S.take thing/s all 3S.enter house 3SR.go and 3S
shore. He went and took everything into his house, but

mbu gi kōc bawhē naŋ dom.
3S.return 3SR.go 3S.take girl GIV NEG
he didn’t return and get that girl.

Bawhē dau gacgeŋ ndōc bocdinaŋ ndōc e òbwēc sa. Bocnaŋ
girl DEM entirely 3S.sit like.that 3S.sit and/until night up/out like.GIV
The girl remained sitting like that, she sat until night time.

iŋ ndōc e ñasec sa ma yēc bēc kêguluŋ dau
3S 3S.sit and/until darkness up/out and 3S.be/lie sleep 3SR.curl REFPN.3
So she sat until it was dark, and she slept, curling

dau sa yēc a ñalili. A atu dinaŋ ti ñalili poc
REFPN.3 up/out 3S.be/lie tree buttress tree big that with buttress 3S.float
herself up in the buttress roots of the tree. (That big tree with buttress roots was drifting

gwēc. Yēc dinaŋ yēc galaŋsē ti sa ndōc. Gēŋ
sea 3S.be/lie that 3S.lie morning 3S.get.up up/out 3S.sit thing/s
on the sea.) She lay there, in the morning she got up and sat.

yō iŋ, ma taso gēŋ bu tap ndip basō me gēŋ
3S.cause.need 3S and eye.miss thing/s COMP 3S.find coconut dry or thing/s
She was hungry, and looked around for something, to find a dry coconut or

bocke sa ma neŋ. Ma iŋ kēsēlēŋ mbo gi tap mbac
what(ever) up/out and 3SIR.eat and 3S 3SIR.walk 3S.be/stay 3SR.go 3S.find bird
whatever and eat (it). And she was walking, and went and found (that) an

macmpoŋ daŋ su ñagulu ndōc a ñalili naŋ. Iŋ kōc gēŋ dau
eagle a/one 3S.put egg 3S.sit tree buttress GIV 3S 3S.take thing/s DEM
eagle had laid an egg – it sat in those buttress roots. She took it,

sa ma kōc mbo e bu pec neŋ magoc ya mba.
up/out and 3S.take 3S.be/stay and/until POT 3S.cook 3SIR.eat but fire NEG.EX
and held it until she wanted to cook (it) and eat (it) but there was no fire.

Bocnaŋ kēŋ gēŋ dau ndōc yēc bèc ma kēmahom mbac ñagulu
like.that 3S.put thing/s DEM 3S.sit 3S.be/lie sleep and 3SIR.warm bird egg
So she put it down, and slept and warmed that bird’s egg.

dinaŋ. Ma galaŋṣē kōm boceaŋ ñapaŋ e gitōm bèc ñatō
that and morning 3S.make like.GIV always and/until 3SIR.go.able sleep some
And the next day she kept on doing that until a few days
Appendix

meŋ giŋga goc mbac dau ŋatu sa. Ma mbac dau
3S.come 3SR.be.gone then bird DEM offspring up/out and bird DEM
had come and gone, and then the baby bird hatched out. And that bird broke (the egg)
golo su ma ŋatu macmpoŋ dau meŋ hôc asê.
3SR.break PERF and offspring eagle DEM 3S.come 3S.lift out
and the baby (the very eagle) came out.

Goc iŋ yob iŋ bocnaŋ kôm iŋ ŋapep. Ma yob iŋ
then 3S 3S.care.for 3S like,GIV 3S.cover 3S well and 3S.care.for 3S
Then she cared for him like that, covering him up well. And she kept caring for him
bocnaŋ mbo e mbac dau ti atu. Gocdec mbac dau iŋ
like,GIV 3S.be/stay and/until bird DEM 3S.become big then.here bird DEM 3S
like that until the bird grew up. Then that bird, he
kêsahê tu neŋ gêŋ -ŋga bocnaŋ kêdôbôŋ dau ma kôc i
3SR.test for 3SIR.eat thing/s of/for like,GIV 3S.teach REFPN.3 and 3S.take fish
tried to eat something, so he taught himself and he caught
ŋató ŋató yêc gwêc ma meŋ gêŋ. Iŋ gêŋ gêŋ ma kêŋ
some some 3S.be/lie sea and 3S.come 3SR.eat 3S 3S.eat thing/s and 3S.give
some some fish from the sea and came and ate (them). He ate, and gave (some)
têŋ dinda bu neŋ ma dinda awhê naŋ sôm, ‘Ë! Aö gaŋ
3S.go.to mother COMP 3SIR.eat and mother woman GIV 3S.say hey 1S 1SR.eat
to his mother to eat. And his mother, that woman, said, ‘Hey! I am not
gêŋ kaŋ naŋ tidôŋ dom.’ Ma iŋ atûŋgac dau gêŋ ma yêc.
things kind NEG and 3S.child.man DEM 3SR.eat
accustomed to eating that kind of thing.’ But that son of hers ate and lay/slept.

Gałyŋsê iŋ kôc daŋ tiyham me telha iŋ kôc daŋ tiyham
morning 3S 3S.take a/one again or afternoon 3S 3S.take a/one again
In the morning he (would) take another (fish) or in the afternoon he would get another one.

Ďâlêŋ tîgeŋ dinaŋ. Gocdec ndac dinda bu, ‘Ma mac aŋ
GENPF.way one that then.here 3S.ask mother COMP and 2P 2PR.eat
(He kept doing) that same method. Then he asked his mother, ‘And how do you (people)
gêŋ Ďâlêŋ bocke?’ Gocdec dinda sôm têŋ iŋ bu,
thing/s GENPF.way what(ever) then.here mother 3S.say 3S.go.to 3S COMP
eat food?’ Then the/his mother said to him,

‘Gitôm bu am mdi kôc ya yêc dê? Ya dau dê ŋawasu
3SR.go.able COMP 2S 2SIR.go 2S.take fire 3S.be/lie there fire DEM there smoke
‘Can you go and get fire from there? That fire there (where) smoke
pi. Ma mdi ma lic bu sêkôm ya naŋ sêmbo ôm
3S.ascend and 2SIR.go and 2SIR.see COMP 3P.make fire GIV 3P.be/stay garden
is rising. And go and see whether people have made that fire while they’re in the
Samples of Bukawa texts

me sêmbo malac ma am lic ṣawasu dindê. Ma am oc tanôm or 3P.be/stay village and 2S 2SIR.see smoke there and 2S NR eye.GEN2 garden or in the village, and you see that smoke there. And then look down

sip ndi lic ŋanda naŋ sa naŋ sêkêŋ a. Ma 3S.descend 3SIR.go 3SIR.see coal RC 3S.up/out RC 3P.put wood and and see the ember/coal that is alight, where they put the wood.

ya oc lom asê pi a dinaŋ ma am lic goc kôc fire NR 3SIR.cross out 3S.ascend wood that and 2S 2SIR.see then 2S.take And the fire will catch onto that wood and (when) you see (it) then take (it)

sip boclec. Kôc sip têŋ lec bu ya neŋ am 2S.take like here 2S.take 2S.descend 2S.go.to here COMP fire 3SIR.eat 2S at the bottom like this. Take it down here, so that fire does not burn you.]

dom.' Goc iŋ kôc agatê ṣatô ma kêdôhôŋ iŋ, tôc têŋ NEG then 3S 3S.take wood.drifting some and 3SR.teach 3S 3S.show 3S.go.to Then she took some driftwood and taught him, showing to him (how to hold a firestick.)

iŋ. Goc iŋ kôm bocnaŋ. Iŋ gi ndöc e iŋ gêlic lau 3S then 3S 3S.make like.GIV 3S 3SIR.go 3S.sit and/until 3S 3SIR.see people So he did like that. He went and sat until he saw people

sêkôm ya ma iŋ sip gi ndöc a lôlôc ma tahê tahê 3P.make 3P.be/stay and 3S 3SIR.go 3S.sit tree top/part and eye.pull eye.pul making fire, and he went down and sat on the top of a tree and kept watching

ndöc a. Gêlic ṣamalac sêmbo sêmpiŋ ya naŋ dom. Gocdec iŋ 3S.sit tree 3SIR.see people 3P.be/stay 3P.be.near fire GIV NEG then here 3S from the tree. He saw people were not near that fire. Then he

solop sip gi ma kôc ya. Ñac sêlic ma sêhê nwalêc, ‘Ê! straight 3S.descend 3SIR.go and 3S.take fire 3P 3P.see and 3P.pull shout hey flew straight down and took a burning stick. They saw (it) and shouted, 'Hey,

Mbac daŋ lê gêm kaŋ yac neŋ ya sa gi, yac neŋ ya bird a/one there 3SIR.do stealing 1P GAUX.1 fire up/out 3SIR.go 1P GAUX.1 fire a bird there stole our fire, (it stole) our fire.’

sa gi.’ Sêsôm bocdinaŋ, madec iŋ kôc sa kôlhô e up/out 3SIR.go 3P.say like that and here 3S 3S.take up/out 3SIR.leave and/until They said that, and but he took it and went away until

gi sa dinda. Dinda pêŋ ya asê tac ṣayham sa. Pec 3SIR.go 3S.go.out mother mother 3S.blit 3S.be/stay stomach good up/out 3S.cook he went out to the his mother. The mother blew the fire-stick into flame, (and) was happy.

i ti gêŋ naŋ pi ya gi su ma gêŋ. Ma gó yô fish with thing/s GIV 3S.ascend fire 3SIR.go PERF and 3SIR.eat and taro 3S.cause.need She cooked fish and those things on the fire and ate (them). And she hungered for taro
In the example text, the sentence is translated as follows:

"She looked around and saw some dry coconuts floating in the sea among those flotsam. She brought (them), husked (them), broke (them) and ate (them).

And she sent her son like this, ‘Can you go and see if (some) women have filled (containers with) water, and are carrying it along the road. Then you go down and lift up the water in a bilum, and take it and come (here).’

(AND SO THE STORY CONTINUES … )

SAMPLE 2:  Kêcsôwa gôlôm balê daŋ (A Cassowary rears a Boy)

(as told by Mr Gionkwa Kawa at Bukawa in 1992)

Muŋ -ŋga lau andô sic miŋ daŋ têŋ aô bu awhê daŋ before of/for people true 3SR.hit story a/one 3S.go.to 1S COMP woman a/one

Before, the ancestors told me a story that a woman

Lu nakweŋ sêndôc malac daŋ. Ịŋlu tawasê, ma iŋ awhê dau two husband 3P.sit village a/one 3S.DL be.alone.GEN3 and 3S woman DEM and her husband lived in a village. The two of them were alone, and the woman

Daē. Ma bêc daŋ iŋ bu mbo ôme. Kêsêlêŋ mbo belly.GEN3 and sleep a/one 3S POT 3S.be/stay garden 3SR.walk 3S.be/stay was pregnant. And one day she wanted to go to the garden. She walked along

E balêkoc tuŋ iŋ. Ma iŋ bu mbu sa malac and/until child(ren) 3S.cause.pain 3S and 3S POT 3S.return 3S.go.out village for some way and began to feel birth pangs. And she wanted to return to the village,
Samples of Bukawa texts

meŋ, magoc akêŋ malac tibaliŋ su. Bocdinaŋ sip saleŋ
3S.come but from village 3S.become.long PERF like.that 3S.descend jungle
but it was already a long way distant. So she went into the bush,

gi kóc balēkoc yëc kēcsôwa ñaseŋ. Kóc balēkoc dau
3SR.go 3S.take child(ren) 3S.be/lie cassowary GENPF.road 3S.take child DEM
and had the baby on a cassowary trail. She had the baby;

su, balēkoc dau ñgac. Awhê dau ñgô mbac daŋ taŋ, ma ñ
PERF child(ren) DEM man woman DEM 3S.hear bird a/one 3S.cry and 3S
the child was a boy. The woman heard a bird call, but she

gêm gauc bu ñamalac daŋ me balôm. Bocdinaŋ tec balê
3SR.do thinking COMP person a/one or spirit like.that 3S.leave boy
didn’t know if it was a person or a spirit. So she left the boy

dau yêc ma kōlhö gi.
DEM 3S.be/lie and 3SR.leave 3SR.go
lying (on the trail) and she went away.

Ma kēcsôwa daŋ kēsēlēŋ meŋ e tap balē dau sa, ma
and cassowary a/one 3SR.walk 3S.some and/until 3S.find boy DEM up/out and
And a cassowary came walking along and found the boy, and

kóc ñŋ sa. Ma lu si sēmbo ñŋ ndē malac. Kēcsôwa
3S.take 3S.up/out and two 3PR.go 3P.be/stay 3S GAUX.3S village cassowary
took him away. And the two of them went and stayed at its place/village. The

tawalô balē dau, ma gi kóc lau si huŋ lôwê
eye.strap boy DEM and 3SR.go 3S.take people GAUX.3P banana ripe
cassowary had pity on the boy, and went and got human’s eating bananas

mbo ôm, ma kēŋ tēŋ balē gēŋ. Gôlôm ñŋ mbo
3S.be/stay garden and 3S.give 3S.go to boy 3SR.eat 3SR.rear 3S 3S.be/stay
from a garden, and gave it to the boy and he ate (them). It kept fending for him

e ti atu.
and/until 3S.become big
until he grew up.

Goc bêc daŋ kēcsôwa dau gi tip lau mbo ôm.
then sleep a/one cassowary DEM 3SR.go 3S.spy people 3S.be/stay garden
Then one day the cassowary went and spied on people in (their) garden.

Mbo e gêm kaŋ lau si ki daŋ sa, ma kóc
3S.stay and/until 3SR.do stealing people GAUX.3P axe a/one up/out and 3S.take
It stayed (there) until it stole one of their axes, and it brought it

sa meŋ kēŋ tēŋ balē dau bu lēŋ soc
up/out 3S.come 3S.give 3S.go to boy DEM COMP 3SR.cut garden.area
and gave it to the boy to cut a garden plot.
Bêc daŋ ma mbu gi kóc göwhê ti huŋwhê ma tê sleep a/one and 3S.return 3SR.go 3S.take taro.shoot with banana.shoot and sugar
Another day it went back and got taro seedstock and banana seedstock and sugar cane
ti apuć, ma këŋ têŋ balê sô. Mbo e balê ti with pitpit and 3S.give 3S.go.to boy 3S.plant 3S.stay and/until boy 3S.become
and pitpit, and gave them to the boy to plant. It stayed until the boy grew big,
atu goc gi kóc awhê daŋ meŋ këŋ atu gêm ti
big then 3SR.go 3S.take woman a/one 3S.come 3S.give son 3SR.do 3S.become
then it went and brought a woman whom it gave to the son to marry
nawhê.
wife
as his wife.
Sêmbo e bèc daŋ awhê ndê lau sêndê sam daŋ, 3S.be/stay and/until sleep a/one woman GAUX.3S people 3P.cook meeting a/one
They stayed (like that) until one day the woman’s people hosted a feast/meeting,
ma iŋlu sêŋgô ŋayom, ma si bu sêtê wê sêwhiŋ. and 3S.DL 3P.hear GENPF.talk and 3SR.go COMP 3P.dance song 3P.be.with
and the two of them heard news of it, and went to dance too (with the people).
Sêtê wê sêmbo e balê ndê lau sêŋyalê balê dau, ma 3P.dance song 3P.be/stay and/until boy GAUX.3S people 3P.know boy DEM and
They danced for some time, and the boy’s people recognized him, and
sêkôm bu sêŋgaŋô su. Sêŋgaŋô dau sêmbo e 3P.make COMP 3P.pull.back away 3P.pull.back REFPN 3 3P.be/stay and/until
they made efforts to get him away (from the cassowary). They pulled against each other
kêcsôwa kac tô ma ŋamalaŋ sêlhac tô. Sêhë ŋaŋa
cassowary 3SR.stand side and person 3P.stand side 3P.pull strong(ly)
until the cassowary stood on one side, and the people on the other. They kept pulling
sêmbo e balê dau kic sip ŋalhu gi. Kêcsôwa 3P.be/stay and/until boy DEM tear 3S.descend GENPF.middle 3SR.go cassowary
hard until the boy was torn in half. The cassowary
dau tac ŋandê sa ma kuŋ nom mbo e nom
DEM stomach hot up/out and 3S.stab ground 3S.be/stay and/until ground
became angry and kept kicking the ground until the ground
kac kwi ma kêgatôc lau ahuc sambuc ma siŋga.
3SR.stand turningly and 3SR.cover people coveringly complete(ly) and 3PR.be.lost
turned over and completely covered the people and they died.
Ma kêcsôwa dau kôlhô sip saleŋ gi.
and cassowary DEM 3SR.leave 3S.descend jungle 3SR.go
And the cassowary went away into the jungle.
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