

The University of Sydney

### **Copyright in relation to this thesis\***

Under the Copyright Act 1968 (several provision of which are referred to below), this thesis must be used only under the normal conditions of scholarly fair dealing for the purposes of research, criticism or review. In particular no results or conclusions should be extracted from it, nor should it be copied or closely paraphrased in whole or in part without the written consent of the author. Proper written acknowledgement should be made for any assistance obtained from this thesis.

Under Section 35(2) of the Copyright Act 1968 'the author of a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work is the owner of any copyright subsisting in the work'. By virtue of Section 32(1) copyright 'subsists in an original literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work that is unpublished' and of which the author was an Australian citizen, an Australian protected person or a person resident in Australia.

The Act, by Section 36(1) provides: 'Subject to this Act, the copyright in a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work is infringed by a person who, not being the owner of the copyright and without the licence of the owner of the copyright, does in Australia, or authorises the doing in Australia of, any act comprised in the copyright'.

Section 31(1)(a)(i) provides that copyright includes the exclusive right to 'reproduce the work in a material form'. Thus, copyright is infringed by a person who, not being the owner of the copyright, reproduces or authorises the reproduction of a work, or of more than a reasonable part of the work, in a material form, unless the reproduction is a 'fair dealing' with the work 'for the purpose of research or study' as further defined in Sections 40 and 41 of the Act.

Section 51(2) provides that "Where a manuscript, or a copy, of a thesis or other similar literary work that has not been published is kept in a library of a university or other similar institution or in an archives, the copyright in the thesis or other work is not infringed by the making of a copy of the thesis or other work by or on behalf of the officer in charge of the library or archives if the copy is supplied to a person who satisfies an authorized officer of the library or archives that he requires the copy for the purpose of research or study'.

\*'Thesis' includes 'treatise', dissertation' and other similar productions.

**A grammar of Barupu:  
a language of Papua New Guinea**

Miriam Corris

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Linguistics  
University of Sydney

August 2005

This is to certify that:

1. except where otherwise indicated this thesis is my own work.
2. the study complied with the requirements of the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee.



---

Miriam Corris

# Abstract

This thesis is a descriptive grammar of Barupu, the easternmost member of the Skou family of languages. Barupu is spoken by around 3000 people on the north coast of New Guinea; its grammar has not previously been described.

Barupu is a tone language in which words belong to one of five tone classes and it exemplifies a type of pitch-accent system where for the most part tone is attracted to penultimate stressed syllables and spreads one syllable to the right. Some words, however, have tones lexically specified to one of the final two syllables of the word.

A key feature of Barupu grammar is that there is no oblique marking on NPs — no particles, adpositions or case markers provide information about a nominal's role in the clause. Instead, Barupu is head-marking. Underived verbs show multiple exponence of subject, which can take the form of double prefixing or prefixing and infixing.

There is a set of suffixing morphemes that function like applicatives in adding participants to the clause, but which are very atypical in appearing outside verbal inflection and showing extra agreement for subject. Barupu also has a prefixing Benefactive paradigm that replaces regular subject agreement and can be extended to mark external possession. Finally, Barupu is a polysynthetic language and, as such, makes almost no use of formal subordination.

Appendices to this thesis include a set of interlinearised texts and a draft of a Barupu-English dictionary with an English-Barupu finderlist.

## Acknowledgements

First I would like to thank the people of Barupu for welcoming me to their village and taking the time to teach me about their language. Thank you especially to Philip and Maria Bakema and family for giving me a place to live and looking after me so well.

Also in Barupu village, thanks to Matthew Nakombo, Carl Aveni, Michael Mollis, John Tawiri, Maria Walan, Rita and Gloria; the teachers of the Mariele Ventre Barupu primary school and Barupu elementary school: Elizabeth Moskir, Cathleen Amunti, Paula Akove, Matilda Funil, Peter Wampai, Ignas, Arnold, Matthew Moroka, Christopher Merecki, Joanne Karawa and of course Headmaster Eugene Bidau.

At Sydney University my biggest thanks go to my supervisor Bill Foley for generously sharing his knowledge, for his encouragement and support throughout, and not least for making it possible for me to travel to Papua New Guinea. Thanks also to my associate supervisors: Mark Donohue, for introducing me in person to Barupu and Papua New Guinea and for many enlightening discussions and Toni Borowsky, in particular for her comments and advice on Chapters 2 and 3. Thanks, too, to other staff members and visitors in the department, Jane Simpson, Michael Walsh, Mark Harvey and Ilana Mushin, who have offered guidance and always had time to answer questions.

I am also very grateful to Lila San Roque and Melissa Crowther for leaving such a good impression of linguistics students when they visited Barupu village in 2000, for their and Mark Donohue's excellent initial work on Barupu, and also for their constant care, friendship and support over the years.

Many people eased the difficulties of fieldwork. In Port Moresby: Jim Robins of the National Research Institute arranged my research visa and went beyond the call of duty in helping me get around. Hugh Davies helped with contacts in Aitape. In Vanim and Aitape: Phillip Tjeong, Brett Kirkwood, Bishop Austin Crapp, Father Tim, Paul and Miriam Vavena, John and Isabella Bidau, and David and Sarah Rumble provided welcoming places to stay as well as good company and food. Lynette and the staff of the Sandaun Motel were always helpful. Special thanks to Ben and Mandy Pehrson and Debbie Larkins of SIL for inviting me to their orthography workshop at Arop village in 2003 and putting me up at short notice.

Thanks to my various employers for flexibility and understanding: Julie Vonwiller at Appen and Linda Barwick at PARADISEC. Thanks too to Linda and Nick Thieberger for setting up PARADISEC and providing a safe place for audio recordings. Thank you to Peter Austin and the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Documentation Project for their generous support between 2003-2005.

Thanks too to my co-postgrads for discussions and general camaraderie: Nicoletta Romeo, Barbara Jones, Sarah Lee, Hilário de Sousa, Adam Blaxter Paliwala, Myfany Turpin, Joanne Page, Joe Blythe. Thanks to Fiona Blake for giving me an excuse to see a bit more of PNG.

Thanks to Jean Bedford for mammoth proofreading efforts; to her and Peter Corris for reading drafts and offering encouragement and suggestions and to Ruth Corris and Kate Cummins at the National Archives of Australia for help with document searches. Thanks to Jane Wallace and Simon Cant, at last, for 1999. Thanks also to Georgia for friendship and knowing what it's like.

Finally thanks to Phil, for everything.

# Contents

<b>Abstract</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>Glossing conventions and abbreviations</b>	<b>xv</b>
<b>Maps</b>	<b>xxi</b>
<b>1 Barupu language and speakers</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Linguistic grouping and history . . . . .	2
1.2 Economic and cultural life . . . . .	8
1.3 Grammar overview . . . . .	9
1.4 Language use in the community . . . . .	11
1.4.1 Loan words . . . . .	11
1.5 Previous work . . . . .	12
1.5.1 Sissano contact — Laycock (1973b) . . . . .	13
1.6 Fieldwork for this study . . . . .	17
1.6.1 Ethics . . . . .	17
<b>2 Phonology</b>	<b>19</b>
2.1 Syllable structure . . . . .	20
2.1.1 Reduplication . . . . .	21
2.1.2 CR`onsets . . . . .	22
2.2 Consonants . . . . .	22
2.2.1 Stops /p,t,k,b/ . . . . .	24
2.2.1.1 /k/ . . . . .	24
2.2.1.2 /t,p/ . . . . .	25
2.2.1.3 /b/ . . . . .	25
2.2.2 Trill /r/ . . . . .	26
2.2.3 Nasals /m,n/ . . . . .	26
2.2.4 Glides . . . . .	27
2.2.4.1 /b/ and /w/ . . . . .	28
2.3 Vowels . . . . .	29
2.3.1 Avoiding VV sequences . . . . .	33
2.3.1.1 Glide formation . . . . .	33
2.3.1.2 Palatalisation . . . . .	35
2.3.1.3 Vowel deletion . . . . .	37

2.3.1.4	/a/ . . . . .	38
2.4	Suprasegmental phonology — tone and stress . . . . .	38
2.4.1	Monosyllables . . . . .	39
2.4.2	Polysyllables . . . . .	44
2.4.3	Stress . . . . .	48
2.4.4	Interaction between stress and tone . . . . .	52
2.4.5	Reduplication and tone . . . . .	58
2.4.6	Tone lexically assigned to syllables and glide epenthesis . . . . .	59
2.4.7	Tone sandhi — verbs . . . . .	59
2.4.8	Tones and epenthetic glides . . . . .	61
2.4.9	Tone and noun compounds . . . . .	62
2.5	Orthography . . . . .	63
<b>3</b>	<b>Inflectional verb morphology</b> . . . . .	<b>66</b>
3.1	Subject marking . . . . .	67
3.1.1	Class I . . . . .	67
3.1.2	Class II . . . . .	72
3.1.2.1	Irregular Class II verb -yé ‘hit, kill’ . . . . .	78
3.1.3	Class III . . . . .	79
3.1.4	Class IV . . . . .	85
3.2	Object marking . . . . .	86
3.2.1	Allomorphy . . . . .	89
3.2.1.1	3SG.F . . . . .	90
3.3	Other verbal inflection . . . . .	91
3.3.1	Suppletion . . . . .	91
3.3.2	Verbs taking co-referential prefix and suffix . . . . .	91
<b>4</b>	<b>Word classes</b> . . . . .	<b>93</b>
4.1	Nouns . . . . .	94
4.1.1	Other nominals . . . . .	96
4.1.1.1	Personal pronouns . . . . .	97
4.1.1.2	Interrogative pronouns . . . . .	97
4.1.1.3	Proper names . . . . .	98
4.2	Verbs . . . . .	99
4.2.1	Intransitive verbs . . . . .	100
4.2.2	Monotransitive verbs . . . . .	100
4.2.3	Ambitransitive verbs . . . . .	105
4.2.4	Ditransitive verbs . . . . .	105
4.2.5	Pseudotransitive verbs . . . . .	106
4.2.6	Adjectival verbs . . . . .	112
4.2.6.1	Numerals . . . . .	115
4.2.7	Copulars . . . . .	117
4.2.8	Temporal verbs . . . . .	117
4.2.9	Weather predicates . . . . .	118
4.3	Closed word classes . . . . .	119
4.3.1	Temporals . . . . .	120

4.3.2	Locationals . . . . .	123
4.3.3	Manner words . . . . .	124
4.3.4	Intensifiers . . . . .	125
4.3.5	Other modifiers . . . . .	126
4.3.6	Particles . . . . .	128
4.3.7	Conjunctions . . . . .	129
4.3.8	<i>béku</i> 'REFlexive' . . . . .	130
4.3.9	<i>beka</i> 'like' . . . . .	130
4.3.10	Demonstratives . . . . .	131
4.3.11	Quantifiers . . . . .	131
4.3.12	Greetings, interjections and address terms . . . . .	132
<b>5</b>	<b>Noun phrases</b> . . . . .	<b>134</b>
5.1	Compound heads . . . . .	135
5.1.1	Tight compounds . . . . .	136
5.1.2	Loose compounds . . . . .	138
5.1.3	N+V compounds . . . . .	140
5.1.4	Combinations of compounds . . . . .	141
5.2	Adjectives . . . . .	141
5.2.1	Reduplication . . . . .	144
5.2.2	Adjectives vs. N+V compounds . . . . .	144
5.3	Possession . . . . .	146
5.4	Demonstratives . . . . .	146
5.4.1	<i>é/bé</i> — DPROX . . . . .	148
5.4.2	<i>boró</i> — DMID . . . . .	150
5.4.3	<i>ére/bére</i> — DDIST . . . . .	150
5.4.4	<i>émo/bémo</i> — DREF . . . . .	152
5.4.5	<i>éro</i> — DIRR . . . . .	155
5.5	Quantifiers . . . . .	158
5.6	Relative clauses . . . . .	159
5.7	Nominal conjunction . . . . .	163
5.7.1	Listing . . . . .	163
5.7.2	Inclusory construction . . . . .	164
5.7.3	Singular conjunction — <i>rê-</i> . . . . .	164
5.7.4	Dual and plural conjunction — <i>avé-</i> . . . . .	165
<b>6</b>	<b>Clause structure</b> . . . . .	<b>167</b>
6.1	Grammatical functions . . . . .	167
6.2	Verbal clauses . . . . .	173
6.2.1	Intransitive clauses . . . . .	173
6.2.2	Monotransitive clauses . . . . .	174
6.2.2.1	Reflexive and reciprocal . . . . .	175
6.2.3	Ditransitive clauses . . . . .	177
6.2.4	Instruments . . . . .	178
6.2.5	Location and Reason . . . . .	180
6.2.6	'Adjunct' nominals . . . . .	185

6.2.6.1	NP types . . . . .	189
6.2.6.2	Obligatoriness . . . . .	190
6.2.7	Post-verbal modifying slot . . . . .	190
6.2.8	Summary of word order in underived clauses . . . . .	191
6.2.9	Added objects . . . . .	191
6.3	The grammatical status of verb agreement . . . . .	193
6.3.1	Bound pronominals and referentiality . . . . .	194
6.3.2	Unification of information . . . . .	198
6.3.3	Omission of secondary objects . . . . .	199
6.4	Word order variations and other pragmatic marking . . . . .	199
6.4.1	Post-verbal Pi . . . . .	199
6.4.2	Topicalisation . . . . .	201
6.4.3	Free pronouns . . . . .	203
6.4.4	NP clitic . . . . .	207
6.5	Non-verbal predicates . . . . .	210
6.5.1	Nominal predicates . . . . .	210
6.5.1.1	Genitive predicates . . . . .	212
6.5.1.2	- <i>ǎvé</i> 'be, become' . . . . .	212
6.5.1.3	Resemblance and naming . . . . .	213
6.5.2	Adjectival predicates . . . . .	214
6.5.3	Locative and existential predicates . . . . .	215
6.5.3.1	Predicate possession . . . . .	216
<b>7</b>	<b>Complex predicates and complex verbs</b>	<b>218</b>
7.1	Serial verbs . . . . .	219
7.1.1	Goal-directed manner of motion . . . . .	222
7.1.2	Causing Goal-directed downward motion . . . . .	224
7.1.3	Aspect . . . . .	226
7.1.4	Goal-directed carrying . . . . .	226
7.1.5	Instrumental . . . . .	228
7.1.6	Cause-effect . . . . .	231
7.2	Complex verbs . . . . .	233
7.2.1	ADVB <sub>1</sub> . . . . .	236
7.2.1.1	- <i>eri/-ari</i> SEPARATION . . . . .	236
7.2.1.2	- <i>ro/-o</i> SHORT distance/time . . . . .	238
7.2.2	Directionals . . . . .	239
7.2.2.1	Comparison of bound directionals and direction of motion serial verbs . . . . .	244
7.2.2.2	- <i>kie</i> and - <i>oo</i> . . . . .	245
7.2.2.3	- <i>ro</i> HIDDEN . . . . .	246
7.2.3	Adding participants . . . . .	248
7.2.3.1	Locationals . . . . .	249
7.2.3.2	Combinations and ordering . . . . .	255
7.2.3.3	VALency <sub>1</sub> . . . . .	256
7.2.3.4	VALency <sub>2</sub> : - <i>í</i> , - <i>é</i> , - <i>ô</i> , - <i>o</i> , - <i>ái</i> - . . . . .	259

7.2.4	Combinations and ordering . . . . .	265
7.2.5	Subject inflection and position . . . . .	266
<b>8</b>	<b>Beneficiary and Possessor</b>	<b>271</b>
8.1	Beneficiary . . . . .	272
8.2	Possessor marking . . . . .	278
8.2.1	Possessed secondary object . . . . .	279
8.2.2	Possessed locative . . . . .	281
8.3	Adjectival predicates and predicate possession . . . . .	282
8.4	Adjunct nominal constructions . . . . .	284
8.5	Full paradigm and discussion . . . . .	287
<b>9</b>	<b>Status, modality and aspect</b>	<b>290</b>
9.1	Status and time . . . . .	292
9.1.1	Irrrealis in the past . . . . .	294
9.2	Non-declarative speech acts . . . . .	295
9.2.1	Negation . . . . .	295
9.2.2	Content interrogation . . . . .	299
9.2.3	Polar interrogation . . . . .	302
9.2.4	Imperative and hortative/jussive . . . . .	304
9.2.5	<i>biaka</i> . . . . .	304
9.3	Aspect . . . . .	305
9.3.1	Reduplication — iterative . . . . .	306
9.3.2	<i>-kie</i> — ‘for a while’ . . . . .	309
9.3.3	<i>-kie-na</i> — exhaustive . . . . .	309
9.3.4	Verb + ‘go along’ — ‘for quite a while’ . . . . .	310
9.3.5	<i>nia</i> — persistive . . . . .	310
9.3.6	<i>bâuni</i> — constrastive persistive . . . . .	311
9.3.7	<i>bêni</i> — perfect . . . . .	311
<b>10</b>	<b>Complex sentences</b>	<b>313</b>
10.1	Complements . . . . .	314
10.1.1	Immediate perception . . . . .	314
10.1.2	Cognition . . . . .	318
10.1.3	Utterance . . . . .	321
10.1.4	Modals . . . . .	323
10.1.4.1	Wanting . . . . .	324
10.1.4.2	Ability . . . . .	328
10.1.4.3	Control . . . . .	330
10.1.4.4	Permission . . . . .	331
10.1.5	Properties and value judgements . . . . .	331
10.2	Simultaneous and sequential coordinations . . . . .	332
10.2.1	<i>ya</i> ‘and’ . . . . .	333
10.2.2	<i>kope</i> ‘then’ . . . . .	333
10.2.3	<i>ra</i> ‘but’ . . . . .	335
10.3	Adverbial coordinations . . . . .	335

---

10.3.1	Conditional, temporal, purpose, manner . . . . .	336
10.3.2	Conjunctions . . . . .	341
10.3.2.1	<i>ke</i> 'purpose' . . . . .	342
10.3.2.2	<i>bora</i> 'purpose' . . . . .	342
10.3.2.3	<i>ta</i> 'reason' . . . . .	344
10.3.3	Verb morphology . . . . .	344
10.3.3.1	Simultaneous . . . . .	344
10.3.3.2	Concessive . . . . .	345
10.3.4	Place . . . . .	346
<b>A</b>	<b>Texts</b>	<b>347</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>Barupu-English draft dictionary and English-Barupu finderlist</b>	<b>366</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>405</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>406</b>

## List of Tables

1	Class III verbs . . . . .	xviii
1.1	Borrowings from Sissano . . . . .	14
1.2	Directionality of borrowing unclear . . . . .	15
2.1	Syllables . . . . .	20
2.2	CR-initial words . . . . .	22
2.3	Alternating: CR ~ CVR . . . . .	22
2.4	Consonant phones . . . . .	23
2.5	Consonant phonemes . . . . .	23
2.6	Word-initial contrasts . . . . .	24
2.7	Intervocalic glides . . . . .	28
2.8	Vowels . . . . .	29
2.9	Distribution of [o] and [ɔ] . . . . .	31
2.10	Contrasts in stressed syllables: [o] and [ɔ] . . . . .	31
2.11	Vowel and vowel-glide alternations . . . . .	35
2.12	Near minimal quadruplets showing tonal contrasts on open monosyllables . . . . .	40
2.13	Tones on words with glide codas . . . . .	40
2.14	Tones on words with nasal codas . . . . .	40
2.15	Disyllabic tone melodies . . . . .	45
2.16	Trisyllabic tone melodies . . . . .	45
2.17	Assignments by rule . . . . .	47
2.18	Lexical specifications to particular syllables . . . . .	47
2.19	Orthographic conventions . . . . .	64
2.20	Tone marking . . . . .	65
3.1	Structure of the verb . . . . .	66
3.2	Class I prefixes . . . . .	67
3.3	Free pronouns . . . . .	68
3.4	Class I example paradigms . . . . .	69
3.5	Some Class I verbs . . . . .	72
3.6	Some Class II verbs . . . . .	72
3.7	Class II prefixes . . . . .	73
3.8	Consonants and features . . . . .	74
3.9	Vowels and features . . . . .	74
3.10	Class II example paradigms . . . . .	75

3.11	-yé 'hit' . . . . .	79
3.12	Class III verbs . . . . .	80
3.13	Class III morphemes . . . . .	80
3.14	Class III example paradigms . . . . .	81
3.15	Class III Ramo and Sumo . . . . .	82
3.16	Puare sample paradigm . . . . .	84
3.17	Some Class IV verbs . . . . .	85
3.18	Class IV morphemes . . . . .	85
3.19	Class IV example paradigm . . . . .	86
3.20	Object suffixes . . . . .	87
3.21	Object suffix example paradigms with 3SG.F subject . . . . .	88
3.22	Object suffix example paradigms with 3SG.F subject . . . . .	89
3.23	Verbs with final vowel change for 3SG.F . . . . .	90
3.24	-täipé 'bad' and -bóvo 'sleep' . . . . .	92
4.1	Free pronouns . . . . .	97
4.2	Some intransitive verbs . . . . .	100
4.3	Some STVs . . . . .	101
4.4	Some NSTVs . . . . .	102
4.5	Some ambitransitive verbs . . . . .	105
4.6	Some involuntary state verbs . . . . .	108
4.7	Adjectival verbs . . . . .	112
4.8	Temporal verbs . . . . .	117
4.9	Temporals . . . . .	120
4.10	Locationals . . . . .	123
4.11	Manner words . . . . .	124
4.12	Intensifiers . . . . .	125
4.13	Other verb modifiers . . . . .	126
4.14	Particles . . . . .	128
4.15	Conjunctions . . . . .	130
4.16	Greetings . . . . .	132
5.1	Current system . . . . .	137
5.2	Possible earlier system . . . . .	137
5.3	Some NFRCS . . . . .	140
5.4	Some adjectives . . . . .	142
5.5	Demonstratives . . . . .	147
6.1	Participants and their coding . . . . .	170
6.2	Adjunct nominals with 'light' verbs . . . . .	186
6.3	Adjunct nominals with 'heavy' verbs . . . . .	187
7.1	Serial verbs by semantic type . . . . .	220
7.2	Agreement consonants . . . . .	236
7.3	Some verbs obligatorily taking -eri/-ari . . . . .	237
7.4	Inflecting intransitive directionals . . . . .	240

---

7.5	Hidden . . . . .	246
7.6	Transitive locationals . . . . .	249
7.7	-o 'give' . . . . .	267
8.1	Some body-part Actor predicates . . . . .	286
8.2	Some body-part Experiencer adjunct nominal constructions . . . . .	287
8.3	Subject Beneficiary/Possessor combinations — underlying . . . . .	289
9.1	Temporal words . . . . .	293
10.1	Status oppositions . . . . .	335
B.1	. . . . .	366

## List of Figures

1	North coast of Papua New Guinea . . . . .	xxi
2	Barupu and surrounding villages. Approximate scale 1cm = 2.5kms . . . . .	xxii
1.1	Laycock's internal grouping of the Sko[u] Phylum . . . . .	2
1.2	Macro Skou . . . . .	2
2.1	<i>á</i> 'rain' . . . . .	42
2.2	<i>bá</i> 'fish' . . . . .	43
2.3	<i>tí</i> 'bellybutton' . . . . .	44
2.4	<i>oro</i> 'net' . . . . .	48
2.5	<i>apara</i> 'possum' . . . . .	49
2.6	<i>aivóro</i> 'tree kangaroo' . . . . .	49
2.7	<i>ôro</i> 'house' . . . . .	50
5.1	Ordering of elements in the noun phrase . . . . .	134
5.2	Person hierarchy . . . . .	163
6.1	Groupings of P, T and R. . . . .	171
6.2	Barupu groupings of Pu, Pi, T and R . . . . .	171
7.1	Structure of the Barupu complex verb . . . . .	233
7.2	Structure of a verb with a 'putative applicative' . . . . .	268
7.3	Apparent structure . . . . .	269

# Glossing conventions and abbreviations

In this thesis I have mostly followed The Leipzig Glossing Rules (See <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html> - Version accessed September 2004). The only exception is that I have not represented reduplication with a tilde, I have used a hyphen. The rules I have used are as follows:

## Glossing conventions

- A hyphen (-) indicates a morpheme break (including reduplication);
- (=) represents cliticisation;
- infixes are enclosed in angle brackets (<>);
- when one word in Barupu requires glossing with two elements, these are separated by full stops, e.g. Barupu *-kôe* is glossed as ‘go.up’;
- person and number labels are not separated by fullstops, e.g. 1SG, not 1.SG;
- gender is separated with a full stop, e.g. 1SG.F;
- an asterisk (\*) before an example sentence indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical;
- a hash (#) before an example sentence indicates that the sentence is grammatical but not with the intended meaning;
- a question mark (?) before an example sentence indicates that the sentence is borderline grammatical — that is, somewhat accepted in elicitation but not naturally attested;
- Tok Pisin and English words in example sentences are represented in roman font and glossed in upper case.

Where words have different meanings, the meaning that pertains for that example sentence will be the gloss it is given. For example, the word *pê* can be used to mean

'hair', 'fur' and 'leaf' and by extension it is used in compounds to express extremities of body parts — for example, fingers and nipples. If, for example, it is being used to mean 'hair', it will be glossed as 'hair'.

Where the orthographic representations are segmentable into morphemic glosses, they will appear in three-line glosses. If, however, the surface form is not segmentable example sentences will have four-line glosses; the second line will be a morphophonemic underlying representation.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the glossing of example sentences:

1	first person	PURP <sub>1</sub>	purpose
2	second person	PURP <sub>2</sub>	purpose
3	third person	REAS	reason
AT	address term	REDUP	reduplication
ADV	adversative	REFL	reflexive
AG	agreement	REG	regarding
AMID	amid, among, through	RL	realis
APPL	applicative	SEP	separation
AWAY	thither, short while	SHORT	short distance, time
BEN	beneficiary	SG	singular
CONC	concessive	SIMUL	simultaneous
CQ	content question	SRND	surround
DDIST	distal deictic	TOWARD	hither, towards
DIRR	hypothetical deictic	TVF	truth value focus
DMID	middle deictic	UNDER	underneath
DOWN	downward	UP	upward
DPROX	proximal deictic	VAL	valency
DREF	discourse deictic	WITH	with, to, dative of interest
DU	dual	WITHOUT	without
EXCL	exclamation		
EXTV	exhaustive		
F	feminine		
FROM	from, detrimental		
FRUS	frustrative		
GIVE	dative		
HID	hidden		
INTS	intensifier		
IPQ	irrealis polar question		
IRR	irrealis		
M	masculine		
NEAR	near		
NEG	negative		
OBLG	obligation		
ON	on		
PL	plural		
PLN	place name		
PRM	prominence		
PN	proper name		
POL	polarity		
PQ	polar question		

## Glossing complex verb agreement

Barupu verbs show multiple, and in some cases discontinuous, exponence of subject. There are four conjugation classes as described in full in Chapter 3 that take prefixes or infixes and infixes indexing most of the features of the subject.

For example, Class III Barupu verbs have prefixing and infixing agreement. The infix is a consonant which always appears between two final vowels, but the consonant by itself does not distinguish all the inflectional features — some of the information is located in at least a prefixed vowel, and in some cases by a longer prefix. The examples in Table 1 are shown with the realis prefix *k-*.

Table 1 Class III verbs

SG	1	M	<i>k-a-kô-n-e</i>
		F	<i>k-e-kô-n-e</i>
	2	M	<i>k-a-kô-m-e</i>
		F	<i>k-o-kô-m-e</i>
	3	M	<i>k-a-kôe</i>
		F	<i>k-o-kôe</i>
DU	1		<i>k-epi-kô-p-e</i>
	2		<i>k-oropu-kô-p-e</i>
	3		<i>k-ere-kô-p-e</i>
PL	1		<i>k-e-kô-m-e</i>
		2	M
	F		<i>k-eve-kô-r-e</i>
	3	M	<i>k-e-kô-p-e</i>
		F	<i>k-ere-kô-r-e</i>

As shown in the table and discussed in Chapter 3, it is not possible to divide the features consistently between the prefixes and the infix. Both affixes are thus glossed as marking the whole category. An infix will be indicated by angle brackets ( $\langle \rangle$ ) in the Barupu examples and the gloss, and the gloss for the infix will appear before the gloss of the verb. Realis is glossed as RL.

- (1) *k-e-kô(n)e*  
RL-1SG.F- $\langle$ 1SG.F $\rangle$ go.up  
'I<sub>F</sub> went up.'
- (2) *k-a-kô(n)e*  
RL-1SG.M- $\langle$ 1SG.M $\rangle$ go.up  
'I<sub>M</sub> went up.'
- (3) *k-o-kô(p)e*  
RL-2PL.M- $\langle$ 2PL.M $\rangle$ go.up  
'You<sub>M</sub> went up.'

- (4) *k-e-kô(p)e*  
 RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)go.up  
 ‘They<sub>M</sub> went up.’
- (5) *k-a-kôe*  
 RL-3SG.M-go.up  
 ‘He went up.’
- (6) *k-o-kôe*  
 RL-3SG.F-go.up  
 ‘She went up.’
- (7) *k-epi-kô(p)e*  
 RL-1DU-(1DU)go.up  
 ‘We two went up.’
- (8) *k-ere-kô(r)e*  
 RL-3PL.F-(3PL.F)go.up  
 ‘They<sub>F</sub> went up.’
- (9) *k-oropu-kô(p)e*  
 RL-2DU-(2DU)go.up  
 ‘You two went up.’

A non-low vowel after a nasal can be omitted, in this case the word will be glossed as follows:

- (10) *k-e-kô(n)*.  
 RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.up  
 ‘I<sub>F</sub> went up.’

## Phonological representations

In Chapter 2, phonemic representations will be enclosed within forward slashes (/ /) and phonetic representations will be enclosed in square brackets ([ ]). In the orthography discussion, graphemes are enclosed in angle brackets (< >). Elsewhere, unless specifically stated, examples will all be given in current orthography, represented in italics. The orthographic conventions are described in §2.5.

The exception is the representation of tone. Barupu has five tones: L, H, LH, HL and HLH and in the current Barupu orthography, tone is not consistently marked. In this thesis I use the following conventions:

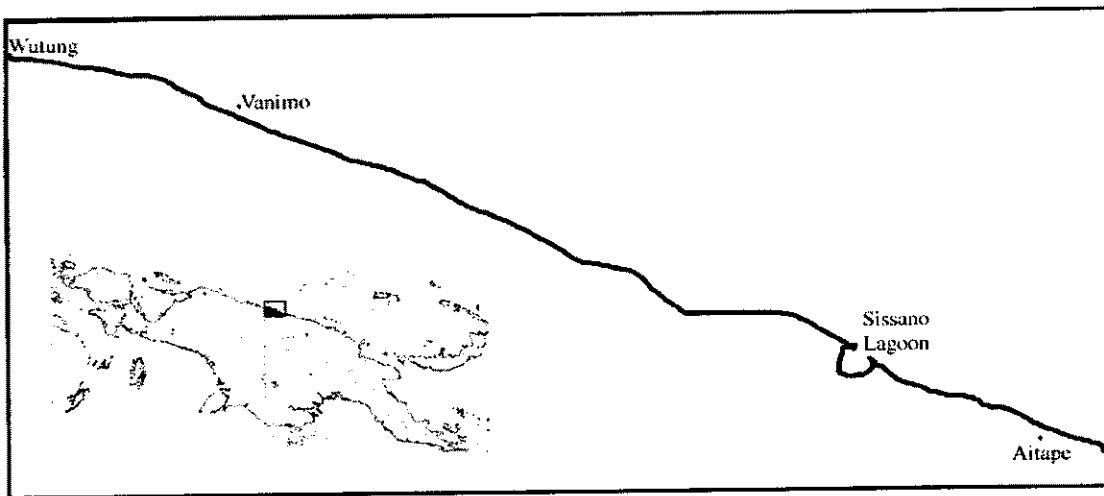
- In surface realisations presented in phonetic square brackets, low-pitch is marked with a grave: [à] and mid-pitch is marked with a macron: [ā]. In orthographic representations these pitches are unmarked.

- In both phonetic and orthographic representations, falling pitch is represented by a circumflex: [â], rising pitch is represented by a wedge: [ǎ] and high pitch is represented by an acute: [á].
- In phonemic representations words with predictable tone assignment are represented between phonemic brackets with the tone in uppercase following the word: e.g. /neni/-LH 1SG.F — this word has rising tone and the predictable surface form [nění]. Words with tones lexically assigned to particular syllables are represented between phonemic brackets with the tone marked on the lexically specified syllable with a diacritic: e.g. /-méntan/ ‘small’, this word has an H tone lexically specified on the penultimate syllable and has the surface form [méntàn].

## Sources

Many of the monoclausal examples in this grammar were gathered in personal elicitation sessions. Where possible, however, I have tried to use natural examples from narrative texts collected in Barupu village. Some data also comes from songs, written dictionary definitions as well as elicitations carried out by Donald Laycock. The source of an example sentence will be indicated in square brackets. The list of sources and abbreviations can be found in Appendix C. Where an example has no source, it should be taken as elicited.

# Maps



**Figure 1** North coast of Papua New Guinea

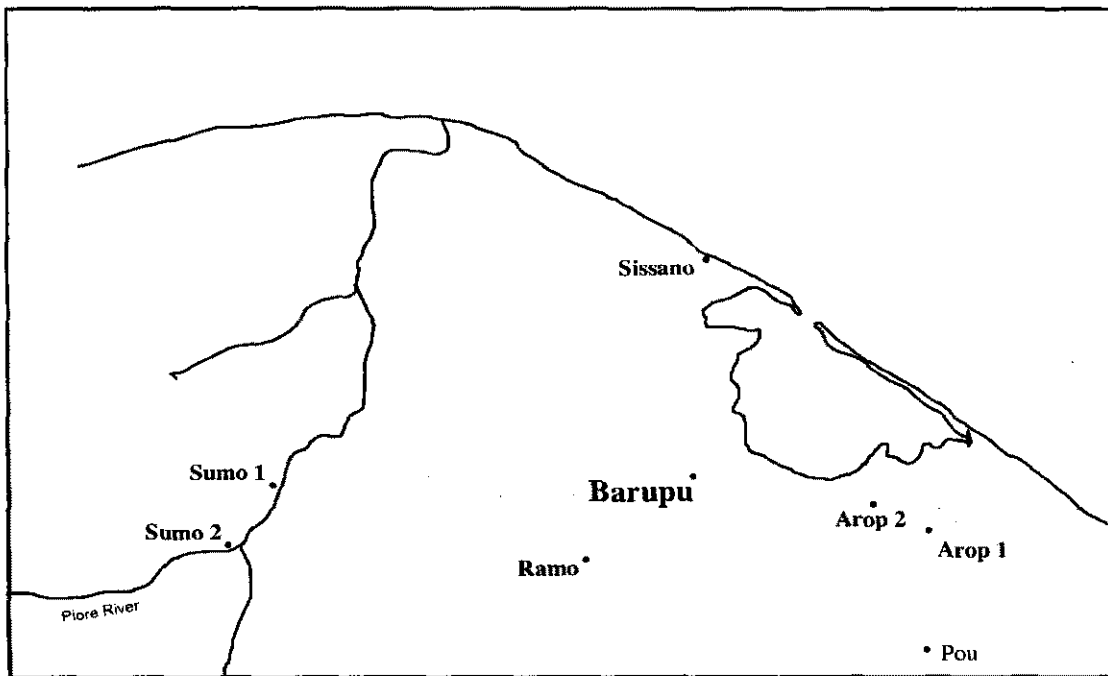


Figure 2 Barupu and surrounding villages. Approximate scale 1cm = 2.5kms