Chapter 6

Clause structure

In this chapter I describe the basic structure of clauses in Barupu. Out of keeping with polysynthetic typology, there is linear ordering of grammatical functions in the clause, but there is no strong evidence of hierarchical structure within that ordering, see §6.2. Section 6.3 discusses the grammatical status of verbal affixes and their interaction with overt NPs. In §6.4, I present an overview of mechanisms for marking the pragmatic status of participants, including deviations from canonical word order. Finally, in §6.5 I discuss non-verbal predicates. I begin with definitions and a summary of grammatical functions in Barupu.

6.1 Grammatical functions

Every verb in Barupu shows agreement for at least one argument and some obligatorily show agreement for two. One consequence of obligatory agreement is that there is no deletion of arguments under identity conditions, or control of infinitives, meaning that many of the usual syntactic tests used for identifying grammatical relations cannot be appealed to. This also means that there is no need to identify a privileged ‘grammatical subject’ or ‘pivot’ function. In addition, any participant can be relativised in Barupu and there are no voice operations. The
functions I will identify for Barupu have clause-internal definitions only.

Another factor complicating the identification of grammatical functions in Barupu is the lack of any NP marking. There are no case markers, adpositions or particles which give any information about the role an NP has in the clause. There are indications of an NP’s role (e.g. word order) but there is no overt marking. The lack of NP marking, coupled with the lack of cross-clausal operations targeting specific arguments, makes it difficult to define a class of core arguments and draw the familiar line between them and obliques.

Following is a list of the seven possible functions an NP might be performing in a Barupu clause and their identifying characteristics. Three of these can be instantiated in a simple or complex verbal word, the others are only identified by distributional characteristics such as word order and, in some cases, inherent meaning.

- **Subject:** we can identify the subject relation as encompassing the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) and the most Actor-like participant of a transitive verb (A). This argument is marked directly on the verb root by prefixes, as well as, in some conjugation classes, infixes. Any NP co-referencing this argument must be pre-verbal. The words *unake* ‘alone’ and *bēku* REFL have scope over this argument.

Identifying an object relation is less straightforward. Non-subjects of underived clauses are the *obligatory* non-Actor-like participants of monotransitive verbs (P), and the Themes (T) and Recipients (R) of ditransitive verbs. These arguments have the following characteristics:

- **P:** monotransitive verbs fall into two classes according to the morphological treatment of their Ps. As discussed in detail in §4.2.2, verbs with typically
inanimate, unindividuated Ps do not cross-reference their Ps with suffixes. The NP representing an unindividuated P (Pu) always appears before the verb. Verbs with typically animate, individuated Ps obligatorily cross-reference their Ps on the verb with a suffix. The NP representing an individuated P (Pi) unmarkedly appears pre-verbally but can appear after the verb in a pragmatically-marked construction (§6.4.1).

- T: like Pu, this argument is not marked on the verb; its only instantiation in the clause is an NP, and again like Pu, the NP must be pre-verbal.

- R: this argument is obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb by suffix and the NP unmarkedly appears post-verbally.

As well as the obligatory participants of underived clauses discussed above, the following NPs may also be found in the clause:

- Instrument: an optional participant which is not case marked nor marked on the verb. An NP referencing this participant is most often pre-verbal but can also be found post-verbally.

- Location/Reason: an optional participant which is not case marked nor marked on the verb. An NP referencing this participant is unmarkedly post-verbal. When a nominal found here has inherently locational semantics e.g. bo ‘place’, it supplies a Goal/Source/Location role depending on the verb; when a nominal without any locational semantics is found here it supplies a sort of ‘Reason’ role, see below.

- ‘Adjunct’ nominal: a nominal which, for reasons given in §6.2.6 below, I will argue forms a complex predicate with the verb rather than acting as a participant. This nominal always appears directly before the verb.
• Added object: introduced into the clause by one of twelve participant-adding suffixes or the Beneficiary/Possessor prefix. The added object is obligatorily marked by a suffix directly on the participant-adding morpheme. Added objects can play many different semantic roles, depending on the meaning of the participant-adding morpheme and the meaning of the verb. They fulfil most of the functions of adpositions and semantic cases in other languages (see Chapter 7). NPs co-referencing these participants are unmarkedly post-verbal.

Leaving out the non-participant adjunct nominals and the objects added by extra morphology, we can list the possible participants of simple clauses and schematise their characteristics as in Table 6.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>verb agreement</th>
<th>NP position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>prefix/infix</td>
<td>pre-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P (individuated)</td>
<td>suffix</td>
<td>pre/post-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P (unindividuated)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pre-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>suffix</td>
<td>post-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pre-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>pre/post-verbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location/Reason</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>post-verbal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is shown in the Table there are only two ways — verb agreement and word order — to potentially group the obligatory sub-categorised arguments (subject, Ps, T and R), and distinguish them from the optional non-subcategorised adjuncts (Instrument and Location/Reason).

Turning first to the obligatory arguments set and the difficulty of uniquely identifying the object relations, we can see that unindividuated Ps of monotransitive verbs receive the same treatment as Ts of ditransitive verbs. Neither is cross-referenced on the verb and both must appear pre-verbally. Rs of ditransitive verbs receive the same morphological marking as individuated Ps of monotransitive
verbs but the two argument types have different word order distributions in the clause; individuated Ps are unmarkedly pre-verbal while Rs are unmarkedly post-verbal.

In establishing object systems Dryer (1986:29) shows that a system which treats P and T in the same way in contrast to R, has a direct/indirect object distinction like that found in English. A system which treats P and R in the same way in contrast to T has a primary/secondary object distinction. This can be seen in Figure 6.1.

![Figure 6.1 Groupings of P, T and R. Source: Dryer (1986:29)]

Adapting this system to Barupu is not straightforward. For example, in Barupu, we must identify two different Ps of monotransitive verbs: individuated (Pi) and unidividuated (Pu). The Barupu groupings are shown in Figure 6.2.

![Figure 6.2 Barupu groupings of Pu, Pi, T and R]
We can see from Figure 6.2 that the Barupu object system is mixed. Word order treats Pu in the same way as T in contrast to both R and Pi.\footnote{It is interesting to consider the pragmatic permubility of Pi in terms of Barupu’s incipient polysynthetic typology. For example, we could speculate that it is a sign of movement away from fixed word order to a more discourse-figurational clause structure. At the same time, the lack of verbal agreement and fixity of the Pu could be a movement towards incorporation of these arguments.} Verb morphology, on the other hand, treats Pi and R the same in contrast to Pu and T — yielding something similar to a primary/secondary object distinction.

There does not seem to be a simple way of reducing the object relations to grammatical functions — Pu and T can be conflated to one function, which I will call secondary object. However, Pi and R cannot be grouped into the one function of primary object, because of their different positions in the clause. I will refer to the suffix on the verb as the object slot even though it seems more closely related to individuation/animacy than to a grammatical function, but I will continue to make a distinction between Pi and R in discussions of word order.

I turn now to the agreement and word order characteristics of the optional participants and the difficulty of giving a clear morpho-syntactic statement about the difference between core and oblique participants in Barupu. Neither Instruments nor Location/Reason participants are cross-referenced on the verb. Instruments are unmarkedly pre-verbal and Location/Reason participants are unmarkedly post-verbal. One argument might be that lack of verb agreement indicates non-core status. The problem with this is that Pu and T are not marked on the verb and yet they are obligatory. If these participants could be shown to be non-arguments (e.g. incorporated) then this analysis would hold. However, they do seem to have all the characteristics of full arguments (e.g. they can be full NPs).

Another argument might be that the post-verbal position occupied by Location/Reason is the oblique position because all other arguments in simple clauses have the potential to appear pre-verbally. This grouping would mean singling out...
Instrument for special treatment because it can appear before the verb, but that may be alright because it is not always clear whether Instruments are sub-categorised or not (Andrews 1985:91-92). However, Rs also appear post-verbally and these are obligatorily marked on the verb and clearly obligatory sub-categorised arguments.

In summary, we cannot identify a unified object relation in Barupu and nor can we make a clear morphosyntactic statement about a distinction between core arguments and obliques. The word order and verb morphology each encode different aspects of the P, T and R roles. Verb morphology encodes notions of animacy and individuation: Rs are more likely to be animate, and therefore individuated, than Ts so it is not unexpected that they should receive morphological marking. Word order suggests that Rs could be thought of as individuated Goals (this is returned to below) but there is no other morphosyntactic reason to label them oblique.

6.2 Verbal clauses

In this section I exemplify the various points made above about the positions and characteristics of grammatical functions in Barupu.

6.2.1 Intransitive clauses

The single argument of an intransitive verb always appears before the verb and is obligatorily marked on the verb by prefix, as in (243), or prefix and infix as in (244).

(243) Kuámi k-o-kòe.
  mother RL-3SG.F-go.up
  S   V
  ‘Mother went up.’

(244) Ti chá tora bì k-e-no(p)i monrai n-e-titi.
  line head old ancestor RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)go singsing IRR-3PL.M-dance
  ‘A long time ago some ancestors went off to go dancing.’ [U-EM:01]
6.2.2 Monotransitive clauses

In a clause headed by a suffix-taking monotransitive verb (245), the A and Pi are both obligatorily marked on the verb — A by prefix/infix and Pi by suffix — and any NPs co-referencing these arguments both appear before the verb. The basic ordering of NPs in transitive clauses is thus A Pi V.

(245) Kuáni aka k-o-yarã-ka.
      mother father RL-3sG.F-see-3sG.M
      A      Pi  V
   'Mother saw father.'

In the above example, the gender specification in the verb's obligatory prefix and suffix helps to assign the right interpretation to the clause. But, as the following example shows, when the verb agreement does not disambiguate, word order does. Given equal animacy — and neutral pragmatic status of — participants, the following example would have an A Pi V interpretation (see §6.4.2, below, for examples of when Pi A V ordering is appropriate).

(246) Bió biám má biám k-a-yarã-ka.
      person man child man RL-3sG.M-see-3sG.M
      A      Pi  V
   'The man saw the boy.'

There is a preferred order of arguments, but there are no movement or substitution processes which positively identify a constituent, so there do not seem to be compelling reasons for positing a VP constituent consisting of the verb and the Pi.

In clauses headed by non-suffixing monotransitive verbs the Pu must always appear before the verb and is not cross-referenced on the verb. An example of a clause with a Pu is given in (247).

(247) Öi k-ã-r-ã.
     sago RL-3sG.M-3sG.M·eat
     Pu  V
  'He ate sago.'
The totally fixed position of this argument with respect to the verb might suggest the existence of a constituent, but again, as there are no substitution or movement processes, it is unclear that a VP analysis is useful. Secondary objects are full, modifiable NPs, as shown in examples (248) and (249), suggesting that they are not incorporated.

(248) Rāi pāko nēnī ekōkō pāko k-o-chārō.
   sibling big 1SG.F string.bag big RL-3SG.F-carry.on.head
   ‘My big sister carries a big string bag on her head.’ [DICT-PA:01]

(249) Ei! nāpe aniania nēnā k-e-p-u=ēro?
   hey who fruit.sp ISG.M RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-pick.fruit=DIRR
   ‘Hey, who’s picking my fruit?’ [ANR-MN:01]

The secondary object NP can be omitted but only if its identity is fully recoverable (see §6.3.3, below).

6.2.2.1 Reflexive and reciprocal

A verb in a reflexive clause takes the same number of affixes in the same positions as it would in a non-reflexive clause and it takes two NP arguments. However, a reflexive object is always post-verbal on suffixing transitive verbs. The construction is marked in three ways. First, a suffixing transitive verb will take co-referential subject and object affixes. Second, an overt pronoun is obligatory and followed by the reflexive particle bēku. Third, the reflexivised pronoun appears after the verb. This is shown in the following example. Here the suffixing monotransitive verb -yē ‘hit’ takes a prefix and a suffix, both referring to the same participant, and the overt reflexivised pronoun is post-verbal.

(250) Kua Manuela k-o-yē-∅ bō bēku.
   AT PN RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.F 3SG.F REFL
   ‘Manuela hit herself.’

With dual and plural pronouns a clause with a post-verbal reflexive NP is ambiguous between reflexive and reciprocal.
Some intransitive verbs are inherently reflexive or reciprocal and require no operations. For example, the intransitive verb *pi-nii* ‘wash’ is inherently reflexive and the intransitive verb *-ōa* ‘fight’ is always found with dual or plural subject agreement and implied reciprocity. This is shown in examples (252) and (253).

(252) *Pi k-e-ni(n)i.*
water RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)wash
‘I wash (myself).’

(253) *K-ere-ō(p)ā.*
RL-3DU-(3DU)fight
‘Those two fought (each other).’

The reflexive particle *bēku* is also used in Barupu for emphasis (as in English ‘I did it myself’).
The non-suffixing transitive verbs do not appear with reflexive objects but this may be due to the facts that the types of participants they take as Undergoers are not very highly animate and thus unlikely to act on themselves, and that the 3SG.F personal pronoun bò cannot be used to refer to inanimates, e.g. *ài k-u-iro bò bêku (tree RL-3SG.F-fell 3SG.F REFL).

Another way to indicate a reciprocal action is by reduplicating the modifier bâru ‘return’ following a verb marked with dual or plural subject, as in (258).

(258) K-ere-tere bâru-bâru.
   RL-3DU-ask REDUP-return
   ‘They asked (each other) back (and forth).’ [TP-MN:01]

6.2.3 Ditransitive clauses

The following example shows the structure of a clause headed by the ditransitive verb -o ‘give’. The Theme bâ=va ‘fish=PRM’, like Pu, appears before the verb and there is no instantiation of this argument in the verb. The Recipient, nákì ‘dog’, is marked on the verb with a suffix -ka, like a Pi, but it appears after the verb.

(259) Cha Menriri bâ=va k-är-o-a nákì.
   AT PN fish=PRM RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-give-3SG.M dog
   ‘Cha Menriri gave the dog-spirit a fish.’ [TP-MN:01]

All NPs, including Pu and T, can be omitted if their identities are recoverable from context. And, even when the T NP is omitted, the R still appears after the verb. This is shown in the following example from a procedural text about how to make paint. The Theme has already been established and so is not overt in these clauses.

(260) Mâre k-anâ-irai,
   now RL-1SG.M-say
   ‘Now I’m telling (it),
   bai n-e-m-iritá-i mevóva mâre nau, ápo mêm vóva.
   FUT IRR-1PL-1PL-teach-3PL.M children now NOW grand.relation 1PL again
   so we can teach (it) to the children of today, and our grandchildren again.’
   [P-MG:03]
The above example shows that it is not just the structural presence of the Theme which forces a Recipient to follow the verb.

6.2.4 Instruments

The Instrument in Barupu is not case-marked nor marked on the verb, and often appears before the verb, making it look very like a secondary object. Unlike secondary objects, however, Instruments can appear after the verb. In clauses with transitive verbs and pre-verbal Instruments, the following orders are attested: A Inst V Pi (261a); A Pi Inst V (261b) and A Inst Pi V (261c). The Instrument and ( are in bold in the following examples.

(261) a) Kuâni âi k-o-yé-ya má.
mother tree RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M child
A Inst V Pi
'Mother hit the child with a stick.'

b) Kuâni má âi k-o-yé-ya.
mother child tree RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M
A Pi Inst V
'Mother hit the child with a stick.'

c) Kuâni âi má k-o-yé-ya.
mother tree child RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M
A Inst Pi V
'Mother hit the child with a stick.'

Example (261c) requires some extra remarks. This ordering is almost indistinguishable from another very common way to express Instrument relations. This way involves a serial verb construction (see Chapter 7) with a 'get' verb (either -ko 'get.SGO' or -úna 'get.PLO'). This construction is shown in the following example.

(262) Kuâni âi k-o-ko má=va k-o-yé-ya.
mother tree RL-3SG.F-get.SGO child=PRM RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M
A Pu V Pi V
'Mother got a stick and hit the child.'
But, this construction is most commonly realised in abbreviated form, with the 'get' verb elided, as in the following example. Speakers refer to this as a 'short cut' to the serial verb construction.

(263) *Kuáni ái ... má=va k-o-yé-ya.*

mother stick ... child=PRM RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M

A Pu (V) Pi V

'Mother got a stick and hit the child.'

The short cut is usually accompanied by a slight intonation break at the site of the missing verb, but it is almost impossible to distinguish between this construction and a simple clause with the structure A Inst Pi V in connected speech.

As mentioned above, the Instrument can also appear after the verb, as in the following example.

(264) *Kuáni má k-o-yé-ya ái.*

mother child RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M tree

A Pi V Inst

'Mother hit the child with a stick.'

The factors motivating the different word orders appear to be discourse-pragmatic; new or important information is preferably pre-verbal. When the Instrument is the only overt nominal in a clause, its preferred position is before the verb. A possible reason for this preferred position might be that the Instrument is sub-categorised for and that clauses with Instruments are treated as something like ditransitive clauses: Instruments are conceptualised as similar to Themes.

Non-suffixing monotransitive verbs with Instruments show a slightly different pattern. Again the Instrument can appear before or after the verb, but, as always, the Pu object cannot appear after the verb. The subject NPs have been omitted from the following examples; the Instruments are in bold-face type.

(265) a) *Ái=a k-ana-iro áimon kamo.*

tree=PRM RL-1SG.M-fell axe

Pu V Inst

'I chopped the tree with an axe.'
b) \( \hat{\text{A}}\text{i}=\text{a} \quad \text{āi\text{mon kamo} k-ana-iro.} \)
\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{tree=PRM axe} \quad \text{RL-1SG.M-fell} \\
\text{Pu} \quad \text{Inst} \quad \text{V}
\end{array}\]
'I chopped the tree with an axe.'

c) \( \text{āi\text{mon kamo} \hat{\text{A}}\text{i}=\text{a} \quad \text{k-ana-iro.} \)
\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{axe} \quad \text{tree=PRM RL-1SG.M-fell} \\
\text{Inst} \quad \text{Pu} \quad \text{V}
\end{array}\]
'I chopped the tree with an axe.'

c) \( \text{*āi\text{mon kamo} k-ana-iro} \quad \hat{\text{A}}\text{i.} \)
\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{knife steel} \quad \text{RL-1SG.M-fell tree} \\
\text{Inst} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{Pu}
\end{array}\]

Even though it can be fairly clearly established that Pus and Instruments do have differing behaviour, it seems that speakers prefer constructions where they are maximally differentiated. That is, many speakers prefer the serial verb construction over a simple clause involving both a secondary object and an Instrument (again Inst Pu V ordering is difficult to distinguish from the abbreviated serial-verb construction), while others seem to have a strong preference for post-verbal Instruments in these cases. Both of these preferences can probably be attributed to the fact that they are not disambiguated by verb agreement and speakers may wish to distinguish them using word order.

It is also true that the semantics of the nominals themselves can serve to disambiguate. The noun \( \hat{\text{A}}\text{i} \) can mean either 'tree' or 'piece of wood', and when it is in a clause about chopping and there is an axe present, its most likely interpretation is as the secondary object; a tree or piece of wood that has an axe taken to it. When \( \hat{\text{A}}\text{i} \) is in a clause about hitting and there is a hittable object, like a child or dog, present, its most likely interpretation is as the Instrument.

6.2.5 Location and Reason

Locative and Reason participants are not marked on the verb and appear after the verb. As the following examples will show, the interpretation of the unmarked
post-verbal NP as a locative participant — Goal, Path, Location, Source — or Reason, depends heavily on the semantics of the verbs and nouns involved. These participants are always optional and sentences are perfectly grammatical without them.

In the following example, both mother and father are in the house. To specify that only one of them is in the house, a relative clause would be used (see §5.6).

(266) *Kuāni aka k-o-yarā-kā ōro.
    mother father RL-3SG.F-see-3SG.M house
    S O V Loc
    'Mother saw father in the house.'

There can be no more than one locative argument in any one clause. It is impossible to say things like 'go along the road to the house' in a single clause.

    RL-1SG.F-walk road house
    ...

Instead, the information must be spread over two clauses or two verbs in a serial verb construction. An example of this is given in (268), but see Chapter 7.

    RL-1SG.F-walk road RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down house
    'I'm walking along the road, going home.'

Non-case-marked, non-iterative, post-verbal locatives are found in Skou languages (Donohue 2004), as well as in the areally close Torricelli languages (see McGregor and McGregor 1982:53). McGregor and McGregor (1982:53) label post-verbal nouns functioning as Locations 'adverbs of place', e.g. le rati uf (he stayed village) 'he stayed in the village'. They do not explicitly discuss Goals or Sources, but according to their example sentences these arguments apparently either appear unmarked after the verb, e.g. mampeis ki keli uf (afterwards I go village) 'Afterwards I will go to the village.' (p.66), or else as objects of what they call 'a
preposition marker', -f at the end of a verb, e.g. *pele les laule-f wëñem* (dog will come-prep house) ‘The dog will come to the house.’ (p.65).

The following examples show how the meanings of the verbs and the nouns themselves are important in determining the interpretation of the post-verbal participant in Barupu. Example (269), shows that a nominal with receptacle or place semantics will be interpreted as a Goal on ‘putting’ verbs.

(269) **Goal**

\[K-e-m-ikoro-wo(m)\text{o} \ poro.\]
RL-1PL-1PL-put.in-(AG)DOWN canoe
‘We put (them/it) down in the canoe.’ [F-MB:03]

Example (270) shows that a place noun with a posture verb will be interpreted as an Location.

(270) **Location**

\[K-o-kei \ óro.\]
RL-3SG.F-sit house
‘She sits in her house.’

As a general rule, a post-verbal place noun with a direction of motion verb will be interpreted as a Goal, (as in 271).

(271) **Goal**

\[K-ere-tá \ k-ere-p-aro \ kikom.\]
RL-3PL.F-paddle RL-3DU-3DU-go.down mangrove
‘They (two) paddled to the mangrove.’

However, the direction of motion verbs in combination with an established deictic centre are also used to indicate how a post-verbal place noun should be interpreted. For example the interpretation of a place-noun after the ‘hither’ verb -kae ‘come’ can depend on context. If the hither verb is followed by a place that is shared by the discourse participants, or is an established deictic centre, then that place can be interpreted as the Goal (i.e ‘come to’). If, however, the place is not shared and is not a
deictic centre then it could be interpreted as a Source (i.e. ‘come from’). One verb, -bere, determines that the following place is interpreted as a Source.

(272) Source

Cha Paivi pevara k-a-yará-i k-e-bere-ká Baro.

AT PN magician RL-3SG.M-see-3PL.M RL-3PL.M-leave-TOWARD PLN

‘Mr Paivi saw magicians coming here from Baro.’

The fact that direction of motion verbs govern the semantic role of the post-verbal NP does strongly suggest the possibility that these NPs are arguments rather than adjuncts and they are not marked on the verb because they are unindividuated. In a sense they are to R what Pu is to Pi, but Goal and Source NPs are never obligatory.

With manner of motion verbs a post-verbal place noun is always interpreted as a Path/Location, as in (273). Manner-of-motion verbs need to appear in serial verb constructions with direction of motion verbs if they are Goal-directed. This is shown in (274) (see also §7.1.1).

(273) Path/Location

K-ere-tá raka.

RL-3PL.F-paddle river

‘They paddled along/in the river.’

(274) Path/Location

K-ere-tá k-ere-r-aro raka.

RL-3PL.F-paddle RL-3PL.F-3PL.F-go.down river

‘They paddled down to the river.’

Examples of nouns with place semantics, that is, potential Paths, Locations, Goals and Sources are: proper place names; nouns denoting places like yin ‘beach’ or óro ‘house’; or receptacles for putting verbs such as ríná ‘sago bark’ or ekókó ‘string bag’.

Nominals without inherently place or receptacle semantics, such as ói ‘sago’, awei ‘meat’ and amori ‘namesake party’ can be interpreted as a sort of Reason role,
something equivalent to NPs introduced by ‘for’ in English. This is shown in the following examples.

(275) **K-ere-r-aro**  ói.
RL-3PL.F-3PL.F-go.down sago
‘They’ve gone to (work) sago.’

(276) **K-emi-tá**  awei.
RL-1PL-paddle meat
‘We paddle for fish (to eat).’ [U-GX:01]

(277) **N-e-p-yé-ma**  amori.
IRR-3PL.M-3PL.M-kill-2SG.M namesake.party
‘They’re going to kill you for (eating at) a namesake party.’ [NSC1-C.A:03]

Animates can never appear as Paths, Locations, Sources, Goals or Reasons of simple verbs. Instead, they must be added objects which are introduced into the clause by the participant-adding morphemes, see Chapter 7 and §6.2.9, below. The relative locations, ‘on’, ‘amid’, ‘around’ and ‘under’ are also specified with participant-adding morphemes.

Some locative relations which would be specified with prepositions like ‘beside’ or ‘inside’ in a language like English, are achieved through nominal compounding in Barupu. For example, óro ‘house’ is a potential place and it can be compounded with a locational such as ári ‘inside’ to óro ári ‘inside of a/the house’ (see §5.1.2).

Another possible interpretation for an unmarked post-verbal NP is Instrument. A post-verbal Instrument precludes the appearance of a locative, which is unsurprising given the non-interativity of post-verbal adjunct NPs. The following example demonstrates that a clause with a post-verbal Instrument as well as a Location is ungrammatical.

(278) **Kuáni má k-o-yé-ya**  ói óro ári.
mother  child RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M tree house inside
S     O      V       Inst Loc
‘Mother hit the child with a stick in the house.’
If speakers wanted to specify a locative and an Instrument in the same clause, they would have to use a pre-verbal Instrument.

(279) Chakán āi=a k-a-yé-ya náki uka.
    grandfather tree=PRM RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M dog bush
    S Inst V O Loc
    ‘Grandfather hit the dog with a stick in the bush.’

Another alternative, with a Location and Instrument in the same clause, is the serial verb construction.

(280) Kuumi āi=a k-o-kö má k-o-yé-ya óro árl.
    mother tree=PRM RL-3SG.F-get.SGO child RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M house inside
    S Inst V O V Loc
    ‘Mother hit the child with a stick in the house.’

Path/Location/Reason NPs can co-occur with Recipients.

(281) Kuumi bá karua aka erôra.
    k-o-r-o-a
    mother fish RL-3SG.F-give-3SG.M father garden
    ‘Mother gave father a fish in the garden.’

There are no examples of a clause with both a Recipient and a Goal or Source.

6.2.6 ‘Adjunct’ nominals

Multi-word predicates involving a nominal-like word and a verb are widespread in Papuan languages.\(^2\) The construction is commonly referred to as the ‘adjunct nominal construction’ (Donohue 2004; Foley 1986), which is the term I use here. In general, the nominal is present to provide most of the semantic information while the verb is present to contribute some semantic information, but mostly to carry inflection.

---

\(^2\)These predicates have been called ‘periphrastic’ or ‘augmented’ verbs (Davies 1985:40,49ff) and ‘verb compounds’ (Haiman 1980:117-124), among other things. The verb roots in the constructions have been referred to as ‘support verbs’ (Haiman 1980; Davies 1985) and more recently ‘light verbs’ (Foley 2000:interal alia), or ‘generic verbs’ (Pawley 1993). The nominal-like element has been called ‘verbal adjunct’ (Gravelle 1997; Pawley et al. 2000), ‘complement’ (Ross 1980), ‘root’ Haiman (1980) and ‘adjunct nominal’ Foley (1986).
Importantly, as Foley (2000:385) points out, the adjunct nominals ‘form a close-knit syntactic unit with their light verbs as befits a single predication.’

The adjunct nominal constructions found in Barupu can be divided into two main types: those which use a light verb, ‘do’ where the nominal provides all the semantics, and those which use a verb with its own specific semantics. In both kinds, the nominals can be frequently used nouns or have limited or no use outside the constructions (e.g. the nominal aware ‘cooking’ is only ever found as an adjunct nominal).

Some examples of the first type are given in Table 6.2. In some cases the construction is the only way to describe a certain event (e.g. monrai -á (singsing do) ‘have a singsing’). However, in other cases there are specific verbs to refer to an action but speakers can choose to use this construction instead (e.g. there are many different verbs of fishing, but speakers can also say bá -á ‘fish do’).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjunct nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monrai -á</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>‘have a singsing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aware -á</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roma -á</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bá -á</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>go fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awá -á</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>play string games</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(282)  Mónrai k-e-n-á.
singsing RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-do
‘I’m in a traditional singsing.’

(283)  Aware k-e-n-á.
cooking RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-do
‘I’m (doing the) cooking.’

The second type is where the verbs have limited or no use outside an adjunct nominal construction. A sample of this type is given in Table 6.3. Where the verbs and nominals have no attested uses outside this construction, it is not always possible
to give an exact gloss for either of them, indicated by a question mark in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.3 Adjunct nominals with 'heavy' verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adjunct nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tīrō -tīrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne -ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi -nīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nau -nīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōnrai -tītī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ope -u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rō -e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öë -iriia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tēvē -rōrō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aro -ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iki -iya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi -yau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of an intransitive adjunct nominal construction is tīrō -tīrō

'The words are glossed as 'body.fluid' and 'secrete', because even though the noun tīrō is commonly used to mean 'urine', the verb -tīrō is also found to describe other secreting events, as in example (285), which is about dead bodies being smoked over a fire. When the bodies begin to decompose they secrete liquid.

(285) Ai=a k-e-p-ere-p-o-i k-e-tīrō ...
      tree=PRM RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-put AG-GIVE 3PL.M RL-3PL.M-secrete

'They make a fire for them (dead people) and they (the dead people) secrete liquid ...' [DC-MM:03]

It is only the adjunct nominal construction using both the noun and the verb that specifically means 'urinate'. (Other secreting verbs like 'sweat' have a dedicated lexeme: -bene 'sweat')
Some analyses of these constructions have likened them to cognate objects familiar from languages like English — constructions like ‘have a bath’ or ‘smile a happy smile’. These are defined by Fillmore as ‘the object or being resulting from the action or state identified by the verb, or understood as part of the meaning of the verb’ (in Baron 1971:72). And this may well be the best analysis for the Barupu constructions using the light verb ‘do’ — the only distinction between the nominals found in these constructions and the unmarked secondary objects described above is that in the adjunct nominal construction the nominals cannot be modified or further specified; they must be generic.

In the constructions using semantically specific verbs there is clearer evidence that the nominals are not objects. For example, ‘adjunct nominal’ constructions can also take their own direct objects. The construction pi-nii ‘wash’ can be found with a Pi.

(286) Aro bóm má pi k-ere-ni(i)r i-a.
people woman child water RL-3PL.F-(3PL.F)wash-3SG.M
‘Women washed the child.’

Adjunct nominals are similar to secondary objects both in terms of their position in the clause — directly before the verb — as well as in the types of relationships holding between them and the verb (for example, semantically cognate, unidividuated, objects — e.g. secrete.body.fluid body.fluid). Adjunct nominals can also appear to have an Instrumental-like relationship with the verb (e.g. water wash). It is true that the distinction between secondary objects and adjunct nominals is not always clear-cut (as in the ‘light’ verb constructions described above). However, in the semantically-specific verb constructions the nominals can be distinguished from Instruments and secondary objects by the following characteristics:

i Both secondary objects and Instruments can be full, referential NPs and secondary objects can be replaced by pronouns. Adjunct nominals cannot be
modified by demonstratives or be replaced by proforms. All three relations can, however, take the phrase-level prominence clitic \(=a\).

ii Secondary objects can be omitted under discourse identity, adjunct nominals cannot.

These points will now be exemplified in turn.

### 6.2.6.1 NP types

Examples (287) and (288), show that a secondary object and an Instrument can be modified with an adjective.

(287) \(\text{\textit{Ai pako kiro.}}\)

\(k-e-iro\)

\(\text{tree big RL-3pL.M-fell}\)

\(\text{'They are felling a big tree.'}\)

(288) \(\text{\textit{Aimon kamo pako kiro.}}\)

\(k-e-iro\)

\(\text{axe big RL-3pL.M-fell}\)

\(\text{'They are felling (it) with a big axe.'}\)

Example (289) shows that an adjunct nominal modified by an adjective has very borderline grammaticality. Speakers did not unanimously reject constructions like this in elicitations, but there is not one natural example in the data.

(289) \(? \text{\textit{Pi pako k-o-ni(m)i.}}\)

\(\text{water big IRR-2SG.F-(2SG.F)wash}\)

\(\ldots\)

However, adjunct nominals do quite often appear with the phrase-level prominence clitic \(=a\). This is shown in the following example.

(290) \(\text{\textit{Ne=va kaik\text{\textae}u.}}\)

\(k-a-ai-k\text{\textae}u\)

\(\text{power=PRM RL-3SG.M-curse-ADV-3SG.F}\)

\(\text{'He put a curse on it (a piece of fruit).'}\)  [FF2-CA:O3]
6.2.6.2 Obligatoriness

The second major difference between secondary objects and adjunct nominals is that whereas secondary objects can be omitted from the clause if their identities are fully recoverable, adjunct nominals are never omitted. The verb *nii* is never found without either the noun *pi* ‘water’ or another noun *nau* ‘ocean’, as shown in (291).

(291)  
\[ \text{Nau } n-e-ni(n)i. \]  
water IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)bathe  
‘I’m swimming around in the sea.’

With *pi* the verb means ‘bathe’ or ‘wash’. With *nau* the verb means to swim for pleasure in the ocean. It doesn’t matter how often this verb appears in a stretch of text, the nominal will always be present. Speakers do not accept this verb without the nominal and all speakers claim that the verb means nothing on its own.

If the adjunct nominals are arguments of the verb, they differ from all argument types previously identified for Barupu — subject, Pi, R, secondary object — in that they cannot be omitted without seriously altering the meaning of the predicate, as in (285), or rendering the sentence meaningless. The verb *-nii*, for example, means nothing on its own.

6.2.7 Post-verbal modifying slot

There is a slot directly after the verb for words providing manner, locational or duration information. Evidence that this is a separate slot to the locative NPs is that the two can co-occur; the modifier always appears before a locative NP, as shown in the following examples.

(292)  
\[ \text{K-or-u-ávo-ki(r)e-na rewo maiku bó bió } \]  
RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-hold.3SG.F-(AG)AWAY-EXTV well torso 3SG.F person  
târe.  
alive  
‘She held it hard against the woman’s whole torso.’ [FF1-MN:01]
As discussed in Chapter 4, temporals appear at the beginning of the clause if they are providing clock or calendar time information, and in the post-verbal modifying position if they are expressing the duration of an event.

6.2.8 Summary of word order in underived clauses

The following figures summarise the structures described in the preceding sections. Neither of the ditransitive verbs in my data are compatible with an Instrument participant so there is no data on the position of Instruments in ditransitive clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>S (Inst)</th>
<th>(AdjN) V</th>
<th>Modifier</th>
<th>(Loc/Inst)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>S (Inst), Pi/Pu</td>
<td>(AdjN) V</td>
<td>Modifier</td>
<td>(Loc/Inst)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>R</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.9 Added objects

The final NP-type needing introduction is the added object. Added objects are added to the clause by extra morphemes on the verb. They usually appear after the verb. The types of participants introduced by these morphemes include relative locations, such as ‘under’ and ‘on’, adversatives, benefactives, comitatives and datives, among others, see §7.2.3 for a detailed treatment of the semantics of added objects.

The following example shows the NST verb -ârâi ‘throw’. This verb almost always appears with an incorporated direction of motion element, which is -oo DOWN in the following example. This element agrees with the subject through infixing.

Following the directional is a participant-adding morpheme -ô ‘GIVE’, this morpheme also always appears with a C prefix indexing the subject, although see Chapters 2 and 7 for some complications. The added object in the following example is ya 3SG.M pronoun ‘him’.

(293) ... ya k-ere-tá n-ere-kô(p)e bâru òro.
  and IRR-3DU-paddle IRR-3DU-3DU-gO.up return house
  ‘... and they paddled back up to the house.’ [DC-MM:03]
(294) Aikéké inei k-ere-r-árai-[o(r)o]-[r-o-a] yái.
ladder vine.sp RL-3PL.F-3PL.F-throw-[AG-DOWN]-[AG-GIVE-3SG.M] 3SG.M
Pu V O_A
'They threw a rope ladder down to him.' [FF2-CA:03]

The added object does not replace or demote a Pi or secondary object. The next example shows a Pi, aimāna, and an added object, Cha Charlie, in the same clause.

(295) Aimāna, k-e-n-yé-ya,-[n-o-a] Cha Charlie.
dog RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-hit-3SG.M-[AG-GIVE-3SG.M] AT PN
O V O_A
'I beat the dog for Charlie.'

Added objects appear before locatives.

(296) E=va k-a-awe-[ki]-[nā-i] mevôva ái ú.
bag=PRM RL-3SG.M-hang-[AWAY]-[APPL-3PL.M] children tree branch
Pu V O_A Loc
'He hung the bilum with the children in it on a branch.' [ANR-MN:01]

Verb modifiers can precede or follow added objects. In example (297) the added object râi owu yá 'some of his brothers' appears after miniá 'too'.

(297) K-á-irai-r-o-i miniá râi owu yá bé.
RL-3SG.M-say-AG-GIVE-3SG.M too sibling some 3SG.M DPROX
V Mod O_A
'He spoke to some of his brothers as well.' [U-EM:01]

In example (297), the added object mevôva 'children' appears before the modifier mariro 'softly'.

(298) K-en-irai-r-o-i mevôva mariro.
RL-1SG.F-say-3SG-GIVE-3PL.M children softly
V O_A Mod
'I spoke to Charlie softly.'

The semantics of the verb and the relationship of the post-verbal elements to it affects the preferred orderings of post-verbal elements. For example, a proprietive participant might be expected to precede a Goal participant because establishing that
something is in a bag or on somebody’s person is semantically prior to where the bag or the person is going.

The position of various elements with regard to the added object can be summarised as follows. In this schema, naturally attested orderings are given preference over elicited ones.

**Complex verb:** A/S Pu/Pi V-V Modifier, Oa Loc

### 6.3 The grammatical status of verb agreement

As noted above, subject affixes are always obligatory and object affixes are obligatory for those verbs that take them. Inflected verbs can stand alone as grammatical clauses; NPs are often left out after the first mention until they do something unexpected like change grammatical function (see below), or an ambiguity needs to be avoided. Foley (1999:135) notes that this is very common cross-linguistically and he puts it down to the following principle: ‘if the referent of a constituent is already known or activated in the discourse context, attenuate its formal representation’.

The following examples are grammatical, NP-less clauses.

(299) *K-o-kóe.*
    RL-3SG.F-go up
    ‘She ascended.’

(300) *K-o-yarā-ká.*
    RL-3SG.F-see-3SG.M
    ‘She saw him.’

Obligatory affixes like this are often called bound pronominals and are treated as the arguments of the verbs they appear on and any co-referring external NPs are treated as adjuncts (Baker 1996; Jelinek 1984). However, another view is that presented by Evans (2002:16). Writing specifically about object affixes (but the same
can be true for subject affixes as well), Evans argues,

... bound object affixes in at least some polysynthetic languages pattern more like subject agreement morphology in European languages than like free pronouns, in that they specify person and number information while remaining non-committal about reference and discourse status. A corollary of this is that, in order to obtain a full referring expression, external material needs to be integrated more closely than can be captured simply by treating it as an adjunct.

Evans goes on to say that he does not disagree with the proposition that bound pronominals can saturate the argument structure of the verb, only with ‘the specific equation of these inflections with pronouns, and the corollary that external material is therefore always some kind of adjunct’ (2002). The alternative view is that while obligatory bound pronominals in polysynthetic languages can function as anaphoric pronouns in the absence of overt nominals, they are not functionally equivalent. When overt nominals are present, the bound pronominals function much more like agreement than anaphors. I argue this to be the case in Barupu. In the following sections I give a summary of some of the interactions between nominals and agreement in Barupu.

6.3.1 Bound pronominals and referentiality

The main argument against analysing obligatory bound pronominals as equivalent to free pronouns is that whereas free pronouns and optional bound pronominals almost always index activated, referential participants (with some exceptions, see below), bound pronominals can index both referential and non-referential participants. For example, in the absence of any external nominal, a bound pronominal in Barupu will most often be interpreted as referential. In the following example, both 3PL.M referents are probably identifiable to the hearer.

3Evans (2002:20) argues that in the Australian language Bininj Gun-wok, ‘[s]ubject and object prefixes are comparable to agreement suffixes in well-known European languages in being referentially open.’
However, with the addition of an overt NP, agreement in Barupu is no longer necessarily referential. In the following example, there is no assertion of any particular pigs or any particular people, but the verb still takes its obligatory 3PL.M cross-referencing.

Similarly, bound pronominals must co-reference questioned participants. This is shown in examples (303) and (304). As B. Baker (2004:66) points out, when bound pronominals co-reference questioned participants ‘the questioned referent ... (from the speaker’s point of view at least) can only be characterised as indefinite and non-specific’.

Notice that in the above examples the verb is inflected with masculine subject. Both of these examples were taken from texts and clearly the narrator knew the sex of the questioned participant. In other contexts the choice of gender in questioned arguments seems to be a matter of choice coupled with real world knowledge. For example, some verbs suggest possible participants — a question such as ‘who’s cooking?’ is likely to have feminine subject marking (see Chapter 9).

In addition, generic or non-specific NPs such as ‘kind’ referents must also be indexed even though they are non-referential.
The absence of an NP almost always signals that the argument is referential, but there are several common constructions where a bound pronominal can have a generic, or non-referential, interpretation in the absence of an overt nominal. One example, the generic second person, can be seen in (305), above. Here there is no referent for the 2SG.M pronominal agreement except the understood reader of the text. Another is the generic use of 1PL. This is shown in (306), where the 1PL prefix does not refer to any of the people involved in the actual discourse but it is interpretable as Barupu people generally. This is an example sentence from the dictionary under the entry for 'chicken/rooster'.

bird house RL-3PL.M-crow meat~PRM RL-1PL-1PL.eat feather RL-1PL-decorate

'House bird. They crow, we eat the meat and decorate with the feathers.' [DICT-EM:01]

Another example is the vague 3PL.M, as shown in the following. Here there is no overt NP but the 3PL.M prefix is not referring to any specific group of men (except perhaps the ancestors who named the spot).

(307) ... ke-p-iná Toeyoro.
RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-name PLN

'... they call it Toeyoro.' ('It's called Toeyoro.')

All of these are special cases and as the free translations show, they are equivalent to grammatical uses of non-referential free pronouns in English as well. However, there are also examples in Barupu of bound pronominals being used...
non-referentially in the absence of external material in situations that would be absolutely impossible in English.

Consider the following opening section from a text about making canoes. In the opening lines the narrator talks about cutting down a tree and hollowing it out. The 3PL.M verb agreement on the verb -rin 'pull' does not co-reference any external nominal; it can only be interpreted as something like 'some people'. Likewise the 3SG.M added object addressee on the verb -frai in the second section has no anaphoric referent, it can only be interpreted as referring to 'someone'. These clauses could not be felicitously translated into English using pronouns instead of generic NPs.

(308)  
\[ \text{Néná pora k-ana-iro.} \quad K-a-n-eri \quad k-a-n-á} \]
1SG.F tree \quad RL-1SG.M-cut.down \quad RL-1SG.M-hollow \quad RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-do
k-o-báun-ki. \quad RL-3SG.M.F-not.be.at-AWAY
'I cut down a canoe-making tree. I hollow it out, I work until it’s done.

\[ K-e-rin-p-ó-na \quad k-o-kae \quad k-u-íniá \quad bé \]
RL-3PL.M-pull-AG-REG-1SG.M RL-3SG.F-come RL-3SG.F-be.at DPROX
oróka.
under.house
They(=Some men help me pull it up under the house.’ [CB-JT:01]

Three lines of text intervene in which the narrator talks about painting the canoe and taking it out on the lagoon and coming back.

(309)  
\[ \ldots \text{N-ana-rin} \quad n-a-kó(n)e \quad nake \quad ya \]
IRR-1SG.M-pull IRR-1SG.M-(1SG.M)go.up.on.top and
n-a-kó(n)-ro. \quad IRR-1SG.M-(1SG.M)go.up.SHORT
'I’ll pull it up on top and walk a little way up.

\[ N-aná-irai-n-o-a \quad poro \quad k-ana-rin \quad k-u-íniá \quad raka. \]
IRR-1SG.M-say-AG-GIVE-3SG.M canoe RL-1SG.M-pull RL-3SG.F-be.at river
I’ll tell him(=a man) I’ve pulled my canoe up, it’s at the river.’ [CB-JT:01]

The above discussion has shown that free pronouns in more analytic languages and obligatory bound pronominials in polysynthetic languages are not functionally equivalent. Two further differences are that free pronouns in Barupu are always referential (there are no generic uses), and those pronouns co-referencing subjects...
and primary objects have the special pragmatic functions of marking a participant as the focus of a contrast or as having switched role. This is discussed in §6.4 along with other pragmatic marking.

6.3.2 Unification of information

The second problem with the traditional claim that external NPs are adjunctive is argued to be that verb agreement or an external NP may be underspecified to certain degrees and often information from both must unify to create ‘full referring expressions’ (Evans 2002:17). For example, in (310) bió is unspecified for gender (cf. bió bóm person woman ‘woman’, bió biám person man ‘man’), but the object agreement on -ye is fully specified for masculine gender. The combination of the non-gender-specific noun bió ‘person’ and masculine verb agreement allows the translation of the NP to be ‘man’.

(310) Kuiniarí bió n-o-ye-ya n-o-rát-tá-ka rékà târe.
   can person IRR-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M IRR-3SG.F-die.SGS-ON-3SG.M body new
   ‘She can kill a man and die with him to come back to life.’[DICT-PW:01]

Another example can be seen in (311). Headless NPs consisting of only an adjective or quantifier can also unify with information in the affixes. This is shown in the following example where the quantifier modifies the bound pronominal 2SG.M, to create a partitive-definite construction.

(311) Beya ra=va n-amá-ute vai.
   NEG one=PRM IRR-2SG.M-walk POL
   ‘Not one of you will go.’ [ANR-MN:01]

External NPs and internal cross-referencing each contribute important information needed to interpret the clause.
6.3.3 Omission of secondary objects

A question arises as to the omission of obligatory arguments without any morphological representation — namely secondary objects. Secondary objects can be omitted from clauses, but only when their identities are recoverable from fairly immediate context, ideally in the same complex sentence (see Chapter 10). In the following example *rau* is the primary object of the first clause headed by -yé 'hit'. This same participant is also understood as the secondary object Theme of the second verb -o 'give' as well as the secondary object of the third verb -ā 'eat'.

(312) *Rau pôn n-opu-te-i, n-o-p-o-i aro ā,*
pig only IRR-2PL.M-shoot-3PL.M IRR-2PL.M-2PL.M-give-3PL.M people namesake
bai n-ē-p-ā.
FUT IRR-3PL.M-3PL.M-eat

'Just shoot pigs and give (them) to the namesakes so they can eat (them).'
[NSC1-CA:03]

An absent secondary object is always referential and identifiable. Verbs like -ā 'eat' are never found without a secondary object unless it is recoverable. It is not grammatical to say something like *k-ē-n-ā* (RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-eat) 'I am eating', out of context with 'food' an understood object. A secondary object must be present (e.g. *akorom kēnā* (food RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-eat) 'I am eating food').

6.4 Word order variations and other pragmatic marking

In this section I summarise the known mechanisms speakers have for marking information structure.

6.4.1 Post-verbal Pi

When an event is old information that is being reiterated, a Pi of a monotransitive verb appears pre-verbally in the first mention but may appear post-verbally in the second mention. In example (313) the object, *biā*, is pre-verbal in the first clause but post-verbal when the same clause is repeated. Note that the whole event, not just the
post-posed participant, must be old information. It is also interesting that the NP is realised at all, since the participant is fully activated and referential.

(313)  Bâuni! Ino biá k-en-yarâ-kâ.
    no NOT person RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.M
    ‘No I didn’t see a man.

Bo nén k-e-ké(n) k-e-ké(n) é.
TVF 1SG.F RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit DPROX
I’ve just been sitting here.

Ino k-en-yarâ-kâ biá.
NOT RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-see-3SG.M person
I didn’t see a man.’ [FF2-CA:03]

Another textual example is provided below.

(314)  K-a-köe ári k-a-yârâ-ø òm yâ beya k-o-kêl vai.
    RL-3SG.M-go.up inside RL-3SG.M-see-3SG.F wife 3SG.M NEG RL-3SG.F-sit POL
    Mantópa k-o-yê-u.
    flying.fox RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.F
    ‘He went inside and saw that his wife wasn’t there. The flying fox killed her.

K-ere-ø(p)â, k-o-yê-u ya k-o-rá. Má
    RL-3DU-{3DU)fight RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.F and RL-3SG.M-3SG.F-eat child
    k-o-yê-ø k-o-rá k-o-bâum.
    RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.F RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-eat RL-3SG.F-no.
The two fought and she ate her. She killed the child and ate her.

Mó k ere-ø(p)â vóva k er-ø(p)â k-o-noi k-o-noi.
    mother RL-3DU-{3DU)fight again RL-3DU-{3DU)fight RL-3SG.F-go RL-3SG.F-go
    Mantópa k-o-yê-u mô.
    flying.fox RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.F mother

As for the mother, the two fought again, they fought and fought. The flying fox killed the mother.’ [U-EM:01]

In this example, the clause with the post-verbal Pi is not an exact repetition of any of the preceding clauses. That is, there is no clause mantópa mó kóyéu, but the event described in the clause takes place in the preceding clauses. The construction does not occur with great frequency in narratives and its frequency in conversation is not known. The post-verbal ordering in Barupu seems to signal something like finality, indicating that it’s all the speaker has to say on the matter.
Post-verbal Pis precede adverbs and locative participants, suggesting that they are not post-posed to the clause, but only to the verb. This is shown in examples (315a & b)

(315) a) Cha John k-a-yé-ya nàki torón.
   AT PN RL-3SG.M-hit-3SG.M dog hard
   ‘John hit the dog hard.’

b) Cha John k-a-yé-ya nàki yamankoko.
   AT PN RL-3SG.M-hit-3SG.M dog verandah
   ‘John hit the dog on the verandah.’

A verb and post-verbal Pi cannot be separated by an adjunct. The verb followed by a Pi is thus another candidate for a possible VP constituent, but there is still a lack of positive evidence from movement or substitution, and it would be very unlikely given Barupu’s right-headed typology.

6.4.2 Topicalisation

There is an external topic position in Barupu. A topicalised NP is set off from the sentence by comma intonation and can also be marked off by an optional pronoun. Obligatory bound pronominals pose a problem for the traditional distinction between left-dislocation, in which the pre-posed NP is reiterated inside the sentence by a pro-form, and topicalisation, where it is not reiterated, because it is not clear whether they should be treated as pronominal reiterations of an pre-posed NP, or as obligatory agreement. I have argued above that obligatory bound pronominals are in some respects similar to agreement and this, coupled with the fact that pre-posed NPs are never reiterated by a free pronoun, leads me to analyse the Barupu construction as topicalisation.

In example (316), the Pi is of higher animacy than the subject. In this case it will almost always be topicalised and appear before the subject. This is a decontextualised, written, example sentence from the dictionary. It is not preceded or
followed by any other text about Peter or the snake; animacy is the only motivation for the move. A topicalised NP is offset by a pause and comma intonation.

(316) **PAV — higher animate P**

Cha Pita, mini k-u-i(r)i-a.

AT PN snake_{F} RL-3SG.F-(3SG.F)bite-3SG.M

‘Peter, the snake bit him.’ [DICT-EM:01]

Lower animate primary objects can also be topicalised if they are of higher discourse importance — for example, if they are the topic (in the sense of ‘what the clause is about’) of the clause. The next example is from the example sentence for the dictionary definition of *epa* ‘citrus tree’. Clearly this is the topic under discussion and so, even though it is inanimate, it is placed at the front of the clause before the animate subject, *chápo* ‘grandfather’.

(317)  

Epa=ero, Chápo k-a-r-e-r-o-a(r)i-o bů.  

citrus=DIRR grandfather RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-put-3SG.F-AG-(AG)SRND-3SG.F border  

‘This citrus tree, Grandfather put it around (it) as a border.’ [DICT-PB:01]

Example (318) shows a topicalised secondary object. In the first clause, the secondary object *kórá* ‘half’ appears before the subject *Cha Carl*. In the second clause of example (318), there is no subject NP, but the secondary object *kórá* ‘half’ is still marked off by a pronoun and a pause so it is analysable as topicalised here as well.

(318)  

Kórá bó, Cha Carl k-á-irai běn.  

half 3SG.F AT PN RL-3SG.M-say already  

‘Half, Cha Carl told already.’

Orait  
kórá bó, k-a-n-á-ke n-aná-irai é.  

ALRIGHT half 3SG.F RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want-INTS IRR-1SG.M-say DPROX K-ana-joinim  

‘Alright, half, I’m going to tell now. I’m joining it.’ [NSC2-MM:03]

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4Note the use of the irrealis demonstrative; this is a made up sentence about a made up tree.
The next example is also from the dictionary. The topicalised secondary object
\[ epi \, \text{éro} \] (tree.sp DIRR) ‘this tree’ is marked off by a pronoun.

(319) \( Epi=\text{éro} \, b\hat{o}, \, k\hat{o}pu \, k-u-ora-r-o-na \, n\hat{e}n\hat{\text{n}}\hat{\text{a}}. \)

\text{tree.sp=DIRR \ 3SG.F grandmother RL-3SG.F-plant-AG-GIVE-1SG.M \ 1SG.M}

‘This tree, my grandmother planted for me.’ \[ \text{DICT-PB:01} \]

The following example shows a topicalised Goal.

(320) \( Ch\hat{\text{a}}=\text{va}, \, b\hat{o}=a \, k-o-\text{cha} \, k-o-r-o-a=evo. \)

\text{head=PRM lime=PRM RL-3SG.F-fill.up.with RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-give-3SG.M=DREF}

‘His head, she filled up with lime and gave it to him there.’ \[ \text{DC-CA:03} \]

The next example shows a topicalised Reason participant.

(321) \( \hat{\text{i}}k\hat{\text{i}}, \, b\hat{\text{f}}=a \, k-e-t\hat{\text{au}} \, m\hat{\text{e}}ri \, b\hat{\text{riri}} \, k-e-k\hat{o}. \)

\text{red.paint ancestor=PRM RL-3PL.M-paddle soil red RL-3PL.M-get.SGO}

For red paint, the ancestors paddled and got red soil.’ \[ \text{P-MG:03} \]

Subjects can also be topicalised. In the following examples the topicalised
subject is marked off by a pronoun. Many of the dictionary definitions show this
feature.

(322) \( Ame \, b\hat{o}, \, k-o-ramo-ramo \, \hat{\text{ai}} \, n\hat{\text{ake}}. \)

\text{animal 3SG.F RL-3SG.F-REDUP-clamber tree top}

‘This animal, it clambers around in the tree tops.’ (a possum) \[ \text{DICT-EM:01} \]

(323) \( Ame \, y\hat{\text{a}}, \, k-a-k\hat{\text{e}}i \, \hat{\text{ai}} \, n\hat{\text{ake}}. \)

\text{animal 3SG.M RL-3SG.M-sit tree top}

‘This animal, it sits in the tree tops.’ (a tree kangaroo) \[ \text{DICT-EM:01} \]

Recapitulating pronouns also feature in equative verbless clauses and clauses
using the copular verb -\( \hat{\text{av}} \hat{\text{e}} \) (see §6.5.1).

6.4.3 Free pronouns

As in many polysynthetic languages, free pronouns in Barupu have particular
pragmatic effects. As the following examples will show, when free pronouns
co-reference the obligatory bound pronominals of underived verbs, they typically function to compare the actions of two participants or signal a switch in topic from one participant to another. These free pronouns are always topicalised. Free pronouns that do not share reference with a bound pronominal (secondary objects), or else share reference with a suffix attached to a participant-adding morpheme (added objects), do not have any special pragmatic function. These points will be exemplified in this section.

In (324) a husband wants to go to a singsing, but because his wife is nursing a newborn she can’t come. He checks with her to see if she minds if he goes, and she replies.\(^5\) The two participants will be carrying out different actions.

(324)  &N-a-no\(\langle m\rangle\).  
&Nëñi bai  \(n-e-ké\langle n\rangle i\).
IRR-2SG.M-\(\langle 2SG.M\rangle\)go.along 1SG.F FUT IRR-1SG.F-\(\langle 1SG.F\rangle\)sit
‘Go. And me, I’ll stay.’ [U-EM:01]

In the next example a man has a hidden garden and he has been arguing with another man who has discovered it. Finally the owner of the garden says to the intruder:

(325)  Yake.  \(Mëmá n-a-kó\langle m\rangle e\).  
\(Nëñá n-a-n-aro\).
enough 2SG.M IRR-2SG.M-\(\langle 2SG.M\rangle\)go.up 1SG.M IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-go.down
‘Enough. You, you go. And me, I’ll go.’

\(Úrí ya n-epi-ka(p)e bê \text{ eróra}\).
morning and IRR-IDu-\(\langle IDu\rangle\)come DPROX garden
When it’s morning then we’ll come here to the garden.’ [TP-MN:01]

The next day the same two men sit smoking; one asks the other:

(326)  To \(mëmá arâpe k-a-m-	ext{á}\) \(\text{be}\)?
CQ 2SG.M what RL-2SG.M-2SG.M-do DPROX
‘And you, what are you smoking here?’ [TP-MN:01]

In the next example, a spirit has returned from hunting and tells his wife he’s caught some little boys for them to eat. He tells her that he’s going to sleep and that she should get things ready to cook and eat.

\(^5\)The form \textit{bai} is a Tok Pisin future particle currently being borrowed into Barupu.
The following example shows a Pi pronoun. The following clause comes after a list of instructions from a dead man to his wife. It details all the ways she might have of killing herself before she can come looking for him. The free pronoun signals a change in topic away from the woman and back to the man.

Example (329) comes after some men have cooked and killed an animal. They are carving it up and handing out pieces. Ro mò (stomach mother) is a compound meaning the stomach and intestines.

As discussed above, the Recipient of the verb 'give' is normally post-verbal, but in this example, because it is a topicalised free pronoun, it appears first in the clause before the secondary object, ro ‘stomach’. This is the first mention of this man in the story, and he goes on to be the main protagonist of the rest of the story. This example also has a third person subject pronoun, the 3SG.M yá. Third person free pronouns do
not have such a pragmatically marked effect as first and second person pronouns; they are typically used when a participant is introduced as a topic. It is significant that there are no examples of clauses with Pi or Recipient third person free pronouns in the data. I have elicited clauses with third person non-subject pronouns, but it has not been possible to determine their pragmatic force. Following are some third person subject examples, also taken from narratives.

Example (330) is taken from a story which starts out with boys talking about what they are going to do. They set off and find a fruit tree belonging to a spirit. They climb it and start picking fruit. The narrative then moves over to the owner of the fruit tree sitting in his house listening to the boys. He yells out at them and the next clause is as given in (330). Here the narrative returns to the boys and they go from being the objects of the previous clause to the subjects of this one.

(330) **Yéi ero=va k-e-toro-p-eri**

3PL.M noise=PRM RL-3PL.M-make.noise-FL.M-SEP.SG

‘Them, they were making lots of noise

*beya k-e-rīvō-p-o-a vai.*

NEG RL-3PL.M-hear-AG-GIVE-3SG.M POL

and didn’t hear him.’ [ANR-MN:01]

When a participant is reintroduced and there is possible confusion about the identities of the participants — for example, they are both 3SG.F — the free pronoun can be followed by an identifying noun phrase. In the following example a grandmother has been sitting looking at her old skin and she goes to ask her granddaughter to come to the bush with her. Up till now the focus has been fully on the grandmother. In the next clause the granddaughter asks a question. She is not a new participant because the grandmother has been talking to her previously but she has not been the main topic before.

(331) **Bó, ópu tāre, k-o-tere-r-o-o bō** ...  

3SG.F grand.relation new RL-3SG.F-ask-AG-GIVE-3SG.F 3SG.F

‘Her,, the granddaughter,, she, asked her, ...’ [NS-MM:03]
Note that there are two 3SG.F pronouns in the above example. The second one, after the verb, is the object of the serialised verb GIVE. There is no pragmatic effect associated with added object free pronouns. Secondary object pronouns are rare since secondary objects are rarely animate and there are no inanimate pronouns.

6.4.4 NP clitic

As can be seen scattered throughout example sentences in this thesis, any or up to two pre-verbal NPs (except pronouns, proper names or NPs with demonstratives), can appear with a clitic =a or =va. The form is toneless and phonologically conditioned by the final sound of the word it attaches to. It is =a after a consonant (including glides) and =va after a vowel.

This clitic is entirely optional. In some texts it appears once or twice or not at all; in others it appears much more often. The exact function of this clitic is not known, but some possibilities can be ruled out. It appears overwhelmingly on objects, Instruments and adjunct nominals (i.e. non-subjects) but it also appears on intransitive and transitive subjects, so it is not an accusative or absolutive marker.

Cross-linguistically it has been shown to be preferable for sentences to be cast with transitive subjects as old information, sometimes called Topic, while new participants are preferably introduced as absolutive arguments — that is, intransitive subjects or objects (Dubois 1987). One possibility is that the correlation between absolutive and =va might be to do with new information or Focus. However, it is extremely common for this clitic to attach to a particular participant and appear on it every time it is mentioned throughout a text, even in contiguous clauses, so it is not a marker of new information.

Nor does it seem to mark definiteness, as the following text extract show, it can appear on defines but it can also appear on generics. This is especially clear in the following text extract discussing the correlation between the size of a women’s
breasts and the size of mushrooms that grow in the waste product of their sago.

(332) Yaru k-u-îniá k-u-îniá k-o-pirotu, ya k-o-r-aka waste RL-3SG.F-be.at RL-3SG.F-be.at RL-3SG.F-rot and RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-3SG.F-resemble röí. Röí=a k-o-köe bé yaru é. Mare mushroom mushroom=PRM RL-3SG.F-go.up DPROX waste DPROX now n-emi-yáá-rá-á, k-o-r-aka röí. Beya röí=a mushroom=PRM RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-resemble mushroom NEG mushroom=PRM k-o-köe kanápo, émo tó bó biá bóóm bé. Yake, RL-3SG.F-go.up nothing DREF breast 3SG.F person woman DPROX enough Röí=a bé k-o-köe ñi yaru. Bóm ñi=a mushroom=PRM DPROX RL-3SG.F-go.up sago waste woman sago=PRM n-ere-tóí, yaru=a n-ere-bere-bere-ki. IRR-3PL.F-rinse waste=PRM IRR-3PL.F-REDUP-throw.away-AWAY n-ere-r-i-ke n-u-îniá. Röí=a k-o-köe. IRR-3PL.F-3PL.F-put-3SG.F-INTS IRR-3SG.F-be.at mushroom=PRM RL-3SG.F-go.up Röí=a k-ere-r-e-re-ñi, k-ere-ave. Röí=a mushroom=PRM RL-3PL.F-3PL.F-put RL-3PL.F-bear.fruit mushroom=PRM k-u-ave. RL-3SG.F-bear.fruit

'There is waste and it rots and (the breast) comes up like a mushroom. A mushroom grows up here in the waste. You can see it now, it’s like a mushroom. It’s not a mushroom that just comes up for no reason, it’s the woman’s breast. Alright. A mushroom grows up in the sago waste. Women wash sago, they wash the waste off and leave it and a mushroom grows up. Lots of mushrooms grow.

In this extract one of the major functions of this clitic is to draw the hearer’s or reader’s attention to a particular participant and keep their attention on it. This stretch of text is all about mushrooms that grow up in sago waste, hence the mushrooms, the sago and the waste all receive the clitic at various times.

Similarly, in the following text important plot developments are highlighted with the clitic. The spell is very important, as is the bilum. Even more important is the devil’s need to go to the toilet (‘shit’ is an adjunct nominal in all these clauses), because it is this action that allows the boys to run away.

(333) Ne=va kaikëi ya k-o-miminra-i.
spell=PRM RL-3SG.M-curse-ADV-3PL.M and RL-3SG.F-paralyse-3PL.M
‘He put a spell on them and they were paralysed.'
Kāvei  k-a-r-ikiro  ekóko  yá.
He caught them and put them in his string bag.

K-a-ko  k-a-icha  k-a-kōe-ro-nā-ô
he picked it up, put it on and went home with it.

K-a-kae  rara, ā=va  k-o-r-ê-r-o-a.
As he was coming along the road he needed to shit.

E=va  kawekināi  mevōva  āi  ú.
He hung the bag with the children in it on a tree branch.

K-a-noi  ā=va  k-a-r-ê.
He went off to shit. He was shitting for a long time.'

Note that the participant, ekóko, e 'string bag' is not marked with the clitic on first appearance (more evidence that this clitic is not marking Focus) but only on second. We are being told to keep our eye on the bilum because something's about to happen (the boys are going to cut it open and come tumbling out).

More than one participant per clause can be marked with the clitic, as shown in the following extract.

(334) Amori  mém chápo  k-e-p-á.
'Our namesake parties, as our grandfathers did them.

Biá  méntan=a  k-o-r-â  n-o-r-o-i  aro
A woman is going to give a small child to his namesakes and uncles.

Mû=va  yun=a  k-u-or-o-r-a-ka.
The mother decorates him with flowers. She shaves his nape well.

Châ ma=va  k-e-y-a-r-u  rewo.
The mother decorates him with flowers. She shaves his nape well.
Yake ... Mo=va chá ma=va k-e-y-a-r-u, enough mother=PRM head nape=PRM RL-3SG.F.BEN-3SG.M-3SG.F-shave k-o-koku-r-ö-wa. RL-3SG.F-worry-AG-REG-3SG.M
Alright. The mother shaves his nape and worries about him.

Má=va k-a-yårå-ö beka. K-a-tère-r-o-r mõ, child=PRM RL-3SG.M-see-3SG.F like RL-3SG.M-ask-AG-GIVE-3SG.F mother
The child sees this and asks his mother,

'Mán! To au aråpe k-o-m-å ta ine pë mama CQ thing what RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-do REAS eye water k-or-o-m-bëre?'
RL-3SG.F-BEN-2SG.F-drip
"Mama, why are you crying?"

As this text develops, the child, the mother and the namesakes are often marked with the clitic.

A participant does not have to have continuing importance to be marked with the clitic, it can simply be locally important, but it is not at all clear to me yet what rules govern the use of this clitic, or if there are circumstances when it cannot be used. Its failure to appear on pronouns, proper names and NPs with demonstratives may be to do with the fact that these kinds of NPs are inherently or already marked as important.

6.5 Non-verbal predicates

In this section I follow Dryer (2005) in using the term non-verbal predicate as distinct from verbless clause. A verbless clause is a kind of non-verbal predicate but Dryer argues that in clauses involving a copular verb, even though the copular is a verb, the real predicate is the nonverb not the verb.

6.5.1 Nominal predicates

Dryer (2005:8) distinguishes between ‘true nominal predicates’ and equational clauses. In equational clauses the two entities are exactly the same and the statement should be reversible with exactly the same meaning.
(335) *Awó nēnī Kua Meriam.*  
name 1SG.F AT PN  
‘My name is Miriam.’

(336) *Kua Meriam awó nēnī.*  
AT PN name 1SG.F  
‘Miriam is my name.’

In ‘true nominal predicates’ the subject NP is a member of, or has the properties of, the class of items specified in the nominal predicate. The two NPs cannot be reversed with the same meaning. Examples (337 - 339) are nominal predicate verbless clauses.\(^6\) The subject is most often set off by the topicalising pronoun described in §6.4.2, above, or else a Determiner such as a possessive pronoun or demonstrative.

(337) *Biá=ere (yá) aka nēnī.*  
person=DDIST (3SG.M) father 1SG.F  
‘That man is my father.’

(338) *Cha John yá tikse.*  
AT PN 3SG.M teacher  
‘John is a teacher’

(339) *Mō nēnī bó Barupu bōm.*  
mother 1SG.F 3SG.F PLN woman  
‘My mother is a Barupu woman.’

This construction has other functions as well. It is commonly used to talk about what something is used for, as shown in example (340).

(340) *Karapa rau bó a riri.*  
ginger leaf 3SG.F thing sweep (exorcism)  
‘Ginger leaf is for getting rid of bad spirits.’ [DICT-PB:01]

It can also be used to describe what a story is about, as shown in example (341).

(341) *Au trai bó maintópa.*  
thing say 3SG.F flying.fox  
‘This story is about a flying fox.’ [U-EM:01]

\(^6\) Whereas a sentence like that in (337) would be an equative clause in English, where people generally only have one father, in Barupu your father’s brothers and your mother’s brothers-in-law are all your fathers.
6.5.1.1 Genitive predicates

A sub-type of nominal predicate is the genitive predicate. Some examples follow.

(342) Au bére au mômù.
thing DEM thing 2SG.F
‘That thing is your thing.’ (‘That’s yours.’)

It is not necessary to repeat the noun denoting the possessum, as shown in the following example.

(343) Biô méntan rôpe mômù.
person small where 2SG.F
‘Which of those children is yours?’

6.5.1.2 -ävé ‘be, become’

As shown above nominal predicates do not require a copular in simple past and present time frames. In irrealis clauses (such as those set in the future or conditionals, see Chapter 9) a copular -ävé ‘be, become’ is required. As shown in examples (344) and (345), this verb takes prefixes for the subject. The predicate nominal is a distinct grammatical relation — it cannot be matched to one of the object relations described at the beginning of this chapter. It is not cross-referenced on the verb so it is not a Pi or Recipient, but it appears after the verb, so it is not a secondary object.

Example (344) shows this verb in a conditional clause.

(344) Bo n-en-ävé rau mô ...
TVF IRR-1SG.F-be pig mother
‘If I was a mother pig ...’ [MP-EM:01]

Example (345) shows this verb in a future time frame.

(345) N-u-ävé tikse bora ké tā n-a-ko-r-o-mi.
IRR-3SG.F-become teacher PURP1 oyster skin IRR-3SG.M-get.SGO-AG-GIVE-IPL
‘She will become a teacher to get money for us.’
This verb can be used in realis clauses but only to mean ‘become’. That is, with the implication that a transformation has taken place.

(346) Bió biám béré yá kāvé aka něnĩ.  
      k-a-āvé  
      person man DDIST 3SG.M RL-3SG.M-become father 1SG.F  
      ‘That man became my father (e.g. by marrying one of my older sisters).’

### 6.5.1.3 Other copular-like verbs — resemblance and naming

Two other copular-like verbs are -aka ‘resemble’ and -ina ‘name’. Something’s resemblance to something else is expressed using the verb -aka ‘resemble’. Like -āvé, this verb takes subject prefixing and a post-verbal, unmarked complement. This is shown in examples (347) and (348)

(347) Ame bó k-o-r-aka rōinké.  
      animal 3SG.F RL-3SG.M-3SG.F-resemble rat  
      ‘This animal is like a rat.’ [DICT-EM:01]

(348) Chá pě mōmú k-o-r-aka münkā.  
      head leaf 2SG.F RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-resemble cat  
      ‘Your hair is like a cat(’s).’

The verb -ina is like a ditransitive verb in that it takes the named argument as a morphologically marked object like a Pi and another argument as the name it is called. This argument is not marked on the verb, like a secondary object, but unlike a secondary object can appear before or after the verb. This can be seen in the following example. In this example the named argument, 3SG.M, is realised on the verb like a Pi and the name is realised as a pre-verbal NP like a secondary object.

(349) Awó beya n-e-m-iná-ka vai, k-em-īrai kanāpó, beka yá.  
      nameF NEG IRR-1PL-1PL-name-3SG.M POL RL-1PL-say empty like 3SG.M  
      ‘If we don’t call him a name we just say something empty, like “him”.’
      [DICT-MM:01]
However, as the following examples show, unlike secondary objects, the name argument regularly appears after the verb. In the following example the name argument is the post-verbal kéu ‘oyster, shell axe’ and the named is the pre-verbal marked aimon kamo ‘steel axe’.

(350) Âimon kamo tora k-e-p-inâ-∅ kéu₇.  
axe₇ long.ago RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-name-3SG.F oyster(shell axe)  
‘They called traditional axes kéu.’ [S-MN:03]

Another example is given below. Here the named argument is boko and the name it is called is the unmarked, post-verbal Toeyoro o Maemae.

(351) K-a-kõe uka, boko k-e-p-inâ-∅ Toeyoro o Maemae.  
RL-3SG.M-go.up bush place RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-name-3SG.F PLN OR PLN  
‘He went up to the bush, to a place called Toeyoro or Maemae.’

6.5.2 Adjectival predicates

As described in Chapter 4, adjectival predicates in Barupu are simply a type of intransitive verbal clause. In most adjectival predicates an adjective is inflected, just like an intransitive verb, for realis or irrealis status and the person, gender and number of the subject. This is shown in example (352).

(352) Poro k-o-mêntan k-o-ruvoro-nâ-n.  
canoe RL-3SG.F-small RL-3SG.F-capsize-APPL-1SG.F  
‘The canoe was small and capsized with me in it.’ [U-GX:01]

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, some words that can appear in the adjective slot in an NP cannot be inflected. Instead they belong to the class of manner words that can also appear after verbs. These words can also be found in verbless adjectival predicate clauses where they are juxtaposed with nouns. Non-inflecting adjectives typically describe properties of inanimate objects (such as ‘sharp’, ‘blunt’ etc), but not always, as shown in (354).
6.5.3 Locative and existential predicates

Locative predicates mostly use the posture verb -iniá ‘lie’ as a locative/existential copular. There is no formal difference between locative and existential predicates.

(355) Niánta prumo k-ey-iniá pi pāko mēm.
prawn many RL-3PL.F-lie water big 1PL
‘There are many prawns in our lagoon.’ ‘Many prawns are in our lagoon.’

-Iniá is the default locative/existential copular. The above clause could mean that prawns are literally lying in the lagoon, but it would normally be interpreted as the default copular. Other positional verbs such as -röi ‘stand’ and -kéi ‘sit’ can be used in locative/existential predicates to reflect the shape and size of the subject. For example, in (356) the verb -röi ‘stand’ is used because trees are tall and stand straight.

(356) Āi k-o-röi ōro ika.
tree RL-3SG.F-stand house side
‘A tree stands at the side of a house.’ ‘There is a tree at the side of a house.’

The use of different posture verbs as locative/existential copulars is not uncommon cross-linguistically. Dryer (2005:15) points out that because there is some meaning in the verbs in constructions like this, they are no longer strictly non-verbal predicates, but he nonetheless treats them as the same type of construction.

Locative/existential predicates can be negated with regular clausal negation (§9.2.1), but there is also a lexical non-existential copular bāumi ‘not be at’. Examples of this follow.
6.5.3.1 Predicate possession

The existential locative/existential copular -iniá ‘be at’ is also used to express what Dryer (2005:18) calls predicate possession: ‘X has Y’. The copular receives different morphological marking depending on whether the possessum is a body part or not.

When the possessum is not a body part, -iniá appears with a participant-adding morpheme -ō REG whose object suffix indexes the possessor. The possessor is in bold font in the following example.

(358) Ké tā k-u-iniá-r-ō-mi-ke.
   oyster shell RL-3SG.F-be.at-AG-REG-1PL-INTS
   ‘We have money.’ (‘Money is with us.’)

There are two ways to indicate non-possession. In the first, a predicate possession clause can be negated, as in example (359).

(359) Ké tā beya k-u-iniá-r-ō-mi-ke vai.
   oyster shell NEG RL-3SG.F-be.at-AG-REG-1PL-INTS POL
   ‘We don’t have money.’ (‘Money is not with us.’)

The other way of indicating non-possession uses the non-existential copular -bāuni ‘not be at’. This is shown in example (360). This copular appears with a different participant-adding morpheme, -ē FROM.

(360) Ké tā k-o-bāuni-r-ē-mi-ke.
   oyster shell RL-3SG.F-not.be.at-AG-FROM-1PL-INTS
   ‘We don’t have money.’ (‘Money is not here to our detriment.’)

If the possessum also has a quality or number attributed to it there are two possibilities. Example (361) shows the predicate possession construction with an NP modified by the numeral, riëmpin ‘two’.
(361) *Rau riempin k-u-śni-a-r-o-ši-mi-ke.*
    pig two RL-3SG.F-lie-AG-REG-1PL-INTS
    ‘We have two pigs.’ (‘Two pigs are with us.’)

The other possibility is exemplified in (362). Here the NP is modified with a possessive pronoun in a verbal adjectival predicate clause, see §6.5.2, above.

(362) *Rau mēmi k-o-riempin.*
    pig 1PL RL-3SG.F-two
    ‘We have two pigs.’ (‘Our pigs are two.’)

The body-part predicate possession construction uses the

Benefactive/Possession agreement paradigm on the locative/existential copulars. This paradigm is fully exemplified in Chapter 8, but some examples follow.

(363) *Opō ripevā k-o-r-u-śniā.*
    neck long RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-be.at
    ‘She has a long neck.’

(364) *Tū k-o-r-u-bāuni.*
    tail RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-not.be.at
    ‘She doesn’t have a tail.’
Chapter 7

Complex predicates and complex verbs

In this chapter I describe the complex predicates found in Barupu. I use the term ‘complex predicate’ in its broadest sense, as defined by Alsina et al. (1997:1):

‘predicates which are multi-headed; they are composed of more than one grammatical element (either morphemes or words), each of which contributes part of the information ordinarily associated with a head.’

Under this definition, complex predicates can be multi-word or single word. In Barupu, the multi-word complex predicates are serial verb constructions (SVCs).¹ Single word complex predicates in Barupu strongly resemble both serial verbs and applicative constructions, with some unusual behaviour, see §7.2, below.

¹Strictly speaking, adjunct nominal constructions are also complex predicates, because there are two grammatical elements involved in making up the predicate — a noun and a verb — but they are described in Chapter 6 because it is important to establish the status of the adjunct nominals in the context of other nominals found in the clause.
7.1 Serial verbs

Serial verbs are defined as ‘constructions in which verbs sharing a common actor or object are merely juxtaposed, with no intervening conjunctions’ (Foley and Olson 1985:18). It is not necessary for the verbs to share all core arguments but the two verbs must function together in a single clause (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Foley and Olson 1985; Durie 1997).

According to Durie (1997:302-303), serial verb constructions can be structurally defined according to two cross-cutting parameters: incorporation and contiguity. In incorporated serial verbs, ‘the verb sequence forms a single phonological word’; in non-incorporated serial verbs there are two independent verbs. Both incorporated and non-incorporated serial verbs can be contiguous, where ‘any arguments are placed outside the verb string’, or non-contiguous, where ‘arguments can intervene between verbs’ (1997:302). Under Durie’s classification, SVCs in Barupu are non-incorporating and they can be either contiguous or non-contiguous.

Functionally, serial verbs are used to add manner or direction of motion information or to express cause-effect notions. They can also be used to add participants like Instruments and Beneficiaries to the clause.

It is often claimed that a defining characteristic of SVCs is that they describe what is conceptualised as a single event, but Foley (2003) has recently argued, based on a cross-linguistic study, that this cannot hold as a general claim for SVCs. For example, Foley (2003) shows that the event ‘kill’ is expressed in some languages as a single word (e.g. Yimas), in others as an SVC (e.g. Watam or Yabem) and in others as a string of coordinated clauses (e.g. Mangap Mbula) and that, even within the same language, there can be various formal realisations of the same event. In addition, Foley (2003:6) argues that the event ‘kill’ is not a single event even in languages that encode it in a single lexical item, it is rather a macro-event that ‘necessarily involves
two sub-events, an act that someone does and a change in the state of being alive’. He concludes that ‘our knowledge in this area is woefully insufficient to allow us to read off from the formal crosslinguistic variation in the data, semantic and perhaps ultimately conceptual notions like single or multiple eventhood’ (2003:26).

SVCs in Barupu involve two fully inflected finite verbs operating within a single clause. This type of verb serialisation in Barupu is apparently restricted to quite specific event types. Those identified to date are shown in Table 7.1, below.

Barupu makes heavy use of asyndetic, or unmarked, coordination so it can sometimes be difficult to determine whether a given string of verbs is an SVC or a string of coordinated clauses with zero conjunction. The constructions in Table 7.1 are numbered from (1) - (6) reflecting a cline from most clearly mono-clausal (1) to tending towards bi-clausal (6). The constructions (1) - (3) are mono-clausal according to some language-internal criteria outlined below, but the constructions (4)-(6) are less clear-cut. They are included here as possible serial verbs because they are the types of collocations commonly found in serial verb constructions cross-linguistically, and there is some evidence that at least some of the time they are operating within the one clause. But the tests for showing that they are SVCs are more subtle than for those given as (1) - (3), and there is the possibility that the same collocations of verbs are sometimes in an SVC and sometimes not.

Table 7.1 Serial verbs by semantic type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type</th>
<th>( V_1 )</th>
<th>( V_2 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 goal-directed manner of motion</td>
<td>ITR manner of motion</td>
<td>ITR direction of motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cause goal-directed downward motion</td>
<td>TR drip/pour/etc</td>
<td>ITR go down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 aspectual</td>
<td>any action</td>
<td>ITR go (ITR finish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 goal-directed carrying</td>
<td>TR hold/get/carry</td>
<td>ITR direction of motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 instrumental</td>
<td>TR get (instrument)</td>
<td>TR action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 cause-effect</td>
<td>e.g. TR 'shoot'</td>
<td>e.g. ITR 'die'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barupu makes primary use of what has been called ‘asymmetrical serialisation’ (Durie 1997; Foley and Olson 1985), where one of the verbs comes from a largish set
of verbs and the other comes from a restricted closed set of verbs. For example, there are only four direction of motion verbs but many more manner of motion verbs. Other verbs that could be expected to combine with direction of motion verbs in SVCs like ‘look up’, ‘throw down’ etc. instead take an incorporated directional. This is described in §7.2, below.

The serial verb constructions (1) - (3) have the following characteristics:

i they always have the same status marking;

ii they have the same subject marking (in one case regardless of the fact that the two verbs arguably have different underlying subjects), or else, in the case of (3) the subject marking on the ‘go’ and ‘finish’ verbs is default 3SG.F;

iii they must be negated together;

iv they have mono-clausal intonation (although in the absence of a detailed formal study of intonation this can not be taken as a sole diagnostic);

v they never appear with conjunctions.

The serial verbs (4) - (6), differ from (1) - (3) with respect to criteria (iv) and (v). That is, the same collocations of verbs can be found in the data with or without conjunctions and with or without an intonation break (characterised by a slight rise at the end of the first clause and a pause between the two clauses). Serial verb (6) also differs with respect to criterion (ii). These two verbs have different subjects; the object of the first verb is the subject of the second.

Because Barupu has no subordinate verb forms, and limited use of complementisers, SVCs must also be distinguished from complex sentences involving paratactic complements (see §10.1). As mentioned above, SVCs must also be distinguished from complex sentences making use of unmarked, or asyndetic, coordinations. The key differences in Barupu between parataxis and coordination on one hand and verb serialisation on the other are:
serial verbs must have the same status marking, whereas alternations in status marking are often meaningful in parataxis and coordination. For example, the verb 'want' is always realis and its complement is always irrealis;

serial verbs must be negated together, inside discontinuous negation (see §9.2.1) whereas paratactic complements and two coordinated clauses can be negated independently (see §10.1, §10.2 and §10.3).

The possibility of being negated together is not evidence of mono-clausal structure because two paratactic or coordinated clauses can appear within discontinuous negation (see Chapter 10), but the inability for verbs in a serial verb construction to be independently negated does strongly suggest mono-clausal structure.

7.1.1 Goal-directed manner of motion

As discussed in Chapter 6, the interpretation of post-verbal nominal adjuncts rests heavily on the inherent meanings of the verbs and the nominals themselves. A nominal with place-like semantics appearing after a manner of motion verb will be interpreted as an outer location, as in example (365).

(365) K-o-púpú kikom.
RL-3SG.F-fly mangrove
‘She flew (around) at the mangrove.’

When a manner of motion event requires a Goal, it must be combined with a direction of motion verb in a serial construction, as in examples (366) and (367).

(366) K-o-tá k-o-köe é.
RL-3SG.F-paddle RL-3SG.F-go.up DPROX
‘She paddled up here.’

(367) K-o-púpú k-o-r-aro kikom.
RL-3SG.F-fly RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-go.down mangrove
‘She flew down to the mangrove.’
In this serial verb construction, both verbs must have the same subject and status marking, and the two verbs cannot be independently negated. As will be described in Chapter 9, negation is made up of two elements — the negation particle *beya* which appears after the subject at the beginning of a simple or complex sentence, plus the polarity particle *vai* which appears at the very end of the sentence. Serial verbs always appear together inside negation. Example (368a) shows the ‘goal-directed manner of motion’ serial verb ‘fly-go down’ and example (368b) shows the negated version.

(368) a)  *K-o-pupu k-o-r-arokikom.*
    RL-3SG.F-fly RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-go.down mangrove
    ‘She flew down to the mangroves.’

    b)  *Beya k-o-pupu k-o-r-arokikom vai.*
    NEG RL-3SG.F-fly RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-go.down mangrove POL
    ‘She didn’t fly down to the mangroves.’

When discussing these constructions, speakers consistently reject any attempts to insert conjunctions between the two verbs, negate these verbs separately or give the verbs different status markings.

A Path can, however, intervene between the two verbs. This serial verb construction is thus potentially non-contiguous.

(369)  *K-en-ute rara k-e-kó(n)e sule.*
    RL-1SG.F-walk road RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.up school
    ‘I’m walking on the road up to school.’

There is also what speakers call a short cut to this construction. In the short cut, the manner of motion verb is uninflected and preposed to the direction of motion verb.

(370)  *Tá k-epi-kó(p)e óro.*
    paddle RL-1DU-(1DU)go.up house
    ‘We paddle to the house.’

It is not possible to use any verb with a direction of motion verb like this. For example, using *-póí ‘whistle’ would be ungrammatical: e.g. *póí nepinopi intending
'we whistle and go' or 'whistling we go'. Only manner of motion verbs plus direction of motion verbs can enter into this construction, supporting speakers' claims that the serial verbs and the short cut are related.

7.1.2 Causing Goal-directed downward motion of substances

In these serial verbs, the subject of the causing verb must be cross-referenced as the subject of the direction of motion verb, despite the fact that the two verbs have different underlying subjects. For example, in (371) the underlying subject of -aro 'go down' is arguably the object of the causing verb -oi ‘crumble’.

(371)  \( N-e-\delta(p)i \quad n-e-p-aro \quad apón \ pê. \)
RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)crumble IRR-3PL.M-3PL.M-go.down banana leaf
'They’ll crumble (tobacco) down into the banana leaf.' [P-MG:03]

This agreement pattern has been called ‘concordant dependent inflection’ (Durie in Aikhenvald 1999:476), and it is quite common cross-linguistically in what have been called ‘causative serial verb constructions’ (Foley and Olson 1985:25)

Another example can be found in Anamuxra (Ingram 2001:268).2

(372)  \( ikx-a-\eta \quad tama-N-tama mudu-m \quad ...
\)
lime.shell-ND-PL put-N-RDL go.up-1SGS
'... I stacked the lime shells and ...'

In this example only \( V_2 \) is inflected for subject, but, like Barupu, it agrees with the actor of the first verb (1SG), rather than its own actual actor (the lime shells).

Andrews (1997) accounts for the concordant dependent inflection of SVCs like this as resulting from the fact that they are complex predicates:

The idea of a complex predicate is that two distinct argument-taking lexical items combine in such a way as to take their arguments as a single array of grammatical relations. On such an analysis, both the Cause

\[ ^2 \text{ND} = \text{near distal deictic}; \text{RDL} = \text{reduplicant}; \text{N} = \text{underspecified nasal segment}. \]
[pour] and Effect [go down] verbs will have the same subjects, objects, etc., so the agreement of the Effect verb with the Cause verb’s subject is not problematic (1997:4).

In Barupu, the two verbs must also share status marking and be negated together.

(373) *Beya pi n-ana-bere n-a-n-aro baket vai.*
*NEG water IRR-lSG.M-pour IRR-lSG.M-lSG.M-go.down BUCKET POL*
*I will not pour water down into the bucket.*

If the verbs are independently negated the result is apparently nonsensical.

(374) #? *Pi n-ana-bere beya n-a-n-aro baket vai.*
*water IRR-lSG.M-pour NEG IRR-lSG.M-lSG.M-go.down BUCKET POL*
*I will pour water and I will not go down into the bucket.*

As shown in (375), there are examples in the data where ‘go down’ is cross-referenced with its own subject marking. When this occurs, the status marking on the two verbs can be different and they can be independently negated, which means that they are no longer in a serial verb construction, they are coordinated clauses.

(375) *K-e-tōi-toi k-o-r-aro inentako.*
*RL-3pL.M-REDup-rinse RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-go.down coconut.shell*
*‘They rinse (dye) out and it goes down into the coconut shell.’ [P-MG:03]*

There are no SVCs using the other direction of motion verbs (e.g. of the type ‘push’ ‘go up’ — meanings like these are expressed with an incorporated directional, see below) which gives weight to the claim that for verbs to serialise they must together express an event which is commonplace and ‘a culturally important concatenation of events’ (Durie 1997:28); see also Bruce (1984). Capturing and containing liquids like water and loose dry substances like lime and tobacco is part of everyday life in Barupu and the most common way of doing so is to cause them to go down into something.
7.1.3 Aspect

Aspectual serial verbs involve the verbs -noi 'go along' and -baun-ki (-not.be.at-AWAY) 'finish'. These two verbs are always marked with 3SG.F, regardless of the subject of the first verb. Some examples follow and more discussion of these forms can be found in Chapter 9.

\[(376)\] K-ere-perete k-o-noi.
RL-3PL.F-strip RL-3SG.F-go.along
'They stripped (leaves) for a long time.' [WH-RX:03]

Completive aspect can be indicated with the negative existential verb -baun(i) 'not be at', which usually has an incorporated directional -kie AWAY as well. This verb often follows konoi.

\[(377)\] K-ere-perete k-o-noi k-o-biiun-ki.
RL-3SG.F-strip RL-3SG.F-go.along RL-3SG.F-not.be.at-AWAY
'They stripped (leaves) for a long time until there were no more left.' [1-MW:03]

\[(378)\] ... kure kure k-o-noi k-o-biiun-ki.
k-o-ure k-o-ure RL-3SG.F-roll RL-3SG.F-roll RL-3SG.F-go.along RL-3SG.F-not.be.at-AWAY
'... and she rolled and rolled string for a long time until she was finished.' [1-MW:03]

This is an example of what Crowley (2002:42) calls 'ambient serialisation'. An ambient verb 'makes a general predication about the world without referring to any participants'. In ambient serialisation, 'if anything ... the second verb takes the entire event encoded by the initial verb as its subject' (2002:42).

7.1.4 Goal-directed carrying

There are no single lexical items corresponding to English 'bring' and 'take' in Barupu. Instead, as shown in (379), a 'get' or 'carry' verb is combined with a manner of motion verb in what appears to be a serial construction.
Complex predicates and complex verbs

(379) Apon n-ama-ko n-a-ka(m)e.
        banana IRR-2SG.M-get.SGO IRR-2SG.M-(2SG.M)come
        ‘Bring a banana.’

Note that the verb -kae ‘come’ does not necessarily have to introduce an overt
Goal participant — the Goal is understood as the deictic centre of the discourse.

(380) N-en-ko n-e-no(n)i oro.
        IRR-1SG.F-get.SGO IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.along house
        ‘I took it home.’

In an alternative to this pattern which is especially prevalent in casual or rapid
speech, the three direction of motion verbs that take infixing for subject can be
extremely reduced, losing all their mood and subject information: e.g. k-a-ko kae
(RL-3SG.M-get.SGO come) or n-en-ko noi (IRR-1SG.F-get.SGO go.along). ³

Bring and take constructions can also be formed with the specific manner of
carrying verbs and direction of motion verbs, as in the following examples. In these
multi-clause examples the serial construction is in bold type.

(381) Tamamai tau ne=va k-o-vai ya k-o-châró
        flowering.shrub skin string=PRM RL-3SG.F-strip then RL-3SG.F-carry.on.head
        k-o-noi òoro.
        RL-3SG.F-go.along house

        ‘She stripped some tamamai skin string and took it home on her head.’
        [DICT-PB:01]

(382) Cha tâita nêná âiró puru riêmpin k-a-poi
        AT father ISG.M breadfruit bundle two RL-3SG.M-carry.on.shoulder
        k-a-kae òoro.
        RL-3SG.M-come house.

        ‘My father brought two bundles of breadfruit home on his shoulder.’
        [DICT-PB:01]

As with the Goal-directed manner of motion verbs, these verbs must share the
same subject and status marking and they should be negated together. However, this

³If this was simply phonological reduction the 1SG.F would reduce to noni or non.
collocation of verbs can sometimes be found in the data with bi-clausal intonation as well as with conjunctions. See §7.1.5 for more discussion of alternations between bi-clausal and SVC expressions of the same event.

7.1.5 Instrumental

An example of Instrumental serialisation is given in (383). The ‘get’ verb always precedes the action – this is a cross-linguistic universal property of Instrumental serial verbs.

(383) Tamoriri pôn k-ere-ko k-ere-yé-u.
   broom only RL-3PL.F-get.SGO RL-3PL.F-hit-3SG.F
   ‘They just hit her with a broom.’ [FF2-CA:03]

One major difference between Instrumental serial verbs and those described in the preceding sections is that whereas the ones above combined either two intransitive verbs (manner-direction, aspect) or else a transitive verb with an intransitive verb (cause-downward motion, Goal-directed carrying, aspect), the two verbs in the Instrumental construction are both transitive and have two different objects. In each case of a transitive and intransitive combination the transitive verb is V1 and the intransitive verb is V2 which means that they all have the structure: (S) O V1 V2. The Instrumental construction typically has the structure: (S) O V1 O V2. That is, the two verbs are usually separated by the object of the action verb, if it is overt. This is shown in (384).

(384) Bíó böm ãi=a k-o-ko náki k-o-yé-ya.
   person woman stick=PRM RL-3SG.F-get.SGO dog RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M
   ‘The woman beat the dog with a stick.’

Negation can surround the whole construction and it has vague scope. Equally plausible construals for (385) are that the woman didn’t hit the dog at all, or that she did hit the dog but not with a stick.
Complex predicates and complex verbs

(385) Bió bóm beya ái=a k-o-ko náki k-o-yé-ya vai.
    person woman NEG stick=PRM RL-3SG,F-get.SGO dog RL-3SG,F-hit-3SG,M POL
    'The woman didn't hit the dog with the stick.'

However, on other occasions the same collocation of verbs, with an implied Instrumental interpretation, can be clearly shown to be two clauses. In (386) the two clauses are linked by the conjunction ya. In this example there is an afterthought, áimon kamo ‘axe’, in the first clause, and this may have had an effect on the structure.

(386) Mêmá, rúa n-ama-ko, áimon kamo, ya n-ama-te-i.
    2SG,M bow IRR-2SG,M-get.SGO axe and IRR-2SG,M-shoot-3PL,M
    'And you, get a bow and arrow, and axe, and shoot them.' [Nscl-CA:03]

Even without an overt conjunction, intonation can sometimes show that there are two clauses instead of one. For example, (387) is identical to an Instrumental construction without intonation information, and is also semantically plausible: e.g. 'I'll paddle with an oar.' However, its intonation pattern is coordinate; there is a rise at the end of the first verb like a comma intonation and a pause between the two verbs. Speakers also translated this example as two coordinated clauses.

    enough oar IRR-1SG,F-get.SGO IRR-1SG,F-paddle
    'Alright. I get my oar and paddle.'

As discussed in Chapter 6, there is also an Instrument construction, where the Instrument is in the clause as a bare NP. Consider example (383), above, again. The event described in that example appears four times in the same text in four formally different constructions. In (388), below, the first time it appears in the text, it is expressed with bi-clausial intonation; there is a rise at the end of kereko and the two verbs are separated by a 1.46- second pause.

(388) Rërë, tamoriri pón k-ere-ko[\text{1.46sc}], k-ere-yé-u.
    3PL,F broom only RL-3PL,F-get.SGO RL-3PL,F-hit-3SG,F
    'As for them, they got a broom and hit her.' [615.172-619.700]
As the time codes next to the English translations show, the event is repeated almost immediately, this time without the overt 3PL.F pronoun and without any intonation breaks. This was the example given in (383), repeated here as (389).

(389) *Tamoriri pón k-ere-ko k-ere-yé-u.*

broom only RL-3PL.F-get.SGO RL-3PL.F-hit-3SG.F

'They just hit her with a broom.' [620.819-622.885]

A little over a minute later in the text, after some other things have happened, the speaker repeats the event again. This time there is a conjunction between the two clauses, as in (385). In this example, the first verb *kereko* also has an incorporated directional -ká TOWARD, see §7.2.2, below.

(390) *Réré, tamoriri pón k-ere-ko-ká ya k-ere-yé-u.*

3PL.F broom only RL-3PL.F-get.SGO-TOWARD and RL-3PL.F-hit-3SG.F

'Them, they got a broom and hit her with it.' [737.498-740.104]

And finally, the same event appears again in the conclusion to the story. This time the Instrument is realised as a bare NP in the clause headed by -yé 'hit'.

(391) *Tamoriri=va k-ere-yé-ò-ki pón beka, réká pón*

broom=PRM RL-3SG.F-hit-3SG.F-AWAY only like skin only

k-o-voro-voro.

RL-3SG.F-REDUP-bumpy

'They only hit her with a broom like that, just so her skin was very bumpy.'

(i.e. she didn't die.) [759.744-763.456]

It appears that information is strung over two clauses in the first instance and a more compressed mono-clausal form is used in recapitulations. Some support for this can be seen in another example of a condensed recapitulation, again of an Instrumental event. In the following text extract, the bi-clausal Instrumental event is in bold type. There is a pause between ‘get’ and ‘cut’ and rising intonation on ‘get’.

\[\text{Foley (2003:19) shows that in Watam the same event can be expressed through clause-chaining or an SVC. In Watam there is a textual, discourse motivation for the choice: the final clause in a complex sentence will typically be the one expressed as an SVC because they are 'more important, more highlighted ... In a sense they are the climax of the sentence'.}\]
Later in the story, the boys have got away and they are recounting the story of their escape to their parents. In this version the Instrumental event is expressed in one clause with an Instrumental NP aura ‘bamboo’.

Speakers have a choice as to how to represent an Instrumental event: a) a single clause with an Instrumental NP; b) an SVC; c) an unmarked coordination or d) a marked coordination. The choice appears to be about packaging information.

### 7.1.6 Cause-effect

In many serialising languages, verbs such as ‘shoot’ and ‘die’ are serialised as the only way to express something like ‘kill’ (other verbs like ‘hit’ or ‘spear’ can be substituted for ‘shoot’). In Barupu, it is not entirely clear whether examples like these should be thought of as serial verbs or not. For example, speakers always translate a collocation like those in (394) and (395) into English as two clauses with a conjunction.
Complex predicates and complex verbs

(394) \[ Rau \, a \, k-a-ti-a \, k-a-ráí. \]
\[ \text{pig} = \text{PRM} \, \text{RL-3SG.M-shoot-3SG.M} \, \text{RL-3SG.M-die} \]
‘He shot a pig (and) it died.’

(395) \[ Āi \, a \, k-a-iro \, k-o-rei. \]
\[ \text{tree} = \text{PRM} \, \text{RL-3SG.M-fell} \, \text{RL-3SG.F-fall} \]
‘He felled a tree and it fell.’

For the clear SVCs described in sections 7.1.1 - 7.1.3, the serial verb construction is the only way to express the event. For the less clear SVCs, discussed in §7.1.4 and §7.1.5, there are sometimes different ways of expressing the same events. This is also true for the cause-effect; the wounding verbs can be used on their own even when they have caused death. For example, in (396), the pigs are shot and smoked; the pigs’ deaths do not have to be explicitly mentioned.

(396) \[ Rau \, k-e-te-i \, k-e-ruworo. \]
\[ \text{pig} \, \text{RL-3PL.M-shoot-3PL.M} \, \text{RL-3PL.M-smoke} \]
‘They would shoot pigs and smoke (them).’ [NSC2-MM:03]

This is similar to English where verbs such as ‘shoot’ and ‘stab’ can either have death built in, or they can be further specified with a resultative, such as ‘to death’.

Another example of this in Barupu is in fishing and hunting narratives where the verb -āve ‘hold’ is often followed by a ‘put’ verb to express something like ‘catch’, but in the event that the prey is not put into something or that part of the story is not relevant, -āve is sufficient to express the meaning ‘catch’.

In textual examples of this collocation, intonation varies between what I have characterised as the mono-clausal and bi-clausal intonations. Collocations like this can also appear in texts with or without overt conjunctions. It is not yet clear that collocations like this should be treated as serial verbs or simply as very commonly collocated verbs.
7.2 Complex verbs

In addition to the multi-word complex predicates described in the preceding section, Barupu also has a system of single-word complex predicates. I will call these complex verbs. A complex Barupu verb may have the following structure (the elements under discussion in this section are in bold):

\[
\text{STAT-SBJ/}[\text{BEN-OBJ}]-\text{SBJ}-\text{V-OBJ}-\text{ADVB}_1-\text{[LOC-OBJ]}-\text{DIR}-\text{[VAL}_1\text{-OBJ}]-\text{[VAL}_2\text{-OBJ}]-\text{ADVB}_2-\text{INTS}
\]

Figure 7.1 Structure of the Barupu complex verb

The above structure represents a single grammatical word; no NPs, adverbials or particles or pauses separate the various elements. Each element following the verb’s object agreement has its own tone and the verb also retains its tone. As with multi-word nominal compounds, the rightmost morpheme in a complex verb has the most prominence.\(^5\) Elements must appear in the order shown in the figure with the one exception that the unmarked ordering of the LOC and DIR is dependent on the semantics of the verb, as exemplified below. This section is concerned with the elements appearing after the main verb. The structure of BEN is discussed in Chapter 8.

From the figure, Barupu appears to be a fairly polysynthetic language. However, there are four reasons for believing that this is probably a recent development.

i. it is rare for all of these elements to be represented on a single verb — one or two at the most is common;

ii. if the verb is transitive, everything must appear after, or external to, the verb’s object suffix;

iii. each element retains its own tone;

iv. some of the forms show their own agreement with the subject of the main verb.

\(^5\)Single-word ‘frozen’ nominal compounds have only one tone.
Those elements which show their own agreement with the subject of the verb have a clearly verbal origin. Those without subject inflection may also have a verbal origin. This is discussed below.

Some of the forms presented in this chapter have previously been discussed by Donohue (2003). He focusses on the group that I call \textit{valence}_2, and is mainly concerned with showing: a) that these forms are at an intermediate stage between a serial verb construction and an applicative construction (this claim is explored in §7.2.3); and b) that the subject inflection is a result of adherence to a morphological template called the 'reduplicant'. This is explored in §7.2.5 — I am generally in agreement with these aspects of Donohue's analysis. Donohue further argues, however, that agreement on the reduplicant is within the scope of the subject prefix on the main verb, and that its position outside inflection is a result of structure; his model is summarised and some objections to it are also raised in §7.2.5.

The elements can be summarised as follows:

- **ADVB**: This is a small set of two incorporated adverbials which are apparently quite unproductive, but they do show their own inflection for subject. These are discussed in §7.2.1.

- **LOC**: this set consists of four morphemes which introduce a locative participant. They specify the location of one participant with respect to another participant, i.e. whether it is \textit{ON}, \textit{UNDER}, \textit{NEAR} or \textit{AMID} the other participant. The other participant is indexed by a suffix directly on the locative. These forms do not show agreement with the subject.

- **DIR**: there are two forms which describe the elevation of an action, i.e. whether it is carried out in an \textit{UP} or \textit{DOWN} motion. Another two describe the direction of an action, i.e. whether it is carried \textit{AWAY} from or \textit{TOWARD} a deictic centre. Two of these (one of the directionals and one of the elevationals) are
homophonous with a synchronic Class III verb, and like their corresponding free verb they take a consonantal infix between two final vowels indexing the subject. The other two forms do not have a corresponding synchronic root but they, too, take an infix, revealing their verbal origins.

One definite sign of grammaticalisation — i.e. that the bound and free forms are separate lexical entries — is that the infix and final vowel are optional on all the bound forms (this is not the case for the free forms). All four bound forms also combine with an incorporated adverbial -ro to indicate that something is sheltered or hidden.

- **Valence**₁: this set consists of: -nâ which is quite general and introduces few different argument types depending on the verb; -kê which introduces mostly adversely affected participants but not always, and -bo meaning WITHOUT. These forms do not agree with the subject.

- **Valence**₂: this set consists of four morphemes which introduce various different roles depending on the semantics of the verb they appear on, and a further complex made up of two morphemes which has a consistent meaning. This set appears with a consonantal prefix, indicating the subject of the verb again. One of these is homophonous with a synchronic Class II verb, see below.

- **AdvB**₂: the **AdvB**₂ forms are simultaneous and concessive, and they appear on verbs in the functional equivalents of adverbial clauses. They are discussed in Chapter 10. One of these morphemes ends in two vowels and takes an infix indexing the subject, the other is vowel-only and takes a consonantal prefix indexing the subject.

- **Ints**: Finally there is a suffix -ke which can found at the very end of the verb. This suffix is not fully understood but it appears to have an emphasising or intensifying function.
Each of the elements following the verb root is discussed in turn, beginning with the first small set of adverbials. The agreement consonants on all the agreeing morphemes are the same as those found in close-knit Class II prefixes and the Class III and Class IV infixes described in Chapter 3. They are shown here in Table 7.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>n</th>
<th>ISG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>2SG ; 1PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>3SG ; PL.F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>DU ; PL.M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These morphemes are glossed as AG- or (AG). The questions of how and why the morphemes agree with the subject are addressed in §7.2.5, below.

7.2.1 ADVB₁

These morphemes are called ADVERbial because they function to modify the verbs they are found with, but their origins are clearly verbal, since they show extra agreement for subject.

7.2.1.1 -eri/-ari SEPARATION

Two unproductive morphemes are -eri and -ari which attach to certain verbs to indicate something like 'separation'. The verbs shown in Table 7.3 are never heard without these morphemes. The varying vowel indicates plurality; -eri is singular and -ari is plural. These morphemes take a consonantal prefix indexing the subject.⁶

Some examples are given below. As shown in (397a) these forms appear directly after the verb root, before the directionals. They do not appear on any suffix-taking transitive verbs — i.e. all the transitive verbs known to end in this morpheme have non-individuated Ps — so their position with regard to object

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⁶The tonal behaviour of these morphemes has not been established.
Complex predicates and complex verbs

Table 7.3 Some verbs obligatorily taking -eri/-ari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>toko-eri toko-ari</td>
<td>'break off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-eri ko-ari</td>
<td>'snap off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roko-eri roko-ari</td>
<td>'release' (bow &amp; arrow)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-eri pu-ari</td>
<td>'pluck off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu-eri tu-ari</td>
<td>'kneel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ike-eri ike-ari</td>
<td>'bite, chew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tai-eri tai-ari</td>
<td>'shed skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toro-eri toro-ari</td>
<td>'make noise'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffixed is not known. They are not homophonous with any synchronic root but their agreement clearly shows their verbal origin.

(397) K-a-tai-r-eri-ko k-a-r-ere-ro-wo ái uru
RL-3SG.M-shed.skin-AG-SEP.SG-UP RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-put-HID-DOWN tree root
parà.
side

'He took off his disguise and hid it down in the other side of the tree roots.'
[TP-MN:01]

(398) Éno pón k-en-toko-n-eri.
hand only RL-lSG.F-break-AG-SEP.SG
'I break it off with just my hands.'

(399) ... bora rékà n-eve-tai-r-ari.
PURP1 skin IRR-2PL.F-shed.skin-AG-SEP.PL
'... so that you all can shed skins.' [NS-MM:03]

(400) Âi pó k-a-toko-r-ari k-a-noi.
tree scar RL-3SG.M-break-AG-SEP.PL RL-3SG.M-go
'He had marked the way by breaking off branches as he went.' [DC-CA:03]

(401) Akorom k-e-m-árái-ro-ki nó k-em-ike-m-ari ya
food RL-1PL-1PL-throw-HID-AWAY mouth RL-1PL-chew-AG-SEP.PL then
k-e-m-irovo.
RL-1PL-1PL-swallow
'We throw food right into our mouths, chew it up and swallow it.' [DICT-CA:01]

I suggested in Chapter 3 that the infixed verb classes might be historically derived from fused complex structures. A possible analysis for the forms which always appear with this ending is that fusion has taken place and the inflection is an infix, as in (402).
(402)  \textit{K-emi-ike(m)ari.}
\textit{RL-1PL-(1PL)chew}  
‘We chew it up.’

However, at least one verb appears on its own as well as with one of these morphemes, as shown in (403).

(403)  a)  \textit{Kanro k-a-ívó.}  
\textit{turtle RL-3SG.M-carve}  
‘He carved the turtle.’

b)  \textit{K-a-ívó-r-eri.}  
\textit{RL-3SG.M-carve-AG-SEP.SG}  
‘He carved it up.’

This is quite rare, there is only one example in the data, but it does suggest that the forms \textit{-eri/-ari} are still productive.

7.2.1.2  \textit{-ro/-o} \textit{SHORT distance/time}

This morpheme only occurs on direction of motion and posture verbs. On direction of motion verbs it indicates that the motion is only a short or measurable distance, say within the confines of the village or town. On posture verbs, speakers suggested that it means something like ‘for five minutes’. When this morpheme appears on the verb \textit{-kôe} ‘go up’ it is always the fixed form \textit{-ro}; on other verbs it is \textit{-o} with an extra prefix indexing the subject.

The following examples show that \textit{-ro/-o} is appropriate for use when the distance is walkable and within the village but inappropriate if the distance is a long way or involves a journey by boat or car.

(404)  a)  \textit{N-e-kô(n)e-ro}  
\textit{IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.up-SHORT school}  
‘I’m going up to the school.’

b)  \textit{*N-e-kô(n)e-ro}  
\textit{IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.up-SHORT PLN}  
‘I’m going up to Vanimo.’
The next examples show this morpheme on two other direction of motion verbs, in these cases, with extra subject agreement.

(405) a) \textit{K-e-n-ar-o-n-o raka.}\textsuperscript{\texttt{\tiny raka.}}
\begin{flushright}
IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down-AG-SHORT river
\end{flushright}
‘I’m going to the river.’

b) \textit{K-e-no(n)\textsuperscript{\texttt{\tiny n-o.}}}
\begin{flushright}
IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.along-AG-SHORT
\end{flushright}
‘I’m going a short way.’

The next example is a short text extract showing the use of this morpheme in context on a posture verb.

(406) \textit{N-o-r-ere-\texttt{o} \textsuperscript{\tt \tiny ôte.}}
\begin{flushright}
IRR-3SG.F-3SG.F-put-3SG.F supports
\end{flushright}
‘She puts it (the sago) in the sago processor supports.

\textit{N-o-töi n-o-töi n-o-bâun-ki.}
\begin{flushright}
IRR-3SG.F-rinse IRR-3SG.F-rinse IRR-3SG.F-no-AWAY
\end{flushright}
She rinses and rinses until it is done.

\textit{N-o-kéi-r-o-ke pi âi n-o-bere-ki.}
\begin{flushright}
IRR-3SG.F-sit-AG-SHORT-INTS water tree IRR-3SG.F-pour-AWAY
\end{flushright}
She sits for a bit (to let the water rise to the top) and then she pours off the waste water. [S-MN:03]

7.2.2 Directionals

This group indicates the direction of an action. There are two elevations: \texttt{\tiny UP} and \texttt{\tiny DOWN}, and two directions: \texttt{\tiny TOWARD} and \texttt{\tiny AWAY}.

The directional forms are presented in Table 7.4. The table also indicates if the forms have a corresponding current verb. Only the first two are segmentally identical to a synchronic direction of motion free form (the tones are different), but all four of them take an infix which agrees with the subject of the verb. The bound elevational is semantically more restricted than the free verb \texttt{\tiny -kôe} in that the free form has directional meanings on a horizontal plane, i.e. it can indicate upward motion as well
as motion away from the coast (although this could be seen as elevational too, since the mountains are inland), but the bound form only refers to elevation on a vertical plane.

Table 7.4 Inflecting intransitive directionals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bound form</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>current free verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-koe</td>
<td>UP</td>
<td>-koe 'go up, away from the coast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kæ</td>
<td>TOWARD</td>
<td>-kæ 'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oo</td>
<td>DOWN</td>
<td>-aro 'go down, towards the coast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kie</td>
<td>AWAY</td>
<td>-noi 'go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subject agreement consists of a consonant which is infixed between the two final vowels. An example of this can be seen in (407).

(407) K-en-ore-ko(n)e.
     RL-1SG.F-search-(AG)UP
     'I search upwardly.'

Like the free forms, the bound forms can also undergo the optional phonological process of non-low vowel deletion after a nasal. This can be seen in (408).

(408) K-en-ore-ko(n).
     RL-1SG.F-search-(AG)UP
     'I search upwardly.'

But there are two areas where the bound forms and the free forms diverge: the bound forms have a quirk in 3SG agreement, and in some cases they do not inflect at all. These facts are discussed in turn.

Example (409), below, shows the use of the UP elevational -koe on the intransitive directed attention verb -ore 'search'. Here the subject of the verb is 3SG.F and the person and number of the subject is marked again by an (r) infix in the elevational.

(409) K-u-ore-ko(r)e.
     RL-3SG.F-search-(AG)UP
     'She searches upwardly.'
Recall from Chapter 3 that on infixing Class III verbs the \((r)\) is only found in 3SG if the final two vowels of the root were such that the first vowel would delete or form a glide if it came into contact with the second vowel. Example (410a) shows a deletion environment and example (410b) shows a glide formation environment.

(410) a) \(Pi\ k-a-ni(r)i\). *[kanii] *[kanî]
   water RL-3SG.M-(3SG.M)wash
   ‘He is washing.’

   b) \(K-o-u(r)a\). *[koua] *[kua] *[kwa]
   RL-3SG.F-(3SG.M)spit
   ‘She is spitting.’

If the second vowel would become a glide, then the 3SG \((r)\) infix is not found, as shown in (411).

(411) \(K-a-kôe\). *[kakoi] *[k-a-kô(r)e]
   RL-3SG.M-go.up
   ‘He goes up.’

In the bound forms, however, if the morpheme takes agreement then the 3SG \((r)\) is always present \(*k-u-ore-koe\) (RL-3SG.F-search-Up) is not grammatical.

Major evidence of grammaticalisation of the bound directionals is that agreement is not obligatory on the bound forms. If the agreement is left off, so is the final vowel. This means that the directional affixes can be heard as simply \(-ko\, -(w)o\, -ká\) and \(-ki\).

(412) \(K-en-ore-ko\).
   RL-1SG.F-search-Up
   ‘I search upwardly.’

The use of the full form, with agreement, appears to be stylistic. Speakers describe it as ‘pulling the word out’ and use it for emphasis.

On intransitive verbs, incorporated directionals describe the direction of motion of the subject, as shown in example (413).
When they are found on transitive verbs, they appear after the object suffix and describe the direction of motion of the object. For example:

(414) *N-en-türa-mu-kō(n)e.*

\[ \text{IRR-1SG.F-push-2SG.F-(AG)UP} \]

'I'll push you up.' (e.g. helping someone over a wall)

Example (414), above, carries the necessary interpretation that the object will be moved in an upward direction as a result of the actions of the speaker. As in ‘causative’, or cause-effect, serial verbs (Foley and Olson 1985), and above, even though it is the 2SG.F object who actually moves up, the UP morpheme still agrees with the 1SG.F subject of the main verb.

On verbs of directed attention or speech, nothing concrete moves; the directionals represent the direction of attention of the subject. This can be seen in (415), below.

(415) *K-u-irai-ko(r)e.*

\[ \text{RL-3SG.F-speak-(AG)UP} \]

'She spoke upwardly.'

The elevationals make absolute space references, AWAY and TOWARD deal with relative space reference. In most cases they can be interpreted as indicating motion away from or towards the subject.

(416) *K-a-ko-ká(r)e.*

\[ \text{RL-3SG.M-get.SGO-(AG)TOWARD} \]

'He brings it towards himself.'

(417) *K-e-n-ere-š-ka(n)e.*

\[ \text{RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-put-3SG.F-(AG)TOWARD} \]

'I put it towards me.'
Complex predicates and complex verbs

(418) \(K-o-r-r\-\text{r}ai\-\text{kl}(r)\acute{e}.\)
\[\text{RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-throw-(AG)AWAY}\]
'He threw it away (from himself).'

In some contexts, motion towards or away from an established deictic centre, rather than the subject, may be the direction intended, as in the following text excerpt.

(419) \(B\, o, \ bi\, o \ t\grave{a}r\grave{e}v\acute{a}, k-o-t\grave{o}v\acute{e}-\sigma-k\acute{l}(r)\acute{e}.\)
\[\text{3SG.F person new=PRM RL-3SG.F-scold-3SG.F-(AG)AWAY}\]
'She, the woman, shouted angrily out at her,'

\(k\text{ope} \ b\text{oki} \ bi\, o \ k\acute{u}r\acute{o}, k-o-t\grave{o}v\acute{e}-\sigma-k\acute{a}(r)\acute{e}.\)
\[\text{then flying.fox person buried RL-3SG.F-scold-3SG.F-(AG)TOWARD}\]
'then the flying fox-spirit, shouted angrily back. [U-EM:01]

In this excerpt the deictic centre has previously been established as the woman sitting inside. A devil has come to sit on a fruit tree outside her house and eat all the fruit. When the woman shouts out, she shouts away from herself, and when the spirit shouts back she is shouting towards the established centre of the discourse, the woman.

The directionals are intransitive. They cannot introduce new participants. This can be shown with the verb \(-\text{turuke},\) a transitive verb meaning 'slide'. It is not possible to use \(-k\acute{a}\) as an allative, hence (420a) is ungrammatical. Instead you must move it away from yourself and use one of the valency morphemes, described below, to index the Goal, as in (420b). Here it means is something like 'push'.

(420) a) \(\ast\text{K-en-turuke-}\sigma-\text{k\acute{a}}(n)\acute{e}-\text{mu}.\)
\[\text{RL-1SG.F-slide-3SG.F-(AG)TOWARD-2SG.F}\]

b) \(\text{K-en-turuke-}\sigma-\text{k\acute{i}}(n)\acute{e}-\text{n-o-mu}.\)
\[\text{RL-1SG.F-slide-3SG.F-(AG)AWAY-AG-GIVE-2SG.F}\]
'I pushed it (away from myself) to you.'

It is also not possible to have more than one of these directionals on the same verb. For example, you can't form a like meaning back and forth by using \(-k\acute{a}\text{e}\) and \(-k\acute{ie}\) together, \(\ast\text{k-en-turuke-k\acute{i}-k\acute{a}}, \ast\text{k-en-turuke-k\acute{a}-k\acute{i}}.\) This meaning is achieved with two verbs: \(k\text{-en-turuke-}\text{k\acute{i} k\text{-en-turuke-}\text{k\acute{a}}.}\) The same applies for UP and DOWN.
four directional suffixes can, however, be used in conjunction with the transitive locationals described in §7.2.3.1, below.

7.2.2.1 Comparison of directionals and independent serial verb constructions using direction of motion verbs

Clearly these incorporated directionals and the independent serial verbs using direction of motion verbs described in the first section of this chapter are very similar. What differentiates them is that the directionals are much more productive: they can appear with any verb, while independent SVCs are restricted to specific semantic types. In some cases the same verb can appear in both constructions with clear meaning differences. For example, the verb -ko 'get.SGO' can appear in the Goal-directed carrying SVC with an independent direction of motion verb as shown in (421).

(421) a) K-a-ko k-a-kae.
   RL-3SG.M-get.SGO RL-3SG.M-come
   'He brought it.'

   b) K-a-ko k-a-k6e.
   RL-3SG.M-get.SGO RL-3SG.M-go.up
   'He took it.'

But the same verb can also appear with a directional, as in (422). Whereas in the independent SVC the subject clearly moves from one place to another along with the Theme, there is no such indication in the directional construction. In the following examples, only the Theme moves — the subject remains in the same place.

(422) a) K-a-ko-ká(r)é
   RL-3SG.M-get.SGO-(AG)TOWARD
   'He brought it out.'

   b) K-a-ko-ko(r)e
   RL-3SG.M-get.SGO-(AG)UP
   'He took it up.'
In the case of the causing downward motion SVC, however, there is no difference between the SVC and the directional construction. Examples (423a & b) are semantically equivalent. They differ only in that (423a) uses the directional and (423b) uses the independent serial verb construction.

(423) a) Pi k-en-bere-o(n)o baket.
       water RL-1SG.F-pour-(AG)DOWN BUCKET
       ‘I pour the water down into the bucket’

    b) Pi k-en-bere k-e-n-aro baket.
       water RL-1SG.F-pour RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down BUCKET
       ‘I pour the water down into the bucket.’

7.2.2.2 -kie and -oo

-kie is pressed into action as more than just a directional, it has acquired an aspectual meaning — something like ‘for a little while’. This use will be described in Chapter 9. It also has a wider distribution than the other directionals: it is able to appear not just on verbs but on adjectives and manner words, where it indicates ‘a little bit more’ of the given property, as was discussed in Chapter 5. On anything other than a verb -kie does not appear with the final vowel and thus cannot take an infix. There is no synchronic verb corresponding to this directional, but the bound form bears an obvious similarity to both -kôe and -kae so it may not be too much of a stretch to posit an earlier verb -kie.

-oo has some allomorphy. An initial epenthetic glide [w] is inserted when the suffix follows /i/, /u/, /a/ and /o/, as illustrated in the following examples.

(424) Bôi k-e-ti-o(p)o. [kètiwòpà] lime RL-3PL.M-sprinkle-(AG)DOWN
       ‘They sprinkle lime down.’ [P-MG:03]

(425) N-o-yarâ-mâ-o(r)o. [nòyàràmâwòrò] RL-3SG.F-see-2SG.M-(AG)DOWN
       ‘She looked down at you.’

In contrast, there is no [w] inserted after /e/. Instead /e/ becomes a glide.
The form cannot be related to any synchronic verb and it does not look much like the others, but there is a similar form -woe that is found in the complex ‘shelter’ construction, described in §7.2.2.3 below. This form looks a lot more like the other forms.

It seems reasonable to posit an earlier stage of the direction of motion verb paradigm where the final -e was the motion component and -ka, -ko, -ki and -o were the direction components. The two forms which are not related to current verbs have diverged from possible earlier verbs either semantically, in the case of -kie, or phonologically in the case of -oo. That they are not related to any current forms and have undergone some extension and changes suggests that they are further along the road to grammaticalisation than the other two directionals.

7.2.2.3 -ro Hidden

The directionals also contribute to another complex form. They combine with an incorporated adverbial -ro, meaning ‘hidden’ or ‘sheltered’ (here it will be glossed as HIDDEN).

Table 7.5 Hidden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ro-koe</td>
<td>‘hidden up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ro-woe</td>
<td>‘hidden down, in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ro-kāe</td>
<td>‘hidden behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ro-kie</td>
<td>‘hidden away’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-**ro-koe** ‘hidden up’

(427)  
\[
\text{K-e-ke(n)i-ro(ko(n)e \(ñ\)oro.}  \\
\text{RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit-HID-(AG)UP house}  \\
\text{‘I’m hiding up in the house.’ (houses are on stilts)}
\]
Complex predicates and complex verbs

-**ro-kíe** 'hidden away'

All four of these forms can be found with transitive and intransitive verbs. On transitive verbs they appear after the object inflection. Note that on intransitive verbs the morpheme has scope over the subject. On transitive verbs the morpheme has scope over the object.

(428) *K*-ere-

(429) *K*-ere-

(ro-kíe)é

(428) *K*-ere-ké(r)í-ro-kí(r)í.

(429) *K*-ere-

(428) *K*-ere-ké(r)í-ro-kí(r)í.

(429) *K*-ere-

(430) *K*-e-ké(m)í-ro-ká(m)é.

(431) *K*-a-roí-ro-wo(r)í.

-**ro-káe** 'hidden behind'

As the next example shows, the meanings are not entirely compositional. It is not clear how ‘come’ relates to being hidden behind something; it is possibly because whatever is hidden is not visible from the point of view of the deictic centre.

(430) *K*-e-ké(m)í-ro-ká(m)é.

(431) *K*-a-roí-ro-wo(r)í.

-**ro-woe** 'hidden down'

This is used to indicate that something is right inside something else, to the point where you can’t see it any more. Again, the directional elements can appear with or without agreement. Example (431) shows this morpheme with agreement infixing — note that when it is found in the hidden construction, DOWN is -woe, not -oo, the form of the DOWN bound directional described in §7.2.2.

(431) *K*-a-roí-ro-wo(r)í.

(431) *K*-a-roí-ro-wo(r)í.
Adding participants

The next three sets of morphemes share the feature of adding participants to the clause. In this respect they resemble what have been called applicative constructions. An applicative is a piece of derivational morphology attached to a verb allowing a usually non-subcategorised argument or oblique to be coded as a core argument. When applicative morphemes appear on transitive verbs they sometimes force a demotion of the original core object, so that it is now realised as an oblique, or omitted altogether.

The participant-adding morphemes in Barupu have the same primary function as common applicative constructions (they allow extra arguments to be marked on the verb), but some of their behaviour is very atypical for applicatives cross-linguistically:*

- there are twelve separate forms, more than in any other reported language, which means they add a lot more semantic content than is usual;
- they appear external to inflectional morphology;
- they take their own object suffixes, and when they appear on transitive verbs there is no demotion of the original object;
- some of them take a consonantal prefix indexing, in most cases, the subject of the clause.

Adding participants to the clause is also one of the classic functions of serial verbs cross-linguistically and at least one of the inflecting participant-adding morphemes can be related to a synchronic verb, but there are no obvious ancestors for the non-inflecting participant-adding morphemes.

Donohue (2003) argues that all the forms to be discussed in this section are applicatives. The forms in §7.2.3.1 and §7.2.3.3 he analyses as unproblematic, typical

---

*The third of these characteristics, taking their own object suffixes and not causing demotion of the original object on a transitive verb, is also a feature of applicatives in Abaza, a Northwest Caucasian language (O'Herin 2001).
applicatives (2003:122). But he was not aware that they all appear outside object inflections, and they are also still quite atypical in there being so many, each contributing such specific semantic content. The forms in §7.2.3.4 he analyses as ex-serial verbs tending towards applicatives, and I am generally in agreement with his analysis that they are ex-serial verbs.

7.2.3.1 Locationals

This set of morphemes introduces a locative participant. These are the least morphologically complex forms and they relate to no synchronic verb forms. The forms and their meanings are presented in Table 7.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.6 Transitive locationals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-para</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-rōmō</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples show some uses of these morphemes.

-tā ON

Example (432) shows the use of this suffix on an intransitive verb ‘sit’. Here it simply attaches straight after the verb and seemingly allows a non-subcategorised location participant to be indexed like a regular object.

(432) K-a-kea-tā-θ ai niau.

RL-3SG.M-sit-ON-3SG.F tree logF

'He is sitting on a log.'

But recall from Chapter 6 that all verbs can appear with a locative argument without any morphological adjustment, as long as that argument is inherently locative. Thus, kei ‘sit’ can also appear with a location argument, and no locational morpheme, as shown in the following example.
(433) \textit{K-e-ké(m)i óro.}\newline RL-1PL-(1PL)sit house \newline ‘We sit in the house.’

This might appear to be an example of what has been called ‘dynamic’ alternation (Donohue 2003:112), where an applicative construction is in alternation with a construction where the new argument is coded as an oblique (either with an adposition or case-marking). The following Yimas examples show this kind of alternation (Foley 1997:368).

(434) a) \textit{ipa kantk pu-mampi-wa-t}\newline 1PL with 3PL S-again-go-PERF \newline ‘They again went along with us.’

b) \textit{pu-kra-mampi-cağ-wa-t}\newline 3PL A-1PL O-again-com-go-PERF \newline ‘They again accompanied us.’

In (434a) the ‘accompanier’ is encoded obliquely with the postposition \textit{kantk}. In (434b) this argument is now coded as a core argument (marked on the verb), licensed by the applicative morpheme \textit{-tag}. Discourse factors control which strategy is used.

The difference in Barupu is that only inherently locative nouns can be locations without the use of the locational morphemes. These nominals include place names and nouns denoting spaces which are commonly thought of as places — \textit{bo} ‘place’, \textit{yin} ‘beach’, \textit{uka} ‘bush’, \textit{óró} ‘house, village’. People, animals and non-place inanimates cannot function as locations without one of the locational morphemes (\textit{ái niau} ‘log’ is apparently not inherently locative). This is shown in example (435b). This sentence could only mean something like ‘we are sitting here because of father’ because nominals which are not inherently locative receive a purpose interpretation (see Chapter 6).

(435) a) \textit{K-e-ké(m)i-tá-ka aka.}\newline RL-1PL-(1PL)sit-ON-3SG.M father \newline ‘We are sitting on father.’
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b) *K-e-ké(m)i aka.
   RL-1PL-(1PL)sit father.
   ...

Using the locative morphemes to introduce inherently locative nominals is not usual, as is shown in example (436). This sentence was an attempt to elicit the locational -para 'under' with the inherently locative nominal ōro 'house'.

(436) ? K-e-ké(m)i-para-u ōro.
   RL-1PL-(1PL)sit-UNDER-3SG.F house
   'We are sitting under the house.'

Several speakers accepted it with this intended meaning, but it was not repeated and there are no natural examples. One speaker offered the sentence given in (437) as a better alternative to (436). In this example, rather than use a locational morpheme, the speaker expresses the notion of under the house with the frozen compound oróka 'area under the house'. In Barupu village, the space under a house is often used for storage and as a shady sitting area.

(437) K-e-ké(m)i oróka.
   RL-1PL-(1PL)sit area.under.the.house
   'We are sitting in the area under the house.'

The locational morphemes do not only allow non-subcategorised arguments to be realised in the clause, or be marked on the verb. Although that is one of their functions, another important part of their function seems to be to allow certain types of participants to fill roles they couldn’t otherwise fill. This function does not feature in any descriptions of applicatives that I am aware of.

Furthermore, as the following examples show, when the locationals appear on transitive verbs there is no change to the argument structure of the root itself. The locational appears after the object agreement of the main verb and is followed by its own object suffix. The object suffixes found on all the participant-adding morphemes are the same as the regular object suffixes.
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(438) a) *N-e-n-ere-ma-tá-a*
   IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-put-2SG.M-ON-3SG.F ladder
   'I'll put you on the ladder.'

b) *N-e-n-ere-ma-tá-ka.*
   IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-put-2SG.M-ON-3SG.M
   'I'll put you on him.'

The verb -*ere* 'put' can also appear with a post-verbal NP. If this NP has locative semantics it will be interpreted as a Goal. This is shown in example (439).

(439) *Rau aka k-e-p-ere-i rei.*
   pig real RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-put-3PL.M fence
   'They put real pigs inside a fence.' or 'They tamed real pigs.' [NSC2-MM:03]

In this context rei 'fence' is a discrete location which is fenced in (like 'paddock'). Again, even though an NP following this verb will usually be interpreted as a Goal, only certain types of entities can be that argument, otherwise a locational is necessary.

The introduced locative participant does not have to appear as an overt NP, but when it does, it almost always appears directly after the verb, as an added object, as in (438a). There is, however, one example in the corpus of an object of a locational appearing before the verb. This is a written example from the dictionary.

(440) *Apon ro ái=á k-a-n-ere-o-tá-u.*
   banana ripe tree=PRMj RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-put-3SG.F-ON-3SG.F
   'I put the ripe banana on the stick (for carrying).’ [DICT-PB:01]

Pre-verbal position does not automatically mean that an argument is core (see Chapter 6). Without independent tests for core/oblique there is no way of telling whether this movement has involved a promotion to core. One possible analysis of this is a double topic construction but because it is a written example we have no intonation information.

Common uses of -*tá* involve accompaniments to food, as shown in the following examples.
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(441) ... ya k-o-noi bió ra=va n-o-yé-ya
and RL-3SG.F-go.along person one=PRM IRR-3SG.F-hit-3SG.M
n-o-râivi-tà-o aro.
IRR-3SG.F-cook.in.a.pot-ON-3SG.F greens
'... and she went to kill one of the boys to cook with greens.' [ANR-MN:01]

(442) Apón k-ë-n-á pé fìm k-en-tôn-tá-u.
banana RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-eat water hot IRR-1SG.F-drink-ON-3SG.F
'I'm eating banana and I'm washing it down with tea.'

(I'm eating banana and drinking tea on top of it.)

This section concludes with textual examples of uses of the other locationals.

-para UNDER

In (443) the intransitive verb 'sit', with the addition of -para 'under', can now index an animate locative participant (2SG.M) as well as appear with an unmarked locative be pita 'here down below'.

(443) Nëni pón unake n-e-ké(n)î-para-ma bè pita.
1SG.F only alone IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)si-UNDER-2SG.M DPROX down.below
'As for me, I'll just sit by myself under you, here down below.' [U-EM:01]

In this example the object of -para is realised only as a suffix on the locational and the unmarked location 'here down below' is realised as an overt NP. Another example of this is (444).

(444) K-ô-róî-para-i aniania ku.
RL-3SG.M-stand-UNDER-3PL.M tree.sp root
'He stood under them at the roots of the aniania.' [ANR-MN:01]

In the next example the locational is reduplicated for distributive aspect. It indicates that the men stood in different places around the base of a tree.

(445) Ya k-em-ô( p)i-para-para-o
and RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)stand-UNDER-UNDER-3SG.F
'And they came and stood around under her ...' [U-EM:01]
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-yə NEAR

Example (446) is taken from a narrative about a flying fox. Here the intransitive verb is -vōvō ‘circle’ (in this case ‘flying in circles’). When -yə is added, it is possible to specify that the subject is circling around someone in particular.

RL-3SG.F-circle RL-3SG.F-circle-NEAR-3PL.M
'She circled. She circled around them.' [U-EM:01]

The morpheme is glossed as NEAR because the ‘aroundness’ of the previous example comes from the circling semantics of the verb. The following example helps to explicate the semantics of this morpheme.

(447) K-en-ute k-e-no(n)i-ya-mu.
RL-1SG.F-walk RL-1SG.F-go.along-NEAR-2SG.F
'I walked past you.'

-rōmō AMID

The final suffix in this set is -rōmō, which means something like ‘among’, ‘amid’, ‘between’ or ‘through’. I gloss it as AMID.

(448) N-e-kē(n)i-rōmō-rē pirimákā.
IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit-AMID-3PL.F grass
'I would sit amid the pirimaka grasses.' [MP-EM:01]

(449) K-o-kōe k-o-kōe k-a-tari-rōmō-rē bo e bo
RL-3SG.M-go.up RL-3SG.M-go.up RL-3SG.M-break-AMID-3PL.F place garden place
anai o erōra nākī k-a-r-á-u.
large OR garden dog RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-make-3SG.F

'He went along and then he broke through (the tobacco plants) in the garden that the dog had made.' [TP-MN:01]

In the next example the pre-verbal added object is the head of a relative clause.

(450) au bé mēmī biō kekēmīromōrékémo
thing DPROX 1PL person RL-1PL-(1PL)sit-AMID-3PL.F-INTS=DREF
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‘these things we people sit among’

In the next example the locational is reduplicated to indicate distributive aspect. This clause describes how men paint canoes. They paint the coloured sections first and then they fill in around them with white to make the colours stand out more.

(451) K-o-buso-romo-rômó-o.
   RL-3SG.F-white-AMID-AMID-3SG.F
   ‘It is white here and there inside/between (other colour).’

There is no evidence of a verbal source for these morphemes and none of them takes subject inflection. But as will be shown in §7.2.5, the subject inflection probably has a phonological explanation and these forms do not fit the phonological profile, so a verbal origin is not ruled out. Their position after object inflection strongly suggests that they were only quite recently separate words.

7.2.3.2 Combinations and ordering

I have no natural examples of two locationals appearing on the same verb but it is quite common for the locational -tá on to co-occur with the directional -oo down.

In the next two examples the elements have different orders.

(452) Bôi=a k-e-ti-wo(p)o-ta-o.
   lime=PRM RL-3SG.M-sprinkle-(AG)DOWN-ON-3SG.F
   ‘They sprinkle lime down onto it.’ [p-MG:03]

(453) Okutari k-e-pere-o-tá-o-wo(p)o kera.
   saucepan RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-put-3SG.F-ON-3SG.F-(AG)DOWN fire
   ‘They put the saucepan on the fire.’ [p-MG:03]

The order in which these two elements appear is determined by the semantics of the verb. The parameter controlling the unmarked ordering of the locationals and directionals is whether the verb views the action from the perspective of the movement of the object or its final location. For example, the verb -ârâi ‘throw’ is
arguably focussed more on the motion of the object than its final location. This focus is reflected in the ordering of the suffixes: the direction is indicated first and then the location. This is shown in (454).

(454)  
\[ K-o-r-\acute{a}i-o-t\acute{a}-ka. \]
\[ \text{RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-throw-DOWN-ON-3SG.M} \]
\[ 'She threw it down onto him.' \]

In contrast, the verb *-ere* ‘put’, is arguably more focussed on the final location of the object than the direction of the putting, thus the locational appears first, as in (455), below.

(455)  
\[ \text{Ôi=a n-o-m-ere-o-t\acute{a}-o-wo} \]
\[ \text{sgO=PRM IRR-2SG.F-2SG.F-put-3SG.F-ON-3SG.F-DOWN sago.bark} \]
\[ 'Put the sago down on the sago bark.' \]

7.2.3.3 Valency

The morphemes introduced in this section are quite disparate semantically. They are treated together because they occupy the same position on the verb, they introduce participants and they do not show any inflectional behaviour. There are no clear verbal origins for these forms.

-nâ APPL

The semantic role of participants introduced by -nâ can only be determined by context and the semantics of the verb. This morpheme has the widest range of meaning, and so is closest in function to a prototypical applicative, although it is still found after inflection. As the following examples will show, it is not possible to give this morpheme a consistent semantic gloss, so it is glossed as APPLicative. There is a proto-Macro Skou applicative *na, also attested in Isaka and Skou (Donohue and San Roque 2004; Donohue 2004).

One of the most common functions of this morpheme is to introduce a
proprietive participant — that is, a participant that is involved in the action but is not in control of the action.

(456) *Rua k-a-ko,*  
\[k-a-róí-nà-ø\]  
kamo.  
bow RL-3SG.M-get.SGO RL-3SG.M-stand-APPL-3SG.F door  
‘He got his bow and stood with it at the doorway.’ [NSC1-CA:03]

(457) *Kavêmi*  
\[k-a-r-ikiro\]  
\[ekókó\]  
k-a-âve-mi  
RL-3SG.M-hold-1PL RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-put.in string.bag  
‘He caught us and put (us) in his string bag.
\[k-á-ute-nà-mi\]  
\[n-a-koe\]  
\[óró yà\]  
RL-3SG.M-walk-APPL-1PL IRR-3SG.M-go.up house 3SG.M and he walked along carrying us as if to go to his house.’ [ANR-MN:01]

(458) *Tôi,*  
\[k-a-ipóri\]  
\[k-a-ko\]  
\[avé-i\]  
breast RL-3SG.M-wrap RL-3SG.M-get.SGO with-3PL.F  
k-a-kae-nà-ø;  
rara.  
RL-3SG.M-come-APPL-3SG.F road  
‘He got the breast he’d wrapped and, with them, came down the road with it.’ [FF1-MN:01]

In (459) *-nà* adds a purposive element to the clause.

(459) a) *K-en-tova.*  
RL-1SG.F-walk.around  
‘I’m walking around aimlessly.’

b) *K-en-tova-nà-re*  
RL-1SG.F-walk.around-APPL-3PL.F cassowary  
‘I’m hunting cassowary.’

(460) *Mini pâko k-ã-iniá-tà-ø*  
\[taravai târe mà\]  
snake big RL-3SG.M-be.at-ON-3SG.F tree.sp new child  
k-o-bia-kà(ù)ë-nà-ka  
rewo raka.  
RL-3SG.F-crooked-(AG)TOWARD-APPL-3SG.M very river  
‘There is a big snake on the taravai sapling that is bent right over the river because of it.’ [DICT-PB:01]

It can also have something like an ‘about’ meaning.
(461) *Era k-ama-yó-yó-nâ-ni?*  
PQ RL-2SG.M-deam-APPL-1SG.F  
‘Do you dream about me?’

This form can also be reduplicated to indicate iterativity. In this example the added object NP *akorom* is topicalised.

(462) *Akorom k-u-ore-na-nâ-re.*  
food RL-3SG.F-search-REDUP-APPL-3PL.F  
‘She searches around for foods.’

The verb root *-ore* is not available for reduplication because it is vowel-initial (see Chapter 9). The transitive morpheme *-nâ* is consonant-initial and so is available for reduplication.

**-kê ADV & -bo WITHOUT**

As the following examples show -kê has a fairly broad range in terms of the semantic roles it introduces, but most often there is a general feeling that the added object is adversely affected; it is thus glossed ADV. In the following example -kê is used with ‘rain’, this contrasts with the use of -tâ on this same verb in that with -kê there is more of a negative effect on the participant being rained on.

(463) *Kua Betty á k-u-ai-kê-u.*  
AT PN rain RL-3SG.F-rain-ADV-3SG.F  
‘It’s raining on Betty.’

The next example shows ADV on the adjectival verb *-nai* ‘large’.

(464) *Era k-a-nai-kê-mu?*  
PQ RL-3SG.M-large-ADV-2SG.F  
‘Are you finding him too big (to carry)?’

The *-bo* morpheme is very specific and can always be glossed as WITHOUT.

(465) *Mónrai n-opu-titi-bo-na.*  
singsing IRR-2SG.M-dance-WITHOUT-1SG.M  
‘You carry on dancing without me.’ [U-EM:01]
These five morphemes also allow extra participants to be marked on the verb, but they show the further complexity of taking a consonant prefix which indexes the subject of the main verb, this is discussed in §7.2.5. The agreement prefixes are the same as those found on the bound directionals and presented in Table 7.2, above. At least one of these morphemes (-o) can be traced to a synchronic verb and, like the directionals, this construction is probably derived from a recent serial verb construction. If they were once verbs, the forms are now obviously grammaticalising; for example, one form is losing inflection, and only one synchronic root can be found. The forms introduce different semantic roles depending on the meaning of the verb. Each form will be exemplified in turn.

-é FROM

On motion verbs this morpheme encodes something like an animate Source, as shown in (467).

(467)  K-en-ute-n-é-mú.  
RL-1SG.F-walk-AG-FROM-2SG.F  
‘I walked away from you.’

On non-motion verbs this morpheme has a seemingly adverse meaning. But the difference between this morpheme and the adversative -ké is that whereas -ké indicates that something is happening and this event is adversely affecting the object, -é indicates something more along the lines that something is not happening, or that there is a lack of something and this lack is to the detriment of its object.
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(468) Áimon.kamo k-o-băun-r-é-i.
   axe RL-3SG.F-not.be.at-AG-FROM-3PL.M
   ‘They (ancestors) didn’t have iron axes.’ [S-MN:03]

(469) K-ana-ko-n-é-mu.
   RL-1SG.M-get.SGO-AG-FROM-2SG.F
   ‘I took it from you.’

(470) K-em-iраi-m-é-mu.
   RL-1PL-talk-AG-FROM-2SG.F
   ‘We’ve finished talking, you missed it.’

This form is also used on adjectives in comparative constructions, as in the following example.

(471) R̄īnké k-ere-mé-méme-r-é-i t̄ōmán.
   rat̄ F RL-3SG.F-REDUP-small-AG-FROM-3PL.M bandicoot̄ M
   ‘Rats are smaller than bandicoots.’

-i WITH

On non-motion verbs this morpheme means approximately ‘while with’. On ‘cook’, for example, it means something like the subject and the added object were together cooking, but the the object of 
-i does not actually have to be cooking, she can just be there, involved in the cooking or not.

(472) K-en-r̄īivi-n-í-mu.
   RL-1SG.F-cook-AG-WITH-2SG.F
   ‘I was cooking and you were there too.’

The next example shows this morpheme on the verb -ko ‘get.SGO’.

(473) Q: Taveke k-ama-ko r̄ōpe?
   tobacco RL-2SG.M-get.SGO where
   ‘Where did you get the tobacco from?’

A: K-ana-ko-n-í-ya nákí bió hére Toeyoro.
   RL-1SG.M-get.SGO-AG-WITH-3SG.M dog man DDIST PLN
   ‘I got it from/while I was with a dog-man spirit there at Toeyoro.’ [TP-MN:01]
On a motion verb like -úte ‘walk’, however, this form introduces something like an animate Goal. You might use the following if you were telling someone you were planning to visit them.

(474) \textit{N-en-úte-n-i-mu.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{IRR-1SG.F-walk-AG-WITH-2SG.F}
  \item ‘I will walk to (be with) you.’
\end{itemize}

The form \textit{-ò \textsc{REG}}, discussed below, is used to indicate something like comitative on motion verbs.

Agreement is falling out of use on this one form; most casual uses leave it out. Thus, the following could also be heard:

(475) \textit{A: K-ana-ko-ì-ya nàki bió bëre Toeyoro.}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{RL-1SG.M-get.SGO-WITH-3SG.M dog man DDIST PLN}
  \item ‘I got it from/while I was with a dog-man spirit there at Toeyoro.’
\end{itemize}

The now vowel-initial form does not undergo glide-formation; instead an epenthetic [w] is produced during the transition from /o/ to /i/, and an epenthetic [j] is produced between -i and the object suffix -a, giving: \texttt{[k.n.a.k.o.wi.ja]}. As discussed in Chapter 2, this is arguably because the morpheme has an HL tone and it must consist of at least one binary foot.

For the most part, the agreement variation presents no problems; agreeing and non-agreeing are simply in free variation. But apparently the change is not moving fast enough because some forms change meaning depending on whether they are inflected or not. Consider the following minimal pair.

(476) \begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{a) K-o-r-á-ì-ya.}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \texttt{RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-do-WITH-3SG.M}
      \item ‘She is doing (it) with him.’
    \end{itemize}
  \item \texttt{b) K-o-r-á-r-ì-ya.}
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \texttt{RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-do-AG-WITH-3SG.M}
      \item ‘She is having sex with him.’
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
The examples above are identical in every respect except that in (476b) the applicative agrees while in (476a) it does not.

The form can also be used in a dative-of-interest function.

\[(477)\] \textit{Má a k-o-r-á-ká-š-mu.}  
\text{child thing RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-sick-3PL.M-WITH-2SG.F}  
\text{‘(Your) child fell sick.’}

\[(478)\] \textit{‘A bé beya k-en-yár-a-š-ve vai.’}  
\text{thing DPROX NEG RL-1SG.F-sec-3SG.F-WITH-2PL.F POL}  
\text{‘I haven’t seen the thing you’re asking about.’ [FF2-CA:03]}

\(-θ \text{ REG}\)

This form introduces somewhat of a ‘with regard to, because of’ argument, shown in the following examples. In (479) the implication is that the added object is going somewhere and the subject goes along too, so there can be a comitative reading, but the subject is usually not the instigator of the event.\(^8\)

\[(479)\] \textit{K-en-úte-n-θ-mu.}  
\text{RL-1SG.F-walk-AG-REG-2SG.F}  
\text{‘I went along with you.’ (e.g. because you asked me to)}

The following examples show some other uses of this form.

\[(480)\] \textit{K-en-irai-n-θ-mu.}  
\text{RL-1SG.F-talk-AG-REG-2SG.F}  
\text{‘I talked about you.’}

Example (481) means that the added object has gone somewhere and the subject has stayed behind, perhaps to look after his children.

\[(481)\] \textit{K-e-kē(n)i-n-θ-wa.}  
\text{RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit-AG-REG-3SG.M}  
\text{‘I’m staying behind because of him.’}

\(^8\text{Where several participants equally carry out the action, nominal conjunction is used, see Chapter 5.}\)
When this form is followed by the 3SG.M suffix -a an epenthetic [w] is inserted between it and the object suffix and it is often fricativised to [β]. For example, [kekeninōwa] ~ [kekeninōβa]. This is again because the morpheme has an HL tone and must consist of at least a foot and cannot utilise any of the syllables of the root.

Example (482) means that the subject is making something for some reason to do with the added object; perhaps he is sick and can’t finish it.

(482) K-e-n-ā-n-ō-wa.
RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-make-3SG.F-AG-REG-3SG.M
‘I’m making it because of him.’

Example (483) shows another use of this form.

(483) K-em-i-pāko-m-ō-aro.
RL-1SG.F-pig-AG-REG-3SG.F green.vegetable
‘We are big because of (eating) greens.’ [DICT-PB:01]

-o GIVE

This form introduces roles like Benefactive or Recipient. It is related to the synchronic verb -o ‘give’, which is a classic valency-increasing serialising verb cross-linguistically. Example (484) can either mean ‘I went away and left you to it’ or, ‘I went on your behalf’.

(484) K-en-ūte-n-ō-mu.
RL-1SG.F-walk-AG-GIVE-2SG.F
‘I walked for you.’

This form is also used to code the addressee of speech verbs, as in example (485).

(485) K-en-īrai-n-ō-mu.
RL-1SG.F-talk-AG-GIVE-2SG.F
‘I talked to you.’
This form does undergo glide-formation when followed by the 3SG.M suffix -a, arguably because it is L-toned.

\[(486)\] \(K-e-ké(n)i-n-o-a.\)  
\([kèkénìnùa]\)  
RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit-AG-GIVE-3SG.M  
‘I am sitting for him.’

The meaning difference between this example and (481) above with the same verb but with the REG morpheme is that this time the subject is quite specifically staying behind to look after the added object; care is crucial here.

On some verbs the added object is quite clearly a recipient.

\[(487)\] \(K-en-ráivi-n-o-mu.\)  
RL-1SG.F-cook-AG-GIVE-2SG.F  
‘I cooked for you.’ (i.e. ‘I cooked food and gave it to you to eat.’)

\[(488)\] \(K-e-n-á-o-n-o-mu.\)  
RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-make-3SG.F-AG-GIVE-2SG.F  
‘I’m making it for you.’ (i.e. ‘I’m making it to give to you.’)

-\(a\)-\(f\) SRND

The final form to be discussed is complex; it inflects twice. I will gloss the first prefix as a prefix and the second as an infix. Its core meaning is one of surrounding.

\[(489)\] \(Á k-u-ai-r-a(r)i-t-ni.\)  
rain RL-3SG.F-rain-AG-(AG)SRND-1SG.F  
‘The rain is blocking me.’ (i.e. ‘I can’t go out because it’s raining.’)

The next example shows the reduplication of this morpheme to indicate iterative aspect. The verb itself cannot reduplicate because it is vowel-initial.

\[(490)\] \(K-i-óro-papl-p-a(p)i-o.\)  
RL-3PL.M-cut-REDUP-AG-(AG)SRND-3SG.F  
‘They cut and cut (the tree) all around her.’ (She was hiding inside the trunk.)

But some other examples showing extended meanings follow.
As the following example shows, when this morpheme takes a 3SG.M object suffix, the final high high vowel does not become a glide. Instead, it is produced as a full vowel and an epethetic glide is inserted between it and the suffix.

(492) K-a-ore-r(a)ya ndki.  
RL-3SG.M-search-AG-(AG)SRND-3SG.M dog  
‘He was on the lookout for the dog spirit.’ [TP-MN:01]

-a VAL     There is one other possible morpheme like this: -a VAL, but it appears on only one verb: -oro ‘decorate’. It is glossed as VAL.

(493) a) K-i-or o.  
RL-3PL.M-decorate  
‘They are decorating.’

b) K-i-or o-p-a-ka.  
RL-3PL.M-decorate-AG-VAL-3SG.M  
‘They are decorating him.’

7.2.4 Combinations and ordering

As shown in Figure 7.2 at the beginning of this section 7.2, the VALency2 forms appear after the directionals and locationals described above. The following example shows GIVE in combination with the directional -koe UP.

(494) K-u-irai-ko(r)e-r-o-u.  
RL-3SG.F-talk-(AG)UP-AG-GIVE-3SG.F  
‘She spoke up to her.’ [U-EM:01]

The following shows GIVE in combination with the locational -tá ON. Although a verb can take more than one participant-adding morpheme, there are no examples of clauses with more than one added object NP. Typically, as in the following example,
one of the added objects features in a previous clause and its only realisation in the subsequent clause is with agreement on the participant-adding morpheme.\(^9\)

(495) \textit{Niánta n-i-ù(n)a n-e-kô(n)}

\begin{tabular}{l}
prawn IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)\text{trawl} IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go.up
\end{tabular}

‘I’ll catch prawns, go (back) up

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{aro n-en-ràiiv-i-tà-u-n-o-a} \textit{âm nêni.}
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{l}
greens IRR-1SG.F-cook-ON-3SG.F-AG-GIVE-3SG.M \text{husband} 1SG.F \text{and cook greens with them for my husband.’} [u-gx:01]
\end{tabular}

\textit{Valency}_2 forms are also positioned after \textit{Valency}_1 forms.

(496) \textit{K-en-ùte-nà-ka-n-i-mu}

\begin{tabular}{l}
RL-1SG.F-walk-APPL-3SG.M-AG-WITH-2SG.F
\end{tabular}

‘I’m bringing him back to you.’

There can be more than one \textit{Valency}_2 form per verb. These were elicited quite easily, however there is not one natural textual example in the data.

(497) \textit{K-e-ké(n)i-n-ë-mú-n-ì-ya.}

\begin{tabular}{l}
RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)\text{sit}-AG-FROM-2SG.F-AG-WITH-3SG.M
\end{tabular}

‘I didn’t go with you, I stayed with him.’

(498) \textit{K-e-ké(n)i-n-ë-ya-n-ë-mù.}

\begin{tabular}{l}
RL-1SG.F-(1SG.F)\text{sit}-AG-WITH-2SG.F-AG-FROM-3SG.M
\end{tabular}

‘I stayed with him to annoy you.’

### 7.2.5 Subject inflection and position

The agreement behaviour of some of the elements discussed above suggests that recent verb serialisation is a very likely source for the structure of the agreeing complex verbs. The origins of the non-agreeing forms are not so clear. Donohue (2003) argues that the inflectional behaviour can be explained with reference to a morphological template called the ‘reduplicant’. He writes:

\(^9\)Number marking for lower animates is optional. In the second clause the ‘prawns’ of the first clause are given singular agreement on the relative locational -iù.
[T]here is a minimal unit that may be referred to by the grammar, and that unit does ... contain some inflectional material. The integration of a verbal base into a predicate with another verbal base ... involves the assignment of pronominal agreement to both bases in cases where the second base does not fulfill the phonotactic conditions that are set for the 'reduplicant'. (2003:135)

Recall from Chapter 3 that the reduplicant in Class II verbs consists of the root plus the tight-knit consonant prefix. The following table shows the agreement paradigm for the L-toned Class II verb -o ‘give’, a very probable source for the GIVE morpheme.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>DU</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>k-a-n-o</td>
<td>k-epi-p-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>k-e-n-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>k-a-m-o</td>
<td>k-oropu-p-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>k-o-m-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>k-a-r-o</td>
<td>k-ere-p-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>k-o-r-o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stripping away the status prefix plus any V(CV..)- subject prefixes leaves the bolded consonant matching the consonants found on the agreeing bound forms. This unit is defined as the ‘reduplicant’, because it is reduplicated when Class II verbs are reduplicated. Vowel-initial Class I and III verbs cannot be reduplicated, but Class II verbs, even though they are all vowel-initial, can, because the extra agreement consonant can be included in the reduplication. The next example shows reduplication on the Class II verb -a ‘make, do, want’, repeated from Chapter 3.

Example (499a) shows this verb with 3PL.M inflection and example (499b) shows this verb with 3PL.M inflection and reduplication.

(499) a) K-e-p-á.
     RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-do
     ‘They do (it).’
b) *Au=ére beka bî mèm k-e-p-á-p-á.*

thing=DDIST like ancestors 1PL RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-do-3PL.M-do

'Those things like our ancestors used to do.' [U-EM:01]

The consonant subject prefix *p-* is included in the reduplication. Under Donohue's analysis, it is this unit, 'the reduplicant', that is incorporated.\(^{10}\) The non-inflecting valency morphemes are all consonant-initial and thus would not have belonged to Class II, so it is not ruled out that they, too, have a verbal origin.

Donohue (2003) further proposes, however, that in these constructions the subject prefix on the main verb 'has scope over the entire following multi-predicate unit'. Figure 7.2 is Donohue's model of the structure of a verb with a 'putative applicative'. In this analysis both 'reduplicants' are under the scope of the same subject agreement marking.

![Figure 7.2](image)

*Figure 7.2* Structure of a verb with a 'putative applicative'. *Source:* Donohue (2003:136)

He presents and explicitly rejects another possible model, given in Figure 7.3

(He would analyse this as having the same structure as in Figure 7.2).

\(^{10}\)In Chapter 3 I raised the possibility that Class II roots might be consonant-initial with consonant mutation for subject. If the agreeing consonant is part of the root rather than simply a prefix it is not surprising that it would have been incorporated along with the rest of the root.
Donohue argues that 7.2 is a desirable analysis for two reasons: first that the ‘structure of the putative applicatives guarantees that there will be agreement between the V(C(V))-prefix and subsequent agreement markers, none of which can morphologically mark all the distinctions present in the prefix ... [t]he V(C(V))-prefix, then, represents the sum of all personal agreement material’ (2003:135). Second, he argues ‘when we do find serialization of two fully inflected verb roots the features of the [main] prefix are shared over two verbs, and so can be taken as more “transparent” to the syntactic environment in which they occur’ (2003:135).

While it is true that the subject inflection on main verbs and incorporated participant-adding morphemes is mostly identical, there is one construction, involving Experiencer objects, where the inflection on the incorporated form agrees with either the subject or the object of the main verb. This means that agreement on the reduplicant cannot be completely reliant on the prefix on the main verb.

The following examples show the use of inflecting valency morphemes on Experiencer object verbs. The examples are semantically identical. Neither means
that hunger afflicted both participants, only that the object of the valency morpheme was there at the same time as the hungry person. In (500a) the consonant on \textit{with} agrees with the subject of the verb: 3SG.F. In (500b) the consonant on \textit{with} agrees with the Experiencer, morphologically the object of the verb: 1SG.F.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(500)] a) \textit{K-o-raiyó-ni-r-i-mu.} \\
\text{RL-3SG.F-hunger-1SG.F-AG-WITH-2SG.F} \\
'I was hungry in your presence.'

\item b) \textit{K-o-raiyó-ni-n-i-mu.} \\
\text{RL-3SG.F-hunger-1SG.F-AG-WITH-2SG.F} \\
'I was hungry in your presence.'
\end{enumerate}

This behaviour cannot be reconciled with an analysis where the agreement is governed by the subject prefix of the main verb. In fact it is better suited to the first analysis Donohue presents and then rejects, because the ‘putative applicatives’ must be able to take different inflection to the main verb.

Under a complex predicate analysis, differing inflection for the incorporated element is to be expected. In complex predicates, agreement is determined with reference to the argument structure of the combined predicate and, in keeping with the nature of Experiencer object constructions cross-linguistically, Experiencers can be singled out as being more salient than Stimuli by being given subject-like properties (see §4.2.5), in this case showing up in reduplicant inflection.

Donohue (2003:136) also suggests that it is the phonotactic constraint of the 'reduplicant' that dictates the morphemes' positions outside inflectional morphology. But since all the non-inflecting valency and other derivational morphology is also found here, recent polysynthesis provides a ready explanation.
Chapter 8

Beneficiary and Possessor

Barupu has a separate agreement paradigm for marking Beneficiaries and Possessors on the verb. I will gloss it BENeficiary because special Beneficiary marking is relatively common in Papua New Guinea (Foley 1986; Donohue 2002), and, cross-linguistically, languages quite commonly allow Possessors to be indexed by another, already established, paradigm in a process known as external possession (Payne and Barshi 1999). However, the paradigm is used more widely in its Possessor marking function than its Beneficiary function, at least in narratives. Also, out of context, a verb inflected with this paradigm will most likely be interpreted as marking a Possessor. This is perhaps because there are now other ways to mark Beneficiaries — the morphemes discussed in the previous chapter. Reasons for believing Beneficiary marking to be older than the participant-adding morphemes discussed in the previous chapter, are given below.

The chapter is organised as follows. Section 8.1 describes the structure and function of the Benefactive in Barupu and compares it to other Papuan languages. Section 8.2 describes its external possession function. Finally, section 8.5 presents the full paradigm.
8.1 Beneficiary

I will begin with an example. As shown in (502), the verb -kōe ‘go up’ usually takes Class III subject agreement and because it is intransitive it does not take object suffixing.

(501) N-a-kō(m)e.
   IRR-(2SG.M)-(2SG.M)go.up
   ‘Go up.’ ‘You will go up.’

This verb combines with -ko ‘get.SGO’ to form a serial verb construction meaning ‘get and come’ or ‘bring’ (see §7.1.1). The serial verb construction is transitive. The grammatical number of the thing brought is marked by the suppletive singular form of ‘get’.

(502) Bà ra n-ama-ko n-a-kō(m)e.
   fish one IRR-2SG.M-get.SGO IRR-2SG.M-(2SG.M)go.up
   ‘Take one fish!’

It is also possible to mark a Beneficiary of the serial verb construction on the intransitive verb -kōe, using the Benefactive paradigm, as shown in example (503). The paradigm is in bold face.¹

(503) Úri bà ra n-ama-ko n-em-e-na-kō(m)e.
   morning fish one IRR-2SG.M-get.SGO IRR-2SG.M-BEN-1SG.M-(2SG.M)go.up
   ‘Tomorrow bring a fish for me.’ [TP-MN:01]

The Benefactive paradigm replaces regular subject prefixing, but note that infixes remain. It can be analysed out as a vowel-only morpheme with a subject prefix and an object suffix indexing the Beneficiary. The suffixes are the same as those found on suffixing transitive verbs. The quality of the vowel of the Benefactive

¹The Benefactive marker could go on either verb in this series, e.g. nemenako nakōme is also grammatical, but it could not go on both, *nemenako nemenakōme. Normally the ‘bring’ SVC would be formed with the hither direction of motion verb, -kae ‘come’, but in this narrative the two participants live in opposite directions from a particular location, so the direction of motion verbs can be used instead.
morpheme varies; it appears to be determined by leftward copying from the object
suffix, which in turn determines the vowel of the subject prefix in most
subject/Beneficiary combinations. The full paradigm is given in §8.5 below, followed
by a discussion of the forms.

The very next sentence in the text that (503) was taken from, is shown in (504).
In this example, the participant, which is in some sense semantically equivalent to the
Ben-marked participant in (503), is marked with the participant-adding morpheme -o
give.

(504) Néná, ụrị  taveke ụra  ra  n-anakọ
1SG.F tomorrow tobacco black one IRR-1SG.M-get.SGO
n-a-n-arọ- n-o-ma.
IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-go.down-AG-GIVE-2SG.M
‘And me, tomorrow I will bring a dry tobacco roll to you.’ [TP-MN:01]

The distinction between these two strategies is quite subtle. One speaker
described the first example (503) as being as if the speaker assumes the addressee
already has a fish that he can bring. In example (504), however, there is apparently an
implication that the speaker will first have to go and get some some tobacco and then
he can bring it.2

Structurally, Beneficiary NPs behave like added objects in appearing after the
verb. The second clause in example (505) shows both a Beneficiary NP (ám
‘husband’) and an added object (the object of -tá ON; ịi ụkụmọ ‘fireplace’) in the
same clause — both following the verb. The order of the NPs is dictated by the order
of the verbal morphology from left to right — the Ben morpheme appears first so the
Beneficiary NP appears first.

2Of course, another possibility is that in this particular instance the first sentence is an SVC and
the second is a pair of coordinated clauses — the different Beneficiary marking strategies may have
no affect on the interpretation at all — but see the previous chapter for discussion of the difficulties of
distinguishing SVCs from asyndetic coordination in Barupu.
Beneficiary and Possessor 274

(505) ... and révá pón k-o-r-e-r-e-ə.

and bone only RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-put-3SG.F

‘... and she just put the bones.

Keyareretá  ámbi  ái kukumój,

k-e-r-e-a-t-r-e-r-ə-tá-ə,

RL-3SG.F-BEN-3SG.M-3SG.F-put-3SG.F-ON-3SG.F husband tree ash

She put them for the man (to see them) on the fireplace.’ [U-EM:01]

Beneficiary marking can also be used on suffixing transitive verbs. A suffixing transitive verb takes its regular object suffix as well as Beneficiary marking. Example

(506) shows the regular use of a Class I transitive verb -yé ‘hit, kill’, with a suffix indexing the object, nāki ‘dog’.

(506) Nāki, n-a-m-yé-ya.

dog  RL-2SG.M-2SG.M-hit-3SG.M

‘You hit the dog.’

Example (507) shows this verb with the Beneficiary marking. This verb now indexes a 1SG.M Beneficiary as well as the 3SG.M primary object ‘dog’.

(507) Arāpe k-a-m-á na nāki, k-em-e-na-m-yé-ya?


‘Why did you hit my dog?’ [DCL-D]

Another sentence with a similar meaning occurs in (508), using the REG participant-adding morpheme -ð.

(508) Nāki rau, k-a-yé-ya,-r-ð-na.

dog  RL-3SG.M-hit-3SG.M-AG-REG-1SG.M

‘The dog hit/fought the pig for some reason to do with me.’

Benefactive marking strategies are very common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986:96-98). Foley (1986:96) identifies that between the clear-cut cases of core participants (Actor and Undergoer) and peripheral relations (instruments, times and locations) is ‘an indistinct middle ground: the typically animate, intended goal of an action, i.e., its beneficiary or the recipient of verbs like “give”.’
Foley calls these arguments 'dative nominals' and shows that Papuan languages split into three groups with respect to them: the first group, exemplified by Yimas, assimilates datives as core arguments (indicated by verbal affixation); the second group treats Beneficiaries and Recipients alike as peripheral arguments (indicated by case marking); and, in the final group, Recipients are unexceptionally core and Beneficiaries show some alternation between being coded as core or oblique. This group is exemplified by Barai.

The examples in (509a) and (509b) show that Barai has a primary object/secondary object alternation (Dryer 1986); that is, Recipients are core arguments, marked the same way as objects of primary transitive verbs.

(509)  

a) *Fu na kan-ie.*  
   he I strike-1SG  
   'He struck me.'

b) *Bu iro fu-one a vaj-a.*  
   they yam he-POSS you give-2SG  
   'They gave you his yams.'

The next examples in (510a & b) show the alternating status of the Beneficiary. In (510a) the Beneficiary is an oblique argument, as witnessed by case marking on the nominal and lack of agreement on the verb. In (510b) the Beneficiary is a core argument, as witnessed by the lack of case marking on the nominal and the presence of verb agreement.

(510)  

a) *Na fu-efuo ire kira-ke.*  
   I he-BEN food prepare-FUT  
   'I will prepare food for him.'

b) *Na a ire kira-j-e.*  
   you food prepare-BEN-2SG  
   'I will prepare food for you.'

Barupu has no case marking and although the Recipient is morphologically marked in the same way as an individuated P, the word orders are different and there
is no clear differentiation between core and oblique arguments. It is thus not an exact match with Barai, but it falls into the same general pattern. As Donohue (2002) has pointed out, in some languages at least, a separate morpheme can be identified as marking the Beneficiary and since this morpheme has the function of creating core arguments, ‘applicative’ is a possible name for it. Foley (1986) also suggests that the Beneficiary construction can be a historical development from the serial verb Beneficiaries found in Trans New Guinea languages. This is exemplified in Hua.

(511) a) Dgai-si? zu kie.
    I-BEN house build 3SG DECL
    ‘He built a house for me.’

   b) Zu ki-na d-ie.
       house build-3SG 1SG-put 3SG DECL.
       ‘He built a house for me.’

A possible historical development for Barupu is the same as this, only with the verbs reversed. The Beneficiary verb would have preceded the main verb, as in (512).

(512) k en-e-ma k6(m)e
    ?RL 1SG.M-put/give-2SG.M (2SG.F)go.up
    ...

The Benefactive ex-verb would have been a Class II vowel-only verb.\(^3\) This possible pathway is somewhat problematic because it goes against Durie’s observation that in Benefactive SVCs, the verb introducing the Beneficiary usually follows rather than precedes the other verb (1997:344). He argues that this ordering is predictable due to iconicity — the ‘action’ precedes the ‘giving’. Durie (1997:338-339) does, however, give examples of languages in which the reverse is true, and suggests that other linguistic pressures can affect the iconicity principle. For example, in Mandarin Chinese a strong preference for verbs to be final in the clause

\(^3\)I have treated the subject prefixes of the Benefactive/Possessor paradigm as one prefix (rather than separating them out like the Class II prefixes). This is partly to simplify the representation, but also because there is no synchronic evidence that parts of the prefix are separable.
has meant that ‘erstwhile serial verbs [that] have beengrammaticized to co-verbs’ (1997:338) have moved to a position in front of the main verb.

If the Barupu Benefactive paradigm is an ex-serial verb, it must have incorporated much earlier than the ones discussed in Chapter 7, because it appears inside status inflection, and it no longer has its own tone. It can take stress and tone if it falls in the final foot of the word, like other inflectional morphemes. For example, the word /-ko/ ‘get.sgo’ is L-toned. Inflected for realis /k-/ and 2sg.m subject prefixing /ama-/ its surface realisation is [kà.'mâ.kò], with stress and a mid tone on the second syllable of the subject agreement. With the 2sg.m subject/1sg.m object benefactive combination /emena-/ the surface realisation is [kè.mè.'nâ.kò], with stress and a mid tone on the 1sg.m suffix.

As described in Chapter 3, the Benefactive is attached between status marking and the verb stem. This means that on Class II and III verbs there are still two instantiations of subject. In (513a) the subject is marked twice: in the vowel prefix and the tight-knit subject prefix consonant. In (513b) the subject is marked twice: in the Benefactive subject prefix, and the tight-knit subject prefix.

(513) a) N-à-m-à.
   ìrr-2sg.m-2sg.m-eât
   ‘Eat (it)!’

   b) N-em-e-nâ-m-à.
   ìrr-2sg.m-ben-1sg.m-2sg.m-eât
   ‘Eat (it) for me!’

As noted above, on the Class III and IV infixing verbs, the Benefactive paradigm replaces the prefixes but the infixes remain. On Class I verbs the Benefactive replaces the CV subject prefixing. In (514a) there is one instantiation of subject, the vowel after the status prefix and the dedicated morpheme ma-. In (514b) there is still only one instantiation of subject, the prefix on the Benefactive morpheme. The regular subject morpheme ama- is no longer present.
Possessor marking

Although the Benefactive use for this paradigm is found in texts, it is more often found marking external possession. External possession is quite a common extension of Benefactive marking in Papua New Guinea. For example, according to Donohue (2001:7), the geographically contiguous Torricelli language, Olo, has an applicative morpheme which marks direction, location, beneficiary, adversative and accompaniment on intransitive verbs and exclusively marks external possession on transitive verbs. Foley (1991:306-308) also reports that the comitative applicative -tay in Yimas can be used to mark alienable possession, as well as being Benefactive in the sense that the action results in the Beneficiary becoming in possession of something.

In Barupu, the Benefactive most commonly marks possessed body parts but other alienable items can be possessed as well. Possessor marking can be introduced by looking at a verb like -yará ‘see’. This is a Class I suffixing transitive verb. It is shown with its regular object suffix inflection in (515).

(515) K-ana-yará-má.
   RL-1SG.M-see-2SG.M
   'I see you.'

When the object is a body part, the Beneficiary paradigm can be used, instead, to index the Possessor. The Possessor is usually marked as the object of the Benefactive morpheme (although see §8.4, below). With this agreement, the Class I subject prefix (ana-) is replaced by the Benefactive paradigm. The regular object suffix of -yará does not appear when the primary object is possessed.
In Payne and Barshi's (1999) 'core instances' of external possession, the Possessor 'is expressed like a direct, governed, argument of one of the three universally attested basic predicate types (intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive)' (1999:3). Clearly, the Barupu examples do not fit the core instance definition, because the construction uses a totally different paradigm to the three 'basic predicate types' found in Barupu (recipients of ditransitives are morphologically transitive objects but post-verbal). However, Payne and Barshi do not discount external possession where there is also an applicative involved.

The participants that can be possessed using this paradigm are: morphological objects (as shown in (516), above); secondary objects; and Locations. When an argument is possessed, there is no change to its word order or its grammatical function. That is, a possessed primary object NP will still appear before the verb and a possessed Location NP will still appear after the verb, in their canonical positions. Possessor marking can also be used on adjectives and in predicate possession (§8.3) and adjunct nominal constructions (§8.4), typically using body parts.

### 8.2.1 Possessed secondary object

Animate possessors of secondary objects can be marked on the verb with Benefactive marking. For example, the verb -ton 'drink' takes a secondary object which is not marked on the verb, as in the following example.

(517) *Pi n-e-ton.*

water IRR-3PL.M-drink

'They drink water.'

When talking about her children breastfeeding, a mother might say something like example (518).
Beneficiary and Possessor 280

(518)  
\[ Tō \, mù \, n-ep-e-n-ton. \]

breast milk IRR-3PL.M-BEN-1SG.F-drink

'They'll drink my breast milk.' [MP-EM:01]

The NP \( tō \, mú \) 'breast milk' must occur before the verb, in the normal position for secondary objects. Note that the final /i/ of the 1SG.F object suffix can be optionally omitted. This also applies to the other nasal plus high vowel suffixes: -\( mu \) 2SG.F and -\( mi \) 1PL.

Some more examples follow. The Benefactive paradigm can be used as a way of marking animate Undergoers on verbs which do not normally take object suffixing.

(519)  
\[ Ó=va \, tēvé \, neyarirā. \]
	n-er-e-a-rirā

namesake=PRM ear IRR-3SG.M-BEN-3SG.M-pierce

'The namesake pierced his ear.' [NSC2-MM:03]

(520)  
\[ Ei! \, kom=a \, k-ep-e-n-óro \, be! \]

EXCL leg=PRM RL-2PL.M-BEN-1SG.F-cut DPROX

'Hey, you're cutting my leg here!' [FF2-CA:03]

The following example shows that the secondary object does not have to be overt, it is understood in this context that when you paint someone, you paint the body.

(521)  
\[ K-ere-pariti \, n-o-rove, \, nereyaruru \, vōva. \]

n-er-e-r-uru

RL-3PL.F-rub IRR-3SG.F-dry IRR-3PL.F-BEN-3SG.M-3PL.F-paint again

'They rubbed (it) so that when it was dry they would paint him again.' [WH-RX:03]

The next examples show that the construction is not restricted to body parts. In this example the possessed secondary object is \( rua \) 'spear'.

(522)  
\[ Rua \, k-ep-i-a-kana \, bé. \]

spear RL-3PL.M-BEN-3SG.M-stand.upright DPROX

'They stand his spear upright now.' [DC-CA:03]
In (523) the possessed secondary object is the noun *anoku* ‘story’. This example shows a verb with both Benefactive marking and a participant-adding morpheme. There are no examples in the data with both a Benefactive added object NP and another added object NP, again this is due to the fact that it would be unlikely for two new participants to be introduced into a single clause, and even more unlikely for them to be introduced as added objects. Old participants are not generally realised as NPs, see Chapter 6.

(523) *Anoku k-er-e-nā-irai-r-o-re.*
story RL-3SG.M-BEN-1SG.M-say-AG-GIVE-3PL.F
‘He told stories about me to them.’ or ‘He told stories of me to them.’

8.2.2 Possessed locative

A possessed body part locative can be seen in the following examples using the verb *-bere* ‘drip, pour’. The first example here shows a verb with an unmarked non-possessed post-verbal Goal.

(524) *Pi n-ana-bere-o(n)o baket.*
water IRR-1SG.M-pour-(AG)DOWN BUCKET
‘I’ll pour the water down into the bucket.’

As discussed in the previous chapter, animates can not normally function as locatives unless introduced by one of the locational suffixes, as shown in (525), in this case using *-tā ON*. The added object nominal appears after the verb. Possession in this clause is marked by the possessive pronoun *mēmā* 2SG.M.

(525) *Pi n-ana-bere-tā-ma chá pé mēmā.*
water IRR-1SG.M-drip-ON-2SG.M head hair 2SG.M
‘I’ll drip the water onto your hair.’

The next example shows the same verb but with Benefactive/Possessor marking. In this case there is no longer any need for the locational suffix.
Some more examples follow. The verb -pum is onomatopoeic and it stands for a noise made by something going quickly through the air; I have glossed it as ‘whoosh’.

(527) ... ya k-ar-u-pum-kiré rokorapo ine.
and RL-3SG.M-BEN.3SG.F-whoosh-(AG) AWAY expertly eye
'... and he whooshed it right in her eye.' [DC-CA:03]

The next example shows that the possessed Goal does not have to be a body part.

(528) Akâiri pôn k-ep-i-a-p-ikiro ekókó.
stone only RL-3PL.M-BEN-3SG.M-3PL.M-put.in string.bag
'They just put stones in his string bag.' [ANR-MN:01]

8.3 Adjectival predicates and predicate possession

A very common use of the Benefactive/Possessor paradigm is for body-part predicate possession. This is shown in the following example, from the definition of kanro ‘turtle’ in the dictionary.

(529) Biôte tâ k-or-u-îniá — châ rê pa.
oar paddle RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-be.at front and back
'It has flippers — front and back.' [DICT-EM:01]

Clauses involving both predicate possession and attribution of qualities can take two forms: a possessed NP and Possessor marking on -îniá ‘be at’ or an unmodified NP and Possessor marking in an adjectival predicate.

The following examples are taken from the Barupu dictionary and were all written by the same person. Example (531) is taken from the definition of apara ‘cuscus, possum’ in the dictionary. The NP tû ‘tail’ is modified by rirîvā ‘long’ and the existential/locational copular verb -îniá ‘be at’ is inflected with Benefactive/Possessor marking.
In the next example, the writer broke the information up into two clauses. In the first clause the existential verb takes the Benefactive/Possessor marking and it is followed by an adjectival verb with 3SG.F subject marking, indexing the tail.

\[(530) \text{Tū ririvá keyāniá.}
\begin{align*}
\text{keyāniá} & \quad \text{3SG.M-be.at} \\
\text{tail} & \quad \text{RL-3SG.F-BEN-3SG.M-he.at} \\
\text{He has a long tail.} & \quad [\text{DICT-EM:01}] 
\end{align*}
\]

In example (532) the NP pē 'leaf, hair' is unmodified but the adjectival verb -pum 'plentiful' is given benefactive/possessive marking.

\[(532) \text{Pē=va k-or-u-pum.}
\begin{align*}
fur & \quad \text{RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-plentiful} \\
\text{Its fur is plentiful.} & \quad [\text{DICT-EM:01}] 
\end{align*}
\]

This is the minority pattern. The modified predicate possession construction is much more common.

Likewise, lack of something is expressed with the non-existential copular verb -bāuni 'not be at', also inflected with Benefactive/Possessor marking. The following example is taken from the definition for bhîyo 'cassowary'.

\[(533) \text{Ame uka. Kom rięmpin k-or-u-iniá.}
\begin{align*}
\text{animal bush leg} & \quad \text{2RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-be.at} \\
\text{A bush animal. It has two legs.} & \quad [\text{DICT-EM:01}] 
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{Tū k-or-u-bāun.} \\
\begin{align*}
tail & \quad \text{RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-not.be.at} \\
\text{It doesn't have a tail.} & \quad [\text{DICT-EM:01}] 
\end{align*}
\]

\[(534) \text{Tève k-or-o-m-bāun.}
\begin{align*}
\text{ear} & \quad \text{RL-3SG.F-BEN-2SG.F-not.be.at} \\
\text{You are stubborn.'} & \quad ('You have no ears./You don't listen.') 
\end{align*}
\]
The subject agreement in all the adjectival and predicate possession clauses is 3SG.F, agreeing with either the body part or some default dummy subject — is not yet clear which — but it does not agree with the possessor; the possessor is marked with the suffix.

8.4 Adjunct nominal constructions

There are two main sets of adjunct nominal constructions (see §6.2.6) that are always found with Benefactive/Possessor marking. In these constructions the adjunct nominal is interpretable as either:

i a body part of an Actor;
ii a body part of an Experiencer.

For example, the verb -pom means 'make a cracking noise'. In the following example, the noun ēno 'hand' is interpretable as a body part of the Actor but it is the person slapped who is marked with a suffix on the Benefactive/Possessor morpheme.

(535) Ėno k-en-e-ma-pom-pom-ko.
  hand RL-1SG.F-BEN-2SG.M-REDUP-crack-UP
  'I made a cracking noise against you with my hand.' ('I slapped you.')</n
Another example with the same body part but a different verb is given in (536).

(536) Ėno k-en-e-ma-tuta.
  hand RL-1SG.F-BEN-2SG.M-poke
  'I poked you.'

The Actor is not barred from appearing in the clause, as shown in (537).

(537) Cha Moses ēno k-ar-o-mu-pom-pom-ko.
  AT PN hand RL-3SG.M-BEN-2SG.F-REDUP-crack-UP
  'Cha Moses slapped you.'

In all the examples in the previous sections the suffix on the Benefactive/Possessor morpheme marked a participant bearing one of three roles:
• the Beneficiary of an action performed intransitively, or performed on some other Undergoer;
• the Possessor of a non-subject participant, often a body part;
• or the Possessor in the predicate possession and adjectival predicate constructions.

In the examples presented in this section, the suffixed participant is semantically the Undergoer of the action. In these constructions it appears that the Actor is the Possessor of the body part. The body part might have originally been an Instrument, but it now forms a complex predicate with the verb rather than functions as a full argument. This is evidenced by the fact that it cannot be omitted without seriously altering the meaning of the verb; it cannot be modified or replaced by a proform and it cannot be moved out of the position directly before the verb (see §6.2.6).

In the examples presented so far in this section, it is possible to argue that the construction is being used because the Undergoer is being affected on some part of the body — e.g. you tend to get slapped or poked on some part of your body — and the body-part adjunct nominal is just a coincidence. However, a counter-example is the construction *ine*-vóvo (eye sleep) ‘wink’, as shown in (538).

(538) ̃ine k-ar-u-vóvo.
    eye RL-3SG.M-BEN.3SG.F-sleep
    ‘He winked at her.’

In this example, there can be no doubt that no part of the suffix-marked participant is physically involved in the action; the Possessor marking strategy is used because of the involvement of the body part of the subject.

Table 8.4 shows some common Actor body-part adjunct nominal constructions.

The second adjunct nominal construction commonly found with Benefactive/Possessor marking is the Experiencer object construction. As in other adjunct nominal constructions, the body-part nominals are obligatory and cannot be
modified, replaced by a proform or moved. Some of these complex predicates, like 'thirsty', are obviously quite specific about the body-part adjunct nominal; others like 'pain' and 'numb' can substitute different body parts.

In the Experiencer object constructions the Undergoer/Experiencer and the Possessor refer to the same participant, indexed in the suffix of the Benefactive. Subject marking in these constructions is always 3SG.F, and as with the pseudotransitive Experiencer object constructions discussed in Chapter 4, it is not clear whether the subject agreement indexes the body part or is anonymous or dummy agreement.

(539) Êno k-er-e-ni-pom-pom.
hand RL-3SG.F-BEN-1SG.F-REDUP-crack
'I'm cracking my knuckles.' ('My hands are cracking on me.')

(540) To arâpe k-o-m-á ta ine pê k-or-o-m-berê?
CQ what RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-do REAS eye water RL-3SG.F-BEN-2SG.F-drip
'Why are you crying?' ('Why are your tears falling on you?') [Nscl-CA:03]

(541) Rî=va  keyaperuki.
  k-er-e-a-peru-ki
stomach=PRM RL-3SG.F-BEN-3SG.M-flip-AWAY
'He was surprised.' ('His stomach flipped on him. ')

Table 8.2 shows some body-part Experiencer object constructions.
Table 8.2 Some body-part Experiencer adjunct nominal constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Construction</th>
<th>Individual Gloss</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ó -róró</td>
<td>breath yell</td>
<td>‘feel angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kom -rere</td>
<td>leg be in pain</td>
<td>‘have a sore leg’</td>
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<tr>
<td>kom -víri</td>
<td>leg die</td>
<td>‘have pins and needles’</td>
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<tr>
<td>éno -pompom</td>
<td>hand crack</td>
<td>‘crack knuckles’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iā -ki</td>
<td>skin grill</td>
<td>‘feel very hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ē -ti</td>
<td>tooth shoot</td>
<td>‘have a sore tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no -rove</td>
<td>neck be dry</td>
<td>‘feel thirsty’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bēi -vori</td>
<td>meat lose weight</td>
<td>‘lose weight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ine -néwai</td>
<td>eye good</td>
<td>‘look good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In example (542) it is not clear who the Possessor of the body part is.

(542) Íne k-or-o-mu-néwai.
      eye RL-3SG.F-BEN-3SG.F-good
      ‘You look good.’ (‘You are good to one’s eye.’)

8.5 Full paradigm and discussion

The full Benefactive paradigm is given in Table 8.3. There is no dual distinction in this construction; the plural forms are used instead. The gaps in the table represent logically unavailable combinations (e.g. 1SG.F/1SG.M) or combinations where a reflexive or reciprocal would be used instead (e.g. 1SG.F/1SG.F).

The forms given in italics in the heading are the regular object suffixes. The prefixes found on the Beneficiary/Possessor morpheme have the same CV skeleton as the Class II prefixes but with some differences in the vowels. The forms given in italics in the vertical column are the Class II prefixes, listed for comparison.

- If the suffix has /a/ in it (the first and second person masculine -na and -ma), the vowel of the benefactive morpheme is [e], and the vowel of the subject prefix is also [e] in all combinations. This causes syncretism in the singular subject prefixes.

- If the suffix consists of only /-a/ (the third person singular masculine -a) then the benefactive morpheme is a palatal glide and the vowel of the subject prefix is [e]. The sequence [erja] can also be realised as [eja].
- If the suffix has /u/ in it (the feminine second person singular -mu and second person plural masculine -pu), the vowel of the benefactive morpheme is [o]. The prefix vowel is also [o] except in the case of the 3SG.M where the prefix vowel is [a].

- The 3SG.F has no segmental exponent, it is realised by vowel mutation in the benefactive morpheme which is [u] — the vowel of the subject prefix is [o] except in the case of the 3SG.M where the prefix vowel is [a].

- If the suffix contains /i/ (-ni 1SG.F, -pi 1DU, -mi 1PL & -i 3PL.M) or /e/ (the plural feminine series -ve 2PL.F & -re 3PL.F), the Benefactive morpheme is [e] except in the case of the 3SG.M where the prefix vowel is [a].
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<td>ar-e-ni</td>
<td>cr-e-ma</td>
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<td>ar-e-mi</td>
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<td>er-e-na</td>
<td>er-e-ni</td>
<td>cr-e-ma</td>
<td>or-o-mu</td>
<td>er-i-a/cya</td>
<td>or-u</td>
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<td>em-e-ma</td>
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<td>ere-r-</td>
<td>erer-e-na</td>
<td>erer-e-ni</td>
<td>erer-e-ma</td>
<td>oror-o-mu</td>
<td>erer-i-a/ererya</td>
<td>oror-u</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 8.3 Subject Beneficiary/Possessor combinations — underlying
Chapter 9

Status, modality and aspect

The only inflectional category in the Barupu TAM system is status. Every verb must appear with a prefix which marks it as either realis (k-) or irrealis (n-). The status prefixes indirectly contribute some time information, but there are no other obligatory tense or aspect operators on the verb.

Barupu clauses are thus grammatically tenseless. This does not mean, however, that there is no way of indicating time. As Comrie (1985:51) notes, 'it is ... possible for ... deductions about time reference to be made from other aspects of the sentence, perhaps in conjunction with the real world.' In the following sections I will make reference to the behaviour of status and various particles in different time frames — using the terms 'past time', 'present time' and 'future time' — even though there is no overt realisation of tense in the clause. Some of the clauses in this chapter were elicited through the contact languages of Tok Pisin and English, which do have ways of disambiguating tense, or they came from discussions of clauses found in texts (these discussions were also in Tok Pisin and English).

The division of events into realis and irrealis can be broadly characterised as marking something about the 'actuality of the event, whether it has been realised or not' (Foley 1986:158). But, as Foley goes on to say, even though 'the basic
distinction here is a binary one, realis versus irrealis ... few languages express it in just this way. Many languages, English included, make a number of distinctions along the continuum from real to unreal' (1986:158). The treatment of reality as a continuum is present, even in languages like Barupu that make an obligatory binary morphological division in every clause. That is, the structural, morphological category of status may be binary and discrete — all events are marked as either realis or irrealis — but the notions of reality and unreality are themselves fuzzy.

Cross-linguistically, languages with binary morphological distinctions do not all mark the same event types the same way. For example, all non-declarative clauses are marked as irrealis in some languages but not in others. In Barupu, for example, negative and interrogative clauses receive the same marking as they would in their declarative or affirmative form. Irreality can, however, optionally be instantiated in these modes with the use of the irrealis/evidential demonstrative éra, this is exemplified in sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.3, below.

This chapter proceeds as follows: §9.1 discusses the status system with regard to time. The following section, §9.2, describes the negative and non-declarative modalities: negatives (§9.2.1); questions (§9.2.2 and §9.2.3); imperative/jussive (§9.2.4) and the counterfactual particle biaka (§9.2.5).

The final section of this chapter, §9.3, presents the various strategies for marking aspect in the clause: morphology (§9.3.1 §9.3.2 & §9.3.3); verb serialisation (§9.3.4) and particles (§9.3.5 §9.3.6 & §9.3.7).

1This includes languages with indicative/subjunctive systems, but they can be differentiated from realis/irrealis systems by virtue of other typological features — e.g. the subjunctive, unlike irrealis, is mostly found in subordinate clauses (Palmer 2001:5). Languages which mark a basic realis/irrealis distinction on every verb should also be differentiated from other languages having structural units which may correspond to a notion of irreality but which do so within a system that is primarily tense or aspect based; these will have their own idiosyncracies.
9.1 Status and time

Foley (1986:158) has observed that languages in Papua New Guinea tend to be tense dominated or status dominated, and it has also been found in a world-wide typological study that realis/irrealis systems rarely co-occur with tense systems (Palmer 2001:5). Barupu is not unusual, however, in using the status marking to make a basic time distinction between future and non-future. In a simple declarative clause, a verb marked with irrealis is interpreted as future (events which will happen); this is shown in (543a). A verb marked with realis is interpreted as non-future; either past or present (events which have happened or are currently happening); this is shown in (543b).

(543) a) Pi n-o-ni(m)i.
     water IRR-2SG.F-(2SG.F)wash
     ‘You will wash.’

b) Pi k-o-ni(m)i.
     water RL-2SG.F-(2SG.F)wash
     ‘You are washing.’ ‘You washed.’

The remainder of this chapter will show that although the language does use status to make a time distinction, it is not the primary function of the marking. It is interesting to note that in the closely related language Sumo (spoken in a village of the same name about four hours’ walk away), morphemes in the same position on the verb do express a three-way time distinction: b- for past events, k- for present and r- for future. Sumo is in a state of severe endangerment and may be under areal pressure to adopt a tense system. According to Palmer (2001:105) it is not unusual for status markings to develop into tense markers: he notes ‘there are plenty of examples of future tenses that are historically derived from subjunctives’.

In languages that do not mark tense morphologically, there is often a set of

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2This is another of the typological differences between realis/irrealis and indicative/subjunctive systems. The latter do tend to co-occur with tense — witness Germanic and Romance languages (Palmer 2001:5).
particles or time words that can be used to set events in time. There are time
expressions in Barupu, but the meanings of the most common: bariri ‘afternoon,
yesterday’; mære ‘now, these days, soon’ and ʻuri ‘morning, tomorrow’ interact with
the status system and the temporal context of the utterance, so they can not really be
seen as expositions of tense. This is summarised in the following table, and
exemplified below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>realis</th>
<th>irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mære</td>
<td>‘now’, today’</td>
<td>‘immediately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʻuri</td>
<td>‘morning’, earlier this morning’</td>
<td>‘tomorrow, a morning in the future’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bariri</td>
<td>‘yesterday, afternoon’</td>
<td>‘later this afternoon, an afternoon in the future’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Take bariri as an example. If this word appeared in a clause containing a verb
marked with realis, and without any temporal context, it would probably be
interpreted as referring to ‘yesterday’.

(544) Bariri,  k-e-n-aro Aitape.
      yesterday RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down Aitape
     ‘Yesterday, I went to Aitape.’

However, if the utterance was part of a narrative, an equally good interpretation
would be ‘In the afternoon, I went to Aitape’. Similarly, if the utterance was spoken
at night it could refer to the afternoon just gone: i.e. ‘This afternoon I went to
Aitape’. Although in this case you could modify bariri with mære and say Bariri
mære k-e-n-aro Aitape (afternoon/yesterday now/soon RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down
Aitape) ‘This afternoon I went to Aitape’ to make yourself clear.

When bariri appears in a clause containing an irrealis-marked verb it will be
interpreted as referring to the coming afternoon if it is spoken before lunchtime,
although again mære is available to mark same-day reference if necessary.

(545) Bariri,  n-e-n-aro Aitape.
      yesterday IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down Aitape
     ‘In the afternoon I will go to Aitape.’
If (545) were to be uttered at night, it would probably be referring to the following afternoon, or some other afternoon in the future. Likewise īri usually refers to ‘tomorrow’ in an irrealis clause, and just ‘morning’ in realis clauses. There is one word, tora ‘long ago’, that does not interact with the status marking; it always sets events as occurring back in time.

### 9.1.1 Irrealis in the past

Irrealis plays a large part in the interpretation of complex sentences and it is also found in various unreal modalities. For example, counterfactuals and obligation clauses are in irrealis, see Chapter 10 and §9.2.5, below.

However, in common with many other languages with a realis/irrealis distinction, straight declarative clauses can also be marked with irrealis, especially in texts describing procedures or habitual events (Blewett 1991; Bugenhagen 1994). This can be exemplified with reference to the following text extract. In the extract the speaker is talking about the various ways his ancestors used to catch fish, and how it is still done today. The story moves from realis to irrealis, even though it is all set in the present or past. Realis is used in the statement of fact: in this particular fishing technique women made coconut-leaf fences and put traps at the opening. Irrealis is used when describing what could reasonably be expected to have happened during this activity.

(546)  

\[ Rā aro bōm. Aro bōm rēi. \]

one people woman people woman fence
‘One way is a women’s way. Women used a fence.

\[ Rēi=a k-ere-r-ā-Ø. \]

fence=PRM RL-3PL.F-3PL.F-make-3SG.F coconut leaf RL-3PL.F-3PL.F-make-3SG.F
‘They made a fence. They made it out of coconut leaves.

\[ ιye k-ere-r-ārāi-o kamo. \]

textile trap RL-3SG.F-3PL.F-throw-DOWN door
They put a trap at the opening of the fence.
Pi n-o-raiyo.
water IRR-3SG.F-shallow
The water would be shallow.

Bá n-e-p-aro n-e-no(p) iye
fish IRR-3P.PL.M-3P.PL.M-go.down IRR-3P.PL.M-(3P.PL.M)go.along woven.trap
The fish would go down and into the trap.

Ró n-e-p-e, n-ere-ko n-ere-bere poro.
mouth IRR-3P.PL.M-3P.PL.M-fill IRR-3P.PL.F-get.SGO IRR-3P.PL.F-pour canoe

When they had filled it the women would pick it up and pour (them) into the canoe.
Iye pa n-ere-parata, bá n-e-bere poro, tāre
woven.trap bottom IRR-3P.PL.F-unstop fish IRR-3P.PL.M-pour canoe new
n-ere-r-ārāi-o vōva.
IRR-3P.PL.F-3P.PL.F-throw-DOWN again
They would unstop the bottom of the trap, the fish would come pouring out into the canoe, and they would do it all over again.' [CF-MN:01]

9.2 Non-declarative speech acts

This section discusses how different modalities are expressed in simple clauses.
Discussed here are: negation; interrogation; imperative and hortative/jussive and obligation.

9.2.1 Negation

There are two components for negation: the particle beya, which usually occurs after the subject (if the subject is not overt, the particle appears first in the clause); and the particle vai, which must appear after the verb, usually, but not necessarily, at the very end of the clause.

(547) Pū beya k-o-pūtu vai.
wind NEG RL-3SG.F-blow POL
'The wind isn’t blowing.’

The clause-final particle is not confined to negative clauses, it is also optionally found at the ends of polar interrogative clauses, where it functions as a kind of tag
For this reason the two negation particles will be glossed as two separate morphemes rather than as discontinuous negation: *beya* will be glossed as NEGation, and *vai* will be glossed as POLarity. The realis/irrealis marking does not interact with negation in simple clauses. Negative clauses in Barupu appear with the prefix that the corresponding affirmative would take.

(548) **Beya k-e-rívó-p-o-a vai.**

   NEG  RL-3PL.M-hear-AG-GIVE-3SG.M POL

   ‘They didn’t hear him.’ [ANR-MN:01]

(549) ... *beya n-a-i(r)i-n vai.*

   NEG  IRR-3SG.M-(3SG.M)bite-1SG.F POL

   ‘... it won’t bite me.’ [C-MW:03]

The negation particle usually appears after subject NPs and has scope over the whole clause. Example (550) shows the particle appearing after the subject NP *aro buso* ‘white people’.

(550) **Aro buso beya k-e-k6(p)e prumo vai.**

   people white NEG  RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)go.up many  POL

   ‘White people didn’t come in great numbers.’ [TP-MN:01]

When the subject is not overt, as in example (551), the particle appears first in the clause.

(551) **Beya ne n-o-p-ĕri vai.**

   NEG  dry.coconut IRR-2PL.M-2PL.M-break.open POL

   ‘Don’t break open coconuts.’ [DICT-FW:01]

The following example shows the negation particle appearing after an external topic.

(552) **Biá maiki., beya n-o-no(m)i-nâ-kaî, i révá vai.**

   person small  NEG  IRR-2SG.F-(2SG.F)go-APPL-3SG.M shoot bone POL

   ‘A child, don’t take him to the bony shoots (of a palm tree).’ [DICT-FB:01]
Non-argument participants can be negated with the non-existential copular \textit{bāuni}. For example, (553) with clausal negation is, like the English gloss, ambiguous; it could also mean the person was hit but not with a stick,

\begin{align*}
(553) & \text{ Kuāni } \, ái=a \, \text{ beya } \, k-o-yé-\text{n}i \, \text{ vai.} \\
& \text{ mothertree=PRM NEG RL-3SG.F-hit-1SG.F POL} \\
& \text{ 'Mum didn't hit me with a stick.'}
\end{align*}

This ambiguity is shown clearly in (554):

\begin{align*}
(554) & \text{ Kuāni } \, ái=a \, \text{ beya } \, k-o-yé-\text{n}i \, \text{ vai, } \text{ éno } \text{ pón.} \\
& \text{ mothertree=PRM NEG RL-3SG.F-hit-1SG.F POL hand only} \\
& \text{ 'Mum didn't hit me with a stick, just her hand.'}
\end{align*}

It is possible, however, to specifically negate only the Instrument as opposed to the whole clause, with a construction using \textit{bāuni}. An example of this is given in (555).

\begin{align*}
(555) & \text{ Aka } \, ái \, \text{ bāuni } \, k-a-yé-u \, \text{ Kua Mó.} \\
& \text{ father tree not.be.at RL-3SG.M-fight-3SG.F AT mother} \\
& \text{ 'Father hit Mother, not with a stick.'}
\end{align*}

This example is no longer ambiguous; only the Instrument is negated. Example (556) shows an Event location being negated in this way. The fact that the true Event location \textit{yin} 'beach' is also mentioned suggests that the constituents made up of [X \textit{bāuni}] are not participants of the clause, but adjunctive to it.

\begin{align*}
(556) & \text{ Āi } \text{ béw}o \, k-o-kōe \, \text{ yin, } \text{ uka } \text{ bāuni.} \\
& \text{ tree DREF RL-3SG.F-go.up beach bush not.be} \\
& \text{ 'This tree grows at the beach, not in the bush.'}
\end{align*}

Although \textit{beya} usually appears after a subject NP, it is also found before it in a particular construction. In (557), below, the quantifier \textit{ra} is in a headless noun phrase, as described in §5.5. In both examples the quantifier modifies the subject of the clause, represented by pronominal marking on the verb. Both clauses are addressed to
a group of men. In (557a) the quantifier appears outside the scope of negation, meaning that one of the group will not go; in (557b) the quantifier appears inside the scope of negation and the reading is now that none of them will go.\footnote{There are no examples in the data of this construction with full NPs.}

(557) a) \textit{Ra beya n-amá-ute vai.}  
one NEG IRR-2SG.M-walk POL  
‘One of you will not go.’

b) \textit{Beya ra n-amá-ute vai.}  
NEG one IRR-2SG.M-walk POL  
‘Not one of you will go.’

There are two ways to mark negation on verbless clauses: first with the non-argument negation \textit{bűuni}, which is the preferred method, as shown in (558).

(558) \textit{Ora bé není bűuni.}  
house DPROX 1SG.F no  
‘This house is not mine.’

The second way is with clausal negation \textit{beya ... vai}, as shown in (559). This strategy is acceptable but it is not the first response in elicitation.

(559) \textit{Ora bé beya není vai.}  
house DPROX NEG 1SG.F POL  
‘This house is not mine.’

Speakers can indicate irrealis in verbless clauses with the optional use of the hypothetical/evidential demonstrative \textit{éro}.

(560) \textit{Éro bűuni!}  
DIRR no  
‘Not there!’ (i.e. Don’t put it there.)

The other functions of this demonstrative were described in §5.4.
9.2.2 Content interrogation

There are three simple content interrogatives: *arâpe* ‘what’; *nâpe* ‘who’ and *rô(pe)* ‘where’, and a complex interrogative *be*ka *rô(pe)* (like where) ‘how, how much’.

The simple interrogatives function pronominally and there is no special word order associated with questions; they replace the questioned participant in situ. The pair in (561) show the questioning of the secondary object argument *ôi* ‘sago’.

(561) a) *Ôi* k-ere-râivî.
    sago RL-3PL.F-cook
    ‘Women are cooking sago.’

b) *Arâpe* k-ere-râivî?
    what RL-3PL.F-cook
    ‘What are they cooking?’

The above examples involve secondary object arguments that are not marked on the verb. The pair in (562), below, show questioning of a primary object. In these constructions the questioned argument must also be represented on the verb and since verb agreement is specific about number and gender, the question arises as to which suffix to use to mark an unknown participant on the verb. At least part of the decision, when the questioned argument is the object, must rely on presupposition or partial knowledge of likely participants.

(562) a) *Cha* Charlie k-o-m-yê-ya.
    AT PN RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-hit-3SG.M
    ‘You hit Charlie.’

b) *Nâpe* k-o-m-yê-ya?
    who RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-hit-3SG.M
    ‘Who did you hit?’

When the questioned argument is the subject as in (563) below, it is sometimes easy enough to choose the gender of the questioned argument by virtue of the

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4The locative *rô* sometimes appears as *rôpe*. When *nâpe* and *arâpe* are used as interjections (like ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ meaning ‘can you repeat what you just said?’) they appear as *nà* and *a*rdâ respectively. This indicates that there was probably a morpheme *-pe* at one point but it seems to have lost its productivity.
semantics of the verb; a verb like ‘hit’ is more likely to have a masculine subject (563a), while a verb like ‘cook’ is more likely to have a feminine subject (563b).

(563)  

\begin{enumerate}[a)]  
\item \textit{Nâpe k-a-yê-mu?}  
who RL-3SG.M-hit-2SG.F  
‘Who\textsubscript{M} hit you?’  
\item \textit{Nâpe k-o-râivi?}  
who RL-3SG.F-fry  
‘Who\textsubscript{F} is cooking?’
\end{enumerate}

However, it is not clear what governs the choice on verbs which are gender-neutral like -\textit{noi} ‘go along’.

The pair in (564) show the questioning of the post-verbal locative argument with \textit{rô(pe)}.

(564)  

\begin{enumerate}[a)]  
\item \textit{N-o-m-aro Aitape.}  
IRR-2SG.F-2SG.F-go.down Aitape  
‘You will be going down to Aitape.’  
\item \textit{N-o-m-aro \textit{rô}?}  
IRR-2SG.F-2SG.F-walk where  
‘Where will you be going?’
\end{enumerate}

In the following example the question word is a post-verbal added object.

(565) \textit{K-a-m-ere-m-ô-ô arâpe?}  
RL-2SG.M-2SG.M-like-AG-REG-3SG.F what  
‘What do you want?’ [TP-MN:01]

It is also possible to use these words to modify other nouns.

(566) \textit{Biô nâpe k-a-yê-ma?}  
person who RL-3SG.M-hit-2SG.M  
‘Which man hit you?’

(567) \textit{K-om-iniá ôro rôpe?}  
RL-2SG.F-sleep house where  
‘Which house do you sleep in?’

\footnote{This question can not be answered by looking at narrated texts, since the narrator knows the gender of all the participants.}
There is also an optional sentence-initial particle to which can be found at the very beginning of a question containing an interrogative, as in the following.

(568)  
*To arâpe k-o-m-á?*

CQ what  RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-do  
‘What are you doing?’

This particle has the function of forewarning that the clause is a question. The particle can be separated from the question word: e.g. *To mêmá arâpe k-a-m-á bé* (CQ 2SG.M what RL-2SG.M-2SG.M-do DPROX) ‘What are you smoking?’ Interrogative pronouns also have a part to play in a sub-type of polar question, described below.

The examples in (569) show content questioning in verbless clauses. Example (569a) shows a simple verbless clause; example (569b) shows its interrogative equivalent.

(569)  
a)  
*[Bió méntan aka bère]* Barupu.

peson small  real DDIST PLN
‘That very small child is from Barupu.’

b)  
*[Bió méntan aka bère]* rôpe?

peson small  real DDIST where
‘Where is that very small child from?’  (‘Who is that child?’)

There is no dedicated question word to mean something like ‘why’. Instead a circumlocution like the following is generally employed.

(570)  
*Arâpe k-o-m-á  ta  ine pé=va*

what  RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-do REAS eye water=PRM  
*k-or-o-m-bere-tá-na.*

RL-3SG.F-BEN-2SG.F-fall-ON-1SG.M

‘Why are you crying on me?’
What did you do so now you are crying?  [NSC1-CA.03]

Similarly there is no dedicated question word meaning something like ‘how’. Instead there is a construction *beka rô(pe)* literally ‘like where’ that appears post-verbally.
(571)  \textit{Taveke pē k-o-kae \textit{beka rōpe}?} \\
\hspace{1cm} tobacco leaf RL-3SG.F-come like where \hspace{1cm} ‘How did we get tobacco?’ [TP-MN:01]

\textit{Beka rō} can also be used as an interjection to mean ‘how much’. For example, at a market you could hold up an item and ask \textit{Beka rōpe}? ‘How much?’

9.2.3 Polar interrogation

There are two types of polar question, introduced by two different particles \textit{tara} and \textit{era}. In questions introduced by \textit{tara}, speakers are asking for the hearer’s opinion as to the likelihood of the event taking place. This type of question can only be used for irrealis-marked events.

(572)  \textit{Tara á n-u-ai?} \\
\hspace{1cm} IPQ rain IRR-3SG.F-rain \hspace{1cm} ‘Do you think it will rain?’

Another use for this particle is in talking about potential. It is used as a sort of rhetorical question to express doubt about what might happen.

(573)  \textit{Tara n-e-kē(n)i kān vai?} \\
\hspace{1cm} IPQ IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit tree.sp POL \hspace{1cm} ‘Will I sit in the \textit{kan} tree?’ [FF2-CA:03]

In the second type of polar question the speaker expects that there is a yes or no answer and that the addressee knows it. Polar questions introduced by \textit{era} receive the same marking they would have in declarative form.

(574)  a)  \textit{Era k-o-m-aro \textit{Aitape}?} \\
\hspace{1cm} PQ RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-go.down Aitape \hspace{1cm} ‘Did you go to Aitape?’ ‘Are you going to Aitape?’

b)  \textit{Era n-o-m-aro \textit{Aitape}?} \\
\hspace{1cm} PQ IRR-2SG.F-2SG.F-go.down Aitape \hspace{1cm} ‘Will you be going to Aitape?’
Questions introduced by *tara* and *era* can both appear with *vai* at the end of the clause. It seems to be used as a tag to indicate that the speaker expects an affirmative answer — for example, you might be asked (575b) if someone met you on the road to Aitape — but this needs more investigation. Note that it is present in the rhetorical question in (573), above.

(575) a) *Uri, tara á n-u-ai vai?*
   tomorrow IPQ rain IRR-3SG.F-rain POL
   ‘It might rain tomorrow, mightn’t it?’

   b) *Era k-o-m-aro Aitape vai?*
   PQ RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-go.down Aitape POL
   ‘You’re going to Aitape, aren’t you?’

The two particles *era* and *vai* can be used together as an interjection: *Era vai?*

‘Is that so?’

The following examples show polar questioning on a verbless clause.

(576) a) *Biá bérre Barupu.*
   person DDIST Barupu
   ‘He is a Barupu man.’

   b) *Era biá bérre Barupu vai?*
   PQ person DDIST PLN POL
   ‘Is that man from Barupu?’

In *era* polar interrogatives and content interrogatives, the status marking is the same as if it were declarative. However, as in negatives, irreality in interrogatives can be instantiated with the use of the hypothetical/evidential demonstrative *éro*.

(577) a) *Ei! Nâte k-â-irai aniania nêná k-o-p-u=éro?*
   excl who RL-3SG.M-speak fruit 1SG.M RL-2PL.M-2PL.M-pick=DIRR
   ‘Hey! Who said you could pick my fruit here?’ [ANR-MN:01]

   b) *Era rau=éro?*
   PQ pig=DIRR
   ‘Is this a pig?’

Although the example in (577a) is formally a content question, its function is polar. There are no generic nouns like ‘someone’, ‘anyone’, so an interrogative
pronoun can also function in a polar question — example (577a) is effectively asking ‘Did someone tell you you could come and eat my fruit?’.

9.2.4 Imperative and hortative/jussive

The only information needed to form an imperative is irrealis marking and second person subject marking.

(578) \( Pi \ m-a-ni(m)i. \)
- water IRR-2SG.M-(2SG.M)wash
- ‘Wash!’

This clause is formally identical to ‘You will wash’.

The following example shows the hortative/jussive. It is formed with 1DU or 1PL subject agreement and irrealis marking.

(579) \( N-epi-no(p)i. \)
- IRR-IDU-(1DU)go
- ‘Let’s go.’

Again this is formally identical to ‘We two will go’.

9.2.5 biaka

This particle appears immediately after the subject, but if the subject is not overt it is found at the beginning of the clause. Biaka is only found in irrealis marked clauses set in past time — it always indicates a counterfactual: certain events did not take place, and because of this, something bad happened.

In the following examples, the parts of the glosses enclosed in parentheses are explanations given by speakers of plausible contexts in which the clauses might be uttered. In example (580) the subject NP is not present and biaka appears at the beginning of the clause.

(580) \( Biaka \ kanro \ n-e-n-ikoko. \)
- OBLG shoe IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)wear
- ‘I should have worn shoes.’ (to avoid mimosa cuts)
As mentioned above, *biaka* indicates a counterfactual. It cannot be used to talk about the future; there is no dedicated way of doing this. The following example is grammatical, but not with the translation intended. It can only mean ‘In the morning you should have only spoken Barupu to her’.

(581) Īri *biaka* pōkō Barupu pōn n-ōpu-īrai-p-o-e.
    tomorrow OBLG neck PLN only IRR-2PL.M-speak-AG-GIVE-3SG.F
    (‘*Tomorrow, you should only speak Barupu to her.*’)

Clauses containing *biaka* are negated with clausal negation. The negation particle follows *biaka*. In the following example, the event of sitting in the sun did take place, but the verb is marked with irrealis because the event of ‘not sitting in the sun’ did not.

(582) Bariri, nēni *biaka* beya n-e-ḳê(n)i-n-o-a uma vai.
    yesterday ISG.F OBLG NEG IRR-ISG.F-(ISG.F)sit-AG-GIVE-3SG.M sun POL
    ‘Yesterday, I should have not sat in the sun.’ (because I got sunburnt.)

The examples in this section are all elicited; this particle does not appear once in the data. Textual examples would give a fuller understanding of how this particle works.

9.3 Aspect

Aspect is not obligatorily marked on every verb in Barupu. Instead, aspectual information is imparted through derivational morphology or other analytic means. The first strategy to be discussed here is reduplication (§9.3.1). Following that are descriptions of the aspectual meanings that can be made with: an incorporated directional (§9.3.2 & §9.3.3); verb combinations (§9.3.4); aspectual particles (§9.3.5 & §9.3.6) and a temporal (§9.3.7).
9.3.1 Reduplication — iterative

The main use of reduplication on non-adjectival verbs is to indicate iterativity. It thus only appears on bounded events. Duration of unbounded events is a separate category that is not marked by reduplication. On adjectival verbs, reduplication indicates more of the property (see Chapters 4 & 5). This section discusses only the aspectual uses of reduplication.

Reduplication takes the first two syllables of the root and prefixes them to the root, unless the first two syllables of the root are identical, in which case only one of the syllables is reduplicated (see Chapter 2). Both of the following two clauses are taken from a recorded oral text about a flying fox. The clause in (583) is accompanied by a sound effect — someone claps their hands to imitate the sound of repeated flapping. The phonological characteristics of reduplication were discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

(583) \textit{P}=\textit{va k-o-p\textit{a}pan-p\textit{a}pan.} \quad\textit{wing}^{\text{PRM RL-3SG.F-REDup-flap}} \quad\text{‘She flapped her wings.’} [\text{U-EM:01}]

In (584) the verb \textit{rero} is reduplicated to indicate that the subject swung back and forth repeatedly.

(584) \textit{K-o-rero-rero-n\textit{a}-\textit{o}.} \quad\text{RL-3PL.M-REDUP-swing-APPL-3SG.F} \quad\text{‘She swung back and forth with it.’} [\text{U-EM:01}]

The next example is about squeezing yellow dye out of mango leaves to make paint.

(585) \textit{N-em-t\textit{\text{o}}-t\textit{oi n-e-m-aro nentako roi t\textit{a}}} \quad\text{IRR-1PL-REDUP-rinse IRR-1PL-1PL-go.down coconut.shell kina skin} \quad\text{‘We squeeze it repeatedly down into the coconut shell or kina shell.’} [\text{P-MG:03}]

As discussed in Chapter 7, vowel-initial verbs, except those belonging to Class II, cannot be reduplicated because the reduplicated element must be at least CV and
verbs in these two classes cannot include any inflectional material in the reduplicant. In these cases, the whole inflected verb is repeated. For example, in (587) the vowel-initial verb -irō ‘fell’ cannot be reduplicated, instead the whole verb is repeated.

(586) Kiro kiro kironāu.
    k-e-irō k-e-irō k-e-irō-nā-u
    RL-3PL.M-fell RL-3PL.M-fell RL-3PL.M-fell-APPL-3SG.F
    ‘They chopped and chopped at the tree with her in it.’ [FF2-CA:03]

Another way to mark iterativity on a verb like this is to reduplicate a participant-adding morpheme:

(587) Kiropapi papi.
    k-e-irō-papi-p-a(p)i-ø
    RL-3PL.M-fell-REDUP-AG-(3PL.M)SRND-3SG.F
    ‘They chopped all around her.’ [FF2-CA:03]

Vowel-initial Class II verbs can reduplicate because the prefixing consonant can be part of the reduplicant, as discussed in Chapter 3.

(588) Ōi k-e-paka-p-aka
    sago RL-3PL.M-REDUP-3PL.M-pound.sago
    ‘They pounded and pounded sago.’ [SM:03]

In the above example the secondary object of -aka ‘pound sago’ is ōi ‘sago’; ōi is a mass noun so the iterativity is in the act of pounding the same sago. When a secondary object is a count noun such as ruati ‘cane’ as in the next example, a side effect of reduplication marking iterativity is that it can also indicate plurality of arguments that otherwise wouldn’t have any instantiation of grammatical number.

    cane real IRR-3PL.M-whittle cane real IRR-3PL.M-REDUP-whittle
    ‘They whittle out (a) cane/s. They whittle out canes.’ [DC-MM:03]

The most common verbs to undergo reduplication describe events which are bounded punctual events like ‘flap’, ‘drip’ and ‘swing upside down’. There is one
example in the data of reduplication on a motion verb (590), but rather than indicating duration, the effect of reduplication is to make the motion event bounded. In (590) the speaker uses reduplication to indicate that 'she kept running away and coming back again'; a series of accomplishments rather than a single durative event. The serialised verb \textit{k-o-noi}, indicates that the same series of actions were repeated over a long period of time, see below.

(590) \textit{K-o-re-r-e k-o-noi.}  
\textit{RL-3SG.F-REDUP-3SG.F-go RL-3SG.F-go}  
'She ran back and forth for a long time.' [FF2-CA:03]

\begin{quote}
Manner of motion verbs that involve separate bounded events can reduplicate. For example, the verb \textit{-tā} 'paddle' in (591) is reduplicated. Arguably this is possible because paddling involves a series of repetitions of putting the oar in the water, stroking and pulling it out again.
\end{quote}

(591) ... \textit{ya kope tāre k-emi-tā-tā vōva.}  
\textit{and then new RL-1PL-REDUP-paddle again}  
‘... and then we’ll paddle and paddle again.’ [P-MB:03]

\begin{quote}
Reduplication can also mark distributive aspect, which here marks multiple occurrences of the same kind of action carried out by different subjects. Example (592) is from the dictionary and is part of a definition for a certain type of tree.
\end{quote}

(592) \textit{K-ere-tumu-tumó.}  
\textit{RL-3PL.F-REDUP-grow.wild}  
‘They grow wild.’ [DICT-PB:01]

\begin{quote}
Although here the subject is plural anyway, speakers explained that this clause specifically focusses on the fact that these trees self-germinate and spring up all the time, all over the place.
\end{quote}
### 9.3.2 -kie — ‘for a while’

A durative verb can appear with the AWAY morpheme -kie — to indicate that the action happened or is happening for a short time. As described in §7.2.2, this morpheme is probably derived from a Class III verb and therefore it optionally takes a consonant infix which indexes the subject of the verb.

(593) *Boki bió kúro k-o-kéi-kí(r)é.*

flying.fox person deep RL-3SG.F-sit-(AG)AWAY

‘The demon flying fox sat for a little while.’ [U-EM:01]

The following example shows that -kie can also appear without the final syllable, in which case it no longer takes agreement. Speakers do not recognise a specific meaning difference between when the final syllable is there and when it is not, beyond describing it as ‘shortening’ or ‘pulling out’ the words for emphatic effect.

(594) *Rau k-eni-mama-i-kí bó kope n-en-úte bāru.*

pig RL-1SG.F-look.after-3PL.M-AWAY first then 1RR-1SG.F-walk return

‘I’m just seeing to these pigs for a bit first, then I’ll return home.’

It is not always possible to distinguish this use from the directional AWAY use. For example, *n-o-rō(m)i-ki* (IRR-2SG.F-(2SG.F)stand-AWAY) could mean ‘stand aside’ or ‘stand for a little while’.

### 9.3.3 -kie-na — exhaustive

With the addition of another morpheme -na, the ‘for a while’ construction indicates that something has been done to completion. On a transitive verb this usually indicates that something has been completely affected to the extent that there is nothing left of it.

(595) *Uram=a k-ō-r-ó-kí(n)é-na.*

fruit.sp=PRM RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-eat-(AG)AWAY-EXTV

‘She ate all the uram fruit.’ [FF2-CA:03]
It can also be used on intransitive verbs with plural subjects.

\[(596)\quad K-e-rai(p)u-kí-na.\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{RL-3PL.M-}\langle 3\text{PL.M}\rangle \text{go.single.file-\textsc{away}-\textsc{extv} village empty only RL-3SG.F-be.at}
\end{array}
\]
‘They all left in single file. Only an empty village remained.’ [U-EM:01]

In this way, this morpheme modifies absolutive arguments; P and S. As the examples show, the -kie part of the morpheme can appear with infixing agreement, as in (595), or without, as in (596).

9.3.4 Verb + ‘go along’ — ‘for quite a while’

Verbs can be combined with the verb -noi ‘go along’ to indicate that an action happens over a long period of time. The verb -noi is always inflected for 3SG.F.

\[(597)\quad K-e-re-ð(p)á k-e-re-ð(p)á k-o-noi k-o-noi k-o-noi.\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{RL-3DU-}\langle 3\text{DU}\rangle \text{fight RL-3DU-}\langle 3\text{DU}\rangle \text{fight RL-3SG.F-go RL-3SG.F-go RL-3SG.F-go}
\end{array}
\]
‘They fought and fought for a long time.’ [U-EM:01]

As the above example shows, both verbs can be repeated. Each verb can be said a maximum of three times. This construction comes with special intonation where the pitch rises and reaches a crescendo at the end.

9.3.5 nia — persistive

The particle nia can indicate ‘often’, or ‘still’. It always appears directly before the verb.

\[(598)\quad Bió maumau=\textsc{a ito=va nia k-e-ko-i-na}\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{person many=PRM taro=PRM often RL-3PL.M-get-w\textsc{ith}-1SG.M}
\end{array}
\]
‘Many people often bought taro from me. ‘People kept on buying taro from me.’ [DICT-PB:01]

\[(599)\quad Nó nia k-o-bere.\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{blood still RL-3SG.F-drip}
\end{array}
\]
‘Blood was still dripping.’ [U-EM:01]
9.3.6 **báuni** — constrastive persistive

Persistent events can also be marked with the negative existential **báuni** ‘not be’, which, when it is performing this function, always appears uninflected. The persistive construction using **báuni** differs from the one only using **nia** in that it conveys a sense of contrast; it seems to be used when countering a possible supposition that something has been completed. For example, (600) came up in a conversation with a speaker about whether we had transcribed all his stories yet.

(600) **Riëmpin** **báuni** k-u-śniá.
\[\text{two not.be RL-3SG.F-be.at}\]
\[\text{‘There are two left.’}\]

The two persistives, **báuni** and **nia**, can both appear in the same clause, as shown in 601; **báuni** counters the supposition that the speaker might be finished, and **nia** supplies further persistive information.

(601) **Nëni** **báuni** akorom **nia** k-ë-n-á
\[\text{1SG.F not.be food still RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-eat}\]
\[\text{‘I’m still eating.’}\]

Persistive **báuni** is also often heard with the intensifier suffix *-ke* — e.g. **báun-ke!** as an interjection meaning ‘not yet’.

9.3.7 **bëni** — perfect

The final aspectual distinction to be discussed here is perfect. The temporal word **bëni** ‘already’ indicates that the action has, had or will have taken place at a relevant other time, and so can appear in present, past and future time settings. Unlike **nia** and **báuni**, this word appears after the verb, usually at the very end of the clause. It is optionally heard without the final vowel, under the rule of high vowel deletion after a nasal. Example (602) shows the use of this word in present time.
(602) \textit{K-en-yârâ bêni.}
\textit{RL-1SG.F-know already}
'I already know.' (I have understood.)

Example (603) shows this in a past time setting.

(603) \textit{A bé ám=a k-â-irai-r-o-o émo k-o-r-â}
\textit{thing DPROX man=PRM RL-3SG.M-say-AG-GIVE-3SG.F DREF RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-do bên.}
already
'She had done what her husband told her to do.' \cite{ANR-MN:01}

Example (604) shows \textit{bêni} in a future time setting, indicating that the person will have already left by the relevant other time.

(604) \textit{N-en-ûte bên.}
\textit{IRR-1SG.F-walk already}
'I will have gone (by then).
Chapter 10

Complex sentences

There are no special subordinate verb forms in Barupu. Infinitives do not play a role in complex sentence formation. This is not typologically unusual; Evans and Sasse (2002:9) note ‘the lack or weak development of subordinate constructions in polysynthetic languages, especially the paucity or total absence of non-finite constructions’.¹

Instead, complement clauses in Barupu are linked via parataxis, defined by Palmer (2001:200) as ‘the juxtaposition of two sentences, though with, potentially, a subordinate relationship between them, and typically lacking a conjunction to mark that ... relationship’. There is also one complementiser: beka ‘like’.

Otherwise, clauses are simply coordinated with or without conjunctions. Coordinated clauses can have the same status marking, in which case they are usually describing simultaneous or sequential events, or alternatively one clause is interpretable as modifying the other, i.e. one of the clauses is in an adverbial relationship to the other. When two coordinated clauses have different status marking, they are no longer interpretable as simultaneous or sequential, only the

¹They cite Yimas from Papua New Guinea (Foley 1991) and Rembarngga from Australia (Nordlinger and Saulwick 2002) as exceptions. These are both polysynthetic languages with infinitives.
adverbial relationship pertains. The formal structure is the same, but for ease of exposition, I divide discussion of coordination into two parts — simultaneous and sequential coordination (§10.2), and adverbial coordination (§10.3).

10.1 Complements


Formal characteristics of parataxis in Barupu are that grouped clauses can appear together inside discontinuous negation or the complement clause can be independently negated, and they are typically produced under the same intonation contour. One heuristic I have used to identify complementation in Barupu is that if bilingual speakers use an English complement structure in a translation of a stretch of Barupu text, then I take that to be evidence of complexity in Barupu.²

10.1.1 Immediate perception

The immediate perception predicates -yará ‘see’ and -rlivó ‘hear’ take paratactic clausal complements. Clauses which describe perceived actions or states follow the perception verb. This is shown in examples (605) - (607). The verb in the perception clause, -yará ‘see’, takes obligatory suffixing object inflection that is co-referential with the subject of the second clause.

(605) K-en-yará-ká k-a-ukoru ...
RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.M RL-3SG.M-crouch
'I see him crouching ...' [C-MW:03]

²See Mithun (1984:494) for a similar approach.
(606) K-a-yārā-ø mō tō parā k-or-u-øro
RL-3SG.M-see-3SG.F mother breast side RL-3SG.F-BEN.3SG.F-cut
k-o-r-ere-ki.
RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-put-AWAY

‘He saw her cut off one of the mother’s breasts and put it to one side.’
[U-EM:01]

(607) N-ama-yarā-i Cha Vava, Cha Mō n-e-ka(p)e
IRR-2SG.M-see-3pL.M AT uncle AT namesake IRR-3pL.M-(3pL.M)come
n-e-rō(p)i
IRR-3pL.M-(3pL.M)stand

‘You will see Uncle and Namesake come and stand .. .’ [NSC1-CA:03]

As Mithun (1984:495) points out, constructions like this in polysynthetic
languages are ‘somewhat like the results of raising in English’. There is no non-raised
alternative in Barupu — i.e. the verb always takes object suffixing — so there is no
motivation for positing a productive process of raising.

In the example (607), above, from a spoken source, the NP representing the
argument that is shared between the two clauses as the object of the first clause and
the subject of the second (Cha Vava, Cha Mō ‘Uncle and Namesake’) appears after
the perception verb and seemingly belongs to the second clause. Interestingly, in
almost all the written examples of these constructions, the shared NP appears before
the perception verb and seemingly belongs to the first clause. The following
examples are taken from the dictionary and were written by various speakers as
example sentences for various words. The shared argument NPs are in bold type.

(608) Bariri roro Cha Torna bid Iīv6 k-a-yarii-M
yesterday night AT PN person nose RL-3SG.M-see-3SG.M
k-a-puru(r)ø oro ya Cha Vava Pai.
RL-3SG.M-(3SG.M)hide house 3SG.M AT uncle PN

‘Last night Toma saw a magician hiding around uncle Pai’s house.’
[DICT-PW:01]

(609) Rumāiro k-en-yārā-ø k-o-kēi-tā-ø āi pako.
bird.of.paradise RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.F RL-3SG.F-sit-ON-3SG.F tree big
‘I saw a bird of paradise sitting on a big tree.’ [DICT-MF:01]
Speakers translate both the written and spoken constructions with complement clauses in English, and there does not seem to be a meaning difference. Instead, there appears to be a difference in the spoken and written language. More investigation is needed into this interesting area.

A question arises as to the clause-membership of the shared argument in the spoken construction. In the written examples, the shared argument is clearly the object of the perception clause. In the spoken examples, however, it appears to be the subject of the complement clause.

According to Noonan (1985:77), a ‘criterial characteristic’ of paratactic complementation is that ‘only the first verb ... can have an overt subject NP’. In order for the examples above to count as parataxis under Noonan’s definition, the NP Cha Vava, Cha Mô must function syntactically as the object of the first clause and not the subject of the second.

The first problem with this criterion for Barupu is that the NP is in the wrong position to be the object of the first verb, but, as discussed in §6.4.1, objects can appear after the verb if they are marked by a suffix and the whole event is old information, so this is not conclusive.

A major problem with analysing the intervening NP in the spoken clauses as the object of the first clause is that the information structure clitic, =(_v)a, can appear on this NP. This is shown in example (610). This clitic can never appear on post-verbal NPs so the only conclusion is that this is not a post-verbal primary object of the first clause but the subject of the second.

(610) K-o-yarä-kä  ám=a  mônrai  k-a-tít-i-r-i-i
   RL-3SG.F-see-3SG.M husband=PRM singsing RL-3SG.M-dance-AG-WITH-3PL.M
  yéi  ...
  3PL.M
‘She saw the husband dancing with them ...’ [U-EM:01]
Hence, either this construction in Barupu is not paratactic complementation, in which case it is simply another kind of coordination, or the definition of paratactic complementation must be expanded to include examples such as these.

There is a complementiser, *beka* ‘like’, that can optionally appear between a clause and its complement:

(611) K-en-yarâ-kâ    beka âm=a    mônrai k-a-titi.
    RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.M like husband=PRM singsing RL-3SG.M-dance
    ‘I saw your husband dancing.’

As mentioned above, paratactic clauses can appear together inside discontinuous negation. An example of discontinuous negation is given in (612).

(612) Beya k-en-yrâ-kâ    mà bo=va    k-a-tâura    vai.
    NEG RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.M child place=PRM RL-3SG.M-mow POL
    ‘I didn’t see the child cutting grass.’

As discussed in the previous chapter, one of the factors formally distinguishing parataxis from verb serialisation is that, in parataxis, there is also the option of only negating the complement clause, as in (613).

(613) K-en-yarâ-kâ    mà beya bo    k-a-tâura    vai.
    RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.M child NEG place RL-3SG.M-mow POL
    ‘I saw the child not cutting grass.’

If only the *first* clause is negated, however, the relationship between the two clauses is lost (i.e. speakers translate them into English as separate sentences). This is shown in (614).

(614) Beya k-en-yrâ-kâ    vai.    Bo    k-a-tâura.
    NEG RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.M POL place RL-3SG.M-mow
    ‘I didn’t see him. He is cutting grass.’

The verb *-rîvô* ‘hear’ behaves similarly to *-yârâ* ‘see’ except that this verb takes an added object that is co-referential with the subject of the second clause. In example (615) the added object is *mevôva* ‘children’. This is cross-referenced as a
3PL.M added object on the participant-adding morpheme, -o, and the 3PL.M subject of the second verb.

(615) $k-a-rívó-ká-r-o-i$ mevóva ero $k-e-p-u$
RL-3SG.M-hear-TOWARD-AG-GIVE-3PL.M children noise RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-pick.
DPROX
‘He heard the children making noise.’ [ANR-MN:01]

Another example of a shared NP $maintópa$ ‘flying fox’ follows.

(616) $Má$ táita! $K-en-rívó-n-o-o$ $maintópa$ $k-o-yé-o$
AT.VOC father RL-1SG.F-hear-AG-GIVE-3SG.F flying.fox RL-3SG.F-fight-3SG.F
Kua Mán.’
AT mother
‘Dad! I heard a flying fox kill mum.’ [FF2-CA:03]

In these cases the shared NPs, mevóva and $maintópa$, are post-verbal and thus in the canonical position for added objects; there are no examples of the prominence clitic appearing on these arguments.

10.1.2 Cognition

The verb -itóro ‘think’ can be transitive but only with a secondary object. That is, this verb does not take object suffixing, arguably because abstract thought is not individuated. For example:

(617) $A$ $k-a-r-itóro.$
something RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-think
‘He thought something.’

This verb can also be used intransitively or take a paratactic complement clause. When the verb is referring to what someone thinks might happen, it takes an irrealis complement, as shown in examples (618) & (619). These examples also show another of the differences between parataxis and verb serialisation: the two verbs in a serial construction must have the same status marking.
(618) **K-o-r-itaro**  

* n-o-noi-ro  

* ke  

* tiro  

RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-think IRR-3SG.F-go.along-SHORT PURP2 secretion  

**n-o-tiro**  

* kikom.  

IRR-3SG.F-secrete mangrove  

'She thought she might be going a short way to urinate in the mangrove.'  

[NS-MM:03]

(619) **K-e-p-itaro**  

* n-a-r-aro  

* be  

* rako  

* be.  

RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-think IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-go.down DPROX river DPROX.  

'They thought he might be paddling down here to this river.'  

[WM-MN:05]

This verb can also be used to talk about someone thinking about something that has just happened. In (620) it is followed by a realis clause.

(620) **Ya**  

* k-a-r-itaro**  

* arape**  

* pon**  

* k-o-rei-o-ta-ko.  

then RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-think what only RL-3SG.F-fall-DOWN-ON-3SG.M  

* K-a-yara-wo,  

* k-a-ko-ko,  

* k-a-peri-ké-θ.  

RL-3SG.M-see-3SG.F-DOWN RL-3SG.M-get.SGO-UP RL-3SG.M-stare-ADV-3SG.F  

'Then he wondered what fell on him. He looked down at it, picked (it) up and stared at it.'  

[FF1-MN:01]

There are also examples of this verb followed by nominals rather than a verbal clause, as shown in (621) and (622), but as I have tried to show in the English translations, these are best thought of as verbless nominal predicates rather than NPs.

(621) **K-e-p-itaro**  

* bió  

* kuro  

* mém Barupu.  

RL-3PL.M-3PL.M-think person buried 1PL PLN  

'They thought (he was a) dead Barupu ancestor.'  

[WM-MN:05]

The following example comes after a demon has been telling a woman to heat up a pot on the fire. The woman doesn’t know that the demon is intending to use the heated pot to burn the woman’s skin, she thinks the demon is giving her a sincere instruction.

(622) **Ya bió**  

* aka  

* k-o-r-itaro  

* au  

* aka.  

and person true RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-think something true  

‘And the person thought something true (was being requested).’  

[U-EM:01]
Another cognition verb is the verb -kina which can also be glossed as ‘think’; this verb can take a complement, as in the following example, but the difference between -kina and -itoro is that the complement of -kina is direct, rather than reported, thought.

(623) K-a-kina-kina 'a bê n-a-n-á beka rô ...
RL-3SG.M-REDUP-think thing DPROX IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-do like where ‘He was thinking over and over, “How will I do this ...”’ [FF2-CA:03]

This verb root also appears in a complex predicate with an adjunct nominal, ó ‘feeling, breath’ to form the complex predicate, ó -kina ‘remember’. The complex predicate can take an added object NP (see example (682), below) or it can take a paratactic complement, as in (624).

(624) Ó k-a-kina-ko(r)e tó k-a-ruworo-ke yaru bé.
feeling RL-3SG.M-think-(AG)UP breast RL-3SG.M-tuck.in-INTs sago.waste DPROX ‘He remembered he’d tucked the breast into the the sago waste.’ [FF1-MN:01]

The verb -yărâ is ambitransitive; when it is used transitively it means ‘see’ and can take an NP or clausal complement, as discussed above. When it is used intransitively it means ‘know’ or ‘believe (by deduction), reckon’. The intransitive verb can also appear followed by a clause it is semantically related to, but as the following example shows, the verb no longer takes object suffixing and the word beka ‘like’ links the two clauses.

(625) ... ya k-a-yărâ beka ating riëmpin pôn k-u-înîâ, riëmpin ra
and RL-3SG.M-reckon like MAYBE two only RL-3SG.F-be.at two one mōike 0 ...
one OR ‘... and he reckoned thus: there were maybe only two left, or three, or ...’ [FF2-CA:03]

Another use of this verb is with a partly cognitive sense.

(626) K-a-kôte ārî k-a-yărâ-o 0m ino k-o-kêi.
RL-3SG.M-go.up inside RL-3SG.M-see-3SG.F wife NOT RL-3SG.F-sit ‘He went inside and saw that his wife wasn’t there.’ [FF2-CA:03]
10.1.3 Utterance

The verb *îrai* is ambitransitive between a non-suffixing transitive verb meaning ‘tell, say, speak (languages)’ which can take a secondary object noun phrase that always precedes the verb or a direct or reported speech complement which follows the verb, and an intransitive verb meaning ‘speak’ that takes no secondary object but can appear with a complement clause introduced by *beka*.

There is only a small selection of nouns that are feasible secondary objects of the transitive -*îrai* (e.g. *a* ‘something’, *au îrai* ‘story’, *pôkô* ‘neck (=language), *anoku* ‘legend’). Noun complements of this verb are coded like other secondary objects—they appear before the verb but are not marked on the verb. This is shown in (627) and (628).

(627) *Anoku tora k-anâ-îrai.*
legend long.ago RL-1SG.M-tell
‘I’m telling a legend of long ago.’

(628) *K-a-n-å a n-anâ-îrai.*
RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want something IRR-1SG.M-say
‘I want to say something.’

Addressees are marked as added objects.

(629) *K-a-n-å a n-anâ-îrai-n-o-mu.*
RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want something IRR-1SG.M-say-AG-GIVE-2SG.F
‘I want to say something to you.’

This verb can also appear followed by direct speech.

(630) *K-u-îrai-r-o-a.*
RL-3SG.F-say-AG-GIVE-3SG.M
‘She said to him,

‘Bâuni, akiîri pôn k-ey-îniâ ekôkô.’
no stone only RL-3SG.F-be.at bilum
‘No, only stones are in the bilum.’ ’
Reported speech is almost always linked with beka.

(631) Cha Vava k-ā-irai beka,
AT PN RL-3SG.M-say like
‘Uncle said that

ura bé n-a-rei ya bo tāipó n-e-inia-nâ-mi.
moon DPROX IRR-3SG.M-fall then place bad.3SG.F IRR-3PL.M-initiate-APPL-1PL
when this moon falls they will initiate us.’

However, direct speech can also be preceded by beka. One analysis is that these examples reflect a stylistic choice to use the intransitive -irai plus beka instead of the transitive -irai plus direct-speech complement.

(632) K-i-ōro-wo(p)o k-u-irai beka,
RL-3PL.M-cut-(AG)DOWN RL-3SG.F-say like
‘They chopped and she spoke thus,

‘Ei! ro mô=va k-o-p-â n-ep-e-n-ōro
EXCL stomach mother=PRM RL-2PL.M-2PL.M-want IRR-2PL.M-BEN-1SG.F-cut
bé!’
DPROX
“Hey, you’re about to chop my stomach!”’ [FF2-CA:03]

(633) Ni=va kope k-ey-irai beka,
bee=PRM then RL-3PL.F-say like
‘The bees spoke thus,

‘Au aka n-om-irai.’
thing true IRR-2SG.F-tell
“Tell the truth!”’ [FF2-CA:03]

Another utterance verb is -tere ‘ask’, which also requires an added object addressee, as in (634).

(634) K-e-n-â a n-en-tere-n-o-mu.
RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-want something IRR-1SG.F-ask-AG-GIVE-2SG.F
‘I want to ask you something.’

In example (635) the verb is followed by direct speech.
Complex sentences

(635) Cha Menriri k-a-tere-r-o-a nākí.
AT PN RL-3SG.M-ask-AG-GIVE-3SG.M PN
Menriri asked the dog-spirit,
'To mēmā arāpe k-a-m-ā bé?'
so 2SG.M what RL-2SG.M-2SG.M-do DPROX
'So what are you smoking?' [TP-MN:01]

This verb can also take reported speech complements, without the use of beka.

(636) Bō ópu tāre k-o-tere-r-o-o bó
3SG.F female.grand.relation new RL-3SG.F-ask-AG-GIVE-3SG.F 3SG.F
n-o-noi-r-ō-ō ke arāpe n-ere-p-ā.
IRR-3SG.F-gO-AG-REG-3SG.F PURP what IRR-3DU-3DU-do
'The granddaughter asked her why they were going to the bush.' (she would go to the bush with her so that they could do what) [NS-MM:03]

The verb -viti 'blame' takes an addressee introduced with the adversative morpheme -kē. In the following example it is followed by direct speech. Since this verb otherwise only behaves intransitively -- i.e. it never appears with an NP object -- it doesn't appear with beka, and the two clauses appear under separate intonation contours. The two clauses in this example are better thought of as semantically or logically related but not grammatically so.

(637) Am=a k-a-viti-kē-ō.
husband-PRM RL-3SG.M-blame-ADV-3SG.F
'The husband blamed her.
'K-ana-vōvo-na toro mōmū awei=a unake
RL-1SG.M-sleep-1SG.M long 2SG.F meat=PRM alone
k-ō-m-ā-m-ē-nā-ke.'
RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-eat-AG-FROM-1SG.M-INTS
'I slept for a long time and you ate all the meat yourself.'"

10.1.4 Modals

Wanting and ability are expressed through apparently paratactic constructions — modal verbs followed by finite clauses. However, there is some evidence, discussed
below, that the two modal verbs ‘want’ and ‘can’ might be grammaticalising to auxiliaries. For example, neither has an irrealis form, and ‘can’ is frozen with 3SG.F subject inflection. The complements of these two verbs must be in irrealis because, semantically, events which are only wanted or possible are not real. Irrealis marking should not be taken as evidence of syntactic subordination.

Control and manipulation constructions use the verbs -irai ‘say’ or -a ‘make, want’. Permission constructions use the verb -in ‘let’. These verbs show no evidence of grammaticalisation and they have the same status marking as their complements. As with the other paratactic constructions, negation can surround either the second clause or both the modal and the complement, but it cannot surround only the clause containing the modal.

10.1.4.1 Wanting

The verb -a ‘make, want’ must always appear in realis and be followed by another clause. The verb in the second clause must appear in irrealis and the two clauses must share at least one argument. If there are no shared arguments, a different form must be used, as described below. If there is no shared argument and the second verb is marked with realis, then the interpretation is one of control causation (see §10.1.4.3).

An example of -a in its ‘want’ use is given in (638). In this example the shared argument is the subject. The subject of both verbs is 3SG.M.

(638) Rara k-a-ore-na-n-o. K-a-r-a-ke n-a-ute.  
road RL-3SG.M-search-REDUP-APPL-3SG.F RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-want-INTs IRR-3SG.M-walk  
‘He looked around for a road. He really wanted to get away.’ [FF2-CA:03]

Another example is given in (639). The shared argument in this example is the 2SG.F subject of the first verb and primary object of the second.
Example (640) shows the shared argument as a secondary object of the second clause.

(640) K-o-m-á n-é-n-á?
RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-want IRR-lSG.F-lSG.F-eat
‘Do you want me to eat you?’

The shared participant can also be an added object. In the following example the object of the participant-adding morpheme -0 GIVE is 2SG.F, and this is the same as the subject of ‘want’.

(641) K-o-m-á au ñrai n-en-ñrai-n-o-mu?
RL-2SG.F-2SG.F-want thing say IRR-lSG.F-tell-AG-GIVE-2SG.F
‘Do you want me to tell you a story?’

The identity between the two participants does not have to be absolute. The shared participant can be a member of a subset or superset of the agreement on ‘want’. In the following example the agreement on ‘want’ is 1SG.F, whereas the agreement on ‘walk’ is 1DU.

(642) K-e-n-á n-ëp-i-üte.
RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-want IRR-1DU-walk
‘I want us two to go.’

The main reason for arguing that this verb is defective and possibly grammaticalising into an auxiliary is that there is no irrealis form of ‘want’; (643) is ungrammatical. There is apparently no way of talking about the possibility of wanting something in the future.

(643) *Úri, n-ën-á n-e-no(n)i uka.
tomorrow IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-want IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)go bush
‘Tomorrow, I will want to go to the bush.’
It is possible to negate both the modal verb and the second clause by placing the regular negator *beya* before the modal verb and *vai* at the end of the complex sentence. This is shown in (644a). As with the perception construction, it is also possible, however, to negate only the second clause, by placing *beya* before the verb there and *vai* at the end, as shown in (644b). The explanations in parentheses were given by speakers to explain when the different strategies might be used.

(644)  

a)  

\[*\text{beya } k-a-n-\dot{a} \quad n-\dot{a}-n-\dot{a} \quad \text{vai.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{NEG} & \text{RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want} & \text{IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-eat} & \text{POL} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I don't want to eat it.' (I'm not hungry.)

b)  

\[K-a-n-\dot{a} \quad \text{beya } n-\dot{a}-n-\dot{a} \quad \text{vai.}\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want} & \text{NEG} & \text{IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-eat} & \text{POL} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I want to not eat it.'

(I never eat it. I don't like it or it's taboo for me to eat it.)

It is not possible to only negate the modal verb. Negation must surround both verbs or just the second verb.

(645)  

\[*\text{beya } k-e-n-\dot{a} \quad \text{vai } n-\dot{e}-n-\dot{a} .\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{NEG} & \text{RL-1SG.F-1SG.M-want} & \text{POL} & \text{IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-eat} \\
\end{array}
\]

Two common extensions for this modal are 'try' (646) and to indicate inceptive aspect (see 647 & 647, below). These are also common uses for *laik* 'want' in Tok Pisin.

(646)  

\[K-e-n-\dot{a} \quad \text{imo } n-e-n-\dot{a} .\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-want} & \text{armband} & \text{IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-make} \\
\end{array}
\]

'I'm trying to make an armband.'

Another reason for arguing that this verb might actually be grammaticalised and embedded into a main clause rather than truly paratactic, is that the object of the main clause quite regularly appears before the modal. This is shown in examples (647) and (648).
(647)  *Au irai k-a-n-å  n-anå-irai é.*  
thing say RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want IRR-1SG.M-say DPROX  
‘I’m going to tell the story now.’

(648)  *Chá=va k-o-p-å  n-ep-e-n-îro!*  
head=PRM RL-2PL.M-2PL.M-want IRR-2PL.M-BEN-1SG.F-cut  
‘You’re about to cut my head!’ [FF2-CA:03]

One argument might be that this is topicalisation, where the NPs *au irai* and *chá* are pre-posed to the whole complex sentence. However, more strikingly, the modal can intrude between an adjunct nominal and a verb, as in example (649), showing its inceptive use. In this example, *tô* ‘breast’ is the subject of the modal. The adjunct nominal *ê* ‘smell’ forms a complex predicate with the verb -*iria* ‘stink’. The modal verb intrudes between the elements of the complex predicate. Adjunct nominals cannot normally be left-dislocated and even if the adjunct nominal in the following example were left-dislocated, it should appear before the subject *tô*.

(649)  *Ya tô ê k-o-r-å  n-u-iria.*  
and breast smell RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-want IRR-3SG.F-stink  
‘Then the breast began to stink.’ [FF1-MN:01]

It therefore appears that the modal verb is embedded in the main clause, at least in these constructions.

As mentioned above, when there is no shared argument, a different verb, -*ere* ‘like, love’, must be used. Example (652) shows this verb with suffixing on the participant-adding <5 REGarding. The added object NP *yâ* 3SG.M is not obligatory.

(650)  *Ke-n-ere-n-ô-wa  yâ.*  
RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-like-AG-REG-3SG.M 3SG.M  
‘I love him.’ or ‘I want what he wants.’

In the next example the participant-adding morpheme takes zero 3SG.F agreement for the non-gender specific interrogative *arape* ‘what’.

(651)  *K-a-m-ere-m-ô-ô  arâpe?*  
IRR-2SG.M-2SG.M-like-AG-REG-3SG.F what  
‘What do you want?’ [TF-MN:01]
In the following example, the participant-adding morpheme again takes 3SG.F zero marking but the verb is followed by a clause. Unlike the paratactic perception verbs, there is not co-referential agreement with the subject of the second clause on the participant-adding morpheme in the first clause, nor is beka used here. It is not clear what the 3SG.F agreement is agreeing with: it could possibly be agreeing with the clause, or a default 3SG.F ‘it’.

(652)  

\[ K-e-n-ere-n\-ð-o \quad n\-am\-a\-ute. \]

RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-like-AG-REG-3SG.F IRR-2SG.F-walk

‘I want you to go.’ / ‘I want it; you go.’

Negation of \(-ere\ -ð\) follows the same pattern as \(-á\ ‘want’.

(653)  

a)  

\[ Beya \ k-e-n-ere-n\-ð-o \quad n\-om\-ute \quad vai. \]

NEG RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-like-AG-REG-3SG.F IRR-2SG.F-walk POL

‘I don’t want you to go.’

b)  

\[ k-e-n-ere-n\-ð-o \quad beya \ n\-om\-ute \quad vai. \]

RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-like-AG-REG-3SG.F NEG IRR-2SG.F-walk POL

‘I want you to not go.’

10.1.4.2 Ability

Ability is expressed through a frozen verb form: kuiniari ‘can’. This form could literally be broken down into \( k-u\-\text{ini}-r\-i\-ð \) (RL-3SG.F-be.at-3SG.WITH-3SG.F). Like \(-á\ ‘want’ but there is also only one tone on this word, not the two we would expect if it was a productive combination. In addition, this verb is only ever found in realis and with 3SG.F subject, this form will be glossed as one word ‘can’. The verb in the second clause must always be in irrealis.

In example (654) the modal verb is in its invariant form and the second clause is in irrealis and inflected for 3SG.M subject.

(654)  

\[ Kuiniari \ n\-o\-r\-aka \quad main\-tö\pa, \ rū \ ... \]

can IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-resemble flying.fox bird

‘He can take the form of a flying fox, a bird ...’ [DICT-PW:01]
Two more examples follow. Regardless of the subject of the second clause, the modal verb is always inflected for 3SG.F. Similarly, regardless of the temporal time frame of the utterance, the modal verb is always realis and the second clause is always irrealis.

(655) Kuiniarí bióna-ye-ya ná-r-á.
    can person IRR-3SG.M-fight-3SG.M IRR-3PL.M-3SG.M-eat
    ‘He can kill a man and eat him.’ [DICT-PW:01]

(656) Bariri, kuiniarí ekókó n-en-ávo.
    yesterday can string.bag IRR-1SG.F-carry.3SG.F
    ‘Yesterday I could carry the string bag.’

Again, there seems to be evidence of grammaticalisation here. The modal meaning is not immediately recoverable from the parts of the form kuiniarí. As discussed in Chapter 6, the verb -iniá ‘be at’ is commonly used in existential constructions; with a non-3SG.F agreement and with the addition of a non-3SG.F added object, and the rising tone on -iniá, the verb reverts to its locational meaning.

(657) K-á-iniá-r-i-mu.
    RL-3SG.M-be.at-AG-WITH-2SG.F
    ‘He is with you.’

In common with -á ‘want’, the object of the second clause can often appear before the modal.

(658) Bariri ekókó kuiniarí n-en-ávo.
    yesterday string.bag can IRR-1SG.F-hold.3SG.F
    ‘Yesterday I could carry the string bag.’

Also in common with -á ‘want’, negation surrounds both the modal and the complement clause, or only the complement clause.

(659) a) Beya kuiniarí n-en-rívó vai.
    NEG can IRR-1SG.F-hear POL
    ‘I couldn’t understand.’
b) \textit{Kuniarî beya n-en-rîvō vai.}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{can} & \text{NEG IRR-1SG.F-hear} & \text{POL} \\
\text{I couldn’t understand.}
\end{tabular}

There is apparently no meaning difference between these two constructions.

10.1.4.3 Control

As I mentioned above, for -\textit{â} to be interpreted as ‘want’ it must be in realis and it must share an argument with its complement. If -\textit{â} appears with a complement it does not share an argument with, it is interpreted as the control verb ‘make’. The control verb and its complement appear with the same status marking. Hence, the control verb, unlike ‘want’, does have an irrealis variant.

Example (660) shows the ‘make’ use of this verb. In this example, the control verb and its complement are both in realis and have no shared arguments.

\begin{tabular}{l}
(660) Mā nēnī beya k-a-r-ā n-a-noi uka vai. \\
\text{child 1SG.F NEG RL-3PL.M-3SG.M-want IRR-3SG.M-go.along bush POL} \\
\text{‘My son didn’t want to go to the bush.} \\
\text{Nēnī k-e-n-ā k-a-noi uka.} \\
\text{1SG.F RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-make RL-3SG.M-go.along bush} \\
\text{I made him go to the bush.’}
\end{tabular}

An irrealis example is given in (661).

\begin{tabular}{l}
(661) Mā nēnī beya n-a-noi sule vai. \\
\text{child 1SG.F NEG IRR-3SG.M-go school POL} \\
\text{‘My son won’t go to school.} \\
\text{Nēnī n-e-n-ā n-a-noi sule.} \\
\text{1SG.F IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-make IRR-3SG.M-go bush} \\
\text{I will make him go to school.’}
\end{tabular}

The verb -\textit{frai} ‘say’ can also be used to express the idea of compelling someone to do something.
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10.1.4.4 Permission

The verb used for permission is -in 'let'. An example of this verb in use is given in (663).

(663) Má něńi k-a-r-á  n-á-ute  danis=a
child 1SG.F RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-want IRR-3SG.M-walk DANCE=PRM
n-a-r-á
IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-do
‘My son wanted to go dancing
ya k-e-n-im  k-á-ute.
and RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-let RL-3SG.M-walk
and so I let him go.’

10.1.5 Properties and value judgements

In Barupu, verbs do not take clausal complement subjects. According to Givón (2001b:157-160), typical verbs taking clausal subjects are verbs which describe properties of, or ascribe a value judgement to, some action. These can be intransitive involving an adjective: ‘That he did it is incredible’, or transitive where the object is usually ‘mentally affected by a state or event in the clausal subject’ (2001b:159): ‘That she should say such a thing shocked everybody’. Meanings like this are achieved in Barupu through the conventionalised use of a finite clause modifying the noun a ‘thing, something’ as the subject of an adjectival verb. This is shown in example (664).
10.2 Simultaneous and sequential coordinations

Clauses in a simultaneous or sequential relationship with each other can be linked with no overt conjunction, as in (665). The typical intonation pattern of unmarked coordination is a slight rise at the end of the first clause and a short pause before the beginning of the next clause. This type of intonation is marked in the examples with a comma.

(665) Ūri, k-e-táu. Poro k-e-tí, k-i-úte
morning RL-3PL.M-paddle canoe RL-3PL.M-tie.up RL-3PL.M-walk
k-e-kô(í)p.e.
RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)go.up

'In the morning they paddled. They tied up their canoes and walked up.'

Alternatively, clauses can be conjoined overtly, with conjunctions. The two conjunctions are ya ‘and’ which is typically used for simultaneity as well as temporal sequence, and kope ‘then’ which is typically only used for temporal sequence. Apart from this, the main difference between the two conjunctions in marking sequential events is that ya tends to be used to conjoin events that take place at the same scene, such as, for example, activities to do with preparing and then eating dinner or catching fish; kope, on the other hand, is used when there is a change of scene: for example, going from having dinner to going to bed. Both ya and kope can be used between two clauses, but they often appear after the first non-verbal constituent of the second clause. Ya and kope can also be used together to mean something like ‘and
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then'. Another particle signalling a coordinate relationship is the disjunctive ra 'but'.

This particle appears between two clauses.

10.2.1  ya 'and'

The following examples show the use of ya. These examples show that ya links events that all happen at the same scene.

   enough RL-1PL-1PL-put.in canoe and RL-1PL-paddle
   'Alright. We put (it) in the canoe and paddle.' [P-MB:03]

(667) K-em-yará-ø-wo ya ró k-o-r-e
   RL-1SG.F-see-3SG.F-DOWN and mouth RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-full
   'We look down at it and it's full.' [C-MW:03]

(668) N-o-ráivi ya n-ë-n-á
   IRR-3SG.F-cook and IRR-1SG.F-1SG.M-eat
   'She'll cook (it) and I'll eat (it).' [CB-JT:01]

(669) Anranae=a k-a-kéi óro ya k-a-rívó-ká.
   devil=PRM RL-3SG.M-sit house and RL-3SG.M-hear-TOWARD
   'The devil was sitting in the house and he heard (something).' [ANR-MN:01]

(670) K-a-rói bémo ya k-á-irai-ká-r-o-ø óm ...
   RL-3SG.M-stand DREF and RL-3SG.M-say-TOWARD-AG-GIVE-3SG.F wife
   'He stood there and said to his wife ...' [ANR-MN:01]

10.2.2  kope 'then'

The particle kope is used when there is a change of scene or action which is unrelated to the previous actions. In the following example the two events of going down to look at something and then coming back up are conjoined using kope.

(671) N-a-r-aro-r-ã-na  n-a-yárá-ø  kope
   IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-go.down-AG-REG-1SG.M IRR-3SG.M-see-3SG.F then
   k-a-kae-ro-i-na ya n-epi-ké(p)i.
   RL-3SG.M-come-SHORT-WITH-1SG.M and IRR-1DU-(1DU)sit
   'He goes down with me to see it, then he comes back to me and we sit down.' [CB-JT:01]
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(672) Bë k-e-vîri k-e-nô(i)pî kope reke
ancestor RL-3PL.M-die RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)go then sheddable.skin
k-e-tai-p-ari.
RL-3PL.M-shed-AG-sep
‘Ancestors died and left, then they shed their skins.’ [NS-MM:03]

Kope can also be found in instances of pseudo coordination, where a possible interpretation of the relationship between two coordinated clauses is one of causation.

The following example shows kope appearing between a modal and a main clause.

(673) Korâ bô Cha Carl k-ii-irai bèn. K-a-n-à, kope, kora
piece 3SG.F AT PN RL-3SG.M-say already RL-1SG.M-1SG.M-want then piece
n-ana-turo vôva.
IRR-1SG.M-join again

‘One part, Cha Carl has already told. I want, then, to join another part.’
[NSC2-MM:03]

As mentioned above, coordinated clauses can quite commonly be interpreted as one clause modifying another as ‘adverbial coordinations’ discussed in §10.3, below.

In the next example kope appears in the first position of the second clause after the external 3PL.F topic pronoun.

(674) ... ya k-á-ute. Rërê, kope k-e-re-r-aro.
and RL-3SG.M-walk 3PL.F then RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-go.down.
‘... and he ran away. And them, then they came down.’ [FF2-CA:03]

Kope can also appear with other conjunctions that have more adverbial connotations; for example, the conjunction ta expresses a causal relationship between two coordinated clauses, see 10.3.2.3, below.

(675) K-a-r-ârâi-o(û)r-o-r-o-o n-ô-r-à
ta
RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-throw-(AG)DOWN-AG-GIVE-3SG.F IRR-3SG.F-3SG.F-eat REAS
kope k-o-tere-kô(r)ë vôva.
them RL-3SG.F-ask-(AG)UP again
‘He threw (fruit) down for her to eat so then she asked again.’ [FF2-CA:03]

Ya and kope can also be used together.
(676) ... ya kope ra pôn k-a-r-u, ne=va

and then one only RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-pick spell=PRM

kaike.
k-a-ai-kë-ø
RL-3SG.M-curse-ADV-3SG.F

'... and so then he picked just one and worked a spell over it.' [FF2-CA:03]

(677) Ùrì, ya kope n-epi-ka(p)e bè eròra.

morning and then IRR-IDU-(IDu)come DPROX garden

'Morning, and then we two will come here to this garden.' [TP-MN:01]

10.2.3 ra ‘but’

Clauses expressing that something was expected to occur but did not are conjoined
with the disjunction ra ‘but’.

(678) K-e-n-aro òi=a n-en-ore ra òi=a
RL-1SG.F-1SG.F-go.down tree=PRM IRR-1SG.F-search FRUS tree=PRM

k-o-bàun.
RL-3SG.F-not.be

'I went looking for firewood, but there was none.'

10.3 Adverbial coordinations

In a sentence consisting of coordinated clauses, one of the clauses can often be
interpreted as modifying the other one — I call these adverbial coordinations. For
example, one clause might provide information about the time or location of the
action described in the other clause, or give the reason an action is performed.
Adverbial coordinations often utilise meaningful oppositions in status marking.
These are summarised in Table 10.1 and discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause 1</th>
<th>clause 2</th>
<th>semantic relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>temporal/manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>temporal/conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRREALIS</td>
<td>REALIS</td>
<td>temporal/conditional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Two identically marked clauses can also be given a sequential or simultaneous reading, as described in §10.2, above.

Other adverbial relations are established through the use of meaningful conjunctions, or more rarely, morphological marking on one of the verbs.

10.3.1 Conditional, temporal, purpose, manner

Conditional constructions consist of a clause describing a hypothetical event whose realisation is conditional on events in another clause. The hypothetical event is called the apodosis and the conditioning event is called the protasis. In Barupu the protasis appears first. Simple conditional readings can be formed simply by coordinating two irrealis clauses, as in examples (679) - (681).

(679) \textit{N-en-âve-a} \textit{toro n-a-i(r)î-ni.}  
\textit{IRR-1SG.F-hold-3SG.M badly IRR-3SG.M-(3SG.M)bite-1SG.F}  
'If I hold him badly, he'll bite me.' \[c-mw:03\]

(680) \textit{Bôi aka, bôi tā=va, n-o-r-o-a, mutu bai lime real lime skin=PRM IRR-3SG.F-3SG.F-give-3SG.M betel.nut FUT n-o-nèman.}  
\textit{IRR-3SG.F-good}  
'If she gives him proper lime, lime made from shells, the betel nut will be good.' \[d-ca:03\]

(681) \textit{Bá n-a-ike-r-eri n-a-r-irovo,}  
\textit{fish IRR-3SG.M-chew-AG-SEP.SG IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-swallow n-i-âve-a.}  
\textit{IRR-3PL.M-hold-3SG.M}  
'When/If a fish bites it and swallows it right down, they catch it.' \[cf-mn:01\]

Context is important, however; the above clauses could just as easily have a simultaneous or sequential interpretation. Another possible interpretation is that the first clause is providing temporal information. For example, when (681) was taken out of context, some speakers translated it with the conditional reading given in the
translation above, while some gave it a sequential translation: 'the fish swallows it right down and they catch it', and others gave it a temporal translation: 'when the fish swallows it right down, they catch it'. This underlines the point that the ways speakers have of indicating these relationships between clauses is identical; only the interpretation is different.

The following example has the same structure as the above examples and was translated into English with a temporal rather than conditional clause.

(682) *Bo nuraki(r)e, bo=va n-o-rei*  
   n-o-ura-ki(r)e  
   place IRR-3SG.F-black-(AG)AWAY place=PRM IRR-3SG.F-fall  
   ‘When it’s dark and stormy,
   n-om-kina-kina-m-o-na.  
   IRR-2SG.F-REDUP-think-AG-REG-1SG.M  
   you will think of me.’ [DC-CA:03]

Speakers often use the Tok Pisin temporal adverbial particle *taim* ‘when’ in temporal adverbial coordinations. This is shown in examples (683) and (684).

(683) *Taim pi k-e-bere-o(p)o. poro=va iki*  
   WHEN water RL-3PL.M-pour-(AG)DOWN canoe=PRM paint  
   k-op-u-p-iya.  
   RL-3PL.M-BEN.3SG.F-3PL.M-paint  
   ‘When they’ve poured the water (onto the dry paint powder), they paint her canoe.’ [P-MG:03]

In the following example the speaker started out with *bó* 3SG.F and then stopped and started again with *taim*.

(684) *Bó (hes) ... Taim bó tí=va k-o-r-årai-o-tå-ka,*  
   3SG.F WHEN 3SG.F breast=PRM RL-3SG.F-3SG.F-f-throw-DOWN-ON-3SG.M  
   ya k-o-púpú bårü.  
   and RL-3SG.F-fly back  
   ‘She ... When she’d thrown the breast on him, then she flew back.’ [U-EM:01]

As shown in the next example, (685), the apodosis of a conditional can also be in realis.
Complex sentences

(685) *Bió ám=a n-o-r-o-ka tru, e*
person husband=PRM IRR-3SG.F-3SG.F-please-3SG.M TRULY bag
*k-u-awe-kó k-u-ũía,*
RL-3SG.F-hang.3SG.F-UP RL-3SG.F-sleep
‘If she truly pleases her intended, the bilum she’s hung up stays put,

*bió n-a-pilei-pilei bó, a-va k-o-rei pita.*
man IRR-3SG.M-JOKE-JOKE 3SG.F thing=PRM RL-3SG.F-fall bottom
if the man is mucking her about, the thing falls down.’ [WH-RX:03]

When two coordinated clauses have different status marking, they can no longer
be interpretable as simultaneous or sequential. Clauses in a temporal sequence, or
played out simultaneously, have the same status marking.

Conditional and temporal clauses often begin with the particle *bo*.

(686) *Bo n-en-ávé rau mó ...
TVF IRR-1SG.F-be pig mother
‘If I were a mother pig ...’ [MP-EM:01]

This particle has a truth-value focussing function in simple clauses; it counters
the supposition that something might not be true. In adverbial coordinations it is not
really clear what the function of this particle is: speakers sometimes translate it into
Tok Pisin as *sapos* ‘if’, but they also use it in clauses that they translate as temporal,
as in (687) — the verbless temporal clause is in bold face.

(687) *Bo unake uka, beya ne n-o-p-ěri vai, ne*
TVF alone bush NEG coconut IRR-2PL.M-2PL.M-break POL coconut
*n-o-p-ěri, yake, k-u-í(p)i-á*
IRR-2PL.M-2PL.M-break enough RL-2PL.M-(2PL.M)call-3SG.M
*n-a-r-e-r-o-pu roma n-a-r-á.*
IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-go-AG-GIVE-2PL.M fight RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-do.

Writer’s translation: ‘When you are alone in the forest, [don’t break open a
dry coconut], if you break open a dry coconut, then you are calling him to
chase you and kill you.’ [DICT-PW:01]

Speakers can also translate one of a sequence of realis clauses as temporal, as
shown in (688), but a sequence of realis clauses is never translated as conditional,
because at least one part of a conditional must be hypothetical — that is, irrealis.
Banono írĩ=va k-emi-rire-rírê bo e. K-ere-kô(r)e
bean seed=PRM RL-1PL-REDUP-plant place garden RL-3PL.F-(3PL.F)go.up
k-ey-ave. K-e-m-u k-ê-m-á.
RL-3PL.F-bear. fruit RL-1PL-1PL-pick RL-1PL-1PL-eat

Writer's translation: 'Corn and bean seeds are planted in the garden. When
grown big they bear beans and corn. Then they are harvested and eaten.'

The temporal verbs bariri 'afternoon' and úrĩ 'morning' can be inflected as
verbs and appear in adverbial relationship with another clause. Because both clauses
in the following examples are in realis, they could equally be given a
simultaneous/sequential reading.

Ya k-o-bari-bariri k-o-kae, yei
and RL-3SG.F-REDUP-afternoon RL-3SG.F-come 3PL.M
k-e-no(p)i=ere.
RL-3PL.M-(3PL.M)go.along=DDIST

'And it was getting on for afternoon and they left.'
'And when it was getting on for afternoon, they left.' [U-EM:01]

The next example shows that a temporal verb can take the participant-adding
morpheme -nâ to index the participants affected by the changing time.

Kope kūrinâre k-ere-bere-kâ(r)e batirôn.
k-o-uri-nâ-re
then RL-3SG.F-morning-APPL-3PL.F RL-3PL.F-leave-(AG)TOWARD clearing

'Then morning came upon them and they came from the clearing.'
'Then when morning came upon them, they came from the clearing.'
[WH-RX:03]

Clauses headed by a temporal verb can also be found after another clause
where, given the right context, they indicate something like 'until'.

Poro k-a-r-á k-o-bariri-nâ-ka.
canoe RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-make RL-3SG.F-afternoon-APPL-3SG.M

'He works on his canoe and afternoon comes upon him.'
'He works on his canoe until afternoon comes upon him.' [CB-JT:01]
Two coordinated irrealis clauses can also have a counter-factual interpretation.
There is no difference in the status marking between the clauses in (693) and the examples of simple conditionals above. The clauses in (693) could equally mean 'if/when I wear shoes thorns won't/don't spike me'. The counterfactual is only achieved if the overall context of the utterance is in past or present time, rather than future or hypothetical time. The following was suggested to me as a way of explaining something that had happened to me the previous day.

(693) Kanro n-e-n-ikoko, bârém beya n-o-te-ni vai.
shoes IRR-1SG.F-1SG.F-wear thorn NEG IRR-3SG.F-shoot-1SG.F POL

'If I had worn shoes, the thorn would not have spiked me.'

Another way of forming a counterfactual is by using the non-existential -bâuni.
In this construction -bâuni is always inflected with default 3SG.F subject agreement and irrealis. In the following example some boys are explaining to their parents how they ran away from a giant. In this construction the counterfactual clause is in realis, and their interpretation as counterfactual comes from Nobâun.

(694) N-o-bâun, k-a-yé-mi k-á-r-á bén.
IRR-3SG.F-not.be RL-3SG.M-hit-1PL RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-eat already

'If not, he would have already killed and eaten us.' [ANR-MN:01]

The following example, (695), shows the use of a coordination construction to indicate purpose. The subject is cutting down a tree to make a canoe for his mother. The 'purpose' clause is always in irrealis. The purpose interpretation is only possible when the two clauses have the same subject.
Ramo tare ma k-ana-iro poro ma
tree.sp new child RL-1SG.M-cut canoe child
n-a-n-a-o-o-n-o-o kuán ...
IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-make-3SG.F-AG-GIVE-3SG.F mother

'I'm cutting down a young *ramo* tree to make a small canoe for my mother ...'
[DICT-PB:O I]

Purpose clauses can also be found with the particle *bo*. Here *bo* seems to express that something is done in case of another event.

Béï rë nó n-e-p-ere, *bo* ine tare n-e-iniá-ná-i
meat and blood IRR-3PL.M-3PL.M-put TVF eye new IRR-3PL.M-be.at-APPL-3PL.M vóva.
again

'They will put aside the meat and blood if/when they want them for use in initiations.' [DICT-PW:O 1]

This example could also be viewed as a temporal or conditional clause with the normal clause order reversed (e.g. 'If/When they want to use them in initiations, they put aside the meat and blood').

There is one example of an unmarked coordinated manner clause in the data, shown in (697).

Ro pa k-a-m-ere-o pita, k-e-ké(m)i-tá-o
bottom back RL-2SG.M-2SG.M-put-DOWN below RL-1PL-(1PL) sit-ON-3SG.F aikéké.
table

Writer's translation: ‘Sit down [Put your bottom down], to rest your buttocks, as you do when sitting at a desk.’

10.3.2 Conjunctions

In addition to the unmarked adverbial coordinations, there are some meaningful conjunctions. There are two purpose conjunctions (*ke* and *bora*); the verbs in purpose clauses are always marked with irrealis. There is also a reason conjunction (*ta*), with no restriction on the status marking.
**10.3.2.1  ke ‘purpose’**

Example (698) is a repeat of example (695), above. In the dictionary it is followed by (699), which utilises the connective particle *ke*.

(698) *Ramo târe mà k-ana-iro poro mà*

tree.sp new child RL-1SG.M-cut canoe child

\[ \text{n-a-n-à-o-n-o-u} \quad \text{kuán} \quad \ldots \]

IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-make-3SG.F-AG-GIVE-3SG.F mother

‘I’m cutting down a young *ramo* tree to make a small canoe for my mother ... [DICT-PB:01]

(699) \[ \text{... } \text{ke niánta=va nùra.} \]

\[ \text{n-o-ù(r)a} \]

PURP2 prawn=PRM IRR-3SG.F-(3SG.F)trawl

\[ \ldots \text{so she can go trawling for prawns.’ [DICT-PB:01] \]

Example (699) expresses that one reason for making the canoe is so that the speaker’s mother can go fishing. Some more examples of the use of *ke* follow.

(700) *Pè im=a n-om-ôrá  ke rati=va n-om-poi.*

\[ \text{water hot=PRM IRR-2SG.F-stand to sago jelly=PRM IRR-2SG.F-stir} \]

‘Put some hot water on to make sago jelly.’ [ANR-MN:01]

Clauses linked by *ke* can have different subjects, as shown in the following example.

(701) \[ \text{N-o-m-aro-m-o-n} \quad \text{ke n-epi-tà bêre kikom} \]

IRR-2SG.F-2SG.F-go.down-AG-GIVE-1SG.F so IRR-1DU-paddle DDIST mangrove bêre.

DDIST

‘Go down with me so we can paddle there, to that mangrove.’ [NS-MM:03]

**10.3.2.2  bora ‘purpose’**

Another purpose conjunction is *bora*. There is no discernible difference between *bora* and *ke*. 
(702) Ú k-ana-puere bora n-ana-iro poro
branch RL-1SG.M-strip PURP₁ IRR-1SG.M-fell canoe
n-a-n-á-ô.
IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-make-3SG.F

‘I strip the branches off (a tree) to cut it down to make a canoe.’ [DICT-PB:01]

There is no switch-reference associated with the choices: both conjunctions can be used when the two clauses have the same or a different subject. Some more examples follow.

(703) Kua Miriam k-u-irai-r-o-na au irai yei,
AT PN RL-3SG.F-say-AG-GIVE-1SG.M thing say 3PL.M
‘Miriam asked me to tell her their story,
aro buso kekapei
people white RL-3PL.F-(3PL.F)come-WÍTH-3PL.M grandfather
größe people who came to our grandfathers,

n-a-n-á-n-o-ô bora n-o-r-ê.
IRR-1SG.M-1SG.M-make-AG-GIVE-3SG.F PURP₁ IRR-3SG.F-3SG.F-write
I will make it for her so she can write it.’ [WM-MN:05]

(704) Ój=a n-o-kupwana bora n-erê-r-â.
sago=PRM IRR-3SG.F-strong PURP₁ IRR-3PL.F-3PL.F-eat
‘The sago will be hard so they can eat it.’ [WH-RX:03]

(705) N-e-mere-mere-m-ô-re akere owu beka ura opo bora ine
IRR-1PL-REDUP-1PL-put-AG-REG-3PL.F design some like black yellow PURP₁ eye
n-o-néman.
IRR-3SG.F-good

‘They’ll put it (white paint) in some designs like yellow and black (ones) so that it will look good.’ [P-MG:03]

(706) N-á-r-á bora ro nòmua.
n-o-ómo-a
IRR-3SG.M-3SG.M-eat PURP₁ stomach IRR-3SG.F-fill-3SG.M
‘He’ll eat to be full.’ [U-GX:01]
10.3.2.3  

The reason for doing something or feeling something can be expressed through a reason conjunction *ta*.

(707)  

*Biam maumau k-e-p-á-u  ta  rúrui=a*

man  many  RL-PL.M-3PL.M-please-3SG.F  REAS  hibiscus=PRM

*k-u-é(r) o.*

RL-3SG.F-(3SG.F)wear.in.hair

‘Many men please her, so she wears hibiscus flowers in her hair (to signal to them).’ [DICT-PB:01]

(708)  

*K-é-m-á-m-ó-wa*  

*ta*  

RL-1PL-1PL-eat-AG-REG-3SG.M  REAS

*kavémi  k-a-r-ikiro  ekókó.*

k-a-áve-mi

RL-3SG.M-hold-1PL  RL-3SG.M-3SG.M-put.in.bilum

‘We ate his food so he caught us and put us in his bilum.’ [ANR-MN:01]

10.3.3  Verb morphology

There are two pieces of verbal morphology that signify a modifying relationship between two clauses. They mark SIMultaneous and CONcessive. These morphemes are similar to those discussed in Chapter 7 in that they take extra agreement for the subject of the verb.

10.3.3.1  Simultaneous

Clauses that describe events occurring simultaneously with a preceding clause can optionally appear with a suffix *varao* ‘at the same time’. This morpheme takes an infix between the final vowels indexing the subject of the verb.

(709)  

*Akorom=a k-epí-p-á  ya  a  kepíraivara(p) o.*

food=PRM  RL-1DU-1DU-eat  and  something  RL-1DU-say-(AG)SIMUL

‘We were eating and talking at the same time.’
Akorom=a k-ē-n-ā mēmā k-ama-vōvo-ma-vara(m)o.

'I ate and you slept at the same time.'

The use of this morphology is extremely rare; it occurs naturally only once in my data, shown in (711). In this example it appears to be transitive — i.e. it takes 3PL.F object suffixing and it is also reduplicated to indicate iterativity.

K-ey-irai-r-o-o kope beka

k-u-irai-r-o-re-vara-vara(r)o-re beka=emo.

'They spoke to her and then she kept talking back to them at the same time as them, like I said.' [FF2-CA:03]

According to a loose translation given by speakers, a good interpretation of this clause is that everyone was speaking at the same time, back and forth and over the top of each other. More commonly, simultaneity is expressed through simple coordination, whether unmarked, or using ya, as described in §10.2, above.

10.3.3.2 Concessive

Concessives, whether they are conditional or not, are expressed with the same morpheme: a suffix -é. This suffix appears at the very end of the main verb and (like the participant-adding morphemes) is always preceded by an inflectional morpheme showing agreement with the subject.

Example (712) shows a concessive conditional; the protasis is marked as irrealis (note the use of bo in this clause) and the verb in the main clause is marked with the CONCESSIVE suffix.

(712) Bo á n-u-ai, ūri n-em-úte-m-ē uka.

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(712) Bo á n-u-ai, ūri n-em-úte-m-ē uka.
Example (713) shows a plain concessive; both verbs are in realis and the second clause contains a verb marked with the concessive suffix.

(713) *Bariri á k-u-ai k-em-úte-m-é uka.*

yesterday rain RL-3SG.F-rain RL-1PL-walk-AG-CONC bush

'Yesterday it rained and we went to the bush anyway.'

10.3.4 Place

There is no adverbial coordination expressing a place relationship, instead speakers might use an added object construction (714) or a relative clause (715).

(714) *N-e-ké(n)i-tá-ø-n-ø-wa Cha Robert.*

IRR-1SG.F-(1SG.F)sit-ON-3SG.F-AG-REG-3SG.M AT PN

'I'll sit where where Robert was sitting.' (*I'll sit on something to do with Robert.*)

(715) *O Maria n-o-ka(m)e n-o-ké(m)i-tá-ø bo pó [yà Cha Hudson k-a-kéi].*

AT.VOC PN IRR-2SG.F-(2SG.F)come IRR-2SG.F-(2SG.F)sit-ON-3SG.F place scar

3SG.M AT PN RL-3SG.M-sit

'Maria, come and sit where Hudson was sitting.' (*Come and sit on the marked place where he, Hudson, was sitting.*)