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Bariai Grammar Sketch

Steve Gallagher and Peirce Baehr

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Table of Contents

Introduction	1
1 Phonology	9
1.1 Consonants	9
1.1.1 Phonemic Status of Individual Consonants	9
1.1.2 Allophonic Variation Among Consonants	10
1.2 Vowels.....	13
1.2.1 Vowel Ongliding	13
1.2.2 Vowel Offgliding	14
1.2.3 Vowel Weakening	15
1.3 Morphophonemic Variation	16
1.4 Syllables	18
1.5 Reduplication Patterns	21
1.6 Suprasegmentals	22
1.6.1 Length	22
1.6.2 Stress	22
1.7 Pronunciation Variations	24
1.8 Orthography	25
2 Word and Morpheme Classes	26
3 Nouns and Noun Phrases	29
3.1 Pronouns	29
3.1.1 Free Pronouns	30
3.1.2 Cliticised Obliques and Objects	32
3.1.3 Subject Prefixes	34
3.1.4 Possessor Affixes.....	35
3.2 Nouns	35
3.2.1 Noun Classification	35
3.2.2 Noun Reduplication and Plurality.....	39
3.2.3 Derived Nouns	40
3.2.4 The Locative Noun Suffix <i>-eai</i>	43
3.3 Adjectives	43
3.4 Numbers and Quantifiers	45

3.4.1	Cardinal Numbers.....	45
3.4.2	Ordinal Numbers.....	48
3.4.3	Other Numerical Concepts	48
3.4.4	Other Quantifiers	49
3.5	Deixis	54
3.5.1	Demonstratives.....	56
3.5.2	Deictic Identifiers	66
3.6	Basic Noun Phrase Structure	72
3.7	Complex Core Arguments	75
3.8	Possession	76
3.8.1	Direct Possession.....	77
3.8.2	Agentive and Experiential Possession	78
3.8.3	Associative Possession	81
3.8.4	Prepositional Possession	87
3.8.5	Possession of Interest	89
3.8.6	Complex Possessive Constructions	90
3.9	Relative Clauses.....	92
4	Verbs and Verb Phrases.....	95
4.1	Verb Classes and Morphology	95
4.1.1	Basic Inflecting Verbs	97
4.1.2	Derived Verbs of Increased Valency	98
4.1.3	Verbs Which Take the Valence Reducer <i>ma-</i>	102
4.1.4	Derived Middle Verbs	103
4.1.5	Derived Punctiliar Verbs	105
4.1.6	Verbs Which Can Be Adverbialised.....	105
4.1.7	Non-Inflecting Verbs	106
4.1.8	Derived Inflecting Verbs	108
4.2	Basic Verb Phrase Structure	110
4.2.1	Future Tense	110
4.2.2	Deontic Mode.....	111
4.2.3	Immediate Present Tense	111
4.2.4	Verb Serialisation.....	112
5	Clause Structure	114
5.1	Verbless Clauses	114
5.1.1	Verbless Equative Clauses.....	114
5.1.2	Verbless Existential Clauses Asserting Possession	114

5.1.3	Verbless Descriptive and Quantifying Clauses.....	115
5.1.4	Verbless Adverbial Clauses.....	116
5.2	Verbal Clauses: Core Arguments.....	117
5.2.1	Intransitive Clauses.....	117
5.2.2	Transitive Clauses.....	118
5.2.3	Topicalisation.....	118
5.3	Verbal Clauses: Peripheral Arguments.....	119
5.3.1	Interjections and Vocative Constructions.....	120
5.3.2	Oblique Phrases.....	120
5.3.3	Adverbs and Adverb Phrases.....	127
5.3.4	The Illocutionary Particle <i>na</i>	131
5.4	Negation.....	133
5.4.1	Single Answer Negation.....	133
5.4.2	Clausal Negation.....	133
5.4.3	Complex Negative Constructions.....	137
5.4.4	Negative Adverbial Constructions.....	138
6	Imperative and Interrogative Sentences.....	140
6.1	Imperative Sentences.....	140
6.2	Interrogative Sentences.....	141
6.2.1	Polar Questions.....	141
6.2.2	Content Questions.....	142
7	Complex sentences.....	146
7.1	Coordination and Juxtaposition.....	147
7.1.1	Juxtaposition.....	148
7.1.2	The Conjunction <i>ga</i>	149
7.1.3	The Conjunction <i>ta</i>	150
7.1.4	The Conjunction <i>be</i>	150
7.1.5	The Conjunction <i>mao</i>	151
7.1.6	The Conjunction <i>tota</i>	152
7.1.7	The Conjunctions <i>eine, eina</i> and <i>eiuā</i>	153
7.2	Complement Clauses.....	155
7.2.1	Object Complement Clauses.....	155
7.2.2	Prepositional Complement Clauses.....	158
7.3	Adverbial Clauses.....	160
7.3.1	Conditional Clauses.....	160
7.3.2	Reason Clauses.....	161
7.3.3	Purpose Clauses.....	162

7.3.4	Comparison Clauses	163
7.3.5	Temporal Clauses.....	164
Appendix: Sample Texts		166
Bibliography		178

Maps and Tables

Map 1: Bariai Language Area in Papua New Guinea.....	6
Map 2: Bariai Language Area Enlarged	7
Table 1: Consonant Phonemes	9
Table 2: Vowel Phonemes.....	13
Table 3: Syllable Types	19
Table 4: Contrastive Chart of Open Word Classes	26
Table 5: Pronouns	29
Table 6: Inalienable Nouns.....	37
Table 7: Alienable Nouns.....	38
Table 8: Noun Reduplication	40
Table 9: Derivation of Nouns from Verbs	41
Table 10: Pluralised Adjectives	43
Table 11: Cardinal Numerals.....	47
Table 12: Deictic Identifiers	55
Table 13: Demonstratives.....	55
Table 14: Functions of the Ligature <i>ga</i>	70
Table 15: Possessive Constructions	77
Table 16: Basic Inflecting Verbs	97
Table 17: Verbs with Increased Valency Marked	99
Table 18: Verbs which take the <i>ma-</i> prefix	102
Table 19: Derived Middle Verbs	104
Table 20: Non-inflecting Verbs	107
Table 21: Interrogative Words	142
Table 22: Bariai Clause Types and Linking Devices	147

Abbreviations

1de	1 st person dual exclusive	LIG	the ligature <i>ga</i>
1di	1 st person dual inclusive	LOC	location/locative
1pe	1 st person plural exclusive	N	noun
1pi	1 st person plural inclusive	NEG	negation particle
1s	1 st person singular	NP	noun phrase
2d	2 nd person dual	NR	nominaliser
2p	2 nd person plural	Obj	object
2s	2 nd person singular	Obl	oblique
3d	3 rd person dual	P	possessor affix
3p	3 rd person plural	PCAg	agentive possessive classifier
3s	3 rd person singular	PCEX	experiential possessive classifier
ACMP	accompaniment		
Adj	adjective		
Adv	adverb	PL	plural
AP	adverb phrase	PNCT	punctiliar prefix <i>sa-</i>
AVR	adverbialiser	PP	prepositional phrase
C	consonant	PRN	pronoun
CAUS	causative prefix <i>pa-</i>	Prp	prepositional possession
CL	clause	PsD	possessed
CLSF	possessive classifier	PsR	possessor
CMPL	complementiser	QNT	quantifier
CNJ	the conjunction <i>ga</i>	RDP	reduplication
DEM	demonstrative	REL	relative clause
DI	deictic identifier	S	subject prefix
DR	derivational prefix <i>ka-</i>	SEQ	the sequential conjunction <i>ta</i>
EmpID	emphatic identifier <i>tota</i>		
excl	exclusive	SG	singular
FUT	future tense marker	sp.	species
GIV	referential particle <i>toa</i>	SIM	the simultaneous conjunction <i>be</i>
GP	general preposition <i>ngan</i>		
INC	incompletive aspectual adverb <i>maitne</i>	Sub	subject
		temp	temporal
incl	inclusive	tr.	transitive
INTJ	interjection	V	vowel
intr	intransitive	v	verb
IP	illocutionary particle <i>na</i>	VLI	valence increasing suffix
IR	irrealis		<i>-n</i>

VLR	valence reducing prefix <i>ma-</i>
VP	verb phrase
∅	null morpheme

Introduction

Speakers of the Bariai language live on the northwest coast of the island of New Britain, in the West New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea. (See map 1.) At a population of 1,345 (2000 census), Bariai speakers principally inhabit ten coastal villages between Borgen Bay on the west, and Rottok Bay on the east, between 10 and 25 km east of Gloucester government station. (See map 2.) The population is growing and has nearly doubled in the last 20 years.

The Bariai area features a large coastal mangrove swamp at its centre, spanning a five kilometre stretch between Bambak and Niuniuai. Numerous coral reefs mark the coastline. The largest and most notable reef is located directly north of the mangrove swamp between Akonga and Niuniuai, covering an area of about six square km. The interior terrain is tropical, wet lowland and heavily forested, gradually sloping upward to Mt. Sakail, a peak of 1,335 m, which is about eight km from the coast to the southern interior. The interior south of Bariai is a vast uninhabited area.

Like most Papua New Guineans, the Bariai people practice slash and burn agriculture. Over the last hundred years or so, sweet potato has replaced taro as the primary staple crop. Sago is also an important staple food which carries them through brief periods of seasonal non-productivity of gardens. Although the Bariai raise pigs, pork is not a regular part of their diet, since it is only consumed at special feasts. See Scaletta (1985) for a thorough description of such feasts. Numerous species of fish and shellfish are the most regular source of protein. Wild pigs, wallabies and birds also occasionally supplement their diet. Due to their remoteness from towns and the fact that there is no road access to the area, economic opportunities are somewhat scarce for the Bariai. While they are not dependent upon a cash economy, they do sell copra, vanilla and sea cucumbers to pay for children's school fees, outboard motor fuel and a few trade store items. Life may soon change for the Bariai, since an Asian logging company is expected to begin a project at Rottok Bay.

The first European contact was made with the Bariai people near the end of the 19th century. The area was under the German colonial government until the end of World War I, when Australia assumed this role. Roman Catholicism was introduced and embraced by Bariai society as a whole in 1932. Today Catholicism is still the only religion formally practiced in the area. During World War II the Japanese invaded the area, temporarily gaining control over it until allied forces recaptured the area and the war ended. The Australian colonial government resumed control from that time until the peaceful transfer of independence to PNG in 1975.

History prior to European contact is scant at best. Both the Bariai and the neighbouring Amara people groups trace their ancestry back to the inhabitants of a now-abandoned village on the eastern slopes of Mt. Sakail known as Maraibin. According to legend, a dispute over marital infidelity resulted in a huge fight which caused the clans of the village to scatter and abandon Maraibin. Members of one clan descended the slopes of the mountain and founded Bambak, the first coastal village, from which all present-day Bariai-speaking villages descend. Today Amara is spoken primarily in the village of Siamatai. (See map 2.) Two other villages, Kaogo and Niuniui, also have an Amara-speaking heritage, but today the Amara language is truly endangered due to a high rate of bilingualism with Bariai, Maleu and Melanesian Pidgin. Culturally, the Bariai and Amara peoples are the same, and there is a significant rate of intermarriage between the two groups, which today peacefully co-exist. The total population of Amara speakers is approximately 200. Amara is an Austronesian language of unclear classification, possibly belonging to Ross' proposed South-West New Britain Network (Ross 1988:162). Thurston, who has thus far done more work in Amara than any other linguist, is in tentative agreement with Ross (Thurston 1996:203). Bariai is categorised by Ross (1988:122) as Austronesian, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, Western Oceanic, North New Guinea, Ngero-Vitiaz, Ngero, in the Bariai sub-family.

The name Bariai, which literally means 'at the mangrove' (*bare* 'mangrove' plus *-eai* 'at'), is the most common name for the people, the language and their geographic area. The language and people have also

been referred to as Kabana by Amara speakers, and this name is acceptable and preferred by a moderate number of Bariai. However, those Bariai who are aware of the derogatory connotations of the name Kabana, which in the Amara language means ‘foreigner,’ are not willing to use it. People of neighbouring language groups (besides Amara) know of no other term besides Bariai to use in reference to either the language or the people. Several anthropologists and linguists who did fieldwork in West New Britain through McMaster University in the 1980s (McPherson [formerly Scaletta] 1985:13-14, Thurston 1987:21 and Goulden 1996:63-65) had opted for the name Kabana, recommending it replace Bariai in academic literature. An impetus for using the name Kabana is that Bariai has been applied by linguists since Friederici (1913) (according to Chowning [1973:189]) as a label for the sub-family to which Bariai proper belongs, and so Kabana is a conveniently unique label for distinguishing Bariai proper from the wider sub-family. However, since the name Kabana is unacceptable to many of its speakers, and because of its derogatory connotation in Amara, we recommend that the name Bariai be retained as the language name and that Kabana be dropped from the literature. Thurston, Goulden and McPherson (personal communication, 2005) are no longer favouring the name Kabana.

Bariai has no sub-dialects. This is a claim the people themselves make, validated by our research and experience over the last twelve years among the Bariai. While the language is essentially homogeneous, there are a handful of words (presented in §1.7) which exhibit slight pronunciation variations between the eastern villages (Kokopo and Gurisi) and the rest of language group. (See map 2.) These words exhibit no consistent phonological variation pattern.

Nearly every Bariai person over five is bilingual in Melanesian Pidgin. This high degree of bilingualism gives rise to code-switching between the two languages. However, Pidgin terms rarely supplant their Bariai counterparts, but act instead like parallel vocabulary. Partly for this reason, after more than a century of influence from Melanesian Pidgin, the Bariai language has remained the first language of all locally-born residents.

Naomi McPherson (formerly Scaletta) has done a great deal of insightful and accurate anthropological work on the Bariai (e.g. Scaletta 1985, 1986, 1987). Most noteworthy is her 1985 ethnography of Bariai firstborn child and mortuary traditions, which not only describes these traditions in detail, but also shows how all of Bariai ideology and world view is closely bound up in them.

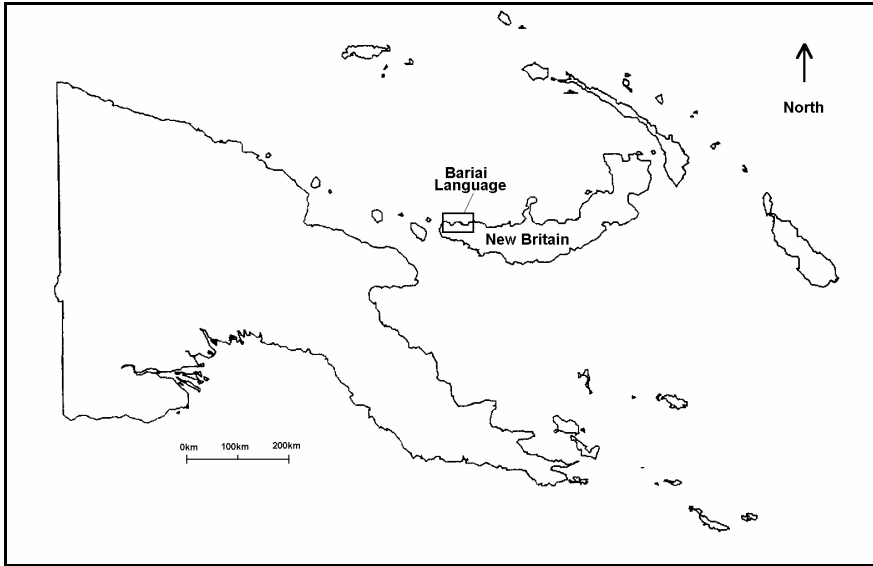
The Bariai language was first described in German by Georg Friederici (1912), a researcher who never visited the area as far as we know, but worked with a single informant on a ship (Thurston 1987:21). Unfortunately, we do not have access to his work. More recently Thurston (1987, 1992) describes Bariai as Kabana in his description of the sociolinguistic situation in northwest New Britain. His 1987 work is especially groundbreaking in that it offers profound insight into the linguistic and social relationships of all the languages groups of northwest New Britain. Goulden (1982, 1989, 1996) has described Bariai in his comparative studies of the languages in the Bariai sub-family, primarily in the area of phonology, but his 1996 work (1996:109-135) also provides a good general overview of the morphosyntax of Bariai and its neighbours. Both Thurston's and Goulden's works present a well-researched analysis of these languages from both sociolinguistic and historical linguistic perspectives, and make a valuable contribution to the typological data bank of Oceanic languages.

Unlike what has previously been published on the language, this present work endeavours to provide a more detailed grammatical description of Bariai, without making an attempt to compare it with the related languages. This work is based on data consisting of written and oral texts given by native speakers from every Bariai village, as well as elicited data collected from 1993 to 2004. The corpus of natural, non-elicited texts contains 12,380 clauses from a wide variety of genre, including 1st and 3rd person narratives, history, fiction, hortatory, descriptive, procedural, autobiographical and correspondence. This paper is a revision of an unpublished work done in 1998 by Steve Gallagher entitled *Bariai Grammar Essentials*. Steve Gallagher and his wife, Carol Jean Gallagher, of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, have resided in the village of Bambak approximately five months of each year since 1993.

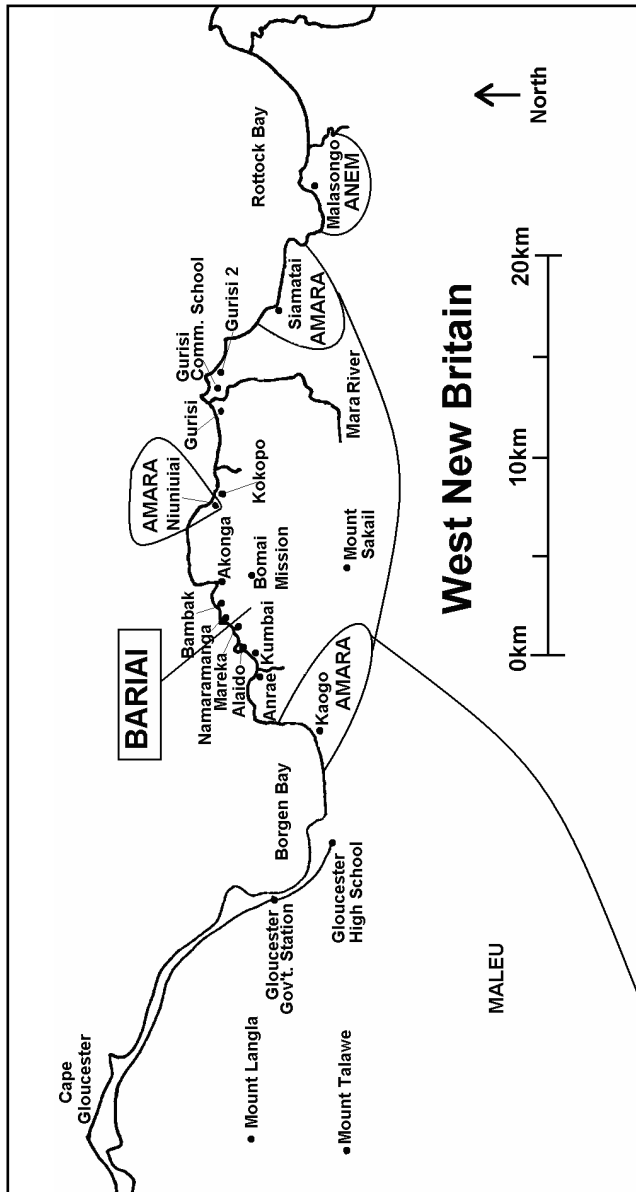
Peirce Baehr is a linguistic intern who worked alongside the Gallaghers for the 2004 year as part of the Graduate Internship Programme of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the United Kingdom.

We wish to express thanks to our linguistic consultant, René van den Berg, who tirelessly worked with us and taught us countless things from his long experience with Austronesian languages. We greatly appreciate Carol Jean Gallagher's meticulous proofreading of this document. And we are also grateful to Robert Bugenhagen and Rick Goulden for taking time out of their busy schedules to review the draft version of this paper and to make insightful suggestions, many of which led to valuable revisions. Special thanks goes to Phil King whose expertise in acoustic phonetics led to significant corrections in the phonology section. We also wish to thank consultants Rochelle Staley, Catherine McGuckin and Henry Whitney who worked with us on the initial version of this paper.

Finally, we would like to thank the many Bariai people who helped to make this grammatical description possible. We are particularly grateful for the help of Grevasius Mondo, John Kuri, Peter Biriu and John Golua. It is a true privilege to work with such patient and gracious people.



Map 1: Bariai Language Area in Papua New Guinea



Map 2: Bariai Language Area Enlarged

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Consonants

The following chart displays the twelve consonant phonemes of Bariai with their marked allophones.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Voiceless Plosive	p [pʰ]	t [tʰ]	k [kʰ]
Voiced Plosive	b [β p]	d [r ɖ]	g [ŷ k]
Voiceless Fricative		s	
Nasal	m	n [n̥]	ŋ [ŋ̥]
Lateral Approximant		l [l̥]	
Trill		r [r̥]	

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes

1.1.1 Phonemic Status of Individual Consonants

The following sets of minimal pairs or near minimal pairs provide firm evidence for phonemic contrasts among the voiced and voiceless plosives and nasals.

- (1) /paŋapaŋa/ [p̥pa.ŋa.'pa.ŋa] 'mud'
 /baŋabaŋa/ [βpa.ŋa.'βa.ŋa] 'naked'
 /maŋamaŋa/ [ma.ŋa.'ma.ŋa] 'insane'

(2)	/ta-la/	[¹ ta.la]	‘we (incl) go’
	/dala/	[¹ da.la]	‘shell sp.’
	/na-la/	[¹ na.la]	‘I go’
(3)	/gogo-m/	[¹ ɣo.ɣom]	‘your (sg) chest’
	/koko/	[¹ ko.ko]	‘you (sg) carry on back’
	/ŋoŋo-m/	[¹ ŋo.ŋom]	‘your (sg) mucus’

The following minimal pairs provide evidence for phonemic contrast among alveolar consonants.

(4)	/mase/	[¹ ma.se]	‘shell sp.’
	/mate/	[¹ ma.te]	‘you (sg) die’
(5)	/dul/	[dul]	‘you (sg) penetrate’
	/dud/	[duɟ]	‘you (sg) suck’
(6)	/sil/	[sil]	‘deep’
	/sir/	[siɾ]	‘you (sg) spew’
(7)	/oado/	[¹ ɔa.ro]	‘you (sg) whistle’
	/oaro/	[¹ ɔa.ro]	‘rope’
(8)	/nono/	[¹ no.no]	‘you (sg) cook’
	/lolo/	[¹ lo.lo]	‘you (sg) dip’

1.1.2 Allophonic Variation Among Consonants

Voiceless Plosives

The voiceless plosives may exhibit the unreleased allophones [p^ʔ], [t^ʔ] and [k^ʔ] utterance-finally. These allophones are in free variation with [p], [t] and [k].

(9)	/i-tap/	[i. ¹ tap ^ʔ]	~ [i. ¹ tap]	‘she falls’
	/apap/	[¹ a.pap ^ʔ]	~ [¹ a.pap]	‘midnight meal’
	/serembat/	[sɛ. ¹ rem.bat ^ʔ]	~ [sɛ. ¹ rem.bat]	‘sweet potato sp.’
	/sa-sat/	[¹ sa.sat ^ʔ]	~ [¹ sa.sat]	‘bad ones’
	/kusuksuk/	[ku. ¹ suk.suk ^ʔ]	~ [ku. ¹ suk.suk]	‘black’
	/akrok/	[¹ a.kɾok ^ʔ]	~ [¹ a.kɾok]	‘bird sp.’

Weakening of Voiced Plosives

The voiced plosives /b/, /d/ and /g/ freely vary with [β], [r] and [ɣ] respectively in non-word-initial environments. However, such weakening or shortening does not occur after a homorganic nasal. The velar /g/ never weakens after a consonant or utterance-finally. All intervocalic, non-morpheme-initial instances of /b/ are weakened.

(10) /bambak/	[¹ bam.bak]		‘a village name’
/eaba/	[¹ ɛa.βa]		‘man’
/na-bada/	[na. ¹ ba.ra]	~ [na. ¹ βa.ra]	‘I get’
/didmagele/	[did. ¹ ma.ɣe.le]	~ [dir. ¹ ma.ɣe.le]	‘clam sp.’
/i-dibdib/	[i. ¹ diβ.diβ]	~ [i. ¹ riβ.riβ]	‘turtle shell’
/danda/	[¹ dan.da]		‘crab sp.’
/ede/	[¹ e.de]	~ [¹ e.re]	‘one’
/muga/	[¹ mu.ga]	~ [¹ mu.ɣa]	‘you precede’
/i-bagbage/	[i.βag. ¹ βa.ge]	~ [i.βaɣ. ¹ βa.ɣe]	‘its wing’
/gergeu/	[¹ ger.ge.u]		‘child’
/oanɣa/	[¹ oanɣa]		‘if’

When syllables are reduplicated, the weakened or shortened allophones may occur word-initially by anticipatory assimilation.

(11) /babaŋa/	[βa. ¹ βa.ŋa]	‘wide’
/bebea/	[¹ βe.βe.a]	‘you (sg) defecate’
/duduŋa/	[ru. ¹ ru.ŋa]	‘you (sg) enter’
/dadaŋa/	[ra. ¹ ra.ŋa]	‘garden’
/gigiran/	[¹ ɣi.ɣi.ran]	‘you (sg) grasp’
/gaba-gaba-da/	[_i ɣa.βa. ¹ ɣa.βa.da]	‘our (incl) ancestors’

In example (12) the anticipatory assimilation does not occur because /g/ does not weaken after a consonant.

(12) /gabgab/	[¹ gaβ.gaβ]	‘black sand’
---------------	-------------------------	--------------

Devoicing of Voiced Plosives and /r/

Utterance-final obstruents are devoiced during stop closure. In the same environment /r/ is devoiced. Utterance-final occurrences of /b/, which are rare, may optionally retain the voicing, especially in reduplicated syllables. Some writers have a tendency to use <k> word-finally in place of <g> in examples such as (13a) and (b) below.

(13)	a.	/sulug/	[su. ¹ luk ^ʔ]		‘you descend’
	b.	/mata-g/	[¹ ma.tak ^ʔ]		‘my eye’
	c.	/lab/	[lap]	~ [laβ]	‘beach/shore’
	d.	/i-dab/	[i. ¹ dap]	~ [i. ¹ daβ]	‘he net-fishes’
	e.	/i-dab-dab/	[i. ¹ daβ.daβ]		‘he is net-fishing’
	f.	/ribrib/	[¹ riβ.riβ]		‘coffin’
	g.	/pud/	[puɸ]		‘banana’
	h.	/bod/	[¹ boɸ]		‘shell sp.’
	i.	/tibur/	[ti. ¹ βurɸ]		‘area/bush’
	j.	/arar/	[¹ a.raɸ]		‘be alert’

Devoicing of Sonorants

The sonorants /l/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /r/ are devoiced when they occur in consonant clusters with voiceless plosives. (See §1.4 for an explanation of sequences which produce complex syllable onsets.) /n/ and /ŋ/ can only occur in clusters that have a voiceless homorganic plosive as the first segment of the cluster (i.e. /tn-/ or /kŋ-/). When such a sequence occurs, the two sounds coalesce into a plosive with a voiceless nasal release. The sequence /pm-/, while not occurring in the data, is expected to follow this pattern.

(14)	/tnan/	[t ^h an]	‘you (sg) leave’
	/tna-g/	[t ^h ak ^ʔ]	‘my mother’
	/kŋor/	[k ^h oɸ]	‘fish sp.’
	/sak-ŋa/	[¹ sa.k ^h a]	‘sharpening’
(15)	/krau/	[k ^h rau]	‘be broken’
	/ti-prususu/	[ti.p ^h u. ¹ su.su]	‘they squeeze through’
	/pla/	[p ^h la]	‘you (sg) spit’

/klaslasi/	[k]as.ˈla.si]	‘vine sp.’
/tletle/	[ˈt]ɛ.t]ɛ]	‘fence post’
/atlotlo/	[a.ˈt]o.t]o]	‘you (pl) look in water’

1.2 Vowels

The following chart displays the five vowel phonemes of Bariai with their marked allophones.

	front	back	
		unrounded	rounded
high	i [j̣ i i:]		u [ɯ̣ u:]
mid	e [ɛ̣ ɛ̣ i e:]		o [ɔ̣ ɯ̣ o:]
low		a [ɑ:]	

Table 2: Vowel Phonemes

1.2.1 Vowel Ogliding

During our initial fieldwork, the area of Bariai phonology that seemed most complex was vowel gliding. After conducting analysis and surveying people's preferred spellings of sample words, we came to the conclusion that vowel glides are allophonic variations of the syllabic vowels, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/. The orthographic implication of this analysis is that the use of graphemes <y> and <w> are unnecessary in that they underdifferentiate phonemic contrasts between [ɛ̣] versus [j̣] and [ɔ̣] versus [ɯ̣] on the one hand, and that they overdifferentiate these desyllabified allophones from their syllabic counterparts. Not only did our own analysis lead us to this conclusion, but a vast majority of Bariai people agreed that their language should not be written with <y> or <w>. After later reading Goulden (1989) we were pleased that he also had come to the same conclusion.

A high vowel will become a non-syllabic onglide preceding any other vowel and following either a word boundary or another vowel.

A non-low vowel will become a non-syllabic onglide preceding /o/ or /a/ and following either a word boundary or another vowel.

(16)	/eaba/	[¹ ɛ̥a.βa]	‘man’
	/iaba/	[¹ i̥a.βa]	‘banana sp.’
	/saoa/	[¹ sa.ɔ̥a]	‘what thing?’
	/kaua/	[¹ ka.ɥa]	‘dog’
	/i-bobo eo/	[i.βo. ¹ βo.ɔ̥o]	‘be sleepy’
	/i-boroio/	[i. ¹ βo.ro.i̥o]	‘her lung’
	/eaoa/	[¹ ɛ̥a.ɔ̥a]	‘lime powder’
	/uui-g/	[¹ u.ɥi̥k ⁷]	‘my tail’
	/ieiei-ŋa/	[i̥e. ¹ i̥e.i̥ŋa]	‘pain’
	/ueue/	[¹ ɥe.ɥe]	‘you uncover a stone oven’
	/laoe/	[¹ la.ɔ̥e]	‘fruit season’
	/i-on/	[i. ¹ ɥon]	‘it is full’
	/ual/	[ɥal]	‘sago hammer’
	/oalu-m/	[¹ ɔ̥a.lum]	‘your (sg) fame’

The above rules may apply across morpheme boundaries only in fast speech. These rules produce the following onglide sequences, all of which occur in the data.

[i̥a i̥e i̥o ɥa ɥe ɥo ɥi̥ ɛ̥a ɛ̥o ɔ̥e ɔ̥a]

1.2.2 Vowel Offgliding

A non-low vowel will become a non-syllabic offglide following /o/ or /a/.

A high vowel will become a non-syllabic offglide following a vowel that shares the same value for [back].

(17)	/aita/	[¹ ḁi.ta]	‘brother’
	/ae-g/	[ḁɛ̥k ⁷]	‘my leg’
	/aulaŋa/	[ḁɥ. ¹ la.ŋa]	‘rafter poles’

/a-ol/	[aɔ̌l]	‘you (pl) buy’
/moi/	[mǒj]	‘taro’
/moe/	[mǒɟ]	‘pandanus mat’
/goibe/	[ˈgǒi.βe]	‘all right’
/abei/	[ˈa.βěi]	‘wood’
/borou/	[ˈbǒ.rǒu]	‘magic’
/kapei/	[ˈkǎ.pěi]	‘big’
/ei-ne/	[ˈěi.ne]	‘this one’
/kouŋa/	[ˈkǒu.ŋa]	‘batting stick’

Again, these rules do not apply across morpheme boundaries unless they occur in fast speech. These rules apply to the following sequences, all of which occur in the data.

[ǒi ǒɟ ǒu ěi ǎi ǎɟ ǎo ǎu]

1.2.3 Vowel Weakening

Front vowels may optionally become [- tense] interconsonantly. This usually, but not always, occurs before a nasal consonant.

(18)	/i-keti/	[i.ˈkɛ̌.ti]	‘it breaks’
	/bage-g/	[ˈbǎ.ɣɛ̌kˀ]	‘my hand’
	/serembat/	[sɛ̌.ˈrɛ̌m.batˀ]	‘sweet potato sp.’
	/keŋa/	[ˈkɛ̌.ŋa]	‘rope’
	/i-medameda/	[i.ˌmɛ̌.da.ˈmɛ̌.da]	‘his flesh’
	/bagele/	[ˈbǎ.ɣɛ̌.le]	‘crocodile’
	/patautene/	[ˌpǎ.tǎu.ˈtě.ne]	‘just now’
	/ti-tenai/	[ti.ˈtě.nǎi]	‘they present a gift’
	/i-tini/	[i.ˈtɪ̌n]	‘her skin’
	/nimnim/	[ˈnɪ̌m.nɪ̌m]	‘sand fly sp.’
	/ŋiŋ-daŋa/	[ŋɪ̌ŋ.ˈdǎ.ŋa]	‘laughter’
	/ti-parim/	[ti.ˈpǎ.rɪ̌m]	‘they are conceited’
	/masin/	[mǎ.ˈsɪ̌n]	‘others’

1.3 Morphophonemic Variation

When roots beginning with the sequence /ea-/ occur with a prefix ending in /i-/, the stem-initial /e/ is deleted.

(19)	/ean /	[ɛan]	‘you (sg) eat’
	/i-ean/	[jan]	‘he eats’
	/ti-ean/	[¹ ti.an]	‘they eat’
	/eaoa/	[¹ ɛa.ɔa]	‘you (sg) flee’
	/i-eaoa/	[¹ ja.ɔa]	‘she flees’
	/ti-eaoa/	[ti. ¹ a.ɔa]	‘they flee’

When verb roots beginning with the vowel /o-/ followed by a consonant occur with a prefix ending in /i-/, the vowel /u/ is inserted at the beginning of the stem.

(20)	/ot/	[ot ¹]	‘you (sg) arrive’
	/i-ot/	[¹ i.ɯot ¹]	‘he arrives’
	/ti-ot/	[¹ ti.ɯot ¹]	‘they arrive’
(21)	/ona/	[¹ o.na]	‘you (sg) pull’
	/i-ona/	[i. ¹ ɯo.na]	‘she pulls’
	/ti-ona/	[ti. ¹ ɯo.na]	‘they pull’

When roots beginning with sequence /oa/ occur with a prefix ending in /i-/, the stem-initial /o/ becomes [u].

(22)	/oatai/	[¹ ɔa.taɪ]	‘you (sg) know’
	/i-oatai/	[i. ¹ ɯa.taɪ]	‘he knows’
	/ti-oatai/	[ti. ¹ ɯa.taɪ]	‘they know’
	/oadi-d/	[¹ ɔa.diɸ]	‘their odour’
	/i-oadi/	[i. ¹ ɯaɸ]	‘its odour’

The 3rd singular form of inalienably-possessed nouns is the only member of the paradigm that features a prefix (i-) rather than a suffix. This phenomenon is known to occur in several other Austronesian languages of West New Britain. If the root of an inalienably-possessed noun ends with a high vowel, it will be deleted in the 3rd singular form.

(23)	/launi-g/	[^l laʊ.nik̚]	‘my hair’
	/i-launi/	[i. ^l laʊn]	‘her hair’
(24)	/natu-g/	[^l na.tuk̚]	‘my son’
	/i-natu/	[i. ^l nat̚]	‘his son’
(25)	/gagali-g/	[^l ɣa.ɣa.lik̚]	‘my neck’
	/i-gagali/	[i. ^l ɣa.ɣal]	‘her neck’
(26)	/anunu-g/	[^l a.nu.nuk̚]	‘my dream/image’
	/i-anunu/	[i. ^l a.nun]	‘his dream/image’

The initial vowel of the locative suffix /-eai/ is raised to /i/ when the stem ends in /u/, /iC/ or /uC/ (where C is any consonant).

(27)	/eau-eai/	[^l ɛaʊ.i.ɑ̃]	‘in the water’
	/dubu-eai/	[^l du.βu.i.ɑ̃]	‘in a level area’
	/giniu-eai/	[^l gi.ni.u.i.ɑ̃]	‘in a nest’
	/laulau-eai/	[^l laʊ.laʊ.i.ɑ̃]	‘on a leaf’
	/tibur-eai/	[ti. ^l βu.ri.ɑ̃]	‘in the bush’
	/sil-eai/	[^l si.li.ɑ̃]	‘in the deep part’
	/lum-eai/	[^l lu.mi.ɑ̃]	‘in the men’s house’

The initial vowel of the locative suffix /-eai/ is deleted when attached to stems that end in /e/ or /i/.

(28)	a.	/i-kepe-eai/	[i. ^l ke.pe.ɑ̃]	‘on his shoulder’
	b.	/lalate-eai/	[la. ^l la.te.ɑ̃]	‘on the plate’
	c.	/karei-eai/	[^l ka.re.i.ɑ̃]	‘in the round basket’
	d.	/abei-eai/	[^l a.be.i.ɑ̃]	‘on the tree’
	e.	/lusi-eai/	[^l lu.si.ɑ̃]	‘on the mountain’
	f.	/kude-eai/	[^l ku.re.ɑ̃]	‘on the slit gong’
	g.	/kudeai/	[^l ku.re.ɑ̃]	‘a place name’
	h.	/bare-eai/	[^l ba.re.ɑ̃]	‘at the mangrove’
	i.	/bariai/	[^l ba.ri.ɑ̃]	‘the ethnonym’

Normally when the /-eai/ suffix is lexicalised on a place name, as in example (28g), it conforms to the above pattern. Example (28i) however,

is an exception to this which may lead one to suggest that the underlying form should be /-iai/ rather than /-eai/. If that were the case however, we should expect to see the high vowel retained in examples such as (28 a, b and f).

The first two vowels of the locative suffix /-eai/ are deleted when attached to certain very common stems of at least three syllables that end in /a/.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (29) | /dadaŋa-eai/ | [da.'da.ŋaɪ] | ‘in the garden’ |
| | /bisiŋa-eai/ | [bi.'si.ŋaɪ] | ‘in the basket’ |
| | /i-labora-eai/ | [i.'la.βo.raɪ] | ‘on her head’ |
| | /oaga-eai/ | [ʰo.a.ɣa.ɛaɪ] | ‘on the canoe’ |
| | /luma-eai/ | [ʰlu.ma.ɛaɪ] | ‘in the house’ |

The first vowel of the 3rd singular pronoun /ei/ is deleted when it obligatorily attaches to middle verbs.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (30) | /i-kopra-ei/ | [i.'ko.pɾaɪ] | ‘she curls (herself) up’ |
| | /ta-kopra-gita/ | [ta.'ko.pɾa.ɣi.ta] | ‘we curl (ourselves) up’ |
| (31) | /i-eatna-ei/ | [i'a.tʰaɪ] | ‘he leaps’ |
| | /na-eatna-gau/ | [na.'ɛa.tʰa.ɣau] | ‘I leap’ |
| (32) | /i-lua-ei/ | [i.'lu.aɪ] | ‘he returns’ |
| | /ti-lua-gid/ | [ti.'lu.a.ɣid] | ‘they return’ |

If a verb root ends with a velar nasal, the syllable /-da/ is inserted before the nominalising suffix /-ŋa/. In example (33b) below, the final consonant of the root assimilates to an alveolar point of articulation prior to the /-da/ syllable. This does not happen in (33a) because there is already a velar nasal in the environment at the beginning of the root.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|----------|--------------|------------|
| (33) | a. | /ŋiŋ-ŋa/ | [ŋiŋ.'da.ŋa] | ‘laughter’ |
| | b. | /taŋ-ŋa/ | [tan.'da.ŋa] | ‘crying’ |

1.4 Syllables

The following syllable types occur in the Bariai language.

		no onset	onset	complex onset
monovocalic	open	V	CV	CCV
	closed	VC	CVC	CCVC
divocalic	open	VV	CVV	CCVV
	closed	VVC	CVVC	
trivocalic	open	VVV		
	closed	VVVC		

Table 3: Syllable Types

The most common syllable type is CV, occurring 57% of the time in natural texts. The second most frequently occurring syllable type is V, at 14%. Combined counts of the closed syllables (CVC, VC, VVC and CVVC) show a frequency of 14%. Other divocalic syllables include CVV at 7% and VV at 6%. Trivocalic syllables occur 2% of the time in natural texts.

All consonants can occur in either the onset or the coda. Divocalic syllables can contain either a full vowel followed by a glide, or a glide followed by a full vowel. The nucleus of all trivocalic syllables is always the low vowel /a/.

Syllables with complex onsets (CCV, CCVC and CCVV) are relatively rare, occurring only 0.4% of the time in natural texts. Consonant clusters are restricted to the following twelve plosive-sonorant sequences: /pl pr tl tn kl kŋ kr bl br dl gl gr/. The vast majority of such clusters occur morpheme-initially. There are a few examples in which these sequences occur within morphemes.

- (34) /bru/ [bru] ‘sink’
 /plas/ [p_las] ‘splash gently’
 /kriŋ/ [k_riŋ] ‘red betelnut’
 /blala/ [‘bla.la] ‘pubescent female’
 /i-tlan/ [i.‘t_lan] ‘it accompanies’
 /kablaka/ [ka.‘βla.ka] ‘cuscus’

/tlotlo/	[tʰlo.tʰlo]	‘ember’
/dledle-m/	[dʰle.dʰem]	‘your (sg) fin’
/i-kakrik/	[i.ka.ʰkrik]	‘he is startled’
/kopra-go/	[ko.ʰpra.ɣo]	‘you squat’
/tna-m/	[tʰna.m]	‘your mother’
/i-tna/	[i.tʰna]	‘her mother’
/i-kukukɲa/	[i.ku.ʰku.kʰa]	‘it is plentiful’
/na-togra-gau/	[na.ʰto.gra.ɣau]	‘I am surprised’

Across syllable boundaries, many consonant cluster combinations are possible.

(35) /i-dibdib/	[i.ʰdiβ.diβ]	‘turtle shell’
/memedɲa/	[mɛ.ʰmɛd.ɲa]	‘cold’
/kepkepɲa/	[kep.ʰkep.ɲa]	‘sour’
/sapsap/	[sap.sapʰ]	‘throat’
/nakutkut/	[na.ʰkut.kutʰ]	‘rodent sp.’
/gilotɲa/	[gi.ʰlot.ɲa]	‘shell fish sp.’
/i-pakpak/	[i.ʰpak.pakʰ]	‘it is crisp’
/nanuknuk/	[na.ʰnuk.nukʰ]	‘plant sp.’
/gangano/	[gan.ʰga.no]	‘Singapore taro’
/penpenɲa/	[pen.ʰpen.ɲa]	‘ceremonial assistant’
/kinkinɲa/	[kin.ʰkin.ɲa]	‘inflated’
/renren/	[rɛn.rɛn]	‘you (sg) charge’
/oŋgu/	[oŋ.gu]	‘plant sp.’
/mataŋke/	[ma.ʰtaŋ.ke]	‘steps’
/naŋla/	[naŋ.la]	‘volcano’
/birbiriɲa/	[βir.βi.ri.ʰa.ɲa]	‘green’
/gergeu/	[ger.ge.u]	‘child’
/natartar/	[na.ʰtar.taŋ]	‘fish sp.’
/nasarkame/	[na.sar.ʰka.me]	‘crustacean sp.’
/i-burlogologoi/	[i.βur.lo.ɣo.lo.ʰɣo]	‘it is in shambles’
/keskesu/	[kes.ʰke.su]	‘foul-smelling’
/risɲa/	[ris.ɲa]	‘mountainside path’

1.5 Reduplication Patterns

Most inflecting verbs, and some adjectives and nouns, may be reduplicated. On verbs, such reduplication indicates imperfective aspect (§4.1). On nouns and adjectives, it indicates plurality (§3.2). As the following examples show, there is no predictable pattern of reduplication for any of these word classes. Frequently, the first syllable of a multisyllabic root will be repeated, but some words reduplicate the final syllable, while others reduplicate the whole root and still others reduplicate an inner syllable. Reduplication patterns in Bariai are therefore lexeme specific phenomena. This is known to be the case in the Mbula language which also belongs to the Ngero/Vitiaz group of languages. (See Bugenhagen 1995:45,122.)

- | | | | |
|------|----------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| (36) | /na-bada/ | [na.βa.da] | ‘I get’ |
| | /na-ba-bada/ | [na.βa.βa.da] | ‘I am getting’ |
| (37) | /i-kado/ | [i.ka.do] | ‘she does’ |
| | /i-ka-kado/ | [i.ka.ka.do] | ‘she is doing’ |
| (38) | /ti-bisi/ | [ti.βi.si] | ‘they shoulder’ |
| | /ti-bisi-bisi/ | [ti.βi.si.βi.si] | ‘they are shouldering’ |
| (39) | /loŋo/ | [lo.ŋo] | ‘you (sg) listen’ |
| | /loŋo-loŋo/ | [lo.ŋo.lo.ŋo] | ‘you (sg) are listening’ |
| (40) | /i-eno/ | [je.no] | ‘he sleeps’ |
| | /i-eno-no/ | [je.no.no] | ‘he is sleeping’ |
| (41) | /a-tabul/ | [a.ta.βul] | ‘you (pl) turn over’ |
| | /a-tabul-bul/ | [a.ta.βul.βul] | ‘you are turning over’ |
| (42) | /kapei/ | [ka.pei] | ‘big’ |
| | /kapei-pei/ | [ka.pei.pei] | ‘big ones’ |
| (43) | /kulupu/ | [ku.lu.pu] | ‘heavy’ |
| | /kulupu-lupu/ | [ku.lu.pu.lu.pu] | ‘heavy ones’ |
| (44) | /lautabe/ | [laʉ.ta.βe] | ‘firstborn’ |
| | /lautabe-tab/ | [laʉ.taβ.ta.βe] | ‘firstborns’ |

(45)	/asape/	[a.'sa.pe]	'widow'
	/asape-sap/	[a.sap.'sa.pe]	'widows'

1.6 Suprasegmentals

1.6.1 Length

Vowel length is not contrastive in Bariai. Vowels in stressed, utterance-final, closed syllables are lengthened, particularly if the final consonant is a voiced phoneme. Note that stress placement on the final syllable is an irregularity.

(46)	/imadid/	[i.ma.'di:ŋ]	'she stands'
	/tiŋaŋaŋ/	[ti.ŋa.'ŋa:ŋ]	'they scream'
	/sulem/	[su.'le:m]	'relief'
	/ikapir/	[i.ka.'pi:r]	'it explodes'

1.6.2 Stress

A stressed syllable in Bariai is characterised by intensity and a slightly higher pitch than an unstressed syllable. Although stress is not entirely predictable, it is not contrastive in any example found in the data. Stress primarily occurs on the penultimate syllable of the stem. The stress is retained by this syllable regardless of any reduplication or inflectional suffixing. Consider the following examples.

(47)	/oaga/	[¹ o.a.ya]	'canoe'
	/oaga-eai/	[¹ o.a.ya.ɛaɪ]	'on the canoe'
(48)	/eaba/	[¹ ɛ.a.βa]	'human'
	/eababa/	[¹ ɛ.a.βa.βa]	'human'
(49)	/mata-g/	[¹ ma.ta.k ¹]	'my eye'
	/i-mata/	[i.'ma.ta]	'his eye'
	/mata-da/	[¹ ma.ta.da]	'our (incl) eyes'

When the derivational suffix /-ŋa/ appears on a stem, stress is placed on the penultimate syllable of the resulting surface form.

(50)	/na-kado/	[na.'ka.do]	'I do'
	/kado-ŋa/	[ka.'do.ŋa]	'deed'

- | | | | |
|------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| (51) | /i-gera/ | [i.'ʎɛ.ra] | 'she sees' |
| | /gera-ŋa/ | [gɛ.'ra.ŋa] | 'seeing' |
| (52) | /ta-bisi/ | [ta.'βi.si] | 'we shoulder' |
| | /bisi-ŋa/ | [bi.'sɪ.ŋa] | 'shouldering' |

A final high vowel on the stems of inalienably-possessed nouns is always dropped in the 3rd singular form (§1.3), yet the stress always remains on the penultimate syllable of the underlying form.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (53) | /tini-g/ | [^h tɪ.nɪk ^h] | 'my skin' |
| | /tini-da/ | [^h tɪ.nɪ.dɑ] | 'our (incl) skin' |
| | /i-tini/ | [i.'tɪn] | 'his skin' |
| (54) | /launi-g/ | [^h laʊ.nɪk ^h] | 'my hair' |
| | /launi-mi/ | [^h laʊ.nɪ.mi] | 'your hair' |
| | /i-launi/ | [i.'laʊn] | 'her hair' |
| (55) | /natu-g/ | [^h na.tuk ^h] | 'my son' |
| | /natu-mai/ | [^h na.tu.mɑɪ] | 'our son' |
| | /i-natu/ | [i.'nat ^h] | 'his son' |
| (56) | /oadi-g/ | [^h ɔɑ.dɪk ^h] | 'my odour' |
| | /oadi-da/ | [^h ɔɑ.dɪ.dɑ] | 'our (incl) odour' |
| | /i-oadi/ | [i.'ɔɑd ^h] | 'its odour' |

Stress shifts from the penultimate syllable to the antepenultimate syllable if the vowel of the latter is lower in height than the former or is the same vowel.

- | | | | |
|------|------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| (57) | /i-tekia/ | [i.'tɛ.ki.ɑ] | 'its sap' |
| | /i-labora/ | [i.'la.βo.ra] | 'her head' |
| | /boloma/ | [^h bo.lo.mɑ] | 'near' |
| | /buobuo/ | [bu.'o.bu.o] | 'you are confused' |
| | /giniu/ | [^h gi.ni.u] | 'nest' |
| | /iriau/ | [^h i.ri.ɑʊ] | 'young man' |
| | /bagele/ | [^h ba.ʎe.le] | 'crocodile' |

If a sequence of two repeated syllables occurs in a three syllable root, stress is placed on the antepenultimate syllable.

(58)	/gigima/	[ˈɣi.ɣi.ma]	‘star’
	/palele/	[ˈpa.le.le]	‘you (sg) turn over’
	/parere/	[ˈpa.re.re]	‘you (sg) pour’
	/i-kilele/	[i.ˈki.le.le]	‘she looks carefully’

In addition to the few words presented in example (46) in which stress is placed on the final syllable, the following examples show that the stress placement is not entirely predictable.

(59)	/pagege/	[pa.ˈɣe.ɣe]	‘you (sg) shut’
	/babaŋa/	[βa.ˈβa.ŋa]	‘wide’
	/kadeŋe/	[ka.ˈde.ŋe]	‘in-law’
	/dibala/	[ˈdi.βa.la]	‘sickness’
	/i-mad-madid/	[i.ˌmad.ma.ˈdiɾ]	‘he is standing’
	/tibur/	[ti.ˈβuɾ]	‘area/bush’
	/sulug/	[su.ˈlukʷ]	‘you (sg) descend’
	/mulian/	[ˈmu.li.an]	‘back’

1.7 Pronunciation Variations

While the Bariai language is essentially homogeneous, there are a few words which tend to vary, depending on whether the speaker is from the eastern or western side of the language area. The eastern villages are Kokopo, Gurisi and their surrounding hamlets (see Map 2), and the western villages are all the villages west of Niuniuia.

(60)		Western	Eastern	
	/paisi/	[ˈpaɪ.si]	[ˈpaɪ.sɪŋ]	‘kindle’
	/robi/	[ˈro.βi]	[ˈru.βi]	‘cover’
	/didi/	[ˈdi.di]	[ˈdi.diŋ]	‘knife’
	/i-tuatua/	[i.tu.ˈa.tu.a]	[i.ˈto.tu.a]	‘his bone’
	/i-bilin/	[ˈi.βi.lɪn]	[ˈi.βi.lɪŋ]	‘it is dispersed’
	/kakauede/	[ka.ka.ˈɥe.de]	[ka.ka.ˈɥi.di]	‘small’

As can be seen from the above list, there is no consistent pattern of phonological change between the eastern and the western villages. In §3.5.1, the unique usage of manner demonstratives by the speakers of Akonga village will be discussed. The speakers of the village of Alaido on the western end of the language area tend to metathesise one word /ilo/ ‘search,’ pronouncing it [‘li.o].

1.8 Orthography

This concludes the discussion of Bariai phonology. Henceforth all examples in this paper will be presented in the Bariai orthography which corresponds to the phonemic representation given throughout this section, except that the phoneme /ŋ/ will be represented as the digraph <ng>.

2. WORD AND MORPHEME CLASSES

There are five highly productive, open word classes in Bariai: nouns, adjectives, adverbs, non-inflecting verbs and inflecting verbs. Words in each of these classes may be further subcategorised according to both morphosyntactic and semantic criteria. Table 4 below displays these open classes with the criteria by which they are distinguished from one another.

Criteria	Noun	Adjective	Adverb	Non-Inflecting Verb	Inflecting Verb
Stands alone as a core argument	yes	no	no	no	no
Reduplicates to indicate plurality	limited	limited	no	no	no
Modifies a head noun	limited	yes	no	no	no
Stands alone as a predicate	yes	yes	limited	yes	yes
Takes verbal inflection	no	no	no	no	yes
Modifies a predicate	no	no	yes	no	limited
Can be modified by an intensifier	no	limited	limited	no	limited

Table 4: Contrastive Chart of Open Word Classes

Adjectives and non-inflecting verbs share several syntactic properties but are distinguished from one another in the following ways:

1. The primary function of adjectives is attributive, but they may also occur predicatively in verbless descriptive clauses. Non-inflecting verbs, on the other hand, are used predicatively and never attributively.

2. While many adjectives are gradable, and thus may be modified by an intensifier, non-inflecting verbs are not gradable and cannot be so modified.
3. Many adjectives reduplicate to indicate plurality or only occur in a reduplicated form, while non-inflecting verbs never reduplicate, but instead convey imperfective aspect by a verbal phrase in which the verb is repeated and conjoined by the conjunction *ga*. (See §4.1.7.)

A further difference between these word classes is that about 85% of all non-inflecting verbs are monosyllabic, while only 4% of adjectives are monosyllabic.

Semantically, inflecting verbs can be stative or active, and syntactically, transitive, intransitive or middle, while non-inflecting verbs are always intransitive or middle and semantically express either states, dynamic actions or sounds. Aside from the obvious fact that non-inflecting verbs do not take verbal inflection, a further difference between these classes of verbs is that inflecting verbs can be nominalised by the *-nga* suffix and many take other derivational morphology, while non-inflecting verbs do not take such morphology, though a limited number undergo derivation with a prefix *ka-*. (See §4.1.8.)

The ability to take verbal inflection is also a fundamental difference between the inflecting verbs and adjectives. Also, while both of these classes reduplicate, reduplication on adjectives conveys the plurality of a head noun while reduplication on inflecting verbs conveys imperfective aspect.

Interjections (§5.3.1) comprise an additional open word class which is moderately productive. In addition to the open word classes, there are eleven closed classes and nine classes of affixes. The closed classes, listed in the order in which they may appear in clauses, are as follows:

- conjunctions (§7.1),
- free pronouns (§3.1.1),
- possessive classifiers (§3.8.2),
- quantifiers (§3.3),
- deictic identifiers (§3.5.2),
- demonstratives (§3.5.1),

- tense/mode markers (§4.2),
- prepositions (§5.3.2),
- intensifiers (§3.3 and 5.3.3),
- negation particles (§5.4) and
- an illocutionary particle (§5.3.4).

Of the nine affix classes, seven are derivational:

- a nominaliser suffix *-nga* which derives nouns from verbs (§3.2.3),
- a locative suffix *-eai* which derives locative obliques from nouns (§5.3.2),
- a prefix *ka-* which derives inflecting verbs from non-inflecting verbs (§4.1.8),
- a set of two adverbialiser prefixes, one of which (*pa-*) derives adverbs from quantifiers (§3.4.3), and the other (*ga-*) from directional verbs (§5.3.3),
- the valence-switching verbal prefixes *pa-* and *ma-* (§4.1.2 and 4.1.3),
- a punctiliar aspect verbal prefix *sa-* (§4.1.5) and
- a valency-increasing verbal suffix *-n* (§4.1.2).

The two inflectional affix classes are as follows:

- subject agreement verbal prefixes (§3.1.3) and
- possessor affixes which inflect inalienably-possessed nouns and possessive classifiers (§3.1.4 and 3.8).

3. NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

3.1 Pronouns

There are three pronoun paradigms in Bariai: the free pronouns which may also appear as cliticised objects or obliques, the subject prefixes which inflect verbs, and the possessor affixes which inflect possessive classifiers and inalienably-possessed nouns. No gender distinction is made in the Bariai pronominal system.

	Free Pronoun			Subject Prefix	Possessor Affix
	Free form	Free or Cliticised Object	Oblique Enclitic or Suffix		
1s	<i>gau</i>			<i>na-</i>	<i>-g</i>
2s	<i>eao</i>	<i>go</i>		\emptyset -	<i>-m</i>
3s	<i>ei</i>		<i>-n</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>
1di	<i>gitarua</i>			<i>ta-</i>	<i>-da</i>
1pi	<i>gita</i>				
1de	<i>gairua</i>			<i>a-</i>	<i>-mai</i>
1pe	<i>gai</i>				
2d	<i>gimirua ~ amirua</i>			<i>a-</i>	<i>-mi</i>
2p	<i>gimi</i>				
3d	<i>gisirua ~ asirua</i>			<i>ti-</i>	<i>-d</i>
3p	<i>gid</i>				

Table 5: Pronouns

3.1.1 Free Pronouns

The free pronouns may occur in NPs bearing a wide range of syntactic roles, including subject, object, possessor, and object of the general preposition *ngan*.

- (61) *Gau na-la.*
 1s S1s-go
 ‘I go.’
- (62) *Gid ti-rau gau.*
 3p S3p-strike 1s
 ‘They struck me.’
- (63) *Gau le-g gaea i-la.*
 1s PCAg-P1s pig S1s-go
 ‘My pig went.’
- (64) *Gimi a-posa ngan gau.*
 2p S2p-talk GP 1s
 ‘You talk about me.’

With the exception of the pluralising use of the pronoun *gid* (discussed in §3.2.2), the free pronouns are only used for animate antecedents. The 3rd singular *ei* never means ‘it.’ Instead, a cliticised demonstrative *ei=ne*, *ei=na* or *ei=ua* is used. See §3.5.1 for a discussion of demonstratives.

The 2nd Singular Free Pronouns *eao* and *go*

The 2nd singular is the only member of the paradigm for which a distinct objective form (*go*) exists. The 2nd singular *eao* can function independently in any type of NP. The objective *go*, on the other hand, only functions as an object NP or as an object of the preposition *ngan*, and never as a subject or possessor. Since either *eao* or *go* may appear as an object NP or as a prepositional object, there are situations in which they may occur in free variation.

- (65) *Ti-uangga ti-ean eao.*
 S3p-want S3p-eat 2s
 ‘They want to eat you.’

- (66) *Gai ga a-ean go.*
 1pe FUT S1pe-eat 2sObj
 ‘We will eat you.’
- (67) *Ti-posa sat ngan eao.*
 S3p-talk badly GP 2s
 ‘They talk badly about you.’
- (68) *Tini-g i-gelgel ngan go.*
 skin-P1s S3s-be.happy GP 2sObj
 ‘I’m pleased with you.’ (lit. ‘My skin is happy about you.’)
- (69a) *Na-lua go.* (b) *Na-lua eao.*
 S1s-help 2sObj S1s-help2s
 ‘I help you.’ ‘I help you.’

Dual Forms

For the free pronouns only, there are distinct dual forms. The 2nd and 3rd duals *gimirua* and *gisirua* each have a free-varying alternate form (*amirua* and *asirua* respectively), but the inclusive and exclusive 1st duals do not. The alternate forms are somewhat rare, only occurring in 8% of the 2nd and 3rd dual pronoun instances (23 out of 283).

- (70) *Gau ga na-la le-da tuanga-i, be gimirua*
 1s FUT S1s-go PCAg-P1pi village-LOC but 2d
ga a-dio.
 FUT S2p-stay
 ‘I will go to our village, but the two of you will stay.’
- (71) *Ø-Gera Kaliu ta amirua a-gal gaea.*
 S2s-see Kaliu SEQ 2d S2p-stab pig
 ‘See Kaliu and then the two of you stab the pig.’
- (72) *I-gera gisirua mambe tini-d i-gelgel pa-n*
 S3s-see 3d like skin-P3p S3s-be.happy at-3sObl
mao.
 not
 ‘He saw the two of them as not being happy toward him.’

- (73) *Io, asirua ti-nam ti-uot toman ngan le-d*
 okay 3d S3p-come S3p-arrive ACMP GP PCAg-P3p
kaua.
 dog
 ‘Okay, the two of them came and arrived together with their dog.’

Arguably, *gitarua*, *gairua* and *gimirua* are not true dual forms, since they are constructed by the simple compounding of the plural pronouns with the numeral *rua* ‘two.’ In fact, any numeral or quantifier following a plural pronoun similarly quantifies it. With other numerals and quantifiers, pronouns are not compounded, but juxtaposed. See §3.5 for more on noun phrase syntax.

- (74) *gid tol* ‘the three of them’
gai pange ‘the four of us (excl)’
gimi busa ‘the many of you’

However, the fact that the dual pronouns are single words is evident from the following:

1. The trisyllabic *gairua* is pronounced as a single word with antepenultimate stress (§1.6.2),
2. The 2nd dual *gimirua*, like the 3rd dual, has a free-varying alternate form (*amirua*) which cannot be divided,¹ and
3. The people have a propensity to write each of these pronouns as single words.

Goulden (1996:118) lists the trial forms *amitol*, *asitol* and *gisitol*, but we have not found these to be grammatically acceptable.

3.1.2 Cliticised Obliques and Objects

The free pronouns are obligatorily cliticised to the following bound morphemes:

- a) the preposition *pa* (‘at’) (§5.3.2),
- b) the preposition *to* (‘belonging to’) (§3.8.4),
- c) the delimiting adverb *kekele* (‘only’) and

¹ Neither *ami* nor *asi* can stand alone as a pronoun, though they do appear elsewhere as plural bound forms with the accompaniment enclitic =*ngada*. See §3.4.4.

- d) a limited set of middle verbs. (See §4.1 for a complete list of middle verbs which require cliticised object pronouns.)

In situations a), b) and c) above, the 2nd and 3rd singular forms of the cliticised pronouns are =*go* and *-n* respectively, rather than *=*eo* and *=*ei*. The use of the suffix *-n* for the 3rd singular is unique to these three bound morphemes *pa*, *to* and *kekele*. These bound morphemes take only cliticised pronouns (or the suffix *-n*) as their phrase head, though they may be further specified by an NP as in examples (76), (78) and (79).

- (75) *pa=go* ‘to you’
pa-n ‘to him’
to=go ‘belonging to you’
to-n ‘belonging to him’
kekele=go ‘only you’
kekele-n ‘only he/him’
- (76) *Ta-posa pa=gid kapei-pei.*
 S1pi-talk at=3p elder-RDP
 ‘We talk to the elders.’
- (77) *A-mado kekele=gai.*
 S1pe-sit only=1pe
 ‘We sat by ourselves.’
- (78) *Oaga to=go i-la pa-n Jon.*
 canoe of=2sObj S3s-go at-3sObl Jon
 ‘Your canoe went to Jon.’
- (79) *Eao kekele=go Ø-eno ngan luma ei to-n.*
 2s only=2sObj S2s-sleep GP house 3s of-3sObl
 ‘You alone slept in his house.’

The regular dual forms cliticise to the prepositions *pa* and *to*, but the alternate 2nd and 3rd dual forms, *amirua* and *asirua*, do not. None of the dual forms cliticise to the delimiting adverb *kekele*.

- (80) *pa=gisirua* ‘to the two of them’ **pa=asirua*
pa=gimirua ‘to the two of you’ **pa=amirua*
to=gisirua ‘of the two of them’ **to=asirua*
to=gimirua ‘of the two of you’ **to=amirua*

gisirua kekele=gid ‘only the two of them’ **kekele=gisirua*
gimirua kekele=gimi ‘only the two of you’ **kekele=gimirua*

With middle verbs, the 2nd and 3rd singular object forms are =*go* and =*ei* respectively, but in the surface form, =*ei* is reduced to =*i* (see §1.3). Dual pronouns are not cliticised to middle verbs.

- (81) *i-lua=i mulian*
 S3s-return=3s back
 ‘she returns back’
- (82) *i-nogo=i*
 S3s-shake=3s
 ‘it shook itself’
- (83) *na-togra=gau*
 S1s-be.surprised=1s
 ‘I’m surprised’
- (84) *a-eara=gimi*
 S2p-rest=2p
 ‘you rested’
- (85) *Ø-kopra=go*
 S2s-curl.up=2sObj
 ‘you curl up’
- (86) *gisirua ti-ara=gid*
 3d S3s-rest=3p
 ‘the two of them rested’

3.1.3 Subject Prefixes

Subject prefixes, glossed as S, obligatorily attach to all inflecting verbs (§4.1). The 1st plural exclusive and 2nd plural share the same form, so context must determine which is intended. The morphophonemic changes in the 3rd singular and plural forms of verbs beginning with *o*, such as the following, are rule governed (§1.3).

- (87) *na-oangga* ‘I want’
Ø-oangga ‘you (sg) want’
i-uangga ‘he wants’

<i>ta-oangga</i>	‘we (incl) want’
<i>a-oangga</i>	‘we (excl) want’
<i>a-oangga</i>	‘you (pl) want’
<i>ti-uangga</i>	‘they want’

3.1.4 Possessor Affixes

Possessor affixes, glossed as P, inflect nouns that are directly possessed as well as the possessive classifiers *a* and *le*, which are used in indirect possession (§3.7). When the 3rd singular prefix *i-* attaches to the possessive classifiers *a* and *le*, the surface forms are irregular, *ae-a* and *e-le* respectively, instead of the expected **i-a* and **i-le*. (See §3.8.2 for an explanation of the semantic difference between the possessive classifiers.)

(88)	<i>mata-g</i>		‘my eye’
	<i>mata-m</i>		‘your (sg) eye’
	<i>i-mata</i>		‘her eye’
	<i>mata-da</i>		‘our (incl) eyes’
	<i>mata-mai</i>		‘our (excl) eyes’
	<i>mata-mi</i>		‘your (pl) eyes’
	<i>mata-d</i>		‘their eyes’
(89)	<i>le-g</i>	<i>a-g</i>	‘my’
	<i>le-m</i>	<i>a-m</i>	‘your (sg)’
	<i>e-le</i>	<i>ae-a</i>	‘his’
	<i>le-da</i>	<i>a-da</i>	‘our (incl)’
	<i>le-mai</i>	<i>a-mai</i>	‘our (excl)’
	<i>le-mi</i>	<i>a-mi</i>	‘your (pl)’
	<i>le-d</i>	<i>a-d</i>	‘their’

3.2 Nouns

In addition to possessor affixation marked on directly possessed nouns, there are three other types of morphologically complex nouns: nouns reduplicated to indicate their plurality, nouns derived from verbs by a nominalising suffix and nouns derived into locative obliques by a locative suffix.

3.2.1 Noun Classification

Nouns are categorised syntactically according to the form of possession they take, either direct (where the possessive marker is

morphologically bound) or indirect (where the possessive marker is a free form) (§3.7), and according to whether they can be reduplicated to indicate plurality. They are not marked for gender or case. As for how nouns differ from other open word classes, see Table 4 in §2.

Direct possession is used for inalienable items, such as physically attached parts of both animate and inanimate entities, by-products, most relationship terms and some abstract nouns which are closely associated with the possessor. Indirect possession is used for alienable items. Tables 6 and 7 below display the various semantic categories which can be distinguished among alienable and inalienable nouns. They also show whether reduplication is possible for each example. (See also §3.2.2.)

Semantic Subcategories		Examples		Can be Pluralised by Reduplication
attached parts	of animate beings	<i>bagbage</i> <i>labora</i> <i>luo</i> <i>gonga</i>	'wing' 'head' 'tooth' 'finger'	no no yes yes
	of inanimate things	<i>boga</i> <i>gal</i> <i>kaikai</i> <i>oaro</i>	'branch' 'bay' 'handle' 'root'	yes no no yes
	locative parts	<i>bulolo</i> <i>pao</i> <i>lolo</i>	'underside' 'top' 'interior'	no no no
by-products	of animate beings	<i>ngongo</i> <i>singi</i>	'mucus' 'blood'	no no
	of inanimate things	<i>girar</i> <i>pata</i> <i>puapua</i> <i>sul</i>	'ember' 'log' 'seed' 'juice'	no no no no
relationships		<i>adaoa</i> <i>bebe</i> <i>natu</i> <i>liu</i>	'spouse' 'advocate' 'son' 'sibling'	yes no no yes
inalienable abstractions		<i>anunu</i> <i>daba</i> <i>oalu</i> <i>tautaudi</i> <i>ura</i>	'dream/image' 'number' 'reputation' 'spirit' 'strength'	no no no no no

Table 6: Inalienable Nouns

Semantic Subcategories		Examples	Can be Pluralised by Reduplication	
animate	relations obligatorily possessed with the <i>le</i> classifier	<i>kadenge</i>	‘sibling in-law’	no
		<i>ausis</i>	‘co-affinal kin’	no
		<i>sil</i>	‘cross-cousin’	yes
		<i>sasa</i>	‘great-grand kin’	no
		<i>lamoe</i>	‘namesake’	no
	modifier nouns	<i>akono</i>	‘orphan’	yes
		<i>asape</i>	‘widow’	yes
		<i>iriau</i>	‘bachelor’	yes
non-specific	<i>gergeu</i>	‘child’	no	
	<i>gaea</i>	‘pig’	no	
	<i>man</i>	‘bird’	no	
specific	<i>orongon</i>	‘bird sp.’	no	
	<i>aipel</i>	‘snake sp.’	no	
inanimate	non-specific	<i>abei</i>	‘tree’	no
		<i>luma</i>	‘house’	no
	specific	<i>angal</i>	‘tree sp.’	no
		<i>kaisopul</i>	‘taro sp.’	no
	abstractions	<i>aleburo</i>	‘trickery’	no
		<i>arala</i>	‘immorality’	no
	<i>aum</i>	‘labour exchange’	no	

Table 7: Alienable Nouns

Modifier nouns are lexemes which in given contexts can have either a nominal or modifying function. Though they can stand alone as nouns, they can also modify a more generic head noun. These tend to reduplicate since that is a feature common to adjectives. (See §3.3.)

- (90) *eaba iriau*
 man bachelor
 ‘a bachelor’

- (91) *Iriau toa i-pit malo.*
 bachelor GIV S3s-fasten waistcloth
 ‘The bachelor fastened a waistcloth.’

Specificity is a significant distinction to make on nouns because, like modifying nouns, a specific noun can modify a more generic noun, though they do not reduplicate. These also may stand alone as nouns.

- (92) *man orongon*
bird hornbill
'a hornbill'
- (93) *eso amlango*
crab crab.sp.
'a large, round crab species'
- (94) *Na-gera orongon toa rua oa.*
S1s-see hornbill GIV two there
'I saw those two hornbills.'

Animacy is an additional, important distinguishing feature of nouns because only inanimate nouns can take the locative suffix *-eai*.

- (95) *lusi-ai* 'on the mountain'
abei-ai 'in the tree'
**gergeu-iai* 'on the child'
**kaua-eai* 'on the dog'

3.2.2 Noun Reduplication and Plurality

Plurality marked by reduplication is a feature common to adjectives (§3.3) and nouns. There are only about 50 nouns which are known to reduplicate. Bariai has multiple morphological patterns of reduplication which show no distinction in meaning (§1.5). About 80% of nouns that reduplicate are directly possessed. Reduplication on directly-possessed nouns and highly animate indirectly-possessed nouns usually indicates plain numerical plurality. Reduplication on less animate nouns may indicate diminutive plurality. On a few nouns, reduplication functions as derivational morphology, but not in a way that is predictable. Note the following examples.

	Base	Reduplicated
numerical plurality	<i>aranga</i> ‘man’ <i>kambu</i> ‘clansman’ <i>i-laoa</i> ‘her parent in-law’ <i>i-mae</i> ‘its tongue’ <i>i-rib</i> ‘its protruding root’	<i>aranga-ranga</i> ‘men’ <i>kambu-kambu</i> ‘clansmen’ <i>i-laoa-laoa</i> ‘her parents in-law’ <i>i-mae-mae</i> ‘its tongues’ <i>i-rib-rib</i> ‘its protruding roots’
diminutive plurality	<i>boto</i> ‘skin ulcer’ <i>liu</i> ‘lake’ <i>mota</i> ‘snake’ <i>pat</i> ‘stone’ <i>i-ragia</i> ‘its fragment’ <i>tano</i> ‘land’	<i>boto-boto</i> ‘small infected sores’ <i>liu-liu</i> ‘pools’ <i>mota-mota</i> ‘worms’ <i>pat-pat</i> ‘gravel’ <i>i-rag-ragia</i> ‘its tiny slivers’ <i>tan-tano</i> ‘sand’
lexical or derivational change	<i>eaba</i> ‘person’ <i>mudo</i> ‘murkiness’ <i>i-eda</i> ‘his name’ <i>i-tae</i> ‘its faeces’ <i>maron</i> ‘benefactor’	<i>eaba-ba</i> ¹ ‘humans’ (n) ² ‘human’ (adj) <i>mudo-mudo</i> ‘murky’ (adj) <i>eda-eda</i> ‘name’ (n. alienable) <i>tae-tae</i> ‘faeces’ (n. alienable) <i>ma-maron</i> ¹ ‘benefactors’ (n) ² ‘generosity’ (n) ³ ‘generous’ (adj)

Table 8: Noun Reduplication

Number is normally not coded on nouns apart from the 50 or so which reduplicate to indicate plurality. Their plurality may be marked on a modifying adjective (§3.3), or may be evident from the context or may be an inherent property of the lexeme itself. However, it is possible to signal plurality with such nouns by beginning the noun phrase with the third plural free pronoun *gid*. (Compare the similar use of the Melanesian Pidgin pronoun *ol*.)

- (96) *gid apu* ‘rules’
gid madidnga ‘leaders’
gid man ‘birds’

3.2.3 Derived Nouns

Nouns may be derived from verbs using the nominaliser suffix *-nga* (glossed as NR). All such derived nouns refer to events. Some derived nouns also have a second meaning, referring either to an item or a human

role associated in some way with the event. A few derived nouns have second meanings in other word classes. Note the examples below.

	Base		Derived	
Events	<i>ean</i> <i>kado</i> <i>deba</i> <i>gera</i> <i>mate</i>	‘eat’ ‘do’ ‘slash’ ‘see’ ‘die’	<i>ean-nga</i> <i>kado-nga</i> <i>deba-nga</i> <i>gera-nga</i> <i>mate-nga</i>	‘eating’ ‘behaviour’ ‘slashing’ ‘seeing’ ‘death’
Events and Items	<i>doi</i> <i>bau</i> <i>ninipu</i> <i>ol</i> <i>luga</i> <i>sogo</i> <i>suk</i> <i>did</i> <i>bisi</i>	‘scoop’ ‘sing’ ‘recount’ ‘buy’ ‘wrap’ ‘decorate’ ‘gather’ ‘enclose’ ‘shoulder-carry’	<i>doi-nga</i> <i>bau-nga</i> <i>ninipu-nga</i> <i>ol-nga</i> <i>luga-nga</i> <i>sogo-nga</i> <i>suk-nga</i> <i>did-nga</i> <i>bisi-nga</i>	¹ ‘scooping’, ² ‘spoon’ ¹ ‘singing’, ² ‘song’ ¹ ‘recounting’, ² ‘story’ ¹ ‘buying’, ² ‘payment’ ¹ ‘wrapping’, ² ‘package’ ¹ ‘decorating’, ² ‘decoration’ ¹ ‘gathering’, ² ‘heap’ ¹ ‘enclosing’, ² ‘wall’ ¹ ‘shouldering’, ² ‘basket’
Events and Human Roles	<i>paeaea</i> <i>oai</i> <i>madid</i> <i>dol</i> <i>muga</i>	‘cause to toil’ ‘marry’ ‘stand’ ‘set’ ‘precede’	<i>paeaea-nga</i> <i>oai-nga</i> <i>madid-nga</i> <i>dol-nga</i> <i>muga-nga</i>	¹ ‘causing to toil’, ² ‘servant’ ¹ ‘marrying’, ² ‘married man’ ¹ ‘standing’, ² ‘leader’ ¹ ‘setting’, ² ‘creator’ ¹ ‘going first’, ² ‘starter’
Other word Classes	<i>kapo</i> <i>pilai</i> <i>pakaka</i> <i>mumul</i>	‘form’ ‘braid’ ‘deceive’ ‘hide’ (intr)	<i>kapo-nga</i> <i>pilai-nga</i> <i>pakaka-nga</i> <i>mumul-nga</i>	¹ ‘forming’, ² ‘round’(adj) ¹ ‘braiding’, ² ‘braided’(adj) ¹ ‘deceiving’, ² ‘deceptive’(adj) ¹ ‘hiding’, ² ‘in secret’(adv)
Complex Derived Nouns				
Causative verbs	<i>pa-longo</i> <i>pa-oatai</i> <i>pa-mate</i>	‘cause to hear’ ‘cause to know’ ‘cause to die’	<i>pa-longo-nga</i> <i>pa-oatai-nga</i> <i>pa-mate-nga</i>	‘announcement’ ‘teaching’ ‘murder’
Middle verbs	<i>lua</i> <i>eara</i>	‘return’ ‘rest’	<i>lua=i-nga</i> <i>eara=i-nga</i>	‘return’ (n) ‘rest’ (n)
Reduplicated verbs	<i>ean</i> <i>daba</i> <i>nasi</i>	‘eat’ ‘rebuke’ ‘follow’	<i>ean-ean-nga</i> <i>daba-daba-nga</i> <i>nas-nasi-nga</i>	‘feast’ ‘rebukes’ ‘continually following’

Table 9: Derivation of Nouns from Verbs

The word *annga* ‘food’ may be an earlier nominalised form of the verb *ean* ‘eat,’ but today it contrasts semantically with the nominalised *ean-nga*, which does not mean ‘food,’ but rather ‘eating.’

When verbs are nominalised, the subject prefixes are absent, enabling a grammatical possessor to function as the semantic agent or experiencer of the event, depending on which (if any) possessive classifier is used with the derived noun (§3.8.2). All other verb morphology such as valence-switching prefixes may remain. Surprisingly, middle verbs retain the cliticised 3rd singular object pronoun, regardless of the person or plurality of the semantic agent (if present). No cliticised pronoun besides the 3rd singular may appear on a nominalised middle verb.

- (97) *Ngan le-d lua=i-nga, ti-lado ga ti-dudunga*
 GP PCAg-P3p return=3s-NR S3p-run CNJ S3p-entered
tuanga-i.
 village-LOC
 ‘At their return, they ran and entered the village.’

- (98) *Ti-pagun abei eara=i-nga ae-a.*
 S3p-erect wood rest=3s-NR P3s-PCEX
 ‘They erected a piece of wood for resting.’

Derived nouns may also be reduplicated, indicating either the iterative aspect of an event, as in example (99), or the plurality of an item or human role, as in examples (100) and (101).

- (99) *Le-d boko-nga ngan no-nono-nga anue.*
 PCAg-P3p work-NR GP RDP-cook-NR sea.cucumber
 ‘Their work had to do with cooking sea cucumbers.’

- (100) *Panua ti-tado le-d lua-lua-nga.*
 people S3p-throw PCAg-P3p RDP-help-NR
 ‘People throw their contributions.’

- (101) *I-posa ngan gid oai-oai-nga toman ngan le-d*
 S3s-talk GP 3p RDP-marry-NR ACMP GP PCAg-P3p
gergeu
 child.
 ‘He speaks about married people together with their children.’

3.2.4 The Locative Noun Suffix *-eai*

The noun suffix *-eai* derives locative obliques from inanimate nouns (regardless of the form of possession the noun takes). When it co-occurs with the possessor suffixes, *-eai* is word-final. (For more on the syntax of locative obliques see §5.3.2.) See §1.3 for the various allomorphs of the *-eai* suffix.

- (102) *luma-eai* ‘in the house’
i-bulolo-eai ‘at its underside’
mata-g-eai ‘in my eye’

3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are an open word class. Table 4 in §2 gives the criteria by which they are distinguished from other open word classes. This includes the ability to modify a head noun which an adjective always follows and, in most cases, to be modified by an intensifier. An adjective cannot stand alone as a core grammatical argument. In verbless descriptive clauses adjectives can be used predicatively (§5.1.3).

- (103) *bangabanga* ‘naked’
gargar ‘unripe’
kepkepnga ‘sour’
kopkop ‘empty’
malan ‘lightweight’
matoltol ‘thick’
singsingia ‘red’
tautaunga ‘true’

About 17% of all adjectives reduplicate to indicate the plurality of the head noun.

Base		Derived	
<i>gaea kapei</i>	‘large pig’	<i>gaea kapei-pei</i>	‘large pigs’
<i>gergeu lautabe</i>	‘firstborn child’	<i>gergeu lautab-tab-e</i>	‘firstborn children’
<i>danga kulupu</i>	‘heavy thing’	<i>danga kulupu-lupu</i>	‘heavy things’
<i>luma pau</i>	‘new house’	<i>luma pa-pau</i>	‘new houses’
<i>taine blala</i>	‘pubescent female’	<i>taine blala-la</i>	‘pubescent females’

Table 10: Pluralised Adjectives

An additional 40% of adjectives only occur in reduplicated form. In these cases the reduplicated form does not indicate plurality, which instead can be signalled by the plural marker *gid*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (104) <i>pat oanaoana</i>
stone hot
'hot stone' | (105) <i>gid pat oanaoana</i>
PL stone hot
'hot stones' |
| (106) <i>gaea saksak</i>
pig wild
'wild pig' | (107) <i>gid gaea saksak</i>
PL pig wild
'wild pigs' |
| (108) <i>abei bolobolo</i>
tree short
'short tree' | (109) <i>gid abei bolobolo</i>
PL tree short
'short trees' |
| (110) <i>malo manmanenga</i>
cloth thin
'thin cloth' | (111) <i>gid malo manmanenga</i>
PL cloth thin
'thin cloths' |
| (112) <i>oaga mugamuga</i>
canoe old
'old canoe' | (113) <i>gid oaga mugamuga</i>
PL canoe old
'old canoes' |

A number of lexemes are multicategorical and may syntactically appear as adjectives or as verbs.

- (114) *A-nasi edap tu-tutui mon.*
S2p-follow road RDP-straight only
'Only follow straight roads.'
- (115) *Le-mi posa-nga i-tutui mao.*
PCAg-P2p talk-NR S3s-be.straight not
'Your talk isn't straight.'
- (116) *Panua rua ti-kemi ala.*
people two S3p-make.good fence
'Two people repair a fence.'

- (117) *Ei i-dio pa=gid panua kemi-kemi.*
 3s S3s-stay at=3p people RDP-good
 ‘She is staying with good people.’

3.4 Numbers and Quantifiers

3.4.1 Cardinal Numbers

The Bariai cardinal number system combines aspects of both base five and base ten systems. There are separate lexical items for numbers one through five. Six through nine are phrases formed from five (*lima*) plus one through four, conjoined by the conjunction *ga* ‘and’ (e.g. *lima ga ede* ‘five and one’ = ‘six’). There are separate lexical items for ten, hundred and thousand. The form for 50 is a contraction of ten and five (*sangaul* ‘ten’ plus *lima* ‘five’ = *sangalima* ‘50’). Numbers between ten and 50 are formed from ten (*sangaul*) juxtaposed with one through five (e.g. *sangaul pange* ‘four tens’ = ‘40’). Numbers between any multiple of ten and a subsequent multiple of ten are formed from the multiple of ten followed by the word *igegea* which means ‘left over,’ plus a term or phrase for one through nine (e.g. *sangaul rua igegea ede* ‘two tens, one left over’ = ‘21’). Optionally, the conjunction *ga* may precede *igegea* in such a phrase, or in less formal contexts, replace it. Depending on the context, when forming numbers between eleven and 20, it is not necessary to quantify ten with *ede* ‘one.’ Numbers between 50 and 100 are formed from 50 (*sangalima*), plus ten juxtaposed with one through five (e.g. *sangalima sangaul pange* ‘fifty, four tens’ = ‘90’). Numbers above 100 require the word for hundred (*buno*) to be quantified (e.g. *buno ede igegea lima* ‘one hundred, five left over’ = ‘105’). Numbers above 600 are formed by five hundred (*buno lima*) juxtaposed with another multiple of 100 (e.g. *buno lima buno rua* ‘five hundreds, two hundreds’ = ‘700’). Numbers this high are used somewhat rarely, but might come up when publicly counting fathoms of shell money contributed to the hosts of a traditional feast. (A fathom of shell money is a six-foot long necklace strand of bivalve shells, which are trimmed and filed smoothly into small discs.) In less formal contexts, numbers above 600 may be shortened for example to *buno lima ga rua* ‘five hundreds and two’ = ‘700.’ The term for ‘thousand’ *bunoringring* contains the word for ‘hundred’ (*buno*), but

cannot be meaningfully divided since *ringring* does not have an independent meaning. It should be noted that except in counting, the term *kelede* ('only one') is often used instead of *ede* ('one').

1 <i>ede</i>	'one'
2 <i>dua</i>	'two'
3 <i>tol</i>	'three'
4 <i>pange</i>	'four'
5 <i>lima</i>	'five'
6 <i>lima ga ede</i>	'five and one'
7 <i>lima ga rua</i>	'five and two'
8 <i>lima ga tol</i>	'five and three'
9 <i>lima ga pange</i>	'five and four'
10 <i>sangaul (ede)</i>	'(one) ten'
11 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea ede</i>	'(one) ten (and) one left over'
12 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea rua</i>	'(one) ten (and) two left over'
13 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea tol</i>	'(one) ten (and) three left over'
14 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea pange</i>	'(one) ten (and) four left over'
15 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea lima</i>	'(one) ten (and) five left over'
16 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea lima ga ede</i>	'(one) ten (and) five and one left over'
17 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea lima ga rua</i>	'(one) ten (and) five and two left over'
18 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea lima ga tol</i>	'(one) ten (and) five and three left over'
19 <i>sangaul (ede) (ga) igegea pange</i>	'(one) ten (and) five and four left over'
20 <i>sangaul rua</i>	'two tens'
21 <i>sangaul rua (ga) igegea ede</i>	'two tens (and) one left over'
30 <i>sangaul tol</i>	'three tens'
40 <i>sangaul pange</i>	'four tens'
50 <i>sangalima</i>	'fifty'
60 <i>sangalima sangaul ede</i>	'fifty, one ten'
70 <i>sangalima sangaul rua</i>	'fifty, two tens'
80 <i>sangalima sangaul tol</i>	'fifty, three tens'
90 <i>sangalima sangaul pange</i>	'fifty, four tens'
100 <i>buno (ede)</i>	'(one) hundred'
101 <i>buno ede (ga) igegea ede</i>	'one hundred, one left over'
105 <i>buno ede (ga) igegea lima</i>	'one hundred, five left over'
110 <i>buno ede sangaul (ede)</i>	'one hundred, (one) ten'
160 <i>buno ede sangalima sangaul ede</i>	'one hundred, fifty, one ten'
200 <i>buno rua</i>	'two hundreds'
500 <i>buno lima</i>	'five hundreds'
600 <i>buno lima buno ede</i>	'five hundreds, one hundred'
1,000 <i>bunoringring (ede)</i>	'(one) thousand'
10,000 <i>bunoringring sangaul</i>	'ten thousands'

Table 11: Cardinal Numerals

- (118) *Komba ede i-bada sangaul rua, ede pade i-bada*
 helper one S3s-get ten two one other S3s-get
sangaul tol, ede pade i-bada sangaul ede.
 ten three one other S3s-get ten one
 ‘One helper gets twenty (fathoms of shell money), another gets
 thirty, and another gets ten.’
- (119) *Na-boko ngan rai sangaul i-gegea lima.*
 S1s-work GP wind ten P3s-left.over five
 ‘I worked for fifteen years.’

3.4.2 Ordinal Numbers

There are no independent ordinal numbers in Bariai. Most often such sequential relationships are expressed by verbs. For example, first, second and third could be represented by the phrases *i-muga* ‘it precedes,’ *ede i-nasi* ‘one follows,’ and *ede pade i-nasi* ‘another one follows.’ Second to last and last could be represented by *muriai* ‘behind’ and *muriai tau* ‘very behind.’ It is also possible to use an associative possessive construction (§3.8.3) to form an ordinal number. For example, *ado tol ae-a* ‘day of three’ is a way to express ‘the third day.’

3.4.3 Other Numerical Concepts

Bariai has a word for whole (*dodol*) and two different words which may express the concept of ‘half:’ *iadag* ‘half’ and *i-apala* ‘its piece.’ (The word *iadag* is also used as an adverb meaning ‘across’ or ‘on the other side.’) Various phrases are employed to refer to fractions of other amounts.

- (120) *Ø-Poga ga i-man pange.*
 S2s-split CNJ S3s-become four
 ‘Split so that it becomes four.’
- (121) *i-apala pange*
 P3s-piece four
 ‘its four pieces’

- (122) *kokako dodol*
 chicken whole
 ‘a whole chicken’
- (123) *Le-m iadag ga eko.*
 PCAg-P2s half LIG here
 ‘Your half is here.’

To form multiplicative adverbs, Bariai employs the derivational prefix *pa-* (‘times’) to cardinal numbers less than ten and to some other quantifiers. There is evidence from studies of other Oceanic languages that this *pa-* and the causative prefix *pa-* have the same origin. (See Lynch, Ross and Crowley 2002:74 and §4.1.2 for causative.)

- (124) *pa-kelede* ‘once’
pa-rua ‘twice’
pa-busa ‘many times’
pa-pida ‘how many times?’

Distributives may be formed by repeating a number. (See §3.4.4 below for a discussion of how distributives may also be formed with the enclitic =*ngada*.)

- (125) *I-bada gelema kelede kelede.*
 3:3s-get crayfish one one
 ‘He took the crayfish one by one’

3.4.4 Other Quantifiers

In addition to numerals, there is a small set of adnominal quantifiers which are listed below.

- (126) *busa* ‘many’
ngada ‘all’
eta ‘some’
pidaede ‘few’
ruaede ‘a couple’
tolede ‘few’
pade ‘other/more’

The Enclitic =*ngada*

The enclitic =*ngada* occurs in the following four situations:

- 1) in its free form it means ‘all,’
- 2) cliticised onto a numeral it derives a distributive adverb,
- 3) cliticised onto a special class of three modifiers it indicates plurality and
- 4) cliticised onto a plural free pronoun it indicates accompaniment.

Since it does something different in each of these situations, there is no single gloss that covers all its uses, though its meaning does not vary in different instances of the above situations.

First, in its free form the enclitic =*ngada* means ‘all,’ and it requires the referential particle *toa*, which marks given information, to precede it and a demonstrative determiner *ne*, *na* or *oa* to follow it. (See §3.5 for more on demonstratives and deictic identifiers.)

- (127) *gaea toa ngada ne*
 pig GIV all here
 ‘all these pigs’
 **gaea ngada*
 **gaea ngada ne*
 **gaea toa ngada*

Secondly, when =*ngada* attaches to a numeral it derives a distributive adverb, meaning ‘each’ or ‘at a time.’

- (128) *Ti-pan ae-a kodaē kelede=ngada, rua=ngada.*
 S3p-give P3s-PCEX mango one=each two=each
 ‘They gave him mangoes one at a time, two at a time.’

Thirdly, there is a special class of three modifiers (*ede*, *eta* and *pade*) with which =*ngada* indicates plurality. The numeral *ede* ‘one’ also functions as an indefinite article modifying nominals in realis contexts, where it may be translated as ‘a’ or ‘some.’ The irrealis counterpart to this use of *ede* is *eta*, which only occurs in future, conditional, imperative, negated or otherwise non-actualised clauses. (This realis/irrealis distinction between *ede* and *eta* also applies to the etymologically-related

intensifiers *tede* and *teta* described below.) The third modifier, *pade*, may be glossed as ‘other.’

- (129) *Ti-la ti-mado ngan tuanga ede aluai.*
 S3p-go S3p-sit GP village one far
 ‘They went and lived in a distant village.’
- (130) *Na-kisi naurata eta mao.*
 S1s-hold work one.IR not
 ‘I didn’t hold any work.’
- (131) *Taine ede i-popo aranga, be taine ede pade*
 female one S3s-bear male SIM female one other
i-popo taine.
 S3s-bear female
 ‘One woman gave birth to a male, but the other one gave birth to a female.’
- (132) *Panua eta=ngada pade ti-ma-mado toman gid mao.*
 people one.IR=PL other S3p-RDP-sit ACMP 3p not
 ‘No other people were living with them.’
- (133) *Kakau ede=ngada ti-nasi edap bapolo ae-a.*
 youth one=PL S3p-follow road buffalo P3s-PCEX
 ‘Some youths followed the road of the buffalo.’
- (134) *Kakau pade=ngada ti-dae ga ti-la aesukul.*
 youth other=PL S3p-ascend CNJ S3p-go high.school
 ‘Other youths ascended and went to the high.school.’
- (135) *Kakau eta=ngada ga ti-paele mulian tuanga-i.*
 youth one.IR=PL FUT S3p-follow.coast back village-LOC
 ‘Some youths will follow the coast back to the village.’

In a fourth use of =*ngada*, it occurs as an enclitic on a plural free pronoun where it indicates accompaniment and may be glossed as ‘together/with.’ This is not possible with singular free pronouns. The 2nd and 3rd plural forms with the enclitic =*ngada* also have alternate forms, similar to the dual alternate forms discussed in §3.1.1. (The enclitic =*ngada* does not occur on dual pronouns.) The 1st plural inclusive form is

irregular, in that the vowel *i* is required before the enclitic. Also, there is a free-varying metathesised form =*danga* which only occurs with the plural pronouns, creating four free-varying alternates for the 2nd and 3rd plurals! These forms vary according to idiolectal preference.

<i>gitai=ngada</i>	~ <i>gitai=danga</i>	‘we (incl) together’
<i>gai=ngada</i>	~ <i>gai=danga</i>	‘we (excl) together’
<i>gimi=ngada</i> ~ <i>ami=ngada</i>	~ <i>gimi=danga</i> ~ <i>ami=danga</i>	‘you (pl) together’
<i>gisi=ngada</i> ~ <i>asi=ngada</i>	~ <i>gisi=danga</i> ~ <i>asi=danga</i>	‘they together’

- (136) *Ei i-gou gitai=danga danga sisid toa busa ne.*
 3s S3s-gather 1pi=together thing PL GIV many here.
 ‘He gathers us together with the many things here.’
- (137) *A-kisi uui-g ta gitai=ngada ta-tol.*
 S2p-hold tail-P1s SEQ 1pi=together S1pi-dance
 ‘Hold my tail and let’s dance together.’
- (138) *Gisi=danga ti-ma-mado ga gisirua kapei-pei.*
 3p=together S3p-RDP-sit CNJ 3d big-RDP
 ‘Together they lived until the two of them were big.’
- (139) *Gisi=ngada le-d gergeu ga ad-adaoa-d ti-an.*
 3p=together PCAg-P3p child CNJ RDP-spouse S3p-eat
 ‘They together with their children and spouses ate.’
- (140) *Duadua i-bau, tota asi=ngada ti-tol.*
 wallaby S3s-sing therefore 3p=together S3p-dance
 ‘The wallaby sang, therefore together they danced.’

Numeral Compounds

The numeral *ede* may also indicate the concept of fewness when it compounds with one of three other quantifiers, *rua* ‘two,’ *tol* ‘three’ and an interrogative word *pida* ‘how many.’ When *pida* compounds with *ede*, the interrogative meaning is bleached.

- (141) *ruaede* ‘a couple’
ruaeta ‘a couple (irrealis)’
tolede ‘a few’
toleta ‘a few (irrealis)’

pidaede ‘a few’
pidaeta ‘a few (irrealis)’

- (142) *Ti-sanga kapei-pei pidaede ga mao.*
 S3p-await elder-RDP few CNJ not
 ‘They awaited a few of the elders to no avail.’

The irrealis forms only occur in future, conditional, imperative, negated or otherwise non-actualised clauses.

- (143) *Ø-Pan a-g ia ruaeta.*
 S2s-give PCEX-P1s fish couple.IR
 ‘Give me a couple of fish.’

The numeral *ede* also occurs in a construction where it is repeated and conjoined by the conjunction *ga*, in which case it means ‘various kinds of.’ Other numerals cannot function in this manner.

- (144) *kado-nga ede ga ede*
 behave-NR one CNJ one
 ‘various kinds of behaviour’

- (145) *danga ede ga ede*
 thing one CNJ one
 ‘various kinds of things’

Modification of Quantifiers

The concept of ‘many’ is conveyed by the quantifier *busa*. This quantifier (along with many other adjectives, adverbs and even some verbs) may be modified by one of three intensifiers: *tau* ‘very,’ *tede* ‘somewhat’ and *teta* which also means ‘somewhat.’ The difference between *tede* and *teta* is that *tede* is used in realis contexts and *teta* in irrealis. This corresponds to the same realis/irrealis distinction described above with regard to the etymologically related modifiers *ede* and *eta*.

- (146) *panua busa* ‘many people’
panua busa tede ‘a considerable number of people’
panua busa tau ‘very many people’

- (147) *Ti-arum niu busa tede.*
 S3p-plant coconut many somewhat
 ‘They planted a considerable number of coconuts.’
- (148) *Ø-Kado kemi ga Ø-rau a-da gaea busa*
 S2s-do well CNJ S2s-strike PCEX-P1pi pig many
teta.
 somewhat.IR
 ‘Do well and kill a considerable number of pigs for us.’

3.5 Deixis

Deixis is one of the most complex topics in Bariai grammar. Many of the meanings deal with subtle pragmatic nuances, and not everything is fully understood at this point.

In Bariai deictic constructions, deictic information falls into two main slots. The first slot functions to identify a referent and may mark whether it is given or new information. Emphatic identification is also possible. This part of the deictic construction may consist of a referential particle *toa* and/or a ligature *ga* or an emphatic identifier *tota*. Table 12 below gives an overview of these identifiers which will be discussed further in §3.5.2. The second slot consists of a member of a demonstrative set which provides information on the contextual position of the identified referent in relation to the speaker and addressee. This slot will be discussed further in §3.5.1. Since several deictic constructions may have either a nominal or an adverbial function, the discussion in this section will not be limited to NP modification. The tables below provide an overview of the Bariai deixis system.

Slot 1: Deictic Identifiers		interlinear gloss	function
referential particle	<i>toa</i>	GIV	marks given information
ligature	<i>ga</i>	LIG	introduces relative phrases and clauses and (without <i>toa</i>) marks new information
emphatic identifier	<i>tota</i>	EmpID	makes emphatic identification

Table 12: Deictic Identifiers

Slot 2: Demonstratives		Proximal	Medial	Distal	functions
Nominal Demonstratives	set 1	<i>ne</i> 'here'	<i>na</i> 'there.2'	<i>oa</i> 'there'	adnominal adverbial
	set 2	<i>oai=ne</i> 'this'	<i>oai=na</i> 'that.2'	<i>oai=ua</i> 'that'	adnominal pronominal
	set 3	<i>ei=ne</i> 'this'	<i>ei=na</i> 'that.2'	<i>ei=ua</i> 'that'	pronominal adnominal conjunctival
Locative Demonstrative Adverbs		<i>ne=ne</i> 'here'	<i>ne=na</i> 'there.2'	<i>e=oa</i> 'there'	adnominal (cataphoric) adverbial
		<i>e=ko</i> 'here'			adnominal adverbial
Manner Demonstrative Adverb		<i>beda=ne</i> 'like.this'	<i>beda=na</i> 'like.that.2'	<i>beda=oa</i> 'like.that'	adverbial adnominal pronominal
Temporal/Spatial Demonstrative Adverb		<i>teda=ne</i> 'shortly here'	<i>teda=na</i> 'shortly there.2'	<i>teda=oa</i> 'shortly there'	adverbial

Table 13: Demonstratives

The examples below show the various combinations of identifiers and demonstratives which may occur adnominally, in this case modifying the word for ‘house.’

- (149)
- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>luma</i> | ‘house’ |
| b. | <i>luma ne</i> | ‘this house’ |
| c. | <i>luma toa</i> | ‘the house (which is shared knowledge)’ |
| d. | <i>luma toa ne</i> | ‘this house (which is shared knowledge)’ |
| e. | <i>luma tota</i> | ‘the very house’ |
| f. | <i>luma oaine</i> | ‘this house’ |
| g. | <i>luma toa-ine</i> | ‘this house (which is shared knowledge)’ |
| h. | <i>luma ga oaine</i> | ‘this house (which is new information)’ |
| i. | <i>luma eine</i> | ‘this house’ |
| j. | <i>eine luma</i> | ‘this is a house’ |
| k. | <i>luma ga eine</i> | ‘this house (which is new information)’ |
| l. | <i>luma toa ga eine</i> | ‘this house (which is shared knowledge)’ |
| m. | <i>luma ga nene</i> | ‘the house which is here (pointed to)’ |
| n. | <i>luma toa nene</i> | ‘the house here (where we share knowledge)’ |
| o. | <i>luma tota nene</i> | ‘the very house here’ |

3.5.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives comprise the second major slot in Bariai deictic constructions and occur as the final constituent of an NP. (See §3.6 for more on NP syntax.) The demonstrative system is person-oriented, distinguishing between positions near the speaker (proximal), near the addressee (medial) and away from both (distal). The demonstrative determiners *ne* (proximal), *na* (medial) and *oa* (distal) may appear as independent determiners, as examples (149b) and (149d) show, or they may appear as enclitics on any one of five demonstrative sets shown in Table 13. (Since the components of several of these cliticised demonstrative constructions would be difficult to gloss individually, we felt it would be more meaningful to gloss them as whole words, and so that is how they will appear throughout this paper.) Most of the demonstrative sets have more than one function, but they may be classified according to their primary function as either nominal or adverbial.

There are three sets of demonstratives which have a primarily nominal function. The first is the set of determiners *ne*, *na* and *oa*, which

are unmarked for plurality and (after the referential particle *toa*) may follow other NP modification. The second is the *oaine*, *oaina* and *oaiua* set, which are singular and (after *toa*) cannot follow other NP modification. This set is less frequent than the other sets. The third is the *eine*, *eina* and *eiua* set, which is the most versatile demonstrative set and the only one which has a primarily pronominal function. The semantic distinctions between the adnominal functions of these three sets are unclear at this time. For this reason, several of the glosses in example (149) are identical.

Nominal Demonstrative Set 1: the Determiners *ne*, *na* and *oa*

When the demonstrative determiners *ne*, *na* or *oa* occur independently with a noun, they function adnominally but they may also express textual deixis, indicating a speaker or writer's assessment of how contextually proximate or accessible a noun phrase's referent is to the hearer or reader. Example (151), which comes from a written third person narrative, illustrates this.

- (150) *Sai i-kado oaga ne?*
 who.SG S3s-do canoe here
 'Who made this canoe?' (speaker points at canoe)
- (151) *Taine i-tman gergeu ne.*
 woman S3s-leave child here
 'The woman left this child.'
- (152) *Gai eaba eta i-saoa angal na mao.*
 1pe man one.IR S3s-tend Canarium.almond there.2 not
 'None of us tended that Canarium almond tree (of which you speak).'
- (153) *Basu oa i-uot madongan?*
 smoke there S3s-come.about how
 'How did that smoke there come about?'

When these demonstrative determiners occur with the referential particle *toa*, other NP modification such as adjectives, quantifiers and relative clauses may be "sandwiched" between the referential particle and determiner.

- (154) *Ta-la ngan salisali-nga toa kapei oa.*
 S1pi-go GP compete-NR GIV big there
 ‘Let’s go to the big competition there.’
- (155) *Ti-tatan annga toa oa.*
 S3p-bake food GIV there
 ‘They baked that food.’
- (156) *Gergeu toa oa i-toba-toba lalala-nga.*
 child GIV there S3s-RDP-try walk-NR
 ‘That child was trying to walk.’

These demonstrative determiners also occur adverbially. See the discussion below on locative demonstrative adverbs for an explanation of the difference between this adverbial function and that of the locative demonstrative adverbs.

- (157) *Gisirua ti-lado oa, be Nagumo i-pakaka ei.*
 3d S3p-run there but Nagumo S3s-deceive 3s
 ‘The two of them ran there, but Nagumo deceived him.’
- (158) *Patautene na-ot ngan, ta na-bada ga i-dae*
 just.now S1s-arrive GP SEQ S1s-get CNJ S3s-ascend
ne
 here
 ‘Just now I found it, and so I brought it up here.’

Nominal Demonstrative Set 2: *oaine*, *oaina* and *oaiua*

The demonstratives *oaine*, *oaina* and *oaiua* are far less common than the other nominal demonstratives. They are singular and may function either adnominally, as in examples (159), (160) and (161), or pronominally, as in examples (162) and (163). However, the pronominal function is very rare, and these are the only examples in our data corpus. The construction of these forms possibly consists of the distal determiner *oa* followed by the 3rd singular pronoun *ei* with another cliticised determiner (*oa=ei=ne*). If this is the case, however, the significance of the initial distal determiner is unclear. Unlike the determiners *ne*, *na* and *oa*, they are restricted in that they allow no other NP modification to precede them when they occur with the referential particle *toa*. When they occur

with *toa*, they are morphologically joined and reduced to *toaine*, *toaina* and *toaiua*.

- (159) *Tibur oaine i-man a-g dadanga.*
 area this S3s-become PCEX-P1s garden
 ‘This area is for my garden.’
- (160) *Ta taim toa-ina ti-ma-mado Siamatai.*
 SEQ time GIV-that.2 S3p-RDP-sit Siamatai
 ‘And so at that time they were sitting in Siamatai.’
- (161) *Ngan bong toa-iua aoara i-tap.*
 GP night GIV-that rain S3s-fall
 ‘On that night rain fell.’
- (162) *Na-ninipu oaine ngan dadanga ae-a kado-nga.*
 S1s-recount this GP garden P3s-PCEX make-NR
 ‘I recount this about the making of a garden.’
- (163) *Ai, oaine paeamao.*
 hey this bad
 ‘Hey, this one is bad.’

Nominal Demonstrative Set 3: *eine*, *eina* and *eiua*

The most versatile demonstrative set is *eine*, *eina* and *eiua*. These are constructed from the 3rd singular pronoun *ei* with a cliticised demonstrative determiner. However, they are not restricted to modifying singular referents, as examples (166) and (171) show. These may function either pronominally or adnominally as the following examples show. The adnominal function, however, is somewhat rare. They also have a conjunctival function in introducing the apodosis of conditional constructions. The conjunctival function, which will be discussed in §7.1.7, is the most frequent, and the pronominal function the second most frequent. Since the free pronouns are only used for animate antecedents (§3.1.1), inanimate antecedents are often referred to with the pronominal use of this demonstrative set, as in example (168).

Adnominal

- (164) *Ninipu-nga eine i-kado panua ga ti-ning.*
 recount-NR this S3s-make people CNJ S3p-laugh
 ‘This story makes people laugh.’
- (165) *I-uangga i-uol paua toa ga eina pa-n*
 S3s-want S3s-buy power GIV LIG that.2 at-3sObl
i-tama.
 P3s-father
 ‘He wanted to buy that power from his father.’
- (166) *Paeaea-nga eiua ti-nono.*
 labour-NR that S3p-cook
 ‘Those labourers cook.’

Pronominal

- (167) *Eina i-posa-posa eine pa-n i-tama.*
 that.2 S3s-RDP-speak this at-3sObl P3s-father
 ‘He was saying this to his father.’
- (168) *I-bage tnan eine ga i-dio.*
 S3s-hand leave this CNJ S3s-go.down
 ‘He dropped this one so that it went down.’
- (169) *Eine gau a-g ninipu-nga.*
 this 1s PCEX-P1s recount-NR
 ‘This is my story.’
- (170) *Mao apa, eina eao a-m annga.*
 not papa that.2 2s PCEX-P2s food
 ‘No papa, that is your food.’
- (171) *Marijuana ga iaba eine danga paeamao.*
 marijuana CNJ banana.sp. this thing bad
 ‘Marijuana and banana beer these are a bad thing.’

Locative Demonstrative Adverbs

The primary function of locative demonstrative adverbs is adverbial, but they may also be used adnominally. Unlike the other demonstrative

sets, this set has two proximal members, *nene* and *eko*. The form *eko* is unexpected in that it is not based on or derived from the proximal determiner *ne*. This is cognate with a proximal demonstrative *ko* in the neighbouring Maleu language and is possibly a borrowed term. The only difference between *nene* and *eko* is that *nene* is sometimes used to make cataphoric reference, but *eko* is not. Since *nene* is more versatile in this regard, it is slightly more frequent than *eko*, occurring in 57% of all proximal instances of the locative demonstrative adverbs.

The difference between these locative adverbs and the adverbial use of the determiners *ne*, *na* and *oa*, as in examples (157) and (158), is that the determiners only exhibit textual referencing (i.e. assumed accessibility or activation of a referent for the hearer or location within the story), whereas the locative demonstrative adverbs exhibit both a textual referencing function as well as indicating physical locations with respect to the speaker and hearer. This difference is also true between the adnominal functions of these adverbs and that of the three adnominal demonstrative sets.

The following examples show the adverbial function of the locative demonstrative adverbs.

(172) *I-lua=i mulian ga i-nam i-dio nene.*
 S3s-return=3s back CNJ S3s-come S3s-stay here
 ‘He returned back and came and stayed here.’

(173) *Gimi kekele=gimi a-dio a-eno eko mao.*
 2p only=2p S2p-stay S2p-sleep here not
 ‘Don't you alone sleep here.’

(174) *Oangga ei i-lat nena, eao Ø-ngangar.*
 if/when 3s S3s-immediately.go there.2 2s S2s-scream
 ‘When he immediately goes there, you scream.’

- (175) *Danga sisid ga i-suknga ga i-eno-no ga*
 thing PL LIG S3s-be.heaped CNJ S3s-lay-RDP LIG
eo, eiua to-n sai?
 there that Prp-3sObl who
 ‘The things which are heaped and lying over there, whose are they?’

The following examples show the adnominal function of the locative demonstrative adverbs.

- (176) *Gita ta-mukuru ngan danga tota nene.*
 Ipi S1pi-die.off GP thing EmpID here
 ‘We were dying off from this very thing here.’
- (177) *Tibur ga nena, Saksaku na, gimi a-oatai tibur*
 area LIG there.2 Saksaku there.2 2p S1pi-know area
ga nena.
 LIG there.2
 ‘The area over there, Saksaku there, you know that area over there.’
- (178) *Be eaba ga eko i-an.*
 SIM man LIG here S3s-eat
 ‘But the man right here ate it.’
- (179) *Na-ean-ean annga ne eaba ga eoa i-dol tibur*
 S1s-RDP-eat food here man LIG there S3s-set bush
i-mata-i oa.
 P3s-edge-LOC there
 ‘I’m eating this food which the man over there placed at the edge of the bush there.’

The non-proximal locative demonstrative adverbs often make anaphoric reference to a location. In example (180), the author made a brief digression in parentheses to tell about a location named *Nolou*, and when he makes reference back to it in the following sentence, he uses the deictic construction *toa nena*. See §3.5.2 for how *toa*, which marks given information, functions in anaphoric reference.

- (180) *I-lalala ga i-nam ga tibur ti-uato Nolou*
 S3s-walk CNJ S3s-come CNJ area S3p-call Nolou
(ti-uangga ta-dug-dug ngan, mao ae-da i-sulug
 S3p-say S1pi-RDP-jump GP or foot-P1pi S3s-descend
ngan pangapanga, be ae-da kuakua ne).
 GP mud SIM foot-P1Pi have.elephantiasis here
Ta i-lalala ga i-nam toa nena.
 SEQ S3s-walk CNJ S3s-come GIV there.2
 ‘He walked and came up to an area they call Nolou (they say if we step on it, or when our foot goes down in the mud, our foot acquires elephantiasis here). And so he walked and came there.’

The proximal determiner *ne* in either its free or cliticised form is required for making cataphoric reference (but see the discussion below on manner demonstratives for an exception to this). The ligature *ga* (§3.5.2), which can be used to mark new information, often combines with *ne* or =*ne* to make cataphoric reference. The proximal demonstrative adverb *eko* is not used in this way.

- (181) *Gimi manta a-nasi gid apu i-danga ede ga nene:*
 2p must S2p-follow PL rule P3s-part one LIG here
Ø-posa paeamao ngan oae-m ede pade mao ...
 S2s-speak bad GP companion-P2s one other not
 ‘You must follow some of the following rules here: don’t speak badly about your fellow companion, ...’
- (182) *I-uot mulian e-le tuanga i-mul-iai ga*
 S3s-emerge back P3s-PCAg village P3s-space-LOC LIG
nene, Abeta, Kamaea Ikukul
 here Abeta Kamaea Ikukul
 ‘He arrived back to the site of his village over here, Abeta or Kamaea Ikukul.’

Manner Demonstrative Adverbs

All occurrences of manner demonstrative adverbs are either anaphoric, cataphoric or in immediate, visible reference. The proximal *bedane* ‘like this’ is most often used cataphorically. It may also be used anaphorically, especially with the referential particle *toa*, and is also used

for immediate reference. The distal *bedaoa*, on the other hand, is only used anaphorically (except by the people of Akonga village). Interestingly, the medial *bedana* is rare and didn't occur in our corpus of natural text, but only as an elicited form. As was mentioned above, the proximal *ne* or *=ne* is required to make cataphoric reference.

The following examples show the various functions of manner demonstrative adverbs.

- (183) *Ei i-keo pa=gid e-le kakau bedane,*
 3s S3s-speak at=3p P3s-PCAg young.people like.this
 “*Gimi a-dio.*”
 2p S2p-stay
 ‘He spoke to his young people like this, “You stay.”’
- (184) *Gai a-kado naurata dadanga ae-a ga bedane: Gai*
 1pe S1pe-do work garden P3s-PCEXx LIG like.this 1pe
a-la a-rou, ta a-posa ngan tibur ede ...
 S1pe-go S1pe-convene SEQ S1pe-talk GP area one
 ‘We do the work of a garden like this: we go and convene, and then we talk about an area ...’
- (185) *Eao Ø-nas-nasi toa bedane ga i-la ga*
 2s S2s-RDP-follow GIV like.this CNJ S3s-go CNJ
i-la.
 S3s-go
 ‘You keep following like this and it goes on and on.’
- (186) *Kalo i-longo gaea i-keo toa bedaoa, tota*
 frog S3s-hear pig S3s-speak GIV like.that therefore
i-lolo bake.
 P3s-interior be.angry
 ‘The frog heard the pig speak like that, therefore he was angry.’

- (187) *Eaba bedane, ta-longo ei, ta i-kado saoa ta*
 man like.this S1pi-hear 3s SEQ S3s-do what CMPL
i-uot ta-gera?
 S3s-happen S1pi-see
 ‘A man like this, (if) we listen to him, then what will he do that happens and we see it?’
- (188) *Gid kado-nga pa-paeamao toa bedaoa, manta*
 PL behave-NR RDP-bad GIV like.that must
a-nasi mao.
 S2p-follow not
 ‘Such bad actions, you must not follow.’
- (189) *Mande i-gera bedaoa, tota i-dug ga i-nasi*
 Mande S3s-see like.that therefore S3s-jump CNJ S3s-follow
Sigini ga gaea.
 Sigini CNJ pig
 ‘Mande saw this, therefore he jumped and followed Sigini and the pig.’
- (190) *Oangga eaba eta, danga sisid ae-a lukaut, ta*
 if/when man one.IR thing PL P3s-PCEX caretaker SEQ
kemi. I-pa-pa-un gid, i-pan-pan gid, be
 good S3s-RDP-CAUS-drink 3p S3s-RDP-feed 3p SIM
ne bedaoa paeamao.
 here like.that bad
 ‘If there were some man, a caretaker of the things, then it would be good. He would be watering them, and feeding them, but this (situation) like that is bad.’

Although the proximal *ne* is normally required to make cataphoric reference, Bariai speakers from the village of Akonga use both the distal *bedaoa* and proximal *bedane* cataphorically and tend to favour the distal for this function, except where it follows the referential particle *toa*, which marks given information. Examples (191) and (192) show adverbial cataphoric reference by speakers of Akonga village.

- (191) *Akono i-keo pa-n Buruku bedaoa, "Kemi ngan
Akono S3s-speak at-3sObl Buruku like.that good GP
gimirua a-ngangar."
2d S2p-scream*
'Akono spoke to Buruku as follows, "It's good for the two of you to
scream."'
- (192) *Gid kado-nga pa-paeamao toa ne ga bedaoa:
PL do-NR RDP-bad GIV here LIG like.this
I-paeabu tano, i-paeabu eau, ...
S3s-destroy land S3s-destroy water*
'These bad deeds here are as follows: It destroys the land, it
destroys the water, ...'

Temporal/Spatial Demonstrative Adverbs

The temporal/spatial demonstrative adverbs are somewhat rare. They are used to indicate brevity of distance or time.

- (193) *Ating, le-g pa-longo-nga tota tedane.
I.think PCAg-P1s CAUS-hear-NR EmpID shortly.here*
'I think as for my announcement, that's it for this brief time.'
- (194) *I-lado ga tedaoa mambe kabasi i-pasu=i
S3s-run LIG shortly.there as axe S3s-pull.away=3s
ne.
here*
'He ran that short distance like an axe-head flying off here.'

3.5.2 Deictic Identifiers

Table 12 in §3.5 shows the three deictic identifiers *toa*, *ga* and *tota* which occur in the first slot of Bariai deictic constructions. We will now examine the distribution and function of each of these identifiers in more detail.

The Referential Particle *toa*

The referential particle *toa* (glossed as GIV) functions to identify a referent and mark it as given information. It is most frequently used to

modify a head noun which it follows. It is seldom used in introducing a participant and is often used for anaphoric references.

- (195) *Ado ede akono i-la i-uona kaua. Akono toa*
 day one orphan S3s-go S3s-pull dog orphan GIV
i-lalala ...
 S3s-walk
 ‘One day an orphan went hunting with dogs. The orphan walked ...’
- (196) *Gaea i-pare eaba ede. Eaba toa i-lado ...*
 pig S3s-chase man one man GIV S3s-run
 ‘A pig chased a man. The man ran ...’
- (197) *Kapei ede ga i-gera tibur. Oangga kapei toa i-gera*
 elder one FUT S3s-see area. if/when elder GIV S3s-see
abei i-laun ...
 tree P3s-leaf
 ‘One elder will inspect the area. If the elder sees tree leaves ...’

We saw in §3.5.1 that the referential particle *toa* may co-occur with the demonstrative determiners *ne*, *na* and *oa* and that these determiners allow other NP modification, such as adjectives, quantifiers and relative clauses, to precede them after *toa*. (See §3.6 for more on noun phrase structure, and 3.9 for more on relative clauses.) Here are some further examples.

- (198) *Poai toa na to=go.*
 Malay.apple GIV there.2 Prp=2sObj
 ‘The Malay apple tree there is yours.’
- (199) *gaea toa mireo oa*
 pig GIV round.tusked there
 ‘the round-tusked pig there’
- (200) *kadanga toa rua oa*
 post GIV two there
 ‘the two posts there’

- (201) *Ti-sanga ado toa ti-dol oa.*
 S3p-await day GIV S3p-set there
 ‘They await the date which they set there.’

The referential particle *toa* can sometimes stand in place of an elided head noun.

- (202) *A-la ngan tibur toa ti-keo ngan oa. A-la*
 S1pe-go GP area GIV S3p-speak about there. S1pe-go
a-ot ngan toa, ta kapei ede i-gera ...
 S1pe-arrive GP GIV then elder one S3s-see
 ‘We go to the area they spoke about there. We go and arrive at it,
 and then an elder looks ...’

We have already seen from examples (160) and (161) above how *toa* may be joined with the adnominal demonstratives *oaine*, *oaina* and *oaiua* and morphologically reduced. In each of the above cases it follows a head noun and marks it as given information.

We also saw, but have not yet explained, how *toa* functions with locative and manner demonstrative adverbs, as in examples (180), (185) and (186). In these cases, as in the examples below, *toa* doesn't follow a noun referent, but instead precedes an adverb, marking either a location or an event as given information, depending on the type of adverb with which it occurs. The adverbial distribution of *toa* is not limited to co-occurrence with demonstrative adverbs, but it may also occur with other locative or temporal adverbs. (See §5.3.3 for more on adverb phrases.)

- (203) *Na-dio toa eoa a-g rai ede.*
 S1s-stay GIV there PCEX-P1s year one
 ‘I stayed there (in the given location) for one of my years.’
- (204) *Gaisala tau ti-kado toa bedaoa i-rangrang ngan*
 morning very S3p-do GIV like.that S3s-continue GP
le-d mate-nga.
 PCAG-P3p die-NR
 ‘Early in the morning they do (the given activity) like that until
 their death.’

- (205) *Toa somisomi ne gau na-ma-marum ngan*
 GIV always here 1s S1s-RDP-be.earnest GP
le-g gaea ae-a pan-nga.
 PCAg-P1s pig P3s-PCEX feed-NR
 ‘All the time here, I was earnest with regard to my pig's feeding.’
- (206) *I-dug ga i-la toa ga-dae oa.*
 S3s-jump CNJ S3s-go GIV AVR-ascend there.
 ‘It jumped and went up above there (in the given location).’

Similarly, *toa* can modify a location expressed as an oblique derived from the locative noun suffix *-eai*, which it precedes. (See §5.3.2 for more on the syntax of oblique phrases.)

- (207) *Gid ti-titiau toa eau-iai oa.*
 3p S3p-play GIV water-LOC there
 ‘They played at the water there.’
- (208) *I-kopra=i toa abei i-pu-iai oa.*
 S3s-curl.up=3s GIV tree P3s-base-LOC there
 ‘He curled up (in the given location) at the tree’s base there.’

The Ligature *ga*

Table 14 below shows all the uses of *ga*, both as a conjunction and as a ligature. In each of these functions *ga* may operate at phrase level or clause level. The conjunctive function of *ga* will be discussed more fully in §7.1.2. When it occurs in noun phrases, the ligature *ga* functions to specify the identity of a referent. It may occur by itself or with the referential particle *toa*, which it always follows. When it occurs with *toa*, it identifies a referent more specifically than the identification indicated by the referential particle *toa*. For example, in English, we can identify a referent by saying “the one which is ...” or “those which are ...” In Bariai, *toa* corresponds to the identification conveyed by the English “the one” and “those,” while the ligature *ga* corresponds to the identification conveyed by “which is” and “which are.” In English, such phrases necessarily introduce a relative clause. In Bariai it can introduce a relative clause or simple noun phrase modification.

		gloss	function
conjunction	phrase level	'and'	conjoins equally prominent constituents
	clause level		conjoins a result clause to a means clause
	phrase level	'until'	introduces a phrase or clause indicating a point of cessation of the activity of the main clause
ligature	phrase level	LIG	introduces deictic constructions and (without <i>toa</i>) marks new information
			can introduce relative clauses
	clause level	'that'	introduces embedded object complements of cognitive verbs

Table 14: Functions of the Ligature *ga*

The following are more examples of the phrase-level function of the ligature *ga*.

(209) *I-la boloma ngan denga toa ga Namaramanga oa.*
 S3s-go close GP grave GIV LIG Namaramanga there
 'He went close to the grave at Namaramanga there.'

(210) *Sapa-nga ga kapei i-paeabu ngan le-mi*
 disappear-NR LIG big S3s-destroy GP PCAg-P2p
tuanga.
 village
 'A big famine (may) destroy your village.'

(211) *I-uaoran taine ga kakau oa.*
 S3s-awaken female LIG young there
 'He awakened that young woman.'

We have said that the referential particle *toa* marks given information. The ligature *ga* on the other hand, when it occurs without *toa*, marks new information and is often used in cataphoric reference when it combines

with the proximal demonstrative *ne*. The cataphoric reference is made by the demonstrative *ne*, while the ligature *ga* marks the information as situationally new or unexpected.

- (212) *Ø-Kado toa bedane.*
 S2s-do GIV like.this
 ‘Do like this (as we've just spoken of).’
- (213) *Ø-Kado ga bedane.*
 S2s-do LIG like.this
 ‘Do like this (as I'm now demonstrating).’
- (214) *Ta-ul le-da puo toa eko.*
 S1pi-spread PCAg-P1pi net GIV here
 ‘Let's spread our net here (in the given location).’
- (215) *Le-m puo ga eko.*
 PCAg-P2s net LIG here
 ‘Your net (is) here (where I'm now pointing).’
- (216) *Gergeu lautabe ae-a naurata i-boko ga*
 child firstborn P3s-PCEx work S3s-function LIG
bedane: mugaiai ga gergeu i-tama ga i-tma
 like.this first FUT child P3s-father CNJ P3s-mother
ti-koromot ...
 S3p-prepare
 ‘A firstborn child's work functions as follows: first, the child's father and mother will prepare ...’

The Emphatic Identifier *tota*

The deictic identifier *tota*, which occurs in the first slot of deictic constructions, makes emphatic identification of a referent. It is most often used adverbially, but can also occur in an adnominal demonstrative construction. Apart from its deictic function, *tota* is used as a conjunction introducing result clauses. This use, which is much more common than the deictic use, will be discussed in 7.1.6.

- (217) *Ado tota i-uot patautene.*
 day EmpID 3s-come.about just.now
 ‘The very day has come about just now.’
- (218) *Gid panua toa ti-ka-kado sakir-kir ne tota*
 PL people GIV S3p-RDP-make waste-RDP here EmpID
eko!
 here
 ‘The people who were making rubbish here, that’s them here!’
- (219) *Le-g renren-nga pa=gimi tota bedane.*
 PCAg-P1s charge-NR at=2p EmpID like.this
 ‘As for my charge to you, that’s it like this.’ (end of discourse)
- (220) *Be ae-a paua tota ne i-eno-no pa=go*
 but P3s-PCEX power EmpID here S3s-lie-RDP at=2sObj
na.
 there.2
 ‘But this very power of his is located with you there.’
- (221) *Ei ae-a annga tota raring.*
 3s P3s-PCEX food EmpID prayer
 ‘His food was none other than prayer.’

3.6 Basic Noun Phrase Structure

Noun phrases in natural texts most often consist of the minimum allowable constituents: a head noun (N) or free pronoun (PRN). Noun phrases containing the full set of allowable constituents were not found. The constituent order of noun phrases is represented in the formula below. The adjective (ADJ) and quantifier (QNT) constituents appear in three different places with superscript numbers, indicating their primary, secondary and tertiary positions in terms of frequency. The (PL) preceding N represents the plural use of the free pronoun *gid* (§3.2.2). The (N+sp.) abbreviation indicates a modifying or specific noun (§3.2.1). The (REL) abbreviation stands for a relative clause, and (DEM) stands for a demonstrative (in most cases, a determiner *ne*, *na* or *oa*). The (DI) abbreviation stands for deictic identification representing either a single deictic identifier (*toa*, *ga* or *tota* §3.5.2) or *toa* in co-occurrence with *ga*.

While this formula accounts for the vast majority of possible noun phrases, see example (233) below for a rare example which seems to demand an additional modification slot before the deictic identifier.

$$\text{NP} \Rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{PL}) \text{N} \\ \text{PRN} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{ADJ})^1 \\ (\text{QNT})^2 \\ (\text{N+sp.}) \end{array} \right\} (\text{DI}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{ADJ})^3 \\ (\text{QNT})^3 \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{ADJ})^2 \\ (\text{QNT})^1 \\ (\text{REL}) \end{array} \right\} (\text{DEM})$$

Some restrictions in noun phrases are as follows:

- 1) If the head is a pronoun, adjectives do not occur,
- 2) If the head is a pronoun, nothing is allowed in either the first or second modification slot,
- 3) No more than one quantifier is allowed in a noun phrase, and no more than two adjectives,
- 4) If a relative clause occurs with a deictic identifier, nothing is allowed in the second modification slot.

(222) PL N DI
gid taine toa
 PL female GIV
 ‘the women’

(223) N ADJ DI DEM
eaba kapei toa oa
 man big GIV there
 ‘that elder man’

(224) N DI QNT DEM
gaea toa rua oa
 pig GIV two there
 ‘those two big pigs’

(225) N DI ADJ DEM
taine ga kakau oa
 female LIG small there
 ‘the young woman there’

- (226) N DI [REL] DEM
eaba toa ga i-mate oa
 man GIV LIG S3s-die there
 ‘the man who died’
- (227) N ADJ [REL]
dadanga kapei ti-uato taba
 garden big S3p-call feast.garden
 ‘a large garden which they call a feast-garden’
- (228) PL N [DI] ADJ DEM
gid panua toa ga busa ne
 PL people GIV LIG many here
 ‘these many people’
- (229) N QNT ADJ
man ede kapitnami
 bird one huge
 ‘a huge bird’
- (230) N ADJ ADJ QNT
gaea saksak kapei ede
 pig wild big one
 ‘a large wild pig’
- (231) N N+sp. DI QNT ADJ
man kaeau toa tol pade
 bird bush.hen GIV three other
 ‘the other three bush hens’
- (232) N DI QNT ADJ
poi toa rua pade
 Malay.apple GIV two other
 ‘the two other Malay apples’
- (233) N ADJ QNT DI
eaba kapei ede toa
 man big one GIV
 ‘the one elder man’

3.7 Complex Core Arguments

In a clause, two or more noun phrases can be conjoined with the conjunctions *ga* ‘and’ or *mao* ‘or’ to form a single complex core argument.

- (234) *Rais ga kaua ti-dio.*
 rice CNJ dog S3p-stay.down
 ‘The rice and the dog stayed behind.’
- (235) *Kakau eta mao kapei eta i-ma-mado mao.*
 young.person one.IR or elder one.IR S3s-RDP-sit not
 ‘No young person or elder was there.’

Two core constituents can also be joined by a dual pronoun. Compare the examples below.

- (236) *Gau ga tama-g a-la dadanga-i.*
 1s CNJ father-P1s S1pe-go garden-LOC
 ‘I and my father went to the garden.’
- (237) *Aisipel gisirua i-tama ti-dae oaga-eai.*
 Aisipel 3d P3s-father S3p-ascend canoe-LOC
 ‘Both Aisipel and his father boarded the canoe.’

Core constituents can also be conjoined by the accompaniment clitic =*ngada* joined to a plural free pronoun, as in the example below.

- (238) *Taine toa gisi=ngada e-le gergeu toa rua oa*
 female GIV 3p=with P3s-PCAg child GIV two there
ti-dio ti-mado.
 S3p-stay.down S3p-sit
 ‘The woman with her two children there sat down.’

Additionally, an appositional noun phrase may be added to make a participant more explicit in discourse.

- (239) *I-tar kapei Moro toa i-nama.*
 P3s-brother big Moro GIV S3s-come
 ‘His big brother, this Moro, came.’

Two or more nouns can be joined with the conjunction *ga* to form a single NP head. The adjective *kapei* in the example below modifies either the noun it immediately follows or both nouns joined by the conjunction *ga*.

- (240) *Made aoara ga rai kapei i-uot.*
 yesterday rain CNJ wind big S3s-arrive
 ‘Yesterday big rain and wind came up.’
 or: ‘Yesterday rain and big wind came up.’

The concept of ‘each and every’ is conveyed in a construction where a noun is repeated following the conjunction *ga*.

- (241) *Ti-baba gid tuanga ga tuanga.*
 S3p-summon PL village CNJ village
 ‘They invite each and every village.’
- (242) *Gid komba ga ti-balul gid lum ga lum.*
 PL helper FUT S3p-obligate PL clan CNJ clan
 ‘The helpers will obligate each and every clan.’

3.8 Possession

As with most Oceanic languages, Bariai distinguishes between inalienably and alienably possessed nouns. This semantic distinction is mirrored in the syntax, with inalienable nouns being directly possessed and alienable nouns being indirectly possessed either by one of two possessive classifiers or a possessive preposition. There are four types of indirect possession, each with a unique function and syntactic form. All the forms of possession are summarised below in Table 15. With the exception of prepositional possession which employs cliticised pronouns attached to a possessive preposition, all the possessive forms employ the same set of possessor affixes. The 3rd singular is irregular in that it features a prefix *i-*, whereas all the other members of the paradigm are suffixes. The identity of a possessor may be further specified by an optional NP marked as a free pronoun in parentheses in the examples below.

	Direct	Indirect			
	Inalienable	Agentive	Experiential	Associative	Prepositional
	(PsR) PsD-P	(PsR) CLSF-P PsD		(PRN) PsD PsR CLSF-P [PsD]	PsD (PRN) P _{TP} =PRN [PsR] [PsR]
	<i>mata</i> ‘eye’	<i>bua</i> ‘betelnut’		<i>taine</i> ‘woman’	
1s	<i>(gau) mata-g</i>	<i>(gau) le-g bua</i>	<i>(gau) a-g bua</i>	<i>gau taine bua a-g</i>	<i>bua (gau) to=gau</i>
2s	<i>(eao) mata-m</i>	<i>(eao) le-m bua</i>	<i>(eao) a-m bua</i>	<i>eao taine bua a-m</i>	<i>bua (eao) to=go</i>
3s	<i>(ei) i-mata</i>	<i>(ei) e-le bua</i>	<i>(ei) ae-a bua</i>	<i>(ei) taine bua ae-a</i>	<i>bua ei to-n</i>
1pi	<i>(gita) mata-da</i>	<i>(gita) le-da bua</i>	<i>(gita) a-da bua</i>	<i>gita taine bua a-da</i>	<i>bua (gita) to=gita</i>
1pe	<i>(gai) mata-mai</i>	<i>(gai) le-mai bua</i>	<i>(gai) a-mai bua</i>	<i>gai taine bua a-mai</i>	<i>bua (gai) to=gai</i>
2p	<i>(gimi) mata-mi</i>	<i>(gimi) le-mi bua</i>	<i>(gimi) a-mi bua</i>	<i>gimi taine bua a-mi</i>	<i>bua (gimi) to=gimi</i>
3p	<i>(gid) mata-d</i>	<i>(gid) le-d bua</i>	<i>(gid) a-d bua</i>	<i>(gid) taine bua a-d</i>	<i>bua (gid) to=gid</i>

Table 15: Possessive Constructions

When present, an NP further specifying the identity of the possessor precedes the possessive classifier, preposition or directly possessed noun. Such specification is used in approximately 25% of all possessive constructions and is not used only for contrastive emphasis.

3.8.1 Direct Possession

The possessor of inalienable nouns is indicated by a suffix that is morphologically bound to the noun stem. Inalienable nouns include physically attached parts and by-products of both animate and inanimate entities, inalienable abstractions such as ‘name,’ ‘spirit’ and ‘strength’ and most relationship terms (§3.2.1). Two kinship terms which are indirectly possessed are ‘my great-grandparent’ (*le-g sasa*) and ‘my opposite-sex, same generation in-law’ (*le-g kadenge*). Of these, only *kadenge* is a relationship of avoidance. Other avoidance relationships, such as ‘my parent in-law’ (*laoa-g*), are directly possessed, and more distant generations beyond *sasa*, such as ‘my great-great-grandparent’ (*gaba-g*) are also directly possessed, so the form of possession that a kinship term takes does not seem to indicate anything significant about the relationship itself. Some kinship relations, such as ‘child’ (*le-g gergeu*

or *natu-g*) and ‘cross-cousin’ (*le-g sil* or *tadi-g*), have both alienable and inalienable lexical choices.

- (243) *labora-m*
 head-P2s
 ‘your (sg) head’
- (244) *gau mata-g, ga gimi mata-mi*
 1s eye-P1s CNJ 2p eye-P2p
 ‘my eyes and your (pl) eyes’
- (245) *popou i-bulolo*
 table P3s-underside
 ‘a table’s underside’
- (246) *luma i-lolo*
 house P3s-interior
 ‘a house’s interior’
- (247) *abei i-uaro*
 tree P3s-root
 ‘a tree root’
- (248) *ma-g ga tama-g*
 mother-P1s CNJ father-P1s
 ‘my mother and my father.’

3.8.2 Agentive and Experiential Possession

The most common form of indirect possession consists of a possessed noun preceded by either of two possessive classifiers which are marked with the possessor affixes. Virtually all alienable nouns may be possessed in this manner. The agentive possessive classifier *le* (glossed as PCAg) is used to highlight the possessor’s active role in relation to the possessed entity as either originator, owner or general associate. When the possessed entity is an event noun or a nominalised verb, the *le* classifier indicates that the possessor is the semantic *agent* of the event. The experiential classifier *a* (glossed as PCEx) marks those nouns which the possessor experiences or benefits from in some way. Nouns which the possessor consumes (and many other nouns) are marked with this

classifier. When the possessed entity is an event, the *a* classifier indicates that the possessor is the semantic *experiencer* or patient of the event. A similar distinction is made in many Austronesian languages. For the Mangap-Mbula language, which descends from Proto-Vitiaz, Bugenhagen has described this distinction as items intended for immediate consumption versus those not intended for immediate consumption (Bugenhagen 1995:409). For the languages descended from Proto-Bariai, this has been described as a distinction between disposable versus edible (Goulden 1996:113-114) and neutral versus edible (Thurston 1987:45). In Bariai, the *a* classifier functions in many situations where the question of consumption is not relevant. We therefore propose the labels *agentive* and *experiential*, because the previously-suggested labels fail to capture the semantic distinctions these classifiers make in Bariai, especially when modifying event nouns.

We retain the label of “classifier” in keeping with the typological nomenclature of Oceanic languages, even though these terms do not really delineate classes of nouns. They function rather to specify what kind of relationship exists between the possessor and the possessed. The distinction among nouns between those taking experiential or agentive possession is a fluid distinction. Though certain nouns take one or the other, as in examples (265) and (266), most nouns can take either classifier in the appropriate context. In part, context depends on animacy, as the agentive nature of *le* constructions semantically favours highly animate possessors. A pig, for instance, would need to be a highly animate participant in a fanciful tale in order to function as the possessor in many *le* constructions. This is not the case for experiential possession, where semantically any possessor may function as experiencer regardless of animacy. Compare the examples below.

- | | |
|--|--|
| (249) <i>a-g</i> <i>bua</i>
PCEx-P1s betelnut
‘my betelnut (to chew)’ | (250) <i>le-g</i> <i>bua</i>
PCAg-P1s betelnut
‘my betelnut (to give/sell)’ |
| (251) <i>a-g</i> <i>gaea</i>
PCEx-P1s pig
‘my pork (to eat)’ | (252) <i>le-g</i> <i>gaea</i>
PCAg-P1s pig
‘my pig (to keep/sell)’ |

- (253) *ae-a* *posa-nga*
P3s-PCEx talk-NR
'talk of him (about him)'
- (255) *ae-a* *sogo-nga*
P3s-PCEx decorate-NR
'his decoration (which he wears)'
- (257) *ae-a* *namer*
P3s-PCEx design
'his carving (in his image)'
- (259) *a-d* *rau-nga*
PCEx-P3p strike-NR
'the beating (they experienced)'
- (261) *ae-a* *mudannga*
P3s-PCEx down.payment
'her bride-price down-payment'
- (263) *ae-a* *popo-nga*
P3s-PCEx bear-NR
'her birth (when she was born)'
- (265) *a-mai* *maron*
PCEx-P1pe benefactor
'our (excl) benefactor'
- (266) **not** **a-g* *oaga*
PCEx-P1s canoe
'my canoe'
- (267) *luma* *ae-a* *tete*
house P3s-PCEx steps
'the steps of a house'
- (254) *e-le* *posa-nga*
P3s-PCAg talk-NR
'his talk (which he spoke)'
- (256) *e-le* *sogo-nga*
P3s-PCAg decorate-NR
'his decoration (crafted by him)'
- (258) *e-le* *namer*
P3s-PCAg design
'his carving (he made or owns)'
- (260) *le-d* *rau-nga*
PCAg-P3p strike-NR
'the beating (they gave)'
- (262) *e-le* *mudannga*
P3s-PCAg down.payment
'his bride-price down-payment'
- (264) *e-le* *popo-nga*
P3s-PCAg bear-NR
'her birth (when she bore child)'
- not** **le-mai* *maron*
PCAg-P1pe benefactor
'our benefactor'
- but** *le-g* *oaga*
PCAg-P1s canoe
'my canoe'
- not** **luma* *e-le* *tete*
house P3s-PCAg steps
'the steps of a house'

- (268) *galas ae-a luma* **but** *le-da luma*
 glasses P3s-PCEX house PCAg-P1pi house
 ‘glasses case (house)’ ‘our house’
- (269) *ae-a malo*
 P3s-PCEX waistcloth
 ‘his waistcloth’
- (270) **not** **ae-a kolos* **but** *e-le kolos*
 P3s-PCEX clothes P3s-PCAg clothes
 ‘his clothes’ ‘his clothes’
- (271) **not** **ado ae-a para-nga*
 sun P3s-PCEX rise-NR
 ‘the sun's rising’
- but** *ado e-le para-nga*
 sun P3s-PCAg rise-NR
 ‘the sun's rising’

Both experiential and agentive possession can occur predicatively. Usually the possessor would be further specified by a free pronoun in such a construction.

- (272) *Oangga sai i-luku danga toa oa, eine gau*
 if/when who S3s-apprehend thing GIV there this 1s
le-g
 PCAg-P1s
 ‘No matter who apprehends that thing there, it's mine.’
- (273) *Gaea i-labora gau gid a-d.*
 pig P3s-head FUT 3p PCEX-P3p
 ‘The pig's head will be theirs (for eating).’

3.8.3 Associative Possession

The experiential possessive classifier is also employed in another possessive construction in which a semantic association is made between two nouns: a possessed (head) noun and a possessor (associated) noun. This possessive construction, which we will refer to as associative possession, differs syntactically from experiential and agentive possession

in three ways. First, the affixed classifier occurs as the final constituent of the phrase. Second, the possessed precedes the possessor. Third, the affixed classifier agrees in person and number with the possessed rather than the possessor. In this construction, the distinction between experiential and agentive is neutralised. The agentive classifier does not form associative constructions. Compare the examples below.

Experiential

- (274) PsR CLSF PsD
panua a-d niu
 people PCEX-P3p coconut
 ‘the people’s coconut (for consumption)’

Agentive

- (275) PsR CLSF PsD
panua le-d niu
 people PCAg-P3p coconut
 ‘the people’s coconut (for giving/selling)’

Associative

- (276) PsD PsR CLSF
panua niu a-d **panua niu le-d*
 people coconut PCEX-P3p
 ‘people associated with
 coconut (for either selling
 or consuming)’

Associative NP

- (277) PsD PsR CLSF
niu panua ae-a **niu panua le-d*
 coconut people P3s-PCEX **niu panua e-le*
 ‘coconut for people (as
 opposed to what is for
 pigs)’

Phrase

Associative possession is not to be confused with agentive and experiential possession used predicatively in verbless equative clauses.

Equative Clause

- (278) *Niu panua a-d.*
 coconut people PCEX-P3p
 ‘The coconut is the people's (for consumption).’

Equative Clause

- (279) *Niu panua le-d.*
 coconut people PCAg-P3p
 ‘The coconut is the people's (for giving/selling).’

In most associative possessive constructions, both the possessed and associated possessor are 3rd singular. When a 1st or 2nd singular referent is involved in an associative possessive construction, the construction often occurs in a verbless equative clause in which the 1st or 2nd singular referent occurs as the clause-initial topic. The possessive classifier in such a construction often agrees with the clause-initial equated referent rather than with the possessed head.

- (280) *Eao sakir-kir kabulolo a-m!*
 2s waste-RDP house.underside PCEX-P2s
 ‘You're the rubbish from under the house!’
- (281) *sakir-kir kabulolo ae-a*
 waste-RDP house.underside P3s-PCEX
 ‘the rubbish from under the house’
- (282) *Gau eaba un-un-nga a-g.*
 1s man RDP-drink-NR PCEX-P1s
 ‘I'm a drunkard. (lit. I'm a man of drinking.)’
- (283) *Gau Bambak a-g.*
 1s Bambak PCEX-P1s
 ‘I'm (a man) of Bambak (village).’

- (284) *Gai panua paele-nga a-mai a-keo*
 1pe people follow.coast-NR PCEX-P1pe S1pe-speak
pa=gid panua moto a-d bedane, keo-nga,
 at=3p people motor PCEX-P3p like.this speak-NR
 “*Gimi a-lado mulian.*”
 2p S2p-run back
 ‘We people who followed the coast spoke to the people (riding via)
 outboard motor like this, saying, “You run back.”’

There are at least five semantic functions of associative possession. In the order of their frequency in natural texts, they are as follows:

- 1) descriptive associations,
- 2) purpose associations,
- 3) locative origin or source associations,
- 4) ordinal numbers and
- 5) reference associations.

First, the most frequent semantic function of associative possession is to make a descriptive association. We have already seen isolated examples of such descriptive associations in examples (276), (282) and (284) above. Below are several more in full sentences.

- (285) *Eaba ede borou ae-a i-bada e-le tagarau,*
 man one magic P3s-PCEX S3s-get P3s-PCAg fish.spear
ta i-la lab-iai.
 SEQ S3s-go beach-LOC
 ‘A magic man took his fishing spear, and then he went to the
 beach.’
- (286) *A-bada gid kakau tol dae-dae-nga a-d*
 S1pe-get PL young.person three RDP-ascend-NR PCEX-P3p
ga ti-nam ti-dae angal.
 CNJ S3p-come S3p-ascend Canarium.almond
 ‘We get three young people who are able to ascend, and they come
 and ascend the Canarium almond (tree).’

- (287) *Oangga ta-nasi danga tano ae-a kekele-n,*
 if/when S1pi-follow thing land P3s-PCEX only-3sObl
eine ga le-da mado-nga kemi mao.
 then.here FUT PCAg-P1pi sit-NR good not
 ‘If we follow only earthly things, then our living will not be good.’

A second common function of associative possession is to make purpose associations between nouns. It is sometimes difficult to objectively determine whether a given construction is a purpose association or a descriptive association. Consider the examples below.

- (288) *Ngan gita le-da mado-nga labone naurata pat*
 GP 1pi PCAg-P1pi sit-NR today work money
ae-a i-uot.
 P3s-PCEX S3s-emerge
 ‘In our life today, work for money has come about.’
- (289) *Ti-ma-mado be ti-sanga-sanga annga lailai*
 S3p-RDP-sit SIM S3p-RDP-await food afternoon
ae-a.
 P3s-PCEX
 ‘They are sitting while they await the food for the afternoon.’
- (290) *I-bada ae-a malo pusi-nga ae-a ta i-la*
 S3s-get P3s-PCEX cloth wipe-NR P3s-PCEX SEQ S3s-go
i-liliu.
 S3s-bathe
 ‘He took his wiping cloth and then he went and bathed.’

Often, purpose association is made when an associative possessive construction follows the verb *i-man*, which means ‘it becomes.’

- (291) *Ti-pagun abei i-man eara=i-nga ae-a.*
 S3p-erect tree S3s-become rest=3s-NR P3s-PCEX
 ‘They erect a tree to be for resting (upon).’
- (292) *I-ket oaro i-man did-nga ae-a.*
 S3s-cut rope S3s-become enclose-NR P3s-PCEX
 ‘He cut rope to be for (fastening) the walls.’

- (293) *Niu i-lua i-man le-da abei dinga*
 coconut P3s-trunk S3s-become PCAg-P1pi tree fire
ae-a.
 P3s-PCEX
 ‘Coconut trunks are for our firewood.’

A third semantic function of the associative possessive construction is to express locative origin or source. This semantic function can only occur when the associated possessor is a location. Sometimes the locative suffix *-eai* appears on the associated possessor, as in example (294) below. (See §1.3 for the various allomorphs of the suffix *-eai*.)

- (294) *Gau le-g posa-nga ga oaine i-la pa=gimi*
 1s PCAg-P1s talk-NR LIG this S3s-go at=2p
panua tuanga-i a-mi.
 people village-LOC PCEX-P2p.
 ‘This speech of mine goes to you people of the village.’
- (295) *Male, ei eaba Namaramanga ae-a.*
 Male 3s man Namaramanga P3s-PCEX
 ‘Male, he was a man of Namaramanga village.’
- (296) *Kompani i-kado ga gid masilau tibur ae-a*
 company S3s-make CNJ PL creature bush P3s-PCEX
ti-aoa.
 S3p-flee
 ‘A company makes so that the animals of the bush flee.’

In a fourth use of the associative possessive construction, a numeral is the associated possessor, and this becomes an ordinal number modifying the possessed head.

- (297) *Ado lima ga rua ae-a eine ei e-le ado*
 day five CNJ two P3s-PCEX this 3s P3s-PCAg day
titia-nga ae-a.
 be.at.leisure-NR P3s-PCEX
 ‘The seventh day is his day for being at leisure.’

- (298) *Bong tol ae-a tota ei i-kemi-kemi*
 night three P3s-PCEX therefore 3s S3s-RDP-make.good
e-le siot ga trausis.
 P3s-PCAg shirt CNJ trousers
 ‘On the third night therefore, he mended his shirt and trousers.’

The associative possessive construction also functions ordinarily with multiplicatives derived by the *pa-* prefix.

- (299) *I-rau ei ga i-dae toa ga i-labora-i*
 S3s-strike 3s CNJ S3s-ascend GIV LIG P3s-head-LOC
ne pa-tol ae-a.
 here times-three P3s-PCEX
 ‘He struck him up on his head here for the third time.’

The fifth and final semantic function of the associative possessive construction is in reference association. This may occur when the possessed head is a speech event.

- (300) *Posa-nga dadanga ae-a ta kus.*
 talk-NR garden P3s-PCEX just.now be.done
 ‘The talk about gardens is now finished.’
- (301) *Gid panua ti-ma-mado maitne ngan ato Claev*
 PL people S3s-RDP-sit INC GP message Claev
ae-a.
 P3s-PCEX
 ‘The people were still waiting for the message about Claev.’

3.8.4 Prepositional Possession

We saw in §3.6 that a head noun occurs as the first constituent of an NP. In the agentive and experiential possessive forms, however, the affixed classifier with its optional possessor NP precedes the head noun, taking over the position of prominence within the NP. In prepositional possession, the possessed NP head is restored to its prominent phrase-initial position. This possessive construction consists of a possessed head followed by a bound possessive preposition *to* (glossed as Prp), with a cliticised pronoun in agreement with the possessor. If a free pronoun is

employed to further specify the identity of the possessor, it immediately precedes the possessive preposition with its cliticised pronoun, but if a noun or full NP is employed, it follows the preposition. This form of possession is far less frequent than the other forms of indirect possession, occurring in only 2% of all indirect possessive constructions in our data corpus. It most frequently occurs adnominally, but its predicative use is also common. Semantically, prepositional possession, like associative possession, neutralises the distinction between experiential and agentive possession, but with event nouns it tends to default to an agentive meaning. Either meaning is possible with non-event nouns. Compare the examples below.

- (302) *kado-nga to=gid kaua*
do-NR Prp=3p dog
'the behaviour of dogs'
- (303) *gid kaua le-d kado-nga*
PL dog PCAg-P3p do-NR
'the behaviour of dogs'
- (304) *gid kaua a-d kado-nga*
PL dog PCEX-P3p do-NR
'things that happen to dogs'
- (305) *Mole mao, i-longo gergeu to-n taine ede*
a.while not S3s-hear child Prp-3sObl female one
i-tang luma-eai.
S3s-cry house-LOC
'Suddenly he heard one woman's child crying in the house.'
- (306) *A-longo gid pakaka-nga ga parumrum-nga to=gid*
S2p-hear PL deceive-NR CNJ pacify-NR Prp=3p
komiti padam.
committee don't
'Don't listen to the deceptions and pacifying words of the committee members.'

- (307) *I-la ga i-uot ngan eau toa to=gid Andeoa*
 S3s-go CNJ S3s-emerge GP water GIV Prp=3p Andeoa
i-eda Lemlem.
 P3s-name Lemlem
 ‘He went and arrived at the river belonging to the Andeoa people,
 named Lemlem.’
- (308) *Poi toa ne eao to=go?*
 Malay.apple GIV here 2s Prp=2sObj
 ‘Is this Malay apple tree here yours?’
- (309) *Akono i-keo, “Angal to=gau.”*
 Akono S3s-speak Canarium.almond Prp=1s
 ‘Akono said, “The Canarium almond tree is mine.”’
- (310) *Kado-nga sat toa oa to=gimi, to-n madid-nga*
 do-NR bad GIV there Prp=2p Prp-3sObl stand-NR
mao.
 not
 ‘The blame is yours, it's not the leader's.’

For the 3rd singular form only, further specification by the free pronoun *ei* is obligatory unless a full NP is employed in further specification. Compare the examples below.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(311) <i>oaga to-n Jon</i>
 canoe Prp-3sObl Jon
 ‘Jon's canoe’</p> | <p>(312) <i>oaga to=gid gergeu</i>
 canoe Prp=3p child
 ‘the children's canoe’</p> |
| <p>(313) <i>oaga ei to-n</i>
 canoe 3s Prp-3sObl
 ‘his canoe’</p> | <p>(314) <i>oaga gid to=gid</i>
 canoe 3p Prp=3p
 ‘their canoe’</p> |
| <p>(315) not <i>*oaga to-n</i>
 canoe Prp-3sObl
 ‘his canoe’</p> | <p>but <i>oaga to=gid</i>
 canoe Prp-3p
 ‘their canoe’</p> |

3.8.5 Possession of Interest

Another indirect possessive construction employs an affixed classifier functioning adverbially in a clause where it indicates that the action of the

verb is done for the interest or benefit of the participant referenced by the affixed classifier. We refer to this possessive construction as *possession of interest*, a term which we coin on the analogy of the dative of interest, which occurs in many languages with case systems. This construction may occur with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It most often employs the agentive classifier, but the experiential classifier may also be used.

- (316) *I-tub i-ninipu pa-n ga i-pabib*
 P3s-grandparent S3s-recount at-3sObl CNJ S3s-warn
e-le ngan danga sisid toa ngada ne.
 P3s-PCAg GP thing PL GIV all here
 ‘His grandfather recounted to him and warned (him) for his sake about all these things.’
- (317) *Ø-Pota a-da gaea toa i-danga rua ne,*
 S2s-distribute PCEX-P1pi pig GIV P3s-part two here
ta ta-la le-da.
 SEQ S1pi-go PCAg-P1pi
 ‘Distribute these two pig parts of ours here, and then let's go for ourselves.’
- (318) *Eine ga ta-ma-mado le-da toa eko.*
 then.here FUT S1pi-RDP-sit PCAg-P1pi GIV here
 ‘Now we will live for ourselves right here.’
- (319) *Ai, mumun le-m.*
 hey be.quiet PCAg-P2s
 ‘Hey, be quiet for your own sake.’
- (320) *Bong rua, na-kim ta-tol a-da teta.*
 night two S1s-want S1pi-dance PCEX-P1pi somewhat.IR
 ‘In two night, I want us to dance for ourselves a little.’

3.8.6 Complex Possessive Constructions

Various combinations of possessive elements may come together in complex phrases. Any two possessive elements could potentially be combined in such a phrase, though some constructions are rare. Phrases with more than two possessive elements are also infrequently found.

- (321) *bage-m i-gonga*
hand-P2s P3s-finger
'your fingers'
- (322) *tama-g e-le luma*
father-P1s P3s-PCAg house
'my father's house'
- (323) *i-tna ae-a annga*
P3s-mother P3s-PCEX food
'the food of his mother'
- (324) *taine edap ae-a i-tama*
female road P3s-PCEX P3s-father
'the harlot's father (lit. 'woman of the road's father)'
- (325) *posa-nga to-n oae-m*
talk-NR Prp-3sObl companion-P2s
'your companion's talk'
- (326) *le-g sasa e-le palata*
PCAg-P1s great.grandparent P3s-PCAg shelter
'the shelter of my great-grandfather.'
- (327) *gai le-mai gaea ae-a annga*
lpe PCAg-P1pe pig P3s-PCEX food
'the food of our (excl) pigs'
- (328) *eaba Bulaeai ae-a e-le luma*
man Bulaeai P3s-PCEX P3s-PCAg house
'the house of the man of Bulaeai'
- (329) *le-da ato kemi to-n Iesus*
PCAg-P1pi message good Prp-3sObl Jesus
'our good news of Jesus' (taken from a sermon)
- (330) *ae-a dadanga ae-a edap*
P3s-PCEX garden P3s-PCEX road
'the road of his garden'

- (331) *ae-a annga sabale ae-a*
 P3s-PCEX food tomorrow P3s-PCEX
 ‘the food of hers for tomorrow’
- (332) *oaga to-n gergeu Mareka ae-a*
 canoe Prp-3sObl child Mareka P3s-PCEX
 ‘the canoe belonging to the child from Mareka’

3.9 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses appear in the third and final modification slot of noun phrases (§3.6). They always follow the head noun. They may be preceded by a deictic identifier (either *toa*, *ga* or *toa* in co-occurrence with *ga*) and followed by a determiner, but neither of these elements are obligatory. Any subject, object or oblique may be modified by a relative clause. The relativised element within the relative clause may function as subject, object, possessor of subject, possessor of object or object of the general preposition *ngan*.

- (333) *Ei i-mata i-dae tor ngan gid kapei-pei toa*
 3s P3s-eye S3s-ascend stop GP PL elder-RDP GIV
ti-kisi gid ido.
 S3p-hold PL spear
 ‘He looked up at the elders who were holding spears.’
- (334) *Gid sapadua toa ga ti-kado gid sakir-kir le-da*
 3p who.PL GIV LIG S3p-do PL waste-RDP PCAg-P1pi
melemele-ai ne?
 plaza-LOC here
 ‘Who are those who made rubbish in our plaza here?’
- (335) *Be eaba ga i-dio oa i-no-nono mama.*
 SIM man LIG S3s-stay.down there S3s-RDP-cook sago
 ‘But the man who stayed was cooking sago.’

- (336) *Ø-Nam ta ta-ean a-da annga ga na-tatan*
 S2s-come SEQ S1pi-eat PCEx-P1pi food LIG S1s-bake
ne.
 here
 ‘Come and then let's eat our food which I've baked here.’
- (337) *Ti-bada le-d gergeu kelede ta ti-la pa-n*
 S3p-get PCAg-P3p child one SEQ S3p-go at-3sObl
taine kapei ede toa i-mata i-kila.
 female elder one GIV P3s-eye S3s-be.blinded
 ‘They took their only child and then they went to an elder woman whose eyes were blinded.’
- (338) *I-dudunga ga i-la ngan tibur ede i-eda Lobaeai.*
 S3s-enter CNJ S3s-go GP area one P3s-name Lobaeai
 ‘He entered and went to an area named Lobaeai.’
- (339) *Be kakau ede toa keri i-taka i-tin*
 SIM young.person one GIV Rattan.palm S3s-tear P3s-skin
ga paeamao i-naman ieiei-nga ta i-tang-tang.
 CNJ bad S3s-feel hurt-NR SEQ S3s-RDP-cry
 ‘But one young person whose skin was torn badly by Rattan palms felt pain and so he was crying.’

When the relativised element is a direct object, it may optionally be retained as a pronoun.

- (340) *Ninipu-nga ne ngan gergeu kakauede bagele*
 recount-NR here GP child small crocodile
i-son ei.
 S3s-swallow 3s
 ‘This story is about a small child whom a crocodile swallowed.’
- (341) *A-bada gid man kaeau toa a-rau gid oa,*
 S1pe-get PL bird bush.hen GIV S1pe-strike 3p there
ta a-la tuanga-i.
 SEQ S1pe-go village-LOC
 ‘We took the bush hens which we killed there, and then we went to the village.’

When the relativised element is the object of the preposition *ngan*, it is not retained in the clause.

- (342) *Gid ti-la boloma ta ti-gera gaea kua i-sok-sok*
 3p S3p-go close SEQ S3p-see pig dog S3s-RDP-bark
ngan.

GP

‘They went close and then they saw the pig which the dog was barking about.’

- (343) *Gau labone na-toba-toba kado-nga toa ti-keo-keo*
 1s today S1s-RDP-try do-NR GIV S3p-RDP-speak
ngan ne.

GP here

‘Today I am trying this behaviour which they were speaking about.’

4. VERBS AND VERB PHRASES

4.1 Verb Classes and Morphology

Bariai verbs morphologically fall into two main categories: those which take inflection and those which do not. Non-inflecting verbs will be discussed in §4.1.7. Inflecting verbs are morphologically distinguished from other word classes by three criteria:

1. They are marked for person and number by the subject agreement prefixes (§3.1.3),
2. They can be reduplicated to mark imperfective aspect and
3. They can be nominalised by the derivational suffix *-nga* (§3.2.3).

These obligatorily inflected verbs may be syntactically either transitive, middle or intransitive, and semantically either active or stative, whereas all non-inflecting verbs are either intransitive or middle states, sounds or dynamic actions.

There is no truly productive verbal morphology in Bariai aside from the causative prefix *pa-*, reduplication, the nominalising suffix *-nga* and verbal inflection. All other verbal morphemes are so infrequent that it seems best to explain them as fossilised residual features. Nevertheless it is useful to subcategorise Bariai verbs according to the type of morphology they take as follows:

1. Basic inflecting verbs which take no other derivational morphology aside from reduplication and the nominalising suffix *-nga*. This category includes bound middle verbs which require cliticised object pronouns,
2. Inflecting verbs which take the causative prefix *pa-* and/or the valency-increasing suffix *-n*,
3. Inflecting verbs which take the valence reducing prefix *ma-*,
4. Inflecting verbs which can be derived into middle verbs by the 3rd singular reflexive object enclitic *=i*,
5. Verbs which take the punctiliar prefix *sa-*,

6. Inflecting verbs which can be adverbialised by the *ga*-prefix,
7. Basic non-inflecting verbs. This category includes middle verbs which require pronouns as reflexive objects and
8. Non-inflecting verbs which can be derived into inflecting verbs by the *ka*- prefix.

Features Common to All Inflecting Verbs

With inflecting verbs, the subject agreement prefixes precede all other verbal morphology, including reduplication. (See §3.1.3 for the paradigm of subject prefixes.) Most inflecting verbs reduplicate to mark imperfective aspect. Inflecting verbs which cannot reduplicate tend to be inherently imperfective stative verbs, such as *oatai* ('know'). Semantically, the imperfective form is used to indicate various kinds of activity, including progressive, continuous, habitual, iterative and durative. No semantic distinction is made between the different morphological patterns of reduplication. (See §1.5.)

(344)	<i>na-boko</i>	'I work'	<i>na-boko-boko</i>	'I am working'
	<i>i-eno</i>	'he sleeps'	<i>i-eno-no</i>	'he is sleeping'
	<i>ti-kado</i>	'they do'	<i>ti-ka-kado</i>	'they are doing'
	<i>ta-lado</i>	'we run'	<i>ta-lad-lado</i>	'we are running'

Two verbs, *la* 'go' and *nama* ~ *nam* 'come,' have irregular reduplicated forms which lexicalise the conjunction *ga* 'and.' Compare this use of *ga* to its use in imperfective constructions of non-inflecting verbs §4.1.7.

(345)	<i>la</i>	'go'	<i>lagalaga</i>	'continually go'
	<i>nama</i>	'come'	<i>naganagam</i>	'continually come'

The nominalising suffix *-nga* (glossed as NR) derives nouns from inflecting verbs. Derivational morphology such as the valence-switching prefixes, the valency-increasing suffix *-n* and the punctiliar prefix *sa-* may all be retained in nominalisation. When it co-occurs with the valency-increasing suffix *-n* or the 3rd singular object enclitic *=i* retained on a middle verb, the *-nga* suffix is always word-final. (See §3.2.3 for more on derived nouns.)

(346) *sir-an-nga*
 spew-VLI-NR
 ‘casting off’

(347) *togra=i-nga*
 be-startled=3s-NR
 ‘being startled’

4.1.1 Basic Inflecting Verbs

Basic inflecting verbs are by far the most highly productive class of verbs. They may be transitive, intransitive or middle and either stative or active. Middle verbs, which are quite rare, are bound forms requiring reflexive object enclitics. (See §3.1.2 for the paradigm of object enclitics.) There are only six known examples presented below in Table 16, along with examples of other basic verbs.

Syntactic Subcategories		Examples	
transitive	stative	<i>kim</i> <i>kisi</i> <i>plese</i> <i>sanga</i>	‘like’ ‘hold’ ‘abstain from’ ‘await’
	active	<i>dada</i> <i>eaman</i> <i>koso</i> <i>tado</i>	‘pull’ ‘mend’ ‘husk’ ‘throw’
intransitive	stative	<i>buda</i> <i>dibal</i> <i>momono</i> <i>titia</i>	‘be rotten’ ‘be sick’ ‘float’ ‘be at leisure’
	active	<i>boko</i> <i>lado</i> <i>moso</i> <i>rarabal</i>	‘work’ ‘run’ ‘breathe’ ‘blaze’
middle	stative	<i>eara-</i> <i>kopra-</i> <i>togra-</i>	‘rest’ ‘curl up’ ‘be startled’
	active	<i>eatna-</i> <i>kaka-</i> <i>lua-</i>	‘leap’ ‘set off’ ‘return’

Table 16: Basic Inflecting Verbs

With bound middle verbs, any member of the paradigm is possible, as long as both subject and object agree.

- (348) *i-togra=i* ‘he is surprised’
ti-lua=gid ‘they return’
na-eatna=gau ‘I leap’
ta-kopra=gita ‘we curl up’
a-kaka=gimi ‘you (pl) set off’
eara=go ‘you (sg) rest’

As was mentioned in §3.2.3, the 3rd singular object enclitic =*i* is retained in the nominalised forms of middle verbs. This is the only member of the paradigm that is retained in the nominalised form.

- (349) *lua=i-nga* ‘returning’
eara=i-nga ‘rest’

4.1.2 Derived Verbs of Increased Valency

There are two devices which function similarly in increasing valency on verbs: the causative prefix *pa-* (glossed as CAUS) and the valency-increasing suffix *-n* (glossed as VLI). The *pa-* prefix, which can occur on approximately 10% of all inflecting verbs, is highly productive, while only a handful of verbs can undergo derivation with the *-n* suffix. Both of these affixes may derive transitive, intransitive and middle verbs. Three verbs take both the causative *pa-* and the valence increasing *-n*. Table 17 below displays all known derivations involving the *-n* suffix with inflecting verbs and also examples of causatives derived with *pa-*. The * symbol indicates an irregular derivation.

Syntactic Subcategories			underived	derived		
verbs taking the causative prefix <i>pa-</i>	transitive	stative	<i>oatai</i>	‘know’	<i>pa-oatai</i>	‘teach’
			<i>toi</i>	‘adhere to’	<i>pa-toi</i>	‘affix’
		active	<i>dud</i>	‘suck’	<i>pa-dud</i>	‘nurse’
			<i>nasi</i>	‘follow’	<i>pa-nasi</i>	‘instruct’
	<i>ore</i>		‘cross over’	<i>pa-ore</i>	‘transfer’	
	intransitive	stative	<i>un</i>	‘drink’	<i>pa-un</i>	‘give drink’
			<i>buobuo</i>	‘mistake’	<i>pa-buobuo</i>	‘mislead’
			<i>on</i>	‘be full’	<i>pa-on</i>	‘make full’
		active	<i>rangrang</i>	‘be able’	<i>pa-rangrang</i>	‘make sufficient’
			<i>mate</i>	‘die’	<i>pa-mate</i>	‘kill’
<i>madid</i>			‘stand’	<i>pa-madid</i>	‘make stand’	
middle	active	<i>tap</i>	‘fall’	<i>pa-tap</i>	‘make fall’	
		<i>lua-</i>	‘return’	<i>pa-lua</i>	‘send back’	
and/or the valency increaser <i>-n</i>	transitive	stative	<i>sola</i>	‘stand beside’	<i>pa-sola-n</i>	‘point out’
			active	<i>sir</i>	‘spew upward’	<i>sir-an</i>
	<i>tai</i>	‘dig’		<i>tai-an*</i>	‘bury’	
	intransitive	stative	<i>lalaoui</i>	‘be undone’	<i>lalaoa-n</i>	‘undo’
			<i>gigirai</i>	‘be cramped’	<i>gigira-n</i>	‘constrict’
	middle	stative	<i>titiau</i>	‘play’	<i>pa-titiau-dan*</i>	‘jostle’
			<i>eara</i>	‘rest’	<i>eara-n</i>	‘give rest’
<i>togra</i>			‘be startled’	<i>pa-togra-n</i>	‘startle’	

Table 17: Verbs with Increased Valency Marked

When the valency-increasing suffix appears on an intransitive or middle verb, the resulting verb is transitive. When it occurs on a transitive verb, it remains transitive, but there is a shift in the semantic range of the object. For example, with the verb *sir* ‘spew,’ the object is limited to a liquid or similar substance, but with the derived *sir-an* ‘scatter/spread,’ almost anything can be the direct object. (This particular verb in its underived form appears both as a transitive inflecting verb and an intransitive non-inflecting verb. See §4.1.8 below.) Similarly, with the verb *tai* ‘dig,’ the object is limited to earth or some similar substance, but

with the derived *tai-an* ‘bury,’ the semantics shift so that the object may be almost anything, though in this case it is usually a corpse.

- (350) *Kunkun kapei ede i-sir tad ga i-dae toa*
 clam.sp. big one S3s-spew sea CNJ S3s-ascend GIV
ga-dae oa.
 AVR-ascend there
 ‘A giant clam spewed sea water so that it arose up above there.’
- (351) *Gid tol ti-an gaea ga ti-tola ta tna-d*
 3p three S3p-eat pig CNJ S3p-loathe SEQ mother-P3p
i-ud ga i-la i-sir-an gid.
 S3s-carry.on.head CNJ S3s-go S3s-spew-VLI 3p
 ‘The three of them ate pork (pieces) until they were tired of it, and then their mother carried them on her head and went and scattered them.’
- (352) *I-rip ga i-dae i-sola*
 S3s-break.stride CNJ S3s-ascend S3s-stand.beside
naip i-pu.
 Tahitian.chestnut P3s-base
 ‘He broke stride and went inland and stood beside the base of the Tahitian chestnut tree.’
- (353) *I-gera didi, ta i-bada ta i-pa-sola-n*
 S3s-see knife SEQ S3s-get SEQ S3s-CAUS-stand.beside-VLI
pan i-liu.
 at-3sObl P3s-sibling
 ‘He saw the knife, and then took it and then showed it to his sister.’

Since most of the verbs which take the *-n* suffix end in the vowel *a*, it is possible that the suffix is really *-an* and that vowel deletion occurs at the morpheme boundary. This would explain the derivation of *sir* to *sir-an* and *tai* to *tai-an*. There are a few examples of words from other classes derived into inflecting verbs by the *-n* suffix, and two of these provide evidence against this alternative analysis, since their roots do not end with *a*, but unlike *sir-an* and *tai-an*, do not take *a* before the suffix.

- (354) *bai-* n. inalienable ‘armpit’ *bai-n* ‘tuck in the armpit’
kap v. non-inflecting ‘be closed’ *kap-in* ‘close’
odoa n. alienable ‘rattan skirt’ *odoa-n* ‘put on a skirt’

The prefix *pa-* also derives causative verbs from some words of other classes.

- (355) *boloma* adv. ‘nearby’ *pa-boloma* ‘draw near’
kulupu adj. ‘heavy’ *pa-kulupu* ‘make heavy’
sil adj. ‘deep’ *pa-sil* ‘let down’
tarui adj. ‘smooth’ *pa-tarui* ‘make smooth’
tutui adj. ‘straight’ *pa-tutui* ‘straighten’

As expected, when a bound middle verb such as *lua-* is derived into a causative, it does not take a reflexive object enclitic, since it is no longer a middle verb.

- (356) *A-la Alaido ngan a-bada moto ta a-la*
S1pe-go Alaido GP S1pe-get motor SEQ S1pe-go
a-pa-lua ei Kaogo.
S1pe-CAUS-return 3s Kaogo
‘We went to Alaido to get an outboard motor in order to send him back at Kaogo.’

On most causative verbs, reduplication includes the repetition of the *pa-* prefix, but there are some verbs in which *pa-* precedes reduplication.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(357) <i>ti-pa-sapun</i>
 S3p-CAUS-move
 ‘they cause to move’</p> | <p>(358) <i>ti-pa-pa-sapun</i>
 S3p-RDP-CAUS-move
 ‘they are causing to move’</p> |
| <p>(359) <i>na-pa-longo</i>
 S1s-CAUS-hear
 ‘I inform’</p> | <p>(360) <i>na-pa-pa-longo</i>
 S1s-RDP-CAUS-hear
 ‘I am informing’</p> |
| <p>(361) <i>ta-pa-lup</i>
 S1pi-CAUS-meet
 ‘we gather’</p> | <p>(362) <i>ta-pa-lup-lup</i>
 S1pi-CAUS-RDP-meet
 ‘we are gathering’</p> |
| <p>(363) <i>ti-pa-dud</i>
 S3p-CAUS-suck
 ‘they breastfeed’</p> | <p>(364) <i>ti-pa-du-dud</i>
 S3p-CAUS-RDP-suck
 ‘they are breastfeeding’</p> |

4.1.3 Verbs Which Take the Valence Reducer *ma-*

The valence reducer *ma-* (glossed as VLR) conveys that an action happens of itself spontaneously. It is the semantic opposite of the valence increaser *pa-* and is much less frequent. There are only a handful of verbs (shown below in Table 18) which clearly have both underived and derived forms with this prefix. The * symbol indicates an irregular derivation. On a few words *ma-* changes to *mo-*.

Syntactic subcategories		underived	derived
transitive	stative	<i>gere</i> 'shine into'	<i>ma-nggere</i> * 'be radiant'
	active	<i>dul</i> 'penetrate'	<i>ma-dul</i> 'have holes'
		<i>lolo</i> 'dip'	<i>mo-lolo</i> * 'soak oneself'
		<i>lului</i> 'unwrap'	<i>ma-lului</i> 'come undone'
		<i>pir</i> 'break'	<i>ma-pir</i> 'break (intr)'
		<i>poga</i> 'split'	<i>ma-poga</i> 'split (intr)'
		<i>pul</i> 'turn'	<i>ma-pul</i> 'roll (intr)'
<i>sal</i> 'pull off'	<i>ma-sal</i> 'come off'		
intransitive	stative	<i>on</i> 'be full'	<i>ma-on</i> 'fill spontaneously'
		<i>loko</i> 'be shut'	<i>mo-loko</i> * 'be detained'
derived middle	active	<i>pola</i> 'untie'	<i>ma-pola=i</i> 'be unravelled'
		<i>repe</i> 'dismantle'	<i>ma-repe=i</i> 'fall apart'

Table 18: Verbs which take the *ma-* prefix

When verbs derived by the *ma-* prefix are reduplicated, the prefix either precedes the reduplication, as in example (366), or is part of the reduplication, as in example (367). As with the causative prefix *pa-*, this is a lexically-determined phenomenon. There are no alternative forms of reduplication.

- (365) *Ado i-gere mata-da.*
 sun S3s-shine.into eye-P1pi
 'The sun is shining into our eyes.'

- (366) *Oaga i-papa i-ma-nggere-gere ngan ae-a*
 canoe P3s-cheek S3s-VLR-RDP-shine.into GP P3s-PCEX
sogo-nga.
 decorate-NR
 ‘The side of the canoe was radiant with its decoration.’
- (367) *Ado i-lang-lang gita, tini-da i-map-ma-poga*
 sun S3s-RDP-shine.on 1pi skin-P1pi S3s-RDP-VLR-break
alele na.
 around IP
 ‘The sun is continually shining on us, (and) our skin is breaking
 apart here and there, you know.’

4.1.4 Derived Middle Verbs

There are two types of middle verbs: those discussed above, which are bound forms requiring cliticised object pronouns, and those which are derived into middle verbs by the 3rd singular object enclitic =*i*, which functions as a detransitiviser. Only transitive verbs may be thus derived into middle verbs, and the resultant forms only occur in 3rd person. For the most part, only an inanimate noun can be the subject of a derived middle verb. Table 19 below displays all known examples of derived middle verbs. The * symbol indicates an irregular derivation.

Syntactic subcategories		underived		derived	
transitive verbs which can be derived into middle verbs by the 3 rd sg object enclitic	stative	<i>gaga</i>	‘hold out’	<i>i-gaga=i</i>	‘it protrudes’
	active	<i>ket</i>	‘cut’	<i>i-ket=i</i>	‘it snaps’
		<i>kop</i>	‘fold’	<i>i-kop=i</i>	‘it is folded’
		<i>nogo</i>	‘shake’	<i>i-nogo=i</i>	‘it is shaken’
		<i>pasu</i>	‘pull away’	<i>i-pasu=i</i>	‘it falls out’
		<i>pokaka</i>	‘open (tr.)’	<i>i-pokaka=i</i>	‘it opens (intr.)’
		<i>poro</i>	‘wring’	<i>i-poro=i</i>	‘it is wrung’
		<i>pul</i>	‘turn’	<i>i-pol=i*</i>	‘it is transformed’
		<i>sek</i>	‘pull down’	<i>i-sek=i</i>	‘it is dislocated’
		<i>sir</i>	‘spew upward’	<i>i-sira=i *</i>	‘it overflows’
<i>taka</i>	‘tear’	<i>i-taka=i</i>	‘it tears’		
<i>tok</i>	‘spill’	<i>i-tok=i</i>	‘it spills’		
and take the valence reducer <i>ma-</i>	active	<i>pola</i>	‘untie’	<i>i-ma-pola=i</i>	‘it unravels’
		<i>repe</i>	‘dismantle’	<i>i-ma-repe=i</i>	‘it falls apart’

Table 19: Derived Middle Verbs

It is only the 3rd singular object enclitic =*i* which can derive middle verbs. Although there are two examples with 3rd plural subjects in our data corpus, they take the 3rd singular enclitic.

- (368) *I-takoko ga i-sulug, be gid ia ti-tok=i*
 S3s-bend.over CNJ S3s-descend SIM PL fish S3p-spill=3s
ga ti-sulug tano-eai.
 CNJ S3p-descend ground-LOC
 ‘When he bent over and went down, the fish spilled and went down to the ground.’

- (369) *Ta man toa rua oa ti-pol=i ga ti-man*
 SEQ bird GIV two there S3p-turn=3s CNJ S3p-become
eaba-ba.
 man-RDP
 ‘Then those two birds were changed and became human.’

Derived middle verbs also retain the object enclitic when they are nominalised.

- (370) *Malo ae-a taka=i-nga ne kapei tau.*
 waistcloth P3s-PCEX tear=3s-NR here big very
 ‘This waistcloth's tear here is very big.’

4.1.5 Derived Punctiliar Verbs

The prefix *sa-* (glossed as PNCT) functions to convey punctiliar aspect on a mixed set of four verbs (three of which are inflecting transitives, and the fourth, a non-inflecting intransitive verb). Compare the underived and derived forms below.

- (371) *mil* v. intr. ‘shine’ *sa-mil* ‘flash’
mum v. tr. ‘wash’ *sa-mum* ‘wipe’
laba v. tr. ‘scorch’ *sa-laba* ‘singe’
pei v. tr. ‘raise’ *sa-pei* ‘scrape up’
- (372) *I-tin toa ngada oa mil ga mil bedaoa.*
 P3s-skin GIV all there shine CNJ shine like.that
 ‘His whole body was shiny like that.’
- (373) *Aoara kapei i-tap ga gla i-sa-mil.*
 rain big S3s-fall CNJ lightning S3s-PNCT-shine
 ‘Big rain fell and lightning flashed.’
- (374) *I-sanga sia misi ta i-la i-mum e-le*
 S3s-await reef dry SEQ S3s-go S3s-wash P3s-PCAg
danga sisid.
 thing PL
 ‘She is awaiting low tide and then she'll go wash her things.’
- (375) *Tota i-sa-mum eda-g ngan laulau skul*
 therefore S3s-PNCT-wash name-P1s GP leaf school
ae-a.
 P3s-PCEX
 ‘Therefore he erased my name from the enrolment paper of the school.’

4.1.6 Verbs Which Can Be Adverbialised

The prefix *ga-* (glossed as AVR) occurs on a set of four directional verbs to derive locative adverbs.

- (376) *dae* 'arise' *ga-dae* 'above'
dio 'stay down' *ga-dio* 'below'
dudunga 'enter' *ga-dudunga* 'inside'
ot 'emerge' *ga-ot* 'outside'
- (377) *I-lei-lei baba ga i-sulug ga-dio, ta*
 S3s-RDP-dig hole CNJ S3s-descend AVR-stay.down SEQ
i-rangrang ngan tado-nga tano ga i-dae
 S3s-be.able GP throw-NR ground CNJ S3s-ascend
ga-dae mao.
 AVR-ascend not
 'He was digging the hole until it went down low, and then he wasn't
 able to throw dirt so that it went up above.'

4.1.7 Non-Inflecting Verbs

Non-inflecting verbs are an open word class, though they are much less frequent than inflecting verbs. They are distinguished from adjectives in that they always function predicatively and never as adnominal modifiers. Also, they never reduplicate as most adjectives and inflecting verbs do. Approximately 85% of all non-inflecting verbs are monosyllabic. Non-inflecting verbs are syntactically either intransitive or middle, and semantically express either states, dynamic actions or sounds. Non-inflecting middle verbs are rare. The three known examples are listed below in Table 20 along with examples of other basic non-inflecting verbs.

Syntactic Subcategories		Examples	
intransitive	stative	<i>bres</i> <i>gip</i> <i>kles</i> <i>pit</i> <i>pu</i> <i>put</i>	‘be soft’ ‘be tight’ ‘be slippery’ ‘be empty’ ‘be strong’ ‘be severed’
	dynamic	<i>bru</i> <i>dong</i> <i>per</i> <i>puk</i> <i>sik</i> <i>uis</i>	‘sink’ ‘drip’ ‘appear’ ‘blast up’ ‘flow out’ ‘whiz past’
	sound	<i>bor</i> <i>greng</i> <i>kluk</i> <i>ngun</i> <i>rango</i> <i>ri</i>	‘gurgle’ ‘rattle’ ‘boom’ ‘buzz’ ‘squawk’ ‘flutter’
middle	stative	<i>maeamaea</i> <i>lelea</i>	‘be ashamed’ ‘be cold’
	dynamic	<i>kasiksiknga</i>	‘perspire’

Table 20: Non-inflecting Verbs

Below are some examples of non-inflecting verbs in sentences.

- (378) *I-ae i-gonga ede put.*
P3s-leg P3s-appendage one be.severed
‘One of his toes was severed.’
- (379) *Burua toa i-nama ga uis.*
deceased GIV S3s-come CNJ whiz.past
‘The deceased came and whizzed past.’
- (380) *Mariamba kluk.*
sky boom
‘The sky thundered.’

Unlike inflecting middle verbs, non-inflecting middle verbs do not take cliticised object pronouns, but instead require a free pronoun as a reflexive object.

- (381) *Gid kapei-pei maeamaea gid ta ti-la ti-rou*
 PL elder-RDP feel.shame 3p SEQ S3p-go S3p-convene
lum-iai.
 men's.house-LOC
 'The elders felt ashamed and so they went and convened at the
 men's house.'
- (382) *Toa bedaoa ta ei ga maeamaea ei.*
 GIV like.that SEQ 3s FUT feel.shame 3s
 'Since it's like that, then he will be ashamed.'

Since non-inflecting verbs do not reduplicate, imperfective aspect is conveyed through a special construction where the verb is repeated following the conjunction *ga* 'and.' This construction is unique to non-inflecting verbs.

- (383) *Tibur toa kles ga kles.*
 area GIV be.slippery CNJ be.slippery
 'The area is slippery.'
- (384) *Be nim ga nim ga nene.*
 SIM be.soft CNJ be.soft LIG here
 'But it is soft right here.'
- (385) *Abei i-laun i-misi ga kor ga kor.*
 tree P3s-leaf S3s-be.dried.out CNJ crackle CNJ crackle
 'Tree leaves are dried out and keep breaking.'
- (386) *I-mata sul dong ga dong ngan ei.*
 P3s-eye fluid drip CNJ drip GP 3s
 'Her tears were dripping for him.'

4.1.8 Derived Inflecting Verbs

The derivational prefix *ka-* (glossed as DR) appears on a small set of non-inflecting verbs. In most cases, it doesn't result in a semantic change, but its derived form is always an intransitive inflecting verb. It thus enables a subject to be specified through verbal inflection. In the cases where the meaning is changed, no consistent pattern emerges. A plausible explanation for this phenomena would be that this is a grammaticalised

form of the verb *kado* ‘do’ occurring in serialisation with these non-inflecting verbs. (See §7.1.2 for a known example of the verb *kado* undergoing similar reduction and §4.2.4 for a discussion of serialisation.) However, the only clear cases of serialisation in Bariai involve intransitive directional verbs.

(387)	<i>kluk</i>	‘boom’	<i>ka-kluk</i>	‘boom’
	<i>pak</i>	‘break’	<i>ka-pak</i>	‘break/subside’
	<i>pir</i>	‘explode’	<i>ka-pir</i>	‘explode’
	<i>pok</i>	‘pop’	<i>ka-pok</i>	‘pop’
	<i>sek</i>	‘creep’	<i>ka-sek</i>	‘creep’
	<i>uis</i>	‘whiz past’	<i>ka-uis</i>	‘whiz past’
	<i>sir</i>	‘spew upward’	<i>ka-sir</i>	‘spew upward’
	<i>put</i>	‘be severed’	<i>ka-put</i>	‘cease’
	<i>buk</i>	‘bubble up’	<i>ka-buk</i>	‘plunge’
	<i>gruk</i>	‘be loosened’	<i>ka-gruk</i>	‘scatter’

As mentioned above, the verb *sir* appears both as an inflecting transitive verb and an intransitive non-inflecting verb. (See example (350) for an inflected transitive instance.) When it is derived by the *ka-* prefix, it results in an intransitive inflecting verb.

(388) *Eau sir ga sir ga i-dae.*
 water spew CNJ spew CNJ S3s-ascend
 ‘The water kept squirting and went up.’

(389) *Eau i-ka-sir.*
 water S3s-DR-spew
 ‘The water squirted up.’

(390) *Aranga sek ga i-la i-gera-gera taine toa*
 male creep CNJ S3s-go S3s-RDP-see female GIV
i-li-liliu.
 S3s-RDP-bathe
 ‘The man crept and went watching the woman bathing.’

- (391) *Ngan bong toa-iua eaba ede pade i-ka-sek*
 GP night GIV-this man one other S3s-DR-creep
digedige.
 at.perimeter
 ‘On that night another man crept at the perimeter of the village.’

4.2 Basic Verb Phrase Structure

Verb phrase structure is quite simple, consisting of either an inflecting or non-inflecting verb optionally preceded by one of three modal particles. The vast majority of clauses are unmarked for modality. Modal particles occurred in only 3.5% of all clauses in our data corpus. These particles include a future tense marker *ga* ~ *gau*, a deontic particle *manta*, meaning ‘must’ and an immediate present tense marker *ta*. The Bariai language also allows limited verb serialisation as described below in §4.2.4.

4.2.1 Future Tense

Future tense is indicated by the pre-verbal particle *ga* (glossed as FUT), while non-future is unmarked. This *ga* has a free varying alternate form *gau*, which is somewhat rare, and should not be confused with the *ga* which functions as a ligature and conjunction at phrase level and clause level (§3.5.2 and 7.1.2).

- (392) *Eao gau Ø-mad-madid ga nene.*
 2s FUT S2s-RDP-stand LIG here
 ‘You will be standing right here.’
- (393) *Le-g danga ede ga i-uot.*
 PCAg-P1s thing one FUT S3s-emerge
 ‘One of my things will emerge’
- (394) *Gairua ga a-luku kaua toa.*
 1de FUT S1pe-apprehend dog GIV
 ‘The two of us will catch the dog.’

While the normal position of this particle is pre-verbal, it occurred before the subject NP in 12% of the marked future clauses in our data

corpus. This is usually in the apodosis of a conditional construction following the conjunctive use of the demonstrative *eine* ‘then.’

- (395) *Oangga a-kisi matua kabasi mao, eine ga*
 if/when S2p-hold strongly axe not then FUT
sapa-nga i-paeabu ngan gita.
 disappear-NR S3s-destroy GP 1pi
 ‘If you don’t hold an axe firmly, then a famine will destroy us.’
- (396) *Ai, oangga rais i-muga, eine ga kua i-an*
 hey if/when rice S3s-precede then FUT dog S3s-eat
kokako.
 chicken
 ‘Hey, if the rice goes first, then the dog will eat the chicken.’

4.2.2 Deontic Mode

The pre-verbal deontic particle *manta* (‘must’) functions to emphasise the obligatory nature of an event. It may be used in either imperative (2nd person), adhortative (1st person plural inclusive) or declarative clauses (3rd person) clauses.

- (397) *Gimi manta a-tnan gid kado-nga toa bedaoa.*
 2p must S2p-leave PL do-NR GIV like.that
 ‘You must stop doing things like that.’
- (398) *Gitarua manta ta-kado beda-ne.*
 1di must S1pi-do like-this
 ‘The two of us must do it like this.’
- (399) *Oaga manta i-nam sabale.*
 canoe must S3s-come tomorrow
 ‘The ship must come tomorrow.’

4.2.3 Immediate Present Tense

Immediate present tense is conveyed by the pre-verbal modal particle *ta*, glossed as ‘just now.’ This modal particle is related to the sequential conjunction *ta*, which will be discussed in §7.1.3.

- (400) *Ei ta i-ma-mado e-le luma-eai.*
 3s just.now S3s-RDP-sit P3s-PCAg house-LOC
 ‘She is just now sitting in her house.’
- (401) *Le-d ato ae-a eaba ta i-nama*
 PCAg-P3p message P3s-PCEX man just.now S3s-come
ne.
 here
 ‘Their messenger just now has come here.’
- (402) *Be gau ta na-sanga eao ne.*
 SIM 1s just.now S1s-await 2s here
 ‘But I’m just now awaiting you here.’

Unlike the other modal particles, the modal particle *ta* may sometimes occur post-verbally, where it is used emphatically.

- (403) *Mota i-an gai ta!*
 snake S3s-eat 1pe just.now
 ‘The snake is about to eat us!’
- (404) *Aiao, taine kapei, Ø-sanga gau, na-kado na-mate*
 hey female elder S2s-await 1s S1s-do S1s-die
ta!
 just.now
 ‘Hey old woman, wait for me, (if I keep) doing (this), I’ll die right now!’

4.2.4 Verb Serialisation

The only type of serial verb construction allowed in Bariai is what Lynch, Ross and Crowley (2002:47) refer to as sequential. This construction is formed by preceding an inflecting or non-inflecting verb with one of a limited set of intransitive directional verbs listed below in example (405). The first verb expresses movement, while the second verb indicates the action that follows. The second (main) verb may be transitive, middle or intransitive. Both the directional verb and the main verb always share the same subject (and modal marker if present) and cannot be negated individually. Unlike serial verb constructions in some other Austronesian languages, Bariai serial verb constructions do not

‘strip’ inflection from verbs. However, when the main verb in a serial construction is reduplicated to mark imperfect aspect, the directional verb is not.

(405) Directional Verbs

<i>la</i>	‘go’
<i>nam</i>	‘come’
<i>sulug</i>	‘descend’
<i>dae</i>	‘ascend’
<i>dio</i>	‘stay down’
<i>dudunga</i>	‘enter’
<i>ot</i>	‘emerge’

- (406) *A-la a-lei tapiok ga kaokao.*
 S1pe-go S1pe-dig cassava CNJ sweet.potato
 ‘We went and dug cassava and sweet potato.’

- (407) *Turu e-le sil i-dio i-kopra=i*
 Turu P3s-PCAg cross.cousin S3s-stay.down S3s-curl.up=3s
toa abei i-pu-iai oa.
 GIV tree P3s-base-LOC there
 ‘Turu’s friend went down and curled up at the base of the tree there.’

- (408) *Ta i-dae i-lalala pade toa saru*
 SEQ S3s-ascend S3s-walk again GIV forest
i-lol-eai oa.
 P3s-interior-LOC there
 ‘And then he got up (and) walked again in the interior of the forest there.’

- (409) *I-luo i-la gip.*
 P3s-teeth S3s-go be.tight
 ‘His teeth went tight.’

- (410) *Le-d ido i-la kris ga kris ngan ei.*
 PCAg-P3p spear S3s-go graze CNJ graze GP 3s
 ‘Their spears kept grazing him.’

5. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

5.1 Verbless Clauses

Verbless clauses are semantically non-active. There are four types of non-active verbless clauses: equative, existential, descriptive and adverbial.

5.1.1 Verbless Equative Clauses

Verbless equative clauses juxtapose two noun phrases. There is no copula in Bariai. The first NP is the subject, and the second one is the nominal predicate.

- (411) *A-d maron i-eda Taurukai.*
 PCEX-P3p benefactor P3s-name Taurukai
 ‘Their leader’s name was Taurukai.’

- (412) *Eaba eoa gau laoa-g pade.*
 man there 1s parent.in.law-P1s also
 ‘The man there is also my father-in-law.’

The subject NP can also be filled by a demonstrative or a free pronoun.

- (413) *Eine eau.*
 this water
 ‘This is water.’

- (414) *Eao sai?*
 2s who
 ‘Who are you?’

5.1.2 Verbless Existential Clauses Asserting Possession

Verbless existential clauses consist of a single NP functioning as a clause. The NP contains a possessive construction and an optional quantifier. (See §5.2.1 for examples of verbal existential clauses.)

- (415) *Gita le-da naurata.*
 Ipi PCAg-P1pi work
 ‘We have work.’
- (416) *Pat toa oa ae-a baba.*
 stone GIV there P3s-PCEX hole
 ‘That stone there had a hole.’
- (417) *Eaba e-le moto.*
 man P3s-PCAg motor
 ‘The man has an outboard motor.’
- (418) *Gau le-g posa-nga ede.*
 1s PCAg-P1s talk-NR one
 ‘I have something to say.’
- (419) *Gau le-g i-pu rua.*
 1s PCAg-P1s P3s-base two
 ‘I have two reasons.’

5.1.3 Verbless Descriptive and Quantifying Clauses

Verbless descriptive clauses are formed by a noun phrase subject followed by an adjective or quantifying phrase functioning predicatively.

- (420) *Le-m luma kapei.*
 PCAg-P2s house big
 ‘Your house is big.’
- (421) *Oaga toa mugamuga.*
 canoe the old
 ‘The canoe is old.’
- (422) *Boko-nga ne kapei tau!*
 work-NR here big very
 ‘This task is very big!’
- (423) *A-da ia busa o.*
 PCEX-P1pi fish many already
 ‘Our fish are many already.’

(424) *Eda-eda toa rua.*
 RDP-name GIV two
 ‘There are two of those names.’

(425) *Edap kelede mon.*
 road one just
 ‘There's only one way.’

It is possible for a descriptive verbless clause to take a modal particle.

(426) *Le-da mado-nga ga kemi mambe mugaeai mao.*
 PCAg-P1pi sit-NR FUT good as before not
 ‘Our living won't be good like it was before.’

5.1.4 Verbless Adverbial Clauses

Verbless adverbial clauses are formed by a noun phrase subject followed by an adverb phrase. The adverb phrase may be either locative, manner, temporal or demonstrative. (See §5.3.3 for adverb phrases and §3.5.1 for demonstratives.)

(427) *Le-m iadag ga eko.*
 PCAg-P2s other.side LIG here
 ‘Your half that is right here.’

(428) *Lusi i-labora na aluai.*
 mountain P3s-head there.2 far
 ‘The peak of that mountain is far away.’

(429) *Tibur ne mambe tano.*
 area here as earth
 ‘This area is like land.’

(430) *A, rui tota bedane?*
 um dugong EmpID like.this
 ‘Um, is a dugong just like this?’

(431) *Ninipu-nga ne muriai ngan Andam ga Eva.*
 recount-NR here later GP Adam CNJ Eve
 ‘This story (took place) after Adam and Eve.’

5.2 Verbal Clauses: Core Arguments

The minimum necessary constituent for a verbal clause in Bariai is an inflecting or non-inflecting verb. In an examination of 12,380 clauses of natural texts, full noun phrases occurred as subjects in 29% of the clauses, and free pronouns occurred as subjects in an additional 12%. Of the remaining clauses, 97% had subject marking on the verb, and 3% were unmarked.

- (432) *Eaba ne i-palele-le e-le posa-nga.*
 man here S3s-change-RDP P3s-PCAg talk-NR
 ‘This man was changing what he said.’
- (433) *Ei i-la i-keo ngan gid puda.*
 3s S3s-go S3s-speak GP PL spirit
 ‘He went and spoke to the white people.’
- (434) *I-gera abei kakauede i-para ga i-dae.*
 S3s-see tree small S3s-sprout CNJ S3s-ascend
 ‘She saw a small tree sprout and arise.’
- (435) *Kus.*
 be.done
 ‘It is finished.’

5.2.1 Intransitive Clauses

The basic constituent order for an intransitive clause is SV. The predicate for intransitive clauses is an active or stative verb. (See §5.3 for the full set of possible clause constituents.)

- (436) *Tuanga pit.*
 village be.silent
 ‘The village is silent.’
- (437) *Oaga i-nama.*
 canoe S3s-come
 ‘The canoe came.’

Verbal existential clauses employ the imperfective forms of either one of two intransitive verbs, depending upon the animacy of the subject. If

the subject is animate, the imperfective form of the verb *mado* ‘sit’ is used. If it is inanimate, the verb *eno* ‘lay’ is used.

(438) *Eau i-eno-no.*
 water S3s-lay-RDP
 ‘There is water.’

(439) *Jon i-ma-mado.*
 Jon S3s-RDP-sit
 ‘Jon is here.’

5.2.2 Transitive Clauses

The basic constituent order for transitive clauses is SVO. Since verbs are not marked for object (except for a handful of middle verbs), most transitive clauses contain a noun phrase as the object. Among the 4,508 transitive clauses in our data corpus, 64% had explicit NP objects. Discourse level phenomena accounted for those which were not explicit, since they are understood from context. Among the transitive clauses with explicit objects, 21% of the objects were free pronouns and 79% were full NPs.

(440) *Gau na-ged abei.*
 1s S1s-chop tree
 ‘I chopped the tree.’

(441) *Tna-d i-sanga gid.*
 mother S3s-await 3p
 ‘Their mother awaited them.’

(442) *Gisirua ti-kado.*
 3d S3p-do
 ‘The two of them did (it).’

5.2.3 Topicalisation

While the SVO constituent order is fairly strict, Bariai does allow objects and prepositional phrases to occur in a pre-subject position for topicalisation.

- (443) *Danga, gau ga na-bada mulian.*
 thing 1s FUT S1s-get back
 ‘The thing, I’m going to get (it) back.’
- (444) *Puo toa, gid kapei-pei ti-tado ga i-nasi eau.*
 net GIV PL elder-RDP S3p-throw CNJ S3s-follow water
 ‘As for the net, the elders had thrown it along the river.’
- (445) *Pangapanga toa oa, ado i-nono ga i-mamasa.*
 mud GIV there sun S3s-cook CNJ S3s-be.dry
 ‘That mud there, the sun cooked it so that it’s dry.’
- (446) *Pa=gita i-uangga i-eda Moro.*
 at=1pi S3s-say/want S3s-name Moro
 ‘To us, he says his name is Moro.’
- (447) *Ngan kado-nga toa ga bedaoa, eine ga muriai*
 GP do-NR GIV LIG like.that then.here FUT later
ta ta-mado kemi.
 SEQ S1pi-sit good
 ‘With regard to doing like that, later we will live well.’

5.3 Verbal Clauses: Peripheral Arguments

Peripheral clause constituents include interjections and vocative constructions, oblique phrases, various kinds of adverb phrases, a negation particle and an illocutionary particle. The standard phrase structure for a clause is represented below. Nominal constituents, both core and non-core, may occur clause-initially and thus be topicalised. The prepositional phrase may occur in a pre-subject position or may follow the adverb phrase. An adverb phrase may occur in a pre-object position. The negation particle and illocutionary particle have fixed positions.

CL ⇒ (INTJ) (AP) (NP) VP (NP) { (PP) } (AP) (NEG) (IP)
 temp sub obj { (NP) }
 obl }

5.3.1 Interjections and Vocative Constructions

Interjections are used to express a number of emotions and reactions ranging from surprise, delight, excitement, relief, disgust, outrage, pity, affirmation and consent. They may also be used as part of a vocative construction for addressing someone or getting their attention. They occur clause-initially, following a complementiser, if present.

- (448) *Ale, maron, sai i-nat oaine?*
 hey/yo chief who.SG P3s-child this
 ‘Hey, chief, whose son is this?’
- (449) *I-keo ga, “Auili, poai ne i-mana kemi tau!”*
 S3s-speak CNJ wow! Malay.apple here P3s-taste good
 very
 ‘He said, “Wow, this Malay apple’s taste is very good!”’
- (450) *Ta i-keo, “Goibe, gau ga na-nama.”*
 SEQ S3s-speak all.right 1s FUT S1s-come
 ‘And then he said, “All right, I will come.”’
- (451) *Eie, danga ne i-duaea!*
 yuck thing this S3s-be.garbage
 ‘Yuck, this thing is trash!’
- (452) *O, le-g sil, eao Ø-kado kemi mao.*
 oh PCAg-P1s friend 2s S2s-do/make well not
 ‘Oh, my friend, you didn’t do well.’

5.3.2 Oblique Phrases

Clause-level obliques can be either prepositional phrases or locatives derived from nouns by the locative noun suffix *-eai* (glossed as LOC). There are only two prepositions which function at clause level: the

sgeneral preposition *ngan* (glossed as GP) and the bound preposition *pa* (glossed as ‘at’).

The Locative Noun Suffix *-eai*

The locative suffix *-eai* derives locative obliques from inanimate nouns. It never attaches to a proper noun. Instead, an unsuffixed proper noun may occupy the oblique position in a clause and be understood as a locative oblique. (See §1.3 for the various allomorphs of the *-eai* suffix.) When it occurs in a clause with a verb of motion, it conveys direction, as in examples (456) and (457).

- (453) *Na-ma-mado tuanga-i.*
 S1s-RDP-sit village-LOC
 ‘I was living in the village.’
- (454) *A-ma-mado Mareka.*
 S1pe-RDP-sit Mareka
 ‘We were living in Mareka.’
- (455) *Gid taine ti-rou lum i-aoa-i.*
 PL female S3p-convene men's.house P3s-mouth-LOC
 ‘The women convene at the opening of the men's house.’
- (456) *Ti-lalala ga ti-uot koda*e* i-pu-ia*i*.*
 S3p-walk CNJ S3p-emerge mango P3s-base-LOC
 ‘They walked and arrived at the base of the mango tree.’
- (457) *I-lua=i mulian le-d luma-eai.*
 S3s-return=3s back PCAg-P3p house-LOC
 ‘She returned back to their house.’

The locative suffix *-eai* must occur as the final constituent of its NP. It may attach to a directly possessed noun, as in examples (455) and (456) above, or to a noun indirectly possessed with either the *a* or *le* classifier, as in (457) above. However, it cannot attach to a noun modified by an adjective or quantifier or to a noun possessed with the possessive preposition *to*, since these would require NP modification to follow the head suffixed by *-eai*. Instead, such a construction would employ the general preposition *ngan*.

- (458) **luma-eai kapei*
house-LOC big
'in the big house'
- (459) **luma kapei-ai*
house big-LOC
'in the big house'
- (460) *ngan luma kapei*
GP house big
'in the big house'

The Preposition *ngan*

The most frequently occurring preposition is *ngan*. As demonstrated in the examples below, it encodes peripheral arguments exhibiting a multitude of semantic functions including location, destination, reference, instrument, time, source, and reason. (See §7.2.2 for the use of *ngan* in prepositional complement clauses.)

- (461) *I-mado ngan tibur toa oa.*
S3s-sit GP area GIV there
'He sat in that area.'
- (462) *Na-la ngan skol.*
S1s-go GP school.
'I go to school.'
- (463) *Ta ti-uot ngan tibur toa.*
SEQ S3p-emerge GP area GIV
'Then they arrived at the area.'
- (464) *Kapei-pei ti-keo ngan gid, "Gita tota*
elder-RDP S3p-speak GP 3p 1pi therefore
ta-dae le-da oaga-eai."
S1pi-ascend PCAg-P1pi canoe-LOC
'The elders said to them, "Then let's board our canoe.'
- (465) *I-dol i-bage i-dae ngan gau.*
S3s-put S3s-hand S3s-ascend GP 1s
'He placed his hand up on me.'

- (466) *Ngan apu to=gid kapei-pei, somisomi a-longo-longo*
 GP rule Prp=3p elder-RDP always S2p-RDP-hear
ti-posa pa=gimi ngan gid apu toa ne.
 S3p-talk at=2p GP PL rule GIV here
 ‘In the rules of the elders, you are always hearing them speak to you about these rules.’
- (467) *Gai a-kado gergeu pange le-d angal*
 1pe S1pe-do child four PCAg-P3p Canarium.almond
ngan ado kelede.
 GP day one
 ‘We do four children's Canarium almonds on one day.’
- (468) *Gid tisa ti-keo pa-n tama-g ngan gau.*
 PL teacher S3p-speak at-3sObl father-P1s GP 1s
 ‘The teachers spoke to my father about me.’
- (469) *Gai arang-aranga le-mai naurata ngan tado-nga*
 1pe RDP-male PCAg-P1pe work GP throw-NR
ala.
 fence
 ‘We men have work with regard to erecting a fence.’
- (470) *Gau na-dio ngan boko-nga tisa.*
 1s S1s-stay GP work-NR teacher
 ‘I am stopping with respect to teacher work. (I’m quitting.)’
- (471) *Jop i-tang-tang ngan gau,*
 Jop S3s-RDP-cry GP 1s
 ‘Jop was crying for me.’
- (472) *Ta ado ede pade ta a-la ngan ae-a*
 SEQ sun one other SEQ S1pe-go GP P3s-PCEX
ged-nga.
 fell-NR
 ‘Then another day then we go for its felling.’

- (473) *Taine toa ga i-apa oa i-nam ta kaeau*
 female GIV LIG P3s-belly there S3s-come SEQ bush.hen
i-sare edap ngan ei.
 S3s-scratch road GP 3s
 ‘The woman who was pregnant came, and then a bush hen
 scratched a path out for her.’
- (474) *Na-boko ngan somil le-mai tuanga-i ngan*
 S1s-work GP sawmill PCAg-P1pe village-LOC GP
rai tol.
 wind three
 ‘I worked on a sawmill in our village for three years.’
- (475) *I-uangga i-poga danga toa ngan kabasi.*
 S3s-want S3s-break thing GIV GP axe
 ‘He wanted to break the thing with an axe.’
- (476) *I-uangga ta-kado ta ta-pa-on tuanga ngan*
 S3s-want S1pi-do SEQ S1pi-CAUS-be.full village GP
ipom.
 crowd
 ‘He wants us to do (this) so that we fill the village with a crowd of
 people.’
- (477) *Oaga i-pat-pat ngan ei ga i-dae lab-iai.*
 canoe S3s-RDP-drift GP 3s CNJ S3s-ascend beach-LOC
 ‘The canoe was drifting from her and went up onto shore.’
- (478) *Sai ngan gid ga i-nasi e-le posa-nga*
 who.SG GP 3p FUT S3s-follow P3s-PCAg talk-NR
tautaunga?
 truly
 ‘Who among them will truly follow what he says?’

The preposition *ngan* also occurs in adverbial constructions such as the following.

- (479) *Gid abei toa ti-madid aluai ngan tibur toa.*
 PL tree GIV S3p-stand far GP area GIV
 ‘The trees are standing far away in relation to the area.’

- (480) *I-bada gai tol ga a-nam toman ngan ei.*
 S3s-get 1pe three CNJ S1pe-come ACMP GP 3s
 ‘He took the three of us so that we came together with him.’

Certain intransitive verbs are frequently followed by a prepositional phrase beginning with *ngan*.

- (481) *Ei i-muga ngan Pita.*
 3s S3s-precede GP Pita
 ‘He preceded Peter.’
- (482) *Sapa-nga i-paeabu ngan gita ga le-da*
 disappear-NR S3s-destroy GP 1pi CNJ PCAg-P1pi
tuanga.
 village
 ‘A famine destroyed us and our village.’

The reciprocal construction in Bariai consists of the preposition *ngan* with a prepositional object that agrees in person and number with the plural subject of the sentence.

- (483) *Gitarua ta-ket ngan launi-da.*
 1di S1pi-cut GP hair-P1pi
 ‘Let’s the two of us cut each other’s hair.’
- (484) *Gisirua ti-uai ngan gid.*
 3d S3p-marry GP 3p
 ‘The two of them married each other.’

The Preposition *pa*

The preposition *pa* (glossed as ‘at’) is a bound morpheme which obligatorily takes cliticised pronouns as its prepositional object. (See §3.1.2 for the paradigm of cliticised pronouns.) Although only a cliticised pronoun can be prepositional object of *pa*, an NP further specifying the identity of the object may follow the cliticised pronoun. Like the noun suffix *-eai*, *pa* is primarily a locative, but unlike *-eai*, it occurs with animate constituents. The semantic function of *pa* is much narrower than that of the general preposition *ngan*. Although its semantic functions may be summed up as generally locative, its specific functions may include

destination, addressee and source. When it follows verbs of speech, it indicates addressee.

- (485) *Eina i-posa-posa eine pa-n i-tama.*
 that.2 S3s-RDP-speak this at=3sObl P3s-father
 ‘That one was saying this to his father.’

The preposition *pa* can also express locative direction when it follows verbs of motion.

- (486) *Le-g gaea i-lado pa=gau.*
 PCAg-P1s pig S3s-run at=1s
 ‘My pig ran toward me.’

When the preposition *pa* follows a verb such as *bada* ‘get,’ there is ambiguity as to whether it encodes the semantic notion of destination or source. The listener must use context to distinguish what the speaker intends to convey. Compare the examples below.

- (487) *Ti-bada niu pa=gid Longa.*
 S3p-get coconut at=3p Longa
 ‘They brought coconuts to the interior people.’
- (488) *I-uangga i-bada danga pa=gid iriau.*
 S3s-want S3s-get thing at=3p spirit
 ‘He wanted to get something from the spirits.’

Such examples may be disambiguated by the directional verbs *la* ‘go’ and *nam* ‘come’ occurring in clauses beginning with the conjunction *ga* ‘and.’

- (489) *Ti-bada niu ga i-la pa=gid Longa.*
 S3p-get coconut CNJ S3s-go at=3p Longa
 ‘They brought coconuts so that they went to the interior people.’
- (490) *I-uangga i-bada danga ga i-nam pa=gid iriau.*
 S3s-want S3s-get thing CNJ S3s-come at=3p spirit
 ‘He wanted to get something so that it came from the spirits.’

The preposition *pa* can express locative accompaniment when it follows verbs of non-motion, such as *dio* ‘stay’ or *mado* ‘sit’. Contrast

this form of accompaniment with the accompaniment expressed by the enclitic =*ngada* which occurs in core arguments (§3.7) and the adverbial construction *toman ngan* (§5.3.3).

- (491) *Gisirua ti-ma-mado pa-n tna-d.*
 3d S3p-RDP-sit at-3sObl mother-P3p
 ‘The two of them were sitting with their mother.’

5.3.3 Adverbs and Adverb Phrases

Adverbs are distinguished from adjectives in that they modify predicates rather than nouns. They are distinguished from non-inflecting verbs in that they may occur either predicatively or adverbially, whereas non-inflecting verbs only occur predicatively. Many adverbs are gradable and thus may be modified by an intensifier which follows the adverb. There are five types of adverbs: locative, temporal, manner, aspectual and demonstrative. Demonstrative adverbs have already been discussed in §3.5.1. In a clause, adverbs normally follow prepositional phrases, though the usual position of a temporal adverb is clause-initial. Many adverbs may stand alone as predicates in verbless clauses (§5.1.4).

Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs tell where an event occurs. Some of the most typical locative adverbs are listed below in example (492).

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|------------------|
| (492) | <i>alele</i> | ‘here and there’ |
| | <i>aluai</i> | ‘far’ |
| | <i>boloma</i> | ‘nearby’ |
| | <i>digedige</i> | ‘at the edge’ |
| | <i>iadag</i> | ‘across’ |
| | <i>muriai</i> | ‘behind’ |
| | <i>pol</i> | ‘amongst’ |
| | <i>rabu</i> | ‘amidst’ |
| | <i>toman</i> | ‘together with’ |

The following examples show locative adverbs used in clauses. A locative adverb phrase may be formed by a locative adverb followed by a prepositional phrase, as in example (494).

- (493) *Gid gergeu ti-titiau boloma.*
 3p child S3p-play nearby
 ‘The children are playing nearby.’
- (494) *Ti-madid boloma ngan abei toa.*
 S3p-stand nearby GP tree GIV
 ‘They stood close to the tree.’
- (495) *Ti-kona-ona ia ga-ot.*
 S3p-hook-RDP fish AVR-emerge
 ‘They hook fish outside (i.e. far offshore).’
- (496) *Man i-roro ga-dae tau.*
 bird S3s-fly AVR-ascend very
 ‘A bird flies very high.’

Temporal Adverbs

Temporal adverbs tell when an event occurs. Some of the most typical temporal adverbs are listed below in example (497).

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| (497) <i>gaisala</i> | ‘in the morning’ |
| <i>labone</i> | ‘today’ |
| <i>made</i> | ‘yesterday’ |
| <i>mugaeai</i> | ‘in the past’ |
| <i>muriai</i> | ‘later’ |
| <i>oadla</i> | ‘in the recent past’ |
| <i>patetea</i> | ‘sometimes’ |
| <i>patautene</i> | ‘right now’ |
| <i>sabale</i> | ‘tomorrow’ |
| <i>somisomi</i> | ‘always’ |

The locative noun suffix *-eai* (§3.2.4 and 5.3.2) has become lexicalised on two of the above adverbs, *mugaeai* (consisting of the *-eai* suffix with the verb *muga* ‘precede’) and *muriai* (which is a suffixed inalienable noun *muri-* ‘back’ functioning adverbially). A temporal adverb phrase may consist of a generic temporal adverb followed by a more specific one, as in example (498). Many temporal adverbs such as the days of the week and time periods of the day are really nouns functioning adverbially. Example (499) shows an NP functioning adverbially. Temporal adverb phrases usually occur clause-initially. They

are important for providing time orientation in clauses, since there are no morphological distinctions of tense in Bariai.

- (498) *Made lailai gid panua ti-tol.*
 Yesterday afternoon PL people S3p-dance
 ‘Yesterday afternoon, the people danced.’
- (499) *Ado sae ta gairua a-kado eamo.*
 day next then 1de S1pe-do rock.oven
 ‘The next day, the two of us made a rock oven.’
- (500) *Mugaeai, le-da mado-nga kemi.*
 before PCAg-P1pi sit-NR good
 ‘Before, our life was good.’
- (501) *Mugaeai mugaeai tau, maron kapei ede i-ma-mado.*
 before before very benefactor big one S3s-RDP-live
 ‘Very long ago, a great leader lived.’

Aspectual Adverbs

Aspectual adverbs, unlike temporal adverbs, never occur pre-verbally. They function similarly to temporal adverbs in that they provide time orientation to clauses, but their function is aspectual rather than strictly temporal. The most typical aspectual adverbs are listed below in example (502).

- (502) *bua* ‘first’
ge ‘initially’
maitne ‘still/not yet’
motean ‘in advance’
o ‘already’
pade ‘also/again’

When aspectual adverbs co-occur with other adverbs, as in example (503), they follow them.

- (503) *Eaba i-lado manmanae pade.*
 man S3s-run fast again
 ‘The man ran fast again.’

- (504) *Ei i-uol rais bua.*
 3s S3s-buy rice initially
 ‘He bought rice first.’
- (505) *Gau na-la na-bada oaro motean.*
 1s S1s-go S1s-get rope in.advance
 ‘I’m going to get my rope ahead of time.’
- (506) *Gid ti-la o.*
 3p S3p-go already
 ‘They went already.’

The adverb *maitne* (glossed as ‘INC’) conveys incompletive aspect. In contexts where an action is already in progress (with or without imperfective aspect marked by verbal reduplication), it means ‘still,’ and in contexts where an action hasn’t begun yet, it means ‘not yet.’

- (507) *Ti-posa-posa maitne.*
 S3p-RDP-talk INC
 ‘They are still talking.’
- (508) *Ti-uot ngan ei maitne.*
 S3p-emerge GP 3s INC
 ‘They haven’t found him yet.’
- (509) *Be gid taine ti-baba taran akrok maitne.*
 SIM PL female S3p-call approvingly crow INC
 ‘But the women we still calling approvingly to the crow.’

Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs describe how an event takes place. Of the various kinds of adverbs, manner adverbs are most likely to precede a direct object, though the usual clause position is still following the object and prepositional phrase. Some of the most typical manner adverbs are listed below in example (510).

- (510) *lalaede* ‘similarly’
manmanae ‘quickly’
masaeai ‘clearly’
mumulnga ‘secretly’
sapaean ‘for/with nothing’

tautaunga 'truly'
taran 'approvingly'
tatan 'in pursuit'

- (511) *A-kisi botbot naurata.*
 S2p-hold strongly work.
 'You hold your work firmly.'
- (512) *Ta-ean annga sapaeen.*
 S1pi-eat food for/with.nothing
 'We eat food with no purpose (i.e. not for a special occasion).'
- (513) *Oaga i-lado manmanae tau.*
 canoe S3s-run quickly very
 'The canoe is moving very quickly.'

Many common adjectives such as *kemi* 'good,' *kapei* 'big' and *tutui* 'straight' may also function as manner adverbs.

- (514) *Gau na-dio tuanga-i, na-mado kemi.*
 1s S1s-stay.down village-LOC S1s-sit good
 'I stayed in the village, I lived well.'
- (515) *I-ket kapei, sing i-uot kapei tau.*
 S3s-cut big blood S3s-emerge big very
 'It cut it greatly, blood came out very greatly.'
- (516) *I-nama i-dae bok tutui pa-n e-le*
 S3s-come S3s-ascend surface straight at-3sObl P3s-PCAg
sil karkar oaga-eai.
 cross-cousin ant canoe-LOC
 'He came up surfacing directly at his friend, the ant in the canoe.'

5.3.4 The Illocutionary Particle *na*

The medial determiner *na* (discussed in §3.5.1) has an additional function as a clause-final illocutionary particle (glossed as 'IP'). It functions as a mild interrogative similar to the Canadian 'eh' or American 'you know.' In polar questions (§6.2.1), *na* is used as an interrogative particle requiring an answer. In other situations, *na* serves as a comment or a listener tracking device. The primary difference between this use of

na and the demonstrative use is that the particle functions at sentence level, while the demonstrative functions adnominally or adverbially. The common thread between them is that they both make reference to the 2nd person. (See §6.2.1 for the interrogative use of the illocutionary particle *na*.)

- (517) *Eao Ø-gal ei ga i-mate na, be ae-a paua*
 2s S2s-stab 3s CNJ S3s-die IP SIM P3s-PCEX power
tota ne i-eno-no pa=go na.
 EmpID here S3s-lay-RDP at=2sObj IP
 ‘You stabbed him so that he died, you know, but this very power of his is remaining with you, you know.’
- (518) *Gita ta-tola ngan gaea ae-a pan-nga na.*
 1pi S1pi-be.loath GP pig P3s-PCEX feed-NR IP
 ‘We are sick of feeding pigs, you know.’
- (519) *Tini-d i-gelgel, ngansa Buruku i-mate na.*
 skin-P3p S3s-be.happy because Monster S3s-die IP
 ‘They were happy because the monster died, you know.’
- (520) *Ale aia, i-misi na?*
 hey mom S3s-be.cooked IP
 ‘Hey mom, it is cooked, eh?’
- (521) *Danga toa i-la, na?*
 thing GIV S3s-go IP
 ‘The thing went, didn't it?’

5.4 Negation

Negation is expressed by a clause-final particle *mao* ‘not.’ This particle occurs in single answer negation and in clausal negation. Bariai does not allow constituents of a clause to be negated individually. The negation particle *mao* also functions as an alternating conjunction meaning ‘or’ (§7.1.5).

5.4.1 Single Answer Negation

Single answer negation in response to a polar question may consist of the negation particle *mao* or the incompletive aspectual adverb *maitne* (discussed in §5.3.3).

- (522) “*Eaba i-nama, na?*” “*Mao.*”
 man S3s-come IP not
 ‘“The man came, didn't he?” “No.”’
- (523) “*Annga i-misi, na?*” “*Maitne.*”
 food S3s-be.cooked IP INC
 ‘“The food is cooked, isn't it?” “Not yet.”’
- (524) *Arang-aranga pade=ngada ti-keo ga ti-aoa ga*
 RDP-male other=PL S3p-say LIG S3p-flee CNJ
ti-la tibur-iai. Be pade=ngada ti-keo, “Mao.”
 S3p-go bush-LOC SIM other=PL S3p-say not
 ‘Some men said that they (should) flee and go to the bush. But others said, “No.”’

5.4.2 Clausal Negation

In clausal negation, the negation particle *mao* occurs clause-finally in almost every instance.

- (525) *Eaba kapei toa i-longo mao.*
 man elder GIV S3s-hear not
 ‘The old man didn't listen.’
- (526) *Muriai ga le-mi mado-nga i-uot kemi mao.*
 later FUT PCAg-P2p sit-NR S3s-emerge good not
 ‘Later your life won't turn out well.’

There are a few examples where the negation particle is followed by an adverb phrase or oblique phrase.

- (527) *Kapei-pei pade=ngada ti-uai taine rua=ngada,*
 elder-RDP other=PL S3p-marry female two=each
ngansa ti-uatai mao ngan Deo e-le posa-nga.
 because S3p-know not GP God P3s-PCAg talk-NR
 ‘Other elders married two women at a time because they didn’t know about God’s talk.’
- (528) *Lailai toa-iua ti-an mao ga bong.*
 afternoon GIV-that S3p-eat not CNJ night
 ‘That afternoon they ate nothing until evening.’
- (529) *Oangga a-nasi kado-nga paeamao, eine ga*
 if/when S2p-follow do-NR bad then.here FUT
a-ot kemi mao Deo ga panua mata-d-eai.
 S3p-emerge good not God and people eye-P3p-LOC
 ‘If you follow bad behaviour, then you won’t turn out well in the sight of God and people.’

When the illocutionary particle *na* (described in §5.3.4) co-occurs with *mao*, *mao* precedes it.

- (530) *I-rangrang ngan eao Ø-bada mulian pade mao, na.*
 S3s-be.sufficient GP 2s S2s-get back again not IP
 ‘You aren’t able to get it back, you know.’
- (531) *Ta-oato tibur mao, na.*
 S1pi-call bush not IP
 ‘We don’t call it bush, you know.’

The negation particle may also precede a clause-final occurrence of the aspectual adverb *pade* ‘also.’

- (532) *Ga a-ngale eaba ede pade i-adaoa mao pade.*
 CNJ S2p-admire man one other P3s-spouse not also
 ‘And also don’t admire another man’s spouse.’

- (533) *Gid ti-uatai ngan raring mao, ga ti-uatai ngan*
 3p S3p-know GP prayer not CNJ S3p-know GP
Deo mao pade.
 God not also
 ‘They don't know how to pray, and they also don't know God.’

Negative indefinites (no one, nothing, etc.) are formed by combining *mao* with the irrealis quantifier *eta* ‘one’ and a few other nouns and adverbs. Such phrases always occur clause-finally in clauses which are entirely negated, as in example (539).

- (534) *eta mao* (535) *danga eta mao*
 one.IR not thing one.IR not
 ‘none’ ‘nothing’
- (536) *eaba eta mao* (537) *ngan tibur eta mao*
 man one.IR not GP area one.IR not
 ‘no one’ ‘nowhere’
- (538) *somisomi mao*
 always not
 ‘never’
- (539) *Ei i-uatai ngan danga eta mao.*
 3s S3s-know GP thing one.IR not
 ‘She didn't know about anything.’

Although nominal negation is not allowed, verbless clauses (described in §5.1.2) may be negated.

- (540) *Eine gau adaoa-g mao*
 this 1s spouse-P1s not
 ‘This is not my spouse’
- (541) *Eaba ne gau tama-g mao.*
 man here 1s father-P1s not
 ‘This man is not my father.’
- (542) *Pud ne to-n Joe mao.*
 banana here Prp-3sObl Joe not
 ‘These bananas are not Joe's.’

Example (543) below shows a negated, verbless relative clause functioning adnominally. (See §3.9 for relative clauses.) This particular construction is identical to a negated transitive clause in which *kemi* ‘good’ functions adverbially, as in example (544). Only context can determine whether the entire clause is negative or whether there is a negated relative clause functioning adnominally.

- (543) *Be oangga gimi a-gera madid-nga kemi mao ga*
 SIM if/when 2p S2p-see stand-NR good not CNJ
a-pa-madid ei sapaean, eine muriai ga
 S2p-CAUS-stand 3s for/with.nothing then.here later FUT
le-mi mado-nga kemi mao.
 PCAg-P2p sit-NR good not
 ‘But if you look to a leader who is not good, and appoint him for no reason, then later your life won’t be good.’

- (544) *Paria i-gera karkar kemi mao.*
 lizard S3s-see ant good not
 ‘The lizard didn’t see the ant well.’

While constituents of a clause are not negated individually, it is possible for a dependent clause to be negated while the main clause of a sentence remains positive, and vice versa.

- (545) *Oangga i-la mao, i-tna ga i-tapa ei.*
 if/when S3s-go not P3s-mother FUT S3s-hit 3s
 ‘If he doesn’t go, his mother will hit him.’
- (546) *Oangga i-la, i-tna ga i-tapa ei mao.*
 if/when S3s-go P3s-mother FUT S3s-hit 3s not
 ‘If he goes, his mother will not hit him.’

A sentence-final negation particle may negate a sentence-initial main clause, even if it is separated by a non-negated dependent clause. The sentence-final negation in example (547) is ambiguous. It can either mean the negation of the initial main clause or the final complement clause. Knowledge of the context is necessary in order to properly interpret. (See §7.2.2 for the use of the preposition *ngan* in complement clauses.)

- (547) *Be i-uatai ngan gid kapei-pei ti-an liunga*
 SIM S3s-know GP PL elder-RDP S3p-eat perimeter
ngan ei mao.
 GP 3s not
 ‘But he didn’t know that the elders had closed in on him.’
 or: ‘But he knew that the elders had not closed in on him.’

Negated imperatives may be stated directly with the general negation particle *mao*, or they may be stated more politely with a special imperative negation particle *padam* (glossed as ‘don’t’), which is somewhat infrequent in comparison to *mao* in negated imperatives.

- (548) *A-kado kado-nga arala mao.*
 S2p-do do-NR immoral not
 ‘Don’t do sexually immoral behaviour.’
- (549) *Eao Ø-mataud mao.*
 2s S2s-be.afraid not
 ‘Don’t be afraid.’
- (550) *Ae, kakau, gimi a-la tuanga-i padam.*
 hey young.person 2p S2p-go village-LOC don’t
 ‘Hey, young people, please don’t go to the village.’
- (551) *A-ean tama-mi ae-a moi toa na-dol ga*
 S2p-eat father-P2p P3s-PCEX taro GIV S1s-set CNJ
i-dio ne padam.
 S3s-stay.down here don’t
 ‘Please don’t eat your father’s taro which I’ve placed here.’

5.4.3 Complex Negative Constructions

Emphatic negation may be expressed by the phrase *mao ga mao tau*, literally, ‘not and very not.’

- (552) *Le-mi mado-nga ga i-uot kemi mao ga*
 PCAg-P2p live-NR FUT S3s-emerge good not CNJ
mao tau.
 not very
 ‘Your lives will not at all be good.’

The word for ‘bad,’ *paeamao*, is really a negated form of a word meaning ‘good,’ but this construction has become lexicalised, following the normal syntax of adjectives, including the ability to express plurality of a head noun through reduplication (§3.3). This word may also occur in a negated clause, forming a kind of double negative construction. Other than this, double negatives are not possible in Bariai.

(553) *Eao le-m idil eta paeamao mao.*
2s PCAg-P2s instance one.IR bad not

‘You haven’t done anything wrong.’

(554) *Gid kodaē ne pa-paeamao mao.*
PL mango here RDP-bad not

‘These mangoes aren’t bad.’

5.4.4 Negative Adverbial Constructions

There are two adverbial constructions involving the negation particle *mao*. One construction, *ga mao* (literally ‘and no’), expresses a frustrated outcome of an event. It functions similarly to the English ‘to no avail’ or ‘with no luck.’

(555) *Ti-lo-ilo gid panua toa oa ga mao.*
S3p-RDP-search 3p people GIV there CNJ not

‘They searched for those people to no avail.’

(556) *Karkar i-sanga ga mao.*
large.ant S3s-await CNJ not

‘The ant waited to no avail.’

The other adverbial construction involving the negation particle is *mole mao* (literally ‘not a while’), meaning ‘suddenly.’ This usually occurs clause-initially, since it is a temporal adverbial construction. (See §5.3 for standard order of clause constituents.)

(557) *Mole mao, bagele i-nam.*
a.while not crocodile S3s-come

‘Suddenly, a crocodile came’

- (558) *Mole mao, na-longo gid man orongon ti-tang-tang.*
a.while not S1s-hear PL bird hornbill S3p-RDP-cry
'Suddenly I heard some hornbill birds squawking.'

6. IMPERATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

6.1 Imperative Sentences

Imperatives are syntactically identical to 2nd or 1st plural inclusive declarative sentences, but they may be stated with slightly higher volume and/or pitch. There are two types of imperative clauses: commands and prohibitions.

(559) *A-la a-bada dinga eta.*
 S2p-go S2p-get fire one.IR
 ‘Go get some fire!’

(560) *Ta-la ta-kona-ona!*
 S1pi-go S1pi-hook-RDP
 ‘Let’s go hook fishing!’

(561) *Ø-Dio Ø-mado.*
 S2s-stay.down S2s-sit
 ‘Sit down.’

Prohibitions employ either the negation particle *mao* (§5.4) or the polite imperative negation particle *padam* (§5.4.2). The formation of prohibitions is otherwise the same as that of commands. The polite imperative negation particle *padam* is not used in 1st plural inclusive prohibitions.

(562) *Ø-Rau kaua padam.*
 S2s-hit dog don't
 ‘Please don’t hit the dog!’

(563) *Ø-Oarisi tini-m mao!*
 S2s-scratch skin-P2s not
 ‘Don’t scratch your skin!’

(564) *Ta-paeabu ngan le-da ka-kakau mao.*
 S1pi-destroy GP PCAg-P1pi RDP-young.person not
 ‘Let's not destroy our young people.’

6.2 Interrogative Sentences

6.2.1 Polar Questions

Polar questions are expressed with high, falling intonation on the penultimate syllable of the utterance. Otherwise they are syntactically the same as declarative sentences, except that the illocutionary particle *na* (described in §5.3.4) may be used.

- (565) *Mado-nga toa rua ne lalaede?*
 sit-NR GIV two here similar
 ‘Are these two (ways of) living similar?’
- (566) *Ø-Kado le-m luma ga kus, na?*
 S2s-do PCAg-P2s house CNJ be.done IP
 ‘You finished your house, didn't you?’

The illocutionary particle *na* is used in a polar question to prompt a response, similar to the English ‘huh’ or ‘eh.’

- (567) *Eao Ø-ean annga eta, na?*
 2s S2s-eat food one.IR IP
 ‘You ate some food, didn't you?’

Two or more anticipated responses to a polar question may be included in the question and separated by the alternating conjunction *mao* ‘or’ discussed in §7.1.5.

- (568) *Gergeu na aranga, mao taine?*
 child there.2 male or female
 ‘Is that child male or female?’
- (569) *Labone gimi a-gera le-mi mado-nga kemi, mao*
 today 2p S2p-see PCAg-P2p sit-NR good or
paeamao?
 bad
 ‘Today, do you see your life (as) good, or bad?’

6.2.2 Content Questions

Content questions involve one of a set of interrogative words functioning in a clause, usually in the position of the referent in question. The following question words are used in content questions.

<i>sai</i>	‘who (sg)?’
<i>sapadua</i>	‘who (pl)?’
<i>sai e-le</i> <i>sai ae-a</i> <i>to-n sai</i>	‘whose (sg)?’
<i>sapadua le-d</i> <i>sapadua a-d</i> <i>to=gid sapadua</i>	‘whose (pl)?’
<i>mado</i>	‘what event?’
<i>saoa</i>	‘what thing?’
<i>isaoa</i>	‘which?’
<i>ngeda</i>	‘when?’
<i>sida</i>	‘where?’
<i>ngan saoa</i>	‘why?’ (lit. ‘about what thing?’)
<i>madongan</i>	‘how?’ (lit. ‘with what event?’)
<i>pida</i>	‘how many?’

Table 21: Interrogative Words

The question words for ‘who?’ (*sai* and *sapadua*) and the question words for ‘what thing?’ and ‘which?’ (*saoa* and *isaoa*) will occur in clauses in the position of the constituent to which they refer. All of the other question words occur post-verbally and after an object NP, if present. The interrogative system makes a distinction between singular and plural only with the words for ‘who’ (*sai* and *sapadua*). Also, a distinction is made between tangible nouns (for which the interrogative *saoa* is used) and events (for which the interrogative *mado* is used).

Unlike *saoa*, *mado* can never replace a subject noun phrase, but only an event object noun phrase.

- (570) *Sai ga i-la i-bada dinga?*
 who.SG FUT S3s-go S3s-get fire
 ‘Who (sg) is going to get the fire?’
- (571) *Kaua oa i-sok ngan sapadua pade?*
 dog that S3s-bark about who.PL other
 ‘Who (pl) else is that dog barking about?’
- (572) *Kado-nga sat toa to-n sai?*
 do-NR bad GIV Prp-3sObl who.SG
 ‘Whose sin is it?’
- (573) *Ei i-kado mado?*
 3s S3s-do what.event
 ‘What did he do?’

The difference between *saoa* and *isaoa* is that *isaoa* is only used when there are two or more possible expected referents, while *saoa* is used when there is no particular expected referent.

- (574) *Gimi a-kim saoa?*
 2p S2p-want what
 ‘What do you want?’
- (575) *John Dako i-ma-mado ngan polongon isaoa?*
 John Dako S3s-RDP-sit GP descent.line which
 ‘Which political party does John Dako belong to?’
- (576) *Ta-la ngeda?*
 S1pi-go when
 ‘When are we going?’
- (577) *Le-m tuanga sida?*
 PCAg-P2s village where
 ‘Where is your village?’

(578) *Eao Ø-pa-mate dinga ngan saoa?*
 2s S2s-CAUS-die fire GP what
 ‘Why did you put out the fire?’

(579) *Gergeu i-tap madongan?*
 child S3s-fall how
 ‘How did the child fall?’

(580) *Eao Ø-rau a-da gaea pida?*
 2s S2s-strike PCEX-P1pi pig how.many
 ‘How many pigs did you kill for us?’

In addition to their interrogative use, question words may be used non-interrogatively to express indefiniteness, similar to the English ‘whoever’ and ‘whatever,’ etc. found especially in conditional clauses.

(581) *Oangga sai i-luku, eine gau le-g.*
 if/when who.SG S3s-apprehend then.here 1s PCAg-P1s
 ‘Whoever apprehends (it), it’s mine.’

(582) *Gau na-rau sapadua ti-pa-mate gid.*
 1s S1s-strike who.PL S3p-CAUS-die 3p
 ‘I’ll strike whoever killed them.’

(583) *Eao Ø-la Ø-gera danga saoa toa, ta Ø-ngot ei.*
 2s S2s-go S2s-see thing what GIV SEQ S2s-bite 3s
 ‘You go see whatever the thing is, and bite him.’

(584) *Oangga eao Ø-bungim ngan taim isaoa ga eao*
 if/when 2s S2s-meet GP time which FUT 2s
Ø-bada ga eao Ø-kisi.
 S2s-get CNJ 2s hold
 ‘At whichever time you meet it, you will take it and hold it.’

(585) *Oangga ti-kado mado, eine ga ta-la*
 if/when S3p-do/make what then.here CNJ S1pi-go
ta-gera.
 S1pi-see
 ‘Whatever they do, let’s go see it.’

- (586) *Oangga a-la ngeda, eine ga na-pan ga*
 if/when S1pe-go when then.here FUT S1s-give CNJ
i-la pa=go
 S3s-go at=2sObj
 ‘Whenever we go, I’ll give it to you.’
- (587) *Oangga gau na-la sida, eine le-g gaea toa*
 if/when 1s S1s-go where then.here PCAg-P1s pig GIV
i-nas-nasi gau.
 S3s-RDP-follow 1s
 ‘Wherever I went, my pig was following me.’
- (588) *I-naganagam bong mao lailai mao kain madongan,*
 S3s-RDP.come night or afternoon or kind how
i-uangga i-lo-ilo danga toa ne.
 S3s-want S3s-RDP-search.for thing GIV here
 ‘He kept coming at night or in the afternoon or however (he could),
 he wanted to search for this thing.’
- (589) *Ti-uade bula i-uot pida.*
 S3p-count shell.money S3s-emerge how.many
 ‘They count the shell money (to see) how much it amounts to.’

7. COMPLEX SENTENCES

Complex sentences consist of two or more clauses syntactically related by conjoining, juxtaposition or embedding. Conjoined clauses employ a variety of conjunctions which mark specific coordinate relationships. Embedded clauses may be either relative clauses which modify an NP, complement clauses which function as arguments of a main clause or adverbial clauses which express the reason, time, condition, etc. of an action in a main clause and cannot stand as independent utterances. Relative clauses are discussed in §3.9 and will not be further discussed here. What we refer to as adverbial clauses may be categorised as subordination according to some theories. The distinction between coordination and subordination, however, is not very clear in Bariai and may actually not be a relevant category in the language. There are some conjunctions (e.g. *ta* ‘and then’ and *be* ‘while’) which may function either coordinately or subordinately depending on the semantic context. Furthermore, juxtaposed clauses may stand in relationships that are traditionally either coordinate (e.g. sequential) or subordinate (e.g. temporal). Table 22 below presents the functions of the linking devices used in coordination, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses.

Type		Linking Device	Functions	gloss
Coordination		<i>ga</i>	conjoining, result	‘CNJ’
		<i>ta</i>	sequential	‘SEQ’
		<i>be</i>	simultaneous, contrastive	‘SIM’
		<i>mao</i>	alternating	‘or’
		<i>tota</i>	emphatic sequential, logical result	‘therefore’
		<i>eine, eina, eiua</i>	circumstance, conditional apodosis	‘then’
Complement Clauses	Object	<i>ga</i>	ligature	‘LIG’
		<i>ta</i>	complementiser	‘CMPL’
	Prepositional	<i>ngan</i>	reference, purpose	‘GP’
Adverbial Clauses		<i>oangga</i>	conditional protasis, temporal irrealis	‘if/when’
		<i>padam</i>	counterfactual	‘if only’
		<i>ngansa</i>	reason	‘because’
		<i>ta</i>	purpose	‘so that’
		<i>ngan kado ta</i>	negative purpose	‘lest’
		<i>mambe</i>	comparison	‘as’
		<i>ga</i>	telic	‘until’
		<i>mugaeai ngan</i>	temporal	‘prior to’
<i>muriai ngan</i>	temporal	‘after’		

Table 22: Bariai Clause Types and Linking Devices

7.1 Coordination and Juxtaposition

Clauses which stand alone as complete utterances may begin either with or without a conjunction. There are six coordinating conjunctions

which introduce independent clauses. Each of these conjunctions has at least one use outside the word class of conjunctions, and most are multifunctional as conjunctions.

7.1.1 Juxtaposition

A new sentence typically begins without a conjunction.

- (590) *Ado ede gid kakau gereirei ti-la ti-an*
 day one PL young.person small.PL S3p-go S3p-eat
kodae.
 mango
 ‘One day the youngsters went to eat mangoes.’

- (591) *Ninipu-nga eine ta kus.*
 recount-NR this just.now be.done
 ‘This story is now done.’

Juxtaposition may be used when clauses stand in a conjoining, sequential or simultaneous relationship.

- (592) *I-sola naip i-pu, ei*
 S3s-stand.alongside Tahitian.chestnut P3s-base 3s
i-mata i-nono eau toa.
 P3s-eye S3s-cook water GIV
 ‘As he stood alongside the base of the Tahitian chestnut tree, he stared at the water.’
- (593) *I-uore, i-bage kas ngan bisi-nga toa.*
 S3s-cross.over P3s-hand be.stuck GP carry-NR GIV
 ‘He crossed over, and then his hand tightly closed for carrying the thing.’
- (594) *Mugaeai tna-g i-popo gau, na-ma-mado*
 before mother-P1s S3s-bear 1s S1s-RDP-sit
tuanga-i.
 village-LOC
 ‘Long ago, my mother gave birth to me, and I was living in the village.’

Occasionally the apodosis of a conditional construction is juxtaposed with the protasis. (See §7.3.1 below for a discussion of conditional clauses.)

- (595) *Oangga eaba ede i-nam i-uot, gairua ga*
 if/when man one S3s-come S3s-emerge 1de FUT
a-pa-rau.
 S1pe-CAUS-strike
 ‘If a man come and arrives, the two of us will fight.’

7.1.2 The Conjunction *ga*

The conjunction *ga* also functions as a ligature at phrase level and clause level. A summary of all the uses of *ga* both as a ligature and a conjunction are presented in Table 14 in §3.5.2. See §7.2.1 below for a discussion of the ligature *ga* in introducing object complement clauses and §7.3.5 for a discussion of the conjunction *ga* when it is used to introduce telic adverbial clauses. The primary use of the conjunction *ga* is to join items by simple addition at phrase, clause and sentence levels. It is typically translated as ‘and.’ In narrative texts *ga* may express a loose sequential relationship.

- (596) *Gau na-ode oaga ga na-dudunga tuanga-i.*
 1s S1s-paddle canoe CNJ S1s-enter village-LOC
 ‘I paddled the canoe and entered the village.’
- (597) *Na-soi tapiok ga na-sip kaokao.*
 S1s-peel cassava CNJ S1s-slice sweet.potato
 ‘I peel cassava and slice sweet potato.’
- (598) *I-ae kris ga i-tap.*
 S3s-foot slip CNJ S3s-fall
 ‘His leg slipped and he fell.’

When the direct object of a clause becomes the subject of the subsequent clause, the conjunction *ga* indicates result and may be translated as ‘so that.’

- (599) *I-bada gai tol ga a-nam toman ngan ei.*
 S3s-get 1pe three CNJ S1pe-come ACMP GP 3s
 ‘He took the three of us so that we came with him.’
- (600) *Ta-ooai i-laun gargar ga i-man karei.*
 S1pi-weave P3s-leaf unripe CNJ S3s-become round.basket.
 ‘We weave its green leaves so that it becomes a round basket.’
- (601) *Ti-kado ato ga i-la ngan tuanga ga tuanga.*
 S3p-do message CNJ S3s-go GP village CNJ village
 ‘They cause a message to go to each and every village.’

7.1.3 The Conjunction *ta*

The conjunction *ta* (glossed as ‘SEQ’) expresses a sequential relationship of a clause to a previous clause. It is typically translated as ‘and then.’ (See §7.2.1 below for the use of *ta* as a complementiser, §7.3.3 for its use in adverbial clauses of purpose and §4.2.3 for its use as a modal particle.)

- (602) *Gid ti-nono ia ta ti-an.*
 3p S3p-cook fish SEQ S3p-eat
 ‘They cooked the fish and then they ate it.’
- (603) *Gai a-la dadanga-i ga kus ta a-liliu.*
 1pe S1pe-go garden-LOC CNJ be.done SEQ S1pe-bathe
 ‘We went to the garden and afterward we bathed.’
- (604) *Gid kapei-pei toa ti-longo ta ti-rau posa-nga.*
 3p elder-RDP GIV S3p-listen SEQ S3p-strike talk-NR
 ‘The elders listened, and then they made a decision (lit. struck talk).’

7.1.4 The Conjunction *be*

The conjunction *be* (glossed as ‘SIM’) expresses simultaneity. It also functions as an interjection meaning ‘yes.’

- (605) *Gisirua ti-ma-mado be ti-posa-posa ngan le-d*
 3d S3p-RDP-sit SIM S3p-RDP-talk GP PCAg-P3p
la-nga.
 go-NR
 ‘The two of them were sitting while they talked about their journey.’
- (606) *Mande i-ki-kisi, be Sigini i-to-totoi*
 Mande S3s-RDP-hold SIM Sigini S3s-RDP-butcher
 ‘Mande was holding it while Sigini was butchering.’
- (607) *Gai a-dio a-ma-mado, be Imoke toa i-rau*
 1pe S1pe-stay S1pe-RDP-sit SIM Imoke GIV S3s-strike
gid.
 3p
 ‘We were sitting down while Imoke struck them.’

The conjunction *be* is also used to introduce clauses of contra-expectation or contrast.

- (608) *Ti-sanga oaga, be i-nam i-uot mao.*
 S3p-await canoe SIM S3s-come S3s-emerge not
 ‘They waited for the ship, but it didn’t come.’
- (609) *Tna-d ga tama-d ti-mate, be gid*
 mother-P3p CNJ father-P3p S3p-die SIM 3p
ti-dio.
 S3p-stay.down
 ‘Their mothers and fathers died, but they remained.’
- (610) *Na-toba a-d sek-sek-nga be i-rangrang*
 S1s-try PCEX-P3p RDP-pull.down-NR SIM S3s-be.sufficient
mao.
 not
 ‘I tried pulling them down, but it wasn’t possible.’

7.1.5 The Conjunction *mao*

The conjunction *mao* is used to express alternation. (See §5.4 for the use of *mao* as a negation particle.)

- (611) *Gid ga ti-pota annga, mao ti-tol pade?*
 3p FUT S3p-distribute food or S3p-dance again
 ‘Will they serve the food or dance again?’
- (612) *I-tei mambe ga gita ta-tei moi, mao ta-tei*
 S3s-tear as LIG 1pi S1pi-tear taro or S1pi-tear
kaokao.
 sweet.potato
 ‘He tore it as we would tear a taro or as we would tear a sweet potato.’

7.1.6 The Conjunction *tota*

The conjunction *tota* (glossed as ‘therefore’) most often expresses emphatic sequentiality. (See §3.5.2 for the deictic use of *tota* as an emphatic identifier.)

- (613) *Ti-sulug, tota ti-la ti-mado ngan tibur maket*
 S3p-descend therefore S3p-go S3p-sit GP area market
ae-a.
 P3s-PCEX
 ‘They disembark, so then they go sit in the market area.’
- (614) *Bula kus, tota gergeu i-tama ga*
 shell.money be.done therefore child P3s-father CNJ
i-tna ti-uade annga pa=gid panua.
 P3s-mother S3p-count food at=3p people
 ‘Right when the shell money is gone, the child’s mother and father distribute food to the people.’
- (615) *I-roro ga i-nam, tota Imoke i-dug ga*
 S3s-fly CNJ S3s-come therefore Imoke S3s-jump CNJ
i-dae i-luku.
 S3s-ascend S3s-apprehend
 ‘It flew and came, and just then Imoke jumped up and apprehended it.’

The conjunction *tota* also expresses logical result.

- (616) *Ti-samum eda-g, tota na-la ngan skul mao.*
 S3p-wipe name-P1s therefore S1s-go GP school not
 ‘They erased my name, therefore I don’t go to school.’
- (617) *I-gera gid, tota i-lado ga i-sulug lab-iai.*
 S3s-see 3p therefore S3s-run CNJ S3s-descend beach-LOC
 ‘He saw them, therefore he ran and went down to the beach.’
- (618) *Manta ta-earum gid danga busa salim-nga ae-a,*
 must S1pi-plant PL thing many sell-NR P3s-PCEX
tota labone i-rangrang ngan kakau eta,
 therefore today S3s-be.sufficient GP young.person one.IR
mao kapei eta i-titia sapaean mao.
 or elder one.IR S3s-be.at.leisure for. nothing not
 ‘We must plant many things to sell, therefore today no young
 person or elder can be at leisure for no reason.’

The conjunction *tota* may also introduce the apodosis of a conditional clause, marking an emphatic consequence. (See §7.1.7 below for the more typical way of introducing the apodosis of a conditional clause.)

- (619) *Oangga ti-kim, tota ti-sir ngan.*
 if/when S3p-like therefore S3p-cheer GP
 ‘If they like it, they cheer about it.’
- (620) *Oangga mama kus, tota a-poro gela.*
 if/when sago be.done therefore S1pe-wring Fishtail.palm
 ‘If sago is gone, then we process the Fishtail palm.’

7.1.7 The Conjunctions *eine*, *eina* and *eiua*

The demonstratives *eine*, *eina* and *eiua* also function conjunctively and often introduce the apodosis of a conditional construction, where they may be glossed as ‘then.’ The cliticised determiners *ne*, *na* and *oa*, which appear on these conjunctions, express textual deixis, indicating a speaker or writer’s assessment of how contextually proximate the material in the apodosis is to the hearer or reader. (See §3.5.1 for more on demonstratives.)

- (621) *Oangga gai a-popo gergeu lautabe, eine gai ga*
 if/when 1pe S1pe-bear child firstborn then.here 1pe FUT
a-peremu ngan ei kemi.
 S1pe-care GP 3s good
 ‘When we give birth to a firstborn child, we will be caring for him well.’
- (622) *Oangga sai i-la i-tang ngan ei mao, eina*
 if/when who.SG S3s-go S3s-cry GP 3s not then.there.2
ga i-dibal paeamao ga i-mate.
 FUT S3s-be.sick bad CNJ S3s-die
 ‘Anyone who doesn't go and cry for him will become badly sick and die.’
- (623) *Be oangga gau kekele=gau, eine ga gimi a-ean*
 SIM if/when 1s only=1s then.here FUT 2p S2p-eat
gau.
 1s
 ‘But if I'm alone, then you will eat me.’

The words *eine*, *eina* and *eiua* also introduce a new sentence, in which case they function as adverbs, translatable as ‘at this/that point in time,’ creating a temporal link with the preceding clause.

- (624) *Eiua gid tol ti-dio*
 then.there 3p three S3p-stay.down
 ‘At that point in time the three of them stayed.’
- (625) *Ado toa-iua ti-la dadanga-i. Eina Aisipel*
 sun GIV-that S3p-go garden-LOC then.there.2 Aisipel
i-la na.
 S3s-go IP
 ‘On that day they went to the garden. At that point in time Aisipel had gone, you know.’

- (626) *Gita ga ta-la tuanga-i mao. Eine ga*
 1pi FUT S1pi-go village-LOC not then.here FUT
ta-ma-mado le-da toa eko.
 S1pi-RDP-sit PCAg-P1pi GIV here
 ‘We’re not going to the village. At this point in time we’ll live our lives here.’

7.2 Complement Clauses

There are two types of complement clauses: object complements and prepositional complements.

7.2.1 Object Complement Clauses

Object complement clauses may be introduced by the ligature *ga* (§3.5.2) or the complementiser *ta*, or they may simply stand in the object position of a main clause, without any overt linking device.

The following verbs take object complements which require no linking device: *oangga* ‘say/think/want,’ *kim* ‘like,’ *sanga* ‘await,’ *toba* ‘try,’ *gera* ‘see,’ *longo* ‘hear,’ *kaka* ‘start,’ *naman* ‘feel.’

- (627) *Na-oangga na-ninipu ngan gai le-mai naurata.*
 S1s-want S1s-recount GP 1pe PCAg-P1pe work
 ‘I want to tell about our work.’
- (628) *Ti-gera gid koda*e* i-tautau i-eno alele.*
 S3p-see PL mango P3s-fruit S3s-lay around
 ‘They saw the pieces of mango fruit lying here and there.’
- (629) *Eao Ø-kim eaba eta pade i-bada muli-g?*
 2s S2s-like man one.IR other S3s-get space-P1s
 ‘Do you want another man to take my place?’
- (630) *A-sanga-sanga eamo i-mate.*
 S1pe-RDP-await rock.oven S3s-die
 ‘We waited for the rock oven to heat up.’ (lit. die)
- (631) *I-longo gergeu to-n taine ede i-tang luma-eai.*
 S3s-hear child Prp-3sObl female one S3s-cry house-LOC
 ‘He heard the child of one woman crying in the house.’

- (632) *Gaea toa i-naman eaba toa e-le ido i-dae*
 pig GIV S3s-feel man GIV P3s-PCAg spear S3s-ascend
ngan i-tin.
 GP P3s-skin

‘The pig felt the man's spear go up into its body.’

Sometimes an object complement consists of a nominalised verb with its own direct object.

- (633) *I-toba pa-buobuo-nga ei.*
 S3s-try CAUS-mistake-NR 3s
 ‘He tried to mislead him.’
- (634) *Moadi i-kaka bau-nga le-d bau-nga.*
 Moadi S3s-start sing-NR PCAg-P3p sing-NR
 ‘Moadi started singing their song.’

The ligature *ga* may introduce object complements of three verbs: *gera* ‘see,’ the interrogative *kamado* ‘do what?’ and *keo* ‘speak.’ (For examples with the verb *keo*, see the discussion below on direct and indirect speech.)

- (635) *I-gera ga abei i-laun i-misi.*
 S3s-see LIG tree P3s-leaf S3s-be.dry
 ‘He saw that the tree leaves were dry.’
- (636) *Eaba kapei toa i-gera ga i-la ga paeamao tau.*
 man elder GIV S3s-see LIG S3s-go CNJ bad very
 ‘The elder man saw that it became very bad.’

The inflected word *kamado* is a contraction of the verb *kado* ‘do’ with the interrogative word *mado* ‘what event.’ This construction often takes object complements introduced by the ligature *ga*. When it is inflected for 2nd singular or plural, it can be taken as a mild rebuke. It can take 3rd singular inflection while still being addressed to a 2nd person referent where it is not as harsh.

- (637) *Ø-Kamado ga eao Ø-easal gau?*
 S2s-do.what LIG 2s S2s-surpass 1s
 ‘What did you do to surpass me?’

- (638) *I-kamado ga eao Ø-easal gau pade?*
 S3s-do.what LIG 2s S2s-surpass 1s again
 ‘Why is it that you surpassed me again?’

Direct and Indirect Speech

Direct speech most frequently follows the verb *keo* ‘say.’ Sometimes an addressee is specified by a prepositional phrase, as in example (639), and sometimes a manner demonstrative such as *bedane* ‘like this’ serves to introduce a quotation, as in example (640).

- (639) *I-keo pa=gid, “Ae, kakau, gimi a-la*
 S3s-say at=3p hey young.person 2p S2p-go
tuanga-i padam.”
 village-LOC don't
 ‘He said to them, “Hey youngsters, please don't go to the village.”’
- (640) *Taine toa oa i-keo pa-n bedane, “Gergeu ne*
 female GIV there S3s-say at-3sObl like.this child here
taine.”
 female
 ‘That woman spoke to him like this, “This child is a girl.”’

When the verb *keo* is followed by the ligature *ga*, it can either be an expression of will meaning ‘want to,’ or it can be a direct speech quotation formula.

- (641) *Eaba kapei i-keo ga, “Be gimi a-kim sai?”*
 man elder S3s-say LIG SIM 2p S2p-want who.SG
 ‘The elder man said, “But whom do you want?”’
- (642) *I-keo ga gairua a-salisali ngan gai.*
 S3s-say LIG 1de S1pe-compete GP 1pe
 ‘He wants the two of us to compete against each other.’
- (643) *Na-keo ga sabale gaisala eao Ø-nam.*
 S1s-say LIG tomorrow morning 2s S2s-come
 ‘I want you to come tomorrow morning.’

Other verbs that introduce direct speech include *beta* ‘ask,’ *posa* ‘talk,’ *oangga* ‘say/think,’ *ngangar* ‘yell,’ *baba* ‘summon’ and *renren* ‘charge.’

- (644) *I-renren pa-n i-tar kakau Abatal, “Eao klok*
 S3s-charge at-3sObl P3s-sibling young Abatal 2s tap
ga klok mao.”
 CNJ tap not

‘He commanded his younger brother Abatal, “Don't keep tapping.”’

- (645) *I-liu i-beta, “Eao Ø-nam madongan?”*
 P3s-sibling S3s-ask 2s S2s-come how
 ‘His sister asked, “How did you come?”’

The sequential conjunction *ta* also functions as a complementiser, introducing indirect speech.

- (646) *I-keo ngan gai ta a-kisi i-uui.*
 S3s-say GP 1pe CMPL S1pe-hold P3s-tail
 ‘He said for us to hold his tail.’

- (647) *I-keo pa-n i-tub toa ta i-la i-ket*
 S3s-say at-3sObl P3s-grandkin GIV CMPL S3p-go S3p-cut
purigin i-laun.
 daisy P3s-leaf
 ‘She told her grandchild to go cut daisy leaves.’

- (648) *Ø-La Ø-keo pa-n Stepani i-tna ta*
 S2s-go S2s-say at-3sObl Stepani P3s-mother CMPL
i-nam.
 S3s-come
 ‘Go tell Stepani's mother to come.’

7.2.2 Prepositional Complement Clauses

Prepositional complement clauses always follow the preposition *ngan* and occupy the prepositional slot of a main clause. They are usually required after the verb *rangrang* ‘be sufficient’ and frequently occur after

the verb *oatai* ‘know’ and the idiomatic constructions meaning ‘be happy’ and ‘be displeased.’

- (649) *I-rangrang ngan i-dae mulian mao.*
 S3s-be.sufficient GP S3s-ascend back not
 ‘She wasn't able to get back up.’
- (650) *Eao Ø-oatai ngan poai toa ne to=go?*
 2s S2s-know GP Malay.apple GIV here Prp=2sObj
 ‘Do you know that this Malay apple tree is yours?’
- (651) *Tini-mai i-gelgel ngan a-mai annga pau*
 skin-P1pe S3s-be.happy GP PCEX-P1pe food new
i-dae.
 S3s-ascend
 ‘We're happy about our new food growing.’
- (652) *Maron i-tin ngan sapa-nga i-uot*
 benefactor P3s-skin GP disappear-NR S3s-emerge
e-le tuanga-i mao.
 P3s-PCAg village-LOC not
 ‘The leader doesn't want a famine to happen in his village.’

After a speech verb, a prepositional complement clause conveys indirect speech, and the preposition *ngan* functions as a kind of complementiser.

- (653) *Ti-keo pa=gid taine ngan ti-la dadanga-i.*
 S3p-speak at=3p female GP S3p-go garden-LOC
 ‘They tell the women to go to the garden.’

Frequently a prepositional complement clause consists of a nominalised verb with or without a direct object.

- (654) *Ti-posa ngan eaud-nga lum.*
 S3p-talk GP put.together-NR men's house
 ‘They talk about putting together a men's house.’

- (655) *Ti-uato tuanga ruaede ngan kado-nga ae-a*
 S3p-call village couple GP do-NR P3s-PCEx
bisi-nga.
 shoulder-NR
 ‘They call a couple of villages to do the carrying.’

After a non-speech verb, a prepositional complement clause may indicate purpose, time, reference and many of the other semantic functions of the prepositional phrase usage of *ngan* (§5.3.2).

- (656) *Ti-nam ngan kadanga ae-a bisi-nga.*
 S3p-come GP post P3s-PCEx shoulder-NR
 ‘They come in order to shoulder the post.’
- (657) *Niu i-tautau pogal i-lua gita ngan ta-un*
 coconut P3s-fruit drinking S3s-help 1pi GP S1pi-drink
i-sul.
 P3s-fluid
 ‘A drinking coconut helps us when we drink its fluid.’
- (658) *I-kakrik ngan e-le sil Nagumo*
 S3s-be.surprised GP P3s-PCAg cross.cousin Nagumo
i-pepeure i-bage.
 S3s-clap P3s-hand
 ‘He was surprised that his friend Nagumo applauded.’

7.3 Adverbial Clauses

There are four types of adverbial clauses: conditional, reason, comparative and temporal.

7.3.1 Conditional Clauses

The verb *oangga* ‘say/think/want’ has become grammaticalised as a conjunction introducing conditional adverbial clauses. We have already seen from examples (595) and (619) through (623) that a typical conditional construction begins with *oangga*, and may be followed by a juxtaposed apodosis or one that begins with the conjunction *eine* ‘then’ or the emphatic sequential conjunction *tota* ‘therefore.’

It is possible for two conditional clauses to precede an apodosis.

- (659) *Oangga a-ean-ean annga toa-iua dadanga-i, oangga*
 if/when S1pe-RDP-eat food GIV-that garden-LOC if/when
kus, tota a-mai annga eta mao.
 be.done therefore P1pe-PCEx food one.IR not
 ‘When we are eating that food in the garden, if it's gone, then we
 don't have any (more) food.’

The vast majority of conditional constructions begin with *oangga*, but it is possible for a conditional clause to follow an apodosis.

- (660) *Ei ga i-pul ei mulian oangga i-gera go.*
 3s FUT S3s-turn 3s back if/when S3s-see 2sObj
 ‘He will turn back when he sees you.’
- (661) *Kado-nga paeamao i-uot oangga ta-longo posa-nga*
 do-NR bad S3s-emerge if/when S1pi-hear talk-NR
mao.
 not
 ‘Bad behaviour comes about when we don't listen to instruction.’

The imperative negation particle *padam* (discussed in §5.4.2 and §6.1) is also used in a counterfactual conditional construction where it means ‘if only’ and may be used in situations where a speaker wishes to convey regret that a condition was not fulfilled.

- (662) *Padam le-da eau i-eno-no, eina*
 if.only PCAg-P1pi water S3s-lay-RDP then.there.2
ta-kona-ona.
 S1pi-hook-RDP
 ‘If only some of our fuel was left, then we (could) hook-fish!’

7.3.2 Reason Clauses

The conjunction *ngansa* is a compound of the preposition *ngan* and the question word *saoa* meaning ‘what thing?’ (§5.3.2 and §6.2.2). As a conjunction, *ngansa* introduces adverbial clauses of reason and is glossed as ‘because.’ It is normally not used to begin a sentence.

- (663) *Ta-la mao ngansa gau na-dibal.*
 S1pi-go not because 1s S1s-be.sick
 ‘We’re not going because I’m sick.’
- (664) *Gaea i-lolo bake ngansa i-angaeanga*
 pig P3s-inside be.angry because S3s-be.short.of.breath
kapei tau.
 big very
 ‘The pig was angry because he was very badly short of breath.’
- (665) *Ti-la Bali, ngansa ti-mataud buruku nangla ae-a.*
 S3p-go Bali because S3p-fear monster volcano P3s-PCEX
 ‘They went to Bali because they were afraid of the monster from the volcano.’

7.3.3 Purpose Clauses

We have seen in §7.2.2 that purpose can be expressed through a prepositional complement clause. Purpose can also be expressed through a clause introduced by the sequential conjunction *ta*, where it may be translated ‘in order that.’

- (666) *Ti-lio tibur mado-nga ae-a ta ti-mado ngan.*
 S3p-search area sit-NR P3s-PCEX SEQ S3p-sit GP
 ‘They searched for a living area in order for them to live in it.’
- (667) *Gita manta ta-earum gid danga toa i-rangrang*
 lpi must S1pi-plant PL thing GIV S3s-be.sufficient
ngan ta-salim, ta ta-bada mone.
 GP S1pi-sell SEQ S1pi-get money
 ‘We must plant things which we can sell in order that we get money.’
- (668) *Gau na-kim na-pa-longo le-mi ta lolo-mi*
 1s S1s-want S1s-CAUS-hear PCAg-P2p SEQ interior-P2p
i-uatai.
 S3s-know
 ‘I want to inform you for your benefit, in order that you be knowledgeable.’

Negative purpose is conveyed through the construction *ngan kado ta* in either its full or abbreviated form. Literally this construction is ‘for you do and then,’ but it may be translated as ‘lest,’ as in examples (669) and (671). The verb *kado* ‘do’ which occurs in this construction can occur on its own where it conveys uncertainty and concern about a potentially unfavourable outcome of an event in question, as in example (670) below. This may be where the negative semantic component of this construction originates. In such constructions we gloss *kado* as ‘perhaps.’

- (669) *Gimi kekele=gimi a-dio a-eno eko mao, ngan*
 2p only=2p S2p-stay.down S2p-lay here not GP
kado ta danga eta i-paeabu ngan gimi
 perhaps SEQ thing one.IR S3s-destroy GP 2p
 ‘Don’t sleep here by yourselves, lest something destroy you.’
- (670) *Tama-da i-ba-baba gitarua, kado ae-a*
 father-P1pi S3s-RDP-summon 1di perhaps P3s-PCEX
kado-nga eta.
 do-NR one.IR
 ‘Our owner (lit. father) is calling for the two of us, perhaps something has happened to him.’
- (671) *Ti-aoa ga ti-la tibur-iai, ngan kado ta danga*
 S3p-flee CNJ S3p-go bush-LOC GP perhaps SEQ thing
toa i-an gid.
 GIV S3s-eat 3p
 ‘They fled and went to the bush, lest the thing eat them.’

7.3.4 Comparison Clauses

The conjunction *mambe* introduces comparison adverbial clauses and may be glossed as ‘as.’

- (672) *Panua ga ti-mataud gimi mambe ti-mataud mota ede.*
 people FUT S3p-fear 2p as S3p-fear snake one
 ‘People will be afraid of you as they are afraid of a snake.’

- (673) *I-gera gisirua mambe tini-d i-gelgel pa-n*
 S3s-see 3d as skin-P3p S3s-be.happy at-3sObl
mao.
 not

‘He saw the two of them as not being happy toward him.’

- (674) *A-nasi gid kado-nga kemi-kemi mambe Deo i-kim.*
 S2-follow PL do-NR RDP-good as God S3s-like
 ‘Follow good behaviour as God likes.’

The conjunction *mambe* sometimes functions as a complementiser when it follows verbs such as ‘see’ and ‘know’ which usually take an object complement. In these situations it may be translated as ‘that.’

- (675) *I-gera mambe taine toa i-tang.*
 S3s-see as female GIV S3s-cry

‘He saw that the woman was crying.’

- (676) *Na-oatai mambe gau na-kado kado-nga paeamao pa=go.*
 S1s-know as 1s S1s-do do-NR bad at=2sObj

‘I know that I did a bad thing to you.’

7.3.5 Temporal Clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses may begin with a temporal adverb such as *mugaeai* ‘before’ or *muriai* ‘after’ followed by a prepositional complement clause.

- (677) *Mugaeai ngan oato-nga gergeu lautabe i-eda,*
 before GP call-NR child firstborn P3s-name
ae-a naurata i-boko ga bedane.
 P3s-PCEX work S3s-work LIG like.this

‘Prior to calling a firstborn child’s name, his (traditional) work functions as follows.’

- (678) *Muriai ngan i-mate, ta-taian ei.*
 after GP S3s-die S1pi-bury him.

‘After he dies, we bury him.’

The conjunction *ga* can introduce an adverbial temporal clause, where it indicates a point of cessation of the activity of the main clause, and may be translated ‘until.’

- (679) *Ti-ka-kado naurata ngan ga dadanga ae-a annga*
 S3s-RDP-do work GP CNJ garden P3s-PCEX food
i-matua.
 S3s-be.ripe
 ‘They keep doing work in it until the garden's food is ripe.’
- (680) *Na-skul ga i-rangrang ngan rai 1968.*
 S1s-school CNJ S3s-be.sufficient GP wind 1968
 ‘I went to school until the year 1968.’
- (681) *Ti-peremu ngan gid ga ti-dae kapei-pei.*
 S3p-care GP 3p CNJ S3p-ascend big-RDP
 ‘They care for them until they grow up.’

Appendix: Sample Texts

The Story of Two Dogs: Bonebone and Antu Kaliai

By Grevasius Mondo

- (1) *Kaua Rua A-d Ninipu-nga Bonebone Ga Antu*
 dog two PCEX-P3p recount-NR Bonebone CNJ Antu
Kaliai.
 Kaliai
 ‘The story of two dogs: Bonebone and Antu Kaliai.’
- (2) *Io, kaua toa rua oa ti-la tibur-iai.*
 Okay, dog GIV two there S3p-go bush-LOC
 ‘Okay, those two dogs there went to the bush.’
- (3) *Ti-la toman ngan tama-d Akono.*
 S3p-go ACMP GP father-P3p Akono
 ‘They went with their owner, Akono.’
- (4) *Akono i-la ta i-gera angal ede i-tautau*
 Akono S3s-go SEQ S3s-see Canarium.almond one P3s-fruit
busa i-labora-i.
 many P3s-head-LOC
 ‘Akono went and then he saw a Canarium almond tree having much
 fruit at its top.’
- (5) *Tota Akono toa i-dae angal, be*
 therefore Akono GIV S3s-ascend Canarium.almond SIM
e-le kaua rua ti-la ti-balbal tibur-iai.
 P3s-PCAg dog two S3p-go S3p-wander bush-LOC
 ‘Therefore Akono ascended the Canarium almond tree, while his
 two dogs went wandering (for prey) in the bush.’

- (6) *Buruku i-longo Akono i-kor angal,*
 Monster S3s-hear Akono S3s-break Canarium.almond
tota i-aoa i-ngongo ga i-nam
 therefore P3s-mouth S3s-roar CNJ S3s-come
angal i-pu-iai, be i-mata i-dae
 Canarium.almond P3s-base-LOC SIM P3s-eye S3s-ascend
pa-n Akono.
 at-3sObl Akono
 ‘A monster heard Akono breaking Canarium almonds, therefore he roared, and when he came to the base of the Canarium almond tree, he looked up to Akono.’
- (7) *Ta i-beta Akono, “Ega angal toa ne*
 SEQ S3s-ask Akono yo Canarium.almond GIV here
to=go na?”
 Prp=2sObj IP
 ‘And then he asked Akono, “Yo, is this Canarium almond tree here yours, eh?”’
- (8) *Be Akono i-keo, “Angal to=gau.”*
 SIM Akono S3s-say Canarium.almond Prp=1s
 ‘But Akono said, “The Canarium almond tree is mine.”’
- (9) *Be Buruku i-keo ngan Akono, “Ø-La sida?*
 SIM Monster S3s-say GP Akono S2s-go where
 ‘But the monster said to Akono, “Where are you going?”’
- (10) *Eine ga na-ean go ga na-son go.”*
 then.here FUT S1s-eat 2sObj CNJ S1s-swallow 2sObj
 ‘At this point I'm going to eat you and swallow you.’’

- (11) *Io, Buruku i-ket kounga be i-babar Akono ga*
 okay Monster S3s-cut fruit.stick SIM S3s-bat Akono CNJ
i-kor angal i-boga ede, be Akono
 S3s-break Canarium.almond P3s-branch one SIM Akono
i-dug ga i-dae ngan angal
 S3s-jump CNJ S3s-ascend GP Canarium.almond
i-boga ede pade.
 P3s-branch one other
 ‘Okay, when the monster cut a fruit-hitting stick, he was batting Akono and he broke a branch of the Canarium almond tree, but Akono jumped and went up to another branch of the Canarium almond tree.’
- (12) *Buruku i-keo, “Ø-La sida?*
 Monster S3s-say S2s-go where
 ‘The monster said, “Where are you going?’
- (13) *Eine ga na-ean go.”*
 then.here FUT S1s-eat 2sObj
 ‘At this point I’m going to eat you.’
- (14) *Io, Akono i-bau ta i-uato e-le kaua rua*
 okay Akono S3s-sing SEQ S3s-call P3s-PCAg dog two
eda-d Bonebone ga Antu Kaliai.
 name-P3p Bonebone CNJ Antu Kaliai
 ‘Okay, Akono sang, and then he called his two dogs’ names, Bonebone and Antu Kaliai.’
- (15) *Teta pade ga angal i-boga*
 somewhat.IR more FUT Canarium.almond P3s-branch
kus.
 be.done
 ‘In a short while the Canarium almond branches would be finished.’

- (16) *Be Akono i-bau, be i-uat-oato e-le kaua*
 SIM Akono S3s-sing SIM S3s-RDP-call P3s-PCAg dog
toa rua oa eda-d.
 GIV two there name-P3p
 ‘But Akono sang while he called the names of his two dogs there.’
- (17) *Kaua rua ti-la ti-lup-lup ta ti-keo, “Tama-da*
 dog two S3p-go S3p-RDP-meet SEQ S3p-say father-P1pi
i-ba-baba gitarua, kado ae-a kado-nga
 S3s-RDP-summon 1di perhaps P3s-PCEX do-NR
eta?”
 one.IR
 ‘The two dogs went (and) met and then they said, “Our (incl) owner is calling the two of us, perhaps there's something happening to him?”’
- (18) *Io, tota ti-lad-lado ga ti-nam boloma*
 okay therefore S3p-RDP-run CNJ S3p-come near
angal i-pu-iai ta ti-gera Buruku
 Canarium.almond P3s-base-LOC SEQ S3p-see Monster
tama-d i-babar Akono ngan kounga.
 father-P3p S3s-bat Akono GP fruit.stick
 ‘Okay, therefore they ran and came near to the base of the Canarium almond tree, and then they saw the father of the monsters batting Akono with a fruit-hitting stick.’
- (19) *Io, Bonebone i-keo pa-n Antu Kaliai, “Oangga*
 okay Bonebone S3s-say at-3sObl Antu Kaliai if/when
gitarua ta-lado ga ta-la, gau ga na-ngot i-ae
 1di S1pi-run CNJ S1pi-go 1s FUT S1s-bite P3s-leg
ga i-tap, be eao Ø-ngot i-gagal ga put.”
 CNJ S3s-fall SIM 2s S2s-bite P3s-neck CNJ be.severed
 ‘Okay, Bonebone said to Antu Kaliai, “When the two of us run and go, I will bite his leg so that he falls, while you (sg) bite his neck so that it's severed.”’

- (20) *Io, ti-lado ga ti-uot.*
 okay S3p-run CNJ S3p-arrive
 ‘Okay, they ran and arrived.’
- (21) *Tota Bonebone i-ngot i-ae ga i-tap, be*
 therefore Bonebone S3s-bite P3s-leg CNJ S3s-fall SIM
Antu Kaliai i-goro i-gagal ga put
 Antu Kaliai S3s-break.though P3s-neck CNJ be.severed
 ‘Therefore Bonebone bit his leg so that he fell, while Antu Kaliai
 broke through his neck so that it was severed.’
- (22) *Akono i-gera e-le kaua rua ti-rau Buruku*
 Akono S3s-see P3s-PCAg dog two S3p-strike Monster
ga i-mate
 CNJ S3s-die.
 ‘Akono saw his two dogs strike the monster so that he died.’
- (23) *Tota i-sulug ngan angal ga*
 therefore S3s-descend GP Canarium.almond CNJ
i-dio tano-eai.
 S3s-stay.down ground-LOC
 ‘Therefore he descended from the Canarium almond tree and went
 down to the ground.’
- (24) *Io, Akono i-poga Buruku i-apa ga gereirei.*
 okay Akono S3s-split Monster P3s-belly CNJ small.PL
 ‘Okay, Akono broke the monster's belly until it was (in) little
 pieces.’
- (25) *Tota Akono i-kor angal ga i-kaukau*
 therefore Akono S3s-break Canarium.almond CNJ S3s-tie
gid ngan oaro.
 3p GP rope
 ‘Then Akono broke the Canarium almonds and tied them up with a
 rope.’

- (26) *Tota i-bisi angal, be i-baba*
 therefore S3s-shoulder Canarium.almond SIM S3s-summon
e-le kaula rua ga ti-la tuanga-i.
 P3s-PCAg dog two CNJ S3p-go village-LOC
 ‘Then when he shouldered the Canarium almonds, he called his two
 dogs and they went to the village.’
- (27) *Akono i-tin i-gelgel ngan e-le kaula rua.*
 Akono P3s-skin S3s-be.happy GP P3s-PCAg dog two
 ‘Akono was happy about his two dogs.’
- (28) *Tota i-pa-longo gid panua tuanga-i ngan*
 therefore S3s-CAUS-hear PL people village-LOC GP
e-le kaula rua ti-pa-mate Buruku tama-d
 P3s-PCAg dog two S3p-CAUS-die Monster father-P3p
ga i-mate.
 CNJ S3s-die
 ‘Then he informed the people in the village that his two dogs killed
 the father of the monsters so that he died.’
- (29) *Tota panua toa ngada oa tuanga-i tini-d*
 therefore people GIV all there village-LOC skin-P3p
i-gelgel pade, ngansa Buruku i-mate na.
 S3s-be.happy also because Buruku S3s-die IP
 ‘Therefore all the people there in the village were happy also,
 because Buruku died, you know.’
- (30) *Io, Akono i-keo pa=gid panua tuanga-i ngan*
 okay Akono S3s-say at=3p people village-LOC GP
ti-kado annga kapei ta ti-an ngan e-le kaula
 S3p-do food big SEQ S3p-eat GP P3s-PCAg dog
rua ti-rau Buruku ga i-mate.
 two S3p-strike Monster CNJ S3s-die
 ‘Okay, Akono spoke to the people in the village that they make a
 big feast and then they eat because of his two dogs who struck the
 monster so that he died.’

The Work of a Garden

by Peter Biriu

- (1) *Dadanga Ae-a Naurata.*
 garden P3s-PCEX work
 ‘The work of a garden.’
- (2) *Gai a-kado naurata dadanga ae-a ga bedane: Gai*
 1pe S1pe-do work garden P3s-PCEX LIG like.this 1pe
a-la a-rou ta a-posa ngan tibur ede ngan
 S1pe-go S1pe-convene SEQ S1pe-talk GP area one GP
gai ga a-kado dadanga ngan.
 1pe FUT S1pe-do garden GP
 ‘We do the work of a garden as follows: We go and convene and then we talk about an area for us to make the garden in (it).’
- (3) *Gid kakau ga kapei-pei toa ngada oa*
 PL young.people CNJ elder-RDP GIV all there
ti-longo ga kus.
 S3p-hear CNJ be.done
 ‘All the young people and elders there listen until it’s done.’
- (4) *I-dio ta ti-keo pa=gid kakau, “Gita*
 S3s-stay.down SEQ S3p-say at=3p young.people 1pi
ado ga oaine ta ta-la ta-deba tibur.”
 day LIG this just.now S1pi-go S1pi-slash area
 ‘Afterward they say to the young people, “Now on this particular day we are going to slash the area.”’
- (5) *Io, a-ma-mado ga i-la, ga ngan ado toa-iua*
 okay S1pe-RDP-sit CNJ S3s-go CNJ GP day GIV-that
ae-a gaisala, gai toa ngada oa a-bada gid
 P3s-PCEX morning 1pe GIV all there S1pe-get PL
didi ta a-la ngan tibur toa ti-keo ngan oa.
 knife SEQ S1pe-go GP area GIV S3p-say GP there
 ‘Okay, we sit and wait, and on the morning of that day we all get knives and then go to that area which they spoke about.’

- (6) *A-la a-ot ngan toa, ta kapei ede ga*
 S1pe-go S1pe-arrive GP GIV SEQ elder one FUT
i-mata i-nasi ta gai a-ket gid but mambe
 P3s-eye S3s-follow SEQ 1pe S1pe-cut PL marker as
edap.
 road
 ‘We go and arrive at it, and then an elder will inspect it, and then we cut boundary markers like a road.’
- (7) *Gai a-deba ga kapei mao.*
 1pe S1pe-slash CNJ big not
 ‘We don't slash to make it big.’
- (8) *Eine gai a-keo ga a-nanaoe tibur, be*
 then.here 1pe S1pe-say LIG S1pe-designate area SIM
ae-a deba-nga maitne.
 P3s-PCEX slash-NR INC
 ‘At this point we want to designate an area, but its slashing is still to come.’
- (9) *Gai a-nanaoe ta i-dio.*
 1pe S1pe-designate SEQ S3s-stay.down
 ‘We designate (it) and so it remains.’
- (10) *Io, a-dio ga ado sae ta a-lua=gai*
 okay S1pe-stay.down CNJ day next SEQ S1pe-return=1pe
mulian ta a-pa-sala gid deba-nga ga
 back SEQ S1pe-CAUS-go.to.end PL slash-NR CNJ
kus.
 be.done
 ‘Okay, we stay until the next day, and then we return and finish slashing until it's done.’
- (11) *Oangga panua ede=ngada a-d deba-nga kus*
 if/when people one=PL PCEX-P3p slash-NR be.done
maitne, gid ga ti-pa-sala deba-nga muriai.
 INC 3p FUT S3p-CAUS-go.to.end slash-NR later
 ‘If the slashing of some people isn't done yet, they will finish the slashing later.’

- (12) *Oangga ti-pa-sala ga kus, ta ado ede*
 if/when S3p-CAUS-go.to.end CNJ be.done SEQ day one
pade ta a-la ngan ae-a ged-nga.
 other SEQ S1pe-go GP P3s-PCEX fell-NR
 ‘If they finish and are done, then on another day, then we go for its felling.’
- (13) *Gai a-ged-ged mambe ado rua mao ado tol ta*
 1pe S1pe-RDP-fell as day two or day three SEQ
kus, ngansa dadanga kapei.
 be.done because garden big
 ‘We fell for about two days or three days until it's done, because the garden is big.’
- (14) *Io, tibur toa i-dio ta ado i-lang.*
 okay area GIV S3s-stay.down SEQ sun S3s-shine
 ‘Okay, the area stays and then the sun shines.’
- (15) *Ado i-lang mambe taiko rua mao tol.*
 sun S3s-shine as moon two or three
 ‘The sun shines for about two or three months.’
- (16) *Kapei ede ga i-la i-gera tibur.*
 elder one FUT S3s-go S3s-see area
 ‘An elder will go and see the area.’
- (17) *Oangga i-gera ga abei i-laun i-misi ga kor*
 if/when S3s-see LIG tree P3s-leaf S3s-be.dry CNJ snap
ga kor, tota i-keo pa=gid kakau ngan
 CNJ snap therefore S3s-say at=3p young.people GP
tibur ae-a tun-nga.
 area P3s-PCEX set.fire-NR
 ‘If he sees that tree leaves are dried out and (branches) keep snapping, then he speaks to the young people about setting fire to the area.’
- (18) *Kakau ti-tun ga kus.*
 young.people S3p-set.fire CNJ be.done
 ‘The young people set fire to it until it's done.’

- (19) *Io, ta-oato tibur mao na.*
 okay S1pi-call area not IP
 ‘Okay, (now) we (incl) don't call it an area, you know.’
- (20) *Ta-oato dadanga, ngansa abei i-boga-boga ga*
 S1pi-call garden because tree P3s-RDP-branch CNJ
i-laun i-an ga kus ta tibur
 P3s-leaf S3s-consume CNJ be.done SEQ area
i-mere-mere.
 S3s-RDP-be.bright
 ‘We (incl) call it a garden, because tree branches and leaves have
 burned and are done, and so the area is bright.’
- (21) *I-dio ta gai a-la ngan ae-a totoi-nga.*
 S3s-stay.down SEQ 1pe S1pe-go GP P3s-PCEX chop-NR
 ‘It stays and then we go for its chopping up.’
- (22) *A-totoi ga kus, ta a-raupule.*
 S1pe-chop CNJ be.done SEQ S1pe-remove.debris
 ‘We chop it up until it's done, and then we remove debris.’
- (23) *Be gid taine ti-bada tapiok, kaokao, ga pud*
 SIM PL female S3p-get cassava sweet.potato CNJ banana
i-ue i-la ti-arum.
 P3s-shoot S3s-go S3p-plant
 ‘Meanwhile the women carry off cassava, sweet potato and banana
 shoots and they plant them.’
- (24) *Gid danga sisid pade=ngada mambe tou, kiu,*
 PL thing PL other=PL as sugar.cane yam
singapo, i-la ti-arum pade dadanga-i.
 Singapore.taro S3s-go S3p-plant also garden-LOC
 ‘Other things like sugar cane, yams (and) Singapore taro are taken
 (and) they plant them also in the garden.’

- (25) *Gid taine ti-arum ga kus ta gai arang-aranga*
 PL female S3p-plant CNJ be.done SEQ 1pe RDP-male
le-mai naurata ngan tado-nga ala.
 PCAg-P1pe work GP throw-NR fence
 ‘The women plant until it's done, and then we men have the work
 of erecting a fence.’
- (26) *A-tado ala ga kus tota le-mai*
 S1pe-throw fence CNJ be.done therefore PCAg-P1pe
naurata eta mao na.
 work one.IR not IP
 ‘We erect the fence until it's done, then we don't have any more
 work, you know.’
- (27) *Gid taine le-d naurata ngan ti-la*
 PL female PCAg-P3p work GP S3p-go
ti-pa-paisi.
 S3p-RDP-kindle
 ‘The women have the work of going and kindling fires.’
- (28) *Ti-gou-gou tibur ga i-rangrang ngan annga*
 S3p-RDP-weed area CNJ S3s-suffice GP food
i-matua
 S3s-be.ripe.
 ‘They continue weeding the area until the food is ripe.’
- (29) *Tota ti-bada ga i-nam, gid gergeu ti-an.*
 therefore S3p-get CNJ S3s-come PL child S3p-eat
 ‘Therefore they take it home, (and) the children eat.’
- (30) *Be gai a-deba dadanga pau pade ta a-kado*
 SIM 1pe S1pe-slash garden new again SEQ S1pe-do
ae-a naurata mambe toa bedaoa ga i-lalala
 P3s-PCEX work as GIV like.that CNJ S3s-walk
ga i-la.
 CNJ S3s-go
 ‘Meanwhile we slash a new garden again and then we do its work
 similarly like that and it goes on and on.’

- (31) *Posa-nga dadanga ae-a ta kus.*
talk-NR garden P3s-PCEX just.now be.done
'Talk of the garden is now done.'

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