

Towards a Grammar of the Usen Dialect of
the Barok language
New Ireland, Papua New Guinea

Submitted by

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Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

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The research procedures reported in this thesis were approved by the La Trobe University Human Ethics Committee on 19th Aug 2008 (Review of Human Ethics Committee Application No. 08-089).

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Summary

This thesis is a grammar of the Usen dialect of Barok, an Oceanic language spoken in the central area of New Ireland in Papua New Guinea. This grammar is based primarily on data collected during a total of twelve months of fieldwork over three fieldtrips between 2006 and 2009 in the village of Kolonoboi.

This grammar consists of 14 chapters. The first chapter is a general introduction to the language and its speakers. Chapter 2 describes phonology and phonetics. The orthography used in this grammar is also introduced in this chapter. Chapter 3 gives a brief overview of the basic verbal clause structure which plays an important role in the grammar. The different word classes are briefly discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 describes noun phrases. Chapter 6 deals with possessive constructions. Chapter 7 talks about prepositional phrases. Chapter 8 discusses spatial reference. Chapters 9 to 11 describe the verbal predicate, derivational verbal morphology and serial verb constructions. Chapter 12 gives a description of nonverbal clauses. Chapter 13 describes subordinate clauses, and chapter 14 gives a brief discussion of discourse organisation.

There are three appendices to this thesis. Appendix A gives an index of the texts used as the corpus of this grammar. Appendix B gives basic information about the speakers of texts in the first appendix. Appendix C provides two fully glossed and translated Usen Barok texts.

Abbreviations and conventions

-	separates morphemes
=	separates clitics
.	separates words in a multiword gloss
1	1 st person
2	2 nd person
3	3 rd person
ABI	ability
ABL	ablative
AC	adverbial clause
ACAUS	anticausative
ALL	allative
ANA	anaphoric
APP	applicative
BEN	beneficial
C.NM	common noun phrase marker
C.PREP	common preposition
CAUS	causative
CLNOM	clausal nominalisation
COL	collective
COM	comitative
CONJ	conjunction
CONTR	contrastive marker
CPL	completive
DEI	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DETRA	detransitiviser
DIM	diminutive
DISC	discourse marker
DIST	distal
DU	dual
DUMMY	dummy noun
EN	English
EXC	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FRU	frustrative
HAB	habitual
ICFP	interrogative clause final particle
IMM	immediate
INA	inability
INC	inclusive
INST	instrumental

INT	intensifier
INTER	interjection
INTR	intransitive
IRR	irrealis
L	linker
LOC	locative
NCP	nonverbal clause predicate
NCS	nonverbal clause subject
NIMM	non-immediate
NM	noun marker
NML	nominaliser
NR.NM	non-referential noun phrase marker
OC	optional copula
P.NM	personal noun phrase marker
P.PREP	personal preposition
PA	paucal
PAST	remote past tense
PL	plural
PLM	plural marker
POSSD	possessed
POSSM	possessive marker
POSSR	possessor
POT	potentiality
PR	predicate
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PURP	purposive
REC	reciprocal
REDP	reduplication
REF	reflexive
REL	relativiser
REP	repetitive
SEQ	sequential marker
SG	singular
SM	subject marker
STA	stative
TOP	topic
TP	Tok pisin
TR	transitive
VOC	vocative

1 Introduction

Barok is an Austronesian language spoken on both the east and the west coasts of central New Ireland in Papua New Guinea, as shown in Map 1-1. It has been tentatively placed in the Madak linkage, which is dominated by the New Ireland/Northwest Solomonic linkage within the Meso-Melanesian cluster of the Oceanic branch (Lynch et al 2002: 883, following Ross 1988).



Map 1-1: New Ireland in Papua New Guinea

According to its speakers, the Barok language has two mutually intelligible dialects: Usen and Nabo. This study describes the major salient grammatical features of the Usen dialect of Barok. In the present chapter, some background information about the Barok speech community and their circumstances is provided: §1.1 briefly describes the geographic location of New Ireland and Barok speaking villages, §1.2 discusses the language name and previous studies, §1.3 and §1.4 describe the social and economic situation of the Barok community, §1.5 comments on language use, §1.6 describes the

fieldwork situation, §1.7 provides information about the data used in this grammar and §1.8 gives a typological overview of Usen Barok.

1.1 Geographic location

Located between 2 and 5 degrees south latitude and between 150 and 154 degrees west longitude, New Ireland is one of the two principal islands of the Bismarck Archipelago. This tropical island is a little over 350 kilometres in length, varying from 10 to 50 kilometres in width.¹ Barok speakers live on the central part of the island where the mountain range divides the area into the east and the west coast regions.² The Barok language is spoken on both sides of the mountain range in about 15 villages. Map 1-2 shows the locations of major Barok speaking villages. The names of Usen Barok speaking villages are in bold and underlined.

¹ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Ireland_\(island\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Ireland_(island))

² Although New Ireland actually runs northwest to southeast, the two coasts are conventionally referred to as the east coast and the west coast by the local people and in official documents.



Map 1-2: Barok villages

The Usen dialect is mainly used on the east coast of the Barok area. It is spoken in the villages of Loloba, Belik, Kolonoboi, Kanapit, Bakan, Ramat and, on the west coast, Kokola. Ramat village on the east coast is shared by both Usen Barok speakers and speakers of the neighbouring language Patpatar. The Nabo dialect is reportedly spoken in Kamalabu, Kalagunan, Kono, Konogogo and Komalu on the west coast as well as in Lokon, Kanam and Karu on the east coast.

The villages vary in population from about 100 people to over 700. It is estimated that approximately 7,000 people currently live in the Barok speaking villages.³ However, since there are many people who are from other provinces of PNG or from other linguistic areas of New Ireland who do not speak Barok, and since many children only

³ This is a tentative estimate made by my Barok consultants.

have passive knowledge of the language, the number of Barok speakers is definitely far fewer than 7,000. My best estimate is that there are around 1,000 people who are fluent or nearly fluent Usen Barok speakers. I cannot make any estimate about the number of Nabo Barok speakers simply because I know very little about that dialect and its speakers. The most recent data in Lithgow and Claassen (1968) gives the population of the Central Barok area (largely corresponding to the Nabo Barok area) as 1,045.

The Barok area is bounded by speakers of the Madak language to the northwest and by speakers of the Patpatar language to the southeast (as shown in Map 1-3). Both Madak and Patpatar are classified as members of the Austronesian family and are closely related to Barok.



Map 1-3: Language map of New Ireland and north New Britain⁴

⁴ This map is based on the map of 'languages of New Ireland and New Britain, PNG' made by Dr. Sheena Van Der Mark (2009). Languages of New Britain, except for those on the northern part, are omitted for simplicity.

1.2 Language name and previous studies

The word *barok* means ‘child, son’ in the Barok language. The origin of its use as the language name is not clear. The only discussion concerning the naming practice is in Capell (1962a: 101):

There is much confusion in the naming of languages in the northern half of New Ireland. In earlier periods, village names were generally used, e.g., Lugagun. This left the boundaries of languages and dialects undefined. In recent years the custom has grown up and has been followed in Australian Government circles of using a word which means ‘my child’ as a language name, so that Lugagun becomes Natik (sic) and Kanalu becomes Barok.⁵

It seems that at least before the 1960s, village names were generally used as language or dialect names in the literature for the Barok language. Peekel (1909: VIII), in his grammatical descriptions of the Patpatar language mentions “Kanapit dialect”. Friederici (1912: 286) mentions “Komalabu”, “Komalu”, “Kokola” and “Belik” as dialect names. Meyer (1932), in his language map, uses the names “Kanapit” and “Komalu”. Capell (1962a: 101) mentions that “Barok” has been used as the language name, but he still uses “Kanapit” and “Komalu” instead of Barok on his language map (Capell 1962a: Map VIII). Lithgow and Claassen (1968) is the first linguistic work which formally uses the term “Barok” as the language name. The online version of Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) gives five alternative names for Barok: Kanalu, Kanapit, Kolube, Komalu and Kulubi. I am not familiar with the names Kanalu, Kolube or Kulubi.⁶ It is possible that these are old village names which have been replaced by new names. I was told that many place names were changed during the period of time when New Ireland was a part of the

⁵ Natik (should be Nalik, see Capell 1962a: 102) and Barok are underlined in the original text.

According to Capell’s description, ‘Kanalu’ should be or used to be a village in the Barok area. Unfortunately, Capell (1962a: Map VIII) does not put ‘Kanalu’ on his map and I have not been able to associate it with any villages of the Barok area.

⁶ Kanalu is only mentioned in Capell (1962a: 101). Kolube is indicated on the west coast to the north of Komalu on Meyer’s language map (Meyer 1932). But in a list of 31 languages in the same article, Meyer (1932: 196) uses the name Kulube (listed between Komalu and Lamasong). It is highly possible that one of the two names (Kolube and Kulube) is misspelled. I suspect that Kulubi is also a different spelling of Kolube or Kulube. The location of Kolube in Meyer’s language map suggests that it is actually within today’s Madak area.

German colony (1885-1914). For instance, Kolonoboi used to be *Xölolobo* ‘at middle of the pig’ or *Lolobo* ‘middle of the pig’.

The name ‘Barok’ has been used by the Barok speakers to refer to their language and themselves in Tok Pisin (*tok ples Barok* ‘local language Barok’; *meri Barok* ‘Barok woman’) and in English (*the Barok language*; *the Barok people*). However, the word *barok* has never been used as the language name in the Barok language. Usen Barok speakers refer to their language as *tinenge möxö lagunon* ‘speech of village’ or *tinenge möxö lagunon na xö Lolobo* ‘speech of the village here at Kolonoboi’ if the village name needs to be specified.

The origin of the two Barok dialect names Nabo and Usen is not clear either. Wagner (1986: 4) reports that the word *usen* traditionally means ‘where the sun rises’, and *nabo* means ‘where the sun sets’. However, the meaning of these two words was not known by my consultants.

Very little research has been done on the Barok language, and there are no previous grammatical descriptions available.

The earliest published linguistic material I am aware of is in Peekel (1909: VIII), which lists 19 Usen Barok words to compare with the corresponding words in the Pala dialect of Patpatar.

Friederici (1912) did the first full survey of the New Ireland languages in 1908. He recorded a short word list which contains terms about canoes collected from four Barok speaking villages: Kamalabu, Komalu, Kokola and Belik. He refers to the language spoken in these Barok villages as the “Komalabu-Belik group” and claims that this group only differs from the Schleinitz-group (which largely corresponds to the Madak and Lamusong area) as a dialect (Friederici 1912: 286). A large language map covering the area of New Ireland and New Britain is provided in Friederici (1912); unfortunately, the Barok area is left blank.

Meyer (1932), in his language map, divides the languages of the Bismarck Archipelago into three groups: Papuan languages, Papuan-Melanesian languages and

Melanesian languages. Komalu and Kanapit are classified into the group of Melanesian languages.

Capell (1962b: 381) claims that all the languages of New Ireland and the adjacent islands are Austronesian except for Panaras (Kuot, the only Papuan language spoken in New Ireland).

Lithgow and Claassen (1968) conducted a one-month linguistic survey of New Ireland languages in July, 1966. They first elicited a vocabulary list of some 100 words from each language of the area and calculated the cognates shared among those languages. In their report of the survey (Lithgow and Claassen 1968), the Barok language is divided into two dialects: “Central” and “Usen”. The village names of each dialect are listed. A map covering the whole Barok area is provided in the report (Lithgow and Claassen 1968: Map III), where 16 villages are indicated as Barok speaking. The village names and their locations are largely the same as in Map 1-2 here except that they include Rebehen, nowadays a Sokirik (a dialect of Patpatar) village on the west coast, as one of the Usen Barok villages. Lithgow and Claassen (1968: 11) are the first to observe the phonemic contrast among three velar sounds /k/, /g/ and /ɣ/ in the Usen dialect.

Capell (1971: 264) claims that “Kara and Barok are both two-tone languages”, but no minimal pairs are provided for Barok. In a list of ‘New Ireland Vocabularies’ in the same article, Capell (1971: 256-259) records 25 Barok words and 7 of them are marked with tones. Unfortunately, no further comments are made that would explain these tone markers. In my fieldwork, I found no evidence that suggests Usen Barok is tonal. Capell (1971: 264) also states that “there is a noticeable change of linguistic type at the border of the Barok and Pala language areas, in the Namatanai district”,⁷ but he does not clarify what type of change he has in mind.

⁷ Pala refers to the Patpatar language.

Beaumont (1972) provides a summary of the linguistic studies done in New Ireland. In this article, he makes a tentative classification of the languages spoken in New Ireland by using the lexicostatistical figures from Lithgow and Claassen (1968: Chart II). The Barok language is placed in the Patpatar-Tolai group according to his classification (Beaumont 1972: 12).

A simplified version of Beaumont (1972) can be found in Beaumont (1976a) and Beaumont (1976b). Beaumont (1976a) summarises the history of linguistic research in New Ireland; Beaumont (1976b) talks about the subgrouping of the New Ireland languages.

Wagner (1986) conducted anthropological research in Bakan (an Usen Barok village on the east coast) in 1979-1980. In his *Aisiwinarong*, Wagner describes a few phonological features of the Barok languages. For instance, he correctly observes that “the English sounds represented as “p” and “w” are allophonic in Barok, and thus to some degree interchangeable” (1986: xxiv). He also observes the subdialectal differences among the Usen Barok villages (1986: 5). Wagner (1986: 227-230) provides a list of about 100 Barok words, most of them culturally important terms and expressions.

Ross (1988) proposes a subgrouping for the Oceanic branch of the Western Melanesian languages. Ross places the Barok language in the Madak chain⁸ together with Madak and Lamasong (another Austronesian language) due to phonological innovations shared by these three languages. However, Ross notes that “the southernmost dialects of Barok also have features in common with neighbouring Patpatar” (1988: 262), and “the boundary between Barok and Patpatar is the least clear of the subgroup boundaries on New Ireland” (1988: 292).

⁸ Ross (1988: 8) defines ‘chain’ as a type of linkage where communalcts are typically spread along a coastline, each related most closely to its neighbour on either side.

In 1999, SIL organised a one week literacy workshop in Kolonoboi village. According to the Workshop Report (Garrett 1999a), 19 Usen Barok speakers from Kolonoboi, Belik and Kanapit participated the workshop. In her report Garrett suggested to use the letter “x” to represent the voiced fricative /ɣ/ and two adjacent vowels for a long vowel or a diphthong. These have been adopted in the orthography I developed for Usen Barok. Garrett (1999a: 3) correctly observed that stress in Usen Barok usually occurs on the ultimate syllable. A spelling guide (Garrett 1999b) was produced as a result of this workshop. This includes a short vocabulary list of approximately 100 words and a collection of 18 short stories written by the workshop participants.

1.3 Social organisation

The Barok people divide their society into two moieties: *Malaba* ‘white-bellied sea eagle’ and *Tago* ‘white-headed sea hawk’.⁹ According to the Usen Barok folktales, *Malaba* is *Tago*’s grandfather.¹⁰ This is presumably why in Tok Pisin *Malaba* ‘white-bellied sea eagle’ and *Tago* ‘white-headed sea hawk’ are called *bik pisin* ‘big bird’ and *smol pisin* ‘small bird’ respectively. The two moieties are matrilineal and exogamous, that is, a person and his/her mother belong to one moiety, whereas his/her father and spouse must be from the opposite moiety. Within the two moieties, there are many clans which are also matrilineal and exogamous. In Usen Barok, the expression *marapun*, literally ‘eye of bird’, is used as the equivalent of English ‘clan’. Clans are usually named after animals or plants, for instance, the clan I have been adopted into is called *Xöxö*, which is the name of a type of yam.

The leader of a clan, who is addressed as *orong* ‘big man’ in the Barok language, plays an important role in Barok society. A qualified *orong* must build a *taun* ‘men’s

⁹ Clay (1975: 19) reports that “[f]rom the Notsi-speakers in central New Ireland throughout the remainder of the island to the south are found matrilineal, exogamous moieties... Throughout this area, moieties are named after birds.”

¹⁰ In Usen Barok folktales, *Malaba* and *Tago* address each other as *tubuk* ‘my grandparent/grandchild’.

house' at his own expense and he must be able to sponsor any adult man who claims accommodation in this *taun*. An *orong* is also expected to successfully organise feasts, to properly hold and dispense the clan's wealth and "to remain in rapport with the clan's *a tadak*, or tutelary spirit" (Wagner 1986: 223).

The word *orong* is also used in Usen Barok to address one's maternal uncle. In the past, marriage was usually arranged by one's maternal uncle: a woman's maternal uncle used to receive his niece's bride price and a man's maternal uncle used to pay for his nephew's bride price. The authority of a maternal uncle is highly respected. Nowadays, the authority of one's maternal uncle has been compromised by the authority of one's father or mother, although the honorific term used to address one's maternal uncle is maintained.

In his anthropological work *Asiwinarong*, Wagner (1986) gives a comprehensive description of various aspects of the Usen Barok community. Readers are referred to this book for detailed information concerning the Usen Barok life and culture.

1.4 Subsistence

Usen Barok people, like most people of rural New Ireland, practise slash-and-burn agriculture. They regard themselves as gardeners of yam and in almost all their gardens there is a *mataxan* 'yam-house' for yam storage. Interestingly, however, the staple food of most Usen Barok families, at least in Kolonoboi, are sweet potatoes and bananas. Various types of taros are also planted. Nowadays, Usen Barok people also plant vegetables including native spinach, bean, capsicum, cucumber, pumpkin and tomato. Fruits such as Malay apple, mandarin, mango, pawpaw, pineapple, sugarcane, breadfruit and watermelon are also grown. Nuts such as peanut and Polynesian chestnut continue to be important sources of food. Hunting, fishing and shellfish collecting are the principal methods for obtaining protein. Pigs are commonly raised, but these are mostly used for feasts or to pay bride price. Store-bought food such as rice, instant noodles and tinned meat/fish are only occasionally consumed since most families do not have enough cash to rely on these foods. Sugar, coffee and betel nut are widely consumed and loved by

most people. Coconut is economically particularly significant for most families. Copra is the main source of cash income. Dried coconut provides food for domesticated pigs. Coconut milk is used in everyday cooking. Green coconut is not only consumed as fruit but also indispensable in customary feasts. Cocoa is the second biggest source of cash income in the area. More detailed information about the agriculture in the Barok area can be found in Hide et al. (2002: 56-58).

Houses in the area are mainly built from bush materials. People usually fell and cut trees for the frame of houses and weave sago leaves for roof thatch and walls. People who have more cash income usually purchase corrugated iron for roofing material, since corrugated iron provides an easy way to collect rainwater. Only very few families in the area can afford corrugated iron rainwater tanks. Most families use industrial drums, plastic buckets and cooking pots for water storage. The shortage of drinking water is occasionally a problem during dry seasons.

There is no electricity in the Barok area. Kerosene lamps are commonly used for lighting. A very small number of families own small fuel generators, which are occasionally used to supply power for lighting during feasts.

Today, store-bought cloth and ready made clothing have completely replaced the traditional *man* 'clothes made from tapa cloth' in the Usen Barok area. Although tapa cloth is still produced, it is only used for weaving a type of basket used by women with a very long handle called *kis*.

The Boluminski highway is the main land transportation route along the east coast of New Ireland. Village or clan owned trucks regularly serve as buses transporting passengers between the east coast Barok villages and Namatanai town. At Namatanai town, there are minibuses known as PMVs (Public Motor Vehicles) travelling to the capital Kavieng, and boats travelling to East New Britain and Lihir.

1.5 Language use

The Barok language has been losing ground to Tok Pisin, an English based creole used as a lingua franca in Papua New Guinea, and every Barok speaker is bilingual. Nowadays,

in almost all public situations, such as church activities, village or clan meetings and various feasts, Tok Pisin is the only language being used. The Barok language is still spoken among fluent speakers, but it is limited to private conversations.

People above 40 years old who grew up in Barok villages usually speak good Barok. Many speakers from this age group at Kolonoboi are multilingual in Barok, Tok Pisin, Patpatar and Kuanua. Most of them also have some knowledge of English. Speakers from the next age group (30 to 40 years old) are still considered full speakers of Barok, although they obviously use more Tok Pisin elements when they speak Barok and they need to consult elderly speakers for certain expressions. Most Barok speakers of this age group have some fluency in English. People aged 18 to 29 years old can speak the Barok language with restricted vocabularies and use even more Tok Pisin elements. Most people from this age group are quite fluent in English due to English education in school. For most children in the village, Tok Pisin is their first language. Although children who have parents who are Barok speakers usually understand Barok quite well, they hardly speak the language.

One of the most obvious reasons for people to switch to Tok Pisin is that there is an increasing number of non-Barok-speaking people living in the Barok area, including spouses of Barok speakers, workers at coconut plantations, teachers at primary schools, priests at churches and nurses at aid posts, etc. Most of these people, except for the Barok speakers' spouses, usually live in the area for just a few years. It is simply not practical to urge them to learn Barok when Tok Pisin is conveniently available for communication.

Lack of efficient ways to describe items and activities in today's Barok society is another significant factor that results in the expansion of Tok Pisin. If, for example, a topic concerns the election of the provincial governor, people will definitely use Tok Pisin even if only fluent Barok speakers are involved in the conversation.

1.6 Fieldwork situation and consultants

When I started my PhD study in August 2006, I had no contacts in New Ireland Province. My supervisor, Professor Alexandra Aikhenvald, wrote an email to Mr. Douglas Bennet

of SIL and asked him if he could introduce me to one of the local communities in New Ireland. In September, Douglas told me that Ms. Rhona Lisma, the manager of the SIL Kavieng Centre, had found someone from the Barok community that I could stay with. In October, I went to PNG and met Douglas at Kavieng. Douglas drove me to Kolonoboi village and introduced me to the Barok community. I was directed to Mr. Bolut Soma and Mrs. Lien Soma and told that I could stay in their house during my fieldwork. Mrs. Lien Soma later took me into her clan and adopted me as her daughter. During my two week stay at Kolonoboi I was able to get familiar with people in the village and to have a general understanding of the cultural and social situation of the Barok community.

My second fieldtrip was conducted from January to September 2007. During this trip I spent most of my time in Kolonoboi village, where I worked with my consultants recording, transcribing, translating and analysing texts as well as eliciting grammatical information. At the end of this fieldtrip I had collected in total 69 oral texts, including 39 traditional narratives, 24 personal narratives, 4 procedural texts, 1 speech and 1 spontaneous conversation. A full list of these texts is given in Appendix A. These texts were contributed by 23 Usen Barok speakers: 10 male speakers and 13 female speakers aged from 20 years to over 70 years old. Most of the speakers are from Kolonoboi village. There is 1 female speaker from Loloba village and 1 male speaker from Ramat village. The basic information (name, gender, age and village) about the speakers is provided in Appendix B. Mr. Roven Sam, who is considered the most knowledgeable person and the best Usen Barok speaker in Kolonoboi village, contributed 16 traditional narratives, 2 personal narratives and 1 procedural text. All 69 texts, which represent approximately 6.5 hours recording, were transcribed, glossed and translated with the assistance of my Usen Barok consultants.

Kolin Bios, who was in her mid-thirties at that time, became my major consultant. She is patient, enthusiastic and always knows what I am looking for. Every morning when I arrived at her place, she had already cleaned the bamboo bed used as our 'classroom' behind her small house. We normally worked together for about 4 hours each day, either on transcribing/translating texts or eliciting lexical/grammatical

information. On Sunday afternoons, she usually accompanied me to visit other Usen Barok speakers to record texts. Some other consultants also helped with transcribing and translating works. They are Sharon Soma (in her early twenties), Mares Tabakase (in her late fifties), Nixon (in his early thirties) and Roslyn Tomamu (in her mid-thirties).

I made a final fieldtrip to Kolonoboi April to June 2009. This trip allowed me to seek answers to many questions that arose during the writing of the first draft of this grammar.

1.7 Data used in this grammar

The corpus used for this grammar consists of three types of data collected during my fieldtrips, they are: recorded and transcribed texts, observed expressions and elicited information. The recorded and transcribed texts (as listed in Appendix A) form the core of the corpus. Text examples are indicated by a page number followed by a sentence number. For instance, '[p35-s16]' means 'sentence 16 on page 35'. If the reader looks at the REF column of Appendix A, page 35 can be found as part of a traditional narrative about 'wallaby and python' by Lien Soma. The observed expressions are indicated either by '[OB]' or '[OB-Kolin]'. The former type suggests that the expression has been observed used by many Usen Barok speakers (e.g. greetings); the latter type indicates that the expression has been observed produced by a particular speaker. The elicited information is indicated by '[EL]'. I worked mostly with Kolin Bios on elicitation, so unless explicitly specified, all elicitation data are attributed to her.

All recordings were made using a Sony TCM-5000EV cassette recorder and a Sony TCM-AP5V cassette recorder provided by the RCLT. All tapes were digitised as waveform audio files when I returned to Australia. Transcriptions of all the texts, as well as detailed glosses and free translations, were done on paper in the field (I did not use my laptop in the field since there is no electricity in the village). The transcriptions were then transferred into a Microsoft Word file. The original page numbers and sentence numbers in the paper version of my field notes have been kept for indicating the source of data (REF in Appendix A).

1.8 Typological overview of Usen Barok

Usen Barok has many features that are common among Oceanic languages (see Lynch et al. 2002), although it also exhibits several features that are not shared by many Oceanic languages. In this section I provide a typological overview of this language, and note in which chapter of the grammar each topic is discussed.

The phonological system of Usen Barok is not very complex, however, it demonstrates one of the most non-Oceanic-like aspects of this language. The phoneme inventory of Usen Barok contains 15 consonants, 12 vowels and 10 diphthongs. Vowel length is phonemically important. This is not common in Western Oceania. The syllable structure of Usen Barok is (C)V(C), in which C is a single consonant and V can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong. The primary stress of a phonological word normally falls on the ultimate syllable. This is different from many Oceanic languages, in which stress generally falls on the penultimate syllable of a word. A particularly interesting feature of Usen Barok phonology is that the voiceless stops are subject to lenition in certain circumstances. This seems to be an areal feature and presumably due to language contact (see Chapter 2).

Usen Barok is a nominative-accusative language with the basic constituent order of subject-verb-object in transitive clauses and subject-verb in intransitive clauses. Cross-referencing of the subject argument within the verbal predicate is obligatory. Tense, aspect, modality and negation are generally marked by preverbal clitics preceding the head of verbal predicate (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 9).

The pronoun system of Usen Barok follows the typical pattern of Oceanic pronoun systems. It has a four-way number distinction between singular, dual, paucal and plural, and contrasts first, second and third person, with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singular pronouns. There are three paradigms of pronominal forms: 1) independent pronouns that function as noun phrases (§4.4), 2) possessive suffixes that occur on bound nouns (§6.1.1.1) and 3) subject markers that occur preverbally, cross-referencing the subject argument (§9.3).

Nouns in Usen Barok, like in many Oceanic languages, can be categorised in two ways. The first categorisation distinguishes direct and indirect possession, and the second categorisation distinguishes between personal nouns, common nouns and place names (§4.1). Nouns can be derived from verbs by a number of different ways; the most typical one is the nominalising infix *-in-* (§4.1.3.6).

Usen Barok has a set of five noun phrase markers which normally occur as the first element of a noun phrase: the default common noun phrase marker *a*, the definite (deictic-anaphoric) common noun phrase marker *ina*, the non-referential noun phrase marker *re*, the default personal noun phrase marker *e* and the deictic-anaphoric personal noun phrase marker *ine* (§5.4).

Plurality of Usen Barok nouns is usually expressed by a set of plural markers which precede the head of a noun phrase (§5.5.1).

The numeral system in Usen Barok is based on ‘five’ and ‘ten’ with Kuanua loan words of ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’. When modifying nouns, numerals precede the head noun and require a linker between them and the head noun (§4.7).

Like many Oceanic languages, Usen Barok has a non-compass directional system which is motivated by its local settings. This system exhibits the typical Oceanic approach of employing an inland-seaward axis and a southeast-northwest axis. The directionals in Usen Barok form a distinct word class due to their morpho-syntactic characteristics (§8.1).

As is typical for many Oceanic languages, verbs in Usen Barok have very limited derivational morphology. The causative is expressed by the prefix *ö-*, the anticausative by the prefix *ta-/tama-*, the applicative by the suffix *-in*. There is another verbal prefix *e-* which can express the meaning of reflexive, reciprocal, collective and repetitive. Reduplication is also commonly used in Usen Barok verbal morphology. The most important function of verbal reduplication is to express progressive aspect (see Chapter 10).

There is an extensive use of serial verb constructions in Usen Barok (see Chapter 11).

Usen Barok does not have a copula. Nonverbal clauses are used to express equational and existential meanings (see Chapter 12).

Like in many Oceanic languages, almost all subordinators in Usen Barok have other functions in the language. For example, the relativiser *nang* is identical in shape to the nominal distal demonstrative (§13.1) and the subordinator for reason adverbial clause *möxö* is identical in shape to the preposition indicating ‘source, from’ (§13.2.2).

Usen Barok discourse involves extensive use of tail-head linkage which is commonly encountered in Oceanic languages and languages of Papua New Guinea in general (§14.2).

2 Phonology and phonetics

This chapter describes the phonology and phonetics of Usen Barok. Section 2.1 provides a preliminary discussion of the segmental phonemes. This is followed by a description of the orthography used in this grammar in section 2.2. A description of each phoneme's production, phonetic variability and distribution is given in section 2.3. Syllable structures and phonotactics are described in sections 2.4 and 2.5 respectively. There are some phonological and morpho-phonological processes that apply to several consonants. These processes are described in sections 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8. Discussions on stress and intonation are given in sections 2.9 and 2.10 respectively.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

This section gives a preliminary discussion of the segmental phonemes of Usen Barok.

2.1.1 Consonants

Fifteen consonants are recognised in Usen Barok, as listed in Table 2-1. The Usen Barok consonant inventory is typical of Oceanic languages. Similar consonant inventories can be found for the two geographically related languages Madak (Lee 1994) and Patpatar (Condra & Condra 1997).

The phonemes /r/ and /ɣ/ merit more discussion and will be covered in §2.6.

Active articulator	labio-	apico-	lamino	dorso
Passive articulator	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar
Voiceless stop	p (β)	t (r)		k (γ)
Voiced stop	b	d		g
Nasal	m	n		ŋ
Trill		r		
Voiceless fricative		s		
Voiced fricative				ʝ
Lateral		l		
Approximant	w		j	

Table 2-1: Consonant inventory¹¹

¹¹ Allophones are given in parentheses.

Some contrasts for consonants are provided below.

• /t/ - /d/	
/ˈtuː/	‘stand’
/ˈduː/	‘3 rd person dual independent pronoun’
• /k/ - /g/	
/ˈkis/	‘sit’
/ˈgis/	‘wash (cloth)’
• /k/ - /ɣ/	
/ˈkun/	‘to purchase’
/ˈɣun/	‘trap’
• /p/ - /b/	
/pa.ˈraː/	‘tell (story)’
/ba.ˈraː/	‘thus’
• /n/ - /ŋ/	
/ˈbun/	‘twine’
/ˈbuŋ/	‘day’
• /n/ - /l/	
/lu.ˈlu/	‘top’
/nu.ˈnu/	‘wrongly-believe; misapprehend’

2.1.2 Vowels

Twelve vowel phonemes are set out in Table 2-2. Vowel length is phonologically important in Usen Barok. Two basic vowel lengths can be distinguished on the basis of an impressionistic auditory analysis. A long vowel requires more tenseness and longer duration than a short vowel does. Although a long vowel is represented by two identical adjacent vowels in the Barok orthography, it has only one single nucleus in its own syllable.

	Front		Central		Back	
	short	long	short	long	short	long
Close	i	i:			u	u:
Close-mid	e	e:			o	o:
Open-mid					ɔ	ɔ:
Open			a	a:		

Table 2-2: Vowel inventory

Contrasts between the six short vowels, and between short and long vowels, are illustrated in Table 2-3 and Table 2-4 respectively.

IPA	English gloss
/i/	3 rd person singular subject marker
/e/	1 st person singular independent pronoun
/a/	common noun phrase marker
/u/	2 nd person singular subject marker
/o/	bear fruit
/ɔ/	yam

Table 2-3: Contrast among short vowels

Vowel length	IPA	English gloss
short	/si/	‘snake’
long	/si:/	‘bone’
short	/met/	‘die’
long	/me:t/	‘1 st person paucal exclusive pronoun’
short	/ta.'ba/	‘smoke’
long	/ta.'ba:/	‘give’
short	/tu/	‘sugarcane’
long	/tu:/	‘stand’
short	/kos/	‘read’
long	/ko:s/	‘jump’
short	/ɔ.'sɔ/	‘paddle’
long	/ɔ.'sɔ:/	‘ashore’

Table 2-4: Minimal pairs for vowel length contrast

2.2 Orthography

The orthography adopted in this grammar was developed during my fieldwork after discussion with my Usen Barok consultants. The phonemes and corresponding orthographic representations are listed in Table 2-5.

Phonemes	Orthography	Phonemes	Orthography
/p/	<i>p</i> ([β] → <i>v</i>)	/i/	<i>i</i>
/t/	<i>t</i>	/u/	<i>u</i>
/k/	<i>k</i>	/e/	<i>e</i>
/b/	<i>b</i>	/o/	<i>o</i>
/d/	<i>d</i>	/ɔ/	<i>ö</i>
/g/	<i>g</i>	/a/	<i>a</i>
/ɣ/ and ([ɣ])	<i>x</i>	/i:/	<i>ii</i>
/m/	<i>m</i>	/u:/	<i>uu</i>
/n/	<i>n</i>	/e:/	<i>ee</i>
/ŋ/	<i>ng</i>	/o:/	<i>oo</i>
/r/ and ([r])	<i>r</i>	/ɔ:/	<i>öö</i>
/s/	<i>s</i>	/a:/	<i>aa</i>
/l/	<i>l</i>		
/w/	<i>w</i>		
/j/	<i>j</i>		

Table 2-5: Orthography of Usen Barok

There are several things worth mentioning about this orthography. During the discussion with my consultants, the most difficult issue was to decide which letter to use to represent the phoneme /ɔ/. About half of the participants thought that they would simply use *o* although this letter is also used to represent the phoneme /o/. The other half of the participants thought that /ɔ/ and /o/ should be distinguished, but they could not come up with an idea which letter they would like to use. Finally they agreed that /ɔ/ and /o/ need to be distinguished, and they would like to have a letter looks similar to *o*. So I proposed *ö* which is relatively easy to find if someone needs to type in Word or send an SMS using Usen Barok.

The voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ can be lenited and voiced intervocalically, thus realised as [β], [r] and [ɣ] respectively (see §2.6). In order to reflect the pronunciation of

the Usen Barok speech precisely, these three allophones, namely [β], [r] and [ɣ], are represented by letters *v*, *r* and *x* respectively, although they are underlyingly /p/, /t/ and /k/ respectively.

The phoneme /ŋ/ is represented by a digraph *ng*. This does not seem to pose any difficulties since Usen Barok does not allow consonant clusters syllable initially or finally, and I do not encounter /n+/g/ combination across syllable boundaries in my corpus.

2.3 Description of phonemes

This section describes the production, the phonetic variability and the distribution of the phonemes.

2.3.1 Voiceless stops

Usen Barok has a set of three voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ pronounced at the bilabial, apico-alveolar and dorso-velar places of articulation respectively. They can be pronounced either aspirated or non-aspirated syllable initially. The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ and apical stop /t/ are unreleased syllable finally, and the voiceless stop /k/ is always realised as aspirated syllable finally. All of them can be subject to lenition and voicing when occurring intervocally, that is, they can be realised as [β], [r] and [ɣ] respectively. This will be discussed in detail in §2.6.

- /p/ Voiceless bilabial stop

→ [p̚] syllable final

→ [p], [p^h] elsewhere

kip ['kip̚] 'carry'

paas ['pa:s] 'to step on'

kapuan [k^ha.p^huan] 'plant for traditional Barok dance'

- /t/ Voiceless alveolar stop

→ [t̚] syllable final

→ [t], [t^h] elsewhere

peet ['pe:t̚] 'make'

taxin [ta.'γin] 'big'

matau [ma.'t^hau] 'axe'

- /k/ Voiceless velar stop

→ [k^h] syllable final

→ [k], [k^h] elsewhere

nek ['nek^h] 'like, love'

kip ['kip̚] 'carry'

kaa ['k^ha:] 'ascend'

lukara [,lu.ka.'ra] 'feast'

2.3.2 Voiced stops

The three voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ each have a voiced counterpart /b/, /d/ and /g/ respectively. The voiced stops are produced in the same places of articulation as the voiceless stops. Voiced stops are not found syllable finally.

- /b/ Voiced bilabial stop

→ [b]

baling [ba.'liŋ] 'return'

saban [sa.'ban] 'bad'

- /d/ Voiced alveolar stop

→ [d]

daa ['da:] 'stone oven'

pidien [pi.di.'en] 'white'

- /g/ Voiced velar stop

→ [g]

gee ['ge:] 'to cry'

sege [se.'ge] 'insert (into ground)'

2.3.3 Nasals

Three nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are made at the bilabial, apico-alveolar, and dorso-velar places of articulation respectively. All of them may occur both syllable initially and finally.

- /m/ Voiced bilabial nasal

→ [m]

maat ['ma:t̚] 'reef'

pamaa [pa.'ma:] 'to hug'

tam [t̚^ham] 'to answer'

- /n/ Voiced alveolar nasal

→ [n]

<i>na</i>	[ˈna]	‘this’
<i>tano</i>	[ta.ˈno]	‘ghost, shadow’
<i>pidien</i>	[ˌpi.di.ˈen]	‘white’

- /ŋ/ Voiced velar nasal

→ [ŋ]

<i>ngas</i>	[ˈŋas]	‘road’
<i>nöngön</i>	[nɔ.ˈŋɔn]	‘2 nd person singular pronoun’
<i>palang</i>	[pa.ˈlaŋ]	‘break, split’

2.3.4 Trill

The voiced trill /r/ is made at the apico-alveolar place of articulation. As an independent phoneme, it occurs syllable initially only. In casual speech, /r/ is commonly realised as tapped [r̥]. Detailed discussion on /r/ as a marginal phoneme is given in §2.6.3.

- /r/ Voiced alveolar trill/tap

→ [r] or [r̥]

<i>Ramat</i>	[ra.ˈma:t̚], [ra.ˈma:t̚]	‘village name (in the Barok area)’
<i>rasi</i>	[ra.ˈsi], [ra.ˈsi]	‘sea’

2.3.5 Fricatives

The voiceless fricative /s/ is made at the apico-alveolar place of articulation. It is found both syllable initially and finally.

- /s/ Voiceless alveolar fricative

→ [s]

<i>sangawun</i>	[,sa.ŋa.'wun]	'ten'
<i>rasi</i>	[ra.'si]	'sea; ocean'
<i>toos</i>	['to:s]	'bath'

The voiced fricative /ɣ/ is made at the dorso-velar place of articulation. As an independent phoneme, it is only found syllable initially.

- /ɣ/ Voiceless alveolar fricative

→ [ɣ] syllable initial

<i>xun</i>	['ɣun]	'trap'
<i>taxin</i>	[ta.'ɣin]	'big'

It needs to be noted that in the example *taxin* 'big' above, the intervocalic [ɣ] (represented by letter *x*) can be analysed as either the independent phoneme /ɣ/ or an allophone of the phoneme /k/. Detailed discussion on [ɣ] as an allophone of /k/ is given in §2.6.2.

2.3.6 Lateral

/l/ is also made at the apico-alveolar place of articulation. And it is also found syllable initially only.

- /l/ Voiced alveolar lateral

→ [l]

<i>lik</i>	['lik ^h]	'small'
<i>ilo</i>	[i.'lo]	'take'

2.3.7 Approximants

Two approximants, /w/ and /j/, are made at the bilabial and the lamino-palatal places of articulation, respectively. Approximants only occur syllable initially.

- /w/ Bilabial approximant

→ [w]

wat ['wat] 'stone'

kawam [ka.'wam] 'finish'

- /j/ Lamino-palatal approximant

→ [j]

jaa ['ja:] 'tree, wood'

ajen [a.'jɛn] 'afternoon'

2.3.8 Vowels

As illustrated in §2.1.2, twelve phonemic vowels can be recognised in Usen Barok. There is a phonemic distinction between short and long vowels. In Usen Barok, a long vowel is made almost at the same place of articulation as its short counterpart, and it takes almost twice as much time to articulate as a short vowel. Long vowels do not seem to occur syllable initially.

- /i/ High front unrounded short vowel

→ [i]

ine [i.'ne] '3rd person singular independent pronoun'

kis ['kis] 'sit'

si ['si] 'snake'

- /i:/ High front unrounded long vowel

→ [i:]

<i>niit</i>	[ˈni:t̃]	‘four’
<i>kamii</i>	[ka.ˈmi:]	‘peel (with instrument)’

- /u/ High back rounded short vowel

→ [u]

→ [i] in certain lexemes (the condition is not clear)

<i>une</i>	[u.ˈne]	‘woman’
<i>kup</i>	[ˈkup̃]	‘shout’
<i>su</i>	[ˈsu]	‘descend’

The two high vowel /u/ and /i/ are contrastive as can be seen in the following minimal pairs.

<i>u</i>	/u/	‘2 nd person singular subject marker’
<i>i</i>	/i/	‘3 rd person singular subject marker’
<i>kup</i>	/kup/	‘shout’
<i>kip</i>	/kip/	‘carry’
<i>tu</i>	/tu/	‘sugarcane’
<i>ti</i>	/ti/	‘star’

However, in some cases, /u/ can be realised as [i]. For instance, the verb for ‘sleep’ can be pronounced as either [pa.lu.ˈso] or [pa.li.ˈso]; the directional word ‘upward’ can be either [nu.ˈso] or [ni.ˈso]; and the local adverbial distal demonstrative ‘there’ can be either [ru.ˈɲa:n] or [ri.ˈɲa:n]. Since this variation seem to occur in many lexemes, no conclusion can be made about the conditions for this variation before further data are collected.

- /u:/ High back rounded long vowel

→ [u:]

buut ['bu:t̚] ‘fear’

muu ['mu:] ‘follow’

- /e/ Mid front unrounded short vowel

→ [ɛ] stressed closed syllable

→ [e] elsewhere

dek ['dɛk^h] ‘burn’

e ['e] ‘1st person singular independent pronoun’

sexé [se.'ɣe] ‘hang’

- /e:/ Mid front unrounded long vowel

→ [e:]

deek ['de:k^h] ‘good’

bee ['be:] ‘shark’

- /o/ Close-mid back rounded short vowel

→ [o]

o ['o] ‘bear fruit’

mon ['mon] ‘just’

tako [ta.'k^ho] ‘carry on back’

- /o:/ Close-mid back rounded long vowel

→ [o:]

kaunoon [kau.'no:n] ‘clam shell’

koo ['ko:] ‘bamboo’

- /ɔ/ Open-mid back rounded short vowel

→ [ɔ]

<i>ö</i>	[ɔ]	‘yam’
<i>lölös</i>	[lɔ.ˈlɔs]	‘press, force, insist’
<i>mörö</i>	[mɔ.ˈrɔ]	‘do what’

- /ɔ:/ Open-mid back rounded long vowel

→ [ɔ:]

<i>sööt</i>	[ˈsɔ:t̚]	‘to burn’
<i>söö</i>	[ˈsɔ:]	‘to sing’

- /a/ Low central unrounded short vowel

→ [a]

<i>ari</i>	[a.ˈri]	‘water, river’
<i>tak</i>	[ˈtak ^h]	‘faces’
<i>ma</i>	[ˈma]	‘and’

- /a:/ Low central unrounded long vowel

→ [a:]

<i>maat</i>	[ˈma:t̚]	‘reef’
<i>daa</i>	[ˈda:]	‘stone oven’

2.4 Syllable structure

The syllable structure in Usen Barok is (C)V(C), in which ‘C’ can only be a single consonant and ‘V’ can only be a single vowel (including a long vowel) or a diphthong (see §2.5 for descriptions of diphthongs). That is, there are four possible combinations:

- V (‘V’ can only be a short vowel)
- VC (‘V’ can be a short vowel or a diphthong but not a long vowel)

- CV ('V' can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong)
- CVC ('V' can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a diphthong)

Examples of each combination are illustrated in Table 2-6 below:

Syllable structures	Orthography	IPA	English gloss
V _{short vowel}	<i>o</i>	/'o/	'bear fruit'
V _{short vowel} C	<i>en</i>	/'en/	'eat'
V _{diphthong} C	<i>auk</i>	/'auk/	'a bit'
CV _{short vowel}	<i>su</i>	/'su/	'descend'
CV _{long vowel}	<i>dee</i>	/'de:/	'blood; bleed'
CV _{diphthong}	<i>suo</i>	/'suo/	'meet'
CV _{short vowel} C	<i>pun</i>	/'pun/	'bird'
CV _{long vowel} C	<i>baang</i>	/'ba:ŋ/	'temporarily'
CV _{diphthong} C	<i>taun</i>	/'taun/	'men's house'

Table 2-6: Syllable structure in Usen Barok

2.5 Phonotactics

Possible combinations of vowels are illustrated below in Table 2-7. Combinations with dark shading and a symbol 'x' under them are not found in my corpus. Five of the combinations are long vowels; examples containing long vowels can be found in §2.1.2, Table 2-4. Ten of the combinations are attested as diphthongs, as illustrated in Table 2-8. A diphthong in Usen Barok is always within one syllable and contains only one peak. That is, the primary stress cannot occur between two vowels of a diphthong. The remaining six combinations are vowel sequences. In a vowel sequence, two single vowels form distinct syllables respectively and each has its own nucleus. As shown in Table 2-9, a vowel sequence always crosses syllable boundaries. Vowel sequences are not common in the Barok phonology, and only short vowels are found in vowel sequences in my corpus.

(ii)	ie	ia	iö	io	iu
long vowel	diphthong	diphthong	diphthong	diphthong	X
eī	(ee)	ea	eō	eo	eu
vowel sequence	long vowel	X	X	vowel sequence	vowel sequence
aī	ae	(aa)	aō	ao	au
diphthong	vowel sequence	long vowel	diphthong	diphthong	diphthong
öi	öe	öa	(öö)	öö	öu
vowel sequence	X	X	long vowel	X	X
oi	oe	oa	oö	(oo)	ou
X	X	X	X	long vowel	X
ui	ue	ua	uö	uo	(uu)
X	X	diphthong	vowel sequence	diphthong	long vowel

Table 2-7: Vowel combinations

Diphthongs	Orthography	IPA	English gloss
ie	<i>tie</i>	/' <u>tie</u> /	'dance'
ia	<i>bia</i>	/' <u>bia</u> /	'sago'
iö	<i>biö</i>	/' <u>biö</u> /	'shine'
io	<i>piot</i>	/' <u>piot</u> /	'poison'
aī	<i>tais</i>	/' <u>tais</u> /	'sharpen'
aō	<i>maöt</i>	/' <u>maöt</u> /	'tomb, grave'
ao	<i>wawao</i>	/wa.' <u>wao</u> /	'stupid'
au	<i>lause</i>	/' <u>lau</u> .'se/	'when'
ua	<i>nuan</i>	/' <u>nuan</u> /	'journey'
uo	<i>suo</i>	/' <u>suo</u> /	'meet'

Table 2-8: Diphthongs

Vowel sequences	Orthography	IPA	English gloss
ei	<i>suxumein</i>	/su. ʏu.me.'in/	'secretly' (vt.)
eo	<i>eot</i>	/e.'ot/	'be.the.same'
eu	<i>eusu</i>	/,e.u.'su/	'teach/learn' (vi.)
ae	<i>kaxaes</i>	/,ka. ʏa.'es/	'unusual'
öi	<i>öin</i>	/ɔ.'in/	'cook (with stone oven)'
uö	<i>duöng</i>	/du.'ɔŋ/	people

Table 2-9: Vowel sequences

2.6 Phonological processes affecting consonants (voiceless stops)

The voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ are subject to phonological and morpho-phonological processes. Section 2.6.1 describes the process of lenition of voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/. Section 2.6.2 discusses the phoneme /ɣ/ and the allophone [ʏ]. Section 2.6.3 discusses the marginal phoneme /r/ and the allophone [r]. Section 2.6.4 shows that the lenition is blocked in a verbal stem after a preverbal marker. Section 2.6.5 shows that the lenition is not predictable in verbal stems when they take valency-changing prefixes. Section 2.6.6 discusses the lenition in reduplicated forms.

2.6.1 Lenition of intervocalic voiceless stops

Ross (1994: 558-559) reported a shared areal phonological feature among Kuot, Lamasong, Madak, and Barok: “a voiceless stop becomes a corresponding voiced fricative intervocalically.”

This observation is only partially true for Usen Barok. That is, the voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ are sometimes pronounced as [β], [r], and [ɣ] respectively when occurring intervocalically.

Examples (2-2), (2-4) and (2-6) show that the syllable final voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ are realised as [β], [r] and [ɣ] respectively when occurring intervocalically.

Example (2-2) illustrates that the voiceless stop [p] is lenited and voiced to [β] (represented by letter *v* in the Usen Barok orthography) when it precedes the causative marker [ɔ] (a mid vowel represented by *ö* in the Usen Barok orthography) in a serial verb

construction; whereas the initial consonant [n] of the stripped object NP *nien* ‘food’ in (2-1) blocks the lenition.

(2-1) *kip nien*
 kip nien
 carry food
 ‘food-carry’

(2-2) *kiy ösu*
 kip ö-su
 carry CAUS-descend
 ‘carry down (sth/sb)’

In (2-3), the verb *paxat* ‘scrape’ precedes an incorporated noun *lamas* ‘coconut’ which begins with a consonant [l], so the final stop [t] is retained. Whereas in (2-4), the verb *paxat* ‘scrape’ precedes the common noun marker which is realised as a vowel [a], so the final stop is then lenited and voiced to the trill [r].

(2-3) *paxat lamas*
 paxat lamas
 scrape coconut
 ‘coconut-scrape’

(2-4) *paxar a lamas*
 paxat a lamas
 scrape C.NM coconut
 ‘scrape coconut’

Similarly, the final [k] in (2-5) is retained when it is preceding a consonant [b]; whereas in (2-6) the final stop is realised as the fricative [ɣ] (represented by *x* in the Barok orthography) because it is followed by a high vowel [i].

(2-5) *tödik boo*
 tödik boo
 catch pig
 ‘pig-catch’

(2-6) *tödi_x ine*
 tödik ine
 catch 3SG
 ‘catch it’

Examples (2-8), (2-10) and (2-12) below show that the syllable initial voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ are lenited and voiced to [β], [r] and [ɣ] when occurring intervocalically.

Examples (2-7), (2-9) and (2-11) show that the lenition is blocked by consonants that precede the voiceless stops.

(2-7) *bung puluwun*
 bung puluwun
 PLM dog
 ‘dogs’

(2-8) *a yuluwun*
 a puluwun
 C.NM dog
 ‘dog’

(2-9) *gunon taxin*
 gunon taxin
 house big
 ‘big house’

(2-10) *une raxin*
 une taxin
 woman big
 ‘big woman’

(2-11) *bung kixöök*
 bung kixöök
 PLM chicken
 ‘chickens’

(2-12) *a xixöök*
 a kixöök
 C.NM chicken
 ‘chicken’

It seems that the process of lenition of voiceless stops intervocalically can apply across affix, clitic, and word boundaries, but it is by no means universal. And this sometimes makes it difficult to recognise the underlying phoneme of certain phonetic representations. Sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.3 provide a discussion on this difficulty.

2.6.2 Phoneme /ɣ/ or allophone [ɣ]?

As described in §2.1.1, /ɣ/ is defined as a phoneme which is found syllable initially. Two more minimal pairs to show the contrast between /k/ and /ɣ/ are provided below. (/ɣ/ and [ɣ] are both represented by *x* in the Usen Barok orthography. The capitalised letter *V* indicates a vowel.)

V=xobo ‘past habitual marker’

V=kobo ‘negation marker’

V=xebe ‘ability marker’

V=kebe ‘negation of ability marker’

As mentioned in §2.6.1, syllable initial /k/ in intervocalic position can be realised as [ɣ].

These two facts indicate that a syllable initial [ɣ] can be underlyingly phoneme /ɣ/, but it does not guarantee that all syllable initial [ɣ] are underlyingly /ɣ/. For instance, it is impossible to tell whether the [ɣ] in [ta.'ɣin] ‘big’ is underlyingly /ɣ/ or /k/, because the phoneme /k/ can also have the phonetic representation [ɣ] in this position. In situations like this, syllable initial [ɣ] will be treated as /ɣ/ (represented by *x*) in the morpheme line.

2.6.3 Marginal phoneme /r/

The phoneme /r/ is marginal in Usen Barok. No minimal pairs between /r/ and /t/ have been found. However, there are a few roots in which syllable initial /r/ never seems to change, as shown in the following examples.

<i>raat</i>	[ʔa:tʔ], [ʔa:tʔ]	‘a type of basket’
<i>Ramat</i>	[ra.'matʔ], [ra.'matʔ]	‘village name (in the Barok area)’
<i>rasi</i>	[ra.'si], [ra.'si]	‘sea’
<i>ragas</i>	[ra.'gas], [ra.'gas]	‘coral’

Similar to the difficulty of recognising the phoneme of an intervocalic [ɣ], in the examples shown below, it is also difficult to tell whether the intervocalic [r] is underlyingly /r/ or /t/ (as described in §2.6.1, [r] is one of the allophones of the phoneme /t/ in intervocalic position). In situations like this, [r] will be treated as /r/ (represented by *r*) in the morpheme line.

<i>pere</i>	[pe.'re]	‘see’
<i>mar<u>a</u></i>	[ma.'ra]	‘hole’

2.6.4 Verbal roots with initial voiceless stops after subject marker or preverbal marker¹²

There are several circumstances in which an intervocalic position does not always trigger the voiceless stop lenition. This section illustrates one of these circumstances: an initial voiceless stop in a verbal root never seems to be lenited after a subject marker or a preverbal marker, although all the subject markers and preverbal markers in Usen Barok end with vowels. Examples (2-13), (2-14) and (2-15) show that the initial voiceless stops in *paluso* ‘sleep’, *toos* ‘wash’, and *kawam* ‘finish’ remain unchanged.

(2-13) *ixo paluso.*
 i=xo paluso
 3SG.SM=PAST sleep
 ‘He slept’ [p282-s13]

(2-14) *toxo toos ine.*
 to=xo toos ine
 3NSG.SM=PAST wash 3SG
 ‘They washed him!’ [p250-s166]

(2-15) *iri kawam.*
 i=ri kawam
 3SG.SM=CPL finish
 ‘It has finished’ [p300-s65]

2.6.5 Verbal roots with initial voiceless stops after prefixes

This section gives a circumstance in which the lenition of a voiceless stop is not predictable. In Usen Barok, an initial voiceless stop in a verbal root may or may not be

¹² A subject marker which cross-references the subject NP and a preverbal marker which indicates tense, aspect and modality of the head of VP are normally obligatory elements of a verbal predicate. See §9.3 and §9.4 for details.

lenited after verbal prefixes, which always end with vowels.¹³ In this section, all the verbal roots with initial voiceless stops in my corpus which can take verbal prefixes are illustrated to see whether the lenition will occur or not.

There are three verbal prefixes in Usen Barok: the causative prefix *ö-* (can be realised as *u-* and *o-* in some cases); the multifunctional prefix *e-*,¹⁴ and the anticausative prefix *tama-/ta-*. When a verbal root takes one of these prefixes, there are three possibilities for its initial voiceless stop: must be lenited; optionally lenited; or must not be lenited.

2.6.5.1 Verbal roots with initial voiceless stops after the causative prefix

- Causative prefix + [k]

Four verbal roots with an initial [k] are found taking the causative prefix, and all of the initial [k] are lenited to [ɣ] after being causativised. A full list of these examples is provided below.

Obligatory lenition			
['ka:]	‘ascend’	[ɔ.'ɣa:]	‘cause to ascend’
['kis]	‘sit’	[u.'ɣis]	‘cause to sit’
[ka.'dik ^h]	‘ache’	[ɔ.ɣa.'dik ^h]	‘cause to ache’
[ka.'wam]	‘finish’	[ɔ.ɣa.'wam]	‘cause to finish’

¹³ It is worth mentioning that the description in this section is based on limited data. Only those verbal roots that occur in my corpus are considered and tested. In addition, not every verbal root is able to take a valency-changing prefix and only very few roots are able to take all the prefixes.

¹⁴ The verbal prefix *e-* can occur on both transitive and intransitive verbal roots, indicating reciprocal, reflexive, collective and repetitive (see §10.3).

- Causative prefix + [p]

The causative prefix applies to only two verbal roots that begin with a [p]. The lenition must occur in one example and must not occur in the other example.

Obligatory lenition

[pa.lu.'so] 'sleep' [ɔ.βa.lu.'so] 'cause to sleep'

Must not be lenited

[pi.di.'en] 'white' [ɔ.pi.di.'en] 'cause to be white'

- Causative prefix + [t]

Ten verbal roots with an initial [t] are able to be causativised. The initial [t] is lenited to [r] in seven roots as listed below.

Obligatory lenition

['tie] 'to dance' [ɔ.'rie] 'cause to dance'

['tu:] 'stand' [u.'ru:] 'cause to stand'

[tup̃] 'lose; disappear' [ɔ.'rup̃] 'cause to disappear'

['tus] 'breast feed' [u.'rus] 'cause to eat'

[ta.'ru:] 'stand up; get ready' [ɔ.ra.'ru:] 'make ready'

[ta.'ɣin] 'big' [ɔ.ra.'ɣin] 'make big'

'true; real' [ɔ.ra.'ɣin] 'make true; make real'

[tu.'non] ɔ.ru.'non]

There are two roots whose initial [t] cannot be lenited as given below.

Must not be lenited

[ta.'ko] 'to piggy-back' [ɔ.ta.'ko] 'cause to piggy-back'

[tɔ.'ɣɔ] 'cheat' [ɔ.tɔ.'ɣɔ] 'cause sb. to be cheated'

The initial [t] in *tiēnēn* ‘pregnant’ can either be retained or lenited after the causativiser.

Optional

[ti.e.'nen]	‘pregnant’	[ɔ̌.ti.e.'nen] or [ɔ̌.ri.e'nen]	‘cause to be pregnant’
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2.6.5.2 Verbal roots with initial voiceless stops after the prefix *e-*

- Prefix *e* + [p]

Nineteen verbal roots with initial [p] can take the prefix *e-*. More than half of them must not be lenited; and the rest are optional. Examples are provided below.

Must not be lenited

[pɑŋ]	‘plough’	[e.'pɑŋ]	‘plough’
[pʊs]	‘to press’	[e.'pʊs]	‘to press’
[pe: t̚]	‘make’	[e.'pe:t̚]	‘make’
[pa:s]	‘to step’	[e.'pa:s]	‘to step’
[puos]	‘clean abdominal organs’	[e.'puos]	‘clean abdominal organs’
[pe.'re]	‘see’	[,e.pe.'re]	‘see’
[pe.'ʏe]	‘defecate’	[,e.pe.'ʏe]	‘defecate’
[pu.'lo]	‘steal’	[,e.pu.'lo]	‘steal’
[pa.'ra:]	‘tell (story)’	[,e.pa.'ra:]	‘tell (story)’
[pa.'ʏat̚]	‘scrape’	[,e.pa.'ʏat̚]	‘scrape’
[,pɔ̌.si.ʏi.'ne]	‘to smell’	[,e.pɔ̌.si.ʏi.'ne]	‘to smell’

Optional			
[ˈpiot̚]	‘to poison’	[e.ˈpiot̚] or [e.βiot̚]	‘to poison’
[pa.ˈlaŋ]	‘split’	[,e.pa.ˈlaŋ] or [,e.βa.ˈlaŋ]	‘split’
[pa.ˈlas]	‘unwrap’	[,e.pa.ˈlas] or [,e.βa.ˈlas]	‘unwrap’
[pa.ˈnakʰ]	‘warn’	[,e.pa.ˈnakʰ] or [,e.βa.ˈnakʰ]	‘warn’
[pɔ.ˈmɔs]	‘bury’	[,e.pɔ.ˈmɔs] or [,e.βɔ.ˈmɔs]	‘bury’
[pɔ.ˈrɔkʰ]	‘break’	[,e.pɔ.ˈrɔkʰ] or [,e.βɔ.ˈrɔkʰ]	‘break’
[pi.ˈdikʰ]	‘divide’	[,e.pi.ˈdikʰ] or [,e.βi.ˈdikʰ]	‘divide’
[pa.li.ˈɣe:]	‘to tong’	[,e.pa.li.ˈɣe:] or [,e.βa.li.ˈɣe:]	‘to tong’

- Prefix *e* + [k]

The prefix *e-* applies to sixteen verbal roots whose initial consonant is [k]. Lenition is only obligatory in one example, as given below.

Obligatory lenition

[kaiː]	‘to cover’	[e.ɣaiː]	‘to cover’
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The initial [k] in thirteen out of sixteen attested roots must not be lenited after the prefix *e-*, as shown below.

Must not be lenited

[ke]	‘dig’	[e.ˈke]	‘dig’
[ku]	‘scratch’	[e.ˈku]	‘scratch’
[kipː]	‘carry’	[e.ˈkipː]	‘carry’
[kun]	‘purchase’	[e.ˈkun]	‘purchase’
[kupː]	‘shout’	[e.ˈkupː]	‘shout’
[ka.ˈra]	‘spear’	[e.ka.ˈra]	‘spear’
[ku.ˈwe]	‘shout at’	[e.ku.ˈwe]	‘shout at’
[ki.ˈnɔː]	‘look far into the distance’	[e.ki.ˈnɔː]	‘look far into the distance’
[ku.ˈruː]	‘to slice’	[e.ku.ˈruː]	‘to slice’
[koːs]	‘pull out’	[e.ˈkoːs]	‘pull’
[kuːtː]	‘tie; weave; catch (shark)’	[e.ˈkuːtː]	‘tie; weave; catch (shark)’
[ka.ˈdikʰ]	‘ache’	[e.ka.ˈdikʰ]	‘ache’
[kɔ.ˈnɔm]	‘swallow’	[e.kɔ.ˈnɔm]	‘swallow’

There are also two examples in which the initial [k] is optionally lenited after the prefix *e-*.

Optional

[ku.ˈlas]	‘exchange’	[e.ˈku.ˈlas] or [e.ɣu.ˈlas]	‘exchange’
[ku.ˈrus]	‘pull’	[e.ˈku.ˈrus] or [e.ɣu.ˈrus]	‘pull’

- Prefix *e* + [t]

The prefix *e-* can occur on twenty verbal roots with initial [t]. As can be seen in the list below, the initial [t] in fifteen examples can not be lenited.

Must not be lenited			
[t'e:]	‘cut’	[e.'t'e:]	‘cut’
[t'i:]	‘fill’	[e.'t'i:]	‘fill’
[t'ɔn]	‘hold’	[e.'t'ɔn]	‘hold’
[t'eŋ]	‘fling’	[e.'t'eŋ]	‘fling’
[ta.'ko]	‘to piggy-back’	[,e.ta.'ko]	‘to piggy-back’
[ta.'me]	‘obey’	[,e.ta.'me]	‘obey’
[tɔ.'ʧɔ]	‘cheat’	[,e.tɔ.'ʧɔ]	‘cheat’
[te.'ge]	‘split’	[,e.te.'ge]	‘split’
[ti.'be]	‘share’	[,e.ti.'be]	‘share’
[t'ais]	‘sharpen’	[e.'t'ais]	‘sharpen’
[t'ies]	‘look into mirror’	[e.'t'ies]	‘look into mirror’
[t'o:s]	‘wash’	[e.'t'o:s]	‘bathe’
[ta.'ru:]	‘get up; get ready’	[,e.ta.'ru:]	‘get up; get ready’
[te.'we:]	‘throw’	[,e.te.'we:]	‘throw’
[ta.'was]	‘(birds) fly away’	[,e.ta.'was]	‘(birds) fly away’
[te.'ŋen]	‘say’	[,e.te.'ŋen]	‘say’
[,ta.da.'ŋe]	‘raise head and look at’	[,e.ta.da.'ŋe]	‘raise head and glance’
[,ta.li'ŋen]	‘turn around’	[,e.ta.li.'ŋen]	‘turn around’
[tɔ.ŋɔ.'sen]	‘chat’	[,e.tɔ.ŋɔ.'sen]	‘chat’

The initial [t] in four roots is lenited and voiced to [r] after the prefix *e-*.

Obligatory lenition			
[tup̃]	‘lose; disappear’	[e.'rup̃]	‘lose; disappear’
[ti.'le]	‘send’	[,e.ri.'le]	‘send’
[ta.'wi:]	‘cover (with leaves)’	[,e.ra.'wi:]	‘cover (with leaves)’
[ta.'ba:]	‘give’	[,e.ra.'ba:]	‘give’

There is one root in which the initial [t] is optionally lenited after taking the prefix *e-*.

Optional	
[ti'mɛt̚] ‘cover (with stone)’	[,eti'mɛt̚] or [,eri'mɛt̚] ‘cover (with stone)’

There seems to be a tendency for the initial voiceless stops to remain not lenited after the prefix *e-*. This is summarised in Table 2-10.

Verbal roots with initial voiceless stops taking the prefix <i>e-</i>			
	initial [k]	initial [p]	initial [t]
Must be lenited	6%	0%	20%
Optional	14%	42%	5%
Not lenited	82%	58%	75%

Table 2-10: Tendency of lenition after the prefix *e-*

2.6.5.3 Verbal roots with initial voiceless stops after the anticausative prefix

- Anticausative prefix + [t]

I have not found any verbal root with initial [t] taking the anticausative prefix in my corpus.

- Anticausative prefix + [p]

Six roots with initial [p] can take the anticausative prefix *tama-/ta-*. Five of them must be lenited when they take the prefix *tama-/ta-* and there is one root in which the lenition is optional. Examples are provided below.

Obligatory lenition

['pit ^ʔ]	‘break’	[,ta.ma.'βit ^ʔ]	‘broken’
['puos]	‘clean abdominal organs’	[,ta.ma'.βuos]	‘cleaned’
[pu.'γus]	‘to turn’	[,ta.βu.'γus]	‘turned’
[pɔ.'rɔk ^h]	‘break’	[,ta.βɔ.'rɔk ^h]	‘broken’
[pa.'las]	‘unwrap’	[,ta.βa.'las]	‘unwrapped’

Optional

[pi.'dik ^h]	‘divide; break’	[,ta.ma.pi.'dik ^h] or [,ta.ma.βi.'dik ^h]	‘divided, broken’
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- Anticausative prefix + [k]

Thirteen roots with initial [k] can take the anticausative prefix *tama-/ta-*. The initial [k] in nine of these roots cannot be lenited. The lenition is obligatory in two roots and optional in the other two roots. A full list of examples can be found below.

Must not be lenited

['ke]	‘dig’	[,ta.ma.' <u>k</u> e]	‘dug’
['ku]	‘scratch’	[,ta.ma.' <u>k</u> u]	‘scratched’
['kin]	‘dig’	[,ta.ma.' <u>k</u> in]	‘dug’
['ku:t ^ʔ]	‘tie; weave’	[,ta.ma.' <u>k</u> u:t ^ʔ]	‘woven’
[ka'si:]	‘remove leaves from stalk’	[,ta.ma. <u>k</u> a.'si:]	‘(leaves) removed’
[ku'ru:]	‘to slice’	[,ta.ma. <u>k</u> u.'ru:]	‘sliced’
['kain]	‘to cover’	[,ta.ma.' <u>k</u> ain]	‘covered’
[ke'wen]	‘split with implement’	[,ta.ma. <u>k</u> e.'wen]	‘split’
[kara'ŋe]	‘distribute’	[,ta.ma. <u>k</u> a.ra.'ŋe]	‘distributed’

Obligatory lenition

['kait ^ʔ]	‘to cover’	[,ta.ma.' <u>ɣ</u> ait ^ʔ]	‘covered’
[ka.'xat ^ʔ]	‘pull up’	[,ta.ma. <u>ɣ</u> a.' <u>ɣ</u> at ^ʔ]	‘pulled up’

Optional			
[ku.'bus]	‘exchange’	[,ta. <u>k</u> u.'bus] or [,ta. <u>ɣ</u> u.'bus]	‘exchanged’
[ku.'lutʔ]	‘peel with hand’	[,ta.ma. <u>k</u> u.'lutʔ] or [,ta.ma. <u>ɣ</u> u.'lutʔ]	‘peeled’

The data provided in this section show that the lenition of initial voiceless stops of verbal roots after verbal prefixes seems to be lexically determined. There are no general rules that can make reference to syllable patterns or prefix types. The fact that some prefixed forms can either be lenited or not indicates that the process of lenition is probably a recent change and still in progress.

2.6.6 Lenition of initial voiceless stops in reduplication

In Usen Barok, a verbal root may undergo initial CV reduplication to express progressive aspect or repetition of acts, etc. For example, the reduplicated form of the verbal root *kip* ‘carry’ is *xikip* ‘carrying’. What concerns us here is whether the initial voiceless stops in the root (*xi~kip*) and the reduplicated form (*xi~kip*) will be lenited or not. The situations concerning the roots and the reduplicated forms are described in §2.6.6.1 and §2.6.6.2 respectively.

2.6.6.1 Initial voiceless stops in the root

When a verbal root undergoes initial CV reduplication, the voiceless stop in the root is always intervocalic. However, the occurrence of lenition is unpredictable. The initial voiceless stops in the roots are lenited and voiced in examples of group (a) below. To the contrary, the initial stops in the roots are retained in examples of group (b).

	Roots		Reduplication	
(a)	[pa.nak]	‘warn; prohibit’	[βa.βa.nak]	‘warning’
(b)	[pa.lu.so]	‘sleep’	[βa.pa.lu.so]	‘sleeping’
(a)	[tɔn]	‘hold’	[rɔ.rɔn]	‘holding’
(b)	[ta.ɣin]	‘big’	[ra.ta.ɣin]	‘getting big’
(a)	[kos]	‘read; count’	[ɣo.ɣos]	‘reading; counting’
(b)	[ka.wam]	‘finish’	[ɣa.ka.wam]	‘finishing’

2.6.6.2 Initial voiceless stops in the reduplicated form

When a verbal root undergoes initial CV reduplication, the initial underlying voiceless stop in the reduplicated forms seems to be regularly lenited when occurring intervocalically. In (2-16), (2-17) and (2-18), the initial stops [p], [t] and [k] are lenited and voiced as [β], [r] and [ɣ] respectively in the reduplicated forms.

- (2-16) *Ixo yapaluso.* [βa.pa.lu.so]
 i=xo pa~paluso
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~sleep
 ‘He was sleeping.’ [p527-s13]

- (2-17) *Kaim ine ra roroos tewee sixine kaunoon.* [ro.roos]
 kaim ine ra to~toos tewee sixi-ne kaunoon
 NEG 3SG PURP REDP~wash throw smell-3SG.POSSR clam.shell
 ‘It is not that he washed away the smell of clam shell.’ [p310-s15]

- (2-18) *I xakawam.* [ɣa.ka.wam]
 i ka~kawam
 3SG.SM REP~finish
 ‘It has finished many times.’ [p456-s195]

Note that initial voiceless stops of a verbal root never seem to be lenited after a subject marker or a preverbal marker as illustrated in §2.6.4 in (2-13), (2-14) and (2-15).

There is not enough data to generalise whether a preceding consonant blocks the lenition of the initial voiceless stop in the reduplicated forms or not, because verbal reduplication usually does not occur after a consonant (it most commonly occurs after subject markers or preverbal markers, which always end with vowels). The only example found in my corpus is given in (2-19). In this example, the root *taxin* ‘big’ is reduplicated to modify *balixilik* ‘women’ and *bo* ‘pig’ respectively. The initial [t] in the reduplicated form of *taxin* ‘big’ is retained after the consonant [k]; but lenited and voiced to [r] after the vowel [o].

- (2-19) *Tabo tabaa balixilik t̄ataxin ma bo x̄önö bo r̄ataxin*
 t̄=abo tabaa baliki~lik t̄a~taxin
 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR give woman~PL PL~big
 ma bo x̄önö bo t̄a~taxin
 with PLM part pig PL~big
 ‘They will give big women big pieces of pork.’ [p362-s77]

2.6.7 Voiceless stop lenition as a change in progress

The discussions from §2.6.1 to §2.6.6 show that the process of voiceless stop lenition is fairly complex in Usen Barok, and the information provided here is by no means exhaustive. More fieldwork is needed for investigation. The only assumption that can be made at this stage is that the lenition and voicing of voiceless stops in Usen Barok is presumably a change in progress and this process is not yet complete.

2.7 Other types of variability applying to consonants

In Usen Barok, there are several words which occur with extremely high frequency and each of them has several variants due to consonant assimilation (largely on the basis of place of articulation).

The variants of the personal general preposition *re* (in §2.7.1), the purposive preposition *ra* (in §2.7.2) and the local demonstratives *ra* and *ringaan* (in §2.7.3) form

one pattern in which the initial consonant of these words is realised as [r], [t], [s], [k] and [p] respectively ([r] as the citation form) according to the place of articulation of the preceding segment.

The variants of the essive geographic directionals follow the other pattern in which the initial consonant is realised as [r], [t], [s], [k] and [p] respectively ([n] as the citation form) according to the place of articulation of the preceding segment (in §2.7.4).

2.7.1 Variants of the general personal preposition *re*

As illustrated in Table 2-11 below, the personal general preposition in Usen Barok is realised as [re], [te], [se], [ke] and [pe] when the preceding segment is a vowel, an [n] or [t], an [s], a [k] or [ŋ], and an [m] or [p] respectively.

Preceding segment	vowel	[n] or [t]	[s]	[k] or [ŋ]	[m] or [p]
Variants of personal general preposition	[re]	[te]	[se]	[ke]	[pe]

Table 2-11: Variants of the personal general preposition

Examples of variants of the personal general preposition are provided in (2-20) through (2-24).

It is difficult to decide which variant should be treated as the underlying form of the personal general preposition. The *re* form is used to refer to this preposition and in the morpheme line of glosses for convenience. But this does not imply that [re] is the underlying form. Although the [re] form is always chosen when the Barok speakers are asked to translate the Tok Pisin equivalent *bilong* into Usen Barok, this may just suggest that the realisation of this preposition is [re] when it occurs sentence initially.

- (2-20) *nago re ine*
 nago re ine
 mother P.PREP 3SG
 ‘her mother’ [p41-s123]

(2-21) *gunon te ine*
 gunon re ine
 house P.PREP 3SG
 ‘her house’ [p268-s23]

(2-22) *a lölös se ine*
 a lölös re ine
 C.NM power P.PREP 3SG
 ‘her power’ [p326-s41]

(2-23) *barok ke ine*
 barok re ine
 child P.PREP 3SG
 ‘her child’ [p128-s4]

(2-24) *a sim pe ine*
 a sim re ine
 C.NM canoe P.PREP 3SG
 ‘his canoe’ [p154-s31]

2.7.2 Variants of the purposive preposition *ra*

The Barok purposive preposition also has five variants which resemble the same pattern as that of the personal general preposition, as shown in Table 2-11.

Preceding segment	vowel	[n] or [t]	[s]	[k] or [ng]	[m] or [p]
Variants of purposive preposition	[ra]	[ta]	[sa]	[ka]	[pa]

Table 2-12: Variants of purposive preposition

Examples (2-25) through (2-28) are provided to illustrate the variants of the purposive preposition. The underlying form of the purposive marker is also difficult to determine. The *ra* form is chosen to be used in the morpheme line for convenience.

- (2-25) *Moxo lamus ine ra nuan ura lagunon.*
 mo=xo lamus ine ra nuan
 1EXC.NSG.SM=PAST lead 3SG PURP NML.move
 u-ra lagunon
 ALL-DEM.PROX home
 ‘We led him to come home here.’ [p270-s50]
- (2-26) *Nöngön u saxit mon ta kinoos sa rörön piilo.*
 nöngön u saxit mon ra
 2SG 2SG.SM quick just PURP
 k<in>oos ra tö~tön pii=lo
 <NML>jump PURP NML~hold fasten=SEQ
 ‘You just be quick to jump and hold (the fish) tightly.’ [p406-s99]
- (2-27) *A bo la re iduu narum pa enen*
 a bo la re
 C.NM PLM thing POSSM
 iduu narum ra en~en
 3DU a.grandparent.and.a.grandchild PURP NML~eat
 ‘Things for the grandparent and his grandchild to eat’ [p515-s10]
- (2-28) *Aimem iri kadik ka enen...*
 ai-mem i=ri kadik ra en~en
 skin-1EXC.PL.POSSR 3SG.SM=CPL ache PURP NML~eat
 ‘We have already been tired of eating...’ (Lit: ‘Our body has been aching of eating...’) [p175-s84]

2.7.3 Variants of the local adverbial demonstratives

The local demonstratives are also realised as five variants and follow the same pattern as that of the personal general preposition and the purposive preposition, as illustrated in Table 2-13. The proximal demonstrative and the purposive preposition happen to be identical in shape, but there is no evidence to suggest that these two forms are related. The citation forms *ra* ‘here’ and *ringaan* ‘there’ are used in the morpheme line for convenience.

Preceding segment	vowel	[n] or [t]	[s]	[k] or [ŋ]	[m] or [p]
Variants for the proximal 'here'	[ra]	[ta]	[sa]	[ka]	[pa]
Variants for the distal 'there'	[riŋa:n]	[tiŋa:n]	[siŋa:n]	[kiŋa:n]	[piŋa:n]

Table 2-13: Variants of local adverbial demonstratives

Examples for all the variants of the distal demonstrative *ringan* 'there' are given in (2-29) through (2-33). The proximal demonstrative *ra* 'here' follows exactly the same pattern.

(2-29) *Ine ringaan*
 ine ringaan
 3SG DEM.DIST
 'He is there.' [p314-s71]

(2-30) *a bo inaan tingan*
 a bo inaan tingan
 C.NM PLM fish DEM.DIST
 'the fish there' [p170-s18]

(2-31) *Kis singaan!*
 kis singaan
 sit DEM.DIST
 'Sit there!' [p418-s344]

(2-32) *Kisisik baang kingaan!*
 kisi=sik baang ringaan
 sit=STA temporarily DEM.DIST
 'Keep sitting there temporarily!' [p265-s138]

(2-33) *E Eltie kaim pingaan?*
 e Eltie kaim ringaan
 P.NM Eltie NEG DEM.DIST
 'Isn't Eltie there?' [p395-s30]

2.7.4 Variants of essive geographic directionals

As shown in Table 2-14 below, the essive geographic directionals in Usen Barok show a similar consonant assimilation pattern as described in §2.7.1. The only difference is that each directional has a citation form whose initial consonant is realised as a nasal [n]. The citation forms are used in the morpheme line for convenience. Examples of directionals can be found in §8.1.1.

Preceding segment	Vowel	[n] or [t]	[s]	[k] or [ŋ]	[m] or [p]	Citation form
‘down’ (unmarked)	[ri:]	[ti:]	[si:]	[ki:]	[pi:]	[ni:]
‘down’ (near)	[reŋe]	[teŋe]	[seŋe]	[keŋe]	[peŋe]	[neŋe]
‘sea/southeast’ (unmarked)	[ro:]	[to:]	[so:]	[ko:]	[po:]	[no:]
‘sea/southeast’ (near)	[rõŋõ]	[tõŋõ]	[sõŋõ]	[kõŋõ]	[põŋõ]	[nõŋõ]
‘up’ (unmarked)	[ruso] or [riso]	[tuso] or [tiso]	[suso] or [siso]	[kuso] or [kiso]	[puso] or [piso]	[nuso] or [niso]
‘up’ (near)	[rõŋõsõ]	[tõŋõsõ]	[sõŋõsõ]	[kõŋõsõ]	[põŋõsõ]	[nõŋõsõ]

Table 2-14: Variants of directionals

2.8 The nominalising infix *-in-* and / n /~ / l / alternation and assimilation

The nasal /n/ in the nominalising infix *-in-* may assimilate or alternate with the lateral /l/ in the verbal root to which it applies.

Example (2-34) shows that when the nominalising infix *-in-* applies to the verbal root *kuluwo* ‘fetch water’, we do not get */k-in-uluwo/ as expected; but /k-il-uluwo/ instead. The nasal /n/ in the infix *-in-* assimilates with the lateral /l/ which is a consonant of the verbal root.

(2-34)

kuluwo ‘water-fetch’ **/k-in-uluwo/* /*k-il-uluwo/* ‘water-fetching’

When the verb *laran* ‘wake up’ takes the nominalising infix *-in-*, it derives */n-il-aran/* instead of **/l-in-aran/* as illustrated in (2-35). The nasal in the infix *-in-* alternates with the lateral */l/* which is originally the initial consonant of the verbal root. Another example is given in (2-36).

(2-35)

laran ‘wake.up’ **/l-in-aran/* /*n-il-aran/* ‘waking.up’

(2-36)

laxa ‘enter’ **/l-in-aʔa/* /*n-il-aʔa/* ‘entering’

It is difficult to make generalisations based on just the very few examples given above; more data are needed to explain when the alternation or assimilation occurs.

2.9 Stress

Stress in Usen Barok is normally represented by greater intensity and longer duration on vowels. Further instrumental analysis is required to see if pitch also plays a part in stress. Stress is used as a criterion to define the phonological word. Generally speaking, a phonological word contains just one primary stress. The primary stress in Usen Barok almost always falls on the final syllable of a phonological word (with a few exceptions). And the secondary stress in three and four syllable words falls on the first syllable. Illustrative examples are given in Table 2-15.

Syllables	Orthography	IPA	English gloss
monosyllable	<i>wan</i>	[^h wan]	‘move’
disyllable	<i>löxöön</i>	[lɔ.'ʧɔ:n]	‘beach’
trisyllable	<i>tinenge</i>	[,ti.ne.'ŋe]	‘utterance’
four syllables	<i>pösixine</i>	[,pɔ.si.ʧi.'ne]	‘to smell’

Table 2-15: Illustrative examples of stress

A phonological word with more than four syllables is rare. Example (2-37) gives a phonological word with five syllables in my corpus. It is a compound formed by *narama* which means ‘a parent and a child’; and *bunbun* which probably means ‘all’ when preceding a kin term. The primary stress falls on the final syllable of the word, and the secondary stress falls on the second syllable (the last syllable of *bunbun* ‘all’).

(2-37)

bunbunnarama [bun.,bun.na.ra.'ma] ‘the whole family’

The applicative suffix *-in* almost always bears the primary stress when it applies to a verbal root. An example is given in (2-38). The verb *bösö* ‘be quick’ has primary stress on its final syllable. When it is transitivised, the position of the final syllable is occupied by the suffix *-in*, and the stress is shifted onto it.

(2-38)

<i>bösö</i>	<i>bösöin</i>
/bɔ.'sɔ/	/,bɔ.sɔ.'in/
be.quick	be.quick -APP
‘be quick’ (vi.)	‘be quick (doing sth.)’ (vt.)

The stative marker =*sik* is always pronounced as heavily stressed when it is cliticised to a verbal root as illustrated in (2-39). In the verb root *xiset* ‘wait’, the stress occurs on its last syllable; whereas in its stative form, the primary stress is placed on the stative marker =*sik*, and the originally stressed syllable in the verb stem is left unstressed.

(2-39)	<i>xiset</i> /ɣi.'set/ wait 'wait'	<i>xisetsik</i> /,ɣi.set.'sik/ wait=STA 'keep on waiting'
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Only one minimal pair has been observed in my corpus whose contrast can be interpreted as determined by stress. As shown in (2-40), *ine* can be understood as either the 3rd person independent pronoun or as a noun phrase marker according to the placement of the stress.

(2-40)	<i>ine</i> /i.'ne/ '3 rd person singular pronoun'	/'i.ne/ 'personal noun phrase marker'
--------	--	--

2.10 Intonation

In many languages, pitch can be used to signal different clause types. In Usen Barok, four salient intonation patterns and their associated clause types are recognised, as given below:

- Sentence non-final declarative (gradual rising)
- Sentence final declarative (sharp falling)
- Content question (sharp rising)
- Polar question (gradual falling)

(i) Gradual rising intonation

The pitch curve of a non-final declarative clause is characterised by a gradual rise towards the end of the clause, normally over the last phonological word of the clause, as illustrated in Figure 2-1, which shows the pitch extraction for clause (a) in (2-41).

(2-41)	<i>Ixo lamuslo a bung puluwun, na ixo wan tup pa tup puluwun.</i>					
(a)	i=xo	lamus=lo	a	bung	puluwun	
	3SG.SM=PAST	lead=SEQ	C.NM	PLM	dog	
(b)	na	i=xo	wan	tup	ra	tup puluwun
	DISC	3SG.SM=PAST	move	disappear	PURP	disappear dog
	'He led several dogs and he went hunting.' [T1-3]					

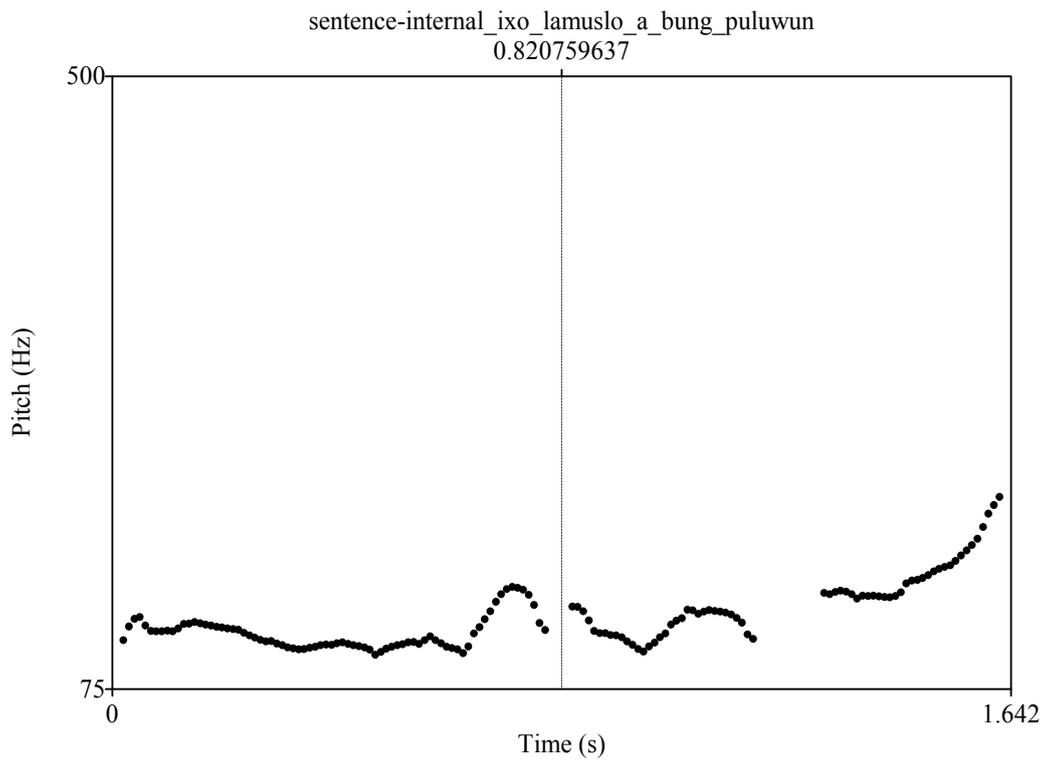


Figure 2-1: Sentence non-final declarative - gradual rising intonation

(ii) Sharp falling intonation

A sentence final declarative clause is signalled by a relatively sharp drop on the last syllable of the clause and followed by a long pause, as illustrated in Figure 2-2, which shows the pitch extraction for clause (b) in (2-41).

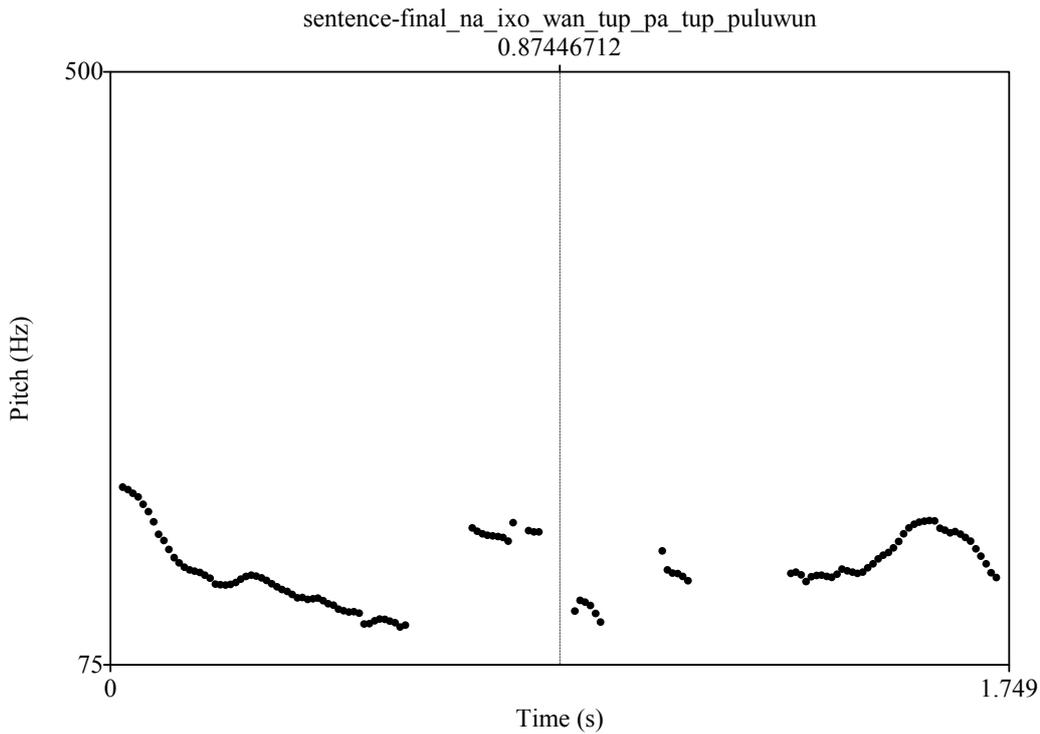


Figure 2-2: Sentence final declarative clause - sharp falling intonation

(iii) Sharp rising intonation

Content questions are generally characterised by a very sharp rising on the last syllable of the clause, as seen in Figure 2-3, which shows the pitch extraction for example (2-42).

- (2-42) *E! Me e kisisix ule ja?*
 e me e kisi=sik ule ja
 ah DISC 1SG.SM sit=STA where ICFP
 ‘Ah! Where am I sitting?’ [T1-26]

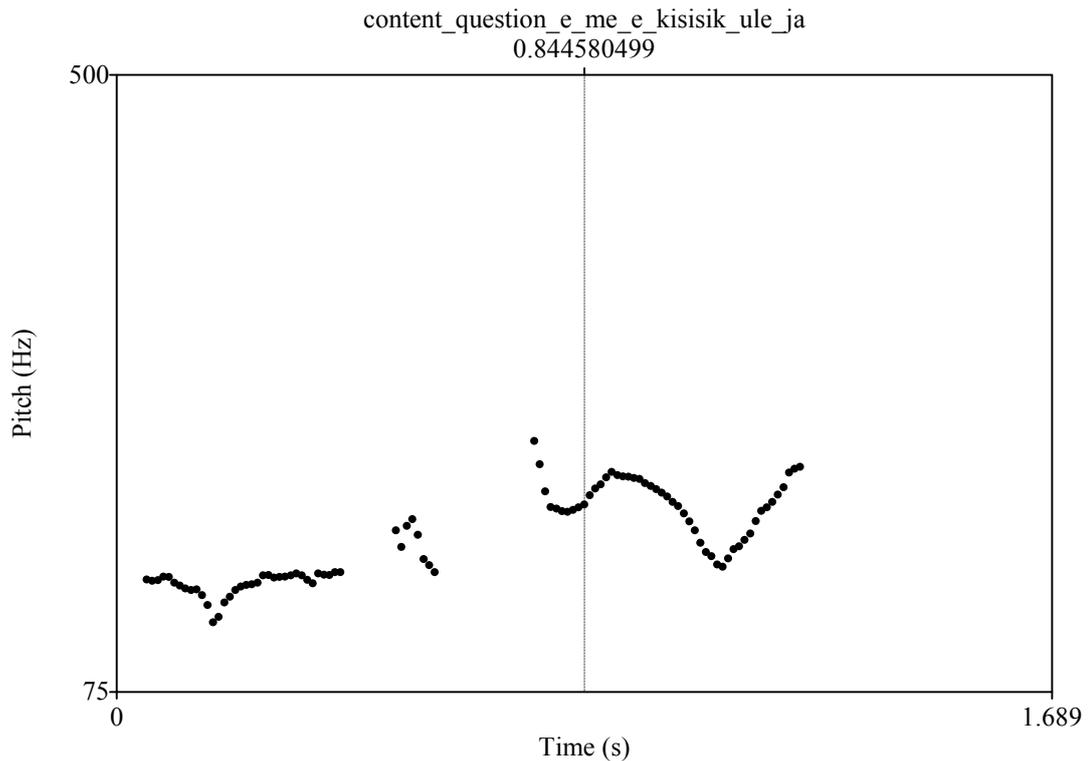


Figure 2-3: Content question - sharp rising intonation

(iv) Gently falling intonation

Polar questions in Usen Barok are characterised by a gradually falling intonation towards the end of the clause. This is usually accompanied by extended duration of the last syllable. An example of a polar question is given in (2-43). Its pitch extraction is provided in Figure 2-4.

- (2-43) *Muot mo deeksik mon?*
 muot mo deek=sik mon
 3PA 2NSG.SM be.good=STA just
 ‘Are you alright?’ (Lit: ‘Are you just being well?’) [p194-s147]

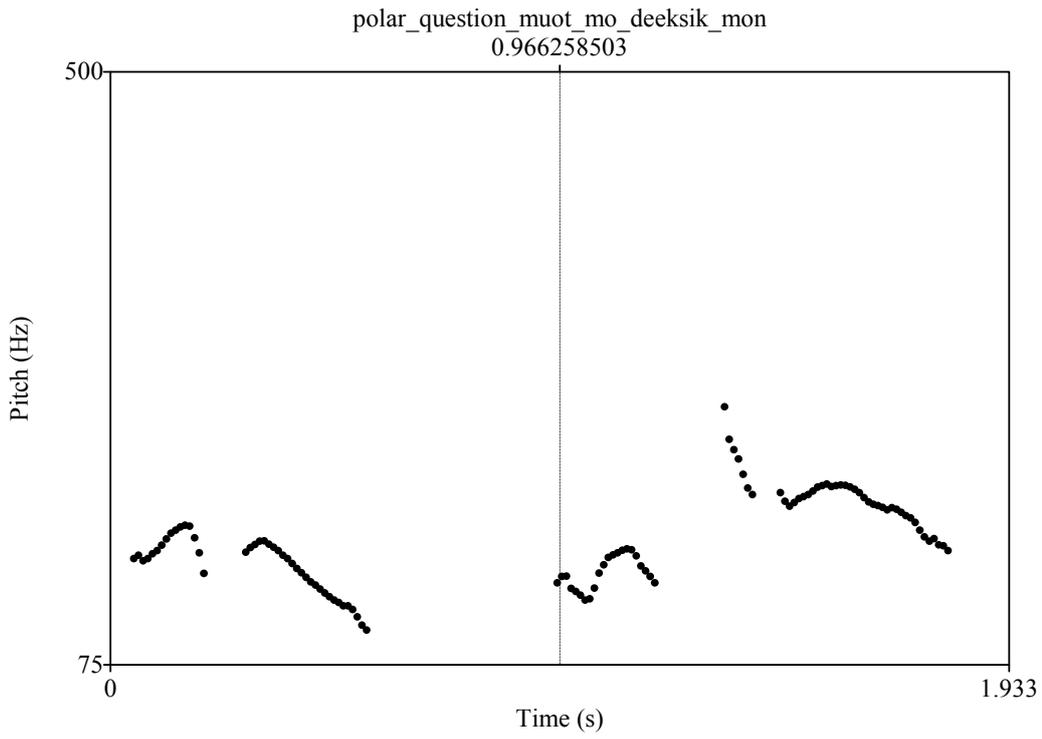


Figure 2-4: Polar question - gradual falling intonation

3 Syntactic Orientation

This chapter presents a quick orientation of Usen Barok syntax, introducing basic clause types (§3.1) and defining the principal grammatical functions in verbal clauses (§3.2.1). The purpose of this chapter is to facilitate the reader's to understanding of the examples before all the details are formally addressed.

3.1 Basic clause types

Clauses in Usen Barok are either verbal or nonverbal. The criterion used to distinguish verbal and nonverbal predication is adopted from Stassen (2006: 693) (also see Wetzer (1996) and Stassen (1997)):

If a language has (person/number/gender) agreement on predicative verbs, then other predicate categories in that language will be rated as verbal if they show this agreement marking as well. If they do not, they will be rated as nonverbal.

According to this criterion, any predication that does not show subject agreement is recognised as nonverbal. In Usen Barok, nonverbal clauses are typically formed by juxtaposition of a subject NP and a nonverbal predicate. A nonverbal predicate can be a noun phrase (NP), a prepositional phrase (PP), or an existential marker, as illustrated in (3-1), (3-2), and (3-3) respectively. A detailed description of nonverbal clauses is provided in Chapter 12.

(3-1) *Ine a si.*
[ine]_{NP} [a _____ si]_{NP}
3SG C.NM snake
'He is a snake' [p39-s97]

(3-2) *A sim pe we?*
[a sim]_{NP} [re _____ we]_{PP}
C.NM canoe POSSM who
'Whose canoe?' [OB-Grace]

- (3-3) *A limine ma xexene angen.*
[a limi-ne ma xexe-ne]_{NP} [angen]_{EXIST}
C.NM hand-3SG.POSSR and leg-3SG.POSSR EXIST
'(His) hands and legs are there.' [p429-s59]

As for a verbal clause, subject agreement is obligatory. A verbal clause in Usen Barok minimally contains a verbal predicate which normally consists of three obligatory components:

- a subject marker, which indexes the person and number of the subject argument
- one or more preverbal markers, which denote tense, aspect, modality and negation
- the head of the verbal predicate

Example (3-4) shows a minimal verbal clause:

- (3-4) *Ixo maruu.*
[i=xo _____ maruu]_{VP}
3SG.SM=PAST lie.down
'He lay down.' [T1-23]

In (3-4), the 3rd person singular subject marker *i* specifies the person and number of the subject argument; the preverbal marker =*xo* indicates the remote past tense; and the intransitive verb *maruu* 'lie down' functions as the predicate head.

3.2 Principal grammatical functions in verbal clauses

This discussion of the principal grammatical functions in verbal clauses follows the framework proposed by Andrews (2007a: 152), as illustrated in Figure 3-1.

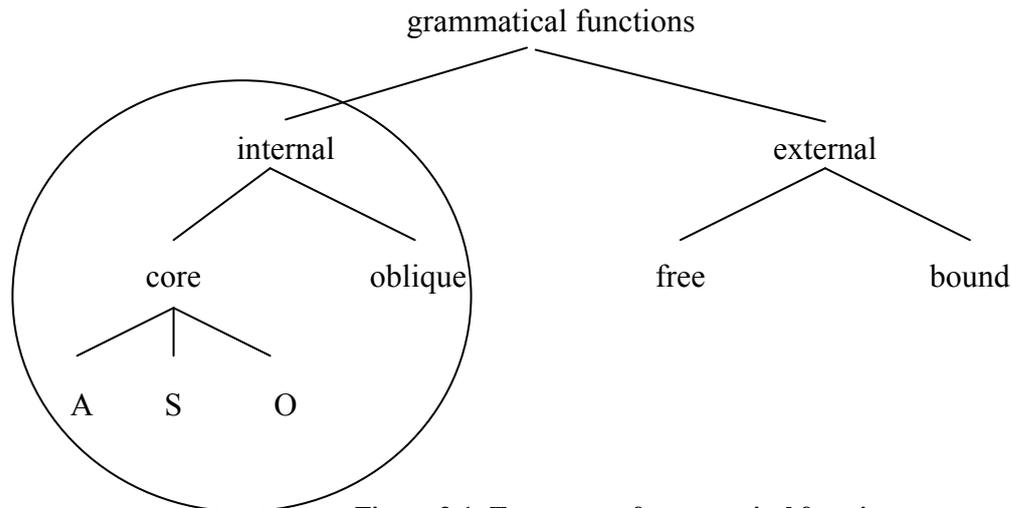


Figure 3-1: Taxonomy of grammatical functions

In his framework, Andrews distinguishes three fundamental types of grammatical function: core, oblique and external. Given that external functions are essentially outside of the basic clause structure, I limit my discussion to internal functions, that is, core and oblique functions in Andrews' framework.

Following Dixon (1994: 6), three syntactic functions A, S and O are defined as core grammatical functions. A refers to the most actor-like argument of a syntactically transitive clause; S the single argument of a syntactically intransitive clause; and O the most patient-like argument of a syntactically transitive clause.¹⁵

Andrews (2007a: 141) proposed that three basic techniques are used for languages to code syntactic functions; they are: cross-referencing (agreement), order or arrangement, and NP-marking. Usen Barok employs all three techniques.

3.2.1 Cross-referencing of S and A

In Usen Barok, A and S functions, namely the most actor-like argument of a transitive clause and the single core argument of an intransitive clause, are marked by the same markers in the verbal predicate. Given this neutralisation of A and S in terms of marking,

¹⁵ Andrews (2007a) uses P instead of O to label the syntactic function of the object argument in transitive clauses. I adopt Dixon's (1994) label, using O in this grammar.

we can identify this as a nominative-accusative pattern, and call the category created by the neutralisation of these roles the ‘subject’. The markers used to mark these roles are called ‘subject markers’.

Subject markers in Usen Barok are a set of pronominal particles, which are used to denote person and number of NPs in A and S functions (detailed descriptions of subject markers are provided in §4.13 and §9.3).

In (3-5) and (3-6), the 3rd person non-singular subject marker *to* occurs as the first element of the verbal predicate, cross-referencing the independent subject NP *di* ‘3rd person plural independent pronoun’.

(3-5) *Di toxo paluso.*
 [di]_{S.NP} [to=xo paluso]_{VP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST sleep
 ‘They slept.’ [T1-61]

(3-6) *Di toxo kiv a xaxut...*
 [di]_{A.NP} [to=xo kip]_{VP} [a xaxut]_{O.NP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST carry C.NM firewood
 ‘They brought firewood.’ [T1-106]

The subject NP *di* ‘3rd person plural independent pronoun’, which functions as the S argument and A argument in (3-5) and (3-6) respectively, are marked the same way within the verbal predicate.

3.2.2 Constituent order

The most frequently occurring constituent order in Usen Barok is SV in intransitive clauses (in (3-7)) and AVO in transitive clauses (in (3-8)). The argument in S and A functions almost always precedes the verbal predicate and the argument in O function follows the head of the verbal predicate. The constituent order is especially useful for identifying the object argument, which is not cross-referenced within the verbal predicate.

(3-7) *A tödi ixo an.*
 [a tödi]_{S.NP} [i=xo an]_{VP}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST eat
 ‘The man ate.’ [EL]

(3-8) *A tödi ixo en a inaan.*
 [a tödi]_{A.NP} [i=xo en]_{VP} [a inaan]_{O.NO}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST eat C.NM fish
 ‘The man ate the fish.’ [EL]

3.2.3 NP-marking

The third strategy employed to code syntactic functions is NP-marking. In Usen Barok, the principal use of NP-marking is limited to arguments that are in oblique functions. Oblique arguments are always marked by prepositions. As shown in (3-9) and (3-10), the transitive verbs *isik* ‘give’ and *tabaa* ‘give’ predictably take the prepositional phrases headed by the general preposition *re* and the instrumental preposition *ma* respectively.

(3-9) *Me idi tere isik a nien te ine.*
 me [idi]_{A.NP} [te=re isik]_{VP} [a nien]_{O.NP} [re ine]_{PP}
 DISC 3NSG 3NSG.SM=CPL give C.NM food P.PREP 3SG
 ‘And they already gave the food to him.’ [p96-s17]

(3-10) *Maa me tabaa e Pita ma un.*
 [maa]_{A.NP} [me tabaa]_{VP} [e Pita]_{O.NP} [ma un]_{PP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM give P.NM Peter with banana
 ‘We two gave Peter bananas’ [p304-s11]

4 Word classes

This chapter provides information on all major word classes in Usen Barok. There are three open word classes: nouns (§4.1), verbs (§4.2), and adjectives (§4.3). All remaining forms belong to the following closed word classes: independent pronouns (§4.4), nominal demonstratives (§4.5), verbal demonstratives (§4.6), numerals (§4.7), adverbs (§4.8), noun phrase markers (§4.9), plural markers (§4.10), directionals (§4.11), prepositions (§4.12), subject markers (§4.13), preverbal markers (§4.14), conjunctions (§4.15) and subordinators (§4.16).

Word classes are determined by using syntactic criteria only; morphological and semantic criteria may be used to further divide certain class of words into subclasses.

4.1 Nouns

In Usen Barok, nouns form an open word class. A noun heads a noun phrase (NP) which can function as a core argument in a verbal clause, as the subject and the nominal predicate in a nonverbal clause, and as the complement of a preposition.

There are three main subtypes of noun. Each deserves its own category: personal nouns are described in §4.1.1; place names are described in §4.1.2; common nouns are described in §4.1.3.

Usen Barok has very limited nominal morphology. This is described in 4.1.4.

4.1.1 Personal nouns

Personal nouns are defined as having a specific human referent. A personal noun usually can be preceded by the personal noun phrase marker *e* when functioning as the head of an NP, as shown in (4-1) through (4-3). In Usen Barok, personal nouns include all personal names (§4.1.1.1) and the interrogative pronoun ‘who’ (§4.1.1.2).

4.1.1.1 Personal names

Names of any specific persons are personal nouns. These include traditional Barok personal names as shown in (4-1); Christian names, which are nowadays commonly given to Usen Barok people, as shown in (4-2); and other foreign personal names, as shown in (4-3).

- (4-1) *Ixo osee e Otana.*
 i=xo osee [e Otana]_{NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST ask P.NM Otana
 ‘He asked Otana’ [p103-s3]

- (4-2) *E Pamela ixo wan.*
 [e Pamela]_{NP} i=xo wan
 P.NM Pamela 3SG.SM=PAST move
 ‘Pamela went.’ [OB]

- (4-3) *E lamuslo e Jingyi...*
 e lamus=lo [e Jingyi]_{NP}
 1SG.SM lead=SEQ P.NM Jingyi
 ‘I led Jingyi...’ [p23-s21]

4.1.1.2 Interrogative personal pronoun ‘who’

The interrogative personal pronoun *we* ‘who’ is a personal noun and it takes the personal noun phrase marker *e*. In (4-4), *we* ‘who’ functions as the head of a subject NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-4) *E we irabo ot.*
 [e we]_{NP} i=rabo ot
 P.NM who 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR arrive
 ‘Who will arrive?’ [p206-s366]

4.1.2 Place names

Proper names of places form a subtype of noun in Usen Barok. Place names are characterised by the fact that they can never be preceded by noun phrase markers when

functioning as the head of an NP. In (4-5), *Belik* ‘Belik’, the name of an Usen Barok village on the east coast, functions as the head of the subject NP in a nonverbal clause. In (4-6), *Xoxola* ‘Kokola’, the name of an Usen Barok village on the west coast, functions as the head of the object NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-5) *Belik a lagunon nii.*
 [Belik]_{NP} a lagunon nii
 Belik C.NM village northwest
 ‘Belik is the village to the northwest.’ [EL]

- (4-6) *Exo pere Xoxola.*
 e=xo pere [Xoxola]_{NP}
 1SG.SM=PAST see Kokola
 ‘I saw Kokola.’ [EL]

The other fact that distinguishes place names from other nouns is that they can be used adverbially or as adjunct. In (4-7), *Bakan* ‘Bakan’, the name of an Usen Barok village located on the east coast, occurs directly after the verb phrase indicating the place where ‘they live’.

- (4-7) *Idi toxo xisixis Baxan.*
 idi [to=xo xisixis]_{VP} Baxan
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST live Bakan
 ‘They lived in Bakan’ [p48-s210]

4.1.3 Common nouns

Common nouns refer to nouns that are neither personal nouns nor place names. A common noun can take the common noun phrase marker *a* when functioning as the head of an NP. In (4-8), the common noun *puluwun* ‘dog’ functions as the head of the subject NP in a verbal clause. In (4-9), the common noun *une* ‘woman’ functions as the head of the nominal predicate in a nonverbal clause.

- (4-8) *A vuluwun ibo wan...*
 [a puluwun]_{NP} i=bo wan
 C.NM dog 3SG.SM=HAB move
 ‘The dog always runs.’ [p247-s126]

- (4-9) *Ine a une runoon.*
 ine [a une tunoon]_{NP}
 3SG C.NM woman real
 ‘She is a real woman’ [p39-s92]

Noun phrase markers provide a means for identifying the category of a noun in context in general. However, although it is relatively easy to identify a place name, it is not always easy to distinguish between personal and common nouns per se since their status is largely determined by the context.

As mentioned in 4.1.1, a personal noun is defined as having a specific human referent; nouns that do not have a specific human referent are common nouns (excluding place names). According to this definition, all non-human nouns (excluding place names) are almost always common nouns unless used in stories where these nouns are personified and individuated. For instance, the noun ‘dog’ is usually marked as common, as shown in (4-8). However, in (4-10), ‘dog’ is marked as a personal noun. This is because example (4-10) is taken from a story in which the ‘dog’ is able to talk and behaves like a human. In (4-10), ‘dog’ is no longer treated as an animal species as in (4-8), but as a personal name instead.

- (4-10) *E vuluwun ixo tengen...*
 [e puluwun]_{S.NP} i=xo tengen
 P.NM dog 3SG.SM=PAST utter
 ‘Dog said...’ [p164-s64]

All human nouns (excluding personal names, which are always marked as personal nouns) may either be personal or common depending on the context in which they occur. For instance, the human noun *une* ‘woman’ is marked as a common noun in (4-9) when it

only has generic meaning, whereas in (4-11) it is marked as a personal noun since it is possessed and has a specific referent.

- (4-11) *e une re ine*
 [e une]POSSD re [ine]POSSR
 P.NM woman POSSM 3SG
 ‘his woman (wife)’ [p405-s86]

It is not always possible to draw a clear line between personal and common within human nouns. Usen Barok speakers do not seem to be very strict about the distinction. The human noun *tata* ‘father’ in both (4-12) and (4-13) refers to a specific person, however, the common noun phrase marker *a* is also acceptable to use.

- (4-12) *e tata re e*
 [e tata]POSSD re [e]POSSR
 P.NM father POSSM 1SG
 ‘my father’ (a specific individual) [p270-s49]

- (4-13) *a tata re e*
 [a tata]POSSD re [e]POSSR
 C.NM father POSSM 1SG
 ‘my father’ (a specific individual) [p39-s89]

Common nouns in Usen Barok include the interrogative pronoun ‘what’ (§4.1.3.1), the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ (§4.1.3.2), the collective kin terms (§4.1.3.3), the nominal demonstratives (§4.5), the quantifying nouns (§4.1.3.4) and derived nouns (§4.1.3.6).

4.1.3.1 Interrogative pronoun ‘what’

The interrogative pronoun ‘what’ is classified as a common noun since it takes the common noun phrase marker *a*. In (4-14), *sa* ‘what’ functions as the head of an object NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-14) *Muu mo enen a sa?*
 muu mo en~en [a sa]_{NP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM PROG~eat C.NM what
 ‘What are you two eating?’ [p130-s51]

4.1.3.2 Dummy noun *lak*

The dummy noun *lak* ‘thing, one’ is classified as a common noun because it always takes the common noun phrase marker *a*, as shown in (4-15).

- (4-15) *A nien a lak deek.*
 [a nien]_{NP/NCS} [a lak deek]_{NP/NCP}
 C.NM food C.NM DUMMY good
 ‘The food is good.’ (Lit: ‘The food is a good thing.’) [EL]

Note however that *lak* ‘thing’ is different from other common nouns. The dummy noun *lak* ‘thing’ can only head an NP which functions as a nominal predicate in a nonverbal clause, whereas other common nouns can head NPs which function as core arguments in verbal clauses, as complements of prepositions and as the subject and nominal predicate of nonverbal clauses.

4.1.3.3 Collective kin terms

Collective kin terms form a subtype of common noun. A collective kin term is used to refer to more than one person involved in a certain kin relationship. In (4-16), the common noun *narum* means two persons whose relationship is grandparent and grandchild.

- (4-16) *A narum tobo xisixis kö xaken.*
 [a narum]_{NP} to=bo xisixis kö xaken
 C.NM grandparent.and.grandchild 3NSG.SM=HAB stay C.PREP sun
 ‘A grandfather and his grandson always sit under the sun.’ [p514-s1]

The list of collective kin terms that I have found is provided in Table 4-1. (The question marks ‘???’ in Table 4-1 indicate that my consultants are not sure if there used to be a term for such a relationship or not). These collective kin terms (except for

numunen ‘man and his father in law’) can be analysed as being prefixed by *na-* ‘dual’ or *ba-* ‘plural’.

Relationship	Two persons involved	Three or more persons involved
father and child; paternal aunt and nephew/niece	<i>na-rama</i>	<i>ba-rama</i>
mother and child	<i>na-ninen</i>	<i>ba-ninen</i>
opposite-sex-sibling	<i>na-sixinen</i>	<i>ba-sixinen</i>
same-sex-sibling	<i>na-röön</i>	<i>ba-röön</i>
opposite-sex-parallel-cousin	<i>na-xöxup</i>	<i>ba-xöxup</i>
same-sex-cross-cousin	<i>na-liwinen</i>	<i>ba-liwinen</i>
maternal uncle and nephew/niece	<i>na-mörlik</i>	<i>ba-mörlik</i>
grandparent and grandchild	<i>na-rum</i>	<i>ba-rum</i>
husband and wife	<i>na-suon</i>	<i>ba-suon</i>
wives of the same husband	<i>na-laba</i>	<i>ba-laba</i>
husbands of the same wife	???	???
woman and mother-in-law	<i>na-nanan</i>	<i>ba-nanan</i>
woman and father-in-law	<i>na-tamaren</i>	<i>ba-tamaren</i>
man and father-in-law	<i>numunen</i>	<i>ba-numunen</i>
man and mother-in-law	???	???
nuclear family	--	<i>barama</i>
extended family	--	<i>bunbunnarama</i>

Table 4-1: Collective kin terms

A special feature of collective kin terms is that they can be pre-modified by the 3rd person non-singular independent pronouns. In (4-17), the 3rd person dual pronoun *iduu* ‘they two’ modifies the collective kin term *nasuon* ‘couple’.

- (4-17) *Ixo tuu wii iduu nasuon.*
 [i=xo tuu pii]_{VP} [iduu nasuon]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST stand fasten 3DU couple
 ‘He blocked the couple.’ [p420-s374]

The constituent *iduu nasuon* ‘the couple’ in (4-17) cannot be analysed as two juxtaposed NPs, because that would require the noun phrase marker *a* to precede *nasuon* ‘couple’. The syntactic function of *iduu* ‘they two’ in (4-17) is similar to the noun phrase marker *a*, cf. (4-18).

- (4-18) *Ixo tuu wii a nasuon.*
 [i=xo tuu pii]_{VP} [a nasuon]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST stand fasten C.NM couple
 ‘He blocked the couple.’ [EL]

More examples are given in (4-19) through (4-21).

- (4-19) *taun te iduu namörlik*
 taun re [iduu na-mörlik]_{POSSR/NP}
 men’s.house POSSM 3DU DU-maternal.uncle.and.nephew
 ‘men’s house of the maternal uncle and his nephew’ [p114-s139]

- (4-20) *Idiet baninen toxo kiploim a pu.*
 [idiet ba-ninen]_{A.NP} [to=xo kip=lo=im]_{VP} [a pu]_{O.NP}
 3PA PL-mother.and.child 3NSG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ=CONTR C.NM soil
 ‘The mother and her children carried soil.’ [p179-s156]

- (4-21) *Idi baröön toxo is a bo.*
 [idi ba-röön]_{NP} [to=xo is]_{VP} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 3PL PL-same.sex.sibling 3NSG.SM=PAST tie C.NM pig
 ‘The same sex siblings tied the pig.’ [p123-s83]

4.1.3.4 Quantifying nouns

There is a small number of common nouns which can function as both the head of an NP and the pre-head modifier of other common nouns. In (4-22), *raat* ‘basket’ functions as the head of the object NP in a verbal clause, whereas in (4-23), it is used as a modifier, quantifying the head noun *nien* ‘food’ within an NP.

- (4-22) *Ixo bulusix a raat.*
 i=xo bulus=sik [a raat]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST put=STA C.NM basket
 ‘He put down the basket.’ [p423-s31]

- (4-23) *a raat nien mörösö*
 [a [raat [nien mörösö]]]_{NP}
 C.NM basket food cooked
 ‘a basket of cooked food’ [p196-s169]

Some commonly used quantifying nouns are listed below. A detailed description of quantifying nouns is provided in §5.5.3.

Quantifying nouns	Gloss
<i>axana</i>	‘leaf, piece’
<i>buxun</i>	‘stalk’
<i>ene</i>	‘clump (of trees)’
<i>mangana</i>	‘kind, type’
<i>pönö</i>	‘section, interval’
<i>raat</i>	‘basket’
<i>ung</i>	‘pile’
<i>unu</i>	‘group, cluster’
<i>xönö</i>	‘half, part, piece’
<i>wöxö</i>	‘bundle’

Table 4-2: Quantifying nouns

4.1.3.5 Familiar-place local nouns

Five familiar-place local nouns¹⁶ form a subtype of common noun as listed in Table 4-3.

Familiar-place local nouns	Gloss	Head an NP	Function as clausal adjunct	Function as the complement of the locative preposition
<i>koomo</i>	‘garden’	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>lagunon</i>	‘village, home’	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>lawu</i>	‘down’	rare	Yes	rare
<i>lömöö</i>	‘top’	Yes	Yes	rare
<i>lōxöön</i>	‘beach’	Yes	Yes	No

Table 4-3: Familiar-place local nouns

These five nouns are used to refer to locations that are “clear to the addressee without further specification” (Ross 2007: 234). This subclass is identifiable by the syntactic behaviour of its members. As shown in Table 4-3, familiar-place local nouns can head an NP as a common noun, and they can also function as a clausal adjunct like a place name. Examples (4-24) and (4-25) show that the familiar-place local noun *lagunon* ‘village/home’ functions as the head of NP and as the clausal adjunct respectively.

- (4-24) *Tabo pere a lagunon te e.*
 t=abo pere [a lagunon te e]_{O,NP}
 1NSG.INC.SM=NIMM.IRR see C.NM village/home POSSM 1SG
 ‘We will see my village/home.’ [p191-s98]

¹⁶ The term ‘familiar-place local nouns’ is taken from Ross (2007: 234).

- (4-25) *Toxo xisixis lagunon.*
[to=xo xisixis]_{VP} lagunon
3NSG.SM=PAST live/stay village/home
'They stayed home.' [p433-s53]

The forms of the familiar-place local nouns suggest that they were fused forms of locative prepositions and common nouns in the past. The initial syllable *koo-* in *koomo* 'garden' may be related to the locative preposition *kö*; the initial syllable *la-* of *lagunon* 'village, home' and *lawu* 'down' may reflect POc **la* (N LOC) 'inside'; and the initial syllable *lö-* of *lömöö* 'top' and *löxöön* 'beach' may reflect POc **lo* (N LOC) 'inside' (see Ross 2007: 288-289). Another piece of evidence to support this assumption is that the common noun *gunon* 'house', which is most likely related to *lagunon* 'village, home', is currently used in Usen Barok.

More information about familiar-place local nouns is provided in §8.2.1.2 and §8.3.2.

4.1.3.6 Derived nouns

In Usen Barok, common nouns can be derived from verbs by adding the nominalising infix *-in-* after the first consonant of the stem. Table 4-4 below gives the most commonly used nouns which are derived from verbs.

Verbs	gloss	Derived nouns	gloss
<i>baling</i>	‘to return’	<i>b-in-aling</i>	‘return’
<i>buut</i>	‘to fear’	<i>b-in-uut</i>	‘fear’
<i>dödöm</i>	‘to think’	<i>d-in-ödöm</i>	‘thought’
<i>gee</i>	‘to cry’	<i>g-in-ee</i>	‘cry’
<i>kadik</i>	‘to ache’	<i>k-in-adik</i>	‘pain’
<i>kis</i>	‘to sit’	<i>k-in-is</i>	‘property’
<i>koos</i>	‘to jump’	<i>k-in-oos</i>	‘jump’
<i>met</i>	‘to die’	<i>m-in-et</i>	‘the dead’
<i>miset</i>	‘to be sick’	<i>m-in-eset</i>	‘sickness’
<i>rörön</i>	‘to work’	<i>t-in-örön</i>	‘job’
<i>söö</i>	‘to sing’	<i>s-in-nöö</i>	‘song’
<i>tenge</i>	‘to utter’	<i>t-in-enge</i>	‘word, language’
<i>wawa</i>	‘to fly’	<i>w-in-awa</i>	‘flight’

Table 4-4: Derived nouns with the nominalising infix *-in-*

The nominalisation of verbs with an initial vowel or a semi-vowel may have a special form, some examples are illustrated in Table 4-5:

Verbs	Gloss	Derived nouns	Gloss
<i>en</i>	‘to eat’	<i>nien</i>	‘food’
<i>egulos</i>	‘to play’	<i>agulos/inagulos</i>	‘game’
<i>etoos</i>	‘to bathe’	<i>atoos/inatoos</i>	‘bath’
<i>wan</i>	‘to move’	<i>nuan</i>	‘journey’
<i>ot</i>	‘to arrive’	<i>inot</i>	‘arrival’

Table 4-5: Some other derived nouns

Derived common nouns can function as the head of an NP as other common nouns do. In (4-26), the common noun *sinöö* ‘song’, which is derived from the verb *söö* ‘to sing’, functions as the subject NP of a nonverbal clause.

- (4-26) *A sinöö a lak deek.*
 [a s<in>öö]_{NP} [a lak deek]
 C.NM <NML>sing C.NM DUMMY good
 ‘The song is good.’ (Lit: ‘The song is a good thing’.) [EL]

Unlike most common nouns, which cannot modify other common nouns, derived common nouns can occur as post-head modifiers within an NP. In (4-27), the derived common noun *sinöö* modifies the head noun *barok* ‘boy’.

- (4-27) *A barok sinöö ixo wanot.*
 [a barok s<in>öö]_{NP} i=xo wan ot
 C.NM boy <NML>sing 3SG.SM=PAST move arrive
 ‘The boy who is always singing arrived.’ [EL]

4.1.4 Nominal morphology

Usen Barok has very limited nominal morphology, and none of it is fully productive. The most commonly encountered morphological affix on nouns is the possessive suffix, which applies to bound nouns, as described in §4.1.4.1. There is a small group of nouns which may take the diminutive prefix *u-* as illustrated in §4.1.4.2 and there are a few nouns which can be reduplicated to indicate plurality as shown in §4.1.4.3.

4.1.4.1 Bound nouns (directly possessed nouns)

Nouns in Usen Barok are either bound or free. A bound noun is suffixed by a pronominal possessor, whereas a free noun is not suffixed. Examples of a bound noun and a free noun are provided in (4-28) and (4-29) respectively. The citation form (or the ‘default’ form) of a bound noun is always suffixed with the 3rd person singular possessor as illustrated in (4-28). (See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion on possession).

- (4-28) *esene*
ese-ne
 name-3SG.POSSR
 ‘(his/her) name’

- (4-29) *ngas*
ngas
 road
 ‘road’

Bound nouns in Usen Barok are mainly kin terms and parts of wholes, which express inalienable possession, as shown in (4-30) and (4-31) respectively.

- (4-30) *tubuno*
tubu-no
 grandparent/grandchild-3SG.POSSR
 ‘(his/her) grandparent/grandchild’

- (4-31) *marana*
mara-na
 eye-3SG.POSSR
 ‘(his/her) eye’

Note however that not all kin terms or parts of wholes are bound nouns. As Ross (2001:260) comments: “...in modern Oceanic languages, one cannot predict with certainty from their semantics which nouns will be inalienable.”

Examples (4-32) and (4-33) show that the kin term *tawu* ‘father’s sister’ and the body part *mamaran* ‘face’ are free nouns.

- (4-32) *tawu*
tawu
 father’s sister
 ‘father’s sister’ [kin term]

- (4-33) *mamaran*
mamaran
 face
 ‘face’ [body part]

Bound nouns in Usen Barok form a closed class. Table 4-6 lists all the kinship terms that are in bound form; Table 4-7 gives all the body-part bound nouns; Table 4-8 lists all

relational local nouns I am aware of (note that there is overlap with the body-part bound nouns); and Table 4-9 gives some other parts-of-whole bound nouns. Note that the bound nouns in these tables are all in their citation forms (i.e. they are directly possessed by the 3rd person singular possessive suffix).

Bound nouns	Gloss
<i>tubu-no</i>	‘grandparent/grandchild’
<i>maruo-no</i>	‘mother’s brother’ or ‘sister’s child’
<i>lawu-no</i>	‘same-sex-cross-cousin’
<i>usuo-no</i>	‘spouse’
<i>saka-na</i>	‘opposite-sex-sibling’

Table 4-6: Kin term bound nouns

Bound nouns	Gloss	Bound nouns	Gloss
<i>öxö-nö</i>	‘head’	<i>didixi-ne</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>bebe-ne</i>	‘hair’	<i>limi-ne</i>	‘hand, arm’
<i>pinie-ne</i>	‘forehead’	<i>xexe-ne</i>	‘foot, leg’
<i>mara-na</i>	‘eye’	<i>busu-no</i>	‘joint’
<i>isi-ne</i>	‘nose’	<i>kasii-ne</i>	‘finger’
<i>talinge-ne</i>	‘ear’	<i>sixsixi-ne</i>	‘nail’
<i>wöwö-nö</i>	‘cheek’	<i>luo-no</i>	‘waist’
<i>ngala-na</i>	‘mouth’	<i>bala-na</i>	‘stomach’
<i>bulu-no</i>	‘lip’	<i>biri-ne</i>	‘navel’
<i>ngisi-ne</i>	‘tooth’	<i>sii-ne</i>	‘bone’
<i>kamee-ne</i>	‘tongue’	<i>ai-ne</i>	‘skin, body’
<i>xuxu-ne</i>	‘throat’	<i>sabo-no</i>	‘back’
<i>inö-nö</i>	‘neck’		

Table 4-7: Body-part bound nouns

Bound nouns	Gloss	Bound nouns	Gloss
<i>bala-na</i>	‘stomach, inside’	<i>luo-no</i>	‘waist, middle’
<i>bulu-no</i>	‘lip, side, edge’	<i>mara-na</i>	‘eye, front’
<i>e-ne</i>	‘under’	<i>ngusu-no</i>	‘end’
<i>kewe-ne</i>	‘side’	<i>sabo-no</i>	‘back’
<i>könö-nö</i>	‘inside’	<i>uni-ne</i>	‘bottom’
<i>lawa-na</i>	‘part, side’	<i>xurxur-no</i>	‘top’
<i>lewe-ne</i>	‘side’		

Table 4-8: Relational local nouns

Bound nouns	Gloss	Bound nouns	Gloss
<i>laban-na</i>	‘leaf’	<i>ese-ne</i>	‘name’
<i>baxa-na</i>	‘branch’	<i>texe-ne</i>	‘faeces’
<i>langlanga-na</i>	‘twig’	<i>manga-ne</i>	‘urine’
<i>tano-no</i>	‘shadow, spirit’	<i>pexe-ne</i>	‘semen’

Table 4-9: Other part-whole bound nouns

4.1.4.2 Diminutive prefix *u-*

The diminutive prefix *u-* occurs on a few nouns to indicate a small size or a small amount of the referent. Six nouns are found taking the diminutive prefix *u-*, as listed in Table 4-10.

Prefixed nouns	Gloss
<i>u-ari</i>	‘small river/a little water’
<i>u-daa</i>	‘small stone-oven’
<i>u-gölö</i>	‘small space/small chance’
<i>u-jaa</i>	‘small piece of firewood/small tree’
<i>u-lagunon</i>	‘small area within a village’
<i>u-taa</i>	‘small piece of red ochre’

Table 4-10: Nouns prefixed by the diminutive prefix *u-*

4.1.4.3 Reduplication of nouns

Nouns in Usen Barok usually cannot be reduplicated. A few exceptions found in my corpus are shown in Table 4-11: the reduplicated forms are used to indicate plural referent.

Nouns	Gloss	Reduplication	Gloss
<i>barok</i>	boy, son, child	<i>baroxo~rok</i>	boys, sons, children
<i>balik</i>	girl, daughter, woman	<i>balixi~lik</i>	girls, daughters, women
<i>wat</i>	stone	<i>wara~wat</i>	stone

Table 4-11: Reduplication of nouns

It is not obligatory for these nouns to be reduplicated when the referent is plural in number. Both (4-34) and (4-35) are perfectly grammatical, and the noun *barok* ‘boy/boys’ and its reduplicated form *baroxorok* ‘boys’ are interchangeable in these two examples. Note however that the reduplicated form cannot be used if the referent is singular in number.

- (4-34) *A bung barok tere se ine.*
 [a bung barok]_{A.NP} [te=re se]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 C.NM PLM boy 3NSG.SM=PRV beat 3SG
 ‘The boys had beaten him up.’ [p156-s63]

- (4-35) *A bung baroxorok toxo sasaar a sim.*
 [a bung baroxo~rok]_{A.NP} [to=xo sa~saat]_{VP} [a sim]_{O.NP}
 C.NM PLM boy~PL 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~pull C.NM canoe
 ‘The boys were pulling the canoe.’ [p486-s184]

The reduplicated forms of these nouns suggest that the roots of these words probably experienced the process of final vowel loss at a certain stage. As shown in (4-34) and (4-35), the root *baroxo* in the reduplicated form has an extra vowel *o* compared with the current form *barok*. [k] is lenited to [ɣ] (represented by *x* in the orthography) intervocalically. The process of lexicalisation of these nouns probably occurred before the process of final vowel loss, because the final *o* of the root *baroxo* has been

maintained in non-final position in the reduplicated form *baroxorok*. The trace of lost final vowels can also be found in the stative form and the reduplicated form of the verb *kis* ‘to sit’ (in §9.5) and in the reduplicated form of the adjective *lik* ‘small’ (in (4-63) in §4.3.3).

4.2 Verbs

Usen Barok has an open class of verbs. A verb is defined by the fact that it can head a verbal predicate but cannot modify a head noun or a verbal predicate head. When functioning as the head of a verbal predicate, a verb can be preceded by a subject marker, which cross-references the person and number of the subject NP, and can be marked for tense, aspect and modality, which are usually conveyed through preverbal markers.

Four subtypes of verb can be recognised in Usen Barok depending on the number of core arguments they can take. These four types of verb are: transitive verbs, which can take two core arguments (§4.2.1), intransitive verbs, which can take one core argument (§4.2.2), zero-intransitive verbs,¹⁷ which cannot take any core arguments (§4.2.3), and ambitransitive verbs, which can function as either a transitive verb or an intransitive verb (§4.2.4).

4.2.1 Transitive verbs

A transitive verb can take two core arguments: the subject NP and the object NP. In (4-36), the transitive verb *se* ‘catch’ takes two arguments: the subject NP *a tödi* ‘a man’ and the object NP *a inaan* ‘a fish’.

¹⁷ The term ‘zero-intransitive’ is taken from Dryer (2007: 267): “many languages have clauses which can be described as involving zero arguments. These clauses are ones that semantically do not involve any arguments, though languages vary as to whether they are treated as lacking arguments in their syntax. This sort of clause normally involves environmental conditions, typically weather conditions.”

- (4-36) *A tödi ixo se a inaan..*
 [a tödi]_{A.NP} [i=xo se]_{VP} [a inaan]_{O.NP}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST catch C.NM fish
 ‘A man caught a fish.’ [EL]

A list of commonly used transitive verbs is provided in Table 4-12:

Transitive verbs	Gloss	Transitive verbs	Gloss
<i>balu</i>	‘to reply’	<i>isik</i>	‘to give (sth. to someone)’
<i>baxut</i>	‘to close’	<i>ölangen</i>	‘to hear’
<i>bulus</i>	‘to put’	<i>örasen</i>	‘to sense’
<i>öin</i>	‘to cook (in stone-oven)’	<i>ösöxö</i>	‘to know’
<i>döxömeen</i>	‘to think’	<i>kip</i>	‘to carry’
<i>en</i>	‘to eat’	<i>paxat</i>	‘to scrape’
<i>gis</i>	‘to wash’	<i>pere</i>	‘to see’
<i>i</i>	‘to collect’	<i>tabaa</i>	‘to present (someone with sth.)’
<i>inim</i>	‘to drink’	<i>tengen</i>	‘to utter’

Table 4-12: Transitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs are not found in Usen Barok. What is expressed as ditransitive constructions in other languages is simply expressed as transitive constructions in Usen Barok. As shown in (4-37), the transitive verb *tabaa* ‘to give’ takes the recipient *e Pita* ‘Peter’ as its object argument. The ‘bananas’ to be given is marked oblique in a prepositional phrase, which is optional.

- (4-37) *Maa me tabaa e Pita ma un.*
 [maa]_{A.NP} [me tabaa]_{VP} [e Pita]_{O.NP} [ma un]_{PP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM give P.NM Peter with banana
 ‘We two gave Peter bananas’ [p304-s11]

4.2.2 Intransitive verbs

An intransitive verb obligatorily takes one core argument: the subject NP. In (4-38), the intransitive verb *su* ‘descend’ takes *bara raxin* ‘heavy rain’ as its subject argument.

- (4-38) *Bara raxin ixo su...*
 [bara raxin]_{S.NP} [i=xo su]_{VP}
 rain big 3SG.SM=PAST descend
 ‘Heavy rain came down...’ [T1-17]

The interrogative *mörö* ‘do what’ is an intransitive verb, as shown in (4-39).

- (4-39) *Mum mo mörmörö ringaan?*
 [mum] [mo mör~mörö] ringaan
 2PL 2NSG.SM PROG~do.what DEM.DIST
 ‘What are you doing there?’ [p89-s132]

A list of commonly used intransitive verbs is provided in Table 4-13:

Intransitive verbs	Gloss	Intransitive verbs	Gloss
<i>an</i>	‘to eat’	<i>kaa</i>	‘to climb’
<i>böxö</i>	‘to float’	<i>ölongö</i>	‘to listen’
<i>buut</i>	‘to fear’	<i>su</i>	‘to descend’
<i>dödöm</i>	‘to think’	<i>tenge</i>	‘to utter’
<i>gee</i>	‘to cry’	<i>wan</i>	‘to move’

Table 4-13: Intransitive verbs

4.2.3 Zero-intransitive verbs

Zero-intransitive verbs form a closed subclass of verbs. Five zero-intransitive verbs are found in Usen Barok, as listed in Table 4-14 below. Semantically, all zero-intransitive verbs are time/sun related.

Zero-intransitive verbs	Gloss	Literal translation
<i>puxu</i>	‘be morning’	‘when the sun is cool’
<i>xaken</i>	‘be hot sun’	‘when the sun is hot’
<i>ajen</i>	‘be afternoon’	‘when the sun is cooling down’
<i>dömön</i>	‘be evening, be night’	‘when the sun has disappeared’
<i>maras</i>	‘be daylight’	‘be clear’

Table 4-14: Zero-intransitive verbs

A zero-intransitive verb does not require any core arguments when it heads a verbal predicate. An example is given in (4-40).

- (4-40) *ixo ajen.*
 [_i=x_o ajen]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST be.afternoon
 ‘It was afternoon.’ [p530-s65]

Although the 3rd person singular subject marker *i-* occurs preceding the verb *ajen* ‘be afternoon’ in (4-40), it does not cross-reference any independent subject NP. It is not acceptable to have the subject marker being further specified by independent pronouns or a full NP. In addition, no non-3rd person singular subject marker can occur in a zero-intransitive verbal predicate.

4.2.4 Ambitransitive verbs

Ambitransitive verbs refer to verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively. Ambitransitivity is very rare in Usen Barok. Only three ambitransitive verbs are found in my corpus. Two of them are S=A ambitransitive verbs, and one verb is S=O ambitransitive.

4.2.4.1 S=A ambitransitive verbs

There are two S=A ambitransitive verbs, *muu* ‘to follow’ and *ose* ‘to ask’.

The verb *muu* ‘follow’ can be used both transitively and intransitively. In (4-41), *muu* ‘to follow’ is used transitively, and it takes an object NP. In (4-42), *muu* ‘to follow’ is used intransitively, and it is followed by a prepositional phrase. Note that the prepositional phrase is optional.

- (4-41) *Tödi i muu ine.*
 [tödi]_{A.NP} [i] muu_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 man 3SG.SM follow 3SG
 ‘The man followed her.’ [EL-Lean]

- (4-42) *Tödi i muu re ine*
 [tödi]_{S.NP} [i] muu_{VP} [re ine]_{PP}
 man 3SG.SM follow P.PREP 3SG
 ‘The man followed her.’ [p45-s167]

The subject NP *tödi* ‘man’ in A function in the transitive clause in (4-41) functions as the subject NP in S function in the intransitive clause in (4-42). The object NP *ine* ‘her’ in (4-41) functions as the complement of the preposition *re* in (4-42). There is no obvious semantic difference between (4-41) and (4-42).

The verb *osee* ‘to ask’ can also be used both transitively and intransitively. In (4-43), *osee* ‘to ask (someone)’ is used transitively, and it takes an object argument. In (4-44), *osee* ‘to ask (for something)’ is used intransitively, and it is followed by a prepositional phrase.

- (4-43) *Usuono ixoro osee ine baraa...*
 [usuo-no]_{A.NP} [i=xo=ro] osee_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} baraa
 spouse-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL ask 3SG thus
 ‘His wife asked him that...’ [p192-s112]

- (4-44) *Muu mo osee lamun a taa rö sa?*
 [muu]_{S.NP} [mo] osee_{VP} [lamun a taa]_{PP} rö sa
 2DU 2NSG.SM ask for C.NM red.ochre for what
 ‘Why did you ask for red ochre?’ [p367-s59]

4.2.4.2 S=O ambitransitive verb

The verb *tako* ‘to piggy-back/be piggy-backed’ is an S=O ambitransitive verb, which can occur in both transitive and intransitive clauses. In (4-45), *tako* ‘to piggy-back’ is in transitive use, and it takes an object argument. In (4-46), *tako* ‘be piggy-backed’ is in intransitive use, and it is followed by a prepositional phrase.

- (4-45) *E Ladi ixo tako e Mata.*
 [e Ladi]_{A.NP} [i=xo tako]_{VP} [e Mata]_{O.NP}
 P.NM Ladi 3SG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back P.NM Mata
 ‘Ladi piggy-backed Mata.’ [p400-s49]

- (4-46) *E Mata ixo tako re Ladi.*
 [e Mata]_{S.NP} [i=xo tako]_{VP} [re Ladi]_{PP}
 P.NM Mata 3SG.SM=PAST be.piggy-backed P.PREP Ladi
 ‘Mata was piggy-backed by Ladi.’ [EL-Sharon]¹⁸

The object NP *e Mata* ‘Mata’ in the transitive clause in (4-45) functions as the subject NP in the intransitive clause in (4-46).

4.3 Adjectives

Usen Barok has a distinct adjective class. An adjective is defined as a form that is able to modify a noun directly and is able to head an intransitive verbal predicate.

The syntactic functions of adjectives are described in §4.3.1, followed by a discussion on the distinction between adjective and intransitive verb in §4.3.2. Adjectival morphology is briefly described in §4.3.3.

¹⁸ The elicitation example is provided here to make the comparison clearer. The verb *tako* ‘to piggy-back’ is commonly used intransitively in my corpus.

4.3.1 Syntactic functions of adjectives

Adjectives in Usen Barok have two syntactic functions: they can function as a modifier within an NP by directly following the head noun, as shown in (4-47) and (4-48); they can also function as the head of an intransitive verbal predicate, as shown in (4-49) and (4-50).

In (4-47), the adjective *taxin* ‘big’ modifies the head noun *jaa* ‘tree’ within an NP.

- (4-47) *a jaa taxin*
 [a jaa taxin]_{NP}
 C.NM tree big
 ‘a big tree’ [EL]

In (4-48), the adjective *pidien* ‘white’ modifies the dummy head noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ in the nominal predicate of a nonverbal clause.

- (4-48) *A aine a lak pidien.*
 [a ai-ne]_{NCS} [a lak pidien]_{NCP}
 C.NM skin-3SG.POSSR C.NM DUMMY white
 ‘His skin is white.’ (Lit: ‘His skin is a white one.’) [p506-s108]

Note that with the adjectives as verbal predicates the reading is always inchoative.

In (4-49), the adjective *taxin* ‘big’ heads an intransitive verbal predicate.

- (4-49) *A jaa ixo taxin.*
 [a jaa]_{S,NP} [i=xo taxin]_{VP}
 C.NM tree 3SG.SM=PAST big
 ‘The tree became big.’ [EL]

In (4-50), the adjective *pidien* ‘white’ heads the predicate in an intransitive verbal clause.

- (4-50) *Aine ixo pidien.*
 [ai-ne i=xo pidien]_{VP}
 skin-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST white
 ‘His skin became white.’ [p278-s43-s44]

Note that there is a clear semantic distinction between (4-48) and (4-50). The nominal clause in (4-48) is taken from a dialogue in which two speakers were talking about a newly born baby. One speaker commented that the baby's skin is white. The verbal clause in (4-50) is taken from a story about a boy whose skin was covered by scars. Then the boy's grandmother used magic to remove the scars, so the boy's skin became white.

4.3.2 Adjective and intransitive verb distinction

Both adjectives and intransitive verbs can head an intransitive verbal predicate, however, adjectives can be distinguished from intransitive verbs by the fact that adjectives can function as modifiers within NPs, whereas intransitive verbs cannot.

Examples (4-51) and (4-52) show that both *meset* 'be sick' and *tolo* 'tall' can function as the head of an intransitive verbal predicate.

- (4-51) *A tödi ixo meset.*
 a tödi [i=xo meset]_{VP}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST be.sick
 'The man became sick.' [p320-s21]

- (4-52) *A tödi ixo tolo.*
 a tödi [i=xo tolo]_{VP}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST tall
 'The man became tall.' [EL]

However, *meset* 'be sick' is classified as an intransitive verb, whereas *tolo* 'tall' is an adjective, because *tolo* 'tall' can also be used to modify a noun directly, whereas *meset* 'be sick' cannot. In (4-53), *tolo* 'tall' modifies the head noun *tödi* 'man' directly within an NP. Example (4-54) is not acceptable, because the intransitive verb *meset* 'be sick' cannot function as a modifier within an NP.

- (4-53) *a tödi tolo*
 [a tödi tolo]_{NP}
 C.NM man tall
 'a tall man' [EL]

- (4-54) **a tödi meset*
 [a tödi meset]
 C.NM man be.sick
 ‘a sick man’ [EL]

In order to convey the meaning ‘a sick man’, the intransitive verb *meset* ‘be sick’ needs to be nominalised by using the nominalising infix *-in-* to modify the head noun, as shown in (4-55).

- (4-55) *a tödi mineset*
 [[a tödi m-in-eset]_{NCP}
 C.NM DUMMY <NML>sick
 ‘a sick man’ [EL]

The dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ can be used to test whether a word which can head an intransitive predicate is an adjective or an intransitive verb (see §4.1.3.2 for a description of the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’). Only words that can occur directly after the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ are adjectives.

For instance, *axanaan* ‘happy’ can occur directly after the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’, as shown in (4-56), so it is classified as an adjective. In (4-57), *irilöng* ‘be hungry’ cannot be used to modify the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’, so it is classified as an intransitive verb.

- (4-56) *a lak axanaan*
 [a lak axanaan]_{NP}
 C.NM DUMMY happy
 ‘a happy one’ [EL]

- (4-57) **a lak irilong*
 [a lak irilöng]_{NP}
 C.NM DUMMY be.hungry
 ‘a hungry one’ [EL]

Table 4-15 below lists commonly used adjectives in Usen Barok.

Adjectives	Gloss	Adjectives	Gloss
<i>taxin</i>	‘big’	<i>burun</i>	‘wet’
<i>lik</i>	‘small’	<i>masa</i>	‘dry’
<i>omat</i>	‘long’	<i>maras</i>	‘clean’
<i>wurwut</i>	‘short’	<i>biling</i>	‘dirty’
<i>tolo</i>	‘tall’	<i>lelewii</i>	‘hot’
<i>maxat</i>	‘new, young’	<i>madoot</i>	‘cold’
<i>maut</i>	‘old’	<i>sisii</i>	‘cool, sweet’
<i>taxin</i>	‘big, old’	<i>mele</i>	‘sour’
<i>lik</i>	‘small, young’	<i>lön</i>	‘tired, lazy’
<i>deek</i>	‘good’	<i>axanaan</i>	‘happy’
<i>saban</i>	‘bad’	<i>nanase</i>	‘cleaver’
<i>dadaan</i>	‘red’	<i>baulang</i>	‘stupid’
<i>pidien</i>	‘white’	<i>malus</i>	‘slow, easy, gentle’
<i>maxa</i>	‘green’	<i>eöt</i>	‘same, similar’
<i>mimisök</i>	‘yellow’	<i>kabisee</i>	‘different, strange’
<i>mimingön</i>	‘orange’	<i>tunoon</i>	‘true, real’
<i>köng</i>	‘black’	<i>uleng/dauleng</i>	‘some, few’
<i>lölös</i>	‘strong, powerful, hard, difficult’	<i>uleleng</i>	‘many’
<i>mamalum</i>	‘soft’	<i>lörörö</i>	‘near’
<i>tip</i>	‘heavy’	<i>köpala</i>	‘far’
<i>wawaxan</i>	‘light’	<i>baraabule/bule</i>	‘how’

Table 4-15: Adjectives

The interrogative *baraabule/bule* ‘how’ is an adjective in Usen Barok. The two forms *baraabule* and *bule* ‘how’ seem to be allomorphs in free variation. In (4-58) and (4-59),

baraabule/bule ‘how’ functions as the modifier within an NP. In (4-60) and (4-61), *baraabule/bule* ‘how’ functions as the predicate head.

(4-58) *mangana jaa baraabule*
 [mangana jaa baraabule]_{NP}
 kind tree what
 ‘what kind of tree’ [p180-s172]

(4-59) *A tinaxin te nōngön a lak bule?*
 [a t-in-axin re nōngön] [a lak bule]_{NP}
 C.NM <NML>big POSSM 2SG C.NM DUMMY what
 ‘What is your size?’ [EL4-p141]

(4-60) *Iri baraabule?*
 [i=ri baraabule]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=CPL how
 ‘How is it?’ [EL-p180-s165]

(4-61) *Iri bule?*
 [i=ri bule]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=CPL how
 ‘How is it?’ [p180-s165]

4.3.3 Adjectival morphology

This section describes adjectival morphology, which is limited to the process that applies to adjectives when they function as modifiers within NPs.

There are two adjectives, *taxin* ‘big, old’ and *lik* ‘small, young’, which can be reduplicated when the referent of the head noun they modify is plural in number. Examples are given in (4-62) and (4-63) respectively.

(4-62) *a bung balixilik tataxin*
 [a bung balixilik ta~taxin]_{NP}
 C.NM PLM women PL~old
 ‘old women’ [p362-s77]

- (4-63) *a bung bo lixilik*
 [a bung bo lixi~lik]_{NP}
 C.NM PLM pig PL~small
 ‘small pigs’ [p105-s36]

Note that *taxin* ‘big’ and *lik* ‘small’ are the only adjectives which can be reduplicated to agree with the plurality of the head noun. It is not obligatory for these two adjectives to be reduplicated. Examples (4-62) and (4-63) would be perfectly grammatical if the reduplicated adjectives were replaced by *taxin* ‘big’ and *lik* ‘small’ respectively.

Adjectives have the same verbal morphology as intransitive verbs when they head an intransitive predicate. (See Chapters 9 and 10 for detailed descriptions of verbal morphology).

4.4 Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns in Usen Barok form a closed word class. As illustrated in Table 4-16 below, the system of independent pronouns distinguishes first (speaker), second (addressee), and third (neither speaker nor addressee) person. First person non-singular independent pronouns also distinguish inclusive (including the addressee) and exclusive (excluding addressee). This system also distinguishes singular, dual, paucal, and plural number.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e</i>	--	<i>nöngön</i>	<i>ine</i>
Dual	<i>iraa</i>	<i>(e) maa</i>	<i>(e) muu</i>	<i>iduu/duu</i>
Paucal	<i>ireet</i>	<i>(e) meet</i>	<i>(e) muot</i>	<i>idiet/diet</i>
Plural	<i>ire</i>	<i>(e) mem</i>	<i>(e) mum</i>	<i>idi/di</i>

Table 4-16: Independent personal pronouns

The citation form of 1st person exclusive non-singular pronouns and 2nd person non-singular pronouns takes the personal noun phrase marker *e*. All other forms cannot take any noun phrase markers. The citation form of the 3rd person dual pronoun can be *iduu* or

duu ‘they two’; the citation form of the 3rd person paucal pronoun can be *idiet* or *diet* ‘they several’; the citation form of the 3rd person plural pronoun can be *idi* or *di* ‘they’.

The major syntactic function of an independent pronoun is to head an NP. In (4-64), the 1st person dual inclusive pronoun *iraa* ‘you and me’ functions as the head of the subject NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-64) *Iraa ta wan kaa.*
 [iraa]_{S.NP} [t=a wan kaa]_{VP}
 1DU.INC 1NSG.EXC.SM=IMM.IRR move ascend
 ‘Let’s (you and me) go up.’ [p39-s84]

In (4-65), the 1st person singular pronoun *e* functions as the head of the object NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-65) *Tata i se e.*
 [tata]_{A.NP} [i se]_{VP} [e]_{O.NP}
 father 3SG.SM beat 1SG
 ‘Father beat me.’ [p156-s2]

In (4-66), the 2nd person singular pronoun *nöngön* ‘you’ functions as the head of the complement NP of the general personal preposition *re*.

- (4-66) *Na irabo tengen te nöngön...*
 na i=rabo tengen [re nöngön]_{PP}
 DISC 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR utter P.PREP 2SG
 ‘Then he will speak to you...’ [143-s17]

In (4-67), the 1st person paucal exclusive pronoun *meet* ‘we several’ functions as the head of the subject NP in a nonverbal clause.

- (4-67) *E meet nangen.*
 [e meet]_{NCS} [nangen]_{NCP}
 P.NM 1PA.EXC EXIST
 ‘We several are here.’ [p194-s148]

4.5 Nominal demonstratives

There are two nominal demonstratives, *na* ‘this’ and *nang* ‘that’, in Usen Barok. A nominal demonstrative has two syntactic functions: to modify the head noun within an NP, and to head an NP.

In (4-68), *na* ‘this’ and *nang* ‘that’ function as post-head modifiers modifying the head noun *bo* ‘pig’.

- (4-68) *A bo na a lak lik, ma bo nang a lak taxin.*
 [a bo na]_{NCS} a lak lik
 C.NM pig DEM.PROX C.NM DUMMY small
 ma [bo nang]_{NCS} a lak taxin
 and pig DEM.DIST C.NM DUMMY big
 ‘This pig is small, and that pig is big.’ [OB-Kolin]

In (4-69), *na* ‘this’ and *nang* ‘that’ function as the heads of the object NPs in verbal clauses.

- (4-69) *Örö en a na, ma ara en a nang.*
 ö=rö en [a na]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR eat C.NM DEM.PROX
 ma a=ra en [a nang]_{O.NP}
 and 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR eat C.NM DEM.DIST
 ‘You eat this one and I eat that one.’ [OB-Kolin]

4.6 Verbal demonstratives

There are three verbal demonstratives, as shown in Table 4-17.

Verbal demonstratives	Gloss
<i>bira</i>	‘do/happen like this’
<i>biringaan</i>	‘do/happen like that’
<i>bie</i>	‘do/happen likewise’

Table 4-17: Verbal demonstratives

Example (4-73) is taken from a story about a stupid man who did whatever a clever man told him to do and was fooled by the clever man.

4.7 Numerals

Numerals in Usen Barok are classified as a distinct word class. The major syntactic function of a numeral is to modify the head noun within an NP. A numeral may also function as the head of an NP, but this function is relatively rare (see §5.3.5). Sections 4.7.1 and 4.7.2 describe the subclasses of cardinal numerals and ordinal numerals respectively.

4.7.1 Cardinal numerals

The Barok numeral system, which is based on both ‘five’ and ‘ten’, is extremely regular in formation as shown in Table 4-18 below.

Cardinal numerals			
1	<i>öng</i>	20	<i>ni ne sangawun/ ninöng ne sangawun</i>
2	<i>ni/ninöng</i>	30	<i>narun ne sangawun</i>
3	<i>narun</i>	40	<i>niit ne sangawun</i>
4	<i>niit</i>	50	<i>pitnö ne sangawun</i>
5	<i>pitnö</i>	60	<i>pitnö ma öng ne sangawun</i>
6	<i>pitnö ma öng</i>	70	<i>pitnö ma ninöng ne sangawun</i>
7	<i>pitnö ma ninöng</i>	80	<i>pitnö ma narun ne sangawun</i>
8	<i>pitnö ma narun</i>	90	<i>pitnö ma niit ne sangawun</i>
9	<i>pitnö ma niit</i>	100	<i>öng a mar</i>
10	<i>sangawun</i>	200	<i>ni ne mar/ ninöng ne mar</i>
11	<i>sangawun ma öng</i>	1000	<i>öng a arip</i>
12	<i>sangawun ma ninöng</i>	2000	<i>ni ne arip/ninöng ne arip</i>
13	<i>sangawun ma narun</i>		
14	<i>sangawun ma niit</i>		
15	<i>sangawun ma pitnö</i>		
16	<i>sangawun ma pitnö ma öng</i>		
17	<i>sangawun ma pitnö ma ninöng</i>		
18	<i>sangawun ma pitnö ma narun</i>		
19	<i>sangawun ma pitnö ma niit</i>		

Table 4-18: Cardinal numerals in Usen Barok

Ma ‘and’ and *ne* ‘times, multiple’ are used to join units. *Ma* ‘and’ functions as a ‘plus sign’, whereas *ne* ‘times, multiple’ functions as a ‘times/multiple sign’ Theoretically,

with the Kuanua¹⁹ loans *mar* ‘hundred’ and *arip* ‘thousand’, Usen Barok speakers can use this system to count up to 99,999,999. However, no one would actually try to do that. Example (4-74) shows that a number such as ‘9,876’ can be very long and complex in Usen Barok.

- (4-74) *pitnö ma piit ne arip ma pitnö ma narun ne mar ma pitnö me ninöng ne sangawun ma pitnö ma öng*
- | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------|----|----------|-----|
| pitnö | ma | piit | ne | arip | ma |
| five | and | four | L | thousand | and |
| pitnö | ma | narun | ne | mar | ma |
| five | and | three | L | hundred | and |
| pitnö | ma | ninöng | ne | sangawun | ma |
| five | and | two | L | ten | and |
| pitnö | ma | öng | | | |
| five | and | one | | | |
- ‘nine thousand eight hundred and seventy six’ [EL-Kolin]

Nowadays, the cardinal numerals from ‘one’ to ‘ten’ are still used in the Usen Barok community. Almost all speakers will switch to Tok Pisin when a higher number is encountered.

When a cardinal numeral quantifies a noun, it occurs preceding the noun and requires a linker between them. The linker is realised as *a* after *öng* ‘one’, and *ne* elsewhere, as illustrated in (4-75) and (4-76) respectively.

- (4-75) *öng a tödi*
- | | | | |
|------|----------|-------|----|
| [öng | <u>a</u> | tödi] | NP |
| one | L | man | |
- ‘one man’ [p36-s46]

¹⁹ Kuanua is an Oceanic language spoken by the Tolais in East New Britain of Papua New Guinea. Many Usen Barok speakers, especially people above 40 years old, have some knowledge of this language.

- (4-76) *pitnö ma öng ne tödi*
 [pitnö ma öng ne tödi]_{NP}
 five and one L man
 ‘six men’ [p191-s92]

The interrogative *nausen* ‘how many/much’ is also classified as a numeral, because it requires the linker *ne* when it modifies the head noun. An example is given in (4-77).

- (4-77) *Nöngön ma nausen ne barok?*
 [nöngön] [ma [nausen ne barok]]
 2SG with how.many L child
 ‘How many children do you have?’ [p190-s87]

Nausen can also be used to express indefinite number ‘some, a few’ as illustrated in (4-78). Note that the linker *ne* is obligatory between *nausen* ‘a few’ and the head noun.

- (4-78) *Mem kobo uleleng. Nausen ne balixilik mon.*
 [mem] [Ø=kobo uleleng]_{VP}
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NEG many
 [nausen ne balixi~lik] mon
 a.few L woman~PL just
 ‘There are not many of us. Just a few women.’ [p422-s15-s16]

The quantifying expression *uleleng* ‘many’ can also function as a numeral. In (4-79) *uleleng* ‘many’ quantifies the head noun *baroxorok* ‘boys’. The linker *ne* is obligatory between *uleleng* ‘many’ and the head noun.

- (4-79) *uleleng ne baroxorok*
 [uleleng ne baroxo~rok]
 many L boy~PL
 ‘many boys’ [p499-s180/EL4-p142]

4.7.2 Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals (except for ‘first’) can be derived from corresponding cardinal numerals by the prefix *seseö-*, as illustrated in Table 4-19. The origin of this prefix is not clear.

Ordinal numerals	
‘first’	<i>sisilaa</i>
‘second’	<i>seseö-ninöng</i>
‘third’	<i>seseö-narun</i>
‘fourth’	<i>seseö-niit</i>
‘fifth’	<i>seseö-pitnö</i>
‘sixth’	<i>seseö-pitnö ma öng</i>
‘seventh’	<i>seseö-pitnö ma ninöng</i>
‘eighth’	<i>seseö-pitnö ma narun</i>
‘ninth’	<i>seseö-pitnö ma niit</i>
‘tenth’	<i>seseö-sangawun</i>

Table 4-19: Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numeral ‘first’ modifies a noun by directly preceding the noun, as shown in (4-80).

- (4-80) *sisilaa balik*
 [sisilaa balik]_{NP}
 first girl
 ‘the first girl’ [EL1-p11]

Other ordinal numerals also precede the noun they modify. A linker *a* is required between the ordinal numeral and the modified noun. An example is given in (4-81).

- (4-81) *seseö-ninöng a balik*
 [seseö-ninöng a balik]_{NP}
 ORD-two L girl
 ‘the second girl’ [EL1-p11]

Note that the Usen Barok ordinal numeral system has nearly been replaced by the Tok Pisin numeral system in daily usage. All information given in §4.7.2 about ordinal numerals is based on elicitation.

4.8 Adverbs

“Unlike the categories nouns, verbs and adjectives, adverbs are a rather mixed lexical class, semantically, morphologically and syntactically” (Givón, 1990: 77). This assertion holds for the class of adverbs in Usen Barok. An adverb in Usen Barok may have one or more of the following functions:

- Modifying a whole clause (clause level adverbs in §4.8.1)
- Modifying an NP (phrase level adverbs in §4.8.2.1)
- Modifying an adjective (phrase level adverbs in §4.8.2.2)
- Modifying another adverb (phrase level adverbs in §4.8.2.3)
- Modifying a directional (phrase level adverbs in §4.8.2.4)
- Modifying a verb (phrase level adverbs in §4.8.2.5)

Adverbs in Usen Barok can be distinguished from nouns due to the fact that they cannot head an NP; they can be distinguished from verbs due to the fact that they cannot head a verbal predicate; they can be distinguished from adjectives due to the fact that they cannot function as internal modifiers within NPs.

4.8.1 Clause level adverbs

A clause level adverb has the whole clause under its semantic scope. Clause level adverbs can be further divided into three subgroups according to the positions in which they can occur. Temporal adverbs are described in §4.8.1.1; the adverbial interrogative *mole* ‘from where’ is mentioned in §4.8.1.2; the rest of the clause level adverbs are described in §4.8.1.3.

4.8.1.1 Temporal adverbs

A temporal adverb functions as a clausal adjunct and has semantic scope over the whole clause. A temporal adverb may occur either clause initially or clause finally. A full list of temporal adverbs is given in Table 4-20:

Temporal adverbs	Gloss
<i>ninginen</i>	‘today’
<i>ngabung</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>laa</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>maxalik</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>tuole</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>mesilaa</i>	‘in the past’
<i>melamu/malamu</i>	‘later’
<i>lause</i>	‘when’

Table 4-20: Temporal adverbs

Examples (4-82) and (4-83) show that the temporal *ninginen* ‘today’ occurs clause initially and finally.

- (4-82) *Ninginen e wan kaa uruso xö pirixö.*
ninginen [e]_{S.NP} [wan kaa]_{VP} u-ruso [xö pirixö]_{PP}
 today 1SG move ascend ALL-up G.PREP bush
 ‘Today I went up to the bush.’ [p73-s2]

- (4-83) *Irabo sese iraa ninginen.*
 [i=rabo se~se]_{VP} [iraa]_{O.NP} ninginen
 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR PROG~attack 1DU.INC today
 ‘He will be beating us today.’ [p444-s242]

4.8.1.2 Local adverbial interrogative *mole* ‘from where’

The adverbial interrogative *mole* ‘from where’ occurs clause finally and functions as a clausal adjunct. An example is given in (4-84).

- (4-84) *Mum mo wan mole?*
 [mum]_{S.NP} [mo wan]_{VP} mole
 2PL 2NSG.SM move from.where
 ‘Where are you from?’ [p66-s57]

4.8.1.3 Other clause level adverbs

Adverbs of this subgroup, as listed in Table 4-21, may also have sentential scope. They may occur in every possible position for an adverb within a clause except for the clause initial position.

Adverbs	Gloss
<i>bök</i>	‘presumably, must be’
<i>gut</i>	‘probably, maybe’
<i>belek</i>	‘in contrast, instead’
<i>bölök</i>	‘also, too; neither, even’

Table 4-21: Other clause level adverbs

In (4-85), the adverb *gut* ‘probably’ occurs after the NP *duu* ‘they two’.

- (4-85) *Duu gut toxo laran.*
 [duu]_{S.NP} gut [to=xo laran]_{VP}
 3DU probably 3NSG.SM=PAST wake.up
 ‘They two probably woke up.’ [p385-s101]

In (4-86), the adverb *gut* ‘probably’ occurs after the verbal predicate head *bulus* ‘put’.

- (4-86) *Ma ixo bulus gur a bo xönö bo.*
 ma [i=xo bulus]_{VP} gut [a bo xönö bo]_{O.NP}
 CONJ 3SG.SM=PAST put probably C.NM PLM part pig
 ‘Then he probably put some pork (into the basket).’ [p25-s18]

In (4-87), the adverb *gut* ‘probably’ occurs clause finally.

- (4-87) *Ixo ölangen a tanoo gut.*
 [i=xo ölangen]_{VP} [a tanoo]_{O.NP} gut
 3SG.SM=PAST hear C.NM ghost probably
 ‘He probably heard the ghost.’ [p312-s47]

4.8.2 Phrase level adverbs

4.8.2.1 Adverbs which can modify an NP

The adverbs listed in Table 4-22 can be used to modify NPs by following the NP.

NP level adverbs	Gloss
<i>arixe</i>	‘truly, really, exactly’
<i>jat</i>	‘self/selves, the very one’
<i>kalik</i>	‘alone’
<i>kirip</i>	‘all’

Table 4-22: NP level adverbs

Example (4-88) shows that the noun phrase level adverb *kalik* ‘alone’ modifies the subject NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-88) *Ine xalik ixo wan.*
 [[ine]_{S-NP} kalik] [i=xo wan]_{VP}
 3SG alone 3SG.SM=PAST move
 ‘He went alone...’ (Lit: ‘He alone, he went.’) [p282-s2-s3]

More examples of noun phrase level adverbs are provided in §5.7.3.

Noun phrase level adverbs can be distinguished from adjectives by the fact that an adjective functions as the modifier within an NP, whereas an adverb modifies a whole NP. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether a modifier is an adjective or an adverb when it occurs directly after the head noun. A test to distinguish noun phrase level adverbs from adjectives is to see if they can modify the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ or not. Adverbs cannot modify the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’. For instance, the example in (4-89) is not acceptable.

- (4-89) **a lak kalik*
 a lak kalik
 C.NM DUMMY alone
 ‘someone alone’ [EL]

4.8.2.2 Adverbs which can modify adjectives

There are three adverbs which can modify adjectives, as illustrated in Table 4-23.

Adverbs which can modify adjectives	Gloss
<i>arixe</i>	‘completely, very’
<i>saxit</i>	‘very’
<i>köbaa</i>	‘too much’

Table 4-23: Adverbs which can modify adjectives

These adverbs occur directly after the adjective they modify. Examples are given below:

In (4-90), the adverb *arixe* ‘very’ modifies the adjective *taxin* ‘big’.

- (4-90) *a ting taxin arixe*
 [a ting [taxin arixe]]
 C.NM pool big very
 ‘a very big pool’ [p187-s42]

In (4-91), the adverb *saxit* ‘very’ also modifies the adjective *taxin* ‘big’.

- (4-91) *a la raxin saxit*
 [a la [taxin saxit]]
 C.NM thing big very
 ‘a very big thing’ [p188-s44]

In (4-92), the adverb *köbaa* ‘too much’ modifies the adjective *mamalum* ‘soft’.

- (4-92) *a lak mamalum köbaa*
 [a lak [mamalum köbaa]]
 C.NM DUMMY soft too.much
 ‘a thing which is too soft’ (Lit: ‘a thing soft too much’) [p88-s119]

4.8.2.3 Adverbs which can modify another adverb

There are three adverbs, as shown in Table 4-24, which can be used to modify another adverb.

Adverbs which can modify adverbs	Gloss
<i>arixe</i>	‘completely, very’
<i>saxit</i>	‘very’
<i>mon</i>	‘just’

Table 4-24: Adverbs which can modify another adverb

As shown in the following examples, the modifying adverbs always follow the modified adverb.

In (4-93), the adverb *saxit* ‘very’ modifies the temporal adverb *mesilaa* ‘in the past’. The expression *mesilaa saxit* ‘long ago’ is commonly used to launch a traditional Usen Barok story.

- (4-93) *mesilaa saxit*
 mesilaa saxit
 in.the.past very
 ‘long ago’ [p34-s1]

In (4-94), the adverb *arixe* ‘very’ modifies the adverb *saxit*, which is also translated as ‘very’. The expression *deek saxit arixe* ‘thank you very much’ is commonly used among Usen Barok speakers to express gratitude.

- (4-94) *Deek saxit arixe!*
 deek [saxit arixe]
 good very very
 ‘Thanks!’ (Lit: ‘very very good!’) [p61-s43]

4.8.2.4 Adverb which can modify directionals

The adverb *arixe* ‘extremely’ may follow a directional to indicate ‘extremely far in the direction’. In (4-95) the adverb *arixe* ‘extremely’ modifies the directional *nuso* ‘up’.

- (4-95) *Öng kalik mon, tuso arixe lömöö xö xurxuruno.*
 [öng]_{NP} kalik mon
 one alone just
 [nuso arixe]_{NCP} lömöö kö xurxuru-no
 up very on.top G.PREP tree.top-3SG.POSSR
 ‘Just one (fruit), (it was) extremely high on top of the tree.’ [p531-s11]

4.8.2.5 Adverbs which can modify verbs

Ten adverbs as shown in Table 4-25 can be used to modify verbs. These adverbs always follow the verb they modify.

Adverbs which can modify verbs	Gloss
<i>arixe/ arixin</i>	‘together, completely’
<i>köbaa/köbain</i>	‘too much’
<i>mesilaa/ mesilain</i>	‘in front’
<i>melamu/ melamuin</i>	‘at the back, after’
<i>mon/ manin</i>	‘just, only’
<i>nana/ nanin</i>	‘randomly, around’
<i>baling/ öbaling</i>	‘again’
<i>söxsöxö</i>	‘always’
<i>tar</i>	‘already’
<i>kirip</i>	‘finish’

Table 4-25: Adverbs which can modify verbs

Here I only give one example for the purpose of illustration. In (4-96), the adverb *kirip*, which is roughly glossed as ‘finish’, modifies the verbal predicate head *en* ‘to eat’.

- (4-96) *Tabo en kiriv a bo.*
 [t=abo en kirip]_{VP} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat finish C.NM pig
 ‘They will finish eating the pig.’ [p357-s24]

A detailed description of adverbs which can modify verbs is provided in §9.6.

4.9 Noun phrase markers

There are five noun phrase markers (NP markers) in Usen Barok, as illustrated in Table 4-26.

Noun phrase markers	
<i>a</i>	Default common NP marker
<i>ina</i>	Deictic-anaphoric common NP marker
<i>re</i>	Non-referential common NP marker
<i>e</i>	Default personal NP marker
<i>ine</i>	Deictic-anaphoric personal NP marker

Table 4-26: Noun phrase markers

Following Himmelmann’s definition of ‘articles’ (2001: 832), I define the NP markers in Usen Barok as forms that never occur by themselves, but have very high textual frequency; occur only in NPs; occur only to the left of a head noun; and are obligatory in certain grammatically definable contexts.

In (4-97), the default common noun phrase marker *a* occurs as the first element of the object NP in a verbal clause.

- (4-97) *Mares i urubon a daa.*
 [Mares]_{A.NP} [i urubon]_{VP} [a daa]_{NP}
 Mares 3SG.SM to.light C.NM stone.oven
 ‘Mares lit the stone oven.’ [p22-s10]

A detailed description of NP markers is provided in §5.4.

4.10 Plural markers

There are four plural markers in Usen Barok, as listed in Table 4-27:

Plural markers	
<i>bo</i>	Plural marker (can be used with all common nouns)
<i>bung</i>	Plural marker (commonly used with nouns with human referents)
<i>na</i>	Plural marker (rarely used; not used with nouns with human referents)
<i>toon</i>	Plural marker (rarely used)

Table 4-27: Plural markers

A plural marker functions as a pre-head modifier to indicate plurality of the referent represented by the noun it modifies. In (4-98), the plural marker *bo* modifies the head noun *limine* ‘hand’.

- (4-98) *Ibo söngör a bo limine e mum...*
 i=bo söngöt [a bo limi-ne e mum]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=POT burn C.NM PLM hand-3SG.POSSR P.NM 2PL
 ‘It might burn your hands...’ [T1-76]

A detailed description of plural markers is provided in §5.5.1.

4.11 Directionals

Directionals in Usen Barok form a closed word class. Table 4-28 and Table 4-29 illustrate the two subclasses of directional: essive geographic directionals and essive deictic directionals.

		Geographic directionals		
		up	down	sea/southeast
Essive	unmarked	<i>nuso</i>	<i>nii</i>	<i>noo</i>
	near	<i>nöngösö</i>	<i>nenge</i>	<i>nöngö</i>

Table 4-28: Essive geographic directionals

Essive deictic directionals	Gloss
<i>ra</i>	‘here’
<i>ringaan</i>	‘there’

Table 4-29: Essive deictic directionals

A directional may function as a clausal adjunct, as a phrasal adjunct of an NP, and as the predicate of a nonverbal clause.

Directionals can be distinguished from nouns and verbs by the fact that they cannot head an NP or verbal predicate. Directionals are similar to adverbs since both directionals and adverbs can function as phrasal and clausal adjuncts. However, directionals can head a nonverbal predicate, whereas adverbs cannot.

In (4-99), the directional *nuso* ‘up’ functions as the adjunct of a verbal predicate.

- (4-99) *Ibo xisixis suso.*
 [[i=bo xisixis]_{VP} nuso]
 3SG=HAB live up
 ‘He lives up there.’ [OB]

In (4-100), the directional *nuso* ‘up’ functions as the head of a nonverbal predicate.

- (4-100) *Ine nuso.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [nuso]_{NCP}
 3SG up
 ‘He is up there.’ [p447-s286]

A detailed description of directionals is provided in §8.1.

4.12 Prepositions

Prepositions in Usen Barok form a closed class. The syntactic function of a preposition is to introduce peripheral adjuncts as well as arguments into a clause. Two types of preposition can be distinguished, depending on whether an independent NP is required

as the complement of the preposition. The two subclasses of preposition are labelled ‘true prepositions’ and ‘compound prepositions’ respectively.

A true preposition obligatorily requires an independent NP as its complement. A list of true prepositions is given in Table 4-30:

Prepositions	Gloss
<i>kalik</i>	Ablative ‘from’
<i>lamun</i>	Goal ‘for, to’
<i>ma/me</i>	Comitative and instrumental ‘with’
<i>möxö</i>	Source ‘from’; reason ‘because of’; attribute ‘of’
<i>ra</i>	Purposive ‘for, to’
<i>karna</i>	Similative ‘like (this)’
<i>karnang</i>	Similative ‘like (that)’
<i>kö</i>	General preposition (preceding common NPs)
<i>re</i>	General preposition (preceding personal NPs and independent pronouns)
<i>rö</i>	Benefactive ‘for’
<i>rua</i>	Purposive ‘for, to’
<i>rue</i>	Benefactive ‘for’

Table 4-30: True prepositions

A compound preposition stands as a PP by itself. A compound preposition can be seen as a combination of a true preposition plus an encliticised complement pronoun. A compound preposition is used when the referent of the encliticised complement pronoun of the true preposition is already known from the context. There are three compound prepositions as provided in Table 4-31:

Prepositions	Gloss
<i>m=in</i>	Comitative & instrumental ‘with=it’
<i>kö=naan</i>	Locative ‘on/at/in=it’
<i>möxö=naan</i>	Source & attribute ‘from/of=it’

Table 4-31: Compound prepositions

A detailed description of prepositions is provided in Chapter 7.

4.13 Subject markers

Subject markers in Usen Barok refer to a set of pronominal particles as illustrated in Table 4-32.

Subject marker	Gloss
<i>e</i>	1 st person singular subject marker
<i>u</i>	2 nd person singular subject marker
<i>i</i>	3 rd person singular subject marker
<i>te</i>	1 st person inclusive non-singular subject marker
<i>me</i>	1 st person exclusive non-singular subject marker
<i>mo</i>	2 nd person non-singular subject marker
<i>te</i>	3 rd person non-singular subject marker

Table 4-32: Subject markers

In the descriptions of related languages, subject markers have been referred to as “pronominal prefixes” (Thurston 1987), “subject pronouns” (Beaumont 1988, Dixon 1988), “subject reference pronouns” (Keesing 1988) and “subject proclitics” (Hyslop 2001). I adopt the term and the definition of “subject marker” from Ross (1982: 178):

The term ‘subject-marker’...refers in most New Ireland languages to a set of pronouns used only in [the] preverbal position and obligatorily present, whether a subject noun phrase occurs or not.

Syntactically, a subject marker is obligatory as the first element of a verbal predicate. It cross-references the subject argument of the verbal clause. Subject markers can be

distinguished from independent pronouns since subject markers can never be used as independent NPs.

Phonologically, a subject marker usually forms one phonological word²⁰ together with one or more preverbal markers which follow it. However, a subject marker can also form one phonological word by itself. This is the case when the head of the verbal predicate is in realis modality, which is realised as a zero in Usen Barok.

In (4-101), the 3rd person singular subject marker *i* is obligatory in the verbal clause.

(4-101) *Ine i wan.*
 [ine]_{S.NP} [i wan]_{VP}
 3SG 3SG.SM move
 ‘She went.’ [p501-s30]

A detailed description of subject markers is given in §9.3.

4.14 Preverbal markers

A preverbal marker carries grammatical information of the verbal predicate head, such as tense, aspect, modality, and negation, etc. A preverbal marker is usually cliticised to the preceding subject marker or another preverbal marker.

The list below illustrates all the preverbal markers (and commonly used combinations of preverbal markers):

²⁰ A phonological word is defined as containing only one primary stress. See §2.9.

Preverbal markers	Gloss
<i>xo</i>	remote past tense marker
<i>ra/rö</i>	immediate irrealis modality marker
<i>rabo/röbö</i>	non-immediate irrealis modality marker
<i>bara</i>	frustrative marker
<i>bo</i>	potentiality/probability marker; habitual marker
<i>xo=bo</i>	remote past habitual marker
<i>re/ru/ri</i>	unmarked completive marker
<i>xo=ro</i>	remote past completive marker
<i>bo=ro</i>	habitual completive marker
<i>xo=bo=ro</i>	remote past habitual completive marker
<i>xebe</i>	ability marker
<i>rabo/röbö mana</i>	necessitative marker
<i>kobo</i>	preverbal negator for near past and present tense
<i>ko=xo=bo</i>	preverbal negator for remote past tense
<i>ka=rabo/kö=röbö</i>	preverbal negator for irrealis modality
<i>kebe</i>	inability marker
<i>kara</i>	‘never’
<i>kala/kobola</i>	‘not yet’
<i>bele</i>	prohibitive marker

Table 4-33: Preverbal markers

In (4-102), the preverbal marker *ka=rabo* consists of a preverbal negator *ka* and a non-immediate irrealis modality marker *rabo*.

- (4-102) *Ireet takarabo muu ine xö rasi.*
 [ireet]_{A.NP} [ta=*ka=rabo* muu]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 1PA.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=NEG=NIMM.IRR follow 3SG
 [xö rasi]_{PP}
 C.PREP sea
 ‘Let’s don’t follow him to the sea!’ [p177-s119]

A detailed description of preverbal markers is provided in §9.4.

4.15 Conjunctions

There are two conjunctions in Usen Barok: *ma/me* ‘and, but’ and *baraa* ‘or’.

The conjunction *ma/me* ‘and, but’ has two forms in complementary distribution. The form *me* ‘and, but’ is used if the construction to be conjoined starts with a personal NP; the form *ma* ‘and, but’ is used elsewhere.

The conjunction *ma/me* ‘and, but’ can be used to conjoin phrases and clauses to indicate addition and contrast, as described in §4.15.1. The conjunction *baraa* ‘or’ is used to conjoin phrases and clauses to indicate alternatives, as described in §4.15.2.

4.15.1 Addition and contrast

Phrases and clauses conjoined by the conjunction *ma/me* ‘and, but’ can be interpreted as addition (and-coordination) or contrast (but-coordination) depending on the context. The conjunction *ma/me* ‘and’ in (4-103) and (4-104) indicates addition, whereas the same conjunction *ma/me* ‘but’ in (4-105) and (4-106) indicates contrast.

In (4-103), the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ conjoins two prepositional phrases.

- (4-103) *Xikii raxin ixo börbörön nana xö ene koo ma xö ene jaa.*
 xikii taxin i=xo bö~börön nana
 wind big 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~make.sound here.and.there
 [kö ene koo]_{PP}
 C.PREP clump bamboo
ma [kö ene jaa]_{PP}
 and C.PREP clump tree
 ‘Strong wind was making sound here and there among bamboos and trees.’ [p41-s131]

In (4-104), the conjunction *ma* ‘and’ coordinates two verbal clauses.

- (4-104) *Une nang ixo lölölös, ma barok ixo lölölös.*
 [une nang i=xo lö~lölös]
 woman DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~persist
ma [barok i=xo lö~lölös]
 and boy 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~persist
 ‘That woman was persisting, and the boy was (also) persisting.’ [p139-s103-s104]

In (4-105) and (4-106), the conjunction *ma/me* ‘but’ is used to conjoin clauses in adversative relations.

- (4-105) *Duu toxobo maaaa rö iduu ra alolo, ma tata xö une ibo kara maa.*
 [duu to=xo=bo maaaa rö iduu ra alolo]
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST=HAB want for 3DU PURP marry
ma [tata kö une i=bo=kara maa]
 but father C.PREP woman 3SG.SM=HAB=never want
 ‘They two wanted to get married, but the woman’s father doesn’t want (them to get married).’ [p337-s4-s5]

- (4-106) *E gegee wanax iduu, me iduu tokobo tame e.*
 [e ge~gee panak iduu]
 1SG.SM PROG~cry warn 3DU
me [iduu to=kobo tame e]
 but 3DU 3NSG.SM=NEG obey 1SG
 ‘I was crying to stop them (from going), but they didn’t listen to me.’ [p376-s195-s196]

4.15.2 Alternative

The conjunction *baraa* ‘or’ is used to mark disjunctive coordination, indicating two alternatives.

In (4-107), *baraa* ‘or’ coordinates two NPs.

- (4-107) *U maa lamun a lak taxin baraa a lak lik?*
 u maa lamun
 2SG.SM want GOAL
 [a la taxin]_{NP} baraa [a la lik]_{NP}
 C.NM thing big or C.NM thing small
 ‘Do you want a big one or a small one?’ [OB-Lien]

In (4-108), *baraa* ‘or’ coordinates two verbal clauses. This example was observed when my consultant asked me where to work for the next day.

- (4-108) *Öröbo wan ura xö gunon te e baraa arabo wan urii xö gunon te nöngön?*
 [ö=röbo wan u-ra kö gunon re e]
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR move ALL-DEM.PROX C.PREP house POSSM 1SG
baraa [a=rabo wan u-rii
 or 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR move ALL-down
 kö gunon re nöngön]
 C.PREP house POSSM 2SG
 ‘Are you coming to my house or am I going to your house?’ [OB-Kolin]

4.16 Subordinators

In Usen Barok, subordinators refer to a small closed class of words which introduce subordinate clauses. There are two types of subordinators: the relativiser, which introduces a relative clause (§4.16.1), and adverbial subordinators, which introduce adverbial clauses (§4.16.2).

4.16.1 Relativiser *nang*

Relative clauses in Usen Barok are introduced by the relativiser *nang* ‘that’, which is presumably derived from the distal demonstrative, as shown in (4-109).

- (4-109) *Toxo ot pösör a ötaxin nang ixo sisi a eben.*
 to=xo ot pösöt a ötaxin
 3NSG.SM=PAST arrive find C.NM old.man
 [nang i=xo si~si a eben]_{RC}
 REL 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~sew C.NM fishing.net
 ‘They saw the old man who was sewing a fishing net.’ [p376-s200]

A detailed description of relative clauses is provided in §13.1.

4.16.2 Adverbial subordinators

The adverbial subordinators shown in Table 4-34 can be used to introduce different types of adverbial clauses. See §13.2 for a detailed description of adverbial clauses.

Subordinators	Gloss	Function
<i>lamun</i>	‘for, so that; because’	Introduces adverbial clauses of purpose or reason
<i>möxö</i>	‘because’	Introduces adverbial clauses of reason
<i>karnang</i>	‘like’	Introduces adverbial clauses of manner
<i>nang/ nang baraa</i>	‘if’	Introduces conditional clauses
<i>kalik</i>	‘in case’	Introduces adverbial clauses of possible- consequence
<i>taim</i>	‘when, while’ (Tok Pisin loan)	Introduces temporal adverbial clauses

Table 4-34: Adverbial subordinators

5 Noun phrases

This chapter describes noun phrases (NPs) in Usen Barok. Section 5.1 introduces the order of NP constituents. Section 5.2 examines the syntactic functions of an NP. Section 5.3 gives an exhaustive list of word classes which can function as the head of an NP. Section 5.4 describes NP markers, which occur as the first pre-head modifier within an NP. Section 5.5 describes other pre-head modifiers. Section 5.6 provides a description of post-head modifiers within an NP. Section 5.7 briefly describes three types of adjunct which may modify an NP.

5.1 Order of NP constituents

Table 5-1 illustrates the constituent order within an NP. The head of an NP is obligatory. All other elements can be optional.

PRE-HEAD	(obligatory in certain contexts)	NP marker
	(optional)	Plural marker or Numeral Quantifying noun
Head	(obligatory)	the head noun
POST-HEAD	(optional)	Adjectival modifier Nominal demonstrative or Relative clause

Table 5-1: Order of NP constituents

There are three slots for pre-head modifiers within an NP. The first pre-head slot is for an NP marker (§5.4). The second pre-head slot can be filled by either a plural marker

(§5.5.1) or a numeral (§5.5.2). Plural markers and numerals are mutually exclusive when functioning as modifiers within an NP. The third pre-head slot is for a quantifying noun (§5.5.3). There are two slots for post-head modifiers within an NP. The first post-head slot is for an adjectival modifier (§5.6.1). The second post-head slot is for a nominal demonstrative (§5.6.2) or a relative clause (§5.6.3).

5.2 Syntactic functions of NPs

In Usen Barok, an NP may function as:

- A/S argument in a verbal clause, as shown in (5-1) and (5-2).

(5-1) *Na bung balixilik toxoro pere ine.*
 na [bung balixilik]_{A.NP}
 DISC PLM women
 to=xo=ro pere ine
 3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL see 3SG
 ‘The group of women had already seen him.’ [T1-41]

(5-2) *Une raxin nang ixo wuwus.*
 [une taxin nang]_{S.NP} i=xo wuwus
 woman old DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST surprise
 ‘That old woman was surprised.’ [p450-s61]

- O argument in a verbal clause, as shown in (5-3).

(5-3) *Diana i paxar a lamas.*
 Diana i paxat [a lamas]_{O.NP}
 Diana 3SG.SM scrape C.NM coconut
 ‘Diana scraped coconut.’ [p22-s7]

- Complement of a preposition, as shown in (5-4).

(5-4) *Ixo laxa me iduu xö lieng.*
 i=xo laxa me iduu [xö lieng]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST enter with 3DU C.PREP cave
 ‘He entered the cave with them two.’ [p451-s70]

- Subject in a nonverbal clause, as shown in (5-5).

(5-5) *Ina barok a maruoke.*
 [ina barok]_{NCS} [a maruo-ke]_{NCP}
 DEI.C.NM boy C.NM maternal.nephew-1SG.POSSR
 ‘The boy is my maternal nephew.’ [OB-Bios]

- Nominal predicate in a nonverbal clause, as shown in (5-6).

(5-6) *A tödi a sii.*
 [a tödi]_{NCS} [a sii]_{NCP}
 C.NM man C.NM snake
 ‘The man is a snake.’ [p35-s18]

5.3 The head of an NP

This section gives examples of all word classes which can function as the head of an NP. These word classes include all noun subclasses (common nouns in §5.3.1, personal nouns in §5.3.2 and place names in §5.3.3), independent pronouns (in §5.3.4), numerals (in §5.3.5), nominal demonstratives (in §5.3.6) and ‘*nanga a/e*’ constructions (in §5.3.7).

5.3.1 Common nouns as the head of an NP

Common nouns are the most frequently used noun subtype to head an NP. In (5-7), the free common noun *paas* ‘taro’ heads an object NP.

(5-7) *E kamii a paas.*
 [e kamii]_{VP} [a paas]_{O.NP}
 1SG.SM peel C.NM taro
 ‘I peeled the taro.’ [p22-s5]

In (5-8), the bound common noun *xexene* ‘his leg(s)’ heads a subject NP.

- (5-8) *A bo xexene iri lön.*
 [a bo xexe-ne]_{S.NP} [i=ri lön]_{VP}
 C.NM PLM leg-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=CPL numb
 ‘His legs have become paralysed.’ [p53-s57]

In (5-9), the common noun *sinöö* ‘song’, which is derived from the verb *söö* ‘sing’, heads the complement of the preposition *ma* ‘with’.

- (5-9) *Na ine ixo söö mina axana sinöö na.*
 na ine [i=xo söö]_{VP}
 DISC 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST sing
 [ma [ina axana s<in>öö na]_{NP}]_{PP}
 INST ANA.C.NM piece <NML>sing DEM.PROX
 ‘Then he sang this piece of song.’ [p288-s94]

In (5-10), the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ heads a nominal predicate.

- (5-10) *A önö a lak mamalum.*
 [a önö]_{NCS} [a lak mamalum]_{NCP}
 C.NM sand C.NM DUMMY soft
 ‘The sand is soft.’ (Lit: The sand is a soft thing.) [p88-s119]

5.3.2 Personal nouns as the head of an NP

Personal nouns are also commonly used to head an NP. Unlike common nouns, which may take all types of pre-head and post-head modifiers, personal nouns may only take personal NP markers and they cannot be modified. In (5-11), the personal name *Sipurang* ‘Sipurang’ heads a nominal predicate.

- (5-11) *Esene jang e Sipurang.*
 [ese-ne]_{NCS} jang [e Sipurang]_{NCP}
 name-3SG.POSSR OC P.NM Sipurang
 ‘His name is Sipurang.’ [p275-s2]

In (5-12), the personal name *Mese* ‘Mese’ heads an object NP.

- (5-12) *Ixo lamuslo e Mese.*
 [i=xo lamus=lo]_{VP} [e Mese]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST lead=SEQ P.NM Mese
 ‘He led Mese.’ [p58-s5]

5.3.3 Place names as the head of an NP

Place names are rarely used to head an NP. They do not take any NP markers and cannot be modified. In (5-13), the place name *Kavieng* ‘Kavieng’ heads the subject NP of a nonverbal clause.

- (5-13) *Kavieng a lagunon deek.*
 [Kavieng]_{NCS} [a lagunon deek]_{NCP}
 Kavieng (EN) C.NM village good
 ‘Kavieng is a nice place.’ [OB-Lean]

In (5-14), the place name *Lolobo* ‘Kolonoboi’ functions as the complement NP of the locative preposition *kö* ‘in, at, on’.

- (5-14) *E mem bo xisixis kö Lolobo...*
 [e mem]_{S.NP} [Ø=bo xisixis]_{VP} [xö [Lolobo]]_{PP}
 P.NM 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB live C.PREP Kolonoboi
 ‘We live at Kolonoboi’ [OB-Kolin]

5.3.4 Independent pronouns as the head of an NP

Independent pronouns are commonly used to head an NP. In (5-15), the independent pronoun *diet* ‘they several’ heads the subject NP of a verbal clause.

- (5-15) *Diet toxo buut.*
 [diet]_{S.NP} [to=xo buut]_{VP}
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST scared
 ‘They were scared.’ [T2-23]

In (5-16), the independent pronoun *maa* ‘we two’ heads the object NP of a verbal clause.

- (5-16) *Na ixo kun e maa.*
 na [i=xo kun]_{VP} [e maa]_{O.NP}
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL buy P.NM 1DU.EXC
 ‘Then he paid us.’ (Lit: ‘Then he bought we two.’) [p510-s18]

5.3.5 Numerals as the head of an NP

Numerals in Usen Barok may head an NP. In (5-17), the cardinal numeral *öng* ‘one’ heads the object NP in a verbal clause.

- (5-17) *Uru pamaalo a öng.*
 [u=ru pamaa=lo]_{VP} [a öng]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=CPL embrace=SEQ C.NM one
 ‘You have held one.’ [p298-s26]

In (5-18), the ordinal numeral *sisila* ‘the first’ is possessed and it heads the subject NP of a verbal clause.

- (5-18) *A sisila re idi irabo an.*
 [a sisila [re idi]]_{S.NP} [i=rabo an]_{VP}
 C.NM the.first P.PREP 3PL 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat
 ‘The first of them will eat.’ [p301-s71]

Numerals more commonly occur as pre-head modifiers, as described in §5.5.2.

5.3.6 Nominal demonstratives as the head of an NP

The nominal demonstratives *na* ‘proximal’ and *nang* ‘distal’ are rarely used to head an NP, although both of them were accepted in the role of a full NP by consultants during elicitation. In (5-19), the proximal demonstrative *na* ‘this’ heads the subject NP in a nonverbal clause.

- (5-19) *A na re nöngön.*
 [a na]_{NP/NCS} [re nöngön]_{PP/NCP}
 C.NM DEM.PROX P.PREP 2SG
 ‘This is for you.’ [EL]

In (5-20), the distal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’ heads the subject NP in a verbal clause, and in (5-21), *nang* ‘that’ heads the complement NP of the preposition *ma* ‘with’.

- (5-20) *Na nang i malaa xö pirixö.*
 na [nang]_{S.NP} [i malaa]_{VP} [kö pirixö]_{PP}
 DISC DEM.DIST 3SG.SM stay C.PREP bush
 ‘Then that stayed in the bush.’ [p102-s35]
- (5-21) *Muu mörö tabaa e me re nang.*
 [muu]_{A.NP} [mö=rö tabaa]_{VP} [e]_{O.NP} [ma [re nang]]_{PP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR give 1SG with NR.NM DEM.DIST
 ‘You two give me some of that!’ [p434-s66]

5.3.7 ‘Nang a/e’ constructions as the head of an NP

In Usen Barok, ‘*nang a/e*’ constructions are commonly used to head an NP. A ‘*nang a/e*’ construction is formed by the marker *nang* plus the NP marker *a* ‘default common NP marker’ or *e* ‘default personal NP marker’ plus a nominal lexeme, as shown below:

<i>nang + a/e + nominal lexeme</i>

It is not clear if the marker *nang* in ‘*nang a/e*’ construction is related to the distal nominal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’. The nominal lexeme in a ‘*nang a/e*’ construction can be a 3rd person non-singular independent pronoun, a nominal demonstrative or a noun. I describe each type of combination in turn.

5.3.7.1 *Nang a + 3rd person non-singular independent pronoun*

Table 5-2 sets out the forms and glosses of *nang a + 3rd person non-singular independent pronoun* respectively.

<i>Nang a</i> + 3 rd personal pronoun	Gloss
<i>nang a duu</i>	‘(one’s own) in-law’
<i>nang a diet</i>	‘maternal uncle/nephew/niece’
<i>nangadi</i>	‘people’

Table 5-2: *Nang a* + 3rd person non-singular independent pronoun

Cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon to find languages using a non-singular pronoun to refer to a singular addressee as a sign of respect. Usen Barok employs this strategy together with the *nang a* construction.

In the Barok community, it is important, especially for a man, to show respect to his in-laws. An in-law’s name is always carefully avoided. Usen Barok speakers use the term *nang a duu* ‘in-law’, which is formed by the marker *nang* plus the default common NP marker *a* and the 3rd person dual independent pronoun *duu* ‘they two’, to address and to refer to their in-laws. In (5-22), *nang a duu* ‘in-law’ heads the complement NP of the possessive preposition *re*. In (5-23), *nang a duu* ‘in-law’ is used as a vocative NP.

- (5-22) *xuxu re nang a duu...*
 [xuxu [re [nang a duu]_{POSSR}]_{PP}]_{NP}
 mixture.of.plants POSSM nang C.NM 3DU
 ‘(brother) in-law’s mixture’ [p485-s172]

- (5-23) *Nang a duu! Muu mo tabaa a bung barok ma en?*
 [nang a duu]_{VOC} [muu]_{A.NP} [mo
 nang C.NM 3DU 2DU 2NSG.SM
 tabaa]_{VP} [a bung barok]_{O.NP} [ma en]_{PP}
 give C.NM PLM boy INST fish
 ‘(Brother) in-law! Did you give the children fish?’ [p129-s15]

Note that in (5-23), both *nang a duu* ‘in-law’ and the 2nd person dual independent pronoun *muu* ‘you two’ refer to the same singular addressee.

Barok society is matrilineal, “a person should respect, and obey the directives of, the maternal uncle” Wagner (1986: 71). Usen Barok speakers use *nang a diet*, which is formed by the marker *nang*, the default common NP marker *a*, and the 3rd person paucal

independent pronoun *diet* ‘they several’, to address and to refer to their maternal uncle/nephew/niece.²¹ In (5-24), both *nang a diet* ‘maternal niece’ and the 2nd person paucal independent pronoun *muot* ‘you several’ refer to the same singular addressee.

- (5-24) *Nang a diet! Muot mo deeksik mon?*
 [nang a diet]_{VOC} [muot]_{S.NP} [mo deek=sik]_{VP}
 nang C.NM 3PA 2PA 2NSG.SM good=STA
 ‘(My) maternal niece! How are you?’ [OB-Wanaliu]

The lexeme *nangadi* ‘people’, which may be analysed as formed by the marker *nang* plus the common NP marker *a* and the 3rd person plural independent pronoun *di* ‘they’, is realised as a single phonological word. Unlike *nang a duu* ‘in-law’ and *nang a diet* ‘maternal uncle/nephew/niece’, which only have honorific usage, *nangadi* ‘people’ does not seem to be used to refer to a singular addressee to show respect. An example is given in (5-25).

- (5-25) *Kaim a nangadi xönaan.*
 kaim [a nangadi] xö=naan
 NEG C.NM people C.PREP=it
 ‘There are no people on (the island).’ [p62-s8]

5.3.7.2 *Nang a* + nominal demonstrative

Nang a na, which is formed by the marker *nang* plus the common NP marker *a* and the proximal demonstrative *na* ‘this’, means ‘this person’. In (5-26), *nang a na* ‘this person’ heads the object NP in a verbal clause and it takes the personal NP marker *e*.

²¹ Many kin terms in Usen Barok are reciprocal. *Nang a diet* is not only used to address one’s maternal uncle, but also used for a male to address his maternal nephew/niece.

- (5-26) *Arabo se baraabulein e nang a na?*
 [a=rabo se baraabule-in]_{VP}
 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR attack how-APP
 [e nang a na]_{O.NP}
 P.NM nang C.NM DEM.PROX
 ‘How shall I kill that person?’ [p445-s259]

Nang a nang, which is formed by the marker *nang* plus the common NP marker *a* and the distal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’, means ‘that person’. In (5-27), *nang a nang* ‘that person’ heads the complement NP of the general personal preposition *re*.

- (5-27) *Örö vavara re nang a nang.*
 [ö=rö pa~para]_{VP} [re nang a nang]_{PP}
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR REDP~glance P.PREP nang C.NM DEM.DIST
 ‘You will glance at that person.’ [p395-s24]

Note that *na* ‘this’ and *nang* ‘that’ alone as the head of an NP cannot denote human referents, whereas *nang a na* ‘this person’ and *nang a nang* ‘that person’ are restricted to referring to human individuals.

5.3.7.3 *Nang a* + common noun and *nang e* + personal name

I do not have a good explanation for this type of construction. In (5-28), *nang a nenebo*, which is formed by the marker *nang* plus the common NP marker *a* and the common noun *nenebo* ‘sow’, heads the object NP in a verbal clause and it takes the common NP marker *a*.

- (5-28) *Möröbo pere tewee a nang a nenebo...*
 mö=röbo pere tewee
 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR see throw
 [a nang a nenebo]_{O.NP}
 C.NM nang C.NM sow
 ‘You will ignore the sow.’ [p105-s31]

In (5-29), *nang e Maluanga*, which is formed by the marker *nang* plus the personal NP marker *e* and the personal name *Maluanga* ‘Maluanga’, heads the subject NP in a verbal clause and it takes the personal NP marker *e*.

- (5-29) *E nang e Maluanga ixo tengen kö balik baraa...*
 [e nang e Maluanga]_{A.NP}
 P.NM nang P.NM Maluanga
 [i=xo tengen]_{VP} [kö balik]_{O.NP} baraa
 3SG.SM=PAST utter C.PREP girl thus
 ‘Maluanga told the girl that...’ [p46-s184]

The semantic and pragmatic differences between the common NP *a nenebo* ‘the sow’ and the construction *a nang a nenebo* ‘the sow’, as well as the differences between the personal NP *e Maluanga* ‘Maluanga’ and the construction *e nang e Maluanga* ‘Maluanga’, are not clear; further study is required.

5.4 Noun phrase markers

In Usen Barok, like in many Oceanic languages and like in Proto Oceanic (Lynch et al., 2002: 38, 70), the leftmost element within an NP is often a noun phrase marker (NP marker). In §5.4.1, I describe the forms and meanings of all five NP markers in Usen Barok. In §5.4.2, I describe the syntactic functions of these NP markers.

5.4.1 Forms and meaning of NP markers

There is a set of five NP markers in Usen Barok, as set out in Table 5-3 below: *a*, *ina*, and *re* are used within common NPs, whereas *e* and *ine* are used within personal NPs.²² I describe each NP marker in the following subsections in turn.

²² *E* and *a* are presumably reflexes of Proto Oceanic (POc) personal and common noun phrase markers **e/*i* and **a* respectively (Lynch et al. 2002: 71). *Ina* is presumably a reflex of the POc common noun phrase marker **na* (Crowley, 1985).

NP markers	within common NP
Default common NP marker (§5.4.1.1)	<i>a</i>
Deictic-anaphoric common NP marker (§5.4.1.2)	<i>ina</i>
Non-referential common NP marker (§5.4.1.3)	<i>re</i>
NP markers	within personal NP
Default personal NP marker (§5.4.1.4)	<i>e</i>
Deictic-anaphoric personal NP marker (§5.4.1.5)	<i>ine</i>

Table 5-3: Noun phrase markers

5.4.1.1 Default common NP marker *a*

The default common NP marker *a* marks an NP and it indicates that the head of that NP is a common noun. In (5-30), the NP marker *a* precedes the common noun *kiniso* ‘lid’, which heads the object NP in a verbal clause.

- (5-30) *Na ixo oseen a kiniso.*
na [i=xo ö-seen]_{VP} [a [kiniso]]_{O.NP}
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-drift C.NM lid
‘She dropped a lid.’ [p36-s40]

In (5-31), the NP marker *a* precedes the common noun *ririn* ‘current’, which heads the subject NP of a verbal clause.

- (5-31) *A ririn möxö ari ixo kiv osu a kiniso.*
[a [ririn möxö ari]]_{A.NP} [i=xo kip ö-su]_{VP}
C.NM current POSSM river 3SG.SM=PAST carry CAUS-descend
[a [kiniso]]_{O.NP}
C.NM lid
‘The current of the river carried down the lid.’ [p36-s41]

Note that the default common NP marker *a* precedes both definite and indefinite referents represented by the head common noun. Examples (5-30) and (5-31) are consecutive sentences taken from a traditional Barok story about a girl who dropped the lid of her water-tube into the river. In (5-30), *a kiniso* ‘a lid’ is indefinite, since it is

introduced into the discourse for the first time. In (5-31), the same referent *kiniso* ‘the lid’, which is represented by the head noun in the object NP, still takes the NP marker *a*, although *a kiniso* ‘the lid’ in this example is definitely identifiable to the addressee.

5.4.1.2 Deictic-anaphoric common NP marker *ina*

The deictic-anaphoric common NP marker *ina* marks NPs headed by a common noun and it indicates that the referent represented by the head noun is emphasised as deictically or anaphorically referred to in the discourse.

In (5-32), *ina* marks the common NP headed by *xaken* ‘the sun’.

- (5-32) *A xaken taxin ixo se bölöx idi, xarna ina xaken na i sese ire.*
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------|---------|--------------------|--------|-------|-----|
| a | xaken | taxin | i=xo | se | bölök | idi |
| C.NM | sun | big | 3SG.SM=PAST | attack | also | 3PL |
| xarna | [<u>ina</u> | [xaken | na]] _{NP} | | | |
| like | DEI.C.NM | sun | DEM.PROX | | | |
| i | se~se | ire | | | | |
| 3SG.SM | PROG~attack | 1PL.INC | | | | |
- ‘The sun was also very hot at that time, like now’ (Lit: ‘The big sun also attacked them, like this sun is attacking us.’) [p65-s2-s3]

Example (5-32) was uttered when the speaker was pointing to the sun. The head common noun *xaken* ‘the sun’ is modified by the nominal demonstrative *na* ‘this’, which reinforces the deictic meaning.

In (5-33), *ina* marks the common NP headed by the common noun *kiniso* ‘lid’.

- (5-33) *Tödi niang ixo perelo ina kiniso...*
- | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| [tödi | niang] _{A.NP} | [i=xo | pere=lo] _{VP} | [<u>ina</u> | <u>kiniso</u>] _{O.NP} |
| man | DEM.DIST | 3SG.SM=PAST | see=SEQ | ANA.C.NM | lid |
- ‘The man saw the lid (which was dropped by the girl).’ [p37-s56]

Example (5-33) is taken from the same story as (5-30) and (5-31) above. In this story, a girl dropped the lid of her water-tube into the river, the current carried the lid downstream and then a man found it. In (5-33), the NP marker *ina* is chosen to emphasise that it is the lid which has already been mentioned in the discourse.

general preposition comes before personal nouns. There is no evidence to link the two forms diachronically either.

5.4.1.4 Default personal NP marker *e*

The default personal NP marker *e* marks NPs headed by a personal noun. In (5-36), the NP marker *e* precedes the personal name *Kiring* ‘Kiring’, which heads the personal NP in a nonverbal clause. This example is taken from a legend about a lizard. The lizard in the legend is personified and it has a personal name, *Kiring* ‘Kiring’.

- (5-36) *E Kiring a kabebe.*

[e	Kiring]	[a	kabebe]
P.NM	Kiring	C.NM	lizard

‘Kiring is a lizard.’ [p271-s1]

5.4.1.5 Deictic-anaphoric personal NP marker *ine*

The deictic-anaphoric personal NP marker *ine* is used to mark NPs headed by a personal noun, and to emphasise that the referent represented by the personal noun is deictically or anaphorically referred to in the discourse. Note that the NP marker *ine* is different from the 3rd person singular pronoun *ine* ‘he/she/it’. For the NP marker *ine*, the first syllable is stressed, whereas for the 3rd person singular pronoun *ine* ‘he/she/it’, the last syllable is stressed.

In (5-37), the NP marker *ine* precedes the personal name *Towa* ‘Towa’, which heads the subject NP in a verbal clause. The utterance in this example was accompanied by the speaker pointing to a person named Towa, and is thus deictic.

- (5-37) *Ine Towa irabo wan.*

[ine	Towa]	[i=rabo	wan]
DEI.P.NM	Towa	3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR	move

‘Towa (pointing to him at the same time) will go.’ [OB-Lean]

Examples (5-38) and (5-39) are taken from a story about a person named *Dodonadun*. In (5-38), the default personal NP marker *e* is used preceding the personal name *Dodonakun* when this person was first introduced into the discourse. In (5-39), the NP

- (5-41) *Balixilik tabo peer a daa.*
 [balixilik]_{A.NP} [t=abo peet]_{VP} [a daa]_{O.NP}
 women 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR make C.NM stone.oven
 ‘Women will make a stone oven.’ [p359-s45]

Omission of the NP marker in an object NP will result in either an unacceptable clause, as shown in (5-42) (cf. (5-40)) or a different syntactic interpretation, as shown in (5-43) (cf. (5-41)).

- (5-42) **A barok ixo pere wawono.*
 [a barok]_{A.NP} [i=xo pere]_{VP} [wawo-no]_{O.NP}
 C.NM boy 3SG.SM=PAST see wing-3POSSR
 ‘The boy his wings-saw.’ [EL-p140-s106]

- (5-43) *Balixilik tabo peet daa.*
 [balixilik]_{A.NP} [t=abo peet daa]_{VP}
 women 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR make stone.oven
 ‘Women will stone-oven make.’ [p125-s114]

In (5-43), the deletion of NP marker *a* makes *daa* ‘stone oven’ a ‘stripped noun’, which has become part of the intransitive verb *peet daa* ‘stone-oven-make’. A detailed discussion on ‘noun stripping’ is provided in §10.5.

5.4.2.2 NP markers within a nominal predicate

In Usen Barok, a nominal predicate must be marked by a default NP marker. A nominal predicate headed by a common noun requires the default common NP marker *a*; a nominal predicate headed by a personal noun requires the default personal NP marker *e*. In (5-44), the nominal predicate headed by the common noun *une* ‘woman’ is marked by the default common NP marker *a*.

- (5-44) *Ine a une runoon.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [a une runoon]_{NCP}
 3SG C.NM woman real
 ‘She is a real woman’ [p39-s92]

In (5-45), the nominal predicate headed by the personal name *Kiring* is marked by the default personal NP marker *e*.

- (5-45) *Esene e Kiring.*
 [ese-ne]_{NCS} [e *Kiring*]_{NCP}
 name-3SG.POSSR P.NM Kiring
 ‘Its name is Kiring.’ [p271-s2]

The non-default NP markers *ina*, *ine* and *re* cannot occur within an NP which functions as a nominal predicate.

5.4.2.3 NP markers within a subject NP

The default NP markers *a* and *e* within a subject NP are optional. That is, these two NP markers can be omitted from a subject NP without affecting the meaning of that NP. In (5-46), the common noun *tödi* ‘man’, which heads the subject NP in a verbal clause, does not take any NP marker (cf. (5-47)).

- (5-46) *Tödi niang ixo perelo ina kiniso.*
 [tödi *niang*]_{A.NP} [i=xo pere=lo]_{VP} [ina kiniso]_{O.NP}
 man DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST see=SEQ ANA.C.NM lid
 ‘That man saw the lid.’ [p37-s56]

- (5-47) *A tödi niang ixo perelo ina kiniso.*
 [a *tödi* *niang*]_{A.NP} [i=xo pere=lo]_{VP}
 C.NM man DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST see=SEQ
 [ina kiniso]_{O.NP}
 ANA.C.NM lid
 ‘That man saw the lid.’ [p37-s56]

In (5-48), the personal name *Jingyi*, which also heads the subject NP in a verbal clause, is not preceded by any NP marker (cf. (5-49)).

- (5-48) *Jingyi ixo ot.*
 [*Jingyi*]_{S.NP} [i=xo ot]_{VP}
 Jingyi 3SG.SM=PAST arrive
 ‘Jingyi arrived.’ [p33-s13]

- (5-49) *E Jingyi ixo ot.*
 [e Jingyi]_{S.NP} [i=xo ot]_{VP}
 P.NM Jingyi 3SG.SM=PAST arrive
 ‘Jingyi arrived.’ [EL-p33-s13]

5.4.2.4 NP markers within a complement NP of a preposition

The distribution of NP markers within a complement NP of a preposition is complicated. The default NP markers *a* and *e* within the complement NP of a preposition may be retained or deleted depending on the form of the preposition preceding them. If the preposition ends with a consonant, the default NP marker within its complement NP will be retained. Examples (5-50) and (5-51) show that the default NP markers *a* and *e* in the complement NP of the preposition *kalik* ‘from’, which ends with a consonant, are retained.

- (5-50) *...wasak tewee ine xalix a nien*
 wasak tewee ine [kalik [a nien]_{NP}]_{PP}
 chase throw 3SG from C.NM food
 ‘...chased him away from the food.’ [p204-s319]

- (5-51) *Ixobo uwutlo a bee xalix e Malaba.*
 i=xo=bo uwut=lo a bee [kalik [e Malaba]_{NP}]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST=HAB pull=SEQ C.NM shark from P.NM Malaba
 ‘He had always pulled the shark away from Malaba.’ [p101-s7]

If the preposition ends with a vowel, the default NP marker within its complement NP will be deleted. In (5-52), the common noun *lieng* ‘cave’, which heads the complement NP of the preposition *kö* ‘to’, does not take any NP marker (cf. (5-54)). In (5-53), the personal name *Tinen*, which heads the complement NP of the preposition *te* ‘to’, does not take any NP marker (cf. (5-55)).

- (5-52) *Na ixoro tengen kö lieng...*
 na i=xo=ro tengen [kö [lieng]_{NP}]_{PP}
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL utter C.PREP cave
 ‘She (the ghost) had already said to the cave...’ [p451-s79]

- (5-53) *Ixo tengen te Tinen...*
 i=xo tengen [re [Tinen]_{NP}]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST utter P.PREP Tinen
 ‘He spoke to Tinen...’ [p143-s9]

The non-default NP markers *ina* and *ine* in the complement NP of a preposition are always retained, as shown in (5-54) and (5-55).

- (5-54) *Ötaxin ixo tengen kina une raxin...*
 ötaxin i=xo tengen [kö [ina une taxin]_{NP}]_{PP}
 old.man 3SG.SM=PAST utter C.PREP ANA.C.NM woman old
 ‘The old man told that old woman...’ [p529-s45]

- (5-55) *Na barok nang ixoro tengen te ine balik nang...*
 na barok nang i=xo=ro
 DISC boy DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL
 tengen [re [ine balik nang]_{NP}]_{PP}
 say P.PREP ANA.C.NM girl DEM.DIST
 ‘Then the boy had told that girl...’ [p347-s162]

5.5 Other pre-head modifiers

This section describes other pre-head modifiers which can occur after the NP marker within an NP. These pre-head modifiers include plural markers (§5.5.1), cardinal numerals (§5.5.2) and quantifying nouns (§5.5.3).

5.5.1 Plural markers

A plural marker directly precedes the common noun it modifies to indicate that the referent represented by that noun is non-singular. There are four plural markers in Usen Barok: *bo*, *bung*, *na* and *toon*. In the following sub-sections I describe each of the four plural markers in turn.

5.5.1.1 Plural marker *bo*

The plural marker *bo* is the most widely used among the four plural markers. It can be used to modify almost all common nouns and it can replace the other three plural markers *bung*, *na* and *toon* freely in almost any context. The form of the plural marker *bo* suggests that it is probably related to the plural prefix *ba-*, which occurs in collective kin terms to indicate three or more persons involved in a certain type of kin relation (see §4.1.3.3). Examples using the plural marker *bo* are given below:

In (5-56), the plural marker *bo* modifies the bound body-part noun *xexene* ‘his leg(s)’.

- (5-56) *A bo xexene iri lön.*
 [a bo xexe-ne]_{S,NP} i=ri lön
 C.NM PLM leg-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=CPL numb
 ‘His legs have become paralysed.’ [p53-s57]

In (5-57), the plural marker *bo* modifies a free kin term *tata* ‘father’.

- (5-57) *Moxo dasör a bo tata...*
 mo=xo dasöt [a bo tata]_{O,NP}
 INSG.EXC.SM=PAST meet C.NM PLM father
 ‘We met (our) fathers.’²³ [p512-s57]

In (5-58), the plural marker *bo* modifies the free common noun *la* ‘thing, stuff’.

- (5-58) *A jaa ixo en a gunon, ina bo la xirip.*
 a jaa i=xo en a gunon
 C.NM fire 3SG.SM=PAST eat C.NM house
 [ina bo la xirip]_{NP}
 DEI.C.NM PLM thing all
 ‘The fire swallowed the house and everything.’ [p115-s148-s149]

²³ In Barok culture, mother’s sister’s husband and father’s brothers are all addressed with the same form as ‘father’.

5.5.1.2 Plural marker *bung*

The plural marker *bung* is mainly used for pluralising nouns which represent animate referents. In (5-59), the plural marker *bung* modifies the nouns *bo* ‘pig’, *kixöök* ‘chicken’ and *puluwun* ‘dog’.

- (5-59) *se kiriv a bung bo, a bung kixöök, a bung puluwun.*
 se kirip [a bung bo]_{O.NP}
 attack finish C.NM PLM pig
 [a bung kixöök]_{O.NP} [a bung puluwun]_{O.NP}
 C.NM PLM chicken C.NM PLM dog
 ‘(He) killed all the pigs, chickens and dogs.’ [p114-s138]

In my corpus, the plural marker *bung* also precedes the nouns *barok* ‘boy’, *balik* ‘girl, woman’, *juo* ‘enemy’, *bee* ‘shark’ and *marapun* ‘clan’.

This plural marker was presumably derived from the quantifying noun *bung* ‘bunch’, as shown in (5-60).

- (5-60) *a bo bung buo*
 [a [bo bung] buo]_{NP}
 C.NM PLM bunch betel.nut
 ‘bunches of betel nut’ [p333-s51]

Note that *bung* ‘bunch’ in (5-60) functions as a quantifying noun and it takes the plural marker *bo*. However, *bung* cannot be quantified by another plural marker when *bung* is functioning as a plural marker.

5.5.1.3 Plural marker *na*

The plural marker *na* is rarely used compared with the other two plural markers, *bo* and *bung*. Elicitation has demonstrated that it cannot be used to modify nouns with a human referent.

In (5-61) and (5-62), the plural marker *na* modifies the common nouns *man* ‘clothes’ and *ari* ‘river’.

- (5-61) *Ixo kiplo a na man te ine.*
 [i=xo kip=lo]_{VP} [a na man [re ine]]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ C.NM PLM clothes POSSM 3SG
 ‘He gathered his clothes.’ [p270-s51]

- (5-62) *A na ari ixo mese.*
 [a na ari]_{S.NP} [i=xo mese]_{VP}
 C.NM PLM river 3SG.SM=PAST dry
 ‘Rivers dried up.’ [p186-s4]

5.5.1.4 Plural marker *toon*

The plural marker *toon* is also rarely encountered in both texts and daily use. Like the plural marker *na*, the plural marker *toon* cannot be used to modify nouns with a human referent. I have found only two text examples in my corpus using this plural marker, shown in (5-63) and (5-64). More data is required to make generalisations about the use of this plural marker.

- (5-63) *A toon ari ixo mese.*
 [a toon ari]_{S.NP} i=xo mese
 C.NM PLM river 3SG.SM=PAST dry
 ‘Rivers dried up.’ [p489-s4]

- (5-64) *A toon sim pe idi*
 [a toon sim]_{NP.POSSD} re idi
 C.NM PLM canoe POSSM 3PL
 ‘their canoes’ [p475-s13]

5.5.2 Cardinal numerals

This section gives information on cardinal numerals functioning as a pre-head modifier within an NP (see §4.7 for a description of numerals). Cardinal numerals in Usen Barok cannot occur directly preceding the head noun. They require a linker to link them with the head noun. The numeral *öng* ‘one’ requires the linker *a* and all other cardinal numerals require the linker *ne*. In (5-65), the cardinal numeral *öng* ‘one’ modifies the common noun *milo* ‘eel’. The linker *a* is used between the numeral *öng* ‘one’ and the

head noun *milo* ‘eel’. In (5-66), the cardinal numeral *sangawun ma ninöng* ‘twelve’ modifies the common noun *barok* ‘boy’. The linker *ne* is used between the numeral *sangawun ma ninöng* ‘twelve’ and the head noun *barok* ‘boy’

(5-65) *Na ixo pere wösöt lo öng a milo lik.*
 na i=xo pere pösöt=lo [a öng a milo lik]_{O,NP}
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST see meet=SEQ C.NM one L eel small
 ‘Then he saw one small eel.’ [p186-s8]

(5-66) *sangawun ma ninöng ne barok*
 [sangawun ma ninöng ne barok]_{NP}
 ten and two L boy
 ‘twelve boys’ [p66-s63]

Note that cardinal numerals and plural markers are mutually exclusive as pre-head modifiers within an NP. A head noun modified by a cardinal numeral cannot be modified by a plural marker at the same time and vice versa.

5.5.3 Quantifying nouns

This section describes quantifying nouns, which are used to indicate the quantity of the referent represented by the head noun. In the following subsections (from §5.5.3.1 to §5.5.3.9) I give a full list of quantifying nouns that I have information on. Note that if a plural marker or a cardinal numeral occurs preceding a quantifying noun, it modifies the quantifying noun instead of the head noun of the NP (see examples (5-74) and (5-75)).

5.5.3.1 *Axana* ‘piece’

The noun *axana* means ‘leaf’ when it heads an NP. I gloss it as ‘piece’ when it functions as a quantifying noun. The quantifying noun *axana* ‘piece’ can be used to modify all types of leaf-related items, such as *laban* ‘leaf (general)’, *dexe* ‘dry coconut leaf’ and *sisile* ‘stalk of coconut leaves’, etc. An example is given in (5-67).

- (5-67) *Ine irabo an kö öng a axana laban.*
 ine i=rabo an [kö [[önga axana] laban]_{NP}]_{PP}
 3SG 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat C.PREP one L piece leaf
 ‘It will eat from a piece of leaf.’ [p301-s73]

Axana ‘piece’ is also used to quantify abstract nouns such as *bung* ‘time, day’, *sinöö* ‘song’, *tinie* ‘dance’ and *pii* ‘story’, etc.

5.5.3.2 *Buxun* ‘stalk’

The quantifying noun *buxun* ‘stalk’ is commonly used to quantify various types of nut, such as *paa* ‘breadfruit’ and *kenge* ‘small betel nut’. An example is given in (5-68).

- (5-68) *Dix a buxun paa.*
 dik [a buxun paa]_{O.NP}
 pick C.NM stalk breadfruit
 ‘Pick a stalk of breadfruit.’ [p129-s26]

5.5.3.3 *Ene* ‘clump (of trees)’

The quantifying noun *ene* ‘clump’ is used to quantify various types of trees. In (5-69), it modifies *koo* ‘bamboo’ and *jaa* ‘tree’, and in (5-70), it modifies *lamas* ‘coconut tree’.

- (5-69) *Xikii raxin ixo börbörön nana xö ene koo ma xö ene jaa.*
 xikii taxin i=xo bör~börön nana
 wind big 3SG.SM=PAST REDP~make.sound around
 [kö ene koo]_{PP}
 C.PREP clump bamboo
 ma [kö ene jaa]_{PP}
 and C.PREP clump tree
 ‘Strong wind was making sound around among the clump of bamboos and trees.’ [p41-s131]

- (5-70) *xö bo ene lamas*
 [kö [bo ene lamas]_{NP}]_{PP}
 C.PREP PLM clump coconut.tree
 ‘in (those) clumps of coconut trees’ [p344-s119]

5.5.3.4 *Mangana* ‘kind, type’

It seems that the quantifying noun *mangana* ‘kind, type’ can be used to modify almost all common nouns. Two examples are given in (5-71) and (5-72).

- (5-71) *E kala ösöxö a enen a mangana inaan na.*
 e=kala ösöxö a
 1SG.SM=NOT.YET know C.NM
 en~en [a mangana inaan na]
 NML~eat C.NM kind fish DEM.PROX
 I haven’t gotten used to eating this kind of fish. [T1-58]

- (5-72) *Ixo bulus a bo mangana laban.*
 i=xo bulus [a bo mangana laban]
 3SG.SM=PAST put C.NM PLM kind leaf
 ‘He put many types of leaf (on his body).’ [p85-s65]

5.5.3.5 *Pönö* ‘section, interval’

The quantifying noun *pönö* ‘section, interval’ is commonly used to modify *jaa* ‘wood’, *koo* ‘bamboo’. An example is given in (5-73).

- (5-73) *Idi toxo perelo ina pönö koo.*
 idi to=xo pere=lo [ina pönö koo]_{O,NP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST see=SEQ ANA.C.NM section bamboo
 ‘They saw that bamboo section.’ (Lit: ‘They saw that interval between knuckles of bamboo.’) [p64-s29]

5.5.3.6 *Raat* ‘basket’

The noun *raat* ‘basket’ refers to a type of clamshell-shaped basket, which is commonly used in the Barok area for carrying food. This noun is commonly used to quantify food-related items that are carried in this type of basket. An example is given in (5-74).

- (5-74) *...wan kaa ma bo raat tele.*
 wan kaa [ma [bo raat tele]]
 move ascend with PLM basket fish
 ‘...(he) went up with several baskets of fish.’ [p178-s140]

5.5.3.7 *Ung* ‘pile’

The quantifying noun *ung* ‘pile’ is only observed to modify *jaa* ‘wood’, as shown in (5-75).

- (5-75) *Ine ma ni ne ung jaa.*
 ine [ma [ni ne ung jaa]]_{PP}
 3SG with two L pile wood
 ‘She has two piles of wood.’ [p268-s22]

5.5.3.8 *Unu* ‘group, cluster’

The quantifying noun *unu* ‘group, cluster’ is used to quantify a ‘group of thing that inherently belong together’. Several examples are given below:

- a unu en* ‘a school of fish’
a unu tak ‘a lump of shit’
a unu wat ‘a big stone which is comprised of small stones’ (Lit: ‘a group of stones’)
a unu xixöök ‘a hen and her chicks’ (Lit: ‘a group of chickens’)

This quantifying noun is most commonly used to modify nouns whose referent is a tree or a type of tree. Note that when *unu* ‘cluster’ precedes a head noun which represents a tree or a type of tree, the NP cannot be interpreted as ‘a cluster of trees’ but ‘one tree’, because Usen Barok speakers consider a tree as comprised of twigs and leaves. An example is given in (5-76).

- (5-76) *Duu toxo ot kina unu jaa.*
 duu to=xo ot [kö ina unu jaa]_{PP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST arrive C.PREP ANA.C.NM cluster tree.type
 ‘They arrived at the tree.’ [p372-s136]

5.5.3.9 Wöxö ‘bundle’

The quantifying noun *wöxö* ‘bundle’ is commonly used to quantify long and narrow items, such as *dexe* ‘dry coconut leaves’ and *je* ‘arrows’. An example is given in (5-77).

- (5-77) *Ixo sölöklo a asök ma wöxö je re ine.*
 i=xo sölök=lo [a [asök ma [wöxö je]] re ine]
 3SG.SM=PAST to.shoulder=SEQ C.NM axe and bundle arrow POSSM 3SG
 ‘He shouldered his axe and a bundle of arrows.’ [p420-s371]

5.5.3.10 Xönö ‘half, part, piece’

The noun *xönö* means ‘half’ when it heads an NP. However, when functioning as a quantifying noun, its meaning is not always predictable, sometimes even not interpretable. It seems to be able to modify all common nouns. When it modifies edible items, *xönö* usually means ‘part’, as shown in (5-78).

- (5-78) *Ixo tönlo a xönö lamas*
 i=xo tön=lo [a xönö lamas]_{O,NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST hold=SEQ C.NM part coconut
 ‘He held a part of the coconut.’ [p260-s49]

When it modifies other nouns whose referents are not edible items, the meaning of *xönö* is usually not transparent, as shown in (5-79) and (5-80). Note that the quantifying noun *xönö* can be omitted from these two examples, and the omission of *xönö* does not seem to affect the meaning.

- (5-79) *A xönö pii i kawam.*
 [a xönö pii]_{S,NP} i kawam
 C.NM ??? story 3SG.SM finish
 ‘That’s the end of the story’ (Lit: ‘The story was finished.’) [p488-s232]

- (5-80) *U maaa mina xönö usuom...*
 u maaa [ma ina xönö usuom]_{PP}
 2SG.SM like with DEI.C.NM ??? spouse-2SG.POSSR
 ‘You like your husband.’ [p411-s183]

More examples using the quantifying noun *xönö* are listed below:

<i>a <u>xönö</u> ari</i>	‘an expanse of water’
<i>a <u>xönö</u> bo</i>	‘part of pork’
<i>a <u>xönö</u> jasösöt</i>	‘a flame’
<i>a <u>xönö</u> wat</i>	‘a piece of stone’
<i>a <u>xönö</u> putala</i>	‘a fishing net’

5.6 Post-head modification

This section describes post-head modifiers within an NP. Section 5.6.1 describes adjectival modifiers; section 5.6.2 describes nominal demonstratives, and section 5.6.3 briefly mentions relative clauses.

5.6.1 Adjectival modifiers

This section describes adjectival modifiers which may occur directly after the head noun within an NP. Adjectival modifiers in Usen Barok can be adjectives (§5.6.1.1) or adjectival lexemes derived from verbs (§5.6.1.2).

5.6.1.1 Adjectives as post-head modifiers within an NP

Adjectives are the most commonly used post-head modifiers within NPs. An adjective occurs directly after the head noun it modifies. In (5-81), the adjective *dadaan* ‘red’ modifies the head noun *balixilik* ‘women’. In (5-82), the adjective *ödödö* ‘quiet’ modifies the head noun *tödi* ‘man’.

- (5-81) *Bung balixilik dadaan!*
 [bung balixilik dadaan]_{NP}
 PLM women red
 ‘A group of red (skinned) women!’ [T1-36]

- (5-82) *Ine a tödi ödödö.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [a tödi ödödö]_{NCP}
 3SG C.NM man quiet
 ‘He is a quiet man.’ [p120-s44]

A list of commonly used adjectives is provided in §4.3.

5.6.1.2 Derived adjectival modifiers

An adjectival lexeme may be derived from a verb by the prefixes *tama-* and *ta-*, by the nominalising infix *-in-*, or by reduplication.

The prefixes *tama-* and *ta-* can be used to derive an adjectival lexeme from a transitive verb.²⁴ In (5-83), *tama-baxut* ‘closed’, which derives from the transitive verb *baxut* ‘to close’, modifies the head noun *marame* ‘door’.

- (5-83) *a marame tamabaxut*
 [a marame tama-baxut]_{NP}
 C.NM door ACAUS-shut
 ‘the closed door’ [EL2-3-p113-n134]

In (5-84), *ta-vörök* ‘broken’, which is derived from the transitive verb *pörök* ‘to break’, modifies the head noun *gunon* ‘house’.

- (5-84) *a gunon tavörök*
 [a gunon ta-pörök]_{NP}
 C.NM house ACAUS-break
 ‘a broken house’ [EL-p74-n55]

The nominalising infix *-in-* can derive nouns from verbs as described in §4.1.3.6. The derived nouns, unlike underived nouns, which usually cannot function as post-head modifiers within an NP, may also modify other nouns in a post-head position. In (5-85)

²⁴ The prefixes *tama-* and *ta-* are also used to derive S=O intransitive verbs from transitive verbs. See §10.4.

mineset ‘sick’, which is derived from the intransitive verb *miset* ‘be sick’, modifies the head noun *une* ‘woman’.

- (5-85) *a une mineset*
 [a une m<in>eset]_{NP}
 C.NM woman <NML>be.sick
 ‘the sick woman’ [EL2-3-p103-n114]

In (5-86), *minet* ‘dead’, which is derived from the intransitive verb *met* ‘to die’, modifies the head noun *tödi* ‘man’.

- (5-86) *Tödi minet angen noo xö taun.*
 [tödi m<in>et]_{NCS} angen roo kö taun
 man <NML>die EXIST southeast C.PREP men’s.house
 ‘The dead man was there in the men’s house.’ [p119-s31]

Reduplication may be used to derive an adjectival lexeme from a verb. Elicitation data demonstrate that an adjectival lexeme derived from a verb through reduplication usually indicates the result of the action expressed by the verb. In (5-87), *xurxuruu* ‘sliced’, which is derived from the transitive verb *kuruu* ‘to slice’, modifies the head noun *bo* ‘pork’.

- (5-87) *a bo xurxuruu*
 [a bo kur~kuruu]_{NP}
 C.NM pig RESULT~slice
 ‘the sliced pork’ [EL2-3-p72-n52]

5.6.2 Nominal demonstratives

In (5-88), the proximal demonstrative *na* ‘this’ was used when the speaker was pointing to a pig which was close to herself, and the distal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’ was used when she was pointing to the other pig which was not close to herself.

- (5-88) *A bo na a lak lik, ma bo nang a lak taxin.*
 [a bo na]_{NCS} a lak lik
 C.NM pig DEM.PROX C.NM DUMMY small
 ma [bo nang]_{NCS} a lak taxin
 and pig DEM.DIST C.NM DUMMY big
 ‘This pig is small, and that pig is big.’ [OB-Kolin]

In (5-89), the distal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’ occurs after the adjective *lik* ‘small’, which is a modifier of the head noun *bo* ‘pig’.

- (5-89) *A bo lik nang te nöngön!*
 [a [[bo lik] nang]]_{NCS} [re nöngön]_{NCP}
 C.NM pig small DEM.DIST POSSM 2SG
 ‘That small pig is for you!’ [EL-Kolin]

5.6.3 Relative clauses

A relative clause is always introduced by the relativiser *nang*, and its structure mirrors that of main clauses. In (5-90), the relative clause, *nang u kiv ot* ‘that you brought’, modifies the head noun *nien* ‘food’ of the subject NP in a verbal clause.

- (5-90) *A bo nien nang u kiv ot i sixine.*
 [a bo nien [nang u kip ot]_{RC}]_{S.NP}
 C.NM PLM food REL 2SG.SM carry arrive
 [i sixine]_{VP}
 3SG.SM smell
 ‘These foods you brought smell.’ [p44-s157]

See §13.1 for a description of relative clauses.

5.7 Noun phrase level adjuncts

There are three types of noun phrase level adjunct, which can occur after an NP as modifiers. These adjuncts include directionals, locational PPs and NP level adverbs.

5.7.1 Directionals function as NP level adjuncts

In Usen Barok, directionals may function as adjuncts of an NP. In (5-91), the essive geographic directional *noo* ‘at sea’ is used to indicate the location of the NP *uwun* ‘turtle’. A detailed description of directionals is provided in §8.1.

- (5-91) *Ma uwun noo ixoro wan.*
 ma [[uwun]_{S.NP} noo] [i=xo=ro wan]_{VP}
 but turtle at.sea 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL move
 ‘But the turtle in the sea had gone.’ [p94-s218]

5.7.2 Locational PPs function as NP level adjuncts

The second type of NP level adjunct is locational PPs. In (5-92) the locational PP *kö jaa* ‘in the tree’ functions as the adjunct of the subject NP *e kixöök* ‘the rooster’.

- (5-92) *E kixöök kö unu jaa ixo ririe.*
 [[e kixöök]_{S.NP} [kö jaa]_{PP}] [i=xo ti~tie]_{VP}
 P.NM rooster C.PREP tree 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~dance
 ‘The rooster in the tree was dancing.’ [p89-s139]

Locational PPs are more commonly used as clausal adjuncts. A more detailed discussion on locational PPs is provided in §7.3.7.3.

5.7.3 Phrase level adverbs modifying NPs

The last type of NP level adjunct is a subclass of phrase level adverbs. These adverbs as illustrated in Table 5-4 can follow an NP as its modifiers.

NP level adverbs	Gloss
<i>arixe</i>	‘truly, really, exactly’
<i>jat</i>	‘self/selves, the very one’
<i>kalik</i>	‘alone’
<i>kirip</i>	‘all’

Table 5-4: NP level adverbs

Examples of each NP level adverb are given in (5-94) through (5-96).

- (5-93) *Ine arixe!*
[[ine]_{NP} arixe]_{NCP}
3SG exactly
'(It is) exactly him!' [p156-s60]
- (5-94) *Duu jat kö gunon.*
[[duu]_{NP} jat] [kö gunon]_{NCP/PP}
3DU self G.PREP house
'They two themselves are in the house.' [p272-s17]
- (5-95) *Ine xalik ixo wan.*
[[ine]_{S.NP} kalik] [i=xo wan]_{VP}
3SG alone 3SG.SM=PAST move
'He went alone...' (Lit: 'He alone, he went.') [p282-s2-s3]
- (5-96) *nangadi xirip möxö ina lagunon.*
[[nangadi]_{NP} xirip] [möxö ina lagunon]_{PP}
people all POSSM ANA.C.NM village
'all people from the village' [p53-s60]

6 Possessive constructions

This chapter describes possessive constructions in Usen Barok. The term ‘possessive’ is used to denote a relationship between two entities, including possession, part-whole relationships, kinship relations, associative relations, and so on. Thus, the terms ‘possessor’ and ‘possessed’ are used to refer to the ‘possessive’ relationship in general rather than to the narrow sense of ownership.

Possessive constructions in Usen Barok can either be verbal or nonverbal. The nonverbal possessive constructions are more commonly used, whereas the verbal constructions are relatively rarely used. In this chapter, the nonverbal constructions are described in §6.1 and verbal constructions in §6.2.

6.1 Nonverbal possessive constructions

In §6.1.1 I describe direct and indirect possession constructions, and in §6.1.2 I describe a type of possessive construction which is predicated by a comitative prepositional phrase introduced by *ma* ‘with’.

6.1.1 Direct and indirect possession constructions

Like many Oceanic languages, Usen Barok distinguishes direct and indirect possession. Lynch et al (2002: 40) comment:

For the majority of Oceanic languages, there are two main possessive construction types, which we refer to as ‘direct’ and ‘indirect’ possession. In the case of direct possessive constructions, a possessor suffix...is attached directly to the possessed noun, while with indirect possession, an uninflected possessed noun is either preceded or followed by an independent possessive constituent...

In Usen Barok, the direct possession construction is used when the NP representing the possessed referent is headed by a bound noun, and the indirect possession construction is used when the NP representing the possessed referent is headed by a free

noun. In the former the noun representing the possessed referent takes a pronominal suffix, but in the latter it does not, and in the latter a possessive relational particle (possessive marker) is used.

Table 6-1 sets out two types of direct possession constructions and four types of indirect possession constructions. In both direct and indirect possession constructions, the NP representing the possessor follows the NP representing the possessed. Detailed descriptions of direct and indirect possession constructions are provided in §6.1.1.1 and §6.1.1.2 respectively.

	Possessed	Possessive marker	Possessor (Independent NP)
Direct possession constructions	Bound noun (with pronominal possessive suffix)	--	--
	Bound noun in citation form (with 3 rd person singular possessive suffix)	--	Independent NP (not 3 rd person singular pronoun)
Indirect possession constructions	Headed by a free noun	<i>re</i>	Independent NP headed by a personal noun
	Headed by a free noun	<i>kö</i>	Independent NP headed by a common noun representing an animate referent
	Headed by a free noun	<i>möxö</i>	Independent NP headed by a common noun representing an inanimate referent
	Headed by a free noun	<i>ne</i>	Independent NP

Table 6-1: Direct and indirect possession constructions

6.1.1.1 Direct possession constructions

In Usen Barok, direct possession occurs when the possessed is a bound noun (see §4.1.4.1 for an exhaustive list of bound nouns). Two types of direct possession constructions can be distinguished, depending on whether the possessor is explicitly expressed by an independent NP.

- Bound noun with pronominal possessive suffix

In Usen Barok, a direct possession construction can be formed by just a bound noun, which takes a pronominal possessive suffix, as shown in (6-1) through (6-3). This type of direct possession construction is typically used when the referent of the possessor is identifiable to the addressee.

(6-1) *Ukobo pere e lawuk?*
 u=kobo pere [e lawu-k]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NEG see P.NM same.sex.cross.cousin-1SG.POSSR
 ‘Don’t you see my cousin?’ [p414-s252]

(6-2) *Aine irabo lön.*
 [ai-ne]_{S.NP} i=rabo lön
 body-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR numb
 ‘His body will be numb.’ [p241-s30]

(6-3) *Tamadu ixo tengen...*
 [tama-duu]_{A.NP} i=xo tengen
 father-3DU.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST say
 ‘Their father said...’ (Lit: The two’s father said...) [p366-s42]

All possessive suffixes in Usen Barok are listed in Table 6-2 below.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	-k/-ke		-m	-na/-ne/-no/-nö
Dual	-raa	-maa	-muu	-duu
Paucal	-reet	-meet	-muot	-diet
Plural	-re	-mem	-mum	-di

Table 6-2: Bound pronominals - Possessive suffixes

- Juxtaposition of bound noun and independent NP

The other type of direct possession is formed by a juxtaposition of a possessed bound noun in its citation form (with the 3rd person singular possessive suffix) and an independent NP representing the possessor, as illustrated in (6-4) and (6-5). This type of direct possession construction is typically used when the possessor needs to be specified.

- (6-4) *I puos tewee a bo balana en*
 i puos tewee
 3SG.SM clean.abdominal.organs throw
 [a bo [bala-na]_{POSSD} [en]_{POSSR}]_{O.NP}
 C.NM PLM stomach-3SG.POSSR fish
 ‘He cleaned the abdominal organs of fish.’ [p424-s54]

- (6-5) *a tanono ina gaas*
 [a [tano-no]_{POSSD} [ina _____ gaas]_{POSSR}]_{NP}
 C.NM shadow-3SG.POSSR ANA.C.NM mantis
 ‘shadow of the mantis’ [p134-s26]

An interesting aspect of this type of direct possession is that it allows independent pronouns to be the possessor, as shown in (6-6) and (6-8). The two examples (6-6) and (6-7), and examples (6-8) and (6-9) are interchangeable. I am not aware of any semantic difference between the two ways of expression.

- (6-6) *a bo öxönö e meet*
 [a bo [öxö-nö]_{POSSD} [e _____ meet]_{POSSR}]_{NP}
 C.NM PLM head-3SG.POSSR P.NM 1PA.EXC
 ‘our heads’ [p473-s22]

(6-7) *a bo öxömeet*
 [a bo öxö-meet]_{NP}
 C.NM PLM head-1PA.EXC.POSSR
 ‘our heads’ [EL1-p13-n1]

(6-8) *bebene idi*
 [[bebe-ne]_{POSSD} [idi]_{POSSR}]_{NP}
 hair-3SG.POSSR 3PL
 ‘their hair’ [T1-37]

(6-9) *bebedi*
 [bebe-di]_{NP}
 hair-3PL.POSSR
 ‘their hair’ [EL1-p13-n3]

The possessed bound noun in the second type of direct possession construction must be in its citation form, that is, it must be suffixed by the 3rd person singular possessive suffix. Examples (6-10) and (6-11) are ungrammatical, because the possessed nouns are not in their citation forms (cf. (6-6) and (6-8)).

(6-10) **bebedi idi*
 [[bebe-di]_{POSSD} [idi]_{POSSR}]_{NP}
 hair-3PL.POSSR 3PL
 ‘their hair’ [EL]

(6-11) **a bo öxömeet e meet*
 [a bo [öxö-meet]_{POSSD} [e meet]_{POSSR}]_{NP}
 C.NM PLM head-1PA.EXC.POSSR P.NM 1PA.EXC
 ‘our heads’ [EL]

Another point that should be mentioned is that the possessor of this type of possessive construction cannot be the 3rd person singular independent pronoun. Example (6-12) is ungrammatical.

- (6-12) *Aine ine irabo lön.
 [ai-ne ine]S.NP i=rabo lön
 body-3SG.POSSR 3SG 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR numb
 ‘His body will be numb.’ [EL]

6.1.1.2 Indirect possession constructions

Section 6.1.1.1 has described the two types of direct possession constructions in which no possessive marker is involved. In this section, the discussion will focus on indirect possession constructions, which require possessive markers to link the possessed and the possessor. There are four possessive markers in Usen Barok: *re*, *kö*, *möxö* and *ne*. The constituent order of indirect possession constructions is shown below:

Possessed NP + *re/kö/möxö/ne* + Possessor NP

Note that only free nouns, those which cannot take possessive suffixes, can function as the head of the possessed NP in indirect possession constructions.

The choice of the possessive marker in indirect possession constructions is mainly determined by the noun class of the head of the possessor NP: the marker *re* requires a possessor NP headed by a personal noun and an independent pronoun; the marker *kö* requires a possessor NP headed by a common noun representing an animate referent; and the marker *möxö* requires a possessor NP headed by a common noun representing an inanimate referent.

The condition of choosing the marker *ne* is not yet clear. Detailed descriptions of each type of indirect possession constructions are given below.

- Indirect possession construction with the possessive marker *re*

The possessive marker *re* has four allomorphs *pe*, *te*, *ke* and *se*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.1. The form *re* is used in the morpheme line. The possessive marker *re* is employed when the possessed is headed by a free noun and the possessor is headed by a personal noun or an independent pronoun. In (6-13) the

possessor is a personal name, and in (6-14) the possessor is the 3rd person singular independent pronoun.

- (6-13) *Arabo paraa a axana pii re Tirimömöm.*
 a=rabo paraa
 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR tell
 [a axana [[pii]POSSD [re]POSSM [Tirimömöm]POSSR]]O.NP
 C.NM piece story POSSM Tirimömöm
 ‘I will tell a story of Tirimömöm.’ [p424-s1]

- (6-14) *A balik ixo tengen te nago re ine...*
 a balik i=xo tengen
 C.NM girl 3SG.SM=PAST say
 [re [[nago]POSSD [re]POSSM [ine]POSSR]NP]PP
 P.PREP mother POSSM 3SG
 ‘The girl told her mother...’ [p40-s117]

The possessive marker *re* can also function as the personal general preposition; see §7.3.7 for details.

The form *re* (and its variants) is the same in shape as the non-referential NP marker (§5.4.1.3). This is probably a coincidence.

- Indirect possession construction with the possessive marker *kö*

The possessive marker *kö* has an allomorph *xö* (when it follows a vowel), and it is represented by *kö* in the morpheme line. The *kö* construction is chosen if the possessed NP is headed by a free noun and the possessor NP is headed by common noun representing an animate referent. Examples are given in (6-15) and (6-16).

- (6-15) *Ixo muulo öng a bongas kö bung bo.*
 i=xo muu=lo
 3SG.SM=PAST follow=SEQ
 [öng a [[bongas]POSSD [kö]POSSM [bung bo]POSSR]]O.NP
 one L pig.track POSSM PLM pig
 ‘He followed the pigs’ track.’ [p239-s6]

- (6-16) *a malagan kö tödi*
 [a [[malagan]POSSD [kö]POSSM [tödi]POSSR]]NP
 C.NM mask POSSM man
 ‘a man’s mask’ [p134-s29]

The possessive marker *kö* can also function as the common general preposition (see §7.3.7).

- Indirect possession construction with the possessive marker *möxö*

The *möxö* construction is used when the head of the possessed NP is a free noun and the head of the possessor NP is a common noun representing an inanimate referent. Examples are given in (6-17) and (6-18).

- (6-17) *Ixo oseen a kiniso möxö arikoo.*
 i=xo o-seen
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-drift
 [a [[kiniso]POSSD [möxö]POSSM [arikoo]POSSR]]O.NP
 C.NM lid POSSM bamboo.tube
 ‘She dropped the lid of the bamboo tube.’ [p39-s40]

- (6-18) *Balixilik möxö ina lagunon nang tere ot.*
 [[[balixi~lik]POSSD [möxö]POSSM [ina lagunon]POSSR]
 woman~PL POSSM ANA.C.NM village
 nang]S.NP te=re ot
 DEM.DIST 3NSG.SM=CPL arrive
 ‘Women of that village have arrived.’ [p117-s2]

The possessive marker *möxö* has the same form as that of the preposition *möxö* which marks ‘source’ and ‘reason’ (§7.3.4) and that of the subordinator which introduces adverbial reason clauses (§13.2.2).

- Indirect possession construction with the possessive marker *ne*

The *ne* construction is rarely found in my corpus. The only generalisation that can be made about this marker is that it requires a free noun as the head of the possessed and an independent NP as the possessor. Examples are given in (6-19) and (6-20).

- (6-19) *Ixo tuu xö ligu ne gunon te Lapaan.*
 i=xo tuu
 3SG.SM=PAST stand
 [kö [[ligu]POSSD [ne]POSSM [gunon te Lapaan]POSSR]]PP
 C.PREP back POSSM house POSSM Lapaan
 ‘He stood at the back of Lapaan’s house.’ [p318-s19]

- (6-20) *a ginee ne tanoo*
 [a [g<in>ee]POSSD [ne]POSSM [tanoo]POSSR]NP
 C.NM <NML>cry POSSM ghost
 ‘the ghost’s cry’ [p312-s49]

Elicitation data demonstrate that the marker *ne* in (6-19) and (6-20) can be replaced by the marker *möxö* (which requires a possessor NP headed by a common noun representing an inanimate referent) and *kö* (which requires a possessor NP headed by a common noun representing an animate referent) respectively without affecting the meaning. However, it is not acceptable to replace the possessive markers *re*, *kö* or *möxö* with *ne* in (6-13) through (6-18).

The origin of the marker *ne* is not known. It has the same form as one of the linkers which is used for linking the cardinal numerals above two and the head noun (§4.7), but synchronically there is no obvious evidence to show these two forms are related to each other. This form is also the same as one of the variants of the 3rd person singular possessor suffix (§6.1.1.1 in Table 6-2).

6.1.2 Possessive construction with a comitative prepositional predicate

The comitative preposition *ma* ‘with’ and its complement can form a prepositional predicate to indicate possession. The constituent order of this type of possessive construction is given below:

Possessor + <i>ma</i> + Possessed

Examples of this type of possessive construction in my corpus all have personal pronouns as the possessors and common nouns as the head of the possessed, as shown in (6-21) through (6-23).

- (6-21) *Me nōngön ma nausen ne barok?*
 me [nōngön]_{POSSR} [ma [nausen ne barok]_{POSSD}]_{PP}
 DISC 2SG with how.many L child
 ‘Well, how many children do you have?’ (Lit: ‘Well, you are with how many children?’) [p190-s87]

- (6-22) *E ma sangawun ma ninöng ne barok.*
 [e]_{POSSR} [ma [sangawun ma ninöng ne barok]_{POSSD}]_{PP}
 1SG with ten and two L child
 ‘I have twelve children.’ (Lit: ‘I am with twelve children.’) [p191-s90]

- (6-23) *Kaim e mem ma jaa.*
 kaim [e mem]_{POSSR} [ma [jaa]_{POSSD}]_{PP}
 NEG P.NM 1PL.EXC with fire
 ‘We don’t have fire’ (Lit: ‘It is not that we are with fire.’) [T1-67]

Examples (6-21) through (6-23) show that the *ma* possessive construction always forms a clause and can only be translated as a ‘have’ clause in English. Although other types of nonverbal possessive constructions can also form clauses, they more commonly form complex NPs and are almost always translated into English phrases as ‘Possessor’s Possessed’ as shown in (6-13) through (6-20).

Note that *ma* is pronounced as *me* (represented as *ma* in the morpheme line) when preceding the non-referential common NP marker *re*, as shown in (6-24). This is probably due to vowel assimilation.

- (6-24) *Kaim e me re saxana.*
 kaim [[e]_{POSSR} [ma [re saxa-na]_{POSSD}]_{PP}
 NEG 1SG COM NR.NM opposite.sex.sibling-3SG.POSSR
 ‘I don’t have any sisters.’ ‘Lit: It is not that I am with any sister.’ [p138-s81]

6.2 Verbal possessive constructions

This section gives information on possessive constructions involving transitive verbs which convey a meaning similar to English ‘to own’ or ‘to have’. The Usen Barok verb *unan* ‘own’ and the Tok Pisin loan verb *gat* ‘have, get’ are described in §6.2.1 and §6.2.2 respectively.

6.2.1 Barok verb *unan* ‘own’

There is a transitive verb *unan* which can be translated into English as ‘to own’. This verb is not found in my texts, but I observed speakers using it several times when I was in the field. An example is given in (6-25).

- (6-25) *E unan a bo.*
 e unan a bo
 1SG.SM own C.NM pig
 ‘I own a pig.’ [OB-Kalik]

6.2.2 Tok Pisin verb *gat* ‘have, get’

With the increasing tendency of borrowing Tok Pisin lexicon into Usen Barok, using the Tok Pisin verb *gat* ‘have, get’ to form the possessive construction is common among Usen Barok speakers. An example is given in (6-26). Interestingly, the final voiceless stop /t/ in *gat* ‘have, get’ undergoes the process of lenition and voicing, which does not normally affect Tok Pisin loan words.

- (6-26) *Na idi toxo gar a nangadi.*
 Na idi to=xo gat a nangadi
 DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST have(TP) C.NM people
 ‘They had a large population.’ (Lit: ‘They had people.’) [T1-117]

7 Prepositional phrases

This chapter describes prepositional phrases (PPs) in Usen Barok. Section 7.1 distinguishes true prepositions and compound prepositions and gives a full list of both types of preposition. Section 7.2 describes the syntactic functions of PPs. Section 7.3 provides information on each individual true preposition, focusing on the semantic roles of the complement NP introduced by each true preposition. Section 7.4 describes compound prepositions.

7.1 Distinguishing true prepositions and compound prepositions

Prepositions in Usen Barok are either true prepositions or compound prepositions depending on whether an independent NP is required as the complement of the preposition.

A true preposition obligatorily requires an independent NP as its complement. In (7-1), the true preposition *ma* has the independent NP *eben re ine* ‘his fishing net’ as its complement, and marks it as having the comitative role.

- (7-1) *Ixo wan urii ma eben te ine...*
i=xo wan u-rii [ma [eben re ine]_{NP}]_{PP}
3SG.SM=PAST move ALL-down COM fishing.net POSSM 3SG
‘He went down with his fishing net.’ [p36-s48]

Unlike true prepositions, a compound preposition does not allow an independent NP to occur as its complement, as shown in (7-2).

- (7-2) *Ixo ilo a arikoo re idiet barama. ixo wan su min.*
 [i=xo ilo]_{VP1}
 3SG.SM=PAST take
 [a ari-koo re idiet barama]_{O.NP}
 C.NM water-bamboo POSSM 3PA family
 [i=xo wan su]_{VP2} [m=in]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST move descend COM=3SG
 ‘She took the bamboo tube of her family. She went down with it (the bamboo tube.)’ [p36-s37-s38]

The PP *min* ‘with it’ could be analysed as a fused form of a true preposition *ma/me* ‘with’ and the reduced form of the 3rd person singular pronoun *ine*. A compound preposition is employed when the complement of the compound preposition is identifiable to the addressee from the context. In (7-2), the compound preposition *min* ‘with it’ has its complement represented by the enclitic =*in* which anaphorically refers to the object NP *a arikoo re idiet barama* ‘her family’s bamboo tube’ of VP1 in the preceding independent clause.

It is not acceptable to add an independent NP as the complement of a compound preposition.

There are three compound prepositions in Usen Barok, as given in Table 7-1:

<i>m=in</i>	Comitative & instrumental ‘with=it’
<i>kö=naan</i>	Locative ‘on/at/in=it’
<i>möxö=naan</i> ²⁵	Source & attribute ‘from/of=it’

Table 7-1: compound prepositions in Usen Barok

All other prepositions are true prepositions, as given in Table 7-2:

²⁵ PPs *kö=naan* and *möxö=naan* are more difficult to analyse (see §7.4.2 and §7.4.3 for details).

<i>kalik</i>	Ablative ‘from’
<i>lamun</i>	Goal ‘for, to’
<i>ma/me</i>	Comitative and instrumental ‘with’ (<i>ma</i> precedes common NPs; <i>me</i> precedes personal NPs)
<i>möxö</i>	Source ‘from’; reason ‘because of’; attribute ‘of’; Possessive marker (see §6.1.1.2)
<i>ra</i>	Purposive ‘for, to’
<i>karna</i>	Similative ‘like’
<i>karnang</i>	Similative ‘like’
<i>kö</i>	General preposition (preceding common NPs); Possessive marker (see §6.1.1.2)
<i>re</i>	General preposition (preceding personal NPs); Possessive marker (see §6.1.1.2)
<i>rö</i>	Benefactive ‘for’
<i>rua</i>	Purposive ‘for, to’
<i>rue</i>	Benefactive ‘for’

Table 7-2: True prepositions in Usen Barok

Descriptions of individual true prepositions and compound prepositions are given in §7.3 and §7.4 respectively.

7.2 Syntactic functions of PPs

In Usen Barok, a PP may have three syntactic functions, as illustrated below:

- As a clausal adjunct

This is the most commonly observed syntactic function for almost all PPs. An example is given in (7-3).

- (7-3) *Ixo wan te ine ra nenem inaan.*
 [i=xo wan]_{VP} [re ine]_{PP} [ra ne~nem inaan]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST move P.PREP 3SG PURP NML~dive fish
 ‘He went to dive for fish.’ (Lit: ‘He went for himself to fish-dive’) [p329-s3]

- As the predicate of a nonverbal clause

In (7-4), the PP *re we* ‘whose’ functions as the nonverbal predicate.

(7-4) *A sim pe we?*
 [a sim]_{NP/NCS} [re we]_{PP/NCP}
 C.NM canoe P.PREP who
 ‘Whose canoe?’ [OB-Grace]

- As modifiers within an NP

In Usen Barok, PPs introduced by possessive prepositions (possessive markers: *re*, *kö* and *möxö*) are commonly observed as modifiers within an NP (see §6.1.1.2). In (7-5), the PP *re e* ‘my’ modifies the head of the NP *gamut* ‘slit gong’. PPs introduced by non-possessive prepositions rarely function as modifiers within an NP.

(7-5) *A gamut te e irabo börön.*
 [a gamut [re e]_{PP}]_{S.NP} [i=rabo börön]_{VP}
 C.NM slit.gong P.PREP 1SG 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR sound.make
 ‘My slit gong will make sound.’ [p429-s53]

7.3 True prepositions

The meanings and uses of each true preposition are described individually below. Note that almost every preposition marks more than one semantic role in Usen Barok and the descriptions here only illustrate the most typical uses.

7.3.1 Ablative ‘from’: *kalik*

The preposition *kalik* ‘from’ has three allomorphs *kalix*, *xalik* and *xalix* (*kalik* is used in the morpheme line). It marks the ablative semantic role, indicating movement away from someone or something. PPs introduced by *kalik* mainly function as clausal adjuncts and follow the predicate. Examples are given in (7-6) and (7-7).

(7-6) *Ari ixo mese xalix ine.*
 ari i=xo mese [kalik ine]_{PP}
 water 3SG.SM=PAST dry from 3SG
 ‘The water (in the pond) dried up from it (the eel).’ [p186-s10]

- (7-7) *Wasak tewee ine xalix a nien.*
 wasak tewee ine [kalik a nien]_{PP}
 chase throw 3SG from C.NM food
 ‘(They) chased him away from the food.’ [p204-s319]

kalik is also a NP level adverb which means ‘alone’ (see §5.7.3 example (5-95)) and a subordinator introducing a possible-consequence adverbial clause meaning ‘in case’ (see §13.2.5).

7.3.2 Goal ‘for, to’: *lamun*

The preposition *lamun* ‘for, to’ marks its complement NP as a goal or a destination. In (7-8), *a lagunon* ‘the village’ marked by the preposition *lamun* is the destination of the movement ‘travelling’.

- (7-8) *Di te önaan lamun a lagunon.*
 di te önaan [lamun a lagunon]_{PP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM move to C.NM village
 ‘They were travelling to the village.’ [p194-s156]

In (7-9) and (7-10) *a taa* ‘red ochre’ and *a tödi deek* ‘good man’ are the goals of the verbs *ose* ‘ask’ and *maa* ‘want’ respectively.

- (7-9) *Me muu mo ose lamun a taa rö sa?*
 me muu mo ose [lamun [a taa]]_{PP} rö sa
 DISC 2DU 2NSG.SM ask for C.NM red.ochre for what
 ‘Why did you two ask for red ochre?’ (Lit: You two asked for red ochre for what?’ [p367-s59]

- (7-10) *...maa lamun a tödi deek.*
 maa [lamun [a tödi deek]]_{PP}
 want for C.NM man good
 ‘...(God) wants a good man.’ [p121-s58]

Prepositional phrases introduced by *lamun* ‘for, to’ are commonly observed functioning as clausal adjuncts following the predicate.

The form *lamun* also functions as a subordinator to introduce adverbial clauses indicating reasons or purpose (§13.2.1).

7.3.3 Comitative and instrumental ‘with’: *ma/me*

The prepositions *ma/me* ‘with’ mark their complement NPs with a comitative or an instrumental role. The two forms of this preposition are in complementary distribution. The form *ma* is used when the complement NP is headed by a common noun, and the form *me* is used when the complement NP is headed by a personal noun or an independent pronoun.

Examples (7-11) and (7-12) show the preposition *ma/me* with the comitative reading. In (7-11), the form *ma* is used preceding the common noun *ara* ‘spear’, and in (7-12) the form *me* is used preceding the personal pronoun *ine* ‘him’.

- (7-11) *Tata ixo wan ot ma ara.*
 tata i=xo wan ot [ma [ara]_{NP}]_{PP}
 father 3SG.SM=PAST move arrive with spear
 ‘Father arrived with a spear.’ [p24-s11]

- (7-12) *Ixo önaan me ine.*
 i=xo önaan [me [ine]_{NP}]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST move with 3SG
 ‘It (a big fish) travelled with him (on its back).’ [p200-s251]

Note that there is one exception to the distribution rule of the preposition *ma/me*. The form *me* (represented by *ma* in the morpheme line) is used when preceding the non-referential common NP marker *re*, as shown in (7-13). This is probably due to vowel assimilation.

- (7-13) *Ma ukara kaa me re inaan.*
 ma u=kara kaa [me [re inaan]_{NP}]_{PP}
 but 2SG.SM=NEVER ascend with NR.NM fish
 ‘But you never came up (from the sea) with a fish.’ [p340-s52]

Example (7-14) shows the preposition *ma/me* with the instrumental reading. The form *ma* is used preceding the common noun *laban* ‘leaf’.

- (7-14) *Maa me timet ma laban.*
 maa me timet [ma [laban]_{NP}]_{PP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.SM cover.stone.oven with leaf
 ‘We two covered the stove with the leaf.’ [p122-s13]

It seems that the PP *me ine* ‘with it’ never has an instrumental reading. There is a compound preposition *m=in* ‘with=it’ which carries out this function (see §7.4.1). Examples such as in (7-15) are not acceptable (cf. (7-14)). Note that inanimate referents can only be referred to by using singular pronouns even if they are plural in number.

- (7-15) **Maa me timet me ine.*
 maa me timet [me [ine]_{NP}]_{PP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.SM cover.stone.oven with 3SG
 ‘We two covered the stove with it.’ [EL]

Prepositional phrases introduced by the comitative and instrumental preposition *ma/me* are commonly observed functioning as clausal adjuncts after the predicate, as shown in (7-11) through (7-14).

7.3.4 Source ‘from’, reason ‘because of’ and attribute ‘of’: *möxö*

The preposition *möxö* typically marks its complement NP as a source and a reason. Frawley (1992: 220, 225) defines a source role as “the point of origin” and he comments: “reasons are prior conditions, and...are often coded like sources.”

In (7-16), *möxö* indicates a physical source, that is, *a nien* ‘the food’ comes from the origin *koomo* ‘garden’.

- (7-16) *Mem marabo enen a nien möxö koomo.*
 mem ma=rabo en-en
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR REP~eat
 [a nien]_{O.NP} [möxö koomo]_{PP}
 C.NM food from garden
 ‘We will eat the food from the garden.’ [p75-s45]

In (7-17), *möxö* marks *maxus* ‘carrion’ as the reason or cause of ‘his maternal nephew’s growing up’. That is, *maruono* ‘his maternal nephew’ grew up “because of the motivating prior condition” (Frawley 1992: 226) of *maxus* ‘the carrion’.

- (7-17) *Maruono ixo taxin möxö maxus...*
 maruo-no i=xo taxin [möxö maxus]_{PP}
 maternal.nephew-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST big because.of carrion
 ‘His maternal nephew grew up because of (eating) the carrion...’ [p107-s28]

When functioning as a modifier within an NP, the PP introduced by *möxö* may indicate a characteristic of the referent represented by the head noun. In (7-18), the PP *möxö winawa* ‘(used) for flying’ modifies the head noun *man* ‘tapa cloth’. This example is taken from a Barok legend about a boy who has a magic tapa cloth which enables him to fly.

- (7-18) *I tönlo a man te ine möxö winawa.*
 i tön=lo
 3SG.SM hold=SEQ
 [a [man re ine] [möxö [w<in>awa]]]_{PP}]_{O.NP}
 C.NM cloth POSSM 3SG of <NML>fly
 ‘He held his tapa cloth which is used for flying.’ (Lit: ‘He held his tapa cloth of flying.’) [p328-s71]

In this type of PP, the preposition *möxö* usually has a nominalised verb or a nominalised verbal clause as its complement. In (7-18), *winawa* ‘flying’ is derived from the verb *wawa* ‘to fly’. In (7-19), *sinöngöt* is derived from the verb *söngöt* ‘to cook’.

- (7-19) *a une raxin möxö sinöngöt*
 [a [une raxin] [möxö s<in>öngöt]_{PP}]_{NP}
 C.NM woman old of <NML>cook
 ‘an old woman who is good at cooking’ [p256-s89]

In (7-20), a ‘clausal nominalisation’ (Comrie and Thompson 2007: 376) functions as the complement of the preposition *möxö*.

- (7-20) *Malamu, tödi möxö sisilien a xöxöröp irabo tengen baraa...*
 malamu
 later
 [tödi [möxö [si~silien a xöxöröp]_{CLNOM}]_{PP}]_{A.NP}
 man of NML~custom.host C.NM final.feast
 i=rabo tengen baraa
 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR utter thus
 ‘Later, the man who hosts the final feast will say thus...’ [p361-s69-s70]

The internal structure of the nominalised clause *sisilien a xöxöröp* ‘host the final feast’ in (7-20) resembles a finite transitive verbal clause except that the verb *silien* ‘to custom host’ in the nominalised clause is reduplicated and it cannot take a subject marker or preverbal marker.

In Usen Barok, PPs introduced by *möxö* are most commonly used as modifiers within an NP, as illustrated in (7-16), (7-18), (7-19) and (7-20). *Möxö* can also function as a possessive marker which links a possessed NP with a free head noun and a possessor NP with an inanimate head noun (see §6.1.1.2). The ‘possessive usage’ of *möxö* can be classified as the function of modifying the head of an NP.

PPs introduced by *möxö* may function as clausal adjuncts after the predicate, as illustrated in (7-17).

The preposition *möxö* is also used together with the interrogative common noun *sa* ‘what’ to form a rhetorical question *möxö sa* ‘because of what’, as shown in (7-21).

- (7-21) *E esem jang, e Tago. Möxö sa? Örobo tödi möxö se inaan.*
 e ese-m jang e Tago
 P.NM name-2SG.POSSR OC P.NM Tago
 [möxö sa]_{PP}
 because.of what
 ö=röbo [tödi [möxö [se inaan]_{NOM}]_{PP}]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR man of attack fish
 ‘As for your name, (it will be) Tago. Because of what? You will be a man who is good at fishing.’ [p62-s48-s50]

The expression *möxö sa* ‘because of what’ cannot be used to ask a real question (the form *rö sa* ‘for what, why’ is employed for a real question; see §7.3.8). As illustrated in (7-21), *möxö sa* ‘because of what’ almost always, both syntactically and phonologically, stands as an independent sentence. It usually occurs between two other independent sentences to strongly assert or deny the fact stated in the sentence which immediately follows the rhetorical question. Semantically, the sentence that follows *möxö sa* ‘because of what’ always provides the reason for the sentence that precedes the rhetorical question.

Möxö ‘because’ also functions as a subordinator introducing adverbial reason clauses (§13.2.2).

7.3.5 Purposive ‘for, to’: *ra*

The preposition *ra* has four allomorphs *pa*, *ta*, *sa* and *ka* following the assimilation rule as described in §2.7.2. The form *ra* is used in the morpheme line. The preposition *ra* marks its complement with a purposive role and it usually has a nominalised verb as its complement. In (7-22), the nominalised form *pinaluso* is derived from the verb *paluso* ‘to sleep’.

- (7-22) *Meet me wan ta pinaluso.*
 meet me wan [ra [p<in>aluso]]_{PP}
 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM move PURP <NML>sleep
 ‘We went to sleep.’ [p78-s12]

Prepositional phrases introduced by *ra* mainly function as clausal adjuncts after the predicate, as shown in (7-22).

The preposition *ra* ‘to’ may have directionals prefixed by *u-* ‘towards-’ or *me-* ‘from’ (§8.1) as its complement in a verbal clause indicating allative or ablative directions (§8.1.1.3).

The form *ra* is commonly found to follow the intransitive verb *öt* ‘be sufficient, enough’ to indicate ‘ability’ (§9.4.5) and *ra* can also function as a deverbaliser in nonverbal negation (§12.5.7).

7.3.6 Similative ‘like’: *karna* and *karnang*

Usen Barok has two similative prepositions *karna* and *karnang*. They are pronounced as *xarna* and *xarnang* following a vowel. The forms *karna* and *karnang* are used in the morpheme line. The formation of these two prepositions suggests that they are related to the nominal demonstratives *na* ‘this’ and *nang* ‘that’ (§4.5). *Karna* and *karnang* mark their complement NPs with a similative role indicating that something has similarities with the referent represented by the complement NP.

In (7-23), the PP *karnang a sim* ‘be like a canoe’ modifies the head noun *en* ‘fish’ within the NP, indicating that ‘the fish is like a canoe’.

- (7-23) *A en karnang a sim ixo wan ot.*
 [a en [kar-nang a _____ sim]_{PP}]_{NP}
 C.NM fish like-DEM.DIST C.NM canoe
 i=xo wan ot
 3SG.SM=PAST move arrive
 ‘The fish (which looks) like a canoe arrived.’ [p193-s135]

In (7-24), the PP *karna ina sim* ‘like the canoe’ functions as a prepositional predicate. This is an elicited example, and the speaker is pointing to a canoe while uttering the sentence.

- (7-24) *A lak dödöngö xarna ina sim.*
 [a lak dödöngö]_{NP} [kar-na [ina _____ sim]]_{PP}
 C.NM DUMMY deep like-DEM.PROX DEI.C.NM canoe
 ‘A deep thing like this canoe!’ [EL-p193-s135]

The preposition *karna* is deictic. It is only used in situations where the referent of the complement NP is proximal to the speaker, as shown in (7-24). The preposition *karnang* does not seem to have such a restriction. It can be used to indicate similarities between two entities without pointing to the referent represented by the complement NP. In (7-25), the sentence is uttered when there are no pigs around. The speaker does not mean that Elison sleeps like a particular pig, but like pigs in general.

- (7-25) *Elison ibo wupaluso xarnang a bo*
 Elison i=bo pa~paluso [karnang a _____ bo]_{PP}
 Elison 3SG.SM=HAB REP~sleep like-DEM.DIST C.NM pig
 ‘Elison always sleeps like a pig.’ [EL-Kolin]

It seems that the preposition *karnang* can replace *karna* freely. In other words, *karnang* can be used when the speaker is pointing to the referent of the complement NP proximal to him/herself. The sentence in (7-26) was uttered when the speaker was pointing to a group of people who were proximal to himself. Note that using the proximal demonstrative *na* ‘this/these’ as the modifier within the complement NP of *karnang* also indicates that *e nangadi* ‘people’ are proximal to the speaker.

- (7-26) *Ne ine ixo taxin xarnang e nangadi na*
 ne ine [i=xo taxin]_{VP}
 DISC 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST big
 [kar-nang [e _____ nangadi na]_{NP}]_{PP}
 like-DEM.DIST P.NM people DEM.PROX
 ‘Then he grew up like these people.’ [p107-s29]

Karnang may function as a subordinator introducing manner adverbial clauses (see §13.2.3).

7.3.7 General prepositions: *kö* and *re*

The prepositions *kö* and *re* are labelled ‘general prepositions’ because they mark their complement NPs with any of three major semantic roles, including recipient, beneficiary and location. These two prepositions are in complementary distribution: *kö* is used to head a PP whose complement is expressed by a common NP, whereas *re* is used to head a PP whose complement is a personal NP or an independent pronoun. The preposition *kö* has an allomorph *xö*, which occurs after a vowel; the form *kö* is used in the morpheme line. The preposition *re* has four allomorphs *pe*, *te*, *se* and *ke*, following the assimilation rule as described in §2.7.1; the form *re* is used in the morpheme line.

7.3.7.1 *Kö* and *re* marking recipients

Examples (7-27) and (7-28) show that both the common noun *lieng* ‘cave’ and the personal name *Tinen* are the recipients of the verb *tengen* ‘to utter’, but they are marked by *kö* and *re* respectively.

- (7-27) *Na ixoro tengen kö lieng...*
 na i=xo=ro tengen [kö lieng]_{PP}
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL utter C.PREP cave
 ‘She (the ghost) had already spoken to the cave...(magic words)’ [p451-s79]

- (7-28) *Ixo tengen te Tinen...*
 i=xo tengen [re Tinen]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST say P.PREP Tinen
 ‘He told Tinen...’ [p143-s9]

Prepositional phrases introduced by *kö* or *re* PPs to mark recipients usually function as postverbal clausal adjuncts as shown in (7-27) and (7-28).

7.3.7.2 *Kö* and *re* marking beneficiaries

Examples (7-29) and (7-30) show that both *kö* and *re* mark their complements as beneficiaries. *Kö* is used preceding the common NP *öng a tödi pidien* ‘a white man’ in (7-29), whereas *re* is used preceding the 3rd person singular pronoun in (7-30).

- (7-29) *Maa moxobo rörerön kö öng a tödi pidien.*
 maa mo=xo=bo rö-rörerön
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=PAST=HAB REP~work
 [kö [öng a tödi pidien]_{NP}]_{PP}
 C.PREP one L man white
 ‘We two used to work for a white man.’ [p509-s2]

- (7-30) *Toxoro xöxöröp pe ine*
 to=xo=ro xöxöröp [re [ine]_{NP}]_{PP}
 3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL have.final.feast P.PREP 3SG
 ‘They already had a final feast for him’ [p249-s134]

Prepositional phrases introduced by *kö* or *re* with a benefactive reading usually function as postverbal clausal adjuncts.

Both *kö* and *re* are also used as possessive markers in possessive constructions (see §6.1.1.2). When functioning as nonverbal predicates, PPs introduced by *kö* or *re* may have either a benefactive or a possessive reading. As shown in (7-31), without context, *re we* can be interpreted as either ‘for whom’ or ‘whose’.

- (7-31) *A gunon te we.*
 [a gunon]_{NP/NCS} [re we]_{PP/NCP}
 C.NM house BEN/POSSM who
 ‘The house is for whom?/Whose house?’ [EL-p209]

Similarly, when functioning as modifiers within an NP, PPs introduced by *kö* or *re* may also have either a benefactive or a possessive reading. As illustrated in (7-32), without context, *kö ina tödi* can mean either ‘for that man’ or ‘that man’s’.

- (7-32) *A gunon kö ina tödi a lak deek.*
 [a [gunon] [kö ina tödi]_{PP}]_{NP/NCS}
 C.NM house BEN/POSSM DEL.C.NM man
 [a lak deek]_{NCP}
 C.NM DUMMY good
 ‘The house for that man is a good thing./That man’s house is a good thing.’ [EL-p209]

7.3.7.3 *Kö* and *re* marking locatives

Prepositional phrases introduced by *kö* or *re* may have a locative reading when they function as postverbal clausal adjuncts, as shown in (7-33) and (7-34).

- (7-33) *A je ixo tuu xö vapat te ine.*
 a je i=xo tuu [kö [vapat re ine]_{NP}]_{PP}
 C.NM arrow 3SG.SM=PAST stand C.PREP head POSSM 3SG
 ‘The arrow was standing on its head.’ [p207-s378]

- (7-34) *Je i tuu re ine.*
 je i tuu [re [ine]_{NP}]_{PP}
 arrow 3SG.SM stand P.PREP 3SG
 ‘The arrow was standing on it (the eel).’ [p204-s332]

Note that it is very uncommon to have PPs introduced by *re* with a locative reading: the complement NP headed by *re* requires a personal noun, but locations are typically place names and locational common nouns. PPs introduced by *re* with a locative reading are restricted to the function of postverbal clausal adjunct to refer to ‘on/at/in someone’, as illustrated in (7-34).

Prepositional phrases introduced by *kö* with a locative reading may function as nonverbal predicates (7-35) and modifiers within an NP (7-36).

- (7-35) *Ine xö gunon.*
 ine [kö gunon]_{PP/NCP}
 3SG C.PREP house
 ‘She is in the house.’ [OB-Mares]

- (7-36) *E xixöök kö unu jaa ixo ririe.*
 [e [kixöök [kö unu jaa]_{PP}]_{S.NP} i=xo ti~tie
 P.NM rooster C.PREP cluster tree 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~dance
 ‘The rooster in the tree was dancing.’ [p89-s139]

7.3.8 Benefactive ‘for’: *rö*

The preposition *rö* has four allomorphs *pö*, *tö*, *sö* and *kö*, following the assimilation pattern as described in §2.7; the form *rö* is used in the morpheme line. This preposition marks pronominal complements (personal pronouns and collective kin terms which are normally quantified by preceding 3rd person non-singular pronouns) as beneficiaries. In (7-37), the collective kin term *barama* ‘family’ quantified by the 3rd person paucal pronoun *idiet* functions as the complement NP of the preposition *rö*.

- (7-37) *Irabo rөрөн тө идийт бarama.*
 i=rabo rөрөн [rө] [идийт бarama]_{NP}]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR work for 3PA family
 ‘He will work for the family.’ [p172-s51]

According to the elicitation data, the preposition *rө* in examples such as (7-37) can safely be replaced by the personal general preposition *re* without affecting the meaning.

The preposition *rө* can also be used together with the interrogative common noun *sa* ‘what’ to form the expression *rө sa* ‘for what, why’ to ask a real question, as shown in (7-38). The PP *rө sa* usually functions as a clausal adjunct.

- (7-38) *Mum mo ririe rө sa?*
 mum mo ti~tie [rө] [sa]_{NP}]_{PP}
 2PL 2NSG.SM PROG~dance for what
 ‘Why are you dancing?’ (‘Lit: You are dancing for what?’) [p271-s8]

7.3.9 Purposive ‘for, to’: *rua*

The preposition *rua* has four allomorphs *pua*, *tua*, *sua* and *kua*, following the assimilation pattern as described in §2.7, the form *rua* is used in the morpheme line. This preposition marks its complement with a purposive role and it usually has a nominalised verb as its complement. This preposition is marginal in Usen Barok since it does not occur very often and it can be replaced by the other purposive preposition *ra* ‘for, to’ (see §7.3.5). An example is given in (7-39).

- (7-39) *Ma көрө tabo kuruu bo rii xө taun rua enen.*
 ma көрө t=abo kuruu bo
 DISC people 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR slice pig
 nii kö taun [rua] [en~en]_{PP}
 downward C.PREP men’s house PURP NML~eat
 ‘And people will slice the pork down there in the men’s house to eat.’
 [p361-s73]

7.3.10 Benefactive ‘for’: *rue*

The preposition *rue* has four allomorphs *pue*, *tue*, *sue* and *kue*, following the assimilation pattern as described in §2.7, the form *rue* is used in the morpheme line. This preposition requires a personal NP as its complement and marks the complement with a benefactive role. In (7-40), the 1st person plural exclusive pronoun *mem* ‘we’ functions as the complement NP of the preposition *rue*. This preposition is also a marginal one. It is not commonly used by the Usen Barok speakers and it can almost always be replaced by the personal general preposition *re* (see §7.3.7.2).

- (7-40) *mum möröbo sek kaxut tue mem.*
 mum [mö=röbo sek xaxut]_{VP}
 2PL 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR cut firewood
 [rue mem]_{PP}
 for 1PL.EXC
 ‘You will firewood-cut for us.’ [p256-s87]

7.4 Compound prepositions

This section describes the meanings and uses of the three compound prepositions *m=in* ‘with=it’ (in §7.4.1), *kö=naan* ‘on/at/in=it’ (in §7.4.2) and *möxö=naan* ‘from/of=it’ (in §7.4.3).

7.4.1 Comitative and instrumental ‘with=it’: *m=in*

The compound preposition *m=in* ‘with=it’ marks both a comitative and an instrumental role as illustrated in (7-41) and (7-42) respectively. A detailed discussion on *m=in* is given in §7.1. This preposition is presumably related to the true prepositions *ma* and *me* (see §7.3.3). *M=in* mainly functions as a clausal adjunct after the predicate.

- (7-41) *Ixo buruu xaslo a kup, na ixo wawa kaalo min ta uruso, ixo davösör e tubuno min.*
 i=xo buruu xas=lo a kup
 3SG.SM=PAST catch wrongly=SEQ C.NM sea.cucumber
 na i=xo wawa kaa=lo [m=in]_{PP} ra u-ruso
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST fly ascend=SEQ COM=it ALL ALL-up
 i=xo davösöt e tubu-no [m=in]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST found P.NM grandfather-3SG.POSSR COM=it
 ‘It (the bird) caught a sea cucumber by mistake. Then it (the bird) flew up with it (the sea cucumber) towards the beach, it (the bird) saw its grandfather with it (the sea cucumber).’ [p60-s29-s31]
- (7-42) *Tönlo ina je re ine, ixo kara ina milo min.*
 tön=lo ina je re ine
 hold=SEQ ANA.C.NM arrow POSSM 3SG
 i=xo kara ina milo [m=in]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST to.spear ANA.C.NM eel INST=it
 ‘(He) held his arrow, he speared the eel with it (the arrow).’ [p204-s329-s330]

7.4.2 Locative ‘on/at/in=it’: kö=naan

The preposition *kö=naan* has an allomorph *xö=naan*; the form *kö=naan* is used in the morpheme line. This preposition is presumably related to the common general preposition *kö* (§7.3.7.3), which can also have a locative reading. Although the origin of the enclitic *=naan* that attaches to *kö* is not known, the function of *=naan* is the same as that of *=in* in *m=in* ‘with=it’ which can be interpreted as an anaphoric pronoun. In (7-43), the form *=naan* denotes *a gunon te iduu nasuon* ‘their house’. The preposition *kö=naan* is commonly found functioning as a clausal adjunct after the predicate.

- (7-43) *A balana lieng niang, a gunon te iduu nasuon. Iduu tobo mamaruu xönaan.*
 a bala-na lieng niang
 C.NM stomach-3SG.POSSR cave DEM.DIST
 [a gunon re iduu nasuon]_{NP}
 C.NM house POSSM 3DU couple
 iduu to=bo ma~maruu [kö=naan]_{PP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=HAB REP~lie.down LOC=it
 ‘As for the inside of the cave, it is the couple’s house. They two (the couple) live in it (their house).’ [p35-s14-s15]

7.4.3 Source and attribute ‘from/of=it’: *möxö=naan*

The preposition *möxönaan* is presumably related to the true preposition *möxö* (§7.3.4). As mentioned in §7.4.2, the origin of the enclitic *=naan* is not clear, but its function is similar to an anaphoric pronoun. In (7-44), *möxö=naan* ‘of=it’ can be paraphrased as *möxö ina arikoo* ‘of that water tube’. The preposition *möxö=naan* is rarely encountered in my corpus. Example (7-44) shows that *möxö=naan* functions as a modifier within an NP.

- (7-44) *Ixo tee a arikoo... ixo sawang a kiniso möxönaan.*
 i=xo tee a arikoo
 3SG.SM=PAST cut C.NM water.tube
 i=xo sawang [a kiniso [möxö=naan]PP]O.NP
 3SG.SM=PAST open C.NM lid of=it
 ‘He made a water tube...He opened the lid of the water tube.’ (Lit: ‘He cut a water tube...He opened the lid of it.’) [p538-s115-s126]

8 Spatial reference

This chapter is divided into four sections describing spatial reference in Usen Barok. Section 8.1 introduces a set of directionals employed for the geographic and deictic directional systems. Section 8.2 provides information on locational prepositional phrases which are used for indicating spatial reference. Section 8.3 describes place names and familiar-place local nouns which may function as clausal adjuncts on their own. Section 8.4 describes how the directionals, locational prepositional phrases, place names and local nouns are combined together to express spatial reference.

8.1 Directionals

Five basic semantic categories can be distinguished in the directional system. As shown in Table 8-1, *nuso* is roughly glossed as ‘up’,²⁶ *nii* as ‘down’,²⁷ *noo* as ‘sea/southeast’,²⁸ *ra* as ‘here’,²⁹ and *ringaan* as ‘there’.³⁰

²⁶ The directional *nuso* ‘up’ has five variants *puso*, *tuso*, *ruso*, *suso* and *kuso*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.4. The citation form *nuso* is used in the morpheme line.

²⁷ The directional *nii* ‘down’ has five variants *pii*, *tii*, *rii*, *sii* and *kii*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.4. The citation form *nii* is used in the morpheme line.

²⁸ The directional *noo* ‘sea/southeast’ has five variants *poo*, *too*, *roo*, *soo* and *koo*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.4. The citation form *noo* is used in the morpheme line.

²⁹ The directional *ra* ‘here’ has four variants *pa*, *ta*, *sa* and *ka*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.3. The citation form *ra* is used in the morpheme line.

³⁰ The directional *ringaan* ‘there’ has four variants *pingaan*, *tingaan*, *singaan* and *kingaan*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.3. The citation form *ringaan* is used in the morpheme line.

		Geographic directionals			Deictic directionals (Local demonstratives)	
		up	down	sea/southeast	‘here’	‘there’
Essive	unmarked	<i>nuso</i>	<i>nii</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ringaan</i>
	near	<i>nöngösö</i>	<i>nenge</i>	<i>nöngö</i>	--	--
Allative	unmarked	<i>u-ruso</i>	<i>u-rii</i>	<i>u-ruo</i>	<i>u-ra</i>	<i>u-ringaan</i>
	near	<i>u-röngösö</i>	<i>u-renge</i>	<i>u-röngö</i>	--	--
Ablative	unmarked	<i>me-ruso</i>	<i>me-rii</i>	<i>m-eruo</i>	<i>me-ra</i>	<i>me-ringaan</i>
	near	<i>me-röngösö</i>	<i>me-renge</i>	<i>me-röngö</i>	--	--

Table 8-1: Directionals in Usen Barok

The directional roots labelled ‘essive’ are employed for indicating ‘location’.³¹ The allative prefix *u-* ‘towards’ and ablative *me-* ‘from’ may be attached to a directional root to indicate ‘motion towards a direction’ or ‘motion away from a direction’.³²

The directionals in Usen Barok can be classified into two subgroups depending on whether a directional is pointing to a geographic or a deictic direction. The geographic directionals are glossed as ‘up’, ‘down’ and ‘sea/southeast’, whereas the deictic directionals are glossed as ‘here’ and ‘there’.

The geographic essive, allative and ablative directionals distinguish ‘unmarked’ and ‘near’ forms. A ‘near’ form is used to indicate the same direction as that of its unmarked counterpart, while suggesting a shorter distance from the speaker or the deictic centre.

The uses and syntactic functions of the geographic directionals are described in §8.1.1 and those of the deictic directionals are described in §8.1.2.

³¹ The use of the term ‘essive’ follows Bowden (2001: 277).

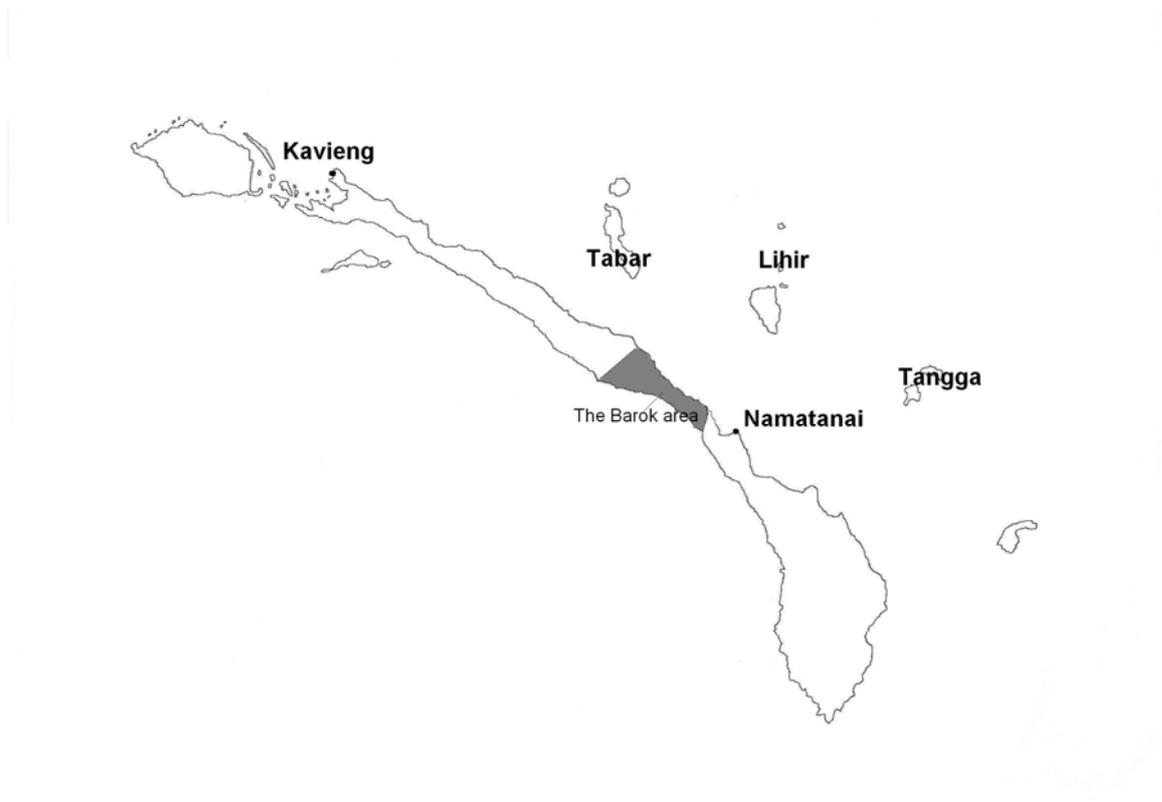
³² The allative prefix *u-* and the ablative prefix *me-* are probably reflexes of POs **ua* ‘go’ and **mai* ‘come’ respectively (Ross 2007: 268, 284).

8.1.1 The geographic directionals

Like many Oceanic languages, Usen Barok employs a non-compass directional system, which is based on the natural environment of the speakers. This system is referred to as ‘geographic directional system’. Section 8.1.1.1 describes how this system has been shaped. Sections 8.1.1.2 and 8.1.1.3 describe the syntactic functions of the geographic essive directionals and geographic allative/ablative directionals respectively.

8.1.1.1 The geographic directional system

As shown in Map 8-1, the Barok area occupies the narrowest part of New Ireland, which is flanked by the Bismarck Sea in the southeast and by the South Pacific Ocean in the northwest. The central mountain spine divides the Barok area into the east coast and the west coast regions. Data used in this chapter are all collected from Kolonoboi, an Usen Barok village located on the east coast.



Map 8-1: Geographic setting of the Barok area

According to Blust (1997) , Ross (2007) and François (2004), an Oceanic language usually employs two sets of geographic directions: one set operating on or near land and the other set operating at sea. Each set typically has two subsystems: the land-based subsystem may have an inland-seaward axis or an up-down axis; and the sea-based subsystem refers to a northwest-southeast axis. Usen Barok employs both an inland-seaward axis and a northwest-southeast axis.

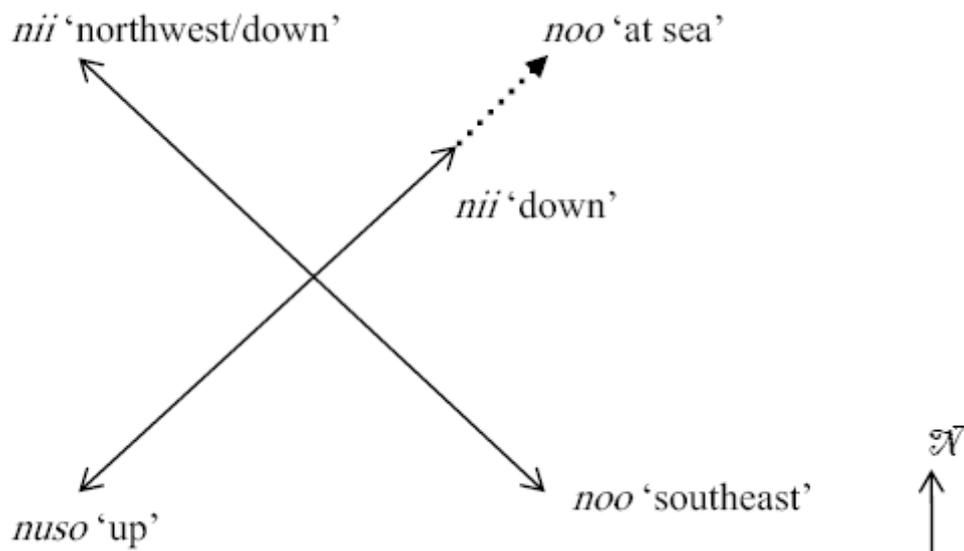


Figure 8-1: The geographic directional system

As illustrated in Figure 8-1, the geographic directional system used on the east coast employs a 'northwest-southeast' axis. This axis is used for indicating both directions on the mainland of New Ireland and directions at sea. For an Usen Barok speaker located at any of the Usen Barok villages on the east coast, the direction of the provincial capital Kavieng is *nii* 'northwest' and the direction of Namatanai is *noo* 'southeast' (see Map 8-1). This axis was probably originally motivated by the prevailing seasonal winds aligned on a northwest-southeast basis (Wagner 1986: 26-27; Ross 2007; Parkinson 1907 [1999]: 111). A few elderly speakers at Kolonoboi are still able to identify the association of *noo* 'southeast' and *taubar* 'southeast trade wind'. However, most speakers of Usen Barok (at least on the East coast) believe that this axis is to refer to the direction of the provincial capital Kavieng and the direction of the southern district town

Namatanai (see Map 8-1). Wagner (1986: 25), who did anthropological research in the 1970s on the East coast of the Usen Barok area, also reported:

Traditionally the southeast, or “Namatanai,” direction was called *mara bo*, the “eye” or “hole” of the pig; the northwest, or “Kavieng,” direction was the *mara mangin*, the “eye” of the *mis* (strung shell-disk currency)...The prevailing seasonal winds are also aligned on a northwest-southeast basis.

The ‘northwest-southeast’ axis is also used for denoting directions at sea.³³ For instance, an Usen Barok speaker located on Lihir island refers to the direction of Tabar island *nii* ‘northwest’ and Tangga island *noo* ‘southeast’ (see Map 8-1).

The Usen Barok directional system also employs an ‘up-down’ axis, which is illustrated in Figure 8-1, as the transverse axis of the ‘northwest-southeast’ axis. This axis is divided into two parts: the ‘land part’, which is represented by the solid line, and the ‘sea part’, which is represented by the dotted line. An Usen Barok speaker located inland refers to the direction of the hill (the central mountain spine of New Ireland) as *nuso* ‘up’ and to the direction of the beach as *nii* ‘down’. However, the direction of the sea is always referred to as *noo* ‘at sea’ if the speaker is located inland, and the direction of the mainland New Ireland is always referred to as *nuso* ‘up’ if the speaker is located at sea. According to the Usen Barok directional system, depending on their location, someone may be *nii löxöö* ‘down at the beach’ or *noo lömöö* ‘at sea’, although these can be exactly the same direction according to the western cardinal directional system.

Note that the same directional *nii* is used for indicating both ‘northwest’ and ‘down’ and *noo* is used for both ‘southeast’ and ‘at sea’.

³³ Further investigation is needed to see if the northwest-southeast axis also works for denoting directions at sea when an Usen Barok speaker is located on the west coast.

The ‘land part’ of the vertical axis is also used for denoting vertical directions. That is, the directions of the sky and the ground are referred to as *nuso* ‘up’ and *nii* ‘down’ respectively.

To an Usen Barok speaker, any place outside New Ireland and its surrounding area is always ‘up’. For instance, the directions of Rabaul (in East New Britain, PNG), Australia and China are all referred to as *nuso* ‘up’.

8.1.1.2 Syntactic functions of geographic essive directionals

A geographic essive directional (geographic directional roots) may function as a clausal adjunct, an adjunct of an NP, or a nonverbal predicate:

- As a clausal adjunct

In (8-1), the ‘unmarked’ essive directional *nuso* ‘up’ and the ‘near’ essive directional *nöngö* ‘southeast’ function as adjuncts of the verbal clause, indicating where ‘we live’.

- (8-1) *Mem bo xisixis suso xö lagunon ma röngö xö pirixö.*
 mem [Ø=bo xisixis]_{VP} [nuso
 1PL.EXC INSG.EXC=HAB stay up
 [kö lagunon]_{PP} ma [nöngö [kö pirixö]_{PP}
 C.PREP village and southeast. NEAR C.PREP bush
 ‘We live up in the village and in the bush to the southeast.’ [p37-s60]

In (8-2), the ‘near’ essive directional functions as adjunct of the nonverbal existential clause.

- (8-2) *Öng a kaunoon taxin angen nöngö xö dadaluus.*
 [öng a kaunoon taxin]_{NP/NCS}
 one L clam.shell big
 [angen]_{NCP} [nöngö [kö dadaluus]_{PP}
 EXIST at.sea.NEAR C.PREP turning
 ‘A big clam shell is there at the turning point of the sea.’ [p371-s120]

While functioning as a clausal adjunct, an essive directional (usually further specified by a locational PP) may occur clause initially. In that case, a pause is always observed after the directional (and the following locational PP). As shown in (8-3), the ‘unmarked’

essive directional *nuso* ‘up’ and the locational PP *kö ene lamas* ‘in coconut plantation’ precede the nonverbal clause. The comma in the example line indicates a pause.

- (8-3) *Nuso xö ene lamas, kaim e me re gunon.*
 [nuso [kö ene lamas]_{PP}]
 up C.PREP clump coconut
 [kaim [e ma re gunon]]
 NEG 1SG with NR.NM house
 ‘Up in the coconut plantation, I don’t have a house.’ (Lit: ‘Up in the coconut plantation, it is not that I am with a single house.’) [p345-s121-s122]

- As an NP adjunct

In (8-4), the ‘default’ essive directional *noo* ‘at sea’ indicates the direction of the turtle’s position.

- (8-4) *Ma uwun noo ixoro wan.*
 ma [[uwun]_{NP} noo] i=XO=RO wan
 but turtle at.sea 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL move
 ‘But the turtle at sea had already gone.’ [p94-s218]

- As a nonverbal predicate

In (8-5), the essive directional *nuso* ‘up’ heads the predicate of a nonverbal clause.

- (8-5) *Öng a lagunon nuso Laban.*
 [öng a lagunon]_{NP/NCS} [[nuso]_{NCP} Laban]
 one L village up Laban
 ‘A village is up at Laban’. [p169-s3]

8.1.1.3 Syntactic functions of geographic allative & ablative directionals

A geographic allative and ablative directional (prefixed by *u-* and *me-* respectively as illustrated in Table 8-1) may function as a clausal adjunct, an NP adjunct, a complement of the preposition *ra* in a verbal clause, or a nonverbal predicate:

- As a clausal adjunct

Like the geographic essive directionals, the allative and ablative directionals are also commonly used as clausal adjuncts. In (8-6), the ‘unmarked’ allative directional *u-rii* ‘towards-down’ modifies the verbal clause *iraa tabo wan* ‘let’s go’.

- (8-6) *Iraa tabo wan urii.*
 [iraa]_{S.NP} [t=abo wan]_{VP} u-rii
 1DU.INC 1NSG.INC=NIMM.IRR move ALL-down
 ‘Let’s go down.’ (Lit: ‘Two of us will move downward.’) [p39-s98]

- As an NP adjunct

In (8-7), the ‘unmarked’ ablative directional *me-ruso* ‘from the outside world’ modifies the object NP *a öröng* ‘big man’.

- (8-7) *Diet toxo pere a öröng meruso.*
 [diet]_{S.NP} [to=xo pere]_{VP}
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST see
 [[a öröng]_{O.NP} me-ruso]
 C.NM big.man ABL-up
 ‘They saw a big man from somewhere outside New Ireland.’ [p398-s23]

- As the complement of the preposition *ra*³⁴ in a verbal clause

As illustrated in (8-8) and (8-9), the ‘unmarked’ allative and ablative directionals *u-rii* ‘towards-down’ and *me-ruo* ‘from-southeast’ occur as the complement of the preposition *ra*. In elicitation, it is possible to omit the preposition *ra* in examples such as (8-8) and (8-9) without affecting the meaning (cf. (8-6)). The preposition *ra* is commonly used for marking purposive roles, as described in §7.3.5. It is glossed as ‘ALL’ (allative) and ‘ABL’ (ablative) when preceding allative and ablative directionals respectively.

³⁴ The preposition *ra* has four allomorphs *pa*, *ta*, *sa* and *ka*, following the assimilation pattern described in §2.7.2. The form *ra* is used in the morpheme line.

- (8-8) *Ixo wan ta urii.*
 i=xo wan [ra u-rii]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST move ALL ALL-down
 ‘He went downward.’ [p459-s249]

- (8-9) *Diet toxo wanlo ra meruo.*
 diet to=xo wan=lo [ra me-ruo]_{PP}
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST move=SEQ ABL ABL-southeast
 ‘They came from the southeast.’ [p398-s20]

- As a nonverbal predicate

A geographic allative/ablative directional can function as the head of a nonverbal predicate when it takes the default common NP marker *a* (also see §12.1.2.3). An example is given in (8-10). Note that this type of directional nonverbal clause cannot have an irrealis reading.

- (8-10) *Duu a urii.*
 [duu]_{NCS} [a u-rii]_{NCP}
 3DU C.NM ALL-down
 ‘They two went down.’ [p399-s40]

8.1.2 The deictic directionals (local demonstratives)

Due to their morphological and syntactic similarities with the geographic directionals, the local demonstratives illustrated in Table 8-1 are labelled ‘deictic directionals’.

Usen Barok has a speaker-based two-way system of deictic directionals, distinguishing proximal (close to the speaker) and distal (away from the speaker) forms. Deictic directionals may occur either as independent forms (deictic essive directionals) or in combination with the allative *u-* and ablative *me-* prefixes.

8.1.2.1 Syntactic functions of deictic essive directionals

Deictic essive directionals (deictic directional roots) have exactly the same syntactic functions as those of geographic essive directionals. That is, they can function as clausal adjuncts, NP adjuncts or nonverbal predicates.

- As a clausal adjunct

In (8-11) and (8-12), the deictic essive directionals *ra* ‘here’ and *ringaan* ‘there’ modify the verbal predicates.

(8-11) *Ekarabo xisixisim pa.*
 [e=ka=rabo xisixis=im]_{VP} ra
 1SG.SM=NEG=NIMM.IRR live=CONTR here
 ‘I will no longer live here.’ [p47-s195]

(8-12) *Mum mo mörmörö ringaan.*
 mum [mo mör~mörö]_{VP} ringaan
 2PL 2NSG.SM PROG~do.what there
 ‘What have you been doing there?’ [p89-s132]

In (8-13), the deictic essive directional *ringaan* ‘there’ modifies the nonverbal predicate.

(8-13) *Ine angen tingaan.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [angen]_{NCP} ringaan
 3SG EXIST there
 ‘He/she/it is there.’ [OB-Lean]

The deictic essive directional (usually followed by a locational prepositional phrase) may occur clause initially when functioning as a clausal adjunct. An example is given in (8-14).

(8-14) *Ra xö Lolobo, a nasuon duu toxo xisixis.*
ra [kö Lolobo]_{PP}
 here C.PREP Kolonoboi
 a nasuon duu [to=xo xisixis]_{VP}
 C.NM couple 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST live
 ‘Here at Kolonoboi, a couple lived.’ [p34-s3-s4]

- As an NP adjunct

In (8-15) the deictic essive directional *ringaan* ‘there’ functions as the adjunct of an NP.

- (8-15) *A bung barok kingaan baling tabo wan ot kö xaken.*
 [[a bung barok]_{NP} ringaan] baling
 C.NM PLM boy there again
 t=abo wan ot kö xaken
 3NSG.SM-NIMM.IRR move arrive C.PREP sun
 ‘The boys there will come back again during the day.’ [p153-s24-s25]

- As a nonverbal predicate

In (8-16), the deictic essive directional *ringaan* ‘there’ functions as the predicate of a nonverbal clause.

- (8-16) *E Eltie kaim pingaan?*
 [e Eltie]_{NCS} kaim [ringaan]_{NCP}
 P.NM Eltie NEG there
 ‘Isn’t Eltie there?’ [p395-s30]

8.1.2.2 Syntactic functions of deictic allative and ablative directionals

A deictic allative or ablative directional (prefixed by *u-* ‘towards’ or *me-* ‘from’) may function as a clausal adjunct or an NP adjunct:

- As a clausal adjunct

The example (8-17) shows that the deictic allative directional *u-ra* ‘towards-here’ modifies the verbal predicate.

- (8-17) *Iduu te wan kaa ura.*
 iduu [te wan kaa]_{VP} u-ra
 3DU 3NSG.SM move ascend ALL-DEM.PROX
 ‘They came up towards here.’ [p45-s168]

- As an NP adjunct

In (8-18), the deictic ablative directional *me-ra* ‘from-here’ modifies the subject NP *warawat* ‘stone’.

- (8-18) *Warawat mera xö aine maat ibo kuruu a xexene e.*
 [[wara~wat]_{A.NP} me-ra [kö ai-ne maat]_{PP}]
 stones~PL ABL-here C.PREP body-3SG.POSSR reef
 [i=bo kuruu]_{VP} [a xexe-ne e]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=POT cut C.NM leg-3SG.POSSR 1SG
 ‘Stones from here on the reef might cut my legs.’ [p87-s105]

8.2 Locational prepositional phrases

In Usen Barok, a locational prepositional phrase may function as a clausal adjunct, an NP adjunct or a nonverbal predicate to indicate spatial reference. As described in §7.3.7.3, locational PPs are typically headed by the locative preposition *kö*, which is glossed as ‘general common preposition’. The complement of the locative preposition *kö* can be a common noun (§8.2.1) or a place name (§8.2.2).

8.2.1 Common nouns as the complement of *kö*

Three subtypes of common noun may function as the complement of the locative preposition *kö*; these include relational local nouns (§8.2.1.1), familiar-place local nouns (§8.2.1.2) and other common nouns (§8.2.1.3).

8.2.1.1 Relational local nouns

Relational local nouns “enable speakers to talk about locations with reference to the object’s inherent features or parts” (Hyslop 2001: 227). In Usen Barok, relational local nouns are bound common nouns which are used for specifying “locations (‘inside’ etc.) in the intrinsic system” (Ross 2007: 231). An exhaustive list of relational local nouns found in my corpus is provided in Table 8-2:

Relational local nouns	Gloss
<i>bala-na</i>	‘stomach, inside’
<i>bulu-no</i>	‘lip, side, edge’
<i>e-ne</i>	‘under’
<i>kewe-ne</i>	‘side’
<i>könö-nö</i>	‘inside’
<i>lawa-na</i>	‘part, side’
<i>lewe-ne</i>	‘side’
<i>luo-no</i>	‘waist, middle’
<i>mara-na</i>	‘eye, front’
<i>ngusu-no</i>	‘end’
<i>sabo-no</i>	‘back’
<i>uni-ne</i>	‘bottom’
<i>xurxur-no</i>	‘top’

Table 8-2: Relational local nouns

In (8-19), the relational local noun *lawana* ‘side’ functions as the complement of the locative preposition *kö*.

- (8-19) *Ixo mumsik mon kö lawana.*
 i=xo mum=sik mon [kö lawa-na]_{pp}
 3SG.SM=PAST hide=STA just C.PREP side-3SG.POSSR
 ‘He was just hiding next to it.’ [p58-s10]

8.2.1.2 Familiar-place local nouns

In Table 4-3 in §4.1.3.5 I described five familiar-place local nouns (as listed in Table 8-3 below):

Familiar-place local nouns	Gloss
<i>koomo</i>	‘garden’
<i>lagunon</i>	‘village, home’
<i>lawu</i>	‘down’
<i>lömöö</i>	‘top’
<i>lөxöön</i>	‘beach’

Table 8-3: Familiar-place local nouns

Except for *lөxöön* ‘beach’, which never seems to occur in prepositional phrases, all other familiar-place local nouns can function as the complement of the locative preposition *kö*.

Examples (8-20), (8-21), (8-22) and (8-23) show that *koomo* ‘garden’, *lagunon* ‘village/home’, *lawu* ‘down’ and *lömöö* ‘top’ function as the complement of the preposition *kö* respectively.

- (8-20) *Ixo rөрön kö koomo.*
 [i=xo rөрön]_{VP} [kö koomo]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST work C.PREP garden
 ‘He worked in the garden.’ [p284-s39]

- (8-21) *A barok ixo xisixis kö lagunon.*
 a barok [i=xo xisixis]_{VP} [kö lagunon]_{PP}
 C.NM boy 3SG.SM=PAST stay C.PREP village/home
 ‘The boy stayed at home.’ [p518-s77]

- (8-22) *Kisim pooim kö lawu xө ene gunon im.*
 kis=im roo=im [kö lawu]_{PP}
 sit=CONTR southeast=CONTR C.PREP down
 kö e-ne gunon=im
 C.PREP under-3SG.POSSR house=CONTR
 ‘(He) sat down under the house.’ [p315-s82]

- (8-23) *Ixo böxösik kö lömöö arixe.*
 i=xo böxө=sik [kö lөmöö]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST float=STA C.PREP top
 ‘It was floating on top (of the sea).’ [p199-s238]

Lawu ‘down’ and *lömöö* ‘top’ are rarely used as the complement of the locative preposition *kö*. The examples (8-22) and (8-23) are the only text examples in my data where *lawu* ‘down’ and *lömöö* ‘top’ are in this function.

8.2.1.3 Other common nouns with spatial reference

Common nouns with spatial reference, such as *ari* ‘river’, *gunon* ‘house’, *rasi* ‘sea’, *taun* ‘men’s house’, etc., commonly occur as the complement of the locative preposition *kö*. Two examples are given in (8-24) and (8-25).

- (8-24) *Maa me wan su uruo xö ari.*
 maa me wan su u-ruo [kö ari]_{PP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.SM move descend ALL-southeast C.PREP river
 ‘We went down to the river in the southeast.’ [p305-s17]

- (8-25) *Ixo wan kaa uruso xö gunon.*
 i=xo wan kaa u-ruso [kö gunon]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST move ascend ALL-up C.PREP house
 ‘He went up to the house.’ [p311-s18]

8.2.2 Place names as the complement of *kö*

Place names are also commonly found functioning as the complement of the locative preposition *kö*. In (8-26), the place name *Kelege* occurs as the complement of the preposition *kö*.

- (8-26) *Ixo ot tuso xö Kelege.*
 i=xo ot nusoso [kö Kelege]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST arrive up C.PREP Kelege
 ‘He arrived up at Kelege.’ [p38-s68]

8.3 Nouns as locational adjuncts

Two subtypes of nouns can function as locational adjuncts without being marked by the locative preposition. They are place names (§8.3.1) and familiar-place local nouns (§8.3.2).

8.3.1 Place names

As mentioned in 4.1.2, one of the syntactic features that distinguishes place names from other types of noun is that they can be used adverbially. That is, a place name can occur as an adjunct without being marked by the locative preposition. Two examples are given in (8-27) and (8-28).

- (8-27) *Idi toxo xisixis Baxan.*
idi [to=xo xisixis]_{VP} Baxan
3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST live Bakan
‘They lived in Bakan.’ [p48-s210]

- (8-28) *Idiet toxo wanlo merii Kelege.*
idiet [to=xo wan=lo]_{VP} [me-rii Kelege]
3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST move=SEQ ABL-down Kelege
‘They came from Kelege down there.’ [p48-s206]

In (8-27), *Baxan* ‘Bakan’, which is the name of an Usen Barok village, functions as a clausal adjunct on its own. In (8-28), *Kelege* ‘Kelege’, which is the name of a cave in the Barok area’, also functions as a clausal adjunct and it is in apposition to the ablative directional *me-rii* ‘from-down’.

8.3.2 Familiar-place local nouns

Examples (8-29) and (8-30) show that the familiar-place local nouns *lömöö* ‘top’ and *löxöön* ‘beach’ function as clausal adjuncts without being marked by the locative preposition.

- (8-29) *Ixo tuu lömöö.*
[i=xo tuu]_{VP} lömöö
3SG.SM=PAST stand top
‘He stood up.’ [p417-s323]

- (8-30) *Kiv e uruso löxöön!*
[kip]_{VP} [e]_{O.NP} [u-ruso löxöön]
carry 1SG ALL-up beach
‘Carry me up to the beach!’ [p86-s86]

8.4 Combining spatial expressions

So far I have described three types of spatial expression in this chapter. They are directionals (§8.1), locational PPs (§8.2) and nouns which may function as clausal adjuncts (§8.3). Each type of spatial expression may occur on its own to indicate spatial reference. However, in most circumstances, these three types of spatial expression combine with one another. The usual order of combining the three types of spatial expression is shown below:

Directionals + Place names/Familiar-place local nouns + Locational PPs

In (8-31), the geographic essive directional *nuso* ‘up’ occurs immediately after the verb phrase. The directional *nuso* ‘up’ is followed by the familiar-place local noun *löxöön* ‘beach’. And the noun *löxöön* ‘beach’ is then followed by the prepositional phrase *kö marana önö* ‘at beach’.

- (8-31) *Toxo ot tuso löxöön kö marana önö.*
 [to=xo ot]_{VP} [[*nuso*] [*löxöön*] [*kö* *mara-na* *önö*]_{PP}]
 3NSG.SM=PAST arrive up beach C.PREP eye-3SG.POSSR sand
 ‘They arrived up at the beach.’ [p87-s110]

Note that there is no modificational relationship among the three types of spatial expression. In (8-31), the directional *nuso* ‘up’, the noun *löxöön* ‘beach’ and the prepositional phrase *kö marana önö* ‘at beach’ all function as clausal adjuncts. Although the noun *löxöön* ‘beach’ and the prepositional phrase *kö marana önö* ‘at beach’ can be understood as semantically further specifying the direction denoted by the directional *nuso* ‘up’, they may also occur without the directional as shown in (8-32) through (8-34).

- (8-32) *Toxo ot löxöön.*
 [to=xo ot]_{VP} [*löxöön*]
 3NSG.SM=PAST arrive beach
 ‘They arrived at the beach.’ [EL-p87-s110]

(8-33) *Toxo ot kö marana önö.*

[to=xo ot]_{VP} [kö mara-na önö]_{PP}
3NSG.SM=PAST arrive C.PREP eye-3SG.POSSR sand

‘They arrived at the beach.’ [EL-p87-s110]

(8-34) *Toxo ot löxöön kö marana önö.*

[to=xo ot]_{VP} [[löxöön] [kö mara-na önö]_{PP}]
3NSG.SM=PAST arrive beach C.PREP eye-3SG.POSSR sand

‘They arrived at the beach.’ [EL-p87-s110]

9 Verbal predicate

This chapter describes the verbal predicate (VP) in Usen Barok. The order of VP constituents is given in §9.1, followed by an exhaustive list of all word classes which can function as the head of a VP in §9.2. Sections 9.3 and 9.4 provide descriptions of subject markers and preverbal markers. The forms and semantics of each subject marker and preverbal marker are discussed in turn. Section 9.5 describes the post-head stative marker =*sik* and section 9.6 describes VP level adverbs.

9.1 Order of VP constituents

Table 9-1 shows that a minimal VP in Usen Barok normally consists of the head of a VP, a subject marker, which specifies person and number of the subject NP, and one or more preverbal markers, which indicate tense, aspect or modality of the predicate head.

PRE-HEAD	obligatory	(i) Subject marker (§9.3)
	obligatory	(ii) Preverbal marker (§9.4)
HEAD	obligatory	the Head (§9.2)
POST-HEAD	optional	(i) Stative marker = <i>sik</i> (§9.5)
	optional	(ii) VP level adverb (§9.6)

Table 9-1: Order of VP constituents

The subject marker and the preverbal marker are obligatory as part of the VP. The only exception is in imperatives, where both the subject marker and the immediate irrealis preverbal marker can be dropped (see §9.4.2.2).

There are two optional post-head modifier slots: one is for the enclitic stative marker =*sik*, the other is for a VP level adverb.

9.2 The head of VP

In Usen Barok, the head of a VP can be a transitive verb, as in (9-1); an intransitive verb, as in (9-2); a zero-intransitive verb, as in (9-3); an adjective, as in (9-4) and a serial verb construction, as in (9-5).

(9-1) *Ixo sewe a luono.*

[i=xo sewe]_{VP} [a luo-no]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST cut C.NM middle-3SG.POSSR

‘He cut the middle part (of the clam shell).’ [p463-s59]

(9-2) *Muu möröbo wan uruso xö koomo.*

[muu]_{S.NP} [mö=röbo wan]_{VP} u-ruso [kö koomo]_{PP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR move ALL-up C.PREP garden

‘You will go up to the garden!’ [p108-s38]

(9-3) *Ixo dömön.*

[i=xo dömön]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST night

‘It became night.’ [p135-s41]

(9-4) *Aine ixo pidien.*

[ai-ne]_{S.NP} [i=xo pidien]_{VP}
 skin-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST white

‘His skin became white.’ [p278-s44]

(9-5) *Idi toxo wan su.*

[idi]_{S.NP} [to=xo wan su]_{VP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST move descend

‘They went down.’ [p64-s36]

9.3 Subject markers

The first obligatory slot within a VP is for a subject marker, which is a pronominal particle, cross-referencing the subject NP of the verbal clause and indicating the person and number of the subject NP. Table 9-2 shows the citation forms of all subject markers (also see §4.13).

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e</i>	--	<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>
Non-singular	<i>te</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>te</i>

Table 9-2: Subject markers

Subject markers semantically correspond to independent personal pronouns (§4.4). As illustrated in Table 9-2, subject markers are like independent personal pronouns in distinguishing three persons. The 1st person non-singular subject markers also distinguish inclusive and exclusive forms. In Usen Barok, independent personal pronouns distinguish four numbers: singular, dual, paucal and plural, whereas subject markers only distinguish between singular and non-singular forms.

In (9-6), the 3rd person singular subject pronoun *ine* ‘he/she/it’ is cross-referenced by the 3rd person singular subject marker *i*.

- 3rd person singular subject marker *i*:

(9-6) *Ine i wan.*
 [ine]_{S.NP} [i wan]_{VP}
 3SG 3SG.SM move
 ‘He went.’ [p175-s85]

The number distinction among dual, paucal and plural of independent pronouns are merged in subject markers. As shown in (9-7), (9-8) and (9-9), the 3rd person dual, paucal and plural subject pronouns *duu* ‘they two’ *diet* ‘they several’ and *di* ‘they’ are cross-referenced by just one subject marker *te*, which indicates 3rd person non-singular.

- 3rd person non-singular subject marker *te*:

- (9-7) *Duu te wan.*
 [duu]_{S.NP} [te wan]_{VP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM move
 ‘They two went.’ [p449-s34]

- (9-8) *Diet te wan.*
 [diet]_{S.NP} [te wan]_{VP}
 3PA 3NSG.SM move
 ‘They (several) went.’ [p464-s80]

- (9-9) *Di te wan.*
 [di]_{S.NP} [te wan]_{VP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM move
 ‘They (many) went.’ [p183-s218]

A subject marker forms a phonological word alone when there is no preverbal marker. This is the case when the head of a VP is in realis modality, which is unmarked in Usen Barok. Example (9-10) shows that the 1st person non-singular subject marker *me* stands as a phonological word on its own. Examples (9-6) through (9-9) are also lacking a preverbal marker.

- (9-10) *Mem me ririe.*
 [mem]_{S.NP} [me ti~tie]_{VP}
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM PROG~dance
 ‘We are dancing.’ [p272-s10]

A subject marker is more commonly observed forming one phonological word with one or more preverbal markers, which always follow the subject marker when they are used. In (9-11), the preverbal past tense marker =*xo* is cliticised to the 1st person non-singular exclusive subject marker *mo* to form one phonological word.

- (9-11) *Mem moxo maruu.*
 [mem]_{S.NP} [mo=xo maruu]_{VP}
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=PAST lie.down
 ‘We lay down.’ [p184-s3]

All subject markers, except for the 3rd person singular subject marker, have allomorphs, which are largely conditioned by the vowel of the preverbal marker cliticised to them. For instance, the 1st person non-singular exclusive subject marker *me* (in (9-10)) is realised as *mo* when the preverbal past tense marker *=xo* is cliticised to it (in (9-11)). It is difficult to give a general summary about the allomorphs of all the subject markers. I list all the subject markers (and their allomorphs) when I describe preverbal markers in §9.4, since preverbal markers almost always co-occur with subject markers.

9.4 Preverbal markers

The second obligatory slot after the subject marker is filled by one or more preverbal markers. Preverbal markers are elements which are encliticised to subject markers and immediately precede the head of a VP. Preverbal markers are used for indicating tense, aspect, modality and negation. In the following sections, preverbal markers are presented in the following order: remote past tense marker (§9.4.1); realis and irrealis modality markers (§9.4.2); habitual aspect marker (§9.4.3); completive aspect markers (§9.4.4); ability marker (§9.4.5); necessitative marker (§9.4.6) and preverbal negators (§9.4.7). Progressive aspect is expressed by reduplication of the head verb or by employing the existential marker in a verbal clause; this is described in §10.6. It is common for preverbal markers to be combined together; possible combinations are also given below.

9.4.1 Remote past tense

Usen Barok has only one grammaticalized time reference, which is realised as the ‘remote past tense marker’ *=xo* as shown in Table 9-3.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=xo</i>	--	<i>u=xo</i>	<i>i=xo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=xo</i>	<i>mo=xo</i>	<i>mo=xo</i>	<i>to=xo</i>

Table 9-3: Remote past tense marker

The preverbal marker =*xo* is used to refer to the events that happened two days or more before the moment of speech. All the traditional stories in Usen Barok are based on the remote past tense as can be seen in Text 1 in Appendix C. Example (9-12) is taken from a legend, which has a time reference ‘long ago’.

- (9-12) *Mesila mesila saxit. A nasuon. Duu toxo xisixis...*
 mesila mesila saxit
 before before very
 a nasuon
 C.NM couple
 [duu]_{S.NP} [to=xo xisixis]_{VP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST live
 ‘Long long ago. There was a couple. They lived...’ [p34-s1&s4]

9.4.2 Realis and irrealis

Usen Barok distinguishes realis and irrealis modalities. The realis modality is generally used to refer to events that are “actualised or are actually occurring” (§9.4.2.1); the irrealis modality refers to events that are not actualised, that is, “still within the realm of thought” (Bhat, 1999: 65). Usen Barok has four types of irrealis: immediate irrealis (§9.4.2.2), non-immediate irrealis (§9.4.2.3), potential (§9.4.2.4) and frustrative (§9.4.2.5).

9.4.2.1 Realis modality

The realis modality is zero marked in Usen Barok.³⁵ If the head of a VP takes just a subject marker but not a preverbal marker in surface, it has a realis reading.

In (9-13), the event *e laran* ‘I woke up’ is understood as realis.

³⁵ Ross (1982: 179) reconstructs a zero-marker for indicating ‘present/past (realis) in Proto-New Ireland’.

- (9-13) *E laran.*
 [e _____ laran]_{VP}
 1SG.SM wake.up
 ‘I woke up.’ [p22-s1-s2]

In (9-14), the event *gegee* ‘crying’ (reduplicated form of the verb *gee* ‘to cry’ indicating progressive aspect) can be understood as either past progressive or present progressive without context, since both interpretations are realis.

- (9-14) *Muu mo gegee nana ra ule?*
 [muu]_{S.NP} [mo _____ ge~gee nana]_{VP} ra ule
 2DU 2NSG.SM PROG~cry now.and.then PURP where
 ‘You two are crying for going where?’ [p370-s96]

9.4.2.2 Immediate irrealis

Usen Barok distinguishes immediate and non-immediate irrealis. Table 9-4 shows that the immediate irrealis marker is realised as =*rö* after the 2nd person subject markers and as =*ra* after the other subject markers. The 1st person non-singular inclusive and the 3rd person non-singular subject marker *ta* can be fused with the immediate irrealis marker =*ra* and form *t=a*.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>a=ra</i>	--	<i>ö=rö</i>	<i>i=ra</i>
Non-singular	<i>ta=ra~</i> <i>t=a</i>	<i>ma=ra</i>	<i>mö=rö</i>	<i>ta=ra~</i> <i>t=a</i>

Table 9-4: Immediate irrealis marker

The immediate irrealis modality in Usen Barok is semantically similar to the “prospective”, “a subtype of irrealis”, in the Manam language (an Oceanic language spoken in Madang Province in PNG) according to Lichtenberk (1983). The immediate irrealis “corresponds to the English ‘be going to V’ construction” (Lichtenberk 1983: 191), indicating the speaker’s expectation of an unreal event which is believed about to

become real or “the envisioned event is already on the way” (Lichtenberk 1983: 192).

The immediate irrealis in Usen Barok has the following uses:

- Immediate irrealis indicates intention.

Example (9-15) was uttered when the speaker was on the way of going to her garden and carrying the basket for gathering food.

(9-15) *Ara kip nien.*
 [a=ra kip nien]_{VP}
 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR carry food
 ‘I am going to get some food now.’ (Lit: ‘I am going to food-gather now.’)
 [p451-s77]

- Immediate irrealis expresses hortative.

Example (9-16) shows that the immediate irrealis marker is used for hortative when the subject NP is a 1st person non-singular inclusive.

(9-16) *Iraa ta wan kaa.*
 [iraa]_{S.NP} [t=a wan kaa]_{VP}
 1DU.INC 1NSG.EXC.SM=IMM.IRR move ascend
 ‘Let’s go up now.’ [p39-s84]

- Immediate irrealis expresses imperative.

Example (9-17) shows that an imperative is formed by the immediate irrealis marker and the verb when the subject NP is a 2nd person.

(9-17) *Muu mörö en!*
 [muu]_{S.NP} [mö=rö en]_{VP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR eat
 ‘Eat!’ (Lit: ‘You two eat!’) [p537-s102]

Note that imperative is the only type of VP in which both the subject marker and the preverbal marker can be dropped. Example (9-18) illustrates an imperative sentence in

which the VP consists of just the bare form of the verb; no subject marker or preverbal marker is involved.

- (9-18) *Nöngön, tuuwes!*
 [nöngön]_{VOC.NP} [tuu wes]_{VP}
 2SG stand away
 ‘You, stand away!’ [p294-s57]

Example (9-19) is the ‘full version’ of the imperative in (9-18).

- (9-19) *Nöngön, örö tuuwes!*
 [nöngön]_{VOC.NP} [ö=rö tuu-wes]_{VP}
 2SG 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR stand-away
 ‘You, stand away!’ [EL-p294-s57]

Both (9-18) and (9-19) are perfectly grammatical and equally accepted by the speakers of Usen Barok. Unlike other types of VPs in which the omission of the subject marker and preverbal marker(s) can only happen when the same subject marker and preverbal marker(s) occur in the preceding clause/sentence, the imperative VP can always drop the subject marker and the immediate irrealis marker.

- Immediate irrealis expresses counterfactual events that almost took place but did not take place (usually in frustrative constructions as described in §9.4.2.5 and §13.2.7).

Example (9-20) shows that the immediate irrealis marker is used to refer to an envisioned event that did not happen. The time reference of the sentence in (9-20) is remote past as indicated by the remote past tense marker =*xo*. The immediate irrealis marker occurs preceding the verb *en* ‘to eat’ in the frustrative construction. The event *en* ‘to eat’ almost took place since the food was already cooked.

- (9-20) *Diet toxo söngöt baraa ta en, ma kaimim.*
 [diet]_{A.NP} [to=xo söngöt]_{VP} [baraa t=a en]
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST cook FRU 3NSG.SM=IMM.IRR eat
 ma kaim=im
 but NEG=CONTR
 ‘They cooked (food) and tried to eat (the food), but they didn’t (eat it).’
 [p176-s106]

9.4.2.3 Non-immediate irrealis

The forms of the non-immediate irrealis marker are given in Table 9-5. The non-immediate irrealis marker is realised as =*röbo* after the 2nd person subject markers and as =*rabo* after the other subject markers. The 1st person non-singular inclusive and the 3rd person non-singular subject marker *ta* can be fused with the immediate irrealis marker =*rabo* and form *t=abo*.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>a=rabo</i>	--	<i>ö=röbo</i>	<i>i=rabo</i>
Non-singular	<i>ta=rabo~</i> <i>t=abo</i>	<i>ma=rabo</i>	<i>mö=röbo</i>	<i>ta=rabo~</i> <i>t=abo</i>

Table 9-5: Non-immediate irrealis marker

The non-immediate irrealis modality is employed to refer to an event that will happen at some time in the future or an envisioned event that it was believed would have taken place but did not take place. The non-immediate irrealis has the following uses:

- Non-immediate irrealis indicates a plan or an intention.

The non-immediate irrealis marker in (9-21) is used to refer to the speaker’s intention to tell a story. The non-immediate irrealis marker implies that the speaker knows that the event ‘telling the story’ will surely occur in the future.

- (9-21) *Arabo paraa a axana pii re Tirimömöm.*
 [a=rabo paraa]_{VP}
 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR tell
 [a axana pii re Tirimömöm]_{O.NP}
 C.NM piece story POSSM Tirimömömö
 ‘I will tell a story about Tirimömöm.’ [p425-s1]

Example (9-22) is a ‘past-time event’ that uses irrealis.

- (9-22) *Ixo tengen baraa irabo wan urii Xoxola.*
 i=xo tengen baraa
 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
 [i=rabo wan] u-rii Xoxola
 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR move ALL-northwest Kokola
 ma kawaim
 but NEG
 ‘He said that he would go to Kokola, but he didn’t.’ Lit: ‘He said that he
 ‘will’ go to Kokola, but he didn’t.’ [p287-s36]

- Non-immediate irrealis expresses hortative.

Similar to the immediate irrealis, the non-immediate irrealis may also be used to express hortative when the subject NP is a 1st person non-singular inclusive. The only difference is that the speaker expects the event to take place immediately when using the immediate irrealis but expects the event to happen later in the future when employing the non-immediate irrealis.

- (9-23) *Maxalik, iraa tabo wan su.*
 maxalik [iraa]_{S.NP} [t=abo wan su]_{VP}
 Tomorrow 1DU.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=NIMM.IRR move descend
 ‘Tomorrow, let us two go down (to the sea).’ [p258-s9]

- Non-immediate irrealis expresses prediction.

Examples (9-24), (9-25) and (9-26) show that the non-immediate irrealis is used to indicate the speaker’s prediction of an event taking place.

- (9-24) *Maxalik maa marabo se inaan baling.*
 maxalik [maa]_{S.NP} [ma=rabo se inaan baling]_{VP}
 tomorrow 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR catch fish again
 ‘Tomorrow, we two will fish-catch again’ [p128-s12]

- (9-25) *Idi tabo en.*
 [idi]_{A.NP} [t=abo en]_{VP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat
 ‘They will eat.’ [p302-s89]

- (9-26) *Öröbo pere iduu, öröbo buut.*
 [ö=röbo pere]_{VP} [iduu]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR see 3DU
 [ö=röbo buut]_{VP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR fear
 ‘You will see them (my parents), you will be scared.’ [p39-s99-s100]

- Non-immediate irrealis expresses gentle commands/polite requests.

Example (9-27) shows that non-immediate irrealis is used to express gentle commands when the subject NP is a 2nd person.

- (9-27) *Muu möröbo wan. muu möröbo kuluo.*
 [muu]_{S.NP} [mö=röbo wan]_{VP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR move
 [muu]_{S.NP} [mö=röbo kuluo]_{VP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR fetch.water
 ‘Could you two go and fetch water?’ (Lit: ‘You two will go, you two will fetch water.’) [p363-s9-s10]

Note that the gentle command/polite request is different from the imperative. The non-immediate irrealis marker in gentle commands/polite requests is not omissible even when the same subject marker and preverbal marker are used in the preceding clause.

9.4.2.4 Potential/probability

The third type of irrealis is labelled potential or probability. Table 9-6 shows that the potential/probability marker is realised as =bo. The subject markers for the 1st person

non-singular exclusive and the 2nd person non-singular are analysed as zero when they precede the potential/probability marker.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=bo</i>	--	<i>u=bo</i>	<i>i=bo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=bo</i>	$\emptyset=bo$	$\emptyset=bo$	<i>to=bo</i>

Table 9-6: Potential/probability marker

The potential/probability marker is used to indicate that an event may take place in the future according to certain evidence, but the speaker does not know if the event will surely happen or not.

In (9-28), the speaker tries to stop the addressees from going to the sea by saying that *e muu bo juo* ‘you two may be killed’.

(9-28) *Öng a kaunoon taxin angen nöngö xö dadaluus. Ibo sese nangadi. Muu bele önaan kalix e muu bo juo.*

öng a kaunoon taxin angen nöngö kö dadaluus
one L clam.shell big EXIST at.set.NEAR C.PREP corner

i=bo se~se nangadi
3SG.SM=HAB REP~attack people

muu \emptyset =bele önaan
2DU 2NSG.SM=PROH move

kalik [e muu]_{S.NP} [$\emptyset=bo$ juo]_{VP}
in.case P.NM 2DU 2NSG.SM=POT die

‘There is a big clam shell at the corner of the sea. It (the clam shell) always attacks people. You two don’t go (there) otherwise you two may be killed (by the clam shell).’ [p371-s120-s121-p372-s122]

Note that the non-immediate irrealis marker =*rabo* ‘will’ cannot be used in this context to replace the potential marker =*bo* ‘might be’, because the speaker does not know for sure if the addressees will be killed or not. The speaker just points out the potential for the event to take place. The assumption is based on the fact that ‘there is a big clam shell, which is known to attack people habitually’.

9.4.2.5 Frustrative

The last type of irrealis modality is frustrative. The frustrative marker is realised as a particle *baraa*, which does not cliticise to subject markers or preverbal markers. It marks an event as an unfulfilled desire or unrealised intention. The frustrative marker *baraa* usually follows other tense-aspect-modality markers in the preverbal slot in main clauses.

In (9-29), the frustrative marker *baraa* co-occurs with the remote past tense marker.

- (9-29) *Na ixo baraa taruu. Ma kaimim.*
na [i=xo baraa taruu]_{VP}
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST FRU stand.up
ma kaim=im
but NEG-CONTR
‘Then she tried to stand up, but she couldn’t.’ [p533-s43-s44]

The frustrative marker *baraa* is also observed to co-occur with the habitual marker and the remote past habitual markers. It may also function as a subordinator introducing a frustrative adverbial clause (see §13.2.7).

9.4.3 Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect can be used to refer to an event that customarily takes place. The habitual aspect in Usen Barok is expressed by the preverbal marker =*bo* together with the reduplication of the predicate head (if the predicate head can be reduplicated). In (9-30), the habitual aspect is indicated by the combination of the habitual preverbal marker =*bo* and the reduplication of the verb *könöm* ‘to swallow’.

- (9-30) *A kaunoon taxin nöngö ibo xönxönöm nangadi.*
a kaunoon taxin nöngö [i=bo kön~könöm nangadi]_{VP}
C.NM clam.shell big at.sea.NEAR 3SG.SM=HAB REP~swallow people
‘The big clam shell at sea swallows people’ [p377-s205]

Table 9-7 illustrates that the habitual marker =*bo* has exactly the same form and requires the same subject marker variations as that of the potential/probability marker (cf.

Table 9-6). The subject markers for the 1st person non-singular exclusive and the 2nd person non-singular are realised as a zero when preceding the habitual marker.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=bo</i>	--	<i>u=bo</i>	<i>i=bo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=bo</i>	$\emptyset=bo$	$\emptyset=bo$	<i>to=bo</i>

Table 9-7: Habitual marker

It is easy to differentiate a habitual VP from a potential VP if the predicate head can be reduplicated, as shown in (9-31) and (9-32). Example (9-31) has a habitual reading, whereas example (9-32) has a potential reading, since the predicate head *su* ‘to descend’ is reduplicated in (9-31), but not in (9-32).

- (9-31) *Bara ibo susu.*
 bara [i=bo] su~su_{VP}
 rain 3SG.SM=HAB REP~descend
 ‘It always rains’ [EL-Kolin]

- (9-32) *Bara ibo su.*
 bara [i=bo] su_{VP}
 rain 3SG.SM=POT descend
 ‘It may rain’ [EL-Kolin]

There are also verbs which cannot be reduplicated (for instance, all the verb roots with a valency changing prefix cannot be reduplicated). In such cases, whether a clause has a habitual reading or a potential reading depends on the context. In (9-33), the predicate head *laran* ‘to wake up’ in VP1 is not reduplicated, but it is interpreted as habitual. This is because the temporal frame for the event is *bo bung kirip* ‘every morning’. In addition, the predicate head *ot* ‘to arrive’ in VP2, which is juxtaposed with VP1, is reduplicated and has a habitual reading.

- (9-33) *Bo bung kirip, ibo laran kö puxu urii xö koomo, ibo orot kö bo ajen.*
 bo bung kirip
 PLM day all
 [i=bo laran kö puxu]_{VP1} u-rii kö koomo
 3SG.SM=HAB wake-up C.PREP morning ALL-down C.PREP garden
 [i=bo ot~ot]_{VP2} kö bo ajen
 3SG.SM=HAB REP~arrive C.PREP PLM afternoon
 ‘Every day, he wakes up in the morning (going) to the garden and comes back in the afternoon.’ [p323-s56]

In Usen Barok, the habitual aspect may combine with the remote past tense to form ‘remote past habitual’, which is used to refer to events that customarily took place in the past but no longer habitually happen at the moment of speech.

The remote past habitual marker is realised as =xo=bo, as shown in Table 9-8.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=xo=bo</i>	--	<i>u=xo=bo</i>	<i>i=xo=bo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=xo=bo</i>	<i>mo=xo=bo</i>	<i>mo=xo=bo</i>	<i>to=xo=bo</i>

Table 9-8: Remote past habitual marker

Example (9-34) shows the use of the ‘remote past habitual’ marker.

- (9-34) *Na usuono ixobo ratabaa ine ma nien.*
 na [usuo-no]_{A.NP} [i=xo=bo ta~tabaa]_{VP}
 DISC spouse-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST=HAB REP~give
 [ine]_{O.NP} [ma nien]_{PP}
 3SG with food
 ‘And his wife used to give him food.’ [p404-s57]

9.4.4 Completive aspect

Usen Barok distinguishes two types of completive: the unmarked completive and the marked completive.

9.4.4.1 Unmarked completive

The ‘unmarked completive’ marker is cliticised to a subject marker as illustrated in Table 9-9. It is realised as *=ru* and *=ri* after the 2nd person subject markers and the 3rd person singular subject marker respectively, and is realised as *=re* after other subject markers.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=re</i>	--	<i>u=ru</i>	<i>i=ri</i>
Non-singular	<i>te=re</i>	<i>me=re</i>	<i>mu=ru</i>	<i>te=re</i>

Table 9-9: Unmarked completive marker

The unmarked completive aspect in Usen Barok is used to express the completion of an event. Example (9-35) is commonly used as the last sentence of stories told by Usen Barok speakers.

- (9-35) *A pii iri kawam.*
 [a pii]_{S.NP} [i=ri kawam]_{VP}
 C.NM story 3SG.SM=CPL finish
 ‘The story has finished.’ [p210-s420]

9.4.4.2 Marked completive

The ‘marked completive’ is used to refer to ‘completives’ that are combined with remote past tense and/or habitual markers. The marked completive marker is always realised as *=ro* as illustrated in Table 9-10 (remote past completive), in Table 9-11 (habitual completive) in and Table 9-12 (remote past habitual completive).

• Remote past completive

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=xo=ro</i>	--	<i>u=xo=ro</i>	<i>i=xo=ro</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=xo=ro</i>	<i>mo=xo=ro</i>	<i>mo=xo=ro</i>	<i>to=xo=ro</i>

Table 9-10: Remote past completive marker

The remote past completive is used to refer to the completion of an event in relation to the time of other events in the past. An example is given in (9-36).

- (9-36) *A nangadi möxö ina lagunon niang toxoro pere ine.*
a nangadi möxö ina lagunon niang
C.NM people POSSM ANA.C.NM village DEM.DIST
[to=xo=ro pere]_{VP} ine
3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL see 3SG
‘People from that village had seen him.’ [p330-s25]

• Habitual completive

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=bo=ro</i>	--	<i>u=bo=ro</i>	<i>i=bo=ro</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=bo=ro</i>	\emptyset = <i>bo=ro</i>	\emptyset = <i>bo=ro</i>	<i>to=bo=ro</i>

Table 9-11: Habitual completive marker

The habitual completive is used to refer to an event which is customarily completed in relation to the time of other habitual events. An example is given in (9-37).

(9-37) *Ebo xarxara a inaan, me ebo xoxoos sa rörödik. ebo baraa arasa ra rörödik, ma iboro tamaluslo, iboro wan.*

[e=bo kar~kara]_{VP1} a inaan
 1SG.SM=HAB REP~to.spear C.NM fish
 me [e=bo ko~koos]_{VP2} ra rörödik
 and 1SG.SM=HAB REP~jump PURP REP~hold
 [e=bo baraa arasa]_{VP3} ra rörödik
 1SG.SM=HAB FRU swim PURP REP~hold
 ma [i=bo=ro tamalus=lo]_{VP4}
 but 3SG=HAB=CPL escape=SEQ
 [i=bo=ro wan]_{VP5}
 3SG.SM=HAB=CPL move

‘(Every time) I spear a fish and try to get to the sea to hold the fish, it (the fish) has always already escaped and run away.’ [p406-s93-s97]

- Remote past habitual completive

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=xo=bo=ro</i>	--	<i>u=xo=bo=ro</i>	<i>i=xo=bo=ro</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=xo=bo=ro</i>	<i>mo=xo=bo=ro</i>	<i>mo=xo=bo=ro</i>	<i>to=xo=bo=ro</i>

Table 9-12: Remote past habitual completive marker

The remote past habitual completive is used to refer to an event which is customarily completed in relation to the time of other habitual events in the past. An example is given in (9-38).

(9-38) *Bung barok toxobo wawara nana, me Tagörmar ixoboro umungen e Mana.*

bung barok [to=xo=bo pa~para nana]_{VP1}
 PLM boy 3NSG.SM=PAST=HAB REP~glance here.and.there
 me [Tagörmat i=xo=bo=ro umungen]_{VP2} e Mana
 but Tagörmat 3SG.SM=PAST=HAB=CPL hide P.NM Mana

‘The boys were used to searching around (looking for Mana), but Tagörmat always already had Mana hidden away.’ [p152-s12]

9.4.5 Ability

According to the elicitation data, Usen Barok has a preverbal marker =*xebe* (as shown in Table 9-13), which may be used to indicate ‘ability’.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=xebe</i>	--	<i>u=xebe</i>	<i>i=xebe</i>
Non-singular	<i>te=xebe</i>	<i>me=xebe</i>	<i>me=xebe</i>	<i>te=xebe</i>

Table 9-13: Ability marker

The ability marker is rarely observed in daily communication. An elicited example using this marker is provided in (9-39).

- (9-39) *Mem mexebe se ine.*
 mem [me=xebe se]_{VP} ine
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=ABI beat 3SG
 ‘We are able to beat him up.’ [EL1-p3]

Usen Barok speakers more commonly use the purposive construction (introduced by the purposive preposition *ra*; see §7.3.5) which occurs after the intransitive verb *öt* ‘be sufficient, enough’ to express the meaning of being ‘able to do something’. An example is given in (9-40).

- (9-40) *U öt ta sese ine?*
 [u öt]_{VP} [ra se~se ine]_{PP}
 2SG.SM enough PURP NML~beat 3SG
 ‘Are you able to beat him up?’ [OB-Kolin]

The elicitation data show that the ability preverbal marker can also combine with the purposive construction to indicate ability. An elicited example is given in (9-41). Note that this structure is rarely used and it does not occur in my texts.

- (9-41) *Mem mexebe öt ta sese ine.*
 mem [me=xebe öt]_{VP} [ra se~se ine]_{PP}
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=ABI enough PURP NML~beat 3SG
 ‘We are able to beat him up.’ [EL1-p3]

9.4.6 Necessitative

In Usen Barok, obligation or necessity can be conveyed through the combination of the non-immediate irrealis marker and the necessitative particle *mana*, as illustrated in Table 9-14. The necessitative particle forms a phonological unit by itself.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>a=rabo mana</i>	--	<i>ö=röbo mana</i>	<i>i=rabo mana</i>
Non-singular	<i>ta=rabo mana~</i> <i>t=abo mana</i>	<i>ma=rabo mana</i>	<i>mö=röbo mana</i>	<i>ta=rabo mana~</i> <i>t=abo mana</i>

Table 9-14: Necessitative particle

In (9-42), the necessitative particle *mana* follows the non-immediate irrealis preverbal marker *=röbo*.

- (9-42) *Öröbo mana en a inaan.*
 [ö=röbo mana en]_{VP} [a inaan]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR must eat C.NM fish
 ‘You must eat the fish.’ [p530-s71]

It seems that the younger generation prefers to use the Tok Pisin loan *mas* ‘must’, which comes from English ‘must’, to replace the Usen particle *mana*. Example (9-43) shows that the Tok Pisin loan *mas* ‘must’ is used to indicate obligation. *Mana* and *mas* ‘must’ are always interchangeable according to the elicitation data I have.

- (9-43) *Möröbo mas pere mumuu ödeex a tinenge.*
 [mö=röbo mas pere mu~muu ö-deek]_{VP}
 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR must (TP) see REDP~follow CAUS-good
 [a t<in>enge]_{O.NP}
 C.NM <NML>utter
 ‘You (PL) must follow the words well.’ [p472-s15]

9.4.7 Preverbal negators

The following subsections describe the preverbal markers which are used for indicating negation. The subject markers of the 1st person non-singular exclusive and the 2nd person non-singular are always realised as zero when they directly precede a preverbal negator.

9.4.7.1 Negator =*kobo*

The negator =*kobo* (in Table 9-15) is used to indicate that an event did not take place or is not taking place, as shown in (9-44) and (9-45) respectively.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=kobo</i>	--	<i>u=kobo</i>	<i>i=kobo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=kobo</i>	\emptyset = <i>kobo</i>	\emptyset = <i>kobo</i>	<i>to=kobo</i>

Table 9-15: Negator =*kobo*

- (9-44) *Iduu tokobo tame e.*
 iduu [to=kobo tame]_{VP} e
 3DU 3NSG.SM=NEG obey 1SG
 ‘They don’t listen to me.’ [p376-s196]

- (9-45) *Ukobo ververe a la deek na lömöö?*
 [u=kobo per~pere]_{VP} [a la deek
 2SG.SM-NEG PROG~see C.NM thing good
 na lömöö]
 DEM.PROX up
 ‘Aren’t you seeing a good thing up?’ [p90-s153]

The negator =*kobo* may combine with the remote past tense marker =*xo* to form the ‘remote past negator’ =*xo=kobo* as illustrated in Table 9-16. The remote past negator is used to indicate that at a point in the remote past a certain event did not take place.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=xo=kobo</i>	--	<i>u=xo=kobo</i>	<i>i=xo=kobo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=xo=kobo</i>	\emptyset = <i>xo=kobo</i>	\emptyset = <i>xo=kobo</i>	<i>to=xo=kobo</i>

Table 9-16: Remote past negator =*xo=kobo*

Example (9-46) shows the use of the remote past negator =*xo=kobo*.

- (9-46) *Ixokobo maa re ine ra sese a möraan tuso xö könönö jaa.*
 [i=xo=kobo maa]_{VP} re ine ra se~se
 3SG.SM=PAST-NEG want P.PREP 3SG PURP REDP~attack
 a möraan nuso kö könö-nö jaa
 C.NM python up C.PREP inside-3SG.POSSR tree
 ‘He didn’t want to attack the python up there inside the tree.’ [p244-s82]

There is an alternative way to form the remote past negator. As shown in Table 9-17, the remote past tense marker =*xo* occurs between the two syllables of the negator =*kobo* to form the remote past negator =*ko=xo=bo*.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=ko=xo=bo</i>	--	<i>u=ko=xo=bo</i>	<i>i=ko=xo=bo</i>
Non-singular	<i>to=ko=xo=bo</i>	\emptyset = <i>ko=xo=bo</i>	\emptyset = <i>ko=xo=bo</i>	<i>to=ko=xo=bo</i>

Table 9-17: Remote past negator =*ko=xo=bo*

The two forms of past tense negator =*xo=kobo* ‘did not’ and =*ko=xo=bo* ‘did not’ seem to be interchangeable. However, the latter form is obviously preferred and more commonly observed in both texts and daily communication. An example using the form =*ko=xo=bo* ‘did not’ is given in (9-47).

- (9-47) *Tokoxobo ösöxö baraa ixo wan bule.*
 [to=ko=xo=bo ösöxö]_{VP} baraa i=xo wan bule
 3NSG.SM=NEG=PAST-NEG know thus 3SG.SM=PAST move how
 ‘They didn’t know where he went.’ [p332-s33]

9.4.7.2 Negator for irrealis

Negation of irrealis in Usen Barok is expressed by the combination of the negator =*ka* (realised as =*kö* after the 2nd person subject markers) and the non-immediate irrealis marker =*rabo* (realised as =*röbo* after the 2nd person subject markers), as shown in Table 9-18 (cf. ‘non-immediate irrealis’ in Table 9-5 in §9.4.2.3).

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=ka=rabo</i>	--	<i>ö=kö=röbo</i>	<i>i=ka=rabo</i>
Non-singular	<i>ta=ka=rabo</i>	\emptyset = <i>ka=rabo</i>	\emptyset = <i>kö=röbo</i>	<i>ta=ka=rabo</i>

Table 9-18: Negator for irrealis

An example is given in (9-48)

(9-48) *Ekarabo döxömeen taun nöngön.*

[e=ka=rabo döxömeen]_{VP} taun nöngön
 1SG.SM=NEG=NIMM.IRR think nothing 2SG

‘I will not forget you.’ [p138-s73]

9.4.7.3 Inability

In Usen Barok, inability is expressed by =*kebe öt ra* ‘cannot’ (Table 9-19), which is a combination of the inability marker =*kebe*, the intransitive verb *öt* ‘be sufficient, enough’ and the purposive preposition *ra* (cf. descriptions of ‘ability’ in §9.4.5)

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=kebe</i>	--	<i>u=kebe</i>	<i>i=kebe</i>
Non-singular	<i>te=kebe</i>	\emptyset = <i>kebe</i>	\emptyset = <i>kebe</i>	<i>te=kebe</i>

Table 9-19: Inability marker

An example is given in (9-49).

- (9-49) *Ikebe öt ta önaan.*
 [i=kebe öt]_{VP} [ra önaan]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=INA enough PURP move
 ‘It cannot move.’ [p472-s8]

9.4.7.4 ‘Never’

The meaning ‘never’ is conveyed through the preverbal marker =*kara* ‘never’, as shown in Table 9-20.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=kara</i>	--	<i>u=kara</i>	<i>i=kara</i>
Non-singular	<i>ta=kara</i>	\emptyset = <i>kara</i>	\emptyset = <i>kara</i>	<i>ta=kara</i>

Table 9-20: Preverbal marker ‘never’

An example using the =*kara* ‘never’ as the preverbal marker is given in (9-50).

- (9-50) *Ikara su xö rasi.*
 [i=kara su]_{VP} kö rasi
 3SG.SM=NEVER descend C.PREP sea
 ‘He never (goes) down to the sea.’ [p171-s32]

9.4.7.5 ‘Not yet’

The meaning ‘not yet’ can be expressed by the preverbal markers =*kala* or =*kobola*, as shown in Table 9-21.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=kala~</i> <i>e=kobola</i>	--	<i>u=kala~</i> <i>u=kobola</i>	<i>i=kala~</i> <i>i=kobola</i>
Non-singular	<i>ta=kala~</i> <i>to=kobola</i>	\emptyset = <i>kala~</i> \emptyset = <i>kobola</i>	\emptyset = <i>kala~</i> \emptyset = <i>kobola</i>	<i>ta=kala~</i> <i>to=kobola</i>

Table 9-21: Preverbal markers ‘not yet’

Both =*kala* and =*kobola* can be used to indicate that an event has not taken place yet at the moment of speech. The marker =*kala* is used when the speaker thinks that an event is going to take place very soon, as shown in (9-51), and the marker =*kobola* is used when the speaker thinks that an event will take place sometime later in the future, as shown in (9-52).

- (9-51) *Ikala wan ot baang.*
 [i=kala wan ot baang]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=NOT.YET move arrive temporarily
 ‘He hasn’t come back yet (but he is coming back soon).’ [p39-s103]

- (9-52) *Ikobola wan ot. Irabo wan ot maxalik gut.*
 [i=kobola wan ot]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=NOT.YET move arrive
 [i=rabo wan ot]_{VP} maxalik gut
 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR move arrive tomorrow probably
 ‘He hasn’t coming back yet. He will come back tomorrow probably.’ [EL]

9.4.7.6 Prohibitive

In Usen Barok, prohibitions are expressed by the prohibitive preverbal marker =*bele*, as shown in Table 9-22.

	1 st person inclusive	1 st person exclusive	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular	<i>e=bele</i>	--	<i>u=bele</i>	<i>i=bele</i>
Non-singular	<i>te=bele</i>	\emptyset = <i>bele</i>	\emptyset = <i>bele</i>	<i>te=bele</i>

Table 9-22: Prohibitive marker

The prohibitive marker is used to express negative commands when the subject NP is a 2nd person, as shown in (9-53).

- (9-53) *Muu bele wan su urii löxöön.*
 muu [Ø=bele wan su]_{VP} u-rii löxöön
 2DU 2NSG.SM-PROH move descend ALL-down beach
 ‘You two don’t go down to the beach.’ [p372-s132]

The prohibitive marker is used to express dehortations when the subject NP is a 1st person non-singular inclusive, as shown in (9-54).

- (9-54) *Ire tebele isik kulaas ma nien.*
 ire [te=bele isik kulaas]_{VP} [ma nien]_{PP}
 1PL.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=PROH give exchange INST food
 ‘Let’s not exchange food (with him).’ [p97-s45]

When the prohibitive marker goes with other subject markers, it may be interpreted as ‘had better not’ or ‘should not’. Example (9-55) shows that the prohibitive marker =*bele* occurs after the 3rd person non-singular subject marker *te*, and the prohibitive marker can be translated as ‘should not’.

- (9-55) *Idu tebele önaan.*
 idu [te=bele önaan]_{VP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PROH move
 ‘They two should not go.’ [p378-s207]

9.5 Post-head stative marker =*sik*

Usen Barok has a verbal enclitic =*sik*, which seems to be able to attach to all types of verbal predicate head. The meaning and function of this enclitic is not completely clear to me. The only generalisation I could make is that =*sik* seems to refer to a state rather than an event when it attaches to the VP head. So I label it as ‘stative marker’.

Example (9-56) is a greeting used among Usen Barok speakers. In this example, the stative marker =*sik* indicates the state of ‘being well’. Note that without the stative marker =*sik*, the VP will be interpreted as ‘to become well’. According to my consultant, example (9-57) is used when the speaker knows that the addressee had been unwell.

(9-56) *U deeksik?*
 [u deek=sik]_{VP}
 2SG.SM good=STA
 ‘Have you been doing well?’ [OB]

(9-57) *U deek?*
 [u deek]_{VP}
 2SG.SM good
 ‘Do you feel better?’ [EL-Kolin]

Another pair of examples is given in (9-58) and (9-59). When the sentence in (9-58) was uttered, the addressees were already sitting down, whereas when the sentence in (9-59) was uttered, the addressees were standing up.

(9-58) *Möröbo kisisik*
 [mö=röbo kisi=sik]_{VP}
 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR sit=STA
 ‘You keep on sitting.’ [p498-s159]

(9-59) *Möröbo kis.*
 [mö=röbo kis]_{VP}
 2NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR sit
 ‘You sit down.’ [p125-s124]

The form of the verb *kis* ‘sit’ merits a little more discussion. In (9-58), the verb *kis* ‘to sit’ (as in (9-59)) is realised as *kis_i*, with an extra final vowel, when the stative maker attaches to it. This is presumably because the current form of the verb *kis* ‘to sit’ used to be *kis_i*. But the final vowel of *kis_i* was lost at some point, and it only remains in the non-final position of the stative form *kis_isik* and the reduplicated form *xis_ixis* (*kis_i-kis*). This is consistent with the cognates of this verb in some related languages. For instance, the verb ‘to sit’ in Vinitiri is *kisi* (Van Der Mark 2007: 59). See §4.1.4.3 for more information about final vowel loss in Usen Barok.

9.6 Verbal predicate level adverbs

As mentioned in §4.8.2.5, there are several adverbs which can function as post-head modifiers within a VP. These adverbs are called verbal predicate level adverbs. Three subtypes of VP level adverbs can be distinguished. The first type can only function as a modifier within an intransitive VP (§9.6.1); the second type can function as a modifier within both transitive and intransitive VPs (§9.6.2); the third type can also function as a modifier within both transitive and intransitive VPs. However, the third type of adverb has two distinct forms and the correct form must be chosen when it functions as a modifier within a transitive or an intransitive VP correspondingly (§9.6.3).

9.6.1 Adverbs that only function as a modifier within intransitive VPs

Two adverbs belong to this type; they are *söxsöxö* ‘always’ and *tar* ‘already’. In (9-60), *söxsöxö* modifies the intransitive serial verb construction *önaan ot* ‘arrive’. In (9-61), *tar* modifies the zero-intransitive verb *ajen* ‘be.afternoon’.

- (9-60) *Tobo önaan ot söxsöxö.*
 [to=bo önaan ot söxsöxö]_{VP}
 3NSG.SM=HAB move arrive always
 ‘They always come.’ [p441-s209]

- (9-61) *Iri ajen tar.*
 [i=ri ajen tar]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=CPL be.afternoon already
 ‘It is already afternoon.’ [OB]

9.6.2 Adverbs that can function as modifiers within both transitive and intransitive VPs without changing their forms

Kirip ‘complete, finish’ is the only adverb of this type. *Kirip* ‘complete, finish’ has four allomorphs. It is realised as *kirip* between two consonants; as *kiriv* when following a consonant but preceding a vowel; as *xirip* when following a vowel but preceding a consonant; and as *xiriv* between two vowels. The citation form *kirip* is used in the morpheme line. In (9-62), *kirip* ‘complete, finish’ modifies the intransitive verb *an* ‘to

eat’ and in (9-63), it modifies the transitive verb *en* ‘to eat’ and precedes the object NP *a bo* ‘the pig’.

- (9-62) *E meet me an kirip, e meet me wan ta pinaluso.*
 e meet [me an kirip]_{VP}
 P.NM 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM eat finish
 e meet [me wan]_{VP} ra p<in>aluso
 P.NM 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM move PURP <NML>sleep
 ‘We finished eating, we went to sleep.’ [p78-s11-s12]

- (9-63) *Tabo en kiriv a bo.*
 [t=abo en kiriv]_{VP} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat finish C.NM pig
 ‘They will finish eating the pig.’ [p357-s24]

9.6.3 Adverbs that change their forms correspondingly when they function as modifiers within a transitive or an intransitive VP

Each adverb of this type has two distinct forms: a transitive form and an intransitive form. The transitive form is used when this type of adverb functions as modifier within a transitive VP, namely, when the adverb precedes an object NP; the intransitive form is used when the adverb functions as modifier within an intransitive VP. Table 9-23 shows the transitive and intransitive forms of this type of adverb.

Forms for intransitive use	Forms for transitive use	Gloss
<i>arixe</i>	<i>arixin</i>	‘together, completely’
<i>köbaa</i>	<i>köbain</i>	‘too much’
<i>mesilaa</i>	<i>mesilain</i>	‘in front’
<i>melamu</i>	<i>melamuin</i>	‘at the back, after’
<i>mon</i>	<i>manin</i>	‘just, only’
<i>nana</i>	<i>nanin</i>	‘randomly, around’
<i>baling</i>	<i>öbaling</i>	‘again’

Table 9-23: Transitive and intransitive forms of phrase level adverbs

Their forms indicate that these adverbs probably used to be verbs, since the transitive forms of six adverbs of this type end with *in*, which is the form of the applicative suffix elsewhere (see §10.2), and the transitive form of the last adverb of this type has an initial *ö*, which is the form of the causative prefix elsewhere (see §10.1). Both *in* and *ö* here are analysed as part of the root of these adverbs, because synchronically these adverbs cannot function as a predicate head on their own. Examples of these adverbs are provided below.

9.6.3.1 *Arixe/arixin* ‘together; completely’

In (9-64), the intransitive form *arixe* ‘together’ modifies the intransitive verb *wan* ‘move’, and in (9-65), the transitive form *arixin* ‘together’ modifies the transitive verb *is* ‘to tie’.

- (9-64) *Arabo wan arixe me muu. ireet tabo wan arixe.*
 [a=rabo wan arixe]_{VP} [me muu]_{PP}
 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR move together with 2DU
 ireet [t=abo wan arixe]_{VP}
 1PA.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=NIMM.IRR move together
 ‘I will go with you two. Let’s go together.’ [p47-s203-p48-s204]

- (9-65) *Toxo is arixin ine ma öng a bo lagunon*
 [to=xo is arixin]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=PAST tie.up together 3SG
 [ma öng a bo lagunon]_{PP}
 with one L pig home
 ‘They tied it together with a pig from home.’ [p466-s100]

9.6.3.2 *Köbaa/köbain* ‘too much’

In (9-66), the intransitive form *köbaa* ‘too much’ modifies the intransitive verb *etoos* ‘bathe’, and in (9-67), the transitive form *köbain* ‘too much’ modifies the transitive verb *toos* ‘wash’.

- (9-66) *Iraa tere etoos köbaa.*
 iraa [te=re e-toos köbaa]_{VP}
 1DU.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=CPL REF-wash too.much
 ‘We have been bathing too much.’ [p364-s22]

- (9-67) *Iraa tere toos köbain ine.*
 iraa [te=re toos köbain]_{VP} ine
 1DU.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=CPL wash too.much 3SG
 ‘We have been washing it too much.’ [EL-p364-s22]

9.6.3.3 *Mesilaa/mesilain* ‘in front’

Examples (9-68) and (9-69) show that the spatial adverb *mesilaa* ‘in front’ and its transitive counterpart *mesilain* ‘in front’ modify the verb *kis* ‘to sit’ in intransitive and transitive clauses respectively.

- (9-68) *Ixo kis mesilaa.*
 [i=xo kis mesilaa]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST sit in front
 ‘He sat in front.’ [EL-Lien]

- (9-69) *Ixo kis mesilain iduu.*
 [i=xo kis mesilain]_{VP} [iduu]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST sit in front 3DU
 ‘He sat in front of them two.’ [EL-Lien]

Note that the verb *kis* ‘to sit’ is intransitive in both examples (9-68) and (9-69). So the transitivity value of example (9-69) is determined by the transitivity of the adverb *mesilain* ‘in front’ instead of the VP head *kis* ‘sit’.

9.6.3.4 *Melamu/melamuin* ‘at the back, after’

Similar to *mesilaa* ‘in front’ and *mesilain* ‘in front’ in §9.6.3.3, the spatial adverb *melamu* ‘at the back, after’ and its transitive counterpart *melamuin* ‘at the back, after’ can also be used modifying the verb *kis* ‘to sit’ in intransitive and transitive clauses, as illustrated in (9-70) and (9-71) respectively.

- (9-70) *Ixo kis melamu.*
 [i=xo kis melamu]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST sit at.the.back
 ‘He sat at the back.’ [EL-Lien]

- (9-71) *Ixo kis melamuin iduu.*
 [i=xo kis melamuin]VP [iduu]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST sit at.the.back 3DU
 ‘He sat behind them two.’ [EL-Lien]

9.6.3.5 *Mon/manin* ‘just, only’

In (9-72), the form *mon* ‘just, only’ is used intransitively, modifying the intransitive serial verb construction *kis deeksik* ‘sitting well’. In (9-73), its transitive counterpart *manin* ‘just only’ is used transitively, modifying the transitive verb *en* ‘to eat’ and preceding the object NP.

- (9-72) *Muot mörö kis deeksik mon.*
 muot [mö=rö kis deek=sik mon]VP
 2PA 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR sit good=STA just
 ‘You (several) just sit well!’ [p194-s150]

- (9-73) *Mem bo enen manin a buo ma sie.*
 mem [Ø=bo en~en manin]VP
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB REP~eat just
 [a buo ma sie]_{O.NP}
 C.NM betel.nut and mustard
 ‘We just chew betel nut and mustard (without lime)’ [p220-s176]

During elicitation, my consultants insisted that the form *mon* ‘just’ cannot be used transitively. However, I have observed several text examples in which *mon* ‘just’ is in transitive use. (Although my consultants claimed that the adverb *mon* ‘just, only’ in examples such as (9-74) and (9-75) should be replaced by *manin* ‘just, only’).

Examples (9-74) and (9-73) are taken from the same story by the same narrator. The narrator uses *mon* in (9-74) but *manin* in (9-73).

9.6.3.7 *Baling/öbaling* ‘again’

The phrase level adverb *baling* can roughly be translated into English as ‘again’. It is the only adverb whose transitive form does not end with *in*. Example (9-78) shows that *baling* ‘again’ modifies the intransitive serial verb construction *wan ot* ‘arrive’. Example (9-79) shows that the form *öbaling* modifies the transitive verb *se* ‘to attack, to kill’ and precedes an object NP.

- (9-78) *Di toxo wan ot baling öng a bung kabisee.*
 di [to=xo wan ot baling]_{VP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST move arrive again
 [kö öng a bung kabisee]_{PP}
 C.PREP one L day different
 ‘They arrived again on the other day.’ [p276-s89]

- (9-79) *Duu toxo se öbaling a bo.*
 duu [to=xo se ö-baling]_{VP} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST attack CAUS-again C.NM pig
 ‘They two killed another a pig.’ [p261-s78]

Note that the adverb *baling* ‘again’ has a homonymous form, which can function as a verbal predicate head, meaning ‘to return’. *Baling* and *öbaling* ‘again’ in (9-78) and (9-79) are classified as adverbs instead of verbs, because the elicitation data show that they cannot take the stative marker =*sik* (§9.5) and the sequential marker =*lo* (§14.1) which can encliticise to almost all verbs and serial verb constructions. Examples (9-80) and (9-81) show that the stative marker =*sik* and the sequential marker =*lo* are cliticised to the predicate head but not to the adverbial modifier *baling* ‘again’.

- (9-80) *Ixoro wöwösik baling*
 [i=xo=ro wöwö=sik baling]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL full=STA again
 ‘It (the ground) was full (of money) again.’ [p384-s73]

- (9-81) *Duu toxo kaulusenlo baling.*
duu [to=xo kaulusen=lo baling]VP
3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST paddle=SEQ again
'They paddled again' [p82-s22]

10 Derivational verbal morphology and valency

In this chapter I describe derivational verbal morphology and valency-changing devices in Usen Barok. There are four prefixes and one suffix for verb derivation: the causative prefix *ö-* (§10.1); the anticausative prefixes *tama-* and *ta-* (§10.4); the ‘multifunctional’ prefix *e-* (§10.3) and the applicative suffix *-in* (§10.2). Section 10.5 describes ‘noun stripping’ and section 10.6 gives information on verbal reduplication.

10.1 The causative prefix

Usen Barok has a causative prefix *ö-*. It may also be realised as *u-* or *o-* when prefixed to certain verbal stems. The distribution of its allomorphs is not clear, and the form *ö-* is used in the morpheme line for convenience. The causative prefix *ö-* can attach to both intransitive and transitive verbal stems, as described in §10.1.1 and §10.1.2.

10.1.1 Causatives on intransitive verbal stems

The causative prefix *ö-* is a valency-increasing device when it occurs on an intransitive verbal stem. It derives a transitive verbal stem from an intransitive one. Examples (10-1) and (10-2) illustrate the strictly intransitive verb *laran* ‘wake up’ and its causativised counterpart *ölaran* ‘to wake up (someone)’ respectively.

- (10-1) *A barok ixo laran.*
[a barok]_{S.NP} [i=xo laran]_{VP}
C.NM boy 3SG.SM=PAST wake.up
‘The boy woke up.’ [p350-s200]

- (10-2) *Di toxo ölaran a barok.*
[di]_{A.NP} [to=xo ö-laran]_{VP} [a barok]_{O.NP}
3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST CAUS-wake.up C.NM boy
‘They woke up the boy.’ [p327-s61]

According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (1997: 81), a causative derivation typically involves “adding an A argument, S becoming O”. This describes exactly the process of causativisation in Usen Barok. Example (10-1) is strictly intransitive and does not allow an O argument. Example (10-2) introduces a new A argument *di* ‘they’, which has the semantic role of causer. The S argument *a barok* ‘the boy’ in (10-1) becomes the O argument in (10-2).

A further pair of examples is given in (10-3) and (10-4). The verb *paluso* ‘sleep’ in (10-3) is strictly intransitive and it does not allow an O argument. The causativised form *övaluso* ‘to make sleep’ in (10-4) is transitive and it takes the S argument *a marake* ‘my eyes’ in (10-3) as its O argument.

- (10-3) *A marake i paluso saban.*
 [a mara-ke]_{S.NP} [i paluso saban]_{VP}
 C.NM eye-1SG.POSSR 3SG sleep bad
 ‘My eyes are very sleepy.’ [p348-s167]

- (10-4) *Ara övaluso a marake.*
 [a=ra ö-paluso]_{VP} [a mara-ke]_{O.NP}
 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR CAUS-sleep C.NM eye-1SG.POSSR
 ‘I am going to sleep.’ (Lit: ‘I am going to make my eyes sleep.’) [p351-s217]

Causatives commonly occur on the last verb in a serial verb construction (SVC) for transitivity agreement rather than occur on a single verbal predicate head. Example (10-5) gives a ‘cause-effect’ SVC *tewee ösu* ‘throw down’, in which V_1 (the first verb of SVC) *tewee* ‘to throw’ is transitive and V_2 (the second verb of SVC) *ösu* ‘to make descend’ is the causativised form of the intransitive verb *su* ‘descend’.

- (10-5) *Örö tewee ösu ine xö beberöön.*
 [ö=rö tewee ö-su]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} [kö beberöön]_{PP}
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR throw CAUS-descend 3SG C.PREP deep.sea
 ‘You throw him down to the deep sea!’ [p145-s43]

Detailed discussion on using causativisation in serial verb constructions is provided in §11.3.2.1.

10.1.2 Causatives on transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Usen Barok may also take the causative prefix. This process involves introducing a new argument which is semantically a causer into the A argument slot and making the original A argument move into the slot of the O argument. However, the causative prefix on a transitive verb does not increase the valency of the verb overall. The resulting causativised verb is transitive, with only one O argument. The original O argument is treated as a peripheral argument.

Examples (10-6) and (10-7) illustrate the transitive verb *inim* ‘drink’ and its causativised form *öinim* ‘to make/cause to drink’ respectively.

- (10-6) *A barok ixo inim a ari.*
 [a barok]_{A.NP} [i=xo inim]_{VP} [a ari]_{O.NP}
 C.NM boy 3SG.SM=PAST drink C.NM water
 ‘The boy drank water.’ [p425-s35]

- (10-7) *A gilam ixo öinim a barok ma ari.*
 [a gilam]_{A.NP} [i=xo ö-inim]_{VP} [a barok]_{O.NP}
 C.NM ghost 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-drink C.NM boy
 [ma ari]_{PP}
 INST water
 ‘The ghost made the boy drink with water.’ [p425-s33]

In (10-6), the transitive verb *inim* ‘drink’ takes *a barok* ‘the boy’ as its A argument and *a ari* ‘water’ as its O argument. In (10-7), the causativised verb *öinim* ‘to make/cause to drink’ takes the original A argument *a barok* ‘the boy’ as its O argument and has the original O argument *a ari* ‘water’ as a peripheral argument.

Transitive verbs in Usen Barok are rarely causativised compared with intransitive verbs. Only two transitive verbs are found causativised in my text examples. One example was given in (10-7) above, the other text example is given in (10-9). Example

(10-8) shows the transitive verb *sige* ‘to dress, to put on’ and (10-9) illustrates its causative counterpart *usige* ‘to make/cause to dress’.

(10-8) *Ixo sige a ugo.*
 [i=xo sige]VP [a ugo]O.NP
 3SG.SM=PAST put.on C.NM head.dress
 ‘He put on the head dress.’ [159-s95]

(10-9) *Maa me usige ine ma pants.*
 [maa]_{A.NP} [me ö-sige]VP [ine]_{O.NP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM-REAL CAUS-put.on 3SG
 [ma pants]_{PP}
 INST pants (EN)
 ‘We dressed him with pants.’ [p505-s97]

10.2 The applicative suffix

The term ‘applicative’ has been used in the literature to describe “a means some languages have for constructing clauses which allow the coding of a thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument” (Peterson 2007: 1). In Usen Barok, there is an applicative suffix *-in*, which occurs exclusively on intransitive verbal stems to derive transitive ones. Examples (10-11) and (10-13) are both applicative constructions.

In (10-10), the intransitive verb *gee* ‘to cry’ takes the prepositional phrase *rö ine* ‘for him’ as its adjunct; in (10-11), the applicativised verb *gein* ‘to cry’³⁶ takes *ine* ‘him’ as its O argument.

³⁶ Usen Barok normally does not allow a vowel sequence containing long vowels. When the applicative suffix is attached to the verb *gee* ‘to cry’, the resulting stem is pronounced as [ge.'in]. The long vowel [e:] in *gee* ‘to cry’ is reduced to the short vowel [e].

- (10-10) *Tabo gee rö ine.*
 [t=abo gee]_{VP} [rö ine]_{PP}
 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR cry for 3SG
 ‘They will cry for him.’ [p356-s7]

- (10-11) *Tabo gein ine.*
 [t=abo gee-in]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR cry-APP 3SG
 ‘They will cry for him.’ [EL2-3-p89-n86]

In (10-12), the intransitive verb *mun* ‘hide’ takes the prepositional phrase *kalix e meet* ‘from us’ as its adjunct; in (10-13), the applicativised verb *munin* ‘hide’ takes *e meet* ‘us’ as its O argument.

- (10-12) *A tödi ixo mun kalix e meet.*
 [a tödi]_{S.NP} [i=xo mun]_{VP} [kalik e meet]_{PP}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST hide from P.NM 1PA.EXC
 ‘The man hid from us.’ [EL-2-3p67-n41A]

- (10-13) *A tödi ixo munin e meet.*
 [a tödi] [i=xo mun-in]_{VP} [e meet]_{O.NP}
 C.NM man 3SG.SM=PAST hide-APP P.NM 1PA.EXC
 ‘The man hid from us.’ [EL-2-3p67-n41B]

The examples given in (10-10) and (10-11) as well as in (10-12) and (10-13) are non-applicative and applicative alternations. There are also cases where the applicative construction does not seem to have a non-applicative alternation. An example is given in (10-14).

- (10-14) *Öröbo buurin iduu.*
 [ö=röbo buut-in]_{VP} [iduu]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR be.scared-APP 3DU
 ‘You will be scared of they two.’ [EL-2-3p101-n109]

In (10-14), the intransitive verb *buut* ‘be scared’ is applicativised by the applicative suffix *-in* and has an object argument. One would expect a non-applicative construction

in which the object argument in (10-14) is marked peripheral by a preposition. However, such a construction, as given in (10-15), is not acceptable.

- (10-15) **Öröbo buut te iduu.*
 [ö=röbo buut]_{VP} [re iduu]_{PP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR be.scared P.PREP 3DU
 ‘You will be scared of they two.’ [EL-2-3p101-n109]

In order to convey the meaning ‘be scared by they two’ using the non-applicativised intransitive verb *buut* ‘be scared’, Usen Barok speakers have to say something as given in (10-16), which consists of two clauses.

- (10-16) *Öröbo pere iduu. Öröbo buut.*
 [ö=röbo pere]_{VP} [iduu]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR see 3DU
 [ö=röbo buut]_{VP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR be.scared
 ‘You will see they two. You will be scared.’ [p39-s100]

I use the term ‘applicative’ to label all situations where the suffix *-in* is attached to an intransitive verb to derive a transitive one.

Applicativised verbal stems are commonly found in serial verb constructions, especially as the last component of an SVC. Example (10-17) shows that the adjective *ödödö* ‘be quiet’ is applicativised in a transitive SVC. The non-applicativised form of *ödödö* ‘be quiet’ in an intransitive SVC is provided in (10-18). More details about applicatives in serial verb constructions are provided in §11.3.1.1.

- (10-17) *Ixo sölöx ödödöin manin ine urii araman.*
 [i=xo sölöx ödödö-in manin]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST to.shoulder be.quiet-APP just 3SG
 u-rii araman
 towards-down outside
 ‘He just quietly shouldered him outside.’ [p389-s159]

- (10-18) *Duu toxo tuu ödödösik.*
 [duu]_{S.NP} [to=xo tuu ödödö=sik]_{VP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST stand be.quiet=STA
 ‘They two were standing quietly.’ [p432-s26]

As mentioned in §4.2.3, there are five zero-intransitive verbs, which form a closed subclass of verbs. One of the interesting features of these zero-intransitive verbs is that they can be applicativised and take an O argument.

Examples (10-19) and (10-21) show that the zero-intransitive verbs *xaken* ‘be hot sun’ and *dömön* ‘be night’ are applicativised by the suffix *-in*. Note that neither the zero-intransitive verbs *xaken* ‘be hot sun’ (in (10-20)) and *dömön* ‘be night’ (in (10-22)) nor the applicativised derivations *xakenin* ‘be hot sun’ (in (10-19)) and *dömönin* ‘be night’ (in (10-21)) can take an independent subject argument. The 3rd person singular subject marker *i-* in these examples is not cross-referencing, but just fulfilling the syntactic requirement of a verbal predicate.

- (10-19) *Ixo xakenin ine xö ngas.*
 [i=xo xaken-in]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} [kö ngas]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST be.hot.sun-APP 3SG C.PREP road
 ‘The hot sun came to him on the road.’ (Lit: ‘It sunned him on the road.’)
 [p211-s11]

- (10-20) *Ixo xaken.*
 [i=xo xaken]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST be.hot.sun
 ‘It was around noon.’ (Lit: ‘It became noon.’) [EL-Kolin]

- (10-21) *Ixo dömönin öbaling ine xö rasi.*
 [i=xo dömön-in ö-baling]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} [kö rasi]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST be.night-APP CAUS-return 3SG C.PREP sea
 ‘Night came to him again on the sea.’ (Lit: ‘It became night again to him on the sea.’) [p213-s51]

- (10-22) *Ixo dömön.*
 [i=xo dömön]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST be.night
 ‘The night came.’ (Lit: ‘It became night.’) [p216-s105]

10.3 Prefix *e-*

Usen Barok has a prefix *e-* which may attach to both transitive and intransitive verbal stems.

When occurring on a transitive verb, the prefix *e-* functions as a detransitiviser to derive intransitive verbs from transitive verbs and makes the original A argument the S argument of the derived verb. In (10-23), the verb *söngöt* ‘burn’ is detransitivised by the prefix *e-*, and it is not allowed to take an object argument. Example (10-24) shows the use of the transitive verb *söngöt* ‘burn’, which takes an object argument.

- (10-23) *A la na ibo esöngöt.*
 [a la na]_{S.NP} [i=bo e-söngöt]_{VP}
 C.NM thing DEM.PROX 3SG.SM=HAB DETRA-burn
 ‘This thing (fire) burns.’ [p218-s137]

- (10-24) *A jaa ixo söngör a bo limine idi.*
 [a jaa]_{A.NP} [i=xo söngöt]_{VP}
 C.NM fire 3SG.SM=PAST burn
 [a bo limi-ne idi]_{O.NP}
 C.NM PLM hand-3SG.POSSR 3PL
 ‘The fire burned their hands.’ [p219-s166]

When occurring on an intransitive verbal stem, the prefix *e-* does not change the valency of the stem it attaches to. The verb *kadik* ‘ache’ in (10-25) and the verb *ekadik* ‘ache’ in (10-26) are both strictly intransitive, but the prefix *e-* on the verb *kadik* ‘ache’ in (10-26) indicates that the action is repetitive. Note that the adverb *nana* ‘around, randomly’ which modifies the stem *ekadik* in (10-26) also conveys the meaning of repetition.

- (10-25) *Balana e i kadik.*
 [bala-na e]_{S.NP} [i kadik]_{VP}
 stomach-3SG.POSSR 1SG 3SG.SM ache
 ‘My stomach ached.’ [p76-s20]

- (10-26) *Ixo ekadik nana.*
 [i=xo e-kadik nana]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST REP-ache randomly
 ‘It (the wound) hurt.’ [p419-s353]

10.3.1 Semantics of the prefix *e-*

In Usen Barok, the prefix *e-* may be used to indicate reciprocal (§10.3.1.1), reflexive (§10.3.1.2), collective (§10.3.1.3), and repetitive (§10.3.1.4) actions.

10.3.1.1 Marking reciprocal actions

When occurring on transitive verbs, the prefix *e-* may mark reciprocal actions, indicating that two participants do the same action to each other. Note that the subject argument of a reciprocal action must always be dual in number. In (10-27), the transitive verb *mum* ‘to kiss’ is detransitivised to indicate ‘kiss each other’. Example (10-28) shows the use of the underived transitive verb *mum* ‘to kiss’.

- (10-27) *Maa moxo emum.*
 [maa]_{S,NP} [mo=xo e-mum]_{VP}
 1DU.EXC INSG.EXC.SM=PAST DETRA-kiss
 ‘We two kissed (each other).’ [EL2-3-p97-n102]

- (10-28) *Exo mum a barok.*
 [e=xo mum]_{VP} [a barok]_{O,NP}
 1SG.SM=PAST kiss C.NM boy
 ‘I kissed the boy.’ [EL2-3-p97-n102]

10.3.1.2 Marking reflexive actions

The prefix *e-* can be used to mark reflexive actions when it occurs on transitive verbs, indicating that the semantic roles of the agent and the patient of the action are the same entity. That is, syntactically the A and O arguments of the underived verb will be encoded in the S argument of the derived verb.

Examples (10-29) and (10-30) show that the transitive verb *toos* ‘wash (someone/something)’ can be detransitivised by the prefix *e-* to express ‘wash oneself’.

- (10-29) *Di toxo toos ine.*
 [di]_{A.NP} [to=xo toos]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST wash 3SG
 ‘They washed him.’ [p250-s166]

- (10-30) *Ine ixo etoos.*
 [ine]_{S.NP} [i=xo e-toos]_{VP}
 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST DETRA-wash
 ‘He took a bath.’ (Lit: ‘He washed himself.’) [p527-s8]

A further example is given in (10-31). The derived intransitive verb *edem* ‘to lick oneself’ indicates reflexive. The underived transitive form of the verb *dem* ‘to lick’ is shown in (10-32).

- (10-31) *A vuluwun i edem.*
 [a puluwun]_{S.NP} [i e-dem]_{VP}
 C.NM dog 3SG.SM DETRA-lick
 ‘The dog licked itself.’ [EL2-3-p97-n101]

- (10-32) *A vuluwun ixo demdem nanin aine.*
 [a puluwun]_{A.NP} [i=xo dem~dem nanin]_{VP}
 C.NM dog 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~lick just
 [a ai-ne]_{O.NP}
 C.NM skin-3SG.POSSR
 ‘The dog was just licking him.’ [p246-s114]

Only a few transitive verbs in Usen Barok are attested having a reflexive reading when they are detransitivised by the prefix *e-*. The verb *toos* ‘to wash’ as shown in (10-29) seems to be the only verb which always indicates reflexive action when it is prefixed by *e-*. Even when its subject argument is semantically non-singular, the verb *etoos* ‘to bathe’ still has a reflexive reading. Example (10-33) can not be interpreted as ‘they washed each other’.

- (10-33) *Duu toxo etoos.*
 [duu]_{S.NP} [to=xo e-toos]_{VP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST DETRA-wash
 ‘They two took a bath.’ [p364-s20]

10.3.1.3 Marking collective actions

The prefix *e-* may attach to both transitive and intransitive verbal stems to indicate collective actions. “In a collective situation two or more participants are together involved in a situation, in the same Initiator-type role” (Lichtenberk, 2000: 35). Usen Barok has two types of collective actions: joint actions and converse actions.

- Marking joint actions

A joint-action verb is employed to indicate that two or more participants are acting jointly. Examples (10-34) and (10-35) contrast the use of underived intransitive verb *wan* ‘move’ and the derived intransitive joint-action verb *ewan*.

- (10-34) *Muu mörö wan!*
 muu [mö=rö wan]_{VP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR move
 ‘You two go!’ [p496-s125]

- (10-35) *Muu mörö ewan!*
 muu [mö=rö e-wan]_{VP}
 2DU 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR DETRA-move
 ‘You two go together!’ [p366-s49]

It seems that the use of joint-action verbs is pragmatically determined, since it is also perfectly grammatical for the speaker to simply use the underived ‘non-collective’ form as in (10-34).

A further example is given in (10-36). This example was observed when many Usen Barok dancers were preparing for a traditional dance. The leader of the dancing group uttered the sentence to ask the dancers to hold their hands with other dancers who are next to them. In the first clause of this utterance, the speaker chose the underived

transitive form *tön* ‘hold’, whereas in the second clause the speaker used the detransitivised joint-action verb *etön* ‘hold (other people’s hands)’.

- (10-36) *Ire ta tön a bo limine ire. Ire ta etön.*
 (a) [ire]_{A.NP} [t=a tön]_{VP}
 1PL.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=IMM.IRR hold
 [a bo limi-ne ire]_{O.NP}
 C.NM PLM hand-3SG.POSSR 1PL
 (b) [ire]_{S.NP} [t=a e-tön]_{VP}
 1PL.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=IMM.IRR DETRA-hold
 ‘Let’s hold our hands. Let’s hold-hands together.’ [OB-Tabitha]

The meaning of *etön* is to some extent lexicalized. It means ‘to hold other people’s hand(s)’ even if ‘hands’ are not mentioned (as shown in (10-37)), although the transitive verb *tön* ‘to hold’ can be used to refer to any kind of holding-action. If one wants to express a joint action of holding something else rather than hand(s), the applicative construction will need to be employed to specify the object being held (see example (10-46) in §10.3.2.2).

- (10-37) *Mesila, arala me vuluwun, duu toxobo etönsik karnang a naröön*
 mesila [arala me puluwun]_{TOP}
 before wallaby and dog
 [duu] [to=xo=bo e-tön=sik]
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST=HAB DETRA-hold=STA
 [karnang a naröön]_{PP}
 like C.NM two.brothers
 ‘In the past, the wallaby and the dog, they were hands-holding like two brothers.’ [p160-s3]

- Marking converse actions

A converse-action verb is used to indicate that two participants are involved in converse relation in an activity, that is, one participant is the agent and the other is the patient in the activity.

In (10-38), the second clause illustrates an example of such a converse action *etako* ‘piggy-back’. We know from the second clause that one of the siblings is piggy-backing

the other while the other is being piggy-backed. But we cannot tell, from this clause, who is carrying whom or who is being carried. This information is provided in the first clause in (10-38), which explicitly indicates that ‘Ladi piggy-backed Mata’ by using the transitive verb stem *tako* ‘to piggy-back’.

- (10-38) *E Ladi ixo tako e Mata. Iduu nasixinen toxo etako.*
- (a) [e Ladi]_{A.NP} [i=xo tako]_{VP} [e Mata]_{O.NP}
P.NM Ladi 3SG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back P.NM Mata
- (b) [iduu nasixinen]_{S.NP} [to=xo e-tako]_{VP}
3DU two.opposite.sex.siblings 3NSG.SM=PAST DETRA-to.piggy-back
‘Ladi piggy-backed Mata. The two opposite sex siblings (Ladi and Mata) were involved in an activity of piggy-backing.’ [p400-s49-s50]

A further example is given in (10-39). According to the information provided in the first clause in (10-39), we know that ‘the woman chased him’, so the second clause in (10-39) cannot be interpreted as ‘they two were chasing each other’ (reciprocal reading) or ‘they two were chasing (something) together’ (joint-action reading), but that ‘they two were involved in the action of chasing’.

- (10-39) *Une nang ixo wasax ine melamu. Duu toxo ewasak.*
- (a) [une nang]_{S.NP} [i=xo wasak]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} melamu
woman DEM.DIS 3SG.SM=PAST chase 3SG at.the.back
- (b) [duu]_{S.NP} [to=xo e-wasak]_{VP}
3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST DETRA-chase
‘The woman chased after him. They two were involved in an activity of chasing.’ [p352-s239-s240]

10.3.1.4 Marking repetitive actions

The prefix *e-* may occur on both intransitive and transitive verbal stems to indicate repetitive actions. To avoid ambiguity, Usen Barok speakers may also use the preverbal habitual marker =*bo* and/or adverbs to ensure the repetitive reading.

In (10-40), the prefix *e-* attaches to the transitive stem *muu* ‘to follow’ to form a repetitive-action verb *emuu* ‘follow (many times)’. The habitual marker =*bo* also signals the habitually repeated action.

- (10-40) *A vuluwun ibo emuu.*
 [a puluwun]_{S,NP} [i=bo e-muu]_{VP}
 C.NM dog 3SG.SM=HAB DETRA-follow
 ‘The dog always follows (people).’ [EL2-3-p50-n7]

A repetitive-action verb may also be formed on an intransitive verb with the prefix *e-*, an example is given in (10-26) above. In that example, the speaker uses the adverb *nana* ‘around, randomly’ to ensure that the prefixed verb *ekadik* is interpreted as repetitive.

10.3.2 Combination of the prefix *e-* with the causative and applicative affixes

The prefix *e-* may co-occur with the causative prefix *ö-* (§10.3.2.1) or the applicative suffix *-in* (§10.3.2.2) to indicate joint actions.

10.3.2.1 Combined with the causative prefix

Example (10-41) shows that the prefix *e-* attaches to the causativised verb stem *öxaa* ‘to make ascend’, indicating the joint action of ‘climbing’. Examples (10-42) and (10-43) illustrate the intransitive stem *kaa* ‘ascend’ and the causativised transitive stem *öxaa* ‘to make ascend’ respectively.

- (10-41) *E mem moxo eöxaalo, e mem moxo ot lagunon.*
 [e mem]_{S,NP} [mo=xo e-ö-kaa=lo]_{VP}
 P.NM 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=PAST DETRA-CAUS-ascend=SEQ
 [e mem]_{S,NP} [mo=xo ot]_{VP} lagunon
 P.NM 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=PAST arrive home.village
 ‘We all climbed (on the truck), then we arrived home.’ [p271-s59-s60]

- (10-42) *Mem moxo kaa xö bas.*
 [mem]_{S,NP} [mo=xo kaa]_{VP} [kö bas]_{PP}
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.ESC.SM=PAST ascend C.PREP bus (TP)
 ‘We climbed on the bus.’ [p184-s5]

- (10-43) *Obin ixo öxaalo e ma kar.*
 [Obin]_{S,NP} [i=xo ö-kaa=lo]_{VP} [e]_{O,NP} [ma kar]_{PP}
 Obin 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-ascend=SEQ 1SG PREP car (TP)
 ‘Obin made me get in the car.’ [p291-s15]

Note that the intransitive stem *kaa* ‘ascend’ can be directly prefixed by *e-* to refer to the joint action, as shown in (10-44).

- (10-44) *Mem moxo ekaa xö sim.*
 [mem]_{S.NP} [mo=xo e-kaa]_{VP} [kö sim]_{PP}
 1PL.EXC INSG.EXC.SM=PAST DETRA-ascend C.PREP canoe
 ‘We all climbed on the canoe.’ [EL2-3-p55-n17]

The difference between *ekaa* ‘ascend together’ and *eöxaa* ‘make ascend together’ is that the latter also indicates the ‘effort of climbing’, whereas the former does not have this meaning. So a better translation of example (10-41) should be ‘we all made ourselves to climb (on the truck).’

A further example is given in (10-45). In this example, the intransitive verb *tie* ‘to dance’ is first causativised by the causative prefix *ö-* and then detransitivised by the prefix *e-*.

- (10-45) *Nangadi toxo tie. Toxo eurie ma toon tinie.*
 [nangadi]_{S.NP} [to=xo tie]_{VP}
 people 3NSG.SM=PAST dance
 [to=xo e-ö-tie]_{VP} [ma toon t<in>ie]_{PP}
 3NSG.SM=PAST DETRA-CAUS-dance INST PLM <NML>dance
 ‘People danced. They made themselves dance many dances.’ [p474-s7]

10.3.2.2 Combined with the applicative suffix

The prefix *e-* functions as a detransitiviser when it occurs on a transitive verb. So the original O argument of the underived transitive verb must be deleted, as shown in the second clause in (10-36) and in (10-37). However, there are also cases where the original O argument of the underived transitive verb needs to be expressed within the clause. In such a situation, Usen Barok speakers usually use the applicative construction to keep the original O argument in the O argument slot. In other words, the prefix *e-* is used because the speaker wants to express or emphasise collective actions. However, the prefix *e-* also has the effect of detransitivising the verb. Therefore the applicative suffix *-in* is

employed to ‘re-transitivise’ the verb. In (10-46), the prefix *e-* indicates the joint-action of ‘holding’ and the applicative suffix *-in* keeps the O argument within the clause.

- (10-46) *Di toxo erönin a buso.*
 [di]_{A.NP} [to=xo e-tön-in]_{VP} [a buso]_{O.NP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST DETRA-hold-APP C.NM rope
 ‘They all held the rope together.’ [p378-s226]

10.4 The anticausative prefixes *tama-* and *ta-*

Usen Barok has two anticausative prefixes, *tama-* and *ta-*,³⁷ which occur exclusively on transitive verbs to derive intransitive ones. I label both *tama-* and *ta-* as ‘anticausative’ because the process of prefixation involves “deriving intransitive forms with a patient participants (sic) expressed as S” (Evans 2003: 267) and deleting the original A argument of the underived transitive verb.

As shown in the following examples, when the transitive verbs *baxut* ‘to shut sth.’ (in (10-47)) and *pörök* ‘to break sth.’ (in (10-49)) are prefixed, they become intransitive. The process moves the original O argument of the underived verb into the slot for S argument of the derived verb. The original A argument is no longer expressed. Therefore, (10-48) simply expresses the event that ‘the door was shut’, without mentioning an agent. In (10-50), the focus is on the resulting ‘broken state of the canoe’, instead of the agent who initiates the breaking.

- (10-47) *Duu toxo baxur a maramé.*
 [duu]_{A.NP} [to=xo baxut]_{VP} [a maramé]_{O.NP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST shut C.NM door
 ‘They two shut the door.’ [p426-s16]

³⁷ The prefixes *tama-* and *ta-* in Usen Barok are presumably reflexes of the Proto Oceanic ‘stative derivative prefixes’ **ta-* and **ma-* (see Pawley 1972 and Evans 2003).

- (10-48) *Ma marama ixo tamabaxutsik.*
 ma [marama]_{S.NP} [i=xo tama-baxut=sik]_{VP}
 and door 3SG.SM=PAST ACAUS-shut=STA
 ‘The door was shut.’ [p469-s50]
- (10-49) *Arala ixo pörök a sim.*
 [arala]_{A.NP} [i=xo pörök]_{VP} [a sim]_{O.NP}
 wallaby 3SG.SM=PAST break C.NM canoe
 ‘The wallaby broke the canoe.’ [p85-s76]
- (10-50) *A sim ixo tavörök.*
 [a sim]_{S.NP} [i=xo ta-pörök]_{VP}
 C.NM canoe 3SG.SM=PAST ACAUS-break
 ‘The canoe was broken.’ [EL2-3-p74-n55]

Table 10-1 illustrates all the verbs which can take anticausative prefixes in my corpus. Three verbs *palang* ‘to split sth.’, *pörök* ‘to break sth.’, and *puxus* ‘to turn sth.’ take the prefix *ta-*, whereas the rest verbs listed in Table 10-1 take the prefix *tama-*. Given the very limited data in my corpus, I can only assume that the choice between *tama-* or *ta-* is lexically determined. There is no obvious phonological or semantic reason for the choice. More data would be required to give a sense of any other motivating factors.

Verbs	Gloss	With <i>tama-</i>	With <i>ta-</i>	Gloss
<i>baxut</i>	‘to shut sth.’	<i>tama-baxut</i>	--	‘to shut (vi.); be closed’
<i>didi</i>	‘to tear sth.’	<i>tama-didi</i>	--	‘to tear (vi.); be torn’
<i>dik</i>	‘to pick (fruit)’	<i>tama-dik</i>	--	‘to be picked; to fall (of fruit tree)’
<i>kin</i>	‘to dig sth. out’	<i>tama-kin</i>	--	‘dug out’
<i>linge</i>	‘to spill sth. out’	<i>tama-linge</i>	--	‘to spill (vi.); be spilt’
<i>luwes</i>	‘to loosen sth.’	<i>tama-luwes</i>	--	‘be loosened’
<i>sexee</i>	‘to hang sth.’	<i>tama-sexee</i>	--	‘to hang (vi.)’
<i>palang</i>	‘to split sth.’	--	<i>ta-valang</i>	‘to split (vi.); be split’
<i>paxat</i>	‘to scrape sth.’	<i>tama-vaxat</i>	--	‘to scrape (vi.); be scraped’
<i>pörök</i>	‘to break sth.’	--	<i>ta-vörök</i>	‘to break (vi.); be broken’
<i>puxus</i>	‘to turn sth.’	--	<i>ta-vuxus</i>	‘to turn (vi.); to be turned over’
<i>sawang</i>	‘to open’	<i>tama-sawang</i>	--	‘to open (vi.); be open’
<i>sawit</i>	‘to pick (betel nut)’	<i>tama-sawit</i>	--	‘to be picked; to fall of (betel nut tree)’

Table 10-1: Verbs taking anticausative prefix

The prefixes *tama-* and *ta-* may also be employed to indicate spontaneous actions, that is, when an event occurs without an obvious causer. Example (10-51) is taken from an Usen Barok legend in which a witch casts a spell over a cave in order to block two boys in that cave. The prefixed verb *tama-baxut* in (10-51) can be interpreted as ‘to shut spontaneously’ (cf. (10-47) and (10-48)). A further example is given in (10-53) (cf. the underived stem in (10-52)).

- (10-51) *Ixo tengen kö lieng: “örö tamabaxut!”*
 [i=xo tengen]_{VP} [kö lieng]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST utter C.PREP cave
 [ö=rö tama-baxut]_{VP}
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR ACAUS-shut
 ‘She spoke to the cave: “you shut spontaneously!”’ [p451-s79-s80]
- (10-52) *Ixo luwes tewee ina wawono*
 [i=xo luwes tewee]_{VP} [ina wawo-no]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST loosen throw ANA.C.NM wing-3SG.POSSR
 ‘It loosened away its wings.’ [p135-s33]
- (10-53) *Barok lik nang ixo tamaluweslo.*
 [barok lik nang]_{S.NP} [i=xo tama-luwes=lo]_{VP}
 boy small DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST ACAUS-loosen=SEQ
 ‘That small boy loosened (his own hands) spontaneously.’ [p446-s274]

10.5 Noun incorporation

Usen Barok lacks morphological noun incorporation and has the form of noun stripping. Following Miner (1983), Mithun (1984: 849) and Gerdtz (1998: 93-94), I define noun stripping in Usen Barok as involving the object NPs that ‘strip off’ their NP marker and modifiers and “enter into closely-knit units with their verbs” (Miner 1983: 84). Examples (10-54) and (10-55) show the independent object NP *a daa* ‘a/the stone-oven’ and the stripped noun *daa* respectively.

- (10-54) *Balixilik tabo peer a daa.*
 [balixilik]_{A.NP} [t=abo peet]_{VP} [a daa]_{O.NP}
 women 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR make C.NM ground.oven
 ‘The women will make a stone-oven.’ [p359-s45]
- (10-55) *Balixilik toxo peet daa.*
 [balixilik]_{S.NP} [to=xo peet daa]_{VP}
 women 3NSG.SM=PAST make ground.oven
 ‘The women stone-oven-made.’ [p331-s23]

The semantics of noun stripping in Usen Barok can be viewed as putting focus on an activity while backgrounding the generic or non-specific undergoer participants involved in the activity. In (10-56), the verb *tödik* ‘catch’ and the stripped noun *bo* ‘pig’ occur after the frustrative marker *baraa*, indicating that ‘the snake planned to pig-catch, but failed to catch any pig’. The context tells us that there is not a specific pig which the snake intends to catch. Whereas in (10-57), there is a pig caught by the dog. So the referent of the NP *a bo* ‘the pig’ in (10-57) is specific, and it is represented by the full object NP.

- (10-56) *Ixo uxis xunsik baraa tödik bo.*
 i=xo ö-kis xun=sik baraa [tödik bo]
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-sit trap=STA FRU catch pig
 ‘It (the snake) trap-made to pig-catch.’ [p239-s9]

- (10-57) *Ixo tödiklo a bo.*
 [i=xo tödik=lo]_{VP} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST catch=SEQ C.NM pig
 ‘It (the dog) caught the pig.’ [p24-s9]

Since stripped nouns only have generic meanings, they cannot be modified. So examples such as in (10-58) are not acceptable (cf. (10-59)).

- (10-58) **Ixo se inaan taxin.*
 i=xo se inaan taxin
 3SG.SM=PAST attack fish big
 ‘He big-fish-caught.’ [EL]

- (10-59) *Ixo se a inaan taxin.*
 [i=xo se]_{VP} [a inaan taxin]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST attack C.NM fish big
 ‘He caught a big fish.’ [EL]

In noun stripping, the stripped noun and the transitive verb are both phonologically independent. That is, they still bear their own stress and form independent phonological words on their own. However, a stripped noun cannot be separated from its transitive

verb. For instance, adverbs in Usen Barok can occur between a transitive verb and its object NP, but they cannot precede a stripped noun. In (10-60), the adverb *nanin* ‘randomly’ occurs between the verb *se* ‘beat’ and the object NP *a bung barok* ‘the boys’. In (10-61), the adverb *nana* ‘randomly’ occurs after the stripped noun *kidam* ‘shrimp’.

- (10-60) *Ixo sesese nanin a bung barok.*
 [i=xo se~se nanin]VP
 3SG.SM=PAST REP~attack randomly
 [a bung barok]O.NP
 C.NM PLM boy
 ‘He beat around the boys.’ [p159-s99]

- (10-61) *Duu toxo sese kidam nana.*
 [duu]_{S.NP} [to=xo se~se kidam nana]VP
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST REP~attach shrimp (TP) randomly
 ‘They two shrimp-caught around.’ [p430-s3]

In addition, if the object NP of a transitive verb has become a stripped noun, the stative marker =*sik* and the sequential marker =*lo*, which can encliticise to verbs, will not be allowed to occur on this transitive verb.

In (10-62), the stative marker =*sik* is cliticised to the stripped noun *xun* ‘trap’ and in (10-64), the sequential marker =*lo* is cliticised to the stripped noun *löxöön* ‘beach’. Note that the two examples (10-63) and (10-65) are not acceptable.

- (10-62) *Ixo uxis xunsik.*
 [i=xo ö-kis xun=sik]VP
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-sit trap=STA
 ‘It had trap-made.’ [p239-s9]

- (10-63) **Ixo uxisisik xun.*
 i=xo ö-kis=sik xun
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-sit=STA trap
 ‘It had trap-made.’ [EL-p239-s9]

- (10-64) *Ixo muu löxöönlo.*
 [i=xo muu löxöön=lo]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST follow beach=SEQ
 ‘He beach-followed.’ [p396-s45]

- (10-65) **Ixo muulo löxöön.*
 i=xo muu=lo löxöön
 3SG.SM=PAST follow=SEQ beach
 ‘He beach-followed.’ [p396-s45]

The facts given above suggest that a stripped noun and its transitive verb actually form one intransitive predicate.

10.6 Verbal reduplication

In Usen Barok, verbal reduplication is mainly used to indicate progressive aspect and to express repeated actions.

Examples (10-66) and (10-68) show that the intransitive verb *kup* ‘to shout’ and the transitive verb *muu* ‘to follow’ are reduplicated to express progressive aspect. Examples in (10-67) and (10-69) show the non-reduplicated forms of these two verbs.

- (10-66) *Une raxin nang ixo xukup.*
 [une raxin nang] [i=xo ku~kup]_{VP}
 woman old DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~shout
 ‘The old woman was shouting.’ [p535-s72]

- (10-67) *Ine ixo kup.*
 [ine] [i=xo kup]_{VP}
 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST shout
 ‘He shouted.’ [p146-s51]

- (10-68) *Idi toxo mumuu ine.*
 [idi] [to=xo mu~muu]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~follow 3SG
 ‘They were following him.’ [p271-s5]

- (10-69) *Nangadi toxo muu ine.*
 [nangadi] [to=xo muu]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 people 3NSG.SM=PAST follow 3SG
 ‘People followed him.’ [p474-s6]

Examples (10-70) and (10-72) show that the transitive verb *kuruu* ‘to cut’ and the intransitive verb *koos* ‘to jump’ are reduplicated to express repeated actions. Examples (10-71) and (10-73) show the non-reduplicated forms of these two verbs. Recall that in §9.4.3 I have mentioned that the habitual aspect is expressed by the preverbal habitual marker =*bo* and the reduplicated form of the head verb (if the verb can be reduplicated), as shown in (10-72). This makes sense since events habitually taking place must occur repeatedly.

- (10-70) *Toxo xurxuruu nanin ine.*
 [to=xo kur~kuruu nanin]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=PAST REP~cut randomly 3SG
 ‘They slashed him repeatedly.’ [p287-s85]

- (10-71) *A tu ixo kuruu a limine.*
 [a tu]_{O.NP} [i=xo kuruu]_{VP} [a limi-ne]_{O.NP}
 C.NM sugarcane 3SG.SM=PAST cut C.NM hand-3SG.POSSR
 ‘The sugarcane cut his hand.’ [p401-s7]

- (10-72) *A arala ibo xoxoos.*
 [a arala] [i=bo ko~koos]_{VP}
 C.NM wallaby 3SG.SM=HAB REP~jump
 ‘Wallaby habitually jumps.’ [p167-s118]

- (10-73) *Barok nang ixo koos.*
 [barok nang] [i=xo koos]_{VP}
 boy DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST jump
 ‘The boy jumped.’ [p407-s111]

The reduplicated form of a verb seems to be lexically determined. Most verbs with an initial consonant undergo initial CV or CVC reduplication, as illustrated in Table 10-2. Verbs with an initial vowel may create their reduplicated form by copying the initial vowel or initial VC, as shown in Table 10-3.

Verbs	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>kup</i>	to shout (vi.)	<i>xu~kup</i>	‘shouting’
<i>gis</i>	to wash (vt.)	<i>gis~gis</i>	‘washing’
<i>balu</i>	to answer, to reply (vt.)	<i>ba~balu</i>	‘answering’
<i>böxö</i>	to drift (vt.)	<i>böx~böxö</i>	‘drifting’
<i>kawam</i>	to finish (vi.)	<i>xa~kawam</i>	‘finishing’
<i>bulus</i>	to put down, to place (vt.)	<i>bul~bulus</i>	‘putting down’

Table 10-2: Reduplicated forms of verbs with an initial consonant

Verbs	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
<i>i</i>	to collect (vt.)	<i>i~i</i>	‘collecting’
<i>an</i>	to eat (vi.)	<i>a~an</i>	‘eating’
<i>en</i>	to eat (vt.)	<i>en~en</i>	‘eating’

Table 10-3: Reduplicated forms of verbs with an initial vowel

There are also verbs which can never be reduplicated. For instance, one of the most commonly used intransitive verbs, *wan* ‘to move’, cannot be reduplicated. It has a special form *önaan* ‘moving’ to be used to indicate progressive aspect and repetitive. Besides that, prefixed verb stems (e.g. verbs that are detransitivised by the prefix *e-*) cannot be reduplicated. In order to mark progressive aspect on such verbs, speakers need to employ the existential marker *angen* ‘exist’. Example (10-74) shows that the progressive aspect is expressed by the existential marker *angen* ‘exist’, which occurs preceding the verb phrase.

- (10-74) *Ine angen ixo etoos.*
 ine angen [i=xo e-toos]_{VP}
 3SG EXIST 3SG.SM=PAST DETRA-wash
 ‘He was taking a bath.’ [EL2-3-p55]

11 Serial verb constructions

“Serial verb constructions of various types are encountered in a wide range of Oceanic languages” (Lynch et al. 2002: 47). This is certainly true of Usen Barok, which extensively employs serial verb constructions (SVCs). Following Aikhenvald (2006: 1), I define serial verb construction in Usen Barok as two or three contiguous verbs which “act together as a single predicate”. It should be mentioned here that adjectives in Usen Barok can head a verbal predicate and can also participate in serial verb constructions, so they are discussed in this chapter. However, this does not mean adjectives are a subtype of verb (see §4.3.2 for adjective and verb distinction). This chapter is structured as follows: §11.1 describes features that define Usen Barok SVCs; §11.2 investigates various types of SVCs according to the semantic relations between their components; §11.3 and §11.4 examine the transitivity value and argument structure of SVCs respectively.

11.1 Defining features of Usen Barok SVCs

This section gives defining properties of SVCs in Usen Barok. Semantically, an Usen Barok SVC always refers to a single event (§11.1.1); prosodically, an SVC always behaves as a mono-clausal unit (§11.1.2); and syntactically, serialised verbs are always contiguous (§11.1.3) and they share all marking of verbal categories (§11.1.4).

11.1.1 SVC as ‘one event’

SVCs in Usen Barok may “encode one event or several subevents closely linked together” (Aikhenvald 2006: 12). The former type is referred to as ‘single event’ SVCs and the later ‘macro-event’ SVCs.

The ‘single event’ SVCs include all asymmetrical SVCs (see §11.2.1). An asymmetrical SVC always has a major verb, which expresses an event, and a minor verb, which provides modifying or specific information of the event represented by the major verb. In (11-1), the SVC expresses an event ‘sit’, which is indicated by the major verb *kis*

‘sit’. The adjective *ödödö* ‘be quiet’ is used to describe the way that the action is performed.

- (11-1) *Ixo kis ödödö.*
 [i=xo kis ödödö]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST sit be.quiet
 ‘He sat quietly.’ [p113-s103]

‘Single event’ SVCs also include highly lexicalised serial verbs. Example (11-2) shows the SVC *pere rewee* ‘ignore’, which literally means ‘see and throw’.

- (11-2) *Öröbo pere rewee idi.*
 [ö=röbo pere tewee]_{S.NP} [idi]_{O.NP}
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR see throw 3PL
 ‘You will ignore them.’ [p105-s32]

Most symmetrical SVCs (see §11.2.2) belong to the ‘macro-event’ type. Each component verb in these SVCs refers to a sub-part of an overall event. SVCs of this type are likely to be lexicalised to some extent. Example (11-3) shows a cause-effect SVC ‘to spear to kill’ which encodes two subevents: ‘to spear the pig’ and ‘to kill the pig’. To Usen Barok speakers, the action that ‘causes the death’ is always important and thus cannot be separated from the effect of ‘death’. In my corpus, the causativised form of *met* ‘to die’ is only found as the second verb in SVCs, and never heads a predicate alone.

- (11-3) *Ixo kara omer a bo.*
 [i=xo kara ö-met]_{VP} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST to.spear CAUS-die C.NM pig
 ‘He speared the pig to death.’ [p24-s12]

11.1.2 Prosodic properties of SVCs

Clauses headed by SVCs in Usen Barok have the same intonational properties as clauses headed by a single verb. That is, no intonational break or pause is allowed between two serialised verbs.

Examples (11-4) and (11-5) are minimal pairs which can only be distinguished by intonation.

- (11-4) *Duu toxo öin, tewee a nien.*
 [duu]_{A.NP} [to=xo öin]_{VP1}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST cook.in.ground.oven
 [tewee]_{VP2} [a bo]_{O.NP}
 throw C.NM pig
 ‘They two cooked the pig in the stone-oven and distributed the pork.’
 [p123-s88-s89]

- (11-5) *Duu toxo öin tewee a nien.*
 [duu]_{A.NP}[to=xo öin tewee]_{VP} [a nien]_{O.NP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST cook.in.ground.oven throw C.NM food
 ‘They two finished cooking the food in the stone-oven.’ [p109-s52]

Example (11-4) consists of two mono-verbal clauses. The comma in the example line indicates a prosodic break and the clause boundary. The VP₂ in (11-4) is underlyingly *toxu tewee* ‘they threw’, where the subject marker and the preverbal marker combination *to=xo* is omitted since it can be retrieved from context. It is perfectly grammatical to add the subject marker and the preverbal marker combination *to=xo* preceding the verb *tewee* ‘throw’ in VP₂. The verb *tewee* in (11-4) has a concrete meaning ‘to throw (food on banana leaves (as plates) during a feast).’ Example (11-5) contains just one clause with an asymmetrical SVC that encodes aspect as the predicate head. The verb *tewee* in (11-5) indicates completion. There is no pause after V₁ *öin* ‘to cook in stone-oven’. In this SVC, the subject marker and preverbal marker combination *to=xo* is shared by the two verbs, but it can only occur once preceding V₁ *öin* ‘to cook in stone-oven’.

11.1.3 Contiguity of components

In Usen Barok, serialised verbs are strictly contiguous. As shown in (11-6), the two serialised verbs *rarus* ‘to remove’ and *bulus* ‘to put’ are next to each other; no other constituent is allowed to occur between them.

- (11-6) *Gilam ixo rarus bulusik a bo kidam.*
 [gilam]_{A.NP} [i=xo rarus bulus=sik]_{VP} [a bo kidam]_{O.NP}
 ghost 3SG.SM=PAST remove put=STA C.NM PLM shrimp(TP)
 ‘The ghost removed the shrimps (from his long hair) and put them down.’
 [p433-s41]

Note that examples such as given in (11-7) are not exceptions to the ‘contiguous rule’. In (11-7), the stripped noun *maat* ‘reef’ surfaces between the two verbs *se* ‘to attack’ and *muu* ‘to follow’ in the SVC. Recall that I argued in §10.5 that a stripped noun and its transitive verb form an intransitive verb. So the SVC in (11-7) should be analysed as composed of two contiguous verbs: the intransitive verb *se maat* ‘shell-search’ (literally ‘reef-attack’) and the transitive verb *muu* ‘to follow’.

- (11-7) *Duu toxo se maat muulo a löxöön.*
 [duu]_{A.NP} [to=xo se maat muu=lo]_{VP} [a löxöön]_{O.NP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST attack reef follow=SEQ C.NM beach
 ‘They two followed the beach to search for shells.’ [p449-s43]

11.1.4 ‘Single marking’ of verbal categories

In an SVC in Usen Barok, all marking of verbal categories is obligatorily shared by its component verbs. Each category is marked once only per construction. According to Aikhenvald (2006: 40), this is called “single marking” of verbal categories. In (11-8), the remote past tense preverbal marker =*xo*, the completive aspect preverbal marker =*ro*, and the stative aspect postverbal marker =*sik* occur just once within the SVC, and they are shared by the two verbs *maruu* ‘to lie down’ and *kaa* ‘to ascend’.

- (11-8) *Ixoro maruu kaasixim pe Tinen.*
 [i=xo=ro maruu kaa=sik=im]_{VP} [re Tinen]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL lie.down ascend=STA=CONTR P.PREP Tinen
 ‘He was already lying on Tinen.’ [p499-s178]

Serialised verbs cannot be negated separately. The component verbs of an SVC also share the verbal negators, which are realised as preverbal markers. In (11-9), the preverbal negator =*kobo* occurs preceding the major verb *paluso* ‘to sleep’ and has scope over whole SVC.

- (11-9) *E kobo paluso deek.*
 [e=kobo paluso deek]_{VP}
 1SG.SM=NEG sleep be.good
 ‘I don’t sleep well.’ [p137-s68]

11.2 Semantics and composition of SVCs

This section investigates the semantic relations between the component verbs of various types of SVC in Usen Barok. Following Aikhenvald (2006: 3), SVCs in Usen Barok can be divided into two types in terms of their composition. These two types are symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs, as described in §11.2.1 and §11.2.2.

11.2.1 Asymmetrical SVCs

In an asymmetrical SVC, there is a major verb which expresses the event of the SVC and a minor verb which modifies the major verb. Asymmetrical SVCs include direction SVCs (§11.2.1.1), event-argument SVCs (§11.2.1.2) and aspectual SVCs (§11.2.1.3).

11.2.1.1 Direction SVCs

Direction SVCs are the most commonly observed type of SVC in Usen Barok. In a direction SVC, V_1 is the major verb, which functions as the semantic head; V_2 is the minor verb, which specifies the direction or orientation of the event expressed by V_1 . Examples (11-10) and (11-11) show that the minor verb *su* ‘descend’ provides directional specification to the major verbs *wan* ‘move’ and *laran* ‘wake’ respectively. Note that the

SVC *laran su* ‘wake up’ in (11-11) has been lexicalised and the verb *su* ‘descend’ cannot be substituted by any other directional verb.

- (11-10) *Örö wan su urii.*
 [ö=rö wan su]_{VP} u-rii
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR move descend towards-down
 ‘You go down.’ [p420-s384]

- (11-11) *E laran su.*
 [e laran su]_{VP}
 1SG.SM wake descend
 ‘I woke up.’ (Lit: ‘I woke down’) [p421-s2]

There are no grammatical or semantic restrictions on the choice of V_1 . More than 80 verbs (both transitive and intransitive) are attested as the major verb in my corpus of direction SVCs. The minor verbs are restricted to a small group of intransitive verbs with directional meanings. These verbs include *kaa* ‘ascend, climb’, *taruu* ‘get up’, *su* ‘descend’, *lies* ‘cross’, and *tup* ‘be away, disappear’. I label them as ‘directional minor verbs’. The directional minor verbs *su* ‘descend’, *lies* ‘cross’, and *tup* ‘be away, disappear’ are only found as V_2 in SVCs, whereas *kaa* ‘ascend’ and *taruu* ‘get up’ can also occur as V_1 in direction SVCs, as illustrated in (11-12) and (11-13) respectively.

- (11-12) *Mana ixo kaa su urii lawu.*
 [Mana]_{S,NP} [i=xo kaa_{V1} su_{V2}]_{VP} u-rii lawu
 Mana 3SG.SM=PAST climb descend towards-down down
 ‘Mana climbed down.’ [p256-s78]

- (11-13) *Ixo taruu kaa möxö ari.*
 [i=xo taruu_{V1} kaa_{V2}]_{VP} [möxö ari]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST get.up ascend from river
 ‘He got up from the river.’ [p325-s33]

11.2.1.2 Event-argument SVCs

Following Aikhenvald (2006: 29), examples such as given in (11-14) can be called event-argument SVC. In an event-argument SVC, the major verb which occurs as V₁ denotes an event, and the minor verb appearing as V₂ “constitutes a comment” (François 2006: 235) on V₁. In (11-14), V₂ *deek* ‘be good’ forms a comment on the major verb *tie* ‘to dance’.

- (11-14) *Öng a barok irabo tie deek.*
 [öng a barok]_{S.NP} [i=rabo tie deek]_{VP}
 one L boy 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR to.dance be.good
 ‘One boy will dance well.’ [p272-s11]

In this type of SVC, the major verb, which indicates an event, can be chosen from a large number of verbs including both transitive and intransitive verbal roots. Adjectives are commonly used in this type of SVC to express ‘comments’ of the events. Two more examples are given in (11-15) and (11-16).

- (11-15) *Ixo dödöm sabansik ke iduu.*
 [i=xo dödöm saban=sik]_{VP} [re iduu]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST think be.bad=STA P.PREP 3DU
 ‘He was thinking badly about them two.’ [p406-s87]

- (11-16) *Ixo tuu ödödösik.*
 [i=xo tuu ödödö=sik]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST stand be.quiet=STA
 ‘He was standing quietly.’ [p324-s21]

11.2.1.3 Aspectual SVCs

The third type of asymmetrical SVC in Usen Barok is labelled aspectual SVC. In this type of SVC, the minor verb, which expresses aspectual meaning, always follows the major verb. There are two verbs which may function as minor verbs in an aspectual SVC: the minor verb *tewee*, which literally means ‘to throw’, indicates completion, as shown

(11-17); and the minor verb *ot*, which literally means ‘to arrive’, indicates the endpoint of an action, as shown in (11-18).

- (11-17) *Toxo wasak tewee ine.*
 [to=xo wasak tewee]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=PAST chase throw 3SG
 ‘They chased him away.’ [p203-s315]

- (11-18) *Toxo pere otlo ine.*
 [to=xo pere ot=lo]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3NSG.SM=PAST see arrive=SEQ 3SG
 ‘They saw him.’ [p336-s85]

Note that both *tewee* ‘to throw’ and *ot* ‘to arrive’ can also occur in other types of SVC with their lexical meanings. For instance, *tewee* ‘to throw’ is found as the major verb in (11-31), and *ot* ‘to arrive’ occurs in a ‘sequence of action SVC’ in (11-22). It is necessary to have recourse to context in order to determine whether the verb *tewee* ‘throw’ and *ot* ‘to arrive’ as V_2 have a lexical or an aspectual reading.

11.2.2 Symmetrical SVCs

In a symmetrical SVC, the component verbs have equal syntactic and semantic status. Symmetrical SVCs include cause-effect SVCs (§11.2.2.1), sequence of action SVCs (§11.2.2.2), simultaneous actions SVCs (§11.2.2.3) and synonymous verb serialisation (§11.2.2.4).

11.2.2.1 Cause-effect SVCs

Cause-effect SVCs are one of the symmetrical SVCs that are used productively in Usen Barok. The constituent order of a cause-effect SVC is iconic: the verb of causation always appears as V_1 and the verb of the effect as V_2 . In (11-19), the action of ‘attack’ causes the death of the pigs, so the verb *se* ‘attack’ precedes the verb *omet* ‘cause-die’.

- (11-19) *Ixo se omer a bung bo re iduu.*
 [i=xo se ö-met]_{VP} [a bung bo re iduu]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST attack CAUS-die C.NMPLM pig POSSM 3DU
 ‘He beat the two people’s pigs to death.’ [p159-s104]

Semantically there are no obvious restrictions on the choice of the components in cause-effect SVCs. But syntactically both V₁ and V₂ in a cause-effect SVC must be transitive.

11.2.2.2 Serialisation of sequence of actions

Symmetrical SVCs indicating sequence of actions are fairly common in Usen Barok. The constituent order of this type of SVC is iconic: the component verbs are arranged according to the temporal sequence of the actions taking place in the real world. In (11-20), the action of ‘running’ occurs before that of ‘entering’, so the verb *ulo* ‘run’ is realised as V₁ and the verb *laxa* ‘enter’ as V₂.

- (11-20) *Ina en ixo ulo laxa xö öng a mara.*
 [ina en]_{S.NP} [i=xo ulo laxa]_{VP} [kö öng a mara]_{PP}
 ANA.C.NM fish 3SG.SM=PAST run enter C.PREP one L hole
 ‘The fish got into a hole.’ [p330-s14]

Both V₁ and V₂ come from semantically unrestricted classes; and both V₁ and V₂ can be either transitive or intransitive. In (11-21), both *i* ‘collect’ and *tuxoo* ‘put into’ are transitive verbs; in (11-22), both *wan* ‘move’ and *ot* ‘arrive’ are intransitive; in (11-23), V₁ *sangaa* ‘stretch hand’ is intransitive and V₂ *tabaa* ‘give’ is transitive.

- (11-21) *Ixo i tuxoo a gililum xö sim.*
 [i=xo i tuxoo]_{VP} [a g<in>ilum]_{O.NP} [kö sim]_{PP}
 3SG.SM=PAST collect put.into C.NM <NML>shoot C.PREP canoe
 ‘He collected the shooting sticks and put them into the canoe.’ [p102-s26]

- (11-22) *Tinen ixo wan ot.*
 [Tinen]_{S.NP} [i=xo wan ot]_{VP}
 Tinen 3SG.SM=PAST move arrive
 ‘Tinen arrived.’ [p149-s88]

- (11-23) *Ixo sangaa rabaa ine min.*
 [i=xo sangaa tabaa]VP [ine]O.NP [m=in]PP
 3SG.SM=PAST stretch.hand give 3SG with=3SG
 ‘He stretched his hand to give him (the water).’ [p538-s126]

11.2.2.3 Serialisation of simultaneous actions

The component verbs in an SVC may refer to two simultaneous facets of an event. This type of SVC is less commonly encountered in my corpus. There are no semantic restrictions on the choice of component verbs, and both V₁ and V₂ can either be transitive or intransitive. Examples are provided in (11-24) through (11-27).

- (11-24) *Tanono nang ixo wöwörö röxröxö.*
 [tanono nang]_{S.NP} [i=xo wöwörö töx~töxö]VP
 ghost DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST talk PROG~cheat
 ‘The ghost was cheating by talking.’ [p343-s105]
- (11-25) *Exo bulus omingensix a dee.*
 [e=xo bulus omingen=sik]VP [a dee]O.NP
 1SG.SM=PAST put hide=STA C.NM blood
 ‘I put and hid the blood.’ [p405-s73]
- (11-26) *E gegee vanax iduu.*
 [e ge~gee panak]VP [iduu]O.NP
 1SG.SM PROG~cry warn 3DU
 ‘I was crying while warning them (from going to the sea).’ [p376-s195]
- (11-27) *E paluso dödöxömeen nöngön.*
 [e paluso dö~döxömeen]VP [nöngön]O.NP
 1SG.SM sleep PROG~think 2SG
 ‘I was sleeping while thinking of you.’ [p137-s69]

There are too few examples of this type of SVC to generalise the rules for the component order. It seems that if V₁ and V₂ have different transitivity values, V₁ tends to be intransitive and V₂ transitive.

11.2.2.4 Synonymous verbs serialisation

Example (11-28) gives a synonymous verbs serialisation. This is the only instance of this type of SVC found in my corpus. Both *isik* and *tabaa* could roughly be glossed as ‘to give’. The difference between the two verbs is that when used alone as the predicate head, *isik* ‘to give’ requires ‘things to be given’ as its object argument and the recipient as oblique, whereas *tabaa* ‘to present’ requires the recipient as its object argument and has the ‘things to be given’ marked oblique. The order of the two verbs in the SVC is fixed. The argument structure of the whole SVC is the same as that of the verb *tabaa* ‘to give, to present’. The meaning of this SVC is idiomatic. It is only used to describe the action of ‘passing yam basket (a special type of basket with yam in it) to someone in the yam house (a small hut in the garden to store yams) during yam harvesting’.

- (11-28) *Ixo isik tabaasik ina une raxin.*
 [i=xo isik tabaa=sik]_{VP} [ina une taxin]_{O,NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST give give=STA ANA.C.NM woman old
 ‘He gave (the yam basket) to the old woman.’ [p528-s33]

11.3 Transitivity value of component verbs and the resulting SVC

In Usen Barok, an SVC is either transitive or intransitive depending on whether the SVC as a whole can take an O argument or not. Examples (11-29) and (11-30) show a transitive SVC and an intransitive SVC respectively.

- (11-29) *Maa me bulus tuxoo a sösöpen kö daa.*
 [maa]_{A,NP} [me bulus tuxoo]_{VP} [a sösöpen]_{O,NP}
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.SM put put.into C.NM pan (TP)
 [kö daa]_{PP}
 C.PREP ground.oven
 ‘We two put the pan into the stone-oven’. [p22-s12]

- (11-30) *A bo ixo ulo rup kalix e meet.*
 [a bo]_{S,NP} [i=xo ulo rup]_{VP} [kalix e meet]_{PP}
 C.NM pig 3SG.SM=PAST run be.away from P.NM 1PA.EXC
 ‘The pig ran away from us.’ [p294-s58]

Each component verb has its own transitivity value outside the SVC. It is not difficult to predict that if both component verbs are transitive, the resulting SVC will also be transitive, as illustrated in (11-29), and if both component verbs are intransitive, the resulting SVC will be intransitive, as shown in (11-30). This raises the question of how the transitivity of an SVC can be determined if its components have different transitivity values when they occur independently. I discuss the transitivity value of asymmetrical and symmetrical SVCs in §11.3.1 and §11.3.2 respectively.

11.3.1 Asymmetrical SVCs: transitivity matching or not

In asymmetrical SVCs, the transitivity value of the major verb determines the overall transitivity of the whole SVC. Two types of situation need to be distinguished: in the first situation, the minor verb must match the transitivity value of the major verb (§11.3.1.1), whereas in the second situation, the SVCs do not require “transitivity matching” (Aikhenvald 2006: 186) (§11.3.1.2).

11.3.1.1 Asymmetrical SVCs that require transitivity matching

In Usen Barok, direction SVCs (§11.2.1.1) and event-argument SVCs (§11.2.1.2) require transitivity matching. In these two types of SVC, the transitivity value of the major verb not only determines the transitivity of the SVC as a whole but also affects the transitivity of the minor verb.

In direction SVCs, the minor verbs always keep their underived intransitive forms if the major verbs are intransitive (as shown in (11-10) through (11-13) in §11.2.1.1). The minor verbs are always causativised if the major verbs are transitive. In (11-31), V_2 *ösu* ‘make descend’, which specifies the direction of the ‘throwing action’, is the causativised form of the intransitive verb *su* ‘descend’. Some of the direction and orientation SVCs with a causativised V_2 may also be classified as cause-effect SVCs (see §11.3.2.1).

- (11-31) *Örö tewee ösu ine xö beberöön.*
 [ö=rö tewee ö-su]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} [kö beberöön]_{PP}
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR throw CAUS-descend 3SG C.PREP cliff
 ‘You throw him down the cliff.’ [p145-s43]

Event-argument SVCs also require transitivity matching: the minor verb must be transitivised if the major verb in the SVC is transitive. An interesting point is that there are two mutually exclusive devices to transitivise minor verbs in event-argument SVCs: using causative or applicative morphology. Examples (11-32) and (11-33) show that the minor verbs *deek* ‘be good’ and *mamaraan* ‘be nice’ are causativised by the causative prefix *ö-*, whereas the minor verbs *malus* ‘be slow’ and *suxume* ‘be secret’ in (11-34) and (11-35) are applicativised by the suffix *-in*.

(11-32) *Duu takara en ödeek ke kidam.*

[duu]_{A.NP} [ta=kara en ö-deek]_{VP} [re kidam]_{O.NP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=NEVER eat CAUS-be.good NR.NM shrimp (TP)
 ‘They two never eat a shrimp well.’ [p434-s73]

(11-33) *Ibo ölon ömamaraan arixin ina barok.*

[i=bo ölon ö-mamaraan arixin]_{VP} [ina barok]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=HAB look.after CAUS-be.nice very ANA.C.NM boy
 ‘She looks after the boy very well.’ [p405-s86]

(11-34) *E usuono ixo tengen malusin...*

[e usuo-no]_{A.NP} [i=xo tengen malus-in]_{VP}
 P.NM spouse-3SG.POSSR 3SG.SM=PAST utter be.slow-APP
 ‘His wife said slowly...’ [p412-s205]

(11-35) *Ixo pere suxumeinsix idi.*

[i=xo pere suxume-in=sik]_{VP} [idi]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST see be.secret-APP=STA 3PL
 ‘He secretly watched them.’ [p387-s137]

It is not clear why certain minor verbs choose the causative prefix whereas the others take the applicative suffix. The limited data only allow the observation that minor verbs with evaluative meanings (‘be good’ and ‘be nice’ as illustrated in (11-32) and (11-33)) tend to be causativised, and minor verbs which describe the manner (‘be gentle’ and ‘be secret’ as shown in (11-34) and (11-35)) tend to be applicativised.

11.3.1.2 Asymmetrical SVCs that do not require transitivity matching

The aspectual SVCs and secondary concept SVCs do not require transitivity matching. The transitivity value of the major verb determines the overall transitivity of the SVC, and this does not affect the transitivity of the minor verb.

Example (11-36) shows a transitive aspectual SVC. The major verb *peet* ‘to make’ is transitive, whereas the aspectual minor verb *ot* ‘arrive’, keeps its intransitive form.

- (11-36) *Duu toxo peer or öng a barok.*
 [duu]_{A.NP} [to=xo peet ot]_{VP} [öng a barok]_{O.NP}
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST make arrive one L child
 ‘They two had a child.’ (Lit: ‘They two made a child.’) [p35-s29]

In §11.2.1.3 I described the other aspectual minor verb *tewee* ‘to throw’, which is transitive outside the aspectual SVC. This minor verb is only found after a transitive major verb in aspectual SVCs, and the resulting SVCs are always transitive (as illustrated in (11-17)). More data is needed to determine whether *tewee* ‘throw’ can occur after an intransitive major verb.

11.3.2 Symmetrical SVCs: last component principal

Unlike asymmetrical SVCs, whose transitivity is always determined by the major verb, which always appears as V₁, symmetrical SVCs tend to have their transitivity determined by V₂.

11.3.2.1 Transitivity of cause-effect SVCs

Cause-effect SVCs are always transitive, and both components are also transitive. In cause-effect SVCs, V₁ can either be an underived transitive verb or a causativised verb, and V₂ is usually a causativised verb. In (11-37), V₁ *söngöt* ‘cook’ is underived transitive, and in (11-38), V₁ *uxis* ‘cause-sit’ is causativised. V₂ *ömörösö* ‘cause-cooked’ in (11-37) and *ölölös* ‘cause-powerful’ in (11-38) are both causativised forms.

- (11-37) *Ixo söngör ömörösö a nien.*
 [i=xo söngöt ö-mörösö]_{VP} [a nien]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST cook CAUS-cooked C.NM food
 ‘She cooked the food to get the food done.’ [p348-s173]

- (11-38) *Unu jaa nang ixo uxis ölölsim iduu.*
 [unu jaa nang]_{A.NP}
 cluster tree DEM.DIST
 [i=xo ö-kis ö-lölös=im]_{VP} [iduu]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-sit CAUS-be.powerful=CONTR 3DU
 ‘The (magical) tree made them two become powerful people.’ (Lit: ‘That (magical) tree made them two sit powerfully.’) [p389-s171]

The only text example in my corpus with an underived transitive verb as V₂ is given in (11-39).

- (11-39) *Ixo paxat pörök ina tubune ari.*
 [i=xo paxat pörök]_{VP} [ina tubune ari]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST strike break ANA.C.NM cone water
 ‘He broke the water cone.’ (Lit: ‘He struck broke the cone of water’.)
 [p366-s48]

As mentioned in §11.3.1.1, when a directional minor verb follows a transitive major verb, it is causativised to match the transitivity value of the major verb, and sometimes can be interpreted as the ‘effect’ of the major verb. In (11-40), the SVC *saat öxaa* ‘pull up’ can either be classified as a direction SVC in which V₂ indicates the direction of the major verb *saat* ‘pull’ or as a cause-effect SVC in which V₂ indicates the effect of V₁ *saat* ‘pull’.

- (11-40) *Toxo saar öxaa ine uruso löxöön.*
 [to=xo saat ö-kaa]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP} u-ruso löxöön
 3NSG.SM=PAST pull CAUS-ascend 3SG towards-up beach
 ‘They pulled it up to the beach.’ [p378-s230]

11.3.2.2 Transitivity of sequence of action SVCs

As described in §11.2.2.2, the two components of a sequence of action SVC can be ‘transitive + transitive’ (as in (11-21), the resulting SVC is transitive); ‘intransitive + intransitive’ (as in (11-22), the resulting SVC is intransitive); and ‘intransitive + transitive’ (as in (11-20) and (11-23), the resulting SVCs are transitive). The combination of ‘transitive + intransitive’ does not occur in my corpus. I am not sure if this combination is possible for this type of SVC in Usen Barok. Even if the combination is allowed, it must be very rare.

11.3.2.3 Transitivity of simultaneous action SVCs

Like sequence of action SVCs, the two components of simultaneous action SVCs can be two transitive verbs (as in (11-25) with the resulting transitive SVC); two intransitive verbs (as in (11-24) with the resulting intransitive SVC); and ‘intransitive + transitive’ (as in (11-26) and (11-27) with the resulting transitive SVCs). Again, there is no ‘transitive + intransitive’ combination for simultaneous action SVCs in my corpus.

11.4 Argument structure of SVCs

Serialised verbs in Usen Barok share their arguments. In an intransitive SVC, serialised verbs share a single subject argument. As shown in (11-41), the subject NP in S function precedes the verbal predicate which is headed by the intransitive SVC *nem su* ‘dive down’. In a transitive SVC, serialised verbs share a single subject argument and a single object argument. As shown in (11-42), the subject NP in A function precedes the verbal predicate head which is headed by the transitive SVC *muu öxaa* ‘follow up’, and the object NP *a ari* ‘the river’ follows the SVC.

- (11-41) *A kabebe ixo nem su.*
 [a kabebe]_{S,NP} [i=xo nem su]_{VP}
 C.NM lizard 3SG.SM=PAST dive down
 ‘The lizard dove down.’ [p260-s63]

- (11-42) *Ine ixo muu öxaa a ari*
 [ine]_{A.NP} [i=xo muu ö-kaa]_{VP} [a ari]_{O.NP}
 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST follow CAUS-ascend C.NM river
 ‘He went up along the river.’ (Lit: ‘He followed up the river’.) [p37-s64]

Since each component verb has its own underlying argument structure when it is used independently, this raises the question of how the argument structure of SVCs is determined. Sections 11.4.1 and 11.4.2 discuss the identification of an SVC’s subject and object respectively.

11.4.1 Identification of an SVC’s subject

In symmetrical SVCs, the shared subject is the same as the underlying subject of both component verbs. Example (11-6), repeated as (11-43), shows that the shared subject *gilam* ‘ghost’ can be the subject of both *rarus* ‘to remove’ and *bulus* ‘to put’.

- (11-43) *gilam ixo rarus bulusik a bo kidam.*
 [gilam]_{A.NP} [i=xo rarus bulus=sik]_{VP} [a bo kidam]_{O.NP}
 ghost 3SG.SM=PAST remove put=STA C.NM PLM shrimp(TP)
 ‘The ghost removed the shrimps (from his long hair) and put them down.’
 [p433-s41]

In asymmetrical SVCs, however, two sub-types of SVCs must be distinguished with respect to the identification of the shared subject.

In the first sub-type of asymmetrical SVCs, the shared subject is the same as the subject of both the major verb and the minor verb. Direction SVCs belong to this type. Examples can be found from (11-10) to (11-13) in §11.2.1.1.

In the second sub-type of asymmetrical SVCs, the argument structure of the major verb determines the argument structure of the SVC. This sub-type includes Event-argument SVCs and aspectual SVCs. In an event-argument SVC, the underlying subject of the minor verb is actually the event predicted by the major verb. As shown in example (11-14) in §11.2.1.2, the underlying subject of *deek* ‘be good’ is not ‘one boy’, but the event ‘one boy’s dancing’. In aspectual SVCs (§11.2.1.3), the minor verbs are highly grammaticalized so their underlying argument structure makes no contribution to the overall argument structure.

11.4.2 Identification of an SVC's object

In symmetrical SVCs, the shared object is usually the same as the underlying object of both component verbs if both verbs are transitive. Examples can be found in (11-37) to (11-40) in §11.3.2.1.

Symmetrical SVCs may have an intransitive V_1 (which does not have an object or has a stripped noun as its object) and a transitive V_2 . In such a case, the SVC takes the object of V_2 as the O argument of the whole construction. As illustrated in example (11-23), V_1 *sangaa* 'stretch hand' is strictly intransitive when occurring alone as the predicate head and does not allow an O argument. The object of the transitive V_2 *tabaa* 'to give' is taken as the object of the overall SVC.

The situation for direction SVCs and event-argument SVCs is a bit complex, because both types require transitivity matching when the major verb is transitive. However, a close scrutiny shows that the underlying object of a transitivised minor verb does not necessarily the same as the shared object.

Example (11-42) shows a typical directional SVC. The directional minor verb *kaa* 'ascend' is causativised and thus transitive. However, there is no way to interpret this sentence as 'he made the river up'. Similarly, event-argument SVCs also transitivise their minor verbs to match the transitivity of the major verbs. As illustrated in (11-32), the minor verb *deek* 'be good' is causativised, but this does not mean that the 'shrimp' is good or 'being made good'.

12 Nonverbal clauses

This chapter describes nonverbal clauses in Usen Barok. Nonverbal clauses are distinguished from verbal clauses by the fact that they cannot take subject or tense-aspect-modality marking in the predicate. This means that a nonverbal clause in isolation is not specified for a relative time; the information of time reference can only be inferred through context. For instance, the nonverbal clause in (12-1) can be interpreted as either present or past tense out of context.

- (12-1) *Ine angen.*
ine angen
3SG EXIST
'He is/was there.' [EL-Kolin]

Usen Barok does not have a copula. An affirmative nonverbal clause can be formed by a single NP or juxtaposition of a nonverbal clause subject (NCS) and a nonverbal clause predicate (NCP). In terms of formal structure, four types of affirmative nonverbal clauses can be distinguished: 'nominal clauses', whose predicate is marked by an NP marker (§12.1); 'prepositional clauses', whose predicate is marked by a true preposition (§12.2); 'essive directional clauses', whose predicate is headed by an essive directional (§12.3); and 'existential clauses', whose predicate is headed by the existential marker (*n*)*angen* 'exist' (§12.4).

Nonverbal clauses are generally negated by the negator *kawaim/kaim* 'no, not' or *kawaim/kaim baraa* 'not that', which may precede the whole clause or the predicate (§12.5).

12.1 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses in Usen Barok can be formed by a single NP or by two juxtaposed NPs. In a 'single NP clause', the only NP predicates the existence of the referent represented

by the head of that NP (§12.1.1). In a nominal clause with two juxtaposed NPs, the first NP functions as the subject and the second NP functions as the predicate (§12.1.2).

12.1.1 Nominal clause with a single NP

A nominal clause in Usen Barok minimally consists of a single NP which functions as the predicate of the clause. This type of nominal clause can roughly be translated into English as ‘there is XX’ (presentative) or ‘it is XX’ (existential) depending on the context. Three examples are given in (12-2), (12-3) and (12-4). In (12-2), a husband knocked at the door of his wife’s room. His wife then asked *E we* ‘who is there?’ The husband answered *E mon* ‘it is just me’. *Mon* ‘just’ is an adverb.

- (12-2) “*E we?*” “*E mon!*”
 [e we]_{NP/NCP}
 P.NM who
 [[e] mon]_{NCP}
 1SG just
 “‘Who is there?’” “‘It is just me.’” [p450-s62-s63]

Example (12-3) is commonly used as the last sentence of Usen Barok narratives indicating the end of the story.

- (12-3) *Ine mon.*
 [[ine] mon]_{NCP}
 3SG just
 ‘That’s it.’ [p100-s106]

Example (12-4) is taken from the opening part of a story, where the narrator introduces the main character of the story.

- (12-4) *A öng a tödi.*
 [a [öng a tödi]]_{NP/NCP}
 C.NM one L man
 ‘There was a man.’ (Lit: ‘one man.’) [T1-2]

Note that a ‘single NP clause’ may indicate the existence of an entity but does not imply the location where the entity exists. If the particular location of an entity needs to be implied or specified, an existential clause (§12.4) or a locational clause (§12.2.2) or an essive directional clause (§12.3) will be chosen.

‘Single NP clauses’ cannot form questions such as ‘is there XX’. This type of question must be expressed by essive directional clauses (§12.3) or existential clauses (§12.4) .

12.1.2 Nominal clauses with juxtaposed NPs

The second type of nominal clause is formed by juxtaposition of two NPs. The predicate NP usually follows the subject NP. In clauses with two juxtaposed NPs, three types of nominal predicates can be distinguished depending on whether the head of the nominal predicate is a common or personal noun (§12.1.2.1), a dummy noun (§12.1.2.2), or an NP headed by an allative or an ablative directional (§12.1.2.3).

12.1.2.1 Common and personal noun as the head of the nominal predicate

Nominal clauses with a common or personal noun as the head of the predicate are labelled ‘equational’. There are two types of equational clauses: ‘classificatory clauses’, which “state the class membership of an entity” (Hyslop 2001: 376), and ‘identificational clauses’, which state that the subject NP and the predicate NP represent the same entity.

Examples (12-5) and (12-6) are classificatory clauses, which express the meaning ‘X is a Y’.

- (12-5) *E Kiring a kabebe.*
[e Kiring]_{NCS} [a kabebe]_{NCP}
P.NM Kiring C.NM lizard
‘Kiring is a lizard.’ [p271-s1]

- (12-6) *Gaas a tödi möxö pirixö.*
 [gaas]_{NCS} [a tödi möxö pirixö]_{NCP}
 Gaas C.NM man from bush
 ‘Gaas is a man from the bush.’³⁸ [p317-s2]

Examples (12-7) and (12-8) are identificational clauses, which express the meaning ‘X is Y’.

- (12-7) *Esene e Kiring.*
 [ese-ne]_{NCS} [e Kiring]_{NCP}
 name-3SG.POSSR P.NM Kiring
 ‘Its name is Kiring’ [p271-s2]

- (12-8) *Ina barok a maruoke.*
 [ina barok]_{NCS} [a maruo-ke]_{NCP}
 DEI.C.NM boy C.NM nephew-1SG.POSSR
 ‘The boy is my nephew.’ [OB-Bios]

There is an alternative way to express the meaning ‘X is Y’ by adding an optional copula *niang/jang* between the identificational clause subject and the predicate, as shown in (12-9) and (12-10).

- (12-9) *E esene jang e Loi.*
 [e ese-ne]_{NCS} jang [e Loi]_{NCP}
 P.NM name-3SG.POSSR OC P.NM Loi
 ‘Its name is Loi.’ [p24-s7]

- (12-10) *A barok niang a bangalik.*
 [a barok]_{NCS} niang [a bangalik]_{NCP}
 C.NM child OC C.NM girl
 ‘The child is a girl.’ [p35-s30]

³⁸ ‘Gaas’ refers to a type of ghost in Usen Barok legends. A *gaas* is believed to be living in the bush and can fly. The typical image of a *gaas* is having very long arms and legs.

The optional copula *niang/jang* are allomorphs: *jang* is observed following a vowel and *niang* following a consonant. Using the marker *niang/jiang* or not seems purely a pragmatic choice. Examples (12-9) and (12-10) would be perfectly grammatical without this marker.

12.1.2.2 Dummy noun as the head of the nominal predicate

A nonverbal clause with the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ as its predicate head is a subtype of ‘classificatory clause’ (see §12.1.2.1).

In Usen Barok, adjectives and adjectival expressions cannot function as nonverbal predicates. In order to express ‘X is big’, one has to say ‘X is a big thing’ by employing the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ as the predicate head. In (12-11), the adjective *taxin* ‘big’ functions as the modifier of the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’. The NP *a lak taxin* ‘a big thing’ functions as the predicate of the nominal clause.

- (12-11) *A wat a lak taxin.*
 [a wat]_{NCS} [a [lak taxin]]_{NCP}
 C.NM stone C.NM DUMMY big
 ‘The stone is a big thing.’ [EL4-p155]

The dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ always takes the common NP marker *a*. However, the syntactic function of the NP headed by the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ is restricted to being a nominal predicate. In addition, the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ requires an adjective or an adjectival expression as its post-head modifier. That is, **a lak* ‘a thing, the thing’ cannot stand alone as an NP.

The modifier of the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ is typically an adjective, as illustrated in (12-11) and (12-12). In (12-12), the adjective *omat* ‘long’ functions as the modifier of the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’.

- (12-12) *A bo kasiine limine ma bo kasiine xexene a lak omat.*
 [a bo kasiine limi-ne
 C.NM PLM finger-3SG.POSSR hand-3SG.POSSR
 ma bo kasiine xexe-ne]_{NCS}
 and PLM finger-3SG.POSSR leg-3SG.POSSR
 [a lak omat]_{NCP}
 C.NM DUMMY long
 ‘His fingers and toes are long ones.’ [p317-s4]

12.1.2.3 Allative and ablative directional as the head of the nominal predicate

The last type of nominal predicate is formed by the common NP marker *a* and an allative or ablative directional. In (12-13), the allative directional *urii* ‘towards down’ takes the common NP marker *a* and heads the nominal predicate.

- (12-13) *Duu a urii.*
 [duu]_{NCS} [a u-rii]_{NCP}
 3DU C.NM ALL-down
 ‘They two went down.’ [p399-s40]

The predicate in allative and ablative directional clauses is labelled ‘nominal’, because the allative and ablative directionals take the common NP marker *a*. Note however that allative and ablative directionals are not nouns, since they cannot function as the head of the core arguments in verbal clauses or as the head of the subject in nonverbal clauses. A full list of allative and ablative directionals is provided in Table 8-1 in §8.1.

12.2 Prepositional nonverbal clauses

‘Prepositional clauses’ refer to nonverbal clauses whose predicate is headed by a prepositional phrase. A prepositional clause is formed by a subject NP followed by a prepositional phrase. In (12-14), the prepositional phrase *kö öraa* ‘on the bamboo bed’ functions as the predicate of the nonverbal clause.

- (12-14) *A bo nien kö öraa. Örö en!*
 [a bo nien]_{NCS/NP} [kö öraa]_{NCP/PP}
 C.NM PLM food C.PREP bamboo.bed
 [ö=rö en]_{VP}
 2SG.SM=IMM.IRR eat
 ‘Many foods are on the bamboo bed. You eat!’ [OB-Roven]

Semantically, two types of prepositional clauses can be distinguished; they are: ‘possessive clauses’ (§12.2.1), which are marked by possessive prepositions, and ‘locational clauses’ (§12.2.2), which are marked by the locative preposition *kö* ‘in, at, on’.

12.2.1 Possessive nonverbal clauses

In a possessive clause, the predicate is marked by one of four possessive prepositions: *ma* ‘with’, *re*, *kö* and *möxö*. (See Chapter 6 for a detailed description of possessive constructions). Two types of possessive clause can be distinguished depending on whether a predicate is marked by *ma* ‘with’ or by one of the other three possessive markers. In a possessive clause with the predicate marked by *ma* ‘with’, the possessor NP functions as the subject, followed by the possessed NP, as shown in (12-15). In a possessive clause with the predicate marked by one of the possessive prepositions *re* or *kö* or *möxö*, the possessed NP functions as the subject, followed by the possessor NP, as illustrated in (12-16), (12-17) and (12-18) respectively.

- (12-15) *Ine ma ni ne une.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [ma ni ne une]_{NCP}
 3SG with two L woman
 ‘He has two women (wives).’ [p107-s25]

- (12-16) *A use lik ke we?*
 [a use lik]_{NCS} [re we]_{NCP}
 C.NM knife small POSSM who
 ‘Whose small knife is this?’ [OB-Kolin]

- (12-17) *a malagan kö tödi*
 [a malagan]_{NCS} [kö tödi]_{NCP}
 C.NM mask POSSM man
 ‘the man’s mask’ [p134-s29]

- (12-18) *Ine möxö lagunon sa?*
 [ine]_{NCS} [m^öx^ö lagunon sa]_{NCP}
 3SG POSSM village what
 ‘Which village is he from?’ [OB-Lien]

12.2.2 Locational nonverbal clauses

A locational clause is formed by a subject NP followed by a locational PP. The locational PP which functions as a nonverbal predicate is headed by the common general preposition *kö* ‘in, at, on’ (see §7.3.7 for detailed description of this preposition). In (12-19), the locational PP *kö jaa* ‘in the tree’ functions as the predicate of this clause.

- (12-19) *A pun kö jaa.*
 [a pun]_{NCS} [kö jaa]_{NCP}
 C.NM bird C.PREP tree
 ‘A bird is in the tree.’ [EL-Roven]

Locational nonverbal clauses are not commonly encountered in my corpus. It seems that Usen Barok speakers prefer to use existential clauses to express examples such as shown in (12-19). A locational PP may be added after the existential marker as an adjunct to specify the location if necessary. This preferred strategy is shown in (12-20). In (12-20), the existential marker *angen* ‘exist’ functions as the nonverbal predicate; the prepositional phrase *kö jaa* ‘in the tree’ modifies *angen* ‘exist’.

- (12-20) *A pun angen kö jaa.*
 [a pun]_{NCS} [[angen]_{NCP} [kö jaa]_{PP}]
 C.NM bird EXIST C.PREP tree
 ‘A bird is in the tree.’ [OB-Roven]

A description of existential clauses is provided in §12.4.

12.3 Essive directional nonverbal clauses

Nonverbal clauses with an essive directional as the predicate head are semantically similar to the locational and existential nonverbal clauses, which are used for stating the location and existence of the entity expressed by the subject NP. Example (12-21) shows that the essive directional *noo* ‘at sea’ follows the 3rd person singular subject NP *ine* and functions as the nonverbal predicate. A full list of essive directionals can be found in Table 8-1 in §8.1.

- (12-21) “*Ine ule?*” “*Ine noo.*”

[ine] _{NCS}	[ule] _{NCP}
3SG	where
[ine] _{NCS}	[noo] _{NCP}
3SG	at.sea

 “‘Where is she?’ ‘She is at sea.’” [OB-Pamela & Sharon]

12.4 Existential nonverbal clauses

Existential nonverbal clauses are used to state the existence of an entity and to imply the location of that entity. The formation of an existential nonverbal clause involves juxtaposition of a subject NP and a predicate headed by the existential marker (*n*)*angen* ‘exist’. The existential marker always follows the subject NP. Two examples are given in (12-22) and (12-23).

- (12-22) “*Tata, nago angen?*”

[tata] _{VOC}	[[nago] _{NCS}	[angen] _{NCP}
dad	mum	EXIST

 “‘Dad, is mum here?’” [p198-s225]
- (12-23) *Sii xalik mon te iduu angen kö könönö ina kaunoon.*

[sii	kalik	mon	re	iduu] _{NCS}
bone	alone	just	POSSM	3DU
[[angen] _{NCP}	[kö	könö-nö	ina	kaunoon] _{PP}
EXIST	C.PREP	inside-3SG.POSSR	ANA.C.NM	clam.shell

 ‘Only their bones are inside the clam shell.’ [p379-s234]

The existential marker has two allomorphs, *angen* and *nangen*, which are in free variation. The major syntactic functions of the existential marker are to indicate progressive aspect when immediately preceding verbal predicates (§10.6) and to predicate existential clauses in nonverbal constructions.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, nonverbal clauses do not allow any subject or tense-aspect-modality marking on the predicate. However, this seems only partially true for existential clauses.

An existential clause behaves like other nonverbal clauses when its subject NP does not refer to a 3rd person singular. In (12-24) and (12-25), the 3rd person dual pronoun *iduu* ‘they two’ and the 1st person paucal exclusive pronoun *e meet* ‘we’ function as the subjects of the existential clauses.

- (12-24) *Iduu angen nuso.*
 [iduu]_{NCS} [[angen]_{NCP} nuso]
 3DU EXIST up
 ‘They are up there.’ [p138-s81]

- (12-25) *E meet nangen.*
 [e meet]_{NCS} [nangen]_{NCP}
 P.NM 1PA.EXC EXIST
 ‘We are here.’ [p194-s148]

My consultants have confirmed that it is not acceptable to add corresponding subject markers or any tense-aspect-modality markers preceding the existential marker. Examples (12-26) (cf. (12-24)) and (12-27) (cf. (12-25)) show that *te* ‘3rd person non-singular subject marker’ and *me* ‘1st paucal exclusive subject marker’ make the existential clauses ungrammatical.

- (12-26) **Iduu te angen nuso.*
 [iduu] [te angen]_{PR} nuso]
 3DU 3NSG.SM EXIST up
 ‘They are up there.’ [EL-p138-s81]

- (12-27) **E meet me nangen.*
 [e meet] [me nangen]_{PR}
 P.NM 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM EXIST
 ‘We are here.’ [EL-p194-s148]

When the subject NP is realised as a 3rd person singular, the situation merits more discussion. I noticed that there are several text examples in which the 3rd person singular subject marker *i* occurs preceding the existential marker. These examples can be classified into two types: the first type has the subject NP realised as a non-pronominal full NP, as shown in (12-28), and the second type is without a subject NP, as shown in (12-29).

- (12-28) *Öng a dawan i nangen nii lawu.*
 [öng a dawan]_{NP} [[i nangen]_{PR} nii lawu]
 one L young.girl 3SG.SM EXIST down down
 ‘One young girl was down there.’ [p140-s113]

- (12-29) *E nunu baraa i nangen.*
 e nunu baraa
 1SG.SM misapprehend thus
 [i nangen]_{PR}
 3SG.SM EXIST
 ‘I wrongly thought that she was there.’ [p500-s5]

Examples (12-28) and (12-29) are structurally similar to verbal clauses since the existential marker seems to fill the slot for the verbal predicate head. Should (12-28) and (12-29) be analysed as verbal clauses or not? The answer is “no.”

One obvious argument against the ‘verbal clause analysis’ is that the subject marker, which would be expected in a verbal clause, is not allowed when the subject NP is realised as the 3rd person singular independent pronoun. In (12-30) (cf. (12-31)), it is not acceptable to have the 3rd person singular subject marker *i*.

- (12-30) *Ine angen noo lömöö.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [[angen]_{NCP} noo lömöö]
 3SG EXIST at.sea top
 ‘She is at sea.’ [p287-s78]
- (12-31) **Ine i angen noo lömöö.*
 [ine] [[i angen]_{PR} noo lömöö]
 3SG 3SG.SM EXIST at.sea top
 ‘She is at sea.’ [EL-p287-s78]

The other argument against the ‘verbal clause analysis’ is that the 3rd person singular subject marker *i* is optional when the 3rd person singular subject is realised as a non-pronominal full NP. In (12-22) and (12-23), no subject marker is involved even though the subject NP in both examples refers to a 3rd person singular. And in (12-28), the subject marker *i* can be omitted freely without affecting the meaning of the clause.

The situation in (12-29) is more complicated. The subject marker *i* can be replaced by a full NP, for instance, the 3rd person singular independent pronoun *ine*, but it cannot simply be omitted.

The fact that the subject marker *i* in (12-29) can be replaced by a full NP suggests that the form *i* in existential clauses could probably be treated as an independent pronoun which has the same syntactic status as the 3rd person singular independent pronoun *ine*. If the form *i* can be an independent pronoun, examples (12-28) and (12-29) would be analysed as nonverbal without any difficulty. That is, the form *i* functions as the subject NP and the existential marker functions as a nonverbal predicate head.

The existential marker in Usen Barok is semantically similar to the Tok Pisin verb ‘stap’, which can also “mean that something exists” and can also “indicate...the process or action signified by the other verb continues” (Verhaar, 1995: 81). This fact provides an explanation for the adding of the form *i* preceding the existential marker. In Tok Pisin, a language which is spoken fluently by every Usen Barok speaker, a predicate marker *i* must always be placed before the verb ‘stap’ when the subject NP is a 3rd person singular (Verhaar, 1995: 71).

12.5 Nonverbal negation

Negation in Usen Barok is either verbal or nonverbal. Verbal negation generally involves a negator encliticised to a subject marker in a verbal predicate (see §9.4.7.1). Nonverbal negation typically involves the negative particle *kawaim/kaim* ‘no, not’ or *kawaim baraa* ‘not that’, which precedes the negated construction.

The two forms of the negative particle *kawaim/kaim* ‘no, not’ are allomorphs in free variation. The form *kaim* is presumably a shortened form of *kawaim*. The shortened form *kaim* ‘no, not’ is more commonly observed in my corpus and in daily usage.

Kawaim/kaim may occur alone to form an intonationally independent nonverbal proclause, which can roughly be translated into English as ‘no’ or ‘not’ (§12.5.1). Descriptions of negative nominal clauses with a single NP (§12.5.2), negative nominal clauses with two juxtaposed NPs (§12.5.3), negative prepositional clauses (§12.5.4), negative essive directional clauses (§12.5.5) and negative existential clauses (§12.5.6) will be provided in turn.

Verbal clauses may be negated by using the strategy of nonverbal negation. This is described in §12.5.7.

12.5.1 Proclause *kawaim/kaim* ‘no, not’

Kawaim/kaim ‘no, not’ can be used as a proclause to express denial, typically to give a negative answer to polar questions, as shown in (12-32) and (12-33).

- (12-32) “*Uru en?*” “*Kawaim!*”
[u=ru en]_{VP}
2SG.SM=CPL eat
[kawaim]
NEG
“‘Have you eaten?’” “‘No!’” [OB]

- (12-33) “*U irilöng?*” “*Kaim!*”
[u irilöng]_{VP}
2SG.SM be. hungry
[kaim]
NEG
“‘Are you hungry?’” “‘No!’” [OB-Diana&Sharon]

12.5.2 Negation of ‘nominal clauses with a single NP’

Recall that a nominal clause with a single NP may be interpreted as ‘there is XX’ or ‘it is XX’ depending on the context (see §12.1.1). A single NP clause is negated by *kawaim/kaim* ‘no, not’ to express ‘there is no XX’, as shown in (12-34) and (12-35).

- (12-34) *Duu toboro baraa se kidamlo, ma kawaim a kidam.*
 duu to=bo=ro baraa se kidam=lo
 3DU 3NSG.SM=HAB=CPL FRU attack shrimp (TP)=SEQ
 ma [kawaim [a kidam]_{NP}]
 but NEG C.NM shrimp
 ‘They had been trying to catch some shrimp, but there was no shrimp.’
 [p434-s79-s80]

- (12-35) *Duu toxobo xisixis. Kaim a une. Duu xalik mon.*
 duu to=xo=bo xisixis
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST=HAB live
 [kaim [a une]_{NP}]
 NEG C.NM woman
 duu kalik mon
 3DU alone just
 ‘They two used to live (together). There was no woman. Just they two were there.’ [p257-s120]

A single NP clause is negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’ to express ‘it is not XX’, as shown in (12-36).

- (12-36) *Ine a barok. Kaim baraa a balik.*
 [ine]_{NCS} [a barok]_{NCP}
 3SG C.NM boy
kaim baraa [a balik]_{NP/NCP}
 NEG thus C.NM girl
 ‘He is a boy. Not a girl.’ [EL-Kolin]

12.5.3 Negation of ‘nominal clauses with juxtaposed NPs’

A nominal clause with juxtaposed NPs is negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’. Note that the marker *baraa* ‘thus’ is obligatory.

A negative classificatory clause and a negative identificational clause are given in (12-37) and (12-38) respectively.

- (12-37) *Kaim baraa ine a une runoon.*
kaim baraa [[ine]_{NCS} [a une runoon]_{NCP}
 NEG thus 3SG C.NM woman true, real
 ‘She is not a real woman.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that she is a real woman.’) [p39-s92]

- (12-38) *Kaim baraa nōngön e Sipurang.*
kaim baraa [[nōngön]_{NCS} [e Sipurang]_{NCP}
 NEG thus 2SG P.NM Sipurang
 ‘You are not Sipurang.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that you are Sipurang.’) [p280-s69]

Nominal clauses with the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ as the predicate head are also negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa*. An example is given in (12-39).

- (12-39) *Kaim baraa a marana pun a lak dadaan.*
kaim baraa [[a mara-na pun] [a lak dadaan]]
 NEG thus C.NM eye-3SG.POSSR bird C.NM DUMMY red
 ‘The bird’s eyes are not red.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that the bird’s eyes are red.’)
 [EL4-p186]

In negative identificational clauses and classificatory clauses (including the subtype with the dummy noun *lak* ‘one, thing’ as the predicate head), *kaim baraa* ‘not that’ may directly precede the nominal predicate. That is, the subject NP may be omitted if it can be understood through context. In (12-40), *kaim baraa* ‘not that’ precedes the nominal predicate directly, because the subject NP *a tödi* ‘the man’ is topicalised and occurs in the clause initial position. A short pause after the topicalised subject NP is represented by a comma in the example line.

- (12-40) *A tödi, kaim baraa a tödi runoon.*
 [a tödi]_{TOP} kaim baraa [a tödi runoon]_{NCP}
 C.NM man NEG thus C.NM man true, real
 ‘As for the man, (he is) not a real man.’ (Lit: ‘As for the man, it is not that (he is) a real man.’) [p35-s17]

Nominal clauses with an allative or an ablative directional as the predicate are also negated by *kawaim/aim baraa* ‘not that’, as shown in (12-41).

- (12-41) *Kaim baraa duu a urii.*

<u>kaim</u>	<u>baraa</u>	[[duu] _{NCS}	[a	u-rii] _{NCP}
NEG	thus	3DU	C.NM	ALL-down

‘They two didn’t go down.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that they two went down.’)
 [EL12-p550]

12.5.4 Negative prepositional clauses

This section describes negation of prepositional clauses. Negative possessive clauses are described in §12.5.4.1 and negative locational clauses are described in §12.5.4.2.

12.5.4.1 Negative possessive clauses

As mentioned in §12.2.1, two types of possessive clauses can be distinguished. The first type of possessive clause has the predicate marked by the preposition *ma* ‘with’. This type of clause is negated by the negative particle *kawaim/kaim* ‘not’. The second type of possessive clause has its predicate marked by possessive prepositions *re*, *kö* and *möxö*. This type of clause must be negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’.

Example (12-42) shows that the possessive clause *ine ma sim* ‘he has a canoe’ is negated by *kaim* ‘not’. It is not acceptable to add *baraa* ‘thus’ after the negative particle *kaim* ‘not’.

- (12-42) *Kaim ine ma sim.*

<u>kaim</u>	[[ine] _{NP}	[ma	sim] _{PP}
NEG	3SG	with	canoe

‘He does not have a canoe.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that he is with a canoe.’) [p478-s60]

The other type of possessive clause has its predicate marked by one of the possessive prepositions *re*, *kö* or *möxö*. This type of possessive clause is negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’. An example is given in (12-43).

- (12-43) *Kaim baraa a bung baroxorok ke ine.*
 kaim baraa [[a bung baroxorok] [re ine]_{PP}]
 NEG thus C.NM PLM children POSSM 3SG
 ‘They are not his children.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that children of him.’) [EL-p499]

This type of possessive clause allows omission of the subject NP if the subject NP can be understood through context. In (12-44), *kaim baraa* ‘not that’ negates the prepositional predicate *re ine* ‘his’.

- (12-44) *A bung baroxorok ke Otana. Kaim baraa re ine.*
 a bung baroxo~rok re Otana
 C.NM PLM child~PL POSSM Otana
kaim baraa [re ine]_{PP/NCP}
 NEG thus POSSM 3SG
 ‘They are Otana’s children. Not his children.’ (Lit: ‘Otana’s children. It is not that his.’) [p499-s182-s183]

12.5.4.2 Negative locational clauses

A locational clause is negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’. The marker *baraa* ‘thus’ is obligatory. An example is given in (12-45).

- (12-45) *Kaim baraa ina balik kö gunon te ine.*
kaim baraa [[ina balik] [[kö [gunon re ine]]]_{PP/NCP}]
 NEG thus ANA.C.NM girl C.PREP house POSSM 3SG
 ‘The girl is not in his house.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that the girl is in his house’)
 [EL-Kolin]

12.5.5 Negative essive directional clauses

Essive directional clauses can be negated by either *kawaim/kaim* ‘not’ or by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’, as shown in (12-46) and (12-47) respectively.

- (12-46) *Kaim ine ringaan.*
kaim [[ine] [ringaan]]
 NEG 3SG there
 ‘He is not there.’ [EL-Kolin]

- (12-47) *Kaim baraa ine ringaan.*
kaim baraa [[ine] [ringaan]]
 NEG thus 3SG there
 ‘He is not there.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that he is there.’) [EL-Kolin]

The essive directional clause is the only type of nonverbal clause which allows the negative particle *kawaim/kaim* ‘not’ (but not *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’) to occur between the subject NP and the predicate, as illustrated in (12-48) (cf. (12-49)).

- (12-48) *E ni ne balik kaim pingaan?*
 [e ni ne balik]_{NCS} kaim [ringaan]_{NCP}
 P.NM two L girl NEG there
 ‘Aren’t the two girls there?’ (Lit: ‘The two girls are not there?’) [p396-s47]

- (12-49) **E ni ne balik kaim baraa ringaan?*
 [e ni ne balik]_{NCS} kaim baraa [ringaan]_{NCP}
 P.NM two L girl NEG thus there
 ‘Aren’t the two girls there?’ [EL-p396-s47]

12.5.6 Negative existential clauses

Existential clauses must be negated as a whole by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’. An example is given in (12-50). The subject NP of existential clauses is not omissible.

- (12-50) *Kaim baraa ine angen kö ari.*
kaim baraa [[ine]_{NCS} [angen [kö ari]_{PP}]_{NCP}
 NEG thus 3SG EXIST C.PREP river
 ‘He is not in the river.’ (Lit: ‘It is not that he is in the river’) [EL-Roven]

12.5.7 Negative nominalised clauses

In Usen Barok, a verbal clause can be nominalised and negated by the nonverbal negative particle *kawaim/kaim* ‘not’. Example (12-52) gives a nonverbal negative counterpart of the affirmative verbal clause in (12-51). Nominalised clauses cannot be negated by *kawaim/kaim baraa* ‘not that’.

- (12-51) *Diet toxo muu ine.*
 [diet]_{A.NP} [to=xo muu]_{VP} [ine]_{O.NP}
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST follow 3SG
 ‘They followed her.’ [EL-p178-s138]

- (12-52) *Kaim diet a mumuu ine*
kaim [[diet]_{NCS} [a mu~muu ine]_{NCP}]
 NEG 3PA C.NM REDP~follow 3SG
 ‘It is not that they followed her.’ [EL-p178-s138]

In addition to the negative particle *kaim* ‘not’, there are two further differences between the verbal clause in (12-51) and the nominalised clause in (12-52). One difference is that in (12-52), the 3rd person non-singular subject marker *to* and the preverbal remote past tense marker *=xo* are deleted, and the common NP marker *a* occurs instead. The other difference between (12-51) and (12-52) is that the original verbal predicate head, the transitive verb *muu* ‘to follow’, is reduplicated in the nominalised clause in (12-52). As alternatives to the common NP marker *a*, verbal clauses may also be nominalised by using the common general preposition *kö* or the purposive preposition *ra*, as shown in (12-53) and (12-54). These three markers *a*, *kö* and *ra* are syntactically and semantically equivalent in nominalising verbal constructions, and there is no obvious restriction on the choice of them.

- (12-53) *Kaimim idi kö ververe bölox a labana jaa.*
 kaim=im [[idi]_{NCS} [kö per~pere bölok
 NEG=CONTR 3PL C.PREP REDP~see even
 a laban-na jaa]_{NCP}]
 C.NM leaf-3SG.POSSR tree
 ‘It is not that they saw even a piece of leaf.’ [p196-s182]

- (12-54) *Kaim ine ra roroos tewee a sixine kaunoon.*
 kaim [[ine]_{NCS} [ra to~toos tewee
 NEG 3SG PURP REDP~wash throw
 a sixi-ne kaunoon]_{NCP}]
 C.NM smell-3SG.POSSR clam.shell
 ‘It is not that he washed away the clam shell’s smell (from his hands).’
 [p310-s15]

As alternatives to the reduplication, the verbal predicate head may also take the nominalising infix *-in-*, or remain unchanged when the construction is nominalised, as shown in (12-55) and (12-56) respectively.

- (12-55) *Kaim e ra kinaaim. E koxobo kaaaim. E xo tuusixim pii xö pu.*
 kaim [[e]_{NCS} [ra k<in>aa=im]_{NCP}]
 NEG 1SG PURP <NML>ascend=CONTR
 [e=ko=xo=bo kaa=im]_{VP}
 1SG.SM=NEG=PAST=NEG ascend=CONTR
 [e=xo tuu=sik=im]_{VP} nii [kö pu]_{PP}
 1SG.SM=PAST stand=STA=CONTR down C.PREP ground
 ‘It is not that I climbed up. I didn’t climb up. I was standing down on the ground.’ [p511-s40-s41]

Example (12-55) shows a negative verbal clause and its nonverbal counterpart. The first clause is the negative nominalised clause in which the predicate head *kaa* ‘ascend’ is nominalised by the nominalising infix *-in-* and realised as *kinaa* ‘climbing’.

- (12-56) *Ikobo ösöxöim. Kaim ine xö ösöxöim a ngas urii lagunon.*
 [i=kobo ösöxö=im]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=NEG know=CONTR
 kaim [[ine]_{NCS} [kö ösöxö=im]
 NEG 3SG C.PREP know=CONTR
 a ngas u-rii lagunon]_{NCP}]
 C.NM way ALL-down home
 ‘He didn’t know. It is not that he knew the way home.’ [p246-s100-s101]

In (12-56), a negative verbal clause and its nominalised counterpart occur one after the other. The verbal predicate head *ösöxö* ‘know’ cannot be reduplicated nor can it be nominalised by the nominalising infix *-in-*. As a result, it remains unchanged in the nominalised clause.

13 Subordination

This chapter describes subordinate clauses in Usen Barok. Three types of subordinate clauses can be distinguished according to their syntactic functions within the main clause: section 13.1 describes relative clauses, which function as modifiers within NPs; section 13.2 describes adverbial clauses, which function as clausal adjuncts, and section 13.3 describes complement clauses, which function as arguments of verbal predicates.

In Usen Barok, a subordinate clause has the same syntactic structure as a main clause. There is no variation of constituent order or special restrictions on tense-aspect marking. If a subordinate clause is verbal, it is always finite. That is, its predicate head must be preceded by a subject marker and specified for tense, aspect and modality.

13.1 Relative clause

According to Andrews (2007b: 206), “a relative clause (RC) is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC”. In Usen Barok, a relative clause is introduced by the relativiser *nang* and embedded in an NP, functioning as the modifier within an NP of that NP.

In the discussion below, the NP in the main clause whose head is modified by the relative clause is labelled ‘NP_{main}’. As illustrated in (13-1), *a ötaxin nang ixo sisi a eben* ‘the old man who was sewing a fishing net’ functions as the NP_{main}. The relative clause in (13-1), *ixo sisi a eben* ‘he was sewing a fishing net’, is introduced by the relativiser *nang* and it modifies *ötaxin* ‘old man’, the head noun of the NP_{main}.

- (13-1) *Toxo ot pösör a ötaxin nang ixo sisi a eben.*
to=xo ot pösöt [a ötaxin
3NSG.SM=PAST arrive find C.NM old.man
[nang i=xo si~si a eben]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
REL 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~sew C.NM fishing.net
‘They saw the old man who was sewing a fishing net.’ [p376-s200]

In (13-1), the subject of the relative clause is the ‘shared argument’ *a ötaxin* ‘old man’, which occurs as the object argument in the main clause *toxö ot pösör a ötaxin* ‘they saw the old man’. The ‘shared argument’ *ötaxin* ‘old man’ is not allowed to occur as a full NP in the relative clause, but it is cross-referenced by the 3rd person singular subject marker *i*. All elements that refer to the ‘shared argument’ are indicated by a single line in examples in §13.1.

Relative clauses in Usen Barok are ‘external’, that is, the ‘shared argument’ always occurs outside the relative clause, within the main clause (Andrews 2007b: 208). Like other adjectival modifiers, relative clauses in Usen Barok follow the ‘shared argument’ in the main clause that they modify. In (13-2), the ‘shared argument’ *ara* ‘spear’ is modified by the relative clause which follows it.

- (13-2) *Na i pere a ara nang e Molam ixo kara a gaas min.*
 na i pere [a ara nang e Molam
 DISC 3SG.SM see C.NM spear REL P.NM Molam
 i=xo kara a gaas m=in]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 3SG.SM=PAST to.spear C.NM ghost with=3SG
 ‘Then he saw the spear which Molam speared the ghost with.’ [p322-s66]

In the following sections, I describe the relativiser *nang* (§13.1.1), and the functions of the ‘shared argument’ in relative clauses (§13.1.2).

13.1.1 The relativiser *nang*

Lynch et al. (2002: 53) comment that in Oceanic languages, “relative clause markers ... are often similar or identical in shape to demonstratives.” In Usen Barok, the relativiser has the same form as the distal nominal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’.

As can be seen in (13-1), (13-2) and (13-3), relative clauses are marked by the relativiser *nang*, which always occurs as the first element of a relative clause. This relativiser *nang* is obligatory for introducing relative clauses. The relativiser is indicated by a double line in the examples in §13.1.

- (13-3) *Di toxo kisisixim te idi ra enen im ina ödöö nang ine ixo se.*
 di to=xo kisi=sik=im re idi ra
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST sit=STA=CONTR P.PREP 3PL PURP
 en~en=im [ina ödöö [nang ine
 REDP~eat=CONTR ANA.C.NM cuscus REL 3SG
 i=xo se]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 3SG.SM=PAST catch
 ‘They were sitting down to eat the cuscus he had caught.’ [p279-s66]

Since the relativiser has the same form as the distal nominal demonstrative, and both of them follow the head noun, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the form *nang* functions as a relativiser or a demonstrative. In (13-4), the form *nang* may be analysed as either the distal demonstrative or the relativiser. At the time of speech the latter reading was intended.

- (13-4) *A barok nang i wan i wan arixe.*

- Relative clause reading:

[a barok [nang i wan]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 C.NM boy REL 3SG.SM move
 [i wan arixe]_{VP}
 3SG.SM move completely
 ‘The boy who went away didn’t come back.’ (Lit: ‘The boy who went away went completely.’) [p90-s159-s160]

- Juxtaposed verbal clauses reading:

[a barok nang]_{NP.S} [i wan]_{VP}
 C.NM boy DEM.DIST 3SG.SM move
 [i wan arixe]_{VP}
 3SG.SM move completely
 ‘The boy went away, he didn’t come back.’ (Lit: ‘The boy went away, he went completely.’) [p90-s159-s160]

13.1.2 Functions of the ‘shared argument’ in relative clause

Lynch et al. (2002: 43) note that Oceanic languages

generally allow relativisation of NPs well down the universal Accessibility Hierarchy. With relativised NPs high on the hierarchy, there may be zero trace at the site of the relativised NP, though in languages in which verbs are obligatorily cross-referenced for subject or object, there will be marking on the verbs for the relativised NP.

In Usen Barok, the ‘shared argument’ can have any of the functions listed in the universal Accessibility Hierarchy (adapted from Keenan and Comrie, 1977), as shown below:

subject > direct object > oblique > genitive³⁹

- ‘Shared argument’ as subject

Example (13-5) shows that the ‘shared argument’ *nangadi* ‘people’ functions as the subject of the relative clause. The ‘shared argument’ is not allowed to occur as a full NP; it is cross-referenced by the 3rd person non-singular subject marker *to* in the relative clause.

- (13-5) *Meet moxo tengen kö nangadi nang toxo kaka muu e mem.*
 meet mo=xo tengen kö [nangadi
 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=PAST say C.PREP people
 [nang to=xo kaa kaa muu e mem]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 REL 3NSG.SM=PAST climb ascend follow P.NM 1PL.EXC
 ‘We spoke to the people who climbed up (our car and) followed us.’
 [p270-s55~p271-s57]

- ‘Shared argument’ as direct object

Example (13-6) shows that the ‘shared argument’ *a pii* ‘the story’ functions as the direct object of the verb *paraa* ‘to tell’ in the relative clause. Since direct object is not cross-

³⁹ The original Accessibility Hierarchy has also ‘indirect object’ and ‘object of comparison’. But these two grammatical functions are not observed in Usen Barok, so they are omitted from the discussion.

referenced on the predicate, the position of the object argument of the relative clause is left blank.

- (13-6) *A pii nang arabo paraa rua namorlik.*
 [a pii [nang a=rabo paraa]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 C.NM story REL 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR tell
 rua namorlik
 for uncle.and.nephew
 ‘The story I will tell is for an uncle and his nephew.’ [p152-s1]

- ‘Shared argument’ as oblique

Examples (13-7) and (13-8) show the situations where a ‘shared argument’ functions as the complement of a compound preposition and a true preposition respectively. In (13-7), the ‘shared argument’ *öng a pönö koo re ire* ‘our bamboo tube’ is cross-referenced by the reduced form of the 3rd person singular pronoun =*in*, which is cliticised to the instrumental preposition. In (13-8), the ‘shared argument’ *a bo mangana pasin* ‘those kinds of behaviours’ functions as the unmarked complement of the true preposition *lamun* ‘for’ in the relative clause.

- (13-7) *Öng a pönö koo re ire nang ire tobo etoos min ixo sen.*
 [öng a pönö koo re ire [nang ire
 one L section bamboo POSSM 1PL.EXC REL 1PL.EXC
 to=bo e-toos m=*in*]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB DETRA-wash INST=3SG
 i=xo sen
 3SG.SM=PAST drift
 ‘Our bamboo tube which we bath with once drifted.’ [p64-s31]

- (13-8) *Ekobo ösöxö a bo mangana pasin nang muu mo mamaa lamun.*
 e=kobo ösöxö [a bo mangana pasin
 1SG.SM=NEG know C.NM PLM kinds behaviour (TP)
 [nang muu mo mamaa lamun]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 REL 2DU 2NSG.SM want GOAL
 ‘I don’t know those kinds of behaviours that you two wanted.’ [p111-s82]

- ‘Shared argument’ as genitive

Example (13-9) shows that the ‘shared argument’ *a barok* ‘the boy’ is cross-referenced by the 3rd person singular possessor suffix *-ne* in the relative clause.

- (13-9) *A barok nang esene jang e Sipurang a la kaskas.*
 [a barok [nang ese-ne jang e Sipurang]_{RC}]_{NPmain}
 C.NM boy REL name-3SG.POSSR OC P.NM Sipurang
 a la kaskas
 C.NM thing scarred
 ‘The boy whose name is Sipurang is a scarred person.’ [p275-s2]

13.2 Adverbial clauses

Following Thompson and Longacre (2007: 237), adverbial clauses (ACs) are defined as clausal adjuncts modifying the entire main clause “in a way similar to the way in which an adverb modifies a proposition”. In Usen Barok, an adverbial clause may precede or follow the main clause it modifies. All adverbial clauses are introduced by a subordinator. Seven semantic types of adverbial subordinate clauses can be categorized in Usen Barok, as listed below:

- Purpose/reason clause, introduced by *lamun* ‘for, so that; because’ (§13.2.1).
- Reason clause, introduced by *möxö* ‘because’ (§13.2.2).
- Manner clauses, introduced by *karnang* ‘like (that)’ (§13.2.3).
- Conditional clauses, introduced by *nang/nang baraa* ‘if’ or *kalik* ‘in case’ (§13.2.4).
- Possible-consequence clauses, introduced by *kalik* ‘in case’ (§13.2.5).
- Temporal clauses, introduced by the Tok Pisin loan word *taim* ‘when, while’ (§13.2.6).
- Frustrative clause, introduced by the frustrative marker *baraa* ‘try/want/intend (to do)...(but failed)’ (§13.2.7).

13.2.1 Purpose/reason clause

In Usen Barok, both purpose clauses and reason clauses can be introduced by the subordinator *lamun* ‘for, so that; because’. This is not uncommon cross-linguistically.

Thompson and Longacre (2007: 250-251) claim:

Many languages use the same morphology for both purpose and reason clauses...The semantic explanation for the fact that one morpheme can serve these two functions is that both purpose and reason clauses can be seen as providing *explanations*, or *accounts*, for the occurrence of a given state or action. They differ in that purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be *unrealised* at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be *realised* at the time of the main clause event.

The clause introduced by *lamun* ‘so that’ in (13-10) indicates the purpose of the main clause event, whereas the clause introduced by *lamun* ‘because’ in (13-11) provides a reason for the event expressed by the main clause. Both purpose and reason adverbial clauses introduced by *lamun* ‘for, so that; because’ always follow the main clause.

- (13-10) *Meet marabo peet te luxa raxin, lamun a nangadi tabo wan ot.*
 meet ma=rabo peet re luxa taxin
 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR make NR.NM feast big
 [lamun a nangadi t=abo wan ot]_{AC}
 so.that C.NM people 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR move arrive
 ‘We will make a big feast, so that people will come.’ [p182-s98-s99]

- (13-11) *A bo öxönö e meet iboro kadik, lamun e meet bo lölösik jat te meet ta veveer ina tinörön na.*
 a bo öxö-nö e meet i=bo=ro kadik
 C.NM PLM head-3SG.POSSR P.NM 1PA.EXC 3SG.SM=HAB=CPL ache
 [lamun [e meet]_{S.NP} [Ø=bo
 because P.NM 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB
 lölös=sik]_{VP} jat [re meet]_{PP}
 strive=STA still P.PREP 1PA.EXC
 [ra pe~peet ina r<in>örön na]_{PP}]_{AC}
 PURP REDP~make ANA.C.NM <NML>work DEM.PROX
 ‘Our heads have been aching, because we work very hard.’ (Lit: ‘Our heads have always been aching, because we are continuously striving (for us) to work on this work.’) [p473-s22-s23]

A purpose clause in Usen Barok can only be introduced by the subordinator *lamun* ‘for, so that’, whereas a reason clause may also be introduced by *möxö* ‘because’ (see §13.2.2). Further study is needed to see the differences between these two types of reason clause.

The form *lamun* can also function as a preposition, marking the semantic role of goal or destination (§7.3.2).

13.2.2 Reason clause

In Usen Barok, a reason clause is commonly introduced by the subordinator *möxö* ‘because’. Reason clauses provide explanations or accounts for the occurrence of the state or the action described in the main clause, and they always follow the main clause. Two examples are given in (13-12) and (13-13).

- (13-12) *Na ixo buurin ine, möxö a wales se ine ixoro taxin.*
na i=xo buut-in ine
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST scared-APP 3SG
[möxö a wales re ine i=xo=ro taxin]_{AC}
because C.NM beard POSSM 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL big
‘She was scared of him, because his beard became long.’ [p250-s154-s155]

- (13-13) *Ma balixilik toxo seseng buo xalix e xixöök möxö xixöök ixo bilas.*
ma balixi~lik to=xo se~seng buo
and women~PL 3NSG.SM=PAST REP~ask (for something) betel.nut
kalik e xixöök
from P.NM rooster
[möxö e xixöök i=xo bilas]_{AC}
because P.NM rooster 3SG.SM=PAST dress.up (TP)
‘And women repeatedly asked for betel nut from the rooster, because the rooster was dressed.’ [p85-s64]

Möxö is also used as a preposition to function as a possessive marker (§6.1.1.2) and to mark the semantic role of source, attribute and reason (§7.3.4). It is possible that the subordinator use of *möxö* ‘because’ is derived from the prepositional use. Lynch et al. (2002: 53) comment that, in Oceanic languages “reason clauses are often expressed by means of a causal preposition.”

13.2.3 Manner clause

Manner clauses in Usen Barok are introduced by the subordinator *karnang* ‘like’. This morpheme has an allomorph *xarnang*, which is used when the previous constituent ends in a vowel. Manner clauses are employed to relate the action in the main clause to a similar action in the manner clause, and they always follow the main clause. Two examples are provided in (13-14) and (13-15). In both examples, the adverbial demonstrative *bie* ‘likewise’ is used to modify the predicate head. It can be understood as ‘do/happen exactly as did/happened before’.

- (13-14) *Diet tabo an, karnang u döxömeen bie.*
 diet t=abo an
 3PA 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat
 [karnang u döxömeen bie]_{AC}
 like 2SG.SM=REAL think likewise
 ‘They will just eat as you want them to eat.’ [p301-s76]

- (13-15) *Maa bo sese kidam mon, karnang ire tobo sese kidam bie.*
 maa Ø=bo se~se kidam mon
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC=HAB REP~attack shrimp (TP) just
 [karnang ire to=bo se~se kidam bie]_{AC}
 like 1PL.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=HAB REP~attack shrimp (TP) likewise
 ‘We two just always catch shrimps like how we all usually catch shrimps.’
 [p441-s200]

Karnang ‘like (that)’ can also be used as a simulative preposition (see §7.3.6).

13.2.4 Conditional clause

Conditional clauses are introduced by the subordinator *nang* ‘if’ or *nang baraa* ‘if thus’. Conditional clauses seem to always precede the main clause, and they always require irrealis modality. Two examples are provided in (13-16) and (13-17).

- (13-16) *Nang irabo ulo, arabo muu re ine.*
 [nang i=rabo ulo]_{AC}
 if 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR run
 a=rabo muu re ine
 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR follow P.PREP 3SG
 ‘If it (the dog) runs, I will follow it.’ [p274-s123]

- (13-17) *Nang baraa iraa tabo wan urii, öröbo pere iduu.*
 [nang baraa iraa t=abo wan u-rii]_{AC}
 if thus 1DU.INC 1NSG.INC.SM=NIMM.IRR move ALL-down
 ö=röbo pere iduu
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR see 3DU
 ‘If you and me go down (to my house), you will see them two.’ [p39-s98-s99]

The lexeme *baraa* in *nang baraa* ‘if thus’ is tentatively glossed as ‘thus’. Further study is needed to see if this *baraa* is the same as the frustrative marker (in §13.2.7).

13.2.5 Possible-consequence clause

A subordinate *kalik* ‘in case’ in Usen Barok is semantically similar to the ‘possible-consequence’ marker in Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988: 260). The form *kalik* is used in the morpheme line to represent its allomorphs *kalix* (this form is used when it follows a consonant but precedes a vowel), *xalik* (this form is used when it follows a vowel but precedes a consonant) and *xalix* (this form is used when it follows a vowel and precedes a vowel). ‘Possible-consequence’ clauses introduced by *kalik* ‘in case’ are used to refer to “some unpleasant possibility”, and its main clause usually conveys the meaning of “something that can be done...to avoid that possibility” (Dixon 1988: 260). Examples (13-18) and (13-19) show that ‘possible-consequence’ clauses require the ‘potential’ marking =*bo* (§9.4.2.4) for their predicates. This type of adverbial clause always follows its main clause.

- (13-18) *Muu bele önaan, kalix e muu bo juo.*
 muu Ø=bele önaan
 2DU 2NSG.SM=PROH move
 [kalik e muu Ø=bo juo]_{AC}
 in.case P.NM 2DU 2NSG.SM=POT die
 ‘Don’t go or you two might be killed.’ [p372-s122]

- (13-19) *Öröbo mun deeksik, kalix idi tobo perelo nöngön.*
 ö=röbo mun deek=sik
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR hide good=STA
 [kalik idi to=bo pere=lo nöngön]_{AC}
 in.case 3PL 3NSG.SM=POT see=SEQ 2SG
 ‘You should hide (yourself) well, in case they see you (and beat you up).’
 [p153-s27]

Kalik is also used as a preposition marking the ablative semantic role (see §7.3.1).

13.2.6 Temporal clause

In Usen Barok, the temporal sequence relationships between clauses are commonly expressed by apposition or tail-head linkage. However, under the strong influence of Tok Pisin, the subordinator *taim* ‘when, while’ in Tok Pisin, which is derived from the English word *time*, has been borrowed and commonly used by Usen Barok speakers to introduce temporal clauses. This type of subordinate clause always precedes the main clause, and indicates that the event described in the main clause is happening at the same time or directly after that of the clause introduced by *taim* ‘when, while’. Two examples are given in (13-10) and (13-11).

- (13-20) *Taim a balik nang ixo wan su, ixo pere ine.*
 [taim a balik nang i=xo wan su]_{AC}
 when (TP) C.NM girl DEM.DIST 3SG.SM=PAST move descend
 i=xo pere ine
 3SG.SM=PAST see 3SG
 ‘When that girl went down, he saw her.’ [p38-s73-s74]
- (13-21) *Taim a nien iri maruxo xirip, marabo kin öxaa xö gunon mataxeen.*
 [taim a nien i=ri maruxo xirip]_{AC}
 when (TP) C.NM food 3SG.SM=CPL ripe completely
 ma=rabo kin ö-kaa kö gunon mataxeen
 INSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR dig CAUS-ascend C.PREP house yam
 ‘When the food are ripen completely, we will dig them out (and put them)
 in the yam house.’ [p75-s46-s47]

13.2.7 Frustrative clause

A subordinate clause introduced by the frustrative marker *baraa* ‘try/want/intend (to do)...(but failed)’ is referred to as frustrative clause. This type of subordinate clause follows the main clause to indicate a failed action or event. The main clause usually expresses an action which indicates the ‘preparation’ for an intended action expressed by the frustrative clause. Example (13-22) is taken from a legend. In this legend, a man stretched his arms in order to grab his nephew’s hair, but he failed, because an evil coconut tree swallowed his nephew before he could reach his nephew’s hair.

- (13-22) *Ixo sangaa kaa, baraa ira tödix a bebene öxönö e maruono. Ma lamas ixo könöm kirivim e maruono.*
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|---------|
| [i=xo | sangaa | kaa] | VP | | |
| 3SG.SM=PAST | stretch.arm | ascend | | | |
| [baraa | [i=ra | tödix] | VP | | |
| FRU | 3SG.SM=IMM.IRR | hold | | | |
| [a | bebene | öxö=nö | e | maruo-no] | O.NP]AC |
| C.NM | hair | head-3SG.POSSR | P.NM | nephew-3SG.POSSR | |
| ma lamas | i=xo | könöm | kirip=im | | |
| but coconut | 3SG.SM=PAST | swallow | completely=CONTR | | |
| e | maruo-no | | | | |
| P.NM | nephew-3SG.POSSR | | | | |
- ‘He stretched up (his) arms to hold his nephew’s hair, but the coconut tree swallowed his nephew completely (before he could reach his nephew).’
[p114-s133-s134]

In (13-22), the main clause, *ixo sangaa kaa* ‘he stretched arms’, is the ‘preparation’ for the intended action expressed in the frustrative clause, *baraa ira tödix a bebene öxönö e maruono* ‘intend to hold his nephew’s hair’.

Since frustrative clauses express failed or unrealised actions, they require the immediate irrealis marker to occur in the preverbal marker slot. In (13-22), the immediate irrealis preverbal marker =*ra* is used (a description of irrealis modality is given in §9.4.2.2).

Note that in both the frustrative clause and its main clause, there can be no change in the identity of the subject. In (13-22), the 3rd person singular subject marker *i* in *ixo* in the main clause and in *ira* in the frustrative clause refers to the same subject identity. Due to

the fact that the subject identity in the frustrative clause is always the same as that in the main clause, and the preverbal marker in the frustrative clause is always the immediate irrealis, the subject marker and the preverbal marker in frustrative clauses can be omitted. Both (13-23) and (13-24) are equally acceptable. The only difference between the two examples is that in the frustrative clause in (13-24), the 3rd person singular subject marker *i* and the immediate irrealis preverbal marker =*ra* in the predicate are omitted. It seems that the ‘reduced version’ of frustrative clauses as shown in (13-24) is preferred and more commonly used by the speakers.

- (13-23) *Ixo uxis xunsik, baraa ira tödik bo.*
 [i=xo ö-kis xun=sik]_{VP}
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-sit trap=STA
 [baraa i=ra tödik bo]_{AC}
 FRU 3SG.SM=IMM.IRR catch pig
 ‘It (snake) trap-made trying to pig-catch (but the snake didn’t catch any pig).’ [EL-p239-s9]

- (13-24) *Ixo uxis xunsik, baraa tödik bo.*
 [i=xo ö-kis xun=sik]_{VP} [baraa tödik bo]_{AC}
 3SG.SM=PAST CAUS-sit trap=STA FRU catch pig
 ‘It (snake) trap-made trying to pig-catch (but the snake didn’t catch any pig).’ [p239-s9]

13.3 Complement clause

Following Noonan (2007: 52), a complement clause (CC) is defined as a clause which functions as an argument of a predicate. In Usen Barok, a clause may occur as the object argument of a transitive verb, but not the subject argument of a transitive or an intransitive verb. In (13-25), the complement clause *i su* ‘it came down’ functions as the object argument of the transitive verb *ösöxö* ‘to know’.

- (13-25) *Ekobo ösöxö i su.*
 [e=kobo ösöxö]_{VP} [i _____ su]_{CC}
 1SG.SM=NEG know 3SG.SM descend
 ‘I didn’t know that it came down.’ [p215-s80]

Unlike relative clauses and adverbial clauses, which are always marked by subordinators, complement clauses are not overtly marked by a subordinator. Intonation plays a significant role in identifying complement clauses in Usen Barok. Ideally, complement clauses are “tightly bound to their main clauses, in the sense that they tend to fall under a single intonation contour with the main clause, without a separating pause” (Givón, 1990: 825).

There are four transitive verbs which take complement clauses in my corpus. They are *ösöxö* ‘to know’, as shown in (13-25), *pere* ‘to see’, as shown in (13-26), *ölangen* ‘to hear’, as shown in (13-27) and *örasen* ‘to sense’, as shown in (13-28).

- (13-26) *E arala ixo peresix e vuluwun ixo paluso.*
 [e arala]_{A.NP} [i=xo pere=sik]_{VP}
 P.NM wallaby 3SG.SM=PAST see=STA
 [e puluwun i=xo paluso]_{CC}
 P.NM dog 3SG.SM=PAST sleep
 ‘The wallaby was watching the dog fall asleep.’ [p161-s12]

- (13-27) *E nene ixo ölangensik mon ine ixo gegee.*
 [e nene]_{A.NP} [i=xo ölangen=sik mon]_{VP}
 P.NM mother 3SG.SM=PAST hear=STA just
 [ine i=xo ge~gee]_{CC}
 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~cry
 ‘(His) mother was just listening to him crying.’ [p426-s10]

- (13-28) *E örasenlo a balana e i kadik.*
 [e örasen=lo]_{VP}
 1SG.SM sense=SEQ
 [a bala-na e i kadik]_{CC}
 C.NM stomach-3SG.POSSR 1SG 3SG.SM ache
 ‘I felt that my stomach is aching.’ [p76-s19]

14 Discourse organisation

This chapter is a preliminary attempt to provide an overview of several topics relating to the discourse level organisation of Usen Barok narratives, including the use of the sequential verbal enclitic *=lo* (§14.1), tail-head linkage (§14.2), the discourse function of the distal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’ (§14.3), the discourse markers *ma/me* ‘and, but’ (§14.4), the contrastive marker *=im* (§14.5) and speech report constructions (§14.6). All of these topics are deserving of further study.

14.1 Sequential marker *=lo*

In Usen Barok, the sequential marker *=lo* is encliticised to the head of a verbal predicate. It is used to indicate that the head of the verbal predicate refers to one of a sequence of actions, but is not used to mark the last action in the sequence. An example taken from a narrative using the sequential marker *=lo* is given in (14-1). In this example, clauses (b) ~ (f) represent a sequence of actions. Note that the subject continuity is required for each of the actions in the sequence, including the actions marked by sequential marker *=lo*, and the last action of the sequence, which is not marked by the sequential marker *=lo*. There can be no change in the identity of the subject in clauses linked by *=lo*.

(14-1) *A bo bung puxu xirip, irabo laranlo, irabo wanlo, tönlo a xönö putala re ine, iri wanlo re ine ra saa tele, irabo saalo a tele, iri wan ot min.*

- (a) a bo bung puxu xirip
C.NM PLM early morning all
- (b) [i=rabo laran=lo]
3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR wake.up=SEQ
- (c) [i=rabo wan=lo]
3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR move=SEQ
- (d) [tön=lo a xönö putala re ine]
hold=SEQ C.NM piece net POSSM 3SG
- (e) [i=ri wan=lo re ine ra saa tele]
3SG.SM=CPL move-SEQ for 3SG PURP catch.with.net fish
- (f) [i=rabo saa=lo a tele]
3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR catch.with.net=SEQ C.NM fish
- (g) [i=ri wan ot m=in]
3SG.SM=CPL move arrive with=3SG

‘Every early morning, he will wake up, he will go, (he will) carry his fishing net, he will go to catch fish, he will catch fish, he will come back with the fish.’ [p96-s3-s9]

Due to the fact that the sequential marker =*lo* is not allowed to encliticise to the verb which refers to the last action in a sequence of actions, it is normally found in sentence-internal clauses, as shown in clauses (b) ~ (f) in (14-1). However, it is not impossible to find =*lo* in a sentence-final clause with the falling intonation signalling the end of a sentence. In such a case, there is an implication of a following-up action or several following-up actions. Examples (14-2) and (14-3) are two sentences in sequence taken from a narrative about a man who has drifted to a place where people do not know how to use fire (see Text 1 in Appendix C).

(14-2) *Na ine ixo tengen baraa: “gö! ara wan baang, ara kiplo re xönö jaa.”*

- na ine i=xo tengen baraa
DISC 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
- gö a=ra wan baang
well 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR move temporarily
- [a=ra kip=lo re xönö jaa]
1SG.SM=IMM.IRR carry=SEQ NR.NM piece firewood

‘So he said thus: “well, I am going to go first, I am going to get some firewood (to light fire).”’ [T1-68]

- (14-3) *Ixo kiplo a xönö jaa, ixo ese.*
 (a) [i=xo kip=lo a xönö jaa]
 3SG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ C.NM piece firewood
 (b) [i=xo ese]
 3SG.SM=PAST rub
 ‘He brought some firewood, (and) he rubbed (the firewood to light fire).’
 [T1-69]

In the sentence-final clause of (14-2), the man says *ara kiplo re xönö jaa* ‘I am going to get some firewood (to light fire).’⁴⁰ The sequential marker =*lo* suggests that the man will do something after getting some firewood, although he does not explicitly say so. The implied following-up actions are usually expressed through context. We know from example (14-3) that the man actually rubs pieces of the firewood together when he gets them.

14.2 Tail-head linkage

Tail-head linkage has been recognised as an areal phenomenon in the languages of Papua New Guinea (de Vries 2005: 364). In Usen Barok, tail-head linkage is used as an important discourse cohesion device to connect sentences in which a clause (usually the last clause) of one sentence is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next sentence.

In Usen Barok narratives, tail-head linkage is typically used to connect sentences which iconically represent the events in their temporal sequence. The head clause (the first clause of the next sentence) usually can be interpreted as ‘after (doing) XX’ or ‘having done XX’.

Example (14-4) is taken from a narrative in which the speaker describes the process of preparing *ölös* ‘coconut milked plant tuber’ performed by her daughter. The procedure

⁴⁰ The sentence boundary is clear since this is the end of the quoted speech.

is described one step after another according to the iconic order. The speaker always starts a new step by repeating the action that was done before that step.

(14-4) *Diana i paxar a lamas. Paxar a lamas, i ölös tuxoo xö sösöpen. Ölös tuxoo xö sösöpen, i urubon a daa. Urubon a daa, i bulus tuxoo a sösöpen kö daa.*

[Diana i paxat a lamas]

Diana 3SG.SM scrape C.NM coconut

[paxat a lamas]

scrape C.NM coconut

[i ölös tuxoo kö sösöpen]

3SG.SM squeeze put.into C.PREP saucepan (TP)

[ölös tuxoo kö sösöpen]

squeeze put.into C.PREP saucepan (TP)

[i urubon a daa]

3SG.SM light C.NM stone.oven

[urubon a daa]

light C.NM stone.oven

[i bulus tuxoo a sösöpen kö daa]

3SG.SM put put.into C.NM saucepan (TP) C.PREP stone.oven

‘Diana scraped coconuts. Having scraped the coconuts, she squeezed (coconut milk) into a saucepan. Having squeezed (coconut milk) into a saucepan, she lit the stone oven. Having lit the stone oven, she put the saucepan into the stone oven.’ [p22]

As shown in (14-4), by repeating information in the previous sentence, tail-head linkage allows the speaker to have more time for organising new information that will be produced in the next sentence, and allows the addressee to have more time for processing the given information, to have a better understanding of the context.

Tail-head linkage in Usen Barok occurs across sentence boundaries. The tail clause as the last clause of the previous sentence usually has falling, sentence-final intonation, whereas the head clause as the first clause of the next sentence normally has a rising intonation.

14.3 Background event marker *nang*

The distal demonstrative *nang* ‘that’ can have a discourse function to mark a background event. The background event marker *nang* with a rising intonation normally occurs at the

end of a non-sentence-final clause to background that clause and provide cognitive space for the next clause to come in.

A typical example how speakers use the background event marker is given in the first clause of (14-5). The verb *taxadaa*, which is glossed as ‘struggle’, literally means ‘having tried extremely hard to do something, but failed’. This example is taken from a traditional narrative in Text 1 in Appendix C, in which sentences [T1-3] to [T1-11] talk about a man going hunting with his dogs. This man has been waiting for his dogs to catch a pig, but his dogs did not find any pigs. The first clause in (14-5) ([T1-12]) summarises the information given in previous sentences and reminds the addressee that the story will continue within this background.

- (14-5) *Ixo taxadaa nang, ixo taruulo baling, ixo önaan.*
 [i=xo taxadaa nang]
 3SG.SM=PAST struggle BEM
 [i=xo taruu=lo baling]
 3SG.SM=PAST stand.up=SEQ again
 [i=xo önaan]
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘Having struggled, he stood up again and went away.’ [T1-12]

The background event marker *nang* is commonly used to mark the head clause in tail-head linkage. Examples (14-6) and (14-7) are consecutive sentences taken from Text 1 in Appendix C. The main verb *pere* ‘see’ in the tail clause of (14-6) is repeated in the head clause of (14-7). The head clause (the first clause) of (14-7) is also marked by the background event marker *nang*.

- (14-6) *Pereim a öng a wat kexese roo lömöö.*
pere=im a öng a wat kexese roo lömöö
 see=CONTR C.NM one L stone isolated at.sea top (of the sea)
 ‘(He) saw one isolated island on top of the sea.’ [T1-32]

- (14-7) *Ixo pere nang, ixo: “e! öng a lagunon na.”*
 [i=xo pere nang]
 3SG.SM=PAST see BEM
 i=xo e öng a lagunon na
 3SG.SM=PAST ah one L village DEM.PROX
 ‘Having seen the island, he (said): “ah! here is a village.”’ [T1-33]

By repeating the given information and putting the given information into the background, both the speaker and the addressee gain more time to get ready for upcoming information.

Note that the background event marker *nang* in (14-7) cannot have the nominal reading ‘that’. In order to interpret *nang* as the object argument of the verb *pere* ‘see’, an NP marker is required, as shown in (14-8).

- (14-8) *Ixo pere a nang.*
 [i=xo pere]_{PR} [a nang]_{O.NP}
 3SG.SM=PAST see C.NM DIST.DEM
 ‘He saw that.’ [EL]

When the background event marker occurs directly after a head noun, there can be ambiguities, especially out of context. In (14-9), *nang* can be interpreted as either the nominal demonstrative modifying the head noun or the background event marker which backgrounds the clause.

- (14-9) *Ixo pere a une nang, ixo önaan.*
 i=xo pere a une nang
 3SG.SM=PAST see C.NM girl DIST.EDM/BEM
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘He saw that girl, he went away./Having seen the girl, he went away.’ [EL]

14.4 Discourse marker *ma/me* ‘and, but’

This section describes the discourse marker *ma/me* ‘and, but’. Recall that I have described in §4.15.1 how *ma/me* ‘and, but’ can be used to conjoin phrases and clauses.

On the discourse level, *ma/me* can be used to coordinate sentences or even larger units. *Ma* and *me* are in complementary distribution: *me* is normally used preceding a personal NP, and *ma* is used elsewhere. *Ma/me* can be interpreted as either ‘and’ or ‘but’ depending on the context they occur in.

Examples (14-10) and (14-11) are consecutive sentences taken from a narrative about two boys and two girls who went to pick breadfruit (see Text 2 in Appendix C). The discourse conjunction *ma* ‘and’ coordinates the two sentences in (14-10) and (14-11).

- (14-10) *Duu toxo dik.*
 duu to=xo dik
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST pick
 ‘The two (boys) picked (breadfruit).’ [T2-11]

- (14-11) *Ma ni ne balik toxo i xö pu.*
ma ni ne balik to=xo i kö pu
 and two L girl 3NSG.SM=PAST collect C.PREP ground
 ‘And the two girls collected (breadfruit) on the ground.’ [T2-12]

Examples (14-12) and (14-13) are also consecutive sentences taken from the same narrative (see Text 2 in Appendix C). The form *me* ‘and’ is used for coordinating the two structurally similar sentences in (14-12) and (14-13) because it precedes the personal name *Xexemaa* in (14-13).

- (14-12) *E Ladi ixo tako e Mata, iduu nasixineen toxo etako.*
 e Ladi i=xo tako e Mata
 P.NM Ladi 3SG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back P.NM Mata
 iduu na-sixineen to=xo e-tako
 3DU two-opposite.sex.siblings 3NSG.SM=PAST REC-to.piggy-back
 ‘Ladi piggy-backed Mata, the two opposite sex siblings (Ladi and Mata) were involved in an activity of piggy-backing.’ [T2-32]

- (14-13) *Me Xexemaa ixo tako e Eltie, duu nasixineen jat duu toxo etako.*
me Xexemaa i=xo tako e Eltie
 and Xexemaa 3SG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back P.NM Eltie
 duu na-sixineen jat duu to=xo e-tako
 3DU two-opposite.sex.siblings self 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST REC-to.piggy-back
 ‘And Xexemaa back carried Eltie, the two opposite sex siblings (Xexemaa and Eltie) were involved in an activity of piggy-backing.’ [T2-33]

14.5 Contrastive marker =*im*

The contrastive marker =*im* is an enclitic which seems to be able to attach to almost all types of lexical constituents, as well as to whole clauses, in order to indicate a contrastive relation between the constituent within its scope and something outside its scope in the context.

Example (14-14) is taken from a folktale about a clever rooster and a stupid wallaby who are paddling a canoe. The wallaby breaks the canoe when they are in the middle of the sea. The rooster flies away, but the wallaby sinks down into the sea. In (14-14), the contrastive marker =*im* is cliticised to the NP *arala* ‘wallaby’ to contrast it with the NP *kixöök* ‘rooster’ in the previous sentence.

- (14-14) *Xixöök ixo wawalo, ixo önaan. Aralaim ixo ririi su...*
 kixöök i=xo wawa=lo
 rooster 3SG.SM=PAST fly=SEQ
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 arala=im i=xo ririi su
 wallaby=CONTR 3SG.SM=PAST to.sink descend
 ‘The rooster flew up and went away. The wallaby, in contrast, sank down.’ [p86-s78-s81]

The information to be contrasted with can be quite distant in the discourse. Sometimes it is even not explicitly expressed and is thus very difficult to retrace. I remember that once I was asked by one of my consultants if I had forgotten how to speak my native language since I had been in Kolonoboi for a long time. I answered “no” to her. Then she asked if I would forget the Barok language in the future. This time I answered

E kobo ösöxö ‘I don’t know’. My major consultant Kolin immediately corrected me, saying that I should have used *E kobo ösöxöim* ‘I don’t know this time’. She later explained to me that since I knew the answer to the first question, but I did not know the answer to the second question, the marker =*im* should be used to indicate this difference.

Another example of the usage of the marker =*im* is from my PNG mother Lien. She once asked me if I had any betel nut. I said “There are some upstairs. I saw them this morning”. Lien replied in (14-15). The contrastive marker here implies that “there used to be betel nuts upstairs, but there are not anymore.”

- (14-15) *Kaimim! iri kawam.*
kaim=im i=ri kawam
NEG=CONTR 3SG.SM=PVF finish
‘Not anymore. It has been finished.’ [OB-Lien]

Note that the negative particle *kaim* ‘no, not’ in (14-15) ends with the form *im*, which is nowadays an inseparable part of this word in Usen Barok (see §12.5). However, in Nabo Barok, the negative particle is realised as *ka* or *kawa* ‘no, not’. It is highly possible that the negative particle in Usen Barok used to be *ka*. (The form *ka* still functions as a preverbal marker to express negation, see §9.4.7.2). But because people kept on adding the marker =*im* after the negative particle *ka* to indicate contrast, the form *kaim* was then lexicalised.

14.6 Speech report constructions

This section describes the speech report constructions in Usen Barok, which are used to report what is said, thought, sensed, etc. A speech report construction typically involves a reporting verb, the reporting marker *baraa* ‘thus’, and the reported content. In the examples of the following sub-sections, the reporting verb is underlined by a single line, the reporting marker *baraa* ‘thus’ by a double line, and the reported content is indicated by square brackets.

The distinction between direct and indirect speech report constructions is discussed in §14.6.1. This is followed by a list of commonly used reporting verbs in §14.6.2. The reporting marker *baraa* ‘thus’ is described in §14.6.3.

14.6.1 Direct and indirect speech report constructions

Usen Barok has both direct and indirect speech report constructions. The fundamental distinction between these two types of construction is that in direct speech report constructions there is no shift in person, whereas in indirect speech report constructions there is a shift in person towards the perspective of the speech reporter.

Examples (14-16) and (14-17) illustrate a direct and an indirect speech report construction respectively.

- Direct reporting construction:

(14-16) *Ine ixo tengen baraa: “e ma sangawun ma ninöng ne barok.”*

ine	i=xo	<u>tengen</u>	<u>baraa</u>				
3SG	3SG.SM=PAST	utter	thus				
[e	ma	sangawun	ma	ninöng	ne	barok]	
1SG	with	ten	and	two	L	child	

‘He said: “I have twelve children.”’ [p191-s90]

- Indirect reporting construction:

(14-17) *Ixo tengen baraa, ine ma ni ne ung jaa.*

i=xo	<u>tengen</u>	<u>baraa</u>				
3SG.SM=PAST	utter	thus				
[ine	ma	ni	ne	ung	jaa]	
3SG	with	two	L	pile	firewood	

‘She_i said that she_i has two piles of firewood.’ [p268-s22]

In (14-16), the reported content in brackets is quoted just as it was uttered by the original speaker, whereas in (14-17), the subject NP *ine* ‘she’ in the clause of the reported content is shifted to the perspective of the narrator who was reporting the speech.

14.6.2 Reporting verbs

In Usen Barok, three semantic types of verb may be used as the reporting verb in speech report constructions. These three types of reporting verb are utterance verbs, as shown in Table 14-1, perception verbs, as shown in Table 14-2, and cognition verbs, as shown in Table 14-3. Note that these lists are not exhaustive.

Utterance verbs	Transitivity	Gloss
<i>tengen</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to say, tell’
<i>kuwe</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to shout at’
<i>osee</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to ask’
<i>panak</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to warn, to prohibit’
<i>gee</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to cry’
<i>tenge</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to say, tell’
<i>kup</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to shout’
<i>börön</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to make sound’
<i>söö</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to sing’

Table 14-1: Utterance verbs

Perception verbs	Transitivity	Gloss
<i>pere</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to see’
<i>ölangen</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to hear’
<i>pösixine</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to smell’
<i>örasen</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to sense’
<i>wawara</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to watch, to glance’
<i>ölöngö</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to hear’

Table 14-2: Perception verbs

Cognition verbs	Transitivity	Gloss
<i>döxömen</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to think, to remember, to believe, to plan’
<i>ösöxö</i>	<i>vt.</i>	‘to know’
<i>dödöm</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to think, to remember, to believe, to plan’
<i>nunu</i>	<i>vi.</i>	‘to misapprehend’

Table 14-3: Cognition verbs

14.6.3 Reporting marker

Usen Barok uses *baraa* ‘thus’ as its reporting marker. This marker occurs in both direct and indirect speech report constructions to introduce the reported contents, as shown in (14-16) and (14-17) above. This marker precedes the reported content it introduces, however, prosodically, it belongs with the clause containing the reporting verb. One more example is provided in (14-18).

- (14-18) *Meet moxo tengen kö nangadi nang toxo kaka muu e mem baraa: “ta önaanım, moxo a taim saban.”*

meet mo=xo tengen kö nangadi
 1PA.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=PAST utter C.PREP people
 nang to=xo kaa kaa muu e mem baraa
 REL 3NSG.SM=PAST climb ascend follow P.NM 1PL.EXC thus
 [t=a önaan=ım moxo a taim saban]
 1NSG.INC.SM=IMM.IRR move=CONTR because C.NM time (TP) bad

‘We spoke to the people who climbed up (our car and) followed us thus:
 “Let’s go, because it is bad weather.”’ [p270-s55~p271-s57]

For most reporting verbs, the reporting marker is optional. Examples (14-19) and (14-20) show that the reporting marker *baraa* ‘thus’ is optional for the reporting verb *tengen* ‘to utter’ in speech report constructions. It is perfectly grammatical to delete the reporting marker in (14-19) or to add the reporting marker in (14-20) before the reported contents.

- (14-19) *Na ıxo tengen baraa: “tabo tanga buo bira.”*

na i=xo tengen baraa
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
 [t=abo tanga buo bi-ra]
 1NSG.INC.SM=NIMM.IRR chew betel.nut do.like.this

‘Then he said: “Let’s chew betel nut like this.”’ [T1-109]

- (14-20) *Na e Kismes i tengen te e: öröbo wan urii löxöön.*
 na e Kismes i tengen re e
 DISC P.NM Kismes 3SG.SM utter P.PREP 1SG
 [ö=röbo wan u-rii löxöön]
 2SG.SM=NIMM.IRR move ALL-down beach
 ‘Then Kismes told me: “Go down to the beach!”’ [p307-s5-s6]

There is one reporting verb *nunu* ‘misapprehend’, which seems to require the reporting marker. *Nunu* ‘misapprehend’ is the only verb in my corpus which only occurs in reporting constructions. An example is given in (14-21). Note that it is ungrammatical to leave out the reporting marker *baraa* ‘thus’ in this example.

- (14-21) *Toxo nunu baraa, ixoro met. Ma kaim.*
 to=xo nunu baraa
 3NSG.SM=PAST misapprehend thus
 [i=xo-ro met]
 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL die
 ma kaim
 but NEG
 ‘They thought thus “He had died”. But he hadn’t.’ [p332-s34-s35]

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Appendix A: Index of texts

This appendix gives an index of texts used in this grammar. The first column lists reference numbers (REF), which indicate original page numbers in my field notes. The second column lists speaker's names. The third column provides the title or a brief description of each text. The last column gives information on the type of each text. Conversations are abbreviated as C; personal narratives are abbreviated as PN; speeches are abbreviated as S; traditional narratives are abbreviated as TN; procedural texts are abbreviated as PT.

REF	Speaker	Description of text	Genre
p22-23	Lien Soma	What I did this morning	PN
p24-26	Mares Tabakase	Parents went pig hunting	PN
p26-33	Mares Tabakase	A trip to Melbourne	PN
p33-34	Mares Tabakase	To Jingyi Du	S
p34-49	Lien Soma	Wallaby and python	TN
p49-57	Salatiel Bios	Autobiography	PN
p57-62	Salatiel Bios	Malaba, Mese and Tago ⁴¹	TN
p62-67	Roven Sam	Girls form bamboo	TN
p67-73	Pokbulu	Pig hunting	PN
p73-75	Seno	How to make garden	PT
p75-77	Lien Soma	Stomach ache	PN
p77-78	Kolin	There is no food	PN

⁴¹ *Malaba*, *Tago* and *Mese* are all birds' names. *Malaba* and *Tago* are also used as clan names.

p79-81	Roselyn	Meeting	PN
p81-95	Lien Soma	Wallaby and rooster	TN
p96-100	Roven Sam	Satele ⁴²	TN
p100-103	Ladi	Malaba and Tago and Riribe ⁴³	TN
p103-106	Ladi	Waworlam learns to make a trap ⁴⁴	TN
p106-115	Ladi	Dodonakun ⁴⁵	TN
p116-117	Obin	Mosquito	TN
p117-128	Pokbulu	The Barok funeral	PT
p128-s132	Pokbulu	Waworlam goes fishing	TN
p133-142	Roven Sam	Gaas ⁴⁶	TN
p142-151	Roven Sam	Waworlam throws his kids	TN
p152-160	Tabitha	Tagormat	TN
p161-168	Tabitha	Wallaby and dog	TN
p169-184	Tabitha	Satele	TN
p184-185	Tovartabar	Trip trip Ukarumpa	PN
p186-210	Roven Sam	The eel	TN
p210-221	Roven Sam	Red women	TN
p222-231	Din	An evil father	TN
p231-232	Sharon Soma	The black bird	TN
p239-251	Roven Sam	Kill a python	TN
p251-257	Pokbulu	Waworlam is frightened	TN
p257-266	Pokbulu	Flying fox and lizard	TN

⁴² This is a traditional story about a man whose name is *Satele*, which stands for ‘fish-catch’.

⁴³ *Malaba*, *Tago* and *Riribe* are all birds’ names. *Malaba* and *Tago* are also used as clan names.

⁴⁴ *Waworlam* is a personal name. It is also used to refer to any stupid person.

⁴⁵ *Dodonakun* in this story is a personal name. It is derived from the common noun *dodonakun*, which refers to a type of shell.

⁴⁶ *Gaas* refers to a type of ghost in Usen Barok legends.

p266-271	Roslyn	Transport wood	PN
p271-274	Matarom	Lizard Kiring	TN
p275-281	Matarom	Sipurang	TN
p282-290	Misirom	Tagörmät and Lilia	TN
p291-296	Pokbulu	A pig attacked me	PN
p297-303	Roven Sam	How to make your dogs to catch pigs	PT
p304-306	Ugan	What my son and I did yesterday	PN
p307-309	Eltie	What I did yesterday	PN
p310-316	Roslyn	Steven met a ghost	PN
p317-322	Toluaina Bios	Gaas from the bush	TN
p323-328	Toluaina Bios	Woman from the bush	TN
p329-336	Toluaina Bios	A village at the bottom of the sea	TN
p337-355	Roven Sam	Date at sea	TN
p356-362	Salatiel Bios	The Barok funeral	PT
p363-379	Roven Sam	Two sisters swallowed by a clam shell	TN
p380-389	Roven Sam	Cash tree	TN
p390-393	Sinaugo	Shit in stove	PN
p394-397	Sinaugo	Fetch fire	PN
p397-401	Sinaugo	A stranger	PN
p401-421	Roven Sam	A boy born from blood	TN
p421-425	Roslyn	Catch fish	PN
p425-430	Dickson	Tirimomom	TN
p430-447	Roven Sam	Gilam	TN
p447-460	Roven Sam	Two brothers, a mouse and a ghost	TN
p460-466	Roven Sam	Tabakase went hunting	PN
p466-471	Lucy Rex	Locked	PN
p471-474	Lucy Rex	Bible translation	PN
p474-489	Roven Sam	Girls in Lihir	TN

p489-499	Roven Sam	Tinen's wound	TN
p500-509	Lien Soma & Mares Tabakase	In hospital	C
p509-514	Sinaugo	Steal mandarins	PN
p514-523	Kuala Marmar	Rice spell	TN
p523-526	Sinaugo	Travel during the night	PN
p526-530	Roven Sam	A quarrel	PN
p531-539	Roven Sam	An evil breadfruit	TN

Appendix B: Basic information about consultants

Speaker's name	Gender	Age	Village
Dickson	Male	30+	Ramat
Din	Female	30+	Loloba
Eltie	Female	70+	Kolonoboi
Kolin Bios	Female	30+	Kolonoboi
Kuala Marmar	Female	40+	Kolonoboi
Ladi	Male	60+	Kolonoboi
Lien Soma	Female	40+	Kolonoboi
Lucy Rex	Female	20+	Kolonoboi
Mares Tabakase	Female	50+	Kolonoboi
Matarom	Female	60+	Kolonoboi
Misirom	Male	60+	Kolonoboi
Obin	Male	70+	Kolonoboi
Pokbulu	Male	70+	Kolonoboi
Roselyn	Female	30+	Kolonoboi
Roven Sam	Male	60+	Kolonoboi
Salatiel Bios	Male	60+	Kolonoboi
Seno	Male	50+	Kolonoboi
Sharon	Female	20+	Kolonoboi
Sinaugo	Female	40+	Kolonoboi
Tabitha	Female	60+	Kolonoboi
Toluaina Bios	Male	30+	Kolonoboi
Tovartabar	Male	20+	Kolonoboi
Ugan	Female	30+	Kolonoboi

Appendix C: Texts

This appendix provides two fully glossed and translated Usen Barok texts recorded at Kolonoboi. Text 1 is a traditional story told by Mr. Roven Sam, who was in his early sixties at the time of recording. Text 2 is a personal narrative recorded by a female speaker Sinaugo, who was in her mid-forties at the time of recording. Both Text 1 and Text 2 were transcribed and translated with assistance of Mrs. Kolin Bios and the two speakers.

Text 1: *Balixilik dadaan* ‘Red women’

Speaker: Roven Sam (Male)

Age of the speaker: 60+

Recorded at: Kolonoboi

Date of recording: 15/04/2007

T1-1. *Öng a bung...*

öng a bung
one C.NM day

‘Once up on a time...’ (Lit: ‘One day’.)

T1-2. *A öng a tödi*

a öng a tödi
C.NM one L man

‘There was a man.’ (Lit: ‘one man’.)

T1-3. *Ixo lamuslo a bung puluwun, na ixo wan tup pa tup puluwun.*

i=xo lamus=lo a bung puluwun
3SG.SM=PAST lead=SEQ C.NM PLM dog

na i=xo wan tup ra tup puluwun
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST move disappear PURP disappear dog

‘He directed several dogs and he went hunting.’

- T1-4. *Ixo wanlo, ixo önaan, ixo önaan, ixo önaan.*
 i=xo wan=lo
 3SG.SM=PAST move=SEQ
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘He went (hunting), he was walking and walking.’
- T1-5. *Bung puluwun kaim a ot pösöt re bo.*
 bung puluwun kaim a ot pösöt re bo
 PLM dog NEG C.NM arrive find NR.NM pig
 ‘The dogs did not find any pigs.’
- T1-6. *Ixo önaan, ixo önaan...*
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘He was walking and walking.’
- T1-7. *Ixo ölöngö baraa bung puluwun tabo rariklo re bo, ma kawaim.*
 i=xo ölöngö baraa
 3SG.SM=PAST listen thus
 bung puluwun t=abo rarik=lo re bo
 PLM dog 3NSG.SM=NIMM.IRR lift=SEQ NR.NM pig
 ma kawaim
 but NEG
 ‘He listened (and thought) that (his) dogs would catch a pig, but (they) didn’t.’
- T1-8. *Ixo önaan, ixo önaan...*
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘He was walking and walking...’
- T1-9. *Ixo xakenin ine xö ngas.*
 i=xo xaken-in ine kö ngas
 3SG.SM=PAST sun-APP 3SG C.PREP road
 ‘It became midday on the road.’ (Lit: ‘The hot sun found him on the road.’)
- T1-10. *A xaken ixo kis aluo xö sangawun ma ninöng ne axana bung.*
 a xaken i=xo kis aluo
 C.NM sun 3SG.SM=PAST sit in.middle
 kö sangawun ma ninöng ne axana bung
 C.PREP ten and two L piece day
 ‘The sun was in the middle (of the sky) at 12 o’clock.’

- T1-11. *Ma bung puluwun, kaim a inot pösöt te öng a bo.*
 ma bung puluwun kaim a in-ot pösöt
 but PLM dog NEG C.NM NML-arrive find
 re öng a bo
 NR.NM one L pig
 ‘But as for the dogs, they didn’t find any pigs.’ (Lit: ‘But as for the dogs, it is not that they found any pigs.’)
- T1-12. *Ixo taxadaa nang, ixo taruulo baling, ixo önaan.*
 i=xo taxadaa nang
 3SG.SM=PAST struggle BEM
 i=xo taruu=lo baling
 3SG.SM=PAST stand.up=SEQ again
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘Having struggled, he stood up again and went away.’
- T1-13. *Ixo önaan, ixo önaan, ixo önaan, ixo önaan, ixo ajenin ine.*
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo ajen-in ine
 3SG.SM=PAST afternoon-APP 3SG
 ‘He was walking and walking...and it became afternoon.’ (Lit: ‘...and the afternoon sun had found him.’)
- T1-14. *Ixo ajenin ine nang, ixo ködöim, ixo perele a pönö jaa xö ngalana ari.*
 i=xo ajen-in ine nang
 3SG.SM=PAST afternoon-APP 3SG BEM
 i=xo ködöö=im
 3SG.SM=PAST dark=CONTR
 i=xo pere=lo a pönö jaa
 3SG.SM=PAST see=SEQ C.NM section wood
 kö ngala-na ari
 C.PREP inside-3SG.POSSR river
 ‘After the afternoon had passed, it became dark. He saw a section of log in a river.’
- T1-15. *Na ixo maruu kaa xönaan.*
 na i=xo maruu kaa kö=naan
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST lie.down ascend C.PREP=it
 ‘So he lay down on it (the log).’

- T1-16. *Maruim, baraa irabo maras, na iri ot baling lagunon.*
 maruu=im baraa i=rabo maras
 lie.down=CONTR FRU 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR daylight
 na i=ri ot baling lagunon.
 DISC 3SG.SM=CPL arrive again village
 ‘After lying down (on the log), (he thought) that it will be daylight (later), and he will have already arrived at home (by then).’
- T1-17. *Ixo maruusik ma bara raxin ixo su ruso xö lulu ne ari.*
 ixo maruu=sik
 3SG.SM=PAST lie.down=STA
 ma bara raxin i=xo su ruso kö lulu ne ari
 and rain big 3SG.SM=PAST descend up C.PREP top L river
 ‘While he was sleeping, heavy rain came down from the top of the river.’
- T1-18. *Ixo su, na ari ixo sen taxin arixe.*
 i=xo su
 3SG.SM=PAST descend
 na ari i=xo sen taxin arixe
 DISC river 3SG.SM=PAST flood big completely
 ‘(The rain) came down and the river flooded severely.’
- T1-19. *Ari ixo sen bösö ra meruso, ixo kiplo ine mina pönö jaa, ixo wan su me ine.*
 ari i=xo sen bösö ra me-ruso
 river 3SG.SM=PAST flood be.rapid ABL ABL-up
 i=xo kip=lo ine ma ina pönö jaa
 3SG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ 3SG and ANA.C.NM section wood
 i=xo wan su me ine
 3SG.SM=PAST move descend COM 3SG
 ‘The river flooded rapidly. It (the flood) carried him and the log. It (the flood) washed him down (the river).’ (Lit: ‘The river flooded rapidly. It (the flood) carried him and the log. It (the flood) went down with him.’)
- T1-20. *Ixo ot kö texesöö, ixo wan su me ine xö rasi.*
 i=xo ot kö texesöö
 3SG.SM=PAST arrive C.PREP shallow.bay
 i=xo wan su me ine kö rasi
 3SG.SM=PAST move descend COM 3SG C.PREP sea
 ‘It (the flood) arrived at a shallow bay and washed him down to the sea.’
- T1-21. *Ine, kaim ine ra örasenlo.*
 ine kaim ine ra örasen=lo
 3SG NEG 3SG PURP realise=SEQ
 ‘As for him, he didn’t realised (that the flood had carried him to the sea).’ (Lit: ‘As for him, it is not that he realised (that the flood had carried him to the sea)’)

- T1-22. *Ixo maruu, ixo paluso xalarasik mon.*
 i=xo maruu
 3SG.SM=PAST lie.down
 i=xo paluso xalara=sik mon
 3SG.SM=PAST sleep undisturbed=STA just
 ‘(still) lying down, he just kept on sleeping without being disturbed.’
- T1-23. *Ixo önaan, ixo önaan, ixo aluo roo rasiim, ixo laran kö marasim.*
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo aluo roo rasi=im
 3SG.SM=PAST be.in.the.middle at.sea sea=CONTR
 i=xo laran kö maras=im
 3SG.SM=PAST wake.up C.PREP daylight=CONTR
 ‘He was floating and floating (and he arrived) in the middle of the sea. He woke up with the daylight’.
- T1-24. *Ixo laran, a xaken ixo dex ine, ixo laran.*
 i=xo laran
 3SG.SM=PAST wake.up
 a xaken i=xo dek ine
 C.NM sun 3SG.SM=PAST burn 3SG
 i=xo laran
 3SG.SM=PAST wake.up
 ‘He woke up. The sun burnt him, (so) he woke up.’
- T1-25. *Ixo vavara: “e! me e kisisix ule ja?”*
 i=xo pa~para
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~glance
 e me e kisi=sik ule ja
 ah DISC 1SG.SM sit=STA where ICFP
 ‘He was glancing around: “ah! Where am I?”’
- T1-26. *Ixo wuwus me ixoro kis aluosik kö xexetaban roo lömöö saxit.*
 i=xo wuwus
 3SG.SM=PAST surprise
 me i=xo=ro kis aluo=sik
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL sit be.in.the.middle=STA
 kö xexetaban roo lömöö saxit
 C.NM deep.sea at.sea top (of the sea) very
 ‘He was surprised (that) he was already sitting in the middle of the very far deep sea.’

T1-27. *Ixoro kis ödödösik monim:*

i=xo=ro kis ödödö=sik mon=im
 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL sit quiet=STA just=CONTR
 ‘He was just sitting (on the log) quietly (and thinking):’

T1-28. *“Arabo otloim ule ja? e töxö bök, ma ari i sesen, bara i su ruso xö pirixö, i kiv e.”*

a=rabo ot=lo=im ule ja
 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR arrive=SEQ=CONTR where ICFP
 e töxö bök
 1SG.SM cheat probably
 ma ari i se~sen
 DISC river 3SG.SM PROG~flood
 bara i su ruso kö pirixö
 rain 3SG.SM descend upward C.PREP bush
 i kip e
 3SG.SM carry 1SG

‘‘Where am I going to arrive? I cannot believe that (Lit: I lied probably). The river was flooding. The rain came down up in the bush, (so the flood) carried me along.’’

T1-29. *Na ixo kis ödödösik mon, ixo önaan, ixo önaan...ixo dömönin öbaling ine xö rasi.*

na i=xo kis ödödö=sik mon
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST sit quiet=STA just
 i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo dömön-in ö-baling ine kö rasi
 3SG.SM=PAST night-APP CAUS-again 3SG C.PREP sea

‘He was just sitting quietly (on the log). He was floating and floating. It became night again on the sea.’

T1-30. *Ixo böxböxö nana xina dömön.*

i=xo böx~böxö nana kö ina dömön
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~drift around C.PREP ANA.C.NM night
 ‘He was drifting aimlessly all (that) night.’

T1-31. *Ixo önaan, ixo önaan...ixo maras, mamaras ma lörörö löxöön.*

i=xo önaan
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 i=xo maras
 3SG.SM=PAST daylight
 ma~maras ma lörörö löxöön
 PROG~daylight and close beach

‘He was drifting and drifting. It became daylight. (It was) becoming daylight and (he was) close to the beach.’

- T1-32. *Pereim a öng a wat kexese roo lömöö.*
 pere=im a öng a wat xexese roo lömöö
 see=CONTR C.NM one L stone isolated at.sea top (of the sea)
 ‘(He) saw one isolated island on the sea.’
- T1-33. *Ixo pere nang, ixo: “E! öng a lagunon na.”*
 i=xo pere nang
 3SG.SM=PAST see BEM
 i=xo e öng a lagunon na
 3SG.SM=PAST ah one L village DEM.PROX
 ‘Having seen the island, he (said): “Ah! here is a village.”’
- T1-34. *Iö! laa ixo xikip nanin ine lörörö xö öxönö put.*
 iö a laa i=xo ki~kip nanin ine
 well C.NM thing 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~carry around 3SG
 lörörö kö öxö-nö put
 almost C.PREP head-3SG.POSSR reef
 ‘Well, the thing (flood) carried him aimlessly almost to the reef.’
- T1-35. *Na ixo vavara, ixo pere a bung balixilik toxo öxönöm.*
 na i=xo pa~para
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST PROG-glance
 i=xo pere a bung balixi~lik to=xo öxönöm
 3SG.SM=PAST see C.NM PLM woman~PL 3NSG.SM=PAST to.fish
 ‘He was glancing around. He saw that a group of women were fishing.’
- T1-36. *Bung balixilik dadaan!*
 bung balixi~lik dadaan
 PLM woman~PL red
 ‘A group of red (skinned) women!’
- T1-37. *Bebene idi a lak taxin karnang nöngön.*
 bebe-ne idi a lak taxin karnang nöngön
 hair-3SG.POSSR 3PL C.NM DUMMY big like 2SG
 ‘Their (the women’s) hair is a big thing, like you.’ [Here the narrator mixes his story with the real life context.]
- T1-38. *Toxo sese inaan löxöön.*
 to=xo se~se inaan löxöön
 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~attack fish beach
 ‘They (the women) were fishing on the beach.’ (Lit: ‘They (the women) were fish-catching on the beach.’)

- T1-39. *Na dalun ixoro tewee öxaa ine ma pönö jaa xö aine maat.*
na dalun i=xo=ro tewee ö-kaa ine
DISC wave 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL throw CAUS-ascend 3SG
ma pönö jaa kö ai-ne maat
and section wood C.PREP skin-3SG.POSSR reef
‘The wave had thrown him and the log up on the reef.’
- T1-40. *Ixo wanlo uruso löxöön, ixo kisisik.*
i=xo wan=lo u-ruso löxöön
3SG.SM=PAST move=SEQ ALL-upward beach
i=xo kisi=sik
3SG.SM=PAST sit=STA
‘He went up to the beach, and he was sitting there.’
- T1-41. *Na bung balixilik toxoro pere ine.*
na bung balixi~lik to=xo=ro pere ine
DISC PLM woman~PL 3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL see 3SG
‘The group of women had already seen him.’
- T1-42. *“nang a mangana tödi bule renge?”*
nang a mangana tödi bule renge
DEM.DIST C.NM kind man how downward.NEAR
“‘What kind of man is there (down at the beach)?’”
- T1-43. *Toxo pere a wales se ine:*
to=xo pere a wales re ine
3NSG.SM=PAST see C.NM beard POSSM 3SG
‘They saw his beard.’
- T1-44. *“Ire, kaim ire ma mangana na, ma tödi baraa bule renge? iri ösöö renge löxöön.”*
ire kaim ire ma mangana na
1PL.INC NEG 1PL.INC COM kind DEM.PROX
ma tödi baraa bule renge
DISC man thus how downward.NEAR
i=ri ösöö renge löxöön
3SG.SM=CPL ashore downward.NEAR beach
“‘As for you and us, we don’t have this kind of thing (beard). What kind of man is there? He has arrived down at the beach.’” (Lit: “As for you and us, it is not that we have this kind of thing (beard). What kind of man is there? He has arrived down at the beach.’”)

- T1-45. *Di toxo wan, toxo pere ine.*
 di to=xo wan
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST move
 to=xo pere ine
 3NSG.SM=PAST see 3SG
 ‘They went, (and) they saw him.’
- T1-46. *Di toxo osee ine baraa: “u mörö?”*
 di to=xo osee ine baraa
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST ask 3SG thus
 u mörö
 2SG.SM do.what
 ‘They asked him: “What’s wrong with you?”’ (Lit: ‘They asked him thus: “You did what?”’)
- T1-47. *“E! me e tup puluwun.”*
 e me e tup puluwun
 sigh DICS 1SG.SM disappear dog
 “Sigh! I went to hunt.”
- T1-48. *“E tup puluwun, na i dömönin e, na e maruu xö pönö jaa na rusö xö rasi
 ma bara i su, e kobo ösöxö i su, na ari i sen taxin arixe, na i öböxö lo e,
 na e ot ta.”*
 e tup puluwun
 1SG.SM disappear dog
 na i dömön-in e
 DISC 3SG.SM night-APP 1SG
 na e maruu kö pönö jaa na
 DICS 1SG.SM lie.down C.PREP section wood DEM.PROX
 rusö kö rasi
 up C.PREP sea
 ma bara i su
 and rain 3SG.SM descend
 e kobo ösöxö i su
 1SG.SM NEG know 3SG.SM descend
 na ari i sen taxin arixe
 DISC river 3SG.SM flood big completely
 na i ö-böxö=lo e
 DISC 3SG.SM CAUS-drift=SEQ 1SG
 na e ot ra
 DISC 1SG.SM arrive here
 “I went hunting. Then it became night. I went to slept on this log in the
 sea and the rain came down. I didn’t know that the rain came down. Then
 the river flooded severely and it made me drift, then I arrived here.”

T1-49. “Aa!”

aa
INTER
“‘I see.’”

T1-50. *Na idi toxo lamuslo ine urungaan kö gunon.*

na idi to=xo lamus=lo ine
DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST lead=SEQ 3SG
u-rungaan kö gunon
ALL-DEM.DIST C.PREP house
‘Then they led him to the houses.’

T1-51. *Urungaan kö bo gunon te idi.*

u-rungaan kö bo gunon re idi
ALL-DEM.DIST C.PREP PLM house POSSM 3PL
‘To their houses.’

T1-52. *Ma kaim pe tödi bölök.*

ma kaim re tödi bölök
DISC NEG NR.NM man either
‘There were no men either.’

T1-53. *Ina bung balixilik kalik mon, bung balixilik dadaan.*

ina bung balixi~lik kalik mon
ANA.C.NM PLM woman~PL only just
bung balixi~lik dadaan
PLM woman~PL red
‘There were only those women, those red (skinned) women.’

T1-54. *Na ajen, di toxoro kiw or a inaan nang di toxo ösale xö xaken, na toxo*

tabaa ine min.

na ajen
DISC afternoon
di to=xo=ro kip ot a inaan
3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL carry arrive C.NM fish
nang di to=xo ösale kö xaken
REL 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST dry C.PREP hot.sun
na to=xo tabaa ine m=in
DISC 3NSG.SM=PAST give 3SG INST=3SG

‘In the afternoon, they brought the fish that they dried under the hot sun, and they gave him the fish.’

- T1-55. *Na ine ixoro tengen te idi baraa: “e! e kala ösöxö a enen a mangana inaan na.”*
na ine i=xo=ro tengen re idi baraa
DISC 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL utter P.PREP 3PL thus
e e kala ösöxö a
ah 1SG.SM NOT.YET know C.NM
en~en a mangana inaan na
REDP~eat C.NM kind fish DEM.PROX
‘He told them this: “I am not used to eat this kind of (uncooked) fish.”’
- T1-56. *Mem bo söngsöngöt.”*
mem Ø=bo söng~söngöt
1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB REP~cook
‘“We always cook (fish).”’
- T1-57. *Söngöt kö jaa, na irabo mörösö, na arabo en.*
söngöt kö jaa
cook C.PREP fire
na i=rabo mörösö
DISC 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR cooked
na a=rabo en
DISC 1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat
‘“Cook (it) on the fire, it (the fish) will be cooked, then I will eat it.”’
- T1-58. *“Nang bira, kaim.*
nang bi-ra
if like-this
kaim
NEG
‘“If it’s like this (uncooked), (I will) not (eat it).”’
- T1-59. *“Ganim! Arabo en mon te pölö me re un.”*
gan=im
leave.it=CONTR
a=rabo en mon re pölö ma re un
1SG.SM=NIMM.IRR eat just NR.NM drinkable.coconut and NR.NM banana
‘“Forget it. I will just eat coconuts and bananas if there are any.”’
- T1-60. *Ixo inim a lamas, na ixo geme ma un.*
i=xo inim a lamas
3SG.SM=PAST drink C.NM coconut
na i=xo geme ma un
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST eat.together with banana
‘He drank the coconut juice and ate the coconut together with bananas.’

T1-61. *Na ixo dömön, di toxo paliso.*

na i=xo dömön
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST night

di to=xo paliso
3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST sleep

‘It became night, they slept.’

T1-62. *Paliso, ixo laran kö puxu.*

paliso
sleep

i=xo laran kö puxu
3SG.SM=PAST wake.up C.PREP morning

‘(They) slept. He woke up in the morning.’

T1-63. *Laran kö puxu, na ixoro pere idi toxo kiplo a un madaa.*

laran kö puxu
wake.up C.PREP morning

na i=xo=ro pere idi
DIST 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL see 3PL

to=xo kip=lo a un madaa
3NSG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ C.NM banana ripe

‘(He) woke up in the morning. He saw them bring ripe bananas.’

T1-64. *Na toxo tabaa ine min, na ixo enen.*

na to=xo tabaa ine m=in
DISC 3NSG.SM=PAST give 3SG INST=3SG

na i=xo en~en
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~eat

‘Then they gave him (the banana) and he was eating (the banana).’

T1-65. *Ixo vavara baraa: nangadi na tobo usumot jaa bölök baraa kaim?*

i=xo pa~para baraa
3SG.SM=PAST PROG~glance thus

nangadi na to=bo usumot jaa bölök baraa kaim
people DEM.PROX 3NSG.SM=HAB make.fire fire also or NEG

‘He glanced around (and) wondered: do these people also make fire or not?’

T1-66. *Ixoro osee idi bara: “mum ma mangana laa nang mem bo rengrengen ma*

jaasösööt, nang ibo sösööt, ibo taba.”

i=xo=ro osee idi baraa
3SG.SM=PAST=CPL ask 3PL thus
mum ma mangana laa nang
2PL COM kind thing REL
mem bo teng~tengen ma jaa-sö~sööt
1PL.EXC HAB REP~utter INST fire-REDP~burn
nang i=bo sö~sööt
REL 3SG.SM=HAB REP~burn
i=bo taba
3SG.SM=HAB smoke

‘He had asked them thus: “Do you have the thing that we call fire, that burns and smokes?”’

T1-67. *“Kawaim! Kaim e mem ma jaa.”*

kawaim
NEG
kaim e mem ma jaa
NEG P.NM 1PL.EXC COM fire

‘“No! We don’t have fire.” (Lit: “No! It is not that we are with fire.”)’

T1-68. *Na ine ixo tengen baraa: “gö! ara wan baang, ara kiplo re xönö jaa.”*

na ine i=xo tengen baraa
DISC 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
gö a=ra wan baang
okay 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR move temporarily
a=ra kip=lo re xönö jaa
1SG.SM=IMM.IRR carry=SEQ NR.NM piece firewood

‘So he said thus: “Okay, I am going to get some firewood (if there is any).”’

T1-69. *Ixo kiplo a xönö jaa, ixo ese.*

i=xo kip=lo a xönö jaa
3SG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ C.NM piece firewood
i=xo ese
3SG.SM=PAST rub

‘He brought some firewood, (and) he rubbed (the firewood).’

T1-70. *Ixo ese, na ixo...jaa ixo sööt.*

i=xo ese
3SG.SM=PAST rub

na i=xo
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST

jaa i=xo sööt
fire 3SG.SM=PAST burn

‘He rubbed, and he...the fire (began to) burn.’ [The narrator made a mistake here by uttering “*na ixo...* (and he...)”]

T1-71. *Na ixo ungun a jaa, jaa ixo taxin.*

na i=xo ungun a jaa
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST light C.NM fire

jaa i=xo taxin
fire 3SG.SM=PAST big

‘He lit fire, and the fire grew big.’

T1-72. *Di toxo pere a jaa ixo söösööt.*

di to=xo pere a jaa i=xo sö~sööt
3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST see C.NM fire 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~burn

‘They saw the fire was burning.’

T1-73. *Idi toxo pere diksik mon:*

idi to=xo pere dik=sik mon
3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST see fasten=STA just

‘They were just staring (at the fire).’

T1-74. *“A laa baraa bule ja?”*

a laa baraa bule ja
C.NM thing thus how ICFP

‘What thing is this?’

T1-75. *Na ixo tengen te idi baraa: “mum bele rörön.”*

na i=xo tengen re idi baraa
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter P.PREP 3PL thus

mum bele rörön
2PL PROH hold

‘He told them thus: “Don’t touch (the fire)!”’

T1-76. *Ibo söngör a bo limine e mum na, irabo ruxruk.*

i=bo söngöt a bo limi-ne e mum na
3SG.SM=POT burn C.NM PLM hand-3SG.POSSR P.NM 2PL DEM.PROX

i=rabo ruk~ruk
3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR REP~wound

“‘It might burn your hands, (and your hands) will be wounded.’”

- T1-77. *A laa na ibo esöngöt.*
 a laa na i=bo e-söngöt
 C.NM thing DEM.PROX 3SG.SM=HAB DETR-burn
 ‘‘This thing (fire) burns.’’
- T1-78. *Mörö kip pe un ura!*
 mö=rö kip re un u-ra
 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR carry NR.NM banana ALL-DEM.PROX
 ‘‘Bring some bananas (if there are any)!’’
- T1-79. *Kiplo a un, ixo söngöt.*
 kip=lo a un
 carry=SEQ C.NM banana
 i=xo söngöt
 3SG.SM=PAST cook
 ‘(They) brought bananas, and he cooked (bananas).’
- T1-80. *Na ixo mörösö, na ixo kulut.*
 na i=xo mörösö
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST cooked
 na i=xo kulut
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST peel.with.hand
 ‘Then the bananas are done. He peeled (the bananas with his hands).’
- T1-81. *Na ixo tengen baraa: ‘‘mörö en ka!’’*
 na i=xo tengen baraa
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
 mö=rö en ka
 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR eat CFP
 ‘Then he said thus: ‘‘You eat (a bit)!’’
- T1-82. *Di toxo en.*
 di to=xo en
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST eat
 ‘They ate.’
- T1-83. *‘‘O! a lak deek bök!’’*
 o a lak deek bök
 oh C.NM DUMMY good probably
 ‘‘Oh! It is probably a good thing!’’
- T1-84. *‘‘Aa ! biringaan?’’*
 aa bi-ringaan
 INTER like-DEM.DIST
 ‘‘Ah! Like that?’’

- T1-85. “Aa!”
aa!
yes
“‘Yes!’”
- T1-86. *Na ixo tengen baraa: “e we i öxönöm pe en?”*
na i=xo tengen baraa
DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
e we i öxönöm re en
P.NM who 3SG.SM to.fish NR.NM fish
‘Then he said thus: “did anyone catch a fish?”’ (Lit: “‘who caught a fish?’”)
- T1-87. *Nangadi na tere öxönöm a öng a bo en.*
nangadi na te=re öxönöm
people DEM.DIST 3NSG.SM=CPL to.fish
a öng a bo en
C.NM one L PLM fish
‘These people had already caught some fish.’
- T1-88. “Mörö kiv ura!”
mö=rö kip u-ra
2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR carry ALL-DEM.PROX
“‘You bring (the fish) here!’”
- T1-89. *Kiplo, ixo söngöt.*
kip=lo
carry=SEQ
i=xo söngöt
3SG.SM=PAST cook
‘They brought (the fish), he cooked (the fish on the fire).’
- T1-90. *Ixo söngör arixin ma un, ixo tengen baraa: “gö! mum mörö geme ma un!”*
i=xo söngöt arixin ma un
3SG.SM=PAST cook together with banana
i=xo tengen baraa
3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
gö mum mö=rö geme ma un
okay 2PL 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR eat.together COM banana
‘He cooked (the fish) together with bananas. He said thus: “okay! you eat (the fish) together with bananas!”’

- T1-91. *Na idi toxo tönlo, toxo en ina en arixe ma un.*
na idi to=xo tön=lo
DIST 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST hold=SEQ
to=xo en ina en arixe ma un
3NSG.SM=PAST eat ANA.C.NM fish together with banana
‘Then they held (the fish) and ate the fish together with banana.’
- T1-92. *“Aa! Ma lak deek!”*
aa ma lak deek
INTER DISC DUMMY good
“‘Ah! This (thing) is good.’”(Lit: “‘Ah! It is a good thing!’”)
- T1-93. *“A lak nanamien!”*
a lak nanamien
C.NM DUMMY tasty
“‘It is tasty.’” (Lit: “‘It is a tasty one’”)
- T1-94. *“A lak mamaran bök!”*
a lak mamaran bök
C.NM DUMMY good presumably
“‘It is presumably a good one!’”
- T1-95. *“A laa deek böx a!”*
a laa deek bok a
C.NM thing good presumably CFP
“‘It is presumably a good thing, isn’t it?’”
- T1-96. *“Aa!”*
aa
indeed
“‘Indeed!’”
- T1-97. *Na dauleng toxo en nanamienlo nang, toxo sangaa baraa rörön a jaa.*
na dauleng to=xo en nanamien=lo nang
DISC some 3NSG.SM=PAST eat taste=SEQ SEQ
to=xo sangaa baraa rörön a jaa
3NSG.SM=PAST stretch FRU hold C.NM fire
‘Then some (women) tasted (the cooked fish), having tasted (the cooked fish), they (the women) stretched out (their hands) to touch the fire.’

T1-98. *Ixoro panaksix idi, me idi jat toxo sangaa ra rörön, a jaa ixo söngör a bo*

limine idi na.

i=xo=ro panak=sik idi
 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL warn=STA 3PL
 me idi jat to=xo sangaa ra rörön
 but 3PL still 3NSG.SM=PAST stretch PURP hold
 a jaa i=xo söngöt
 C.NM fire 3SG.SM=PAST burn
 a bo limi=ne idi na
 C.NM PLM hand=3SG.POSSR 3PL DEM.PROX

‘He had warned them (off the fire), but they still stretched out (their hands) to hold (the fire). The fire now burnt their hands.’

T1-99. *Toxo xukup nana ma bo limine idi ixoro mörösö.*

to=xo ku~kup nana
 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~shout around
 ma bo limi-ne idi i=xo=ro mörösö
 and PLM hand-3SG.POSSR 3PL 3SG.SM=PAST=CPL cooked
 ‘They were shouting and their hands were burnt.’

T1-100. *Na idi toxo kiv or a un, a buo, a sie.*

na idi to=xo kip ot a un
 DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST carry arrive C.NM banana
 a buo a sie
 C.NM betel.nut C.NM betel.pepper

‘Then they brought bananas, betel nuts (and) betel peppers.’

T1-101. *Toxo tabaa ine min.*

to=xo tabaa ine m=in
 3NSG.SM=PAST give 3SG with=3SG

‘They gave him (bananas, betel nuts and betel peppers).’

T1-102. *Na ixo nges.*

na i=xo nges
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST peel.with.teeth

‘He peeled (betel nuts) with his teeth.’

T1-103. *Na ixo tengen baraa: “ e! re kabax ura! ara tanga buo.”*

na i=xo tengen baraa
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
 e re kabak u-ra
 ah NR.NM lime ALL-DEM.PROX
 a=ra tanga buo
 1SG.SM=IMM.IRR chew betel.nut

‘Then he said thus: “bring some lime (if there is any)! I am going to chew betel nut.”’

- T1-104. *“Mem kala ösöxö xö enen arixin me re laa, mem bo enen manin, mem bo enen manin a buo ma sie.”*
 mem kala ösöxö kö en~en arixin me re laa
 1PL.EXC NOT.YET know C.PREP REDP~eat together with NR.NM thing
 mem Ø=bo en~en manin
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB REP~eat just
 mem Ø=bo en~en manin
 1PL.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=HAB REP~eat just
 a buo ma sie
 C.NM betel.nut and betel.pepper
 ‘We don’t know (how) to eat (betel nut) with that thing (lime). We just eat, we just eat betel nut and betel pepper.’
- T1-105. *Na ixo tengen te idi baraa: “gö! mum mörö kiv a xaxut!”*
 na i=xo tengen re idi baraa
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter P.PREP 3PL thus
 gö mum mö=rö kip a xaxut
 okay 2PL 2NSG.SM=IMM.IRR carry C.NM firewood
 ‘Then he told them this: “okay! you collect some firewood!”’
- T1-106. *Di toxo kiv a xaxut, toxo urubon a daa.*
 di to=xo kip a xaxut
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST carry C.NM firewood
 to=xo urubon a daa
 3NSG.SM=PAST light C.NM stone.stove
 ‘They brought firewood and they lit a stone stove.’
- T1-107. *Ixo söngör a kabak.*
 i=xo söngöt a kabak
 3SG.SM=PAST cook C.NM lime
 ‘He cooked some lime.’
- T1-108. *A kabax ixo ot.*
 a kabak i=xo ot
 C.NM lime 3SG.SM=PAST arrive
 ‘The lime was ready.’ (Lit: ‘lime arrived’.)
- T1-109. *Na ixo tengen baraa: “tabo tanga buo bira.”*
 na i=xo tengen baraa
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST utter thus
 t=abo tanga buo bira
 1NSG.INC.SM=NIMM.IRR chew betel.nut do.like.this
 ‘He said thus: “Let’s chew betel nut like this.”’

T1-110. *Di toxo gisiv a buo dadaan deex arixe, me idi toxo ösöxö.*

di to=xo gisiv a buo dadaan deek arixe
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST spit C.NM betel.nut red good completely
 me idi to=xo ösöxö
 and 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST know

‘They spat the excellent red betel nut, and they knew (to chew betel nut with lime).’

T1-111. *Na basin möxö...a tatalien möxö alolo idi tokobo ösöxö.*

na basin möxö
 DISC behaviour (TP) of
 a tatalien möxö alolo idi to=kobo ösöxö
 C.NM behaviour of marriage 3PL 3NSG.SM=NEG know

‘As for the custom of marriage, they didn’t know.’ [The narrator made a mistake by using the Tok Pisin word *basin* ‘behaviour’.]

T1-112. *Ne ine jar ixo oseen idi ma alolo, na ine ixo elolo a uleleng arixe re idi.*

ne ine jar i=xo oseen idi ma alolo
 DISC 3SG self 3SG.SM=PAST show 3PL INST marriage
 na ine i=xo elolo a uleleng arixe re idi
 DISC 3SG 3SG.SM=PAST marry C.NM many very P.PREP 3PL

‘Then he himself taught them (about) marriage, and he married many of them.’

T1-113. *Di toxo kiv a bung baroxorok.*

di to=xo kip a bung baroxo~rok
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST give.birth C.NM PLM child~PL

‘They gave birth to many children.’

T1-114. *Dauleng ne balixilik, dauleng ne baroxorok, idi toxo ulelengim.*

dauleng ne balixi~lik
 some L girl~PL
 dauleng ne baroxo~rok
 some L boy~PL
 idi to=xo uleleng=im
 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST many=CONTR

‘(They gave birth to many children), some girls, some boys. Their population increased.’ (Lit: ‘they gave birth to many children, some are girls, some are boys. They became many.’)

T1-115. *Na ixo gar a öng a bo köröim.*

na i=xo gat a öng a bo körö=im
 DISC 3SG.SM=PAST get (TP) C.NM one L PLM people=CONTR

‘Then they had a lot of people.’

- T1-116. *Toxo ot kina muxuu, a lagunon nang kö rasi.*
 to=xo ot kö ina muxuu
 3NSG.SM=PAST arrive C.PREP ANA.C.NM island
 a lagunon nang kö rasi
 C.NM village DEM.DIST C.PREP sea
 ‘They arrived on that island, the village in the sea.’
- T1-117. *Na idi toxo gar a nangadi.*
 na idi to=xo gat a nangadi
 DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST get (TP) C.NM people
 ‘They got (more) people.’ (Lit: They had population.)
- T1-118. *Nangadi toxo tawörör ot kina lagunon.*
 nangadi to=xo tawöröt ot kö ina lagunon
 people 3NSG.SM=PAST come.out arrive C.PREP ANA.C.NM village
 ‘(More) people arrived in that village.’
- T1-119. *Na duöngim, toxo kis saim, tobo eloloim, na idi tobo gar a bung baroxorok.*
 na duöng=im
 DISC people=CONTR
 to=xo kis ra=im
 3NSG.SM=PAST sit here=CONTR
 to=bo elolo=im
 3NSG.SM=HAB marry=CONTR
 na idi to=bo gat a bung baroxo~rok
 DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=HAB get (TP) C.NM PLM child~PL
 ‘So (these) people lived here from then on. They married. And they had many children.’
- T1-120. *Ine mon niang.*
 ine mon niang
 3SG just DEM.DIST
 ‘It (is) just (like) that.’
- T1-121. *Kawam.*
 kawam
 finish
 ‘Finish.’

Text 2: Tödi me xaken su ‘A man from the west’

Speaker: Sinaugo (Female)

Age of the speaker: 40+

Recorded at: Kolonoboi

Date of recording: 15/06/2007

T2-1. *Öng a bung.*

öng a bung
one L day
‘One day.’

T2-2. *E Mata me Eltie me ni ne saxaduu.*

E Mata me Eltie me ni ne saxa=duu
P.NM Mata and Eltie and two L opposite.sex.sibling=3DU.POSSR
‘Mata and Eltie and their two opposite sex siblings.’

T2-3. *Toxo öxawam aususik.*

to=xo ö-kawam ausu=sik
3NSG.SM=PAST CAUS-finish school=STA
‘They finished school.’

T2-4. *Na idi toxo wanlo, toxo wan uruo lagunon.*

na idi to=xo wan=lo
DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST move=SEQ
to=xo wan u-ruo lagunon
3NSG.SM=PAST move ALL-southeast village
‘Then they went, they went southeast to a village’.

T2-5. *Toxo ilo a bo kis ma bo raat.*

to=xo ilo a bo kis ma bo raat
3NSG.SM=PAST take C.NM PLM basket and PLM basket
‘They took (long handled) baskets and (short handled) baskets.’

T2-6. *Na di toxo wanlo ra dik nari.*

na idi to=xo wan=lo ra dik nari
DISC 3PL 3NSG.SM=PAST move=SEQ PURP pick breadfruit
‘Then they went to pick breadfruit.’

T2-7. *Dik nari roo kö tesin roo Olaba.*

dik nari roo kö tesin roo Olaba
pick breadfruit southeast C.PREP plantation (TP) southeast Olaba
‘(To) pick breadfruit to the southeast at the plantation at Olaba.’

- T2-8. *Toxo ot kö unu nari.*
 to=xo ot kö unu nari
 3NSG.SM=PAST arrive C.PREP clusterbreadfruit
 ‘They arrived at a breadfruit tree.’
- T2-9. *Ni ne barok toxo kaa kaa xö unu nari.*
 ni ne barok to=xo kaa kaa kö unu nari
 two L boy 3NSG.SM=PAST climb ascend C.PREP clusterbreadfruit
 ‘Two boys climbed up the breadfruit tree.’
- T2-10. *Duu toxo dix a nari.*
 duu to=xo dik a nari
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST pick C.NM breadfruit
 ‘The two (boys) picked breadfruit.’
- T2-11. *Duu toxo dik.*
 duu to=xo dik
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST pick
 ‘The two (boys) picked (breadfruit).’
- T2-12. *Ma ni ne balik toxo i xö pu.*
 me ni ne balik to=xo i kö pu
 and two L girl 3NSG.SM=PAST collect C.PREP ground
 ‘And the two girls collected (breadfruit) on the ground.’
- T2-13. *Duu toxo ii.*
 duu to=xo i~i
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~collect
 ‘The two (girls) were collecting (breadfruit).’
- T2-14. *Toxo rutuxoo a bo kis se idiet ma ni ne raat.*
 to=xo tu~tuxoo
 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~put.into
 a bo kis re idiet ma ni ne raat
 C.NM PLM basket POSSM 3PA and two L basket
 ‘They were putting (breadfruits) in their (long handled) baskets and the two short handled baskets.’
- T2-15. *Ni ne barok toxo dik nari xirip, toxo kaa su.*
 ni ne barok to=xo dik nari kirip
 two L boy 3NSG.SM=PAST pick breadfruit all
 to=xo kaa su
 3NSG.SM=PAST climb descend
 ‘The two boys finished picking breadfruit, (then) they climbed down.’

T2-16. *Toxo kiplo a bo laa re idiet, na ni ne balik toxo uxii a ni ne kis.*
 to=xo kip=lo a bo laa re idiet
 3NSG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ C.NM PLM thing POSSM 3PA
 na ni ne balik to=xo uxii a ni ne kis
 DISC two L girl 3NSG.SM=PAST wear C.NM two L basket
 ‘They carried their things, and the two girls put the (long handled) baskets on their heads.’

T2-17. *Duu toxo kiv a ni ne raat.*
 duu to=xo kip a ni ne raat
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST carry C.NM two L basket
 ‘They carried the two (short handled) baskets.’

T2-18. *Diet toxo wanlo ra meruo, uröngö xö söö.*
 diet to=xo wan=lo ra me-ruo
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST move=SEQ ABL ABL-southeast
 u-röngö kö söö
 ALL-southeast.NEAR C.PREP bay
 ‘They went from the southeast to the bay.’

T2-19. *Diet toxo tuu röngö xö söö, me idiet toxo vavara urii xö buluno söö nii,*
diet toxo pere a öröng meruso.
 diet to=xo tuu röngö kö söö
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST stand southeast.NEAR C.PREP bay
 me idiet to=xo pa~para
 and 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG~glance
 u-rii kö bulu-no söö nii
 ALL-northwest C.PREP side=3SG.POSSR bay northwest
 diet to=xo pere a öröng me-ruso
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST see C.NM big.man ABL-up
 ‘They stood at the bay and they were glancing to the northwest of the bay, then they saw a big man from the outside world.’

T2-20. *A xaken su.*
 a xaken su
 C.NM sun descend
 ‘A man from the outside world.’ (Lit: ‘Sun set’).

T2-21. *Mesilaa, a nangadi meruso toxobo erese.*
 mesilaa a nangadi me-ruso to=xo=bo erese
 in.the.past C.NM people ABL-up 3NSG.SM=PAST=HAB fight
 ‘In the past, people from the outside world used to fight.’

T2-22. *Toxobo erese ma matau ma sele.*
 to=xo=bo erese ma matau ma sele
 3NSG.SM=PAST=HAB fight INST axe and bush.knife
 ‘They used to fight using axes and bush knives.’

- T2-23. *Diet toxo buut.*
 diet to=xo buut
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST scared
 ‘They were scared.’
- T2-24. *Na idiet toxoro rengrengem.*
 na idiet to=xo=ro teng~tengen=im
 DISC 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL PROG~utter=CONTR
 ‘They discussed (what to do):’
- T2-25. *“E! ire tabo wan baraa buleima? Ma tödi nii irabo se ireet!”*
 e ire t=abo wan baraa bule=im=a
 ah 1PL.EXC 1PL.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR move how how=CONTR=ICFP
 ma tödi nii i=rabo se ireet
 and man northwest 3SG.SM=NIMM.IRR attack 1PA.INC
 ‘Ah, how can we get away? And the man there will attack us.’
- T2-26. *Iö, ni ne barok toxoro tengen:*
 iö ni ne barok to=xo=ro tengen
 well two L boy 3NSG.SM=PAST=CPL utter
 ‘Well, the two boys said.’
- T2-27. *“Muu baang a, me maa baang mara silaa. Maa marabo tilelo a ni ne raat tii, maa marabo arasa röngö lömöö urii xö ngusuno söö nii, maa marabo buluslo, na maa mere baling, maa mere suo e muu.”*
 muu baang a
 2PL temporarily DEM.PROX
 me maa baang ma=ra silaa
 and 1DU.EXC temporarily 1NSG.EXC.SM=IMM.IRR in.front
 maa ma=rabo tile=lo
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR send=SEQ
 a ni ne raat nii
 C.NM two L basket northwest
 maa ma=rabo arasa röngö lömöö
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR swim at.sea.NEAR top (of sea)
 u-rii kö ngusu-no söö nii
 ALL-northwest C.PREP side-3SG.POSSR bay northwest
 maa ma=rabo bulus=lo
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=NIMM.IRR put=SEQ
 na maa me=re baling
 DISC 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=CPL return
 maa me=re suo e muu
 1DU.EXC 1NSG.EXC.SM=CPL meet P.NM 2DU
 ‘You temporarily (stay) here, and we two will go first. We two will send the two baskets to the northwest, we two will swim in the sea to the side of the bay in the northwest. We two will put down (the two baskets) and we two will come back and we two will meet you two.’

T2-28. *Na ni ne barok toxo sölöklo a ni ne raat, duu a urii, toxo arasa lies.*

na ni ne barok to=xo sölök=lo
 DISC two L boy 3NSG.SM=PAST shoulder=SEQ

a ni ne raat
 C.NM two L basket

duu a u-rii
 3DU C.NM ALL-northwest

to=xo arasa lies
 3NSG.SM=PAST swim across

‘Then the two boys shouldered the two (short handled) baskets. The two (boys) headed northwest, the two (boys) swam across.’

T2-29. *Toxo buluslo a ni ne raat tii, duu toxo baling, toxo ilo a ni ne kis se iduu,*

duu toxo arasa lies min.

to=xo bulus=lo a ni ne raat nii
 3NSG.SM=PAST put=SEQ C.NM two L basket northwest

duu to=xo baling
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST return

to=xo ilo a ni ne kis re iduu
 3NSG.SM=PAST take C.NM two L sit POSSM 3DU

duu to=xo arasa lies m=in
 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST swim across with=3SG

‘The two (boys) put the two (short handled) baskets on the northwest (of the bay). The two (boys) returned. The two (boys) took the two girls’ (long handled) baskets and the two (boys) swam across with (the two long handled baskets).’

T2-30. *Toxo buluslo, na duu toxo baling.*

to=xo bulus=lo
 3NSG.SM=PAST put=SEQ

na duu to=xo baling
 DISC 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST return

‘After putting down (the two long handled baskets), the two (boys) returned.’

T2-31. *Toxo takolo iduu.*

to=xo tako=lo iduu
 3NSG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back=SEQ 3DU

‘The two (boys) piggy-backed the two (girls).’

T2-32. *E Ladi ixo tako e Mata, iduu nasixineen toxo etako.*

e Ladi i=xo tako e Mata
 P.NM Ladi 3SG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back P.NM Mata

iduu na-sixineen to=xo e-tako
 3DU two-opposite.sex.siblings 3NSG.SM=PAST REC-to.piggy-back

‘Ladi piggy-backed Mata, the two opposite sex siblings (Ladi and Mata) were involved in the activity of piggy-backing.’

- T2-33. *Me Xexemaa ixo tako e Eltie, duu nasixineen jat duu toxo etako*
 me Xexemaa i=xo tako e Eltie
 and Xexemaa 3SG.SM=PAST to.piggy-back P.NM Eltie
 duu na-sixineen jat duu to=xo e-tako
 3DU two-opposite.sex.siblings self 3DU 3NSG.SM=PAST REC-to.piggy-back
 ‘Xexemaa piggy-backed Eltie, the two opposite sex siblings (Xexemaa and Eltie) were involved in the activity of piggy-backing.’
- T2-34. *Diet toxo arasa liesim urii xö ngusuno söö nii, na idiet toxo önaan.*
 diet to=xo arasa lies=im
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST swim across=CONTR
 u-rii kö ngusu-no söö nii
 ALL-northwest C.PREP side-3SG.POSSR bay northwest
 na idiet to=xo önaan
 DISC 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG.move
 ‘They swam across to the northwest of the bay, then they went away.’
- T2-35. *Diet toxo buurin ina xaken su nang ixo kisisik kuso buluno söö, ixo vavara, ixo pere diksix idiet.*
 diet to=xo buut-in ina xaken su nang
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST fear-APP ANA.C.NM sun descend REL
 i=xo kisi=sik nuso bulu-no söö
 3SG.SM=PAST sit=STA up side-3SG.POSSR bay
 i=xo pa~para
 3SG.SM=PAST PROG~glance
 i=xo pere dik=sik idiet
 3SG.SM=PAST see fasten=STA 3PA
 ‘They feared the outside world man who was sitting up at the other side of the bay. He (the man) was glancing around, he (the man) was staring at them.’
- T2-36. *Diet toxo kiplo a bo lalaa nang, diet toxo önaan urii lagunon.*
 diet to=xo kip=lo a bo la~laa nang
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST carry=SEQ C.NM PLM PL~thing SEQ
 diet to=xo önaan u-rii lagunon
 3PA 3NSG.SM=PAST PROG.move ALL-northwest village
 ‘Having carried (their) things (baskets), they walked to their village.’
- T2-37. *Ine mon niang*
 ine mon niang
 3SG just DEM.DIST
 ‘It (is) just (like) that.’
- T2-38. *Iri kawam*
 i=ri kawam
 3SG.SM=CPL finish
 ‘It has finished.’