

**Data Papers on  
Papua New Guinea Languages**

**Volume 60**

**Participant Referencing in  
Gumawana Narrative**

**Clif Olson**

2014  
SIL-PNG Academic Publications  
Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea

Papers in the series Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages express the authors' knowledge at the time of writing. They normally do not provide a comprehensive treatment of the topic and may contain analyses which will be modified at a later stage. However, given the large number of undescribed languages in Papua New Guinea, SIL-PNG feels that it is appropriate to make these research results available at this time.

**René van den Berg**, Series Editor

Copyright © 2014  
SIL-PNG  
Papua New Guinea  
lr-acpub@sil.org.pg

Published 2014

Printed by SIL Printing Press  
Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province  
Papua New Guinea

ISBN 9980 0 3912 4

# *Table of Contents*

<b>Maps, tables and figures .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Abbreviations.....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements.....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>9</b>
1.1 Location and speakers.....	9
1.2 Language name.....	11
1.3 Language affiliation and earlier studies.....	11
1.4 Dialects.....	13
1.5 Language use and bilingualism.....	14
1.6 Gumawana culture.....	15
1.6.1 Economy .....	15
1.6.2 Transportation .....	15
1.6.3 Education.....	16
1.6.4 Religion .....	17
1.6.5 Kula trading.....	17
1.6.6 Clan structure .....	17
<b>2. Language Overview.....</b>	<b>18</b>
2.1 Phonology.....	18
2.1.1 Phonemes .....	18
2.1.2 Stress .....	20
2.1.3 Vowel lengthening .....	20
2.2 Pronouns .....	21
2.3 Numbers.....	22
2.4 Word order.....	23
2.5 Verb structure .....	24
2.5.1 Transitivity .....	25
2.5.2 Aspect.....	26
2.5.3 Verbless clauses .....	28
2.6 Body part idioms and noun incorporation.....	28
2.7 Negation.....	29
2.8 Adjectives and adverbs.....	30
2.9 Demonstratives .....	31
2.10 Possessive system .....	34
2.11 Conjunctions and particles.....	35
<b>3. Methodology .....</b>	<b>40</b>
3.1 Procedures used .....	40
3.2 Sentence articulation types .....	41
3.3 Point of departure .....	43

<b>4.</b>	<b>Strategy of participant referencing .....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>5.</b>	<b>Participant encoding and status.....</b>	<b>49</b>
5.1	Participant encoding .....	49
5.1.1	Zero anaphora .....	49
5.1.2	Pronominal affixes .....	50
5.1.3	Independent pronoun.....	51
5.1.4	Noun phrase .....	52
5.2	Participant status.....	53
5.2.1	Major participants .....	54
5.2.2	Minor participants .....	60
5.2.3	Props .....	61
<b>6.</b>	<b>Activation of participants .....</b>	<b>62</b>
6.1	Activation states .....	62
6.2	Encoding contexts for Gumawana.....	63
6.3	Initial activation of brand-new participants – context INT.....	69
6.3.1	Cognitive tasks of activation .....	69
6.3.2	Activation of participants into new mental representation.....	70
6.3.3	Activation of participants into an established mental representation .....	72
6.3.3.1	Non-subject position .....	73
6.3.3.2	Association with an existing schema.....	74
6.3.3.3	Association with another participant .....	74
6.3.3.4	Lists.....	76
6.3.3.5	Known participants .....	76
6.3.3.6	In quotations.....	76
6.4	Default encoding of continuing reference .....	77
6.4.1	Continuing reference after narrative clauses: context S1/N1 .....	77
6.4.2	Continuing reference after direct speech: context S2/N2 .....	81
6.5	Change of role: context S3/N3 .....	86
6.6	Default encoding for accessible participants: context S4/N4 .....	94
6.6.1	Activation of a textually accessible participant.....	95
6.6.2	Activation of inferentially accessible participant.....	102
6.6.3	Activation of a situationally accessible participant.....	104
6.7	Default encoding rules.....	106
6.8	Changing referring expressions within a story .....	107
6.9	More than default encoding.....	109
6.10	Less than default encoding .....	112
<b>7.</b>	<b>Thematic marker -ya .....</b>	<b>117</b>
7.1	Introduction .....	117
7.2	Establishing a participant as salient.....	124
7.3	Background comments .....	131
7.4	Used with ‘time’ .....	132
<b>8.</b>	<b>Identifiability .....</b>	<b>135</b>
8.1	Formal category of definiteness .....	135
8.2	Semantic uses of <i>tayamo</i> .....	140

8.2.1	<i>tayamo</i> with identifiable nouns .....	140
8.2.2	Emphatic negative constructions .....	143
8.2.3	<i>tayamo</i> as ‘each’ .....	146
8.2.4	Correlative constructions .....	148
8.2.5	<i>tayamo</i> as ‘same’ .....	150
8.2.6	<i>tayamo</i> as par excellence .....	151
8.3	Pragmatic use of <i>tayamo</i> .....	152
8.3.1	Point of departure .....	152
8.3.2	Activating a new participant .....	156
<b>9.</b>	<b>Plural marking</b> .....	<b>169</b>
9.1	Animacy hierarchy for number .....	170
9.2	Number marking .....	175
9.3	Plural marking strategies .....	177
9.3.1	Agreement affixation .....	177
9.3.2	Reduplication .....	178
9.3.3	Internal modification .....	180
9.3.4	Questions .....	180
9.4	Nominal plural marker <i>-yao</i> .....	181
9.4.1	Kin terms with <i>-yao</i> .....	181
9.4.2	Function of <i>-yao</i> .....	185
9.5	Nouns that never mark plural .....	190
<b>10.</b>	<b>Pronouns</b> .....	<b>194</b>
10.1	Background on Gumawana pronouns .....	195
10.2	Implied exclusiveness .....	196
10.3	Associative plural constructions .....	203
10.4	Contrast .....	203
10.5	Point of departure .....	210
10.6	Confrontation .....	212
10.7	Thematic prominence .....	214
<b>11.</b>	<b>Referring expressions</b> .....	<b>218</b>
<b>12.</b>	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>225</b>
	<b>Appendix: Texts</b> .....	<b>226</b>
	Text 1. Gilibo .....	226
	Text 2. Rat and his two brothers .....	237
	Text 3. Wallaby and Turtle .....	251
	Text 4. Two men lost at sea .....	261
	Text 5. Request for magic .....	271
	Text 6. Hen and chicks .....	277
	<b>References</b> .....	<b>283</b>

# *Maps, tables and figures*

Map 1. Gumawana in Papua New Guinea .....	10
Map 2. The Gumawana language area .....	11
Map 3. Gumawana and its neighbours .....	12
Table 1. Gumawana consonant phonemes .....	18
Table 2. Gumawana vowel phonemes .....	19
Table 3. Gumawana pronouns .....	22
Table 4. Gumawana Demonstratives .....	32
Table 5. Gilibo (appendix text 1) .....	54
Table 6. Possum and Dog .....	55
Table 7. Wallaby and Turtle (appendix text 3) .....	55
Table 8. Man and Lion .....	56
Table 9. Participant status .....	63
Table 10. Data for S1 Context .....	78
Table 11. Data for S2 Context .....	82
Table 12. Addressee in Speech Orienter .....	84
Table 13. Data for S3 Context .....	87
Table 14. N3 Context .....	90
Table 15. Context S4 Participant Referencing .....	96
Table 16. Occurrences of <i>-yao</i> .....	171
Table 17. Indirect possessed nouns with plural marker .....	172
Table 19. Non-possessed nouns with <i>-yao</i> .....	172
Table 18. Indirect possessed nouns with <i>-yao</i> .....	173
Table 20. Non-schooled writers .....	174
Table 21. <grade 6 writers .....	174
Table 22. >grade 6 writers .....	174
Table 23. Tok Pisin pronoun system .....	196
Table 24. Tok Pisin pronoun system revised .....	197
Table 25. Gumawana Pronouns Revised .....	197
Table 26. References in story of three children .....	221
Figure 1 Animacy Hierarchy for Number .....	170
Figure 2. Number .....	175
Figure 3. Denotation of singular and plural nouns in English .....	176
Figure 4. Denotation of a noun with general number .....	176
Figure 5. Plural Number .....	177

# *Abbreviations*

1	first person	IRR	irrealis
2	second person	LIM	limiter
3	third person	MED	medial
ADD	additive marker		demonstrative
ADJ	adjective	N	noun
ADV	adverb	N1-4	non-subject
APPL	applicative		encoding rules
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative particle
CLF	classifier	NMZL	nominaliser
COM	comitative	NP	noun phrase
CON	contrastive marker	OBL	oblique
CTRL	control marker for indirect possession	OSS	opposite sex sibling
CV	consonant-vowel	PASS	passive indirect
DIST	distal		possessive marker
	demonstrative	PL	plural
DM	developmental marker	PRF	perfect aspect
	edible indirect	PRO	pronoun
ED	possession	PROX	proximal
	exclusive		demonstrative
EXCL	identifier	Q	tag question marker
ID	interpretive use	SG	singular
IM	marker	S1-4	subject encoding rules
	inclusive	SP	spacer
INCL	inchoative	SSS	same sex sibling
INCH	introduction	TM	thematic marker
INT	interjection	UNACC	unaccusative
INTERJ	imperfective aspect	W	with
IPFV			

# *Acknowledgements*

This study is based on texts collected over a period of 20 years under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea Branch of SIL International.

I want to thank the following people who have contributed to this volume: Ray Stegeman, Becky Quick, and Bob Conrad for reading and commenting on it. Also thanks to René van den Berg for his extensive editing and suggestions.

I want to also thank Stephen Levinsohn for his feedback on most areas of this study over the past 20 years. He gave me numerous insights into discourse analysis that proved helpful for understanding Gumawana narrative.

Thanks also to the many men and women on the Amphletts who have contributed to this book through their many stories they have written and explained for me.

# 1. *Introduction*

---

In this monograph the participant referencing system is described for Gumawana narrative. Like any language, Gumawana has a systematic way of introducing new participants into a discourse, as well as maintaining reference to an active participant and reactivating a participant. The goal of this book is to describe this system.

The description will proceed as follows.

- In this chapter, background information about the people and their culture is presented.
- Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of the Gumawana language.
- Chapter 3 presents the methodology for this study.
- In chapter 4, the strategy for participant referencing in Gumawana narrative is described.
- The various ways of encoding participants are presented in chapter 5.
- Chapter 6 describes how participants are activated.
- In chapter 7 the function of the thematic marker *-ya* is explained.
- The topic of identifiability and the function of the word *tayamo* ‘one’ are presented in chapter 8.
- Plural marking of nouns in Gumawana is described in chapter 9.
- Chapter 10 discusses the function of independent pronouns.
- Chapter 11 gives a presentation on the use of referring expressions.
- Chapter 12 presents the conclusions.

## **1.1 Location and speakers**

The Gumawana language is spoken by approximately 470 people on a group of islands 10 km north of East Fergusson Island in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea (see map 1). This island group, known as the Amphletts, is made up of 25 islands. Of

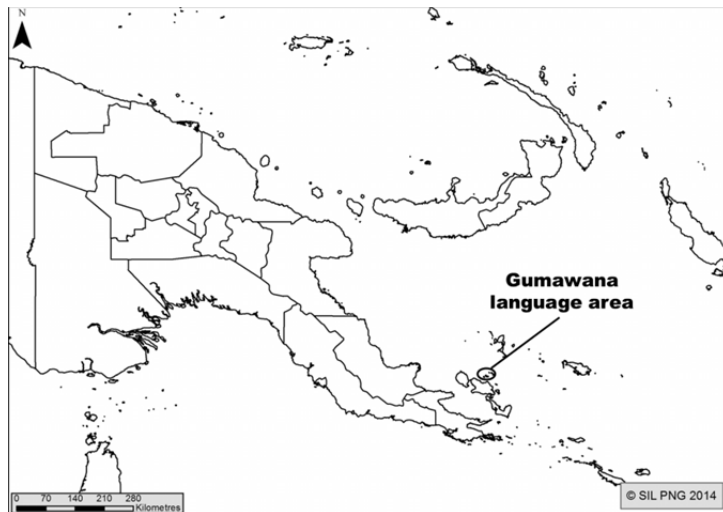
these islands, only five are inhabited: Bituma, Gumawana, Kotoita, Nubogeta, and Omeya (see map 2). Map 3 shows neighbouring islands and language names.

Gumawana, Nubogeta, and Omeya Island each have just one village on; on Kotoita and Bituma, however, there are several smaller hamlets spread out along the shores.

Nubogeta is located on the northwest corner of the Amphlett group and is the smallest of the inhabited islands with an area of just 1 sq km. The highest point is 130 meters. Most maps list it as Nabwageta or even, incorrectly, as Tubova, the name of an island southwest of Nubogeta. The village is located on the western shore.

Gumawana Island is just over 3 sq km with the highest point being 200 m. Some maps list it as Urasi Island or Gumasila. The village faces the southeast and so is subjected to the southeast trade winds. Because of this, stone walls were built to stop the erosion.

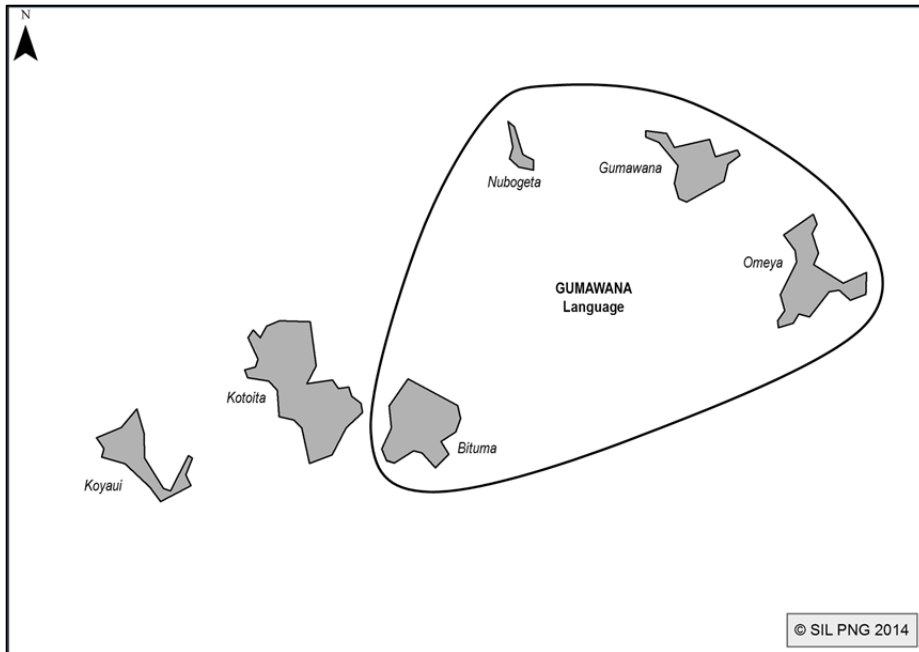
Omeya Island, the eastern-most part of the Amphlett group, is over 4 sq km in area. The highest point is 200 m. Alternate names found for this island are Domdom, Dumdum, and Wamea. The original inhabitants of this island died out in the late 1980s. The current inhabitants are from Gumawana Island.



MAP 1. GUMAWANA IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Bituma Island is around 5 sq km. It has the tallest mountain of the group with the highest point being 450 m. The villages are located on the west side along the shore extending both north and south. Bituma is also known as Yabwaia Island.

Kotoita is the largest inhabited island in the Amphletts with an area of nearly 8 sq km. The highest point on the island is 380 m. Villages are located along the southeast shore extending to the northeast shore. Kotoita is also known as Kwatota, Wawiwa, and Diliya.



MAP 2. THE GUMAWANA LANGUAGE AREA

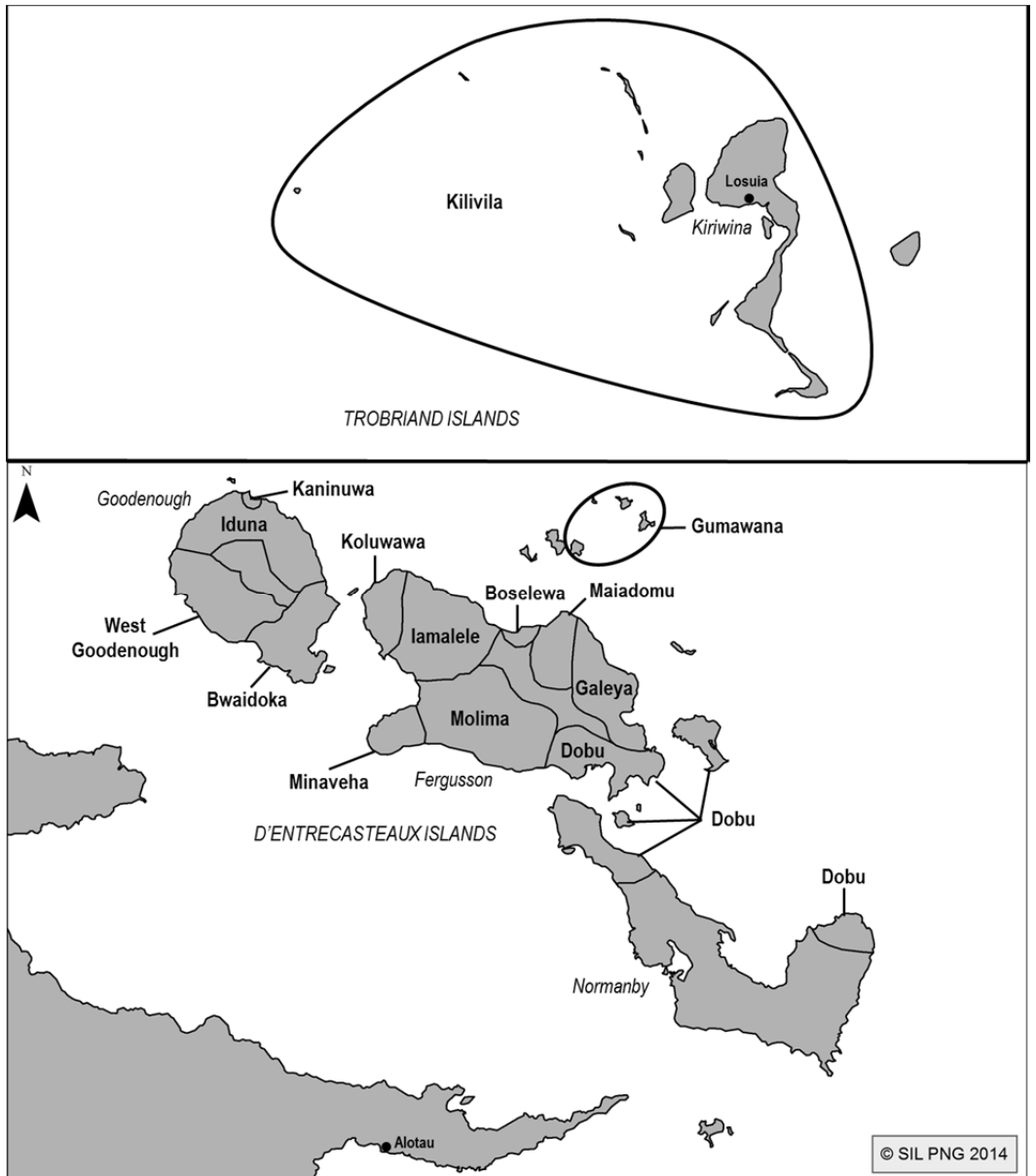
## 1.2 Language name

The Amphlett people today refer to their language as Gumawana. It has been called Gumasi and Gumasila in the literature. The latest edition of the *Ethnologue* also lists Domdom as an alternate name. Its ISO code is gvs.

Traditionally, the people used their island names to refer to their language. So the Nubogeta people call their language Nubogeta, but the Kotoita people call it Kotoita. This is still done today by some speakers.

## 1.3 Language affiliation and earlier studies

The Amphlett people tell stories of how their ancestors left Kiriwina, an island group to the north also known as the Trobriand Islands, and relocated on the Amphletts. They still have strong ties with relatives in various areas of Kiriwina.



MAP 3. GUMAWANA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS.

The earliest mention of the Amphlett Islands was in Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922).

There is a small amount of data as well as some photos of both Nubogeta and Gumawana in the book.

Capell (1943) placed Gumawana with the Kilivila grouping, which included Kilivila, Muyuw, and Budibud (Ross 1992:139). Lithgow (1976:467) classified it as a linguistic isolate. He notes that it had more similarities to Duau than to any neighbouring languages.

Peter Lauer visited the islands in the early 1970s. His published work on pottery includes a word list of approximately 100 words. He explains many words associated with clay pot manufacturing since that was the purpose of his study.

Patricia May and Margaret Tuckson produced a study on pottery of Papua New Guinea in 2000 in which they describe clay pot making on the Amphletts. There is very little language data in this source.

Ross (1992:139) notes that classification of Gumawana has been difficult due to lack of data. With further data, however, he has grouped Gumawana in the North Mainland-D'Entrecasteux group and concludes, "Gumawana is most closely associated with the Fergusson Island sectors of the NMDX linkage, i.e., Molima and Bwaidoka." He further states, "Gumawana has had quite a long history separate from other NMDX languages." He maintains Gumawana's inclusion in the NMDX grouping in Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:18).

Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002:95-105) give the following affiliation for Gumawana: Oceanic, Western Oceanic, Papuan Tip linkage, Nuclear Papuan Tip linkage, North mainland/ D'Entrecasteux linkage.

A detailed grammatical sketch was published in Olson (1992a), which includes texts. A phonological analysis appeared in that year as well (Olson 1992b).

## 1.4 Dialects

There are three dialects of Gumawana. The dialects spoken on Gumawana Island (Gumawana dialect) and Nubogeta Island (Nubogeta dialect) are closely related. A third dialect (Kotoita dialect) is spoken on Kotoita Island and Bituma Island. These two islands have numerous hamlets separated from each other, rather than one large village like Gumawana Island and Nubogeta Island. There was a fourth dialect spoken on Omeya Island; however, the last native speaker died in the late 1980s.

The Gumawana dialect and the Nubogeta dialect are closely related and thus mutually intelligible. The phonological differences are minimal. The distinctive difference is the tendency for Nubogeta speakers to drop /v/ before /i/. The cognate count is above 95%.

The Kotoita/Bituma dialect is only 70% cognate with Nubogeta/Gumawana. There are many lexical differences as well as phonological differences. The most distinctive variation is the [k]. In the Nubogeta and Gumawana dialects, there is a voiceless velar fricative that is an allomorph of the voiceless velar stop [k]. This is not the case in the Kotoita dialect. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate this difference with the word *aiyaka* ‘exist’.

- |     |            |           |                            |
|-----|------------|-----------|----------------------------|
| (1) | [axai'axa] | ‘I exist’ | Gumawana-Nubogeta dialects |
| (2) | [ake'aka]  | ‘I exist’ | Kotoita dialect            |

This paper focuses on the Gumawana/Nubogeta dialect.

## 1.5 Language use and bilingualism

Four languages are used in the Gumawana language area: Gumawana, Dobu, Kilivila, and English. Each has specific contexts in which they are found.

Gumawana is typically used during everyday activities. People who marry into the group are expected to learn the language and use it. Children almost exclusively use Gumawana with each other. When communicating with people from other villages, note writing is done in Gumawana. Although a standardised orthography has been developed and many books published in the language, people still write according to their own individual systems.

Kilivila is used only when people from there are present who do not know Gumawana.

Dobu is restricted mainly to the church for reading the Dobu Bible and singing songs in Dobu. If the pastor does not know Gumawana or if there are visitors who do not know Gumawana, those who lead the service tend to switch to Dobu during announcements so everyone can understand. When government officials come from the Esa'ala district office, Dobu is used—unless the local Amphlett counselor knows English.

English has gained ground since the school first opened in 1994. Those who have been to school preach in English and use the English Bible during church services. English songs are being sung more often as well. Part of the reason for the increase of English during church services is that children learn only English outside of the village, and so cannot read or speak Dobu. In addition, few of them can read Gumawana well. Therefore, they feel more comfortable using English in the church services. Furthermore, there is a degree of status gained by a speaker able to use English.

Gumawana has borrowed many words from English. However, English is rarely used when Amphlett people are the only ones present. English is used with people who do not know Gumawana, Dobu, or Kilivila.

## 1.6 Gumawana culture

### 1.6.1 Economy

The Amphlett people eke out a living from both the land and sea. Each island is divided into small plots of land on which people rotate their crops. Nubogeta is very small, so it is not possible for all the inhabitants to plant crops on the island each year. Therefore, many people have their gardens on Gumawana, Tuyatana<sup>1</sup>, Omeya, or Kotoita. They plant new gardens from August to December. The main crop, which they generically refer to as food (*awoinu*), is yams (*kuvi*, *taitu*). The harvest typically takes place in May and June. The yams harvested during this time will usually last until the end of December. These old gardens are then used for other foods such as bananas (*losui*), manioc, sweet potatoes (*simwai*) and taro (*biiko*, *vilava*). These foods are eaten for the rest of the year.

Being island people, they spend a great deal of time fishing. Fish (*iyana*) are eaten almost every day. Lobster (*kula*) is eaten at various times throughout the year and shellfish (*nimowo*), collected by women, are popular as well. Most fishing is done by the men, either in canoes (*bani*) or with nets (*uwata*).

The people earn money through the sale of marine products. These include shark fins (*kolau siyona*) and livers (*ate*), bêche-de-mer (*mwagoru*), and trochus shells (*kiwari*). These are prepared and brought to Alotau, the provincial capital, where they are sold.

The islands are extremely small and do not always produce enough food for an entire year. The people trade for other foods, like sago (*kunumana*), from January onwards with people from Mwani'u (Boselewa), Wadalei and Basima. Trading clay pots (*vaega*) enables them to obtain the necessary extra food.

The Amphlett people are known for their clay pots. In the past, they traded pots on the Trobriand Islands and with a number of language groups on Fergusson. Some used to make it all the way to the south coast of Fergusson in the Minaveha and Iamalele language areas. The clay deposit is found at Yayawana on Fergusson Island just west of Wapolu. The clay is dug by the men and brought back to the Amphletts, where women prepare it and then make the pots. Lauer (1974) is the most extensive and detailed study done on pottery in the area. Today the people of the Amphletts trade the pots predominantly with the Maiadom, Mwani'u, and Basima areas.

### 1.6.2 Transportation

Traditionally the Amphlett men were sailors. They would sail to Kiriwina and Dobu for *kula* trading (*debana*). Other than for *kula*, they had trading relationships not only

---

<sup>1</sup> A small island around 5 km southwest of Nubogeta. Also known as Piatana on some maps.

with the Dobuans and Kiriwinans, but also with people from Basima, Gameta, Maiadom, Mwani'u (Boselewa), Koluwawa, Bwaidoka, Iamalele and Minaveha. Today they are mainly confined to groups in the North Fergusson area: Basima, Gameta, Maiadom, Mwani'u, and Koluwawa (West Fergusson).

Traditional sailing canoes are still used for travel between islands within the group, to the Trobriands, and to North Fergusson. The primary innovation is sails made of plastic tarpaulins (*parai*), rather than the traditional pandanus leaf woven sails. *Parai* are lighter-weight and do not fall apart in the rain.

Access to the Amphletts is limited to water transportation or helicopter. The islands are on the route used by commercial boats moving cargo and people from Alotau to Losuia on Kiriwina Island.

Dinghies began to appear in the late 1990s. They do not last very long since engines are difficult to maintain. There are several at Gumawana Island, but none operational on Nubogeta. Kotoita and Bituma have one each.

Travel to Nubogeta from Alotau takes a minimum of 18 hours. Usually it is even longer due to the many stops made along the way to drop off cargo and people. It takes less than a day by sailing canoe to go from Nubogeta to Yayawana to get clay. To Wadalei it is a few hours, depending on the winds.

### 1.6.3 Education

The majority of people on the Amphletts are literate in at least one language. Some people can read Gumawana, Dobu and English. Literacy began in the mid-1950s when Christianity was first introduced. One of the responsibilities of the *misinari* 'village pastor' was to teach the people to read the Bible, which was in the church language Dobu. When my family and I arrived in 1984, the majority of people could read (above 90%). Those who learned to read would take a group of teenagers and teach them to read. However, reading for comprehension is quite low.

Until 1994, there was no school within the Gumawana language area. Children were sent to Basima or Bosalewa for school grades one through six. If they tested well, they could continue on to grade 7 and 8. Very few children entered high school. Those who did attended Hagita (in Alotau), Cameroon (in Alotau), Kiriwina High School (in Losuia), or Wesley High at Salamo. Because there was no school within the Amphletts, very few children actually went away to school.

A school opened on Nubogeta in 1994. Because of the low population in the Amphletts, the school takes in new pupils only every other year. Children from all the Amphlett Islands, as well as some from Wadalei, attend the school. Those children from outside Nubogeta are housed either with relatives or at the school during the school year.

Most children now attend at least grades one to six, and more children now move on to high school.

A preschool in Gumawana was started in 1991 on Nubogeta Island. This continued until 1997. Lack of community support and motivation ended the school, which has never restarted. The people of Gumawana have never wanted a preschool.

#### **1.6.4 Religion**

Traditionally the people of the Amphletts were animists. Magic and sorcery were prevalent; magic is still used on gardens today.

Christianity was introduced in the mid-1950s by the United Church. Today there are United Church congregations on Omeya, Gumawana, Nubogeta, and Kotoita. A Seventh Day Adventist church on Bituma began in the 1970s. People on Bituma and Kotoita are the only ones who attend.

#### **1.6.5 Kula trading**

The Amphletts are a part of the *kula* trading ring (*deban*) made famous by Malinowski in the 1920s. In 1985, the men had their last traditional *kula* expedition that involved all the men from Nubogeta sailing to Dobu and staying there for several months. Years later, they used diesel engine boats and only some men went. If any *kula* trading is done today, individuals go on their own to either Kiriwina or Dobu.

#### **1.6.6 Clan structure**

The Amphlett people are matrilineal and patrilocal. The authority figure within a matrilineage is the mother's brother (*doi yana*). The word for matrilineage is *nunu* which is also used for 'breast' when directly possessed and for 'nurse' when used as a verb.

There are four clans on the Amphletts: *Lakutanuwo*, *Lakomluwo*, *Lakodidiya*, and *Lakoba*. These are further subdivided into various matrilineages. *Lakutanuwo* is the largest clan of the four.

A person can tell his or her clan affiliation by the line patterns on their hands. The left hand is the father's clan and the right hand shows the mother's clan.

Naming is closely associated with clan and matrilineage affiliation. A matrilineage owns the members' names. When a husband and wife have a child, each gives the child a name from their own matrilineages. The husband cannot say the name which the wife uses, and vice versa.

## 2. Language Overview

This chapter presents a brief sketch of the Gumawana language including both phonology and grammar.

### 2.1 Phonology

#### 2.1.1 Phonemes

Gumawana has the following consonant phonemes:

TABLE 1. GUMAWANA CONSONANT PHONEMES

		<i>bilabial</i>	<i>labio-dental</i>	<i>dental-alveolar</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>velar</i>
<i>stop</i>	<i>vl</i>	p		t		k
	<i>vd</i>	b		d		g
<i>fricative</i>	<i>vl</i>			s		
	<i>vd</i>		v			
<i>nasal</i>		m		n		
<i>lateral</i>				l		
<i>flap</i>				r		
<i>glide</i>		w		#	y	

/b/, /g/, /p/, /k/ and /m/ are labialised before the sequence /ua/. Orthographically these are written as <bw>, <gw>, <pw>, <kw>, and <mw>. The number of words that have these sequences is minimal.

(1) /muera/                      ['m<sup>u</sup>erə]                      ‘climb’

When the second person singular subject agreement marker is prefixed to verbs which begin with the syllable [ka], the initial [k] of the verb root may be deleted, leaving

a sequence of [kua]. This is always realised as a labialised consonant [k<sup>u</sup>] illustrated in (3). Both (2) and (3) are acceptable.

- |     |           |                      |              |
|-----|-----------|----------------------|--------------|
| (2) | /ku-kabi/ | [ku'kabi]            | ‘you get it’ |
| (3) | /ku-kabi/ | [k <sup>u</sup> abi] | ‘you get it’ |

/k/ is realised as the voiceless fricative [x] when it occurs between low vowels or word initial before a low vowel. This does not happen in the Kotoita dialect, which has no velar fricative.

- |     |          |               |           |
|-----|----------|---------------|-----------|
| (4) | /kaga/   | ['xa.gə]      | ‘what’    |
| (5) | /ikamas/ | [i.'ka.mə.sə] | ‘he died’ |
| (6) | /akamas/ | [a.'xa.mə.sə] | ‘I died’  |

There is a rule of /u/ deletion after the nasal /m/. The only exception is when there is a sequence of two syllables /mumu/. In example (9) /k/ is realised as [k] because it follows the underlying high vowel /u/. In addition, native speakers when singing will add the vowel [u] after an [m] if needed for the meter.

- |     |                 |                |                 |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (7) | /sa.ba.mu.go/   | [sa.'bam.go]   | ‘night’         |
| (8) | /i.ta.mu.mu/    | [i.ta.'mu.mu]  | ‘he hid.’       |
| (9) | /i.sa.mu.ko.ne/ | [i.sam.'ko.ne] | ‘he smelled it’ |

Although in many Milne Bay languages, [r] and [l] are in free fluctuation, in Gumawana there are minimal pairs suggesting they are not in free fluctuation.

- |      |              |                             |             |
|------|--------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| (10) | /mo.lo/      | ['mo.lo]                    | ‘semen’     |
| (11) | /mo.ro/      | ['mo.ro]                    | ‘mucus’     |
| (12) | /i.bo.bu.ar/ | [i.'bo.b <sup>u</sup> ə.rə] | ‘he speaks’ |
| (13) | /i.bo.bu.al/ | [i.'bo.b <sup>u</sup> ə.lə] | ‘it boils’  |

The following vowel phonemes occur in Gumawana:

TABLE 2. GUMAWANA VOWEL PHONEMES

	<i>front</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>back</i>
<i>high</i>	i		u
<i>mid</i>	e		o
<i>low</i>		a	

/a/ occurs as [a] in strong syllables and as [ə] in weak syllables. For a more extensive study of this, see Olson (1992b). In (14) the two syllables with [ə] are both weak syllables. However, in (15) [ma] and [ya] are strong syllables and therefore [a] is found. The final syllable [nə] is a weak syllable.

- |      |               |                   |             |
|------|---------------|-------------------|-------------|
| (14) | /goman/       | ['go.mə.nə]       | ‘child’     |
| (15) | /goman-ia-na/ | [go.ma.ni.'ya.nə] | ‘the child’ |

### 2.1.2 Stress

Stress is predictable in Gumawana. In Olson (1992b), it is shown that words of two or more syllables are marked for penultimate stress in the underlying forms. Those verbs ending in a consonant phonemically take an epenthetic /a/ as in (18). Because stress is assigned before epenthesis takes place, stress appears on the antepenultimate syllable in the phonetic form. If affixation takes place, no epenthesis occurs as in (19). In this case, the stress placement occurs after affixation.

- |      |             |               |                 |
|------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (16) | /geya/      | ['ge.yə]      | ‘no’            |
| (17) | /gimona/    | [gi.'mo.nə]   | ‘buy’           |
| (18) | /a-bagal/   | [a.'ba.gə.lə] | ‘I did wrong’   |
| (19) | /a-bagal-i/ | [a.ba.'ga.li] | ‘I wronged him’ |

Stress always moves toward the right, to be placed on the penultimate syllable if possible.

- |      |                 |               |                    |
|------|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (20) | /ku-patum/      | [ku'patumə]   | ‘you bundled’      |
| (21) | /ku-patum-i/    | [kupa'tumi]   | ‘you bundled it’   |
| (22) | /ku-patum-i-di/ | [kupatu'midi] | ‘you bundled them’ |

### 2.1.3 Vowel lengthening

Vowel lengthening is used for various reasons in Gumawana. It is one of the means by which aspect is marked on the verb (see §2.5.2 on aspect). Vowel lengthening is also found on derived adjectives (see §2.8 on adjectives).

A third place we find vowel lengthening is to create emphasis on a particular noun. So when a person speaks about an event attended by many people, he could say (23), which emphasises how large the crowd was.

- (23) *Booda!*  
crowd  
'What a crowd!'

Similarly on a hot day, a person might say (24) emphasizing how hot it really is.

- (24) *Niiyala!*  
sun  
'It is really hot!'

A final place that vowel lengthening happens is when the person intends to indicate that a particular event went on for a lengthy period. To accomplish this, the final vowel of the verb is lengthened. Orthographically, they write it as three vowels together as in (25). Typically, it is the final vowel of the verb, but in this case they wrote it as *eee*. The meaning is captured in the English word 'until,' and so will be glossed as such throughout the paper.

- (25) *Go kidi nava si-bani-bani eee bogina kenauluulu nakae.*  
SP 3PL still 3PL-IPFV-fish until PRF dark ADD  
'But they were still fishing **until** it was already dark enough not to be able to see anyone.'

## 2.2 Pronouns

Table 3 gives the Gumawana pronouns, including both independent and pronominal affixes or verb agreement. The pronominal suffixes occur on indirect possessed forms, direct possessive forms, and to mark objects on verbs. The prefixes agree with the subject of the verb. Note, however, that the third person object marker is zero whereas third singular for the possessive agreement suffix and adjectival agreement marker is *-na*.

The third singular object suffix is a zero morpheme and is marked as Ø in the examples. The function of the independent pronouns is discussed in chapter 10.

Another word that is used similar to a pronoun is *tauyana* which is morphologically *tau-ya-na* 'person-TM-3SG'. It takes the agreement suffixes for person and number of the referent. Unlike independent pronouns, however, it is not used to indicate any contrast or emphasis. It cannot co-occur with an independent pronoun. At this point I have not been able to determine its function.

TABLE 3. GUMAWANA PRONOUNS

		independent pronouns	pronominal prefixes	pronominal suffixes
SG	1	<i>yau</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-gu</i>
	2	<i>kom</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-m</i>
	3	<i>kina</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>i-</i>	<i>Ø/-na</i>
PL	1 INCL	<i>kita</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-da</i>
	1 EXCL	<i>kai</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>-ma</i>
	2	<i>komi</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>-mi</i>
	3	<i>kidi</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>-di</i>

### 2.3 Numbers

There are some remnants of a classifier system in Gumawana. For example, in the counting system a special form is used for counting people. The word *tai* is generic for ‘person’. To indicate the number of people, the indirect possessive form *a* with its pronominal suffix indicating person and number is used followed by *tai* prefixed to a number. A variant of *tai* is *te*, in which the two vowels coalesce to form [e].

- (26) *koroto a-di tai-yuwo*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two  
 ‘two men’

Counting canoes is done in the same way by substituting *tai* with *kai* for ‘canoe’ as in (27).

- (27) *a-di kai-vasi*  
 PASS-3PL canoe-four  
 ‘four canoes’

Cardinal numbers also have a classifier *ai-* prefixed to the number.

- (28) *ai-nima ai-to*  
 CLF-hand CLF-three  
 ‘five’ ‘three’

<sup>1</sup> The Gumawana Island dialect has *iya* for the third person singular pronoun.

Ordinal numbers not only take the same classifier prefix as the cardinals, but also require pronominal suffix indicating person and number.

- |      |                     |                   |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (29) | <i>ai-yuwo-i-na</i> | <i>ai-toni-na</i> |
|      | CLF-two-?-3SG       | CLF-three-3SG     |
|      | ‘second’            | ‘third’           |

Verbs may be derived from numbers by adding the causative prefix *va-* to the numeral. In such constructions a following verb will require a suffix *-ko*.

- |      |                         |                      |
|------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (30) | <i>Si-va-to</i>         | <i>i-kawanoi-ko.</i> |
|      | 3PL-CAUS-three          | 3SG-ask-time         |
|      | ‘He asked three times.’ |                      |

## 2.4 Word order

The basic word order of Gumawana is SOV, as example (33) illustrates; however, most clauses do not have both subject and object overtly present as nouns or independent pronouns. Typically, a clause will have one or the other, as illustrated in (31) and (32).

- |      |                      |                   |   |
|------|----------------------|-------------------|---|
|      | S                    |                   | V |
| (31) | <i>Vavina</i>        | <i>i-taoya...</i> |   |
|      | woman                | 3SG-arise         |   |
|      | ‘The woman arose...’ |                   |   |
- 
- |      |                                 |             |                       |   |
|------|---------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|---|
|      |                                 | O           |                       | V |
| (32) | <i>Guna</i>                     | <i>digo</i> | <i>ta-yois-i-Ø...</i> |   |
|      | ED.1SG                          | grasshopper | 1PL.INCL-catch-TR-3SG |   |
|      | ‘Let’s catch my grasshopper...’ |             |                       |   |
- 
- |      |                             |              |                    |  |   |
|------|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------------|--|---|
|      | S                           |              | O                  |  | V |
| (33) | <i>Tamogibeli</i>           | <i>daima</i> | <i>i-kabi-Ø...</i> |  |   |
|      | Tamogibeli                  | spade        | 3SG-get-3SG        |  |   |
|      | ‘Tamogibeli got a spade...’ |              |                    |  |   |

Intransitive verbs obligatorily take pronominal subject prefixes, bolded in (34) and transitive verbs require both the pronominal subject prefix and object suffix, bolded in (35).

- |      |                        |
|------|------------------------|
| (34) | <b><i>I-taiya.</i></b> |
|      | 3SG-cry                |
|      | ‘He/She cried.’        |

- (35) *Si-gite-di.*  
 3PL-see.TR-3PL  
 ‘They saw them.’

Postpositional phrases may occur before or after the verb, depending on the verb. For example, verbs of motion will place the postposition after the verb when they indicate the goal. However, they will occur before the verb when the meaning intended is source.

- (36) *Gumawana goi a-ma.*  
 Gumawana OBL 1SG-come  
 ‘I came from Gumawana.’

- (37) *I-ma Nubogeta goi.*  
 3SG-come Nubogeta OBL  
 ‘He came to Nubogeta.’

Other postpositions tend to occur before the verb. Example (38) illustrates the postposition *goi* in an instrumental phrase.

- (38) *Sisi goi i-kau-mate-Ø*  
 machete OBL 3SG-W.force-kill.TR-3SG  
 ‘He killed him with a machete.’

## 2.5 Verb structure

Many verbs in Gumawana take a variety of prefixes that indicate the instrument or manner by which the main action took place. These are referred to as causatives or instrumental causative prefixes. These are obligatory on the certain verb roots.

- (39) *Rampa ko-ki-mate-Ø.*  
 lamp 2PL-W.hand-kill.TR-3SG  
 ‘Turn the lamp off (by hand).’
- (40) *Kamkam i-ka-mate-Ø*  
 chicken 3SG-W.teeth-kill.TR-3SG  
 ‘He killed the chicken with his teeth.’
- (41) *Nauna i-sa-mate-Ø*  
 plant 3SG-W.water-kill.TR-3SG  
 ‘He killed the grass with water.’

Another verbal prefix, *ta-*, indicates that the underlying object is the subject. In Relational Grammar terminology, this is a type of unaccusative construction. The meaning of (42) is that I intended to break the knife. If the knife broke by accident

without my intending for it to do so, I would use the form in (43) that has *ta-*. Most verbs that allow for the instrumental prefixes will also allow for *ta-*.

- (42) *Naipi a-ki-guyal-i-Ø*  
 knife 1SG-W.hand-break-TR-3SG  
 ‘I broke the knife with my hand.’
- (43) *Naipi i-ta-guyala.*  
 knife 1SG-UNACC-break  
 ‘The knife broke.’

Some verbs may be combined to form a complex stem.

- (44) *Si-deli si-ma.*  
 3PL-en.masse 3PL-come  
 ‘They came en masse.’
- (45) *Si-deli-sowoya.*  
 3PL-en.masse-embark  
 ‘They embarked en masse.’

## 2.5.1 Transitivity

There are two verbal suffixes that derive a transitive verb from an intransitive. The transitive marker *-i* is the most prevalent of the three.

When the transitive marker is suffixed to a verb stem ending in [a], coalescence takes place to form [e].

- (46) /a-gita-i/ [a'gite] ‘I saw it’

The transitive suffix *-i* is deleted if the verb stem ends in [u] or [i]. This follows the more general rule of [-i] deletion over morpheme boundaries found in the language.

- (47) /a-biu-i/ [a'biu] ‘I pulled it’  
 (48) /a-biu-i-di/ [abi'udi] ‘I pulled them’  
 (49) /a-vini-i/ [a'vini] ‘I gave him’  
 (50) /a-vini-i-di/ [avi'nidi] ‘I gave them’

There are a number of phonological processes that take place on verbs ending in [o]. Although phonetically there is a final [o], phonemically it is /a/. In (51) the intransitive verb ends in [nə], where the final [ə] is the epenthetic vowel /a/ added to verb roots ending in a consonant. When the transitive marker *-i* is suffixed, the final /n/ is deleted and the /a/ is realised as /o/. When a direct object suffix is present, the transitive marker is not deleted. Instead, it forms a diphthong with the preceding [o]. When no object suffix is present as in (52), the transitive marker, being word final, is deleted.

- (51) /si-yowan/ [si'yowənə] 'they tied'  
 (52) /si-yowan-i/ [si'yowo] 'they tied it'  
 (53) /si-yowan-i-di/ [siyo'wo<sup>i</sup>di] 'they tied them'

The goal of a clause may be marked on the verb by means of the goal suffix *-ko* followed by the transitive marker *-i*.

- (54) *A-mwera a-o yai-m*  
 1SG-climb 1SG-go OBL-2SG  
 'I climbed up to you.'  
 (55) *A-mwera-ko-i-m*  
 1SG-climb-GOAL-TR-2SG  
 'I climb up to you.'

The applicative suffix *-ye* marks various obliques as the object of the verb. Compare (56) with (57) below.

- (56) *Ma-gu sisi a-siya.*  
 COM-1SG machete 1SG-flee  
 'I fled with my machete.'  
 (57) *Sisi a-siya-e-Ø*  
 machete 1SG-flee-APPL-3SG  
 'I fled with the machete.'

This suffix is also used in questions. In (59) the implication is that punting a canoe in the area around Omanaο is difficult.

- (58) *Kaga ku-lumadadana-e-Ø?*  
 what 2SG-ask-APPL-3SG  
 'What are you asking for?'  
 (59) *Omanaο ku-kawala-e-Ø?*  
 Omanaο 2SG-punt-APPL-3SG  
 'Have you punted Omanaο?'

## 2.5.2 Aspect

There are three aspects in Gumawana: imperfective, perfective and perfect. The unmarked form is perfective, which is illustrated in (60).

- (60) *I-na i-paisewa.*  
 3SG-go 3SG-work  
 'He went and worked.'

The perfect aspect is marked by the particle *bogina*, which native speakers tend to translate as ‘already’.

- (61) *Kidi madaboki-di bogina si-lokoina-vila.*  
 3PL all-3PL PRF 3PL-run-return  
 ‘All of them had run back.’

Imperfective is marked either by reduplication of the verb root or by vowel lengthening.<sup>2</sup> The reduplicative prefix which marks a verb for imperfective aspect is /CVCV-/. Example (62) illustrates a non-reduplicated verb and (63) shows the same verb reduplicated.

- (62) /a-kabi/ [a'xabi] ‘I get it’  
 (63) /a-CVCV-kabi/ [a'xabi'kabi] ‘I am getting it’

The imperfective aspect prefix has one allomorph /CV-/, which occurs with two-syllable verb roots that have syllables of identical shape, and with three- or more syllable verb roots.

- (64) /i-sasa/ [i'sasə] ‘it is mean’  
 (65) /i-CV-sasa/ [isa'sasə] ‘it is being mean’  
 (66) /si-masisi/ [sima'sisi] ‘they slept’  
 (67) /si-CV-masisi/ [simamə'sisi] ‘they are sleeping’

Vowel lengthening may also be used to mark imperfective aspect either when a verb is longer than three syllables or if any suffixation occurs on the verb root. The vowel that is lengthened is determined by the location of the stressed syllable. Lengthening is always on the second vowel back from the stressed syllable. This process could be considered another allomorph of /CVCV-/ which would have the shape /V-/. The type of vowel would be determined by which syllable it is attached to.

- (68) /i-gita-i/ [si'gite] ‘he saw it’  
 (69) /i-CVCV-gita-i/ [sigite'gite] ‘he is watching it’  
 (70) /i-V-gita-i-di/ [si: gi'tedi] ‘he is watching them’

Certain verbs, as in example (67), can also be marked for imperfective aspect by vowel lengthening. I have not been able to find any meaning difference.

- (71) /si-V-masisi/ [si: ma'sisi] ‘they are sleeping’

The verbs of motion—*na* ‘go away from speaker’, *wo* ‘go toward hearer’, and *ma* ‘come toward speaker location’—reduplicate in a different manner from the rest of the

<sup>2</sup> See Olson (1992b) for a detailed study of Gumawana phonology.

verbs. This may be because the verb roots are monosyllabic, whereas all other verbs have at least two syllables. The pattern is CVCVi-. In the case of (72) there is also a vowel change.

- |      |                                     |   |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|
| (72) | <i>a-na</i><br>1SG-go<br>'I go'     | <i>a-nonoi-na</i><br>1SG-IPFV-go<br>'I am going'    |
| (73) | <i>a-o</i><br>1SG-go<br>'I go'      | <i>a-wowoi-wo</i><br>1SG-IPFV-go<br>'I am going'    |
| (74) | <i>a-ma</i><br>1SG-come<br>'I come' | <i>a-mamai-ma</i><br>1SG-IPFV-come<br>'I am coming' |

### 2.5.3 Verbless clauses

Zero copula is common in Gumawana, since there is no verb 'to be'. Verbless clauses may consist of one word, as in (75).

- (75) *Kabareya-i-m.*  
crazy-?-2SG  
'You are crazy.' (lit. 'your craziness')

Verbless clauses are typical of background clauses at the beginning of stories, as in (76) and (77).

- (76) *Boi            nimatu tayamo gomana koroto.*  
previously ago    one    child    man  
'Long ago there was a certain boy.'
- (77) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na Gumasai.*  
child-TM-3SG    name-3SG    Gumasai  
'The child's name was Gumasai.'

### 2.6 Body part idioms and noun incorporation

Gumawana has many body part idioms that occur with the body part as the subject of the verb (78, 80) or incorporated in the verb (79, 81).

- (78) *Nuwo-gu    i-mou*  
insides-1SG    3SG-heavy  
'I am sad.' (lit. 'my insides are heavy')

- (79) *A-nuwo-mou.*  
 1SG-insides-heavy  
 ‘I am sad.’
- (80) *Ate-na i-yova.*  
 liver-3SG 3SG-fly  
 ‘He is afraid.’ (lit. ‘his liver flies’)
- (81) *I-kate-yova*  
 3SG-liver-fly  
 ‘He is afraid.’

## 2.7 Negation

Clauses may be negated in two ways, both involving the negation word *geya* ‘no’. To negate a single event the negation word occurs along with the suffix *-ita*, which limits the negation to the one time as shown in (82). However, in (83) the verb lacks the limiter *-ita*, and there is a lengthened vowel indicating imperfective aspect. The resultant sense is that the action never takes place.

- (82) ***Geya i-isiwo-ita.***  
 NEG 3SG-wash-LIM  
 ‘He did not wash.’
- (83) ***Geya ii-isiwo.***  
 NEG 3SG.IPFV-wash  
 ‘He never washes.’

There are morphological changes when *-ita* is suffixed to verbs ending in certain vowels. If the verb ends in [a] it will coalesce with *-ita* as in (84). Here the intransitive verb *gita* ‘see’ ends in the vowel [a] and when *-ita* is affixed the vowels coalesce forming [etə].

- (84) *Geya a-giteta.*  
 NEG 1SG-see.LIM  
 ‘I did not look.’

Verbs ending in [u] or [i] result in the deletion of the [i] from *-ita* illustrated in (85) and (86).

- (85) *Geya i-siu-ta.*  
 NEG 3SG-enter-LIM  
 ‘He did not enter.’

- (86) *Geya i-masisi-ta.*  
 NEG 3SG-sleep-LIM  
 ‘He did not sleep.’

The only verb stems that end in [e] are those which are transitive. In such cases the allomorph *-yeta* is used. This morpheme is most likely from the third person singular object suffix *-ya*, which has been lost, and the morpheme *-ita*. The two have coalesced to form *-yeta*. This is illustrated in (87).

- (87) *Geya si-gite-yeta.*  
 NEG 3PL-see.TR-3SG.LIM  
 ‘They did not see it.’

Only on verbs ending in [o] does the full morpheme *-ita* appear.

- (88) *Geya si-tuko-ita.*  
 NEG 3PL-ascend-LIM  
 ‘They did not ascend.’

The limiter does not appear on prohibitive clauses introduced with *tabu* ‘don’t’. Instead, the verb is inflected for imperfective aspect.

- (89) *Tabu ku-mwera-mwera.*  
 PROH 2SG-IPFV-climb  
 ‘Don’t climb!’

The negative word *geya* may also occur in verbless clauses.

- (90) *Kina go i-sowodo, i-do-iwo,*  
 3SG SP 3SG-exit 3SG-W.head-seaward  
*oga geya.*  
 canoe NEG  
 ‘He (Gumasai) came out, looked seaward, but there was no canoe.’

## 2.8 Adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives are recognizable by presence of the agreement suffixes and either vowel lengthening or reduplication. Two prototypical adjectives have no inflection. These are *vau* ‘new’ and *bogo* ‘old’. All other adjectives show reduplication, as in (91).

- (91) *sopa-na kayakaya-i-na*  
 lip-3SG red-?-3SG  
 ‘his red lips’ or ‘his lips are red’

Adjectives derived from verbs will show vowel lengthening as in (92) and (93).

- (92) *vaanama-i-m*  
 laugh.IPFV-?-3PL  
 ‘you characteristically laugh’
- (93) *taagona-i-di*  
 agree.IPFV-?-3PL  
 ‘they characteristically agree’

Adjectives follow the noun they modify and agree with the head noun in person and number.

- (94) *vada dedevi-na*  
 house good-3SG  
 ‘a good house’
- (95) *bwae maavada-i-na*  
 water clear-?-3SG  
 ‘clear water’

Most adverbs occur as suffixes on the verb.

- (96) *Si-guinuwe-doko-Ø*  
 3PL-do.TR-properly-3SG  
 ‘They did it properly.’

Some adjectives, like *gagaina* ‘big’, may function as adverbs modifying verbs as well. In this case only third person singular agreement occurs.

- (97) *I-vanama gaga-i-na*  
 3SG-laugh big-?-3SG  
 ‘He laughed a lot.’

## 2.9 Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Gumawana are person-oriented. Besides the typical three distinctions of proximal, medial, and distal, there is the distinction between movement towards the ocean and movement towards the bush. The latter refers to both movement towards land and location above the speaker, since each of the Amphlett Islands has small mountains. This category also correlates with the demonstrative for location below speaker. The demonstratives are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4. GUMAWANA DEMONSTRATIVES

	Demonstrative pronoun/ adjective	Demonstrative adverb	Demonstrative identifier	Invisible
proximal	<i>ame</i>	<i>ameko</i>	<i>goame</i>	<i>ameni</i>
medial	<i>moe</i>	<i>moeko</i>	<i>gomoe</i>	<i>moeni</i>
distal	<i>amo</i>	<i>amoko</i>	<i>goamo</i>	<i>amoni</i>
seaward	<i>kive</i>	<i>kiveko</i>	<i>gokive</i>	<i>kiveni</i>
above	<i>mae</i>	<i>maeko</i>	<i>gomae</i>	<i>maeni</i>
below	<i>tono</i>	<i>tonoko</i>	<i>gotono</i>	<i>tononi</i>

As Table 4 shows, Gumawana does not distinguish between demonstrative pronouns and adjectives in their form. The demonstratives in this category may function either as a pronoun or as an adjective, depending on the context. The demonstrative follows the noun it modifies, as in (98), when it functions as an adjective.

- (98) *Tetala ame i-sowodo Disemba 23, 1990 sabamgo.*  
 story PROX 3SG-appear December 23, 1990 night  
 ‘This story happened on the night of December 23, 1990.’

However, when the thematic marker *-ya* is present on the noun, as in (99), then the demonstrative occurs before the noun it modifies.

- (99) *E nakae amo koroto-yadi a-di tei-yuwo si-tagona.*  
 DM ADD DIST many-TM-3PL pass-3PL person-two 3PL-agree  
 ‘And those two men also agreed.’

Demonstrative pronouns occur without a head noun, as in (99). Here the pronoun *mae* ‘above one’ refers to the brother of two children.

- (100) *Mae nava ii-masisi.*  
 above still 3SG.IMPF-sleep  
 ‘The one above is still sleeping’

They also appear as the subject of non-verbal clauses, as (101) illustrates.

- (101) *Ame vada tayamo*  
 PROX house one  
 ‘This is a house’

Gumawana has another category of demonstrative: the demonstrative adverb. In this case, the root form is suffixed with the locative adverb *-ko*. The resulting form refers to the location of a place. In (102) the author explains the location of a particular hamlet on Gumawana Island. In (b) *amoko* has the meaning of ‘there’ and refers back to Tuluviluvi at the end of (a).

- (102a) *Tuluviluvi moe Gumawana asa gagai-na go, nauyayanai-na*  
 Tuluviluvi MED Gumawana village big-3SG SP between-3SG  
*asa giyai-na tayamo yoi-na Tuluviluvi.*  
 village small-3SG one name-3SG Tuluviluvi

- (b) *E amo-ko goi vevi-di si-kaiyaka i-di kasa*  
 DM DIST-ADV OBL woman-3PL 3PL-exist CTRL-3PL village  
 ‘Tuluviluvi is in the big village of Gumawana, but within it there is a small hamlet by the name of Tuluviluvi. Now it was there that the two women lived in their village.’

The demonstratives when affixed with *go-* refer to an object typically in a non-verbal clause. Diessel (1999:5-6) argues for a category of demonstratives which he refers to as ‘demonstrative identifier’. Unlike the demonstrative adverbs, these do not refer to a physical location; rather, these refer to the object itself. They identify some object. Typically, they would have the idea of ‘here’ and ‘there’ in English. In (103) *goame* refers to the betel nut’s location. It could answer the question “Where is the betel nut?”

- (103) *Magi go-ame.*  
 betel.nut ID-PROX  
 ‘Here is the betel nut.’

In the next example, a participant is quoted. The quote was most likely accompanied with the speaker pointing down to the cave.

- (104) *Tukubu go-tono.*  
 cave ID-below  
 ‘That cave there down below.’

A final category of demonstratives in Gumawana involves affixing the roots with the person-number suffixes (see Table 4 above). In this case, the objects referred to are not visible to the hearer. In a tale about Tamogibeli the ogre, he asks two children to get in his canoe. They agree but the older one asks about rations. In reply, Tamogibeli makes the comment in (105). The demonstrative root *ame* is suffixed to it. What he is saying is that there are unseen rations here.

- (105) *Go Tamogibeli i-digo ka-na, “Kinare ame-di.”*  
 SP Tamogibeli 3SG-speak talk-3SG ration PROX-3PL  
 ‘But Tamogibeli said, “Rations are here (unseen).”’

The third singular used on these demonstratives is *-ni*, rather than *-na*.

## 2.10 Possessive system

One of the most prominent aspects of Gumawana is the possessive system. There are two basic forms of possession: direct and indirect. Direct possession is marked by person and number suffixes directly affixed to the noun. This category includes kin terms, body parts, part-whole relationships, and some spatial relationships. Direct possession is illustrated in (106).

- (106) *sina-na*  
 mother-3SG  
 ‘his/her mother’

Indirect possession has two markers *i* and *a*, which indicate control and edibility/passive respectively. These markers require person and number suffixes that agree with the possessor. The *i* form of indirect possession includes the idea of ownership or some type of relationship between the possessor and the possessed item. For example, in (107) Gumasai is the possessor. The indirect marker *i* indicates in this case that Kitava is the place Gumasai calls home, ‘his village’.

- (107) *Gumasai i-na kasa*  
 Gumasai CTRL-3SG village  
 ‘Gumasai’s village’

The indirect marker *a* indicates either that the possessed constituent is for consumption or that there is a passive relationship between possessor and the possessed item. The first is illustrated in (108). The noun *nige* ‘grubs’ is possessed using the *a* form since they are for consumption.

- (108) *a-gu nige*  
 ED-1SG grub  
 ‘grubs for me to eat’

The *a* form can also be used to mark what I refer to as a ‘passive’ relationship. This is contrasted with the *i* form which would have an active meaning. Compare (109a) and (b) below. In (a) the possessive marker *i* indicates that the possessor is the subject of the underlying verb so the meaning is ‘my lie, the one I told’. In (b) the *a* form indicates the possessor is the underlying object of the nominalised verb with the meaning ‘the lie told to me’.

- (109a) *I-gu pola*  
 CTRL-1SG lie  
 ‘my lie’ (I lied)
- (b) *A-gu pola*  
 PASS-1SG lie  
 ‘my lie’ (someone lied to me)

However, there is a considerable amount of mixing of the *i* and *a* forms now, so that the difference is becoming less clear. Many speakers use either form without making a distinction of meaning.

Two other forms of the first person singular indirect possession are found in Gumawana. They are *aguna* / *guna* and *iguna* / *guna*. I have been unable to determine what the final *na* refers to or its derivation. In written texts, the forms *aguna* and *iguna* are rare. Instead, *guna* is the common form used. As such the indirect possession markers *i* and *a* have been deleted, so only by the context can one tell what is meant.

- (110) *Guna kasa*  
 CTRL.1SG village  
 ‘my village’

In conjunction with possessive forms the comitative particle *ma* occurs. When it occurs with indirect possession the indirect markers *i* and *a* are deleted. Because of this, context is the only means of determining the relationship between the possessed item and the possessor.

- (111) *E go-gomana-ya-di ma-di matoita gagai-na si-lokoina.*  
 DM PL-child-TM-3PL COM-3PL fear big-3SG 3PL-run  
 ‘Now with great fear the children ran.’

Example (112) illustrates *ma* with direct possession.

- (112) *Gomana tayamo ma niu-na vatuta-i-di.*  
 child one COM OSS-3SG legend-?-3PL  
 ‘The legend about a child and his sister.’

## 2.11 Conjunctions and particles

The default means of conjoining two clauses is juxtaposition, as illustrated in (113).

- (113) *Si-tala-i-Ø si-sou si-putum-i-Ø i-yapasa,*  
 3PL-cut-TR-3SG 3PL-descend 3PL-squeeze-TR-3SG 3SG-evaporate  
*si-kali-visi-visi-Ø, si-kapol-i-di, si-kavale-di,*  
 3PL-W.point-IPFV-crack-3SG 3PL-wring-TR-3PL 3PL-carry.TR-3PL

*si-nave-di*      *asa*      *si-yato-i-di*,      *ava-di*      *si-vai-polu-Ø*.  
 3PL-take.TR-3PL    village    3PL-set-TR-3PL    food-3PL    3PL-CAUS-boil-3SG

‘They cut it, went down, squeezed it until it was dry, broke it up into pieces, wrung them out, carried them, took them to the village and set them down and cooked their food.’

The particle *go* is used for what Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:73) and Levinsohn (2011:43) refer to as a ‘spacer’, which they define as follows:

One thing that separate contours do is indicate boundaries between constituents, and they are often accompanied by a pause. Pause can either be unfilled, or filled with morphemic material. A particular kind of pause filler is called a SPACER. Spacers tend to be short expressions with little or no stress, whose lexical meaning has sentence scope; they often indicate tense, aspect, or mode. They may have a default grammatical position in the sentence (e.g., after the verb or after the first word or phrase), but alternatively can be placed between constituents with distinct discourse-pragmatic roles. Their presence there helps to indicate the boundaries between these constituents. Often, the constituent that spacers follow is focus or topic/point departure.

The particle *go* serves two functions as a spacer in Gumawana. The first is to mark a point of departure involving a participant. This occurs when the participant is encoded with both a noun and a coreferential pronoun. The pronoun is fronted before the *go*. This is more fully discussed in §8.3.1.

A second function is prominence. Levinsohn (2011:72) states, “In some languages a spacer is used to separate information of unequal importance.” The spacer *go* is typically found between clauses. Phonologically it is attached to what precedes it. In natural speech, the speaker will pause after *go*, as in (114). The information that precedes the spacer is backgrounded with respect to what follows. So in (114) the information about the entire group getting into dinghies is not as important as the information that follows, concerning the two men, since the story is about the two men. At this point, the story will proceed with the two men.

- (114) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di      madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL    all-3PL      3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di      dingi-yao    tamo    tamo    goi    go,    kidi    koroto-ya-di*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL    one    one    OBL SP    3PL man-TM-3PL  
*a-di      te-yuwo      moe    i-di      dingi    tayamo.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two    MED CTRL-3PL dinghy    one

‘And all of the fishermen embarked on each of their dinghies and the two men were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one).’

Another connective that Gumawana makes extended use of is the developmental marker *e*. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:93) explain development as follows:

Whereas connectives like *and* and some additives instruct the hearer to associate information together, some conjunctions convey the opposite and constrain the reader to *move on to the next point*. We will call these connectives DEVELOPMENTAL MARKERS because they indicate that the material so marked represents a new development in the story or argument, as far as the author's purpose is concerned.

The developmental marker *e* introduces a new developmental unit in the discourse. It may consist of one sentence or several. Each new development of the story is introduced by *e*. The particle is also found in the apodosis of conditional clauses. This is to be expected since the apodosis marks a development from the protasis.

Within a developmental unit, sentences may be joined by means of additives. Two additives are found in Gumawana: *ago* and *ego*. *Ago* introduces information that is simultaneous with what preceded. In the following excerpt from *Gilibo* (appendix text 1, sentence 23) the author tells what Gumasai's friends are doing in (115a). At the same time, Gumasai is on the mountain working on his canoe (b). The conjunction *ago* seems to indicate not only simultaneity, but also a switch to another participant.

(115a) *E lava-ya-na vadoda i-kavava, se-nao bogina si-yaula.*  
DM time-TM-3SG load 3SG-finish SSS-3SG.PL PRF 3PL-depart

(b) *Ago kina nava koya yata-na i-na oga*  
ADD 3SG still mountain on.top-3SG CTRL-3SG canoe  
*ii-ginoil-i-Ø.*  
3SG.IPFV-prepare-TR-3SG

‘(a) And when loading was finished, his friends had departed. (b) But he was still on top of the mountain preparing his canoe.’

The conjunction *ego* introduces significant background comments. In the same story of *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the author adds the comment in (116). This is background information, but it is significant in that without the knowledge that the ogre is blind, Gumasai's actions do not make sense.

(116) *Ego tukubu-ya-na dokanikani i-na tukubu Gumasai*  
ADD cave-TM-3SG ogre CTRL-3SG cave Gumasai  
*i-kaiyaka sinae-na.*  
3SG-exist inside-3SG

‘Now the cave was the ogre's cave that Gumasai was inside of.’

It may also introduce information that goes back to an earlier time in the discourse to pick up the story where it was left off with a different participant.

- (117a) *I-vini-di i-kavava, i-di dingi-yao i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL 3SG-give-3PL
- (b) *Ego dingi-ya-di ii-vini-di a-di lolina bego*  
 ADD dinghy-TM-3PL 3SG.IPFV-give-3PL PASS-3PL rule IM  
*gelugelu a-di te-yuwo, a-di te-yuwo si-sowoya.*  
 crew PASS-3PL person-two PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-embark  
 ‘(a) After he (the foreigner) gave them (the hooks and fishing lines) to them (the fishermen), he gave them their dinghies. (b) And when he was giving them the dinghies, their rule was that the crew embark two per dinghy (lit. crew two two they embark).’

Reason clauses are introduced with *unana* ‘because’ (lit. ‘its basis’). This word typically refers to the base of something—for example, a tree or a house. When used to introduce clauses, the third singular suffix *-na* refers back to the preceding clause. The meaning is ‘the basis of the preceding clause is this’. For example, the literal rendering of (118) would be “The basis of the man and his wife being happy is that their children had grown.”

- (118) *E koroto ma mone-na bogina si-uyawana una-na*  
 DM man COM spouse-3SG PRF 3PL-happy basis-3SG  
*natu-di-yao bogina si-bibina.*  
 offspring-3PL-PL PRF 3PL-grow  
 ‘And the man and his wife were happy because their children had grown up.’

Result clauses are introduced with *tauna*. As with *unana* it can be morphologically broken up as *tau-na*, where the third person singular *-na* refers back to the preceding clause, sentence, or discourse. Literally (119) could be rendered “The result of Gumasai not having a sister or brother is that he lived with his mother.”

- (119) *Gumasai-ya-na geya tayamo niu-na o siya-na geya, tau-na*  
 Gumasai-TM-3SG NEG one OSS-3SG or SSS-3SG NEG result-3SG  
*siya-na geya, tau-na sina-na taiyao a-di tai-yuwo*  
 SSS-3SG NEG result-3SG mother-3SG COM PASS-3PL person-two  
*si-kaiyaka.*  
 3PL-exist  
 ‘Gumasai did not have one sister or brother, therefore he and his mother, the two of them, lived together.’

Gumawana has a particle *bego*, which, in Relevance Theory terminology, is an interpretive use marker. Concerning interpretive use language, Nicolle (2000:173) states:

Relevance theory recognises that utterances can be either representations of states of affairs or representations of other representations, for example of thoughts or of other utterances. In the first case, language is *descriptively* used and in the second it is *interpretively* used.

He further explains what is considered interpretive use language:

Imperatives, optatives, hortatives and plain (i.e., non-metaphorical, non-ironic, etc.) declaratives are all examples of descriptive use; they all describe states of affairs that make them true, and hence are truth-conditional. Metaphorical, ironical, exclamative and interrogative utterances, on the other hand, are treated along with indirect speech reports and echoic utterances as cases of interpretive use.

The most common interpretive use markers are those that introduce indirect speech. Gumawana *bego* introduces information that is not the actual state of affairs; rather, the information is reporting a desired state of affairs. Another way to state it is that *bego* introduces what is a representation of another person's utterance or thought.

The interpretive use marker *bego* is found in a number of contexts. It introduces indirect speech as in (120).

- (120) *Sina-m i-digo-digo **bego** ame-ko kwaiyaka.*  
 mother-3SG 3SG-IPFV-speak IM PROX-ADV 2SG.exist  
 'Your mother said that you are to remain here.'

It may introduce complement clauses for certain verbs. In (121) the material introduced by *bego* does not introduce an actual state of affairs; rather, it introduces a representation of the dream the person had.

- (121) *A-kanamimi **bego** tau-ya-na i-katowana.*  
 1SG-dream IM person-TM-3SG 3SG-sick  
 'I dreamed that you were sick.'

It is also used to introduce irony. In (122) the use of *bego* indicates the speaker is questioning the hearer's ability to actually build a house.

- (122) ***Bego** kom vada ku-yowo-Ø?*  
 IM 2SG house 2SG-build-3SG  
 'You are going to build a house?'

### 3. Methodology

---

The method used in this paper follows the approach by Levinsohn (2000, 2011) and by Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), as presented in *Analyzing Discourse: A manual of basic concepts*. In this chapter, I briefly outline the assumptions and methodology of studying participant referencing as outlined by Dooley and Levinsohn.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:112-113) claim that for a reference system of a language to be viable it must accomplish these three tasks:

- |                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| Semantic:            | identify the referents unambiguously,<br>distinguishing them from other possible ones.       |
| Discourse-pragmatic: | signal the activation status and prominence of<br>the referents of the actions they perform. |
| Processing:          | overcome disruptions in the flow of<br>information.  |

With regard to the first, Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:111) state that

There are two reasons why we need to know how participants and other entities are referred to throughout a discourse. First, a hearer (or analyst) needs to be able to understand who is doing what to whom. Secondly, a producer of discourse needs to be able to make the same kind [sic] information clear to the hearers or readers.

The questions we must ask are what possible forms are used to refer to a given entity within a discourse, and when should they be used.

Concerning the second category, discourse-pragmatic, what we find is that speakers do not always use the expected forms. Such skewing will have a discourse-pragmatic function. Our goal is to discover what those functions are.

For this study, 48 texts written by a variety of speakers of different ages and gender were utilised. In the following sections the procedure for analyzing these texts to discover the patterns of participant referencing are presented along with the results.

#### 3.1 Procedures used

To begin the study of Gumawana participant referencing, it is necessary to determine the default encoding that is found in various contexts within a text. The goal is to

develop encoding principles based on the analysis of how the participants are encoded in the possible contexts of a discourse.

The first step is to determine the possible forms of encoding of participants (see §5.1). The method used to accomplish this is set forth in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:127ff):

1. Draw up an inventory of ways of encoding references to participants.
2. Prepare a chart of participant encoding in a text.
3. Track the participants.
4. Identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs.
5. Propose default encodings for each context.
6. Inspect the text for other than default encodings.
7. Generalise the motivations for deviances from default encoding.

Each of these steps was utilised in the discovery procedure. The results are presented throughout the rest of this paper.

### 3.2 Sentence articulation types

Levinsohn (2011:23-24) presents three articulations<sup>1</sup> of the sentence.

1. **Topic-comment** articulation. Proposition that consists of a topic (what the proposition is about) followed by a comment about the topic.
2. **Identificational** articulation. In this type of sentence, all but one element is presupposed by speaker and hearer. The one element not presupposed is the focus.
3. **Presentational** articulation. This is a proposition used to introduce a new entity into a text. This new entity is not linked to an established topic or presupposed proposition.<sup>2</sup> “A clause or sentence has presentational articulation if it introduces a new entity into a text without linking its introduction ‘to an already established topic or to some presupposed proposition’ (Lambrecht 1994:144).”

The following examples illustrate each of these.

---

<sup>1</sup> Levinsohn (2011:23) defines articulation as “the way that the information in a clause or sentence is presented.”

<sup>2</sup> See Lambrecht (1994:144) for a discussion of this.

## Topic-comment

Lambrecht (1994:131) explains propositional topic as follows:

A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent.

Levinsohn (2011:24) makes three observations about the propositional topic:

- The topic is usually the subject of the clause or sentence.
- The topic must be either already established in the text or easily related to one that is already established.
- Care must be taken not to confuse the term '(propositional) topic' with the topic (hereafter, the theme) of a paragraph or longer stretch of speech or writing.

Lambrecht (1994:164) states, "under certain conditions topics may be interpretable as current even though they haven't been brought up in the current discourse." Similarly, in Gumawana certain participants are known to the speakers due to shared culture. A speaker may assume they will be known by the hearer. Example (1) illustrates a topic-comment clause in Gumawana. Gobune and Agastina are the topic, whereas the rest of the sentence makes up the comment.

- (1) *Go kidi Gobune be Agastina amo-ko goi si-bani-bani.*  
 SP 3PL Gobune and Agastina DIST-ADV OBL 3PL-IPFV-fish  
 'But Gobune and Agastina were fishing there...'

## Identificational

In an identificational articulation, the sentence is divided between a focus element and presuppositional information. In (2) the question word *avatau* 'who' is fronted as the focus information. It is presupposed that *someone* will get the necklace. In the second example (3), the people cut some trees and drag them down to the shore where they build their canoes. This is typical of Amphlett culture. However, in (b) Gumasai builds his canoe on a mountain. The phrase *koya goi* 'mountain on' has been fronted for focus.<sup>3</sup>

- (2) *Ava-tau bei buyala-ya-na i-kabi-Ø?*  
 which-person IRR necklace-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG  
 'Who will get the necklace?'

---

<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Stephen Levinsohn (p.c.) for pointing out this example of a phrase coming before the irrealis marker instead of the default position which is after it.

- (3a) *Boda madaboki-di i-di oga si-tala-i-di si-biu-di*  
 people all-3PL CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-cut-TR-3PL 3PL-pull-3PL  
*si-nae-di negwasa kiki-na goi si-yowo-i-di.*  
 3PL-take-3PL sea near-3SG OBL 3PL-tie-TR-3PL

- (b) *Ago kina Gumasai-ya-na i-na oga i-tala-i-Ø,*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-cut-TR-3SG  
*koya goi be i-yowo-Ø.*  
 mountain OBL IRR 3SG-tie-3SG

‘(a) All of the group cut canoes for themselves, pulled them, took them to near the sea and built them (lit. tied them). (b) But Gumasai cut a canoe for himself and **it was on the mountain** that he would build it.’

### Presentational

In example (4) Gwarabeyai is introduced for the first time. He is not anchored to any other participant.

- (4a) *Gwarabeyai gomana tayamo go, tuwowo-nao*  
 Gwarabeyai child one SP older.SSS-3SG.PL  
*a-di tai-yuwo tupwana gagai-di.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two somewhat big-3PL
- (b) *Nakae a-di tala 6 be 10 go, nauyayanai-di.*  
 ADD PASS-3PL year 6 and 10 SP between-3PL

‘(a) **Gwarabeyai was a child** and his two older brothers were somewhat big.  
 (b) For example, their years were between six and ten.’

The manner in which information is presented can affect the way the hearer will understand the intended message. How a participant is introduced with respect to these three sentence types may make a difference in the status of the participant.

### 3.3 Point of departure

Levinsohn (2011:40) presents a device that is often found at points of discontinuity within a text. He refers to this device as ‘point of departure’. A point of departure involves placing a particular constituent at the beginning of the sentence. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:68) describe the concept of point of departure as follows:

The term POINT OF DEPARTURE [...] designates an initial element, often fronted or left-dislocated, which cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e., to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation). It “sets a spatial, temporal, or individual domain within which the main predication holds” (Chafe 1976:50). It is backward-looking, in the sense of locating the

anchoring place within the existing mental representation, but is forward-looking in that it is the subsequent part of the sentence which is anchored in that place.

A point of departure may be temporal, spatial, or referential in narrative discourse. Each of these is illustrated below for Gumawana.

### Temporal Point of Departure

Example (5) has *lava tayamo* ‘one time’, which marks a temporal point of departure. This phrase establishes the temporal setting for the following clauses.

- (5) *E lava tayamo kodoya-ya-na i-na tanuwo goi i-paisewa.*  
 DM time one possum-TM-3SG 3SG-go garden OBL 3SG-work  
 ‘Now one time Possum went to the garden and worked.’

### Spatial Point of Departure

A spatial point of departure involves a change of location or spatial discontinuity. In (6) we are told that the boat went to Watuluma. Then in (b) reference is made to this location. In this case it is clear that *amoko goi* ‘at there’ is both backward looking in that it refers anaphorically to ‘Watuluma’ and forward looking in that it establishes the setting for the next events.

- (6a) *E oga-ya-na i-kailova i-kaluvila-mna i-na Watuluma.*  
 DM boat-TM-3SG 3SG-set.sail 3SG-return-again 3SG-go Watuluma
- (b) *Amo-ko goi nakona si-kana-to nakae, e si-kailova-mna*  
 DIST-ADV OBL perhaps 3PL-sleep-three ADD DM 3PL-set.sail-again  
*si-na be si-bani.*  
 3PL-go and 3PL-fish  
 ‘(a) And the boat departed and returned again to Watuluma. (b) **There** they slept perhaps around three nights, then they departed again and went to fish.’

### Referential Point of Departure

A referential point of departure involves a switch from one participant to another. In (7a) Gumasai is referred to. Then in (b) there is switch to his friends who have stolen his canoe and headed back to their village without him, thus leaving him stranded at Sanarowa. Finally, in (c) the author switches to Gumasai and refers to him using a fronted pronoun to mark a referential point of departure. Gumasai is presupposed information since he is the possessor of the canoe in the preceding clause (b). The switch to Gumasai is thus marked to inform the reader that the story will move on through Gumasai.

- (7a) *E Gumasai i-na bwae i-kabi-di, i-na i-tega-tega*  
 DM Gumasai CTRL-3SG container 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-go 3SG-IPFV-draw

- (b) *go, si-sowoya i-na oga sikailave-Ø si-lokoine-Ø*  
 SP 3PL-embark CTRL-3SG canoe 3PL-set.sail.TR-3SG 3PL-sail.TR-3SG  
*si-me-Ø Kitava.*  
 3PL-bring.TR-3SG Kitava

- (c) ***Kina go*** *i-sowodo, i-do-iwo, oga geya.*  
 3SG SP 3SG-exit 3SG-W.head-seaward canoeNEG

‘(a) Now Gumasai got his water containers, went and began drawing water,  
 (b) but they (the rest of the men) embarked, departed with his canoe, sailed it  
 and brought it to Kitava. (c) As for **him**, **he** went out, and looked seaward,  
 but there was no canoe.’

In each of the above examples the point of departure (in bold) refers to presupposed information and thus anchors the following new information to its context.

## 4. Strategy of participant referencing

Levinsohn (2011:134-35) describes two different strategies of participant referencing. One is the VIP (very important participant) strategy, which treats the major participants unequally. The second is the sequential or look back strategy, which views the major participants as being equal. In the former, the language will mark one participant among the major participants as different from the rest. There may be a determiner that occurs only with the VIP or it may be the case that a certain set of pronouns is used only for the VIP. In some way, the VIP is marked to stand out. In contrast, in the sequential strategy no participant is set off as having any greater status than the rest. It is called a look back strategy because in any given sentence that has a subject referred to with a bound pronoun, one looks back to the last subject to see who it is.

Gumawana uses a look back or sequential strategy for participant tracking. If the subject of one clause is the same as the last clause, a pronominal affix is used. If the subject is different, a noun phrase will be used. The following example is taken from a story of two brothers who have an argument over what their mother told them to do. They end up killing their brother and roasting him instead of the banana, which their mother told them to roast. Notice in (1) that all the verbs have just a pronominal subject prefix to encode the subject. Only a pronominal prefix is expected since there is no change of subject from the preceding clauses. The subject of each clause is the two boys.

- (1) *Si-keli-Ø*      *i-kavava*,   *si-mwera-e-Ø*      *si-nave-Ø*      *vada*  
3PL-scrape-3SG   3SG-finish   3PL-climb-TR-3SG   3PL-take-3SG   house  
*sinae-na*      *poreda*      *si-kabi-Ø*      *si-vatum-Ø*  
inside-3SG   pandanus.tarp   3SG-get-3SG   3PL-cover-3SG

‘After **they** (the two older brothers) scraped him (the younger brother), **they** climbed him up and took him and got a pandanus leaf tarp inside of the house and covered him (the younger brother).’

In the next example, taken from the same story as (1), the look back strategy predicts that in (b) there should be a noun phrase to encode the older boy as the subject because there is a different subject in the preceding clause (a).

- (2a) *Si-kaiyaka, si-kaiyaka dine, gomana tupwana giyai-na tupwana*  
 3PL-exist 3PL-exist noon child somewhat small-3SG somewhat  
*giyai-na i-digo ka-na, “Tuwowo-gu, maine sina-da*  
 small-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG older.SSS-1SG earlier mother-1PL.INCL  
*i-digo-digo bego losui ta-gabu-Ø i-da*  
 3SG-IPFV-speak IM banana 1PL.INCL-roast-3SG CTRL-1PL.INCL  
*gomana a-na losui.”*  
 younger.SSS ED-3SG banana

- (b) *Ego kina gomana tupwana gagai-na i-digo ka-na, “Geya*  
 ADD 3SG child somewhat big-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG NEG  
*yau maine a-nove-Ø sina-da i-digo ka-na,*  
 1SG earlier 1SG-heard-3SG mother-1PL.INCL 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*‘Gwarabeyai ta-gabu-Ø.’“*  
 Gwarabeyai 1PL.INCL-roast-3SG

‘(a) They stayed until noon and **the somewhat smaller** child said, “My older brother, earlier our mother said that we were to roast a banana, our brother’s banana.” (b) But **the somewhat bigger child** said, “No, earlier I heard our mother say, ‘We roast Gwarabeyai.’”’

This is further illustrated in the following example (from *Hen and chicks*, appendix text 6). In (3a) the mother hen is referenced using a noun plus the pronominal prefix on the verb. The hen continues to be the subject in every clause in (a-c). In every one of those clauses, the hen is referenced using only the bound pronoun. Thus, the identity of any one of those pronominal references can be determined by looking back to the preceding clause until a noun is found. When the subject changes to the lizard in (d), a noun phrase is used to reference the subject. Subsequent clauses all refer to the lizard and therefore reference is made only using the bound pronouns on the verbs.

- (3a) *E tuwo sina-di-ya-na i-na bayao i-kabi-Ø,*  
 DM so mother-3PL-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG basket 3SG-get-3SG  
*i-tuko i-na udodana goi i-du-eli-elina.*  
 3SG-ascend 3SG-go bush OBL 3SG-head-IPFV-dig  
 (b) *I-du-eli-elina, i-tuko-tuko i-na ina koya*  
 3SG-head-IPFV-dig 3SG-IPFV-ascend 3SG-go 3SG-go mountain

*daba-na toi-na goi i-du-eli-elina go, i-sou-sou*  
 head-3SG very-3SG OBL 3SG-head-IPFV-dig SP 3SG-IPFV-descend  
*dadava tayamo goi.*  
 region one OBL

- (c) *I-sou-sou, ailavasi i-na vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG
- (d) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu, Tau-na*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry result-3SG  
*i-vada-gavila kamkam-ya-na i-vada-mate-Ø.*  
 3SG-W.head-turn hen-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-die.TR-3SG

‘(a) And so **their mother** got her basket, ascended in the bush and began digging. (b) As **she** was digging and ascending, **she** went to the very face of the mountain and **she** began digging and descending on the other side. (c) As **she** was descending, **she** began scattering Lizard’s house. (d) So as for Lizard, he was angry, therefore he turned his head and killed Hen.’

Although Gumawana uses a look back strategy as the default method of tracking participants, it is possible to have one participant at a time be the center of attention. This is encoded by means of the thematic marker *-ya*, which is discussed in §7.

In the next chapter, the various ways Gumawana encodes a participant are presented along with how major, minor participants and props are distinguished in Gumawana narrative.

## 5. Participant encoding and status

---

In this chapter the various participant encoding strategies are presented in §5.1 and the status of participants is given in §5.2.

### 5.1 Participant encoding

There are four main strategies a Gumawana speaker may use to encode a referent. These are given below.

- Zero anaphora.
- Pronominal affixes.
- Independent pronoun.
- Noun or noun phrase.

In the following sections, each of these strategies is briefly illustrated.

#### 5.1.1 Zero anaphora

Zero marking occurs infrequently in Gumawana. The following excerpt from a tale of how so many fish ended up in the Trobriand Islands illustrates zero anaphora.

- (1a) *Ego* ***iyana-ya-di*** *maniye-di* *si-kabi-di*,  
ADD fish-TM-3PL some-3PL 3PL-take-3PL
- (b) **Ø** *a-di* *woiniya-yao* *si-vini-di*.  
[fish] PASS-3PL dogs-PL 3PL-give-3PL

‘(a) And they took some of the fish (b) and gave (them to) the dogs.’

In (1a) ‘fish’ is mentioned and the verb shows agreement in number. However, in (1b) no reference is made to the fish. Instead, it is understood that it is the fish that were given to the dogs. The verb *vini* ‘give’ marks the recipient. This is also common with the verb *kabi* ‘take, get.’ The typical way in which a person states the instrument used in an action is to first introduce the instrument by means of the verb *kabi* followed with the action done with the instrument as further illustrated in (2). The knife is introduced in (2a) and although not mentioned in (b), it is the instrument used to cut Possum’s ears off. Therefore, in (2b) we have zero anaphora.

- (2a) *E naipi-ya-na i-kabi-Ø*,  
DM knife-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG
- (b) *mainao kodoya taiya-na Ø i-kupo-i-di*.  
immediately possum ear-3SG [with the knife] 3SG-cut-TR-3PL
- ‘(a) And he **got** the knife (b) and immediately cut off possum’s ears.’

Zero anaphora is also found in reported speeches. In this case, once a conversation has been initiated, further reference to addressees is zero since the context makes it clear who is on stage. For example, in (3a) the chicks are looking for their mother and meet Gecko. They ask Gecko if he has seen their mother in (b). His response is recorded in (c) but no reference to the chicks as addressee is given. It is understood with whom Gecko is speaking.

- (3a) *Sii-lusale-Ø, sii-lusale-Ø, geya*  
3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG 3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG NEG  
*go, ulao si-babane-Ø*.  
SP gecko 3PL-meet.TR-3SG
- (b) *Ulao-ya-na si-lumadade-Ø si-digo ka-di*,  
gecko-TM-3SG 3PL-ask.TR-3SG 3PL-speak talk-3PL  
“*Sina-ma ku-gite-Ø nako?*”  
mother-1PL.EXCL 2SG-see.TR-3SG where
- (c) *Kina go ulao-ya-na Ø i-digo ka-na*,  
3SG SP gecko-TM-3SG [to the chicks] 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
“*O sina-mi geya a-yagoi-yeta.*”  
oh mother-2PL NEG 1SG-know-3SG.LIM
- ‘(a) **They** (the chicks) kept searching for her, but did not find her, but **they** met Gecko. (b) **They** asked Gecko, “Have you seen where our mother is?” (c) But Gecko said (**to them**), “Oh, I don’t know your mother.”’

### 5.1.2 Pronominal affixes

The pronominal affixes for Gumawana are given in §2.2 Table 3. This category of encoding refers to those clauses in which no noun or independent pronoun is used for participant referencing; instead, only the pronominal affixes are used.

Example (4) illustrates the third person singular subject prefix *i-*. In the story of *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), Gumasai is the subject already activated in a previous clause, and so is referenced using only verb agreement.

- (4) *I-sou, i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu i-kaiyaka.*  
 3SG-descend 3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave OBL 3SG-enter 3SG-exist  
 ‘He (Gumasai) descended, went bushward to the cave and entered and remained.’

Body part idioms are very common in Gumawana. They involve a body part which functions as the subject of the verb followed by the verb (see §2.6). Some body part idioms are the only means of stating certain concepts. For example, in (5) the idiom *nuwodi imou* is the only way to express the concept ‘sad.’

- (5) *E tuwo natunao-ya-di nuwo-di i-mou gagai-na*  
 DM so offspring-3SG.PL-TM-3PL insides-3PL 3SG-heavy big-3SG  
 ‘And so her children **were very sad** (lit. their insides were very heavy).’

Technically, the subject of the verb *mou* ‘be heavy’ in (5) is *nuwodi* ‘their insides’, and *natunaoyadi* ‘her offspring’ is the possessor of the noun *nuwodi*. Semantically, however, *natunaoyadi* are the ones who are sad. Therefore, for the purposes of this paper the possessor of the body part idioms will be considered the subject. When no overt noun (phrase) occurs, it will be classified as pronominal affixation only. When the possessor is referenced using a noun (phrase), it will be counted as being referenced as a noun.

Transitive verbs also take an object suffix indicating agreement in person and number with the object. Example (6) illustrates the object suffix on the verb *igitedi*.

- (6) *Niga go i-ma i-gite-di, go-gomana-ya-di.*  
 later SP 3SG-come 3SG-see.TR-3PL PL-child-TM-3PL  
 ‘Later he came and saw **them**, it was the children.’

### 5.1.3 Independent pronoun

Another encoding strategy in Gumawana is by means of the independent pronouns (see Table 3 §2.2). Example (7), taken from *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), illustrates the use of the independent pronouns. Gumasai has been stranded by his friends at Sanarowa Island. He comes out and sees that they have left and that he has no canoe. He is referenced using only an independent pronoun.

- (7) *Kina go i-sowodo i-do-iwo, oga geya.*  
 3SG SP 3SG-exit 3SG-W.head-seaward canoe NEG  
 ‘But as for **him**, **he** (Gumasai) went out, and looked seaward, but there was no canoe.’

The function of independent pronouns is discussed more fully in §9.5.

### 5.1.4 Noun phrase

Noun phrases in Gumawana may have the following modifiers:

(Pro) Noun (Adj) (Dem)

(DEM)

Pro SP<sup>1</sup> N (where the pronoun and the noun are coreferential).

Each of these is described below.

The simplest NP will involve just a noun as illustrated in (8). Both the subject and object are encoded using only a noun. This example also begins with the temporal phrase *lava tayamo* ‘time one’, which involves one modifier.

- (8) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø...*  
 DM time one chief pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG  
 ‘Now **one time Chief** caught **a pig**...’

A more complex noun phrase may have an adjective modifying it or may involve genitive constructions. In (9) there are two NPs. The first is temporal *tuta tayamo* ‘one time’. The second one is more complex and includes a head noun followed by three modifiers.

- (9) *Si-kaaiyako si-kaaiyako eee, tuta tayamo oga dimdim*  
 3PL-IPFV.exist 3PL-IPFV.exist until time one boat foreign  
*gagai-na tayamo i-ma i-vaiu.*  
 big-3SG one 3SG-come 3SG-arrive  
 ‘They lived on until **one time a big foreign boat** arrived.’

The following example illustrates the genitive construction *tupa ana paisewa* ‘work of voyaging’.

- (10) *Tupa a-na paisewa geya si-yagoi-yeta.*  
 voyage PASS-3SG work NEG 3PL-know-3SG.LIM  
 ‘They did not know **the work of voyaging**.’

The next example has three noun phrases, two of which are genitives. The first noun phrase is a temporal phrase that has a head noun *lava* ‘time’ followed by the demonstrative *amo* ‘that.’

- (11) *Go lava amo goi daumwara a-na lava, alova vaga-di*  
 SP time DIST OBL calm PASS-3SG time tree leave-3P

<sup>1</sup> SP refers to the spacer *go*. See §2.11 for a more detailed discussion.

*geya si-moeta.*

NEG 3PL-sway.LIM

‘But at **that time** it was the **time of calm** waters, and the **leaves of the tree** don’t sway.’

A somewhat unusual construction found in Gumawana involves a noun phrase comprising a pronoun followed by a coreferential noun. This applies only to third person independent pronouns and is only found referencing subjects. This is illustrated in example (12) (from *Gilibo*, appendix text 1). In (a) the Kitava people are mentioned as living near the sea. Then Gumasai is mentioned as building his house on the mountain.

(12a) *Kitava tomota madaboki-di si-kaiyaka negwasa kiki-na*  
 Kitava people all-3PL 3PL-exist sea near-3SG

(b) *go, kina Gumasai-ya-na koya yatanai-na goi*  
 SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG mountain on.top-3SG OBL

*i-na vada i-yowo-Ø.*  
 CTRL-3SG house 3SG-tie-3SG

‘All the Kitava people lived near the sea, but it was on top of a mountain where **Gumasai** built (lit. tied) his house.’

This construction functions at a discourse pragmatic level and is discussed in §9.5. How these various strategies work for referencing participants is presented in the following sections.

## 5.2 Participant status

A difference can be discerned between major participants, minor participants, and props based on how often participants appear in a narrative and how they are introduced. Chafe (1994:88) uses the terms primary, secondary, and trivial to describe the three types of participants that occur in a story. He suggests that these three categories differ with respect to what he calls their ‘referential importance’—that is, “their importance to the subject matter being verbalized.” So primary referents are those around whom the story is centered. Secondary referents “still play important roles in the plot” but are subsidiary to the primary character. Finally, Chafe describes trivial participants as those who are incidental and “appear only briefly to perform a single, limited function.”

Concerning major and minor participants, Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:119) state:

Notionally, MAJOR PARTICIPANTS are those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles; minor participants are activated briefly and lapse into deactivation. Major participants typically have a different overall pattern of reference and a different way of being introduced. Major participants commonly have a formal introduction, whereas minor participants do not.

According to Dooley and Levinsohn, then, we would expect to find that major participants will appear in leading roles, and will appear more often in a text than a minor participant will. This also follows from Chafe's claims. Second, we should expect to find different introductions of major and minor participants. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:11) mention that formal introductions are expected with major participants. They define 'formal introduction' as follows:

A FORMAL INTRODUCTION is linguistic material that instructs the hearer not only to activate the participant, but also to be prepared to organize a major part of the mental representation around him or her. This prominence can be signaled either on the level of the proposition (through presentational or other non-active sentences) or on the level of the concept (e.g., with a special indefiniteness marker).

In the following sections the ways that Gumawana activates the three main types of participants, major, minor and props are described.

### 5.2.1 Major participants

In Gumawana narrative, major participants will occur throughout a story or in a major portion of it, playing a leading role in the story's development. This is easily demonstrated in the tables below. In each table the participants are shown with the number of clauses in which they appear in any form in the story. In Table 5, Gumasai appears the most throughout the story and the story develops mainly through him. The ogre occurs the second most with 34% of the clauses referring to him. He does not appear until late in the story, but when he does, he and Gumasai are the reason Gilibo broke off from the mainland and became an island. That is the purpose of the story.

TABLE 5. GILIBO (APPENDIX TEXT 1)

<b>Total clauses: 197</b>	<b># of clauses participant appears in</b>	<b>%</b>
Gumasai	105	53%
Ogre	67	34%
People	51	26%
Gumasai's canoe	13	7%
Chief	8	4%
Sanarowa people	1	< 1%

Table 6 shows that Possum and Dog both occur over 60% of the time. The story is about how possums ended up with small ears. The story develops through these two characters. In contrast, the Dog's ears and Possum's ears, which are props, both occur infrequently. The story is not so much about their ears, but rather about *how* possums' ears became so small.

TABLE 6. POSSUM AND DOG

<b>Total clauses: 63</b>	<b># of clauses participant appears in</b>	<b>%</b>
Possum	42	67%
Dog	38	60%
Dog's ears	8	13%
Possum's ears	3	5%

The story of *Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3) tells how Turtle defeats the ogre and his wife. Therefore, we would expect that Turtle would appear more often. Table 7 indicates that Turtle appeared in 54% of the clauses, more than anyone else did. Wallaby is fourth but not by much. He appears at the beginning of the story and then is not referred to again. At the point where Wallaby exits, Tamogibeli, the ogre, appears and continues to the end of the story.

TABLE 7. WALLABY AND TURTLE (APPENDIX TEXT 3)

<b>Total clauses: 154</b>	<b># of clauses participant appears in</b>	<b>%</b>
Turtle	83	54%
Tamogibeli	58	38%
Tuwade	52	34%
Wallaby	51	33%
white satinash	9	6%

In the final table, Table 8, the man and the lion are the main characters appearing throughout the story. It is a story of how the man is able to defeat the lion. The man

appears in 51% of the clauses and the lion 36%. The other animals appear and then are never referred to again.

TABLE 8. MAN AND LION

Total clauses: 133	# of clauses participant appears in	%
Man	68	51%
Lion	48	36%
Monkey	20	15%
Bird	6	5%
Dog	7	5%

Participant introductions may also give clues to identify major participants. Major participants are often given a formal introduction. According to Dooley and Levinsohn, we wouldn't expect to find major participants introduced in topic-comment clauses. Rather, we expect to find them in some non-subject role or introduced using presentational articulation, often with no finite verb or with an existential verb. The initial introduction may be followed by a description of the participant in which more details are given about the participant that will be important later on. In contrast, minor participants will just appear and will be the subjects of finite verbs without any formal introduction (see §5.2.2). For example, in the story of *Gilibo*, the main participant, Gumasai, is introduced at the beginning of the story using presentational articulation (13a). This initial introduction is followed by further descriptions about Gumasai. The effect is that the reader is expected to build a mental representation around this main participant. No other participant received such an introduction. The people of Sanarowa are briefly introduced, as is the ogre.

- (13a) *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koroto.*  
previously long.ago one child male
- (b) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na Gumasai*  
child-TM-3SG name-3SG Gumasai
- (c) *Go Gumasai i-na kasa Kitava, moe Budibudi simli-na.*  
SP Gumasai CTRL-3SG village Kitava MED Kiriwina island-3SG
- (d) *Kitava-ya-na i-kaiyaka Budibudi tautaulu-na, bomatu dadavi-na.*  
Kitava-TM-3SG 3SG-exist Kiriwina uninhabited-3SG east region-3SG

- (e) *Kitava tomota madaboki-di si-kaiyaka negwasa kiki-na go, kina*  
 Kitava people all-3PL 3PL-exist sea next-3SG SP 3SG

*Gumasai-ya-na koya yatana-i-na goi i-na vada*  
 Gumasai-TM-3SG mountain on.top-?-3SG OBL CTRL-3SG house

*i-yowo-Ø.*

3SG-tie-3SG

- (f) *Gumasai-ya-na geya tayamo niu-na o siya-na geya,*  
 Gumasai-TM-3SG NEG one OSS-3SG or SSS-3SG NEG

- (g) *tau-na sina-na taiyao a-di tai-yuwo si-kaiyaka.*  
 result-3SG mother-3SG COM PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-exist

‘(a) Long ago there was **a certain boy** (lit. a male child). (b) **The child’s name was Gumasai.** (c) And **Gumasai’s** village was Kitava, which is an island of Kiriwina. (d) Kitava is on the uninhabited part of Kiriwina, on the east side. (e) All the Kitava people lived near the sea, but it was on top of a mountain that **Gumasai** built (lit. tied) his house. (f) **Gumasai** did not have one sister or brother, (g) therefore he and his mother, the two of them, lived together.’

The amount of background information given with regard to the major participants varies from story to story. This could be because writing out stories is still fairly new to native speakers. In the oral stories, introductions are still lengthy.

A limited introduction is illustrated below in a story about two children. The children are introduced with only one sentence. However, because they are the main characters, this is more than what is used to introduce other characters in the story. For example, the fictitious character by the name of Tamogibeli is introduced without any information at all. This is because everyone in the village knows who Tamogibeli is. In (14) the two children are introduced as the possessors of a noun phrase. We learn that their parents have died and just the two of them lived by themselves.

- (14) *Go-gomana ma siya-na tama-di sina-di si-kamasa go*  
 PL-child COM SSS-3SG father-3PL mother-3PL 3SG-die SP

*a-di tai-yuwo si-kaiyaka*  
 PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-exist

‘The **children’s** (lit. children with his brother) father and mother died but the **two of them** remained.’

A major participant may be introduced via a non-subject role. The following excerpt is taken from *Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2). The major participant in the story is the firstborn, a boy. Unlike most stories, he is introduced without a verb or with an existential verb. Instead, his parents are introduced first. Although in the story all

three children are introduced in the same manner—that is, by the woman giving birth—only the firstborn is given a lengthy introduction which provides more detail about him. Of the 203 clauses in the story, he appears in 106. He is a non-subject in (15a-b). It is not until (c) that he becomes the subject of a topic-comment sentence. The effect of such an introduction is to inform the reader to build a mental representation around this child. He plays the leading role throughout the story.

- (15a) *Vavina tayamo ma mone-na si-kaiyaka aaa, go, vavina*  
 woman one COM spouse-3SG 3PL-exist until SP woman  
*i-ve-natuna. Natu-di tayamo koroto, a-di botomoya.*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring offspring-3PL one male PASS-3PL firstborn
- (b) *E si-kaiyaka vavina-ya-na natu-na i-va-nunu-Ø.*  
 DM 3PL-exist woman-TM-3SG offspring-3SG 3SG-CAUS-breast-3SG
- (c) *I-va-nunu-Ø, bogina gagai-na.*  
 3SG-CAUS-breast-3SG PRF big-3SG
- (d) *E gomana nunu i-katae-Ø, moe bogina gagai-na.*  
 DM child milk 3SG-reject-3SG MED PRF big-3SG
- (e) *E sina-na tama-na ii-leme-di i-paisewa.*  
 DM mother-3SG father-3SG 3SG.IPFV-help.TR-3PL 3SG-work

‘(a) A woman and her husband lived for some time and the woman gave birth. **Their child** was a boy; **he was their firstborn**. (b) Now they lived on and the woman nursed **her child**. (c) She nursed **him** and **he** had become big. (d) And **the child** rejected the nursing; he had grown big. (e) And **he** began helping his mother and father and he worked.’

It is common for Gumawana writers to introduce the main character(s) of the story and then proceed for several sentences without mentioning the main participant. This sets off the participant as being the main participant. The reader knows that this participant will be important to the story at a later point. In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the main participant, Gumasai, is introduced at the beginning (see example (13) above). After his introduction, the author begins talking about the chief and his making a feast. Eleven sentences later Gumasai is brought into the story.

This technique is further illustrated in *Two men lost at sea* (16a-b). After introducing the two men in (16a), the author begins talking about a Taiwanese boat that came into the area. Six sentences later, in (17), the relevance of the two men is brought into the story.

- (16a) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo i-di kasa Gumawana goi*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two CTRL-3PL village Gumawana OBL  
*se-di-yao taiyao si-kaaiyako.*  
 SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-IPFV.exist

- (b) *Si-kaaiyako si-kaaiyako eee, tuta tayamo oga dimdim*  
 3PL-IPFV.exist 3PL-IPFV.exist until time one boat foreign  
*gagai-na tayamo i-ma i-vaiu.*  
 big-3SG one 3SG-come 3SG-arrive

‘(a) **Two men** were living with their friends in their village of Gumawana.

(b) They lived on until one time a large foreign boat arrived.’

- (17a) *E nakae amo koroto-ya-di a-di tei-yuwo si-tagona.*  
 DM ADD DIST man-TM-3PL PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-agree

- (b) *Latuwo-di si-sowoya sa-di-yao taiyao si-na si-bani.*  
 desire-3PL 3PL-embark SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-go 3PL-fish

‘(a) And **those two men** also agreed. (b) They wanted to embark with their friends and go fish.’

There are exceptions to the rule. There are times when the major participants are introduced as though they are known. This is true of stories about the legendary ogre Tomogibeli. For example, in (18) Tomogibeli is presented as though he was an activated participant. In this story (*Wallaby and Turtle*, appendix text 3), Wallaby and Turtle have been arguing over who would climb the white satinash tree (*Syzygium puberulum*). Wallaby finally agrees to climb the tree, but he will not drop any fruit down to Turtle. Turtle becomes angry and calls out to Tomogibeli. This is Tomogibeli’s introduction, but this is not the normal way for a main participant to be introduced. The author treats him as though he was already activated. This is because everyone in the village knows who Tomogibeli is, so there is no reason to introduce him formally.

- (18a) *E kina vayavaya-ya-na gamo-na i-goyo,*  
 DM 3SG turtle-TM-3SG stomach-3SG 3SG-bad

- (b) *tuwo i-simana ka-na, “Tomogibeli e, a-mi mogolu*  
 so 3SG-report talk-3SG Tomogibeli INTERJ ED-2PL satinash  
*kerei i-mwere-mwere-Ø.”*  
 wallaby 3SG-IPFV-climb.TR-3SG

‘(a) And Turtle’s was angry (lit. his stomach was bad), (b) so he tattled and said, “Hey **Tomogibeli!** Wallaby is climbing your white satinash tree.”’

In this section, we have seen how major participants can be identified in the text by how they are presented using a formal introduction. We have seen that major participants will appear in a story more often than other participants, since the story is built around them. In the next section, the distinguishing features of minor participants are presented.

## 5.2.2 Minor participants

Minor participants appear in fewer clauses than major participants and do not play a major role in the story. I stated earlier, based on Table 5, that Gumasai and the ogre were major participants. The drop in the number of clauses between Gumasai and the chief is dramatic. Clearly, the chief is a secondary character.

Whereas major participants will typically be given a formal introduction, minor participants just appear as subjects of a topic-comment clause or as non-subjects, and will then disappear just as suddenly. In the story *Hen and chicks* (appendix text 6), the mother hen goes in search of worms to eat. As she is searching, she inadvertently begins scattering Lizard's house. Lizard is introduced to the story as possessor of his house. He is a minor participant, appearing only to kill the hen. Once that is complete, he goes back inside his house in (19c). Thus deactivated, he is never mentioned again. The story moves on in (d) with the hen's chicks, who are reintroduced via reference to the hen.

- (19a) *I-sou-sou,                    ailavasi i-na                    vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter-TR-3SG
- (b) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu, Tau-na*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry result-3SG  
*i-vada-gavila kamkam-ya-na i-vada-mate-Ø.*  
 3SG-W.head-turn chicken-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-die-3SG
- (c) *I-vada-mate-Ø                    i-kavava, i-kalave-Ø go,*  
 3SG-W.head-die.TR-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-leave.TR-3SG SP  
*i-siu-mna i-na vada sinae-na goi ii-masisi.*  
 3SG-enter-again 3SG-go house inside-3SG OBL 3SG-IPFV.sleep
- (d) *Ego kina kamkam-ya-na natu-nao sii-kaiyaka.*  
 ADD 3SG hen-TM-3SG offspring-3SG.PL 3SG-IPFV-exist

‘(a) As she (Hen) was descending, she began scattering **Lizard’s** house. (b) So as for **Lizard**, he was angry, therefore he turned his head and killed Hen. (c) After he killed her, he left her and he went inside his house again and went to sleep. (d) But Hen’s chicks were there.’

In this section, it has been shown that minor participants are introduced differently than major participants. They are not given a formal introduction, they do not occur as much as major participants, and they may appear in topic comment clauses or in other relations on their initial activation.

In the next section, it will be shown that props differ from both major and minor participants.

### 5.2.3 Props

Props never take an active role in the narrative. Rather, they appear as objects and obliques without any formal introduction, and then they lapse into deactivation simply by not being mentioned again. Props are not referred to using independent pronouns. For example, in *Gilibo* (appendix text 1) we are told that the chief catches a pig (20). The pig is a prop that is mentioned once and never referred to again as *bao* ‘pig’. However, after the first occurrence it is then referred to as ‘feast’ since he is the main course.

- (20) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø be aika*  
 DM time one chief pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG IRR feast  
*giyai-na i-guinwe-Ø. Aika-ya-na una-na ame nakae.*  
 small-3SG 3SG-make.TR-3SG feast-TM-3SG basis-3SG PROX ADD  
 ‘Now one time Chief caught a **pig** in order to make a small **feast**. The reason for **the feast** was this.’

In *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4) two props, *bani* ‘fishing line’ and *sala* ‘hook’, are introduced and occur in only this sentence in (21). After this, they are never referenced again.

- (21) *Tuwo madaboki-di si-na dimdim-ya-di goi go, tayamo*  
 so all-3PL 3PL-go foreigner-TM-3PL OBL SP one  
*dimdim bani be nakae sala i-kabi-di i-kaiguyauye-di*  
 foreigner fish.line and ADD hook 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-distribute-3PL  
*i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-give-3PL  
 ‘So all of them (Gumawana men) went to the foreigners and a certain foreigner got **fishing lines** and also **hooks** and distributed them and gave (them) to them (Gumawana men).’

Props are not referred to in the same way as major and minor participants. They are never referred to using a free pronoun nor do they persist as topic. Instead, they tend to appear suddenly and immediately lapse into a non-active state.

In the next chapter, I present the activation states of participants in Gumawana narrative, as well as the default rules for participant referencin.

## 6. *Activation of participants*

---

We have seen the different forms of encoding that may be used to reference a given participant. We have also shown how major and minor participants differ, and how props are distinguished from both major and minor participants. In this chapter, we now turn to the default encoding used for various participants. To accomplish this, we must first examine the various activation states found in the language.

### 6.1 Activation states

Three activation states—active, semi-active, and inactive—have been proposed by Chafe (1987, 1994) and further developed by Lambrecht (1994:93) and Dooley and Levinsohn (2001). An active referent, as defined by Chafe (1987:22ff), is one “that is currently lit up, a concept in a person’s focus of consciousness at a particular moment.” He associates given information with an active referent. A semi-active referent is one “that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has as background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on.” He further describes this kind of activation state as being accessible. The third category is inactive, which is a referent “that is currently in a person’s long-term memory, neither focally nor peripherally active.”

Chafe (1994:86) notes three ways in which a referent may become semi-active. An accessible referent “may be a referent that

- was active at an earlier time in the discourse,
- is directly associated with an idea that is or was active in the discourse or,
- is associated with the nonlinguistic environment of the conversation and has for that reason been peripherally active but not directly focused on.”

The following table summarises Chafe’s three categories of participant status, showing the type of information a language would associate with each, as well as the expected encoding:

TABLE 9. PARTICIPANT STATUS

Activation States	Information associated	Expected encoding
active	given	unaccented pronoun or zero
semi-active	accessible	accented NP
inactive	new	accented NP

This terminology will be used throughout the rest of the paper to describe the default encoding for Gumawana narrative.

## 6.2 Encoding contexts for Gumawana

The methodology Dooley and Levinsohn suggest includes the charting of texts to track participants. The chart for each text includes a clause-by-clause breakdown of the story. Several columns are entered to mark off subject, non-subject, context and types of encoding used.

The following four specific contexts taken from Levinsohn (2011:126) were examined in the texts to determine default encoding values for activated participants in the role of subject.

- INT    Activation of a brand-new referent
- S1     Subject is the same as in the previous clause: maintaining an activated participant.
- S2     Subject was the addressee of the previous reported speech: activated participants with respect to reported speeches.
- S3     The subject had some other non-subject role in the previous clause: change of role of an activated participant.
- S4     Reactivation of a semi-active subject that was not involved in the previous clause: semi-active to active status change.

There are situations in which two participants will act independently followed by a clause where they act together. In such cases, Gumawana treats the context as same subject (S1). This is illustrated in (1) (from *Wallaby and Turtle*, appendix text 3). The story begins with Wallaby as subject telling Turtle that they should go look for fish. In (b), Turtle is the subject responding positively to Wallaby's suggestion. Finally in (c) both go but no NP is used to mark the participants because this is considered the same subject since both participants were interacting and now work together.

- (1a) *Si-kaiyaka, kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya,*  
 3PL-exist wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*ta-na ta-vayali a-da iyana*  
 1PL.INCL-go 1PL.INCL-walk.on.shore ED-1PL.INCL fish  
*ta-lusala.”*  
 1PL.INCL-search
- (b) *Tuwo vayavaya ka-na, “O dedeevina. Ta-na*  
 so turtle talk-3SG oh fine 1PL.INCL-go  
*ta-vayali.”*  
 1PL.INCL-walk.on.shore
- (c) *Tuwo moitamo a-di gita si-kabi-di, si-na*  
 so true PASS-3PL spear 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go  
*si-vayali, a-di iyana si-gunubakuna*  
 3PL-walk.on.shore ED-3PL fish 3PL-spear

‘(a) They (Wallaby and Turtle) were together and **Wallaby** said, “My cousin Turtle, let’s go walk along the shore and search for fish to eat.” (b) So **Turtle** said, “Oh fine. Let’s go walk along the shore.” (c) So indeed **they** got their spears, went, and walked along the shore and speared fish for them to eat.’

The S3 context must be more carefully defined. The default clause conjoining strategy is juxtaposition. Certain transitive verbs will be followed by an intransitive verb whose subject is the object of the preceding transitive verb. For example, *aetune iwo* is literally ‘I-send-it it-goes (toward hearer).’ In terms of participant referencing, this type of construction will not be included. The second verb functions more as an adverbial clause modifying the main verb. A second type of serial verb construction is where the second verb states something more about the preceding object of a transitive verb. In the sentence *ayatoidi sikaiyaka* ‘I-set-them they-remain’, the subject of the second verb is coreferential with the object of the first verb. It would be something like ‘I put them there to stay.’ Such a construction will never have an NP between the two verbs. The object may appear as a noun but it will come before the first verb.

The S3 context describes the situation where a subject in one clause was a non-subject in the preceding clause. For example, in (2a) (from *Gilibo*, appendix text 1) the ogre is introduced as the possessor of the cave into which Gumasai has entered. Then in (b) he is the subject.

- (2a) *Ego tukubu-ya-na dokanikani i-na tukubu Gumasai i-kaiyaka*  
 ADD cave-TM-3SG ogre CTRL-3SG cave Gumasai 3SG-exist

*sinae-na.*  
inside-3SG

- (b) *E kina go dokanikani-ya-na i-tupa-tupa.*  
DM 3SG SP ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-voyage

‘(a) But the cave was an **ogre’s** cave which Gumasai was inside of. (b) Now as for the **ogre**, **he** was on a voyage.’

The S4 context involves a change of subject due to reactivation of a participant who was not involved in the preceding clause. Example (3) is taken from the story of how the people of Mobida began the custom of sailing. In this humorous story, the people of Mobida do not know how to sail, but make the decision to begin. In (a-b) the men have decided not to go on a voyage. So they break all the clay pots on the canoes and go back up to their village. Then in (c) the subject switches to their wives, who ask them why they are not taking a voyage. The switch from the men to their wives is the S4 context, since the wives are being reactivated and were not mentioned in the preceding clause.

- (3a) *E madaboki-di si-na oga goi si-sowoya vaega*  
DM all-3PL 3PL-go canoe OBL 3PL-embark clay.pot  
*madaboki-na si-lo-kau-visi-visi.*  
all-3SG 3PL-all-W.force-IPFV-break
- (b) *I-kavava go, kona-di si-woluwo si-tuko-vila*  
3SG-finish SP possession-3PL 3PL-collect 3PL-ascend-return  
*i-di kasa*  
CTRL-3PL village
- (c) *go, mone-di-yao si-digo ka-di, “Kaga una-na geya*  
SP spouse-3PL-PL 3PL-speak talk-3PL what basis-3SG NEG  
*ko-tupeta?”*  
2PL-voyage.LIM

‘(a) And all of them (people of Mobida) went and embarked on their canoes and broke all of their clay pots. (b) After that they collected their things and ascended back to their village, (c) **their wives** said, “Why did you not make a voyage?”’

The S4 context also includes situations in which the subject of a clause is plural followed by a clause in which one of the preceding participants is the subject. Gumawana treats such contexts as a change of subject (S4). This is rather an obvious observation since without a full NP it would be difficult to discern who the new subject is. Example (4) (from *Gilibo*, appendix text 1) illustrates this. Leading up to this excerpt Gumasai and the ogre have been the subjects of several clauses strung together. Then the

author picks out Gumasai from the two to be the next subject. As an S4 context, it requires a full NP.

- (4) *Si-kaika i-kavava, Gumasai i-vatowo i-vatetala a-na*  
 3PL-eat 3SG-finish Gumasai 3SG-begin 3SG-story PASS-3SG

*kaibako.*

past.events

‘After **they** (Gumasai and the ogre) finished eating, **Gumasai** began to tell about his past events.’

The contexts used for tracking non-subjects are listed below.

INT Activation of a brand-new referent.

N1 The non-subject referent has the same non-subject role as in the previous clause.

N2 The addressee of a reported speech was the speaker of the previous reported speech.

N3 The non-subject referent was involved in the previous clause in a different role not covered by N1 or N2.

N4 The non-subject referent was not mentioned in the previous clause.

Below each of these contexts is illustrated.

In (5) (from *Hen and chicks*, appendix text 6) Hen is searching for worms for her chicks. As she comes upon Lizard’s house, she inadvertently scatters it. This example shows the activation of Lizard and his house in a non-subject role (INT).

- (5) *I-sou-sou, ailavasi i-na vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG

‘As she (Hen) was descending, she began scattering **Lizard’s house**.’

In the N1 context, a non-subject has the same role it had in the previous clause. This can be seen in (6), taken from the story of Dog and Possum. Dog ties and attaches his ears behind his head. Each clause has the same object all marked with the pronominal suffix *-di* on each verb. Once the object is established, as long as it persists as the object, pronominal suffixation alone is sufficient for referencing.

- (6) *Tuwo moitamo weiniya-ya-na taiya-na i-siko-i-di*  
 so true dog-TM-3SG ear-3SG 3SG-tie-TR-3PL  
*i-kovile-di gadugadu-na goi i-siko-patuko-i-di.*  
 3SG-pull.back.TR-3PL nape-3SG OBL 3SG-tie-attach-TR-3PL

‘So as it turns out Dog tied his **ears**, pulled **them** back and attached **them** to the nape of his neck.’

The N2 context is specific to reported speeches. In this context, an addressee in one clause was the speaker in the preceding clause. This context is illustrated in the story *Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3). The excerpt begins with Wallaby as speaker and Turtle as addressee. Then in (7b) Turtle is speaker and Wallaby is addressee (N2 context). Each subsequent reported speech shows this same pattern, zero marking for addressee.

- (7a) *E kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya,*  
 DM wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*a-da mogolu ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
 ED-1PL.INCL satinash 2SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (b) *Kina go vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Geya, nubai-gu. Kom kumwere-Ø.”*  
 NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (c) *Kina go kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Geya. Kom ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
 NEG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (d) *Tuwo kina vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 so 3SG turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Geya, nubai-gu. Kom i-toboine-m ku-mwere-Ø una-na*  
 NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 3SG-able-2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG basis-3SG  
*kom ae-m maanawe-na go, yau ae-gu kaakupi-na.*  
 2SGS leg-2SG long-3SG SP 1SG leg-1SG short-3SG  
*Tau-na geya i-toboine-gu-ta a-mwere-Ø.”*  
 result-3SG NEG 3SG-able-1SG-LIM 1SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (e) *E kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 DM wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“O dedeevina. A-mwere-Ø.”*  
 oh fine 1SG-climb.TR-3SG

‘(a) And Wallaby said, “My cousin Turtle, climb up white satinash tree for the fruit to eat.” (b) But Turtle, he said, “No, my cousin. *You* climb it.” (c) But Wallaby said, “No. *You* climb it.” (d) So Turtle said, “No, my cousin. *You* are able to climb it because your legs are long but my legs are short. Therefore I am not able to climb it.” (e) And Wallaby said, “Oh fine, I will climb it.”’

The N3 context refers to a non-subject in one clause holding a different role in the previous clause. This context is illustrated in the following example. The children are the object in (8a). Ogre comes down from his house and sees them cooking. Then in (b) the children are the addressees of Ogre’s reported speech. The reported speech is an initial speech, in which case the addressee may be encoded as zero or as a noun, depending on whether or not the two are established on stage.

- (8a) *I-sou, i-sou i-ma i-gite-di gomana niu-na*  
 3SG-descend 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-see.TR-3PL child OSS-3SG  
*taiyao sii-kaigabuna a-di vilava be a-di iyana.*  
 COM 3PL.IPFV-roast ED-3PL taro and ED-3PL fish

- (b) *E dokanikani-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 DM ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Tubu-gowo, iyana vilava ko-vini-gu a-kaika.”*  
 relative-1SG fish taro 2PL-give-1SG 1SG-eat

‘(a) He (Ogre) descended and descended and saw **the child and his sister** roasting their taro and their fish. (b) And the ogre said, “My juniors, give me fish and taro to eat.”’

Another example of the N3 context involves the entity being an object in one clause and possessor of a location phrase in the following clause. In (9a) the author tells of how the man cares for the coconut palm which is the object of the verb *yabobona* ‘care for’. In (b) the coconut palm is the possessor of *unana* ‘basis of it’.

- (9a) *E tuta liliu-na niu-ya-na i-yabobone-Ø;*  
 DM time all-3SG coconut-TM-3SG 3SG-care.for.TR-3SG  
 (b) *Nakae una-na goi nauna ii-labu-di be tuta liliu-na*  
 ADD basis-3SG OBL weed 3SG.IPFV-pull-3PL and time all-3SG  
*i-kaidiiyoyo-i-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV.sweep.TR-3SG

‘Now all of the time he (the man) cared for the **coconut palm**; for example he pulled the weeds at the **base of it** and all of the time he swept it.’

The last category, N4, refers to a situation where a non-subject in one clause was not referred to in the previous clause. This can be seen in (10) (from *Hen and chicks*, appendix text 6). *Kamkam* ‘hen’ is the subject of the clauses in (a). In (b) she is not mentioned. Then in (c) she is the non-subject of the second clause. N4 context requires a full NP to reference the participant.

- (10a) *I-sou-sou,                      ailavasi i-na                      vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG
- (b) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu,*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry
- (c) *tau-na i-vada-gavila                      **kamkam-ya-na** i-vada-mate-Ø.*  
 result-3SG 3SG-W.head-turn hen-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-die.TR-3SG
- ‘(a) As she (Hen) was descending, she began scattering Lizard’s house. (b) So as for Lizard, he was angry, (c) therefore he turned his head and killed **Hen**.’

Both the S and N contexts are further explained in the following sections.

## 6.3 Initial activation of brand-new participants – context INT

### 6.3.1 Cognitive tasks of activation

Runge (2006:88) notes that

As people read a text, they form a *mental representation* of the information communicated in the discourse (Lambrecht 1994:43). When a brand new participant is introduced or *activated* into the discourse, the reader creates a new ‘file’ which allows storage and retrieval of discourse information about the particular participant (cf. Givón 1992:9). Two tasks must be successfully accomplished in order to facilitate activation.

One task is to establish a primary referring expression, and the other is to establish an anchoring relation. The primary referring expression is “the *default* expression used when relexicalizing the participant. It serves as a label for the reader’s cognitive file, and facilitates subsequent reference to the participant in the discourse” (Runge 2006:88). Referring expressions include proper names and epithets. Runge (2006:89) explains that the second task “involves establishing an *anchoring relation* for the newly activated participant, which will be called the *anchoring relation*.” An anchoring relation “guides the reader in how to ground the participant to the discourse context.” It also instructs “the reader in how to relate the new participant to his or her own mental representation of the discourse” (Runge 2006:89). Anchoring relations include kinship terms or other possessive constructions.

In Gumawana, referring expressions tend to be personal names or simple descriptive references: for example, *gomana* ‘child’, *vavina* ‘woman’, or *koroto* ‘man’. In legends which have personified animals, the animal name is used. For example, *kerei* ‘wallaby’ or *vayavaya* ‘turtle’ are used as personal names. Anchoring relations tend to be kinship terms following the cultural norm of knowing how one person is related to another.

### 6.3.2 Activation of participants into new mental representation

In this section, the activation of brand-new participants is discussed. A slight difference is made when activating a new participant into an existing scene as opposed to an established scene. When a brand-new participant is introduced into a new scene, this will typically be at the very beginning of the story. Once the story has moved on, we have existing scenes, which handle the introduction of participants in a different manner. When a new mental representation is established, new participants are activated by presentational articulation.

Levinsohn (2011:119) notes, “introductions in connection with the establishment of a new mental representation are most often in the title.” Gumawana stories do this to some degree. Even though the title establishes a new mental representation, the participants are still introduced formally. The following example illustrates this. The title is given in (11a) so that the reader is to make a new mental representation about a folk tale involving Wallaby and Turtle. However, in (11b) they are introduced using presentational articulation, which is expected of major participants. The title in (a) also establishes the primary referring expression for Wallaby and Turtle. Both are referred to by their animal names, *kerei* and *vayavaya*, as though they were personal names. As Runge points out these are the default means of referring to the participant until some other label is introduced. However, once the story begins in (b), Wallaby is introduced using the default expression *kerei*, but Turtle is anchored to Wallaby by means of a kin term *nubaina* ‘cousin.’

- (11a) *Vatuta ame yoguyogu a-di tai-yuwo vatutai-di, kerei*  
 legend PROX animal PASS-3PL person-two legend-3PL wallaby  
*nakae vayavaya.*  
 ADD turtle

- (b) *E vatuta-ya-na ame nakae. Lava tayamo kerei ma*  
 DM legend-TM-3SG PROX ADD one time wallaby COM  
*nubai-na si-kaiyaka.*  
 cousin-3SG 3PL-exist

‘(a) This legend is the legend about two animals, **Wallaby** and **Turtle**. (b) Now the legend is like this. One time **Wallaby** and **his cousin** were together.’

Presentational articulation may be used to establish a new mental representation. Such clauses typically have no verb or use an existential verb like *aiyaka* ‘exist’ to introduce the participant as existing. This will be followed by a clause giving the referring expression. In the following story of two children and an ogre, the children are introduced as the main participants in the story at the very beginning using presentational articulation, and thus creating a new mental representation. Note that in (12a) the children are introduced into the story using the verb *sikaiyaka* ‘they lived/existed.’ In (c) the mother and father are introduced as the subject of a topic-comment clause. The second observation made by Levinsohn (2011:24) is that “[t]he topic must be either already established in the text or easily related to one that is already established.” In this case, the two children mentioned in (a) and (b) are established participants. The mother and father are minor participants with respect to their children. The referring expression is *tamadi* ‘their father’ and *sinadi* ‘their mother’, thereby anchoring them to their children.

- (12a) *Gomana Tayamo Ma Niu-na Vatutai-di*  
 child one COM OSS-3SG legend-3PL
- (b) *Boi nimatu gomana tayamo koroto niu-na taiyao*  
 previous long.ago child one male OSS-3SG COM  
*si-kaiyaka i-di vanuwo negwasa kiki-na.*  
 3PL-exist CTRL-3PL village sea near-3SG
- (c) *Ago sina-di be tama-di bogina si-kamasa.*  
 ADD mother-3PL and father-3PL PRF 3PL-die
- (d) *Ago dokanikani i-na vanuwo koya goi i-kaiyaka.*  
 ADD ogre CTRL-3PL village mountain OBL 3SG-exist
- ‘(a) The legend about a child and his sister. (b) Long ago **a boy with his sister lived** in their village near the sea. (c) And **their mother and father** had died. (d) And the ogre lived in his village on a mountain.’

In a true third person narrative the author introduces the main character *vavina tayamo* ‘a woman’ in the title (13a). Then in (b) she refers to the woman as activated (note the thematic marker *-ya*). The term *vavina* ‘woman’ is the referring phrase which is used throughout the story and she is grounded to the discourse by means of the anchoring phrase “a student at the high school” given at the end of (b).

- (13a) *Vatetala ame vavina tayamo i-na vailai vateteli-na.*  
 story PROX woman one CTRL-3SG perish story-3SG
- (b) *E vavina-ya-na moe Kiriwina High School*  
 DM woman-TM-3SG MED Kiriwina High School

*i-na to-sikuru tayamo.*

CTRL-3SG NMZL-school one

‘(a) This story is the story about **a woman’s** perishing. (b) Now **the woman** was a student of Kiriwina High School.’

The following excerpt is an example of a major participant who is not introduced via the title. The title of the story appears in (14a). The first sentence of the story, (b), explains what the story is about, namely how Gilibo came to be an island. Then in (c) the major participant Gumasai is introduced. Notice the lack of a verb in (c). This sentence establishes the existence of a boy. This is followed by the referring expression—that is, his name Gumasai. The lengthy introduction communicates to the reader to build a new mental representation around Gumasai, who will play a major part in the story.

(14a) *Ame guna vatetala Gilibo a-vatetel-i-Ø.*  
PROX CTRL.1SG story Gilibo 1SG-story-3SG

(b) *Kaga pasi-na Gilibo i-topa?*  
what reason-3SG Gilibo 3SG-UNACC.break

(c) *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koroto.*  
previously long.ago one child male

(d) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na Gumasai*  
child-TM-3SG name-3SG Gumasai

(e) *Go Gumasai i-na kasa Kitava, moe Budibudi simli-na*  
SP Gumasai CTRL-3SG village Kitava MED Kiriwina island-3SG

‘(a) This is my story I tell about Gilibo (title). (b) Why did Gilibo break? (c) **Long ago there was a certain boy** (lit. a male child). (d) The child’s name was Gumasai. (e) And Gumasai’s village was Kitava, which is an island of Kiriwina.’

In this section, we have seen two ways of introducing a participant into a new mental representation. This is accomplished through either the title or the first few sentences of the story. Typically, a participant is introduced by presentational articulation using either no verb or an existential verb.

### 6.3.3 Activation of participants into an established mental representation

When a participant is introduced into an established mental representation, it will normally be without a formal introduction. This is the main difference from the establishing of a new mental representation. As stated above, introduction of participants into a new mental representation will occur through presentational articulation. In an established mental representation, we find participants introduced as a non-subject. A

participant can also be introduced via an existing schema. Alternatively, a participant may be introduced in association with an already activated participant. Some are introduced in lists. Certain participants are known by the reader and so are introduced as though already activated. Finally, a participant may be introduced within a quote. Each of these activation strategies is described below.

### 6.3.3.1 Non-subject position

The most common way in Gumawana for participants to be introduced into an existing mental representation is in non-subject positions. This can be seen in (15) taken from *Gilibo* (appendix text 1). Ogre is introduced as a possessor into an existing mental representation. In (a), Gumasai, the main character, enters a cave. In (b) the ogre is introduced as the possessor of that cave. The ogre then becomes the topic in (c).

(15a) *I-sou i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu i-kaiyaka.*  
3SG-descend 3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave OBL 3SG-enter 3SG-exist

(b) *Ego tukubu-ya-na dokanikani i-na tukubu Gumasai*  
ADD cave-TM-3SG ogre CTRL-3SG cave Gumasai  
*i-kaiyaka sinae-na.*  
3SG-exist inside-3SG

(c) *E kina go dokanikani-ya-na i-tupa-tupa.*  
DM 3SG SP ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-voyage

(d) *A-na lava bogina bei i-vayowata i-lokoina.*  
PASS-3SG time PRF IRR 3SG-return 3SG-run

‘(a) He (Gumasai) descended, went bushward to a cave, entered, and remained there. (b) Now the cave was an **ogre’s** cave that Gumasai was inside of. (c) Now as for the ogre, he was on a voyage. (d) His time had come to return, and so he sailed.’

Secondary participants may also be introduced into an existing scene in a non-subject role. In the story *Hen and chicks* (appendix text 6), the mother goes off to dig for worms. As she is digging, she inadvertently destroys the house of Lizard (16c). Lizard is introduced into an existing mental representation in a possessor role. He becomes the subject in (d). Once he has played his part (killing the hen), he lapses into an inactive state for the rest of the story.

(16a) *E tuwo sina-di-ya-na i-na bayao i-kabi-Ø,*  
DM so mother-3PL-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG basket 3SG-get-3SG  
*i-tuko i-na udodana goi i-du-eli-elina.*  
3SG-ascend 3SG-go bush OBL 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig

- (b) *I-du-eli-elina* *i-tuko-tuko* *i-na* *i-na* *koya*  
 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig 3SG-IPFV-ascend 3SG-go 3SG-go mountain  
*dabana* *toi-na* *goi* *i-du-eli-elina* *go* *i-du-eli-elina*  
 head-3SG very OBL 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig SP 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig  
*go, i-sou-sou* *dadava* *tayamo* *goi*.  
 SP 3SG-IPFV-descend region one OBL
- (c) *I-sou-sou,* *ailavasi* *i-na* *vada* *i-eli-gae-gae-Ø*.  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG
- (d) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu...*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry

‘(a) And so their mother got her basket, ascended to the bush, and began digging for worms. (b) As she was digging and ascending, she went to the very face of the mountain and she began digging and descending on the other side. (c) As she was descending, she began scattering **Lizard’s** house. (d) **So as for Lizard**, he was angry...’

### 6.3.3.2 Association with an existing schema

In some stories, cultural information presupposes certain information that is automatically accessible by native speakers. Because of such cultural schemas, information can be introduced as given. In the following example, although Chief is a minor participant, he is also known. In the introduction to *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the reader is informed that this story begins on the Trobriands. That information implies that a ‘chief’ is involved and everyone knows that on the Trobriands the chief decides everything for the group. Therefore, ‘Chief’ does not require any other description to make clear who he is. Similarly, in American English, someone might refer to ‘the President’, even though he has not been previously mentioned in the discourse.

- (17) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø*,  
 DM time one chief pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG  
*be aika giyai-na i-guinuwe-Ø*  
 IRR feast small-3SG 3SG-make.TR-3SG

‘Now one time **Chief** caught a pig in order to make a small feast.’

### 6.3.3.3 Association with another participant

An author may introduce a participant into an existing scene by means of association with another participant. This is quite common in Gumawana, especially by means of kinship terms.

In a story about two children who roast their brother, the author first introduces the main characters, Gwarabeyai and his two older brothers, by means of presentational articulation and gives some brief background information about them (18a). Then the story immediately shifts to the children's mother, who had not been introduced, as she instructs the children on what they are to do. She would be considered a minor participant. She enters the story immediately interacting and then disappears. She does not play a leading role in the story and she only appears a few times. Her introduction is in association with her children. If the story had been built around her, we would expect an introduction such as "there was a woman", and the children would be associated to her via possessed kinship terms. In this case the author introduces the children's mother via the kin relation *sinadi* 'their mother' (18c). Finally, the father is even more remotely introduced in association with the woman by means of the kin term *monena* 'her spouse' in (18d).

- (18a) *Gwarabeyai gomana tayamo go, tuwowo-nao*  
 Gwarabeyai child one SP older.SSS-3SG.PL  
*a-di tai-yuwo tupwana gagai-di.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two somewhat big-3PL
- (b) *Nakae adi tala 6 be 10 go, nauyayanai-di*  
 ADD PASS-3PL year 6 and 10 SP between-3PL
- (c) *Lava tayamo sina-di i-latuwoko-i-di i-digo ka-na,*  
 time one mother-3PL 3SG-told-TR-3PL 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Natu-gowo, a-mi gomana korugwaus-i-Ø*  
 offspring-1SG.PL PASS-2PL younger.sss 2PL-look.after-TR-3SG  
*go, kai ka-na tanuwo. Neta i-taiya, a-na*  
 SP 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go garden if 3SG-cry ED-3SG  
*losui ko-gabu-Ø kovini-Ø i-kaika."*  
 banana 2PL-roast-3SG 2PL-give-3SG 3SG-eat
- (d) *E vavina mone-na taiyao si-na tanuwo go, kidi*  
 DM woman spouse-3SG COM 3PL-went garden SP 3PL  
*go-gomana-ya-di si-kaiyako, gomana-ya-na si-rugwaus-i-Ø.*  
 PL-children-TM-3PL 3PL-exist child-TM-3SG 3PL-watch-TR-3SG

'(a) Gwarabeyai was a child and his two older brothers were somewhat big. That is, their years were between six and ten. (c) One time **their mother** told them, "Children, you watch your brother and we will go to the garden. If he cries, roast a banana and give it to him to eat." (d) Now the woman with **her husband** went to the garden, but the children remained and watched the child.'

### 6.3.3.4 Lists

Some authors begin creating a new mental representation by stating something people did using an unspecified pronoun like ‘we’ or ‘they’ setting the scene for the story. Once that is established, they will then give a specific list of who the ‘we’ or ‘they’ includes. From that point on the names are used.

After creating a new mental representation by beginning a story about scaring a child in the village with the statement “we wanted to go to Utuboina for netting fish”, the author then goes on to introduce the major characters in the story, listing them by name.

(19a) *Boi nimatu uwata latuwo-ma ka-na Utuboina*  
previously long.ago netting desire-1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go Utuboina

(b) *go, a-ma badabada Siyokira, Ediriki, Debida,*  
SP PASS-1PL.EXCL number Siyokira Ediriki Debida

*Somare, Esironi, yau.*

Somare Esironi 1SG

‘(a) A long time ago we wanted to go to Utuboina for netting fish (b) and our group included **Siyokira, Ediriki, Debida, Somare, Esironi and me.**’

### 6.3.3.5 Known participants

Some participants are known in the culture and might fall into the category that Levinsohn (2011:119) suggests as “local authorities and supernatural participants.” This would also fit with Lambrecht’s (1994:164) statement that “under certain conditions topics may be interpretable as current even though they haven’t been brought up in the current discourse.” In Gumawana there are numerous stories about *dokanikani* ‘ogre’. Though he does not exist, everyone knows who he is; therefore, a speaker may assume he is known to the listener. *Dokanikani* rarely is given a formal introduction. Instead, he is introduced by acting immediately. For example, in (20) the ogre is introduced into an established mental representation as the subject of a topic-comment clause.

(20) *E lava-ya-na sii-kaigabu go, dokanikani ii-masisi*  
DM time-TM-3SG 3PL.IPFV-roast SP ogre 3SG.IPFV-sleep

*i-kanamimi. I-taoya i-na gita i-kabi-Ø i-sou.*  
3SG-dream 3SG-stand CTRL-3SG spear 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-descend

‘Now while they were roasting, **the ogre** who was sleeping dreamed. He arose, got his spear and descended.’

### 6.3.3.6 In quotations

Certain minor participants will be introduced into an existing mental representation via quotations.

In the story *Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3), Tamogibeli just appears in the middle of it. Wallaby and Turtle have been arguing over the white satinash fruit. Wallaby is in Tamogibeli's white satinash tree eating the fruit and Turtle is at the base of the tree wanting some, but Wallaby will not give him any. So Turtle tattles on Wallaby. Tamogibeli's introduction into the story is in Turtle's quote. Furthermore, *ami mogolu* 'your white satinash tree' is second person plural, which also allows the author to introduce Tamogibeli's wife as given information later in the story.

(21a) *E kina vayavaya-ya-na gamo-na i-goyo,*  
DM 3SG turtle-TM-3SG stomach-3SG 3SG-bad

(b) *tuwo i-simana ka-na, "Tamogibeli e!*  
so 3SG-tattle talk-3SG Tamogibeli INTERJ

*A-mi mogolu kerei i-mwere-mwere-Ø.*  
ED-2PL satinash wallaby 3SG-IPFV-climb.TR-3SG

'(a) Now Turtle was angry (lit. his stomach was bad). (b) So he tattled and said, "Hey **Tamogibeli!** Wallaby is climbing your white satinash tree."'

## 6.4 Default encoding of continuing reference

In this section, we examine how continuing reference is made to a participant once he or she has been introduced. Each of the encoding contexts introduced in §6.2 are presented below.

### 6.4.1 Continuing reference after narrative clauses: context S1/N1

In this section, we examine how Gumawana maintains the active status of participants. This involves both the S1 and N1 contexts.

The default encoding for the subject of a clause, which is the same subject in the previous clause (S1 category), is pronominal affixation only. Table 10 summarises data for six third person narratives. The second column shows the total number of clauses for each text. The third column gives the total number of clauses that are S1 context (same subject as preceding clause). The fourth column shows the total number of clauses in the S1 context, which have verb agreement only. The final column lists the percentage of clauses which have verb agreement only used in S1 contexts. As the table shows, over 90% of all clauses with S1 context have verb agreement only.

The S1 context is illustrated below in (22) taken from the story of how possums got small ears. Possum offends Dog by calling him lazy. As a result, Dog decides to trick Possum. So he ties his ears to the nape of his neck (a) to make Possum think he cut his ears off and then waits for Possum to come (c). In (a) Dog is referred to with an overt noun. After that point, every reference to him is with a bound pronoun until a new subject is indicated using a noun phrase. Possum becomes the subject in (c) and the first

mention of him again is with a noun. The subsequent clauses reference him using bound pronouns only.

TABLE 10. DATA FOR S1 CONTEXT

Story	Total # clauses in text	Total # S1 clauses	# S1 clauses agreement only	% bound pronouns in S1 context:
Rat and two brothers	203	154	145	94%
Possum and Dog	60	43	40	93%
Hen and Chicks	66	52	48	92%
Gilibo	193	125	120	96%
Two men lost at sea	180	124	115	93%
Turtle and Wallaby	136	92	91	99%

- (22a) *Tuwo moitamō weiniya-ya-na taiya-na i-siko-i-di*  
 so true dog-TM-3SG ear-3SG 3SG-tie-TR-3PL  
*i-kovile-di gadugadu-na goi i-siko-patuko-i-di.*  
 3SG-pull.back.TR-3PL nape-3SG OBL 3SG-tie-attach-TR-3PL

- (b) *I-siko-Ø i-kavava, i-tuyawata.*  
 3SG-tie-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-wait

- (c) *I-tuyawata, i-tuyawata aaa, kodoya-ya-na*  
 3SG-IPFV.wait 3SG-IPFV.wait until possum-TM-3SG  
*tanuwo goi i-ma.*  
 garden OBL 3SG-come

‘(a) So as it turns out **Dog** tied his ears, pulled them back and attached them to the nape of his neck. (b) After he tied them, he waited. (c) He waited and waited until Possum came from the garden.’

This holds true for the majority of cases as Table 10 demonstrates. However, the data also shows that when a short intervening background comment is made, it does not affect the encoding of the subject. Therefore, whenever a change of subject is due to a background comment such as ‘the next day’, which is a clause in Gumawana, we still find pronominal prefixation only. This is illustrated in (23) (from *Turtle and Wallaby*,

appendix text 3). In this story Turtle and Wallaby finish eating (a) and then sleep. The first clause of (b) grammatically has a different subject since *itomo* ‘it is the next day’ is a verb, yet the second clause of (b) continues using pronominal prefixes only to encode the same subject as in (a).

- (23a) *Si-kaika, si-ka-kaika gamo-di*  
3PL-eat 3PL-IPFV-eat stomach-3PL

- (b) *I-kavava, si-masisi.*  
3SG-finish 3PL-sleep

- (c) *Tuta-ya-na vanuwo i-tomo, si-taoya,*  
time-TM-3SG village 3SG-next.day 3PL-arise,  
*e a-di gita si-kabi-di si-na si-vayali.*  
DM PASS-3PL spears 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-walk.on.shore

‘(a) They ate and they ate until they were full (lit. they were eating their stomachs). (b) After that, they slept. (c) **When it was the next day** (lit. at the time the village was the next day), they arose, then they got their spears, went, and walked along the shore.’

Example (24) is taken from the story *Request for magic* (appendix text 5). In (24b) the three men go to see the author’s mother and a woman by the name of Lisi. The subject established at the beginning of (b) is the three men from Kiriwina. The subject of *sikaiyaka* ‘they exist’ in the final clause would include the three Kiriwina men as well as Lisi and the author’s mother. The comitative phrase is included in the subject marking on the verb. However, in (c) *sibobobwara* ‘they were talking’ the subject is again just the three Kiriwina men since they are the ones who want the magic done and return to their village. The point then is that though the comitative phrase in (b) is included as part of the subject, it does not affect the subject encoding for subsequent verbs. In other words, the author did not perceive a change of subject at this point, even with the interruption of (b).

- (24a) *Tetala ame i-sowodo Disemba 23, 1990 sabamgo.*  
story PROX 3SG-happen December 23 1990 night

- (b) *Sabamgo-ya-na goi da Budibudi a-di*  
night-TM-3SG OBL people.of Kiriwina PASS-3PL  
*tai-to si-ma sina-gu be Lisi taiyao si-kaiyaka.*  
person-three 3PL-come mother-1SG and Lisi COM 3PL-exist

- (c) *Ago i-di kaiyako goi si-bobobwara.*  
ADD CTRL-3PL exist OBL 3PL-IPFV.speak

- (d) *Latuwo-di bego sina-gu yagira i-meya-i-Ø go*  
 want-3PL IM mother-1SG wind 3SG-magic-TR-3SG SP  
*si-na i-di kasa.*  
 3PL-go CTRL-3PL village

‘(a) This story happened on the night of December 23, 1990. (b) On that night **three Kiriwinans** came and were together **with my mother and Lisi**. (c) And while they were there, they were talking. (d) They wanted my mother to do magic on the wind so they could go to their village.’

It can be shown clearly that the comitative phrase in (24b) is included in the subject by examining other less ambiguous examples. The following example demonstrates that in Gumawana comitative phrases are part of the subject. Example (25) is a first person narrative about how the author scares several children. At this point in the story, the children believe the author is crazy and will harm them. So in (a) they ask Ediriki to take them back to the village, then he can return to the others. However, in (b) Ediriki refuses. He tells them he will not be going with them. What is interesting in this example is the way in which Ediriki makes this clear. Using a comitative phrase of which he is the head, he states literally, “with me we (inclusive) do not go.” So the children and Ediriki (*yau* ‘me’) are the subject of the verb *tanoita* ‘we (inclusive) not go.’ If it had been just the children, we would expect *konoita* ‘you (plural) not go.’

- (25a) *E go-gomana-ya-di si-digo ka-di, “Ediriki, ta-na.*  
 DM PL-children-TM-3PL 3PL-speak talk-3PL Ediriki 1PL.INCL-go  
*Ku-valave-ma asa go, ku-ma.”*  
 2SG-leave.TR-1PL.EXCL village SP 2SG-come

- (b) *Go Ediriki i-digo ka-na, “Geya, yau taiyao geya*  
 SP Ediriki 3SG-speak talk-3SG NEG 1SG COM NEG  
*ta-no-ita.*  
 1PL.INCL-go-LIM

‘(a) And the children said, “Ediriki let’s go. You leave us in the village and then you come back.” (b) But Ediriki said, “No, we are not going together. (lit. with me we (inclusive) won’t go).”’

In the N1 context, the non-subject in one clause has the same role as in the previous clause. The role of the constituent determines what form of encoding will be used. If the constituent is an object of a transitive verb, the default encoding will be a bound pronoun only. In (26) *nigeyadi* ‘the grubs’ are referenced as object in a relative clause using an NP. However, in the subsequent references they are referred to using agreement only on the verb. In all clauses, the grubs have a non-subject role, that is, they are the object of

the verbs. So the N1 context is similar to S1 in maintaining participant reference via pronominal suffixes only.

- (26) *I-dimili*      *i-kavava*, *i-na*      *a-na*      *nige-ya-di*  
 3SG-build.fire 3SG-finish 3SG-go ED-3SG grub-TM-3PL  
*ii-yato-i-di*      *i-kabi-di*,      *i-me-di*      *i-gabu-di*.  
 3SG.IPFV-set-TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-come.TR-3PL 3SG-roast-3PL  
 ‘After he built it (the fire), he went, got **his grubs** which he set aside, brought **them**, and roasted **them**.’

It is rare to find an N1 context with locatives or temporals. This is due to the fact that typically in a narrative the time or location is set followed by a number of clauses that took place at that time or location. This continues until a change of time or location occurs. For that reason, the only time an N1 context occurs is when something important happens at a particular location. For example, in (27) (from *Two men lost at sea*, appendix text 4) at the beginning of the story, the author describes the Taiwanese boat’s travels. Such information will tend to show locatives in an N1 situation. When this happens the locative is not repeated, rather a locative adverb such as *amoko* ‘DIST-ADV’ is used as a substitute (b). In (a) the boat arrives at Watuluma. Then (b) begins with a reference to that location using the adverbial locative *amoko*, which in this case is a spatial point of departure (see §3.3).

- (27a) *E*    *oga-ya-na*    *i-kailova*    *i-kaluvila-mna*    *i-na*    **Watuluma**.  
 DM boat-TM-3SG 3SG-depart 3SG-return-again 3SG-go Watuluma  
 (b) *Amo-ko*    **goi**    *nakona*    *si-kana-to*    *nakae...*  
 DIST-ADV OBL perhaps 3PL-sleep-three ADD  
 ‘(a) And the boat departed and returned to Watuluma. (b) **There** they slept perhaps around three nights...’

It is not possible to use anything but nouns, noun phrases, and locative adverbs (for locative substitutes) to encode location and time. An example with a temporal word is given in (24). The incident the author wishes to tell about happened at night. To indicate the time he starts sentence (b) with a reference back to the night.

As stated above examples of locative and temporal phrases in an N1 context such as (24) and (27) are rare. What we find for locatives and temporals is an N4 context (see below §6.6.1).

#### 6.4.2 Continuing reference after direct speech: context S2/N2

The second category to be analyzed, S2, occurs when the subject of a clause is the addressee of a preceding speech. The N2 category is the reverse; that is, it refers to an addressee in one clause who is the speaker/subject in the previous clause. In Olson

(2009), a complete analysis of the S2 and N2 categories is presented. The conclusions from that study are presented in this section.

The following table shows the data for the S2 context from the same six stories given above in Table 10. The data demonstrates that the default way of referring to the subject in the S2 context is with an NP.

TABLE 11. DATA FOR S2 CONTEXT

Story	Total # clauses in text	Total # S2 clauses	# S2 clauses NP only	% NP in S2 context:
Rat and two brothers	203	18	15	83%
Possum and Dog	60	6	6	100%
Hen and Chicks	66	8	7	88%
Gilibo	193	9	8	89%
Two men lost at sea	180	4	4	100%
Turtle and Wallaby	136	19	17	89%

*Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3) illustrate the S2 context. They have come upon a white satinash tree and have the conversation given in (28).

- (28a) *Tuwo si-dolaga, mogolu si-gite-Ø.*  
so 3PL-looked.up satinash 3PL-see.TR-3SG
- (b) *E kerei i-digo ka-na, "Nubai-gu vayavaya*  
DM wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*a-da mogolu ku-mwere-Ø."*  
ED-1PL.INCL white.satinash 2SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (c) *Kina go vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
3SG SP turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Geya, nubai-gu. Kom ku-mwere-Ø."*  
NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (d) *Kina go kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
3SG SP wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Geya. Kom ku-mwere-Ø."*  
NEG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG

- (e) *Tuwo kina vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Geya*  
 so 3SG turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG NEG  
*nubai-gu. Kom i-toboine-m ku-mwere-Ø una-na*  
 cousin-1SGG 2SG 3SG-possible-2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG basis-3SG  
*kom ae-m maanawe-na go, yau ae-gu kaakupi-na.*  
 2SG leg-2SG long-3SG SP 1SG leg-1SG short-3SG  
*Tau-na geya i-toboine-gu-ta a-mwere-Ø.”*  
 result-3SG NEG 3SG-possible-1SG-LIM 1SG-climb.TR-3SG
- (f) *E kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 DM wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“O dedeevina. A-mwere-Ø.”*  
 Oh fine 1SG-climb.TR-3SG  
 ‘(a) So they looked up and saw a white satinash tree. (b) And **Wallaby** said,  
 “My cousin Turtle, climb the white satinash tree for the fruit to eat. (c) But  
**Turtle**, he said, “No, my cousin. *You* climb it.” (d) But **Wallaby**, he said,  
 “No. *You* climb it.” (e) So **Turtle** said “No my cousin. *You* are able to climb  
 it because your legs are long but my legs are short. Therefore I’m not able to  
 climb it.” (f) And **Wallaby** said, “Oh fine, I will climb it.”’

In (28a) Wallaby and Turtle are encoded using a bound pronoun only, since the two of them have been the topic for a number of clauses already. Then in (b) Wallaby speaks and is encoded as a noun since there is a change of subject from the two of them to just Wallaby. He proposes that Turtle climb the tree to get their white satinash fruit to eat. A counterproposal is given in (c) by Turtle who is encoded using a pronoun spacer noun construction (see §10.5 for a more detailed discussion of this construction). In each subsequent speech, the speaker is encoded using an NP.

In the story of Tamogibeli and the two children, the children are out fishing and Tamogibeli goes to look for them. In (29) Tamogibeli and his son are out looking for the children. In (a) they ask the people of Musuwo if they have seen the children. The speaker is encoded using agreement only because the speaker is the same subject as in the preceding clause at the beginning of (a). Then in (b) the response of the people is given. The speaker (S2 context) is encoded using an NP.

- (29a) *Si-kawala si-na Musuwo goi tomota maniye-di*  
 3PL-punt 3PL-go Musuwo OBL person some-3PL  
*si-lumadade-di ka-di “Go-gomana ai-yuwo nako?”*  
 3PL-asked.TR-3PL talk-3PL PL-children CLF-two where
- (b) *“Go-gomana ai-yuwo dobala Tukelikeli,” tomota kae-di.*  
 PL-child CLF-two there Tukelikeli people talk-3PL

‘(a) They (Tamogibeli and his child) punted to Musuwo and asked some of the people, “Where are the two children?” (b) “The two children are there at Tukelikeli,” said **the people**.’

In Olson (2009), it was established that the default way of encoding an addressee (N2 context) is zero encoding. However, in initial speeches, it is possible for the addressee to be encoded by an NP depending on whether or not the speaker and addressee have interacted in the previous clauses. For the purposes of this paper, the N2 context would be found in non-initial speeches. As Table 12 below from Olson (2009) shows, of all the non-initial speeches, in 99% the addressee was zero encoding.

TABLE 12. ADDRESSEE IN SPEECH ORIENTER

		Totals	%
Initial speeches	addressee	30	26.3
	no addressee	84	73.7
	total	114	
Non-initial speeches	addressee	1	0.6
	no addressee	170	99.4
	total	171	
Single speeches	addressee	28	18.2
	no addressee	126	81.8
	total	154	

Zero encoding of the addressee in a non-initial speech is illustrated in (30) (from *Rat and his two brothers*, appendix text 2). Rat has been stealing his older brother’s grubs. When the firstborn goes up into the house to get them, he discovers they are gone. Example (30) picks up the story at that point.

- (30a) *E tuwo tau-ya-na i-sou i-ma Ø i-digo*  
 DM so person-TM-3SG 3SG-descend 3SG-come [brothers] 3SG-speak  
*ka-na, “Yau a-gu nige va-tau i-kani-di?”*  
 talk-3SG 1SG PASS-1SG grub which-person 3SG-eat-3PL
- (b) *E kina bogomane Ø ka-na, “Yau*  
 DM 3SG last.born [older.SSS] talk-3SG 1SG  
*geya, tuwowo-gu. Moe kelikeli.”*  
 NEG older.SSS-1SG MED rat

- (c) *E kina Ø ka-na, “Geya, kom tau-m aiikani-m.”*  
 DM 3SG [last.born] talk-3SG NEG 2SG alone-2SG glutton-2SG

‘(a) And so he (firstborn) descended and said, “Who ate my grubs?” (b) And the last born said, “Not me, my older brother. It was Rat.” (c) And he (firstborn) said, “No, you alone are a glutton.”’

When the firstborn discovered the missing grubs in the house, he came down and asked his two brothers who ate them (30a). No mention of the addressee is necessary because the scene has been established as to who is on stage. In both (b) and (c), the addressee is the speaker/subject of the preceding reported speech. In (a), the addressees are the two younger brothers. In (b), the addressee is the firstborn and in (c) the addressee is the last born. In all cases, the addressee has zero encoding.

Example (31) further illustrates this. It is taken from the story of Dog and Possum. The following excerpt is taken from the beginning of the story. Possum has been working in his garden until he is tired. In (31a) he returns to ask Dog for help. Dog responds in (b) and so it is a non-initial speech (N2 context). Possum is the addressee and there is zero encoding.

- (31a) *Tuwo i-ma weiniya-ya-na i-latuwoko-Ø, i-digo ka-na,*  
 so 3SG-come dog-TM-3SG 3SG-tell-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Siya-gu, ku-ma ku-vaite-gu ta-paisewa.”*  
 SSS-1SG 2SG-come 2SG-help.TR-1SG 1PL.INCL-work
- (b) *Ago kina weiniya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Paisewa o-gu*  
 ADD 3SG dog-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG work body-1SG  
*i-kai. Yau kom a-m lotowan-a dedevi-na go yau*  
 3SG-not.like 1SG 2SG PASS-2SG feeling good-3SG SP 1SG  
*geya guna lotowana geya dedevi-na be a-paisewa;*  
 NEG PASS.1SG feeling NEG good-3SG IRR 1SG-work  
*go sem a-na giyai-n aa-masisi.”*  
 SP CON 1SG-go little-3SG 1SG-sleep
- (c) *Kina go kodoya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Kom to moitamo*  
 3SG SP possum-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-2SG 2SG just true  
*sumoya gagai-m, ae?”*  
 lazy big-2SG Q

‘(a) So he came and told Dog, he said, “My friend, come help me work.” (b) But **Dog** said, “I don’t want to work. Although you are feeling good, I don’t feel like working, instead I am going to go sleep a little.” (c) **Possum** said, “You really are very lazy, aren’t you?”’

Later in the same story, Dog has tied his ears back to make it look like he cut them off. He waits until Possum comes back. Possum notices the change in Dog's face and initiates a conversation by asking about it in (32a). The author does not mention Dog, the addressee, because it is already established in (a) that Dog and Possum are on stage. Then in (b), a non-initial speech, Dog responds, but no mention of Possum, the addressee, is given.

- (32a) *Tuwo kodoya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, "Weiniya, kom*  
 so possum-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG dog 2SG  
*maisi-m i-tuli. Kaga una-na tau-na maisi-m*  
 face-2SG 3SG-different what basis-3SG result-3SG face-2SG  
*i-senisi?"*  
 3SG-change

- (b) *Kina go weiniya-ya-na i-gagasa i-digo ka-na, "Yau*  
 3SG SP dog-TM-3SG 3SG-proud 3SG-speak talk-3SG 1SG  
*taiya-gu a-kupo-i-di. Ame sitaero makaitaga i-sowoduwo*  
 ear-1SG 1SG-cut-TR-3PL PROX style just.now 3SG-appear  
*Giyakainava yoguyogu madaboki-di nakae si-guinuwe-Ø*  
 soon animal all-3PL ADD 3PL-do.TR-3SG  
*go, yau sem mainao a-gimi-kupo-i-di."*  
 SP 1SG CON first 1SG-first-cut-TR-3PL

‘(a) So Possum said, “Dog, your face is different. Why therefore has your face changed?” (b) **Dog was proud and said**, “I cut off my ears. This is a style that just now appeared. Soon all the animals will do the same, but I, however, am the first to cut them off.”’

After the initial speech is reported, subsequent reported speeches do not refer to the addressee overtly in the speech margin. In (31b) and (c) above, there is no reference to the addressee in the speech margins. The same is true for (32b) and (c).

The data that has been given in this section clearly demonstrates that in the N2 context the default encoding for an addressee is zero whereas the default encoding for S2 is an NP.

## 6.5 Change of role: context S3/N3

In this section, the S3 context and the N3 context are examined. In the S3 context, the subject of a clause is a non-subject in the immediately preceding clause. The default encoding in such cases is a noun phrase. Table 13 gives data for six stories with respect to the S3 context. Five of the six stories clearly show that a noun phrase is the default

encoding. The sixth story only had two clauses that qualified for S3 context, so it is not as clear.

TABLE 13. DATA FOR S3 CONTEXT

Story	Total # clauses in text	Total # S3 clauses	# S3 clauses NP only	% NP in S3 context:
Rat and two brothers	203	5	4	80%
Possum and Dog	60	2	1	50%
Hen and Chicks	66	3	3	100%
Gilibo	193	10	8	80%
Two men lost at sea	180	6	2	33%
Turtle and Wallaby	136	3	2	67%

To illustrate the S3 context the following example (from *Hen and chicks*, appendix text 6), is given. The mother hen has left her chicks to go dig up worms. She inadvertently damages Lizard's house (33a). Lizard is introduced as possessor in (a). Then Lizard becomes topic in (b) (the S3 context) and turns and kills Hen. The pronoun is fronted as point of departure as the author switches attention from Hen to Lizard.

- (33a) *I-sou-sou,                    ailavasi i-na                    vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG
- (b) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu,*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry
- (c) *tau-na i-vada-gavila kamkam-ya-na i-vada-mate-Ø.*  
 result-3SG 3SG-W.head-turn hen-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-die.TR-3SG
- ‘(a) As she (Hen) was descending, she began scattering **Lizard’s** house. (b) So **as for Lizard**, he was angry, (c) therefore he turned his head and killed Hen.’

*Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2) also illustrates the S3 default being a noun phrase. The oldest brother in the story is the main character. Each time he leaves his grubs for the next day, they are gone when he comes back. He blames his youngest brother for stealing them, when actually it is the middle brother, Rat, who has been eating them. The older brother decides to trade his two brothers to the Dobu people in exchange for betel nut. The youngest brother is the object in (34b) and then becomes the subject in (c) referenced using a noun (the S3 context).

- (34a) *E a-na beuta a-na kawala i-dodoi-di.*  
 DM PASS-3SG paddle PASS-3SG punt 3SG-load-3PL
- (b) *I-kavava, i-yava i-na gomana-ya-na*  
 3SG-finish 3SG-bushward CTRL-3SG younger.SSS-TM-3SG  
*i-kavale-Ø.*  
 3SG-carry.TR-3SG
- (c) *I-kavale-Ø go, gomana-ya-na<sup>1</sup> i-tai-taiya ka-na,*  
 3SG-carry.TR-3SG SP child-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-cry talk-3SG  
*“Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu! Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu! A-m nige*  
 INTERJ older.SSS-1SG INTERJ older.SSS-1SG ED-2SG grub  
*kelikeli i-kani-kani go, yau vailai a-babane-Ø.*  
 rat 3SG-IPFV-eat-3SG SP 1SG injury 1SG-receive-3SG  
*Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu! Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu!”*  
 INTERJ older.SSS-1SG INTERJ older.SSS-1SG

‘(a) And he loaded his paddle and his punting pole. (b) After that, he went bushward and carried **his younger brother**. (c) He carried him, but **the child** began to cry and said, “Oh my older brother! Oh my older brother! The rat was eating your grubs, but I receive injury. Oh my older brother! Oh my older brother!”’

From the statistics given in Table 13 it is also clear that there are exceptions to the stated default rule. These must be accounted for. Levinsohn (1994:117) states that if there is less encoding than expected this is “due to the referent being a VIP (globally or locally), only one major participant being on stage, or a cycle of events.” Below I demonstrate that these categories will explain the exceptions found in the data.

In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the people have left for Sanarowa to get the big necklace. Gumasai is the possessor of ‘his friends’ and in (35b) is the subject of the clause. When a participant is reduced to a kinship term, the possessor of the kin term is more prominent. This is the case here. Gumasai has more prominence since he is the possessor of ‘his friends’. There is less coding than expected in (b). This is an S4 context (change of subject), so we would expect a full NP to refer to Gumasai. However, Gumasai is the local VIP so as Levinsohn predicts, encoding can be less than the default. The independent pronoun is present for contrastive prominence (see §10.4).

<sup>1</sup> Most likely *gomanayana* here is the word for ‘child’ since no indirect possessive marker is present. For it to mean ‘younger sibling of the same sex’, it must have the possessive marker.

(35a) *E lava-ya-na vadoda i-kavava, se-nao bogina si-yaula.*  
 DM time-TM-3SG load 3SG-finish SSS-3SG.PL PRF 3PL-depart

(b) *Ago kina nava koya yata-na i-na oga*  
 ADD 3SG still mountain on.top-3SG CTRL-3SG canoe

*ii-ginoili-Ø.*

3SG.IPFV-prepare-3SG

‘(a) And when the loading was finished, his (Gumasai’s) friends had departed. (b) But **he** (Gumasai) was still on top of the mountain preparing his canoe.’

In the next example from the story of how Possum ended up with small ears, Dog is the object in (36a), but the subject in (b). The default rule would require Dog to be referenced using an NP, but instead only agreement is used. This is the climax of the story when we learn how Dog has tricked Possum into thinking that Dog had cut his ears off. The center of attention is on the knife in (b). This may explain why a noun was not used to refer to Dog. An alternative explanation is that the verbs ‘give’ and ‘get’ are often used together, which Longacre (1976:151) refers to as an expectancy chain. In English, a person can be heard to say, “Go get this for me” or “bring something to me”, and it is implied that the mission was accomplished by the person actually handing over the object. This is not the case in Gumawana. Gumawana typically requires that this information be made explicit. So one would say, “He went got a knife, gave it to him *and he took it.*” The final clause is necessary to let the reader know that the mission was accomplished. No explicit reference to the new subject needs to be made, however, in the final clause since it is understood that the new subject was the preceding object.

(36a) *Tuwo moitamo kodoya i-na naipi i-kabi-Ø, weiniya*  
 so true possum 3SG-go knife 3SG-get-3SG dog

*i-vini-Ø.*

3SG-give-3SG

(b) *E naipi-ya-na i-kabi-Ø, mainao kodoya taiya-na*  
 DM knife-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG immediately possum ear-3SG

*i-kupo-i-di.*

3SG-cut-TR-3PL

‘(a) So indeed Possum went and got a knife and gave it to **Dog**. (b) And **he** (Dog) **took** the knife and immediately cut off Possum’s ears.’

In the N3 context, the non-subject in one clause has a different role in the preceding clause not covered by the N2 context. The N2 context is where the addressee in one clause is the speaker in the preceding clause. This means that a non-subject in one clause may be the subject in the preceding. The encoding in context N3 is dependent on what

type of role change has taken place. Table 14 gives the data for the N3 context in 12 texts. What we find is that the majority of encoding in the N3 context is split between zero encoding and pronominal affixation only, the latter having the greater number. The categories of independent pronoun and pronoun plus coreferential noun are each used only once in this context.

TABLE 14. N3 CONTEXT

Coding:	agreement only	noun phrase	free pronoun	pronoun noun	zero	Total
Totals	70	21	1	1	58	151
%	46.3	13.9	.7	.7	38.4	

As it turns out, the zero encoding category is a very specific environment. The only time we find zero encoding in the N3 context is when the participant is the addressee of an initial recorded speech, but has some other role in the preceding clause, other than speaker of a reported speech. An example from the legend about Sipwena illustrates this. In this story, Sipwena's sister marries an ogre and he treats Sipwena poorly. The ogre tells Sipwena to come help him launch his canoe so he can go fishing. In (37a) Sipwena does as he is told. Then in (b) the ogre is the subject speaking to Sipwena. Sipwena is not encoded as the addressee in this case because he is understood as the addressee from the context. Sipwena as addressee in (b) is the N3 context since he is in a different role in clause (b) from what he is in clause (a). In Olson (2009), it was shown that if two participants are established on stage the addressee is marked as zero. If they are not, the addressee will be introduced as the object of a speech verb to make clear whom the speaker is addressing.

(37a) *E Sipwena i-bala i-na, dokanikani-ya-na i-digo*  
 DM Sipwena 3SG-across 3SG-go ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-speak

(b) *ka-na, "Ku-na kewou matakubu-na ku-ki-bode-Ø."*  
 talk-3SG 2SG-go canoe bow-3SG 2SG-W.hand-block.TR-3SG

‘(a) So Sipwena moved across (b) and the ogre said (to Sipwena), “Go block the bow.”’

The N3 context is further exemplified in (38) (from *Wallaby and Turtle*, appendix text 3). In (a) we are told that Wallaby and his cousin Turtle are together. Then in (b) Wallaby speaks. The addressee has zero encoding because only these two participants are present at the time of speaking. The final sentence (c) illustrates the N2 context. Here the addressee also has zero encoding because it is a non-initial speech in which the addressee is the speaker of a recorded speech in the preceding sentence (b).

- (38a) *Lava tayamo kerei ma nubai-na si-kaiyaka.*  
 time one wallaby COM cousin-3SG 3PL-exist
- (b) *Si-kaiyaka, kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya*  
 3PL-exist wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*ta-na ta-vayali a-da iyana*  
 1PL.INCL-go 1PL.INCL-walk.on-shore ED-1PL.INCL fish  
*ta-lusala.”*  
 1PL.INCL-search
- (c) *Tuwo vayavaya ka-na, “O dedeevina.*  
 so turtle talk-3SG oh fine  
*Ta-na ta-vayali.”*  
 1PL.INCL-go 1PL.INCL-walk.on.shore

‘(a) One time Wallaby and his cousin were together. (b) They were together and Wallaby said, “My cousin Turtle, let’s go walk along the shore and search for fish to eat.” (c) So Turtle said, “Oh fine. Let’s go walk along the shore.”’

Later in the same story, Turtle is caught by Tamogibeli and he intends to cook and eat Turtle. Tamogibeli’s wife Tuwade, goes to take Turtle and kill him to cook him with some yams. But as she moves over to do so, Turtle speaks. The addressee is the last mentioned person, Tuwade. Because she has been established in relation to Turtle, she has zero encoding.

- (39a) *Tuwo i-teui-Ø i-kavava, i-kaitabale-Ø*  
 so 3SG-pare-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-move.over.TR -3SG
- (b) *I-kavava, i-bala i-na bego vayavaya-ya-na*  
 3SG-finish 3SG-move.across 3SG-go IM turtle-TM-3SG  
*i-kabi-Ø go, vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG-get-3SG SP turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Tabu ku-dabe-gu, go sem madaboki-gu ko-vaipolu-gu bei*  
 PROH 2SG-cut-1SG SP ADV all-1SG 2PL-cook-1SG IRR  
*a-sabali. Go be ko-dabe-gu, a-ka-bokai.”*  
 1SG-fat SP IRR 2PL-cut.TR-1SG 1SG-INCH-skinny

‘(a) So after she (ogre’s wife) finished paring, she moved it across. (b) After that, she went over to get Turtle, but Turtle said (to Tuwade), “Don’t cut me open, rather cook all of me so that I will be greasy. But if you cut me open, I will become skinny.”’

If we disregard the zero category in Table 14, the majority of references fall in the agreement only column. Of the 70 occurrences listed in Table 14 under the agreement only column, more than half of those (36 total) involve a context where in one clause the participant is the possessor, but in the preceding clause they have some other role. Of those 36, 22 are subject in one clause and possessor in the following. Therefore, the default marking in such a context is agreement only. This can be seen in the following example (from *Rat and his two brothers*, appendix text 2). In (40a) the man and his wife are happy over the fact that their children have grown up. The subject of the final reason clause is the children. In (b) the children are now the possessors of the nouns *sinadi* ‘their mother’ and *tamadi* ‘their father’. Because they were the subject in the preceding clause, no noun phrase is needed to track them at this point since they are the topic.

- (40a) *E koroto ma mone-na bogina si-uyawana*  
 DM man COM spouse-3SG PRF 3PL-happy  
*una-na natu-di-yao bogina si-bibina.*  
 basis-3SG child-3PL-PL PRF 3PL-grow

- (b) *E lava tayamo goi tama-di be sina-di ka-di,*  
 DM time one OBL father-3PL and mother-3PL talk-3PL  
*“Natu-ma, a-m gomana ku-mata-kavate-Ø ae?”*  
 child-1PL.EXCL PASS-2SG younger.SSS 2SG-eye-hold.TR-3SG Q  
*Go kai ka-na tanuwo.”*  
 SP 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go garden

‘(a) And the man and his wife were happy because their children had grown up. (b) Now one time their father and their mother said, “Our child, you watch your brother, okay? And we will go to the garden.”’

In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1) we find a similar case. In (41a) the people of Kitava are attempting to get necklaces from the Sanarowa people, but only Gumasai gets the big one. We are told in (b) that the people did not know that Gumasai obtained it. In (a) the people are the subject at the beginning then it switches to Gumasai in the final clause. In (b) it switches back to his friends. Gumasai is the possessor of ‘friends.’ The default rule would predict agreement only, which is what we find.

- (41a) *Si-wo-woila si-wo-woila, Gumasai-ya-na buyala tayamo*  
 3PL-IPFV-beg 3PL-IPFV-beg Gumasai-TM-3SG necklace one  
*gagai-na i-kabi-Ø*  
 big-3SG 3SG-get-3SG
- (b) *go, se-na-o geya si-yagoi-yeta.*  
 SP SSS-3SG-PL NEG 3PL-know-3SG.LIM

‘(a) While they kept on asking, **Gumasai** got a big necklace (b) but **his friends** did not know it.’

When something surprising or some disruption occurs, we expect more encoding. This happens in the following example taken from the same story. Gumasai has gone into a cave after his friends stole his canoe, stranding him at Sanarowa. The cave, however, was the ogre’s cave. Then the story switches to the ogre returning home in (42a). The ogre is the subject throughout (a-c). Then in (d) we have a background comment that is significant to the story which is marked using the connective *ego* (*ego* can mark significant background comments). The ogre is referred to using a noun phrase as possessor of ‘eye’. Without the noun phrase, it is perfectly clear to whose eyes the author is referring. The reason for the overencoding is the fact that there is a brief disruption and surprise when we find out the ogre is blind. In the final sentence (e), there is a return to the mainline marked by resumptive repetition<sup>2</sup> of the last mainline event, *isiu* ‘he entered’.

- (42a) *E kina go dokanikani-ya-na i-tupa-tupa.*  
 DM 3SG SP ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-voyage
- (b) *A-na lava bogina bei i-vayowata i-lokoina.*  
 PASS-3SG time PRF IRR 3SG-return 3SG-run
- (c) *I-lokoina i-ma i-sobu, i-na oga i-vailowo,*  
 3SG-run 3SG-come 3SG-drop.sail CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-anchor-3SG  
*i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu.*  
 3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave OBL 3SG-enter
- (d) *Ego dokanikani-ya-na mata-na kebokeboi-na.*  
 ADD ogre-TM-3SG eye-3SG blind-3SG
- (e) *I-siu, i-waiwasi go, kina Gumasai-ya-na bogina i-matoita.*  
 3SG-enter 3SG-rest SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG PRF 3SG-fear

‘(a) Now as for the ogre, he was on a voyage. (b) His time had come to return, and so he sailed. (c) He sailed, came, dropped sail, anchored his canoe, went towards the bush to his cave and entered. (d) But the **ogre** was blind (lit. his eyes were blind). (e) He entered and rested and Gumasai, he was already afraid.’

When a participant changes role to an object, the default encoding is also agreement only. Therefore, in (43) the subject at the beginning is the two men lost at sea (see appendix text 4). They are the subject of the first three clauses. However, in the last

<sup>2</sup> See Olson (2005) and Quick (1993) for further discussion of resumptive repetition.

clause they are the object. In this context, verb agreement is all that is needed to clarify who drifted.

- (43) *Si-nuwonuwana geya, e i-di vailowana si-biu*  
 3PL-think NEG DM CTRL-3PL anchor 3PL-pull-3SG

*si-dodoi-Ø go, yagira i-doiye-di.*  
 3PL-load-3SG SP wind 3SG-drift-3PL

‘**They** thought of nothing, so **they** pulled the anchor, loaded it and **they** drifted in the wind (lit. the wind drifted them).’

Later in the same story, the two men who are lost see a barge in the distance coming towards them. The boat is the subject in the final clauses of (44a). Then in (b) the boat is the object of *sigite* ‘they saw it’. It is referenced only as verb agreement.

- (44a) *E amo-ko goi si-vakana si-dobala oga tamo*  
 DM DIST-ADV OBL 3PL-approach 3PL-looked canoe one  
*si-gite-Ø i-katupoia i-lokoina i-mamai-ma moe badi*  
 3PL-see.TR-3SG 3SG-appear 3SG-run 3SG-IPFV-come MED barge  
*tayamo Kimbe goi i-kailova i-mamai-ma Alotau manu-na.*  
 one Kimbe OBL 3SG-depart 3SG-IPFV-come Alotau OBL-3SG

- (b) *E tau-ya-di si-gite-Ø, tuwo si-nuwonuwana*  
 DM person-TM-3PL 3PL-see.TR-3SG so 3PL-think  
*manakae-di bei oga amo i-ma i-biu-di.*  
 how-3PL IRR canoe DIST 3SG-come 3SG-pull-3PL

‘(a) And from there they turned from the wind, looked over and **saw that a boat** appeared on the horizon and was coming toward them. That was **a barge** that departed from Kimbe and was coming to Alotau. (b) And **they saw it**, so they thought what they might do so that boat would come and pull them.’

In this section, we have seen that the default encoding for the S3 context is a noun phrase. In contrast, the default encoding in the N3 context is zero (if the participant is a subject in one clause and the addressee in the following clause) or agreement only (if the participant is subject in one clause and possessor in the following clause).

## 6.6 Default encoding for accessible participants: context S4/N4

It was stated in §6.1 that, according to Chafe (1987:22ff), the semi-active status refers to a referent “that is in a person’s peripheral consciousness, a concept of which a person has a background awareness, but one that is not being directly focused on.” Chafe (1994:86) also uses the term accessible for the semi-active state. His three types of accessible states are listed in §6.1 above.

Lambrecht (1994:100) refers to these same three as

1. **Textually accessible:** participant is accessible due to having been deactivated from a previously active state in the discourse.
2. **Inferentially accessible:** participant is accessible due to inference from some other salient participant in the discourse.
3. **Situationally accessible:** participant is accessible due to presence in the text-external world.

Each of these is described in the following sections. Activation of textual accessible participants is given in §6.6.1. This is followed by a presentation of activation of inferentially accessible participants in §6.6.2. The last section looks at activation of situationally accessible participants (§6.6.3).

### 6.6.1 Activation of a textually accessible participant

A textually accessible participant is one that was active at an earlier point in the discourse, thus the contexts of S4 and N4. The S4 context refers to a basic change of subject from one clause to another. If a participant in subject position changes, then the previous one may lapse into semi-active status, but is still accessible in the mind of the listener. The N4 context is similar in that it is a change of referent, that is, one who is in a non-subject role in one clause, but was not referred to in the preceding clause or sentence. In both cases, the referent is still accessible. For such a participant to move back to an active status in Gumawana, the participant will be referenced by means of an NP, which is typically the referring expression previously established. Concerning a change of subject, we would expect heavier encoding following Givón's principle since we have a disruption. According to Runge (2006), we would expect the referring expression to be used.

In Table 15 the statistics for the S4 category are given for six texts. Out of 844 clauses in all six texts, there were 147 clauses that were S4 context. Of those 147 clauses, 108 or 73% referred to the subject using an NP. This indicates that the default encoding for S4 is NP.

The story *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4) illustrates a referent in subject position being reactivated from a semi-active or accessible state. The major participants are activated at the very beginning of the story with the noun phrase *koroto adi taiyuwo* 'two men' in (45a). In the next sentence (b), they are referenced using an agreement marker, as we would expect since they persist as the topic. We found in §6.3.3 that when the subject of one clause is the same as the previous clause, only a pronominal subject prefix is used. So the pattern in (45a) and (b) is to be expected for active entities.

TABLE 15. CONTEXT S4 PARTICIPANT REFERENCING

Story	Total # clauses in text	Total # S4 clauses	# S4 clauses NP only	% NP in S4 context:
Rat and two brothers	204	26	19	73%
Possum and Dog	60	8	7	88%
Hen and Chicks	66	2	2	100%
Gilibo	195	46	39	85%
Two men lost at sea	183	44	26	59%
Turtle and Wallaby	136	21	15	71%
<b>Total</b>	<b>844</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>73%</b>

(45a) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo i-di kasa Gumawana goi*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two CTRL-3PL village Gumawana OBL  
*se-di-yao taiyao si-kaaiyako.*  
 SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-IPFV.exist

(b) *Si-kaaiyako si-kaaiyako eee, tuta tayamo oga dimdim*  
 3PL-IPFV.exist 3PL-IPFV.exist until time one canoe foreign  
*gagai-na tayamo i-ma i-vaiu.*  
 big-3SG one 3SG-come 3SG-arrive

‘(a) **Two men** were living with their friends in their village of Gumawana.

(b) **They** lived on until one time a large foreign boat arrived.’

In this particular story, although the two men are the major participants, they are not mentioned again after (45b) for another 18 clauses. In the intervening material, the author sets the stage for the story. The Taiwanese boat came to Gumawana, the village of the two men, in order to get some of the men to fish for them. The author then explains in (46a) that one of the foreigners came ashore to get the men. In (b) the two men are reactivated from a semi-active status using the same referring expression established at the beginning of the story. In this case, the demonstrative occurs and the noun *koroto* ‘man’ is suffixed with the thematic marker *-ya* indicating that it is now the center of attention. This marker may only occur on nouns that have been activated (see chapter 7 for more on the use of *-ya*).

(46a) *E dimdim tayamo dingi i-kabi-Ø i-yava i-ma*  
 DM foreigner one dinghy 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-bushward 3SG-come  
*asa tomota i-gite-di i-kabi-di bego i-na*  
 village person 3SG-see.TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL IM CTRL-3SG  
*to-bani-yao.*  
 NMZL-fish-PL

(b) *I-yava i-mamai-ma maniye-di tomota si-tagona.*  
 3SG-bushward 3SG-IPFV-come some-3PL person 3PL-agree

(c) *E nakae amo koroto-ya-di a-di tei-yuwo si-tagona.*  
 DM ADD DIST man-TM-3PL PASS-3PL people-two 3PL-agree

(d) *Latuwo-di si-sowoya sa-di-yao taiyao si-na si-bani.*  
 desire-3PL 3PL-embark SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-go 3PL-fish

‘(a) Now a certain foreigner got a dinghy, came bushward to the village, saw the people and took them as his fishermen. (b) He came bushward and some of the people agreed. (c) And **those two men** also agreed. (d) They wanted to embark with their friends and go fish.’

After the two men are mentioned in (46c), they are not mentioned again for 29 clauses. The author explains that the boat left with all the Gumawana men and went to a remote area where land could not be seen. Then the foreigners distribute fishing lines, hooks and dinghies to the men. The foreigners also tell the men that the rule will be two men per dinghy. During this intervening part of the story, the two men lapse back into a semi-active status. However, even though they are not mentioned explicitly, it is assumed they are part of the group of men that are referred to throughout the intervening material. In (47b) the two men are again reactivated using the same referring expression as in the previous excerpts, namely *korotoyadi adi taiyuwo* ‘the two men’. At this point in the story, the author changes the referring expression for the two men. In (c) we are given the names of the two.

(47a) *E amo a-di lovina i-vini-di i-kavava, e*  
 DM DIST PASS-3PL rule 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish DM  
*dimdim-ya-na i-na.*  
 foreigner-TM-3SG 3SG-go

(b) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark

*i-di dingi-yao tamo tamo goi go, kidi koroto-ya-di*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL SP 3PL man-TM-3PL  
*a-di te-yuwo moe i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two MED CTRL-3PL dinghy one

- (c) *Tau-ya-di yoi-di moe Gobune e Agastina.*  
 person-TM-3PL name-3PL MED Gobune DM Agastina
- (d) *Gobune moe a-na tala 41.*  
 Gobune MED PASS-3SG year 41
- (e) *Ego Agastina iya a-na tala moe 18.*  
 ADD Agastina 3SG PASS-3SG year MED 18
- (f) *Tau-ya-di i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 person-TM-3PL CTRL-3PL dinghy one
- (g) *Ego sa-di-yao nakae a-di te-yuwo a-di te-yuwo.*  
 ADD SSS-3PL-PL ADD PASS-3PL person-two PASS-3PL person-two

‘(a) Now after he gave them their rule, then the foreigner left. (b) And all of the fishermen embarked en masse on each of their dinghies and **the two men** were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one). (c) Their names were Gobune and Agastina. (d) Gobune was 41 years old (lit. ‘his cut was 41’). (e) And Agastina was 18. (f) They had the same dinghy. (g) And their friends also were two per dinghy (lit. their friends also two two).’

The author then goes on to describe the pattern of work the men did. Each day they took their dinghies out in the morning and fished until nearly sunset before returning to the Taiwanese boat. He emphasises the fact that these men took their dinghies so far off that the main boat would disappear from the horizon. This goes on for 32 more clauses before mention of the two men is made again. When they are reactivated the author uses the new referring expression to reference them, namely their names as shown in (48a). From this point on the author compares the two men with the rest of the group of men. Specifically, he shows how the two men were moving further away from the main boat than the rest of the group. Also, they were staying out longer.

- (48a) *Go kidi Gobune be Agastina amo-ko goi si-bani-bani.*  
 SP 3PL Gobune and Agastina DIST-ADV OBL 3PL-IPFV-fish
- (b) *Ina si-kailova a-yuwo-i-na si-lokoina-iwo si-na tayari*  
 later 3PL-set.sail CLF-two-?-3SG 3PL-run-seaward 3PL-go reef  
*tamo goi si-bani.*  
 one OBL 3PL-fish

‘(a) But **Gobune** and **Agastina** were fishing there. (b) Later they departed again moved seaward to a certain reef and fished.’

The story of these two men shows very clearly how a referent may be reactivated by using the referring expression established earlier in the story.

In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the main character is introduced at the beginning of the story using a lengthy description of him (49). The primary referring expression established for the main character is *Gumasai* (49a). *Gumasai* then falls into a semi-active state due to not being mentioned.

- (49a) *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koroto,*  
previously long.ago one child man
- (b) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na **Gumasai***  
child-TM-3SG name-3SG *Gumasai*
- (c) *Go **Gumasai** i-na kasa Kitava, moe Budibudi simli-na.*  
SP *Gumasai* CTRL-3SG village Kitava MED Kiriwina island-3SG
- (d) *Kitava-ya-na i-kaiyaka Budibudi tautaulu-na, bomatu*  
Kitava-TM-3SG 3SG-exist Kiriwina uninhabited-3SG east  
*dadavi-na.*  
region-3SG
- (e) *Kitava tomota madaboki-di si-kaiyaka negwasa kiki-na go, kina*  
Kitava people all-3PL 3PL-exist sea next-3SG SP 3SG  
***Gumasai-ya-na** koya yatanai-na goi i-na vada*  
*Gumasai-TM-3SG mountain on.top-3SG OBL CTRL-3SG house*  
*i-yowo-Ø.*  
3SG-tie-3SG
- (f) ***Gumasai-ya-na** geya tayamo niu-na o siya-na geya,*  
*Gumasai-TM-3SG NEG one OSS-3SG or SSS-3SG NEG*
- (g) *tau-na sina-na taiyao a-di tai-yuwo si-kaiyaka.*  
result-3SG mother-3SG COM PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-exist

‘(a) Long ago there was a certain boy (lit. a male child). (b) The child’s name was **Gumasai**. (c) And **Gumasai**’s village was Kitava, which is an island of Kiriwina. (d) Kitava is on the uninhabited side of Kiriwina, on the east side. (e) All the Kitava people lived near the sea, but it was on top of a mountain where **Gumasai** built (lit. tied) his house. (f) **Gumasai** did not have one sister or brother, (g) therefore he and his mother, the two of them lived together.’

Nineteen clauses later (example 50 below) *Gumasai* is reactivated from his semi-active state using the same referring expression as at the beginning of the story, namely *Gumasai*.

- (50a) *Ago kina Gumasai ina oga i-tala-i-Ø koya goi*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-cut-TR-3SG mountain OBL  
*be i-yowo-Ø.*  
 IRR 3SG-tie-3SG

‘But **Gumasai** cut a canoe for himself and it was on the mountain that he would build it.’

An ogre comes into the same story towards the end. It is his cave in which Gumasai has taken refuge after being stranded by his friends. The ogre returns and we learn that he is blind. In (51a), we are told that he has entered into the cave to rest. The semi-active Gumasai is reactivated at this point as the subject changes (S4 context) to him. The author uses the same referring expression that was established at the beginning of the story. In (c) the subject changes again to the ogre who has since lapsed into a semi-active state. Because he is an accessible referent, the referring expression established for him at his activation is used, namely *dokanikani* ‘ogre’. For the next seven clauses, the ogre remains the active subject. Gumasai falls into a semi-active state once again. In (e) he is reactivated using the same referring expression. Four clauses later in (f) the ogre is reactivated.

- (51a) *I-siu, i-waiwasi go, kina Gumasai-ya-na bogina i-matoita.*  
 3SG-enter 3SG-rest SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG PRF 3SG-fear
- (b) *I-na nuwonuwana ka-na, “Bei i-kani-gu.”*  
 CTRL-3SG thinking talk-3SG IRR 3SG-eat-1SG
- (c) *E dokanikani i-na kunumana i-kabi-Ø*  
 DM ogre CTRL-3SG sago 3SG-get-3SG  
*i-na i-gailolo.*  
 3SG-go 3SG-make.pudding
- (d) *I-gailolo, i-vameo i-kaika.*  
 3SG-make.pudding 3SG-cook-3SG 3SG-eat
- (e) *I-ka-kaika go, kina Gumasai-ya-na loga i-kamasa,*  
 3SG-IPFV-eat SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG hunger 3SG-die  
*i-bala i-na i-kaika taiyao.*  
 3SG-move.across 3SG-go he-eat COM
- (f) *Ago dokanikani-ya-na Gumasai geya i-gite-yeta.*  
 ADD ogre-TM-3SG Gumasai NEG 3SG-see.TR-3SG.LIM
- (g) *I-na nuwonuwana ka-na, “Ame a-gu-ta.”*  
 CTRL-3SG thinking talk-3SG PROX PASS-1SG-LIM

‘(a) He (Ogre) entered and rested and **Gumasai**, **he** was already afraid. (b) His thought was, “He will eat me.” (c) Now the **ogre** got his sago and made sago pudding. (d) He made the pudding, cooked it and ate. (e) While he was eating, **Gumasai** was starving, so he moved across and ate with him. (f) But the **ogre** didn’t see Gumasai. (g) His thought was, “I am alone.”’

When the subject of a clause consists of two participants and then one of them becomes the subject of the next clause while the other takes on a non-subject role or is not mentioned, such a context is treated as a change of subject and thus a noun phrase is used to encode the new subject. In the following excerpt Wallaby and Turtle are acting together in (52a) and have been the topic for several clauses, therefore the encoding is verb agreement only. Then in (b), Wallaby speaks and is treated as a change of subject. Therefore, he is encoded as a noun. Turtle is the addressee in (b), so he is not referenced.

- (52a) *Tuwo si-dolaga, mogolu si-gite-Ø*  
 so 3PL-look.up satinash 3PL-see.TR-3SG
- (b) *E kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya,*  
 DM wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*a-da mogolu ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
 ED-1PL.INCL satinash 2SG-climb.TR-3SG

‘(a) So they (Wallaby and Turtle) looked up and saw a white satinash tree.  
 (b) And **Wallaby** said, “My cousin Turtle, climb the white satinash tree for the fruit to eat.”’

N4 functions similar to the S4 context. The default encoding for the N4 context is an NP. In this case, it involves a non-subject who has not been mentioned in the previous clause or sentence. The following example is taken from the story of *Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2). In (53) the parents tell the firstborn to watch his younger brother. From that point on, the younger brother falls into a semi-active state as the story continues focused on the older brother. The younger brother is not mentioned again for several sentences.

- (53) *E lava tayamo goi tama-di sina-di ka-di,*  
 DM time one OBL father-3PL mother-3PL talk-3PL  
*“Natu-ma, a-m gomana ku-matakavate-Ø ae?*  
 offspring-1PL.EXCL PASS-2SG younger.SSS 2SG-watch.TR-3SG Q  
*Go kai ka-na tanuwo.”*  
 SP 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go garden

‘Now one time their (the three children’s) father and their mother said, “Our child, you watch **your brother**, okay? And we will go to the garden.”’

Then later in (54b), he is reactivated using the referring expression of *ana gomana* ‘younger brother.’ Because he is a non-subject in (54b) and was not mentioned in the preceding clause at the beginning of (b), it is an N4 context.

(54a) *I-gabu-di si-meo, i-kaika.*  
3SG-roast-3PL 3PL-cook 3SG-eat

(b) *I-ka-kaika gamo-na, maniye-di i-na i-kailagas-i-di*  
3SG-IPFV.eat stomach-3SG some-3PL 3SG-go 3SG-set.above-TR-3P  
*go, i-ma a-na gomana i-kabi-gome-Ø.*  
SP 3SG-come PASS-3SG younger.SSS 3SG-get-child.TR-3SG

‘(a) He (firstborn) roasted them until they were cooked, then ate. (b) He ate until he was satisfied (lit. he was eating his stomach) and he went, set some of them up above, came, and babysat **his younger brother** (lit. he got child).’

## 6.6.2 Activation of inferentially accessible participant

A second way that a referent is made accessible according to Chafe (1987:29) is for the referent to be “directly associated with an idea that is or was active in the discourse.” This is related to what Chafe refers to as a schema. He defines schema as

A schema is usefully regarded as a cluster of interrelated expectations. When a schema has been evoked in a narrative, some if not all of the expectations of which it is constituted presumably enter the semi-active state. From that point on, they are more readily available to recall than they would have been as inactive concepts.

In some way, the entity being referred to is associated with an active entity, and thus is identifiable. Runge (2006:90) describes this as being anchored to an already active participant. When a speaker or author introduces an entity into a discourse, that entity will have many concepts bundled with it. An example would be if I were to tell someone about my trip to a restaurant. The mere mention of the concept restaurant also makes waitress or waiter and most everything else associated with a restaurant accessible to the listener. I can speak of the door, the seats, the windows, the food and a host of other concepts that are associated with restaurant. All are spoken of as identifiable since ‘I’ and the listener or reader have a shared culture. New entities tend to be introduced with *tayamo* ‘one, a’ informing the listener or reader to build a new mental representation around this particular entity which will be spoken of in subsequent clauses (See §8.2 and §8.3 for more on the use of *tayamo* ‘one, a’). This can be seen in an excerpt from a true story about a man who tricks the author. In (55b) the author mentions the dropping of an anchor. The anchor is identifiable and is specific since he has mentioned that they are in canoes. The schema of a canoe includes paddles and anchors, so the author can treat this noun as identifiable.

(55a) *E yau niu a-keli-keli go, kina i-beus-i-Ø.*  
 DM 1SG coconut 1SG-IPFV-scrape SP 3SG 3SG-paddle-TR-3SG

(b) *I-beus-i-Ø, Buyabuyala tayari goi vailowana*  
 3SG-paddle-TR-3SG Buyabuyala reef OBL anchor  
*i-kalisobu-ye-Ø.*  
 3SG-drop-TR-3SG

‘(a) And while I was scraping the coconut, he paddled it (the canoe). (b) He paddled and at the Buyabuyala reef he dropped **the anchor**.’

It should also be noted that (55b) illustrates the fact that the thematic marker *-ya* is not a definite article per se since if *vailowana* ‘anchor’ is definite, we would expect it to occur here. However, *vailowana* is not the center of attention here and so it is not marked with *-ya*.

Example (56) (from *Hen and chicks*, appendix text 6) also illustrates the idea of schema. The mother hen tells her chicks that she will go search for worms. In Amphlett culture, when a woman goes off to get food, she always carries a circular basket in which to put the food from the garden. Although this story is told about chickens, these animals are being personified in the story and are treated as though they were human. So in the schema of collecting food, taking one’s basket is expected. In (c), we are told the mother hen took her basket and this is treated as given information by introducing the basket as possessed by the hen.

(56a) *E lava tayamo goi kamkam bosina-di i-digo ka-na,*  
 DM time one OBL hen offspring-3PL 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Natu-gowo, komi a-mi tai-vasi-kova ame-ko*  
 offspring-1SG.PL 2PL PASS-2PL person-four-INCL PROX-ADV  
*i-da kasa goi ko-kaiyaka go, yau a-na mae-ko*  
 CTRL-1PL.INCL village OBL 2PL-exist SP 1SG 1SG-go above-ADV  
*udodana goi a-da dimonana a-du-eli-elina.”*  
 bush OBL ED-1PL.INCL worm 1SG-head-IPFV-dig

(b) *Ago kidi natu-nao-ya-di si-digo ka-di,*  
 ADD 3PL offspring-3SG.PL-TM-3PL 3PL-speak talk-3PL  
*“O dedeevina. Ku-na.”*  
 oh fine 2SG-go

(c) *E tuwo sina-di-ya-na i-na bayao i-kabi-Ø,*  
 DM so mother-3PL-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG basket 3SG-get-3SG  
*i-tuko i-na udodana goi i-du-eli-elina.*  
 3SG-ascend 3SG-go bush OBL 3SG-head-IPFV-dig

‘(a) Now one time the mother of some chicks said, “My children, the four of you remain here in our village and I will go up there to the bush and dig for worms for us to eat.” (b) And her children said, “Oh, fine. Go.” (c) And so their mother got **her basket**, ascended in the bush and began digging.’

The story *Request for magic* (appendix text 5) further illustrates this principle. In this story, some men from Kiriwina wanted to sail back to their village but the wind at that time of the year is from the northwest making it very difficult to return. So they came to the author’s family in the hope they would do magic to change the wind direction. In (57) the referent *yagira* ‘wind’ is introduced here for the first time in the story and is treated as given. This is because the wind is part of the schema of and thus it is accessible information to the listeners.

- (57a) *E tuwo koroto tayamo yoi-na Kailobu. Tau-ya-na*  
 DM so man one name-3SG Kailobu person-TM-3SG  
*i-latuwoko-i-gu i-digo ka-na “Tomasi, yau se-dao*  
 3SG-tell-TR-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG Tomasi 1SG SSS-1PL.INCL.PL  
*taiyao ka-ma bego ka-gite-mi be yagira*  
 COM 1PL.EXCL-come IM 1PL.EXCL-see.TR-2PL IRR wind  
*ko-meya-i-Ø go, ka-na i-ma kasa.”*  
 2PL-magic-TR-3SG SP 1PL.EXCL-go CTRL-1PL.EXCL village  
 ‘And so there was a man there whose name was Kailobu. He told me, he said, “Tomasi, our friends and I came to see you in order that you would do magic on **the wind** and we would go to our village.”’

Accessible information that is due to a schema is also encoded using a noun phrase in Gumawana which is used only with referents when they are activated if they will occur in subsequent clauses (see §8.3.2).

### 6.6.3 Activation of a situationally accessible participant

A third way Chafe (1994:86) claims that an accessible or semi-active referent can move to active status is when the referent “is associated with the nonlinguistic environment of the conversation and has for that reason been peripherally active but not directly focused on.” In this case, a word or phrase within a story can reference an object in the real world that has been in the listener’s view and thus is accessible information. A noun phrase is typically used in such cases. For example, in a first person narrative about how the author and some other young men scared some young boys, one of the men refers to a cave which all could see (58b). Ediriki has just informed the children that the author, Karitoni, was going crazy, so they must all flee. He pretends to be scared in (a) when he asks Siyokira what they should do about the children. Siyokira, in (b), makes reference to the cave that all could see. Therefore, the noun *tukubu* ‘cave’ is identifiable

and accessible to the listener due to it being situationally available information for those present. Although it is not being focused on, it is as Chafe states ‘peripherally active’ in the minds of those present.

- (58a) *Ediriki ma-na matoita polapola i-tuma-bala Siyokira*  
 Ediriki COM-3SG fear false 3SG-beckon-across Siyokira  
*i-lituwoko-Ø i-digo ka-na, “O Siyokira, siya-gu bei*  
 3SG-tell-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG oh Siyokira SSS-1SG IRR  
*manakae-da go-gomana ame manu-di?”*  
 how-1PL.INCL PL-children PROX OBL-3PL

- (b) *Siyokira i-digo ka-na, “Ku-nave-di tukubu go-tono goi*  
 Siyokira 3SG-speak talk-3SG 2SG-take-3PL cave ID-below OBL  
*si-siu o-di si-nuwa. Boma-na si-mge-mge.”*  
 3PL-enter body-3PL 3PL-be.still forbidden-3SG 3PL-IPFV-make.noise.

‘(a) Ediriki with false fear beckoned and told Siyokira, he said, “Oh Siyokira my friend, what shall we do about these children?” (b) Siyokira said, “You take them to the **cave down there** and they go in and be still. It is forbidden that they make noise.”’

The story of Sipwena also illustrates an extralinguistic referent moving from accessible or semi-active to active. In this story, Sipwena’s brother-in-law is an ogre. He consistently mistreats Sipwena. Sipwena’s house is on the shore and toward the beginning of the story, the ogre comes down to the shore. No mention is made of his canoe or why he came to the shore (59a). When he gets there, he asks Sipwena what he is doing. Sipwena answers, then the ogre tells him to come help launch his canoe. This is the first mention of the canoe. However, from the ogre’s perspective the canoe is in plain sight of Sipwena, so it is identifiable. Furthermore, the text implies that he is standing next to the canoe since he uses the verb *kubalema*, which indicates that Sipwena is to move toward the speaker, the ogre, to do the task.

- (59a) *E dokanikani-ya-na i-sou.*  
 DM ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-descend
- (b) *I-sou i-ma i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Iva-gu, kaga ku-vavai-va?”*  
 in.law-1SG what 2SG-IPFV-do
- (c) *Geya, a-kaaiyaka,” Sipwena kae-na.*  
 NEG 1SG-IPFV.remain Sipwena talk-3SG
- (d) *E dokanikani-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Ku-bale-ma*  
 DM ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG 2SG-move-come

*guna            kewou   ta-lusobuye-Ø            a-na   a-kabela.*  
 CTRL.1SG   canoe   1PL.INCL-launch-3SG   1SG-go   1SG-fish

‘(a) Now the ogre descended. (b) He descended and said, “My brother-in-law, what are you doing?” (c) “Nothing, I am remaining,” said Sipwena. (d) And the ogre said, “Come over here and we will launch **my canoe** and I will go fishing.”’

In this section, we have seen that to reactivate a referent or to move a referent from a semi-active state to an active state (for whatever reason), Gumawana requires a noun phrase be used. That NP will usually be the referring phrase used to initially introduce the participant.

## 6.7 Default encoding rules

We can summarise now what the default encoding rules are for Gumawana narrative.

INT (Introducing or activating a new participant) – a full noun phrase is used.

S1 (Subject is the same as in the previous clause) – pronominal subject prefix only is used.

S2 (Subject was the addressee of the previous reported speech) – a noun phrase is used.

S3 (The subject had some other non-subject role in the previous clause) – a noun phrase is used.

S4 (Reactivation of a semi-active subject that was not involved in the previous clause) – a noun phrase is used.

What we have discovered is that in Gumawana narrative any change of subject including initial activation of a participant will require NP encoding. Only when we have same subject from one clause to another, do we find just a bound pronoun.

The non-subject categories show a different situation as can be seen in the following summary. Only introductions and N4 will use an NP.

INT (Activation of a brand-new referent) – a noun phrase is used.

N1 (The non-subject referent has the same non-subject role as in the previous clause) – pronominal suffixation only is used.

N2 (The addressee of a reported speech was the speaker of the previous reported speech) – zero.

- N3 (The non-subject referent was involved in the previous clause in a different role not covered by N1 or N2) – pronominal suffixation only is used, and zero marking for the addressee of an initial speech.
- N4 (The non-subject referent was not mentioned in the previous clause) – a noun phrase is used.

## 6.8 Changing referring expressions within a story

The expressions that refer to a participant may change in the course of a story, based on a new participant who joins the story, and changed relationships due to the presence of this new participant.

To illustrate this consider (60) (from *Rat and his two brothers*, appendix text 2). The mother and father are minor participants who are introduced at the beginning. The nature of this story requires them to be introduced first in order to introduce their children to whom she gave birth. They are both introduced without any descriptive phrases or anchoring expressions. Rather, they are introduced with only the words ‘a woman’ and ‘her spouse’. The woman’s function in the story is to bring the three children into the story by means of giving birth. The firstborn is introduced using an anchoring expression and referring expression. He is anchored to his parents as ‘their child’ and the referring expression is anchored via possession to the parents as ‘their firstborn.’ Firstborn is the expression that will be used throughout the story to refer to this participant.

- (60) *Vavina tayamo ma mone-na si-kaiyaka aaa go, vavina*  
 woman one COM spouse-3SG 3PL-exist until SP woman  
*i-ve-natuna. Natu-di tayamo koroto a-di botomoya.*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring offspring-3PL one male PASS-3PL firstborn  
 ‘**A woman** and her husband **lived** for some time and the woman gave birth. Their child was a boy; he was their firstborn.’

Once the firstborn is born, the role of the woman and her husband is changed to mother and father as shown in (61). By means of an anchoring expression (possessive construction), they are anchored to their child. This is how they are known throughout the rest of the story. Two sentences later, the firstborn has grown and the woman and her husband are now anchored to the boy using kin terms *sinana* ‘his mother’ and *tamana* ‘his father’. The boy takes on the prominent role with respect to the parents.

- (61) *E sina-na tama-na ii-leme-di i-paisewa.*  
 DM mother-3SG father-3SG 3SG.IPFV-help-3PL 3SG-worked  
 ‘And he began helping **his mother** and **his father** and he worked.’

Each time the woman gives birth, she is prominent until all three children are born. At that point, they are referred to as *sinadi* ‘their mother’ and *tamadi* ‘their father’ throughout the rest of the story.

The referring expression can also be changed in the middle of the story as the focus shifts from one participant to another. Above in examples (46) through (48) reference to the main participants, two men, changes midway through the story. From the beginning of the story, the two main participants are referred to as *koroto adi taiyuwo* ‘two men.’ Although the story is about how they were lost at sea, throughout the first part of the story they are either part of a larger group (and thus not in focus) or not being discussed; therefore, the generic epithet is used to refer to them. However, once the story shifts to focus on their plight, they are reintroduced with a new referring expression, namely, their names. Example (47) above is presented again below as (62). In sentence (b), the two are referred to using the referring expression established at the beginning of the story that is *koroto adi taiyuwo*. In sentence (c) their new referring expressions are given, that is, their names followed by (d) and (e) which give a further epithet about each. From this point on, they will be referred to by their names.

- (62a) *E amo a-di lovina i-vini-di i-kavava,*  
 DM DIST PASS-3PL rule 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish  
*e dimdim-ya-na i-na.*  
 DM foreigner-TM-3SG 3SG-go
- (b) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao tamo tamo goi go, kidi koroto-ya-di*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL SP 3PL man-TM-3PL  
***a-di te-yuwo moe i-di dingi tayamo.***  
 PASS-3PL person-two MED CTRL-3PL dinghy one
- (c) *Tau-ya-di yoi-di moe Gobune e Agastina.*  
 person-TM-3PL name-3PL MED Gobune DM Agastina
- (d) *Gobune moe a-na tala 41.*  
 Gobune MED PASS-3SG year 41
- (e) *Ego Agastina iya a-na tala moe 18.*  
 ADD Agastina 3SG PASS-3SG year MED 18
- (f) *Tau-ya-di i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 person-TM-3PL CTRL-3PL dinghy one
- (g) *Ego sa-di-yao nakae a-di te-yuwo a-di te-yuwo.*  
 ADD SSS-3PL-PL ADD PASS-3PL person-two PASS-3PL person-two

‘(a) Now after he gave them their rule, the foreigner left. (b) And all of the fishermen embarked en masse on each of their dinghies and **the two men** were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one). (c) Their names were Gobune and Agastina. (d) Gobune was 41 years old. (e) And Agastina was 18. (f) They had the same dinghy. (g) And their friends also were two per dinghy (lit. their friends also two two).’

## 6.9 More than default encoding

There are instances when more encoding is used than what the default encoding predicts. Levinsohn (1994:118), quoting Givón (1983:18) notes that “increased encoding typically occurs immediately following point of discontinuity and in connection with the highlighting of information, whether or not that information is disruptive, surprising.”

More encoding tends to be found in the S1 context where bound pronouns alone are expected with same subject. To illustrate Levinsohn’s category of increased encoding found at a point of discontinuity, consider again example (62) above. In (b), the author tells how all the fishermen had been issued fishing lines and dinghies, then embarked to go fishing. At this point, he reintroduces the two men who were first activated at the very beginning of the story. He gives further information about them in (c) through (f). Example (63) below continues the story. Here the author returns to the mainline of the story. There is a point of discontinuity as the author moves from background information of (62g) to back to mainline in (63). To achieve this he repeats what he said in (62b). Although the subject of (63) is the same as the preceding, a noun phrase is used since it is at a break in the discourse.

- (63) *E amo madaboki-di-kova si-deli-sowoya*  
 DM DIST all-3PL-INCL 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao goi.*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL OBL  
 ‘And **all of them** embarked en masse on their dinghies.’

Another example of more encoding than the default predicts is illustrated in *Hen and chicks* (appendix text 6). Example (64) is taken from the end of story. The chicks meet Dog and he sees them crying, so he asks them why they are crying. The chicks explain that they are looking for their mother and Dog asks the chicks if they want to see their mother’s face. When they answer yes, Dog tells them in (a) to wait and he will go search for her. In (a) Dog is still the subject, yet less encoding than expected is used. In (b) he is still the subject, yet now we have more encoding than expected by the default. Example (b) is a point of discontinuity from the author’s perspective. The author shifts from

reported speech to Dog actually doing what he said. Thus, Dog is encoded using a noun phrase.

- (64a) *E tuwo kamkam-ya-di i-latuwoko-i-di ka-na, “Guna*  
 DM so chick-TM-3PL 3SG-tell-TR-3PL talk-3SG CTRL.1SG  
*gumalau-yao, ko-ma ame-ko goi ko-kaiyaka go, be*  
 orphan-PL 2PL-come PROX-ADV OBL 2PL-exist SP IRR  
*a-na a-samkokou negwasa dadavi-na be nakae udodana*  
 1SG-go 1SG-smell sea area-3SG and ADD bush  
*dadavi-na goi.”*  
 area-3SG OBL
- (b) *E tuwo weniya-ya-na kubu-na i-kaive-Ø osasa*  
 DM so dog-TM-3SG nose-3SG 3SG-set.seaward.TR-3SG ocean  
*dadavi-na i-samkokou, geya.*  
 region-3SG 3SG-smell NEG

‘(a) And so he (Dog) told the chicks, “My orphans, come, stay here and I will go smell in the area of the sea and also in the area of the bush.” (b) And so **Dog** pointed his nose seaward and smelled the area of the ocean, but he smelt nothing.’

The next example illustrates more encoding for highlighting a speech. Example (65) is taken from the story of Dog and Possum. They have an argument over work, which left Dog angry. He plans to trick Possum by tying his ears at the nape of his neck to make it look like he cut them off. Dog then waits for Possum to return from his garden. When Possum does return (d), he notices that Dog looks different, so asks him why (e). Possum is the subject in (d) and (e) yet in the latter he is encoded using a noun phrase. The reason for this overencoding is to highlight what he says. There is no discontinuity at (e); rather it follows logically from what took place in (d). Possum’s speech is important to the story as he inquires as to why Dog looks different. Possum’s question opens it up for Dog to tell Possum he cut his ears off, thus encouraging Possum to do the same.

- (65a) *Tuwo moitamo weiniya-ya-na taiya-na i-siko-i-di*  
 so true dog-TM-3SG ear-3SG 3SG-tie-TR-3P  
*i-kovile-di gadugadu-na goi i-siko-patuko-i-di.*  
 3SG-pull.back.TR-3PL nape-3SG OBL 3SG-tie-attach-TR-3PL
- (b) *I-siko-Ø i-kavava, i-tuyawata.*  
 3SG-tie-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-wait
- (c) *I-tuyawata, i-tuyawata aaa, kodoya-ya-na*  
 3SG-IPFV.wait 3SG-IPFV.wait until possum-TM-3SG

*tanuwo goi i-ma.*  
garden OBL 3SG-come

- (d) *I-ma weiniya-ya-na i-gite-Ø geya taiya-na-mo.*  
3SG-come dog-TM-3SG 3SG-see.TR-3SG NEG ear-3SG-LIM
- (e) *Tuwo kodoya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Weiniya, kom maisi-m*  
*so possum-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG dog 2SG face-2SG*  
*i-tuli. Kaga una-na tau-na maisi-m i-senisi?”*  
3SG-different what basis-3SG result-3SG face-2SG 3SG-change

‘(a) So as it turns out Dog tied his ears back, pulled them back and attached them to the nape of his neck. (b) After he tied them, he waited. (c) He waited and waited until Possum came from the garden. (d) He came and saw Dog had no ears. (e) So **Possum** said, “Dog, your face is different. Why therefore has your face changed?”’

In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the author tells how Gumasai and his friends go to the island of Sanarowa for traditional trading of necklaces and armshells (known as the *kula* trading, see §1.6.5). After arriving at the island, his friends beach their canoes and in (66b) we are told they all went bushward. They are the subject in (a), so the default encoding would have predicted bound pronoun only in (b). The overencoding in (b) highlights the fact that all of them are headed bushward to ask for necklaces. It sets up a contrast, which follows in (c) and (d), where, although they are asking for necklaces, Gumasai gets the big one.

- (66a) *E kidi se-nao-ya-di si-na si-vaiu,*  
DM 3PL SSS-3SG.PL-TM-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-arrive  
*i-di oga si-yagas-i-di.*  
CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-beach-TR-3PL
- (b) *Si-yagas-i-di i-kavava, madaboki-di si-siyuyuwo.*  
3PL-beach-TR-3PL 3SG-finish all-3PL 3PL-bushward
- (c) *Si-siyuyuwo si-na da Sanarowa yai-di*  
3PL-bushward 3PL-go people.of Sanarowa OBL-3P  
*buyala si-woila.*  
necklace 3PL-ask
- (d) *Si-wo-woila si-wo-woila, Gumasai-ya-na buyala tayamo*  
3PL-IPFV-ask 3PL-IPFV-ask Gumasai-TM-3SG necklace one  
*gagai-na i-kabi-Ø go, se-nao geya si-yagoi-yeta.*  
big-3SG 3SG-get-3SG SP SSS-3SG.PL NEG 3PL-know-3SG.LIM

‘(a) Now his friends went, arrived and beached their canoes. (b) After they beached them, **all of them** went bushward. (c) They went bushward to the Sanarowa people and asked for necklaces. (d) While they kept on asking, Gumasai got a big necklace but his friends did not know it.’

In another story about two children whom the ogre Tamogibeli stranded, the two children find an old woman who has ogres for children. She protects the two children because they gave the old woman the best fish they had and only ate the small ones. In (67) the ogres leave the house and the two children come out of hiding. They go netting fish again and catch more fish. Again, they keep only the small coral fish and give the large ones to the old woman. In (a), the ogres are the subject in the first clause. A switch in the second clause requires a noun phrase to encode the children. They are now the subject through the rest of the example. Yet in the second clause of (c), a pronoun is used to encode the children. This is more than is to be expected for same subject reference. In this case, it is to highlight the fact that they again only eat the small insignificant fish. There is definitely no discontinuity at this point.

(67a) *E si-na go, go-gomana-ya-di si-sou si-na si-uwata*  
 DM 3PL-go SP PL-child-TM-3PL 3PL-descend 3PL-go 3PL-net  
*iyana gagai-di.*  
 fish big-3PL

(b) *Si-ma nakae.*  
 3PL-come ADD

(c) *Si-na si-kaivae-di go, kidi a-di pepeko si-kaigabuna.*  
 3PL-go 3PL-smoke-3PL SP 3PL ED-3PL coral.fish 3PL-roast

‘(a) And they (ogres) went and the children descended (from the house) and went netting, and they caught big fish. (b) They came and the same (cycle of events happened). (c) They went and smoked them but **they** roasted the coral fish.’

In this section, we have seen that when a speaker uses more encoding than the default, it is due to a discontinuity or it is for the purpose of highlighting a participant at that particular point in the story. In the next section we look at those cases where there is less encoding than the default rules predict.

## 6.10 Less than default encoding

There are cases where less than default encoding occurs. Three reasons has been found for this feature.

- Only one major participant is on stage.
- There is a cycle of events being repeated

- The reference is to a local VIP.

An example of only one major participant on stage is given below from the story of *Gilibo* (appendix text 1). Gumasai, the main participant in the story, gets the big necklace everyone is after, but the rest of the men do not know this. When they do find the necklace in his basket, they all become angry and dump out Gumasai's water jugs. They then call him to go fill them up, but this is a trick to strand him on the island.

(68a) *E Gumasai i-na bwae i-kabi-di, i-na i-tega-tega*  
DM Gumasai CTRL-3SG container 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-go 3SG-IPFV-draw

(b) *go, si-sowoya i-na oga si-kailave-Ø*  
SP 3PL-embark CTRL-3SG canoe 3PL-set.sail.TR-3SG  
*si-lokoine-Ø si-me-Ø Kitava.*  
3PL-run.TR-3SG 3PL-bring.TR-3SG Kitava

(c) *Kina go i-sowodo i-do-iwo, oga geya.*  
3SG SP 3SG-exit 3SG-head-seaward canoe NEG

‘(a) Now Gumasai got his water containers, went and began drawing water (b) but they (the rest of the men) embarked, departed with his canoe, sailed it and brought it to Kitava. (c) As for him (Gumasai), **he** went out and looked seaward, but there was no canoe.’

In (68a) Gumasai takes his jugs and draws water. While he is doing this, his ‘friends’ take off with his canoe (68b). Then in (c) there is a change of subject from his friends to Gumasai, yet the expected noun phrase is not used; rather the author refers to him using an independent pronoun. Gumasai is the only major participant on stage at this point, so it is not necessary to use anything more to refer to him. The independent pronoun is used to set Gumasai apart psychologically from the rest of the group (see §10.4).

When a story has cycles in it, an S3 context (non-subject to subject) will have fewer explicit noun phrases without producing ambiguity, because the same type of event has happened several times previously; therefore, the reader already knows who is doing what. This type of cycling can be seen in the story of *Turtle and Wallaby* (appendix text 3). In this story, Turtle and Wallaby fight over white satinash fruit. Turtle becomes angry and calls out for the owner, who is an ogre. Because of this, the ogre, Tamogibeli, comes after them and catches Turtle. Before they can cook him, Turtle gets away. In (69b) Tamogibeli is the possessor in a noun phrase functioning as the object of the preposition. However, in (c) he is the subject with only a pronominal prefix on the verb. Because this is a very cyclical episode, it is completely clear who is doing the hitting.

(69a) *Tuwo Tomogibeli bego vayavaya-ya-na i-lau-i-Ø go, kina*  
so Tomogibeli IM turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG SP 3SG

*vayavaya-ya-na i-siya go, mone-na i-lau-i-Ø.*  
 turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-flee SP spouse-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG

- (b) *Tuwo vayavaya-ya-na i-pela i-na Tamogibeli daba-na goi.*  
 so turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-jump 3SG-go Tamogibeli head-3SG OBL

- (c) *Tuwo bego vayavaya i-lau-i-Ø go, i-kaugoya-i-Ø*  
 so IM turtle 3SG-hit-TR-3SG SP 3SG-miss-TR-3SG

*toini-na i-lau-i-Ø.*  
 REFL-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG

‘(a) So Tamogibeli intended to hit Turtle but Turtle fled and he (Tamogibeli) hit his wife. (b) So Turtle jumped on **Tamogibeli’s** head. (c) So **he** (Tamogibeli) intended to hit Turtle, but he missed him and hit himself.’

In the story of *Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2), the author underspecifies the subject in (70c). In (a), the firstborn is the subject. He goes to get his grubs but in (b) we learn that Rat had already eaten them. The subject of the second clause of (b) is Rat, so in (c) we would expect to find a noun phrase to encode the firstborn since we again have a change of subject. Instead, the author used only a bound pronoun. The firstborn is the central character in the story. At this point, he is the center of attention as can be seen by the fact that in (a) *botomoya* ‘firstborn’ has the thematic marker *-ya* suffixed to it. Because he is the center of attention, the author can use just a bound pronoun to refer to him.

- (70a) *E kina botomoya-ya-na i-na a-na nige*  
 DM 3SG firstborn-TM-3SG 3SG-go ED-3SG grub  
*maine i-yato-i-di bego i-kabi-di i-kaika.*  
 earlier 3SG-set-TR-3PL IM 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-eat

- (b) *I-nonoi-na, kina go kelikeli bogina i-kani-save-di.*  
 3SG-IPFV-go 3SG SP rat PRF 3SG-eat-completely.TR-3PL

- (c) *E tuwo i-sou i-ma i-digo ka-na, “E,*  
 DM so 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-speak talk-3SG hey  
*a-gu nige vatau i-kani-di? Nakona kom memeya ae?”*  
 ED-1SG grub who 3SG-eat-3PL perhaps 2SG infant Q

‘(a) And **the firstborn** went intending to get his grubs which he had earlier set aside to eat. (b) He was going, but **Rat** had already completely eaten them all. (c) And so **he** (firstborn) descended and said, “Hey, who ate my grubs? It was probably you infant, right?”’

Further on in the same story, the events are repeated from an earlier point. In other words, the story demonstrates a cycle of events. This is evident from (71b) which shows a common formula for indicating that the events that have taken place are being repeated

in a cycle. In the second half of (c), we would expect to find a noun phrase used to refer to the children since there is a change of subject from the immediately preceding clause. The children are the possessors of the two nouns that are the subject of the clause, so the context is S3. This context typically is encoded with a noun phrase. However, here it is just an independent pronoun. There is significant prominence on the final clause of (c). First, the fact that the author used the spacer *go* backgrounds the preceding clause with respect to the final one. The use of the independent pronoun also places prominence on the children to which it refers. The author communicates that the story will proceed through the children, not the parents. The parents always occur anchored to the children. Thus, the children are thematically salient. Here we not only have a cycle of events, but the children are major participants with respect to their parents. For that reason, less encoding can be used in (71c).

(71a) *E niyala i-saliu si-masisi.*  
DM sun 3SG-set 3PL-sleep

(b) *Si-masisi i-tomo nobuyana nakae.*  
3PL-sleep 3SG-next.day morning ADD

(c) *Sina-di tama-di si-na tanuwo go, kidi si-kaiyaka.*  
mother-3PL father-3PL 3PL-go garden SP 3PL 3PL-exist

‘(a) And the sun set and they (parents and children) slept. (b) They slept until the next morning and it was the same thing. (c) Their mother and their father went to the garden, but **they** remained.’

In *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4), the author underspecifies the encoding used on the main participants. The two men are the major participants and his friends (also referred to as ‘people’) are minor participants. In (72a) the two men are referred to by names (NPs), which is expected, since the previous clause referred to their friends so we have a change of subject. In (c) the author introduces a background comment, which has the idea of “if you and I were there this is what we would say...” He returns to the other men in (d) and tells how they all returned to the main boat. This is contrasted with the two men who become the subject again at the end of (d); however, they are underspecified. Because we have a change of subject, we would expect a noun phrase. Instead, they are referred to using an independent pronoun. The reason for this is that they are the major participants in the story, so the author is able to refer to them merely with the pronoun and it is clear to whom he is referring. The affect of introducing that clause with the spacer *go* is to background the other men with respect to the two main characters in the story. In other words, the story will progress through these two men, rather than the others.

(72a) *Go kidi Gobune be Agastina amo-ko goi si-bani-bani,*  
SP 3PL Gobune and Agastina MED-ADV OBL 3PL-IPFV-fish

- (b) *Ina si-kailova a-yuwo-i-na si-lokoina-iwo si-na tayari*  
 later 3PL-set.sail CLF-two-?-3SG 3PL-run-seaward 3PL-go reef  
*tamo goi si-bani.*  
 one OBL 3PL-fish
- (c) *Moe ta-digo ka-da lavilavi nakae bogina.*  
 MED 1PL.INCL-speak talk-1PL.INCL evening ADD PRF
- (d) *Ego sa-di-yao kidi madaboki-di bogina si-lokoina-vila*  
 ADD SSS-3PL-PL 3PL all-3PL PRF 3PL-run-return  
*si-nonoi-na oga.*  
 3PL-IPFV-go canoe
- (e) *Go kidi nava si-bani-bani eee bogina kenauluulu nakae.*  
 SP 3PL still 3PL-IPFV-fish until PRF dark ADD

‘(a) But Gobune and Agastina were fishing there. (b) Later they departed again and moved seaward to a certain reef and fished. (c) That we would say was already evening. (d) But all of their friends were heading back to the boat. (e) But **they** were still fishing until it was already dark enough not to be able to see anyone.’

To summarise, we find that when an author uses less encoding than expected, he is able to do so because either the participant is the only major one on stage at that moment or there is a cycle of events that are being repeated or he is the local VIP.

Not only are there default rules for how to encode participants, there are also secondary rules that explain when we find more or less encoding than the default will predict. These secondary rules can be summarised as follows.

- Points of departure (see §3.3) require a full noun phrase.
- To highlight a participant’s action or speech, a full noun phrase is used.
- When a participant is the center of attention or the only major participant present, less encoding is possible.
- When relating information referring to a cycle of events, less encoding is possible.

# 7. Thematic marker -ya

---

## 7.1 Introduction

In this chapter the function of the nominal suffix *-ya* is presented. This suffix is important for understanding participant referencing in Gumawana. It will be shown here that it is not a definite article; rather it functions as a thematic marker.

Levinsohn (1989:45) states, “Crucial to an understanding of the use of the article in Galatians is the concept of markedness [...]. According to this concept, when a certain marker is present the feature implied by the marker is present also. However, when the marker is absent nothing is said about the presence or otherwise of the feature. It is unmarked for that feature.” In a similar way in Gumawana the presence of *-ya* will entail definiteness or identifiability, but the lack of it does not entail indefiniteness because it is *not* a marker of definiteness (see chapter 8).

The suffix *-ya* is followed by a person and number suffix (see Table 3 for pronominal affixes). It is phonemically */-ia/* and it is here that the Gumawana Island dialect and the Nubogeta Island dialect differ. The discussion on stress and epenthesis in chapter 2.1 helps to explain the difference between the two dialects.

As stated in chapter 2.1, Gumawana words phonemically take stress on the penultimate syllable. However, certain nouns and verbs appear to have antepenultimate stress. This is because certain nouns and verbs are phonemically consonant final, while others are vowel final. There is a rule of */a/* epenthesis in the Nubogeta dialect on those words which are phonemically consonant final. This rule applies if no suffixation takes place. In the Gumawana Island dialect, epenthesis takes place before suffixation. In the Nubogeta dialect, it takes place after suffixation.

In (1) the noun *putuma* ‘oil’ is phonemically consonant final, thus */putum/*. When stress is applied, it occurs on the penultimate syllable */pu/* to derive */'putum/*. Then the epenthetic vowel */a/* is inserted to form *['putumə]*. In contrast, (2) illustrates the noun *gurewa* ‘stone’ which phonemically ends in a vowel, hence *[gu'rewə]*. Stress is applied to the penultimate syllable */re/*. No epenthesis is required since the word already fits the syllable template of CV. Thus, phonetically the two words have different stress patterns.

- |     |          |           |         |
|-----|----------|-----------|---------|
| (1) | /putum/  | ['putumə] | ‘oil’   |
| (2) | /gurewa/ | [gu'rewə] | ‘stone’ |

When the thematic marker *-ya* is suffixed to the two nouns, phonetically the Gumawana Island dialect differs slightly to the Nubogeta Island dialect. In the Nubogeta dialect, the suffix *-ia* is affixed before *a*-epenthesis, as in (3), resulting in /putumiana/. (On the additional suffix *-na*, see below.) In contrast (4) demonstrates that in the Gumawana dialect suffixation takes place after epenthesis.

- |     |                |               |                  |
|-----|----------------|---------------|------------------|
| (3) | /putum-ia-na/  | [putumi'ana]  | Nubogeta dialect |
| (4) | /putuma-ia-na/ | [putuma'yana] | Gumawana dialect |

Furthermore, the Nubogeta dialect has a rule of coalescence which results in the vowels /a/ and /i/ phonetically being realised as [e], as illustrated in (5). This does not happen in the Gumawana dialect as shown in (6).<sup>1</sup>

- |     |                |               |                  |
|-----|----------------|---------------|------------------|
| (5) | /gurewa-ia-na/ | [gurewe'ana]  | Nubogeta dialect |
| (6) | /gurewa-ia-na/ | [gurewa'yana] | Gumawana dialect |

For orthographic purposes and for this paper we follow one form for both constructions, that is, just *-ya* without vowel changes: *putumayana*, *gurewayana*.

Morphologically the suffix *-ya* is obligatorily suffixed by a person/number marker (see Table 3 in §2.2). Most frequently it occurs with third person but there are contexts where first and second person work as well. Two examples are given below.

- |     |                     |           |
|-----|---------------------|-----------|
| (7) | <i>koroto-ya-na</i> | ‘the man’ |
|     | man-TM-3SG          |           |
| (8) | <i>koroto-ya-di</i> | ‘the men’ |
|     | man-TM-3PL          |           |

Although the thematic marker may be suffixed to any noun or personal name, this must be qualified. It may only occur on nouns or participants that have been *activated*. The following example illustrates the need for a noun to be activated before *-ya* may be used. One of the men in the village explained that a woman who was a non-native speaker of the language was talking to him and made the statement in (9). The problem with (9) is that Roxanne had not been mentioned in their discussion. In other words, it had not been activated. The woman consistently made this same mistake because she did not understand how it worked.

---

<sup>1</sup> There is also a glide insertion rule found in the Nubogeta dialect in both example (3) and (5). Furthermore, the vowel /i/ will be phonetically realised as [y] intervocally as in (4) and (6). For a more detailed description of the processes involved in this, see Olson (1992b).

- (9) \**Ku-gite-Ø*      *Rokisani-ya-na*    *i-mamai-ma*.  
 2SG-look.TR-3SG   Roxanne-TM-3SG   3SG-IPFV-come  
 ‘Look, **Roxanne** is coming.’

Further evidence to support this claim is found in the fact that in the texts used for this study there is not one example of *-ya* occurring on a noun that has not first been mentioned in the discourse.

It is also not the case that *-ya* is a definite article (see chapter 8). This is evident from the following example from *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4). At this point in the story, the boat has gone to a secluded spot where the men begin fishing. The author describes the pattern that was started. In (10a), the fishermen return to the main boat to sleep each night. Then around 3 a.m., they arise and head back out to fish (b). In (c) we are told that some men stopped just as the main boat disappeared from their vision. However, others, including the two main participants, went further on. The noun *oga* ‘canoe, boat’, which refers to the main Taiwanese boat, was activated at the beginning of the story and has been referred to several times already. In (a) the thematic marker *-ya* occurs because it is locally salient. The boat is mentioned again in (b), (c) and (e). In each it is identifiable, yet the suffix *-ya* is absent in (b) and (e). If *-ya* were a definite article, its presence in (c) would be expected, but its absence in (b) and (e) is unaccounted for.

- (10a) *E tuwo si-deli-tila si-ma i-di oga-ya-na*  
 DM so 3PL-en.masse-return 3PL-come CTRL-3PL canoe-TM-3SG  
*goi si-masisi.*  
 OBL 3PL-sleep
- (b) *Si-masisi botomotomo nakae si-deli-taoya i-di*  
 3PL-sleep 3am ADD 3PL-en.masse-arise CTRL-3PL  
*dingi-ya-di si-kabi-di si-kailova, si-lokoina si-lokoina eee*  
 dinghy-TM-3PL 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-depart 3PL-run 3PL-run until  
*oga gagai-na maine moe i-ta-gau-gau.*  
 canoe big-3SG earlier MED 3SG-UNACC-IPFV-secret
- (c) *Tuwo maniye-di moe-ko si-sayata si-bani go, kidi maniye-di*  
 so some-3PL MED-ADV 3PL-stop 3PL-fish SP 3PL some-3PL  
*to si-lokoina si-na si-na si-na oga gagai-na-ya-na*  
 only 3PL-run 3PL.go 3PL-go 3PL-go canoe big-3SG-TM-3SG  
*i-ta-gau toi-na o ta-digo ka-da*  
 3SG-UNACC-secret very-3SG or 1PL.INCL-speak talk-1PL.INCL

*i-kasopu<sup>2</sup>      toi-na.*

3SG-disappear very-3SG

- (d) *E    tuwo   amo-ko    goi   si-sayata   go,   si-bani.*

DM   so      DIST-ADV   OBL   3PL-stop   SP   3PL-fish

- (e) *Si-bani-bani   ina    si-bani-liya    si-kaluvila   si-nonoi-na*

3PL-IPFV-fish   later   3PL-fish-along   3PL-return   3PL-IPFV-go

*oga    manu-na.*

canoe   OBL-3SG

‘(a) And so they returned together to **their boat** and slept. (b) They slept and around 3 a.m. they arose together, got their dinghies, departed and they went until the **big boat** began to disappear. (c) So some of them stopped there and fished, but others just went on until the **big boat** really disappeared or we would say it really disappeared over the horizon. (d) And so they stopped there and they fished. (e) They were fishing, then later they fished intermittently as they returned and were making their way to the **boat**.’

The fact that *-ya* is not a definite article is further illustrated from (11) taken from a first person account of how a man tricked the author. The author was in the water spearfishing when Bogili, who was sitting in the canoe, told the author there was a huge shark in the water. He wanted the author to get into the canoe, so they could go get a piece of driftwood that Bogili had mistakenly thought was a canoe drifting away. If we track the word *wasare* ‘basket’ it is clear *-ya* is not a definite marker. In (a) the first direct reference to *wasare* is made. However, this is most likely an identifiable noun because early on in the story the author mentions that they prepared their things and when men go in their canoes, they always take their baskets, so this could be a part of a schema, thus definite or identifiable. In (b) reference is again made to *wasare*, but now it is suffixed with *-ya*. The same is true in (c). Then in the second clause of (d) reference is made once again to *wasare*, only now it does not have the suffix *-ya*. This last occurrence is referring to the same basket as the others, so it has to be identifiable, but there is no suffix *-ya* on the noun.

- (11a) *Wasare   naironi   i-doiye-di    go,   yau   a-yaba            neganega*  
basket   nylon   3SG-drift-3PL   SP   1SG   1SG-complete   full.energy

*a-na    ataya-na            a-tisobu.*

1SG-go   side.of.canoe-3SG   1SG-sit

- (b) *Wasare-ya-na   i-doiye-Ø    bogina   a-gite-Ø            go,   o-gu*  
basket-TM-3SG   3SG-drift-3SG   PRF      1SG-see.TR-3SG   SP   body-1SG

<sup>2</sup> This term has to do with an object disappearing on the horizon because of the distance.

*i-kai.*

3SG-reject

- (c) *Nava a-waiwasi. Guna lotowana i-dedeina baige a-beuta*  
still 1SG-rest CTRL.1SG feeling 3SG-good then 1SG-paddle

*a-na wasare-ya-na a-kabi-Ø.*

1SG-go basket-TM-3SG 1SG-get-3SG

- (d) *E lava-ya-na yau a-na wasare a-kabi-kabi-Ø go*  
DM time-TM-3SG 1SG 1SG-go basket 1SG-IPFV-get-3SG SP

*Bogili-ya-na i-taoya i-do-bala ailapulapu-ya-na*

Bogili-TM-3SG 3SG-arise 3SG-W.head-look driftwood-TM-3SG

*i-gite-gite-Ø.*

3SG-IPFV-see.TR-3SG

‘(a) **The basket** and nylon drifted away, but I, with all my energy, went to the side of the canoe and sat down. (b) I had seen **the basket** drift away, but I didn’t care. (c) I was still resting. When I was feeling good, then I paddled and got **the basket**. (d) Now when I went and was getting **the basket**, Bogili stood up and looked over and was watching the driftwood.’

Although the above examples (7) and (8) have been glossed using ‘the’, that is not really what *-ya* means. It is not a simple definite article indicating definiteness. This can be easily seen in any text where most of the nouns by the middle of the story are activated and definite as well as referential, yet they lack *-ya*. The following example (taken from *Gilibo*, appendix text 1) illustrates this point. Gumasai, the main character in the story, has obtained a valuable necklace that everyone was trying to get; however, his friends did not know it. When they find the necklace in his unattended basket, they are angry and decide to strand Gumasai. They pour out his water containers to trick him into leaving his canoe. The story continues at (12).

- (12a) *E Gumasai i-na bwaē i-kabi-di, i-na i-tega-tega*  
DM Gumasai CTRL-3SG container 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-go 3SG-IPFV-draw

*go, si-sowoya i-na oga si-kailave-Ø*

SP 3PL-embark CTRL-3SG canoe 3PL-set.sail-3SG

*si-lokoine-Ø si-me-Ø Kitava.*

3PL-sail.TR-3SG 3PL-come.TR-3SG Kitava

- (b) *Kina go i-sowodo i-do-iwo, oga geya.*  
3SG SP 3SG-exit 3SG-look-seaward canoe NEG

- (c) *Alova i-mwera, i-do-iwo, bogina*  
tree 3SG-climb 3SG-W.head-seaward PRF

*si-ta-gau-gau.*

3PL-UNACC-IPFV-disappear

- (d) *E nukoto-na i-topa, i-sou.*  
DM throat-3SG 3SG-UNACC.break 3SG-descend
- (e) *I-sou, i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu i-kaiyaka*  
3SG-descend 3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave OBL 3SG-enter 3SG-exist
- (f) *Ego tukubu-ya-na dokanikani i-na tukubu Gumasai*  
ADD cave-TM-3SG ogre CTRL-3SG cave Gumasai  
*i-kaiyaka sinae-na.*  
3SG-exist inside-3SG
- (g) *E kina go dokanikani-ya-na i-tupa-tupa.*  
DM 3SG SP ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-voyage
- (h) *A-na lava bogina bei i-vayowata i-lokoina.*  
PASS-3SG time PRF IRR 3SG-return 3SG-run
- (i) *I-lokoina i-ma i-sobu, i-na oga i-vailowo-Ø,*  
3SG-run 3SG-come 3SG-drop.sail CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-anchor-3SG  
*i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu.*  
3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave OBL 3SG-enter

‘(a) Now **Gumasai** got his water containers, went and began drawing water, but they (rest of the men) embarked, departed with his **canoe**, sailed it and brought it to Kitava. (b) But he (Gumasai) went out and looked seaward, but there was no **canoe**. (c) He climbed a tree and looked seaward, but they were already disappearing. (d) So he gave up (lit. his neck broke) and descended. (e) He descended, went bushward to **a cave**, entered and remained there. (f) Now the **cave** was an ogre’s cave that **Gumasai** was inside of. (g) Now as for the ogre, he was on a voyage. (h) His time had come to return, and so he sailed. (i) He sailed, came, dropped sail, anchored his canoe, went towards the bush to his **cave** and entered.’

In (12a) Gumasai is the topic and is referenced using his name, but there is no suffix *-ya*. He has been mentioned previous to this example, so if *-ya* was a definite article, we would expect it here. He is mentioned overtly again in (f) but still there is no suffix *-ya*. A second noun to track in (12) is *tukubu* ‘cave’, first mentioned in (e) without the suffix *-ya* as we would expect. In (f) it occurs again, but this time with *-ya* suffixed. Since it was activated in (e), this is to be expected. In (i) it appears a third time but without the suffix *-ya*. If this suffix functioned merely as a definite article, we would expect it here since it is referring to the same cave as in (f). Finally, Gumasai’s *oga* ‘canoe’ is mentioned in (a). It was mentioned in the previous sentences and yet *-ya* does not occur.

In (b) it is mentioned again but also without *-ya*. In each case it is active, yet the suffix *-ya* is not used. The suffix, then, cannot be merely a definite article.

In Olson (1992a:318), the editors inserted a section in which they made the claim that this suffix is a topic marker. However, further data suggests that this is *not* the case. There are many cases where the topic does not have the suffix and there are stories where whole stretches of discourse lack this suffix (see example (12a) where Gumasai is the topic yet unmarked). A topic marker would not function in this manner. Furthermore, there are examples where a constituent is not the topic yet the suffix *-ya* is used. For example, later in *Gilibo* from sentence 66 through 72 the ogre and Gumasai are the topics. They are encoded with agreement only as would be expected. They continue to be the topic in 73 (given below as (13)), yet Gumasai, who is referenced as the possessor with the kin term *tubuna* ‘his relative’, is marked with *-ya*.

- (13) *Tubu-na-ya-na i-na kunumana si-vadodo-i-Ø,*  
 relative-3SG-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG sago 3PL-load-TR-3SG  
*si-sowoya.*  
 3PL-embark  
 ‘They loaded junior’s sago and embarked.’

Earlier on in the same story all the people build their canoes (14a) and they are contrasted with what Gumasai does in (b). Then in (c) *lava* ‘time’ is marked with *-ya* even though it is not the topic. The topic is *boda* ‘group’, but it remains unmarked even though it is mentioned in (a).

- (14a) ***Boda madaboki-di i-di oga si-tala-i-di si-biu-di***  
 group all-3PL CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-cut-TR-3PL 3PL-pull-3PL  
*si-nave-di negwasa kiki-na goi si-yowo-i-di.*  
 3PL-take-TR-3PL sea near-3SG OBL 3PL-tie-TR-3PL
- (b) *Ago kina Gumasai i-na oga i-tala-i-Ø,*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-cut-TR-3SG  
*koya goi be i-yowo-Ø.*  
 mountain OBL IRR 3SG-tie-3SG
- (c) *E lava-ya-na boda madaboki-di oga bogina*  
 DM time-TM-3SG group all-3PL canoe PRF  
*si-yowo-i-di i-kavava, Guyau i-digo ka-na,*  
 3PL-tie-TR-3PL 3SG-finish chief 3SG-say talk-3SG  
*"I-tomo ta-lusobuye-Ø."*  
 3SG-next.day 1PL.INCL-launch-3SG

‘(a) All **the group** cut canoes for themselves, pulled them, took them near the sea and built them (lit. tied them). (b) But Gumasai cut a canoe for himself and it was on the mountain that he would build it. (c) Now **when all the group** had finished building their canoes, Chief said, “Tomorrow we launch them.”’

The answer to function of *-ya* is the prominence system at a pragmatic level of the language. When prominence is placed on established constituents, it is referred to as thematic prominence. Callow (1974:50) defines thematic prominence as “what I’m talking about”. Some languages will mark a participant as being the thematic referent for a particular thematic grouping (Levinsohn 2011:134). Typically, “a thematically prominent entity will have a significant role to play in the subsequent discourse” (Levinsohn 2011:61). A noun suffixed with *-ya* is temporarily salient. It persists as being salient until another noun takes its place.

Levinsohn (2011:134) states that there are global VIPs (very important participants) and local VIPs. The difference between them is that “a global VIP is identified for the text as a whole. A local VIP is identified for a particular thematic grouping” (Levinsohn 2011:135 footnote 2). He notes that “even when using the sequential strategy of participant reference, there is a tendency to organise the material around different local VIPs in turn” (Levinsohn 2011:134). As was stated early on in this paper, Gumawana uses the sequential look-back strategy (see chapter 4). So to mark a local VIP in Gumawana, the suffix *-ya* is used. The participant’s action or speech is important to the overall development of the story.

It will be shown that the suffix *-ya* marks a participant (animate or prop) as thematically salient locally. The rest of this chapter is divided up as follows. First we examine how a participant are established as locally salient, that is, as a local VIP (§7.2). In section §7.3 the use of *-ya* in background comments is presented. Finally in §7.4 its use with temporal points of departure is examined.

## 7.2 Establishing a participant as salient

As stated above, the suffix *-ya* does not occur until the referent has been activated. It was pointed out that there is not one occurrence of the suffix with a non-activated noun in the texts examined for this study. Even nouns that are obviously given information such as ‘the sun’ are not marked with *-ya* until they have been introduced into the discourse and become locally salient. However, once a participant has been activated, it may be established as thematically salient locally by means of the suffix *-ya*. This is illustrated in the following example. In a first person narrative about how some older boys scared some younger ones, the use of *-ya* is very clear. The whole purpose of the story is to tell how one of these boys defecates in his pants out of fear of what the author,

Karitoni, does. Throughout the story, the only nouns/names that are marked with *-ya* are those that contribute to the main theme line of the story. Throughout the story the children and later the one child are continually marked with *-ya* when they are referenced using a noun or by name. The following excerpt from the middle of the story illustrates the use of *-ya*.

- (15a) *E Ediriki go-gomana i-kabi-di, tukubu goi i-vai-siu-di*  
 DM Ediriki PL-child 3SG-get-3PL cave OBL 3SG-CAUS-enter-3PL  
*go, Ediriki-ya-na i-sowodo.*  
 SP Ediriki-TM-3SG 3SG-exit
- (b) *Go tukubu-ya-na a-na kaigigita ame nakae.*  
 SP cave-TM-3SG PASS-3SG appearance PROX ADD
- (c) *Gurewa tayamo tukubu-ya-na tobu-na goi i-tu-laga-laga.*  
 stone one cave-TM-3SG mouth-3SG OBL 3SG-W.butt-IPFV-up
- (d) *Neta latuwo-da ta-siu a-na kaba siu*  
 if desire-1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-enter PASS-3SG place.for enter  
*ai-yuwo.*  
 CLF-two
- (e) *Tayamo negwasa goi ta-tukosobu ta-ma tukubu-ya-na*  
 one sea OBL 1PL.INCL-dive 1PL.INCL-come cave-TM-3SG  
*sinae-na ta-poiya go, ai-yuwo-i-na ame-ko*  
 inside-3SG 1PL.INCL-surface SP CLF-two-?-3SG PROX-ADV  
*gurewa yata-na goi ta-sou.*  
 stone on.top-3SG OBL 1PL.INCL-descend

‘(a) Now Ediriki took the children and placed them inside of a cave, but **Ediriki** exited. (b) And the appearance of the **cave** was like this. (c) A stone was sitting above the mouth of the **cave**. (d) If we want to enter, it has two entrances. (e) One (entrance) we dive into the sea and surface inside of the **cave**, but the second one from here on top of stone we descend.’

Note that the ‘cave’ is thematically salient at this point in the story because that is the location where the child will be scared enough to defecate in his pants. This is the only place in the story that the cave is marked as salient. The second occurrence of Ediriki is suffixed with *-ya* as well. This is the only time in the story that he is. At this point, he is thematically salient because he leaves the kids so that they are by themselves making it possible for Karitoni to scare them.

The trick the older boys played on the younger ones was to tell them that Karitoni, the author and one of the older boys, had gone crazy. One of the signs of this is for the person to have a bad earache. That is why in the next excerpt below (16) Karitoni, the

one pretending to be crazy, makes the statement about his ears hurting. All of it is to create as much fear as possible.

- (16a) *E tuta-ya-na go-gomana-ya-di bogina si-siboila, Siyokira*  
 DM time-TM-3SG PL-child-TM-3PL PRF 3PL-enter Siyokira  
*i-ma yau i-lituwoko-i-gu i-digo ka-na, “Karitoni,*  
 3SG-come 1SG 3SG-tell-TR-1SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG Karitoni  
*woili-m ku-na. Go-gomana-ya-di bogina tukubu sinae-na*  
 quick-2SG 2SG-go PL-child-TM-3PL PRF cave inside-3SG  
*goi si-siu.”*  
 OBL 3PL-enter
- (b) *E yau sisi a-kavale-Ø a-lokoina.*  
 DM 1SG machete 1SG-carry.TR-3SG 1SG-run  
*A-lokoina go, a-duduwo.*  
 1SG-run SP 1SG-call
- (c) *Guna duduwo-yana ka-gu, “O taiya-gu! O taiya-gu!”*  
 CTRL.1SG call-TM-3SG talk-1SG oh ear-1SG oh ear-1SG
- (d) *E a-lokoina a-na tukubu kiki-na ka-gu, “Oiyoi, nako*  
 DM 1SG-run 1SG-go cave near-3SG talk-1SG INTERJ where  
*tukubu. Seki ame nakona. Ame tuta a-siu.”*  
 cave uncertain PROX perhaps PROX time 1SG-enter

‘(a) And when the children had entered, Siyokira came and told me, “Karitoni, come quickly. The **children** have entered inside of the **cave**.” (b) So I carried my machete and ran. I ran and called out. (c) My calling out was, “Oh my ear! Oh my ear!” (d) And I ran up near to the **cave** and said, “Oh! Where is the cave? I don’t know maybe here. Now I will enter!”’

Notice in the above excerpt that although the cave is activated it is not marked with *-ya* in either of its occurrences. The center of attention is on the children (marked with *-ya* plus the third plural agreement suffix *-di*) and not on the cave. In addition, although Siyokira has been in the story throughout, he is never marked with *-ya* because he is never the center of attention. Karitoni’s calling is marked because this is thematically salient at this point. What he says will lead to one of the kids being so frightened that he will defecate in his pants.

In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), men from Kiriwina have gone to Sanarowa Island to obtain necklaces as part of the famous Kula trading ring. One man, Gumasai, does get the large one. However, none of the people know about it. He has put his necklace inside his basket and hung it on a tree. In (17b) the basket is introduced for the first time. It is established as thematically salient in its next occurrence in (c). It is salient because the

finding of the necklace is on the event line and will lead to the breaking in two of the island of Gilibo.

- (17a) *E i-na i-na oga-ya-na i-ginoil-i-Ø.*  
 DM 3SG-go CTRL-3SG canoe-TM-3SG 3SG-prepare-TR-3SG
- (b) *Ego i-na wasare alova goi i-saine-Ø sinae-na*  
 ADD CTRL-3SG basket tree OBL 3SG-hang.TR-3SG inside-3SG  
*buyala-ya-na i-kaiyaka.*  
 necklace-TM-3SG 3SG-exist
- (c) *Kina i-na oga ii-ginoil-i-Ø go, tomota*  
 3SG CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG.IPFV-prepare-TR-3SG SP people  
*si-na wasare-ya-na si-katuvile-Ø, si-gite-Ø*  
 3PL-go basket-TM-3SG 3PL-open.TR-3SG 3PL-see.TR-3SG  
*buyala-ya-na i-kaiyaka.*  
 necklace-TM-3SG 3SG-exist

‘(a) And he (Gumasai) went and prepared his canoe. (b) And on a tree he hung his **basket**, inside of which was the necklace. (c) While he was preparing his canoe, the people came, opened **the basket** and they saw the necklace was there.’

The next example is taken from the story of *Hen and Chicks* (appendix text 6). The mother Hen has gone out to dig up worms to feed her chicks who are left back home. As she descends a mountain, she destroys Lizard’s house without realising it. Lizard’s response is given in (18b).

- (18a) *I-sou-sou, ailavasi i-na vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG
- (b) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu, tau-na*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry result-3SG  
*i-vada-gavila kamkam-ya-na i-vada-mate-Ø.*  
 3SG-W.head-turn hen-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-die.TR-3SG

‘(a) As she (Hen) was descending, she began scattering **Lizard’s** house. (b) So as for **Lizard**, he was angry, therefore he turned his head and killed **Hen**.’

Lizard is introduced in a non-subject role in (18a). Then he is established as thematically salient temporarily and initiates the next action by killing the mother hen. In this final clause the mother hen is marked as thematically salient by means of the suffix *-ya*. The story is not about the lizard at this point; rather it is about the hen being killed. The death

of the mother hen explains why she does not return to her chicks, thus forcing her chicks to go looking for her.

When more than one active participant is on stage, *-ya* will mark only one participant as salient in a given clause. This is very common in reported speeches. Typically, the participant so marked will be the one to move the action forward. For example, in the story of *Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3), Wallaby climbs a white satinash tree and starts eating the apples. Turtle wants some but Wallaby refuses to drop any down. This makes Turtle angry. He is marked in (19a) as thematically salient at this point since it is his anger and telling on Wallaby that moves the story forward. Then there is a switch to the ogre Tomogibeli who is marked in (b) as thematically salient. He will initiate the next action on the event line when he comes after them.

- (19a) *E kina vayavaya-ya-na gamo-na i-goyo, tuwo i-simana*  
 DM 3SG turtle-TM-3SG stomach-3SG 3SG-bad so 3SG-report  
*ka-na, “Tomogibeli e! A-mi mogolu kerei*  
 talk-3SG Tomogibeli hey ED-2PL satinash wallaby  
*i-mwere-mwere-Ø.”*  
 3SG-IPFV-climb.TR-3SG

- (b) *Tuwo Tomogibeli-ya-na i-nove-di, e i-digo ka-na,*  
 so Tomogibeli-TM-3SG 3SG-hear.TR-3PL DM 3SG-speaks talk-3SG  
*“Komi ava-tau-wa? Se-mi-yao a-kani-save-di*  
 2PL which-person-PL SSS-2PL-PL 1SG-eat-completely.TR-3PL  
*go, komi ko-ga-gagasa ko-ma guna kasa.”*  
 SP 2PL 2PL-IPFV.arrogant 2PL-come CTRL.1SG village  
 ‘(a) Now **Turtle** was angry (lit. his stomach was bad), so he tattled and said,  
 “Hey Tomogibeli! Wallaby is climbing your white satinash tree.” (c) So  
**Tomogibeli** heard them, so he said, “Who are you? I completely ate your  
 friends, yet you are being arrogant and come to my village?”’

The story *Hen and chicks* (appendix text 6) illustrates this as well as the establishing of an activated character as thematically salient. While the chicks are looking for their mother who was killed by the lizard (18), they meet Gecko.<sup>3</sup> Gecko is introduced in (20a) and then is immediately established as thematically salient. There is a switch of attention occurring in (20d). First Gecko is marked as salient and then immediately prominence is shifted back to the chicks. It is through the chicks here that the story progresses.

<sup>3</sup> In this case Gecko is treated as a name rather than as an animal. It is common in Gumawana to personify animals in legends.

- (20a) *Sii-lusale-Ø*, *sii-lusale-Ø*, *geya go, ulao*  
 3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG 3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG NEG SP gecko  
*si-babane-Ø*.  
 3PL-meet.TR-3SG
- (b) *Ulaoya-na si-lumadade-Ø si-digo ka-di*,  
 gecko-TM-3SG 3PL-ask-3SG 3PL-speak talk-3PL  
*“Sina-ma ku-gite-Ø nako?”*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL 2SG-see.TR-3SG where
- (c) *Kina go ulaoya-na i-digo ka-na, “O*  
 3SG SP gecko-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG oh  
*sina-mi geya a-yagoi-yeta.”*  
 mother-2PL NEG 1SG-know-3SG.LIM
- (d) *E tuwo ulaoya-na i-na go, kidi*  
 DM so gecko-TM-3SG 3SG-go SP 3PL  
*kamkam-ya-di ma-di taiya si-ketoiya.*  
 chicks-TM-3PL COM-3PL cry 3PL-walk  
 ‘(a) They kept searching for her, but did not find her, but they met **Gecko**.  
 (b) They asked **Gecko**, they said, “Have you seen where our mother is?” (c)  
 But **Gecko** said, “Oh I don’t know your mother.” (d) And so **Gecko** left and  
 crying **the chicks** walked on.’

In *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4), the author begins in (21a) by introducing the two men who are the main characters in the story. Then, in (21b), he goes into a long description of the boat coming and looking for men from his village. (Only the English translation is provided for this section.) The next occurrence of ‘the two men’ is found in (21c); only now they are established as thematically salient.

- (21a) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo i-di kasa Gumawana goi*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two CTRL-3PL village Gumawana OBL  
*se-di-yao taiyao si-kaaiyako.*  
 SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-IPFV.exist  
 ‘**Two men** were living with their friends in their village of Gumawana.’
- (b) They lived on until one time a big foreign boat arrived. And that boat was the Taiwanese fishermen’s boat. But previously they had gone to Watuluma and relocated and they got people in order that the people fish for the foreigners. Therefore at that time that boat came from Watuluma and arrived at Gumawana intending to get some people as their fishermen. So they came

and arrived. Now a foreigner got a dinghy, came bushward to the village, saw the people, and took them as their fishermen.

- (c) *I-yava i-mamai-ma maniye-di tomota si-tagona.*  
 3SG-bushward 3SG.IPFV.come some-3PL people 3PL-agree  
*E nakae amo koroto-ya-di a-di tei-yuwo si-tagona.*  
 DM ADD DIST man-TM-3PL PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-agree  
 ‘He came bushward and some of the people agreed. And **those two men** also agreed.’

Props may also be thematically salient and are then marked with *-ya*. This can be seen in the story of Dog and Possum, the two main characters. Because Dog is angry at Possum, he tricks Possum into thinking that he has begun a new style among the animals by cutting off his ears. Throughout the story the thematic suffix *-ya* occurs on Dog and Possum alternately. However, as the story reaches the climax things shift. In (22a) the knife, a prop, is introduced in the quote. Then it is referred to again in (b) without the suffix *-ya* as Possum runs to get a knife and gives it to Dog. At this point neither Dog nor Possum receive the suffix *-ya*. Then in (c), the knife becomes salient and is marked with *-ya*. Its salience at this point in the story is due to the fact that it is by this knife that Possum’s ears will be cut, and in this way their small size is explained. However, the knife is only temporarily salient. In (d) Possum is once again the center of attention and marked with *-ya*, since he realises that he has been deceived. In the second half of (d) Dog then becomes thematically salient since he has disclosed the fact that his ears were only tied back and not cut.

- (22a) *E kina weiniya-ya-na i-nuwonuwana giyai-na. I-kavava,*  
 DM 3SG dog-TM-3SG 3SG-think little-3SG 3SG-finish  
*kodoya-ya-na i-latuwoko-Ø i-digo ka-na, “O*  
 possum-TM-3SG 3SG-tell-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG oh  
*dedeevina go, latuwo-gu naipi ku-me-Ø.”*  
 fine SP desire-1SG knife 2SG-come.TR-3SG
- (b) *Tuwo moitamō kodoya ina naipi i-kabi-Ø,*  
 so true possum 3SG-go knife 3SG-get-3SG  
*weiniya i-vini-Ø.*  
 dog 3SG-give-3SG
- (c) *E naipi-ya-na i-kabi-Ø, mainao kodoya*  
 DM knife-TM-3SG 3SG-take-3SG immediately possum  
*taiya-na i-kupo-i-di.*  
 ear-3SG 3SG-cut-TR-3PL

- (d) *E kina kodoya-ya-na i-na maisi-na i-gite-Ø gerasi*  
 DM 3SG possum-TM-3SG 3SG-go face-3SG 3SG-see.tr-3SG mirror  
*goi toini-na i-lilibuye-Ø go, i-kando-bala*  
 OBL REFLX.3SG 3SG-check.out-3SG SP 3SG-w.head-across  
*weiniya-ya-na taiya-na i-gite-di, i-digo ka-na,*  
 dog-TM-3SG ear-3SG 3SG-see.TR-3PL 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Iyaa! Kwatubaugu!”*  
 INTERJ 2SG.trick-1SG

‘(a) And **Dog** thought a little. After that he told Possum he said, “Oh fine, but I want you to bring a **knife**.” (b) So indeed Possum went and got a **knife** and gave it to Dog. (c) And he got **the knife** and immediately cut off Possum’s ears. (d) And **Possum** went, saw his face in a mirror, and checked himself out, but he looked over and saw **Dog’s** ears and said, “What! You tricked me!”’

In this section, we have seen how an activated participant is established as thematically salient. In the next section the use of *-ya* in background comments is addressed.

### 7.3 Background comments

A participant may be marked as thematically salient when the author intends to give a significant background comment immediately after introducing him. In the following excerpt from *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the author begins by introducing the main character, Gumasai. He is introduced as *gomana tayamo* ‘one child.’ Immediately in (b) he makes a background comment about him in which *gomana* is suffixed with the thematic marker.

- (23a) *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koroto.*  
 previously long.ago one child male

- (b) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na Gumasai*  
 child-TM-3SG name-3SG Gumasai

‘Long ago there was a certain **boy**. **The child’s** name was Gumasai.’

In another story about two children who are attacked by a shark, the reef where it takes place is introduced in (24a). Later in (d) a background comment is made about the reef and it is marked as thematically salient with the suffix *-ya*. The comment is significant to the overall story because it informs the reader that the reef was far away. This is why during the shark attack the two boys could not make it back to shore.

- (24a) *Lava tayamo gomana ma tuwowo-na i-di kewou*  
 time one child COM older.SSS-3SG CTRL-3PL canoe  
*si-lisobu-ye-Ø si-beuta si-na tayari tayamo goi*  
 3PL-launch-TR-3SG 3PL-paddle 3PL-go reef one OBL  
*si-bani-bani a-di iyana.*  
 3PL-IPFV-fish ED-3PL fish
- (b) *E si-bani-bani, iyana mae-na si-bobo toi-na.*  
 DM 3PL-IPFV-fish fish tongue-3SG 3PL-cut very-3SG
- (c) *Nakae i-di kewou bogina tupwana bei i-kayaoda*  
 ADD CTRL-3PL canoe PRF somewhat IRR 3SG-full
- (d) *Ego tayari-ya-na goi si-bani-bani moe tupwana aduwanau.*  
 ADD reef-TM-3SG OBL 3PL-IPFV-fish MED somewhat far
- ‘(a) One time a child and his older brother launched their canoe and they paddled to a **reef** where they began fishing. (b) And while they were fishing, the fish were really biting. (c) In fact, their canoe was nearly full. (d) And the **reef** on which they were fishing was somewhat far off.’

## 7.4 Used with ‘time’

The thematic marker *-ya* is also found on the word *lava* or *tuta*<sup>4</sup> ‘time.’ In such cases, the thematically salient information is what took place at that particular time. The word can be translated as ‘when’ or as ‘that time’. It is helpful to distinguish the time line in Gumawana narrative from the participant line.<sup>5</sup> This would explain why ‘time’ can have the thematic suffix marker *-ya* and at the same time a participant can be marked as thematically salient at the same time. Note that this would be a further argument against *-ya* being a topic marker. It is not possible for the time and another participant to both be topics.

The following passage is from *Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3). They are walking along the shore and come across a white satinash tree. Wallaby asks Turtle to climb it. The passage begins with *tutayana* ‘the time’ or ‘when’ because it is a significant moment in the story. The white satinash tree is where the two fight and Turtle is caught by the mean ogre.

<sup>4</sup> The word *tuta* is a Dobu borrowing.

<sup>5</sup> Thanks to Stephen Levinsohn (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

- (25a) *Tuta-ya-na vanuwo i-tomo, si-taoya,*  
time-TM-3SG village 3SG-next.day 3PL-arise  
*e a-di gita si-kabi-di, si-na si-vayali.*  
DM PASS-3PL spear 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-walk.on.shore
- (b) *Si-vayali, si-vayali, si-na asa tayamo goi*  
3PL-walk.on.shore 3PL-walk.on.shore 3PL-go village one OBL  
*si-sowoduwo.*  
3PL-arrive
- (c) *Tuwo si-do-laga, mogolu si-gite-Ø.*  
so 3PL-w.head-up satinash 3PL-see.TR-3SG
- (d) *E kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya,*  
DM wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*a-da mogolu ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
ED-1PL.INCL satinash 2SG-climb.TR-3SG

‘(a) **When** it was the next day (lit. at the time the village was the next day), they arose, then got their spears, went and walked along the shore. (b) They walked and walked along the shore and arrived at a village. (c) So they looked up and saw a white satinash tree. (d) And Wallaby said, “My cousin Turtle, climb up the white satinash tree for the fruit to eat.”’

In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the following excerpt further illustrates the marking of a particular time as salient. In this example, the time marked is significant to the event line because it is at this time that we learn of the contest. This contest will be the reason for the island being broken in half.

- (26) *E lava-ya-na aika mli-na Guyau-ya-na i-taoya i-digo*  
DM time-TM-3SG feast after-3SG chief-TM-3SG 3SG-stand 3SG-speak  
*ka-na, “I-tomo bei tayamo tayamo i-da*  
talk-3SG 3SG-next.day IRR one one CTRL-1PL.INCL  
*oga ta-tala, guna vavalakuna ta-na Sanarowa.”*  
canoe 1PL.INCL-cut CTRL.1SG contest 1PL.INCL-go Sanarowa  
‘Now **at the time** after the feast, Chief arose and said, “Tomorrow each of us shall cut canoes for ourselves and for the contest (I have arranged) we will go to Sanarowa.”’

Note that in (26) chief is also marked with *-ya*. Gumawana distinguishes separate parameters for the time line and participant line. Therefore, throughout a narrative certain times are marked as salient, while others are unmarked.

A story is told about how coconuts came into being. At the end of the story, the author summarises the importance of coconuts. He uses *tutayana* ‘when’ in the last clause. What is important is what took place at the time mentioned, which in (27) is that the coconuts help all people.

- (27) *Nakona koroto tayamo niu i-bagul-i-Ø, a-neta*  
 perhaps man one coconut 3SG-plant-TR-3SG PASS-3SG.LIM  
*i-yabobone-Ø a-na maka i-bibina gagai-na i-keuwo*  
 3SG-care.for.TR-3SG PASS-3SG mark 3SG-grow big-3SG 3SG-bear.fruit  
*go, tuta-ya-na keuwoi-na i-sou, tomota liliu-da*  
 SP time-TM-3SG fruit-3SG 3SG-fall people all-1PL.INCL  
*i-vaite-da.*  
 3SG-help.TR-1PL.INCL

‘Perhaps one man plants a coconut, and alone he cares for it until it grows big and bears fruit, but **when** its fruit falls, it helps all of us people.’

In this chapter, it has been shown that the suffix *-ya* is not a definite marker nor a topic marker as put forth by the editors in Olson (1992a). Rather, the suffix is a thematic marker indicating that the activated participant is the center of attention, a local VIP in Levinsohn’s terminology. Only activated participants may be marked with *-ya* to indicate that they are thematically salient. Furthermore, the word ‘time’ may be marked to indicate that events that happened at that particular time are thematically salient as well.

## 8. *Identifiability*

---

In this chapter, identifiability is discussed with respect to Gumawana. It will be shown that Gumawana does not have a formal category of definiteness; rather definiteness is determined by a number of different factors.

The chapter is organised as follows. In §8.1 definiteness is discussed. This is followed by a presentation of the semantic uses of *tayamo* ‘one, a’ in §8.2. In §8.3 the pragmatic uses of *tayamo* ‘one, a’ are given.

### 8.1 Formal category of definiteness

Part of the task of tracking participants is determining which entities are identifiable and which are not. In this respect, the notion of mental representations can be very helpful. Lambrecht (1994:77) notes the following:

When a speaker wishes to make an assertion involving some entity which she assumes is not yet represented in the addressee’s mind and which cannot be referred to deictically, it is necessary for her to create a representation of that entity via a linguistic description, which can then be anaphorically referred to in subsequent discourse. The creation of such a new discourse representation of the addressee can be compared to the establishment of a new referential ‘file’ in the discourse register, to which further elements of information may be added in the course of the conversation and which can be reopened in future discourses.

Lambrecht (1994:80) goes on to explain identifiability as follows:

What counts for the linguistic expression of the cognitive distinction in question is not that the addressee know or be familiar with the referent in question (a newly opened file may contain no more than a name) but that he be able to pick it out from among all those which can be designated with a particular linguistic expression and identify it as the one which the speaker has in mind.

According to Lambrecht, a referent that is identifiable is one in which the speaker assumes the listener can identify out of a group of like entities. An entity which is unidentifiable is one in which the speaker assumes the listener cannot identify from a group.

Lambrecht (1994:79) explains that there is a correlation between definite and identifiable as well as indefinite and unidentifiable. He states,

The grammatical category of definiteness is a formal feature associated with nominal expressions which signals whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee.

In other words, the notions definite and indefinite have to do with a formal grammatical category of definiteness. That entity which the speaker believes the addressee can identify would be marked grammatically with a definite marker of some sort. Likewise, that referent which the speaker believes the addressee cannot identify will be marked with an indefinite marker. When a speaker introduces a non-identifiable entity into a discourse, he is instructing the addressee to create a mental representation of that entity which, as stated above, can be accessed later on. It will be shown in this section that Gumawana does not have a formal category of definiteness.

Not all languages have a formal category of definiteness (1994:79). This does not mean, however, that native speakers cannot identify whether a noun is definite or indefinite. There may be other means by which an entity can be identified as definite or indefinite. Lambrecht (1994:79) states,

In many languages this category [definiteness] is regularly expressed via the contrast between a definite and an indefinite article or other determiners (typically possessive or demonstrative). In other languages, definiteness, or rather its cognitive correlate identifiability, may be marked by other grammatical means, such as word order, the presence or absence of a numeral, a case-marking particle, etc.

Gumawana does not have a formal grammatical category of definiteness that marks each noun as either definite or indefinite. Definiteness is determined by the context, by optional determiners, by possession, and by schemas. For example, in a first person narrative about how a group of older boys scared some younger ones, certain nouns are introduced as identifiable or definite. The noun *tukubu* ‘cave’ in (1) is identifiable since as the person speaks he is referring to the cave down below which the speaker assumes the hearer would see. Therefore, by means of a deitic the entity is identifiable. The cave is mentioned again in (2) and is identifiable but no marker is present to indicate this.

- (1) *Siyokira i-digo ka-na, “Ku-nave-di **tukubu go-tono** goi*  
*Siyokira 3SG-speak talk-3SG 2SG-take.tr-3PL cave ID-below OBL*  
*si-siu o-di si-nuwa. Boma-na si-mge-mge.”*  
*3PL-enter body-3PL 3PL-still forbidden-3SG 3PL-IPFV-noise*

‘Siyokira said, “You take them to **the cave down there** and they go in and be still. It is forbidden they make noise.”’

- (2) *E Ediriki go-gomana i-kabi-di **tukubu** goi i-vai-siu-di*  
 DM Ediriki PL-child 3SG-get-3PL cave OBL 3SG-CAUS-enter-3PL  
*go, Ediriki-ya-na i-sowodo.*  
 SP Ediriki-TM-3SG 3SG-exit  
 ‘And Ediriki got the children and entered them into **the cave**, but Ediriki exited.’

Several clauses later another occurrence of *tukubu* appears. In (3a) no marking on the noun occurs, but it is identifiable since it is in the genitive phrase *tukubu tobuna* ‘mouth of the cave’. In (b) it occurs two times. In neither case is it marked in any way for definiteness to indicate that it is the same cave. This suggests that there is no formal marker of definiteness or indefiniteness.

- (3a) *Go yau bogina **tukubu** tobu-na goi a-duduwo ka-gu,*  
 SP 1SG PRF cave mouth-3SG OBL 1SG-call TALK-1SG  
*“E, a-siu!”*  
 INTERJ 1SG-enter
- (b) *A-pela a-sou **tukubu** sinae-na goi, Debida Somare*  
 1SG-jump 1SG-descend cave inside-3SG OBL Debida Somare  
*bogina **tukubu** sinae-na si-tukosobu go, si-na moetala*  
 PRF cave inside-3SG 3PL-dive SP 3SG-go outside  
*si-poiya go, kina Esironi a-va-bode-Ø.*  
 3PL-surface SP 3SG Esironi 1SG-CAUS-block.TR-3SG  
 ‘(a) But I was already at the mouth of **the cave** and I called out, “Hey I’m going in!” (b) I jumped down inside of the **cave**, but Debida and Somare had already dived inside of **the cave**, went outside and surfaced, but Esironi, I blocked him.’

In the same story, the author notes that they got their net. The word *uwata* ‘net’ has not been introduced yet. However, in (4a) the author introduced the idea of going netting. The fact that netting had been mentioned in (a) makes it possible for him to refer to their net in (b). This is part of what Chafe (1994), Lambrecht (1994) and Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) refer to as a schema (see §6.6.2). The mention of the event of netting presupposes the use of a net, thus making it identifiable. Furthermore, the fact that the noun is possessed indicates it is identifiable. No other definite marking is needed to make this clear.

- (4a) *Boi nimatu **uwata** latuwo-ma ka-na Utuboina*  
 previously long.ago netting desire-1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go Utuboina  
*go, a-ma badabada Siyokira, Ediriki, Debida, Somare,*  
 SP PASS-1PL.EXCL number Siyokira Ediriki Debida Somare

*Esironi, yau.*

Esironi 1SG

- (b) *E i-ma uwata ka-kabi-Ø, Siyokira i-digo*  
 DM CTRL-1PL.EXCL net 1PL.EXCL-get-3SG Siyokira 3SG-speak  
*ka-na, “Ta-na Utuboina mya ta-vadade-Ø.*  
 TALK-3SG 1PL.INCL-go Utuboina k.o.fish 1PL.INCL-visit.TR-it
- (c) *Boi ka-gite-Ø yauwo gagai-na.”*  
 previously 1PL.EXCL-see.TR-3SG school big-3SG

‘(a) A long time ago we wanted to go to Utuboina for netting fish and our group included Siyokira, Ediriki, Debida, Somare, Esironi, and me. (b) And we got **our net** and Siyokira said, “Let’s go to Utuboina and visit the *mya* fish. (c) Previously, we saw a big school.”’

Earlier in the same story, we are told that the three younger boys went to gather coconuts. The word *niu* ‘coconut’ is unmarked for anything and from the linguistic context, it is clear that it is indefinite. The verb is unmarked for object agreement, which would indicate that the author is not referring to any specific coconuts. They went to gather any coconuts they could find. They are not identifiable nor could someone point to which ones the word refers. The meaning is something along the lines of ‘coconut-gathering.’

- (5) *E Debida, Somare, Esironi si-na niu si-seo-seo bego*  
 DM Debida Somare Esironi 3PL-go coconut 3PL-IPFV-gather IM  
*si-me-di ka-kaika una-na bogina loga ka-kamasa.*  
 3PL-come.TR-3PL 1PL.EXCL-eat basis-3SG PRF hunger 1PL.EXCL-die
- ‘Now Debida, Somare and Esironi went and began gathering **coconuts** intending to bring them so we could eat because we were already starving to death.’

The point of these examples is that there is no difference in the marking of an indefinite noun in comparison with a definite noun. Context seems to play a major role. Even after an entity has been introduced, as in (3) with *tukubu*, further references to this noun did not show any marking for definiteness.

Although a particular entity may be definite in a given text, when it is first activated in a story and then further reference is made to it, the point is not its definiteness. Rather, at the activation of the entity, the author is concerned with the fact that this is its first occurrence in the story and whether or not the particular participant plays a major role in the text. Further reference to the entity is concerned with whether or not it is locally salient or not. These are the aspects which Gumawana speakers mark in their stories. In

this chapter the use of *tayamo* ‘one’ when introducing certain entities into a text that are singular is explored.

It was shown in chapter 7 that the suffix *-ya* is not a marker of definiteness; rather it marks an activated participant as thematically salient from the author’s perspective. Those entities that are not thematically salient, though they are activated, are unmarked for definiteness. In this chapter I intend to show that unidentifiable entities (that is, non-activated participants) that are either major or minor participants may be marked with *tayamo* ‘one, a’ when being activated for the first time. Unidentifiable entities which are props are not. Second, identifiability is determined by context, modifiers, deitics, and knowledge of their environment. With regard to a numeral being used as an indefinite marker Dryer (2005:158) notes the following:

Where the numeral as indefinite article is optional in a language, its use often appears to be conditioned at least in part by the discourse prominence of the referent: when something is introduced for the first time and continues to be mentioned in the subsequent discourse, it is more likely to occur with the indefinite article on its first mention, while if something is mentioned only once in a discourse, it is more likely not to occur with the indefinite article [...]. The same contrast appears to be found in some languages in which the indefinite article is clearly distinct from the numeral for ‘one’ but still optional.

To illustrate these points, consider the following example taken from *Gilibo* (appendix text 1). In example (6), the pig is introduced into the story without *tayamo* ‘a, one’. It is non-identifiable and unmarked for either definiteness or indefiniteness. The pig plays no significant role in the story beyond this clause and is not mentioned again using the form *bao*. Its insignificance in the story is shown by the lack of *tayamo*.

- (6) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø*  
 DM time one chief pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG  
*be aika giyai-na i-guinuwe-Ø.*  
 IRR feast small-3SG 3SG-make.TR-3SG

‘Now one time Chief caught a **pig** in order to make a small feast.’

The meaning of *tayamo* ‘a, one’ is determined mainly by the identifiability of the noun it modifies. If it occurs absolutely or with a noun that is identifiable, it has the meaning of ‘one.’ For example, (7) the author is telling about a dream he had. In the dream, he hits two dogs that attack him. The use of *tayamo* ‘one’ here is absolute. The dogs were introduced before this example so they are definite. This makes it possible to refer to them using just *tayamo* by itself.

- (7) *A-lau-i-di, tayamo i-siya go, tayamo a-kau-mate-Ø.*  
 1SG-hit-TR-3PL one 3SG-flee SP one 1SG-w.force-die.TR-3SG  
 ‘I hit them (the dogs), **one** fled but **the other** (lit. the one) I killed.’

If it occurs with a definite or identifiable noun, *tayamo* has the meaning ‘one’. However, when the entity is an indefinite noun being activated and is also a primary or secondary entity, it will have the meaning of ‘a’. This is the distinguishing factor that explains its use. A further example is given below in (8) where if *tayamo* was not used, the noun *asa* ‘village, place’ is read as definite. Without the word *tayamo*, the clause sounds as if they are returning to their own village. With *tayamo* the meaning is ‘a place/village.’

- (8) *Si-vayali, si-vayali, si-na asa tayamo goi*  
 3PL-walk.on.shore 3PL-walk.on.shore 3PL-go village one OBL  
*si-sowoduwo.*  
 3PL-arrive  
 ‘They walked and walked along the shore and arrived at **a village**.’

In the next section the semantic uses of *tayamo* ‘one, a’ are explored.

## 8.2 Semantic uses of *tayamo*

In this section, the semantic use of *tayamo* is presented. The word *tayamo* is used in a variety of ways. Its basic use is as the numeral ‘one’. It has one variant form, *tamo*, that is often used in oral texts, but is also found in written texts. As can be seen it is just a matter of dropping out the middle syllable [ya].

This section is organised as follows. In §8.2.1 a brief discussion of *tayamo* with identifiable nouns is given. *Tayamo* is also used in negative emphatic constructions, which is presented in §8.2.2. In §8.2.3, the use of *tayamo* with the meaning of ‘each’ is described. This is followed by §8.2.4, a discussion of *tayamo* used in correlative constructions. In §8.2.5 a use of *tayamo* meaning ‘same’ is described. The final section, §8.2.6, presents the use of *tayamo* as par excellence.

### 8.2.1 *tayamo* with identifiable nouns

The Gumawana word *tayamo* ‘one’ by default is used as a numeral, which follows an identifiable noun. This use of *tayamo* is exemplified in (9), the story *Gumataitaiya*. At the beginning of the story Tamogibeli, his wife and their child are introduced. Their child Gumataitaiya is introduced in (b) as *natudi tayamo* ‘their one child’. The child is identifiable in that he is introduced anchored to his parents. The word *tayamo* has the meaning ‘one’ here as this is the only child they have.

- (9a) *Koroto yoi-na Tamogibeli ma mone-na*  
 man name-3SG Tamogibeli COM spouse-3SG

- (b) *go, natu-di tayamo si-kaiyaka Gumawana simla.*  
 SP offspring-3PL one 3PL-exist Gumawana island

‘A man whose name was Tamogibeli and his wife and **their one child** lived on Gumawana Island.’

The next example shows again that the meaning of *tayamo* has to mean ‘one’ when used with an identifiable noun. Example (10) is taken from the story of two children who are on their own. The story begins with the brother telling his sister to go to their garden to get taro while he goes netting for fish. The phrase *ada vilava* ‘our taro’ is identifiable since it is anchored to the children via the indirect possessive form and because it is part of a schema. Since the mention of the old garden occurs, taro is part of gardens, something the speaker could assume the hearer would know. The use of *tayamo* ‘one’ here seems to presuppose there are several and the girl is to get one of them.

- (10) *Gomana niu-na taiyao si-kaiyaka, niu-na i-latuwoko-Ø*  
 child OSS-3SG COM 3PL-exist OSS-3SG 3SG-tell-3SG  
*i-digo ka-na, “Ku-na i-da yawara goi*  
 3SG-speak talk-3SG 2SG-go CTRL-1PL.INCL old.garden OBL  
*a-da vilava tayamo ku-kabi-Ø. Ago yau a-na*  
 ED-1PL.INCL taro one 2SG-get-3SG ADD 1SG 1SG-go  
*a-uwata.”*  
 1SG-net

‘The child and his sister were together and he told his sister he said, “Go to our old garden and get **one of our taros**. And I will go net (fish).”’

The next example is taken from a story about a man by the name of Topiyo who tricks the author. While the two men are fishing together, Topiyo sees a piece of driftwood in the distance and mistakes it for a canoe. He thinks the author will not go with him to get it because he is spear fishing. Therefore, he lies and tells the author that he saw a shark. His quote is given in (11). The shark is indefinite since it is introduced for the first time. The speaker, Topiyo, does not assume the addressee, the author, has seen it. When the shark is introduced, it is assumed as part of a schema that all sharks have a dorsal fin. So in the second clause of the quote, *siyona* ‘its dorsal fin’ is definite and is anchored to the shark. The speaker states that the dorsal fin is *ova*<sup>1</sup> *tayamo* ‘span one.’ Although this is the first occurrence of *ova* in the text, it is definite. Both speaker and hearer would know what it refers to as a measurement.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ova* refers to the span of one’s arms stretched out from finger tip of one hand to the finger tip of the other hand (traditionally ‘a fathom’).

- (11) *Kina i-digo ka-na, “Woili-m, kolau a-gite-Ø.*  
 3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG quick-2SG shark 1SG-see.TR-3SG

*siyo-na ova tayamo. Boelu-m ku-vamou-Ø.*  
 dorsal.fin-3SG span one ripple-2SG 2SG-hide-3SG

*Woili-m ku-kaya!”*  
 quick-2SG 2SG-swim

‘And he (Topiyo) said, “Quick, I saw a shark. Its dorsal fin is **one arm span**. Hide your ripples. Quickly swim!’”

The numeral *tayamo* is also found in a construction in which the speaker or author intends to single out one from a group. When *tayamo* is used as a numeral, there is the implication that there are others of like kind. When used this way, it has a meaning similar to the English construction ‘one of...’ For example, in a humorous story about a woman giving birth at a Bible school, the author refers to one of the men in the Bible study using *tayamo*. The meaning here is ‘one.’ The noun *siyadi* ‘their friend’ is identifiable since it is anchored to the possessor and activated so it is not new information. He was part of a group mentioned earlier in the discourse. It is the way Gumawana speakers would say the equivalent of ‘one of their friends’ or ‘one friend of theirs.’

- (12a) *Tupwana si-kasilali-ye-Ø siya-di mone-na.*  
 somewhat 3PL-avoid-TR-3SG SSS-3PL spouse-3SG

- (b) *Ago se-di-yao maniye-di o-di i-kai -Ø.*  
 ADD SSS-3PL-PL some-3PL body-3PL 3SG-reject

- (c) *E tuwo, siya-di tayamo gamo-na i-goyo...*  
 DM so SSS-3PL one stomach-3SG 3SG-bad

‘(a) They somewhat avoided their friend’s wife. (b) And some of their friends didn’t want to (help). (c) And so **one of their friends** was angry...’

Another example from the same story demonstrates that *tayamo* when following an identifiable noun is not functioning as an indefinite article. Towards the end of the story, the older brother has made it back to shore safely, though he had to feed his younger brother’s parts to the shark to do so. All that is left is the brother’s head. He takes the head and buries it in the ground. Later from that head sprouts a coconut palm. The older brother cares for the palm until it begins to bear coconuts, as (13a-b) indicate. It is interesting that in (c) the same coconut is marked with the thematic marker *-ya* (see §7), which indicates that *niu* is identifiable and referring back to the previously mentioned coconut palm in (13a-b). The word for coconut and the palm are the same term, *niu*, so in (c) the meaning must mean ‘one (nut) of the aforementioned coconut palm.’ The mention of the coconut palm in (c) is not introductory, so the meaning of *tayamo* cannot be ‘a.’

- (13a) *E i-rugwaus-i-Ø, i-rugwaus-i-Ø eee*  
 DM 3SG-look.after-TR-3SG 3SG-look.after-TR-3SG until  
*niu-ya-na bogina gagai-na, i-keuwo.*  
 coconut-TM-3SG PRF big-3SG 3SG-bear
- (b) *I-keuwo, i-kaiyaka i-kaiyaka aaa i-matuwo.*  
 3SG-bear 3SG-exist 3SG-exist until 3SG-mature
- (c) *E tuta tayamo niu-ya-na tayamo i-takapusi i-sou.*  
 DM time one coconut-TM-3SG one 3SG-fell 3SG-descend  
 ‘(a) And he (the man) looked after it (coconut palm) and looked after it until the coconut palm was big and it bore (fruit). (b) It bore and remained until it matured. (c) Now one time **one** (coconut) from the coconut palm fell down.’

One final example is taken from a story a man tells about a dream he had that eventually came true. In the dream, two dogs attack him. One of his own dogs comes to rescue him. The head noun is marked for first person possessor. The phrase implies that the owner has more than one dog and so the meaning is ‘one of my dogs’.

- (14a) *Bego yau a-ketoiya a-mamai-ma go, woiniya a-di tai-yuwo*  
 IM 1SG 1SG-walk 1SG-IPFV-come SP dog PASS-3PL person-two  
*si-lokoina si-ma bego si-kani-gu.*  
 3PL-run 3PL-come IM 3PL-bite-1SG
- (b) *Ego yau guna woiniya tayamo i-lokoina*  
 ADD 1SG CTRL.1SG dog one 3SG-run  
*i-ma i-vaite-gu.*  
 3SG-come 3SG-help.TR-1SG  
 ‘(a) I was intending to walk, but two dogs ran up, intending to bite me. (b) But **one of my dogs** (or my one dog) ran up to help me.’

The above examples illustrate that when *tayamo* is used with a noun that is identifiable, it has the meaning ‘one’.

## 8.2.2 Emphatic negative constructions

*Tayamo* is used in negative constructions with the negative particle *geya*. In such constructions, it is used to highlight the idea of ‘none’. The word order is always *geya tayamo* ‘not one.’

This is illustrated in the following example (from *Gilibo*, appendix text 1). The author tells us that the main participant in the story had no sister or brother (15). However, by negating the word ‘one’, it emphasises the fact that Gumasai is all alone

except for his mother. Further emphasis is achieved by placing a second negative particle at the end of the negated constituents to form a type of sandwich structure.

- (15a) *Gumasai-ya-na geya tayamo niu-na o siya-na geya,*  
 Gumasai-TM-3SG NEG one OSS-3SG or SSS-3SG NEG,  
 (b) *tau-na sina-na taiyao a-di tai-yuwo si-kaiyaka.*  
 result-3SG mother-3SG COM PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-exist  
 ‘Gumasai **did not have one sister or brother**, therefore he and his mother,  
 the two of them lived together.’

In a true story about how some village boys scared some of the younger children, the author tells about the fear one boy had who was cornered by what he thought was a monster. He emphasises the fact that there is no escape route in (16) by negating *tayamo*.

- (16a) *Bogina i-polasi una-na uyaoi-na i-sawala.*  
 PRF 3SG-defecate.in.pants basis-3SG spirit-3SG 3SG-disperse  
 (b) *I-yagoi-Ø geya tayamo aba siya.*  
 3SG-know-3SG NEG one place.for flee  
 ‘(a) He had defecated in his pants because he was scared out of his wits (lit. his spirit dispersed). (b) He knew there wasn’t **any escape route** (lit. not one place to flee).’

A legend is told about a man by the name of Sipwena. He has a sister who is married to an ogre. In Amphlett culture, a man’s sister will cook food for her brother, especially if he is not married. The brother will always give some of his harvest to his sister throughout his life whether married or not. In this story, the ogre never takes the food to Sipwena and continually forces him to do things without compensation. At one point Sipwena is out of food and must leave in search of other food. To emphasise the fact that Sipwena has nothing left to eat, the author negates *tayamo* followed by *kaga* ‘what’. The combination means something like ‘not one thing, not a single thing, nothing at all’. Here it is hyperbole because right after this the author states that he had one tuber left to eat. The effect, however, is to place prominence on his difficult circumstances.

- (17a) *E Sipwena nukoto-na i-topa, i-bala*  
 DM Sipwena neck-3SG 3SG-UNACCU.break 3SG-move.across  
*i-na i-na vada i-siu.*  
 3SG-go CTRL-3SG house 3SG-enter  
 (b) *Geya tayamo kaga i-kaiyaka bei i-kaika.*  
 NEG one what 3SG-exist IRR 3SG-eat  
 ‘(a) And Sipwena gave up (lit. his neck broke), moved across to his house and entered. (b) **Not one thing** remained that he might eat.’

Another negation strategy is to negate *ka* ‘talk’ with first person inclusive agreement followed by *tayamo*. In Olson (2009), such a construction is shown to be performative information. Levinsohn (2011:69) states that performative information is “material directed by the author (first person) to the audience (second person), such as the moral the audience should draw from a story. In addition, the events, participants, etc. of the story may be related to the audience’s situation.” The difference between what Levinsohn states and how Gumawana achieves this is inclusive language. Levinsohn makes reference to the fact that the author will use first person to address his audience in second person. Gumawana achieves this by using first person inclusive. When a Gumawana writer or speaker states *geya kada tayamo* (NEG talk-1PL.INCL one) he is literally saying, “We (inclusive) don’t say ‘one’”. A more idiomatic translation would be ‘not even one’. When the author uses *ka* with first person inclusive agreement (*kada*) he is not quoting anyone in particular; rather he is drawing the reader in by saying that if you and I were there, this is how we would see it. With the negation, then, it would have the idea that if you and I were there we would not say “there was one”. The effect is to place prominence on the fact that there isn’t any at all.

The following example illustrates this use of *tayamo*. In this story, the author is telling how his mother died. He emphasises that his mother did not have any kind of sickness whatsoever; therefore, her death is that much more surprising. The author intends to communicate, “If you, the reader, and I, the author, had been there and seen her, we would say, ‘She did not have one fever or cold.’” By drawing the reader into the story at this point, the story becomes that much more vivid.

- (18a) *Ago sina-gu-ya-na vaega i-kalitaoya.*  
 ADD mother-1SG-TM-3SG clay.pot 3SG-make.clay.pot
- (b) *Boda madaboki-di si-na Wadalei Synod manu-na.*  
 people all-3PL 3PL-go Wadalei Synod OBL-3SG
- (c) *Ego sina-gu-ya-na geya ka-da tayamo piba*  
 ADD mother-1SG-TM-3SG NEG talk-1PL.INCL one fever  
*o nosanosa geya, dedevi-na.*  
 or cold NEG good-3SG

‘(a) And my mother made clay pots. (b) All of the people went to Wadalei for Synod. (c) But my mother **had not even one fever or cold**, she was fine.’

A final example is taken from a story about two children who are being bothered by an ogre. He continually comes to them after they finish cooking and takes their food. Finally all is gone as indicated in (19a). The author stresses the predicament the children are in by the negative construction *geya kada tayamo*. By using *ka* with first person

inclusive, the author draws the reader into the story. He is saying, “If you and I were there, we would see this as hopeless.”

- (19a) *E madaboki-na vilava iyana i-lu-kavave-Ø i-nave-Ø.*  
 DM all-3SG taro fish 3SG-CAUS-finish.TR-3SG 3SG-took-3SG

- (b) *Geya ka-da tayamo i-kesa geya, geya toi-na.*  
 NEG talk-1PL.INCL one 3SG-be.left NEG NEG very-3SG

‘(a) Now he finished all of the taro and fish and took them. (b) **Not even one** was left, definitely not.’

The above examples illustrate that the negation of *tayamo* ‘one’ is used to highlight the idea of none. Furthermore, by using *ka*, which is a means of introducing performative information, the speaker draws the listener into the story.

### 8.2.3 *tayamo* as ‘each’

An extended use of *tayamo* ‘one’ occurs when it is repeated as *tayamo tayamo* or the shortened form *tamo tamo*. This could be translated as either ‘each’ or ‘one by one.’ It still occurs after the noun it modifies as (20) illustrates. In the story of Nabodimom and Silekaleka, Nabodimom is captured by an ogre. When she finally escapes, she has to find a way back to her village. Through magic she is able to ride a star back to her village. In (a), she is responding to what happened to the ogre. In (b) we are told each of the stars began rising as night came on. By placing *tayamo tayamo* after the noun ‘star’ the idea of each star is produced.

- (20a) *Tuwo, vavina-ya-na i-uyawana ka-na, “Oe boma.”*  
 so woman-TM-3SG 3SG-happy talk-3SG INTERJ it.serves.you.right

- (b) *E tuwo i-kaiyaka eee vanuwo i-sabamgo,*  
 DM so 3SG-exist until village 3SG-night

*utuna tayamo tayamo si-tuko-tuko.*  
 star one one 3PL-IPFV-rise

‘(a) So the woman was happy (because the ogre died) saying, “Oh, it serves you right!” (b) And so she remained until it was dark and **each star** began to rise (or the stars **one by one** began to rise).’

The story of *Gilibo* (appendix text 1) further illustrates this use of *tayamo*. Near the beginning of the story, the chief decides that all the people are to ‘cut’ new canoes for themselves. In (21b) *tayamo tayamo* occurs without an overt head noun and refers to the subject ‘we inclusive’ with the meaning ‘each (one) of us.’

- (21a) *E lava-ya-na aika mli-na Guyau-ya-na i-taoya*  
 DM time-TM-3SG feast behind-3SG Chief-TM-3SG 3SG-stand

- (b) *i-digo ka-na, "I-tomo bei tayamo tayamo*  
 3SG-speak talk-3SG 3SG-next.day IRR one one  
*i-da oga ta-tala guna vavalakuna*  
 CTRL-1PL.INCL canoe 1PL.INCL-cut CTRL.1SG contest  
*ta-na Sanarowa."*  
 1PL.INCL-go Sanarowa

‘(a) Now at the time after the feast, Chief arose (b) and said, “Tomorrow **each of us** will cut canoes for ourselves and for my contest (I arranged) we will go to Sanarowa.”’

In *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4), the author tells us in (22a) that the men hired by the Taiwanese fishermen embark on their dinghies to head out to fish. The author has used the shortened version of *tayamo* by writing *tamo tamo*.

- (22a) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao tamo tamo goi*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL

- (b) *go, kidi koroto-ya-di a-di te-yuwo moe*  
 SP 3PL man-TM-3PL PASS-3PL person-two MED  
*i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy one

‘(a) And all of the fishermen embarked en masse in **each of their dinghies** (b) and the two men were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one).’

In terms of verb agreement when a noun is marked with *tayamo tayamo*, the verb is marked for singular agreement as exemplified in (23b). Although in (b) the men are numerous, because *koroto* ‘man’ is modified with *tayamo tayamo* ‘each’ the verb agreement is third person singular as is the final phrase *ina vada* ‘his house’.

- (23a) *E tau-ya-di si-sobu, magi-ya-di be*  
 DM person-TM-3PL 3PL-drop.sail betel.nut-TM-3PL and  
*awoinu-ya-di i-di tanuwo goi si-kai-lagas-i-di.*  
 food-TM-3PL CTRL-3PL garden OBL 3PL-set-up-TR-3PL
- (b) *Koroto tayamo tayamo nakae kona-na i-nave-di*  
 man one one ADD thing-3SG 3SG-take.TR-3PL  
*i-na vada sinae-na.*  
 CTRL-3SG house inside-3SG

‘(a) And they (the men) dropped sail and set above the betel nut and the food from their gardens. (b) And **each man** also took his things inside his house.’

This is also true for object reference as illustrated in (24). The author describes the destruction that came about during a bad storm. The young men in the village, he states, were making rounds through the village to help people. Not only is the verb *sigitegite* ‘they were seeing’ in (a) marked for third singular object, ‘house’ in (b) is the subject of the following verb *ivailai* ‘it met with accident’ which has third person singular subject marking. The final verb, *sivaite* ‘they helped it’ also has third singular object agreement.

- (24a) *E tau-na tubuwau si-vabebeo vada tayamo tayamo*  
 DM result-3SG young.man 3PL-walk house one one  
*si-gite-gite-Ø.*  
 3PL-IPFV-see.TR-3SG

- (b) *Neta i-vailai, be si-vaite-Ø.*  
 if 3SG-accident IRR 3PL-help.TR-3SG

‘(a) So therefore the young men walked around and were watching **each house**. (b) If it was damaged, then they would help it.’

This use of *tayamo* also occurs with temporal words as (25) illustrates. Here it has the meaning of ‘each evening’.

- (25) *Lavilavi tayamo tayamo mone-di-yao geya*  
 evening one one spouse-3PL-PL NEG  
*si-va-diigo-i-di a-na maka maliyalina ai-to*  
 3PL-CAUS-IPFV.speak-TR-3PL PASS-3SG mark day CLF-three  
*si-kavava o ai-vasi.*  
 3PL-finish or CLF-four

‘**Each evening** they never spoke to their spouses until three or four days.’

## 8.2.4 Correlative constructions

*Tayamo* ‘one’ may also be used in a correlative construction which is best understood as ‘one...the other/another.’ The word occurs in two parallel clauses and *tayamo* functions absolutely as a noun. The story of *Nabodimom and Silekaleka* explains how two stones originated from these two women. So at the end of the story the author concludes the legend in the typical way by drawing the reader into the story by means of the first person inclusive in (26a). In (b) he explains that one of the stones is Nabodimom and the other one is Silekaleka. Literally, it is ‘one Nabodimom, one Silekaleka.’

- (26a) *Neta Savauya udodana goi ta-tuko ta-na*  
 if Savauya bush OBL 1PL.INCL-ascend 1PL.INCL-go

*gurewa ai-yuwo ta-gite-di, moe vavina ma nubai-na*  
 stone CLF-two 1PL.INCL-see.TR-3PL MED woman COM cousin-3SG

- (b) **Tayamo** Nabodimom, **tayamo** Silekaleka.  
 one Nabodimom one Silekaleka

‘(a) If at Savauya we ascend into the bush, we see two stones, which are the woman and her cousin. (b) **One** is Nabodimom, **the other** is Silekaleka (lit. one [is] Silekaleka).’

In a first person narrative about an author’s dream, he recounts how two dogs attack him. His dog attempts to help him but is unable to. Therefore, he himself hits the attacking dogs. In (27f) *tayamo* is used twice. Literally, it would mean ‘one fled but one I killed.’ The idea here is that one did one thing while the other did something else. The stress falls on the second *tayamo*.

- (27a) *Bego yau a-ketoiya a-mamaima go, woiniya a-di tai-yuwo*  
 IM 1SG 1SG-walk 1SG-IPFV-come SP dog PASS-3PL person-two  
*si-lokoina si-ma bego si-kani-gu.*  
 3PL-run 3PL-come IM 3PL-eat-1SG

- (b) *Ego yau guna woiniya tayamo i-lokoina i-ma*  
 ADD 1SG CTRL.1SG dog one 3SG-run 3SG-come  
*i-vaite-gu.*  
 3SG-help.TR-1SG

- (c) *Tuwo, woiniya-ya-di taiyao si-va-lau-lauwo.*  
 so dog-TM-3PL COM 3PL-RECP-IPFV-hit

- (d) *Ego i-di va-lau-lauwo-ya-na goi yau*  
 ADD CTRL-3PL RECP-IPFV-hit-TM-3SG OBL 1SG  
*guna woiniya i-neneta.*  
 CTRL.1SG dog 3SG-weak

- (e) *Tuwo yau guna woiniya a-vaite-Ø,*  
 so 1SG CTRL.1SG dog 1SG-help.TR-3SG  
*e woiniya-ya-di a-lau-i-di.*  
 DM dog-TM-3PL 1SG-hit-TR-3PL

- (f) *A-lau-i-di, tayamo i-siya go, tayamo a-kau-mate-Ø.*  
 1SG-hit-TR-3PL one 3SG-flee SP one 1SG-W.force-die.TR-3SG

‘(a) I was intending to walk, but two dogs ran up, intending to bite me. (b) But one of my dogs ran up to help me. (c) So the dogs were fighting each other. (d) But in their fighting my dog was weak. (e) So I helped my dog and I hit the dogs. (f) I hit them and **one** fled but **the other** (lit. the one) I killed.’

Alternatively, to the above construction the second *tayamo* could be replaced with *aiyuwoina* ‘second’ as (28) illustrates. This story is about a storm that hit Nubogeta. The author is describing the damage done to the village. He states that two houses were damaged. In (b) he names one of the houses using *tayamo* and the second house using *aiyuwoina*.

- (28a) *Vada a-na badabada a-iyuwo si-vailai,*  
 house PASS-3SG number CLF-two 3PL-ruin  
*nakae aivaya i-kau-bas-i-di.*  
 ADD wave 3SG-CAUS-uproot-TR-3PL

- (b) *Tayamo Dimi i-na vada go, ai-yuwo-i-na Ediriki*  
 one Jimmy CTRL-3SG house SP CLF-two-?-3SG Ediriki  
*tamana i-na vada awoinu vada-ya-di.*  
 father-3SG CTRL-3SG house food house-TM-3PL

‘(a) Two houses were ruined, that is, a wave uprooted them. (b) **One** was Jimmy’s house and **the second** one was Ediriki’s father’s house, the food houses.’

### 8.2.5 *tayamo* as ‘same’

One other extended use of *tayamo* is to convey the idea of ‘same’ or that two entities share something. This is illustrated below in (29) (same as (22) above). In the (b) clause, to express the idea that the two men have the same dinghy, he uses *tayamo* predicatively with the phrase *idi dingi tayamo* ‘their dinghy was one.’

- (29a) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao tamō tamō goi*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL

- (b) *go, kidi koroto-ya-di a-di te-yuwo moe*  
 SP 3PL man-TM-3PL PASS-3PL person-two MED  
*i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy one

‘(a) And all of the fishermen embarked en masse in each of their dinghies (b) and the two men were in **the same dinghy** (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one).’

To find out if two people have the same mother a person will use the following question. This example further illustrates that *tayamo* does not mark indefiniteness since such a statement implies that their mother is definite or identifiable.

- (30) *Sina-di            tayamo?*  
 mother-3PL one

‘Do they have **the same** mother (lit. their mother is one)?’

In a humorous story about how the people of Mobida came to the point of learning to sail, the author explains how the men would prepare to sail but they never put the canoe in the water. They only pretended to be sailing! In the following excerpt, we are told the men decided to try sailing and they were in agreement. The idea of agreement comes from *nuwodi tayamo* which is literally ‘their insides were one.’ In other words, they had the same mind or thoughts.

- (31) *E    madaboki-di si-lovina,    nuwo-di    tayamo,*  
 DM all-3PL            3PL-decide insides-3PL one  
*i-di            naya si-gilum-i-Ø.*  
 CTRL-3PL sail    3PL-sew-TR-3SG

‘And all of them decided, and they agreed (lit. their insides were one), so they sewed a sail for themselves.’

## 8.2.6 *tayamo* as par excellence

*Tayamo* may be used in a par excellence way. Here the intonation plays a role in discerning the meaning. Furthermore, the effect is to imply that the thing being spoken of is being set as the standard of all things of the same category. The utterance in (32) was overheard as a man walked through our completed village house. His intended meaning is clearly to praise the house. What he is saying is that of all houses this one should be considered the standard to compare to all others because it is done so well. In English we might say either ‘*this* is a house’ with the emphasis on ‘this’ or we might say ‘*this* is what I call a house.’

- (32) *Ame vada tayamo.*  
 PROX house one  
 ‘*This is a house.*’

A tale about a man’s encounter with a lion further illustrates this use of *tayamo*. As a man is walking through the bush, he comes across a lion entangled in a net that had been set for him. At first, the man is afraid to approach and decides it is best not to get close. However, the lion speaks to him and asks for help. The man does not agree and tells the lion he is afraid that he will turn on him if he were to help him get loose. The lion convinces the man to untie him. When he does, the lion immediately bites him and holds him with his teeth. Example (33) continues the story.

- (33a) *Go    tute-ya-na    i-ka-kavate-Ø,            tomota-ya-na*  
 SP    time-TM-3SG    3SG-W.teeth-hold.TR-3SG    person-TM-3SG

*i-digo ka-na, "Iyaa. Ame manakae kwatubau-gu*  
 3SG-speak talk-3SG INTERJ PROX what 2SG.trick-1SG  
*a-talige-i-m go, niga ku-tu-gavila ku-kani-gu.*  
 1SG-untie-TR-2SG SP afterwards 2SG-W.butt-turn 2SG-bite-1SG

- (b) *Go maine ku-pola ka-m, 'Neta ku-talige-i-gu,*  
 SP earlier 2SG-lie talk-2SG if 2SG-untie-TR-1SG  
*be a-tagone-m ku-na.'*  
 IRR 1SG-permit.TR-2SG 2SG-go

- (c) *Kom woi tayamo to-pola, ae?"*  
 2SG indeed one NMZL-lie Q

‘(a) But when he (the lion) held him (the man) with his teeth the human said, “What! What is this? You tricked me to untie you but afterwards you turn and bite me. (b) But earlier you lied saying, ‘If you untie me, I will permit you to go.’ (c) You indeed are *one liar*, aren’t you?”’

In (33c) the man tells the lion that he is *tayamo topola* ‘one liar.’ The effect of using *tayamo* this way is to state that of all the liars, this one is the epitome of liars.

### 8.3 Pragmatic use of *tayamo*

We have seen above the various semantic uses of *tayamo*. In this section, we shall see that it has a pragmatic function as well. When *tayamo* occurs with a temporal word and is fronted, it functions as a point of departure. This is discussed in §8.3.1. *Tayamo* may also be used to activate salient participants. In such cases, the speaker is communicating to the hearer that this participant will be talked about in subsequent clauses. The participant is therefore considered more prominent from the speaker’s perspective. On the other hand, a participant that appears and is not referred to in subsequent clauses will not be activated using *tayamo*. Rather, in such cases we find a bare noun. This use of *tayamo* is presented in §8.3.2.

#### 8.3.1 Point of departure

Temporal discontinuities, or what Levinsohn refers to as a points of departure (see chapter 3.3), in a narrative are marked by means of fronted temporal phrases. Often such a phrase involves *tayamo*. It signals the beginning of a new section or the beginning of a narrative unit. There are two functions of a point of departure according to Levinsohn (2011:40):

1. It establishes a starting point for the communication; and

2. it ‘cohesively anchors the subsequent clause(s) to something which is already in the context (i.e. to something accessible in the hearer’s mental representation).’ (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:68)

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:68) also note that a point of departure is both backward looking and forward looking. It is backward looking “in the sense of locating the anchoring place within the existing mental representation.” It is forward looking in the sense that “it is the subsequent part of the sentence which is anchored in that place.”

Temporal points of departure in Gumawana occur sentence initial. The following example taken from the story of two boys being attacked by a shark illustrates this. The title of the story is given as “A child offers his body (lit. his skin) and saves his older brother.” The next line is (34). The temporal phrase *lava tayamo* ‘time one’ is fronted. The fact that *tayamo* is used indicates that this particular point in time is salient.

- (34) *Lava tayamo gomana ma tuwowo-na i-di kewou*  
 time one child COM older.SSS-3SG CTRL-3PL canoe  
*si-lusobuye-Ø, si-beuta si-na tayari tayamo goi*  
 3PL-launch.TR-3SG 3PL-paddle 3PL-go reef one OBL  
*si-bani-bani a-di iyana.*  
 3PL-IPFV-fish ED-3PL fish

‘**One time** a child and his older brother launched their canoe and they paddled to a reef and began fishing for fish to eat.’

Some stories, unlike the above story, will have lengthy introductions where major participants are introduced. The main part of the story is signaled by a time phrase using *tayamo*. For example, in (35a) the author introduces the main participants at beginning of the story. In (b) the story proper begins and is set off by means of the temporal phrase *lava tayamo* ‘one time’.

- (35a) *Gwarabeyai gomana tayamo go, tuwowo-nao a-di*  
 Gwarabeyai child one SP older.SSS-3SG.PL PASS-3PL  
*tai-yuwo tupwana gagai-di, nakae a-di tala 6 be*  
 person-two somewhat big-3PL ADD PASS-3PL year 6 and  
*10 go, nauyayanai-di.*  
 10 SP between-3PL

- (b) *Lava tayamo sina-di i-latuwoko-i-di...*  
 time one mother-3PL 3SG-tell-TR-3PL

‘(a) Gwarabeyai was a child and his two older brothers were somewhat big, that is, their ages were between six and ten. (b) **One time** their mother told them...’

The beginning of the story of how possums ended up with small ears begins the same way. The first line is the title followed by the beginning of the story.

- (36a) *E boi nimatu kodoya taiya-na gagai-di,*  
 DM previously long.ago possum ear-3SG big-3PL  
*nakae weiniya taiya-di.*  
 ADD dog ear-3PL
- (b) *E lava tayamo kodoya-ya-na i-na tanuwo goi i-paisewa.*  
 DM time one possum-TM-3SG 3SG-go garden OBL 3SG-work  
 ‘(a) Now long ago possum’s ears were big like dogs’ ears. (b) Now **one time** Possum went to the garden and worked.’

In some stories, the title functions as an introduction. Therefore, the story proper begins almost immediately after the title as in (37) (from *Wallaby and Turtle*, appendix text 3). The title is given in (a) which includes both of the main participants in the story. The phrase *lava tayamo* ‘time one’ in (b) clues the reader in that the story is now beginning.

- (37a) *Vatuta ame yoguyogu adi tai-yuwo Vatuta-i-di,*  
 legend PROX animal PASS-3PL person-two legend-?-3PL  
*kerei nakae vayavaya.*  
 wallaby ADD turtle
- (b) *E vatuta-ya-na ame nakae.*  
 DM legend-TM-3SG PROX ADD
- (c) *Lava tayamo kerei ma nubai-na si-kaiyaka.*  
 time one wallaby COM cousin-3SG 3PL-exist  
 ‘(a) This legend is a legend about two animals, Wallaby and Turtle. (b) Now the legend is like this. (c) **One time** Wallaby and his cousin were together.’

A lengthier introduction is found in the story of *Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2). Lines 1-15 give the introduction. The author explains how the three children are born and that one, the middle one, is a rat. After the three children are born, the author summarises how the parents feel about it in (38a). The story proper begins in (b). This is marked by means of the fronted temporal phrase.

- (38a) *E koroto ma mone-na bogina si-uvaawana una-na*  
 DM man COM spouse-3SG PRF 3PL-IPFV.happy basis-3SG  
*natu-di-yao bogina si-bibina.*  
 offspring-3PL-PL PRF 3PL-grow
- (b) *E lava tayamo goi tama-di be sina-di ka-di,*  
 DM time one OBL father-3PL and mother-3PL talk-3PL

“*Natu-ma, a-m gomana ku-matakavate-Ø ae?*  
 offspring-1PL.EXCL PASS-2SG younger.SSS 2SG-look.after.TR-3SG Q

*Go kai ka-na tanuwo.”*

SP 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go garden

‘(a) And the man and his wife were happy because their children were grown up. (b) Now **one time** their father and their mother said, “Our child, you watch your younger brother, okay? And we will go to the garden.”’

The story of *Gilibo* (appendix text 1) is similar to the last example. It begins with the introduction of the main participant as well as the participants he will interact with in the story. Once the introduction is over, the actual story begins in (39), which is marked by using the temporal phrase.

(39) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø*  
 DM time one chief pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG

*be aika giyai-na i-guinuwe-Ø.*  
 IRR feast small-3SG 3SG-do.TR-3SG

‘Now **one time** Chief caught a pig in order to make a small feast.’

This type of temporal phrase marks a discontinuity in the story line. It is used in the middle of a story to mark a transition to the next important events. This is seen in a story about how a certain type of crab developed a rough shell. After the title is given, the first occurrence of ‘one time’ is used to introduce the beginning of the story in (40c).

(40a) *Vatuta ame kolau be mesara yoi-na aimago vatutai-di.*  
 legend PROX shark and crab name-3SG k.o.crab legend-3PL

(b) *Vatuta-ya-na ame nakae.*  
 legend-TM-3SG PROX ADD

(c) *Lava tayamo goi kolau mesara i-tuwoko-Ø i-digo ka-na,*  
 time one OBL shark crab 3SG-tell-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG

*“Nubai-gu, ta-na ta-e-tam-tamumu.”*

cousin-1SG 1PL.INCL-go 1PL.INCL-INCH-IPFV-hide

‘(a) This legend is the legend about shark and crab, whose name is *aimago*.

(b) The legend is like this. (c) **One time** shark told crab, “My cousin, let’s go play hide and seek.”’

Later in the same story, Crab and Shark are playing what starts out as a fun game of hide and seek. Shark hides first and Crab finds him with no trouble at all due to Shark’s size. Crab then takes his turn but Shark cannot find him because he is buried in the sand. He becomes angry and refuses to play. When Crab comes out Shark hits him and tells him not to do that again. This is followed by the typical Gumawana summary statement

in (41b), which informs the reader that this was their habit over a period of time. In (c), the author indicates by means of the fronted time phrase, that things are about to change. This is a point of discontinuity and the story takes on a new direction.

- (41a) *E nakae siya-na i-lau-i-Ø.*  
DM ADD SSS-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG
- (b) *E i-di sinapu tau-na nakae si-nave-nave-Ø.*  
DM CTRL-3PL behaviour result-3SG ADD 3PL-IPFV-take-3SG
- (c) *Tuta<sup>2</sup> tayamo goi si-e-tam-tamumu, kolau mainao i-tamumu.*  
time one OBL 3PL-INCH-IPFV-hide shark first 3SG-hide

‘(a) And also he (Shark) hit his friend (Crab). (b) And so their behaviour was continually like that (lit. and they were taking their behaviour therefore like that). (c) **One time** they were playing hide and seek and the shark hid first.’

The word *tayamo* ‘one’ is also used in temporal expressions in the form of ‘one night’. This is illustrated in the following example (from *Nabodimom and Silekaleka*). The story explains the origin of two stones on Gumawana Island. This excerpt is taken from the beginning of the story. In this case *tayamo* modifies the word *sabamgo* ‘night’ with the meaning ‘one night’.

- (42) *E amo-ko goi vevi-di si-kaiyaka i-di kasa go*  
DM DIST-ADV OBL women-3PL 3PL-exist CTRL-3PL village SP
- sabamgo tayamo koroto si-na vevi-di-ya-di*  
night one man 3PL-go women-3PL-TM-3PL
- si-woin-i-di, si-mwera.*  
3PL-wake-TR-3PL 3PL-climb

‘Now it was there the women remained in their village and **one night** the men went, woke the women and climbed up (in their house).’

The phrase *tuta tayamo* ‘one time’ is frequently used in Gumawana narrative discourse. Such a phrase serves to mark a temporal point of departure introducing a new narrative unit.

### 8.3.2 Activating a new participant

A second pragmatic use of *tayamo* can be seen in how participants are activated. When a participant is activated and that participant will persist as the topic in subsequent clauses, he will be activated using *tayamo*.

<sup>2</sup> The Gumawana word for “time” is *lava*. However, they have borrowed the Dobu word *tuta* also. Both are used by most speakers.

Typically, the word order is: *Noun* + *tayamo*. The speaker may want to further highlight the entity and this is achieved by fronting *tayamo* resulting in the order *tayamo* + *Noun*, which has the meaning of ‘a certain...’

When using *tayamo* to activate a participant, the speaker is communicating that the hearer is to build a mental representation around this participant since the entity will be further discussed in subsequent clauses. It is not uncommon for a language to use the word ‘one’ to mark a referent as salient. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:120) note the following:

Recall that an indefinite referent is one for which the speaker is instructing the hearer to create a slot or node in his or her mental representation. Many languages have ways to signal indefiniteness which indicate, in addition, that the new entity is to occupy a prominent place. For example, it is common in languages for a special indefinite determiner ‘one, a certain’ to be used in the introduction of major participants.

Lambrecht (1994:83) also holds this same view. He states:

In certain languages the presence vs. absence of a numeral expression in association with the noun can have a function analogous to the function served by the contrast between *a* and *this* in English. In languages with numeral classifiers it is often the case that the noun phrase which is preceded by a classifier is marked as topical for subsequent discourse. In other languages, the same distinction is expressed via the contrast between the presence or absence of the numeral *one*, as in the case of Latin *unus*, Turkish *bir...*, and Hebrew *exad*. In fact, this function of the numeral *one* is attested in English, as e.g. in *I saw this one woman* or *I was introduced to one John Smith*.

When *tayamo* is used with a noun being activated, it informs the listener to create a new mental representation around this participant since he will persist in subsequent discourse. The absence of *tayamo* will inform the listener that the participant being activated will not be discussed beyond its initial introduction, and thus is downgraded in terms of prominence. It is suggested here therefore that *tayamo* is not just a marker of indefiniteness. For instance, the noun *naipi* ‘knife’ below in (43e) is activated without *tayamo*. This bare noun is indefinite. It has not been mentioned previously and it is not anchored to anything in the discourse.

- (43a) *E gomana giyai-na tuwowo-na i-latuwoko-Ø ka-na,*  
DM child small-3SG older.SSS-3SG 3SG-tell-3SG talk-3SG
- (b) “*Tuwowo-gu, iyana madaboki-na bogina i-kavava.*  
older.SSS-1SG fish all-3SG PRF 3SG-finish
- (c) *Ame bei kita manakae-da? Tayamo kenao*  
PROX IRR 1PL.INCL how-1PL.INCL one path

*ii-kaiyaka bei a-lituwoko-i-m.*  
 3SG-IPFV-exist IRR 1SG-tell-TR-2SG

- (d) *Ame nakae.*  
 PROX ADD

- (e) *Ame tuta naipi ku-kabi-Ø, yau talai-gu tayamo tayamo*  
 PROX time knife 2SG-get-3SG 1SG part-1SG one one  
*ku-kai-kuupokupo-Ø kolau ku-vini-vini-Ø go, kom*  
 2SG-IPFV.cut-3SG shark 2SG-IPFV-give-3SG SP 2SG  
*ku-beu-beuta ku-nonoi-na asa.”*  
 2SG-IPFV-paddle 2SG-IPFV.go village

‘(a) Now the small child told his older brother, (b) “My older brother, all the fish are finished. (c) What will we do now? There is a way that I will tell you. (d) Like this. (e) At this time get **a knife**, cut each of my parts up and while you are giving them to the shark, you begin paddling to the village.”’

This is further illustrated in (44). It is taken from *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4). Two nouns are activated in (44a). The first is *dimdim* ‘foreigner’ and *tayamo* is present. The second noun is the bare noun *dingi* ‘dinghy’, which lacks *tayamo*. This is the first mention of *dingi* in the story so it is non-identifiable. The foreigner is activated using *tayamo* because he continues to be talked about in the subsequent clauses whereas *dingi* is not. So *tayamo* does not only mark the participant as activated, it is also a marker of saliency of the participant being activated. The absence of *tayamo* does not mean ‘definite’.

- (44a) *E dimdim tayamo dingi i-kabi-Ø i-yava i-ma*  
 DM foreigner one dinghy 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-bushward 3SG-come  
*asa tomota i-gite-di i-kabi-di bego i-na*  
 village people 3SG-see.TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL IM CTRL-3SG  
*to-bani-yao.*  
 NMZL-fish-PL

- (b) *I-yava i-mamai-ma maniye-di tomota si-tagona.*  
 3SG-bushward 3SG-IPFV.come some-3PL people 3PL-agree

‘(a) Now a certain foreigner got a **dinghy**, came bushward to the village, saw the people and took them as his fishermen. (b) He came bushward and some of the people agreed.’

In the following example from the same story, the two main characters are activated in (45a). Then in (b) the Taiwanese boat is activated. This boat is introduced in a noun phrase with *tayamo*. This informs the reader that the author intends to speak further about the boat in the subsequent clauses. This is the case as reference is made to the boat

in (c) and (e). Even in (d) the boat is still present since it is by this boat the men on board go to Watuluma.

- (45a) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo idi kasa Gumawana goi*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two CTRL-3PL village Gumawana OBL  
*se-di-yao taiyao si-kaaiyako.*  
 SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-IPFV.exist
- (b) *Si-kaaiyako si-kaaiyako eee, tuta tayamo oga dimdim*  
 3PL-IPFV.exist 3PL-IPFV.exist until time one canoe foreign  
*gagai-na tayamo i-ma i-vaiu.*  
 big-3SG one 3SG-come 3SG-arrive
- (c) *Ego amo oga-ya-na kidi to-bani Taiwani i-di oga.*  
 ADD DIST canoe-TM-3SG 3PL NMZL-fish Taiwan CTRL-3PL canoe
- (d) *Ago boi si-na Watuluma goi si-lokasa go, tomota*  
 ADD previously 3PL-go Watuluma OBL 3PL-relocate SP person  
*si-kabi-di be tomota-ya-di si-bani kidi dimdim-ya-di*  
 3PL-get-3PL IRR person-TM-3PL 3PL-fish 3PL foreigner-TM-3PL  
*manu-di.*  
 OBL-3PL
- (e) *Tau-na amo tuta-ya-na moe oga-ya-na Watuluma goi*  
 result-3SG DIST time-TM-3SG MED canoe-TM-3SG Watuluma OBL  
*i-ma Gumawana i-vaiu bego maniyedi tomota si-kabi-di*  
 3SG-come Gumawana 3SG-arrive IM some-3PL person 3PL-get-3PL  
*i-di to-bani-yao.*  
 CTRL-3PL NMZL-fish-PL

‘(a) Two men were living with their friends at their village of Gumawana. (b) They lived on until one time **a big foreign boat** arrived. (c) And **that boat** was **the Taiwanese fishermen’s boat**. (d) But previously they had gone to Watuluma and relocated and they got people in order that the people fish for the foreigners. (e) Therefore at that time **that boat** came from Watuluma and arrived at Gumawana intending to get some people as their fishermen.’

Later in the same story, the two men are drifting since they have no fuel left in their dinghy. They drift until they come upon a coconut (46b). This is the first mention of the coconut and so this prop is both non-active and non-identifiable. By using *tamo* to activate it, the author indicates he will speak of it further in the following clauses.

- (46a) *E sabamgo i-dooiye-di i-dooiye-di asa*  
 DM night 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL village  
*i-tomo.*  
 3SG-next.day
- (b) *I-tomo i-dooiye-di eee si-dobala niu tamo*  
 3SG-next.day 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL until 3PL-look coconut one  
*si-gite-Ø.*  
 3PL-see.TR-3SG
- (c) *Tuwo i-di bwasi giyai-na toi-na i-kaiyako, e*  
 so CTRL-3PL water small-3SG very-3SG 3SG-exist DM  
*amo si-lokoina-bala niu-ya-na si-kabi-Ø si-me-Ø*  
 DIST 3PL-run-across coconut-TM-3SG 3PL-get-3SG 3SG-come.TR-3SG  
*si-koyom-i-Ø si-kaika a-di iyana mamai-di taiyao.*  
 3PL-husk-TR-3SG 3PL-eat ED-3PL fish raw-3PL COM

‘(a) And they drifted all night until the next day (lit. the village was the next day). (b) The next day they drifted on until they looked over and saw a **coconut**. (c) So there was a very small amount of their fuel, so they moved across there, got **the coconut**, brought **(it)**, husked **(it)** and ate **(it)** with their raw fish.’

The next example is taken from a story about two boys who were stranded by the ogre Tamogibeli. After netting some fish, they go ashore in (47b) and meet an old woman. The noun *namoya* ‘old woman’ is being activated for the first time and is marked with *tayamo*. By using *tayamo* the reader is informed to not only create a mental representation around this woman, but that more about this woman is to come in the following clauses. She is mentioned again immediately as subject in (c), as the addressee in (d) and again as speaker in (e). She later becomes important to the story by helping the two children.

- (47a) *Tuwo si-yava si-na.*  
 so 3PL-bushward 3PL-go
- (b) *Si-yava si-na si-gite-Ø namoya tayamo i-kaiyaka.*  
 3PL-bushward 3PL-go 3PL-see-3SG old.woman one 3SG-exist
- (c) *Namoya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Komi nako ko-ma?”*  
 old.woman-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG 2PL where 2PL-come
- (d) *E kidi ma-di matoita si-digo ka-di, “O tubu-ma,*  
 DM 3PL COM-3PL fear 3PL-speak talk-3PL oh elder-1PL.EXCL

*kai Tamogibeli natu-na taiyao si-kalave-ma go,*  
 1PL.EXCL Tamogibeli offspring-3SG COM 3PL-leave-1PL.EXCL SP  
*si-na Vakuta. E tau-na bogina ka-valala, tau-na*  
 3PL-go Vakuta DM result-3SG PRF 1PL.EXCL-strand result-3SG  
*bego yeu ka-lusala a-ma iyana ka-tubola.”*  
 IM fire 1PL.EXCL-search ED-1PL.EXCL. fish 1PL.EXCL-wrap

- (e) *Go tau-ya-na ka-na, “Koneyuwe*  
 SP person-TM-3SG talk-3SG day.after.tomorrow  
*bei si-kaluvila si-ma.”*  
 IRR 3PL-return 3PL-come

‘(a) So they (2 children) went bushward. (b) They went bushward and saw **an old woman** was there. (c) **The old woman** said, “Where did you come from?” (d) And with fear they said, “Oh ma’am, Tamogibeli and his child left us and they went to Vakuta. And therefore we have been stranded; therefore we searched for fire to cook our fish in wraps.” (e) And she said, “The day after tomorrow they will return.”’

The story of why there are more fish near the Trobriands than near Fergusson Island further illustrates this. The story begins with a man walking in the bush. In (48a) he becomes tired and hungry while walking. He sits at the base of a tree in (b). The tree is introduced using *tayamo* and thus indicates he will speak further about it. The tree is mentioned again in the following sentence (c). At this point ‘a branch’ is also introduced using *tayamo*. Again the use of *tayamo* in the activating of a participant indicates the author will speak further of it in the subsequent clauses. This is exactly what we find in (d). The tree and branch are the reason for why fish end up on the Trobriands.

- (48a) *Ago ii-ketoiya bogina etoiya i-laui-i-Ø,*  
 ADD 3SG.IPFV-walk PRF walk 3SG-tire-TR-3SG  
*nakae loga i-kamasa una-na aduwanau i-saki.*  
 ADD hunger 3SG-die basis-3SG far 3SG-too.much
- (b) *Tuwo i-iwo i-na alova tayamo*  
 so 3SG-seaward 3SG-go tree one  
*gagai-na una-na goi i-tusobu i-vaiwasi.*  
 big-3SG base-3SG OBL 3SG-sit 3SG-rest
- (c) *Ego lawana tayamo alova-ya-na goi i-ta-guyala*  
 ADD branch one tree-TM-3SG OBL 3SG-UNACC-break  
*i-sou mata-na daiya-na i-towo.*  
 3SG-fall eye-3SG side-3SG 3SG-landed

- (d) *Tuwo i-kando-iwo lawana-ya-na goi iyana i-gite-di*  
 so 3SG-look-seaward branch-TM-3SG OBL fish 3SG-see.TR-3PL  
*gagai-di be nakae giyai-di lawana-ya-na yata-na goi.*  
 big-3PL and ADD small-3PL branch-TM-3SG on.top-3SG OBL

‘(a) And as he was walking, the walking tired him and he was hungry because it was so far. (b) So he went seaward and sat down at the base of a **big tree** and rested. (c) And a **branch** from **the tree** broke and fell at the area in front of him and landed. (d) So he looked seaward at **the branch** and saw big and small fish on top of **the branch**.’

So far only examples with the word order *Noun* + *tayamo* have been given. The word order *tayamo* + *Noun* also occurs when activating a new participant. Here the speaker marks a referent being activated as being thematically salient to the story from the author’s perspective. In the story of *Gilibo* (appendix text 1) the main participant, Gumasai, is activated early in the story. To mark him as thematically salient in the story as a whole, the author marks him with *tayamo* occurring *before* the noun, as (49) illustrates. The author expects the reader to build a mental representation around this character since he will play a prominent role. In this story, Gumasai is the only animate participant to be introduced in this way. He is the main reason Gilibo breaks off from the main island to become an island itself.

- (49a) *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koroto.*  
 previously long.ago one child male

- (b) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na Gumasai.*  
 child-TM-3SG name-3SG Gumasai

‘(a) Long ago there was a **certain boy**. (b) The child’s name was Gumasai.’

Props that are thematically important to the story may also be marked for saliency by means of *tayamo*. Further on in the same story, the author introduces a necklace that is important to the story. Because of this necklace, the people all go to Sanarowa in hopes of getting it. The main character Gumasai will end up with the necklace, which angers the rest of the people. They then leave him stranded on Sanarowa Island. When the necklace is introduced at the beginning of the story, the author marks it with *tayamo* (50c) before the noun it modifies.

- (50a) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø*  
 DM time one chief pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG

*be aika giyai-na i-guinuwe-Ø.*  
 IRR feast small-3SG 3SG-make.TR-3SG

- (b) *Aika-ya-na una-na ame nakae.*  
 feast-TM-3SG basis-3SG PROX ADD

- (c) *Tayamo buyala gagai-na vale-na Sanarowa goi*  
 one necklace big-3SG news-3SG Sanarowa OBL  
*si-inove-Ø*  
 3PL-hear.TR-3SG

‘(a) Now one time Chief caught a pig in order to make a small feast. (b) The reason for the feast was this. (c) They heard the news of **a certain big necklace** at Sanarowa.’

In a first person story, the author tells about how a friend tricked him. The friend sees some driftwood, but mistakes it for a canoe. The story tells how the friend manipulates and scares the author so that he can go get what he thinks to be a canoe drifting along. In (51a) we learn that the author is under the water on a reef while the friend is sitting on the canoe. Then in (b), the author relates how the friend sees *tayamo ailapulapu* ‘one (piece of) driftwood’. By placing *tayamo* before the noun, it indicates to the reader he should build a mental representation around this prop. This prop is thematic and as such the reason for the friend’s actions throughout the story. In (c) another comment is made about the driftwood and how the friend has mistaken it for a canoe.

- (51a) *E yau a-sou aa-gerasi tayari-ya-na goi go*  
 DM 1SG 1SG-descend 1SG.IPFV-spearfish reef-TM-3SG OBL SP  
*kina kewou yata-na i-kaiyaka.*  
 3SG canoe on.top-3SG 3SG-exist
- (b) *I-kaiyaka, i-gite-Ø tayamo ailapulapu*  
 3SG-exist 3SG-see-3SG one driftwood  
*i-doi-doiye-Ø<sup>3</sup> Tubova simla yatana-i-na.*  
 3SG-IPFV-drift-3SG Tubova island above-?-3SG
- (c) *Ago ailapulapu-ya-na moe metumetu go, kina*  
 ADD driftwood-TM-3SG MED palm.trunk SP 3SG  
*i-tainasi-ye-Ø i-na nuwonuwana ka-na, “Nakona*  
 3SG-mistake-APPL-3SG CTRL-3SG thought talk-3SG perhaps  
*kewou tayamo i-doi-doiye-Ø.”*  
 canoe one 3SG-IPFV-drift-3SG

<sup>3</sup> The subject of this verb is impersonal or the wind. The object is the thing that is being driven along. So the literal meaning is “it drifted the wood.”

‘(a) And while I went down and was spearfishing on the reef, he remained on top of the canoe. (b) He remained and he saw **a piece of driftwood** drifting north of Tubova Island.<sup>4</sup> (c) But the driftwood was a palm trunk, but he had mistaken it, his thought was, “Perhaps a canoe is drifting.”’

A story about how a mouse meets a pig caught in a pig trap illustrates again how a constituent can be marked for saliency. The mouse is searching for food and in (52) finds something he thinks is food. The thing actually is the pig’s tail; however, the author introduces it to the story as *tayamo dogoi* ‘one thing’. He expects the reader to build a mental representation around this object. As it turns out the mistake nearly costs the mouse his life because when he bites into it, he discovers that it belongs to a now angry pig.

- (52) *I-lusala, i-lusala, e tayamo dogoi i-gite-Ø,*  
 3SG-search 3SG-search DM one thing 3SG-see.TR-3SG  
*i-tainasi i-nuwonuwana awoinu.*  
 3SG-mistake 3SG-think food

‘He searched and searched, then he saw **a certain thing** and he was mistaken and thought it was food.’

The main point of the story of two boys being attacked by a shark is to explain how coconuts came into being. The younger brother tells his older brother he should kill him and feed the parts to the shark so that one of them will survive. The older brother ends up doing this and when he finally makes it to shore, all that is left of the younger brother is his head. In (53a) we are told he buries his brother’s head next to his house. After three days, a coconut palm sprouts from the brother’s head. When the tree is activated in (c), the author marks it with *tayamo* since it is important to the rest of the story. Once activated in this manner, the noun ‘tree’ becomes topical and the writer immediately makes a comment that its name is coconut. This coconut palm figures prominently in the story because it came from the brother’s head.

- (53a) *E tuwo i-na kewou i-yagas-i-Ø i-kavava go,*  
 DM so CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-beach-TR-3SG 3SG-finish SP  
*Siya-na-ya-na bulubulu-na i-kavale-Ø i-nave-Ø.*  
 SSS-3SG-TM-3SG head-3SG 3SG-carry.TR-3SG 3SG-take-3SG
- (b) *I-kavale-Ø, i-yave-Ø i-nave-Ø eee i-na*  
 3SG-carry.TR-3SG 3SG-bushward.TR-3SG 3SG-take-3SG until CTRL-3SG  
*vada kiki-na goi i-tavi i-vakum-Ø go, i-bala*  
 house near-3SG OBL 3SG-dig 3SG-cover-3SG SP 3SG-across

<sup>4</sup> In Gumawana they speak of north of an island as being above the island.

- i-na i-na vada goi i-tai-taiya, e i-masisi.*  
 3SG-go CTRL-3SG house OBL 3SG-IPFV-cry DM 3SG-sleep
- (c) *E tuwo tau-ya-na i-kaiyaka maliyalina ai-to. Si-kavava,*  
 DM so person-TM-3SG 3SG-exist day CLF-three 3PL-finish
- bulubulu-ya-na valiwoga-i-na goi tayamo alova i-tabo;*  
 head-TM-3SG grave-?-3SG OBL one tree 3SG-sprout
- alova-ya-na yoi-na niu.*  
 tree-TM-3SG name-3SG coconut

‘(a) And so after he (the older brother) beached his canoe, he carried his brother’s head and took it. (b) He carried it bushward and took it to near his house and dug and covered it and he moved across to his house and he began to cry and then slept. (c) And so he remained for three days. After that, **a certain tree** sprouted at the grave of the head; the name of the tree was coconut.’

Such word order only occurs on participants being introduced into the story. Furthermore, it only occurs with participants or props that figure prominently in the story. A story about two kids who get in trouble further illustrates this use of *tayamo*. The story tells about how a certain man was very strict and did not like children making noise while people were trying to eat. His grandson knew this but he and his friend were out making noise by a house in which people were eating. As (54) shows, as they were making noise a young woman saw them. The woman is introduced with *tayamo* coming *before* the head noun. She is important to the story at this point and becomes topical in the next clause. It is this woman who reports the boys to the grandfather.

- (54a) *Si-mge-mge, si-mge-mge, tayamo vavina woiyai-na*  
 3PL-IPFV-noise 3PL-IPFV-noise one woman young-3SG
- i-gite-di, i-na koroto-ya-na goi i-talavaita ka-na,*  
 3SG-see.TR-3PL 3SG-go man-TM-3SG OBL 3SG-report talk-3SG
- (b) “*Ku-gite-di go-gomana a-di tai-yuwo?*  
 2SG-see.TR-3PL PL-child PASS-3PL person-two
- Tomota si-ka-kaika go, kidi si-mge-mge.”*  
 people 3PL-IPFV-eat SP 3PL 3PL-IPFV-noise

‘(a) They kept making noise and **a certain young woman** saw them and she went to the man and reported, (b) “Did you see the two children? While people are eating, they are making noise.”’

In a story about a man who encounters a lion, the introduction clearly shows who the main character is. The story begins with two men being introduced in (55a) using the verb *aiyaka* ‘remain, live, be, exist’. Immediately in (b) one man is singled out and

continues to be the central participant from that point until the end of the story. The man's cousin is noted as living in one region but in (c) the major participant is referenced with the pronoun *kina* and this time the word order is *tayamo* noun. This lets the reader know that something important will happen in the central character's region. The mainline of the story begins in (e) introduced with the developmental marker *e* and the first real active verb.

- (55a) *Boi nimatu koroto a-di tai-yuwo*  
 previously long.ago man PASS-3PL person-two  
*si-kaiyaka nubai-na taiyao.*  
 3PL-exist cousin-3SG COM
- (b) *Nubai-na dadava tayamo goi i-kaiyaka,*  
 cousin-3SG region one OBL 3SG-exist
- (c) *e kina tayamo dadava goi i-kaiyaka.*  
 DM 3SG one region OBL 3SG-exist
- (d) *E koroto-ya-na tayamo i-kaiyaka go, i-nuwonuwana gagai-na*  
 DM man-TM-3SG one 3SG-exist SP 3SG-think big-3SG  
*latuwo-na bego i-na nubai-na i-vadade-Ø i-gite-Ø.*  
 desire-3SG IM 3SG-go cousin-3SG 3SG-visit.TR-3SG 3SG-see.TR-3SG
- (e) *E tuta-ya-na i-katubayasi, amo-ko goi a-na tuta*  
 DM time-TM-3SG 3SG-prepare DIST-ADV OBL PASS-3SG time  
*i-ketoiya i-wo i-wo enao tolobo-na goi e tayamo koroto*  
 3SG-walk 3SG-go 3SG-go path middle-3SG OBL DM one man  
*i-na puwoli i-lave-bode-Ø udodana goi bao manu-di.*  
 CTRL-3SG net 3SG-throw-block.TR-3SG bush OBL pig OBL-3PL  
 ‘(a) Long ago **two men** lived who were cousins. (b) **His cousin** lived in **a region** (c) and he lived in **another region**. (d) Now the one man remained and he thought he really wanted to go visit his cousin and see him. (e) Well when he prepared, it was his time from there to go and he walked and in the middle of the road a man had thrown his pig net in the bush for pigs.’

One further example of *tayamo* used when activating new participants to mark thematically salient participants is presented in (56). In this story two women, Nabodimom and Silekaleka, are out on a canoe to get shellfish. In (a), a shellfish is activated with *tayamo* occurring before the head noun. This marks this noun as being thematically salient. It is important to the story because it is the reason that Silekaleka gets Nabodimom to go into the water so that she can flee with the canoe.

- (56a) *Si-na simla yoi-na Giyaneta goi lai yoi-na Woilaalava*  
 3PL-go island name-3SG Giyaneta OBL reef name-3SG Woilaalava

- goi si-kanido-sobu tayamo nimowo si-gite-Ø.*  
 OBL 3PL-look-down one shellfish 3PL-see.TR-3SG
- (b) *Nimowo-ya-na yoi-na dagiya.*  
 shellfish-TM-3SG name-3SG k.o.shellfish
- (c) *E tuwo Nabodimom Silekaleka i-latuwoko-Ø ka-na,*  
 DM so Nabodimom Silekaleka 3SG-tell-3SG talk-3SG  
*“Ku-sou a-da nimowo ku-kabi-Ø.”*  
 2SG-descend ED-1PL.INCL shellfish 2SG-get-2SG
- (d) *Silekaleka ka-na, “Geya nubai-gu, kom ku-sou.”*  
 Silekaleka talk-3SG NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 2SG-descend
- (e) *Tuwo, Silekaleka sopa-na i-makimaki wouwo, geya,*  
 so Silekaleka lip-3SG 3SG-strong very NEG  
*Nabodimom i-sou.*  
 Nabodimom 3SG-descend
- (f) *Go Silekaleka kina kewou i-siya-e-Ø go, maine niu*  
 SP Silekaleka 3SG canoe 3SG-flee-TR-3SG SP earlier coconut  
*bogina i-nonom-i-di i-kabi-di, i-kalisobuye-di.*  
 PRF 3SG-tie-TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-drop-3PL
- (g) *Iya go Nabodimom nimowo-ya-na i-kabi-Ø i-ma*  
 3SG SP Nabodimom shellfish-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-come  
*i-poiya ka-na, “Nubai-gu, ku-vaite-gu. Nubai-gu,*  
 3SG-surface talk-3SG cousin-1SG 2SG-help.TR-1SG cousin-1SG  
*ku-vaite-gu.”*  
 2SG-help.TR-1SG

‘(a) They (Nabodimom, Silekaleka) went to an island named Giyaneta to a reef named Woilaalava and they looked down and saw **a certain shellfish**. (b) The name of **the shellfish** was *dagiya*. (c) And so Nabodimom told Silekaleka, “You go down and get **shellfish for us to eat**.” (d) Silekaleka said, “No my cousin, you go down.” (e) So Silekaleka was very forceful, so Nabodimom went down. (f) And Silekaleka fled with the canoe and she took the coconuts she had bundled earlier and dropped them. (g) Nabodimom got **the shellfish** and surfaced and said, “My cousin, help me. My cousin, help me.”’

In this chapter, we have shown that in Gumawana there is no formal category of definiteness or indefiniteness. Nouns are determined to be definite or identifiable by context, modifiers, and schema. A lengthy explanation was given concerning the various

semantic uses of *tayamo* ‘one’ and the pragmatic use of it. It has been shown that non-identifiable nouns are introduced with *tayamo* following the head noun. A pragmatic use of *tayamo* can be seen when the speaker intends to highlight the noun being introduced. To accomplish this, he places *tayamo* before the head noun. This informs the listener to build a mental representation around this participant since it will figure prominently throughout the story.

## 9. Plural marking

---

Part of participant referencing is knowing how a language will mark that a participant is plural or singular. As Corbett (2000) clearly shows, number is not marked the same in all languages. There is a great deal of variety and function indicated through the marking of plurality. In this chapter, I will give a general overview of the plural marking strategies found in Gumawana focusing particularly on the function of the nominal plural marker *-yao*.

It will be shown that on kin terms, plural marking is obligatory when plural is intended. However, on indirect possessed nouns (non-kin terms) plural marking with *-yao* is optional and only occurs when the noun in question is salient.

In most cases, the plural marker *-yao* is redundant. It is important to determine what function it has in those cases. The semantic function of *-yao* is plural marking. There are many instances where it is necessary due to ambiguity. However, when there is no ambiguity, I suggest the function of *-yao* is pragmatic.

The plural marker *-yao* has one allomorph, *-ao*. It is found only on nouns ending in /a/. In those cases the initial /a/ is deleted. For some words, either allomorph is possible as the following two examples illustrate. In (1), the word *boda* is suffixed with *-yao*, but in (2) it is suffixed with *-ao* resulting in /a/ being deleted.

- (1) *I-na*            ***boda-yao***  
CTRL-3SG   people-PL  
‘his people’
- (2) *I-na*            ***bodao***  
CTRL-3SG   people.PL  
‘his people’

However, on kin terms ending in [a] only *-ao* is possible. The form *natunayao* is not possible.

- (3) *Natu-nao*  
offspring-3SG.PL  
‘his/her children’

For this part of the paper, 48 texts were examined in order to obtain enough examples. All occurrences of the plural suffix *-yao* were counted and the types of nouns on which it occurred were noted.

The chapter is laid out as follows. In §9.1 a discussion on the animacy hierarchy for number is given based on Corbett (2000). This is followed by a presentation of a theoretical model of number marking in §9.2. Then in §9.3 the various plural marking strategies in Gumawana are given. In §9.4 the plural suffix *-yao* is described. The concluding section §9.5 deals with nouns that never take plural marking.

## 9.1 Animacy hierarchy for number

Corbett (2000:56) discusses the implications of the animacy hierarchy as it relates to number. This hierarchy is presented in the following diagram taken from Corbett (who follows Smith-Stark (1974))

1<sup>st</sup> person > 2<sup>nd</sup> person > 3<sup>rd</sup> person > kin > human > animate > inanimate

FIGURE 1 ANIMACY HIERARCHY FOR NUMBER

The hierarchy claims that for any category along the hierarchy in which plurality is distinguished from singularity, that distinction must also occur in every other category to the left of it. For example, if a language makes a distinction between plural and singular in animate nouns, but not in inanimate, the hierarchy predicts that all categories to the left of animate would also make this distinction.

The first three categories on the hierarchy have to do with personal pronouns. Gumawana distinguishes singular and plural in third person. The hierarchy predicts that both first and second person would have to have the distinction as well. This is true for Gumawana since all pronouns distinguish plural and singular. See Table 3 above (§2.2) for the independent pronouns in Gumawana.

In Gumawana plural marking is obligatory only to the level of kin terms. Everything to the right of kin is optional for Gumawana.

Other than direct possessed kin terms, the only nouns in 48 texts that had plural marking with the suffix *-yao* were 34 nouns in 17 of the texts.

The results are listed below in Table 16. What is significant from this data is that Gumawana speakers use the suffix *-yao* only on possessed nouns. Out of 166 occurrences of the suffix, only three were non-possessed nouns. When the chi-square and the binomial cumulative distribution are done on this data, the following results are obtained:

$$C^2 = 168.3, df = 2, p = .0000 \text{ or } p < .0001$$

So chi-square is 168.3 with degrees of freedom being 2. The probability that this is due to chance is extremely low, that is  $< .0001$ .<sup>1</sup> In other words, this data is significant and points to a pattern in the language.

In Table 16 (below), the data shows that only three nouns were marked with *-yao*, which did not have possessive marking as well. Those three nouns were *yaubadayao* ‘gods’, *kuristianayao* ‘Christians’ and *tobaniyao* ‘the fishermen.’ The first two are borrowings from Dobu and English, which may explain the lack of possession. The last is a nominalised verb. It appeared in a story (*Two men lost at sea*, appendix text 4) after it had been mentioned twice before in the plural with indirect possession.

The following table gives the significant data for the distribution of plural marking in the Gumawana texts examined for this paper.

TABLE 16. OCCURRENCES OF *-YAO*

Types of nouns with <i>-yao</i> :	# of direct possessed nouns	# of indirect possessed nouns	# of nouns without possession	Total occurrences of <i>-yao</i>
48 texts	132	31	3	166
% of total	79.5%	18.7%	1.8%	

The first category shows the number of directly possessed nouns with *-yao*, which was 132 or nearly 80% of the total. These nouns are all kin terms. These are further discussed below. It is clear that if a kin term has plural reference, it must have the plural marker *-yao* with only one exception which is discussed below. In all the texts examined, not one kin term that was semantically plural lacked the plural marker.

The third category reflects the number of nouns marked with the plural suffix that were not possessed, either with direct or indirect possession. In this category, there were only three nouns. This is significant. It appears that in Gumawana for a noun to be marked for plural, it must be possessed.

The second category includes all nouns that had indirect possession and had the plural marker *-yao*. These are further categorised below. Two of the 31 occurrences were kin terms that obligatorily take indirect possession. This is because there is one kin term, *gomana* ‘younger same sex sibling,’ that takes indirect possession rather than the expected direct. Just over half of the nouns in this category were inanimate.

---

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to Steve Parker for doing the statistical tests on the data for me.

TABLE 17. INDIRECT POSSESSED NOUNS WITH PLURAL MARKER

Indirect possessed nouns with - <i>yao</i>	Kin terms	Human	Animate	Inanimate	Total
48 texts	2	12	4	16	31
% of total	6.5%	22.6%	19.4%	51.6%	

Table 18 (on the next page) gives a list of the 31 indirectly possessed nouns that appeared in the texts used for this study.

The three nouns that were not possessed are given in Table 19. Note that there were no non-possessed inanimate nouns that occurred with the plural suffix.

TABLE 19. NON-POSSESSED NOUNS WITH -*YAO*

Human	Animate
<i>kuristiani-yao</i> (1x) Christians-PL 'Christians'	<i>yaubada-yao</i> (1x) god-PL 'gods'
<i>to-bani-yao</i> (1x) NMZL-fish-PL 'fishermen'	

When the data in Table 18 and Table 19 was checked with native speakers for naturalness, the results did not produce a clear picture. It is possible that those who have been to school have been influenced by plural marking requirements of English. To test this out, I split the data up into three categories based on the educational level of the authors of the texts: those who never attended school (Table 20), those who attended school through less than grade 6 (Table 21) and those who attended past grade 6 (Table 22). What is interesting about these three tables is that there seems to be an increase in the inanimate category from 0 for those who are unschooled to over 69% for those who attended school past grade 6. In this latter category, most went on to at least grade 10. It appears, then, that there is a shift in the use of the plural marker that may be influenced by the required plural marking of English.

TABLE 18. INDIRECT POSSESSED NOUNS WITH -YAO

Human	Animate	Inanimate
<i>i-di koroto-yao</i> (3x) CTRL-3PL man-PL 'their men/partners'	<i>i-na woiniya-yao</i> (2x) CTRL-3SG dog-PL 'his dogs'	<i>imi mani-yao</i> (1x) CTRL-3PL money-PL 'your money(s)'
<i>i-di to-bani-yao</i> (1x) CTRL-3PL NMZL-fish-PL 'their fishermen'	<i>a-di woiniya-yao</i> (1x) CTRL-3PL dog-PL 'their dogs'	<i>a-di tanuwo-yao</i> (1x) PASS-3PL garden-PL 'their gardens'
<i>i-na tobani-yao</i> (1x) CTRL-3SG NMZL-fish-PL 'his fishermen'		<i>a-na gita-yao</i> (1x) PASS-3SG spear-PL 'his spears'
<i>a-mi tau-yao</i> (2x) ED-2PL human-PL 'your(pl) humans'		<i>i-da vada-yao</i> (1x) CTRL-1PL.INCL house-PL 'our houses'
<i>guna gumalau-yao</i> (1x) CTRL.1SG orphan-PL 'my orphans'		<i>a-di kasa-yao</i> (1x) PASS-3PL village-PL 'their villages'
<i>guna bodao</i> (1x) CTRL.1SG people.PL 'my relatives'		<i>i-di ogao</i> (5x) CTRL-3PL canoe.PL 'their canoes'
<i>a-na nunu-yao</i> (1x) PASS-3SG matrilineage-PL 'his matrilineages'		<i>i-di dingi-yao</i> (3x) CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL 'their dinghies'
<i>i-na gomanao</i> (2x) CTRL-3SG younger.SSS.PL 'his siblings of same sex'		<i>a-di magi-yao</i> (1x) ED-3PL betel.nut-PL 'their betel.nut'
		<i>a-di yawala-yao</i> (1x) PASS-3PL old.garden-PL 'their old gardens'
		<i>amasa a-na bobole-yao</i> (1x) death PASS-3SG feast-PL 'feasts for death'

TABLE 20. NON-SCHOOLED WRITERS

Indirect possessed nouns with <i>-yao</i>	Kin terms	Human	Animate	Inanimate	Total
14 texts	2	4	0	0	6
% of total	33.3	66.7	0	0	

TABLE 21. &lt;GRADE 6 WRITERS

Indirect possessed nouns with <i>-yao</i>	Kin terms	Human	Animate	Inanimate	Total
27 texts	0	3	2	7	12
% of total	0	25	16.7	58.3	

TABLE 22. &gt;GRADE 6 WRITERS

Indirect possessed nouns with <i>-yao</i>	Kin terms	Human	Animate	Inanimate	Total
6 texts	0	0	4	9	13
% of total	0.0	0.0	30.8	69.2	

Although the indirect possessed inanimate nouns appear to be affected by English, non-possessed nouns do not. There was no difference between those who went to school and those who did not, which would imply that it is still necessary that non-possessed nouns should not be marked for plural.

Other words in the language are showing signs of reanalysis as well. The word *tawou* ‘guys’ is semantically already plural in meaning. However, many younger people are saying *tawouyao* ‘guys-PL’. The most likely reason for this is that they do not recognise the word as plural, so they add the plural marker. One grade 3 leaver used *naveyaveyayao* ‘mates/friends’ in a written story. The singular form of the word is *naveya*. I have never heard the plural form, but from this word, it is evident that the person who used it did not see a problem in using reduplication *and* the suffix *-yao* to redundantly mark the noun for plurality. The expected form would have been *naveyaveya*.

Ross (1992:157) states the following concerning *-yao*:

The Gumawana plural marker */-iao/* reflects PPT [Proto Papuan Tip] *\*-[y]avo*, also reflected in languages of the Dobu-Duau, Molima, Bwaidoka and Suauc groups and in Misima (but not in the Kilivila group). However, Gumawana appears to differ from other PT [Papuan Tip] languages in allowing */-iao/* to occur on nouns other than directly possessed animates.

Therefore, the answer to why Gumawana allows *-yao* on inanimate nouns is due to the influence of English as described above.

From the data, we can make the following observations concerning noun plural marking in Gumawana.

- Kin terms with plural reference require the plural suffix *-yao*. No other directly possessed nouns may take the plural suffix.
- Indirectly possessed nouns optionally take the plural suffix *-yao*.
- Non-possessed nouns are not marked for plurality.
- Amongst those who have not been to school, the animacy hierarchy ends at the animate level. Inanimate objects do not take plural marking.

## 9.2 Number marking

Corbett (2000:9-19) presents three ways number works in the world's languages. He distinguishes three categories of nouns with respect to number: general, singular, and plural (see Figure 2 below). General nouns are those that are unmarked for number. Such nouns are outside the number system and he claims, "there are languages for which number is less dominant, languages in which the meaning of the noun can be expressed without reference to number." Singular nouns are those actually marked for singular and plural nouns are those marked for plural. How languages organise these three categories varies from language to language.

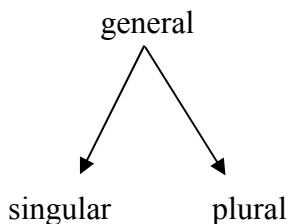


FIGURE 2. NUMBER

Another way to understand the concept of general noun is presented by Rullmann and You (2003) using their diagram comparing English singular and plural (see Figure 3) with Mandarin general nouns (See Figure 4). As Figure 3 shows, in English the category plural is made up of just entities that are more than one. Singular nouns denote just one and only one.

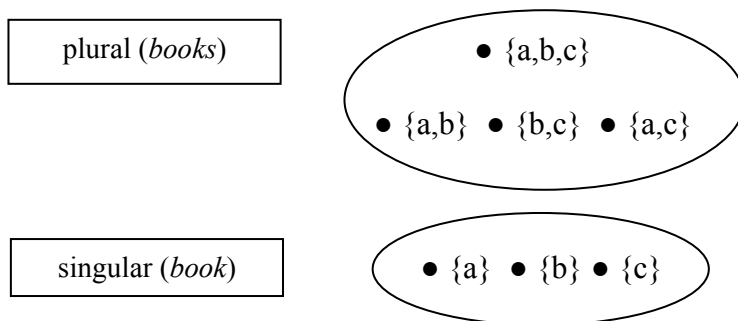


FIGURE 3. DENOTATION OF SINGULAR AND PLURAL NOUNS IN ENGLISH

In contrast, Mandarin has general nouns. A general noun may denote either plural or singular depending on the context as Figure 4 illustrates.

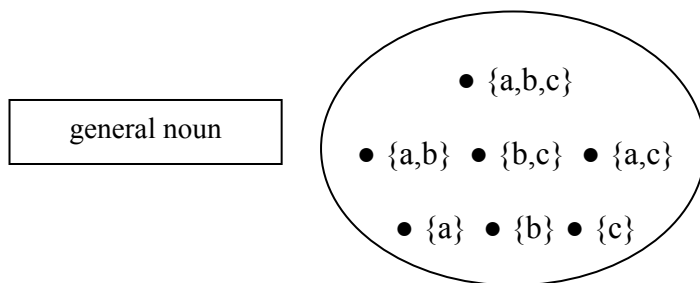


FIGURE 4. DENOTATION OF A NOUN WITH GENERAL NUMBER

SOME LANGUAGES WILL MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN ALL THREE CATEGORIES: GENERAL NOUN, SINGULAR, AND PLURAL. SOME, HOWEVER, WILL NOT.

Figure 5 shows a language where general nouns and singular nouns have the same form and only plural nouns are marked differently. The division, then, is general/singular vs. plural.

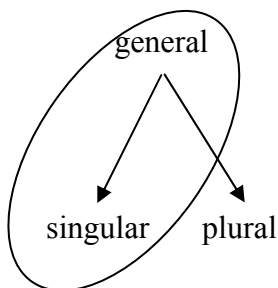


FIGURE 5. PLURAL NUMBER

This is the system that best describes Gumawana nouns other than kin terms.

### 9.3 Plural marking strategies

As stated in the introduction to this chapter (9) there is a great deal of variety in marking plurality in language. In this section, I present the various strategies used in Gumawana to indicate plurality. One of the strategies for plural marking is the nominal suffix *-yao*, which will not be discussed in this section, but will be the topic of §9.4.

#### 9.3.1 Agreement affixation

The primary strategy for indicating plurality is the pronominal affixes. As stated in §2.2, the verb in Gumawana obligatorily agrees with the subject in person and in number. Objects may or may not show such agreement on the verb, depending on the status of the noun. The pronominal affixes were presented in Table 3 (see §2.2). The following example from *Wallaby and Turtle* (appendix text 3) illustrate these rules. In (4) the noun *gita* ‘spear’ in the phrase *adi gita* ‘their spear’ is unmarked for plurality yet the object pronominal suffix *-di* on the verb *kabi* ‘get’ indicates it is plural. In the second clause the noun *iyana* ‘fish’ in the phrase *adi iyana* ‘their fish’ is also unmarked for plurality, but it also lacks verb agreement on the verb since it is indefinite and refers to non-specific fish.

- (4) *Tuwo moitamō a-di gita si-kabi-di, si-na si-vayali,*  
 so true PASS-3PL spear 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-walk.on.shore  
*a-di iyana si-gunubakuna.*  
 PASS-3PL fish 3PL-spear

‘So indeed they (Wallaby and Turtle) got **their spears**, went and walked along the shore and speared **fish for them** to eat.’

On both *gita* ‘spear’ and *iyana* ‘fish’ plural marking is not possible according to native speakers. Those who have been to school would accept *adi gitayao* ‘their spears’, which does occur in texts written by those who have attended school. However, \**adi*

*inyanayao* ‘their fishes’ would be unacceptable to all most likely due to the fact that it is a collective noun. This could be what Corbett (2000:9-10) refers to as a general noun. It could refer to either one or many depending on the context.

Noun modifiers take pronominal suffixes as well.

- (5) *Kitava tomota madaboki-di si-kaiyaka negwasa kiki-na...*  
 Kitava people all-3PL 3PL-exist sea near-3SG  
 ‘All the people of Kitava live near the sea...’

Once a participant has been introduced, if it is the center of attention, it will be suffixed with the thematic marker *-ya* (see §7) followed by a pronominal suffix agreeing in person and number. For example, in (6) (from *Two men lost at sea*, appendix text 4), we are told that all the people went to the foreigners. The foreigners have been mentioned earlier in the story and are the center of attention at this point, so they are marked with the thematic marker *-ya* followed by the suffix *-di*. From this latter suffix, we know the noun *dimdim* ‘foreigner’ is plural.

- (6) *Tuwo madaboki-di si-na dimdim-ya-di goi go, tayamo*  
 so all-3PL 3PL-go foreigner-TM-3PL OBL SP one  
*dimdim bani be nakae sala i-kabi-di*  
 foreigner fish.line and ADD hook 3SG-got-3PL  
*i-kaiguyau-ye-di i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-distribute-APPL-3PL 3SG-give-3PL  
 ‘So all of them went to **the foreigners** and a certain foreigner got fishing lines and also hooks, and distributed them to them.’

The rest of the strategies described in the next few sections are in addition to pronominal affixation on the verb.

### 9.3.2 Reduplication

A second strategy is reduplication. This is limited to a very small number of nouns, which are human. The following are the only words found in 48 texts, plus others heard in the village. Note that both (7) and (8) reduplicate the first syllable. Both of these have stress on the first syllable of the singular form. The last three (9-11) have stress on the penultimate syllable and reduplicate the last two syllables. The reason for this is that both *tomoya* and *namoya* consist of two morphemes *to-moya* ‘one.who (male)-sways’ and *na-moya* ‘one.who (female)-sways.’ The two words thus have the meaning of ‘old man’ and ‘old woman’. Prefixes are not reduplicated; instead, the nominalised root verb *moya* is fully reduplicated. The noun *memeya* ‘infant, baby’ is already reduplicated. Reduplication in this case marks a diminutive. Further reduplication to *meyameyaidi*

‘babies’ follows the regular pattern found in verb-to-adjective derivation by means of pronominal suffixation.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (7)  | <i>gomana</i><br>child<br>‘child’             | <i>go-gomana</i><br>PL-child<br>‘children’           |
| (8)  | <i>woiyai</i><br>young.woman<br>‘young woman’ | <i>wo-woiyai</i><br>PL-young.woman’<br>‘young women’ |
| (9)  | <i>memeya</i><br>baby<br>‘baby’               | <i>meyameya-i-di</i><br>baby-?-3PL<br>‘babies’       |
| (10) | <i>to-moya</i><br>NMZL-sway<br>‘old man’      | <i>to-moya-moya</i><br>‘NMZL-PL-sway’<br>‘old men’   |
| (11) | <i>na-moya</i><br>NMZL-sway<br>‘old woman’    | <i>na-moya-moya</i><br>NMZL-PL-sway<br>‘old women’   |

The word for child is *gomana*. The plural form reduplicates the first syllable as *gogomana*. Reduplication of *gomana* ‘child’ is illustrated in (12).

- (12) *Si-kawala si-na Musuwo goi tomota maniye-di si-lumadade-di*  
 3PL-punt 3PL-go Musuwo OBL people some-3PL 3PL-ask.TR-3PL  
*ka-di, “Go-gomana ai-yuwo nako?”*  
 talk-3PL PL-child CLF-two where

‘They (Tomogibeli and son) punted to Musuwo and asked some of the people, “Where are the two **children**?”’

The absence of reduplication automatically implies singularity. The presence of reduplication indicates plurality.

It should be noted that those nouns listed above, which can be possessed, can also take the plural suffix *-yao*. The data suggests that the plural suffix and the possession are related in some way. An example of this can be heard with reference to (10) above. The singular for ‘old man’ is *tomoya*. The plural is typically *tomoyamoya*, which uses reduplication. However, if the noun is possessed in the plural it is *ina tomoyamoyayao* ‘his elders’.

### 9.3.3 Internal modification

A third strategy of plural marking is accomplished through internal modification to the first vowel. Although reduplication is limited to just a few nouns, this category is limited further to just the word *vavina* ‘woman’. In the plural two forms are found, *vevina* and *vevidi*. The latter is illustrated in the following example. In both occurrences of the word *vavina* the first vowel is modified to [e] to indicate plurality along with the final syllable *na* being dropped and the third person plural suffix *-di* occurring. This noun must be marked for plurality when plural is meant. So *vavina* always means ‘(one) woman’, and *vevina* / *vevidi* always means ‘women’.

- (13) *E amo-ko goi vevi-di si-kaiyaka i-di kasa*  
 DM DIST-ADV OBL women-3PL 3PL-exist CTRL-3PL village  
*go, sabamgo tayamo koroto si-na vevi-di-ya-di*  
 SP night one man 3PL-go women-3PL-TM-3PL  
*si-woin-i-di si-mwera.*  
 3PL-wake-TR-3PL 3PL-climb

‘Now it was there **the women** were in their village and one night the men went, woke **the women** and climbed up (in their house).’

The same author refers to women in a different story using *vevina* rather than *vevidi* with no apparent change of meaning. One possible explanation for the two forms is a reanalysis of the final syllable *-na* as being similar to the third person singular pronominal suffix and thus the need to use third person plural suffix.

- (14) *Go kidi vevina a-dita vanuwo goi si-kaiyako.*  
 SP 3PL women PASS-3PL.LIM village OBL 3PL-exist

‘But **the women** remained by themselves in the village.’

The noun *vavina/vevina* makes the singular versus plural distinction similar to the kin terms (see below) and reduplicated nouns. The lack of vowel modification automatically implies singularity and the presence of the modification indicates plurality.

### 9.3.4 Questions

Plurality in words questioned using *ava* ‘which’ is treated differently than in other nouns. In such cases, if the noun is plural it will require the suffix *-va*, as (15) illustrates.

- (15) *E koroto-ya-na ka-na, “Ava go-gomana-va?”*  
 DM man-TM-3SG talk-3SG which PL-child-PL

‘And the man said, “**Which children?**”’

If the speaker had asked about one child it would have been *ava gomana* ‘which child.’ Note that two forms of plural marking are being used in (15), reduplication and the plural suffix *-va*.

When questioning who, the form used is either *avatau* or *vatau*. Morphologically this consists of two morphemes, *ava* ‘which’<sup>2</sup> and *tau* ‘human, person’. However, the word is used so frequently it has become phonologically one word *avatau*. We would expect the plural word to be *avatauva*, but the final morpheme *-va* has changed to *-wa*<sup>3</sup> only in this word to form *avatauwa*, which is illustrated in (16).

- (16) *Tuwo Tomogibeli-ya-na i-nove-di, e i-digo ka-na,*  
 so Tomogibeli-TM-3SG 3SG-hear.TR-3PL DM 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Komi vatau-wa Se-mi-yao a-kani-save-di go, komi*  
 2PL who-PL SSS-2PL-PL 1SG-eat-completely-3PL SP 2PL  
*ko-ga-gagasa ko-ma guna kasa?”*  
 2PL-IPFV-arrogant 2PL-come CTRL.1SG village

‘So Tomogibeli heard them, so he said, “**Who** are you? I completely ate your friends, yet you are being arrogant and come to my village?”’

## 9.4 Nominal plural marker *-yao*

In this section, the plural morpheme *-yao* is described. First, in §9.4.1 the plural marker *-yao* with kin terms is presented. Then in §9.4.2 the function of *-yao* is explained.

### 9.4.1 Kin terms with *-yao*

The plural marker *-yao* is the most productive strategy for marking plurality on nouns second only to verb agreement, and yet it still is not that prevalent as will be shown. In this section, I discuss the use and function of *-yao*.

Plural marking in Gumawana is done with *-yao* “when it matters”, as noted by Corbett (2000). However, when a language like Gumawana has a form which requires a plural vs. singular marking (in this case lack of plural marking automatically implies singular), it is possible to find a subsystem within the predominate system of the language. Interestingly Corbett (2000:15) addresses this very topic when he states the following:

Suppose that in a particular language it becomes established that number (plural) is to be marked where appropriate in particular circumstances, for instance, when humans

<sup>2</sup> Often the initial *a* is dropped off *ava*, resulting in *va*.

<sup>3</sup> There are numerous words that show this type of change of /v/ → /w/ in the language over morpheme boundaries involving the sequence /u-va/ where the suffix begins with /-va/.

are referred to. This means that all speakers treat number as mattering for human referents. A characteristic which favoured marking of number can come to favour it so much that number marking there is as good as obligatory. Then, if plural is not specified on a noun phrase with a human referent, the form with no number indications will imply singular. Number marking would have come to be obligatory for part of the system, but there could still be general number elsewhere.

This may be what has taken place in Gumawana. For whatever reason the plural marker has become obligatory on kin terms, yet optional on indirectly possessed nouns so that now there appear to be two systems operating. Below are listed the most frequently used kin terms in the singular and plural.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (17) | <i>siya-gu</i><br>SSS-1SG<br>'My friend'  | <i>se-gowo</i> <sup>4</sup><br>SSS-1SG.PL<br>'My friends'                                     |
| (18) | <i>siya-di</i><br>SSS-3PL<br>'Their friend'                                     | <i>se-di-yao</i><br>SSS-3PL-PL<br>'Their friends'   |
| (19) | <i>*mone-di</i><br>spouse-3PL<br>'Their spouse'                                 | <i>mone-di-yao</i><br>spouse-3PL-PL<br>'Their spouses'  |
| (20) | <i>sina-di</i><br>mother-3PL<br>'Their mother'                                  | <i>sina-di-yao</i><br>mother-3PL-PL<br>'Their mothers'  |
| (21) | <i>tuwowo-na</i><br>older.SSS-3SG<br>'his/her older sibling<br>of the same sex' | <i>tuwowo-nao</i> <sup>5</sup><br>older.SSS-3SG.PL<br>'his/her older sibling of the same sex' |

Note that (19) shows a singular. However, it is rather infelicitous since it would have to mean that several people shared the same spouse and since in Gumawana culture polygamy is not practiced, the form is not heard.

---

<sup>4</sup> The root is *siya* which then takes the person-number suffix *-gu*. When the plural suffix *-yao* is added the stem is *se* or *sa*. There is coalescence of the final *u* and the suffix *-yao* to form *-owo*. *Siya* in the plural always has the form *se* or *sa* (at Gumawana village).

<sup>5</sup> The plural form *tuwownao* 'his/her older siblings of the same sex' is morphologically *tuwowo-na-ao*. When the plural marker allomorph *-ao* attaches to the person-number suffix *-na*, the vowel *a* is deleted creating the form *-nao*.

In *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4), the beginning of the story indicates that the two men lived in their village along with their friends.

- (22) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo i-di kasa Gumawana goi*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two CTRL-3PL village Gumawana OBL  
*se-di-yao taiyao si-kaaiyako.*  
 SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-IPFV.exist

‘The two men were living with **their friends** in their village of Gumawana.’

In a story of how a village began the practice of sailing, the author tells how the men at first actually did not sail, rather they sat in their canoes on shore and acted as though they were sailing. Then in (23) he describes how the men would not speak to their wives. The word for spouse is generic and only context determines whether it means wife or husband. In this case it refers to the wives. If the plural suffix is left off (resulting in *monedi* ‘their wife’), it would be considered ungrammatical to a native speaker, since it would have to mean that each of the men had the same wife.

- (23) *Lavilavi tayamo tayamo mone-di-yao geya*  
 evening one one spouse-3PL-PL NEG  
*si-va-diigo-i-di a-na maka maliyalina ai-to*  
 3PL-CAUS-IPFV.speak-TR-3PL PASS-3SG mark day CLF-three  
*si-kavava o ai-vasi.*  
 3PL-finish or CLF-four

‘Each evening they never spoke to **their spouses** until after three or four days.’

An interesting noun that has two meanings depending on the context is *gomana*. We saw in (12) above *gomana* with the meaning of ‘child/children.’ As a simple noun for ‘child’ and thus without possession it is reduplicated to mark plural as *gogomana* ‘children.’ The only meaning this can have in this form is ‘children’ as shown in (24). In this story, some older boys scare some younger children. The children leave them in search of coconuts and the older boys make their plans.

- (24) *E si-nonoi-na go, yau Ediriki be Siyokira a-lituwoko-i-di*  
 DM 3PL-IPFV-go SP 1SG Ediriki and Siyokira 1SG-tell-TR-3PL  
*a-digo ka-gu, “Tawou, ame tuta go-gomana*  
 1SG-speak talk-1SG guys PROX time PL-child  
*ta-katu-matois-i-di”.*  
 1PL.INCL-CAUS-scare-TR-3PL

‘Now as they (the children) were going I told Ediriki and Siyokira, I said, “Guys, now let’s scare the **children**.”’

*Gomana*, however, can have a second meaning which is ‘younger sibling of the same sex’ when it is indirectly possessed. This kinship term is the only one that takes indirect possession. All other kin terms take direct possession. In a story about where the coconut came from, the author tells of two boys who go fishing and are attacked by a shark. The younger brother believes it would be best that his older brother kill him and feed his parts to the shark so that at least one of them will make it to shore. The story continues with the firstborn’s response in (25). The first occurrence of *gomana* is in (a) and is singular. The possessor is the older brother. It occurs also in (b) and (c). The final occurrence is within the quote and is possessed by first person indirect possessive marking.

- (25a) *Ago kina botomoya i-na gomana i-na bobwara*  
 ADD 3SG firstborn CTRL-3SG younger.SSS CTRL-3SG speech  
*i-nove-Ø, nukoto-na i-mou gagai-na.*  
 3SG-hear.TR-3SG neck-3SG 3SG-heavy big-3SG
- (b) *Geya latuwo-na i-na gomana i-lau-i-Ø geya.*  
 NEG desire-3SG CTRL-3SG younger.SSS 3SG-kill-TR-3SG NEG
- (c) *Tuwo i-na gomana i-na livala i-katmapu-Ø*  
 so CTRL-3SG younger.SSS CTRL-3SG word 3SG-answer-3SG  
*ka-na, “Ku-gita, geya i-toboine-gu-ta neta moe nakae*  
 talk-3SG 2SG-see NEG it-possible-1SG-LIM if MED ADD  
*a-guinuwe-Ø una-na kom guna gomana, a-yabobone-m*  
 1SG-do-3SG basis-3SG 2SG CTRL.1SG younger.SSS 1SG-love.TR-2SG  
*gagai-na toi-na. Tau-na geya i-tobine-gu-ta be*  
 big-3SG very-3SG result-3SG NEG 3SG-possible-1SG-LIM IRR  
*a-kau-mate-m.”*  
 1SG-W.force-die.TR-2SG

‘(a) And the firstborn heard **his younger brother’s** speech and he was very sad (lit. his neck was heavy). (b) He did not want to kill **his younger brother**. (c) So he answered **his younger brother’s** words, “You see, it is not possible if I do like that because you are my **my younger brother**; I love you very much. Therefore, it is not possible for me to kill you.”’

When *gomana* ‘younger sibling of same sex’ is made plural it does not use reduplication as does *gomana* ‘child’, instead it will be marked with the plural suffix *-yao* following the pattern of kin terms obligatorily taking the plural marker. This is shown in the following excerpt from *Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2). At this point in the story, the firstborn is going to get his grubs. He does not know that his brother, Rat, has stolen them. Notice the plural form of *gomana* here. Because it has been

mentioned earlier in the discourse and at this point they are the center of attention, the thematic suffix *-ya* and the number marker *-di* also occur. So morphologically, we have *gomana-ao-ya-di* ‘child-PL-TM-3PL’.<sup>6</sup>

- (26) *E i-na gomanao-ya-di sina-di be tama-di*  
 DM CTRL-3SG younger.SSS.PL-TM-3PL mother-3PL and father-3PL  
*taiyao si-kaiyaka go, kina botomoya i-na a-na nige maine*  
 COM 3PL-exist SP 3SG firstborn 3SG-go ED-3SG grub earlier  
*i-yato-i-di bego i-kabi-di i-kaika.*  
 3SG-set-TR-3PL IM 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-eat

‘And **his younger brothers** remained with their mother and their father, but the firstborn went intending to get his grubs to eat, which he set aside earlier.’

If the form *ina gogomanayadi* were to occur, it would be misunderstood as ‘he went to the children.’<sup>7</sup> The word *gomana* ‘child’ never takes the plural marker *-yao*; instead, it will be reduplicated. Therefore, this word has the following forms:

- (27) *gomana go-gomana*  
 child PL-child  
 ‘child’ ‘children’

In contrast, *gomana* when indirectly possessed has the meaning ‘younger sibling of the same sex’. It has the following forms.

- (28) *i-na gomana i-na gomanao*  
 CTRL-3SG younger.SSS CTRL-3SG younger.SSS.PL  
 ‘his/her younger sibling’ ‘his/her younger siblings’

## 9.4.2 Function of *-yao*

We have seen so far that other than verb agreement, plural marking by means of *-yao* is the dominant strategy used in Gumawana to indicate plurality. Kin terms are a subset of nouns that require the suffix when they are plural and are singular when it is not present. Finally, we know that because of verb agreement typically there is no ambiguity present as to the plurality of the noun in most cases. Therefore, when the plural suffix does occur, it is not just for marking plurality. There must be a pragmatic factor that

<sup>6</sup> Because *gomana* ends in an /a/ when the plural suffix *-ao* is added one /a/ is deleted leaving [ao].

<sup>7</sup> The word *ina* can either mean ‘he went’ or ‘his/hers’ depending on the context. The first is made up of the morphemes /i-/ ‘3SG subject’ and /na/ ‘go’. The second is made up of /i/ possessive control and *-na*/ 3<sup>rd</sup> singular pronominal suffix.

triggers its use. The question that must be asked is what is the function of plural marking?

Corbett notes that when a language does not need the plural marker to indicate plurality, it will use it only “when it matters”. What that means can vary from language to language as Corbett (2000:14) explains:

The following characteristics may favour specifying number: being the topic as opposed to non-topic, first mention versus subsequent mention, referential versus non-referential use, human versus non-human, definite versus indefinite.

I suggest that the plural marker *-yao* occurs when it matters from the author’s perspective. In other words, when the plurality of the noun in question is important to some aspect of the story, the author or speaker will mark the noun in question with *-yao* to specify and emphasise that there are plural entities involved in relation to the possessor(s). This is illustrated in the following examples. The first one, (29), is taken from *Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2). The rat continually steals the firstborn’s grubs, but the firstborn does not know who is doing it. In the end, the firstborn takes both his rat brother and human brother, ties them up and takes them to the Dobu people to trade them for betel nut and sago. The Dobu people roasted the two and ate them. Upon reaching the Dobu people, he tells them in (b) that the humans for consumption are at the shore. The author uses the form *ami tauyao* with the plural suffix *-yao*. By using the plural marker it emphasises the fact that both his brothers are about to die. The two brothers have been significant throughout the story.

- (29a) *Tuwo bogina i-ta-laga-e-Ø a-na kewou*  
 so PRF 3SG-W.paddle-up-APPL-3SG PASS-3SG canoe  
*i-yagas-i-Ø go, i-yava i-na da Tautaua*  
 3SG-beach-TR-3SG SP 3SG-bushward 3SG-go people.of Dobu  
*i-latuwoko-i-di ka-na,*  
 3SG-tell-TR-3PL talk-3SG
- (b) “*Da Tautaua, a-mi tau-yao go-kie-di. Ko-kabi-di*  
 people.of Dobu ED-2PL human-PL ID-seaward-3PL 2PL-get-3PL  
*ko-gabu-di go, a-gu magi be agu kunumana*  
 2PL-roast-3PL SP ED-1SG betel.nut and ED-1SG sago  
*ko-vini-gu ana a-gu kasa.”*  
 2PL-give-1SG 1SG-go PASS-1SG village

‘(a) So he paddled his canoe towards shore, beached it, went bushward and told the Dobuans, (b) “Dobuans, **humans** for you to eat are there at the shore. Get them, roast them and give me betel nut and sago and I will go to my village.”’

Using the same noun *tau* ‘human’ we compare (29) with (30) below. In this story, two children have been left by Tamogibeli and his son to fish. After they catch many fish, they spot a fire in the distance. They go to see it and discover an old woman. They tell their story of how Tamogibeli has mistreated them. The woman tells the two children that her own children are ogres. Therefore, she has them hide in the house until after the ogres leave the next morning. In return, the two children give the old woman their best fish. Once the children have hidden, the old woman’s children return and the story continues at (30a). They ask their mother in (b) where their humans (for consumption) are using *ama tau* without the plural marker. The effect of not using the plural marker is that they are speaking of any humans, one or many. The mother answers in (c) but instead of *tau* ‘human’ the author uses the term *tomota* ‘human, person’ which has the same effect, namely, that there aren’t any whether one or many.

- (30a) *Ego kidi dokanikani-ya-di bogina lavilavi i-di tuta*  
 ADD 3PL ogre-TM-3PL PRF evening CTRL-3PL time  
*si-kaluvila si-mamai-ma si-meyava ka-di,*  
 3PL-return 3PL-IPFV-come 3PL-magic talk-3PL  
 [untranslatable magic formula]
- (b) “*Sina-ma, nako a-ma tau?*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL where ED-1PL.EXCL human  
*Sina-ma, nako a-ma bao?”*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL where ED-1PL.EXCL pig
- (c) *Sina-di i-digo ka-na, “Tomota bao geya;*  
 mother-3PL 3SG-speak talk-3SG person pig NEG  
*go sem, iyana go-moe. Ma kaivayai-na ame-ni.”*  
 SP CON fish ID-MED COM smoked-3SG PROX-3SG

‘(a) And the ogres, it being already evening and their time, returned, and while coming they did magic saying, “[untranslatable magic formula].” (b) “Our mother, where are some **humans** to eat? Our mother, where are some pigs to eat?” (c) Their mother said, “There are no humans or pigs; however, the fish there are smoked.”’

The story continues with the ogres going off to search for humans to eat. Notice the author again uses the generic term *adi tau* ‘their human(s)’ not referring to any specific ones in (31). The verb *sisupola* ‘they search’ is not marked for object agreement indicating that the NP *adi tau* is not specific. This would explain why *-yao* is not used.

- (31) *Si-kaivesi vanuwo i-tomo, si-sou si-na a-di*  
 3PL-singsing village 3SG-next.day 3PL-descend 3PL-go ED-3PL  
*tau si-supola go, namoya-ya-na go-gomana*  
 human 3PL-search SP old.woman-TM-3SG PL-child  
*i-latuwoko-i-di i-digo ka-na, “Tamogibeli ame bei*  
 3SG-tell-TR-3PL 3SG-speak talk-3SG Tamogibeli PROX IRR  
*i-ma ae?”*  
 3SG-come Q

‘They did singsing until the next day and they descended and went to search for humans (to eat) and the old woman told the children, “Tamogibeli will come today, right?”’

The next example taken from the same story clearly shows the difference in usage of an NP without the plural marker (32a) and with the plural marker (b). Towards the end of the story, the old woman helps the two children take revenge on Tamogibeli and his son. The children are able to steal Tamogibeli’s canoe leaving him and his son stranded. Tamogibeli and his son eventually find the old woman as well, but she already knows who they are. They give her the smallest and poorest fish. When she eats them, she chokes on them. Because of that, she tells Tamogibeli and son to go up in the house, take the drums, and sing while drumming. She is setting them up to be eaten by her children, the ogres. The story continues in (32). What is significant is that in (b) the ogres ask about humans to eat using a generic NP *am tau* without plural marking. The mother answers in (c) using *ami tauyao* with the plural marker. She is specifically referring to the two up in the house. The two being referred to, Tamogibeli and his son, are important to the story and marking them with the plural marker brings this out.

- (32a) *E si-mwera si-na si-kaivesi go, lavilavi dokanikani-ya-di*  
 DM 3PL-climb 3PL-go 3PL-singsing SP evening ogre-TM-3PL  
*si-meyava si-ma,*  
 3PL-magic 3PL-come [untranslatable magic formula]
- (b) “*Sina-ma, nako a-ma tau? Sina-ma,*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL where ED-1PL.EXCL human mother-1PL.EXCL  
*nako a-ma bao?” dokanikani-ya-di kae-di.*  
 where ED-1PL.EXCL pig ogre-TM-3PL talk-their
- (c) *Go sina-di i-digo ka-na, “Natu-gowo e, iyana*  
 SP mother-3PL 3SG-speak talk-3SG offspring-1SG.PL hey fish  
*geya go, a-mi tau-yao mae-di vada goi.”*  
 NEG SP ED-2PL human-PL above-3PL house OBL

- (d) *E tuwo dokanikani-ya-di si-mwera vada goi*  
 DEM so ogre-TM-3PL 3PL-climb house OBL  
*Tamogibeli natu-na taiyao si-kani-di.*  
 Tamogibeli offspring-3SG COM 3PL-eat-3PL

‘(a) And they (Tamogibeli and child) climbed up (into the house) and played the drums and in the evening the ogres did magic and came, [untranslatable magic formula]. (b) “Our mother, where are some **humans** to eat? Our mother, where are some pigs to eat?” said the ogres. (c) And their mother said, “My children, there are no fish, but there are **humans** up there in the house for you to eat.” (d) And so the ogres climbed up in the house and ate Tamogibeli and his child.’

In the story *Two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4), the author marks the noun *dingi* ‘dinghy’ with the plural suffix. Although it is an inanimate noun which many speakers would consider ungrammatical with the plural suffix, the author still uses the plural when it matters. Here it is important to the story that the reader understand there are multiple dinghies and not just one. In (33a) the first mention of the multiple dinghies is mentioned. If he had not marked it with the plural suffix, it could be understood as a singular noun. His whole point is that the men from Gumawana were divided up into dinghies, something he goes to great pains to make clear in the subsequent sentences (b-d). Once that is established he uses the plural once more with *dingi* in (d) again to make clear that two men were in each dinghy and the two men who got lost were in one together. From that point on, the story is focused entirely on the two men in the one dinghy.

- (33a) *I-vini-di i-kavava, i-di dingi-yao i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL 3SG-give-3PL
- (b) *Ego dingi-ya-di ii-vini-di a-di loina bego*  
 ADD dinghy-TM-3PL 3SG.IPFV-give-3PL PASS-3PL rule IM  
*gelugelu a-di te-yuwo, adi te-yuwo si-sowoya.*  
 crew PASS-3PL person-two PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-embark
- (c) *E amo a-di lovina i-vini-di i-kavava,*  
 DM DIST PASS-3PL rule 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish  
*e dimdim-ya-na i-na.*  
 DM foreigner-TM-3SG 3SG-go
- (d) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao tamo tamo goi go, kidi koroto-ya-di*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL SP 3PL man-TM-3PL

*a-di te-yuwo moe i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two MED CTRL-3PL dinghy one

‘(a) After he (the foreigner) gave them (fishing lines and hooks) to them (the fishermen), he gave them **their dinghies**. (b) And when he gave them **the dinghies**, their rule was that the crew embark two per dinghy (lit. crew two two they embark). (c) Now after he gave them their rule, then the foreigner left. (d) And all of the fishermen embarked en masse on **each of their dinghies**, and the two men were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one).’

There are some speakers who will say inanimate nouns cannot be marked with the plural, yet they will be heard to mark them with the plural suffix. What seems to be happening is that when the noun’s number is important to the overall context, it will be marked as plural. Speakers continue to follow the basic rule that a noun must be possessed for it to be marked with the plural marker.

## 9.5 Nouns that never mark plural

Some nouns never take any plural marking directly. Pronominal verb agreement, context, and the type of noun will indicate whether a noun is plural. Corbett (2000:154) states, “The notion of markedness is typically applied to categories as a whole, but it was known that there were interesting effects with particular items.” Concerning the interesting effects, he quotes Tiersma (1982:835) who explains, “When the referent of a noun naturally occurs in pairs or groups, and/or when it is generally referred to collectively, such a noun is locally unmarked in the plural.” Gumawana shows this very thing in their body parts and other directly possessed nouns (other than kin terms). Body parts are never marked for plurality using *-yao* or any other strategy except verb agreement. In the texts used in this study, there was not one occurrence of a body part being possessed and marked with plurality. This is illustrated in the story of how possums came to have short ears. Dog pretends to cut his ears off to trick Possum into cutting his own ears off. In the following example, Possum has asked Dog why his face looks different. Dog lies and says, “I cut my ears off.” Note that the noun *taiyagu* ‘my ears’ in (34) is not marked with the plural suffix *-yao*. We know the noun is plural since the pronominal suffix on the verb indicates a plurality of objects. The form *taiyagowo* ‘my ears’ would be infelicitous.

(34) *Kina go weiniya-ya-na i-gagasa i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP dog-TM-3SG 3SG-proud 3SG-speak talk-3SG

“*Yau taiya-gu a-kupo-i-di.*”

1SG ear-1SG 1SG-cut-TR-3PL

‘Dog was proud and said, “I cut off **my ears**.”’

Even the noun *mataiuna* ‘his/her tear drop’ is treated as a body part and is left unmarked for plurality as shown in (35). If the form *mataiunao* with the plural marker is substituted, it is considered infelicitous.

- (35) *Tuwo mataiu-na ai-yuwo si-takapusi.*  
 so tear.drop-3SG CLF-two 3PL-fall  
 ‘So two of **his teardrops** fell’

In another story about a man named Mengaibe, the lack of marking for body parts is further illustrated. He is despised by his village until the day he goes out and tries to spear a pig. He sees a pig and hurls his spear at him. Unfortunately, he misses and the now angry pig charges him. In his fear, Mengaibe climbs a tree and hangs from a branch. The branch breaks and he falls down and lands on top of the pig. The story continues in (36) below.

- (36) *Tuwo mainao i-basi-bala bao taiya-na ai-yuwo*  
 so immediately 3SG-W.hand-across pig ear-3SG CLF-two  
*i-yois-i-di, e ae-na ai-yuwo i-kaisobuye-di*  
 3SG-seize-TR-3PL DM leg-3SG CLF-two 3SG-set.down-3P  
*bao gamo-na goi i-salapako-i-di.*  
 pig stomach-3SG OBL 3SG-hook-TR-3PL  
 ‘So immediately he reached across and seized the pig’s **two ears**, then he set his **two legs** down on the pig’s stomach where he hooked them around.’

In (36) we are told Mengaibe seized the pig’s two ears. It is unusual to see the specification of two ears. No plural marking occurs on *taiyana* ‘his ears’ even though it is clearly plural. The same is true for *aena aiyuwo* ‘two legs’. The verb shows plural agreement with ‘his legs’ and the presence of ‘two’ makes it clear that it is plural, yet no plural marking is used on the body part.

We find the same situation with body part idioms. These are very common in Gumawana to convey many emotions. They are made up of a directly possessed body part as the subject of an intransitive verb. The body part is never marked with the plural suffix *-yao* as was described above. The verb often will show third person plural, as (37) illustrates. Here the idiom is *atema siyova* ‘our livers fly’, which conveys the idea of being very scared. The subject is ‘our (exclusive) liver’. No plural marking is found on the body part *atema*, which would literally mean ‘our (excl) liver’ as though only one was involved. It may be in such cases that it is presupposed that all involved have a liver. The form *atema* (*ate-ma-ao*) is considered infelicitous by native speakers no matter where it occurs because it would mean that each person had more than one liver.

- (37) *Geya kaa-masisi, ate-ma si-yova.*  
 NEG 1PL.EXCL.IPFV-sleep liver-1PL.EXCL 3PL-fly  
 ‘We never slept; **we were really scared** (lit. our livers flew).’

Similarly, in (38) the directly possessed noun *nukotodi* ‘their throats’ does not take the plural suffix.

- (38) *Nukoto-di si-mou gagai-na, kona-di manu-di*  
 throat-3PL 3PL-heavy big-3SG thing-3PL OBL-3PL  
 ‘**They** were very **sad** about their things (lit. their necks were very heavy).’

Nouns that denote pairs follow this pattern as well. Nouns such as *matana* ‘his eyes’ never take the plural suffix even in a body part idiom. The possessor is third singular and, in this case, although it is presupposed that the person has two eyes, the subject is registered on the verb as third singular. In body part idioms the subject prefix typically agrees with the number of the possessor but not in person, as (39) illustrates. Here the possessor is first person singular, but subject agreement on the verb is still third singular. Therefore, in body part idioms the possessor is the underlying agent, though not marked on the verb.

- (39) *I-tai-taiya, i-tai-taiya eee, mata-na i-masisi.*  
 3SG-IPFV-cry 3SG-IPFV-cry until eye-3SG 3SG-sleep  
 ‘He was crying and crying until **he was sleepy** (lit. his eye sleeps).’

There is, at times, variation in verb agreement with body part idioms. The following is an oral text explaining the procedures when one’s father dies. No plural marking is found on the body part term, but often the verb will show third person plural agreement. However, as the following example illustrates, even within the same text there can be variation. In the second occurrence of the same idiom, the speaker changed from third person plural subject agreement to singular.

- (40) *Tuwo ka-tala-i-di gamo-ma si-goyo.*  
 so 1PL.EXCL-cut-TR-3PL stomach-1PL.EXCL 3PL-bad  
*Kai gamo-ma i-goyo.*  
 1PL.EXCL stomach-1PL.EXCL 3SG-bad  
 ‘So we cut (the betel nut trees and coconut palms); **we were angry** (lit. our stomachs were bad). We were angry (lit. our stomach was bad).’

The following example further shows the variation in verb agreement in body part idioms. It is taken from a story about a woman named Nelega. She is missing and her family searches for her (41a). When they do not find her, they give up. In (b) the idiom for ‘give up’ is *nukotodi itopa* ‘their throats broke’. The verb is marked for a singular

subject even though it is referring to a plurality of people. Some speakers use the plural pronominal subject prefix, while others use the singular.

- (41a) *E vavina-ya-na mone-na nakae i-na bodao*  
 DM woman-TM-3SG husband-3SG ADD CTRL-3SG group.PL  
*taiyao si-lusale-Ø.*  
 COM 3PL-search.TR-3SG

- (b) *Sii-lusala, sii-lusale-Ø geya, nukoto-di i-topa...*  
 3PL.IPFV-search 3PL.IPFV-search-3SG NEG throat-3PL 3SG-break

‘(a) And the woman’s husband as well as her people searched for her. (b) They searched and searched, but they found nothing, and **they gave up** (lit. their necks broke).’

## 10. Pronouns

---

In this chapter, I demonstrate that independent pronouns are used in a variety of ways in Gumawana. The various contexts in which the pronouns are used will be described.

Gumawana has a set of independent pronouns in addition to the verb agreement markers, both of which were presented in Table 3 (§2.2). It was stated above in chapter 3 that one goal of a reference system of a language is semantic in that its purpose is to distinguish each referent from all others. The verb agreement system in Gumawana fulfills this semantic component of the referential system. Thus, the independent pronouns are semantically redundant. However, they serve a discourse-pragmatic function, which indicates both the fact that a participant is activated and it places prominence on the referent, whether it is for focus or thematic prominence.

Lambrecht (1994) discusses the use of independent pronouns compared with bound pronouns. Languages like English require pronouns once a participant is activated, but may demonstrate prosodic variation depending on the function (topic or focus) of the pronoun. In contrast, languages like French and Spanish where all verbs require a subject agreement affix (bound pronoun), the independent pronoun is optional with respect to the syntax. Both French and Spanish allow for a verb with its affixation to be a complete sentence. However with regard to agreement markers on verbs Lambrecht (1994:116) states:

These unaccentable, morphologically fixed morphemes are not capable of marking the same pragmatic contrasts as the free pronouns *io* and *moi* (and as the English pronoun *I*), which can function either as topic or as focus expressions. In Italian and French, as in many languages, the linguistic expression of a referent can be split up, so to speak, into a pragmatically motivated part (a pronoun of the ‘strong’ or ‘independent’ series *io*, *tu*, *lui...* or *moi*, *toi lui...*) and a semantically motivated part (a subject morpheme bound to the verb).

As I will show, this is an important observation for Gumawana as well.

The chapter is organised as follows. In §10.1 background on the use of the independent pronouns in Gumawana is given. This is followed by a section describing implied exclusiveness in the pronouns (§10.2). In §10.3 the associative plural in

Gumawana is described, which involves the third person plural independent pronoun followed by a singular personal noun. The main use of independent pronouns is in contrastive clauses which in third person constructions involve a pronoun followed by the coreferential noun. This is presented in §10.4. Independent pronouns used as point of departures are explained in §10.5. When confronting someone, independent pronouns are used, as discussed in §10.6. The last section, §10.7, is on thematic prominence.

## 10.1 Background on Gumawana pronouns

Certain grammatical constructions require a pronoun. For example, in verbless clauses a pronoun is required since there is no verb to carry the agreement markers.

- (1) *Yau koroto dedei-gu.*  
 1SG man good-1SG  
 ‘I am a good man.’

Independent pronouns may occur by themselves as a clause. For example, when someone comes to a house and knocks, the owner will say (2a) *ava-tau* ‘which person, who’. The visitor will respond with only (b) *yau* ‘me’. By the sound of the person’s voice the owner will know who it is.

- (2a) *Ava-tau?*  
 which-person  
 (b) *Yau.*  
 1SG  
 “‘Who is it?’ “**Me.**”

Independent pronouns are only used for human or animate beings. This includes animals that are personified in a story (see *Wallaby and Turtle*, appendix text 3, as an example). Third person pronouns tend to mark subjects only. There are a few cases of them used to encode objects.

An interesting aspect of Gumawana involves third person pronouns which co-occur with their coreferential nouns. These are found in contrastive sentences as well as when the subject is point of departure.

Lambrecht (1994:323) notes that languages that do not have verb agreement will make use of accent on pronouns to produce prominence. However, for languages that have verb agreement, this does not work. Instead, they make use of free pronouns to mark such prominence. He states:

It is clear that the function of prosodic prominence on a pronoun cannot be that of referent ‘activation’ proper, if activation is understood as in Section 3.3.1 as the cognitive process whereby a previously inactive discourse referent is ‘lit up’ in the

consciousness of an addressee, as Chafe puts it. Since pronouns by their nature are assumed to have active referents, independently of their prosodic manifestation, the function of an accent on a pronoun cannot be to activate the referent in the hearer's mind.

He goes on to say, "The function of an accent on constituents with active referents, whether pronominal or nominal, is then to establish the role of a given referent as a topic or a focus argument in a pragmatically structured proposition." This is true for Gumawana pronouns, as we shall see below.

## 10.2 Implied exclusiveness

Austronesian languages tend to make a distinction in the first person plural pronouns (both bound and free) between exclusive and inclusive. However, the notion of exclusive-inclusive is really inherent in all the pronouns. When a speaker or author is telling a story, an important aspect of referencing has to do with whether or not each proposition is true for the speaker as well as for the hearer. There is an implied exclusiveness depending on the form of reference a speaker chooses. If the author uses second person or third person referencing, it implies that the author is excluded from the truth of the statement.<sup>1</sup>

Krifka (2006) rightly notes that the traditional paradigms leave a number of gaps because they assume that the inclusive/exclusive system is found only in the first person plural. For example, he presents the traditional analysis for Tok Pisin pronouns as captured in Table 23.

TABLE 23. TOK PISIN PRONOUN SYSTEM

Number Person		Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
First	exclusive	<i>mi</i>	<i>mitupela</i>	<i>mitripela</i>	<i>mipela</i>
	inclusive		<i>yumitupela</i>	<i>yumitripela</i>	<i>yumi</i>
Second		<i>yu</i>	<i>yutupela</i>	<i>yutripela</i>	<i>yupela</i>
Third		<i>em</i>	<i>(em) tupela</i>	<i>(em) tripela</i>	<i>ol</i>

Rather than using the traditional person marking of first, second, and third person, Krifka (2006:6) states, "the category of Person is captured by two binary semantic features [ $\pm$ Sp] and [ $\pm$ Addr]." He explains:

<sup>1</sup> Larson (1998:124).

Here, [+Sp] is interpreted as saying that the reference includes the speaker(s), and [-Sp] as saying that the reference does not include the speaker(s); similarly, [+Addr] says that the reference includes the Addressee, and [-Addr] that the reference does not include the Addressee. In this case, the category Inclusive is rendered by [+Sp +Addr].

Krifka (2006:84) applies this to the Tok Pisin pronominal system which is given below in Table 24.

TABLE 24. TOK PISIN PRONOUN SYSTEM REVISED

<b>Number</b> <b>Person</b>	<b>[-Num]<sup>2</sup></b> <b>(num-neutral)</b>	<b>[≥2 Num]</b> <b>(plural)</b>	<b>[2 Num]</b> <b>(dual)</b>	<b>[3 Num]</b> <b>(trial)</b>
[+Sp -Addr]	<i>mi</i>	<i>mipela</i>	<i>mitupela</i>	<i>mitripela</i>
[-Sp +Addr]	<i>yu</i>	<i>yupela</i>	<i>yutupela</i>	<i>yutripela</i>
[+Sp +Addr]	<i>yumi</i>	–	<i>yumitupela</i>	<i>yumitripela</i>
[-Sp -Addr]	<i>em</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>(em) tupela</i>	<i>(em) tripela</i>

Gumawana does not make use of dual or trial, so that is not at issue here as it is in Tok Pisin and many other languages. However, if we apply this binary system to Gumawana and rearrange the table to focus on the speaker-addressee aspect, a more accurate system emerges. The result is four classes based on whether or not a speaker or addressee is included or excluded.

TABLE 25. GUMAWANA PRONOUNS REVISED

	minimal			augmented		
	Subject prefixes	Object suffixes	Free pronoun	Subject prefixes	Object suffixes	Free pronoun
[+Sp -Addr]	<i>a-</i>	<i>-gu</i>	<i>yau</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>-ma</i>	<i>kai</i>
[-Sp +Addr]	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>-mi</i>	<i>komi</i>
[+Sp +Addr]	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-da</i>	<i>kita</i>
[-Sp -Addr]	<i>i-</i>	<i>Ø/-na</i>	<i>kina</i>	<i>si-</i>	<i>-di</i>	<i>kidi</i>

This idea of implied exclusiveness is not new. Butler (1965:4) came to the same conclusion about Villa Alta Zapotec when she states, “we realized that it was true that a third person pronoun is rarely used if the action or state described is also characteristic of

<sup>2</sup> The label ‘-num’ refers to minimal, whereas the label ‘num’ refers to augmented.

the speaker. Likewise, a second person pronoun seems to exclude the speaker.” Beekman (1965:6) makes the following observation

In most languages, those persons which are not referred to in a sentence are excluded from focus. In other words, what is explicitly said about one or another person may or may not be true of the other unmentioned persons. For example, when someone says: “I am a doctor,” this statement does not convey any implied information about the second person, “you.” Likewise, if one says: “You are a doctor,” this comment does not convey any implied information about the first person who is speaking. Similarly, if a writer says: “He is a doctor,” no implied information is communicated about the writer or the person to whom the letter is written. Where pronouns represent the persons, the same is true whether they are in the nominative, possessive, or objective case forms. What we have just described is the intrinsic exclusion of the unmentioned persons plus the absence of any positive or negative implications about them. This type of exclusion may be said to be neutral in implication.

He goes on to point out,

Recently, however, a type of exclusion has been noted which is not neutral. It makes a strong implication about the unmentioned persons. For example, if one says: “I am a doctor,” a negative implication about the second person is immediately conveyed, namely, “You are not a doctor.” Likewise: “You are a doctor” or “He is a doctor” conveys an opposite meaning concerning the unmentioned persons. The examples given above are typical of the direct implications found in various New Testament contexts in Huixtec of Mexico and other Mayan languages of Guatemala, as well as in Villa Alta Zapotec of Mexico. In Chenalho Tzotzil of Mexico a literal rendering of Peter’s statement in Acts 2.15 “These men are not drunk” would mean that he is. If John 2.2 is rendered literally “Jesus also was invited to the marriage, with his disciples,” it means that John the writer was not a disciple.

Lithgow (1967:14), discussing the exclusiveness implied in the pronouns of Muryuw,<sup>3</sup> states that the first person plural can either include or exclude the hearer depending on the form. The second person explicitly includes the hearers but automatically excludes the speaker(s). Third person pronouns exclude the hearer and speaker. Lithgow states of English, “In English, the pronoun which springs to mind in association with ‘all people’ is ‘they’ (third plural); but in Muryuw the pronoun which is always given is *yakids* (first inclusive plural) ‘all of us.’” This phenomenon is equally true for Gumawana.

Similarly, in Gumawana there is an implicit exclusiveness. Therefore, the pronouns mark explicitly who is involved, but implicitly who is not. For example, if the speaker

---

<sup>3</sup> Muryuw is an Austronesian language spoken on Woodlark Island of Milne Bay province of Papua New Guinea.

uses ‘you’ (singular) he implicitly excludes himself and everyone else. The ‘you (singular)’ form means literally ‘you and you alone.’

The rule that must be kept in mind is similar to what Butler and Beekman have noted, namely, that if the assertion being made by a speaker is true of him as well, he must use first person inclusive form in order to include himself. There are implications for which form a person may use in Gumawana that may differ from other languages that do not have the inclusive/exclusive distinction.

For instance, when commending someone to people the inclusive form is used. This is heard often with parents telling their frightened children *Clif siyada* ‘Clif is our (inclusive) friend.’ Or when they introduce the pastor to me by saying *ida pasta* ‘our (inclusive) pastor’, even though I do not know him and have never seen him. To use any other form will automatically exclude those not mentioned. So in the first example, if a parent says *Clif siyagu*, it would mean ‘Clif is my friend’, implying ‘and not yours’. The same is true for the second example. To introduce the pastor as *guna pasta* ‘my pastor’ would naturally imply that he has no relationship to me.

One pragmatic effect of reference choice concerns whether or not the speaker includes himself. Using second person singular or plural automatically excludes the speaker. Native speakers say certain verbs become stronger when second person is used. For example, to say *aliwolem* ‘I exhort you’ is quite strong because the action is focused all on the hearer. Native speakers explained to me that when a speaker says ‘you’ it makes it sound as though the speaker himself does not have a problem, so the implication is that the truth claim of the statement only applies to the hearer and not to the speaker.

One speaker told of a sermon given at the circuit headquarters for the United Church. He wanted to obtain his local preacher’s license and to do so, he had to give a sermon in front of all the pastors and ministers. In his sermon, he made the following statement in (3).

- (3) *Madaboki-da i-toboine-da i-da goyo*  
 all-1PL.INCL 3SG-suitable-1PL.INCL CTRL-1PL.INCL bad  
*ta-tu-gavile-di.*  
 1PL.INCL-W.butt-turn.TR-3PL

‘It is suitable for all of us to turn our backs on our sin (lit. our bad).’

When one minister heard this, he took offense because the man used the first person inclusive implying that this pastor had sinned.

One area where this is found is in performative information. Performative information, according to Levinsohn (2011:69), is “material directed by the author (first

person) to the audience (second person), such as the moral the audience should draw from a story. In addition, the events, participants, etc. of the story may be related to the audience's situation." Levinsohn mentions that performative material is directed by the author in first person form to an audience in second person. However, Gumawana does not use first and second person in this manner for performative information. This is due to the fact that by using first or second person, the author is excluding someone. The whole point of performative information is for the author or speaker to make a connection with his audience. A Gumawana speaker or writer will use first person inclusive forms in performative information.

It is very common in Gumawana legends to summarise the point of the story at the end. The speaker or writer will shift to first person *inclusive* forms at this point in order to make it applicable to all people. If he were to use any other form, he would exclude someone.

The following examples taken from Olson (2009) illustrate this use of inclusiveness. Example (4) is taken from the story which explains how coconuts came into being. Two boys are out fishing and a shark attacks. The younger brother fears neither boy will make it back to shore so he tells his older brother to kill him and use his parts to appease the shark. In doing so, the older brother would make it back to shore. In the end, he does make it back and all that is left of the younger boy is his head. The boy takes it and buries it next to his house and some time later, a tree sprouts from the spot. The tree is a coconut. The author concludes with the following statements concerning coconuts.

- (4a) *E moitamo ame tuta niu tomota madaboki-da*  
 DM true PROX time coconut people all-1PL.INCL  
*ta-yabobone-Ø gagai-na.*  
 1PL.INCL-care.for.TR-3SG big-3SG
- (b) *Nakona koroto tayamo niu i-bagul-i-Ø, a-neta*  
 perhaps man one coconut 3SG-plant-TR-3SG PASS-3SG.LIM  
*i-yabobone-Ø a-na maka i-bibina gagai-na*  
 3SG-care.for.TR-3SG PASS-3SG mark 3SG-grow big-3SG  
*i-keuwo go, tuta-ya-na keuwoi-na i-sou, tomota*  
 3SG-bear.fruit SP time-TM-3SG fruit-3SG it-descend people  
*liliu-da i-vaite-da.*  
 all-1PL.INCL 3SG-helps.TR-1PL.INCL
- (c) *Nakae bwae-na ta-nim be, awoinu-na*  
 ADD water-3SG 1PL.INCL-drink-3SG and meat-3SG  
*ta-kani.*  
 1PL.INCL-eat-3SG

- (d) *Tau-na madaboki-da ta-yabobone-Ø.*  
 result-3SG all-1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-care.for.TR-3SG

‘(a) And it is true that now **all** people (lit. all of us people) care for coconut a great deal. (b) Perhaps one man plants a coconut, and alone he cares for it until it grows big and bears fruit, but when its fruit falls, it helps **all** people (lit. all of us people). (c) For example, we drink its milk and we eat its meat. (d) Therefore **all of us** care for it.’

As the story leads up to (4a), it is all in third person. However, when the author comes to the conclusion in (a), he switches to narrating in the first person using the inclusive form. The pragmatic effect is to draw the audience into the story. The moral applies to them as much as to the author. If this had been an English story, we would expect first and second person pronouns throughout.

In another story about how possums ended up having small ears, the author shifts from third person to first person in the conclusion. Towards the end of the story, Possum discovers, after cutting his own ears off, that Dog had tricked him into doing so. Example (5) continues the story.

- (5a) *E o-na i-mayamaya gagai-na.*  
 DM body-3SG 3SG-embarrassed big-3SG
- (b) *Tuwo i-taoya, i-siya i-lokoina i-na i-na kasa*  
 so 3SG-arise 3SG-flee 3SG-run 3SG-go CTRL-3SG village  
*go, kina weiniya-ya-na i-vanama-mo.*  
 SP 3SG dog-TM-3SG 3SG-laugh-LIM
- (c) *Ii-vanama, ii-vanama tolu-na i-geda.*  
 3SG.IPFV-laugh 3SG.IPFV-laugh back-3SG 3SG-hurt
- (d) *Tau-na ame lava-ya-na neta kodoya*  
 result-3SG PROX time-TM-3SG if possum  
*ta-gite-Ø taiya-na giyai-di.*  
 1PL.INCL-see.TR-3SG ear-3SG little-3PL

‘(a) Well he (Possum) was very embarrassed (lit. his body was embarrassed). (b) So he arose, fled and ran to his village, but Dog just laughed. (c) **He** was laughing and laughing until it hurt (lit. his back hurt). (d) Therefore now if **we** see the possum, his ears are little.’

In (5a-c), all the references are to Possum and Dog, so verb agreement and noun agreement are in the third person. In (d), which is the conclusion or point of the story the author wants to make, there is a switch to first person inclusive.

In Olson (2009), it is further pointed out that in the middle of a story when an author intends to draw his audience into the story, he makes use of quoted material. What is unique about this is that he uses first person inclusive agreement on *ka* ‘talk’. In this case he is not quoting anyone in particular, rather he is essentially saying, “If you and I were there, this is what we would say”. (See §8.2.2 for a similar discussion using the negative particle *geya*.)

In a first person narrative about a big storm that hit Nubogeta, the author makes use of performative information using inclusive pronouns. He explains what damage had been done by the storm in (6a-b) and about what time it happened in (c). Then in (d), by means of performative information, he introduces a quote using first person inclusive pronouns. The effect of using this form is to draw the audience into the story. Again, he is not quoting anyone in particular; rather he is saying “If you and I were there, this is what we would say about the storm”.

- (6a) *Vada a-na badabada ai-yuwo si-vailai,*  
house PASS-3SG number CLF-two 3PL-ruin  
*nakae aivaya i-kau-bas-i-di.*  
ADD wave 3SG-w.force-uproot-TR-3PL
- (b) *Tayamo Dimi i-na vada go, ai-yuwo-i-na Ediriki*  
one Jimmy CTRL-3SG house SP CLF-two?-3SG Ediriki  
*tama-na i-na vada awoinu vada-ya-di.*  
father-3SG CTRL-3SG house food house-TM-3PL
- (c) *Moe nakae nobuyana 11 koloki nakae si-vailai.*  
MED ADD morning 11 o'clock ADD 3PL-ruin
- (d) *Moe ta-digo ka-da, “Yagira i-vakaigaga toi-na*  
MED 1PL.INCL-speak talk-1PL.INCL wind 3SG-big very-3SG  
*toi-na i-ma.”*  
very-3SG 3SG-come

‘(a) Two houses were ruined, that is, a wave uprooted them. (b) One was Jimmy’s house and the second one was Ediriki’s father’s house, the food houses. (c) That was around 11 o’clock in the morning when they were ruined. (d) **We might say**, “A wind that was very, very big came.”’

Later in the same story, the author further describes some of the damage done by the storm. In (7a) we learn that a tree fell at the hamlet of Yawala and that the waves were very big. Then in (b) we are told when the waves broke, the sound was like a bomb. Note that in (b) the author has switched to first person inclusive and uses *ka* to give this information in direct quote form. He draws the reader into the story.

- (7a) *E keluku Yawala i-souye-Ø, yau ate-gu i-yova gagai-na*  
 DM k.o.tree Yawala 3SG-fall-3SG 1SG liver-1SG 3SG-fly big-3SG

*una-na aivaya a-di kakainaki nakae vada.*  
 basis-3SG wave PASS-3PL extent ADD house

- (b) *Go neta aivaya-ya-di si-talasa, ka-da, “Nakona*  
 SP if wave-TM-3PL 3PL-break talk-1PL.INCL perhaps

*Amerika i-di bom tayamo butukao-na.*  
 America CTRL-3PL bomb one sound-3SG

‘(a) And it brought down the *keluku* tree at Yawala and I was very afraid (lit. my liver flew big) because the extent of the waves was like the height of a house. (b) But if the waves broke, **we might say**, “Perhaps it is the sound of America’s bomb.”’

In this section, we have seen that there is an implied exclusiveness embedded in the pronominal system. The general rule is that if the assertion being made is true of the speaker, he will use the inclusive form.

### 10.3 Associative plural constructions

The third person plural pronoun *kidi* may be used in associative plural constructions. Although there were no examples in the written texts, native speakers will often refer to a person by name preceded by *kidi* as illustrated in (8).

- (8) *Kidi Dabibi si-na.*  
 3PL Dabibi 3PL-go

‘Dabibi and company went.’

Such a construction places prominence on the person named. The pronoun refers to those who are accompanying him.

### 10.4 Contrast

In languages that make use of independent pronouns along with bound pronouns, one of the functions of the independent pronouns may be to indicate contrast.

Example (9) illustrates contrast using independent pronouns. It is taken from a first person narrative. The author’s friend makes a proposal in (9b). The independent pronouns are redundant due to the presence of the pronominal affixes. The two participants are established information from the preceding context of them talking together. The new information is where each one will go. This is a case of contrastive topics.

- (9a) *Ka-katubayasina i-kavava, siya-gu i-digo ka-na,*  
1PL.EXCL-prepare 3SG-finish SSS-1SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG
- (b) “***Yau** bei Utuboina dadavi-na a-na go, **kom** Ulogu*  
1SG IRR Utuboina region-3SG 1SG-go SP 2SG Ulogu  
*dadavi-na goi ku-na be ta-lusala moku.*  
region-3SG OBL 2SG-go IRR 1PL.INCL-search bait
- (c) *Neta nako goi ta-valoboda, e ta-to-iwo*  
if where OBL 1PL.INCL-meet DM 1PL.INCL-W.paddle-seaward  
*ta-kabela.”*  
1PL.INCL-fish

‘(a) After we prepared, my friend said, (b) “I will go to the area of Utuboina and **you** go to the area of Ulogu to search for bait. (c) Wherever we meet, then we will go seaward to fish.”’

Later in the same story, in (10), the friend again makes a proposal. In the proposal he contrasts what he expects his friend to do and what he himself will do. This contrast is marked by the use of the independent pronouns. The final sentence (b) describes the execution of the proposal. The author contrasts what he was doing with what his friend was doing.

- (10a) *E yau a-sowoya guna kewou goi, i-digo ka-na,*  
DM 1SG 1SG-embark CTRL.1SG canoe OBL 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
***Kom** niu ku-ka-kaika go, **yau** a-beu-beuta gobei*  
2SG coconut 3SG-IPFV-eat SP 1SG 1SG-IPFV-paddle then  
*yowoyowana a-vini-m i-m kewou goi ku-siko-Ø.*  
rope 1SG-give-2SG CTRL-2SG canoe OBL 2SG-tie-3SG  
*Ago yau bei a-beuta go, a-biu-m ta-na.”*  
ADD 1SG IRR 1SG-paddle SP 1SG-pull-2SG 1P.INCL-go
- (b) *E **yau** niu a-keli-keli-Ø go, **kina** i-beus-i-Ø.*  
DM 1SG coconut 1SG-IPFV-scrap-3SG SP 3SG 3SG-paddle-TR-3SG  
‘(a) And I embarked on my canoe and said, “While **you** are eating the coconut, **I** will paddle then I will give you the rope and you tie it on your canoe. And I will paddle and pull you.” (b) And while **I** was scraping the coconut, **he** paddled.”’

As stated above, third person pronouns may co-occur with their coreferential nouns. This is a further indication that the pronouns have a function beyond merely referencing a participant. In *Gilibo* (appendix text 1), the author contrasts the whole group of men with Gumasai. In (11a) the topic is the group who were mentioned in the immediately

preceding sentence. The new information is what they are doing with their canoes. They are loading their canoes on the shore, which is the normal way people do it. In (b) Gumasai is loading his canoe, even though it is on a mountain, something not usually done. Gumasai is the topic being contrasted with the group in (a).

- (11a) *E kidi boda madaboki-di i-di oga si-lusobuye-di*  
 DM 3PL group all-3PL CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-launch-3PL  
*si-na negwasa be kona-di si-vadoda.*  
 3PL-go sea and possession-3PL 3PL-load

- (b) *Ego kina Gumasai-ya-na i-na oga koya*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG canoe mountain  
*yata-na go, kona-na i-vadoda.*  
 on.top-3SG SP possession-3SG 3SG-load

‘(a) And all **the group** launched their canoes into the sea and loaded their things. (b) But even though **Gumasai’s** canoe was on top of the mountain, he loaded his things.’

Example (12) is from *The two men lost at sea* (appendix text 4). The men from Gumawana Island are referred to as the fishermen in the story. They have been told by the Taiwanese what they are to do. In (a), the Taiwanese man giving the instruction leaves and then in (b) the fishermen embark on the dinghies in order to go fish. The independent pronouns along with the overt nominal reference to the participants marks contrast. The men were just mentioned in the preceding sentence so they are still the topic. What is being focused on is the fact that the two men who eventually will be lost are in the same dinghy.

- (12a) *E amo a-di lovina i-vini-di i-kavava,*  
 DM DIST PASS-3PL rule 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish  
*e dimdim-ya-na i-na.*  
 DM foreigner-TM-3SG 3SG-go

- (b) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao tamo tamo goi go, kidi koroto-ya-di*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL SP 3PL man-TM-3PL  
*a-di te-yuwo moe i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two MED CTRL-3PL dinghy one

‘And after he gave them (the fishermen) their rule, then the foreigner left. And all of the **fishermen** embarked en masse on each of their dinghies, and **the two men** were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one).’

One pragmatic use of the independent pronoun in contrastive constructions is to set two participants off against each other. The effect is to distance the participants from each other psychologically. This is quite evident in certain texts where two participants will be working together for some goal. As long as they work together, their interaction is not marked with independent pronouns. However, if the author chooses to show that there is a conflict between them, or that they are not working together, independent pronouns are used to encode each participant. This is most noticeable in third person narratives. For example, in the story about *Turtle and Wallaby* (appendix text 3), the two of them begin working together. For the first 16 sentences, no independent pronoun is used to refer to either of them, except in sentence 7 for Wallaby. In that case there does not appear to be any contrast involved. They go out to the bush, look for food, and return to their village. Then in (13a) they come across a white satinash tree. Wallaby suggests to Turtle that he climb it to get some of the fruit to eat. Because it is just a suggestion, there is no conflict as yet and therefore no pronoun is used to encode Wallaby. But Turtle's response in (b) is negative, so a pronoun is used to encode him along with the noun. As the two argue, each is encoded using both a pronoun and noun. However, in (e), when Wallaby agrees to climb up the tree, no pronoun is used because the conflict has been resolved.

- (13a) *E kerei i-digo ka-na, "Nubai-gu vayavaya,*  
 DM wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*a-da mogolu ku-mwere-Ø."*  
 ED-1PL.INCL satinash SG-climb.TR-3SG

- (b) *Kina go vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Geya, nubai-gu. Kom ku-mwere-Ø."*  
 NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG

- (c) *Kina go kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Geya. Kom ku-mwere-Ø."*  
 NEG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG

- (d) *Tuwo kina vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 so 3SG turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Geya, nubai-gu. Kom i-toboine-m ku-mwere-Ø*  
 NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 3SG-suitable-2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG  
*una-na kom ae-m maanawe-na go, yau ae-gu kaakupi-na.*  
 basis-3SG 2SG leg-2SG long-3SG SP 1SG leg-1SG short-3SG

*Tau-na geya i-toboine-gu-ta a-mwere-Ø.*  
 result-3SG NEG 3SG-suitable-1SG-LIM 1SG-climb.TR-3SG

- (e) *E kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 DM wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG

*“O dedeevi-na. A-mwere-Ø.”*  
 oh fine 1SG-climb.TR-3SG

‘(a) And Wallaby said, “My cousin Turtle, climb the white satinash tree for the fruit to eat.” (b) But **Turtle**, he said, “No, my cousin. *You* climb it.” (c) But **Wallaby**, he said, “No. *You* climb it.” (d) So **Turtle** said, “No, my cousin. *You* are able to climb it because your legs are long but my legs are short. Therefore I am not able to climb it.” (e) And **Wallaby** said, “Oh, fine. I will climb it.”’

Later in the story, Turtle is caught by the ogre Tamogibeli and his wife. They intend to kill and eat him; however, he escapes. The excerpt in (14) continues the story. When these three participants interact, there is conflict. This is marked by use of the pronouns. In (b) the Turtle insults them. The woman thinks it is a bird in (c) and tells Tomogibeli so. He is not seeing things the same way as his wife Tuwade and calls her crazy. He, too, is marked with a pronoun. Tuwade does not agree with her husband and tells him to listen further and he will hear the bird (which is really Turtle).

- (14a) *Tuwo i-putum-i-Ø i-kavava, i-vaideda.*  
 so 3SG-squeeze-TR-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-serve  
*I-vaideda si-kaika.*  
 3SG-serve 3PL-eat

- (b) *Si-ka-kaika go, kina vayavaya-ya-na i-tuma-sobu ka-na,*  
 they-IPFV-eat SP 3SG turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-beckon-down talk-3SG  
*“Tomogibeli ma mone-m, tae-gu ko-kani-Ø.”*  
 Tomogibeli COM spouse-2SG faeces-1SG 2PL-eat-3SG

- (c) *Kina go vavina i-nove-Ø i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP woman 3SG-heard.TR-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Mone-gu, manuwo i-digo-digo bego tae-na ta-kani-Ø.”*  
 spouse-1SG bird 3SG-IPFV-speak IM faeces-3SG 1PL.INCL-eat-3SG

- (d) *Kina go Tomogibeli i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP Tomogibeli 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Kabareyai-m! Moe manuwo si-taiya-beso.”*  
 crazy-2SG MED bird 3PL-cry-random

- (e) **Kina go vavina i-digo ka-na,**  
 3SG SP woman 3SG-speak talk-3SG

*“Ku-nove-nove-Ø gobe i-taiya-mna.”*

2SG-IPFV-hear-3SG then 3SG-cry-again

‘(a) So after she (Tuwade) squeezed the coconut grease on it, she served (the food). She served (the food) and they (Tamogibeli and his wife Tuwade) ate. (b) While they were eating, **Turtle** beckoned down, he said, “Tomogibeli and your wife, you ate my faeces!” (c) **The woman** heard him and said, “My husband, a bird is saying that we ate its faeces.” (d) But **Tomogibeli** said, “You are crazy! That was a bird that sang randomly.” (e) But **the woman** said, “You keep listening to him, then he will sing again.”’

As the story continues, Tomogibeli and his wife begin working together throwing sticks at Turtle in an attempt to dislodge him from the tree he is hiding in. As they work together, neither is marked with a pronoun. As can be seen in both (13) and (14) the conflict can be seen in the reported speech sequences of a text.

This same distancing can be seen in *Gilibo* (appendix text 1). The main participant is singled out as different and contrasted with another participant. In this story, the main characters are Gumasai, the Kitava people and an ogre. At the beginning of the story, Gumasai is set off from the rest of the village people (Kitavans) by means of stressed pronouns. The effect is to highlight the fact that Gumasai is different. In (15a) the Kitavans are mentioned as living next to the ocean. However, Gumasai is marked as different, living by himself on the mountain. Then in (16a) we are told the people took their canoes to the shore to build them. However, in (16b) Gumasai remains on the mountain to build his canoes. This is very strange behaviour and it is highlighted by using the pronoun to encode Gumasai. Notice that in each example the Kitava people are not encoded with a pronoun. At this point, there is no conflict between them. Later in (17) the people leave for Sanarowa, but not Gumasai. In (17b) he is still working on his canoe on the mountain. Finally, in (18), while his friends are still on the ocean traveling to Sanarowa, Gumasai miraculously flies his canoe to Sanarowa and gets there before them. By encoding only Gumasai with a pronoun in (18b), the author sets him off against the others. This is also noticeable in the fact that the people remain nameless, whereas we know Gumasai’s name.

- (15a) **Kitava tomota madaboki-di si-kaiyaka negwasa kiki-na**  
 Kitava people all-3PL 3PL-exist sea next.to-3SG

- (b) **go, kina Gumasai-ya-na koya yatana-i-na goi**  
 SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG mountain on.top-?-3SG OBL

*i-na vada i-yowo-Ø.*  
 CTRL-3SG house 3SG-tie-3SG

‘(a) **All of the people of Kitava** lived near the ocean, (b) but it was on top of a mountain that **Gumasai** built (lit. tied) his house.’

- (16a) *Boda madabokidi i-di oga si-tala-i-di si-biu-di*  
 people all-3PL CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-cut-3PL 3PL-pull-3PL  
*si-nave-di negwasa kiki-na goi si-yowo-i-di.*  
 3PL-take-3PL sea near-3SG OBL 3PL-tie-TR-3PL

- (b) *Ago kina Gumasai-ya-na i-na oga i-tala-i-Ø*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-cut-TR-3SG  
*koya goi be iyowo-Ø.*  
 mountain OBL IRR 3SG-tie-3SG

‘(a) **All of the group** cut canoes for themselves, pulled them, took them to near to the sea and built them (lit. tied them). (b) But **Gumasai** cut a canoe for himself and it was on the mountain that he would build it.’

- (17a) *E lava-ya-na vadoda i-kavava,*  
 DM time-TM-3SG load 3SG-finish  
*se-nao bogina si-yaula.*  
 SSS-3SG.PL PRF 3PL-depart

- (b) *Ago kina nava koya yata-na i-na*  
 ADD 3SG still mountain on.top-3SG CTRL-3SG  
*oga ii-ginoil-i-Ø.*  
 canoe 3SG.IPFV-prepare-TR-3SG

‘(a) And when the loading was finished, his (Gumasai’s) friends had departed. (b) But **he** (Gumasai) was still on top of the mountain preparing his canoe.’

- (18a) *I-lokoina, se-nao nava si-lo-lokoina*  
 3SG-run SSS-3SG.PL still 3PL.IPFV-run

- (b) *go, kina bogina i-yova-mo i-na Sanarowa goi i-vaiu.*  
 SP 3SG PRF 3SG-fly-LIM 3SG-go Sanarowa OBL 3SG-arrive

‘(a) He (Gumasai) sailed on and while his friends were still sailing, (b) **he** (Gumasai) had just flown and arrived at Sanarowa.’

An author may use pronouns to psychologically distance two participants against each other. When two participants work together, no free pronouns are used. However, when the author sets them against each other, the independent pronouns are used to show conflict between them.

## 10.5 Point of departure

When a participant is fronted for the purpose of a point of departure (discontinuity of participant), the independent pronoun is fronted before the spacer *go* (see §2.11 for a discussion of spacers), followed by a coreferential noun. Such a construction separates the point of departure from the rest of the proposition. This is a way of marking a switch to another participant. Levinsohn (2011:74) notes that this is common for languages that make use of a spacer.

In the story *Hen and chicks* (appendix text 6), the hen is killed by a lizard and the chicks begin looking for her after she does not return. They do not find her, but they do meet up with Gecko (19a). They ask him about their mother. Gecko is marked as a point of departure in (19c) by fronting the pronoun before the spacer *go*. The pronoun is coreferential with *ulaoyana* ‘the gecko’ which follows.

- (19a) *Sii-lusale-Ø,                      sii-lusale-Ø,*  
 3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG 3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG  
*geya go, ulao si-babane-Ø.*  
 NEG SP gecko 3PL-find.TR-3SG

- (b) *Ulao-ya-na      si-lumadade-Ø      si-digo      ka-di,*  
 gecko-TM-3SG 3PL-ask.TR-3SG 3PL-speak talk-3PL  
*“Sina-ma              ku-gite-Ø              nako?”*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL 2SG-see.TR-3SG where

- (c) *Kina go ulao-ya-na      i-digo      ka-na,*  
 3SG SP gecko-TM-3SG 3SG-said talk-3SG  
*“O sina-mi              geya a-yagoi-yeta.”*  
 oh mother-2PL NEG 1SG-know-3SG.LIM

‘(a) They kept searching for her, but did not find her, but they did meet Gecko. (b) They asked Gecko, “Have you seen where our mother is?” (c) And **Gecko**, he said, “Oh, I don’t know your mother.”’

The story of how possums developed small ears further illustrates this. In this story, Dog is angry at Possum, so he tied his own ears to the nape of his neck in order to trick Possum into cutting his own ears off. Dog is waiting for Possum to return from the garden. When he does, he notices that Dog looks different and asks about it in (20a). The story switches to Dog and it is marked as such in (b) by means of Pronoun *go* Noun.

- (20a) *Tuwo kodoya-ya-na      i-digo      ka-na,*  
 so possum-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Weiniya, kom maisi-m i-tuli.*  
 dog 2SG face-2SG 3SG-different

*Kaga una-na tau-na maisi-m i-senisi?"*  
 what basis-3SG result-3SG face-2SG 3SG-change

- (b) *Kina go weiniya-yana i-gagasa i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP dog-TM-3SG 3SG-arrogant 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*"Yau taiya-gu a-kupo-i-di. Ame sitaero makaitaga*  
 1SG ear-1SG 1SG-cut-TR-3PL PROX style just.now  
*i-sowoduwo. Giyakainava yoguyogu madaboki-di nakae*  
 3SG-arrive soon animal all-3PL ADD  
*si-guinuwe-Ø go, yau sem mainao a-gimi-kupo-i-di."*  
 3PL-do.TR-3SG SP 1SG CON first 1SG-first-cut-TR-3PL

‘(a) So Possum said, “Dog, your face is different. Why, therefore, has your face changed?” (b) **Dog** was proud and said, “I cut off my ears. This is a style that just now appeared. Soon all the animals will do the same, but I, however, cut them off first.”’

Example (21) is taken from the story *Nabodimom and Silekaleka*. In this story, Silekaleka is jealous of all the attention her cousin Nabodimom gets; therefore, she plans to get rid of her. The excerpt begins with a short argument over who will dive into the water to get the shellfish which Nabodimom has seen. Silekaleka convinces her cousin to dive in (c). While she is in the water, her cousin, Silekaleka, flees with the canoe (d). In (e) the story returns to Nabodimom in the water, which is therefore marked as a point of departure, that is, a switch from Silekaleka to Nabodimom.

- (21a) *E tuwo Nabodimom Silekaleka i-latuwoko-Ø ka-na,*  
 DM so Nabodimom Silekaleka 3SG-tell-3SG talk-3SG  
*"Ku-sou a-da nimowo ku-kabi-Ø."*  
 2SG-descend ED-1PL.INCL shellfish 2SG-get-3SG
- (b) *Silekaleka kana, "Geya nubai-gu, kom ku-sou."*  
 Silekaleka talk-3SG NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 2SG-descend
- (c) *Tuwo, Silekaleka sopa-na i-makimaki wouwo, geya,*  
 so Silekaleka lip-3SG 3SG-strong very NEG  
*Nabodimom i-sou.*  
 Nabodimom 3SG-descend
- (d) *Go Silekaleka kina kewou i-siya-e-Ø go, maine*  
 SP Silekaleka 3SG canoe 3SG-flee-APPL-3SG SP earlier  
*niu bogina i-nonom-i-di i-kabi-di, i-kalisobuye-di.*  
 coconut PRF 3SG-bundle-TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-drop-3PL

- (e) *Iya go Nabodimom nimowoyana i-kabi-Ø i-ma*  
 3SG SP Nabodimom shellfish-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-come  
*i-poiya ka-na, “Nubai-gu, ku-vaite-gu.*  
 3SG-surface talk-3SG cousin-1SG 2SG-help.TR-1SG  
*Nubai-gu, ku-vaite-gu.”*  
 cousin-1SG 2SG-help.TR-1SG
- (f) *Geya tuwo, nimowo-ya-na i-kalave-Ø...*  
 NEG so shell.fish-TM-3SG 3SG-leave.TR-3SG

‘(a) And so Nabodimom told Silekaleka, “You go down and get shellfish for us to eat.” (b) Silekaleka said, “No my cousin, **you** go down.” (c) So Silekaleka was very forceful, so Nabodimom went down. (d) And Silekaleka fled with the canoe and she took the coconuts she had bundled earlier and dropped them. (e) **Nabodimom** got the shellfish and surfaced and said, “My cousin, help me. My cousin, help me.” (f) She didn’t answer, so she left the shellfish...’

Point of departure that deals with participants is marked in Gumawana by means of an independent pronoun followed by a spacer and the coreferential noun phrase.

## 10.6 Confrontation

Pronouns highlight a participant when they are used to refer to a participant being confronted. This will typically be found in reported speeches.

The following excerpt from a story about a group of Bible students illustrates this. At the beginning of the story (22a-b), the group are discussing the need to help the wife of one of the students. She is about to have a baby and some want to help her but others do not. An argument takes place. One of the students scolds the group for not wanting to help this woman who had cooked for them and constantly helped them (a). Use of the phrase *komi manakae* ‘what about you’ or ‘what’s with you’ brings out the force of the rebuke and occurs at both the beginning and end of the quote. The response in (b) from the group who do not want to help is also confrontational and introduced with a free pronoun. In both cases in (b), the pronoun is semantically redundant. In their anger they then turn on the husband and confront him. The use of the initial pronoun in (c) has the effect of rebuke.

- (22a) *E tuwo, siya-di tayamo gamo-na i-goyo ka-na,*  
 DM so SSS-3PL one stomach-3SG 3SG-bad talk-3SG  
*“**Komi** manakae? Vavina-ya-na lava liliu-na i-vaipolu*  
 2PL what woman-TM-3SG time all-3SG 3SG-cook

- i-vini-da*                      *ta-ka-kaika*                      *go, manakae?*    *Geya tayamo*  
 3SG-give-1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-IPFV-eat SP what NEG one
- i-mi*                      *vaita yai-na goi ko-guinuwe-Ø?*    **Komi** *manakae?*”  
 CTRL-2PL help to-3SG OBL 2PL-do-3SG 2PL what
- (b) *E tau-na tau-ya-di si-digo ka-di,*  
 DM result-3SG person-TM-3PL 3PL-speak talk-3PL
- “**Kai** *o-ma i-kai. Komi ko-wo ko-vaite-Ø*  
 1PL.EXCL body-1PL.EXCL 3SG-reject 2PL 2PL-go 2PL-help.TR-3SG
- go, kai be maniye-ma ka-na ka-bani.*  
 SP 1PL.INCL IRR some-1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL-fish
- Komi ava-tau-wa to-kaiyaka, madaboki-mi vavina-ya-na*  
 2PL which-person-PL NMZL-exist all-2PL woman-TM-3SG
- i-na kenao ko-lusale-Ø be konave-Ø ospetero.”*  
 CTRL-3SG path 2PL-search.TR-3SG and 2PL-take-3SG hospital
- (c) *E tuwo, tau-ya-di to-kaiyaka si-taoya, vavina-ya-na*  
 DM so people-TM-3PL NMZL-exist 3PL-arise woman-TM-3SG
- mone-na si-bove-Ø, si-digo ka-di, “Kom aiyaka*  
 spouse-3SG 3PL-rebuke.TR-3SG 3PL-speak talk-3PL 2SG exist
- beso geya. Ame lava-ya-na ku-taoya-mo ku-na taraka*  
 random NEG PROX time-TM-3SG 2SG-stand-LIM 2SG-go truck
- ku-kabi-Ø Ku-me-Ø vavina ta-dodoi-Ø*  
 2SG-get-3SG 2SG-come.TR-3SG woman 1PL.INCL-load-3SG
- ta-nave-Ø ospetero goi nesi si-vaite-Ø.”*  
 1PL.INCL-take-3SG hospital OBL nurse 3PL-help.TR-3SG

‘(a) And so one of their friends was angry and said, “What’s with **you**? All the time the woman cooks and gives to us to eat but what do you do? Not one bit of help do you give to her. What’s with **you**?” (b) And therefore they said, “**We** don’t want to. **You** go help her and the rest of **us** will go fishing. Those of you who remain, all of you search for a way to take the woman to the hospital.” (c) And the ones who remained stood up and rebuked the woman’s husband and said, “**You** are doing nothing. At this time you just get up and go get a truck, bring it and we will load the woman and take her to the hospital and the nurses will help her.”

In narrative, confrontation is shown by the use of independent pronouns in reported speeches. The emphatic nature of such pronouns creates a form of rebuke.

## 10.7 Thematic prominence

Kathleen Callow (1974:50) defines prominence as “any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context.” She specifies that prominence placed on activated participants is referred to as thematic prominence and defines it as ‘what I’m talking about’.

Once a participant has been introduced, there are devices in Gumawana to place prominence on such participants. One way is to use the thematic marker *-ya* as described in chapter 7. In such cases an active participant, or a local VIP as Levinsohn refers to him, is marked. Thus, *-ya* marks thematic prominence for a specific thematic *grouping*. Another way prominence can be placed on an activated participant is via the independent pronouns. Levinsohn (2011:61) states that “So-called ‘emphatic’ pronouns are often used to give thematic prominence to their referent.” He goes on to explain that such pronouns will give not only prominence to a particular participant, but also can imply that participant will be the one “around whom the following events are organised.” Such prominence is marked in Gumawana via the use of the independent pronouns. In this case, just the pronoun occurs rather than an independent pronoun followed by the coreferential noun as in the contrastive constructions described in §10.4.

The story *Request for magic* (appendix text 5) is a first person narrative, which begins with three Kiriwinan men asking the author’s family to perform magic on the wind. The author explains in (23) that while they were talking he arrived. He uses the independent pronoun *yau* ‘I’ to place prominence on himself. The independent pronoun is not grammatically necessary in terms of participant reference since the verb already indicates who the subject is. The construction implies that the author will play an important role in the following events. This is, in fact, the case as the story will proceed on with his interaction with them, which is important to the overall storyline.

- (23) *Ego tau-ya-di si-bo-bobwara go, yau a-ma.*  
 ADD person-TM-3PL 3PL-IPFV-talk SP 1SG 1SG-come  
 ‘And while they were talking, I came.’

In §10.2 the notion of implied exclusiveness in the pronominal system of Gumawana was presented. The first person inclusive form is used to include both speaker and listener(s). There are times when a speaker wants to emphasise the inclusiveness of just the speaker and hearer to the exclusion of all others. To accomplish this we might expect the first person inclusive free pronoun would be used. However, this is not the case. Instead, the speaker will use both the first person singular free pronoun along with the second person singular. The pragmatic effect is to emphasise the individuals involved in the action. For example, in a true story about how the author’s friend tricks him, the author is talking to the friend. The friend has called the author over and in (24a) the author inquires what the friend is wanting to do. Then in (b) the friend explains that he

wants the two of them to go fishing. To place emphasis on the fact that he wants both of them he uses both the second person singular pronoun followed by the first person singular. The verb agreement prefix is first person plural inclusive and is sufficient to track the participants. Therefore, the independent pronouns have a further discourse function, namely emphasis.

- (24a) *Ago yau a-digo ka-gu, “Kaga ta-losinapu-ye-Ø?”*  
 ADD 1SG 1SG-speak talk-1SG what 1PL.INCL-plan-TR-3SG
- (b) *Kina i-digo ka-na, “Geya, yau latuwo-gu bego kom*  
 3SG 3SG-speak talk.3SG NEG 1SG desire-1SG IM 2SG  
*yau ta-na ta-kabela.”*  
 1SG 1PL.INCL-go 1PL.INCL-fish
- ‘(a) And I said, “What shall we plan?” (b) He said, “Nothing, I want **you** and **me** to go fishing.”’

Another example is found in a first person narrative about a dream the author had about his aunt being sick. At the end of the story he tells why he wrote the story, namely to tell about the power of God (25a-b). In (c) he emphasises himself along with his readers by using the second person plural pronoun along with the first person singular pronoun, yet the verb agreement is first person plural inclusive.

- (25a) *Tau-na moe pasi-na tetala ame a-gini-Ø.*  
 result-3SG MED reason-3SG story PROX 1SG-write-3SG
- (b) *Yaubada i-na togaga a-talavaite-Ø.*  
 God CTRL-3SG power 1SG-announce.TR-3SG
- (c) *Ego komi be yau ta-nuwonuwana aba kainaopa*  
 ADD 2PL and 1SG 1PL.INCL-think thing.of amazement  
*ame pasi-na.*  
 PROX reason-3SG
- ‘(a) Therefore that is the reason I wrote this story. (b) I announced God’s power. (c) And **you** and **I** think about this amazing thing.’

Within reported speeches, the use of a pronoun has the pragmatic effect of emphasizing the exclusiveness that is implied. For example, (26) below is taken from the story of *Nabodimom and Silekaleka*. At this point in the story, Nabodimom is being held captive in the ogre’s cave. In the reported speech, the ogre tells Nabodimom that he is going to go collect food in his garden. The use of *yau*, the first person singular free pronoun, is semantically redundant. However, the pragmatic effect is emphasizing that he and only he is going.

- (26) *Si-kaika i-kavava, si-masisi vanuwo i-tomo,*  
 3PL-eat 3SG-finish 3PL-sleep village 3SG-next.day

*dokanikani-ya-na ka-na, “Yau a-na a-kaisikoko.”*  
 ogre-TM-3SG talk-3SG 1SG 1SG-go 1SG-gather.food

‘After they ate, they slept until the next day and the ogre said, “I am going to go collect food.”’

In another story with an ogre, two children work hard to get their food, but the ogre keeps coming and taking it from them. In (27a) the ogre asks them for the food they have just finished cooking. In their reply, they use the first person plural exclusive pronoun that is semantically redundant since person agreement is already found on the noun phrase *ama kaipata* ‘our ability.’ Their answer is an idiomatic way of saying ‘we have enough for us.’ By using the first person exclusive independent pronoun, they emphasise that there is enough for them, but not for the ogre.

- (27a) *Ai-yuwo-i-na i-digo ka-na, “Tubu-gowo,”*  
 CLF-tuwo-?-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG relative-1SG.PL

*ko-vini-gu vilava be iyana a-kaika.”*  
 2PL-give-1SG taro and fish 1SG-eat

- (b) *E gomana koroto i-digo ka-na, “Geya. Kai ame*  
 DM child male 3SG-speak talk-3SG NEG 1PL.EXCL PROX  
*bogina a-ma kaipata bei ka-kaika.”*  
 PRF PASS-1PL.EXCL ability IRR 1PL.EXCL-eat

‘(a) Again he (the ogre) said, “My juniors, give me taro and fish to eat.” (b) And the boy said, “No, **we** are already able to eat it.”’

In each case, the free pronoun is semantically optional. The author includes it to create a pragmatic affect. In the first case, it emphasises the individuals involved in an action. In the latter case, it emphasises the exclusiveness implied in the pronouns.

There are few instances of third person independent pronouns used as grammatical objects. However, when they do occur, their function is the same, namely highlighting. The following example illustrates a third person free pronoun used for a grammatical object. In this story, the author tricks some young kids into thinking he is crazy. He tells how he jumped down inside of a cave to scare the kids. Two of the boys were ready and dived into a pool of water in the cave which led outside enabling them to effectively escape. The author then contrasts their escape with that of Esironi at the end of (c). This is achieved by means of using the free pronoun. The story will progress through Esironi rather than the other kids.

<sup>4</sup> The word *tubuna* typically has the meaning of ‘grandchild, grandparent’ or ‘aunt’. In this context it implies the ogre is superior to the children.

- (28) *A-pela a-sou tukubu sinae-na goi Debida Somare*  
 1SG-jump 1SG-descend cave inside-3SG OBL Debida Somare  
*bogina tukubu sinae-na si-tukosobu go,*  
 PRF cave inside-3SG 3PL-dive SP  
*si-na moetala si-poiya go, kina Esironi a-va-bode-Ø.*  
 3PL-go outside 3PL-surface SP 3SG Esironi 1SG-CAUS-block.TR-3SG  
 ‘I jumped down inside of the cave, but Debida and Somare had already  
 dived inside of the cave, went outside and surfaced, but **Esironi**, I blocked  
 him.’

In this chapter, the function of independent pronouns have been presented. It was demonstrated that independent pronouns are used in a variety of ways including, contrast, highlighting, confronting, associative plural constructions, and in constructions involving a point of departure. Pragmatically, they will show a psychological distancing between two participants indicating they are not working together.

# 11. Referring expressions

The type of noun phrase used to refer to a participant is important. By means of the referring expression an author can make a subtle statement about a participant's relationship to other participants or to his or her status. This is especially evident with regard to the possessive system. Relationships are important in Amphlett culture. One has to know which kin term to use for another person in order to know how to behave towards that person. Some stories can reflect this by means of how they relate participants to one another.

*Rat and his two brothers* (appendix text 2) illustrates how an author can use referring expressions to make a point. In this story, the three main characters are the firstborn, the second born, who is a rat, and the third born, a human. If we track these three participants to determine how they are referenced with respect to their parents and to each other, it becomes evident the author intends to make a statement. The story begins with the three children being born. The firstborn receives the longest introduction as shown in (1). First, he is referred to as 'their child, a male firstborn.' After that, *natuna* 'her offspring' and *gomana* 'child' are used.

- (1a) *Vavina tayamo ma mone-na si-kaiyaka aaa go, vavina*  
 woman one COM spouse-3SG 3PL-exist until SP woman  
*i-venatuna,*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring
- (b) *Natu-di tayamo koroto a-di botomoya.*  
 offspring-3PL one male PASS-3PL firstborn
- (c) *E si-kaiyaka vavina-ya-na natu-na i-va-nunu-Ø.*  
 DM 3PL-exist woman-TM-3SG offspring-3SG 3SG-CAUS-nurse-3SG
- (d) *I-va-nunu-Ø, bogina gagai-na.*  
 3SG-CAUS-nurse-3SG PRF big-3SG
- (e) *E gomana nunu i-katae-Ø,*  
 DM child milk 3SG-reject-3SG  
*moe bogina gagai-na.*  
 MED PRF big-3SG

- (f) *E sina-na tama-na ii-leme-di i-paisewa.*  
 DM mother-3SG father-3SG 3SG.IPFV-help.TR-3PL 3SG-work

‘(a) A woman and her husband lived for some time and the woman gave birth. **Their child** was **a male**; he was **their firstborn**. (b) Now they lived on and the woman nursed **her child**. (c) She nursed him and he had become **big**. And **the child** rejected the nursing; (d) he had grown big. (e) And he began helping his mother and his father and he worked.’

The second born is given a lengthy introduction as well. In (2b) he is introduced as ‘her middle born child who was a rat.’ In (c-d) we are given more information about him in relation to the mother and that he grew big.

- (2a) *E si-kaiyaka, koroto-ya-na mone-na*  
 DM 3PL-exist man-TM-3SG spouse-3SG  
*ai-yuwo-i-na i-ve-natuna.*  
 CLF-two-?-3SG 3SG-CAUS-offspring
- (b) *I-ve-natuna, natu-na bonauya-ya-na moe kelikeli*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring offspring-3SG middle.born-TM-3SG MED rat  
*i-ve-natun-i-Ø.*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring-TR-3SG
- (c) *E sina-na i-gite-Ø, kelikeili-ya-na i-kabi-Ø, i-na*  
 DM mother-3SG 3SG-see-3SG rat-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-go  
*a-na doba i-yato-i-di goi i-yato-Ø i-kaiyaka.*  
 PASS-3SG grass.skirt 3SG-set-TR-3PL OBL 3SG-set-3SG 3SG-exist
- (d) *I-kaiyaka aaa, i-bibina gagai-na.*  
 3SG-exist until 3SG-grow big-3SG

‘(a) And they lived on and the man’s wife again gave birth. (b) She gave birth and it was to **her middle born who was a Rat** that she gave birth. (c) And his mother saw him and she got **the rat**, went and set him on her grass skirts which she had set down and he remained there. (d) And he lived on until he grew big.’

The last born has the shortest introduction. Other than what is shown in (3), nothing else is stated about him as the author did for the other two.

- (3) *E sina-di-ya-na ai-ton-i-na i-ve-natuna.*  
 DM mother-3PL-TM-3SG CLF-three-?-3SG 3SG-CAUS-offspring  
*Natu-na tomota bogomane.*  
 offspring-3SG human last.born

‘And their (firstborn and rat’s) mother gave birth a third time. **Her child was a human, the last born.**’

After being introduced, the second born is referred to only as *kelikeli* ‘rat’ throughout the rest of the story. The only time a kin term is used, other than at his introduction, is when the author refers to both the rat and the youngest child together in relationship to the firstborn, or to all three children in relationship to the parents.

Once they are born, the story moves on to indicate the children are somewhat grown up. A variety of terms is used to reference the firstborn based on who is on stage at any given time. The firstborn is introduced anchored to the parents using the phrase *natudi tayamo koroto adi botomoya* ‘their offspring was a boy, their firstborn’ in (1) above. After that, whenever he is referred to by the author in relation to the parents, it is either *natuna* ‘her offspring’ or *gomana* ‘child’. Only once in the entire story is he related to the rat by means of the kin term *siyana* ‘his brother.’ Each time the youngest brother speaks to his older brother, he uses the kin term *tuwowogu* ‘my older brother.’ At the end of the story, the author refers to the firstborn as merely *koroto* ‘man’.

Of most interest is how the last born is referenced with respect to the older brother. As was stated above whenever the younger brother speaks to the older, he uses *tuwowogu* ‘my older brother.’ This is to be expected. But what is surprising is the absence of reciprocal relationship terms in the speech of the older brother. In Table 26, all the nominal references to the younger brother throughout the story are given in bold type. (For the full text see appendix text 2.) The references to the older brother are in italics. The first column gives the sentence number from the story. The second column gives translated excerpts from the story to show terms used for the firstborn and last born.

In sentence 16, the last born is referenced as ‘younger brother’ with respect to the firstborn. But even at that point it the mother who refers to the youngest as “your brother”. Once the older brother’s grubs are stolen and he begins accusing the last born of stealing them, the reference to younger brother is dropped. The author uses ‘younger brother’ in the narrative part of the story up to sentence (40) which is the firstborn’s first accusation. Here he refers to his younger brother as *memeya* ‘baby, infant’. From (49) onwards the last born is only referred to as *bogomane* ‘last born’ or *gomana* ‘child’ in the narrative sections. Note that the older brother never calls him *guna gomana* ‘my younger brother’ until the very end (sentence 77). He consistently says ‘you’.

TABLE 26. REFERENCES IN STORY OF THREE CHILDREN

Ref	
16	...their father and their mother said, "Our child, you look after <b>your brother...</b> "
22	He (the firstborn) came and babysat <b>his younger brother</b>
30	...he (firstborn) came and said (to the last born), "Who ate my grubs? Perhaps you <b>baby</b> , right?"
40	...and he (firstborn) came and stayed with <b>his younger brother.</b>
49	And <b>the last born</b> said, "Not me, <i>my older brother...</i> "
51	And he (last born) said, "No, <i>my older brother...</i> "
54	The <i>firstborn</i> said (to the two younger brothers), "Hey the two of you..."
55	And the <b>last born</b> said (to the firstborn), "What! My older brother, not me!..."
56	And the <i>firstborn</i> said (to the last born), "...But <i>you</i> , all of the time you walked..."
59	After that, he set him (rat) aside and went and seized the <b>last born.</b>
63	And after that, he went bushward and carried the <b>child</b> (last born).
64	He (firstborn) carried him (last born) and the <b>child</b> (last born) began crying and said, "Oh, <i>my older brother.</i> Oh, my older brother..."
65	And <i>the man</i> got the rat...
67	And he (last born) began crying, " <i>My older brother</i> , return me. <i>My older brother</i> , return me..."
68	And <i>his older brother</i> said (to the last born), "Be quiet..."
69-70	But the <b>child</b> (last born) kept crying... and told <i>his older brother</i> , "Oh, <i>my older brother...</i> "
71	But <i>his older brother</i> said (to the last born), "Why are <b>you</b> crying?..."
73	And so the Dobu people arose, went seaward, got the <b>child</b> (last born) and rat and took them bushward..."

TABLE 26. REFERENCES IN STORY OF THREE CHILDREN (CONTINUED).

Ref	
76	They (the Dobu people) cut them (rat and last born) open and <b>the child</b> (last born) was not fat, but the rat was.
77	And <i>their older brother</i> said, “Oh true. I have done wrong. Indeed rat ate them but why did I wrongly accuse <b>my younger brother?</b> ”
78	And so <i>the man</i> saw <b>his younger brother</b> and he was sad.
81	...and he (the firstborn) thought, “Oh I have done wrong. <b>My younger brother</b> in fact didn’t do it, but I killed him for nothing. Oh <b>my younger brother...</b> ”
82	...he (firstborn) told his mother and father, “My mother and my father, I gave <b>my younger brother</b> to the Dobuans...”

In contrast, the younger brother’s speeches show him referring to the firstborn as *tuwowogu* ‘my older brother.’ At sentence 77, the firstborn realises that it was the rat all along who was eating the grubs and so he has wrongly killed his brother. From that point onward, he refers to his brother as *guna gomana* ‘my younger brother’. The effect created by this use of kin terms is to show a major break in the relationship. After the grubs are found missing, the older brother no longer sees the last born as a younger brother. However, the younger brother’s view of his relationship to the firstborn is maintained throughout the story making him more prominent. By not using a kin term to refer to his brother, the firstborn dissociates himself from the younger brother. In a sense he cut him off (which would be like saying you are dead) before he ever gave them to the Dobu people to be killed.

Another example is found in a story about how a woman ends up killing her son Gumataitaiya because of his crying. (The word for ‘cry’ is *taiya*, so the name reflects his behaviour.) At this point in the story, the woman has taken her son up a mountain to catch grasshoppers. It is here that she will push him down and kill him. Note that in (4a) and (c) the mother is referred to as *sinana* ‘his mother’. However, when the mother lies (e) and when she pushes him (g), the author refers to her as *vavina* ‘woman’, rather than the relational term *sinana*. The pragmatic effect of changing the way he refers to her is to make her more distant to the child. Once the deed is done, she is once again referred to as *sinana* ‘his mother’. Later when she interacts with her husband, she is referred to as Tamogibeli’s wife using the kin term *monena* ‘his spouse’.

- (4a) *E si-tuko si-na Dagüwa-ya-na goi sinana-na*  
 DM 3PL-ascend 3PL-go Dagüwa-TM-3SG OBL mother-3SG

- i-kaiyaka go, gomana-ya-na i-lusala i-na digo.*  
 3SG-exist SP child-TM-3SG 3SG-search CTRL-3SG grasshopper
- (b) *I-lusala, i-lusala aaa, i-kanido-iwo digo tayamo*  
 3SG-search 3SG-search until 3SG-look-seaward grasshopper one  
*i-gite-Ø, ka-na, “Sina-gu, ku-ma guna digo*  
 3SG-see.TR-3SG talk-3SG mother-1SG 2SG-come ED.1SG grasshopper  
*ta-yois-i-Ø.”*  
 1PL.INCL-catch-TR-3SG
- (c) *Sina-na ka-na, “Ku-iwo ku-wo ku-yois-i-Ø.”*  
 mother-3SG talk-3SG 2SG-seaward 2SG-go 2SG-catch-TR-3SG
- (d) *Ago gomana-ya-na i-matoita, i-digo ka-na,*  
 ADD child-TM-3SG 3SG-fear 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Sina-gu, bei a-kapusi.”*  
 mother-1SG IRR 1SG-fall
- (e) *Go vavina i-pola i-digo ka-na, “Geya ku-kapusi-ta*  
 SP woman 3SG-lie 3SG-speak talk-3SG NEG 2SG-fall-LIM  
*Bei a-yois-i-m.”*  
 IRR 1SG-hold-TR-2SG
- (f) *E gomana i-vata-iyē<sup>1</sup>-Ø.*  
 DM child 3SG-CAUS-seaward-3SG
- (g) *I-vata-iyē-Ø go, vavina i-taoya,*  
 3SG-CAUS-seaward-3SG SP woman 3SG-stand  
*natuna-ya-na i-vatu-puwe-Ø i-sipula.*  
 child-3SG-TM-3SG 3SG-force-push-3SG 3SG-roll
- (h) *E gomana-ya-na i-duduwo ka-na,*  
 DM child-TM-3SG 3SG-call talk-3SG  
*“Sina-gu, kaga una-na ku-vatu-puwe-gu?”*  
 mother-1SG what basis-3SG 2SG-force-push-1SG
- (i) *Ago sina-na ka-na, “Una-na taiya*  
 ADD mother-3SG talk-3SG basis-3SG cry  
*wowo-gu i-kai; tau-na a-vatu-puwe-m.”*  
 body-1SG 3SG-reject result-3SG 1SG-force-push-2SG

<sup>1</sup> The verb *iwo* ‘go seaward’ (see 4b *ikandoiwo* and 4c *kuiwo*) has the underlying form /iva/. This is evident in the transitive form which is phonetically [ive]. The final [e] is due to the transitive suffix *-i* coalescing with the final [a]. A rule of /v/ to /w/ and another /a/ to /o/ produces *iwo* from the underlying form.

‘(a) So they ascended to Daguwa and **his mother** remained, but the child searched for grasshoppers to eat. (b) He searched and searched until he looked over and saw a grasshopper and said, “My mother, come and let’s catch the grasshopper for me to eat.” (c) **His mother** said, “You go catch it.” (d) But the child was afraid and said, “My mother, I will fall.” (e) But **the woman** lied and said, “You won’t fall. I will hold on to you.” (f) So the child went seaward. (g) He went seaward, but **the woman** arose and pushed her child and he rolled. (h) And the child called out, “My mother, why did you push me?” (i) And **his mother said**, “Because I’m tired of the crying; therefore I pushed you.”’

In this chapter, we have seen that the type of referring expression used by an author may communicate some of the attitudes found between participants.

## 12. Conclusion

---

In this monograph, we have presented the participant referencing system for Gumawana. We have shown that Gumawana uses a sequential look-back system in which one need only look back to the last clause to determine who the subject is. However, the system also uses a local VIP strategy to mark one noun as center of attention by means of the thematic marker *-ya*. The basic strategy of Gumawana participant reference is to use an NP if there is any change of subject. Each of the contexts in which a participant could occur were presented and explained with regard to its activation status.

Because the verb already shows agreement with subject and object by means of bound pronouns, the presence of independent pronouns is redundant. Therefore, they must have a pragmatic function. These pronouns highlight participants and are used to show contrast and distancing between participants. Furthermore, it was shown that pronouns have an implied exclusiveness. Because of this, there are pragmatic effects associated with pronominal forms.

The plural marking of nouns in Gumawana has a unique system whereby kin terms (directly possessed) obligatorily take plural marking and other nouns must be indirectly possessed to show plural marking. Plural marking occurs “when it matters”, meaning that when the author wants to highlight the number, plural marking is used.

Gumawana does not have a grammatical category of definiteness whereby all nouns are marked as either definite or indefinite; rather, what seems to be important to the Gumawana speaker is the status of the participant: is it the center of attention or not? Furthermore, the number ‘one’ is used to activate a participant, typically following the head noun, as do other modifiers. Yet when the word ‘one’ comes before the noun, it places prominence on that participant, instructing the reader to build a mental representation around a participant who will play an important role in the story. Once a participant is activated, if it is the center of attention, it will be suffixed with the thematic marker *-ya*.

# Appendix: Texts

## Text 1. Gilibo

This is a legend about how Gilibo (Gilibwa on the Trobriands) came to be broken away from the main part of Kiriwina Island. It was written in 1988 by Karitoni Gaiyau. The author was in his mid twenties when he wrote the text.

- (1) *Ame guna vatetala Gilibo a-vatetel-i-Ø.*  
PROX CTRL.1SG story Gilibo 1SG-story-TR-3SG  
'This is my story which I tell about Gilibo.'
- (2) *Kaga pasi-na Gilibo i-topa?*  
what reason-3SG Gilibo 3SG-UNACC.break  
'Why did Gilibo break?'
- (3) *Boi nimatu tayamo gomana koroto.*  
previously ago one child man  
'Long ago there was a certain boy (lit. male child).'
- (4) *Gomana-ya-na yoi-na Gumasai.*  
child-TM-3SG name-3SG Gumasai  
'The child's name was Gumasai.'
- (5) *Go Gumasai i-na kasa Kitava, moe Budibudi simli-na.*  
SP Gumasai CTRL-3SG village Kitava MED Kiriwina island-3SG  
'And Gumasai's village was Kitava, which is an island of Kiriwina.'
- (6) *Kitava i-kaiyaka Budibudi tautaulu-na, bomatu dadavi-na.*  
Kitava 3SG-remain Kiriwina uninhabited-3SG east area-3SG  
'Kitava is on the uninhabited side of Kiriwina, on the east side.'
- (7) *Kitava tomota madaboki-di si-kaiyaka negwasa kiki-na*  
Kitava people all-3PL 3PL-live/remain sea near-3SG  
*go, kina Gumasai-ya-na koya yatana-i-na goi*  
SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG mountain above-?-3SG LOC  
*i-na vada i-yowo-Ø.*  
CTRL-3SG house 3SG-tie-3SG  
'All the people of Kitava lived near the sea, but it was on top of a mountain where Gumasai built (lit. tied) his house.'

- (8) *Gumasai-ya-na geya tayamo niu-na o siya-na geya,*  
 Gumasai-TM-3SG NEG one OSS-3SG or SSS-3SG NEG  
*tau-na sina-na taiyao a-di tai-yuwo si-kaiyaka.*  
 result-3SG mother-3SG COM PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-exist  
 ‘Gumasai did not have one sister or brother, therefore he and his mother, the two of them, lived together.’
- (9) *E lava tayamo Guyau bao i-yois-i-Ø be aika*  
 DM time one Guyau pig 3SG-catch-TR-3SG IRR feast  
*giyai-na i-guinuwe-Ø.*  
 small-3SG 3SG-make.TR-3SG  
 ‘Now one time Chief caught a pig in order to make a small feast.’
- (10) *Aika-ya-na una-na ame nakae.*  
 feast-TM-3SG basis-3SG PROX ADD  
 ‘The reason for the feast was this.’
- (11) *Tayamo buyala gagai-na vale-na Sanarowa goi si-nove-Ø.*  
 one necklace big-3SG news-3SG Sanarowa LOC 3PL-hear.TR-3SG  
 ‘They heard news of a certain big necklace at Sanarowa.’
- (12) *Moe una-na tau-na aika-ya-na i-guinuwe-Ø boda*  
 MED basis-3SG result-3SG feast-TM-3SG 3SG-make.TR-3SG group  
*si-kaika go, si-avalakuna.*  
 3PL-eat SP 3PL-compete  
 ‘That is the reason that he made the feast and the people ate and competed.’
- (13) *Ava-tau bei buyala i-kabi-Ø?*  
 which-person IRR necklace 3SG-get-3SG  
 ‘Who will get the necklace?’
- (14) *E lava-ya-na aika mli-na Guyau-ya-na i-taoya, i-digo*  
 DM time-TM-3SG feast after-3SG chief-TM-3SG 3SG-arise 3SG-speak  
*ka-na, "I-tomo bei tayamo tayamo i-da*  
 talk-3SG 3SG-next.day IRR one one CTRL-IPL.INCL  
*oga ta-tala guna vavalakuna ta-na Sanarowa."*  
 canoe IPL.INCL-cut CTRL.1SG contest IPL.INCL-go Sanarowa  
 ‘Now at the time after the feast, Chief arose and said, “Tomorrow each of us will cut canoes for ourselves and for my contest, (I have arranged) we will go to Sanarowa.”’

- (15) *E boda bogina si-nove-Ø, si-masisi.*  
 DM group PRF 3PL-hear.TR-3SG 3PL-sleep  
 ‘And when the group had heard it, they slept.’
- (16) *Vanuwo i-tomo, i-di kiyama si-kabi-di, si-na*  
 village 3SG-next.day CTRL-3PL axe 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go  
*i-di oga si-tala*  
 CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-cut  
 ‘The next morning (lit. the village was tomorrow) they got their axes, went, and cut canoes for themselves.’
- (17) *Boda madaboki-di i-di oga si-tala-i-di si-biu-di*  
 group all-3PL CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-cut-TR-3PL 3PL-pull-3PL  
*si-nave-di negwasa kiki-na goi si-yowo-i-di.*  
 3PL-take.TR-3PL sea near-3SG OBL 3PL-tie-TR-3PL  
 ‘All the group cut canoes for themselves, pulled them, took them near to the sea and built them.’
- (18) *Ago kina Gumasai i-na oga i-tala-i-Ø,*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-cut-TR-3SG  
*koya goi be i-yowo-Ø.*  
 mountain OBL IRR 3SG-tie-3SG  
 ‘But Gumasai cut a canoe for himself and it was on the mountain that he would build it.’
- (19) *E lava-ya-na boda madaboki-di oga bogina*  
 DM time-TM-3SG group all-3PL canoe PRF  
*si-yowo-i-di i-kavava, Guyau i-digo ka-na,*  
 3PL-tie-TR-3PL 3SG-finish chief 3SG-say talk-3SG  
*"I-tomo ta-lusobuye-Ø."*  
 3SG-next.day 1PL.INCL-launch-3SG  
 ‘Now when all the group had finished building their canoes, Chief said, “Tomorrow we launch them.”’
- (20) *E kidi boda madaboki-di i-di oga si-lusobuye-di*  
 DM 3PL group all-3PL CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-launch-3PL  
*si-na negwasa be kona-di si-vadoda.*  
 3PL-go sea and possession-3PL 3PL-load  
 ‘And all the group launched their canoes into the sea and loaded their things.’

- (21) *Ego kina Gumasai-ya-na i-na oga koya*  
 ADD 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG canoe mountain  
*yata-na go, kona-na i-vadoda.*  
 on.top-3SGSP possession-3SG 3SG-load  
 ‘But even though Gumasai’s canoe was on top of the mountain, he loaded his things.’
- (22) *E lava-ya-na vadoda i-kavava, se-nao bogina si-yaula.*  
 DM time-TM-3SG load 3SG-finish SSS-3SG.PL PRF 3PL-depart  
 ‘And when the loading was finished, his friends had departed.’
- (23) *Ago kina nava koya yata-na i-na oga*  
 ADD 3SG still mountain on.top-3SG CTRL-3SG canoe  
*ii-ginoil-i-Ø.*  
 3SG.IPFV-prepare-TR-3SG  
 ‘But he was still on top of the mountain preparing his canoe.’
- (24) *I-ginoil-i-Ø i-kavava, koya yata-na i-kailave-Ø.*  
 3SG-prepare-TR-3SG 3SG-finish mountain on.top-3SG 3SG-depart.TR-3SG  
 ‘After he prepared it, he departed with it from on top of the mountain.’
- (25) *I-kailave-Ø i-lokoina.*  
 3SG-depart.TR-3SG 3SG-run  
 ‘He departed with it and sailed.’
- (26) *I-lokoina, se-nao nava si-lo-lokoina go, kina bogina*  
 3SG-run SSS-3SG.LIM still 3PL-IPFV-run SP 3SG PRF  
*i-yova-mo i-na Sanarowa goi i-vaiu.*  
 3SG-fly-just 3SG-go Sanarowa LOC 3SG-arrive  
 ‘He sailed on and while his friends were still sailing, he had just flown and arrived at Sanaroa.’
- (27) *E kidi se-nao-ya-di si-na si-vaiu, i-di oga*  
 DM 3PL SSS-3SG.PL-TM-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-arrive CTRL-3PL canoe  
*si-yagas-i-di.*  
 3PL-beach-TR-3PL  
 ‘And his friends went, arrived and beached their canoes.’
- (28) *Si-yagas-i-di i-kavava, madaboki-di si-siyuyuwo.*  
 3PL-beach-TR-3PL 3SG-finish all-3PL 3PL-bushward  
 ‘After they beached their canoes, all of them went bushward.’

- (29) *Si-siyuyuwo si-na da Sanarowa yai-di buyala si-woila.*  
 3PL-bushward 3PL-go people.of Sanarowa OBL-3PL necklace 3PL-ask  
 ‘They went bushward to the Sanarowa people and they asked for necklaces.’
- (30) *Si-wo-woila si-wo-woila, Gumasai-ya-na buyala tayamo*  
 3PL-IPFV-ask 3PL-IPFV-ask Gumasai-TM-3SG necklace one  
*gagai-na i-kabi-Ø go, se-nao geya si-yagoi-yeta.*  
 big-3SG 3SG-get-3SG SP SSS-3SG.PL NEG 3PL-know-3SG.LIM  
 ‘While they kept on asking, Gumasai got a big necklace, but his friends did not know it.’
- (31) *E lava-ya-na i-di lava to-iwo madaboki-di si-na*  
 DM time-TM-3SG CTRL-3PL time paddle-seaward all-3PL 3PL-go  
*i-di oga si-lusobuye-di.*  
 CTRL-3PL canoe 3PL-launch-3PL  
 ‘Now when their time to depart came, all of them launched their canoes.’
- (32) *Si-lusobuye-di i-kavava, si-ginoila.*  
 3PL-launch-3PL 3SG-finish 3PL-prepare  
 ‘After they launched them, they prepared.’
- (33) *Madaboki-di gelugelu go, Gumasai a-neta.*  
 all-3PL crew SP Gumasai PASS-3SG.LIM  
 ‘All of them had crew but Gumasai was alone.’
- (34) *E i-na i-na oga-ya-na i-ginoil-i-Ø.*  
 DM 3SG-go CTRL-3SG canoe-TM-3SG 3SG-prepare-TR-3SG  
 ‘And he went and prepared his canoe.’
- (35) *Ego i-na wasare alova goi i-saine-Ø sinae-na*  
 ADD CTRL-3SG basket tree LOC 3SG-hang.TR-3SG inside-3SG  
*buyala-ya-na i-kaiyaka.*  
 necklace-TM-3SG 3SG-exist  
 ‘And on a tree he hung his basket, inside of it was the necklace.’
- (36) *Kina i-na oga ii-ginoil-i-Ø go, tomota si-na*  
 3SG CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-IPFV-prepare-TR-3SG SP people 3PL-go  
*wasare-ya-na si-katuvile-Ø si-gite-Ø buyala-ya-na*  
 basket-TM-3SG 3PL-open.TR-3SG 3PL-see.TR-3SG necklace-TM-3SG  
*i-kaiyaka.*  
 3SG-exist

‘While he was preparing his canoe, the people came, opened the basket and saw the necklace was there.’

- (37) *Tomota madaboki-di bogina gamo-di si-goyo, si-ma*  
 people all-3PL PRF stomach-3PL 3PL-bad 3PL-COME  
*Gumasai-ya-na a-na bwaē si-kaliulagi-di.*  
 Gumasai-TM-3SG PASS-3SG water 3PL-empty-3PL

‘All the people were angry (lit. their stomachs were bad) and they came and emptied Gumasai's water containers.’

- (38) *Si-kaliulagi-di i-kavava, si-na si-latuwoko-Ø si-digo ka-di,*  
 3PL-empty-3PL 3SG-finish 3PL-go 3PL-tell-3SG 3PL-say talk-3PL  
 “*Gumasai, kom a-m bwaē madaboki-na dakaakai-di, ku-ma*  
 Gumasai 2SG PASS-2SG water all-3SG empty-3PL 2SG-come  
*ku-tege-di.*”  
 2SG-draw.TR-3PL

‘After they emptied them, they went and told him, they said, “Gumasai, all your water containers are empty, come draw water for them.”’

- (39) *E Gumasai i-na bwaē i-kabi-di, i-na i-tega-tega*  
 DM Gumsai CTRL-3SG container 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-go 3SG-IPFV-draw  
*go, si-sowoya i-na oga si-kailave-Ø si-lokoine-Ø*  
 SP 3PL-embark CTRL-3SG canoe 3PL-depart.TR-3SG 3PL-ran.TR-3SG  
*si-me-Ø Kitava.*  
 3PL-come.TR-3SG Kitava

‘Now Gumasai got his water containers, went and began drawing water, but they embarked, departed with his canoe, sailed it and brought it to Kitava.’

- (40) *Kina go i-sowodo i-do-iwo, oga geya.*  
 3SG SP 3SG-appear 3SG-W.head-seaward canoe NEG

‘But as for him, he went out, and looked seaward, but there was no canoe.’

- (41) *Alova i-mwera, i-do-iwo, bogina si-ta-gau-gau.*  
 tree 3SG-climb 3SG-W.head-seaward PRF 3PL-UNACC-IPFV-secret

‘He climbed a tree and looked seaward, but they were already disappearing.’

- (42) *E nukoto-na i-topa, i-sou.*  
 DM neck-3SG 3SG-UNACC.break 3SG-descend

‘So he gave up (lit. his neck broke) and descended.’

- (43) *I-sou, i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu i-kaiyaka.*  
 3SG-descend 3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave LOC 3SG-enter 3SG-exist

‘He descended, went bushward to a cave, entered and remained there.’

- (44) *Ego tukubu-ya-na dokanikani i-na tukubu Gumasai i-kaiyaka*  
 ADD cave-TM-3SG ogre CTRL-3SG cave Gumasai 3SG-exist  
*sinae-na.*  
 inside-3SG  
 ‘Now the cave that Gumasai was inside of was an ogre's cave.’
- (45) *E kina go dokanikani-ya-na i-tupa-tupa.*  
 DM 3SG SP ogre-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-voyage  
 ‘Now as for the ogre, he was on a voyage.’
- (46) *A-na lava bogina bei i-vayowata i-lokoina.*  
 PASS-3SG time PRF IRR 3SG-return 3SG-run  
 ‘His time had come to return, and so he sailed.’
- (47) *I-lokoina i-ma i-sobu, i-na oga i-vailowo-Ø,*  
 3SG-run 3SG-COME 3SG-drop.sail CTRL-3SG canoe 3SG-anchor-3SG  
*i-yava i-na tukubu goi i-siu.*  
 3SG-bushward 3SG-go cave LOC 3SG-enter  
 ‘He sailed, came, dropped sail, anchored his canoe, went towards the bush to his cave and entered.’
- (48) *Ego dokanikani-ya-na mata-na kebokeboi-na.*  
 ADD ogre-TM-3SG eye-3SG blind-3SG  
 ‘But the ogre was blind.’
- (49) *I-siu, i-waiwasi go, kina Gumasai-ya-na bogina i-matoita.*  
 3SG-enter 3SG-rest SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG PRF 3SG-fear  
 ‘He entered and rested and Gumasai, he was already afraid.’
- (50) *I-na nuwonuwana ka-na, "Bei i-kani-gu."*  
 CTRL-3SG think talk-3SG IRR 3SG-eat-1SG  
 ‘His thought was “He will eat me.”’
- (51) *E dokanikani i-na kunumana i-kabi-Ø i-na*  
 DM ogre CTRL-3SG sago 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-go  
*i-gailolo.*  
 3SG-make.sago.pudding  
 ‘Now the ogre got his sago, went and made sago pudding.’
- (52) *I-gailolo, i-va-meo-Ø i-kaika.*  
 3SG-make.sago.pudding 3SG-CAUS-done-3SG 3SG-eat  
 ‘He made sago pudding, cooked it and ate.’

- (53) *I-ka-kaika go, kina Gumasai-ya-na loga i-kamasa,*  
 3SG-IPFV-eat SP 3SG Gumasai-TM-3SG hunger 3SG-die  
*i-bala i-na i-kaika taiyao.*  
 3SG-move.across 3SG-go 3SG-eat COM  
 ‘While he was eating, Gumasai was starving, so he moved across and ate with him.’
- (54) *Ago dokanikani-ya-na Gumasai geya i-gite-yeta.*  
 ADD ogre-TM-3SG Gumasai NEG 3SG-see.TR-3SG.LIM  
 ‘But the ogre didn't see Gumasai.’
- (55) *I-na nuwonuwana ka-na, "Ame a-guta."*  
 CTRL-3SG think talk-3SG PROX PASS-1SG.LIM  
 ‘He thought, “I am alone.”’
- (56) *Kom go ava-tau? Gumasai taiyao.*  
 2SG SP which-person Gumsai COM  
 ‘What do you know? Gumasai was with him!’
- (57) *E lava-ya-na si-ka-kaika, si-ka-kaika, kina Gumasai*  
 DM time-TM-3SG 3PL-IPFV-eat 3PL-IPFV-eat 3SG Gumasai  
*aliku tala i-bagal-i-Ø, dokanikani i-na kaliku*  
 spoon cut 3SG-mistake-TR-3SG ogre CTRL-3SG spoon  
*i-saiko-Ø.*  
 3SG-strike-3SG  
 ‘Now when they were eating, Gumasai goofed the spooning of the food and he struck the ogre's spoon.’
- (58) *Dokanikani-ya-na ka-na, "Akeke, kom moe ava-tau?"*  
 ogre-TM-3SG talk-3SG okay 2SG MED which-person  
 ‘The ogre said, “Okay, who are you?”’
- (59) *“O tubu-gu, yau,” Gumasai kae-na.*  
 oh relative-1SG, 1SG Gumasai talk-3SG  
 ‘“Oh sir, it is me,” said Gumasai.’
- (60) *“Kom nako koroto-i-m? Yoi-m manakoyoi-na?”*  
 2SG where man-?-2SG name-2SG what-3SG  
*dokanikani kae-na.*  
 ogre talk-3SG  
 ‘“Where are you from? What is your name?” said the ogre.’

- (61) *“Yau tubu-gu, yoi-gu Gumasai. Guna kasa Kitava”*  
 1SG relative-1SG name-1SG Gumasai CTRL.1SG village Kitava  
*Gumasai kae-na.*  
 Gumasai talk-3SG  
 ‘“My name, sir, is Gumasai. My village is Kitava,” said Gumasai.’
- (62) *E dokanikani ma i-na nuwokapisi i-digo ka-na, “O*  
 DM ogre COM CTRL-3SG compassion 3SG-say talk-3SG oh  
*dedeeina. Ku-kaika. Geya ku-nuwonuwoneta. Yau koroto dedei-gu.”*  
 fine 2SG-eat NEG 2SG-think 1SG man good-1SG  
 ‘And the ogre said with compassion, “Oh fine. You eat. Don't you worry. I am a good man.”’
- (63) *E Gumasai-ya-na bogina ate-na i-patu,*  
 DM Gumasai-TM-3SG PRF liver-3SG 3SG-enclose  
*baige i-kaika-dokana.*  
 then 3SG-eat-properly  
 ‘And Gumsai plucked up his courage, then he ate properly.’
- (64) *Si-kaika i-kavava, Gumasai i-vatowo i-va-tetala*  
 3PL-eat 3SG-finish Gumasai 3SG-begin 3SG-CAUS-story  
*a-na kaibako.*  
 PASS-3SG past.event  
 ‘After they finished eating, Gumasai began to tell about his past events.’
- (65) *I-va-tetala i-kavava, dokanikani i-digo ka-na, “Dedeeina.*  
 3SG-cause-story 3SG-finish ogre 3SG-say talk-3SG fine  
*Ta-na guna vada. I-tomo a-m kunumana*  
 IPL.INCL-go CTRL.1SG house 3SG-next.day ED-2SG sago  
*ta-tala-i-Ø. Koneiyuwe baige a-nave-m*  
 1PL.INCL-cut-TR-3SG day.after.tomorrow then 1SG-take.TR-2SG  
*i-m kasa.”*  
 CTRL-2SG village  
 ‘After he told his story, the ogre said, “Fine. Let's go to my house. Tomorrow we will cut sago for you. The day after tomorrow then I will take you to your village.”’
- (66) *E moitamoi si-na i-na vada goi si-masisi.*  
 DM true 3PL-go CTRL-3SG house LOC 3PL-sleep  
 ‘And indeed they went to his house and slept.’

- (67) *Si-masisi vanuwo i-tomo, si-na kunumana si-tala-i-Ø.*  
 3PL-sleep village 3SG-next.day 3PL-go sago 3PL-cut-TR-3SG  
 ‘They slept till the next day, went and cut the sago.’
- (68) *Si-tala-i-Ø si-sou si-putum-i-Ø i-yapasa,*  
 3PL-cut-TR-3SG 3PL-descend 3PL-squeeze-TR-3SG 3SG-evaporate  
*si-kali-visi-visi-Ø, si-kapol-i-di, si-kavale-di,*  
 3PL-W.point-IPFV-crack-3SG 3PL-wring-TR-3PL 3PL-carry-TR-3PL  
*si-nave-di asa si-yato-i-di, ava-di si-vai-polu-Ø.*  
 3PL-take-TR-3PL village 3PL-set-TR-3PL food-3PL 3PL-CAUS-boil-3SG  
 ‘They cut it, went down, squeezed it until it was dry, broke it up into pieces,  
 wrung them out, carried them, took them to the village and set them down  
 and cooked their food.’
- (69) *Si-vai-polu-Ø si-kaika.*  
 3PL-CAUS-boil-TR 3PL-eat  
 ‘They cooked and ate.’
- (70) *Niyala i-saliu, si-masisi.*  
 sun 3SG-set 3PL-sleep  
 ‘The sun set and they slept.’
- (71) *Si-masisi vanuwo i-tomo, oga si-lisobuye-Ø.*  
 3PL-sleep village 3SG-next.day canoe 3PL-launch-3SG  
 ‘They slept until the next day and they launched the canoe.’
- (72) *Si-lisobuye-Ø i-kavava, kona-di si-vadoda.*  
 3PL-launch-3SG 3SG-finish possession-3PL 3PL-load  
 ‘After they launched it, they loaded their things.’
- (73) *Tubu-na-ya-na i-na kunumana si-vadodo-i-Ø,*  
 relative-3SG-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG sago 3PL-load-TR-3SG  
*si-sowoya.*  
 3PL-embark  
 ‘They loaded junior's sago and embarked.’
- (74) *Si-sowoya, dokanikani i-digo ka-na, “Tubu-gu, oga*  
 3PL-embark ogre 3SG-say talk-3SG relative-1SG canoe  
*ame lokooini-na, kunuwo ku-mata-kavate-Ø*  
 PROX run.IPFV-3SG rudder 2SG-eye-hold-TR-3SG  
*go, geya, bei i-tomava.”*  
 SP NEG IRR 3SG-run.aground

‘They embarked and the ogre said, “Junior, this canoe is fast, so watch the rudder, if you don’t, it will run aground.”’

- (75) “*Geya tubu-gu, kunuwo a-madagi-Ø.*”  
NEG relative-1SG rudder 1SG-make-3SG

“‘No sir, I made the rudder.’”

- (76) *E moitamō si-kailave-Ø.*  
DM true 3PL-depart.TR-3SG

‘And so in fact they departed in it.’

- (77) *Si-kailave-Ø, yagira i-ma, oga-ya-na i-saiko-Ø*  
3PL-depart.TR-3SG wind 3SG-COME canoe-TM-3SG 3SG-strike-3SG  
*i-yova-yova.*  
3SG-IPFV-fly

‘They departed in it and the wind came, struck the canoe and it began to fly.’

- (78) *Gumasai mata-na i-gabusilili-Ø; kunuwo i-tapavivil-i-Ø,*  
Gumasai eye-3SG 3SG-blurr-3SG rudder 3SG-confuse-TR-3SG  
*oga i-lokoina.*  
canoe 3SG-run

‘It blurred Gumasai’s eyes; he confused the rudder and the canoe sailed.’

- (79) *I-lokoina, Gilibo i-saiko-Ø, i-kali-upe-Ø.*  
3SG-run Gilibo 3SG-strike-3SG 3SG-W.point-break.TR-3SG

‘It raced and struck Gilibo and broke it.’

- (80) *Gilibo i-topa go, si-lokoina si-na*  
Gilibo 3SG-UNACC.break SP 3PL-run 3PL-go  
*Kitava goi si-sobu, tubu-na-ya-na i-sou.*  
Kitava LOC 3PL-drop.sail ?-3SG-TM-3SG 3SG-down

‘Gilibo broke and they raced to Kitava, dropped sail and ? disembarked.’

- (81) *Kina go i-kaluvila i-na i-na kasa Sanarowa.*  
3SG SP 3SG-return 3SG-go CTRL-3SG village Sanarowa

‘But as for him, he returned to his village of Sanarowa.’

- (82) *E tau-na ame lava ta-na Gilibo ta-gite-Ø*  
DM result-3SG PROX time IPL.INCL-go Gilibo IPL.INCL-see.TR-3SG  
*i-topa go, boi nimatu geya i-topeta.*  
3SG-UNACC.break SP previously ago NEG 3SG-UNACCU.break.LIM

‘Now therefore at this time if we go see Gilibo, it is broken, but long ago it was not broken.’

- (83) *Seki ame tau-na.*  
 uncertain PROX only-3SG  
 ‘I guess that is all.’

## Text 2. Rat and his two brothers

This story is a tale written by Sidumeta Dabibi in 1991. He is from Nubogeta and has never been to school. The story is about three brothers, the middle one being a rat. The oldest brother thinks the youngest is stealing his grubs when in fact it is the rat all along. In the end the oldest brother takes both his brothers and trades them to the Dobuans for betel nut and sago. When the Dobuans cut open the rat, it is obvious because of the fat that he had been the one eating the grubs.

- (1) *Vavina tayamo natu-nao a-di tai-to vatuta-i-di*  
 woman one offspring-3SG.PL PASS-3PL person-three legend-?-3PL  
 ‘A legend about a woman and her three children.’
- (2) *E ame nakae.*  
 DM PROX ADD  
 ‘Now it was like this.’
- (3) *Vavina tayamo ma mone-na si-kaiyaka aaa go, vavina*  
 woman one COM spouse-3SG 3PL-exist until SP woman  
*i-ve-natuna.*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring  
 ‘A woman and her husband lived for some time and the woman gave birth.’
- (4) *Natu-di tayamo koroto, a-di botomoya.*  
 offspring-3PL one man PASS-3PL firstborn  
 ‘Their child was a boy; he was their firstborn.’
- (5) *E si-kaiyaka, vavina-ya-na natu-na i-va-nunu-Ø.*  
 DM 3PL-exist woman-TM-3SG offspring-3SG 3SG-CAUS-nurse-3SG  
 ‘Now they lived on and the woman nursed her child.’
- (6) *I-va-nunu-Ø, bogina gagai-na.*  
 3SG-CAUS-nurse-3SG PRF big-3SG  
 ‘She nursed him and he had become big.’
- (7) *E gomana nunu i-katae-Ø, moe bogina gagai-na.*  
 DM child nurse 3SG-reject-3SG MED PRF big-3SG  
 ‘And the child rejected the nursing; he had grown big.’

- (8) *E sina-na tama-na ii-leme-di i-paisewa.*  
 DM mother-3SG father-3SG 3SG.IPFV-help.TR-3PL 3SG-work  
 ‘And he began helping his mother and his father and he worked.’
- (9) *E si-kaiyaka koroto-ya-na mone-na ai-yuwo-i-na*  
 DM 3PL-exist man-TM-3SG spouse-3SG CLF-two-?-3SG  
*i-ve-natuna.*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring  
 ‘And they lived on and the man’s wife again gave birth.’
- (10) *I-ve-natuna, natu-na bonauya-ya-na moe kelikeli*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring offspring-3SG middle.child-TM-3SG MED rat  
*i-ve-natun-i-Ø.*  
 3SG-CAUS-offspring-TR-3SG  
 ‘She gave birth and it was to her middle born child who was a rat that she gave birth.’
- (11) *E sina-na i-gite-Ø kelikeili-ya-na i-kabi-Ø,*  
 DM mother-3SG 3SG-see.TR-3SG rat-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG  
*i-na a-na doba i-yato-i-di goi i-yato-Ø*  
 3SG-go PASS-3SG grass.skirt 3SG-set-TR-3PL OBL 3SG-set-3SG  
*i-kaiyaka.*  
 3SG-exist  
 ‘And his mother saw him and she got the rat, went and set him on her grass skirts which she had set down and he remained there.’
- (12) *I-kaiyaka aaa, i-bibina gagai-na.*  
 3SG-exist until 3SG-grow big-3SG  
 ‘He lived on until he grew big.’
- (13) *E sina-di-ya-na ai-toni-na i-ve-natuna.*  
 DM mother-3PL-TM-3SG CLF-three-3SG 3SG-CAUS-offspring  
 ‘And their mother gave birth a third time.’
- (14) *Natu-na tomota bogomane.*  
 offspring-3SG person last.born  
 ‘Her child was a person, the last born.’
- (15) *E koroto ma mone-na bogina si-uyawana una-na*  
 DM man COM spouse-3SG PRF 3PL-happy basis-3SG  
*natu-di-yao bogina si-bibina.*  
 offspring-3PL-PL PRF 3PL-grow

‘And the man and his wife were happy because their children had grown up.’

- (16) *E lava tayamo goi tama-di be sina-di ka-di,*  
 DM time one OBL father-3PL and mother-3PL talk-3PL  
*“Natu-ma, a-m gomana ku-mata-kavate-Ø ae?*  
 offspring-1PL.EXCL PASS-2SG younger.SSS 2SG-eye-hold.TR-3SG Q  
*Go kai ka-na tanuwo.”*  
 SP 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-go garden

‘Now one time their father and their mother said “Our child, you watch after your brother, okay? And we will go to the garden.”’

- (17) *E kidi si-na tanuwo si-paisewa go, natu-di botomoya*  
 DM 3PL 3PL-go garden 3PL-work SP offspring-3PL firstborn  
*i-na a-na nige i-supola.*  
 3SG-go PASS-3SG grub 3SG-search

‘And they went to the garden and worked and their firstborn went and searched for grubs to eat.’

- (18) *I-supola i-ma i-sou a-di kasa goi i-na*  
 3SG-search 3SG-come 3SG-descend PASS-3PL village OBL 3SG-go  
*a-na kalova keiga i-seo.*  
 PASS-3SG wood coconut.shell 3SG-gather

‘He searched and then descended to their village, and went and gathered wood and coconut shells.’

- (19) *I-seo-seo i-kavava, i-ma a-na yeu i-dimili-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-gather 3SG-finish 3SG-come PASS-3SG fire 3SG-build-3SG

‘After he was gathering, he came and built a fire.’

- (20) *I-dimili-Ø i-kavava, i-na a-na nige-ya-di*  
 3SG-build-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-go ED-3SG grub-TM-3PL  
*ii-yato-i-di i-kabi-di, i-me-di i-gabu-di.*  
 3SG-IPFV-set-TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-come.TR-3PL 3SG-roast-3PL

‘After he built it, he went, got his grubs which he had set aside, brought them, and roasted them.’

- (21) *I-gabu-di si-meo, i-kaika.*  
 3SG-roast-3PL 3PL-cook 3SG-eat

‘He roasted them until they were cooked, then ate.’

- (22) *I-ka-kaika gamo-na, maniye-di i-na i-kai-lagas-i-di*  
 3SG-IPFV-eat stomach-3SG some-3PL 3SG-go 3SG-set-up-TR-3PL

*go, i-ma a-na gomana i-kabi-gome-Ø.*  
 SP 3SG-come PASS-3SG younger.SSS 3SG-get-child.TR-3SG

‘He ate until he was satisfied (lit. he was eating his stomach), and he went, set some of them up above, came and babysat his younger brother (lit. he got child).’

- (23) *Ego kina kelikeli i-va-sinamo i-na siya-na a-na*  
 ADD 3SG rat 3SG-by.foot-quietly 3SG-go relative-3SG ED-3SG  
*nige ii-yato-i-di i-kani-di.*  
 grub 3SG.IPFV-set-TR-3PL 3SG-eat-3PL

‘And the rat quietly went and ate his brother’s grubs that he set aside.’

- (24) *I-kani-di i-lu-kavave-di, i-sou i-ma*  
 3SG-eat-3PL 3SG-CAUS-finish.TR-PL 3SG-descend 3SG-come  
*gabula goi si-kaiyaka.*  
 under.house OBL 3PL-exist

‘He ate them and finished them and descended to under the house and remained there.’

- (25) *E si-kaiyaka sina-di tama-di si-saluwodo ka-di,*  
 DM 3PL-exist mother-3PL father-3PL 3PL-appear talk-3PL  
*“Natu-mao, moe-mi ae?”*  
 offspring-1PL.EXCL.PL MED-2PL Q

‘And they were there and their mother and father appeared and said, “Our children, you are there, right?”’

- (26) *E kina botomoya ka-na, “U! Ame-ma go,*  
 DM 3SG firstborn talk-3SG yes PROX-1PL.EXCL SP  
*sina-ma, kaga ku-lumadana-e-Ø?”*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL what 2SG-ask-APPL-3SG

‘And the firstborn said, “Yes! We are here, but our mother, what do you ask for?”’

- (27) *E kina sina-di i-digo ka-na, “Geya, ka-gu, 'Nakona*  
 DM 3SG mother-3PL 3SG-say talk-3SG NEG talk-1SG perhaps  
*ko-vailai.' Go woi dedevi-mi ae?”*  
 2PL-perish SP indeed good-2PL Q

‘And their mother said, “No reason (lit. nothing), I thought perhaps you perished. But indeed you are fine, right?”’

- (28) *E kina botomoya-ya-na i-na a-na nige maine*  
 DM 3SG firstborn-TM-3SG 3SG-go ED-3SG grub earlier

*i-yato-i-di bego i-kabi-di i-kaika.*  
 3SG-set-TR-3PL IM 3SG-get-3PL 3SG-eat

‘And the firstborn went intending to get his grubs which he had earlier set aside to eat.’

- (29) *I-nonoi-na, kina go, kelikeli bogina i-kani-save-di.*  
 3SG-IPFV-go 3SG SP rat PRF 3SG-eat-completely-3PL  
 ‘He was going but the rat had already completely eaten them.’

- (30) *E tuwo i-sou i-ma i-digo ka-na, “E,*  
 DM so 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-speak talk-3SG INTERJ  
*a-gu nige va-tau i-kani-di? Nakona kom memeya ae?”*  
 ED-1SG grub which-person 3SG-eat-3PL perhaps 2SG baby Q  
 ‘And so he descended and said, “Hey, who ate my grubs? It was probably you infant, right?”’

- (31) *E kina gomana-ya-na ka-na, “Yau geya.”*  
 DM 3SG child-TM-3SG talk-3SG 1SG NEG  
 ‘And the child said, “It was not me.”’

- (32) *E kina botomoya-ya-na gamo-na i-goyo ka-na, “Geya. Kom*  
 DM 3SG firstborn-TM-3SG stomach-3SG 3SG-bad talk-3SG NEG 2SG  
*tauna aikani-m. Yau a-gu nige a-yato-i-di go, kom*  
 just glutton-2SG 1SG ED-1SG grub 1SG-set-TR-3PL SP 2SG  
*ku-kani-di.”*  
 2SG-eat-3PL

‘And the firstborn was angry (lit. his stomach was bad) and said, “No. You are just a glutton. I set aside my grubs and you ate them.”’

- (33) *E kina bogomane-ya-na i-tai-taiya i-digo ka-na,*  
 DM 3SG last.born-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-cry 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Tuwowo-gu, yau geya go, a-m nige kelikeli*  
 older.same.sex.sibling-1SG 1SG NEG SP ED-2SG grub rat  
*i-kani-di.”*  
 3SG-eat-3PL

‘And the last born began crying and said, “My older brother, it was not me, but the rat ate your grubs.”’

- (34) *E niyala i-saliu si-masisi.*  
 DM sun 3SG-set 3PL-sleep  
 ‘And the sun set and they slept.’

- (35) *Si-masisi i-tomo nobuyana nakae.*  
 3PL-sleep 3SG-next day morning ADD  
 ‘They slept until the next morning and it was the same thing.’
- (36) *Sina-di tama-di si-na tanuwo go, kidi si-kaiyaka.*  
 mother-3PL father-3PL 3PL-go garden SP 3PL 3PL-exist  
 ‘Their mother and father went to the garden and they remained.’
- (37) *Si-kaiyaka aaa, bomotoya-ya-na i-na a-na nige i-lusala.*  
 3PL-exist until firstborn-TM-3SG 3SG-go ED-3SG grub 3SG-search  
 ‘They remained until the firstborn went and searched for grubs to eat.’
- (38) *I-lusala aaa, i-babane-di i-ma, a-na yeu*  
 3SG-search until 3SG-find.TR-3PL 3SG-come PASS-3SG fire  
*i-dimili-Ø i-kaigabuna.*  
 3SG-build-3SG 3SG-roast  
 ‘He searched until he found them, then came, built a fire and roasted them.’
- (39) *I-kaigabuna aaa, i-kaika.*  
 3SG-roast until 3SG-eat  
 ‘He roasted them, then he ate them.’
- (40) *I-ka-kaika gamo-na, maniyena i-na i-yato-i-di*  
 3SG-IPFV-eat stomach-3SG some-3SG 3SG-go 3SG-set-TR-3PL  
*go, i-ma a-na gomana taiyao si-kaiyaka.*  
 SP 3SG-go PASS-3SG younger.SSS COM 3PL-exist  
 ‘He ate until he was full (lit. he ate his stomach) and some he went and set aside and he came and stayed with his younger brother.’
- (41) *Ago kina kelikeli i-na siya-na a-na nige i-kabi-di*  
 ADD 3SG rat 3SG-go SSS-3SG ED-3SG grub 3SG-get-3PL  
*i-kani-di.*  
 3SG-eat-3PL  
 ‘And rat went and got his brother’s grubs and ate them.’
- (42) *I-kani-di i-lu-kavave-di, i-sou i-na i-kaiyaka.*  
 3SG-eat-3PL 3SG-CAUS-finish.TR-3PL 3SG-descend 3SG-go 3SG-exist  
 ‘He ate them and completely finished them and descended and remained there.’
- (43) *I-kaiyaka aaa, niyala bogina lavilavi, sina-di tama-di*  
 3SG-exist until sun PRF evening mother-3PL father-3PL

*si-sowodo.*

3PL-appear

‘He stayed until it was evening (lit. the sun was already evening) and their mother and father appeared.’

- (44) *Si-sowodo ka-di, “Natu-mao e, dedevi-mi ae?”*

3PL-appear talk-3PL offspring-1PL.EXCL.PL INTERJ good-2PLQ

‘They appeared and said, “Our children, you are all right, right?”’

- (45) *E kidi ka-di, “U! Dede-ma, sina-ma*

DM 3PL talk-3PL yes good-1PL.EXCL mother-1PL.EXCL

*tama-ma.”*

father-1PL.EXCL

‘And they said, “Yes! We are fine, our mother and father.”’

- (46) *E i-na gomanao-ya-di sina-di be tama-di*

DM CTRL-3SG younger.SSS-TM-3PL mother-3PL and father-3PL

*taiyao si-kaiyaka go, kina botomoya i-na a-na nige*

COM 3PL-exist SP 3SG firstborn 3SG-go ED-3SG grub

*maine i-yato-i-di bego i-kabi-di i-kaika.*

earlier 3SG-set-TR-3PL IM 3SG-get-3p 3SG-eat

‘And his younger brothers remained with their mother and father, but the firstborn went intending to get his grubs to eat, which he set aside earlier.’

- (47) *Go i-nonoi-na, nige-ya-di kelikeli bogina i-kani-save-di.*

SP 3SG-IPFV-go grub-TM-3PL rat PRF 3SG-eat-completely-3PL

‘And he was going, but the rat had already completely eaten the grubs.’

- (48) *E tuwo tau-ya-na i-sou i-ma i-digo ka-na,*

DM so person-TM-3SG 3SG-descend 3SG-come 3SG-speak talk-3SG

*“Yau a-gu nige va-tau i-kani-di?”*

1SG ED-1SG grub which-person 3SG-eat-3PL

‘And so he descended and said, “Who ate my grubs?”’

- (49) *E kina bogomane ka-na, “Yau geya,*

DM 3SG last.born talk-3SG 1SG NEG

*tuwowo-gu. Moe kelikeli.”*

older.SSS-1SG MED rat

‘And the last born said, “Not me, my older brother. It was the rat.”’

- (50) *E kina ka-na, "Geya, kom tau-m aikani-m."*  
 DM 3SG talk-3SG NEG 2SG alone-2SG glutton-3SG  
 'And he said, "No, you alone are a glutton.'
- (51) *E kina ka-na, "Geya, tuwowo-gu. Yau maine*  
 DM 3SG talk-3SG NEG older.SSS-1SG 1SG earlier  
*bogina ku-gite-gu kom taiyao ta-kaiyaka. Go moe*  
 PRF 2SG-see.TR-1SG 2SG COM 1PL.INCL-exist. SP MED  
*nakona kelikeli a-m nige i-lo-kani-di."*  
 perhaps rat ED-2SG grub 3SG-only-eat-3PL  
 'And he said, "No, my older brother. You saw me earlier, you and I were together. But that is probably the rat who just ate them."
- (52) *E tuwo, niyala bogina i-saliu, si-masisi.*  
 DM so sun PRF 3SG-set 3PL-sleep  
 'And so the sun had set and they slept.'
- (53) *Si-masisi iii, i-tomo nobuyana sina-di tama-di*  
 3PL-sleep until 3SG-next.day morning mother-3PL father-PL  
*ai-yuwo-i-na si-na tanuwo go, kidi si-kaiyaka.*  
 CLF-two-?-3SG3PL-go garden SP 3PL 3PL-exist  
 'They slept until the next morning and their mother and father again went to the garden, but they (the children) remained at home.'
- (54) *Si-kaiyaka aaa, bantomoya i-digo ka-na, "E komi a-mi*  
 3PL-exist until firstborn 3SG-speak talk-3SG INTERJ 2PL PASS-3PL  
*tai-yuwo, yau a-gu nige a-yato-i-di go, komi ko-kani-di.*  
 person-two 1SG ED-1SG grub 1SG-set-TR-3PL SP 2PL 2PL-eat-3PL  
*Ame tute-ya-na bei ae-mi nima-mi a-patumi-di.*  
 PROX time-TM-3SG IRR leg-2PL hand-2PL 1SG-bundle-3PL  
*E kewou goi a-dodoi-mi a-kawale-mi, a-nave-mi*  
 DM canoe OBL 1SG-load-2PL 1SG-pole.TR-2PL 1SG-take.TR-2PL  
*da Tautauna si-gabu-mi. Ago yau a-gu magi be*  
 people.of Dobu 3PL-roast-2PL ADD 1SG ED-1SG betel.nut and  
*a-gu kunumana si-vini-gu, a-kaluvila a-ma go, komi*  
 ED-1SG sago 3PL-give-1SG 1SG-return 1SG-come SP 2PL  
*da Tautauna si-gabu-mi si-kani-mi."*  
 people.of Dobu 3PL-roast-2PL 3PL-eat-2PL

‘They remained there until the firstborn said, “Hey the two of you, I set my grubs aside but you ate them. Now I will bundle your legs and hands. And I will load you in a canoe, pole you, take you and the Dobuans will roast you. And they will give me betel nut and sago to eat and I will return, but the Dobuans will roast you and eat you.”’

- (55) *E kina bogomane i-digo ka-na, “Iya! Tuwowo-gu,*  
 DM 3SG last.born 3SG-say talk-3SG INTERJ older.SSS-1SG  
*yau geya! Bogina ku-gite-gu tuta liliu-na taiyao*  
 1SG NEG PRF 2SG-see.TR-1SG time all-3SG COM  
*ta-kaiyaka go, bego a-m nige a-kani-di. Yau geya! Moe*  
 1PL.INCL-exist SP IM ED-2SG grub 1SG-eat-3PL 1SG NEG MED  
*kelikeli i-kani-di go, yau geya.”*  
 rat 3SG-eat-3PL SP 1SG NEG

‘And the last born said, “What! My older brother, it was not me! You have seen me all the time we were together but I ate your grubs (irony). It was not me. It was the rat who ate them, but not me.”’

- (56) *E kina go botomoya ka-na, “Geya, kelikeli o-na*  
 DM 3SG SP firstborn talk-3SG NEG rat body-3SG  
*i-nuwa i-kaiyaka. Ago kom tuta liliu-na ku-ketoiya,*  
 3SG-still 3SG-exist ADD 2SG time all-3SG 2SG-walk  
*tauna kom ku-kani-di. Ame be a-yois-i-mi*  
 therefore 2SG 2SG-eat-3PL PROX IRR 1SG-catch-TR-2PL  
*a-nae-mi da Tautauna si-gabu-mi.”*  
 1SG-take.TR-2PL people.of Dobu 3PL-roast-2PL

‘And the firstborn, he said, “No, the rat has been still and stayed there. But you, all of the time you walked, therefore you ate them. Now I will seize you, take you and the Dobuans will roast you.”’

- (57) *E tuwo i-yois-i-di.*  
 DM so 3SG-catch-TR-3PL  
 ‘And so he seized them.’
- (58) *Kelikeli i-yois-i-Ø nima-na ae-na i-siko-i-di.*  
 rat 3SG-catch-TR-3SG hand-3SG leg-3SG 3SG-tie-TR-3PL  
 ‘He seized the rat and tied his hands and legs.’
- (59) *I-kavava, i-yato-Ø go, i-yava i-na bogomane*  
 3SG-finish 3SG-set-3SG SP 3SG-bushward 3SG-go last.born

*i-yois-i-Ø.*

3SG-catch-TR-3SG

‘After that, he set him aside and went bushward and seized the last born.’

- (60) *I-yois-i-Ø, ae-na nima-na i-siko-i-di.*  
3SG-catch-TR-3SG leg-3SG hand-3SG 3SG-tie-TR-3PL

‘He seized him and tied his legs and hands.’

- (61) *I-kavava, i-kavale-di i-me-di kelikeli taiyao*  
3SG-finish 3SG-carry.TR-3PL 3SG-come.TR-3PL rat COM

*i-yato-i-di go, kina i-iwo i-na kewou*  
3SG-set-TR-3PL SP 3SG 3SG-seaward CTRL-3SG canoe

*i-lusobuye-Ø.*

3SG-launch-3SG

‘After that, he carried them, brought them (the younger brother along) with the rat set them down and he went seaward and launched his canoe.’

- (62) *E a-na beuta a-na kawala i-dodoi-di.*  
DM PASS-3SG paddle PASS-3SG punt 3SG-load-3PL

‘And he loaded his paddle and his punting pole.’

- (63) *I-kavava, i-yava i-na gomana-ya-na*  
3SG-finish 3SG-bushward CTRL-3SG younger.SSS-TM-3SG

*i-kavale-Ø.*

3SG-carry.TR-3SG

‘After that, he went bushward and carried his younger brother.’

- (64) *I-kavale-Ø go, gomana-ya-na i-tai-taiya ka-na,*  
3SG-carry.TR-3SG SP child-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-cry talk-3SG

*“Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu. Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu, a-m nige kelikeli*  
INTERJ older.SSS-1SG INTERJ older.SSS-1SG ED-2SG grub rat

*i-kani-kani go, yau vailai a-babane-Ø. Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu!*  
3SG-IPFV-eat SP 1SG perish 1SG-find.TR-3SG INTERJ older.SSS-1SG

*Aiyoi, tuwowo-gu!”*

INTERJ older.SSS-1SG

‘He carried him, but the child began to cry and said, “Oh my older brother. Oh my older brother, the rat was eating your grubs but I receive injury. Oh my older brother! Oh my older brother!”’

- (65) *E koroto-ya-na i-na kelikeli i-kabi-Ø i-me-Ø*  
DM man-TM-3SG 3SG-go rat 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-come.TR-3SG

*i-dodoi-Ø.*

3SG-load-3SG

‘And the man went, got the rat, brought him and loaded him.’

- (66) *I-kavava, i-yato-Ø i-kawala i-na Omaniao goi*  
 3SG-finish 3SG-set-3SG 3SG-punt 3SG-go Omaniao OBL  
*i-ta-sobuye-Ø i-beu-beuta.*  
 3SG-W.paddle-descend-3SG 3SG-IPFV-paddle

‘After that, he set him (in the canoe), he punted to Omaniao, paddled down and began to paddle.’

- (67) *Ago kina i-tai-taiya ka-na, “Tuwowo-gu,*  
 ADD 3SG 3SG-IPFV-cry talk-3SG older.same.sex.sibling-1SG  
*kwaluville-gu! Tuwowo-gu, kwaluville-gu!*  
 2SG.return.TR-1SG older.same.sex.sibling-1SG 2SG.return-1SG  
*Sina-da tama-da a-di kaubowo go-mae.*  
 mother-1PL.INCL father-1PL.INCL PASS-3PL smoke ID-above  
*Ava-da si-bagu-bagula-e-Ø aiyoi.”*  
 food-1PL.INCL 3PL-IPFV-plant-APPL-3SG INTERJ

‘But he began to cry and said, “My older brother, return me! My older brother return me! Our mother and father’s smoke is up there. They are planting our food.’

- (68) *E kina tuwowo-na ka-na, “Tuwo, ku-tugau. Aluvila be*  
 DM 3SG older.SSS-3SG talk-3SG enough 2SG-quiet return IRR  
*ku-kaluvila-bau ae? A-mi puwoya go, da Tautauna*  
 2SG-return-very Q PASS-2SG fault SP people.of Dobu  
*gamo-di goi ko-kaiyaka. Tau-ya-di Tuyatana goi*  
 stomach-3PL OBL 2PL-exist person-TM-3PL Tuyatana OBL  
*patal-i-di si-kaiyaka bei si-gabu-mi si-kani-mi.*  
 fleet-?-3PL 3PL-exist IRR 3PL-roast-2PL 3PL-eat-2PL  
*Ago yau a-gu magi, a-gu kunumana si-vini-gu*  
 ADD 1SG ED-1SG betel.nut PASS-1SG sago 3PL-give-1SG  
*a-kaluvila a-ma guna kasa.”*  
 1SG-return 1SG-come CTRL.1SG village

‘And his older brother said, “Enough, be quiet. It’s your fault and you will be in the stomachs of the Dobuans. Their fleets are at Tuyatana and they will roast you and eat you. But they will give me betel nut and sago to eat and I will return to my village.”’

- (69) *Ego kina gomana-ya-na i-tai-taiya.*  
 ADD 3SG child-TM-3SG 3SG-IPFV-cry  
 ‘And the child began to cry.’

- (70) *I-tai-taiya go, i-do-vila sina-na tama-na*  
 3SG-IPFV-cry SP 3SG-W.head-back mother-3SG father-3SG  
*a-di yeu si-dimili-Ø aubowo-i-na i-gite-Ø, e*  
 PASS-3PL fire 3PL-build-3SG smoke-?-3SG 3SG-see.TR-3SG DM  
*tuwowo-na i-latuwoko-Ø i-digo ka-na, “Aiyoi,*  
 older.SSS-3SG 3SG-tell-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG INTERJ  
*tuwowo-gu, sina-da tama-da a-di*  
 older.SSS-1SG mother-1PL.INCL father-1PL.INCL PASS-3PL  
*kaubowo go-amo-e.”*  
 smoke ID-DIST-far

‘He was crying and he looked back and saw the smoke of his mother and father building a fire, so he told his older brother, he said, “Oh my older brother, our mother and father’s smoke is over there.”’

- (71) *Ego kina tuwowo-na i-digo ka-na, “Kaga ku-taiya-e-Ø?*  
 ADD 3SG older.SSS 3SG-speak talk-3SG what 2SG-cry-APPL-3SG  
*Bogina bei si-gabu-mi go.”*  
 PRF IRR 3PL-roast-2SG SP

‘But his older brother said, “What are you crying for? It’s already been determined they are going to roast you.”’

- (72) *Tuwo kewou bogina i-ta-laga-e-Ø a-na kewou*  
 so canoe PRF 3SG-W.paddle-up-APPL-3SG PASS-3SG canoe  
*i-yagas-i-Ø go, i-yava i-na da Tautaua*  
 3SG-beach-TR-3SG SP 3SG-bushward 3SG-go people.of Dobu  
*i-latuwoko-i-di ka-na, “Da Tautaua, a-mi tau-yao*  
 3SG-tell-TR-3PL talk-3SG people.of Dobu ED-2PL person-PL  
*go-kie-di. Ko-kabi-di ko-gabu-di go, a-gu magi*  
 ID-seaward-3PL 2PL-get-3PL 2PL-roast-3PL SP ED-1SG betel.nut  
*be a-gu kunumana ko-vini-gu a-na a-gu kasa.”*  
 and ED-1SG sago 2PL-give-1SG 1SG-go PASS-1SG village

‘So he had paddled the canoe towards shore, beached it, went bushward and told the Dobuans, “Dobuans, humans for you to eat are there at the shore. Get them, roast them and give me betel nut and sago and I will go to my village.”’

- (73) *E tuwo da Tautauna-ya-di si-taoya si-iwo si-na*  
 DM so people.of Dobu-TM-3PL 3PL-arise 3PL-seaward 3PL-go  
*gomana-ya-na si-kabi-Ø be nakae kelikeli si-kabi-Ø*  
 child-TM-3SG 3PL-get-3SG and also rat 3PL-get-3SG  
*si-yave-di si-me-di si-yato-i-di go, si-na alova*  
 3PL-bushward.TR-3PL 3PL-come.TR-3PL 3PL-set-TR-3PL SP 3PL-go wood  
*si-leuya si-ma si-dimili-Ø.*  
 3PL-gather 3PL-come 3PL-build-3SG  
 ‘And so the Dobuans arose, went seaward, got the child and also got the rat, brought them bushward set them down and they went, collected wood, and built a fire.’
- (74) *Si-dimili-Ø i-kavava, si-gabu-di.*  
 3PL-build-3SG 3SG-finish 3PL-roast-3PL  
 ‘After they built a fire, they roasted them.’
- (75) *Si-gabu-di i-kavava, si-kai-sobu-ye-di si-dabe-di.*  
 3PL-roast-3PL 3SG-finish 3PL-down-APPL-3PL 3PL-cut.TR-3PL  
 ‘After they roasted them, they set them down and cut them open.’
- (76) *Si-dabe-di, gomana geya i-sabalita go, kina kelikeli i-sabali.*  
 3PL-cut.TR-3PL child NEG 3SG-fat.LIM SP 3SG rat 3SG-fat  
 ‘They cut them open and the child was not fat, but the rat was.’
- (77) *E kina maine tuwowo-di-ya-na ka-na, “O! Moitamo.*  
 DM 3SG earlier older.SSS-3PL-TM-3SG talk-3SG oh true  
*Yau bogina a-bagala. Woi kelikeli i-kani-di go, kaga*  
 1SG PRF 1SG-mistake indeed rat 3SG-eat-3PL SP what  
*una-na a-gu gomana a-wowoko-beso-Ø.”*  
 basis-3SG PASS-1SG younger.SSS 1SG-accuse-random-3SG  
 ‘And earlier their older brother said, “Oh! True. I have made a mistake. Indeed the rat ate them, but why did I wrongly accuse my younger brother?”’
- (78) *E tuwo koroto-ya-na a-na gomana*  
 DM so man-TM-3SG PASS-3SG younger.SSS  
*i-gite-Ø, nukoto-na i-mou.*  
 3SG-see-3SG neck-3SG 3SG-heavy  
 ‘And so the man saw his younger brother and he was sad (lit. his neck was heavy).’

- (79) *Tuwo i-iwo i-na da Tautauna-ya-di a-na magi*  
 so 3SG-seaward 3SG-go people.of Dobu-TM-3PL ED-3SG betel.nut  
*be a-na kunumana si-vini-vini-Ø i-va-dodoi-di.*  
 and ED-3SG sago 3PL-give-3SG 3SG-CAUS-load-3PL  
 ‘So he went seaward and loaded his betel nut and sago which the Dobuans  
 had given him.’
- (80) *I-kavava, i-yato-Ø i-na a-na kasa.*  
 3SG-finish 3SG-set-3SG 3SG-go PASS-3SG village  
 ‘After that, he set it and went to his village.’
- (81) *E i-beu-beuta go, i-nuwonuwana ka-na, “O yau bogina*  
 DM 3SG-IPFV-paddle SP 3SG-think talk-3SG oh 1SG PRF  
*a-bagala. A-guna gomana woi geya go,*  
 1SG-mistake PASS-1SG younger.SSS indeed NEG SP  
*a-lau-i-beso-Ø. O guna gomana, tae-na*  
 1SG-kill-TR-random-3SG oh CTRL.1SG younger.SSS faeces-3SG  
*a-kani-Ø.”*  
 1SG-eat-3SG  
 ‘And and he was paddling he thought, “Oh, I have done wrong. My younger  
 brother in fact didn’t do it, but I killed him for nothing. O my younger  
 brother, you are better than I am (lit. I eat his faeces).”’
- (82) *E tuwo i-beu-beuta, i-beu-beuta a-na kasa*  
 DM so 3SG-IPFV-paddle 3SG-IPFV-paddle PASS-3SG village  
*i-ta-laga sina-na tama-na i-latuwoko-i-di ka-na,*  
 3SG-W.paddle-up mother-3SG father-3SG 3SG-tell-TR-3PL talk-3SG  
*“Sina-gu tama-gu, guna gomana bogina da*  
 mother-1SG father-1SG CTRL.1SG younger.SSS PRF people.of  
*Tautauna a-vini-di go, magi kunumana si-vini-gu*  
 Dobu 1SG-give-3PL SP betel.nut sago 3PL-give-1SG  
*a-ma. Una-na tau-ya-di boi a-gu nige*  
 1SG-come basis-3SG person-TM-3PL previously ED-1SG grub  
*a-yato-i-di go, si-kani-di. E tauna a-nave-di*  
 1SG-set-TR-3PL SP 3PL-eat-3PL DM therefore 1SG-take.TR-3PL  
*da Tautauna a-vini-di si-gabu-di si-kani-di.”*  
 people.of Dobu 1SG-give-3PL 3PL-roast-3PL 3PL-eat-3PL

‘And so he be paddled and paddled to his village and he moved toward shore (lit. moved upward using a paddle) and told his mother and father, “My mother and father, I have given my younger brother to the Dobuans and they gave me betel nut and sago, then I came. Because they ate my grubs which I previously set aside. And therefore I took them and gave them to the Dobuans who roasted and ate them.” ’

- (83) *Tuwo sina-na tama-na taiyao si-taiya.*  
 so mother-3SG father-3SG COM 3PL-cry  
 ‘So his mother and father cried together.’
- (84) *Si-tai-taiya nukoto-di i-topa.*  
 3PL-IPFV-cry neck-3PL 3SG-UNACC.break  
 ‘The were crying and they gave up (lit. their necks broke).’
- (85) *E bogina i-kavava.*  
 DM PRF 3SG-finish  
 ‘And it is finished.’

### Text 3. Wallaby and Turtle

This is a tale written by Rea Lui in 1991. It is a story about how Wallaby and Turtle argue over who will climb the ogre’s white satinash tree. Turtle becomes angry when Wallaby won’t share the fruit, so calls to the ogre to tattle on Wallaby, but ends up being caught. The story tells how Turtle outwits the ogre and his wife and escapes from them.

- (1) *Vatuta ame yoguyogu a-di tai-yuwo vatuta-i-di, kerei*  
 legend PROX animal PASS-3PL person-two legend-?-3PL wallaby  
*nakae vayavaya.*  
 ADD turtle  
 ‘This legend is a legend about two animals, Wallaby and Turtle.’
- (2) *E vatuta-ya-na ame nakae.*  
 DM legend-TM-3SG PROX ADD  
 ‘Now the legend is like this.’
- (3) *Lava tayamo kerei ma nubai-na si-kaiyaka.*  
 time one wallaby COM cousin-3SG 3PL-exist  
 ‘One time Wallaby and his cousin were together.’
- (4) *Si-kaiyaka, kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya,*  
 3PL-exist wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle  
*ta-na ta-vayali a-da iyana*  
 1PL.INCL-go 1PL.INCL-walk.on.shore ED-1PL.INCL fish

*ta-lusala.*”

1PL.INCL-search

‘They were together and Wallaby said, “My cousin Turtle, let’s go walk along the shore and search for fish to eat.’

- (5) *Tuwo vayavaya ka-na, “O dedeevina. Ta-na*  
so turtle talk-3SG oh fine 1PL.INCL-go

*ta-vayali.*”

1PL.INCL-walk.on.shore

‘So Turtle said, “Oh fine. Let’s go walk on the shore.”’

- (6) *Tuwo moitamo a-di gita si-kabi-di, si-na si-vayali,*  
so true PASS-3PL spear 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-walk.on.shore

*a-di iyana si-gunubakuna.*

ED-3PL fish 3PL-spear

‘So indeed they got their spears, went and walked along the shore and speared fish for them to eat.’

- (7) *Si-gunubakuna, si-gunubakuna, kina kerei i-digo ka-na,*  
3PL-spear 3PL-spear 3SG wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG

*“Nubai-gu, ta-kaluvila ta-na a-da kasa*  
cousin-1SG 1PL.INCL-return 1PL.INCL-go PASS-1PL.INCL village

*una-na bogina niyala i-saliu.”*

basis-3SG PRF sun 3SG-set

‘They speared and speared and wallaby said, “My cousin, let’s return to our village because the sun has set.”’

- (8) *Tuwo si-kaluvila si-na a-di kasa si-vai-polu.*  
so 3PL-return 3PL-go PASS-3PL village 3PL-CAUS-boil

‘So they returned to their village and cooked.’

- (9) *Si-vai-polu i-kavava, si-vaideda.*  
3PL-CAUS-boil 3SG-finish 3PL-serve

‘After they cooked, they served.’

- (10) *Si-vaideda i-kavava, si-kaika.*  
3PL-serve 3SG-finish 3PL-eat

‘After they served, they ate.’

- (11) *Si-kaika, si-ka-kaika gamo-di.*  
3PL-eat 3PL-IPFV-eat stomach-3PL

‘They ate and they ate until they were full (lit. they were eating their stomachs).’

- (12) *I-kavava, si-masisi.*  
 3SG-finish 3PL-sleep  
 ‘After that, they slept.’
- (13) *Tuta-ya-na vanuwo i-tomo, si-taoya, e a-di gita*  
 time-TM-3SG village 3SG-next.day 3PL-arise DM PASS-3PL spear  
*si-kabi-di, si-na si-vayali.*  
 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-go 3PL-walk.on.shore  
 ‘When it was the next day (lit. at the time the village was the next day), they arose, then got their spears, went, and walked along the shore.’
- (14) *Si-vayali, si-vayali, si-na asa tayamo goi*  
 3PL-walk.on.shore 3PL-walk.on.shore 3PL-go village one OBL  
*si-sowoduwo.*  
 3PL-appear  
 ‘They walked and walked along the shore and arrived at a village.’
- (15) *Tuwo si-do-laga, mogolu si-gite-Ø.*  
 so 3PL-W.head-upwards satinash 3PL-see.TR-3SG  
 ‘So they looked up and saw a white satinash tree.’
- (16) *E kerei i-digo ka-na, “Nubai-gu vayavaya, a-da*  
 DM wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG cousin-1SG turtle ED-1PL.INCL  
*mogolu ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
 satinash 2SG-climb.TR-3SG  
 ‘And Wallaby said, “My cousin Turtle, climb the white satinash tree for the fruit to eat.”’
- (17) *Kina go vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Geya, nubai-gu. Kom ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
 NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 2SG-climb.TR-3SG  
 ‘But Turtle, he said, “No, my cousin. You climb it.”’
- (18) *Kina go kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Geya. Kom ku-mwere-Ø.”*  
 NEG 2SG 2SG-climb-3SG  
 ‘But Wallaby, he said, “No. You climb it.”’

- (19) *Tuwo kina vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na,*  
 so 3SG turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Geya, nubai-gu. Kom i-toboina-m ku-mwere-Ø*  
 NEG cousin-1SG 2SG 3SG-possible-2SG 2SG-climb.TR.3SG  
*una-na kom ae-m maanawe-na go, yau ae-gu kaakupi-na.*  
 basis-3SG 2SG leg-2SG long-3SG SP 1SG leg-1SG short-3SG  
*Tau-na geya i-toboina-gu-ta a-mwere-Ø.”*  
 result-3SG NEG 3SG-possible-1SG-LIM 1SG-climb.TR-3SG  
 ‘So Turtle said, “No, my cousin. You are able to climb it because your legs are long, but my legs are short. Therefore I’m not able to climb it.”’
- (20) *E kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “O dedeevina.*  
 DM wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG oh fine  
*A-mwere-Ø.”*  
 1SG-climb.TR-3SG  
 ‘And Wallaby said, “Oh fine. I will climb it.”’
- (21) *Tuwo vayavaya i-kaiyaka go, kina kerei i-mwere-Ø.*  
 so turtle 3SG-exist SP 3SG wallaby 3SG-climb.TR-3SG  
 ‘So Turtle remained and Wallaby climbed it.’
- (22) *I-mwera, i-na mae-ko i-ka-kaika go, kina vayavaya*  
 3SG-climb 3SG-go above-ADV 1PL.EXCL-IPVF-eat SP 3SG turtle  
*i-tuma-laga ka-na, “Nubai-gu, a-m mogolu go,*  
 3SG-beckon-up talk-3SG cousin-1SG ED-2SG satinash SP  
*sakavai-na kwalisobuye-Ø a-kaika.”*  
 skin-3SG 2SG.drop-3SG 1SG-eat  
 ‘He climbed up above and began eating but Turtle beckoned up and said, “My cousin, it is your white satinash, but drop its skin for me to eat.”’
- (22) *Kina go kerei i-digo ka-na, “E yau nakae*  
 3SG SP wallaby 3SG-speak talk-3SG DM 1SG ADD  
*guna sakava.”*  
 ED.1SG skin  
 ‘But Wallaby, he said, “And it is also my skin to eat.”’
- (23) *Tuwo vayavaya-ya-na ai-yuwo-i-na i-tuma-laga ka-na,*  
 so turtle-TM-3SG CLF-two-?-3SG 3SG-beckon-up talk-3SG  
*“Nubai-gu, tuwo a-m sakava go, latuwo-gu*  
 cousin-1SG enough ED-2SG skin SP desire-1SG

*kutukutu-na kwalisobuye-Ø a-kaika.*”

seed-3SG 2SG.drop-3SG 1SG-eat

‘So Turtle again beckoned up to Wallaby and said, “My cousin, forget about the skins, but I want you to drop its seeds for me to eat.”’

- (24) *E kina go kerei-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “E yau*  
 DM 3SG SP wallaby-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG DM 1SG  
*nakae guna kutukutu.*”  
 ADD ED.1SG seed

‘And Wallaby, he said, “And the seeds are also mine.”’

- (25) *E kina vayavaya-ya-na gamo-na i-goyo, tuwo i-simana*  
 DM 3SG turtle-TM-3SG stomach-3SG 3SG-bad so 3SG-tattle  
*ka-na, “Tomogibeli e! A-mi mogolu kerei*  
 talk-3SG Tomogibeli INTERJ ED-2PL satinash wallaby  
*i-mwere-mwere-Ø.*”  
 3SG-IPFV-climb.TR-3SG

‘Now Turtle was angry (lit. his stomach was bad), so he tattled and said, “Hey Tomogibeli! Wallaby is climbing your white satinash tree.”’

- (26) *Tuwo Tomogibeli-ya-na i-nove-di, e i-digo ka-na,*  
 so Tomogibeli-TM-3SG 3SG-hear.TR-3PL DM 3SG-say talk-3SG  
*“Komi va-tau-wa? Se-mi-yao a-kani-save-di*  
 2PL which-person-PL friend-2PL-PL 1SG-eat-completely-3PL  
*go, komi ko-ga-gagasa ko-ma guna kasa?”*  
 SP 2PL 2PL-IPFV-arrogant 2PL-come CTRL.1SG village

‘So Tomogibeli heard, so he said, “Who are you? I completely ate your friends, yet you are being arrogant and come to my village?”’

- (27) *Tuwo kidi niya-na si-nove-Ø, e kina kerei i-losuyae*  
 so 3PL voice-3SG 3PL-hear.TR-3SG DM 3SG wallaby 3SG-jump  
*limou sinae-na i-siu go, kina vayavaya i-lokoina i-na*  
 grass inside-3SG 3SG-enter SP 3SG turtle 3SG-run 3SG-go  
*botowo vaga-na sinae-na i-siboila.*  
 breadfruit leaf-3SG inside-3SG 3SG-enter

‘So they heard his voice and Wallaby jumped and went inside of the grass, but Turtle ran and went inside the leaf of a breadfruit tree.’

- (28) *E kina go Tomogibeliyana i-lokoina i-iwo i-na*  
 DM 3SG SP Tomogibeli-TM-3SG 3SG-run 3SG-seaward 3SG-go

*i-gite-di, geya, e i-lusala.*  
 3SG-see.TR-3PL NEG DM 3SG-search

‘And Tomogibeli ran seaward, looked for them, but saw nothing, then he searched.’

- (29) *I-lusala, i-lusala, vayavaya i-babane, i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG-search 3SG-search turtle 3SG-find.TR-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG

*“Komi tau-ya-mi se-mi-yao a-kani-save-di*  
 2PL person-TM-2PL friend-2PL-PL 1SG-eat-completely-3PL

*go, komi nako a-mi kenao ko-ma?”*

SP 2PL where pass-2PL path 2PL-come

‘He searched and searched and found Turtle and said, “I completely ate your friends, but by what path did you come?”’

- (30) *I-basi-sobu vayavaya-ya-na i-yois-i-Ø i-kavale-Ø*  
 3SG-W.hand-down turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-catch-TR-3SG 3SG-carry.TR-3SG

*i-nave-Ø asa.*  
 3SG-take.TR-3SG village

‘He reached down, seized Turtle and carried him away to the village.’

- (31) *Tuwo mone-na i-latuwoko-Ø ka-na, “Tuwade, vilava*  
 so spouse-3SG 3SG-tell-3SG talk-3SG Tuwade taro

*be awoinu ku-teui-di.”*

and yam 2SG-pare-3PL

‘So he told his wife, “Tuwade, pare taro and yams.”’

- (32) *Tuwo i-teui i-kavava, i-kaitabale-Ø.*  
 so 3SG-pare 3SG-finish 3SG-set.across.TR-3SG

‘So after she finished paring, she moved it across.’

- (33) *I-kavava, i-bala i-na bego vayavaya-ya-na i-kabi-Ø*  
 3SG-finish 3SG-move.across 3SG-go IM turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-get-3SG

*go, vayavaya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Tabu ku-dabe-gu,*  
 SP turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG PROH 2SG-cut.TR-1SG

*go sem madaboki-gu ko-vai-polu-gu bei a-sabali.*

SP CON all-1SG 2PL-CAUS-boil-1SG IRR 1SG-fat

*Go be ko-dabe-gu, a-ka-bokai.”*

SP IRR 2PL-cut.TR-1SG 1SG-INCH-skinny

‘After that, she went over to get Turtle, but Turtle said, “Don’t cut me open, rather cook all of me so that I will be greasy. But if you cut me open, I will become skinny.”’

- (34) *Tuwo moitamō niya-na si-kabi-kaone-Ø.*  
 so true voice-3SG 3PL-get-mouth.TR-3sg  
 ‘So indeed they obeyed him (lit. they got his voice).’
- (35) *Madaboki-na si-kaitabale-Ø vaega yata-na go,*  
 all-3SG 3PL-move.over.TR-3SG clay.pot on.top-3SG SP  
*si-bala si-na si-kunu-tawana.*  
 3PL-move.across 3PL-go 3PL-hair-cross.over  
 ‘They moved all of him over to on top of the clay pot and they moved across and searched each other for lice.’
- (36) *Si-kunu-tawana go, kina vayavaya-ya-na vaega tobu-na goi*  
 3PL-hair-cross.over SP 3SG turtle-TM-3SG clay.pot mouth-3SG OBL  
*i-busa.*  
 3SG-defecate  
 ‘They searched each other for lice but Turtle defecated on the mouth of the clay pot.’
- (37) *E i-buse-buse-Ø, i-buse-buse-Ø,*  
 DM 3SG-IPFV-defecate.TR-3SG 3SG-IPFV-defecate.TR-3SG  
*i-buse-mate-Ø vaega tobu-na.*  
 3SG-defecate-die.TR-3SG clay.pot mouth-3SG  
 ‘And he defecated and defecated and broke the mouth of the clay pot (lit. he killed the clay pot by defecating).’
- (38) *E i-losuyae botowo yata-na goi i-towo.*  
 DM 3SG-jump breadfruit on.top-3SG OBL 3SG-land  
 ‘And he jumped and landed on top of the breadfruit tree.’
- (39) *E kina Tomogibeli i-digo ka-na, “Tuwade, ku-na*  
 DM 3SG Tomogibeli 3SG-speak talk-3SG Tuwade 2SG-go  
*a-da vaega ku-putum-i-Ø.”*  
 PASS-1PL.INCL clay.pot 2SG-squeeze-TR-3SG  
 ‘And Tomogibeli said, “Tuwade, go squeeze coconut grease in our clay pot.”’
- (40) *Tuwo Tuwade-ya-na i-bala i-na vaega*  
 so Tuwade-TM-3SG 3SG-move.across 3SG-go clay.pot  
*i-katupaeve-Ø, i-do-sobu tataya kaka.*  
 3SG-open.TR-3SG 3SG-W.head-down faeces only  
 ‘So Tuwade moved across and opened the clay pot and looked down, only faeces.’

- (41) *Tuwo i-digo ka-na, “Tomogibeli, ame tau-ya-na geya.*  
 so 3SG-speak talk-3SG Tomogibeli PROX person-TM-3SG NEG  
*Nako i-na?”*  
 where 3SG-go  
 ‘So she said, “Tomogibeli, this one is not here. Where did he go?”’
- (42) *Kina go Tomogibeli-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Kabareya-i-m! Moe*  
 3SG SP Tomogibeli-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG crazy-?-2SG MED  
*beva-i-na go, tau-ya-na bogina*  
 intestines-?-3SG SP person-TM-3SG PRF  
*i-ta-veta-veta i-sou i-na vaega*  
 3SG-UNACC-IPFV-disintegrate 3SG-descend 3SG-go clay.pot  
*dibu-na goi i-vai-polu.”*  
 bottom-3SG OBL 3SG-CAUS-boil  
 ‘But Tomogibeli, he said, “You are crazy! That is his intestines but he has disintegrated and descended to the bottom of the clay pot and is boiled.”’
- (43) *Tuwo vavina i-kabi-kawana ka-na, “Moitamo.”*  
 so woman 3SG-get-mouth talk-3SG true  
 ‘So the woman believed and said “True.”’
- (44) *Tuwo i-putum-i-Ø i-kavava, i-vaideda.*  
 so 3SG-squeeze-TR-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-serve  
 ‘So after she squeezed coconut grease on it, she served.’
- (45) *I-vaideda si-kaika*  
 3SG-serve 3PL-eat  
 ‘She served and they ate.’
- (46) *Si-ka-kaika go, kina vayavaya-ya-na i-tuma-sobu ka-na,*  
 3PL-IPFV-eat SP 3SG turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-beckon-down talk-3SG  
*“Tomogibeli ma mone-m, tae-gu ko-kani-Ø.”*  
 Tomogibeli com spouse-2SG faeces-1SG 2PL-eat-3SG  
 ‘While they were eating, Turtle beckoned down, he said, “Tomogibeli and you wife, you ate my faeces.”’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is actually a play on words here. The way the author wrote this, the phrase *taegu kokani* ‘You eat my faeces’ is a rather derogatory thing to say to someone. Here it could mean Turtle is insulting them, but at the same time it is true that they ate his faeces. The verb is realis and could be “you eat” or “you ate”.

- (47) *Kina go vavina i-nove-Ø i-digo ka-na,*  
 3SG SP woman 3SG-hear.TR-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG  
*“Mone-gu, manuwo i-digo-digo bego tae-na ta-kani-Ø.”*  
 spouse-1SG bird 3SG-IPFV-speak IM faeces-3SG 1PL.INCL-eat-3SG  
 ‘The woman heard him and said, “My Husband, a bird is saying that we ate its faeces.”’
- (48) *Kina go Tomogibeli i-digo ka-na, “Kabareya-i-m! Moe*  
 3SG SP Tomogibeli 3SG-speak talk-3SG crazy-?-2SG MED  
*manuwo si-taiya-beso.”*  
 bird 3PL-cry-random  
 ‘But Tomogibeli said, “You are crazy! That was a bird that sang randomly.”’
- (49) *Kina go vavina i-digo ka-na, “Ku-nove-nove-Ø go be*  
 3SG SP woman 3SG-say talk-3SG 2SG-IPFV-hear.TR-3SG SP IRR  
*i-taiya-mna.”*  
 3SG-cry-again  
 ‘But the woman, she said, “You keep listening to him and he will sing again.”’
- (50) *Tuwo moitamo si-taiyakeka go, i-taiya-mna.*  
 so true 3PL-listen SP 3SG-cry-again  
 ‘So indeed they listened and he cried again.’
- (51) *Tuwo si-lokoina si-na si-do-laga, e si-gite-Ø*  
 so 3PL-run 3PL-go 3PL-W.head-upwards DM 3PL-see.TR-3PL  
*botowo yata-na goi i-tu-laga-laga.*  
 breadfruit on.top-3SG OBL 3SG-W.butt-IPFV-upwards  
 ‘So they ran and looked up, then they saw him sitting on top of the breadfruit tree.’
- (52) *Tuwo si-digo ka-di, “EE! Komwe? Ku-gagasa. Ku-siya*  
 so 3PL-say talk-3PL INTERJ 2SG.Q 2SG-bold 2SG-flee  
*ku-ma go, kai tae-m ka-kani-Ø.”*  
 2SG-come SP 1PL.EXCL faeces-2SG 1PL.EXCL-eat  
 ‘So they said, “Hey! It’s you, is it? You are bold. You fled and come but we eat your faeces.”’
- (53) *Ainukwaku si-tala-i-di si-me-di.*  
 stick 3PL-cut-TR-3PL 3PL-come.TR-3PL  
 ‘They cut sticks and brought them.’

- (54) *I-kavava, si-lepe-Ø.*  
 3SG-finish 3PL-knock.down.TR-3SG  
 ‘After that, they tried to knock him (Turtle) down.’
- (55) *Si-lepe-lepe-Ø, si-lepe-lepe-Ø, i-pela*  
 3PL-IPFV-knock.out.TR-3SG 3PL-IPFV-knock.down.TR-3SG 3SG-jump  
*i-na magi goi i-towo.*  
 3SG-go betel.nut OBL 3SG-land  
 ‘They were trying and trying to knock him down, but he jumped to a betel nut palm and landed.’
- (56) *Tuwo ai-yuwo-i-na si-lepe-Ø.*  
 so CLF-two-?-3SG 3PL-knock.down.TR-3SG  
 ‘So again they tried to knock him down.’
- (57) *Si-lepe-lepe-Ø, si-lepe-lepe-Ø, i-pela*  
 3PL-IPFV-knock.out-3SG 3PL-IPFV-knock.down-3SG 3SG-jump  
*i-na vada goi i-towo.*  
 3SG-go house OBL 3SG-land  
 ‘They tried and tried to knock him down, but he jumped to a house and landed.’
- (58) *Tuwo ai-ton-i-na si-lepe-Ø.*  
 so CLF-three-?-3SG 3PL-knock.down.TR-3SG  
 ‘So a third time they tried to knock him down.’
- (59) *Si-lepe-lepe-Ø, si-lepe-lepe-Ø, i-pela*  
 3PL-IPFV-knock.down.TR-3SG 3PL-IPFV-knock.down-3SG 3SG-jump  
*i-na Tuwade daba-na goi i-towo.*  
 3SG-go Tuwade head-3SG OBL 3SG-land  
 ‘They tried and tried to knock him down but he jumped to Tuwade’s head and landed.’
- (60) *Tuwo Tomogibeli bego vayavaya-ya-na i-lau-i-Ø go, kina*  
 so Tomogibeli IM turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG SP 3SG  
*vayavaya-ya-na i-siya go, mone-na i-lau-i-Ø.*  
 turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-flee SP spouse-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG  
 ‘So Tomogibeli intended to hit Turtle but Turtle fled and he hit his wife.’
- (61) *Tuwo vayavaya-ya-na i-pela i-na Tomogibeli daba-na goi.*  
 so turtle-TM-3SG 3SG-jump 3SG-go Tomogibeli head-3SG OBL  
 ‘So Turtle jumped on Tomogibeli’s head.’

- (62) *Tuwo bego vayavaya i-lau-i-Ø go, i-kau-goya-i-Ø*  
 so IM turtle 3SG-hit-TR-3SG SP 3SG-W.force-bad-TR-3SG  
*toini-na i-lau-i-Ø.*  
 REFL-3SG 3SG-hit-TR-3SG  
 ‘So he intended to hit Turtle, but he missed and hit himself.’
- (63) *Ame tau-na guna vatuta a-na kakainaki.*  
 PROX all-3SG CTRL.1SG legend PASS-3SG extent  
 ‘This is the extent of my legend.’

#### Text 4. Two men lost at sea

This true story was written by Isileli Wayaulo in 2005. It is about two men who get on a Taiwanese fishing boat to make some money fishing for them. While they are out in one of the dinghies the Taiwanese fishermen provided, they end up getting lost and drift for several days.

- (1) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo to-bani i-doiye-di*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two NMLZ-fish 3SG-drift-3PL  
*a-va-tetel-i-di.*  
 1SG-CAUS-story-TR-3PL  
 ‘I tell the story about the two fishermen who drifted.’
- (2) *Koroto a-di tai-yuwo i-di kasa Gumawana goi*  
 man PASS-3PL person-two CTRL-3PL village Gumawana OBL  
*se-di-yao taiyao si-kaaiyako.*  
 SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-IPFV.exist  
 ‘Two men were living with their friends in their village of Gumawana.’
- (3) *Si-kaaiyako si-kaaiyako eee, tuta tayamo oga*  
 3PL-IPFV.exist 3PL-IPFV.exist until time one canoe  
*dimdim gagai-na tayamo i-ma i-vaiu.*  
 foreigner big-3SG one 3SG-come 3SG-arrive  
 ‘They lived on until one time a large foreign boat arrived.’
- (4) *Ego amo oga-ya-na kidi to-bani Taiwani i-di oga.*  
 ADD DIST canoe-TM-3SG 3PL NMLZ-fish Taiwan CTRL-3PL canoe  
 ‘And that boat was the Taiwanese fishermen’s boat.’
- (5) *Ago boi si-na Watuluma goi si-lokasa go,*  
 ADD previously 3PL-go Watuluma OBL 3PL-relocate SP  
*tomota si-kabi-di be tomota-ya-di si-bani kidi dimdim-ya-di*  
 people 3PL-get-3PL IRR people-TM-3PL 3PL-fish 3PL foreign-TM-3PL

*manu-di.*

OBL-3PL

‘But previously they had gone to Watuluma and relocated and they got people in order that the people fish for the foreigners.’

- (6) *Tau-na amo tuta-ya-na moe oga-ya-na Watuluma*  
 result-3SG DIST time-TM-3SG MED canoe-TM-3SG Watuluma  
*goi i-ma Gumawana i-vaiu bego maniye-di tomota*  
 OBL 3SG-come Gumawana 3SG-arrive IM some-3PL people  
*si-kabi-di i-di to-bani-yao.*  
 3PL-get-3PL CTRL-3PL NMZL-fish-PL

‘Therefore at that time that boat came from Watuluma and arrived at Gumawana intending to get some people as their fishermen.’

- (7) *Tuwo si-ma si-vaiu.*  
 so 3PL-come 3PL-arrive

‘So they came and arrived.’

- (8) *E dimdim tayamo dingi i-kabi-Ø i-yava i-ma*  
 DM foreign one dinghy 3SG-get-3SG 3SG-bushward 3SG-come  
*asa tomota i-gite-di i-kabi-di bego i-na*  
 village people 3SG-see.TR-3PL 3SG-get-3PL IM CTRL-3SG  
*to-bani-yao.*  
 NMZL-fish-PL

‘Now a certain foreigner got a dinghy, came bushward to the village, saw the people and took them as his fishermen.’

- (9) *I-yava i-mamai-ma maniye-di tomota si-tagona.*  
 3SG-bushward 3SG-IPFV-come some-3PL people 3PL-agree

‘He came bushward and some of the people agreed.’

- (10) *E nakae amo koroto-ya-di a-di tei-yuwo si-tagona.*  
 DM ADD DIST man-TM-3PL PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-agree

‘And those two men also agreed.’

- (11) *Latuwo-di si-sowoya sa-di-yao taiyao si-na si-bani.*  
 desire-3PL 3PL-embark SSS-3PL-PL COM 3PL-go 3PL-fish

‘They wanted to embark with their friends and go fish.’

- (12) *E tuwo moitamo madaboki-di-kova kona-di si-katubayasina*  
 DM so true all-3PL-inclusive possession-3PL 3PL-prepare  
*i-kavava, si-sowoya dingi goi si-iwo si-na*  
 3SG-finish 3PL-embark dinghy OBL 3PL-seaward 3PL-go

*oga-ya-na gagai-na goi si-soi-damana.*  
canoe-TM-3SG big-3SG OBL 3PL-join-cross

‘And so indeed after all of them loaded their things, they embarked on the dinghy, went seaward to the big boat and crossed over to it.’

- (13) *E oga-ya-na i-kailova i-kaluvila-mna i-na Watuluma.*  
DM canoe-TM-3SG 3SG-depart 3SG-return-again 3SG-go Watuluma  
‘And the boat departed and returned again to Watuluma.’

- (14) *Amo-ko goi nakona si-kana-to nakae, e si-kailova-mna*  
DIST-ADV OBL perhaps 3PL-sleep-three ADD DM 3PL-depart-again  
*si-na be si-bani.*  
3PL-go IRR 3PL-fish

‘There they slept perhaps around three nights, then they returned again and went to fish.’

- (15) *Ago si-kailova si-lokoina si-lokoina eee Odana be Kuyau*  
ADD 3PL-depart 3PL-run 3PL-run until Odana and Kuyau  
*sobuyekoi-di go, Simsimla moe yatana-i-na.*  
below-3PL SP Simsimla MED above-?-3SG

‘And they departed, sailed and sailed until just below Odana and Kuyau, but Simsimla was above.’

- (16) *Tuwo osasa-beso goi si-vailowana.*  
so sea-random OBL 3PL-anchored  
‘So in the open ocean they anchored.’

- (17) *Si-vailowana go, niyala bogina lavilavi.*  
3PL-anchor SP sun PRF evening  
‘They anchored and the time was already evening.’

- (18) *Ego kidi dimdim-ya-di si-na i-di to-bani-ya-di*  
ADD 3PL foreigner-TM-3PL 3PL-go CTRL-3PL NMZL-fish-TM-3PL  
*si-letoko-i-di ka-di, “E, madaboki-mi ko-ma.”*  
3PL-tell-TR-3PL talk-3PL INTERJ all-2PL 2PL-come

‘And the foreigners went and told their fishermen, “Hey all of you come.”’

- (19) *Tuwo madaboki-di si-na dimdim-ya-di goi go, tayamo*  
so all-3PL 3PL-go foreigner-TM-3PL OBL SP one  
*dimdim bani be nakae sala i-kabi-di*  
foreigner fishing.line and ADD hook 3SG-get-3PL

*i-kaiguyau-ye-di i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-distribute-APPL-3PL 3SG-give-3PL

‘So all of them went to the foreigners and a certain foreigner got fishing lines and also hooks, and distributed them to them.’

- (20) *I-vini-di i-kavava, i-di dingi-yao i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL 3SG-give-3PL

‘After he gave them to them, he gave them their dinghies.’

- (21) *Ego dingi-ya-di ii-vini-di a-di loina bego gelugelu*  
 ADD dinghy-TM-3PL 3SG.IPFV-give-3PL PASS-3PL rule IM crew

*a-di te-yuwo, a-di te-yuwo si-sowoya.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two PASS-3PL person-two 3PL-embark

‘And when he gave them the dinghies, their rule was that the crew embark two per dinghy.’

- (22) *E amo a-di lovina i-vini-di i-kavava,*  
 DM DIST PASS-3PL rule 3SG-give-3PL 3SG-finish

*e dindim-ya-na i-na.*  
 DM foreigner-TM-3SG 3SG-go

‘Now after he gave them their rule, then the foreigner left.’

- (23) *Ago kidi to-bani-yao-ya-di madaboki-di si-deli-sowoya*  
 ADD 3PL NMZL-fish-PL-TM-3PL all-3PL 3PL-en.masse-embark

*i-di dingi-yao tamo tamo goi go, kidi koroto-ya-di*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL one one OBL SP 3PL man-TM-3PL

*a-di te-yuwo moe i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 PASS-3PL person-two MED CTRL-3PL dinghy one

‘And all of the fishermen embarked en masse on each of their dinghies, and the two men were in the same dinghy (lit. the two men’s dinghy was one).’

- (24) *Tau-ya-di yoi-di moe Gobune e Agastina.*  
 person-TM-3PL name-3PL MED Gobune DM Agastina

‘Their names were Gobune and Agastina.’

- (25) *Gobune moe a-na tala 41.*  
 Gobune MED PASS-3SG cut 41

‘Gobune was 41 years old (lit. his cut was 41).’

- (26) *Ego Agastina iya a-na tala moe 18.*  
 ADD Agastina 3SG PASS-3SG cut MED 18

‘And Agastina was 18.’

- (27) *Tau-ya-di i-di dingi tayamo.*  
 person-TM-3PL CTRL-3PL dinghy one  
 ‘They had the same dinghy (lit. their dinghy was one).’
- (28) *Ego sa-di-yao nakae a-di te-yuwo a-di te-yuwo.*  
 ADD SSS-3PL-PL ADD PASS-3PL person-two PASS-3PL person-two  
 ‘And their friends also were two per dinghy.’
- (29) *E amo madaboki-di-kova si-deli-sowoya*  
 DM DIST all-3PL-inclusive 3PL-en.masse-embark  
*i-di dingi-yao goi.*  
 CTRL-3PL dinghy-PL OBL  
 ‘And all of them embarked en masse on their dinghies.’
- (30) *E si-kailova, si-na si-bani.*  
 DM 3PL-depart 3PL-go 3PL-fish  
 ‘And they departed and went and fished.’
- (31) *Si-na si-bani-bani si-bani-bani eee lavilavi toi-na bogina*  
 3PL-go 3PL-IPFV-fish 3PL-IPFV-fish until evening very-3SG PRF  
*be giyakainava i-mamaniwana nakae.*  
 IRR soon 3SG-dark ADD  
 ‘They went and were fishing until late evening and it was already about to get dark.’
- (32) *E tuwo si-deli-vila si-ma i-di oga-ya-na*  
 DM so 3PL-en.masse-return 3PL-come CTRL-3PL canoe-TM-3SG  
*goi si-masisi.*  
 OBL 3PL-sleep  
 ‘And so they returned together to their boat and slept.’
- (33) *Si-masisi botomotomo nakae si-deli-taoya i-di*  
 3PL-sleep 3am ADD 3PL-en.masse-arise CTRL-3PL  
*dingi-ya-di si-kabi-di si-kailova, si-lokoina si-lokoina*  
 dinghy-TM-3PL 3PL-get-3PL 3PL-depart 3PL-run 3PL-run  
*eee oga gagai-na maine moe i-ta-gau-gau.*  
 until canoe big-3SG earlier MED 3SG-UNACC-IPFV-secret  
 ‘They slept and around 3 a.m. they arose together, got their dinghies, departed, and they went until the big boat began to disappear.’
- (34) *Tuwo maniye-di moe-ko si-sayata si-bani go, kidi maniye-di*  
 so some-3PL MED-ADV 3PL-stop 3PL-fish SP 3PL some-3PL

*to si-lokoina si-na si-na si-na oga gagaina-ya-na*  
just 3PL-run 3PL-go 3PL-go 3PL-go canoe big-TM-3SG

*i-ta-gau toi-na o ta-digo ka-da*  
3SG-UNACC-secret very-3SG or 1PL.INCL-say talk-1PL.INCL

*i-kasopu toi-na.*  
3SG-disappear very-3SG

‘So some of them stopped there and fished, but others just went on until the big boat really disappeared or we would say it really disappeared over the horizon.’

- (35) *E tuwo amo-ko goi si-sayata go, si-bani.*  
DM so DIST-ADV OBL 3PL-stop SP 3PL-fish

‘And so they stopped there and fished.’

- (36) *Si-bani-bani ina si-bani-liya si-kaluvila si-nonoi-na*  
3PL-IPFV-fish later 3PL-fish-intermittent 3PL-return 3PL-IPFV-go  
*oga manu-na.*  
canoe OBL-3SG

‘They were fishing, then later they fished intermittently as they returned and were making their way to the boat.’

- (37) *Go kidi Gobune be Agastina amo-ko goi si-bani-bani*  
SP 3PL Gobune and Agastina DIST-ADV OBL 3PL-IPFV-fish

‘But Gobune and Agastina were fishing there.’

- (38) *Ina si-kailova a-yuwo-i-na si-lokoina-iwo si-na tayari*  
later 3PL-depart CL-two-?-3SG 3PL-run-seaward 3PL-go reef  
*tamo goi si-bani.*  
one OBL 3PL-fish

‘Later they departed again and moved seaward to a certain reef and fished.’

- (38) *Moe ta-digo ka-da lavilavi nakae bogina.*  
MED 1PL.INCL-say talk-1PL.INCL evening ADD PRF

‘That we would say was already evening.’

- (39) *Ego sa-di-yao kidi madaboki-di bogina si-lokoina-vila*  
ADD SSS-3PL-PL 3PL all-3PL PRF 3PL-run-return  
*si-nonoi-na oga.*  
3PL-IPFV-go canoe

‘But all of their friends were already heading back to the boat.’

- (40) *Go kidi nava si-bani-bani eee bogina kenauluulu nakae.*  
 SP 3PL still 3PL-IPFV-fish until PRF dark ADD  
 ‘But they were still fishing until it was already dark enough not to be able to see anyone.’
- (41) *Tuwo Gobune i-digo ka-na, “Siya-gu, i-da vailowana*  
 so Gobune 3SG-say talk-3SG SSS-1SG CTRL-1PL.INCL anchor  
*ku-biu-Ø gobe endin a-sitaiti, e be ta-kaluvila*  
 2SG-pull-3SG then engine 1SG-start DM IRR 1PL.INCL-return  
*ta-na oga goi. Ame bogina be i-sabamgo.”*  
 1PL.INCL-go canoe OBL PROX PRF IRR 3SG-night  
 ‘So Gobune said, “My friend, pull our anchor then I will start the engine, then we will return to the boat. It’s already about to become night.’
- (42) *E tuwo moitamō Agastina i-bala i-na*  
 DM so true Agastina 3SG-move.across 3SG-go  
*vailowana i-biu-Ø.*  
 anchor 3SG-pull-3SG  
 ‘And so in fact Agastina went over and pulled the anchor.’
- (43) *I-kavava, si-kailova si-lokoina bego si-na oga.*  
 3SG-finish 3PL-depart 3PL-run IM 3PL-go canoe  
 ‘After that, they departed and ran intending to go to the boat.’
- (44) *Go sii-lokoina eee asa bogina i-mamaniwana go, oga geya*  
 SP 3PL-IPFV-run until village PRF 3SG-dark SP canoe NEG  
*si-gite-yeta.*  
 3PL-see.TR-3SG.LIM  
 ‘And they were running until it had become dark but they did not see the boat.’
- (45) *Tuwo Agastina ka-na, “Gobune, ame kom kosi ku-bagala.*  
 so Agastina talk-3SG Gobune PROX 2SG course 2SG-mistake  
*Neta ku-buni tukowana i-na kaba tuko ku-masi, e be*  
 if 2SG-turn moon CTRL-3SG NMZL ascend 2SG-point DM IRR  
*ta-lokoina giyai-na ta-na oga a-na laiti*  
 1PL.INCL-run small-3SG 1PL.INCL-go canoe PASS-3SG light  
*ta-gite-Ø, e be ta-na.”*  
 1PL.INCL-see.TR-3SG DM IRR 1PL.INCL-go

‘So Agastina said, “Gobune, you have mistaken the course. If you turn and point towards where the moon rises, then we will go a little ways and see the boats lights, then we go.’

- (46) *Ago Gobune ka-na, “Geya, kita maine amo*  
 ADD Gobune talk-3SG NEG 1PL.INCL earlier DIST  
*a-masi-masi goi, amo-ko ta-na.”*  
 1SG-IPFV-point OBL DIST-ADV 1PL.INCL-go

‘But Gobune said, “No, we go where earlier I was pointing there.”’

- (47) *Ego Agastina ka-na, “Geya, geya, kita*  
 ADD Agastina talk-3SG NEG NEG 1PL.INCL  
*mae-ko ta-ma.”*  
 above-ADV 1PL.INCL-come

‘But Agastina said, “No, no, we came from up there.”’

- (48) *E moitamō si-lokoina eee tayari tayamo si-gite-Ø endin*  
 DM true 3PL-run until reef one 3PL-see.TR-3SG engine  
*si-ki-mate-Ø go, si-valowana.*  
 3PL-W.hand-kill.TR-3SG SP 3PL-anchor

‘And in fact they ran until they saw a reef and killed the engine and anchored.’

- (49) *E amo-ko si-masisi.*  
 DM DIST-ADV 3PL-sleep

‘And there they slept.’

- (50) *Si-masisi asa i-tomo i-di bwasi si-gite-Ø*  
 3PL-sleep village 3SG-next.day CTRL-3PL water 3PL-see.TR-3SG  
*bogina i-kavava.*  
 PRF 3SG-finish

‘They slept and the next day they saw their fuel was already finished.’

- (51) *Tuwo si-nuwonuwana manakae-di be si-na oga si-babane-Ø.*  
 so 3PL-think how-3PL IRR 3PL-go canoe 3PL-find-3SG

‘So they thought how they might find the boat.’

- (52) *Si-nuwonuwana geya, e i-di vailowana si-biu-Ø*  
 3PL-think NEG DM CTRL-3PL anchor 3PL-pull-3SG  
*si-dodoi-Ø go, yagira i-doiye-di.*  
 3PL-load-3SG SP wind 3SG-drift-3PL

‘They thought of nothing, so they pulled their anchor, loaded it and they drifted in the wind (lit. the wind drifted them).’

- (53) *I-dooiye-di i-dooiye-di asa i-tomo.*  
 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL village 3SG-next.day  
 ‘They drifted and drifted until the next day.’
- (54) *E sabamgo i-dooiye-di i-dooiye-di asa*  
 DM night 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL village  
*i-tomo.*  
 3SG-next.day  
 ‘And they drifted all night until the next day.’
- (55) *I-tomo i-dooiye-di eee si-do-bala*  
 3SG-next.day 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL until 3PL-W.head-move.across  
*niu tamu si-gite-Ø.*  
 coconut one 3PL-see.TR-3SG  
 ‘The next day they drifted on until they looked over and saw a coconut.’
- (56) *Tuwo i-di bwasi giyai-na toi-na i-kaiyako, e amo*  
 so CTRL-3PL water small-3SG very-3SG 3SG-exist DM DIST  
*si-lokoina-bala niu-ya-na si-kabi-Ø si-me-Ø*  
 3PL-run-across coconut-TM-3SG 3PL-get-3SG 3PL-come.TR-3SG  
*si-koyomi-Ø si-kaika a-di iyana mamai-di taiyao.*  
 3PL-husk-3SG 3PL-eat ED-3PL fish raw-3PL COM  
 ‘So there was a very small amount of their fuel, so they moved across there, got the coconut, brought it, husked it and ate it with their raw fish.’
- (57) *Si-kaika i-kavava, i-dooiye-di eee asa i-sabamgo-mna.*  
 3PL-eat 3SG-finish 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL until village 3SG-night-again  
 ‘After they ate, they were drifting until it was night again.’
- (58) *E si-masisi go, i-dooiye-di eee asa i-tomo.*  
 DM 3PL-sleep SP 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL until village 3SG-next.day  
 ‘And they slept and they were drifting until the next day.’
- (59) *I-tomo nobuyana si-taoya si-kaiyako go, i-dooiye-di*  
 3SG-next.day morning 3PL-arise 3PL-exist SP 3SG-IPFV.drift-3PL  
*eee kiye si-na.*  
 until seaward 3PL-go  
 ‘The next morning they arose and were there and were drifting seaward.’
- (60) *E moe neta Gumawana goi go, i-na si-baabane-di*  
 DM MED if Gumawana OBL SP 3SG-go 3PL-IPFV.find.TR-3PL

*goi moe ta-digo ka-da 74 miles nakae.*  
 OBL MED 1PL.INCL-say talk-1PL.INCL 74 miles ADD

‘And that was like if from Gumawana to where they found them, that you might say was around 74 miles.’

- (61) *E amo-ko goi si-vakana si-do-bala oga*  
 DM DIST-ADV OBL 3PL-turn.from.wind 3PL-W.head-across canoe  
*tamo si-gite-Ø i-katupoiya i-lokoina i-mamai-ma moe badi*  
 one 3PL-see.TR-3SG 3SG-appear 3SG-run 3SG-IPFV-come MED barge  
*tayamo Kimbe goi i-kailova i-mamai-ma Alotau manu-na.*  
 one Kimbe OBL 3SG-depart 3SG-IPFV-come Alotau OBL-3SG

‘And from there they turned from the wind, looked over and saw a boat that appeared on the horizon and coming towards them. That was a barge that departed from Kimbe and was coming to Alotau.’

- (62) *E tau-ya-di si-gite-Ø, tuwo si-nuwonuwana manakae-di*  
 DM person-TM-3PL 3PL-see.TR-3SG so 3PL-think how-3PL  
*bei oga amo i-ma i-biu-di.*  
 IRR canoe DIST 3SG-come 3SG-pull-3PL

‘And they saw it, so they thought what they might do so that boat would come and pull them.’

- (63) *E tuwo si-sida-sida Yaubada goi bego manakae-na neta*  
 DM so 3PL-IPFV-ask God OBL IM how-3SG if  
*oga amo i-ma i-babane-di.*  
 canoe DIST 3SG-come 3SG-find.TR-3PL

‘And so they began praying to God that somehow that boat would come and find them.’

- (64) *E si-sida-sida i-kavava, i-doiye-di go, oga-ya-na*  
 DM 3PL-IPFV-ask 3SG-finish 3SG-drift-3PL SP canoe-TM-3SG  
*si-gite-gite-Ø go, i-lokoina i-ma i-ma eee*  
 3PL-IPFV-see.TR-3SG SP 3SG-run 3SG-come 3SG-come until  
*kiki-di goi i-silou.*  
 near-3PL OBL 3SG-slow

‘And after they were praying, they drifted but they were watching the boat and it ran towards them until it slowed near them.’

- (65) *E si-lokoina si-na si-yoita si-soi-damana.*  
 DM 3PL-run 3PL-go 3PL-hold 3PL-join-cross

‘And they ran to it, held it, and crossed over to it.’

- (66) *E i-di dingi si-biu-Ø i-tuko oga-ya-na*  
 DM CTRL-3PL dinghy 3PL-pull-3SG 3SG-ascend canoe-TM-3SG  
*goi go, si-lokoina si-na Alotau goi si-vaiu.*  
 OBL SP 3PL-run 3PL-go Alotau OBL 3PL-arrive  
 ‘And they pulled the dinghy up on the boat and they ran on to Alotau and arrived.’
- (67) *E kidi tau-ya-di si-sou go, oga-ya-na i-na.*  
 DM 3PL person-TM-3PL 3PL-descend SP canoe-TM-3SG 3SG-go  
 ‘And they disembarked and the boat left.’
- (68) *Ego kidi tau-ya-di Alotau goi si-kaiyako si-kaiyako ina*  
 ADD 3PL person-TM-3PL Alotau OBL 3PL-exist 3PL-exist later  
*MV Kagutoki goi si-sowoya si-ma i-di kasa*  
 MV Kagutoki OBL 3PL-embark 3PL-come CTRL-3PL village  
*Gumawana goi si-sou go, Kagutoki i-na Losuia.*  
 Gumawana OBL 3PL-descend SP Kagutoki 3SG-go Losuia  
 ‘But they stayed in Alotau, and later they embarked on the MV Kagutoki and came to their village of Gumawana and disembarked and Kagutoki left for Losuia.’
- (69) *Ame tau-na nakae guna va-tetala.*  
 PROX that-3SG ADD CTRL.1SG CAUS-story  
 ‘That is all of my story.’

## Text 5. Request for magic

This story is a true story written by Tomasi Tomesisi in August of 1991. It is about some Kiriwina men who wanted Tomasi and his family to do magic to change the wind direction so they could return to their village.

- (1) *Tetala ame i-sowodo Disemba 23, 1990 sabamgo.*  
 story PROX 3SG-appear December 23, 1990 night  
 ‘This story happened on the night of December 23, 1990.’
- (2) *Sabamgo-ya-na goi da Budibudi a-di tai-to*  
 night-TM-3SG OBL people.of Kiriwina PASS-3PL person-three  
*si-ma sina-gu be Lisi taiyao si-kaiyaka.*  
 3PL-come mother-1SG and Lisi COM 3PL-exist  
 ‘On that night three Kiriwinans came and were together with my mother and Lisi.’

- (3) *Ago i-di kaiyako goi si-bo-bobwara*  
 ADD CTRL-3PL exist OBL 3PL-IPFV-talk  
 ‘And while they were there, they were talking.’
- (4) *Latuwo-di bego sina-gu yagira i-meya-i-Ø go, si-na*  
 desire-3PL IM mother-1SG wind 3SG-magic-TR-3SG SP 3PL-go  
*i-di kasa.*  
 CTRL-3PL village  
 ‘They wanted my mother to do magic on the wind so they could go to their village.’
- (5) *Ego tau-ya-di si-bo-bobwara go, yau a-ma.*  
 ADD person-TM-3PL 3PL-IPFV-talk SP 1SG 1SG-come  
 ‘And while they were talking, I came.’
- (6) *E tuwo koroto tayamo yoi-na Kailobu.*  
 ADD so man one name-3SG Kailobu  
 ‘And so there was a man there whose name was Kailobu.’
- (7) *Tau-ya-na i-latuwoko-i-gu i-digo ka-na, “Tomasi, yau*  
 person-TM-3SG 3SG-tell-TR-1SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG Tomasi 1SG  
*se-dao taiyao ka-ma bego ka-gite-mi*  
 SSS-1PL.INCL.PL COM 1PL.EXCL-come IM 1PL.EXCL-see.TR-2PL  
*be yagira ko-meya-i-Ø go, ka-na*  
 IRR wind 2PL-magic-TR-3SG SP 1PL.EXCL-go  
*i-ma kasa.”*  
 CTRL-1PL.EXCL village  
 ‘He told me, he said, “Tomasi, our friends and I came to see you in order that you would do magic on the wind and we would go to our village.”’
- (8) *E tuwo yau a-digo ka-gu, “Siya-gu, yau boi*  
 DM so 1SG 1SG-speak talk-1SG SSS-1SG 1SG previously  
*a-meya-meyava go, ame tuta meyava bogina a-kalae-Ø*  
 1SG-IPFV-magic SP PROX time magic PRF 1SG-leave.TR-3SG  
*una-na bogina a-kurisitiyani. Guna meyava buki-na*  
 basis-3SG PRF 1SG-christian CTRL.1SG magic book-3SG  
*bogina a-gabu-Ø.”*  
 PRF 1SG-burn-3SG  
 ‘And so I said, “My friend, previously I used to do magic, but now I have left magic because I have become a Christian. I have burned my book of magic.”’

- (9) *Ego tau-ya-na i-digo ka-na, "Iyaa! Kaga una-na*  
 ADD person-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG INTERJ what basis-3SG  
*ku-gabu-Ø? Neta ku-yato-Ø, yau a-ma ku-vini-gu.*  
 2SG-burn-3SG if 2SG-set-3SG 1SG 1SG-come 2SG-give-1SG  
*Tomasi, kom boi ku-vailai, yau a-gu-ta a-etapewa*  
 Tomasi 2SG previously 2SG-injure 1SG PASS-1SG-LIM 1SG-diligent  
*gagai-na manu-m. Ago kom yau manu-gu geya*  
 big-3SG OBL-2SG ADD 2SG 1SG OBL-1SG NEG  
*ku-nuwonuwoneta."*  
 2SG-think.LIM

‘But he said, “What! Why did you burn it? If you set it aside, I would have come and you could give it to me. Tomasi, you previously were injured and I alone was very diligent for you. But you didn’t think about me.”’

- (10) *Ago yau a-digo ka-gu, "Kailobu, vavagi-m*  
 ADD 1SG 1SG-speak talk-1SG Kailobu desire-2SG  
*i-m yabobona a-katumapu-Ø, ae? Neta i-m yabobona*  
 CTRL-2SG kindness 1SG-repay-3SG Q if CTRL-2SG kindness  
*a-katumapu-Ø, Yaubada i-na togaga a-vatuluko-i-m.*  
 1SG-repay-3SG God CTRL-3SG power 1SG-teach-TR-2SG  
*Moe nakae i-m yabobona a-na katumapu."*  
 MED ADD CTRL-2SG gift PASS-3SG repay

‘But I said, “Kailobu, you want me to repay your kindness, right? If I repay your kindness, then I would show you God’s power. That would be like the repayment of your kindness.”’

- (11) *E Lisi guna livala i-savi-Ø i-digo ka-na, "Siya-m*  
 DM Lisi CTRL.1SG word 3SG-join-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG SSS-2SG  
*i-bobwara moe moitamo. Neta tomota tayamo i-katowana,*  
 3SG-talk MED true if person one 3SG-sick  
*i-na i-sida-sida i-boboina."*  
 3SG-go 3SG-IPFV-pray 3SG-well

‘And Lisi added to my words, she said, “What your friend said is true. If a person is sick, he goes and prays and he becomes well.”’

- (12) *Tuwo Kailobu-ya-na se-nao taiyao si-digo ka-di,*  
 so Kailobu-TM-3SG SSS-3SG.PL COM 3PL-speak talk-3PL  
*"O deedeina. Ku-sida-sida i-m yagira manu-na."*  
 oh fine 2SG-IPFV-pray CTRL-1PL.EXCL wind OBL-3SG

‘So Kailobu and his friends said, “Oh fine. You begin praying for our wind.”’

- (13) *E tuwo yau a-digo ka-gu, “O deedeina.*  
DM so 1SG 1SG-speak talk-1SG oh fine

*Nava be ta-gite-Ø.”*

later IRR 1PL.INCL-see.TR-3SG

‘And so I said, “Oh fine. Later we shall see it.”’

- (14) *Tuwo yau a-sou a-na a-ketoiya.*  
so 1SG 1SG-descend 1SG-go 1SG-walk

‘So I went down and walked.’

- (15) *A-ketoiya a-na Siyokira i-na vada goi Siyokira*  
1SG-walk 1SG-go Siyokira CTRL-3SG house OBL Siyokira  
*a-gite-Ø a-tuwoko-Ø a-digo ka-gu, “Siya-gu,*  
1SG-see.TR-3SG 1SG-tell-3SG 1SG-speak talk-1SG SSS-1SG  
*tute-ya-na ku-masisi mainao ku-sida-sida yagira bolima*  
time-TM-3SG 2SG-sleep first 2SG-IPFV-pray wind southeast  
*manu-na una-na da Budibudi maine si-kawanoi.”*  
OBL-3SG basis-3SG people.of Kiriwina earlier 3PL-ask

‘I walked to Siyokira’s house and saw Siyokira and told him, I said, “My friend, when you sleep, first begin praying for a southeast wind because the Kiriwinans earlier asked.”’

- (16) *E Siyokira-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “O deedeina.”*  
DM Siyokira-TM-3SG 3SG-speak talk-3SG oh fine

‘And Siyokira said, “Oh fine.”’

- (17) *E tuwo moitamo, yau be Siyokira ka-sida-sida*  
DM so true 1SG and Siyokira 1PL.EXCL-IPFV-pray  
*tau-ya-di i-di yagira manu-na.*  
person-TM-3PL CTRL-3PL wind OBL-3SG

‘And so indeed I and Siyokira began praying a wind for them.’

- (18) *Ego amo tute-ya-na yagira kotala gagai-na i-towo-towo.*  
ADD DIST time-TM-3SG wind northwest big-3SG 3SG-IPFV-land

‘But at that time a big northwest wind was blowing (lit. was landing).’

- (19) *Ago amo tute-ya-na Siyokira taiyao ka-sida-sida.*  
ADD DIST time-TM-3SG Siyokira COM 1PL.EXCL-IPFV-pray

‘But at that time Siyokira and I were praying.’

- (20) *Ka-sida-sida, i-tomo Manide 24 kotala-ya-na*  
 1PL.EXCL-IPFV-pray 3SG-next.day Monday 24 northwest-TM-3SG  
*i-daumara.*  
 3SG-calm  
 ‘We were praying until the next day Monday 24 and the northwest wind was calm.’
- (21) *Ego da Budibudi-ya-di si-sowoya.*  
 ADD people.of Kiriwina-TM-3PL 3PL-embark  
 ‘But the Kiriwinans embarked.’
- (22) *Si-sowoya go, yau Kailobu a-tuwoko-Ø ka-gu,*  
 3PL-embark SP 1SG Kailobu 1SG-tell-3SG talk-1SG  
*“Siya-gu, nava sina-da i-vai-polu ku-kaika i-kavava,*  
 SSS-1SG later mother-1PL.INCL 3SG-CAUS-boil 2SG-eat 3SG-finish  
*baige ku-sowoya. Nava be yagira bolimana i-towo*  
 then 2SG-embark later IRR wind southeast 3SG-land  
*baige ko-soya ko-kailova.”*  
 then 2PL-embark 2PL-depart  
 ‘They embarked but I told Kailobu, “My friend, later after our mother cooks and you eat, then you embark. Later the southeast wind will blow, then you embark and depart.”’
- (23) *Ago tau-ya-di tupwana si-nana-yuwo, nukoto-di ka-di,*  
 ADD person-TM-3PL somewhat 3PL-thought-two neck-3PL talk-3PL  
*“Nakona Tomasi i-katubau-da.”*  
 perhaps Tomasi 3SG-trick-1PL.INCL  
 ‘But they were doubting a little bit and in their minds they said, “Perhaps Tomasi tricked us.”’
- (24) *Tuwo si-digo ka-di, “Geya, ka-na ka-beuta.*  
 so 3PL-speak talk-3PL NEG 1PL.EXCL-go 1PL.EXCL-paddle  
*Ka-nonoi-na go, ka-gite-gite-Ø. Neta i-towo,*  
 1PL.EXCL-IPFV-go SP 1PL.EXCL-IPFV-see.TR-3SG if 3SG-land  
*e ka-kailova.”*  
 DM 1PL.EXCL-depart  
 ‘So they said, “No, we will paddle. While we are going we will be watching it. If it blows, then we sail.”’

- (25) *E tuwo yau ka-gu, “O deedeina. Ko-wo.”*  
 DM so 1SG talk-1SG oh fine 2PL-go  
 ‘And so I said, “Oh fine. You go.”’
- (26) *E tau-ya-di si-kawala si-na Ulogu mayava bego si-beuta.*  
 DM person-TM-3PL 3PL-pole 3PL-go Ulogu point 1M 3PL-paddle  
 ‘And they poled to Ulogu point intending to paddle.’
- (27) *Si-beuta si-na Yakum.*  
 3PL-paddle 3PL-go Yakum  
 ‘They paddled to Yakum.’
- (28) *Ego yagira bolimana i-towo.*  
 ADD wind southwest 3SG-land  
 ‘But the southeast wind blew.’
- (29) *Tuwo si-kailova si-na i-di kasa.*  
 so 3PL-depart 3PL-go CTRL-3PL village  
 ‘So they sailed and went to their village.’
- (30) *Ego bolimana-ya-na maliyalina tayamo i-towo-towo.*  
 ADD southeast-TM-3SG day one 3SG-IPFV-land  
 ‘But the southeast wind was blowing for a day.’
- (31) *E sa-gowo be niu-gowo, kotala i-na daumwara be*  
 DM SSS-1SG.PL and OSS-1SG.PL northwest CTRL-3SG calm and  
*bolimana i-na towo, ame nakae aba kainaopa yai-da*  
 southeast CTRL-3SG land PROX ADD NMZL surprise OBL-1PL.INCL  
*una-na yagira ai-yuwo i-di guinuwa goi Yaubada i-na*  
 basis-3SG wind CLF-two CTRL-3PL do OBL God CTRL-3SG  
*togaga si-talavaite-Ø yai-da.*  
 power 3PL-announce.TR-3SG OBL-1PL.INCL  
 ‘Now my brothers and sisters, the northwest calm and the southeast blowing like this is a miracle for us, because the two winds by their activity announce God’s power to us.’
- (32) *Ago tabu ta-naana-yuwo ka-da, “Nakona yau o*  
 ADD PROH 1PL.INCL-IPFV.thought-two talk-1PL.INCL perhaps 1SG or  
*Siyokira i-ma togaga,” go sem, Yaubada maisi-na o*  
 Siyokira CTRL-1PL.EXCL power SP CON God face-3SG or

*i-na togaga i-kaiwoduwe-Ø kita yai-da.*  
CTRL-3SG power 3SG-show.TR-3SG 1PL.INCL OBL-1PL.INCL

‘And let us not doubt and say “Perhaps it is I or Siyokira’s power,” rather God revealed his face or his power to us.’”

- (33) *Neta ava-tau kom latuwo-m ku-kawanoi Yaubada*  
if which-person 2SG desire-2SG 2SG-pray God  
*yai-na, moe dedei-na.*  
OBL-3SG MED good-3SG

‘Whoever of you wants to ask God, that is good.’

- (34) *Guna bodao, Yaubada i-tuyaos-i-da.*  
CTRL.1SG group.PL God 3SG-wait-TR-1PL.INCL  
‘My relatives, God waits for us.’

- (35) *Neta ta-kawanoi, i-toboine-Ø nuwo-da i-guinuwe-Ø.*  
if 1PL.INCL-pray, 3SG-possible-3SG insides-1PL.INCL 3SG-do.TR-3SG  
‘If we pray, he is able to work in our insides.’

- (36) *Va-tetala ame aba vaita yai-da, komi be yau.*  
CAUS-story PROX NMZL help OBL-1PL.INCL 2SG and 1SG  
‘This story is a help to us, you and me.’

## Text 6. Hen and chicks

This story was written by Lina Manaware in 1998. She has never been to school. The story is about some chicks looking for their mother after she is killed by a lizard. They meet a dog who tries to help them. When he finds the dead hen, the chicks ask him to kill them.

- (1) *Kamkam ma natu-nao va-tetel-i-di.*  
chicken COM offspring-3SG.PL CAUS-story-?-3PL  
‘Story of a hen and her chicks’
- (2) *E lava tayamo goi kamkam bosina-di i-digo ka-na,*  
DM time one OBL chicken mother-3PL 3SG-say talk-3SG  
‘“Natu-gowo, komi a-mi tai-vasi-kova ame-ko  
offspring-1SG.PL 2PL PASS-2PL person-four-INCL PROX-ADV  
*i-da kasa goi ko-kaiyaka go, yau a-na mae-ko*  
CTRL-1PL.INCL village OBL 2PL-exist SP 1SG 1SG-go above-adv  
*udodana goi a-da dimonana a-du-eli-elina.”*  
bush OBL ED-1PL.INCL worm 1SG-W.head-IPFV-dig

‘Now one time the mother of some chicks said, “My children, the four of you remain here in our village and I will go up there to the bush and dig for worms for us to eat.’

- (3) *Ago kidi natu-nao-ya-di si-digo ka-di, “O dedeevina.*  
 ADD 3PL offspring-3SG.PL-TM-3PL 3PL-say talk-3PL oh fine  
*Ku-na.”*  
 2SG-go

‘And her children said, “Oh fine. Go.”’

- (4) *E tuwo sina-di-ya-na i-na bayao i-kabi-Ø,*  
 DM so mother-3PL-TM-3SG CTRL-3SG basket 3SG-get-3SG  
*i-tuko i-na udodana goi i-du-eli-elina.*  
 3SG-ascend 3SG-go bush OBL 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig

‘And so their mother got her basket, ascended in the bush, and began digging.’

- (5) *I-du-eli-elina, i-tuko-tuko i-na i-na koya*  
 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig 3SG-IPFV-ascend 3SG-go 3SG-go mountain  
*daba-na toi-na goi i-du-eli-elina go,*  
 forehead-3SG very-3SG OBL 3SG-W.head-IPFV-dig SP  
*i-sou-sou dadava tayamo goi.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend area one OBL

‘As she was digging and ascending, she went to the very top of the mountain and she began digging and descending on the other side.’

- (6) *I-sou-sou, ailavasi i-na vada i-eli-gae-gae-Ø.*  
 3SG-IPFV-descend lizard CTRL-3SG house 3SG-dig-IPFV-scatter.TR-3SG

‘As she was descending, she began scattering Lizard’s house.’

- (7) *Tuwo kina go ailavasi-ya-na i-egamogamogu, tau-na*  
 so 3SG SP lizard-TM-3SG 3SG-angry result-3SG  
*i-vada-gavila kamkam-ya-na i-vada-mate-Ø.*  
 3SG-W.head-turn chicken-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-kill.TR-3SG

‘So as for Lizard, he was angry, therefore he turned his head and killed Hen.’

- (8) *I-vada-mate-Ø i-kavava, i-kalave-Ø go,*  
 3SG-W.head-kill.TR-3SG 3SG-finish 3SG-leave.TR-3SG SP  
*i-siu-mna i-na vada sinae-na goi ii-masisi.*  
 3SG-enter-again CTRL-3SG house inside-3SG OBL 3SG-IPFV-sleep

‘After he killed her, he left her and went inside his house again and went to sleep.’

- (9) *Ego kina kamkam-ya-na natu-nao sii-kaiyaka.*  
ADD 3SG chicken-TM-3SG offspring-3SG.PL 3PL.IPFV-exist

‘But Hen’s chicks were there.’

- (10) *Si-kaiyaka, mae-di si-sayasaya be nakae loga si-kamasa.*  
3PL-exist tongue-3PL 3PL-dry and also hunger 3PL-die

‘They were there and they were thirsty and also starving (lit. their tongues were dry and they were also dying with hunger).’

- (11) *E tuwo tau-ya-di ma-di nuwo-mou be ma-di taiya*  
DM so person-TM-3PL COM-3PL insides-heavy and COM-3PL cry

*sii-ketoiya kenao goi be nakae labutabuta goi sina-di*  
3PL.IPFV-walk path OBL and also shore OBL mother-3PL

*si-lusale-Ø.*

3PL-search.TR-3SG

‘And so with sadness (lit. with heavy insides) and crying they began to walk on the path and also on the shore and searched for their mother.’

- (12) *Sii-lusale-Ø, sii-lusale-Ø, geya go, ulao*  
3PL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG 3PL-search.TR-3SG NEG SP gecko

*si-babane-Ø.*

3PL-find.TR-3SG

‘They kept searching for her, but did not find her, but they met Gecko.’

- (13) *Ulaoya-na si-lumadade-Ø si-digo ka-di, “Sina-ma*  
gecko-TM-3SG 3PL-ask.TR-3SG 3PL-say talk-3PL mother-1PL.EXCL  
*ku-gite-Ø nako?”*

2SG-see.TR-3SG where

‘They asked Gecko, they said, “Have you seen where our mother is?”’

- (14) *Kina go ulaoya-na i-digo ka-na, “O sina-mi geya*  
3SG SP gecko-TM-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG oh mother-2PL NEG  
*a-yagoi-yeta.”*

1SG-know-3SG.LIM

‘But Gecko said, “Oh, I don’t know your mother.”’

- (15) *E tuwo ulaoya-na i-na go, kidi kamkam-ya-di*  
DM so gecko-TM-3SG 3SG-go SP 3PL chicken-TM-3PL  
*ma-di taiya si-ketoiya.*  
COM-3PL cry 3PL-walk

‘And so Gecko left and the chicks walked on crying.’

- (16) *Sii-ketoiya, sii-ketoiya, weniya si-babane-Ø.*  
 3PL-walk 3PL-walk dog 3PL-find.TR-3SG  
 ‘They walked on and on and met Dog.’
- (17) *Weniya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Kaga ko-taiya-e-Ø?”*  
 dog-TM-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG what 2PL-cry-APPL-3SG  
 ‘Dog said, “What are you crying about?”’
- (18) *Kidi go kamkam-ya-di ka-di, “O tubu-ma!*  
 3PL SP chicken-TM-3PL talk-3PL oh relative-1PL.EXCL  
*Sina-ma kaa-lusale-Ø.”*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.IPFV-search.TR-3SG  
 ‘The chicks said, “Oh sir, we are searching for our mother.”’
- (19) *Kina go weniya-ya-na i-digo ka-na, “Go latuwo-mi*  
 3SG SP dog-TM-3SG 3SG-say talk-3SG SP desire-2PL  
*sina-mi maisi-na ko-gite-Ø?”*  
 mother-2PL face-3SG 2PL-see.TR-3SG  
 ‘Dog said, “And do you want to see your mother’s face?”’
- (20) *E kidi kamkam-ya-di ka-di, “U, latuwo-ma*  
 DM 3PL chicken-TM-3PL talk-3PL yes desire-1PL.EXCL  
*sina-ma ka-gite-Ø.”*  
 mother-1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-see.TR-3SG  
 ‘And the chicks said, “Yes, we want to see our mother.”’
- (21) *E tuwo kamkam-ya-di i-latuwoko-i-di ka-na, “Guna*  
 DM so chicken-TM-3PL 3SG-tell-TR-3PL talk-3SG CTRL.1SG  
*gumalau-yao, ko-ma ame-ko goi ko-kaiyaka go, be*  
 orphan-PL 2PL-come PROX-ADV OBL 2PL-exist SP IRR  
*a-na a-samkokou negwasa dadavi-na be nakae udodana*  
 1SG-go 1SG-smell ocean area-3SG and also bush  
*dadavi-na goi.”*  
 area-3SG OBL  
 ‘And so he told the chicks, “My orphans, come, stay here and I will go smell in the area of the ocean and also in the area of the bush.”’
- (22) *E tuwo weniya-ya-na kubu-na i-kaive-Ø osasa*  
 DM so dog-TM-3SG nose-3SG 3SG-set.seaward.TR-3SG sea

*dadavi-na i-samkokou, geya.*  
 area-3SG 3SG-smell NEG

‘And so Dog pointed his nose seaward and smelled the area of the sea, but he smelt nothing.’

- (23) *Niga kubu-na i-kai-yave-Ø koya goi*  
 afterwards nose-3SG 3SG-set-bushward.TR-3SG mountain OBL  
*i-samkokou, kamkam-ya-na maini-na i-nove-Ø.*  
 3SG-smell chicken-TM-3SG odor-3SG 3SG-hear.TR-3SG

‘Afterwards he set his nose bushward and smelled toward the mountain and he perceived (lit. heard) the odor of Hen.’

- (24) *I-nove-Ø, i-tuko i-na mae-ko koya-ya-na*  
 3SG-hear.TR-3SG 3SG-ascend 3SG-go above-adv mountain-TM-3SG  
*goi kamkam-ya-na i-babane-Ø.*  
 OBL chicken-TM-3SG 3SG-find.TR-3SG

‘He perceived it and he ascended up above to the mountain and found hen.’

- (25) *I-babane-Ø, weniya-ya-na i-vada-sobu*  
 3SG-find.TR-3SG dog-TM-3SG 3SG-W.head-descend  
*kamkam-ya-na i-katupe-Ø i-sou-ye-Ø*  
 chicken-TM-3SG 3SG-carry.TR-3SG 3SG-descend-APPL-3SG  
*i-me-Ø asa goi natu-nao-ya-di i-vini-di.*  
 3SG-come.TR-3SG village OBL offspring-3SG.PL-TM-3PL 3SG-give-3PL

‘He found her and bent down, carried Hen in his mouth, went down with her and brought her to the village and gave her to her children.’

- (26) *E tuwo natu-nao-ya-di nuwo-di i-mou gagai-na,*  
 DM so offspring-3SG.PL-TM-3PL insides-3PL 3SG-heavy big-3SG  
*tuwo si-taiya.*  
 so 3PL-cry

‘And so her children were very sad (lit. their insides were very heavy), so they cried.’

- (27) *Si-ta-taiya, si-ta-taiya, nukoto-di i-topa.*  
 3PL-IPFV-cry 3PL-IPFV-cry throat-3PL 3SG-UNACC.break

‘They cried and cried and they gave up (lit. their throats broke).’

- (28) *E ma-di taiya go, weniya si-latuwoko-Ø ka-di,*  
 DM COM-3PL cry SP dog 3PL-tell-3SG talk-3PL  
*“E tubu-ma, ku-ma a-ma tai-vasi-kova*  
 INTERJ relative-1PL.EXCL 2SG-come 1SG-come person-four-INCL

*ku-kani-ma, sina-ma a-na kobu.*”  
 2SG-eat-1PL.EXCL mother-1PL.EXCL PASS-3SG sake

‘And with crying they told Dog, “Sir, come eat the four of us for our mother’s sake.”’

- (29) *E tuwo weniya-ya-na i-taoya kamkam-ya-di*  
 DM so dog-TM-3SG 3SG-arise chicken-TM-3PL  
*madaboki-di-kova i-kani-di.*  
 all-3PL-INCL 3SG-eat-3PL

‘And so Dog arose and ate all of the chicks.’

- (30) *E bogina i-kavava.*  
 DM PRF 3SG-finish  
 ‘The end.’

# References

- Beekman, John. 1965. Obligatory Inclusion of First and/or Second Person. *Notes on Translation* 16:6-7.
- Callow, Kathleen. 1974. *Discourse Considerations in Translating the Word of God*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1976. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. In Charles N. Li, ed. *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Russell S. Tomlin, ed. *Coherence and grounding in discourse*, 21–51. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Chafe, Wallace. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2000. *Number*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization*. Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Dooley, Robert A., and Stephen H. Levinsohn. 2001. *Analyzing Discourse: A manual of basic concepts*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics International.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2011. Indefinite Articles. In Dryer, Matthew S. and Martin Haspelmath, eds. *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 38. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/38>
- Givón, Talmy, ed. 1983. *Topic continuity in discourse*. Philadelphia: Benjamins.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2006. A note on the pronoun system and the predicate marker in Tok Pisin. In Patrick Brandt and Erif Fuss, eds, *Form, Structure, and Grammar. A Festschrift presented to Gunther Grewendorf on Occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> Birthday*. 79-92. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form. Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Lauer, Peter K. 1974. *Pottery traditions in the D'Entrecasteux Islands of Papua*. Occasional Papers in Anthropology (University of Queensland) 3.
- Larson, Mildred L. 1998. *Meaning-Based Translation: A guide to cross-language equivalence*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: University Press of America.
- Levinsohn, Stephen, H. 1989. Phrase Order and the Article in Galatians: A functional sentence perspective approach. *Occasional Papers in Translation and Textlinguistics* 3/2: 44–64.
- Levinsohn, Stephen, H., ed. 1994. *Discourse Features of Ten Languages of West-Central Africa*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics International and the University of Texas at Arlington.
- Levinsohn, Stephen, H. 2000. *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A coursebook on the information structure of New Testament Greek*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 2011. Self-Instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis. Online at <http://www.sil.org/~levinsohns>.
- Lithgow, David. 1967. Exclusiveness of Muyuw Pronouns. *Notes on Translation* 26:14–14.
- Lithgow, D. R. 1976. Austronesian Languages: Milne Bay and Adjacent Islands (Milne Bay Province). In S.A. Wurm, ed., *New Guinea area languages and language study 3: Austronesian languages*, 441-523. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Longacre, Robert. 1976. *Anatomy of Speech Notions*. Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press.
- Lynch, John, Malcolm Ross and Terry Crowley. 2002. *The Oceanic Languages*. Richmond Surrey: Curzon Press
- Malinowski, B. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Nicolle, Steve. 2000. Markers of general interpretive use in Amharic and Swahili. In Gisle Andersen and Thorstein Fretheim, eds, *Pragmatic Markers and Propositional Attitude*, 173-188. Amsterdam/Phildelphia: John Benjamins.
- Olson, Clif. 1992a. Gumawana Grammar: grammar sketch and texts. In Malcolm Ross, ed., *Papers in Austronesian Linguistics no. 2*, 251-430. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Olson, Clif. 1992b. Gumawana Phonology. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

- Olson, Clif. 2005. Conjoining Strategies in Gumawana Narrative. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Olson, Clif. 2009. Reported Speeches in Gumawana Narrative. Unpublished ms. Ukarumpa: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Quick, Philip A. 1993. Resumptive Repetition. *Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics* 6:289-316.
- Ross, Malcolm D. 1992. The position of Gumawana among the languages of the Papuan Tip Cluster. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 23:139-165.
- Rullman, Hotze and Aili You. 2003. General Number and the Semantics and Pragmatics of Indefinite Bare Nouns in Mandarin Chinese.  
<http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/jhlZTY3Y/Rullmann&You2003.pdf>
- Runge, Steven E. 2006. Pragmatic Effects of Semantically Redundant Anchoring Expressions in Biblical Hebrew Narrative. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 32/2: 87-104.
- Tiersma, Peter. 1982. Local and General Markedness. *Language* 58:832-49.

## Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages: Volumes 1–60

Paper copies of the Data Papers can be ordered from [lr-acpub@sil.org.pg](mailto:lr-acpub@sil.org.pg), but volumes marked with \* are out of print. Most of these materials are now available online at the following address:

<http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/index.asp>

(Volumes 1-31 were titled *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages*.)

Volume	Year	Title of Volume, Languages, and Authors
*1	1973	<i>Three Studies in Sentence Structure</i> (Maring by L. B. Woodward; <i>Abulas</i> by Patricia R. Wilson; <i>Au</i> by David Scorza)
*2	1973	<i>Phonologies of Three Languages of PNG</i> (Biangai by Raymond and Marjorie Dubert; <i>Nii</i> by Al and Dellene Stucky; <i>Yessan-Mayo</i> by Velma Foreman and Helen Marten)
*3	1974	<i>Three Studies in Languages of Eastern Papua</i> (Korafe by Jim and Cindi Farr; <i>Louisiade Achipelago</i> by Jim and Anne Henderson; <i>Iduna</i> by Joyce Hockett)
*4	1974	<i>Phonologies of Four PNG Languages</i> (Baining by Jim and Diana Parker; <i>Urii</i> by Tom Webb; <i>Boiken</i> by Allen and Marlene Freudenberg; <i>Dadibi</i> by George and Georgetta MacDonald)
*5	1974	<i>Golin Grammar</i> by Gordon Bunn
*6	1974	<i>Grammatical Studies in Three Languages of PNG</i> (Washkuk by Orneal Kooyers; <i>Agarabi</i> by Jean Goddard; <i>Kobon</i> by Marcus and May Dawson)
*7	1974	<i>Studies in Languages of the Ok Family</i> (Mianmin by Jean Smith and Pam Weston; <i>Faiwol</i> by Charlotte Mecklenburg; <i>Telefol</i> by Alan Healy)
*8	1974	<i>Suena Grammar</i> by Darryl Wilson
*9	1975	<i>Abau Language Phonology and Grammar</i> by D. A. Bailey
*10	1976	<i>Higher Level Studies of Two Related Highlands Languages</i> (Agarabi by Jean Goddard; <i>Gadsup</i> by Chester Frantz)
*11	1975	<i>Studies on Literacy and Education</i> (PNG Language and Literature Directory by Joice Franklin; <i>Bilingual Education</i> by Joy McCarthy; <i>Language Learning Games</i> by Rosemary Young)
*12	1975	<i>Papers in Five Austronesian Languages</i> (Kiriwina Idioms by John C. Noel; <i>Tolai Comments</i> by Karl J. Franklin; <i>Dobu Text Analysis</i> by David Lithgow; <i>Banoni Orthography</i> by Peter C. Lincoln; <i>Iamalele Clauses</i> by John and Margaret Beaumont)
*13	1975	<i>Phonologies of Five Austronesian Languages</i> (Tinputz by Roman and Carolyn Hostetler; <i>Petats</i> by Jerry Allen and Matthew Beaso; <i>Patep</i> by Karen Adams and Linda Lauck; <i>Kela</i> by Ken and Margaret Collier; <i>Sursurunga</i> by Don and Sharon Hutchisson)

- 14      1975      *Comparative Wordlists 1.* (*Gulf District* by Karl J. Franklin and John Z'graggen; *Admiralty Islands* by W. E. Smythe and John Z'graggen)
- 15      1976      *Grammatical Studies* (*Suena* by Darryl Wilson; *Iduna* by Joyce Hockett)
- \*16      1976      *Surveys in Five PNG Languages* (*Eastern Trans Fly* by Lillian Fleischmann and Sinikka Turpeinen; *Ambulas* by Patricia Wilson; *Boiken* by Allen Freudenberg; *Schraeder Ranges* by John Tonson; *English-Wasembo Vocabulary* by Kenneth McElhanon and Sigkepe Sogum)
- 17      1976      *Grammatical Studies in Patep* by Linda M. Lauck and Karen L. Adams
- 18      1976      *Student Research Papers in Literacy and Education* (articles by Yvonne Genat, Bruce A. Hooley, Gay Brown and Chester S. Street)
- 19      1977      *Phonologies of Five PNG Languages* (*Orokaiva* by Robert and Marlys Larsen; *Yil* by Mary Martens and Salme Tuominen; *Ningil* by Margaret Manning and Naomi Sagers; *Dobu* by Daphne Lithgow; *Samo* by R. Daniel and Karen A. Shaw)
- 20      1977      *Proceedings of the SIL Consultants Seminar, Ukarumpa 1976* (25 short articles)
- 21      1977      *Language Variation and Survey Techniques* (16 articles)
- \*22      1977      *Miscellaneous Papers in PNG Linguistics* (*Mianim* by Jean Smith and Pam Weston; *Selepet* by Ken McElhanon; *Oksapmin* by Marshall Lawrence; *Bine* by Lillian Fleischmann and Sinikka Turpeinen)
- 23      1978      *Grammatical Studies in Kunimaipa Morphophonemics to Discourse* by Elaine Geary
- \*24      1978      *Language Planning and Grammatical Typologies* by Robert Litteral, Robert J. Conrad and Elizabeth Murane
- 25      1979      *Miscellaneous Papers on Dobu and Arapesh* (articles by David Lithgow, Robert J. Conrad and Joshua Lukas)
- \*26      1980      *Ambulas Grammar* by Patricia R. Wilson
- 27      1980      *Grammatical Studies* (*Fasu* by Eunice Loeweke and Jean May; *Mt Koiali* by Susan Garland)
- 28      1980      *Reports of Vernacular Literacy Programs*, edited by Mary Stringer and Joice Franklin
- 29      1981      *Sociolinguistic Surveys of Sepik Languages* (*Wom* by Barry and Bonnie Moeckel; *Kombio* by Nate and Judi Baker; *Mehek and Siliput* by Robert D. Bugenhagen; *Heyo, Pahi and Mayo Pasi* by Ian Hutchinson; *Beli, Yahang and Laeko Lingaut* by Gregory Cooper; *Namie* by Ronald and Doris Jane Pappenhagen; *Busa and Nagatman* by Glenn Graham, *Pagi* and *Kilmeri* by Robert Brown; *Abau* by William H. Martin III)
- 30      1982      *Orokaiva Language Lessons and Grammar Notes* by Robert and Marlys Larsen

- 31 1985 *Five Phonological Studies (Maiani, Miani, Mala and Maia* by Jean May and Eunice Loeweke; *Burum* by Soini Olkkonen; *Hewa* by Paul W. Vollrath; *Saniyo Hiyewe* by Jenny Hepburn; *Urim* by Pirkko Luoma)
- 32 1987 *Halia Grammar* by Jerry and Jan Allen
- 33 1987 *Studies in Melanesian Orthographies*, edited by John M. Clifton (*Kope* by John M. Clifton; *Mufian* by Robert and Jo Ann Conrad, *Gahuku* by Ellis W. Deibler; *Kire* by David Pryor; *Angave* by Richard Speece; *Karkar Yuri* by Dorothy Price; *Kamasau* by Arden and Joy Sanders, *Orthography Issues in New Caledonia* by Stephen J. Schooling; *Practical Spelling* by David and Daphne Lithgow; *Madak* by Robert Lee; *Patep* by Linda Lauck Vissering)
- 34 1986 *Manam Teaching Grammar* by Blaine Turner
- 35 1989 *Bound and Minor Words in Baruya* by Richard Lloyd
- 36 1989 *Studies in Componential Analysis*, edited by Karl Franklin (*Kalo* by Ali Laeka; *Dobu* by Gail Edoni; *Kara* by Ginny Schlie; *Mauwake* by Kwan Poh San; *Miniafia* by David C. Wakefield; *Kara* by Perry Schlie; *Folopa* by Neil Anderson)
- 37 1989 *Two Grammatical Studies*, edited by John R. Roberts (*Tungak* by Lesley Fast; *Nend* by Kyle Harris)
- 38 1991 *Reference Grammar of the Karo/Rawa Language* by Norma R. and Donald F. Toland
- 39 1992 *Namia and Amanab Grammar Essentials*, edited by John R. Roberts (*Namia* by Tom and Becky Feldpausch; *Amanab* by Andy Minch)
- 40 1993 *Phonologies of Austronesian Languages No.2*, edited by John M. Clifton (*Misiman* by Bill Callister; *Sio* by Dawn Soetenga Clark; *Mengen* by Daniel D. Rath; *Kara* by Perry and Ginny Schlie; *Patep* by Linda Lauck Vissering)
- 41 1994 *Phonology and Grammar of Nankina* by Craig and Pat Spaulding
- \*42 1996 *Two Non-Austronesian Grammars from the Islands*, edited by John M. Clifton (*Kuot* by Chul-Hwa Chung and Kyung-Ja Chung; *Sulka* by Doug Tharp)
- 43 1998 *Orthography and Phonology Database: Islands and Momase Regions*, compiled by Ritva Hemmilä (*Ambulas*, *Amele*, *Boiken*, *Botn*, *Buin*, *Bukawa*, *Bukiyip*, *Central Buang*, *Gende*, *Guhu Samane*, *Halia*, *Kalam*, *Kobon*, *Kube*, *Kunimaipa*, *Kwanga*, *Lote*, *Manam*, *Menya*, *Mufian*, *Nahu*, *Nehan*, *Oksapmin*, *Olo*, *Patpatar*, *Ramoaaina*, *Selepet*, *Sissano*, *Sursurunga*, *Timbe*, *Tolai*, *Tungag*, *Urat*, *Vitu*, *Wantoot*, *Waskia*, *Yupna*)

- \*44 1999 *Orthography and Phonology Database: Highlands and Papuan Regions*, compiled by Ritva Hemmilä (*Agarabi, Alekano, Chuave, Dadibi, Dobu, Enga, Ewage, Folopa, Fore, Fuyuge, Gadsup, Gimi, Golin, Huli, Kafe, Kamano-Kafe, Kanite, Kapau, Kewa, Kiriwina, Kiwai, Koriki, Kuman, Managalasi, Maring, Mekeo, Melpa, Misima, Motu, Narak, Nii, Orokaiva, Orokolo, Pawaia, Siane, Sinaugoro, Tairora, Tawala, Toaripi, Umbu-Ungu, Upper Asaro, Wahgi, Wiru, Yagaria*)
- \*45 2000 *Sociolinguistics and Literacy Studies: Highlands and Islands*, edited by John Brownie (*Lembena* by Paul Heineman; *Pinai-Hagahai* by Markus Melliger; *Bariai* by Steve and Carol Jean Gallagher)
- \*46 2000 *Sociolinguistics and Literacy Studies: South-West, Sepik and Morobe*, edited by John Brownie (*Kaluli* by Andy and Sylvia Grosh; *Konai* by Sören and Britten Årsjö; *Pouye* by Steve Ferree; *Hote* by John and Amy Lindstrom)
- 47 2005 *Phonological Descriptions of PNG Languages*, edited by Steve Parker (*Baruga [Tafota]* by James and Cynthia Farr; *Kuman* by Daryl and Mary Pfantz; *Mato* by Scot and Cherie Stober; *North Wahgi [Yu We]* by Don and Heather Mc Clean, *Sam [Songum, Songumsam]* by Dave and Sarah Troolin; *Seimat [Ninigo]* by Theresa Wilson and Beata Wozna; *Kaluli* by Sylvia and Andy Grosh; *Koluwawa* by Brad and Toni Guderian; *Wuvulu-Aua* by James A. Hafford; *Arop-Lokep* by Jeff D'Jernes and Mary Raymond; *Gizrra* by Nico and Elly van Bodegraven; *Konai [Kalai]* by Sören and Britten Årsjö; *Migabac* by Steve McEvoy; *Pinai-Hagahai* by Markus Melliger)
- 48 2005 *Seimat Grammar Essentials* by Beata Wozna and Theresa Wilson
- 49 2005 *Bariai Grammar Sketch* by Steve Gallagher and Peirce Baehr
- 50 2005 *Siar-Lak Grammar Essentials* by Karen Rowe
- 51 2006 *Vitu Grammar Sketch* by René van den Berg and Peter Bachet
- 52 2007 *Mussau Grammar Essentials* by John and Marjo Brownie
- 53 2007 *Fuyug Grammar Sketch* by Robert L. Bradshaw
- 54 2008 *Lote Grammar Sketch* by Greg Pearson with René van den Berg
- 55 2008 *Kwomtari Phonology and Grammar Essentials*, edited by Murray Honsberger, Carol Honsberger and Ian Tupper (*Phonology Essentials of Kwomtari* by Julia Drew; *Kwomtari Grammar Essentials* by Katharine Spencer)
- 56 2009 *Iyo Grammar Sketch* by Paul Minter
- 57 2011 *Abau Grammar* by Arnold (Arjen) Hugo Lock
- 58 2012 *Doromu-Koki Grammar Sketch* by Robert L. Bradshaw
- 59 2013 *Mato Grammar Sketch* by Scot F. Stober
- 60 2014 *Participant Referencing in Gumawana Narrative* by Clif Olson