

CONTENTS

1. Introduction
2. Abbreviations
3. Pronouns
4. Nouns
5. Noun Phrases
6. Verbs
7. Location Words and Phrases
8. Time Words and Phrases
9. Interrogatives
10. Imperatives
11. Negatives
12. Linkage
13. Special Clause Introducers
14. Basic Clauses
15. Embedding
16. Sample Text
17. Bibliography

1. INTRODUCTION

The Bunama language is spoken by about 1500 people in the Bunama, Balabala and Sawatupwa census divisions of south-east Normanby Island in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. Bunama language is very similar to the Duau language which has 6000 speakers, and adjoins the Bunama area to the north of it. Both languages have been very strongly influenced by the church languages which have been in use there. For the first part of this century it was Tubetube language, and for the last 40-50 years it has been Dobu. There is also evidence of mutual borrowing between Bunama and Auhelawa (Kurada) languages. The Auhelawa language closely adjoins Bunama to the west. There are not many words in the Bunama language which are distinctly different from those of either Tubetube, Dobu or Auhelawa. There is evidence that grammatical borrowing has occurred as well as the borrowing of vocabulary, but the Bunama language still has some distinct features, and subtle variations from the grammars of its neighbouring languages.

For this study I have relied almost entirely on the texts gathered by Isabel Leckie and Ngaire Hughes during their fieldwork with the Summer Institute of Linguistics between 1974 and 1980. Especially useful has been the book of Bunama Folk Tales "Tubudao 'adi He'ote'otetela", which were collected by Ngaire Hughes and edited by Dipastine Ron. Leckie and Hughes did a grammatical analysis and description of all aspects of the language, except the verb. I have read their analysis and benefited from it, and used some of their examples. Their description is much more detailed than mine. I have learnt to read and speak the language, and have now done my own analysis, which is presented herewith. The stimulus to do this came from a workshop led by Malcolm Ross of the Australian National University, which was held at the S.I.L. Centre at Diwala, Alotau, in May 1988.

The main building blocks of Bunama language are: pronouns, nouns and noun phrases, verbs, location words and phrases, and time words and phrases.

These blocks are linked by simple apposition, or by repetition, or by the use of conjunctions, relators, special clause introducers, interrogative and negative words, and adverbial type modifiers.

Changes of intonation convert utterances into commands, questions or statements.

2. ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
s	singular
pl	plural
inc	inclusive
exc	exclusive
caus	causative prefix
cont	continuous aspect
compl	completion suffix
tr	transitivising suffix
accomp	accompanitive stem
redup	reduplication

3. PRONOUNS

3.1. Free Pronouns

There are basic and emphatic free-form pronouns.

Person	Basic	Emphatic
1s	taugu	yaboi
2s	'owa	'uboi
3s	tauna	'iboi
1pl(inc)	tauda	taboi
1pl(exc)	tauma	'aboi
2pl	'omi	waboi
3pl	taudi	siboi

3.2. Enumerative Pronouns:

These consist of:

a person prefix + stem te + numeral

I will gloss the stem te as "man".

The person/number prefixes are the same as those prefixed to -boi for the emphatic pronouns, e.g. si-te-luwa

3pl-man-two ("those two")

ta-te-toi

1pl(inc)-man-three ("we three")

'a-te-hata

1pl(exc)-man-four ("we four")

wa-te-nima

2pl-man-five ("you five")

3.3. Accompanitive pronouns

There are two pronominal stems with identical meaning which take person and number suffixes. Thus "one person with us(inc)" can be expressed:

ba'ida-da or mahete-da-i

accomp-our(inc) accomp-our(inc)-the

"Plural people with us(inc)" can be either

ba'ida-da-o or mahete-da-o

accomp-our(inc)-pl. accomp-our(inc)-pl.

Below are the full paradigms for single companions, with plural companions for the second form in brackets. The final suffix -i/-u is a demonstrative or specification suffix "the", which has become fused to some of the single companion with plural persons forms.

(1) 1s	ba'ida-gu	mehete-gu	(mehete-g-wao)
(2) 2s	ba'ida-u	mehete-u	(mehete-m-wao)
(3) 3s	ba'ida-na	mehete-na	(mehete-na-o)
(4) 1pl(inc)	ba'ida-da	mehete-da-i	(mehete-da-o)
(5) 1pl(exc)	ba'ida-na-i	mehete-na-i	(mehete-na-i-yao)
(6) 2pl	ba'ida-mi	mehete-mi	(mehete-mi-yao)
(7) 3pl	ba'ida-di-u	mehete-di-u	(mehete-di-yao)

The 2s suffix -u is evidently derived from -mu, with m elided but still present for the plural forms.

The basic plural suffix is -ao, which reduces to -o after a (3,4), and becomes -yao after i (6,7,8), and -wao after u, even when it is elided (1,2).

4. NOUNS

4.1. Noun-stems

Nouns are simple stems, like we'aha "water", paihowa "work"; or compound stems, like 'ahwa-'eda "mouth-road (doorway)".

Many noun stems can function also as verb stems, adverbs, adjectives, and some as exclamations.

(8)	gala	"evil" (noun)
(9)	'i-gala	
	it-bad	"it is bad" (verb)
(10)	loheya gala-na	
	man-bad-his	"a bad man" (adjective)
(11)	gala-gu	
	evil-my	"I am bad" (noun)
(12)	'i-nuwa-gala	
	he-think-bad	"he is sad" (adverbial modifier)
(13)	moisa	"true!" (exclamation)
(14)	gwae moisa	
	talk true	"true words" (adjective)
(15)	moisa-di	
	true-their	"they are true/real" (noun)
(16)	'i-ahwa-moisa	
	he-mouth-true	"he said it's true" (adverbial modifier)

→ Spec

Several prefixes to nouns modify their meaning in a specific way:
toni- "owner of"

(17)	toni-tanoha	owner of the garden
(18)	toni-'asa	owner of the village
	'ebe-	"place of/instrument for"
(19)	'ebe-paihowa	place of work
(20)	'ebe-habala	instrument for crossing (bridge)
	to-	"the one who"
(21)	to-hesilala	the one who asks
(22)	to-paihowa	the one who works
	me-	"people of"
(23)	me-Bunama	people of Bunama
	gwama-	"person of"
(24)	gwama-Dobu	a person from Dobu

4.2. Possession

Nouns are frequently possessed, and this can occur in three ways. Intimate possession, especially for kin relationships and body parts, is expressed with a suffix to the noun. The plural is formed in the same way as for accompanitive pronouns by suffixing -ao or its allomorphs -o/-yao/-wao, and the suffixes are also the same as for accompanitive pronouns, e.g.

(25)	'ahe-gu	'ahe-g-wao
	leg-my	leg-my-pl ("my legs")
(26)	tama-di	tama-di-yao
	father-their	father-their-pl. ("their fathers")

The other two possession forms are pronominal prefixes, which are usually written separated from the noun they possess. They differ only by the initial ^{syllable} vowel, which is 'i for distantly possessed items, like "dog" or "house", and 'a for food and clothing and things with an intermediate degree of closeness to the owner. The rest of the possessive morpheme is essentially the same as the suffixes already described. Variations should be noted however in all the 2s forms. Here are the paradigms for possessive prefixes:

PERSON	INTERMEDIATE	DISTANT
1s	'agu	'igu
2s	'a	'ino
3s	'ana	'ina
1pl(inc)	'ada	'ida
1pl(exc)	'ama	'ima
2pl	'ami	'imi
3pl	'adi	'idi

Here are some examples:

(27)	'igu-'edewa	'agu-silahana
	my-dog	my-fish (to eat)
(28)	'ida-hada	'ada-'ale'o
	our(inc)-house	our(inc)-clothes
(29)	'ino-maheya	'a-maheya
	your(s)-pig	your(s)-pork (to eat)

The intermediate possession form can be used in isolation to mean "food", thus:

(30)	my food	'agu
	your(s) food	'au
	his/her/its food	'ana
	our(inc) food	'ada
	our(exc) food	'ama
	your(pl) food	'ami
	their food	'adi

4.3. Plural Nouns and Specifiers

It is not necessary to pluralise nouns. The singular form can be used for a plural noun, if its plurality is otherwise indicated in the context. However the pluraliser suffix -ao/-o/-yao/-wao can be used on an unaffixed noun stem as well as on nouns with intimate possession suffixes (-o after a, -yao after front vowels, -wao after back vowels). Final stem vowel change can also occur with plural formation (niba-na "cousin-his" is pluralised as nibe-na-o "his cousins")

Following pluralising suffixes, if they are present, are the specification suffixes, which mean "the/this/those/that one etc." These suffixes have various forms including:

1s	-igu/-nigu
2s	-iu
3s	-ina/-nina
3pl	-edi/-wedi/-yedi/-idi/nidi

The forms -nigu, -nina, -nidi are the same as in Dobu, and may be borrowed from Dobu. Of the others -wedi and -yedi are allomorphs of -edi, -wedi after back vowels (32,34,46) and -yedi after front vowels (3).

In texts some words have been found with two specification suffixes,

one affixed onto the other (35,37,38,39).

Another rarely used specification suffix is -wa. It is common in Auhelawa (Kurada), but in Bunama it has been found only with the words meaning "possessed food" (40). An allomorph of this may be -u, which is found with some intimately possessed relationship terms (7,41). However -u and -i appear to have the same meaning "that one", -u following i and -i following a. See (4,5,42) for examples of -i.

Examples of singular and plural nouns and specification suffixes:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|--|
| (31) | da'ule-ina | stone-that (that stone) |
| (32) | deba-u-wedi | hair-your(s)-those |
| (33) | tomotai-yedi | people-those |
| (34) | tubu-mi-yao-wedi | ancestor-your(pl)-pl-those |
| (35) | 'oya-ina-ina | mountain-the-that (that particular mountain) |
| (36) | sipi-yao-wedi | sheep-pl-those |
| (37) | loheya-igu-ina | man-my-that (I, that man) |
| (38) | gwae-nina-ina | word-the-that (that particular word) |
| (39) | tomotai-nidi-nina | people-they-that (those particular people) |
| (40) | 'adi-wa | their food-that |
| (41) | tama-di-u | father-their-that (that father of theirs) |
| (42) | tama-ma-i | father-our(exc)-that |

Specifiers can be used with enumerative pronouns, thus:

- (43) si-te-luwa-edi they-man-two-those (those two)

4.4. Limitation

The limitation clitic -mo ("only") can be affixed to all the examples above, and can occur also with most word classes.

- (44) tubu-mi-yao-wedi-mo
 ancestor-your(pl)-pl-those-only (only those ancestors of you all)

When the morpheme -mo "only" occurs with the emphatic pronouns of the type y -boi "myself", the appropriate person suffix is affixed first:

- | | | |
|------|--------------|--|
| (45) | ya-boi-gu-mo | I-self-me-only (just only myself) |
| (46) | 'u-boi-u-mo | you(s)-self-you(s)-only (just only yourself) |
| (47) | 'i-boi-na-mo | he-self-him-only (just only himself) |
| (48) | ta-boi-da-mo | we(inc)-self-us(inc)-only (just all of us) |

5. NOUN PHRASES

5.1. Content

Noun phrases include a noun or series of nouns, which may be affixed for possession, plurality, specification and/or limitation. Optional additions within the phrase include the following word classes which modify them:

5.2. Free Pronouns

- (49) taugu nima-gu
 I arm-my (my arm)

5.3. Numerals and Enumerative Pronouns

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--|
| (50) | walata 'aigeda | pot one (one pot) |
| (51) | wahiwahine si-te-nima-edi | women they-man-five-those (those five women) |
| (52) | geya 'eta to'aha | not one what (none whatever) |
| (53) | 'edewa 'e-hata-na | dog caus-four-3s (the fourth dog) |

The last one is an example of ordinal numbers which are based on the morpheme 'e which I have glossed "caus" because it has the same form as the verbal causative prefix 'e-, followed by a numeral and the 3s intimate possession suffix -na.

5.4. Locational Demonstratives

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|
| (54) | bewa loheya-ina | this(near speaker) man-that (this particular man) |
| (55) | gwama beno | child there(near hearer) (that child) |
| (56) | nage 'edewa-ina | there(far away) dog-that (that dog) |

5.5. Descriptives

Descriptive words have the same form as intimately possessed nouns. They follow the noun they modify. There may be one or several of them in a phrase, in simple sequence or joined by conjunctions, of which the most common is ta "and/but".

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------------|--|
| (57) | loheya madou-na ta waiwai-na | man big-his and strong-his (a big, strong man) |
| (58) | maheya wa'ewa'e'e-di bwebwe'a-di | pig white-their good-their (good white pigs) |
| (59) | loheya gala-gu | |

man bad-my (bad man, me)

These descriptive words have the form of nouns, and can function as nouns and be modified by other descriptive words within the noun phrase.

(60) mumuga-na mabwaiya-na bwebwe'a-na hedade-di
character-his all-its good-its superlative-their (his entirely very good character)

In this example the switch to plural suffix in the final word is to emphasise that all aspects of the man's character are being referred to. The superlative word hedade-di refers to bwebwe'ana "good", and so does mabwaiyana "all".

A descriptive word which does not inflect for person or number is hali/holi "another/different"

(61) hali 'asa
another village

5.6. Accompanitive Words and Phrases

The suffixed accompanitive words were listed in the Pronouns section (3.3.). Another form of accompaniment is ma- "with" prefixed to a possessed noun, e.g.

(62) wahine ma-natu-na
woman with-child-her (a woman with her child)

(63) loheya ma-'ina-'edewa
man with-his-dog (a man with his dog)

(64) ma-'igu-yaliyaya
with-my-joy (I, with joy)

Here is an example of a suffixed accompanitive pronoun in a noun phrase which is the subject of a verb:

(65) tauna 'iya-gu ba'ida-gu 'a-hegwaegwae
he friend-my company-my we(exc)-were talking (I with my friend, we talked = I was talking with that friend of mine)

Note in this example the absence of the free pronoun taugu "I". It is not needed because the form of the accompanitive pronoun ba'idagu shows that the group consists of one person with me. Note also that the total of the persons is included in the pronominal subject prefix of the verb 'a- "we(exc)".

5.7. Examples

Here are a few examples of noun phrases taken from Ngaine Hughes' paper on Bunama Phrases.

(66) bewa taudi gumaguma-bwaini-di
here they people-good-their
these good-looking people

(67) tauna loheya-ina 'i-boi-na-mo
he man-that he-self-him-only
that man himself only

(68) 'asa-ina madou-na beno 'aigeda
village-that big-its there(near hearer) one
that one big village there

(69) tauma waha-ma-yao mwane-di-yao taudi
we(exc) uncles-our(exc)-pl spouse-their-pl they
they, the wives of our uncles

Here are some more examples from Bunama texts:

(70) wahine 'aigeda mwane-na goma'ala ma-'idi hewali (si-miyamiya)
woman one spouse-her lizard with-their workboy (they-stayed)
a woman, her husband who was a lizard, and their workboy

(71) tubu-mwane-mwane-u-ina ba'ida-u 'ami hola
grandparent-redup-spouse-your(s)-that company-your(s) your seawater
seawater for you with your grandmother who is your spouse

The reason for reduplicating mwane "spouse" in this example is that when a noun is used as a descriptive (adjectival) form the stem is usually reduplicated, and the appropriate intimate possession suffix added. However some very common adjectival words (e.g. madou-na "big", 'i'iu-na "small", bwebwe'a-na "good", galana "bad", tupwa-na "some/part of") do not usually reduplicate. These words can also function in isolation as nouns.

5. VERBS

6.1. Subject Prefixes

All verbs have obligatory subject prefixes. They are declined as follows with the verb-stem bwau "call"

SUBJECT	
1s "I"	ya-bwau
2s "you"	'u-bwau
3s "he/she/it"	'i-bwau
1pl(inc) "we and you"	ta-bwau
1pl(exc) "we, not you"	'a-bwau
2pl "you all"	wa-bwau
3pl "they"	si-bwau

6.2. Stems and Affixes

The Bunama verb-stem may be a single morpheme (98), or two morphemes, the second of which is usually a modifier of the first one (92). To this may be prefixed one or two causitive prefixes (93,94). Prefixed to that may be the subjunctive prefix da "may" (95), and word-initially there is the obligatory subject marker.

(92)	'i-bwau-dobi	he-call-seawards (he calls seawards)
(93)	'i-he-gwae	he-caus-say (he tells)
(94)	'i-lo-he-'amasa	he-caus-caus-die (they kill)
(95)	ta-da-lo-maheya	we(inc)-may-caus-pig (we may get pigs)

Reduplication of part of the verb-stem indicates a continuing action (96). There is a transitivity suffix, or a vowel change caused by fusion with a transitivity suffix, on some verb stems to make them transitive (98), and then the object suffix indicating person and number of the object (97), except for third person singular for which there may be only the transitivity suffix (98) or vowel change in the verbs where this occurs (143-148, 150, 151).

(96)	'i-bwau-bwau	he-cont-call (he is calling)
(97)	'i-bwau-we-go	he-call-tr-you(s) (he calls you)
(98)	'i-bwau-we	he-call-tr-(3s) (he calls him)

For completed actions, and occasional uncompleted actions, -ya is the 3s object suffix. After this there may be a -ma suffix indicating direction towards the speaker, or very rarely -wa indicating direction towards the hearer. After this there may be a -ya/-wa suffix which indicates that the action is completed. The direction suffixes -ma/-wa and completion suffix -ya/-wa rarely occur on the same verb (102)

(99)	si-tau-ye-ya	they-go-tr-3s (they took him)
(100)	wa-he-hane-he-ya	you(pl)-caus-rise-tr-3s (you put it up)
(101)	si-da-bwau-dobi-ma	they-may-call-seawards-towards speaker
(102)	ya-he-he-hile-ya-wa	I-cont-caus-return-it-to hearer (I am returning it to you)
(103)	si-u-le-dada-ne-ya	they-throw-around-tr-3s (they threw him around)
(104)	'i-he-do'o-di-ya	he/she/it-caus-load-them-compl (he loaded them on)
(105)	ya-he-gwae-gwae-ne-go-wa	I-caus-cont-speak-tr-you(s)-compl (I was telling you)
(106)	si-he-he-talapili-ye-gita	they-cont-caus-complain-tr-us(inc) (they are complaining about us)

If it is clear from the context that an action is completed, it is not necessary to use the completion suffix -ya/-wa.

The causitive prefixes have shades of meaning which specify different methods of causation. Some can be fairly specifically defined, but many of them are difficult to define apart from a general causitive function. The forms of them include:

'ahu/'au, 'atu, gi	with hands
'apu	with mouth
'ahwa/'aha	by speech
'eno	lying
ha, hutu, tutu	travelling
lo, he, 'e, 'abi	common general causatives
'eto, 'ebe, 'ya	undefined causatives

Two causatives may be combined, as in 'ehe, gihe, lohe, 'elo.

The transitivity suffixes will be described in 6.6. They are ye, ne, we, he.

6.3. Negation

Negative words precede the verb. They are geya, gebu, nigebu, 'igeya, and also sahena and geya 'abwa which are prohibitives. The Dobu word tuwa "Don't!" is also used as a prohibitive. Negatives do not influence the form of the verb, unless the subjunctive prefix da "may" is included, in which case the completive suffix is also usually required.

- (107) geya ya-da-'ite-di-ya
not I-may-see.tr-them-comp1 (I didn't/can't see them)

6.4. Intonation and Mood

Commands are indicated only by a change in intonation. There is no way of indicating futurity within the verb itself. The subjunctive prefix da often has a future sense, but only in relation to actions which are unlikely to occur, including questions or requests which expect a negative answer. A verb can be made into a question just by a change of intonation.

6.5. Reduplication

For a continuing or repeated action, part of the verb stem is reduplicated. The form that this reduplication takes varies from verb to verb.

The commonest pattern is reduplication of the first two syllables

- (108) they stay si-miya si-miya-miya
(109) they seek si-'ebesa si-'ebe-'ebesa
(110) they run si-pili si-pili-pili
(111) they eat si-'ai si-'ai-'ai

For some verbs only the first syllable reduplicates

- (112) they stand si-toholo si-to-toholo

For many verbs with single syllable causitive prefixes, that prefix alone is reduplicated.

- (113) they ascend si-he-hane si-he-he-hane
(114) they story-tell si-he-'ote'otetela si-he-he-'ote'otetela
(115) they delouse si-he-tumatano si-he-he-tumatano
(116) it is all cooked 'i-'elotaoha 'i-'e-'elotaoha

In the last example there are two causitives 'e and lo. When the two are combined, 'elo means "all of them".

Some verbs with the causitive prefix 'e reduplicate the next two syllables of the verb stem

- (117) they cut it up si-'e-'upweya si-'e-'upwe-'upweya.

Reduplication of the second morpheme of a verb stem is a common pattern, in which case two syllables are usually reduplicated.

- (118) he tells 'i-he-gwae 'i-he-gwae-gwae
(119) he sewed it up 'i-'au-saili-ya 'i-'au-sai-saili-ya
(120) he chews you up 'i-sana-'igali-go 'i-sana-'iga-'igali-go
(121) they carry si-lo-'ahala si-lo-'aha-'ahala

In the next example only one syllable is reduplicated, but it is a causitive used in a context of travelling - ha.

- (122) 'i-doe-ha-ha-'es-e-ya
it-drift-cont-caus-precisely-tr-him (it drifted him precisely)

Sometimes the second or third morpheme in a compound verb-stem is a form which is always reduplicated, and the first morpheme of the stem may also be reduplicated:

- (123) he fishes 'i-lo-yaoyaoni 'i-lo-lo-yaoyaoni
(124) he peeps out 'i-lo-'ita-'wisi'wisi-ma 'i-lo-lo-'ita-'wisi'wisi-ma (he-cont-caus-see-peeping out-towards speaker)

6.6. Transitive and Intransitive Forms

The transitive suffixes indicate person and number of the object. The third singular form may be -ya or zero morpheme, and rarely -i.

1s	gau
2s	go
3s	0, ya, (i)
1pl(inc)	gita
1pl(exc)	mai
2pl	gomi
3pl	di

The presence of g in four of the object suffixes suggests that g is part of an old transitivity morpheme.

The only example of -i suffix (which is the same as a common 3s future object suffix in Dobu) is for "he will climb it" which may be 'i-hane or 'i-hane-i.

The suffix for completion -ya/-wa does not occur with the 1pl inclusive object suffix -gita, or the 3s object suffix -ya. This suggests that its basic form is -a, which fuses with the final a of -gita and -ya, and

comes -wa after back vowels and -ya after front vowels. Thus the full declension for completed action with 'i-toho ("he tries/tests") is:

OBJECT		
(125)	1s	'i-toho-gau-wa
(126)	2s	'i-toho-go-wa
(127)	3s	'i-toho-ya
(128)	1pl(inc)	'i-toho-gita
(129)	1pl(exc)	'i-toho-mai-ya
(130)	2pl	'i-toho-gomi-ya
(131)	3pl	'i-toho-di-ya

For some verbs the intransitive and transitive stems are the same.

Transitive forms have the appropriate object suffix:

INTRANS		TRANS PAST		TRANS. FUT.
STEM	MEANING	(3s subj & obj)		(3s subj & obj)
(132)	yamosi lick	'i-yamosi-ya		'i-yamosi
(133)	toho try	'i-toho-ya		'i-toho
(134)	tubwe join	'i-tubwe-ya		'i-tubwe
(135)	tone swallow	'i-tone-ya		'i-tone
(136)	suhi shave	'i-suhi-ya		'i-suhi
(137)	sabu tear	'i-sabu-ya		'i-sabu
(138)	sapi hit	'i-sapi-ya		'i-sapi
(139)	'ahuyahi cover	'i-'ahuyahi-ya		'i-'ahuyahi
(140)	'ahanoi ask	'i-'ahanoi-ya		'i-'ahanoi
(141)	hole light	'i-hole-ya		'i-hole
(142)	gabu burn	'i-gabu-ya		'i-gabu

Note that the completion suffix -a/-wa/-ya would be -wa following back vowels in (133, 137, 142), but the morpheme is -ya in all environments, indicating that -ya in this situation is 3s object suffix, and not the completion suffix.

Some intransitive verbs ending with a, change the a to e when they become transitive:

(143)	hemaisa buy	'i-hemaise-ya	'i-hemaise
(144)	'ahuboda cover	'i-'ahubode-ya	'i-'ahubode
(145)	'ahupoha break	'i-'ahupohe-ya	'i-'ahupohe
(146)	hesagoha hear	'i-hesagohe-ya	'i-hesagohe
(147)	'inana recognize	'i-'inane-ya	'i-'inane
(148)	ula throw	'i-ule-ya	'i-ule

For some of these verbs the final a of the stem remains unchanged for future time for 3s and 3pl objects. These verbs include sipwa "tie", 'ewa "take", and 'ita "see".

These are the paradigms for sipwa, with the object suffixes for completed and non-completed actions.

(149)	OBJ.	PAST	FUTURE
	1s	'i-sipwe-gau-wa	'i-sipwe-gau
	2s	'i-sipwe-go-wa	'i-sipwe-go
	3s	'i-sipwe-ya	'i-sipwa
	1pl(inc)	'i-sipwe-gita	'i-sipwe-gita
	1pl(exc)	'i-sipwe-mai-ya	'i-sipwe-mai
	2pl	'i-sipwe-gomi-ya	'i-sipwe-gomi
	3pl	'i-sipwe-di-ya	'i-sipwa-di

In some intransitive verb stems with final ila, the a changes to i when it becomes transitive.

(150)	ya'ila sharpen	'i-ya'ili-ya	'i-ya'ili
(151)	saila sew	'i-saili-ya	'i-saili

The transitivity suffixes, on the verbs in which they appear are ne, we, ye, he, all presumably morphophonemic variants of the vowel e.

Transitivity suffixes, when they occur, precede the object suffixes.

(152)	helau love	'i-helau-we-ya	'i-helau-we
(153)	wali sing	'i-wali-ye-ya	'i-wali-ye
(154)	hesani name	'i-hesani-ye-ya	'i-hesani-ye
(155)	lohepa'i attach	'i-lohepa'i-ne-ya	'i-lohepa'i-ne
(156)	laguhane send up	'i-laguhane-he-ya	'i-laguhane-he

6.7. Final m(u)

Verb stems with a final mu lose the u.

(157)	sam(u) bury	'i-samu-ya	'i-sam
(158)	With 1s object	'i-samu-gau-wa	'i-samu-gau

6.8. Infinitive Construction

The Bunama language shares with Dobu and Tubetube the infinitive construction using sabi. (The Auhelawa equivalent is habi.) For purpose clauses sabi is followed by a verb stem, and the meaning is "to do that action."

(159) 'i-nao sabi paihowa
he-went to work

(160) 'i-hane hada-i sabi 'eno
he-ascended house-in to sleep.

LOCATION WORDS AND PHRASES

7.1 Location Words

These include 'ebwa "here", nobwa "there", and also the locational demonstratives nage "far off", nige "close by", bewa "here(near speaker)", beno "there(near hearer)".

7.2. Location Suffixes

Location is very frequently expressed by locational post-positional words or suffixes attached to nouns or noun phrases. (This is different from the -ma ("towards speaker") and -wa ("towards hearer") suffixes which are found on verbs).

The most basic location suffixes are

-ega	from
-a and -i	at/to

There are allomorphs of -ega, which are -wega after back vowels and -yega after front vowels. Allomorphs of -a are -wa after back vowels and -ya after front vowels. Leckie and Hughes noted that -a fuses with the final a in a noun stem, so that for practical purposes only the context determines if hada means "a house" or "at a house."

These location morphemes can be suffixed to a number of word classes:

7.3. Nouns.

(161)	hada	house.at
(162)	hada-i	house-at
(163)	had-ega	house-from (from a house)
(164)	'aiwe-ya	tree-at (at a tree)
(165)	'aiwe-yega	tree-from (from a tree, or wood)

7.4. Pronouns.

A very productive series is based on the root 'o/'oi, which will be glossed as "base"

(166)	'oi-gu-wa	base-my-at/to (to me)
	'oi-gu-wega	base-my-from (from me)
	'oi-u-wa	base-your(s)-at/to (to you)
	'oi-u-wega	base-your(s)-from (from you)
	'oi-na-(a)	base-his/her/its-at/to (to him/her/it)
	'oi-n-ega	base-his/her/its-from (from him/her/it)
	'oi-da-(a)	base-our(inc)-at/to (to us(inc))
	'oi-m-ega	base-our(exc)-from (from us(exc))
	'oi-mi-ya	base-your(pl)-at/to (to you(pl))
	'oi-di-yega	base-their-from (from them)
	'oinega	has an extended meaning, "from it/thus/and so/then/therefore", and as such is commonly used in clause linkage

(167) 'oinega 'i-tauya then he-went

The other forms are used only in their literal sense

(168) 'oi-di-yega ya-'ewe-ya
base-their-from I-take-3s(past) (I took it from them)

7.5. Intimately Possessed Nouns.

This is a very productive group. Many of them can take all intimate possession suffixes with the location suffixes following them.

(169)	dei-gu-wega	side-my-from (from my side)
(170)	mata-da-(a)	eyes-our(inc)-at (in front of us all)
(171)	muli-mi-ya	behind-you(pl)-at (behind you(pl))

The location affix may refer to a complete noun phrase

(172) niu tabwa-n-ega
coconut top-its-from (from the top of a coconut palm)

(173) 'oya deba-di-ya
mountain peak-their-at/on (on the mountain tops)

7.6. Location Words

The words 'ebwa and nobwa can take the -ega suffix

(174) nobw-ega there-from (from there)

7.7. Numerals

Numerals and numeral pronouns can take -ega

(175) 'aiged-ega one-from (from one)

(176) si-te-luwa-edi-yega
they-man-two-those-from (from those two)

7.8. Descriptives

Descriptive modifiers, especially those with the form of a reduplicated intimately possessed noun, which can take all person suffixes before the location suffix, are usually part of a locative noun phrase.

(177) tomota gamwa-gamwa-ni-di-ya
people redup-middle-that-their-in (in the middle of the people)

(178) gamwa-gamwa-ni-m-ega
redup-middle-that-our(exc)-from (from the midst of us)

(179) 'ale'o pwasa-pwasa-di-yega

cloth redup-wet-their-from (from wet clothes)

the following descriptive modifiers are some that do not usually reduplicate, though they can reduplicate for strong emphasis.

- (180) 'asa madou-di-ya
village big-their-at (at big villages)
(181) we'aha gala-n-ega
water bad-its-from (from bad water)
(182) 'i'iu-di-yega
small-their-from (from small ones)
(183) madou-mi-ya
big-your-at/to (to you big people)

8. TIME WORDS AND PHRASES

8.1. Position

Time words and phrases usually come first in paragraphs and sentences.

8.2. Single Words

They may be single words which specify a particular time or season

- (184) lahilahi afternoon
Sabate Sunday

There are words which indicate time relative to now

- (185) nige earlier today
nata later today
'ebwa soon
gona tomorrow
boi yesterday
mwalo previous time
mwalo-hene before-indeed (a long time ago)
'abwa soon/still acting
bo'i/bo'iyage already done

The following refer to order of events

- (186) nugeta first
muliyyeta later
muliyyet-ega after that

Ordinal numbers are formed by prefixing ma- to the stem of the cardinal number

- (187) ma-'aigeda once ('aigeda=one)
ma-luwa twice ('eluwa=two)
ma-toi thrice ('etoi=three)
ma-hata four times (hata=four)
ma-nima five times (nima=five)

8.3. Time Phrases

Time phrases may be a simple noun phrase, a locative phrase, or even a verbal clause. Here are some examples

Noun Phrase

- (188) sauga bewa time this (now)
'abwa nata-mo soon today-only (very soon)
'aigeda sauga one time (at one time)
tuta baibaiwa-na time many-its (often)

Locative Phrase

- (189) sauga bewa 'oi-n-ega
time this base-its-from (from now on)
(190) lahilahi gamwa-gamwa-n-ega
afternoon redup-middle-its-from (at mid-afternoon)
(191) guyai 'ana gamwa-gamwa-na-(a)
feast its redup-middle-its-at (at the middle of the feast)
(192) tapwalolo muli-na-(a)
worship follow-its-at (after church)
(193) bolime bewa 'oi-na year this base-at (this year)

Verbal Clause

- (194) gona 'i-'adale tomorrow it-dawned (next morning)
(This clause is a common introducer of a new paragraph.)

A verbal clause may be embedded in a locative time phrase

- (195) tuta si-nao-nao-ma 'oi-di-ya
time they-cont-go-here base-their-at (in the coming time)

Sequences of time words and phrases can be strung together

- (196) 'abwa nata tuta si-naonaoma 'oidi-ya
soon today time they-coming them-at (very soon in the coming time)

9. INTERROGATIVES

9.1. Functions

Interrogative words are usually placed first in a clause, and

action as its subject. In indicative clauses interrogative words function as generalisation morphemes. Thus taiya means "who?" or "whoever".

to-sauga "what-time?" also means "at whatever time."

Here are some of the more common interrogatives:

- (197) hisa how many?
 taiya-wedi who-those (who(pl)?)
 to-'eha what-place (where?)
 to-'aha what?
 to-gid-ega what-like-from (how?)
 to-sauga what-time (when?)
 to-lahisa what-time(past) (when previously?)
 to-sauga 'oina what-time at (when?)
 to-'ed-ega what-road-from (which way?)

From these examples it can be seen that the basic interrogative morpheme is to- "what". to- can be prefixed to any noun, to which -ega may also be suffixed.

- (198) to-hada what-house (which house?)
 to-had-ega what-house-from (from which house?)

9.2.Examples

- (199) togidega gwama 'e'ahai 'u-'ebwae
 how child food you(s)-give.to-(her) (Have you given food to the child?)

- (200) 'iya, to'eha 'ada
 friend, where our food (Friend, where is our food?)

- (201) to'eh-ega 'i-tauya
 where-from he-go (Which way has he gone?)

- (202) 'iya, taiya 'owa
 friend, who you(s) (Friend, who are you?)

- (203) to'aha weyahi-na 'u-siwapa
 what reason-its you(s)-grieve (Why do you grieve?)

- (204) to-waga nata ya-'ewa
 what-canoe soon I-take.it (What canoe will I take?)

Examples of interrogative words for generalisation

- (205) to-tuta 'oina 'i-hapwesa 'abwa si-dena
 what-time at he-appear then they-flee (Whenever he appears they will flee)

- (206) 'eguma taiya-wedi si-paihowa maisa si-'ewa
 if who-those they-work pay they-get (Whoever works will get pay.)

- (207) 'i-'ebe-'ebesa to'eha ma to'eha si-miya-miya
 he-cont-search where and where they-cont-stay (He kept searching wherever they were staying)

9.3. Final Question Morpheme

An indicative sentence can be made into a question by ending it with 'awa, which is equivalent to English "eh?" This may be abbreviated to a suffix -wa on the final word, or intonation only may indicate that the utterance is a question.

- (208) Wa-paihowa tanoha, 'awa?
 You(pl)-work garden, eh? (Are you working at the garden?)
 (209) gwa-gwam-edi si-boi-di-mo-wa?
 redup-child-those they-self-them-only-eh? (Just those children themselves, eh?)
 (210) beno 'ama-ina-wa?
 that our(exc)food-that-eh? (Is that our food there?)
 (211) 'i-hapwesa-ma 'aiwe-yega-wa?
 it-appear-here tree-from-eh? (Did it come from a tree?)
 (212) 'iya-gu, 'u-da-'ita?
 friend-my you(s)-may-see? (My friend, can you see it?)
 (213) 'e'ahai si-'e-'ule-ya?
 food they-caus-cook-it? (Have they cooked the food?)

A final clause bo geya? ("or not") clearly identifies a preceding question which needs a yes or no answer

- si-tauya bo geya?
 they-go or not? (Did they go, or not?)

The suffix -wa has many different meanings:

- (a) completion (105)
 (b) towards hearer (102)
 (c) question (210)
 (d) location (166)
 (e) specification/demonstrative (40)

10. IMPERATIVES

Imperative constructions contain verbs with second person subject prefixes, and only the imperative intonation distinguishes them from

indicative statements.

- (215) wa-toholo you(pl)-stand
wa-toholo! stand!

Prohibition will be dealt with in the next section, under negatives.

11. NEGATIVES

Bunama sentences or clauses can be negated by geya/'igeya/gebu/nigebu usually preceding the verb, if there is one, or at the beginning of the clause. The verb-stem is usually not reduplicated, except for prohibitive clauses, which have the negative words sahena or geya'abwa.

If a negative clause includes the subjunctive verbal prefix da, it usually has the completive suffix -ya/-wa also on the verb (223).

Examples

- (216) geya nuhu-na-o-wedi si-latu-ma
not brother-her-pl-those they-appear-here (Those brothers of hers didn't come)
- (217) gebu 'i-leme
not he-help.tr-(him) (He didn't help him)
- (218) geya 'eta nату-di-mo
not any child-their-only (They had no child)
- (219) 'owa geya sowa-sowahi-u 'u-he-waiwai ma 'u-hunu-he-gumwali-di
you(s) not redup-ability-your you-caus/become-strong and you-hit-caus
-finish.tr-them
(It is not possible for you to become strong enough to kill them all.)
- (220) sahena si-'eno-'eno
prohib they-cont-lie/sleep (They must not sleep)
- (221) sahena nibai-gu wa-gwae-gwae-ne
prohib cousin-my you(pl)-cont-speak-tr-(him) (Don't be talking to my cousin.)
- (222) geya'abwa si-hunu-hunu-gau
prohib they-cont-hit-me (They must not kill me.)
- (223) geya we'aha 'i-da-'ebwae-di-ya
not water he-may-give.to-them-compl (He didn't give them water)

12. LINKAGE

12.1. Repetition

To connect sentences and paragraphs in spoken language there is a device used called "head-tail linkage" which is often used. It is the repetition of the final, or near-final word of one sentence at the beginning of the next sentence. This is usually a verb, but it may be a noun. It may be repeated in a modified form.

- (224) si-mwela. Si-mwela-mwela
they-climbed. They-cont-climb
they climbed up. They kept climbing and
- (225) 'i-tauya galu-na. Galu-na ma 'i-bwau-bwau-dobi-ma ...
he-went top-its. Top-its and he-cont-call-down-to speaker ...
he went to the top. From there he was calling down to me ...
This "head-tail" linkage strengthens cohesiveness, but Bunama writers are reluctant to use it in written language.

12.2. Completion verb

Series of actions can be linked by the completion verb 'i-gumwala (it-finished) at significant points in the narrative.

- (226) 'i-'e-'ule 'i-gumwala ma si-'ai-ya
she-caus-cook it-finish and they-eat-completed
after she cooked, they ate

12.3. Simple apposition.

Clauses often follow one another with no connecting word or morpheme.

- (227) 'i-hane-ya 'abehega 'i-yagaha 'i-ai ta waha-na-ina 'i-toholo naipi-
yega nima-na 'i-upwe-ya
she-climb-compl purpose she-steal she-eat but uncle-her-that he-stand
knife-with hand-her he-cut.tr-it
she climbed up to steal (food) and eat it, but her uncle rose and cut her hand with a knife
'iyagaha 'i'ai have no conjunction between them, and there is no
conjunction between 'itoholo and the clause naipiyega nimana 'i'upweya.

4.4. Conjunctions

The commonest simple conjunction is *ma* "and" which is used for past, present and future actions, and can join words, phrases, clauses, and sentences. It is phonologically linked more closely to the word it follows than to the word which comes after it. It should not be confused with the prefix *ma-* which means "with".

- (228) 'i-'e-'ule *ma* *ma*-mwane-na si-'ai
she-caus-cook and with-spouse-her they-eat
she cooked, then she and her husband ate together

The Dobu conjunction *be* is sometimes used instead of Bunama *ma* or *ta* but it is not generally accepted as true Bunama language. In Dobu *be* has a specialised use for indicating that the following action is in the future. It is never used in this way in Bunama. In Bunama *ma* is always used for future actions, as well as most past actions.

The conjunction *ta* in Bunama may have an adversative sense "but", indicating change of actor or focus

- (229) 'abehega 'i-yagaha 'i-'ai *ta* waha-na-ina 'i-toholo
purpose she-steal she-eat but uncle-her-that he-stand
she was going to steal (food) to eat but her uncle rose
ta is also used to link lists of similar articles

- (230) si-'ita-dobi-wa 'e'ahai 'wateya *ta* weda *ta* maheya *ta* 'wadoya *ta*
guliliya *ta* 'i-'e-'elo-taoha
they-look-down-to.hearer food yam and taro and pig and possum and
flyingfox and it-cont-all-cooked
looking down there they saw food - yam, taro, pig, possum and
flyingfox all cooked

ta can be used when the second clause is the result of the first clause

- (231) 'i-gwae-ya *ta* gumo
he-said-comp1 and hornets (appeared)
ta tends to be used for actions which occur simultaneously rather than in sequence

- (232) 'i-he-madou-wa *ta* 'i-hewali-ya
he-caus-big-comp1 and he-youth-comp1
he grew big and became a youth

However *ma* can be used in all of the ways listed above for the use of *ta*. Speakers vary in their preferences for *ma* or *ta*, and for many speakers it seems they use *ta* indiscriminately just to prevent the monotony of using only *ma* as a general conjunction.

bo means "or"

- (233) mane 'eta to'eha 'uibai *bo* silahana 'u-da-tauye-ya-*ma*
where one where shellfish or fish you-may-take.tr-it-here
is there any shellfish or fish that you bring?
- (234) 'i-da-leme-di si-da-paihowa tanoha *bo* 'idi 'aiwe 'i-'ahala
he-may-help.tr-them they-may-work garden or their wood he-carry
he would help them with garden work or carry their firewood.

ee... indicates "this continued until"

'ana *siga* (its limit) has the same meaning, and is usually preceded by *ee...* or *ma*

- (235) si-pili-*ma* si-pili-*ma* *ee...* 'asa-i si-latu-latu
they-ran-here they-ran-here until village-at they cont-arrive
they ran and ran back here until they all arrived at the village
- (236) si-miya-miya *ee...* 'ana *siga* 'i-he-madou-wa
they-cont-stay until its limit he-caus-big-comp1
they stayed until he grew up

eeta and *eema* are combinations which can be used as conjunctions between clauses, and they are also used sentence initially.

12.5. Adverbial conjunctions

wete "also" can function as an adverb or as a conjunction. When used as a conjunction it is often combined with *ma* or *ta* thus: *ma wete/ta wete*.

- (237) 'aigeda 'i-gwae-ya "Bwasumo si-dou-dou". *Wete* 'i-dou-hila *ma wete*
gide si-hesagohe-ya
one he-say-comp1 "Birds they-cont-call". Also she-call-again and also
thus they-hear.tr-her.

'oi-n-ega ("entity-3s-from = from it/thus/so/then") is a locational word. When used as a conjunction it indicates sequence or result.

- 38) 'ena-na si-'inane-ya 'oinega si-pili-ma
voice-her they-recognise.tr-it so they-ran-here
they recognised her voice and ran here.

muliyet-ega ("back-from = afterwards") is used occasionally for action sequences

- (239) 'i-'ite-ya mwata-ina muliyetega 'i-latu-ma
she-saw.tr-it snake-that afterwards it-appeared-came
she saw the snake and then it came towards her

- hesi "but/however" is used for strong contrast or adversative linkage. It is usually combined with ma or ta thus: ma hesi/ta hesi
(240) geya'abwa 'u-'ama-'amasa; hesi ya-abi-yahi-go ma ta-tauya
prohib you(s)-cont-die; but I-by, hand-hold-you(s) and we(inc)-go
you won't die, but I'll hold onto you and we'll go.
(241) si-toho ma si-'eli, ma hesi geya sowasowahi-na
they-try and they-dig, and however not ability-its
they tried to dig (to it), but they couldn't.

tuwa "just" is usually followed by ma, and often follows as a response to someone's speech.

- (242) "wadoya weyahi-na; 'ane 'eguma ta-hunu hene 'wadoya-ina, 'alo-na t do'o." Tuwa ma si-laga.

"possum benefit-its; so if we(inc)-kill indeed possum-the, inside-i we(inc)-load." Just and they-ascend.

"It is for the possum; if we kill one we will put it in it." And th just went on upwards.

'ane "so" is often preceded by ma or ta.

- (243) Tuwa gidemusa 'eda 'aigeda-ina; ta 'ane mabwaiya-di si-hemala-lohey ta si-'elo-'amasa

Just thus road one-that; and so all-their they-became-man and they-all-die

It happened the same way, they all became men, and all died.

'abwa "then/after" can be followed by hesi or wete or it may stand alone in linking clauses.

- (244) 'u-miya-miya tuwa ma ya-hutu-laga, 'abwa wete ya-hila-ma
you(s)-cont-stay just and I-travel-inland, then also I-return-here
You just stay here and I'll go inland, and then come back.

- (245) nata geya ma gona 'abwa ya-tauya
today not and tomorrow then I-go
Not today, but tomorrow I will go.

'abwa can strengthen gide "like"

- (246) gide abwa 'edewa
like then dog (like a dog)

12.6. Adverbial modifiers

Adverbial conjunctions merge with other adverbial modifiers, which often combine with conjunctions to further refine the semantic linkage between clauses. Some adverbial modifiers are:

nuwana	perhaps
gidemusa/gide	like/thus/like that
gidega	in the same way
'emi	perhaps
hene/hede	indeed
hina/hana	indeed
moisa	truly
'iya	really
'iyamo	however

'aiwe 'i-toholo; ma 'iyamo 'aiwe-na-ina beno hola papali-na
tree it-stood; and however tree-the-that there sea side-its
a tree stood there, actually beside the sea.

- (248) bohali 'oina 'u-do'o; hina 'u-'ahali 'u-tauya ma wa-'ule
basket in you(s)-load; indeed you(s)-carry you(s)-go and you(pl)-cook

Put it in a basket, and just take it and cook it.

- (249) 'aigeda 'i-ula-hile-ya ma tuwa nage gide si-ula-dada-ne-ya ee...
one he-threw-back.tr-him and just that like they-threw-around-tr-him
until

one threw him back and they just threw him around like that until

si-dena ma gid-ega si-nao-nao ee...
 they-fled and thus-from they-cont-went until
 they fled and kept going like that until ...

3. SPECIAL CLAUSE INTRODUCERS

3.1. Condition - 'eguma "if"

- 251) ma 'eguma 'i-bwau 'u-laga 'oi-na
 and if he-call you(s)-ascend entity-to
 and if he calls, go up to him
- 252) 'eguma nuwanuwa-di ma 'iya-di-yao-we-di si-'ita-di 'ewou-wega si-neha
 if desire-their and friend-their-pl-that-3s they-see.tr-them canoe-by
 they-paddle
 if they want to see those friends of theirs they go by canoe
- 253) tauna 'ate-na 'eguma 'agu 'ate
 he liver-his if my liver
 if only I could eat his liver

3.2. Consequence - 'oinega "thus/so/then"

The word 'oinega was introduced with its basic usage in the locational section (166), meaning "it-from/from it", declined for all persons, singular and plural. Here however are examples of its use as a conjunction, or clause introducer.

- 254) 'u-'e-'abo-'abo-we-gau 'oinega 'agu siwapa
 you(s)-cause-cont-deceive-tr-me so my grief
 I was grieved because you kept tricking me
- 255) 'i-hapwesa 'oinega si-dena
 he-appeared so they-fled

3.3. Purpose - 'abeha/'abehega/'abehene "in order to/to be"

Leckie and Hughes suggest that 'abehene is more certain than 'abehega, or that 'abehega implies some doubt.

- 256) 'abehega 'i-dena ta la'uwa
 purpose he-flee but crab
 he wanted to flee, but a crab (was there)
- 257) si-bwau-wa 'abehega si-lisi
 they-call-compl purpose they-pull
 they shouted in order to pull together
- 258) 'ina nuwatuhu 'abehega tehala
 her thought purpose(to be) reef
 she thought it was reef
- 259) 'abeha gide ta-goha 'i-dobi-dobi
 purpose thus we(incl)-chop.tr it-cont-go down
 if we intend to chop it like that it will come down

3.4. Warning - 'amuge/tabu ta/tabu ma "lest"

- 260) 'i-gwae, 'amuge gide 'agu walata 'i-he-mohomoho
 she-said, lest like my pot it-caus-mess
 she said, "Lest my pot become messy."
- 261) sahena wa-bwau-bwau tabu ta si-hesagoha
 don't you(pl)-cont-call lest they-hear
 don't call out lest they hear (you)

3.5. Doubt - nuwana/nana "perhaps"

- 262) nuwana si-tauya bo geya
 perhaps they-go or not
 I wonder if they have gone or not
- These words are also used at the end of clauses.
- 263) to'eha nana
 where perhaps
 I wonder where

3.6. Amplification - beno "that is/ namely/thus"

beno is primarily a locative demonstrative meaning 'near you'. In its extended usage at clause level beno functions like a relative pronoun.

- 264) 'eguma 'i-guipaila beno tuwa 'idi tobwatobwa 'i-'ebwae-di
 if he-divorce thus just their goods he-give to-them
- 265) 'a-nao-ma beno Bunama 'oina
 we(exc)-come-here that is Bunama at
 we came here, that is at Bunama

In this example beno is not used as a locative demonstrative, otherwise the choice would be bewa "here, near speaker", but in this example beno

introduces an amplification clause, and means "that is/namely/thus". Beno ii
 clause linkage can even have the meaning "and so/therefore"

- (266) si'ita wahine-ina 'i-'ahwa-tapwa'e-ye bo 'i-'ahwa-sada-e-ya, beno
 loheya-ina si-lo-mata-yahi
 they-see woman-that he-mouth(ask)-tobacco-tr or he-mouth(ask)-
 betelnut-tr-her, so man-that they-caus-eye-hold
 they see that woman he asked her for tobacco or betelnut, so they
 keep an eye on that man

13.7. Reason - weyahina/weyaina "because"

This word declines for all persons at phrase level, for example:

- (267) hudi weyahi-gu ma wete taudi weyahi-di
 banana reason/benefit-my and also they benefit-their
 bananas for me and also for them

This word is restricted to 3s, weyahi-na/weyai-na "reason-its = because", in
 clause linkage.

- (268) geya sowa-na 'u-wela-welaha weyahina 'a-tau-tauya bwaga
 not ability-its you-cont-sing because we(exc)-cont-go far
 you won't be able to sing (to call us) because we are going a long

way

13.8. Ability and Sufficiency - sawasawahina/sowasowahina/sowasowana/sowana/ sawana" can/must/enough"

These words have the same meaning, and decline for all persons, in
 phrases and clauses.

- (269) geya sowa-di
 not ability-their
 they can't do it
 (270) 'e'ahai sawasawahi-gu
 food sufficiency-my
 I have enough food
 (271) sowasowa-na wa-hane
 ability-its you(pl)-climb
 you can go up/you should go up

When the 3s form is used in a question, it is usually a polite request.

- (272) sowasowahi-na 'u-do'o-gu ma wete ta-hila
 ability-its you(s)-load-me and also we(inc)-return
 can you take me on board and we'll go back

13.9. Desire - nuwanuwana "he/she/it-wants/needs"

This word is a noun which declines for all persons, e.g. nuwanuwa-gu "desire/
 need-my". It functions at phrase and clause level.

- (273) 'i-hila-ma nuwanuwa-na 'e'ahai weyahi-na. Geya!
 he-return-here want-his food reason-its. Not!
 He came back because he wanted food, but there was none.
 (274) 'abehega nuwanuwa-di 'ate-u si-'ai
 purpose desire-their liver-your(s) they-eat
 they want to eat your liver

BASIC CLAUSES

1. Non-verbal clauses

Bunama stative and equational clauses have the same structure as noun phrases. They can stand alone as simple sentences, or fill noun-phrase slots in clauses. Here are some examples:

- (275) goma'ala madou-na
lizard big-3s
a lizard is big/a big lizard
- (276) wahine 'aigeda ma-mwane-na ma natu-di-u 'aigeda
woman one with-spouse-her and child-their-that one
one woman (was) with her husband and their one child
- (277) bewa tauna niu-ina 'ina hapwesa
this it coconut-the its appear(ing)
this (story) it (is) the origin of the coconut
- (278) sani-na tuna
name-its eel
its name (is) eel
- (279) geya 'adi gwaba-mo
not their meat-only
they have no meat
- (280) 'aigeda loheya ma-mwane-na ma ma-natu-na-o taudi geya welawelaba-ni-di
one man with-spouse-his and with-child-his-pl they not witch-that-3pl
a man with his wife and children (were) not witches
- (281) 'idi 'asa dei-na 'aigeda sewasewa
their village side-its one swamp
a swamp (was) beside their village
- (282) 'ina paihowa hatui
his work swim
his work (was) swimming
- (283) 'owa ma-'ate-u
you(s) with-liver-your(s)
you (are) with your liver
= you have a liver
- (284) ma taugu
and me
and (it was) myself
- (285) la'uwa-edi 'adi 'ita haga-na ma haga-na
crab-those their appearance different-its and different-its
all the crabs (had) different appearances
= all the crabs looked different

14.2. Intransitive Clauses

The only obligatory component of an intransitive clause is an intransitive verb. For the structural differences between transitive and intransitive verbs see section 6.6.

To the intransitive verb may be added connectors, a subject consisting of noun, pronoun or noun phrase, time words or phrases, location words or phrases, a negation word, and nouns or noun phrases which act semantically as an object, but are indefinite or non-focal compared with objects of transitive verbs.

It is theoretically possible to have all of these components in one intransitive clause, but it is not common to have more than two or three of them in a single clause in normal speech.

- (286) goma'ala 'aigeda madou-na 'i-miya-miya 'ina goula 'oina
lizard one big-its it-cont-stay its hole at
a big lizard stayed in its hole
- (287) natu-di-u-ina tauna 'i-lo-banabana-wa
child-their-the-that he he-caus-sores-compl
that child of theirs was covered with sores
- (288) sauga 'aigeda 'oina tama-na 'i-tauya
time one at father-his he-go

one time his father went

- (289) wagahata 'i-miya-miya
platform-(at) he-cont-stay
he stayed on the platform

- (290) si-'ebe-'ebesa 'adi 'wadoya
they-cont-search their possum
they were hunting their possum
= they were possum hunting

Subjects normally precede the verb, but occasionally follow it. Time words and phrases usually come first in a clause. Location words and phrases can occur in any position, but are often at the end of a clause. In the final example above the apparent (oblique) object 'adi 'wadoya follows the intransitive verb, and this is quite common with oblique objects, though it is more usual for them to follow the subject (if present) and precede the verb.

14.3. Transitive clauses

The structure of transitive clauses is the same as for intransitive clauses, except that there can be a true object which agrees in number and person with the object suffix of the verb. When the object suffix for 3s is zero morpheme, the presence of a transitivity suffix is evidence of its presence. However verbs like gabu "burn/cook" which take no transitivity suffix have the same form for intransitive and for non-past transitive with 3s object.

The object (if present) usually follows the subject (if present) and precedes the verb, though it occasionally follows the verb, and also occasionally the object precedes the subject. To avoid the risk of ambiguity an order of subject-verb-object can be used, thus having the free-form subjects and objects in close apposition to the subject and object affixes on the verb-stem. Focus or emphasis is usually the basis of varying the word order. Also if a subject or object is a long noun phrase, the head of the phrase often precedes the verb, and the amplification follows it. To reemphasise the subject of a clause it is sometimes placed last.

It is often only the context which determines whether a noun or noun phrase is the subject or the object.

- (291) sina-na natu-na-ina 'a-na i-gabu-ya
mother-her child-her-that food-her she-cook-it
that child of her mother cooked her food
- (292) ginaula mabwaiya-na 'i-'ewe-di-ya
thing all-its he-carry.tr-them-compl
he took all the things
- (293) muliyet-ega si-hesagohe-ya nuhu-di-u 'ena-na
back-from they-hear.tr-it sister-their-that voice-her
afterwards they heard their sister's voice
- (294) sauga baibaiwa-na 'u-'e-'abo-'abo-we-gau
time all-its you(s)-caus-cont-deceive-tr-me
all the time you were tricking me
- (295) nata 'i-'apu-he-'amasi-go 'ebwa
today he-mouth-caus-die.tr-you(s) here
today he will chew you to death here
- (296) 'igu 'edewa-ina 'i-sane-ya
my dog-that he-seize.tr-him
my dog seized him

This clause could mean "he seized my dog", but this meaning is ruled out by the context.

- (297) 'ina 'ewou ya-'ite-ya 'ausala-na ma i'iu-na
his canoe I-saw.tr-it good-its and small-its
I saw his canoe was good and small
- (298) geya silahana 'i-da-'ai-di-ya loheya-ina
not fish he-may-eat-them-compl man-that
that man ate no fish

4. Ditransitive Clauses

The verb 'ebwae "give/present", he'ita "show" and a few other verb are direct and indirect objects. It needs to be noted that in Bunama and related languages the meaning of 'ebwae is different from English "give" and is equivalent to English "present". In English we give things to people, but we present people with things. In Bunama the object of 'ebwae indicates the receiving person, and the thing is the indirect object. The object suffix on the verb is the person, and the object slot would be filled with a noun or noun phrase agreeing with the person suffix. The thing given is an indirect object. Indirect objects usually precede the verb, but may follow it.

(299) 'owa boha-ina ya-'ebwae-go-wa
you(s) basket-that I-give-you(s)-compl
I gave you that basket

(300) bewa gomana ya-he-'ita-go
this net I-caus-see.tr-you(s)
I will show/teach you this net

14.5. Verbs of Saying and Seeing

Objects of gwae and other saying verbs, and extended objects of seeing verbs, usually follow the verb.

(301) wonu-ina 'i-gwae-ya, "Bwebwe'a-na"
turtle-that he-said-compl, "Good-its"
That turtle said "Good!"

(302) 'i-'ite-dobi-ya wonu 'i-'aha-'ahai
he-look.tr-down-it turtle it-cont-float
he looked down and saw a turtle swimming
The objects of such verbs can be long clauses or sentences. In the last example the object is the clause wonu 'i-'aha-'ahai "a turtle swims"

15. EMBEDDING

Subject only to semantic restrictions, any phrase or clause can be embedded in any other clause, with no requirement of structural change. If an embedded clause is a flashback to a past action, it is usually introduced with a time word specifying the time when the previous action occurred, but even this is not obligatory, as in this example, presented without morpheme division:

(303) Sihilahila ta 'ade'adewala madouna 'ibabala, gwamaina 'igwaeya,
'oinega sinaowa situpa, sihilawa situpa, 'oinega sihila 'asai.

They-were-returning but hill big it-blocked, the-child spoke-it, so they-went-along they-blocked, they-returned they-blocked, so they-returned to-village.

They were returning, but they were blocked by a big hill, which the child had spoken into existence, so they went along and were blocked, they went back and were blocked again, so they went back home.

The embedded clause describes the hill, and consists of:

gwama-ina 'i-gwae-ya
child-that she-say-it
the child had spoken it (into existence)

The verbs are all past actions, but it can be deduced that this clause is not part of a chronological sequence because the child is not one of the group who were travelling, so her act of speaking the hill into existence must have been a previous action.

In the following examples, embedded stative clauses/noun phrases will be enclosed in round brackets, and embedded verbal clauses will be in square brackets, and the referents will be in capital letters:

(304) LOHEYA 'aigeda (sanina Tuili'u) masinana ma matamana simiyamiya
'asa 'aigeda madouna 'oina.

Man one (his-name Tuili'u) with-his-mother and with-his-father they-stayed village one big at.

A man called Tuili'u stayed at a big village with his parents.

(305) 'i'itadobiya WONU ['i-'aha-'ahai], ('ana 'ita bwebwe'ana), [ma gwahunaina 'oina 'inamanamala].

he-looked-down-and-saw turtle [it-was-swimming], (its appearance good), [and its-back on it-glistened].
he looked down and saw a turtle swimming, looking beautiful with a

...ening back.

(306) 'aigeda 'ainale maNATUNA simiyamiya 'asa 'aigeda 'oina (natunaina wahineina), 'oinega ba'idana pwatula sipaipaihowa.
one woman with-her-child they-stayed village one at (that-her-child female), so with-her at-bush they worked.
A woman with her girl child stayed in a village, and so they worked together in the bush.

(307) 'i'eno'eno ee... 'itoholo ma nige HUDIYEDI BE HEWANIYEDI
['i'aha'ahala] BENO [tanoha 'igoheya] ma 'i'umediya.
she-had-a-sleep then she-rose and those bananas and yams [she-was-carrying] there [garden-patch she-cleared] and she-planted them.
She had a sleep, then rose and planted those banana and yam plants she was carrying, there in a garden she cleared.

(308) 'oinega 'eguma tagiuli DA'ULEINA ['i'amasal] ['imiyamiya] ta'ita.
so if we-go-round-the-point that-rock [it-died] [it-stays] we-see
So if we go round the point we will see that rock which died and stays there.

(309) loheya 'aigeda 'itauya 'ilouloudana ma 'AIWE 'aigeda 'i'iteya (mwadawa 'amasina) ma nuwanuwana 'ina waga.
man one he-went he-was-hunting and tree one he-saw-it (mwadawa dead-its) and desire-his his canoe.
A man went and was hunting and saw a tree (a dead mwadawa tree) and he wanted it for a canoe.

(310) si'itadobima ta ['idi 'asaina sigabuya] 'AIWE 'ASUNA 'i'alahane
they-looked-down-and-saw and [their village they-had-burnt-it] fire smoke-its it-went-up

Looking down they saw smoke ascending from the fire of their village which they(enemies) had burnt.

In this example there are 3pl subjects to the first clause and the second (embedded clause), but because the first verb is a verb of seeing, the next clause must be something they saw, so the actors must be a different group, and because the verb of these clauses has the 3s past suffix -ya, and the final verb 'alahane does not, this indicates that the final verb is the action they saw, and the preceding verb with -ya was a previous action.

Embedded clauses are potentially ambiguous, and are not commonly used. Most clauses follow in chronological or logical sequence, unless they are introduced by subordinate clause introducers like weyahina "because", 'eguma "if", nuwanuwadi "their desire".

16. SAMPLE TEXT

Bewa 'eguma hiwape 'i-hai-hila, 'ebwa 'ana he'ote'otetela.
This if widow she-marry-again, here its story.
'eguma hiwape-ina beno 'ina paihowa 'i-lo-he-gumwali, si-he-hatui,
if widow-that thus her work/duty she-caus-caus-finish, they-cause-wash,
ta 'ina dobe 'i-'ote bwebwe'a-na, nuwana 'ana 'wama bwebwe'a-na 'i-'ote,
and her grass-skirt she-wear good-its, or her dress good-its she-wear,
'i-tauya 'i-tapwalolo, 'i-wali-wali, 'i-tauya 'i-yawa-yawala-dadana.
she-go she-worship, she-cont-sing, she-go she-cont-wander-about.
Geya wete 'eta 'ana gwae.
Not also one her(to her) talk.

Ma 'eguma beno 'i-miya-miya, ma sauge-nina
And if there she-cont-stay, and time-that
'eguma taiya 'eta loheya 'i-ahwa-sada-e-ya bo 'i-'ahwa-tapwa'e-ye,
if who one man he-mouth-betelnut-tr-her or he-mouth-tobacco-tr,
ma si-'ita loheya-ina 'ina boda-o, si-'ita wahine-ina hiwape-ina
and they-see man-that his group-pl, they-see woman-that widow-that
'i-'ahwa-tapwa'e-ye bo 'i-'ahwa-sada-e-ya,
he-mouth-tobacco-tr or he-mouth-betelnut-tr-her
beno loheya-ina si-lo-mata-yahi, ma si-tauya wahine-ina 'ina 'asa.
thus man-that they-caus-eye-hold, and they-go woman-that her village.

Si-miya-miya ma tauna gonagona nuwana 'i-dobi-ma, 'abehega 'i-tauya hada 'i'iu-na,
They-cont-stay and she morning perhaps she-descend-come, purpose she-go house small-its,

ite-ya, nima-na si-'abi, ma si-dou-dou-liya mabwaiya-di si-tau-tauya.
they-see.tr-her, hand-her they-hold, and they-cont-cry-together all-their
they-cont-go.

Si-tau-tauya loheya-ina 'oina,
They-cont-go man-that to,
weyahi-na tauma tubu-ma-o 'idi loina beno 'i-le'we-ya,
reason-its we(exc) ancestor-our(exc)-pl their law thus he-break.tr-it,
ta 'i-'ahwanoi bwagabwaga tapwa'e nuwana sada hiwape-ina 'oina.
and he-beg carelessly tobacco perhaps betelnut widow-that at.

'oinaga si-tauye-ya loheya-ina 'oina. Si-tau-tauya 'eda-i
So they-go.tr-her man-the to. They-cont-go road-on
ma si-dou-dou. Tauna wete hiwape-ina gide 'i-dou-dou ma-'ina debamwadina.
and they-cont-cry. She also widow-the similarly she-cont-cry with-her
shame.

Tuwa ma loheya-ina 'i-'it.e-ya, eeta tauna 'i-toholo-wa,
Just and man-the he-see.tr-it, and he he-stand-compl,
maheya 'i-hunu, 'edewa, 'e'ahai, 'i-'abi-tobwatobwa, 'i-lagu gaeba 'oina,
pig he-kill, dog, food, he-make-goods, he-put dish in,
ma 'i-dobi gamwagamwa-ni-di-ya, 'i-lagu.
and he-descend middle-the-their-at, he-put.

'i-lagu 'i-gumwala, 'i-gwae-ya, "Bewa 'imi tobwatobwa wa-'ahala."
he-put it-finish, he-say-compl, "Here your(pl) goods you(pl)-carry."
'eema 'eguma hiwape 'i-tagwala, loheya-ina ba'ida-na si-hai.
and if widow she-agree, man-that company-her they-marry.
Ma 'eguma wahine-ina 'i-guipaila, beno tuwa 'idi tobwatobwa-mo 'i-'ebwae-
di,
And if woman-the she-refuse, thus just their goods-only he-give to-them,
ma wahine-ina 'i-hila 'ina 'asa,
and woman-the she-return her village(to),
weyahi-na gide 'ima tabu tubu-ma-o 'oi-di-yega 'i-le'w.e-ya.
reason-its like our(exc) restriction ancestor-our(exc)-pl entity-them-from
he-break.tr-it.

Beno weyahi-na gide: 'eguma geya loheya-ina tobwatobwa 'i-lagu, to-'amasa-
ina
That reason-its thus: if not man-that goods he-put, the-dead-that
'ina boda-o si-he-gamwa-gamwagu ee... 'abwa loheya-ina si-balahu.
his group-pl they-caus-cont-anger until later man-that they-sorcerize.

'oinaga beno gide hiwape-ina si-bwau-he-hutui-ya ma maisa-na si-lagu.
so that like widow-the they-call-caus-rubbish-her and pay-its they-put.
Ma 'eguma geya tobwatobwa si-lagu,
And if not goods they-put,
nuwana loheya-ina giba 'i-bwau-he-hutui-ya, beno si-balahu. Wete hiwape-
ina
or man-the charcoal(signifying state of widowhood) he-call-caus-rubbish-it,
thus they-sorcerize. Also widow-the
'eguma geya tobwatobwa si-lagu, 'i-'amasa, weyahi-na 'ima tabu 'i-le'w.e-
ya.
if not goods they-put, she-die, reason-its our(exc) restriction she-
break.tr-it.

Beno gide mwalo hene 'oina tubu-ma-o bo tama-ma-o mumuga-di,
That like before much at ancestor-our(exc)-pl or father-our(exc)-pl custom-
their,
ma bewa nige tupwa-na-mo.
and this recent part-its-only.

Beno tuwa 'ada he'ote'otetela, hiwape 'ina hai-hila weyahi-na.
This just our(inc) story, widow her marry-again reason/benefit-its.

Free translation:

If a widow remarries, this is its story here. If the widow thus
completes her requirements, they bathe her, and she puts on a good grass-
skirt or perhaps a good dress. She goes to church, sings, walks around
anywhere. No-one will say anything to her.

But if she is staying thus, and at any time a man asks for betelnut
or tobacco from her, and if the man's relatives see it, they see that widow

woman from whom he asked tobacco or betel-nut, then they keep an eye on that man, and they go to that woman's village.

They stay, and perhaps in the morning she comes down to go to the small-house. They see her and grab her arm, and crying together all of them go.

They go to the man, because thus he broke our ancestors' rule, and carelessly begged tobacco or betelnut from that widow.

So they take her to the man. They go along the path and they cry. The widow also cries like that with shame.

The man just sees it, and he gets up, he kills pig, dog, food, he prepares goods and puts them in a big wooden dish, and he goes down and puts it in their midst.

After he puts it down, he says, "These are your goods. You take them." And if the widow agrees, she marries that man. But if the woman refuses, then he just gives them only the goods, and the woman returns to her village, because thus he broke the rule of our ancestors.

The reason is like this: if that man does not present goods, the dead man's relatives become angry and later they work sorcery on that man.

So like this they belittled the widow, so they have to present a payment. And if they don't make a payment, or the man belittles the signs of widowhood, then they work sorcery. Also the widow will die if they don't present goods, because she broke our rule.

It was like this long ago, our ancestors' or our forefathers' custom, but now in recent times only a part of it remains.

This is just our story about the remarriage of widows.

17. BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARNOLD, J.K.

- 1931 A grammar of the language of Eduqaula (Dobu).
Port Moresby: Government Printer.

CAPELL, A.

- 1943 The linguistic position of south-eastern Papua.
Sydney: Australasian Medical Publishing Company.

DIPASTINE, R. and Ngairne HUGHES

- 1976 Tubudao 'adi he'ote'otetela - traditional folk tales. pp 153
Ukarumpa.

EZARD, B.

- 1977 Tubetube's place among the Milne Bay Province languages:
a synchronic study. Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages
21:135-153. Ukarumpa.

HUGHES, Ngairne

- 1976 Bunama phrases, clauses and sentences.
Unpublished typescripts. Ukarumpa.

LECKIE, Isabel

- 1980 Bunama phonemics, morphophonemics, nouns, relators,
and other word classes. Unpublished typescripts.
Ukarumpa.

LITHGOW, David

- 1973 Language change on Woodlark Island.
Oceania 44/2:101-108. Sydney.
- 1975 A grammatical analysis of a Dobu text.
Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages 12:25-56. Ukarumpa.
- 1976 Austronesian Languages: Milne Bay and adjacent islands
(Milne Bay Province). In S.A. Wurm, ed.
New Guinea area languages and language study, vol.2,
Austronesian languages, 441-523. PL, C-39.
- 1978 First things first in Dobu.
Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages 25:33-56. Ukarumpa.
- 1978 How should I spell it?
Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages 25:17-32.
Ukarumpa.
- 1987 Language change and relationships in Tubetube

and adjacent languages. In Donald C. Laycock and Werner Winter,

eds. A world of language: papers presented to Professor

S.A. Wurm on his 65th birthday, 393-410. PL, C-100.

1988 The influence of English grammar on Dobu and Bunama.

Submitted to Te Reo

NEKUDOMESI, James, B. PETELIYAKI and Daphne LITHGOW

1988 Tula hedaheda vehabadi: Auhelawa folktales

Auhelawa and English diglot. pp 60. Ukarumpa.

PETELIYAKI, Bartholomew and Daphne LITHGOW

1988 The use of the suffixes -wa and -ne in Auhelawa.

Typescript. Ukarumpa.