

# Participant Identification in Bwaidoka Discourse

Patty Gibson

Summer Institute of Linguistics

Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea

**Abstract:** In this paper we will look at the different ways participants are encoded in Bwaidoka, a language of the Papuan Tip Cluster of Western Oceanic languages belonging to the Austronesian family. We will focus on the different ways major, minor and definite, indefinite participants are encoded on the word, phrase and sentence levels. Also we will look at default encodings for participants in certain environments along with any significant marked encodings.

**Key words:** Bwaidoka, participant identification, pronouns, affixes

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Bwaidoka language belongs to the Austronesian language family and is a Western Oceanic language of the Papuan Tip Cluster. It is spoken by approximately 6500 Bwaidoka people in the Milne Bay Province of Papua New Guinea. They live on the southern part of Goodenough Island, which is the westernmost island of the D'Entrecasteaux Islands. Most of the villages lie along the strip of flat land between the ocean and the steep mountains, with a few inland mountain villages.

The word order of Bwaidoka is SOV, with postpositions. The order in noun phrases is genitive-noun, noun-demonstrative, noun-adjective, and noun-numeral. Subject prefixes are obligatory on all verbs, and if the verb is transitive, it usually has an object suffix.\* There are nine dialects of the Bwaidoka language. The data for this paper were gathered between 1983 and 1993 and are in the Central Bwaidoka and Faiyava dialects. The analysis is based on contemporary and traditional narrative genres.

I am very grateful to the Bwaidoka people who have helped us by telling their stories and sharing their language with us. I am also very grateful to Stephen Levinsohn and Russ Cooper for their insightful knowledge and patient direction with the many varied aspects of grammar; and to Ray Stegeman for his careful scrutiny of the paper and adding his invaluable comments and helpful instruction to improve it. Also, I am very thankful for

## 2 Patty Gibson

the help received from reading the papers of Doug Tharp and Bill Callister, and Stephen Clark's thesis written on the same topic.

This paper will be focusing first on the different ways participants are encoded, then on default encodings for certain environments in section 4, which follows closely the analysis Dooley & Levinsohn give in chapter 18 of *Analyzing Discourse* (2001); then on any significant marked encodings.

### 2. reference encodings of Participants

#### 2.1. Noun Phrases

##### 2.1.1. Simple NPs

Unmodified nouns may be used to refer to a participant. In (1) the octopus was a major participant, being mentioned over five times and also taking an agent role in part of the story.

- 1) ... *i-ita-na*      *kevakeva-nai*,    *banae ani kuyuwā*.  
3pS-see-3sO    animal-3sDEF    3sPN SP octopus  
'...they saw the animal, it was an octopus.'

In (2), the woman, who was a very major participant and was encoded most of the time in the story by NP's sometimes with RC's, here at the end of the story where it's anticlimactic, is encoded by only an unmodified noun.

- 2) ... *ada vavine*    *i-alika*.  
and woman    3pS-die  
'...and the woman died.'

##### 2.1.2. Complex NP's

Complex noun phrases are sometimes used as references, especially when introducing major participants (3, 4).

- 3) *Ifufu taidei ani gi-elai*      *melala taidei ga-miya-miya wa-gaine*,      *ada*  
story this    SP 3sS-come    village this    1sS-IMPF-stay COM-??-3s.PP and  
*kaliva seya-na a-na vegana Iyalu Alaulei ke novu-na*  
man one-3s    SAP-3s    name <name> <name> and sib.opp.sex-3sIA

*Sisala Alaulei a-di-selu fai-di-ya.*

<name> <name> SAP-3p-they.2 basis-3pIA-PP

‘This talk came from this village where I am living, and it is about a man named Iyalu Alaulei and his sister Sisala Alaulei they-two.’

4) *kwana-Kafumuwa seya-na gi-nagi melala seya-na a-na yegana*

male.dweller.of-<name> one -3s 3sS- marry village one-3s SAP-3s name

*Kulakula nafo-ne aku seya-na unuma wa-gai-di-ya.*

<name> middle-3s.PP SW one-3s clan COM-??-3p-PP

‘... a certain man of Kafumuwa married into a village called Kulakula, into a clan.’

### 2.1.3. Possessive NPs

Bwaidoka divides possessed NPs into three categories, which I have labeled alienable, semi-alienable, and inalienable. Though the possessive carriers for alienable and semi-alienable possession are phonologically bound to the possessed noun, because of word length we separate them from the nouns. For a fuller discussion of possession, see pp. 20-24 of *Grammar Essentials of the Bwaidoka Language*.

Whereas some languages use NPs or PPs or mainly PPs to indicate possession<sup>1</sup>, Bwaidoka uses only NPs. Within the possessive NP is first the possessor NP, embedded in the main NP structure. The possessor NP always precedes the head or possessed NP. The possessor NP will agree in person and number with the possessive marker on the possessed noun.

#### 2.1.3.1. Alienable Possessive NPs

In (5) the possessor NP is made up of the third person singular emphatic pronoun *tauna* (which here encodes reflexivity), agreeing with the man ‘Iyalu’. This NP is embedded in the main possessive NP structure, preceding the alienably possessed (AP) noun phrase ‘*yana melaleya*’. The third person possessor is referenced by the 3s possessive marker preceding ‘*melala*’. (In nouns ending in ‘*a*’, when they are suffixed by the postpositional ‘*-ya*’, the ‘*a*’ → ‘*e*’.)

5) *Iyalu gi-elai tau-na ya-na melale-ya*

<name> 3sS-come EMPN-3s AP-3s village-PP

‘Iyalu came to his own village’

#### 4 **Patty Gibson**

In (6) the first possessive NP, *yadi kwage* ‘their cry’ is classified in the alienable category. This NP is embedded in the main NP, preceding *ana nogala* ‘its sound’, which is classified in the semi-alienable category.

- 6) *Manuga taidei ya-di kwage a-na nogala iwaka-na velemoe-na.*  
bird this AP-3p cry SAP-3s sound good -3s truly-3s  
‘The sound of these birds’ cry is very nice.’

##### **2.1.3.2. Semi-alienable Possessive NPs**

In (7), the possessor NP *ai seyana* precedes the semi-alienably possessed *yegana*. The 3s ‘*na-*’ in the possessive marker preceding *yegana* ‘name’ agrees with the person and number of the possessor NP.

- 7) *Aku ai seya-na a-na yegana Tauwana ani tubuiya-na nodi i-ligo-ligota.*  
SW tree one-3s SAP-3s name <name> SP friend-3sIA with 3pS-IMPF-squeak  
‘But (there was) a certain tree named Tauwana--together with its friend they were squeaking.’

In (8), the possessor noun ‘*sitowa*’ precedes ‘*ana toitaveyabina*’, which is the semi-alienably possessed NP. The 3s in the possessive marker preceding *toitaveyabina* agrees with the person and number of the possessor *sitowa*.

- 8) *Ada sitowa a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na gi-vona, ...*  
and store SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-said  
‘And the storekeeper said, ...’

##### **2.1.3.3. Inalienable Possessive NPs**

In (9), the possessor (the woman’s husband) is elided, being understood by the context. Being singular, he is referenced by the third person singular inalienable possessive marker ‘*-na*’ suffixed to *vavine*.

- 9) *Ada vavine-na igana matatabu-na gi-vele-di i-nau-we-na ...*  
and woman-3sIA fish all-3s 3sS-give-3pO 3pS-go-away.TR-3sO  
‘And he gave his wife all the fish (and) she took them away....’

In (10) the 2pIA ‘-mi’ suffixed to the possessed noun *tubumi* agrees in person and number with the possessor *biyabiyama*.

- 10) *Biyabiyama, tubu-mi wa-na-muliye-na wa-na-kwayabu-na, nodi wa-na-nau*  
 children grandparent-2pIA 2pS-IND-follow-3sO 2pS-IND-stay.close-3sO with 2pS-IND-go  
 ‘Children, you(pl) mind your(pl) grandparent, accompany him/her, (and) go with him/her.’

#### 2.1.3.4. Second person singular encoded by zero anaphora

One exception in the system of encoding possession is that second person singular is encoded by zero anaphora. Second person singular is –ni when suffixed to a transitive verb as the object, but it never occurs in the carriers of possession. In (11) the alienable construction illustrates this; in (12) the semi-alienable construction is illustrated; and in (13) are three inalienable constructions.

- 11) *Sowa taidei fata-na lakai-na aku ya-0 mani kabiso-na.*  
 saw this cost-3sIA big-3s SW AP-0 money small-3s  
 ‘The price of this saw is large but your money is small.’

- 12) *Kubu-ku taidei a-0 kevakeva ga-mumu-na*  
 grandparent-1s IA this SAP-0 meat 1sS-kill-3sO  
 ‘Grandpa, here is your meat I killed’

The following example was recorded from a public voting process:

- 13) *Gaito nuwamuwa-0 Lino, mata-0 gi-na-nega nima-0 gi-na-laka.*  
 who thinking-2sIA <name> eye-2sIA 3sS-IND-close hand-2sIA 3sS-IND-ascend  
 ‘Whoever wants Lino, your eyes will close, your hand will go up.’

#### 2.1.3.5. Complex Possessive NPs

In the first possessive NP in (14), the plural possessor NP is elided. The 3pIA marker suffixed to *tubuiya* ‘friend’ agrees in person and number with the possessor NP. This possessive NP is embedded in the main possessive construction, preceding the inalienably possessed *fatana*, of which *tubuiyadi* is the possessor. *Tubuiyadi* is singular, and hence is encoded by the 3sIA marker suffixed to *fata*.

6 **Patty Gibson**

14) *tubuiya-di fata-na i-na-vai-na ke i-na-lu-ve-alika -na*  
 friend-3pIA replacement-3sIA 3pS-IND-get-3sO and 3pS-IND-kill-3sO  
 ‘they will get their brother's replacement and they will kill him.’

In (15) the first inalienably possessed NP *kwaibweyala ke kwaimataga aiyaledi* is embedded in the semi-alienably possessed NP *ana oma*, and those two NP’s are embedded in another semi-alienably possessed NP *adi ita*. Because this construction is long, *adi ita* is set off by the spacer *ani*, which lends focus and thus helps clarify that that is the subject.

15) *Ada kwaibweyala ke kwaimataga aiyale-di a-na oma ani adi ita iwaka-di*  
 and red.parrot and green.parrot feather-3pIA SAP-3s color SP 3pSA looks good-3p  
 ‘The red parrots' and green parrots' feathers' colors’ looks are nice’

**2.1.4. Nouns with Definite suffixes**

Following is the set of Definite suffixes:

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>1<sup>st</sup></u>	-kuna	Excl. –mana Incl. –dana
<u>2<sup>nd</sup></u>	-nini	-mi-na
<u>3<sup>rd</sup></u>	-nadi ~ nai	-dina

**Table 1. Definite suffixes**

When a participant is referenced that has already been introduced, a definite (DEF) suffix may be added to the common noun referent to mark that it is referring to that previously mentioned participant. If a participant is marked with the DEF suffix and is being emphasized, the full form *-nadi* will be used (16)--otherwise, the shortened *-nai*. From the occurrence of (17) in the story, the octopus had a referential distance of five clauses from when it was mentioned earlier.

16) *Nodi i-nau eeee, to-kani-kani wa-gai-ne i-yegemona, ada*  
 with 3pS-go DEV one.who-IMPF-eat COM-??-3s.PP 3pS-come.out-dtv and

*to-kanikani-nadi gi-fwaya-fwaya-di...*

ogre.cannibal-3pDEF 3sS-IMPF-trick-3pO

‘Together they went and went and then they came out at the ogre, and that ogre was tricking them....’

17) ...*ada i-towavila i-obu leyaga nafo-ne ada kuyuwa-nai i-ona-na.*

and 3pS-jump 3pS-descend ocean inside-3s.PP and octopus-3sDEF 3pS-pierce-3sO

‘...and they jumped and went down inside the ocean and pierced that octopus.’

In (18) the man Nebuyasi was introduced initially as *kaliva seyana* ‘a man’, with four clauses of background information intervening, and here is referenced as *kaliva-nai* ‘the man’.

18) *E aku seya-na tova wa-gai-ne kaliva-nai ani a-na yega-na Nebuyasi ani...*

DEV SW one-3s time COM-??-3s.PP man-3sDEF SP SAP-3s name-3s <name> SP

‘And one time the man--his name was Nebuyasi....’

In (19), where the DEF suffix is used, there is a referential distance of two clauses from the previous reference, where the man was encoded as *kaliva* ‘man’.

19) *Ada kaliva-nai yadayada seya-na seya-na gi-yuba-yubau*

and man-3sDEF day one-3s one-3s 3sS-IMPF-fish

‘And the man every day would be fishing....’

When a participant is referenced many times throughout a discourse, the occurrence of the definite suffix alternates, occurring on every other noun referencing the participant. This is illustrated in the sample text in Appendix A, where an octopus is first introduced, then referred to by *kuyuwa-nai*; again by *kuyuwa*. Then in the next occurrence, in a sentence giving background information, the reference is again *kuyuwa*. Then the next one has the DEF suffix, and in the next the DEF suffix is omitted. In the last occurrence of the noun, the DEF occurs.

## 2.2 Pronouns

Bwaidoka pronouns have shortened and full forms and may be used alone as well as preceding or following a nominal reference. Using a full-form pronoun adds emphasis to

the participant more than using the shortened form. Following is the set of long and short pronoun forms:

<u>PERSON</u>	<u>NUMBER</u>		
<u>1st</u>	Singular	Plural	
	iyayeku ~ iya	excl.	imeyavo ~ ime
		incl.	ideyavo ~ ide
<u>2nd</u>	oyeni ~ oye	imiyavo ~ imi	
<u>3rd</u>	banae ~ bana	badiyavo ~ badi	

**Table 2. Pronouns—full and shortened forms**

### 2.2.1. Personal pronouns referencing inanimate things

The third person singular personal pronoun *banae* may be used as a reference to something inanimate (20) or nonmaterial (21), in which case the full pronoun will be used, thus adding emphasis to the referent.

20) *Tova seya-na wa-gai-ne ga-miya-miya Samarai aku banae BP office*  
 time one-3s COM-??-3s.PP 1sS-IMPF-stay <name> SW 3sPN BP office  
*wa-gai-ne ga-fai-faisewa, e aku waka seya-na Australia Navy ya-di waka*  
 COM-??-3s.PP 1sS-IMPF-work DEV SW boat one-3s <name> <name> AP-3p boat

*gi-luku, banae submarine.*

3sS-enter 3sPN submarine

‘One time while I was living at Samarai working at the BP office, a boat, an Australian Navy’s boat came in, it was a submarine.’



- 21) *ada vita seya-na gi-yegemona wa-gai-ku-ya. Vita-nadi banae veoga*  
 and heavy one-3s 3sS-happen COM-??-1s-PP heavy-3sDEF 3sPN sickness  
*lakai-na ga-nuwaga-na ada ...*  
 big-3s 1sS-find-3sO and  
 ‘and a difficulty happened to me. This difficulty it was a big sickness that I received  
 and....’

## 2.2.2. Pronouns with nominal reference

### 2.2.2.1. Pronouns preceding nominal references

When pronouns occur preceding a nominal referent of a thematic participant, the central purpose is to mark the participant as being set off against another rather than acting in unison, in some way opposing the other or being contrasted. It may be used in a discourse with only one (set of) participant(s), or with both (sets of) participants. When the PN+N construction is used with two (sets of) participants, it gives thematic prominence to the participants in turn, which in effect builds suspense in the story. If the referent is the center of attention and was alluded to in the previous sentence, only the shortened form of the pronoun will be used; otherwise, the shortened pronoun with the NP is used (SIL-UND course materials, 2008).

In (22) the snake is presented as acting distinctly from the wallaby. In this story only the snake is encoded by the PN+N, which makes him more the center of attention.

- 22) *E ada, ai-dina mala gi-ela gi-gai i-ligota, ada bana mota gi-vona, ...*  
 DEV and tree-3p DEF wind 3sS-come 3sS-force 3pS-squeak and 3sPN snake 3sS-say  
 ‘And then, wind came and caused them (trees) to squeak together, and he snake said, ...’

In (23) the participant Stan and his wife and children are set apart from the speaker, as he was waiting for them while they were traveling to Goodenough Island. Later in the same discourse, the speaker, who had joined Stan and his family in a boat, references the people of Folufolu with PN+N, contrasting them with the people in the boat (himself included) as the boat drew near to Folufolu (24).

- 23) *ada ga-boda-boda wadadeku Bolubolu aku bana Stan vavine-na ke*  
 and 1sS-IMPf-wait yonder <name> SW 3sPN <name> woman-3sIA and  
*natu-na-vo nodi i-elai waka-yave-yavega wa-gai-ne....*  
 offspring-3sIA-PL with 3pS-come boat-IMPf-fly COM-??-3s.PP

10 **Patty Gibson**

‘...and I was waiting there at Bolubolu and he Stan and his wife and children together came on the plane (lit. ‘flying boat’)...’

- 24) *E, ada Folufolu-deya a-luku, e, badi Folufolu a-na to-miya*  
 DEV and <name>-place 1peS-enter DEV 3pPN <name> SAP-3s one.who-stay  
*moyai-di ya-di nuwanuwa vaita gavega aku ime tainei Stan nodi a-elai.*  
 a.lot-3p AP-3p thinking as.if who(pl) SW 1pePN that <name> with 1peS- come  
 ‘And so we entered at Folufolu, and they the many Folufolu people were thinking like,  
 Who were we?, but it was us coming together with Stan.’

In (25) the participant Nebuyasi is presented as acting distinctly from his two friends, who are presented as a unit throughout the discourse. The 3sPN occurs before Nebuyasi (1<sup>st</sup> underline), and the 3pPN occurs before the enumerative pronoun encoding the two friends (2<sup>nd</sup> underline).

- 25) *Ee ada bana Nebuyasi tubuiya-na-vo gi-vone-di-ga, “Auwe imi*  
 DEV and 3sPN <name> friend-3sIA-PL 3sS-say.TR-3pO-?? enough 2pPN  
*wa-na-laka-elai,” ada badi a-di-iselu i-laka aiyevu tabo-ne aku*  
 2pS-IND-ascend-come and 3pPN SAP-3p-2.self 3pS-ascend canoe top-3s.PP SW  
*Nebuyasi ya-na kelasi mata-ne gi-yogo-na ada gi-towavila gi-obu*  
 <name> AP-3s glass eye-3s.PP 3sS-fasten-3sO and 3sS-jump 3sS-descend  
*leyaga nafo-ne ada...*  
 ocean inside-3s.PP and  
 ‘And so he Nebuyasi said to his friends, “Enough, you(pl) come up,” and they they-two  
 ascended to the top of the canoe and Nebuyasi tied his goggles to his eyes and jumped  
 down into the ocean and...’

In the following example from a traditional story, a man, *Galagalaiwavo*, and his mother are set against each other, with the mother having turned into a pig and trying to catch her son and eat him. Both participants are sometimes referred to by PN+N. Since the woman is a mother, she is referred to in the plural sense as an honorific. (For more on this subject, see section 3.2.1. of *Grammar Essentials of the Bwaidoka Language*, Gibson 1993.)

- 26) *Gi-nau gi-ve-galuweta-madu, aku badi vavine-dina, ani muli-ne i-nau.*  
 3sS-go 3sS-hunt.w/dog SW 3pPN woman-3pDEF SP back-3s.PP 3pS-go

‘He went hunting, but as for she that woman--behind him she went.’

Later in the same story, Galagalaiwavo, referred to as his dog’s ‘father’, is referred to by a pronoun preceding the noun referent (27).

27) *Gi-nau, gi-nau, gi-nau, gi-nau, bana tama-na kaduwe ai tabo-ne*  
 3sS-go 3sS-go 3sS-go 3sS-go 3sPN father-3sIA again tree top-3s.PP

*gi-ve-toga-na aku gi-tagiya,....*

3sS-ST-sit-3s SW 3sS-cry

‘He (the dog) went and went and went and went, he his father on another tree top he sat and cried,....’

In (28), in other parts of the story the man Galagalaiwavo was encoded by PN+N, but here, where the participant had already been alluded to in the previous sentence, only the shortened form of the PN is used.

28) *I-yala-na ada ai gi-beu vaita i-na-kani-na aku bana kaduwe*  
 3pS-dig-3sO and tree 3sS-fall as.if 3pS-IND-eat-3sO SW 3sPN again

*ai seya-na wa-gai-ne gi-dama-na.*

tree one-3s COM-??-3s.PP 3sS-cross-3sO

‘She rooted at it and the tree fell down as if she were going to eat him but he to another tree went across.’

In (29) following where the two participants and their locations are being contrasted, the man Galagalaiwavo is completely ellipted, but the woman/pig is encoded by the full form of the pronoun, thus giving the woman/pig more prominence.

29) *Ai tabo-ne, aku badi-yavo ai vuvu-na i-duwali-na.*  
 tree top-3s.PP SW 3pPN-PL tree base-3sIA 3pS-root.TR-3sO

‘(He was) at the top of the tree, but she was rooting at the tree’s base.’

In (30a) following (from a different story), two sisters are referred to by only the shortened pronoun, then a few sentences later (b) by the PN + N + NumPN.

12 **Patty Gibson**

30a) *Ada badi bade i-alamane ada i-vona, "Ida gi-fwaya-fwaya."*  
 and 3pPN PERF 3pS-knowledge.TR and 3pS-say Here 3sS-IMPF-deceive  
 ‘And they already knew (about him) and they said, "Here, he's tricking.”’

b) *Aku badi akeakedu a-di iselu i-tauya, a-di bawe i-munu-na,...*  
 SW 3pPN young.women SAP-3p 2.self 3pS-leave SAP-3p pig 3pS-kill-3sO  
 ‘But they the two maidens left, killed their pig,....’

In (31), from the same story about the woman/pig, the man is referred to by only the shortened pronoun form whereas the woman/pig is referred to by the PN+N plus a relative clause, clearly giving her more prominence here than the man.

31) *Bana ai seya-na wa-gai-ne gi-miya-miya kadu badi vavine-dina Nelawata,*  
 3sPN tree one-3s COM-??-3s.PP 3sS-IMPF-stay again 3pPN woman-3pDEF <name>  
*vavine lakai-di i-ve-bawe ani ai kaduwe i-duwa-duwali-na.*  
 woman older-3p 3pS-INCH-pig SP tree again 3pS-IMPF-root.TR-3sO  
 ‘He (Galagalaiwavo) was staying in a tree and again she the woman Nelawata, the old woman who had changed into a pig—the tree again she was rooting at it.’

### 2.2.2.2. Pronouns following nominal references

When a pronoun follows the nominal referent (32-34), this is analyzed as the noun referent acting as topic in the clause and the pronoun as subject in the predication. (Callister, 1996).

32) *Yavunuga banae aa gi-ita-ve-kuma-na...*  
 a.star 3sPN food 3sS-look.after.to.make.grow  
 ‘Yavunuga, it looks after food to make it grow....’

33) *Sigola banae manuga kabiso-na aku a-na veigavu tuli-na tuli-na....*  
 kingfisher 3sPN bird small-3s SW SAP-3s decoration different-3s different-3s  
 ‘The kingfisher--it is a small bird and its decorations are varied....’

34) *Seya-na kaliva banae kwana-hailans, banae ai a-na to-tala-ga.*  
 one -3s man 3sPN male.dweller.of-Highlands 3sPN tree SAP-3s one.who-cut-dt<sup>V</sup>  
 ‘There was a man who was a Highlands man, he was a cutter of wood.’

### 2.2.3. Emphatic pronouns

#### 2.2.3.1. Highlighting

Emphatic pronouns highlight a participant more than the regular personal pronouns (35).

Emphatic pronouns are formed by adding a person-number agreement suffix to the root *tau*.

- 35) *i-na-kani*      *i-na-yegemo*      *i-na -kavu-ku*      *tau-na*      *lokoloko*  
 3pS-IND-eat    3pS-IND-come.out 3pS-IND-chew.betel.nut-SW    EMPN-3s    goods  
*gi-na-kola-na*,      *tau -na*      *lokoloko gi-na-kidewedewe-na*      *kadu*      *gi-na-se-na*  
 3sS-IND-wash-3sO    EMPN-3s goods      3sS-IND-prepare+TR-3sO again    3sS-IND-put-3sO  
 ‘They would eat, come out, chew betel nut; but he-himself would wash the dishes, he-himself would prepare the dishes and again he would set it.’

As with the regular personal pronoun, the emphatic pronoun may also be used to reference a nonmaterial noun (36).

- 36) *Taidei, ya-ku ita-nuwaga kaduwe, tova nago-na wa-gai-ne ya-ku alamana*  
 this    AP-1s see-find      also      time first-3s    COM-??-3s.PP    AP-1s    knowledge  
*tau-na*      *fai-na*      *ada ga-ifufu*      *vevine*      *ya-di*      *ve-kaleko*      *fai-na*.  
 EMPN-3s basis-3s and 1sS-talk    women    AP-3p    ST-to.clothe      basis-3s  
 ‘This is my observation and also, in the first times my knowledge about IT, and I have talked about women’s dressing.’

#### 2.2.3.2. Attributive

Emphatic pronouns are used to describe a strong attribute of a person, following the word describing the attribute (37, 38).

- 37) *Aku vavine faisewa tau-na*  
 SW woman    work      EMPN-3s  
 ‘But the woman is a (hard) worker.’

- 38) *I-vemwamwala tau-di-yavo.*  
 3pS-happy      EMPN-3p-PL  
 ‘They are happy ones.’

### 2.2.3.3. Reflexive

An emphatic pronoun may function as a reflexive pronoun. In (39) an independent personal pronoun is followed by the emphatic pronoun.

- 39) ...*ada nuwa-na gi-vogani-na gade-deku banae tau-na a-na gufa wa-vei-na.*  
 and mind-3sIA 3sS-confused-3s which-place 3sPN EMPN-3s SAP-3s water COM-cup-3s  
 ‘...and he was confused about where his own cup of water (water with-cup) was.’

The reflexive pronoun doesn’t always occur with the regular pronoun (40). It may be that in constructions without both the independent personal pronoun and the emphatic, there is less emphasis on the participant.

- 40) ...*ada gi-yewa-na tau-na ya-na melala-ya...*  
 and 3sS-return-3s EMPN-3s AP-3s village-PP  
 ‘...and he returned to his own village....’

### 2.2.4. Enumerative pronouns

When an enumerative pronoun references participant(s), it references it/them as a unit (41-43).

- 41) *Kai tau-na a-na kaibe gi-na-veimeya, iwaka-na.*  
 if EMPN-3s SAP-3s 1.self 3sS-IND-decide good-3s  
 ‘If she herself decides by herself, it's good.’

- 42) *Tova matatabu-na keke i-da-kani-kani, aku Vagita a-na kaibe gi-kani-kani*  
 time all-3s NEG 3pS-IR-IMPF-eat SW Wallaby SAP-3s 1.self 3sS-IMPF-eat  
 ‘All the time they weren’t eating, but Wallaby by himself (alone) was eating good foods.’

- 43) *A-di iselu i-miya-miya-yeku bavagu, ada...*  
 SAP-3p 2.selves 3pS-IMPF-stay-short.duration harvest, and  
 ‘They-two were staying a short time until it was harvesttime, and....’

## 2.3 Verbal affixes

After a participant has already been introduced and there is no need by the speaker to add

prominence to that participant and there is no ambiguity, the subject agreement prefix and object agreement suffix on verbs are used to refer to the participant. These verbal affixes agree with the subject and object in person, number and inclusiveness. This encoding is the most used referent of participants in the Bwaidoka language, making up approximately 60% of encodings.

### 2.3.1. Subject agreement prefixes

#### 2.3.1.1. In simple verbs

Subject agreement prefixes are always obligatory. In (44, 45) we see the subject agreement prefix in simple verbs (verbs with only one stem).

44) *Ya-ku seba ga-na-se-na.*  
 AP-1s excuse 1sS-IND-put-3sO  
 ‘I will set forth my excuse.’

45) *l-yala-na ada ai gi-beu vaita i-na-kani-na*  
 3pS-dig-3sO and tree 3sS-fall as.if 3pS-IND-eat-3sO  
 ‘She dug it and the tree fell (and it was) as if she was going to eat him....’

#### 2.3.1.2. In compound verbs

In (46-48) we see the subject agreement prefix in compound verbs. In (46) the subject is 1<sup>st</sup> person plural exclusive and is understood, so the subject is encoded only by the subject marker on the verbs.

46) *Ada a-yegemo-na a-elai a-nau melala seya-na i-vele-ma*  
 and 1peS-come.out-dtv 1peS-come 1peS-go village one-2s 3pS-give-1peO  
*a-na-ita-ve-yabi-na*  
 1sS-IND-see-CZ-hold-3sO  
 ‘And we moved out and came and went to a village they gave us to take care of’

47) *Keke ga-na-kani-ni, aku u-na-obu-elai, iya a-ku yegana Natuyaboyabobo.*  
 NEG 1sS-IND-eat-2sO SW 2sS-IND-descend-come, 1sPN SAP-1s name <name>  
 ‘I will not eat you(sg), but you come down, my name is Natuyaboyabobo.’

- 48) *Tova taidei fefe kabiso-na ga-na-ve-to-kilumi-na*  
 time this paper small-3s 1sS-IND-CZ-one.who-draw.TR-3sO  
 ‘At this time I will write a small letter.’

### 2.3.1.3. In references to ‘mother’

In Bwaidoka, a mother is referred to in the plural as an honorific. In (49) the construction in first person form is presented; in (50) the second person form; and in (51) the third person form.

- 49) *ime a-na-leme-ni.*  
 1pPN 1peS-IND-help-2sO  
 ‘I (a mother) will help you(sg).’
- 50) *imi wa-na -kani-na?*  
 2pPN 2pS-IND-eat-3sO  
 ‘Will you(pl) eat it? (speaking to a mother)’
- 51) *badi wana i -fali-na*  
 3pS door 3pS-close-3sO  
 ‘She (a mother) closed the door.’

## 2.3.2. Object agreement suffixes

Object agreement suffixes on the verbs are obligatory (2.4.2.1.) except when the focus is on the action instead of the direct object, which occurs in three different constructions: (a) in a negated clause (2.4.2.2); (b) in a nonfinal transitive serial verb construction (2.4.2.3); and (c) in ditransitive clauses (2.4.2.4.)

### 2.3.2.1. Normally obligatory

#### 2.3.2.1.1. In simple verbs

In (52) in the first verb the 3p object marker agrees with the person and number of the object *yana gabuyavo*; and in the second verb, the 3s object marker suffixed on the verb *ileme* agrees with the person and number of the object *kwanaHailans*.

- 52) *kwana-Hailans gi-na ya-na gabu-yavo gi-vone-di i-leme-na....*  
 male.dweller.of-Highlands 3sS-go AP-3s clan-PL 3sS-tell+TR-3pO 3pS-help-3sO



‘the Highlands-man went and told his clan and they helped him....’

In (53) the object NP is elided, being understood, and is referenced on the verb by the 3s object suffix.

- 53) *ada ya-na to-vewala gi-toli-ye-na...*  
 and AP-3s one.who-teach 3sS-ask-IDT-3sO  
 ‘and his teacher questioned him....’

### 2.3.2.1.2. In compound verbs

In (54) in the compound verb *isevedavedamema*, the 1p exclusive object suffix agrees in person and number with the elided 1p exclusive object.

- 54) *ada wadadeku-deya a-miya-miya malamala lafuli gi-a-vai-na, kaduwe*  
 and there-at.that.place 1peS-IMPF-stay year four 3sS-SPON-get-3s again  
*i-se-ve-dave-dame-ma ada a-nau kaduwe seya-na fafali wa-gai-ne*  
 3pS-put-CZ-IMPF-across+tr-1peO and 1pexS-go again one-3s side COM-??-3s.PP  
*a-miya-miya*  
 1peS-IMPF-stay  
 ‘and after we stayed over there at that place for four years, again they changed us and  
 we went again to another area (where) we stayed.’

In (55) in the compound verb *imaduvunana*, the 2s object suffix agrees in person and number with the object *yaku babi*.

- 55) *Ada babi tayuwe ani iya ya-ku babi fai-na kubu-ku-weyavo i-madu-vuna-na*  
 and ground yonder SP 1sPN AP-1s ground basis-1s grandparent-1sIA-PL 3pS-first-clear-3sO  
*ada wa-gai-ne i-madu-bakula, ada babi-nai iya ya-ku babi, keke oyeni.*  
 and COM-??-3s.PP 3pS-first-plant and ground-3sDEF 1sPN AP-1s ground NEG 2sPN  
 ‘And that yonder ground—it’s my ground because my grandparents first cleared it and  
 on it they first planted, and that ground is my ground, not yours.’

### 2.3.2.2. Environments where not obligatory

#### 2.3.2.2.1. Direct object agreement suffix omitted in negated clauses

In negated clauses where the object has been stated by a noun or NP so it is understood and

the focus is on the negated action, the direct object agreement suffix is omitted (56, 57).

56) *Iya keke ga-da-kani-kani-0 biyabiyama, kaliva, vevine.*  
 1sPN NEG 1sS-IR-IMPF-eat-0 children man women  
 ‘I don’t eat children, men, women.’

57) *keke tubu-da ka-na-munu-0*  
 NEG grandparent-1pi 1piS-IND-hit/kill-0  
 ‘We will not kill our grandparent.’

### 2.3.2.2.2. Direct object agreement suffix omitted in nonfinal transitive serial verbs

In serial transitive verbs, object agreement suffixes are omitted on nonfinal verbs, probably because stating the same object suffixes on the nonfinal verbs is redundant. In the following examples, the serial verbs are underlined.

In (58), if *givai* ‘he-got’ or *ginauwe* ‘he took away’ were used in a clause by themselves, they would normally have an object suffix; but here the object suffix only occurs on the last verb of the series.

58) *novu-di ya-di aiyevu gi-vai-0 gi-nau-we-0 gi-ve-bani-ye-na*  
 sib.opp.sex-3pIA AP-3p canoe 3sS-get 3sS-go-TR 3sS-ST-fishing-IDT-3sO  
*igana gi-tai-di...*  
 fish 3sS-pull-3pO  
 ‘he got his sister’s canoe and took 0 (and) fished with it (and) caught fish....’

In (59), *giwai* ‘she carried’ would normally have an object suffix, but the object suffix only occurs on the last verb of the series.

59) *Gi-ve-tavoga gi-wai-0 gi-aliye-na ina-na gi-ve-kani-di i-kani.*  
 3sS-CZ-cook 3sS-carry-0 3sS-bring-3sO mother-3sIA 3sS-CZ-eat-3pO 3pS-eat  
 ‘She cooked she carried and brought it and fed her mother and she (the mother) ate.’

In (60) *gibatuge* ‘he threw’ and in (61) *anatala* ‘we-will-chop’, these would normally have object suffixes, but they are omitted because they are followed by another verb. In these cases the verb following is intransitive, so there is no object marker in the predicate.

60) *Nebuyasi aiyevu a-na lomu gi-vai-na ada gi-batuge-0 gi-obu*  
 <name> canoe SAP-3s anchor 3sS-get-3sO and 3sS-throw 3sS-descend  
*leyaga nafo-ne...*  
 ocean inside-3s.PP  
 ‘Nebuyasi got the canoe’s anchor and threw it 0 went down inside the ocean....’

61) *Kai muwanuwa-ma labiya a-na-iwa-ga, a-na-nau labiya a-na-tala-0*  
 if thinking-1pIA sago 1peS-IND-pour-dtv 1peS-IND-go sago 1peS-IND-chop-0  
*gi-na-beu.*  
 3sS-IND-fall  
 ‘If we (excl.) want to pour sago, we will go chop down a sago tree.’

### 2.3.2.2.3. Ditransitive clauses

In clauses using the transitive verb *vele* ‘give’, the indirect object is referenced on the verb, leaving the direct object unreferenced by any verbal affix (62-64).

62) *e gufa tulutulu-na i-vele-ma e kauveya vavine-na*  
 DEV water cold-3s 3pS-give-1peO DEV esteemed.man woman-3sIA  
*natu-na-vo nodi a-yu-ga....*  
 offspring-3sIA-PL with 1peS-drink-dtv  
 ‘then they gave us cold drink, and we drank together with sir and his wife and children....’

63) *Ada a-yegemona, a-elai, a-nau melala seya-na*  
 and 1peS-come.out 1peS-come 1peS-go village one-3s  
*i-vele-ma a-na-ita-ve-yabi-na....*  
 3pS-give-1peO 1peS-IND-look.out.for-3sO  
 ‘Then we(excl) came out, and came, and went to a village they gave us(excl) to take care of....’

64) *aimo gi-na-faisewa-na ineneku ada novu-ku gi-na-vele-di.*  
 later 3sS-IND-work-3sO where.addressee.is and sib.opp.sex-1sIA 3sS-IND-give-3pO  
 ‘later he will work (the back translation) there (where you are) and he will give my sister (a mother--see 2.4.1.) it.’

**2.4 Postpositionals**

A postpositional phrase is normally made up of a head with optional modifiers followed by the postpositional word *wa-gai* (the comitative *wa* + *gai*) with a person/number agreement suffix followed by the postpositional *-ya*. In 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person contexts where postpositional phrases have the head omitted because of being understood by the context, the agreement suffix is the only encoding of that participant. So far, this construction has not been found in 3<sup>rd</sup> person contexts.

65) *kwamana gi-elai wa-gai-ku-ya*  
 child 3sS-come COM-??-1s-PP  
 ‘The child came to me.’

66) *Ime a-ma-tin wa-gai-mi-ya gi-miya-vagata.*  
 1piPN SAP-1pe-tin COM-??-2p-PP 3sS-stay-forever  
 ‘My tin has stayed with you forever.’ (i.e., ‘You have had my tin too long.’)

67) *Tubuiyaku, eba-vemwamwala wa-gai-de-ya celebration*  
 friend.same.sex-1sIA source.of-happiness COM-??-1pi-PP “  
*tayuwe wa-gai-ne.*  
 yonder COM-??-3s.PP  
 ‘My friend, it is a source of happiness to us(incl) by that celebration.’

**2.5 Benefactive phrases**

A benefactive phrase is normally made up of a head with optional modifiers followed by the root *fai* ‘basis’, with a person/number agreement suffix followed by the postpositional *-ya*. If the head is omitted because of being understood in a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup>-person context, the agreement suffix on the postpositional word is the only reference for that participant. In these contexts where the benefactive phrase has the head omitted, the agreement suffix is the only encoding of that participant. So far, this construction where the head is omitted has not been found in third person contexts. In (68), a third person context, the head is stated; in (69, 70), second and first person contexts, the head is omitted.

68) *ka-na-faisewa velemoena [Yaubada fai-ne]*  
 1pS-IND-work truly God basis-3s.PP  
 ‘Let's truly work for God.’

69) *u-na--ita-na seya-na gaitoma ga-vai-na fai-ni-va*  
 2sS-IND-see-3sO one-3s thing 1sS-get-3sO basis-2s-PP  
 ‘Look at a thing I got for you.’

70) *gi-tagi-tagiya fai-ku-ya*  
 3sS-IMPF-cry basis-1s-PP  
 ‘He’s crying for me.’

## 2.6 A few non-eventline reference encodings

### 2.6.1. Agreement suffix on adjectives

A less common form of encoding a participant is by a person/number agreement suffix on an adjective (71-74):

71) *Fai-na Iyahu gi-elai tau-na ya-na melale-ya aku evagu-na ada*  
 basis-3sIA <name> 3sS-come EMPN-3s AP-3s village-PP but new-3s and  
*kaduwe naginagi-na...*  
 also married-3s....  
 ‘Because Iyahu came to his own village but he (was) new and also he (was) married...’

72) *Aku bubuwa kwamane-ya ya-na tova kwamana wa-gai-ne gi-nau*  
 SW our.grandparent child-PP AP-3s time child COM-??-3s.PP 3sS-go  
*kwayakwaya-di-yavo ya-di melale-ya...*  
 white-3p-PL AP-3p village-PP  
 ‘But our younger grandparent during his childhood he went to the white-ones  
 village....’

73) *Badi lakai-di-yavo ya-di muwamiwa tuli-na, ada i-nagi, i-nagi-vagata.*  
 3pPN older-3p-PL AP-3p thinking different-3s and 3pS-marry 3pS-marry-forever  
 ‘They the older ones—their thinking is different, and (when) they got married, they got  
 married forever (staying away forever without returning).’

74) *Ada bawe keke gi-da-munu-munu-di, aku makagekage-na. Ada keyau*  
 and pig NEG 3sS-IR-IMPF-kill-3pO SW empty-handed-3s and greens  
*gi-wai-wai gi-ela-elai...*  
 3sS-IMPF-carry 3sS-IMPF-come

‘And he wasn’t killing pigs, but he (was) empty-handed. And greens he would be carrying as he was coming....’

The quantifier word *tufu* ‘some’, which is always encoded with a person/number agreement suffix, may stand alone as subject, referring anaphorically to a participant (75).

75) *Dakedake manuga kabiso-di. Tufu-di bowabowa-di matatabu-na...*

<name> bird small-3p part-3p black-3p all-3s

‘Dakedake are small birds. Some of them are all black....’

### 2.6.2. *nuwanuwa* ‘thoughts/desire’

In a desiderative clause where the identity of the participant is understood, an inalienable possessive suffix occurs on *nuwanuwa* ‘thinking/thoughts’ to refer to the participant (76-78). Although the surface subject is ‘his thinking’, this type of encoding functions as though the understood possessor of the thinking is the subject (Levinsohn comment, 2008).

76) *Kaliva moyai-di nuwanuwa-di bunebune aiyale-di*

man many-3p thoughts-3pIA dove feather-3pIA

‘Many people want doves’ feathers.’

77) *E ada Nebuyasi aiyevu a-na lomu gi-vai-na ada gi-batuge gi-obu*

DEV and <name> canoe SAP-3s anchor 3sS-get-3sO and 3sS-throw 3sS-descend

*leyaga nafo-ne keke nuwanuwa-na kevakeva i-na-sege fai-na.*

ocean inside-3s.PP NEG thinking-3sIA animal 3pS-IND-lose basis-3sIA

‘And so Nebuyasi got the canoe’s anchor and threw it down inside the ocean because he didn’t want them to lose the animal.’

78) *Kai nuwanuwa-ma labiya a-na-iwa-ga, a-na-nau labiya*

if thinking-1peIA sago 1peS-IND-pour-dtv 1peS-IND-go sago

*a-na-tala gi-na-beu....*

1peS-IND-chop 3sS-IND-fall

‘If we want to pour sago, we(excl) will go chop down a sago....’

### 2.6.3. *fata* ‘fulness’ indicating ‘ability’ and *faiweya* ‘to.basis’ indicating ‘inclination’

When a speaker is expressing a participant’s ability to do something and the identity of the participant is understood, the semi-alienable possessive carrier occurs before *fata* ‘fulness’ (79-81), which in this context is an idiomatic expression for ‘ability’.

79) *Keke a-na fata gi-na-yegemo melale-ya.*

NEG SAP-3s fullness 3sS-IND-come.out village-at

‘He wasn’t able to come out into the village.’

80) *gi-na-ki-ve-yabi-na gi-na-fota-na keke a-na fata gi-na-kaki*

3sS-IND-by.hand-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-IND-stick-3sO NEG SAP-3s fullness 3sS-IND-loosen

‘...it will get hold of him (and) stick to him (and) he will not be able to loosen it’

81) *Badi dakedake kai i-na-ve-wauma aimo keke a-da fata ifufu*

3pPN name.of.bird if 3pS-IND-CZ-group later NEG SAP-1pi fullness talking

*ka-na-nogali fai-na i-na-kwage a-na faiweya geyo lakai-na.*

1piS-IND-hear basis-3sIA 3pS-IND-squawk SAP-3s basis.PP noise a.lot-3s

‘Those dakedake if they will group together, later we won’t be able to hear talking because they will squawk like a lot of noise.’

Also, in expressing a participant’s inclination to do something, where the participant’s identity is understood, the semi-alienable possessive carrier occurs before *faiweya* ‘to-basis’ (82), which in this context is an idiomatic way to express ‘inclination’.

82) *A-ku faiweya ga-na-tala-na*

SA-1s basis.PP 1sS-IND-cut-3sO

‘I am willing to cut it.’

## 2.7 Zero anaphora

### 2.7.1 Lexical items making clear who is saying what

In a narrative where the speaker is reporting a dialogue and he assumes the hearers understand who is speaking (as in a familiar traditional story), the subjects and speech verbs may be omitted. In (83a) the speaker is referenced using a noun or NP and a speech verb, then in (b) where the children reply, they are not referenced by either a N(P) or a speech verb. Then in (c) the mother is referenced by only the speech verb, and again in (d) and (e)

the children are not referenced; then in (f) the mother speaking is only referenced by the verbs, but not the speech verb as usual.

- 83a) *Ina-di* \_\_\_\_\_ *i-ve-dou*, "Tutukili, kwamana u-na-aliye ke gi-na-tauma."  
 mother-3pIA 3pS-ST-call <name> child 2sS-IND-bring and 3sS-IND-suckle  
 'Their mother was calling, "Tutukili, bring the child so it will suckle.'"
- b) ∅ "Ee kai-ku! Wada gava-na gi-kwage-kwage? Bona-na vaita,  
 ∅ Hey younger.sib-1sIA yonder what-3s 3sS-IMPF-cry.out voice-2sIA as.if  
*ina-da i-da-tagi-tagiya. Maita ka-na-nau, maita ka-na-nau."*  
 mother-1piIA 3pS-IR-IMPF-cry a.bit 1piS-IND-go a.bit 1piS-IND-go  
 '∅ "Hey younger sibling! What is that yonder crying out? Its voice is as if our(incl)  
 mother were crying. Let's go a little bit further, let's go a little bit further.'"
- c) *Maita i-vaga-liya i-nau, kadu i-tagiya*, "Tutukili, kwamana u-na-aliye  
 a.bit 3pS-step-aside 3pS-go again 3pS-cry <name> child 2sS-IND-bring  
*ke gi-na-tauma."*  
 and 3sS-IND-nurse  
 'They went a bit further, again she cried, "Tutukili, bring the child so he will nurse.'"
- d) ∅ "Ee tau-na, kawa-ku, ina-da bona-di!" I-nau.  
 ∅ "Hey EMPN-3s old. sibling-1sIA mother-1piIA voice-3pIA 3pS-go  
 '∅ "Hey it's it, my older sibling, our mother's voice!" They went.'
- e) ∅ "Ka-na-nau, ka-na-nau, ka-na-na ka-na-ita-di, gava-na fai-na  
 1piS-IND-go 1piS-IND-go 1piS-IND-go 1piS-IND-see-3pO what-3s basis-3s  
*ina-da i-tagi-tagiya."*  
 mother-1piIA 3pS-IMPF-cry  
 '∅ "Let's go, let's go, let's go see her, why our(incl) mother is crying.'"
- f) *I-nau-na-nadi ina-di i-vetoga-di sogala walami-ne.*  
 3pS-IMPFF-go-DEF mother-3pIA 3pS-sit-3p sogala root-3sIA.PP
- I-vetoga-di-ku i-tagi-tagiya. ∅ "O natu-me-yavo, wa-na-ela-ku,*  
 3pS-IMPFF-cry-3p-SW 3pS-IMPFF-cry ∅ Oh offspring-1peIA-PL 2pS-IND-come-SW



*ya-mi koyo-na wa-gai-ne, bademowa tubu-mi,*  
 AP-2p badness-3s COM-??-3s.PP already grandparent-2pIA

*i-ki-ve-fose-ma a-di kevakeva."*  
 3pS-by.hand-CZ-fasten-1peO SAP-3p meat

‘They were going and their mother sat at the root of the sogala tree. As she sat she was crying. ∅ “Oh my children, you(pl) come but, by your(pl) badness, already your(pl) grandmother, she fastened (thus trapping) me, her meat.”’

In (84a), a woman is calling to her husband who (with other people) is leaving her behind. She is referenced by the verbs. In (b) which has no referential encoding, the husband replies.

84a) *I-nu-yabu-yabu-di, mogane-di i-dou-we, “E, u-da-ela*  
 3pS-go-IMPF-complete-3pO husband-3pIA 3pS-call-TR hey 2sS-IR-come  
*a-da-yage."*  
 1peS-IR- to.board

‘As they were leaving her behind, she called out to her husband, “Hey, you should come, I should board (the canoe).”’

b) ∅ “*O, ina wa-na-miya aku a-nau-nau."*  
 ∅ Oh here 2pS-IND-stay SW 1peS-IMPF-go  
 ∅ “Oh, here you will stay but we are going.”’

### 2.7.2. Body parts representing their possessors

In a few idiomatic expressions, a body part will represent its possessor as if that participant were in a subject position. This is analyzed as zero anaphora, where the referent is manifested by an inalienable possessive suffix on the body part, and that body part is introduced as an extension of its possessor (Clark, 2000:62) (Levinsohn, comment, 2008).

One of these expressions is very common, where a participant’s eye is presented as an agent (85, 86). In this perfective aspect construction, the verb for ‘ascending’ or ‘descending’ is always in irrealis mode and the spacer *ani*\* follows the verb, lending focus to what follows.

85) *Ada tubuiya-na-vo a-di iselu mata-di gi-da-obu ani i-ita-na*  
 and friend-3sIA-PL SAP-3p 2.self eye-3pIA 3sS-IR-descend SP 3pS-see-3sO  
*kevakeva-nai, banae ani kuyuwa.*  
 animal-3s.DEF 3sPN SP octopus  
 ‘And as his two friends looked down—they saw the animal, it was an octopus.’

86) *muli-ya mata-na gi-da-laka Masika wa-gai-ne ani gi-ita-na ada gi-vona,*  
 back-PP eye-3sIA 3sS-IR-ascend <name> COM-??-3s.PP SP 3sS-see-3sO and 3sS-say,  
 “*O gaito?*”  
 2sPN who  
 ‘afterward as he looked up at Masika—he saw him and said, “You are who?”’

In the following example (87) which is in imperative mode, there is no spacer *ani* and the indicative ‘*na-*’ replaces the irrealis ‘*da-*’ on the verb. Also we see that other body parts as well may be presented as agents.

87) *Gaito muwamuwa-0 Ray, mata-0 gi-na-nega nima-0 gi-na-laka.*  
 who thinking-2sIA <name> eye-2sIA 3sS-IND-close hand-2sIA 3sS-IND-ascend  
 ‘Whoever wants (to elect) Ray, close your eyes (lit. your eyes will close) and raise your hand (lit. your hand will raise).’

### 2.7.3. Environments of zero anaphora for direct object suffix

#### 2.7.3.1. Direct Object suffix omitted in negated clauses(See 2.3.2.2.1.)

#### 2.7.3.2. Direct Object suffix omitted in nonfinal transitive serial verbs(See 2.3.2.2.2.)

#### 2.7.3.3. Direct Object not referenced in ditransitive clauses(See. 2.3.2.2.3.)

## 3. INTRODUCTION OF PARTICIPANTS

### 3.1. Major Participants

#### 3.1.1. Nonverbal Equational clauses

Major participants may be introduced initially by an equational clause. In (88) a mother and her daughter are both introduced by this encoding.

- 88) *Tova tuwai-na wa-gai-ne vavine seya-na a-di yega-na Ineubo, ani*  
 time old-3s COM-??-3s-PP woman one-3s SAP-3p name-3s <name> SP  
*vavine-dina malabutuya i-mididi natu-di mata-lakai-na a-na yega-na*  
 woman-3pDEF morning 3pS-arise offspring-3pIA eye-big-3s SAP-3s name-3s  
*Tokeleu i-vone-na...*  
 <name> 3pS-speak.TR-3sO

‘A long time ago there was a certain woman whose name (was) Ineubo--that woman in the morning arose and said to her older daughter whose name (was) Tokeleu...’

In (89), the participant is introduced by a NP + two equational clauses.

- 89) *Seya-na kaliva banae kwana-hailans, banae ai a-na to-tala-ga.*  
 one-3s man 3sPN male.dweller.of-Highlands 3sPN tree SAP-3s one.who-chops-dtv  
 ‘There was a man who (was a) Highlands man, he (was a) woodcutter.’

### 3.1.2. Existential Clauses

Major participants may also be introduced initially by an existential clause (90, 91).

- 90) *Tova tuwai-na wa-gai-ne kaliva ada vavine i-miya-miya*  
 time old-3s COM-??-3s-PP man and woman 3pS-IMPF-stay  
 ‘A long time ago there were a man and a woman staying/living.’

- 91) *Tova tuwai-na wa-gai-ne kaliva seya-na va-na yoo-yavo nodi i-miya-miya...*  
 time old-3s COM-??-3s-PP man one-3s AP-3s group-PL together 3pS-IMPF-stay  
 ‘Long ago there was a man staying/living with his people....’

### 3.1.3. Noun Phrases

Simple and full or complex NPs may be used to introduce major participants, depending on how much the speaker assumes the hearer knows of the participant and how important the speaker wishes to portray the participant. The examples (92) and (93) are from traditional narratives, where the speaker would assume the hearer knows about the participant; (94) and (95) are from contemporary narratives.

**3.1.3.1. Simple NPs**

In (92) and (93) the major participants are introduced by only their names.

92) *Seya-na tova vagita i-miya-miya aku Bilolo gi-elai ada gi-vone-di...*  
 one-3s time wallaby 3pS-IMPF-stay SW grasshopper 3sS-come and 3sS-say.TR-3pO  
 ‘One time the wallabies were staying and Bilolo came and said to them,...’

93) *Negaluyega i-ve-natu-na.. Negaluyega i-ve-natu-na ada natu-di vavine.*  
 <name> 3pS-CZ-child-3sIA <name> 3pS-CZ-child-3sIA and child-3pIA female  
 ‘Negaluyega gave birth. Negaluyega gave birth and her child was female.’

**3.1.3.2. Complex NPs**

In (94) the participant is introduced by two appositional NP’s describing the possessor of the head noun *yana gabuyavo* ‘all of his clan’, showing the relationship of the main participant, the dead man, to the people of Kafumuwa.

94) *Ada tau-na to-alika-nai kwana-Kafumuwa-nai ya-na gabu-yavo*  
 and EMPN-3s one.who-die-3sDEF male.dweller.of-<name>-3sDEF AP-3s clan-PL  
me-Kafumuwa ani i-towamididi...  
 people.of-<name> SP 3pS-jump.up  
 ‘And he the one who died, that man of Kafumuwa, his clan (who were) the people of Kafumuwa—they jumped up...’

In (95) the participants *doctoryavo* ‘doctors’ are introduced by two appositional possessive noun phrases followed by the simple NP *doctoryavo*.

95) *Vita-nadi, banae veoga lakai-na ga-nuwaga-na ada to-ita-ve-yabi-na*  
 heavy-3sDEF 2sPN sickness big-3s 1sS-receive-3sO and one.who-see-CZ-hold-3sO  
a-di kaliva lakai-di-yavo badi-yavo vovo a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na, doctor-yavo  
 SAP-3p man big-3p-PL 3pPN-PL body SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3sO doctor-PL  
*i-ve-nuwa-dadane-ku, ada vaita ga-na-yewa-ku melale-ya ga-na-miya-miya,*  
 3pS-CZ-think-about-1sO and as.if 1sS-IND-return-1s village-PP 1sS-IND-IMPF-stay  
 ‘That heavy, it was a big sickness I received and the chief men of the caretakers who were caretakers of the body, doctors, they decided about me, and that I would return to the village and would be staying.’

In (96), the storekeeper, a major participant, is introduced by the possessive NP expressing ‘storekeeper’ along with the subject agreement marker on the verb.

- 96) *E*        *ada, seya-na tova gi-nau Goroka, seya-na sitowa wa-gai-ne,        ada seini*  
 DEV    and one-3s time    3sS-go <name> one-3s store COM-??-3s.PP    and chain  
*sowa gi-ita-na        ada sitowa a-na    to-ita-ve-yabi-na        gi-vone-na, ...*  
 saw 3sS-see-3sO    and store AP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s    3sS-say.TR-3sO  
 ‘And so, one time he went to Goroka to a store and he saw a chain saw and he said to  
 the storekeeper....’

## 3.2. Minor Participants

### 3.2.1. Introduced by a N(P)

Since minor participants are not prominent, they are usually introduced by only the words necessary for identification. In (97) a simple NP encodes the participant along with the subject agreement prefix on the verb, and in (98, 99) possessive NPs encode the participants along with the agreement prefix on the verb.

- 97) *teli kiloki captain gi-vona, ‘Kai idedeku deya submarini ga-na-fali-na*  
 three o’clock captain 3sS-say maybe here at.place submarine 1sS-IND-close-3sO  
*aku ga-na-obu-vagila kaduwe.*  
 SW 1sS-IND-descend-again again  
 ‘At 3 o’clock the captain said, “Maybe here I will close the submarine and I will be  
 going down again.”’

- 98) *E ada malamala lafuli gi-a-vai-di kaduwe siasi a-na to-nagona-yavo*  
 DEV and year four 3sS-finished-3p again church SAP-3s one.who-first-PL  
*i-ve-nuwa-dadane-na e ada i-imili-na gi-sevedavedama gi-ela*  
 3pS-CZ-think-about.TR-3s DEV and 3pS-send-3sO 3sS-change 3sS-come  
*gi-laka Ibawane-ya.*  
 3sS-ascend <name>-PP  
 ‘And so when four years were finished, again the church’s leaders chose him, and so  
 they sent him and he changed and came up to Ibawaneya.

- 99) *Hewabe gi-kasisi fai-na ya-na bawe ada ina-na kai aa i-na-vele-na*  
 Hewabe 3sS-act.silly basis-3s AP-3s pig and mother-3sIA if food 3pS-IND-give-3sO

*a-di iselu i-kani-kani.*

SAP-3p 2.selves 3pS-IMPF –eat

‘Hewabe was giddy because of his pig, and if his mother would give him food, they two would eat (together).’

### 3.2.2. Comitative *wa-* ...*nodi* ‘with’ construction

If a minor participant accompanies a major participant, he/she may be introduced following the major participant using the comitative prefix *wa-* before the noun referencing the participant, usually followed by *nodi* ‘with’ (100, 101). This construction is used with common nouns or relational terms, not proper names.

100) *Ada tova moyai-na i-nau-na i-kema-kema vavine seya-na*

and time many-3s 3pS-IMPF-go 3pS-IMPF-court woman one-3s

*a-na yega-na Neyalawata wa-tai-na nodi wa-gai-di-ya*

SAP-3s name <name> COM-younger.sib-3sIA with COM-??-3p-PP

‘And many times they would go and be courting to a woman whose name was Neyalawata together with her younger sister.’

101) *Kaliva taidei gi-elai Bromilow nodi ada Bromilow gi-yewa aku kaliva*

man this 3sS-come <name> with and <name> 3sS-return SW man

*taidei wa-vavine-na, natu-na ada evo gi-vona vaita gi-da-miya Bwaidoga.*

this COM-wife-3sIA offspring-3sIA and intent 3sS-say as.if 3sS-IR-stay <name>

‘This man came with Dr. Bromilow, and Bromilow returned but (there was) this man with his wife and child and intending to, he talked as if he would stay in Bwaidoga.’

### 3.3. Definite Participants

Definite participants may be introduced by complex or simple NPs. When a participant in a subject position is definite—known to the hearer/reader—less encoding is needed to describe the participant.

In (102) the second and third referent is encoded by a NP--indicating that the grandparent is a male. This increase in encoding is necessary to identify that the referent is not their grandmother. The first and last referent is an unmodified noun.

102) *Tubuiya-ku-we-yavo, boi lavilavi ga-nogali-na taubada*

friend-1sIA-PL recent.past afternoon 1sS-hear.TR-3sO white.man

*gi-ve-tawaga-na*      *tubu-da*      *kaliva*      *wa-gai-ne,*      *ada tubu-da*  
 3sS-CZ-older.sib-3sO grandparent-1piIA male      COM-??-3s.PP      and grandparent-1piIA  
*kaliva kaduwe gi-ve-tai-na*      *taubada*      *wa-gai-ne.*  
 male also      3sS-CZ-young.sib-3sO      white.man      COM-??-3s.PP  
 ‘My friends, yesterday afternoon I heard the white man call-older-brother to our male grandparent, and our male grandparent also call-younger-brother to the white man.’

In (103) following, the speaker knew the hearer was familiar with the participant.

103) *Tova-nai*      *Jerry*      *ya-na tova*      *kwamana wa-gai-ne,*      *tubuiya-na-vo*      *nodi*  
 time-3sDEF      <name>      AP-3s time      child      COM-??-3s.PP      friend-3sIA-PL      together  
*i-ifu-ifufu....*  
 3pS-IMPF-talk  
 ‘When Jerry was a child, he was talking with his friends....’

In (104), this first mention of the captain, he is definite because the talk has been about a submarine.

104) *teli kiloki*      *captain gi-vona,*      “*Kai idedeku deya*      *submarini ga-na-fali-na...*  
 three o’clock      captain 3sS-say      Maybe here      at.this.place      submarine 1sS-IND-close-3sO  
 ‘At three o’clock the captain said, “Maybe here I will close the submarine....’

### 3.4. Indefinite Participants

#### 3.4.1. Introduced by a NP

Indefinite participants in subject position may be introduced by a N(P), as in example (105).

105) *Mali kaliva gi-ela-ela*      *gi-laka-laka*      *gi-lu-fifita*      *gi-vona-vona....*  
 another      man      3sSA-IMPF-come      3sS-IMPF-ascend      3sS-INST-knock      3sS-IMPF-say  
 ‘Another man would be coming, going up, knocking, and saying....’

In (106) the subject is encoded by a possessive NP.

106) *E ada buwa*      *tayuwe, yavine ina-na*      *ke tama-na*  
 DEV and bride-claiming-gift      yonder woman      mother-1sIA and      father-1sIA

*i-na-vai-na*            *ada i-na-vutuge-na*            *kaliva*            *tayuwe.*  
 3pS-IND-get-3sO    and 3pS-IND-divide.TR-3sO    people/man yonder

‘And so that bride-claiming-gift, the woman’s mother and father will get it and divide it among the people yonder.’

### 3.4.2. Unspecified plural participants

When by the context it would be understood who unspecified plural participants are, they are encoded only by a plural subject agreement prefix on the verb, having no noun referent.

In 107) the subject is understood to be the people of the village who are asking the question.

107) *E, taidei fai-na tau-ni u-na-nau seya-na melala u-na-yegemona.*  
 DEV this basis-3s EMPN-2s 2sS-IND-go one-3s village 2sSA-IND-appear

*E ada i-na-vona, “Kauveya, gavaiyamu?”*

DEV and 3pS-IND-say sir how (is it)

‘So because of this you yourself will go and appear at a village. And so they (the people of that village) will say, “Sir, how is it?”’

108) *Ada 1954 wa-gai-ne iyayeku ga-tubuga Salamo tova-nai kama-ku*  
 and 1954 COM-??-3s.PP 1sPN 1sS-born <name> time-3sDEF father-1sIA  
*gi-miya-miya training pastor fai-na. Tayuwe wa-gai-ne i-faya-ye-ku,*  
 3sS-IMPF-stay basis-3sIA yonder COM-??-3s.PP 3pS-foster-IDT-1sO  
*a-miya-miya Salamo waga-ine malamala toiye.*  
 1pS-IMPF-stay <name> COM-??-3s.PP year three

‘And in 1954 I was born at Salamo when my father was staying for pastor training. At that place they (some people at Salamo) fostered me, we were staying at Salamo three years.’

### 3.4.3. With *seyana* ‘one’

Indefinite participants also may be encoded by either *seyana* ‘one’ (109,110) or *tufona/tufodi* ‘some’ (111) following the noun referent.



109) *kwana-Kafumuwa seya-na gi-nagi melala seya-na a-na yega-na Kulakula...*  
 male.dweller.of-<name> one-3s 3sS-marry village one-3s AP-3s name-3s <name>  
 ‘a man of Kafumuwa married into a village named Kulakula...’

110) *Ada misinali seya-na gi-elai Dobu ke muli-ya gi-elai Bwaidoka.*  
 And missionary one-3s 3sS-come Dobu and after-PP 3sS-come <name>  
 ‘And a missionary came to Dobu and afterward he came to Bwaidoka.’

111) *kaliva tufo-di i-vona a-na yegana evo buludoka.*  
 man partial-3p 3pS-say SAP-3s name maybe bulldozer  
 ‘some people say its name is maybe 'buludoka'.

#### 4. DEFAULT ENCODINGS FOR REFERENCING PARTICIPANTS IN SUBJECT POSITION

In this section we will look at default encodings for participants in the following various environments suggested by Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:127-135).

**4.1 When the subject of a clause is the same as in the previous clause or sentence,** the default way of referencing it is by the subject agreement prefix on the verbs. In the following example, (112 a-d) are consecutive clauses of the same sentence. Iyalu is mentioned in the first clause, then encoded by the subject agreement prefix on all the verbs in the clauses following.

112a) *Aku tova seya-na wa-gai-ne ani Iyalu novu-na ya-di aiyevu gi-vai-na*  
 SW time one-3s COM-??-3s.PP SP <name> sib.opp.sex-3sIA AP-3p canoe 3sS-get-3sO  
 ‘And one time—Iyalu got his sister’s canoe’

b) *ada gi-nau igana gi-ve-bani,*  
 and 3sS-go fish 3sS-CZ-fishing  
 ‘and he went fishing for fish’

c) *aku igana moyai-na gi-tai-di*  
 SW fish many-3s 3sS-pull-3pO  
 ‘and he caught many fish’

- d) *ada gi-yewa gi-elai melale-ya.*  
 and 3sS-return 3sS-come village-PP  
 ‘and he came back to the village.’

**4.2. When the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence,** the default way of referencing it is by a NP. In the sentences of (a) in (113) and (114), the addressees are addressed; in the sentences of (b), the addressees become the subjects.

- 113a) *ada sitowa a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na gi-vone-na, “Iya nuwanuwa-ku ai*  
 and store SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-say.TR-3sO I thinking-1sIA tree  
*a-na eba-i-tala-ga ga-na-ki-mone-na.”*  
 SAP-3s thing.for-PA-chop-dtv 1sS-IND-by.hand-money.TR-3sO  
 ‘and he said to the storekeeper, “I want to buy a thing for chopping trees.”’

- b) *Ada sitowa a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na gi-vona, ...*  
 and store SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-say  
 ‘And the storekeeper said,....’

- 114a) *Tama-na givona, “Natu-ku, u-na-elai ada u-na-ita-na seya-na*  
 father-3sIA 3sS-say offspring-1sIA 2sS-IND-come and 2sS-IND-see-3sO one-3s  
*gaitoma ga-vai-na fai-ni-ya.”*  
 thing 1sS-get-3sO basis-2s-PP  
 ‘His father said, “My child, come and see a thing I got for you.”’

- b) *Tova-nai Hewabe gi-da-ita-obu ani gi-ita-na bawe kabiso-na....*  
 time-3sDEF <name> 3sS-IR-see-descend SP 3sS-see-3sO pig small-3s  
 ‘As Hewabe looked down, he saw a small pig....’

**4.3. When the subject was involved in the previous clause or sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation.**

**4.3.1. With serial verbs**

Sometimes within a sentence where the participants are understood and the focus is on the action, the actions are expressed by serial verbs with the participants being referenced by only the verbal affixes. In this case, where each verb would count as a clause, **if the subject was involved in the previous clause in a non-subject role other than in a closed**

**conversation**, then the default encoding is by a subject agreement verbal prefix.

In (115b), the subject is the object of (a), and in (d) the subject is the object of (c).

115a) *Ada kwana-Hailans*            *gi-na*    *ya-na*    *gabuyavo*    *gi-vone-di*  
 and male.dweller.of-<name> 3sS-go    AP-3s    clan-PL            3sS-say.TR-3pO

b) *i-leme-na*

3pS-help-3sO

‘And the Highlands man went and told his clan (and) they helped him’

c) *ada mani*    *i-vele-na*

and money    3pS-give-3sO

d) *ada kaduwe* *gi-yewa-na*    *sitowa-nai*    *wa-gai-ne*.

and again    3sS-return-3s    store-3sDEF    COM-??-3s.PP

‘and they gave him money and again he returned to the store.’

In (116b), the subject is the object of (a).

116a) *Ada yavine-na*            *igana matatabu-na* *gi-vele-di*  
 and woman-3sIA    fish    all-3s            3sS-give-3pO  
 ‘And he gave his wife all the fish’

b) *i-nau-we-na*            *vedama a-na*            *fafali*    *wa-gai-ne*            *ada...*

3pS-go-TR-3sO    market    SAP-3s    area            COM-??-3s.PP and

‘(and) she took it to the market area and...’

In (115) and (116), there was only one participant, so there was no ambiguity with using only the agreement prefixes. If a speaker assumes the context is clear to the hearer, even if both referents might be singular or both plural, only the verbal agreement prefix may be used. In (117d), the subject is the object of clauses (b) and (c).

117a) *Ada kaduwe ani a-di iselu i-mata-matauta*  
 and also SP SAP-3p 2.self 3pS-IMPF-afraid  
 ‘And also—they two were fearing’

b) *fai-na aimo kai kuyuwa seya-na gaito gi-na-ki-ve-yabi-na*  
 basis-3s later maybe octopus one-3s whoever 3sS-IND-by.hand-CZ-hold-3sO  
 ‘because later maybe the octopus would get hold of someone’

c) *aga gi-na-fota-na*  
 then 3sS-IND-stick.to-3sO  
 ‘then he would stick to him’

d) *ada keke a-na fata gi-na-kaki-0*  
 and NEG SAP-3s fulness 3sS-IND-loosen-3sO  
 ‘and he wouldn’t be able to get loose.’

In (118) where both participants are singular, the subject of (b) is the object of (a).

118a) *Ada Vuvuwana tova moyai-na Kiluma bona-na gi-noga-nogali-na*  
 and <name> time many-3s <name> voice-3sIA 3sS-IMPF-hear.TR-3sO  
 ‘And Vuvuwana was always hearing Kiluma’s voice’

b) *gi-ifu-ifufu, ada Vuvuwana nuwa-na gi-koyo-koyo.*  
 3sS-IMPF-talking and <name> thinking-3sIA 3sS-IMPF-bad  
 ‘(he was) talking, and Vuvuwana was becoming angry.’

#### 4.3.2. Clause initial

**If a subject referenced clause initially was involved in the previous sentence or clause in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation, the default encoding is by a N(P).**

In (119b), the subject is the object of (a).

119a) *Ada vavine-dina ani, nuwanuwa-di lawa-di i-na-kani-na, Galagalaiwavo.*  
 and woman-3pDEF SP thinking-3pIA in.law-3pIA 3pS-IND-eat-3sO <name>  
 ‘And that woman--she wanted to eat her son-in-law, Galagalaiwavo.’

b) *E ada, kaliva-nai Galagalaiwavo gi-ota gi-laka ai tabo-ne.*  
 DEV and man-3sDEF <name> 3sS-flee 3sS-ascend tree top-3s.PP  
 ‘And so, the man Galagalaiwavo ran away (and) climbed to the treetop.’

In (120) the subject of (c) is the object of (a) and (b).

120a) *E ada Vuvuwana gi-mididi ilama gi-vai-na e ada oya Kiluma*  
 DEV and <name> 3sS-stand ax 3sS-get-3sO DEV and mountain <name>  
kuluwa-na gi-tala-na.  
 head-3sIA 3sS-chop-3sO  
 ‘And so Vuvuwana stood up and got an ax and chopped Kiluma Mountain’s head.’

b) *Gi-tala-yavali-na.*  
 3sS-chop-smash-3sO  
 ‘He chop-smashed it.’

c) *Ada Kiluma gi-ita-na...*  
 and <name> 3sS-see-3sO  
 ‘And Kiluma saw it....’

In (121), the subject of (b) is the object of (a).

121a) *Bawe tova moyai-na Hewabe gi-ve-muli-kofikofi-ye-na*  
 pig time many-3s <name.> 3sS-ST-back-close-IDT-3sO  
 ‘The pig was always following Hewabe closely.’

b) *Kai Hewabe gada-mamu gi-na-nau aga bawe nodi.*  
 if Hewabe which-direction 3sS-IND-go then pig with  
 ‘If Hewabe went any direction, then the pig would be with him.’

**4.4. When there are other changes of subject than those covered by sections 4.1 – 4.3,**  
the default way of referencing it is by a N(P).

In (122b) the subject was not mentioned in the previous sentence (a), and the participant is encoded by a noun.

122a) *Ada tubuiya-na-vo a-di iselu mata-di gi-da-obu ani i-ita-na*  
and friend-3sIA-PL SAP-3p 2.self eye-3pIA 3sS-IR-descend SP 3pS-see-3sO  
*kevakeva-nai, banae ani kuyuwa.*  
animal-3s.DEF 3sPN SP octopus  
‘And as his two friends looked down—they saw the animal, it was an octopus.’

b) *E ada Nebuyasi aiyevu a-na lomu gi-vai-na...*  
DEV and <name> canoe SAP-3s anchor 3sS-get-3sO  
‘And so Nebuyasi got the canoe’s anchor...’

In clause (123a), the subject has been the storekeeper, then a chainsaw. In clause (b) the subject changes to a previously mentioned customer, referenced by a noun with the DEF suffix.

123a) ...*ada gi-da-ve-butu-na ani gi-lu-ata-atala*  
and 3sS-IR-CZ-noise-3sO SP 3sS-INST-IMPF-thunder  
‘and as he started it—it thundered’

b) *ada kaliva-nai gi-tataweyana gi-vona, “Ai, em i wok nau!”*  
and man-3sDEF 3sS-startle 3sS-say Hey it works now  
‘and the man was startled and said, “Hey, it works now!”’

In (124b), the subject is one of the two participants in (a).

124a) *Ada vaita a-di iselu i-da-na i-da-yubau*  
and as.if SAP-3p 2.self 3pS-IR-go 3pS-IR-fish  
‘And it was as if they two were going to go fishing’

- b) *ani tubuiya-na gi-veoga fai-na ada kaduwe a-di iselu i-yewa-di...*  
 SP friend-3sIA 3sS-sick basis-3sIA and again SAP-3p 2.self 3pS-return-3p  
 ‘because his friend got sick and again they two returned...’

In (125) where the referential distance from the last previous mention of the two friends is six clauses, a NP is used.

- 125) *e aku tubuiya-na-vo a-di iselu kelasi mata-di-ya i-yogo-di ada i-towavila...*  
 DEV SW friend-3sIA-PL SAP-3p 2.self glass eye-3pIA-PP 3pS-tie-3pO and 3pS- jump  
 ‘and so his two friends tied the goggles to their eyes and jumped...’

## 5. MARKED ENCODING OF SUBJECTS

In this section we will look at the reasons why a speaker chooses to refer to a participant with more or less encoding than the default forms. For instance, using a NP instead of a verbal prefix in example 126 would be more than the default form; and using only a pronoun or verbal prefix instead of a NP as in example 142 would be less than the default.

### 5.1. Using more encoding than the default

The two reasons why more encoding is chosen are:

- 1) to highlight the participant
- 2) following a point of discontinuity (Dooley; Levinsohn 2001:134).

#### 5.1.1. Highlighting a participant by more encoding

##### 5.1.1.1. Highlighting to contrast participants

In (126), a story in first person, a crab was simultaneously pinching the lips of both the speaker and his wife, and they were trying to get loose. Since the wife (being a mother) is referred to as plural, the subject agreement prefixes on the verbs could have been enough to disambiguate the two participants, with the man referenced by the singular subject prefix; but pronouns are added to highlight the participants, giving contrastive focus. See section 2.3.2.1.

- 126) *A-ma iselu magigi-ma seya-na aku, badi i-tai-tai-na, iya*  
 SAP-1pe 2.self face-1peIA one-3s SW 3pPN 3pS-IMPF-pull-3sO 1sPN

40 **Patty Gibson**

*ga-ve-ve-akoi; iya ga-tai-tai-na, badi i-ve-ve-akoi.*  
 1sS-IMPF-ST-yell. ouch 1sPN 1sS-IMPF-pull-3sO 3pPN 3pS-IMPF-ST-yell.ouch  
 ‘We two our faces were one but, (when) she was pulling, I was yelling, Ouch!; (when)  
I was pulling, she was yelling “Ouch!”’

In (127), *Sigola* (a kingfisher bird) is presented as acting distinctly from two sisters whom he was trying to court. *Sigola* was always rejected by the sisters, so he figured out a way to trick them. He is encoded most of the time by the 3sPN before *Sigola*.

127) *Ada bana Sigola gi-vona, “Ee tau-na ido-game-nai ya-ku tova-moe-na*  
 and 3sPN kingfisher 3sS-say hey EMPN-3s here-that.one-3sDEF AP-1s time-LIM-3s  
*ga-nuwaga-na wa-gai-ne ga-na-fwaya-di aku tamo ga-na-nagi-na.”*  
 1sS-find-3sO COM-??-3s.PP 1sS-IND-trick-3pO SW any 1sS-IND-marry-3sO  
 ‘And he Kingfisher said, “Hey, this is it-my time by which I’ve found to trick them  
 and marry someone (of them).”’

One time he is encoded by only the shortened pronoun (128), most likely because it would have sounded redundant with *Sigola* also being in the quotation:

128) *ada bana gi-na-vona, “Iyayeku Sigola.”*  
 and 3sPN 3sS-IND-say 1sPN kingfisher  
 ‘and he would say, “It’s me, Kingfisher.”’

In the story which (128) was taken from, *Neyalawata* is the older sister, and both she and her younger sister separately are encoded sometimes by the 3sPN+N. In (129), at a later point in the same story, the older sister is encoded by the PN+N (b); and in (c) she refers to *sigola* using the PN+N, contrasting the collective noun *sigola* with the man who *Sigola* had changed into.

129a) *Ada Sigola gi-vona, “Iyayeku, iya Sigola.*  
 and kingfisher 3sS-say 1sPN 1sPN kingfisher

b) *Ada bana Neyalawata gi-vona-ga, “Ee gaito u-da-fwaya?*  
 and 3sPN <name> 3sS-say-dtv hey who 2sS-IR-deceive



c) *Bana sigola manawa-na fata-di, a-na odoodo moyai-vagai-di,*  
 3sPN kingfisher chest-3sIA full-3p SAP-3s necklace many-NTNS-3p  
*mudu-na manamanawe-na."*  
 beak-3sIA long-3s

‘And Kingfisher said, “It’s me, I’m Kingfisher.” And she Neyalawata said, “Hey, who are you trying to trick? He Kingfisher (distinct from other kinds of birds who were courting) has a full chest, many, many necklaces, and his beak is long.”

Later in the same story Sigola is encoded by the PN+N (130):

130) *Ada bana Sigola gi-vona, "Ika iya ido-game-nai tau-ku*  
 and 3sPN kingfisher 3sS-say yes 1sPN here-that.one-3sDEF EMPN-1s  
*Sigola, mali yadeyade-ya ga-fwaya-mi-ku ga-ve-bebeta ada*  
 kingfisher other day-PP 1sS-trick-2pO-SW 1sS-INCH-baby and  
*wa-wai-ku wa-aliye-ku."*  
 2pS-carry-1sO 2pS-bring-1sO

‘And he Kingfisher said, “Yes, I am it, I myself Kingfisher, in the other day I tricked you(pl) and became a baby and you(pl) carried me and brought me.”’

And later in the story *Neyalawata* is encoded by the PN+N (131).

131) *Ada tayuwe wa-gai-ne bana Neyalawata gi-towamididi*  
 and way.over.there COM-??-3s.PP 3sPN <name> 3sS-jump.up  
*ada Sigola nodi i-nagi ada...*  
 and kingfisher with 3pS-marry and

‘And at that yonder place, she Neyalawata jumped up, and Kingfisher and she and Sigola married, and...’

### 5.1.1.2. Highlighting to increase activation of participant

In (132), the two children, who were referenced by only a NP in the previous sentence, here are encoded by NP + NumPN + their names, anticipating a higher level of activation.

132) *Aku biyabiyama-dina a-di iselu Boweta ke Galagalaiwavo ani a-di keva-keva-nai*  
 SW children-3pDEF SAP-3p 2.self <name> and <name> SP SAP-3p meat-3sDEF

*keyau yogo-na i-wai-wai i-nau-nau...*  
greens stems-3sIA 3pS-cont-carry 3pS-cont-go

‘But those two children Boweta and Galagalaiwavo--they were carrying their meat--the greens’ garbage stems....’

### 5.1.1.3. Highlighting to slow down the story and build suspense

In (133), the speaker highlights the participant by using the PN + N + DEF + RC, probably to slow down the story and thus build suspense (Clark, 2000), as at this point in the story it looked like the woman/pig was about to get the man and eat him.

133) *E kaduwe Galagalaiwavo ai seya-na wa-gai-ne gi-damana ada kadu*  
DEV again <name> tree one-3s COM-??-3s.PP 3sS-cross and again  
*badi vavine-dina i-ve-bawe ani ai i-duwali-na.*  
3pPN woman-3pDEF 3pS-INCH-pig SP tree 3pS-root.TR-3sO

‘Again Galagalaiwavo went across to another tree, but again she the woman who had changed into a pig—she rooted at the tree.’

### 5.1.1.4. Highlighting by the spacer *ani*

If a participant and/or their activity contributes to the theme of the discourse, the spacer *ani* may function as a thematic marker, added before the clause that is receiving heavier encoding. This results in highlighting the participant if that is what is being marked. *Ani* may also mark other elements besides participants that contribute to the theme. In (134) and (135), conjunctions could have been used, but instead the speaker chose *ani*.

134) *Gi-nuwaga-di ada vaita gi-na-tai-di i-na-yalili gi-na-munu-di,*  
3sS-find -3pO and like 3sS-IND-pull-3pO 3pS-IND-land 3sS-IND-kill-3pO  
*ani Vagita bulava gi-lu-goloi-na aku i-obu-elai ya-di melale-ya.*  
SP wallaby vine 3sS-INST-sever-3sO SW 3pS-descend-come AP-3p village-PP

‘He found them and it looked like he would pull them, they would land and he would kill them, SP Vagita severed the rope and they descended to their village.’

135) *Mota gi-nuwaga-na ada mota gi-manini ada Vagita gi-na-yova-na, ani*  
snake 3sS-find-3sO and snake 3sS-be.fierce and wallaby 3sS-IND-bite-3sO SP  
*Vagita gi-vonaga, “A kusebo, yaa, gava-na fai-na u-na-yova-ku?”*  
wallaby 3sS-say Ah dear.friend INTJ what-3s basis-3sIA 2sS-IND-bite-1sO

‘He came upon a snake and the snake was fierce and it was going to bite Wallaby SP Wallaby said, “Ah, my friend, yaa (= disapproval), why are you going to bite me?”’

When there is a heavy NP or RC describing a participant, the spacer *ani* will follow, functioning to help separate the long descriptive topic from the comment and marking their following activity as thematic, as in (136).

- 136) *Ada tau-na to-alika-nai kwana-Kafumuwa-nai ya-na gabu-yavo*  
 and EMPN-3s one.who-die-3sDEF male.dweller.of-<name>-3sDEF AP-3s clan-PL  
*me-Kafumuwa ani i-towa-mididi ke i-elai ya-di to-alika-nai*  
 people.of-<name> SP 3pS-jump.stand and 3pS-come AP-3p one.who-die-3sDEF  
*i-wai-na ada i-nau-we-na...*  
 3pS-carry-3sO and 3pS-go-TR-3sO  
 ‘And HE the one who died, the man of Kafumuwa, his clan from Kafumuwa--they jumped up and came and carried their dead one and took him...’

In (137) following, *ani* highlights the description of a participant, which was a contributing factor to the reason for a heavy dispute.

- 137) *Fai-na Iyalu gi-elai tau-na ya-na melaleya aku evagu-na, ada kaduwe*  
 basis-3sI <name> 3sS-come EMPN-3s AP-3s village-PP SW new-3s and also  
*naginagi-na ke natu-na-vo toiye ada kaduwe vavine-na ani mali fafali*  
 married-3s and offspring-3sIA-PL three and also woman-3sIA SP other area  
*a-na vavine kai atuwada a-na vavine.*  
 SAP-3s woman maybe far SAP-3s woman  
 ‘Because Iyalu came to his own village but he was new, and also he was married, and had three children, and also his wife--was a woman of another place, maybe a woman of far away.’

In (138), Iyalu’s taking his sister’s canoe is another contributing factor to the dispute. *Ani* could have been left out and the sentence would have been grammatically correct.

- 138) *Aku tova seya-na wa-gai-ne ani Iyalu novu-na ya-di aiyevu gi-vai-na*  
 SW time one-3s COM-??-3s-PP SP <name> sib.opp.sex-3sIA AP-3p canoe 3sS-get-3sO

*ada gi-nau igana gi-ve-bani, aku igana moyai-na gi-tai-di ada gi-yewa*  
 and 3sS-go fish 3sS-ST-fishing SW fish many-3s 3sS-pull-3pO and 3sS-return  
*gi-elai melale-ya.*  
 3sS-come village-PP

‘But on one occasion--Iyalu got his sister’s canoe and went and while he was fishing he caught many fish and returned and came to his village.’

### 5.1.2. More encoding following a point of discontinuity

#### 5.1.2.1. Discontinuity of action

In (139) where the default for an environment as in 4.1 is a subject agreement verbal prefix, a numerical pronoun is used to encode the participants, marking a discontinuity of the action where the writer leaves the eventline to give a comment about the feelings of the two participants.

139) *Ada kaduwe ani a-di iselu i-mata-matauta fai-na aimo kai kuyuwu seya-na*  
 and also SP SAP-3p 2.self 3pS-IMPF-afraid basis-3s later if octopus one-3s  
*gaito gi-na-ki-ve-yabi-na aga gi-na-fota-na ada keke*  
 whoever 3sS-IND-by.hand-CZ-hold-3sO then 3sS-IND-stick-3sO and NEG  
*a-na fata gi-na-kaki.*  
 SAP-3s fulness 3sS-IND-remove

‘And also they two were fearing because later maybe the octopus would get hold of someone then it would stick to him and he wouldn’t be able to remove it.’

#### 5.1.2.2. Discontinuity of time

In (140) where the default for an environment as in 4.1 is a subject agreement verbal prefix, a noun is used to encode the participant *Iyalu*, marking a discontinuity of time, jumping from the past to the present time.

140) *Ada tova malinai Iyalu gi-boda-boda aku ya-na wai gi-le-lele ke*  
 and time today <name> 3sS-IMPF-wait SW AP-3s path 3sS-IMPF-seek and/purpose  
*gi-na-yewa gi-na-nau...*  
 3sS-IND-return 3sS-IND-go

‘And now Iyalu is waiting and looking for a way to return and go...’

## 5.2. Using less encoding than the default for participants in subject position

In this section we will look at the situations where a speaker encodes a participant in subject position with less encoding than the default.

### 5.2.1. A cycle of events is repeated, so the participant is familiar to the hearer.

In (141), a series of events that has been repeated, the participant is not encoded at all before the reported speech, which is less than the default encoding of a verbal prefix for an environment as in section 4.2. Ulo was running behind a girl who was also running, and when she arrived at her house, she spoke to her grandfather. Then her grandfather replies (b). Preceding both reported speeches there is no subject encoding.

141a) *Ulo gi-tauya, madu madu madu.. “Kubu-ku, wada gava kaliva gi-ela-elai?”*  
 <name> 3sS-leave run run run grandparent-1sIA yonder what man 3sS-IMPF-come  
 ‘Ulo (a man) started off and was running, running, running. “Grandfather, that yonder, what man is coming?”’

b) “*Wada Ulo gi-ela-elai.*”  
 there Ulo 3sS-IMPF-come  
 ““That yonder is Ulo coming.””

### 5.2.2. The lexical items make it clear who is doing what.

In (142), because both participants were singular, they were both encoded only by the singular subject agreement verbal prefix, so after the reported speech, the agent of the giving might have been ambiguous except for the expectation that a customer gives money to the storekeeper. The default for this 4.2 environment is a N(P).

142) *Ada sitowa a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na gi-vona, “Iwaka-na!”*  
 and store SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-say good-3s  
*Ada mani gi-vele-na aku seini sowa gi-wai gi-nau...*  
 and money 3sS-give-3sO SW chain saw 3sS-carry 3sS-go  
 ‘And the storekeeper said, “Good!” And he gave him the money and he carried the chainsaw and went....’

### 5.2.3. Unspecified plural subjects

Instead of the default NP in an environment such as in 4.4, when by the context it would

be understood who unspecified plural participants are, they are encoded only by a plural subject agreement prefix on the verb. See section 3.4.2.

- 143) *E ada grade 6 gi-a-vai-na ga-lu-yabu-na ada ga-ve-toyogina e ada*  
 DEV and grade 6 3sS-SPON-get-3s 1sS-CZ-complete-3sO and 1sS-CZ-strong DEV and  
*i-imili-ku ga-laka-vagila secondary school.*  
 3pS-send-1sO 1sS-ascend-again secondary school  
 ‘And then grade 6 finished, I finished it and I passed and so they sent me and I went up  
 again to secondary school.’

## 6. DEFAULT ENCODINGS FOR REFERENCING PARTICIPANTS IN NON-SUBJECT POSITION

**6.1 When the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence**, the default way of referencing it is by the object agreement suffix on the verb.

In (144), the dead man in object position is referenced first by a possessed noun, then only by the suffixes on the verbs ‘carry’, ‘take’, and ‘to bury’.

- 144) *ya-na gabu-yavo me-Kafumuwa ani i-towa-mididi ke i-elai ya-di*  
 AP-3s clan-PL people.of-Kafumuwa SP 3pS-jump-stand and 3pS-come AP-3p  
*to-alika-nai i-wai-na ada i-nau-we-na ya-di melala-ya i-na-tavu-na,*  
 one.who-die-3sDEF 3pS-carry-3sO and 3pS-go-TR-3sO AP-3p village-PP 3pS-IND-bury-3s  
 ‘his clan the people of Kafumuwa—they jumped up and came and carried their dead  
one and took him to their village to bury him...’

**6.2. When the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence**, the default way of referencing it is by zero anaphora. The speaker assumes the hearer will know the speaker is answering the other speaker, so the non-subject, the speaker of the previous reported speech, is not referenced.

In (145) following, the speaker of sentence (a) is not referenced in (b).

- 145a) *Ada sitowa a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na gi-vone-na, “Iya ga-elai*  
 and store SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-say.TR-3sO 1sPN 1sS-come  
*ya-ku gaitoma-nai ga-na-ki-mone-na.”*  
 AP-1s thing-3sDEF 1sS-IND-by.hand-money.TR-3sO

b) *Ada sitowa a-na to-ita-ve-yabi-na gi-vona, ~* “*Iwaka-na!*”  
 and store SAP-3s one.who-see-CZ-hold-3s 3sS-say good-3s

‘And he said to the storekeeper, “I came to buy my (aforementioned) thing.” And the storekeeper said, “Good!”’

**6.3. When the referent was involved in the previous clause or sentence in a different role than that covered by 6.2,** the default way of referencing it is by an object agreement verbal suffix or by a N(P).

### 6.3.1. With serial verbs

Sometimes within a sentence where the participants are understood and the focus is on the action, the actions are expressed by serial verbs with the participants being referenced by only the verbal affixes. In this case, sentence medially, **if the referent was involved in the previous clause in a different role than that covered by 6.2,** then the default encoding is by the object agreement verbal suffixes.

In (146b), the subject is the object of (a).

146a) *Ada kwanaHailans gi-na ya-na gabu-yavo gi-vone-di*  
 and male.dweller.of-<name> 3sS-go AP-3s clan-PL 3sS-say.TR-3pO

b) *i-leme-na ada...*  
 3pS-help-3sO and

‘And the Highlands man went (and) told his clan (and) they helped him and....’

In (147b), the subject is the object of (a).

147a) *Ada Vuvuwana tova moyai-na Kiluma bona-na gi-noga-nogali-na*  
 and <name> time many-3s <name> voice-3sIA 3sS-IMPF-hear.TR-3sO

b) *gi-ifu-ifufu...*  
 3sS-IMPF-talk

‘And Vuvuwana was always hearing Kiluma’s voice (he was) talking....’

**6.3.2. Clause initial**

**If a participant referenced clause initially was involved in the previous clause or sentence in a different role than that covered by 6.2, the default encoding is by a N(P).**

In (148a), ‘they-two’ references subject *Hewabe* and his pig. In (b), the next sentence, the subject is the pig, encoded by a noun.

148a) *a-di iselu i-kani-kani.*  
 SAP-3p 2.self 3pS-IMPF-eat

b) *Bawe Hewabe gi-ve-muli-kofikofi-ye-na.*  
 pig <name> 3sS-CZ-back-closely-IDT-3sO  
 ‘...they-two would be eating. The pig followed Hewabe closely.’

In (149a) the subject is *Kiluma*. In (b), the next sentence, the subject is *Vuvuwana*, encoded by a noun.

149a) *aku Kiluma, oya kabiso-na.*  
 SW <name> mountain small-3s  
 ‘but Kiluma, it (was a) small mountain.’

b) *Ada Vuvuwana tova moyaina Kiluma bona-na gi-noga-nogali-na....*  
 and <name> time many-3s <name> voice-3sIA 3sS-IMPF-hear.TR-3sO  
 ‘And Vuvuwana was always hearing Kiluma’s voice....’

**6.4. When there are other non-subject references other than those covered by 6.1-6.3, the default way of referencing it is by a N(P).**

In (150) where the subject has been the brother, here the sister in object position is referenced by a possessed noun, the possessor being understood and therefore not stated.

150) *ada fawasi gi-vai-na ada kabiso-na novu-na gi-da-lu-fawasi-di...*  
 and spear 3sS-get-3sO and almost-3s sib.opp.sex-3sIA 3sS-IR-CZ-spear-3pO  
 ‘and he got a spear and almost speared his sister....’



## 7. UNUSUAL MARKED ENCODING OF NON-SUBJECTS – LESS ENCODING

### 7.1. Negated clauses

In negated clauses, the object agreement suffix is omitted. See section 2.3..2.2.

### 7.2. Nonfinal transitive serial verbs

In nonfinal transitive serial verbs, the object agreement suffix is omitted. See section 2.3..2.3.

## 8. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have looked at the different ways participants are encoded in Bwaidoka. Section 2 covers participant referencing on the word, phrase, and sentence levels, and also idiomatic expressions using body parts. In Section 3 we looked at the different ways major and minor, definite and indefinite participants are encoded. And finally, in Sections 4-6 we looked at default and marked encodings for participants in subject and non-subject positions as presented in Dooley & Levinsohn's *Analyzing Discourse* (2001).

Studying all the different ways participants are marked for increased encoding or decreased encoding, it is amazing to realize that good Bwaidoka storytellers naturally incorporate all these linguistic features as they tell a story with ease, and they do it quite well. It is fascinating to listen to a good storyteller. What a uniquely complex and extraordinary creation this language is!

**APPENDIX**

A sample text:

1. *Tova tuwai-na wa-gai-ne kaliva seya-na ya-na-yoo-yavo nodi i-miya-miya*  
 time old-3s COM-??-3s.PP man one-3s AP-3s-group-PL with 3pS-IMPF-stay  
*ya-d-melala oya seya-na kabiso-na wa-gai-ne.*

AP-3p-village mountain one-3s small-3s COM-??-3s.PP

‘Long ago a man was living with his people in their village on a small mountain.’

2. *Melala-nai ani a-na-yega-na Kabudowa, tainei Bwaidoka ya-na-*  
 village-3sDEF SP AP-3s-name-3s <name> that <name> AP-3s-  
*eba-veimeya wa-gai-ne.*

thing.for-rule COM-??-3s.PP

‘That village’s name is Kabudowa, that is in the Bwaidoka territory.’

3. *E ada i-miya-miya ya-di-melale-ya aku ya-di manuwa ada ya-di-bakula*  
 DEV and 3pS-IMPF-stay AP-3p-village-PP SW AP-3p house and AP-3p-garden  
*wa-gai-di-ya i-fai-faisewa.*

COM-??-3p.PP 3pS-IMPF work

‘And as they were living in their village they were working on their houses and their gardens.’

4. *E aku seya-na tova wa-gai-ne kaliva-nai ani a-na-yega-na Nebuyasi ani*  
 DEV SW one-3s time COM-??-3p.PP man-3sDEF SP SAP-3s-name-3s <name> SP  
*tubuiya-na-vo nodi i-ifufu vaita maita kevakeva i-da-kani, e ada ya-d-lokoloko*  
 friend-3s-PL with 3pS-talk as.if a.bit animal 3pS-IR-eat DEV and AP-3p-stuff  
*i-ki-dewadewa ada i-tauya i-obu taliye-ya.*

3pS-by.hand-properly and 3pS-leave 3pS-descend beach-PP

‘And one time the man—his name is Nebuyasi—with his friends they were talking as if they should eat a bit of meat, and so they prepared their stuff and set off down to the beach.’

5. *Tova-nai taliye-ya i-yegemo, ya-d-aiyevu i-tai gi-obu*  
 time-3sDEF beach-PP 3pS-come.out AP-3p-canoe 3pS-pull 3sS-descend  
*ada a-di-itoto kaliva-moe-d i i-yage ada i-ve-butu i-voi i-nau-nau*  
 and SAP-3p-3.self man-LIM-3p 3pS-board and 3pS-CZ-sound 3pS-paddle 3pS-IMPF-go  
*a-di-gewa wa-gai-ne, e aku awaga wa-gai-ne bana Nebuyasi*  
 SAP-3p-fishing.ground COM-??-3s.PP DEV SW deep.sea COM-?-3s.PP 3sPN <name>  
*mata-na gi-da-obu leyaga nafo-ne, ani gi-kova, "Ou! Ou! tubuiya-ku-we-yavo,*  
 eye-3sIA 3sS-IR-descend ocean inside-3s.PP SP 3sS-call.out “ “ friend-1sIA-PL  
*gi-na-kulu-mi, kevakeva seya-na ga-ita-na, wa-na-ita-na!"*  
 3sS-IND-close-1pO animal one-3s 1sS-see-3sO 2pS-IND-see-3sO

‘When they came to the beach, they pulled their canoe down and they three only boarded and began rowing going to their fishing ground, but at the deep ocean as he Nebuyasi looked down inside the ocean, he called out, “Ou! Ou! my friends, be quiet, I see an animal, look at it!”’

6. *Ada tubuiya-na-vo a-di-iselu mata-di gi-da-obu ani i-ita-na*  
 and friend-3sIA-PL SAP-3p-2.self eye-3pIA 3sS-IR-descend SP 3pS-see-3sO  
*kevakeva-nai, banae ani kuyuwa.*  
 animal-3sDEF 3sPN SP octopus

‘And as his two friends looked they saw the animal, it was an octopus.’

7. *Ee ada Nebuyasi aiyevu a-na-lomu gi-vai-na ada gi-batuge gi-obu leyaga*  
 DEV and <name> canoe SAP-3s-anchor 3sS-get-3sO and 3sS-throw 3sS-descend ocean  
*nafo-ne keke nuwanuwa-na kevakev i-na-sege fai-na, e aku*  
 inside-3s.PP NEG thinking-3sIA animal 3pS-IND-lose basis-3sIA DEV SW  
*tubuiya-na-vo a-di-iselu kelasi mata-di-ya i-yogo-di ada i-towavila*  
 friend-3sIA-PL SAP-3p-2.self glass eye-3pIA-PP 3pS-fasten-3pO and 3pS-jump  
*i-obu leyaga nafo-ne ada kuyuwa-nai i-ona-na.*  
 3pS-descend ocean inside-3s.PP and octopus-3sDEF 3pS-pierce-3sO

‘And so Nebuyasi got the canoe’s anchor and he threw it down into the ocean because he didn’t want them to lose the animal, and his two friends fastened glass (eye goggles) to their eyes and they jumped down inside the ocean and speared the octopus.’

8. *Ada tova manamanawe-na a-di-iselu i-bala-balalavina vaita kuyuwa lai*  
 and time long-3s SAP-3p-2.self 3pS-IMPF-strive as.if octopus coral

*nafo-ne i-na-tai gi-na-yegemo aku keke a-di-fata.*  
 inside-3s.PP 3pS-IND-pull 3sS-IND-come.out SW NEG SAP-3p-fulness

‘And for a long time they two were struggling as if they would pull the octopus which was inside the coral reef, but they weren’t able to.’

9. *Ada kaduwe ani a-di-iselu i-mata-matauta fai-na aimo kai kuyiwa seya-na gaito*  
 and also SP SAP-3p-2.self 3pS-IMPF-afraid basis-3s later if octopus one-3s whoever  
*gi-na-ki-ve-yabi-na aga gi-na-fota-na ada keke a-na-fata*  
 3sS-IND-by.hand-CZ-hold-3sO then 3sS-IND-stick-3sO and NEG SAP-3s-fulness  
*gi-na-kaki.*  
 3sS-IND-remove

‘And also they two were fearing because later maybe the octopus would get hold of someone then it would stick to him and he wouldn’t be able to remove it.’

10. *Ee ada bana Nebuyasi tubuiya-na-vo gi-vone-di-ga, “Auwe imi*  
 DEV and 3sPN <name> friend-3sIA-PL 3sS-say.TR-3pO-?? enough 2pPN  
*wa-na-laka-elai,” ada badi a-di-iselu i-laka aiyevu tabo-ne aku*  
 2pS-IND-ascend-come and 3pPN SAP-3p-2.self 3pS-ascend canoe top-3s.PP SW  
*Nebuyasi ya-na-kelasi mata-ne gi-yogo-na ada gi-towavila gi-obu*  
 <name> AP-3s-glass eye-3s.PP 3sS-fasten-3sO and 3sS-jump 3sS-descend  
*leyaga nafo-ne ada tunutunugi-na kuyiwa-nai kuluwa-ne gi-ki-ve-yabi,*  
 ocean inside-3s.PP and straight-3s octopus-3sDEF head-3s.PP 3sS-by.hand-CZ-hold  
*ada tova-nai kuyiwa gi-ayaume-na, ili-na matatabu-na i-laka ada Nebuyasi*  
 and time-3sDEF octopus 3sS-feel-3sO tentacle-3sIA all-3s 3pS-ascend and <name>  
*i-lauwi-na ada keke a-na-fata kuyiwa-nai gi-na-kaki-na.*  
 3pS-grasp.around-3sO and NEG SAP-3s-fulness octopus-3sDEF 3sS-IND-remove-3sO  
 ‘And so he Nebuyasi said to his friends, “Enough, you come up,” and they two came up on top of the canoe and Nebuyasi fastened his glass to his eyes and he jumped down inside the ocean and straightaway got hold by the octopus’ head, and when the octopus felt him, all his tentacles ascended and grasped Nebuyasi and he wasn’t able to remove the octopus.’

11. *E ada tubuiya-na-vo i-towavila i-obu ada Nebuyasi i-leme-na leyaga*  
 DEV and friend-3sIA-PL 3pS-jump 3pS-descend and <name> 3pS-help-3sO ocean

*nafo-ne i-tai i-se-lakai-na wa-kuyuwa-na aiyevu tabo-ne ada*  
 inside-3s.PP 3pS-pull 3pS-put-up-3sO COM-octopus-3sIA canoe top-3s.PP and  
*kamo-na i-tutu-na aku leyaga gi-yu-na ani gi-mavu-na*  
 stomach-3sIA 3pS-pound-3sO SW salt.water 3sS-drink-3sO SP 3sS-spill.over-3sO  
*awa-na ke kabu-na wa-gai-di-ya aku yawai-na gi-tune-na.*  
 mouth-3sIA and nose-3sIA COM-??-3p-PP SW breath-3sIA 3sS-push-3sO  
 ‘And so his friends jumped down and helped Nebuyasi inside the ocean they pulled him  
 up with his octopus on top of the canoe and they pounded on his stomach and the salt  
 water he had drunk—it spilled over from his mouth and nose and he breathed.’

12. *Ido-game ya-ku-nainaiya a-na-tubuga.*

this is.it AP-1s-story SAP-3s-size  
 ‘This (is) it, the size of my story.’

### Abbreviations & Symbols

1,2,3	1 <sup>st</sup> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> person
AP	alienable possessive prefix
CZ	causative
DEV	developmental marker
dtv	detransitivizer
e	exclusive
EMPN	emphatic pronoun
NumPN	enumerative pronoun
i	inclusive
IA	inalienable possessive suffix
IDT	indirect transitivizer
IMPF	imperfective aspect
INCH	inchoative
IND	indicative mood
INST	instrument
INTJ	interjection
IR	irrealis
LIM	limiter
N	noun

NP	noun phrase
NTNS	intensifier
O	object agreement suffix
p	plural
PA	plural action
PN	free pronoun
PL	plural
PP	postpositional
RC	relative clause
s	singular
S	subject agreement prefix
SAP	semi-alienable possessive prefix
SP	spacer
SPON	spontaneous action
ST	stative action
SW	switch
TNP	turning point (conjunction)
TR	transitivizer

### Notes

\* See 2.3.2.2. of *Grammar Essentials of the Bwaidoka Language*.

<sup>1</sup> J. Albert Bickford and John Daly, *A Course in Basic Grammatical Analysis* (Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996), 49.

\* ‘Spacers’ are words some languages employ which indicate boundaries between constituents with distinct discourse-pragmatic roles. For more on this subject, see *Analyzing Discourse*, by Dooley & Levinsohn, 2001, pp73-75.

### References

- Bickford, J. Albert and Daly, John. (1996) *A Course in Basic Grammatical Analysis*, Preliminary Edition, Chapter F-6. Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Callister, William. (1996) *Participant Reference in the Misima Language*. Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Clark, Stephen A. (2000) *Sio--Participant Reference in Narrative Discourse: A Comparison of Three Methodologies*. University of North Dakota Grand Forks, North Dakota.

- Cooper, Russ. (1996) *A Very Short Sketch of Buhutu Nouns & Possessives*. Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Dooley, Robert A. and Levinsohn, Stephen H. (2001) *Analyzing Discourse: A Manual of Basic Concepts*. Dallas: SIL International.
- Gibson, Stan & Patty. (1993) *Grammar Essentials of the Bwaidoka Language*. Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. (2004) *Self-Instruction Materials on Narrative Discourse Analysis*. Dallas: SIL International.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2008) *Written communications*.
- Margetts, Anna. (2004) *Complex verbs and serialization in Oceanic Languages*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2005) Positional Slots in Saliba Complex Verbs. *Oceanic Linguistics*, Volume 44, no. 1.
- Participant Identification Workshop lectures. (2004) Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea. SIL-UND course materials. (2008).
- Staley, William E. (1995) Referent Management in Olo: a cognitive perspective. Ph.D Dissertation, University of Oregon.
- Tharp, Doug & Carolyn. (1995) *Participant Identification in Sulka Discourse*. Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.