

Bargam Grammar Sketch

Mark Hepner

S.I.L.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

*	ill-formed	INSTR	instrumental
~	allomorphs	INTER	interrogative
∅	zero phoneme or morpheme	INTNS	intensifier
-	morpheme break (in interlinearized texts)	IPF	past imperfect
.	joins words glossing a single morpheme	IR	irrealis
#	word break	ISOL	isolater
+	morpheme break (in phonological rules)	ITS	immediate temporal succession
\$	syllable break	JUS	jussive
α	same feature	lab	labial
β	same feature	LOC	locative/location
01	tense or mood place holder	MAN	manner
02	person/number place holder	MM	manner morpheme
1	1 st person	MNP	modified noun phrase
2	2 nd person	MOD	modifier
3	3 rd person	MVP	modified verb phrase
ACC	accompaniment	n/o	not observed
APS	associative possession marker	N	noun
ASSOC	associative marker	N1	non-1 st person
BEN	benefactive	NEG	negative
C	consonant	NP	noun phrase
CFT	contrafactual	O	object prefix
Co	Comment	Obj	object
COH	cohortative	P	plural
COM	comitative	PA	past
COMP	complement	PC	pronoun copy
con	consonantal	PFT	perfective aspect
COND	conditional	PLOC	present location
CONJ	conjunction	POS	possessive
COP	copula	PP	postpositional phrase
DD	different subject, durative aspect	PR	present
DES	desiderative	QV	quote verb
DESIG	designative	REACT	reactive
DIST	distributive	REAL	realis marker
DP	different subject, punctiliar aspect	REC	recipient
DS	different subject	REDUP	reduplication
DUB	dubitative	REF	referential
DUM	dummy	rd	round
EMP	emphatic	Sbj	subject
EXCL	exclusive	SD	same subject, durative aspect
EXH	exhaustive	S	singular
ft	front	SIM	similarity
FUT	future	sp.	species
HAB	habitual	SP	same subject, punctiliar aspect
HES	hesitational	SS	same subject
HYP	hypothetical	To	topic
IMP	imperative	TM	time
IMPRS	impersonal	UNCER	uncertainty
INDTR	indeterminate pluralizer suffix	UNSPC	unspecified
IP	inalienable possessor prefix	V	vowel
		VD	voiced
		VL	voiceless

1. INTRODUCTION

This is a complete revision (and enlargement) of a previous manuscript entitled, *Bargam Grammar Essentials* (Hepner, 1986). Bargam is a non-Austronesian language of the Trans New Guinea phylum and the Adelbert Range Super-Stock. It is classified by Z'graggen (1971:13) as a stock-level isolate within the Madang-Adelbert Range sub-phylum and given the name *Mugil*. However, *Mugil* is simply the ground name where a large Catholic-run plantation and clinic is located. The people themselves refer to the language primarily by the name **Bargam**, as reflected in the name of the local government council area **Sumgilbar**. Other names used by the people to refer to themselves are *saker*, a rarely heard word apparently connected with the concept of strength, and '*ezaq¹ ham*', the interrogative phrase meaning 'What did you say?'. Using interrogative words to identify languages is an interesting phenomena also exhibited by other languages in the area, e.g. the Garus language which is also known as *em* 'what?' and *em nam* 'what did you say?'.

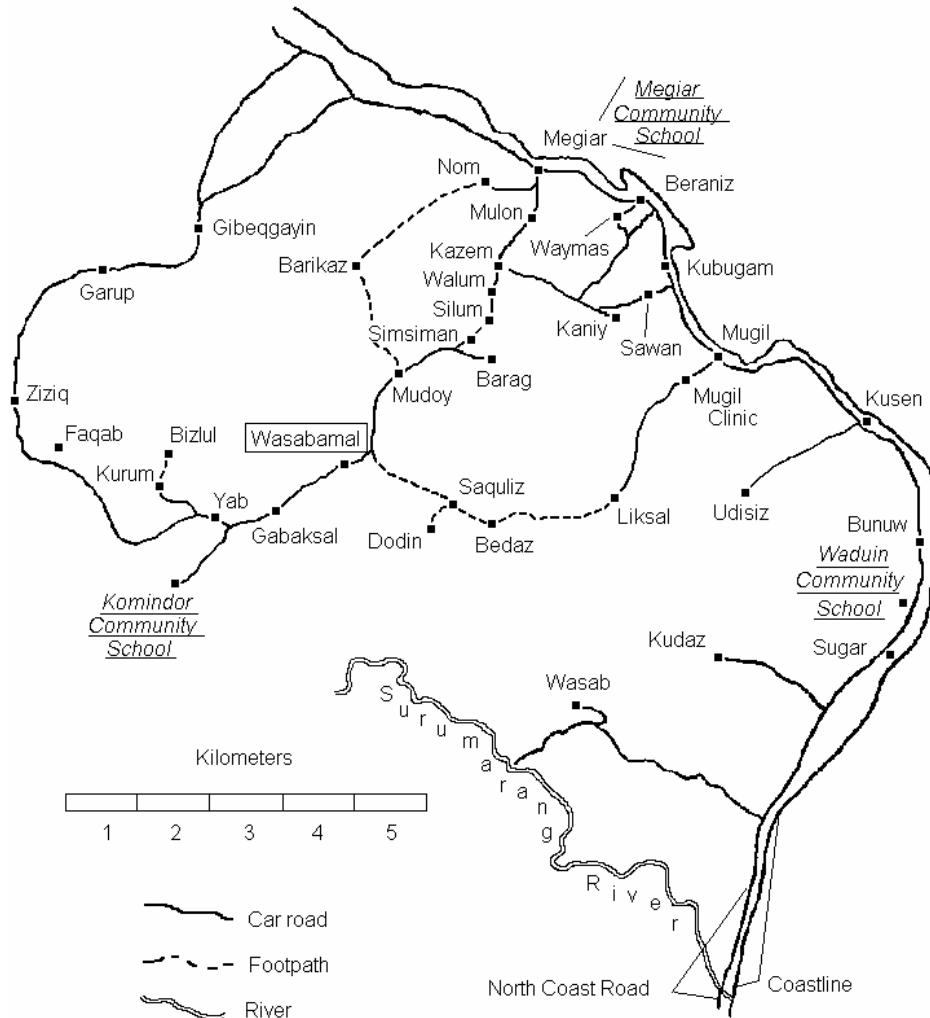
The Bargam language group is located on the North Coast of the Madang Province, approximately 60 km north of Madang town. The group extends from the coast back into the bush to a distance of 10-12 km and to the north as far as Dilup plantation. It is bounded on the south by the Surumarang River (see map 1). Bargam speakers number approximately 4000.

Regarding surrounding language communities, the Bargam language group is bounded on the southwest by the Garus language, on the south by the Matukar and Yoidik languages and on the northwest by the Dimir language as illustrated in map 2.

The major geographical features of the area are flat, level land on the coast backed by a range of hills ascending to an elevation of 600-700 feet (approx. 200 meters). The nearest urban center is Madang town, located about 60 km south on the North Coast road. There is road access to every village but Barikaz. Thus virtually every village has road access to Madang and this naturally is exerting an influence on the stability of the language. Local PMVs travel to and from Madang on a daily basis. Madang is important not only as a source of material goods but also as a market for cash crops such as cocoa, coffee and especially copra which is the major money-earner in the area. A small number of men have obtained regular employment within the boundaries of the language group with the Forrestry department and on the local plantations.

Within the boundaries of the Bargam language group there are several enclaves of other languages which has resulted in a somewhat complex linguistic situation (see map below). On the coast are located two groups of Austronesian language speakers. Megiar is a language related to Takia on Karkar island and also Bel (Graged). Besides Megiar village this language also includes Sarang village, located further up the North Coast Road and outside the bounds of the Bargam language area. The other Austronesian language is found in the village of Matukar. It is listed by Z'Graggen (1975) as a separate language, distinct from that spoken in Megiar and Sarang. Apparently Matukar is the only village in this language group. A third group of other-than-Bargam language speakers resides in the village of Umnu, near the Bargam villages of Wasabamal and Mudoy. These people are speakers of the Garus language.

¹ In Bargam orthography 'q' represents the glottal stop.



Map 1: Bargam language area – North Coast, Madang Province

There has been a great deal of intermarriage between these different groups with the result that there are a number of Bargam speakers in Megiar and Matukar, a number of Megiar speakers in Kubugam, a number of Dimir speakers in Ziziq and Garup (in fact the status of Garup as a Bargam village is somewhat ambiguous) and some Garus speakers in several Bargam villages. Many of these people exhibit some degree of bilingualism between their mother-tongue and the language of the Bargam people with whom they reside.

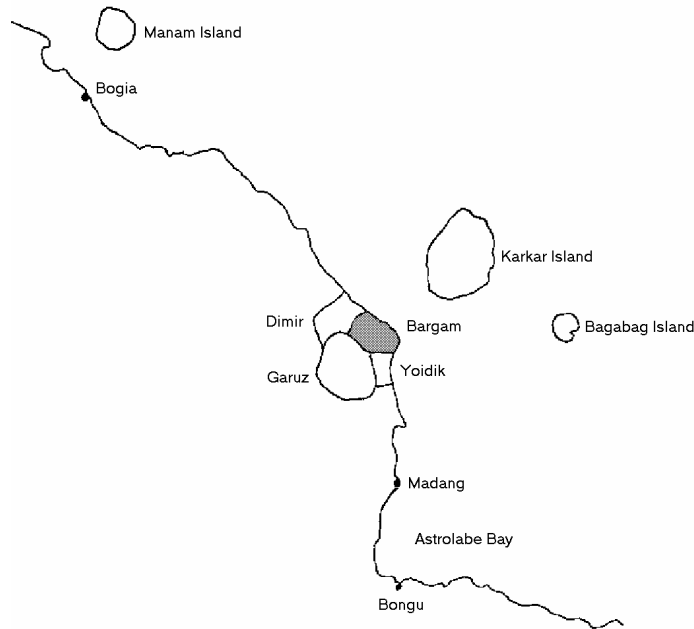
Intermarriage with members of other, more distant language groups has also greatly increased the number of non-Bargam speaking residents. There are people from Karkar, Upper Ramu, Manus island, Chimbu, Amele and the Sepik that have married into the Bargam group. Doubtless there are others. These people often do not learn Bargam, although there are several instances to the contrary.

The Bargam language as a whole is very homogenous throughout the area. The cognate percentage for any two villages in the language group is above 90%.²

The lingua franca Tok Pisin is having an obvious and significant effect on the stability and use of Bargam. The coastal villages Sugar, Bunuw, Kubugam and Beraniz all admit to dramatic erosion of the vernacular among the younger children. The same thing is true, although to a somewhat lesser

² See Hepner, 1989

extent in the villages of Garup and Ziziq which border the Dimir language group and which are inhabited by a number of Dimir speakers.



Map 2: Languages Bordering the Bargam Language

Villages located towards the center of the language group, that is, away from the coast and not located immediately next to another language group appear to exhibit a smaller amount of vernacular ‘erosion.’ For instance, in the village in which we reside, Wasabamal, the majority of children grow up learning Bargam first and only later, usually in the context of a community school, do they learn Tok Pisin. Other villages such as Yab, Kurum, Barikaz, Gabaksal, Aroniz and Wasab likewise exhibit a lesser degree of Pidgin influence, at the present, than the coastal villages or those in closer contact to other language groups.

The Bargam people borrow freely from Tok Pisin. Nouns are substituted in their normal grammatical slots and are affixed as a Bargam noun. Active verbs occur with the Bargam verb *em* ‘do’ and stative verbs occur with the Bargam verb *iy* ‘be’. Occasionally a Tok Pisin verb will occur with normal Bargam verb affixation. In the following examples, Tok Pisin loan words are bold-faced. In addition, here and throughout the paper, ʔ represents glottal stop, and 01 and 02 are used as place holders for zero tense and person/number morphemes (cf. section 1. Abbreviations).

- 1) In **lo** **bihainim** em-01-aʔ-ta.
he law follow do-PR-N1S-MOD
‘He always obeys the law.’
- 2) Ni **pinisim** hi em-01-02.
you finish NEG do-IMP-2S
‘Don’t finish it.’
- 3) In **bagarap** ti-iy-01-02
it ruin PFT-be-PA-N1S
‘It’s ruined.’
- 4) Ya **kik**-nan ti-leh-01-aiʔ.
I kick-DES PFT-go-PR-1S
‘I’m going to play soccer’

In addition to features common to most Papuan languages such as verb-final clause structure and clause chaining, including a distinction between dependent sentence-medial and independent sentence-final verb forms, Bargam shares several features in common with various other languages in the Adelbert Range sub-phylum, e.g. two distinct but related possessive systems (distinguishing between alienable and inalienable possession), subject person/number marked by a portmanteau verb suffix, object agreement marked by a set of verb prefixes, and a quinary (1-5) counting system.³

Although the theoretical framework for this analysis is tagmemic, little use has been made of formulas and tagmemic terminology. My main goal has been to describe as clearly as possible in prose the basic grammatical structures of the Bargam language. Insights from Functional Grammar have been used in describing the basic structure of the clause. It is also important to mention here that the vast majority of examples used in this description have been extracted from either spoken (transcribed recordings) or hand-written texts authored by Bargam speakers.

My sincere thanks go to SIL linguistic consultants Liisa Jarvinen and Alan Healey for their valuable suggestions and advice during the writing of this description of the Bargam language. I am also grateful for the continuing friendship and hospitality that I and my family have experienced among the Bargam people since our first going to live among them in 1982.

Ukarumpa, E.H.P.

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³ Z'Graggen, 1971: 64-65, 73, 128, 149, 158

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

		labial	alveolar	velar	glottal
stop	VL	p	t	k	ʔ
	VD	b	d	g	
fricative	VL	f	s		h
	VD		z		
nasal		m	n[n, ŋ]	ŋ	
lateral			l		
flap			r		
			[r ~ r]		
semi-vowels		w		y	

Table 1: Bargam Consonants

2.1.2 Vowels

	front	back
high	i [i, ɪ]	u
mid	e [e, ɛ]	o
low	a	

Table 2: Bargam Vowels

2.1.3 Rules

2.1.3.1 Nasal assimilation rule (N-AS)

$$C \rightarrow [+back] / _ C$$

+nasal +back
-back

2.1.3.2 Vowel-laxing rule 1 (V-LAX1)

$$i \rightarrow \text{ɪ} / _ C \quad \{C$$

+nasal #}

2.1.3.3 Vowel-laxing rule 2 (V-LAX2)

$$e \rightarrow \text{ɛ} / _ C \{C$$

#}

2.2 Interpretation of ambiguous segments

2.2.1 Segments [u] and [i] ⁴

The evidence regarding the ambiguous segments [u] and [i] may be summarized as follows. Given two identical strings of phonetic segments containing [u] and [i], it is often impossible to assign to them the phonemic values C(onsonant) or V(owel) without reference to stress patterns, morphology, syllable types, etc. These ambiguous segments function as consonantal suffixes within the verb morphology. The pre-glottalized nature of word-initial vowels indicates that [u] word-initially must be the phoneme /w/ rather than /u/. The evidence from the distribution of [i] and [u] within the syllable and from normative stress patterns both points to the consonantal nature of these glides. Therefore, the segments [i] and [u] are always interpreted to be the vowels /i/ and /u/ when they occupy the nuclear position of a syllable. Likewise, when they appear distributed like the other consonants in the onset or coda positions of a syllable, they are interpreted as non-syllabic semi-vowels. This analysis is further confirmed and constrained by the structural ‘pressures’ of the language which are made apparent by analogy with unambiguous syllable types. The onset slot(s) of a non-suspect syllable is always filled by a non-syllabic consonant. The same is true of the coda slot of a non-suspect syllable.

2.2.2 Labialized consonants

A range of labialized consonants have been observed in Bargam, although by far the most numerous are the labialized velar stops. This analysis is consistent with the analysis of other /uV/ sequences as /w/ + V.

5) [k ^u aziʔmo]	/kwaziʔmo/	‘before’
[k ^u anib]	/kwanib/	‘lizard sp.’
[talg ^u ay]	/talgway/	‘parasitic plant’
[g ^u id]	/gwid/	‘large fly sp.’
[ʔ ^u ay]	/ʔway/	‘chop’
[tat ^u it]	/tatwit/	‘fan’

2.2.3 Syllable-initial consonant clusters

Bargam manifests several syllable-initial consonant clusters composed of either a non-nasal stop plus a liquid consonant (/l/ or /r/), or /s/ plus a voiceless stop. Therefore, reduced consonant clusters in slow speech and written material are interpreted to be the product of a vowel epenthesis rule (cf. 3.1.8.) which inserts an /i/ between potential phonetic consonant clusters which are followed by either /l/ or /r/, an /u/ between clusters that are followed by /u/ or /o/ and an /a/ between clusters followed by an /a/.

2.2.4 Consonantal status of /ʔ/

The glottal stop has been interpreted to be a consonant, rather than a vowel quality⁵, on the basis of the following evidences:

1. The distribution pattern of the glottal stop conforms to that of the other consonants. It occurs syllable- and word-initially, word-medially, syllable- and word-finally, and contiguous to other consonants across syllable boundaries.
2. The glottal stop contrasts with other stops and Ø in all positions.

⁴ See Hepner 1989:6-14 for a complete presentation of the evidence supporting these conclusions.

⁵ See Cochran 1977:45-7

3. The absence of word-initial, preglottalized /ʔ/ + V (e.g., #ʔV) sequences indicates that the segment /ʔ/ in a word like *ʔway* ‘I cut’, functions with the set of stops to combine with /w/ to form syllable-initial consonant clusters.

2.3 Suprasegmentals

2.3.1 Stress

Stress is contrastive in Bargam. However there are obvious stress patterns which permit the formation of a general rule with certain basic exceptions. Stress is normally on the ultima if it is closed and on the penultimate syllable if the ultima is not closed. There are two general exceptions to the above rule. The first is that in two- or three-syllable words containing more than one closed syllable the stress is usually drawn to the first closed syllable in the word. This is particularly true of reduplicated forms, which retain the stress pattern of the unreduplicated stem. The second exception involves inalienably possessed nouns, which often retain the stress pattern of the unaffixed stem. This frequently results in antepenultimate stress patterns for these forms.

6) ‘ayin	‘jealousy’	a’yan	‘his cousin’
a’bitan	‘house of’	abi’tan	‘end’
‘danib	‘on the road’	da’nid	‘comb’
‘nawa	‘there’	ma’na	‘THAT one’
‘nulin	‘counted’	du’bal	‘fold up in a leaf’
mana’nar	‘ant sp.’	‘gamnakay	‘ant sp.’
a’duman	‘core’	adu’gan	‘inside’
a’lilowan	‘feather’	abi’yoran	‘fine hairs’

2.3.2 Intonation

Independent clauses end in falling intonation. Dependent medial clauses manifest slight rising intonation. Polar (yes/no) questions end in rising intonation. Content questions end in falling intonation. Commands exhibit level intonation and exaggerated stress on sentence-final syllable. Warnings are often expressed with continuous high intonation.

2.4 Morphophonemics

2.4.1 Assimilation rules

2.4.1.1 Vowel assimilation

When the perfective aspect marker *ti-* is prefixed to a verb stem, the vowel of the prefix assimilates to the roundness of a following labial consonant or a consonant that is rounded in anticipation of a following round vowel. In the same way, the associative possession marker *-in* assimilates to *-un* when suffixed to noun stems ending in a labial consonant, and the dative marker *-ib* assimilates to *-ub* under the same conditions.

2.4.1.1.1 Vowel assimilation rule (V-AS)

V	→ [+rd]	/	C	__	+ C
+hi					+rd
-rd					
			C	+	__ C
					+lab

7) lah	‘went’	tilah	‘has already gone’
bol	‘came’	tubol	‘has already come’

wam	‘got’	tuwam	‘has already gotten’
gwahtim	‘appeared/arrived’	tugwahtim	‘has already appeared’
dan	‘road’	danib	‘on the road’
yuw	‘water’	yuwub	‘in the water’
dob	‘pig net’	dobub	‘in the pig net’

2.4.1.2 Nasal assimilation

The phoneme /n/ has an allophone [ŋ] which occurs before velar consonants.⁶

2.4.1.2.1 Nasal assimilation rule (N-AS)

C → [+back] / __ C
 +nasal +back
 -back

2.4.2 Glottal stop insertion

Since all word-initial vowels are pre-glottalized, the term ‘insertion’ is a bit of a misnomer since glottal stops are not strictly inserted but ‘revealed’ when a word or clitic, ending in a vowel, is juxtaposed with a word beginning with a vowel. Although pre-glottalization is a purely phonetic phenomenon, in the process of contraction (see 2.4.3.1.1 example 12) it marks the position of the elided vowel, and in those cases functions phonemically.

2.4.2.1 Glottal stop insertion rule (GSI)

∅ → ʔ / V # __ # V

- 8) ya ‘I’ + imo ‘EMP’ > yaʔmo ‘myself’
 helta ‘true’ + amo ‘EMP’ > heltaʔmo ‘very true’

2.4.3 Deletion rules

2.4.3.1 Contraction

Since the process of contraction is pervasive in Bargam and an understanding of the process will be helpful in understanding numerous examples throughout the paper, a somewhat thorough discussion of it is presented here.

When the dative marker *-ib* is suffixed to an inalienably possessed noun, the unstressed vowel in the ultima of the noun is deleted.

9)	gloss	possessed	+dative
a.	hip	a'bukan	a'buknib
	hole	a'kwiayakan	akwi'yaknib
b.	hole (in tree trunk)	a'gemyakin	agem'yaknib
	bone	a'ditin	a'ditnib

In a. and b. above the contraction process is clearly illustrated. The unstressed vowel in the ultima is deleted upon the addition of the dative suffix, resulting in the pattern CVC.CVC# with antepenultimate stress. A peculiarity of some inalienably possessed nouns is illustrated in (10) below. In these cases the possessed noun form in isolation does not exhibit the characteristic /-Vn/ of this word class, but does manifest it when the dative suffix is added.

⁶ See 2.4.3.1.1. example (12) for an illustration of the application of this rule.

10)	gloss	possessed	+ dative
	wing	aben gayik	aben ga'yiknib
	chin	anog	anognib

The data in (11) below demonstrates that the rule is restricted to noun forms with unstressed ultimas.

11)	gloss	possessed	+ dative
a.	core	a'duman	a'dumnib
	inside	adu'gan	adu'ganib
b.	house	a'bitan	a'bitnib
	tip	abi'tan	abi'tanib

This process may be described by the following rule.

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / V \quad C _ C + /-ib/ \\ +stress$$

This rule deletes the unstressed vowel in the ultima of an inalienably possessed noun when it is affixed with the dative marker, becoming one lexical unit manifesting a single primary stress.

Contraction also takes place across word boundaries. Often a noun or personal pronoun is contracted with a following postposition or inalienably possessed noun. In Bargam, inalienably possessed nouns (cf. section 3.3.4) and postpositions (cf. section 3.4) are always prefixed with a person/number cross-referencing prefix from the following set: {i- '1S', ni- '2S', a- '3S', gi- 'P'}. In these cases it is always the vowel of the person/number prefix set that is deleted and contraction is virtually restricted to singular forms. Again, the generalisation that this same process occurs across both morpheme and word boundaries is captured by the addition of a second environment to the existing rule.

2.4.3.1.1 Contraction rule (CON)

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / V \quad C _ C + /-ib/ \\ +stress \\ V \quad (C) \# C _ CV \\ +stress$$

The rule now accounts for all contraction in Bargam, the necessary condition being the presence of a preceding stressed vowel, and the primary restriction being that the deleted V must belong to an affix; either to the dative suffix, the associative possession marker suffix or the set of person/number prefixes. Below is an illustration of the application of the various rules involved in deriving surface contracted forms from the underlying phonemic forms.

12)	/ya#a-mo/	/ni#ni-go/	/a-be#a-san/	/a-'ditin+ib/
	I#O1S-EMP	you#O2S-POS	IP3S-buttock#IP3S-skin	IP3S-bone+DAT
GSI ⁷	ya ʔamo		abe ʔasan	
CON	ya ʔmo	ni ngo	abe ʔsan	aditn ib
N-AS ⁸		ni ngo		
	[yaʔmo] 'ME'	[niŋgo] 'your'	[abeʔsan] 'his rear-end'	[aditnib] 'with a bone'

⁷ Glottal stop insertion rule. See section 3.4.2. above.

⁸ Nasal assimilation rule. See section 3.4.1.2. above.

It becomes clear from the above that a strict ordering of the rules is necessary in order to arrive at well-formed surface representations. The glottal stop insertion rule must apply before contraction may occur, and the contraction rule must occur before nasal assimilation may take place.

2.4.3.2 Consonant degemination

When a consonantal suffix is added to a word stem ending in a consonant, resulting in a geminate consonant cluster, the cluster is always reduced to a single consonant.

2.4.3.2.1 Consonant degemination rule

$$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + C$$

α features α features

- 13) mat 'man' mat+ta (MOD) > mata 'male'
 us 'sleep' us+sa (DD) > usa 'while sleeping'

2.4.3.3 Vowel deletion: The dative suffix -*Vb*

When the dative marker *-Vb* is suffixed to word stems which end in pure vowels, such as demonstrative pronouns, body parts and the question morpheme *edo*, the *V* of the suffix is deleted.

2.4.3.3.1 Vowel deletion rule (V-DL)

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset / V + _b \text{ (dative suffix } /-Vb/)$$

- 14) ame 'eye' ame+Vb > ameb 'in his/her eye'
 na 'that' na+Vb > nab 'there'

2.4.3.4 The directional morpheme -*wun*

The directional morpheme *-wun*, indicating an action done towards someone or something, occurs as *-un* when suffixed to a verb stem ending in /g/ or /b/. In all other cases it is the final consonant of the verb stem such as /ʔ/, /y/, /w/, /n/ that drops out.

2.4.3.4.1 Directional morpheme -*wun* consonant deletion rule

$$\{ /ʔ/, /y/, /w/, /n/ \} \rightarrow \emptyset / _ + \text{-wun}$$

$$/w/ \rightarrow \emptyset / \{ /b/, /g/ \} + _ \text{un} +$$

- 15) bilaʔ 'say' +wun > bilawun 'mock'
 liley 'call' +wun > lilewun 'call out to'
 riten 'start' +wun > ritewun 'startle (someone)'
 yuʔuw 'laugh' +wun > yuʔuwun 'laugh at'
 nag 'search' +wun > nagun 'look for'
 rab 'fear' +wun > rabun 'be afraid of'

2.4.3.5 Glottal stop-deletion: Verb stems ending in /ʔ/

Verb stems ending in glottal stop (/ʔ/) form a distinct class which undergo certain modifications in past tense, unlike verbs ending in any other consonant. In the past tense these stems drop the glottal stop (except for the non-first person plural form) and are suffixed for person and number.

2.4.3.5.1 Glottal stop-deletion rule

/ʔ/ → Ø / __ {-y [1S, PA], -m [N1S, PA], -w [1P, PA]}

- 16) neʔ 'eat' + -y (1S.PA) > ney 'I ate'
 waʔ 'get' + -m (N1S.PA) > nam 'he got'
 woʔ 'fall' + -w (1P.PA) > wow 'we fell'

2.4.4 Past tense stem change: /e/ → /a/

An /e/ in the final syllable of any verb stem becomes an /a/ in the non-1st person singular past tense form of that verb.

2.4.4.1 Non-1st person vowel change

/e/ → a / __ C #

- 17) neʔ 'eat' > nam 'he ate'
 ley 'plant' > lay 'she planted'
 mel 'fly' > mal 'it flew'

2.4.5 Irregular verbs *oy* 'burn', *wol* 'hit', *wad* 'rebuke'

There are some transitive verbs that exhibit slight morphophonemic stem changes when cross-referenced for third person singular objects. They are *wol* 'hit', *wad* 'rebuke' and *oy* 'cook, burn'. The stem changes consist of an inserted /n/ at the beginning of the stem and, in the case of *wol* and *wad*, the deletion of the stem-initial /w/. Tense formation for these verbs is completely regular and the stem change remains consistent for all tenses.

- 18) oy 'cook' > i-noy 'burned me'
 wol 'hit' > ni-nol 'hit you'
 wad 'rebuke' > gi-nad 'rebuked us/you(P)/them'

2.4.6 Verbs of motion in clause medial positions

When verbs of motion function as auxiliaries clause medially, the stem-final consonant is deleted. See 3.19.2.12.2 for further discussion of these verbs.

2.4.7 Reduplication

Although Bargam exhibits a variety of reduplicated stems among several different classes of words, it is not an extremely productive process. The fundamental concept underlying this type of reduplication is 'plurality'. Reduplication with a vowel change normally indicates a lack of uniformity in what is being talked about.

- 19) kwasin 'leafy vegetable' kwasin kwasan 'various edible greens'
 gimo 'plural EMP' gimimimo 'various plural EMP things'

Reduplicated transitive verb stems indicate that the action is done to many objects, whereas reduplicated intransitive stems indicate plural subjects.

- 20) bayzilay 'split by stepping on' bayzizilay 'split (many things) by stepping on them'
 bayhas 'kick loose' bayhishas '(many things) kicked loose'
 tabiyay 'break (intrans.)' tabibiyay '(many things) break'

Reduplicated modifier stems indicate plurality with nouns.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|----------|-----------------------|
| 21) | meʔin | ‘bad’ | meʔmeʔin | ‘several bad things’ |
| | dimun | ‘good’ | dimdimun | ‘several good things’ |

Reduplicated nouns, numerals and intensifiers also occur.

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------|----------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| 22) | amikta | ‘small’ | amikmikta | ‘several small things’ |
| | mideman | ‘gently’ | midemdeman | ‘very gently’ |
| | amulikmo | ‘one’ | amulikmulikmo | ‘a few / each one (of several)’ |

Reduplicated animal names usually designate animal species which are normally observed in swarms.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|------------|----------------|
| 23) | kwarubrur | ‘bird species’ | palampalam | ‘bat species’ |
| | isihsih | ‘ant species’ | tirotirow | ‘bird species’ |

2.4.8 Metathesis

There are two modifier stems which occur as verb stems exhibiting a metathesis of the final two segments of the stem.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|---------|------------------------|
| 24) | meʔin | ‘bad’ | meʔniy- | ‘be bad, ruined’ |
| | dimun | ‘good’ | dimniy- | ‘be good, well, fixed’ |

3. WORDS

3.1 Word formation

Words in Bargam are composed of a stem plus affixation. This is true for the major word classes; nouns, verbs and modifiers. However, word class distinctions are somewhat fluid in Bargam for these major groupings, since it is possible to find a particular word stem occurring in all three categories.

Stem	Modifier form	Associatively possessed noun	Associatively possessed modifier
mat 'man' <i>n.</i>	matta 'male'	amatin 'man of'	amatinta 'the one which is the man of'
hur 'mold' <i>n.</i>	hurta 'moldy, old'	ahuran 'the smell of'	ahuranta 'the one which is smelly'
murur 'shed' <i>v.</i>	mururta 'shed'	amururʔan 'the shedded (skin) of'	amururʔanta 'the one which is shed'
may 'dry' <i>v.</i>	mayta 'dry'	amayʔan 'the dry (one) of'	amayʔanta 'the one which is dry'
siʔim 'short' <i>mod.</i>	siʔimta 'short'	asimʔan 'the short (section) of'	asimʔanta 'the part which is short'

Table 3: Bargam word class 'cross-over'

Some stems that seem to be primarily event encoding (i.e. verbal) can occur in isolation or with associative affixation as nouns.

- 25)a Kubod **moʔ-01-aʔ** ha(?)01-m.
name die-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
'“Kubod is sick,” he said.'
- 26)b Ari ya Anna i-naʔ i **moʔ** iyah-ta gi-wa(?)01-m.
Ok I name O3S-with we sickness big-MOD O1P-get-PA-N1S
'O.k., I together with Anna, a big sickness got us.' (Notice Topic-O-S-V order.)
- 27)a In a-hol ti-dimniy-im **ti-luw-01-aʔ**.
he IP3S-body PFT-be.good-SP PFT-go.around-PR-N1S
'He is going around having become better/well.'
- 28)b In a-go **luw** kwaziʔ na tu-bol-01-02.
he O3S go.around old that PFT-come-PA-N1S
'His old manner of living came (back).'
- 29)a Bol-eʔ ham maroʔ a-kakaʔ-an maka **neʔ-01-iy** ha(?)01-m.
come-SPIR QV banana IP3S-red-APM these eat-IMP-2P QV-PA-N1S
'“Come and eat these ripe/red bananas,” he said.'
- 30)b Didaʔ ka **a-neʔ** dimun didiʔ ha(?)01-m.
food this IP3S-eat good INTNS QV-PA-N1S
'This food tastes very good.' (Literally: 'The eating of this food is very good.')
- 31)a I leh-ad luw-sa-mo gaun leh-im bul araʔ **a-hol** **waʔ-im** kwah
we go-SD go.around-DD-ITS dog go-SP pig a IP3S-body get-SP bark
em-01-iy.
do-PA-N1P
'As we were going the dogs went and seeing a pig they barked.'
- 32)b Amun ka **a-waʔ-ta** i **gi-waʔ** nog a haiʔ ha(?)01-m.
child this IP3S-get-MOD we IP1P-get like REAL NEG QV-PA-N1S
'“The appearance of this child is not like our appearance,” he said'

It is useful, at the outset, to note the productiveness of the associative possession process (IP prefix +/- APM suffix) in Bargam (examples (29), (30) and (32) above). Virtually any word stem can

be formed into an associatively possessed noun or modifier form to express the indefragable relationship between the possessor and thing or quality possessed. This results in a certain ambiguity in determining the exact status of associatively possessed modifiers in particular, which are very noun-like in form and grammatical relation (i.e. they look like an inalienably possessed NP). See section 3.2.5.1.3 for further discussion and examples of associative possession.

3.2 Two ubiquitous suffixes

It will also be helpful, from the beginning to describe two particular suffixes, which occur with great frequency on a wide variety of word forms in Bargam. These are the modifier suffix *-ta* and the emphasizer suffix *-mo*.

3.2.1 -Ta

The modifier suffix *-ta* occurs on modifiers, intensifiers and final verb forms⁹. It functions to relate a word or group of words into to a head noun in what is essentially a modified noun phrase.

MODIFIER

- 33) Sa kam ara?-ab aw **baras-ta** na mat minmin-ta na
 DD day a-DAT woman young-MOD that man young-MOD that
 in an kam tu-ug-01-iy.
 they each.other time PFT-give.him-PA-NIP
 ‘Then one day, that young woman and that young man set a date (to get married).’

EMPHASIZER

- 34) Ya karuw dida? **a-mo-ta** ya hulos-01-02.
 I meat food O3S-EMP-MOD I let.go-PA-1S
 ‘I refuse any other food.’

INTENSIFIER

- 35) Ya i-miy ko in ya i-nad us-01-02 **di?-ta** a
 I IP1S-daughter that she I IP1S-mind sleep-PA-1S INTNS-MOD REAL
 hi muz-01-a? ha(?)01-m.
 NEG follow-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘That daughter of mine isn’t following my real mind/decision,’’ he said.’

INTENSIFIER

- 36) Naza?-mo ton-ad gig sor-ad sor-ad luw-im in le gig
 like.that-EMP do-SD stone carry-SD carry-SD go.around-SP they go stone
 iyah **nenan-ta** ara? sor-01-iy.
 big INTNS-MOD a carry-PA-NIP
 ‘They were doing like that and carrying and carrying (stones) and they went and carried a huge stone.’

FINAL VERB

- 37) Os-sa a-mam kabi **luw-01-02-ta** mana tu-bol-01-02.
 sit-DD IP3S-father work go.around-PA-N1S-MOD that PFT-come-PA-N1S
 ‘While remaining (there) her father who had been working came.’

⁹ See section 3.20.2.8. for further discussion of the function of *-ta* as a verbal suffix.

- 38) A leh-e? ley-eq ne wa?-e? a bo oy-e? ne
 ACC go-SPIR plant-SPIR you get-SPIR ACC come cook-SPIR you
 amasalan **huz d-a?ay-ta** ye ha(?)-O1-m?
 IP3S-oil-APM bathe FUT-N1P-MOD INTER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Are you ones who will take it and plant it and bring it and cook it and be awash in the
 oil of it?,’’ they said.’

Cardinal numbers are converted to ordinals by the addition of *-ta*.

- 39) Ari naw **giger-ta** na aw a-nen-mam-an in
 O.k. compensation two-MOD that woman IP3S-father-mother-P they
 bol-eq os-sa-id aw ti-zay y-aqay.
 come-SPIR sit-DD-DPIR woman PFT-buy IPF-N1P
 ‘O.k., concerning the second payment, the woman’s mothers and fathers would come and
 sit and (the others) would buy the woman.’
- 40)a Wol-id hi?iy-id te? ni mugul **amulik-ta** ni tu-wol-d-a?
 hit-DPIR finish-DPIR CONJ you house.part one-MOD you PFT-hit-FUT-N1S
 ‘When you finish nailing (it) then you will nail the first *mugul*.’
- 41)b Wol-id hi?iy-id ari mugul **giger-ta** em leh-id nil wol-O1-O2.
 hit-DPIR finish-DPIR O.k. house.part two-MOD put go-DPIR nail hit-IPR-2S
 ‘When you finish nailing (the first *mugul*) ok, sent the second *mugul* (into position) and
 nail it.’

NOUN

- 42) E? ya-(i)-men **dida?-ta** a bol-id ya ne?-O1-i? ha(?)-O1-m.
 SPIR I-O1S-DESIG food-MOD ACC come-DPIR I eat-JUS-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Then bring me my food and let me eat it,’’ he said.’
- 43) Gel ton-im in guren babgi? amik-ik **og-og-mo-ta**
 fence do-SP he coconut name small-REDUP ground-ground-EMP-MOD
 na na-b lay-O1-O2-ta.
 that that-DAT plant-PA-N1S-MOD
 ‘He fenced (the area) and planted some of those small, low-growing *babgi?* coconuts
 there.’

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

- 44) **Ni-n(i)-go-ta** na ni a-bu tu-ulum-O1-O2 ha(?)-O1-m.
 you-O2S-POS-MOD that you IP3S-base.of.skull PFT-pierce-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Concerning yours, you wasted it,’’ he said.’

SPECIFIER

- 45) Mat na a-go onmin **kabem-mo-ta** mat minmin-ta te? on
 man that O3S-POS children many-EMP-MOD man young-MOD CONJ women
 baras-ta kuluw-mo in os-O1-ay-ta.
 young-MOD many-EMP they sit-PR-N1P-MOD
 ‘That man’s many children, they are very many young men and young women.’
- 46) Mat na a-nad **asor-ta**.
 man that IP3S-mind some/part-MOD
 ‘That man is one who has a partial mind (i.e. he is mentally handicapped).’

MODIFIER STRING

- 47) A-yan on **wabur-ta** **gi-wa(?)**-O1-m na urig in hure?
 IP3S-cousin women widow-MOD O3P-get-PA-N1S that rope he pull
 has-an-mo a-yan on **dim-dimun-ta** **gi-wa(?)**-O1-m-ta
 open-DP-ITS IP3S-cousin women REDUP-good-MOD O3P-get-PA-N1S-MOD
 na ay alon-ib in tu-os-O1-O2.
 that tree top-DAT he PFT-sit-PA-N1S
 ‘The cousin who got the widow women pulled the rope loose and his cousin who got the good women remained in the tree top. (Notice the optionality of the *-ta* on the final verb in the first bolded phrase.)

3.2.2 -Mo

The emphatic suffix *-mo*, unlike *-ta*, but like the possessive pronoun *-go*, may be prefixed for person/number (see section 3.3.3.3.).

- 48) Ad na in na-wa-ta **a-mo**.
 DS that it that-PLOC-MOD O3S-EMP
 ‘And that is just all there is.’
- 49) Ha?-ad te? hai?, Ginalem a-go mataw na in **gi-mo**
 QV-SD CONJ NEG name O3S-POS men that they O3P-EMP
 an wol em ya?-ay
 each.other hit do IPF-N1P
 ‘But no, Ginalem’s men were fighting each other.’

Often *-mo* with a person number prefix is contracted with the word to which it attaches (see section 2.4.2. and 2.4.3.1.), with the deleted person/number prefix marked by an inserted glottal stop. This is particularly of personal pronouns which occur almost exclusively in contracted form with *[a]mo*.

- 50) **Ya?mo** iholbin ham dida? oye? ne?nan ham.
 ya-(i)-mo i-hol-bin ham dida? oy-e? ne?-nan ha(?)**-O1-m**
 I-O1S-EMP IP1S-body-ISOL QV food cook-SPIR eat-DES QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘I myself am going to cook and eat this food alone (by myself),’’ he said.’
- 51) Na?mo ninmo i ginan ni mo?an iyan i
 na-(a)-mo ni-n(i)-mo i gi-nan ni mo?-an iy-an i
 that-O3S-EMP you-O2S-EMP we O1P-REF you die-DP be-DP we
 tiniwaw ha?iy.
 ti-ni-wa()-O1-w ha?-O1-iy.
 PFT-get-PA-1P QV-PA-N1P
 ‘‘Because you yourself really wanted (lit.: ‘died for’) us we have gotten you,’’ they said.’
- 52) An wagam ka in hel **di?ta?mo**.
 an wagam ka in hel di?-ta-(a)-mo
 DP story this it true INTNS-MOD-O3S-EMP
 ‘And this story is really true.’
- 53) Itiy siso? ago agamukan **kawa?mo**.
 itiy siso? a-go a-gamuk-an kawa-(a)-mo
 hand.drum carve O3S-POS IP3S-talk-APM PLOC-O3S-EMP
 ‘The talk of carving a hand drum (is) here. (i.e. That’s all.)’

Just as often, if not more so, *-mo* occurs as a simple suffix. In either form, *-mo* is found on a wide variety of words such as, nouns (3.3.), pronouns (3.3.3), the comitative postposition and *-Vb* instrumentals (4.2.), demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adverbs and process demonstratives (3.5.), numerals and quantifiers (3.6.), temporals (3.7.), negatives (3.8), locatives (3.9), intensifiers (3.10), adjectival modifiers (3.14.1.) and manner adverbials (3.14.2.), the conjunction *teq* (3.15.1.), the isolating clitic *bin* (3.16.1.), the similarity particle *nog* (3.17.5.), and on the first constituent of compound verb stems (3.18). In all these occurrences *-mo* always functions as an emphatic, sometimes with an exclusive focus sense (especially in its reduplicated form *amomo* ‘only, alone’).

NOUN

- 54) **Kulo?-mo** wa?-e? a bol-id i leh-01-u? ha(?)01-m.
 pod-EMP get-SPIR ACC come-DPIR we go-JUS-1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Bring a pod (and not something else) and let’s go,’’ he said.’

PRONOUN

- 55) **Ya(i)-mo** ka-b-ta-mo ha(?)01-m.
 I-O1S-EMP this-DAT-MOD-EMP QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘I (and not somebody else) and from here (and not somewhere else),’’ he said.’

COMITATIVE POSTPOSITION

- 56) Ad-mo in a-wey alwag-ad us-01-02 na in wa?-im sor-01-02,
 SD-ITS he IP3S-wife pant-SD sleep-PA-N1S that he get-SP carry-PA-N1S
 maro? **ina?-mo**.
 banana COM-EMP
 ‘And he got his wife who was out of breath and carried her, and the bananas.’

INSTRUMENTAL

- 57) In wol em-ad gi-go **tun-ib-mo** hunog-01-iy.
 they hit do-SP O3P-POS bow-INSTR-EMP shoot-PA-N1P
 ‘As they were killing (him) the shot him with their bows.’

DEMONSTRATIVES (pronouns, location adverbials, process demonstratives)

- 58) Kwazi?-mo uli?-ab **ka-b-mo** guren ara? tur-01-02-ta.
 old-EMP village-DAT this-DAT-EMP coconut a stand-PA-N1S-MOD
 ‘Before right here in this village stood a coconut tree.’
 59) **Na(a)-mo** in **naza?-mo** oy-ad us-01-a?-ta.
 that-O3S-EMP it like.that-EMP burn-SD sleep-PA-N1S-MOD
 ‘Concerning that particular one, it continually/habitually burns/shines like that.’

QUANTIFIER

- 60) Ari ya?go gamuk asitmo nawa?mo.
 ari ya-(i)-go gamuk **asit-mo** nawa-(a)-mo.
 o.k. I-O1S-POS talk little-EMP PLOC-O3S-EMP
 ‘O.k., that’s all of my short talk.’

TEMPORAL

- 61) Iri-mo ya i-mam a-go saw-ab leh-im luw-im
 yesterday-EMP I IP1S-father O3S-POS place-DAT go-SP go.around-SP
 ya didaq a hi wa(?)01-y ham.
 I food REAL NEG get-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Yesterday I went and stayed at my father’s place and (so) I didn’t (go to the garden and) get any food’

- 62) Kwaziq-mo ya i-mam i sagay em-ad luw-O1-O2.
old-EMP I IP1S-father we land.clearing do-SD go.around-PA-1P
'Before I and my father, we were clearing land (for a garden).'

NEGATIVES (also see manner adverbial)

- 63) Ka-[a]-mo ya-[i]-go-ta ha?ya? ne a-yon nan em-id leh-e?
this-O3S-EMP I-O1S-POS-MOD QV you O3S talk put-DPIR go-SPIR
ne ne-naq kabibiy da? a **hi-mo** em d-a?ay ha?-y-a?
you O2P-COM work behavior REAL NEG-EMP do FUT-N1P QV-IPF-N1S
'This is mine, you will not send word for her and she will not do work and deeds with you either.'

LOCATIVE

- 64) Ug-an in hulos-ad a-me **bit-ab-mo** leh-y-a?
give.him he let.go-DS IP3S-eye house-DAT-EMP go-IPF-N1S
'They gave it to him and he refused it and he just kept looking towards the house.'

INTENSIFIER

- 65) Leh-sa am ager-ab **di?-mo** ti-iy-O1-O2.
go-DD vine side-DAT INTNS-EMP PFT-be-PA-N1S
'As (his eye) was going (that way) he became extremely close to the vine.'

MODIFIER

- 66) Sa ya naza?-mo ya mo? **iyah-ta-(a)-mo** wa?-im us-O1-ai?,
DD I like.that-EMP I sickness big-MOD-(O3S)-EMP get-SP sleep-PR-1S
uli?-ab-mo.
village-DAT-EMP
'I likewise, I am remaining having gotten a big sickness.'
- 67) Wagam na in **hel-ta-(a)-mo**
story that it true-MOD-O3S-EMP
'That story is really true.'

MANNER ADVERBIAL

- 68) Tarom ara? in **saman-mo** us-O1-O2, a-gem a-dada?-an **hai?-mo**.
night a he empty-EMP sleep-PA-N1S IP3S-stomach IP3S-food-AP NEG-EMP
'For one night he remained 'emptily,' his stomach was without food (in it).'

CONJUNCTION

- 69) An in le garom **te?-mo** nag-ad luw-sa ya masel
DP she go hook CONJ-ITS search-SD go.around-DD I betelnut.tree
ti-reg-O1-O2.
PFT-climb-PA-1S
'While she went and was still looking for the hook, I climbed the betelnut tree.'

COMPOUND VERB STEM (cf. also example (323) below.)

- 70) Huneg-im uniy gi-nol-ad-mo in-mo a-sen **wol-mo** has-O1-O2.
 throw-SP bees O3P-hit-SD-ITS he-EMP IP3S-leg hit-EMP open-PA-N1S
 ‘He threw (his hand) and as he was striking the bees he knocked his own leg out from under himself.’

-*Mo* also occurs frequently on medial verbs and final verbs, again with a clearly discernable emphatic function. On medial verbs, -*mo* emphasizes the immediate temporal sequence (ITS) of the event it encodes with a following event. On final verbs it indicates emphatic restatement, particularly in the case of a person stating that something predicated about another person is true about him or her as well.¹⁰

- 71) **Ha?**-ad-mo in haya?-ab gwati?-im amidon a-zo?-an
 QV-SD-ITS he house.boy-DAT enter-SP offspring IP3S-slit.log.drum-APM
?way-sa-mo a-san a-go ban-ab **os-im-mo** bila(?)O1-m.
 hit-DD-ITS IP3S-skin O3S-POS reposing.place-DAT sit-SP-ITS say-PA-N1S
 ‘And he entered the house-boy and was playing his son’s rhythm on the slit log drum and (the son’s) skin (i.e. minus his spirit which the father had seen leaving) sat on his platform and spoke.’

Finally, -*mo* may occur in isolation to function like a conjunction.

- 72) Ya bila?-O1-O2 ham, **Mo** pesan-ta ag bol-im ka-za? i
 I say-PA-1S QV EMP far-MOD UNSPC come-SP this-like we
 gi-yon kabibiy em-ad luw-O1-ay-ta ha(?)O1-m.
 O1P-BEN work do-SD go.around-PR-N1P-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘I said(thought), ‘Only/just some persons from far away come and in this way do work for us,’’ he said.’
- 73)a Hodhod in am-O1-O2-ta na iliy-ad-mo us-O1-a?
 grave she do-PA-N1S-MOD that be.slick-SD-ITS sleep-PR-N1S
 ‘The grave that she made remains slippery.’
- 74)b Ay-nan o nagah ara? bol-im amal-ib hai?gam.
 tree-leaf or something a come-SP on.top-DAT NEG
 ‘There was nothing on it such as tree leaves or something else.’
- 75)c **Mo** muraniliy-ad-mo us-O1-a?-ta.
 EMP today be.slick-SD-ITS sleep-PR-N1S-MOD
 ‘It only/just remains being slippery.’

3.3 Nouns

Four basic types of nouns may be distinguished in Bargam in terms of distribution, morphology and possession. They are common (i.e. alienably possessed) nouns, proper nouns, pronouns and inalienably possessed nouns.

3.3.1 Common nouns

Common nouns include such semantic groupings as count nouns, mass nouns, animal and plant names and inanimate and animate objects. They may be modified and possessed.

- | | | | |
|---------|---------|-------|----------------|
| 76) gig | ‘rock’ | og | ‘land, ground’ |
| ma? | ‘taro’ | masel | ‘betel nut’ |
| bit | ‘house’ | yuw | ‘water, river’ |

¹⁰ See section 3.20.2.9. for further discussion of the function of -*mo* as a verbal suffix.

There is no grammatical marking of different types or classes of common nouns. However the distinction between count and mass nouns becomes evident in the modified noun phrase, where the type of noun determines the choice of modifier. Whether, for instance, *many* (in number) or *larger* (in amount or mass) is chosen will depend on the type of noun in the head noun slot of the phrase.

- 77) Ya dida? ayah-mo ti-ne(?)01-y.
I food big-EMP PFT-eat-PA-1S
'I already ate a lot of food.'
- 78) Ya maro? kabem-mo ti-ne(?)01-y.
I banana many-EMP PFT-eat-PA-1S
'I already ate many bananas.'

There are a few alienably possessed nouns which have a plural form. These are listed below:

79) Singular		Plural	
mat	'man'	mataw	'men'
aw	'woman'	on	'women'
amun	'child'	onmin	'children'

Various other strategies for marking plurality are discussed in section 3.2.5.2 below.

Nouns are made definite by the use of the demonstrative pronoun. Indefiniteness may be expressed either by a noun plus a quantifier (indefinite, referential: example (81)) or just by the noun itself (indefinite, non-referential: example (82)).

- 80) Yuw na me?in.
water that bad
'That water is bad.'
- 81) In karuw ara? yag01-iy.
they animal a give.me-PA-N1P
'They gave me a pig.'
- 82) Ya karuw amoyan a hi ne?01-ai?ta.
I animal fat REAL NEG eat-PR-1S-MOD
'I don't eat animal fat.'

3.3.2 Proper nouns

The class of proper nouns includes person names, place (or ground) names and river names. This class of nouns is not possessed or pluralized.

83) Pi?	'woman's name'	Yamab	'river name'
Sos	'ground name'	Wasabamal	'village name'

Village, ground and river names take the dative suffix *-ib*. Person names, on the other hand, cannot themselves be represented as destinations, the person named can become a location by inclusion in an alienable possession phrase containing the location word *'hib'* which is constructed by attaching the dative suffix *-ib* to the 'dummy' stem *'h.'*

- 84) In tuk-e? a-mam ayah-ta a-go h-ib gabol-nan
she flee-SPIR IP3S-father big-MOD O3S-POS dummy-DAT go.up-DES
a-nad in ti-em-y-a?
IP3S-mind she PFT-do-IPF-N1S
'She was intending to run away and go up to her eldest father'

3.3.3 Pronouns

3.3.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns fill the head slot of the modified noun phrase. The set of personal pronouns manifest first, second and third person distinctions as well as singular and plural except in third person where the contrast between singular and plural is neutralized as illustrated below. Personal pronouns are never possessed.

85)	Singular	Plural
1 st	ya 'I, me'	i 'we, us'
2 nd	ni 'you'	ne 'you'
3 rd	in 'he, she, it, him, her'	in 'they, them'

As the glosses indicate, there is no nominative-accusative distinction in the set of personal pronouns, the same form occurring in both subject and object positions.

3.3.3.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronoun in Bargam is the morpheme *-go*, prefixed for possessor person and number. Possessive pronouns fill the relator slot in alienably possessed noun phrases (cf. 4.1.6.2.).

86)	-go	POSSESSIVE	'of'
(ya +) igo	[= yaʔgo]	'my'	(i) gigo 'our'
(ni +) nigo	[= ningo]	'your'	(ne) gigo 'your'
(in +) ago	[= ingo]	'his, hers, its'	(in) gigo 'their'

Singular possessive pronouns usually occur with a preceding personal pronoun, often in a contracted form.¹¹ There is only one plural possessive pronoun, *gigo*, but it is disambiguated by its accompanying noun or pronoun. The structure of possessive pronouns is identical to postpositions (cf. 3.4 below).

Possessive pronouns may be used substantively as the following example illustrates.

87)	Na	ne	gi-go-ta	na	ne	a-bu	tu-wolhas-Ō1-iy
	that	you	O2P-POS-MOD	that	you	IP3S-base.of.skull	PFT-knock.loose-PA-N1P
	ha{ʔ}-Ō1-m.						
	QV-PA-N1S						
	'Concerning that, you knocked the head off the one that belonged to you.'						

See sections 3.9. 'Locatives' and 6.3.5. 'Purpose' for a description of additional functions of the possessive morpheme *-go*.

3.3.3.3 Emphatic pronouns

The emphatic pronouns are formed in the same way as possessive pronouns, being built on the emphatic morpheme *-mo*.

88)	-mo	EMPHATIC	'only'
(ya +) imo	[= yaʔmo]	' <u>me</u> '	(i) gimo 'us'
(ni +) nimo	[= ninmo]	' <u>you</u> '	(ne +) gimo [= negmo] ' <u>you</u> '
(in +) amo	[= inmo]	' <u>him, her, it</u> '	(in) gimo ' <u>them</u> '

Like the possessive pronouns, singular emphatic pronouns usually occur in contracted form with an accompanying personal pronoun. Plural emphatic pronouns are disambiguated by the noun or pronoun with which they are associated. See section 3.2.2 for further discussion of the emphatic morpheme *-mo*.

¹¹ See section 2.4.3.1 for an explanation of the contraction process in Bargam.

3.3.4 Inalienably possessed nouns

The class of inalienably possessed nouns, like that of many Papuan languages, is composed of two sub-classes, namely body parts and kinship terms. Both sub-classes can be modified and are obligatorily prefixed for the person and number of the possessor as illustrated below¹²:

89) Body part	Kinship term
i -ben 'my arm'	i -hiy 'my sister'
ni-ben 'your arm'	ni-hiy 'your sister'
a -ben 'his/her arm'	a -hiy 'his/her sister'
gi-ben 'our, your(P), their arm'	gi-hiy 'our, your(P), their sister'

3.3.5 Noun morphology

3.3.5.1 Possession

3.3.5.1.2 Alienable possession

Alienable possession of common nouns is expressed with a possessive pronoun (cf. section 3.3.3.2. for a description of possessive pronouns and section 4.1.6. for a further discussion of possessive noun phrases).

- 90) Ka **ya-(i)-go** amun. [Realized on the surface as [yaʔgo].]
 this I-O1S-POS child
 'This is my child.'
- 91) **Ni-n(i)-go**¹³ itiy edowa?
 you-O2S-POS hand.drum where
 'Where is your hand drum?'
- 92) Ka **ne gi-go** gaun e?
 this you O2P-POS dog INTER
 'Is this your dog?'

3.3.5.1.3 Associative possession

In Bargam, virtually every noun that is normally alienably possessed can also be constructed as an inalienably possessed noun. The structure of such a construction is:

slot	possessor person-number prefix	HEAD	associative possession suffix
filler	{i-, ni-, a-, gi-}	noun	{-an, -in, -un}

Possessor person-number prefixes are illustrated above in example (89). The associative possession suffix (APS) is $-Vn$ where V is a member of the set {a, i, u} depending on the phonological environment (see 2.4.1.1.1 above). Such a construction denotes a relationship of close association.

- 93) Ka kurek **a-bit-an**.
 this chicken IP3S-house-APS
 'This is a chicken house.'
- 94) Saw **a-yuw-un** haiʔ-ta.
 place IP3S-water-APS NEG-MOD.
 'A place that has no water intrinsically associated with it.' (I.e. 'a waterless place.')

¹² See section 3.2.5.2.2. for examples of pluralized inalienably possessed nouns.

¹³ Realized on the surface as *nirgo* (cf. section 2.4.1.2. for nasal assimilation rule).

- 95) Wol-nan ton-sa in **a-mat-in** bila(?)-O1-m.
hit-DES do-DD she IP3S-man-APS speak-PA-N1S
'As she was about to hit (her younger sister) her husband spoke.'
- 96) Tarom ara? in saman-mo us-O1-O2, **a-gem** **a-dada?-an**
night a he empty-EMP sleep-PA-N1S IP3S-stomach IP3S-food-APS
hai?-mo.
NEG-EMP
'One night he remained without (anything to eat), there was no food in his stomach.'
- 97) A-mam a-wit-an a-hol-mo bila?-sa in us-sa a-miy
IP3S-father IP3S-spirit-APS IP3S-body-EMP say-DD he sleep-DD IP3S-daughter
hiti?-ad a-go **gaun amik a-ziy-in** **i-na?** wiy-im ad
descend-SD O3S-POS dog small IP3S-net.bag-APS O3S-COM carry-SP ACC
tubol.
ti-bol-01-02
PFT-come-PA-N1S
'While her father's spirit was sleeping comfortably, his daughter went down (to the ground) and putting her small dog in its net bag on her head she brought it (to her village).'

3.3.5.2 Plurality

The various different strategies for indicating plurality in Bargam are discussed in the following sections.

3.3.5.2.1 Plural alienably possessed nouns

Though vast majority of Bargam nouns exhibit no plural form, the following three words in Bargam exhibit a separate plural form.

- 98) mataw¹⁴ 'men'
on 'women'
onmin 'children'

3.3.5.2.2 Plural inalienably possessed noun affixation

Inalienably possessed kinship terms, including a few non-traditional ones such as *anamren* 'owner' (cf. example (100) below) are pluralized by the addition of one of the following closed set of plural suffixes {-an, -niz ~ -gniz}.

- | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 99) Singular | | Plural | |
| ahiy | 'sibling of the same sex' | ahiy an | 'siblings of the opposite sex' |
| abay | 'brother/sister-in-law' | abay niz | 'brothers/sisters-in-law' |
| amiy | 'daughter' | ami gniz | 'daughters' |
| awe | 'his wife' | aweb gniz | 'his wives' |

The plurality of animate nouns in a possessed relationship with a governing inalienably possessed noun is indicated by the set of possessor prefixes. See 3.3.4., example (89) above.

- 100) bul **a-namreniz** 'owners of the pig'
bul **gi-namreniz** 'owners of the pigs'

¹⁴ See section 3.2.1. for the singular forms of these three words.

3.3.5.2.3 Plural personal pronouns

First and second person personal pronoun forms encode number as well as person. See 3.3.3.1 for a complete listing of Bargam personal pronouns.

3.3.5.2.4 Plural demonstrative pronouns

Plurality of nouns may be indicated by the use of plural-form demonstratives. These are created by adding the indefinite morpheme *-g*, or both *-g* and the pluralizer suffix *-an*.

101)	Singular		Plural	
	ka	‘this’	kag	‘these’
	na	‘that’	nagan	‘those’
	naza?	‘like that action’	nagza?	‘something like that’

3.3.5.2.5 Plural modifiers

Another strategy for indicating plurality is the use of quantifying modifiers.

102)	araq	‘a’
	asor	‘some’
	kabem	‘many’
	kuluw	‘exceedingly many’

Intriguingly, only one modifier in Bargam exhibits separate singular and plural forms. The more common way to reflect plurality is by reduplicating the modifier stem (see the next section).

103)	Singular		Plural
	ayah	‘big (thing)’	asese? ‘big things’

3.3.5.2.6 Reduplicated modifier stems

Reduplicated modifier words are also employed to indicate plurality.

104)	Singular		Plural
	hus	‘white’	hushus ‘white (things)’
	me?in	‘bad’	me?me?in ‘bad (things)’
	sisa?	‘long’	sisa?sisa? ‘long (things)’

3.3.5.2.7 Reduplicated interrogatives

Questions eliciting answers involving plural nouns are constructed with reduplicated interrogative words.

105)	Singular		Plural
	naga	‘what?’	naga naga ‘what all...?’
	nog	‘who?’	gingan ‘who all?’

3.3.5.2.8 Plural person/number verb affixation

Since there is no singular/plural distinction in the third person personal pronoun, subject plurality in the third person is disambiguated by sentence-final independent verb person-number affixation.

106)	in ti- lah-O1-O2	in ti- leh-O1-iy
	he/she/it PFT-go-PA-N1S	they PFT-go-PA-N1P
	‘he/she/it has gone’	‘they have gone’

3.3.5.2.9 Plural object cross-reference affixation

Object plurality is disambiguated in the third person by object cross-reference prefixes on the verb.

- 107) In gaun **wol** em-O1-a?
 he dog hit do-PR-N1P
 'He is killing a dog.'
- 108) In gaun **gi-nol** em-O1-a?
 he dog O3P-hit do-PR-N1P
 'He is killing dogs.'

Since plural inanimate subjects often occur with a verb inflected for 3rd person singular, the plural object cross-reference prefix may occur on intransitive verbs to indicate a plural subject when the noun is not marked for plurality.

- 109) Maro? **gi-hem-im** us-O1-a?
 banana they-ripen-SP sleep-PR-N1S
 'The bananas are ripe.'
- 110) I gi-go bit-ab lait **gi-oy-O1-a?**
 we O1P-POS house-DAT light O3P-shine-PR-N1S
 'Lights are shining in our house.'

3.4 Postpositions

The following Bargam postpositions fill the relator slot in postpositional phrases.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 111) | -na? | COMITATIVE | 'with' |
| | [ya] ina? | 'with me' | (i) nena? 'with us' |
| | [ni] nina? | 'with you' | (ne) nena? 'with you' |
| | [in] ina? | 'with him/her/it' | (in) nena? 'with them' |
| 112) | -men | DESIGNATIVE | 'for' |
| | [ya +] imen (= ya?men) | 'for me' | (i) gimen 'for us' |
| | [ni +] nimen (= ninmen) | 'for you' | (ne) gimen 'for you' |
| | [in +] amen =(inmen) | 'for him/her/it' | (in) gimen 'for them' |
| 113) | -yon | BENEFACTIVE | 'for, in behalf of' |
| | [ya +] iyon = ya?yon | 'for me' | (i) giyon 'for us' |
| | [ni +] niyon = ninyon | 'for you' | (ne) giyon 'for you' |
| | [in +] ayon = inyon | 'for him/her/it' | (in) giyon 'for them' |
| 114) | -nan | REFERENTIAL | 'about, concerning' |
| | [ya] inan | 'about me' | (i) ginan 'about us' |
| | [ni] ninan | 'about you' | (ne) ginan 'about you' |
| | [in] anan | 'about him/her/it' | (in) ginan 'about them' |
| 115) | -mal-ib | INSTRUMENTAL | 'surface-DAT' |
| | [ya] imalib | 'by means of me' | (i) gimalib 'by means of us' |
| | [ni] nimalib | 'by means of you' | (ne) gimalib 'by means of you' |
| | [in] amalib | 'by means of him/her/it' | (in) gimalib 'by means of them' |

Postpositions are obligatorily marked for person and number of the noun to which they are related, the only exception being the plural comitative postposition *nena?*.¹⁵ The comitative and instrumental postpositions are never contracted with a preceding noun or pronoun. In contrast, the 1st,

¹⁵ In some idiolects the third person plural comitative postposition is *gina?*.

2nd, and 3rd person singular forms of *-men*, and *-yon* are almost always found in a contracted form following morphophonemic rules for glottal stop insertion and vowel deletion as illustrated in the above paradigms.¹⁶ The referential postposition *-nan* may be contracted with a preceding noun, but such occurrences are not as frequent as for *-men* and *-yon*. The instrumental *-malib* is a morpheme complex composed of the noun stem *mal* ‘surface’ and the dative suffix *-ib* which, in certain contexts has its literal meaning of ‘on top of us/you/them.’

- 116) Ne gi-hol-**yon** ara? wa?-O1-iy.
 you IP2P-body-BEN a get-IPR-N1P
 ‘Get one for yourselves!’
- 117) Ni nog i-**na?** lah-O1-O2?
 you who O3S-COM go-PA-N1S
 ‘With whom did you go?’
- 118) Ya ne gi-**men** dida? oy-O1-ai?
 I you O2P-DESIG food cook-PR-1S
 ‘I am cooking food for you.’
- 119) I bul gi-**nan** bila?-O1-au?
 we pig O3P-REF speak-PR-1P
 ‘We are talking about pigs.’
- 120) Fage? a-ben ka ham ne a-**mal-ib** aw ka ni
 tree.name IP3S-arm this QV you O3S-surface-INSTR woman this you
 a-bu wol has-an mo(?)-O1-m-ta ha(?)-O1-m.
 IP3S-back.of.skull hit open-DP die-PA-N1S-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘This is the *fage?* branch you used to smash in the base of the skull of this woman,’’ he said.’

The dative suffix *-ib* is also used on nouns to mark their function as instruments in a fashion identical with the use of the instrumental postposition *-malib*.

- 121) In nan a hi hurit-an ya **gig-ib** a-fa?in
 he talk REAL NEG hear-DP I stone-INSTR IP3S-head
 woltur-O1-O2 ha(?)-O1-m.
 break.through-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He didn’t listen/obey and so I broke his head with a stone.’
- 122) Ya **ba?ir-ib** i-hol ?way-O1-O2
 I knife-INSTR IP1S-body cut-PA-1S
 ‘I cut myself with a knife.’

3.5 Demonstratives

Bargam demonstratives comprise a small but very productive class of words. From them are formed the demonstrative adverbs (locatives) and what are here termed ‘process demonstratives’. Demonstratives are ubiquitous in Bargam and function in a number of ways as described below.

3.5.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns (deictic articles) are used to indicate specific referential, definite subjects or objects. The demonstrative pronouns fill the specifier slot of noun phrases and may also fill the topic slot of clauses. Below is a table listing the singular and plural forms of Bargam demonstrative pronouns.

¹⁶ Again, the reader is directed to section 2.4.3.1 for a description of the ubiquitous contraction process in Bargam.

Orientation	S	P
near the speaker	ka ‘this’	kag ‘these’
near the hearer	na ‘that’	nag ‘those’
away from speaker and hearer	ko ‘that’	kog ‘those’

Table 4: Bargam demonstrative pronouns

Another form, sometimes used to point to a ‘middle’ or non-determinate distance, is *no* ‘that’. Bargam speakers describe this form as ‘not really a word’, indicating that it doesn’t have quite the same emic status as the three other forms.¹⁷

The plural demonstrative pronouns are used to express plurality when there is no other plural constituent in the NP (see 3.2.5.2.4).

123) Mat **ka** a hi leh-d-a?
 man this REAL NEG go-FUT-N1S
 ‘This man will not go.’

124) **Na** yuw di? a hai?
 that water INTNS REAL NEG
 ‘That is not a real river.’

Demonstrative pronouns occur less frequently in form prefixed with *ma-* (*mu-* with *ko*) which seems to indicate some degree of emphasis.

125) Ari ham bul ka ham in bol-im ham didaq **maka** di?-ta in
 O.k. QV pig this QV it come-SP QV food just.this INTNS-MOD it
 ne?-ad luw-01-a?-ta ha(?)01-m.
 eat-SD go.around-PR-N1S-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘O.k. this pig is (habitually) coming and eating this very food,’’ he said.’

126) Ti?-im og-ib tur-sa a-mam talgis wa?-im og-ib
 descend-SP ground-DAT stand-DD IP3S-father axe get-SP ground-DAT
 iti?-im **mana-b** a-miy a-bu wol-has-d-ai?
 descend-SP just.that-DAT IP3S-daughter IP3S-base.of.skull hit-open-FUT-1S
 ha(?)01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S

‘She went down to the ground and was standing and her father got an axe and went down to the ground and right then he thought/intended, ‘‘I will knocked her head off.’’

127) **Mana-wa** ham Mat?en ham ni tu-hurit-01-02 e ha(?)01-m?
 just.that-PLOC QV name QV you PFT-hear-PA-N1S INTER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘There (it is),’’ he said, ‘‘Matqen, did you hear (that)?’’

128) Sa hai? a-nen **mana-za?** a-hol wa?-ad hai? era?-im
 DD NEG IP3S-mother just.that-like.that IP3S-body get-SD NEG arise-SP
 a-duw a-bun-ib sortuk-im gwal-01-02.
 IPS-husband IP3S-back-DAT jump-SP ascend-PA-N1S

‘But no, her mother watched those goings on as long as she could (without acting) and she arose and jumped up onto her husband’s back (to keep him from killing his disobedient daughter).’

¹⁷ See examples (133), (134), (135), (142), (143), (144), (145) and section 3.4.3., table 6 for other infrequently occurring forms of the demonstrative pronoun.

3.5.2 Demonstrative adverbs

Although demonstrative adverbs exhibit the same distribution as other locationals, their obvious derivation from the demonstrative pronouns warrants their consideration under the present section. Bargam demonstrative adverbs may be divided into two sub-classes.

3.5.2.1 *-Wa* class

-Wa class demonstrative adverbs point to a location as defined by the subject's or object's current *presence* rather than locating the object in a permanent or fixed relation to some other person or thing or to a fixed point in space. The members of this class are *kawa* 'here' (near the speaker), *nawa* 'there' (near the hearer), and *kowa* 'there' (distant to both speaker and hearer). *-Wa* class demonstrative adverbs are composed of a demonstrative pronoun plus the suffix *-wa*. The question word *edowa* (*edo* + *wa*) is normally used to elicit a response containing *-wa* class demonstrative adverbs.

- 129) Ni-n(i)-go baʔir **edo-wa** us-01-aʔ?
 you-O2S-POS knife where-PLOC sleep-PR-N1S
 'Where is your knife?'
- 130) Ya-(i)-go baʔir **ka-wa** us-01-aʔ.
 I-O1S-POS knife this-PLOC sleep-PR-N1S
 'My knife is here (where it is near me).'
- 131) Ni-n(i)-go amun **ko-wa** luw-01-aʔ.
 you-O2S-POS child that-PLOC walk.around-PR-N1S
 'Your child is over there (where he/she is).'
- 132) A bol-im-mo bit-ab le a-on-an gi-bilan-01-02,
 ACC come-SP-ITS house-DAT go IP3S-women-APS O3P-speak.to-Pa-N1S
 Kayan a leh-im **ta-wa** ay alon-ib huneg-an os-01-aʔ
 cousin ACC go-SP that-PLOC tree top-DAT throw-DP sit-PR-N1S
 haʔ-01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 'He brought (it) and he said to his wives in the house, (I) took cousin and put him up there where he is in the top of the tree and he is remaining.'
- 133) Haʔ-an teʔ in Mugil-sen-ab **no-wa** hayaʔ a-nan
 QV-DP CONJ they name-leg-DAT that-PLOC houseboy IP3S-name
 biy-01-02-ta waz-01-iy.
 say-PA-N1S-MOD hold-PA-N1P
 'And then they built a huge houseboy there where it is was at the foot of Mugil (hill).'
- 134) Kadoy ham ni **to-wa** naga diʔ neʔ-im ham ni-bekoʔ kozaʔ
 friend QV you that-PLOC what? INTNS eat-SP QV IP2S-feces like.that
 diʔ iy-01-02 haʔ-01-m.
 INTNS be-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 'Friend, just what is it you ate wherever you ate it and your feces is like that?'
- 135) Ari ham amulik amulik-mo **na-g-wa** os-01-ay haʔ-01-m.
 Ok. QV one one-EMP that-P-PLOC sit-PR-N1P QV-PA-N1S
 'O.k, there are a few there.'

- 136) Ne gigo bul **ko-g-wa** tur-01-a? ko ne kabiy
 you O2P-POS pig that-P-PLOC stand-PR-N1S that you work
 tu-waz-01-iy ko ham ne amal-ib gi-hol tu-ulal ton-01-iy
 PFT-hold-PA-2P that QV you top-INSTR IP2P-body PFT-visible do-IPR-2P
 ha(?)01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S

“Your pigs standing there and the work that you did, you by means of those things haved showed yourselves/who you are,” he said.’

3.5.2.2 -Vb class

-Vb class demonstrative adverbs point to a specific location or point in *space* (‘here’ or ‘there’) or *time* (‘now’ or ‘then’). These obtain both within and outside of the immediate vicinity of the speaker. The members of this class are derived from the demonstrative pronoun plus the dative suffix -Vb, the vowel of the suffix being deleted (see 2.4.3.3). They are *kab* ‘here’ (near the speaker), *nab* ‘there’ (near the hearer), *kob* ‘there’ (distant to both speaker and hearer), and *nob* ‘there’ (out of sight of both speaker and hearer).

- 137) Ni **ka-b** os-01-02.
 you this-DAT sit-IMP-2S
 ‘You sit here!’
- 138) Ya bit **ko-b** em-d-ai?
 I house that-DAT build-FUT-1S
 ‘I will build my house there.’
- 139) Ari kalam teko ti-hi?iy-01-02-ta **na-b** Abas a-yow
 Ok moon already PER-finish-PA-N1S-MOD that-DAT name IP3S-friend
 Anna i-na? in dalag ginuw-nan in an bulon-01-iy.
 name O3S-COM they dalag gather-DES they each.other speak.to-PA-N1P
 ‘Ok., in the month that just finished Abas and Anna spoke to each other about gathering *dalag* nuts.’
- 140) Kam ara? yo? a-me dimun di? iy-d-a? **na-b** te?
 day a water IP3S-eye good INTNS be-FUT-N1S that-DAT CONJ
 ni bol-01-02 ha?-01-iy.
 you come-IMP-2S QV-PA-N1P
 “‘On another day when the water is clear, then you come,” they said.’
- 141) Bol-e? muran sule? us-01-a? **mo-no-b** **no-b** in bo
 come-SPIR now school sleep-01-02 EMP-that-DAT that-DAT they come
 kabiy em y-a?ay.
 work do IPF-N1P
 ‘They would come and right there, there where the school is today, they would do work.’
- 142) Le gwal-im **no-b** niyaw ayah **na** alul-ib gwal-im sirewrew
 go ascend-SP that-DAT tree.name big that base-DAT ascend-SP wild.man
 na gegwal-im bila(?)01-m, Ya-(i)-go bit **ka-wa** ha(?)01-m.
 that approach-SP say-PA-N1S I-O1S-POS house that-PLOC QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He went up there, he went up to the base of that big *niyaw* tree, and that wild bush man approached and said, “Here is my house.”’
- 143) O **to-b** iy-01-an ha(?)01-m.
 o that-DAT be-JUS-3S QV-PA-N1S
 “‘Oh never mind, he said.’”

- 144) An pater hel-mo bugaw itu(?)-O1-m-ya **na** o **to-b**.
 DP father true-EMP spirit block-PA-N1S-DUB that o that-DAT
 ‘And if it is true that the spirit killed the priest, never mind about that [lit. ‘(let it be) there,’ cf. example (143) above].’
- 145) Ha?-an tirgaw bila(?)-O1-m, Ah ham ya i-non-ib **ka-g-ab** i-nol-id
 QV-DP hawk say-PA-N1S ah QV I IP1S-body that-P-DAT O1S-hit
 ya a hi mo?-d-ai? ha(?)-O1-m.
 I REAL NEG die-FUT-1s QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And the *tirgaw* said, “Ah, if they hit me on these various different places [i.e. here or here or here or here or...] on my body, I will not die.”’
- 146) In guren ahokan **na** in waninun-an hai?-mo **na-g-ab**
 he coconut sprout that he look.over-DP NEG-ITS that-P-DAT
 haresmo in kwanib **na** ti-nag-y-a?
 all.over-EMP he lizard.name that PFT-search-IPF-N1S
 ‘He looked through the coconut sprouts with no result and so he was looking all over around that place for the *kwanib* lizard.’
- 147) Wa?-e? hiti bit asusuran-ib **ko-g-ab** ley-e? ad le
 get-SPIR descend house edges-DAT that-P-DAT plant-SPIR ACC go
 bol-O1-O2 ha(?)-O1-m.
 come-IPR-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Get it and descend and plant it all around the edges of the house.’

The following table lists some distinctive meaning features of the two classes of demonstrative adverbs.

-Wa class locative	-Vb class locatives
Dynamic (moves with the item located)	Static (fixed point in space)
Currently relevant	Permanently relevant
Intrinsic (location tied to the referent)	Extrinsic (location independent of the referent)

Table 5: Distinctive features of Bargam demonstrative adverbs

3.5.3 Process demonstratives

Kaza? ‘like this’, *naza?* ‘like that’, and *koza?* ‘like that’ have been termed process demonstratives, rather than manner adverbials, to reflect their derivation from the demonstrative pronouns, and because they are distinctly ‘deictic’ in nature, pointing to events, either commanded, in process, or completed. Though they fill the manner slot in Bargam clauses, they do not themselves denote a particular ‘manner’ of doing or acting because they manifest no intrinsic ‘manner’ components of meaning in and of themselves. Depending on the context, they may mean ‘like this/that’ (pointing to an event to be imitated), ‘like this/that’ (pointing to a physical state being experienced), or ‘like this/that’ (with motion verbs, pointing to a specific direction of movement).

- 148) Ni **kaza?** bol-O1-O2.
 you like.this come-IMP-2S
 ‘You come this way!’
- 149) Ne **naza?** hi-kidik ton-O1-iy.
 you(p) like.that NEG-EMP do-IMP-N1P
 ‘Definitely do not act like that!’

- 150)a Ya tarow-ab moʔ-d-aiʔ daʔag-ya ha(?)-O1-m.
I night-DAT die-FUT-1S DUB-UNCER QV-PA-N1S
“I will probably die tonight,” he said.’
- 151)b Ya ham i-hol nazaʔ ya loyin-O1-aiʔ ha(?)-O1-m.
I QV my-body like.that I feel-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
“That is how I feel,” he said.’
- 152) Leh-im waʔiw a-dit-in a-hol waʔ-ad-mo in ti-bila(?)-O1-m,
go-SP plant.name IP3S-bone-APS IP3S-body get-SD-ITS he PFT-say-PA-N1S
Kayan ham ni edo-b diʔ le yok waʔ-im a bo
cousin QV you INTER-DAT INTNS go bat.name get-SP ACC come
neʔ-ad a-sabun-an ni biyaw-ub ka-g-zaʔ ulum-an le
eat-SD IP3S-wing.bone-APS you thatch-DAT that-P-like pierce-DP go
tur-O1-aʔ ha(?)-O1-mʔ
stand-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
‘He went and seeing the leaf stems [of the edible leaves he had eaten] he said, “Cousin, exactly where did you go and get those fly foxes and as you were eating them you stuck their wing bones in the thatch like this?”’

Below is a table of Bargam demonstrative pronouns, demonstrative adverbs, and process demonstratives, illustrating the derivational relationship between them.

spacial orientation→		near the speaker	near the hearer	away from both speaker and hearer	other forms pointing to non-determinate locations
type of demonstrative↓					
demonstrative pronoun	S P	ka kag	na nag	ko kog	no, (ta, to) ¹⁸ n/o
demonstrative adverb (-wa class)	S P	kawa kagwa	nawa nagwa	kowa kogwa	nowa (tawa, towa) n/o
demonstrative adverb (-Vb class)	S P	kab kagab	nab nagab	kob kogab	nob (tob) n/o (tobag)
process demonstrative	S P	kazaʔ kagzaʔ	nazaʔ nagzaʔ	kozaʔ kogzaʔ	n/o n/o

Table 6: Bargam demonstratives

Additional notice should be made of the use of plural demonstratives, formed with the indefinite morpheme *-g*, in which the idea of unspecified number is useful in encoding guesses, as in the example below.

¹⁸ The forms *ta* and *to* are absent from my text corpus. The forms *tawa* and *towa* are used synonymously with *nowa*. Other forms of *ta* are entirely absent from my data.

- 153) **Na-b** i bila(?)-O1-w i-g(i)-mo **to-b-ag** yo? **ka** anamren in
 that-DAT we say-PA-1P we-O1P-EMP that-DAT-UNSPC water this owner he
 i tarow **ka-b** in nob ig-O1-O2 ha?-ad bila?-ad os-sa-mo
 we night this-DAT he face give.us-PA-N1S QV-SD say-SD sit-DD-ITS
 hai? mat ara? dinow-ta a-nan Muge? ha?-O1-ay-ta in yo?
 NEG man a old-MOD IP3S-name name QV-PR-N1P-MOD he water
 muz-im tu-gabol-O1-O2.
 follow-SP PFT-come.up-PA-N1S

‘At that time we were saying, “Concerning us, it must be that the owner of this water gave his attention to us this night,” but no, right then an old man named *Muge?* came up towards us following the stream.’

- 154) Ya le aw manatin ara? a-go h-ib leh-an in bila(?)-O1-m,
 I go woman old a O3S-POS DUM-DAT go-DP she say-PA-N1S
 Ni guren **no** reg-e? te? ni ni-mam a-go hartiy
 you coconut that climb-SPIR CONJ you IP2S-father O3S-POS wooden.pillow
 a-hol wa?-O1-O2 ha(?)-O1-m.
 IP3S-body get-IMP-2S QV-PA-N1S

‘I went to an old woman and she said, “Climb that coconut tree and then see your father’s wooden pillow.”’

3.6 Numerals and quantifiers

Bargam has numerals from one to five. The traditional way of counting in numbers above 5 involve naming one or both hands and feet and adding numerals through five as illustrated below.¹⁹

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 155) | 1 amulik | ‘one’ | | |
| | 2 giger | ‘two’ | | |
| | 3 eze?man | ‘three’ | | |
| | 4 awewe? | ‘four’ | | |
| | 5 abaynagin | ‘five’ | (ben sormo tuh nam) | ‘one hand closed’ |
| | 6 abay-amulik | ‘five-one’ | (ben sorib amulikmo) | ‘one hand one’ |
| | 7 abay-giger | ‘five-two’ | (ben sorib gigermo) | ‘one hand two’ |
| | 8 abay-eze?man | ‘five-three’ | (ben sorib eze?manmo) | ‘one hand three’ |
| | 9 abay-awewe? | ‘five-four’ | (ben sorib awewe?mo) | ‘one hand four’ |
| | 10 ben tuh | ‘hand-closed’ | (ben sosormo tituh nam) | ‘both hands closed’ |
| | 11 ben tuh-amulik | ‘hand-closed one’ | | |
| | 12 ben tuh-giger | ‘hand-closed two’ | | |
| | 13 ben tuh-eze?man | ‘hand-closed three’ | | |
| | 14 ben tuh-awewe? | ‘hand-closed four’ | | |
| | 15 ben baynagin | ‘hand five’ | | |
| | 16 ben bay-amulik | ‘hand five one’ | | |
| | 17 ben bay-giger | ‘hand five two’ | | |
| | 18 ben bay-eze?man | ‘hand five three’ | | |
| | 19 ben bay-awewe? | ‘hand five four’ | | |
| | 20 ben sen-tuh | ‘hand leg closed’ | | |

¹⁹ Traditional counting data supplied by Joachim Balim of Beraniz village. Alternate expressions in parentheses provided by Sireo Husam of Subar village.

30	ben sen ben tuh	‘hand leg hand closed’
40	ben sen ben sen tuh	‘hand leg hand leg closed’
50	ben sen ben sen ben tuh	‘hand leg hand leg hand closed’

Although all speakers are familiar with the Bargam numbers one through five, most prefer to count in Tok Pisin, especially for numbers above five. All numerals frequently occur with the emphatic marker *-mo* which follows naturally from the intrinsically specific nature of numerals. Numerals fill the specifier slot of the modified noun phrase.

- 156) Mataw **giger-mo** bol-Ø1-ay.
 men two-EMP come-PR-N1P
 ‘Two men are coming.’
- 157) Ya kurek **amulik-mo** ug-Ø1-Ø2.
 I chicken one-EMP give.him-PA-N1S
 ‘I gave him one chicken.’

Quantifiers also occupy the specifier slot of the modified noun phrase. They form a small class of forms which quantify nouns in non-precise amounts.

- 158) ara? ‘a’
 asor ‘some’
 kabem ‘many’

The quantifier *kabem* ‘many’ often occurs with the emphatic marker *-mo* no doubt because ‘many’ is itself intrinsically emphatic.

- 159) On **asor** dida?-nan ti-leh-Ø1-iy.
 women some food-REF PFT-go-PA-N1P
 ‘Some of the women went for food.’
- 160) Nabi? asese?-ta **kabem-mo** hai?.
 fish big-MOD many-EMP NEG
 ‘(This river) does not have a lot of big fish.’

3.7 Temporals

Temporals manifest the time slot on the clause level. The following examples are divided into two groups. Group (161) includes undervived temporals, while group (162) lists temporals which are derived from nouns, the modifier *kwazi?* ‘old’ and the conjunction *te?* ‘and’.

- 161) ilato ‘a few days ago’
 irimo ‘yesterday’
 teko ‘a little while ago’
 muran ‘today, now’
 babe? ‘tomorrow’
 misire? ‘day after tomorrow’
 dumug ‘two days after tomorrow’
 ba?el ‘three days after tomorrow’
 golhi? ‘four days after tomorrow’
 alih ‘five days after tomorrow’
 imisor ‘afternoon’
- 162) tarow-mo (night-ITS) ‘morning’
 tarow-ab (night-DAT) ‘nighttime’

zeʔ-ab	(sun-DAT)	‘daytime’
abe-b	(rear-DAT)	‘later, last’
ame-b	(eye-DAT)	‘the first time, first’
dan-me-b	(path-eye-DAT)	‘first (in order)’
kwaziʔ-mo	(old-EMP)	‘before, a long time ago’
teʔ-mo	(CONJ-ITS)	‘still’

- 163) Ya **irimo** bol-01-02.
I yesterday come-PA-1S
‘I came yesterday.’
- 164) Mataw **teʔ-mo** bol-01-ay.
men CONJ-ITS come-PR-N1P
‘The men are still coming.’
- 165) Kalam **tarow-ab** oy-01-aʔ.
moon night-at burn-PR-N1S
‘The moon is shining at night.’

3.8 Negatives

There are two forms of the negative in Bargam; one for negating verbs, *hi*, and one for negating clauses, *haiʔgam*. Both *hi* and *haiʔgam* occur with the realis marker *a* in the indicative and interrogative moods. *Haiʔgam* often occurs in the abbreviated form *haiʔ*. *Haiʔ* without *a* negates the *inaʔ* possessive clause (see sec. 5.2.4.1). In the imperative mood *hi* occurs without the realis marker *a*.

Hi fills the negation slot in the modified verb phrase. *Haiʔgam* fills the non-verbal predicate slot of stative clauses. The negative *hi* has an emphatic form, *hikidik*.

- 166) Ya a ta **hi** leh-d-aiʔ.
I REAL REACT NEG go-FUT-1S
‘I will not go again.’
- 167) Ya mat a **hi** wol-01-02.
I man REAL neg hit-PA-1S
‘I did not hit (the) man.’
- 168) Ya mat ayahta a **haiʔ**.
I man big REAL NEG
‘I am not an important man (leader).’
- 169) Ya masel **haiʔgam**.
I betel.nut NEG
‘I don’t have betel nut.’
- 170) **Hi** waz-01-02.
NEG hold-IMP-2S
‘Don’t touch!’

Normally the scope of the negative extends only to the verb it precedes, for example:

- 171) In saw a **hi** waʔ-ad-mo leh-im yay-ib wo(?)01-m.
he place REAL NEG get-SD-ITS go-SP pit-DAT fall-PA-N1S
‘He wasn’t looking where he was going and fell into a pit.’

- 172) In yuw-ub leh-im a hi huz-01-02.
 he water-DAT go-SP REAL NEG bathe-PA-N1S
 'He went to the water and didn't bathe.'

At first glance, the following example could be construed as an exception to the rule:

- 173) In dida? wa?-im ad a hi bol-01-02.
 he food get-SP ACC REAL NEG come-PA-N1S
 'He didn't bring the food.'

In this example the sentence is constructed with the accompaniment particle *ad*, in which, although the final verb is negated, in actual occurrence the person did in fact come, but without the food. However it is preferable to understand the two verbs joined by *ad* to constitute a single meaning unit, in which case it is the assertion as a whole that is being negated. In other words, example (173) doesn't mean 'he didn't COME.' It's means 'he didn't BRING the food when he came.'

In sentences containing a dependent durative verb immediately preceding a negated independent final verb, and which overlaps temporally with the event of the final verb, the action of both verbs may be understood to be negated.

- 174) Ne an mug-ad hi os-01-iy.
 you each.other bite-DD NEG sit-IMP-2P
 'Don't be arguing.'

Hai?gam, used in response to a question or statement, functions as a sentential negator and may stand alone in place of the entire negated assertion, as in:

- 175)a Ni uli?-ab leh-01-a? e?
 you village-DAT go-PR-N1S INTER
 'Are you going to the village?'
 176)b **Hai?gam**, {ya uli?-ab a hi leh-01-ai?}.
 NEG I village-DAT REAL NEG go-PR-1S
 'No, (I'm not going to the village).'

3.9 Locatives

Locatives fill the location word slot in the location phrase. The group in example (177) always occur with object cross referencing prefixation.

- 177) -hi?en 'underneath'
 -mal 'top'
 -dugan 'inside'
 -san 'outside'
 -bigman 'on the peak of'
 -li? 'middle'
 -likman 'between'
 -lot 'below'
 178) irad 'beneath'
 ulil 'above'
 ulal 'in the open'

Locatives always occur with either the dative suffix *-Vb* or the word *ban* 'reposing place'. Many of the locatives listed in ex. (177) exhibit an associatively possessed-type noun construction (i.e. IP + stem + ASSOC, see 3.3.5.1.3 above), perhaps reflecting the emic perception that these locations are somehow an inalienable part of the referent to which they are related. The other locatives, listed in ex. (178), rarely are constructed this way, the implication being that they refer to locations which are

somehow independent, that is, they do not require a referent to establish the region of space they indicate.

- 179) Gaun i **gi-likman-ib** us-01-a?
 dog we IP1P-between-DAT sleep-PR-N1S
 ‘The dog is sleeping between us.’
- 180) Mat bit **a-dugan-ib** gwahti(?)01-m.
 man house IP3S-inside-DAT go.inside-PA-N1S
 ‘The man went inside the house.’
- 181) Bul bit **irad-ib** us-01-a?
 pig house under-DAT sleep-PR-N1S
 ‘The pig is (sleeping) under the house.’
- 182) Im in wolzilay-an hai?. An a-mik-an **adugan** ban in
 SP he split.by.hitting-DP NEG DP IP3S-small-APS inside place he
 bila(?)01-m,...
 say-PA-N1S
 ‘He tried to smash it without success And his younger brother on the inside (of the cave) said, ...’

Additional mention should be made here of the form *hib*, used to specify a person or persons as a location. In such instances, the /h/ functions as a sort of neutral ‘base’ on which to hang the dative suffix and the resulting form is always possessed by a possessive pronoun.

- 183) In tuk-e? a-mam ayah-ta a-go **h-ib** gabol-nan
 she flee-SPR IP3S-father big-POS O3S-POS DUM-DAT come.up-DES
 a-nad in ti-em-y-a?
 IP3S-mind she PFT-do-IPF-N1S
 ‘She was thinking about running away and going to her oldest/primary father’
- 184) Ha?-an-mo in bila(?)01-m, Ya i-yan in bol-an ni on baras
 QV-DP-ITS he say-PA-N1S I IP1S-cousin he come-DP you women young
 baras-ta ug-01-02 ma-na ara? wa?-d-ai? ha?-ad-mo ya
 REDUP-MOD give.him-PA-3S EMP-that a get-FUT-1S QV-SD-ITS I
 ni-n(i)-go **h-ib** bol-01-02 ha(?)01-m.
 you-O2S-POS DUM-DAT come-PA-!s QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And he said, “I came to you intending that I will get one of those beautiful woman just like the ones you gave to my cousin when he came.”’
- 185) Mataw bun-mo pater-go **h-ib** le a-go gamuk hurit-ad i-na?
 men all-EMP priest-POS DUM-DAT go IP3S-POS talk listen-SD O3S-
 COM
 os-01-iy
 sit-PA-N1P
 ‘All the men went to the priest and remained with him listening to his talk.’

- 186) Ni ni-nad eza? eza?-ta mataw gi-go h-ib
 you IP2S-mind what? REDUP-MOD men O3P-POS DUM-DAT
 us-01-a? na bila?-id i leh-e? gi-bilen-go ha?-ad i
 sleep-PR-N1S that say-DPIR we go-SPIR O3P-speak.to-POS QV-SD we
 bol-01-02.
 come-PA-1P
 ‘Intending that you will tell us what thoughts you have for the people and we will go and tell them, we came.’

3.10 Intensifiers

Intensifiers are a group of words which are used to emphasize the term with which they are connected as a sort of verbal underlining. They fill the intensification slot in the modified noun and verb phrases.

3.10.1 Di? ‘real, really, very’

Di? has a wide distribution and is used to intensify nouns, pronouns, negatives, adjectives and interrogatives. The reduplicated form of *di?* is *didi?* (which also occurs in the alternate form *dikdik*).

- 187) Na yuw di? a hai?
 that water INTNS REAL NEG
 ‘That is not real water.’
- 188) Ya a hi di? hurit has-01-ai?
 I REAL NEG INTNS hear open-PR-1S
 ‘I really don’t understand completely.’
- 189) Mataw me?in di?-ta.
 men bad INTNS-MOD
 ‘(They are/were) very bad men.’
- 190) In-mo di-di? a-go og hai?
 he-EMP INTNS-REDUP O3S-POS ground NEG
 ‘He himself doesn’t have any land of his own.’
- 191) Bul ka ham edob di-di? leh-im ham....
 pig this QV where INTNS-REDUP going-SP QV
 ‘‘Just where is this pig going?’’ he said, and...’

3.10.2 Nenan ‘very’

Nenan is a modifier intensifier which has only been observed to co-occur with *sisa?* ‘long’ and *ayah* ‘big’. Interestingly, /nen/ is the unpossessed stem for the word ‘mother’ and the morpheme /-an/ is the associative possession marker. It may be that the sense of its usage in these constructions is something like ‘the mother of’ (!).

- 192) ...a-natguman sisa? nenan iy-01-02.
 his-neck long very become-PA-N1S
 ‘...his neck became very long.’
- 193) Ya garan-ab leh-im mam ayah nenan-ta ahol wa(?)01-y.
 I bush-DAT go-SP snake.sp big very-MOD body get-PA-1S
 ‘I went to the bush and saw a huge snake.’

3.11 Interrogatives

Bargam interrogatives fill the slot that the information being elicited would normally occupy in the clause. For example, *edob* ‘where’, occupies the same position in the question that the locative will in the answering clause. The interrogatives *edob* (*edo* + *-Vb*) ‘where’ and *edowa* (*edo* + *-wa*) ‘where’ elicit the correspondingly constructed demonstrative adverbs previously discussed in section 3.5.2.

194) edo	‘which?’
edob	‘where? (goal)’
edowa	‘where? (present location)’
eza?	‘how?’
doh [haʔad]	‘why?’
do? [ton]	‘why?’
dowag	‘which?’
ganim	‘how many?’
gingan/gangan	‘who? (p)’
gineh	‘when?’
naga	‘what?’
nagaʔgo [naga+ago]	‘why?’ (literally ‘of what’ cf. Pidgin <i>bilong wanem?</i>)
nog	‘who?’

Ganim occurs with a noun in the order *N ganim*, and asks for a quantity. *Naga*, when it occurs with a noun, is found in the order *naga N*, and asks for more specific information about the noun such as type. The ‘*e*’ with which several interrogatives begin occurs independently as the interrogative clause marker (see 3.16.5.). It will also be observed that a number of interrogatives are built around the base *-do-*, a form occurring independently with a final (phonologically conditioned) /h/ (before word-initial /h/) and /ʔ/ before word-initial /t/, forms which also carry an intrinsic interrogative component.

- 195) Ni **edob** leh-ŋ1-aʔʔ
 you where go-PR-N1S
 ‘Where are you going?’
- 196) Yaʔgo baʔir **edowa**?
 my knife where
 ‘Where is my knife?’
- 197) Mataw **ganim** bol-ŋ1-ay?
 men how.many come-PR-N1P
 ‘How many men are coming?’
- 198) Ni **naga** em-ŋ1-aʔʔ
 you what do-PR-N1S
 ‘What are you doing?’
- 199) Ka **naga** abitan?
 this what house
 ‘What kind of house is this?’ (Copra drying house? Chicken house?)

- 200) Sa ya-ʔ(i)go aw bilaʔ-y-aʔ, Ni **doh** haʔ-ad nazaʔ diʔ
 DD I-POS woman say-IPF-N1S you why QV-SD like.that INTNS
 rab-01-aʔ haʔ-y-aʔʔ
 fear-PA-N1S QV-IPF-N1S
 ‘At the same time my wife was saying, “Why are you being afraid like that?”’
- 201) Ni-n(i)mo **doʔ** ton-nan gi-kat neg-an in yay-ib woʔ-01-iy
 you-EMP why do-DES O3P-trick give-DP they pit-DAT fall-PA-N1P
 haʔʔ-01-mʔ
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘For what reason did you trick them and they fell into the pit?’

The interrogatives *nog* ‘who (S)’ and *gingan* ‘who (P)’ can also fill the head slot of the possessive phrases and the postpositional phrases.

- 202) Ka **nog** ago baʔirʔ
 this who his knife
 ‘Whose knife is this?’
- 203) Ni **nog** i-naʔ leh-d-aʔʔ
 you who O3S-COM go-FUT-N1S
 ‘Who will you go with?’
- 204) Ni **gingan** gi-yon didaʔ oy-01-aʔʔ
 you who them-BEN food cook-PR-N1S
 ‘For whom are you cooking food?’

3.12 Hesitational device

Bargam exhibits a single hesitational device: the word *nogwal*. It occurs when a speaker is pausing to think of what he wants to say next and it is often substituted for the name of an object which is unknown or beyond the experience of the speaker.

- 205) Ad bo waz-im a bo gwahtiʔ-im ari teʔ **nogwal** nagah
 CONJ come hold-SP ACC come arrive-SP Ok. CONJ HES something
 tum a-hul-ib em-01-iy.
 loincloth IP3S-waist-DAT put-PA-N1P
 ‘They brought him—holding him they brought him and arrived, Ok., then they put um, something, a loincloth on his waist.’
- 206) Gel-im **nogwal** Yab-go tanhuʔ-ta in baynag-01-02.
 approach-SP HES village-POS marsh-MOD he tap.with.the.foot-PA-N1S
 ‘He approached and tried tapping with his foot the um, marsh belonging to Yab (village).’

3.13 Responses

3.13.1 Ao

This is a frequent conversational response, often occurring in isolation and indicating that the hearer has heard and understood.

- 207) Haʔ-an-mo in bilaʔ-ʔ-ʔ1-m, **Ao**, na dimun-mo haʔ-ʔ-ʔ1-m.
 QV-DP-ITS he say-PA-N1S oh that good-EMP QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And he said, “Oh, that’s good.”’

3.13.2 Oy

This utterance occurs in response to one’s name being called. It is also used to get someone’s attention, i.e. to elicit a response.

- 208) Woʔ-an in liley-y-aʔ, **Oy** haʔ-y-aʔ ya am-ub woʔ-ʔ-ʔ1-y
 fall-DP he call.out-IPF-N1S hey! QV-IPF-N1S I rope-DAT fall-PA-1S
 haʔ-y-aʔ.
 QV-IPF-N1S
 ‘It (his laplap) fell (off) and he was calling out, “Hey! I fell into a rope (trap)!”’

3.13.3 Eʔe ‘yes’

Eʔe affirms the truth of the assertion contained in the question.

- 209) Haʔ-an ya **eʔe** nem-ʔ1-ʔ2.
 QV-DP I yes utter-PA-1S
 ‘And I said, “Yes.”’

3.13.4 Haiʔgam ‘no’

The clausal negator *haiʔgam*, often abbreviated to *haiʔ*, is used as a response to deny the truth of the assertion contained a question or statement.

- 210)a Ne saman-ta-mo bol-sun na ya ne gi-ituʔ-d-aiʔ.
 you empty-MOD-EMP come-HYP that I you O2P-kill-FUT-1S
 ‘If you have come empty-handed I will kill you.’
- 211)b **Haiʔgam**, i gi-go bugaw dimun-ta, ni i hi gi-ituʔ-ʔ1-ʔ2.
 No we O1P-POS spirit good-MOD you we neg O1P-kill-IMP-2S
 ‘No, our good spirit, don’t kill us.’

3.13.5 Yowo

This is a response of uncertainty to any question. It means ‘I’m not sure.’

- 212) **Yowo** babeʔ teʔ kar-ag bol-d-aʔ o ta haiʔ o
 UNCER tomorrow CONJ car-UNSPC come-FUT-N1S or REACT NEG or
 i a hi hurit-ʔ1-ʔ2.
 we REAL NEG hear-PA-1P
 ‘I am not sure, we don’t know if some car will come tomorrow or not.’
- 213) **Yowo** mureb daʔag-ya haʔ-ʔ-ʔ1-m.
 UNCER rodent.sp DUB-UNCER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I am not sure, it was probably the *mureb*.’

3.14 Modifiers

3.14.1 Adjectival modifiers

Adjectival modifiers fill the modification slot of the modified noun phrase and the manner slot on the clause level. Noun phrase modifiers which function as qualifiers are normally suffixed with the adjectival suffix *-ta*. Modifiers also occur with the emphatic word *ama*, often in contracted form, to

indicate quantity or to emphasize the quality of the noun being conveyed. Modifiers contracted with *amo* also function as clause level manner words (see 4.14.2 below).

214)	Stem	-ta	-(a)mo
	hid	n/o	
	kiskis	‘easy/simple’	
	mideman	‘soft/tender’	
	hel	‘true’	
	dimun	‘good’	
	meʔin	‘bad/evil’	‘very bad’
	sisaʔ	‘long (length)’	‘very long’
	siʔim	‘short’	‘very short’
	mutur	‘new’	
	kwaziʔ	‘old’	
	ayah	‘big’	‘very big, a large amount’
	aseseʔ	‘big (P)’	‘very big (P)’
	saman	‘vain/useless’	
	amik	‘small’	‘very small’
	asit ²⁰	‘a little’	‘just a little’
	anonon	‘well’	

215)a Amun araʔ mat-ta em-im ari amun na adek **sisaʔ** a haiʔ.
 child a man-MOD do-SP O.K. child that edge long REAL NEG
 ‘She bore a baby boy, O.k., that child’s ears were not long.’

216)b An muran ya masel **sisaʔ-ta** reg-nan ya rab-O1-aiʔ-ta.
 each.other today I betelnut long-MOD climb-DES I fear-PR-1S-MOD
 ‘And so now I am afraid to climb tall betel nut trees.’

217)a Ya gamuk **meʔin** a hi ni-bilen-O1-O2 ha(?)-O1-m
 I talk bad REAL NEG O2S-speak.to-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘I didn’t say bad talk to you,’’ he said.’

218)b Mataw ezeʔman na gi-likman-ib amulik-mo a-ninor **meʔin-ta**.
 men three that O3P-midst-DAT one-EMP IP3S-fear bad-MOD
 ‘Among those three men, one was a scaredy cat.’

219)c Ulum-net-iy na in ay a-waz **meʔin-mo** in
 pierce-wrap-N1P that they tree/wood IP3S-hold bad-EMP they
 a-mal-ib ulum-net-O1-iy
 O3S-top-DAT pierce-wrap-PA-N1P
 ‘Concerning their closing in the walls, they used very strong wood to close them in.’

²⁰ *Asit* + *ta* has only been observed in the construction *asit-ta-mo* (little-MOD-EMP) ‘a very little bit’.

- 220)a Em-an alen waʔim a le a-go barag a-bit-(a)n-ib
 make-DP in-law get-SP REAL go IP3S-POS men's.cult IP3S-house-APS-DAT
 em-im isih-im bar ton-ad os-sa le **ayah** iy-01-02
 do-SP cover-SP song do-DS sit-DD go big be-PA-N1S
 'Then her father-in-law took (the child) to his men's cult house and put him there and covered him and was blessing him until he became big (i.e. grew up).'
- 221)b Haʔad in giger reb **ayah-ta** waʔim sor-im ad ti-leh-01-iy
 QV-DS they two pot big-MOD get-SP carry-SP ACC PFT-go-PA-N1P
 'And they two each got a big pot and carried them away.'
- 222)c Ad sagay in **ayah-mo** in us-01-02
 SD timber.clearing it big-EMP it sleep-PA-N1S
 'And a lot of land remained to be cleared.'
- 223) Nabiʔ **aseseʔ-ta kabem-mo** haiʔ.
 fish big-MOD many-EMP NEG
 'There are not many big fish (in that river).'
- 224) Amoyan i waʔim kagoh **amik** araʔ-ab em-01-auʔ.
 oil we get-SP pot small a-DAT put-PR-1P
 'After we get the oil we put it into a small pot.'

To the list of modifiers given above can be added the following color words:

- 225) dubta 'black'
 husta 'white'
 kakaʔta 'red'
 maliyta 'yellow'
 zirinta 'brown'
 rawesta 'blue'
 kuletta 'green'

Some modifiers are constructed as associatively possessed nouns (see 4.1.3).

- 226) adahuran 'rotten'
 amayan 'dry'
 afaʔan 'heavy'
 asilwanan 'thin'
 abesbesan 'stunted'
 ameditan 'cool'
 afan 'hot'
- 227) Bul **hus-ta** na yaʔgo kabiy meʔin ton-01-02.
 pig white-MOD that my garden bad do-PA-N1S
 'That white pig ruined my garden.'
- 228) Tituʔ ka **afaʔan** meʔin diʔ!
 post this heavy bad INTNS
 'This post is really heavy!'

Adjectival modifiers also function to distinguish one or more members of a class from the rest. This can have the effect of producing somewhat of a comparative or superlative meaning.

- 229) Ya i-bab-an bun-mo gi-likman-ib in **ayah** di?-ta.
 I my-older.sib.same.sex-P all-EMP O3P-among-DAT he big INTNS-MOD
 ‘Among all my older brothers he is the very oldest.’

A modifier may be used substantivally, standing alone to represent the noun it modifies.

- 230) Ni-n(i)-mo **dimun-ta** na wa?-ad **me?in-ta** na yag -id
 You-O2S-EMP good-MOD that get-DS bad-MOD that give.me -DPIR
 a leh-01-i? ha(?)01-m
 ACC go-IMP-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘You keep the good (ones) and give me the bad (ones) and let me take them.’
- 231) Ha?-an aw bila(?)01-m, Yuw-{a}san alozin me?niy-an **mutur-ta** em-ad
 QV-DP woman say-PA-N1S water-skin plug ruin-DP new-MOD do-DS
 luw-01-02 ha(?)01-m
 walk.around-IMP-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And the woman said, The plug for the water skin was bad and I was making a new (one).’
- 232) Ni **kabem-mo** hi yag-01-02!
 you many-EMP NEG give.to.me-IMP-2S
 ‘Don’t give me a lot (of them)!’

3.14.2 Manner words

Manner words are verbal modifiers and fill the manner slot on the clause level. They either quantify the action of the predicate in some way (e.g. frequently, slowly) or qualify it (‘He spoke truthfully.’). They normally occur with the emphatic marker *[-a]mo* in contracted form.

- 233) Stem -(a)mo
 hid ‘quickly’
 kiskis ‘slowly’
 mideman ‘gently’
 hel ‘truly’
 dimun ‘well’
 me?in ‘badly’
 sisa? ‘for a long time’
 si?im ‘for a short time’
 mutur ‘newly’
 kwazi? ‘before’
 saman ‘vainly’
 anonon ‘well’
- 234) Te? mat in **hid-mo** a hi mo(?)01-m.
 CONJ man he quickly-EMP REAL NEG die-PA-N1S
 ‘But the man didn’t die quickly.’
- 235) I **sisa?-mo** tu-os-01-02.
 we long-EMP PFT-sit-PA-1P
 ‘We have sat here a long time.’

- 236) Bugaw ko i **sisəʔ-mo** wamuz-im ad bol-01-02
spirit that we long-EMP watch-SP ACC come
'We have looked after/attended to that spirit for a long time.'
- 237) Ya didaʔ **dimun-mo** ti-ne(?)01-y.
I food good-EMP PFT-eat-PA-1S
'I have eaten enough.'
- 238) **Sirisiri-mo** nazaʔ em-sa onmin gi-mam-an bol-an
frequent-EMP like.that do-DD children IP3P-father-P come-DP
ti-gibilen-01-iy.
PFT-speak.to-PA-N1P
'(He) was doing like that over and over and the children's fathers came and they (the children) told them (the fathers).'

3.15 Conjunctions

3.15.1 Teʔ

The most straight forward use of *teʔ* is to link two or more nouns in a coordinate noun phrase (NP). The use of *teʔ* in a coordinate NP is optional. Two or more nouns may be simply juxtaposed as in the example below.

- 239) Ari mat na in garan leh-nan haʔ-ad **kilek kor ziy** waʔ-im
O.K. man that he bush go-DES QV-SD bow fire.stick net.bag get-SP
ad leh-ad in leh-im koʔ-siroʔ a-bit-an-ib na-b
ACC go-SD he go-SP defecate-urinate IP3S-house-APS-DAT that-DAT
in a hi lah-01-02
he REAL NEG go-PA-N1S
'O.K., that man intending to go to the bush, got his bow and firestick and net bag and going he didn't go to the outhouse.'

Or, at the other extreme, each pair of nouns in the string may be connected by a *teʔ*.

- 240) Teʔ in gi-go kulos **teʔ** tarosis **teʔ** didaʔ kabem-mo.
CONJ they O3P-POS clothes CONJ trousers CONJ food many-EMP
'And they had many clothes and trousers and food.'

However, the most common occurrence of *teʔ* in a coordinate NP is between the penultimate and ultimate nouns in the phrase. Consider the following examples:

- 241) In eraʔ-im a-go ter **teʔ** tatuy gi-waʔ-im ti-lah-01-02
he arise-SP O3S-POS basket CONJ spear O3P-get-SP PFT-go-PA-N1S
'He got up and took his basket and fishing spear and left.'
- 242) Mataw na i ka-zaʔ garan-ab leh-01-02, ya-(i)-mo Bekuk Galiy
people that we this-like bush-DAT go-PA-1P I-O1S-EMP name name
Nakun **teʔ** Titor.
name CONJ name
'Those of us who went to the bush are like this: me, Bekuk, Gali, Nakun and Titor.'

Another example of the use of *teʔ* to link two co-equal elements of a sentence is given below. In this example *teʔ* functions to link two nominalized clauses which modify the fronted direct object *nag diʔ* 'exactly who'.

- 243) *ld te? ham nog di? in bol-im i gi-yon yo?*
 DPIR CONJ QV who INTNS s/he come-SP we O1P-for water
so?or-Ø1-a? na ham te? uli? gem wastitay-Ø1-a? na ham ya
 scoop-PR-N1S that QV CONJ village center fix-PR-N1S that QV I
ulilem-e? te? ya a-hol wa?-d-ai? ha?-Ø1-m.
 hide-SPIR CONJ I IP3S-body get-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘“(After that) then I will hide myself and then I will see just who comes and fetches water for us and cleans the village for us,” he said.’

From these examples it is clear that on the noun phrase level, *te?* signifies a non-chronological addition relationship of **conjoining**²¹ between two or more nominals. The nature of the sequence is simply order of mention and the relation between the coordinated members is contextually conditioned and may be either **addition**, as in the preceding examples, or **contrast**, as in (244) and (245) below.

- 244) *In tu-mo(?)Ø1-m-ta te? a-go a-babuw-an in us-Ø1-Ø2.*
 he PFT-die-Ø1-Ø2-MOD CONJ O3S-POS O3S-heart-APS it sleep-PA-N1S
 ‘He died but his heart remained (i.e. was still beating).’
- 245) *I giger afa?an naza?-mo wa(?)Ø1-w-ta te? i gi-hol*
 we two heavy like.that-EMP get-PA-1P-MOD CONJ we O1P-body
dimniy-d-a?.
 be.well-FUT-1P
 ‘We two got trouble like that but we will get better.’

3.15.1.1 The function of *te?* in the Modified Verb Phrase

In Bargam the conjunction *te?* may occur in the modifier slot of the modified verb phrase, but only with verbs encoding the durative aspect.²² In such a context *te?* is obligatorily suffixed with the immediate temporal succession marker *-mo* and emphasizes the fact that the action has not yet reached its conclusion. Consider for example,

- 246) *Ya dida? te?-mo ne?-Ø1-ai?*
 I food CONJ-ITS eat-PR-1S
 ‘I am still eating.’
- 247) *An in le garom te?-mo nag-ad luw-sa ya*
 DP she go long.hooked.stick CONJ-ITS search-SD go.around-DD I
masel ti-reg-Ø1-Ø2.
 betel.nut PFT-climb-PA-1S
 ‘And while she was still looking for the long hooked stick (to pull down hands of betel nut) I climbed the betel nut tree.’

In the above two examples, *te?* re-inforces the unbounded, open-ended (i.e., durative) temporal character of the verb it precedes and functions to indicate explicitly that the event referred to is ‘in process’ and has not yet reached its anticipated termination

3.15.2 O

Ø is an alternating conjunction borrowed from Tok Pisin. On the phrase level it denotes alternation between nouns.

²¹ Terminology used to describe this relationship is taken from Beekman, Callow and Kopesec, (1981:81-83)

²² This would include durative aspect medial verbs and final verbs in either present or past imperfect tense. Cf. Hepner 1995 for a fuller discussion of tense, aspect and modality in Bargam.

- 248) Ni rais o dida? di? ne?-d-a??
 you rice or food INTNS eat-FUT-N1S
 ‘Will you eat rice or real food (i.e., garden food)?’

On the sentence level *o* functions to denote alternation between clauses (see section 7.3.6., example (719)) and to construct questions. For example,

- 249) Onmin ne gamuk hel-ta bila?-O1-ay o ha?-O1-iy.
 children you talk true-MOD say-PA-N1P or QV-PA-N1P
 ‘‘Children, are you telling the truth?’’ they said.’
- 250) Sa mat ma-na wole bulon-O1-O2, Ya ni-ad leh-d-ai?
 CONJ man EMP-that go.down speak.to-PA-N1S I O2S-ACC go-FUT-1S
 o hai? ha(?)-O1-m.
 or NEG QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And that man went down and said to her, ‘‘Will I take you with me or not?’’

3.15.3 Ta

A third form deserves mention here. The morpheme *ta* ‘and then, and next, as a consequence, in response to’, sometimes occurs on the sentence level to conjoin sentences or predications within a single sentence in terms of action/reaction, stimulus/response or of an action that is in some way perceived to be the second ‘half’ of a two-part sequence of events.

- 251) **Ta** ne urom ka a hi gi-nol-sa ne lehay
 REACT you rain this REAL NEG O2P-hit-DD you go.v-PR-N1P
 ye ha?-O1-iy.
 INTER QV-PA-N1P
 ‘‘Aren’t you getting soaked by the rain while you are going?’’ they said?’
- 252) Onmin susumun neg-an-mo onmin in era rab-ad
 children ask give.them-DP-ITS children they arise fear-SD
 tu-os-sa-mo **ta** amik di? na in os-im-mo ti-bila(?)-O1-m.
 PFT-sit-DD-ITS REACT small INTNS that he sit-SP-ITS PFT-say-PA-N1S
 ‘After she questioned the children, while they were sitting there afraid, the youngest one spoke.’

The following example contains two occurrences of *ta*, one immediately preceding an independent verb and one immediately before the indefinite article *ara?*

- 253) Em-an us-sa onmin na **ta** bol-O1-iy kam **ta** ara?.
 put-DP sleep-DD children that REACT come-PA-N1P day REACT a
 ‘He put (the bananas) and they remained there and another day those children came back.’

In (253) above, the first of *ta* signifies that the children had come some time previously and that the ‘coming’ now referred to is a coming ‘back’ or a coming ‘again’. Similarly, the occurrence of *ta* with the indefinite article *ara?* gives the sense of ‘another’ day or a ‘different’ day. In both instances the *ta* signifies that the two separate ‘comings’ and the two separate ‘days’ are not isolated or unrelated occasions, but are linked in a relationship of close association, in this case, temporal succession.

In a related way, the particle *ta* is also used in Bargam to emphasize that one event follows closely upon the heels of another event. The close association of two events may simply be in terms of narrative flow.

- 254) Woʔ-an on giger na madar na a-bu
 fall-DP women two that bandicoot that IP3S-back.of.head
 hik-guraʔ-im em-an us-sa **ta** gaun na madar a-sen
 MM-break.off-SP do-DP sleep-DD REACT dog that bandicoot IP3S-leg
 muz-im bo yay ez-ab ti-gayon-y-aʔ
 follow-SP come pit mouth-DAT PFT-howl-IPF-N1S
 ‘(The bandicoot) fell and the two women broke its neck and put it aside and then the dog followed the bandicoot and came and was barking at the mouth of the pit.’

This sentence comes from a story about two women who have been tricked into falling into a deep pit from which they cannot escape. While they are there, an old man completely unaware of their predicament comes to the bush with his dog, which unearths a bandicoot and gives chase. The bandicoot, in fleeing from the dog, tumbles into the pit at the feet of the women. The *ta* indicates that the dog's arrival at the edge of the pit follows closely on the heels of the killing of the bandicoot, which will eventually lead to the women's rescue.

Below is a further example of this usage of *ta* to highlight the notion of reaction or response that characterizes a string of events, each one a direct response to the previous one.

- 255)a A-go bit-ab deg ad bol-im em-an us-sa-mo tut-eʔ-mo
 IP3S-POS house-DAT bowl ACC come-SP put-DP lay-DD-ITS join-SPIR-ITS
 in nazaʔ ton-y-aʔ.
 he doing like that.
 ‘He brought the bowl to his house and put it and as it was remaining he was continually doing like that [i.e. going and bringing back bowls].’
- 256)b An-mo **ta** a-mik-an tu-bulon-01-02, Oyeʔ ham ka ni le
 DP-ITS REACT IP3S-small-APS PFT-speak.to-PA-N1S, Hey! QV this you go
 edob diʔ deg ka waʔ-im a bol-01-02 ha(?) -01-m.
 where INTNS bowl this get-SP ACC come-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And then his younger brother said to him, “Hey, concerning this, exactly where did you go and get this bowl and bring it?”’
- 257)c An **ta** a-bab in bulon-01-02, Ni ham kazaʔ
 DP REACT IP3S-older.brother he speak.to-PA-N1S you QV like.this
 ton-eʔ teʔ ni leh-eʔ deg ya waʔ-01-aiʔ ka ni araʔ waʔ-d-aʔ
 do-SPIR CONJ you go-SPIR bowl I get-PR-1S this you a get-FUT-N1S
 ha(?) -01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And then his older brother said to him, “If you do like this then you will go and get one of these bowls that I am getting.”’
- 258)d An **ta** a-mik-an in ti-lah-01-02.
 DP REACT IP3S-small-APS he PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘And so his brother went.’

In a similar way, *ta* may link naturally or logically related (from an emic prespective) events. In the following example, the *teʔ* emphasizes temporal sequence (‘next’) and indicates an unspecified interval of time between the two conjoined events. *Ta* following *teʔ* indicates that what follows is the next expected step in the sequence.

- 259) Riren-im ti-hi?iy-an i te? **ta** ulumnet-go
 lay.side.by.side-SP PFT-finish-DP we CONJ REACT close.in-POS
 na i kadug o kabaw i ti-nagun-Ø1-au?
 that we bamboo or sago.stem we PFT-look.for-PR-IP
 ‘After laying out (the flooring) we next look for bamboo or sago stems in order to close in (the walls of the house).’

In a way clearly related to the functions of *ta* described above, it also may be used to signify an action that occurs in reaction to or as a direct result of a preceding event.

- 260) Ek ton-sa mataw biyah-ta in gi-ez hurit-ad **ta**
 yell do-DD men large.group-MOD they IP3P-voice hear-SD REACT
 in ek ton-im leh-sa musumrik tuk-im ti-lah-Ø1-Ø2.
 they yell do-SP go-DD bat.sp run.away-SP PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘They were yelling and a group of men heard their voices and yelled and were going (toward the boys) and then the small bat fled and went away.’

Here the ‘yelling’ and ‘going’ on the part of the men is a direct response/result/reaction to the yelling of the young boys who were frightened by what they thought was a spirit chasing them. In this example the two events are related in terms of action/reaction.

Ta plus the negative *hi* are used to indicate the cessation of an activity, as in the following examples.

- 261)a Bol-im sawan na a **ta** hi leh-y-a?
 come-SP name that REAL REACT NEG go-IPF-N1S
 ‘It came and the wallaby wasn’t going back again.’
- 262)b In le amun a-hol a **ta** hi wa?-y-a?
 it go child IP3S-body REAL REACT get-IPF-N1S
 ‘It wasn’t going and seeing it’s child again.’

Examples(261) and (262) are taken from a Bargam folktale in which a female wallaby comes into possession of a human child and raises it as her own. These sentence occur towards the end of the story, at which point, as a direct result of the formal termination of ‘parental rights’ of the wallaby, it no longer went to visit it’s child as it had been doing up to that point.

The same combination may be used to indicate the cessation of a state as well.

- 263) Ka ham sirewrew-mo di? a-enmagin ha?-ad in **ta** hi
 this QV name-EMP INTNS IP3S-dredlocks QV-SD he REACT NEG
 tur-Ø1-Ø2.
 stand-PA-N1S
 ‘Thinking, “This is the dredlocks of a real wild bushman,” he didn’t stand there any longer.’

Again, the same structure may also be used to refer to a single event which, if everything had happened as planned, would certainly have taken place, but in response to an unforeseen circumstance, never took place.

- 264) Buwol na in oy-im a **ta** hi na{<-e}{?}-Ø1-m.
 snake.sp that he cook-SP REAL REACT NEG eat-PA-N1S
 ‘As a result, he didn’t cook and eat the buwol snake after all.’

Example (264) is taken from a story about a man who caught a snake, took it back to his house and left it there tied up while he went to the garden to get some vegetables to cook with it. While he was gone the snake escapes. This sentence is one of the concluding sentences of the story. As a result of the snake’s escaping, the intended eating of it never took place. Here, an event which was intended, but never occurred, is given as the response or reaction to the snake’s escape. Example (264) relates

closely to the use of *ta* with *te?* in (259) above in that it, too, describes the response or reaction to a closely associated preceding one in terms of an event which didn't occur.

3.15.4 Dependent medial verb suffixes used as conjunctions

As a cohesive device in Bargam narrative discourse, the set of six medial clause verb suffixes are often used to conjoin sentences into larger coherent wholes. In this sense they constitute a sort of tail-head chaining 'short-hand' in which the verb stem is deleted and only the suffixation remains.

- 265) ...in ayah ti-iy-bug-O1-O2. **An** a-yon tun amik-ta em
 he big PFT-be-DIST-PA-N1S DP O3S-BEN bow small-MOD make
 ug-O1-iy. **An** in a-ses i-na? os-ad in onmin
 give.him-PA-N1P DP he IP3S-grandparent O3S-COM sit-SD he children
 asor ne-na? le garan-ab luw-y-a?. **Sa** a-nen-mam-an
 some O3P-COM go bush-DAT walk.around-IPF-N1S DD IP3S-mother-father-P
 le kabiy em-ad luw-ya?-ay. **Sa** kam ara?-ab...
 go work do-SD walk.around-IPF-N1P DD day a-DAT
 '...and he grew up And they made a small bow for him And he was staying with his
 grandma and going to the bush with some children. While he was doing that his parents
 were going and working While this was going on, one day...'

See examples (182), (48), (216), (222), (243), (584), (585) and (590) for additional instances of the medial clause verb suffixes used as conjunctions.

3.16 Clitics

A clitic is traditionally defined as a form which is grammatically free but phonologically bound. This means that clitics do not normally occur in isolation and that they take their stress from the word with which they are associated.

3.16.1 Isolating clitic *bin*

Bin is an isolating clitic which has only been observed to occur with the inalienably possessed noun *-hol* 'body'. The construction *-hol + bin* means 'by itself' or 'by one's self'. There may be some correlation between this use of *bin* and its occurrence as an associatively possessed noun meaning 'name, reputation, fame, renown'. If this is the case, then *-hol + bin* should be analyzed as a contraction of two nouns *-hol + (a)bin* meaning 'one's own name/renown' (i.e. exclusive of reference to anything or anyone else, i.e. neighbors, other family/clan members, etc.).

- 266) In ago bit ahol-**bin** waz-im te? in os-y-a?.
 he his house itself-ISOL build-SP CONJ he sit-IPF-N1S
 'He built his house off by itself and he was remaining/living (there).'
- 267) Ya i-hol-**bin**-mo os-d-ai?.
 I my-body-ISOL-EMP sit-FUT-1S
 'I will sit by myself.'

3.16.2 Exhaustive clitic *ne*

The basic meaning of this clitic is 'exhaustiveness'. It occurs following a verb to indicate that the action of the verb was repeated over and over until there is no more 'material' to be processed.

- 268) Ya rais oy-im so?or-an ti(?)-O1-m-**ne** ti(?)-O1-m-**ne**
 I rice cook-SP scoop-DP go.down-PA-N1S-EXH go.down-PA-N1S-EXH
 deg kabem-mo iy-O1-O2.
 bowl many-EMP become-PA-N1S
 'After I cooked the rice I dished it all out and it filled many bowls.'

- 269) Gi-nol-**ne** gi-nol-**ne** ti-gi-nol bug-sa, ariya...
 O3P-hit-EXH O3P-hit-EXH PFT-O3P-hit DIST-DD, o.k.
 ‘After they had killed and killed and killed them all, then...’

3.16.3 Associative clitic *nen*

Nen means ‘all those associated with’ the noun which it follows (normally a person’s name). It is an economic way to refer to a group of people by naming only the prominent member of the group. *Nen* is the base form of the word ‘mother,’ which probably implies in the usage described here, the sense that the person named is the one responsible for the group associated with his or her name.

- 270) Anna-**nen** kabiy-ab ti-leh-O1-iy.
 name-ASSOC garden-DAT PFT-go-PR-N1P
 ‘Anna and those with her went to the garden.’
- 271) Ya Joseph-**nen** gi-biy-O1-O2.
 I name-ASSOC O3P-see-PR-1S
 ‘I saw Joseph and those with him.’

3.16.4 Dubitative clitic *ya*

Ya is a clitic which carries the basic meaning ‘uncertainty’. It occurs in combination with verbs, question words, and the dubitative particle *daʔag* ‘probably’.

- 272) Ni le dan edob-**ya** ni ezaʔ-**ya** ton-sa iy-id ham . . .
 you go road where-UNCER you what-UNCER do-DD be-DPIR QV
 ‘Wherever you go and whatever you are doing, she said...’
- 273) Ya tarow-ab moʔ-d-aiʔ daʔag-**ya** ha(?)-O1-m.
 I night-DAT die-FUT-1S DUB-UNCER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I will probably die tonight, he said.’

3.16.5 Interrogative clitic *e*

The interrogative clitic *e* is used on the sentence level to mark polar questions. The allomorph *ye* often follows words ending in a vowel.

- 274) Ni kabiy-ab leh-O1-aʔ-**e**?
 you garden-DAT go-PR-N1S-INTER
 ‘Are going to the garden?’

3.16.6 Non-specific clitic *ag*

The basic meaning of *ag* is ‘unspecified’ or ‘particulars unknown’. It occurs at the end of noun phrases indicating an unspecified number or amount. With the demonstrative adverbs *kab*, *nab* and *kob* it indicates unspecified location. And, at least on the verb *leh* ‘go,’ it indicates unspecified location. *Ag* can be reduplicated for emphasis. There is one recorded instance (279), where *ag* occurs in isolation as a direct object.

- 275) Ya didaʔ-**ag** neʔ-nag-O2-ta.
 I food-UNSPC eat-CFT-1S-MOD
 ‘I should have eaten some food.’
- 276) Bul na-b-**ag-ag** ti-la(<e)h-O1-O2.
 pig that-DAT-UNSPC-REDUP PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘The pig has gone somewhere.’
- 277) Ne na-b-**ag-ag** gi-nad-ib-mo leh-ag leh-O1-iy.
 you that-DAT-UNSPC-REDUP your-mind-DAT-EMP go-UNSPC go-PA-N1P
 ‘Wherever you want to go, go!’

- 278) ...karuw asit-**ag** ig-01-iy na...
 ...meat a.little-UNSPC give.us-PA-N1P that
 ‘...the little bit of meat that they gave us.’
- 279) Ya **ag** ara? gi-wa?dai? ha?-ad-mo ya bol-01-02.
 I UNSPC a them-get-FUT-1S QV-SD-ITS I come-PA-1S
 ‘I came thinking I would get some (of them).’

3.17 Particles

Particles are those free forms comprising single member sets, since they do not conveniently fit into any other word classes.

3.17.1 Realis marker *a*

A occurs with the negative *hi* in all four tenses. Since *a* is noticeably absent from some irrealis mode sentences such as imperatives and contrafactuals, it is here termed the realis marker. Of interest is the observation that this is the same form as the third person singular inalienably possessed prefix *a-* meaning ‘him/her/it’ and the accompaniment particle *a*. It should be pointed out that *a* also occurs with the negative in the future tense, normally considered an irrealis mode (see (281) below).

- 280) Ya amun **a** hi wol-01-02.
 I child REAL NEG hit-PA-1S
 ‘I didn’t hit the child.’
- 281) Mataw na **a** hi leh-da?-ay.
 men CONJ REAL NEG go-FUT-N1P
 ‘Those men will not go.’
- 282) Ya amun **a** hai?. (vs.) Ya onmin hai?(gam).
 I child REAL NEG I children NEG
 ‘I am not a child.’ ‘I don’t have any children.’
- 283) **A** ta ara? tite?-e? yag-01-02.
 REAL REACT a pull.out-SPIR give.me-IMP-2S
 ‘Pull out another (feather) again and give it to me.’
- 284) Hi?iy-an-mo **a** in ta uli? ara?-ab lah-01-02.
 finish-DP-ITS REAL he REACT village a-DAT go-PA-N1S
 ‘Right after they were finished he went to yet another village.’

3.17.2 Accompaniment particles *ad* and *a*

Ad and its preclitic counterpart *a* occur exclusively with verbs of motion to indicate a type of accompaniment. With verbs whose essential meaning is ‘movement away from ego’, they mean ‘take/take along with’. With verbs whose essential meaning is ‘movement toward ego’, they mean ‘bring/bring along with’.

Ad may take the object cross-referencing prefixes, whereas the preclitic *a* never does and thus always references a 3rd person singular object. In a negative statement *ad* co-occurs with the realis marker *a*, which always co-occurs with the negative in realis mode assertions. A plural object of *ad* does not affect sentence-final independent verb suffixation even when the accompanying plural object is human (see example (288) below).

- 285) Ya guren wa?-im **gi-ad** Madang-ib leh-01-02.
 I coconut get-SP O3P-ACC name-DAT go-PA-1S
 ‘I got the coconuts and took them to Madang.’

- 286) In dida? wa?-im **ad** a hi bol-01-02.
 he food get-SP ACC REAL NEG come-PA-N1S
 ‘He didn’t bring the food.’
- 287) Ni ba?ir wa? **a** bol-01-02.
 you knife get ACC come-IMP-2S
 ‘Bring (me) the knife!’
- 288) Ya mataw kabem-mo **gi-ad** Wasab-go leh-01-02.
 I men many-EMP O3P-ACC Wasab-LOC go-PA-N1S
 ‘I took many people to Wasab (village).’

3.17.3 Exclusive particle *amomo*

Amomo (probably a reduplicated form of the emphatic maker *amo* which, having become lexicalized, has lost the glottal stop which normally marks the vowel elided by contraction) is an exclusive focus marker and functions to emphatically limit the head noun with which it is associated to itself and no other. It fills the specifier slot of the modified noun phrase and, like the unreduplicated form, is prefixed to agree with the person and number of the noun or pronoun with which it occurs.

- 289) Ya **i-momo** ham dida? dimun ya ne?-y-ai? ha(?)01-m.
 I O1S-EXCL QV food good I eat-IPF-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Only I was eating good food, he said.’
- 290)a In nog i-na? bol-01-02?
 he who O3S-COM come-PA-N1S
 ‘With whom did he come?’
- 291)b In **a-momo** bol-01-02.
 he O3S-EXCL come-PA-N1S
 ‘He alone came.’
- 292) Onmin **gi-momo** dida? oy-01-iy.
 children O3P-EXCL food cook-PA-N1P
 ‘The children alone cooked the food.’
- 293) Susumun-ad ka-neng ha?iy ni eza? ton-im ha?iy ni-n(i)-mo
 ask-SD IMPRS-mother QV you what do-SP QV you-O2S-EMP
ni-momo-(a)-mo os-01-a?? ha?-01-iy.
 you-EXCL-O3S-EMP sit-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1P
 ‘Asking, (they said) Mother, how is it that it is you alone who is living (i.e. survived)?’

3.17.4 Dubitative particle *da?ag*

Da?ag is a word used to express what the speaker thinks or guesses to be a true statement about a situation. It communicates a certain degree of uncertainty. *Da?ag* may have an entire predication or just a single argument within its scope. In the former case it follows the final verb, otherwise it follows the specific argument about which uncertainty is being expressed.

- 294) In bit-ab lah-01-02 **da?ag**.
 he house-DAT go-PA-N1S DUB
 ‘He probably went to the house.’
- 295) In bit-ab **da?ag** lah-01-02.
 he house-DAT DUB go-PA-N1S
 ‘It is probably the house to which he went.’

Daʔag often occurs with the clitic *ya* (see section 3.15.4. above) either in the order *daʔag ya* or with *daʔag* occurring somewhere in the clause and *ya* occurring on the concluding independent verb.

- 296) O ko na-ag-ag wit **daʔag** bol-O1-O2-ya
 Oh that that-UNSPC-REDUP spirit DUB come-PA-N1S-UNCER
 haʔ-O1-iy.
 QV-PA-N1P
 ‘Oh that is some kind of spirit probably that has come, they said.’

3.17.5 Similarity particles *nog* and *gan*

Nog is used to express similarity of identity (resemblance) both of things as well as actions. Synonymous with *nog*, the word *gan* (most likely a metathesis of the consonants of *nog* with the vowel drawn forward by the final nasal consonant) is used to express the same grammatical notion.

- 297) Mat na anobun a-nen anobun **nog**.
 man that face his-mother face SIM
 ‘That man’s face is like his mother’s face.’
- 298) Didaʔ ka bilaʔ ne bret **nog**.
 food this say EXH bread SIM
 ‘You would insist that this food is like bread.’
- 299) Haʔ-an a-we leh-im dokta bulon-an bol-im marasin ug-an
 QV-DP IP3S-wife go-SP doctor speak.to-DP come-SP medicine give.him-DP
 in ahol dimniy **nog** ti-iy-O1-O2.
 he his.body be.well SIM PFT-be-PA-N1S
 ‘And his wife went and spoke to the doctor and he came and gave him medicine and he became something like better/almost well.’
- 300) In bul gayon **nog** iy-y-aʔ.
 he pig animal.sound SIM be-IPF-N1S
 ‘He squealed like a pig.’
- 301) A-nen in amidon ayah-ta na in bulon-O1-O2,
 IP3S-mother she her.child big-MOD that she speak.to-PA-N1S
 Ni ham hid-mo bol-eʔ ham ya i-waz-id woʔ-id teʔ
 you QV quick-EMP come-SPIR QV I O1S-hold-DPIR fall-DPIR CONJ
 ham zoʔ **gan** iy-id teʔ ham ni ya iy-O1-O2 haʔ(?)O1-m.
 QV log.drum SIM be-DPIR CONJ QV you I hit-IMP-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘His mother said to her child, You come quickly and lay me down and then I will become like a split log drum and then you hit (play) me.’
- 302) Teʔ in a-hol biliy-im aybab **gan** iy-im us-O1-O2.
 CONJ she IP3S-body turn-SP drift.wood SIM be-SP sleep-PS-N1S
 ‘And she changed and became like drift wood and was there.’

3.18 Complex word formation

Under this heading are included compound verb stems and derived words.

3.18.1 Compound verb stems

Bargam has several types of compound verb stems. The formula for compound verb stems is displayed below:

slot	Head ₁	Head ₂
------	-------------------	-------------------

filler	verb stem	verb stem
	noun stem	

3.18.1.1 Verb stem plus verb stem

One type of compound verb stem is constructed by juxtaposing two independent verb roots. Such a compound verb stem takes suffixation like a univalent verb root, i.e. the Perfect clitic is prefixed to the first member and the person/number suffix is attached to the second member.

3.18.1.1.1 Added semantic features

In these instances the juxtaposing of two verb roots to form a third verb combining elements of meaning from both constituent verbs.

303)	waz	'hold'	+ biliy	'turn'	= wazbuliy	'turn over'
	wol	'hit'	+ em	'do'	= wolem	'kill'
	ulum	'pierce'	+ zilay	'split'	= ulumzilay	'split by piercing'
	bay	'step on'	+ zilay	'split'	= bayzilay	'split by stepping on'
	bay	'step.on'	+ net	'wrap'	= baynet	'stakeout, lay in wait for'
	ulum	'pierce'	+ net	'wrap'	= ulumnet	'cover walls (as of a new house)'
	bay	'step on'	+ sire?	'tear'	= baysire?	'tear by stepping on'

3.18.1.1.2 Added aspectual features

Often the second component supplies certain aspectual meaning components to the first member.

304)	may	'dry'	+ has	'open'	= mayhas	'dry thoroughly'
	ne?	'eat'	+ wa?	'get'	= ne?wa?	'try eating = taste'
	em	'do'	+ wa?	'get'	= emwa?	'try doing=attempt'
	leh	'go'	+ tay	'dig'	= lehtay	'go completely'
	us	'sleep'	+ tut	'join'	= ustut	'still sleeping'
	bila?	'say'	+ ton	'do'	= bila?ton	'say (it) again'

305) Ya bul bun-mo **ti-gi-nol** em-O1-O2.

I pig all-EMP PFT-O3P-hit do-PA-1S

'I killed all the pigs.'

306)a An a-nen bulon-an hai? in a-sen-ab-moa-miy

DP IP3S-mother speak.to-DP NEG she IP3S-leg-DAT-EMP IP3S-daughter

bay-has-O1-O2.

step.on-set.loose-PA-N1S

'And her mother spoke to her with no effect and so she knocked her over/away with her leg.'

307)b **Bay-has-an** a-miy og-ib ti(?)O1-m.

step.on-set.loose-DP IP3S-daughter ground-DAT descend-PA-N1S

'She knocked her over and her daughter went down to the ground.'

308)c Ti?-im og-ib tur-sa a-mam talgis wa?-im og-ib

descend-SP ground-DAT stand-DD IP3S-father axe get-SP ground-DAT

iti?-im ma-na-b a-miy a-bu **wol-has-d-ai?**

descend-SP EMP-that-DAT IP3S-daughter IP3S-base.of.skull hit-set.loose-FUT-N1S

ha(?)O1-m.

QV-PA-N1S

'She went down and was standing on the ground and her father got an axe and descended to the ground and was thinking/intending to knock her head off.'

- 309) In deg sisoʔ-ad kuh ton-im os-sa onmin ezeʔman na loʔim
 he bowl carve-SD bend.over do-SP sit-DD children three that approach-SP
 tun niyay-im a-go deg-mo in sisoʔ-ad os na **hunog-mo**
 bow draw-SP IP3S-POS bowl-EMP he carve-SD sit that shoot-EMP
zilay-Ō1-iy.
 split-PA-N1P

‘As he was carving the bowl and sitting bent over, those three children approach and drew their bows and shot and split that bowl that he was carving.’

Also included in this category are verb stems composed of a true verb root and a verb-like morpheme (perhaps an independent verb in the past) which however, never occurs independently, but is inflected for perfective aspect and/or object cross-reference if occupying head₁ slot, and with final verb tense and person/number suffixation if occupying head₂ slot. Examples of such verb-like morphemes are:

- 310) kem ‘action done well’
 bug ‘action distributed to all objects’
 hik ‘action done with hands’
 wor ‘action results in object being reduced to bits’
 ʔwa²³ ‘action done with a sharp instrument’
 wun (~ un) ‘action done towards someone’
 kires ton ‘action done poorly or incorrectly’

- 311) Gwal-im sibsibun-im gel-Ō1-aiʔ haiʔ-mo **baykireh** nem-ad
 ascend-SP run.across-SP approach-PR-1S NEG-ITS mis.step utter-SD
 o yoʔ a-me iyah-ta na-b-mo ya zuruh nem-Ō1-Ō2.
 o water IP3S-eye big-MOD that-DAT-EMP I noise utter-PA-1S
 ‘(I) went up and ran across the bridge (thinking) I’m going to the other side and no, and my foot slipped and I plunged into a deep spot in the river.’

- 312)a Ni gwal-eʔ ham teʔ ni ya-(i)-mo i-nan biy-eʔ
 you ascend-SPIR QV CONJ you I-(O1S)-EMP IP1S-name say-SPIR
liley-Ō1-Ō2 ha(ʔ)-Ō1-m.
 call-IPR-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘You go up and then you say my name and call out.’

- 313)b Ni leh-eʔ dan-[a]-te-b tur-ad ni-yow **lilewun-d-aʔ**,
 you go-SPIR path-(IP3S)-tooth-DAT stand-SD IP2S-friend call.to-FUT-N1S,
 Ya-(i)-yow ni na-b-ag os-Ō1-aʔ e haʔ-d-aʔ.
 I-IP1S-friend you that-DAT-REDUP sit-PR-N1S INTER QV-FUT-N1S
 ‘You will go and stand at the road junction and call to you friend, “My friend, are you there?”’

- 314) Na ya waʔ-im ham wiz-ad os-ad a ta hi wamuz-an-mo
 that I get-SP QV roast-SD sit-SD REAL REACT NEG look.after-DP-ITS
 tu-**oywor-Ō1-Ō2** ha(ʔ)-Ō1-m.
 PFT-burn.up-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘“I got that (rat) and was roasting it and I stopped watching it and it burned up,” she said.’

²³ Note: ʔwa is included here as a manner morpheme, although it is clearly a reduced form of the independent verb ʔway ‘to cut’.

- 315) Ka ya babe? bol-e? te? **baynet-e?** a-hol **wa?kern-d-ai?**
 this I tomorrow come-SPIR CONJ stake.out-SPIR IP3S-body get.well-FUT-1S
 ha(?)O1-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Concerning this I will come tomorrow and stake it out and see it clearly,’’ he said.’
- 316) Naza?-mo em-ad luw-sa a-ma-bab-an
 like.that-EMP do-SD go.around-DD IP3S-ygr.sib.same.sex-oldr.sib.same.sex-P
 hai? **ti-iy** **bug-O1-iy.**
 NEG PFT-be DIST-PA-N1P
 ‘He kept on doing like that and all of his brothers became finished/ceased to exist.’
- 317) Waz-im naza? ne-na? hure?-im zo? li?-ab-mo
 hold-SP like.that O3P-COM pull-SP slit.log.drum middle-DAT-EMP
hikzilay-O1-iy.
 split.by.hand-PA-N1P
 ‘They grasped it and like that they pulled and split the slit log drum in half.’

3.18.1.2 Noun plus verb stem

In this type of construction a noun and verb occur together (the noun always preceding the verb) to form a compound stem. For example:

- 318) ahol ‘body’ + wa? ‘get’ = ahol wa? ‘see’
 anad ‘mind’ + em ‘do’ = anad em ‘understand’
 yay ‘pit’ + ton ‘do’ = yay ton ‘bury’
- 319) Bolsa mat na atatin i-na? bol-ad luw-im-mo
 come-DD man that his.son O3S-COM come-SD go.around-SP-ITS
 kudor na **a-hol** **tu-wa?-O1-iy.**
 tree.possum that IP3S-body PFT-get-PA-N1P
 ‘As it was coming that man and his son were coming and they saw that tree possum.’
- 320) A-sus mug-an-mo in **a-nad** **ti-am-O1-O2,** Oye? ham ka ham
 IP3S-breast bite-DP-ITS she IP3S-mind PFT-do-PA-N1s, Uh-oh QV this QV
 ya-i-go uli?-ab da? ag tu-gwati()-O1-m ha()-O1-m.
 I-O1S-POS village-DAT deed UNSPC PFT-happen-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘It bit her breast and she thought, ‘‘Uh-oh, concerning this, something has happen in my village.’’’
- 321) Mo?-an ham ya-i-go sule? a-ger-ab i **yay ton-O1-O2** ha(?)O1-m.
 die-DP QV I-O1S-POS school IP3S-side-DAT we pit do-PA-1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He died, he said, and we buried him beside my school, he said.’

As is apparent from the above formula and examples, the compound verb stem is a type of verb serialization which normally functions as a single independent verb stem. However the two heads are somewhat loosely associated in that it is possible for certain morphemes such as the emphatic morpheme *amo* (always contracted with the first head) and the intensifier morpheme *di?* to occur in-between head₁ and head₂, e.g.:

- 322) wolmo am ‘he just killed him’
 aholmo wam ‘he just looked’
 me?niy di? hasya? ‘it was thoroughly ruining’

- 323) In deg sisoʔ-ad kuh ton-im os-sa onmin ezeʔman na loʔ-im tun
 he bowl shave-SD bend do-SP sit-DD children three that approach-SP bow
 niyay-im a-go deg [a]-mo in sisoʔ-ad os-O1-O2 na
 pull.bow.string-SP O3S-POS bowl O3S-EMP he shave-SD sit-PA-N1S that
hunog-mo zilay-O1-iy
 shoot-EMP split-PA-N1P

Except for the above exception, the structure of the compound verb stem is similar to what James (1983) has described in Siane as lexicalized verb serialization.

3.18.1.3 Verb stem plus the suppletive verb ‘to give’

Another type of compound verb formation which deserves mention here is the type composed of a noun or verb plus the verb ‘to give’. This type of construction indicates an action done to or for someone (but not necessarily always in a benefactive sense – the action denoted by the verb is determinative in this regard).

- 324) huz ‘bathe’ + ug ‘give him’ = huz ug ‘bathe him’
 zay ‘buy’ + yag ‘give me’ = zay yag ‘buy for me’
 em ‘do’ + yag ‘give me’ = em yag ‘do/make for me’
 susumun ‘question’ + nig ‘give you’ = susumun nig ‘ask you’
 kusluw ‘spit’ + neg ‘give them’ = kusluw neg ‘spit (on) them’
 kat ‘lie’ + yag ‘give me’ = kat yag ‘lied to me’

With intransitive verbs such as, *huz* ‘bathe’ and *siroʔ* ‘urinate’, the ‘give’ verb functions as a ‘valence increaser’, enabling them to occur with a direct or indirect object. This is a reflection of the fact that in many Papuan languages the benefactive is often constructed as main verb plus ‘give’ or else has developed from it.

- 325) Haʔ-sa-mo ah koʔ ug-ad-mo ti-leh-yaʔay.
 QV-DD-ITS bird defecate give.him-SD-ITS PFT-go-IPF-N1P
 ‘As he was speaking the birds would defecate on him as they flew away.’

This construction has also been observed with the intransitive verb ‘go’ as in the example below.

- 326) Ya sansandek ka em-an leh nig-O1-aʔ.
 I letter this do-DP go give.you-PR-1S
 ‘I am sending this letter and it is going for you.’

The contrast between this type of construction and the benefactive postpositional phrase becomes obvious in certain instances like the following:

- 327) Ya amun huz ug-O1-aiʔ.
 I child bathe give.him-PR-1S
 ‘I am giving the child a bath.’
- 328) *Ya amun a-yon huz-O1-aiʔ.
 I child O3S-BEN bathe-PR-1S
 *‘I am bathing on behalf of or for the benefit of the child.’

The assertion in (328) above is non-sensical since someone’s bathing is not normally construed to be of benefit for someone else. However, the designative postposition may be used in combination with this type of compound verb to modify the meaning in the following way:

- 329) In awe a-men guren zinul-O1-O2.
 he wife O3S-DESIG coconut husk-PA-N1S
 ‘He husked the coconut for his wife (i.e. not for anyone else).’

- 330) In awe **a-men** guren zinul **ug-O1-O2**.
 he wife O3S-DESIG coconut husk give.her-PA-N1S
 ‘He husked the coconut for his wife (i.e. in order to save her the trouble of doing it).’

3.18.2 Derived words

Derives words are words which normally function as one class of words, but with the addition of an affix, function as an entirely different class (cf. Table 3 in section 3.1).

3.18.2.1 Derived nouns

Derived nouns may be constructed by adding an inalienable possessor prefix and the associatively possessed suffix *-an* (see 3.3.5.1.3) to verbs, alienably possessed nouns and modifiers. Normally a (phonetic) glottal stop marks the morpheme boundary between the stem and the APS suffix. For example:

- 331) a-may-ʔan ‘dry’ verb base: may ‘dry’
 a-sim-ʔan ‘short’ verb base: siʔim ‘short’
 a-hem-ʔan ‘ripe’ verb base: hem ‘ripen’
 a-hur-an ‘smell noun base: hur ‘residue’
- 332) Gwahtiʔ-im **a-moʔ-an** tu-waʔ-y-aʔ.
 arrive-SP IN3S-die-APS PFT-get-IPF-N1S
 ‘He arrived and began to get sick (from what had happened to him)’
- 333) In os-ad teʔ kam araʔ **ayah-an** in yoʔ muz-im silaʔ ulum-im
 he sit-SD CONJ day a big-APS he water follow-SP crayfish pierce-SP
 ulum-im gwale-mo in bit araʔ a-hol tu-waʔ-ʔ-O1-m.
 pierce-SP go.up-ITS he house a IN3S-body PFT-get-PA-N1S
 ‘He remained and then one day his older brother followed the river spearing crayfish as he went and he went up and saw a house.’
- 334) Ezaʔ-go **a-bilaʔ-an** in asit ahuʔan iy-O1-aʔ haʔ-ʔ-O1-m.
 what-POS IN3S-say-APS it little heavy be-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘That’s because it is a little hard to say/pronounce.’
- 335) Ka ya **i-mik-an**.
 this I IP1S-small-APS
 ‘This is my younger brother.’
- 336) Gamuk na **a-hurit-an** meʔin.
 talk that IP3S-hear-APS bad
 ‘That talk sounds bad.’ (i.e. unnatural or ungrammatical or inappropriate)

Not surprisingly, derived nouns constructed in a way analogous with inalienably possessed nouns, may occur in a possessor-possessed construction, where the derived nominal is construed as an integral part or portion of the governing noun.

- 337) Dan **a-sim-an** diʔ ka-(a)-mo meʔin diʔ.
 road IP3S-short-APS INTNS this-O3S-EMP bad INTNS
 ‘Just this very short stretch of the road is very bad.’

In ex. (337) above, *dan asimʔan* meaning ‘a short stretch or part of the road,’ differs from the similar phrase *dan siʔimta* ‘a short road’ in that the first phrase refers to a short segment of the road whereas the second phrase refers to the road as a whole.

Derived nouns may occur without the APS suffix.

- 338) Dida? ka **a-ne?** dimun di-di? ha(?)-O1-m.
 food this IN3S-eat good INTNS-REDUP QV-PA-N1S
 ‘This food really tastes good.’
- 339) In naza?-mo aw manatin na a-ez muz-im guren ?way-im
 he like.that-EMP woman old that IN3S-voice follow-SP coconut cut-SP
 huneg-im hulos-ad in a-me amulik-mo kaynag em-an-mo on
 throw-SP let.go-SD he IN3S-eye one-EMP paddle do-DP-ITS women
 baras baras-ta **gi-wa?** dim-dimun di? na in
 beautiful REDUP-MOD ON1P-get good-REDUP INTNS that they
 tu-gwahti?-O1-iy.
 PFT-appear-PA-N1P
 ‘He like that followed what the old woman said and cut the coconut and threw them and quit and took one stroke with the paddle and the young beautiful very attractive women appeared.’

In a related way demonstrative pronouns occur with the associative possession suffix but without the possessor prefix, presumably because the demonstrative is by nature anaphorically pointing to its referent.

- 340) Bit **na-an-ta** em-O1-O2.
 house that-APS-MOD build-IMP-2S
 ‘Build that kind of house.’

3.18.2.2 Derived modifiers

Derived modifiers are constructed by adding the modifier suffix *-ta* to nouns and verbs. For example, *mat* ‘man’ becomes *matta* ‘male’ and *katiy* ‘to fool, lie’ becomes *katiyta* ‘false’. Derived nouns (see section 3.18.2.1 above) may also become modifiers with the addition of the suffix *-ta*. Such forms resemble inalienably possessed nouns.

- 341) a-kaka?-anta ‘the ripe ones of’ base: kaka? ‘red’
 amatinta ‘the male one of’ base: mat ‘man’
- 342) In aw **gamuk-ta**.
 she woman talk-MOD
 ‘She is a woman who talks alot/easily/to everybody.’
- 343) In guren **a-may-an-ta** wa?-nan leh-O1-a?.
 he coconut IP3S-dry-APS-MOD get-DES go-PR-N1S
 ‘He is going to get a dry coconut’
- 344) In an alowan-mo ton-e? mataw giger na aw
 they each.other be.kind-EMP do-SPIR men two that woman
gi-hiy-ta na a hi wol ya?-ay.
 O3P-sister-MOD that REAL NEG hit IPF-N1P
 ‘They would be only kind to each other and those two men would not hit that sister-woman of theirs.’

3.19 Nominalization

3.19.1.1 Verb stems without affixation

Simple verb stems may be used nominally in stative clauses when the action or state they denote is being commented on.

- 345) Mataw na gigo os in meʔin diʔ.
men that O3P-POS sit it bad INTNS
'Those people's life is very bad.'
- 346) Ay ʔway in kabiy araʔ afaʔan-ta.
tree cut it work a heavy-MOD
'Tree-cutting is hard work.'
- 347) Faʔ na in a-go hiʔiy haiʔ-ta.
fire that it O3S-POS finish NEG-MOD
'That fire never finishes (goes out)'

3.19.1.2 Verbs with the possessive pronoun -go

Verb stems may be contracted with the possessive pronoun -go to form noun-like constructions.

- 348) Didaʔ ka neʔ-go ti-iy-O1-O2.
food this eat-POS PFT-be-PA-N1S
'This food is ready to eat.'

Serialized constructions of noun plus verb may also be combined with the possessive pronoun to create a noun-like structure.

- 349) Ya ziy nay-go a hi hurit-O1-O2.
I net.bag weave-POS REAL NEG hear-PA-1S
I don't know how to weave a bilum.

In (349) it should be noted that the serialized string *ziy nay* 'net.bag weave' is construed as a unit, both members being under the influence of the possessive pronoun.

3.20 Verbs

3.20.1 Semantic character of the Bargam verb

Comrie (1976:48-51) divides 'situations' into two categories, **static** and **dynamic**. In a static situation all phases of the predication are identical, there is no change. A dynamic situation involves a change of state; all phases of the situation are different and a constant input of energy is required. According to Comrie then, the only binary contrast inherent in the verb itself is **change vs. invariance**. The perfective/imperfective aspect is something imposed on the verb by the speaker.

Comrie's distinctions are helpful in understanding tense, aspect and modality in Bargam. Bargam distinguishes between only two broad semantic classifications of verbs: static and dynamic. Static verbs comprise a closed class of four verbs:

- 350) tur 'stand'
os 'sit'
us 'sleep'
luw 'walk around'

It will be noticed that these verbs encode relatively invariant states. The verb **luw** 'walk around' encodes continuous but *non-progressive* movement. These four verbs encode **physical orientation** and are the only verbs with which durative dependent verbs can completely overlap.

All other Bargam verbs can be classified as dynamic. The static or dynamic nature of Bargam verbs is crucially related to determining the aspectual nature or 'internal temporal constitution' of a particular predication.

3.20.2 Morphology

Bargam verbs are composed of a verb stem (which may be a single root or a compound stem, see section 3.18.1) plus appropriate prefixes and/or suffixes dependent on the inherent characteristics of the verb and the external constraints imposed on the verb by its including clause or by the speaker himself (aspect-mood). Bargam verbs, on the basis of suffixation, fall into two categories: dependent verbs, which normally occur sentence medially, and independent verbs, which normally are the right-most constituents of sentences. Dependent verbs are discussed in section 5.3. All Bargam verb stems end in a consonant.

The basic structure of the Bargam independent verb is:

slot	Margin	Margin	Head	Margin	Margin
filler	perfective aspect	object	verb stem	tense mood	person/number

Rule 1: The transitivity of the verb normally determines whether or not it may take the object cross-referencing prefixes.

Rule 2: Mood and Tense marker do not co-occur.

Rule 3: Verbs in the imperative and contrafactual moods are marked only for non-first person plural.

Rule 4: Verbs in the desiderative mood take no person/number marking.

Rule 5: All verbs may additionally be suffixed with the modifier suffix *-ta* and the immediate temporal succession suffix *-mo*, as well as being contracted with the emphatic marker *amo*, or a combination of these.

3.20.2.1 Person-Number

The set of subject person-number suffixes are portmanteau morphemes encoding both singular versus plural and first versus non-first distinctions. Second and third person are neutralized for both singular and plural. The set of person-number suffixes appear below.

	S	P
I	-aiʔ	-auʔ (-am FUT)
NI	-aʔ	-ay (-aʔay FUT, IPF)

Table 7: Primary person-number suffixes

The non-first person plural suffix is *-aʔay* in the imperfect and future tenses. Normally first person plural future suffix is the portmanteau morpheme *-am* which also encodes future tense (i.e. the future tense marker *-d-* does not occur with *-am*. However, on rare occasions the primary suffix *-auʔ* in combination with the future tense marker is used.

Secondary person-number suffixation occurs on Past Perfect tense forms. The non-first person plural suffix is *-jʔ* in the past tense. The distinction between second and third person must be made explicit through pronouns. An alternate set of secondary person-number suffixes occur with verb stems ending in */ʔ/*.

	S	P
I	∅ (PA) (-y in stems ending in <i>/ʔ/</i>)	∅ (PA) (-w in stems ending in <i>/ʔ/</i>)

N1	∅ (PA) (stem final syllable: e → a) (-m in stems ending in /ʔ/)	-iy (PA)
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Table 8: Secondary person-number suffixes

3.20.2.2 Tense

Bargam distinguishes three categories of time. They are: 1) the present moment, 2) time previous to the present moment, and 3) time subsequent to the present moment. Past time is divided further into two aspectual categories as illustrated in the following table:

previous to...	present moment	...subsequent to
Past perfect Past imperfect	Present	Future

Table 9: Bargam tense distinctions

3.20.2.2.1 Past

3.20.2.2.1.1 Past perfect

The past perfect tense is the simple past tense. It points to a punctiliar action that was completed in a time previous to the time of utterance. Past tense formation distinguishes between two categories of verb stems: those that end in a glottal stop and all others. For verb stems ending in a glottal stop the past tense is formed in the following way:

1S	stem -minus glottal stop- plus	-y
N1S	stem -minus glottal stop- plus	-m
1P	stem -minus glottal stop- plus	-w
N1P	stem plus	-iy

Table 10: Past perfect tense formation for verb stems ending in glottal stop

For all other verb stems the construction of past tense is as follows:

1S	stem	∅
N1S	stem	∅
1P	stem	∅
N1P	stem	-iy

Table 11: Past perfect tense formation for regular verb stems

A general N1S vowel change rule (see 2.4.4.1) applies to both types of verbs (see example (352) below). For illustration of past tense formation see table 11 below.

351) Mataw irimo **dor-O1-iy**.
men yesterday dance-PA-N1P
'Yesterday the men danced.'

352) Sa a-ses kuduy na wiz-im **ti-na(?)O1-m**.
CONJ IP3S-grandparent rat that roast-SP PFT-eat(e→a)-PA-N1S
'And his grandmother roasted the rat and ate it.'

3.20.2.2.1.2 Past imperfect

The past imperfect tense is the past progressive tense. The past imperfect tense is indicated by the affix -ɣ. A past imperfect tense verb is composed of a verb stem plus -ɣ plus a person-number ending.

Past imperfect tense in realis mode encodes situations which endure through time and for which no terminal boundary is construed. If the verb is intrinsically static the situation encoded is a *continuous* state. If the verb is intrinsically dynamic the situation is either *progressive* (for motion verbs) or *iterative* (for momentary or single-action verbs). Situations encoded in realis mode are on the event line and move the story forward.

- 353) Sib-im leh-ad i ek **ton-y-au?**, Bul na-wa leh-O1-a? o
 run-SP go-SD we yell do-IPF-1P pig that-PLOC go-PR-N1S oh
ha?-y-au?
 QV-IPF-1P
 ‘As we ran we were shouting (over and over), “The pig is going towards you-o!”’
- 354) In tur-sa kalam **ti-gabol-y-a?**
 he stand-DD moon PFT-come.up-IPF-N1S
 ‘While he stood there the moon was coming up.’
- 355) In ih reg-im gwale alon-ib in ih anon wa?-an
 she tree climb-SP go.up top-DAT she tree fruit take-DP
tu-wo?-y-a?
 Per-fall-IPF-N1S
 ‘She climbed the *ih* tree and went up to the top and was dropping *ih* fruits (to her friend standing on the ground).’
- 356) Sa a-yan bila()-O1-m, Ka wa?-it-mo ti-gi-mug-O1-a? ha?-ad-mo
 DP IP3S-cousinsay-PA-N1S this spirit-EMP PFT-O1P-bite-PR-N1S QV-SD-ITS
 in didib-mo **ek ton y-a?ay.**
 they very-EMP yell do IPF-N1P
 ‘At the same time his cousin said, Concerning this, a spirit is biting us, and they were yelling very loudly.’

3.20.2.2.2 Present

Present tense indicates a progressive action and points to a time roughly simultaneous with the time of the utterance. It is indicated by a zero morpheme. A present tense verb is composed of a verb stem plus a person-number ending (See table 11).

- 357) Naza? iy-an muran ka-wa tirgaw amik-mik-ta-mo
 like.that be/become-DP now this-PLOC bird.name small-REDUP-MOD-EMP
 in **luw-O1-ay.**
 they go.around-PR-N1P
 ‘Therefore now at this time there are only small hawks around.’
- 358) Gwal-im in hufay ti-iy-O1-O2, na-wa luw-im
 ascend-SP she name PFT-be/become-PA-N1S that-PLOC go.around-SP
 yaw ?way-im hufay **wol-O1-ay** na.
 sago.palm cut-SP name hit-PR-N1P that
 ‘She went up [into the top of the sago palm] and became a *hufay* [species of tree possum], the *hufay* that they kill when [people] are involved in cutting down a sago palm.’

3.20.2.2.3 Future

Future tense indicates an action which will occur in a time later than the utterance. Future tense is indicated by the affix *-d-* (*-da?* for the N1P), which has a zero allomorph with 1P. A future tense verb is composed of a verb stem plus *-d-* plus a person-number ending (See table 9). This is identical in structure to the formation of the past imperfect stems (see 3.20.2.2.1.2 above). In certain contexts the future tense is used to express necessity (see example (361) below).

- 359) Babe? te? mataw **dor-d-a?ay**.
 tomorrow then men dance-FUT-N1P
 ‘Tomorrow the men will dance.’
- 360) Uli? karuw ne? **d-a?ay-ta** na bem huz-e? bol-O1-iy
 village meat eat FUT-N1P-MOD that red.paint bathe-SPIR come-JUS-3P
 ha(?)O1-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Let the village that will eat (pig) meat put on red paint,’’ he said.’
- 361) Init-bug-id hi?iy-id ari te? ni titu? **tu-wa?-d-a?**.
 sew-EXH-DPIR finish-DPIR Ok CONJ you post PFT-get-FUT-N1S
 ‘After you finish sewing all [the thatch], then next you will/must get the posts.’

Below is a table which summarizes the four tense formations for regular verb stems and stems ending in glottal stop.

person	bol ‘come’		ne? ‘eat’	
	S	P	S	P
Past perfect				
lst	bol	bol	ne-y	ne-w
non-1st	bol	bol-iy	na-m	ne?-iy
Past imperfect				
lst	bol-y-ai?	bol-y-au?	ne?-y-ai?	ne?-y-au?
non-1st	bol-y-a?	bol-y-a?ay	ne?-y-a?	ne?-y-a?ay
Present				
lst	bol-ai?	bol-au?	ne?-ai?	ne?-au?
non-1s	bol-a?	bol-ay	ne?-a?	ne?-ay
Future				
lst	bol-d-ai?	bol-am	ne?-d-ai?	ne?-am
non-1st	bol-d-a?	bol-d-a?ay	ne?-d-a?	ne?-d-a?ay

Table 12: Bargam independent verb paradigm

3.20.2.3 Aspect

Perfective aspect is encoded on Bargam verbs by the verbal prefix *ti-* (~*tu-*). It may occur with all three tenses as well as the desiderative and contrafactual moods. Of the four aspectual elements listed by Givon (1984:278-284), *ti-* always encodes **current relevance** and **anteriority** (the gap between the present moment the initiation or termination of a perfective situation, or some mid-point of an imperfective situation).²⁴

With independent verbs, *ti-* produces the following aspectual meanings:

- 362) *ti-/tu-* + past perfect = ‘already done’
 + present / past imperfect = ‘already doing’
 + future = ‘certainly will do’

²⁴ The other two are *accomplishment* and *counter-sequentiality*. In Bargam, *accomplishment* is determined by the choice of tense. Since *ti-* can occur on the present and past imperfect tense, accomplishment or termination is obviously not necessarily implied by the perfect aspect in Bargam. *Counter-sequentiality*, is encoded by *ti-* plus the conjunction *te?*:

Ya dida? ti-ne?-an te? ni bila(?)O1-m.
 I food PFT-eat-DP CONJ you say-PA-N1S
 ‘I had already eaten the food and then you spoke.’

Below are sets of sentences using the static verb *tur-* ‘stand’ and the dynamic verb *neʔ-* ‘eat’ illustrating the use of the perfect aspect marker in Bargam.

Past perfect

- 363) In ti-tur-ŋ1-ŋ2.
he PFT-stand-PA-N1S
‘He has (already) stood.’
- 364) Ya didaʔ ti-neʔ(?)-ŋ1-y
I food PFT-eat-PA-1S
‘I have (already) eaten the food.’

Past imperfect

- 365) In ti-tur-y-aʔ.
he PFT-stand-IPF-N1S
‘He was (already) standing.’
- 366) Ya didaʔ ti-neʔ-y-aiʔ.
I food PFT-eat-IPF-1S
‘I was (already engaged in) eating the food.’

Present

- 367) Ya ti-tur-ŋ1-aiʔ.
I PFT-stand-PR-1S
‘I am (already in the position of) standing.’
- 368) Ya didaʔ ti-neʔ-ŋ1-aiʔ.
I food PFT-eat-PR-1S
‘I am (already in the act of) eating.’

Future

- 369) In ti-tur-d-aʔ.
He PFT-stand-FUT-N1S
‘He will (surely) stand.’
- 370) Ya didaʔ ti-neʔ-d-aiʔ.
I food PFT-eat-FUT-1S
‘I will (surely) eat the food.’

3.20.2.3.1 Tense and aspect in Bargam

It has already become clear that in a real sense, tense cannot be discussed apart from aspect in Bargam. This is true not only because of the perfective/imperfective contrast in the two Past tenses, but also because the Present and Future tenses in Bargam are *inherently* either perfective or imperfective. Using the terms perfective and imperfective as defined earlier, the four tenses of Bargam divide themselves up in the following way:

Perfective	Imperfective
Past perfect	Past imperfect
Future	Present

Table 13: Bargam tense/aspect distinctions

The above table indicates that the perfective tenses are the Past perfect and the Future. Situations encoded in these two tense are presented in their entirety without regard to duration, that is, they are construed as having no internal temporal constituency. The imperfective tenses, on the other hand, have no terminal boundary in view, that is, the situation is glimpsed at some mid-point in its duration.

PAST PERFECT tense is perfective in nature since the situations it encodes have no internal temporal structure. Rather they are presented as a compact whole with no reference to length of duration.

- 371) Mat na yaʔ-(i)-go bul gi-nol em bug-01-02.
man that I-O1S-POS pig O3P-hit do DISTR-PA-N1S
'That man killed all my pigs.'
- 372) Ya Madang-ib leh-01-02.
I name-DAT go-PA-1S
'I went to Madang.'
- 373) In-[a]-go gaun yuw-ub wo(?)01-m.
he-IP3S-POS dog water-DAT fall-PA-N1S
'His dog fell in the water.'

The PAST IMPERFECT tense is classified as imperfective in aspect since it denotes a situation which has no terminal boundary in view. Thus it is used to denote a situation which endured in time and for which no terminal boundary is predicated. The focus is on the endurance of the state or the repetition of the event, and no mention is made of whether or not the situation came to an end or not.

- 374) In guren bayhishas-an woʔ-y-aʔ.
he coconut kick.loose(REDUP)-DP fall-IPF-N1S
'He was knocking the coconuts down with his feet.'
- 375) Ya uliʔ-ab-mo os-y-aiʔ.
I village-DAT-EMP sit-IPF-1S
'I was just sitting in the village.'

PRESENT TENSE in Bargam is inherently imperfective, since it encodes a situation which is unbounded. The present tense denotes some mid-point in a situation which is concurrent with the moment of speaking.

- 376) Ni naga em-01-aʔ?
you what do-PR-N1S
'What are you doing?'
- 377)b Ya didaʔ neʔ-aiʔ.
I food eat-PR-1S
'I'm eating food.'
- 378) Ni na-wa os-01-aʔ eʔ
you that-PLOC sit-Pr-N1S INTER
'Are you sitting there?'

FUTURE TENSE in Bargam is considered to be perfective in aspect because it is never construed to have any internal temporal structure.

- 379) I babeʔ teʔ uliʔ-ab leh-01-am.
we tomorrow CONJ village-DAT go-FUT-1P
'Tomorrow we will go to the vilage.'
- 380) Wik araʔ ko-b teʔ mataw dor-d-aʔay.
week a there-DAT then men dance-FUT-N1P
'Next week the men will dance.'

3.20.2.3.2 Tense, aspect and modality in Bargam

Mode in Bargam is indicated on verbs in one of two ways. On independent verbs, modality, like aspect, is implicit in the choice of tense used by the speaker. The present and past tenses are realis by 'nature', that is they encode situations which occur in real time, either at some time prior to the present moment or contemporaneous with it. Future is categorized as irrealis because it indicates a situation which will occur in some yet-to-be time and therefore does not yet have real existence. Past imperfect tense is used to encode both realis and irrealis mode predications.

The second manner in which realis/irrealis modality is indicated is via dependent sentence-medial verb suffixation. Normally realis medial verb suffixes are used with the realis tenses and irrealis medial verb suffixes are used with the Future tense (as well as with the imperative, desiderative and contrafactual moods). The following exceptions, however, should be noted: 1) the durative realis medial verb suffixes are used with the Future tense as well as with Past and Present tenses, and 2) irrealis medial verb suffixation can be used with the past imperfect tense to perform certain discourse functions which will be discussed in a later section. It is interesting to notice that the functional similarity between the Past imperfect and Future tenses is also reflected morphologically in that both forms of the verb are constructed in the same way, i.e. verb stem + tense/mode affix + person/number suffix.

3.20.2.4 Object Cross Reference

Direct object is marked on transitive and ditransitive verbs by the following set of cross-referencing prefixes.

Obj	S	P
1	i- 'me'	/ 'us'
2	ni- 'you'	gi- 'you'
3	∅ - 'him'	\ 'them'

Table 14: Bargam object prefixes

The marker for 3S object is a zero morpheme. The marker for first, second and third person plural objects is manifested by the single prefix *gi-*. Explicit statement of the object serves to disambiguate the referents of the plural prefix. Human direct objects are obligatorily marked on transitive and ditransitive verb stems. Animate non-human objects are normally referenced and inanimate objects are normally not referenced on the verb stem, although exceptions have been observed in both cases.

- 381) Ni ya hi i-waz-01-02.
 you me NEG O1S-hold-IMP-2S
 'You don't hold me.'
- 382) Mataw dor-sa in gi-biy-01-02.
 men dance-DD he them-see-PA-N1S
 'He saw the men dancing.'
- 383) Ya ne gi-bilen-01-ai?
 I you you-speak-PR-1S
 'I am talking to you.'
- 384) Leh -sa a- mam a- -go nagah ta gi- wa(?) -01 -m
 go -DD IP3S- father O3S- -POS something REACT O3P- get -PA -N1S
 'As (the child) was going his father picked his things (referring to a bow, fire stick and net bag) back up.'

3.20.2.5 Mood

The term ‘mood’ as used here refers to the speaker’s attitude or his mental-emotional orientation to the action of the verb. In addition to the indicative and interrogative moods the Bargam language exhibits three other moods marked as suffixes on the verb.

3.20.2.5.1 Desiderative

The desiderative mood is the mood of intention. With it the speaker expresses his intention or desire to commence an activity. This mood is expressed by the suffix *-nan*. A verb with the desiderative *-nan* takes no person-number markings and is tenseless. *-Nan* is no doubt derived from the noun *nan* meaning ‘talk, speech, language’. This reflects a common characteristic of Papuan languages to use the verb ‘say’ for intention/purpose.

- 385) Ya uliʔ-ab ti-leh-nan.
I village-DAT PFT-go-DES
‘I am about to go to the village.’
- 386) Ni huz-nan leh-ŋ1-aʔ eʔ
You bathe-DES go-PR-N1S INTER
‘Are you going intending to bathe?’

It is also possible to express intention by use of embedded quotation (see exs. 273 and 274). Pragmatically the two constructions overlap and may be used interchangeably in a wide variety of situations. The difference between the two seems to lie in the fact that while a verb in the desiderative mood plus a sentence-final independent verb require the same agent for both predications, the agent of an embedded quotation may be different from the agent of the final independent verb (see example 274).

3.20.2.5.2 Contrafactual

The contrafactual mood expresses the English equivalent of ‘should’ or ‘would’. It is encoded by the form *-nag* (all persons, singular) and *-nagiy* (all persons, plural).

- 387) Mataw teko bol nag-ŋ1-iy.
men already come CFT-PA-N1P
‘The men should have already come.’
- 388) Ya rab nag-ŋ1-ŋ2.
I fear CFT-PA-1S
‘I would have been afraid.’

3.20.2.5.3 Imperative

The imperative mood is manifested in a variety of ways for different persons. It is expressed by the unaffixed verb stem for second person singular and the verb stem plus the plural morpheme *-iy-* for second person plural.

- 389) Ni leh-ŋ1-ŋ2.
you go-IMP-2S
‘You go!’
- 390) Ne kab bol-ŋ1-iy.
you here come-IMP-2P
‘You(P) come here!’
- 391) Zabel ug-ŋ1-ŋ2.
yam give.him-IMP-2S
‘Give him the yam!’

Cohortatives (1st person imperatives) are encoded by the morpheme *-iʔ* for first person singular and *-uʔ* for first person plural.

- 392) Yag-id neʔ-O1-iʔ.
 give.me-DPIR eat-IMP-1S
 ‘Give it to me and let me eat it.’
- 393) Leh-O1-uʔ.
 go-IMP-1P
 ‘Let’s go.’

Jussives (3rd person imperatives) are expressed by use of the different subject sequential medial verb ending *-an*. Third person plural imperatives are expressed by the verb stem plus the N1P suffix *-iy* and are thus identical in form to the 2P imperatives (see (390) above).

- 394) Nab os-O1-an.
 there sit-IMP-N1S
 ‘Let him/her/it sit/remain there.’
- 395) Mataw ko gibilenid didaʔ neʔ-O1-iy.
 men those O3P-speak.to-SPIR food eat-IMP-N1P
 ‘Speak to those men and let them eat.’

Imperatives with the negative *hi* encode the command not to do something. When they occur with the reactive clitic *ta* plus the negative *hi* they prohibit an action which would be the expected next step in a culturally scripted sequence of events.

- 396) Se! ni nazaʔ hi bilaʔ-O1-O2, luw-eʔ bugaw i gi-ituʔ-d-aʔ.
 Say! you like.that NEG say-IPM-2S go.around spirit we O1P-block-FUT-N1S
 ‘Say! don’t speak like that, (if not) the spirit will kill us.’
- 397) Ne hi **katiy-ad** ham ya-(i-)men faʔ ulam-id ya iter-O1-iʔ
 you NEG lie-SD QV I-O1S-BEB fire blow-DPIR I warm-IMP-1S
 ha{ʔ}-O1-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Quit pretending and light a fire for me and let me warm myself.’
- 398) Ni ham aw araʔ a-bukn-ib hi loʔ-O1-O2 ha{ʔ}-O1-m.
 you QV woman a IP3S-hip-DAT NEG approach-IMP-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Don’t you approach the hip of any woman (i.e. with the intention of sexual intercourse), he said.’
- 399) Abeb in iyah iy-id ni waʔ asor ban asor ban
 later she big become-DPIR you get some reposing.place some reposing.place
 mat **ta** hi **ug-O1-O2**.
 man REACT NEG give-IMP-2S
 ‘Later when she is grown, don’t give her to a man from one of the neighboring places.’
- 400) Ka ham sirewrew-mo diʔ a-enmagin haʔ-ad in **ta** hi
 this QV wild.man-EMP INTNS IP3S-dreadlocks QV-SD he REACT NEG
 tur-O1-O2.
 stand-PA-N1S
 ‘Thinking, Concerning this, it is the dreadlocks of a real wild bush man, he didn’t stand there any longer.’

3.20.2.6 Voice

3.20.2.6.1 Active

There are no morphological voice distinctions in the form of Bargam verbs. Consequently, the active voice is the default or unmarked voice for all Bargam predications.

- 401) Aw ara? a-ben-ab waz-e? dida? te? bul in le mat ara?
 woman a IP3S-arm-DAT grasp-SPIR food CONJ pig he go man a
 ug-y-a?
 give.him-IPF-N1S

‘He would take a woman by the arm and food and a pig and go give it to a man.’

- 402) Saw hastitay-an aw na in a-ma bulon-01-02,
 place clear-DP woman that she IP3S-younger.sibling speak.to-PA-N1S
 Leh-01-02 ha(?)01-m.
 go-IMP-2S QV-PA-N1S

‘At dawn the woman said to her younger sister, Go.’

3.20.2.6.2 Reflexive

Reflexive voice is encoded by representing the subject as acting on his own *-hol* ‘body’.

- 403) In dub-ub gwal-im uniy gi-nan a-gem me?in di? iy-ad
 he bank-DAT ascend-SP hornet O3P-REF IP3S-stomach bad INTNS be-SD
 in-mo a-hol a-nad a hi ug-y-a?
 he-EMP IP3S-body IP3S-mind REAL NEG give.him-IPF-N1S

‘He went up on the bank and being very angry about the hornets he wasn’t being pleased with himself.’

- 404) In-mo a-hol bulon-01-02, Ya-mo leh-e? i-na? dida?
 he-EMP IP3C-body speak.to-PA-N1S I-EMP go-SPIR O3S-COM food
 dimun di-di? ka ti-ne?-d-ai? ha?-y-a?
 good INTNS-REDUP this PFT-eat-FUT-1S QV-IPF-N1S

‘He said to himself, I myself will certainly go and eat this very good food with him.’

- 405) Ni ni-hol ba?ir-ib ?way-01-02.
 you IP2S-body knife-DAT cut-PA-N1S

‘You cut yourself with a knife.’

3.20.2.6.3 Passive

Technically, there is no passive voice in Bargam. However the sense of a passive is sometimes achieved by using a third person plural final verb with no explicit subject.

- 406) Gaun ka ha?iy leh-an tu-wol em-01-iy ha?-01-iy.
 dog this QV go-DP PFT-hit do-PA-N1P QV-PA-N1P

‘This dog, it went and they killed it, they said.’

3.20.2.7 Transitivity

There are at least two broad categories into which Bargam verbs can be divided; those which cannot take an object and those which can. This contrast is clearly distinguished by several pairs of words such as those listed below.

or?ay ‘break’ (transitive) vs. tabiyay ‘break’ (intransitive)

- 407) Ya irimo kabiy em-ad os-im ya?go ba?ir or?ay-O1-O2.
I yesterday work do-SD sit-SP my knife break-PA-1S
'Yesterday, while I was working, I broke my knife.'
- 408) Mataw bit-ab os-sa ay tabiyay-im bit wo(?)O1-m.
men house-DAT sit-DD wood break-SP house fall-PA-N1S
'While the men were sitting in the house the wood broke and the house fell.'

?wazilay 'split'(transitive) vs. mizilay 'split'(intransitive)

- 409) Ya ay ?wazilay-O1-ai?
I wood split-PR-1S
'I am splitting wood.'
- 410) Ya ay ?way-an in mizilay-O1-O2.
I wood cut-DP it split-PA-N1S
'I chopped down the tree and it split.'

3.20.2.7.1 Transitive verbs

For transitive verbs, it is permissible for the object cross-reference prefix to stand as the object in the absence of an overtly expressed noun or pronoun (see example (412) below). The object cross-reference prefixes are required with first and second person objects. Third person singular objects are cross-referenced by a zero morpheme. For third person inanimate objects a cross-referencing prefix may (optionally) be used to indicate plurality, but it is required for third person plural animate objects.

3.20.2.7.2 Di-transitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs occur with both an direct object (DO:patient) and indirect object (IO:recipient).

- 411) Ya **wagam bul a-go wagam te? yaw a-go wagam-an na(DO)**
I story pig O3S-POS story CONJ sago.tree O3S-POS story-APS that I
ya muran ka-wa ya **Mark(IO)** bulon-nan.
I now this-PLOC I name speak.to-DES
'I am now at this time going to tell Mark a story—the story about the pig and the story about the sago palm.'
- 412) Neg-ad ham ya **God a-go wagam(DO) gi-(IO)** bilen-y-ai?
give.them-SD QV I God O3S-POS story O3P-speak.to-IPF-1S
ha(?)O1-m.
QV-PA-N1S
"As I gave [salt and sugar] to them I would **tell them the story about God,**" he said.'
- 413) Leh-sa mat na [**a-wey diq-ta(IO)**] bol-an in **aw**
go-DD man that IP3S-wife INTNS-MOD come-DP he woman
waz-01-02-ta na(DO) [Ø(IO)] isihun-ad tu-os-01-iy.
grasp-PA-N1S-MOD that show-SD PFT-sit-PA-N1P
'The man's true/real wife came and he was **showing her the woman he caught** and they remained (in that situation).'
- 414) Em-im aw a-nen a-mam a-hiy-an gi-bilen-O1-iy,
do-SP woman IP3S-mother IP3S-father IP3S-sib.opp.sex-P O3P-speak.to-PA-N1P
I **aw(IO) uli?(DO)** isihun-im ad ka-wa tu-bol-O1-O2 ha?-O1-iy.
we woman village show-SP ACC this-PLOC PFT-come-PA-1P QV-PA-N1P
'They said to the woman's mother and father and brothers, "We are **showing the woman the village** and here we are having brought her."'

- 415) I-bu ʔwa-has-eʔ i-huliliʔ hitiʔ-id
 IP3S-base.of.skull cut-open-SPIR O1S-cut.in.sections descend-DPIR
 i-ginu-w-id zag-ib gwal-id teʔ **ni-n(i)-go**
 O1S-gather-DPIR tree.name-DAT ascend-DPIR CONJ you-O2S-POS
walmat gi-neg-O1-O2 ha(ʔ)-O1-m.
 guest O3P-give.them-IPR-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Cut my head off, cut me in sections, gather me up onto the zag pole and then **give them (i.e. the sections of my body) to your visitors,**’’ he said.’

3.20.2.7.3 Intransitive (objectless) verbs

Intransitive verbs do not take an object. However, there are a few rare (only three examples in my entire corpus of data) instances of an intransitive verb occurring with object prefixation, which as already mentioned above, serves to denote plural *inanimate* subjects. Since plural inanimate objects normally occur with 3rd person singular verb forms, the object prefix is used to disambiguate the plurality of the subject. It will be observed that all three examples below involve the use of one of the four spatial orientation stative verbs; *tur* ‘stand’, *os* ‘sit’, *us* ‘sleep’, and *luw* ‘go around’.

- 416) Sa in gi-go hayaʔ asusuran-ib kururuw, baror,
 DD they O3P-POS houseboy side-DAT flower.name flower.name
 bel **gi-tur-y-aʔ-ta.**
 flower.name O3P-stand-IPF-N1S-MOD
 ‘And there were *kururuw*, *baror* and *bel*/flowers at the side of their houseboy.’
- 417) Na-mo dadaʔ a-hol-ib **gi-us-O1-O2.**
 that-EMP food IP3S-body-DAT O3P-sleep-PA-N1S
 ‘Concerning that, there was (a variety of) food on her body.’
- 418) Maroʔ kabem-mo **gi-hem-im us-O1-aʔ.**
 banana many-EMP O3P-ripen-SP sleep-PR-N1S
 ‘There are many ripe bananas.’

3.20.2.7.4 Equative verb *-iy*

The equative verb *-iy* is used in constructions in which a characteristic or quality is predicated about a subject.

- 419) A-hol waʔ-ad in se ham ka ya-(i-)mo i-go amun
 IP3S-body get-SD he say! QV this I-O1S-EMP O1S-POS child
iy-O1-aʔ ha(ʔ)-O1-m.
 be-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Looking at him she said, Say! This is my own child!’
- 420) In a-ez bul gi-ez nog **iy-y-aʔ.**
 he IP3S-voice pig IP3P-voice SIM be-IPF-N1S
 ‘His voice was like the voice of pigs.’
- 421) A-ben-ab waz-eʔ waz iraʔ-d-aʔ haʔ-sa aw ahuʔan
 IP3S-arm-DAT hold-SPIR hold arise-FUT-N1S QV-DD woman heavy
 meʔin diʔ **iy-y-aʔ.**
 bad INTNS be-IPF-N1S
 ‘As he grasped her by the arm intending to raise her up, the woman’s body was very heavy.’

3.20.2.8 Verbs with *-ta*

The occurrence of *-ta* on the end of verbs functions in a way analogous to the *-ta* found on modifiers. Verbs with *-ta* function to make the entire predication a modifier of the subject. In the present tense this results in a habitual aspect predication.

- 422) Ya karuw amoyan a hi neʔ-01-aiʔ-**ta**.
 I animal fat REAL NEG eat-PR-1S-MOD
 ‘I don’t eat animal fat.’ I.e. ‘I am not one who eats animal fat’ or ‘I am not an animal fat eater.’
- 423) Ya kabiy-ab leh-01-02-**ta**.
 I garden-DAT go-PA-1S-MOD
 ‘I went to the garden.’
 or
 ‘I am a went-to-the-garden-er’
- 424) Ka ya bila()-01-y a-ses ti-na(?)01-m ha(?)01-y-**ta**
 this I say-PA-1S IP3S-grandparent PFT-eat(e→a)-PA-N1S QV-PA-1S-MOD
 ha(?)01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 “‘Concerning (this child) I thought, His grandparent [a skin-changing snake/man] ate him.’”
- 425) Us-sa giger na gabol-im a-hol waʔ-ad an bulon-01-iy,
 sleep-DD two that come.up-SP IP3S-body get-SD each.other speak.to-PA-N1P
 Muran i waz na-(a)-mo hiʔiy-eʔ ad woleh-01-am-**ta**
 now we grasp that-(O3S)-EMP finish-SPIR ACC go.down-FUT-1P-MOD
 haʔ-01-iy.
 QV-PA-N1P
 ‘Those two came up and seeing him they said to each other, “Now we will hold him as tight as we can and take him down.”’
- 426)a Ari ham bul ka ham in bol-im ham didaʔ ma-ka diʔ-ta in
 Ok. QV pig this QV it come-SP QV food EMP-this INTNS-MOD it
 neʔ-ad luw-01-aʔ-**ta** ha(?)01-m.
 eat-SD walk.around-PR-N1S-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 “‘Ok., this pig is coming and it is exactly this food that he is eating, he said.’”
- 427)b Luw-eʔ leh-sa ya a-hol waʔ-01-aiʔ-**ta** ha(?)01-m.
 walk.around-SPIR go-DD I IP3S-body get-PR-1S-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 “‘It does that and goes and I am seeing it, he said.’”
- 428) Waʔ-im a-nad dimniy-sa tu-bol-01-02, ya-(i)-go karuw
 get-SP IP3S-mind be.well-DD PFT-come-PA-N1S I-(O1S)-POS meat
 ti-neʔ-d-aiʔ-**ta** haʔ-ad.
 PFT-eat-FUT-1S-MOD QV-SD
 ‘He got it and came happily back thinking, “I am going to eat my [the snake] meat.’”
- 429)a Kaul na in mat a-waz meʔin-**ta** haʔ-01-iy.
 lizard.name that it man IP3S-grasp bad-MOD QV-PA-N1P
 “‘That *kaul*/lizard, he is really strong,” they said.’

- 430)b Teʔ in katiy-ŋ1-aʔ-**ta** haʔ-ŋ1-iy.
 CONJ it lie-ŋ1-aq-MOD QV-PA-N1P
 ‘‘And he is deceitful,’’ they said.’
- 431) Teʔ gal na a-lul-ib moni gwahtiʔ-d-aʔ-**ta**
 CONJ plant.name that IP3S-base-DAT money appear-FUT-N1S-MOD
 haʔ y-aʔay.
 QV IPF-N1P
 ‘‘And money will appear at the base of that *gal*/plant,’’ they were saying.’

3.20.2.9 Verbs with *-mo*

The immediate temporal succession function of the suffix *-mo* is distinguished phonetically from its independent form *amo* by the absence of the inserted glottal stop which normally marks the contraction of *amo* with a preceding word ending in a vowel. This is illustrated in the first and last lines of the following example:

- 432) ʔway-im huneg-an **woʔ-sa-mo** a-hol bilyim **gwagel-sa-mo**
 chop-SP throw-DP fall-DD-ITS INP-body turn-SP approach-DD-ITS
 on wabur-wabur-ta kas waz-ŋ1-iy-ta na
 women widow-REDUP-MOD black.ointment hold-PA-N1P-MOD that
 gi-motgu urig i-naʔ-ta a le gi-deksan-ib am
 INP-nose string O3S-COM-MOD ACC go INP-ear-DAT rope/vine
 waz-ŋ1-iy-ta na gi-enmagin woʔ-ŋ1-m gi-huran kas
 hold-PA-N1P-MOD that INP-dreadlocks fall-PA-N1S INP-smell black.ointment
 waz-ŋ1-iy na gi-go saiʔ dub-dub diʔ
 hold-PA-N1P-MOD that O3P-POS grass.skirt black-REDUP INTNS
 a-waʔ meʔin diʔ **na-ʔmo** gwa muy tu-waz-ŋ1-iy.
 INP-get bad INTNS that-EMP ascend canoe PFT-hold-PA-N1P
 ‘He chopped [the coconut] and right after he threw it [into the sea] he turned around and right as he was coming back some widows who were smeared with black ointment and who had a string pulling up their noses which was fastened to their ears and who had dreadlocks and who smelled of the black ointment they had smeared on themselves and whose grass skirts were very black and whose appearances were very bad, it was they who ascended and took hold of the canoe.’

The immediate temporal succession suffix, as its label indicates, functions to indicate that one action follows closely on the heels of another action (and in this sense, its relation to *amo* is apparent).

- 433) In eraʔ-im-**mo** sibtitay-im-**mo** kamis-ib-mo itiʔ-ŋ1-m.
 he arise-SP-ITS run.fast-SP-ITS sea-DAT-EMP descend-PA-N1S
 ‘He got up and immediately ran very fast and went down to the sea.’
- 434) Kwah em-an i hurit-ad-**mo** i ti-sib-ŋ1-ŋ2.
 sound do-DP we hear-SD-ITS we PFT-run-PA-1P
 ‘It made a noise and we hearing it, immediately ran.’

- 435) An a-mam hiti lo a-me gwale amidon adulan a-hol
 CONJ IP3S-father descend approach IP3S-eye ascend child image IP3-body
 wa?-sa-mo kor mider-im wa?-im ade?-ab em-an leh-an-mo ad
 get-DD-ITS fire.stick light-SP get-SP arm.pit-DAT put-DP go-DP-ITS ACC
 era daloy iy-im kait-ab ti-leh-sa-mo a-mam bila(?)-O1-m.
 arise ball.lightening become-SP sky-DAT PFT-go-DD-ITS IP3S-father say-PA-N1S
 ‘And his father descended (from the house) and approached and looked up and as he was
 seeing the image/spirit of his child, (the child) lit a fire stick, put it under his arm and
 arose with it and turned into ball lightning and as he was going into the sky, his father
 said...’
- 436) **Ha?-im-mo** hai? kadug abitan na fa? **oy-sa-mo** in a-mam
 QV-SP-EMP NEG bamboo end that fire burn-DD-EMP he IP3S-father
 afa?-n-ib wol **ti-tay-an-mo** iti(?)-O1-m.
 head-DAT hit REDUP-dig-EMP descend-PA-N1S
 ‘But no, as the short length of bamboo was burning he hit his father on the head, breaking
 the (bamboo) into bits.’

Interestingly, this idea of immediate temporal succession is found in the Bargam word for ‘morning’. *Tarow-mo* ‘night-ITS’, could be expressed literally to mean ‘that (time of day) which occurs immediately after night’.

Frequently, *-mo* used on sentence medial clauses, including non-verbal ones, functions in an adverbial sense.

- 437) Bul fa? hai?-mo bol-O1-O2 ha?-O1-iy.
 pig fire NEG-ITS come-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1P
 ‘The pig came back without fire’

-Mo on the end of sentence-final verbs indicates that a predication expressed for one subject is also true for another subject. The same concept is expressed in English by the word ‘too’. Given its use with medial verbs, it is not hard to see the same idea of immediate temporal succession in its function here as well, although perhaps in these cases the phrase ‘logical’ or ‘conceptual’ succession would be more accurate.

- 438) Ya garan-ab leh-d-ai?-mo.
 I bush-DAT go-FUT-1S-ITS
 ‘I too will go to the bush.’
- 439) Ya dida? ne?-d-ai?-mo.
 I food eat-FUT-1S-ITS
 ‘I too, will eat food.’

Finally, *-mo* may occur on the first member of complex verb stems (cf. section 3.17.1 above) *-mo* by way of emphasizing the action of the verb.

- 440) Huneg-im uniy gi-nol-ad-mo in-mo a-sen wol-mo has-O1-O2.
 throw-SP hornet O3P-hit-SD-ITS he-EMP IP3S-leg hit-EMP open-PA-N1S
 ‘He threw (his hand) and as he was hitting the hornets he hit his own leg out from under himself!’
- 441) Mat na tur-ad a-hol-mo wa?-ad ti-tur-O1-O2.
 man that stand-SD IP3S-EMP get-SD PFT-stand-PA-N1S
 ‘As that man was standing, he stood just looking (i.e. not doing anything else but looking).’

Although *-ta* and *-mo* are briefly treated here in terms of verb morphology, as the above description intimates, they are better analyzed as functioning on the clause level and are further treated there.

3.20.2.10 Verb stems with *ton*

In a manner similar to final verbs suffixed with *-mo*, the independent verb *ton* ‘do’ is used to indicate a repetition of the action contained in the antepenultimate verb stem, either by another agent or by the same agent.

- 442) In am ton -O1 -O2 e?
 he swim do -PA -N1S INTER
 ‘Did he swim too?’
- 443) Ta bila? ton -O1 -O2!
 REACT speak do -IPR -2S
 ‘Say (it) again!’
- 444) Ya dida? asor ta nig ton-d-ai? e?
 I food some REACT give.you do-FUT -1S INTER
 ‘Shall I give you some (more) food?’

The use of *-mo* and *ton* may be distinguished in the following way:

-mo = ‘I did this and I did that too’ or ‘I did something and he did it too.’

ton = ‘I did that and then I did it again’ or ‘I did something and he did it too.’

The distinction between the uses of *-mo* and *ton* becomes apparent when the subject of the two clauses is the same. In such cases, *-mo* indicates the two different actions were accomplished, whereas *ton* indicates that the same action was repeated. Obviously, in certain contexts (specifically when the subjects of the two clauses are different) the two may be used synonymously.

3.20.2.11 Irregular verbs

There are some transitive verbs that exhibit slight morphophonemic stem changes when cross-referenced for persons other than third person singular objects. They are *wol* ‘hit’, *wad* ‘be angry at’ and *oy* ‘cook, burn’. Tense formation for these verbs is completely regular and the stem change remains consistent for all tenses.

- 445) wol ‘hit’
 i-nol-a? ‘hit me’ gi-nol-a? ‘hit us’
 ni-nol-a? ‘hit you’ gi-nol-a? ‘hit you(P)’
 wol-a? ‘hit him’ gi-nol-a? ‘hit them’
- 446) oy ‘burn’
 i-noy-a? ‘burn me’ gi-noy-a? ‘burn us’
 ni-noy-a? ‘burn you’ gi-noy-a? ‘burn you(P)’
 oy-a? ‘burn him’ gi-noy-a? ‘burn them’
- 447) Ze? i-noy-O1-a?
 sun O1S-burn-PR-N1S
 ‘The sun is burning me.’

- 448) Ya ne gi-nol-d-ai?
 I you O2P-hit-FUT-1S
 'I will hit you.'

3.20.2.12 Verbs of motion

3.20.2.12.1 Directionals

Bargam verbs of motion are ego-centric in orientation. The diagram below illustrates the direction of motion indicated by each verb form.

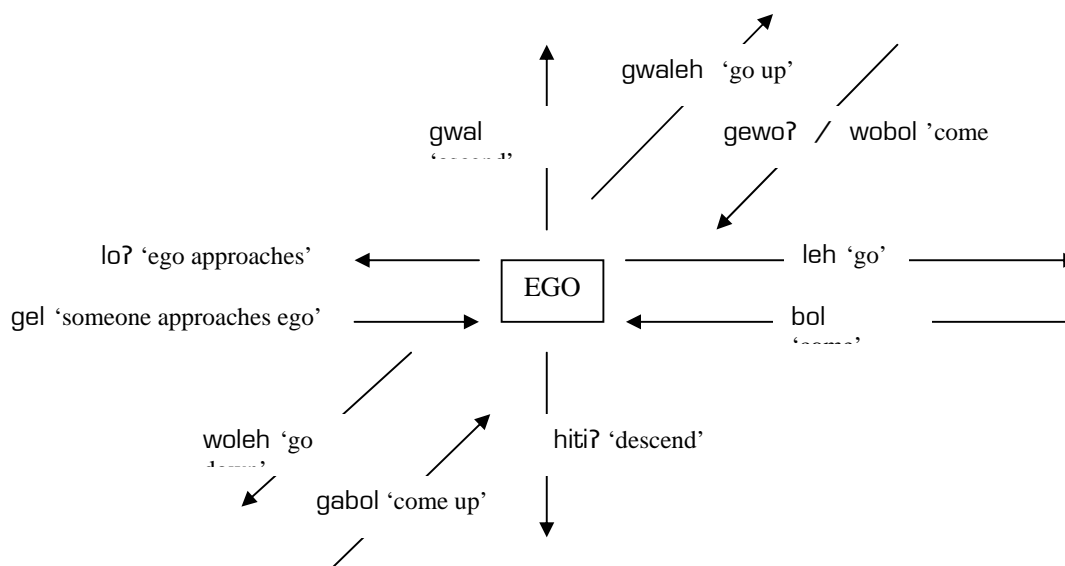


Table 15: Ego-orientation of Bargam verbs of motion

In Bargam, verbs of motion indicating movement along a line other than horizontal or vertical, are indicated by a combination of motion verbs. These examples should probably be considered lexicalized serialization. The verb *gewo?* 'come down toward ego' is formed from *gel* 'approach ego from nearby' and *wo?* 'fall'. This is the only direction for which two synonymous verb forms have been recorded. The first segment of the compound *wobol* is again the verb *wo?* 'fall'. In the verb *gabool* 'come up toward ego' the /w/ has dropped from the first member of the compound *gwa* (which itself is a shortened form of *gwal* 'ascend to/from ego').

Not all the possible combinations of motion verbs are present in the table above. Other less easily diagrammed ones include:

- 449) gehiti? 'descend toward ego from a location nearby'
 loleh 'approach toward ego from a location nearby'
 gegwal 'ascend up towards ego from a location nearby'
 gwagel 'come up to ego from a location nearby'
 gwaloleh 'ego approaches upwards toward a location nearby'
 wololeh 'ego approaches downwards toward a location nearby'

3.20.2.12.2 Auxiliary verbs of motion

When verbs of motion function as auxiliaries clause-medially, the stem-final consonant is deleted.

- 450) Ya le(h) tu-us-nan.
 I go PFT-sleep-DES
 'I am going (with the intention of going) to sleep.'

- 451) Bo(l) gwahti?-O1-O2.
 come pass.thru-IMP-2S
 ‘Come inside!’

3.20.2.13 Suppletive verb ‘to give’

As is characteristic of many Papuan languages, also in Bargam the word for ‘give’ is a suppletive verb having five forms built on the stem *-g*, determined by the recipient of the giving action. Below are the stems for the verb ‘to give’.

- 452) yag ‘give to me’
 nig ‘give to you (S)’
 ug ‘give to him, her, it’
 ig ‘give to us’
 neg ‘give to you (P), them’

All forms are inflected for tense and person-number in the same manner as other verbs (see table 9 above).

3.20.3 Dependent verbs

Medial verbs are verbs with special suffixation and occur sentence medially. They take cross-referencing prefixes and occur with the aspect clitics, although they most frequently occur simply as a verb plus medial suffixation.

The Bargam dependent medial verb system, though similar to that of many Papuan languages could be considered somewhat rudimentary in that it does not indicate tense or person/number. Information encoded by the switch referent system includes information regarding whether the subject of the following predication is the same as that for the current predication or different, information regarding the ‘internal temporal constituency’ of the event or state denoted (i.e. durative or punctiliar), and information regarding the mode of the predication (i.e., realis or irrealis). The Bargam switch-reference system is displayed below:

	same subject	different subject
punctiliar, realis	-im (SP)	-an (DP)
durative, (ir)realis	-ad (SD)	-sa (DD)
punctiliar, irrealis	-e? (SPIR)	-id (DPIR)

Table 16: Bargam medial verb suffixes

- 453) In tarow-ab a-go haya?-ab us-sa a-dulan
 he night-DAT IP3S-Pos yg.men's.house-DAT sleep-DD IP3S-image/spirit
 gwahti?-im a-go es waz-sa a-mam loyin-ad-mo
 pass.thru-SP IP3S-POS belongings hold-DD IP3S-father sense-SD-ITS
 us-O1-O2.
 sleep-PA-NISg

‘While he was sleeping in the house-boy his spirit came out and as it gathered up its belongings his father sensed it.’

- 454) An a-mam hiti lo a-me gwale a-midon a-dulan
 DP IP3S-father descend approach IP3S-eye go.up IP3S-child IP3S-image/spirit
 a-hol wa?-sa-mo kor mider-im wa?-im a-de?-ab em-an
 IP3S-body get-DD-ITS pod ignite-SP get-SP IP3S-armpit-DAT put-DP
 leh-an-mo ad era(?) daloy iy-im kait-ab ti-leh-sa-mo a-mam
 go-DP-ITS ACC get.up ball.light be-SP sky-DAT PFT-go-DD-ITS IP3S-father
 bila(?)-O1-m, E Asiwan ni ya a hi kat yag-O1-a? e
 say-PA-N1S hey! name you I REAL NEG lie give.me-PR-N1S INTER
 ha(?)-O1-m?
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Then his father descended and looked up and right as he watched his child's spirit it lit
 the pod and putting under its arm it became a ball of light and as it went up into the sky
 his father said, “Hey Asiwan, you don't think you can fool me do you?”’
- 455) Luw-e? karuw wa?-e? kames ne?-ad te? na-b
 walk.around-SPIR meat get-SPIR ceremonial.drink eat-SD CONJ that-DAT
 iron-id a-go uli?-ag na-b leh-d-a? ha?-O1-iy
 transfer-DPIR O3S-POS village-UNSPC that-DAT go-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1P
 ‘We'll get a pig and drink *kames* first and then at that time we'll send him off and he will
 go to whatever village he came from.’

3.20.3.1 Switch reference and time

In Bargam, time expressions generally trigger switch reference.

- 456) Ya us-im hiti tarow-mo os-sa le imisor iy-an dida? oy-im
 I sleep-SP descend night-ITS sit-DD go afternoon be-DP food cook-SP
 ne?-ad os-im us-go a-kam-an-ib i gi-me ti-rur-sa
 eat-SD sit-SP sleep-POS IP3S-time-APS-DAT we IP1P-eye PFT-sag-DD
 ya Anna bulon-O1-O2...
 I name speak.to.PA-1S
 ‘I slept and descended and sat from morning to afternoon and cooking food and eating
 and when it was time to sleep when our eyes were heavy I said to Anna . . .’
- 457) Ha?-ad-mo a-mam le a-go bit-ab os-sa saw hastitay-an
 QV-SD-ITS IP3S-father go IP3S-POS house-DAT sit-DD place become.clear-DP
 a-go aw i-na? kabi-ab leh-im...
 O3S-POS woman O3S-COM garden-DAT go-SP
 ‘Then his father went and sat in the house and when it was light he went with his wife to
 the garden and . . .’
- 458) Wa?-im us-sa imisor iy-im tarom ti-iy-an ya hiti?-im...
 get-SP sleep-DD afternoon be-SP night PFT-be-DP I descend-SP
 ‘I got (a sickness) and while I slept it went from afternoon to night and I descended
 and...’

3.20.3.2 Switch reference and the part-whole dicotomy

The influence of part-whole relationships exerts an influence on the Bargam switch reference system. Regarding whole-to-part movement involving a body part, the body part is always coreferenced with the ‘owner’. Consider the following example:

- 459) Haʔ-ad-mo in kilek a-sen-ab titeʔ-**ad**-mo a-me
 QV-SD-ITS she bow IP3S-leg-DAT pull.out-SD-ITS IP3S-eye
 lo amun kilek waz-im tur-sa a-hol wa(?)-O1-m.
 approach child bow hold-SP stand-DD IP3S-body get-PA-N1S
 ‘As she pulled(SS) the arrow out of her leg, her eye approached (i.e. she looked) and saw
 the child standing holding the bow.’

However, for part-to-whole movement involving a body part the body is always marked by a different subject medial verb.

- 460) In os-ad-mo a-me rur-**sa** us hules-y-aʔ.
 he sit-SD-ITS IP3S-eye sag-DD sleep slip-IPF-N1S
 ‘As he was sitting(SS) there his eyes were heavy(DS) and he was repeatedly nodding off
 to sleep.’

In (459) above, in the whole-to-part movement (her - her eye), the eye is co-referenced with the 'owner' and this is reflected in the SS marking on the verb 'pull'. In (460) there is circular movement: whole-to-part-to-whole. Again the whole-to-part movement (he - his eye) is marked by SS medial verb suffixation. However the part-to-whole movement (his eye - he) triggers a DS marking on the verb 'sag'.

As with part-to-whole movement, individual-to-group movement is always marked for different subject on the individual.

- 461) Ni bol-**id** i leh-**eʔ** dalag ginuw-eʔ sirik-eʔ
 you come-DPIR we go-SPIR tree.sp gather-SPIR boil-SPIR
 tituw-eʔ ilton-eʔ a leh-eʔ yuw-ib em-ad teʔ
 crack-SPIR wrap-SPIR ACC go-SPIR water-DAT put-SD CONJ
 i bol-O1-am ha(?)-O1-m.
 we come-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘‘You come(DS) and we will go(SS) and gather(SS) dalag (nuts) and boil(SS) them and
 crack(SS) them and wrap(SS) them and take(SS) them and put(SS) them in the river and
 then we will come home,’’ she said.’

Conversely, the general rule for group-to-individual movement is that the individual is normally coreferenced with the group as the following example illustrates:

- 462) I bol-im bo wo ti-leh-O1-O2, kabiy-ab. Woleh-**im**
 we come-SP come fall PFT-go-PA-1P garden-DAT go.down-SP
ya wole bateteʔ nangun-im gi-wa(?)-O1-y.
 I go.down sweet.potato look.for-SP O3P-get-PA-1S
 ‘We came(SS) and went down to the garden. We went down(SS) and I looked for(SS)
 sweet potatoes and got them.’

While the preceding example illustrates the general rule for group-to-individual movement, the following nearly identical examples, taken from the same hand-written text, demonstrate that movement from group to individual is not always marked with SS.

- 463) Leh-im liʔ-ab diʔ-mo iy-**im** Tomay tu-moʔ-nan ton-ad
 go-SP middle-DAT INTNS-EMP be-SP name PFT-die-DES do-SD
 giger na gi-ben lel has-ad gwa tu-bol-O1-O2.
 two that O3P-arm shake open-SD go.up PFT-come-PA-N1S
 ‘(They) went(SS) and were(SS) in deep water and Tomay was about to die(SS) and he
 shook loose(SS) from the hands of those two and came back up.’

- 464) Wole yo? li?ab di? ti-iy-an mat tu-mo?-nan
 go.down water middle-DAT INTNS PFT-be-DP man PFT-die-DES
 ton-ad gi-ben lel has-d-ai? ha?-ad em-sa hai?.
 do-SD O3P-arm shake open-FUT-1S QV-SD do-DD NEG
 '(They) went down(DS) deep into the water and the man was about to die(SS) and
 tried(DS) to shake their arms loose but was unable.'

The two sentences above are part of a narrative about a group of three men, two holding a third between them, who descend into deep water to view a peculiar rock formation on the bottom of the river. In the first sentence, the one being held runs out of air and breaks free and surfaces and the other two follow him back to the river bank. In the second sentence the three have returned under water and this time the man struggles to get free but is unable to and so remains under water with the other two and shortly thereafter all three return to the surface together. The first sentence follows the normal pattern: a group of three, one of which separates from the other two (cf. example (462) above). In the second sentence, the adversarial relationship between the two guides and the one they are determined not to let surface until he has seen the rock formation, appears to be highlighted by the use of different subject medial suffixation.

3.20.3.3 Switch reference and 'false readings'

As Reesink (19 :)²⁵ has pointed out, the topicality status of a particular nominal may affect the normal working of the switch-reference system and produce so-called 'false' readings. As an example of this phenomenon from Bargam consider the following sentence:

- 465) Mat wa?-im i-na? os-ad te? a-go uli?-ab na
 man get-SP O3S-with sit-SD CONJ O3S-POS village-DAT that
 a-mam ti-mo?-O1-m.
 IP3S-father PFT-die-PA-N1S
 '(She) married(SS) a man and was living(SS) with him and then in her village her father
 died.'

In the above sentence, a woman, already introduced in the preceding sentence of the story, and here referenced by same-subject medial verb marking, is the current topic. Thus, even though the subject of the final clause is 'her father', this switch in referents is not reflected by the medial verb suffix on *os-ad* 'she was remaining/sitting-SD'.

Another very frequent example of a 'false' reading occurs when a person or thing, encoded as a separate medial clause with a stative verb, is the object of a transitive verb. In such a case the different subject of the so-called object clause does not trigger a change in the SR marking of the preceding clause. Consider the example below:

- 466) A-duw-mo leh-e? amun a-ses i-na?
 IP3S-husband-EMP go-SPIR child IP3S-grandchild/parent O3S-COM
 os-sa gi-biy-ad te? bol-e? a-vey i-na? ta
 sit-DD O3P-see-SD CONJ come-SPIR IP3S-wife O3S-COM REACT
 os-y-a?.
 sit-IPF-N1S
 'Her husband would go(SS) and the child living(DS) with his grandfather he would
 visit(SS) them and then come back(SS) and live with his wife.'

In the above example, the man goes and visits (lit. sees) the child and his grandfather and then comes back. The clause 'the child living with his grandfather' functions as the object of the verb 'see' and therefore does not trigger a change in SR marking. In this way the Bargam SR system maintains topic

²⁵ WHERE DO I FIND GER'S PUBLISHED VERSION OF 'Switch reference and topicality hierarchies'?

continuity by keeping the focus on the thematically important referent. This idea is further illustrated by another example below.

- 467) Haʔ-ad-mo in kilek a-sen-ab titeʔ-ad-mo a-me lo amun
 QV-SD-ITS she bow IP3S-leg-DAT pull.out-SD-ITS IP3S-eye approach child
 kilek waz-im tur-sa a-hol wa(?)-O1-m
 bow hold-SP stand-DD IP3S-body get-PA-N1S
 ‘She pulled the arrow out of her leg and she looked and saw the child standing holding
 the bow.’

4. PHRASES

Phrases are typically constructions composed of several words. However, since there is often only a single nuclear constituent in a particular phrase, that phrase may be manifested by a single word. Phrases typically function on the clause level, but often one phrase is embedded in the head of another phrase (recursion).

Bargam phrases are divided into non-verbal and verbal phrases. Non-verbal phrases are further divided into noun and postpositional phrases.

4.1 Noun phrases

4.1.1 Modified Noun Phrase (MNP)

The modified noun phrase is the most frequently occurring noun phrase. It occupies the subject, object and recipient positions in clauses. In phrases it occupies the head slot in the coordinate and possessive noun phrases and in all the postpositional phrases. The formula for the modified NP is as follows:

slot	Head	Modifier	Specifier	Intensifier	Demonstrative	Emphatic
filler	noun* proper N possessive NPs coordinate NP appositional NP	modifier	numeral quantifier ag	nenan di?	demonstrative pronoun	amo amomo

*Because of the significant restrictions on what margins may occur with a pronoun filler of the head slot, it is described as a separate phrase below in section 4.1.2.

Rule 1: More than one modifier may occur in a single modified NP

Rule 2: When an intensifier word occurs with a modifier word the modifier suffix set attaches to the intensifier.

Rule 3: A modifier word without a head noun may stand alone as a complete noun phrase but only where the head noun is recoverable from the preceding context, see example (252) '*amik di? na.*'

Rule 4: The intensifier *di?* may follow the demonstrative pronoun.

Rule 5: The modifier may occur following the specifier.

Rule 6: Both intensifiers may occur in the same phrase in the order: *ayah nen di? na* 'that extremely big one'

The normal number of constituents in a modified NP is one. In a sample consisting of the first 25 sentences of a text, out of a total of 50 noun phrases 75 percent had one constituent and the remaining 25 percent had two constituents usually either a quantifier (*ara?*) or a demonstrative pronoun. The fully expanded modified noun phrase has not been observed.

+ SPECIFIER

- 468) Ya da? **ara?** me?in-ta a hi em ha(?)-O1-m.
I deed a bad-MOD REAL NEG do-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
'I haven't done a single bad deed, he said.'
- 469) On **geger** dida?-nan ti-leh-O1-iy.
women two food-for PFT-go-PA-N1P
'Two women went for food.'
- 470) Mat **ag** ara? uli?-ab bol-im mataw bun-mo gi-bilen-an ni
man INDEF a village-DAT come-SP men all O3S-speak.to.DP you
gileh ti-nig-O1-iy.
back PFT-give.you-PA-N1P
'Some man came to the village and spoke to all the people and they have turned their backs on you.'

+ MODIFIER

- 471) In garan-ab leh-im ay **ayah**-ta in ?way-O1-O2.
he bush-DAT go-SP tree big-MOD he cut-PA-N1S
'He went to the bush and cut down a big tree.'
- 472) Ka ya?go bit **mutur**-ta.
this my house new-MOD
'This is my new house.'

+ INTENSIFIER

- 473) Na yuw **di?** a hai?.
that water INTNS REAL NEG
'That is not real water.'
- 474) ...on geger **baras-barasta** gi-wa? **dimdimun** di?-ta na...
women two young-MOD their-appearance good INTNS-MOD that
'...the two beautiful young women whose appearance was very good...'

+ DEMONSTRATIVE

- 475) Mug-an aw **na** ek ton-ad...
bite-DP woman that yell do-SD
'It bit her and that woman was yelling...'
- 476) Ni ya?go balaw **ka** anan ni-nad bila?-O1-a? e?
you my adornment this about your-mind say-PR-N1S INTER
'Do you like this adornment of mine?'

+ EMPHATIC

- 477) Ya maro?-**mo** ne(?) -O1-y.
I banana-EMP eat-PA-1S
'I ate bananas only.'
- 478) In **gi-mo** leh-da?-ay.
they O3P-EMP go-FUT-N1P
'They themselves will go.' (or, 'It is they who will go.')

- 479) Bol-sa urom in aw na huz ug-an aw na bulaw
 come-DD rain it woman that bathe give.her-DP woman that sago.starch
 ta iy-im in ga?-im ti-hi?iy-an mat na-mo **amomo**
 REACT be-SP she cry/melt-SP PFT-finish-DP man that-EMP EXCL
 tu-os-O1-O2.
 PFT-sit-PA-N1S
 ‘As she was coming the rain soaked the woman and the woman became sago starch again
 and she melted and when it was over that man was alone.’

4.1.2 Pronoun phrase

When a pronoun fills the head slot of a modified noun phrase, there are significant restrictions on the type and number of margins which may co-occur with it. These margins are limited to the emphatic mark *amo* and its reduplicated form *amomo* and the intensifier *di?*.

slot	Head	Emphatic	Intensifier
filler	personal pronoun emphatic pronoun demonstrative pronoun	amo amomo	di?

- 480) Dy-im in a-momo reb ayah na in ne?-mo bug-O1-O2.
 cook-SP he O3S-EMP pot big that he eat-EMP DIST-PA-N1S
 ‘He cooked it and ate that entire big pot (of rice) by himself.’
- 481) Yaqmo imomo leheq kabiyab bad na asor titeq teq boldaiq ham.
 gloss
 ‘freetranslation’
- 482) Ka hel-mo di? ha?-y-a?
 this true-EMP INTNS QV-IPF-N1S
 ‘‘This is really true,’’ he was saying.’
- 483) Na yuw di? a hai?
 that water INTNS REAL NEG
 ‘That is not real water.’

4.1.3 Proper noun phrase

A proper noun filling the head slot can only co-occur with the emphatic marker *amo*, usually in contracted form.

- 484) Ka-b Garus-mo ni gi-bilen-O1-O2 ha(?)O1-m.
 this-DAT name-EMP you O3P-speak.to-IPR-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Here you speak to the Garus people,’’ he said.’
- 485) Sa a?abun ger na Wilwil-mo ayah-an-(n)iz ne-na? wa?-O1-iy.
 DD right side that name-EMP big-AP-P O3P-COM get-PA-N1P
 ‘And concerning the right side, It was Wilwil and his older brothers who got it.’

4.1.4 Appositional Noun Phrase

The appositional NP occupies the head slot of the modifier NP. It consists of an obligatory head filled by either possessive NP-1 or a noun, and an obligatory apposition filled by a proper noun. The formula is displayed below:

slot	Head	Apposition
filler	noun	proper noun

	noun
--	------

Note: When the possessive NP-1 fills the head slot, only kinship terms may occupy the Item possessed slot in that phrase.

- 486) Ya Tuwal a-yow Kawok i-na? gi-go wagam bila?-nan.
 I name IP3S-friend name O3S-COM O3P-POS story say-DES
 ‘I am going to tell he story about Tuwal and his friend Kawok.’
- 487) Ya maro? Lakem kabemmo dimdimunta ti-ne(?)-O1-y.
 I banana name many good(redup) PFT-eat-PA-1S
 ‘I ate a lot of good Lakem bananas.’
- 488) Mataw uli? Mudoy-ab ti-leh-O1-iy.
 men village name-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1P
 ‘The men have gone to Mudoy village.’

The order of constituents can also be reversed as illustrated below.

- 489) Kaul te? ni Karkar nud-ib leh-e?...
 name CONJ you name island-DAT go-SPIR
 ‘Kaul will you go to Karkar island and...’
- 490) Fa? rinton-im ad tuk-im ti-lah-O1-O2 Bargam mataw gimen.
 fire steal-SP ACC flee-SP PFT-go.PA-N1S name men for.them
 ‘He stole fire for the Bargam people and fled.’

4.1.5 Coordinate Noun Phrase

The coordinate NP fills the head slot of the Modified NP and the Possessive NP-2. It is composed of an obligatory head which may be repeated a number of times (a maximum of four has been observed), an optional conjunction *te?* and an obligatory head. In the case of 3 or 4 heads (H), the normal structure is (H) H H *te?* H. The formula for the coordinate NP is displayed below:

slot	Head ⁿ	Conj ⁿ	Head
filler	MNP	<i>te?</i>	MNP

- 491) Ari mat na in garan leh-nan ha?-ad kilek kor ziy wa?-im ad
 O.K. man that he bush go-DES QV-SD bow fire.stick net.bag get-SP ACC
 leh-ad in leh-im ko?-siro? a-bit-(i)n-ib na-b in a
 go-SD he go-SP defecate-urinate IP3S-house-APS-DAT that-DAT he REAL
 hi lah-O1-O2
 NEG go-PA-N1S
 ‘O.K., that man thinking he would go to the bush, got his bow (and) fire-stick (and) net bag and as he was going he didn’t go to the outhouse.’
- 492) Sa kam ara?-ab aw baras-ta na mat minmin-ta na in
 CONJ day a-DAT woman young-MOD that man young-MOD that they
 an kam tu-ug-O1-iy.
 each.other day PFT-give.him/her-PA-N1P
 ‘And one day that young woman and that young man set a date [to get married].’
- 493) I gi-go mataw aw amun gi-men em-im...
 we O1P-POS men woman child O3P-BEN do-SP
 ‘We put (food on plates) for our men, women and children and...’

- 494) Ya Madang-ib leh-im rais nabi? te? tow gi-zay-O1-O2.
 I name-DAT go-SP rice fish and sugar them-buy-PA-1S
 ‘I went to Madang and bought rice, fish and sugar.’

See section 3.15.1 for further examples of coordinate noun phrases.

4.1.6 Possessive Noun Phrases

The possessive noun phrases occupy the head slot of the modified NP. There are two possessive NPs distinguished by the fillers of the Item possessed slots and the presence of the possessive pronoun in the possessive NP-2.

4.1.6.1 Inalienably possessed NP

The possessive NP-1 is composed of an optional head as possessor and an obligatory head as item possessed with an obligatory prefix indicating the person and number of the possessor. The formula for the possessive NP-1 is displayed below:

slot	Head ₁ :possessor	Head ₂ :item possessed
filler	MNP Personal pronoun Emphatic PP Subordinate clause Inalienably possessed NP	Inalienably possessed noun Associatively possessed noun

- 495) Ya **i-gem** mo?-O1-a?
 I my-stomach die-PR-N1S
 ‘I am hungry.’
- 496) I **gi-nen** kabiy-ab ti-lah-O1-O2.
 we our-mother garden-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘Our mother went to the garden.’
- 497) In ti-lah-O1-O2 **in a-yow a-dulan** na i-na?
 she PFT-go-PA-N1S she IP3S-friend IP3S-spirit that O3S-COM
 ‘She went with the spirit of her friend.’
- 498) Sa ta a-miy leh-ad **in a-go gaun** amik-ta sor-im
 CONJ REACT IP3S-daughter go-SD she O3S-POS dog small-MOD carry-SP
 ad lah-O1-O2-ta gaun amik na **bit a-dugan-ib**
 ACC go(e→a)-PA-N1S-MOD dog small that house IP3S-inside-DAT
 luw-ad os-im-mo ta aw na **a-mam a-sen**
 walk.around-SD sit-SP-ITS REACT woman that IP3S-father IP3S-leg
a-bakbak-an a-dit-in sor-im-mo ge gwahti?-im guruw-ad
 IP3S-knee-APS IP3S-bone-APS carry-SP-ITS approach appear-SP gnaw-SD
 os-sa aw na a-me lo?-im a-hol tu-wa{?}-O1-m.
 sit-DD woman that IP3S-eye approach-SP IP3S-body PFT-get-PA-N1S
 ‘And so as his daughter was going, her small dog that she brought along, that small dog was wandering around inside the house and then he carried her father’s knee bone outside and was gnawing it and the woman looked and saw it.’

It is of interest to note the recursion in the third and fourth examples. In example (497) *In ayow*, itself a possessive NP-1, occupies the head₁ slot of the possessive NP-1 *in ayow adulan* ‘her friend’s spirit’. In the fourth example (498), *amam asen abakbakan aditin* ‘her father’s-leg-knee-bone’ all fill the head₂ ‘item possessed’ slot.

4.1.6.2 Alienably possessed NP

The possessive NP-2 is composed of an optional head as possessor, an obligatory head as possession marker filled by a possessive pronoun and an obligatory head as item possessed. The formula for the possessive NP-2 is displayed below:

slot	Head:possessor	Relator	Head:item possessed
filler	MNP pronoun phrase appositional phrase	possessive pronoun	MNP

Rule: The noun in the item possessed position must be an alienably possessed noun.

499) Ya Wasab gigo mat ayah ara?.

I name its man big a

‘I am a leader of Wasab village.’

500) Ya Tuwal a-yow Kawok i-na? gi-go wagam bila?-nan.

I name his-friend name O3S-COM O3P-POS story say-DES

‘I am going to tell the story about Tuwal and his friend Kawok.’

4.2 Postpositional phrases

The structure of the postpositional phrase (PP) consists of an obligatory head filled by a modified noun phrase and an obligatory relator filled by one of several postpositions. The formula for the postpositional phrase is displayed below.

slot	head	relator
filler	MNP pronoun phrase appositional phrase	postpositions: COM, BEN, DESIG, INSTR, DAT, REF

4.2.1 Location PP

The location NP fills the location slot on the clause level. It is composed of an obligatory head and an obligatory relator filled by a location marker. The formula for the location noun phrase is displayed below:

slot	Head	Relator
filler	Inalienably possessed NP Modified NP Nominalized clause Demonstrative pronoun Process demonstrative Location word	Locative marker {ban, -Vb, -go ²⁶ }

Rule 1: The nominalized clause only occurs with -/b.

Rule 2: The demonstrative pronoun only occurs with the dative marker -/b.

501) Mat na kabiy mutur-ta-[a]b lah-O1-O2.
man that garden new-MOD-DAT go-PA-N1S

‘The man went to the new garden.’

²⁶ The use of the possessive pronoun as a locative marker Bargam, is a cross-linguistic phenomena evidenced in other languages.

- 502) Gaun **bit adugan-ib** gwahti(?)-Ø1-m.
 dog house inside-DAT enter-PA-N1S
 ‘The dog entered the house.’
- 503) Ay **garan ban** wo(?)-Ø1-m.
 tree bush reposing.place fall-PA-N1S
 ‘The tree fell towards the bush (not towards the village).’
- 504)a Bit **eza? ban** tur-Ø1-a??
 house what reposing.place stand-PR-N1S
 ‘Where is the house?’
- 505)b Bit **koza? ban** tur-Ø1-a?.
 house like.that reposing.place stand-PR-N1S
 ‘The house is over there.’
- 506) Ya bit bul **irad-ib** us-Ø1-a?-ta-(a)b leh-Ø1-ai?.
 I house pig underneath-DAT sleep-PR-N1S-MOD-DAT go-PR-1S
 ‘I am going to the house under which the pig is sleeping.’
- 507) Ya **Udisiz-go** leh-Ø1-ai?.
 I name-LOC go-PR-1S
 ‘I am going to Udisiz (village)’

4.2.2 Comitative PP

The comitative PP is formed with the postposition *-na?* and fills the associated subject or object slot on the clause level.

- 508) Ya **mataw ne-na?** os-Ø1-Ø2.
 I men O3P-COM sit-PA-1S
 ‘I sat with the men.’
- 509) In ti-lah-Ø1-Ø2, in **a-yow a-dulan na i-na?**
 she PFT-go-PA-N1S she IP3S-friend IP3S-spirit that O3S-COM
 ‘She went with the spirit of her friend.’

Normally, in a clause containing a comitative PP, the postposition agrees with the number of the associated noun and the final verb agrees with the actual subject in number. However, it is normal for the comitative postpositional phrase to form a plural subject or object and thus be included in the number of the final verb.

- 510) Ya ni ni-na? leh-Ø1-am e?
 I you O2S-COM go-FUT-1P INTER
 ‘Will I go with you?’

Givon (1979:261) discusses a phenomenon existing in many languages where the subordinating conjunction ‘with’ has given rise to or developed the sense of the coordinating conjunction ‘and’. Interestingly, it is possible to use *-na?* with such a coordinating sense.

- 511) Ya Tawal a-yow Kawok i-na? gi-go wagam bila?-nan.
 I name IP3S-friend name O3S-COM O3P-POS story say-DES
 ‘I am going to tell the story of Tawal and his friend Kawok.’

4.2.3 Benefactive PP

The benefactive PP is formed with the designative postposition *-men* or the benefactive *-yon* and occupies the beneficiary slot on the clause level. These postpositions frequently occur in contracted²⁷ form with the head noun.

- 512) Ya ni ni-men em-ad os-01-ai?
I you O2S-BEN do-SD sit-PR-1S
'I am waiting for you.'
- 513) Ya mataw ko gi-men dida? oy-01-02.
I men that O3P-BEN food cook-PA-1S
'I cooked food for those men.'
- 514) Ni baʔir ara? ni-hol-{a}-yon zay-01-02.
you knife a IP2S-body-O3S-BEN buy-IMP-2S
'Buy a knife for yourself.'
- 515) Ni humab a-yon dida? oy-01-a? e?
you meeting O3S-BEN food cook-PR-N1S INTER
'Are cooking food for the feast?'

4.2.4 Instrumental PP

The instrumental PP fills the instrument slot in clauses. It is formed using either the dative suffix *-vb* or the locative *-malib* 'on top of/on the surface of'. The two are not strictly interchangeable although there is some overlap. The *-vb* occurs on the noun which is the instrument or tool used to accomplish the action. The primary usage of *amalib* with a noun is to indicate that the noun is that material used to accomplish the action.

- 516) Ya am ni-n(i)-go baʔir kwaziʔ-ta-{a}b urot-01-02.
I vine you-O2S-POS knife old-MOD-DAT sever-PA-N1S
'I cut the vine with your old knife.'
- 517) In a-ben-ab wol-01-02.
he his-arm-DAT hit-PA-N1S
'He hit (him) with his arm/hand.'
- 518) Ya ay ka amal-ib bit em-d-ai?
I wood this on.top-DAT house build-FUT-1S
'I will build a house with this wood.'

4.2.5 Referential PP

The referential PP fills the specified referent slot in clauses and is formed with the postposition *-nan*. Notice the embedding of the DESIG postpositional phrase in the head slot of the REF postpositional phrase in example (521) below.

- 519) I bul gi-nan bilaʔ-01-au?
we pig O3P-REF talk-PR-1P
'We are talking about pigs.'
- 520) Ni ya i-nan ni-nad hi meʔniy-01-an.
you I O1S-REF IP2S-mind NEG ruin-IMP-N1S
'Don't worry about me.'

²⁷ Again, the reader is directed to section 3.4.3.1 for an explanation of the contraction process.

- 521) Ya bul gi-men gubay-nan leh-01-ai?
 I pig O3P-DESIG pumpkin-REF go-PR-1S
 'I am going for pumpkins for the pigs.'

Compare these examples to the noun base *-nan* used to designate a person's appellation and the desiderative suffix *-nan*.

- 522) Ya i-nan Mak.
 I O1S-name name
 'My name is Mark.'
- 523) Ya huz-nan leh-01-ai?
 I bathe-DES go-PR-1S
 'I am going to bathe.'

4.3 Verb phrases

4.3.1 Modified verb phrase (MVP)

The modified verb phrase fills the predicate slot on the clause level. The formula for the verb phrase is displayed below:

slot	REAL	REACT	NEG	INTNS	Predicate
filler	a	ta	hi hikidik	di?	verb hai?gam

Rule 1: The perfective aspect marker does not co-occur with other constituents of the verb phrase except the verbal predicate.

Rule 2: *A* does not occur with negative in the imperative mood, but does occur with it in the other moods.

Rule 3: The perfective aspect marker does not occur with negative or imperative modes.

The most common number of constituents in an MVP is one to three: a predicate plus or minus either the negative (with realis marker in the indicative mood) or an aspect marker.

- 524) Ni ka-b hi-kidik bol-01-02.
 you this-DAT NEG-EMP come-IMP-2S
 'Don't you dare come here!'
- 525) A-te hi?iy-an in a hi di? mug ninal-y-a?
 IP3S-teeth finish-DP he REAL NEG bite mash-IPF-N1S
 'He didn't have any teeth and so he wasn't really chewing it up.'
- 526) Ya i-nad a hi di? em has-01-ai?
 I IP1S-mind REAL NEG INTNS do open-PR-1S
 'I really don't understand.'
- 527) In a-nad ayah-mo me?niy-01-02
 he INP-mind big-EMP ruin-PA-N1S
 'He was really concerned/sad'
- 528) Ta bila? ton-01-02!
 REACT say do-IMP-2S
 'Say it again!'

- 529) In na-b a ta hi leh-d-a?
 he that-DAT REAL REACT NEG go-FUT-N1S
 ‘He won’t go there again.’
- 530) Ya a ta nig ton-d-ai? e?
 I REAL REACT give.you do-FUT-1S INTER
 ‘Shall I give it to you again?’

4.3.2 Intensified verb phrase

There is a construction which is somewhat similar to what I have described as a compound word (see 3.18.1) but which is more complex. Its structure is displayed below:

Slot	Head ₁	Demonstrative	EMP	INTNS	Head ₂
Filler	verb	demonstrative pronoun	amo	di?	hi?iy ‘finish’

The verb stem, demonstrative pronoun *na* and verb *hiqiy* are obligatorily present. The aspect marker, emphatic word *amo* and the intensifier *di?* are optional. This construction functions as a single verb, but the structure is more complex than an ordinary compound verb.

- 531) Ya i-ben titiy na [a-] mo hi?iy-O1-a?
 I my-arm hurt that O3S- EMP finish-PR-N1S
 ‘My arm really hurts.’
- 532) Bol -ad gi- mam a- sen ti- um na [a-] mo hi?iy-y-a?
 come -SD IP3P- father IP3S- leg PFT- swell that O3S- EMP finish-IPF-N1S
 ‘As they were coming their fathers leg was really swelling up.’
- 533) Ya mo? na a- mo di? hi?iy-O1-ai?
 I die that O3S- EMP INTNS finish-PR-1S
 ‘I am really very sick.’

4.3.3 Reciprocal verb phrase

Reciprocal verb phrases encoded actions that are done to ‘each other’ or with reference to ‘each other,’ or to one’s self. This phrase obligatorily includes the reciprocal word *an* ‘each.other,’ and an obligatory Head filled by an MVP.

Slot	reciprocal word	Head
Filler	<i>an</i>	MVP

- 534) Bab na ti?-sa i an a hi wamuz-O1-O2.
 enemy that descend-DD we each.other REAL NEG look.after-PA-1P
 ‘As the fighting(war) came upon us we didn’t look after each other (i.e. it was every man for himself).’
- 535) I kab an huser-O1-u? ha(?)O1-w.
 we this-DAT each.other divide-JUS-1P QV-PA-1P
 ‘Let’s divide up (ourselves) here.’
- 536) Ad-mo na-b in an ti-rabun-O1-iy.
 SD-ITS that-DAT they each.other PFT-fear-PA-N1P
 ‘And so at that time they were afraid of each other.’
- 537) In leh-ad-mo dan-ib on in an tu-bulon ya?-ay.
 they go-SD-ITS road-DAT women they each.other PFT-speak.to IPF-N1P
 ‘As they were going on the road, the women were speaking to each other.’

- 538) Abeb in iyah iy-e? in an tu-wa? da?-ay.
 Later they big become-SPIR they each.other PFT-get IPF-N1P
 ‘Later, when they grow up, they will marry each other.’
- 539) Ad in an waz-im uli?-ab tu-bol-01-iy.
 SD they each.other hold-SP village-DAT PFT-come-PA-N1P
 ‘And holding on to each other they returned to the village.’

It is possible for an optional margin containing either a location or a noun or nominalized verb to intervene between the *an* ‘each other’ and the verb phrase.

- 540) Leh-im in an a-ger a-ger leh-ad te? garan bay ya?-ay.
 go-SP they each.other IP3S-side IP3S-side go-SD CONJ bush step.onIPF-3P
 ‘They went and as they were going side by side they were beating the bush (e.g. to drive a pig into a net).’
- 541) An ben waz-01-u?!
 each.other hand hold-IPR-1P
 ‘Let’s hold hands!’
- 542) An eron hi ug-01-iy!
 each.other transfer NEG give.him-IMP-2P
 ‘Don’t think the other one will be responsible for something you could do.’

5. CLAUSES

The clause is the basic syntactic unit in Bargam and contains one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme. Generally two or more clauses combine to form a sentence, although a single clause may compose a sentence, in which case it is termed a simple sentence.

A predicate is always obligatorily present in every clause and therefore is considered preeminently nuclear. Other nuclear (but not obligatory) functions are Subject and Object.

Clauses are sentence-final or sentence-medial depending on verb suffixation. Final clause verbs take independent suffixes and medial clause verbs take dependent suffixation.

The basic structure of the Bargam clause is:

$$x_1 \quad S \quad PC \quad O \quad x_2 \quad V \quad T$$

in which the x_1 and x_2 positions are filled by clause adjuncts such as time or location, the PC position is occupied by a pronoun copy and the 'Tail' (T) position is occupied by "an afterthought, specification or modification of information contained in the predication" (Dik: 1983:22). For example:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|-------|-----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| | x_1 :TM | S | | PC | x_2 :LOC | O |
| 543) | Haʔ-ad | kam araʔ-ab | aw | baras-ta | na in faʔ | a-lul-ib maroʔ |
| | QV-SD | day | a-DAT | woman young-MOD | that she fire | IP3S-base-DAT banana |
| | V | | | | | |
| | wiz-ad | tu-os-O1-O2. | | | | |
| | roast-SD | PFT-sit-PA-N1S | | | | |
| | ‘And one day the young woman was sitting near the fire roasting bananas.’ | | | | | |

- | | | | | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|
| | x_1 :TM | S | | | | PC |
| 544) | Sa | kam araʔ-ab | aw | baras-ta | na mat minmin-ta | na in |
| | CONJ | day | a-DAT | woman young-MOD | that man young-MOD | that they |
| | V | | | | | |
| | an | kam tu-ug-O1-iy. | | | | |
| | each.other | day PFT-give.him/her-PA-N1P | | | | |
| | ‘And one day the young woman and the young man, they gave each other a day/time [i.e. made a commitment to each other to get married]’ | | | | | |

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|----------|-----------|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| | | S | | | V |
| 545) | On | giger na | ne-naʔ | os-ad-mo | in gi-hol tu-waz-buliy-O1-O2, |
| | women two | that | O3P-COM | sit-SD-ITS | they IP3P-body PFT-hold-turn-PA-N1S |
| | T:COMPARISON | | | | |
| | kwaziʔ-mo | in | gi-hol | us-O1-O2 | nazaʔ-mo. |
| | old-EMP | they | IP3P-body | sleep-PA-N1S | like.that-EMP |
| | ‘The two women remained together with him and their bodies completely changed, (they became) just like their bodies were before [they had nearly starved to death].’ | | | | |

			V		T:PURPOSE
546) Waʔ-im	a-nad	dimniy-sa	tu-bol-01-02,	ya-(i)-go	karuw
get-SP	IP3S-mind	be.well-DD	PFT-come-PA-N1S	I-O1S-POS	meat
ti-neʔ-d-aiʔ-ta		haʔ-ad.			
	PFT-eat-FUT-1S-MOD	QV-SD			

‘(He) got (it) and came back very happy thinking, “I am going to eat my meat.”’

	S			V	T:TM
547) Haʔ-ad	in	a-mam	ayah-ta	na i-naʔ	os-01-aʔ,
QV-SD	she	IP3S-father	big-MOD	that	O3S-COM sit-PA-N1S
					now

‘So she is living with her father now.’

See also example (509) above. Positions x_1 and x_2 are slots where all non-nuclear terms of a predication are placed, such as temporal, locative, beneficiary, specified referent, recipient, instrument, comitative, associated subject (x_1), associated object (x_2) and question words.

There seem to be syntactic grounds for positing both subject (S) and object (O) as necessary syntactic positions within the predication. The subject and object are morphologically unmarked whereas the non-nuclear terms x_1 and x_2 are always grammatically marked (with the exception of recipient) by either a clitic or a phrase construction. Also the subject is cross-referenced by the person-number suffixes and the object of a transitive clause is marked on the verb by an object cross-referencing prefix. These facts taken together indicate that there is good reason to posit both subject and object as syntactic positions in the clause.

	S		PC	O		PC	V
548) Teʔ,	aw	nenab	na	in	bul	Huduakan	a-te
	then	woman	old	that	she	pig name	IP3S-teeth
						she	get-SP
							Then the old woman took the pig Hudukaan’s teeth and...

While the normal ordering of clause constituents is as described above, S O V, the positions of S and O are not absolutely fixed and they may occur in the reversed order O S V. Such an ordering is normally disambiguated either through verb affixation or pronoun copy or both.

	O	S	V			
549) Ta	ne	urom	ka	a	hi	gi-nol-sa
	REACT	you(P)	rain	this	REAL	NEG
						O2P-hit-DD
						you
						le-h-01-ay
						eʔ
						INTER
						‘Isn’t the rain hitting you as you go?’

Here the plural object (left-dislocated as addressee) is clearly distinguished from the singular subject by the plural object cross-referencing prefix *gi-*. However there are instances, when both subject and object are 3rd person singular or plural, where semantics or context alone must serve to disambiguate the functions of the two arguments.

	O	S	V			
550) Bo	didaʔ	na	in	neʔ-ad	luw-eʔ-mo	mileʔ-eʔ
	come	food	that	it	eat-SD	go.around-SPIR-ITS
						return-SPIR
						REACT go-IPF-N1S
						‘It (a pig) would come and spend some time eating that food and return and go back.’

O		S		V
---	--	---	--	---

- 551) Ya-[i]-go maro? guya?-ag rinton-an ya a-saw-an wa(?)-O1-y.
 I-O1S-POS banana someone-UNSPC steal-DP I IP3S-place-APS get-PA-1S
 ‘Someone stole my bananas and I saw where they (bananas) had been.’

5.1 Case

Bargam manifests the following case role categories: ACTOR, PATIENT, RECIPIENT, DATIVE, COMITATIVE, BENEFACTIVE, DESIGNATIVE, REFERENT

5.1.1 Actor {actor, experiencer, force, effector, causer} and Patient {patient, goal} case roles

5.1.1.1 Actor (animate)

- 552) Ya ti-leh-O1-ai?
 I PFT-go-PR-1S
 ‘I am (already) going.’
- 553) Mataw wo?-O1-iy.
 Men fall-PA-13P
 ‘The men fell.’

5.1.1.2 Actor (inanimate)

- 554) Fa? oy-O1-a?
 fire burn-PR-N1S
 ‘The fire is burning.’

5.1.1.3 Actor and patient (animate)

- 555) Ya gaun wol-O1-O2.
 I dog hit-PA-1S
 ‘I hit the dog.’
- 556) Gaun ya i-mug-O1-O2.
 dog I O1S-bite-PA-N1S
 ‘The dog bit me.’
- 557) Ya ne gi-nol-d-ai?
 I you O2P-hit-FUT-1S
 ‘I will hit you(P).’

5.1.1.4 Actor and Patient (Inanimate)

- 558) Ya maro? kabem-mo ne(?) -O1-y.
 I banana many-EMP eat-PA-1S
 ‘I ate many bananas.’

5.1.1.5 Actor and Goal

- 559) Ya ne gi-nagun-O1-ai?
 I you O2P-search-PR-1S
 ‘I’m looking for you(P).’

5.1.1.6 Force

- 560) Ze? ni-noy-O1-a?
 sun O2S-burn-PR-N1S
 ‘The sun is burning you.’

- 561) Oḡ a-hol wol-Ō1-a?
ground IP3S-body hit-PR-N1S
'The ground is moving.'

5.1.1.7 Force and Patient (Animate)

- 562) Yuw gi-ne?-d-a?
water O2P-eat-FUT-N1S
'The water will eat you(P), i.e. You'll drown.'
- 563) Ay gi-nol-d-a?
tree O3P-hit-FUT-N1S
'The tree will fall on you(P).'
- 564) Tim i-nol-Ō1-a?
wind O1S-hit-PR-N1S
'The wind is hitting me (I'm cold).'
- 565) Kabiḡ i-nol-Ō1-Ō2.
work O1S-hit-PA-N1S
'The work hit me, i.e. I'm exhausted.'

5.1.1.8 Causer and Patient

- 566) Ya nan em-an ti-lah-Ō1-Ō2.
I talk do-DP PFT-go-PA-N1S
'I sent word.'

5.1.1.9 Experiencer

- 567) Ya mo?-Ō1-ai?
I die-PR-1S
'I'm sick.'

5.1.1.10 Patient (inanimate)

- 568) Dida? oy-Ō1-a?
food cook-PR-N1S
'The food is cooking.'
- 569) Maro? gi-hem-im²⁸ us-Ō1-a?
banana O3P-ripen-SP sleep-PR-N1S
'The bananas are ripe.'

5.1.2 Recipient (I.O.) case roles {recipient, addressee}

5.1.2.1 Recipient

- 570) Ya Kawtil gaun ug-Ō1-Ō2.
I Kawtil dog give.to.him-PA-1S
'I gave the dog to Kawtil.'
- 571) Sireo ya kaug i-isihun-Ō1-a?
Sireo I dance.ornament O1S-show-PR-N1S
'Sireo is showing me the dance ornament.'

²⁸ Note the addition of the plural object marker *gi-* in this construction versus its absence in ex. (558) above!

5.1.2.2 Addressee

- 572) Ya onmin wagam kabem-mo gi-bilen-O1-O2.
I children story many-EMP O3P-speak.to-PA-1S
'I told the children many stories.'

5.1.3 Dative case roles {location, scope, time, source, instrument, vehicle}**5.1.3.1 Location**

- 573) Ya kabiy-ab leh-O1-ai?.
I garden-DAT go-PR-1S
'I'm going to the garden.'

5.1.3.2 Scope

- 574) Ha?-ad a-midon a-we i-na? na-b tu-os-O1-iy.
QV-SD IP3S-offspring IP3S-wife O3S-COM that-DAT PFT-sit-PA-N1P
'And his son and his (son's) wife remained there.'

5.1.3.3 Time and Location

- 575) In tarow-ab a-go haya?-ab us-sa...
he night-DAT IP3S-POS yg.men's.house-DAT sleep-DD
'One night he was sleeping in his house-boy and...'

5.1.3.4 Source

- 576) Ha?-id onmin bo a-ben-ab nal wa?-e? a le
say-DPIR children come IP3S-hand-DAT lime get-SPIR ACC go
a-ban-ab-mo ta em-y-a?ay.
IP3S-reposing.place-DAT-EMP REACT put-IPF-N1P
'And the children would come and take the lime from him and take it and put it back in its place.'

5.1.3.5 Instrument

- 577) ...in era?-im tangklul-ib gi-hol balaw ton-O1-O2.
...she arise-SP red.clay-DAT IP3S-body decoration do-PA-N1S
'...she got up and decorated their bodies (her and her child's) with red clay.'
- 578) Ari mat na a-mam a-san wa?-im a bo amal-ib
O.K. man that IP3S-father IP3S-skin get-SP ACC come surface-DAT
Wasab gi-nol-im...
village.name O3P-hit-SP...
'That man took his father's skin and brought it and used it to hit (the) Wasab (people) and...'

5.1.3.6 Vehicle

- 579) I kar-ib leh-O1-am
we car-DAT go-FUT-1P
'We will go by car.'

5.1.4 Comitative

- 580) ...in a-hiy amik-ta i-na? era ti-leh-O1-iy
...he IP3S-sib.opp.sex little-MOD O3S-COM arise PFT-go-PA-N1P
'...he and his younger sister got up and left.'

- 581) Haʔ-ad amun i-naʔ uliʔ-ab ti-lah-O1-O2.
say-SD child O3S-COM village-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1S
'And (she) and the child went to the village.'
- 582) In nagah a-rab i-naʔ na ti-iy bug-O1-O2
she something IP3S-fear O3S-COM that PFT-be EXH-PA-3S
'She...turned into everything that is fearful/repulsive.'

5.1.5 Benefactive

- 583) ...on giger na gi-yon muneman a-taʔor-an em-an...
...women two that O3P-BEN plant IP-soup-APS do-DP...
'...(They) made *muneman* soup for the two women and...'
- 584) An a-yon tun amik-ta em ug-O1-iy.
DP O3S-BEN bow little-MOD make give.him-PA-N1S
'And they made a small bow for him.'

5.1.6 Designative

- 585) Eʔ ya i-men didaʔ-ta a bol-id ya neʔ-O1-iʔ haʔ-01-m.
SPIR I O1S-DSG food-MOD ACC come-DPIR I eat-JUS-1S QV-PA-N1S
'Bring me my food and let me eat it.'
- 586) Mat dimun-ta na zeʔ a-men em-im os-sa...
man good-MOD that sun O3S-DSG do-SP sit-DD
'The good man waited for the sun (to come up) and...'

5.1.7 Referent

- 587) ...nal masel hul a-nan bilaʔ-sa...
...powdered.lime betel.nut betel.pepper O1S-REF say-DD
'...(he) would speak about powdered lime, betel nut and betel pepper and...'
- 588) On giger na os-im gi-gem-nan moʔ-ad...
women two that sit-SP O3P-stomach-REF die-SD
'The two women were starving and...'
- 589) Na in aw a-nan ti-sun-O1-O2.
that he woman O3S-REF PFT-beg-PA-N1S
'That one, he begged for a woman(wife).'
- 590) Ad a-nen a-nan a-gem ti-meʔniy-aʔ.
SD IP3S-mother O3S-REF IP3S-stomach PFT-ruin-IPF-N1S
'And he was angry with his mother.'

5.2 Independent clauses

5.2.1 Transitive clause

The transitive clause (TCI) is distinguished from other clause types by the presence of the object tagmeme. The object is nearly always present in a transitive clause, being manifested by either a noun phrase or the object cross-referencing prefix or both. There are however instances when the object is not present in a clause. In such a case the object is always recoverable from the immediately preceding context. For example,

- 591) In waʔ-im a-bilik(i)n-ib am waz-O1-O2.
he get-SP IP3S-tail-DAT vine hold-PA-N1S
'He got (the burning stick) and tied it to his tail.'

The TCI is composed of a subject, an object and a predicate as nuclear functions and temporal, benefactive, associate subject and object, instrument, dative, specified referent, recipient and manner word as non-nuclear functions filling the x_1 and x_2 positions. The formula for the transitive clause is displayed below.

slot	x_1	subject	PC	x_2	object	predicate
filler	TM	MNP	pronoun	BEN PP INSTR PP COM PP REF PP TM MAN LOC RECIP	MNP	MVP-Tr

Rule: The x_2 position can be repeated.

5.2.1.1 + MAN

- 592) Us-ad-mo in kiskis-mo fa? ara? wam.
 sleep-SD-ITS he slowly-EMP fire a get-PA-N1S
 ‘While he was (pretending) sleeping, he slowly got a piece of the fire.’
- 593) In gamuk sisa?-mo bila?-O1-iy.
 they talk long-EMP say-PA-N1P
 ‘They talked for a long time.’

5.2.1.2 +TM

- 594) I irimo bul giger-mo gi-nol em-O1-O2.
 we yesterday pig two-EPH O3P-hit do-PA-1P
 ‘Yesterday we killed two pigs.’

5.2.1.3 + BEN PP

- 595) I ni-n(i)-men karuw ara? wol em-O1-am ha?-O1-iy.
 we you-O2S-BEN animal other kill do-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1P
 ‘We will kill a pig for you, they said.’

5.2.1.4 +COM PP

- 596) Tuwal in aw na i-na? ug ne?-im,...
 T. he woman that O3S-COM banana eat-SP
 ‘Tuwal and the woman ate the bananas and...’

5.2.1.5 +INSTR PP

- 597) Ya talgis-ib ay ?way-O1-O2.
 I axe-DAT tree cut-PA-1S
 ‘I cut the tree down with an axe.’

5.2.2 Ditransitive clause

5.2.2.1 +RECIP

- 598) Ya Kawtil gaun ug-O1-O2.
 I K. dog give.him-PA-1S
 ‘I gave Kawtil the dog.’

5.2.3 Intransitive clause

The intransitive clause is composed of an optional subject tagmeme and an obligatory predicate tagmeme as nuclear tagmemes and time, location, specified referent, comitative, instrument, recipient and manner as non-nuclear tagmemes. The formula for the intransitive clause is displayed below:

slot	x ₁	subject	x ₂	predicate
filler	SCO TM	MOD NP	INSTR PP COM PP REF PP LOC RECIP MAN TM PC	MOD VP-Intr

Note: x₂ can repeated.

S O V S V

- 599) Ya amun wol-an in ga(?)-O1-m.
I child hit-DP he cry-PA-N1S
'I hit the child and he cried.'

S V S V

- 600) Ya i-ben titiy-sa ya a hi us-01-02.
I IP1S-arm hurt-DD I REAL NEG sleep-PA-N1S
While my arm hurt I didn't sleep.

5.2.3.1 +MAN

- 601) Te? in hid-mo a hi mo(?)-O1-m.
but he quickly-EMP REAL NEG die-PA-N1S
'But he didn't die quickly.'
- 602) Ya i-nad ayah-mo me?niy-O1-a?.
I IP1P-mind big-EMP ruin-PR-N1S
'I am really sorry/concerned.'

5.2.3.2 +LOC

- 603) In garan-ab leh-im ay ayah-ta in ?way-O1-O2.
he bush-DAT go-SP tree big-MOD he cut-PA-N1S
'He went to the bush and cut a big tree.'

5.2.3.3 +SCOPE

- 604) Na-b in era?-im a-we i-na? Talidig-ib Bumsol-ab-mo
that-DAT he arise-SP IP3S-wife O3S-COM name-DAT name-DAT-EMP
a-mam a-ger-ab ti-leh-O1-iy.
IP3S-father IP3S-side-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1P
'There he arose and went with his wife to his father at Taligib, at Bumsol.'

5.2.3.4 +COM PP

- 605) Paul Kabon i-na? Madang-ib lah-O1-O2.
P. K. O3S-COM name-DAT go-PA-N1S
'Paul went with Kabon to town.'

5.2.3.5 +INSTR PP

- 606) In muy-ib ti-leh-Ø1-iy.
 they canoe-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1P
 ‘They went in the canoe.’

5.2.3.6 +TM

- 607) Ya tarow-ab moʔ-d-aiʔ daʔag-ya ha(?)-Ø1-m.
 I night-DAT die-FUT-1S DUB-UNCER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I will probably die tonight, he said.’

5.2.3.7 +RECIP

- 608) I haʔiy kaul bulon-Ø1-uʔ haʔ-Ø1-iy.
 we QV lizard.sp speak.to-IPR-1P QV-PA-N1P
 ‘Let’s speak to the kaul, they said.’

5.2.3.8 +REF PP

- 609) Ya didaʔ-[a]-nan leh-Ø1-aiʔ.
 I food-O3S-REF go-PR-1S
 ‘I am going to get food.’

5.2.4 Stative clause

The stative clause is a clause type in which the overtly verbal component is optional. It is composed of an obligatory topic filled by a modified NP, an obligatory non-verbal comment filled by a modified NP and an optional copula filled by the stative verb *iy* ‘be, become’ or the clausal negator *haiʔ*. These are considered nuclear tagmemes of the equative clause. The formula for the stative clause is displayed below:

slot	topic (To)	x ₁	comment (Co)	copula (COP)
filler	MNP	TM	MNP	MVP-ly
		LOC	PNP-1	haiʔ
		PC	PNP-2	
			MOD	
			COM PP*	

*Although it is reasonable from the perspective of structure to include the commitative PP as a filler of the comment slot in a stative clause, this particular clause type will be treated in the following subsection.

Rule: The copula always occurs with future tense and rarely otherwise.

The stative verb *-iy* is a limited verb which is suffixed for tense and for subject number and person, but never for object. The optionality of the copula is related to tense. In the present or neutral tense the copula is optional and only rarely present. In the other tenses it must be present to make the time explicit.

To PC Co

- 610) Na in aw -mo -ta
 that it woman -EMP -MOD
 ‘Concerning that, it was a woman!’

- To Co
 611) Ni ya-[i]-go kadoy.
 you I-O1S-POS friend
 'You are my friend.'
- To Co
 612) Bul ka ayah-mo.
 pig this big-EMP
 'This pig is big.'
- To Co COP
 613) Ni ayah a hi iy-d-a?
 you big REAL NEG be-FUT-N1S
 'You will not become big (=grow up).'
- To Co COP
 614) Na yuw di? a hai?
 that water INTNS REAL NEG
 'That is not real water.'
- To Co COP
 615) Ya mat dimun-ta a hai?
 I man good-MOD REAL NEG
 'I am not a good man.'
- To LOC Co COP
 616) Ya Amerika-ab mat ayah-ta iy-O1-O2.
 I name-DAT man big be-PA-1S
 'I was an important man in America.'
- To TM Co COP
 617) Ya kwazi?-mo Kaunsel iy-O1-O2-ta.
 I before council.member be-PA-1S-MOD
 'A long time ago I was a council member.'
- To Co
 618) Te? in gi-go Sande Tunde.
 but they O3P-POS Sunday Tuesday
 'But their Sunday was Tuesday. (i.e. Their sacred day was Tuesday.)'
- To PC Co COP
 619) Gaun ka in dimun a hai? ha?-O1-iy.
 dog this he good REAL NEG QV-PA-N1P
 'This is a worthless dog, they said.'

To PC Co

- 620) Ka in a-san meʔin haʔ-ŋ1-iy.
 this he his-skin bad QV-PA-N1P
 ‘This one’s skin is bad, they said.’

5.2.4.1 Inaʔ possessive clause

The *inaʔ* possessive clause consists of an obligatory subject-as-possessor tagmeme filled by a modified NP, an obligatory object-as-possessed tagmeme filled by a modified NP and an obligatory copula tagmeme filled by the postposition *inaʔ* or the non-verbal negator *haiʔgam*, often abbreviated to *haiʔ*, as nuclear tagmemes and time and location as a non-nuclear tagmeme. The formula for the *inaʔ* possessive clause is displayed below:

slot	x ₁	topic as possessor	x ₂	comment as possessed	copula (COP)
filler	TM	mod NP	TM LOC PC	COM PP - inaʔ	MVP -iy

This type of structure has been observed in other languages.

...languages, such as Swahili and Bantu in general, still maintain the possessor as subject, but lexicalize "have" as "be with," ...In languages of this type there is often a tendency to dispense with the overt "be" in the present and re-analyze "with" as "have".²⁹

The phenomenon that Givon has described for African languages occurs also in Bargam. However, Bargam not only dispenses with the verb *iy-* ‘be’ in the present but also in the past perfect. The ‘be’ verb does occur in both future and past imperfect tenses.

To Co

- 621) Ni masel i-naʔ eʔ
 you betel.nut O3S-COM INTER
 ‘Do you have any betel nut?’

To Co

- 622) Eʔe, ya masel i-naʔ.
 yes I betel.nut O3S-COM
 ‘Yes, I have betel nut.’

To Co

- 623) Ya kabiy araʔ haiʔ.
 I work other NEG
 ‘I don’t have any other work.’

To Co

- 624) In a-bengayik i-naq-ta haq-ŋ1-iy.
 it IP3S-wing O3S-COM-MOD QV-PA-N1P
 ‘It has wings.’

²⁹ Givon, in Li 1976,175-6

- To TM Co
 625) Ya kwazi?-mo bul i-na?
 I before-EMP pig O3S-COM
 'I used to have pigs.'
- To TM Co COP
 626) Ya babe? bul i-na? iy-d-ai?
 I tomorrow pig O3S-COM be-FUT-1S
 'Tomorrow I will have a pig.'

5.2.5 Verbless clauses

Verbless (descriptive) clauses consist of a topic juxtaposed with a comment, usually composed of a modified noun phrase, a process demonstrative, or an emphatic *-wa* class demonstrative adverb.

- To Co
 627) Tegteg na kabiy afa?an me?in didi?-ta.
 tree.name that work hard bad INTNS-MOD
 'Concerning tegteg (floorboards), it is very hard work.'
- To Co
 628) Mat na a-go bit na gig ara? ayah-ta.
 man that O3S-POS house that stone a big-MOD
 'That man's house was a big rock.'
- To Co
 629) Niro ka kaza?-{a}-mo-ta.
 story this like.this-(O3S)-EMP-MOD
 'This story is like this.'
- To Co
 630) Wagam ka kawa-{a}-mo.
 story this PLOC-(O3S)-EMP
 'That's all of this story.'

5.2.6 Pronoun copy

Pronoun copy is a relatively common phenomenon in Bargam, although the frequency with which it is used varies greatly from speaker to speaker. Below are listed the functions of pronoun copy in Bargam.

5.2.6.1 Marks agent in potentially ambiguous constructions.

Since the object may be fronted to a position before the subject in Bargam clauses, when both subject and object are 3rd person nouns, pronoun copy serves to mark the agent/subject of the clause.

- 631) Sa aw ara? amun am-01-02-ta mana in amun aw mana
 CONJ woman a child do-PA-N1S-MOD that she child woman that
 bulon-y-a?, Ni tuk-01-02 ha?-y-a?.
 speak.to-IPF-N1S you flee-IMP-2S QV-IMP-N1S
 ‘At the same time that woman who had had a child, she was saying to that girl, You run away.’

5.2.6.2 Emphasizes agency in non-ambiguous constructions.

- 632) Mat in bit em-nan na in kaza?.
 man he house do-DES that it like.this
 ‘The (procedure) of a man intending to build a house (goes) like this.’

5.2.6.3 Marks the head in equative/descriptive clauses.

- 633) An wagam ka in hel di?-ta-{a}-mo.
 CONJ story this it true INTNS-MOD-(O3S)-EMP
 ‘And so this story is very true.’

5.2.6.4 Recapitulates complex fillers of the subject slot.

- 634) Ari ya Anna i-na? i mo? iyah-ta gi-wa?-01-m
 Ok. I name O3S-COM we sickness big-MOD O1P-get-PA-N1S
 ‘Ok., me and Anna, a big sickness got us.’

5.3 Dependent clauses

Dependent clauses are distinguished from independent clauses on the basis of intonation and verb suffixation. Independent clauses end with a slightly falling intonation, whereas dependent clauses end with a slightly rising intonation. For example:

- 635) I bul hunog-e? wiz-e? tital-e? oy-e? i ne?-01-am.
 we pig spear-SPIR singe-SPIR butcher-SPIR cook-SPIR we eat-FUT-1P
 ‘We will spear the pig and singe the hair off and cut it up and cook it and we will eat it.’

The switch-reference system is fairly rigidly adhered to with an exception being that the switch from 1S → 1P and 1P → 1S is marked with same referent medial suffixes, the assumption being that ‘I’ is a subset of ‘we’.

- 636) Mile?-e? leh-id te? anamren ahol wa?-ad in dida?
 return-SPIR go-DPIR then owner body see-SD he food
 tu-ug-y-a?.
 PFT-give.it-IPF-N1S
 ‘When (the pig) would return and go then the owner seeing it was giving it food.’
- 637) In garan-ab leh-im bul hunog-an in mo(?)01-m.
 he bush-DAT go-SP pig shoot-DP it die-PA-N1S
 ‘He went to the bush he shot a pig and it died.’
- 638) Os-sa te? mat ara? in garan-ab tu-bol-01-02.
 sit-DD then man other he bush-DAT PFT-come-PA-N1S
 ‘While she was sitting there a man came to the forest.’

Although technically dependent clauses precede the independent sentence-final clause in a sentence, it is possible to put an dependent clause in the T or tail (afterthought) position, following the independent verb.

- 639) In garan-ab leh-im ay ayah-ta in ?way-01-02, in a-bab Kulibob
 he bush-DAT go-SP tree big-MOD he cut-PA-N1S he his-brother name
 i-na? ara?-ib-mo leh-im.
 with a-DAT-EMP go-SP
 ‘He together with his brother Kulibob went to the bush and cut a large tree.’

Another ‘special’ usage of the medial clause is that of the ‘softened command’. When used as a command, the medial clause occurs sentence finally, that is, without a concluding independent clause. The force of such a construction is somewhat less harsh than the imperative. Only the realis punctiliar medial suffixes (*-im*, *-an*) are not used in this way. However, the suffix *-an* is used to mark the jussive 3S command form (see example (642) below and sec. 6.2.2. ‘Imperatives’).

- 640)a Ni bol-e?.
 you come-SPIR
 Come.
- 641)b Ni bol-01-02.
 you come-IMP-2S
 You come!
- 642) ...ni ?way-e?-mo huneg-id ham ni ni-bun ban wo?-an
 ...you cut-SPIR-ITS throw-DPIR QV you IP2S-back side fall-DS
 ha(?)01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘...You cut (the coconut), throw it (in the water) and let it fall behind you, she said.’
- 643) Bol-sa i leh-01-u?.
 come-DD we go-COH-IP
 ‘(You) come and let’s go.’

5.4 Nominalized clauses

Any independent clause may be nominalized by the addition of the modifier suffix *-ta* to the end of any independent clause. Such nominalized clauses may fill the head in any noun phrase. Often when the demonstrative pronoun or process demonstrative is present the modifier suffix *-ta* is omitted (cf. example (648) below and see section 6.3.7. for further discussion of this type of comparative structure).

- 644) Ya irimo Mudoy-ab leh-01-02-ta a-gamuk-an bila?-nan.
 I yesterday name-DAT go-PA-1S-MOD IP3S-talk-APS say-DES
 I am going to talk about when I went to Mudoy yesterday.
- 645) Mataw kabiy em-01-iy-ta te? mataw kabiy a hi
 men work do-PA-N1P-MOD CONJ men work REAL NEG
 em-01-iy-ta i-na?-mo karuw ne?-da?-ay.
 do-PA-N1P-MOD O3S-COM-EMP meat eat-FUT-N1P
 ‘Men who worked and men who didn’t work, both will eat meat.’
- 646) Ari te? mataw gi-dulan kwazi?-mo tu-mo?-01-iy-ta na
 O.k. CONJ men IP3P-spirit before-EMP PFT-die-PA-N1P-MOD that
 bol-im...
 come-SP
 ‘Then the spirits of the men who had died a long time ago came and...’

647) Te? i eza? ton-01-am-ta bugaw in bila(?)01-m?
 CONJ we what? do-FUT-1P-MOD spirit it say-PA-N1S

‘And what did the spirit say that we will/must do?’

648) In zaur ay anagin tilon-01-a? naza?-mo in dida?
 he cassowary tree seed swallow-PR-N1S like.that-EMP he food
 tilon-01-02.

swallow-PA-N1S

‘He swallowed the food just like a cassowary swallows tree seeds.’

The similarity between these relativized clauses and a normal modified noun phrase is unmistakable. The constructions are identical, the only difference being that a subordinated independent clause rather than a word fills the specifier slot in the modified NP.

6. SENTENCES

The sentence occupies a position at the top of the Bargam grammatical hierarchy. In this section the structure of Bargam sentences is described, then the illocutionary functions of sentences are discussed, following this a number of propositional relationships are described for Bargam and lastly some special constructions are mentioned.

6.1 Structure

Clauses are joined into sentences on the basis of coordination and subordination relationships. The coordinate relationship is manifested by means of medial clause chaining, and by conjunction. Subordination is manifested by independent clauses being embedded within other clauses.

Sentence boundaries are discernable by the occurrence of a verb with independent verb suffixation plus sentence final (i.e. falling) intonation.

6.1.1 Simple sentence

A simple sentence expresses a single predication and therefore is composed of a single clause plus or minus such sentence level functors as the question marker or the dubitative word *daʔag*. Below is the formula for a typical Bargam sentence.

Slot	Sentence Margin	Non-final nucleus	Final nucleus	Sentence Margin
Filler	CONJ	Medial Clause	Final clause	INTER DUB

- 649) Ni kabiy-ab leh-O1-aʔ eʔ
 you garden-DAT go-PR-N1S INTER
 ‘Are you going to the garden?’
- 650) Leh-O1-uʔ.
 go-IMP-1P
 ‘Let’s go.’
- 651) Ya ti-leh-nan.
 I PFT-go-DES
 ‘I am going to go.’
- 652) In bul gayon nog iy-O1-aʔ.
 he pig squeal SIM be-PR-N1S
 ‘He is squealing like a pig.’
- 653) I uliʔ-ab daʔ bun-mo ti-meʔniy-an i ni-bilen-nan
 we village-DAT deed all-EMP PFT-ruin-DP we O2S-speak.to-DES
 haʔ-ad bol-O1-O2.
 QV-SDcome-PA-1P
 ‘We came intending to tell you that the situation in the village is terrible.’

6.1.2 Coordination

6.1.2.1 Clause chaining (co-subordination)

By far the most common sentence structure in Bargam is a series of dependent medial clauses plus a independent final clause. In one text out of a total of 104 sentences, 81 were formed by medial clause chaining. The number of medial clauses in any one sentence varies greatly. Out of a total of 269 sentences formed by medial clause chaining, taken from three texts, the average number of

medial clauses was approximately 1.8 per sentence. The maximum number of medial clauses that have been observed in one sentence is fifteen.

- 654) Fa? ulam-an in iter-ad us-sa mataw in gi-go kabi-ab
 fire blow-DS he warm-SD sleep-DD men they O3P-POS garden-DAT
 ti-leh-sa gaun na in us-im kiskis-mo fa? asor wa?-im
 PFT-go-DD dog that he sleep-SP slow-EMP fire some get-SP
 ad bol-im Kamis-ib iti?-im am-im a bol-sa onmin ahol
 ACC come-SP ocean-DAT descend-SP swim-SP ACC come-DD children body
 wa?-ad ek ton-sa gaun na in hurit-ad-mo in fa? hulosa-an
 get-SD yell do-DD dog that he hear-SD-ITS he fire loose-DS
 Kamis-(a)-me-b wo?-im ti-miy-O1-O2.
 ocean-IP3S-eye-DAT fall-SP PFT-go.out-PA-N1S

‘(They) lit a fire and he [a dog] was warming himself. And while the people were engaged in going to their gardens the dog lay down and slowly got a piece of the fire. And he brought it and descended to the ocean and he was bringing it swimming. And the children seeing him were yelling and the dog heard them and immediately dropped the fire and it fell into the ocean and went out.’

Such an example, while showing the extreme to which the medial clause chaining system may be legitimately put to use, is a rarity.

Dependent sentence-medial clauses may be chained with the non-verbal negator *hai?*, which occurs sentence finally.

- 655) In gi-nad-nad em-an hai?
 they IP3P-mind-REDUP do-DS NEG
 ‘They couldn’t figure out what to do.’

6.1.2.2 Conjunction

A second means of joining clauses into sentences is by conjunction. The two conjunctions used for this purpose are *te?* ‘and, but, then’ and *o* ‘or’.

- 656) Ya dida? ley-O1-O2 te? in a hi gwal-O1-O2.
 I food plant-PA-1S CONJ it REAL NEG grow-PA-N1S
 ‘I planted food but it didn’t grow.’
- 657) Ne edob leh-im te? ta bol-O1-iy.
 you(p) where go-SP CONJ REACT come-PA-N1P
 ‘Where did you go and then come back?’
- 658) Ya a hi rinton-O1-O2 o ya mat a hi wol em-O1-O2.
 I REAL NEG steal-PA-1S or I man REAL NEG hit do-PA-1S
 ‘I didn’t steal or kill a man.’

Besides verbs with dependent medial suffixation, a verb in the desiderative mood can be coordinated with independent final clauses as in the following:

- 659) Ya huz-nan leh-O1-ai?
 I bathe-DES go-PR-1S
 ‘I am going to bathe.’
- 660) Ni leh-nan bo ya i-bilen-O1-O2.
 you go-DES come I me-speak-IMP-2S
 ‘When you are going to go come and tell me.’

That these are two coordinated independent verbs is clear from the following example.

- 661) Ya ti-leh-nan.
I PFT-go-DES
'I am going to go now.'

6.2 Illocutionary functions

6.2.1 Declarative

Sentences in the declarative mode make assertions about events, processes or states. This mode is the primary vehicle for verbal interaction and the conveying of new information. See numerous examples throughout the paper for illustrations.

6.2.2 Imperative

Sentences in the imperative mode are manipulative rather than assertive in nature. The intent behind an imperative is to evoke an action or response on the part of the person addressed. See examples 153, 154, and 155 for sentences in the imperative mode. See section 3.20.2.5.3 for a discussion of 1st and 3rd person imperatives.

Imperatives may be used as warnings, as the following examples illustrate.

- 662) Os-e? ne?-O1-O2!
sit-SPIR eat-IPR-2S
'Stay and eat!' (To a child reluctant to go to the garden with his mother, the implication being that if s/he remains in the village there will be nothing to eat when s/he gets hungry.)
- 663) Em-sa woq-O1-an!
do-DD fall-JUS-3S
'Keep doing that and let him/her fall!' (To someone who is perceived as being careless with a child or infant, the implication being that if the person keeps on doing whatever s/he is doing, the infant will fall.)

6.2.3 Interrogative

Questions in Bargam are of two types: Polar (yes/no) and content questions. Polar questions are formed by placing the interrogative marker clitic *e* (~ *ye* following words ending in a vowel) at the end of a sentence. This type of question is marked by sentence final rising intonation.

- 664) Ya ni-na? leh-O1-am-e?
I O2S-COM go-FUT-1P-INTER
'Will I go with you?'
- 665) Ni amun wol-O1-O2-e?
you child hit-PA-N1S-INTER
'Did you hit the child?'
- 666) Ni ba?ir-ib am urot-O1-O2-e?
you knife-DAT vine cut-PA-N1S INTER
'Did you cut the vine with a knife?'

Polar questions may also have a rhetorical force.

- 667) Ni fa? wa?-d-a?-e?
you fire get-FUT-N1S INTER
'Do you want a spanking?'
- 668) Ni ni-me hai?-e?
you IP2S-eye NEG INTER
'Can't you see?'

Content questions are formed by placing the question word in the slot which would normally be filled by the specific information being sought. Thus words like ‘when’ or ‘where’ occur in the slots where time and location words normally occur and ‘who’ occurs in the subject or object slot. Content questions have sentence final falling intonation.

- 669) Ni edob leh-01-a??
you where go-PR-N1S
‘Where are you going?’
- 670) Mat na nog i-na? bol-01-02?
man that who O3S-COM come-PA-N1S
‘With whom did that man come?’
- 671) Gingan bol-01-ay?
who come-PR-N1P
‘Who are coming?’
- 672) Ni guren ganim gi-wam-01-02?
you coconut how.many O3P-get-PA-N1S
‘How many coconuts did you get?’
- 673) Ka naga?
this what
‘What is this?’

A third form of question is constructed by conjoining two clauses with the alternating conjunction *o* ‘or’. (Cf. section 4.13.2. above.) The first clause is a positive statement and the second is the same statement in the negative.

- 674) Urom wo?-d-a? o hai? a hi wo?-d-a??
rain fall-FUT-N1S or NEG REAL NEG fall-FUT-N1S
‘Will it rain or not?’

The form of this question may varied by replacing the second (negative) statement with a positive alternative to the first statement.

- 675) I suhol-01-am o hai? us-d-a? ha(?)01-m?
we cleanse-FUT-1P or NEG sleep-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
‘“Will we erase it or no, will it remain?,” he said.’

The fully expanded form of such a question, containing both positive and negative statements, is however, rare. Normally, the second statement is abbreviated to the clausal negator *hai?* ‘no’.

- 676) Sa mat ma-na wole bulon-01-02, Ya ni-ad leh-d-ai? o
DD man EMP-that go.down speak.to-PA-N1S I O2S-ACC go-FUT-1S or
hai? ha(?)01-m?
NEG QV-PA-N1S
‘That man went down and said to her, “Shall I take you with me or not?,” he said’

Sometimes the question simply ends with the ‘*o*’. This type of question is similar to the English tag question such as “Is he coming or not?” and simply states both positive (explicitly) and negative (reduced to the negative) in one predication.

- 677) I kawa le guren ta ginuw-01-am o ha(?)01-y?
we PLOC go coconut REACT gather-FUT-1P or QV-PA-1S
‘“Will we gather coconuts here, or not?,” I said.’
- 678) Gaun a-tuw hi?iy-01-02 o hai? a-gem-nan mo?-y-a? o?
dog IP3S-will finish-PA-N1S or NEG IP3S-stomach-REF die-IPF-N1S or
‘Did the dog not want to, or was it hungry, or what?’

A variation of the above is to place the alternatives in a series, each ending with ‘o’.

- 679) Yowo babe? te? kar ag bol-d-a? o ta hai? o i
 DUB tomorrow CONJ car UNSPC come-FUT-N1S or REACT NEG or we
 a hi hurit-O1-O2.
 REAL NEG hear-PA-1P
 ‘I’m not sure, maybe tomorrow a car will come or then again maybe it won’t, we don’t know.’
- 680) Te? ni mo?-d-a? o ni dimniy-d-a? o ya ahi
 CONJ you die-FUT-N1S or you get.well-FUT-N1S orIREAL NEG
 hurit-O1-O2 ha(?)O1-m.
 hear-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘But whether you will die or get well, I don’t know,’’ he said.’

6.3 Propositional relationships

In this section a number of propositional relationships as expressed in Bargam are briefly described.

6.3.1 Cause

Efficient cause, that is, something which is simply a stimulus creating the necessary stimulus for the result to occur, and final cause, that is, an action which is volitional and which provokes a response or reaction, are both encoded by medial clause chaining.

- 681) Tim bit wol has-an wo(?)O1-m.
 wind house hit open-DP fall-PA-N1S
 ‘The wind blew the house down.’
- 682) Bul yay-ib wo?-im tu-mo(?)O1-m.
 pig pit-DAT fall-SP PFT-die-PA-N1S
 ‘The pig fell in the pit and died.’
- 683) Titu? alulin adahuran iy-im tabiyay-O1-O2.
 post base rot be-SP break-PA-N1S
 ‘The base of the post became rotten and the post broke.’
- 684) Ya amun wol-an in ga(?)O1-m.
 I child hit-DP he cry-PA-N1S
 ‘I hit the child and he cried.’
- 685) In ya i-nol-an iy-an ya i-gem me?niy-sa os-O1-ai?
 he I me-hit-DP be-DP I my-stomach be.bad-DD sit-PR-1S
 ‘I am angry because he hit me.’

Frequently final cause is expressed by the verb em ‘do, make’ in medial form and the result encoded in the independent sentence final clause.

- 686) Ya pas em-an Madang-ib ti-lah-O1-O2.
 I letter do-DP name-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘I sent a letter to Madang.’

Final cause may also be encoded in a subordinated clause³⁰ followed by the demonstrative na ‘that’ and the possessive pronoun ago ‘its’ with the occurrence of the ‘be’ verb -iy optional.

³⁰ See sec. 4.18.1.1. for a discussion of nominalized simple verb stems.

- 687) Ni bul muz na ago [iy-an] in leh-im yay-ib wo?-im tu-mo(?)-O1-m.
 you pig chase that its (be-DP) it go-SP pit-DAT fall-SP PFT-die-PA-N1S
 ‘The pig went and fell in the pit and died because you chased it.’

6.3.2 Conditions

Conditions are encoded by medial clause chaining. Conditions may be divided into three categories: hypothetical, presupposed and contrafactual.

6.3.2.1 Hypothetical conditions

Hypothetical conditions are encoded in several ways. One way is to encode the protasis in a conditional medial clause and the apodosis in the final verb.

- 688) I leh-id gi-nol em-da?-ay ha?-ad in os-ya?-ay.
 we go-DPIR us-hit do-FUT-N1P QV-SD they sit-IPF-N1P
 ‘Thinking, ‘if we go they will kill us,’ they were sitting.’
- 689) Urom wo?-id ya kabiy-ab a hi leh-d-ai?.
 rain fall-DPIR I garden-DAT REAL NEG go-FUT-1S
 ‘If it rains I won’t go to the garden.’

A second way to form hypothetical conditions is by chaining two verbs, the first verb being a stem suffixed with either *-sun* or *-nan* and the second verb being an independent final verb. A protasis with *-sun* emphasizes the uncertainty of the condition. A protasis with *-nan* places focus on the intention of the party who is subject of the condition clause. In a hypothetical condition with *-nan*, the independent final verb always has the same stem as the verb in the protasis.

- 690) Ni dida? ne?-sun asor yag-id ne?-O1-i?.
 you food eat-HYPO some give-DPIR eat-hort-1S
 ‘If you are eating some food give me some and let me eat it.’
- 691) In mo?-sun mo?-d-a?.
 he die-HYPO die-FUT-N1S
 ‘If he is going to die he will die.’
- 692) In dida? ne?-nan ne?-d-a?.
 he food eat-DES eat-FUT-N1S
 ‘If he wants/intends to eat the food he will eat it.’

6.3.2.2 Necessary conditions

Necessary (that without which the apodosis can’t be true) conditions differ from sufficient ones in that the condition in the protasis is less hypothetical, that is, it is fully expected to happen. Presupposed conditions are also encoded by conditional medial clause chaining. These conditions are marked by the obligatory presence of the conjunction *te?* following the protasis.

- 693) Ni leh-e? fa? asor wa?-e? a bol-id te? i
 you go-SPIR fire some get-SPIR ACC come-DPIR then we
 ni-n(i)-men karuw ara? wol em-O1-am ha?-O1-iy.
 you-O2S-BEN animal a hit do-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1P
 ‘When you go and get some fire and bring it back then we will kill a pig for you, they said.’

- 694) Ne bol-e? bunmo humab wol-id te? i ne gi-bilen-01-am
 you come-SPIR all meeting hit-DPIR then we you O2P-speak-FUT-1P
 ha?-01-iy.
 QV-PA-N1P
 ‘After you all come and meet together then we will talk to you, they said.’

6.3.2.3 Contrafactual conditions

Contrafactuality is expressed by medial clause chaining. The medial clause verb has a conditional suffix and the independent final clause verb is a stem plus the contrafactual suffix *nag* (plural form - *nagij*).

- 695) Ni tarowmo bol-e? ni dida? ne?-nag-01.
 you morning come-SPIR you food eat-CFT-2S
 ‘If you had come in the morning you would have eaten food.’
- 696) Ned wo?-id ni ti-dimniy-nag ha(?)01-m.
 blood fall-DPIR you PFT-well-cft QV-PA-N1S
 ‘If the wound had bled you would have gotten better, he said.’

6.3.3 Contrast

Differential contrast, that is the contrasting of paired things or people, is encoded by the juxtaposing of two stative clauses.

- 697)a Ya sisa?-ta.
 I long-MOD
 ‘I am tall.’
- 698)b Ni mat si?im-ta.
 you man short-MOD
 ‘You are a short man.’ (I’m taller than you.)
- 699)a In-[a]-go gaun ayah di?-mo.
 He-O3S-POS dog big INTNS-EMP
 ‘His dog is big.’
- 700)b Ya-[i]-go gaun amik-ta.
 I-O1S-POS dog small-MOD
 ‘My dog is small.’ (His dog is bigger than mine.)
- 701)a Ni dida? ayah-mo ne?-01-a?-ta.
 you food big-EP eat-PR-1S-MOD
 ‘You eat a lot of food.’
- 702)b Ya dida? asit-mo ne?-01-ai?-ta.
 I food little-EMP eat-PR-1S-MOD
 ‘I eat a small amount of food.’ (You eat more food than I do.)

6.3.4 Expectancy reversal

An action which is expected to evoke a certain result or response but which is frustrated or results in an action or situation contrary to expectation is an expectancy reversal. In Bargam an expectancy reversal may be encoded simply by conjoining two independent clauses with the last clause beginning with the conjunction *te?*.

- 703) Ya dida? ley-01-02-ta te? in a hi gwal-01-02.
I food plant-PA-1S CONJ it REAL NEG grow-PA-N1S
'I planted food but it didn't grow.'
- 704)a Ni tu-mo?-d-a? ha(?)01-m.
you PFT-die-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
'You will die, he said.'
- 705)b Ned wo?-id ni ti-dimniy-nag-01 ha(?)01-m.
blood fall-DPIR you PFT-well-contr QV-PA-N1S
'If the wound had bled you would have gotten better, he said.'
- 706)c Te? in hid-mo a hi mo(?)01-m.
CONJ he quick-EMP REAL NEG die-PA-N1S
'But he didn't die quickly.'

Frequently, an expectancy reversal is denoted by the presence of the non-verbal negator *hai?gam*. *Hai?gam*, following a verb with the medial suffix *-an* (DP), denotes **frustration**, i.e. the action fails to achieve its intended result.

- 707) Ya ba?ir nagun-an hai?
I knife look.for-DP NEG
'I looked for the knife but no (I didn't find it).'
- 708) Gi-mam-go kilek amidon hi?iy-an in gi-nad-nad
IP3P-father-POS bow child finish-DP they their-mind-REDUP
em-an hai?
do-DP NEG
'When their father's arrows were all used up they thought and thought (but couldn't figure out what to do next).'

The juxtaposing of two sentences with an intervening *hai?* denotes a response **contrary to expectation**.

- 709)a Ahol wa?-ad-mo ya i-ses ham ni na-b
body get-SD-ITS I IP1S-grandchild QV you that-DAT
di? tur-sa ham ya ham bit-ab leh-e? ham i-go
INTNS stand-DD QV I QV house-DAT go-SPIR QV O1S-POS
sai? wa?-e? wel-id te? ni bol-d-a? ha(?)01-m.
skirt get-SPIR wear-DPIR CONJ you come-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
'Seeing (him) she said, My grandchild, you stand right there while I go into the house and get my skirt and put it on and then you come.'
- 710)b Hai?, amun na in a-me le amanatin na in ahol-mo ahol-ib
NEG child that he IP3S-eye go old.woman that she body-EMP body-DAT
sai? hai? saman-mo in a-hol wa?-ad-mo ta amun na
skirt NEG empty-EMP he IP3S-body get-SD-ITS REACT child that
in amnatin na in a-men a ta hi am-01-02.
he old.woman that he O3S-BEN REAL REACT NEG do-PA-N1S
'But no, that child seeing that that old woman was naked, not having a skirt on, he didn't wait for her.'

Another strategy for encoding a contrary-to-expectation proposition is by the use of the reactive morpheme *ta* plus the conjunction *te?*.

- 711)a Bugaw ko i sisaʔ-[a]-mo wamuz-im ad bol-01-02.
spirit that we long-(O3S)-EMP look.after-SP ACC come-PA-1P
'Concerning that spirit, we have been looking after it/taking care of it for a long time up to now.'
- 712)b Ta taʔ in i gi-yon daʔ araʔ a hi am-01-02.
REACT CONJ it we O1P-BEN deed a REAL NEG do-PA-N1S
'But it hasn't done anything for us.'

6.3.5 Purpose

Purpose is encoded by verb chaining in which a verb in the desiderative mood occurs in a position immediately preceding a second verb either in dependent medial or independent final form. See also section 6.4.2. for the use of reported inner speech to encode agent intention.

- 713) Ya Madang-ib karuw zay-nan leh-01-aiʔ.
I name-DAT meat buy-DES go-PR-1S
'I am going to town to buy meat.'
- 714) Mat bul oy-eʔ neʔ-nan tital-01-aʔ.
man pig cook-SPIR eat-DES butcher-PR-N1S
'The man is cutting up the pig to cook and eat it.'
- 715) In luw-eʔ ham ya i-nol em-nan ham in bo
he walk.around-SPIR QV I O1S-hit do-DES QV he come
ya i-bileg-01-aʔ haʔ-01-m.
I O1S-speak-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
'He has come here and is speaking to me in order to kill me, she said.'
- 716) In leh-nan in rab-yaʔ-ay.
they go-DES they fear-IPF-N1P
'They were afraid to go.'

The possessive pronoun *-go* may also be used to indicate intention or purpose in a manner analogous with *-nan*.

- 717) Luw-ad in a-nad aw uliʔ isihun-go ti-em-ad
walk.around-SD he INP-mind woman village show-POS PFT-do-SD
in garan-ab a-nen a-go h-ib ti-lah-01-02.
he bush-DAT INP-mother O3S-POS DUM-DAT PFT-go-PA-N1S
'As he was going around he was thinking about showing his wife (her) village and he went to the bush to his mother.'
- 718) Haʔ-an a-bab bilaʔ-01-m, Ni ya ni-naʔ leh-go ya
QV-DP INP-sibling.same.sex say-PA-N1S you I O2S-COM go-POS I
hulos-01-02 haʔ-01-m.
let.go-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
'And her older sister said, "I don't want you to go with me."'

6.3.6 Alternation

Alternation is expressed by conjoining independent clauses with the alternating conjunction *o* 'or'.

- 719) Ya a hi rinton-01-02 o ya mat a hi wol em-01-02
I REAL NEG steal-PA-1S or I man REAL NEG hit do-PA-1S
ha(?)01-m.
QV-PA-N1S
'I have not stolen or killed a man, he said.'
- 720) Te? ni mo?-d-a? o ni dimniy-d-a? o ya a hi
CONJ you die-FUT-N1S or you well-FUT-N1S or I REAL NEG
hurit-01-02 ha(?)01-m.
hear-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
'But whether you will die or get better I don't know , he said.'

6.3.7 Comparison

The comparison of paired people, things or events is accomplished by the use of *nog* 'like, similar to'. In simple sentences *nog* always occurs between the predicate and the copula *iy* 'be, become'.

- 721) Waz-an in a-ez i mataw gi-ez nog a hai?
hold-DP he his-voice we men our-voice SIM REAL NEG
'They held him and his voice was not like a man's (human's) voice.'
- 722) Mataw ko bul dida? ne? nog iy-01-ay.
men that pig food eat SIM be-PR-N1P
Those men are eating like pigs (eat).
- 723) Teh-sa bila?-ne wait gayon nog iy-y-a?
scratch-DD say-EXH spirit cry.out like be/become-IPF-N1S
'He was scratching [the ribbing on a flashlight] and it was sounding just like a spirit crying out.'
- 724) Oy-ad lo?-gel-sa a-nen-mam-an a-hol
cook-SD approach.away-approach.towards-DD IP3S-mother-father-P IP3S-body
wa?-ad-mo gi-miy mo(?)01-m-ta na a-go tur os nog
get-SD-ITS IP3P-daughter die-PA-N1S-MOD that O3S-POS stand sit like
iy-an-mo in ti-bila? ya?-ay, Ko-(a)-mo i-g(i)-mo
be/become-DP-ITS they say IPF-N1P, that-(O3S)-EMP we-O1P-EMP
gi-miy-mo nog ha? ya?-ay.
IP1P-daughter-EMP like QV IPF-N1P
'As she was moving about doing the cooking her mothers and fathers saw that her mannerisms were just like those of their dead daughter and they were saying, "That one is just like our own daughter."'
- 725) Tun in amed-san bol nog iy-sa leh-im le gi-be?il ka
bow it sugar.skin-skin come like be/become-DD go-SP go IP3P-elbow this
ti-harar nem-sa in na-b in ka ha?iy tun ka i-na?
PFT-tremble utter-DD they that-DAT they this QV bow this O1P-COM
ti-iy-01-02 ha?-01-iy.
PFT-be/become-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1P
'When the bow was coming back like the [peeled] skin of sugarcane and their elbow was trembling, then they (said), "This bow, we fit it now.'" Alt: 'When they were able to draw the bow back like it was a piece of sugarcane skin, they thought, "Now we are fit to use a real bow.'"

A verb stem plus *nog* may also be used adverbially to compare events.

- 726) Haʔ-ad-mo in tiʔ-im a-yan in leh nog leh nog-mo-ta
 QV-SD-ITS he descend-SP his-cousin he go SIM go SIM-EMP-MOD
 in lah-01-02.
 he go-PA-N1S

‘He left and went on and on the same way as his cousin had gone.’

A second way to express similarity between events is to use a subordinated final clause plus the process demonstrative *nazaʔ* plus (*a*)-*mo*.

- 727) Ni ni-n(i)-go bit kwaziʔ-ta am-ta nazaʔ-mo
 you your house old-MOD make-PA-N1S-MOD like.that-EMP
 ni bit em-01-02.
 you house make-IMP-2S

‘Build the house like you built your old house.’

- 728) Haʔ-an amidon a-mam kabiyak bulon-01-02 nazaʔ-mo
 QV-DP offspring IP3S-father sign.language speak.to-PA-N1S like.that-EMP
 in ti-am-01-02.
 he PFT-do(e→a)-PA-N1S

‘And the child did just like he father had told him (by) signs.’

See example (648) for an additional example of this structure.

6.4 Special constructions

6.4.1 Quoted speech

Direct quotations are normally introduced by a clause containing either the verb *bilaʔ* ‘say’ or *bilen* ‘speak to’ in which it is asserted that the person quoted said something or spoke to someone. The quotation then follows in one or more sentences. Following the final verb of each sentence the verb *haʔ* ‘say’ with independent sentence-final suffixation occurs. In addition to its sentence-final occurrences, this same form of *haʔ* is frequently placed throughout the sentence, for example, following a sentence initial topic and following each verb. All of these occurrences of the same form of the verb ‘say’ clearly distinguish quoted material from the rest of the discourse.

- 729)a Aw na bilaʔ-01-m. (bilam)
 woman that say-PA-N1S
 ‘The woman said.’
- 730)b Ya ti-leh-d-aiʔ haʔ-01-m. (ham)
 I PFT-go-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I will go, she said.’
- 731)c Ya a hi rab-d-aiʔ haʔ-01-m. (ham)
 I REAL NEG fear-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I will not be afraid, she said.’
- 732)a Haʔ-an mataw bilaʔ-01-iy. (bilaʔiy)
 QV-DP men say-PA-N1P
 ‘After (the children) spoke the men said.’
- 733)b Gaun ka in dimun a haiʔ haʔ-01-iy. (haʔiy)
 dog this it good REAL NEG QV-PA-N1P
 ‘This is not a good dog, they said.’

- 734)c Ka in a-san meʔin haʔ-Ō1-iy. (haʔiy)
 this it IP3S-skin bad QV-PA-N1P
 ‘This (dog’s) skin is bad, they said.’
- 735)d In awaz meʔin haiʔ haʔ-Ō1-iy. (haʔiy)
 it strength bad NEG QV-PA-N1P
 ‘It is not strong, they said.’
- 736) Bul ka ham edob didiʔ leh-im ham in luw-Ō1-aʔ
 pig this QV where INTNS go-SP QV it walk.around-PR-N1S
 haʔ-Ō1-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Just where is this pig spending his time?, he said.’

6.4.2 Inner speech

An independent clause encoding reported inner speech in the form of thoughts, intentions or reasons may be embedded in another clause by the use of the verb *haʔ* ‘say’ in a dependent medial form.

- 737) Mataw dor-sa ya gi-biy-d-aiʔ haʔ-ad ya bol-Ō1-Ō2.
 men dance-DD I them-see-FUT-1S QV-SD I come-PA-1S
 ‘Thinking I would watch the men while they dance, I came.’
- 738) Mat waʔ-d-aiʔ haʔ-sa-mo amiy in bilaʔ-y-aʔ,...
 man get-FUT-1S QV-DD-ITS daughter she say-IPF-N1S
 ‘While (the mother) was thinking she would get/marry the man, her daughter would say/was saying,...’
- 739) Hel-mo ka-mo yuw-bulon-ag-mo haʔ-ad eraʔ-im karuw
 true-EMP this-EMP water-speak.to-UNSPC-EMP QV-SD arise-SP meat
 nagah hullos-ad garan woltur-im ti-lah-Ō1-Ō2.
 something let.go-SD bush break.through PFT-go-PA-N1S
 Thinking, ‘It’s truly a bush spirit,’ he left his fish, etc. and ran off through the bush.
- 740) Ya i-wey giger ka-mo to-b-ag leh-im ya i-kat
 I IP1S-wife two this-EMP that-DAT-UNSPC go-SP I Ō1S-lie
 yag-Ō1-iy haʔ-ad a-nad em-ad tu-us-Ō1-Ō2.
 give.me-PA-N1P QV-SD IP3S-mind do-SD PFT-sleep-PA-N1S
 ‘Thinking, ‘I’ll bet these two wives of mine went and tricked me,’ he went to sleep.’

6.4.3 Emotive Expressions

Emotive expressions are typically based on body parts.

- 741) Ya i-nad bilaʔ-Ō1-aʔ.
 I IP1S-mind say-PR-1S
 ‘I like it.’ (Literally, ‘My mind is speaking.’)
- 742) Ya i-nad meʔniy-Ō1-aʔ.
 I IP1S-mind ruin-PR-N1S
 ‘I am worried/sorry.’ (Literally, ‘My mind is ruining.’)
- 743) Ya i-nad ti-dimniy-Ō1-aʔ.
 I IP1S-mind PFT-well-PR-N1S
 ‘I am happy/delighted.’ (Literally, ‘My mind is being well/perfect.’)

- 744) Ya i-gem moʔ-ŋ1-aʔ.
I IP1S-stomach die-PR-N1S
'I am hungry.' (Literally, 'My stomach is dying.')
- 745) Ya i-gem meʔniy-ŋ1-aʔ.
I IP1S-stomach ruin-PR-N1S
'I am angry.' (Literally, 'My stomach is ruining.')
- 746) Ya i-te bilaʔ-ŋ1-aʔ.
I IP1S-teeth say-PR-N1S
'It tastes good.' (Literally, 'My teeth are speaking.')
- 747) Ya i-me bilaʔ-ŋ1-aʔ.
I IP1S-eye say-PR-N1S
'It looks nice.' (Literally, 'My eye is speaking.')
- 748) Ya i-tuw ti-hiʔiy-ŋ1-aʔ.
I IP1S-will PFT-finish-PR-N1S
'I don't want to.' (Literally, 'My will is finishing.')

To express desire for persons, things, actions or states emotive expressions are combined with other clauses in several ways. They may be combined with verbs ending in the desiderative suffix *-nan* to express an opinion about a state or event.

- 749) Ya didaʔ neʔ-nan i-nad bilaʔ-ŋ1-aʔ.
I food eat-DES IP1S-mind say-PR-N1S
'I want to eat food.'
- 750) Ni Madang-ib leh-nan ni-tuw hiʔiy-ŋ1-aʔ eʔ
you name-DAT go-DES IP2S-will finish-PR-N1S INTER
'Don't you want to go to Madang?'
- 751) A-hol waʔ-im in bol-nan a-tuw ti-hiʔiy-ŋ1-ŋ2.
IP3S-body get-SP it come-DES IP3S-will PFT-finish-PA-N1S
'He saw (it) and he didn't want to come (back).'

In a related way, the referential postposition *-nan* 'about' is used to express affection or disaffection for persons or things. In such cases, referential postpositional phrase encodes the object liked or disliked.

- 752) Ya ne gi-nan i-nad a hi bilaʔ-ŋ1-aʔ.
I you O3P-REF O1S-mind REAL NEG speak-PR-1S
'I don't like you(P).'
- 753) Ao ham ni ya-(i)-go balaw ka a-nan ni-nad bilaʔ-ŋ1-aʔ
oh QV you I-(O1S)-POS ornament this O3S-REF IP2S-mind speak-PR-N1S
e haʔ-ŋ1-mʔ
INTER QV-PA-N1S
'Oh, you really like these ornaments of mine, do you?'
- 754) Us-sa-mo kuduy in kasiʔ a-nan a-gem meʔniy-aʔ,i doh
sleep-DD-ITS rat it cat O3S-REF IP3S-stomach ruin-IPF-N1S we why
haʔ-ad i karuw a hi neʔ-ŋ1-auʔ haʔ-ad.
QV-SD we meat REAL NEG eat-PR-1P QV-SD
'The rat was angry with the cat thinking, "How come we aren't eating meat?"'

It is possible to express the same notions without using a referential postposition. In such an instance, the noun is simply juxtaposed with the emotive expression.

- 755) Ya kasilomlom i-tuw hi?iy-01-a?
 I spider IP1S-will finish-PR-N1S
 ‘I don’t like spiders.’

Compare the example below, in which a nominalized clause is substituted for a single verb in the same kind of sentence.

- 756) Mataw dida? naza? ne?-01-ay na ya i-me a hi
 men food like.that eat-PR-N1P that I IP1S-eye REAL NEG
 bila?-01-a?
 say-PR-N1S
 ‘Men who eat like that I don’t like to look at.’

The use of dependent clause chaining with emotive expressions is another way to express a value judgement.

- 757) In naza? bila?-an i asor e?e ha?-ad i ti-leh-sa ta onmin
 he like.that say-DP we some yes QV-SD we PFT-go-DD REACT children
 giger-ag di? in gi-hol gi-tuw hi?iy-01-a? na in bila?
 two-UNSPC INTNS they IP3P-body IP3P-will finish-PR-N1S that they say
 y-a?ay gi-hol gi-mot ti-me?niy-sa in bila? y-a?ay, Ta
 IPF-N1P IP3P-body IP3P-nose PFT-ruin-DD they say IPF-N1P REACT
 do? ton-an-mo i le huz-nan ha?-sa a nan a-sen ta
 what? do-DP-ITS we go bathe-DES QV-DD REAL talk IP3S-leg REACT
 ko di? tuw-has a-nan-in bila?-an i gi-mot a hi
 that INTNS will-open IP3S-talk-APS say-DP we IP1P-nose REAL NEG
 dimniy-01-a? ha?-01-iy.
 be.well-PR-N1 QV-PA-N1P
 ‘He spoke like that and some of us said yes and had commenced going and only about two or so of the young people didn’t want to and they were saying—they were irritated and they were saying, “And now why, just as we were talking about going to bathe, that he spoke again that talk about doing something else which will keep us from doing what we want to do and we are irritated?”’
- 758) An dimun-mo ha(?)01-y ni bol-im i{u}lumsih-an ya i-nad
 CONJ good-EMP QV-PA-1S you come-SP O1S-help-DP I IP1S-mind
 ti-dimniy-01-a? ha(?)01-y.
 PFT-be.well-PR-N1S QV-PA-1S
 ‘“And it’s good that you came and helped me and I am really pleased,” I said.’
- 759) A-hur-an dimun di?-ta gwati?-an ya i-nad bila?-01-a?
 IP3S-smell-APS good INTNS-MOD appear-DP I O1S-mind say-PR-N1S
 ha(?)01-m.
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘“I like the good smell that is coming out,” she said.’
- 760) Abas Anna bulon-im bila(?)m, Ya maro? lakem saman-mo ne?-ad
 name name speak.to-SP say-PA-N1S I banana name empty-EMP eat-SD
 ituw ti-hi?iy-01-a? ha(?)01-m.
 IP1S-will PFT-finish-PR-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Abas said to Anna, “I am tired of eating just plain *lakem* bananas.”’

- 761) Mataw gamuk naza? bila?-sa ya i-tuw hi?iy-Ø1-a?
 men speech like.that say-DD I IP1S-will finish-PR-N1S
 ‘I don’t like how those men are speaking.’
- 762) In tuwal-mo a-hol wa?-ad in a-me bila? na-(a)-mo
 he bird.name-EMP IP3S-mind get-SD he IP3S-eye speak that-(O3S)-EMP
 hi?iy-a?
 finish-IPF-N1S
 ‘It was *tuwal*/whom she was seeing and really admiring.’

In certain contexts the thing liked or disliked may be omitted altogether. Consider the following.

- 763) In bila?, Ya i-tuw ti-hi?iy-Ø1-a? ha?-id, mat ara? em-id
 he say I IP1S-will PFT-finish-PR-N1S QV-DPIR man a do-DPIR
 in-(a)-go ban wa?-Ø1-an ha(?)Ø1-m.
 he-(O3S)-POS reposing.place get-JUS-3S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘If he says, ‘I don’t want to,’ then cause another man and let him get his place/position
 (on the language committee),’’ he said.’

6.4.4 Figurative speech

6.4.4.1 Litotes

Intensifying a quality is accomplished in Bargam by using the clausal negator to negate its opposite.

- 764) ly-sa-mo kudor amik a hai? na og-ib ti?-im
 be-DD-ITS tree.possum small REAL NEG that ground-DAT descend-SP
 tu-bol-Ø1-Ø2.
 PFT-come-PA-N1S
 ‘At the same time a really big tree possum descend to the ground and came (towards us).’

Activities and states may be intensified by attaching the non-specific marker *ag* to a verb stem and then negating a repetition of the same verb.

- 765) Sa gi-likman-ib amulik-mo ninor-ag a hi ninor-y-a?
 DD IP3P-between-DAT one-EMP fear-UNSPC REAL NEG fear-IPF-N1S
 ‘And amongst (the three of them) one was really afraid.’
- 766) Bol-ad yu?uw-ag a hi yu?uw ya?-ay.
 come-SD laugh-UNSPC REAL NEG laugh IPF-N1P
 ‘As they were coming they were really laughing.’

6.4.4.2 Simile

Simile is expressed by using the similarity word *nog* ‘like’.

- 767) Teh-sa bila?-ne wait gayon nog iy-y-a?
 scratch-DD say-EXH spirit cry.out SIM be-IPF-N1P
 ‘As he was scratching it, it sounded just like a spirit.’
- 768) Ne hid-mo hi a bol-e? ne bul gaun-mo nog iy
 you quick-EMP NEG REAL come-SPIR you pig dog SIM become
 da?-ay.
 FUT- N1P
 ‘If you don’t come quickly you will turn into pigs and dogs.’

- 769) O_y-ad loʔ gel-sa a-nen-mam-an a-hol waʔ-ad-mo
 cook-SD approach approach IP3S-mother-father-P IP3S-body get-SD- ITS
 gi-miy mo{}-O1-m-ta na a-go tur os nog iy-an-mo in
 IP3P-daughter die-PA-N1S-MOD that O3S-POS stand sit SIM be-DP-ITS they
 ti-bilaʔ yaʔ-ay ko-mo i-g(i)-mo gi-miy-mo nog haʔ yaʔ-ay.
 PFT-say IPF-N1P that-EMP we IP1P-daughter-EMP SIM QV IPF-N1P
 ‘As she was cooking and going back and forth her mothers and fathers were seeing that
 her manner was like that of their dead daughter and they were saying, “That (girl) is just
 like our daughter.”’

7. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON FOREGROUNDING AND BACKGROUNDING IN BARGAM NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

7.1 Foregrounding

In Bargam, *perfect* aspect is distinguished from the *punctiliar* aspect which designates an event or state viewed as a completed whole or point. When the point of reference for locating a situation in time is the present moment, the **perfect aspect marker** *tí-* (~*tu-*) encodes current relevance and anteriority.³¹ However, in past tense narrative discourse, where the present moment is no longer the primary tense locus, *tí-* serves a slightly different function by giving added prominence to particular verbs on the eventline. In this way it serves to mark those verbs with a higher degree of saliency and those which serve to move the story forward through the time frame within which the narrative flows.

In order to illustrate the foregrounding function of *tí-*, an analysis of a short text is provided.³² The story is about a man who finds a *buwo*/snake and brings it back to the village to eat. Once home he discovers there is no food to cook with it so he goes to the garden. While he is gone, the snake escapes. The man returns to the village and it is not until he has all the food ready to cook that he discovers that the snake is gone. The story ends with the man being so angry that he never does cook the food and just sits sulking in the house.

For the purpose of the present discussion however, it will suffice here to list the independent verbs in the story and note which ones are marked with *tí-*. In the comment column the comments are indented to reflect whether or not the verb is marked with *tí-*.

Sent. no.	Verb	Gloss	Comment
1-2	bilaʔnan	say	speaker's introduction
3	luw	go.around	setting/circumstance
4	<i>tuwam</i>	take	snake found
5	<i>tubol</i>	come	return to village
6	bilam	say	reported speech
7	<i>tilah</i>	go	trip to garden
8	wam	take	activity at new location
9	wam	"	" " " "
10	<i>tubol</i>	come	return to village
11	<i>tilah</i>	go	the snake escapes
12	wol am	kill	narrator's comment (what he should have done)
13	woltay	discover	" "
14	<i>tisisom</i>	peel	what he actually did
15	uram	scrape	
16-17	bulon	speak.to	reported speech
18	bilam	say	" "
19	sisom	peel	
20	bilam	say	reported speech
21	<i>tuwam</i>	take	climax/
22	<i>tisinamol</i>	be light	punchline
23-29	susumun	ask	reported speech
30	anad am	think	inner thought
31	a ta hi oy	didn't cook after all	

³¹ These terms are taken from Givon (1984:278-284) where see his full discussion.

³² This story was told by Joseph Nuwayme of Wasabamal village and is found in section 8.1.

32	<i>tuʔos</i>	sit	food sits unused
33	<i>tuʔos</i>	sit	man sits disgusted and angry
34	<i>tilah</i>	go	narrator's explanation- 'because the snake escaped'
35	nam	eat	conclusion/anti-climax
36-37	nawaʔmo- <i>tihʔiy</i>	that's all -finished	narrator's conclusion

Table 17: Final verb chart for the *Buwol* story

The above table illustrates well the discourse function of *tʔ*. Motion verbs indicating a change of location/scene and verbs encoding climatic events or events especially important to the development of the story and its intended impact, are marked with *tʔ*. Other events which occur within the established location and which simply fill in details of the story, such as the incidents of reported speech, are unmarked.

This use of *tʔ* in Bargam narrative discourse is analogous to its normal function of relating situations to the present moment in everyday discourse. In Bargam narrative, *tʔ* marks those situations which are especially relevant to the *eventline* and which are especially crucial to the progression of the story through the time frame within which the story takes place.

7.2 Backgrounding

The irrealis dependent verb suffixes are used in combination with the past imperfect tense to encode background information. This information is off the event line and does not move the story forward. Often this device is used to encode the setting of a story. At other times it simply signals a break in the action and the initiation of a recurring cycle of events which repeats itself over and over again until it is exited and the story continues along on the main event-line.

In order to highlight the discourse function of the past imperfect, its use in realis mode is presented and illustrated first, followed then by the discussion of its use in irrealis mode.

That realis mode can merge into irrealis within the span of a single sentence is illustrated by the following example.

770) In araʔ-ib-mo faʔ ulam-im reb-ub yuw em-im em-an faʔ-ab
 they a-DAT-EMP fire blow-SP pot-DAT water put-SP put-DP fire-DAT
 oy-ad tur-sa in giger dalag ginuw-eʔ a leh-eʔ reb-ub
 cook-SD stand-DD they two tree gather-SPIR ACC go-SPIR pot-DAT
 em-y-aʔay.
 put-IPF-N1P

'Together they built a fire and put water in a pot and put it on the fire and as it heated they were gathering dalag (nuts) and taking and putting them in the pot.'

In this instance it is not a single act of gathering a few nuts and taking them and putting them in a pot which is being narrated, but rather a span of time characterized by the repetition of a series of steps including gathering, taking and putting. The temporal progression (or rather the progression of events in a linear sequence) is interrupted by a sort of 'recursive loop' which momentarily suspends the forward movement of the narrative.

771) Ariya zo? bagiyaw alon-ib zabel ma? al maro? in na-b
 O.K tree name top-DAT yam taro 'mami' banana they that-DAT
 us-y-a?. Us-sa te? in wo?-y-a?. Zo? na alul-ib
 sleep-IPF-N1S sleep-DD then they fall-IPF-N1S tree that base-DAT
 wo?-sa te? bul Huduwakan in tu-bol-y-a?. Bo dida? na in
 fall-DD then pig name it PFT-come-IPF-N1S come food that it
 ne?-ad luw-e?-mo mile?-e? ta leh-y-a?. Mile?-e?
 eat-SD go.around-SPIR-ITS return-SPIR REACT go-IPF-N1S return-SPIR
 leh-id te? anamren a-hol wa?-ad in dida? tu-ug-y-a?.
 go-DP then owner IP3S-body get-SD he food PFT-give.him-IPF-N1S
 Ug-id in ne?-e? hulos-ad-mo in us-e?-mo era?-e?-mo
 give.him-DPIR it eat-SPIR quit-SD-ITS it sleep-SPIR-ITS arise-SPIR-ITS
 a ta leh-y-a?.
 REAL REACT go-IPF-N1S

'O.K., in the top of the bagiyaw tree there were yams and taro and *mami* and bananas. And they would fall down. They would fall down around the base of the tree and the pig Huduwakan would come. He would come and eat the food for a while and return and go back (home). He would return and go back and then his owner would see him and give him food. He would give it to him and he would eat it and when he was finished he would sleep and get up and go back (to the tree) again.'

Several observations can be made about this paragraph. The information it conveys provides the setting for the story. It introduces key participants and a set of circumstances (context) which explains and makes reasonable the events which follow. The use of the past perfect in the irrealis mode indicates that the events narrated were characteristic of an extended period of time. No mention is made of how long things went on this way before the pig's owner decided to investigate where the pig spent its time away from the village. The narration takes up the story with this situation already in motion and continues on from there.

The next example illustrates the use of this strategy, mid-story, to relate a recurring off the eventline activity. The actions are presented as occurring repeatedly, with no particular one instance in view. The effect of this device is to bring the forward movement of the narrative momentarily to halt while the narrator provides necessary background for subsequent events.

- 772) a.Luw-sa mat ahulina?ta na in zo? a-gem-ab os-e?
 walk.around-DD man snake that it log.drum IP3S-stomach-DAT sit-SPIR
 gwahti?-e? onmin gi-momo sawzun-ad luw-sa in gi-biy-ad
 appear-SPIR children O3P-EXCL play-SD walk.around-DD it O3P-see-SD
 gi-bileg-y-a?, b.Onmin ne leh-e? gi-mam-go nal
 O3P-speak.to-IPF-N1S children you go-SPIR IP3P-father-POS lime
 masel hul wa? a bol-id ya ne?-O1-i? ha?-y-a?.
 betelnut betel.pepper get ACC come-DPIR I eat-IPR-1S QV-IPF-N1S
c.I-te ahuran iy-O1-a? ha?-y-a?. d.An onmin leh -e?
 IP1S-tooth smell be/become-PR-N1S QV-IPF-N1S CONJ children go -SPIR
 gi-mam-an gi-go nal masel hul wa?-e? a bo
 IP3P-father-P O3P-POS lime betelnut betel.pepper get-SPIR ACC come
 ug-id in ti-ne?-y-a?. e.Ne?-e? onmin ta
 give.him/her/it-DPIR it PFT-eat-IPF-N1S eat-SPIR children REACT
 gi-bilen-y-a?, f.Bol-e? gi-mam-go nal wa?-e? a
 O3P-speak.to-IPF-N1S come-SPIR IP3P-father-POS lime get-SPIR ACC
 le a-ban-ab-(a)-mo ta em-O1-iy ha?-y-a?.
 go O3S-reposing.place-DAT-(O3S)-EMP REACT do-IPR-2P QV-IPF-N1S
g.Ha?-id onmin bo a-ben-ab nal wa?-e? a le
 QV-DPIR children come IP3S-arm-DAT lime get-SPIR ACC go
 a-ban-ab-(a)-mo ta em-y-a?ay. h.Sirisiri-(a)-mo
 O3S-reposing.place-DAT-(O3S)-EMP REACT do-IPF-N1P frequently-(O3S)-EMP
 naza? em-sa onmin gi-mam-an bol-an ti-gi-bilen-O1-iy,...
 like.that do-DD children IP3P-father-P come-DP PFT-O3P-speak.to-PA-N1P
 ‘a.(While the parents were away) that snake would be inside the slit log drum and come
 out and as the children were playing alone he would see them and say to them,
b.Children, you go and get your fathers’ powdered lime and betel nut and betel pepper and
 bring it and let me eat it. c.My mouth tastes bad. d.And the children would go and get
 their fathers’ powdered lime and betel nut and betel pepper and bring it and give it to he
 and he would eat it. e.And then he would say to the children, f.Come and get your
 fathers’ powdered lime and go put it back in its place. g.And the children would come
 and get it the powdered lime from him and take it and put it back in its place. h.(The
 snake) was frequently doing like that and when the children’s fathers came back they said
 to them,...’

This particular use of the past imperfect corresponds closely with what Talmy Givon has termed the 'habitual' tense. He states, "On the one hand, it represents a clear *strong assertion of facts*,....On the other hand,...it is a *generic*, non-referential expression And in this sense, the habitual resembles irrealis."(1984:285) In Bargam the resemblance to irrealis is made explicit by the dependent sentence-medial verb forms. Situations narrated in the past imperfect and irrealis mode are *real*, that is they are construed as having actually happened, but they are *non-referential* in that no one particular phase or occurrence of the predication is in view.

This type of structure is always followed by a sentence beginning with an imperfective dependent verb which is either used as a setting for a following event (773) or else is brought to an end by a second verb form with punctiliar aspect (774). Consider the following.

- 773) Haʔ-id onmin bo a-ben-ab nal waʔ-eʔ a le
 QV-DPIR children come IP3S-hand-DAT lime take-SPIR ACC go
 a-ban-ab-mo ta em-y-aʔay. **Sirisiri-mo nazaʔ em-sa**
 IP3S-place-DAT-EMP REACT put-IPF-N1P repeatedly-EMP like.that do-DD
 onmin gi-mam-an bol-an ti-gi-bilen-Ō1-iy,...
 children IP3P-father-P come-DP PFT-O3P-speak.to-PA-N1P
 ‘He would say that and the children would come and take the lime powder from him and
 take it and put it back in its place. He was repeatedly doing like that and the children's
 fathers came and the children said to them, ...’
- 774) ...a leh-eʔ reb-ub em-y-aʔay. **Em-ad luw-an** reb a-me-b
 ACC go-SPIR pot-DAT put-IPF-N1P put-DP go.around-DP pot IP3S-eye-DAT
 gwal-Ō1-Ō2
 go.up-PA-N1S
 ‘...they were bringing them and putting them in the pot They did that for a while and the
 pot became full.’

These examples make it clear that the Past imperfect tense in irrealis mode serves to background information by making it *non-referential*. Such generic information cannot be located precisely on the event-line and does not move the story forward. Thus:

- 1) Imperfective = no end boundary posited. Reference is made to some facet of duration or phase (continuousness or iterativity) of the event. Cf. Tok Pisin 'save'
- 2) Irrealis = events having potential existence in some yet to be time. Such events have a general, non-specific existence.

With the use of this grammatical structuring, forward movement of the story comes to a halt. It marks a state characterized by a certain type of habitual activity. Focus is not on any one particular instance of the activity.

8. SAMPLE TEXTS

8.1 The story about how my father brought a snake called *buwol* thinking he would eat it and it ran away.³³

- 775) Ari ya wagam ta ara? bila?nan.
 ari ya wagam ta ara? bila?nan
 Ok. I story REACT a say-DES
 ‘Ok, I am going to tell another story.’
- 776) Kwazi?mo ya imam in nagah ahulina?ta ara? anan
 kwazi?-(a)mo ya i-mam in nagah ahulina?ta ara? a-nan
 old-O3S-EMP I IP1S-father he something snake a IP3S-name
 buwol ha?ayta in ne?dai? ha?ad a bolan
 buwol ha?-O1-ay-ta in ne?-d-ai? ha?-ad a bol-an
 snake.name QV-PR-N1P-MOD he eat-FUT-1S QV-SD ACC come-DP
 tukim lahta awagamun bila?nan.
 tuk-im leh-O1-O2-ta a-wagam-un bila?-nan
 run.away-SP go-PA-N1S-MOD IP3S-story-APS say-DES
 ‘I am going to tell the story about how my father brought a snake called *buwol* thinking he would eat it and it ran away and went.’
- 777) Kwazi?mo ya imam i sagay emad luw.
 kwazi?-(a)mo ya i-mam i sagay em-ad luw-O1-O2
 old-O3S-EMP I IP1S-father we timber.clearing do-SD walk.around-PA-1P
 ‘Before, my father, we cleared a garden area.’
- 778) Sagay emad luwimmo in nagah ahulina?ta
 sagay em-ad luw-im-mo in nagah ahulina?ta
 timber.clearing do-SD walk.around-SP-ITS he something snake
 ne?ayta buwol rawezta na in ahol wa?ad
 ne?-O1-ay-ta buwol rawez-ta na in a-hol wa?-ad
 eat-PR-N1P-MOD snake.name brown-MOD that he IP3S-body get-SD
 tuwam.
 ti-wa?-O1-m
 PFT-get-PA-N1S
 ‘We cleared the garden for a while and then he saw a snake that people eat, called *buwol*, the brown one and he grasped it.’
- 779) Afa?nib wazim afa?in am wazim tal tonim wa?im
 afa?in-ib waz-im afa?in am waz-im tal ton-im wa?-im
 head-DAT hold-SP head vine/rope hold-SP loop do-SP get-SP
 il tonimmo ad tubol, uli?ab.
 il ton-im-mo ad ti-bol-O1-O2 uli?-ab
 package do-SP-ITS ACC PFT-come-PA-N1S village-DAT
 ‘He held it by the head and got vine and looped it and took it and wrapped it up and brought it, to the village.’

³³ Text written by Joseph Nuwayme of Wasabamal village.

- 780) A bolim emad dida? hai? kwasin hai? iyan in
 a bol-im em-ad dida? hai? kwasin hai? iy-an in
 ACC come-SP do-SD food NEG aibiga NEG be/become-DP he
 bilam, Ya?go karuw kab ussa ya kabiyab
 bila?-O1-m ya-(i-)go karuw ka-b us-sa ya kabiy-ab
 say-PA-N1S I-O1S-POS meat this-DAT sleep-DD I garden-DAT
 lehe? ma? wa?e? ham wa?iw wa?e? te? ya a bole?
 leh-e? ma? wa?-e? ha? wa?iw wa?-e? te? ya a bol-e?
 go-SPIR taro get-SPIR QV tuip get-SPIR CONJ I ACC come-SPIR
 oye? ne?dai? ham.
 oy-e? ne?-d-ai? ha?-O1-m
 cook-SPIR eat-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He brought it and put it and because there was no food, no greens, he said, “Let my
 meat remain here and I will go to the garden and get taro, and get tulip and then I will
 bring it and cook it and eat it.”’
- 781) Ha?ad in nab hotenan bitab ussamo in tilah.
 ha?-ad in na-b othen-an bit-ab us-sa-mo in ti-leh-O1-O2
 QV-SD he that-DAT hang-DP house-DAT sleep-DD-ITS he PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘And he hung it there and while it remained in the house he went.’
- 782) Lehim ma? wam.
 leh-im ma? wa?-O1-m
 go-SP taro get-PA-N1S
 ‘He went and got taro.’
- 783) Wa?iw wam.
 wa?iw wa?-O1-m
 tulip get-PA-N1S
 ‘He got tulip.’
- 784) Wa?im anad dimniysa tubol, ya?go karuw
 wa?-im a-nad dimniy-sa ti-bol-O1-O2 ya-(i-)go karuw
 get-SP IP3S-mind be.good-DD PFT-come-PA-N1S I-O1S-POS meat
 tine?dai?ta ha?ad.
 ti-ne?-d-ai?-ta ha?-ad
 PFT-eat-FUT-1S-MOD QV-SD
 ‘He got it and came happily thinking, “I will eat my meat.”’
- 785) Hai? in kuza? kabiyab lehsa ingo karuw na buwol
 hai? in koza? kabiy-ab leh-sa in-a-go karuw na buwol
 NEG he like.that garden-DAT go-DD he-O3S-POS meat that snake.name
 gwati?im tukim tilah.
 gwahti?im tuk-im ti-leh-O1-O2
 appear-SP run.away-SP PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘But no, as he was going that way to the garden, that meat of his buwol came out and ran
 away and went.’
- 786) In a hi wol am.
 in a hi wol em-O1-O2
 he REAL NEG hit do-PA-N1S
 ‘He didn’t kill it.’

- 787) Kaye?mo usim gwati?im tukim tilehan in bolim
 kaye?-(a-)mo us-im gwahti?im tuk-im ti-leh-an in bol-im
 alive-O3S-EMP sleep-SP appear-SP run.away-SP PFT-go-DP he come-SP
 asawan a hi woltay.
 a-saw-an a hi woltay-01-02
 IP3S-place-APS REAL NEG break.apart-PA-N1S
 ‘It was alive and after it had already come out and run away he came and didn’t discover it missing.’
- 788) In bolimmo dida? tisisom.
 in bol-im-mo dida? ti-siso?-01-m
 he come-SP-ITS food PFT-shave-PA-N1S
 ‘He came and immediately peeled food.’
- 789) Guren uram.
 guren ure?-01-m
 coconut scrape-PA-N1S
 ‘He scraped coconut.’
- 790) In ya inen bulon, Ne ham giholbin dida?
 in ya i-nen bulon-01-02 ne ha? gi-hol-bin dida?
 he I IP1S-mother speak.to-PA-N1S you QV IP3P-body-ISOL food
 oye? ne?iy ham.
 oy-e? ne?-01-iy ha?-01-m
 cook-SPIR eat-IPR-2P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He said to my mother, “You cook and eat food by yourselves.”’
- 791) Ya?mo iholbin ham dida? oye? ne?nan ham.
 ya-i-mo i-hol-bin ha? dida? oy-e? ne?-nan ha?-01-m
 I-O1S-EMP IP1S-body-ISOL QV food cook-SPIR eat-DES QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I by myself am going to cook food and eat it.’
- 792) Ha?an ya inen bilam, Na dimunmo ham.
 ha?-an ya i-nen bila?-01-m na dimun-(a-)mo ha?-01-m
 QV-DP I IP1S-mother say-PA-N1S that good-O3S-EMP QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And my mother said, “That’s fine.”’
- 793) Ha?ad in ma? sisom.
 ha?-ad in ma? siso?-01-m
 QV-SD he taro shave-PA-N1S
 ‘And so he peeled taro.’
- 794) Guren ure?im rebub emimmo in bilam, Sa ya le
 guren ure?-im reb-ub em-im-mo in bila?-01-m sa ya le
 coconut scrape-SP pot-DAT do-SP-ITS he say-PA-N1S CONJ I go
 igo karuw wa? a bo abu wolhase?
 i-go karuw wa? a bo a-bu wol-has-e?
 O1S-POS meat get ACC come IP3S-base.of.skull hit-completely-SPIR
 wize? ham ?watayid rebub wo?an ham.
 wiz-e? ha? ?wa-tay-id reb-ub wo?-an ha?-01-m
 roast-SPIR QV cut-completely-DPIR pot-DAT fall-IMP QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He scraped coconut and put it in a pot and said, “Now let me go and bring my meat and kill it and roast/singe it and cut it up into the pot.”’

- 795) Haʔad in eraʔim lehim il tuwam.
 haʔ-ad in eraʔ-im leh-im il ti-waʔ-01-m
 QV-SD he get.up-SP go-SP package PFT-get-PA-N1S
 ‘And he arose and went and got the package.’
- 796) Il waʔanmo abenab il tisinamol.
 il waʔ-an-mo a-ben-ab il ti-sinamol-01-02
 package get-DP-ITS IP3S-arm-DAT package PFT-be.light-PA-N1S
 ‘He got the package and it was light in his hand.’
- 797) Sinamolanmo in susumun, Ai ta yaʔgo karuw edowa
 sinamol-an-mo in susumun-01-02 ai ta ya-i-go karuw
 edowa
 be.light-DP-ITS he ask-PA-N1S hey! REACT I-O1S-POS meat where?
 ham.
 haʔ-01-m
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And he asked, “Hey, where is my meat?”’
- 798) Haʔanmo in ta ya inen susumun ug,
 haʔ-an-mo in ta ya i-nen susumun ug-01-02
 QV-DP-ITS he REACT I IP1S-mother ask give.him/her/it-PA-N1S
 Ni yaʔgo karuw ahol wam e ham.
 ni ya-(i)-go karuw a-hol waʔ-01-m e haʔ-01-m
 you I-O1S-POS meat IP3S-body get-PA-N1S INTER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And he asked my mother, “Did you see my meat?”’
- 799) Haʔanmo haiʔgam ham.
 haʔ-an-mo haiʔgam haʔ-01-m
 QV-DP-ITS NEG QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And she said, “No.”’
- 800) Ya ahol a hi way ham.
 ya a-hol a hi waʔ-01-y haʔ-01-m
 I IP3S-body REAL NEG get-PA-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I didn’t see it.’
- 801) Haʔanmo ta ya susumun yag, Ni yaʔgo karuw
 haʔ-an-mo ta ya susumun yag-01-02 ni ya-(i)-go karuw
 QV-DP-ITS REACT I ask give.me-PA-N1S you I-O1S-POS meat
 ahol wam e ham.
 a-hol waʔ-01-m e haʔ-01-m
 IP3S-body get-PA-N1S INTER QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And then he asked me, “Did you see my meat?”’
- 802) Haiʔ hay.
 haiʔ haʔ-01-y
 NEG QV-PA-1S
 ‘“No,” I said.’
- 803) Ya ahol a hi way hay.
 ya a-hol a hi waʔ-01-y haʔ-01-y
 I IP3S-body REAL NEG get-PA-1S QV-PA-1S
 ‘“I didn’t see it,” I said.’

- 804) A in anad am.
 a in a-nad em-O1-O2
 REAL he IP3S-mind PA-N1S
 ‘And then he realized what happened.’
- 805) Ka ya a hi wol eman in tukim tilah
 ka ya a hi wol em-an in tuk-im ti-leh-O1-O2
 this I REAL NEG hit do-DP it run.away-SP PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ham.
 ha?-O1-m
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Concerning this, I didn’t kill it and it ran away and went,’’ he said.’
- 806) In agem me?niysa in dida? a hi oy.
 in a-gem me?niy-sa in dida? a hi oy-O1-O2
 he IP3S-abdomen bad-DD he food REAL NEG cook-PA-N1S
 ‘He was angry and he didn’t cook food.’
- 807) In dida? sisom na hulosan tu?os.
 in dida? siso?-O1-m na hulos-an ti-os-O1-O2
 he food shave-PA-N1S that let.go-DP PFT-sit-PA-N1S
 ‘That food that he peeled, he just left it sit there.’
- 808) Ossa in tu?os, agem me?niysa.
 os-sa in ti-os a-gem me?niy-sa
 sit-DD he PFT-sit IP3S-abdomen bad-DD
 ‘And he remained, being angry.’
- 809) Eza?go ingo karuw dimunta na tukim tilah.
 eza?-go in-a-go karuw dimun-ta na tuk-im ti-leh-O1-O2
 what?-POS he-O3S-POS meat good-MOD that run.away-SP PFT-go-PA-N1S
 That’s because that good meat of his ran away and went.’
- 810) Buwol na in oyim a ta hi nam.
 buwol na in oy-im a ta hi ne?-O1-m
 snake.name that he cook-SP REAL REACT NEG eat-PA-N1S
 That *buwol*, he didn’t cook and eat it after all.’
- 811) An wagam na nawa?mo.
 an wagam na nawa-[a-]mo
 CONJ story that there-O3S-EMP
 ‘And that story is like that.’
- 812) Tihi?iy.
 ti-hi?iy-O1-O2
 PFT-finish-PA-N1S
 ‘It’s finished.’

8.2 The story about how *Siseygog* became a garamut³⁴

³⁴ Text provided by Susuk of Barikaz village.

- 813) Siseygog in zo? iyta awagamun.
 Siseygog in zo? iy-O1-O2-ta a-wagam-un
 name she log.drum be/become-PA-N1S-MOD IP3S-story-APS
 ‘The story about Siseygog becoming a slit-log drum.’
- 814) Tirgaw na in o ulilib kowa Garuz ban saw anan
 tirgaw na in o ulil-ib kowa Garuz ban saw a-nan
 bird.name that it or above-DAT there G. reposing.place place IP3S-name
 Buwid ha?aytab in ose? te? in mele? bo kab
 Buwid ha?-O1-ay-ta-b in os-e? te? in mel-e? bo ka-b
 B. QV-PR-N1P-MOD-DAT it sit-SPIR CONJ it fly-SPIR come this-DAT
 matawta gine?ya?
 mataw-ta gi-ne?-y-a?
 men-MOD O3P-eat-IPF-N1S
 ‘That hawk, oh high above, from the direction of the Garuz people, from the area called Buwid, it would be there and fly and come and eat the people here.’
- 815) Naza? tirgaw na mataw gine?samo aw anan Siseygog
 naza? tirgaw na mataw gi-ne?-sa-mo aw a-nan Siseygog
 like.that bird.name that men O3P-eat-DD-ITS woman IP3S-name S.
 ha?ayta in asen abezu? olad osim onmin eze?man
 ha?-O1-ay-ta in a-sen abezu? ol-ad os-im onmin eze?man
 QV-PA-N1P-MOD she IP3S-leg heel impregnate-SD sit-SP children three
 in gi?am.
 in gi-em-O1-O2
 she O1P-do-PA-N1S
 ‘That hawk was eating people like that and a woman named Siseygog did something to herself (the word means what a man does to a woman in sexual intercourse, only she did it to her ‘heel’; perhaps a euphemism for masturbation?) and gave birth to three children.’
- 816) Rokas in am.
 Rokas in em-O1-O2
 R. she do-PA-N1S
 ‘She bore Rokas.’
- 817) Kinim te? Wilwil in i?am.
 Kinim te? Wilwil in em-O1-O2
 K. CONJ W. she do-PA-N1S
 ‘She bore Kinim and Wilwil.’

- 818) An onmin nagan gihol asese? nog iyan in tun
 an onmin na-g-an gi-hol asese? nog iy-an in tun
 CONJ children that-INDTR-P IP3P-body big like be/become-DP they bow
 amikmik siso?im buluk nagah hunogad luwad te? in
 amikmik siso?im buluk nagah hunog-ad luw-ad te? in
 small(P) shave-SP lizard something shoot-SD walk.around-SD CONJ they
 ta mat ara? anan Dilubay ha?ayta in deg siso?ad
 ta mat ara? a-nan Dilubay ha?-O1-ay-ta in deg siso?ad
 REACT man a IP3S-name D. QV-PA-N1P-MOD he bowl shave-SD
 ossa in le mat na hunog kirensamo mat in deg siso?ad
 os-sa in le mat na hunog kiren-sa-mo mat in deg siso?ad
 sit-DD they go man that shoot inadequately-DD-ITS man he bowlshave-SD
 os na in ritenya?
 os-O1-O2 na in riten-y-a?
 sit-PA-N1S that he start-IPF-N1S
 ‘And those children grew fairly big (medial verb misfire) and they carved little bows and were going around shooting little lizards and things and then they, as a man named Dilubay was carving a wooden bowl they would go and shoot poorly at that man and the man who was carving the bowl would jump.’
- 819) In ritenad te? in ira?e? tigimuzya?
 in riten-ad te? in ira?-e? ti-gi-muz-y-a?
 he start-SD CONJ he rise.up-SPIR PFT-O3P-follow-IPF-N1S
- 820) In onmin nagan gimuzsa in tuke? tileh
 in onmin na-g-an gi-muz-sa in tuk-e? ti-leh
 he children that-INDTR-P O3P-follow-DD they run.away-SPIR PFT-go
 ya?ay.
 ya?-ay
 IPF-N1P
 ‘As he was chasing those kids they would run away and go.’
- 821) Naza? tonad luwad in le asese? di? ti?iyiy.
 naza? ton-ad luw-ad in le asese? di? ti-iy-O1-iy
 like.that do-SD walk.around-SD they go big INTNS PFT-be/become-PA-N1P
 ‘They were going around doing like that until they got very big/grown.’
- 822) In asese? di? ti?iyim in kilek asese?ta emimmo in
 in asese? di? ti-iy-im in kilek asese?ta em-im-mo in
 they big INTNS PFT-play-SP they bow big-MOD do-SP-ITS they
 tibila?iy, Muran i tun asese? ka i sirtonad i
 ti-bila?-O1-iy muran i tun asese? ka i sir-ton-ad i
 PFT-say-PA-N1P today we bow big this we inaugurate-do-SD we
 Dilubay hunogid in mo?da? ha?iy.
 Dilubay hunog-id in mo?-d-a? ha?-O1-iy
 D. shoot-DPIR he die-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1P
 ‘They became grown and made large bows and they said, “Now as we try out these big bows we will shoot Dilubay and he will die.” (note: ‘*sirton*’ means use something *correctly* for the first time so it will function properly from then on.)

- 823) Im in lehim kamis ezab in iburib yay ara?
 i-m in leh-im kamis ez-ab in ibur-ib yay ara?
 we-N1S they go-SP sea/salt opening/voice-DAT they sand-DAT pit a
 titayiy.
 ti-tay-01-iy
 PFT-dig-PA-N1P
 ‘And they went to the shore and dug a pit in the sand.’
- 824) Na Dilubay gimuze? bolda?ta adanin in
 na Dilubay gi-muz-e? bol-d-a?-ta a-dan-in in
 that D. O3P-follow-SPIR come-FUT-N1S-MOD IP3S-path-APS they
 ginad emadmo in yay na tayiy.
 gi-nad em-ad-mo in yay na tay-01-iy
 IP3P-mind do-SD-ITS they pit that dig-PA-N1P
 ‘Concerning that, they were thinking of the way that Dilubay would chase them and
 come and they dug that pit.’
- 825) Yay tay bugim in sansan nagah wa?im yay a?ez
 yay tay bug-im in sansan nagah wa?-im yay a-ez
 pit dig DIST-SP they leaves something get-SP pit IP3S-opening/voice
 isihiy.
 isih-01-iy
 cover-PA-N1P
 ‘They dug the whole pit and got leaves and things and covered the mouth of the pit.’
- 826) Im te? in Dilubay deg siso?ad ossa in kiskis
 im te? in Dilubay deg siso?-ad os-sa in kiskis
 CONJ CONJ they D. bowl shave-SD sit-DD they slowly
 di?mo tugwalo?iy.
 di?-(a-)mo ti-gwalo?-01-iy
 INTNS-O3S-EMP PFT-approach.up.towards-PA-N1P
 ‘Then as Dilubay was carving a bowl they approached very slowly/quietly.’
- 827) Gwalo gwalo agerab iyim na
 gwalo? gwalo? a-ger-ab iy-im na
 approach.up.towards approach.up.towards IP3S-side-DAT be/become-SP that
 Dilubay in zizir aholyon netim adugan ban
 Dilubay in zizir a-hol-a-yon net-im a-dugan ban
 D. he enclosure IP3S-body-O3S-BEN wrap-SP IP3S-
 insidereposing.place
 osad te? in deg siso?ya?
 os-ad te? in deg siso?-y-a?
 sit-SD CONJ he bowl shave-IPF-N1S
 ‘They approached and approached and were right near him (now Dilubay had enclosed a
 shelter for himself and was inside and carving a bowl.’

- 828) In deg sisoʔad kuh tonim ossa onmin ezeʔman na loʔim
 in deg sisoʔ-ad kuh ton-im os-sa onmin ezeʔman na loʔ-im
 he bowl shave-SD bend do-SP sit-DD children three that approach-SP
 tun niyayim ago degmo in sisoʔad os
 tun niyay-im a-go deg-{a-}mo in sisoʔ-ad os-O1-O2
 bow pull.bow.string-SP O3S-POS bowl-O3S-EMP he shave-SD sit-PA-N1S
 na hunogmo zilayiy.
 na hunog-{a-}mo zilay-O1-iy
 that shoot-O3S-EMP split-PA-N1P
 ‘He was carving and sitting bent over and those three children approached and drew back their bows and just split to pieces (with their arrows) the bowl that he was carving.’
- 829) Hunogmo zilayan Dilubay ritenimmo era tigimuz.
 hunog-{a-}mo zilay-an Dilubay riten-im-mo era ti-gi-muz-O1-O2
 shoot-O3S-EMP split-DP D. start-SP-ITS arise PFT-O3P-follow-PA-N1S
 ‘And Dilubay was startled and he arose and chased them.’
- 830) In gimuzsa in a hi diʔ sib yaʔay.
 in gi-muz-sa in a hi diʔ sib yaʔ-ay
 he IP3P-follow-DD they REAL NEG INTNS run IPF-N1P
 ‘As he was chasing them, they were running really fast.’
- 831) In ginad emadmo in kiskismo yay in tayiy
 in gi-nad em-ad-mo in kiskis-{a-}mo yay in tay-O1-iy
 they IP3P-mind do-SD-ITS they slowly-O3S-EMP pit they dig-PA-N1P
 ban in sibim lehiy.
 ban in sib-im leh-O1-iy
 reposing.place they run-SP go-PA-N1P
 ‘They were thinking/planning and they were running slowly towards the pit that they had dug.’
- 832) In sibim lehsa Dilubay gimuzim lehad osimmo in
 in sib-im leh-sa Dilubay gi-muz-im leh-ad os-im-mo in
 they run-SP go-DD D. O3P-follow-SP go-SD sit-SP-IT she
 tuwom, yay in tayiy nab.
 ti-woʔ-O1-O2 yay in tay-O1-iy na-b
 PFT-fall-PA-N1S pit they dig-PA-N1P that-DAT
 ‘They were running and going and Dilubay was chasing and going along and he fell, into the pit that they dug.’
- 833) In woʔan onmin ezeʔman na in eraʔim sebur nagah kuduʔ
 in woʔ-an onmin ezeʔman na in eraʔ-im sebur nagah kuduʔ
 he fall-DP children three that they get.up-SP club something crevice
 aʔezab ulileman os na in eraʔim mat Dilubay
 a-ez-ab ulilem-an os-O1-O2 na in eraʔ-im mat Dilubay
 IP3S-opening/voice-DAT hide-DP sit-PA-N1S that they get.up-SP man D.
 tuwol emiy.
 ti-wol em-O1-iy
 PFT-hit do-PA-N1P
 ‘He fell and the three children arose, and the war clubs and things they had hidden at the pit’s mouth, they arose and killed the man, Dilubay.’

- 834) In wol emad gigo tunibmo hunogiy.
 in wol em-ad gi-go tun-ib-(a-)mo hunog-O1-iy
 they hit do-SD O3P-POS bow-INSTR-O3S-EMP shoot-PA-N1P
 ‘As they killed him they shot him with their arrows.’
- 835) Seburib abu tuwol hasiy.
 sebur-ib a-bu ti-wol has-O1-iy
 club-DAT IP3S-base.of.skull PFT-hit open-PA-N1P
 ‘The smashed the back of his head with a war club.’
- 836) In abu wol hasim in lemo ginen
 in a-bu wol has-im in le-mo gi-nen
 they IP3S-base.of.skull hit open-SP they go-ITS IP3P-mother
 tubuloni, l ha?iy adinowan ko i abu tuwol
 ti-bulon-O1-iy i ha?iy adinowan ko i a-bu ti-wol
 PFT-speak.to-PA-N1P we QV-N1P aged that we IP3S-base.of.skull PFT-hit
 has ha?iy.
 has-O1-O2 ha?-O1-iy
 open-PA-1P QV-PA-N1P
 ‘They killed him and they went and said to their mother, “We have killed that old man.”’
- 837) Im in naza? ginen bulonad te? in
 im in naza? gi-nen bulon-ad te? in
 CONJ they like.that IP3P-mother speak.to-SD CONJ they
 tirgawmo abanbanin tiluw ya?ay.
 tirgaw-(a-)mo a-banban-in ti-luw ya?-ay
 bird.name-O3S-EMP IP3S-demise-APS PFT-walk.around IPF-N1P
 ‘And so they spoke like that to their mother and then they were going on the warpath for that hawk.’
- 838) Na in bila?iy, l ha?iy mat adinowan ko Dilubay i
 na in bila?-O1-iy i ha?-iy mat adinowan ko Dilubay i
 that they say-PA-N1P we QV-N1P man aged that D. we
 abu tuwol hasim i gigo zaway ina?
 a-bu ti-wol has-im i gi-go zaway i-na?
 IP3S-base.of.skull PFT-hit open-SP we O1P-POS strength O3S-COM
 ti?iy ha?iy.
 ti-iy-O1-O2 ha?-O1-iy
 PFT-be/become-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1P
 ‘Concerning that, they said, “We have killed that old man Dilubay and we are strong now.’
- 839) Ha?ad te? in tirgaw eza? di? tuwol em da?ay ha?ad
 ha?-ad te? in tirgaw eza? di? ti-wol em da?-ay ha?-ad
 QV-SD CONJ they bird.name how? INTNS PFT-hit do FUT-N1P QV-SD
 in ginad emad te? in le bit ara? tuwaziy.
 in gi-nad em-ad te? in le bit ara? ti-waz-O1-iy
 they IP3P-mind do-SD CONJ they go house a PFT-hold-PA-N1P
 ‘And then thinking about just how they would kill that hawk, they then built a house.’

- 840) In bit wazad in sabeg adugan ban
 in bit waz-ad in sabeg a-dugan ban
 they house hold-SD they tree.name IP3S-inside reposing.place
 rirenim a le a le bolim fage? anan
 riren-im a le a le bol-im fage? a-nan
 lined.up.side.by.side-SP ACC go ACC go come-SP tree.name IP3S-leaf
 emiy.
 em-O1-iy-mo
 do-PA-N1P-ITS
 ‘As they built the house the lined the inside with slats all the way around and they placed
 the *fage?* leaves too.’
- 841) Bit awaz me?in didi?tamo in emiy.
 bit a-waz me?in didi?-ta-(a-)mo in em-O1-iy
 house IP3S-hold bad INTNS-MOD-O3S-EMP they do-PA-N1P
 ‘They built a very strong house.’
- 842) In bit emim o kowamo bit ahu?unib in
 in bit em-im o kowa-(a-)mo bit ahu?unan-ib in
 they house do-SP oh there-O3S-EMP house roof-DAT they
 a?ez asit di?mo hulosan us.
 a-ez asit di? a-mo hulos-an us-O1-O2
 IP3S-opening/voice small INTNS O3S-EMP let.go-DP sleep-PA-N1S
 ‘They built the house and oh up there in the roof they left a very little opening.’
- 843) Im te? bit tihi?iyan Wilwil in tilah.
 im te? bit ti-hi?iy-an Wilwil in ti-leh-O1-O2
 CONJ CONJ house PFT-finish-DP W. he PFT-go-PA-N1S
 ‘And then when the house was finished Wilwil left.’
- 844) Gaunbab iyim in le guren ara? sisa?ta na in ahulib
 gaunbab iy-im in le guren ara? sisa?-ta na in a-huli?-ib
 sugarglider be/become-SP he go coconut a long-MOD that he IP3S-waist-
 DAT
 so?otim gayonad tu?us.
 so?ot-im gayon-ad ti-us-O1-O2
 stick-SP howl-SD PFT-sleep-PA-N1S
 ‘He became a sugarglider (?) and went and fastened onto the side of a tall coconut tree
 and remained there making a noise.’
- 845) Gayonad ussa te? timgaw na ases in tibilam, Ko
 gayon-ad us-sa te? timgaw na ases in ti-bila?-O1-m ko
 howl-SD sleep-DD CONJ bird.name that grandparent it PFT-say-PA-N1S that
 ham ya?gota ham.
 ha? ya-(i-)go-ta ha?-O1-m
 QV I-O1S-POS-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Then the grandchild of that hawk said, “That is mine.”’
- 846) Ya wa?e? ina? osdai?ta ham.
 ya wa?-e? i-na? os-d-ai?-ta ha?-O1-m
 I get-SPIR we-COM sit-FUT-1S-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘I will take it and live with it (i.e. keep it as a pet).’

- 847) Im in waʔim inaʔ tuʔosiy.
 im in waʔim i-naʔ ti-os-01-iy
 CONJ it get-SP O1P-COM PFT-sit-PA-N1P
 ‘And it took it and lived with it.’
- 848) In gaunbab na ziyab sihenim aʔez irʔurim
 in gaunbab na ziy-ab sihen-im a-ez irʔur-im
 it sugarglider that net.bag-DAT place.inside-SP IP3S-opening/voice tie.up-SP
 teʔ inaʔ os yaʔay.
 teʔ i-naʔ os y-ay
 CONJ O1S-with sit IPF-N1P
 ‘It placed the sugarglider in a net bag and tied it shut and was living with it.’
- 849) Osimmo ta ases in tisuusumun, Ni ham bab emad
 os-im-mo ta ases in ti-susumun-01-02ni haʔ bab em-ad
 sit-SP-ITS REACT grandparent it PFT-ask-PA-N1S you QV enemy do-SD
 luwsa luweʔ ninol em daʔay ham.
 luw-sa luw-eʔ ni-wol em d-ay haʔ-01-m
 walk.around-DD walk.around-SPIR O2S-hit do FUT-N1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And then the grandchild asked, “As you are going around fighting, perhaps they will kill you.” (note: N1 plural with indefinite subject used as passive.)
- 850) Haʔan tingaw na yuʔuwad bilam, Aha ham nog biyabta
 haʔ-an tingaw na yuʔuw-ad bilaʔ-01-m aha haʔ nog biyab-ta
 QV-DP bird.name that laugh-SD say-PA-N1S aha QV who? brave-MOD
 ya inol emdaʔ ham.
 ya i-wol em-d-aʔ haʔ-01-m
 I O1S-hit do-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And the hawk laughed and said, “Ah, who is brave enough to kill me?”
- 851) Guyaʔ araʔ ya a hikidikmo inol emdaʔ ham.
 guyaʔ araʔ ya a hikidik-[a-]mo i-wol em-d-aʔ haʔ-01-m
 someone a I REAL NEG-O3S-EMP O1S-hit do-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Someone will definitely not kill me.’
- 852) Naʔmo ham inol emnan ham ya haresmo inol
 na-[a-]mo haʔ i-wol em-nan haʔ ya hares-[a-]mo i-wol
 that-O3S-EMP QV O1S-hit do-DES QV I various-O3S-EMP O1S-hit
 emid ya a hi moʔdaiʔ ham.
 em-id ya a hi moʔ-d-aiʔ haʔ-01-m
 do-DPIR I REAL NEG die-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Concerning that, if they are going to kill me they will not hit me indiscriminately and I will die.’

- 853) Naʔmo ham o idagornibmo gamag anagin ka wolid
na-(a-)mo haʔ o i-dagoran-ib-(a-)mo gamag anagin ka wol-id
that-O3S-EMP QV oh IP1S-crotch-DAT-O3S-EMP sweet.yam seed this hit-
DPIR
ya ibigman ka wolid na ya tumoʔdaiʔ ham.
ya i-bigman ka wol-id na ya ti-moʔ-d-aiʔ haʔ-Ō1-m
I IP1S-forehead this hit-DPIR that I PFT-die-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
‘Concerning that, o right in my crotch/groin if they hit this *gamag* seed and they hit my
head, then I will die.’
- 854) Ya iben hulos ugeʔmo ya tuwoʔdaiʔ ham.
ya i-ben hulos ug-eʔ-mo ya ti-woʔ-d-aiʔ haʔ-Ō1-m
I IP1S-arm let.go give.him/her/it-SPIR-ITS I PFT-fall-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
‘I will let go and I will fall.’
- 855) Haʔan Wilwil in tuhurit.
haʔ-an Wilwil in ti-hurit-Ō1-Ō2
QV-DP W. he PFT-hear-PA-N1S
‘And Wilwil heard.’
- 856) In huritimmo ziy aʔez urotimmo in tubol.
in hurit-im-mo ziy a-ez urot-im-mo in ti-bol-Ō1-Ō2
he hear-SP-ITS net.bag IP3S-opening/voice cut-SP-ITS he PFT-come-PA-N1S
‘He heard and cut the mouth of the net bag and came.’
- 857) In bolim ababan gibilenim in bilam,
in bol-im a-bab-an gi-bilen-im in bilaʔ-Ō1-m
he come-SP O3S-older.brother-P O3P-speak.to-SP he say-PA-N1S
Muran ham i tirgaw ko tuwol emam ham.
muran haʔ i tirgaw ko ti-wol em-Ō1-am haʔ-Ō1-m
today QV we bird.name that PFT-hit do-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1S
‘He came and spoke to his older brothers and said, “Now we will certainly kill that hawk.’
- 858) Nazaʔ in bilaʔim teʔ in bilam, Ay faʔ ginuweʔ
nazaʔ in bilaʔ-im teʔ in bilaʔ-Ō1-m ay faʔ ginuw-eʔ
like.that he say-SP CONJ he say-PA-N1S tree/wood fire gather-SPIR
a bo humab emiy ham.
a bo humab em-Ō1-iy haʔ-Ō1-m
ACC come gathering do-IPR-2P QV-PA-N1S
‘He spoke like that and then he said, “Collect firewood and bring it and gather it here.”’
- 859) Na saw anan Anenriy haʔaytab in bit
na saw a-nan Anenriy haʔ-Ō1-ay-ta-b in bit
that place IP3S-name A. QV-PA-N1P-MOD-DAT they house
wazim nazaʔ toniyta.
waz-im nazaʔ ton-Ō1-iy-ta
hold-SP like.that do-PA-N1P-MOD
‘Now it was at the area named Anenriy that built a house and did that.’

- 860) An in ama?baban nena? ay fa? wa?an
 an in a-ma?bab-an ne-na? ay fa? wa?an
 CONJ he IP3S-brothers-P O2P-COM tree/wood fire get-DP
 lomne lomne bitab bit ame
 lo?-O1-m-ne lo?-O1-m-ne bit-ab bit ame
 approach-PA-N1S-EXH approach-PA-N1S-EXH house-DAT house eye
 tugwalan ari ham i fa? ti?emam ham.
 ti-gwal-an ari ha? i fa? ti-em-O1-am ha?-O1-m
 PFT-ascend-DP Ok. QV we fire PFT-do-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And he together with his older brothers kept getting firewood and bringing it until the house was full, “Ok,” he said, “we will make a fire.”’
- 861) Ha?ad ababan ninorad em dare? sebur tirgaw
 ha?-ad a-bab-an ninor-ad em dare? sebur tirgaw
 QV-SD IP3S-older.brother-P fear-SD spear shield club bird.name
 abanbanin emiyta na in wazim bit aduganib
 a-banban-in em-O1-iy-ta na in waz-im bit a-dugan-ib
 IP3S-demise-APS do-PA-N1P-MOD that they hold-SP house IP3S-inside-DAT
 turiy, tirgaw bole? so?otda? nab.
 tur-O1-iy tirgaw bol-e? so?ot-d-a? na-b
 stand-PA-N1P bird.name come-SPIR stick-FUT-N1S that-DAT
 ‘And his older brothers were afraid and they held the spears and shields and war clubs for destroying the hawk and stood inside the house, at the place where the hawk will come and land.’
- 862) Admo in fa? tu?ulam so?otiy.
 ad-mo in fa? ti-ulam so?ot-O1-iy
 CONJ-ITS they fire PFT-blow stick-PA-N1P
 ‘And they kindled a fire and it took hold.’
- 863) In fa? tu?ulam so?otan oysamo hai? tirgaw in ame.
 in fa? ti-ulam so?ot-an oy-sa-mo hai? tirgaw in ame
 they fire PFT-blow stick-DP cook-DD-ITS NEG bird.name it eye
 le ahol tuwam
 le a-hol ti-wa?-O1-m
 go IP3S-body PFT-get-PA-N1S
 ‘They kindled a fire and as it was burning, no, the hawk saw it.’
- 864) Mataw eze?man fa? ulamiy na a?asin in ahol wa?ad in
 mataw eze?man fa? ulam-O1-iy na a?asin in a-hol wa?ad in
 men three fire blow-PA-N1P that smoke it IP3S-body get-SD it
 tibilam, Ya ham mataw on bunmo ham ya
 ti-bila?-O1-m ya ha? mataw on bun-{a-}mo ha? ya
 PFT-say-PA-N1S I QV men women all-O3S-EMP QV I
 tigi?ituyta ham.
 ti-gi-itu?-O1-y-ta ha?-O1-m
 PFT-O3P-block-PA-1S-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘It saw the smoke of the fire that the three men had built and it said, “I have killed everyone.”’

- 865) Ko ta nog di? ham osad fa? emsa a?asin in gwala?
 ko ta nog di? ha? os-ad fa? em-sa a?asin in gwal-O1-a?
 that REACT who? INTNS QV sit-SD fire do-DD smoke it ascend-PR-N1S
 ham.
 ha?-O1-m
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘So just exactly who is living and making a fire and the smoke of it is ascending?’
- 866) Naza? in ahol bulonadmo in tubol, melim.
 naza? in a-hol bulon-ad-mo in ti-bol-O1-O2 mel-im
 like.that he IP3S-body speak.to-SD-ITS he PFT-come-PA-N1S fly-SP
 ‘Speaking to itself like that, it came, flying.’
- 867) Muran ham nog di? kowa fa? ema? ko ham ya le
 muran ha? nog di? kowa fa? em-O1-a? ko ha? ya le
 now QV who? INTNS there fire do-PA-N1S that QV I go
 itu?dai? ham.
 itu?-d-ai? ha?-O1-m
 block-FUT-1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘Now,’’ it said, ‘‘just whoever is making that fire there, I will go and kill him.’’
- 868) Ad in tubol.
 ad in ti-bol-O1-O2
 CONJ it PFT-come-PA-N1S
 ‘And it came.’
- 869) Melim tigewom.
 mel-im ti-gewo?-O1-m
 fly-SP PFT-come.down-PA-N1S
 ‘Flying, it descended.’
- 870) Melim bolad ti?im ahulana?mo PUH-PAK-
 mel-im bol-ad ti?-im ahulan-i-na?-(a-)mo PUH-PAK-
 fly-SP come-SD descend-SP sound-O3S-COM-O3S-EMP PUH-PAK-
 PAK-PAK PUH-PAK-PAK-PAK nemim bol.
 PAK-PAK PUH-PAK-PAK-PAK nem-im bol-O1-O2
 PAK-PAK PUH-PAK-PAK-PAK utter-SP come-PA-N1S
 ‘It flew and came and descended and it came making a PUH-PAK-PAK PUH-PAK-PAK
 noise.’
- 871) Bolan og ahol wolsa in bolya?
 bol-an og a-hol wol-sa in bol-y-a?
 come-DP ground IP3S-body hit-DD it come-IPF-N1S
 ‘And the earth was shaking as he was coming.’

- 872) In melim bo bo bo faʔas muzim bo bit emim
 in mel-im bo bo bo faʔ-as muz-im bo bit em-im
 he fly-SP come come come fire-smoke follow-SP come house do-SP
 faʔ emiy nabmo in bo tugwal,
 faʔ em-O1-iy na-b-(a-)mo in bo ti-gwal-O1-O2
 fire do-PA-N1P that-DAT-O3S-EMP it come PFT-ascend-PA-N1S
 Anenriyab.
 Anenriy-ab
 ground.name-DAT
 ‘It flew and came and came and came and following the smoke it came and it arrived
 where they built the house and made the fire, to Anenriy.’
- 873) In bo bit ahuʔunanib gwalim teʔ asen waʔeʔ kuduʔ
 in bo bit ahuʔunan-ib gwal-im teʔ a-sen waʔ-eʔ kuduʔ
 it come house roof-DAT ascend-SP CONJ IP3S-leg get-SPIR crevice
 nab emeʔ hitiʔdaiʔ haʔan haiʔ Wilwil tun
 na-b em-eʔ hitiʔ-d-aiʔ haʔ-an haiʔ wilwil tun
 that-DAT do-SPIR descend-FUT-1S QV-DP NEG snake.name bow
 niyayim us na hulos ugan tun amidon
 niyay-im us-O1-O2 na hulos ug-an tun amidon
 pull.bow.string-SP sleep-PA-N1S that let.go give.him/her/it-DP bow offspring
 lehan o adagoranibmo leh tay.
 leh-an o adagoran-ib-(a-)mo leh tay-O1-O2
 go-DP oh crotch-DAT-O3S-EMP go completely-PA-N1S
 ‘It came and ascended to the roof of the house and put it’s leg into the hole intending to
 descend (into the house), but no, Wilwil who had drawn his bow let it go and the arrow
 went (medial verb mis-fire) and it went completely into its crotch/groin.’ (note: increased
 sentence length at most exciting part.)
- 874) Leh tayanmo tirgaw in aben hulos
 leh tay-an-mo tirgaw in a-ben hulos
 go completely-DP-ITS bird.name it IP3S-arm let.
 ugimmo milhesimmo in wom.
 ug-im-mo milhes-im-mo in woʔ-O1-O2
 gogive.him/her/it-SP-ITS loosen-SP-ITS it fall-PA-N1S
 ‘It went completely in and the hawk let go and slipped off and fell.’
- 875) Woʔan mataw ezeʔman na sibim asan ban gwahtiʔad
 woʔ-an mataw ezeʔman na sib-im a-san ban gwahtiʔad
 fall-DP men three that run-SP IP3S-skin reposing.place appear-SD
 lehim le seburibmo abigman tuwol hasiy.
 leh-im le sebur-ib-(a-)mo a-bigman ti-wol has-O1-iy
 go-SP go club-DAT-O3S-EMP IP3S-forehead PFT-hit completely-PA-N1P
 ‘It fell and the three men ran and went outside and went and smashed its head with a war
 club.’
- 876) Wol hasanmo in tumom.
 wol has-an-mo in ti-moʔ-O1-m
 hit completely-DP-ITS it PFT-die-PA-N1S
 ‘And it immediately died.’

- 877) Tumoʔan teʔ in bilaʔiy, I teʔ haʔiy ta ezaʔ
 ti-moʔ-an teʔ in bilaʔ-01-iy i teʔ haʔ-iy ta ezaʔ
 PFT-die-DP CONJ they say-PA-N1P we CONJ QV-N1P REACT how?
 diʔ mataw on asor gibilenam haʔiy.
 diʔ mataw on asor gi-bilen-01-am haʔ-01-iy
 INTNS men women some O3P-speak.to-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1P
 ‘And then they said, “Just exactly how are we going to tell some of the people?”’
- 878) Haʔan ginen in bilam, Ne ya ham ibiliyid ya
 haʔ-an gi-nen in bilaʔ-01-m ne ya haʔ i-biliy-id ya
 QV-DP IP3P-mother she say-PA-N1S you I QV O1S-turn-DPIR I
 woʔeʔ ussa ham iben ka araʔ ham ne ya zoʔ nog
 woʔ-eʔ us-sa haʔ i-ben ka araʔ haʔ ne ya zoʔ nog
 fall-SPIR sleep-DD QV IP1S-arm this a QV you I log.drum like
 tiʔiy daʔay ham.
 ti-iy d-ay haʔ-01-m
 PFT-play FUT-N1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And their mother said, “You will turn me and I will fall and lay and (with) one of my arms you will play me like a slit-log drum.”’
- 879) Sa mataw on lehim rir rir yay yay kuduʔ kuduʔ ulilemim
 sa mataw on leh-im rir rir yay yay kuduʔ kuduʔ ulilem-im
 CONJ men women go-SP nest nest pit pit crevice crevice hide-SP
 osay na teʔ bol daʔay ham.
 os-01-ay na teʔ bol d-ay haʔ-01-m
 sit-PR-N1P that CONJ come FUT-N1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘And then the men and women who are remaining having gone and hidden in nests and pits and crevices will come,’’ she said.’
- 880) Haʔan in sibim le ginen abanib kab gisen
 haʔ-an in sib-im le gi-nen aban-ib ka-b gi-sen
 QV-DP they run-SP go O3P-mother chest-DAT this-DAT IP3P-leg
 abanib emim bay hasan wom.
 aban-ib em-im bay has-an woʔ-01-02
 chest-DAT do-SP step completely-DP fall-PA-N1S
 ‘And they ran and on their mother’s chest, they put their feet on their mother’s chest and pushed her over and she fell.’
- 881) Woʔan in zoʔ tiʔiy.
 woʔ-an in zoʔ ti-iy-01-02
 fall-DP she log.drum PFT-be/become-PA-N1S
 ‘She fell and became a slit-log drum.’
- 882) Zoʔ iyan on mataw edob rir rir yay yay
 zoʔ iy-an on mataw edo-b rir rir yay yay
 log.drum be/become-DP women men which?-DAT nest nest pit pit
 ulilemim osiyta na in tubol bugiy.
 ulilem-im os-01-iy-ta na in ti-bol bug-01-iy
 hide-SP sit-PA-N1P-MOD that they PFT-come DIST-PA-N1P
 ‘And all the men and women who were hiding in the nests and pits came.’

- 883) Mataw bolim bo danteb gwalsamo in dare?
mataw bol-im bo dan-a-te-b gwal-sa-mo in dare?
men come-SP come path-IP3S-teeth-DAT ascend-DD-ITS they shield
sore? sibe? le koza? iyya? bo kaza?
sor-e? sib-e? le koza? iy-y-a? bo kaza?
carry-SPIR run-SPIR go like.that be/become-IPF-N1S come like.this
iyya?
iy-y-a?
be/become-IPF-N1S
‘They came and as they came up to the road junction, he would carry a shield and run and go like that and come like this.’
- 884) Ad gibilenya?, Ne ha?ya? aw balaw tonim a
ad gi-bilen-y-a? ne ha?ya? aw balaw ton-im a
CONJ O3P-speak.to-IPF-N1S you QV woman ornament do-SP ACC
bolay ye ha?ya?
bol-O1-ay e ha?-y-a?
come-PR-N1P INTER QV-IPF--N1S
‘And he would say to them, “You, are you bring a decorated woman with you?”’
- 885) Asitmo ossa ta on mataw asor dante
asit-{a-}mo os-sa ta on mataw asor dan-a-te
small-O3S-EMP sit-DD REACT women men some path-IP3S-tooth
ara? wa?e? lo gwalsamo in ago dare? sore?
ara? wa?-e? lo gwal-sa-mo in a-go dare? sor-e?
a get-SPIR approach ascend-DD-ITS he O3S-POS shield carry-SPIR
sibe? a lo koza? hunegya? a bole?
sib-e? a lo koza? huneg-y-a? a bol-e?
run-SPIR ACC approach like.that throw-IPF-N1S ACC come-SPIR
kaza? ban hunegya?
kaza? ban huneg-y-a?
like.this reposing.place throw-IPF-N1S
‘A little bit later, some other people would take another path and approach and he would carry his shield and run and go throw it like that and come and throw it like this.’
- 886) Ad bila?ya?
ad bila?-y-a?
CONJ say-IPF-N1S
‘And he was speaking.’
- 887) Gibilene? bila?ya?, Ne ha?ya? aw balaw
gi-bilen-e? bila?-y-a? ne ha?-y-a? aw balaw
IP3P-speak.to-SPIR say-IPF-N1S you QV-IPF-N1S woman ornament
tonim a boliy ye ha?ya?
ton-im a bol-O1-iy e ha?-y-a?
do-SP ACC come-PA-N1P INTER QV-IPF-N1S
‘He would speak to them and say, “You, are you bring a decorated woman?”’

- 888) Naza?mo mataw bunmo bolsa in gibilenya?
 naza?-(a-)mo mataw bun-(a-)mo bol-sa in gi-bilen-y-a?
 like.that-O3S-EMP men all-O3S-EMP come-DD he O3P-speak.to-IPF-N1S
 ‘Like that, and everyone was coming he would speak to them.’
- 889) Naza? tonim tonim le mataw tubol bugan ariya in
 naza? ton-im ton-im le mataw ti-bol bug-an ariya in
 like.that do-SP do-SP go men PFT-come DIST-DP Ok. he
 tigibilan, Ne ham lehe? ham ay fa?
 ti-gi-bilen-O1-O2 ne ha? leh-e? ha? ay fa?
 PFT-O3P-speak.to-PA-N1S you QV go-SPIR QV tree/wood fire
 kabemmo wa?e? a boliy ham.
 kabem-(a-)mo wa?-e? a bol-O1-iy ha?-O1-m
 many-O3S-EMP get-SPIR ACC come-IPR-2P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He did like that over and over until all the people had come, ok, he said to them, “You go and get a lot of firewood and bring it.”’
- 890) Ha?an on mataw le ay fa? wa?im a bolim
 ha?-an on mataw le ay fa? wa?-im a bol-im
 QV-3S women men go tree/wood fire get-SP ACC come-SP
 humab ayah di?ta ti?eman in era?im bilam,
 humab ayah di?-ta ti-em-an in era?-im bila?-O1-m
 gathering big INTNS-MOD PFT-do-DP he get.up-SP say-PA-N1S
 I ham tircaw wizam ham.
 i ha? tircaw wiz-O1-am ha?-O1-m
 we QV bird.name roast-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And the women and men went and got firewood and brought it and made a big heap and he arose and said, “We will burn the hawk.”’
- 891) Te? ham i tircaw tuwizsa ham abetgayik o
 te? ha? i tircaw ti-wiz-sa ha? a-bet-gayik o
 CONJ QV we bird.name PFT-roast-DD QV IP3S-thigh-wing or
 ahublen ara? di? mele? lehsa ham na lehe? le
 a-hulgen ara? di? mel-e? leh-sa ha? na leh-e? le
 IP3S-fur/feathers a INTNS fly-SPIR go-DD QV that go-SPIR go
 wa?e? a bole? fa?ib emnanta ham.
 wa?-e? a bol-e? fa?-ib em-nan-ta ha?-O1-m
 get-SPIR ACC come-SPIR fire-DAT do-DES-MOD QV-PA-N1S
 ‘Then as we are burning the hawk, as a wing (feather) or a (piece of) fur flies and goes, we are going to go get that and bring it and put it into the fire.’
- 892) Ha?ad in on mataw na gibilan.
 ha?-ad in on mataw na gi-bilen-O1-O2
 QV-SD he women men that O1P-speak.to-PA-N1S
 ‘And he spoke to the people (those words).’
- 893) Gibilenim in fa? ayahta emim tu?ulamiy.
 gi-bilen-im in fa? ayah-ta em-im ti-ulam-O1-iy
 O3P-speak.to-SP they fire big-MOD do-SP PFT-blow-PA-N1P
 ‘And the built a big fire and lit it.’

- 894) Ullamimmo in tirgaw tuwiziy.
 ulam-im-mo in tirgaw ti-wiz-Ø1-iy
 blow-SP-ITS they bird.name PFT-roast-PA-N1P
 ‘And they burned the hawk.’
- 895) Wizimmo ta abetgayikin mele? lehsa in wa?e?
 wiz-im-mo ta a-bet-gayik-in mel-e? leh-sa in wa?e?
 roast-SP-ITS REACT IP3S-thigh-wing-APS fly-SPIR go-DD they get-SPIR
 a bo fa? meb em ya?ay.
 a bo fa? me-b em y-ay
 ACC come fire eye-DAT do IPF-N1P
 ‘They burned it and as a wing (feather) flew away they would get it and bring it and put it into the fire.’
- 896) Ahublen mele? lehsa na a bo fa?ab em ya?ay.
 a-hulgen mel-e? leh-sa na a bo fa?ab em y-ay
 IP3S-fur fly-SPIR go-DD that ACC come fire-DAT do IPF-N1P
 ‘As a piece of fur flew away they would bring it and put it into the fire.’
- 897) Naza?mo tonim le lemo akisan ara? amikikin di?ta
 naza?-(a-)mo ton-im le le-mo akisan ara? amikikin di?ta
 like.that-O3S-EMP do-SP go go-ITS feather a very.small INTNS-MOD
 in melim le wo?an na mataw lehim nagad nagad luwim
 in mel-im le wo?an na mataw leh-im nag-ad nag-ad luw-im
 it fly-SP go fall-DP that men go-SP search-SD search-SD walk.around-SP
 ahol a hi wa?iy.
 a-hol a hi wa?-Ø1-iy
 IP3S-body REAL NEG get-PA-N1P
 ‘They kept doing like that and one very little feather flew away and fell and the people went and looked and looked for it and they didn’t find it.’
- 898) Naza? iyan muran kawa tirgaw amikmiktamo
 naza? iy-an muran kawa tirgaw amikmik-ta-(a-)mo
 like.that be/become-DP today here bird.name small(P)-MOD-O3S-EMP
 in luway.
 in luw-Ø1-ay
 they walk.around-PR-N1P
 ‘Therefore now there are little hawks going around.’
- 899) Sa mataw eze?man na in marar os ya?ay.
 sa mataw eze?man na in marar os y-ay
 CONJ men three that they practice sit IPF-N1P
 ‘And the three men were singing.’
- 900) Gime?sanmo hi?iyad marar in os ya?ay.
 gi-me-a-san-(a-)mo hi?iy-ad marar in os y-ay
 IP3P-eye-IP3S-skin-O3S-EMP finish-SD practice they sit IPF-N1P
 ‘They were not sleepy at all (no eyelids) and singing.’

- 901) Ossa te? aw ara? in tukim le Karkarab
os-sa te? aw ara? in tuk-im le kar-kar-ab
sit-DD CONJ woman a she run.away-SP go car-car-DAT
osta in zo? ahulan huritad te? in anad
os-O1-O2-ta in zo? ahulan hurit-ad te? in a-nad
sit-PA-N1S-MOD she log.drum sound hear-SD CONJ she IP3S-mind
me?niysa in ahol bulonya?, Ya ha?ya? eza?
me?niy-sa in a-hol bulon-y-a? ya ha? eza?
bad-DD she IP3S-body speak.to-IPF-N1S I QV how?
di? kaut wa?e? ad tilehdai? ha?ya?
di? kaut wa?-e? ad ti-leh-d-ai? ha?-y-a?
INTNS canoe get-SPIR ACC PFT-go-FUT-1S QV-IPF-N1S
‘And then a woman who ran away and went and was living on Karkar, she was hearing the sound of the slit-log drum and she was feeling sad and she was saying to herself, “How will I get a canoe and go?”’ (note: new participant and longer than usual sentence.)
- 902) Ad in kaut wa?im a bo a bo a bo lan
ad in kaut wa?-im a bo a bo a bo lan
CONJ she canoe get-SP ACC come ACC come ACC come coast
ezab hiti?im tamaz in wazim tugwalah.
ez-ab hiti?-im tamaz in waz-im ti-gwaleh-O1-O2
opening/voice-DAT descend-SP offering she hold-SP PFT-go.up-PA-N1S
‘And she took a canoe and brought it a kept coming until she arrived at the beach and holding an offering she went up.’
- 903) In gwale gwale gwalemo haya? ezab bel
in gwale gwale gwale-mo haya? ez-ab bel
she go.up go.up go.up-ITS young.men's.house opening/voice-DAT plant
baror kururuw aduganib in wo?im titur.
baror kururuw a-dugan-ib in wo?-im ti-tur-O1-O2
plant plant IP3S-inside-DAT she fall-SP PFT-stand-PA-N1S
‘She went up and up and at the opening of the house-boy (where they were practicing) she went and stood in the middle of *bel*, *baror* and *kururuw* flowers.’
- 904) Aw na anan Simiyangpain.
aw na a-nan Simiyangpain
woman that IP3S-name S.
‘The woman’s name was Simiyangpain.’
- 905) In bo nab ulilemim osad te? gibiyya?
in bo na-b ulilem-im os-ad te? gi-biy-y-a?
she come that-DAT hide-SP sit-SD CONJ O3P-see-IPF-N1S
‘She came and hid there and was watching them.’
- 906) Onmin na gime?san a hi usya?
onmin na gi-me-a-san a hi us-y-a?
children that IP3P-eye-IP3S-skin REAL NEG sleep-IPF-N1S
‘Those children, they weren’t sleeping at all.’

- 907) Mo dormo di? in emad os ya?ay.
 mo dor-{a-}mo di? in em-ad os y-ay
 EMP dance-O3S-EMP INTNS they do-SD sit IPF-N1P
 ‘The were just really into their dancing.’
- 908) Asese? giger na in bila? le usu? ha?sa amikta na in
 asese? giger na in bila? le us-01-u? ha?-sa amik-ta na in
 big two that they say go sleep-IPR-1P QV-DD small-MOD that he
 bila?ya?, Ni hai?gam ha?ya?
 bila?-y-a? ni hai?gam ha?-y-a?
 say-IPF-N1S you NEG QV-1S-N1S
 ‘The two older ones would say, “Let’s sleep,” and the younger one would say, “Not you.”’
- 909) Abebtanta waze? te? i le usam ha?ya?
 abebtan-ta waz-e? te? i le us-01-am ha?-y-a?
 last-MOD hold-SPIR CONJ we go sleep-FUT-1P QV-IPF-N1S
 ‘“We will sing the last one and then we will go sleep,” he would say.’
- 910) Ha?admo marar osimmo gimik?an na in bilam,
 ha?-ad-mo marar os-im-mo gi-mik-an na in bila?-01-m
 QV-SD-ITS practice sit-SP-ITS IP3P-small-APS that he say-PA-N1S
 Ya lehe? le siro?nan ham.
 ya leh-e? le siro?-nan ha?-01-m
 I go-SPIR go urinate-DES QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And they practiced for a while and their younger brother said, “I’m going to go urinate.”’
- 911) Ha?ad in gwahti?immo naza? bel ahuran wolanmo in
 ha?-ad in gwahti?-im-mo naza? bel ahuran wol-an-mo in
 QV-SD he appear-SP-ITS like.that plant.name smell hit-DP-ITS he
 aw tursa in ahol tuwam.
 aw tur-sa in a-hol ti-wa?-01-m
 woman stand-DD he IP3S-body PFT-get-PA-N1S
 ‘And he came out and the odor of the bel flower struck him like that and he saw the woman standing there.’
- 912) In ahol wa?ad in bulon, Ni ham kab didi? ni
 in a-hol wa?-ad in bulon-01-02 ni ha? ka-b didi? ni
 he IP3S-body get-SD he speak.to-PA-N1S you QV this-DAT INTNS you
 tur ham.
 tur-01-02 ha?-01-m
 stand-IPR-2S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘He saw her and said to her, “You stand right here.”’

- 913) Ya ta lehe? ham bar abitanta waze? ham
ya ta leh-e? ha? bar a-beb-an-ta waz-e? ha?
I REACT go-SPIR QV song IP3S-last-APS-MOD hold-SPIR QV
ya ibaban le ussa ham te? ya bole?
ya i-bab-an le us-sa ha? te? ya bol-e?
I IP1S-older.brother-P go sleep-DD QV CONJ I come-SPIR
niwa?e? i bitab leham ham.
ni-wa?e? i bit-ab leh-01-am ha?-01-m
O2S-get-SPIR we house-DAT go-FUT-1P QV-PA-N1S
‘‘I will go back and sing the last song and while my older brother go and are sleeping
then I will come and get you and we will go to the house,’’ he said.’
- 914) Ha?ad in lo haya?ab bar abebtanta na
ha?ad in lo haya?ab bar abebtan-ta na
QV-SD he approach young.men's.house-DAT song last-MOD that
tuwaziy.
ti-waz-01-iy
PFT-hold-PA-N1P
‘And he approached the houseboy and they sang the last song.’
- 915) Wazim a lehim hi?iy an in bilam, Ari ham bar
waz-im a leh-im hi?iy-an in bila?-01-m ari ha? bar
hold-SP ACC go-SP finish-DP he say-PA-N1S Ok. QV song
tihaniy ham.
ti-hi?iy-01-02 ha?-01-m
PFT-finish-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
‘They sang it until it finished and he said, ‘‘Ok, the song’s finished.’’
- 916) Admo ababan le tu?usiy.
ad-mo a-bab-an le ti-us-01-iy
CONJ-ITS IP3S-older.brother-P go PFT-sleep-PA-N1P
‘And his older brothers went and slept.’
- 917) Ababan le ussa in le aw wa?im bitab ad
a-bab-an le us-sa in le aw wa?im bit-ab ad
IP3S-older.brother-P go sleep-DD he go woman get-SP house-DAT ACC
tilah.
ti-leh-01-02
PFT-go-PA-N1S
‘While his older brothers went and slept, he went and got the woman and took her to the
house.’
- 918) In le usim era?an ababanmo susumuniy,
in le us-im era?an a-bab-an-{a}-mjo susumun-01-iy
he go sleep-SP get.up-DP IP3S-older.brother-P-O3S-EMP ask-PA-N1P
Ni ha?iy aw na edob wam ha?iy.
ni ha?-iy aw na edo-b wa?-01-m ha?-01-iy
you QV-N1P woman that which?-DAT get-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1P
‘He went and slept and got up and his older brothers asked, ‘‘Where did you get the
woman?’’

- 919) Eza? ban ha?iy.
 eza? ban ha?-O1-iy
 what? reposing.place QV-PA-N1P
 ‘From what direction?’
- 920) An in bilam, Aw ka ham i ham irimo marar ossa in
 an in bila?-O1-m aw ka ha? i ha? irimo marar os-sa in
 CONJ he say-PA-N1S woman this QV we QV yesterday practice sit-DD she
 bol ham.
 bol-O1-O2 ha?-O1-m
 come-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And he said, “This woman, while we were singing yesterday she came.”’
- 921) Naza? in gibilenim in aw wa?im ina? tu?os.
 naza? in gi-bilen-im in aw wa?-im i-na? ti-os-O1-O2
 like.that he O3P-speak.to-SP he woman get-SP O1S-COM PFT-sit-PA-N1S
 ‘He spoke to them like that and he took the woman and lived with her.’
- 922) Osim te? in awe ina? in bo kabiy emad
 os-im te? in a-we i-na? in bo kabiy em-ad
 sit-SP CONJ he IP3S-wife O1S-COM they come work do-SD
 tiluwiy.
 ti-luw-O1-iy
 PFT-walk.around-PA-N1P
 ‘And then he and his wife came and were going around doing work/making a garden.’
- 923) In kabiy emad luwsamo hai? kaza? ban
 in kabiy em-ad luw-sa-mo hai? kaza? ban
 they work do-SD walk.around-DD-ITS NEG like.this reposing.place
 bab ag di? bolim ginen wa?sa ginen
 bab ag di? bol-im gi-nen wa?-sa gi-nen
 enemy tree.sap INTNS come-SP IP3P-mother get-DD IP3P-mother
 in gayon, bab nagan ginen rintonnann ha?ad.
 in gayon bab na-g-an gi-nen rin-ton-nan ha?-ad
 she howl enemy that-P-P IP3P-mother steal-do-DES QV-SD
 ‘While they were working, no, from this direction some enemies came and were taking their mother and their mother cried out, (since) those enemies were intending to steal their mother.’
- 924) In ginen wa?sa ginen gayonad a?ez in
 in gi-nen wa?-sa gi-nen gayon-ad a-ez in
 they IP3P-mother get-DD IP3P-mother howl-SD IP3S-opening/voice it
 WU-U-U nemya?
 WU-U-U nem-y-a?
 WU-U-U utter-IPF-N1S
 ‘As they were taking their mother and their mother was crying out and her voice was sounding like WU-U-U.’

- 925) Naza? in ginen zo? na a?ez huritadmo
 naza? in gi-nen zo? na a-ez hurit-ad-mo
 like.that they IP3P-mother log.drum that IP3S-opening/voice hear-SD-ITS
 nab kabi? in emad luwta nagah nab
 na-b kabi? in em-ad luw-O1-O2-ta nagah na-b
 that-DAT work they do-SD walk.around-PA-N1S-MOD something that-DAT
 biliyan lehsa in abenmo hulos ug.
 biliy-an leh-sa in a-ben-(a-)mo hulos ug-O1-O2
 turn-DP go-DD they IP3S-arm-O3S-EMP let.go give.him/her/it-PA-N1S
 ‘They heard the voice of their mother, the slit-log drum, like that and they who were
 working threw everything aside and let it go (?) (or took off?).’
- 926) Sibim bo bo bo gwal.
 sib-im bo bo bo gwal-O1-O2
 run-SP come come come ascend-PA-N1S
 ‘Running they came and came and came up.’
- 927) Bo gwaladmo in bilam, Aha nam Wilwil
 bo gwal-ad-mo in bila?-O1-m aha nem-O1-O2 Wilwil
 come ascend-SD-ITS he say-PA-N1S aha utter-PA-N1S W.
 ti-bol-O1-O2 ham.
 tubol ha?-O1-m
 PFT-come-PA-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘They came up and he said, “Aha Wilwil has come.”’
- 928) Naza? ha?ad gig asese?ta giger in wam.
 naza? ha?ad gig asese?ta giger in wa?-O1-m
 like.that QV-SD rock big-MOD two he get-PA-N1S
 ‘He spoke like that and took two big stones.’
- 929) Na in wa?im dan ?way.
 na in wa?-im dan ?way-O1-O2
 that he get-SP path cut-PA-N1S
 ‘He took those and blocked the path.’
- 930) Dan ?wayim huloadmo in anen bab wazi? na in
 dan ?way-im huload-mo in a-nen bab waz-O1-iy na in
 path cut-SP let.go-SD-ITS he IP3S-mother older.brother hold-PA-N1P thathe
 tuwaz.
 ti-waz-O1-O2
 PFT-hold-PA-N1S
 ‘He blocked the path and quitting that he grasped his mother that the enemies had
 grasped.’
- 931) In anen anasaran ban in wazsa bab on mataw na
 in a-nen anasaran ban in waz-sa bab on mataw na
 he IP3S-mother left reposing.place he hold-DD enemy women men that
 a?abun ban wazi?.
 a?abun ban waz-O1-iy
 right reposing.place hold-PA-N1P
 ‘He was holding his mother’s left side and the enemy people held the right side.’

- 932) In wazim te? hure? ya?ay.
 in waz-im te? hure? y-ay
 they hold-SP CONJ pull IPF-N1P
 ‘They held and they were pulling.’
- 933) Hure?im hai?mo bab nagan zo? hure?im ad
 hure?-im hai?-mo bab na-g-an zo? hure?-im ad
 pull-SP NEG-ITS enemy that-P-P log.drum pull-SP ACC
 tilehiy.
 ti-leh-O1-iy
 PFT-go-PA-N1P
 ‘They pulled, but no, those enemies pulled the slit-log drum and took it.’
- 934) (An nawa asawan usa?ta.)
 an nawa a-saw-an us-O1-a?-ta
 CONJ there IP3S-place-APS sleep-PA-N1S-MOD
 ‘(The place where it happened is there.)’
- 935) Ha?an Wilwil kusluwim bilam, Ne lehe? te? ham ne
 ha?-an Wilwil kusluw-im bila?-O1-m ne leh-e? te? ha? ne
 QV-DP W. spit-SP say-PA-N1S you go-SPIR CONJ QV you
 gigo zo? hase? ham adugan ham hase? ad
 gi-go zo? has-e? ha? a-dugan ha? has-e? ad
 O3P-POS log.drum open-SPIR QV IP3S-inside QV open-SPIR ACC
 wolehe? ham te? ne iysa ahulan in pesanmo
 woleh-e? ha? te? ne iy-sa ahulan in pesan-(a-)mo
 go.down-SPIR QV CONJ you play-DD sound it far-O3S-EMP
 di? a hi lehda? ham.
 di? a hi leh-d-a? ha?-O1-m
 INTNS REAL NEG go-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘And Wilwil spit and said, “You will go and you will open your slit-log drums and when you open the inside and take it down and as you play it, the sound of it will not go far.”’
- 936) Ad te? in hidmo me?niyda? ham.
 ad te? in hid-(a-)mo me?niy-d-a? ha?-O1-m
 CONJ CONJ it quick-O3S-EMP bad-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘“And he will quickly become ruined,” he said.’
- 937) I te? ham asitagmo hase? ham zo?
 i te? ha? asit-ag-(a-)mo has-e? ha? zo?
 we CONJ QV small-UNSPC-O3S-EMP open-SPIR QV log.drum
 adugan ham i wolsa ham ahulan in pesanmo lehda?
 a-dugan ha? i wol-sa ha? ahulan in pesan-(a-)mo leh-d-a?
 IP3S-inside QV we hit-DD QV sound it far-O3S-EMP go-FUT-N1S
 ham.
 ha?-O1-m
 QV-PA-N1S
 ‘But we, we will open it just a little and when we hit it, the sound of it will go far,’ he said.’

- 938) In hidmo a hikidik me?niyda? ham.
 in hid-(a-)mo a hikidik me?niy-d-a? ha?-O1-m
 it quick-O3S-EMP REAL NEG bad-FUT-N1S QV-PA-N1S
 ‘‘I will not become ruined quickly,’’ he said.’
- 939) Ha?an muran na naza?mo mataw koza? banta
 ha?-an muran na naza?-(a-)mo mataw koza? ban-ta
 QV-DP today that like.that-O3S-EMP men like.that reposing.place-MOD
 na in gigo zo? wizwazim hasim te? iysa in
 na in gi-go zo? wiz-waz-im has-im te? iy-sa in
 that they O3P-POS log.drum REDUP-hold-SP open-SP CONJ play-DD it
 ahulan pesanmo a hi lehda?ta.
 ahulan pesan-(a-)mo a hi leh-d-a?-ta
 sound far-O3S-EMP REAL NEG go-FUT-N1S-MOD
 ‘And now it’s like that, the people over in that direction, they really do a good job making
 their slit-log drums but when they play them the sound doesn’t go far.’
- 940) I gigo zo? i hasau? na in ahulan pesanmo
 i gi-go zo? i has-O1-au? na in ahulan pesan-(a-)mo
 we O3P-POS log.drum we open-PR-1P that it sound far-O3S-EMP
 leha?
 leh-O1-a?
 go-PR-N1S
 ‘Our slit-log drums that we open, the sound goes far.’
- 941) Ad in kam sisa?mo usa?
 ad in kam sisa? a-mo us-O1-a?
 CONJ it time long O3S-EMP sleep-PR-N1S
 ‘And they remain for a long time.’
- 942) In hidmo a hi me?niya?
 in hid a-mo a hi me?niy-O1-a?
 it quick O3S-EMP REAL NEG bad-PR-N1S
 ‘They don’t ruin quickly.’
- 943) An i gigo zo? asor in abe ban mizilaya?
 an i gi-go zo? asor in abe ban mizilay-O1-a?
 CONJ we O3P-POS log.drum some it read.end reposing.place crack-PR-N1S
 na, na kaza? na Wilwil le anen kiskismo biliyan
 na na kaza? na Wilwil le a-nen kiskis-(a-)mo biliyan
 that that like.this that W. go IP3S-mother slowly-O3S-EMP turn-DP
 a hi wom.
 a hi wo?-O1-O2
 REAL NEG fall-PA-N1S
 ‘And some of our slit-log drums that crack on the back-side/rear-end, that is like this,
 concerning that, Wilwil didn’t gently put his mother down.’

- 944) In lehim asen wa?im anen abanib emim bay
 in leh-im a-sen wa?-im a-nen aban-ib em-im bay
 he go-SP IP3S-leg get-SP IP3S-mother chest-DAT do-SP step.on
 hasan anen le womta na ago i gigo
 has-an a-nen le wo?-O1-O2-ta na a-go i gi-go
 completely-DP IP3S-mother go fall-PA-N1S-MOD that O3S-POS we O3P-POS
 zo? in naza? ame ban hai?mo abe ban
 zo? in naza? ame ban hai?-(a-)mo abe ban
 log.drum it like.that eye reposing.place NEG-O3S-EMP read.end reposing.place
 in mizilay nog iye? in usda?.
 in mizilay nog iy-e? in us-d-a?
 it crack like be/become-SPIR it sleep-FUT-N1S
 ‘He went and took his leg and put it on his mother’s chest and knocked her over and she went and fell, because of that, our slit-log drums like that, not the front side, the back side sort of like cracks and remains like that.’
- 945) A?ez te? ahulan na in ayahmo?mo in
 a-ez te? ahulan na in ayah-(a-)mo-(a-)mo in
 IP3S-opening/voice CONJ sound that it big-O3S-EMP-O3S-EMP it
 tilehda?.
 ti-leh-d-a?
 PFT-go-FUT-N1S
 ‘And the voice and the sound of it will go greatly.’
- 946) Ad in sisa?mo?mo in tu?usda?ta.
 ad in sisa?-(a-)mo-(a-)mo in ti-us-d-a?ta
 CONJ it long-O3S-EMP-O3S-EMP it PFT-sleep-FUT-N1S-MOD
 ‘And it will remain for a long time.’
- 947) Im nawa?mo.
 im nawa-(a-)mo
 CONJ PLOC-O3S-EMP
 ‘That’s it.’
- 948) Tirgaw ago wagam.
 tirgaw a-go wagam
 bird.name O3S-POS story
 ‘The story of the hawk.’

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