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**Volume 53**

**Fuyug Grammar Sketch**

**Robert L. Bradshaw**

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

**René van den Berg**, Series Editor

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# Abbreviations

1	first person	-dupC	duplicate consonant
2	second person	-dupCV	duplicate consonant vowel
3	third person	EMPH	emphatic
ADJ	adjective	FUT.SEQ	future sequential
ADJP	adjective phrase	GEN	genitive
ADV	adverb	H	head
ALL	allative	ILL	illative
ANAPH	anaphoric marker	IMM	imminent
ASMPT	assumptive	IMPF	imperfective
C	consonant	INCR	increaser
CF	contrastive focus	IND	indicative
CMP	completive	INE	inessive
COM	comitative	INT	interrogative
COND	conditional	INTS	intensifier
D	dual	IO	indirect object
DEM	demonstrative	IRR	irrealis
DESID	desiderative	Lit.	literally
DIM	diminutive	LOC	locative
DIR	directional	N	noun
DO	direct object	NEG	negative
DS	different subject	NP	noun phrase

NUM	numeral	REFL.OBJ	reflexive object
O	object	REL	relativiser
OBJ	object	S	singular, subject, syllable
P	plural	SEQ	sequential
PL	plural	SG	singular
PART	participle	SIM	simultaneous
PIMP	plural imperative	SIMP	singular imperative
POSB	possibility	SR	switch reference
PP	postpositional phrase	SS	same subject
PRED	predicate	STAT	stative
PRON	pronoun	SUBJ	subject
PURP	purpose	TEMP	temporal
QUANT	quantifier	TOP	topic marker
RC	relative clause	V	verb, vowel
REC	recipient	VBR	verbaliser
RECIP	reciprocal	VP	verb phrase
REFL.MAN	reflexive manner		

# Preface

The previous five volumes of the *Data Papers on PNG languages* (volumes 48-52) all featured grammars of Austronesian languages. I am therefore pleased to announce that this volume, Robert Bradshaw's *Fuyug Grammar Sketch*, is a description of a Papuan language of the Trans-New Guinea family.

This grammar was originally written in the 1990s and finalised in 2001. Because so little information is available on Fuyug and because Robert is no longer working in the Fuyug area, it was decided that publishing this analysis would be a service to the linguistic world. Since it was written a while ago, this sketch reflects the descriptive organisation that was recommended by SIL-PNG in the 1990s, moving from phoneme via morpheme, word, phrase, clause, sentence to discourse, devoting a separate chapter to each level. Even though there are disadvantages to this somewhat rigorous differentiation of levels, I trust that the relevant facts of the language will still be fairly easy to find for the interested reader.

While the manuscript was prepared for publication, some changes were made, but these related mostly to the free translations of example sentences, some low-level reorganisations, as well as formatting. On the whole the analysis has remained unchanged, except for the treatment of allomorphs relating to vowel sequences (§2.6.5). Alternative analyses are conceivable for other data facts as well, but these have not been explored. This is partly due to time constraints, and partly because Robert is no longer in touch with native speakers of Fuyug to verify such alternatives. In some cases I have taken the freedom to make a comment in a footnote.

Even though he spent a number of years working among the Fuyug, Robert considers the data and analysis presented here somewhat unsatisfactory. He did not always get the cooperation from native speakers that he had hoped for, and as a result a number of questions remain unanswered. In addition, several aspects of the language deserve further study. Reduplication is one of these. The modal and aspectual system of Fuyug is also complex, while the exact pragmatics of, and the

relationship between the topic marker *ge*, the emphatic clitic *=ni* and the contrastive focus markers *=a* and *=v* also remain to be worked out.

To avoid any misunderstanding (especially among the Fuyug community), I would like to state that this publication is only being made available to further the study of Papuan languages. The author will not receive any benefits from this publication, financial or otherwise.

Finally, I want to thank Johanna Fenton and Lisa Gilliland for their help on getting this grammar ready for publication.

René van den Berg  
Ukarumpa, November 2007

# *1. Introduction*

---

The present work is a grammar of the Fuyug [fu'jug] language of the Central Province of Papua New Guinea. Data for this grammar were collected by the author under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in the Goilala District, mainly in the Woitape Sub-District, between 1988 and 1998. Villages in which data on the language were collected include: Belavis, Elevala, Esakum, Evesa, Fan, Gayva, Havel, Henend, Holo, Homal, Honong, Idiban, Idu, Iliid, Ilimowali, Ilitimun, Kago, Kalam, Kambisi, Kase, Kaylap, Kodig, Kon, Kulama, Lolof, Mavo, Maymani, Miku, Mondo, Olu, Ombole, Siguf, Sing, Songaku, Tafad, Tivilo, Ulun, Visin, Yolibay, Yongay, Yulha, and Yuvenis. This work is based on the analysis of more than 386 pages (695 KB) of texts of various genres, including current personal and non-cultural narrative, traditional narrative, history, procedural text, description, dialogue, and correspondence.

This grammar begins with introductory comments on the Fuyug language and culture (chapter 1), then goes on to a discussion of the phonology (chapter 2) and the morphological system of the language (chapter 3). Next, I describe the word level (chapter 4), phrase level (chapter 5) and clause level (chapter 6). After this, there is a discussion of coordination and subordination (chapter 7), followed by a discussion of genre types and various discourse devices employed in Fuyug, including cohesion and participant reference (chapter 8). The grammar concludes with an interlinearised text.

## **1.1 Location and speakers**

The population of the language group is estimated at 14,000 (2000 Census figures). It has been divided into the following census units: Auga, Chirima, Dilava, and Vetapu (or Udab [Vanapa] River valley) (per the major river valleys).

The population density is 7.4 persons per square kilometre.<sup>1</sup> The people are quite spread out, in an estimated 300 hamlets.<sup>2</sup>

The Fuyug language group is located in the montane areas of the Owen Stanley ranges of the Goilala District of Central Province, approximately 100 kilometres north of Port Moresby. The language group occupies an area of approximately 1890 square kilometres and consists of six major river valleys: Auga, Dilava, Silim (Chirima), Yalog, Savo, and Udab (Vanapa). The rivers are unsuitable for travel as they are in deep canyons and quite swift and rocky.

---

<sup>1</sup> According to King and Ranck (1982:21), there are between 5 and 9.99 people per square kilometre.

<sup>2</sup> I know of 179 place names: Alava, Angola [Kulama], Asimba, Bada, Badim (Badime), Baid (Baidana Baidane), Baluku, Bau (Baula Baura), Bautama, Bavutam [Visi], Belavesa (Beravesa), Belavis (Belavista, Bellavista), Bobos, Bofu, Boksenda, Boloko (Boroko) [Golowaku], Bomenda, Bubun, Bubun, Buga, Bule (Bure), Butolo, Didivada, Digulenda (Digurenda), Do, Dodoua [Kodig], Dubun, Eifa, Eife, Elo, Esakum, Eves (Evesa, Evese) [Udab], Eves-Fa, Evesa [Silim], Fan (Fane les-roses), Fatima, Fegelaut (Ilid), Fofa, Fol (Fola, Fora, Foro), Fuyug (Fuyuge, Fuyughe), Gaiva, Galim (Garima, Garima 1, Garima 2, Garime) [Auga], Galim [Sili], Gelu, Genela (Genara, Genera), Ginal(a) [Silim], Ginal(a) [Udab], Go, Goda (Kuda), Golowaku (Gorawaku), Gomeda, Gulala (Gurero, Guroro), Hadue (Aduai), Haligole [Lolof], Hani, Hauslain [Kodig], Havel (Avele, Avora), Havol (Avole, Aveve), Hembed, Henend (Enend, Enenda, Enende, Henende), Hiboleda [Havel], Hilitumun (Iritumun, Iritunumu), Hoiand, Hoianulenda (Hoinurenda), Holo (Horo, Oro), Holof (Holofe), Homal (Aduai, Homale, Omale), Honong (Onoge, Ononge, Ononghe), Hoyand, Hu ul ond [Dilava], Huaia, Hununufa (Ulunufa, Ununufa), Idabe (Idave, Mave), Idiban, Idu (Idula), Iguai, Ilid (Ilita, Ilide), Ilimoali (Irimoali), Inai (Inae Inaye), Indab (Indaba, Indabe [Kulama]), Inovaia [Tivilo], Isikag (Chicago, Isikago), Iumu (Yumu), Kafano, Kago, Kailap (Kailape, Kelape), Kalam (Karame, Kerame), Kalifonia (California), Kambisi (Kambise), Kase, Kasin, Kenani [Havel], Kikoli (Kikori), Kili (Kiri), Koama (Kovam, Kwama), Koasalon, Kodig (Kodige, Kodighe), Kofa, Koipuku, Kokoda (Kokod, Kakod), Kologo, Kon (Kone), Konamu, Kuesa, Kulama (Kurama), Kulid (Kulide), Kumunga, Lavavai, Lolof (Lolofe), Lovili, Mafulu (Mafufu), Maimani, Malelanda [Kulama], Mandat, Mauduku, Migu, Miku, Mili, Mondo, Naf [Savo, SE Udab], Nana, Nasalek, Nuivi, Obe, Oka, Omboli (Ombole), Patav, Polomania (Polomenega), Popol (Popole Popoli), Puala, Pugla, Samale, Saman, Savol, Sel (Sei, Sey), Sesembol, Seskabi, Seves, Sifond, Siguf (Sigufe), Silim (Chirima, Chirime, Tsirime), Silia [Kambisi], Sing, Singo (Singgo), Sisiapenda, Sogega [Ilid], Soi, Soku, Songaku (Songgaku), Suamp (Suwamp), Sumbi [Kulama], Sungei, Ta, Tafad (Tafade), Tata, Tebi [Kulama], Tivilo (Sivilo), Tobo, Tula (Tura), Tulala (Turala), Ubegala (Ubegara), Ulun (Urun, Uruna), Usumb, Vailupu (Wailupu), Vale, Vangul, Visi (Visin), Vuina, Waima, Woytab (Woitape), Wuiba (Vuiva), Yalog (Yaloge, Yaloghe, Yologe), Yem (Ieme, Yeme), Yolibai (Yoribai, Voriba), Yongai (Longai), Yulai (Yulha), Yuseda, and Yuvenis. () = Variant spelling; [] = Larger place name. See also King and Ranck (1982:41).

Some geographical features in the area include Mt. Albert Edward (3990m), Mt. Hamam, Mt. Lilley (2111m), Mt. Nebungesa (3494m), Mt. Scratchley (3495m), Mt. Tafa (2701m), Mt. Wasa (3439m), Mt. Yam, Murray's Pass (3196m), and the Neon Basin (3040m). There are also the Mt. Cameron and Wharton Ranges as well as the Tolukuma gold mine. The highest known village is Lovili at 2600m and the lowest is Asimba at 335m. Most are located between 1600–1800m (see King and Ranck 1982:89). Some of the population has been displaced to the Vanapa River/Brown River areas outside of Port Moresby (approximately 200–300).

Vegetation consists of grasses and canes at the lower elevations, and forests of evergreens and pandanus trees at the higher elevations. The forested areas are also thick with ferns, impatiens, and orchids. There are also arborescent ferns found at all elevations. Temperature ranges from 0 to 25 degrees Celsius (32 to 80 degrees Fahrenheit). Rainfall is reported to be 94 inches (for the Ononge area, Roman Catholic Mission) to 125 inches for Woitape, or 2500 to 4000 mm (95). This varies greatly from area to area. There are two seasons: the dry season is from June to August, while the wet season is from September to May.

The Fuyug language group area is bounded by the Tauade language (a Goilalan language) to the north, Kuni (an Austronesian language) to the west, Mt. Koiali (in the Koialian family) to the south, and an uninhabited area to the northeast in Oro Province.

The Woitape (Woytap) government station is located at 147° 15' east longitude and 8° 33' south latitude at 1494 metres elevation.

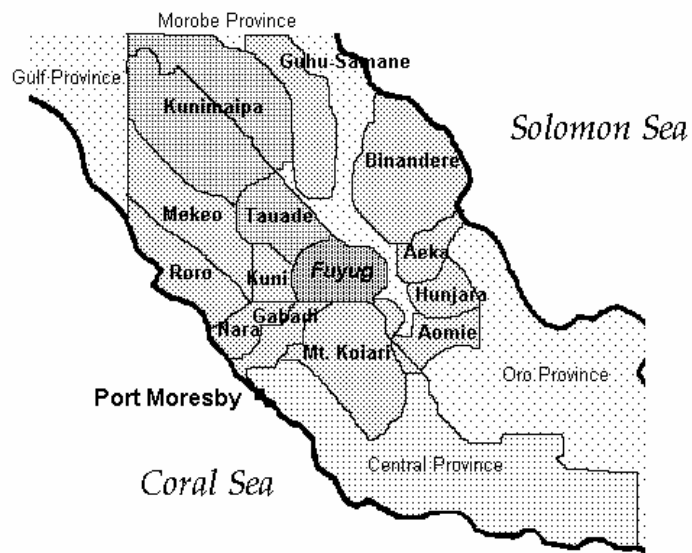
### **1.1.1 Maps**

The following maps include Map 1.1. *Papua New Guinea and the location of Central Province*; Map 1.2 *The Fuyug language area and related and neighbouring languages*; and Map 1.3 *The Fuyug language area with dialect divisions*.

Map 1.1 The location of Central Province within Papua New Guinea

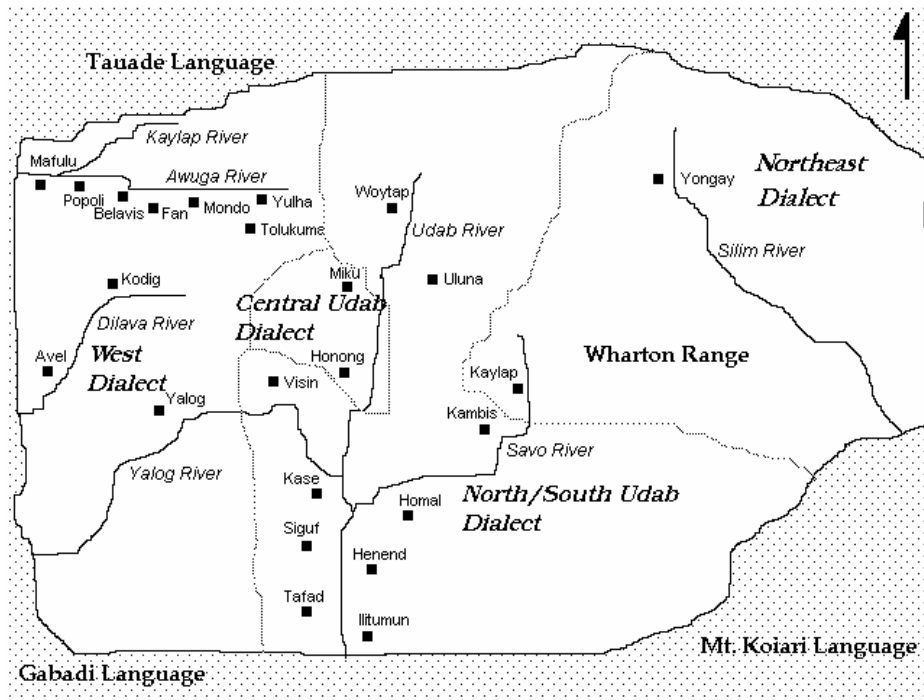


Map 1.2 The Fuyug language in relation to related and neighbouring languages





Map 1.3 The Fuyug language area including dialect divisions



The Fuyug language is a Papuan language of the Trans New Guinea family, Southeast Papuan, Goilalan (Ross 2005:35),<sup>3</sup> spoken by approximately 14,000 people (2000 census figures). The other languages in the family are Tauade and Kunimaipa in Central Province, as well as Biangai and Weri further north in Morobe Province.

## 1.2 Affiliation and earlier studies

Alternate names for the language include Fujuge, Fuyuge, Fuyughe, Mafufu, and Mafulu. The name *Fuyug* is derived from the name of one clan in the northwest area where the Roman Catholic Church first began its work. The people

<sup>3</sup> Previously identified as Trans-New Guinea phylum, Central and South-Eastern stock, Goilalan family (Wurm, Voorhoeve, and McElhanon 1975:312; Dutton 1975:631; Wurm 1982:162; and Foley 1986:234).

refer to their language as *gan*, meaning ‘language’. Speakers of the language do not refer to themselves as Fuyug speakers or Fuyug people (unless they come from the Fuyug clan), but instead consider themselves as speakers of the X language and members of the X clan. For example, in the Woitape area the people refer to themselves as Woytab people and say that they speak the Woytab language. There are four dialects (North/South Udab, Central Udab, Northeast Fuyug, and West Fuyug), which are 90% cognate. They vary mostly on the lexical level, with a few phonological variations and no grammatical variations. This written work is based on the North/South Udab dialect. The North/South Udab dialect is divided into the North Udab and South Udab sub-dialects. (For further information on dialects, see Bradshaw 1994.)

There are a variety of materials that have been previously produced on the Fuyug language or culture. Regarding the culture, materials were primarily produced by the early Roman Catholic priests, and include Barthes (n.d.), Dubuy (1931), Dupeyrat (1954) and Fastre (1939). Later, an anthropologist worked amongst the Ononge people and published a short article (Hirsch 1985).

Father Egidi, an early priest, wrote a brief grammar of Fuyug which was translated and edited by S. H. Ray from the manuscript of Fr. Egidi (Ray 1912a). This article was published in a book about one particular clan (Williamson 1912). I was able to obtain a copy of the grammar from one of the French priests in the area, but have not been able to locate a copy of the book from which it came. The grammar appears to be based on the West Fuyug dialect. As it is nearly 100 years old, and appears to be based on European grammar, it is sometimes difficult to clearly observe some of the things discussed in modern Fuyug, especially since it is based on another dialect.

Ray also published a comparative vocabulary on Fuyug and neighbouring languages (Ray 1912b).

The early priests also compiled an unpublished dictionary, which proved very helpful in my early analysis of the language (*Dictionnaire Fuyuge/Français*).

Various survey materials have also been produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. These include a Fuyug wordlist (Purnell 1988a), a sociolinguistic survey report (Purnell 1988b) and a report on the Goilalan languages (Steinkraus and Pence 1964).

### **1.3 Language viability**

The people seem interested in the survival of their language, but at the same time, they do not feel that there is any threat to it. The people very rarely speak English, Tok Pisin, or Hiri Motu amongst themselves. They use the vernacular in all situations except with outsiders. There are a few people who speak the neighbouring Tauade language, but these are mostly older people who are living near the border and/or married to a Tauade person. There is no status involved in this, and for the most part, the person does not speak Tauade. H/she speaks Fuyug and the Tauade person speaks in Tauade to him/her.

### **1.4 Fuyug culture**

This section offers a very brief account of the Fuyug culture. There are many clan groups, but they are not really in any type of competition. The people seem to be primarily oriented to their clan: those being Belavis, Fan, Galim, Henend, Homal, Honong, Holo, Ilitumun, Kailap, Kambisi, Kase, Kodig, Kon, Miku, Mondo, Popoli, Savo, Siguf, Silim (Yongai), Tafad, Ulun, Visi, Yalog, Yulha, and Woytab.

The vast majority of the houses in the area are traditional, made of bush material. There are a few houses with iron roofs, but mostly those are confined to the stations. The people have hour glass drums, stone axes, clubs, net bags, and hammocks that are handmade. Most of these items were made by their ancestors and are not made in quantity today. The net bags and hammocks are made of bush material for the most part. The people have spades, axes, hammers, saws, dishes, spoons, and pots.

The pig feasts (parties) are a very big part of the culture. They always involve dancing as well. Men carry firewood, build houses and fences, and dig drains for gardens. Women plant and harvest crops. There are men's houses, but now they are merely used as meeting places. Women do not generally go into them, but they are not forbidden to go in.

#### **1.4.1 Transportation**

There are five airstrips located within the language group area: Asimba, Fane, Ononge, Woi tape, and Yongai. There are no paved roads in the area; most are on the order of bridle trails or footpaths. None of the roads go out of the area. The bridle trails were built by the Roman Catholic Mission, because in earlier days

they travelled between the outstations by horseback and in caravans bringing in supplies from the coast, before there were airstrips. The only vehicles in the area are those of the Catholic mission stations and a few motorbikes owned by various government people and others.

Most areas are simply connected by footpaths. Most are not in very good condition due to erosion and very minimal maintenance. Some are very steep and slippery, especially those considered as 'short-cuts.' It is a three-day walk to Port Moresby from Woitape.

### **1.4.2 Religion**

The Roman Catholic Church (RCC) first came to the area in 1913. The priests are of the order Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC), and are based at Yule Island off the coast near Bereina. They established various mission stations (Fane, Ononge, Woitape, and Yongai) and outstations throughout the area as well as the schools which were later placed under the jurisdiction of the government.

Most of the RCC priests were French. There are now some Papua New Guinean priests. There are several catechists in the language group. The Catholic Church has many facilities at their various stations:

- At Fane there is a church building, priests' house, nuns' house, hospital, and community school.
- At Ononge there is a church building, classrooms, storage rooms, priests' house, trade store, generator building, workshop, hospital, and nuns' house.
- At Woitape there is a church building, priest's house, cook's house and dining room, girls' vocational school, generator building, and other sleeping quarters as well as the community school.
- At Yongai there is a church building, classroom, clinic, priests' house and workshop (previously a sawmill).

There are many other outstations throughout the area (Avel, Belavis, Galim, Henend, Holo, Homal (Hadue), Inai, Kafano, Kailap, Kambisi, Kase, Kikoli, Kodig, Kon, Lavavai, Mafulu, Mondo, Polomania, Siguf, Sumbi, Tafad, Uluna, Visi, Yalog and Yem) which include a church and some quarters for priests to stay at when they are on patrols in the area.

The Roman Catholic Church has traditionally used the vernacular in all their relationships with the people. They did some translation (the gospels, the book of Acts, and various readings) in the 1950s and also produced many other materials in the language. In most areas the Mass is conducted in the vernacular. Although the Roman Catholic Church has done some translation, there is little comprehension of their materials by the people. This could be due to many factors: illiteracy, poor translation, mixture of the dialects in the translation, many borrowed terms with foreign spellings, language change since translation, and lack of interest. The latter seems to be the primary reason.

The Christian Revival Crusade (CRC) Church is located at the Woitape government station. It was founded there in 1980. The CRC is based at Bethel Centre in Port Moresby. It does not have much influence in the rest of the language group because it mainly concentrates on outreaches to the north in the neighbouring Tauade language group. It has on occasion had outreaches to other areas such as Dilava and Kailap.

The CRC Church has one church building. It has been involved in youth ministry, a women's meeting, Sunday school, outreaches to villages, evangelism, church planting, house Bible study groups, prayer meetings, camps, and conventions (e.g., Easter Camp).

The CRC services are primarily conducted in Tok Pisin. Songs are sung in Tok Pisin, English, Hiri Motu, and a few in Fuyug. Sometimes the sermon is interpreted into the Fuyug language, but for the most part it is not. In general, the CRC attitude toward the vernacular has been favourable. They want to use some Tok Pisin, English, and Hiri Motu, however. Because of their being on the government station, they feel the need to use the language of wider communication.

There are 2000 to 3000 people in the Ononge area, yet only about 100 attend Mass and are involved in the church. The vast majority (95 to 97%) of the people are still involved in traditional religious practices. The number of those who still follow traditional religious practices (fear of spirits and casting spells) and at the same time consider themselves Christian seems to be high as well.

### **1.4.3 Health services**

There are clinics (or health centres) at Fane, Ononge, Woitape, and Yongai. There are aid posts at Belavis, Holo, Kambisi, Kodig, Kon, Mondo, and Yolibai.

Although the people do go to the health centres for their medical needs, sometimes they rely on their traditional practices first. As all the health centres are on stations, access is relatively easy.

#### **1.4.4 Wealth and income**

There are no 'big' businesses in the area. Some people have involved themselves in coffee production or growing vegetables. At Ononge there is the Udab Business Group (UBG), which is a co-operative for selling coffee and vegetables. In Fane they sell peanuts. Lower lying areas also sell betel nut to people in other parts of the language group. There is a gold mine operating at Tolukuma, near Fane. Presently the only cash crop is coffee. Many types of fruits and vegetables are able to be grown at that elevation (avocados, asparagus, bananas, beans, cabbage, carrots, celery, chillies, choco, corn, cucumber, eggplant, ginger, grapefruit, green onion, leeks, lemons, lettuce, mushrooms, onions, oranges, parsley, passion fruit, papaya, peanuts (Fane), (English) potatoes, pumpkin, radishes, rhubarb, strawberries (Woitape), sweet potato, tangerines, taro, tomatoes, tree tomatoes, wild berries, wild sugar cane (*pitpit*), yams, zucchini, among other kinds.

There is a private lodge at Woitape, the Owen Stanley Lodge, where tourists from Port Moresby can come to stay. There was also a hydro-electric project going on for the station which provided money for the people. That project was completed, but often the hydro-electric scheme is not working.

There is a market at the Woitape station where people can sell produce to those living on the government station. However, the main source of income for the local people is the 'party'. When a clan hosts a party the guests are expected to pay for the pork they are given. People use/make money in gambling, playing cards and bingo.

Land is used mainly for gardening (beans, corn, sweet potato, yams, etc.) and for coffee. Timber production is not going on, but there is potential for it in the forested areas. There is also a saw mill (belonging to the Catholic Mission) near Ononge (Vangul) which is no longer in use. There is a gold mining operation which began major operations in December 1995 at Tolukuma near Fane. King and Ranck (1982:63) say as well that the area has lead, zinc, and copper.

The different forms of wealth are money, pigs, food (sweet potato, yam, taro, etc.), radios, lamps, books, bird feathers, tobacco, clothing, blankets, net bags, hammocks, knives, axes, saucepans, dishes, eating utensils (spoons, cups, and forks). These things are acquired in three main ways: (1) by buying them in Port Moresby, at the various trade stores, or at the mission station/government station; (2) by inheriting them upon one's father's death (*tidib ul and* 'ancestors' things'); and (3) by receiving them in payment.

#### **1.4.5 Education**

The following is a listing of the community schools in the area: Belavista (Belavis), Fane (Fan), Kafano, Kambisi, Kase, Kodige (Kodig), Kulama, Kumunga, Mondo, Ononge (Honong, Holof), Oro, Polomania, Visi, Waitape (Fatima), and Yongai.

The schools were taught almost exclusively in the English language, but sometimes in the first grade the vernacular was used. Although very few students go beyond primary school for further education, some do go on to the vocational school in Waitape, a girls' vocational school also at Waitape (Fatima Mission Station), or the high school at Tapini (Tauade language group area).

There is a high attrition rate among teachers because of the poor services, difficulty in getting needed materials, remote areas, lack of response from the local people, and the very different conditions from what coastal people are used to. Female teachers are posted to station schools (unless they are local people), because of the remoteness and difficulty in getting in and out. Many schools have at least one Fuyug teacher.

Attendance is very sporadic, and thus academic achievement is poor. As a consequence, many children are unable to complete school. Parties and other activities also keep children away from school. It is not known what percentages complete each level of education.

### **1.5 Main typological features**

Typologically, the Fuyug language exhibits the following somewhat distinctive characteristics for a Papuan language:

- Basic word order is SOV.

- The noun phrase is of the form NP = DEM + N + ADJP, whereas typically Papuan languages (and the other languages in the Goilalan family as well) have the demonstrative after the head noun.
- The relative clause is postnominal.
- There are relatively few affixes on nouns and verbs. There is no indication of inalienable possession, gender, animacy, shape, subject, object, tense, controlled/uncontrolled, numeral classes, or case.
- There are no suppletive stems.
- The deictic system has a four-way horizontal and three-way vertical contrast.
- There is a switch-reference system which makes use of the morphemes *-me* ‘same subject (SS)’ and *-ma* ‘different subject (DS)’.
- Periphrastic verb phrases are very common. These phrases make use of generic verbs such as *et-* ‘say’, *tel-* ‘come’ and *y-* ‘get’.

I end this chapter by listing a number of features where Fuyug is at variance with the other languages in the Goilalan family.

- Fuyug has two nasals<sup>4</sup> rather than the three /m, n, ŋ/ exhibited in Biangai, Kunimaipa, and Weri.<sup>5</sup>
- The other languages in the family have object markings on the verb through bound person markers, whereas Fuyug does not.

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<sup>4</sup> According to Stutzman and Stutzman (1989:1), Tauade does as well.

<sup>5</sup> Boxwell (1990:11) makes the following statement: “Weri has three nasals including /ŋ/, whereas only two, namely /m/ and /n/, is the norm for Papuan languages. The same three are found in two languages related to Weri, Kunimaipa (Pence 1966) and Biangai (Dubert and Dubert 1973). Clearly Dutton (1975) did not take account of this nasal pattern occurring in at least three of the five (and possibly in the other two) members of the Goilalan family when he surveyed the South-Eastern Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages.” I propose, however, that Dutton *did* take it into account, especially when it is noted that Boxwell failed to note that there was indeed a linguistic description of Fuyug at the time: “In the Goilalan family, of which Weri is a member, both of the other languages for which linguistic descriptions are available, Kunimaipa (Pence, Geary, and Bjorkman 1970) and Biangai (Dubert and Dubert 1975; Robinson and Dubert n.d.)” (Boxwell 1990:25). And this is in spite of the fact that Dutton (1975:631,661) refers to this Fuyug linguistic description (i.e., Ray 1912a), as do Wurm (1982:299) and Foley (1986:243,292). Ray (1912a:307) clearly lists the phonemes: “Consonants: k, g; t, d; p, b, f, v; **m, n**; r, l; s; y.”



- Fuyug does not have dual number forms in the nouns and verbs, but it does have dual pronouns.
- Fuyug does not have any noun classification system as do the other Goilalan languages.
- Fuyug does not have an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the pronouns, as do all the other languages in the family.

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## 2. Phonology and morphophonemics

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### 2.1 Phonemes

This chapter presents an overview of the phonology of the Fuyug language. For further details on the phonology, see Bradshaw (1996a, 1996b). In this chapter the appropriate phonetic symbols are used in the examples; after this the orthography will be used for all examples throughout the remainder of this work.

The Fuyug language has fourteen consonant phonemes<sup>1</sup> and five vowel phonemes, as shown in tables 2.1 and 2.2. The consonant phonemes occur at three points of articulation (labial, coronal, and velar) and are of six different types (plosives, fricatives, nasals, approximants and a lateral approximant. The plosives and fricatives distinguish voicing, while all the other consonants are voiced. The vowels are either front or back and high, mid, or low. The allophonic variations for the phonemes (indicated in brackets) are outlined in §2.2.

Table 2.1 Fuyug vowel phonemes

	front	back
high	i [i ĩ]	u [u ũ]
mid	ε [ε ε̃ ɛ̃ <sup>1</sup> ]	o [o õ]
low		a [a ã]

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<sup>1</sup> In the West Fuyug and Central Udab dialects there is also the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, and so <h> is used in the orthography. See Bradshaw (1997) for further details on the orthography.

Table 2.2 Fuyug consonant phonemes

		labial	coronal	velar
plosives	voiceless	p [p p <sup>h</sup> ]	t [t t <sup>h</sup> ]	k [k k <sup>h</sup> ]
	voiced	b [b]	d [d]	g [g]
fricatives	voiceless	f [f]	s [s]	
	voiced	v [v]		
nasals		m [m]	n [n ŋ]	
approximant		w [w]	j [j]	
lateral approximant			l [l r]	

In the remainder of this grammar, the following orthographic conventions will be used: <a> for /a/, <e> for /ɛ/ and <y> for /j/.

## 2.2 Allophonic rules

There are five allophonic rules exhibited in the language: plosive aspiration, nasal assimilation, lateral approximant/flap fluctuation, diphthongisation, and vowel nasalisation. The rules are quite straightforward and are described in the following subsections.

Note that in the following examples and throughout this chapter, stress is marked by the symbol <'> preceding the stressed syllable.

### 2.2.1 Plosive aspiration

The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ are aspirated word finally and before the high-front vowel /i/. In other environments they remain unaspirated.

/p/	<i>kapap</i>	[ka'pap <sup>h</sup> ]	'lame'
	<i>apud</i>	[a'pud]	'beginning'
	<i>aputi</i>	[a'put <sup>h</sup> i]	'man's name'

/t <sup>2</sup>	<i>fidanti</i>	[fi'dānt <sup>h</sup> i]	'quickly'
	<i>endanti</i>	[ɛ̃n'dānt <sup>h</sup> i]	'outside'
	<i>tudul</i>	[tu'dul]	'breeze'
	<i>batan</i>	[ba'tān]	'pumpkin'
	<i>etela</i>	[ɛ'tɛla]	'come up'
/k/	<i>kosav</i>	[ko'sav]	'shoulder'
	<i>ejak</i>	[ɛ'jak <sup>h</sup> ]	'return'
	<i>ukas</i>	[u'kas]	'many'
	<i>oki</i>	[ok <sup>h</sup> i]	'fire'
	<i>ekene</i>	[ɛk <sup>h</sup> ɛ̃nɛ <sup>i</sup> ]	'divide'

### 2.2.2 Nasal assimilation

The coronal nasal /n/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following velar plosive consonant.

<i>jangos</i>	[jãŋ'gos]	'rain'
<i>susingan</i>	[susiŋgãn]	'under'
<i>ung</i>	[ũŋg]	'nose'

Of importance is the fact that with the prenasalised plosives, the nasal is sometimes not pronounced. This practice is obligatory in the Dilava sub-dialect of the West Fuyug dialect;<sup>3</sup> they are not pronounced as they are in the other dialects. This was noted by Ray (1912a:307). He also wrote concerning the West Fuyug Dialect (Mafulu): 'G, b, and d are often preceded by a nasal, sometimes constant (and then marked in the vocabulary), sometimes variable according to the pronunciation of individuals.'

In the following two examples, the first phonetic representation is evidenced by all other dialects, and the second by the Dilava sub-dialect.

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<sup>2</sup> All words that end in /t/ are borrowed.

<sup>3</sup> See Bradshaw (1994).

<i>andengo</i>	‘is/was sitting’	[ān'dēŋgo]	vs.	[ādēgo]
<i>enamb</i>	‘road’	[ē'nāmb]	vs.	[ē'nāp <sup>h</sup> ]

### 2.2.3 Lateral approximant/flap fluctuation

The lateral approximant freely fluctuates between the lateral approximant [l] and the flap [r] in all environments. This has caused much confusion in the initial writing system. In order to avoid this confusion, <l> was chosen for the orthography, except in cases of borrowed words in which the original language had an <r>. This is especially important in words which have both an <l> and an <r>.<sup>4</sup>

<i>lilin</i>	[li'līn] ~ [ri'rīn]	‘descend’
<i>akolog</i>	[ʼakolog] ~ [ʼakorog]	‘now’
<i>tele</i>	[tɛ'lɛ <sup>i</sup> ] ~ [tɛ'rɛ <sup>i</sup> ]	‘come’
<i>amul</i>	[ā'mul] ~ [ā'mur]	‘woman’
<i>palapala</i>	[pa'lapala] ~ [pa'rapara]	‘poinsettia’
<i>palupalu</i>	[pa'lupalu] ~ [pa'ruparu]	‘frog’

The word *palapala* ‘poinsettia’ is from Hiri Motu *paloapaloa*, and is therefore spelled <palapala>. The word *palupalu* ‘frog’, on the other hand, is from Hiri Motu *paroparo*, and therefore spelled <paruparu>.

### 2.2.4 Diphthongisation

The mid-front vowel is realized as the glide [ɛ<sup>i</sup>] word finally and before a word-final consonant. This has also caused difficulties in the writing system, so that sometimes <ei> and sometimes <e> are written for the same word.

<i>ateg</i>	[a'tɛ <sup>i</sup> g]	‘truth’
<i>el</i>	[ʼɛ <sup>i</sup> l]	‘bamboo’
<i>es</i>	[ʼɛ <sup>i</sup> s]	‘child’

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<sup>4</sup> See Bradshaw (1997).

<i>kes</i>	[kɛˈs]	‘betel nut’
<i>ye</i>	[jɛˈ]	‘get’
<i>babwe</i>	[babˈwɛˈ]	‘orange’
<i>ode</i>	[oˈdɛˈ]	‘where’
<i>afomeme</i>	[aˈfõmẽmɛˈ]	‘waiting’

### 2.2.5 Vowel nasalisation

All of the vowels are nasalised before nasal consonants and remain oral elsewhere.

<i>in</i>	[ɪ̃n]	‘pandanus’
<i>is</i>	[ĩs]	‘space’
<i>em</i>	[ɛ̃m]	‘house’
<i>eb</i>	[ɛ̃b]	‘brother-in-law’
<i>ung</i>	[ũŋg]	‘nose’
<i>ud</i>	[ud]	‘lip’
<i>on</i>	[õn]	‘moon’
<i>od</i>	[od]	‘skin’
<i>an</i>	[ãn]	‘man’
<i>ad</i>	[ad]	‘hit’

### 2.3 Minimal pairs

This section contains a number of minimal pairs which establish the phonemic status of the consonants and the vowels. Examples include the phoneme in initial, medial or final positions. Occurrences of /p/ and /w/ are very limited in the language, and consequently good minimal pairs are not easy to find for these sounds.

/p/ - /b/	<i>apud</i>	[aˈpud]	‘beginning’
	<i>abel</i>	[aˈbɛˈl]	‘here’

	<i>kapap</i>	[ka'pap <sup>h</sup> ]	'lame'
	<i>kambab</i>	[kām'bab]	'bottle'
/p/ - /f/	<i>pilip</i>	[pi'lip <sup>h</sup> ]	'shorts'
	<i>tilif</i>	[ti'lif]	'fairy wren'
	<i>pale</i>	[pa'le <sup>i</sup> ]	'canvas'
	<i>fal</i>	['fal]	'ground'
/p/ - /v/	<i>kapap</i>	[ka'pap <sup>h</sup> ]	'lame'
	<i>vataṽ</i>	[vataṽ]	'garden path'
	<i>pale</i>	[pa'le <sup>i</sup> ]	'canvas'
	<i>val</i>	['val]	'back here'
/p/ - /w/	<i>apud</i>	[a'pud]	'beginning'
	<i>ewut</i>	[ε'wut <sup>h</sup> ]	'tobacco'
/b/ - /f/	<i>ban</i>	['bān]	'back'
	<i>fan</i>	['fān]	'place name'
	<i>bom</i>	['bōm]	'fern'
	<i>fom</i>	['fōm]	'light (weight)'
/b/ - /v/	<i>ban</i>	['bān]	'back'
	<i>van</i>	['vān]	'that one'
	<i>tobol</i>	[to'bol]	'flat'
	<i>toṽol</i>	[to'ṽol]	'woman's name'
/b/ - /w/	<i>ban</i>	['bān]	'back'
	<i>wabu</i>	['wabu]	'woman's name'
/f/ - /v/	<i>fom</i>	['fōm]	'light (weight)'
	<i>vom</i>	['vōm]	'back far'

	<i>fe</i>	[ʼfɛ̃]	‘cave’
	<i>ve</i>	[ʼvɛ̃]	‘so’
	<i>maf</i>	[ʼmaf]	‘shore’
	<i>mav</i>	[ʼmav]	‘spider’
/f/ - /w/	<i>fal</i>	[ʼfal]	‘ground’
	<i>owal</i>	[oʼwal]	‘here’
/v/ - /w/	<i>aval</i>	[aʼval]	‘rib’
	<i>uwal</i>	[uʼwal]	‘heart’
/t/ - /d/	<i>ta</i>	[ʼta]	‘but’
	<i>da</i>	[ʼda]	‘we two’
	<i>et</i>	[ʼɛ̃tʰ]	‘say’
	<i>ed</i>	[ʼɛ̃d]	‘ginger’
/t/ - /l/	<i>buti</i>	[ʼbutʰi]	‘in the bush’
	<i>bul</i>	[ʼbur]	‘land’
	<i>et</i>	[ʼɛ̃tʰ]	‘say’
	<i>el</i>	[ʼɛ̃r]	‘bamboo’
	<i>ete</i>	[ʼɛ̃tɛ̃]	‘say’
	<i>ele</i>	[ʼɛ̃rɛ̃]	‘build’
/k/ - /g/	<i>eyak</i>	[ɛ̃jakʰ]	‘return’
	<i>eyag</i>	[ɛ̃jag]	‘laugh’
	<i>kulub</i>	[kuʼlub]	‘flying fox’
	<i>gulub</i>	[guʼlub]	‘neck’
/i/ - /ɛ̃/	<i>i</i>	[ʼi]	‘tree’
	<i>e</i>	[ʼɛ̃]	‘yes’



	<i>is</i>	[ˈis]	‘space’
	<i>es</i>	[ˈɛːs]	‘child’
	<i>bidi</i>	[ˈbidi]	‘lie’
	<i>bed</i>	[ˈbɛːd]	‘sore’
/u/ - /o/	<i>u</i>	[ˈu]	‘he’
	<i>o</i>	[ˈo]	‘or’
	<i>dun</i>	[ˈdūn]	‘eagle’
	<i>don</i>	[ˈdōn]	‘place name’
/o/ - /a/	<i>ol</i>	[ˈol]	‘firewood’
	<i>al</i>	[ˈal]	‘hair, head’
	<i>obel</i>	[oˈbɛːl]	‘there close’
	<i>abel</i>	[aˈbɛːl]	‘here’

## 2.4 Syllable patterns

There are six syllable types found in the language: three vowel-initial syllables (V, VC, and VCC) and three consonant-initial syllables (CV, CVC, and CVCC). Examples of each are shown in the following list.

V	<i>i</i>	[ˈi]	‘tree’
VC	<i>an</i>	[ˈān]	‘man’
VCC	<i>amb</i>	[ˈāmb]	‘banana’
CV	<i>da</i>	[ˈda]	‘we two’
CVC	<i>ban</i>	[ˈbān]	‘back’
CVCC	<i>nemb</i>	[ˈnēmb]	‘bird’

Note that final CC clusters always involve a sequence of a nasal followed by a homorganic voiced plosive: *mb*, *nd*, *ng* [ŋg]. There are no other consonant clusters. When consonants meet across morpheme boundaries, an epenthetic consonant is inserted (see §2.6.4). Vowel sequences are also not permitted.

The Fuyug language can have between one- and five-syllable words. Each word type is described in the following subsections.

### 2.4.1 One syllable

One-syllable words have six forms, which are the same forms as shown previously for basic syllable types.

V	<i>i</i>	[i]	‘tree’
VC	<i>if</i>	[if]	‘name’
VCC	<i>ung</i>	[ũŋg]	‘nose’
CV	<i>tu</i>	[tu]	‘they two’
CVC	<i>teb</i>	[tɛ <sup>h</sup> b]	‘sugarcane’
CVCC	<i>mund</i>	[mũnd]	‘taro’

### 2.4.2 Two syllables

Two-syllable words have nine possible forms: three occur with an initial V syllable (V.CV, V.CVC, and V.CVCC); one occurs with an initial VC syllable (VC.CVC); three occur with initial CV syllables (CV.CV, CV.CVC, and CV.CVCC); and two with initial CVC syllables (CVC.CV and CVC.CVC). Note that the second syllable is always a consonant-initial syllable (CV, CVC, or CVCC).

V.CV	<i>ale</i>	[a <sup>h</sup> lɛ <sup>h</sup> ]	‘husband’
V.CVC	<i>idid</i>	[i <sup>h</sup> did]	‘shadow’
V.CVCC	<i>enamb</i>	[ɛ <sup>h</sup> nāmb]	‘road’
VC.CVC	<i>imbad</i>	[im <sup>h</sup> bad]	‘cuscus’
CV.CV	<i>tela</i>	[tɛ <sup>h</sup> la]	‘come’
CV.CVC	<i>tinam</i>	[tɪ <sup>h</sup> nām]	‘soot’
CV.CVCC	<i>ganing</i>	[gā <sup>h</sup> nĩŋg]	‘waist’
CVC.CV	<i>babwe</i>	[bab <sup>h</sup> wɛ <sup>h</sup> ]	‘orange’
CVC.CVC	<i>fundud</i>	[fũn <sup>h</sup> dud]	‘stomach’

### 2.4.3 Three syllables

Three-syllable words have ten possible forms: two occur with an initial V syllable (V.CV.CV and V.CV.CVC); three with an initial VC syllable (VC.CV.CV, VC.CV.CVC, and VC.CVC.CV); three with initial CV syllables (CV.CV.CV, CV.CV.CVC, and CV.CVC.CVC); and two with initial CVC syllables (CVC.CV.CVC and CVC.CVC.CV). Note again that subsequent syllables are always consonant initial (CV or CVC).

V.CV.CV	<i>amiya</i>	[ˈãmija]	‘knee’
V.CV.CVC	<i>obeseb</i>	[ˈobɛsɛˈb]	‘that there close’
VC.CV.CV	<i>indela</i>	[ˈɪndɛla]	‘come out’
VC.CV.CVC	<i>umbubud</i>	[ˈũmbubud]	‘wet’
VC.CVC.CV	<i>endanti</i>	[ɛnˈdãntʰi]	‘outside’
CV.CV.CV	<i>tamata</i>	[ˈtãmata]	‘molasses grass’
CV.CV.CVC	<i>kagavan</i>	[kaˈgavãn]	‘strong’
CV.CVC.CVC	<i>susingan</i>	[ˈsusɪŋgãn]	‘under’
CVC.CV.CVC	<i>sungulum</i>	[ˈsũŋgulũm]	‘fly’
CVC.CVC.CV	<i>yambambu</i>	[ˈjãmbãmbu]	‘earthquake’

### 2.4.4 Four syllables

Four-syllable words are not very common in Fuyug. There are just two types; one occurs with an initial V syllable (V.CV.CV.CV) and the other with initial CV syllables (CV.CV.CV.CV). Again, note that subsequent syllables are always consonant initial (CV only).

V.CV.CV.CV	<i>odelave</i>	[oˈdɛlavɛˈi]	‘how many’
CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>vagadede</i>	[vaˈgadɛdɛˈi]	‘counting’

### 2.4.5 Five syllables

Five syllables are found in borrowed words only,<sup>5</sup> such as shown in the following list.

V.CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>egelele</i>	[ɛ'gɛlɛgɛlɛ]	'well'
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>takurukuru</i>	[tɑ'kulukulu]	'white skin'

## 2.5 Stress

Stress in Fuyug is predictable. It occurs on the ultimate syllable in two-syllable words (before affixation) and on the antepenultimate in three- and four-syllable words (again, before affixation). Therefore, it need not be written. Affixation does not move stress, as noted in the fourth example.

'S	<i>ge</i>	[gɛ]	'go/went'
'SS	<i>gege</i>	[gɛgɛ]	'going'
S'S	<i>alim</i>	[ɑ'fɪm]	'yesterday'
'SSSS	<i>hindel+ele</i>	[hɪndɛlɛlɛ]	'coming out'
'SSS	<i>sungulum</i>	[sũŋgulũm]	'fly'
S'SSS	<i>eleva</i>	[ɛ'lɛvalɑ]	'place name'

## 2.6 Morphophonemics

This section describes the morphophonemic alternations in the language. These include nasal assimilation, consonant cluster simplification, consonant devoicing, vowel epenthesis and vowel deletion. A morphophonemic representation is not acceptable in the orthography, because it produces an unintelligible word, e.g. *\*emti* vs. *enti* 'in the house', *\*bulti* vs. *buti* 'in the land', *\*and alu* vs. *ant alu* 'everything', *\*okti* vs. *okiti* 'in the fire'. The starred forms are not considered valid words, and therefore a phonemic representation is necessary. There is no problem, for example, with associating *em* 'house' + *=ti* 'illative' in producing *enti* 'in the house'. Note that three out of four of these rules involve the illative morpheme *=ti* 'in, at, on, to'

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<sup>5</sup> Hiri Motu is the source language in the examples given.

### 2.6.1 Nasal assimilation

The labial nasal /m/ assimilates to the coronal /n/ before the voiceless coronal plosive /t/ at a morpheme boundary, as shown in the following examples:

<i>im</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>inti</i>	[ɪntʰi]	‘in the eye’
<i>em</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>enti</i>	[ɛntʰi]	‘in the house/village’
<i>em</i> + <i>dam</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>endanti</i>	[ɛn'dāntʰi]	‘outside’

### 2.6.2 Consonant cluster simplification

The lateral approximant /l/ is deleted when it precedes the voiceless coronal plosive /t/ at a morpheme boundary, as shown in the examples:

<i>al</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>ati</i>	[atʰi]	‘at the head’
<i>bul</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>buti</i>	[butʰi]	‘to the land’
<i>fal</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>fati</i>	[fatʰi]	‘to/in/on the ground’
<i>ombol</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>omboti</i>	[ɔm'botʰi]	‘in the stomach’
<i>uwal</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>uwati</i>	[u'watʰi]	‘in the heart’

### 2.6.3 Consonant devoicing

The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ are devoiced (and then subsequently aspirated - see §2.2.1), when they are followed by a vowel or a voiceless consonant at a word boundary.

<i>enamb</i> + <i>fidan</i>	→	<i>enamp fidan</i>	[ɛn'āmpʰ fi'dān]	‘one road’
<i>and</i> + <i>alu</i>	→	<i>ant alu</i>	[āntʰ a'lu]	‘all things’
<i>asang</i> + <i>ukas</i>	→	<i>asank ukas</i>	[a'sāŋkʰ u'kas]	‘much sand’

### 2.6.4 Vowel epenthesis

The high front vowel /i/ is inserted between two consonants at a morpheme boundary, the first of which must not be a nasal or a lateral approximant. This is especially common with the illative clitic =*ti*:

<i>alund</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>alunditi</i>	[ɑ'lũnditʰi]	'in the garden'
<i>ev</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>eviti</i>	[ʼɛvitʰi]	'in the sun'
<i>ok</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>okiti</i>	[ʼokitʰi]	'in the fire'
<i>sikul</i> + = <i>ti</i>	→	<i>sikuliti</i>	[si'kʰulitʰi]	'at school'

As can be seen from the last example, loanwords with final /l/ (or nasal) also seem to trigger epenthesis. Another example is *tesen=iti* 'on the station'. Epenthesis also applies to some borrowed words to break up initial consonant clusters, as in *skul* → *sikul* 'school' and *spun* → *sipun* 'spoon'.

Vowel epenthesis also occurs with some verbal suffixes, but in these cases the vowel /e/ is inserted, rather than /i/. This happens between a consonant-final root and the stative suffix *-ngo*, and also with reduplication marking imperfective (*-dupCV*).<sup>6</sup>

<i>yu</i> + <i>-ngo</i>	→	<i>yungo</i>	[ʼjũŋgo]	'is standing'
<i>id</i> + <i>-ngo</i>	→	<i>idengo</i>	[i'dɛŋgo]	'is sleeping'
<i>ne</i> + <i>-dupCV</i>	→	<i>nene</i>	[ʼnɛnɛ]	'eating'
<i>sum</i> + <i>-dupCV</i>	→	<i>sumeme</i>	[su'mɛmɛ]	'walking'

### 2.6.5 Vowel cluster reduction

When a root-final vowel meets a suffix or a clitic with an initial vowel, the first vowel is normally deleted. This rule is particularly common with the indicative suffixes *-e* '1/2IND', *-a* '3IND', the sequential suffix *-e*, the possibility suffix *-o* and the verbaliser *-i*.

<i>ne-e</i>	→	<i>ne</i>	'eat-1/2IND'	'I/you eat'
<i>ne-a</i>	→	<i>na</i>	'eat-3IND'	'he/she eats'

<sup>6</sup> Editor's note. It is possible that epenthesis is a more pervasive phenomenon than outlined in this section. In chapter 4, several morphemes are analysed as often or always co-occurring with the sequence suffix *-e*, the possibility suffix *-o* and the verbaliser *-i*. These include the assumptive clitic =*ng* (§4.7.3) and the sentential clitics =*mali* and =*menenga* (§4.7.4). An alternative analysis would be to treat these extra vowels as epenthetic vowels following consonant-final roots, though the basis for the choice between *e*, *o* or *i* remains unclear under this alternative.

<i>ge-e</i>	→	<i>ge</i>	‘go-SEQ’	‘and go’
<i>ye-o</i>	→	<i>yo</i>	‘get-POSB’	‘might get’
<i>ge-ge-i</i>	→	<i>gegi</i>	‘go-IMPF-VBR’	‘was going’

The interlinear examples in this grammar will show the phonemic representation of these forms and words such as *ne* ‘I/you eat’, for instance, will be glossed as *n-e* ‘eat-1/2IND’. This gives the appearance that there are verbal roots consisting of a single consonant, but it should be remembered that underlyingly there is a root vowel.

## 2.7 Intonation

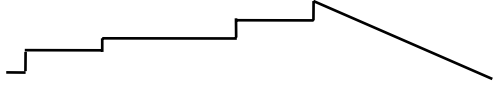
Prosodic features of a language are very important. Intonation patterns (for statements, incomplete sentences, interrogation, emotions, listing, and calling) are shown in the following subsections. A study of intonation in Kunimaipa (Pence 1964) has shown that the two languages, Kunimaipa and Fuyug which are both in the Goilalan family, as mentioned previously, are similar in this respect. Pence writes:

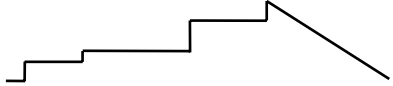
Units of the Kunimaipa intonation system are primarily defined by pitch. The minimum units of the system are three pitch levels, the intonemes high, mid, and low. These units combine into sequences which we refer to as *prenuclear contour* and *nuclear contour*. There are four contrastive types of prenuclear contour: stepping, rising, falling, and level. There are ten types of nuclear contour: high, mid, low, high-low, high-mid, mid-high, mid-high-low, high-high-mid, mid-low, and mid-low-mid (Pence 1964:2).

Fuyug, for the most part, agrees with Kunimaipa in the use of these contours, although it has not been determined whether Fuyug distinguishes all the nuclear contours that Pence has delineated for Kunimaipa. As a result, I have shown falling and rising pitch contours rather than the many various contours listed by Pence. In the subsections that follow, I have included reference to Pence’s comments on Kunimaipa when there is an agreement between the two languages.

### 2.7.1 Statement

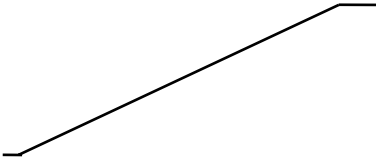
A normal declarative or simple statement has a stair-stepping intonation pattern, with a falling pitch at the end (see Pence 1964:4, 10). This is the most common intonation pattern found in Fuyug.

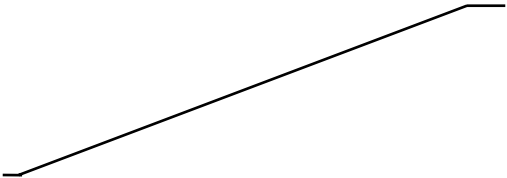
- 
- (1) *Di ge di=l em=ti hen-g-adi.*  
 1P TOP 1P=GEN house=ILL up-go-IRR  
 ‘We will go up to our house.’

- 
- (2) *Mu ge talel nom had-e-de.*  
 3P TOP forever RECIP hit-SEQ-IMPF  
 ‘They kept fighting with other.’

### 2.7.2 Incomplete sentence

An incomplete sentence (or sequence) has a rising intonation, leveling off at the climax of the statement (see Pence 1964:5).

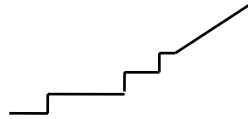
- 
- (3) *Hu=ni ge anang et-a, . . .*  
 3S=EMPH TOP REC say-3IND  
 ‘He tells (him)...’

- 
- (4) *Mu ge ovo ana fangam had-e bol-e . . .*  
 3P TOP this one cover hit-SEQ CMP-SEQ  
 ‘Once they finished covering this one, then...’

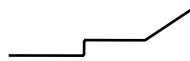


### 2.7.3 Interrogation

A normal question, interrogation, expectation of an impending reply, or rhetorical question has the statement type stair-step with a rising pitch at the end (see Pence 1964:9).



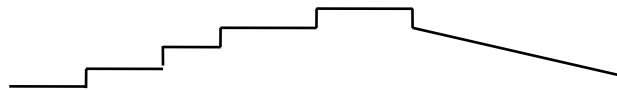
- (5) *Nu ge al-e=na?*  
 2S TOP hear-1/2=INT  
 'Do you understand?'



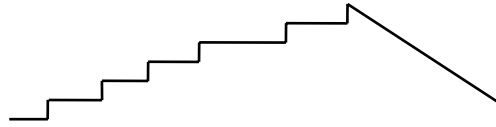
- (6) *Di=l and=a?*  
 1P=GEN thing=INT  
 'Are they ours?'

### 2.7.4 Emotion

Anger, disgust, scolding, and excitement are signalled by raising the pitch higher than normal, but still maintaining the usual stair-step, with final falling intonation, as in the statement pattern (see Pence 1964:6).



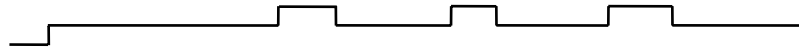
- (7) *Nu=l ovol ge na=l yalov ant halu n-a!*  
 2S=GEN pig TOP 1S=GEN food thing all eat-3IND  
 'Your pig ate all of my food!'



- (8) *Nu=ni talel mad koy ambul vil-i.*  
 2S=EMPH forever custom bad only do-VBR  
 ‘You just keep doing only bad things.’


### 2.7.5 Listing

Listing, or what Pence (1964:10) terms *unemotional statement*, has a fairly even pitch, with a higher pitch for the comitative elements and a final falling pitch (again, the normal end to a statement). This is what Pence refers to as *low nuclear contour*.



- (9) *Na ge kupev ala, batan ala, mund ala, teb*  
 1S TOP sweet.potato COM pumpkin COM taro COM sugarcane  
*ala, bulid fil-i*<sup>7</sup>.  
 COM cucumber plant-VBR  
 ‘I planted sweet potato with pumpkin and taro and sugarcane and cucumber.’

<sup>7</sup> Note that the morpheme *-i* ‘verbaliser’ is used for Class II verbs, in opposition to *-e* ‘first/second person indicative’ or *-a* ‘third person indicative’, which are used for Class I verbs. This morpheme not only occurs on things that are already verbs, but is used as well to verbalise, thus the gloss. It could otherwise be referred to as a ‘Class II indicative’. See §3.3.

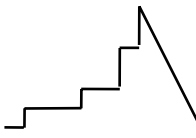
- 
- (10) *Amul el an ala es koy=ing ala mu ant halu ge*  
 woman and man COM child little=PL COM 3P thing all TOP


*g-a.*  
 go-3IND

'The women and men along with the small children all went.'

### 2.7.6 Calling

An intense or distant call has stair-step raising high pitch, ending in a steep falling to low pitch. Note that in this falling pitch there is a lengthening, since normally example (11) would read: *Fufuk hada!* (see Pence 1964:13).

- 
- (11) *Fufuk had-a-yo!*  
 quick hit-2SIMP-VOC  
 'Hurry up!'

- 
- (12) *Ivol-o!*  
 Ivol-VOC  
 'Ivol!'

## 3. Morpheme

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It can be difficult to determine grammatical classes of various constituents. For example, the Fuyug word *an* ‘man’ is homophonous with the demonstrative ‘one’ and has a general meaning of ‘existing one’. Moreover, the word *dub* ‘night’ also means ‘dark, black’, while the noun *sosol* ‘work’ can be made into a verb through the verbalising suffix *-i*, as can many other nouns. For the most part, constituents can be classified as a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, a conjunction, a postposition, or a pronoun. These categories are inflected in various ways and will be discussed further in chapter 4. In the present chapter, however, the various ways that words are inherently modified will be discussed. These ways include reduplication, compounding, and other derivational techniques, such as the verbaliser, which is commonly used when words are borrowed into the language.

### 3.1 Reduplication

Reduplication is an inflectional process that occurs with verbs. When the final syllable of the verb word is copied (*-dupCV*), imperfective aspect is indicated. This is discussed in more detail in §4.7.2.

- (1) *Na yalov ne-ne.*  
1S food eat-IMPF  
‘I am eating food.’
  
- (2) *Na av t-o-do.*  
1S word say-POSB-IMPF  
‘I was talking.’

Another type of reduplication involves the fixed vowel *e* and the final consonant of the verb root (*-eC*). This appears to indicate that the verb is used as a participle, modifying a noun. Perhaps it could also be termed ‘agentiviser’.

- (3) *Hu=ni av hukas had-ed an.*  
 3S=EMPH word much hit-PART one  
 ‘He is a big talker.’ (Lit. ‘He is a many-words-hitting one’)
- (4) *Ta na=ni ende an=ing mem id-ed an.*  
 but 1S=EMPH also man=PL NEG bite-PART one  
 ‘But I am not also a back biter.’ (Lit. ‘not a biting one’)

Reduplication also occurs with other types of words and is very common in words borrowed from Hiri Motu, such as: *egelegele* ‘well’, *kavakava* ‘crazy’, *kiki* ‘talk’, *mulamula* ‘medicine’, *mutumutu* ‘island’, *palapala* ‘poinsettia’, and *takurukuru* ‘white skin’. Note, however, that these Hiri Motu words already had the reduplicated form prior to being borrowed into Fuyug. Table 3.1 shows some examples of reduplications in Fuyug.<sup>1</sup>

Table 3.1 Fuyug reduplication

base	gloss	reduplicated form	gloss
<i>ban</i>	‘back’	<i>babantaling</i>	‘backward’
<i>fek hada</i>	‘turn around’	<i>fekafeg</i>	‘crooked’
<i>fidan</i>	‘one’	<i>fidafidan</i> <i>fidifid</i>	‘one by one’ ‘each’
<i>foy</i>	‘ashes’	<i>foyofoy</i>	‘white’
<i>fon</i>	‘pandanus bark’	<i>fofon</i>	‘coconut’
<i>fuk hada</i>	‘hurry’	<i>fufuk hada</i>	‘quickly’
<i>gob</i>	‘leaves’	<i>gogobele</i>	‘colourful’

<sup>1</sup> Editor’s note. Reduplication in Fuyug is a fruitful area for further research, both formally and in terms of meaning. Not all the forms which occur in example sentences are properly accounted for.

Table 3.1 (continued) Fuyug reduplication

base	gloss	reduplicated form	gloss
<i>kigin</i>	‘different’	<i>kigikigin</i>	‘each different’
<i>tong</i>	‘blocked’	<i>tongotong</i>	‘continuously’

### 3.2 Compounding

Compound nouns are not very common. Only the following three examples in table 3.2 have been attested in the language, all of which concern references to ‘people.’

Table 3.2 Fuyug noun compounds

compound word	component parts	gloss
<i>anaked</i>	<i>an + aked</i>	‘people (man + men)’
<i>babmam</i>	<i>bab + mam</i>	‘parent (father + mother)’
<i>mambab</i>	<i>mam + bab</i>	‘parent (mother + father)’

Examples (5) - (7) show compound nouns that can be modified just as any other noun, with adjectives that follow or pronouns that precede them.

- (5) *Na=l bab-mam tu=ni ifan.*  
 1S=GEN father-mother 3D=EMPH good  
 ‘My parents, they are good.’
- (6) *An-aked hukas.*  
 man-men many  
 ‘There are a lot of people.’
- (7) *Hu ge hu=le mam-bab bol-e-me ang-a.*  
 3S TOP 3S=GEN mother-father leave-SEQ-SS remain-3IND  
 ‘He left his parents and stayed.’

Periphrastic verb constructions, consisting of a semantically generic verb which bears the inflectional information and a noun complement which specifies the type of event or situation, are quite common in Fuyug. A particularly frequent component of such constructions is the verb *et-* ‘say’, here given in the form *tede*:

*ali tede* see say ‘greet’

*eyag tede* laugh say ‘laugh’

The form *tede* is the imperfective (reduplicated) form of *et-* ‘say’. Ray (1912a:323) has noted this as well: ‘The suffix *-tede*, added to a noun stem, forms usually an active verb.’

(8) *Na ge kupev foy te-de.*  
 1S TOP sweet.potato ashes say-IMPF  
 ‘I am cooking the sweet potato in the ashes.’

(9) *Amul ge ilav gulub t-a.*  
 woman TOP necklace neck say-3IND  
 ‘The woman hangs the necklace around her neck.’

(10) *Es akan em=dam=ti god te-de.*  
 child DIM house=out=ILL urine say-IMPF  
 ‘The small child urinates outside.’

Sometimes the verb *et-* ‘say’ retains the initial *e-* and sometimes not, for example:

*(e)t-a(-ma)* ‘say-3IND(-DS)’

*(e)t-adi,* ‘say-IRR’

*(e)t-e(=mali)* ‘say-SEQ(=SIM)’

However, the following forms were not attested:

\**ge et-a,* ‘TOP say-3IND’

\**et-ed(e)* ‘say-PART’

\**et-o* ‘say-POSB’

Again, this is noted by Ray (1912a:325): ‘The verb *ete* has a double conjugation, the initial *e* being retained or omitted at will.’ It is not completely clear, but it does not appear to be at will. I propose that it is possibly some type of vowel reduction rule, such that the word-initial vowel is deleted when the preceding word ends in a vowel, as in the following examples:

- (11) *Na ge ilof nu ana t-e . . .*  
 1S TOP before 2S REC say-1/2IND  
 ‘I told you before...’
- (12) *Hu ge ilof nu anang<sup>2</sup> et-a . . .*  
 3S TOP before 2S REC say-3IND  
 ‘He told you before...’

### 3.3 The verbaliser

The verbaliser *-i* is used with the Class II verbs rather than the *-e* ‘1/2IND’ and *-a* ‘3IND’ of the Class I verbs (see §4.7.1). These Class II verbs appear to be verbalised nouns or adjectives, and are particularly used for borrowed words, e.g. *rawn-i* ‘going around or circling’ (from Tok Pisin *raun*) and *burum-i* ‘to sweep’ (from *brum*). Ray (1912a:323) also notes the existence of this suffix, stating that ‘the suffix *-i*, added to a noun stem, forms generally a neuter verb... The suffix of manner defining the verb, is formed by adding the adjective with the final syllable changed to *-i*.’<sup>3</sup>

- (13) *Na ge sosol-i.*  
 1S TOP work-VBR  
 ‘I worked.’
- (14) *Vali em=dan=ti burum-i.*  
 Vali house=out=ILL broom-VBR  
 ‘Vali sweeps outside (in the village yard).’

<sup>2</sup> Note that the postposition *anang* is used for third-person subjects, whereas *ana* appears to be used with first- and second-person subjects, as in (11).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly, when Ray uses the term ‘neuter verb’, he means that it simply forms a verb different from a Class I verb, i.e., a Class II verb.



Note, however, that an action nominal like *sosol* ‘work’ can also function as an element in periphrastic verbal phrases, as in example (15).

- (15) *Na ge sosol hukas ye-ye.*  
 1S TOP work much get-IMPF  
 ‘I am doing a lot of work.’

The morpheme *-i* ‘VBR’ is also added to adjectives, just as Ray (1912a:323) pointed out in the previous quotation that was cited.

- (16) *Hu ge sosol ifan-i.*  
 3S TOP work good-VBR  
 ‘He is working well (or doing good work).’

Here *sosol ifan* is a nominal phrase ‘good work’, and thus *-i* is affixed to the modifying adjective *ifan* ‘good’ (see §4.7.1). In the following example the verbaliser is added to the noun phrase *av hukas* ‘many words’:

- (17) *Hu ge av hukas-i.*  
 3S TOP word a.lot-VBR  
 ‘He speaks a lot.’

The noun *iyal* ‘hand’ can become a verb by the prefixing of the illative clitic *ti=*.<sup>4</sup>

- (18) *Ovo an=a ti=m-iyal!*  
 this one=CF ILL=NEG-hand  
 ‘Don’t touch this one!’
- (19) *Mumul ti=iyal-i!*  
 rubbish ILL=hand-VBR  
 ‘Throw the rubbish away!’

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<sup>4</sup> Editor’s note. Alternatively, the morpheme *ti* in these verbs is unrelated to the illative clitic *=ti*.

## 4. Word

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There is no case marking in Fuyug, and so grammatical relations are determined by word order. In the following example we see subject, direct object, indirect object and verb.

	SUBJ		DO		IO		V
(1)	<i>Ivol=a</i>	<i>ge</i>	<i>ovol</i>	<i>hu=l</i>	<i>mel</i>	<i>ind-i.</i>	
	Ivol=CF	TOP	pig	3S=GEN	son	give-VBR	
	'Ivol gave a pig to his son.'						

That grammatical relations are determined by word order was also noted by Ray (1912a:309–10): 'The subject, direct object, and indirect object are...easily recognised by their position in the sentence. The subject comes first, followed by the direct object, then the indirect object if there be one, with the verb at the end.' So the basic word order is SOV.

Fuyug exhibits the following word classes: nouns, pronouns, modifiers (adjectives and adverbs), locatives, temporals, postpositions, verbs, interrogatives, conjunctions, and interjections. These are delineated in the subsections that follow.

### 4.1 Nouns

Nouns (actually NPs) are governed by postpositions, some of which are bound and others free (see §4.6). They function as argument or argument heads of subject and object arguments and temporal, locative, and instrument arguments as well. Many also function as predicates.

### 4.2 Pronouns

There are five different sets of pronouns in Fuyug: personal, demonstrative, reflexive, reciprocal, and interrogative.

### 4.2.1 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish between singular, dual, and plural. Unlike other Goilalan languages, there is no distinction made between inclusive and exclusive for first-person plural pronouns. Table 4.1 shows all of the personal pronouns in their basic form.

Table 4.1 Fuyug personal pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>di</i>
2	<i>nu</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yi</i>
3	<i>hu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>mu</i>

These pronouns can function in isolation as subject, direct object, and indirect object, as well as being governed by the following postclitics:

- =*l* ~ =*le* ‘genitive’
- =*ni* ‘emphatic’
- =*noy* ‘comitative’
- =*v* ‘contrastive focus’

#### 4.2.1.1 Genitive clitic

Pronouns, in either subject or object position, which bear a genitive function are governed by the genitive clitic =*l*. The clitic has a variant form =*le*, which is often used when it follows the third-person singular pronoun (with or without *ge* ‘TOP’).

- (2) *Na=l bab ge us ang-a.*  
 1S=GEN father TOP death remain-3IND  
 ‘My father died.’
- (3) *Na ge na=l em=ti g-e.*  
 1S TOP 1S=GEN house=ILL go-1/2IND  
 ‘I went to my house.’

- (4) *Hu=l mam ge us ang-a.*  
 3S=GEN mother TOP death become-3IND  
 ‘His mother died.’
- (5) *Hu ge hu=le mam anang et-a,...*  
 3S TOP 3S=GEN mother REC say-3IND  
 ‘He tells his mother...’

#### 4.2.1.2 Emphatic clitic

The emphatic clitic =*ni* occurs on pronouns to emphasise them, but only in the subject position. This is often used when a subject is reintroduced or in a stative construction in which there is no verb. (For further details on its use, see §8.2.2.4).

- (6) *Na=ni tel-e.*  
 1S=EMPH come-1/2IND  
 ‘I myself came.’
- (7) *Hu=ni sesada.*  
 3S=EMPH long  
 ‘He is tall.’

#### 4.2.1.3 Comitative clitic

The comitative clitic =*noy* only occurs on the dual and plural pronouns. As in Kunimaipa, it could also be called ‘accompaniment’ (Geary 1977:51).

- (8) *Ya=ni di=noy g-adi.*  
 2D=EMPH 1P=COM go-IRR  
 ‘You two will go with us.’
- (9) *Da=noy g-o.*  
 1D=COM go-POSB  
 ‘Let us two go together (with each other).’

#### 4.2.1.4 Contrastive focus clitic

The clitic =*v* behaves much like the NP contrastive focus clitic (see §4.6.1.2). It is only used with *na* ‘1S’ in the subject position. In Kunimaipa it is referred to as an ‘intensifier’ (Geary 1977:17–18).

- (10) *Na=v ala Balu ala da ge-ge.*  
 1S=CF COM Balu COM 1D go-IMPF  
 ‘The two of us, Balu and I, were going.’
- (11) *Imal hene=ti na=v ala na=l samel-e di yu*  
 day some=ILL 1S=CF COM 1S=GEN younger.sister-PL 1P stand  
*bol-e di=l em hu=l talo=tu kolos-i.*  
 CMP-SEQ 1P=GEN house 3S=GEN verandah=ALL play-VBR  
 ‘One day my younger sister and I were playing on our house’s veranda.’

#### 4.2.2 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the suffix *-seba* ‘DEM’ to the end of the locatives. Furthermore, just as their locative counterparts, which are discussed further in §4.4, they operate on a four-way horizontal axis and a three-way vertical axis. They are represented spatially in relationship to the speaker in table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Fuyug demonstrative pronouns

	here	there (close by)	there (near addressee)	there (far away)
up		<i>yeveseba</i>		
level	<i>ovo(seba)</i>	<i>obeseba</i>	<i>va(seba)</i>	<i>omeseba</i>
down		<i>ibeseba</i>		<i>imeseba</i>

The words in the second column ‘there (close by)’ refer to locations that are neither near the speaker nor near the addressee. In two of the forms the suffix *-seba* can be left out. When *ovo* ‘this’ and *va* ‘that’ occur without *-seba*, they must have *an* ‘one’ after them. E.g. *ovo an* ‘this one’ versus *ovoseba* ‘this here’.

What follows are some examples of the demonstrative pronouns.

- (12) *Yeve-seba* *andal?*  
 up.there.close.by-DEM what  
 ‘What is that up there?’
- (13) *Obe-seba* *nu=l and huwan.*  
 there.close.by-DEM 2S=GEN thing nothing  
 ‘That thing there (close by) is not yours.’
- (14) *Va-seba* *y-e tel-a!*  
 that-DEM get-SEQ come-2SIMP  
 ‘Bring that one there (near you)!’
- (15) *Ome-seba* *na ind-i!*  
 there.far-DEM 1S give-VBR  
 ‘Give that one over there to me!’
- (16) *Keva ge ibe-seba ala na had-a.*  
 Keva TOP down.there.close.by-DEM with 1S hit-3IND  
 ‘Keva hit me with that (stick) down there close by.’

### 4.2.3 Reflexive pronouns

There are two generic reflexive pronouns: *mul* functions as an object and *biyaga* shows manner.

The reflexive object morpheme *mul* is used to indicate that an action is done to oneself. The personal pronoun in the subject form must immediately precede it.

- (17) *Mu ge mu mul had-a.*  
 3P TOP 3P REFL.OBJ hit-3IND  
 ‘They hit themselves.’
- (18) *Na ge fuful na mul ind-i.*  
 1S TOP pain 1S REFL.OBJ give-VBR  
 ‘I hurt myself.’

The reflexive (manner) pronoun *biyaga* indicates that an action is done *by* oneself, that is, the manner in which an action is done. It is always preceded by the genitive pronoun which agrees with the subject.<sup>1</sup>

- (19) *Hu ge hu=l biyaga vil-i.*  
 3S TOP 3S=GEN REFL.MANN do-VBR  
 ‘He did it himself.’

- (20) *Na ge na=l biyaga tomal-e.*  
 1S TOP 1S=GEN REFL.MANN make-1/2IND  
 ‘I made it myself.’

#### 4.2.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocity is expressed through the use of *nom* (RECIP). It only occurs with dual or plural subjects.

- (21) *Mu ge nom had-a.*  
 3P TOP RECIP hit-3IND  
 ‘They hit each other.’

*Nom* is also found in contexts where it indicates joined action.

- (22) *Ole el Yavu tu nom hos yed-e y-e tel-a.*  
 Ole and Yavu 3D RECIP horse call-SEQ get-SEQ come-3IND  
 ‘Ole and Yavu together called the horse and brought it.’

#### 4.2.5 Interrogative pronouns

Fuyug has the interrogative pronouns *andal* ‘what’ and *dal* ‘who’. Note that *andal* ‘what’ is a compilation of *an* + *dal* ‘one-who’. The form *dal* ‘who’ also functions as the relativiser. (For further details on relative clauses see §7.4).

- (23) *Ovo an hu=ni andal?*  
 this one 3S=EMPH what  
 ‘What is this?’

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<sup>1</sup> Editor’s note. Given that *biyaga* is preceded by a genitive pronoun in (19) and (20), an alternative analysis would be to treat it as a noun.

(24) *Nu ge andal vil-i?*  
 2S TOP what do-VBR  
 ‘What did you do?’

(25) *Nu dal?*  
 2S who  
 ‘Who are you?’

(26) *Dal tel-a?*  
 who come-3IND  
 ‘Who comes?’

### 4.3 Modifiers

The modifiers include adjectives (modifying NPs) and adverbs (modifying verbs and locatives).

#### 4.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives can be divided into two groups: quantifiers and qualifiers. Adjectives follow the noun/noun phrase they modify with the nominal postpositions (i.e., that which governs the whole NP) on the adjective. Numerals follow the adjective itself. Adjectives can be strung together, such as in the sentence: *ovol dub inog* ‘black big pig’. Sometimes the adverb *tey* ‘very’ functions as an adjective, as seen in example (28). In examples (27) and (28), only the qualifiers are highlighted.

(27) *ovol dub=ing yovalo ta yovalo*  
 pig black=PL two and two  
 ‘four black pigs’

(28) *Na av tey te-de.*  
 1S word true say-IMPF  
 ‘I am telling the truth.’

#### 4.3.2 Quantifiers

Fuyug quantifiers include numerals and generic quantifiers.



**a. Numerals** in Fuyug are *fidan* ‘one’ and *yovalo* ‘two’. From these other numerals are built:

- (29) *yovalo hul mindan* ‘three’ (lit. ‘two its other one’)
- (30) *yovalo ta yovalo* ‘four’ (lit. ‘two and two’)
- (31) *yovalo ta yovalo ta hul mindan* ‘five’ (lit. ‘two and two and its other one’)

Beyond these, English numerals are always used, and they are quite commonly used for numerals one, two, three, four, and five as well. The word *hukas* ‘many’ is used for numbers greater than three.

The numeral *fidan* ‘one’ is reduplicated to the forms *fidafidan* ‘each, one one’ and *fidifid* ‘one by one’.

- (32) *Da kupev fidafidan n-e.*  
 1D sweet.potato each eat-1/2IND  
 ‘We eat each sweet potato.’
- (33) *An fidafidan hu=l yong ind-i.*  
 man each 3S=GEN pay give-VBR  
 ‘Give each man his pay.’
- (34) *An fidifid yalov mu ind-i!*<sup>2</sup>  
 man one.by.one food 3P give-VBR  
 ‘Give food one by one to each person!’
- (35) *Di teb fidifid fil-i.*  
 1P sugarcane one.by.one plant-VBR  
 ‘We planted the sugarcane one by one.’

Ray (1912a:314) claims that there are no ordinals, which is indeed the case. There are, however, two idiomatic constructions for expressing ordinal type

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<sup>2</sup> Note that this example does not fit the usual order of constituents. This variation is used to emphasise the indirect object, and includes the pronominal copy *mu* ‘third person plural’. The normal order would be *Yalov an fidifid indi*.

functions in Fuyug. They function quite differently from the Fuyug numerals. Notice that *hungiti* ‘first’ and *iselele* ‘second’ precede *nanan* ‘person’, rather than following it, as would be expected.

(36) *hungiti nanan* ‘first’ (lit. ‘at the nose’)<sup>3</sup>

(37) *iselele nanan* ‘second’ (lit. ‘following person/one’)<sup>4</sup>

What follows are some examples showing how these idiomatic constructions are used in the language.

(38) ***Hungiti*** *nanan odel hel-e?*  
 first person where become-1/2IND  
 ‘Where is the first one?’

(39) *Na=ni hungiti nanan.*  
 1s=EMPH first person  
 ‘I am first.’

(40) ***Iselele*** *nanan ge g-a.*  
 following person TOP go-3IND  
 ‘The second (or following/subsequent) person went.’

(41) *Ivol hu=ni na hum-a, ta na ge iselele*  
 Ivol 3S=EMPH 1S precede-3IND and 1s TOP following  
*nanan.*  
 person  
 ‘Ivol precedes me, and (so) I am second.’

If further ordinals are needed, a numeral is added after the phrase *iselele nanan*:

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<sup>3</sup> In the Central Udab and West dialects (on which Ray’s [1912a] analysis is based), this is *hunele* ‘first’.

<sup>4</sup> Note that *iselele* is morphologically *isel-e-le* ‘follow-SEQ-IMP’.

- (42) *iselele nanan yovalo hu=l mindan*  
 following person two 3S=GEN another.one  
 ‘third’ (lit. ‘following two and its other one’)

This construction is generally not used past the ordinal ‘third’, because it can become very cumbersome; instead the English counterparts are used.

**b. Generic quantifiers.** In addition to the numerals, there are the following non-numeric quantifying adjectives: *hukas* ‘a lot’, *huwan* ‘no, none, nothing, not’, *kis akan* ‘little bit’, *ongo* ‘some, any’ (plural form *ongeging*), *ufud* ‘much’, *ukum* ‘enormous’, and *utum* ‘many (for a crowd)’.

- (43) *Na ge sosol hukas huwan me vil-i.*  
 1S TOP work a.lot nothing NEG do-VBR  
 ‘I did not do a lot of work.’

The negative *huwan* ‘nothing’ negates nouns, while *me/mem/meme* ‘NEG’ negates verbs (see §6.3 on negation).

The words *kis* ‘little bit’ and *uwand* ‘small’ obligatorily co-occur with *akan* ‘diminutive (DIM)’. They indicate a small amount of an item, while *galib* ‘little’, *galib akan* ‘very little’, and *kitot* ‘tiny’ indicate progressively smaller sizes. These can occur without *akan* ‘DIM’.

- (44) *Na av kis akan t-adi.*  
 1S word little.bit DIM say-IRR  
 ‘I will say a very little bit.’

- (45) *Aman uwand akan hulin a-m-a.*  
 salt small DIM pot DIR-put-2SIMP  
 ‘Put a small amount of salt in the pot.’

- (46) *Es galib ge odel g-a?*  
 child little TOP where go-3IND  
 ‘Where did the little child go?’

- (47) *Hu=l em galib akan huwan.*  
 3S=GEN house little DIM nothing  
 ‘His house is not very little.’

(48) *Kali hilog es kitot.*  
 Kali still child tiny  
 ‘Kali is still an infant.’

(49) *Na av ongo meme t-adi.*  
 1S word some NEG say-IRR  
 ‘I will not say anything.’

(50) *Kupev ongeging hel-o na had-o.*  
 sweet.potato some.PL become-POSB 1S cook-POSB  
 ‘Give me some sweet potatoes and then I will be able to cook them.’

The word *ufud* ‘much’ is primarily used in the Northeast dialect, but is sometimes used as well in the North/South Udab dialect (see Bradshaw 1994).

(51) *Mad ufud ge hindel-a.*  
 practice much TOP come.out-3IND  
 ‘Many things happened.’

(52) *An ukum hukas tesen=iti yalov y-adi tel-a.*  
 man enormous a.lot station=ILL food get-IRR come-3IND  
 ‘A big crowd of people came to the station to get food.’

The word *utum* ‘many’ is used to describe a large crowd of people, and so is always used with *an* ‘man, person’.

(53) *Amul el an utum hukas al-i!*  
 woman and man many a.lot see-VBR  
 ‘See the crowd of many people!’

### 4.3.3 Qualifiers

The qualifying modifiers include colour terms, the anaphoric marker, and other generic forms of a much larger class than the quantifying adjectives.

**a. Colour.** Colour terms in Fuyug describe hue rather than colour as such. This can often cause confusion when trying to describe a colour that is lexically distinguished in English but not in Fuyug. Because of this English words are

borrowed. This is especially common with the English word ‘green’. Table 4.3 shows how the Fuyug colour terms translate into English. Fuyug speakers classify the first three terms as ‘light’, the terms *tadana* / *tadanele* as ‘dull’, and the last three terms as ‘dark’ in general.

Table 4.3 Fuyug colours

term	hue	equivalents
<i>foyofoy</i>	ash	white, clear
<i>kogol</i> / <i>keneken</i>	light	tan, beige, light orange, whiteskin
<i>toyoto</i> <sup>5</sup> / <i>yangogne</i>	very bright	yellow, gold
<i>gaga</i>	bright	orange, light green
<i>tadana</i> / <i>tadanele</i>	dull	red, dark green, brown, orange-red
<i>dub</i>	dark	blue, violet-blue, blackskin
<i>dub ifif</i>	very dark	black, purple
<i>gogobe</i>	colourful	colourful, multi-coloured

(54) *Hoy foyofoy ge g-a.*  
 dog white TOP go-3IND  
 ‘The white dog went (by).’

(55) *Nu=ni hod gaga.*  
 2S=EMPH body orange  
 ‘You are a Caucasian<sup>6</sup>.’

**b. Anaphoric marker.** The anaphoric marker *hul man(i)* ‘previously mentioned’ has a very limited use, referring to something discussed before.<sup>7</sup> It immediately follows the noun. Ray (1912a:313) says of it: ‘There is no article,

<sup>5</sup> The word *toyoto* ‘yellow, gold’ might have its origin in an old yellow Toyota truck which was used in the area, because this word is neither used in other areas of the same dialect nor in the other dialects.

<sup>6</sup> Note that *kogol* ‘tan, beige, light orange, whiteskin’ is more commonly used to describe a Caucasian.

<sup>7</sup> Editor’s note. The position of the anaphoric marker in the section on adjectives reflects its earlier terminology (‘demonstrative adjective’).

but the expression *u mane* is used in reference to any thing which has been previously spoken about.’

(56) *and hu=l mani ifan*  
 thing 3S=GEN ANAPH good  
 ‘the previously mentioned good thing’

(57) *Maf hu=l mani anang et-a, ‘Todi.’*  
 Maf 3S=GEN ANAPH REC say-3IND yes  
 ‘Maf, the same one, said (to him), “Yes.”’

**c. Generic adjectives.** Some examples of the generic adjectives follow.<sup>8</sup>

(58) *Av ateyg va.*  
 word true that  
 ‘That was a true word.’<sup>9</sup>

(59) *Mad hasil ge hindel-a.*  
 practice new TOP come.out-3IND  
 ‘A new practice came about.’

(60) *Iyoy inamada tey.*  
 stone heavy very  
 ‘The stone is very heavy.’

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<sup>8</sup> There are presently 200 adjectives listed in the dictionary; see Bradshaw (2000). The list of adjectives includes *ambal* ‘weak’; *ateyg* ‘true, real’; *batug* ‘ignorant’; *buruk* ‘elderly’; *didin* ‘straight’; *famal* ‘dry (clothes)’; *fegafeg* ‘crooked’; *fom* ‘light (weight)’; *galib* ‘little’; *geyn* ‘old’; *gidud* ‘straight’; *gig* ‘enough’; *giyani* ‘left’; *gos* ‘unripe’; *hasil* ‘new’; *hayaya* ‘strong, hard’; *hene(ng)* ‘some’; *hololo* ‘hot (air)’; *holon* ‘dry (clothes)’; *honof* ‘short’; *hul haben* ‘another, other’; *humbubud* ‘wet (clothes)’; *ifan* ‘good’; *inamada* ‘heavy’; *inog* ‘big, important’; *itol* ‘poor’; *kabus* ‘empty, alone’; *kagavan* ‘strong’; *kapap* ‘lame’; *kayon* ‘large’; *kigin* ‘different’; *kitot* ‘tiny’; *kombofod* ‘round’; *kombole* ‘nude’; *koy* ‘bad’; *kufel* ‘blind’; *lov* ‘dry (tree, garden)’; *momol* ‘soft (clothes)’; *safal* ‘rotten’; *sesada* ‘long, tall’; *sig* ‘unknown’; *sin* ‘cold’; *sumb* ‘free’; *tobols* ‘flat (land)’; *tolom* ‘ripe’; *tong* ‘blocked’; *ufud* ‘wild (bush)’; *ulang* ‘wild (animal)’; and *uwand akan* ‘very small’.

<sup>9</sup> Note the variance on word order, for emphasis. A more typical sentence would be: *Va an huni av ateyg*. ‘That is a true word.’

The adjectives *apa* ‘enough’ and *gig* ‘enough’ can be used in many of the same contexts, such as in example (61). *Apa* ‘enough’, however, is limited to this type of construction, so that it is a predicate adjective. These two are adjectives that do not need a head noun.

- (61) *Ge apa, na=l av ge huwan.*  
 TOP enough 1S=GEN word TOP nothing  
 ‘That’s all, my story is finished.’

**d. Compound adjective.** The degree ‘adverb’ *ifif* ‘very’ is only used with *dub* ‘dark’ to form a compound adjective, as seen in example (62).

- (62) [*Dub ifif*]<sub>ADJP</sub> *tey*<sub>ADV</sub>.  
 dark very very  
 ‘It is very, very dark.’

#### 4.3.4 Adverbs

Adverbs occur before the verbs that they modify or after the adjective they modify. The verbal modifiers are classified as ‘manner’. Adjectival modifiers are classified as ‘degree’.

##### 4.3.4.1 Manner

The adverbs of manner include *fidanti* ‘quickly’; *humban* ‘like, so, maybe, possibly, must’; *kele* ‘easily, slowly, quietly’; *samun* ‘by chance, if not, luckily’; *sabasab* ‘fast, quickly’; *savambud* ‘surprisingly’; *siksti* ‘quickly’; *tey* ‘very’; *tongotong* ‘continuously’; and *yasigmade* ‘suddenly, instantly’.

The numeral *fidan* ‘one’ plus the postposition *=ti* ‘ILL’ forms the adverb ‘quickly, at once’.

- (63) *Di fidanti g-e.*  
 1P quickly go-1/2IND  
 ‘We went quickly.’

The word *humban* ‘like, so, maybe, possibly, must’ is used in various ways.

- (64) *Akolog humban tel-a.*  
 now maybe come-3IND  
 ‘Maybe he is coming now.’

In example (65), *humban* functions as an adjectival postposition governing *nu* ‘2S’, rather than as an adverb.

- (65) *Na nu humban.*  
 1S 2S like  
 ‘I am like you.’

Examples of the other adverbs of manner follow in (66)–(72):

- (66) *Kele lilin t-a!*  
 slowly descend say-2SIMP  
 ‘Go down slowly!’
- (67) *Na samun=ti tel-e.*  
 1S by.chance=ILL come-1/2IND  
 ‘Luckily I came.’
- (68) *Na sabasab tel-e.*  
 1S quickly come-1/2IND  
 ‘I came quickly.’
- (69) *Hu=ni savambud tel-a.*  
 3S=EMPH surprisingly come-3IND  
 ‘Surprisingly he came.’
- (70) *Di siksti<sup>10</sup> g-e.*  
 1P quickly go-1/2IND  
 ‘We went quickly.’
- (71) *Di tongotong sosol hukas ye-ye.*  
 1P continuously work a.lot get-IMPF  
 ‘We are continuously doing a lot of work.’

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<sup>10</sup> This word, a borrowing from English or Tok Pisin, does not fit the syllable structure of the language, nor the epenthesis rule (see §2.6.4), because one would expect *sikisti* or *siksiti*. However, these two possibilities are not permissible.



- (72) *Ivol=a yasigmade ovol had-a.*  
 Ivol=CF suddenly pig hit-3IND  
 ‘Ivol suddenly killed the pig.’

The word *anda* ‘increaser’ (INCR) only occurs with the adjective *kayon* ‘large’.

- (73) *Ovol anda kayon.*  
 pig INCR large  
 ‘The pig is getting larger.’
- (74) *Kali hu=ni anda kayon.*  
 Kali 3S=EMPH INCR large  
 ‘Kali is getting big.’

#### 4.3.4.2 Degree

Adverbs of degree include *akan* ‘DIM’ and *ifif* ‘very’.

**a. Diminutive.** The diminutive adverb *akan* optionally co-occurs with *galib* ‘little (size)’ and *honof* ‘short’. Meanwhile, it obligatorily co-occurs as *kis akan* ‘little bit’ and *uwand akan* ‘very small’. That is, *kis* and *uwand* cannot stand alone. Moreover, it optionally occurs as *agan* with *ambal* ‘weak’, *fom* ‘light (weight)’, and *kugul* ‘near, close by’. Since *akan* occurs after the adjective, instead of before, it is an adjectival modifier.

- (75) *And galib akan.*  
 thing small DIM  
 ‘It is a very small thing.’
- (76) *Kasmiro hu=ni an honof akan.*  
 Kasmiro 3S=EMPH man short DIM  
 ‘Kasmiro is a very short man.’
- (77) *Yalov kis akan na ind-i.*  
 food little.bit DIM 1S give-VBR  
 ‘Give me a little bit of food.’

(78) *Tomba hu=ni es uwand akan.*  
 Tomba 3S=EMPH child small DIM  
 ‘Tomba is a very small child.’

(79) *Hu=ni sal hukas hel-e bol-e hu=le hod ge*  
 3S=EMPH illness a.lot become-SEQ CMP-SEQ 3S=GEN body TOP  
*ambal agan.*  
 weak DIM.  
 ‘He became very sick and then his body was very weak.’

(80) *Inamad huwan, fom agan.*  
 heavy nothing light DIM  
 ‘It is not heavy, it is very light.’

(81) *Busal huwan, kugul agan.*  
 far nothing near DIM  
 ‘It is not far, it is very close.’

## 4.4 Locatives

The locatives are both generic and specific in form. They are distinguished from the adverbs and the adjectives in that they are not so closely bound to the NPs. They usually occur before the verb, but can occur in other locations for emphasis or stylistic purposes.

### 4.4.1 Generic locatives

The generic locatives operate on a four-way horizontal axis and three-way vertical axis based on their relationship to the speaker. They are represented spatially in relationship to the speaker in table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Fuyug locatives

	here	there (close by)	there (near addressee)	there (far away)
up		<i>yevel</i>		
level	<i>owal</i>	<i>obel</i>	<i>val</i>	<i>omel</i>
down		<i>ibel</i>		<i>imel</i>

- (82) *Owal tel-a!*  
 here come-2SIMP  
 ‘Come here!’
- (83) *Val and-engo.*  
 there stay-STAT  
 ‘It is sitting there.’
- (84) *Na ge imel g-adi.*  
 1S TOP down.there.far go-IRR  
 ‘I will go down there.’

#### 4.4.2 Specific locatives

The specific locatives include *baleng* ‘outdoors, outside’; *bufe* ‘outside of the house’, and *busal* ‘far (away)’.

- (85) *Es imel baleng kolos-i.*  
 child down.there.far outside play-VBR  
 ‘The children play down there outside.’
- (86) *An ibel bufe ev=ati and-engo.*  
 man down.there.close outside sun=INE stay-STAT  
 ‘The people are sitting down there outside in the sun.’
- (87) *Mak ge busal g-a.*  
 Mark TOP far go-3IND  
 ‘Mark went far away.’

### 4.5 Temporals

The temporals usually occur as the first unit of the predicate, but can precede the subject to be made prominent. They include time periods and relational forms.

#### 4.5.1 Time periods

The time periods include *akolog* ‘now, today’; *alim* ‘yesterday’; *bul ganing* ‘morning’ (lit. ‘land’ + ‘waist’); *dub* ‘night’; *hay tili* ‘dawn (verb)’; *ilana* ‘night’; *ilati* ‘tomorrow (or any time in the future)’; *imal* ‘day’; *ovala* ‘afternoon’;

*vomalim* ‘day before yesterday’; *vomilati* ‘day after tomorrow’; *vom imalati* ‘next day’; *wik* ‘week’; *yafin* ‘for the time being’; and the days of the week: *Mand/Monde* ‘Monday’, *Tyusde* ‘Tuesday’, *Wenesde* ‘Wednesday’, *Tarasde* ‘Thursday’, *Fared/Farayde* ‘Friday’, *Satrod/Saturde* ‘Saturday’, *Sande* ‘Sunday’, and *Dominik* ‘week, Sunday’.

- (88) *Na akolog he-tel-e.*  
 1S now up-come-1/2IND  
 ‘I came up today/now.’
- (89) *Di dede bul.ganing hu=l humbil=ti g-adi.*  
 1P later morning 3S=GEN middle=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘We will go later in the middle of the morning.’
- (90) *Hu ge v-om-ilan=ti hen-g-adi.*  
 3S TOP back.there.far-night=ILL up-go-IRR  
 ‘He will go up the day after tomorrow.’
- (91) *Wik odelave?*  
 week how.many  
 ‘How many weeks?’
- (92) *Mu yafin val and-engo.*  
 3P time.being there stay-STAT  
 ‘They were just there for the time being.’
- (93) *Di ge Monde tel-e.*  
 1P TOP Monday come-1/2IND  
 ‘We came on Monday.’

#### 4.5.2 Relational temporals

The relational temporals include *dede* ‘later’; *hilog* ‘still’; *hungiti* ‘first’; *idamukala* ‘later’ (lit. ‘upon waking up’); *ilof* ‘before, already’; *talel* ‘always, forever’; *tavon* ‘again’; and *valagid* ‘for a while’.

- (94) *Di dede g-adi.*  
 1P later go-IRR  
 ‘We will go later.’
- (95) *Hilog.*  
 still  
 ‘It still has not happened.’
- (96) *Hungiti na ge halond=iti g-adi.*  
 first 1S TOP garden=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘First I will go to the garden.’
- (97) *Id-a-ma ukala haytil-i-ma di ge g-e.*  
 cut-3IND-DS and.then dawn-VBR-DS 1P TOP go-1/2IND  
 ‘After it dawned we went.’
- (98) *Hu=ni ge ilof g-a.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP before go-3IND  
 ‘He went before.’
- (99) *Di=ni talel sosol-i.*  
 1P=EMPH always work-VBR  
 ‘We are always working.’
- (100) *Tavon me vil-i!*  
 again NEG do-VBR  
 ‘Don’t do it again!’
- (101) *Valagid di kovo dede g-adi.*  
 for.a.while 1P later later go-IRR  
 ‘Take time and we will go later.’

## 4.6 Postclitics and postpositions

### 4.6.1 Postclitics

Postclitics are attached to noun phrases. These include:

= <i>ing</i>	‘plural’
= <i>a</i>	‘contrastive focus’
= <i>o</i>	‘vocative’ (on proper nouns)
= <i>ati</i>	‘location, situation’
= <i>dam</i>	‘outside’
= <i>ti</i>	‘movement’
= <i>tu</i>	‘on’

#### 4.6.1.1 Plural clitic

Often the plural is not overtly marked, since other things in the sentence can serve to indicate plurality of subject. Overt marking of plurality is done via the pluralising clitic =*ing*, as in example (102).

- (102) *Amul=ing ge halond=iti g-a.*  
 woman=PL TOP garden=ILL go-3IND  
 ‘The women went to the garden.’

If the noun is modified, then the clitic attaches to the modifier; i.e., it occurs at the end of the noun phrase, as in example (103).

- (103) *Amul hukas=ing ge halond=iti g-a.*  
 woman a.lot=PL TOP garden=ILL go-3IND  
 ‘Many women went to the garden.’

- (104) *Es=ing ge odel g-a?*  
 child=PL TOP where go-3IND  
 ‘Where did the children go?’

- (105) *Kupev=ing hangod t-a.*  
 sweet.potato=PL net.bag say-2SIMP  
 ‘Put the sweet potatoes into the bag.’

Another possible plural form is *ongeging* ‘some’ (from *ongo* ‘some’); see §4.3.2 on quantifiers.

#### 4.6.1.2 Contrastive focus clitic

The contrastive focus clitic =*a* indicates contrastive emphasis, placing the subject or object in focus (i.e., ‘this one, not some other one’) in the sentence.

- (106) *Ivol=a ge ovol hu=l mel ind-i.*  
 Ivol=CF TOP pig 3S=GEN son give-VBR  
 ‘Ivol gave a pig to his son.’

- (107) *Fasi ge ovol=a y-a.*  
 Fasi TOP pig=CF get-3IND  
 ‘Fasi got the pig.’

#### 4.6.1.3 Vocative clitic

The vocative clitic =*o* is attached to names to call out to a person.

- (108) *Ivol=o, owal tel-a!*  
 Ivol=VOC here come-2SIMP  
 ‘Ivol, come here!’

#### 4.6.1.4 Inessive clitic

The postpositional inessive clitic =*ati* ‘in, inside (INE)’ is used to specify the physical location or situation. It is most often used with the word *em* ‘house’. It does not indicate any movement; rather, it reflects a static situation. Crystal (1985:156) defines inessive as ‘a term used in GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION to refer to a type of INFLECTION which expresses the meaning of location or position within a place.’

- (109) *Hoy ovo em=ati and-engo.*  
 dog this house=INE stay-STAT  
 ‘The dog is inside the house.’
- (110) *Nu=l mambab tu=ni ge tu=l bul=ati and-engo.*  
 2S=GEN parents 3D=EMPH TOP 3D=GEN land=INE stay-STAT  
 ‘Your parents are in their place.’

#### 4.6.1.5 Outside clitic

The postpositional clitic =*dam* ‘out, outside’ is only used with the word *em* ‘house’. The combination is used to refer to the village square or courtyard, that is, the fenced-in area in the middle of the village which is surrounded by the houses on the periphery.

- (111) *Vali akolog em=dam tomal-o-lo.*  
 Vali now house=out make-POSB-IMPF  
 ‘Vali is now cleaning outside.’

#### 4.6.1.6 Illative clitic

The postpositional illative clitic =*ti* ‘to, in, at, at the place of, toward’ is used to indicate movement or motion towards a goal, as opposed to =*ati* ‘in’, which is static. Following consonant-final roots (excluding nasals and the lateral), the allomorph =*iti* occurs (see §2.6.4).

- (112) *Na ge halond=iti g-adi.*  
 1S TOP garden=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘I will go to the garden.’
- (113) *Hu ge hu=le bul=ti g-a.*  
 3S TOP 3S=GEN land=ILL go-3IND  
 ‘He went to his land.’

#### 4.6.1.7 Allative/locative clitic

The postpositional clitic =*tu* ‘on, upon (ALL)’ can be used to indicate either static location or movement onto something. It is very infrequently used for some place names in place of =*ti* ‘to, in, at, at the place of, toward (ILL)’, as noted by Ray (1912a:310): ‘Some proper names of places do not take the suffix -*tsi*... Other proper names, especially those of mountains and the villages built on them, take the suffix -*tu* (upon) instead of - *tsi*.’

- (114) *Di Lolof=tu and-engu.*  
 1P Lolof=ALL stay-STAT  
 ‘We are living on Lolof (place name).’<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The village of Lolof is built on a hill, which supports Ray’s conclusion.



- (115) *Hu-ni ge kum=tu hen-g-a.*  
 3S-EMPH TOP mountain=ALL up-go-3IND  
 ‘He went up on the mountain.’

Also note, in addition to the previous quote by Ray, that some place names take neither =*ti* nor =*tu*. The following two locations are only slightly elevated, and so are not really considered to be on a hill or mountain. Hence they are unmarked.

- (116) *Na ge Idiban g-adi.*  
 1S TOP Idiban go-IRR  
 ‘I will go to Idiban.’

- (117) *Di=noy Eevala g-o.*  
 1P=COM Eevala go-POSB  
 ‘Let’s go to Eevala.’

In a modified noun phrase, the postpositional clitics occur after the adjective, since they govern the noun phrase. As a result, the noun phrase is a kind of object of the postposition.

- (118) *Na ge halond inog=iti g-adi.*  
 1S TOP garden big=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘I will go to the big garden.’

#### 4.6.2 Postpositions

The postpositions which occur as free words include the following.

<i>adad</i>	‘against, on, to, adherent to, along, attached to, fastened to’
<i>hombobol</i>	‘above, over’
<i>hongol</i>	‘near, close to, before, at the side of’
<i>kugul (agan)</i>	‘close by, near’
<i>songol</i>	‘under’
<i>susunan</i>	‘under, underneath, below’

- (119) *Bed inog na=l sog **adad** and-engo.*  
 sore big 1S=GEN leg against stay-STAT  
 ‘There is a big sore on my leg.’
- (120) *Maleli buk=a **hombobol** id-engo.*  
 letter book=CF above sleep-STAT  
 ‘The letter is lying on top of the book.’
- (121) *Maleli hukas na **hongol** id-engo.*  
 letter many 1S near sleep-STAT  
 ‘Many letters are lying near me.’
- (122) *Da **kugul agan** g-adi.*  
 1D close.by DIM go-IRR  
 ‘We will go very close by.’
- (123) *Buk=a maleli **songol** id-engo.*  
 book=CF letter under sleep-STAT  
 ‘The book is lying under the letter.’
- (124) *Ovol hu=ni em **susunan** id-ede.*  
 pig 3S=EMPH house underneath sleep-IMPF  
 ‘The pig was sleeping underneath the house.’

In addition to these locative postpositions, there are the free postpositions *anang / nang / ana* ‘recipient’ and *anate* ‘beneficiary’. These are illustrated in §6.1.3.

## 4.7 Verbs

Verbs in Fuyug are forms inflected with suffixes that indicate some person-number combination, aspect, mode etc., and whose characteristic function is that of a predicate. The verb morphology distinguishes verbs that occur in sentence-medial clauses from those that occur in sentence-final clauses. Fuyug verb morphology is limited to having at most four suffixes after the verb stem.

There are two classes of verbs in Fuyug. The first class is a closed class, while the second is open. This second class is considered open because it makes

use of the verbaliser morpheme *-i* which is used for any verb borrowed into the language. Thus new verbs go into this class. The primary distinction between these two classes is in the endings of *-e* ‘1/2IND’ and *-a* ‘3IND’ for Class I and *-i* ‘VBR’ for Class II. Class II verbs have neutralised the *-e/-a* distinction, which is found in Class I verbs, to *-i*.

Thus, Fuyug final verbal morphology includes affixes expressing mode, modality and aspect, as well as sentential clitics and some other affixes.

#### 4.7.1. Mode

Forms of mode in Fuyug include the indicative, the imperative and the interrogative mode.

**a. Indicative mode.** The indicative mode distinguishes first/second person and third person for Class I verbs by means of the suffixes *-e* ‘1/2IND’ and *-a* ‘3IND’.<sup>12</sup>

(125) *Di ge yalov n-e.*  
 1P TOP food eat-1/2IND  
 ‘We ate food.’

(126) *Hu ge yalov n-a.*  
 3S TOP food eat-3IND  
 ‘He eats food.’

(127) *Na=ni ge 16 Epril 1984 sesen hel-e.*  
 1P=EMPH TOP 16 April 1984 birth become-1/2IND  
 ‘I was born on 16 April 1984.’

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<sup>12</sup> Editor’s note. Glossing verb forms ending in *e* (such as *ne*, *ge*, *me* and *ye*) can be tricky, because there is threefold ambiguity when they occur in clauses. Since sequences of vowels are reduced to the first vowel, the morpheme sequence *ne-e* is realised as *ne* (see §2.6.5 for more examples). The final *e* in words such as *ne* could therefore be the inflectional suffix *-e* ‘1/2IND’, the sequential suffix *-e* ‘SEQ’ or simply the root vowel, though this is relatively rare. In many cases the context makes it clear which morpheme is meant, but in some cases this is not easy. Consequently, the glossing of these forms here and in subsequent chapters must be considered preliminary.

- (128) *Mu sof hasil y-e he-tel-a.*  
 3P axe new get-SEQ up-come-3IND  
 ‘They brought up the new axe.’

For Class II verbs the verbaliser *-i* functions in the same as *-e* ‘1/2IND’ and *-a* ‘3IND’ function in the Class I verbs. It is also used to verbalise nominals or words borrowed into the language, as seen in example (130). Therefore, it is the indicative mode affix for Class II verbs, the verbs which simply do not make any person distinctions.

- (129) *Na kupev nu ind-i=mali ende an hu=l haben*  
 1S sweet.potato 2S give-VBR=SIM also man 3S=GEN another  
*ind-i.*  
 give-VBR  
 ‘As I gave you sweet potato, I also gave some to another man.’

- (130) *Di ge win-i.*  
 1P TOP win-VBR  
 ‘We won.’

Ray (1912a:323–324) states: ‘The suffixes *-meme* and *-ngo* are added to neuter verbs. The first has an active meaning, the second is passive.’ I rather see the morpheme *-ngo* as stative ‘STAT’. (I have not observed the suffix *-meme*.) The suffix *-(e)ngo* ‘STAT’ only occurs with the verbs *and-* ‘stay, live, sit’; *id-* ‘sleep, lie’; and *yu-* ‘stand’ (all positional verbs<sup>13</sup>). With the consonant-final roots *and-* and *id-* the allomorph *-engo* occurs, with the vowel-final root *yu-* the allomorph *-ngo*. These verbs cannot take the suffixes *-e* ‘1/2IND’ or *-a* ‘3IND’.

- (131) *Buk=a yevel kaden hu=l tu-l id-engu.*  
 book=CF up.there.close box 3S=GEN on-? sleep-STAT  
 ‘The book is lying on top of the box.’

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<sup>13</sup> Certain nouns must co-occur with a certain positional verb according to their natural characteristics; so for example, *hindif* ‘knife’ must occur with *idengo* ‘lying down’. Others can, of course, occur with all three positional verbs, such as nouns for human beings: *an andengo* ‘the man sits/lives/stays’, *an idengo* ‘the man is lying down’, and *an yungo* ‘the man is standing up’.

- (132) *Hamb nu=l baban yu-ngo.*  
 banana 2S=GEN behind stand-STAT  
 ‘The banana tree is standing behind you.’

**b. Imperative mode.** Concerning the imperative, Ray (1912a:319) writes that it ‘is only used for the second person. In the first and third (sometimes even in the second) it is replaced by the subjunctive.’ I agree with Ray’s observation that there is indeed a second person singular imperative, and that for the first and third persons the suffix *-o* ‘POSB’ is often used as a polite imperative, as in examples (133)–(135). It is obligatory to include the first personal subject pronoun in these possibility forms,<sup>14</sup> whereas in the standard imperatives the second and third personal subject pronouns are never included. (For further discussion see §4.7.3.)

- (133) *Tel-o di g-o.*  
 come-POSB 1P go-POSB  
 ‘Come, let’s go.’
- (134) *T-o na al-o.*  
 say-POSB 1S hear-POSB  
 ‘Say it and I will hear it.’
- (135) *Ge-ge bol oki ongo y-e tel-o.*  
 go-IMPF CMP fire some get-SEQ come-POSB  
 ‘Go and bring some fire.’

The second person singular imperative morpheme *-a* (2SIMP) is seen in examples (136) and (137).

- (136) *Apa g-a!*  
 enough go-2SIMP  
 ‘Well go!’
- (137) *Kupev y-e he-tel-a!*  
 sweet.potato get-SEQ up-come-2SIMP  
 ‘Bring up the sweet potato!’

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<sup>14</sup> This is not to be confused with other standard possibility forms, in which third person is used.

The second person plural imperative morpheme *-ava*, which is used for second person dual or plural, can be seen in examples (138) and (139).

(138) *Apa yi nom g-ava!*  
 enough 2P RECIP go-2PIMP  
 ‘Well you (plural) go!’

(139) *Yi nom ol tod-ava!*  
 2P RECIP firewood split-2PIMP  
 ‘You yourselves split firewood!’

**c. Interrogative mode.** The interrogative clitic *=a* occurs mainly with irrealis<sup>15</sup> and has a rising intonation contour. Often an epenthetic consonant (*l*, *m*, or *n*) precedes the clitic when the preceding suffix ends in a vowel. I treat *=la*, *=ma* and *=na* as morphologically conditioned allomorphs.

(140) *Nu ge yalov ongo n-adi=a?*  
 1S TOP food some eat-IRR=INT  
 ‘Are you going to eat some food?’

(141) *Nu ge g-o=la?*  
 2S TOP go-POSB=INT  
 ‘Are you going?’

(142) *Hu ovol had-a=ma?*  
 3S pig hit-3IND=INT  
 ‘Did he kill the pig?’

(143) *Ya kupev fil-i=na?*  
 2D sweet.potato plant-VBR=INT  
 ‘Did you two plant sweet potato?’

#### 4.7.2 Aspect

Ray (1912a:317) further states that ‘there are three principal tenses, present, past and future.’ I believe that Fuyug exhibits aspect rather than tense. Ray

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<sup>15</sup> But it can also occur without the irrealis marker, as seen in three of the examples.

proposes two past tenses which I have analysed as ‘1/2IND’ and ‘3IND’. Furthermore, Ray says the following: ‘The past is more difficult to express. It always requires an adverb of time.’ (Ray 1912a:321). This would indicate that perhaps we are not dealing with the past at all and that really an adverb is being used to signal tense.

Comrie (1976:4-5) notes that aspect is ‘crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation.’ He explains:

Although both aspect and tense are concerned with time, they are concerned with time in very different ways...tense is a deictic category, i.e., locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).

Since in Fuyug only aspect and not tense is marked explicitly, the expression of a situation-internal structure (aspect) is the main concern of the speaker rather than a situation-external structure (tense). What follows are examples of the aspects (imperfective and completive) in the language.

**a. Imperfective aspect.** Imperfective aspect is expressed by the reduplicated form *-(e)Ce*, in which *C* is a copy of the final consonant of the verb stem. When the root ends in a consonant, an epenthetic vowel *e* is inserted (see §2.6.4). Reduplication is frequently found in combination with the possibility suffix *-o*, in which case the form is *-Co*. It denotes an ongoing, or continuous, or habitual event, though both formally and semantically a number of questions remain unanswered.

Ray (1912a:318) notes this reduplication, which he terms ‘doubling of the last syllable of the stem’, but he does not give any meaning to it. He notes the following: ‘The syllable *-te* when doubled is always *-tede*.’

- (144) *Na yalov ne-ne.*  
 1S food eat-IMPF  
 ‘I am eating food.’
- (145) *Kundub dub=iti sum-eme.*  
 flying.fox night=ILL walk-IMPF  
 ‘Flying foxes fly around at night.’

- (146) *Na gan inog t-o-do.*  
 1S voice big say-POSB-IMPF  
 ‘I might be speaking in a big voice loudly.’
- (147) *Di saval av-i=mali sum-o-mo na saval*  
 1P mushroom look.for-VBR=SIM walk-POSB-IMPF 1S mushroom  
*hukas hindel-e-ma va yu-ngo=mali.*  
 many come.out-SEQ-DS there stand-STAT=SIM  
 ‘While we were walking around looking for mushrooms, I came upon many mushrooms that were standing there.’

**b. Completive aspect.** The completive (or perfective) aspect is formed through the verb *bol-* ‘CMP’. It functions in the sense of completing an action and then going on to another, and is translated as ‘finished’.

- (148) *Hu=ni ge yuv hel-e bol-e em=ti g-a.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP water become-SEQ CMP-SEQ house=ILL go-3IND  
 ‘He finished washing and then went in the house.’
- (149) *Mu val hel-e yuv hene=ti hindel-e bol-e*  
 3P there become-SEQ water some=ILL come.out-SEQ CMP-SEQ  
*mu ge Maf anang et-a...*  
 3P TOP Maf REC say-3IND  
 ‘They finished coming out back there to a river and then they said to Maf...’

### 4.7.3 Modality

Under modality I include the categories procedural, irrealis, possibility, and assumptive.

**a. Procedural.** The procedural is signalled by the use of a bare verb form in conjunction with the completive verb *bol* (CMP). This combination signals a hypothetical action and is used for a formulaic-type construction as in building a house (see also §8.1.2).



- (150) *Fulumad bol ge kow-i.*  
 finish CMP TOP close-VBR  
 ‘Once he is finished, then he closes it.’

- (151) *Mu ge biya n-e-me sipak bol amul el an*  
 3P TOP beer eat-SEQ-SS drunk CMP woman and man  
*mu kod t-adi.*  
 3P rebuke say-IRR  
 ‘They drink beer and then they get drunk and people rebuke them.’

**b. Irrealis.** Ray has identified the morpheme *-adi* as the future tense, but it can be used for a present situation as well. It is realised as *-idi* with Class II verbs. It indicates not only the future, but has the modal function of ‘might’, expressing uncertainty or an event not yet realised. As a result, I classify it as irrealis.

- (152) *Na yalov n-adi.*  
 1S food eat-IRR  
 ‘I will eat food.’ (Or: ‘I am about to/am going to/might eat food’)

- (153) *Na Fatima g-adi.*  
 1S Fatima go-IRR  
 ‘I am going to Fatima (right now, but I have not arrived there, so it is not yet certain that I will indeed get there).’

- (154) *Hu ge ilati he-tel-adi.*  
 3S TOP tomorrow up-come-IRR  
 ‘He might come tomorrow.’

**c. Possibility.** The morpheme *-o* ‘POSB’ in Class I verbs is realised as *-u* with Class II verbs. In Class II verbs it does not occur before the following clitics: =*mali* ‘simultaneous’ (SIM), =(m)*alala* ‘conditional’ (COND), or =*menenga* ‘future sequential’ (FUT.SEQ). Rather, it only occurs with *-i* ‘VBR’. However, the morpheme *-o* does occur with these clitics in Class I verbs. It is often used as a subtle imperative. (See also §4.7.1). It also functions together with *-dupCV* ‘IMPF’.

- (155) *Tel-o da g-o.*  
 come-POSB 1D go-POSB  
 ‘Come and let us two go.’
- (156) *Otunga bul dede dub ang-o=mali=malala mu ge*  
 if land later dark remain-POSB=SIM=COND 3P TOP  
*imbad had-adi.*  
 cuscus hit-IRR  
 ‘Later once it gets dark then they might kill cuscus.’
- (157) *Na ge na=l em=ti g-o.*  
 1S TOP 1S=GEN house=ILL go-POSB  
 ‘I am going to my house (but is not clear whether I will get there or not.)’
- (158) *Veyl-i-ma na g-o=mali mu ge ilan humbili g-a.*  
 so-VBR-DS 1S go-POSB=SIM 3P TOP night middle go-3IND  
 ‘While I might go, they will go in the morning.’
- (159) *Ge-ge bol oki ongo y-e tel-o, di*  
 go-IMPF CMP fire some get-SEQ come-POSB 1P  
*kupev ongo had n-o, ta di=ni bes.*  
 sweet.potato some hit eat-POSB because 1P=EMPH hunger  
 ‘Go and bring some fire, and we will cook some sweet potato and eat it, because we are hungry.’
- (160) *Na sum-u-ng bol imbad hu-l es ongo*  
 1S walk-POSB-ASMPT CMP cuscus 3S=GEN child some  
*y-e tel-o=menenga, na ind-idi=menenga inog*  
 get-SEQ come-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1S give-IRR=FUT.SEQ big  
*hel-o=menenga, na y-e im*  
 become-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1S get-SEQ down.there.far  
*Morsby ge-ge bol sel-idi.*  
 Port.Moresby go-IMPF CMP sell-IRR

‘If I were to go and get a young cuscus and then if it were given to me and then became big, I would take it down to Port Moresby and sell it.’

- (161) *Di saval av-i=mali sum-o-mo na saval*  
 1P mushroom look.for-VBR=SIM walk-POSB-IMPF 1S mushroom  
*ukas saval hindel-e-ma va yu-ngo=mali.*  
 many mushroom come.out-SEQ-DS there stand-STAT=SIM  
 ‘While we were walking around looking for mushrooms, I came upon many mushrooms that were standing there.’

**d. Assumptive.** The assumptive (ASMPT) is signalled through the morpheme *-ng*. It often co-occurs with *-o* ‘POSB’ and always with *-dupCV* ‘IMPF’, and is usually followed by *bol-* ‘CMP’. While it seems to be a contradiction to have both imperfective and complete in one clause, what is happening is that the speaker knows the action was completed, but does not know precisely when it occurred in relation to the action of the other clause. As a result, he/she is making an assumption or assertion.<sup>16</sup>

- (162) *Di rabes y-o-yo-ng bol-e E hu=l*  
 1P rubbish get-POSB-IMPF-ASMPT CMP-SEQ E 3S=GEN  
*yasi tel-a.*  
 namesake come-3IND  
 ‘We finished getting the rubbish and then E’s namesake came.’

- (163) *Na sum-u-mu-ng hasam-idi.*  
 1S walk-POSB-IMPF-ASMPT hunt-IRR  
 ‘I was walking to go hunting.’

#### 4.7.4 Sentential clitics

The following clitics take sentential complements to create subordinate adverbial clauses.

- =mali* ‘simultaneous’  
*=malala* ‘conditional’ (this semantically requires *=mali* ‘SIM’)

<sup>16</sup> Editor’s note. Both the structure of this assumptive morpheme and its semantics need further research.

- =*menenga* 'future sequence' (this semantically requires *-o* 'POSB')
- =*mote* 'desiderative' (this semantically requires *-adi* 'irrealis' as its complement)
- =*note* 'purpose' (this semantically requires *-adi* 'irrealis' as its complement)

**a. Simultaneous clitic.** The morpheme =*mali* signals that the second action is occurring at the same time as the first and is translated as 'while' or 'as'. It occurs with either *-e* 'SEQ' or *-o* 'POSB', so there may or may not be certainty regarding the following action. It does not signal same subject versus different subject. It can be seen as 'cooccurring.' (See Geary 1977:29.)

- (164) *Bul ge dub ang-o=mali mu ge imbad had-a.*  
 land TOP dark remain-POSB=SIM 3P TOP cuscus hit-3IND  
 'As it was getting dark they killed the cuscus.'

- (165) *Di ol y-e=mali di=l em=ti g-e.*  
 1P firewood get-SEQ=SIM 1P=GEN house=ILL go-1/2IND  
 'While we got firewood we went to our village.'

- (166) *Mission idag-e va enamb tomal-o mu*  
 mission would.that-SEQ that road make-POSB 3P  
*yalam-e=mali sipet hu=l sosol mu yalam-e=mali*  
 show-SEQ=SIM spade 3S=GEN work 3P show-SEQ=SIM  
*g-a.*  
 go-3IND  
 'The mission wanted to make that road, and as it (the mission) showed them the spade's work, they continued showing them.'

**b. Conditional clitic.** The conditional is expressed through =(m)*alala* and can best be translated as 'if'. It always occurs after =*mali* 'SIM' and usually takes the conjunction *otunga* 'if' at the beginning of the sentence.

- (167) *Otunga bul dede dub ang-o=mali=malala mu ge*  
 if land later dark remain-POSB=SIM=COND 3P TOP

*imbad had-adi.*

cuscus hit-IRR

‘Later once it gets dark they might kill a cuscus.’

- (168) *Na=ni an mu tongotong fek had-o=mali=malala mu*  
 1S=EMPH man 3P continuously turn hit-POSB=SIM=COND 3P  
*ge talel ge-g-i.*<sup>17</sup>  
 TOP forever go-IMPF-VBR

‘If I keep turning on people they will stay away from me.’

**c. Future sequential clitic.** The future sequential clitic =*menega* signals that another action follows. It is always used with the incompletive and thus there is uncertainty regarding the second action. It is translated as ‘once...then’. It does not signal same subject versus different subject (see Geary 1977:29). Note that this clitic, along with the following two (=mote ‘desiderative’ and =note ‘purpose’) co-occur with mood markers.

- (169) *Di sosol y-o=menenga di ge di=l bul=ti g-adi.*  
 1P work get-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1P TOP 1P=GEN land=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘Once we get work, then we might go to our land.’

- (170) *Bul dede dub ang-o=menenga mu ge imbad had-adi.*  
 land later dark remain-POSB=FUT.SEQ 3P TOP cuscus hit-IRR  
 ‘Later once it gets dark, they might kill a cuscus.’

**d. Desiderative clitic.** The desiderative clitic =*mote* denotes ‘wanting, desiring’ to do something that is as yet unactualised, so that there is no knowledge of the outcome. It always occurs after *-adi/-idi* ‘IRR’, as it is uncertain whether or not the expressed state of affairs will actually happen. This mood is acting at the clause level, whereas the irrealis modality is acting at the verb level.

- (171) *An hene ge em hel-adi=mote ge bul kilin-i.*<sup>18</sup>  
 man some TOP house become-IRR=DESID TOP land clean-VBR  
 ‘When a man wants to build a house he has to clean the land.’

<sup>17</sup> Editor’s note. The use of the verbaliser *-i* is surprising following the class I verb *ge* ‘go’, as it is normally only found on Class II verbs. This merits further investigation.

<sup>18</sup> Note that there are two occurrences of *ge* ‘topic marker’ in this sentence (see §8.2.2.4).

- (172) *Va aked=ing owal g-adi=mote fanime hu=l*  
 that men=PL here go-IRR=DESID poor.one 3S=GEN  
*hombol ind-u-du-ma imal id-engu=mali*  
 stomach give-POSB-IMPF-DS day sleep-STAT=SIM  
*yuv akolog hu=l goban=ti hindel-o=mali.*  
 water now 3S=GEN throat=ILL come.out-POSB=SIM  
 ‘When those men were wanting to come here, the poor one’s stomach  
 was bloated while he was lying there and water was coming out of his  
 throat.’

- (173) *Na=l samel hene yu bol-e em=dam=ti*  
 1S=GEN younger.sister some stand CMP-SEQ house=out=ILL  
*g-adi=mote ge-ge-ma didig dalad-a-ma yu*  
 go-IRR=DESID go-IMPF-DS step break-3IND-DS stand  
*bol-e angad-a-ma di=l bab he-tel-e di*  
 CMP-SEQ fall-3IND-DS 1P=GEN father up-come-SEQ 1P  
*had-o-do.*  
 hit-POSB-IMPF  
 ‘One of my younger sisters stood up wanting to go out of the house  
 and as she was going, the step broke and she got up and fell down,  
 and our father came up to hit us.’

**e. Purpose clitic.** The purpose clitic =*note* denotes ‘trying to’ or ‘in order to’ do something, or ‘after the fact unactualised – that is that we know for sure that it did not happen, because we have knowledge of the outcome.’ Like the desiderative clitic, =*note* also always occurs after the irrealis suffix *-adi/-idi*.

- (174) *Na nu al-idi=note tesen=iti g-e.*  
 1S 2S see-IRR=PURP station=ILL go-1/2IND  
 ‘I went to the station to try to see you.’
- (175) *Na ge ovol had-adi=note em=dam=ti g-e.*  
 1S TOP pig hit-IRR=PURP house=out=ILL go-1/2IND  
 ‘I went outside in order to kill the pig.’

### 4.7.5 Other affixes

Three other types of affixes are found on Fuyug verbs. These are the sequence suffix *-e*, the participle suffix *-eC* and the directionals *a-* ‘into’ and *he(n)-* ‘up’.

**a. Sequence affix.** The morpheme *-e* signals a sequence in serial verb constructions (see §7.1.5.1). It could be considered as the most ‘unmarked’ form of combining verbs. It functions much like the coordinating conjunction *el* ‘and’ to tie a string of verbs together.

- (176) *Na ge kupev y-e tel-e m-e.*  
 1S TOP sweet.potato get-SEQ come-SEQ put-1/2IND  
 ‘I took the sweet potato and put it down.’

- (177) *Mu ende yalov y-e g-e bol-e na ind-i-ma*  
 3P also food get-SEQ go-SEQ CMP-SEQ 1S give-VBR-DS  
*na ge n-adi.*  
 1S TOP eat-IRR  
 ‘They also finished getting food and gave it to me, and I will eat it.’

**b. Participle.** The participle takes the form *-dupC* in combination with the vowel *e*. It transforms a verb into a noun-modifying participle. Note that although it seems to act as an adjective, it differs from regular adjectives in that it occurs before the noun.

- (178) *Av had-ed an=ing ge odel g-a?*  
 word hit-PART man=PL TOP where go-3IND  
 ‘Where did the speakers go?’ (Lit. ‘Where did the word-hitting men go?’)

- (179) *Na=ni ende an=ing mem id-ed an.*  
 1S=EMPH also man=PL NEG cut-PART one  
 ‘But I am not also a back biter.’ (Lit. ‘I also am not a cutting one.’)

**c. Directionals.** The directionals are the only verbal prefixes in the language. They include *a-* ‘into’ and *he(n)-* ‘up’. They are very limited, being verb specific: *a-* only occurs on *m-* ‘put’, *he-* on *tel-* ‘come’, and *hen-* on *g-* ‘go’.

- (180) *Amul ge kupev hulin a-m-a.*  
 woman TOP sweet.potato pot DIR-put-3IND  
 ‘The woman put sweet potato in the pot.’
- (181) *Y-e he-tel-a!*  
 get-SEQ up-come-2SIMP  
 ‘Bring it up here!’
- (182) *Mu ded (kum=tu) hen-g-adi.*  
 3P later mountain=ALL up-go-IRR  
 ‘Later they will go up (on the mountain).’

#### 4.7.6 Medial affixation

A Fuyug medial verb makes use of the Switch Reference (SR) system (see §4.7.7). The form of the medial verb can be seen in table 4.5. Note that the following suffixes, *-e* ‘1/2IND’, *-a* ‘3IND’, *-o* ‘POSB’, *-i* ‘VBR’, and *-dupCV* ‘imperfective’, which have been shown to occur on final verbs, also occur on medial verbs.

Table 4.5 Fuyug medial verbs

<i>-e</i> ‘1/2IND’	<i>-i</i> ‘VBR’	<i>-dupCV</i> ‘IMPF’	<i>-ma</i> ‘DS’
<i>-a</i> ‘3IND’			<i>-me</i> ‘SS’
<i>-o</i> ‘POSB’			

#### 4.7.7 Switch reference

In order to signal switch reference, the suffixes *-ma* ‘DS’ (different subject) and *-me* ‘SS’ (same subject) are used. These generally imply strict sequentiality for an action that is current or has happened; there is no uncertainty about it. The suffix *-me* indicates ‘same subject in the following clause’, while the suffix *-ma* indicates ‘different subject’ (see Geary 1977:29). Note that before these morphemes, *-e* ‘1/2IND’ or *-a* ‘3IND’ are used accordingly, rather than *-e* ‘SEQ’ (see §7.1.5.1).

- (183) *Na yuv hel-e-me em=ti g-adi.*  
 1S water become-1/2IND-SS house=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘I will wash and go to the house.’



- (184) *Va an hu=ni tel-e-me et-a...*  
 that man 3S=EMPH come-SEQ-SS say-3IND  
 ‘That man came and said...’
- (185) *Bul ge dub ang-a-ma mu ge imbad had-a.*  
 land TOP dark remain-3IND-DS 3P TOP cuscus hit-3IND  
 ‘It got dark and they killed cuscus.’
- (186) *Hu=ni ge va mad=ing yalam-a-ma tu=ni va*  
 3S=EMPH TOP that custom=PL show-3IND-DS 3D=EMPH that  
*mad=ing vil-i.*  
 custom=PL do-VBR  
 ‘He showed them those practices, and they did those practices.’

## 4.8 Interrogatives

The interrogative words include *hed* ‘when’; *imal dati* ‘when, on what day’; *odel* ‘where’, *odelave* ‘how many’, and *udi* ‘why’. The interrogatives always fill the slot of the item they replace. For examples of the interrogative pronouns *dal* ‘who’ and *andal* ‘what’, see §4.2.5.

- (187) *Nu hed g-adi?*  
 2S when go-IRR  
 ‘When will you go?’
- (188) *Nu ge imal dal=ti g-adi?*  
 2S TOP day who=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘On what day will you go?’
- (189) *Ivol=a odel g-a?*  
 Ivol=CF where go-3IND  
 ‘Where did Ivol go?’
- (190) *Kupev hu=l yong odelave?*  
 sweet.potato 3S=GEN price how.much?  
 ‘How much is the price of the sweet potato?’

- (191) *Nu udi eyag te-de?*  
 2S why laugh say-IMPF  
 ‘Why are you laughing?’

The word *odel* ‘where’ becomes *odelele* when used alone as in: *Odelele?* ‘Where?’ Similarly, *udi* ‘why’ becomes *udidi* when used alone, as in *Udidi?* ‘Why?’

## 4.9 Conjunctions

For discussion on the conjunctions in the language see chapter 7.

## 4.10 Interjections

Fuyug has four types of interjections: exclamations, greetings, polite interjections, and a generic interjection. These always occur sentence-initially and are uninflected forms. They have a higher intonation contour. Each are demonstrated in the following subsections.

### 4.10.1 Exclamations

These types include *a* ‘oh’, *ile* ‘maybe, oh, wow’, and *susu* ‘warning, advice’.

- (192) *A, di ge nu al-i!*  
 oh 1P TOP 2S see-VBR  
 ‘Oh, we see you!’

- (193) *Ile, na meme y-e.*  
 oh 1S NEG get-1/2IND  
 ‘Oh, I didn’t get it.’

- (194) *Susu, meme g-adi!*  
 watch.out NEG go-IRR  
 ‘Watch out (be careful) and don’t go!’

### 4.10.2 Greetings

Greetings are all borrowed terms, since the normal greetings in the language are *Nu odel gadi?* ‘Where are you going?’ or simply calling out the other person’s name or else asking *Ifana?* ‘Are you well?’ Borrowed greetings include *aftanun* ‘good afternoon’, *bayo* ‘good-bye’, *moning* ‘good morning’, and *tata* ‘goodbye’.

- (195) *Bayo, ilati nu al-idi.*  
 goodbye tomorrow 2S see-IRR  
 ‘Goodbye, see you tomorrow.’

#### 4.10.3 Polite interjections

This type includes *ekskyus* ‘excuse me’, *koda* ‘excuse me, clear’, *pilisi* ‘please’, and *tadekela* ‘excuse me’. Again it can be seen that most of these are borrowed. The first two are normally used in isolation.

- (196) *Pilisi, na tuy-a.*  
 please 1S help-2SIMP  
 ‘Please, help me.’

- (197) *Tadekel-o na g-o.*  
 excuse.me-POSB 1S go-POSB  
 ‘Excuse me, I’m going.’

#### 4.10.4 Generic interjection

A generic interjection is signalled by the word *segamanda* ‘exclamation of rejoicing at another’s misfortune’.

- (198) *Segamanda, nu ge angad-e.*  
 hurray 2S TOP fall-1/2IND  
 ‘Hurray, you fell.’

# 5. *Phrase*

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This chapter discusses the various phrases in Fuyug: noun phrases, adjective phrases, locative phrases, temporal phrases, and verb phrases.

## 5.1 Noun phrase

There are four types of noun phrases in Fuyug: the basic descriptive noun phrase, the genitive noun phrase, the coordinate noun phrase, and the generic noun phrase.

### 5.1.1 Basic descriptive noun phrase

Two (or more) nouns may occur in a single noun phrase if they are joined by a coordinating conjunction or if they operate as a compound noun. Demonstratives and genitive noun phrases may occur before the head noun while an adjective phrase (ADJP) may follow the head noun. The adjective phrase can be filled by quantifiers, qualifiers, colour terms, numerals and adjectives. The basic structure of the noun phrase is therefore as follows.

(DEM)  
NP → (NP<sub>[GEN]</sub>) N (ADJP)

(1) *ovo buk=a inog*  
this book=CF big  
'this big book'

(2) *na=l ovol hu=l es inog dub*  
1S=GEN pig 3S=GEN child big dark  
'my big black piglet'

### 5.1.2 Genitive noun phrase

The genitive noun phrase is made up of a personal pronoun suffixed with the genitive clitic =*l*, followed by the head noun.

- (3) *na=l bab*  
 1S=GEN father  
 ‘my father’

There can be multiple embeddings of genitive noun phrases, as demonstrated in example (4).

- (4) *na=l bab hu=l bab hu=l mam hu=l ovol*  
 1S=GEN father 3S=GEN father 3S=GEN mother 3S=GEN pig  
*hu=l es*  
 3S=GEN child  
 ‘my father’s father’s mother’s pig’s young one’

### 5.1.3 Coordinate noun phrase

Coordinate noun phrases are formed with the comitative clitic =*noy* (see §4.2.1.3).

- (5) *Na=l mel da=noy g-adi.*  
 1S=GEN son 1D=COM go-IRR  
 ‘I will go with my son.’ (Lit. ‘Together with my son we two will go’)

The word *da-noy* ‘we two together’ is used as a summary, with *mel* ‘son’ being maintained as the prominent element.

Coordinated noun phrases are also formed with *hul akom* ‘together’.

- (6) *Na kupev ovol hu=l akom n-e.*  
 1S sweet.potato pig 3S=GEN together eat-1/2IND  
 ‘I ate sweet potato together with pork.’

Coordinated noun phrases can also be joined by *el* ‘and’.

- (7) *Na=l bul=ti samblos el kabes, esalot el*  
 1S=GEN land=ILL tree.tomato and cabbage green.onion and  
*kupev.*  
 sweet.potato  
 ‘In my place there are tree tomatoes and cabbage, green onion and  
 sweet potato.’

Listing is accomplished with the comitative conjunction *ala*:

- (8) *Robet ala Tam ge hen-g-a.*  
 Robert COM Tom TOP up-go-3IND  
 ‘Robert went up with Tom.’
- (9) *Tom ala Kowend, mu=ni ge g-adi.*  
 Tom COM Kowend 3P=EMPH TOP go-IRR  
 ‘Tom will go up with Kowend.’

Example (9) is a topic-comment construction in which *Tom ala Kowend* ‘Tom with Kowend’ is a coordinate NP functioning as a topic or theme to the sentence as a whole. Then *muni* ‘they=EMPH’ is the subject within the sentence.

It is also possible to use *tako* ‘and in addition’.

- (10) *Eves tako Ginal vot-i.*  
 Eves and.in.addition Ginal vote-VBR  
 ‘Eves along with Ginal voted.’

#### 5.1.4 Generic noun phrase

Generic noun phrases are formed by N + *and halu* ‘thing all’.

- (11) *Ovol and halu imbad ifan.*  
 pig thing all animal good  
 ‘All pigs are good animals.’

## 5.2 Adjective phrase

Adjectives always follow nouns. Adjective phrases are of the form:

ADJP → ADJ (ADV)

Within the noun phrase multiple adjectives can occur.

(12) *ovol hukas ateyg*  
 pig many true  
 ‘very many pigs’

(13) *ovol dub inog fidan*  
 pig dark big one  
 ‘one big black pig’

### 5.3 Locative phrase

A locative phrase consists of a locative word (see §4.4), followed by a place name with a locative postclitic. The two parts of the phrase stand in an appositional relationship.

(14) *yevel Soku=tu*  
 up.there.close Soku=ALL  
 ‘up there on Soku’

(15) *Yevel Lolof=tu he-me-tel-a!*<sup>1</sup>  
 up.there.close Lolof=ALL up-NEG-come-2SIMP  
 ‘Do not go up there on Lolof!’

(16) *Di akolog sikul al-idi hen-g-e yevel Holof=tu*  
 1P now school see-IRR up-go-1/2IND up.there Holof=ALL  
*hindel-e bol-e.*  
 come.out-SEQ CMP-SEQ  
 ‘Today we went up to Holof to attend school.’

### 5.4 Temporal phrase

The temporal phrase may consist of a temporal word such as *dede* ‘later’ (see §4.5 for more examples), a phrase referring to exacts hours (borrowed from English), or a temporal noun which is modified. In such temporal phrase the illative clitic *=ti* is found.

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<sup>1</sup> Note that the negative morpheme *me* is a prefix when preceeded by *he-* ‘up’ (see §4.7.5).

(17) *ten aklok=ti*  
 ten o'clock=ILL  
 'at ten o'clock'

(18) *ima hene=ti*  
 day some=ILL  
 'some day'

## 5.5 Verb phrase

The verb phrase functions as the core of the predicate in a clause. There are three types: general verb phrases, periphrastic verb phrases, and serial verb constructions. They are of the form:

VP → (ADV) (NEG) (N/ADJ<sub>ADJUNCT</sub>) V

(19) *Yevel Lolof=tu y-e me tel-a.*  
 up.there.close Lolof=ALL get-SEQ NEG come-3IND  
 'He did not bring it up there on Lolof.'

### 5.5.1 General verb phrase

A general verb phrase consists of a verb optionally preceded by an adverb and/or a negator. The following are examples of general verb phrases.

(20) *Me g-a!*  
 NEG go-2SIMP  
 'Don't go!'

(21) *Na ge na=l susum y-e ifan mal-e.*  
 1S TOP 1S=GEN thing get-SEQ good cause-1/2IND  
 'I straightened my things.'

### 5.5.2 Periphrastic verb phrase

Periphrastic verb phrases are formed by an adjunct noun or adjective, followed by a generic verb. The following verbs are used in periphrastic constructions: *ale* 'hear, smell'; *ali* 'see, perceive'; *and-* 'stay, remain (stationary)'; *ang-* 'become (permanent)'; *et-* 'say'; *ge* 'go'; *had-* 'hit,



manipulate’; *hel-* ‘become (temporary)’; *hem-* ‘shoot’; *hid-* ‘pick’; *id-* ‘cut short’; *ind-* ‘give’; *me* ‘put’; *a-me* ‘put into’; *mal-* ‘cause, make’; *tel-* ‘come’; *tod-* ‘cut off, remove’, and *ye* ‘get’.

In these periphrastic verb constructions the verbs undergo semantic bleaching. This is especially common with the verb *et-* ‘say’, which is one of the most commonly used generic verbs, as in the following example, where ‘neck say’ means ‘wear on the neck’.

- (22) *Amul=ing ge ilav hukas gulun t-a.*  
 woman=PL TOP necklace many neck say-3IND  
 ‘Women wear a lot of necklaces on the neck.’

Table 5.1 shows examples of a periphrastic verb construction for each generic verb.

Table 5.1 Fuyug periphrastic verb constructions

generic verb	gloss	periphrastic verb	gloss	meaning
<i>ale</i>	‘hear, smell’	<i>fun ale</i>	‘smell’	odor hear
<i>ali</i>	‘see, perceive’	<i>gom ali</i>	‘vomit’	vomit see
<i>and-</i>	‘stay’	<i>emb and-</i>	‘yawn’	yawn stay
<i>ang-</i>	‘become (permanent)’	<i>us ang-</i>	‘die’	death become
<i>et-</i>	‘say’	<i>eyag et-</i>	‘laugh’	laugh say
<i>ge</i>	‘go’	<i>ida ge</i>	‘about to’	cut go
<i>had-</i>	‘hit, manipulate’	<i>av had-</i>	‘talk’	speech hit
<i>hel-</i>	‘become (temporary)’	<i>alul hel-</i>	‘snore’	snore become
<i>hem-</i>	‘shoot’	<i>ninik hem-</i>	‘sew’	sew shoot
<i>hid-</i>	‘pick’	<i>malel hid-</i>	‘write’	letter pick
<i>id-</i>	‘cut short’	<i>imal id-</i>	‘sleep’	day cut
<i>ind-</i>	‘give’	<i>tul indi-</i>	‘sell’	sell give

Table 5.1 (continued) Fuyug periphrastic verb constructions

generic verb	gloss	periphrastic verb	gloss	meaning
<i>me</i>	'put'	<i>fut me</i>	'blow'	blow put
<i>a-me</i>	'put into'	<i>meng a-me</i>	'cast a spell'	spell put into
<i>mal-</i>	'cause, make'	<i>sesen mal-</i>	'be born'	public cause
<i>tel-</i>	'come'	<i>fili tel-</i>	'unwrap'	roll come
<i>tod-</i>	'cut off, remove'	<i>av tod-</i>	'interrupt'	word cut
<i>ye</i>	'get'	<i>silol ye</i>	'jump'	jump get

Periphrastic verb constructions can also be used as part of a serial verb construction. Serial verb constructions are of the form V V V, and so the periphrastic construction acts as another verb in the series. Serial verb constructions are only inflected with *-e* 'SEQ'. They most often occur with the verbs *and-* 'stay', *ang-* 'become', *et-* 'say', *had-* 'hit', *hel-* 'become', and *ye* 'get'. (Note that these are all verbs that occur in periphrastic constructions.)

### 5.5.3 Serial verb construction

These stripped down verbs operate in units on a continuum from phonologically compound verb stems like =*mali* 'SIM' (morphologically *m-al-i* 'put-see-VBR') to verb-verb combinations indicating aspect like those with *and-* 'stay' (continuous verb phrase).

- (23) *Bul ge dub ang-o=mali mu ge imbad had-a.*  
 land TOP dark remain-POSB=SIM 3P TOP cuscus hit-3IND  
 'As it was getting dark they killed the cuscus.'

- (24) *Ol talo=tu and-a m-a.*  
 firewood verandah=ALL stay-2SIMP put-2SIMP  
 'Place the firewood on the verandah.'

Moreover, they operate on a continuum from *bol-e* 'CMP-SEQ' (telic or complete verb phrase) to verb-verb combinations that involve a composite semantic meaning that differs from the sum of its parts, as for instance, *yuv hel-e* 'wash' ('water become-SEQ') and *yuv ang-e* 'swim' ('water remain-SEQ').

- (25) *Hu=ni ge yuv hel-e bol-e em=ti g-a.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP water become-SEQ CMP-SEQ house=ILL go-3IND  
 ‘He finished washing and then went in the house.’

The immediately preceding example can be quite expanded to  $v^1 + v^{2+n}$  as long as the ‘sequence of component events can be conceived as a single event’ (Foley 1986:114). As James (1983:69) says: ‘Serialisation is a transition stage between coordinated sequencing of verbs and lexicalized compounding.’

According to the hierarchy of verb types that participate in serial verb constructions (Crowley 1987), the verbs that are used in serial constructions can be classified as follows in table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Verb types that participate in serial verb constructions

<b>most frequent</b>	<b>motion</b>	<i>ge-</i> ‘go’, <i>tel-</i> ‘come’
	<b>intransitive posture</b>	<i>and-</i> ‘stay, remain’
	<b>other active intransitive</b>	<i>ang-</i> ‘become (permanent)’, <i>et-</i> ‘say’, <i>hel-</i> ‘become (temporary)’, <i>id-</i> ‘cut. short’, <i>mal-</i> ‘cause, make’
<b>least frequent</b>	<b>transitives</b>	<i>ale</i> ‘hear, smell’, <i>ali</i> ‘see, perceive’, <i>had-</i> ‘hit’, <i>hem-</i> ‘shoot’, <i>hid-</i> ‘pick’, <i>ind-</i> ‘give’, <i>a-me-</i> ‘put into’, <i>me-</i> ‘put’, <i>tod-</i> ‘cut off, remove’, <i>ye-</i> ‘get’

Negation limits the scope of a serial verb construction.

- (26) *Na ol y-e he-me-tel-e m-e.*<sup>2</sup>  
 1S firewood get-SEQ up-NEG-come-SEQ put-1/2IND  
 ‘I did not bring up firewood and put it down.’

<sup>2</sup> Note that in certain contexts the negator *me/mem/meme* is prefixed. This commonly occurs with the verbs *tu-y-* ‘help’ and *ud-* ‘fear’, and also with the two verbs that take the directional prefix *he(n)-* ‘up’: *tel-* ‘come’ and *ge-* ‘go.’ It is because these govern the whole verb phrase rather than just the verb.

- (27) *Na ol y-e he-tel-e meme m-e.*  
 1S firewood get-SEQ up-come-SEQ NEG put-1/2IND  
 'I brought up firewood and did not put it down.'

Verb serialisation builds onto the periphrastic constructions. Because of these constructions, Fuyug has a greatly reduced inventory of verbs, much as Foley states:

verbs like *hit* or *grab* do not describe a simple event, but a rather complex series of events. It would be logically quite possible to describe such actions as hitting in terms of the individual sub-actions, so that *hit* in such a language might be *hand raise-go-touch-push-remove* and *grab* might be *hand raise-go-touch-hold*. A language which followed this logic consistently would be able to get by with a much reduced inventory of verbs from the point of view of English, and this is, in fact, the pattern that a good number of Papuan languages exhibit (1986:113).

This type of serialisation is limited to same subject. Note the following examples:

- (28) *Ivol ge buk=a y-e tel-e Keva ind-i.*  
 Ivol TOP book=CF get-SEQ come-SEQ Keva give-VBR  
 'Ivol brought the book and gave it to Keva.' (Same Subject)
- (29) *Hu=ni had-a-ma ge us ang-a.*  
 3S=EMPH hit-3IND-DS TOP death remain-3IND  
 'He<sub>1</sub> hit him<sub>2</sub> and he<sub>2</sub> died.' (Different Subject)

Same subject serialisation can be analysed as coordination or verb phrase units. These are more stripped down than in ordinary medial verb combinations. Moreover, they have a continuous intonational pattern. However, ordinary conjoining of clauses with medial verbs is coordination of clause/simple sentence units, which are broken into intonational units by *bol-e* 'CMP-SEQ' (see §7.1). The structural contrast is shown in the following pair.

- (30) *V-e V-e* (serial verb construction)  
 V-SEQ V-SEQ

- (31) *V-e*            *bol-e*            (clausal coordination)  
      V-SEQ        CMP-SEQ

The most common serialisations occur with the verb *y-* 'get', most often with *y-e (hen-)g-e* 'get-SEQ (up-)go-SEQ' and *y-e (he-)tel-e* 'get-SEQ (up-)come-SEQ'.

## 6. Clause

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This chapter discusses the internal structure of the clause in Fuyug. The general formula for the clause is as follows:

$$S \rightarrow NP_{\text{SUBJ}} \text{ PREDICATE}$$

Predicates can be verbal (§6.1) or non-verbal (§6.2). The structure of the verbal predicate may be represented in the following two formulas:

$$\text{PRED} \rightarrow (NP_{\text{OBJ}}) (NP_{\text{IO}}) (PP)^n \text{ VP}$$
$$\text{VP} \rightarrow (\text{ADV}) (N/\text{ADJ}_{\text{ADJUNCT}}) \text{ V}$$

An example of a simple verbal clause with only a verb is (1).

- (1) *Ivol=a ge g-a.*  
Ivol=CF TOP go-3IND  
'Ivol went.'

Example (2) shows a direct object (*buka* 'the book') and an indirect object (*na* 'I'), followed by a periphrastic verb phrase construction which is part of a serial verb construction.

- (2) *Buk=a na hongol y-e tel-a.*  
book=CF IS near get-SEQ come-2SIMP  
'Get the book and bring it to me.'

Example (3) shows an adverb preceding a periphrastic verb phrase.

- (3) *fidanti eyag t-e*  
quickly laugh say-1/2IND  
'I/you quickly laughed'

An example of a non-verbal clause is (4).

- (4) *Na=ni tityel.*  
 1S=EMPH teacher  
 'I am a teacher.'

In addition to these elements, Fuyug also allows for an extra-clausal topic which is marked by the contrastive focus clitic =*a*. This topic is coreferential with a pronoun in the actual clause itself.

- (5) *Ivol=a hu=ni ...*  
 Ivol=CF 3S=EMPH  
 'Ivol, he ...'

## 6.1 Verbal clause

### 6.1.1 Intransitive clause

An intransitive clause is of the form S (LOC) V.

- (4) *Di owal and-engo.*  
 1P here stay-STAT  
 'We are living here.'
- (5) *Na ge Morsby g-e.*  
 1S TOP Port.Moresby go-1/2IND  
 'I went to Port Moresby.'

### 6.1.2 Transitive clause

A transitive clause is of the form SOV.

- (6) *Na ge sul hel-e.*  
 1S TOP grass become-1/2IND  
 'I pulled grass.'
- (7) *Na ge ovol had-e.*  
 1S TOP pig hit-1/2IND  
 'I killed the pig.'

### 6.1.3 Ditransitive clause

The ditransitive clause has the form S DO IO V.

- (8) *Na Deov hu=l av es yalam-e.*  
 1S God 3S=GEN word child show-1/2IND  
 ‘I taught the children God’s Word.’
- (9) *Na buk=a nu ind-i.*  
 1S book=CF 2S give-VBR  
 ‘I gave you the book.’

Transitive clauses can also contain postpositional phrases. These include phrases governed by the postpositions *ana / nang / anang* ‘recipient’ and *anate* ‘benefactive’. The postposition *anang* is used with *et-* ‘say’, while *anate* is used with verbs like *tomal-* ‘make’.

- (10) *Nu ge andal na anang et-e?*  
 2S TOP what 1S REC say-1/2IND  
 ‘What did you tell me?’
- (11) *Na ge nu anate tomal-e.*  
 1S TOP 2S BEN make-1/2IND  
 ‘I made it for you.’

Notice finally the following examples of complex transitive verbs. Example (12) contains the directional *a-* (see also §4.7.5), while (13) shows the illative *ti=* (see also §3.3).

- (12) *Na kupev hulin a-m-e.*  
 1S sweet.potato pot DIR-put-1/2IND  
 ‘I put sweet potato in the pot.’
- (13) *Veyl-i-ma mu et-a, “E ge ovol hu=l yey*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 3P say-3IND E TOP pig 3S=GEN faeces  
*ti=iyal.”*  
 ILL=hand  
 ‘So they said, “E touched pig faeces.”’



## 6.2 Non-verbal clause

Non-verbal clauses subsume equative and descriptive clauses. Fuyug juxtaposes the subject to the non-verbal predicate which is filled by a noun phrase, an adjectival phrase, or a postpositional phrase. The non-verbal clause takes the following form:

S → SUBJ (TEMP) PRED  
 PRED → NP  
           ADJP  
           PP

Non-verbal clauses include equative and descriptive types. Often =*ni* ‘EMPH’ is suffixed to a pronoun in these constructions.

### 6.2.1 Equative clause

An equative clause has the form NP (PRON=EMPH) NP.

- (14) *Tomba, hu=ni es galib.*  
 Tomba 3S=EMPH child big  
 ‘Tomba is a little child.’

- (15) *Na sisiban.*  
 1S knowledge  
 ‘I know.’

Note in example (15), where the first noun phrase *na* ‘I’ is a topic and the second one is a nominal comment that attributes a characteristic to the topic, that the second element behaves as an adjective to modify the first. It is, however, not an existential construction like: ‘As for me, there is knowledge.’ It translates more closely to something like: ‘I have knowledge.’

The negative *huwan* ‘nothing’ is added to negate equative clauses.

- (16) *Na sisiban huwan.*  
 1S knowledge nothing  
 ‘I don’t know.’

### 6.2.2 Descriptive clause

A descriptive clause is of the form NP (PRON=EMPH) ADJP.

(17) *Na=ni sesada.*

1S=EMPH long

‘I am tall.’

(18) *Na=l mam hu=ni ifan.*

1S=GEN mother 3S=EMPH good

‘My mother is good.’

Descriptive clauses also make use of the topic marker *ge* as seen in the following example. (See also §8.2.2.4 on topicality).

(19) *An=ing ge ifan.*

man=PL TOP good

‘The people are good.’

### 6.3 Clausal negation

There are no words that restrict the scope of negation. The different types of negation do not vary according to aspect or mode, but rather according to word class. Negators either precede or follow the negated constituent, as shown in table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Fuyug negators

negator	position
<i>m-i</i>	after verbalised forms (class 2 verbs)
<i>huwan</i>	after nouns, functions as ‘no’, the negative attestation
<i>me / mem / meme</i>	preceding class 1 verbs

(20) *Na me(me) g-e.*<sup>1</sup>  
 1S NEG go-1/2IND  
 ‘I didn’t go.’

(21) *Na imal mem id-e.*  
 1S day NEG cut-1/2IND  
 ‘I didn’t sleep.’

(22) *Sosol m-i!*  
 work NEG-VBR  
 ‘Don’t work!’

(23) *Na sisiban huwan.*  
 1S knowledge nothing  
 ‘I don’t know.’

The form *'a'a* ‘no’, borrowed from English, functions as a negative interjection. It is used as a negative answer only.

(24) *Veyl-i-ma na et-e, “'A'a, na=ni dede.”*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 1S say-1/2IND no 1S=EMPH later  
 ‘So I said, “No, I will go later.”’

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<sup>1</sup> Note that *me* functions as a prefix when preceded by *he-* ‘up’, as in *Na he-me-g-e*. ‘I do/did not go up.’

# 7. *Coordination and subordination*

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## 7.1 Coordination

Crystal (1985:76) defines coordination as: ‘A term in *grammatical* analysis to refer to the process or result of linking *linguistic units* of equivalent *syntactic* status, e.g., a series of *clauses*, or *phrases*, or *words*.’

The coordinating conjunctions of Fuyug are given in table 7.1. They will be discussed further.

Table 7.1 Fuyug coordinating conjunctions

form		type
<i>ta</i>	1. ‘and’	additive
	2. ‘but, yet’	contrastive
<i>el</i>	‘and’	additive
<i>tako</i>	‘and in addition’	additive
<i>eke</i>	‘or’	disjunctive
<i>o</i>	‘or’	disjunctive

Coordination, or the linking of linguistic units, is performed in the language with the forms *ta* ‘and; but, yet’, *el* ‘and’, *tako* ‘and in addition’, *eke* ‘or’ and *o* ‘or’. These conjunctions express additive, disjunctive/alternative, and contrastive/adversative relationships. The word *ta* ‘and’ is a clausal coordinator, whereas the other additive conjunctions link nouns. It is a coordinating conjunction which can have either an additive or a contrastive interpretation.

Ellipsis as a coordinating strategy is not permissible in the language, except in verbal ellipsis forms such as in example (1), in which the verb is omitted in the second clause.

- (1) *Vali yalov had-a, ta na=ni ∅ huwan.*  
 Vali food cook-3IND but 1S=EMPH not  
 ‘Vali cooked food, but I did not.’

The verbal negative *me/mem/meme* is not used in this construction, but instead the nominal negative *huwan* is used. The use of the verbal negative can be seen in example (2).<sup>1</sup> The nominal negative is used in constructions like the one in (1), or with certain verbal expressions which seem to be verbalised forms (such as with *sisiban* ‘knowledge’); otherwise the verbal negative *meme* is used.

- (2) *Na=ni yalov mem had-e.*  
 1S=EMPH food NEG cook-1/2IND  
 ‘I did not cook food.’


### 7.1.1 Additive coordination

Additive relationships in Fuyug are expressed by coordinate conjunctions. The conjunction *ta* ‘and; but, yet’ is used to coordinate clauses and may have either an additive or contrastive interpretation (see §7.1.4). Example (3) illustrates the additive use of *ta*.

- (3) *Na=l if hu=ni Ina, ta na=l bab hu=l*  
 1S=GEN name 3S=EMPH Ina and 1S=GEN father 3S=GEN  
*if hu=ni Loda, ta na=l mam hu=l if*  
 name 3S=EMPH Loda and 1S=GEN mother 3S=GEN name  
*hu=ni Ofa, ta na=l avav hu=l if*  
 3S=EMPH Ofa and 1S=GEN younger.brother 3S=GEN name  
*hu=ni Ivola.*  
 3S=GEN Ivola  
 ‘My name is Ina, and my father’s name is Loda, and my mother’s name is Ofa, and my younger brother’s name is Ivola.’

<sup>1</sup> Note that the final /e/ in *meme* is deleted because the following word begins with a vowel; the /h/ is not pronounced except in the West and Central Udab dialects.

In addition to the sentential coordinator *ta*, the two coordinating conjunctions *el* ‘and’ and *tako* ‘and in addition’ are used to link noun phrases. The form *el* ‘and’ is the most common additive conjunction. It has a slightly higher intonational pattern, as it does not place emphasis on the conjoining of the nominals. Rather, it treats them as equal and is only used to coordinate nouns or NPs.

- 
- (4) *Amul el an hukas.*  
 woman and man many  
 ‘There are many men and women.’
- (5) *Hu=ni ge kogon bos el foday hu=l is*  
 3S=EMPH TOP just grasshopper and bee 3S=GEN juice  
*ambul ne-ne.*  
 only eat-IMPF  
 ‘He was only eating grasshoppers and honey.’


The additive conjunction *tako* ‘and in addition’ could possibly be formulated from *ta akolog* ‘and/but now’,<sup>2</sup> indicating that the speaker is adding new information. It is much less commonly used than *el* ‘and’.

- (6) *Hay.til-i-ma da bisug ongo tako ende putet,*  
 dawn-VBR-DS 1D bean some and.in.addition also potato  
*esalot, samal ongo y-e bol y-e tel-adi.*  
 green.onion k.o.spinach some get-SEQ CMP get-SEQ com-IRR  
 ‘At dawn we will get some beans along with potato, green onion,  
 some spinach and bring them.’
- (7) *Veyl-i akolog di Honong tako Migu di*  
 like.so-VBR now 1P Ononge and.in.addition Migu 1P  
*vot-i.*  
 vote-VBR  
 ‘So now we (people from) Ononge voted along with Migu.’

<sup>2</sup> A native speaker has suggested this, but it seems more probable that it is a compilation of *ta + akom* ‘and + together with’, meaning ‘and in addition’.

### 7.1.2 Comitative postpositional phrase

In Fuyug a non-coordinate way of expressing addition is by means of a comitative postpositional phrase. These comitative postpositional phrases are used as a means of conjoining items, which are less topical or less in focus, to the first item. With the additive conjunctions *ta* ‘and’, *el* ‘and’, or *tako* ‘and in addition’, the items have equal status, whereas in the comitative constructions they do not. The comitative postposition is *ala* ‘with, by’. The same form also expresses instrumental case. It occurs after each noun that it governs. A higher intonation pattern is indicated for each occurrence of *ala* ‘with’, to set it off from the nominals. In example (8), it is seen joining two nominal phrases having human referents, and in example (9), it is joining noun phrases having foods as referents.

- (8)  *Amul el an ala es koy=ing ala mu ant halu*  
 woman and man COM child little=PL COM 3P thing all

*ge g-a.*  
 TOP go-3IND

‘The people with the little children all went.’

- (9) *Na ge kupev ala, batan ala, mund ala,*  
 1S TOP sweet.potato COM pumpkin COM taro COM  
*teb ala, bulid fil-i.*  
 sugarcane COM cucumber plant-VBR

‘I planted cucumber with sweet potato, pumpkin, taro, and sugarcane.’

The form *una* ‘with’ is a dialectal variation that originated in the West and/or Central Udab dialect(s), corresponding to *ala* ‘with’ in the North/South Udab dialect. Intonationally it behaves the same as *ala* ‘with’ and is used as Ray (1912a:329–30) states: ‘Une is generally only used to connect two nouns, and is placed between the two. But sometimes it comes after the second, especially when meaning ‘with’, and the first noun is then followed by the personal

pronoun.’ I agree with Ray’s observation that ‘sometimes it comes after the second,’<sup>3</sup> but I have not observed a personal pronoun following the first. Note the next three examples.

- (10) *Na akolog hindif una sof y-e bol-e*  
 1S now knife COM axe get-SEQ CMP-SEQ  
*omel-ele g-e.*  
 there.far-IMPF go-1/2IND  
 ‘Now I got the axe with the knife and took them over there.’
- (11) *Di Hav una Ole una Kowend una di alim*  
 1P Hav COM Ole COM Kowend COM 1P yesterday  
*hen-g-e.*  
 up-go-1/2IND  
 ‘Yesterday I went up with Hav, Ole, and Kowend.’<sup>4</sup>
- (12) *Veyl-i-ma fal una hasolon mu=l sosol ant halu*  
 so-VBR-DS ground COM heaven 3P=GEN work thing all  
*ge huwan hel-a.*  
 TOP nothing become-3IND  
 ‘So all the earth and heaven’s work were completed.’

The complex comitative postposition *hul akom* ‘together with’ is composed of *hu=l + akom* ‘3S=GEN + together with,’ meaning ‘together with it’. As is the case with the other comitative postpositions, a postpositional phrase headed by *hul akom* ‘together with’ functions as a modifier within the NP and nothing can interpose the head noun and this modifier.

This form also originated in the West dialect and so is not very common in the North/South Udab dialect. The North/South Udab dialect prefers *ala* ‘with’, and thus *hul akom* is rarely used. It does not affect the normal intonational pattern of a sentence, and it is not possible to insert information after the first noun, for instance after *kupev* ‘sweet potato’ in example (13).

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<sup>3</sup> But I would rather say, that it *almost always* does.

<sup>4</sup> The word *una* is bound intonationally to the noun it governs; there is always a break after it.



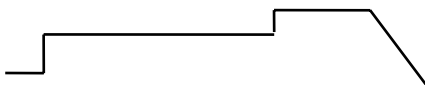
- (13) *Na kupev ovol hu=l akom n-e.*  
 1S sweet.potato pig 3S=GEN together.with eat-1/2IND  
 ‘I ate sweet potato together with pork.’
- (14) *Di hu=l hung hu=l sog hu=l akom*  
 1P 3S=GEN nose 3S=GEN foot 3S=GEN together.with  
*y-e bol-e y-e he-tel-e.*  
 get-SEQ CMP-SEQ get-SEQ up-come-1/2IND  
 ‘We brought up its snout together with its trotters.’

The comitative postpositional phrase *komukala* ‘together with’ is most likely a variation of *hul akom* ‘together with’ (i.e., *hul akom* → *akom hul ala* → *komukala*). It occurs in the same location as *hul akom* ‘together with’ as seen previously, but optionally includes *ala* ‘with’ preceding it. This, too, is rarely used, but indicates some further emphasis on the added noun (and consequently receives a higher intonation to indicate that emphasis).

- (15) *Na ovol kupev ala komukala n-e.*  
 1S pig sweet.potato with together.with eat-1/2IND  
 ‘I ate pork together with sweet potato.’

### 7.1.3 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunctive (or alternative) coordination is signalled through the use of the conjunction *eke* ‘or’. It occurs between the elements in question. It also has a higher intonational pattern.

- 
- (16) *Mu ge tel-a-m eke hilog?*  
 3P TOP come-3IND-? or still  
 ‘Did they come or are they still coming?’
- (17) *Mu esef di ind-i eke moni di ind-i?*  
 3P bird.species 1P give-VBR or money 1P give-VBR  
 ‘Did they give us *esef* feathers or money?’

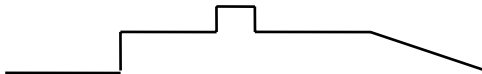
- (18) *Av ateyg eke bid-i?*  
 word true or lie-VBR  
 ‘Is it true or false?’

The disjunctive conjunction *o* ‘or’ is a variation of *eke* ‘or’ that is most likely borrowed from English.<sup>5</sup> This form is much less common than *eke* ‘or’.

- (19) *Mu tel-adi o mu me tel-adi?*  
 3P come-IRR or 3P NEG come-IRR  
 ‘Will they come or not?’

#### 7.1.4 Contrastive coordination

The conjunction *ta* is also used to express a contrastive (or adversative) relationship between two clauses. It has a slightly higher intonation contour, simply because of the fact that the end of the first clause has a down glide and then *ta* ‘but’ begins the second clause at the same relative level as the beginning of the first clause.

- (20)   
*Nu=ni ambal ta na=ni kagavan.*  
 2S=EMPH weak but 1S=EMPH strong  
 ‘You are weak but I am strong.’

- (21) *Mu ge em=ti g-a ta da=ni ge menemene=ti*  
 3P TOP house=ILL go-3IND but 1D=EMPH TOP prayer=ILL  
*g-e.*  
 go-1/2IND  
 ‘They went into the village, but we went to church.’

#### 7.1.5 Temporal coordination

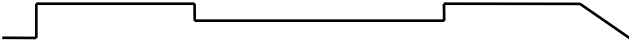
Temporal coordination is most commonly indicated by clauses containing medial verb forms. These may express either close sequence, as in *-e* ‘SEQ’, or

<sup>5</sup> English is a more likely source, since Melanesian Pidgin is not used in the area, except on a very limited scale around the government station.

further sequence, as in *-me* ‘SS’ or *-ma* ‘DS’.<sup>6</sup> It is perhaps the most common type of coordination found in the language. Semantically, sequences of medial clauses are mainly restricted to temporal and causal interpretations of means-result.

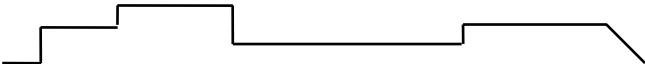
### 7.1.5.1 Close sequence

In the following example it can be seen that verbs are joined together in a chain of *V-e V-e V-e V-*, in which the *-e* marks ‘close sequence’. There is no intonational break between the verbs.

- 
- (22) *Na ge i y-e he-tel-e and-e m-e.*  
 1S TOP tree get-SEQ up-come-SEQ remain-SEQ put-1/2IND  
 ‘I got the wood and brought it up and set it down.’

### 7.1.5.2 Sequential relationship

In the next two examples it can be seen that medial verbs take the switch reference morphemes *-me* ‘SS’ or *-ma* ‘DS’ to indicate sequentiality. This type also has no intonational break.

- 
- (23) *Hu ge mavan=ti ge-ge-me hin av-i.*  
 3S TOP forest=ILL go-IMPF-SS pandanus look.for-VBR  
 ‘He went to the forest and then looked for pandanus.’
- (24) *Da ge kupev ongo ind-i-ma ge n-a.*  
 1D TOP sweet.potato some give-VBR-DS TOP eat-3IND  
 ‘We gave him some sweet potato and then he ate it.’

<sup>6</sup> I propose the analysis  $\emptyset+e$  = close sequence,  $m+e$  = sequential same subject,  $m+a$  = sequential different subject. There is no  $\emptyset+a$  = simultaneous different subject, as a different subject is not indicated when simultaneity is, as shown in the following example:

*Na yalov n-e=mali hu ge tel-a.*  
 1S food eat-SEQ=SIM 3S TOP come-3IND  
 ‘As I ate food he came.’

In example (25), *-ma* ‘DS’ is indicated on the verb *veyl-* ‘be like/so’. It is used to refer the reader/hearer back to the immediately preceding portion of the discourse. Within the quote *-me* ‘SS’ is used to indicate that someone (the same person in this case) is continuing on with another action.

- (25) *Veyl-i-ma na=l bab yu bol-e na*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 1S=GEN father stand CMP-SEQ 1S  
*anang et-a, “Ge-ge bol kupev*  
 REC say-3IND go-IMPF CMP sweet.potato  
*ongo y-e ne-me id-a tel-a.”*  
 some get-SEQ eat-SS cut-2SIMP come-2SIMP  
 ‘And so then my father stood up and told me, “Go take some sweet potato and eat it and then come back.”’

### 7.1.6 Logical coordination

Another possible interpretation of coordinate medial clause sequences is a cause-effect relationship. A sequence of medial clauses can also be used to indicate a state of affairs functioning as the means to a result:

- 
- (26) [*Yesu ge {kurus=ati us ang-a-me} na tuy-a.*]  
 Jesus TOP cross=INE death become-3IND-SS 1S help-3IND  
 ‘Jesus died on the cross and thereby helped me.’

## 7.2 Subordination

Crystal (1985:294) defines subordination as: ‘A term used in *grammatical* analysis to refer to the process or result of linking *linguistic units* so that they have different *syntactic* status, one being dependent upon the other, and usually a constituent of the other.’ A helpful definition of subordinate clause can be found

in Urdang and Flexner (1968:1309): ‘A clause that modifies the principal clause, as *when he arrived* in the sentence *I was there when he arrived.*’

There are two types of subordination in Fuyug: logical and temporal. They will be discussed in the following, with references to table 7.2. Protasis refers to the presupposition, the condition under which the apodosis holds. The apodosis refers to what is being stated.

Table 7.2 Fuyug subordinating conjunctions

type	protasis	conjunction	apodosis
<b>reason-result</b>	focussed/new/asserted result	<i>ta/hu dal</i> <i>adad/badina</i> ‘because’	focussed/new/ asserted reason
<b>cause-effect</b>	asserted enabling cause	<i>veyl-i</i> ‘be/like so-VBR’	asserted effect
	presupposed/asserted sufficient/efficient/ strong cause	<i>hu vavel adad</i> ‘therefore’	
	presupposed/asserted explanatory/concessive cause	<i>vavel adad</i> ‘so that’	
<b>contingent</b>	conditional	<i>oto/otunga</i> ‘if’ <i>-(m)alala</i> ‘COND’	
	contrafactual	<i>sigega</i> ‘if not’	
<b>purpose</b>		<i>-adi/-idi</i> ‘irrealis’	

The reason or effect clauses are always asserted and the result or cause clauses are generally asserted, though occasionally presupposed.

The following two subsections discuss and illustrate logical subordination: cause-effect (§7.2.1) and condition-consequence (§7.2.2).

### 7.2.1 Cause-effect

According to Davies (1969:116, 227) cause is the ‘thing responsible for an action or result.’ Effect is ‘something brought about by a cause or agent’. In Fuyug cause-effect is realised in reason-result causal constructions.

According to Davies (1969:588) reason is ‘the basis or motive for an action, decision or conviction.’ Result is ‘to occur or exist as a consequence of a particular cause’ (602). According to Beekman, Callow and Kopesec (1981:102) this is answering the question *why?* In Fuyug there are two constructions expressing reason-result. Even though it is more common for many Papuan languages to have the reason ordered before the result, the first construction takes the form result-reason:

Result *ta/hu dal adad/badina* ‘because’ Reason

The existence of this construction type, rather than the typical one for Papuan languages, could be due to influence from the neighbouring Austronesian languages (Mekeo, Roro/Waima, Kuni, Nara, Gabadi, and Hiri Motu). It is used when neither the result nor the reason is presupposed. The meaning ‘because’ takes the forms *ta*, *badina*, or *hu dal adad*. The most common form is *ta* ‘because’, while the other two are rarely used.

- (27) *Na ge im kupev av-i ta*  
 1S TOP down.there.far sweet.potato look.for-VBR because  
*ev=iti na ge kupev ongo nu ind-idi.*  
 sun=ILL 1S TOP sweet.potato some 2S give-IRR  
 ‘I looked for sweet potato down there because in the daylight I will give you some sweet potato.’

- (28) *Na ge bayk=iti and-e m-adi ta na=l*  
 1S TOP bag=ILL remain-SEQ put-IRR because 1S=GEN  
*bayk hef.*  
 bag half  
 ‘I will put it in the bag because my bag is half full.’

The form *hu dal adad* ‘because’, which is composed of *hu + dal + adad* ‘3S + who + toward’ meaning ‘because of that’, is seen in examples (29) and (30).

- (29) *Veyli-ma had-a-ma angad-a, hu.dal.adad Deov hu=l*  
 like.so-DS hit-3IND-DS fall-3IND because God 3S=GEN  
*kegem mem ind-i.*  
 honour NEG give-VBR

‘Therefore he<sub>1</sub> killed him<sub>2</sub> and he<sub>2</sub> fell, because he<sub>2</sub> did not give God his<sub>1</sub> honour.’

- (30) *Va an-ing nu bid-i hu.dal.adad mu imal gab*  
 that one-PL 2S lie-VBR because 3P day whole  
*sum-u-mu av hongol et-o=mali...*  
 walk-POSS-IMPF word some say-POSS=SIM

‘Those ones lied to you, because for many days they kept saying...’

The form *badina* ‘because’ is borrowed from Hiri Motu, and so is not used as frequently as the other form. According to *The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* (1976:27), *badina* means ‘base of something; source; cause; reason.’

- (31) *Mu ge va imal=ati huses hukas-i badina mu ende*  
 3P TOP that day=INE think much-VBR because 3P also  
*hu=l vil-i mad mem hus-a.*  
 3S=GEN do-VBR practice NEG think-3IND

‘At that time they were amazed, because they didn’t understand his actions.’

- (32) *Va an=ing nu bid-i badina mu imal gab*  
 that man=PL 2S lie-VBR because 3P day whole  
*sum-u-mu av ongo t-o=mali...*  
 walk-POSB-IMPF word some say-POSB=SIM

‘Those people lied to you because they just kept on talking . . . (i.e., they were just trying to deceive you, to lead you on)’

- (33) *Na ge rays tul.ind-i badina na ge bes ang-e.*  
 1S TOP rice buy-VBR because 1S TOP hunger remain-1/2IND  
 ‘I bought some rice because I was hungry.’

But the reason clause with *badina* cannot precede the result as shown in example (34).

- (34) \**Badina na ge bes ang-e na ge rays*  
 because 1S TOP hunger remain-1/2IND 1S TOP rice

*tul.ind-i.*  
buy-VBR

‘Because I was hungry I bought some rice.’

The second type of reason-result construction has the clauses ordered as follows:

Reason *veyli/vavel adad/hu vavel adad* ‘so/like that/therefore’ Result

This relationship of reason-result is expressed in the forms of *veyli* ‘be/like so, thus’, *vavel adad* ‘since, so that, that is why’ which is composed of *vavel* + *adad* ‘like so + toward’ and which means ‘so that’, and *hu vavel adad* ‘therefore’ which is composed of *hu* + *vavel* + *adad* ‘3S + like.so + toward’ and which means ‘it was like that and that led to...’. These are ordered differently because they presuppose the reason and focus more on the result.

The form *veyli-i* ‘be/like so’ (used for same subject) also occurs in the form *veyli-i-ma* ‘be/like.so-VBR-DS’ for different subject, incorporating the switch reference system. These two forms are used sentence-initially to refer the reader back to what was just discussed. It indicates enabling cause.

- (35) *Holof hel=a-me di Yembudan hafom-e and-e.*  
dance become=CF-SS 1P Yembudan wait-SEQ stay-1/2IND  
*Veyli-i Yembudan-e mu nanga akolog tel bol*  
like.so-VBR Yembudan-SEQ 3P REC now come CMP  
*holof hel-adi.*  
dance become-IRR  
‘We danced waiting for (the people from) Yembudan. So when Yembudan will come we will dance for them.’

- (36) *Mu owal=ti em gadel-i val and-engo.*  
3P here=ILL house surround-VBR back.here stay-STAT  
*Veyli-ma na=ni akolog sog=iti Fan=ti sosol*  
like.so-DS 1S=EMPH now foot=ILL Fane=ILL work  
*ye-ye.*  
get-IMPF  
‘They were staying back there building a house. So then today I came on foot to Fane looking for work.’



- (37) *Maf al-e bol-e et-a, "Todi." Veyli-ma mu owal*  
 Maf hear-SEQ CMP-SEQ say-3IND yes like.so-DS 3P here  
*and-o.*  
 stay-POSB

'Maf heard and said, "Yes." So they were waiting for him there.'

- (38) *Yuv akolog hu=l goban=ti hindel-o. Veyli-ma*  
 water now 3S=GEN neck=ILL come.out-POSB like.so-DS  
*mu ovo an i=tu m-e bol-e y-e*  
 3P this one tree=ALL put-SEQ CMP-SEQ get-SEQ  
*yevel-ele em=ti hen-g-a.*  
 up.there-IMPF house=ILL up-go-3IND

'Water was coming out of his throat. So they put him on a piece of wood and took him up there to the village.'

The following are examples of *vavel adad* 'so that, that is why' composed of *vavel* 'like that' and *adad* 'toward'. It indicates explanatory or concessive cause.

- (39) *Na=ni imbad had-ed hu-l bab, vavel.adad an=ing*  
 1S=EMPH cuscus hit-PART 3S=GEN father so.that man=PL  
*imal gab na y-e bol inog hel-a.*  
 day whole 1S get-SEQ CMP big become-3IND

'I am an expert cuscus killer (lit. a father of cuscus-hitters), so for a long time people have exalted me.'

- (40) *An=ing tel-e bol-e na y-adi vavel.adad na*  
 man=PL come-SEQ CMP-SEQ 1S get-IRR so.that 1S  
*tavon meme hindel-adi.*  
 again NEG come.out-IRR

'People came to get me so I won't come out again.'

The form *hu vavel adad* 'therefore' is seen in examples (41) and (42). It indicates sufficient, efficient, or strong cause. In example (41), the writer is describing himself as a snake and telling what happens to him.

- (41) *An ongo ge val na hongol g-o=mali na ge*  
 man some TOP back.here 1S near go-POSB=SIM 1S TOP  
*id-adi hu.vavel.adad an=ing mu-ni na al-i*  
 cut-IRR therefore man=PL 3P-EMPH 1S see-VBR  
*bol-e ud-edē.*  
 CMP-SEQ fear-IMPF

'If anyone comes near me back here I will hurt him/her; therefore when people see me they are afraid.'

- (42) *Hu-ni ge hu=le apud=iti pekat vil-i,*  
 3S-EMPH TOP 3S=GEN beginning=ILL sin do-VBR  
*hu.vavel.adad Deov hu=l mel hu=l sosol y-e*  
 therefore God 3S=GEN son 3S=GEN work get-SEQ  
*huwan mal-adi tel-a.*  
 nothing cause-IRR come-3IND

'He sinned from the beginning; therefore God's son came to destroy his work.'

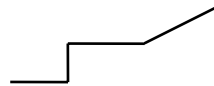
### 7.2.2 Condition-consequence

In Fuyug condition-consequence takes the form:

Condition =(m)alala/sigega 'conditional/contrafactual' Consequence

The condition is signalled through the forms =(m)alala 'COND', *oto/otunga* 'if', and *sigega* 'if not'. The subordinating conjunction =(m)alala occurs after the final verb of the subordinate clause and is phonologically bound to it.

Conditional protases governed by the clitic =(m)alala 'COND' are the most common form of 'if' clauses and have a much higher intonational contour. The apodoses are asserted.



- (43) *Na=ni an mu tongotong fek had-o=mali=malala mu*  
 1S=EMPH man 3P continually turn hit-POSB=SIM=COND 3P

*ge talel ge-g-i.*  
TOP always go-IMPV-VBR

‘If I continually return to the people they will always keep going away.’

- (44) *Otung* *na and-e=mali=malala na ge sosol-idi.*  
if 1S stay-1/2=SIM=COND 1S TOP work-IRR  
‘If I stay I will work.’

The conjunction *oto/otunga* ‘if’, operating on the sentence level and indicating hypotheticality, is used in conjunction with *=(m)alala* ‘COND’ to bracket the conditional clause in a construction having the form:

*oto/otunga* Condition *=(m)alala* Consequence

The word *oto* is a shortened form of *otunga*. While the presence of *oto* or *otunga* is not necessary, these words help to clarify the conditionality of the cause, as otherwise it is not indicated until the end of the first clause.

- (45) (*Otung*) *di=l an=ing pati vil-i=malala, mu ge bul*  
if 1P=GEN man=PL party do-VBR=COND 3P TOP land  
*ongo=ti nanan mu ana t-o=menenga, mu ge tel*  
some=ILL person 3P REC say-POSB=FUT.SEQ 3P TOP come  
*bol di=l bul=ti holof hel-adi.*  
CMP 1P=GEN land=ILL dance become-IRR

‘If our people throw a party, they will tell some other place’s people and then they might come to dance at our place.’

- (46) (*Oto*) *mu us ang-eg an=ing y-e=alala, mu*  
if 3P death become-PART man=PL get-SEQ=COND 3P  
*ge is fidan mak-i bol et-adi y-e sum-u*  
TOP space one mark-VBR CMP say-IRR get-SEQ walk-POSB  
*val-ele va is=ati mud-i.*  
back.here-IMPV that space=INE bury-VBR

‘If they take the dead people, they will mark one space and will say to take them back there to that place to bury them.’

The form *sige* ‘if not’ acts as a negative conditional or contrafactual, but only governs negative existential sentences. It always occurs after *huwan* ‘not’.

- (47) *Nu huwan sigega na ende ovo vavel huwan.*  
 2S not if.not 1S also this like.so not  
 ‘If you did not exist, I would also be likewise (non-existent).’
- (48) *Ta ende rays huwan sigega di ge yalov anate us*  
 but also rice not if.not 1P TOP food for death  
*ang-e.*  
 become-1/2IND  
 ‘But if there were no rice, we would die for want of food.’

A positive conditional does not employ *sigega* ‘if not’, but rather *=(m)alala* ‘COND’.

- (49) *Otunga nu ge sosol-i=mali=malala, na ge yong ongo*  
 if 2S TOP work-VBR=SIM=COND 1S TOP pay some  
*nu ind-idi.*  
 2S give-IRR  
 ‘If you had worked, I would have given you some pay.’

### 7.2.3 Temporal subordination

There are two subordinating clitic conjunctions used to express temporal relationships in Fuyug: *=mali* ‘SIM’ and *=menenga* ‘FUT.SEQ’. Both of these occur after the final verb of the subordinate clause and are phonologically bound to it. The form *=mali* ‘SIM’ can be glossed as ‘while’ or ‘as’ and is seen in examples (50) and (51). It indicates that two actions are occurring at the same time.

- (50) *Bul ge dub ang-o=mali mu ge imbad had-a.*  
 land TOP dark become-POSB=SIM 3P TOP cuscus hit-3IND  
 ‘As it got dark they killed cuscus.’
- (51) *Veyli-ma hu=ni mowal<sup>7</sup>-i=mali imbad n-a.*  
 like.so-DS 3S=EMPH happy-VBR=SIM cuscus eat-3IND  
 ‘So while he was happy he ate cuscus.’

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<sup>7</sup> Borrowed from Hiri Motu: *moale* ‘happy, glad, happiness, joy, rejoice’ (*The Dictionary and Grammar of Hiri Motu* 1976:37).

The form =*menenga* ‘FUT.SEQ’ can be glossed as ‘once . . . then’. It indicates that another action will follow and is always used with *-o* ‘POSB’, so that the proposition in the second clause is contingent upon the completion of the proposition in the first clause. Of the two temporal forms (= *mali* ‘SIM’ and =*menenga* ‘FUT.SEQ’), this is the least common.

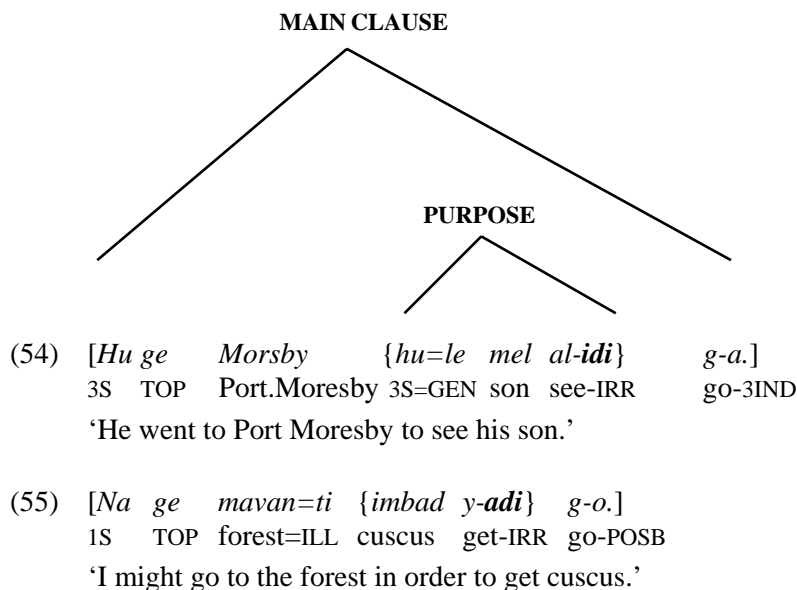
(52) *Susum y-o=menenga di ge di=l bul=ti g-adi.*  
 thing get-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1P TOP 1P=GEN land=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘Once we get our things then we might go to our place.’

(53) *Kupev n-o-no=menenga na ge gi=ti g-adi.*  
 sweet.potato eat-POSB-IMPF=FUT.SEQ 1S TOP bush=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘Once I eat sweet potato then I might go to the bush.’

#### 7.2.4 Purpose construction

One other construction encoding subordination is the purpose construction.

According to Davies (1969:573), purpose is ‘a result or effect that is intended or desired.’ It answers the question *what?* Purpose clauses contain final verbs in the irrealis (future) form, marked by *-idi/-adi*, which precede the verb of the main clause.



### 7.3 Complementation

The following are some examples of sentential complementation, in which a clause functions as the object of a verb.

(56) *Na ge hu=l tel-el al-i.*  
 1S TOP 3S=GEN come-PART see-VBR  
 'I saw his coming.'

(57) *Na sisiban hu=ni titiyel.*  
 1S knowledge 3S=EMPH teacher  
 'I know that he is a teacher.'

(58) *Na=l huwal hu=l godel-a hu ge tel-adi.*  
 1S=GEN heart 3S=GEN want-3IND 3S TOP come-IRR  
 'I want him to come.'

(59) *Na hud-edede hu ge tel-adi.*  
 1S fear-IMPF 2S TOP come-IRR  
 'I am afraid that he might come.'

The following two examples also appear to illustrate complementation. However, as they show switch reference morphemes, they are better analysed as involving a sequential relationship (§7.1.5.2).

(60) *Na hus-a-ma hu ge tel-adi.*  
 1S think-3IND-DS 3S TOP come-IRR  
 'I think he might come.'

(61) *Na ge dedag ind-i-ma hu ge tel-a.*  
 1S TOP push give-VBR-DS 3S TOP come-3IND  
 'I pushed him and he came.'

### 7.4 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause which modifies a nominal in another sentence. A relative clause:

consists necessarily of a head and a restricting clause. The head IN itself has a certain potential range of referents, but the restricting clause restricts this set by giving a proposition that must be true of the actual referents of the over-all construction (Comrie 1981:136).

Fuyug exhibits external postnominal relative clauses; these are relative clauses which follow the head nominal and are external to it. This is the most common type of relative clause and is often common to SVO languages. (Note, however, that Fuyug is an SOV language.) Ray (1912a:316) has proposed *mu(ne)* or *u(ne)* as relative pronouns. I have not seen these in the language, but rather the relativiser *dal* ‘who, that, which’.

In this section all relative clauses are bolded, but in the following three examples the relative clauses are also in brackets, including the relativiser, while the head nominal is underlined.

(62) *Nu ge em [**dal na hel-o**] al-i.*  
 2S TOP house REL 1S become-POSB see-VBR  
 ‘You see the house that I was building.’

(63) *An=ing [**dal=ing owal hen-g-o-go**] mu ovol y-e*  
 man=PL REL=PL here.close up-go-POSB-IMPF 3P pig get-SEQ  
*mu ind-u-du.*  
 3P give-POSB-IMPF  
 ‘The people who were going up here took the pork to give to them.’

(64) *Na ge es=ing [**dal=ing Confermatio y-adi**] mu yalam-e.*  
 1S TOP child=PL REL=PL Confirmation get-IRR 3P teach-1/2IND  
 ‘I taught the children who will have Confirmation.’

#### 7.4.1 Restrictive relative clauses

Fuyug relative clauses are primarily restrictive. A restrictive relative clause uses presupposed information to identify the referent of a noun phrase; it specifies or narrows down the number of entities referred to by the head noun.

(65) *An **dal g-e-me** hu na=l menan.*  
 man REL go-SEQ-SS 3S 1S=GEN older.brother  
 ‘The man who goes is my older brother.’

Example (65) is called restrictive because in the expression *an dal geme* ‘the man who goes’, the relative clause *dal geme* ‘who goes’ restricts the class of *an* ‘man’ to the one who goes, as opposed to some other man.

- (66) *Di ge di=l tubun=ing mu=l mad ant halu*  
 1P TOP 1P=GEN ancestor=PL 3P=GEN custom thing all  
*dal di ge hilog isel-ele ovo mad=ing hus-adi.*  
 REL 1P TOP still follow-IMPF this custom=PL think-IRR  
 ‘We will think about all of our ancestors’ customs that we still follow.’

A restrictive relative clause can be extraposed and separated from its head noun, especially when it is long,<sup>8</sup> as in example (67), although otherwise this is not common.

- (67)    
*[An hene]<sub>H</sub> ∅ na hongol tel-a [dal hu=ni ge*  
 man some 1S near come-3IND REL 3S=EMPH TOP  
*na anang et-a hu=ni Didivada nanan].*  
 1S REC say-3IND 3S=EMPH Didivada person  
 ‘A man came to me who told me he was a Didivada person (from Didivada village).’

#### 7.4.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses

Non-restrictive relative clauses occur as well, although much less frequently than restrictive clauses. A non-restrictive relative clause generally adds extra, essentially extraneous information about the head noun.

- (68) *Ivol, dal hu=ni an inog, ge ende na=l bab.*  
 Ivol REL 3S=EMPH man big TOP also 1S=GEN father  
 ‘Ivol, who is a big man, is also my father.’
- (69) *Na ge ovo malil dal Keva ge na ind-i al-i.*  
 1S TOP this letter REL Keva TOP 1S give-VBR see-VBR  
 ‘I see this letter that Keva gave me.’

<sup>8</sup> This occurs in order to not lose the continuity with the verb being so far removed from the subject.



A non-restrictive relative clause cannot be extraposed, as shown in example (70).

- (70) *\*Ivol ø ge ende na=l bab, dal hu=ni an inog.*  
 Ivol TOP also 1S=EMPH father REL 3S=EMPH man big  
 ‘Ivol is my father, who is a big man.’

A non-restrictive clause is often semantically equivalent to coordination, yet switch reference is preferred, as in example (72).

- (71) *Ivol ge Keva dal ge kupev hongo ind-i al-i.*  
 Ivol TOP Keva REL TOP sweet.potato some give-VBR see-VBR  
 ‘Ivol saw Keva who gave him some sweet potato.’

- (72) *Ivol ge Keva al-i-ma ge kupev hongo ind-i.*  
 Ivol TOP Keva see-VBR-DS TOP sweet.potato some give-VBR  
 ‘Ivol saw Keva and he (Keva) gave him some sweet potato.’

### 7.4.3 Accessibility hierarchy

The relativisability of certain positions is dependent on that of others. The Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) shows the relative accessibility to relativisation of NP positions. Keenan and Comrie (1977:66) propose an accessibility hierarchy of grammatical relations to relativisation:

Accessibility Hierarchy (AH)

SU > DO > IO > OBL<sup>9</sup> > GEN > OCOMP<sup>10</sup>

The AH has the following constraints:

- A language must be able to relativise subjects.
- Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH.

<sup>9</sup> Major oblique case NP - that is, NPs that express arguments of the main predicate, e.g., *John put the money in **the chest*** (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66).

<sup>10</sup> Genitive (or ‘possessor’), e.g., *John took **the man’s** hat* and Object of Comparison, e.g., *John is taller than **the man*** (66) are not grammatical relations (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66). The symbol > means ‘is more accessible than’.

- Strategies that apply at one point of the AH may in principle cease to apply at any lower point (Keenan and Comrie 1977:67).

The subject is most accessible to relativisation and every language can relativise on it, whereas the object of comparison is the least accessible, and not found in some languages. If a language can relativise the object of comparison, then it can also relativise those items above it in the hierarchy; so it is claimed that if a language can relativise on a given position on the accessibility hierarchy, then it can relativise on any position higher on the hierarchy. If a language can relativise the subject it does not necessarily mean that it can relativise on other constituents of the sentence. It is not necessary that a language distinguish all these categories. Furthermore, it might be necessary for a language to promote something to a higher position before it can be relativised.

The following are examples in Fuyug that demonstrate the different positions in the hierarchy.

**a. Subject.** The subject is the most common position for relativisation.

(73) *Di ge amul el an dal di hongol*

1P TOP woman and man REL 1P near

*and-engo=mali hus-e.*

stay-STAT=SIM think-1/2IND

‘We think about the men and women who are living near us.’

(74) *Havond dal and-a-ma hu va havond yu*

bird.of.paradise REL stay-3IND-DS 3S that bird.of.paradise stand

*m-adi g-a.*

put-IRR go-3IND

‘He goes to erect the bird of paradise feathers that remain.’

(75) *Tubun hu=l mad vil bol, es dal=ing holof mem*

ancestor 3S=GEN custom do CMP child REL=PL dance NEG

*hel-a va-ana yalam-adi.*

become-3IND that-one teach-IRR

‘Once the ancestors’ customs are done, then we will teach them to the children who don’t know how to dance.’

**b. Direct object.** The relativisation of the direct object is quite common in Fuyug as well.

- (76) *Es dal amul ge al-i ge odel g-a?*  
 child REL woman TOP see-VBR TOP where go-3IND  
 ‘Where did the child whom the woman saw go?’

- (77) *Vel-i na idage an dal hus-e-me va ana*  
 so-VBR 1S would.that thing REL think-1/2IND-SS that one  
*mem hus-adi.*  
 NEG think-IRR  
 ‘So the thing that I would think about I will not think about.’

**c. Indirect object.** Much less common is the relative clause in the indirect object position.

- (78) *ovo amul dal an hene ge buka adad ind-i*  
 this woman REL man one TOP book to give-VBR  
 ‘this woman who the man gave the book to’

**d. Oblique.** The oblique slot is filled by a locative construction in example (79).

- (79) *Di akolog owal di=l bul=ti, dal an=ing mu ge*  
 1P now here 1P=GEN land=ILL REL man=PL 3P TOP  
*sosol hukas ye-ye di yalov huwan.*  
 work much get-IMPF 1P food nothing  
 ‘Now we here in our place, where people are working very much,  
 don’t have any food.’

I have not found any examples in Fuyug of the relativisation of the genitive or the object of comparison slots. The object of comparison is a bit more cumbersome than in English, so to use it in a relative clause could make it difficult to follow. Example (80) shows how a comparison relationship is formulated.

- (80) *Mang ge Kipi hu=l inog adad and-engo.*  
 Mang TOP Kipi 3S=GEN big on.top.of stay-STAT  
 ‘Mang is bigger than Kipi.’

Further investigation will be necessary in order to determine if Fuyug allows relativisation in these two slots.

## 7.5 Sentence periphery

On the sentence periphery occur responses and closures.

### 7.5.1 Responses

Fuyug has the West Pacific Rim (WPR) strategy for affirmation/negation rather than the Standard Average European (SAE) strategy as proposed by Whorf (1956). That means that ‘yes’ and ‘no’ are used to confirm or deny the quality of the question, rather than the response, as in English. In fact, there are several ways to say ‘yes’ and ‘no’. Note their uses in the following examples.

- (81) *Av ateyg.*  
 word true  
 ‘That’s right.’
- (82) *Nu ge g-adi=a? E, na ge g-adi.*  
 2S TOP go-IRR=INT yes 1S TOP go-IRR  
 ‘Are you going?’ ‘Yes (I will go).’
- (83) *Nu me g-adi=a? Evo.*  
 2S NEG go-IRR=INT yes.NEG  
 ‘Are you not going?’ ‘Yes (I’m not going).’
- (84) *Nu sisiban=a? (Na sisiban) huwan.*  
 2S knowledge=INT 1S knowledge nothing  
 ‘Do you know?’ ‘No (I don’t know).’
- (85) *Nu ge g-adi=a? Todi.*  
 2S TOP go-IRR=INT yes  
 ‘Are you going?’ ‘Yes.’

### 7.5.2 Closure

Intonation pauses in conjunction with *bol-* ‘completive’ (CMP) signal that the verbs function as clauses. Example (86) has three clauses.

- (86) *Akolog vot-u-ng fulumad-e bol-e / tarak tel-e*  
 now vote-POSB-ASMPT finish-SEQ CMP-SEQ car come-SEQ  
*bol-e / kalak=ing yevel hen-g-a.*  
 CMP-SEQ pollster=PL up.there.close up-go-3IND  
 ‘Now the voting finished and then the car came and took the pollsters  
 up there.’

The statement *nal av ala* ‘Hear my talk’ is often used to begin a narrative, while the word *gig* ‘enough’ or the statement *Nal av ge huwan* ‘My talk is finished’ is often used to close it.

## 8. Discourse

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### 8.1 Discourse genres

There are two main genres of discourse found in Fuyug: narrative/descriptive and procedural. The narrative/descriptive genre also has the two sub-genres of epistolary and explanatory/legend. The various discourse genres are summarised in table 8.1.

Table 8.1 Fuyug discourse genres

genre	sub-genre	characteristics
narrative/descriptive	epistolary	begins with recipient's name
	explanatory/ legend	causal conjunctions
procedural		X v- <i>adi</i> . X v bol 'v-irrealis. v completive' '...will do X. Once X done...'

#### 8.1.1 Narrative/descriptive discourse genre

According to Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec (1981:37),

The typical question asked (or answered) by narration is: "What happened?" and "How did it happen?" Of course, the reader also wants to know: "Who did it and where and when was it done?" so that answers to these questions become essential elements in most narratives. Narration, therefore, is generally introduced with a setting and then focuses on incidents involving specified participants. They consist primarily of a sequential chronological framework of events, in which the stimulus-response relations are dominant.

A narrative/descriptive discourse tells a story or delineates some action or object: ‘Narrative discourse recounts a series of events’ (Larson 1975:198). Narrative/descriptive discourses start with a setting and then recount the incidents involving the participants, making use of all verbal categories. The narrative/descriptive type is the main type of discourse found in Fuyug. Narratives follow a chronological order as Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec described in the previous quotation.

Two short narrative/descriptive discourses follow. In this first text, note that it describes the author as a snake. It makes use mostly of =*mali* ‘SIM’ and *bol-e* ‘CMP-SEQ’ (see §8.2.1.3) in order to sequence the events of the descriptive discourse.

- (1) *Na=ni manuʃ.*  
 1S=EMPH snake  
 ‘I am a snake.’

*Na=ni talel im mavan=ti and-engo=mali*  
 1S=EMPH forever down.there.far forest=ILL stay-STAT=SIM  
*an ongo ge na hongol mem hindel-adi.*  
 man some TOP 1S near not come.out-IRR  
 ‘While I am always living down there in the forest no one will come near me.’

*Nu=ni ge na ud-e=mali na hongol meme g-adi.*  
 2S=EMPH TOP 1S fear-1/2IND=SIM 1S near NEG go-IRR  
 ‘As you are afraid of me you will not go near me.’

*Ta na=ni talel val id-engo.*  
 but 1S=EMPH forever back.here sleep-STAT  
 ‘But I always sleep there.’

*An ongo ge va na hongol g-o=mali na ge*  
 man some TOP back.here 1S near go-POSB=SIM 1S TOP  
*id-adi,*  
 cut-IRR  
 ‘If anyone goes back there, I will bite him/her.’

*hu.vavel.adad an=ing mu na al-i bol-e ud-ed.*  
 therefore man=PL 3P 1S see-VBR CMP-SEQ fear-IMP  
 ‘so when people see me they are afraid.’

*Ta kobadi mu=ni ge na y-e bol-e ge-ge*  
 but white.skin 3P=EMPH TOP 1S get-SEQ CMP-SEQ go-IMP  
*bol-e mu=l em=ti and-a m-adi;*  
 CMP-SEQ 3P=GEN house=ILL stay-3IND put-IRR  
 ‘But whiteskins take me and put me in their houses;’

*mu ende yalov y-e g-e bol-e na ind-i na*  
 3P also food get-SEQ go-SEQ CMP-SEQ 1S give-VBR 1S  
*ende ge n-adi.*  
 also TOP eat-IRR  
 ‘they also bring food to me to eat.’

*Imal hene-ng=iti an=ing ende na al-i bol-e ende*  
 day some-PL=ILL man=PL also 1S see-VBR CMP-SEQ also  
*ud-ed hukas-i,*  
 fear-PART much-VBR  
 ‘Some days people see me and they are very fearful,’

*ta na=ni ende an=ing mem id-ed an.*  
 but 1S=EMPH also man=PL NEG cut-PART one  
 ‘but I am not a biting snake.’

*Imal hene-ng=iti na ende an=ing id-adi,*  
 day some-PL=ILL 1S also man=PL cut-IRR  
 ‘Some days I bite people,’

*ta na ende imal hene-ng=iti mu mem id-adi.*  
 but 1S also day some-PL=ILL 3P NEG cut-IRR  
 ‘but on other days I don’t bite.’

The following text is a story told by a girl about herself and her sisters and their misfortune on the house’s steps. It also uses *bol-e* ‘CMP-SEQ’ as in the first



text in example (1), but it makes particular use of *-ma* ‘DS’ to switch between the participants in the discourse (see §8.2.2.3).

- (2) *Imal hene=ti na=v ala na=l samel-e di*  
 day some=ILL 1S=CF COM 1S=GEN younger.sister-PL 1P  
*yu bol-e di=l em hu=l talo=tu*  
 stand CMP-SEQ 1P=GEN house 3S=GEN verandah=ALL  
*kolos-i-ma,*  
 play-VBR-DS

‘One day my younger sisters and I stood up on our house’s verandah and were playing.’

- Na=l samel hene yu bol-e em=dam=ti*  
 1S=GEN younger.sister some stand CMP-SEQ house=out=ILL  
*g-adi=mote ge-ge-ma didig dalad-a-ma*  
 go-IRR=DESID go-IMPFS step break-3IND-DS

‘then one of my younger sisters got up to go outside and as she was going the steps broke;’

- yu bol-e angad-a-ma di=l bab he-tel-e di*  
 stand CMP-SEQ fall-3IND-DS 1P=GEN father up-come-SEQ 1P  
*had-o-do.*  
 hit-POSB-IMPFS

‘she got up and fell, and then our father came up to hit us.’

#### 8.1.1.1 Epistolary sub-genre

A narrative/descriptive epistolary discourse is a type of correspondence or a letter. It follows the same format as other narrative/descriptive discourses, the difference being that it begins with the recipient’s name, as in example (3): *Per Sirisio* ‘Father Sourissous’. It typically delineates what a person is doing or some problem the writer wants the reader to know about and/or resolve.

- (3) *Sal hu=l av.*  
 sickness 3S=GEN word  
 ‘Sickness’s word.’

*Per Sirisio, na ge va malel=iti sal*  
 Father Sourissous 1S TOP that paper=ILL sickness  
*hu=l av nu ana t-adi.*  
 3S=GEN word 2S REC say-IRR

‘Father Sourissous, in this letter I will tell you the sickness’s word.’

*An Visin hene hu=l if Ulo Gulinde,*  
 man Visin some 3S=GEN name Ulo Gulinde  
*va an hu=ni ge tel-e-me et-a,*  
 that man 3S=EMPH TOP come-SEQ-DS say-3IND  
 ‘A Visin man named Ulo Gulinde came and said,’

*‘Yi nom moni m-o-mo-ng bol ovol had-a,*  
 2P RECIP money put-POSB-IMPF-ASMPT CMP pig hit-3IND  
*had-e bol silav ind-i, yi=l an=ing mu=l*  
 hit-SEQ CMP spirit give-VBR 2P=GEN man=PL 3P=GEN  
*silav idage akolog av had-adi.’*  
 spirit would.that now word hit-IRR

‘‘‘You yourselves put money on a pig and kill it, and then give it to the spirit; your people’s spirit will begin to talk.’’’

*Hu=ni et-a, ‘Yi moni m-o-me imal hene=ti yi*  
 3S=EMPH say-3IND 2P money put-POSB-SS day some=ILL 2P  
*ge va mon hu=l kagavan=ti eke imal hu=l tof*  
 TOP that money 3S=GEN strong=ILL or day 3S=GEN tail  
*odel va moni hombobol and-adi.’*  
 where that money above stay-IRR

‘He said, ‘‘‘You get the money and then one day by that money’s power in the end you will gain more.’’’

*Ilitumun ala Henend ge moni hukas va an ind-i*  
 Ilitumun COM Henend TOP money much that man give-VBR

*ende ovol hukas had-a,*  
also pig many hit-3IND

‘Ilitumun and Henend gave that man lots of money and also killed many pigs,’

*mu ge hil-e moni tawsend odel an had-e*  
3P TOP ignorant-1/2IND money thousand where man hit-SEQ  
*tu tavon gabil tul.ind-i,*  
3D again tree.species sell-VBR

‘I don’t know how many thousands they gave the man and they also bought *gabil* trees’ secret practices,’

*hu=ni ge ende va mad=ing tavon gabil*  
3S=EMPH TOP also that custom=PL again tree.species  
*yalam-a-ma tu=ni va mad=ing vil-i.*  
show-3IND-DS 3D=EMPH that custom=PL do-VBR

‘and he showed them the *gabil* secrets so they could do them.’

*Va-seba hu=l sal ge Ilitumun=ti hindel-e-m*  
that-DEM 3S=GEN sickness TOP Ilitumun=ILL come.out-SEQ-?  
*he-tel-a.*  
up-come-3IND

‘That sickness came upon Ilitumun.’

*Na ge imal hukas em=ti Deov hu=l av mu*  
1S TOP day many house=ILL God 3S=GEN word 3P  
*ana t-o-do.*  
REC say-POSB-IMPF

‘For many days I was telling them God’s word in the village.’

*Mu ge Ilitumun=ti va mad-a hu=l em*  
3P TOP Ilitumun=ILL that custom=CF 3S=GEN house  
*hel-a veyl-i-ma sa ge val*  
become-3IND like.so-VBR-DS sickness TOP back.here

*Ilitumun=ti hindel-a.*  
 Ilitumun=ILL come.out-3IND

‘In Ilitumun they built a house according to that custom, so then the sickness came there in Ilitumun.’

*Va nanan=ing ge hus-a-m vavel, ta mu=ni ge*  
 that person=PL TOP think-3IND-? so but 3P=EMPH TOP  
*Deov huwalan hel-e bol-e*  
 God forget become-SEQ CMP-SEQ

‘Those people thought about it, so they forgot about God,’

*mu ge va mad=a isel-e=mali*  
 3P TOP that.one custom=CF follow-SEQ=SIM  
*mu=l huwal et-a hil-e di=l an=ing us*  
 3P=GEN heart say-3IND ignorant-SEQ 1P=GEN man=PL death  
*ang-eg an=ing idage moni ufud di ind-idi,*  
 become-PART man=PL would.that money many 1P give-IRR  
 ‘then while they were following that practice they wanted to see if the dead could give them lots of money,’

*veyl-i na=ni hus-e-ma mu ge va-seb an*  
 like.so-VBR 1S=EMPH think-1/2IND-DS 3P TOP that-DEM one  
*hu=l sal hel-ele.*  
 3S=GEN sickness become-IMPF

‘so I think that they got that sickness because of this.’

### 8.1.1.2 Explanatory / legend sub-genre

According to Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec (1981:36), an expository (or explanatory) discourse

typically answers such questions as: “What is claimed and why?” “What is the explanation of X?” “Why is X so?” It embraces all discourse that has as its purpose definition, explanation, information, or interpretation. It is probably one of the most frequently used forms of discourse...By and large, expository discourse consists of logically related sequences of propositions, with such relations as generic-specific, reason-result, and grounds-conclusion occurring frequently.

An explanatory/legend discourse tries to give more details about a subject in order to clarify or make it clear or understandable, to help the reader/hearer understand by giving reasons behind something. This sub-type uses cause-effect and reason-result subordinating conjunctions, which are indicated in bold in the following text. Otherwise the explanatory/legend sub-genre behaves just as all other narrative/descriptive discourses.

- (4) *Praym Minister ge Woytap=iti yu-di.*  
 Prime Minister TOP Woytape=ILL stand-IRR  
 ‘The prime minister will come to Woytape.’

*Ilati Thursday ge he-tel-adi.*  
 tomorrow Thursday TOP up-come-IRR  
 ‘He will come up tomorrow on Thursday.’

*Veyl-i amul el an=ing yovel Woytap=iti*  
 like.so-VBR woman and man=PL up.there.close Woytape=ILL  
*hafom-adi.*  
 wait-IRR  
 ‘So the people there in Woytape will wait for him.’

*Praym Minister he-tel-o hen-g-a amul el*  
 Prime Minister up-come-POSB up-go-3IND woman and  
*an=ing av had-adi ende fekad-e Morsby g-adi.*  
 man=PL word hit-IRR also turn-SEQ Port.Moresby go-IRR  
 ‘The prime minister will come up to talk to the people and then return to Port Moresby.’

*Im Morsby mu akolog pelen y-e bol*  
 down.there.far Port.Moresby 3P now plane get-SEQ CMP  
*he-tel-adi. He-tel-o=mali ge hen-g-adi.*  
 up-come-IRR up-come-POSB=SIM TOP up-go-IRR  
 ‘They will take a plane down there in Port Moresby and will come up.’

*Ta di=l sikul al-idi ge omel sosol-idi.*  
 and 1P=GEN school see-IRR TOP there.far work-IRR  
 ‘And he will work at seeing our school.’

*Mu yovel Woytap=iti and-o-do-ng an*  
 3P up.there.close Waitape=ILL stay-POSB-IMPF-ASMPT man  
*hene-ng bid-i av t-adi, ‘Na=ni kofe vil-i.’*  
 some-PL lie-VBR word say-IRR 1S=EMPH coffee do-VBR  
 ‘While staying there in Waitape some people will lie saying, “I grow coffee.”’

*Ta hene-ng mu=ni bid-i et-adi, ‘Na=ni sipi*  
 and some-PL 3P=EMPH lie-VBR say-IRR 1S=EMPH sheep  
*hafom-eme.’*  
 look.after-IMPF  
 ‘And some others will lie saying, “I look after sheep.”’

*Veyl-i memba ge va an=a biliv-idi,*  
 like.so-VBR member TOP that man=CF believe-IRR  
*memba ge moni hene-ng ind-i=menenga*  
 member TOP money some-PL give-VBR=FUT.SEQ  
 ‘So the member (of parliament) might believe them, and give them some money,’

*mu ge biya n-e-me sipak bol amul el an mu*  
 3P TOP beer eat-SEQ-SS drunk CMP woman and man 3P  
*kod t-adi.*  
 rebuke say-IRR  
 ‘and then they will drink beer and get drunk and people will rebuke them.’

*Veyl-i mu et-adi, ‘Grass Roots val.’*  
 like.so-VBR 3P say-IRR grass roots back.here  
 ‘So they will say, “Here we are Grass Roots.”’

A legend is an allo-genre of the explanatory sub-genre, a special kind of explanatory discourse, which includes some reason or explanation behind why things are the way they are today. A legend is like an explanatory discourse, but the explanation is just part of the story and not the reason behind relating the story; therefore, the causal conjunctions might not be included, as in the following text. The following text is an excerpt from the story *Ufif una Alinge*, which is an ancestor story about the first man and woman in the Ononge area.

(5) *Na et-e Ufif una Alinge Hambed fey=ti*  
 1S say-1/2IND Ufif COM Alinge Hambed cave=ILL  
*id-edē.*  
 sleep-IMPF

‘I say that Ufif and Alinge were living in a cave in Hambed.’

*Tu=l em Motobalu.*  
 3D=GEN house Motobalu

‘Their village was Motobalu.’

*Tu=l halifan m-e bol-e val hongol*  
 3D=GEN hourglass.drum put-SEQ CMP-SEQ back.here near  
*id-o-do-ng bol-e*  
 sleep-POSB-IMPF-ASMPT CMP-SEQ

‘They put their hourglass drums away and then they slept’

*ge ibel Sumfe.*  
 TOP down.there Sumfe

‘and later they went down to Sumfe.’

*Sumfe hindel-e bol-e halond=iti hindel-e*  
 Sumfe come.out-SEQ CMP-SEQ garden=ILL come.out-SEQ  
*bol-e.*  
 CMP-SEQ

‘They came out of Sumfe and went into the garden.’

*Alinge and-a-me Imfol hu=l sof y-e tel-e=mali*  
 Alinge stay-3IND-SS Imfol 3S=GEN axe get-SEQ come-SEQ=SIM

*al hu=l sof y-e,*  
 here 3S=GEN axe get-SEQ  
 ‘Alinge stayed and when she came she brought Imfol’s axe.’

*tel-e=mali sul hel-e=mali Ufif ge-ge*  
 come-SEQ=SIM grass become-SEQ=SIM Ufif go-IMPF  
*kod-a.*  
 dig-3IND  
 ‘When she was pulling grass, Ufif was going to dig.’

*Kuduf kod-e bol-e nemb hem-e bol-e y-e*  
 worm dig-SEQ CMP-SEQ bird pierce-SEQ CMP-SEQ get-SEQ  
*tel-e Alinge anang et-a, ‘Oki had-adi.’*  
 come-SEQ Alinge REC say-3IND fire hit-IRR  
 ‘He dug up some worms, and then he shot a bird, and brought it up  
 and told Alinge, “Cook it on the fire.”’

*Oki had-a-ma Ufif bol-e.*  
 fire hit-3IND-DS Ufif leave-SEQ  
 ‘She cooked it on the fire and then Ufif left.’

The following text includes excerpts from the beginning and the end of a legend about a boy named *Maf* and the troubles that befall him because of his childish disobedience. (The full text is found in the appendix.) This story is meant to show the consequences of childish folly. The principle character, Maf, is referred to by name or as *fanime* ‘poor one’, *fanime Maf* ‘poor one Maf’, *fanime Maf hu nang* ‘poor Maf himself’, *hu nang* ‘himself’, *Maf hu mani* ‘the same one Maf’, *ovo* ‘this one’, *va esa* ‘that child’, *va fanime* ‘that poor one’, or *va Mafa* ‘that Maf (as part of background information or a quote)’. The end of the story gives the moral or explanation to teach the reader/hearer a lesson. Like other explanatory discourses, it makes use of causal conjunctions.

- (6) *Ilof di=l tubun hu=l imal=ti, imal hene=ti*  
 before 1P=GEN ancestor 3S=GEN day=ILL day some=ILL  
*aked Fuyug he-tel-e yevel-ele di=l*  
 people Fuyug up-come-SEQ up.there.far-IMPF 1P=GEN



*kum hu=l if Avoli Bola=tu imbad*  
 mountain 3S=GEN name Avoli Bola=ALL cuscus

*av-u.*  
 look.for-POSB

‘Before in our ancestors’ time, one day Fuyug men came up there on our mountain named Avoli Bola looking for cuscus.’

*Mu hasam=ti g-o=mali, hale.sol hene hu=l if Maf,*  
 3P hunt=ILL go-POSB=SIM boy some 3S=GEN name Maf  
*hu=ni val-ele mu=l em hafom-e and-o . . .*  
 3S=EMPH back.here-IMPF 3P=GEN house look.after-SEQ stay-POSB

‘While they were going hunting, one boy named Maf stayed back looking after their village...’

*Veyl-i es=eng madam hu=l*  
 like.so-VBR child=PL meat 3S=GEN

*imal=ti yuv ud-i ta mu ge ende Maf hu=l*  
 day=ILL water carry-VBR but 3P TOP also Maf 3S=GEN  
*vil-i-li-di.*

do-VBR-IMPF-IRR

‘So on hunting day children carry water, but they also follow Maf’s practice.’

### 8.1.2 Procedural discourse genre

According to Beekman, Callow, and Kopesec (1981:37),

the question which typifies procedural discourse is: “How is X done?”...time, or, more strictly speaking, succession in time, is significant to the structure.

A procedural discourse relates a particular course of actions. This type of text is characterised by a continual use of:

X v-*adi*. X v *bol*  
 X v-irrealis. X v completive

One sentence ends in *-adi* ‘IRR’ and the next sentence continues that action with an unmarked verb stem followed by *bol* ‘CMP’. The course of actions follows a strict chronological ordering; the actions describe the procedures involved in

doing what is usually a common event. The event is not really happening but just being described for the hearer/reader, as Larson (1975:198) says:

Procedural discourse gives instructions concerning the accomplishing of a task or the handling of a situation. It is normally ordered in a time-line, but it is a projected time-line, referring to the future rather than the past.

In the following text, the author is describing the process of building a house, a process which naturally follows a particular sequential order.

- (7) *Nu ge al-e=na?*  
 2S TOP hear-1/2IND=INT  
 ‘Do you understand?’

*Di=ni em hel-adi=mote ferst bul tomal-adi.*  
 1P=EMPH house become-IRR=DESID first land make-IRR  
 ‘When we try to build a house, first we prepare the ground.’

*Bul tomal bol isel hay mud=iti.*  
 land make CMP follow fence plant=ILL  
 ‘Once the ground is prepared, then the posts are planted.’

*Hay mud flumad bol enden iyof iyal=ti bol enden*  
 fence plant finish CMP also vine hand=ILL CMP also  
*isel duwi.*  
 follow post.thing  
 ‘Once the posts are all planted, then also the vines are tied; then the posts are placed.’

*And haluv mud=iti flumad bol enden isel kended*  
 thing all plant=ILL finish CMP also follow support  
*and-a m-adi.*  
 stay-3IND put-IRR  
 ‘Once the entire foundation is completed, then the supports are placed.’

*Kended and-a me bol enden isel em hu=l*  
 support stay-3IND put CMP also follow house 3S=GEN

*fodofod      yu      m-adi.*  
 roof.support stand put-IRR

‘Once the supports are placed, then the roof supports of the house are hung.’

## 8.2 Discourse devices

Cohesion and participant reference, in their various forms, are employed in Fuyug discourse.

### 8.2.1 Cohesion

Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be effectively decoded except by recourse to it (Halliday and Hasan 1976:4).

Cohesion in Fuyug has referential, structural, temporal, lexical, and deictic forms.

#### 8.2.1.1 Referential cohesion

Referential cohesion makes use of pronouns or nominal forms to identify participants from a previous sentence or clause. These devices can be exhibited through either pronominal reference, alternate nominal reference, ellipsis, or medial clauses.

**a. Pronominal reference.** Pronouns are of the same form in both subject and object position. They are commonly used as a cohesive device in Fuyug text in that subsequent clauses and sentences employ the pronouns to make reference to the nominals of the previous clauses or sentences (anaphoric reference). The function of a pronoun is to establish or reestablish a referent as topical. Once this is done, continued reference is maintained through ellipsis. Person is only marked on final verbs in otherwise uninflected forms,<sup>1</sup> so the weight of reference is carried by pronouns. It is rare to find a clause or sentence without a pronoun; pronouns occur in subsequent sentences unless they are indicated by a nominal (due to intervening background information or a quote), or switch reference, or

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<sup>1</sup> That is, no aspect/mode is indicated, as in:

*Na ge tel-e.      Hu ge tel-a.*  
 1S TOP come-1/2IND 3S TOP come-3IND  
 ‘I came. He came.’

when there is a recapitulation of the verb of the previous sentence, as seen in example (8). (See also §8.2.2.3).

- (8) *Veyl-i-ma mu ende and-o.*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 3P also stay-POSB  
 ‘So they also were staying.’

∅ *And-o-ma an hu=l haben hu nang ende*  
 stay-POSB-DS man 3S=GEN other 3S REC also  
*tavon Maf yed et-a.*  
 again Maf call say-3IND

‘Then another man, he himself also called Maf again.’

- ∅ *T-a-ma Maf tavon ende et-a, ‘Todi.’*  
 say-3IND-DS Maf again also say-3IND yes  
 ‘He called and then Maf again also said, “Yes.”’

The pronouns are used to maintain continuity of participants when there is more than one. When there is only one participant, then ellipsis is used. Ellipsis is also used in recapitulation forms, as seen in example (8) (in which case the participant is the same for the two clauses). Table 8.2, repeated from §4.2, shows the pronouns found in Fuyug.

Table 8.2 Fuyug pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1	<i>na</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>di</i>
2	<i>nu</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yi</i>
3	<i>hu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>mu</i>

The following text (9) illustrates the anaphoric reference of pronouns. In the object position they are used with animate objects, while ellipsis is most prevalent with inanimate objects.

- (9) *Ivol=a ge hu=l mam adad kupev hilam-i.*  
 Ivol=CF TOP 3S=GEN mother toward sweet.potato ask-VBR

*Hu ge anang et-a hu ge halond=iti ø hav-idi.*  
 3S TOP REC say-3IND 3S TOP garden=ILL look.for-IRR  
 ‘Ivol asked his mother for sweet potato. She told him he would find it  
 in the garden.’

Often a pronoun functions as a recapitulation or copy of a topicalised noun (phrase). This is often used when first introducing a major participant bearing the subject or object roles. Example (10) shows its use in the subject position.

- (10) *Aked Fuyug mu ge talel hasam y-e=mali . . .*  
 people Fuyug 3P TOP forever hunt get-SEQ=SIM  
 ‘As the Fuyug men kept hunting . . .’

Example (11) shows its use in the object slot.

- (11) *Imal heneng=iti na ende an=ing mu id-adi.*  
 day some.PL=ILL 1S also man=PL 3P cut-IRR  
 ‘Some days I also bite people.’

The pronouns often take the =*ni* ‘emphatic marker’ to indicate focus on the participant(s), as seen in example (12). (See also §4.2.1.2).

- (12) *Hale.sol hene hu=l if Maf, hu=ni*  
 boy some 3S=GEN name Maf 3S=EMPH  
*val-ele mu=l em hafom-e and-o.*  
 back.here-IMPF 3P=GEN house look.after-SEQ stay-POSB  
 ‘One boy named Maf, he stayed back looking after their village.’

**b. Alternate nominal reference.** Often reference can be extended to the next sentence or clause through the use of *ovo/va* + N ‘this/that + N’, as in example (13). The subject *Maf* is replaced with the reference *va esa* ‘that child’ in subsequent clauses or sentences. This type of reference is not as common as pronominal reference, but is still extensively used. It is used stylistically to keep the participant in focus after some background or quotation digression. In particular, it functions to encode additional characteristics of a participant which will be relevant in the ensuing discourse. Example (13) for instance, is from the text about Maf and how he gets into trouble because of his childish foolishness. Therefore the writer emphasises his childishness by referring to him as *va esa* ‘that child’.

- (13) *Maf ge mu=l av al-e bol-e et-a, 'Todi.'*  
 Maf TOP 3P=GEN word hear-SEQ CMP-SEQ say-3IND yes  
*Va es=a va av=a te-de bol-e ovo*  
 that child=CF that word=CF say-IMPF CMP-SEQ this  
*em=ati and-o.*  
 house=INE stay-POSB  
 'Maf heard their word and said, "Yes." That child said that and  
 remained in the village.'

c. **Ellipsis** is primarily limited to the object position and to anaphoric reference; however, it can occur in subject position too. It commonly occurs within a sentence from one clause to the next. It does not typically occur across sentence boundaries (pronouns being used then), except when there is a recapitulation of the verb (see above for examples). Once the identity of a subject or an object has been established through use of a noun or pronoun, if the same subject or object is maintained in the subsequent clause, it is omitted. Ellipsis indicates that the information is readily recoverable from the immediately preceding context. It also is used in pivot constructions such as 'He<sub>1</sub> hit him<sub>2</sub> and he<sub>2</sub> died'<sup>2</sup> because the switch reference system keeps track of the participants. (See §8.2.2.3). Note its use in the following examples. In example (14) subject ellipsis is seen, while in example (15) object ellipsis is seen.

- (14) *Na ge Yesu hu=l av mu ana t-e=mali ∅*  
 1S TOP Jesus 3S=GEN word 3P REC say-1/2IND=SIM  
*melek me-me.*  
 plate put-IMPF  
 'While I told them Jesus' word, I put out an offering plate.'

- (15) *Bab ge bisop eke paris hu=l moni ti yalov di*  
 father TOP bishop or parish 3S=GEN money in food 1P

---

<sup>2</sup> *Hu=ni<sub>1</sub> ge ∅<sub>2</sub> had-a-ma ∅<sub>2</sub> ge us ang-a.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP hit-3IND-DS TOP death become-3IND  
 'He<sub>1</sub> hit him<sub>2</sub> and then he<sub>2</sub> died.'

*ind-i-ma di Ø n-e.*  
 give-VBR-DS 1P eat-1/2IND

‘Father (the priest) gave us the bishop’s or parish’s money for food and then we ate (the food).’

Clausal ellipsis is permissible as well. It is very common in answers to questions, as seen in example (16); in fact, it would be rare to state the whole proposition unless there were some reason, such as to emphasise the action.

(16) *Vali ge yalov had-a. Ta na=ni Ø huwan.*  
 Vali TOP food hit-3IND but 1S=EMPH nothing  
 ‘Vali cooked food. But I did not (cook food).’

(17) *Nu tel-e=na? Todi Ø.*  
 2S come-1/2=INT yes  
 ‘Did you come? Yes (I came).’

**d. Medial clauses** have a cataphoric referential function, and are used to signal the end of one action chain and transition to another. The step-structure is:

*-e . . . bol-e . . . bol-e . . . -e/-a*  
 -SEQ . . CMP-SEQ . . . CMP-SEQ . . . -1/2IND/-3IND

‘First, . . . next . . ., then . . ., finally . . .’

Medial clauses occur in Fuyug narrative/descriptive discourses in order to chain actions together into a cohesive unit of events. The medial clause chain items are indicated in bold in example (18), indicating that one action is finished before moving onto the next action.

(18) *Aked mu ge nom anang t-e **bol-e** idage*  
 people 3P TOP RECIP REC say-SEQ CMP-SEQ would.that  
*imbad fidifid y-e **bol-e** Maf hongol and-a*  
 cuscus one.by.one get-SEQ CMP-SEQ Maf near stay-3IND  
*m-a.*  
 put-3IND

‘Then the men told each other that they would take the cuscus one-by-one and place them near Maf.’

### 8.2.1.2 Structural cohesion - junction

Junction describes an indirect form of structural cohesion. Junction involves the linking of two discourse sections by means of a conjunctive form, which specifies the type of relationship the sections bear to each other. Typically this is one of cause-effect or reason-result. In the narrative/descriptive explanatory discourse sub-genre, junction is the way to tie sentences together, to give explanation to previous material. It has the form:

X V. *Veyl-i (-ma)* ‘be/like.SO-VBR (-DS)’ . . .

The form *-ma* is used to indicate a switch in reference. It is a backgrounding device, particularly for explanatory/performative non-event information and secondary events. Note example (19), which provides the moral to the story about the boy named Maf. The word *veyl-i* ‘be/like.so-VBR’ signals the reader to see this in light of what was discussed before.

- (19) *Mu and-o-ma an hu=l haben tavon et-a, ‘Maf=a,’*  
 3P stay-POSB-DS man 3S=GEN other again say-3IND Maf=CF  
 ‘They were sitting and then another man again said, “Maf.”’

*ta Maf av ongo meme t-a-ma va aked=ing owal*  
 but Maf word some NEG say-3IND-DS that man=PL here  
*g-adi=mote;*  
 go-IRR=DESID

‘But Maf didn’t say a word, and so those men were trying to go over there.’

*fanim-e hu=l hambol ind-u-du-ma imal*  
 poor.one-SEQ 3S=GEN stomach give-POSB-IMP-DS day  
*id-engu=mali yuv akolog hu=l goban=ti*  
 sleep-STAT=SIM water now 3S=GEN throat=ILL  
*hindel-o=mali.*  
 come.out-POSB=SIM

‘The poor one’s stomach was full and while he was lying there, water was coming out of his throat.’



*Veyl-i-ma mu ovo an i=tu m-e bol-e*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 3P this man tree=ALL put-SEQ CMP-SEQ  
*y-e yevel-ele em=ti hen-g-a.*  
 get-SEQ up.there-IMPF house=ILL up-go-3IND  
 ‘So they put him on a stretcher and took him up to the village.’

*Veyl-i es=ing madam hu=l imal=ti yuv*  
 like.so-VBR child=PL meat 3S=GEN day=ILL water  
*ud-i ta mu ge ende Maf hu=l vil-i-li-di.*  
 carry-VBR but 3P TOP also Maf 3S=GEN do-VBR-IMPF-IRR  
 ‘So on hunting days children carry water, but they also follow Maf’s  
 practice.’

### 8.2.1.3 Temporal cohesion

The temporal forms (=mali ‘SIM’, bol- ‘CMP’, =menenga ‘FUT.SEQ’) give cohesion by expressing the type of temporal relationship existing between two successive clauses (hypotaxis).

**a. Simultaneous subordinating conjunction.** The simultaneous subordinating postclitic conjunction =mali signals that the event expressed by the following clause is occurring at the same time as the event expressed by the clause containing =mali (i.e., that there is overlap or co-occurrence), and thus is translated as ‘while’ or ‘as’. It occurs following either the morpheme -e ‘SEQ’ or the morpheme -o ‘POSB’, so there may or may not be certainty to the following action. Like =menenga ‘FUT.SEQ’ it does not signal same subject versus different subject.

(20) *Bul ge dub ang-o=mali mu ge imbad had-a.*  
 land TOP dark remain-POSB=SIM 3P TOP cuscus hit-3IND  
 ‘As it was getting dark they killed cuscus.’

(21) *Mu hasam=ti g-o=mali, hale.sol hene hu=l if Maf,*  
 3P hunt=ILL go-POSB=SIM boy some 3S=GEN name Maf  
*hu=ni val-ele mu=l em hafom-e and-o.*  
 3S=EMPH back.here-IMPF 3P=GEN house look.after-SEQ stay-POSB  
 ‘As they went hunting, a boy named Maf was staying back looking  
 after their village.’

**b. Completive aspect.** The completive aspect is indicated by a construction with the verb *bol-* ‘leave’ and is translated as ‘finished’. The construction has the following form:

V-*e*    *bol-e*            or    V    *bol*  
 V-SEQ    CMP-SEQ            V    CMP

It expresses the completion of the event encoded by its clause before the occurrence of the event encoded by the following clause. It is also used in procedural discourse (see §8.1.2).

(22) *Hu=ni ge yuv hel-e bol-e em=ti g-a.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP water become-SEQ CMP-SEQ house=ILL go-3IND  
 ‘He washed and then went into the house.’

(23) *Mu ge Ilitumun=ti va mad=a hu=l em*  
 3P TOP Ilitumun=ILL that custom=CF 3S=GEN house  
*hel-e bol-e, veyl-i-ma sal ge*  
 become-SEQ CMP-SEQ like.so-VBR-DS sickness TOP  
*val Ilitumun=ti hindel-a*  
 back.here Ilitumun=ILL come.out-3IND  
 ‘In Ilitumun they built the house according to that practice and so that sickness came upon Ilitumun.’

**c. Future sequential morpheme.** The subordinating postclitic conjunction =*menenga* signals future sequence in which another action will follow (with some gap of time in between). It often follows *-o* ‘POSB’. It is typically translated as ‘once... then’. Switch-reference is not used in conjunction with it (i.e., it does not signal same subject versus different subject).

(24) *Di sosol y-o=menenga di ge di=l bul=ti g-adi.*  
 1P work get-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1P TOP 1P=GEN land=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘Once we get work then we might go to our place.’

(25) *Had-o=menenga mu dub=iti moni me bol*  
 hit-POSB=FUT.SEQ 3P night=ILL money put CMP  
*y-e g-adi.*  
 get-SEQ go-IRR

‘Once they will kill them (the pigs), then in the night they will collect money and take it with them.’

#### 8.2.1.4 Lexical cohesion

There are several types of lexical cohesive devices exhibited in Fuyug including head-tail linkage, generic word, collocation, cultural knowledge, and summation. According to Larson (1975:224–225):

Selection of vocabulary items from a common semantic area contributes greatly to discourse cohesion. Obviously, if many of the words in a paragraph come from the same semantic domain they contribute to the unity of that paragraph.

**a. Head-tail linkage** is an important cohesive device in Fuyug. It could also be termed repetition or clause chaining. It is used as a recapitulation device in oral discourse to keep the hearer’s attention, but is much less common in written discourse. It is used to chain the previous clause or sentence to the next one, thus emphasising the action or event of the previous sentence. It is similar to procedural, making use of the *-o* ‘POSB’, but the verb of the first sentence ends in *-adi/-idi* ‘IRR’. It can be translated as: ‘...will X... Once X...’. It is a bit more ‘real’ than procedural in the sense that it is describing a real situation. It has the following form:

V- <i>adi</i> .	V- <i>o</i>	or	V- <i>e/i</i> .	V- <i>e/i</i>
V-IRR.	V-POSB		V-SEQ/VBR.	V-SEQ/VBR

- (26) *Di va an sisiban mal-adi. Sisiban mal-o*  
 1P that thing knowledge become-IRR knowledge become-POSB  
*di av hene=ng t-o enden sisiban mal-o.*  
 1P word some=PL say-POSB also knowledge become-POSB  
 ‘We will know about that. Once we know that you will tell us some words and then we will know them.’

Head-tail linkage can also be used with *=mali* ‘SIM’, and so the recapitulating clause can be either coordinate or subordinate: (1) ‘He went to the forest. He went to the forest and...,’ or (2) ‘He went to the forest. While he went to the forest...’.

- (27) *Na=l menan el na=l bab sum-u hasam-i.*  
 1S=GEN older.brother and 1S=GEN father walk-POSB hunt-VBR

*Tu hasam-i=mali ge-ge-ma . . .*  
 3D hunt-VBR=SIM go-IMPf-DS

‘My older brother and my father were walking and hunting. As they were hunting they were going along and then . . .’

It also occurs with medial clause sequences terminating in *bol-e* ‘CMP-SEQ’ (see §8.1.1)

- (28) *Di imbad mul-i. Di ø mul-i*  
 1P cuscus cook.in.stones-VBR 1P cook.in.stones-VBR  
*bol-e n-o-no-ma sum-u-mu-na<sup>3</sup> di nanga*  
 CMP-SEQ eat-POSB-IMPf-DS walk-POSB-IMPf-? 1P REC  
*yalov y-e.*  
 food get-1/2IND

‘We cooked the cuscus in stones. We cooked it in stones and then we were eating it. Then we were going on and then we got some food for ourselves.’

- (29) *Di nanga yalov y-e. Di yalov y-e tel-e*  
 1P REC food get-1/2IND 1P food get-SEQ come-SEQ  
*and-e m-e bol-e . . .*  
 stay-SEQ put-SEQ CMP-SEQ

‘We got the food for ourselves. We brought the food and put it down . . .’

**b. Generic word.** The generic words *ovo ana* ‘this thing’ or *va ana* ‘that thing’ are used to refer to things, while for an action *ovo mada* ‘this custom/practice’ or *va mada* ‘that custom/practice’ are used. They occur in the subsequent clause or sentence and function as substitutes for the contextually given referent (see also §8.2.1.1). They are often used to reestablish a participant as topical after some intervening background information or a quotation.

- (30) *An hene ge val em=ti hen-g-a. Va an=a*  
 man some TOP there house=ILL up-go-3IND that man=CF

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<sup>3</sup> This is the only example to date I have found for this morpheme *-na*.

*ge hangan hukas t-e=mali g-a.*  
 TOP shout much say-SEQ=SIM go-3IND

‘A man went up there in the house. While that man shouted greatly he went.’

- (31) *Hu=ni ge susum hukas isuv y-a. Ta va*  
 3S=EMPH TOP thing much steal get-3IND but that  
*mad=a hu=ni ifan huwan.*  
 practice=CF 3S=EMPH good nothing

‘He steals a lot of things. But that practice is not good.’

**c. Collocation** is a device in which items are linked solely through juxtaposition to form a listing type formulation of the form: N N N N... . Collocation is used to add additional information that is just at that point being thought of; therefore it is used primarily as an afterthought and so common to oral discourse. It is not acceptable in written discourse.

- (32) *Na=l bul=ti Yesu hu=l hambol, samblos, kabes,*  
 1S=GEN land=ILL Jesus 3S=GEN stomach<sup>4</sup> tree.tomato cabbage  
*esalot ende andal?*  
 shallot also what

‘In my land there is passion fruit, tree tomato, cabbage, green onion and what else?’

**d. Summation** is signalled through the word *gig* ‘enough’, which tells the hearer that the end of the discourse has been reached. It is employed in oral narrative/descriptive discourses only, when the speaker wants to finish the story.

- (33) *Na=l av ge huwan. Gig.*  
 1S=GEN word TOP nothing enough  
 ‘My word is finished. That’s all.’

### 8.2.1.5 Deictic cohesion

Deixis is defined as:

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<sup>4</sup> *Hambol* ‘stomach’ can also be glossed as ‘egg’. The phrase *Yesu hul hambol* ‘Jesus’s stomach/egg’ is an idiom for a passion fruit.

Features of language that refer directly to the personal, temporal or locational characteristics of the situation in which an utterance occurs, and its meaning is related to the situation, e.g., now/then, here/there, I/you, this/that. It also refers to anaphora and cataphora, e.g., that, the following, the former (Crystal 1985:86).

Deixis in Fuyug is signalled through personal pronouns, locatives, and demonstratives.

**a. Person deixis** includes the pronouns listed in table 8.2. These pronouns are a natural way to hold a discourse together. For examples and discussion of their use, see §4.2.1

**b. Locative deixis.** The locatives work on a three-way vertical axis (up, level, and down) and a four-way horizontal axis representing their relationship to the speaker. They are listed in §4.4.1. and repeated in table 8.4. The locatives are often used without previous reference, but simply understood by common knowledge, as when *imel* ‘there far down’ is understood in the area to refer to the Fatima Catholic Mission Station/Woitape Community School. Even in a relative sense the speaker assumes that the hearer knows about how far away he/she is talking about, because they already know where that thing is located. Locatives occur before the verb and function to give locational context.

Table 8.4 Fuyug locatives

	here	there (close by)	there (near addressee)	there (far away)
up		<i>yevel</i>		
level	<i>owal</i>	<i>obel</i>	<i>val</i>	<i>omel</i>
down		<i>ibel</i>		<i>imel</i>

- (34) *Na ge imel (Fatima) g-adi.*  
 1S TOP down.there.far Fatima go-IRR  
 ‘I will go down there (to Fatima).’

**c. Demonstrative deixis.** The demonstrative pronouns are formed by adding the demonstrative pronoun suffix *-seba* ‘DEM’ to the locatives. They are used to locate discourse participants spatially. Like their locative counterparts, they work on a three-way vertical axis and a four-way horizontal axis, representing their relationship to the speaker. Moreover, they are also used in the relative sense as

discussed earlier with the locatives. The demonstratives are given in §4.2.2 and repeated in table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Fuyug demonstrative pronouns

	here	there (close by)	there (near addressee)	there (far away)
up		<i>yeveseba</i>		
level	<i>ovo(seba)</i>	<i>obeseba</i>	<i>va(seba)</i>	<i>omeseba</i>
down		<i>ibeseba</i>		<i>imeseba</i>

(35) *Kupev omel al-i. Omel-seba na ind-i!*  
 sweet.potato there.far see-VBR there.far-DEM 1S give-VBR  
 ‘See the sweet potato over there. Give that one over there to me!’

(36) *Sipet val and-engo. Va an=a na ind-i!*  
 spade back.here stay-STAT that one=CF 1S give-VBR  
 ‘The spade is back here. Give that one to me!’

## 8.2.2 Participant reference

Participant reference includes such things as participant types, referentiality, participant tracking/switch reference, and prominence.

### 8.2.2.1 Participant types

Participants are identified by nominals and/or pronominals. Switch reference also helps the reader/hearer to keep track of the participants, as do the pronouns and alternate nominal referents (see §8.2.2.3). Props are inanimate objects or instruments that can take postpositional markings.

In the following text, the participants are *nav ala nal samele / di / nal samel hene* ‘I and my younger sisters / we / one of my younger sisters’ and *dil bab* ‘our father’. The props include *em hul talo* ‘the house’s verandah’, *endanti* ‘outside’, and *didig* ‘steps’.

(37) *Imal hene=ti na=v ala na=l samel-e di*  
 day some=ILL 1S=CF COM 1S=GEN younger.sister-PL 1P

*yu bol-e di=l em hu=l talo=tu*  
stand CMP-SEQ 1P=GEN house 3S=GEN verandah=ALL

*kolos-i-ma,*  
play-VBR-DS

‘One day my younger sisters and I stood up on our house’s veranda and were playing.’

*na=l samel hene yu bol-e em=dam=ti*  
1S=GEN younger.sister some stand CMP-SEQ house=out=ILL

*g-adi=mote ge-ge-ma didig dalad-a-ma,*  
go-IRR=DESID go-IMPF-DS step break-3IND-DS

‘then one of my younger sisters got up to go outside, and as she was going the steps broke.’

*yu bol-e angad-a-ma di=l bab he-tel-e*  
stand CMP-SEQ fall-3IND-DS 1P=GEN father up-come-SEQ

*di had-o-do.*  
1P hit-POSB-IMPF

‘She got up and fell, and then our father came up to hit us.’

### 8.2.2.2 Referentiality

Table 8.6 shows the different possible information structures for the referents of NPs in Fuyug in order of frequency.

Table 8.6 Referentiality in Fuyug

referential		non-referential
definite / given	indefinite / new	
noun	<i>hene / henen</i> ‘some’	<i>ongo / ongeging</i> ‘any’
pronoun		<i>fidan</i> ‘one’
<i>ovo / va</i> ‘this / that’		
<i>hul haben</i> ‘another’		

**a. Referential information** includes that which is definite/given and indefinite/new. In example (38), *ovo an* ‘this one’ is referential/definite/given.



- (38) *Veyd hu=ni sal hukas. Ovo an ge us ang-a.*  
 Veyd 3S=EMPH sick much this one TOP death remain-3IND  
 ‘Veyd was very sick. He (lit. this one) died.’

In example (39), *Maf* is referential/definite/given, as is *va esa* ‘that child’.

- (39) *Maf apa sum-u-ng bol hu=l hod y-e*  
 Maf enough walk-POSB-ASMPT CMP 3S=GEN skin get-SEQ  
*tel bol ovo an=ing ind-i.*  
 come CMP this man=PL give-VBR  
 ‘Well, Maf walked bringing his skin to give to those men.’

*Va es=a va av te-de bol-e owal*  
 that child=CF that word say-IMPF CMP-SEQ here  
*ende and-o.*  
 also stay-POSB  
 ‘That child finished saying his word and then remained there.’

In example (40), *hul haben* ‘another one’ is referential/definite/given.

- (40) *Hu=l haben ge huwan ang-a.*  
 3S=GEN other TOP nothing remain-3IND  
 ‘The other one had finished.’

In example (41), the adjective *hene* ‘some’ indicates that the referent of its governing head noun is referential/indefinite/new. The pronoun *huni* ‘he’ is referential/definite/given.

- (41) *Hale.sol hene hu=l if Maf. Hu=ni val-ele*  
 boy some 3S=GEN name Maf 3S=EMPH back.here-IMPF  
*mu=l em hafom-e and-o.*  
 3P=GEN house look.after-SEQ stay-POSB  
 ‘There was a boy named Maf. He was staying back here looking after their village.’

**b. Non-referential information** is signalled by the words *ongo* ‘any’ and *fidan* ‘one’.

- (42) *An ongo huwan ge val g-adi.*  
 man any not TOP back.here go-IRR  
 'No one will go back here.'

In example (43), however, *ovol fidan* 'one pig' is referential.

- (43) *Hu=ni ge ovol fidan had-a.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP pig one hit-3IND  
 'He killed one pig.'

### 8.2.2.3 Participant tracking/switch reference

Every language has some way of abbreviating reference to NPs rather than marking them all explicitly. There are two types of referencing devices exhibited in languages: primary and secondary. Primary referencing includes syntactic and extra-syntactic devices, among which is switch reference. Secondary referencing includes pronouns and verbal affixation. Participant tracking is important because:

Once a participant has been suitably introduced, it still remains to refer to him correctly thereafter, and to make sure that it is always clear who performed each event (Callow 1974:33).

This is performed in Fuyug through the switch reference use of *-me* 'same subject' and *-ma* 'different subject' to signal a different participant. Fuyug also uses *ge* 'topic marker' to reestablish the topic (see §8.2.2.4). The term switch reference was coined by William Jacobsen (1967:240), and

consists simply in the fact that a switch in subject or agent...is obligatorily indicated in certain situations by a morpheme, usually suffixed, which may or may not carry other meanings in addition.

Haiman and Munro (1983:ix) state that 'Canonical Switch Reference is an inflectional category of the verb, which indicates whether or not its subject is identical with the subject of some other verb.'

Switch reference is an NP participant tracking device. Switch reference is typically marked on a dependent verb, indicating whether or not the subject of the following verb is the 'same' or 'different' from the subject of the marked verb.

Even though switch reference is an NP referential system, the marking is normally on the verb. Thus, it is not grammatically iconic, since it would be expected to find a distinction to be marked on the NP where it occurs. Switch

reference does in fact mark the whole clause, and is therefore attached to the verb as the head of the clause. Haiman and Munro (1983:ix) say:

Functionally, switch reference is a device for referential tracking. Formally, on the other hand, switch reference is almost always a verbal category, similar to the familiar category of verbal concord - in both cases, an affix on the verb indicates something about the identity of a noun.

**a. Isomorphic SS/DS.** Fuyug exhibits isomorphic Same Subject (SS)/ Different Subject (DS) in which a separate form is indicated for both SS and DS. This is the most common form of switch reference used in languages.

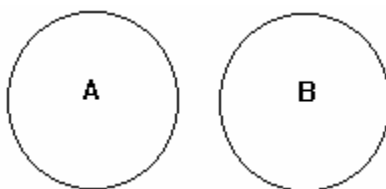
Table 8.7 Fuyug switch reference morphemes

<b>SS</b>	<i>-me</i>
<b>DS</b>	<i>-ma</i>

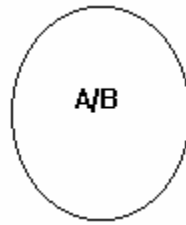
(44) *Hu ovol had-a-me ge g-a.*  
 3S pig hit-3IND-SS TOP go-3IND  
 'He killed the pig and then went.'

(45) *Hu ovol had-a-ma na tel-e.*  
 3S pig hit-3IND-DS 1S come-1/2IND  
 'He killed the pig and then I came.'

**b. Coreference/Disjoint reference.** Some languages allow for coreference, disjoint reference, inclusive reference, or overlap/intersection of reference of SS/DS. Fuyug exhibits coreference for SS and disjoint reference for DS, in which  $A \neq B$  (i.e., there is complete non-identity of entities: DS) in which set A is completely non-identical to set B, as shown in the following diagram:



Coreference of SS indicates that  $A = B$  (i.e., complete identity of entities: SS) in which set A is completely identical to set B:



**c. Marked/Controlling clauses.** One aspect of switch reference is that only dependent clauses show the SS/DS distinction. These clauses may have either a subordinate or a coordinate relationship with the independent clause. In a subordinate construction, the subordinate clause is always the one marked for SS/DS. Comrie (1983:23) has proposed the distinction of ‘marked’ and ‘controlling’ clauses. The ‘marked’ clause is dependent on the ‘controlling’ clause for its marking.

- (46) *Na av te-de-ma na=l mam ende angod*  
 1S word say-IMPF-DS 1S=GEN mother also net.bag  
*ud-i na yalam-a.*  
 weave-VBR 1S show-3IND

‘When I was saying the word, then my mother also taught me how to weave net bags.’

- (47) *Mudu tel-a-ma Magal ge g-a.*  
 Mudu come-3IND-DS Magal TOP go-3IND  
 ‘Magal left when Mudu came.’

- (48) *Mudu tel-a-me ge g-a.*  
 Mudu come-3IND-SS TOP go-3IND  
 ‘When Mudu came he went away.’

**d. Temporal notions/coordination.** Roberts (1988:47) says:

As well as expressing coreference or not with the following subject, SS/DS markers can also express the temporal notion that the action of the marked verb is concurrent with the action of a following verb.

The switch reference markers do more than express temporal notions though; they are really functioning as a type of coordination, as Roberts (1988:48, 58) also says:

SR [Switch Reference] is primarily one of coordination and not subordination...This would indicate that the SR medial verb form is covertly marked for 'and' conjoining...indeed, its basic function is to conjoin coordinate clauses.

Switch reference tracks the coreferentiality of subject NPs across clauses, and in order to do this it employs marking on the dependent ('marked') clause for 'same subject' (SS) and for 'different subject' (DS).

While examples (46)–(48) indicate a type of subordination use of SS/DS, I prefer to interpret Fuyug switch reference as coordination, as Roberts explained in an earlier quotation. In examples (49) and (50), the difference in form on the verb *tel-* 'come' with 'SS' and 'DS', respectively, forms a coordinate structure. In Fuyug the switch reference markings indicate sequentiality.

(49) *Ivol tel-a-me yalov n-a.*  
 Ivol come-3IND-SS food eat-3IND  
 'Ivol came and then (he) ate food.'

(50) *Ivol tel-a-ma di ge yalov n-e.*  
 Ivol come-3IND-DS 1P TOP food eat-1/2IND  
 'Ivol came and then we ate food.'

**e. Other considerations.** Note that in the following two examples (51) and (52), the switch reference morphemes are not used. Example (51) uses *-dupCV* 'imperfective' in the first clause and has the conjunction *ta* 'but' in the second clause. In example (52) *bol* 'completive' is used in the first clause. So we see that switch reference is only found with medial verbs.

(51) *Na ge yalov ne-ne, ta na ge talel bes.*  
 1S TOP food eat-IMPF but 1S TOP forever hunger  
 'I am eating food, but I am always hungry.'

(52) *Ivol ge yalov n-e bol-e ge imal id-a.*  
 Ivol TOP food eat-SEQ CMP-SEQ TOP day cut-3IND  
 'Ivol finished eating food and then slept.'

Examples (53) and (54) show the use of the switch reference markers in a similar context.

(53) *Na ge yalov n-e-me talel bes.*  
 1S TOP food eat-1/2IND-SS forever hunger  
 ‘I ate the food and then I was hungry.’

(54) *Ivol ge yalov n-a-me ge imal id-a.*  
 Ivol TOP food eat-3IND-SS TOP day cut-3IND  
 ‘Ivol ate the food and then slept.’

Furthermore, =*mali* ‘simultaneous’ and =*menenga* ‘future sequential’ do not make use of switch reference, as shown in examples (55)–(58).

(55) *Na ge yalov ne=mali g-e.*  
 1S TOP food eat=SIM go-1/2IND  
 ‘I ate food while I went.’

(56) *Ivol ge yalov ne=mali na tel-e.*  
 Ivol TOP food eat=SIM 1S come-1/2IND  
 ‘Ivol ate food while I came.’

(57) *Na ge yalov ne=menenga g=adi.*  
 1S TOP food eat=FUT.SEQ go=IRR  
 ‘Once I eat food then I will go.’

(58) *Ivol yalov ne=menenga mu ge imal id-adi.*  
 Ivol food eat=FUT.SEQ 3P TOP day cut-IRR  
 ‘Once Ivol eats the food then they will sleep.’

In example (59), *Balu* remains the subject in the first two clauses. In the second sentence *-ma* ‘DS’ on *veyl-i* ‘like.so-VBR’ signals a new subject coming up, namely *na* ‘1S’.

(59) *Balu tel-e=mali et-a, ‘Tel-o da g-o.’*  
*Balu* come-SEQ=SIM say-3IND come-POSB 1D go-POSB

*Veyl-i-ma na et-e, 'A'a, na=ni dede.'*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 1S say-1/2IND no S=EMPH later

'While Balu came he said, "Come, let us go." So I said, "Oh no, I will come later.'"

In example (60), the switch reference markers help to keep track of who is doing what in this sentence with *mu* '3P' occurring three times (first as subject, then as object, and then again as subject).

(60) *Di di=le<sup>5</sup> imbad y-e tel-e tod-e n-e=mali*  
 1P 1P=GEN cuscus get-SEQ come-SEQ split-SEQ eat-SEQ=SIM  
*hene y-e ge-ge bol-e an el amul*  
 some get-SEQ go-IMPF CMP-SEQ man and woman  
*dal=ing mu=ni val di hongol id-edema*  
 that=PL 3P=EMPH back.here 1P near sleep-IMPF-DS  
*mu ind-i-ma mu n-a.*  
 3P give-VBR-DS 3P eat-3IND

'We brought our cuscus, cut them and ate them and then took one to the people who live back there near us. We gave some to them to them and they ate them.'

#### 8.2.2.4 Prominence

Prominence is the degree to which something stands out from others in its environment (Crystal 1985:248). It is 'the state of being prominent; conspicuousness' (Flexner 1987:1548). Or as Callow (1974:50) says:

Prominence refers to any device whatever which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the "same context."

Since word order is not free in Fuyug,<sup>6</sup> and it is through word order that grammatical relations are signalled, Fuyug has other means for making items prominent. Prominence is signalled through topicality, emphasis, and grounding.

**a. Topicality** is exhibited in Fuyug through the topic marker (TOP).

The particle *ga...* is generally used with the past tense, and is rarely absent in the positive form of the verb. But it may be used also with the present

<sup>5</sup> Here we see =*le* 'GEN' for a non-third person singular pronoun to give further contrast with the *di* '1P' immediately preceding it.

<sup>6</sup> Only locational/temporal items can move somewhat for stylistic reasons.

and future. With the present it seems to indicate reference to a preceding action in the sense of “being on the point of,” “ready to.” With the future it has almost the sense of “go.” . . . *Ga* never appears to be used in a negative expression (Ray 1912a:317).<sup>7</sup>

While this does give us some vague ideas as to where *ge* ‘TOP’ occurs in the language, it does not tell us much about its function. Also, there are some points that do not seem to follow. First is the analysis of tense, which I have rather analysed as aspect. Furthermore, I have found *ge* ‘topic marker’ to be used in negative expressions, as seen in example (62).

(61) *Na ge ovol had-e.*  
 1S TOP pig hit-1/2IND  
 ‘I killed the pig.’

(62) *Na ge ovol mem had-e.*  
 1S TOP pig NEG hit-1/2IND  
 ‘I did not kill the pig.’

The topic marker *ge* is pervasive throughout all discourse types, and yet there are also texts in which it is not used at all. When it does occur, it is found immediately after the subject, in mostly sentence-initial clauses or first clauses of embedded complement clauses after the subject. It overtly marks the most topical participant of a sentence and is used primarily to topicalise the setting or participants.

In example (63), *ge* ‘TOP’ is indicated before the next sequence in the sentence.

(63) *Na ge fek had-e-me Woytap=iti tel-adi.*  
 1S TOP turn hit-1/2IND-SS Woytape=ILL come-IRR  
 ‘I returned and then I will go to Woytape.’

In example (64), *ge* ‘TOP’ is used in the second clause sequence.

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<sup>7</sup> The word *ga*, in the West dialect where Ray’s analysis is based, is *ge* in the North/South Udab dialect, upon which this analysis is based.



- (64) *Na yalov n-e=mali hu ge tel-a.*  
 1S food eat-SEQ=SIM 3S TOP come-3IND  
 ‘While I ate food he came.’

Participant topicalisation includes equatives, relative clauses, parallel emphasis, and subject/object differentiation. The topic marker *ge* is used in equative constructions.

- (65) *Ovol ge kagavan.*  
 pig TOP strong  
 ‘The pig is strong.’

- (66) *Ge apa, na=l av ge huwan.*  
 TOP enough 1S=GEN word TOP nothing  
 ‘That’s all, my talk is finished.’

- (67) *Ge ifan hoy hu=ni nu hafom-adi.*  
 TOP good dog 3S=EMPH 2S wait.for-IRR  
 ‘It is good that the dog will wait for you.’

Moreover, the topic marker *ge* as used after a relative clause is seen in example (68).

- (68) *An dal ovol hem-a ge na al-i.*  
 man REL pig shoot-3IND TOP 1S see-VBR  
 ‘The man who shot the pig saw me.’

The topic marker *ge* can also be in a parallel emphasis construction or be used to reintroduce participants.

- (69) *Mu ge em=ti g-a ta da=ni ge*  
 3P TOP house=ILL go-3IND but 1D=EMPH TOP  
*menemene=ti g-e.*  
 prayer.house=ILL go-1/2IND  
 ‘They went to the village, but we went to church.’

- (70) *Na ge im kupev av-i ta ev=iti*  
 1S TOP down.there.far sweet.potato look.for-VBR and sun=ILL  
*na ge kupev ongo nu ind-idi.*  
 1S TOP sweet.potato some 2S give-IRR  
 ‘I looked for sweet potato down there, and in the daytime I will give you some sweet potato.’

The topic marker *ge* is further used to separate out subject and object NPs within a sentence.

- (71) *Va imbad ge na al-i bol-e i yalal-i g-a.*  
 that cuscus TOP 1S see-VBR CMP-SEQ tree climb-VBR go-3IND  
 ‘That cuscus saw me and went to climb a tree.’
- (72) *Hale.sol hene ge di bol-e g-a.*  
 boy some TOP 1P leave-SEQ go-3IND  
 ‘A boy left us and went away.’

**b. Emphasis or focus** is: ‘a central point, as of attraction, attention, or activity’ (Bergquist 1975:190). Crystal (1985:123) defines focus as:

The INFORMATION . . . that . . . is at the centre . . . of the communicative interest; . . . opposed to PRESUPPOSITION. (The CONTRAST between GIVEN and NEW information makes an analogous distinction.)

Emphasis in Fuyug is indicated by =*ni* ‘emphatic’ (EMPH) on the pronominal subject, to focus attention on that particular participant. Note its use in examples (73) and (74).

- (73) *Aked Fuyug, mu ge talel hasam y-e=mali*  
 men Fuyug 3P TOP always hunt get-SEQ=SIM  
*sum-u-ma . . .*  
 walk-POSB-DS  
 ‘The Fuyug men, while they kept hunting were walking and then . . .’
- mu hasam=ti g-o=mali hale.sol hene hu=l if*  
 3P hunt=ILL go-POSB=SIM young.man some 3S=GEN name  
*Maf, hu=ni val-ele mu=l em hafom-e*  
 Maf 3S=EMPH back.here-IMPF 3P=GEN house look.after-SEQ

*and-o.*

stay-POSB

‘while they were going hunting a boy named Maf, he stayed back looking after their village.’

(74) *Dal ge tel-a? Hu=ni ambuli.*

who TOP come-3IND 3S=EMPH only

‘Who came? Only him.’

**c. Grounding.** Foreground is the mainline information of a narrative, while background is the supportive, elaborative, or explanatory material. Table 8.8 shows the semantic and syntactic continuum of backgrounding and foregrounding aspects in Fuyug.

Table 8.8 Fuyug background and foreground characteristics

grounding	semantic	syntactic
<b>background</b> non-event  setting explanatory/ performative evaluative  collateral  secondary events	static, descriptive, supportive material, less salient known information where, when, circumstances, situation applications, conclusions, explanations, or morals attitudes, evaluations, feelings, motives, or opinions what did not happen, negative habitual activities, events	simultaneity   subordination   possibility, assumptive, and procedural
<b>foreground</b>	dynamic, kinetic events, verbs in focus, more salient figures new information positive	chronological sequencing: close sequence, future sequential, completive coordination topic

The background describes participants and settings and explains why certain events took place or why certain people are involved. Background is most commonly marked by use of =*mali* ‘SIM’. The clause with =*mali* is background information, and then immediately following =*mali* the text reverts back to the foreground. Also, the causal conjunctions are used for backgrounding, as seen in

example (76). Immediately after the sentence with the causal conjunction, the text reverts back to the foreground.

- (75) *Mu hasam=ti g-o=mali, hale.sol hene hu=l if Maf,*  
 3P hunt=ILL go-POSB=SIM boy some 3S=GEN name Maf  
*hu=ni val-ele mu=l em hafom-e*  
 3S=EMPH back.here-IMPF 3P=GEN house look.after-SEQ  
*and-o.*  
 stay-POSB  
 ‘While they were going hunting, a boy named Maf stayed back  
 looking after their village.’

- (76) *Mu Maf hu=l humb and-a m-a-ma hu=l*  
 3P Maf 3S=GEN backside stay-3IND put-3IND-DS 3S=GEN  
*humb ende ge talel hen-ge-ge.*  
 backside also TOP forever up-go-IMPF  
 ‘They were putting them behind Maf and they were piling up there.’

*Veyl-i-ma fanime huwal ifan hel-e=mali,*  
 like.so-VBR-DS poor.one heart good become-SEQ=SIM  
*imbad n-a.*  
 cuscus eat-3IND  
 ‘So while the poor one was happy, he ate cuscus.’

Two types of background information can be found: non-event information and secondary events. Non-event information includes setting, explanatory/performative information, evaluative information, collateral information, and secondary events.

The setting specifies the location, time, and/or circumstances for the discourse, and typically occurs at the beginning of the whole discourse, as seen in example (77). The setting can be identified by its use of time words, most commonly through its use of *imal* ‘day’ and/or *imal hene* ‘day some=ILL’. A locational setting makes use of the locative deictic forms such as *omel* ‘there (far away)’ and possibly a place name with a postposition such as *Woytap=iti*.

- (77) *Ilof di=l tubun hu=l imal=ti, imal hene=ti*  
 before 1P=GEN ancestor 3S=GEN day=ILL day some=ILL

*aked Fuyug he-tel-e yevel-ele di=l*  
 people Fuyug up-come-SEQ up.there.far-IMPF 1P=GEN  
*kum hu=l if Avoli Bola=tu imbad*  
 mountain 3S=GEN name Avoli Bola=ALL cuscus  
*av-u.*  
 look.for-POSB

‘Before, in our ancestor’s time, one day Fuyug men came up there on our mountain named Avoli Bola looking for cuscus.’

Explanatory/performative information makes comments on events and participants, and includes morals, conclusions, or applications. It clarifies events with the causal conjunctions particular to the explanatory sub-genre, and occurs immediately following what it is explaining (see §8.1.1.2). Example (78) is an explanation of a whole discourse, and is the last line of that discourse.

- (78) *Veyl-i es=ing madam hu=l imal=ti yuv ud-i*  
 like.so-VBR child=PL meat 3S=GEN day=ILL water carry-VBR  
*ta mu ge ende Maf hu=l vil-i-li-di.*  
 but 3P TOP also Maf 3S=GEN do-VBR-IMPF-IRR  
 ‘So on hunting day children carry water, but they also follow Maf’s practice.’

Evaluative information relates feelings and/or opinions and occurs immediately after what is being evaluated, as seen in example (79).

- (79) *Hu=ni ge talel susum hukas isuv ye-ye.*  
 3S=EMPH TOP forever thing much steal get-IMPF  
*Ovo mad=a hu=ni ifan huwan.*  
 this practice=CF 3S=EMPH good not  
 ‘He is always stealing things. This practice is not good.’

Collateral background information ‘tells what did not happen as a basis for what did happen’ (Levinsohn 1992:62), and always occurs after what it is contrasting with (i.e., positive-negative ordering), as seen in example (80).

- (80) *Sum-o-mo-ng yuv hu=l haben=ti hindel-e*  
 walk-POSB-IMPF-ASMPT water 3S=GEN other=ILL come.out-SEQ

*ende tavon et-adi, 'Kowas, ta yuv meme n-adi.'*  
 also again say-IRR spirit.place but water NEG eat-IRR  
 'Walking along they came out at another river and again they would  
 say, "This is a spirit place, so don't drink the water.'"

*Ta tey va an=a hu=ni kowas huwan.*  
 but true that one=CF 3S=EMPH spirit.place nothing  
 'But really it was not a spirit place.'

Secondary events include habitual activities and events, and thus make particular use of the morphemes *-o* 'POSB', *-ng* 'ASMPT', as in example (81). In the full context of this example, Maf continually disobeyed, and so there is no overt marking on the verb. It was a habitual activity of his.

- (81) *Maf apa sum-u-ng bol yuv y-e tel*  
 Maf enough walk-POSB-ASMPT CMP water get-SEQ come  
*bol ovo an=ing ind-i.*  
 CMP this man=PL give-VBR  
 'Maf walked and brought the water to give to those men.'

*Va es=a va av te-de bol-e owal*  
 that child=CF that word say-IMPV CMP-SEQ here  
*isat-e and-o.*  
 disobey-SEQ stay-POSB  
 'That child said his word and kept disobeying.'

Foregrounding in Fuyug is the backbone or skeleton of the text, which forms its basic structure. It describes dynamic or kinetic events and the more salient figures. It is the source of new information and makes particular use of chronological sequencing (marked by morphemes *-e* 'SEQ', *-ma* 'DS', *=menenga* 'FUT.SEQ', and *bol-* 'CMP'), coordinate conjunctions (*ta* 'and', *el* 'and', *tako* 'and in addition', *eke* 'or', *o* 'or', and *ta* 'but, yet'), and contrastive focus marked by the morpheme *-v*.

These features of foregrounding can be seen in many of the examples given in this chapter. Note, for instance, the use of *-e* 'SEQ', *-ma* 'DS', *bol-* 'CMP', and *-v* 'CF' in example (2). The interlinear text in the appendix also amply illustrates foregrounding, as well as most of the other discourse features discussed in this chapter.

# Appendix: interlinear text

## Hasam Hul Imal ('The Hunting Day')

The following text was written by Geru Mefu in the village of Idiban in 1996.

- (1) *Ilof di=l tubun hu=l imal=ti, imal hene=ti*  
before 1P=GEN ancestors 3S=GEN day=ILL day some=ILL  
*aked Fuyug he-tel-e yevel-ele di=l*  
men Fuyug up-come-SEQ up.there.far-IMPF 1P=GEN  
*kum hu=l if Avoli Bola=tu imbad av-u.*  
mountain 3S=GEN name Avoli Bola=ALL cuscus find-POSB  
'Long ago in our ancestors' time, one day some Fuyug men went up  
on our mountain called Avoli Bola, to hunt cuscus.'
- (2) *Mu hasam=ti g-o=mali, hale.sol hene hu=l if*  
3P hunting=ILL go-POSB=SIM boy some 3S=GEN name  
*Maf, hu=ni val-ele mu=l em*  
Maf 3S=EMPH back.here-IMPF 3P=GEN house  
*hafom-e and-o.*  
look.after-SEQ stay-POSB  
'While they had gone hunting, a boy named Maf stayed back to look  
after their village.'
- (3) *Aked Fuyug mu ge talel hasam y-e=mali*  
men Fuyug 3P TOP forever hunt get-SEQ=SIM  
*sum-u-ma kod-a-ma hay.til-i-ma ev hu=l*  
walk-POSB-DS look-3IND-DS dawn-VBR-DS sun 3S=GEN

*im ge goda=tu and-o=mali mu ant halu em=ti*  
 eye TOP ridge=ALL stay-POSB=SIM 3P thing all house=ILL  
*hindel-o-lo.*  
 come.out-POSB-IMPF

‘As soon as the sun dawned on the ridge each day, the Fuyug men would all leave the village to go hunting, walking around and looking everywhere.’

- (4) *Mu ge imbad hukas tey had-a.*  
 3P TOP cuscus many very hit-3IND  
 ‘They were able to kill very many cuscus.’
- (5) *Na ge et-adi, “Egelegele, imbad an yovalo hu=l*  
 1S TOP say-IMM well cuscus man two 3S=GEN  
*iyal el sog yovalo y-e nom=tu m-a-ma*  
 hand and leg two get-SEQ RECIP=ALL put-3IND-DS  
*humban.”*  
 like”

‘I’d say, “Well, every two men between them were carrying the cuscus by all four feet, holding two feet each.’

- (6) *Mu ge sum-u-ma tel-e em=ti hindel-e*  
 3P TOP walk-POSB-DS come-SEQ house=ILL come.out-SEQ  
*bol-e sof hel-e-ma Maf hu=l mani anang*  
 CMP-SEQ rest become-SEQ-DS Maf 3S=GEN ANAPH REC  
*et-a, “Sey di les.*  
 say-3IND friend 1P tired

‘They continued until they came back to the village and there they rested and said to Maf, “Friend, we are tired.”’

- (7) *Apa sum-u imel-e di anang yuv*  
 enough walk-POSB down.there.far-SEQ 1P REC water  
*ongo hu=l hod y-e tel-a.”*  
 some 3S=GEN skin get-SEQ come-2SIMP  
 ‘So go down and bring us a skin of water.’”



- (8) *Mu t-a-ma Maf ge mu=l av al-e*  
 3P say-3IND-DS Maf TOP 3P=GEN word hear-SEQ  
*bol-e et-a, "Todi."*  
 CMP-SEQ say-3IND yes  
 'They said this and Maf listened to them and said, "Yes.'''
- (9) *Maf apa sum-u-ng bol hu=l hod y-e*  
*Maf enough walk-POSB-ASMPT CMP 3S=GEN skin get-SEQ*  
*tel bol ovo an=ing ind-i.*  
 come CMP this man=PL give-VBR  
 'So Maf was walking down to bring his skin of water and give it to these men.'
- (10) *Va es-a va av te-d-i bol-e ovo*  
 that child=CF that word say-IMPV-VBR CMP-SEQ this  
*ende and-o.*  
 also stay-POSB  
 'The boy said yes, but then remained there and didn't go.'
- (11) *Egelele es-e mu=l mad.*  
 well child-SEQ 3P=GEN custom  
 'Well, that is typical of children.'
- (12) *Ta dal hu=ni va fanim-e anang et-adi,*  
 but who 3S=EMPH that poor.one-SEQ REC say-IRR  
*"Mu ge ilof hene id-e y-e tel yuv hu=l*  
 3P TOP before some cut-SEQ get-SEQ come water 3S=GEN  
*hod u-du-ma y-e tel-e vom*  
 skin cut-IMPV-DS get-SEQ come-SEQ back.over.there  
*isus-i bol-e tel-e va nu bid-i."?*  
 hide-SEQ CMP-SEQ come-SEQ that.one 2S lie-VBR  
 'But who will tell the poor one, "They already cut some (skins) for water and took them and got the water and hid them back there and came here and lied to you about it?'''

- (13) *Hu.dal.adad badina mu imal gab sum-u-mu ende*  
 because because 3P day whole walk-POSB-IMPF also  
*av ongo t-o=mali, va Maf=a ge av mem*  
 word some say-POSB=SIM that Maf=CF TOP word NEG  
*al-adi.*  
 hear-IMM  
 ‘It was because they were busy all day and they reasoned that Maf  
 wouldn’t listen to them.’
- (14) *Bul ge dub ang-o=mali mu=ni ge imbad*  
 land TOP dark become-POSB=SIM 3P=EMPH TOP cuscus  
*had-a.*  
 hit-3IND  
 ‘While it was getting dark they killed cuscus.’
- (15) *Aked mu ge nom anang t-e bol-e idage*  
 men 3P TOP RECIP REC say-SEQ CMP-SEQ would  
*imbad fidifid y-e bol-e Maf hu=l humb*  
 cuscus one.one get-SEQ CMP-SEQ Maf 3S=GEN backside  
*and-a m-a.*  
 stay-3IND put-3IND  
 ‘The men said to each other that they would each take a cuscus and  
 put them behind Maf.’
- (16) *Mu Maf hu=l humb and-a m-a-ma hu=l*  
 3P Maf 3S=GEN backside stay-3IND put-3IND-IMPF 3S=GEN  
*humb ende ge talel hen-ge-ge.*  
 backside also TOP forever up-go-IMPF  
 ‘They were putting them behind Maf and they were piling up there.’
- (17) *Veyl-i-ma fanim-e hu=l huwal mowal-i=mali*  
 like.so-VBR-DS poor.one-SEQ 3S=GEN heart happy-VBR=SIM  
*hu and-e imbad n-a.*  
 3S stay-SEQ cuscus eat-3IND  
 ‘So that poor one was happy sitting there eating cuscus.’

- (18) *And-e fanim-e n-e=mali ende ant ongo mem*  
 stay-SEQ poor.one-SEQ eat-SEQ=SIM also thing some NEG  
*hus-a.*  
 think.about-3IND  
 ‘While that poor one sat there eating he didn’t think about anything else.’
- (19) *Bul idage dub ang-e ta mu idage and-e*  
 land would dark become-SEQ but 3P would.that stay-SEQ  
*av had-a.*  
 word hit-3IND  
 ‘It was getting dark but they stayed on and talked.’
- (20) *Mu halu and-e-me ge-ge bul samen ang-o*  
 3P all stay-SEQ-SS go-IMPF land light stay-POSB  
*mu ge t-e mu-le bul=ti g-adi.*  
 3P TOP say-SEQ 3P=GEN land=ILL go-IRR  
 ‘They all stayed there and when it got light they said they would go home.’
- (21) *Mu nang and-e av had-e-ma kel fidifid*  
 3P REC stay-SEQ word hit-SEQ-DS slowly one.one  
*ge-ge mu=le yuv n-e=mali tel-o=mali*  
 go-IMPF 3P=GEN water eat-SEQ=SIM come-POSB=SIM  
*fanim-e Maf hu nang etamb-a, “Mu ge-ge*  
 poor.one-SEQ Maf 3S REC wonder-3IND 3P go-IMPF  
*g-o t-e=mali ovo tel-o.”*  
 go-POSB say-SEQ=SIM this come-POSB  
 ‘They stayed there talking leisurely, drinking their water and while they delayed in coming, poor Maf was wondering, “Are they on their way here now?”’
- (22) *Id-a-ma ukala hay.til-i-ma aked-ing et-a, ”Susum*  
 cut-3IND-DS and dawn-VBR-DS men-PL say-3IND thing

*y-o=menenga di ge di=l bul=ti g-adi.*  
 get-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1P TOP 1P=GEN land=ILL go-IMM  
 ‘As it was dawning the men said, “Let’s get our things and go home.”’

- (23) *Mu susum y-e=mali ovo and-engu, dal hu=ni mu*  
 3P thing get-SEQ=SIM this stay-STAT who 3S=EMPH 3P  
*anang et-adi, “Fanim-e Maf ge kugul agan yuv*  
 REC say-IRR poor.one-SEQ Maf TOP near a.little water  
*anate val us ang-adi?”*  
 for back.here death become-IRR

‘While they were getting their things together, and they were still there, who will let them know, “Poor Maf has gone off a little ways for water and might die there?”’

- (24) *Mu sum-u-ng yuv ongo=ti hindel-e-me,*  
 3P walk-POSB-ASMPT water some=ILL come.out-SEQ-SS  
*Maf ge et-adi, “Na yuv n-o=ma?” Aked=ing et-adi,*  
 Maf TOP say-IRR 1S water eat-POSB=INT men=PL say-IRR  
*“Kowas val al-i yuv meme n-adi.”*  
 spirit.place back.here see-VBR water NEG eat-IRR

‘They were walking and came to a river where Maf said, “Can I drink the water?” Then the men said, “That is a spirit place there, don’t drink the water.”’

- (25) *Veyl-i ende mu and-e sum-adi.*  
 like.so-VBR also 3P stay-SEQ walk-IMM  
 ‘So they continued walking.’

- (26) *Sum-o-mo-ng yuv hu=l haben=ti hindel-e*  
 walk-POSB-IMP-ASMPT water 3S=GEN another=ILL come.out-SEQ  
*ende tavon et-adi, “Kowas, ta yuv meme n-adi.”*  
 also again say-IRR spirit.place but water NEG eat-IRR  
 ‘Walking along they came to another river and again they said, “This is a spirit place, so don’t drink the water.”’

- (27) *Ta tey va an-a hu=ni kowas huwan.*  
 but true that one-? 3S=EMPH spirit.place nothing  
 ‘But really it was not a spirit place.’
- (28) *Mu ge and-e sum-eme ev hu=l im ge*  
 3P TOP stay-SEQ walk-IMPF sun 3S=GEN eye TOP  
*he-tel-e talel val-ele yu-ngo=mali mu*  
 up-come-SEQ forever back.here-IMPF stand-STAT=SIM 3P  
*ge imel-e yu=ti hindel-a.*  
 TOP down.there.far-SEQ water=ILL come.out-3IND  
 ‘They kept walking and the sun came up; while the sun was up there they came out to a river.’
- (29) *Mu val yuv=ti hindel bol idage omel*  
 3P back.here water=ILL come.out CMP would.that over.there  
*bul hu=l if Biyoda Galama=ti hen-g-adi.*  
 land 3S=GEN name Biyoda Galama=ILL up-go-IMM  
 ‘They came out at the river and went up over there to a place called Biyoda Galama.’
- (30) *Mu and-e va bul=a sum-eme, Maf hu=l*  
 3P stay-SEQ that land=CF walk-IMPF Maf 3S=GEN  
*mani hu=l ula ge talel finol t-a.*  
 ANAPH 3s=GEN heart TOP forever whistle say-3IND  
 ‘When they were walking in that place, Maf wanted to keep on whistling.’
- (31) *Mu ovo and-e talel sum-e=mali ovo and-e*  
 3P this stay-SEQ forever walk-SEQ=SIM this stay-SEQ  
*et-a, “Fanim-e av me mal-el an*  
 say-3IND poor.one-SEQ word NEG become-PART one  
*hu=l sosol ta di idage yed et-a.”*  
 3S=GEN work but 1P would.that call say-3IND  
 ‘While they kept on walking there they said, “That is the poor deaf one’s way, but let’s call him.”’

- (32) *Mu ge idage yuv Biyoda=tu g-adi=mote*  
 3P TOP would.that water Biyoda=ALL go-IRR=DESID  
*hen-g-a.*  
 up-go-3IND  
 ‘They were trying to get up to the river on Biyoda.’
- (33) *Mu and-e hen-g-o-go-ma val-ele yuv*  
 3P stay-SEQ up-go-POSB-IMPF-DS back.here-IMPF water  
*hene=ti hindel-e bol-e, mu idage Maf anang*  
 some=ILL come.out-SEQ CMP-SEQ 3P would.that Maf REC  
*et-a, “Sey idage ge-ge bol ovo yuw-a*  
 say-3IND friend would.that go-IMPF CMP this water=CF  
*n-a.”*  
 eat-2SIMP  
 ‘When they were going up there, they came to a river, and said to Maf, “Friend, get started and drink this water.”’
- (34) *An hene ilog omel yuv n-e ana t-a-ma*  
 man some still over.there water eat-SEQ REC say-3IND-DS  
*Maf hindel-a, hindel-a-ma hu=l susum*  
 Maf come.out-3IND come.out-3IND-DS 3S=GEN thing  
*dal=ing ende val-ele.*  
 that=PL also back.here-IMPF  
 ‘Some men were still there talking about drinking water when Maf arrived; he was coming to where their things were back there.’
- (35) *Va an=ing ende val ang-o=mali sey*  
 that man=PL also back.here stay-POSB=SIM friend  
*fanim-e g-e-me andal hus-adi?*  
 poor.one-SEQ go-SEQ-SS what think-IRR  
 ‘While those men were staying back there the poor friend was going on and what was he thinking?’
- (36) *Ta g-e-ma yuv=ti hu=l and mem al-il*  
 but go-SEQ-DS water=ILL 3S=GEN thing NEG see-PART

*an bul=ti.*  
one land=ILL

‘He was going to a river in a place that has things that cannot be seen!’

- (37) *Ge sum-u-ma im yuv=ti and-e*  
TOP walk-POSB-DS down.there.far water=ILL stay-SEQ  
*g-o=mali mu ge yuv hu=l enamb and-o-ma*  
go-POSB=SIM 3P TOP water 3S=GEN road stay-POSB-DS  
*an hene ge yed et-a, “Maf=a.”*  
man some TOP call say-3IND Maf=VOC  
‘When he was walking down there to the river, they were staying there on the path when some men called out, “Oh Maf.”’

- (38) *Maf al-e bol-e et-a, “Ido.”*  
Maf hear-SEQ CMP-SEQ say-3IND yes  
‘Maf heard them and said, “What?”’

- (39) *Veyl-i-ma mu ovo and-e and-o.*  
like.so-VBR-DS 3P this stay-SEQ stay-POSB  
‘But they remained there.’

- (40) *And-o-ma an hu=l haben ovo and-e tavon*  
stay-POSB-DS man 3S=GEN another this stay-SEQ again  
*et-a, “Maf=a.”*  
say-3IND Maf=VOC  
‘While they continued to stay there another man called again, “Oh Maf.”’

- (41) *Veyl-i-ma hu=l nang enden tavon et-a, “Ido.”*  
like.so-VBR-DS 3S=GEN REC also again say-3IND yes  
‘So he replied again, “What?”’

- (42) *Veyl-i-ma mu ovo and-e and-o.*  
like.so-VBR-DS 3P this stay-SEQ stay-POSB  
‘But again they remained there.’

- (43) *And-o-ma an hu=l haben hu nang ende hene*  
 stay-POSB-DS man 3S=GEN another 3S REC also some  
*tavon Maf yed et-a.*  
 again Maf call say-3IND  
 ‘While they were still staying there, yet another man called out to Maf.’
- (44) *T-a-ma Maf tavon ende tavon et-a “Ido.”*  
 say-3IND-DS Maf again also again say-3IND yes  
 ‘When he was calling him, Maf again said, “What?”’
- (45) *Ge imal yovalo minda ovo al-i.*  
 TOP day two another this see-VBR  
 ‘He did this three times.’
- (46) *Mu and-o-ma an hu=l haben tavon et-a,*  
 3P stay-POSB-DS man 3S=GEN another again say-3IND  
 “*Maf=a,*” *ta Maf av ongo meme t-a-ma va*  
 Maf=VOC but Maf word some NEG say-3IND-DS that  
*aked=ing ovo g-adi et-i-ma fanim-e hu=l*  
 men=PL this go-IMM say-VBR-DS poor.one-SEQ 3S=GEN  
*hombol ind-u-du-ma imal id-engu=mali yuv*  
 stomach give-POSB-IMPF-DS day sleep-STAT=SIM water  
*akolog imel-e hu=l yag ala kolo hu=l*  
 now down.there.far-SEQ 3S=GEN penis and also 3S=GEN  
*goban=ti hindel-o=mali.*  
 throat=ILL come.out-POSB=SIM  
 ‘While they still remained there another man again said, “Oh Maf,”  
 but when Maf didn’t reply those men tried to go over there and then  
 they saw that the poor one’s stomach was bloated; he was lying there  
 with water coming out of his penis and mouth.’
- (47) *Veyl-i-ma mu ovo i=tu m-e bol-e*  
 like.so-VBR-DS 3P this tree=ALL put-SEQ CMP-SEQ



*yevel-ele em=ti hen-g-a.*  
 up.there-IMPF house=ILL up-go-3IND

‘So they put him on a stretcher and took him up to the village.’

- (48) *Veyl-i es=eng madam hu=l imal=ti yuv ud-i*  
 like.so-VBR child=PL meat 3S=GEN day=ILL water carry-VBR  
*ta mu ge ende Maf hu=l vil-i-li-di.*  
 but 3P TOP also Maf 3S=GEN do-VBR-IMPF-IRR

‘So children still carry water during hunting season (lit. meat days),  
 but they also behave like Maf too.’

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## Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages: Volumes 1-53

Paper copies of the Data Papers can be ordered from lr-acpub@sil.org.pg, but volumes marked with \* are out of print. Most of these materials are now available online at the following address: <http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/index.asp> (Volumes 1-31 were titled *Workpapers in Papua New Guinea Languages*.)

<b>Volume</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Title of Volume, Languages, and Authors</b>
*1	1973	<i>Three Studies in Sentence Structure</i> (Maring by L. B. Woodward; Abulas by Patricia R. Wilson; Au by David Scorza)
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