Tense, Aspect and Modality in Bargam

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The notions of tense, aspect and modality are crucial to an adequate understanding of the grammar and discourse of any language, as Givón (1984:269) succinctly states:

"...[TAM] is an obligatory category without which simple sentences cannot be produced.... TAM in fact constitutes one of the major devices coding the connectedness – or coherence – of sentences in their wider discourse context. TAM is thus intimately involved in the grammar of complex constructions and complex discourse functions..."

Givón describes the TAM system in terms of clusters of semantic and discourse-pragmatic features including: 1) lexical-semantic features, which are involved in the meaning structure of verbs, 2) propositional-semantic features, which encode various facets of the state, event or action, and 3) discourse-pragmatic features, which “play a crucial role in the sequencing of propositions in a discourse, in foregrounding or backgrounding them, and in indicating their time/truth/certainty/probability modalities vis-a-vis the speaker-hearer contract.” This paper will be primarily concerned with the propositional-semantic and discourse-pragmatic features of the Bargam¹ TAM system.

Tense, aspect and modality are a tightly knit complex in Bargam. After an overview of the Bargam verb in section 1, the TAM system is outlined in section 2. Tense and aspect are not encoded morphologically, rather they are signalled by an intersection of the choices a speaker makes with regard to verb stem, irrealis marking, and person/number inflection. Relevant aspectual distinctions in Bargam are perfective and imperfective. Dynamic verbs with imperfective aspect denote either progressive or iterative aspects. Realis tenses are unmarked and tenses used in the irrealis mode are marked by a consonantal affix. Medial

¹ Bargam is a non-Austronesian language of the Trans-New Guinea phylum spoken by approximately 3500 people located about 65 kilometers north of Madang town along the north coast of Madang Province. Z’graggen (1975) refers to it as Mugil, and classifies it as a stock-level isolate within the Madang-Adelbert Range subphylum. The data and conclusions in this paper are based on over six years of active involvement in linguistic, literacy and translation work among the Bargam people.

verb morphology reflects final verb aspect and realis distinctions in that they also encode perfective/imperfective aspect and realis/irrealis mode. Imperfective aspect on medial verbs is used with static finite verbs to convert dynamic situations into states.

Finally, the TAM system in Bargam performs several important discourse functions including: 1) establishing coherence (both temporal and logical) between propositions, 2) backgrounding off-eventline information by making it non-referential, and 3) foregrounding important discourse information by indicating its relevance to the eventline of the story. The first of these functions is discussed in section 3, while the last two are discussed in section 4.

1 Overview of the Bargam Verb

Like most Papuan languages, Bargam exhibits basic SOV word order and clause chaining including a distinction between medial and final verbs. In common with other languages in the Adelbert Range subphylum, it also has distinct but related possession systems (alienable versus inalienable), a quinary counting system, subject person/number agreement marked by a portmanteau verbal suffix, and object agreement marked by a set of verb prefixes. In the rest of this section I briefly survey the syntactic, morphological, and semantic characteristics of the Bargam verb.

The formulae for final and medial verbs in Bargam final verb are given in 1.²

² The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>ASP</th>
<th>CONJ</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>DES</th>
<th>DI</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>DP</th>
<th>EMPH</th>
<th>FUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accompaniment</td>
<td>aspect</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>dative</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
<td>different referent, imperfective aspect</td>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>different referent, perfective aspect</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
<td>future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>INAL</td>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>IR</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>OCR</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td>PERF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>inalienable possession</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
<td>past imperfective tense</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>location</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>object cross reference</td>
<td>past perfective tense</td>
<td>perfect aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>PoM</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>REP</td>
<td>SI</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>SWR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>possession marker</td>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>present tense</td>
<td>question</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
<td>same referent, imperfective aspect</td>
<td>same referent, perfective aspect</td>
<td>switch reference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronouns are glossed by '1', '2', '3', or '2/3' (non-first person) for person and 's' or 'p' for singular and plural.
1) Final Verb: ±PERF.ASP. ±OCR +Verb stem +TENSE/MODE +PERSON/NUMBER
Medial Verb: ±PERF.ASP. ±OCR +Verb stem +SWR/MODE ±EMPH

All verbs, both final and medial, may take the perfect aspect prefix *ti-~tu-*.
All transitive verbs also take an object cross referencing prefix (OCR) agreeing in person and number with the object. The OCR prefixes are given in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1: OBJECT CROSS REFERENCING PREFIX SET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All final verbs are marked for tense/mode and are inflected for the person/number of the subject. These affixes are illustrated in section 2.

Bargam medial verbs are not marked for tense; they take their tense from the final verb. Instead of tense/mode and person/number suffixes, Bargam medial verbs take suffixes encoding both switch reference (SWR) and also perfective/imperfective aspect and realis/irrealis modality as shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 2: SWITCH REFERENCE/MODE SUFFIX SET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfective, realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective, realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective, irrealis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the SWR/MODE suffixes, medial verbs can also take the emphatic suffix *-mo*.

Semantically, Bargam distinguishes between two broad classifications of verbs: static and dynamic. Following Comrie (1976:48-51), static verbs describe situations in which all phases of the predication are identical; there is no change. Dynamic verbs describe situations involving a change of state; all phases of the situation are different and a constant input of energy is required. The binary contrast inherent in the verb itself is change vs. invariance.

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3 See section 4 for a brief discussion of the perfect aspect marker *ti-*. 
Static verbs comprise a closed class of four verbs: *us* ‘sleep’, *tur* ‘stand’, *os* ‘sit’, and *luw* ‘walk around’. It will be noticed that these verbs encode relatively invariant states. The verb *luw* ‘walk around’ encodes continuous but non-progressive movement. These four verbs encode physical orientation and are the only verbs with which durative medial verbs can completely overlap. (See section 3.2 for further discussion and examples of Bargam static verbs.)

All other Bargam verbs can be classified as dynamic. As will be seen below, the static or dynamic nature of Bargam verbs is crucially related to determining the nature of the ‘internal temporal constitution’ of a particular predication.

2 The Bargam TAM System

An examination of tense, aspect and modality in Bargam shows these are not three discrete and self-contained categories. In reality tense, aspect and mode are a tightly-knit complex in Bargam. The following sections, hopefully, will progressively unravel this complex and illustrate how these crucial notions are encoded and interrelated in Bargam.

2.1 Tense in Bargam

Following Comrie (1976:1-2; 1985:56) and Givón (1984:273), I define tense as that grammatical notion which locates a predication in time, in terms of precedence (before), concurrence (at) or subsequence (after) to a previously established (i.e. agreed upon by both hearer and speaker) point of reference. Bargam distinguishes three categories of time: 1) the present moment, 2) time previous to the present moment, and 3) time subsequent to the present moment. The time previous to the present moment is encoded by two tenses differing in aspect, resulting in four grammatically distinct tenses as illustrated in the following chart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>previous to...</th>
<th>present moment</th>
<th>subsequent to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past perfective</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past imperfective</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present time is encoded by the verb stem plus person/number suffixation as shown in the paradigms of *os* ‘sit’ and *neg* ‘eat’ in Table 3.
TABLE 3: PRESENT TENSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sit</th>
<th>eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>os-aiq</td>
<td>neq-aiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 sg</td>
<td>os-aq</td>
<td>neq-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>os-aug</td>
<td>neq-aug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 pl</td>
<td>os-ay</td>
<td>neq-ay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past perfective is normally encoded by the verb stem minus person/number suffixation except for non-1st plural which is marked for number only. However, past perfective morphology distinguishes between two classes of verb root: those ending in glottal stop and all others. Verb stems ending in glottal stop (written as q in the orthography used in this paper) are inflected for all persons and number, using a secondary set of person/number endings. In these verb stems the glottal stop is deleted before a consonantal suffix as illustrated by the paradigm of the verb neq- 'eat' in Table 4.

TABLE 4: PAST PERFECTIVE TENSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sit</th>
<th>eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>os</td>
<td>ne-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 sg</td>
<td>os</td>
<td>na-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>os</td>
<td>ne-w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 pl</td>
<td>os-iy</td>
<td>neq-iy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past imperfective is encoded by a stem plus the past imperfective affix -y- plus a person/number suffix as shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5: PAST IMPERFECTIVE TENSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sit</th>
<th>eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>os-y-aiq</td>
<td>neq-y-aiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 sg</td>
<td>os-y-aq</td>
<td>neq-y-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>os-y-aug</td>
<td>neq-y-aug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 pl</td>
<td>os-y-aqay</td>
<td>neq-y-aqay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future time is encoded by a stem plus the future affix -d- plus a person/number suffix. The -d- is deleted in the first plural form.
TABLE 6: FUTURE TENSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sit</th>
<th>eat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg</td>
<td>os-d-aïq</td>
<td>neg-d-aïq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 sg</td>
<td>os-d-aq</td>
<td>neg-d-aq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl</td>
<td>os-am</td>
<td>neg-am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3 pl</td>
<td>os-d-aqay</td>
<td>neg-d-aqay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Below is a set of contrastive examples of the four tenses.

1) *Ya kabiyy-ab leh-ø₁-aïq.*
   1s garden-DAT go-PR-1s
   'I am going to the garden.'

2) *Ya kabiyy-ab leh-ø₁-ø₂.*
   1s garden-DAT go-PA-1s
   'I went to the garden.'

3) *Ya kabiyy-ab leh-y-aïq.*
   1s garden-DAT go-IPF-1s
   'I was going to the garden.'

4) *Ya kabiyy-ab leh-d-aïq.*
   1s garden-DAT go-FUT-1s
   'I will go to the garden.'

It is obvious that it is impossible to talk about tense in Bargam without at the same time mentioning aspect as well. We now turn to the aspectual character of all four tenses.

2.2 Tense and Aspect in Bargam

Verbs are intrinsically aspectual in that they normally denote a situation which falls along a continuum between 'static' and 'dynamic'. In this regard, Lyons (1977:707) uses the terms 'state', 'process' and 'event' to categorize the type of situation denoted by a particular verb. This is different from what Comrie (1976:3) refers to as the 'internal temporal constituency' of a situation in discussing aspect. The internal temporal constituency involves facets of meaning which are external and supplementary to the intrinsic meaning structure of the verb. This internal meaning structure then, can be 'overlaid' or 'transformed' by these external aspectual features to produce such diverse
situations as a ‘state’ with no internal temporal constituency at all (‘I slept badly last night.’) or an ‘event’ which is envisioned as lasting a long time (‘He struck the snake over and over again until finally it was dead.’).

It is these superimposed facets of meaning which I call aspect. Perfective aspect will be understood to mean ‘punctual (point-like)’, that is, having no internal temporal structure (Comrie 1976:24). A situation encoded by perfective aspect is bounded, that is, it is construed to have initial and terminal boundaries (Givón 1984:274). Conversely, imperfective aspect will be used to denote a situation in which reference is made to some facet of the internal temporal constituency (e.g. duration or phases) (Comrie 1976:24). No terminal boundaries are in view in situations encoded by imperfective aspect (Givón 1984:274), that is, the situation is glimpsed at some mid-point in its duration. Further subdivisions of the imperfective aspect (e.g. continuousness and iterativity) will be dealt with below.

In a real sense, tense cannot be discussed apart from aspect in Bargam. This is true not only because of the perfective/imperfective contrast in the two past tenses, but also because the present and future tenses in Bargam are also inherently either perfective or imperfective. The perfective tenses are the past perfective and the future. Situations encoded in these tenses are presented in their entirety without regard to duration, that is, they are construed as having no internal temporal constituency. The imperfective tenses are the past imperfective and the present tenses. These tenses have no terminal boundary in view. The division of the tenses is summarised in Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 7: TENSES DIVIDED BY ASPECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Perfective</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

5) *In guren* bayhishas-an woq-y-ag.
   3s coconut kick.loose-DP fall-IPF-2/3s

‘He was knocking the coconuts down with his feet.’
6) Ya uliq-ab-mo os-y-aiq.
1s village-DAT-EMPH sit-IPF-1s
‘I was just sitting in the village.’

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

2s what do-PR-2/3s 1s food eat-PR-1s
‘What are you doing? I’m eating food.’

8) Ni na-wa os-ø₁-aq e?
2s that-LOC sit-PR-2/3s Q
‘Are you sitting there?’

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

9) Mat na ya-go bul gi-nol-em-bug-ø₁-ø₂.
man that 1s-POSS pig 3p-hit-do-DIST-PA-2/3s
‘That man killed all my pigs.’

10) Ya Madang ib leh-ø₁-ø₂.
1s Madang-DAT go-PA-1s
‘I went to Madang.’

11) In-go gaun yuw-ub wo(q)-ø₁-m.
3s-POSS dog water-DAT fall-PA-2/3s
‘His dog fell in the water.’

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

12) I babeq teq uliq-ab leh-ø₁-am.
1p tomorrow then village-DAT go-FUT-1p
‘Tomorrow we will go to the village.’
13) *Wik araq ko-b teq mataw dor-d-agay.*

week a there-DAT then men dance-FUT-2/3p

‘Next week the men will dance.’

In addition to the inherent aspect associated with each of the tenses, there is a perfect aspect marker in Bargam: *ti- ~ tu-*. It may occur with all four tenses as well as the desiderative and contrafactual moods. Givón (1984:278-284) lists four aspectual elements in what is traditionally termed the ‘perfect’. These are: 1) accomplishment, 2) current relevance, 3) anteriority, and 4) counter-sequentiality. The fourth element, counter-sequentiality, is encoded by *ti-* plus the conjunction *teq* as shown in (14).

14) *Ya didaq ti-neq-an teq ni bila(q)-ø₁-m.*

1s food PERF-eat-DP CONJ 2s say-PA-2/3s

‘I had already eaten the food and then you spoke.’

Of the other three aspectual elements, *ti-* always encodes current relevance and anteriority (the gap between the present moment the initiation or termination of a perfective situation, or some mid-point of an imperfective situation). The feature accomplishment is determined by the choice of tense. Since *ti-* can occur on the present and past imperfective tense, accomplishment or termination is obviously not necessarily implied by the perfect aspect in Bargam. Below are sets of sentences using the static verb *tur-* ‘stand’ and the dynamic verb *neq-* ‘eat’ illustrating the use of the perfect aspect marker in Bargam.

15) *Ya ti-tur-ø₁-aïq.*

1s PERF-stand-PR-1s

‘I am (already in the position of) standing.’

16) *Ya didaq ti-neq-ø₁-aïq.*

1s food PERF-eat-PR-1s

‘I am (already in the act of) eating.’

17) *In ti-tur-ø₁-ø₂.*

3s- PERF-stand-PA-2/3s

‘He has (already) stood.’

18) *Ya didaq ti-ne(q)-ø₁-y.*

1s food PERF-eat-PA-1s

‘I have (already) eaten the food.’
19) *In ti-tur-y-aq.*
   3s PERF-stand-IPF-2/3s
   ‘He was (already) standing.’

20) *Ya didaq ti-neq-y-aig.*
   1s food PERF-eat-IPF-1s
   ‘I was (already engaged in) eating the food.’

21) *In ti-tur-d-aq.*
   He PERF-stand-FUT-2/3s
   ‘He will (surely) stand.’

22) *Ya didaq ti-neq-d-aig.*
   1s food PERF-eat-FUT-1s
   ‘I will (surely) eat the food.’

2.3 **Tense, Aspect and Modality in Bargam**

“Modality encompasses among other things our notions of reality, in the sense of ‘having factual existence at some real time’ (‘true’), ‘having existence at no real time’ (‘false’), or ‘having potential existence in some yet-to-be time’ (‘possible’).” (Givón 1984:272) These notions of fact (realis) vs. fiction (irrealis) are most useful in describing modality in Bargam. Consequently mode will be considered as distinct from both illocutionary function (statement, command or question) and mood (the speaker’s mental or emotional orientation towards what he/she is saying). Realis simply refers to predications which make assertions about events/states which occur in real time and are referential. The term irrealis refers to predications which make assertions about events/states which have only general, non-referential existence, whether located in real time or some yet-to-be time.

Mode in Bargam is indicated on verbs in one of two ways. On final verbs, modality, like aspect, is implicit in the choice of tense used by the speaker. Bargam tenses may be divided according to modality as indicated in Table 8.
TABLE 8: TENSES DIVIDED BY MODALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past perfective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past imperfective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reason for placing past imperfective in both realis and irrealis categories will be given below. For now it is sufficient to say that the present and past tenses are realis by ‘nature’, that is they encode situations which occur in real time, either at some time prior to the present moment or contemporaneous with it. Future is categorized as irrealis because it indicates a situation which will occur in some yet-to-be time and therefore does not yet have real existence.

The second manner in which realis/irrealis modality is indicated is via medial verb suffixation, as has already been alluded to in the discussion of medial verb morphology (cf. Table 2). Normally, realis medial verb suffixes are used with the realis tenses and irrealis medial verb suffixes are used with the future tense (as well as with the imperative, desiderative and contrafactual moods). The following exceptions, however, should be noted: 1) the imperfective realis medial verb suffixes are used with the future tense as well as with past and present tenses and 2) irrealis medial verb suffixation can be used with the past imperfective tense to perform certain discourse functions which will be discussed later.

The inter-relationship of tense, aspect and modality as they are encoded in Bargam final and medial verb forms are summarised in Table 9.

TABLE 9: TAM IN FINAL AND MEDIAL VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Modality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Now</td>
<td>Later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Perf.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med1 {-im, -an}</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med2 {-ad, -sa}</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past Impf.</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Med3 {-eq, -id}</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As indicated in Table 9, Med2 medial verbs are used with both realis and irrealis tenses. The table also indicates that the past imperfective tense may ‘switch’ into the irrealis mode when used with irrealis medial verbs. Chart 1 is an attempt to further represent the interaction between the past imperfective tense, medial verb endings and realis/irrealis modality.

**Chart 1: Interaction of Imperfective and Modality**

```
| Past imperfective | Med1 | Med2 | Future | Med3 |

REALIS ---------------------------------- IRREALIS
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Chart 1 illustrates the way in which the past imperfective tense overlaps with the future tense in terms of modality. It is interesting to notice also that the functional similarity between the past imperfective and future tenses is also reflected morphologically in that both forms of the verb are constructed with an overt tenseemode affix between the verb stem and the person/number suffix.

3 The Bargam TAM System Coherence at the Sentence Level

The aspektual features of Bargam verbs play a large part in explicating the temporal or logical relationship of events in Bargam discourse. In section 3.1 I present an overview of how perfective/imperfective medial verbs function to sequence events in Bargam narrative discourse. Then in section 3.2 I describe the special case of the combination of imperfective medial (dynamic) verbs and static final verbs.

3.1 Perfective/Imperfective Aspect and the Sequencing of Propositions in Bargam Narrative Discourse

Bargam medial verbs mark same or different referent of the following predication, perfective or imperfective aspect, and realis or irrealis mode in a single portmanteau suffix. Medial verbs may take OCR prefixes, the perfect aspect prefix, and the emphatic -mo suffix, in addition to the switch-reference suffixes. They are not inflected for person or number. Because of the aspektual features associated with the various medial verb forms, medial verbs are used to encode information regarding the temporal relationship of one predication to another, that is, whether it involves some sort of overlap (simultaneity), succession (sequenciality) or contingency (conditionality).
In (23-24) the perfective medial verbs indicate a series of events in linear sequence with no temporal overlap of any particular event with any other.

23) Ari mat na a-mam a-san waq-im a bo amalib
   OK man that INAL-father INAL-skin take-SP ACC come with
   Wasab gi-nol-im aw waq-im a lah-∅₁-∅₂-ta a-wagam-un
   name OCR-hit-SP woman take-SP ACC go-PA-2/3s-MOD INAL-story-PoM
   na-wa-a-mo.
   this-LOC-OCR-EMPH
   ‘OK, that’s the story of the man who took his father’s skin and with it hit (a) Wasab (man) and took away a woman.’

24) Gi-biy-im in le tituq sisaq-ta qway-im a bo em-an
   OCR-see-SP 3s go post long-MOD cut-SP ACC come put-DP
   kudug-ib woleh-an on giger na tu-gwabol-∅₁-iy.
   pit-DAT go.down-DP women two that PERF-come.up-PA-2/3p
   ‘He saw them and he went and cut a long post and put/cause/sent it and it went down into the pit and the two women came up.’

In (23) ‘taking’ the skin, ‘hitting’ the Wasab (village) person and ‘taking’ the woman are represented as discreet points or steps in a linear progression. Similarly, in (24) the ‘seeing’, ‘cutting’, ‘putting’ and ‘going down’ are presented as distinct non-overlapping events leading up to the coming out of the pit by the two women. The irrealis perfective medial forms behave identically in (25), except that they occur with the future tense to encode situations which occur in some yet-to-be time.

25) Ni leh-eq faq asor waq-eq a bol-id teq i ninmen
   2s go-IR.SP fire some take-IR.SP ACC come-IR.DP CONJ 1p for.2s
   karuw araq wol em-∅₁-am haq-∅₁-iy.
   meat a hit do-FUT-1p say-PA-2/3p
   ‘If you go and take some fire and bring it back, then we will kill a pig for you,” they said.’

Imperfective medial forms, on the other hand, signify situations which endure through time and often overlap with other situations occurring contemporaneously, as illustrated in (26).
26) In tarow-ab a-go hayaq-ab us-sa a-dulan
3s night-DAT INAL-POSS young.men.house-DAT sleep-DI INAL-image/spirit
gwatiq-im a-go es waz-sa a-mam loyin-ad-mo
pass.through-SP INAL-POSS belongings hold-DI INAL-father sense-SI-EMPH

us-∅₁-∅₂.
sleep-PA-2/3s

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

In (26) it is while the boy is sleeping in the young men’s house that his spirit gets up and gathers together its belongings. At the same time as the spirit is doing these things, the boy’s father is laying nearby in his house sensing or perceiving the spirit’s movements.

Interestingly, there is no imperfective irrealis medial verb form corresponding to the realis set. Rather, the imperfective realis medial verb forms are used to denote situations which endure through future time as exemplified in (27).

27) In neq-ad ginuw-ad adek iy-ad os-sa mat na in leh-im...
3s eat-SI gather.up-SI edge be-SI sit-DI man that 3s go-SP

‘While he was eating (them) and gathering up (the skins) and remaining at the edge (of the cave) the (other) man went and…’

Other examples with imperfective realis medial verbs are given in (28-29). The final verb is in the future tense in (28) and in the imperative form in (29).

28) Luw-eq karuw waq-eq kames neq-ad teq na-b
walk.around-IR.SP meat get-IR.SP ceremonial.drink eat-SI CONJ that-DAT
iron-id a-go uliq-ag na-b leh-d-aq haq-∅₁,iy
transfer-IR.DP INAL-POSS village-INDEF that-DAT go-FUT-2/3s q.v.-PA-2/3p

‘We’ll get a pig and drink kames first and then at that time we’ll send him off and he will go to whatever village he came from’.

29) Ari mataw bo humab wol-id gi-biy-ad ni karuw
OK men come gathering hit-IR.DP OCR-see-SI 2s meat
tital-id zag-ib gwal-an ha(q)-∅₁,-m.
butcher-IR.DP branched.stick-DAT go.up-IMP say-PA-2/3s

‘OK, when you see the people gathered together cut up the pig and hang it up on the zag stick.’
The fact that imperfective realis medial verb forms are used to denote situations which endure through future time may indicate that in Bargam imperfective events are somehow less real or referentially less identifiable than perfective events. Indeed, situations encoded by imperfective medial verbs frequently provide a setting or background situation during which some other event takes place. This function of imperfective medial verbs is analogous to the use of the past imperfective tense in irrealis mode to encode background setting-type information in Bargam narrative discourse as discussed in section 4.2.

That temporal overlap is only a function of the imperfective aspect and not its primary meaning is clear from (30-32) in which the enduring situations are terminated before the following situation is initiated.

30) \textit{Leh-im} mat a le bit-ab em-ad mat ahulinaqt\textit{a} na
go-SP man ACC go house-DAT put-SI man snake that

\textit{zoq} agem-ab em-an woq-an a-dan-in ituq-an os-sa...
log.drum stomach-DAT put-DP fall-DP INAL-path-PoM block-DP sit-DI

‘They took the man and put him in the house and the snake they put inside a log drum and blocked the opening and while he was in there…’

31) \textit{A-duw-mo} leh-eq amun a-ses i-naq os-sa
INAL-husband-EMPH go-IR.SP child INAL-grandma OCR-with sit-DI

\textit{gi-biy-ad teq bol-eq a-vey i-naq} ta os-y-aq.
OCR-see-SI CONJ come-IR.SP INAL-wife OCR-with REP sit-IPF-2/3s

‘Her husband would go and visit the child and his grandfather and then come back and live with his wife.’

32) \textit{In didaq oy-im neq-ad tu-us-\textcircled{1} iy}.
3p food cook-SP eat-SI PERF-sleep-PA-2/3p

‘They cooked food, ate it and went to sleep.’

A clear analogy can be drawn between the function of medial verbs within a sentence and the function of final verbs within a discourse. Perfective medial verbs encode situations as points along the event-line and always move the narrative forward. Imperfective medial verbs usually serve to provide a setting or some coordinate circumstances for another event. Only when imperfective medial verbs do not overlap with another predication may they be interpreted to emphasize the durative aspect of a predication on the event line. The same is true of final verbs in past perfective and imperfective tenses, respectively.
3.2 Aspectual ‘Over-ride’ Converting Dynamic Events into States

The four static verbs, listed in section 1, often combine with inherently dynamic verbs with imperfective medial suffixation to encode reference to a period of time characterized by the reoccurrence of the activity encoded by the medial verb.

33) Us-im tiromo in nenaq leh-im in gigo kabiya-ab bad
sleep-SP morning 3s with.3p go-SP 3p their garden-DAT weeds

titeq-ad luw-im imisor iy-an in bit-ab tu-bol-ø₁-iy.
pull-SI go.around-SP afternoon be-DE 3p house-DAT PERF-come-PA-2/3p

‘He slept and in the morning he went with them to their garden and pulled weeds (until) the afternoon and they came to the house.’

34) Ne ka-b bit-ab didaq oy-ad os-ø₁-iy.
2s this-DAT house-DAT food cook-SI sit-IMP-2/3p

‘You stay here in the house and cook food.’

35) An tarow-ab surig na in ahol biliya-im aw diq-mo
DP night-DAT tree that 3s its.body turn-SP woman real-EMPH

iy-im in zah wiz-ad ti-luw-y-aq.
be-SP 3s brush singe-SI PERF-go.around-IPF-2/3s

‘At night the surig tree changed into a real woman and was burning off the brush (in the garden).’

36) Mat na ulilem-ad os-im in nazaq surig na in aw diq iy-im
man that hide-SI sit-SP 3s like.that tree that 3s woman real be-SP

ago zah wiz-ad luw-sa in ahol tu-wa(q)-ø₁-m.
his brush singe-SI go.around-DI 3s body PERF-get-PA-2/3s

‘The man hid and he saw the surig tree having become a real woman and burning off the brush.’

37) Ko na-ag-ag mug-nan muz-ad luw-ø₁-aq haq-ad
that that-INDEF-INDEF bite-DES follow-SI go.around-PR-2/3s say-SD

in kadug waq-im ti-lah-ø₁-ø₂.
3s bamboo take-SP PERF-go-PA-2/3s

‘Thinking, “That (snake) is chasing someone intending to bite him,” he took a piece of bamboo and went.’
38) Leh-im silaq kurat manak wol-im neq-ad ti-luw-∅₁-∅₂.
   go-SP crayfish crab turtle hit-SP eat-SI PERF-go.around-PA-2/3s
   ‘He went and killing crayfish and crabs and turtles, he was eating them.’

   The use of imperfective medial verbs with final verbs is restricted to the four static verbs us ‘sleep’, os ‘sit’, tur ‘stand’, and luw ‘go around’ as can be seen by comparing (39) and (40).

39) Ya maraq neq-ad luw-∅₁-∅₂.
   1s banana eat-SI go.around-PA-1s
   ‘I was eating bananas.’

40) * Ya maraq neq-ad bol-∅₁-∅₂.
   1s banana eat-SI come-PA-1s
   The imperfective form of neq can be used with the static verb luw in (39), but not with the dynamic verb bol in (40). The idea which (40) is attempting to encode is expressed grammatically in (41).

41) Ya maraq neq-im neq-im bol-∅₁-∅₂.
   1s banana eat-SP eat-SP come-PA-1s
   ‘I ate the bananas as I came.’

   The verb bol ‘come’ is itself a dynamic verb and not a state of existence which can be characterized by another dynamic activity. Thus ‘eating’ must be encoded as occurring iteratively as the ‘coming’ progressed.

4 Discourse Functions of the Bargam TAM System

4.1 Use of Medial Verb Suffixes as Conjunctions

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

42) ... in ayah ti-iy-bug. An ayon tun amikta em-ug-∅₁-iy.
   3s big PERF-be-DIST DP for.him bow small make-give.him-PA-2/3p
   An in a-ses inaq os-ad in onmin asor nenaq le
   DP 3s INAL-grandma with sit-SI 3s children some with go
...and he grew up. And they made a small bow for him. And he was staying with his grandma and going to the bush with some children. While he was doing that his parents were going and working. While this was going on, one day…

4.2 Backgrounding Function of Past Imperfective Tense

The past perfective tense in irrealis mode is used in Bargam narrative discourse to encode information off the event line. Often this device is used to encode the setting of a story. At other times it simply signals a break in the action and the initiation of a recurring cycle of events which is repeated a number of times until it is exited and the story continues along on the main event line. In the following discussion of the discourse function of the past imperfective, its use in realis mode is presented and illustrated in section 4.2.1, and its use in irrealis mode is outlined in section 4.2.2.

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

43) Sib-im leh-ad i ekton-y-auq, Bul na-wa leh-ʊ₁-aq o
    run-SP go-SI 1p yell-IPF-1p pig that-LOC go-PR-2/3s oh

    haq-y-auq.
    say-IPF-1p

    'As we ran we were shouting (over and over), "The pig is going towards you-o!."'

44) In tur-sa kalam tu-gabol-y-aq.
    3s stand-DI moon PERF-come.up-IPF-2/3s

    'While he stood there the moon was coming up.'
45) *In ih reg-im gwale alon-ib in ih anon waq-an*  
3s tree climb-SP go-up top-DAT 3s tree fruit take-DP  
*tu-woq-y-aq.*  
PERF-fall-IPF-2/3s  
'She climbed the *ih* tree and went up to the top and was dropping *ih* fruits (to her friend standing on the ground).'

4.2.2 *Past Imperfective in Irrealis Mode.* The irrealis medial verb suffixes are used in combination with the past imperfective tense to encode background information. This information is off the event line and does not move the story forward. The paragraph in (46) is the opening paragraph of a Bargam legend about a pig named Huduwakan.

46) *Ariya zoq bagiyaw alon-ib zabel maq al maroq in na-b*  
OK tree name top-LOC yam taro ‘mami’ banana 3p that-LOC  
*us-y-aq.*  
Us-sa teq in woq-y-aq. Zoq *na atul-ib*  
sleep-IPF-2/3s sleep-DI then 3p fall-IPF-2/3s tree that base-DAT  
woq-sa teq *bul* Huduwakan in tu-bol-y-aq. *Bo didaq*  
fall-DI then pig name 3s PERF-come-IPF-2/3s come food  
*na in neq-ad luw-eq-mo mileq-eq ta leh-y-aq.*  
that 3s eat-SI go.around-IR.SP-EMPH return-IR.SP REP go-IPF-2/3s  
*Mileq-eq leh-id teq anamren ahol waq-ad in didaq*  
return-IR.SP go-DP then owner body get-SI 3s food  
*tu-ug-y-aq.*  
Ug-id in neq-eq hulos-ad-mo in  
PERF-give.him-IPF-2/3s give.him 3s eat-IR.SP quit-SI-EMPH 3s  
*us-eq-mo eraq-eq-mo a ta leh-y-aq.*  
sleep-IR.SP-EMPH arise-IR.SP-EMPH again REP go-IPF-2/3s  
'OK, in the top of the *bagiyaw* tree there were yams and taro and *mami* and bananas. And they would fall down. They would fall down around the base of the tree and the pig Huduwakan would come. He would come and eat the food for a while and return and go back (home). He would return and go back and then his owner would see him and give him food. He would give it to him and he would eat it and when he was finished he would sleep and get up and go back (to the tree) again.'
Several observations can be made about this paragraph. The information it conveys provides the setting for the story. It introduces key participants and a set of circumstances (context) which explains and makes the events which follow reasonable. The use of the past perfective in the irrealis mode indicates that the events narrated were characteristic of an extended period of time. No mention is made of how long things continued this way before the pig’s owner decided to investigate where the pig spent its time away from the village. The narration takes up the story with this situation already in motion and continues from there.

This particular use of the past imperfective corresponds closely with what Givón (1984:285) terms the ‘habitual’ tense: “On the one hand, it represents a clear strong assertion of facts,... On the other hand, ...it is a generic, non-referential expression. And in this sense, the habitual resembles irrealis.” In Bargam the resemblance to irrealis is made explicit by the medial verb forms. Situations narrated in the past perfective and irrealis mode are real, that is they are construed as having actually happened, but they are non-referential in that no one particular phase or occurrence of the predication is in view. It is the time period characterized by this reoccuring situation which is in view.

Realis mode can merge into irrealis within the span of a single sentence as illustrated in (47).

47) In araq-ib-mo faq ulam-im reb-ub yuw em-im em-an faq-ab
    3p a-DAT-EMPH fire blow-SP pot-DAT water put-SP put-DP fire-DAT
    oy-ad tur-sa in giger dalag ginuw-eq a leh-eq reb-ub
    cook-SI stand-DI 3p two tree gather-IR.SP ACC go-IR.SP pot-DAT
    em-y-aqay.
    put-IPF-2/3p

‘Together they built a fire and put water in a pot and put it on the fire and as it heated they were gathering dalag (nuts) and taking and putting them in the pot.’

In (47) the speaker is not relating a single act of gathering a few nuts and taking them and putting them in a pot, but rather a span of time characterized by the repetiton of a series of steps including gathering, taking and putting. The temporal progression (or rather the progression of events in a linear sequence) is interrupted by a sort of ‘recursive loop’ which momentarily suspends the forward movement of time and action.

This type of structure is always followed by a sentence beginning with an imperfective medial verb which is either used as a setting for a following event or else is brought to an end by a second medial form with imperfective aspect as shown in (48-49).
48) ... a leh-eq reb-ub em-y-aqay. Em-ad luw-an reb ame-b
    ACC go-IR.SP pot-DAT put-IPF-2/3p put-SI go.around pot eye-DAT
gwal-∅₁-∅₂
  go.up-PA-2/3s

   ‘...They were bringing them and putting them in the pot. They did that for a while
   and the pot became full.’

49) Haq-id onmin bo aben-ab nal waq-eq a le
    say-IR.DP children come his.hand-DAT lime take-IR.SP ACC go
  a-ban-ab-mo ta em-y-aqay. Sirisiri-mo nazaq em-sa
    INAL-place-DAT-EMPH REP put-IPF-2/3p repeatedly-EMPH like.that do-DI
  onmin gi-mam-an bol-an ti-gi-bilen-∅₁-iy,...
    children INAL-father-PL come-DP PERF-OCR-speak.to-PA-2/3p

   ‘He would say that and the children would come and take the lime powder from
   him and take it and put it back in its place. He was repeatedly doing like that and
   the children’s fathers came and the children said to them, …’

These examples make it clear that the past imperfective tense in irrealis mode serves to
background information by making it non-referential. Such generic information cannot be
located precisely on the event-line and does not move the story forward.

4.3 Foregrounding Function of the Perfect Aspect Marker

As discussed in section 2.2, when the point of reference for locating a situation in time
is the present moment, the perfect aspect marker ti- ~ tu- encodes current relevance and
antiority. However, in past tense narrative discourse, where the present moment is no
longer the primary tense locus, ti- ~ tu- serves a slightly different function by giving added
prominence to particular verbs on the eventline. In this way it serves to mark those verbs
with a higher degree of saliency and those which serve to move the story forward through
the time frame within which the narrative flows.

A short text is provided in the appendix to illustrate the foregrounding function of ti ~
ti-. The story is about a man who finds a snake and brings it back to the village to eat. Once
home he discovers there is no food to cook with it so he goes to the garden. While he is
gone, the snake escapes. The man returns to the village and it is not until he has all the
food ready to cook that he discovers that the snake is gone. The story ends with the man
being so angry that he never does cook the food and just sits sulking in the house.
For the purpose of the present discussion, it will suffice here to list the independent verbs in the story, noting which ones are marked with *ti-* indicated in bold. In the comment column the comments are indented to reflect whether or not the verb is marked with *ti-*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sent. #</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<td>say</td>
<td>speaker’s introduction</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td><em>luw</em></td>
<td>go. around</td>
<td>setting/circumstance</td>
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<td><em>tuwam</em></td>
<td>take</td>
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<td><em>tubol</em></td>
<td>come</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>bilam</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>tilah</em></td>
<td>go</td>
<td>trip to garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>wam</em></td>
<td>take</td>
<td>activity at new location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><em>wam</em></td>
<td>take</td>
<td>activity at new location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><em>tubol</em></td>
<td>come</td>
<td>return to village</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>discover</td>
<td>narrator’s comment (what he should have done)</td>
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<td>14</td>
<td><em>tisisom</em></td>
<td>peel</td>
<td>what he actually did</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td><em>uram</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>16-17</td>
<td><em>bulon</em></td>
<td>speak to</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td><em>tuwam</em></td>
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<td><em>oy</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>32</td>
<td><em>tuqos</em></td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>food sits unused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td><em>tuqos</em></td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>man sits disgusted and angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td><em>tilah</em></td>
<td>go</td>
<td>narrator’s explanation ‘because the snake escaped’</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td><em>nam</em></td>
<td>eat</td>
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<td><em>nawaqmo-</em></td>
<td>finish</td>
<td>narrator’s conclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tihiqiy</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The above chart illustrates well the discourse function of *ti*. Motion verbs indicating a change of location/scene, climatic events, or events especially important to the development of the story and its intended impact are marked with *ti*. Other events which occur within the established location and which simply fill in details of the story, such as the incidents of reported speech, are unmarked. For example, in sentences 12-14 the narrator explains what the man should have done and then what he did in fact do and highlights the contrast by marking the verb in 14 with *ti*. Likewise, in sentences 32-33 the man’s refusal to use the the food is contrary to expectation and as such is highlighted or given added prominence by the use of *ti*.

The use of *ti* in Bargam narrative discourse is analogous to its normal function of relating situations to the present moment in everyday discourse. In Bargam narrative, *ti*-marks those situations which are especially relevant to the eventline and which are especially crucial to the progression of the story through the time frame within which the story takes place.

References


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Appendix

The following interlinearized text is provided for reference in connection with section 4.3.4

1) *Ari ya wagam ta araq bilaqnan.*
   *ari ya wagam ta araq bilaq-nan*
   
   OK 1s story REP a say-DES
   ‘OK, I am going to tell another story.’

2) *Kwaziqmo ya imam in nagah ahulinaqta*
   *kwaziq-mo ya i-mam in nagah a-huliq-i-naq-ta*
   old-EMPH 1s INAL-father 3s something INAL-waist-OCR-with-MOD
   
   *araq anan buwol haqayta in neq-daiq haqad*
   *araq a-nan buwol haq-Ø1-ay-ta in neq-d-aiq haq-ad*
   
   a INAL-name snake q.v.-PR-2/3p-MOD 3s eat-FUT-1s q.v.-SI
   
   a bolan tukim lahta awagamun bilaqnan.
   a bol-an tuk-im leh-Ø1-Ø2-ta a-wagam-un bilaq-nan
   ACC come-DP run.away-SP go-PA-2/3s-MOD INAL-story-PoM say-DES
   ‘I am going to tell the story about how a long time ago my father brought a snake
called buwol thinking, “I’ll eat it”, but it escaped and went away.’

3) *Kwaziqmo ya imam in sagay emad luw.*
   *kwaziq-mo ya i-mam in sagay em-ad luw-Ø1-Ø2*
   old-EMPH 1s INAL-father 3s clear.land do-SI walk.around-PA-2/3s
   ‘A long time ago my father cleared some land.’

4) *Sagay emad luwimmo in nagah*
   *sagay em-ad luw-im-mo in nagah*
   clear.land do-SI walk.around-SP-EMPH 3s something
   
   *ahulinaqta neqayta buwol rawezta na in*
   *a-huliq-i-naq-ta neq-Ø1-ay-ta buwol rawez-ta na in*
   INAL-waist-OCR-with-MOD eat-PR-2/3p-MOD snake brown-MOD that 3s

4 This story was told by Joseph Nuwayme of Wasabamal village.
ahol waqad tuwam.
a-hol waq-ad ti-waq-∅₁-m
INAL-body get-SI PERF-get-PA-2/3s

‘He was clearing land and seeing a snake that people eat, buwol, the brown (one), he took it.’

5) Afaqnib wazim afaqin am wazim taltonim
a-faqin-ib waz-im a-faqin am waz-im talton-im
INAL-head-LOC hold-SP INAL-head vine hold-SP coil-SP

waqim iltonimmo ad tubol, uliqab.
waq-im ilton-im-mo ad ti-bol-∅₁-∅₂ uliq-ab
get-SP package-SP-EMPH ? PERF-come-PA-2/3s village-LOC

‘He held it by the head and tied a vine to its head and coiling it up he took it and wrapped it up (in leaves) and brought it to the village.’

6) A bolim emad didaq haiq kwasin haiq iyan
a bol-im em-ad didaq haiq kwasin haiq iy-an
? come-SP put-SI food NEG aibiga NEG be-DP

in bilam, Yaqgo karuw kab ussa ya
in bilaq-∅₁-m ya-i-go karuw ka-b us-sa ya
3s say-PA-2/3s 1s-OCR-POSS meat this-LOC sleep-DI 1s

kabiyab leheq maq wageq ham waqiw wageq
kabiy-ab leh-eq maq waq-eq ham waqiw waq-eq
garden-LOC go-IR.SP taro get-IR.SP q.v tulip get-IR.SP

teq ya a boleq oyeq neqdaiq ham.
teq ya a bol-eq oy-eq neq-da-iq ham-∅₁-∅₂
CONJ 1s * come-IR.SP cook-IR.SP eat-FUT-1s q.v-PA-2/3s

‘He brought it and put it (aside) and since there was no food or aibiga he said, “I’ll leave my meat here and go to the garden and get taro and tulip (leaves) and then I’ll bring it and cook it and eat it.”’
7) Haqad in nab hotenan bitab ussamo in haq-ad in na-b other-an bit-ab us-sa-mo in q.v.-SI 3s that-LOC hang-DP house-LOC sleep-DI-EMPH 3s
tilah.
ti-leh-∅₁-∅₂
PERF-go-PA-2/3s

'So he hung (the package) in the house and went.'

8) Lehim maq wam.
leh-im maq waq-∅₁-m
go-SP taro get-PA-2/3s

'He went and got taro.'

9) Waqiw wam.
waqiw waq-∅₁-m
tulip get-PA-2/3s

'He got tulip (leaves).'

10) Waqim anad dimniysa tubol, yaqgo karuw
waq-im a-nad dimniy-sa ti-bol-∅₁-∅₂ ya-i-go karuw
get-SP INAL-mind be.good-DI PERF-come-PA-2/3s 1s-OCR-POSS meat
tineqdaiqta haqad.
ti-neq-d-aq-ta haq-ad
PERF-eat-FUT-1s-MOD q.v.-SI

'He got it and came back feeling pleased, thinking, "I will eat my meat."'

11) Haiq in kuzaq kabiyaab lehsa ingo karuw
haiq in ko-zaq kabiya-ab leh-sa in-a-go karuw
NEG 3s that-like garden-LOC go-DI 3s-OCR-POSS meat
na bwol gwatiqim tukim tilah.
na bwol gwatiq-im tuk-im ti-leh-∅₁-∅₂
that snake pass.thru-SP run.away-SP PERF-go-PA-2/3s

'But no, while he was going to the garden that meat, the bwol, got out and escaped.'
12) *In a hi wol am.*
*in a hi wol em-\(\varphi_1-\varphi_2\)*
3s 3s NEG hit do-PA-2/3s

‘He didn’t kill it. (He hadn’t killed it.)’

13) *Kayeqmo usim gwatiqim tukim tilehan in*
*kayeq-mo us-im gwatiq-im tuk-im ti-leh-an in*
alive-EMPH sleep-SP pass.thru-SP run.away-SP PERF-go-DP 3s

*bolim asawan a hi woltay.*
bol-im a-sawan a hi woltay-\(\varphi_1-\varphi_2\)
come-SP INAL-place-PoM 3s NEG break.into-PA-2/3s

‘It was living and came out and it had already gone and he came and he didn’t check it (to see that it was there).’

14) *In bolimmo didaq tisisom.*
in bol-im-mo didaq ti-sisoq-\(\varphi_1-m\)*
3s come-SP-EMPH food PERF-shave-PA-2/3s

‘Immediately after he came he peeled the food.’

15) *Guren  uram.*
guren ureq-\(\varphi_1-m\)
cococonut scrape-PA-2/3s

‘He scraped a coconut.’

16) *In ya inen bulon, Ne ham giholbin didaq*
in ya i-nen bulon-\(\varphi_1-\varphi_2\) ne ham gi-hol-bin didaq
3s 1s INAL-mother speak.to-PA-2/3s 2s q.v INAL-body-Isq food

*oyeq neqiy ham.*
*oy-eq neq-\(\varphi_1-iy\) ham-\(\varphi_1-\varphi_2\)*
cook-IR.SP eat-PA-2/3p q.v-PA-2/3s

‘He said to my mother, “You cook food and eat it by yourselves.”’

17) *Yaqmo iholbin ham didaq oyeq negnan ham.*
ya-i-mo i-hol-bin ham didaq oyeq neg-nan ham-\(\varphi_1-\varphi_2\)
1s-OCR-EMPH INAL-body-Isq q.v food cook-IR.SP eat-DES q.v-PA-2/3s

“I am going to cook food and eat it by myself.”’
18) *Haqan ya inen bilam, Na dimunmo ham.*  
haq-an ya i-nen bilaq-∅₁-m na dimun-mo ham-∅₁-∅₂  
q.v.-DP 1s INAL-mother say-PA-2/3s that good-EMPH q.v-PA-2/3s  

'And my mother said, "That's fine."'

19) *Haqad in maq sisom.*  
haq-ad in maq sisq-∅₁-m  
q.v.-SI 3s taro shave-PA-2/3s  

'So he peeled the taro.'

20) *Guren ureqim rebub emimmo in bilam, Sa ya le*  
guren ureq-im reb-ub em-im-mo in bilaq-∅₁-m sa ya le  
coconut scrape-SP pot-LOC put-SP-EMPH 3s say-PA-2/3s Di 1s go  
igo karuw waq a bo abu wolhasaq  
i-go karuw waq a bo a-bu wolhas-eq  
OCR-POSS meat get ACC come INAL-back.of.head knock.loose-IR.SP  
wizeq ham qwatayid rebub woqan ham.  
wiz-eq ham qwatay-id reb-ub woq-∅₁-an ham-∅₁-∅₂  
roast-IR.SP q.v cut.thru-IR.DP pot-LOC fall-PA-3Sg q.v-PA-2/3s  

'He scraped a coconut and putting it in the pot he said, "Now I'll go and bring my meat and break its neck and roast(?) it and cut it up and put it in the pot." (lit. I will cut it up and it will fall in the pot.)'

21) *Haqad in eraqim lehim il tuwam.*  
haq-ad in eraq-im leh-im il ti-waq-∅₁-m  
q.v.-SI 3s get.up-SP go-SP package PERF-get-PA-2/3s  

'So he got up and went and took the package.'

22) *Il waqanmo abenab il tisinamol.*  
il waq-an-mo a-ben-ab il ti-sinamol-∅₁-∅₂  
package get-DP-EMPH INAL-hand-LOC package PERF-be.light-PA-2/3s  

'He took the package and it felt light in his hand.'
23) *Sinamolanmo in susumun, Ay ta yaqgo*
*sinamol-an-mo in susumun-ø₁-ø₂ Ay ta ya-i-go*
*be.light-DP-EMPH 3s ask-PA-2/3s hey! REP 1s-OCR-POSS*

*karuw edowa ham.*
*karuw e-do-wa ham-ø₁-ø₂*
*meat Q-where-LOC q.v-PA-2/3s*

‘Then he asked, Hey! Where’s my meat?’”

24) *Haqanmo in ta ya inen susumun ug,*
*haq-an-mo in ta ya i-nen susumun ug-ø₁-ø₂*
*q.v.-DP-EMPH 3s REP 1s INAL-mother ask give.him-PA-2/3s*

*Ni yaqgo karuw ahol wam e ham.*
*ni ya-i-go karuw a-hol waq-ø₁-m e ham-ø₁-ø₂*
*2s 1s-OCR-POSS meat INAL-body get-PA-2/3s Q q.v-PA-2/3s*

‘And he asked my mother, “Did you see my meat?”’

25) *Haqanmo haiqqam ham.*
*haq-an-mo haiqqam ham-ø₁-ø₂*
*q.v.-DP-EMPH NEG q.v-PA-2/3s*

‘And she said, “No.”’

26) *Ya ahol a hi way ham.*
*ya a-hol a hi waq-ø₁-y ham-ø₁-ø₂*
*1s INAL-body 3s NEG get-PA-1s q.v-PA-2/3s*

“I didn’t see it.”

27) *Haqanmo ta ya susumun yag, Ni yaqgo*
*haq-an-mo ta ya susumun ya-g ni ya-i-go*
*q.v.-DP-EMPH REP 1s ask 1s-give 2s 1s-OCR-POSS*

*karuw ahol wam e ham.*
*karuw a-hol waq-ø₁-m e ham-ø₁-ø₂*
*meat INAL-body get-PA-2/3s Q q.v-PA-2/3s*

‘Then he asked me, “Did you see my meat?”’
28) *Haiq*  *hay.*  
  *haiq*  *haq-ø₁-y*  
  NEG  q.v.-PA-1s  
  
  'I said, "No."'

29) *Ya ahol a hi way hay.*  
  *ya a-hol a hi waq-ø₁-y haq-ø₁-y*  
  1s INAL-body 3s NEG get-PA-1s q.v.-PA-1s  
  
  "I didn’t see it."

30) *A in anad am, Ka ya a hi wol eman in a in a-nad em-ø₁-ø₂ ka ya a hi wol em-an in*  
  then 3s INAL-mind do-PA-2/3s this 1s 3s NEG hit do-DP 3s  
  
  *tukim tilah*  
  *tuk-im ti-leh-ø₁-ø₂*  
  run.away-SP PERF-go-PA-2/3s q.v-PA-2/3s  
  
  'Then he realized, "I didn’t kill it and it escaped."'

31) *In agem meqniysa in didaq a hi oy.*  
  *in a-gem meqniy-sa in didaq a hi oy-ø₁-ø₂*  
  3s INAL-stomach bad-DI 3s food 3s NEG cook-PA-2/3s  
  
  'He was angry and he didn’t cook the food.'

32) *In didaq sisom na hulosan tuqos.*  
  *in didaq sisoq-ø₁-m na hulos-an ti-os-ø₁-ø₂*  
  3s food shave-PA-2/3s that let.go-DP PERF-sit-PA-2/3s  
  
  'He left the food he had peeled (where it was).'

33) *Ossa in tuqos, agem meqniysa.*  
  *os-sa in ti-os-ø₁-ø₂ a-gem meqniy-sa*  
  sit-DI 3s PERF-sit-PA-2/3s INAL-stomach bad-DI  
  
  'He sat there angry.'
34) Ezaqgo ingo karuw dimunta na tukim
e-zaq-go in-a-go karuw dimun-ta na tuk-im
Q-like-POSS 3s-OCR-POSS meat good-MOD that run.away-SP

tilah.
ti-leh-∅₁-∅₂
PERF-go-PA-2/3s

'(He did that) because his good meat escaped.'

35) Bwol na in oyim a ta hi nam.
bwol na in oy-im a ta hi neg-∅₁-m
snake that 3s cook-SP 3s REP NEG eat-PA-2/3s

'He never cooked that bwol snake and ate it.'

36) An wagam na nawaqmo.
an wagam na na-wa-a-mo
DP story that that-LOC-OCR-EMPH

'那就是 all of that story.'

37) Tihiqiy.
ti-hiqiy-∅₁-∅₂
PERF-finish-PA-2/3s

'It's finished.'