Fuyug texts

(Southeast Papuan, Central Province, Papua New Guinea)

Recorded, transcribed, glossed and annotated by Robert L. Bradshaw

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ii

Conventions

Interlinear examples consist of three to four lines. The first line includes the orthographic representation, based on the phonological conventions of the language (cf. §3.1 and §3.2), as well as morpheme boundaries. However, if a fourth line is used, the morphemes are indicated in the second line. Pause breaks are normally marked with commas and sentences with full stops (.), or other punctuation as applicable. Ellipsis (…) is used to indicate an instance in which a complete sentence utterance is not given. In general, an exclamation point (!) is used to show raised or high intonation, particularly with interjections or imperatives. An interrogative is indicated by a question mark (?).

The hyphen (-) is used to separate affixes while clitics are indicated by the equal sign (=). The tilde (~) is used to indicate a reduplicating morpheme. Multi-word phrases or clauses are enclosed by square brackets, e.g. the noun phrase [*halond inog*]_{NP} (garden big) 'big garden'; cf. (13) below.

The second line (or third, according to total number of lines as discussed above) includes morpheme-level glosses. SMALL CAPS indicate grammatical glosses, while the full stop (.) indicates portmanteau correspondences (e.g. number and mood affixes on verbs, 1/2.IND) or where multiple word glosses correspond to a single morpheme. When one gloss is considered primary it may be set off by use of the colon (e.g. PROX2.above**:LOC**).

The third (or fourth) line provides a free English translation, which is marked with single 'quotes'. When needed a literal translation is provided in brackets after or within the translation (lit. 'like this') to provide further necessary clarification.

Abbreviations

Following are abbreviations used throughout the paper.

-	affix	IND	indicative
~	reduplicant	INE	inessive
+	morpheme boundary	INSTR	instrumental
=	clitic	IRR	irrealis
Ø	null, zero	ISO	International Organisation for Standardisation
σ	syllable		
1	first person	JCU	James Cook University
2	second person	LAT	Latin
3	third person	LINK	linker
A	transitive subject	Lit.	literally
ADV	adverb	LOC	locative
ALL	allative	MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart
AVC	adjunct + verb combination	NEG	negative
BEN	benefactive	NOMZ	nominalisation
C	consonant	NP	noun phrase
CAUS	causative	N/S U	North/South Udab (dialect)
CC	complement clause	O	transitive object
CF	contrastive focus	OBJ	object
CL	clause (number)	OBL	oblique
CLI	class I	PL	plural
CLII	class II	PNG	Papua New Guinea
CLIII	class III	POSB	possibilitative
COMP	completive	POSS	possessive
COM	comitative	PROX	proximal (1 or 2)
COND	conditional	PURP	purposive
CU	Central Udab (dialect)	Q	question word
DEM	demonstrative	RC	relative clause
DESID	desiderative	REAL	realis
DGHM	The dictionary and grammar of Hiri Motu (cf. References)	REC	recipient
		RECIP	reciprocal
DIM	diminutive	REFL	reflexive
DIR	directional	REL	relativiser
DIST	distal (1 or 2)	S	intransitive subject
DISTR	distributive	SEQ	sequential
DL	dual	SG	singular
DS	different subject	SIM	simultaneous
DSM	differential subject marker	SS	same subject
E	extended argument	STAT	stative
ELEV	elevated	SVC	serial verb construction
EMPH	emphatic	TILP	Texts in the Indigenous Languages of the Pacific
ENG	English		
EXCLM	exclamation	TPI	Tok Pisin
FUT	future	V	verb, vowel
HMO	Hiri Motu	VBR	verbaliser
HYPOTH	hypothetical	VCC	verbless clause complement
ILL	illative	VCS	verbless clause subject
IMP	imperative	VOC	vocative
IMPERV	imperfective	W	West (dialect)
INCH	inchoative		

Biographic information

Dr Robert L. Bradshaw, member of SIL Global since 1984, serves as a Senior Linguistics Consultant and Translation Advisor. He has conducted research in three Southeast Papuan languages: Doromu-Koki, Fuyug and Uare, as well as consulted linguists in analysis of 26 Papuan and 11 Austronesian languages. Selected publications include 'Fuyug grammar sketch' in *Data Papers on Papua New Guinea Languages, Volume 53*, (SIL-PNG Academic Publications, 2007), *A grammar of Doromu-Koki* (LINCOM GmbH, 2024) and 'Clause chaining and other means of clause linking in Doromu-Koki' in *Clause chaining in the languages of the world* (Oxford University Press, 2024).

Table of contents

List of tables and figures

1. Introduction

The Fuyug language of Papua New Guinea is spoken by over 26,000 people.[1] The language community is located in the Owen Stanley ranges, primarily in the Goilala District of Central Province, approximately 100 kilometres north of Port Moresby. The language area is bounded by the Tauade (Goilalan) language community to the north, Kuni (Oceanic) to the west, Mountain Koiali (Koiarian) to the south, and an uninhabited area to the northeast in Oro Province (cf. Figure 1 below).
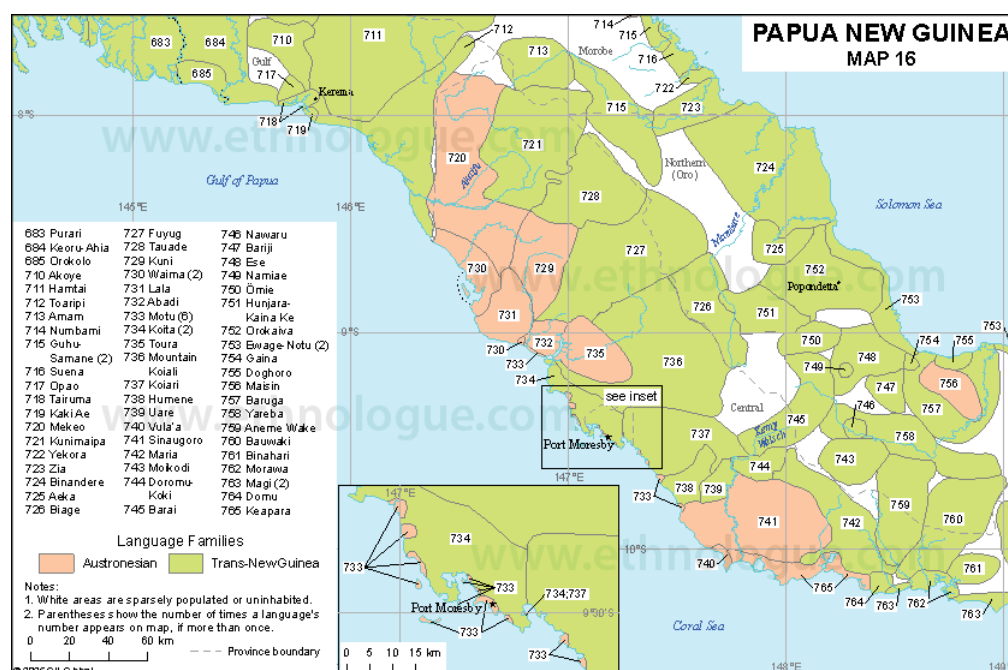
Figure 1: Location of Fuyug language community (#727, SIL Global, 2025)

The language is classified as Papuan, Southeast Goilalan (Eberhard et al. 2025).[2] The ISO code is [fuy]. Alternate names include: Fujuge, Fuyuge, Fuyughe, Mafufu, and Mafulu. The language consists of four dialects: Central Udab, Northeast Fuyug, North/South Udab, and West Fuyug. All four dialects are 90% cognate with each other (cf. Bradshaw 1994, 2007b).

2. Background

Language development under the auspices of SIL-PNG, involving language data collection,[3] linguistic analysis, literacy and translation work, took place in the Fuyug language

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[1] As estimated in Bradshaw 2025:3.

[2] Other Goilalan languages include Tauade in Central Province, Kunimaipa in Central and Morobe provinces, as well as Biangai and Weri further north in Morobe Province.

[3] My own data collection was conducted in the following 42 villages: Belavis, Elevala, Esakum, Evesa, Fan(e), Gayva, Havel, Henend, Holo, Homal, (H)onong(e), Idiban, Idu, Ilid, 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, Yongai, Yulha, and Yuvenis.

community from 1988 to 1999, primarily in the villages of Lolof (in the Central Udab dialect) and Idiban (in the North/South Udab dialect). Others' previous research, as well as my own, includes enthographies (Barthes n.d., Strong 1911, Williamson 1912, Dubuy 1931, Fastre 1939, Dupeyrat 1954, Delbos 1985, Hirsch 1985, 2025 and Bradshaw 1989); grammatical descriptions (Ray 1912b, Dutton 1973, 1975, Bradshaw 1992, 1998, 1999a, 2001, 2007a, 2007b); lexicons (Dictionnaire Fujuge/Français (4 volumes) n.d., Ray 1912a, Bradshaw 2000, 2021); phonological and orthographic descriptions (Bradshaw 1991, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2011) and sociolinguistic studies (Fuyuge Central District area, Goilala (Woitape) wordlist 1961, Steinkraus and Pence 1964, Fuyuge language Chirima wordlist 1973, Fujuge wordlist 1975, Purnell 1988a, 1988b, Bradshaw 1994). In addition, many literacy and translation materials were also produced (cf. Bradshaw 2025 for further details).

3. Grammatical sketch

The following brief grammatical sketch covers §3.1 Phonology and morphophonemics, §3.2 Orthography, §3.3 Word classes and §3.4 Clauses.

3.1 Phonology and morphophonemics

The Fuyug language has a total of fourteen consonants[4] (occurring at five points of articulation: bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, palatal and velar), as shown in Table 1 and five vowels, as shown in Table 2.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes

Point of articulation	Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	p b		t d		k g
Nasals	m		n		
Fricatives		f v	s		
Approximant				j	
Lateral approximant			l		

Voiced labial-velar approximant /w/

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[4] This analysis is based on the North/South Udab dialect. The West (W) Fuyug and Central Udab (CU) dialects also contain the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ (cf. Bradshaw 1997).

Table 2: Vowel phonemes

	Front	Back
Close	i	u
Close-mid		o
Open-mid	ε	
Open		ɑ

3.1.1 Allophonic rules

The five allophonic rules in the Fuyug language: 1) plosive aspiration, 2) nasal assimilation, 3) lateral approximant/tap fluctuation, 4) diphthongisation and 5) vowel nasalisation are described below.

3.1.1.1 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.

[kɑˈpɑpʰ]	/kɑpɑp/	\<kapap\>	'lame'
[ɑˈpud]	/ɑpud/	\<apud\>	'beginning'
[ɑˈputʰi]	/ɑputi/	\<aputi\>	'man's name'
[fiˈdãntʰi]	/fidɑnti/	\<fidanti\>	'quickly'
[tuˈdul]	/tudul/	\<tudul\>	'breeze'
[bɑˈtãn]	/bɑtɑn/	\<batan\>	'pumpkin'
[koˈsɑv]	/kosɑv/	\<kosav\>	'shoulder'
[εˈjɑkʰ]	/εjɑk/	\<eyak\>	'return'
[uˈkɑs]	/ukɑs/	\<ukas\>	'many'
[ˈokʰi]	/oki/	\<oki\>	'fire'

3.1.1.2 Nasal assimilation

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

[jãŋˈgos]	/jɑngos/	\<yangos\>	'rain'
[ˈsusũŋgãn]	/susungɑn/	\<susungan\>	'under'

3.1.1.3 Lateral approximant/tap fluctuation

The lateral approximant freely alternates between the lateral approximant [l] and the tap [ɾ] in all environments. <l> was chosen for the orthography, except in cases of loan words in which the original language had an <r>. This is especially important in words which have both an <l> and an <r> (cf. Bradshaw 1997 and footnote below).

[li'lĩn] ~ [ɾi'ɾĩn]	/lilin/	<lilin>	'descend'
['ɑkolog] ~ ['ɑkoɾog]	/ɑkolog/	<akolog>	'now'
[ɑ̃'mul] ~ [ɑ̃'muɾ]	/ɑmul/	<amul>	'woman'
[pɑ'lɑpɑlɑ] ~ [pɑ'ɾɑpɑɾɑ]	/pɑlɑpɑlɑ/	<palapala>	'poinsettia'
[pɑ'lupɑlu] ~ [pɑ'ɾupɑɾu]	/pɑlupɑlu/	<paruparu>	'frog'[5]

3.1.1.4 Diphthongisation

The low-mid vowel is realised as [ɛⁱ] word finally and before a word-final consonant.

[ɑ'tɛⁱg]	/ɑtɛg/	<ateg>	'truth'
[ɑ'fõmɛ̃mɛⁱ]	/ɑfomɛmɛ/	<afomeme>	'waiting'

3.1.1.5 Vowel nasalisation

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

['ĩn]	/in/	<in>	'pandanus'
['is]	/is/	<is>	'space'
['ɛ̃ⁱm]	/ɛm/	<em>	'house'
['ɛⁱb]	/ɛb/	<eb>	'(brother-)in-law'
['ũŋg]	/ung/	<ung>	'nose'
['ud]	/ud/	<ud>	'lip'
['õn]	/on/	<on>	'moon'
['od]	/od/	<od>	'skin'
['ɑ̃n]	/ɑn/	<an>	'man'
['ɑd]	/ɑd/	<ad>	'hit'

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[5] The term /pɑlɑpɑlɑ/ 'poinsettia' is borrowed from the Hiri Motu *palaoapalaoa* 'flower' (DGHM 1976:59) and therefore spelled <palapala> while in contrast /pɑlupɑlu/ 'frog', a loan from the Hiri Motu *paroparo* 'frog' (DGHM 1976:38), is accordingly spelled <paruparu>.

3.1.2 Syllable patterns

There are six syllable types: 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>	'tree'
VC	['ãn]	/an/	<an>	'man'
VCC	['ãmb]	/amb/	<amb>	'banana'
CV	['dɑ]	/dɑ/	<da>	'we two'
CVC	['bãn]	/ban/	<ban>	'back'
CVCC	['nɛ̃mb]	/nɛmb/	<nemb>	'bird'

Final CC syllables always consist of a sequence of a nasal and a homorganic voiced plosive (i.e. [mb, nd, ŋg]); no other consonant clusters are permissible. Vowel sequences are not permissible. The language has between one- and five-syllable words.

3.1.3 Prosody

Stress 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 is not written. Affixation does not change stress, as noted in the final example.

'σ	['gɛⁱ]	/gɛ/	<ge>	'go/went'
σ'σ	[ɑ'lĩm]	/alim/	<alim>	'yesterday'
'σσ	['gɛ.gɛⁱ]	/gɛgɛ/	<gege>	'going'
'σσσ	['sũŋ.gu.lũm]	/sungulum/	<sungulum>	'fly'
σ'σσσ	[ɛ'lɛ.vɑ.lɑ]	/ɛlɛvɑlɑ/	<Elevala>	'place name'
'σσσσ	['ĩn.dɛ.lɛ.lɛⁱ]	/indɛl+ɛl+ɛ/	<indelele>	'coming out'

3.1.4 Morphophonemics

Fuyug has five morphophonemic alternations: 1) nasal assimilation, 2) consonant cluster simplification, 3) consonant devoicing, 4) vowel epenthesis and 5) vowel cluster elision; they are further discussed below.

3.1.4.1 Nasal assimilation

The bilabial nasal /m/ assimilates to the alveolar nasal /n/ when it precedes the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ at a morpheme boundary, as shown in the following two examples:

im+ti	→	['ĩntʰi]	/inti/	<inti>	'in the eye'
em+dam+ti	→	[ɛ̃n'dɑ̃ntʰi]	/ɛndɑnti/	<endanti>	'outside'

3.1.4.2 Consonant cluster simplification

The lateral approximant /l/ is elided when it precedes the voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ at a morpheme boundary, as shown in the following two examples.

bul+ti   →   ['butʰi]   /buti/   <buti>   'to the land'
ombol+ti   →   [õm'botʰi]   /omboti/   <omboti>   'in the stomach'

3.1.4.3 Consonant devoicing

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

enamb + fidan   →   [ɛ̃n'ãmpʰ fi'dãn]   /ɛnɑmp fidɑn/   <enamp fidan>   'one road'
and + alu   →   ['ãntʰ ɑ'lu]   /ɑnt ɑlu/   <ant alu>   'all things'
asang + ukas   →   [ɑ'sãŋkʰ u'kɑs]   /ɑsɑnk ukɑs/   <asank ukas>   'much sand'

3.1.4.4 Vowel epenthesis

The high front unrounded 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 prevalent with the allative clitic =ti, as seen in the following two examples.

alund+ti   →   [ɑ'lũnditʰi]   /ɑlunditi/   <alunditi>   'in the garden'
sikul+ti   →   [si'kʰulitʰi] /sikuliti/   <sikuliti>   'at school'

Note in the final example that loanwords with final /l/ (or nasal) also appear to activate epenthesis (e.g., *tesen=iti* 'on the station'). Epenthesis also occurs in loanwords in order to break up initial consonant clusters, as in *spun > sipun* 'spoon'.

'Vowel epenthesis' also occurs in conjunction with some verbal suffixes. However, in such instances the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/ is inserted, rather than the front close vowel /i/. This type of epenthesis occurs between a consonant-final root and the stative suffix -*ngo*, and also with reduplication marking imperfective aspect. Currently this form is analysed as an occurrence of the sequential morpheme -*e*.

yu+ngo   →   ['jũŋgo]   /jungo/   <yungo>   'is standing'
id+SEQ+ngo   →   [i'dɛ̃ŋgo]   /idɛngo/ <idengo> 'is sleeping'
ne+IMPERV   →   ['nɛ̃nɛⁱ]   /nɛnɛ/   <nene>   'eating'
sum+SEQ+IMPERV   →   [sũ'mɛ̃mɛⁱ]   /sumɛmɛ/ <sumeme> 'walking'

3.1.4.5 Vowel sequence elision

When a root-final vowel is marked by a suffix or a clitic with an initial vowel, the initial vowel is elided. This elision is particularly prevalent with one-syllable stems with the Class I

indicative suffixes *-e* '1/2.IND', *-a* '3.IND', as well as the sequential and possibility suffixes *-e* and *-o*.

ne-e	→	['nɛ^i]	/nɛ/	<ne>	eat-1/2.IND	'I/you eat/ate'
ne-a	→	['na]	/na/	<na>	eat-3.IND	'he/she eats/ate'
ge-e	→	['gɛ^i]	/gɛ/	<ge>	go-SEQ	'and go/went'
ye-o	→	['jo]	/jo/	<yo>	get-POSB	'might get'

3.2 Orthography

In Fuyug, a morphemic representation is not considered acceptable, e.g. *enti* 'in the house' rather than **emti*, *buti* 'in the land' rather than **bulti*, *ant haluv* 'everything' rather than **and haluv*, *okiti* 'in the fire' rather than **okti*. Instead, a phonemic representation is preferred, such as *em* 'house' + *=ti* 'allative' yielding *enti* 'in the house', which is then considered acceptable.

There have been several issues related to the orthography which was developed in the 1950s, including: The letters <c>, <w> and <x> were not taught, although <c>, <h>, <w>, <x> and <y> were all used in printed materials; <c>, <x> and <y> were limited to borrowed terms. It was determined that <c> or <ch> should be replaced with <k>, and <x> with <s> as these original graphemes were derived from English and Latin. (<w> and <y> are discussed below.)

The graphemes <r> and the <l> are actually represented by just one phoneme, the lateral approximant /l/. Practically the grapheme <r> is only used in differentiation occurring in English, Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu loanwords, since all three of these languages need both <l> and <r>; in other contexts only <l> is needed.

The grapheme <w> was occasionally used to represent the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ as in /val/ <wal> 'there'; use of <w> only for the voiced labial-velar approximant /w/ would avoid this confusion.

The <'> apostrophe as used in English indicates 'contraction', that is in fast speech phenomena. However, in written communication it would be preferable to represent the actual slow speech variant (especially as an aid in reading), e.g. /gɛ apa/ > /gapa/ (fast speech) > <ge apa> 'that's all'. This is also evidenced in cases of final consonant elision.

Other orthographic issues relate to increased ease of printing, e.g. <a> in place of /ɑ/ and <e> in place of <ɛ>. The early French priests (due to European tradition) instituted the convention of using <j> to represent the palatal approximant /j/ (e.g. *Dictionnaire Fujuge/français*). At the time of my involvement with the language community, the

remaining priests were opposed to any change from <j> to <y>. However, upon their departure, speakers readily began using <y>, which also conforms more closely to national language orthographies.

3.3 Word classes

The Fuyug language has three open word classes: noun, verb and adjective (cf. §3.3.2). Discussion of them will follow that of the closed classes outlined below.

3.3.1 Closed classes

The closed classes make up the majority of word classes found in the language. Most are quite small, ranging from one to 15 members, with the conjunctions being the most numerous. The following closed classes are described below: pronouns (§3.3.1.1), demonstratives (§3.3.1.2), locatives (§3.3.1.3), postpositions (§3.3.1.4), interrogatives (§3.3.1.5), negatives (§3.3.1.6), adverbs (§3.3.1.7), conjunctions (§3.3.1.8) and interjections (§3.3.1.9).

3.3.1.1 Pronouns

There are three sets of pronouns in Fuyug: personal (i.e. A/S/O), reflexive and reciprocal.

Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns distinguish between singular, dual, and plural as seen in Table 3 below. Unlike the other Goilalan languages (cf. Boxwell 1967:36 [Weri], Dubert and Dubert 1978:31 [Biangai], Geary 1977:17 [Kunimaipa] and Stutzman 1993:3.1.3 [Tauade]), clusivity is not distinguished.

Table 3: Personal pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*na*	*da*	*di*
2	*nu*	*ya*	*yi*
3	*hu*	*tu*	*mu*

These pronouns function in isolation as transitive or intransitive subject or object; when modified by the following suffixes shown in Table 4, they have other functions as indicated.

Table 4: Pronominal suffixes

Suffix	Gloss
-l	'possessive'
-ni	'emphatic'
-noy	'comitative'
-v	'contrastive focus'

Posssessive

The personal pronouns are modified by the suffix *-l* to indicate possession. They may function as intransitive subject (1) or oblique position (2), as well as transitive subject (cf. (49)) or object (cf. (93)).

(1) *Nal   bab   ge   us   anga.*
    *na-**l**   bab   ge   us   ang-a*
    1SG-POSS   father   DSM   death   remain-3.IND
    'My father died.' (Bradshaw 2007b:39)

(2) *Hu   ge   hul   enti   ge.*
    *hu   ge   hu-**l**   em=ti   ge-e*
    3SG   DSM   3SG-POSS   house=ALL   go-1/2.IND
    'She went to her house.'

Emphatic

The emphatic suffix *-ni* primarily occurs on pronouns in transitive/intransitive subject (nominative) position. In rare instances it also occurs on a place name (cf. Text 1 below). This marking is most often used to reintroduce (i.e., topicalise) a subject or in a verbless clause (3).

(3) *Hu-**ni**   sesada.*
    3SG-EMPH   long
    'He is tall.' (Bradshaw 2007b:40)

Another emphatic strategy employs the manner nominal *biyaga* 'self' following a possessive-marked pronoun which agrees with the transitive/intransitive subject of the clause.

(4) *Hu   ge   hu-l   **biyaga**   vil-i.*
    3SG   DSM   3SG-POSS   self   do- CLII:REAL
    'He did it himself (lit. his-self).' (Bradshaw 2007b:43)

Comitative

The comitative suffix *-noy* only co-occurs with nonsingular pronouns (cf. 'accompaniment' in Kunimaipa (Geary 1977:51)).

(5) *Yani   di**noy**   gadi.*
    *ya-ni   di-**noy**   ge-adi*
    2DL-EMPH   1PL-COM   go-CLI:IRR
    'You two will go with us.' (Bradshaw 2007b:40)

Contrastive focus

The 'contrastive' suffix *-v* behaves much like the NP contrastive focus enclitic *=a*, however it is limited to the first person singular pronoun *na* '1SG' in transitive/intransitive subject position (cf. 'intensifer' in Kunimaipa (Geary 1977:17–18)).

(6) *Imal   hene=ti   na-**v**   ala   na-l   samel   di   yu*
    day   some=ALL   1SG-CF   COM   1SG-POSS   younger.sister   1PL   stand

    bol-e   di-l   em   hu-l   talo=tu   kolos-i.
    COMP-SEQ   1PL-POSS   house   3SG-POSS   verandah=ADESS   play-CLII:VBR
    'One day my younger sister and I were stood playing on our house's verandah.' (Bradshaw 2007b:41)

Reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun *mul* functions as an object argument, indicating an action done to oneself. It immediately follows the appropriate obligatory personal pronoun, as seen in example (7) below.

(7) *Na   ge   fuful   na   **mul**   ind-i.*
    1SG   DSM   pain   1SG   REFL.OBJ   give-CLII:REAL
    'I hurt myself.'

Reciprocal pronoun

The reciprocal pronoun *nom* only occurs in conjunction with nonsingular (i.e., dual or plural) transitive/intransitive subjects (8). It may also convey joint action (9).

(8) *Mu   ge   **nom**   hada.*
    mu   ge   nom   had-a
    3PL   DSM   RECIP   hit-3.IND
    'They hit each other.' (Bradshaw 2007b:43)

(9) *Ole   el   Yavu   tu   **nom**   hos   yede   ye*
    *Ole   el   Yavu   tu   **nom**   hos   yed-e   ye-e*
    (person.name)   and   (person.name)   3DL   RECIP   horse   call-SEQ   get-SEQ

    tel-a.
    come-3.IND
    'Ole and Yavu together called the horse and brought it.' (Bradshaw 2007b:43)

3.3.1.2 Demonstratives

When a locative (cf. §3.3.1.3 below) is marked by the suffix -*seba* a demonstrative is derived (16); note that the two most commonly used forms are optionally marked by this suffix. The demonstratives are represented spatially in relationship to the speaker (cf. Table 5 below) and function on a four-way horizontal axis (according to two 'proximal' and 'distal' categories) and three-way vertical axis (according to elevation). There are fewer distinctions available than their locative counterparts have (cf. discussion of generic locatives below).

Table 5: Demonstratives

Elevation	Proximal 1: 'this here'	2: 'this right here (close by)'	Distal 1: 'that there (near addressee)'	2: 'that over there (far away)'
Above		*yeveseba*		
Level	*ovo(seba)*	*obeseba*	*va(seba)*	*omeseba*
Below		*ibeseba*		*imeseba*

The words in the second column 'there (close by)' refer to neutral locations which are neither near the speaker nor the addressee. When *ovo* 'this here' and *va* 'that there' occur without *-seba*, they are followed by *an(a)* 'one', e.g. *ovo ana* 'this one', functioning as demonstrative pronouns.

(10) *Keva   ge   **ibeseba**   ala   na   hada.*
      Keva   ge   ibel-seba   ala   na   had-a
      (person.name) DSM   PROX2.below-DEM   INSTR   1SG   hit-3.IND
      'Keva hit me with this (stick) right down here.' (Bradshaw 2007b:42)

3.3.1.3 Locatives

The locatives have both generic and specific forms. They typically occur before the verb, but otherwise may occur in various locations for pragmatic reasons.

Generic locatives

The generic locatives function on a five-way horizontal axis (according to two 'proximal' and 'distal' categories and additionally one 'behind' distinction) and three-way vertical axis (according to elevation) based on their relationship to the speaker (cf. Table 6 below). Note: there are some gaps on each elevation; the 'level' and 'below' elevations have twice as many distinctions as the 'above' elevation while those forms not found in the demonstratives are all on the periphery (i.e. *vom* 'behind.below:LOC', *vim* 'PROX1.below:LOC and *yol* 'DIST2.above:LOC') and therefore less likely to be needed in demonstrative forms. Perhaps the forms previously existed, but then fell into disuse. Three of the most common forms have alternate shortened forms (i.e. *owal/al* 'PROX1:LOC, *omel/om* 'DIST2:LOC' and *imel/im* 'DIST2.below:LOC').

Table 6: Generic locatives

Elevation	Behind 'back there' (behind)	Proximal 1: 'here'	2: 'right here (close by)'	Distal 1: 'there (near addressee)'	2: 'over there (far away)'
Above			*yevel*		*yol*
Level		*(ow)al*	*obel*	*val*	*om(el)*
Below	*vom*	*vim*	*ibel*		*im(el)*

(11) *Na   ge   **imel**   gadi.*
     na   ge   imel   ge-adi
     1SG   DSM   DIST2.below:LOC   go-CLI:IRR
     'I will go down over there.'

Specific locatives

Fuyug has three specific locatives: *baleng* 'outdoors, outside' (12); *bufe* 'outside of house'

and *busal* 'far (away)'.

(12) *Es   imel   **baleng**   kolos-i.*
     child   DIST2.below:LOC   outside   play-CLII:VBR
     'The children play down over there outside.' (Bradshaw 2007b:55)

3.3.1.4 Postpositions

Postpositions modify NPs. As such, locational postpositions are enclitics.

(13) *Na   ge   halond   inogiti   gadi.*
     *na   ge   [halond   inog]*_{NP}*=ti   ge-adi*
     1SG   DSM   garden   big=ALL   go-CLI:IRR
     'I will go to the big garden.' (Bradshaw 2007b:61)

There are five locational postposition enclitics in the language, as listed in Table 7.

Table 7: Locational postposition enclitics

Enclitic	Gloss(es)
=ti	'allative, to, toward (movement)'
=ati	'inessive, in, inside, on'
=tu	'adessive, on, upon'
=dam	'elative, out, outside'
=ts	'locative, at, from, in, on, to'

Allative clitic

The most common postpositional enclitic is the allative *=ti* conveying movement as 'to,

toward' (14). Following consonant-final roots (excluding nasals and the lateral approximant)

and any loanword, the allomorph *=iti* is realised (15).

(14) *Hu   ge   hul   buti   ga.*
     *hu   ge   hu-l   bul=**ti**   ge-a*
     3SG   DSM   3SG-POSS   land=ALL   go-3.IND
     'He went to his land.' (Bradshaw 2007b:60)

(15) *Na   ge   halonditi   gadi.*
     *na   ge   halond=**ti**   ge-adi*
     1SG   DSM   garden=ALL   go-CLI:IRR
     'I will go to the garden.' (Bradshaw 2007b:60)

Inessive enclitic

The inessive postpositional enclitic *=ati* conveys the meanings of 'in, inside, on'. It is most often used with the word *em* 'house' (16), where it reflects a static location, position or situation (cf. Crystal 1985:156).

(16) *Hoy   ovo   em=ati   andengo.*
      dog   PROX1:DEM   house=INESS   stay-SEQ-STAT
      'The dog is inside this house here.' (Bradshaw 2007b:59)

Adessive enclitic

The postpositional enclitic *=tu* 'on, upon' indicates either static location or movement. Infrequently it is used in place of the allative *=ti* 'to, toward', as noted by Ray (1912:310): "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*." This is seen in (17) in which the village of Lolof is located on a mountain.

(17) *Di   Loloftu   andengo.*
      *di   Lolof=**tu**   and-e-ngo.*
      1PL   (place.name)=ADESS   stay-SEQ-STAT
      'We are living on Lolof (village).' (Bradshaw 2007b:60)

Some place name locations, which are not considered elevated (18), take neither the allative *=ti* or *=tu* 'ADESS' postpositional enclitics. This particular village is located near a river.

(18) *Na   ge   Idiba   gadi.*
      na   ge   Idiban   ge-adi
      1SG   DSM   (place.name)   go-CLI:IRR
      'I will go to Idiban (village).' (Bradshaw 2007b:61)

Elative enclitic

The postpositional enclitic *=dam* 'out, outside' only modifies the word *em* 'house' (cf. inessive enclitic above). Such a form refers to the *endam* 'courtyard' area of a village 'fenced-in' by houses along the perimeter (cf. Figures 1 and 2 in §4.5 below). When it is used, nasal assimilation occurs, and also when it is used in combination with the allative enclitic (19).

(19) *Na   ge   ovol   hadadinote   endanti   ge.*
      *na   ge   ovol   had-adi=note   em=**dam**=ti   ge-e*
      1SG   DSM   pig   hit-CLI:IRR=PURP   house=ELAT=ALL   go-1/2.IND
      'I went outside in order to kill the pig.' (Bradshaw 2007b:74)

Generic location enclitic

The postpositional enclitic *=ts* has a generic locational function, conveying various meanings: 'at, from, in, on, to'.

(20) *Fan=ts*   *vom*   *Fan=ts*   *tel-a*
      (place.name)=LOC   behind.below:LOC   (place.name)=LOC   come-3.IND
      'From Fane (mission station), it came from back down there at Fane.'

Free locational postpositions

Several postpositions occur as free words; they are listed in Table 8. An example is seen in (21) below.

Table 8: Free locational postpositions

Free postposition	Gloss(es)
hombobol	'above, over'
adad	'against, on, to, adherent to, along, attached to, fastened to'
hongol	'near, close to, before, at the side of'
kugul	'close by, near'
songol	'under'
susugan	'under(neath), below'

(21) *Ovol*   *hu-ni*   *em*   **susungan**   *id-e~de.*
      pig   3SG-EMPH   house   underneath   cut-SEQ~IMPERV
      'The pig is/was sleeping (lit. cutting [the day]) underneath the house.'
      (Bradshaw 2007b:62)

Two additional free postpositions have limited distribution. The postposition *anang* (also realised as *nang* or *ana*) 'recipient' co-occurs with the verb *et-* 'say'[6] (22), while *anate* 'beneficiary' occurs with other verbs primarily with *tomal-* 'make' (23).

(22) *Nu*   *ge*   *andal*   *na*   **anang**   *et-e?*
      2SG   DSM   what   1SG   REC   say-1/2.IND
      'What did you tell (or say to) me?' (Bradshaw 2007b:92)

(23) *Na*   *ge*   *nu*   **anate**   *tomal-e.*
      1SG   DSM   2SG   BEN   make-1/2.IND
      'I made it for you.' (Bradshaw 2007b:92)

---

[6] Note: Some verbs have dialectal variants, *et-* 'say' being one of those. This is its Central Udab variant; its North/South Udab variant is *ted-* 'say'. Most data is from the Central Udab dialect, but on occasion there will be examples with the North/South Udab variant. Another common variant (Central Udab–North/South Udab) is *it-/id-* 'cut' (cf. (27) above).

3.3.1.5 Interrogatives

Fuyug has six interrogatives, as listed in Table 9 below. The second, *dal* 'who', also functions as a relativiser (cf. §3.4.3.2). Interrogatives always fill the slot of the argument they replace (24).

Table 9: Interrogatives

Interrogative	Gloss(es)
andal	'what, how'
dal	'who'
hed	'when'
odel	'where'
odelave	'how many/much'
udi	'why'

(24) *Nu   ge   **andal**   vil-i?*
       2SG   DSM   what   do-CLII:REAL
       'What do/did you do?' (Bradshaw 2007b:44)

(25) ***"Dal*** *et-a-ma   yi-ni   ilof   yi-ni   kulus   had-e*
       who   say-3.IND-DS   2PL-EMPH   before   2PL-EMPH   cross   hit-SEQ

       bibidena?
       bibid-e-n=a?
       carry-1/2.IND-LINK=Q
       '"Who told you before that you (can) carry a cross?"'

The interrogative *udi* 'why' is realised as *udidi* when used alone, as in *Udidi?* 'Why?' Note also the polar question marker, to be discussed immediately below.

Polar question marker

The interrogative enclitic =*a* takes a rising intonation contour. Often an epenthetic consonant (glossed as 'LINK') precedes the clitic when the preceding suffix ends in a vowel, i.e. =*la*, =*ma* and =*na* are considered morphologically conditioned allomorphs:

a → *la* V_____
              -high
              -low
              +back

a → *ma* V_____
              -high
              +low
              +back

a → *na* V_____
            +high
            -back

a → *a* _____

(26) *Nu*   *ge*   *gola?*
      nu   *ge*   *ge-o-l=a*
      2SG   DSM   go-POSB-LINK=Q
      'Are you going?' (Bradshaw 2007b:66)

(27) *Hu*   *ovol*   *hadama?*
      hu   *ovol*   *had-a-m=a*
      3SG   PIG   hit-3.IND-LINK=Q
      'Did he kill the pig?' (Bradshaw 2007b:66)

(28) *Ya*   *kupe*   *filina?*
      ya   *kupev*   *fil-i-n=a*
      2DL   sweet.potato   plant-CLII:REAL-LINK=Q
      'Did you two plant sweet potato?' (Bradshaw 2007b:66)

(29) *Nu*   *ge*   *yalo*   *ongo*   *nadia?*
      nu   *ge*   *yalov*   *ongo*   *ne-adi=a*
      2SG   DSM   food   some   eat-CLI:IRR=Q
      'Are you going to eat some food?' (Bradshaw 2007b:66)

3.3.1.6 Negatives

Fuyug has three negative forms, as shown in the Table 10 below. The different forms do not vary according to aspect or mode, but rather according to word class/type; they either precede or follow the negated constituent.

Table 10: Negatives

Negatives	Position
meme	Preceding verbs
mi	Following imperative marked Class II verbs
huwan	Following noun phrases

As shown in the table, the negative *huwan* 'nothing' negates NPs (30), including elided nominals (31), while *meme* negates indicative verbs (32) and *mi* Class II imperative verbs (33). The primary negative *meme* has various morphophonemic alternations (*me, mem* and

meme), while the Class II prohibitive 'infix' follows the Class II verb stem and receives the 'verbaliser' marking (cf. (39)).[7]

(30) *Na   sisiban   huwa.*
      na   sisiban   **huwan**
      1SG   knowledge   nothing
      'I don't/didn't know.' (Bradshaw 2007b:93)

(31) *Vali   yalo hada   ta nani   ∅   ∅   huwan.*
      *Vali   yalov had-a   ta na-ni   ∅   ∅   **huwan***
      (person.name) food cook-3.IND but 1SG-EMPH (food) (cook) nothing
      'Vali cooks/cooked food, but I do/did not (cook food).' (Bradshaw 2007b:97)

(32) *Nani   yalo   mem   hade.*
      na-ni   yalov   **meme**   had-e
      1SG-EMPH   food   NEG   cook-1/2.IND
      'I do/did not cook food.' (Bradshaw 2007b:97)

(33) *Sosol   **mi**!*
      sosol   me-i
      work   NEG-CLII:VBR
      'Don't work!' (Bradshaw 2007b:95)

As the negatives modify different word classes (or types), in some cases both can be used together.

(34) *Na   ge   sosol hukas huwa   me   vili.*
      na   ge   sosol hukas **huwan   meme**   vil-i
      1SG DSM work much nothing NEG   do-CLII:REAL
      'I do/did not do a lot of work.' (Bradshaw 2007b:47)

The English loanword *'a'a* 'no' only functions as a negative response.

(35) *Velima   na   ete,   "'**A'a**, nani   ded."*
      velima   na   et-e   'A'a   na-ni   dede
      so.that 1SG say-1/2.IND   no   1SG-EMPH   later
      'So I said, "No, I (will go) later."'

The conditional negative *sigega* 'if not' indicates a contrafactual proposition, always occurring after *huwan* and governing negative existential clauses.

(36) *Ta   ende   rays   huwa   **sigega** di   ge   yalo   anate   us*
      ta   enden   rays   huwan   sigega di   ge   yalov   anate   us
      but   also   rice   nothing if.not 1PL   DSM   food   BEN   death

---

[7] The Class I negative *meme* functions similarly when the verbs *tel-* 'come' or *ge-* 'go' are modified with either the *he-* or *hen-* 'ELEV' prefixes respectively, as *na he-me-ge-e* (1SG ELEV-NEG-go-1/2.IND) 'I do/did not go up'.

ange.
ang-e
remain-1/2.IND
'But if there were no rice, we would die for (want of) food.' (Bradshaw 2007b:112)

3.3.1.7 Adverbs

The language has two types of adverbs, expressing degree or manner. There are only slightly more manner adverbs than degree; the larger manner adverbs subclass will be described after the smaller degree adverbs subclass.

Degree adverbs

The degree adverbs are listed in Table 11 below; most often they modify adjectives. The first two, *apa* and *gig* 'enough', however do not; they are limited to formulaic closing of a narrative (cf. texts 1–3, 6–11 and 15–16 below) in a verbless clause of the form [Ø]$_{VCS}$ *ge* [*gig/apa*]$_{VCC}$ ([it] DSM enough) 'that's all'. Some of the remaining degree adverbs have limited distribution, such as *ifif* 'very', which is only used with *dub* 'dark', e.g., *dub ifif* (dark very) 'it is very dark'.

Table 11: Degree adverbs

Adverb	Gloss
apa	'enough'
gig	'enough'
akan	'DIM'
ifif	'very'
tey	'very'
hukas	'many, much'

The diminutive adverb *akan* obligatorily modifies *kis* 'little'[8] (37) and *uwand* 'small' (38) and optionally several other adjectives: *galib* 'little (size)' (39) and *honof* 'short'. It is also used to modify a few other adjectives with the variant form *agan*: *ambal* 'weak' (40) and *fom* 'lightweight' as well as the postposition *kugul* 'near, close by' (41).

(37)　*Yalo　kis　aka　na　ind-i.*
　　　*yalov　kis　**akan**　na　ind-i*
　　　food　little　DIM　1SG　give-CLII:REAL
　　　'Give me a little bit of food.' (Bradshaw 2007b:53)

---

[8] Note: *kis akan* 'little bit' is also used as a quantifier: *na av kis akan te-adi* (1SG word little DIM say-CLI:IRR) 'I will say a very little bit'; *av et-* (word say) 'speak' is an adjunct + verb combination (cf. §3.3.2.3).

(38) *Tomba*   *hu-ni*   *es*   *uwand*   **akan**.
    (person.name)   3SG-EMPH   child   small   DIM
    'Tomba is/was a very small child.' (Bradshaw 2007b:54)

(39) *And*   *galib*   **akan**.
    thing   small   DIM
    'It is/was a very small thing.' (Bradshaw 2007b:53)

The last two, *hukas* 'many, much' and *tey* 'very' function as adjectives, and occasionally also co-occur (cf. (13.077) below).

(40) *Hu-ni*   *sal*   *hukas*   *hel-e*   *bol-e*   *hu-l*
    3SG-EMPH   sick   much   become-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   3SG-POSS

    hod   *ge*   *ambal*   **agan**.
    body   DSM   weak   DIM
    'He becomes/became very sick and then his body is/was very
    weak.' (Bradshaw 2007b:54)

(41) *Busal*   *huwan,*   *kugul*   **agan**.
    far   nothing   near   DIM
    'It is/was not far, it is/was very close.' (Bradshaw 2007b:54)

Manner adverbs

There are eight manner adverbs in Fuyug, as listed in Table 12 below. They precede the verb (or verb complex) they modify (42–43).

Table 12: Manner adverbs

Adverbs	Gloss(es)
fidanti	'quickly, at once, immediately'
samunti	'luckily, by chance, if not'
kele	'easily, slowly, quietly'
sabasab	'quickly, fast'
savambud	'surprisingly'
siksti[9]	'quickly'
tongotong	'continuously'
yasigmade	'suddenly, instantly'

(42) **Kele**   *lilin*   *t-a!*
    kele   *lilin*   *et-a*
    slowly   descend   say-2SG.IMP
    'Go down slowly!' (Bradshaw 2007b:52)

---

[9] Note: The word *siksti* 'quickly', a Tok Pisin loanword, does not conform to permissible syllable structures or the epenthesis rule, where forms such as *sikisti or *siksiti would instead be expected.

(43) | *Di* | **tongotong** | *sosol* | *hukas* | *yeye.* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *di* | *tongotong* | *sosol* | *hukas* | *ye-e~ye* |
| 1PL | continuously | work | much | get-1/2.IND~IMPERV |

'We are/were continuously doing a lot of work.' (Bradshaw 2007b:52)

The numeral *fidan* 'one' (cf. §3.3.2.2 for further discussion on numerals) in combination with the postpositional allative enclitic *=ti* conveys the meanings 'quickly, at once, immediately'. This same type of construction is used with *samun* 'chance', as in *na **samu=ti** tel-e* (1SG chance=ALL come-1/2.IND) 'Luckily I came'.

(44) | *Di* | **fidanti** | *ge.* |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *di* | *fidan=ti* | *ge-e.* |
| 1PL | one=ALL | go-1/2.IND |

'We go/went quickly (at once).' (Bradshaw 2007b:51)

3.3.1.8 Conjunctions

Although Fuyug has switch-reference, it nevertheless has many conjunctions, including several coordinating conjunctions (cf. Bradshaw 2024b for such similarity with other Southeast Papuan languages). The 15 conjunctions found in Fuyug are given in Table 13 below. They will be discussed further.

Table 13: Conjunctions

Coordinating			Subordinating		
Additive	*ta*	'and'	Reason-result	*ta*	'because'
	ela	'and'		*hu dal adad*	'because'
	tako	'and in addition'		*badina*	'because'
Contrastive	*ta*	'but, yet'	Cause-effect	*veyli*	'be/like so'
				hu vavel adad	'therefore'
				vavel adad	'so that'
Disjunctive	*eke*	'or'	Contingent	*oto*	'if'
	o	'or'		*otunga*	'if'
			Contrafactual	*sigega*	'if not'

The coordinating conjunctions express additive, contrastive/adversative and disjunctive/alternative relationships as shown in the following examples. The contrastive conjunction *ta* 'but' (45) is a clausal coordinator, while the additive conjunctions link nominals. Ellipsis as a coordinating strategy is only permissible in constructions in which the verb is omitted in the second clause, as seen here in (45).

(45) | *Vali* | *yalov* | *ha-da,* | **ta** | *na-ni* | Ø | Ø | *huwan.* |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| (person.name) | food | cook-3.IND | but | 1SG-EMPH | (food) | (cook) | nothing |

'Vali cooks/cooked food, but I did not (cook food).' (Bradshaw 2007b:97)

The conjunction *ela* 'and' (cf. (9), Texts: (13.003), (13.007), (13.063), (13.072), (13.112) and (17.05)) is the most frequently occurring additive form, requiring a slightly higher intonational pattern, as it equally coordinates nominals. The additive conjunction *tako* 'and in addition', which adds new information, may be derived from *ta akolog* 'and/but now' (cf. (7.11) and Texts: (11.04)).

The disjunctive conjunction *eke* 'or' (46) separates elements in question. The less common variant, a Hiri Motu loanword (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:201), is *o* 'or'.

(46)   *Mu*   *ge*   *tel-a-me*   **eke**   *hilog?*
        3PL   DSM   come-3.IND-SS   or   still
        'Did they come or are they still coming?' (Bradshaw 2007b:101)

There are four types of subordinating conjunctions: 1) Reason-result, 2) Cause-effect, 3) Contingent and 4) Contrafactual. Reason or effect clauses are always asserted, and result or cause clauses are generally asserted, though occasionally presupposed.

Although it is more common in many Papuan languages for reason to precede result, this is not the case in Fuyug. Instead we find Result *ta/hu dal adad/badina*[10] 'because' Reason.

(47)   *Na*   *ge*   *baykiti*   *andemadi*   **ta**   *na-l*   *bayk*   *hef.*
        na   *ge*   *bayk=ti*   *and-e-me-adi*   *ta*   *na-l*   *bayk*   *hef*
        1SG   DSM   bag=ALL   stay-SEQ-CAUS-CLI:IRR   because   1SG-POSS   bag   half
        'I will put it in the bag because my bag is half (full).' (Bradshaw 2007b:106)

However, some do follow the opposite order: Reason *veyli/vavel adad/hu vavel adad* 'so/like that/therefore' Result (cf. neighbouring Oceanic languages as possible influence: Hiri Motu (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:16, 30), Mekeo (Jones 1998:83, 203, 429) and Waima (Mitchell et al. 1998:12, 14, 19)). These are phrasal expressions, such as *hu vavel adad* 'therefore' (3SG like.so toward), which means 'it was like that and that led to….' Because this type presupposes the reason it focuses primarily on the result, leaving it until the end.

(48)   *An*   *ongo*   *ge*   *val*   *na*   *hongol*   *gomali*   *na*   *ge*
        an   *ongo*   *ge*   *val*   *na*   *hongol*   *ge-o=mali*   *na*   *ge*
        man   some   DSM   DIST1:LOC   1SG   near   go-POSB=SIM   1SG   DSM

        id-adi   **hu.vavel.adad**   *an=ing*   *mu-ni*   *na*   *al-i*
        cut-CLI:IRR   therefore   man=PL   3PL-EMPH   1SG   see-CLII:REAL

---

[10] The reason-result subordinating conjunction *badina* 'because' is a Hiri Motu loanword (*DGHM* 1976:27) and not used as frequently as the others.

> *bole   udede.*
> bol-e   ud-e~de
> COMP-SEQ   fear-1/2.IND-IMPERV
> 'If anyone comes near me there I will hurt him/her; therefore when people
> see me they are afraid.' (Bradshaw 2007b:110)

The contingent subordinating conjunction *otunga* 'if' (realised as *oto* in rapid speech),
operates on the sentential level, indicating hypotheticality.

(49) **Otunga** *di-l*   *an=ing*   *pati*   *vil-i=mali=malala,*   *mu*   *ge*   *bul*
     if   1PL-POSS   man=PL   party   do-CLII:REAL=SIM=COND   3PL   DSM   land

     ongoti   *nanan*   *mu*   *anang*   *tomenenga,*   *mu*   *ge*   *te*
     ongo=ti   nanan   mu   anang   et-o=menenga   mu   ge   tel-Ø
     some=ALL   person   3PL   REC   say-POSB=FUT.SEQ   3PL   DSM   come-HYPOTH

     bo   *di*   *buti*   *holof*   *heladi.*
     bol-Ø   di-l   bul=ti   holof   hel-adi
     COMP-HYPOTH   1PL-POSS   land=ALL   dance   become-CLI: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.' (Bradshaw 2007b:111)

The contrafactual subordinating conjunction *sigega* 'if not' functions as a negative
conditional governing a negative existential clause. It is always preceded by the nominal
negative *huwan* 'nothing'.

(50) *Nu*   *huwan*   **sigega**   *na*   *enden*   *ovo*   *vavel*   *huwan.*
     2SG   nothing   if.not   1SG   also   PROX1:DEM   like.so   nothing
     'If you did not exist, I would also be (lit. not be) likewise (non-existent) here.'
     (Bradshaw 2007b:112)

Temporal subordination

Two postpositional enclitics are used to express temporal relationships: =*mali* 'simultaneous',
meaning 'while, as' and =*menenga* 'future sequential', meaning 'once…then' (cf. (49) above)
for examples of both). Both of these occur after the final verb of the subordinate clause and
are phonologically bound to it. (They will be discussed further in §3.3.2.3 below.)

3.3.1.9 Interjections

Fuyug has four types of interjections: exclamations, greetings, polite interjections and a
generic interjection. The interjections always occur clause-initially and are uninflected. They
have a higher intonation contour than other elements of the clause. Each type is shown in the
appropriate subsections below.

Exclamations

There are three exclamations: *a* 'oh', *ile* 'maybe, oh, wow' and *susu* 'warning, advice'.

(51) **A, di ge nu al-i!**
oh 1PL DSM 2SG see-CLII:REAL
'Oh, we see/saw you!'

Greetings

Traditional phatic 'greetings' are all loans; the typical autochthonous greetings are questions such as *Nu odel gadi*? (2SG where go.SEQ.CLI:IRR) 'Where are you going?' or *Ifana*? (good.LINK.Q) 'Are you well?' Otherwise one may simply call out a person's name (cf. Text 13, line (63) below). The borrowed greetings centre around daytime intervals used in English, i.e. *moning* 'good morning', *aftanun* 'good afternoon', or leave taking/farewells, i.e. *bayo* 'goodbye' and *tata* 'goodbye'.

Polite interjections

Polite interjections include the two loans, *ekskyus*[11] 'excuse (me)' and *pilisi* 'please'.

(52) **Pilisi, na tuy-a.**
please 1SG help-2SG.IMP
'Please, help me.' (Bradshaw 2007b:79)

Generic interjection

The word *segamanda* 'wow, oh; exclamation at another's misfortune' functions as a generic interjection.

(53) **Segamanda, nu ge angad-e!**
oh 2SG DSM fall-1/2.IND
'Oh, you fell!' (Bradshaw 2007b:79)

3.3.2 Open classes

The three open classes are nouns (§3.3.2.1), adjectives (§3.3.2.2) and verbs (§3.3.2.3).

3.3.2.1 Nouns and their modifiers

Proper nouns include autochthonous personal and place names such as *Anama* 'man's name' and *Bidogalamo* 'Mt. Albert Edward', *Idiban* 'village name', *Honog* 'clan area name' and *Udab* 'river name'. While people have traditional village names, they also have borrowed baptism names such as Desmond and Theresa.

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[11] This loanword is sometimes used in the place of two autochthonous verbs *kod-* 'excuse (me), clear' and *tadekel-* 'excuse (me)', e.g. **Tadekel-o, na go**! (excuse-POSB 1SG go.POSB) 'Excuse (me), I'm going!'

Nouns are not marked for number, except for a small subclass, which take the plural enclitic morpheme *=ing* 'PL'; these are primarily human: *amul* 'woman', *an* 'man/one', *es* 'child', *nanan* 'person' and *tubun* 'ancestor', or else highly culturally relevant entities: *ovol* 'pig', *mad* 'practice/custom' and *kupev* 'sweet potato'. In addition, two human loans may also be marked for plural number: *profet* 'prophet', *kalak* 'clerk/pollster'. Unexpectedly the inherently plural *aked* 'men/people' may also be marked (54) for plural. When a noun is modified, the plural marking occurs on the adjective, marking the number for the entire noun phrase (55). The relativiser *dal* 'REL' may also be marked for plural as it functions as a pronominal referent to a human argument in a clause (56); pronouns do not behave similarly.

(54) *va*   **akeding**   *owal*   *gadimote*
      val   *aked=ing*   *owal*   *ge-adi=mote*
      DIST1:LOC   men=PL   PROX1:LOC   go-CLI:IRR=DESID
      'those men there were wanting/trying to go here' (Bradshaw 2007b:140)

(55) *Amul*   **hukasing**   *ge*   *halonditi*   *ga.*
      amul   *hukas=ing*   *ge*   *halond=ti*   *ge-a*
      woman   many=PL   DSM   garden=ALL   go-3.IND
      'Many women went to the garden.' (Bradshaw 2007b:58)

(56) *hul*   *susum*   **daling**   *ende*   *valele*
      hu-l   *susum*   *dal=ing*   *enden*   *val-hele*
      3SG-POSS   thing   REL=PL   also   DIST1:LOC-INCH
      'the things of those who were first staying there' (Bradshaw 2007b:170)

Temporal nouns, such as *akolog* 'now, today', *alim* 'yesterday', *ilati* 'tomorrow' and *vomalim* 'day before yesterday' (57) are very important to the context, as there is no indication of tense on the verb (cf. §3.3.2.3). Temporals precede the verb (and other arguments for pragmatic reasons).

(57) *Yi*   **vomalim**   *Dominiki=ts*   *tel-e.*
      2PL   day.before.yesterday   Sunday=LOC   come-1/2.IND
      'The day before yesterday on Sunday you came.'

Noun phrases are modified in various ways. Possessive forms are common, in which the possessor precedes the possessed, such as *an hul falam* (man 3SG.POSS image) 'man's image/likeness'. In other cases nouns are juxtaposed to form nominal compounds, such as *amul sol* (woman youth) 'young woman'; commonly used compounds are often interpreted as one word (e.g. *mam-bab* (mother-father) 'parent(s)').

3.3.2.2 Adjectives

Fuyug adjectives (approximately 240 according to Bradshaw 2021) cover nearly all of Dixon's (2010:73–74) semantic types, as exemplified below. They always follow the noun they modify, with numbers following other adjectives (e.g. *ovol inog fidan* (pig big one) 'one big pig').

Set	Type	Example	Gloss(es)
A	1. Dimension	*sesada*	'long'
	2. Age	*hasil*	'new'
	3. Value	*ifan*	'good'
	4. Colour	*gaga*	'orange'
B	5. Physical property	*inog*	'big'
	6. Human propensity	*ambal*	'weak'
C	9. Similarity	*haben*	'other'
	10. Qualification	*ateg*	'true'
	11. Quantification	*hukas*	'many'
	12. Position	*busal*	'far (away), distant'
	13. Cardinal numbers	*fidan*	'one'

A few of these types are described further below.

Dimension

Under the first type, *kitot* 'tiny' indicates progressively smaller size.

(58) *Kali   hilog   es   **kitot**.*
     (person name) still   child tiny
     'Kali is still an infant.'

Quantification

In addition to the numerals (yet to be discussed), there are the following non-numeric quantifying adjectives: *hukas* 'a lot' (59), *ongo* 'some, any' (plural form *ongeging*), *ufud* 'much', *ukum* 'enormous' and *utum* 'many (for a crowd)'.

(59) *Na   ge   sosol   **hukas** huwan   me   vil-i.*
     1SG DSM   work   much   nothing NEG   do-CLII:REAL
     'I did not do a lot of work.' (Bradshaw 2007b:47)

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

(60) *Mad   **ufud**   ge   hindel-a.*
     practice   much   DSM   come.out-3.IND
     'Many things happened.' (Bradshaw 2007b:48)

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

(61) *Amul   el   an   **utum**   hukas   al-i!*
     woman   and   man   many   many   see-CLII:REAL
     'See the crowd of many people!' (Bradshaw 2007b:48)

Qualification

Below, the qualifying adjective *humban* 'like, so, maybe, possibly, must' (62) governs the object pronoun *nu* 'you'.

(62) *Na   nu   **humban**.*
     1SG   2SG   like
     'I am/was like you.' (Bradshaw 2007b:52)

Colour

Fuyug colour terms identify hues, rather than specific shades. Most appear to have autochthonous origins, though later loans from English are regularly used (i.e. *blu* 'blue' and *grin* 'green'). The colours are described in Table 14 below, with identification of origin of borrowing, where it is possible to determine. Examples can be found below in the texts: *kogol* (Text 4, line19) and *dub* (Text 4, line 19 and Text 13, lines 2 and 4).

Table 14: Fuyug colour terms

Term	Hue	Gloss(es)
foyefo	clear—light	'white'
kogol	off-light	'tan, beige, light orange, Caucasian'
yangogne/toyoto[12]	very bright	'yellow, gold'
gaga[13]	bright	'orange, light green'
tadana	dull	'(orange-)red, dark green, brown'
dub	dark	'(violet-)blue, black'

Cardinal numbers

The Fuyug language has only two autochthonous cardinal numbers: *fidan* 'one' and *yovalo* 'two'. They can be combined to form 'three' through 'five'; otherwise, English forms are used, as with all numbers past 'five'.

(63) *yovalo hul mindan*   'three' (lit. 'two its other one')
(64) *yovalo ta yovalo*   'four'   (lit. 'two and two')
(65) *yovalo ta yovalo ta hul mindan* 'five'   (lit. 'two and two and its other one')
                                                (Bradshaw 2007b:45)

    The number *fidan* 'one', when reduplicated has a distributive meaning (66–67).

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[12] Note: The term *toyoto* 'yellow' has limited use. It may have been coined due to the presence of an old yellow Toyota truck in the area; this term is not used in other areas of the same dialect or in the other dialects.

[13] This is a possible Hiri Motu loan: *kakakaka* 'red' (Dutton and Voorhoeve 1974:196).

(66) *Da   kupe   fidafidan   ne.*
     *da   kupev   **fidan~fidan**   ne-e*
     1DL   sweet.potato   DISTR~one   eat-1/2.IND
     'We two each eat sweet potato.' (Bradshaw 2007b:45)

(67) *Di   teb   **fidifid**   fil-i.*
     1PL   sugarcane   one.by.one   plant-CLII:REAL
     'We planted the sugarcane one-by-one.' (Bradshaw 2007b:45)

While there are no dedicated ordinals, nevertheless the language can express these concepts through idiomatic expressions (i.e. *hung=iti* (nose=ALL) 'first', *isel-hel-e nanan* (follow-INCH-1/2.IND person) 'second'). Note: These precede the noun, unlike all other adjectives.

Examples of other types include **Age**: *hasil* 'new' (70) and (Text 13, lines 46 and 48); **Physical property**: *inog* 'big' (13), (Text 4, lines 18–19) and (Text 13, line 110); **Human propensity**: *ambal* 'weak' (40); and **Position**: *busal* 'far' (Text 13, line 90). There are also numerous antonymic pairs. Below, in Table 15, is a sampling (cf. Bradshaw 2021 for further examples).

Table 15: Antonymic adjectives

Positive/lesser	Gloss	Negative/greater	Gloss
daba	'immature'	*fofol*	'ripe'
dub	'dark'	*foyefo*	'white'
fom	'lightweight'	*inamada*	'heavy'
fomal	'dry'	*humbubud*	'wet'
galib	'little'	*inog*	'big'
hasil	'new'	*gen*	'old'
honof	'short'	*sesada*	'long'
hovev	'straight'	*idamene*	'crooked'
ifan	'good'	*koy*	'bad'
kagavan	'hard'	*ambal*	'soft'
mambub	'cold'	*ololo*	'hot'
valol	'narrow'	*dala*	'wide'

Other minor classes include affirmative answer (e.g. *todi* 'yes' [or *e* 'yes' in Central Udab dialect, cf. (7.04)]); the noun *huwan* 'nothing' is used to indicate a negative response) and the discourse marker *ge* 'differential subject marker' (cf. Bradshaw 2007b:155–158 for further elaboration; at that time it was analysed as a topic marker). It may indeed be the case that instead *ge* functions similarly to the Doromu-Koki differential subject marker *yaku* (cf. Bradshaw 2024a:451–456); further research is needed.

3.3.2.3 Verbs and their modifiers

Fuyug, like other Papuan languages, has two forms of verbs: final and medial. Discussion will begin with the more straightforward final verbs.

Final verbs

Final verbs are inflected with person-(number)-mood combination morphemes and one type of aspect as shown in Table 16 below; tense is not indicated, yet time can often be determined from the context. Fuyug verbs are quite simple in comparison to many Papuan languages (although quite comparable to other Southeast Papuan verbs; cf. Bradshaw 2024b and Bradshaw 2025, inter alia). However, there is indeed a bit more complexity than will first appear here, due to the use of temporal subordinating enclitics, which will be discussed further below.

Table 16: Final verbal morphology

Class	Direction	Stem		Mood/Reality status	Aspect	
1	*he-*	ELEV	*-ø*	HYPOTH		
	a-	DIR	*-e*	1/2.IND	~CV	IMPERV
			-o	POSB		
			-a	3.IND		
			-a	2SG.IMP		
			-ava	2PL.IMP		
			-adi	CLI:IRR		
2			*-i*	CLII:REAL/VBR		
			-idi	CLII:IRR		
3			*-ngo*	STAT		
			-ong			

As identified in the table, there are three verb classes. The first and third classes are closed, while the second is open. This second class is considered open since the 'realis' morpheme *-i* derives a verb from borrowed terms (in which case it is then glossed as 'verbaliser'). The primary distinction between these first and third classes is the several mood/reality status suffixes used with Class I verbs in contrast to only two suffixes: 'realis' and 'irrealis' for Class II; the indicative and imperative moods have been neutralised in this class.

The majority of verbs are in Class I. All Class I verbs are marked with *-e* as 'sequence'[14] (otherwise identified as '1/2.IND') in their lexical citation form or in an unmarked serial verb construction. The majority of these Class I verb stems are composed of at least two phonemes

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[14] This morpheme functions much like the coordinating conjunction *el* 'and' to form a clause chain (cf. §3.4.1.1), cf. *na ge i ye-e he-tel-e and-e me-e* (1SG DSM tree get-SEQ ELEV-come-SEQ stay-SEQ put-1/2.IND) 'I got the wood took it up and set it (down)'.

(e.g. *id-* 'cut') with the final phoneme being a consonant. Only those four that would not otherwise contain two phonemes (i.e. *ge-* 'go', *me-* 'put', *ne-* 'eat' and *ye-* 'get') retain the unmarked form in all zero-marked instances.[15] When a stem is zero-marked for hypothetical epistemic modality (e.g. *ne-Ø* 'eat-HYPOTH), without this unmarked *-e* retained, a single consonant remains. Single consonants are not considered canonical words. As vowel sequences are not permitted, surface forms of these verbs elide the stem vowel (e.g. *ne-e* (eat-1/2.IND) > *ne* 'I eat/ate').

Class III only contains the three positional verbs *and-* 'stay, sit', *id-* 'sleep, lie' and *yu-* 'stand'. The first two share mood marking with Class I verbs, while the third *yu-* 'stand' is similar to Class II verbs in that *yu-* does not share mood marking with Class I verbs. However, neither does it use the 'realis' (or 'verbaliser') marking; it is zero-marked for mood. All three of these positional verbs share two characteristics in common: 1) They can be marked with *-ngo* 'stative'[16] (e.g. *yu-ngo* (stand-STAT) 'standing') or 2) function as valence-increasing causative compound verb constructions with the verb *me-* 'put' (e.g. *ande-me* (stay-CAUS) 'make sit down', *ide-me* (sleep-CAUS) 'make lie down', *yu-me* (stand-CAUS) 'make stand up'). (Note also, that the stem final vowel *e* may accordingly be elided when further suffixes beginning with a vowel are added, e.g. *ande-me-adi* (stay-CAUS-CLI:IRR) > *andemadi* 'will make sit down'.)

Medial verbs

Medial verbal morphology is shown in Table 17. The stative, irrealis, hypothetical and imperative moods are not used on medial verbs. The Class III verbs *and-* 'stay' and *id-* 'sleep, lie' (which are typologically like Class I) are marked the same as Class I verbs, however the verb *yu-* 'stand' remains unique in that it does not take any of these markings. Two of the mood suffixes (*-e* '1/2.IND' and *-a* '3.IND') identify person in the medial clause, while all the remaining suffixes do not. All classes end with switch-reference marking, dependent on the subject of the following clause (68–69). Note also that the Class II verbs are not marked for switch-reference.

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[15] Note these are all common verbs, readily occurring in serial verb constructions and clause chains.

[16] Use of the alternate *-ong* is mainly limited to the verb *and-* 'stay' alone. It is presently considered to be a Central Udab variant of *-ngo* 'STAT'.

Table 17: Medial verbal morphology

Class	Direction		Stem	Mood		Aspect		Switch-reference	
1	*he-*	ELEV	*-e*	1/2.IND/SEQ		~CV	IMPERV	*-me*	SS
	a-	DIR	*-o*	POSB				*-ma*	DS
			-a	3.IND					
2			*-i*	CLII:REAL/VBR					

The switch-reference markers indicate sequentiality of events between clauses. The suffix *-me* indicates 'same subject' (68) in the subsequent clause, while the suffix *-ma* indicates 'different subject' (cf. Geary 1977:29 for comparison with Kunimaipa).

(68) *Mu   ge   biya   neme   sipak   bo   amul   el   an*

	mu	*ge*	*biya*	*ne-e-**me***	*sipak*	*bol-ø*	*amul*	*el*	*an*
	3PL	DSM	beer	eat-SEQ-SS	drunk	COMP-HYPOTH	woman	and	man

	mu	*kod*	*tadi.*	
	mu	*kod*	*et-adi*	
	3PL	rebuke	say-CLI:IRR	

'They might drink beer and then get drunk and people would rebuke them.'
(Bradshaw 2007b:69)

Class I verbs, *-e* '1/2.IND' or *-a* '3.IND' marking, are used before different subject marking, rather than *-e* 'SEQ', which is used in conjunction with same subject marking.

(69)

	Di	*saval*	*av-i=mali*	*sum-o~mo*	*na*
	1PL	mushroom	look.for-CLII:REAL=SIM	walk-POSB-IMPERV	1SG

	saval	*hukas*	*hindele**ma***	*va*	*yungomali.*
	saval	*hukas*	*hindel-e-**ma***	*val*	*yu-ngo=mali*
	mushroom	many	arrive-1/2.IND-DS	DIST1:LOC	stand-STAT=SIM

'While we were looking for mushrooms we were walking (around) and I came upon many mushrooms that (lit. while they) were standing there.' (Bradshaw 2007b:71)

Directional prefixes

Only three Class I verbs of movement (*ge-* 'go', *me-* 'put' and *tel-* 'come'), allow the use of directional prefixes (e.g. ***a**-me* (DIR-put) 'put into', ***he**-tele* (ELEV-come) 'come up' (70) and ***hen**-ge* (ELEV-go) 'go up'). For the verbs *tel-* 'come' and *ge-* 'go' the prefix can be considered the same ***he**-*; a prenasalisation morphophonemic process is required before a voiced consonant (e.g. *he+ge > hen-ge*).

(70)

	Mu	*sof*	*hasil*	*ye*	*hetela.*
	mu	*sof*	*hasil*	*ye-e*	***he**-tel-a*
	3PL	axe	new	get-SEQ	ELEV-come-3.IND

'They bring/brought up the new axe.' (Bradshaw 2007b:64)

Mood/reality status

Two verbal suffixes indicate indicative mood: (Class I): -*e* '1/2.IND' (71a) and -*a* '3.IND' (71b); three reality status: (Class II) -*i* 'realis/verbaliser' (72), (Classes I and II): -*adi* 'CLI:IRR', -*idi* 'CLII:IRR; and two stative mood: (Class III): -*ng(o)/-ong* (73a–b).

(71) a. *Di   ge   yalo   ne.*   b. *Hu   ge   yalo   na.*
         *di   ge   yalov   ne-**e***   *hu   ge   yalov   ne-**a***
         1PL   DSM   food   eat-1/2.IND   3SG   DSM   food   eat-3.IND
         'We eat/ate food.'   'He eats/ate food.' (Bradshaw 2007b:63)

As the Class II verbs do not specify indicative or stative moods as do Class I and III respectively, the 'realis' suffix -*i* could also be interpreted as including indicative mood.

(72)   *Di   ge   win-i.*
        1PL   DSM   win-CLII:VBR
        'We win/won.'[17] (Bradshaw 2007b:64)

The two Class III stative markers are seen below (73a–b). With consonant-final roots *and-* 'stay' and *id-* 'sleep, lie' the allomorph -*engo* (which is presently being interpreted as a combination of -*e* 'SEQ' + -*ngo* 'STAT') occurs, while the vowel-final root *yu-* 'stand' takes the allomorph -*ngo*.[18] (The difference between -*ngo* and -*ong* may be due to dialectal variation.)

(73) a. *Buka   yevel   kaden   hul   tu   idengo.*
         *buka=a   yevel   kaden   hu-l   =tu   id-e-**ngo***
         book=CF   PROX2.above:LOC   carton 3SG-POSS =ADESS   sleep-SEQ-STAT
         'The book is lying right up here on top of the box.' (Bradshaw 2007b:64)

   b. *Sikuliti   val   andong.*
       *sikul=iti   val   and-**ong**.*
       school=ILL   DIST1:LOC   stay-STAT
       'I was staying there in the school.'

There are two irrealis markers in the North/South Udab dialect according to the class of verb used (Class I -*adi* or Class II -*idi*). Irrealis is not indicated on Class III verbs.

(74) a. *di   ge   omel   gadi*   b. *odel   yi   udidi?*
         *di   ge   omel   ge-**adi***   *odel   yi   ud-**idi***
         1PL   DSM   DIST2:LOC go-CLI:IIRR   where   2PL   carry-CLII:IRR
         'we will go over there'   'where are you carrying (it)?'

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[17] The verb *win-* is a Hiri Motu loan (*uini* 'win' (DGHM 1976:80)).

[18] Specific nouns must co-occur with a particular positional verb according to its natural characteristics (e.g. *hindif* 'knife' co-occurs with *id-* 'lie). Others, such as human beings, may occur with any positional verb (e.g. *an and-e-ngo* (man stay-SEQ-STAT) 'the man sits', *an id-e-ngo* (man lie-SEQ-STAT) 'the man lies down' and *an yu-ngo* (man stand-STAT) 'the man stands').

As some of the texts below are from other dialects, it should be noted that these two markers have dialectial variants: Class I: Central Udab dialect *-ats* (cf. Text 1) versus West dialect *-ati* (cf. Text 5); Class II: Central Udab dialect *-its* (cf. Text 3) versus presumably *-iti* for the West dialect, although not occurring in the texts; note however another Central Udab dialect variant *-iti* used with the verb *gadel-* 'wrap' in Text 16.

Epistemic modality includes *-ø* 'hypothetical' (75) and *-o* 'possibilitative' (76). Hypothetical is zero-marked; these bare verb stems are used in procedural texts in conjunction with the completive aspect marker *bol-* (COMP). This combination is used for a formulaic construction such as building a house (cf. Text 16 below).

(75) *Fulumad   bo   ge   kowi.*[19]
      Fulumad-ø   bol-ø   ge   kow-i.
      finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   DSM   close-CLII:VBR
      'Once he is finished, then he will close (it) off.'

The possibilitative indicates that until an action is complete, there is uncertainty that it will actually happen. It is often also used as a polite imperative strategy; it is obligatory to include the first person subject pronoun while subject pronouns are not included with imperatives (see below).

(76) *Telo   di   go.*
      tel-o   di   ge-o
      come-POSB   1PL   go-POSB
      'Come, let's go.' (Bradshaw 2007b:65)

Deontic modality includes the two imperative moods (also Class I): *-a* '2SG.IMP' (77a) and *-ava* '2PL.IMP' (77b). Mood is not indicated on Class II verbs.

(77) a. *Kupe   ye   hetela!*   b. *Apa   yi   nom   gava!*
        kupev   ye   he-tel-a   *apa   yi   nom   ge-ava*
        sweet.potato   get   ELEV-come-2SG.IMP   enough 2PL   RECIP go-2PL.IMP
        'Bring up the sweet potato!'   'Well you yourselves go!'
        (Bradshaw 2007b:65)   (Bradshaw 2007b:66)

Aspect

The only aspectual marking is the reduplicative ~CV 'imperfective', which only follows the Class I mode marking *-e* '1/2.IND/SEQ' (78a) or modality marking *-o* 'possibilitative' (78b).

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[19] The verb *kow-* 'close' is a Hiri Motu loan (*koua* 'close; block; hinder; cover; bar way; clog' (DGHM 1976:35, 52)).

(78) a. *yil   hod   ge   fuful   meme*
      *yi-l   hod   ge   fuful   me-e~**me***
      2PL-POSS   skin   DSM   pain   put-SEQ~IMPERV
      'your body is/was in pain/sore'

   b. *yalo   hene   tul   ind   nono*
      *yalov   hene   tul   ind-ø   ne-o~**no***
      food   some   sell   give-HYPOTH   eat-POSB~IMPERV
      'we were going to buy some food to eat'

Additionally there are two aspectual strategies: 'completive' (e.g. *ge **bol**-e* (go COMP-1/2.IND) 'went'), derived from the verb *bol-* meaning 'leave', and 'inchoative' derived from the verb *hel-* 'become'. The completive has already been observed co-occurring with -ø 'hypothetical' above; it serves as a means of indicating past time.

(79) *Huni   ge   yu   hele   bole   enti   ga.*
     *hu-ni   ge   yuv   hel-e   **bol**-e   em=ti   ge-a*
     3SG-EMPH   DSM   water become-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   house=ALL   go-3.IND
     'He finished washing and then went in the house.' (Bradshaw 2007b:68)

The inchoative aspectual marker *-hel* is a grammaticalisation of the verb *hel-* 'become'[20] (cf. Berghäll 2015:50, 56, 134, 136–8 and Payne 1997:95), indicating beginning an action and glossed as 'first'. In (80), *owal* 'here' is where the participants were living when they began to take a walk. As in this example, inchoative marking is primarily used on locatives (with 80% representation in the paper) or locations (cf. text 12) as well as some verbs (cf. texts 5, 12 and 16) and an adjective (cf. text 13).

(80) *Di   Christian,   an   hukas,   hale   sol=ing,   di   hale*
     1PL   Christian   person   many   young.man   youth=PL   1PL   young.man

     sol   hukas,   owalele   Woitapiti   andong
     *sol   hukas   owal-**hel**-e   Woitap=ti   and-ong*
     youth   many   PROX1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   (place.name)=ALL   stay-STAT

     val   walk   bole   val   heng.[21]
     val   walk   bol-e   val   he-ge-e
     DIST1:LOC   walk   COMP-SEQ   DIST1:LOC   ELEV-go-1/2.IND
     'We Christians, many people, young people, we many young people,
     living (or 'first staying') here in Woitape, walked and went up there.'

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[20] The verb *hel-* 'become' is commonly used in adjunct + verb combinations (e.g. *ambul hel-* (only become) 'be about to', *holof **hel**-* (dance become) 'dance', *inog **hel**-* (big become), 'grow, increase', *em **hel**-* (house become) 'build house', *huwan **hel**-* (nothing become) 'disappear', *ifan **hel**-* (good become) 'become well', *sal **hel**-* (sick become) 'get sick', *yalam **hel**-* (show become) 'show' and *yu **hel**-* (water become) 'wash').

[21] Note: Often in rapid speech the final vowel in the final verb (and elsewhere) is elided.

Derivational process

The derivational process of nominalisation is marked by the suffix *-ung* 'nominaliser' and occurs on Class I and Class II verbs only, usually following imperfective aspect marking. It appears to topicalise an activity, often followed by *bol-e* 'COMP-SEQ' (82).

(81) *Hindele*　　*holof*　*helelung,*　　　　　　*holof*
　　　hindel-e　　*holof*　*hel-e~le-**ung***　　　　*holof*
　　　arrive-SEQ　dance　become-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ　dance

　　　helelung.
　　　hel-e~le-ung
　　　become-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ
　　　'They arrived and were dancing, they were dancing.'

(82) *Na*　*yol*　　　　　　　*holof*　*alilung*　　　　　　*bole*
　　　na　*yol*　　　　　　　*holof*　*al-i~li-**ung***　　　*bol-e*
　　　1SG　DIST2.above:LOC　dance　see-CLII:REAL~IMPERV-NOMZ　COMP-SEQ

　　　tele,　　*ge*　*obelele*　　　　*handiti*　　*yung.*
　　　tel-e　　*ge*　*obel-hel-e*　　　*hand=ti*　　*yu-ngo*
　　　come-SEQ　DSM　PROX2:LOC-INCH-SEQ　garden-ALL　stand-STAT
　　　'I was up over there and finished watching the dance and I came, and I was first standing right here in the garden.'

Enclitics

There are several enclitics attached to verbs and they are of four types: 1) temporal *=mali* 'simultaneous' and *=menenga* 'future sequential'; 2) subordinating conjunction *=malala* 'conditional' (cf. previous mention in §3.3.1.8 above); 3) epistemic modality *=note* 'purposive' and deontic modality *=mote* 'desiderative' and 4) question *=a* interrogative marking (cf. discussion in §3.3.1.5 above).

Temporal enclitics

The two temporal enclitics behave as subordinating conjunctions. The simultaneous enclitic *=mali* indicates co-occurance (cf Geary 1977:29 for comparison with Kunimaipa) of events between conjoined clauses. It does not indicate any change in subject and does not co-occur with switch-reference marking.

(83) *Muni*　　　*telomali*　　　*nani*　　　*valele*　　　　　　*pelen*　　*ye*
　　　mu-ni　　*tel-o=**mali***　*na-ni*　　*val-hel-e*　　　　*pelen*　　*ye-e*
　　　3PL-EMPH　come-POSB-SIM　1SG-EMPH　DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ　aeroplane　get

bole	*im*		*Moresby*	*silol*	*ye.*
bol-e	*im*		*Moresby*	*silol*	*ye-e*
COMP-SEQ	DIST2.below:LOC		Port.Moresby	jump	get-1/2.IND

'While they came I first took the plane there and landed down over there in Port Moresby.'

With Class I verbs, the future sequential enclitic *=menenga* semantically requires the possibilitative *-o* 'POSB'; it may also occur after *-i* 'realis' with Class II verbs (cf. [Text 4, line 3] and [Text 7, line 13]), since these verbs do not take such marking.

(84)
Oke	*yi-ni*	*ge*	*tel-o=menenga*	*na*	*ge*	*yi*	*talaka*
okay	2PL-EMPH	DSM	come-POSB=FUT.SEQ	1SG	DSM	2PL	car

yeye	*bo*	*ome*	*Mamba*	*ome*
ye-e~ye	*bol-Ø*	*omel*	*Mamba*	*omel*
get-SEQ~IMPERV	COMP-HYPOTH	DIST2:LOC	(place.name)	DIST2:LOC

me	*hindele.*
me-e	*hindel-e*
put-SEQ	arrive-1/2.IND

'Okay, you will come and then I will take you in my car way over there to Mamba.'

Subordinating conjunction

The subordinating conjunction *=malala* 'conditional', often glossed as 'if', semantically requires *=mali* 'SIM' (cf. (49), (85) and [Text 9, line 8]). This conjunction usually also requires use of the conjunction *otunga* 'if' at the beginning of the clause.

(85)
Otunga	*bul*	*dede*	*dub*	*ang-o=mali=**malala***	*mu*	*ge*	*imbad*
if/when	land	later	dark	remain-POSB=SIM=COND	3PL	DSM	possum

had-adi.
hit-CLI:IRR

'Later once if/when it gets dark then they might kill possum.' (Bradshaw 2007b:70)

Epistemic and deontic modalities

The epistemic modality *=note* 'purposive' and deontic modality *=mote* 'desiderative' both semantically require irrealis as their complement (cf. (19), (54), [Text 16, line 1] and [Text 17, line 5] respectively). The purposive indicates 'in order to' do something.

(86)
Na	*nu*	*alidinote*	*teseniti*	*ge.*
na	*nu*	*al-idi=**note***	*tesen=ti*	*ge-e*
1SG	2SG	see-CLII:IRR=PURP	station=ALL	go-1/2.IND

I went to the station in order to see you.' (Bradshaw 2007b:74)

The desiderative enclitic *=mote* denotes 'wanting, desiring' to do something that is as yet unactualised; thus the outcome is uncertain, requiring the use of irrealis.

(87) *An*   *hene*   *ge*   *em*   *hel-adi=**mote***   *ge*   *bul*   *kilin-i.*[22]
      man   some   DSM   house   become-CLI:IRR=DESID   DSM   land   clean-CLII:VBR
      'When someone (lit. one man) wants to build a house he has to clear (lit. clean) the
      land.'

Complex predicates

As with other Papuan languages, adjunct + verb combinations and serial verb constructions
are quite common in Fuyug.

Adjunct + verb combinations

Adjunct + verb combinations are constructions composed of a noun or adjective complement
and a light verb. There are at least 22 such light verbs used in these constructions; the most
common being the verb *et-* 'say' (88). In the Fuyug dictionary (Bradshaw 2021) over 200 of
these combinations are attested. Examples of some of these can be seen in Table 18 below.

(88) *Amuling*   *ge*   *ilav*   *hukas*   ***gulun***   ***ta****.*
      amul=ing   *ge*   *ilav*   *hukas*   *gulun*   *et-a*
      woman=PL   DSM   necklace   many   neck   say-3.IND
      'Women wear a lot of necklaces on the neck.' (Bradshaw 2007b:85)

Table 18: Adjunct + verb combinations

Adjunct + verb combination			Gloss
fun	*al-e*	(odour perceive)	'smell'
gom	*al-i*	(vomit see-VBR)	'vomit'
meng	*ame-*	(spell put.into)	'cast spell'
emb	*and-*	(yawn stay)	'yawn'
us	*ang-*	(death remain)	'die'
eyag	*et-*	(laugh say)	'laugh'
ida	*ge-*	(cut go)	'be about to'
av	*had-*	(word hit)	'talk'
alul	*hel-*	(snore become)	'snore'
ninik	*hem-*	(sew shoot)	'sew'
malel	*hid-*	(letter pick)	'write'
imal	*id-*	(day cut)	'sleep'
tul	*ind-i-*	(sell give-VBR)	'sell'
fut	*me-*	(blow put)	'blow'
sesen	*mal-*	(revealed/shown cause)	'give birth to'
fili	*tel-*	(roll come)	'unwrap'
av	*tod-*	(word split)	'interrupt'
silol	*ye-*	(jump get)	'jump'

Some occur in combination with another verb (cf. discussion of serial verbs below),
primarily either as a simple verb + an adjunct + verb combination (89), or an adjunct + verb
combination + a simple verb (90).

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[22] The verb *kilin-* 'clean' is most likely an English loanword.

(89) *Na   i   yov   ye*_V   [*gulun te*]_{AVC}.
     na   i   iyov   ye-e   *gulun   et-e*
     1SG   tree   vine   get-SEQ   neck   say-1/2.IND
     'I tightened the vine.' (Bradshaw 2021:13)

(90) *Na   tapu*   [***ban   indil***]_{AVC}   ***ame***_V.
     na   tapu   ban   ind-i-l   *a-me-e*
     1SG   clothing   back   give-CLII:REAL-LINK   DIR-put-1/2.IND
     'I hid (lit. gave backside to) the clothes.' (Bradshaw 2021:4)

Serial verb constructions

Two or three verbs considered as one conceptual unit are juxtaposed to form a serial verb construction (SVC). The component verbs are unmarked (or what could alternately be considered marked as -*e* 'sequential', e.g. *al-i et-* (see-VBR say-) 'call' or *ye-e he-tel-e me-* (get-SEQ ELEV-come-SEQ put-) 'bring up'). There are approximately 30 listed in the Fuyug dictionary (Bradshaw 2021), though in practice they are very common. By far, the first verb in an SVC is most commonly the verb *ye* 'get'. Note that the location of the negative limits the scope of the SVC (91).

(91) *Na   ol*   *ye*_{V1}   *hetele*_{V2}   ***meme   me***_{V3}.
     na   ol   *ye-e*   *he-tel-e*   *meme   me-e*
     1SG   firewood   get-SEQ   ELEV-come-SEQ   NEG   put-1/2.IND
     'I brought up firewood and did not put it down.' (Bradshaw 2007b:88)

3.4 Clauses

Fuyug has both verbal and verbless clauses. Other important clause types include speech report, relative clauses and complementation.

3.4.1 Verbal clauses

Constituent order in a verbal clause is as shown below in (92). Only the transitive/intransitive subject and verb/adjunct + verb combination are obligatory.

	A/S	**(O)**		**(E)**	**(OBL)**
(92)	*Na*	*ge*	*kupe*	*ongo*	*hale-sol*	*endanti*
	na	*ge*	*kupev*	*ongo*	*hale-sol*	*em=dam=ti*
	1SG	DSM	sweet.potato	some	young.man-youth	house=ELAT=ALL

(ADV)   **V/AVC**
fidanti   *indi*.
fidanti   *ind-i*
quickly   give-CLII:REAL
'I quickly gave the young man some sweet potato outside.'

3.4.1.1 Clause chaining

In common with Papuan typology (cf. Bradshaw 2024b), narratives in particular allow for clauses strung together with sequential (as a means of linking verbs into an SVC), simultaneous and switch reference markings. In (93), seven clauses are strung together to form one long 'same subject' sentence, while in (94) we see the same strategy with 'different subject' marking.

(93) [*Mu   ge   ilof   hene   ide*]_CL1   [*ye   tele*]_CL2   [*yu   hul*
       mu   ge   ilof   hene   id-e   *ye-e   tel-e*   *yuv   hu-l*
       3PL   DSM   before   some   cut-SEQ   get-SEQ   come-SEQ   water   3SG-POSS

       hod   udeme]_CL3   [*ye   tele*]_CL4   [*vom   isusi*
       hod   ud-e-me   *ye-e   tel-e*   *vom   isus-i*
       skin   carry-SEQ-SS   get-SEQ   come-SEQ   behind.below:LOC   hide-CLII:REAL

       bole]_CL5   [*tele*]_CL6   [*va   nu   bidi*]_CL7.
       bol-e   *tel-e*   *val   nu   bid-i*
       COMP-SEQ   come-SEQ   DIST1:LOC   2SG   lie-CLII:REAL
       'They already cut some (skins for water) and brought (them) and carried the water skins and brought (them) and completely hid (them) back down there and came and over there (near you they) lied to you (about it).' (Bradshaw 2007b:165)

(94) *Alime   ale   soli   ball   ye   bole   kolosima*
       Alim   ale   sol=ing   ball   ye-e   bol-e   kolos-i-ma
       yesterday   young.man   youth=PL   ball   get-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   play-CLII:REAL-DS

       ale   sol   hene   yu   bole   ball   adama   ball
       ale   sol   hene   yu   bol-e   ball   ad-a-ma   ball
       young.man   youth   some   stand   COMP-SEQ   ball   hit-3.IND-DS   ball

       fulima   teacher   yu   bole   bell   adama   di   esing
       ful-i-ma   teacher   yu   bol-e   bell   ad-a-ma   di   es=ing
       fly-CLII:REAL-DS   teacher   stand   COMP-SEQ   bell   hit-3.IND-DS   1PL   child=PL

       lainiti   yuma,   teacher   eta,   "Esing   dali   muni   ball
       lain=ti   yu-ma   teacher   et-a*   *es=ing   dal=ing   mu-ni   ball*
       line=ALL   stand-DS   teacher   say-3.IND   child=PL   REL=PL   3PL-EMPH   ball

       ada   kolosi   owal   telava.
       ad-a   kolos-i   owal   tel-ava
       hit-3.IND   play-CLII:REAL   PROX1:LOC   come-2PL.IMP
       'Yesterday the boys took the ball and were playing (with it) and one boy stood and kicked (lit. hit) the ball and the ball went flying and a teacher was standing (there) and rang (lit. hit) a bell and we children stood in line and the teacher said, "The children who played kicking (lit. hitting) the ball come here.'

3.4.2 Verbless clauses

A nonverbal clause marks the A/S with the emphatic marker *-ni*. It is thus considered the topic (cf. §3.3.1.1).

(95) *Na-**ni***   *tityel.*
     1SG-EMPH   teacher
     'I am a teacher.' (Bradshaw 2007b:91)

3.4.3 Other clause types

Three important clause types will be briefly discussed: speech report, relative clauses and complementation.

3.4.3.1 Speech report

Occasionally direct speech is marked by the recipient postposition *anang* (96); otherwise it is unmarked. Indirect speech is always unmarked.

(96) *Ta*   *dal*   *hu-ni*   *va*   *fanime*   ***anang*** *et-adi,*   *"Mu…*
     but   who   3SG-EMPH   that   poor.one   REC   say-CLI:IRR   3PL
     'But who will tell that poor one, "They...' (Bradshaw 2007b:165)

(97) *Mu*   *tama*   *Maf*   *ge*   *mul*   *av*   *alem*
     mu   *et-a-ma*   *Maf*   *ge*   *mu-l*   *av*   *al-e-me*
     3PL   say-3.IND-DS   (person. name)   DSM   3PL-POSS   word   hear-SEQ-SS

     eta   *todi.*
     et-a   *todi*
     say-3.IND   yes
     'They said (this) and Maf listened to them and said yes.' (Bradshaw 2007b:165)

3.4.3.2 Relative clauses

Fuyug relative clauses are primarily restrictive; they are also external post-nominal, marked by the relativiser *dal* (which also functions as the interrogative 'who'; cf. §3.3.1.5). Relative clauses in Fuyug occur in the four primary argument slots: transitive/intransitive subject, object, extended argument (or 'indirect object') and oblique (98).

(98) *Di*   *akolog*   *owal*   *dil*   *buti,*   [***dal*** *aning*   *mu*   *ge*
     di   *akolog*   *owal*   *di-l*   *bul=ti*   *dal*   *an=ing*   *mu*   *ge*
     1PL   now   PROX1:LOC   1PL-POSS   place=ALL   REL   man=PL   3PL   DSM

sosol	*hukas*	*yeye*]_{RC}	*di*	*yalo*	*huwa.*

sosol   *hukas*   *yeye*]_{RC}   *di*   *yalo*   *huwa.*
sosol   *hukas*   *ye-e~ye*   *di*   *yalov*   *huwan*
work   much   get-SEQ~IMPERV   1PL   food   nothing
'Now we here in our place, where people are working very hard (lit. much),
(and) do not have any food.' (Bradshaw 2007b:119)

3.4.3.3 Complementation

There is no marking of complementation in Fuyug; the complement fills the object argument slot (99).

(99)   *Na-l*   *huwal* *hu-l*   *godel-a*   [*hu*   *ge*   *tel-adi*]_{CC}.
       1SG-POSS   heart   3SG-POSS   want-3.IND   3SG   DSM   come-CLI:IRR
       'I want him to come (lit. 'My heart's desire is that he will come').'
       (Bradshaw 2007b:114)

Most areas of the language have been briefly covered except discourse (cf. Bradshaw 1999a and Bradshaw 2007b:122–162 for further discussion). While this analysis has been based on Bradshaw 2007b, there are some variances (e.g. inchoative, differential subject marking, nominaliser, etc.) due to the further research involved in analysing the texts below.

4.   Texts

Numerous texts were collected in the Fuyug language, particularly audio[23] in the early years of research on the language—from 1988 to 1991—and later written texts.[24] From 1988–1989, I resided in the village of Lolof, in the Honong (Ononge)[25] area. In 1991, my wife, Betsy, and I moved to the village of Idiban in the Woitap (Woitape) area. This involved learning a new dialect for me, and a new language for my wife. Research into the dialect situation began in 1989 and was completed in 1994 (cf. Bradshaw 1994). My wife and I last resided in the language area in 1999. The selected texts begin with recordings from the first dialect area in which I resided (Central Udab) and then move on to recordings from the second dialect area in which we resided (North/South Udab), as well as one visited during a survey trip (West dialect). The majority of the texts are of the narrative genre; some others recorded here include procedural and epistolary genres. I had hoped to include some hortatory text, however, regrettably the cassette recording quality was very poor (cf. Bradshaw 1988).[26] Approximately 50 pages of interlinearised texts are included below.

4.1 First-person narrative texts

The first 12 texts are short first-person narratives (narrative/descriptive genre; cf. Bradshaw 2007:122–125) in which speakers give details of immediately past or near future events. They were all recorded in the village of Lolof, in the Honong (Ononge) area of the Central Udab dialect (cf. Bradshaw 1994).

4.1.1 Text 1

This first text was spoken by Vali Kasmiro (F, ~40 years of age) in 1988. She discussed the schedule for a *gab* 'feast', a very pervasive part of the culture (cf. Bradshaw 1989, Hirsch 1985, Fastre 1939). Note the use of the emphatic marking *-ni*, primarily marking pronouns, here in line 1 being used on a proper noun (cf. §3.3.1.1).

(1.01)	*Robert,*	*akolog*	*Tusde*	*Evesni*		*mu*	*nang*	*akolog*	*Tusde*
	Robert	*akolog*	*Tusde*	*Eves-ni*		*mu*	*anang*	*akolog*	*Tusde*
	(name)	now	Tuesday	(place.name)-EMPH		3PL	REC	now	Tuesday

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[23] Over seven hours.

[24] 158 pages of native-authored materials.

[25] Bracketed alternate spellings of place names indicate the traditional spellings used by the Roman Catholic mission (cf. Bradshaw 1994). These spellings appear to represent a French transliteration. The other spellings provide a more phonemic representation, but because of long-standing tradition, both uses are provided for clarification.

[26] All the recordings are now in digital format and most are of reasonably good quality; they are archived at: https://reap.sil.org/handle/9284745/99777.

gadal-i   *holof*   *hel-a.*
play-CLII:VBR   dance   become-3.IND
"Robert, today Tuesday, (the people of) Eves (village), today Tuesday (they) (will) play[27] and dance for them."

(1.02)   *Tuts*   *Wensde*   *Kakod*   *mu*   *nang*   *holof*   *helats.*
         Tuts   *Wensde*   *Kakod*   *mu*   *anang*   *holof*   *hel-ats.*
         tomorrow   Wednesday   (place.name)   3PL   REC   dance   become-CLI:IRR
         'Tomorrow on Wednesday (the people of) Kakod (village), (they) will dance for them.'

(1.03)   *Trausde*   *Honong*   *mu*   *nang*   *holof*   *helats.*
         Trausde   *Honong*   *mu*   *anang*   *holof*   *hel-ats.*
         Thursday   (place.name)   3PL   REC   dance   become-CLI:IRR
         'On Thursday, (the people of) Honong (Ononge), (they) will dance for them.'

(1.04)   *Honong*   *e*   *Ginal*   *holof*   *helats.*
         (place.name)   and   (place.name)   dance   become-CLI:IRR
         '(The people of) Honong (Ononge) and (the people of) Ginal (village) will dance.'

(1.05)   *Fared*   *Mandad*   *Mavo*   *mu*   *nang*   *Fared*   *holof*   *helats.*
         Fared   *Mandad*   *Mavo*   *mu*   *anang*   *Fared*   *holof*   *hel-ats.*
         Friday   (name)   (name)   3PL   REC   Friday   dance   become-CLI:IRR
         'On Friday (the people of) Mandad and Mavo (villages), (they) will dance for them on Friday.'

(1.06)   *Gig.*
         enough
         'That's all.'

4.1.2 Text 2

This second text was also spoken by Vali Kasmiro (F, ~40 years old) in 1988. Here she mentions a trip to the village to get food after attending the *gab* 'feast'. Note the use of the nominaliser (cf. §3.3.2.3) in lines 1 and 2, as well as inchoative marking (cf. §3.3.2.3) in line 1.

(2.01)   *Na*   *yol*   *holof*   *alilung*   *bole*
         na   *yol*   *holof*   *al-i~li-ung*   *bol-e*
         1SG   DIST2.above:LOC   dance   see-CLII:REAL~IMPERV-NOMZ   COMP-SEQ

---

[27] The verb *gadal-* 'play' is a Hiri Motu loan (*gadara* 'play games/musical instrument; game; sport' (DGHM 1976:30)).

tele,	*ge*	*obelele*		*handiti*	*yung.*
tel-e	*ge*	*obel-hel-e*		*hand=ti*	*yu-ngo*
come-SEQ	DSM	PROX2:LOC-INCH-SEQ		garden-ALL	stand-STAT

'I was up over there and finished watching the dance and I came, and I was first standing right here in the garden.'

(2.02)
Handiti	*ol*	*yemali*	*kupe*	*ulilung*
hand=ti	*ol*	*ye-e=mali*	*kupev*	*ul-i~li-ung*
garden=ALL	firewood	get-SEQ-SIM	sweet.potato	dig-CLII:REAL~IMPERV-NOMZ

bole	*ye*	*hetele.*
bol-e	*ye-e*	*he-tel-e.*
COMP-SEQ	get-SEQ	ELEV-come-1/2.IND

'While I got firewood in the garden I first finished harvesting (lit. digging) sweet potato and I brought (lit. get come) them up (here).'

(2.03)
Ge	*apa.*
DSM	enough

'That's all.'

4.1.3 Text 3

This third text was spoken by Tom Emilian E (M, ~20 years old) in 1988. This is a slightly longer text as Tom elaborates on the major events of his day from beginning to end. Note the use of the loan *rawun-* 'land' (line 3), derived from the English *round*, and the Central Udab stative variant *-ong* (line 10).

(3.01)
Na	*akolog*	*buganing*	*nu*	*malel*	*ye*	*heng.*
na	*akolog*	*buganing*	*nu-l*	*malel*	*ye-e*	*he-ge-e*
1SG	now	morning	2SG-POSS	letter	get-SEQ	ELEV-go-1/2.IND

'This morning I took your letters up (there).'

(3.02)
Y-e	*heng*	*yol*	*hindel.*
ye-e	*he-ge-e*	*yol*	*hindel-e*
get-SEQ	ELEV-go-SEQ	DIST2.above:LOC	arrive-1/2.IND

'I took (them) and arrived up over there.'

(3.03)
Pelen	*hetele*	*rawunima*	*na*	*ye*	*heng*
pelen	*he-tel-e*	*rawun-i-ma*	*na*	*ye-e*	*he-ge-e*
aeroplane	ELEV-come-SEQ	land-CLII:VBR-DS	1SG	get-SEQ	ELEV-go-1/2.IND

yol	*kof*	*hu-l*	*em*	*songol*	*hindel-e~le.*
DIST2.above:LOC	coffee	3SG-POSS	house	under	arrive-1/2.IND~IMPERV

'A plane came up and landed and I took (them) up over there and I was arriving below the coffee shed (lit. house).'

(3.04) *Pelen*   *telema*   *na*   *tele*   *andeme*   *ga.*
        pelen   *tel-e-ma*   *na*   *tel-e*   *and-e-me-e*   *ge-a*
        aeroplane   come-SEQ-DS   1SG   come-SEQ   stay-SEQ-CAUS-SEQ   go-3.IND
        'The plane came and I came to where it went.'

(3.05) *G-a-ma*   *na*   *val*   *and-e-ma*   *pelen*   *yol*
        ge-a-ma   *na*   *val*   *and-e-ma*   *pelen*   *yol*
        go-3.IND-DS   1SG   DIST1:LOC   stay-SEQ-DS   aeroplane   DIST2.above:LOC

        tel-a.
        come-3.IND
        'It came (lit. went) and I stayed back there (and) the plane came up over there.'

(3.06) *Fan=ts,*   *vom*   *Fan=ts*   *tel-a.*
        (place.name)=LOC   behind.below:LOC   (place.name)=LOC   come-3.IND
        'From Fane (mission station), it came from back down there at Fane.'

(3.07) *Fan=ts*   *tel-e*   *bol-e*   *yu.*
        (place.name)=LOC   come-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   stand
        'It came from Fane and stopped (lit. stood) (there).'

(3.08) *Yume*   *na*   *malel*   *ye*   *henge*   *indi*
        yu-me-e   *na*   *malel*   *ye-e*   *he-ge-e*   *ind-i*
        stand-CAUS-SEQ   1SG   letter   get-SEQ   ELEV-go-SEQ   give-CLII:REAL

        bol-e.
        COMP-1/2.IND
        'I stood (there) and took (the letters) up and gave (them to the pilot).'

(3.09) *Henge*   *omel*   *sikuliti.*
        he-ge-e   *omel*   *sikul=ti.*
        ELEV-go-1/2.IND   DIST2:LOC   school=ALL
        '(Then) I went up over there into the school.'

(3.10) *Sikuliti*   *val*   *andong.*
        sikul=ti   *val*   *and-ong*
        school=ALL   DIST1:LOC   stay-STAT
        'I was staying there in the school.'

(3.11) *Ge*   *ol*   *ye*   *hetela.*
        ge   *ol*   *ye-e*   *he-tel-a*
        DSM   firewood   get-SEQ   ELEV-come-3.IND
        '(Then) firewood was brought up.'

(3.12) *And-e-ma*   *mu*   *Yuvenis*   *ind-i.*
        stay-SEQ-DS   3PL   (place.name)   give-CLII:REAL
        'I stayed and (they) gave it (the pig) to (the people of) Yuvenis.'

(3.13) *Yuvenis*   *indi*   *bole*   *yalo*   *muli.*
      Yuvenis   *ind-i*   *bol-e*   *yalov* *mul-i.*
      (place.name) give-CLII:REAL COMP-SEQ food cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL
      '(They) finished giving (it) to (the people of) Yuvenis and then cooked the food on stones (in earth oven).'

(3.14) *Mul-i-ma*   *Eves-ni*   *tel-a.*
      cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL-DS (place.name)-EMPH come-3.IND
      'They cooked (the food) on stones and (the people of) Eves (village) came.'

(3.15) *Telam*   *mu* *yol*   *sikuliti*   *anda.*
      tel-a-me   *mu* *yol*   *sikul=ti*   *and-a*
      come-3.IND-SS 3PL DIST2.above:LOC school=ALL stay-3.IND
      'They came and sat up over there at the school.'

(3.16) *Es*   *mul*   *havond*   *yumomung*   *bole,*
      es   *mu-l*   *havond*   *yu-me-o~mo-ung*   *bol-e*
      child   3pl-POSS bird.of.paradise stand-CAUS-POSB~IMPERV-NOMZ COMP-SEQ

      ye   *hindela.*
      ye-e   *hindel-a*
      get-SEQ   come.out-3.IND
      'The children finished raising (lit. standing) up their Bird of Paradise (feathers), and then they brought (them) out.'

(3.17) *Hindel*   *holof* *helelung,*   *holof*
      hindel-e   *holof* *hel-e~le-ung,*   *holof*
      arrive-SEQ dance become-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ dance

      helelung.
      hel-e~le-ung
      become-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ
      'They arrived and were dancing, they were dancing.'

(3.18) *Holof* *helema*   *nu*   *heng.*
      holof *hel-a-ma*   *nu*   *he-ge-e*
      dance become-3.IND-DS 2SG ELEV-go-1/2.IND
      'They danced and then you came up.'

(3.19) *Nu*   *heng*   *val*   *hindelele*   *ende*   *holof* *fidan*
      nu   *he-ge-e*   *val*   *hindel-e~le*   *enden*   *holof* *fidan*
      2SG ELEV-go-SEQ DIST1:LOC arrive-SEQ~IMPERV also   dance one

      e   *yoval*   *hele*   *bole*   *flumata*
      el   *yovalo* *hel-e*   *bol-e*   *flumat-a*
      and   two   become-SEQ COMP-SEQ finish-3.IND
      'You went up back there and approached just as the last one dance or (lit. and) two was finished.'

(3.20) *Flumat-e*   *and-e=mali*   *da*   *tel-e.*
finish-SEQ   stay-SEQ=SIM   1DL   come-1/2.IND
'Once it was finished while we were staying, we two came (back).'

(3.21) *Da*   *tel-e*   *yol*   *hindel*   *bol-e*   *nu*   *hamb*
da   *tel-e*   *yol*   *hindel-e*   *bol-e*   *nu*   *hamb*
1DL   come-SEQ   DIST2.above:LOC   come.out-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   2SG   banana

yoval   *itel*   *hene*   *na*   *indimali*   *nu*   *nang*   *hene*   *ne*
yoval   *itel-e*   *hene*   *na*   *ind-i=mali*   *nu*   *anang*   *hene*   *ne-e*
two   pull-SEQ   some   1SG   give-CLII:REAL=SIM   2SG   REC   some   eat-SEQ

bol-e.
COMP -1/2.IND
'We two came up over there and then you pulled out two bananas and while
(you) gave some to me you took some for you(rself) and ate (it).'

(3.22) *Da*   *tel-e.*
1DL   come-1/2.IND
'We two came.'

(3.23) *Da*   *tel-e*   *owal*   *hindel*   *bol-e.*
da   *tel-e*   *owal*   *hindel-e*   *bol-e*
1DL   come-SEQ   PROX1:LOC   arrive-SEQ   COMP-1/2.IND
'We two came and arrived here.'

(3.24) *Na*   *ete,*   *"Robert,*   *andemali*   *na*   *go*   *ol*
na   *et-e*   *Robert*   *and-e=mali*   *na*   *ge-o*   *ol*
1SG   say-1/2.IND   (person.name)   stay-SEQ=SIM   1SG   go-POSB   firewood

y-ats."
ye-ats
get-CLI:IRR
'I said, "Robert, while you stay I will go to get firewood."'

(3.25) *Velme*   *na*   *ge*   *omel*   *ol*   *yats*   *ge*
Velime   *na*   *ge*   *omel*   *ol*   *ye-ats*   *ge-e*
so   1SG   DSM   DIST2:LOC   firewood   get-CLI:IRR   go-SEQ

omel   *hindel*   *bole.*
omel   *hindel-e*   *bol-e*
DIST2:LOC   arrive   COMP-1/2.IND
'So I arrived over there to get firewood there.'

(3.26) *Na*   *hemel*   *ye*   *bole*   *ge*   *omel*   *ovol*   *filng*   *alits*
Na   *hemel*   *ye-e*   *bol-e*   *ge*   *omel*   *ovol*   *filng*   *al-its*
1SG   spear   get-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   DSM   DIST2:LOC   pig   wild   see-CLII:IRR

g-e.
ge-e
go-1/2.IND
'I took a spear and then I went over there to look for wild pigs.'

(3.27) *Ge*   *omel*   *hindel*   *huwan*   *ali*   *bole*
       ge   *omel*   *hindel-e*   *huwan*   *al-i*   *bol-e*
       DSM   DIST2:LOC   arrive-SEQ   nothing   see-CLII:REAL   COMP-1/2.IND

       hetele.
       he-tel-e
       ELEV-come-1/2.IND
       'I arrived over there and I didn't see anything and I came up.'

(3.28) *He-tel-e*   *omel*   *ol*   *it-e*   *bol-e*   *na*
       ELEV-come-SEQ   DIST2:LOC   firewood   cut-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   1SG

       kupe   *uli*   *bole.*
       kupev   *ul-i*   *bol-e*
       sweet.potato   dig-CLII:REAL   COMP-1/2.IND
       'I came up over there and cut firewood and then I harvested (lit. dug) sweet potato.'

(3.29) *Handiti*   *bole*   *ye*   *hetele.*
       hand=ti   *bol-e*   *ye-e*   *he-tel-e*
       garden=ALL   leave-SEQ   get-SEQ   ELEV-come-1/2.IND
       'I left the gardens and brought (it) up.'

(3.30) *Ye*   *hetele*   *me*   *bole.*
       ye-e   *he-tel-e*   *me-e*   *bol-e*
       get-SEQ   ELEV-come-SEQ   put-SEQ   COMP-1/2.IND
       'I brought (it) up and set (it) down.'

(3.31) *Val*   *teleme*   *da*   *ande*   *av*   *haded.*
       val   *tel-e-me*   *da*   *and-e*   *av*   *had-e~de*
       DIST1:LOC   come-1/2.IND-SS   1DL   stay-SEQ   word   hit-1/2.IND~IMPERV
       'I came there and we two sat and were talking.'

(3.32) *Gig.*
       enough
       'That's all'

4.1.4 Text 4

This fourth text was spoken by Vali Kasmiro (F, ~40 years old) in 1988. She gives further elaboration on her activities during the *gab* 'feast'. Note the contiguous use of *bol-* 'COMP' and *bol-* 'leave' (line 7).

(4.01) *Di amul alim Mond yalo ye.*
  di amul alim Mond yalov ye-e
  1PL woman yesterday Monday food get-1/2.IND
  'Yesterday. Monday, we women collected (lit. got) food.'

(4.02) *Ye heng andemomung bole.*
  ye-e he-ge-e and-e-me-o~mo-ung bol-e
  get-SEQ ELEV-go-SEQ stay-SEQ-CAUS-POSB-IMPERV-NOMZ COMP-1/2.IND
  'We took (it) up and left (it there).'

(4.03) *Aked eta, "Yini yalo oko muli di nem*
  aked et-a yi-ni yalov oko mul-i di nem
  men say-3.IND 2PL-EMPH food some cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL 1PL for

  hul hey andam bo, tuts
  hu-l hey and-a-me bol-ø tuts
  3SG-POSS half stay-3.IND-CAUS COMP-HYPOTH tomorrow

  mulimeneng Unguls nem holof
  mul-i=menenga Unguls nem holof
  cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL-FUT.SEQ (place.name) for dance

  hel-o."
  become-POSB
  'The men said, "You all cook some food on the stones for us and leave half and tomorrow cook it on the stones for (the people of) Unduls (village) when they dance."'

(4.04) *Vetme di mul-i bol-e yu.*
  so 1PL cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL COMP-SEQ stand
  'So we cooked (it) on the stones and set (it) out.'

(4.05) *Di mul-i bol-e yu.*
  1PL cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL COMP-SEQ stand
  'We cooked (it) on stones and set (it) out.'

(4.06) *Mul-i mu yalov ind-i=mali na ge*
  cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL 3PL food give-CLII:REAL=SIM 1SG DSM

  omel ye londiti sipet ye gama Sud
  omel ye-e lond=ti sipet ye-e ge-a-ma Sud
  DIST2:LOC get-SEQ interior=ALL spade get-SEQ go-3.IND-DS (person.name)

  val balal ete me.
  val balal et-e me-e
  DIST1:LOC cry say-SEQ put-1/2.IND
  'We cooked (it) on stones and while they gave the food I went over there and took the spade inside there (where) Sud was crying.'

(4.07) | *Na* | *sipet* | *omel* | *ye* | *somali* | | *bole,* | *bole* |

Na	*sipet*	*omel*	*ye*	*somali*		*bole,*	*bole*
na	*sipet*	*omel*	*ye-e*	*somal-i*		*bol-e*	*bol-e*
1SG	spade	DIST2:LOC	get-SEQ	dispose.of=CLII:VBR		COMP-SEQ	leave-SEQ

telemali	*Sud*	*ye*	*telemali*	*amul*	*yalo*
tel-e=mali	*Sud*	*ye-e*	*tel-e=mali*	*amul*	*yalov*
come-SEQ=SIM	(person.name)	get-SEQ	come-SEQ=SIM	woman	food

yeyung	*bol-e*	*yu.*
ye~ye-ung	*bol-e*	*yu*
get~IMPERV-NOMZ	COMP-SEQ	stand

'While I took the shovel over there and threw (it), and while I brought Sud I left and the women finished getting (the food) and setting (it) out.'

(4.08) | *Mu* | *aked* | *nemali* | *ende* | *ye.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *mu* | *aked* | *ne-e=mali* | *enden* | *ye-e* |
| 3PL | men | eat-SEQ=SIM | also | get-1/2.IND |

'While the men were eating they also took (some of it away).'

(4.09) | *Da* | *isel* | *tela.* |
|---|---|---|
| *da* | *isel-e* | *tel-a* |
| 1DL | follow-SEQ | come-3.IND |

'They came after (lit. followed) the two of us.'

(4.10) | *Telemali* | *tele* | *me.* |
|---|---|---|
| *Tel-e=mali* | *tel-e* | *me-e* |
| come-SEQ-SIM | come-SEQ | put-1/2.IND |

'While they were coming we came and put (it) down.'

(4.11) | *Di* | *nin* | *ite* | *hatilim* | *di* | *enden* | *akolog* | *heng* | *bole* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *di* | *nin* | *it-e* | *hatilim* | *di* | *enden* | *akolog* | *he-ge-e* | *bol-e* |
| 1PL | day | cut-SEQ | dawn | 1PL | also | now | ELEV-go-SEQ | COMP-SEQ |

ende	*talel*	*ende*	*yalo*	*hul*	*hey*	*muli.*
enden	*talel*	*enden*	*yalov*	*hu-l*	*hey*	*mul-i*
also	again	also	food	3SG-POSS	half	cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL

'We slept and in the morning we also kept going up today and again cooked the other half of the food on stones.'

(4.12) | *Mul-i* | *bol-e* | *yu.* |
|---|---|---|
| cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL | COMP-SEQ | stand |

'Once (it) was cooked on the stones (it) was set out.'

(4.13) | *Mul-i* | *bol-e* | *yu* | *ne~ne=mali* |
|---|---|---|---|
| cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL | COMP-SEQ | stand | eat~IMPERV=SIM |

Eves-ni	*holof*	*hel-a.*
(place.name)-EMPH	dance	become-3.IND

'Once it was cooked on stones and set out, while eating (the people of) Eves (village) danced.'

(4.14) *Holof hel-e-me mu holof hu-ni ge akolog flumat-a*
dance become-SEQ-SS 3PL dance 3SG-EMPH DSM now finish-3.IND

ta tuts hu-ni.
and tomorrow 3SG-EMPH
'They danced and they finished dancing today and (into) tomorrow.'

(4.15) *Di talel yalo hay bo ye heng bo*
di talel yalov hay bol-Ø ye-e he-ge-e bol-Ø
1PL forever food find COMP-HYPOTH get-SEQ ELEV-go-SEQ COMP-HYPOTH

mulimali Kakodni mu nang ende
mul-i=mali Kakod-ni mu anang enden
cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL=SIM (place.name)-EMPH 3PL REC also

holof hel-ats.
dance become-CLI:IRR
'We keep looking for food and taking (it) up and while cooking (it) on stones (the people of) Kakod (village), (they) will also dance for them.'

(4.16) *Holof helomeneng di vontuts ende hay*
holof hel-o=menenga di vontuts enden hay
dance become-POSB=FUT.SEQ 1PL day.after.tomorrow also find

bo ende ye heng mulimali
bol-Ø enden ye-e he-ge-e mul-i=mali
COMP-HYPOTH also get-SEQ ELEV-go-SEQ cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL=SIM

Honong ende mu nang holof helats.
Honong enden mu anang holof hel-ats
(place.name) also 3PL REC dance become-CLI:IRR
'They will dance and then the day after tomorrow we will also look for and bring (food) up and while we cook (it) on stones (the people of) Honong (Ononge) will dance for them.'

(4.17) *Holof helomenenga di ende Fared ende ye*
holof hel-o=menenga di enden Fared enden ye-e
dance become-POSB=FUT.SEQ PL also Friday also get-SEQ

heng mulimali Esakum ela Mandad
he-ge-e mul-i=mali Esakum ela Mandad
ELEV-go-SEQ cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL=SIM (place.name) and (place.name)

ende mu nang holof helats.
enden mu anang holof hel-ats.
also 3PL REC dance become-CLI:IRR
'They will dance and then again on Friday we will also take up (food) and while we cook (it) on stones (the people of) Esakum and Mandad (villages) will also dance for them.'

(4.18) Holof   helomeneng   Satrod   huni,   di   koto   yalo
        holof   hel-o=menenga   Satrod   hu-ni   di   koto   yalov
        dance   become-POSB=FUT.SEQ   Saturday 3SG-EMPH   1PL   okay   food

        inog   ateg   n-ats.
        inog   ateg   ne-ats
        big   very   eat-CLI:IRR
        'They will dance and then on Saturday, okay we will eat a whole lot of food.'

(4.19) Kogol,   dub   hul   yalov   inog   ateg   nats.
        kogol   dub   hu-l   yalov   inog   ateg   ne-ats
        beige   dark   3SG-POSS   food   big   very   eat-CLI:IRR
        'We will eat a whole lot of whiteskins' (lit. beige) and blackskins' (lit. dark) food.'

(4.20) Na   ge   te   flumate.
        na   ge   et-e   flumat-e
        1SG   DSM   say-SEQ   finish-1/2.IND
        'I have finished my talking.'

4.1.5 Text 5

This fifth text was spoken by Kasmiro E (M, ~40 years old) in 1988. As with the others, he discusses the dancing schedule, with more on the involvement of school children. Note the use of the hypothetical –Ø (lines 3–4 and 6; cf. §3.3.2.3).

(5.01) Sikul   akolog   mu   tubun   hu-l   mad   vil-i.
        school now   3PL   ancestor   3SG-POSS   custom   do-CLII:REAL
        'Today at the school they are doing the ancestors' customs.'

(5.02) Aked   mu   halu,   aked   muni   vili   bole   es
        aked   mu   haluv   aked   mu-ni   vil-i   bol-e   es
        men   3PL all   men   3PL-EMPH   do-CLII:REAL COMP-SEQ   child

        yalam-a.
        show-3.IND
        'All the men, the men, they are doing (it) showing (it) to the children.'

(5.03) Tuts   aked   Migul   mu   nang   vi   bol   es
        Tuts   aked   Migul   mu   anang   vil-ø   bol-ø   es
        tomorrow   men   (place.name) 3PL   REC   do-HYPOTH COMP-HYPOTH   child

        yalam-ati.
        show-CLI:IRR
        'Tomorrow the men of Migul, they will do (it) to show the children.'

(5.04) Vontuts   Igyob,   Honong,   Ginal,   mu   nang
        Vontuts   Igyob   Honong   Ginal   mu   anang
        day.after.tomorrow   (place.name)   (place.name)   (place.name)   3PL   REC

tubun	*hul*	*mad*	*vi*	*bo.*
tubun	*hu-l*	*mad*	*vil-ø*	*bol-ø*
ancestor	3SG-POSS	custom	do-HYPOTH	COMP-HYPOTH

'The day after tomorrow (the people of) Igyobs, Honong (Ononge) and Ginal (villages), they will do the ancestors' customs for them.'

(5.05)
Es	*dal=ing*	*holof*	*me*	*hel-a*	*van*	*yalam-ati.*
child	REL=PL	dance	NEG	become-3.IND	that.one	show-CLI:IRR

'The children who don't know how to dance, they will be shown that one.'

(5.06)
Esakum,	*Mavol,*	*Mandad,*	*mu*	*nang*	*Fared*
Esakum	*Mavol*	*Mandad*	*mu*	*anang*	*Fared*
(place.name)	(place.name)	(place.name)	3PL	REC	Friday

vi	*bo*	*ende*	*es*	*yalamati.*
vil-ø	*bol-ø*	*enden*	*es*	*yalam-ati*
do-HYPOTH	COMP-HYPOTH	also	child	slow-CLI:IRR

'On Friday (the people of) Esakum, Mavol (and) Mandad will do (it), also showing the children.'

(5.07)
Es	*hilog*	*sisib*	*huwan.*
es	*hilog*	*sisiban*	*huwan*
child	still	knowledge	nothing

'The children still do not know.'

(5.08)
Akolog	*hu-ni*	*vil-i*	*mu*	*yalam-hel-e.*
now	3SG-EMPH	do-CLII:REAL	3PL	show-INCH-1/2.IND

'Today (they) will do (it) and begin to show them.'

(5.09)
Oke.
okay

'Okay.'

4.1.6 Text 6

This sixth text was spoken by Tom Emilian E (M, ~20 years old) in 1988; it is a rather short text discussing the nightly cassette recordings that have been taking place. Note the common occurrence of vowel epenthesis (cf. §3.1.4.4) with the allative enclitic *=ti*, here seen in lines 1 and 3.

(6.01)
Robert,	*da*	*ilof*	*gan*	*oko*	*kasetiti*	*meme,*
Robert	*da*	*ilof*	*gan*	*oko*	*kaset=ti*	*me-e~me*
(person.name)	1DL	before	sound	some	cassette=ALL	put-1/2.IND~IMPERV

velme	*imal*	*ge*	*heng*	*gogung*	*kugum*	*akan,*
velme	*imal*	*ge*	*he-ge-e*	*ge-o~go-ung*	*kugum*	*akan*
so	day	DSM	ELEV-go-SEQ	go-POSB~IMPERV-NOMZ	close	DIM

wan   *wik*   *ge*   *huwan*   *ang-ati.*
one   week   DSM   nothing   remain-CLI:IRR
'Robert, before we two recorded (lit. put) some (Fuyug) language on
cassette, so the days have gone by a little, one week will remain.'

(6.02)   *Vel*   *akolog*   *Mand*   *na*   *akolog*   *stati.*
         velme   *akolog*   *Mand*   *na*   *akolog*   *stat-i*
         so   now   Monday   1SG   now   start-CLII:VBR
         'So today Monday I start[28] (again) now.'

(6.03)   *Da*   *ge*   *imal*   *ukas*   *gan*   *oko*   *teypiti*   *meme.*
         da   *ge*   *imal*   *ukas*   *gan*   *oko*   *teyp=ti*   *me-e~me*
         1DL   DSM   day   many   sound   some   tape-ALL   put-1/2.IND~IMPERV
         'We two have not recorded (lit. put) any (Fuyug) language on tape for some days.'

(6.04)   *Gig.*
         enough.
         'That's all.'

4.1.7 Text 7

This seventh text was also spoken by Tom Emilian E (M, ~20 years old) in 1988. The text begins with the Sunday Mass and then turns to the pervasive *gab* 'feast' events—in this case the sale of pork. Note rapid speech elisions (cf. footnote 21, §3.3.2.3) and shortening of forms such as *henge > heng* 'go up' (line 5), *owal > al* 'here' and *hindele > hindel* 'arrive' (line 6).

(7.01)   *Alim,*   *Dominikiti*   *na*   *mis*   *alilung*   *bole*
         alim   *Dominik=ti*   *na*   *mis*   *al-i~li-ung*   *bol-e*
         yesterday   Sunday=ALL   1SG   Mass   see-CLII:REAL~IMPERV-NOMZ   COMP-SEQ

         bol   *hadedung*   *tele.*
         bol   *had-e~de-ung*   *tel-e*
         ball   hit~SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ   come-1/2.IND
         'Yesterday on Sunday I finished attending Mass and then I came to play ball.'

(7.02)   *Tel-e*   *nu*   *ibel*   *Visin*   *ovol*   *mu*   *tod-e*
         come-SEQ   2SG   PROX2.below:LOC   (place.name)   pig   3PL   split-SEQ

         nu   *indime*   *nu*   *nul*   *and*   *ye*   *hetele*
         nu   *ind-i-me*   *nu*   *nu-l*   *and*   *ye-e*   *he-tel-e*
         2SG   give-CLII:REAL-SS   2SG   2SG-POSS   thing   get-SEQ   ELEV-come-SEQ

         vim   *ande*   *me.*
         vim   *and-e*   *me-e*
         PROX1. below:LOC   stay-SEQ   put-1/2.IND
         'I came and down there at Visin cut and gave you (some) pork and you
         brought your portion up from down here and left it.'

---

[28] The verb *stat-* 'start' is an English loan.

(7.03)   *Na   telema   nu   ete,   "Nu   ovol   nats   a?"*
             na   tel-e-ma   nu   et-e   nu   ovol   ne-ats   =a
             1SG   come-SEQ-DS   2SG   say-1/2.IND   2SG   pig   eat-CLI:IRR   =Q
             'I came and you said, "Will you eat (some) pork?"'

(7.04)   *Vetme   na   et-e,   "E."*
             velme   na   et-e   e
             so   1SG   say-1/2.IND   yes
             'So I said, "Yes."'

(7.05)   *Vetme   na   ovol   ye   heng   vom   me*
             vetme   na   ovol   ye-e   he-ge-e   vom   me-e
             so   1SG   pig   get-SEQ   ELEV-go-SEQ   behind.below:LOC   put-SEQ

             bol-e   tel-e.
             COMP-SEQ   come-1/2.IND
             'So I took the pork back up back down there and put (it) and came.'

(7.06)   *Tele   al   hindel   av   hada   kis   akan   bole*
             tel-e   owal   hindel-e   av   had-a   kis   akan   bol-e
             come-SEQ   PROX1:LOC   arrive-SEQ   word   hit-IND   little   DIM   COMP-SEQ

             g-e.
             ge-e
             go-1/2.IND
             'I came and arrived here, talked a little and went.'

(7.07)   *Ge   vom   andong   mu   ovol   tode   nu*
             ge-e   vom   and-ong   mu   ovol   tod-e   nu
             go-SEQ   behind.below:LOC   stay-STAT   3PL   pig   split-SEQ   2SG

             indimali   hul   hey   ma.
             ind-i=mali   hu-l   hey   me-a
             give-CLII:REAL-SIM   3SG-POSS   half   put-3.IND
             'I went and was staying back down there and (they) cut up the
             pork and when (they) gave (it) to you they put the portion down.'

(7.08)   *Hul   hey   mame   akolog   aked,   amulaked*
             hu-l   hey   me-a-me   akolog   aked   amul-aked
             3SG-POSS   half   put-3.IND-SS   now   men   woman-men

             nenote   hetela.
             n-e~ne=note   he-tel-a
             eat-SEQ~IMPERV=PURP   ELEV-come-3.IND
             'They put down the portions (lit. half) and today the men, the
             people come up in order to eat (it).'

(7.09) *Hetelame*   *di*   *tode*   *nemali*   *e*   *yalo*   *tul*   *indi.*
he-tel-a-me   *di*   *tod-e*   *ne-e=mali*   *el*   *yalov*   *tul*   *ind-i*
ELEV-come-3.IND-SS   1PL   split-SEQ   eat-SEQ=SIM   and   food   sell   give-REAL
'They will come up and when we cut (it) up and are eating (it) we will sell food (to them).'

(7.10) *Yalo*   *tul*   *ind-i*   *mon*   *yeyung*   *bole*
yalov   *tul*   *ind-i*   *moni*   *y-e~ye-ung*   *bol-e*
food   sell   give-REAL   money   get-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ   COMP-SEQ

m-e.
me-e
put-1/2.IND
'Selling the food finished, money will be brought and put (down).'

(7.11) *Kowend*   *tako*   *Ole*   *ind-i.*
(person.name)   and.in.addition   (person.name)   give-CLII:REAL
'It will be given to Kowend and Ole.'

(7.12) *Visin*   *tel-e*   *bol-e*   *tu*   *hal*   *it-a.*
(place.name)   come-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   3DL   fence   cut-3.IND
'Two (men) came from Visin and cut the fence.'

(7.13) *Velme*   *di*   *tul*   *indimeneng*   *tu*   *ye*   *bo*
velme   *di*   *tul*   *ind-i=menenga*   *tu*   *ye-e*   *bol-Ø*
so   1PL   sell   give-CLII:REAL=FUT.SEQ   3DL   get-SEQ   COMP-HYPOTH

Visin   *ind-its.*
(place.name)   give-CLII:IRR
'So we sell (it to them) and then the two of them will take (it) to give to (the people of) Visin.'

(7.14) *Velme*   *tu*   *g-a.*
velme   *tu*   *ge-a*
so   3DL   go-3.IND
'So the two of them left.'

(7.15) Gig.
enough
'That's all.'

4.1.8 Text 8

The eighth text was also spoken by Tom Emilian E (M, ~20 years old) in 1988. This text varies slightly from a typical narrative as it is hypothetical since the speaker is discussing future plans. They have not yet taken place, and so they may not eventuate, requiring the use of *bol-Ø* 'hypothetical completive' (cf. §3.3.2.3) and *-ats/-its* 'irrealis' (cf. Bradshaw 2007b:133-35 re: procedural genre).

(8.01) *Na*   *tuts*   *siks*   *aklok—*   *o*   *siks*   *aklok*   *huwan—*   *eit*   *aklokiti*
        na   *tuts*   *siks*   *aklok*   *o*   *siks*   *aklok*   *huwan*   *eit*   *aklok=ti*
        1SG   tomorrow   six   o'clock   or   six   o'clock   nothing   eight   o'clock=ALL

        nul   *lab*   *han*   *hul*   *akom*   *ye*   *ge*
        nu-l   *lab*   *han*   *hu-l*   *akom*   *ye-e*   *ge-e*
        2SG-POSS   plastic.container   net.bag   3SG-POSS   together   get-SEQ   go-SEQ

        yu   *udits.*
        yuv   *ud-its*
        water   carry-CLII:IRR
        'Tomorrow at six o'clock–oh not six o'clock–at eight o'clock I will take your net bag together with your plastic containers to carry water.'

(8.02) *Yu*   *ud*   *hetele*   *nu*   *ind*   *bo*
        yuv   *ud-ø*   *he-tel-e*   *nu*   *ind-ø*   *bol-ø*
        water   carry-HYPOTH   ELEV-come-SEQ   2SG   give-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH

        handiti   *gats,*   *ovol*   *ulutits.*
        hand=ti   *ge-ats*   *ovol*   *ulut-its.*
        garden-ALL   go-CLI:IRR   pig   chase-CLII:IRR
        'Once I carry the water up and give (it) to you, I will go to the garden to chase away pigs.'

(8.03) *Ulut*   *bo*   *hen*   *sisi*   *ye*   *hetelats*
        Ulut-ø   *bol-ø*   *hen*   *sisi*   *ye-e*   *he-tel-ats*
        chase-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   yam   bundle   get-SEQ   ELEV-come-CLI:IRR

        al   *and-e*   *mats.*
        owal   *and-e*   *me-ats*
        PROX1:LOC   stay-SEQ   put-CLI:IRR
        'Once I chase (them) away I will bring yam bundles up here to leave.'

(8.04) *Wenesde*   *ye*   *ge*   *omel*   *dal*   *isiti*   *filits.*
        Wenesde   *ye-e*   *ge-e*   *omel*   *da-l*   *is=ti*   *fil-its*
        wednesday   get-SEQ   go-SEQ   DIST2:LOC   1PL-POSS   space=ALL   plant-CLII:IRR
        'Wednesday I will take (them) over there to our space to plant.'

(8.05) *Fi*   *bo*   *hetele*   *bo*   *ende*   *ge*
        fil-ø   *bol-ø*   *he-tel-e*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *ge-e*
        plant-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   ELEV-come-SEQ   COMP- HYPOTH   also   go-SEQ

        im   *heyan*   *etats.*
        imel   *heyan*   *et-ats*
        DIST2.below:LOC   shout   say-CLI:IRR
        'Once (they) are planted I will come up and shout out down below.'

(8.06) *Gig.*
        enough
        'That's all.'

4.1.9 Text 9

The ninth text was also spoken by Kasmiro E (M, ~40 years old) in 1988; he speaks of a visiting family's plans and his plans as well. The expression *imal it-* (day cut-) means 'sleep', but very often *imal* 'day' is elided, as here in line 3. Note the frequent use of direct speech without the use of *anang* 'REC' (cf. §3.4.3.1) in lines 3 and 6–7.

(9.01) *Ed   hul   es,   di   halu   al   andong.*
        ed   hu-l   es   di   haluv   owal   and-ong
        (person.name) 3SG-POSS child   1PL   all   PROX1:LOC stay-STAT
        'Ed's children, we all were staying here (together).'

(9.02) *Akolog huni   ge   mu   buts   ga.*
        akolog hu-ni   ge   mu-l   bul=ts   ge-a
        now   3SG-EMPH   DSM   3PL-POSS land=LOC   go-3.IND
        'Today she went home (lit. to their land).'

(9.03) *Mu   eta,   "Di   heng   bo   fek   hadats,*
        mu   et-a   di   he-ge-e   bol-Ø   fek   had-ats
        3PL   say-3.IND   1PL   ELEV-go-SEQ COMP-HYPOTH   return hit-CLI:IRR

        fek   had   ende   te   al   dinoy   itats."
        fek   had-Ø   enden   tel-Ø   owal   di-noy   it-ats
        return hit-HYPOTH   also   come-HYPOTH   PROX1:LOC   1PL-COM   cut-CLI:IRR
        'They said, "We will go up and return (home), and later (lit. also) come back
        here and we will sleep (lit. cut [the day]) together."'

(9.04) *Di   ende   tavon   fek   hadats.*
        di   enden   tavon   fek   had-ats
        1PL   also   again   return   hit-CLI:IRR
        'Later (lit. also) we will return again.'

(9.05) *Yol   hengati.*
        yol   he-ge-ati
        DIST2.above:LOC   ELEV-go-CLI:IRR
        'We will go up over there.'

(9.06) *Fared   eta,   "Dinoy   ye   heng   kof   yo."*
        Fared   et-a   di-noy   ye-e   he-ge-e   kof   ye-o
        Friday   say-3.IND   1PL-COM   get-SEQ ELEV-go-SEQ   coffee   get-POSB
        'Friday (she) said, "We all together will take the coffee up."'

(9.07) *Vetme   na   et-e,   "Tomba   sal   hel-a."*
        so   1SG   say-1/2.IND   (person.name) sick   become-3.IND
        'So I said, "Tomba is sick."'

(9.08)   *Tomba   im   hendedmalimalala   na   va   gats.*
            tomba   im   hend-e~de=mali=malala   na   val   ge-ats
            (person.name)   eye   loosen-SEQ~IMPERV=SIM=COND   1SG   DIST1:LOC   go-CLI:IRR
            'When/if Tomba opens (her) eyes then I will go back there.'

(9.09)   *Di   kof   oko   yats.*
            di   kof   oko   ye-ats
            1PL   coffee   some   get-CLI:IRR
            'We will get some coffee.'

(9.10)   *Na   ye   telats.*
            na   ye-e   tel-ats
            1SG   get-SEQ   come-CLI:IRR
            'I will bring it (up).'

(9.11)   *Na   baykiti   andemiti,   ta   na   bayk   hef.*
            na   bayk=ti   and-e-me=ti   ta   na   bayk   hef
            1SG   bag=ALL   stay-SEQ-CAUS=ALL   and   1SG   bag   half
            'I will leave (it) in the bag, but my bag is half (full).'

(9.12)   *Gig.*
            enough
            'That's all.'

4.1.10 Text 10

The tenth text was spoken by Ganal (F, ~25 years old) in 1988; she discusses her interaction with the nuns on the mission station. In lines 2–3, note the direct speech with no indication of such (i.e. *et-* 'say' and/or *anang* 'REC') provided.

(10.01)   *Mam   hene   tel-a-m=a?*
             sister   some   come-3.IND-LINK=Q
             'Some of the sisters/nuns came, no?'

(10.02)   *"Amulaked   ge   al   nu   afom   andong   komal   ge*
             amul-aked   ge   owal   nu   afom-e   and-ong   komal   ge
             woman-men   DSM   PROX1:LOC   2SG   wait-SEQ   stay-STAT   wait   DSM

             mu   buts   ga.
             mu-l   bul=ts   ge-a
             3PL-POSS   land=LOC   go-3.IND
             '"The people were here waiting for you and have gone home (lit. to their land).'

(10.03)   *"Ge   im   mu   ge   ents   ga   ta   dani*
             ge-e   imel   mu   ge   em=ts   ge-a   ta   da-ni
             go-SEQ   DIST2.below:LOC   3PL   DSM   house=LOC   go-3.IND   and   1DL-EMPH

ge	*menemene*	*tats.*
ge	*menemene*	*et-ats*
DSM	prayer	say-CLI:IRR

'"They went down; they have gone to their villages but the two of us will pray."'

(10.04)

Velme	*da*	*Analyon*	*da*	*kigin*	*ambul*	*menemene*	*et-e*
so	1DL	(person.name)	1DL	different	alone	prayer	say-SEQ

bol-e.
COMP-1/2.IND

'So just the two of us, Analyon and I, we prayed alone.'

(10.05)

Mis	*ale*	*bole,*	*mam*	*ge*	*henga.*
mis	*al-e*	*bol-e*	*mam*	*ge*	*he-ge-a*
Mass	hear-SEQ	COMP-SEQ	sister	DSM	ELEV-go-3.IND

'Once we had heard Mass, the sisters/nuns went up.'

(10.06)

Gig.
enough

'That's all.'

4.1.11 Text 11

The eleventh text was spoken by Tom Emilian E (M, ~20 years old) in 1988, in which he discusses future plans, requiring the use of the hypothetical –∅ (cf. §3.3.2.3).

(11.01)

Robert,	*na*	*tuts*	*omel*	*handiti*	*hen*	*ye*
Robert	*na*	*tuts*	*omel*	*hand=ti*	*hen*	*ye-e*
(person.name)	1SG	tomorrow	DIST2:LOC	garden=ALL	yam	get-SEQ

hetelo,	*da*	*ye*	*ge*	*fi*	*bo*
he-tel-o	*da*	*ye-e*	*ge*	*fil-∅*	*bol-∅*
ELEV-come-POSB	1DL	get-SEQ	DSM	plant-HYPOTH	COMP-HYPOTH

'Robert, tomorrow I will bring yam up from over there in the garden, that the two of us will take to plant.'

(11.02)

Fared	*da*	*ge*	*heng*	*yol*	*Ganal*
Fared	*da*	*ge*	*he-ge-e*	*yol*	*Ganal*
Friday	1DL	DSM	ELEV-go-SEQ	DIST2.above:LOC	(person.name)

al-its.
see-CLII:IRR

'Friday, we the two of us will go up over there to see Ganal.'

(11.03)

Imal	*fidan*	*it-ats.*
day	one	cut-CLI:IRR

'We will sleep (lit. cut [day]) there one day.'

(11.04)

Hatilim	*da*	*bisug*	*oko*	*tako*	*enden*	*putet,*	*esalot,*	*samal*
dawn	1DL	bean	some	and.in.addition	also	potato	shallot	greens

oko	ye	bo	ge	ye	telats.
oko	ye-e	bol-Ø	ge	ye-e	tel-ats.
some	get-SEQ	COMP-HYPOTH	DSM	get-SEQ	come-CLI:IRR

'In the morning the two of us will get some beans and also potatoes, shallots (and) some greens (that) we will bring (back home).'

(11.05)

Da	buts	telats.
da-l	bul=ts	tel-ats
1DL-POSS	land=LOC	come-CLI:IRR

'(Then) the two of us come home (lit. to our land).'

(11.06)

Lolof=tu	tel-ats.
(place.name)=ADESS	come-CLI:IRR

'We will come up onto Lolofe (village).'

(11.07)

Gig.
enough

'That's all.'

4.1.12 Text 12

The twelfth text was spoken by Sud E (M, ~12 years old) in 1988, elaborating on his misfortune in cutting down some trees. This speaker appears to use the word *anduman* 'whatever' as a filler in lines 7 and 11 (interestingly at the end of the utterance).

(12.01)

Da	Lod	imelele	yu	hul	lots
da	Lod	imel-hel-e	yuv	hu-l	lo=ts
1LD	(person.name)	DIST2.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ	water	3SG-POSS	bank=LOC

i	itedong	bole.
i	it-e~ed-ung	bol-e
tree	cut-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ	COMP-1/2.IND

'First Lod and I were down over there at the river (lit. water) bank and finished cutting trees.'

(12.02)

Lod	i	it-a-me	i	he-tel-e	na	bidol
(person.name)	tree	cut-3.IND-SS	tree	ELEV-come-SEQ	1SG	miss

hem-a-me	me	na	et-e,	"Lod	nu	udi
pierce-3.IND-SS	NEG	1SG	say-1/2.IND	(person.name)	2SG	why

velele?"
vel-hel-e?
do-INCH-1/2.IND

'Lod cut a tree and the tree came up and missed, not impaling me (and) I said, "Lod, why are you starting to do this?"'

(12.03) *Velme*   *da*   *i*   *ite*   *bole*   *ye*   *ituli.*
         velme   *da*   *i*   *it-e*   *bol-e*   *ye-e*   *itul-i*
         so   1DL   tree   cut-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   get-SEQ   chop-CLII:REAL
         'So the two of us finished cutting trees and then took and chopped (them) up.'

(12.04) *Na*   *val*   *sal*   *helem*   *Lod*   *i*   *ye*
         na   *val*   *sal*   *hel-e-ma*   *Lod*   *i*   *ye-e*
         1SG   DIST1:LOC   sick   become-1/2.IND-DS   (person.name)   tree   get-SEQ

         hetele   *sumemung*   *yol*   *enambele*
         he-tel-e   *sum-e~me-ung*   *yol*   *enamb-hel-e*
         ELEV-come-SEQ   walk-SEQ-IMPERV-NOMZ   DIST2.above:LOC   road-INCH-SEQ

         me   *bole*   *ge*   *sumemung*   *hongol*   *ga.*
         me-e   *bol-e*   *ge*   *sum-e~me-ung*   *hongol*   *ge-a*
         put-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   DSM   walk-SEQ-IMPERV-NOMZ   near   go-3.IND
         'Back there I got sick and Lod brought the trees up, walking up over there first to the road and putting them down and then walked down and met me.'

(12.05) *Da*   *hetele*   *va*   *hinde*   *bole*   *i*
         da   *he-tel-e*   *val*   *hindel-e*   *bol-e*   *i*
         1DL   ELEV-come-SEQ   DIST1:LOC   come.out-SEQ   comp-SEQ   tree

         ganitongal   *ye*   *hetele.*
         ganitongal   *ye-e*   *he-tel-e*
         carry.on.shoulder   get-SEQ   ELEV-come-1/2.IND
         'We two came up from there, came out and then carried the wood on our shoulders and brought it up.'

(12.06) *Yol*   *em*   *hul*   *andovol*   *iya*   *bole.*
         yol   *em*   *hu-l*   *andovol*   *iyal*   *bol-e*
         DIST2.above:LOC   house   3SG-POSS   door.frame   hand   COMP-1/2.IND
         'Up over there at the entrance to the house we threw it down.'

(12.07) *Dib*   *hul-i*   *bol-e,*   *anduman?*
         wall   erect-CLII:REAL   COMP-SEQ   whatever
         'Once we had built the wall, well/whatever?'

(12.08) *Dib*   *huli*   *bole*   *na*   *va*   *suts*   *imal*
         dib   *hul-i*   *bol-e*   *na*   *val*   *sul=ts*   *imal*
         wall   erect-CLII:REAL   COMP-SEQ   1SG   DIST1:LOC   grass=LOC   day

         ite.
         it-e
         cut-1/2.IND
         'Once we had built the wall I slept (lit. cut [day]) there in the grass.'

(12.09) *Imal   itema   Lod   eta,   "Yu,   da   hengo."*
       imal   it-e-ma   Lod   et-a   yu   da   he-ge-o
       day   cut-1/2.IND-DS   (person.name) say-3.IND   stand   1DL   ELEV-go-POSB
       'I slept (lit. cut [day]) when Lod said, "Stand, let's go up."'

(12.10) *Velme   da   hetele   hal   ated   hindel-e   na   val*
       velme   da   he-tel-e   hal   ated-e   hindel-e   na   val
       so   1DL   ELEV-come-SEQ   fence   pass-SEQ   arrive-SEQ   1SG   DIST1:LOC

       tavon   ende   val   imal   ite.
       tavon   enden   val   imal   it-e
       again   also   DIST1:LOC   day   cut-1/2.IND
       'So we two came up passed the fence and approached and there I
       again slept (lit. cut [day]) there.'

(12.11) *Imal   it-e-me   da   he-tel-e   auduman?*
       day   cut-1/2.IND-SS   1DL   ELEV-come-1/2.IND   whatever
       'I slept (lit. cut [day]) and we two came up, well/whatever?'

4.2 Longer narrative text 13

This text (of approximately 25 pages) was recorded in 1991, in Woitap (Woitape;
North/South Udab dialect); the speaker was a male (~30 years old) Christian Revival Crusade
(CRC) church member, talking about a recent trip to Popondetta for a church conference.
Note the great amount of code switching with English and use of the inchoative marking on
locatives (lines 1–3, 5–6, 8, 13, 15, 19, 27–28, 33, 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 67, 82, 84, 86–87, 96,
100, 105–106, 114, 123–124).

(13.001) *Di   Christian,   an   hukas,   hale   sol=ing,   di   hale*
        1PL   Christian   person   many   young.man   youth =PL   1PL   young.man

        sol   hukas,   owalele   Woitapiti   andong   val
        sol   hukas   owal-hel-e   Woitap=ti   and-ong   val
        youth   many   PROX1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   (place.name)=ALL   stay-STAT   DIST1:LOC

        walk   bole   val   heng.
        walk   bol-e   val   he-ge-e
        walk   COMP-SEQ   DIST1:LOC   ELEV-go-1/2.IND
        'We Christians, many people, young people, we many young people, first
        living here in Woitape, walked and went up there.'

(13.002) *Dubiti   di   heng   valele   six   aklok   di*
        Dub=ti   di   he-ge-e   val-hel-e   six   aklok   di
        darkness=ALL   1PL   ELEV-go-1/2.IND   DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   six   o'clock   1PL

        menemene   etema   gema   six   aklok   yomali   eit
        menemene   et-e-ma   ge-e-ma   six   aklok   ye-o=mali   eit
        prayer   say-SEQ-DS   go-1/2.IND-DS   six   o'clock   get-POSB=SIM   eight

o	*four*	*aklok,*	*four*	*aklok*	*yomali*	*di*	*val*	*pastor*
o	*four*	*aklok*	*four*	*aklok*	*ye-o=mali*	*di*	*val*	*pastor*
or	four	o'clock	four	o'clock	get-POSB=SIM	1PL	DIST1:LOC	pastor

hu-l	*em*	*val*	*hindel-adi.*
3SG-POSS	house	DIST1:LOC	arrive-CLI:IRR

'As night (was falling) at six o'clock we first went up there and prayed at six or eight o'clock or four o'clock, at four o'clock we would arrive there at Pastor's house.'

(13.003)
Di	*Pastor*	*val-hel-e*		*av*	*had-e;*	*amul*	*el*	*an*
1PL	pastor	DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ		word	hit-SEQ	woman	and	man

ant	*halu*	*val*	*hindele*	*bole.*
and	*haluv*	*val*	*hindel-e*	*bol-e*
thing	all	DIST1:LOC	arrive-SEQ	COMP-1/2.IND

'First we were talking there with the pastor; many people arrived there.'

(13.004)
Av	*hadodoma*	*ge*	*bole,*	*okay*	*dubiti*	*walk.*
Av	*had-o~do-ma*	*ge-e*	*bol-e*	*okay*	*dub=ti*	*walk*
speech	hit-POSB~IMPERV-DS	go-SEQ	COMP-SEQ	okay	darkness=ALL	walk

'After talking, okay we walked in the dark.'

(13.005)
Walk	*vomele*	*Heloti*	*ge.*
walk	*vom-hel-e*	*Helo=ti*	*ge-e*
walk	behind.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ	(place.name)=ALL	go-SEQ

'First the walk went back down there to Helo.'

(13.006)
Sum	*vom*	*Helo=ti*	*hindel-o=mali*	*six*	*aklok*
walk	behind.below:LOC	(place.name)=ALL	come.out-POSB=SIM	six	o'clock

valele	*hatilim*	*nemb*	*eta.*
val-hel-e	*hatilim*	*nemb*	*et-a*
DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ	dawn	bird	say-3.IND

'We walked back down there to Helo and we began to arrive there at six o'clock in the morning when the birds began to sing out.'

(13.007)
Nemb	*et-e=mali*	*amul*	*el*	*an*	*hilog*	*id-e-ngo=mali*
bird	say-SEQ=SIM	woman	and	man	still	cut-SEQ-STAT=SIM

di-ni	*hindel*	*val*	*Helo=ti*	*amul*	*el*	*an*
1PL-EMPH	arrive	DIST1:LOC	(place.name)=ALL	woman	and	man

dini	*kel*	*hengemali*	*nemb*	*etama*	*muni*	*ende*
di-ni	*kele*	*he-ge=mali*	*nemb*	*et-a-ma*	*mu-ni*	*enden*
1PL-EMPH	easily	ELEV-go=SIM	bird	say-3.IND-DS	3PL-EMPH	also

sisiban	*huwan*	*di*	*val*	*mu*	*hongol*	*hindele*
knowledge	nothing	1PL	DIST1:LOC	3PL	next.to	arrive-SEQ

hengo.
he-ge-o
ELEV-go-POSB
'While the birds were singing out and while people were still sleeping (lit. cutting [day]), we arrived there at Helo and while we quietly went up the birds were singing and the people didn't know that we were coming there near them as we arrived.'

(13.008) *Di   heng   sum   ibelele   Murray   Pass.*
di   he-ge-e   sum   ibel-hel-e   Murray   Pass
1PL   ELEV-go-1/2.IND walk PROX2.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ (name)   pass
'First we went up walking down here below (the summit of) Murray Pass.'

(13.009) *Murray   Pass   hindel-e   bol-e   sum-e~me   yol*
(name)   pass   arrive-SEQ COMP-SEQ   walk-SEQ~IMPERV DIST2.above:LOC

bol-e.
COMP-SEQ
'Once we arrived at Murray Pass we were walking way up over there.'

(13.010) *Yol   hindel-e   bol-e   val   alan   sesada*
DIST2.above:LOC   arrive-SEQ COMP-SEQ   DIST1:LOC   ridge   long

sum-e~me   Silim=ti=a?
walk-SEQ~IMPERV   (place.name)=ALL=Q
'Once we arrived way up over there we were walking along the long ridge to Silim (Chirime), no?'

(13.011) *Yolibay   val   hindel-e.*
(place.name)   DIST1:LOC   arrive-1/2.IND
'We arrived there at Yolibay (Joribay).'

(13.012) *Hindele   val   walking   heng   omel   Ivol*
hindel-e   val   *walking*   he-ge-e   omel   Ivol
arrive-SEQ   DIST1:LOC   walking   ELEV-go-1/2.IND   DIST2:LOC   (person name)

hul   enti   a?
hu-l   em=ti   =a?
3SG-POSS   house=ALL   =Q
'We arrived there walking up over there to Ivol's house, no?'

(13.013) *Ivola   Simbu   enti   valele.*
Ivol=a   Simbu   em=ti   val-hel-e
(name)=CF (place.name)   house=ALL   DIST1:LOC-INCH-1/2.IND
'First, Ivol the Chimbu man's house there.'

(13.014) *Va   Silim=ti   val   id-adi   and-ong*
that (place.name)=ALL   DIST1:LOC   cut-CLI:IRR   stay-STAT

bol-e-ma   *an*   *hene, sol*   *hene*   *sum*   *and*   *yu*   *val*   *di*
COMP-SEQ-DS   man   some   youth   some   deaf   stay   stand   DIST1:LOC   1PL

anang   *et-a,*   *"Dal*   *et-a-me*   *yi-ni*   *ilof*   *yi-ni*
REC   say-3.IND   who   say-3.IND-SS   2PL-EMPH   before   2PL-EMPH

kulus   *had-e*   *bibid-e-n=a?*
cross   hit-SEQ   carry-SEQ-LINK=Q
'There at Silim (Chirime) we stayed to sleep and then one man, a young deaf man standing and staying there said to us, "Who said that before you carry a cross?"'

(13.015)   *Yu*   *bole*   *valele*   *hemela?*
            yu   *bol-e*   *val-hel-e*   *hem-e-l=a?*
            stand   COMP-SEQ   DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   shoot-1/2.IND-LINK=Q
            'Did you begin erecting it there?'

(13.016)   *Yu*   *di*   *et-e*   *adad*   *im*   *di*   *anang*   *et-e*   *mu*
            stand   1PL   say-SEQ   on.top.of   DIST2.below:LOC   1PL   REC   say-SEQ   3PL

            had-e~de   *et-o,*   *"O,*   *yi*   *di*   *et-e*   *odel*   *yi*
            hit-SEQ~IMPERV   say-POSB   oh   2PL   1PL   say-SEQ   where   2PL

            ud-idi.
            carry-CLII:IRR
            'Standing way over there below he spoke to us asking, saying, "Oh, tell us where are you carrying (it)?"'

(13.017)   *Ve*   *di*   *ge*   *Deo*   *hul*   *av*   *tedem*   *okay*   *va*
            ve   *di*   *ge*   *Deov*   *hu-l*   *av*   *te-e~de-me*   *okay*   *va*
            so   1PL   DSM   God   3SG-POSS   word   say-SEQ~IMPERV-SS   okay   that

            sol=a   *di*   *disturb.*
            youth=CF   1PL   disturb
            'So we spoke God's word, okay (because) that young man disturbed us.'

(13.018)   *Va*   *di*   *koy*   *et-e=mali*   *et-a,*   *"Dal*   *et-a-ma*   *yoval*
            that   1PL   bad   say-SEQ=SIM   say-3.IND   who   say-3.IND-DS   two

            hindel-e,   *velima*   *yi*   *One*   *Way*   *owal*   *hindel-a?"*
            arrive-SEQ   so.that   2PL   one   way   PROX1:LOC   arrive-3.IND
            'While that one was cursing us he said, "Who said for you *One Way* to come here?"'

(13.019)   *"Veli*   *tavon*   *dini*   *enden*   *owalele*   *yi*   *adad*   *av*
            veli   *tavon*   *di-ni*   *enden*   *owal-hel-e*   *yi*   *adad*   *av*
             so   again   1PL-EMPH   also   PROX1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   2PL   on.top.of   word

hongol   *me*   *ted-e.*
next.to   NEG   say-SEQ
'"So at first we didn't talk back to you here any more.'

(13.020)   *Ta*   *yi-ni*   *di*   *adad*   *av*   *hukas*   *ted-e."*
             but   2PL-EMPH   1PL   about   word   many   say-SEQ
             'But you have talked a lot about us."'

(13.021)   *Di*   *val*   *idam*   *ukala*   *Ivola*   *Simbu*   *an*
             di   *val*   *id-a-ma*   *ukala*   *Ivol=a*   *Simbu*   *an*
             1PL   DIST1:LOC   cut-3.IND-DS   and.then   (name)=CF   (place.name)   man

             ovol   *had-a-m=a?*
             pig   hit-3.IND-LINK=Q
             'We slept there and then Ivol the Chimbu man killed a pig, no?'

(13.022)   *Ovol*   *had-a-ma*   *di*   *va*   *vom*   *mul-i*
             pig   hit-3.IND-DS   1PL   that   behind.below:LOC   cook.on.stones-CLII:REAL

             nonoma   *yu*   *bole*   *walk*   *yevel*
             ne-o~no-ma   *yu*   *bol-e*   *walk*   *yevel*
             eat-POSB~IMPERV-DS   stand   COMP-SEQ   walk   PROX2.above:LOC

             Kandila=ts   *val*   *id-e.*
             (place.name)=LOC   DIST1:LOC   cut-1/2.IND
             '(He) killed the pig and we cooked it on stones back down there and were eating and got up and walked right up here to Kandila and slept (lit. cut [day]) there.'

(13.023)   *Kafano*   *val*   *idam*   *ukala*   *val*   *walk*
             Kafano   *val*   *id-a-me*   *ukala*   *val*   *walk*
             (place.name)   DIST1:LOC   cut-3.IND-SS   and.then   DIST1:LOC   walk

             ibel   *Asimba=ti.*
             PROX2.below:LOC   (place.name)=ALL
             'We slept (lit. cut [day]) there at Kafano and then we walked down here to Asimba.'

(13.024)   *Asimba*   *hu-l*   *em*   *al-i.*
             (place.name)   3SG-POSS   house   see-CLII:REAL
             'We saw the village (lit. houses) of Asimba.'

(13.025)   *Va*   *bul*   *hene=ti*   *val*   *imal*   *id-e.*
             that   land   some=ALL   DIST1:LOC   day   cut-1/2.IND
             'We slept (lit. cut [day]) there at some place.'

(13.026)   *Val*   *id-e-m*   *ukala*   *okay*   *ende*   *yu*   *y-e*   *and-e*
             val   *id-e-ma*   *ukala*   *okay*   *enden*   *yu*   *ye-e*   *and-e*
             DIST1:LOC   cut-SEQ-DS   and.then   okay   also   stand   get-SEQ   stay-SEQ

bol-e   *anang*   *et-e*   *hindel-e.*
COMP-SEQ   REC   say-SEQ   come.out-1/2.IND
'We slept (lit. cut [day]) there and okay then we got up and stayed
and then came out for (them).'

(13.027) *Val*   *ideme*   *ukala*   *imele*   *Mamba.*
         val   *id-e-me*   *ukala*   *im-hel-e*   *Mamba*
         DIST1:LOC   cut-SEQ-SS and.then   DIST2.below:LOC-INCH-1/2.IND (place.name)
         'We slept (lit. cut [day]) there and then we began (to go) down there to Mamba.'

(13.028) *Na,* *Samson,* *Emanuel,* *dini*   *val*   *walk* *heng*
         na   *Samson* *Emanuel* *di-ni*   *val*   *walk* *he-ge-e*
         1SG   (name)   (name)   1PL-EMPH DIST1:LOC walk   ELEV-go-SEQ

         heng   *sume*   *alan* *huni*   *yu*   *alan* *yu*   *bole*
         he-ge-e   *sum-e*   *alan* *hu-ni*   *yu*   *alan* *yu*   *bol-e*
         ELEV-go-SEQ   walk-SEQ ridge 3sg-EMPH stand ridge stand COMP-SEQ

         ibelele   *Mamba*   *alina?*
         ibel-hel-e   *Mamba*   *al-i-n=a*
         PROX2.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ   (place.name) see-REAL-LINK=Q
         'Samson, Emmanuel and I were walking there going up and walking up on
         the ridge (and) (when we were) standing (there) on the ridge we first saw
         Mamba down here below, no?'

(13.029) *Velma* *di*   *owal*   *yu*   *bol-e-n=a?*
         so   1PL   PROX1:LOC   stand COMP-SEQ-LINK=Q
         'So we were standing here, no?'

(13.030) *Velma* *di*   *owal*   *yu*   *bol-e*   *omel*   *plantation,*
         so   1PL   PROX1:LOC   stand COMP-SEQ   DIST2:LOC   plantation

         obel   *lab*   *plantation=a?*
         PROX2:LOC   rubber   plantation=Q
         'So we stood here, (and) over there was a plantation; right here was a
         rubber plantation, no?'

(13.031) *Ge*   *va*   *plantation* *i*   *ide*   *ye*   *huwan*   *mala.*
         ge   *va*   *plantation* *i*   *id-e*   *ye-e* *huwan*   *mal-a*
         DSM   that   plantation   tree   cut-SEQ get-SEQ nothing   CAUS-3.IND
         'They had cut down all the trees to nothing (i.e. destroyed) at the plantation.'

(13.032) *Huwan*   *hel-a-ma*   *enden* *ge*   *oil* *palm* *fil-i.*
         nothing   become-3.IND-DS   also   DSM   oil   palm   plant-CLII:REAL
         'Once they were gone (the trees were destroyed), then they planted oil palm.'

(13.033) *Velima* *mu*   *enden* *and-o~do-ma*
         so.that 3PL   also   stay-POSB~IMPERV-DS

nu	Yas	hul	enti	omel	hengati
nu	Yas	hu-l	em=ti	omel	he-ge-ati
2SG	(person.name)	3SG-POSS	house=ALL	DIST2:LOC	ELEV-go-CLI:IRR

andong	yolele	hindele.
and-ong	yol-hel-e	hindel-e
stay-STAT	DIST2.above:LOC-INCH-SEQ	arrive-1/2.IND

'So they stayed and you were going to stay over there at Yas' house and just arrived up over there.'

(13.034)
Alan	gege	bole	di	val	kumtu	mu
alan	ge-e~ge	bol-e	di	val	kum=tu	mu
ridge	go-SEQ~IMPERV	COMP-SEQ	1PL	DIST1:LOC	mountain=ADESS	3PL

gomali	na	Woitapiti	cake	enden	tul
ge-o=mali	na	Woitap=ti	cake	enden	tul
go-POSB=SIM	1SG	(place.name)=ALL	cake	also	buy

ind-i-n=a?
give-CLII:REAL-LINK=Q

'After going along the ridge while they were going there on the mountain, I bought some cake at Woitape, no?'

(13.035)
Cake	hene	ala	cheese	hene	ala	tul	ind-i.
cake	some	COM	cheese	some	COM	buy	give-CLII:REAL

'I bought some cake and some cheese.'

(13.036)
Okay	Emanuel	ende	cheese	hene	ye	im	hu
Okay	Emanuel	enden	cheese	hene	ye-e	im	hu
okay	(person.name)	also	cheese	some	get-SEQ	DIST2.below:LOC	3SG

anang	et-e	val	and-o.
REC	say-SEQ	DIST1:LOC	stay-POSB

'Okay Emmanuel, (who) also got some cheese, was told to stay there.'

(13.037)
Di-ni	di-l	hod	bes	ang-a-ma	okay	di
1PL-EMPH	1PL-POSS	skin	hunger	remain-3.IND-DS	okay	1PL

valele	di	alan	ovo	tey	yol
val-hel-e	di	alan	ovo	tey	yol
DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ	1PL	ridge	PROX1:DEM	true	DIST2.above:LOC

and-ong=a?
stay-STAT=Q

'We were hungry and then okay we were just up over there on this very ridge here where we were staying, no?'

(13.038)
Di	va	alan	lilits	gege	bole	ge
di	va	alan	lil-its	ge-e~ge	bol-e	ge-e
1PL	that	ridge	go.down-CLII:IRR	go-SEQ~IMPERV	COMP-SEQ	go-SEQ

bole	*kel*	*idong,*	*ok*	*Boyoditia?*	
bol-e	*kel*	*id-ong*	*oki*	*Boyod=ti=a*	
COMP-SEQ	easy	cut-STAT	fire	(place.name)=ALL=Q	

'We finished going down that ridge, and then going (down) to cut a little (firewood), (and) at Boyod (we had a) fire, no?'

(13.039)

Di	*ende*	*va*	*yu*	*nemali*	*val*	*cake*
di	*enden*	*val*	*yuv*	*ne-e=mali*	*val*	*cake*
1PL	also	DIST1:LOC	water	eat-SEQ=SIM	DIST1:LOC	cake

kiyomali	*cheese*	*kiyo*	*bole,*	*tode*	*nomali.*
kiy-o=mali	*cheese*	*kiy-o*	*bol-e*	*tod-e*	*ne-o=mali*
open-POSB=SIM	cheese	open-POSB	COMP-SEQ	split-SEQ	eat-POSB=SIM

'While we were drinking some water, we opened that cake there and opened the cheese and cut and ate them.'

(13.040)

Sol	*hene*	*ge*	*di*	*bole*	*ga.*
sol	*hene*	*ge*	*di*	*bol-e*	*ge-a*
youth	some	DSM	1PL	leave-SEQ	go-3.IND

'Some young men left us.'

(13.041)

Di	*bole*	*gama*	*di*	*gege*	*omel*
di	*bol-e*	*ge-a-ma*	*di*	*ge-e~ge*	*omel*
1PL	leave-SEQ	go-3.IND-DS	1PL	go-SEQ~IMPERV	DIST2:LOC

Mayaditia?	
Mayad=ti=a	
(place.name)=ALL=Q	

'He left us and we were going over there to Mayad, no?'

(13.042)

Mayaditi	*yu*	*dava?*
Mayad=ti	*yuv*	*dal-v=a?*
(place.name)=ALL	water	which-LINK=Q

'In Mayad, which river (it was I don't know)?'

(13.043)

Di	*valele*	*hindelem*	*an*	*hene*	*teb*
di	*val-hel-e*	*hindel-e-ma*	*an*	*hene*	*teb*
1PL	DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ	arrive-SEQ-DS	man	some	sugarcane

sesada	*galib*	*had-a.*
long	small	hit-3.IND

'First we arrived there and one man cut down a small long sugarcane.'

(13.044)

Muni	*yu*	*hongo*	*gomali*	*okay*	*dini*	*dil*
mu-ni	*yuv*	*hongol*	*ge-o=mali*	*okay*	*di-ni*	*di-l*
3PL-EMPH	water	next.to	go-POSB=SIM	okay	1PL-EMPH	1PL-POSS

enti   hindele.
em=ti   hindel-e
house=ALL   arrive-1/2.IND
'While they were going next to a river, okay (then) we arrived at our house.'

(13.045) *Isele   bole   di   gege   bole   di   ge*
isel-e   bol-e   di   ge-e~ge   bol-e   di   ge
follow-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   1PL   go-SEQ~IMPERV   COMP-SEQ   1PL   DSM

val   teb   nenema   va   yu   teb
val   teb   ne-e~ne-ma   van   yuv   teb
DIST1:LOC   sugarcane   eat-SEQ~IMPERV-DS   that.one   water   sugarcane

di   ind-i.
di   ind-i.
1PL   give-CLII:IRR
'Then (or following) we were going and we were eating the sugarcane there and that one gave us water and sugarcane.'

(13.046) *Di   indima   mu   okay   yu   teb   ye,   ye*
di   ind-i-ma   mu   okay   yuv   teb   ye-e   ye-e
1PL   give-REAL-DS   3PL   okay   water   sugarcane   get-SEQ   get-SEQ

bo   tod   bo   nom   indi
bol-ø   tod-ø   bol-ø   nom   ind-i
COMP-HYPOTH   split-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   RECIP   give-CLII:REAL

bole   Pastor   ala   hul   soling   mu   ge   gomali
bol-e   pastor   ala   hu-l   sol=ing   mu   ge   ge-o=mali
COMP-SEQ   pastor   COM   3SG-POSS   youth=PL   3PL   DSM   go-POSB=SIM

okay   dini   mu   isele   gege   enti   ma
okay   di-ni   mu   isel-e   ge-e~ge   em=ti   m-a
okay   1PL-EMPH   3PL   follow-SEQ   go-SEQ~IMPERV   house=ALL   put-3.IND

mu   ge   akolog   sikul   hasil.
3PL   DSM   now   school   new
'They gave (them) to us and then (lit. okay) we took the water and sugarcane, to cut and give (share) it while Pastor and the youth were going, then we were going after (lit. following) them to the village (lit. house); there they now have a new school.'

(13.047) *Enden   ilof   hungiti   ge   ende   val   community   school*
enden   ilof   hung=ti   ge   enden   val   community   school
also   before   nose=ALL   DSM   also   DIST1:LOC   community   school

mem   alina?
meme   al-i-n=a?
NEG   see-REAL-LINK=Q
'And before in front (lit. in the nose) we had not seen a community school there, no?'

(13.048) *Ta   na   akolog hasil, hasil ende mu   okay mu-l   enamb ala*
        but   1SG   now   new   new   also 3PL okay 3PL-POSS   road   COM

        andemali   mu   sikul   ye   ant   halu   ye   ete
        and-e=mali   mu-l   sikul   ye-e   and   haluv   ye-e   et-e
        stay-SEQ-SIM   3PL-POSS school   get-SEQ thing all   get-SEQ say-SEQ

        valele   ye   ete   mu   idengomali   di   mu
        val-hel-e   ye-e   et-e   mu   id-e-ngo=mali   di   mu
        DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   get-SEQ say-SEQ 3PL   cut-SEQ-STAT=SIM 1PL   3PL

        ali   hud   bole   ende   mu   mem
        al-i   hud   bol-e   enden mu   meme
        see-CLII:REAL fear COMP-SEQ also   3PL   NEG

        ali.
        al-i.
        see-CLII:REAL
        'But I now I understood (lit. new), I understood that they were maintaining (lit. staying on) their way (so that) they got their school, and they just had everything there; and while they were sleeping we were afraid we would see them, but (lit. and) we didn't see them.'

(13.049) *Imal id-ong   okay sipel id-a-ma   ukala   and-ong*
        day   cut-STAT okay rest   cut-3.IND-DS and.then stay-STAT

        andong   gege   val   walk   omel   Mamba
        and-ong   ge-e~ge   val   walk   omel   Mamba
        stay-STAT   go-SEQ~IMPERV DIST1:LOC walk   DIST2:LOC (place.name)

        plantationiti   hindele.
        plantation=ti   hindel-e
        plantation=ALL   arrive-1/2.IND
        We were sleeping, having a rest and then staying, staying, and then going walking over there we arrive at Mamba plantation.'

(13.050) *Emo   hu-l   havav   hene   =a?*
        (person.name) 3SG-POSS younger.brother   some   =Q
        'One of Emo's younger brothers, no?'

(13.051) *Huni   mu   gogomali   di   va   go   dil*
        hu-ni   mu   ge-o~go=mali   di   val   ge-o   di-l
        3SG-EMPH   3PL   go-POSB~IMPERV=SIM 1PL   DIST1:LOC go-POSB   1PL-POSS

        ant   huwa   helama,   vom   di   yalo   huwana?
        and   huwan   hel-a-ma   vom   di   yalov huwan=a
        thing nothing become-3.IND-DS behind.below:LOC 1PL   food   nothing=Q
        'When he was going we went there with nothing; we didn't have any food back down there, no?'

(13.052) *Di   ge   bes.*
        1PL   DSM   hunger
        'We were hungry.'

(13.053) *Amul   hene   hamb   hul   tolom   ye   bole   omel*
        amul   hene   hamb   hu-l   tolom   ye-e   bol-e   omel
        woman   some   banana 3SG-POSS   ripe   get-SEQ COMP-SEQ   DIST2:LOC

        tel-e   bol-e   na   ind-i-ma   na-ni   kigin
        come-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   1SG   give-CLII:REAL-DS   1SG-EMPH   different

        gege   me.
        ge-e~ge   me-e
        go-SEQ~IMPERV   put-1/2.IND
        'One woman brought some ripe bananas over there and gave them
        to me and I was taking them alone.'

(13.054) *Okay,   Samson   ala   Emanuel   ala   heneng   ala   mu   na*
        okay   (person.name) and   (person.name) and   some   and   3PL   1sg

        isel-a.
        follow-3.IND
        'Okay, Samson and Emmanuel and some others, they followed me.'

(13.055) *Na   isel-e   tel-a.*
        1SG   follow-SEQ   come-3.IND
        'They came after me.'

(13.056) *Tel-a-ma   hamb   tolom   heneng   val   ende   n-e.*
        tel-a-ma   hamb   tolom   heneng   val   enden   ne-e
        come-3.IND-DS banana ripe   some   DIST1:LOC also   eat-1/2.IND
        'They were coming and there I ate some of the ripe bananas.'

(13.057) *Na   ge   va   angade   bole   ne.*
        na   ge   val   angad-e bol-e   ne-e
        1SG   DSM   DIST1:LOC fall-SEQ COMP-SEQ   eat-1/2.IND
        'I dropped them (the skins) as I ate them (the bananas).'

(13.058) *Neneme   neneme   mu   ende   ge   amul   ge*
        ne-e~ne-me   ne-e~ne-me   mu   enden   ge   amul   ge-e
        eat-SEQ~IMPERV-SS   eat-SEQ~IMPERV-SS 3PL   also   DSM   woman   go-SEQ

        ende   tavon   mu   adad   ande   enamb   hul   humbiti   mu
        enden   tavon   mu   adad   and-e   enamb   hu-l   humb=ti   mu
        also   again   3PL   on.top.of stay-SEQ road   3SG-POSS middle=ALL   3PL

ind-i.
give-CLII:REAL
'I was eating and eating them and they also came to the woman who gave them more on the road.'

(13.059) *Mu   indima,   mu   nonoma,   hungiti   na   ge*
          mu   ind-i-ma   mu   ne-o~no-ma   hung=ti   na   ge
          3PL   give-CLII:REAL-DS   3PL   eat-POSB~IMPERV-DS nose=ALL   1SG   DSM

          enden   et-e,   "O,   Woitap   hale   sol   hukas   val
          also   say-SEQ   oh   (place.name)   young.man   youth   many   DIST1:LOC

          tel-o.
          come-POSB
          'She gave (them) to them, and they were eating (them), and in front (lit. in the nose) I said, "Oh, many Woitap (Woitape) youth are coming there.'

(13.060) *An   hukas   val   Christian   hale   sol   val*
          man   many   DIST1:LOC   christian   young.man   youth   DIST1:LOC

          tel-o."
          come-POSB
          'Lots of people, Christian young people are coming there."'

(13.061) *Velma   di   gege   bole   di   ge   omelele*
          velma   di   ge-e~ge   bol-e   di   ge   omel-hel-e
          so   1PL   go-SEQ~CONT   COMP-SEQ   1PL   DSM   DIST2:LOC-INCH-SEQ

          Mamba.
          (place.name)
          'So we were going and we began (to go) over there to Mamba.'

(13.062) *Di   amul   di   nang   yalo   hulin   ama.*
          di   amul   di   anang   yalov   hulin   a-ma
          1PL   woman   1PL   REC   food   pot   DIR-put-3.IND
          'The women put food in pots for us (to cook).'

(13.063) *Yalo   hukas   hulin   amemali   mu   nang   Christian   ant*
          yalov   hukas   hulin   a-me-e=mali   mu   anang   Christian   and
          food   many   pot   DIR-put-SEQ=SIM   3PL   REC   christian   thing

          halu,   amul   el   an   hukas,   yalo   indi   hulin
          haluv   amul   el   an   hukas   yalov   ind-i   hulin
          all   woman   and   man   many   food   give-CLII:REAL   pot

          amemali   ge   enambtu   owal   ibelele
          a-me-e=mali   ge   enamb=tu   owal   ibel-hel-e
          DIR-put-SEQ=SIM   DSM   road=ADESS   PROX1:LOC   PROX2.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ

heng   *di*   *kel*   *ibel*   *kode*   *eteme,*
he-ge-e   di   kele   ibel   kod-e   et-e-me
ELEV-go-SEQ   1PL   easily   PROX2.below:LOC   watch-SEQ   say-SEQ-SS

"Ivola!"
Ivol=a
(person.name)=CF
'When they put lots of food in the pots, they were giving food to many Christians, many people, and on the road just down here going up a bit we looked down there and called out, "Ivol!"'

(13.064)   *Emo*   *hu-l*   *an;*   *hu-l*   *havav.*
            (person.name)   3SG-POSS   that.one   3SG-POSS   younger.brother
            'To that one, Emo's; her younger brother.'

(13.065)   *O*   *va*   *mark*   *enamb*   *ala*   *me*   *bole*   *eta,*   *"Di*
            O   *va*   *mark*   *enamb*   *ala*   *me-e*   *bol-e*   *et-a*   *di*
            oh   that   mark   road   and   put-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   say-3.IND   1PL

            alim   *va*   *enamb*   *ala*   *gadi.*
            al-i-me   *va*   *enamb*   *ala*   *ge-adi*
            see-CLII:REAL-SS   that   road   and   go-CLI:IRR
            'Oh, a mark was there on the road, and he said, "We see (it) and we'll go on that road.'

(13.066)   *Di*   *enamb*   *bedo*   *gadi.*
            di   *enamb*   *bedo*   *ge-adi*
            1PL   road   mistake   go-CLI:IRR
            'We were taking the wrong road.'

(13.067)   *Veli*   *di*   *ge*   *enamb*   *bedo*   *di*   *ge*   *valele*   *ge*
            veli   *di*   *ge*   *enamb*   *bedo*   *di*   *ge*   *val-hel-e*   *ge-e*
            so   1PL   DSM   road   mistake   1PL   DSM   DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   go-SEQ

            okay   *di*   *alim*   *malel*   *owal*   *odel*   *mu*   *eta,*   *"O*
            okay   *di*   *al-i-me*   *malel*   *owal*   *odel*   *mu*   *et-a*   *o*
            okay   1PL   see-CLII:REAL-SS   letter   PROX1:LOC   where   3PL   say-3.IND   oh

            gegedi   *ibel,*   *Kodedati."*
            ge-e~ge-idi   *ibel*   *Koded=ati*
            go-SEQ~IMPERV-CLII:IRR   PROX2.below:LOC   Koded=INESS
            'So we took the wrong road and first went there and we saw in the map (lit. letter) here where it said, "Oh, go down here, at Koded."'

(13.068)   *Ivol*   *ge*   *obel*   *he-tel-o=mali*   *ibel*
            (person.name)   DSM   PROX2:LOC   ELEV-come-POSB=SIM   PROX2.below:LOC

            hul   *humbiti*   *ge*   *val*   *ande*   *hetelomali*
            hu-l   *humb=ti*   *ge*   *val*   *and-e*   *he-tel-o=mali*
            3SG-POSS   middle=ALL   DSM   DIST1:LOC   stay-SEQ   ELEV-come-POSB=SIM

di-ni   *yevel*   *hu-ni*   *al-i*   *ted-e.*
1P-EMPH   PROX2.above:LOC   3SG-EMPH   see-CLII:REAL   say-1/2.IND
'When Ivol came right up right here in the middle while we stayed down here,
we called out to him way up there.'

(13.069) *Tel-e*   *di* *fidan=ti* *val*   *he-tel-o=mali*   *di* *sisiban*
          come-SEQ 1PL one=ALL DIST1:LOC ELEV-come-POSB=SIM 1PL knowledge

          male   *ende*   *va*   *malel* *mem* *eta,*   *"O*
          mal-e   *enden* *va*   *malel* *mem* *et-a*   *o*
          CAUS-SEQ also   DIST1:DEM letter NEG say-3.IND oh

          gegedi."
          ge-e~ge-idi
          go-SEQ~IMPERV-CLII:IRR
          'He came while we quickly (lit. at one) came up there and he let us know
          that the map (lit. letter) did not say, "Go that way."'

(13.070) *Ta* *yevel*   *gege*   *medi.*
          ta *yevel*   *ge-e~ge*   *me-idi*
          but PROX2.above:LOC go-SEQ~IMPERV not-CLII:IRR
          'But don't go way right up there."'

(13.071) *Velma* *di* *ol*   *ye*   *ve* *ende* *di* *indima*
          velma *di* *ol*   *ye-e*   *ve* *enden* *di* *ind-i-ma*
          so.that 1PL firewood get-SEQ so also   1PL give-CLII:REAL-DS

          di   *nom*   *hul*   *humbiti*   *alan*   *heng*   *yol*
          di   *nom*   *hu-l*   *humb=ti*   *alan*   *he-ge-e*   *yol*
          1PL   RECIP 3SG-POSS middle=ALL ridge ELEV-go-SEQ DIST2.above:LOC

          hindele   *me.*
          hindel-e   *me-e*
          arrive-SEQ   put-1/2.IND
          'So we got firewood and it was given to us and we went up along the
          middle of a ridge and took (it) up over there.'

(13.072) *Amul*   *el*   *an*   *di* *wantok,*   *family* *dal* *val*   *and-o-ma,*
          woman and man 1PL compatriot family REL DIST1:LOC stay-POSB-DS

          ende   *di* *ye*   *sid*   *ge*   *andala* *gab*   *meta.*
          enden *di* *ye-e*   *sid*   *ge*   *andala* *gab*   *meme-et-a*
          also   1PL get-SEQ hug DSM cry   large NEG-say-3.IND
          'People, our compatriots, family, who were living there, hugged
          us and there was not a little (lit. lot of) crying.'

(13.073) *Andala* *etemali*   *ende* *bol.dis* *idemali*   *mu* *eta,*
          andala *et-e=mali*   *enden* *bol.dis* *id-e=mali*   *mu* *et-a*
          cry   say-SEQ=SIM also   dish   cut-SEQ=SIM 3PL say-3.IND

"Solans   *hu-l*   *hamel*   *dal-o-n=a?*
(person.name)   3SG-POSS   daughter   who-POSB-LINK=Q
'While we were crying when a dish was cut they said, "Are you from Solans' daughter?'

(13.074)   *Uwand*   *akan=a?*
              small   DIM=Q
              'The small one, no?"'

(13.075)   *Nal*   *es*   *Koma*   *ge*   *kupe*   *yu*   *ye*   *fang*
              na-l   *es*   *Koma*   *ge*   *kupev*   *yu*   *ye-e*   *fang*
              1SG-POSS   child   koma   DSM   sweet.potato   stand   get-SEQ   trap

              hideme   *ende*   *fang*   *ded*   *an*   *hul*   *haben,*   *di*
              hid-e-me   *enden*   *fang*   *dede*   *an*   *hu-l*   *haben*   *di*
              pick-SEQ-SS   also   trap   later   that   3SG-POSS   other   1PL

              vom   *di-l*   *bul=ti*   *di*   *Woitap=iti*   *di-l*
              behind.below:LOC   1PL-POSS   land=ALL   1PL   Woitape=ILL   1P-POSS

              bul=ti   *and-o-ma*   *di*   *he-tel-e*   *nu*
              land=ALL   stay-POSB-DS   1PL   ELEV-come-SEQ   2SG

              al-i.
              see-CLII:REAL
              'My child Koma got sweet potato and stood it up setting a trap and later another person's trap, we were staying back down there at our land in Woitap (Woitape) and we came up and saw you.'

(13.076)   *Velima*   *di*   *owal*   *ande,*   *di*   *ye*   *sid*   *bole*   *di*
              velima   *di*   *owal*   *and-e*   *di*   *ye-e*   *sid*   *bol-e*   *di*
              so.that   1PL   PROX1:LOC   stay-SEQ   1PL   get-SEQ   hug   COMP-SEQ   1PL

              ge   *andeme*   *hul*   *yalo*   *hindeleme*   *va*   *yalo*
              ge   *and-e-me*   *hu-l*   *yalov*   *hindel-e-me*   *va*   *yalov*
              DSM   stay-SEQ-SS   3SG-POSS   food   arrive-SEQ-SS   that   food

              ide   *yalo*   *ge*   *talel.*
              id-e   *yalov*   *ge*   *talel.*
              cut-SEQ   food   DSM   forever
              'So we were staying here, we hugged and stayed and the food arrived that food was divided going on forever.'

(13.077)   *Yalov*   *hukas*   *gege*   *hulin*   *amemali*   *gege*
              yalov   *hukas*   *ge-e~ge*   *hulin*   *a-me-e=mali*   *ge-e~ge*
              food   many   go-SEQ~IMPERV   pot   DIR-put-SEQ=SIM   go-SEQ~IMPERV

yalo	*hukas*	*tey*	*keda*	*ents*	*idema*	*di*	*ge*	*tul*
yalov	*hukas*	*tey*	*keda*	*em=ts*	*id-e-ma*	*di*	*ge*	*=tul*
food	many	very	bed	house=LOC	lie-SEQ-DS	1PL	DSM	=ADESS

and-e.
stay-1/2.IND
'While lots of food was going into the pots, very much food was lying on the bed in the house and there was very much food lying on the bed and we were on top of it.'

(13.078)
Di	*val*	*tul*	*andema,*	*yalo*	*hukas*	*tul*	*hulin*
di	*val*	*=tul*	*and-e-ma*	*yalov*	*hukas*	*=tul*	*hulin*
1PL	DIST1:LOC	=ADESS	stay-SEQ-DS	food	many	=ADESS	pot

amemali	*velima*	*okay*	*di*	*ge*	*nonome*
a-me-e=mali	*velima*	*okay*	*di*	*ge*	*ne-o~no-me*
DIR-put-SEQ=SIM	so.that	okay	1PL	DSM	eat-POSB~IMPERV-SS

fulumad-e.
finish-1/2.IND
'We were sitting there on it, and when lots of food was placed in the pots, so okay we were eating until we were finished.'

(13.079)
Fulumade	*bole*	*okay*	*Christian*	*fidafidana?*
fulumad-e	*bol-e*	*okay*	*Christian*	*fidan~fidan=a*
finish-SEQ	COMP-SEQ	okay	christian	DISTR~one=Q

'We were finished, so each Christian, no?'

(13.080)
Leader	*ant*	*haluv*	*ende*	*ge*	*talel*	*fidafidan*	*ant*	*haluv*
leader	*and*	*haluv*	*enden*	*ge*	*talel*	*fidan~fidan*	*and*	*haluv*
leader	thing	all	also	DSM	forever	DISTR~one	thing	all

ye	*gege*	*ents*	*hul*	*andema*	*ge*	*tul*
ye-e	*ge-e~ge*	*em=ts*	*hu-l*	*and-e-ma*	*ge*	*=tul*
get-SEQ	go-SEQ~IMPERV	house=LOC	3SG-POSS	stay-SEQ- DS	DSM	=ADESS

ents	*idadi,*	*ende*	*di*	*ant*	*haluv*	*yoyo*
em=ts	*id-adi*	*enden*	*di*	*and*	*haluv*	*ye-o~yo*
house=LOC	cut-CLI:IRR	also	1PL	thing	all	get-POSB~IMPERV

fulumad-a.
finish-3.IND
'All the leaders, took each one all together into the houses and divided up the houses until they all were finished being brought in.'

(13.081)
Na	*ende*	*imal*	*val*	*idede*	*na*	*yung.*
na	*enden*	*imal*	*val*	*id-e~de*	*na*	*yu-ngo*
1SG	also	day	DIST1:LOC	cut-SEQ~CONT	1SG	stand-STAT

'I was also sleeping there and got up.'

(13.082)   *Anama*   *ende*   *val*   *Ivol*   *ende*
           (person.name)   also   DIST1:LOC   (person.name)   also

           yolele   *Patrik*   *hu*   *gomenenga*
           yol-hel-e   *Patrik*   *hu*   *g-o=menenga*
           DIST2.above:LOC-INCH-SEQ   (person.name)   3SG   go-POSB=FUT.SEQ

           tel-o.
           come-POSB
           'Anama and Ivol just up over there with Patrick were going to come.'

(13.083)   *Velme*   *na*   *ende*   *val*   *ge*   *di*   *val*   *idem*
           velme   *na*   *enden*   *val*   *ge-e*   *di*   *val*   *id-e-ma*
           so   1SG   also   DIST1:LOC   go-SEQ   1PL   DIST1:LOC   cut-1/2.IND-DS

           party   *vil-i-me*   *okay*   *di*   *akolog*   *six*   *aklok*   *hindel-o~lo*
           party   do-CLII:REAL-SS   okay   1PL   now   six   o'clock   arrive-POSB~IMPERV

           walk   *ambulele*   *Kakod.*
           walk   *ambul-hel-e*   *Kakod*
           walk   only-INCH-SEQ   (place.name)
           'So I went there and we slept there and had a party, okay we were to arrive at
           six o'clock walking just to Kokoda.'

(13.084)   *Kakod*   *hindel*   *bole*   *valele*   *pastor*   *hul*
           Kakod   *hindel-e*   *bol-e*   *val-hel-e*   *pastor*   *hu-l*
           (place.name)   arrive-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   pastor   3SG-POSS

           em   *di*   *valele*   *andong*   *ideme*   *ende.*
           em   *di*   *val-hel-e*   *and-ong*   *id-e-me*   *enden*
           house   1PL   DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   stay-STAT   cut-SEQ-SS   also
           'First we arrived there at Kokoda and we began staying there at the pastor's
           house (where) we slept.'

(13.085)   *Id-e-me*   *ukala*   *fek*   *had-e,*   *fek*   *had-e*   *di*   *hale*
           cut-SEQ-SS   and.then   return   hit-SEQ   return   hit-SEQ   1PL   young.man

           sol   *van*   *nang*   *ete*   *dil*   *ents*   *nananing*   *ge*
           sol   *van*   *anang*   *et-e*   *di-l*   *em=ts*   *nanan=ing*   *ge*
           youth   that.one   REC   say-SEQ   1PL-POSS   house=LOC   person=PL   DSM

           eta,   *"Telo*   *di*   *mon*   *yomeneng*   *nu*   *mon*
           et-a   *tel-o*   *di*   *moni*   *ye-o=menenga*   *nu*   *moni*
           say-3.IND   come-POSB   1PL   money   get-POSB=FUT.SEQ   2SG   money

           ye   *dil*   *ents*   *gava."*
           ye-e   *di-l*   *em=ts*   *ge-ava*
           get-SEQ   1PL-POSS   house=LOC   go-2PL.IMP
           'After we slept then we returned, that is we young people returned and our
           own people said to us, "Come, let's get money and you all take it home."'

(13.086)

Okay	*di*	*ende*	*val*	*id-e-me*	*ukala*	*fek*	*hade;*	*di*
okay	*di*	*enden*	*val*	*id-e-me*	*ukala*	*fek*	*had-e*	*di*
okay	1PL	also	DIST1:LOC	cut-SEQ-ss	and.then	return	hit-SEQ	1PL

Anama,	*Pita,*	*na,*	*Samson,*	*Emanuel,*
(person.name)	(person.name)	1SG	(person.name)	(person.name)

di	*fek*	*hademe*	*sume*	*da*	*ge*	*money*	*yeyung*
di	*fek*	*had-e-me*	*sum-e*	*da*	*ge*	*money*	*ye-e~ye-ung*
1PL	return	hit-SEQ-ss	walk-SEQ	1DL	DSM	money	get-SEQ~IMPERV-NOM

valele	*freezer*	*meat*	*ende*	*ge*	*sipsip*	*hul*	*and*
val-hel-e	*freezer*	*meat*	*enden*	*ge*	*sipsip*	*hu-l*	*and*
DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ	freezer	meat	also	DSM	sheep	3SG-POSS	thing

and-e-n=a?
stay-SEQ-LINK=Q

'Okay, we slept there and then returned; Anama, Peter, Samson, Emmanuel and I, we returned walking and we were there getting the money just there and got freezer meat, some kind of sheep, no?'

(13.087)

Galib	*tul*	*indime*	*okay*	*ye*	*bole*	*yem*
galib	*tul*	*ind-i-me*	*okay*	*ye-e*	*bol-e*	*ye-e-me*
small	buy	give-CLII:REAL-SS	okay	get-SEQ	COMP-SEQ	get-SEQ-CAUS

di	*ende*	*valele*	*val*	*gege*	*gege*
di	*enden*	*val-hel-e*	*val*	*ge-e~ge*	*ge-e~ge*
1PL	also	DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ	DIST1:LOC	go-SEQ-IMPERV	go-SEQ-IMPERV

sume	*sume*	*di*	*hungiti*	*tele*	*di*	*ne.*
sum-e	*sum-e*	*di*	*hung=ti*	*tel-e*	*di*	*ne-e*
walk-SEQ	walk-SEQ	1PL	nose=ALL	come-SEQ	1PL	eat-1/2.IND

'We bought a little and took (it) and we were just going and going there walking and walking and at first came and ate (it).'

(13.088)

Di	*val*	*ende*	*yalo*	*n-e~ne-ma*	*mu*	*ge*	*yalo*	*odel*
di	*val*	*enden*	*yalov*	*ne-e~ne-ma*	*mu*	*ge*	*yalov*	*odel*
1PL	DIST1:LOC	also	food	eat-SEQ~IMPERV-DS	3PL	DSM	food	where

hulin	*ama.*
hulin	*a-me-a*
pot	DIR-put-3.IND

'We were there eating food and then that is where they put food in pots.'

(13.089)

Hulin	*amome*	*bole*	*dini*	*mon*	*ende*
hulin	*a-me-o-me*	*bol-e*	*di-ni*	*moni*	*enden*
pot	DIR-put-POSB-SS	COMP-SEQ	1PL-EMPH	money	also

meme   *money*   *siksti*   *kina.*
me-e~me   money   siksti   kina
put-SEQ~IMPERV   money   60   kina
'We put it in the pot and we also put in (our) money–K60.'

(13.090) *Et*   *okay*   *yi*   *ge*   *busal*   *hetel*   *yini*   *family*
et-a   okay   yi   ge   busal   he-tel-e   yi-ni   family
say-3.IND   okay   2PL   DSM   far   ELEV-come-SEQ   2PL-EMPH   family

indi,   *bul*   *fuditi*   *hetelena?*
ind-i   bul   fud=ti   he-tel-e-n=a?
give-CLII:REAL   land   wild=ALL   ELEV-come-SEQ-LINK=Q
'They said that you came up from far away and you can give it to your family, you came up through the wild land, no?'

(13.091) *Velima*   *mu*   *ge*   *siksti*   *kina*   *hel-a-ma*   *di*
so.that   3PL   DSM   60   kina   become-3.IND-DS   1PL

ye   *bolena?*
ye-e   bol-e=na
get-SEQ   COMP-SEQ-Q
'So K60 was gathered and we took it, no?'

(13.092) *Di*   *ye*   *bole*   *di*   *ge*   *heng*   *Avets,*
di   ye-e   bol-e   di   ge   he-ge-e   Ave=ts
1PL   get-SEQ   COMP-SEQ   1PL   DSM   ELEV-go-SEQ   (place.name)=LOC

heng   *di*   *ge*   *omel*   *gadi.*
he-ge-e   di   ge   omel   ge-adi
ELEV-go-SEQ   1PL   DSM   DIST2:LOC   go-CLI:IRR
'We took (it) and we went up to Ave, we went up and were trying to go over there.'

(13.093) *Gogo*   *sum*   *val*   *sum*   *alan*   *heng*   *di*   *ge*
ge-o~go   sum   val   sum   alan   he-ge-e   di   ge
go-POSB~IMPERV   walk   DIST1:LOC   walk   ridge   ELEV-go-SEQ   1PL   DSM

hud   *bol-e*   *fek*   *had-e.*
fear   COMP-SEQ   return   hit-1/2.IND
'We were going along walking there, walking up the ridge and we were afraid and we came back.'

(13.094) *Ge*   *val*   *an*   *had-o~do.*
DSM   DIST1:LOC   man   hit-POSB~IMPERV
'People were being killed there.'

(13.095) *Et-a,*   *"Yi*   *owal*   *Woitap*   *Goilala*   *owal*
say-3.IND   2PL   PROX1:LOC   (place.name)   (place.name)   PROX1:LOC

an   had-a."
man   hit-3.IND
'They said, "You here Woitap (Woitape) Goilalas kill people."'

(13.096) *Eta,   "Owalele   yil   buti   nanan   yi*
          et-a   owal-hel-e   yi-l   bul=ti   nanan   yi
          say-3.IND   PROX1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   2PL-POSS land=ALL person 2PL

          owal   an   had-a-ma   okay   an   hu-l   van
          PROX1:LOC   man   hit-3.IND-DS okay   man   3SG-POSS   that.one

          had-a-ma   velima   di   hud   bol-e-n=a?
          hit-3IND-DS   so.that   1PL   fear   COMP-SEQ-LINK=Q
          'They said, "Just here, one of your own (lit. your place person) killed
          someone here and since that one was killed we are afraid, no?'

(13.097) *Ve   di   hud   bole   hengege.*
          ve   di   hud   bol-e   he-ge-e~ge
          so   1PL fear COMP-SEQ   ELEV-go-SEQ~IMPERV
          'So we were afraid and went up.'

(13.098) *Andalo?!*
          andal-yo
          what-VOC
          'What?!'

(13.099) *Di   hud   bol-e   fek   had-e   tel-e."*
          1PL fear COMP-SEQ   return hit-SEQ come-SEQ
          'We were afraid and came back."'

(13.100) *Enden   okay   owalele   Anama   Somba   hul*
          enden   okay   owal-hel-e   Anama   Somba   hu-l
          also   okay   PROX1:LOC-INCH-SEQ   (person.name) (person.name) 3SG-POSS

          eb=a?
          in.law
          'And okay just here was Anama Somba's in-law, no?'

(13.101) *Dil   eb   ende   val   yu   alime   et,*
          di-l   eb   enden   val   yu   al-i-me   et-e
          1PL-POSS in.law also   DIST1:LOC stand see-CLII:REAL-SS say-SEQ

          "Yini   ge   seb   ongo-l=a?
          2PL-EMPH   DSM   betel.pepper.vine   some-LINK=Q
          'We saw our in-law standing there and he said, "Do you have
          any betel pepper vine?"'

(13.102)
Okay	*yi-ni*	*ge*	*tel-o=menenga*	*na*	*ge*	*yi*	*talaka*
okay	2PL-EMPH	DSM	come-POSB=FUT.SEQ	1SG	DSM	2PL	car

yeye	*bo*	*omel*	*Mamba*	*omel*
ye-e~ye	*bol-ø*	*omel*	*Mamba*	*omel*
get-SEQ~IMPERV	COMP-HYPOTH	DIST2:LOC	(place name)	DIST2:LOC

me	*hindele.*
me-e	*hindel-e*
put-SEQ	arrive-1/2.IND

'Okay, you will come and then I will take you in my car way over there to Mamba.'

(13.103)
Di	*gege*	*sum*	*sum*	*sum*	*omel*
di	*ge-e~ge*	*sum-e*	*sum-e*	*sum-e*	*omel*
1PL	go-SEQ~IMPERV	walk-SEQ	walk-SEQ	walk-SEQ	DIST2:LOC

owafutula?
owafu=tu-l=a?
bridge=ADESS-LINK=Q

'We were going walking, walking, walking way over there to the bridge, no?'

(13.104)
Kugul	*agan*	*talak*	*obel*	*walk*	*ibel*	*ge*
kugul	*agan*	*talak*	*obel*	*walk*	*ibel*	*ge-e*
nearby	DIM	car	PROX2:LOC	walk	PROX2.below:LOC	go-1/2.IND

ve	*dini*	*ende*	*ge*	*gege*	*enti*	*me.*
ve	*di-ni*	*enden*	*ge*	*ge-e~ge*	*em=ti*	*me-e*
so	1PL-EMPH	also	DSM	go-SEQ~IMPERV	house=ALL	put-1/2.IND

'A car was quite nearby right here and we walked down here so we were going to the village.'

(13.105)
Velma	*di*	*ant*	*haluv*	*di*	*ende*	*five*	*kina*	*five*	*kina*
velma	*di*	*and*	*haluv*	*di*	*enden*	*five*	*kina*	*five*	*kina*
so.that	1PL	thing	all	1PL	also	five	kina	five	kina

mu	*indi*	*val*	*di*	*ende*	*ge*
mu-	*ind-i*	*val*	*di*	*enden*	*ge*
3PL-	give-CLII:REAL	DIST1:LOC	1PL	also	DSM

imele	*hindele.*
im-hel-e	*hindel-e*
DIST2.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ	arrive-1/2.IND

'So all of us each gave them K5 and we first arrived down there.'

(13.106)
Popondetta	*town*	*sipsip*	*val*	*hindel-e*	*bole*	*di*
(place.name)	town	sheep	DIST1:LOC	arrive-SEQ	COMP-SEQ	1PL

valele	*ye*	*heme*	*ovo*	*fal*	*di*	*ende*
val-hel-e	*ye-e*	*hem-e*	*ovo*	*fal*	*di*	*enden*
DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ	get-SEQ	shoot-SEQ	PROX1:DEM	ground	1PL	also

obel	*gegema*	*di*	*ge*	*val*	*gege*	*walk*
obel	*ge-e~ge-ma*	*di*	*ge*	*val*	*ge-e~ge*	*walk*
PROX2:LOC	go-SEQ~IMPERV-DS	1PL	DSM	DIST1:LOC	go-SEQ~IMPERV	walk

omel	*di*	*churching*	*ok*	*val*	*heleme*	*mu*
omel	*di*	*church=ing*	*oki*	*val*	*hel-e-me*	*mu*
DIST2:LOC	1PL	church=PL	fire	DIST1:LOC	become-SEQ-SS	3PL

indima	*di*	*ende*	*me*	*Deov*	*hul*	*glory.*
ind-i-ma	*di*	*enden*	*me-e*	*Deov*	*hu-l*	*glory*
give-CLII:REAL-DS	1PL	also	put-SEQ	God	3SG-POSS	glory

'Popondetta town sheep just arrived here and we got them and distributed (lit. shot) them there and we were going right here at this place here and we church people were walking over there and were given fire and they gave it to us and we gave God glory (lit. put it to the glory).'

(13.107)
Popondetta	*town*	*mul*	*an*	*ende*	*Christian*	*pastor*	*ende*	*ge*
Popondetta	*town*	*mu-l*	*an*	*enden*	*Christian*	*pastor*	*enden*	*ge*
(place.name)	town	3PL-POSS	man	also	Christian	pastor	also	DSM

deacon,	*elders*	*ende*	*ant*	*halu.*
deacon	*elders*	*enden*	*and*	*haluv*
deacon	elders	also	thing	all

'In Popondetta town there were Christian pastors and deacons and elders and everyone.'

(13.108)
Ant	*haluv*	*hindeleme*	*bolema?*
and	*haluv*	*hindel-e-me*	*bol-e-m=a*
thing	all	come.out-SEQ-SS	COMP-SEQ-LINK=Q

'Everyone all came out, no?'

(13.109)
Hindel	*em*	*dal*	*huni*	*eta*	*ve*	*eta.*
hindel-e	*em*	*dal*	*hu-ni*	*et-a*	*ve*	*et-a*
come.out-SEQ	house	who	3SG-EMPH	say-3.IND	so	say-3.IND

'The houses they came out of were so called.'

(13.110)
Goilala=ing	*ted-e*	*di-ni*	*van*	*hu-l*	*lait*
Goilala=PL	say-SEQ	1PL-EMPH	that	3SG-POSS	lamp

hul	*samen*	*inog*	*ende*	*city*	*di*	*val*	*henga,*
hu-l	*samen*	*inog*	*enden*	*city*	*di*	*val*	*he-ge-a*
3SG-POSS	light	big	also	city	1PL	DIST1:LOC	ELEV-go-3.IND

heng	*dil*	*iyats*	*yemali*	*Pastor*	*Barry*
he-ge-e	*di-l*	*iyal=ts*	*ye-e=mali*	*Pastor*	*Barry*
ELEV-go-SEQ	1PL-POSS	hand=LOC	get-SEQ=SIM	pastor	(person.name)

hindel	*ende*	*dil*	*iyats*	*yema*	*di*	*ye*
hindel-e	*enden*	*di-l*	*iyal=ts*	*ye-e-ma*	*di*	*ye-e*
come.out-SEQ	also	1PL-POSS	hand=LOC	get-SEQ-DS	1PL	get-SEQ

sidimali	*enden*	*eto,*	*"Yi*	*ende*	*sog*	*ala*	*sumema*
sid-i=mali	*enden*	*et-o*	*yi*	*enden*	*sog*	*ala*	*sum-e-ma*
hug-REAL=SIM	also	say-POSB	2PL	also	leg	INSTR	walk-SEQ-DS

yil	*hod*	*ge*	*fuful*	*meme."*
yi-l	*hod*	*ge*	*fuful*	*me-e~me*
2PL-POSS	skin	DSM	pain	put-SEQ-IMPERV

'The Goilalas said that we would go back to that one there toward the lights of the city, and shake hands with Pastor Barry who came out and shook our hands and hugged us and said, "You walked by foot and your body is in pain/sore."'

(13.111)

Di	*et-e,*	*"Todi."*
1PL	say-1/2.IND	yes

'We said, "Yes."'

(13.112)

Di	*heng*	*yol*	*heng*	*val*	*ents*
di	*he-ge-e*	*yol*	*he-ge-e*	*val*	*em=ts*
1P	ELEV-go-SEQ	DIST2.above:LOC	ELEV-go-SEQ	DIST1:LOC	house=LOC

and-e~de	*et-a,*	*"Di*	*obel*	*av*	*ted-e-me*
stay-SEQ~IMPERV	say-3.IND	1PL	PROX2:LOC	word	say-SEQ-SS

andeme	*okay,"*	*eta*	*amul*	*el*	*an*	*ge*	*keda*	*yemali*
and-e-me	*okay*	*et-a*	*amul*	*el*	*an*	*ge*	*keda*	*ye-e=mali*
stay-SEQ-SS	okay	say-IND	woman	and	man	DSM	bed	get-SEQ=SIM

ta	*keda*	*galib*	*huwan.*
but	bed	small	nothing

'We went up over there up there in the house there and stayed saying, "We were staying right here speaking," and said the people have taken beds, and the beds are not small/a few.'

(13.113)

Yu	*mu*	*eta,*	*"Di*	*indima*	*di*	*ye*	*bole*
yu	*mu*	*et-a*	*di*	*ind-i-ma*	*di*	*ye-e*	*bol-e*
stand	3PL	say-3.IND	1PL	give-CLII:REAL-DS	1PL	get-SEQ	COMP-SEQ

ende	*dil*	*em*	*hene*	*sesada*	*tey."*
enden	*di-l*	*em*	*hene*	*sesada*	*tey*
also	1PL-POSS	house	some	long	true

'They stood and said, "Give them to us and we will take them as some of our houses are very long."'

(13.114)

Velma	*di*	*yevel*	*ang-e-me*	*di*	*ge*	*tel-e*
so.that	1PL	PROX2.above:LOC	remain-SEQ-SS	1PL	DSM	come-SEQ

hod   *ende*   *ge*   *ibelele.*
hod   *enden*   *ge*   *ibel-hel-e*
skin   also   DSM   PROX2.below:LOC-INCH-SEQ
'So we stayed right up here and we came and bodies were just down there.'

(13.115)   *Hu*   *im*   *ang-e-ma*   *ge*   *talel*   *full* *tey,* *ge*
               3SG DIST2.below:LOC remain-SEQ-DS DSM forever full true have

              tel-e   *hindel-a.*
              come-SEQ   come.out-3.IND
              'He stayed down here and it was really full and was coming out.'

(13.116)   *Hindelema*   *heneng* *ende*   *konati*   *val*   *idede,*
            hindel-e-ma   *heneng* *enden* *kona=ti*   *val*   *id-e~de*
            come.out-SEQ- DS some   also   corner=ALL DIST1:LOC cut-SEQ~IMPERV

            ende   *nal*   *kigin*   *keda* *ende*   *an*   *ant* *halu* *keda*
            enden *na-l*   *kigin*   *keda* *enden* *an*   *and* *haluv* *keda*
            also   1SG-POSS different bed   also   man thing all   bed

            fidafidan   *ya.*
            fidan~fidan   *ye-a*
            DISTR~one   get-3.IND
            'We came out and some were sleeping there in the corner, and I had my own bed and everyone else each had their own bed.'

(13.117)   *Na-ni*   *sal* *hel-e.*
            1SG-EMPH sick become-1/2.IND
            'I was getting sick.'

(13.118)   *Robert,*   *nani*   *sal*   *hele*   *gegema,*   *tu*
            Robert   *na-ni*   *sal*   *hel-e*   *ge-e~ge-ma*   *tu*
            (person.name) 1SG-EMPH sick become-SEQ go-SEQ~IMPERV-DS two

            wiks   *na*   *val*   *sal*   *hel-e.*
            weeks   1SG   DIST1:LOC   sick   become-SEQ
            'Robert, I was getting sick for some time (lit. going on), I was just sick there for two weeks.'

(13.119)   *Em*   *bole*   *na*   *ende*   *val*   *pelen*   *yena?*
            em   *bol-e*   *na*   *enden* *val*   *pelen*   *ye-e-n=a*
            house leave-SEQ 1SG   also   DIST1:LOC aeroplane get-SEQ-LINK=Q
            'I left the house and I got a plane, no?'

(13.120)   *Air.Niugini* *gomali,*   *muni*   *ge*   *hetela.*
            Air.Niugini *ge-o=mali*   *mu-ni*   *ge*   *he-tel-a*
            (name)   go-POSB=SIM   3PL-EMPH have   ELEV-come-3.IND
            'While going by Air Niugini they came up.'

(13.121)　*Mu-ni　　ge　　hetel　　　　tavon　fek　　had　　mul　　is*
　　　　　mu-ni　　ge　　he-tel-e　　　tavon　fek　　had-e　mu-l　　is
　　　　　3PL-EMPH　DSM　ELEV-come-SEQ　again　return　hit-SEQ　3PL-POSS　space

　　　　　ala　walk　ye　　bole　　　heteladia?
　　　　　ala　walk　y-ee　bol-e　　　he-tel-adi=a
　　　　　and　walk　get-SEQ　COMP-SEQ　ELEV-come-CLI:IRR=Q
　　　　　'They came up and came back walking the same way to come up, no?'

(13.122)　*Et-e　　　om　　　Silim=ts　　　hindel　owal　　　tel-adi.*
　　　　　say-SEQ　DIST2:LOC　(place.name)=LOC　arrive　PROX1:LOC　come-CLI:IRR
　　　　　'They were trying to come out over there at Silim (Chirime) and arrived here.'

(13.123)　*Muni　　　telomali　　　nani　　　valele　　　　pelen*
　　　　　mu-ni　　tel-o=mali　　na-ni　　val-hel-e　　　pelen
　　　　　3PL-EMPH　come-POSB=SIM　1SG-EMPH　DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ　aeroplane

　　　　　ye　　bole　　　im　　　　Moresby　　silol　ye.
　　　　　ye-e　bol-e　　　im　　　　Moresby　　silol　ye-e
　　　　　get-SEQ　COMP-SEQ　DIST2.below:LOC　(place.name)　jump　get-SEQ
　　　　　'While they came I took the plane just back there and landed down there in Port Moresby.'

(13.124)　*Silol　ye　　valele　　　　tavon　ende　val　　　sal*
　　　　　silol　ye-e　val-hel-e　　　tavon　enden　val　　　sal
　　　　　jump　get-SEQ　DIST1:LOC-INCH-SEQ　again　also　DIST1:LOC　sick

　　　　　hel-e~le.
　　　　　become-SEQ~IMPERV
　　　　　'I landed just there and I was still sick.'

(13.125)　*Sal　　owal　　　and-ong　　　and-ong　　　and-ong*
　　　　　illness　PROX1:LOC　stay-SEQ-STAT　stay-SEQ-STAT　stay-SEQ-STAT

　　　　　nal　　　hod　enden　owal　　　ifan　helama　　　na　ende
　　　　　na-l　　hod　enden　owal　　　ifan　hel-a-ma　　na　enden
　　　　　1SG-POSS　skin　also　PROX1:LOC　good　become-3.IND-DS　1SG　also

　　　　　nal　　　family　ende　gema　　　di　　halu　ende　fek　　had
　　　　　na-l　　family　enden　ge-e-ma　　di　　haluv　enden　fek　　had-e
　　　　　1SG-POSS　family　also　go-SEQ-DS　1PL　all　also　return　hit-SEQ

　　　　　he-tel-e.
　　　　　ELEV-come-SEQ
　　　　　'I remained sick here, on and on and then I got well (lit. my body became good) here my family and I went and we all returned.'

(13.126)　*Todi.*
　　　　　yes
　　　　　'Yes.'

(13.127) *Av   huwan.*
       word   nothing
       'My talk is finished.'

4.3 Narrative dialectal variant text 14

This text is of the first person narrative genre (cf. Bradshaw 2007:122–125). It was produced by North/South Udab dialect[29] speaker Theresa Camillo (F, ~12 years old) and written during the vernacular component taught at the Woitape (Fatima mission) community school on 16 April 1997. The author tells of an incident that occurred at the school. Notice the English code switching for all the borrowed words, including 'ball' (rather than *bol*), 'story' (rather than the word *av* 'word'), 'teacher' (rather than *titiyer*), 'line' (rather than *lain*) and 'stick' (rather than the word *ikol* 'stick') (cf. Bradshaw 2000 and Bradshaw 2021).

(14.01) *Ball   hu-l   story*
      ball   3SG-POSS   story

(14.02) *Alime   ale   soli   ball ye   bole   kolosima*
      Alim   ale   sol=ing   ball ye-e   bol-e   kolos-i-ma
      yesterday   young.man   youth=PL   ball get-SEQ COMP-SEQ play-CLII:REAL-DS

      ale   sol   hene   yu   bole   ball   adama   ball
      ale   sol   hene   yu   bol-e   ball   ad-a-ma   ball
      young.man   youth   some   stand   COMP-SEQ ball   hit-3.IND-DS   ball

      fulima   teacher   yu   bole   bell   adama   di   esing
      ful-i-ma   teacher   yu   bol-e   bell   ad-a-ma   di   es=ing
      fly-CLII:REAL-DS   teacher   stand   COMP-SEQ bell   hit-3.IND-DS   1PL   child=PL

      lainiti   yuma,   teacher   eta,   "Esing   dali   muni   ball
      lain=ti   yu-ma   teacher   et-a   es=ing   dal=ing   mu-ni   ball
      line=ALL   stand-DS   teacher   say-3.IND   child=PL   REL=PL   3PL-EMPH   ball

      ada   kolosi   owal   telava.
      ad-a   kolos-i   owal   tel-ava
      hit-3.IND   play-CLII:REAL   PROX1:LOC   come-2PL.IMP
      'Yesterday the boys took the ball and were playing (with it) and one boy stood and kicked (lit. hit) the ball and the ball went flying and a teacher was standing (there) and rang (lit. hit) a bell and we children stood in line and the teacher said, "The children who played kicking (lit. hitting) the ball come here.'

(14.03) *"Teacher   stick   ye   bole   yi   adodo."*
      teacher   stick   ye-e   bol-e   yi   ad-o~do
      teacher   stick   get-SEQ COMP-SEQ 2PL   hit-POSB~IMPERV
      '"So that the teacher might get a stick and hit you (pl)."'

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[29] Cf. Bradshaw 1994 for further information on dialect classification.

(14.04) *Na-l*   *if*   *u-ni*   *Theresa*   *Camillo.*
        1SG-POSS   name   3SG-EMPH   (person.name)   (person.name)
        'My name is Theresa Camillo.'

4.4 Narrative dialectal variant text 15

This text is a narrative (cf. Bradshaw 2007:122–125). It was produced by a West dialect speaker named Haimbog (M, ~40 years old) and recorded in Mondo village 21 June 1989. The speaker discusses with me, the recorder, recent travels to his village during a dialect survey trip. Some differences between the North/South Udab (or Central Udab) dialects include the items in Table 19 below. Note also the use of what looks to be the stative *-ong* on non-positional verbs (i.e. *et-* 'say' and *s-* 'walk'). It is unclear why; it could instead be instances of nominaliser *-ung*, although that does not seem to fit well. More data is needed.

Table 19: Dialectal variants

West	North/South Udab	Central Udab	Gloss
-iti	*-idi*	*-its*	'CLII:IRR'
=ts	*=ts*	*=ts*	'LOC'
Ai	*E*	*E*	'E'
aib	*hene*	*hene*	'some'
andemain	*anduman*	*anduman*	'whatever'
-ati	*-adi*	*-ats*	'CLI:IRR'
avu	*(ow)al*	*(ow)al*	'here'
-avu	*-ava*	*-ava*	'2PL.IMP'
beis	*bes*	*bes*	'hunger'
bilag	*biyag*	*biyag*	'relative'
Dominiki	Dominik	Dominik	'Sunday'
enekeg	*eneng*	*heneng*	'some (pl)'
ga	*ge*	*ge*	'DSM'
gadin	*hand*	*hand*	'garden'
hatilim	*atilim*	*hatilim*	'dawn'
hel	*el*	*hel*	'become'
hu	*u*	*hu*	'he/she/it'
kagav	*kagavan*	*kagav*	'strong'
Kasmil	*Kasmiro*	*Kasmiro*	'Casmiro'
kup	*kupe*	*kupev*	'sweet potato'
Monde	*Mond*	*Mond*	'Monday'
-na	*-a*	*-a*	'3.IND'
ok(o)	*ongo*	*oko*	'some'
vailma	*velima*	*velima*	'so that'
-vul	*-l*	*-l*	'POSS'
Woitp	*Woitap*	*Woitap*	'Woitape'

The text follows:

(15.01)   *Yi   vomalim   Dominiki=ts   tel-e.*
          2PL   day.before.yesterday   Sunday=LOC   come-1/2.IND
          'The day before yesterday on Sunday you came.'

(15.02)   *Telo   sumong   navul   ents   hindelna.*
          tel-o   sum-ong   na-vul   em=ts   hindel-na
          come-POSB   walk-STAT   1SG-POSS   house=LOC   arrive-1/2.IND?
          'You were walking and arrived at my village (lit. house).'

(15.03)   *Na   va   yi   et,   "Di   beis   it."*
          na   val   yi   et-e   di   beis   it-e
          1SG   there   2PL   say-1.2.IND   "1PL   hunger   cut-1.2.IND
          'I was there and you said, "We slept hungry."'

(15.04)   *Yi   et   di   sumemung   enamb   beis   it.*
          yi   et-e   di   sum-e~me-ung   enamb   beis   it-e
          2PL   say-1/2.IND   1PL   walk-SEQ~IMPERV-NOMZ   road   hunger   cut-1/2.IND
          'You said that you were walking on the road sleeping hungry.'

(15.05)   *Velma   na   et,   "Yi   andemaim   amuli   kup   akan*
          velma   na   et-e   yi   andemaim   amul=ing   kupev   akan
          so.that   1SG   say   2PL   whatever   woman=PL   sweet.potato   DIM

          oko   hulin   amo   yi   ne   bo,   yi   kagav
          oko   hulin   a-me-o   yi   ne-e   bol-Ø   yi   kagav
          some   pot   DIR-put-POSB   2PL   eat-SEQ   COMP-HYPOTH   2PL   strong

          he   bo   ga   go.
          hel-Ø   bol-Ø   ga   ge-o
          become-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   DSM   go-POSB
          'So I said, "Whatever you have let the women put a little sweet potato in a
          pot and then once you have eaten, you will be strengthened so you can go."'

(15.06)   *Yi   gogots   yi   bilag   oko   aib   enamb   huwa*
          yi   ge-o~go-ts   yi   bilag   oko   aib   enamb   huwan
          2PL   go-POSB~CONT-CLII:IRR   2PL   relative   some   some   road   nothing

          gai   yalo   ok   yi   mindati.
          gai   yalov   oko   yi   meme-ind-ati
          DSM   food   some   2PL   NEG-give-CLI:IRR
          'Once you go you don't have any relatives along the road to give you any food.'

(15.07)   *Vailma   yi   Dominikits,   di   ol   yalo   kis   akan*
          vailma   yi   Dominiki=ts   di   yol   yalov   kis   akan
          so.that   2PL   Sunday=LOC   1PL   DIST2.above:LOC   food   little   DIM

ne	*bo,*	*yi*	*te*		*ge.*
ne-e	*bol-e*	*yi*	*tel-e*		*ge-e*
eat-SEQ	COMP-SEQ	2PL	come-SEQ		go-SEQ

'So on Sunday, you would eat a little food way up there, and then come.'

(15.08)

Yi	*so*	*ibel*	*Fan*	*an*	*val*	*its.*
yi	*so-e*	*ibel*	*Fan*	*an*	*val*	*it-ts*
2PL	walk-SEQ	PROX2.below:LOC	(place.name)	that	DIST1:LOC	cut-CLII:IRR

'You walked down here to Fane to sleep.'

(15.09)

Hatilim,	*Monde*	*yi*	*val*	*and-e.*
dawn	Monday	2PL	DIST1:LOC	stay-1/2.IND

'On Monday morning you stayed there.'

(15.10)

Tusde	*yi*	*ga*	*hetele*	*song*	*a*	*Mondots,*
Tusde	*yi*	*ga*	*he-tel-e*	*s-ong*	*al*	*Mondo=ts*
Tuesday	2PL	DSM	ELEV-come-SEQ	walk-STAT	right.here	(place.name)=LOC

hindema	*di*	*ga*	*avu*	*ande*	*av*	*haded.*
hindel-e-ma	*di*	*ga*	*avu*	*and-e*	*av*	*had-e~de*
arrive-SEQ-DS	1PL	DSM	right.here	stay-SEQ	speech	hit-SEQ~IMPERV

'Tuesday you came walking up here to Mondo, and you arrived and we are sitting talking here.'

(15.11)

Na	*ga*	*Halav*	*gats*	*song*	*hindel.*
na	*ga*	*Halav*	*ge-ats*	*s-ong*	*hindel-e*
1SG	DSM	(place.name)	go-CLI:IRR	walk-STAT	arrive-1/2.IND

'I arrived from walking to Halav.'

(15.12)

Vom	*na-vul*	*gadin=iti*	*s-ong*	*bol-e,*
behind.below:LOC	1SG-POSS	garden=LOC	walk-STAT	COMP-SEQ

hindel	*di*	*ga*	*avu*	*Mondots,*	*emits*	*ande*
hindel-e	*di*	*ga*	*avu*	*Mondo=ts*	*em=its*	*and-e*
arrive	1PL	DSM	here.PROX	(place.name)=LOC	house=ALL	stay-SEQ

av	*et-e.*
speech	say-1/2.IND

'I was walking back down there in my garden, and we arrived here in Mondo, (where) we are sitting and talking in the house.'

(15.13)

Yi	*ge*	*tuts*	*Woitap=its.*
2PL	DSM	tomorrow	(place.name)=ALL

'Tomorrow you (will go) to Woitap (Woitape).'

(15.14)

Yi	*heng*	*et*	*an*	*ok*	*enamb*	*yalo*	*oko*
yi	*he-ge-e*	*et-e*	*an*	*oko*	*enamb*	*yalov*	*oko*
2PL	ELEV-go-SEQ	say-SEQ	man	some	road	food	some

yi   mindati.
yi   meme-ind-ati
2PL   NEG-give-CLI:IRR
'You will go up saying that along the road there won't be anyone to give you food.'

(15.15)   *Ole   u-l   bilag   eke,   Ole   u-l   bilag*
(person.name)   3SG-POSS   relative   or   (person.name)   3SG-POSS   relative

oko   alimala   ga   yalo   yindati.
oko   al-i=mala   ga   yalo   yi-ind-ati
some   see-CLII:REAL=COND   DSM   food   2PL-give-CLI:IRR
'Ole's relatives, or if you see (any of) Ole's relatives they will give you food.'

(15.16)   *Avan   go   tun   galib.*
avan   ge-o   tu-ni   galib
PROX1:DEM   go-POSB   3DL-EMPH   little
'Going (with) these two, they are young (lit. little).'

(15.17)   *Balu,   Kigef   tu-ni   an   galib.*
(person.name)   (person.name)   3DL-EMPH   man   little
'Balu and Kigef they two are young (lit. little) men.'

(15.18)   *Tu   hilog   an   ok   sisib   huwa.*
tu   hilog   an   oko   sisiban   huwan
3DL   still   man   some   knowledge nothing
'The two of them still do not know anyone.'

(15.19)   *An   ok   hilog   sisib   huwa.*
an   oko   hilog   sisiban   huwan
man   some   still   knowledge nothing
'They still don't know any men.'

(15.20)   *Ole   enekeg   sisib.*
Ole   enekeg   sisiban
(person.name)   just   knowledge
'Only Ole knows.'

(15.21)   *Ole   ul   bilag   alimala,   yi   ge   yalo*
Ole   u-l   bilag   al-i=malala   yi   ge   yalov
(person.name)   3SG-POSS   relative   see-CLII:REAL=COND   2PL   DSM   food

n-o.
ne-o.
eat-POSB
'If you see any of Ole's relatives then you will have food to eat.'

(15.22)   *Gai   yi   n-o   av   had-o.*
gai   yi   ne-o   av   had-o
DSM   2PL   eat-POSB   speech   hit-POSB
'And once you have eaten then you can talk.'

(15.23) | Huwan | alimala, | | yi | ga | song | tuts | ga |
| huwan | al-i=malala | | yi | ga | s-ong | tuts | ga |
| nothing | see-CLI:REAL=COND | | 2PL | DSM | walk-STAT | tomorrow | DSM |

Woitap=its.
(place.name)=LOC
'If you don't see anyone/anything then tomorrow you will go on to Woitap (Woitape).'

(15.24) | Yo | | Woitapits | hindel, | val | ito. |
| yol | | Woitap=its | hindel-e | val | it-o |
| DIST2.above:LOC | | (place.name)=LOC | arrive-SEQ | DIST1:LOC | cut-POSB |

'Once you arrive in Woitap (Woitape), then you can sleep there.'

(15.25) | Hatili, | yi | ga | Honongits | yil | ents, | yi | ga |
| hatilim | yi | ga | Honong=its | yi-l | em=ts | yi | ga |
| dawn | 2PL | DSM | (place.name)=LOC | 2PL-POSS | house=LOC | 2PL | DSM |

hindel.
hindel-e
arrive-1/2.IND
'In the morning, you will arrive in your village (lit. house) in Honong (Ononge).'

(15.26) | Na-vul | av | Ai | Kasmil, | Kog | tu |
| 1SG-POSS | speech | (person.name) | (person.name) | (person.name) | 3DL |

nang	etats	Ya	om	Haimbog,	Mondots
anang	et-ats	ya	omel	Haimbog	Mondo=ts
REC	say-CLI:IRR	2DL	DIST2:LOC	(person.name)	(place.name)=LOC

| di | and-e | av | et-ong. |
| 1PL | stay-SEQ | speech | say-STAT |

'Tell E Kasmiro and Kog what I say that there in Mondo the two of you stayed and talked to Haimbog.'

(15.27) | Avuv | di | nan | tam | di | hetele | song |
| avuv | di | anang | et-a-ma | di | he-tel-e | s-ong |
| here | 1PL | REC | say-3.IND-ds | 1PL | ELEV-come-SEQ | walk-STAT |

avu.
here
'He told us to come up there (lit. here) and we came walking up here.'

(15.28) | Di | ga | song | avu | enamb | yalo | oko | me |
| di | ga | s-ong | avu | enamb | yalov | oko | me |
| 1PL | DSM | walk-STAT | here | road | food | some | NEG |

n-e.
ne-e
eat-1/2.IND
'We walked here and didn't have any food to eat along the road.'

(15.29) *U-l*   *av*   *isel*   *di*   *s-ong*   *enamb*   *yalo*   *ok*   *me*
          u-l   *av*   *isel-e*   *di*   *s-ong*   *enamb*   *yalov*   *oko*   *me*
          3SG-POSS   speech   follow-SEQ   1PL   walk-STAT   road   food   some   NEG

          n-e.
          ne-e
          eat-1/2.IND
          'We listened to (lit. followed) what he said and we were walking and did not have any food to eat along the road.'

(15.30) *Di*   *ga*   *s-ong*   *avu*   *Woitap=iti*   *em=its.*
          1PL   DSM   walk-STAT   here   (place.name)=LOC   house=LOC
          'We were walking here to the village (lit. house) in Woitap (Woitape).'

(15.31) *Ga*   *vai*   *yalo*   *hen*   *tul*   *ind,*   *nono.*
          ga   *vai*   *yalov*   *hene*   *tul*   *ind-i*   *ne-o~no*
          DSM   there   food   some   sell   give-CLII:REAL   eat-POSB~IMPERV
          'Back there we bought some food to eat.'

(15.32) *Val*   *it.*
          val   *it-e*
          DIST1:LOC   cut-1/2.IND
          'And slept back there.'

(15.33) *Hatilim*   *di*   *g-avu.*
          dawn   1PL   go-1PL.IMP
          'In the morning we will go.'

(15.34) *Navul*   *a*   *gapa.*
          Na-vul   *av*   *ge-apa*
          1SG-POSS   speech   DSM- enough
          'I've finished what I had to say.'

4.5 Procedural text 16

This text below is of the procedural genre (cf. Bradshaw 2007:133). An excerpt from the text, modified following the North/South Udab dialect can be found in Bradshaw (2007:134–135). The whole text is given below in the original Central Udab dialect in which it was recorded. It describes the steps followed in building a typical Fuyug village house. Houses in the Goilala District of Central Province are very distinct from houses found in other parts of the province. They are tall A-frame type structures with walls composed of bent pandanus leaves reaching to the ground. They have no windows, and only a small opening in the front

entrance which is closed off at night to keep out the cold (cf. Bradshaw 1989 for further details). Figure 2 shows a closer view of some houses while Figure 3 shows several houses in a row, showing the courtyard. This text was produced by Honong/Central Udab dialect (Lolof village) speaker Tam Emilian E (M, ~20 years old) and recorded in 1989.[30]

Figure 2: Fuyug houses (1988)

Figure 3: Fuyug houses with courtyard (1989)

(16.01)   *Dini*   *em*   *heladimote*   *ferst*   *bu*   *tomalats.*
          di-ni   *em*   *hel-adi=mote*   *ferst*   *bul*   *tomal-ats*
          1PL-EMPH   house   become-CLI:IRR=DESID   first   land   make-CLI:IRR
          'When we want to build a house, first we prepare (lit. make) the land.'

(16.02)   *Bu*   *toma*   *bo,*   *ise*   *hay*   *muditi.*
          bul   *tomal-ø*   *bol-ø*   *isel-ø*   *hay*   *mud=iti.*
          land   make-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   follow-HYPOTH wall   hole=ALL
          'Once the land is prepared (lit. made), then the walls are erected (in holes).'

(16.03)   *Hay*   *mud*   *flumad*   *bo*   *enden*   *iyo*   *iyaliti.*
          hay   *mud*   *flumad-ø*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *iyov*   *iyal=iti*
          wall   hole   finish-HYPOTH COMP-HYPOTH   also   vine   hand=ALL
          'Once the walls are all erected (lit. holed) then also vines are tied (lit. by hand).'

(16.04)   *Iyo*   *iya*   *bo*   *enden*   *ise*   *duwi*   *ant*
          iyov   *iyal*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *isel-ø*   *duwi*   *and*
          vine   hand   COMP-HYPOTH also   follow-HYPOTH   post   thing

          halu   *muditi.*
          haluv   *mud=iti*
          all   hole=ALL
          'Once the vines are tied then the foundation (lit. posts) is placed.'

(16.05)   *Mud*   *flumad*   *bo,*   *enden*   *ise*   *kended*
          mud   *flumad-ø*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *isel-ø*   *kended*
          hole   finish-HYPOTH COMP-HYPOTH   also   follow-HYPOTH   support

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[30] Note: They are still built in the same manner as can be observed in recent social media posts.

andamati.
and-a-me-ati
stay-3.IND-CAUS-CLI:IRR
'Once all the foundation (lit. posts) is placed (lit. holed), then the supports are erected (lit. placed).'

(16.06) Kended   andam   bo,   enden   ise
   kended   and-a-me-Ø   bol-Ø   enden   isel-Ø
   support   stay-3.IND-CAUS-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   follow-HYPOTH

   em   hul   fodofod   yalimati.
   em   hu-l   fodofod   iyal-i-me-ati
   house   3SG-POSS   roof.support   hand-CLII:VBR-CAUS-CLI:IRR
   'Once the supports are erected (lit. placed), then the house's roof supports are positioned (lit hung).'

(16.07) Fodofod   yalime   hombol   andamati.
   fodofod   iyal-i-me   hombol   and-a-me-ati
   roof.support   hand-CLII:VBR-CAUS   beam   stay-3.IND-CAUS-CLI:IRR
   'Once the roof supports are positioned, the beams are placed.'

(16.08) Hombol   hondof   ye   yali   bo   enden
   hombol   hondof   ye-e   iyal-i   bol-Ø   enden
   beam   floor   get-SEQ   hand-CLII:VBR   COMP-HYPOTH   also

   ise   fodofof   yalimati.
   isel-Ø   fodofof   iyal-i-me-ati
   follow-HYPOTH   roof.support   hand-CLII:VBR-CAUS-CLI:IRR
   'The floor beams are placed and then the roof supports are positioned.'

(16.09) Yalim   flumad   bol   ende   hombol
   iyal-i-me   flumad-Ø   bol-Ø   enden   hombol
   hand-CLII:VBR-CAUS   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   beam

   folats.
   fol-ats
   shell-CLI:IRR
   'Once they are all positioned then the beams are stripped (of bark) (lit. shelled).'

(16.10) Hombol   ant   halu   fol   flumad   bol   enden
   hombol   and   haluv   fol-Ø   flumad-Ø   bol-Ø   enden
   beam   thing   all   shell-HYPOTH   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also

   ant   halu   gadeliti.
   and   haluv   gadel-iti
   thing   all   tie-CLI:IRR
   'Once all the beams are stripped (of bark) (lit. shelled), then everything is tied (together).'

(16.11) *Fodofod*   *yalim*   *bo*   *gadeliti.*
       fodofod   *iyal-i-m*   *bol-ø*   *gadel-iti*
       roof.support   hand-CLII:VBR-CAUS   COMP-HYPOTH   tie-CLII:IRR
       'The positioned roof supports are tied.'

(16.12) *Gadel*   *flumad*   *bo,*   *ende*   *tanguf*   *gadeliti.*
       gadel-ø   *flumad-ø*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *tanguf*   *gadel-iti*
       tie-HYPOTH   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   roof   tie-CLII:IRR
       'Once the tying is completed, then the roof is tied.'

(16.13) *Tanguf*   *gadel*   *flumad*   *bo,*   *ende*   *hengal*
       tanguf   *gadel-ø*   *flumad-ø*   *bo-ø*   *enden*   *hengal*
       roof   tie-HYPOTH   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   rafter

       hidats.
       hid-ats
       set-CLI:IRR
       'Once the roof tying is all completed, then the rafters are cut.'

(16.14) *Hengal*   *hid*   *flumad*   *bo,*   *ende*   *gufal*
       hengal   *hid-ø*   *flumad-ø*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *gufal*
       rafter   set-HYPOTH   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   pandanus.leaf

       had   *te*   *bo*   *hemats.*
       had-ø   *tel-ø*   *bol-ø*   *hem-ats*
       hit-HYPOTH   come-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   shoot-CLI:IRR
       'Once the rafters are all cut, then the pandanus leaves are split (lit. hit come)
       and inserted (lit. shot).'

(16.15) *Hem*   *flumad*   *bo,*   *ende*   *yol*   *tanguf*
       hem-ø   *flumad-ø*   *bol-ø*   *enden*   *yol*   *tanguf*
       shoot-HYPOTH   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   DIST2.above:LOC   roof

       is=iti.
       is=ti
       space=ALL
       'Once the insertion is all completed, then the roof is in place up over there.'

(16.16) *Tanguf*   *is*   *flumad*   *bo,*   *ende*   *hul*   *londiti*
       tanguf   *is*   *flumad-ø*   *bo-ø*   *enden*   *hu-l*   *lond=ti*
       roof   space   finish-HYPOTH   COMP-HYPOTH   also   3SG-POSS   interior=ALL

       hondof   *had-ats.*
       floor   hit-CLI:IRR
       'Once the roof is all positioned, then the floor is erected (lit. hit) inside.'

(16.17) *Hondof*   *tomal-ats.*
       floor   make-CLI:IRR
       'The floor is made.'

(16.18) | *Henang* | *id* | *ye* | *hete* | *bo.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *henang* | *id-Ø* | *ye-e* | *he-tel-Ø* | *bol-Ø* |
| reed | cut-HYPOTH | get-SEQ | ELEV-come-HYPOTH | COMP-HYPOTH |

'Reeds are cut and brought up.'

(16.19) | *Komam* | *id* | *hete* | *bo* | *mats.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *komam* | *id-Ø* | *he-tel-Ø* | *bol-Ø* | *me-ats* |
| support | cut-HYPOTH | ELEV-come-HYPOTH | COMP-HYPOTH | put-CLI:IRR |

'Supports are cut and brought up and placed (inside).'

(16.20) | *Me* | *bo* | *ende* | *henang* | *id* | *ye* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *me-e* | *bol-Ø* | *enden* | *henang* | *id-Ø* | *ye-e* |
| put-SEQ | COMP-HYPOTH | also | reed | cut-HYPOTH | get-SEQ |

hete	*gadeliti.*
he-tel-Ø	*gadel-iti.*
ELEV-come-HYPOTH	tie-CLII:IRR

'Once they are placed, then the reeds are cut, brought up (inside) and tied.'

(16.21) | *Gadel* | *flumad* | *bo,* | *koto* | *ende* | *dib* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *gadel-Ø* | *flumad-Ø* | *bol-Ø* | *koto* | *enden* | *dib* |
| tie-HYPOTH | finish-HYPOTH | COMP-HYPOTH | and.then | also | wall |

hul-its.
erect-CLII:IRR

'Once the tying is completed, then the walls (of the house) are erected.'

(16.22) | *Last* | *dib* | *hul-its.* |
|---|---|---|
| last | wall | erect-CLII:IRR |

'Last the walls are built (the house).'

(16.23) | *Dib* | *hul* | *bo,* | *ende* | *foy* | *yats.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *dib* | *hul-Ø* | *bol-Ø* | *enden* | *foy* | *yw-ats* |
| wall | erect-HYPOTH | COMP-HYPOTH | also | ash | get-CLI:IRR |

'Once the wall are erected (the house), then ashes are brought (in)'

(16.24) | *Foy* | *ye* | *flumad* | *bo,* | *imal* | *itats.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *foy* | *ye-e* | *flumad-Ø* | *bol-Ø* | *imal* | *it-ats* |
| ash | get-SEQ | finish-HYPOTH | COMP-HYPOTH | day | cut-CLI:IRR |

'Once the ashes are all brought (in), we will sleep (in it).'

(16.25) | *Dini* | *velele;* | *gig.* |
|---|---|---|
| *di-ni* | *vel-hel-e* | *gig* |
| 1PL-EMPH | like-INCH-1/2.IND | enough |

'That is just what we are like; that's all (lit. enough).'

4.6 Epistolary text 17

This text is a report written to the presiding parish priest at the Ononge mission station on 31 March 1981. The catechist, named Cyprian Asin (M, age unknown) was based at the village

of Elevala, most likely located in the North/South Udab dialect area. (Cf. Bradshaw 2007:125–128 for a comparable epistolary sub-genre example.) Unfortunately, it was not a very positive report.

(17.01) *Na   ge   Jesu   hu-l   av   me   na   et-e.*
1SG   DSM   (person.name)   3SG-POSS   word   NEG   1SG   say-1/2.IND
'I did not preach (say) Jesus (God)'s word.'

(17.02) *Melek   me   me.*
melek   me   me-e
plate   NEG   put-1/2.IND
'I did not put (out the offering) plate.'

(17.03) *Av   an   kusi   me   yalame.*
av   an   kus-i   me   yalam-e
word   person   pour-CLII:VBR   NEG   teach-1/2.IND
'I did not preach (lit. pour out) the word to anyone.'

(17.04) *Deov hu-l   av   es=ing   me   yalam-e.*
God   3SG-POSS   word   child=PL   NEG   teach-1/2.IND
'I did not teach (any) children God's word.'

(17.05) *Na   ge   an   alidimote   em   me   ge   enden eklesia*
na   ge   an   al-idi=mote   em   me   ge-e   enden eklesia
1SG   DSM   person   see-CLII:IRR=DESID   house   NEG   go-SEQ   also   church

hu-l   komiti   me   al-i;   es   sesen me   hel-a;
3SG-POSS   committee   NEG   see-CLII:REAL   child   birth   NEG   become-3.IND

amul   el   an   number   me   yed-e.
woman   and   man   number   NEG   call-1/2.IND
'I didn't go try to see anyone in their houses and also I didn't see the church committee; no children were born; I didn't call the people's number.'

(17.06) *An   number Deo   hongol av   hade   ete   me   me*
an   number Deov hongol av   had-e   et-e   me   me-e
person   number God   near   word   hit-SEQ   say-SEQ   NEG   put-SEQ

tel-a.
come-3.IND
'The number of people God's word was preached to was not recorded.'

(17.07) *Sal   helel   aning   ende   buka mu   ange*
sal   hel-e~le   an=ing   enden buka mu   ang-e
illness   become-SEQ~IMPERV   person=PL   also   book   3PL   remain-1/2.IND

      me   ge.
      me   ge-e
      NEG   go-1/2.IND
      'Those who were becoming ill were also not recorded in the book.'

(17.08) *An   ongo   us   me   ang-a.*
        person some death NEG remain-3.IND
        'No one died.'

5.   Conclusion

My involvement in language development and linguistic analysis with the Fuyug language speaking community took place from 1988–2000. Since that time I have met speakers in Port Moresby on a few occasions and have been in correspondence with one speaker via social media since 2019. Other than that, I have not had any other interaction since 2000.

A brief grammar of the language was published 18 years ago (Bradshaw 2007b); it was felt that it would be a valuable endeavour to attempt an update through analysis of several texts. Such an analysis was enhanced by further research into other Papuan (and specifically Southeast Papuan) languages conducted since that time in conjunction with the investigation into 15 interlinearised texts of approximately 50 pages. These texts include mainly short first person narratives (§4.1.1–§4.1.12) in one dialect (Central Udab) as well as a longer narrative of 127 lines (§4.2) and a shorter narrative (§4.3) in a second dialect (North/South Udab). Another narrative (§4.4) in a third dialect (West) was also included. The remaining texts include a procedural text in the Central Udab dialect (§4.5) and a written report (epistolary genre) in the North/South Udab dialect (§4.6). Unfortunately texts in other genres were no longer accessible.

In working through these texts, I was able to update the grammatical description. The description was preceded by an introduction (§1) and some background history (§2). The very brief sketch (§3), of approximately 39 pages, covered four areas: 1) phonology and morphophonemics (§3.1), 2) orthography (§3.2), 3) word classes (§3.3) and 4) clauses (§3.4). There were no significant changes in the first two areas since the 2007 analysis. In the third areas there were some changes to demonstratives (§3.3.1.2) and locatives (§3.3.1.3), as well as some further details added for nouns (§3.3.2.1) and adjectives (§3.3.2.2). Slight changes were also in order for the verbs (§3.3.2.3), especially as there were areas that were unclear in the previous morphological analysis. The texts from other dialects proved especially insightful for the final verb morphology (cf. Table 16): specifically irrealis reality status and stative mood. The assumptive (Bradshaw 2007b:71) was reanalysed as the stative and the

participle (Bradshaw 2007b:75) as nominalisation (cf. Derivational process). A most helpful addition to this new analysis was the inchoative aspectual marker (cf. Aspect), especially in light of its high frequency in the longer narrative text (§4.2).

Each text was introduced by some brief biographical details and topics of interest relative to the particular text. Following the texts and these concluding remarks is the appendix. There one will find an index of the texts.

While most of the analysis remains unchanged, it has proved particularly beneficial to those areas which were previously unclear. It has also been cathartic to interact with these texts after such a long hiatus.

Appendix

The appendix includes an index of the texts exemplified in this paper. The index provides details on the genre, speaker (or author), year the audio file or text was recorded as well as further information on the recording itself, including source file name and location (starting and ending points) and length of the audio recordings.

Number	Genre	Speaker/*Author*	Year/date	Source information	Start	End	Total
1.	First person narrative	Vali Kasmiro	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 001-007	10:02	10:42	0:40
2.	First person narrative	Vali Kasmiro	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 008-010	10:45	11:03	0:18
3.	First person narrative	Tom Emilian E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 011-043	11:06	12:42	1:36
4.	First person narrative	Vali Kasmiro	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 044-063	12:43	14:42	2:06
5.	First person narrative	Kasmiro E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 064-072	14:50	15:51	1:01
6.	First person narrative	Tom Emilian E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 073-076	15:55	16:17	0:22
7.	First person narrative	Tom Emilian E	1988	AR07B; 77DX.itx cl 077-090	16:20	17:26	1:06
8.	First person narrative	Tom Emilian E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 091-096	17:30	18:11	0:46
9.	First person narrative	Kasmiro E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 097-108	18:15	19:02	0:47
10.	First person narrative	(female)	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 109-113	19:03	19:33	0:30
11.	First person narrative	Tom Emilian E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 114-120	19:36	20:06	0:30
12.	First person narrative	Sud E	1988	AR077B; 77DX.itx cl 121-129	20:07	20:49	0:42
13.	First person narrative	(male)	31-Dec-1991	SA90; SA90-04.txt	05:42	16:37	10:55
14.	Narrative (dialect variant)	*Theresa Camillo*	16-Apr-1997	BALL01.txt			
15.	Narrative (dialect variant)	Haimbog	21-Jun-1989	AW087A061-087	05:18	07:29	2:11
16.	Procedural	Tom Emilian E	02-Jul-	AU188A041-	03:42	05:40	1:58

Number	Genre	Speaker/*Author*	Year/date	Source information	Start	End	Total
			1989	063; 188.itx cl 038-067			
17.	Epistolary	*Cyprian Asin*	31-Mar-1981				
							16:16

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