Tense, Aspect and Modality in Bargam

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1   Overview of the Bargam Verb

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

The formulae for final and medial verbs in Bargam final verb are given in 1.[2]

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[2]   The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

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

Pronouns are glossed by '1', '2', '3', or '2/3' (non-first person) for person and 's' or 'p' for singular and plural.

1) Final Verb: ±PERF.ASP. ±OCR +Verb stem +TENSE/MODE +PERSON/NUMBER
    Medial Verb: ±PERF.ASP. ±OCR +Verb stem +SWR/MODE ±EMPH

All verbs, both final and medial, may take the perfect aspect prefix *ti-* ~ *tu-*.[3] All transitive verbs also take an object cross referencing prefix (OCR) agreeing in person and number with the object. The OCR prefixes are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1: OBJECT CROSS REFERENCING PREFIX SET

	Sg	Pl
1st person	*i-*	
2nd person	*ni-*	*gi-*
3rd person	*ø*	

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

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

TABLE 2: SWITCH REFERENCE/MODE SUFFIX SET

	SS	DS
imperfective, realis	*-ad*	*-sa*
perfective, realis	*-im*	*-an*
perfective, irrealis	*-eq*	*-id*

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

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

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[3] See section 4 for a brief discussion of the perfect aspect marker *ti-*.

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

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

2   The Bargam TAM System

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

2.1   Tense in Bargam

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

previous to...	present moment	...subsequent to
Past perfective	Present	Future
Past imperfective		

Present time is encoded by the verb stem plus person/number suffixation as shown in the paradigms of *os* 'sit' and *neq* 'eat' in Table 3.

TABLE 3: PRESENT TENSE

	sit	eat
1 sg	os-aiq	neq-aiq
2/3 sg	os-aq	neq-aq
1 pl	os-auq	neq-auq
2/3 pl	os-ay	neq-ay

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

TABLE 4: PAST PERFECTIVE TENSE

	sit	eat
1 sg	os	ne-y
2/3 sg	os	na-m
1 pl	os	ne-w
2/3 pl	os-iy	neq-iy

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

TABLE 5: PAST IMPERFECTIVE TENSE

	sit	eat
1 sg	os-y-aiq	neq-y-aiq
2/3 sg	os-y-aq	neq-y-aq
1 pl	os-y-auq	neq-y-auq
2/3 pl	os-y-aqay	neq-y-aqay

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

TABLE 6: FUTURE TENSE

	sit	eat
1 sg	*os-d-aiq*	*neq-d-aiq*
2/3 sg	*os-d-aq*	*neq-d-aq*
1 pl	*os-am*	*neq-am*
2/3 pl	*os-d-aqay*	*neq-d-aqay*

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

1) *Ya   kabiy-ab   leh-$\emptyset_1$-aiq.*   Present
   1s   garden-DAT   go-PR-1s

   'I am going to the garden.'

2) *Ya   kabiy-ab   leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*   Past perfective
   1s   garden-DAT   go-PA-1s

   'I went to the garden.'

3) *Ya   kabiy-ab   leh-y-aiq.*   Past imperfective
   1s   garden-DAT   go-IPF-1s

   'I was going to the garden.'

4) *Ya   kabiy-ab   leh-d-aiq.*   Future
   1s   garden-DAT   go-FUT-1s

   'I will go to the garden.'

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

2.2   Tense and Aspect in Bargam

Verbs are intrinsically aspectual in that they normally denote a situation which falls along a continuum between 'static' and 'dynamic'. In this regard, Lyons (1977:707) uses the terms 'state', 'process' and 'event' to categorize the type of situation denoted by a particular verb. This is different from what Comrie (1976:3) refers to as the 'internal temporal constituency' of a situation in discussing aspect. The internal temporal constituency involves facets of meaning which are external and supplementary to the intrinsic meaning structure of the verb. This internal meaning structure then, can be 'overlaid' or 'transformed' by these external aspectual features to produce such diverse

situations as a 'state' with no internal temporal constituency at all ('I slept badly last night.') or an 'event' which is envisioned as lasting a long time ('He struck the snake over and over again until finally it was dead.').

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

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

TABLE 7: TENSES DIVIDED BY ASPECT

Perfective	Imperfective
Past perfective	Past imperfective
Future	Present

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

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

   'He was knocking the coconuts down with his feet.'

6) *Ya   uliq-ab-mo   os-y-aiq.*
   1s   village-DAT-EMPH   sit-IPF-1s

   'I was just sitting in the village.'

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

7) *Ni   naga   em-$\emptyset_1$-aq?   Ya   didaq   neq-aiq.*
   2s   what   do-PR-2/3s   1s   food   eat-PR-1s

   'What are you doing? I'm eating food.'

8) *Ni   na-wa   os-$\emptyset_1$-aq   e?*
   2s   that-LOC   sit-PR-2/3s   Q

   'Are you sitting there?'

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

9) *Mat   na   ya-go   bul   gi-nol-em-bug-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*
   man   that   1s-POSS   pig   3p-hit-do-DIST-PA-2/3s

   'That man killed all my pigs.'

10) *Ya   Madang-ib   leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*
    1s   Madang-DAT   go-PA-1s

    'I went to Madang.'

11) *In-go   gaun   yuw-ub   wo(q)-$\emptyset_1$-m.*
    3s-POSS   dog   water-DAT   fall-PA-2/3s

    'His dog fell in the water.'

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

12) *I   babeq   teq   uliq-ab   leh-$\emptyset_1$-am.*
    1p   tomorrow   then   village-DAT   go-FUT-1p

    'Tomorrow we will go to the vilage.'

13) *Wik   araq   ko-b   teq   mataw   dor-d-aqay.*
     week   a   there-DAT then   men   dance-FUT-2/3p

     'Next week the men will dance.'

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

14) *Ya   didaq   ti-neq-an   teq   ni   bila(q)-$\emptyset_1$-m.*
     1s   food   PERF-eat-DP   CONJ   2s   say-PA-2/3s

     'I had already eaten the food and then you spoke.'

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

15) *Ya   ti-tur-$\emptyset_1$-aiq.*   Present
     1s   PERF-stand-PR-1s

     'I am (already in the position of) standing.'

16) *Ya   didaq   ti-neq-$\emptyset_1$-aiq.*   Present
     1s   food   PERF-eat-PR-1s

     'I am (already in the act of) eating.'

17) *In   ti-tur-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*   Past perfective
     3s·   PERF-stand-PA-2/3s

     'He has (already) stood.'

18) *Ya   didaq   ti-ne(q)-$\emptyset_1$-y.*   Past perfective
     1s   food   PERF-eat-PA-1s

     'I have (already) eaten the food.'

19) *In   ti-tur-y-aq.*   Past imperfective
    3s   PERF-stand-IPF-2/3s

    'He was (already) standing.'

20) *Ya   didaq   ti-neq-y-aiq.*   Past imperfective
    1s   food   PERF-eat-IPF-1s

    'I was (already engaged in) eating the food.'

21) *In   ti-tur-d-aq.*   Future
    He   PERF-stand-FUT-2/3s

    'He will (surely) stand.'

22) *Ya   didaq   ti-neq-d-aiq.*   Future
    1s   food   PERF-eat-FUT-1s

    'I will (surely) eat the food.'

2.3   Tense, Aspect and Modality in Bargam

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

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

TABLE 8: TENSES DIVIDED BY MODALITY

Realis	Irrealis
Present	Future
Past perfective	
Past imperfective	

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

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

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

TABLE 9: TAM IN FINAL AND MEDIAL VERBS

	Time			Aspect		Modality	
	Before	*Now*	*Later*	*Perfv*	*Imperfv*	*Realis*	*Irrealis*
Present		X			X	X	
Past Perf.	X			X		X	
Med1 {-im, -an}				X		X	
Med2 {-ad, -sa}					X	X	X
Past Impf.	X				X	X	X
Med3 {-eq, -id}				X			X
Future			X	X			X

As indicated in Table 9, Med2 medial verbs are used with both realis and irrealis tenses. The table also indicates that the past imperfective tense may 'switch' into the irrealis mode when used with irrealis medial verbs. Chart 1 is an attempt to further represent the interaction between the past imperfective tense, medial verb endings and realis/irrealis modality.

CHART 1: INTERACTION OF IMPERFECTIVE AND MODALITY

Past imperfective	Med1	Med2	Future	Med3

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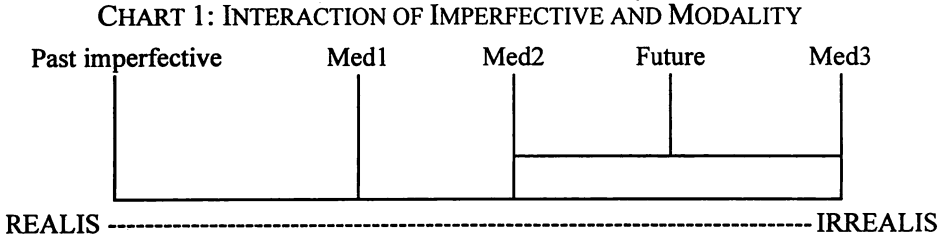
Chart 1 illustrates the way in which the past imperfective tense overlaps with the future tense in terms of modality. It is interesting to notice also that the functional similarity between the past imperfective and future tenses is also reflected morphologically in that both forms of the verb are constructed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

3   The Bargam TAM System Coherence at the Sentence Level

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

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

Bargam medial verbs mark same or different referent of the following predication, perfective or imperfective aspect, and realis or irrealis mode in a single portmanteau suffix. Medial verbs may take OCR prefixes, the perfect aspect prefix, and the emphatic -mo suffix, in addition to the switch-reference suffixes. They are not inflected for person or number. Because of the aspectual features associated with the various medial verb forms, medial verbs are used to encode information regarding the temporal relationship of one predication to another, that is, whether it involves some sort of overlap (simultaneity), succession (sequenciality) or contingency· (conditionality).

In (23-24) the perfective medial verbs indicate a series of events in linear sequence with no temporal overlap of any particular event with any other.

23)
Ari	*mat*	*na*	*a-mam*	*a-san*	*waq-im*	*a*	*bo*	*amalib*
OK	man	that	INAL-father	INAL-skin	take-SP	ACC	come	with

Wasab	*gi-nol-im*	*aw*	*waq-im*	*a*	*lah-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$-ta*	*a-wagam-un*
name	OCR-hit-SP	woman	take-SP	ACC	go-PA-2/3s-MOD	INAL-story-PoM

na-wa-a-mo.
this-LOC-OCR-EMPH

'OK, that's the story of the man who took his father's skin and with it hit (a) Wasab (man) and took away a woman.'

24)
Gi-biy-im	*in*	*le*	*tituq*	*sisaq-ta*	*qway-im*	*a*	*bo*	*em-an*
OCR-see-SP	3s	go	post	long-MOD	cut-SP	ACC	come	put-DP

kuduq-ib	*woleh-an*	*on*	*giger*	*na*	*tu-gwabol-$\emptyset_1$-iy.*
pit-DAT	go.down-DP	women	two	that	PERF-come.up-PA-2/3p

'He saw them and he went and cut a long post and put/caused/sent it and it went down into the pit and the two women came up.'

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

25)
Ni	*leh-eq*	*faq*	*asor*	*waq-eq*	*a*	*bol-id*	*teq*	*i*	*ninmen*
2s	go-IR.SP	fire	some	take-IR.SP	ACC	come-IR.DP	CONJ	1p	for.2s

karuw	*araq*	*wol*	*em-$\emptyset_1$-am*	*haq-$\emptyset_1$-iy.*
meat	a	hit	do-FUT-1p	say-PA-2/3p

'"If you go and take some fire and bring it back, then we will kill a pig for you," they said.'

Imperfective medial forms, on the other hand, signify situations which endure through time and often overlap with other situations occuring contemporaneously, as illustrated in (26).

26) *In   tarow-ab   a-go   hayaq-ab   us-sa   a-dulan*
     3s   night-DAT   INAL-POSS   young.men.house-DAT   sleep-DI   INAL-image/spirit

     gwatiq-im   a-go   es   waz-sa   a-mam   loyin-ad-mo
     pass.through-SP   INAL-POSS   belongings   hold-DI   INAL-father   sense-SI-EMPH

     us-$\varnothing_1$-$\varnothing_2$.
     sleep-PA-2/3s

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

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

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

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

> 'While he was eating (them) and gathering up (the skins) and remaining at the edge
>   (of the cave) the (other) man went and...'

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

28) *Luw-eq*   *karuw waq-eq   kames*   *neq-ad   teq   na-b*
     walk.around-IR.SP   meat   get-IR.SP   ceremonial.drink   eat-SI   CONJ   that-DAT

     iron-id   *a-go   uliq-ag   na-b*   *leh-d-aq*   *haq-$\varnothing_1$-iy*
     transfer-IR.DP   INAL-POSS   village-INDEF   that-DAT   go-FUT-2/3s   q.v.-PA-2/3p

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

29) *Ari   mataw   bo   humab   wol-id   gi-biy-ad   ni   karuw*
     OK   men   come   gathering   hit-IR.DP   OCR-see-SI   2s   meat

     tital-id   *zag-ib*   *gwal-an   ha(q)-$\varnothing_1$-m.*
     butcher-IR.DP   branched.stick-DAT   go.up-IMP   say-PA-2/3s

> 'OK, when you see the people gathered together cut up the pig and hang it up on
>   the zag stick.'

The fact that imperfective realis medial verb forms are used to denote situations which endure through future time may indicate that in Bargam imperfective events are somehow less real or referentially less identifiable than perfective events. Indeed, situations encoded by imperfective medial verbs frequently provide a setting or background situation during which some other event takes place. This function of imperfective medial verbs is analogous to the use of the past imperfective tense in irrealis mode to encode background setting-type information in Bargam narrative discourse as discussed in section 4.2.

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

30) *Leh-im   mat   a   le   bit-ab   em-ad   mat   ahulinaqta   na*
    go-SP   man   ACC   go   house-DAT   put-SI   man   snake   that

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

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

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

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

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

32) *In   didaq   oy-im   neq-ad   tu-us-ø$_1$-iy.*
    3p   food   cook-SP   eat-SI   PERF-sleep-PA-2/3p

    'They cooked food, ate it and went to sleep.'

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

3.2   Aspectual 'Over-ride' Converting Dynamic Events into States

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

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

    titeq-ad   luw-im   imisor   iy-an   in   bit-ab   tu-bol-$\emptyset_1$-iy.
    pull-SI   go.around-SP   afternoon   be-DP   3p   house-DAT   PERF-come-PA-2/3p

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

34) *Ne   ka-b   bit-ab   didaq   oy-ad   os-$\emptyset_1$-iy.*
     2s   this-DAT   house-DAT   food   cook-SI   sit-IMP-2/3p

    'You stay here in the house and cook food.'

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

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

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

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

    ago   zah   wiz-ad   luw-sa   in   ahol   tu-wa(q)-$\emptyset_1$-m.
    his   brush   singe-SI   go.around-DI   3s   body   PERF-get-PA-2/3s

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

37) *Ko   na-ag-ag   mug-nan   muz-ad   luw-$\emptyset_1$-aq   haq-ad*
     that   that-INDEF-INDEF   bite-DES   follow-SI   go.around-PR-2/3s   say-SD

    in   kadug   waq-im   ti-lah-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.
    3s   bamboo   take-SP   PERF-go-PA-2/3s

    'Thinking, "That (snake) is chasing someone intending to bite him," he took a
      piece of bamboo and went.'

38) *Leh-im   silaq   kuraq   manak   wol-im   neq-ad   ti-luw-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*
　　 go-SP   crayfish   crab   turtle   hit-SP   eat-SI   PERF-go.around-PA-2/3s

　　 'He went and killing crayfish and crabs and turtles, he was eating them.'

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

39) *Ya   maroq   neq-ad   luw-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*
　　 1s   banana   eat-SI   go.around-PA-1s

　　 'I was eating bananas.'

40) * *Ya   maroq   neq-ad   bol-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*
　　 1s   banana   eat-SI   come-PA-1s

The imperfective form of *neq* can be used with the static verb *luw* in (39), but not with the dynamic verb *bol* in (40). The idea which (40) is attempting to encode is expressed grammtically in (41).

41) *Ya   maroq   neq-im   neq-im   bol-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.*
　　 1s   banana   eat-SP   eat-SP   come-PA-1s

　　 'I ate the bananas as I came.'

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

4   Discourse Functions of the Bargam TAM System

4.1   Use of Medial Verb Suffixes as Conjunctions

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

42) *... in   ayah   ti-iy-bug.   An   ayon   tun   amikta   em-ug-$\emptyset_1$-iy.*
　　　　 3s   big   PERF-be-DIST   DP   for.him   bow   small   make-give.him-PA-2/3p

　　 An   in   a-ses   inaq   os-ad   in   onmin   asor   nenaq   le
　　　 DP   3s   INAL-grandma   with   sit-SI   3s   children   some   with   go

garan-ab	luw-y-aq.		Sa	a-nen-mam-an		le	kabiy
bush-DAT	go.round-IPF-2/3s		DI	INAL-mother-father-PL		go	work

em-ad	luw-y-aqay.		Sa	kam	araq-ab...
do-SI	go.around-IPF-2/3p		DI	day	a-DAT

'...and he grew up. And they made a small bow for him. And he was staying with his grandma and going to the bush with some children. While he was doing that his parents were going and working. While this was going on, one day...'

4.2   Backgrounding Function of Past Imperfective Tense

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

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

43) | Sib-im | leh-ad | i | ekton-y-auq, | Bul | na-wa | leh-$\varnothing_1$-aq | o |
|---------|--------|---|--------------|-----|-------|-----------|---|
| run-SP | go-SI | 1p | yell-IPF-1p | pig | that-LOC | go-PR-2/3s | oh |

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

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

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

'While he stood there the moon was coming up.'

45) *In   ih   reg-im   gwale   alon-ib   in   ih   anon   waq-an*
    3s   tree   climb-SP   go.up   top-DAT   3s   tree   fruit   take-DP

    tu-woq-y-aq.
    PERF-fall-IPF-2/3s

    'She climbed the *ih* tree and went up to the top and was dropping ih fruits (to her friend standing on the ground).'

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

46) *Ariya   zoq   bagiyaw   alon-ib   zabel   maq   al   maroq   in   na-b*
    OK   tree   name   top-LOC   yam   taro   'mami' banana   3p   that-LOC

    us-y-aq.   Us-sa   teq   in   woq-y-aq.   Zoq   na   alul-ib
    sleep-IPF-2/3s   sleep-DI   then   3p   fall-IPF-2/3s   tree   that   base-DAT

    woq-sa   teq   bul   Huduwakan   in   tu-bol-y-aq.   Bo   didaq
    fall-DI   then   pig   name   3s   PERF-come-IPF-2/3s   come   food

    na   in   neq-ad   luw-eq-mo   mileq-eq   ta   leh-y-aq.
    that   3s   eat-SI   go.around-IR.SP-EMPH   return-IR.SP   REP   go-IPF-2/3s

    Mileq-eq   leh-id   teq   anamren   ahol   waq-ad   in   didaq
    return-IR.SP   go-DP   then   owner   body   get-SI   3s   food

    tu-ug-y-aq.   Ug-id   in   neq-eq   hulos-ad-mo   in
    PERF-give.him-IPF-2/3s   give.him   3s   eat-IR.SP   quit-SI-EMPH   3s

    us-eq-mo   eraq-eq-mo   a   ta   leh-y-aq.
    sleep-IR.SP-EMPH   arise-IR.SP-EMPH   again   REP   go-IPF-2/3s

    'OK, in the top of the *bagiyaw* tree there were yams and taro and *mami* and bananas. And they would fall down. They would fall down around the base of the tree and the pig Huduwakan would come. He would come and eat the food for a while and return and go back (home). He would return and go back and then his owner would see him and give him food. He would give it to him and he would eat it and when he was finished he would sleep and get up and go back (to the tree) again.'

Several observations can be made about this paragraph. The information it conveys provides the setting for the story. It introduces key participants and a set of circumstances (context) which explains and makes the events which follow reasonable. The use of the past perfective in the irrealis mode indicates that the events narrated were characteristic of an extended period of time. No mention is made of how long things continued this way before the pig's owner decided to investigate where the pig spent its time away from the village. The narration takes up the story with this situation already in motion and continues from there.

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

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

47) *In araq-ib-mo   faq   ulam-im   reb-ub   yuw   em-im   em-an   faq-ab*
    3p   a-DAT-EMPH   fire   blow-SP   pot-DAT   water   put-SP   put-DP   fire-DAT

    oy-ad   tur-sa   in   giger   dalag   ginuw-eq   a   leh-eq   reb-ub
    cook-SI   stand-DI   3p   two   tree   gather-IR.SP   ACC   go-IR.SP   pot-DAT

    em-y-aqay.
    put-IPF-2/3p

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

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

This type of structure is always followed by a sentence beginning with an imperfective medial verb which is either used as a setting for a following event or else is brought to an end by a second medial form with imperfective aspect as shown in (48-49).

48) ... *a*   *leh-eq*   *reb-ub*   *em-y-aqay.*   *Em-ad* *luw-an*   *reb* *ame-b*
     ACC   go-IR.SP   pot-DAT   put-IPF-2/3p   put-SI   go.around   pot   eye-DAT

gwal-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$.
go.up-PA-2/3s

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

49) *Haq-id*   *onmin*   *bo*   *aben-ab*   *nal*   *waq-eq*   *a*   *le*
    say-IR.DP   children   come   his.hand-DAT   lime   take-IR.SP   ACC   go

a-ban-ab-mo   *ta*   *em-y-aqay.*   *Sirisiri-mo*   *nazaq*   *em-sa*
INAL-place-DAT-EMPH   REP   put-IPF-2/3p   repeatedly-EMPH   like.that   do-DI

onmin   *gi-mam-an*   *bol-an*   *ti-gi-bilen-$\emptyset_1$-iy,...*
children   INAL-father-PL   come-DP   PERF-OCR-speak.to-PA-2/3p

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

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

4.3   Foregrounding Function of the Perfect Aspect Marker

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

A short text is provided in the appendix to illustrate the foregrounding function of *ti ~ ti-*. The story is about a man who finds a snake and brings it back to the village to eat. Once home he discovers there is no food to cook with it so he goes to the garden. While he is gone, the snake escapes. The man returns to the village and it is not until he has all the food ready to cook that he discovers that the snake is gone. The story ends with the man being so angry that he never does cook the food and just sits sulking in the house.

For the purpose of the present discussion, it will suffice here to list the independent verbs in the story, noting which ones are marked with *ti-*, indicated in bold. In the comment column the comments are indented to reflect whether or not the verb is marked with *ti-*.

Sent. #	Verb	Gloss	Comment
1-2	*bilaqnan*	say	speaker's introduction
3	*luw*	go.around	setting/circumstance
4	***tuwam***	take	snake found
5	***tubol***	come	return to village
6	*bilam*	say	reported speech
7	***tilah***	go	trip to garden
8	*wam*	take	activity at new location
9	*wam*	take	activity at new location
10	***tubol***	come	return to village
11	***tilah***	go	the snake escapes
12	*wol am*	kill	narrator's comment (what he should have done)
13	*woltay*	discover	narrator's comment (what he should have done)
14	***tisisom***	peel	what he actually did
15	*uram*	scrape	
16-17	*bulon*	speak to	reported speech
18	*bilam*	say	reported speech
19	*sisom*	peel	
20	*bilam*	say	reported speech
21	***tuwam***	take	climax/
22	***tisinamol***	be light	punchline
23-29	*susumun*	ask	reported speech
30	*anad am*	thought	inner thought
31	*oy*	cook	
32	***tuqos***	sit	food sits unused
33	***tuqos***	sit	man sits disgusted and angry
34	***tilah***	go	narrator's explanation 'because the snake escaped'
35	*nam*	eat	conclusion/anti-climax
36-37	*nawaqmo-tihiqiy*	finish	narrator's conclusion

The above chart illustrates well the discourse function of *ti-*. Motion verbs indicating a change of location/scene, climatic events, or events especially important to the development of the story and its intended impact are marked with *ti-*. Other events which occur within the established location and which simply fill in details of the story, such as the incidents of reported speech, are unmarked. For example, in sentences 12-14 the narrator explains what the man should have done and then what he did in fact do and highlights the contrast by marking the verb in 14 with *ti-*. Likewise, in sentences 32-33 the man's refusal to use the the food is contrary to expectation and as such is highlighted or given added prominence by the use of *ti-*

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

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Appendix

The following interlinearized text is provided for reference in connection with section 4.3.[4]

1) *Ari   ya   wagam   ta   araq   bilaqnan.*
   ari   ya   wagam   ta   araq   bilaq-nan
   OK   1s   story   REP   a   say-DES

   'OK, I am going to tell another story.'

2) *Kwaziqmo   ya   imam   in   nagah   ahulinaqta*
   kwaziq-mo   ya   i-mam   in   nagah   a-huliq-i-naq-ta
   old-EMPH   1s   INAL-father   3s   something   INAL-waist-OCR-with-MOD

   araq   anan   buwol   haqayta   in   neqdaiq   haqad
   araq   a-nan   buwol   haq-$\emptyset_1$-ay-ta   in   neq-d-aiq   haq-ad
   a   INAL-name   snake   q.v.-PR-2/3p-MOD   3s   eat-FUT-1s   q.v.-SI

   a   bolan   tukim   lahta   awagamun   bilaqnan.
   a   bol-an   tuk-im   leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$-ta   a-wagam-un   bilaq-nan
   ACC   come-DP   run.away-SP   go-PA-2/3s-MOD   INAL-story-PoM   say-DES

   'I am going to tell the story about how a long time ago my father brought a snake called buwol thinking, "I'll eat it", but it escaped and went away.'

3) *Kwaziqmo   ya   imam   in   sagay   emad   luw.*
   kwaziq-mo   ya   i-mam   in   sagay   em-ad   luw-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
   old-EMPH   1s   INAL-father   3s   clear.land   do-SI   walk.around-PA-2/3s

   'A long time ago my father cleared some land.'

4) *Sagay   emad   luwimmo   in   nagah*
   sagay   em-ad   luw-im-mo   in   nagah
   clear.land   do-SI   walk.around-SP-EMPH   3s   something

   ahulinaqta   neqayta   buwol   rawezta   na   in
   a-huliq-i-naq-ta   neq-$\emptyset_1$-ay-ta   buwol   rawez-ta   na   in
   INAL-waist-OCR-with-MOD   eat-PR-2/3p-MOD   snake   brown-MOD   that   3s

---

[4]   This story was told by Joseph Nuwayme of Wasabamal village.

ahol	waqad	tuwam.
a-hol	waq-ad	ti-waq-$ø_1$-m
INAL-body	get-SI	PERF-get-PA-2/3s

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

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

waqim	iltonimmo		ad	tubol,	uliqab.
waq-im	ilton-im-mo		ad	ti-bol-$ø_1$-$ø_2$	uliq-ab
get-SP	package-SP-EMPH		?	PERF-come-PA-2/3s	village-LOC

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

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

in	bilam,	Yaqgo	karuw	kab	ussa	ya
in	bilaq-$ø_1$-m	ya-i-go	karuw	ka-b	us-sa	ya
3s	say-PA-2/3s	1s-OCR-POSS	meat	this-LOC	sleep-DI	1s

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

teq	ya	a	boleq	oyeq	neqdaiq	ham.
teq	ya	a	bol-eq	oy-eq	neq-d-aiq	ham-$ø_1$-$ø_2$
CONJ	1s	*	come-IR.SP	cook-IR.SP	eat-FUT-1s	q.v-PA-2/3s

'He brought it and put it (aside) and since there was no food or aibiga he said, "I'll leave my meat here and go to the garden and get taro and tulip (leaves) and then I'll bring it and cook it and eat it."'

7) *Haqad   in   nab   hotenan   bitab   ussamo   in*
    haq-ad   in   na-b   othen-an   bit-ab   us-sa-mo   in
    q.v.-SI   3s   that-LOC hang-DP   house-LOC sleep-DI-EMPH 3s

    tilah.
    ti-leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    PERF-go-PA-2/3s

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

8) *Lehim   maq   wam.*
    leh-im   maq   waq-$\emptyset_1$-m
    go-SP   taro   get-PA-2/3s

    'He went and got taro.'

9) *Waqiw   wam.*
    waqiw   waq-$\emptyset_1$-m
    tulip   get-PA-2/3s

    'He got tulip (leaves).'

10) *Waqim   anad   dimniysa   tubol,   yaqgo   karuw*
    waq-im   a-nad   dimniy-sa   ti-bol-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$ ya-i-go   karuw
    get-SP   INAL-mind be.good-DI PERF-come-PA-2/3s   1s-OCR-POSS meat

    tineqdaiqta   haqad.
    ti-neq-d-aiq-ta   haq-ad
    PERF-eat-FUT-1s-MOD   q.v.-SI

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

11) *Haiq   in   kuzaq   kabiyab   lehsa   ingo   karuw*
    haiq   in   ko-zaq   kabiy-ab   leh-sa   in-a-go   karuw
    NEG   3s   that-like garden-LOC   go-DI   3s-OCR-POSS meat

    na   bwol   gwatiqim   tukim   tilah.
    na   bwol   gwatiq-im   tuk-im   ti-leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    that   snake   pass.thru-SP   run.away-SP   PERF-go-PA-2/3s

    'But no, while he was going to the garden that meat, the bwol, got out and
    escaped.'

12) *In*   *a*   *hi*   *wol*   *am.*
     in   a   hi   wol   em-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
     3s   3s   NEG   hit   do-PA-2/3s

     'He didn't kill it. (He hadn't killed it.)'

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

     bolim   *asawan*   *a*   *hi*   *woltay.*
     bol-im   a-saw-an   a   hi   woltay-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
     come-SP   INAL-place-PoM 3s   NEG   break.into-PA-2/3s

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

14) *In*   *bolimmo*   *didaq*   *tisisom.*
     in   bol-im-mo   didaq   ti-sisoq-$\emptyset_1$-m
     3s   come-SP-EMPH   food   PERF-shave-PA-2/3s

     'Immediately after he came he peeled the food.'

15) *Guren*   *uram.*
     guren   ureq-$\emptyset_1$-m
     coconut   scrape-PA-2/3s

     'He scraped a coconut.'

16) *In*   *ya*   *inen*   *bulon,*   *Ne*   *ham*   *giholbin*   *didaq*
     in   ya   i-nen   bulon-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$ ne   ham   gi-hol-bin   didaq
     3s   1s   INAL-mother   speak.to-PA-2/3s   2s   q.v   INAL-body-Iso   food

     oyeq   *neqiy*   *ham.*
     oy-eq   neq-$\emptyset_1$-iy   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
     cook-IR.SP   eat-PA-2/3p   q.v-PA-2/3s

     'He said to my mother, "You cook food and eat it by yourselves."'

17) *Yaqmo*   *iholbin*   *ham*   *didaq*   *oyeq*   *neqnan*   *ham.*
     ya-i-mo   i-hol-bin   ham   didaq   oy-eq   neq-nan   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
     1s-OCR-EMPH   INAL-body-Iso   q.v   food   cook-IR.SP   eat-DES   q.v-PA-2/3s

     '"I am going to cook food and eat it by myself."'

18) *Haqan   ya   inen   bilam,   Na   dimunmo   ham.*
    haq-an   ya   i-nen   bilaq-$\emptyset_1$-m   na   dimun-mo   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    q.v.-DP   1s   INAL-mother   say-PA-2/3s   that   good-EMPH   q.v-PA-2/3s

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

19) *Haqad   in   maq   sisom.*
    haq-ad   in   maq   sisoq-$\emptyset_1$-m
    q.v.-SI   3s   taro   shave-PA-2/3s

    'So he peeled the taro.'

20) *Guren   ureqim   rebub   emimmo   in   bilam,   Sa ya le*
    guren   ureq-im   reb-ub   em-im-mo   in   bilaq-$\emptyset_1$-m   sa ya le
    coconut   scrape-SP   pot-LOC   put-SP-EMPH   3s   say-PA-2/3s   DI 1s go

    igo   karuw   waq   a   bo   abu   wolhaseq
    i-go   karuw   waq   a   bo   a-bu   wolhas-eq
    OCR-POSS   meat   get   ACC   come   INAL-back.of.head   knock.loose-IR.SP

    wizeq   ham   qwatayid   rebub   woqan   ham.
    wiz-eq   ham   qwatay-id   reb-ub   woq-$\emptyset_1$-an   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    roast-IR.SP   q.v   cut.thru-IR.DP   pot-LOC   fall-PA-3Sg   q.v-PA-2/3s

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

21) *Haqad   in   eraqim   lehim   il   tuwam.*
    haq-ad   in   eraq-im   leh-im   il   ti-waq-$\emptyset_1$-m
    q.v.-SI   3s   get.up-SP   go-SP   package   PERF-get-PA-2/3s

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

22) *Il   waqanmo   abenab   il   tisinamol.*
    il   waq-an-mo   a-ben-ab   il   ti-sinamol-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    package   get-DP-EMPH   INAL-hand-LOC   package   PERF-be.light-PA-2/3s

    'He took the package and it felt light in his hand.'

23) *Sinamolanmo*   *in*   *susumun,*   *Ay*   *ta*   *yaqgo*
    sinamol-an-mo   in   susumun-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$ Ay   ta   ya-i-go
    be.light-DP-EMPH   3s   ask-PA-2/3s   hey!   REP   1s-OCR-POSS

    karuw   *edowa*   *ham.*
    karuw   e-do-wa   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    meat   Q-where-LOC   q.v-PA-2/3s

    'Then he asked, Hey! Where's my meat?"'

24) *Haqanmo*   *in*   *ta*   *ya*   *inen*   *susumun*   *ug,*
    haq-an-mo   in   ta   ya   i-nen   susumun   ug-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    q.v.-DP-EMPH   3s   REP   1s   INAL-mother   ask   give.him-PA-2/3s

    Ni   *yaqgo*   .   *karuw*   *ahol*   *wam*   *e*   *ham.*
    ni   ya-i-go   karuw   a-hol   waq-$\emptyset_1$-m   e   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    2s   1s-OCR-POSS   meat   INAL-body   get-PA-2/3s   Q   q.v-PA-2/3s

    'And he asked my mother, "Did you see my meat?"'

25) *Haqanmo*   *haiqgam*   *ham.*
    haq-an-mo   haiqgam   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    q.v.-DP-EMPH   NEG   q.v.-PA-2/3s

    'And she said, "No."'

26) *Ya*   *ahol*   *a*   *hi*   *way*   *ham.*
    ya   a-hol   a   hi   waq-$\emptyset_1$-y   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    1s   INAL-body   3s   NEG   get-PA-1s   q.v-PA-2/3s

    '"I didn't see it."'

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

    karuw   *ahol*   *wam*   *e*   *ham.*
    karuw   a-hol   waq-$\emptyset_1$-m   e   ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    meat   INAL-body   get-PA-2/3s   Q   q.v-PA-2/3s

    'Then he asked me, "Did you see my meat?"'

28) *Haiq   hay.*
    haiq   haq-$\emptyset_1$-y
    NEG   q.v.-PA-1s

   'I said, "No."'

29) *Ya   ahol   a   hi   way   hay.*
    ya   a-hol   a   hi   waq-$\emptyset_1$-y   haq-$\emptyset_1$-y
    1s   INAL-body   3s   NEG   get-PA-1s   q.v.-PA-1s

   '"I didn't see it."'

30) *A   in   anad   am,   Ka   ya   a   hi   wol   eman   in*
    a   in   a-nad   em-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$ ka   ya   a   hi   wol   em-an   in
    then 3s   INAL-mind   do-PA-2/3s   this   1s   3s   NEG   hit   do-DP   3s

   tukim   tilah   ham.
   tuk-im   ti-leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$ ham-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
   run.away-SP   PERF-go-PA-2/3s   q.v-PA-2/3s

   'Then he realized, "I didn't kill it and it escaped."'

31) *In   agem   meqniysa   in   didaq   a   hi   oy.*
    in   a-gem   meqniy-sa   in   didaq   a   hi   oy-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    3s   INAL-stomach   bad-DI   3s   food   3s   NEG   cook-PA-2/3s

   'He was angry and he didn't cook the food.'

32) *In   didaq   sisom   na   hulosan   tuqos.*
    in   didaq   sisoq-$\emptyset_1$-m   na   hulos-an   ti-os-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    3s   food   shave-PA-2/3s   that   let.go-DP   PERF-sit-PA-2/3s

   'He left the food he had peeled (where it was).'

33) *Ossa   in   tuqos,   agem   meqniysa.*
    os-sa   in   ti-os-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$ a-gem   meqniy-sa
    sit-DI   3s   PERF-sit-PA-2/3s   INAL-stomach   bad-DI

   'He sat there angry.'

34) *Ezaqgo*   *ingo*   *karuw*   *dimunta*   *na*   *tukim*
    e-zaq-go   *in-a-go*   *karuw*   *dimun-ta* *na*   *tuk-im*
    Q-like-POSS   3s-OCR-POSS meat   good-MOD that run.away-SP

    tilah.
    ti-leh-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    PERF-go-PA-2/3s

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

35) *Bwol*   *na*   *in*   *oyim*   *a*   *ta*   *hi*   *nam.*
    bwol   *na*   *in*   *oy-im*   *a*   *ta*   *hi*   *neq-$\emptyset_1$-m*
    snake   that   3s   cook-SP 3s REP NEG eat-PA-2/3s

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

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

    'That's all of that story.'

37) *Tihiqiy.*
    ti-hiqiy-$\emptyset_1$-$\emptyset_2$
    PERF-finish-PA-2/3s

    'It's finished.'