Bridging linkage in Ma Manda
RYAN PENNINGTON

1   Introduction[1]

- Primary question: What are the formal properties of bridging clauses, and how do these correlate with their cohesive functions?
- After addressing their grammatical (§3) and phonological (§4) properties, I discuss the content of bridging clauses in §5 and their discourse placement in §6. I conclude with comments about how their formal properties correlate with their cohesive functions in §7.

2   Language profile

- Ma Manda (previously Sauk) [skc] is located in Morobe Province, PNG, on the southern slopes of the Finisterre Mountains, approximately 50 km northwest of Lae.
    - ~1500 speakers spread out in six primary villages
- Affiliation: "Papuan", Finisterre-Huon, Erap (Ross 2005; Hooley & McElhanon 1970)
- Morphology: head-marking; nominative-accusative; case enclitics bearing separate syntactic and discourse roles; agglutinative with fusion; primarily suffixing; S/A verbal suffixes (fused with tense); O verbal prefixes for some verbs (fused with roots)
- Syntax: SV/AOV; topic-comment structure is basic; multiple functions of light verbs; clause-chaining; switch-reference
- Phonology: high vowel reduction; barred-i epenthesis; nasal harmony; complex morpho-phonological alternations, esp. with approximants (Pennington 2013)
    - IPA mismatches: /q/→k, /ɴ/→ng, /j/→y, /ɨ/→û, /a/→aa, /ə/→a

3   Grammatical status of the bridging clause

- Bridging clauses may be either coordinate (main) or subordinate.
    - Within either type of clause, the verb may be either finite or non-finite.
    - Or, bridging clauses may be non-verbal, consisting of a sole case-marked demonstrative.
- The parameters are displayed in Table 1.

TABLE 1: GRAMMATICAL PARAMETERS OF BRIDGING CLAUSES

	Coordinate Clause	Subordinate Clause
Finite Verb	V-TAM (CONJ)	V-TAM DEM=CASE
Non-finite Verb	V(-SR)	V-SR DEM=CASE
DEMonstrative	DEM=CASE CONJ	DEM=CASE

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[1] Abbreviations: ANA 'anaphoric', DS 'different subject', EMPH 'emphatic', FIN 'completive adverb', HAB 'habitual', INTNS 'intensifier', LK 'linker', NFUT 'near future', NPST 'near past', RPST 'remote past', SCN 'scene', SIM 'similative', SR 'switch-reference', SS 'same subject', THM 'theme', VBLS 'verbaliser'

3.1   Types of predicates in bridging clauses

- Finite ("final") verbs:
    - are marked for TAM and subject-agreement
    - do not indicate whether the next clause has a same or different subject.
- Non-finite ("medial") verbs
    - take switch-reference suffixes
    - are not embedded, but co-ranked with finite verb (i.e. "cosubordination" (Foley & Van Valin 1984)→"coordinate nexus" (Foley 2010))
    - are dependent upon a finite ("final") verb for their tense and mood
    - are dependent upon a subsequent controlling clause (either finite or non-finite) for subject-agreement
- Demonstratives:
    - consist of a lone demonstrative
    - must bear a case enclitic, often 'theme' (THM) (Halliday 1970; de Vries 1995)

3.2   Coordinate bridging clauses

- FINITE COORDINATE CLAUSES are linked to a following clause by:
    - a discourse conjunction (§3.4), e.g. **(2a)** 'we went and/but'.
    - apposition, e.g. **(19a)** 'we come sleep'.
- NON-FINITE COORDINATE CLAUSES are linked to a following clause by their own switch-reference morphology, e.g. **(3a)** 'saying and'.
    - Examples **(14a)**, **(15a)**, & **(19a)** illustrate bare verb stems; this is common with motion verbs in particular, and always indicates a same-subject relationship between the clause headed by the bare verb stem and a following clause.
- DEMONSTRATIVE COORDINATE CLAUSES are marked with a case enclitic and linked to a following clause with a light verb conjunction.
    - For example, *wa=lû ta-ka*, which basically means 'That, and…' has grammaticalised into a conjunction, 'therefore', as shown below. It has arisen from a thematic demonstrative *wa=lû*, followed by the same-subject verbal conjunction *taka*.

(i)   *a.   ta-ng   tuku   flaasû-gûng //*
          do-DS   SG.O:take   cover-RPST:23PL

      *b.   **walataka**   wangaa=gût /   bûsenang   ku-waam=pa …*
           therefore   now=INTNS   deep.jungle   go-PRES:1PL=or
      'And they took him and buried him. ^bTherefore nowadays, if we go into the deep bush…' [skc12_04]

3.3   Subordinate bridging clauses

- To subordinate a clause, the predicate must be followed by a demonstrative.
    - This produces a "domain clause" (Reesink 1994), which is "a thematic NP, intonationally and syntactically separate from the next clause, express[ing] the domain of relevance for the following assertion" (de Vries 2005:369).

- o This relationship is clarified in Ma Manda by adding an enclitic to the demonstrative (e.g. =*lû* 'THM', =*la* 'BEN', =*lûnang* 'GEN'), which identifies the role of the domain clause within the matrix clause.

- FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES consist of a finite clause, followed by a demonstrative within the same intonation unit, as in **(5a)**.
- NON-FINITE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES consist of a medial verb, followed by the proximal anaphoric demonstrative *i*, as in **(15a)**.
- DEMONSTRATIVE SUBORDINATE CLAUSES consist of a sole demonstrative, marked with a case enclitic, with =*lû* 'THM' being the most common, as illustrated in **(4a)**.
  - o The relationship between a thematic NP and the main clause is underspecified. In this instance, since the reference verb *kugûmot* 'we two went' is a motion verb, and the proximal demonstrative is used, an ablative meaning 'from here' is accomplished.
  - o See **(13f)** for the benefactive case: 'for that'.

3.4   Light verb conjunctions

- A closed class of verbs may function as "discourse conjunctions" (cf. de Vries 2005:376).
- The generic verbs which function in this manner are 'do', 'be', 'say', 'stay', and 'remain' (cf. reduced "lexical overlap" in Thompson et al. (2007:290)).
- These same verbs often occur in summary bridges, where they are preceded by a pause.
- They may also occur without a preceding pause break; in this case they are less like discourse conjunctions, and more like classic conjunctions.
  - o See **(2a)**, where the switch-reference morphology does not match—the first person non-singular switch-reference form is *tangûda* (e.g. **(22a)**).
  - o Another verb, 'stay', is illustrated below.

(ii) a. *naadû-ka   do-ka   a-gûmok   **aa-gû**   i=di /*
         sense-SS   sleep-SS   be-RPST:23DU   stay-SS.DUR   this(ANA)=THM

     b. *siya-ng   ka-gok //*
         dawn-DS   see-RPST:3SG
     '(He) understood and (they) slept until ᵇdawn.' (lit. '(He) understood and (they) slept and after awhile, ᵇhe saw it dawn.') [skc12_04]

4   Phonology of the bridging clause

- The phonological properties of bridging clauses support the idea that one of their primary functions is PROCESSING EASE (de Vries 2005).

- Bridging clauses have a particular phonological pattern which sets them apart both from the reference clauses which precede them, and from subsequent clauses.
- Finite reference clauses (the "tail") exhibit low-falling intonation, followed by a pause.
- Bridging clauses have a rising or flat intonation, often accompanied by a comparatively slow and deliberate pronunciation of each word.
  - o This is particularly noticeable with uninflected verbs of motion, the vowels of which are frequently extended (e.g. **(14a)**).

- Reduplication of entire verbs and demonstratives is common here, often as a further stalling tactic.
- There is a general pull for bridging clauses to occur shortly after a sentence boundary, with a greater pause after the bridge than after the sentence boundary.
- The intonational contour drops, however, on a following word: a conjunction **(2a)**, a nominalising demonstrative **(5a)**, or a discourse particle **(22a)**.
- Aspectual light verbs (e.g. **(18a)**) do not show such a drop.
  - This is a strong piece of evidence for words such as 'put' to be combined with preceding verbs as complex predicates; they are auxiliary "helping" verbs.
- Phonological difference between summary and conjunction functions of light verbs:
  - As a summary bridge, they have a preceding pause break, and may be spoken slowly with a rising intonation
  - As a conjunction, they are marked by a low intonational contour, as well as the absence of a preceding pause break (cf. Aikhenvald (2008:455) for similar comments regarding Manambu). These forms are also spoken rapidly.

5   Content of the bridging clause

- Bridging clauses in Ma Manda may contain either a recapitulative predicate (a verbal repetition or synonym), or a summary predicate (a light verb, demonstrative, or both).
  - Recapitulative predicates may be either finite ("final") or non-finite ("medial").
  - Summary predicates may be either non-finite or non-verbal (demonstrative).
  - Crucially, summary predicates never exhibit finite morphology.

TABLE 2: PREDICATE TYPES AND BRIDGING CONTENT

Type of predicate	Bridging content
Finite verb	Recapitulative
Non-finite verb	Recapitulative or Summary
Demonstrative	Summary

5.1   Recapitulative linkage

- A recapitulative predicate uses either the same verb as the reference clause, or a synonym.
  - The verb of the reference clause is often simply repeated in the bridging clause.
    - This may be a complete repetition of the full TAM specifications, as in the coordinate finite bridge of **(2a)**, or the verb may be non-finite as in **(14a)**.
  - It is fairly common for the recapitulative verb to be a synonym of the reference verb, rather than a verbatim repetition.
    - For example, this often occurs with speech reports. The bridging clause in **(3a)** uses *taa* 'say', while its reference clause uses *nû* 'tell'.

- With recapitulative bridges, it is very common for additional arguments, aspectual information, or verbs (which were previously covert) to be expressed overtly.
  - On the other hand, sometimes less information is provided in the bridge.

- Types of ADDITIONAL INFORMATION in bridging clauses:
  - Verb: *ku* 'go' in **(6a)**; *dogot* 'I slept' in **(10a)**
  - Argument: *taamtaampû* 'women' in **(23a)**; *na taamûng* 'men and women' in **(18a)**
  - Aspect: *kungagû* 'stayed for awhile' in **(7a)**; *dûka fûngûlû mo* 'once it burns down' in **(22a)**; *fepmaakongka tûka* 'finish cutting it all' in **(18a)**
  - Adverbial elements: *laabûgot walû moga* 'Since I've already come up' in **(11a)**
  - Clause: *gambon usuka* 'plant beans' in **(20a)**
- Types of OMITTED INFORMATION in bridging clauses:
  - Verb: *yaabetta* 'to see them' from **(14d)**
  - Argument: *kafet-kafet* 'scraping' from **(24b)**
  - Aspect: *fepmûgaamang* 'we habitually cut' from **(17)**
  - Adverbial elements: *sibi kum* 'down in Sibi' from **(4b)**
  - Clause: *dapmon dowaamang* 'we sleep' from **(19j)**

5.2   Summary linkage

- Summary linkage consists of a light verb and/or a demonstrative.
  - See **(26a)**, where the verb form *tang* recapitulates the previous clause *tûmang gelaawangang* 'they grow up first'.
  - See **(25a)** for a demonstrative and light verb: *wa taka* 'doing that'.
  - See **(4a)** for a thematic demonstrative: *yalû* 'this'.
- Additional arguments and aspectual information are not attested with summary linkage.
- Only non-finite (medial) verbs have been observed in summary linkage constructions; summary verbs have not been found in nominalised finite clauses.
  - This addresses the question from de Vries (2005:377) about "whether generic verb linkage occurs only in chained forms or also in thematic forms in a given language."
- Finally, *ta* 'do' may occur in its bare root form.
  - Lacking switch-reference morphology, this form offers no continuity with previous participants—it signals overt discontinuity, as shown in (iii).
  - Interestingly, this form can also be used as an emphatic affirmative response to a polar question (it's unclear whether this is polysemy or homophony).

(iii) *a.*   *naai*   *wa=long /*   *takase*   *kum=aa-gû /*   *laabû-got //*
              time   that=SCN   Takase   down=stay-SS.DUR   come.up-RPST:1SG

     b.   **ta**   *nanak /*   *u*   *kosaan*   *ya=ngaa-gû*   *kansok=kût /*
              do   child   that(ANA)   side   this=stay-SS.DUR Kansok=COM

     c.   *kansok*   *enaagût-a*   *i*   *nabut*   *ku-gok //*
              Kansok   PL.O:get-SS   this(ANA)   Nambut   go-RPST:3SG

     'At that time I was staying down in Takase, and I came up. ᵇBut the child, he was staying on this side with Kansok, and ᶜKansok, after getting them, went to Nambut (River).' [skc09_18]

6   Where does bridging occur?

6.1   Genre

- Bridging clauses are especially prevalent in narrative and procedural texts (cf. de Vries (2005:365)), but occur in any text which has narrative or procedural paragraphs, including sermons, prayers, and spontaneous discussion.

- Occurs in future time procedural texts as well.
  - o Also frequently bridging medial clauses, though in a much less structured manner:

(iv) *a.*   *laayan   nalam /   kagang-sek=ngang   ku-deng   wa=lû /*
           Ryan   couple   village-POSS.23DU=LOC   go-IRR:23DU   that=THM

    b.   ***ku**   kagang-sek=ngang   kun=aa-gû*
           go   village-POSS.23DU=LOC   up=stay-SS.DUR

           nanak   genangka-ng-alû /
           child   appear-DS-23

    c.   *gulat   ban   kan-sû=long   wa=ba-deng   wa=lû   ba-ka /*
           year   a   down-LK=SCN   there=come-IRR:23DU   that=THM   come-SS

    d.   ***ba-deng**   **wa=lû**   ba   saaut   ya=ba-ngkadopmû-ka / ...*
           come-IRR:23DU   that=THM   come   Saut   here=come-arrive-SS
    'Ryan (with his) wife, after they go to their village, ᵇ(they will) go stay up in their village while their child is born, and ᶜin another year after they come back there [to Ukarumpa] they will come [to Saut], and ᵈafter they come [to Ukarumpa] they will come to Saut, and…' [skc09_16]

- The uniting factor is the need to provide cohesion between related events.
  - o Its relationship with these genres is epiphenomenal; the pattern occurs in any dialogue in which two or more events are strung together into separate sentences.
  - o In fact, the fact that quotations are usually sandwiched between two speech verbs is a further type of recapitulation.

6.2   Modality

- Bridging clauses occur with equal frequency in both oral and written discourse.
- In written texts, coordinate and subordinate thematised clauses occur, including lexical repetition**,** synonymic recapitulation, and summary linkage.
  - o However, this is a brand new writer using a brand new orthography.

(v) *a.*   *naai ban flong   saaut   nanak-sû=lû   lemang   ku-gûng .*
           time a   OBL   Saut   child-POSS.23PL=NOM Lemang   go-RPST:23PL
    'One time (some) kids from Saut went to Lemang.'

b. **lo**   **lemang**   *kudu*   <u>*aatû-ku-gûng*</u> .
go.up   Lemang   there   stay-go-RPST:23PL
'They went up and remained there in Lemang.'

c. **aatû-ku-gû**   **aatû-ku-gû**   *bûge*   <u>*maa-ba-gûng*</u> .
stay-go-SS.DUR   stay-go-SS.DUR   again   COMPL-come-RPST:23PL
'After a long while they came back again.'

d. **ba-gûng**   **wa=lû**   *nabut*   *fû-ngkadopmû-ka*
come-RPST:23PL   that=NOM   Nambut   come.down-arrive-SS

yak   *kadek*   *fa*   *mi*   *flong*   *wa*   *be-ka*
bilum   PL   PL.O:get   water   OBL   that   PL.O:put-SS

nanak   *saakûm*   *ban*   *nû-gûng* ,
child   small   a   3SG.O:tell-RPST:23PL

"gak   *yak*   *wa*   *yamaandûfat-a*   *alû-taang ."*
2SG   bilum   that   3PL.O:look.after-SS   be-NFUT:2SG
'After they came they came down to Nambut (River) and put the bilums in the water and told a little boy, "You stay here and look after the bilums." ' [skc12_13]

6.3   Frequency & location

- Bridging clauses introduce almost every single sentence within a narrative or procedural discourse.
  - Occasionally sentences do not contain finite verbs, as seen in **(5d)** and **(9b)**, often in order to convey an indefinite length of transition time between main-line events (Sarvasy 2014). This is also possible when a speaker changes his mind mid-sentence
  - In each of these cases, even without a finite verb, bridging clauses still introduce the following sentence.
- It is only occasionally absent, usually where opening and closing remarks are placed.
- Out of 27 included sentences from three texts, only **(13a)**, **(17)**, and **(27)** lack a bridge.

7   Bridging parameters and cohesive functions

- Bridging clauses provide referential and event cohesion between the final clause of a reference sentence and a subsequent sentence.
  - Speakers usually only repeat the finite clause which concludes the previous sentence; in these texts there are no examples of verbs being recapitulated from previous clauses. Is this an absolute?
- Depending on the morphology of the predicate, and the type of bridging content, different combinations of cohesion are achieved.
- Embeddedness of clauses has no bearing on cohesion: subordinate clauses are presupposed, while coordinate clauses are asserted.
- The most common type of bridging clause is headed by a non-finite verb:

TABLE 3: NON-FINITE BRIDGING CLAUSES: MORPHOLOGY AND COHESION

	Recapitulative		Summary	
	Referential	Event	Referential	Event
-SR	+	+	+	−
-ø	−	+	−	−

- The UNMARKED BRIDGING CONSTRUCTION consists of non-finite recapitulative verbs with switch-reference morphology. This produces both referential and event cohesion.
  - o "The default syntactic form of the recapitulated head clause in a given Papuan language follows from the default or unmarked type of clause linkage in that language" (de Vries 2005:372).
- Summary linkage lacks event cohesion, while maintaining referential cohesion.
  - o Uninflected verbs lack referential cohesion; thus, uninflected summary verbs are overtly discontinuative.
- The MARKED BRIDGING CONSTRUCTION consists of a nominalised finite clause, which is utilised to open a new thematic paragraph ("chaining paragraph" (Farr 1999)).
  - o These clauses mostly provide temporal cohesion, lacking overt referential cohesion.
  - o For the first text, see examples **(5a)**, **(8a)**, **(10a)** and **(11a)**.
    - ▪ Almost every one these thematised clauses coincides with a temporal verb ('dawn'), introducing a new episode.
  - o Often followed by a further recapitulation in a non-finite form afterward.
    - ▪ In essence, the subordinate clause functions as a reference clause of a secondary bridge. See (iv) and **(21a)**, **(22b)**, & **(23b)**.
    - ▪ This produces verbal triplicates, where the subordinate clause functions as both a bridge and a reference clause for the secondary bridge.
  - o The lack of finite summary bridging clauses is unsurprising:
    - ▪ Finite clauses provide event continuity without referential consequence, while summary linkage discontinues the event line, producing event discontinuity. The two are incompatible.
  - o Demonstratives do not provide referential/temporal cohesion, but instead seem to provide anaphoric event cohesion (functioning very similarly to finite recapitulative bridging clauses).
- Lack of any bridging construction produces complete discontinuity (de Vries 2005:375).
  - o This only occurs at rare junctures, such as on the second or final sentences of texts.
  - o These are discourse margins used to provide initial or summarising remarks, and do not consist of mainline events. See **(13a)** and **(32)**.
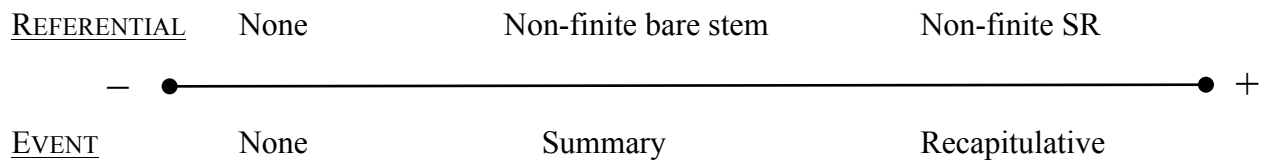
REFERENTIAL   None   Non-finite bare stem   Non-finite SR

− ●————————————————————————————● +

EVENT   None   Summary   Recapitulative

FIGURE 1: REFERENTIAL AND EVENT COHESION CONTINUUM

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Bridging linkage in Ma Manda: Texts
RYAN PENNINGTON

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*****Bridging clauses** are visually linked to their <u>reference clauses</u> with lines. Pauses are marked with a slash, while sentential pauses are marked with double slashes. Nominalised (thematised) bridging clauses are circled.***

Personal Narrative: A Trip to Lae [skc09_01]

(1) *sisa /   gaamiyong=kût /   laai   ku-ntaamot   taa-ka   <u>ku-gûmot</u> //*
±2days   Gamiyong=COM   Lae   go-NFUT:1DU   say-SS   go-RPST:1DU
'The day before yesterday I wanted to go to Lae with Gaamiyong, (so) we went.'

(2) *a.   **ku-gûmot**   ta-ng-alû /*
go-RPST:1DU   do-DS-23

  b.   na-taam=pû   kadep=mang   kam   <u>nûnû-gûng</u> /
male-female=NOM   road=LOC   down   1PL.O:tell-RPST:23PL

     kadet   wakaa-ngak //
road   damaged-NPST:3SG
'We went, but ᵇthe people down on the road told us that the road was damaged.'

(3) *a.   **taa-ng-alû** /   ya=ba-ka   ba-dem=pa   taa-gûmot*
say-DS-23   here=come-SS   come-IRR:1DU=BEN   say-RPST:1DU

     ta-gû   dom   ta-ng   i=di /
do-SS.DUR   NEG   do-DS   this(ANA)=THM

  b.   wanggût   yeudat /   <u>ku-gûmot</u> //
that:INTNS   anyway   go-RPST:1DU
'(They) said it, and we came here and tried to come, but we couldn't, ᵇyet we went anyway [by foot]'.

(4) *a.   **ya=lû**   ku-ka /*
this=THM   go-SS

  b.   <u>sibi   kum   do-gûmot</u> /   pande=lit //
Sibi   down   sleep-RPST:1DU   Pande=COM
'From here we went, and ᵇwe slept down in Sibi, with Pande.'

(5) *a.   (**wa   do-gûmot   wa=lû**)   siya-ng-alû /*
  there   sleep-RPST:1DU   that=THM   dawn-DS-23

  b.   bûge   mo-gûmot   wa=lû   mo-ka /
again   go.down-RPST:1DU   that=THM   go.down-SS

  c.   kasuka   ku-ka   PMV   flong /
Kasuka   go-SS   PMV   OBL

  d.   blaangkong-gûmot   wa=lû   <u>mo-ka /   laai</u> //
jump-RPST:1DU   that=THM   go.down-SS   Lae
'After we slept there, in the morning, ᵇafter we went down again we went down, and ᶜwent to Kasuka and on a PMV, ᵈwhich we jumped on, went down, to Lae.'

(6) a. **laai ku-mo-ka** /
Lae   go-go.down-SS

b. ku-ka   <u>taaun   wa   ku-nga-gûmot</u> //
go-SS   town   that   go-be-RPST:1DU
'We went down to Lae, and ᵇwent and walked around town.'

(7) a. **taaun   wa   ku-nga-gû** /
town   that   go-be-SS.DUR

b. gaamiyong   napmang-ka /
Gamiyong   1SG.O:leave-SS

c. salamoa   ku-ng-alû /
Salamoa   go-DS-23

d. nak /   ya=ba-ka   ku-ka   <u>ku[du]   do-got</u> /   ten siti //
1SG   here=come-SS   go-SS   there   sleep-RPST:1SG   Tent City
'We walked around town until, ᵇGaamiyong left me, and ᶜwent to Salamoa, and ᵈI, I came here and went to sleep there, at Tent City.'

(8) a. (**kudu   do-got   wa=lû**) siya-ng-alû /
there   sleep-RPST:1SG   that=THM   dawn-DS-23

b. bûge   ba   taaun   wa=ngaatû-ku-gû /
again   come   town   that=stay-go-SS.DUR

c. kadet   mo   kaalin   ta-ak   taa-ka   ba-got   dom //
road   FIN   good   do-PRES:3SG   say-SS   come-RPST:1SG   NEG
'After I slept there, in the morning, ᵇI came again and walked around town until, ᶜI thought the road was okay and I came (but) it wasn't.'

(9) a. kadet   wakaa-gok   taa-ng-alû /
road   damaged-RPST:3SG   say-DS-23

b. bûge=bû=ga   amun /   amun   wa=lû   wa=lû
again=too=INS   ground   ground   that=THM   that=THM

ba-gû   <u>ba-gû-û /</u>   bayaang //
come-SS.DUR   come-SS.DUR   Bayang
'They said the road was (still) damaged, but ᵇyet again by foot I came and came and came, to Bayang.'

(10) a. (ba   bayaang   do-got   wa=lû) siya-ng-alû /
come   Bayaang   sleep-RPST:1SG   that=THM   dawn-DS-23

b. mo=ga   kagang /   <u>laabû-got /</u>   kaasingang //
FIN=INS   village   come.up-RPST:1SG   Kesengen
'After I came and slept at Bayang, in the morning, ᵇI finally came up to the village, to Kesengen.'

2

(11) a. *laabû-got*　　　　*wa=lû*　　*mo=ga /*
　　　　come.up-RPST:1SG　that=THM　FIN=INS

　　　b. *ya=nga-gaam*　　*ya*　　*waagût //*
　　　　here=be-PRES:1PL　this　today
　　'Since I came up already, here we are today.'

Personal Narrative: What I Did Yesterday _[skc10_01]

(12) *kep*　　　　*wan*　　　*ta-got //*
　　yesterday　　that:SIM　do-RPST:1SG
　　'Yesterday I did like this.'

(13) a. *taamengsla*　*aakng-ka /*
　　　　morning　　　arise-SS

　　　b. *sûbat*　*sûna-maa-kong-ka*　　　*i=di /*
　　　　food　　cook.eat-COMPL-throw-SS　this(ANA)=THM

　　　c. *badaang*　*sako-ka /*
　　　　rope　　　hold-SS

　　　d. *kaadûp*　*ule-ka /*
　　　　wood　　break-SS

　　　e. *dinambong*　*be-gûm=mang /*
　　　　Dinambong　PL.O:put-RPST:1PL=LOC

　　　f. *wa=la*　　*ku-got //*
　　　　that=BEN　go-RPST:1SG
　　'I got up in the morning, and ᵇafter finishing cooking and eating, ᶜ(since) we had gotten rope and ᵈbroken firewood and ᵉput it at Dinambong, ᶠI went for that.'

(14) a. *ku-u /*
　　　　go

　　　b. *kaadûp*　*wa*　*dûdûmet-a*　*febû*　　　*be-ka*　　　*i=di /*
　　　　wood　　that　bind-SS　　PL.O:bring　PL.O:put-SS　this(ANA)=THM

　　　c. *febû*　　　*gebûng*　*be-ka*　　　*i=di /*
　　　　PL.O:bring　inside　　PL.O:put-SS　this(ANA)=THM

　　　d. *mandeng /*　*nantaam*　*isit*　*dong*　*ta-gûng /*
　　　　later　　　　people　　kunai　find　do-RPST:23PL

　　　　yaab-et=ta　　　　*lo-got //*
　　　　3PL.O:see-IRR:1SG=BEN　go.up-RPST:1SG
　　'(I) went, and ᵇafter binding the firewood and bringing and putting it, ᶜafter bringing and putting it inside, ᵈlater, I went up to see the people (who) were finding kunai grass.'

3

(15) a. *lo isit dong ta-ka aatû-ku-gû i=di /*
go.up   kunai   find   do-SS   stay-go-SS.DUR   this(ANA)=THM

     b. *tafala ta-ng maa=ba-gûm //*
afternoon   do-DS   COMPL=come-RPST:1PL
'After going up and finding kunai for awhile, ᵇin the afternoon we came back.'

Procedural: How We Prepare a New Garden [skc09_17]

(16) *saaut mada taab-ûtaat //*
Saut   talk   say-NFUT:1SG
'I will speak the language of Saut.'

(17) *tûmang / fi kodaa fepmû-gaam-ang //*
first   garden   new   cut-PRES:1PL-HAB
'First, we cut a new garden.'

(18) a. **na taamûng fi kodaa fep-maa-kong-ka tû-ka** /
male   female   garden   new   cut-COMPL-throw-SS   SG.O:put-SS

     b. *na kadek=kû kaadûp dûnû-maa-ko-ng-alû /*
male   PL=NOM   wood   chop-COMPL-throw-DS-23

     c. *na taamûng falele-ka /*
male   female   lop-SS

     d. *tangaan-tangaan wa=ga bot be-ka /*
branch-PL   that=INS   group   PL.O:put-SS

     e. *tangaan kaa kusang-kusang wa=ga kaadûp mebû=nang*
branch   somewhat   big-PL   that-INS   wood   base=LOC

        klong=gût be-ka /
stand=INTS   PL.O:put-SS

     f. *na kadek=kû kaadûp bin bamo wa=ga fangaakng-ka*
male   PL=NOM   wood   real   trunk   that=INS   PL.O:lift-SS

        kaadûp mebû=nang be-ng-alû /
wood   base=LOC   PL.O:put-DS-23

     g. *be-maa-kong-ka ta-ka mo ba-waam //*
PL.O:put-COMPL-throw-SS   do-SS   FIN   come-PRES:1PL
'The men and women finish cutting the whole new garden, and ᵇthe men chop down all the trees, and ᶜthe men and women lop off (the branches), and ᵈthey make a heap with the branches, and ᵉthey stand up the medium-sized branches at the base of a tree, and ᶠthe men lift up the big tree trunks and put them at the base of a tree, and ᵍwe put it all and once we're finished doing it we come.'

4

(19) a. ***ba*** *do-waam /*
come sleep-PRES:1PL

b. *siya-ng-alû* *bûge* *ku-waam* *wa=lû* *taaweng /*
dawn-DS-23 again go-PRES:1PL that=THM taro

welû *tamet-a* *fuku* *be-ka /* *usu-maa-kong-ka /*
seed carry-SS PL.O:take PL.O:put-SS plant-COMPL-throw-SS

c. *dang* *welû* *ta-ka* *fuku* *usu-maa-kong-ka /*
pitpit seed do-SS PL.O:take plant-COMPL-throw-SS

d. *gulam* *welû* *fuku* *usu-maa-kong-ka /*
aibika seed PL.O:take plant-COMPL-throw-SS

e. *saanggom* *welû* *usu-ka /*
corn seed plant-SS

f. *kaalaaut* *usu-ka /* *usu-maa-kong-ka /*
cabbage plant-SS plant-COMPL-throw-SS

g. *ilobu* *usu-maa-kong-ka/*
banana plant-COMPL-throw-SS

h. *kaadûp* *se-waan=nang /* *aanyaan* *welû* *usu-ka/*
wood cook-NMLS=LOC onion seed plant-SS

i. *bûge* *kaadûp* *daai* *ban* *se-waan=nang* *wa /*
again wood eye a cook-NMLS=LOC that

kaamûng *welû* *usu-ka /* *usu-maa-kong-ka* *be-ka* *mo /*
cucumber seed plant-SS plant-COMPL-throw-SS PL.O:put-SS FIN

j. <u>*ba-ka*</u> *dapmon* *do-waam-ang //*
come-SS sleep sleep-PRES:1PL-HAB

'We come sleep, and [b]in the morning, after we go again, we carry taro seeds and lay them, and we plant them all, and [c]we do the pitpit seeds and we take and plant them all, and [d]we take and plant all the aibika seeds, and [e]we plant the corn seeds, and [f]we plant cabbage, and we plant them all, and [g]we plant all the banana, and [h]where we burned down a tree we plant onion seeds, and [i]again in a place where we burned down a tree we plant cucumber seeds, and once we finish planting them all, [j]we come and sleep.'

(20) a. *gambom* *usu-ka /*
bean plant-SS

b. ***ba-ka*** ***aatû-ku-gû*** *emak /*
come-SS stay-go-SS.DUR moon

yaalanang=ka *wan* *yaabû-ka* *mo /*
three=or that:SIM 3PL.O:see-SS FIN

5

 c. *bûge* *ku-waam-ang* //
   again go-PRES:1PL-HAB
 'We plant beans, and ^bwe come and remain and once three or so months have passed, ^cwe go again.'

(21) *a.* *ku-waam* *wa=lû* *ku* /
    go-PRES:1PL that=THM go

 b. *kaadûp* *tangaan-tangaan* *wa=lû* *mo* *mulin* *ta-ng-alû* /
   wood branch-PL that=NOM FIN dry do-DS-23

 c. *bûge* *e-faale-efaale* *ta-ka* /
   again CAUS-turn-NMLS do-SS

 d. *bot* *be-ka* /
   group PL.O:put-SS

 e. *se-ng-ada* *dû-wang-ang* //
   cook-DS-1PL light-PRES:23PL-HAB
 'After we go we go, and ^bthe tree branches have dried, and ^cwe rotate them again, and ^dwe heap them, and ^ewe light it on fire.'

(22) *a.* *se-ng-ada* *dû-ka* *fû-ng-alû* *mo* /
    cook-DS-1PL light-SS go.down-DS-23 FIN

 b. *ba-waam* *wa=lû* *ba-ka* /
   come-PRES:1PL that=THM come-SS

 c. *kagang* *ya=ngaatû-ku-gû* *mo* / *emak* /
   village here=stay-go-SS.DUR FIN moon

   yaalû=wa *yaalanang=ka* *wan* *yaabû-ka* /
   two=or three=or that:SIM 3PL.O:see-SS

 d. *bûge* *ku-waam* *wa=lû* /
   again go-PRES:1PL that=THM

 e. *fing* *ganang* *ku-ka* *mo* /
   garden plot go-SS FIN

 f. *blaakam* *ta-waam-ang* //
   weed do-PRES:1PL-HAB
 'We light it and once it burns down, ^bafter we've come we come, and ^cremain here in the village until two or three months have passed, and ^dafter we go again, ^eonce we go to the garden, ^fwe do the weeding.'

(23) *a.* *taam-taam=pû* *blaakam* *ta-maa-kong-ka* /
    female-PL=NOM weed do-COMPL-throw-SS

 b. *be-ka* *ba-waam* *wa=lû* *ba-ka* *aatû-ku-gû* /
   PL.O:put-SS come-PRES:1PL that=THM come-SS stay-go-SS.DUR

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c. *bûge*   *ku-ka*   *yaabû-waam*   *i=di*   *mo* /
   again   go-SS   3PL.O:see-PRES:1PL   this(ANA)=THM   FIN

d. *sûbat-sûbat*   *usu-waam*   *wa=lû*   *mo* /
   food-PL   plant-PRES:1PL   that=THM   FIN

e. *talaabû*   *ulumut*   *ta-ka*   *mo* /
   SG.O:take.up   sprout   do-SS   FIN

f. <u>*tû-ng*   *gulat*   *ta-wang-ang*</u> //
   SG.O:put-DS   harvest   do-PRES:23PL-HAB

'The women do all the weeding, and ᵇafter we finish and come, we come and remain for awhile, and ᶜafter we go again and see, ᵈthe foods which we planted, ᵉcome forth and sprout, ᶠthey flourish.'

(24) a. **ta-ng**   *wa*   *yaabû*   *daampa-ka*   *mo*   *ku* /
     do-DS   that   3PL.O:see   happy-SS   FIN   go

b. *blaakam*   *mebû*   *kam*   *i*
     weed   base   down   this(ANA)

     <u>*kafet-kafet*   *ta-ka*   *aatû-ku-waam-ang*</u> //
     scrape-NMLS   do-SS   stay-go-PRES:1PL-HAB

'And we see them and rejoice and we go, and ᵇscrape the weeds down on their stalks and continue (to do it).'

(25) a. **wa**   **ta-ka**   **aatû-ku-gû-û**   *mo* /
     that   do-SS   stay-go-SS.DUR   FIN

b. *gulam* / *gambom* / *saanggom* / *kaamûng*   *kadek*   *wa=lû*   *i=di* /
     aibika   bean   corn   cucumber   PL   that=THM   this(ANA)=NOM

c. *tûmang*   <u>*gelaa-wang-ang*</u> //
     first   grow-PRES:23PL-HAB

'(We) continue to do that until, ᵇthe aibika, beans, corn, and cucumber, ᶜthey grow up first.'

(26) a. **ta-ng**   *tûmang*   *wa*   *na-ka*   *aatû-ku-ka*   *mo* /
     do-DS   first   that   eat-SS   stay-go-SS   FIN

b. *taaweng* / *ilobu* / *dang*   *kadek* / *gulat*   *yaalû=wa*   *yaalanang=ka*
     taro   banana   pitpit   group   year   two=or   three=or

   wan   *yaabû-ng* /
   that:SIM   3PL.O:see-DS

c. *gelaa-ng*   *i*   *mo* /
     grow-DS   this(ANA)   FIN

d. *ne-ka*   *sûna-ka*   *aatû-ku-ng-ada* /
     dig-SS   cook.eat-SS   stay-go-DS-1PL

e. *fi*   *wa=lû*   *mo*   *ku-ka* /
     garden   that=NOM   FIN   go-SS

f. *bûdûm-pa-ak-ngang //*
  overgrowth-VBLS-PRES:3SG-HAB

'And first we eat this for awhile until, [b/c]after the taro, banana, and pitpit grow for about two or three years, [d]we dig it up and cook and eat it until, [e/f]the garden has gone bush.'

(27) *fi*   *tanak=kûnang*   *mada*   *taa-it //*
   garden   gardening=GEN   talk   say-PRES:1SG
   'I've told about gardening.'