AWAD BING GRAMMAR ESSENTIALS

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The Awad Bing language[2] is an Austronesian language, the largest in the East Bel group (Ross 1988), spoken by about 1,450 people, most of whom live in six main villages and a few scattered hamlets on the Rai coast of Madang Province, approximately 130km south east of Madang by road, and from approximately 8km to 20km by road, west of Saidor, the government district headquarters. The language which is the most closely related to 'Awad Bing' is 'Wab', a language spoken by three villages around Saidor. Often when people from Yamai and Wab villages meet, they will converse with each in their own language. Mindiri forms the third language in the East Bel group.

The name for the language has been somewhat problematical, and most names used refer to a particular village or dialect and do not identify the whole language. One of the more common names used has been Biliau (Bennett 1986 and Ross 1988, and others). This is the

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[1] Abbreviations used in this article include the following:

1,2, or 3	Person	f.neg	Functional negator	pst	Past
act	Actor	f.tim	Future time	pst.tme	Past time
ap	Apposition marker	foc	Focus	pl	Plural
asp	Aspect	gl	Goal	p	Posessive
assoc	Associative marker	gvn	Given	posib	Possibly
ben	Benefactive	hab	Habitual	pres	Present
C	Consonant	imm	Imminent	proc	Process
cnj	Conjunction	imp	Imperitive	pron	Pronoun
com	Comitative (Accompaniment)	in	Inclusive	quant	Quantifier
conc	Concurrent	indef	Indefinite	rcp	Reciprocal
cont	Continuous aspect	ins	Instrument	rdp	Reduplicated
cpr	Comparitive	inten	Intensifier	rflx	Reflex
cpl	Completive aspect	inter	Interrogative	rlt	Result
cpd	Compound	irr	Irrealis	rt	Root
deic	Deictic	loc	Locative	s	Singular
dem	Demonstrative	mkr	Marker	semb	Semblative
desid	Desiderative	mod	Modifier	sim	Simultaneous
dist.mk	Distinguishing mark	neg	Negative	spec	Specific
dtv	Dative	nom	Nominaliser	sub	Subject
dur	Durative	NP	Noun phrase	uct	Uncertain
emph	Emphasis	obj	Object	V	Vowel
ex	Exclusive	obj.fr	Object fronting marker		

[2] All people speaking the language, living both in the local census area and throughout Papua New Guinea were all listed and tallied by coworkers in June 1992. Note: It was assumed that in mixed marriages, children born to Awad Bing women will learn the language, whilst those born to Awad Bing men are more likely to learn their mothers' language, and so were not included.

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name of a coastal village, the name of the Lutheran church mission station and the local Lutheran church circuit. The language has also been referred to by several of the other village names of the group and as *sengam* by Z'ggraggen, meaning 'what' in Galeg village. The Suit villagers refer to the language as *semang* and in the other villages it is called *samang* (what) or *bing* (word/language). The words for 'what' indicate the division of three main dialects, ie Galeg, Suit and the other villages; although in effect there is a fourth at Yamai village in the *samang* dialect. The most noticable distinguishing feature is a phonological change from 'z' (at Biliau, Teterai and traditionally at Malangai) to 'd'. The name which the language committee has chosen is *Awad Bing*, 'talk of our(incl) mouths'. It is common to all dialects.

The first missionary, a Samoan man named Jerome, came to the area in the mid 1920s and settled at Sangpat near Galeg village. The Bel language was used as the church language and as the language for education until the 'tok ples' (Bel) school program closed in the area. As a result the Bel language has had an influence through the contribution of vocabulary, especially in Christian religious terminology. Pidgin is spoken by all Awad Bing speakers. This too has had a significant influence on the current vocabulary, especially on names for new items being introduced into the culture. There are many descriptive language names for such items, e.g. *mahan-waag* = 'bird-boat' for 'aeroplane' and *wiiy wahalbad* = 'four legs' for 'car'; but now the younger generation is substituting pidgin terminology and mocking the the continued use of the adapted vocabulary, thus increasing the pidginisation of the language.

This study is mainly based on transcribed text material (converted to the Yamai dialect if necessary) which we gathered over a period of 5 years from the four villages, Teterai, Yamai, Biliau and Malangai. Examples will be written in the Yamai dialect.

Little material has been obtained from Galeg and Suit villages which have substantial differences in many of their words. The villages were approx 84% and 82% cognate respectively, with Teterai (our initial location), using the standard SIL word list and checking that at least 50% of the letters were in the right sequence.
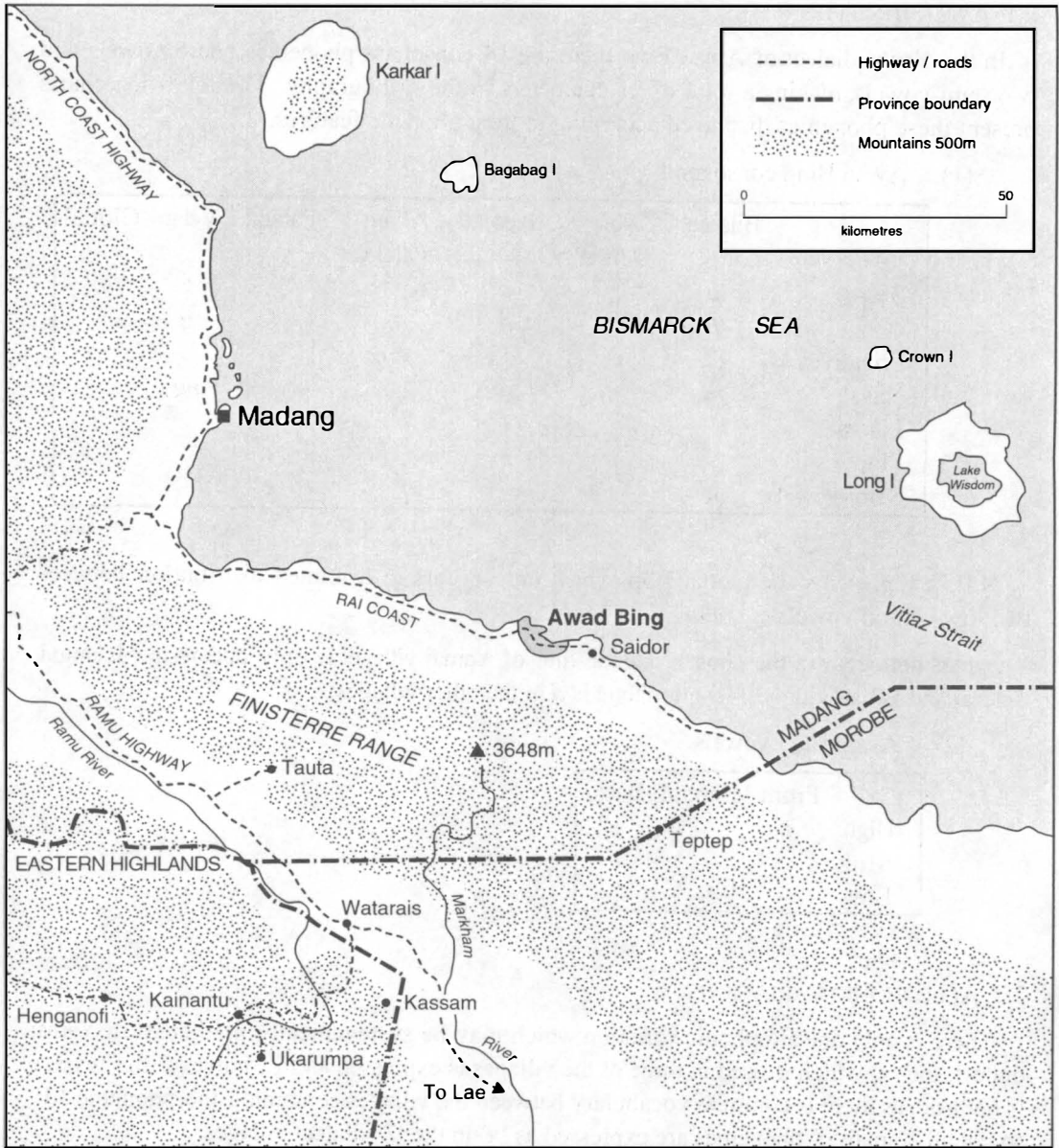
MAP: LOCATION OF THE AWAD BING LANGUAGE, MADANG PROVINCE

2. PHONOLOGY

This discussion of Awad Bing phonology is intended only to provide some basic information to the reader to assist in the interpretation of the examples presented in this paper. (For a more complete presentation, see Bennett 1986).

2.1 AWAD BING PHONEMES

In the Yamai dialect of Awad Bing there are 14 consonant phonemes and 5 vowels and two semi-vowels, making a total of 21 characters in the orthography. The following charts present these phonemes displayed according to their phonetic features.

(1)   Awad Bing consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Alveo-Palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	*p*		*t*			*k*	*(h)*
	b		*d*			*g*	
Fricatives		*f*	*s*	*(z)*			
Nasals	*m*		*n*			*ng*	
Lateral			*l*				
Flap			*r*				
Semi-vowels	*w*					*y*	

N.B. *h* represents the glottal stop which only occurs in a limited distribution between two low-central vowels e.g. *aha.*

z does not occur in the chosen dialect, that of Yamai village. It only occurs in Malangai, Teterai and Biliau villages. Its allophone is *d* in the other villages.

(2)   Awad Bing vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i*		*u*
Mid	*e*		*o*
Low		*a*	

2.2 ALLOPHONIC VARIATIONS

There is only one allophonic variation which may be systematically predicted. In Yamai dialect, the 'z' which is used in three of the villages is expressed as 'd', however the reverse is not true, as there is common vocabulary between the villages containing the phoneme 'd', so not all Yamai 'd' phonemes are expressed as 'z' in the 'Z' dialect villages.

Another but quite limited allophonic variation which is lexically determined is the expression of the phoneme 'p' in the word initial position in the 'Z' dialect as 'f' in the Yamai dialect.

2.3 SYLLABLES, WORDS AND STRESS

Words in Awad Bing are phonological stress groups consisting of from one to six syllables. Stress is usually predictable, occurring on the penultimate syllable of each word, with very few exceptions which do not appear to form a predictable class, but are stressed on the ultimate syllable providing a contrast to the penultimate stress.

Words in Awad Bing form a speech continuum and thus often the borders between word types are somewhat fuzzy.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1 NOUNS

Nouns in Awad Bing fill the head slot in noun phrases, and compared to verbs have few affixes.

3.1.1 NOUN CATEGORIES

There are several ways in which to categorise nouns. Some of these categories are determined on the basis of formal contrasts e.g. common versus proper nouns, and alienable versus inalienable nouns. Each of these may consist of a simple or compound noun root.

3.1.1.1 COMMON NOUNS

Simple common nouns consist of a noun root which can occur alone or in isolation, see examples (3)–(5).

(3)   *aab*
      house

(4)   *tamuol*
      man

(5)   *karangruong*
      brown ant sp.

Compound nouns consist of a complex of roots, usually two noun roots in juxtaposition, however sharing one primary stress between them (unmarked) and not having individual word stress, i.e. individual stress per root/noun. They are also very frequently used, in comparison to compound noun phrases, which are heard much less and so are not perceived, and consequently not spoken, as a unit.

(6)   *awul   anangey*
      hook   fruit.of
      fish hook

(7)   *tamuol peen*
      man   woman
      people

(8)   *yamer midiliy*
      cloth   short
      policeman

(9)   *gising   mingaw*
      writing   knowledge
      school teacher

These may be further divided into subgroups according to their ability to be followed by the locative clitic -*an*, alone. People, plants, animals and those things which are more 'thing'-like semantically, for example, 'canoes' cannot take -*an* when in that role. Rather they must have a more specific adverbial locative, e.g. 'near' to which the general locative clitic is appended. All nouns which are able to take the locative clitic alone can also be more definitely specified, as in examples (12) and (13).

(10)   ***goon   bad   tamuol-an badey***
          dog   a   man-loc   is
* N.B. example (10) above is structurally but not semantically possible.

(11)   *goon   bad   tamuol singiy-an badey*
        dog   a   man   near-loc   is
        a dog is near the man

(12)   *Nam aab-an   y-alal.*
        1s   house-loc 1s-go.rdp
        I am going to the house.
(N.B. 'house' here is a definite location, near at hand)

(13)   *Mutmuut aab   paparum-an   badey*
        rubbish   house   underneath-loc   is
        There is rubbish under the house.
(N.B. here 'house' is a specific location)

3.1.1.2 ALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS:

Another division which can be made between types of nouns is that between alienable nouns and inalienable nouns. This distinction is made on the basis of the conjugation of inalienable nouns and most kin terms for possession by a possessive pronominal suffix.

Alienably possessed nouns have a freeform possessive pronoun to mark them. Some examples of the free form possessive pronouns are:

(14)   *nanew   goon*
        1s.p   dog
        my dog

(15)   *mimim   bafalow*
        2pl.p   buffalo
        your(pl) buffalo

(16)   *miniy   aruor*
        3s.p   string.bag
        her bilum (string bag)

(17) *Niyoum* **dawaw** *mamaham* **waag** *fangey-an badey.*
2s.p   betelnut 1pl.p.ex   canoe on.top-loc is
Your betelnut is on our(ex) canoe.

3.1.1.3 INALIENABLY POSSESSED NOUNS

Amongst the inalienable nouns (and kin terms) there are a few exceptions. Kin terms of address, i.e. the way in which a person refers to another, are inflectable, but sometimes this form is quite different to the forms for reference. These are the exception rather than the rule, for example see (18), (19) and (20) below.

(18) *kak*
older brother (naming term)

compared to:

(19) *taw-aham*
older.sib-2s.p
your older brother

(20) *taw-ey*
older.sib-3s.p
his older brother

Kin terms of address do not take posessive suffixes, but instead they may occur with a free form possessive pronoun, as in example (21) below.

(21) *nanew* **maam**
1s.p   father
my father

There are some body parts also which form part of the exception to taking the inalienable possessive suffix. These I believe have reasonable semantic justification, 'that of being items usually only referred to in 3rd person forms, in animals slaughtered, etc. and not being a personal body part commonly referred to.' These body parts do not take the possessive suffixes, e.g.:

(22) *yiryir*
liver

(23) *gawgaaw*
lung

(24) *miniy ragraag*
3s.p   ribs
his ribs

Occasionally for emphasis, or as an exclamation, terms which normally function without free form pronouns will have these added. This usage however does not occur in normal discourse.

(25) *Yin wiiy   suoy di yin buab sagsag 'nanew wiiy-ew   nanew wiiy-ew!'*
3s foot.3s stab cnj 3s yell strongly 1s.p   foot-1s.p 1s.p   foot-1s.p
He stabbed his foot and screamed 'my foot! my foot!'

Body parts which take a possessive suffix may also take the locative *-an* where appropriate, for example (26). They are not however inflected with the other locative suffix *-ay*.

(26) **dim-iy-an**   *tey*
hand-3s.p-loc put
put it in his hand

3.1.1.3.1 COMPOUND FORMS

Some inalienably possessed body parts consist of compounds. In these the first part of the compound takes the possessive suffix.

(27) *wiy-em gugor*
leg-2s   toe
your toe(s)

(28) *ate-w   bibiy*
underside-1s   ?
my chest

N.B. For a listing of possessive suffixes in tabular form, see the section on pronouns.

3.1.1.4 PROPER NOUNS

These are the names of people or places. They are never possessed, specified or modified by an adjective.

(29) *Madiy*
Madiy
a man's name

(30) *Galeg*
Galeg
name of a village

Some names are compounds consisting of a proper noun plus a common noun, e.g.: often a woman's name consists of a proper noun plus *peen* the word for 'woman'.

(31) *Subon   peen*
Subon   woman
a lady's name

(32) *Saliem   awey*
Saliem   mouth
ground name (of a river mouth) (sounds like 'selemoy')

3.1.2 DERIVATION OF NOUNS

Verbs are nominalised principally through the suffixing of morphemes to the verb root.

There are four basic forms of the nominalising suffixes. There do not appear to be any semantic or morphological conditioning of which one is used on a given verb, and so we assume that the conditioning is lexical.

3.1.2.1 *-ang* AFFIX

The verbs in (33) below, undergo a morphophonemic change in the verb root to agree in vowel roundness with the suffix *-ang*. Elision, similar to that occurring in the first syllable when verbs are reduplicated, occurs here before the morphophonemic change from rounded to unrounded vowels, where there were rounded vowels in the stem. The following examples of this process show that these tend to be abstract nouns, i.e. items which aren't physically touchable.

(33) Verb Root   Noun

buab	animal cry	*bibang*	a bellow
buol	talk	*bilang*	a speech
luong	know	*lingang*	knowledge
yien	sleep	*yinang*	a sleep
yuok	scare	*yikang*	a scare
roy	to plan	*riyang*	a plan
badey	be	*badeyang*	lifestyle
nguror	snore	*ngirang*	a snore
yuw	blow	*yahang*	wind**

**with this form there has been elision of the first syllable of the noun and a morphonemic change with the insertion of a glottal stop in the ultimate syllable.

(34) *Miniy **bilang**-an nam ya-msasus.*
      his   speech-loc I   I-avoid
      I avoid his speech.

(35) *Nam **wunang**-an mow ya-bdey.*
      I   fishing-loc hab I-am
      I spend my time at fishing.

(36) *Goon **bibang** wangeey-mat du-bubuab.*
      dog   bark   big-many   3pl-bark.rdp
      The dogs made a lot of noise barking.

(37) ***Yahang** man ahay labniy **yuw** siy.*
      wind   foc tree leaf   blow   come
      The wind blew the leaves.

3.1.2.2 *-uong* AFFIX

With the suffix *-uong*, the verb root does not usually undergo a morphophonemic change. The following are examples of this process which show that most of these tend to be abstract nouns.

(38)   Verb root   Noun
    fing   whistle   *fanguong*   a whistle sound
    ngung   hum   *nganguong*   hum
    suwyey   read   *suwyeyuong*   thing to read
    tahak   stuck   *taktakuong*   glue
    yaw   rest   *yawuong*   a holiday
    wung   wash   *wunguong*   a washing
    par   walk   *paruong*   treacherous one*

    *This term is a colloquial term (with an extension of meaning) which arose from those whose way of life was treacherous to the community and now only occasionally used for an undesirable person.

(39)   *Niuspepa* **suwyeyuong** *miniy*   *badey*   *i?*
    newspaper   for.reading   purpose   exists   inter
    Do you have a newspaper for reading? (i.e. not smoking)

(40)   *Wun* **taktakuong** *bid*   *i?*
    2s   glue   com   inter
    Do you have any glue?

(41)   *Kadub*   *mini*   **nganguong**   *nang*   *neysong.*
    Kadub   3s.p   humming   deic   different
    Kadub's humming is different.

(42)   *Wun* **fanguong** *bad*   *nang lunguong i?*
    you   whistle   a   deic   hear   inter
    Can you hear that whistling?

3.1.2.3 *-ing* AFFIX

The third affix *-ing* with the verb root sometimes undergoing a morphophonemic change. The following are examples of this process which show that these may either be abstract or non-abstract nouns.

(43)   Verb Root   Noun
    diwey   laugh   *diwiying*   laughter
    fahad   whistle   *fading*   a lip whistle
    fing   whistle   *finging*   a finger whistle
    fung   beat   *finging*   a beating
    gis   write   *gising*   the writing
    lung   drink   *linging*   a drink
    wahag   call   *wahaging*   a call
    ying   dance   *yinging*   a dance

sir	fill up	*sirsiring*	clothes
yuw	blow	*yuwing*	way of blowing a fire

(44) *Gamey yiduom **yinging** bad yoy fus-an.*
now   night   dance   a   f.tim   appear-irr
Tonight there'll be a dance.

(45) *Wun **waging** bad nang lunguong i?*
You   call   indef   deic   hear   inter
Did you hear a shout.

(46) *Kerosin yin **linging** damung.*
kerosine   3s   drink   bad
Kerosine is a dangerous drink.

That this affix derives mainly factitive nouns may be seen from the following table and the examples below it.

(47)
Verb		Noun	
dos	sit	*dising*	for sitting
nahay	cook	*naynaying*	for cooking
palul	run	*palaling*	running
ruw	dig	*ruwing*	for digging
tung	light	*tining*	for lighting

(48) ***Dising** abahay o.noog badey.*
sitting   place   over.there   be
The thing to sit on is over there.

(49) ***naynaying** miniy abang w-ab siy*
for.cooking   3s.p   things   2s.get   2s.come
bring the cooking utensils

(50) *Nam **palaling** wiy sag ya-siy.*
I   running   with   only   I-came
I came running (all the way).

(51) *taan **ruwing** miniy nahal*
ground   digging   3s.p   time
the time for digging the ground

3.1.2.4 *-eng/ieng* AFFIX

Another possible grouping could include those which have an *-eng* ending as in (52) below:

(52)
Verb Root		Noun	
feng	hand whistle	*fangeng*	a whistle style
mahat	die	*matieng*	dead person
par	walk	*parieng*	style of walking

yaw	rest	*yawieng*	holiday
wung	wash	*wungieng*	a washing

(53) *Kolin   miniy   parieng*
Colin   3s.p   walk
Colin's walking style

It would appear that there should be a phonological or semantic rationale for the above categories, however, so far none has been found. They seem to be units in their own right.

At this point in time it has not been established why the different endings occur. In one case, *par* 'walk' and possibly more, different endings are attached to the same verb roots producing different meanings, and in several cases, e.g. *yaw* 'rest', and *wuong* 'wash', identical meanings. It appears that there may be some morphological government of endings, (however as there are meaning changes this is not very likely).

3.1.2.5 ADJECTIVISING A VERB

When adjectivising a verb, a duplicated form of the verb is used, however with the elision of the glottal stop (if it was present) and the suffix *-iy* is affixed, as in (50) below. This indicates a state which exists now having occurred in past time.

(54) *Abang   mul-muol-iy   sag   yabab.*
thing   fall-fall-adj   only   I-get.rdp
I just got the fallen ones.

(55) *Yiy   matmaatiy,   yiy   bad   kiringkurung   d-ab   tiyaham!*
fish   dead   fish   neg   make.noise   3pl-get   not
The fish were dead, the fish didn't make a sound!

3.2 PRONOUNS

3.2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

There are 7 basic free personal pronouns, with a simple singular-plural differentiation, however for 1st person plural, a difference between inclusive and exclusive exists .

(56)
Person	Singular Form	Plural Form
1st	*nam*	*mam* (ex)
		yid (in)
2nd	*wun*	*an*
3rd	*yin*	*yin*

(57) *Nam   aw-ey   ya-bit.*
1s   mouth-3s   1s-ignore
I ignored what she said.

(58) *Mam   Saidor-an   m-al   gam   ma-siy.*
1pl.ex   Saidor-loc   1pl.ex-go   then   1pl.ex-come
We went to Saidor and then we came.

In normal speech, frequently the personal pronoun will be missing, as verbs contain an obligatory subject agreement prefix which cross-references the people or things spoken about (as the subject and/or object of an utterance) as in the example below:

(59) *ariya   ya-ray   siy   yiy   nang*
     so.then 1s-pull 3s.come fish that
     so then I pulled that fish in

3.2.1.1 THE DUAL *tam*

There is a pronoun like word *tam* 'two together' which in effect gives a duality, but there are no separate pronouns for such. It denotes an emphasis on two people doing something together and is quite specific for people (i.e. it is not used where animals accompany people, or for inanimate objects). It may be used in conjunction with any of the plural forms, to designate or limit the number to two people being referred to.

Refer to example (456) in 5.3.1, and the examples below:

(60) *yin **tam** d-iliel*
     3pl dual 3pl-go.rdp
     those two are going

(61) *Abang   nahal dokta Kuda   badey di   ariya kiap   siy   ab-yahaw*
     thing   day   Dr   Kuder be   cnj cnj govt.official come get-1s.gen

     ***tam** m-al.*
     dual 1pl-go
     (This) event (occurred) whilst Dr Kuder was here, the patrol officer came and got me and we two went together.

(62) *...ni-pinpaan   di   **tam** di-bdey.*
     rflx-give.rdp cnj dual 3pl-be
     ...they were there fighting (lit: giving it to) each other.

N.B. There is a separate comitative morpheme *bid*, and this can be substituted for the dual *tam* when two people are involved. If the substitution however is out of a given context it could be understood to mean any number of people were accompanying a stated person. For a discussion of the comitative morpheme *bid* see §4.1.2.

3.2.2 REFLEXIVE/EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

These pronouns usually occur in conjunction with the previously mentioned personal pronouns and are used for emphasis and to designate actions which the actor does to himself. In fact there is agreement between the reflexive pronoun and the verbal suffix, both agreeing in person (see 3.4.3.3).

(63) Person Singular Form Plural Form
     1st   *subow*   *sibmaham* (ex)
                            suboud (in)

	2nd	*suboum*	*sibmim*
	3rd	*sibiy*	*suboud*

(64) *Nam lingang tiyaham **subow**   ya-kap-wahaw.*
　　　1s   think   not   1s.rflx   1s-cut-1s.rflx
　　　I cut myself accidentally.

(65) *Yin **sibiy**   fing-ey.*
　　　3s   3s.rflx   kill-3s.rflx
　　　He killed himself (suicided).

They are also used separately or by themselves in colloquial speech as an utterance or an answer to a question. This often requires the knowledge of what has just taken place to fill in the implied information. An intensifier is often used in such cases where those referred to are solely responsible for an action.

(66) ***suboum***
　　　2s.rflx
　　　(you decide for) yourself

Or if slightly more emphasis is desired:

(67) *wun **suboum***
　　　2s   2s.rflx
　　　you (do it) yourself

(68) ***suboud** sag*
　　　3pl.rflx   only
　　　(It is the concern of) themselves alone

N.B. Both forms, namely with both the pronoun and the intensifier, *sag* aren't to be used together.

3.2.3 POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

3.2.3.1 FREE FORMS

Posession is indicated by posessive pronouns which exist both in free and bound forms (as pronominal suffixes to nouns). Pronominal suffixes mark posession on inalienable nouns, (both body parts and kinship terms). The posessive pronouns are conversely used to mark alienable items. Both reflexive and posessive pronouns exhibit some vowel harmony.

Possessive Pronouns:

(69) | Person | Singular Form | Plural Form |
|--------|---------------|-------------|
| 1st | *nanew* | *mamaham* (ex) |
| | | *minid* (in) |
| 2nd | *niyoum* | *mimim* |
| 3rd | *miniy* | *miniid* |

(70) **miniy** *aab*
      3s.p   house
      his house

(71) **mamaham**   *goon*
      1s.ex.p   dog
      our (exclusive) dog

3.2.3.2 BOUND FORMS

The suffixes are very similar to the set of reflexive pronoun affixes and the object suffixes on verbs.

(72) Person   Singular Form   Plural Form
      1st   *-wahaw*   *-maham* (ex)
                                *-Vd** (in)
      2nd   *-m*   *-mim*
      3rd   *-Ø*   *-Vd**

*indicates that the vowel is phonologically conditioned.
-Ø indicates a zero morpheme.

It is relevant to mention two other suffixes here, namely *-ang* and *-akam*. The **-ang** suffix is an associative specifier which specifies a noun to a previous noun (see 3.9.2.5).

(73) **tam-ad**
      father-3pl.pl
      their father

(74) **tam-ad-ang**
      father-3pl.p-assoc
      their own individual fathers

(75) *Yamai* **peen-ang**   *mug*   *d-iliel.*
      Yamai   woman-assoc already 3pl-go.rdp
      The Yamai women have already gone.

Also see examples (81) and (82) below, where it is an adjectival suffix also indicating association with the noun (understood to be part of a larger group) being described.

The *-akam* suffix is used to indicate a grouping of a more general nature.

(76) **tam-ad-akam**
      father-3pl.p-pl.p
      their fathers (their own fathers and their father's brothers)

(77) *miniy* **peen-akam**
      3s.p   woman-pl.p
      his women (sisters, mothers, cousins, etc.)

(78) **ni-yahay-akam**
3s-uncle-pl.p
his uncles

(79) *Sandey skul   gising.mingaw niek   **naluw-akam** wahag-ad.*
Sunday school teacher   child   young-spec   call-3pl.dtv
The Sunday school teacher called (all) the young children (mixture of ages, e.g.
3 years to 12 years).

More analysis needs to be done to be able to clearly differentiate between these suffixes
and delineate their usage. They are also used with adjectives as adjectival modifiers. Some
further examples are below:

(80) *malwey-akam*
long-spec
the longest (amongst a group)

(81) *buaw   malweywey-ang*
bamboo   very.long-assoc
the longest bamboo (amongst long ones)

(82) *fow.fow-ang*
new.new-assoc
the newest

3.2.4 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstrative pronouns occur as modifiers in descriptive noun phrases, they show
positional relationships from the speaker's orientation.

(83) *ning*
this (near the speaker)

(84) *nang*
that (near the hearer)

The demonstrative pronoun *nang* also refers to a previously mentioned topic in a speech
flow in discourse (or given information). It is also used as a relative clause marker as in
example (85) below:

(85) ***teet   teet   yin d-iel   nang in du-fus***
village   village   3pl 3pl-went   rlcl   3pl 3pl-arrived
(the people from) those villages who went, arrived

(86) ***nung***
that (at a distance from both the speaker and hearer)

The locative clitic *ey* is used to transform these pronouns to indicate an object's position,
in a stronger way, either in close proximity to the speaker, near the hearer or away from
both the speaker and hearer. See example (87) below:

(87) *Goon samang sibiy nang niyoum? Ey* **nung**.
    dog   what   really deic 2s.p   loc deic
    Which of these dogs is yours? That one (away over there).

N.B. For a more complete description of demonstratives, see §3.6.1.3.

3.3 LOCATIVES

Locatives fill the location slot in the clause or sentence, e.g. in an isolated utterance in answer to a question. The location word or phrase is always followed by a locative clitic, which can mean 'in', 'at' 'on' 'from' 'under' or 'towards'.

3.3.1 COMMON LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Some common locative adverbs are listed below, with the common location clitic *-an* attached as a suffix.

(88)   behind him   *meriy-an*
        in front of him   *noy-an*
        under (a house)   *paparum-an*
        underneath (general) *atey bibiy-an*
        on (top of)   *fangey-an*
        above   *gabey-an*
        in the middle of   *bisiy-an*
        near   *singiy-an*
        in/inside   *yiliy-an*
        outside   *wit-an*
        down below   *koot-an*
        in the body of   *tiniiy-an*

Examples:

(89) *...nanganang siy* **koot-an**.
     and.then   come below-loc
   ...and then it came down below.

(90) *...i.di*   *balus*   *rey*   **bisiy-an**   *pa-malmuol*.
    at.the.same.time aeroplane kunai middle-loc total-fall.and.scatter
   ...as result the planes fell down scattered everywhere in the middle of the kunai.

(91) *...taw-ad*   **singi-d-an**   *di-sirir*.
    older.sibling-3pl near-3pl-loc 3.pl-go.down
   ...they went down near their older siblings.

3.3.2 OTHER LOCATIVES: *gan*, *ganay* AND *gay*

The word *gay* is mostly used for a general positional location in contrast to a more definite destination. There appears to be elision of the *g* in the locative if the noun to which

the locative is attached also ends in *g*. Note the contrast of examples (92), (93), and (95) with (94).

> (92) ...*wiyuw   **gay** di-bdey*
>   mountain loc   3pl-remain
>   ...they stayed in the moutains

> (93) ...*noug   balbad   **gay** di   mun fahat*
>   over.there other.side loc cnj again float
>   ...over the otherside and again floated

> (94) ...*palanggis makiesiy ya-raw di y-al   dugduug-ay.*
>   axe   small   1s-get cnj 1s-go bush-loc
>   ...I get my small axe and go to the bush.

The *use of gay* also appears to be becoming more obsolete as many people are only using the locative clitic *-an. Gay* is also a shortened form of the word *ganay*, the word for 'where' when the speaker sees the person going and asks where he/she is headed. This is likely to be in effect *gan + -ay*, 'where + -loc', for example:

> (95) *Madi   **gay**   yiliel?*
>   Madi   where   go.rdp
>   Where is Madi going?

This is short for:

> (96) *Madi   gan-**ay**   yiliel?*
>   Madi   where-loc   go.rdp
>   Where is Madi going?

The interrogative *gan* is used when a person has departed quite a while before and you have no idea where he or she is. If you later meet someone for whom you had searched fruitlessly you can also use this form to ask where they where as in example (97) below:

> (97) *Wun **gan**-an   w-al   gam siy?   Nam niyoum-an ya-sarwahay damom.*
>   2s   where-loc 2s-go then come 1s   2s.p-dtv   1s-search   futile
>   From where have you come? I searched futilely for you.

There is thus some inconsistency between speakers, however most often the locative or the name of a location is following the verb or verb phrase. The change is likely to be due to a change in emphasis, or to give a nuance the speaker wants to convey. I believe that the topicality affects the placement of the locative in relationship to the position of the verb. The post-verbal position tends to be used for a lower topicality that the pre-verbal position. See the contrast below between examples (98) and (99) as an illustration of this.

> (98) *Yid   Tanong-**an**   t-al-al...*
>   1pl.in Tanong-loc   1pl.in-go-rdp
>   We are going to Tanong...

> (99) *Gumbiy-**an** gam d-iel   Ayawang-**an**.*
>   Gumbiy-loc then 3pl-went Ayawang-loc
>   When they got to Gumbiy they went to Ayawang.

(100) *Miniid aruor du-rwaw di day di-par d-iel Saidor-ay*.
3.pl.p bilum 3pl-gather cnj just 3pl-walk 3pl-go Saidor-loc
They just got their bilums and went towards Saidor.

(101) *Aw-ey ya-bit, ya-bdiy, waag ya-suk yiel mahas-an*.
mouth-2s.p 1s-ignore 1s-arise canoe 1s-push 3s.go sea-loc
I ignored her, arose, pushed the canoe out to sea.

A positional locative will generally precede the verb or verb phrase, however this is also variable.

(102) *Taab gagariy-an miniid aruor du-yuor di du-doos taab*
mat back.of-loc 3pl.p net.bag 3pl-put.pl.objects cnj 3pl-sit mat
fangey-an.
on.top.of-loc.
They put their string bags at the back of the mats and (then) they sat down on the mats.

3.4 VERBS

Verbs in Awad Bing are the action or doing words, and appear to fall into two classes each of which may contain both transitive and intransitive verbs and those in between which are shades with more or less transitivity. The two groups are the *-ahay* and non - *ahay* verbs.

3.4.1 *ahay* VERBS

This is a small lexical closed class of verbs which form their non-continuous aspect form by obligatorily occurring with the first order suffix *-ahay*. This class is illustrated in the table below:

103) *-ahay* verb
n-ahay	cook
s-ahay	slice
dug-ahay	jump
yag-ahay	climb
tuwn-ahay	try
karw-ahay	sweep
balng-ahay	throw pl. objects
sabang-ahay	wait for
kamlaw-ahay	wander
tambab-ahay	swing around
badang-ahay	throw down
palanglang-ahay	wonder

To form the continuous aspect, these verbs take the suffix *-yahay* which possibly is a reduplicated form of *-ahay*. Two verbs have been found in which the usual continuous aspect suffix appears to be *-ayahay* as in the examples below:

(104) ...*yiy   gedlalawey   sabadadaad tiktuk paan   **pa-mt-ayahay**   bi   pil*
       fish   gills   destroy   break   give.3s cpl-die-ahay.rdp   cnj   gather

*waag-an   **balng-ayahay**   yiliy-an   d-iel.*
canoe-loc   throw.down.pl.objects-ahay.rdp   inside-loc   3pl-go
...he broke (and) destroyed the fish's gills (they were) all dying and then gathered them throwing them into the inside of the canoe.

(105) *Polis   bad   man nang **kamlaw-yahay**   teet   dang   yiel.*
       policeman indef foc   deic   wander-ahay.rdp village look   go
       A policeman was wandering looking about as he went around the village.

(106) ***Watal-ahay** yiel   butuw yiniy-an   toy.*
       ascend-ahay 3s.go   cycad   top.shoots-loc 3s.hold
       It went up and perched on the top leaves of the cycad tree.

If however the speaker desires to see a completed event as having occurred as an event at a point in time, the form of the verb (for some verbs only) is changed, to a form more like the other general class of verbs without *ahay*.

(107) *Yin nuoran   taan   **karw-ahay**.*
       3s   yesterday ground sweep-ahay
       Yesterday she was sweeping the ground.

(108) *Yin nuoran   taan   **karow**.*
       3s   yesterday ground swept
       Yesterday she swept the ground.

(109) *Mug   matey abang   day **magarng-ahay** yiliel.*
       already old   something just finish-ahay   going
       A long time ago something was finishing.

(110) *Goon nuoran   midiy ahang   **magareng**.*
       dog   yesterday meat eat   finish
       Yesterday the dog ate the meat.

3.4.2 NON-*ahay* VERBS

For all other verbs, the verb stem marks the non-continuous aspect, provided that it is not reduplicated.

Verb roots normally consist of a simple CVC or CVVC pattern and are reduplicated to give a continuous aspect to the verb. The imperative form is considered the underlying form because all other inflected manifestations of the verb are shown to be derived/sourced from imperitives (being also the simplest element of the verb in every case.)

Note: Vowel elision sometimes occurs to the second syllable of verbs in their affixed form in both *-ahay* and non *-ahay* verbs reducing by one the number of syllables in the affixed word, possibly for easier or quicker pronunciation. Examples (104) above, and (111) and (112) below exhibit this phenomena.

(111) *Ahay   bad   ya-koup ya-bding   sarir   siy   taan-an   de*
tree   indef 1s-chop   1s-throw.down 3s.descend 3s.come ground-loc cnj

waag   miniy youm ya-roy   ya-barwit.
canoe 3s.p semb 1s-plan 1s-chop.off

I chopped-threw down a tree it fell to the ground and I planned (the size) of the canoe and chopped it off.

(112) *Tubuw   buol   'O fuf   nam day ya-bsalul'   naag*
old.one.3s.p 3s.say O my.grandchild 1s   conc 1s-return.rdp like.that

di   foun tubuw   naan day   basul.
cnj turtle old.one there conc return

The old one said 'O my granchild, I'm leaving' like that and the old turtle returned.

(113) *Niek   peen   day   bing   luong de rahan nabud   sir.*
child   female conc words hear cnj water container fill

The girl obeyed (lit. heard) and filled the water container.

(114) *Buol   yaw tiyaham! yin lunguong.*
speak stop neg   3s listening

Don't stop talking! he is listening.

3.4.3 AFFIXES

3.4.3.1 INFLECTION FOR SUBJECT AND OBJECT

Neither class of verbs is inflected for tense, rather a time reference is carried by separate words. The aspectual system combines with time words to do what at first appeared to be done as tense.

Both verb classes utilize the same set of subject prefixes and object and irrealis suffixes where appropriate, however the verb stem of the *-ahay* verbs may change with metathesis and or vowel harmony as it is inflected for person as in the example below:

(115) *Dutuwlahay diel   bilaalan naan...*
du-watalahay d-iel   Bilaal-an naan
3pl-ascend   3pl-go   Bilaal-loc there
They went up there to Mt. Bilaal...

All verbs are inflected for subject, and transitive verbs are also inflected for object, with pronominal prefixes and suffixes respectively. The 3s subject and object prefixes have zero marking.

(116) Person   Subject Prefixes   Object Prefixes
        1s   *y-*   *-wahaw*
                    ya-
        2s   *w-* (-V)   *-mom*
                    Ø- (-C)
        3s   *Ø-*   *-Ø*
        1pl.ex   *ma-*   *-maham*
        1pl.in   *ta-*   *-id*
                                        -ad
        2pl   *a-*   *-mim*
        3pl   *d-*
                    *di-   *-ad*
                    *du-

N.B. * indicates a phonological change according to vowel harmony for rounded or unrounded vowels. Some consistently say when asked and write *di-*, believing it to be the underlying form.

Also in 2s examples above:
    -V = before a vowel
    -C = before a consonant
    Ø- = no prefix marked (zero morpheme)
    -Ø = no suffix marked (zero morpheme)

The object suffixes are first order suffixes. The irrealis clitic *-an* when occurring on a verb marked for object may occur as a second order suffix, as in examples (117) to (119) below, and the clitic marking imminence can occur as a third order suffix, as in example (118).

(117) *ta-fung-**ad**-an*
    1pl.in-hit-3pl-irr
    let's hit them all

(118) *ya-paan-**mim**-an-i*
    1s-give-2pl-irr-imm
    I'm about to give you all

(119) *ya-yien-an*
    1s-sleep-irr
    I sleep

(120) *Ø-pan-Ø!*
    2s-shoot-3s
    Shoot it!

3.4.3.2 RECIPROCAL PREFIX

A reciprocal prefix *ni-* or *nu-* will replace the subject prefix when designating reciprocal action on a verb. The verb root will also undergo complete reduplication. This may also be linked to the aspect involved in the reduplication, because of the continuous nature of the

action when two participants are doing something to each other. The reciprocal prefix too, like the 3pl examples in the preceding table as it is phonologically conditioned for roundness in the first syllable of the verb root; see (121) to (123) below:

(121) **nu-fung.fung**
      rcp-hit.hit
      (they) hit each other

(122) **ni-pin.pan**
      rcp-shoot.shoot
      (they) shot each other

(123) ...*tamuol yin mow* **nu-fung.fung** *be* **ni-gir.gar.**
      man   3pl hab rcp-kill.rdp   conj rcp-eat.rdp
      ...men used to kill each other and then eat each other.

When the action is in the past it is expressed by the verb being either partially or fully reduplicated. The reciprocal verb stem then consists of:

+ rcp- + v.rt + -v.rt

Whereas when the action is viewed as current, there is the sense of two actors currently involving each other with continuous action, the verb stem then consists of:

+ rcp- + v.rt + v.rt + -v.rt

The verb root is thus reduplicated once because it is reciprocal and again to show continuous action. This can be seen in the following examples (124) to (128):

(124) *Mam rahan-an* **nu-sug-sugug.**
      1pl.ex water-loc rcp-wash-wash.rdp
      We are splashing each other.

(125) *Tamuol ruw nung ananu-d* **ni-p-siy-siyoy.**
      man   two those picture-3pl rcp-dist.mk-show-show.rdp
      Those two men are showing each other pictures.

(126) *Yin tam mow miniid len miniid-an* **ni-sisiyoy.**
      3pl dual hab 3pl.p family 3pl.p-gl rcp-criticise
      They're always criticising each others' family.

In example (125) there is a *p-* prefixed to the verb root. This occurrs occasionally as a distinguishing mark, only when verbs are being used reflexively, to distinguish between two homophones, in this example between 'show' and 'belittle'.

(127) *Teey tawey nung wum-an* **nu-wud-wudud.**
      younger older deic garden-loc rcp-help-help.rdp
      Those brothers help each other in the garden.

(128) *Tamuol wudiy mow anging* **ni-pinini-yahay.**
      man   all   hab food   rcp-steal.rdp-ahay.rdp
      The men are always stealing from each other.

3.4.3.3 REFLEXIVE AFFIXES

A reflexive action is one for which the subject and object of that action are one. This is marked by the use of a reflexive pronoun which occurs before the verb. The reflexive verb stem has a reflexive suffix attached to the verb root and as a result rounded vowels in the verb root are changed to unrounded ones, (regressive vowel harmony). The reflexive suffix agrees in person and number with the subject, and may be designated as follows:

+ pronoun prefix + verb root + -reflexive suffix

(129) Person   Reflexive Affixes

	Completive Aspect	Continuous Aspect
1s	*-yahaw*	*-wahaw*
2s	*-youm*	*-mom*
3s	*-ey*	*-iyey*
1pl.ex	*-maham*	*-mamaham*
1pl.in	*-id*	*-did*
2pl	*-mim*	*-mamim*
3pl	*-id*	*-did*

N.B. see §3.2.2 on pronouns for a listing of reflexive pronouns.

The 1pl and 2pl completive aspect suffixes are the same as the object suffixes. Clearly the paradigm of continuous aspect reflexive suffixes has been historically derived from the completive paradigm by reduplication, except for 1s and 2s.

It should also be noted that the feature of reduplication within the language to denote a continuous aspect, is here displayed, not in the reduplication of the verb root, but in the reflexive suffixes used to mark the continuous aspect. This may be observed in the following examples (130) to (134):

(130) *Yin sibiy   fing-ey.*
     3s   3s.rflx kill-3s.rflx.comp
     He killed himself.

(131) *Gamey gam sibiy   fing-iyey.*
     today now 3s.rflx kill-3s.rflx.cont
     He has just now killed himself (today).

(132) *Nam lingang tiyaham   subow ya-kap-wahaw.*
     1s   wisdom neg   1s.rflx 1s-cut-1s.rflx.cont
     I've accidentally cut myself.

(133) *Yid   silahay wiy suboud gamey ta-sahay-did!*
     1pl.in knife   ins 1pl.rflx now   1pl.in-cut-1pl.rflx.cont
     Now we've cut ourselves with the knife!

(134) *Yid   silahay wiy suboud   ta-sahay-id...*
     1pl.in knife   ins 1pl.in.rflx 1pl.in-cut-1pl.in.rflx.comp
     We cut ourselves with the knife...

3.4.4 PLURAL VERBS

One feature of verbs is that they are the main carriers of 'number' within the language. Number is rarely specified in Awad Bing and plurality is almost always determined from the verbs. To this end plural verb forms have been retained for some verbs in common usage, i.e. there is a different verb form for the stem of the plural verb to the singular verb. Both verbs so used act as normal in conjugation and reduplication, etc. Those which are known to us are as follows:

(135) Verb   Single Object   Plural Objects
      to hold   *toy*   *dom*
      to put   *tey*   *yuor*
      to get   *ab*   *raw* (countable)
                                      pil (non-countable, very numerous)
      to throw   *tahaf*   *kafarahay*
      to throw down *bading*   *baleng*

See the following for examples of plural and singular verbs.

(136) *Awul*   **badangahay** *di*   *naan yiy daseg daseg naan wuon-ad*.
      fishing.line throw.down   and   there fish one   one   there catch-3pl
      He cast out the fishing line and caught a few fish.

(137) *Niek*   *leng   mow matiaw mahas-an* **di-bleng**.
      children   many   hab stones sea-loc   3pl-throw.pl.objects
      Lots of children often throw pebbles into the sea.

(138) *Fooy yiel singiy-an dang   nanganang   waywahay   nang* **ab**.
      3s.paddled 3s.go   near.3s-loc 3s.saw and.so mango   gvn   got
      He went paddling towards (the mango), saw it and so he got it.

(139) *Angahar* **di-pilil**   *yiel yiel yiel   magareng di di-gaab*.
      nut.sp.   3pl-gather 3s.go 3s.go 3s.go cpl.asp   and 3pl-heap
      They gathered the *galip* nuts until they were finished and then heaped them together.

(140) *Di waag bid lam bid* **du-rwaw** *di-sirir*.
      and canoe com lamp com 3pl-get.rdp 3pl-descend
      And they brought in the canoe and/with the lamp (lit. got more than one object and brought them down).

3.4.5 VERB TENSE/ASPECT

In Awad Bing, tense is not marked on the verb, although aspect is encoded through verbal reduplication or combinations with other verbs. This issue is discussed in more detail in the section of verb phrases (see §4.2.3).

3.5 QUESTION WORDS

Question words are used in information questions. There are three general categories of question words; alternative question words, polar question words and content question words. Representative examples of each question word are given below.

3.5.1 ALTERNATIVE QUESTION WORDS

There are two ways of forming polar questions in Awad Bing. Either the alternative question word, *o* 'or' is used in the sentence final position, or the phrase *o tiyaham* 'or not'. The alternative question word alone is used by many speakers for economy of language, but both ways serve the same function as in examples (141) and (142) below:

(141) *Wun   w-al-an   o   tiyaham?*
      2s   2s-go-irr   or   not
      Are you going or not?

(142) *Wun   w-al-an   o?*
      2s   2s-go-irr   or
      Are you going or? ('not' is implied)

3.5.2 POLAR QUESTION WORDS

Polar questions are formed by using the interrogative markers at the end of a statement in the absence of question words. There are three particles which act as interrogative markers, *i*, *ni*, and *ne*. The morpheme *ni* is used if the person to whom the question is being asked is nearby, however if the person or a group is at a distance then *ne* is used. The intonation for these questions rises near the end.

The most commonly used interrogative particle is *i*. When the interrogative particle follows the irrealis suffixial clitic, *an*, as occurs when asking people about their desire related to a certain matter, then either *ni* or *ne* are used depending upon the proximity of the hearer. Where this is not so *i* is used.

(143) *Niw   bad   lung-an   ni?*
      coconut   indef   drink-irr inter
      Would you like to drink a green coconut?

(144) *An   niw   a-lung-an   ne?*
      2pl coconut   2pl-drink-irr   inter
      Would you (people) like to drink green coconuts?

(145) *Wun   mahan-waag   pa-malmuol   nang   dahang-i?*
      2s   bird-canoe   cpl-fall.down.rdp   gvn   2s.see-inter
      Have you seen all the aeroplanes which fell down?

The particles *ni* and *ne* are also used as the first word in a sentence to indicate to the hearer that a question is being asked. They also serve to attract the attention of the proposed hearer. When this occurs, the sentence ends with the more common interrogative

particle *i*, or an allophone *e* (when used in conjunction with *ne*) as in the following examples:

(146) *Ni, yin day matahat i?*
     inter 3s just die.rdp inter
     What, has it just died?

(147) *Ni, wun bid fuyoy i?*
     inter 2s com row.rdp inter
     Hey, are you paddling too?

(148) *Ne, an yoy Saidor-ey alal e?*
     inter 2pl f.tim Saidor-gl go.rdp inter
     What, are you(pl) going to Saidor?

(149) *Ne, wun rahan ey foy w-alal e?*
     inter 2s river gl paddle 2s-go.rdp inter
     Hey, are you paddling towards the river?

3.5.3 CONTENT QUESTION WORDS

There are a number of content question words, and several of them carry multiple meanings.

3.5.3.1 'WHAT' TYPE QUESTIONS

(150) *Ning samang falaying suos?*
     this what flying saucer
     What is this flying saucer?

(151) *Nung samang man sibiy?*
     that what foc really
     What exactly is that (thing)?

Samang is often shortened in speech to sang. Sometimes this is just an abbreviated form, however it is also used in conjunction with other words to extend its interrogative range as in the examples below:

(152) *Sang wiy t-al-an?*
     what com 1pl.go.inl
     How will we go (on what form of transport)?

When it is coupled with the 3s.p *miniy* the compound form asks 'why' and it is used alone when questioning a foregoing statement or in an independent sentence to solicit a purpose.

(153) *Sang miniy tar-yahaw rubub?*
     what 3s.p leave-1s run.away
     Why are you running away and leaving me?

(154) *Yin sang   miniy-an siyiy?*
     3s what   3s.p-loc coming
     Why is he coming?

The word *gieg* and its derivatives also, are used to ask 'what?', as well as 'which?' and 'how?'. It is used primarily used in information seeking questions.

(155) *Yin gieg du-wtuot?*
     3pl what 3pl-make.rdp
     What are they making?

(156) *Mamaham linang man sag lingang m-ab   gieg   teet   bad*
     1pl.ex.p   mind foc only thoughts 1pl-ex-get which place indef

     miniid spaiy   man du-wuom di-pirar-iy?
     3pl.p spy   foc 3pl-hide 3pl-walking-inter
     With our minds we wondered whose spies were hiding (and) moving about.

(157) *Nang yoy gieg waya ta-pas-an?*
     deic   f.tim what wire 1pl.in-remove-irr
     How will we remove the wire?

(158) *Nang yoy gieg gieg waya ta-pas-an?*
     deic   f.tim what what wire 1pl.in-remove-irr
     How will we remove the wire?

N.B. Either of the above two examples (157) or (158) is acceptable and has the same meaning. The form depends upon the person speaking.

If a person is sitting down aparently without purpose you may ask the following to elicit information.

(159) *Wun gigieg?*
     2s   what.rdp
     What's the matter?

However another derivation is used as a rhetorical question to admonish someone doing something they shouldn't be doing as in example (160) below.

(160) *Wun wa-gagieg?!*
     2s   2s-what.rdp
     What are you doing?! (Don't do that!)

It is also used to solicit information about direction of travel as in example (161) below, somewhat in contrast to example (152) above which refers to the means of transport.

(161) *Yid   gieg t-al-an?*
     1pl.in which 1pl.in-go-irr
     Which way will we go? (via the river? or the beach?, etc.)

3.5.3.2 'WHEN' TYPE QUESTIONS

There are two types of interrogatives to elicit the time an event occurred or will occur, one is used for events known to have occurred, i.e. in past time and the other for events yet to occur, i.e. in future time.

(162) *Yin day **niem-an** fus siy?*
3s just when-gl appear come
When did he arrive?

(163) *Sios distrik miniy gabuong wangeey **niem** gam yoy fus-an?*
church district 3s.p meeting big when then prob appear-loc
When will the church district conference occur?

3.5.3.3 'WHERE' TYPE QUESTIONS

Two interrogative forms are used to elicit information about location, depending on whether you can see the person or not. *gan* is the base form meaning 'where' and is used when you are cannot see the object as in the following examples:

(164) *Misinariy nen nang **gan**?*
missionary here deic where
Where is the missionary (who is usually) here?' (speaker doesn't know his location)

(165) *Waywahay ningiy nang **gan** sibiy di rahan man ab siy?*
mango good deic where really cnj river foc get come
Where exactly did the river bring that good mango from?

When a person can see another going somewhere, the locative clitic *-ay* is also attached to the base form *gan* forming *ganay* as in the following example:

(166) *Madiy **gan-ay** yiliel?*
Madiy where-loc going
Where is Madiy going?

When people come from somewhere and appear, the form of the question differs again. Semantically it seems like they are coming from where they haven't been visible and now are, as in the example below:

(167) *Yin **gan-an** gam di-siyiy?*
3pl where-loc then 3pl-come.rdp
Where have they come from? (lit. Where were they and then they are coming?)

The particle *ey* also acts here in a similar manner to the *-ay* suffix as mentioned above, however when this occurs *gan* 'where' retains its stress and the particle does not become part of the stem, i.e. is a particle and is not a suffixial clitic.

(168) *Wun **gan** ey siyiy?*
2s where spec come.rdp
Where are you coming from?

(169) *Nanew   wilwil   **gan**   ey   ya-tey-an?*
1s.p   bike   where spec 1s-put-irr
Where will I put my bike?

(170) *Abahay   ning   bidbidiy,   **gan-ay**   ta-yien-an?*
place   deic   wet   where-loc   1pl.in-sleep-irr
This place is damp, where can we sleep?

3.5.3.4 'WHO' TYPE QUESTIONS

Am may be translated 'who', and occurs in the clause in place of whichever nominal the speaker is asking for information about.

(171) ***Am*   man   siyiy?*
who   foc   3s-coming
Who is coming?

The particle *am* can also be the posessive question 'whose' when used in conjunction with the 3rd person posessive pronouns, either singular or plural, as in example (172) which follows:

(172) *Nung   **am**   miniy   buor?*
deic   who   3s.p   pig
Whose pig is that?

There is also a plural form of this interrogative, the word *awned* which is used as in the example below.

(173) ***Awned***   *man rahan awey-an   naan   ragat-yahay   di di-bdey?*
who (pl.interr) foc   river   mouth-loc there   gather-ahay.rdp cnj 3pl-be
Who are those people gathered and staying there at the river mouth?

3.5.3.5 'HOW MUCH/MANY' TYPE QUESTION

(174) *Muat   nang   miniy   fiit   **niem   niem?***
snake   deic   3s.p   feet   how   how
How long was that snake?

(175) *Yin motobaik   noy   **niem   niem**   wiy   di-giem?*
3s motorbike price how   how   ins   buy 3pl-buy
How much did they buy the motorbike for?

3.6 MODIFIERS

3.6.1 NOMINAL MODIFIERS

A nominal modifier is a word which modifies the noun. Nouns may be modified by adjectives, ordinals, quantifiers, and demonstratives. More than one modifier can occur in a single phrase and all follow the noun. Qualifying adjectives when present are found

immediately following the head noun, whilst the ordinals and quantifying adjectives are found following qualifiers but being adjacent to them. A deictic, when it is present, is in the ultimate position of the noun phrase.

A NP formula would be as follows:

NP = Noun +/- colour +/- size +/- quantifier +/- deic

In this discussion, numerals and quantifiers will be presented first.

3.6.1.1 NUMERALS

The traditional Awad Bing counting system is a base-five system which has an element of body-part counting, namely the use of hands and feet. Counting begins with their numbers one to four, one hand, then the other, one foot and then the other.

(176) Awad Bing numbering system

1 = *daseg* (one)
2 = *ruw* (two)
3 = *tol* (three)
4 = *wahalbad* (four)
5 = *dimad bad* (five)
6 = *dimad bad didiliy daseg* (one hand and one finger)
7 = *dimad bad didiliy ruw*
8 = *dimad bad didiliy tol*
9 = *dimad bad didiliy wahalbad*
10 = *dimad ruw* (two hands)
11 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy daseg* (two hands and one toe)
12 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy ruw*
13 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy tol*
14 = *dimad ruw wied didiliy wahal-bad*
15 = *dimad ruw wied dimad bad* (two hands and one foot)
20 = *dimad ruw wied ruw* (two hands and two feet)

(177) gisin   mingaw **dimad-ruw**
writing knowlege hand.3pl-two
ten teachers

(178) *Pusiy* **tol**   *nang d-inien*   *di...*
cat   three   those 3pl-sleeping cnj
Those three cats were sleeping, when...

(179) *Tamuol* **wahalbad** *du-rub*   *di-siy*   *miniid teet-an.*
man   four   3pl-run.away 3pl-come 3pl.p village-loc
Four men ran away, they came to their village.

(180) *Waag bad nang kiel fuw* **ruw** *bad badangier, nang kiel* **ruw**.
boat a   deic mast base two a   boat.type deic mast two
A boat with two masts, a badangier, those has two masts.

It should be stated that the English language numbering system is commonly used for numbers above five (with the exception of number ten) because it is much less cumbersome than the traditional 'add-on' system. There is ambivalence as to whether the system goes above twenty.

In addition, when referring to people the pronominal type numerator *tam* is used for a dual marker for people. It is also used to mean 'together with', 'and also' and sometimes can be substituted by the comitative *bid*. It is not used in the same clause if the number for two is used.

(181) *yuw-iy   tam di-sirir   di-siy*
      spouse-3s.p dual 3pl-descend 3pl-come
      (he) and his spouse were coming down

Occasionally the word for 'three' duplicated *tol tol* is used in a similar manner. This however unlike the dual marker is now very rarely used.

3.6.1.2 QUANTIFIERS

Three ways of quantifying nouns exist in Awad Bing; Numerals may be used where feasible, group nouns such as 'bunch' or 'stock' where feasible and then several ways of specifying 'many' or 'much' depending upon whether the items are countable or not. Quantifiers are commonly used as there is no way to pluralise nouns without adding a modifier of some kind. Quantifiers may be used together if the need arises, however this is not usual.

There are also indefinite quantifiers which also act as indefinite articles. See §3.6.1.5 for a discussion of these.

(182) *dawaw parar ruw*
      betelnut bunch two
      two bunches of betelnuts

(183) *aning   siyang   bad*
      banana large.bunch a
      a large bunch of bananas (on a stalk)

(184) *aning   gagariy   paniy*
      banana small.bunch some
      some small bunches of bananas (on a stalk)

(185) *aw   tey   wangeey-mat badey*
      lime   dust   large-inten   exists
      there's lots of flour (uncountable)

(186) *goon leng-mat   di-piriyoy*
      dog   many-inten 3pl-fighting
      many dogs were fighting (countable)

Quantifiers are used when people are sharing food, as in the examples below:

(187) *Kiming **ang-ruw** sag paan.*
bread   of.it-two only give.3s
Only give him half the bread.

(188) *Du-souk   yiel **ang-ruw** badey be, ariya anging di-nahay...*
3pl-remove 3s.go of.it-two be   cnj   OK   food   3pl-cook
They remove (the skins), half remain and so they cook food...

(189) *Naluw   wudiy kiming **ruw ruw** sag di-raw.*
child   all   biscuit two   two   only 3pl-take
All children are to take only two biscuits.

3.6.1.3 DEMONSTRATIVES

The three demonstratives in Awad Bing, *ning, nang* and *nung* refer to the relative location of what is being spoken about.

In discourse in the noun phrase, *ning* 'near demonstrative' is used in direct speech, or when the storyteller is giving his introduction or conclusion to indicate something in close proximity to the speaker, the near (often touchable) 'that', for example:

(190) *Nanew waag miniy barnun **ning** midiliy sag.*
1s   canoe 3s   story this   short   only
This story about my canoe is only short.

(191) *...duwahan   **ning***
war   this
...this war

Nang, the 'near distant' demonstrative is the most common one. It is used to add to the focus and to define a particular thing or a particular person in discourse. When used in contrast to the other demonstratives, it indicates a reference point being close to the person being spoken to. Example:

(192) *Abang   **nang** damung lang-an   gam bad ma-yien-an   tiyaham.*
thing   that   bad   beach-loc then neg 1pl.ex-sleep-irr neg
Whilst that bad thing was on the beach we didn't sleep.

It alone, of the three demonstratives is also used as the nontemporal clausal linkage (see §5.4).

The 'distant' demonstrative, *nung* is used in discourse to signify a more distant reference and one which is not near to either the speaker or hearer. For example:

(193) *Peen   tam tamuol **nung** gan   gam di-siy?*
woman dual man   that where now 3pl-come
Where did that husband and wife now come from?

Two of the demonstratives, the 'near' and 'near distant' demonstratives, *ning* and *nang* also act as temporal demonstratives. The distant form is not given this use, as in examples (194) and (195) below:

(194) *wubow* **ning** *yiliy-an*
week   this inside-loc
during this week

(195) *wubow ta-tar*   **nang** *yiliy-an*
week   1.p.in-leave that inside-loc
during this last week

3.6.1.4 ADJECTIVES

Awad Bing has many words which function, so as to give further specification, as attributes of a noun, i.e. adjectives.

3.6.1.4.1 PHYSICAL PROPERTIES

Many times these forms involve reduplication and could be grouped in antonymn pairs. Some common adjectives are displayed below:

(196) *malwey*   tall   *midiliy*   short
      marwiy   heavy   *sawlaley*   light
      silsiling   sweet   *timtimieng*   salty
      wanwaney   hot   *adangdangiy*   cold
      kamtey   unripe   *buyuy*   over-ripe
                                    bimiy   ripe (fruit)
      mataley   flat   *tambabayuongiy* round
      basadangiy   straight   *kidingdengiy*   bent
      manil   calm   *damom*   rough
      galanlangiy   clear (sea)   *bidam*   dirty (water)
      bidbidiy   wet   *mamsey*   dry
                                    waham   dry (wood)
      wangeey   large   *makiesiy*   small (animate)
                                    pangpahang   small (inanimate)
                                    makaskiesiy   minute

Some examples of usage follow:

(197) *yamer* **bidbidiy**
clothes wet
wet clothes

(198) *paypay*   **kamtey**
pawpaw unripe
unripe pawpaw

(199) *yahang* **gagow**
wind   strong
strong wind

Examples with two adjectival modifiers:

(200) *niw*   ***waham wangangiy***
     coconut dry   huge
     huge dry coconut

(201) *buor **pagar   goyang***
     pig female wild
     wild female pig

The modifier may be reduplicated to intensify its meaning in a particular way. For some examples see the section on reduplicated adjectives (§3.7.3).

3.6.1.4.2 COLOUR

The number of colours expressed in Awad Bing is limited almost to the primary colours with a few others taken from their environment as follows:

(202) *kamtey*   white (inanimate objects and people)
     kamtatey   whitish (light in colour)
     sar   white (animate objects)
     ngilngiliy   black
     darey   red
     dardarey   reddish
     yol   yellow (fruit)
     yanyan   yellow
     keyangyangey   yellowish
     maydadiedang   blue
     ahay labniy   green (lit. tree leaf)
     kaytiet   light blue (from the sea)
     rahan kamtey   bright green (of green reptiles)
     kamamuom   purple (from a yam variety)

(203) *Tawtawing   tamuol miniid yamer **darey***.
     prison   man   3pl.p laplap red
     The prisoners laplaps are red.

(204) *Miniy babaley nang **keyangyangey***.
     3s.p   light   deic yellowish
     Its light was yellowish.

3.6.1.4.3 VALUES

The following two value pairs are common adjectives used in Awad Bing:

(205) *ningiy*   good   *damung* bad
     maluonang   true   *biging* untrue

anangey * *bid*   true/verifyable
                     [lit. with food] see e.g. (209) below
        * alternate form is *anangoy*

N.B. 'Good', 'bad' and 'untrue' may also be used as verbal modifiers. Also, 'good', 'bad' and 'true' may be used alone as expressions or exclamations.

3.6.1.4.4 MISCELLANEOUS

There are other adjectives which don't fit the previous groups, e.g. age or position related:

(206) *matey*   old   *fow*   new
      tubuw   old (person)   *naluw*   young (child)
      matuw   first   *murmur*   second

3.6.1.4.5 COMPOUND ADJECTIVES

Some adjectives have compound forms as in the following examples:

(207) *buor* **wangeey** **daseg**
      pig   large   one
      huge pig

(208) *tamuol* **tuwiy** **bid**
      man   bone   com
      powerful man

(209) *miniy* *bing* **anangey** **bid**
      3s.p   talk   fruit   com
      what he says is true

3.6.1.5 NOUN SPECIFIER (INDEFINITE ARTICLES)

A noun specifier is a word which specifies the noun slot. In Awad Bing it may be the word *bad* which is the indefinite article in the singular, or *maleybad* 'or *paniy* which both mean 'some'. Definiteness is assumed unless the noun is specified with an indefinite article, either singular or plural.

Where one wants to emphasise definiteness, a deictic is used, most commonly the middle deictic.

Examples with the indefinite article:

(210) *nahal* **bad**
      day   a
      one day

(211) *barnun   pangpang   **bad***
    story   scrap.of   a
    a short story

Examples with the plural form, see (212) and (213):

(212) *Ariya   tamuol-peen   **maleybad**   bing   di-kas   tiyaham.*
    Ok   man-woman   some   speech   3pl-tell   neg
    Ok, no other people told me.

(213) *abang   **paniy***
    things   some
    some things

The complete plural specifier is *wudiy*, and to emphasise totality this is duplicated once or twice in full.

(214) *Teet   teet   **wudiy**   d-iel.*
    village   village   all   3pl-go
    All the villages went.

3.6.1.6 ONOMATAPOEIC WORDS

Onamatapoeic words often feature duplication or reduplication and tend to be words used to imitate sounds (according to the speakers ears), or to graphically illustrate either shapes or actions (from their perspective). A good story teller will use them more than others in retelling events. They may be verbs, nouns or adjectives. The first four are in common usage.

(215) ***nguror***
    snore

(216) ***tiktuk***
    snap (vine or string)

(217) ***tey   furur***
    buttocks   spraying
    diarrhoea

(218) ***ngorngor***
    a cold

(219) ***ngunngun***
    a hum, drone of low voices

(220) ***sukununun***
    slipping down a tree grazing skin off one's body

(221) ***kiding kideng***
    ricocheting

(222) *Palangis wiy   ma-koup   nang yin bid **tumong tumong**.*
      axe   ins   1pl.ex-chop that   3s com bounce bounce
      We chopped it with the axe but it too bounced and bounced.

3.6.2 VERBAL MODIFIERS

There are a small number of Awad Bing words which are used to modify verbs, ie, they specify the mode of action of the verb. they may be described as temporal verbal modifiers, and manner verbal modifiers. The following are examples of these modifiers:

3.6.2.1 TEMPORAL VERBAL MODIFIERS

3.6.2.1.1 *gam* – 'WHEN'

The morpheme *gam* is a marker of contextual time and is used to give temporal sequence meaning 'when', 'then' or 'since'. (For further discussion of this particle refer to §6.3.)

(223) *bonsag   bungbongsag **gam** siy*
      tomorrow morning   then 2s.come
      you come tomorrow morning

3.6.2.1.2 *gam gam* – 'RIGHT NOW'

(224) *Peen   tubuw man **gamgam** sag fusus.*
      lady   old   foc now   only appeared
      The old lady has just now appeared.

3.6.2.1.3 *mug* – 'BEFORE'

The morpheme *mug*, when alone is a past-time marker. It may also mean 'already' or 'you go first', although the latter is abbreviated speech in context.

(225) *Duwahan **mug**   makiesiy bad yiel Austrelia.*
      war   already small   a   go   Australia
      War a short time before had gone to Australia.

(226) *De mam **mug**   ma-dahang-ad nang duwahan **mug**   siy.*
      cnj 1pl.ex already 1pl.ex-see-3pl deic war   already come
      But we'd already seen them, that war had already come.

(227) *Nanganang nam ya-sabang-yahay   de an **a-mug**   al.*
      and.so   1s   1s-wait.for-ahay.rdp but 2pl 2pl-ahead 2pl.go
      And so I will wait (behind) but you (all) go on ahead.

It will at times substitute for verbs it should be modifying, e.g. in spoken language when the context is known, *mug* or a conjugated form may be used alone or with the verb it is describing. When this occurs it will be conjugated for person and aspect.

(228) *Yin* **du-mgug**.
3pl 3pl-first.rdp
They've already (gone [but still going]).

3.6.2.2 MANNER VERBAL MODIFIERS

Naag is a semblative which looks to what has already been stated and means 'like that'. It thus refers to an explanation previously given, or a completed action or event, so the verbal conjugation for aspect and person must agree with it.

(229) *Taling-ad aw-ad bid tak di yin weey di-mahat* **naag**.
ear-3pl.p mouth-3pl.p com stuck cnj 3s heap.up 3pl-die like.that
It also stuck up their ears and mouth and heaped them up as if they were dead.

(230) *Ariya barnun pangpahang bad makiesiy ya-dang* **naag**.
Ok story scrap a small 1s-see like.that
Alright, a scrap of a story, a little just as I saw it.

Nieg is a semblative which anticipates either an answer or instructions and means 'like this'. It thus refers to either an explanation about to be presented, or an incomplete action or event, or one about to begin, so the verbal conjugation must agree with it also for person and aspect.

(231) *mam angahar* **nieg** *ma-wtuot...*
1pl.ex galip.nut like.this 1pl.ex-do.rdp
we do galip nuts like this...

(232) *Yin yoy* **nieg** *kas-an 'mahas dom sibiy'.*
3s f.tim this say-irr sea rough intens
He will say this, 'the sea's too rough'.

Both also operate as clause level information assimilators. They may also be reduplicated, however when that is so they act as a conjunction.

3.6.3 INTENSIFIERS/LIMITERS

A final type of morphological modification found in Awad Bing is intensification and limitation.

3.6.3.1 INTENSIFIERS

Intensification is mainly achieved through the use of morphemes or clitics. Reduplication of adjectives is also used in some instances for this purpose. This will be further discussed in §3.6.3.

An intensifier is a morpheme which intensifies the modifier in the noun phrase. The most common intensifier in Awad Bing is the word *sibiy*, which means either 'very' or 'really' depending upon the context. Example:

(233) *oluw   anangey   wangeey sibiy*
pumpkin fruit   big   very
very big pumpkin

(234) *abang wudiy sibiy*
things all   very
everything completely

Sibiy can also function as a negation intensifier, as in the example below:

(235) *Yin wudiy dawaw   tiyaham sibiy.*
3pl all   betelnut neg   really
No-one has any betelnut at all.

The clitic *mat* is an intensifying suffix which goes with *leng* 'plenty' and *wangeey* 'big' to intensify the quantity being described.

The word *lengmat* describes a countable crowd, whereas *wangeeymat* is a great multitude of people or heap of things which is too great to be counted. See examples (236) and (237) below:

(236) *goon   leng-mat   di-piriyoy*
dog   plenty-inten 3p-fighting
many dogs are fighting (countable)

(237) *Angahar   wangeey-mat di-gibab.*
galip.nuts   big-inten   3pl-gathering.rdp
They are gathering a lot of galip nuts (too many to count).

Also the numeral 'one' *daseg* is used with the word for 'big' *wangeey* to intensify the bigness of the object being described. Example:

(238) *parbuog   wangeey daseg*
manta.stingray big   one
a huge manta stingray

The particle *bad* is also used as an intensifier clitic with some adverbs (in a different context to its use as the indefinite article and as a negating particle.

(239) *neengbad*
motionless

(240) *weetbad*
silently

(241) *pasakbad*
quickly

(242) *kusukbad*
retreat backwards

Apart from *pasak-bad* and *kusuk-bad* the adverb roots are not isolated from the clitic. *Pasak* is sometimes used alone as a 'stand-alone' imperative, telling someone to hurry, and

both *pasak* and *kusuk* may be duplicated probably adding a different nuance but not noticably changing the meaning when conjoined to the clitic *bad*.

3.6.3.2 LIMITERS

There is only one limiter particle in common usage in Awad Bing, the morpheme *sag*. It is often found at the end of stories in the concluding phrase, see example (243).

> (243) *day   nang   sag*
>   just   that   only
>   that's all

And similar to it but more specific is example (244) which is the answer often given if a person asks for further explanation, not believing what he has been told.

> (244) *Day   naag   sag!*
>   just   like.that(information already given)   only
>   Just as has been stated!

It commonly acts as an emphasising clitic as in examples (245) and (246) below:

> (245) *Nam yoy   ya-bdey-an,   an sibmim   sag   al.*
>   I   will   1s-remain-irr   2pl 2pl.rflx   only   go
>   I'll remain, just you (people) go.

> (246) *Tamey   yin leprosiy bid   nanganang yin   atangid   sag   di-bdey.*
>   father.3s.p 3s leprosy com   as.a.result   3pl   separate   only   3pl.be
>   Their father has leprosy and so they live apart (from the village).

> (247) *palul   pasak-bad   sag!*
>   run   quick-inten   only
>   run, (go/come) quickly

It is also commonly found as an adjectival intensifier describing limiting adjectives often as a contrast to normality for example (248), (249) and (250).

> (248) *tamuol   makiesiy   sag*
>   man   small   only
>   only little men

> (249) *atangiy   sag*
>   separate only
>   alone

> (250) *yamer   pangpahang   sag*
>   cloth   scrap   only
>   only a tiny piece of cloth

The limiter *sag* is also used to emphasise the negative. It is placed following the negator in a close-knit construction, and is most commonly used when one does not have a common item which it is expected that one should have, however it is not limited to this.

(251) *Wun masis   bid   i?   Tiyaham, nam masis   tiyaham   sag!*
　　 2s   matches com inter neg   1s   matches neg   only
　　 Do you have any matches? No, I don't have any matches at all!

(252) *Yin wudiy dawaw   tiyaham   sag.*
　　 3pl all   betelnut neg   only
　　 No-one has any betelnut.

3.7 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication is an important feature in the language, appearing in association with adjectives, nouns and verbs. Often but not always there is a significant shift in the meaning due to reduplication, e.g. added quality or plurality given to the adjective, a continuative aspect given to verbs, and plurality given to nouns. It also frequently occurs with onomatapoeic words.

3.7.1 REDUPLICATION OF VERBS

Verbal reduplication is an important aspectual characteristic of verbs. There are several ways in which verbs may be reduplicated. Most of the reduplication in the language is verbal reduplication.

3.7.1.1 SIMPLE VERBAL REDUPLICATION

This form of reduplication is the most commonly occurring and it gives, the continuative aspect. As such it may be current or in past time.

Verb roots of one syllable are reduplicated according to a phonological rule by adding to the root a duplication of itself minus the word initial consonant if there was one. In so doing the vowel or the dipthong in the root is changed to to a high vowel which agrees in roundness with it, as in examples (253) and (254), or is rounded when the vowel *a* is in a dipthong with a *u* as in example (256).

(253) *luong* → lueng + luong → lung + uong → *lunguong*
　　 understand/understanding

(254) *deng* → deng + deng → ding + eng → *dingeng*
　　 hammer/hammering

(255) *Niek   naluw ey-ning   niw   lungung.*
　　 child small emph-this coconut drinking
　　 This small child is drinking coconut milk.

(256) *...fataḥat   di badiy bubuab...*
　　 3s.floating cnj 3s.arise 3s.cry.out.rdp
　　 ...he (was) drifting and he began yelling...

(257) *Karag*   *fusus*   *dalingad*   *sumom*   *nang daal-an di-yien*
rai.wind 3s.rising travelling.path 3s.blocking gvn   road-loc 3pl-sleep
silang   *bad*   *an.*
anchorage indef loc
If the *Rai* wind was rising blocking their paths, they'd sleep in an anchorage.

A similar principle of reduplication also applies to two syllable words, with the whole of the second syllable being reduplicated. No verb roots have been found to have more than two syllables.

(258) *Gabman*   *bid* **palanglang-ahay** *bad*   **ta-lnguong**   *tiyaham.*
government com wondered-ahay   f.neg 1pl.in-knowing   neg
The government too were wondering, none of us knew (what it was).

The appearance of the reduplicated verbs may be further affected by vowel harmonisation and elision processes as occur in e.g. (259) below, where *Ya* + *tubuob* → *yatabuob* (vowel harmonisation of the first vowel in the reduplicated stem) and *ya-* + *lunguong* → *yalnguong* (elision) are both exemplified.

(259) **Ya-tabuob-ad** *'misinariy   bad*   **ya-lnguong** *tiyaham.*
1s-lying-3pl   missionary f.neg 1s-know   neg
I (was) lying to them, 'I don't know the missionary'.

(260) *Miniy   doup   miniid wuman wurat* **di-tiyey**.
3s.p   group 3pl.p garden work 3pl-doing
His family are working in their garden.

(261) *Ariya*   *ya-lul*   *siy*   *siy*   *waag yiliy-an*   **ya-gangun.**
alright 1s-chase 3s.come 3s.come canoe inside-loc 1s-standing
I chased it but it came and came, I was standing in the canoe.

3.7.1.2 DOUBLE REDUPLICATION

This form is used only with non-ahay verbs. It is a more active form of the continuative aspect, where as a general rule the verb root is duplicated and then as in example (262) below, then the vowel in the first syllable undergoes vowel harmonisation, e.g. *dang* 'look' + *dang* = *dangdahang*. *di* + *dangdahang* → *didingdahang*.

(262) *Di-siy*   *wiyuw*   *gay di-bdey di mal-ad*   **di-dingdahang**.
3pl-came mountain loc 3pl-be cnj eye-3pl.p 3pl-looking.about
They came and were in the mountains looking around.

N.B. This form has been noted several times but more research is needed to more fully understand its intricacies and nuances.

3.7.1.3 DUPLICATION

Verbal duplication (repetition) adds emphasis to a situation as well as a slight durative aspect. Note that in contrast to the previous example, that of double reduplication, the whole inflected verb stem is duplicated as in example (263) below:

(263) *Abang   nang   siy   miniy   maganet   wiy rayay-ad   di   **du-puguol***
      thing   deic   come   3s.p   magnet   ins pulling-3pl   and   3pl-strain

      ***du-puguol** du-drururur   di...*
      3pl-strain   3pl-crawled   and
      The thing which came was pulling them with its magnet and they strained and strained and crawled and...

3.7.2 REDUPLICATION OF NOUNS

Sometimes noun stems are a reduplication of noun rootss or other parts of speech, and so the name typifies a characteristic of the word from which it comes. For example a whale is a creature which is seen only at a distance spouting water, e.g. (264) and being in a current in the sea is similar to being in a river, e.g. (265). Some also exist which may have likewise been derived, however their composition is unsure, possibly onomatopoeic, e.g. (266) and (267).

(264) *furfuur*
      spray.spray
      whale

(265) *ranrahan*
      water.water
      current

(266) *funfuun*
      coconut husk fibre

(267) *fumfom*
      floor

(268) *nganngaan*
      small type of fly

Nouns are also sometimes duplicated, (repeated) and when this occurs the main meaning component is one of plurality and is used where an emphasis is desired on the plural form. The technique is not used where a quantifier or a verb form (e.g. a verb which has been inflected) is used to indicate plurality, thus indicating a constraint against co-occurrence.

(269) *liblib*
      hole/cave.hole/cave
      potholes in a road

(270) *gubgub*
    ditch.ditch
    erosion ditches

Also see example (85) in §3.2.4.

3.7.3 REDUPLICATION OF ADJECTIVES

The modifier may be reduplicated to intensify its meaning in a particular way, for example in (271) below: *wangeey* 'big' reduplicates to give *wangangiy* 'large (pl)' as one of its reduplicated forms, and in (272) *midiliy* reduplicates to give *midildiliy* 'shortest'.

(271) *siwsiw*   **wangangiy** *wahalbad*
    cockroach huge   four
    four large cockroaches

(272) *Peen   bid   tamuol bid   **mididiliy**, wangaad   tarangaw.*
    woman com man   com short.rdp name.3pl.p arrow
    The men and the women both were very short, their name was arrow.

In addition adjectives may also be repeated (or duplicated) to add plurality to the noun (mostly) which they are describing as in examples (273) to (276) below. Note too that as in example (274) the repeated form may be negated as a unit.

(273) *Tamuol **matuw   matuw** du-pulul   di-siy   nang...*
    man   first   first   3pl-running 3pl-come deic
    The leaders who came running...

(274) *Arop   miniid   waag nang bad   **naluw   naluw** tiyaham.*
    Long.Isld 3s.p   boat deic f.neg child   child   neg
    The Siassi and Long Island boats were (certainly) not little ones.

(275) *Miniid   waag **wangiy wangiy** sibiy nang wiy   di-siy.*
    3pl.p   boat big   big   very deic inst 3pl-come
    They came with their huge boats.

(276) *buaaw   **malwey   malwey***
    bamboo long   long
    (some) long bamboos

The repeated form is generally in contrast to straight adjectival reduplication which adds more of a quality than a quantity aspect to the noun. An exception to this appears in examples (277) and (278) below in which intensity is added by the repetition:

(277) *teet   **abariy   abariy***
    village   faraway faraway
    very distant village

(278) ***fow   fow** kamtey taan-an   di...*
    new   new white   ground-loc cnj
    when white (people) first came here...

3.7.4 REDUPLICATION OF CONNECTIVES

The common connectives, *nieg* and *naag* (see §3.6.2.2) become *nigieg* and *nagaag* when they are being used with verbs in the indicative mood. These are not common forms and more study will be required to give definitive meanings.

(279) **Nagaag**   *di   abang bad   ya-lnguong tiyaham,*
      refers.to.given.information   and   thing neg   1s-knowing   not
      I do not understand what (caused) what I have just described.
      (N.B. a visitation of 'flying saucers' had just been described)

(280) *Daleb ta-   tar   nang yiliy-an   Mandang taun yin raskal lengmat di*
      year 1pl.in leave deic inside-gl Madang town 3pl robber many   cnj

      gamey nen bid nagaag.
      now   here com like.that
      Last year there were many robbers in Madang and now its the same here.

(281) *Makahay   girmahang   d-ab   di-siy   teet-an   di tamuol tubuw*
      youth   left.over.food 3pl-get 3pl-come village-loc   cnj man   old

      wasuong 'gigieg?' Makahay bad   tamuol tubuw buol kane, 'abang
      asked   what   youth   indef man   old   told quote thing

      nigieg, *buor wangeey, tibing bid du-fung'...*
      like.this pig big   fat   com 3pl-kill
      The youths brought some leftovers from the feast back to the village, and the
      old man asked them, 'tell me about it'. A youth said to the old man, 'It was like
      this, they killed a big fat pig'...

3.8 NOTES ON SPECIFIC WORDS

The following observations regarding words which appear to be somewhat unique are included as important but not completely resolved issues to give a fuller picture of the language.

3.8.1 *ngatang* – 'THE EXPRESSION OF ABILITY'

Melanesian Pidgin has a widely used term to express ones ability or sufficiency; *inap* or *inapim*. In a similar way Awad Bing uses the commonly used term *ngatang* to convey intrinsic ability. It is not reduplicated nor does it take any affixes.

(282) *Makahay   nang   bad   **ngatang**   aab   fut-an   tiyaham.*
      youth   deic   f.neg able/capable house break-irr neg
      That youth isn't able to build a house.

(283) *Nam **ngatang**.*
      1s   able/capable
      I can (do it).

(284) *Wun ngatang   wud-yahaw-an?*
      2s   able   help-1s-irr
      Would you be able to help me?

3.8.2 *tey* – 'THE EXPRESSION OF MAKE, DO AND CAUSATION'

The verb *tey* 'make, do' also functions as a verbaliser, being used to transform nouns into verb forms.

3.8.2.1 MAKE/DO

(285) *di   maal   nang biliey   matiaw* **tey**.
      cnj monster that transformed stone   made
      and that monster turned into stone.

(286) *Yin   yiel kalik* **tey** *di yien.*
      3s   3s.go pillow do cnj sleep
      He went, made a pillow and slept.

3.8.2.2 THE VERB 'TO PUT (A SINGULAR OBJECT)'

Another function of the verb *tey* involves the setting down of an object as in the following examples. Note that if plural objects are to be set down then the verb *yuor* is used (for other plural verbs refer to §3.4.4).

(287) *Lam nang yin suboud d-ab di-siy   Arwahay-an* **di-tey**   *badey.*
      lamp deic 3pl 3pl.rflx 3pl-get 3pl-come Warai-loc   3pl-put.it 3s.remain
      That lamp, they themselves brought it to Warai where it remains.'

(288) *Yin miniy wood daur   wangeey balbahal-an* **tey** *de...*
      3s 3s.p   bowl oval.type large   bench-loc   put cnj
      She put her large oval wooden bowl on the bench, but...

(289) *Naan* **tey**!
      there put
      Set it there!

(290) *Fow fow bing* **tey**   *kas   misin   nang misin   sibiy.*
      new new talk 3s.do 3s.say mission deic   mission inten
      At first he sent talk that the mission was really a mission.

3.8.2.3 VERBALISER

Note when used as a verbaliser *tey* is conjugable as in examples (291) and (292) below:

(291) *Miniy doup miniid wuman urat di-tiyey*.
 3s.p   family 3pl.p garden work 3pl-doing
 His family are working in their garden.

(292) *Nang bad pan-ad-an tiyaham mow.lel nanew rediyow di-tey dom*.
 deic   f.neg give-3pl-irr neg   lest   1s.p   radio   3pl-do broken
 Don't give it to them lest they completely ruin my radio.

N.B. For more examples see §4.2.1.1.

The verb *yuor* 'put pl. things' is not used in this way.

3.8.3 'A PARTICLE TO GIVE FOCUS' – *man*

The common particle *man*, when it occurs, always follows the subject of the sentence and is used to give added prominence to an actor.

(293) *...di katolic miniid waag **man** siy   raw-ad   yiel   Mandang-an...*
 and Catholic 3s.p boat   foc come gather-3pl 3s.go Madang-loc
 ...and the Catholic ship (it) came, gathered them (and) it went to Madang...

(294) *Ebiy nang **man** tung tey pan de kabahal peen   du-rub*.
 Ebiy gvn   foc bullet did shot cnj kanaka women 3pl-ran.away
 Ebiy fired a shot and the bush ladies ran away.

(295) *Nuwey tamuol-ang **man** d-ab   waag-an di-tey   panyar bid di-gab*.
 Nuwey man-assoc foc 3pl-get boat-loc 3s-put mast   com 3pl-join
 The Nuwey men grabbed him, put him on the boat tying him to the mast.

(296) *am   **man** wil waham bid...*
 who foc yam dry   com
 whoever has dry yams...

3.8.4 *nang* – FRONTED OBJECT MARKER

The basic clause word order in Awad Bing (S-O-V) is rarely altered, however in some cases the object of a transitive verb is left dislocated, creating an (O-S-V) order. In these cases the morpheme *nang* is inserted between the fronted object and the subject.

(297) *Gamniy **nang** yin tin iy   yam awey-an di-bieng*.
 bowels   obj.fr 3pl mother.3s.p door mouth-loc 3pl-hang
 They hung his bowels in his mother's doorway.

(298) *Miniy yamer ningiy **nang** mahas-an sibiy pasiy muol sarir*.
 3s.p   laplap good obj.fr sea-loc 3s.rflx undo fall   descend
 His best laplap came loose by itself in the sea and fell down.

3.8.5 SPEECH-PAUSE MORPHEME *amey*

The morpheme *amey* is commonly used much as 'um', 'ah' or 'so and so' are in the English language to provide a thinking space when speaking.

(299) *Di-bdey di amey tamuol day di-bdiy di-kas...*
3pl-be   cnj umm man   just 3pl-arose 3pl-said
They were there and umm the men just got up and said...

(300) *Ariya dokta boy amey bew   Turig man, teey   nang man...*
OK   doctor boy umm my.in-law Turig foc 3s.younger.sib deic
Alright, the doctor boy, my brother-in-law Turig, (and) his younger brother, they...

An interesting feature regarding the use of this morpheme in Awad Bing, is that it is often 'moulded' to fit the part of speech which the speaker is trying to think of; for example it is regularly reduplicated to *amyey* if the following word is to be reduplicated, or it will have either the irrealis clitic *an* or the locative suffix *an* appended if the following word, phrase or clause has either of those clitics, depending upon what the speaker is trying to think of.

(301) *Nang du-koup di amey-an biek-an di-soy.*
deic   3pl-chop cnj pause-loc bag-loc 3pl-beat
They chop it up and umm ram (it into) the bags.

(302) *...ariya amey-an du-tulw-ahay   Aymar-an de...*
OK   umm-loc 3pl-go.up-ahay Aymar-loc cnj
...alright then, umm they went up to Aymar and...

3.8.6 THE MORPHEME *ariya*

The word *ariya* has several functions, but primarily it is either an inter-clausal or a discourse level interjection. Sometimes it functions as an interjection which infers that the person understands what has previously been said, sometimes it functions in a conjunction-like manner like the word 'then'. It may also be used as an attention getter at the beginning of a story, or as an isolated utterance of agreement. For these reasons it is often best translated as 'alright then' or 'OK'.

See example (302) above in §3.8.5, and a few following examples:

(303) *Ariya,   nam barnun bad   ya-kas-aniy.*
alright.then 1s   story   indef 1s-say-imm
Alright then I'm about to tell a story.

(304) *Miniy teet-an   Bilaal-an   yiel naan yuor-ad.   Ariya*
3s.p   place-loc Mt.Bilaal-loc 3s.go there 3s.put.pl-3pl OK

tee-d   awey   kuad   wuun   sasey wiy tak...
buttocks-3pl opening honey.like.glue breadfruit sap   inst stuck

He went to his village and put them there. Alright then, he plugged up their anuses with honey glue and breadfruit sap...

Ariya has also been shortened to *ar*, as in the following example. No consistent explanation has been found, though both forms may appear in the same discourse. (One co-worker believes they are different and uses them separately.) It is possible that this is another form of pause to give the speaker time to mentally assemble what comes next in the story, functioning in perhaps the same way as *amey* (see the previous §3.8.5), but on the discourse level. Both forms need more investigation.

(305) *Ar   amey   gamey Teterey autungiy mangieg...*
alright umm   now   Teterai Autungiy for.example
Now for example Teterai's (clan) Autungiy...

(306) *Di miniy aab-an   bil-yahaw   'Wun balus pa-malmuol nang dahang*
cnj 3s.p house-loc 3s.say-1s.dat 2s   plane all-crashed deic seen

iy?'   Nam man huol 'bad ya-dang tiyaham.' 'Ar   tam
interr 1s   foc said f.neg 1s-saw   neg   Alright.then two

t-al-an   balus ta-dahang-an'...
1pl.in-go-irr plane 1pl.in-see-irr
And at his house he said to me, 'Have you seen the planes which crashed?' I replied, 'I haven't seen them'. 'Alright then, let's go'...

3.8.7 HYPOTHETICAL MORPHEME: IF IT HAD BEEN ME!

The morpheme *bo* may be used in two ways.

It is used as a boastful exclamation, literally, 'Well, if it had been me!'

(307) Person 1: *Nam yiy   tiyaham   sag.*   Person 2: *Ar   nam bo!*
1s   fish   not   emph   Oh 1s   if
I got no fish.   Oh, but if it was me implies
(I would have succeeded)

The second way in which it may be used is as an adjectival intensifier, as in (308) below:

(308) *Di Yapan miniid tamuol wangeey bo   fung nang maluonang*
cnj Japan 3pl.p man   large   inten hit   deic true
And its true that he killed an important Japanese man.

3.9 CLITICS

Clitics are an important grammatical feature in Awad Bing and until now have been written as word or phrase affixes, however a few of the mother tongue authors are now beginning to write them as unattached morphemes. Because of the future uncertainty of the way they are to be written and because both we and many the authors have been writing them as attached forms, they have been written in that manner in this paper.

The clitic *an* has two homophones which denote irrealis and goal. These are discussed in more detail below in the following sections.

3.9.1 IRREALIS CLITIC

The irrealis clitic in Awad Bing is a homophone of one of the locative clitics, namely *an*. The irrealis clitic is normally suffixially attached to a verb, namely the last one in a clause, however there are exceptions to this as in example (309) below, where the irrealis clitic is on the end of a clause conjoined to the negator and not to a verb.

This clitic denotes more specifically: intent, desire, imminence, negative imperative, permission and future contrafactual.

> (309) *W-al   yoy   tirimrimam   i bi   wang-am   tiyaham-an*
> 2s-go   f.tim   make.a.mistake   and   name-2s.p   not-irr
> If you go and make a mistake you will not have a name (you'll die).

The irrealis clitic is one of the features of the language which usually indicates a future time designation, i.e. an action which has from the time setting given by the speaker, not yet occurred. When this occurs it works in conjunction with the particles either *oy* or *yoy*. Either one of these particles will precede the part of the sentence the speaker wants to put in future time and the irrealis marker will conclude the future time part of the sentence, much like the two part negation feature (§7.5) or the comparitive feature (§7.6).

> (310) *Tamuol paniy yin oy   miniid   pum wiy buom di-soy-an.*
> man   some   3pl f.tim 3pl.p   tool ins sago   3pl-beat-irr
> Some men will beat the sago with their sago beating tools.

> (311) *...di-kas   kane   oy   siy   duob-an   dugwahay-an.*
> 3pl-say   quote   f.tim 3s.come   pig.net-loc   leap-irr
> ...they said, '(when) it comes to the pig.net.trap it will jump'.

> (312) *Tamuol nang yin balbahal wuot   magareng gam yoy   buab-an.*
> man   deic 3s table   made   completed then f.tim yell-irr
> When the man has finished making the table he will yell out.

> (313) *Tubud   badey yoy   bad ya-dahal-an tiyaham.*
> ancestor   be   f.tim f.neg 1s-lost-irr   neg
> God is there (so) I won't come to any harm.

The irrealis is also used frequently in hypothetical, methodological or instructional narrative discourses, where someone is asked to describe how he would do something, as in the following examples:

> (314) *Maley maley sibiy nang buom tamey yin yiel   buom fuw   wuot-an.*
> first   first   very deic sago   father 3s 3s.go   sago   base   do-irr
> First of all the owner of the sago tree goes and cleans its base.

(315) *Aad aning yiel waham tey-an.*
sun heat 3s.go dry   do-irr
They're put in the sun to dry.

It is also a feature of exhortatory speech as in example (316) following:

(316) *sarir   siy,   girmahang   bad   w-ahang gam yagahay bad*
descend come leftover.food indef 2s-eat   then climb.up indef

piel   di   tam t-al-an!
gather and two 1pl.in-go-irr
Come down, eat a (bamboo of) leftover food then climb up (the tree) gather
some (small apples) and let's go!

NB: Sometimes several homophones will co-occur in the same sentence as in the
examples (302) and (317) following which has both the locative clitic *an* and the irrealis
clitic *an*:

(317) *Abang nang damung lang-an   gam bad ma-yien-an   tiyaham.*
thing that bad   beach-loc since neg 1pl.ex-sleep-irr not
Since that bad thing was on the beach we haven't slept (there).

(318) *Angahar di-sir   siy   teet-an,   balbahal-an di-youk-an.*
nut.sp   3pl-fill come village-loc table-loc   3pl-empty-irr
They bring the galip nuts to the village and empty them onto a table.

3.9.2 GOAL CLITICS

This second group of clitics were defined as 'goal' because the same homonymn clitic
marks the dative, reason and location – both direction and destination.

3.9.2.1 THE DATIVE CLITIC *an*

The clitic *an* also acts as a dative clitic as in example (319) below:

(319) *Tarangaw man yin di-bdiy   niek nang miniy-an di-sirwahay.*
spear   foc 3pl 3pl-began child gvn 3s.p-dtv 3pl-searching
The spear (people) began searching for the child.

3.9.2.2 THE REASON CLITIC *an*

(320) *Yin bad fus   tiyaham sang miniy-an   yin mayahay bid.*
3s f.neg appear neg   what 3s.p-reason 3s sick   com
He didn't come because he was sick.

3.9.2.3 THE LOCATION CLITIC *an*

The most common location clitic is *an*, which if movement is involved means to go directly to a destination, or to come from a source. When movement is towards a destination, it could be referred to as a specified destination, in contrast to a general destination with the alternate location clitic *-ay*, discussed in §3.9.2.4 below.

N.B. The locative clitic *-an* is quite distinct from its homonymn, the irrealis clitic *-an* which is only suffixed to either verbs or verb phrases.

Often nouns are used as locations and are followed by this locative clitic. Examples:

(321) ...*miniy faang tabney-an tey*...
      3s   adze   head.3s-loc put
      ...(it had) put its adze by its head...

(322) *Watalahay yiel butuw yiniy-an toy.*
      went.above go *butuw* tree.tip-loc held
      It went above and settled on the top of a *butuw* tree.

(323) ...*tamuol peen lib-an d-iel du-buot-ad.*
      man   woman hole-loc 3pl-go 3pl-bury-3pl
      ...the people went and buried them in a hole.

3.9.2.4 NON-SPECIFIC LOCATIVE CLITIC *-ay/-ey*

If you aren't going directly to a specific destination but in that general direction, the non-specific locative suffix *-ay/-ey* is frequently used instead of the normal locative *-an*. Both forms where used, are used according to an individuals idiolect, i.e. some use both forms, whilst others only use *an* as the locative clitic. Note the contrast below in (324) and (325).

(324) *Yin Mandang-ey yiliel.*
      3s Madang-loc go.rdp
      He's going to Madang. (which part of Madang isn't clear)

(325) *Nam teet-an y-alal.*
      1s   village-loc 1s-go.rdp
      I'm going to the village. (said from nearby)

(326) *Nam yoy rahan-ey y-al-an.*
      1s   f.tim water-loc 1s-go-irr
      I'll go to the water.

It is quite noticable that frequently in spoken discourse, if the irrealis form of a verb is being used, (thus ending with *-an*) the *ey/ay* non-specific locative form is often employed in preference to the *-an* form, see example (326). It is a general trend rather than a hard and fast rule, because this form seems to be falling into disuse (noted by the inconsistent use throughout the population and the comments of some that many folk mix them up). It is likely that a destination in the future is seen as uncertain, thus the non-specific locative form is employed. So the meaning contrast previously mentioned and illustrated by

examples (324) and (326) holds good for non-irrealis mood only. When the direction of movement is towards the speaker, or predicates involving, 'come, return, backwards' are employed, the locatives *-ay/-ey* are not used, rather *-an*.

A colloquial interrogative used by older people *baday* also exists. It is used upon meeting as people are walking. It is noticable that the less specific locative is employed. See example (327) below:

(327) *Bad-ay*   *w-al-an?*   answer: *Rahan-ay*.
      indef-loc 2s-go-irr   river-loc
      Where are you headed?   To the river.

Another use of the locative clitic *ey* involves its use as a particle in conjunction with the three demonstrative pronouns thus further specifying them. The resultant deictic phrases are used to point out objects for clarification. As a consequence they are mostly used in dialogue rather than in text material. They are derived from *ey* + 'close' 'middle' or 'distant' demonstrative pronouns which are ego oriented. The *ay* form of the locative clitic with which is in free fluctuation is not used in this way. The three ego-oriented deictics so derived are:

(328) *ey* + *ning* = *ey ning*
                 this

(329) *ey* + *nang* = *ey nang*
                 that (near you)

(330) *ey* + *nung* = *ey nung*
                 that (distant)

(331) *Goon samang sibiy   nang niyuom?*   *Eynung!*
      dog   what   really deic 2s.p   deic
      Which dog is yours?   That one!

This specifying particle is also used together with the anaphoric morpheme *naag* 'like that (referring to a previous statement or action just mentioned)', and its cataphoric counterpart *nieg* 'like this' in a similar manner, as in the examples below:

(332) *Gieg bad   du-wut-moum   nang   yoy   mun   ya-siy   y-ab-youm*
      what   indef 3pl-do-2s   deic   f.tim again   1s-come 1s-get-2s

      be ta-bsul-an,   *ey*   *naag*   *tubuw   sawuong   paan.*
      cnj 1pl.in-return-irr spec   like.that old.one instructions give
      If they do anything to you then I will come again, get you and we'll return, like
      that were the instructions which the old one gave him.

(333) *Ey   nieg   dokta   Bob   bil-yahaw...*
      spec like.this doctor Bob   told-1sg
      This is exactly what Dr Bob told me...

The particle *ey* also functions as an exclamation marker similar to the wey 'Hey!' is used in English.

(334) *Ey,   a-rub!*   *loung*   *damung.*
      hey 2pl-clear.off dangerous.place terrible
      Hey! Clear off! Its a dangerous place.

3.9.2.5 ASSOCIATIVE CLITIC

The associative specifier is a genitive type enclitic which when present, suffixed to common alienable nouns, specifies the noun to a previous noun, often a place name, as in examples (335) and (336).

(335) *Tanong*   *peen-**ang***   *di-siyiy.*
      place.name women-assoc 3pl-come.rdp
      The Tanong(Biliau) women are coming.

(336) *Wariya tamuol-ang wangey Ebiy.*
      Wariya man-assoc   name.3s Ebi
      A man from Wariya whose name was Ebi.

(337) *Buor di-pan*   *nang, buor **bugahay-ang** bid pasak bad mahat tiyaham.*
      pig 3pl-shoot deic   pig demon-assoc com quick f.neg die   neg
      That pig they shot had an evil spirit (and) didn't die quickly.

It may also be an adjectival affix and as such it has a similar meaning, that of relationship or belonging, as in examples (81) and (82) in §3.2.3.2.

4. PHRASES

4.1 NON-VERBAL PHRASES

4.1.1 NOUN PHRASES

A noun phrase consists of a noun or a compound noun phrase or a reduplicated noun phrase, plus an optional specifier, one or two modifiers, a possessive, an intensifier, a demonstrative and a quantifier.

It is not possible to have all of the constituents in one phrase. If it were possible, they would occur in the following order:

    p.pron + noun + mod + mod + spec + quant + inten + dem
          cpd NP
          rdp NP

4.1.1.1 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

The number of constituents in any one phrase would not normally be any more than two or three, sometimes four constituents. Minimally, the noun phrase consists of the noun without any modifiers or specifiers, etc. Example (335) below consists of a possessive pronoun *nanew*, a compound noun phrase *waag bilbel*, a modifier *wangeey* and an intensifier *sibiy.*

(335) *nanew   waag bilbel   wangeey sibiy*
    1s   canoe outrigger big   very
    my very big outrigger canoe

(336) *anging waham wangangiy*
    food   dry   big.pl
    huge amount of dry food

(337) *bahad   matey bad*
    garden.house old   indef
    an old garden house

4.1.1.2 POSSESSIVE NOUN PHRASE

Possession may be marked in the minimum form by an inalienably possessed noun, e.g. (338) or at maximum by a possessive noun phrase, e.g. (339) or (340).

(338) *nalu-m*
    child-2s.p
    your child

(339) *Yaan miniy palanggis wangangiy*
    Yaan 3s.p   axe   big.pl
    Yaan's big axes

(340) *taan   tabney   miniy niek*
    ground 3s.p.head 3s.p   child
    the headman's baby

A possessive noun phrase is a noun phrase which includes a free form possessive pronoun, e.g. (340) above and (341) below.

(341) *Waywahay   nang   **miniy gilang**   silsiling sibiy.*
    mango   that   3s.p   taste   sweet very
    That mango's taste is very sweet.

4.1.1.3 ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASE

A noun, compound noun or dupicated noun is obligatory. An attributive noun phrase which fills the head consists of two nouns in juxtaposition to each other with the relation between the first and second parts being attribution. There is stress on each word in contrast to compound nouns. Substitution of the participants can also occur, showing that they are seen as less of a fixed unit, than are compound nouns; see (342) and (343) also (344) and (345).

Examples of attributive noun phrases; see (342) to (345) below.

(342) *duwahan tabney*
    war   head
    war leader

(343) *taan   tabney*
      ground   head
      owner of the ground

(344) *mayahay aab*
      sick   house
      hospital

(345) *mulung   aab*
      young.initiate house
      initiation shelter

Each word adds an attribute to the other, and not as in the case of compound nouns is a combination of words whose total meaning is the focus, with some of the constituents being subordinate and lacking a current individual meaning (or having no usage outside the compound noun form(s)) e.g. (345).

4.1.1.4 DUPLICATED NOUN PHRASE

A duplicated noun phrase consists of a noun which is duplicated as in examples (346) and (347).

(346) ***teet   teet   nang wudiy***
      village   village   deic   all
      all the villages (regional)

(347) *Karag sumom **lang lang** silang neisong-an di-sirir.*
      e.wind block   beach beach harbour different-loc 3p-go.down
      If the east wind blocked them they would go ashore at different places.

4.1.2 THE COMITATIVE *bid*

There comitative morpheme *bid* which means 'together with' is used as a conjunction to additively link together actors, participants or objects in a scene, i.e. it co-ordinates nouns or noun phrases and occurs after each item being linked, as in the following examples:

(348) *Tamuol **bid** goon **bid** peen   **bid** d-iliel.*
      man   with dog   with woman   with 3pl-going
      Men and dogs and women are (all) going.

(349) *Nanganang nam **bid** ya-bdiy, nam **bid** y-al Lagap-an...*
      as.a.result 1s   com 1s-arose 1s   com 1s-go Lagap-loc
      And so I too got up, I too went to Lagap...

(350) *Waag **bid** lam **bid** awul   **bid** sarir   mahas-an.*
      canoe and lamp and fishing.line and 3s.descend sea-loc
      The canoe and the lamp and the fishing line, it all went into the sea.

(351) *Gungun   de bul-maham de os   **bid**, kalaloy **bid**, silahay*
      3s.standing and 3s.say-1pl.dat and tobacco and   beads   and   knife

> *naluw **bid** ma-raw   ma-siy   balbal-an ma-yuor.*
> small and   1pl.ex-gather 1pl.ex-come table-loc 1pl.ex-put
> He was standing and spoke to us and we brought tobacco, beads and small
> knives and put them on the table.

It is also used when listing objects together as a group as in example (352) below.

(352) *Gungun de bul-maham   de os   **bid** kalaloy **bid***
      2s.stand cnj 2s.say-1pl.gen cnj tobacco com beads   com

      silahay naluw bid a-raw   a-siy   tebol-an a-yuor.
      knife   small com 2pl-collect 2pl-come   table-loc 2pl-put
      He was standing and said to us bring the tobacco, the beads and the small
      knives and put them on the table.

4.2 VERB PHRASES

4.2.1 VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

4.2.1.1 VERBALISATION

In several cases the verb *tey* 'put/do' is used to transform nouns into verb forms. This phrasal structure consists of a noun plus the fully conjugable verb *tey*, 'put/do' however with the full intent of an intransitive verb. For this reason I am referring to it as a verb phrase, albeit of a special kind.

(353) ***Anangoy tey**,   anangoy makiesiy sag.*
      fruit   do   fruit   small   only
      It fruited, but the fruit was only small.

(354) *Miniy doup   miniid   wuman   **wurat di-tiyey**.*
      3s.p family 3pl.p   garden   work   3pl-doing
      His family are working in their garden.

(355) *...gamey miniy **mar**   tey du-gubuob.*
      now   3s.p   funeral   do   3pl-closing
      ...now they're finishing mourning for him.

4.2.2 VERB TIME REFERENCE

Awad Bing does not have tense as a grammatical form, but uses temporal adverbs to give the time reference. Conjunctions also signify relative time between actions or events within a sentence when the time has been set.

4.2.2.1 PAST TIME REFERENCE

Past time reference is simply derived from temporal adverbs or the setting of the story. There are not necessarily any markers within a particular clause which would specifically

indicate past time, e.g. (358), or apart from the use of the verb root, which indicates perfective aspect.

(356) *Yin angahar wood maal aruor naag di-piel*
3pl *galip*.nut bowl loin.cloth string.bag same.as 3pl-gather

waag-an di-yuor bi di-lil.
canoe-gl 3pl-put.pl cnj 3pl-sail
They gathered galip nuts, wooden bowls, bark loin cloths and string bags,
(things) like that, put them on their boats and sailed.

(357) *Yamer midiliy daal wangeey d-ab d-iel Maibang-an di-yien.*
cloth short road big 3pl-took 3pl-went Maibang-loc 3pl-sleep
The police took the main road, went to Maibang (village and) slept (there).

In Awad Bing, no distinction between past and a remote past has been found. There are however, two ways of referring to an event in past time. The perfective aspect will be marked most commonly using simply the verb root with the appropriate person affixes, e.g. (130) in 3.4.3.3, and (136) in 3.4.4.

If the time span of the action is seen to be more of a duration and other things being referred to were happening at that time, then it is more usual to use the reduplicated form of the verb or the continuous aspect on a durative verb, to indicate this, e.g. for an example refer back to (97) in 3.4.1, and the example below from a story told about an event several years before:

(358) **Fatahat di badiy bubuab.**
float.rdp cnj arise yell.rdp
He was floating and he began calling out.

4.2.2.2 FUTURE TIME REFERENCE

Future time reference is almost always clearly marked. The irrealis marker *an* is used with the future marker particle *oy* or *yoy* to give a future time to the verb, to signify an event which will possibly occur sometime in the future. The particles *oy* and *yoy* seem to be in free fluctuation with some speakers preferring one to the other. When asked as a group, those in Yamai village told us that both were identical and that we should only write *yoy*. (This is an area needing further investigation in the future.) *Oy* may occur anywhere in the sentence before the verb, often following the subject in the normal position for time words and phrases. That which it preceeds it gives a future time to. See examples (359) and (360).

(359) *Yin oy buom pis-an.*
3s f.tim sago wash-irr
He will wash the sago.

(360) *...ya-kas tiyaham Tubud badey yoy bad ya dahal-an tiyaham*
1s said no God is f.tim f.neg 1s-lose-irr neg
...I thought 'no, God is there, I will not lose my life'.

Because there can be no certainty when events are predicted for the future, these two particles *oy* and *yoy* 'the future time markers' will sometimes be used to convey this uncertainty, and could be glossed 'possibly', and I am told this is sometimes used as a polite way of saying 'no'.

(361) *Yoy   ya-pan-oum-an.*
f.tim 1s-give-2sg.dtv-irr
I'll (possibly) give it to you.

N.B. If the person doesn't produce it you realise it is a polite refusal!

4.2.3 VERB ASPECT

Aspect deals with the distribution of an event in time in the situation being predicated. In Awad Bing there are five elements of aspect which have been identified; inceptive, completive/perfective, continuitive/repetitive, stative, and habitual.

Sometimes the aspect markers are themselves verbs, which conjugate, e.g. *badiy* 'arise', *yiel* 'go' and *badey* 'be', whilst at other times they are either suffixial clitics, completive particles, e.g. *magareng* (which does not conjugate for person but may be reduplicated, or inflected as an *ahay* verb), or separate words, all providing aspectual meaning to one of the verbs.

4.2.3.1 IMMINENCE ASPECT

(362) *Nam day   y-al-aniy.*
1s   conc 1s-go-imm
I'm just about to go.

(363) *Aria   kas   ningiy a-tey   badey bi   yoy   ya-dahang-aniy.*
alright   say   good 2pl-put be   conj f.tim 1s-look-imm
'Alright then', he said 'good, put him there and I'll look at him'.
(The speaker '1s', expected to look at him in the immediate future)

4.2.3.2 INCEPTIVE ASPECT

The commencement or inception of an action is often marked by *badiy* 'arise', with another verb following it, but not necessarily in apposition to it, as with transitive verbs. See examples (368) to (370) below. In the case of intransitive type verbs the following verb is in apposition to it. It consistently signals an action with a prompt beginning, e.g.:

(364) *...bungbongsag   niek nang   **badiy** palul siy...*
morning   child deic   arise   run   come
...in the morning that child took off home...

(365) *...fatahat   di   **badiy** bubuab...*
float.rdp   cnj   arise   cry-out.rdp
...he was drifting and he began to yell...

(366) ...*rahan tamey   youm nang man **badiy** kas-an*...
      water father.3s semb deic foc arise say-irr
      ...whoever is the boss of the water would begin to speak...

(367) ...*yoy **badiy** watal-ahay-an   gabey-an.*
      f.tim arise   go.above-ahay-irr above-loc
      ...will begin to go above.

When more transitive verbs are involved, the verbal apposition will be lost as the object will often come between the two verbs (as previously mentioned).

(368) ***Ya-bdiy** daal **ya-dung** y-al*.
      1s-arise road 1s-follow 1s-go
      I began to follow the road.

(369) *Aw-ey   ya-bit,   **ya-bdiy** waag ya-suk **yiel** mahas-an.*
      mouth-3s 1s-ignore 1s-arise canoe 1s-push go   sea-gl
      I ignored her, got up and launched the canoe out to sea.

(370) *Makahay wudiy **di-bdiy** warmahan **di-raw-an**...*
      youth   all   3pl-arise poison.root 3pl-gather-irr
      All the young men begin to gather the poison roots...

4.2.3.3 COMPLETIVE/PERFECTIVE ASPECT

The completive aspect is signalled by the completive verb *magareng* 'finish', or one of its inflected forms in apposition to the verb indicating the action or event being finished or completed.

As completed actions in the past, see examples (371) and (372) below:

(371) *Aab   taw **magareng**.*
      house bind completed
      He finished building the house.

(372) *Giram   di-bleng **magareng** di...*
      log.drum 3pl-beat finish   cnj
      They finished beating the log drum and...

As actions completed the same day, i.e. concurrently, see examples (373) to (375) below:

(373) *Du-souk **magarngeng**, anging d-ahang **magarngeng**...*
      3pl-erase cpl.rdp   food 3pl-eat cpl.rdp
      They finished removing (the skins), and eating food...

(374) *Yiy   wudiy du-fung **magarngeng**.*
      fish all   3pl-kill cpl.rdp
      They finished killing all the fish.

(375) *Buom pies **magarngeng**...*
      sago wash cpl.rdp
      He finished washing the sago...

4.2.3.4 CONTINUITIVE/REPETITIVE ASPECT

The continuative aspect may be signalled in several ways. It is most frequently signalled by a repetition of the verb go, usually in the 3rd person singular form, in apposition to the verb being continued. e.g.:

(376) *Ya-fooy*   **yiel yiel** *mahas-an yiy   ya-paan-ad,*
      1s-paddle go   go   sea-loc   fish 1s-shoot-3pl

      yiy   yaad ya-paan-aad, **yiel yiel yiel** *Gim Damey sibiy-an   nan.*
      fish sp. 1s-shoot-3pl   go   go   go   Gim Damey right-loc there
      I paddled and paddled out to sea shooting at the fish, I was going along shooting
      at the tilapia fish right out to Gim Damey (a headland).

(377) *Ya-wlang-y-ahay   di wiy-ew ya-pas*   **yal yal yal** *singiy*
      1s-watch-cpl-ahay cnj leg-1s.p 1s-remove go   go   go   close

      sibiy-an naan.
      very-gl there
      I was watching for it and I crept and crept and crept right up close to it.

(378) *Badey   de talng-ahaw ya-tey* **yiel yiel yiel** *ya-kas tiyaham...*
      remain cnj ear-1s.p   1s-put go   go   go   1s-say no
      It remained and I really listened and listened, I thought 'no'...

Sometimes the verb being continued will be extended itself so that by drawing out the verb the added time gives iconicity to the discourse. For example:

(379) *...mun lam   du-puluul nang man* **d-ieeel** *balbad   naan mun*
        again lamp 3pl-ran.rdp deic   act   3pl-gooo other.side there again

      fahat.
      floated
      ...again they travelled (the man and his lamp), they weeent over the other side
      and again floated there.

4.2.3.5 STATIVE ASPECT

The stative aspect is commonly given by using the word *badey* 'be' following and in apposition to a verb or verb phrase one wants to stativise. There are two forms, one is less closely linked to the stativised verb because there is a conjuncion between the verb and the stativiser. See examples (380) to (382).

(380) *Niek makiesiy yin wom keetbad dangang* **di badey**.
      child little   3s hide quietly   look.rdp cnj be
      The little child was hiding silently looking on and remained doing so.

(381) *Yin yien atey-sawleng   di badey, mahat   nguror di badey.*
      3s sleep without.thought cnj be   dead   snore cnj be
      He was there sleeping, dead to the world, snoring and remained doing so.

(382) ...*mun   siy   minid waywahay pan-ayahay **di badey** nung.*
     again   come 1pl.in mango   steal-ahay.rdp cnj be   deic
     ...it's come again stealing our mangoes and its over there.

When *badey* 'to be' follows the verb (in contrast to its position in the above examples where the verbs are separated by the conjunction *di*) it appears to be acting as a verbal auxilliary within the clause giving temporal overlap, with the idea that as the first action continues, the second action takes place as in examples (383) to (386) below:

(383) *Dangang **badey di** gar-ad gar-ad yiel   magareng.*
     look.rdp be   cnj eat-3pl eat-3pl go   cpl
     He was watching while it ate and ate them all up.

(384) *Yiel yuwiy   peen   sugug   **badey di** tiniiy kamtangahang.*
     go   spouse woman wash.rdp be   cnj body rejuvenate.rdp
     Whilst he was washing his wife, her body rejuvenated.

(385) *Peen   nang niek kuon   **badey di** dang*
     woman deic child give.birth be   cnj see
     A woman was giving birth when he saw her.

(386) *Du-ruw **di-bdey** di...*
     3pl-dig 3pl-be cnj
     They were digging with forks when...

4.2.3.6 CUSTOMARY/HABITUAL ASPECT

The normal/habitual aspect in Awad Bing is indicated primarily by the use of the word *mow* which is placed after the subject in a clause. The meaning is often akin to the pidgin *save* in:

Em i save wokim olsem 'Thats the way he usually does it'

The verbs in the sentence then indicate the temporal extent of the action, whether it is seen as punctiliar and completed or of a longer duration. Note that there should be one verb with a reduplicated form following the habitual particle from its very nature, that being of a habitual and hence repeated event from the perspective of the speaker.

(387) *Gamey ning yin abang bad   **mow** yiduom wenang helikopta youm*
     now   this it   thing indef hab night   cpr   helicopter cpr

     parar   di...
     walk.rdp and
     Now, this was a thing (which came at) night and always went around like a helicopter and...

(388) *O kaka   wun **mow** gan   wal   waywahay ningiy-ad ningiy-ad*
     oh big.brother 2s hab where 2s.go mango   good-3pl   good-3pl

     pil   siy   yuw-am   nalu-m bid angahang bi?
     gather come spouse-2s child-2s com eat.rdp   and

Oh big brother, where do you always go and gather those mangoes which you are eating with your wife and child(ren)?

(389) *Wun* **mow** *gan   niyoum ahay.labniy abang gimim?*
2s   hab   where 2s.p   paper   things buy
Where do you usually buy your stationery?

4.2.3.7 DURATIVE ASPECT

The durative aspect which marks the action of the verb over a prolonged period of time, is often marked by the particle *lel* which follows one verb and precedes a verb which gives the action closure. (The younger generation substitutes the verb *yiel* 'to go' for it.) The particle *lel* follows both classes of verbs, both the durative and non-durative verbs, as in the following examples (390) to (393) below:

(390) *Buol   nang sahaw   di yow yow* **kas lel magareng**.
3s.speak deic   without.reason cnj yes yes say   dur complete
He spoke without listening, saying 'yes, yes' until it finished.

(391) *Noon* **di-pipiy-ahay** *lel   pa-mtahat*.
there 3pl.twitch.ahay dur   total-die.rdp
They kept on twitching there until they were all completely dead.

(392) **Di-pip-ahay**   *lel pa-mahat*.
3pl-twitch-ahay dur total-dead
They twitched until they were dead.

(393) *Yaan   man* **moow**   *lel liel*.
Yaan   foc   exert.effort dur 3s.turns.it
Yaan kept struggling until he turned it.

The same effect is obtained by the repetition of a verb of motion which is perceived as acting over a period of time like the English form of 'he went and went and went' or 'he came and came and came', as in example (394), or the repetition of a motion verb 'to go' adds duration to a non motion verb as in example (395) below:

(394) *Du-luong de* **di-siy   di-siy   di-siy   di-siy**   *teet-an   du-fus*.
3s-hear   cnj 3s.come 3s.come 3s.come 3s.come village.loc 3s.appear
They heard and came and came and came and came and arrived at the village.

Also the following example could be a serial construction with the addition of characteristic repetition which indicates the continuum and lack of discreet categories. The whole construction refers to a single event. There is a change of subject, 'they collected, it went' (i.e. the collection event progressed).

(395) *Di-piel*   **yiel yiel yiel**   *magareng*.
3pl.gather.rdp 3s.go 3s.go 3s.go   cpl
They gathered and gathered and gathered them until they were finished.

or using the durative particle, it could be:

(396) *Di-pilil*   ***lel** magarngeng.*
     3pl-gather.rdp   dur   finishing
     They gathered them until they were finished.

4.2.4 SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

The juxtaposing of verbs is a relatively common feature of the language. Verb sequences occur with the frequency of approximately 30% of the times where verbs or verb sequences are used. It is especially common with verbs of motion, the existential verb, and the verbs 'to get' and 'to put'. Several verbs may be strung together without another part of speech being interposed. However as there is no morphological change to the verbs involved, the difficulty then comes in defining a serial verb construction as opposed to the juxtaposition of several clauses.

James (1983) states "A serial verb construction consists of two or more verbs which occur in a series with neither normal coordinating nor subordinating markers, which share at least some core arguments (normally subject and/or object/goal), and which in some sense function together semantically as a single predication".

I believe in Awad Bing, the definition of serial verbs therefore involves a somewhat arbitary separation (if primarily considering grammatical form) in a continuum from 'lexical item like constructions' to 'the juxtaposition of separate clauses'.

It is pertinent to echo some of Bruce's observations in summing up Alamblak serial verbs here, as these also apply to Awad Bing. "Serialisation of roots in a verb stem is restricted to sequences of events which are commonly associated culturally or for which there is a cultural basis or pragmatic reason for their close association" and "It would seem then that a sequence of events may be talked about with juxtaposed clauses, but not every sequence of events may be described with a serial construction".

In Crowley (1987) there are several suggested groupings which serial verbs can take. The two appropriate categories to which Awad Bing can relate are:

(1) There is identity between the two subjects of the serialised verbs.

(2) There is identity between the object of the first verb and the subject of the following verb.

4.2.4.1 IDENTIFICATION OF SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN AWAD BING

Serial verb constructions in Awad Bing are being defined here as constructions of verb stems (usually only two) which the people understand to function as a unit, as opposed to any sequence of verbs which might be used in a discourse. The two criteria above (Crowley 1988) which were seen to apply to Awad Bing will also be applied in differentiating serial constructions fron non-serial constructions.

Serial verb constructions in Awad Bing are couplings of verbs which are not each stripped down to the root within the serial sequence. They are either transitive or

intransitive verbs with full subject and object affixation. The serial verb construction is covered by the same time period and the irrealis marker appears on the ultimate constituent of the serial construction, in a similar position to a non-serial sequence of verbs.

The two verbs in the serial construction may also be in different forms, i.e. one may be unspecified for aspect, whilst the other may be in a reduplicated form indicating action occurring in the time frame the speaker is perceiving and using as current time. Often one of the component verbs of the serial verb unit will provide a direction of movement with respect to the speaker as in example (403). Sometimes each part of the construction will add a component of direction, e.g. (397).

4.2.4.2 Serial verb constructions with the same subject

In the following examples (397) to (398), one of the verbs in the serial construction further expresses the other by adding direction or means of movement.

> (397) *Maal   bad   roy   sarir   siy.*
> monster   indef 3s.fly 3s.descend 3s.come
> A monster flew down.

> (398) ***Sarir   siy   nanganang fooy   yiel   singiy-an dang...***
> 3s.descend 3s.come so   3s.paddle 3s.go near.loc 3s.see
> 'It came along and so he paddled (and) saw it (when) he was near it...

> (399) *Buk   nang   bid   w-ab   w-al.*
> book   deic   com   2s-get 2s-go
> Take that book with you too.

In example (400) below there is a semantic based linking of the serial sequence, transitivising the intransitive verb *fing* 'whistle' to give it a goal.

> (400) *Mam   songay badey nanganang yin   fing   pan-maham.*
> 1pl.ex   distant 3s.be and.so   3s   whistle give-1pl.ex
> We were a long way away (from him) and so he whistled for us.

> (401) *Nanganang silsiliy sag aruor-an keb   yiliel   di...*
> and.so   happy   only net.bag-gl 3s.pick 3s.go.rdp cnj
> And so he was happily picking them into his net bag when...

In example (401) above, *keb* is the root form, unspecified for aspect, whilst *yiliel* is the reduplicated form indicating a continuous aspect. Combined, they give the serial construction which occurred in past time, a continuous aspect.

4.2.4.3 Object of 'a' becomes subject of 'b'

The subjects of the verbs within serial verb constructions can change within the construction, as stated in the above conditions, where the object of one verb becomes the subject of the following as in the following examples (402) to (404), the subject of the final verb of the serial construction refers to the object of the previous verbs.

(402) *Ariya   peen   di-bdiy   wiiy-an   di-toy   d-ab   **di-bding***
OK   women   3pl-arise leg.3s-loc 3pl-hold 3pl-take 3pl-throw.down
sarir.
descend
So then, the women arose grabbed his leg and threw him down.

(403) *Waywahay   fuw-an   waag   **suk   watal-ahay**.*
mango   base-loc canoe push move.above-ahay
He beached the canoe at the base of the mango tree.

(404) *Aria   kas   ningiy **a-tey**   **badey** bi   yoy   ya-dang-aniy.*
alright say   good   2pl-put be   conj   f.tim 1s-look-imm
Alright then, he said 'good, put him there and I'll look at him'.
(The speaker 1s, expected to look at the 3s object in the immediate future.)

5. CLAUSES

5.1 BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The basic clause structure in Awad Bing has an SOV order, (Subject-Object-Verb), possibly an influence from neighbouring Papuan languages. There is person affixation on all verbs so names, nouns and free pronouns denoting participants are often absent. It is noticable that when a person or thing has been introduced in a discourse, it is tracked pronominally until too many participants again require the participant to be reintroduced to the reader. This also frequently occurs when a person has slipped from being a prominent participant and is becoming so again.

The discussion of clauses will first focus on the different arguments which occur in relationship to the basic clause order and to each other.

5.2 CLAUSE ARGUMENTS

Eight clause arguments have been identified; two nuclear arguments (with agreement affixes marked on the verb), namely Subject and Object; and six peripheral arguments (postpositionally marked), namely Location, Time, Instrument, Manner, Benefactive and Reason. Following a discussion of each individually, a brief summary of their typical order in clauses will be presented.

5.2.1 FEATURES OF THE ARGUMENTS

5.2.1.1 SUBJECT

The subject (or do-er of an action) can occur in Awad Bing clauses in one of two basic ways, either as subject prefixes on the verb as listed in the table of example (116) in §3.4.3.1 or in combination with a noun or noun phrase, or a free form pronoun listed in the table of example (56) in §3.2.1. When the subject has been previously stated in the discourse, and is clear, free form pronouns are often not used and only the subject prefix on the verb alone is

as in (407) and the second clause in example (408) below. The noun or noun phrase which functions as the subject is itself not marked with a special marker to indicate that it is the subject.

(405) *Nam   dawaw-an   ya-mtahat*.
1s   beetlenut-gl 1s-die.rdp
I'm craving for some betelnut.

(406) *Ab   ahang   paluong tar   ningiy sibiy*.
3s.get 3s.eat   3s.feel 3s.taste good   inten
He got it, ate it, savoured it (and) it was delicious.

(407) *Rahan-ey   y-alal*.
river-loc   1s-go.rdp
I'm going to the river.

(408) *Tamuol bad   miniy waag bilbel   suk di awul   ray*.
man   indef 3s.p   canoe outrigger.type push cnj fishing.line 3s.pull
A man launched his boat and pulled (his) fishing line.

5.2.1.2 OBJECT

The object of a sentence is the receiver or the goal of an action. It is normally referenced in the clause by a noun or noun phrase and/or as an affix on the verb. As with a 3s subject, which has no prefix on the verb, so likewise 3s objects are unmarked, ie are not marked by a verbal suffix. There are no markers on the noun or noun phrase itself to mark it as the object in the clause.

(409) *Yin buor suw   di-taw*.
3pl pig   on.a.pole 3pl-tie
They tied the pig on a pole (for carrying).

(410) *Goon man ahay dibiy-an   naan di-toy*.
dog   foc tree   buttress.root-loc there 3pl-hold
The dogs held it (the pig) against the buttress root of a tree.

(N.B. in the example above (410), the clause taken from a story, has no object stated or marked on the verb as verbs are unmarked for 3s.)

(411) *Nus miniy buor mow kakariek garar-ad*.
Nus 3s.p   pig   hab chicken   eat.rdp-3pl
Nus' pig eats chickens.

5.2.1.3 LOCATION

The position of locatives in clauses is somewhat variable if motion to, from, into or out of is involved, as can be seen in the contrast between example (412) and (413) and (414) below. For the remainder the rule is that the location precedes the predicate, i.e. the

predicate remains in the clause ultimate position. It will help to examine a few examples below:

(412) *Ar basul boos **mahas-an**...*
    cnj return go.in sea-to
    We went back into the sea...

(413) *Waag **fangey-an** ya-doos nengbad.*
    canoe above-loc 1s-sat motionless
    I sat motionless on top of the canoe.

(414) *...di **waag-an** naan ma-bdey.*
    cnj canoe-loc there 1pl.ex be
    ...we (exclusive) remained (on) the canoe.'

In the above examples (413) and (414) the locative precedes the verb. This is always true when no directional motion is perceived by the speaker, and sometimes for effect when there is directional motion, as in the examples below:

(415) *Bad w-al-an tiyaham, nagay lel w-al **mahas-an** dahal-an.*
    neg 2s-go-irr neg lest 2s-go sea-loc perish-irr
    Don't go lest you go out to sea and perish.

(416) *Ray watal-ahay yiel **miniy teet-an,** Bilaal-an yiel*
    3s.pull 3s.go.up-ahay 3s.go 3s.p village-loc Bilaal-loc 3s.go

naan yuor-ad.
    there 3s.put-3pl
    It pulled them up to its place at (Mt) Bilaal and put them there.

(417) *...di tuytuy d-iel **mahas-an** balag di-fahat.*
    cnj arrow 3pl-go sea-loc for.no.reason 3pl-float
    ...and the arrows went into the sea and miraculously floated.

In some cases, as in example (417) above the predicate is split with the part involving movement preceeding the location and the stationary part following, i.e. the locative is sandwiched in the predicate. This is fairly common with serial verbs too as in the following examples:

(418) *Nam bid y-al **dugduug-an ya-bdey** de...*
    1s acc 1s-go jungle-loc 1s-be cnj
    I too went and stayed in the jungle and...

(419) *Waag nang **di-yit** d-ab **di-siy** fangey-an di-tey di di-tar.*
    canoe gvn 3pl-lift 3pl-get 3pl-come above-loc 3pl-put cnj 3pl-left
    They carried the canoe put it above and left it.

It is interesting to note that this is not a fixed word order as can be seen in examples (420) and (421) which follows it in the text.

(420) *...di tamuol-peen leng-mat **du-fus** mahas-an naan.*
    cnj man-woman many-intens 3pl-appear sea-loc there
    ...then very many people appeared there in the sea.

(421) *Tamuol-peen   wangeey-mat   **mahas-an   nan   dufus**...*
man-woman   big-intens   sea-loc   there   appeared
A multitude of people appeared there in the sea...

When villages are used metonymously for their inhabitants it appears that what was a location loses its 'locationness' and acts in place of the people they represent, as in (422) below:

(422) *...de **teet   teet   paniy, Singor-an** naan*
cnj   village   village   some   Singor-loc   there

Daur naluw Daguon ney-maham   bil-maham...
Daur child Daguon face-1pl.ex.p say-1pl.ex
...and some villages, there at Singor, Daur's son Daguon told us to our faces...

When an object is involved, as in a transitive clause, the locative preceeds the predicate. This also may be an explanation for example (422) above. See also example (423) below.

(423) *Lulum   yin nahal wudiy **teet.teet-an**   niek   fung yiel.*
Lulum   3s   day   every   village.village-loc   child   kill   3s.go
Lulum (mythological eagle) went around the villages every day to kill children.

In interrogatives which include locatives, the verb is again in the ultimate position of the clause as in example (424) below:

(424) *Gieg Yapan   **Tanong-an**   du-fus?*
inter Japanese village.name-loc 3pl-appear
Have the Japanese appeared at Tanong?

5.2.1.4 TIME

Time is a crucial part of the setting of most stories. Since Awad Bing lacks a complex verb morphology and there are no tense markers in the language, time words are crucial to one's understanding the setting of an event. Apart from the direct time words which infrequently occur, the way things are at a given time is carried aspectually. It is with good reason then that most stories commence with a time setting, often as the initial phrase. When both time and location appear in the same clause, the time word preceeds the locative word or phrase as in example (423) above.

(425) ***Fow fow sibiy mam**   tam m-al   Saidor-an ma-bdey.*
new new very 1pl.exc two 1pl.exc-go Saidor-loc 1pl.exc-be
Right at the start when we went and stayed at Saidor.

(426) ***Nahal bad** nang mam   lang-an   naan nanew doup sur di-tey...*
day   a   deic 1pl.exc beach-loc there 1s.p group food 3pl-make
One day we were there on the beach, our group had made food...

In the body of a story time words indicate either an emphasis on a time or a change in time and in these circumstances not usually sentence initial, often following the subject rather than preceeding it as in the above examples.

(427) *Yin **82-an**   fus   wangeey-mat di-dang, siy   **83-an**...*
3pl 1982-loc appear big-intns   3pl-see come 1983-loc
They appeared in 1982 (and) lots of people saw them, we came to 1983...

(428) *Polis   yin **nahal paniy** di-siy.*
police 3pl day   some 3pl-come
Sometimes the police came.

(429) *De abang   nang **yiduom** ma-dang   nang wenang helikopta youm.*
cnj thing   deic night 1pl.exc-see deic cpr   helicopter cpr
And that thing we saw at night was like a helicopter.

In the case of example (429) above, the Object of the clause, (that thing) also preceeds the time specification. When the time word is fronted in the clause, i.e. appears before the subject, time is more in focus than when it is elsewhere in the body of the clause. Compare the examples below: (430) a full response to a question, and (431) the commencement of an anecdote. This is why at the commencement of stories it is often in this position, establishing the necessary time setting for the story.

(430) *Peen bid yut   gurup bid **nuoran**   Galek-an   di-gaab.*
lady com youth group com yesterday Galeg-loc 3pl-gather
The ladies and the youth group met together yesterday at Galeg.

(431) ***Nuoran*** *Galek-an   peen bid yut   gurup bid di-gaab   di-bdey di...*
yesterday Galeg-loc lady com youth group com 3pl-gather 3pl-be cnj
Yesterday at Galeg the ladies and youth group were meeting together when...

5.2.1.5 INSTRUMENT

The Instrument argument of a clause is marked by the morpheme *wiy*. It has a very specific and limited usage. Within a clause *wiy* follows both the object as in example (432) and the locative (if one exists) as in example (427). (In example (434) the first verb is embedded, thus at first glance the position of the instrument appears to be different.)

Instruments are always inanimate. People do not appear to be used as instruments, rather things done with people appear to use the comitative morpheme *bid*.

(432) *Yiliel di Nus man sutlam **wiy** sien   nanganang...*
3s.go? cnj Nus foc torch   inst spotted.it and.so
It was going along when Nus spotted it with his torch, as a result...

(433) *Murgam dugduug-an   duwahan **wiy** buor nang ya-paan mahat ya-tey*
later   jungle-loc   bow   inst pig deic 1s-shoot dead 1s-do
badey.
be
Later on in the jungle I shot that pig dead with the bow.

(434) ...*de wangeey y-ab   **wiy** ahay ya-koup.*
        cnj large   1s-take inst wood 1s-chop
        ...then with the large one (which) I (had) taken I chopped the tree.

5.2.1.6 MANNER

Adverbs or adverbial phrases typically occur directly preceeding the verb. One group of adverbs is noticable by their structure; their ultimate syllable is identical to the indefinite article *bad*, see example (435) and (436) below:

(435) ...*yahang abab   di   mun   naan   **kusukbad** sarir.*
        wind   3s.get? cnj again   there backwards   descend
        ...he was getting a breath when he again went in backwards (into the sea).

(436) *Wan sag **pasak-bad**   teen-an   ya-sarir...*
        one only quick-inten shore-loc 1s-go.down
        One, (two), quickly I went ashore...

Manner morphemes are repeated to intensify the given manner as in both (437) and (438) below. In example (437) the word for 'quick' in being intensified has lost the common suffixial clitic *bad* belonging to its group. It is commonly heard as an imperative issued to stubborn or disobedient children, as in example (439) below. This is not common however with the other members of the group.

(437) *Yin **pasak pasak** sag siy.*
        3s quick quick only 3s.come
        It came very quickly.

(438) *Ray   ab   day **yiliy   yiliy   yiliel.***
        3s.pull 3s.get just 3s.slow 3s.slow 3s.go?
        It was towed along going very slowly.

(439) ***Pasakbad!** (or)   **Pasakbad** w-al!*
                        quickly   2s-go
        Hurry up!   Go quickly!

Infrequently the manner morpheme will follow the verb as in examples (440) and (441) which also shows it can be negated.

(440) *Lul   **dom**   **dom** lul   **dom dom** nanganang bid d-iel   di...*
        chase unsuccessfully u/s chase u/s u/s   so   com 3pl-go cnj
        She chased and chased him unsuccessfully and so he went with them and...

(441) *Miniy tamey   tuw   sabong-ad, de bad   **geer** tiyaham.*
        3s.p 3s.p.father older mind-3pl   cnj f.neg   well neg
        Her uncle cared for them but he didn't care for them well.

5.2.1.7 BENEFACTIVE

The beneficiary or recipient of an action in a transitive clause is marked by the appropriate posessive pronoun (to which a dative clitic *an* is suffixed) which preceeds the verb, as in (442), (443) and (448).

(442) *Nam   mow **niyoum-an** ya-sarwahay damom.*
     1s   hab   2s.p-gl   1s-search.for futile
     Normally my search for you is futile.

(443) *Peen   **miniid-an** du-wahag-an-i.*
     lady   3pl.p-gl   3pl-call.out-irr-imm
     They were about to call out for the women.

(444) *Peen   wudiy ma-buol-ad-an   yin warmahan **miniy-an***
     lady   all   1pl.ex-say-3pl-irr 3pl derris.root 3s.p-gl
     di-dingdahang-an.
     3pl-look.about.for-irr
     We'd tell the women they should be looking about for derris root.

There is a distinction amongst benefactive expressions too. When something is being done for a person, a verb serial construction normally of two verbs, concluding with the verb *paan* 'to give' is used, as in the following examples:

(445) *Seg   man nanew maruor   **saab   pan-ahaw.***
     Seg   foc   1 s.p   ornament carve give-1 s.p
     Seg carved my ornament for me.

(446) *Mayaw man ni-yahay   buor paan, nanganang ni-yahay   man dawaw*
     Mayaw foc   3s.p-uncle pig   gave   and.so   3s.p-uncle foc   betelnut
     *maleybad **tar   pan-ey.***
     some   left   gave-3s.p
     Mayaw gave his uncle a pig and so his uncle set aside some betelnut trees for
him.

(447) *Mam songay ma-bdey   nanganang yin **fing   pan-maham.***
     1pl.ex distant 1.pl.ex-be and.so   3s whistle gave-1pl.ex
     We were a long way away from him and so he whistled for us.

(448) *Tamuol peen   man yil-oud   pan-maham pabul daseg daseg*
     man   woman foc   insides-3pl gave-3pl.gl seed   one   one
     *di-gaab   nang bongsag gam yoy d-iel **du-but   pan-maham-an.***
     3pl-gather deic tomorrow when f.tim 3pl-go 3pl-plant give-1pl.ex-irr
     The people who were sorry for us, have gathered a few seed(yams), tomorrow
they will go and plant them for us.

5.2.1.8 REASON

The reason for an action is marked in a clause by the construction *nang miniyan*. This occurs in the following examples. In example (449) the construction surrounds the adjective *fuw* as the speaker wonders about the reason behind what he has seen, whereas in example (450) the reason is explicitly stated.

(449) *...mam abang **nang** fuw **miniy-an** bid ma-palanglang-ahay.*
   1pl.ex thing deic base 3s.p-gl com 1pl.ex-wonder-ahay
   ...we too keep wondering what is the reason for those things (UFO's).

(450) *Yin paan-an tiyaham **nang** **miniy-an** duwahan bid du-fung-youm-an*
   3s 3s.give-irr neg gvn 3s.p-gl bow com 3pl-kill-2s-irr

   ***nang** **miniy-an** ngilang bid.*
   deic 3s.p-gl anger com
   Should one not give it, they will kill you because of it, because they are angry.

5.2.2 ORDER OF ARGUMENTS

No language examples have been found in which all the arguments occur together in a single clause.

To further complicate matters as mentioned previously in each appropriate section, there is variation in the position of some of the arguments; the **locative**, depending on whether it is fronted for added emphasis (454) or at the end as in (453), **time**, **benefactive**, depending upon its form, whether it involves the word *miniyan* (455) or whether it is the verbal form (452) (part-b) and the **manner** argument.

(451) *Tarangaw man yin di-bdiy niek nang miniy-an di-dang dom.*
   spear.type foc 3pl 3pl-arose child deic 3s.p-gl 3pl-look fruitlessly
   The spears got up (and) searched fruitlessly for their youngster.

(452) *Nahal bad gam (nam) pisaw ningiy bad ya-dang gam nanew*
   day indef when 1s adze good indef 1s-see then 1s.p

   niek miniid waag ya-saab paan-iid-an.
   child 3pl.p canoe 1s-carve give-3pl-irr
   One day when I find a good adze, I will carve a canoe for my children.

(453) *Nam waag wiy y-al mahas bisiy-an, mamaham damey fangey-an.*
   1s canoe ins 1s-go sea middle-gl 1pl.ex.p headland above-gl
   With my canoe I went away out to sea, out from our headland.

(454) *Aab yiliy-an naan gar-ad magareng di niek makiesiy yin*
   house inside-loc there 3s.ate-3pl cpl cnj child little 3s

   woom keet-bad dangang di badey.
   hide silent-inten look.rdp cnj be
   There inside the house, it ate them all up, and the small child silently hid watching.

(455) *Mod man miniy-an kiming muom.*
Mod foc 3s.p-gl bread cook
Mod cooked bread for her.

From the above examples (451) to (455) and (449) in the preceding section, a general order of clause arguments can be described as follows:

Time Subject Benefactive Object Reason Instrument (Location) (Verb/Verb phrase) (Location)

5.3 CLAUSE TYPES

The following discussion will present the various clause types which occur in Awad Bing.

5.3.1 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Transitive clauses are clauses in which the verb has a direct object, such as in examples (408) in 5.2.1.1 and (411) in 5.2.1.2, and in the following examples:

(456) *Nuoran sag gabey tamuol bad yuwiy peen tam rahan*
yesterday emph mountain man indef spouse female dual water

du-lung.
3pl-drank
Only yesterday, a mountain man and his wife drowned (lit. drank water).

(457) *Anut atangiy sag duwahan-an gam wud-yahaw, nanganang bom bad*
God alone emph war-gl then help-1s.obj and.so bombf.neg

ab-yahaw tiyaham, katris bad ab-yahaw tiyaham...
get-1s.obj neg bullet f.neg get-1s.obj neg
During the war, God alone helped me and so (neither) a bomb or a bullet got me...

5.3.2 BI-TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Bi-transitive clauses are those in which an indirect object is involved as in the following examples:

(458) *Yin miniid silahay polis dim-ad-an du-yuor.*
3pl 3pl.rflx knife(s) police hand-3pl-gl 3pl-put
They handed in their knives to the police.

(459) *Tamuol nang miniy teey sawang paan.*
man deic 3s.p young.sibling knowledge give
The man gave the knowledge to his younger brother.

5.3.3 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Intransitive clauses are clauses in which the verb does not take an object as in (407) above and in (460) and (461) below:

(460) *Yin   yien   matahat   nguror   di badey.*
  3s   3s.sleep 3s.dead.rdp 3s.snore.rdp cnj be
  It (a mythical bird) was sound asleep snoring, and it remained so.

(461) *Yin   di-mgurur   di di-bdey lel aad fangey-an watalahay.*
  3pl 3pl-make.loud.noise   cnj 3pl-be dur sun high-gl   rise
  They were 'making a din' and remained doing so until the sun had risen.

(462) *...di tam di-siliwliw   yiel.*
  cnj dual 3pl-sniff.rdp go
  ...and the two of them went sniffing about.

5.3.4 STATIVE CLAUSES

5.3.4.1 NOMINAL STATIVE CLAUSES

Nominal statives consisting of a noun phrase plus a noun phrase, are used in narratives to describe the origin or traits of new characters as they are introduced.

(463) *Yamer-midiliy nang   wangey   Sapuriy Garahan tamuol-ang.*
  clothes-short gvn   name.3s.p Sapuriy Siassi   man-spec
  That policeman's name was Sapuriy, a man from Siassi Island.

(464) *...peen   bid tamuol bid mididiliy wangaad   tarangaw.*
  woman com man   com short.rdp name.3pl.p arrow
  ...the men and the women both were very short, their name was arrow.

5.3.5 DESCRIPTIVE CLAUSES

There are no true descriptive clauses as such in Awad Bing, but descriptive sentences which are verb-less statements composed of two parts, the subject which is characteristically a noun phrase and the description which is characteristically a descriptive noun phrase, as in examples (465) and (466) below:

(465) *Nanew   niek yin miniid lingang   ningiy.*
  1s.p   child 3pl 3pl.p knowledge good
  My children, they are smart/clever.

(466) *Tamuol   paniy yin wum-ing-ad   tiyaham.*
  man   some 3pl garden-specif-pl.p neg
  Some men, they are gardenless (i.e. don't have gardens).

(467) *Miniy bing   anangoy bid.*
  3s.p   words fruit   com
  What he says has substance (is true).

5.3.6 EQUATIVE CLAUSES

Equative clauses can be categorised differently to the descriptive statements above, because even though they have the same basic structure, they are concluded with the verb *badey* 'to be' as in examples (468) and (469) or the verb fus 'appear or become' as in (470) below.

(468) *Mug   matey Autungiy   taban-ey   yin duwahan   taban-ey   badey.*
before old   clan.name head-3s.p 3s fight   head-3s.p   3s.be
In olden times the Autingiy clan leader was the war leader.

(469) *Tiyaham, yin mayahay tiyaham, yin ningiy   di-bdey.*
no   3pl sick   neg   3pl good   3pl-be
No, they aren't sick, they are well.

(470) *Madi Teterai miniid   misin   tabn-ey   fus.*
Madi Teterai 3pl.p   mission   head-3s.p   appear
Madi has become the church leader of Teterai village.

5.3.8 REASON RESULT CLAUSES

Generally reason-result clauses are marked by the conjunction *nanganang*. For example (440) in §5.2.1.5, and (471) and (472) below.

(471) *Rey   man minin-ahaw fiki-y-ahay   nanganang nam mun*
kunai foc sore-1s.pos irritate-cont-ahay so   1s   again

ya-psalul.
1s-return
The kunai grass was irritating my sores so I returned.

(472) *...aw-ey   luong nanganang yin fooy watal-ahay siy   di buol...*
  mouth-3s.pos hear so   3s paddle go.up-ahay come   cnj say
...he heard him so he came paddling out and said to him...

(473) *Aniyaw balal   nanganang nam bad   y-al   tiyaham.*
rain   fall.rdp and.so   1s f.neg 1s-go   neg
It was raining and so I' didn't go.

(474) *Yin mayahay abab   nanganang yin bad   siy   tiyaham.*
3s sickness get.rdp and.so   3s f.neg   come   neg
He became sick and so he didn't come.

5.3.8 RESULT REASON CLAUSES

Normally the reason precedes the result, however sometimes the result is left dislocated and precedes the reason as in the following example, where the conjoining word or phrase has a similar meaning to the word 'because'. Compare the examples (473) above with (475) below and similarly (474) above with (476) below.

(475) *Nam   bad   y-al   tiyaham,   aniyaw balal   nanganang.*
    1s   f.neg 1s-go neg   rain   fall.rdp and.so
    I didn't go because it was raining.

(476) *Yin   bad   fus   tiyaham   sang miniy-an   yin mayahay bid.*
    3s   f.neg appear neg   what 3s.p-reason 3s sickness com
    He didn't appear (show up) because he was sick.

5.3.9 CONTRAFACTUAL CLAUSES

An example of a contrafactual with a negative condition is given above in example (449) and below in (477).

(477) *Ma-siy   miniy de rahan man fus dal-ang-maham   som.*
    1pl.ex-come 3s.p but river foc rose road-spec-1pl.ex.p block
    We would have come but the river rose (and) blocked our way.

5.3.10 CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

A conditional clause consists of two parts, the first is the condition upon which the second part relies for its fulfilment or nullification.

(478) *Aniyaw bal-an   gam yoy taunan bad y-al-an   tiyaham.*
    rain   fall-irr then f.tim town   f.neg 1s-go-irr neg
    If it rains I won't go to town.

(479) *Nam   murgam rahan timiyaham nang y-al   Muadey   ya-sug-an.*
    1s   later   water neg.rdp   gvn   1s-go Mod(river) 1s-wash-irr
    Later if I have no water I will go and wash in the Mod (river).

5.4 CLAUSES LINKED NONTEMPORALLY, THE ANOPHORIC DEICTIC *nang*

The deictic particle *nang* also functions as a clause linkage particle, linking non-temporal clauses. It refers back to the whole of the preceding noun phrase or clause, and maens something like 'that being true, then...' as in examples (448), (450), (479) and in the following example:

(480) *An ahang-mim-aniy **nang**, aning   balbahal aab-an   di-bdey   **nang***
    2pl hungry-2pl-inter deic   banana table   house-loc 3pl-be deic
    a-pil   a-nuon   ahang!
    2pl-gather 2pl-roast 2pl.eat
    If you are hungry, there are bananas on the bench in the house, get them, roast them (and) eat them!

6.1 CONJUNCTIONS

There are a number of conjunctions in Awad Bing which serve a coordinating or subordinating function. Since this is a preliminary analysis of a complex and baffling area which needs more attention at a later stage, the conclusions reached here will be the subject of an ongoing analysis.

It is not a simple matter to determine accurately what the meanings are for the various Awad Bing conjunctions. There is even some disagreement on their use amongst Awad Bing speakers; while some people feel that certain conjunctions are interchangeable, others use one or the other consistently in different contexts and thereby show that there are real semantic differences. The picture is made even more difficult by the fact that quite often more than one English gloss will fit a single Awad Bing conjunction, making it hard to determine whether the conjunction has a single function or multiple functions. A group of Awad Bing men have been thinking about these issues for some time, and producing a body of written Awad Bing materials; and on the basis of their written work and their deliberations tentative agreement has been reached concerning the meaning of a number of the conjunctions. These findings are presented in what follows.

Conjunctions are an important part of the language for keeping track of time of events. As stated previously there is no tense system, and the language keeps track of time through a variety of devices including time words and the four common conjunctions; *de*, *di*, *be* and *bi*.

6.1.1 *de* – THE PAST TIME AND COMPLETED ACTION CONJUNCTION

This conjunction links events which have been completed and are viewed as in the past from the perspective of the speaker as in examples (481) and (503) below:

> (481) ...*de du-mgurur*   *di-bdey **de***   *maal*   *mun*   *basul.*
> and 3pl-making.a.din 3pl-be and monster again 3s.returned
> ...and they were making a loud noise and the monster again returned.

It may also be used as a contrastive conjunction with a similar meaning to 'but' in English, as in example (428).

> (482) *Du-rub*   ***de** polis daal ruwyoum du-som*   *gabey wudiy du-fung-ad.*
> 3pl-run.away but police road two   3pl.block bush all   3pl-kill-3pl
> They ran away but the police had blocked two roads, and they killed all the
> bush (people).

> (483) ***De** mam*   *mug*   *ma-dang-ad*   *nang duwahan*   *mug*   *siy.*
> but 1pl.ex already 1pl.ex-see-3pl gvn fight   already come
> But we'd already seen them, the fight had already come.

6.1.2 *di* – THE CURRENT TIME CONJUNCTION

Di is used as the current time conjunction linking two events or actions seen to occur (from the speakers perspective) at the same time, and not being related to a future time event.

(484) *Yin yiel   dugduug-an fus   di   ngiew   paan   sirir   di   yiel.*
      3s   3s.go jungle-loc   appear and bandicoot 3s.shot fill.up and 3s.go
      He arrived in the jungle, shot a bandicoot, put it in (his bag) and went.

(485) *Nagaag   di   abang bad   ya-lnguong tiyaham.*
      refers.to.something.just.described and thing f.neg 1s-knowing not

      mahas tuwiy o   taan   tuwiy. Naag   nang.
      sea   spirit or ground spirit, same.as   that
      I do not understand what (caused) what I have just described a sea spirit or a ground spirit. Something like that.

(486) *Fooy   awul   ray ray siy   siy di   siy   rahan awey-an*
      paddle fishing.line pull pull come come and come river mouth-loc

      naan parparar   badey di   arangroung bad   nang rahan man
      there walking.about be   and mango   indef deic water act

      bireng   sarir.
      carry.down descend
      He paddled pulling and pulling (a fishing line) coming and coming and came to the river mouth there, was moving about and the water carried down one of those mangoes.

(487) *Paniy pil   angahang di   badey di   fanggargar tamuol yuwiy*
      some 3s.gather eating   and be   and devil   man   3s.spouse

      tam mahas di-yes   miniy di-sirir.
      two sea   3pl-collect 3s.p 3pl-descend
      He was there gathering and eating (mangoes) and the devil man with his wife came down to collect sea-water.

6.1.3 *be* – THE DISTANT FUTURE TIME CONJUNCTION

This is the conjunction used to link two clauses when one is to follow the other at a time (from the speakers perspective) in the non-immediate future.

(488) *Nagaag di-bdeiy   gam   am   man bil-youm   be   luong-an?*
      like.that 3pl-being   while who foc 3s.say-2s.dat cnj   know-irr
      Whilst they are remaining like that, who will tell you and you will be able to understand?

(489) *Aning   maneg di-sap   be,   angahar bid digaab*
      banana for.e.g. 3pl-break.off.an.ear and galip.nut com 3pl.put.together

      di-pan-ad-an   be   d-ahang-an.
      3pl-give-3pl-irr and 3pl-eat-irr

They will break off a hand of bananas for example and put them together with some galip nuts and give them to (others), and they will have a meal.

Another use of this conjunction is in the response of someone overlooked when he/she feels that they should have been included may be as in (490) below.

(490) *Nam be?*
    1s   and
    And (what about) me?

6.1.4 *bi* – IMMEDIATE FUTURE TIME CONJUNCTION

This conjunction is used to link two clauses when one is to follow the other in the immediate or near future (from the speakers perspective), at least on the same day.

(491) *Geylalawey ya-toy y-ab **bi** waag yiliy-an   ya-tey yiel.*
    gills.3s   1s-hold 1s-get cnj canoe inside-loc 1s-do 3s.go
    I broke out its gills and (then) put it in the canoe.

(492) *...di peen   tubuw buolad   'anging bad ab   asiy   apan*
    cnj woman old   3s.say.3pl food a   2pl.get 2pl.come 2pl.stab.it

    *ahang **bi** yien-an'.*
    2pl.eat cnj sleep-irr
    ...and the old lady said to them, 'get some food, eat it and go to sleep'.

(493) *Ya-siyiy   tam t-ahab   **bi** t-aal-an   minid   garung.*
    1s-coming two 1pl.in-get.3s and 1pl.in-go-irr 1pl.in.p meat.
    I'm coming, we'll take it and go, (that'll be) our meat.

6.2 *i di* – TEMPORAL SIMULTANEITY

When this clitic phrase is used to join two clauses it signifies temporal simultaneity of actions as in the examples below:

(494) *Tamuol yin eew kuar lung de rahan kises   **i di***
    man   3s liquor squeeze drink cnj river cross.rdp sim.asp

    muol yiel rahan-an, rahan lung mahat.
    fall   go   river-loc water drink die
    A man made and drank an intoxicating drink and as he tried to cross the river he fell into the water and drowned.

(495) *Buor dugu-y-ahay   **i di**   mam   ma-bdiy   ma-mgariey*
    pig   leap.up-pres-ahay sim.asp 1pl.ex 1.pl.ex-arise 1p.pl.ex-shout

    buor palul...
    pig   run
    As the pig leapt up so we began shouting and the pig ran...

(496) *Suwieng rey   nang di-dahang di-kas 'Saidor mangieg',   **i di***
Suwieng kunai deic 3pl-see   3pl-say Saidor like.that.rdp sim.asp

balus   rey   bisiy-an   pamalmoul.
aeroplane kunai middle-loc fall.down.everywhere
They saw the *kunai* grass plain at Suwieng and as they were thinking 'that's Saidor' the planes fell down all over the place in the middle of the *kunai* grass.

(497) *Dokta man miniy aab-an   yiliel **i di**   peen   tubuw mayahay*
doctor act 3s.p house-loc going when woman old   sick

damung bid   dang.
bad   com saw
When the doctor was going to his house he saw a very sick old lady.

(498) *Yudumuom **i di** yin yiel kalik   ab   yiel tey   di   yien.*
darkness   and 3s go   pillow get go   put and sleep
As it was getting dark he went, took a pillow put it down and slept.

Also similarly in form the conjunction i bi may also be used to join two clauses when the two actions are occurring consequentially and simultaneously, as in example (499) below:

(499) *W-al   yoy   tirimrimam   **i bi** wang-am   tiyaham an.*
2s-go f.tim make.a.mistake cnj   name-2s.p not   irr
If you go and make a mistake you will not have a name (when you make the mistake you will die).

If in the above examples the *i di* or *i bi* were substituted by *de* or *di* and *be* respectively there would be a shift in meaning as in the following examples:

(500) *Buor dugu-yahay   de mam ma-bdiy   ma-mgariey   buor palul...*
pig   leap.up-ahay.rdp cnj 1pl.ex 1.pl.ex-arise 1p.pl.ex-shout pig   run
After the pig leapt up we began shouting and the pig ran...

(501) *W-al yoy tirimrimam   be   wang-am tiyaham an.*
2s-go f.tim make.a.mistake cnj   name-2s.p not   irr
If you go and make a mistake you will not have a name (you'll die afterwards as a result).

6.3 *gam* – 'SINCE', 'THEN', AND 'WHILST'

Gam is a time word which marks contextual time, and follows the words, phrase or clause which specifies the time context. If the context is unspecified, 'now', (i.e. the time of utterance) is understood. Thus *gam* means 'at the time specified by the immediately preceeding context, the following event took/will take place'.

For one example see example (488) above and the following examples below:

(502) *Abang nang damung lang-an   **gam** bad   ma-yien-an   tiyaham.*
thing   that bad   beach-loc when f.neg 1pl.ex-sleep-irr not
Since the time when that bad thing was on the beach we haven't slept (there).

(503) *Aniyaw balal* **gam** *di-yuor sarir siy   du-doum   wood-an*
rain falling when 3pl-put descend come 3pl-scoop.out bowl-loc

yiel-an.
go-irr
At the time when it is raining they will bring them out and scoop them out into large wooden bowls.

(504) *Sarir   siy,   girmahang   bad   w-ahang* **gam** *yagahay bad*
descend come   leftover.food indef 2s-eat   then climb.up indef

piel   bi   tam   t-al-an.
gather and   two   1pl.in-go-irr
Come down, eat a (bamboo of) leftover food then climb up (the tree) gather some (small apples) and we two will go.

The particle *gam* also functions to link clauses, as in the following example:

(505) *Os   ya-tey   **gam** yoy   t-al-an.*
smoke 1s-make then f.tim 1pl.in-go-irr
When I roll a smoke we'll go.

6.4 *o* – ALTERNATIVE MARKER

There is a common conjunction for the linking of alternatives the particle *o* (possibly derived from Tok Pisin). It may be used to link either clauses or phrases. It is used as in example (485) and as in the following examples:

(506) *Wun w-al-an   o   tiyaham?*
2s   2s-go-irr or   not
Are you going or not?

(507) *Anging-an* **o** *yalang-an* **o** *gus-an   yiel.*
food-for   or   greens-for or   food.in.bamboos-for 3s.go
She went for food, or greens, or food in bamboo tubes.

6.5 LISTING ACTIVITIES

Clauses describing a series of events, may be linked simply by juxtaposition, written with a comma separating them to indicate the pause in speech as in example (508) below:

(508) **Anging   di-toy,   buor di-taw,   anging fus**   *de   d-angagang de*
food   3pl-hold pig 3pl-bind food   appear and 3pl-eating and

mar   tey   guob.
mourning 3s.do 3s.shut
They exchanged food, bound a pig, provided food and they were eating it and finished the mourning period.

6.6 *nanganang* – 'AND SO'

Nanganang is a common conjunction in speech which links two sequential activities or ideas on a paragraph or discourse level. This is a common conjunction for both sequential time, as well as or in addition to its action as a reason-result conjunction as in §5.3.3. It was possibly originally derived by the reduplication of the relative clause marker *nang*.

(509) ***Nanganang*** *fooy   yiel   waywahay   fuw-an   waag   suk*
and.so   3s.paddle 3s.go mango.tree base-loc canoe push

watalahay di   waywahay   nang   yag-ahay
go.up   and mango.tree deic 3s.climb.ahay
And so he paddled to the base of the mango tree, pushed his canoe up (on the bank) and climbed the tree.

(510) ***Nanganang*** *nam-an   ya-buol nam   bid   niyahaw   lingang   naag*
and.so   1s-foc   1s-said 1s   com   1s.p   thoughts the.same.as

nang   sag   siyoy.
deic   only   stabbing
And so I said, me too, my thoughts are the same.

(511) ***Nanganang*** *yid   bad   ta-tey   badey-an   tiyaham   pasak   bad*
as.a.result   1pl.in f.neg 1pl.in-do be-irr   not   quick   inten

t-ahab   t-al-an.
1pl.in-get 1pl.in-go-irr
As a result lets not leave him, lets take him quickly.

7. MODALITY

Modality involves a speaker's motivation for an utterance. The following modalities are present in Awad Bing; Indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, Dubitive, Negative, and Comparitive. Discussion and examples follow.

7.1 INDICATIVE MOOD

As a general rule the indicative mood in which a hearer is being informed about a fact, is the most common mood in use. Many examples of the indicative mood are found throughout this paper. The following are two additional examples:

(512) *Tam ma-par   m-alal   di   muat   malwey sibiy nang   yin siy*
two 1pl.ex-walk 1pl.ex-go.rdp cnj snake long   very deic   3s come

daal-an.
road-loc
We two were walking along and a very long snake came onto the road.

(513) *Nahal nang   nam ya-fing   pan-ey yin man   waag wiy   foy*
day   deic   1s   1s-whistle give-3s 3s foc   canoe ins   paddle

> *watalahay yiliel.*
> above   3s.go.rdp
> When I whistled he was paddling his canoe above (out to sea).

7.2 IMPERATIVE MOOD

This mood is typically marked by short discourses, often a single verb or string of verbs. It is used when the speaker wants to induce a listener to act. It is expressed in the second person and normally when used in the singular the uninflected form of the verb is used.

> (514) **Badiy   w-al   sug!**
> 2s.arise 2s-go 2s.wash
> Go and wash!

> (515) *Raskal   nang   magaging d-ab   di-bdiy   peen   tubuw nang   du-buol,*
> robbers deic   anger   3pl-get 3pl-arose woman old   deic   3pl-said
>
> *'Ariya   pasak   sirsiring pas!'*
> alright   quick   clothes   remove
> Those robbers became angry and told the old woman, 'take off your clothes!'

> (516) **Buwaw   be   fow gis!**
> erase   cnj new write
> Erase it and write it again!

> (517) *Yin   peen   buol-ad 'Ey   aruor   a-raw   bi   angahar a-piel!'*
> 3s   women told-3pl hey string.bag 2pl-get cnj   galip.nut 2pl-gather
> He said to the women, 'Hey! get your string bags and gather the galip nuts!'

7.2.2 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

When a negative imperative is given, the desire is that the hearer not act in a certain way. For this form, the second person irrealis form is used, i.e. the particle *an* is suffixed to the uninflected form of the verb.

> (518) *Bad   w-al-**an**   tiyaham!*
> f.neg 2s-go-irr   neg
> Don't go!

> (519) *Nanew   tahap   man salang-yahaw bil-yahaw kane   Bad   w-al-**an***
> 1s.p   aunty   foc ban-1s   say-1s   quote f.neg 2s-go-irr
>
> *tiyaham!*
> neg
> My aunty, she banned me, she said to me, 'Don't go!'

> (520) *...nanganang sukul   bad   a-tar-**an**   tiyaham, misin   kagin*
> so.now   school   f.neg 2pl-leave-irr neg   mission ways

> bad   a-tar-**an**   tiyaham nang bid anangey.
> f.neg 2pl-leave-irr   neg   deic com fruit
> ...so don't leave school or the ways of the mission, they are both fruitful.

(521) ...*ranum-an*   nang bad   kew-**an** tiyaham!
  bilge.water-loc deic f.neg bail-irr   neg
  ...don't bail out the water in the bottom of the canoe!

7.2.3 A COMMON ADDITIONAL USE OF THE IMPERATIVE FORM

The imperative form is also used in farewell greetings, however the intent of the phrase is not to command, e.g.:

(522) ***An a-bdey,***   nam day   y-alal.
  2pl 2pl-remain 1s   just 1s-go.rdp
  Goodbye. (lit. You stay, I'm going.)

(523) ***Wun w-al,*** mam ma-bdeiy.
  2s   2s-go   1pl.ex 1pl.ex-remaining
  Goodbye. (lit. You go, we're staying.)

7.3 INTERROGATIVE MOOD

The purpose of the interrogative mood is to solicit information about a situation, or about the factuality of a situation. The various interrogative words in Awad Bing have been presented in §3.5 of this paper. The focus of this section will be to focus on the use of questions in order to express speech acts rather than questions, (i.e. rhetorical questions) and intonation to indicate interrogative mood.

7.3.1 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

A rhetorical question, one for which the speaker already knows the answer. It is often an indicative or imperative statement presented in the form of a question, with the answer being obvious to the listener. It is often used as a device for remonstration or criticism.

(524) *Wun wa-gagieg?!*
  2s   2s-what.rdp
  What are you doing?! (Don't do that!)

(525) *Sang miniy tar-yahaw rubub?*
  what 3s.p   leave-1s   run.away
  Why are you running away and leaving me? (You don't need to run away!)

7.3.2 THE USE OF INTONATION

In addition to the use of question words, Awad Bing speakers often use a rising intonation towards the end to indicate the interrogative mood. Such an intonation may

sometimes also be used alone on an otherwise declaratory statement to indicate the interrogative mood.

(526) *Yin   yiy   wunuon.*
    3s   fish   fish.rdp
    He is fishing. and with rising intonation: Has he caught (any) fish?

(527) *Miniy naluw lingang   bid.*
    3s.p   child   wisdom   com
    His child is smart. and with rising intonation: Is his child smart?

7.4 DUBITIVE MOOD

When a person is doubtful about a situation or wishes to express his lack of knowledge about its factuality, or make a suggestion, either the morpheme *ta* 'perhaps' is used, (mostly in the sentence final position) or the morpheme *nein* 'I think', or sometimes both together. The rising intonation common to interrogatives is also present when uncertainty is being expressed.

(528) *Wun bid   w-al-an   ta?*
    2s   com   2s-go-irr   perhaps
    I wonder if you'll go too?

(529) *Yin   yiy   du-wnuon   ta.*
    3pl   fish   3pl-fishing.rdp   perhaps
    Perhaps they're fishing.

(530) *Yin   lunguong   miniy wuum   di-saab   ta,   nanganang   yin*
    3s   know.rdp   3s.p   garden   3pl-destroy   perhaps rlt   .   3s

    teet   fuw-an   badeiy.
    village   beginning-loc   be.rdp
    Perhaps he knows they destroyed his garden and so he's remaining in his home village.

(531) ***Nein***   *miniy aab   disaab ta   nanganang yin koot-an yiliel.*
    I.wonder   3s.p   house   3pl-rob   perhaps   rlt   3s   court-gl   go.rdp
    I wonder if perhaps they robbed his house and that's why he's going to court.

(532) *Yin **nein**   lunguong   nanganang miniy aab   di-saab, nanganang*
    3s   wonder   hear.rdp   like.that   3s.p   house   3pl-rob   rlt

    yin koot-an   yiliel.
    3s   court-gl   go.rdp
    I wonder if he's heard that they robbed his house, and.so he's going to court.

Sometimes this is used when a person is unsure of what he himself will do and both options are used indicating this uncertainty as in example (533) below. Sometimes this is also used as a polite excuse to delay having to respond.

> (533) *Nam   y-al-an   ta   tiyaham   ta?*
> 1s   1s-go-irr perhaps neg   perhaps
> Perhaps I'll I go, perhaps not.

Another way of politely delaying a response is the use of the alternative conjunction *o* together with the intrinsic negator tiyaham as in the following example:

> (534) *Nam   y-al-an   o   tiyaham?*
> 1s   1s-go-irr or   neg
> Will I go or not?

7.5 NEGATION

Both verbal negation and the negation of adjectival statives utilize a preliminary functional negator, *bad* and a final negator *tiyaham*, which has an intrinsic negative value.

7.5.1 VERBAL NEGATION

The two negators mentioned above, surround the item, word, phrase, clause, etc. which is to be negated. All that is between them is then negated as seen in the examples below:

> (535) *Nam bad   ya-luong   tiyaham.*
> 1s   f.neg 1s-understand   neg
> I did not hear it.

> (536) *Yin bad   ngatang tiyaham.*
> 3p.s f.neg able   neg
> He/she is not capable.

When there are several verbs between *bad* and *tiyaham* they are all negated, i.e. the combined meaning in the absence of the two negators, is negated as in (537) and (538).

> (537) *Yin bad   du-lnguong   di-gireer tiyaham.*
> 3pl f.neg   3pl-understand 3pl-well   neg
> They are not understanding well.

> (538) *Nam bad   y-angahang   ngatang   tiyaham.*
> 1s   f.neg 1s-eating   enough   neg
> I haven't had sufficient food yet.

7.5.2 ADJECTIVAL STATIVE NEGATION

These are most frequently negated by using the two particles, in the same way as for verbs, i.e. surrounding the meaning one wishes to negate.

> (539) *Yin bad   wanwaney tiyaham.*
> 3s   f.neg hot   neg
> It isn't hot.

(540) *Tamuol* **bad** *malwed* **tiyaham**, *tamuol nang midildiliy.*
man f.neg long-3pl neg man deic short.rdp
Those men weren't tall, they were short.

(541) *Yin bad leng tiyaham.*
3pl f.neg plenty neg
There aren't many of them.

The alternative form, though less frequently used, is to negate them in a similar way as will be noted below, when negating nominals, i.e. the negator *tiyaham* alone is used. As a result the above examples (539) to (541) would be as follows:

(539) *Yin wanwaney tiyaham.*
3s hot neg
It isn't hot.

(540) *Tamuol malwed* **tiyaham**, *tamuol nang midildiliy.*
man long-3pl neg man deic short.rdp
Those men weren't tall, they were short.

(541) *Yin leng tiyaham.*
3pl plenty neg
There aren't many of them.

7.5.3 NOMINAL NEGATION

When simply negating nouns and noun phrases, only one particle, *tiyaham* is used as seen in the following examples:

(542) *Nang faang* **tiyaham**, *nang pisaw.*
deic adze neg deic curved.adze
That's not an adze, that's a curved adze.

(543) *Nam faang* **tiyaham**.
1s adze neg
I don't have an adze.

(544) *Tabud ning yin rey tining miniy nahal* **tiyaham**.
moon this 3s kunai burning 3s.p time neg
This month isn't the time for burning kunai grass.

(545) *Waray nang wangeey* **tiyaham**.
shark deic large neg
That shark is not large.

However, when identification occurs as in an equative clause, both negation particles need to be used, otherwise a wrong meaning will be communicated. See examples (546) and (547) below:

(546) *Nam   buor tiyaham.*
    1s   pig   neg
    I have no pigs.

(547) *Nam   **bad**   buor   tiyaham!*
    1s   f.neg pig   neg
    I'm not a pig!

(548) *Nang   **bad**   wuduud tiyaham nang ney   waray.*
    deic   f.neg   dolphin neg   deic different shark
    That is not a dolphin, that's different, a shark.

(549) *Nam   abang bad ya-dangang de,   yin **bad** buor tiyaham!*
    1s   thing   a   1s-see.rdp cnj 3s f.neg pig neg
    I saw something, but it wasn't a pig!

(N.B. The first *bad* which is the indefinite article should not be confused with its negator homophone.)

7.5.4 EMPHATIC NEGATION

The indefinite article is occasionally used in juxtaposition with the first negator particle to give emphasis to the negation, as seen below:

(550) ***Bad   bad***   *d-iel   miniid   teet-an   tiyaham.*
    f.neg f.neg 3pl-went 3pl.p   village-to neg
    Not even one of them went back to his village.

Negative fact is also be emphasised by the use of either the intensifier *sibiy* or the limiter *sag* as in the following examples:

(551) *Yin   wudiy dawaw   tiyaham   sibiy.*
    3pl   all   betelnut neg   really
    No-one has any betelnut at all.

(552) *Nam masis   tiyaham sag.*
    1s   matches neg   emphasis
    I do <u>not</u> have any matches.

7.5.5 ANOTHER USE OF *tiyaham*

The simple negative is also *tiyaham* as is seen in the example below:

(553) *Tiyaham.   tin-maham   tam-maham tiyaham, mam   day ning man.*
    no   mother-1pl.p father-1pl.p no   1pl   just this foc
    No. We have no parents, we are just like this.

7.5.6 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE, PROHIBITIVE

Another word, the negative used for imperatives, has a similar function, but means 'stop it'. To negate an action, *yaw* is used alone in a sentence final position for commands.

(554) *Naag   wuot   yaw!*
same.as   2s.do.imp   neg.imp
Stop doing that!

(555) *An a-mgur   yaw!*
2pl   2pl-big-noise   neg.imp
Stop making a din!

7.6 COMPARISON

Three ways of making comparisons exist in the language. The identification of a characteristic or a property or properties between two objects, states or actions, is, like negation marked by two semblative particles wenang and youm, each of which is also used alone to make separate comparisons. The two semblative particles may surround a single word, e.g. a noun being compared, a phrase or even a clause; and so compare it to what was previously mentioned. See examples (556) to (560) below:

(556) *Yin yien nang **wenang** matieng **youm**.*
3s sleep gvn   semb   die.nom   semb
He slept like a dead man.

(557) *...silahay kidingdeengiy bad   **wenang** sikel **youm**...*
  knife   bent   indef semb   sickle semb
...A bent knife similar to a sickle...

(558) *Kopi miniy wurat yin bad **wenang** kakaw miniy urat **youm***
coffee 3s.p   work 3s f.neg semb   cocoa   3s.p   work semb

tiyaham.
neg
The work for coffee is not like the work for cocoa.

(559) *Nen bi Merey   nang **wenang** nen bi Mur **youm**.*
here cnj Merey deic semb   here cnj Mur semb
Here to Merey is the same (distance) as here to Mur.

(560) *...yin yiliy   ningiy sibiy miniid-an **wenang** sabanguong tamuol*
  3s   insides good   very   1pl.p-loc semb   care-for.nom man

*bililiek miniy barnun-an kasas   nang **youm**.*
sheep   3s.p   story-loc tell.rdp deic   semb
...he is very merciful towards us like the watchman, the story of the sheep tells about.

As previously mentioned, each of these two morphemes is used for purposes of comparison in it's own right. When *wenang* is used it is forward referencing, i.e. cataphoric

and indicates a comparison is being made with further explanation following, as in examples (561), (562) and (565) below:

(561) *Muat yin buab   nang **wenang** buor man ahay.siyoy   naag 'ngur'.*
        snake 3s bellow deic   semb   pig foc make.a.sound same ngur
        That snake bellowed like a pig does when it makes a noise to frighten a dog.

(562) *Abang   wudiy gumuong aab-an   nang noy   wangangiy youm,*
        something all   buying   house-loc deic price huge   semb

        ***wenang** rais flaur, tow,   mahas teey...*
        semb   rice flour sugar salt   powder
        Everything in the shops has a biggish price, such as rice, flour, sugar and salt...

The other of the morpheme pair, *youm* when used alone is anaphoric, as in examples (563) to (565) below:

(563) *Ahay nang buaw   **youm**.*
        wood deic bamboo semb
        That wood is like bamboo.

(564) *...taan   tam-ey   **youm** nang man badiy kas-an...*
        ground father-3s semb deic   act arise speak-irr
        ...the father of the ground, for example, begins to speak...

(565) *...yiy   wangangiy, sinahang, mataliy **youm**...*
        fish big   sinahang   mataliy semb
        ...like the big fish, sinahang, mataliy...

(N.B. When checking examples with a group they said that although it is common to do this in fast speech, both particles should be used in 'proper speech'. This indicates a difference between what is acceptable as colloquial speech, and what they believe is 'correct speech'.)

According to this the following examples would be more correct:

(561*) *Muat yin buab   nang **wenang** buor man ahay.siyoy   **youm***
         snake 3s bellow deic   semb   pig act make.a.sound semb

         naag 'ngur'.
         same ngur
         That snake bellowed like a pig does when it makes a noise to frighten a dog.

(562*) *Abang   wudiy gumuong aab-an   nang noy   **wangangiy** wenang*
         something all   buying   house-loc deic price huge   semb

         *rais flaur, tow,   mahas teey   **youm**.*
         rice flour sugar salt   powder semb
         Everything in the shops has a biggish price, such as rice, flour, sugar and salt.

(563*) *Ahay nang **wenang** buaw   **youm**.*
         wood deic semb   bamboo semb
         That wood is like bamboo.

(564*)   ...*(tamuol   bad)   **wenang**   taan   tam-ey   **youm**   nang   man   badiy*
         (man   indef)   semb   ground   father-3s   semb   deic   foc   arise

kas-an...
speak-irr
...(a man), the father of the ground, for example, begins to speak...

(565*)   ...*yiy   wangangiy   **wenang**   sinahang,   mataliy   **youm**...*
         fish   big   sembl   sinahang   mataliy   semb
         ...like the big fish, sinahang, mataliy...

7.7 QUOTATIONS

7.7.1 DIRECT SPEECH QUOTATIONS

Direct quotations in both oral and written discourses in Awad Bing may take several forms.

All quotations are proceeded by a verb which indicates a speech action, e.g. *buol* ('to say or talk') a regular transitive verb which requires both subject and an object affixation, *kas* ('to say either verbally or mentally [i.e. think]') an intransitive verb', *fuluol* ('to call something by name') a transitive verb, or *wusingahay* ('to ask') which depending upon its form may be either transitive or intransitive.

The morpheme *kane* ('thusly') will sometimes be inserted directly following the verb. Also the morpheme *maneg* ('like this/that' or 'for example') frequently follows the actual speech quotation, and is anaphoric in its referencing. (This morpheme may be reduplicated to *mangeg* or have the irrealis morpheme suffixed as in example (579) below.)

N.B. This morpheme has a similar usage, i.e. similar meaning with anaphoric referencing when used elsewhere in text and not in conjunction with speech quotations.

Thus there can be a variety of ways to denote direct quotations, as in the examples below:

7.7.1.1 EXAMPLES USING *kas* ('TO SAY/THINK')

(566) ...*nanganang **kas**, 'nanew   garung   ya-dang-ad'.*
         and.so   said 1s.p   meat   1s-see-3pl
      ...and so it said 'I see my meat'.

(567) *Fow   fow   bing   tey   siy   **kas**   'misin   nang misin   sibiy'.*
       new   new   word   3s.put   3s.come   said   mission   gvn   mission   really
       At first he stated that the church/mission was really genuine.

(568) *Nam   bid   yiki-yahaw   **ya-kas**   'niek   makiesiy   gamey   tar-maham-an-i'.*
       1s   too   scare-me   1s-said   child   small   now   leave-1s.in-irr-imm
       I too was scared. I thought 'the little child is about to leave us' (die).

(569) ...*naan tubuw man di-kas   'ningiy nen ab   asiy'.*
there   old   act   3pl-said good   here 2pl.get 2pl.come
...(when) there the old folk said 'good, bring him here'.

7.7.1.2 EXAMPLES USING *buol* ('TO SAY TO' OR 'TELL SOMEONE')

(570) ...*de pasakbad Anggita yin bil-yahaw, 'Nam marwiy bad   bad*
and quickly   Anggita 3s   said-to.me 1s   heavy indef f.neg

ya-lnguong tiyaham.
1s-know   neg
...and Anggita said to me, 'I didn't know there was a problem'.

(571) *Maneg   di mam man ma-buol-ad.   'Tiyaham niek*
this.having.occurred and 1pl.ex act 1pl.ex-said-3pl no   child

makiesiy nieg   wutuot nanganang mam m-ab   ma-siy'.
small   like.this doing and.so   1pl.ex 1pl.ex-get 1pl.ex-come
This having occurred we said to them, 'No, the child was doing 'like this' and
so we brought it'.

(572) *Tubuw tamuol badiy kas   Samuel buol 'Wal luf   bad   wab*
old   man   began to.speak Samuel said go   gorongor indef 2s-get

siy'.
come
The old man began to speak, he told Samuel 'Go and bring a luf (plant)'.

7.7.1.3 EXAMPLES USING THE VERB *wusingahay* ('TO ASK')

(573) *Nan di-ding-maham du-wsing-maham 'gieg gieg a-siy'.*
there 3pl-saw-1pl.   3pl-asked-3pl   what what 2pl-come
They saw us there and asked us, 'why have you come?'

(574) *Naan mayahay sabangbongiy tamuol nang dang-maham wusing-*
maham
there sick   caretaker   man   gvn saw-3pl   asked-3pl
'gigieg?'
what
There when the man who looks after the sick saw us he asked 'what's up?'

7.7.1.4 EXAMPLE USING *fuluol* ('TO NAME')

(575) ...*muat nang wangey   du-fuluol kane 'maneb' maneg dugduug*
snake gvn   name.3s.p 3pl-call.it thusly maneb   like.this jungle

miniy...
3s.p
...they call that snake '*maneb*' a bush snake...

7.7.1.5 EXAMPLES USING *kane* ('THUSLY')

(576) *...di   nam ya-kas   kane, 'dabab   bad   tiniiy-an   ya-saruor*
     and 1s   1s-thought thusly driftwood indef body.3s.p-loc 1s-snagged

     tam'.
     two
     ...and I thought, 'I'm snagged on a piece of driftwood'.

(577) *Tiniy   yin kas kane 'balag tangahang', maneg...*
     mother.3s 3s said thusly nothing 3s.crying   like.that
     Its mother said, 'its just crying (without reason)'...

(578) *Di-kas   kane 'di-silil   maneg'.*
     3pl-said thusly 3pl-gone.out like.that
     They said 'they've gone out somewhere'.

(579) *Wun yoy songay miniy lam dahang kas-an kane, kar bad   man*
     2s   f.tim distant 3s.p lamp 2s.see say-irr thusly car indef act

     siy   maneg-an   walal   gam, yin yoy badiy watalahay-an.
     come like.this-irr 2s.going then 3s f.tim arise go.above-loc
     If you saw its light in the distance you'd say 'a car is coming' you'd be going
     then it would go above.

(580) *Daguon nouw-an   bil-maham kane, 'abang ning damung lang-an*
     Daguon face.1s.p-loc said-1pl thusly thing this bad   beach-loc

     gam bad a-yien-an   tiyaham'.
     dur f.neg 2pl-sleep-irr neg
     Daguon (man's name) said to us (standing) in front of me 'whilst this bad thing
     is on the beach, don't sleep (there)'.

(581) *Yin mun   di-bil-maham kane 'flaying suos   man'. Falaying suos*
     3pl again 3pl-said-1pl thusly flying saucer foc   flying   saucer

     bad   ma-lnguong   tiyaham'.
     f.neg 1pl-understand neg
     They said to us again, 'flying saucer'. We don't understand what a flying saucer
     is.

(582) *...mug   wud   yiliy   sag siy   nanganang ya-kas ning gieg*
     already swim inside only 3s.came and.so   1s-said this what

     gieg yiel-an-i   mangieg gam siy   yiliy-an   fooy   fung
     what 3s.go-irr-inim this.rdp then come inside-loc paddle 3s.break

     fooy   fung wit.
     paddle break with.its.mouth
     ...it was already coming swimming inside and so I thought, 'where can I go
     (now)' (I was thinking this) when it came inside and broke the paddle, it broke
     it off with its mouth.

(583) *Yakas   'O tar-wahaw' mangieg di   pasakbad fooy   y-ab*
1s-thought Oh leave-1s   this.rdp and   quickly   paddle 1s-got

ya-rub   ya-fooy   teen-an
1s-cleared.out 1s.paddled shore-loc
I thought 'Oh you leave me', I was thinking this and quickly I grabbed the
paddle and cleared out paddling to the shore.

7.7.1.6 EMBEDDED DIRECT QUOTATIONS

Embedded quotations, (quotations within quotations) have also been observed in Awad
Bing:

(584) *Naan di Samuel man buol,   'tiyaham, wun kasas 'mayahay tiyaham*
there and Samuel act 3s.said no   2s   saying sick   neg

sag   nanganang mamaham lingang nieg badey'.
emph and.so   1pl.p   thoughts this 3s.be
And so there Samuel said, 'no, you are saying 'he isn't sick'', that expresses our
thoughts too'.

(585) *De Amerika dokta Bab awey-an,   wit-an   kas 'bad di-pan-ad*
but America doctor Bob mouth-3s.p outside-loc said indef 3pl-shot-3pl

tiyaham. Yahang, aniaw wangeey mahan waag abahay di-dang miniy
neg   wind   rain   big   bird   canoe place   3pl-saw 3s.p

tiyaham. Pangpahang makiesiy, Suwieng-an   di-dang di-kas,
neg   scrap   tiny   ground.name-loc 3pl-saw 3pl-said

'mahan   waag abahay Saidor eyningieng,'   naan pa-malmuol'.
bird   canoe place   Saidor this.is(emphatic) there cpl-fell.down

Ey nieg dokta Bab bil-yahaw.
gl this doctor Bob told-1s
But the American Dr Bob told me clearly (openly) himself, 'they did not shoot
them. (because of) wind and heavy rain they could not see the airstrip. They
just saw a tiny bit of Suwieng ground and they said 'THIS is the Saidor airstrip'
and they all fell down there'. This is what Dr Bob told me.

N.B. Sometimes following a speech quotation, as if to add emphasis, there is a
summation as in the last sentence in the preceeding example (585) above and in (586) and
(587) below:

(586) *De peen   tubuw nang badiy ngar-ad **buol-ad**. 'An masis bid*
but woman old   gvn   began cross-3pl said-3pl 2pl matches com

a-par-an,   a-dang-wahaw niyoum masis   bid i?   Nam masis
2pl-walk-irr 2pl-see-1s   2s.p   matches com inter 1s   matches

*tiyaham sag,'   **naag**   **buol-ad**.*
neg   emph like.that 3s.said-3pl
But the old woman began to 'tell them off', she said to them, 'You walk about

with matches. Did you see me with your matches? I don't have any matches!' she spoke to them like that.

(587) *Ariya peen   man **wahag** 'yoy sarir   bi,   be   teet-an*
      OK   woman   act   call.out f.tim descend and,   and   village-loc

      t-al-aniy.   Weed   day   wudiy d-iel   magarngeng-iy siy   be
      1pl.in-go.imm friends just all   3pl-went cpl-imm   come and

      *tam   t-al.'   Peen   man naag   **wahag paney** buol*
      (we).two 1pl.in-go woman act like.that call   give.3pl said

      nanganang tamuol sarir   siy.
      and.so   man   dscend   came

      The woman called out, 'come down and we'll go to the village, our friends have about all gone, come and lets go.' That's what the lady called to him and so the man came down.

7.7.1.7 OTHER SPEECH QUOTATIONS

A different and seemingly rare style of quotation has been noted. It follows the general style of quotations as in the examples above, however the storyteller is talking about a 3rd person subject which thought that it had done something to himself as in the following examples, (588) and (589) below which were sequential in a dramatic narrative.

(588) *Ningriy   ya-wlaleng   di   ningiriy yin kas   kane day ab-ahaw*
      tail.3s   1s-jump.over and tail.3s 3s thought thusly conc 2s.get-1s

      maneg   balag   sag ahay naluw kam o   paypay bid
      like.this purposeless only wood small tiny or pawpawtoo

      kalmang   abang nang muwiy   sag taftatahat.
      victory.shrub thing gvn   pulverise only break.up

      I jumped over its tail, but its tail thought thusly, 'it had just got me' like that but without result it only pulverised and broke up twigs or pawpaw and things like victory shrub.

(589) *Di   yin kas   kane nam ab-wahaw maneg   di tiyaham.*
      and 3s thought thusly 1s 3s.get-1s like.that but neg

      And it thought 'It had got me' like that but (it had) not.

7.8 IRREALIS MOOD

The irrealis mood is a very common feature of Awad Bing. The main irrealis suffixial clitic *an* is homonymnous with the locative clitic, *an*, however their usage is quite distinct.

7.8.1 IRREALIS SUFFIXES

There are two verbal irrealis affixes, and between them they cover several shades of irrealis meaning. Both suffixes -*an* and -*aniy*, occur in the stem final position of the verb, and as such also in the clause final and frequently in the sentence final positions. If they are considered as separate suffixes, they can never co-occur. -*aniy* has two functions. It expresses both a permissive modality and a desiderative modality (see §7.8.5 and §7.8.6).

7.8.2 IRREALIS VERB STEMS

Intransitive:	+	sub-	+	verb root	+	-irr	
Transitive:	+	sub-	+	verb root	+	-obj	+ -irr
Reflexive:	+	sub-	+	verb root	+	-rflx	+ -irr
Reciprocal:	+	rcp-	+	verb root	+	verb root	+ -irr

(590) *di-yien-an*
3pl-sleep-irr
they sleep

(591) *anang-mom-an*
3s.burn-2sg-irr
it burns you

(592) *yoy   nu-fung.fung-an*
f.tim   rflx-hit.hit-irr
they'll kill each other

(593) *yoy   a-kap-mim-an*
f.tim 2pl-cut-2pl.rflx-irr
you'll cut yourselves

(594) *Aria tam   t-al-an   mahan waag dahang-an.*
Ok   dual 1pl.in-go-irr bird   canoe look-irr
Alright then lets go and you can see the planes.

(595) *Aad siy   wit-an   fus-an.*
sun   come   outside-loc   appear-irr
The sun comes up so that it is visible.

(596) *Buom anangey sag   sarir   wood-an yiel-an.*
sago   food   only   go.down bowl-loc go-irr
Only the sago powder goes down into the bowl.

7.8 INTENT

The irrealis suffix indicates intent, and as such is sometimes found on the introductions to some stories as in (597) and (598).

(597) *Barnun bad,   ya-dang naag   nanganang ya-kas-an.*
     story   indef 1s-see like.that so   1s-say-irr
     I will tell you a story as I saw it.

(598) *Nam angahar miniy barnun ya-kas be   wun luong-an!*
     1s   galip.nut 3s.pos story 1s-say conj 2s   hear-irr
     I will tell the galip nut story, you listen!

7.8.4 CONTRAFACTUAL

(599) *...day w-ahang-an nang wenang buor bad   nang tiyaham.*
     just 2s-eat-irr deic like   pig f.neg deic neg
     ...if you were to eat it would not be like a pig.

7.8.5 PERMISSION

This often co-occurs with a falling intonation.

(600) *Rahan   lung-aniy.*
     water   drink-permission
     You may drink the water.

(601) *Mal-am yiyoy,   al-aniy   aab-an.*
     eye-2s   sleepy 2pl.go-permission house-loc
     You're tired, you may go to the house.

7.8.6 DESIDERATIVE

This is often with a rising intonation in contrast to the permission mood.

(602) *Yow, nam rahan ya-lung-aniy.*
     yes 1s   water 1s-drink-desid
     Yes, I'd like a drink of water.

It also marks an imminent action (which is difficult to tell apart from a desired action) as in (587) above and (603) below.

(603) *Aria,   nam barnun bad   ya-kas-aniy.*
     alright 1s   story   indef 1s-tell-desid
     Alright then, (I'd like to /I'm about to) tell you a story.

A rising intonation sentence finally, appears to be the most consistent factor when asking questions. Two common interrogative particles are *ni*, when the person is nearby and *ne*, when the person is at a distance. A sentence final *i* is also occasionally used. Because of this variety it is possible that the desiderative and/or imminent suffix *-aniy* is a compound.

8. APPENDIX: A Sample Awad Bing Text – The Turtle Man (as told by Nus Baran)

Note: In the text below, a line representing the phonemic representation as in the preceding examples has been substituted by a line representing the underlying morphophonemic form.

\ref foun 001
\tx *Nahal badan di   peen   tamuol wudiy   wuman   disilad.*
\mr nahal bad   di   peen   tamuol wudiy   wum-an   di-sil-ad
\ge day   indef cnj female man   all   garden-gl 3pl-go.to.garden-3pl
\tre One day all the people had gone to their gardens.

\ref foun 002
\tx *Ariya   peen   bad   nang yin gamniy   bid   di   atangiy   sag   teetan*
\mr Ariya   peen   bad   nang yin gamniy   bid   di   atang-iy   sag   teet-an
\ge alright female indef gvn 3s stomach   with cnj alone-3s only village-gl
\tx *badey.*
\mr badey
\ge be
\tre Alright, there was a pregnant lady alone in the village.

\ref foun 003
\tx *Ariya   day palangiy niek man par   nanganang,*
\mr Ariya   day palangiy niek foc par   nanganang
\ge alright just feel   baby foc walk and.so
\tre Alright then, she felt the baby kick and so,

\ref foun 004
\tx *day sarir   siy   langan   de watalahay yiel   kataltol   yiliyan*
\mr day sarir   siy   lang-an   de watalahay yiel   kataltol   yiliy-an
\ge just descend come beach-gl cnj go.above 3s.go beach.vine.sp inside-gl
\tx *nang boos   yiel   niek kuon   di   niek nang buog   ruwyoum   kuon tamuol*
\mr nang boos   yiel   niek kuon   di   niek nang buog   ruw-youm   kuon tamuol
\ge gvn go.inside 3s.go baby bear cnj baby deic twins two-semb bore man
\tx *tam   peen   kuonad*
\mr tam   peen   kuon-ad
\ge dual female bore-3pl
\tre she came down to the beach and went up amongst the kataltol vines and had her baby and she bore twins, a boy and a girl.

\ref foun 005
\tx *Ariya yoy am   man   siy   bi niek   bisiy   koupan bad   man*
\mr Ariya yoy am   man   siy   bi niek   bisiy   koup-an bad   man
\ge alright f.tim who foc   come cnj baby umbilical.cord   cut-loc indef foc

\tx *bad   badey tiyaham.*
\mr bad   badey tiyaham
\ge f.neg   be   neg
\tre Alright, who will come and cut the baby's umbilical cord, there was no-one (else) there.

\ref foun 006
\tx *Nanganang peen   damung yiliy   yit yit atafuos sibiy tey nanganang*
\mr Nanganang peen   damung yiliy   yit yit atafuos sibiy tey nanganang
\ge and.so   female bad   inside lift lift sorry   very do and.so
\tx *niek buog ruw nang day naan langan,   kataltol   yiliyan*
\mr niek buog ruw nang day naan lang-an   kataltol   yiliy-an
\ge baby twins two deic just there beach-loc beach.vine.sp inside-loc
\tx *dibdey   di,*
\mr di-badey di
\ge 3pl-be   cnj
\tre And so the poor woman was really worried, the twins were there amongst the kataltol vines on the beach and,

\ref foun 007
\tx *yin tiyaham sag di teetan   yiel buaw bad ab siy   be niek*
\mr yin tiyaham sag di teet-an   yiel buaw bad ab siy   be niek
\ge 3s neg   only cnj village-loc 3s.go bamboo indef get come cnj baby
\tx *ruw nang busoud   koup miniy.*
\mr ruw nang busoud   koup miniy
\ge two deic umbilical.cord.3pl.p cut   reason
\tre she went (by her self) to the village to get a (piece of) bamboo to cut their umbilical cords.

\ref foun 008
\tx *Ariya nagaag   di foun tubuw day mahasan gam di*
\mr Ariya naag-rdp   di foun tubuw day mahas-an gam di
\ge alright like.that-rdp cnj turtle old.one just sea-loc   then cnj
\tx *sarir siy barnahaman di dung   darur watalahay yiel di*
\mr sarir siy barnaham-an di dung   darur watalahay yiel di
\ge descend come sand-gl   cnj follow crawl go.above 3s.go cnj
\tx *tad   tad   maley yitit   maneg   nang niek ruw tam*
\mr tad   tad   maley yit-rdp maneg   nang niek ruw tam
\ge raise.head raise.head eye.3s.p lift-rdp like.that deic baby two dual
\tx *kataltol   yiliyan   diyien   dibdey   di dangad.*
\mr kataltol   yiliy-an di-yien di-badey di dang-ad
\ge beach.vine.sp inside-loc 3pl-sleep 3pl-be   cnj see-3pl

\tre Alright then an old turtle came out of the sea, crawled along (and) followed the sand
      (and) lifted his head (and) looked up as it went up, and it saw the two babies there
      asleep amongst the kataltol vines.

\ref foun 009
\tx *Nanganang day watalahay yiel singedan   di, badiy niek tamuol sag*
\mr Nanganang day watalahay yiel sing-ed-an   di   badiy niek tamuol sag
\ge and.so   just go.above 3s.go near-3.pl-loc cnj arise baby man   only

\tx *bisiy   koup di yin sag abab,   di peen   nang tisam badey*
\mr bisiy   koup di yin sag ab-rdp di peen   nang tisam badey
\ge umbilical.cord cut be 3s   only get-rdp cnj female deic leave be

\tx *di niek tamuol sag ab di   yililey miniy mootan.*
\mr di niek tamuol sag ab di   yililey miniy moot-an
\ge cnj baby man   only get cnj gone   3s.p   island-loc

\tre And so he went up there near them, began to cut the boy's umbilical cord, got the boy
      and left the girl there and took the boy and went (completely) to his island.

\ref foun 010
\tx *Tinadang   naan gam di, buaw ab di siy   niek busoud*
\mr tin-ad-ang   naan gam di   buaw ab di siy   niek busoud
\ge mother-3pl-gen   there when cnj bamboo get cnj come baby umbilical.cord.3pl.p

\tx *koupad miniy, siy   nieg   dangang maneg   nang niek tamuol*
\mr koup-ad miniy siy   nieg   dang-ang maneg   nang niek tamuol
\ge cut-3pl reason come   like.this see-rdp that.time deic baby man

\tx *bad   badey tiyaham, niek peen   man sag badey.*
\mr bad   badey tiyaham niek peen   man sag badey
\ge f.neg be   neg   baby female   foc only be

\tre And then when their mother came she brought a piece of bamboo with which to cut
      their umbilical cords, as she looked there wasn't a baby boy, only the baby girl was
      there.

\ref foun 011
\tx *Ar   nanganang tiniy   yin day yiliy kindingkundung di yiliy*
\mr Ar   nanganang tin-iy   yin day yiliy kindingkundung di yiliy
\ge alright rlt   mother-3s 3s just inside twisted   cnj inside

\tx *dom   nanganang badiy kas,*
\mr dom   nanganang badiy kas
\ge broken and.so   arise say

\tre As a result her mother was really anxious and so she said,

\ref foun 012
\tx *'Haa,   niek tamuol nang wiy yawgiegan?*
\mr Haa   niek tamuol nang wiy ya-gieg-an

\ge exclamation baby man   deic ins 1s-what-irr
\tre 'Ah what use would the baby boy be to me?

\ref foun 013
\tx *Ningiy niyahaw niek peen   ning sag yoy bisiy   yakapoup*
\mr ningiy niyahaw niek peen   ning sag yoy bisiy   ya-koup-rdp
\ge good   1s.p   baby female deic only f.tim umbilical.cord 1s-cut-rdp
\tx *bi yoy ab teetay   yalan,   nanew   silingyahaw   miniy,'*
\mr bi yoy ab teet-ay   y-al-an   nanew   siling-yahaw miniy
\ge cnj f.tim get village-gl 1s-go-irr 1s.p   help-1s   reason
\tre Good, I'll only cut my baby girl's umbilical cord and take her to the village to do the chores for me.'

\ref foun 014
\tx *naag   kasas di bisiy   koup magareng di ab teetan*
\mr naag   kas-rdp di bisiy   koup magareng di ab teet-an
\ge like.that say-rdp cnj umbilical.cord cut   cpl   cnjget village-loc
\tx *yiel.*
\mr yiel
\ge 3s.go
\tre that's what she said and cut its umbilical and took it to the village.

\ref foun 015
\tx *Niek peen   yin teetan   tuub nang niek tamuol bid foun tubuw*
\mr Niek peen   yin teet-an   tuub nang niek tamuol bid foun tubuw
\ge baby female 3s village-loc fat deic baby man   com turtle old.one
\tx *miniy mootan   nang yin bid tuub.*
\mr miniy moot-an   nang yin bid tuub
\ge 3s.p   island-loc deic 3s com fat
\tre The baby girl in the village (became) fat, the baby boy on the turtle's island too became fat.

\ref foun 016
\tx *yiel niek peen   yin teetan   darur nang,*
\mr yiel niek peen   yin teet-an   darur nang
\ge go   baby female 3s village-loc crawl deic
\tre The baby girl in the village, crawled

\ref foun 017
\tx *niek tamuol foun tubuw miniy mootan   nang yin bid darur.*
\mr niek tamuol foun tubuw miniy moot-an   nang yin bid darur
\ge baby man   turtle old.one 3s.p island-loc deic 3s com crawl
\tre the baby boy on the turtles' island also crawled.

\ref foun 018
\tx *Di yiel niek   peen   teetan   nang gungun nang, niek tamuol foun*
\mr di yiel niek   peen   teet-an   nang gungun nang niek tamuol foun
\ge cnj go   baby female village-loc deic standing nang baby man   turtle

\tx *tubuw   miniy mootan   nang yin bid gungun.*
\mr tubuw   miniy moot-an   nang yin bid gungun
\ge old.one 3s.p island-loc deic 3s com standing

\tre The baby girl in the village was standing, the baby boy on the turtles' island was also standing.

\ref foun 019
\tx *Nagaag   di yiel   niek peen   teetan   nang fuw   tey wiiy*
\mr naag-rdp   di yiel   niek peen   teet-an   nang fuw   tey wiiy
\ge like.that-rdp cnj 3s.go baby female village-loc nang begin do leg.3s

\tx *baday,   niek tamuol foun tubuw   miniy mootan   yin bid fuw*
\mr baday   niek tamuol foun tubuw   miniy moot-an   yin bid fuw
\ge throw.away   baby man   turtle old.one 3s.p island-loc 3s com begin

\tx *tey wiy   bading.*
\mr tey wiy   bading
\ge do ins   throw.away

\tre And like that, the baby girl in the village began to toddle, (and) the baby boy on the turtles' island also began to toddle.

\ref foun 020
\tx *Yiel, yiel niek peen   ning yin par gagow nang niek tamuol nang yin*
\mr Yiel yiel niek peen   ning yin par gagow nang niek tamuol nang yin
\ge go   go   baby female this 3s walk strong deic baby man   deic 3s

\tx *bid   par gagow.*
\mr bid   par gagow
\ge with walk strong

\tre It went and went, the baby girl walked strongly (and) the baby boy also walked strongly.

\ref foun 021
\tx *Nagaag   di yiel   yiel niek peen   teetan   nang baras   tey*
\mr naag-rdp   di yiel   yiel niek peen   teet-an   nang baras   tey
\ge like.that-rdp cnj 3s.go 3s.go baby female village-loc deic teenager do

\tx *di aaban   yiel, naag sag   niek tamuol bid makahay tiyey   di*
\mr di aab-an   yiel naag sag   niek tamuol bid makahay tiyey   di
\ge cnj house-loc 3s.go like.that only baby man   com youth   do.rdp cnj

\tx *yin bid yongan   yiel, toon dang.*
\mr yin bid yong-an   yiel toon dang
\ge 3s with mens'.house-loc 3s.go devil see

\tre And like that, time went by and the baby girl in the village became a teenager and went
into the house, like that, the baby boy became a youth and he too went to the men's
house and saw the spirits.

\ref foun 022
\tx *Di niek peen   ning aaban   dupuduoy,   naag   sag niek   tamuol*
\mr di niek peen   ning aab-an   du-puduoy   naag   sag niek   tamuol
\ge cnj baby female   this house-loc 3pl-parade   like.that only baby man

\tx *mulungan yiel   nang bid foun tubuw man paduoy.*
\mr mulung-an yiel   nang bid foun tubuw man paduoy
\ge initiation-gl 3s.go gvn   with turtle old.one foc parade

\tre They paraded the girl from the house, like that, the boy too went to his initiation and
the old turtle too paraded him (after it).

\ref foun 023
\tx *Ariya nahal badan di   peen   tamuol wudiy sag wey   dab*
\mr Ariya nahal bad-an di   peen   tamuol wudiy sag wey   d-ab
\ge alright day   indef-gl cnj female man   all   only friend 3pl-get

\tx *di diel   peen ning tiniy   tamey   bid miniid wum   wurat*
\mr di d-iel   peen ning tin-iy   tam-ey   bid miniid wum   wurat
\ge cnj 3pl-go   female deic mother-3s father-3s.p with 3pl.p   garden work

\tx *ditey   paniid.*
\mr di-tey   paan-iid
\ge 3pl-do give-3pl.p

\tre Alright, and then one day the people went, they went, and worked in the garden for
this girls mother and father.

\ref foun 024
\tx *Di nahal nang tiniiyan nang peen   nang tiniy   man buol,*
\mr di nahal nang tiniiy-an nang peen   nang tin-iy   man buol
\ge cnj day gvn   during-gl deic female deic mother-3s foc tell

\tre Alright, at that time the girl's mother said to her,

\ref foun 025
\tx *'Oy nin   e. Ey weed   disiy   minid wurat ditiyey*
\mr Oy nin   e   Ey wey-d   di-siy   minid wurat di-tiyey
\ge Oy my.child inter hey friend-1pl.in 3pl-come 1pl.in.p work 3pl-do.rdp

\tx *di rahan tiyaham sag de rahanan dimtahat,   nanganang wun siy   be*
\mr di rahan tiyaham sag de rahan-an di-matahat nanganang wun siy   be
\ge cnj water neg   only cnj water-gl 3pl-die.rdp and.so   2s   come cnj

\tx *rahan nabud   ning wab sir bi wal   yes   gam siy.'*
\mr rahan nabud   ning w-ab sir bi w-al   yes   gam siy
\ge water container deic 2s-get fill cnj 2s-go fill.up then come

\tre Oy my child, our friends have come to do our work, there's no water at all and they're
     thirsty, and so you come and take this container, and go (and) fill it and come (back).

\ref foun 026
\tx *Nanganang niek peen   ning   yin bing luong di   rahan nabud   ab sir*
\mr Nanganang niek peen   ning   yin bing luong di   rahan nabud   ab sir
\ge and.so   baby female deic   3s talk hear cnj water container get fill

\tx *aruoran   di yit ab fahay di yiel   rahan teyan.*
\mr aruor-an   di yit ab fahay di yiel   rahan tey-an
\ge string.bag-gl cnj lift get carry cnj 3s.go river beside-loc

\tre Alright this girl obeyed and placed the container in her string bag and put it on her head
     and carried it to the edge of the river.

\ref foun 027
\tx *Ariya   foun tubuw man sawuong niek tamuol nang buol, 'O*
\mr Ariya   foun tubuw man sawuong niek tamuol nang buol O
\ge alright turtle old.one foc instruction baby man deic tell Oh!

\tx *fuf   yoy yabyoum   tasarir   langay talan.*
\mr fuf   yoy y-ab-youm   ta-sarir   lang-ay t-al-an
\ge grandparent f.tim 1s-get-2s.obj 1pl.in-go.down beach-gl 1pl.in-go-irr

\tx *Tal   yatayoum   bi nam yoy mun yabsulan.*
\mr t-al   ya-tey-youm bi nam yoy mun ya-basul-an
\ge 1pl.in-go 1s-put-2s   cnj 1s f.tim again 1s-return-irr

\tre Alright, the old turtle gave the boy instructions, he said to the young man, 'O
     grandchild I'll take you (and) we'll go to the beach. We'll go, I'll put you there and later
     I'll return again.

\ref foun 028
\tx *Gieg bad   duwutmoom   nang yoy mun yasiy   yabyoum   be*
\mr Gieg bad   du-wuot-moom   nang yoy mun ya-siy   y-ab-youm   be
\ge what indef 3pl-do-to.you deic f.tim again 1s-come 1s-get-2s.obj cnj

\tx *tabsulan,   ey naag   tubuw sawuong paan magareng*
\mr ta-basul-an   ey naag   tubuw sawuong paan magareng
\ge 1pl.in-return-irr spec like.that old.one instruction give cpl

\tx *di day ab siy   lang teyan   tey.'*
\mr di day ab siy   lang tey-an   tey
\ge cnj just get come beach beside-loc put

\tre If they do anything to you, I will come take you and we'll return, he finished
     instructing him like that and set him on the edge of the beach.

\ref foun 029
\tx *Di tubuw buol, 'O fuf   nam day mun yapsalul,*
\mr Di tubuw buol O fuf   nam day mun ya-basalul

\ge cnj old.one tell Oh grandchild 1s just again 1s-basul.rdp

\tx *nagaag   di foun tubuw nang day mun basul.'*

\mr naag-rdp   di foun tubuw nang day mun basul

\ge like.that-rdp cnj turtle old.one deic just again return

\tre The old one (turtle) said, 'Oh my grandson I'm returning', and that having happened the old turtle left.

\ref foun 030

\tx *Ariyo am man biliyoum bi luongan niek tamuol mug   wangeey*

\mr Ariyo am man bil-youm   bi luong-an niek tamuol mug   wangeey

\ge Alright who foc tell-2s.obj cnj hear-irr baby man   already big

\tx *sag rahan teyan,   dooy tuwtowbad   nang dimiy   suoy*

\mr sag rahan tey-an   dooy tuwtowbad   nang dim-iy   suoy

\ge only river beside-loc tree.sp middle.size.branch nang hand-3s   stab

\tx *yiel rahan yiyyong   badey, nang tiniiyan   nang niek tamuol yagahay*

\mr yiel rahan yiyyong   badey nang tiniiy-an   nang niek tamuol yagahay

\ge 3s.go river hang.down be   deic body.3s.p-gl deic baby man   climb

\tx *yiel di dooy dimiy   fangeyan doos di, balag miniy lalaw*

\mr yiel di dooy dim-iy   fangey-an doos di balag miniy lalaw

\ge 3s.go cnj tree.sp hand-3s.p top-loc   sit cnj freely 3s.p feather

\tx *nang yahang man sag tubuobiy nang balag palpalal bad   sag di badey*

\mr nang yahang man sag tubuobiy nang balag palpalal bad   sag di badey

\ge deic wind   foc only tricked gvn   merely bounced indef only cnj be

\tre Who would tell you so that you would know that the young man had been beside the river a long time, he'd climbed up a middle-sized branch which hang down over the river and he sat on a branch in the top of a mangas tree and, the wind freely waved his feather, bounced it freely and remained so.

\ref foun 031

\tx *Ariya niek peen   ning yin day aruor   nabud bid ab di*

\mr Ariya niek peen   ning yin day aruor   nabud bid ab di

\ge alright baby female deic 3s just string.bag container com get cnj

\tx *yiel rahan teyan,   tey magareng di sanging di day rahan*

\mr yiel rahan tey-an   tey magareng di sanging di day rahan

\ge 3s.go river beside-loc put cpl   cnj squat   cnj just water

\tx *yes, yises   di, maley rahanan yiliel   maneg   nang*

\mr yes yes-rdp   di maley rahan-an yiel-rdp maneg   nang

\ge fill.up fill.up-rdp cnj eye.3s.p water-loc 3s.go-rdp like.that gvn

\tx *niek tamuol nang miniy lalaw   dang yahang man tuob nang sibiy sag*

\mr niek tamuol nang miniy lalaw   dang yahang man tuob nang sibiy sag

\ge baby man   gvn 3s.p feather saw wind   foc trick gvn   very only

\tx *balag   palpalal bad   di   badey.*
\mr balag   palpalal bad   di   badey
\ge merely   bounced inten cnj be

\tre Alright, the young lady took her string bag with the water container to the river's edge, set it down and squatted and filled it up, She was filling it up and her eye went to the water and she saw that young man's feather which the wind was tricking, freely bouncing it and it remained so.

\ref foun 032

\tx *Ariya   niek   peen   nang   ning yin abang   naag   dang nanganang*
\mr Ariya   niek   peen   nang   ning yin abang   naag   dang nanganang
\ge alright baby   female deic   deic 3s something like.that see   and.so

\tx *day rahan yising   nang   tisam de   maley   dangdahang   geer.*
\mr day rahan yising   nang   tisam de   maley   dang.dahang geer
\ge just water fill.nom deic   leave cnj   eye.3s.p look.about   well

\tre Alright, the young girl saw that and left filling up the water and watched it closely.

\ref foun 033

\tx *Dangdahang lel di badiy rahan wud   sarir   yiel   toyan   maneg*
\mr dang.dahang lel di badiy rahan wud   sarir   yiel   toy-an maneg
\ge look.about   dur cnj begin river swim descend 3s.go hold-irr like.that

\tx *di tiyaham.*
\mr di tiyaham
\ge cnj neg

\tre She was looking there and dived in to hold him but, to no avail.

\ref foun 034

\tx *Ar   fow mun naag   wuot nang bid tiyaham sag.*
\mr Ar   fow mun naag   wuot nang bid tiyaham sag
\ge alright new again like.that do   deic com neg   only

\tre Alright, she did the same again, but to absolutely no avail.

\ref foun 035

\tx *'Aya ning yoy gieg yawuotan   i?'*
\mr Aya   ning yoy gieg ya-wuot-an i
\ge exclm deic f.tim what 1s-do-irr   inter

\tre Hey! what will I do about this?

\ref foun 036

\tx *Ar   nagay   sag maneg   naag   kas magareng di naan*
\mr Ar   nagay   sag maneg   naag   kas magareng di naan
\ge alright forget.it only like.that like.that say cpl   cnj there

\tx *rahan aruorang*   *bid abab di palul sag siy tiniy*
\mr rahan aruor-ang   bid ab-ab di palul sag siy tin-iy
\ge water string.bag-gen com get-get cnj run inten come mother-3s.p

\tx *tamey niyahay o tubuw miniy teey*
\mr tam-ey niyahay o tubuw miniy teey
\ge father-3s.p uncle or grandparent 3s.p younger.sib.3s

\tx *tawey bid paanad.*
\mr taw-ey bid paan-ad
\ge elder.sibling-3s.p with give-3pl

\tre 'Alright I'll ignore it, that's what she said and then got her string bag with the water in it too and ran to give it to her parents for her uncles (or) aunts, grandparents or her brothers and sisters.

\ref foun 037
\tx *Di yin mun bad naan badey tiyaham yin day mun basul sag.*
\mr di yin mun bad naan badey tiyaham yin day mun basul sag
\ge cnj 3s again f.neg there be neg 3s just again return only
\tre But she didn't stay there, she went straight back.

\ref foun 038
\tx *Ariya nang tiniiyan gam palul siy nieg tadad maneg*
\mr Ariya nang tiniiy-an gam palul siy nieg tad-rdp maneg
\ge alright deic during-gl then run come like.this look.up-rdp like.that

\tx *nang niek tamuol ning dang.*
\mr nang niek tamuol ning dang
\ge gvn baby man deic see

\tre Alright, this time she came she ran, looking up she saw the young man.

\ref foun 039
\tx *Ariya day naan buol, 'Sey!*
\mr Ariya day naan buol Sey
\ge alright just this.time tell Hey!
\tre At this time she said, 'Hey!'

\ref foun 040
\tx *Wun sarir siy bi tam tal mam gamey nang wey wangeey*
\mr Wun sarir siy bi tam t-al mam gamey nang wey wangeey
\ge 2s descend come cnj dual 1pl.in-go 1.pl.ex now deic friend big

\tx *daseg sibiy disiy nin, maam miniid wurat ditiyey, siy bi tam*
\mr daseg sibiy di-siy nin maam miniid wurat di-tiyey siy bi tam
\ge one very 3pl-come mum father 3pl.p work 3pl-do.rdp come cnj dual

\tx *tal tadangad.*
\mr t-al ta-dang-ad

\ge 1pl.in-go 1pl.in-see-3pl

\tre You come down and we'll go, a very large group of friends have come (and) they're doing my parents work, come and we'll go and see them all.

\ref foun 041

\tx *Naag   buol nanganang niek tamuol nang day sarir   siy   di*

\mr naag   buol nanganang niek tamuol nang day sarir   siy   di

\ge like.that tell and.so   baby man   gvn   just descend come cnj

\tx *tam diel   wuman   dufus.*

\mr tam d-iel   wum-an   du-fus

\ge dual 3pl-go garden-loc 3pl-arrive

\tre That's what she said, and so the young man came down and they went and showed up at the garden.

\ref foun 042

\tx *Ariya tiniy   tam tamey   ditifirid   maneg   nang,*

\mr Ariya tin-iy   tam tam-ey   di-tifir-id   maneg   nang

\ge alright mother-3s.p dual father-3s.p 3pl-turn-3pl like.that deic

\tx *tam didangad.*

\mr tam di-dang-ad

\ge dual 3pl-see-3pl

\tre Alright, as both her mother and father turned their heads they saw the two of them.

\ref foun 043

\tx *Di day dikas, yin nuog   wuot miniy nanganang yeng*

\mr di day di-kas yin nuog   wuot miniy nanganang yeng

\ge cnj just 3pl-say 3s over.there do   3s.p and.so   puffed.out

\tx *yeng   sag. 'Rahan raw   siy   baleng   sag di mun*

\mr yeng   sag Rahan raw   siy   baleng   sag di mun

\ge puffed.out only water   get.pl.objects come throw.down only cnj again

\tx *basul yililiyey,'   tiniy   tamey   man naag   dikas*

\mr basul yililiyey   tin-iy   tam-ey   man naag   di-kas

\ge return go.completely mother-3s.p father-3s.p foc like.that 3pl-say

\tx *magareng di day bid wuman   naan dibdey.*

\mr magareng di day bid wum-an   naan di-badey

\ge cpl   cnj just com garden-loc there 3pl-be

\tre And so they said, 'that's why you worked so quickly, got the water containers, just threw them down and went and didn't come back,' her parents said that to her, and they remained in the garden with them.

\ref foun 044

\tx *Ariya wuman   dibdey lel, yiel aruwahaw sibiy, toy siy*

\mr Ariya wum-an   di-badey lel yiel aruwahaw sibiy toy siy

\ge alright garden-loc 3pl-be   dur 3s.go afternoon very   hold come
\tx *bolbolbad   gam di tamuolpeen   wey wudiy sag di tiniy*
\mr bolbolbad   gam di tamuol-peen wey wudiy sag di tin-iy
\ge late.evening then cnj man-female   friend all   only cnj mother-3s.p

\tx *tamey   di niek peen   nang man yuwiy   tam bid wudiy sag*
\mr tam-ey   di niek peen   nang man yuw-iy   tam bid wudiy sag
\ge father-3s.p cnj baby female deic   foc spouse-3s.p dual com all   only

\tx *teetan   diel*
\mr teet-an   d-iel
\ge village-loc 3pl-go

\tre Alright they stayed in the garden until late afternoon, until it was almost dark, then all
    the people and her parents, and the young girl and her husband too, all of them went to
    the village.

\ref foun 045
\tx *Nahal badan   di tam diel   miniid wuman   naan wuratan*
\mr nahal bad-an   di tam d-iel   miniid wum-an   naan wurat-an
\ge day   indef-gl cnj dual 3pl-go 3pl.p   garden-loc there work-gl

\tx *dibdey   lel aruwahaw.*
\mr di-badey lel aruwahaw
\ge 3pl-be   dur afternoon

\tre Then one day the two of them went to their garden and they worked until the
    afternoon.

\ref foun 046
\tx *Ariya   tam disiy   rahanan dusug   di yuwiy   peen   rahan*
\mr Ariya   tam di-siy   rahan-an du-sug di yuw-iy   peen   rahan
\ge alright   dual 3pl-come river-loc 3pl-wash cnj spouse-3s.p female   water

\tx *yes   magareng de tam diel   teetan.*
\mr yes   magareng de tam d-iel   teet-an
\ge fill.up cpl   cnj dual 3pl-go village-loc

\tre Alright they came to the river, they washed and his wife collected some water and they
    went to the village.

\ref foun 047
\tx *Mun   nahal badan di yuwiy   peen   tam mun diel   miniid*
\mr Mun   nahal bad-an di yuw-iy   peen   tam mun d-iel   miniid
\ge again day   indef-gl cnj spouse-3s.p female dual again 3pl-go 3pl.p

\tx *wuman   wurat ditey.*
\mr wum-an   wurat di-tey
\ge garden-loc work 3pl-do

\tre Again on another day, he and his wife went and worked in their garden.

\ref foun 048
\tx *Peen   nang   taan   batuw fungung i   di   tamuol nang yin wil   taan.*
\mr peen   nang   taan   batuw fung-rdp i   di   tamuol nang yin wil   taan
\ge female deic   ground clod beat-rdp sim cnj man   deic 3s yam   ground
\tre As the woman was beating clods the man planted yams.

\ref foun 049
\tx *Ariya tamuol ning nieg tifiryiy   maneg   nang, peen   yin*
\mr Ariya tamuol ning nieg tifiryiy   maneg   nang   peen   yin
\ge alright man   deic like.this 3s.turn like.that   gvn   female   3s

\tx *dumdom   pilil   di badey dang nanganang yiliy   wiy   sag taan*
\mr dumdom   pil-rdp   di badey dang nanganang yiliy   wiy   sag taan
\ge grass.roots gather-rdp cnj be   see   and   inside ins   only ground

\tx *batuw bad   ab di yuwiy   peen   tahaf.*
\mr batuw indef ab di yuw-iy   peen   tahaf
\ge clod a   get cnj spouse-3s.p female throw
\tre Alright the man turned this way, his saw the woman was busy gathering the grass roots
and so he slowly picked up a clod and threw it at his wife.

\ref foun 050
\tx *Nanganang peen   man bad   ab di mun tamuol tahaf.*
\mr Nanganang peen   man indef ab di mun tamuol tahaf
\ge rlt   female foc   a   get cnj again man   throw
\tre And so the woman got one and in return threw it at the man.

\ref foun 051
\tx *Ariya tam day dudugwayahay   di tam wurat ditiyey   tam day*
\mr Ariya tam day du-dugw-ahay-rdp di tam wurat di-tiyey   tam day
\ge alright dual just 3pl-jump-ahay-rdp cnj dual work 3pl-do-rdp dual just

\tx *naag   di dibdey   yiel.*
\mr naag   di di-badey yiel
\ge like.that cnj 3pl-be   3s.go
\tre Alright the two of them were playing and they were working and so they remained.

\ref foun 052
\tx *Nagaag   di tamuol mun taan   batuw bad   ab tahaf nang man*
\mr naag-rdp   di tamuol mun taan   batuw bad   ab tahaf nang man
\ge like.that-rdp cnj man   again ground clod   indef get throw gvn   foc

\tx *siy   peen   maley   batuw sibiyan   tahaf.*
\mr siy   peen   maley   batuw sibiy-an tahaf
\ge come   female eye.3s.p clod   very-gl   throw
\tre Like that the man again got a clod and threw it, that one came and hit the woman right
in her eyeball.

\ref foun 053
\tx *Ariya   peen   naan   badiy, 'nin   e   nin   e   nin   e'   maneg*
\mr Ariya   peen   naan   badiy   nin   e   nin   e   nin   e   maneg
\ge alright female there   arise   mum   inter mum inter mum inter like.that
\tx *kas.*
\mr kas
\ge say

\tre 'nin e, nin e, nin e' like that the woman cried (with the pain).

\ref foun 054
\tx *Ariya   day pananaway di yuwiy   tamuol buol, 'Wun giegan*
\mr Ariya   day pananaway di yuw-iy   tamuol buol Wun   gieg-an
\ge alright just taunt   cnj spouse-3s.p man   tell 2s   what-irr
\tx *naag   malahaw   batuw taftatuot wun nang, ey, tubum   tam*
\mr naag   mal-ahaw batuw taftatuot wun nang ey tubu-m   tam
\ge like.that eye-1s.p clod   broken   2s deic ? grandparent-2.s.p dual
\tx *anging ningiy bad   mow   angahang tiyaham.*
\mr anging ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp tiyaham
\ge food   good indef hab   eat-rdp   neg
\tre Alright she just taunted him, she said to her husband, 'Why did you hit my eyeball?
     You thing, you and your grandfather never eat good food.

\ref foun 055
\tx *An tam nang pagargar ningiy bad   mow   angahang i?*
\mr An tam nang pagargar ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp i
\ge 2pl dual gvn yam.type good indef hab   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good pagargar yams?

\ref foun 056
\tx *An daruom ningiy bad   mow   angahang i?*
\mr An daruom ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp i
\ge 2pl yam.type good indef hab   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good daruom yams?

\ref foun 057
\tx *An tunub   ningiy bad   mow   angahang i?*
\mr An tunub   ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp i
\ge 2pl yam.type good indef hab   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good tunub yams?

\ref foun 058
\tx *An sasagel ningiy bad   mow   angahang i?*
\mr an sasagel ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp i

\ge 2s   yam.type good   indef   hab   eat-rdp   inter

\tre Dou you regularly eat good sasagel yams?

\ref foun 059
\tx *An aning   mos   ningiy bad   mow   angahang   i?*
\mr An aning   mos   ningiy bad   mow   ahang-rdp   i
\ge 2pl banana mos.type good   indef   mow   eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good mos bananas?

\ref foun 060
\tx *An aning   waag   ningiy bad   mow angahang   i?*
\mr An aning   waag   ningiy bad   mow ahang-rdp i
\ge 2pl banana banana.type good   indef   hab eat-rdp   inter
\tre Do you regularly eat good waag bananas?

\ref foun 061
\tx *Wun nang mow tubum   tam abdey   lel bi mahas gawgaaw*
\mr Wun nang mow tubu-m   tam a-badey lel bi mahas gawgaaw
\ge 2s   deic   hab   grandparent-2.s.p dual 2pl-be   dur cnj sea   froth

\tx *sag   mow alngung   i?*
\mr sag   mow a-lung-rdp   i
\ge only hab   2pl-drink-rdp inter

\tre You and your grandfather just live and regularly drink sea froth don't you?

\ref foun 062
\tx *Ariya   tubum   tamuol nang gargar, guam,*
\mr Ariya   tubu-m   tamuol nang   gargar guam
\ge alright grandparent-2.s.p man   deic   shell.sp gam.shell

\tx *baded, say,   sarum   de lal,   nang sag mow fuyuoyiy*
\mr baded   say   sarum   de lal   nang sag mow fuoy-rdp-iy
\ge shell.sp shell.sp clam.shell cnj shell.sp deic   only hab   open-rdp-inter

\tx *angahangiy, bi wun bid panom   wangahang   be.*
\mr ahang-rdp-iy bi wun bid paan-om w-ahang-rdp be
\ge eat-rdp-inter cnj 2s   com give-2s.gl 2s-eat-rdp   cnj

\tre Alright, your grandfather just opens gargar shells, gam shells, baded shells, say shells, sarum shells and lal shells and eats them and gives them to you to eat too.

\ref foun 063
\tx *Yin sibiy nang   mow teey   ahangan, nang wun tubuowang   man nam*
\mr Yin sibiy nang   yoy teey   ahang-an nang wun tubuw-ang   man nam
\ge 3s   very deic   hab faeces eat-irr   deic   2s   grandparent-assoc foc 1s

\tx *tafwahaw.*
\mr tahaf-wahaw

\ge throw-1s.gl

\tre He himself eats his own faeces, you who hit me are his grandchild.

\ref foun 064

\tx *Ey naag naag pananawahay buol.*

\mr Ey naag naag pananawahay buol

\ge gl like.that like.that taunt tell

\tre Like that in those ways she taunted him.

\ref foun 065

\tx *Ariya tamuol nang day luong lel di day kas, 'Oye ningiy*

\mr Ariya tamuol nang day luong lel di day kas oye ningiy

\ge alright man gvn just hear dur cnj just say exclamation good

\tx *bulwahaw naan bing tiyaham.'*

\mr buol-wahaw naan bing tiyaham

\ge tell-1s.gl ap talk neg

\tre Alright the man just listened and said 'Yes, glad you told me, I've got nothing to say.'

\ref foun 066

\tx *Ariya wuman naan di day tam disiy teetan, disiy*

\mr Ariya wum-an naan di day tam di-siy teet-an di-siy

\ge alright garden-loc there cnj just dual 3pl-come village-loc 3pl-come

\tx *daalan di buol, 'lunguong i? Siy nieg tam tal*

\mr daal-an di buol luong-rdp i Siy nieg tam t-al

\ge road-loc cnj tell hear inter come like.this dual 1pl.in-go

\tx *langan gam yoy tam teetay talan.'*

\mr lang-an gam yoy tam teet-ay t-al-an

\ge beach-loc then f.tim dual village-loc 1pl.in-go-loc

\tre Alright, they just left the garden where they were and came to the village, they came to the road and he said, 'do you hear? Come let's go to the beach first and then to the village'.

\ref foun 067

\tx *Ariya tam disiy angahar tuwtowbad nang yiliyan*

\mr Ariya tam di-siy angahar tuwtowbad nang yiliy-an

\ge alright dual 3pl-come galip.nut middle.size.branch deic inside-loc

\tx *naan di yuwiy peen buol, 'Wun nen gungun badey bi nam*

\mr naan di yuw-iy peen buol Wun nen gungun badey bi nam

\ge there cnj spouse-3s.p female tell 2s here standing be cnj 1s

\tx *angahar ning yagahay gam.*

\mr angahar ning yagahay gam

\ge galip.nut deic climb when

\tre   Alright, they came to a galip tree which had some middle-sized branches, and there he said to his wife, you stand here and I'll first climb this galip tree.

\ref foun 068

\tx   *'Naag   yuwiy   buol magareng di day   angahar yangahay yiel*
\mr   Naag   yuw-iy   buol magareng di day   angahar yangahay yiel
\ge   like.that spouse-3s.p tell cpl   cnj just galip.nut climb   3s.go

\tx   *yiniy   galgaluw sibiyan   naan   gungun   de angahar anangoy*
\mr   yiniy   galgaluw sibiy-an   naan   gungun   de angahar anangoy
\ge   top.shoots immature very-loc there standing cnj galip.nut fruit

\tx   *bad   ked ab tubuw   sagarey   tawuon gis   magareng di ab tahaf*
\mr   bad   ked ab tubuw   sagar-ey   tawuon gis   magareng di ab tahaf
\ge   indef pick get old.one back-3s.p try   write cpl   cnj get throw

\tx   *nang man yiel   tubuw   miniy yaman sibiy   muol di yin dang.*
\mr   nang man yiel   tubuw   miniy yam-an sibiy   muol di yin dang
\ge   deic foc 3s.go old.person 3s.p   door-gl really fall   cnj 3s see

\tre   That's what he told his wife, then just climbed up the galip nut tree and stood up there amongst the top branches and picked a galip nut, tried to draw the back of the old one, finished and threw it to the old one's door, it landed right there and he saw it.

\ref foun 069

\tx   *Nanganang tubuw siy   ab dang di kas, 'Oo fuf   dubulmoum,*
\mr   Nanganang tubuw siy   ab dang di kas Oo fuf   du-buol-moum
\ge   rlt   old.one come get see   cnj say Oh! grandchild 3pl-tell-2s

\tx   *Oye   ningiy,' foun   man naag   kas.*
\mr   oye   ningiy foun   man naag   kas
\ge   Alright good   turtle foc   like.that say

\tre   As a result the old one came, got it and said, 'Oh my grandchild they spoke to you, alright, good,' that's what the turtle said.

\ref foun 070

\tx   *Ariya   tamuol nang day tahang, tangahang badey di, maley   suruw*
\mr   Ariya   tamuol nang day tahang tahang-rdp badey di maley   suruw
\ge   alright man gvn just cry   cry-rdp   be   cnj eye.3s.p tears

\tx   *sarir   siy peen   siyuw bingbingiyan tahaf.*
\mr   sarir   siy peen   siyuw bingbingiyan tahaf
\ge   descend come female breast body.of.breast throw

\tre   Alright, that man cried, he was crying and a tear drop fell down and hit the body of the lady's breast.

\ref foun 071
\tx *Nanganang peen man dimiy wiy sag suoy ab mis tar*
\mr Nanganang peen man dim-iy wiy sag suoy ab mis tar
\ge and.so female foc hand-3s.p ins only stab get wipe.finger.on try

\tx *timtimieng paluong nanganang yin man kas, 'OO tamuol nung yabaluol*
\mr timtimieng paluong nanganang yin man kas OO tamuol nung ya-buol-rdp
\ge salty feel and.so 3s foc say Oh! man deic 1s-tell-rdp

\tx *nanganang tangahangiy.'*
\mr nanganang tahang-rdp-iy
\ge and.so cry-rdp-curr

\tre And so the woman wiped her finger on it, tried it, it tasted salty and so she said, 'Oh I was speaking to this man and he is crying.

\ref foun 072
\tx *Ariya peen nang man wahag, 'Oy, sarir siy bi teetay*
\mr Ariya peen nang man wahag Oy sarir siy bi teet-ay
\ge alright female gvn foc call.out Oy descend come cnj village-loc

\tx *talaniy.*
\mr t-al-an-iy
\ge 1pl.in-go-irr-conc

\tre Alright, the woman called out 'Oy, come down and let's go to the village.

\ref foun 073
\tx *Weed day wudiy diel magarngengiy siy bi tam tal.'*
\mr wey-d day wudiy d-iel magarngeng-iy siy bi tam t-al
\ge friend-3pl just all 3pl-go finish-conc come cnj dual 1pl.in-go

\tre Our friends have almost all gone, come and let's go.'

\ref foun 074
\tx *Peen man naag wahag paney buol, nanganang tamuol sarir*
\mr peen man naag wahag paan-ey buol nanganang tamuol sarir
\ge female foc like.that call.out give-3s.p tell and.so man descend

\tx *siy di tam teetan diel.*
\mr siy di tam teet-an d-iel
\ge come cnj dual village-loc 3pl-go

\tre The lady called out to him like that, and so the man came down and they went to the village.

\ref foun 075
\tx *Ariya day amting tiniiy mahas mamsieng miniy nahal, nanganang*
\mr Ariya day amting tiniiy mahas mamsieng miniy nahal nanganang
\ge alright just dry.season during sea dry 3s.p day and.so

\tx *peen   tamuol wudiy wuman   disilad,*
\mr peen   tamuol wudiy wum-an   di-sil-ad
\ge female man   all   garden-loc 3pl-go.to.garden-3pl

\tre Alright, it was in the dry season, the time the sea was dry (the reef became bare), and so everyone went to their gardens.

\ref foun 076
\tx *Warmahan-an   didang o   teed   tawad*
\mr Warmahan-an   di-dang o   tee-d   taw-ad
\ge poisonous.roots-gl 3pl-see or younger.sibling-3pl elder.sibling-3pl

\tx *didangad.*
\mr di-dang-ad
\ge 3pl-see-3pl

\tre The looked for poisonous roots or for their brothers and sisters (to see if they had the roots).

\ref foun 077
\tx *Di yuwiy   tam warmahan   miniyan tam*
\mr Di yuw-iy   tam warmahan   miniy-an tam
\ge cnj spouse-3s dual poisonous.roots reason-gl dual

\tx *miniid wuman diel   warmahan   bid angingan didang.*
\mr miniid wum-an d-iel warmahan   bid anging-an di-dang
\ge 3pl.p   garden-loc 3pl-go poisonous.roots com food-gl   3pl-see

\tre And the couple went to their garden for poisonous roots, to find poisonous roots and also food.

\ref foun 078
\tx *Ariya   bongsag bi dutut   miniy*
\mr Ariya   bongsag bi du-tut   miniy
\ge alright tomorrow cnj 3pl-kill.fish.with.poisonous.roots 3s.p

\tx *nanganang abang   day ditintinyahay.*
\mr nanganang abang   day ditintinyahay
\ge and.so   something just preparing

\tre Alright they were preparing to kill fish with the poisonous roots tomorrow.

\ref foun 079
\tx *Di diyien   yiel wudar mahas mamas   miniy ray*
\mr di di-yien   yiel wudar mahas mamas   miniy ray
\ge cnj 3pl-sleep go   dawn   sea   tide.is.right.out reason pull

\tx *nanganang peen man tamuol buol mahas day fuw tey mamsas nanganang*
\mr nanganang peen man tamuol buol mahas day fuw tey mamsas nanganang
\ge and.so   female foc man   tell sea   just begin do dry.rdp and.so

\tx *talan*   *weed*   *day* *wudiy* *diel*   *magarngeng*   *yid*   *tam*
\mr t-al-an   wey-d   day   wudiy   d-iel   magareng-rdp   yid   tam
\ge 1pl.in-go-irr   friend-3pl   just   all   3pl-go   finish-rdp   1pl.in   dual

\tx *tadungadan.*
\mr ta-dung-ad-an
\ge 1pl.in-follow-3pl-irr

\tre And they slept until dawn (the time for) the sea to be pulled dry and so the lady said to the man 'the sea is starting to become dry so let's go, our friends have already gone, let's follow them.'

\ref foun 080
\tx *Di tam disirir*   *langan*   *disiy*   *mahas disibingahay.*
\mr Di tam di-sarir   lang-an   di-siy   mahas   di-sabangahay-rdp
\ge cnj dual 3pl-descend beach-loc   3pl-come   sea   3pl-wait.for-rdp

\tre And the two of them came down to the beach to wait for the sea.

\ref foun 081
\tx *Ariya*   *mahas*   *day*   *yiel*   *taan*   *tey mamas*   *di badey.*
\mr Ariya   mahas   day   yiel   taan   tey mamas   di   badey
\ge alright   sea   just   3s.go   ground   do tide.is.right.out cnj   be

\tre Alright, the sea went (out and the reef) became dry like the ground and remained so.'

\ref foun 082
\tx *Ariya*   *tamuol*   *day*   *warmahan*   *raw*   *di sarir*   *yiel*
\mr Ariya   tamuol   day   warmahan   raw   di   sarir   yiel
\ge alright   man   just   poisonous.roots   get.pl.objects cnj descend   3s.go

\tx *tut,*   *di*   *yiy*   *maymayang*   *bad*
\mr tut   di   yiy   maymayang   bad
\ge kill.fish.with.poisonous.roots cnj fish   very.many   indef

\tx *pamtayahay*   *di*   *diel.*
\mr pa-mahat-yahay   di   d-iel
\ge completely-die-ahay.rdp   cnj   3pl-go

\tre Alright, the man gathered poisonous roots and went to kill fish with the poisonous roots and very many fish were dying.

\ref foun 083
\tx *Yiy*   *ningiy*   *ningiy nang pil*   *bi*   *peen*   *balag balag nang*   *paanad.*
\mr Yiy   ningiy   ningiy nang pil   bi   peen   balag balag nang   paan-ad
\ge fish   good   good   deic   gather cnj   female   freely freely deic   give-3pl

\tre He gathered the largest fish and freely gave them to other women.

\ref foun 084

\tx *Yiy   dadamey nang pil   be yuwiy   peen   balngahay   yiel*
\mr Yiy   dadamey nang pil   be yuw-iy   peen   balngahay   yiel
\ge fish bad.pl deic   gather cnj spouse-3s.p female   throw.down.pl 3s.go

\tx *paney   naag   wutuot badey di.*
\mr paan-ey   naag   wuot-rdp badey di
\ge give-3s.p like.that do-rdp   be   cnj

\tre He was gathering the worst fish and throwing them to his wife and,

\ref foun 085

\tx *Wey   wudiy teenan   disirir   magareng.*
\mr Wey   wudiy teen-an   di-sarir   magareng
\ge friend all   shore-gl   3pl-descend cpl

\tre All of his friends finished coming back to the shore.

\ref foun 086

\tx *Ariya   yin day mahasan badey di mahas day wutuot   di*
\mr Ariya   yin day mahas-an badey di mahas day wuot-rdp di
\ge alright 3s just sea-loc   be   cnj sea   just do-rdp   cnj

\tx *aliel   siy   nanganang yuwiy   peen   man buol, 'Sey wun*
\mr aliel   siy   nanganang yuw-iy   peen   man buol Sey   wun
\ge tide.come.in come and.so   spouse-3s.p female   foc tell Hey! 2s

\tx *sarir   siy   be   talaniy   weed   day wudiy disirir*
\mr sarir   siy   be   t-al-an-iy   wey-d   day wudiy di-sarir
\ge descend   come   cnj 1pl.in-go-irr-conc friend-3pl just all   3pl-descend

\tx *magareng.*
\mr magareng
\ge cpl

\tre Alright, he just remained in the sea, the sea was coming in and so his wife said to him,
    'Hey! you come back and let's go, our friends have all come down (ashore).

\ref foun 087

\tx *Siy   bi teetay   talaniy.'*
\mr Siy   bi teet-ay   t-al-an-iy
\ge come   cnj village-loc 1pl.in-go-irr-conc

\tre Come, and let's go to the village.'

\ref foun 088

\tx *Naag   yuwiy   peen   tubuob   badey di, mahas day*
\mr Naag   yuw-iy   peen   tuob-rdp badey di   mahas day
\ge like.that spouse-3s.p female trick-rdp be   cnj sea   just

\tx *aliel   siy   muguwan.*
\mr aliel   siy   muguw-an

\ge tide.come.in   come   middle-gl

\tre He was tricking his wife like that and the tide came in up to his middle.

\ref foun 089

\tx *Yuwiy   peen   mun   fow wahag, 'Ey siy   be talaniy*

\mr yuw-iy   peen   mun   fow wahag Ey   siy   be t-al-an-iy

\ge spouse-3s.p female   again new call.out Hey come   cnj 1pl.in-go-irr-conc

\tx *weed   day   wudiy diel   magarngeng.'*

\mr wey-d   day   wudiy d-iel   magareng-rdp

\ge friend-3pl just   all   3pl-go   cpl-rdp

\tre His wife called out again, 'Hey, come, let's go, our friends have all gone.'

\ref foun 090

\tx *Naag   yuwiy   tubuob badey di foun tubuw   day*

\mr Naag   yuw-iy   tuob-rdp badey di foun tubuw   day

\ge like.that   spouse-3s.p trick-rdp be   cnj turtle old.person just

\tx *susum siy   nanganang tubuw buol, 'Fufo   makiesiy bad*

\mr susum siy   nanganang tubuw buol   fuf-o   makiesiy bad

\ge slide   come and.so   old.one tell grandparent-Oh tiny   indef

\tx *mun   susum siy.'*

\mr mun   susum siy

\ge again slide   come

\tre That's how he was tricking his wife and the old turtle just came slowly and so he said
    to the old one, grandfather slide a little bit closer.'

\ref foun 091

\tx *Ariya tubuw day susum siy   burbuar kap.*

\mr Ariya tubuw day susum siy   burbuar kap

\ge alright old.one just slide come reef   press.against

\tre Alright, the old one came closer and pressed against the reef.

\ref foun 092

\tx *Ariya tamuol nang day susum yiel foun.tamaal   bad*

\mr Ariya tamuol nang day susum yiel foun.tamaal   bad

\ge alright man   deic just slide 3s.go sponge.covered.rock indef

\tx *fangeyan par gungun di peen   buol, 'Sey, ning sang fangeyan*

\mr fangey-an par gungun di peen   buol Sey   ning sang fangey-an

\ge top-loc   walk standing cnj female tell Hey! deic what top-loc

\tx *yaganganun.'*

\mr ya-gungun-rdp

\ge 1s-standing-rdp

\tre Alright the man just went slowly and stood on top of a large sponge-covered rock and
    said to the woman, 'Hey, what's this I'm standing on top of?'

\ref foun 093
\tx *Ariya   yin man buol, 'Sey, nang   ney   maman   matey   peen*
\mr Ariya   yin man buol Sey nang   ney   mam-man   matey   peen
\ge alright   3s foc tell Hey! deic   inter 1.pl.ex-foc old   female

\tx *nalaluway   naan   masagug   di fangeyan   magangun   nang*
\mr naluw-rdp-ay naan   ma-sug-rdp   di fangey-an ma-gungun   nang
\ge child-rdp-gl there 1pl.ex-wash-rdp cnj top-loc   1pl.ex-standing deic

\tx *parar.*
\mr par-rdp
\ge walk-rdp

\tre And she said to him, 'Hey, you're walking on top of what we stood on a long time ago when we were small and swam there.'

\ref foun 094
\tx *Wun ney tubuob   di badey 'Siy   be tal!'*
\mr Wun ney tuob-rdp di badey Siy   be t-al
\ge 2s   inter trick-rdp cnj be   come cnj 1pl.in-go

\tre You're just tricking, come and let's go!

\ref foun 095
\tx *Ariya tamuol nang   mun   susum yiel   matiyaw   bad   fangeyan*
\mr Ariya tamuol nang   mun   susum yiel   matiyaw   bad   fangey-an
\ge alright man   gvn   again slide 3s.go stone   indef top-loc

\tx *gungun di   peen   buol, 'Sey, ning sang fangeyan yaganganun?'*
\mr gungun di   peen   buol Sey ning sang fangey-an ya-gungun-rdp
\ge standing cnj   female tell Hey! deic   what top-loc   1s-standing-rdp

\tre Alright, the man again crept and stood on top of a rock and said to the woman, 'Hey what's this I'm standing on?'

\ref foun 096
\tx *Ar   mun   peen   nang man buol, 'Sey, paityom   yaw!*
\mr Ar   mun   peen   nang man buol Sey pait-yom   yaw
\ge alright again female gvn   foc tell Hey! show.off-2s.p do.not

\tre Again the woman spoke to him, 'Hey, stop showing off!

\ref foun 097
\tx *Siy   bi   talaniy   day yidumom weed   day wudiy diel*
\mr Siy   bi   t-al-an-iy   day yidumom wey-d   day wudiy d-iel
\ge come cnj 1pl.in-go-irr-conc just dark   friend-3pl just all   3pl-go

\tx *magarngeng.'*
\mr magareng-rdp
\ge cpl-rdp

\tre Come and let's go now, it's already dark and our friends have all gone.'

\ref foun 098

\tx *Ariya mun makiesiy bad susum yiel burbuar sibiyan di*
\mr Ariya mun makiesiy bad susum yiel burbuar sibiy-an di
\ge alright again tiny indef slide 3s.go reef very-loc cnj

\tx *tubuw buol, 'Fufo, susum siy bi sagaraman*
\mr tubuw buol fuf-o susum siy bi sagar-am-an
\ge old.one tell grandparent-Oh slide come cnj back-2s.p-gl

\tx *yagahayaniy.'*
\mr yagahay-an-iy
\ge climb-irr-imper

\tre Alright, he crept out a little right to the edge of the reef and told the old one, 'Grandpa, move/slide a little closer, and I'll climb on your back!'

\ref foun 099

\tx *Nagaag di tubuw day susum siy tubuw singiyan*
\mr naag-rdp di tubuw day susum siy tubuw sing-iy-an
\ge like.that-rdp cnj old.one just slide come grand.child near-3s.obj-gl

\tx *di tubuw day yangahay yiel.*
\mr di tubuw day yangahay yiel
\ge cnj old.one just climb 3s.go

\tre And after that the old one moved close to his grandson and his grandson just climbed on top.

\ref foun 100

\tx *Sagareyan gungunun i di tubuw buol, 'Fuf susum*
\mr sagar-ey-an gungun-rdp i di tubuw buol Fuf susum
\ge back-3s.p-gl standing-rdp simult cnj old.one tell grandparent slide

\tx *makiesiy bad tatalwahay tal fangeyan bi*
\mr makiesiy bad ta-watalahay t-al fangey-an bi
\ge tiny indef 1pl.in-go.above 1pl.in-go top-loc cnj

\tx *yabuolaniy.'*
\mr ya-buol-aniy
\ge 1s-tell-desid

\tre As he was standing on its back he said to the old one, 'Grandfather, let's move out a little and I want to talk to her.

\ref foun 101

\tx *Ariya day buol, 'Ey ning sang fangeyan yaganganun?'*
\mr Ariya day buol Ey ning sang fangey-an ya-gungun-rdp
\ge alright just tell Hey deic what top-loc 1s-standing-rdp

\tre Alright, he said to her, 'Hey, what am I standing on?'

\ref foun 102
\tx *Peen   mun   buol, 'Sey, wun gigieg   naag   bing lunguong nang*
\mr peen   mun   buol Sey wun gieg-rdp naag   bing luong-rdp nang
\ge female again tell Hey! 2s   what-rdp like.that talk hear-rdp gvn

\tx *ney   matiyaw maman   naan matey masug   di fangeyan*
\mr ney   matiyaw mam-man naan matey ma-sug   di fangey-an
\ge I.think stone   1.pl.ex-foc there old   1pl.ex-wash cnj top-loc

\tx *madagwahay lel nang, sarir   siy   be tal.'*
\mr ma-duguwahay lel nang sarir   siy   be t-al
\ge 1pl.ex-play   dur deic descend come cnj 1pl.in-go

\tre The woman again replied to him, 'Hey, what are you doing, listen that's just the stone
we used to jump off when we washed, come ashore and let's go.'

\ref foun 103
\tx *Nagaag   i   di tubuw buol, 'fuf,   tatalwahay'*
\mr naag-rdp   i   di tubuw buol fuf   ta-watalahay
\ge like.that-rdp inter cnj old.one tell grandparent 1pl.in-go.above

\tx *maneg.*
\mr maneg
\ge like.that

\tre And as that happened he said to the old one, 'Grandpa, lets go out (to sea).'

\ref foun 104
\tx *Ariya   day tubuw tam dutulwahay   di peen yin bad dangad tiyaham.*
\mr Ariya   day tubuw tam du-watalahay
\ge alright just old.one dual 3pl-go.above

\tre Alright, the two of them went out to sea but the woman didn't see them.

\ref foun 105
\tx *Peen   maley   nigieg   yitit   maneg   nang foun tubuw*
\mr peen   maley   nieg-rdp   yit-rdp maneg   nang foun tubuw
\ge female eye.3s.p like.this-rdp lift-rdp like.that gvn   turtle old.one

\tx *man ab di tam diel   dang.*
\mr man ab di tam d-iel   dang
\ge foc get cnj dual 3pl-go see

\tre When the lady looked up she saw the old turtle take him and they both went.

\ref foun 106
\tx *Ariya peen   badey miniy tiyaham, atey   titikiy, 'aiyo*
\mr Ariya peen   badey miniy tiyaham at-ey   titikiy aiyo
\ge alright female be   reason neg   chest-3s.p broken Oh.dear!

\tx *nanew tamuol, aiyo   nanew tamuol, aiyo   nanew tamuol' tangahang*
\mr nanew tamuol aiyo   nanew tamuol aiyo   nanew tamuol   tahang-rdp

\ge 1s.p   man   Oh.dear! 1s.p   man   Oh.dear! 1s.p   man   cry-rdp
\tx *di wiy dimiy   suyuoy   di badey,   tahang lel maley   wudiy*
\mr di wiy dim-iy   suoy-rdp di badey   tahang lel maley   wudiy
\ge cnj ins hand-3s.p stab-rdp cnj be   cry   dur eye.3s.p all
\tx *dilaal   wulwuul   bad,   agaruw   saket,   tanging   tanging*
\mr di-laal   wulwuul   bad   agaruw   saket   tahang-nom tahang-nom
\ge 3pl-swell swollen.large indef neck.3s.p hoarse cry-nom   cry-nom
\tx *tiniiyan   magareng, tangingan   nang mun palanglangahay.*
\mr tiniiy-an   magareng tahang-nom-an nang mun palanglangahay
\ge body.3s.p-gl cpl   cry-nom-gl   deic again worry
\tre Alright the woman had no reason to remain, she was heartbroken, 'Oh dear, my man! Oh dear my man! Oh dear my man!' she was crying and throwing out her hands and legs, she cried until her eyes were all hugely swollen, her neck was hoarse, her crying finished inside her, and she wanted to cry more but was unable to.

\ref foun 107
\tx *Ariya   mun   bad   dangad tiyaham.*
\mr Ariya   mun   bad   dang-ad tiyaham
\ge alright again indef see-3pl neg
\tre Alright, she did not see them again.

\ref foun 108
\tx *Di day naag   ngukngukuk   di teetan   yiel   yuwiy*
\mr di day naag   ngukngukuk   di teet-an   yiel   yuw-iy
\ge cnj just like.that sobbing.sound cnj village-loc 3s.go spouse-3s.obj
\tx *tamuol miniy abahay dang nang peen   bad   badey miniy   tiyaham.*
\mr tamuol miniy abahay dang nang peen   bad   badey miniy   tiyaham
\ge man   3s.p place see deic female f.neg be   reason neg
\tre And just like that, and still sobbing, she went to the village, saw her husband's place, there was no reason for her to remain.

\ref foun 109
\tx *Atey.bibiy titikiy sibiy miniy kalik   miniy taab miniy yahaw*
\mr Atey.bibiy titikiy sibiy miniy kalik   miniy taab miniy yahaw
\ge chest.3s.p broken inten 3s.p pillow 3s.p mat 3s.p fire
\tx *alit   yahaw fuwan   yien, nang peen   abang   abang*
\mr alit   yahaw fuw-an   yien nang peen   abang abang
\ge lighting.sticks fire   base-loc sleep deic female something something
\tx *ning dang di ning miniyan   badey miniy   nang tiyaham.*
\mr ning dang di ning miniy-an badey miniy   nang tiyaham
\ge deic see cnj deic reason-gl be   purpose deic neg
\tre She was very heart-broken, his pillow, his mat, his fire-lighting sticks lying at the base of the fire, the woman saw all this and because of this she didn't stay.

\ref foun 110
\tx *Ariya   day aab   yiliyan   doos badey di mahan gawgaw man siy*
\mr Ariya   day aab   yiliy-an   doos badey di mahan gawgaw man siy
\ge alright just house inside-loc sit be cnj bird crow foc come

\tx *buol, 'se, wun siy   bi yab youm,' di yin badiy buol 'yowo wun day*
\mr buol se wun siy   bi y-ab youm   di yin badiy buol yowo wun day
\ge tell hey! 2s come cnj 1s-get 2s.obj cnj 3s arise tell yes 2s just

\tx *daseg nang abang   bimiy angangangiy nagaag   di gawgaw*
\mr daseg nang abang   bimiy angangangi   naag-rdp   di gawgaw
\ge one   deic something rotten thing.which.eats like.that-rdp cnj crow

\tx *yiel.'*
\mr yiel
\ge 3s.go

\tre Alright, she was just sitting in her house and a crow came and said to her, 'Hey, you come and I'll take you,' and she began to reply, 'Yes, you're just one who eats rotten things,' (she spoke) like that and the crow went.

\ref foun 111
\tx *Ar   mun milaw   man siy buol, 'Wun siy yabyoum   yowo*
\mr Ar   mun milaw   man siy buol Wun siy y-ab-youm yowo
\ge alright again wildfowl foc come tell 2s come 1s-get-2s.obj yes

\tx *taan   sarsariy kideb   gargariy bi milaw   bid yiel   ar*
\mr taan   sarsariy kideb   gargariy bi milaw   bid yiel   ar
\ge ground scraper centipede eater   cnj wildfowl with 3s.go alright

\tx *mun kinkindiy yiel mahan fufuw   disiy   dutuwuon lel dom.*
\mr mun kinkindiy yiel mahan fufuw   di-siy   du-tuwuon lel dom
\ge again bird.sp 3s.go bird   different 3pl-come 3pl-try   dur useless

\tre Alright, again the wildfowl came and told her, 'You come, I'll take you,' 'Yes, ground scratcher, centipede eater' and the wildfowl also went, alright again the kinkindiy bird went, lots of different birds came and tried futilely.

\ref foun 112
\tx *Ariya   kuw   man tey guob day siy   buol, 'se   wun siy*
\mr Ariya   kuw   man tey guob day siy   buol se   wun siy
\ge alright bird.sp foc put shut just come tell exclamation 2s come

\tx *yabyoum.'   Aiye   wiiyem   malwey malwey agarum   malwey*
\mr y-ab-youm   aiye   wiiy-em malwey malwey agar-um   malwey
\ge 1s-get-2s.obj exclamation leg-2s.p long   long   neck-2s.p long

\tx *tabanam   makaskiesiy sungurom malwey ey   naag   kuw   buol,*
\mr taban-am   makiesiy-rdp sungurom malwey ey   naag   kuw   buol
\ge head-2s.p tiny-rdp   beak   long   spec like.that bird.sp tell

\tx *nanganang yin man buol ningiy badey be, di yiel   nang yiduom peen*
\mr nanganang   yin man buol ningiy badey be di yiel   nang yiduom peen
\ge and.so   3s foc tell good be   cnj cnj 3s.go deic night female

\tx *nang   mahat.*
\mr nang   mahat
\ge gvn   die

\tre Alright the <u>kuw</u> bird was the last, it came and said, 'Hey! you come, I'll take you.'
'Aiye you have very long legs, a long neck, a very small head, a long beak,' she spoke
to the <u>kuw</u> bird like that and so it said, 'Good, you stay', and it went and that night the
woman died.

\ref foun 113
\tx *Fefe pesang gabir*
\mr Fefe pesang gabir
\ge ?   ?   ?

\tre The end

(This was the common ending of traditional stories. No-one now knows what the individual
words mean, or why the expression was used.)

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