

Spatial language in Tungag



Karin Fast



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Spatial Language in Tungag

Karin E. Fast

This book examines the different linguistic means used to describe or refer to motion and location in space in Tungag, an Austronesian language spoken in Papua New Guinea. The description, based on a spoken and written corpus of about 100,000 words, includes a grammatical sketch of Tungag, in addition to a detailed description of the linguistic means available for talking about motion. Each of these strategies is defined and discussed in depth, using examples from the corpus. Spatial language in Tungag is also approached from the perspective of how these linguistic means are mapped onto motion events, and situated in their typological context. Tungag does not fit well into the typology which contrasts “satellite-framed” languages (encoding manner in the main verb and path in a satellite to the verb) and “verb-framed” languages (encoding path in the main verb and manner in a satellite or subordinate phrase). Instead, in Tungag the combination possibilities for different elements of a motion event are relatively free.

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For Ekonia Passingan Tapak

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Abbreviations

1DL.EX	first person dual exclusive	NEG	negative
1PL.EX	first person plural exclusive	NP	noun phrase
1PL.INC	first person plural inclusive	NUM	numeral
1SG	first person singular	NOU	noun
3DL	third person dual	OBJ	object
3PL	third person plural	OBL	oblique phrase marker
3SG	third person singular	ORD	ordinal
ADV	adverb	PCL	particle
ADVZ	adverbializer	PERF	perfective aspect
CNJ	conjunction	PFX	prefix
CONT	continuative aspect	PL	plural
CS	causal	PL.GNL	plural general
DEF.POST	definite post particle	PL.SPC	plural specific
DER	derivational affix	POSS	possessive
DET	determiner	PREP	preposition
DL	dual	PRON	person pronoun
DTVZ	detransitivizer	PSN.VRB	person marker in verb phrase
HAB	habitual aspect	PST	point in past time
INT	intention (mood)	RECP	reciprocal
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
INJ	injective	TR	trial
INSTR	instrumental	TA	tense or aspect marker
MAW	motion away from origo	TRSV	transitivizer
MOD	modifier	V	verb
MTW	motion toward origo	VP	verb phrase

1 Introduction

In this book I examine how Tungag¹ speakers use spatial language. From now on the term spatial language will be used when referring to the linguistic means used for talking about movement through space and being located in space. Tungag is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 12,000 people² on Lovangai island and the surrounding small islands in the New Ireland province of Papua New Guinea. Figure 1.1 shows where the language is spoken and figure 1.2 shows Tungag's language family tree. The corpus of data analysed consists of texts (spoken and written) produced by people living in the south-west area of Lovangai island.

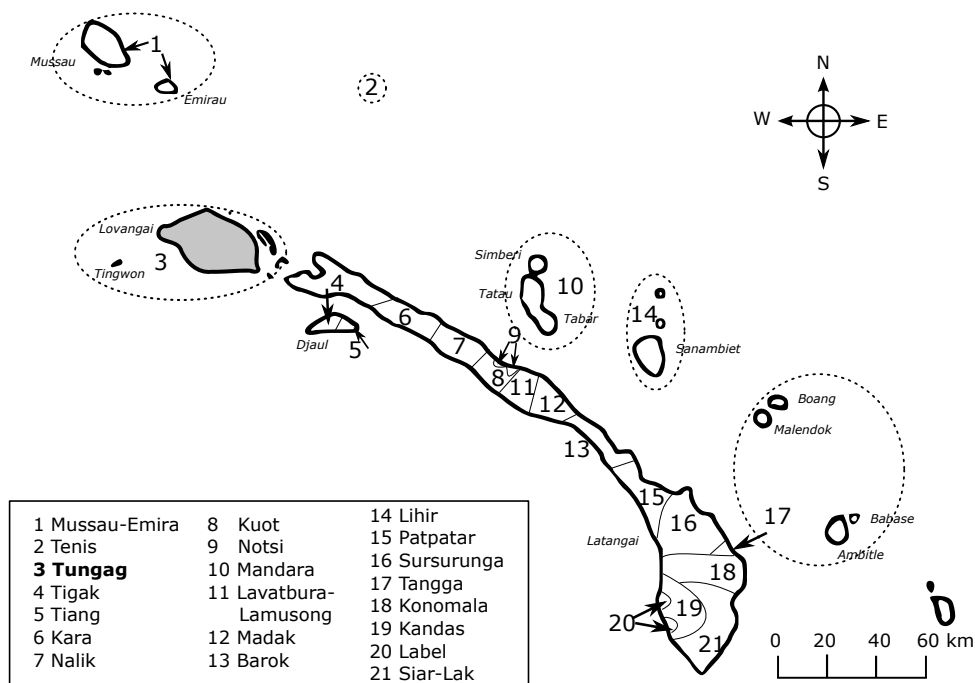


Figure 1.1 – Languages spoken in New Ireland Province with places where Tungag is spoken marked (figure adapted from Beaumont (1972)).

The main occupation on the island is fishing and subsistence farming. This, and the fact that travel by ocean is such a vital part of society, is important to keep in mind in the following analysis of spatial language. Because the main livelihood depends on travel by sea³, and most people live close to the shore, there is great linguistic

¹ Other names for the language are Tungak, Dang, Lovangai, Toangai.

² According to the last published census in 1990 (Lewis (2009)), today estimated closer to 16,000.

³ Albeit not long journeys across open water as is customary in other cultures.

2 – Outline of the book

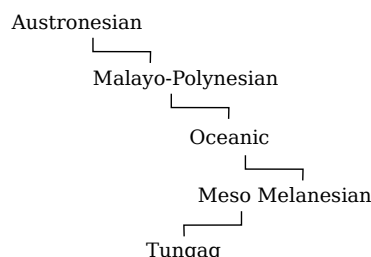


Figure 1.2 – Tungag language family tree. For a more detailed language tree see Ross (1988).

differentiation in this domain, which is mirrored in the texts in the corpus and which will become apparent in the discussion and examples presented.

The data for the analysis of Tungag spatial language in this book is based on a corpus of 145 texts. The texts were collected between 1986 and 2008 by Lesley Fast for the purposes of linguistic and ethnographic research. The corpus totals approximately 100,000 words and includes mostly spoken texts (including narratives, speeches and interviews⁴ as well as a number of written texts (letters and narratives). Table A.1 in appendix A.3 gives an overview of the texts analysed with text type and word count. Examples are labelled with the text number and utterance number⁵.

1.1 Outline of the book

Drawing on this corpus I approach the research question - how to talk about space in Tungag - from a number of different angles.

The terminology used to describe Tungag spatial language is based on different frameworks and will be introduced in chapter 2. A framework for describing spatial language allows for a more detailed description of Tungag as well as making any comparison between Tungag spatial language and the way other languages talk about space more precise and easier to execute.

The first look at the Tungag data is the most general with a grammar sketch in chapter 3. This chapter provides the reader with a basic working knowledge of Tungag grammar as well as being a reference guide for understanding the examples and

⁴ The interviews include long narratives by the interviewees. I have only used these long narratives in my corpus and omit most of the preliminary short question and answer part of the interview in order to create a more uniform corpus. I include prompts where they are relevant for the point being made about spatial language and if they occur as prompts or questions for clarification during a long narrative.

⁵ Sometimes the same examples are used to illustrate different phenomena or to illustrate the same thing in different sections. Insofar as another discussion of an example is relevant, this will be indicated in the text.

discussion⁶. The grammar sketch also anchors the linguistic means for talking about space described in the following chapters. This chapter draws on L. Fast (1990)'s *Tungak Grammar Essentials*, but sets different emphases relevant for the study of spatial language.

In chapter 4, 'An overview of linguistic means used to describe location and movement in space in Tungag', I give a more in depth description of the group of linguistic elements from chapter 3 which are used to describe spatial relationship. This chapter provides an overview of the different grammatical categories of spatial language. Each grammatical category is discussed with numerous examples as well as exhaustive lists of the words occurring in the corpus with examples. A number of these will be discussed in greater detail - either by comparing how they are used throughout the corpus or by analysing them in the context of whole narratives.

The third approach to the data is based on the conceptual framework of a motion event described in chapter 2. Chapter 5, 'Conceptual categories of a motion event: the use of spatial language in natural discourse', examines how each element of a motion event is portrayed in Tungag. I look at each element in turn and discuss the different linguistic means (from chapter 4) which are used to encode them.

Each chapter builds on the preceding chapter, in order to give as detailed and complete a picture as possible about how to talk about space in Tungag. One of the themes running through the book is that of a typological classification of Tungag spatial language. While the description of spatial language stands on its own as a contribution to the wealth of literature on spatial language, a second important goal is to also contribute to the discussion of how languages compare in the way they use and encode spatial language. The book ends with a typological classification of Tungag based on a framework of the conceptual categories of a motion event and Talmy's typological continuum (Talmy 1985; 2000) describing how different languages encode space.

⁶ See also the Tungag-English word list in appendix A.3.

2 *Theoretical framework*

Speakers of different languages have different means available to them for talking about motion in space. My goal in this analysis of how Tungag speakers talk about motion and location is to first focus on the data itself, rather than trying to mould Tungag into a framework based on the way other languages talk about space. I do this by focussing as much as possible on describing how Tungag spatial language is used from an inside perspective, i.e. arriving at a description by first searching the corpus for any and every reference to space and then ordering and structuring these uses of spatial language according to a Tungag-internal logic. However, in order to communicate how a language is structured, and also in order to be able to compare how different languages structure space,¹ tools are needed which can be used to describe how any given language uses spatial language. The aim of this chapter is to address a number of theoretical issues pertaining to the study of spatial language which are relevant for the data presented in the following chapters, as well as to introduce the tools and concepts used in the analysis.

This chapter begins with a short overview of other work on spatial language in Austronesian languages. I will then look in turn at how language is used to localise an object in space according to different frames of reference (Levinson 1996) and to describe movement through space (Talmy 1985; Slobin 2006). Both of these frameworks include terminology relevant for the discussion of Tungag spatial language. This will lead to a discussion on path and manner of motion, two main elements of motion events, which are important in the typological discussion of spatial language. A number of the terms relevant for that discussion will be introduced in a second main section in this chapter. This provides a framework for the discussion in chapter 6, where I discuss how Tungag compares to other languages on a typological continuum between path salient and manner salient (Slobin 2004) or verb-framed and satellite-framed (Talmy 2000) languages. I end the chapter with a discussion of the grammatical categories used to describe Tungag spatial language in chapters 3 and 4.

2.1 **Talking about space in other Austronesian languages**

Most work on spatial reference in Austronesian languages remarks on the fact that reference to space, especially with the use of directionals, is something which occurs very frequently in day-to-day speech. These languages often have highly differentiated and complicated systems of spatial reference. For example, Bowden writes about

¹ This occurs throughout the book and is the focus of chapter 6.

Taba, an Austronesian language spoken on Makian Island in eastern Indonesia, that there is a set of directional morphemes which “encode relative location in respect to the speaker or some object” (Bowden 1997:251). In Mwotlap, an Oceanic language spoken in Vanuatu, a set of six directionals are used to refer to space along three different axes² (François 2003). Kilivila, spoken on the Trobriand Islands in Papua New Guinea, has a large group of ‘come’ and ‘go’ words, which encode both motion toward or away from the speaker as well as a number of other factors pertaining to different elements of a motion event, such as the orientation of the motion event, the deictic anchoring of the speaker, the fact whether source and goal are known, as well as whether the source and goal are included in the motion event (Senft 2000). Ozanne-Rivierre (1997) describes how a number of languages spoken on New Caledonia use highly differentiated systems of directionals which make use of subtle differences in the landscape to orient and anchor motion for hearer and speaker. In Tuam, a dialect of the Saveeng language spoken in Morobe province, Papua New Guinea, among other things four wind directions are used as anchor points when referring to space (Bugenhagen 2010). The reader is referred to Senft (1997) and Bennardo (2002b) for two collections of papers on the use of spatial language in different Austronesian languages, as well as Ross (2003) for a historical perspective on Austronesian spatial language. Ross’s detailed comparison of spatial terms in many different Austronesian languages gives an important context for the way spatial language is used in Tungag.

These and other studies on space in Austronesian languages emphasise the fact that the linguistic means available for talking about motion in space are closely related to the lay of the land as well as other natural phenomena such as the direction of trade winds and the sun setting and rising. Palmer goes even further to say that “it is the features of the physical world which motivate the linguistic systems” (Palmer 2002:150). For Tungag speakers on Lovangai island, the relative isolation from the networks of urban society means that the immediate role of geographical features are much more relevant for day-to-day activities.³ François writes the following about the pervasiveness of reference to space on the island of Mwotlap, which applies well to life on Lovangai island.

As is often true in Melanesia, the social identity of each individual, in addition to the reference to kinship, is deeply anchored in the island, the village, the area, and even the house where they belong; and an important part of education on Mwotlap consists in being able to handle an incredibly tight network of place-names, as though every

² These are: hither-thither, up-down/in-out in a local setting and up-down/in-out according to an absolute frame of reference.

³ As an illustration, people traveling by airplane use GPS satellites as a frame of reference, while people traveling by canoe between two villages use the coastline and path of the sun as a frame of reference to orient themselves. While I do not delve further into the theoretical implications of the influence geography has on the use of language, the reader should keep this in mind, for instance when studying the narratives discussed in chapter 4.

ten steps should bring us to a different site, with its own identity, history, and legends.
(François 2003:407)

2.2 Referring to space

When speaking about space, the position and orientation of the speaker are important in order to know where up, down, beside etc. are located. Spatial deixis deals with this type of language which depends on a knowledge about a specific location when referring to other locations and paths of motion.⁴ Figure 2.1 shows a coordinate system with three axes and the position of the speaker (origo) marked, which resembles the real 3-dimensional space in which the speaker finds himself/herself and which he/she uses as a reference when describing motion and location.

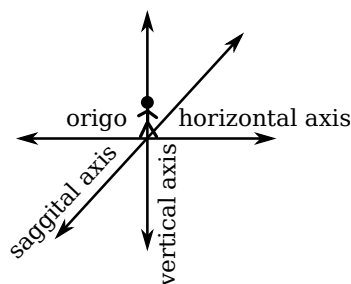


Figure 2.1 – A coordinate system with the speaker (origo) at the centre. The three axes are used to relate the speaker's position to movement and location in space.

The notions of figure and ground are taken from gestalt psychology (Rubin 1915) and are important both when talking about frames of reference as well as being integral parts of a portrayal of a motion event. A localisation always occurs in relation to another location. Each frame of reference provides a structure for describing the relationship between the object in motion⁵ (figure) and the object or location in relation to which it is located or is moving (ground). The figure and ground are central concepts in the linguistics of space. Figure and ground are localised in relation to each other, i.e., the figure is “the object which is considered as moving or located with respect to another object” (Talmy 1983:232).

The basic question of spatial reference is defined by Senft as follows: “By what means does a given language enable its speakers to anchor utterances that refer to space (and time) in a given context? What do the expressions that refer to space mean? And how can they be used to form and construct a coherent, grammatical utterance?”

⁴ In section 4.5 I define deixis and describe how it is used in Tungag. See also section 5.5.3, where I discuss the orientation of the figure.

⁵ If the object is not moving, it can, of course, also be the figure.

(Senft 1997:3, see also Klein (1990) for a discussion of spatial reference). In order to account for the many different ways in which speakers of different languages can refer to motion and location in space, Levinson proposes three different coordinate systems or frames of reference (Levinson 1996:126, 138).⁶ These frames of reference provide a framework according to which speaker and hearer anchor references to space. Different languages make use of different frames of reference or combinations thereof.

In an **intrinsic** frame of reference, a coordinate system is centred around an object and “‘inherent features’, sidedness or facets” of the object determine the coordinates. For example, if a house is seen as having a front side, a person can be located as being in front of the house according to an intrinsic frame of reference (Levinson 2003:40-43). In this case, because the house is being used as a reference point to locate the person, it functions as the ground, and the person is the figure.

A **relative** frame of reference depends on the perspective of the speaker describing the location of a figure in relation to a ground. “It presupposes a viewpoint V (given by the location of a perceiver in any sensory modality), and a figure and a ground distinct from V. It thus offers a triangulation of three points, and utilises coordinates fixed on V to assign directions to figure and ground.” (Levinson 2003:43). For example, using this frame of reference one can describe someone not as being in front of a house but as being to the left of a house. Left implies that the speaker is using the left side of his body as a coordinate.

Referring to space with the **absolute** frame of reference takes fixed arbitrary bearings, such as cardinal directions, as the coordinate system (Levinson 2003:48). In Tungag for example, the axis from sunrise to sunset is referred to as up-down and the direction of motion can be oriented according to this east-west axis.

A fourth framework used when talking about space is a deictic system which uses the location of the speaker relative to the addressee (Ross 2003:231). The directional morphemes *an* and *me* in Tungag and demonstratives use this framework to orient the direction of motion and location in space.

2.3 Referring to motion in space

A coordinate system is helpful for describing the location of a figure in relation to a ground. Much of spatial language, however, describes movement through space. In order to analyse motion events, the framework depicted in figure 2.2 will be used. It

⁶ These different frames of reference are discussed in section 4.3.5, pertaining to the use of the directional adverb *alak* (upward direction).

shows how a motion event can be broken down into separate entities, making both an analysis of spatial language as well as comparisons between languages simpler.

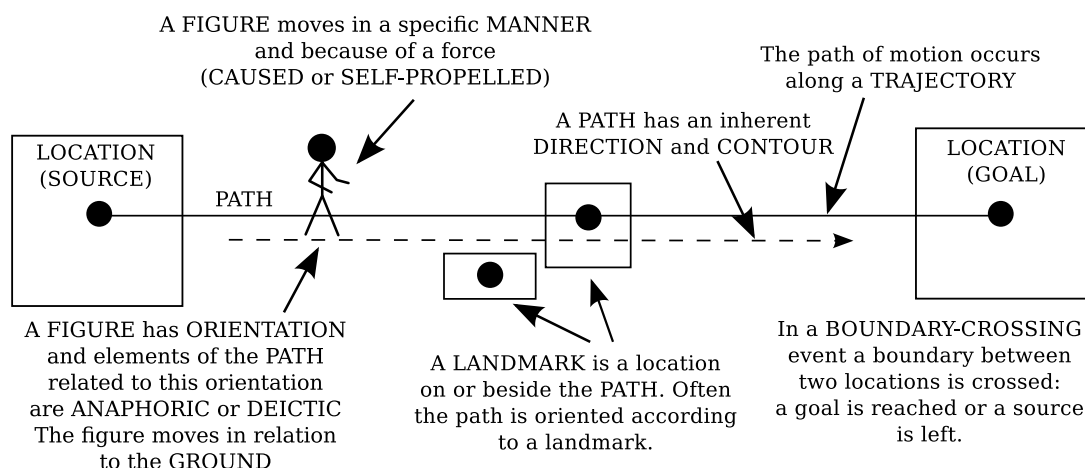


Figure 2.2 – Elements of a motion event.

Talmy defines a motion event as follows:

We treat a situation containing movement or the maintenance of a stationary location alike as a ‘motion event’. The basic motion event consists of one object (the ‘Figure’⁷) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference-object or ‘Ground’). It is analysed as having four components: besides ‘Figure’ and ‘Ground’, there are ‘Path’ and ‘Motion’. The ‘Path’ (with a capital P) is the course followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object. ‘Motion’ (with a capital M) refers to the presence *per se* in the event of motion or location (only these two motion states are structurally distinguished by language).[...] In addition to these internal components a Motion event can have a ‘Manner’ or a ‘Cause’, which we analyse as constituting a distinct external event (Talmy 1985:60-61).

Choi and Bowerman (1991) add deixis to this, since it “seems to play a role in the lexicalisation of motion events that is comparable to that of manner or cause” (Choi and Bowerman 1991:86, see also DeLancey (1985)). Deixis according to Talmy is the same as direction and closely related to path (Talmy 1985:126), but it is often lexicalised differently than other kinds of path. In Tungag it will also be distinguished from path. Filipović remarks that “deixis should be seen as part of the expression of a motion event rather than part of the motion event itself” (Filipović 2007:17).

There are different ways of viewing the relationship between path and location, focussing either on motion as a path or as a change in location. For example, Slobin (2006) defines the path component of a motion event as the physical displacement of the figure in space, whereas Talmy sees path and location as two separate entities. He defines movement as “a directed or translative motion that results in a change of location” (Talmy 1985:60). To a degree, these different approaches to path and location

⁷ The terms will not be capitalised in this book.

mirror differences in the way different languages talk about location and path and how they grammatically encode location and path.

2.4 Path and manner of motion

The analysis of Tungag spatial language in chapter 5 focusses on the elements of a motion event shown in figure 2.2, and discusses the linguistic means used to describe each of these elements, i.e., the lexicalisation patterns. Talmy's work on motion events focusses on lexicalisation patterns, in which "a particular meaning component is found to be in regular association with a particular morpheme" (Talmy 1985:59). Regarding the elements of a motion event, this would for example mean looking at how the meaning component path is expressed using language. This is the basis for a typological approach to spatial language, which compares how different languages express elements of a motion event. This typology of motion events is used in chapter 6 to look at how Tungag spatial language compares to the lexicalisation patterns in other languages.

Talmy (1985; 2000) proposed the distinction of satellite-framed and verb-framed languages for describing the different ways the manner and path of a motion event can be encoded in a language. Satellite-framed languages encode (or frame) path using associated particles or satellites to the verb, while the main motion verb typically encodes manner of motion. For example in English, a satellite-framed language, a typical motion event such as 'the dog ran into the house' encodes the path element in a satellite (into), while the main motion verb (ran) encodes motion+manner. Verb-framed languages, on the other hand, typically encode path in the main verb and would describe the same motion event as 'the dog entered the house (by running)', where the main verb (enter) encodes motion+path and manner of motion is expressed in a subordinate phrase. While both of these examples are possible in English, the first is the more typical way of expressing the motion event, while the second option is more typical for verb-framed languages, such as Spanish or French.

A number of authors working on serial-verb languages encountered difficulties with this binary typology and proposed a third type of language which made room for the way many serial-verb languages encode both manner and path in the main verbs of a clause (Zlatev and Yangklang 2004; Slobin 2004; Ameka and Essegbey 2006). This third type of language, equipollently-framed, uses "a kind of framing in which both path and manner have roughly equivalent morphosyntactic status" (Slobin 2006:63).

Slobin also shifts the focus of the typology to manner salience, looking at how easy and natural it is in a language to add manner to path.

S-languages allow for an economical expression of manner of motion in the main verb of a clause. Apparently as a consequence, these languages make habitual use of manner

verbs when encoding motion events, and have developed large lexicons with many fine-grained distinctions of manner, in comparison with smaller and less differentiated manner lexicons in V-languages. One can say that semantic space of manner of motion is ‘highly saturated’ in S-languages, in comparison with V-languages (Slobin 2003:163).

Speakers of a satellite-framed language will therefore pay more attention to the manner of motion when asked to describe an event and Slobin concludes that the type of language (verb-framed or satellite-framed) is linked to the way manner is portrayed. “If a language ends up using main verbs to encode path, it will have limited lexical resources for encoding manner” (Slobin 1996:17).

The typology was also reworked by Beavers et al. (2010), who propose a new way of defining how motion events are encoded, looking at a broader picture of motion-independent properties of language, which makes room for exceptions to Talmy’s typology. This has provided a new perspective on how to interpret data from languages which do not completely conform with the two-way typology proposed by Talmy.

In my analysis of Tungag, I take the view of a typological continuum with satellite-framed and verb-framed languages at both poles. As will become clear⁸, Tungag displays properties of both satellite-framed and verb-framed languages, making a typological continuum more feasible than a bipartite or tripartite typology.

Slobin (2004) lists Austronesian as one of the serial verb languages which are equipollently framed. While he treats Austronesian as one language, it is important to remember that there are over 1200 Austronesian languages. Other work which places Austronesian languages on this typological continuum includes Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005), who look at six Western-Austronesian languages and propose that these (and, based on their analysis, also Proto-Austronesian) are path-salient (i.e., verb-framed). Rau et al. (2012) analyse Yami, another Western-Austronesian language, and also classify it as a verb-framed language. Bugenhagen analyses spatial language in Tuam, an Oceanic language, and classes Tuam as an equipollently-framed language, stating that “the locative mode / path is incorporated as a semantic component of the verb, and manner is typically expressed by a separate verb in a serialised or coordinate construction” (Bugenhagen 2010:65)⁹.

2.5 Talking about space in Tungag

In this section I look at the terminology used for describing spatial language. Different languages focus on different aspects of motion and location, which are then mirrored in

⁸ See section 6.2 for a discussion.

⁹ See also Bohnemeyer et al. (2007) for an overview of lexicalisation types for a number of different languages, including the following Austronesian languages: Marquesan - satellite-framed (Cablitz 2006), Kilivila - equipollently-framed (Senft 1999), Saliba - equipollently-framed (Margetts 2004).

the different categories of words used when talking about space. Bennardo writes that “difficulties in communication between languages arise because of the fact that different languages distribute spatial descriptions over different parts of speech. For example, where some languages rely mostly on prepositions, others use mostly nouns, while still others put the load on verbs” (Bennardo 2002b:2). In chapter 4 those linguistic categories which are relevant in Tungag will be described and discussed. In order to come to these categories, I will briefly present how other work on Austronesian spatial language categorises the parts of speech relevant for spatial language. This allows me to embed the Tungag data in a larger framework of spatial language and provides examples of parallel terminology.¹⁰

Senft (1997) gives an overview of linguistic means available for spatial reference which are common (or important) on a typological level when comparing Austronesian (and Papuan) languages. These are:

- local and directional adpositions (topological and projective prepositions)
- local or place adverbs
- dimensional or spatial adjectives
- demonstratives (pronouns or adjectives)
- static and dynamic (motion) (deictic) verbs (or verbal roots)
- presentatives
- case markers (Senft 1997:7-8)

Keesing (1997) examines the linguistic construction of space in Kwaio, an Oceanic Austronesian language spoken on the Solomon Islands. He names the following categories, which are significant in Kwaio:

- locative particles
- demonstratives
- spatial deixis
- directionals
- vertical orientation, time, and space
- body-part terms in characterising space
- locative nouns
- prepositional verbs

¹⁰ Three questionnaires intended to assist in typological research on spatial language were also helpful in determining the function of different word classes in Tungag: ‘Checklist for the description of motion events’ (Wälchli 2012); ‘Questionnaire on Motion in Australian Languages’ (Wilkins et al. 1998); and ‘Time and Space Questionnaire’ (Levinson et al. 2008). L. Fast (1990) was also very helpful in determining Tungag word classes and as a solid foundation for a further description of Tungag spatial language.

Bugenhagen (2010) describes the following morphosyntactic means for specifying location in Tuam, a dialect of the Oceanic Austronesian Saveeng language spoken in Papua New Guinea:

- prepositions
- positional verbs (existential verbs) which assert the location of things
- demonstratives and deictic locative adverbs
- proximity adverbs
- locational nouns

The following means are used to talk about movement and location in space in Tungag and will be discussed both in chapter 3 as part of an overview of Tungag grammar, as well as in chapter 4 in their function as categories of spatial language.

- verbs of motion and location
- directional morphemes
- directional, locational and modal adverbs
- prepositions
- locational morphemes
- demonstratives and other means of deixis

3 Grammar sketch

3.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to give the reader an overview of Tungag grammar. It is not intended as an all-encompassing grammar but rather serves as background knowledge for the study of the language of space. Topics pertaining to spatial language will be covered in depth in chapter 4. This overview starts with the smallest part of the word, the phoneme (1), and moves to progressively larger units in each section: types of morphemes (2); word classes or grammatical categories (3); phrase types (4); verbal and nonverbal clauses and sentence structure (5). The examples in this chapter are taken from the corpus. Much of the content of the chapter is based on previous work by L. Fast (1990). Examples of longer texts can be found in chapters 4 and 5.

3.2 Phonology and orthography

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 show the Tungag vowels and consonants, followed by the orthography used to represent these phonemes and allophones. See L. Fast (1992) for a phonemic analysis with further discussion and examples of minimal pairs.

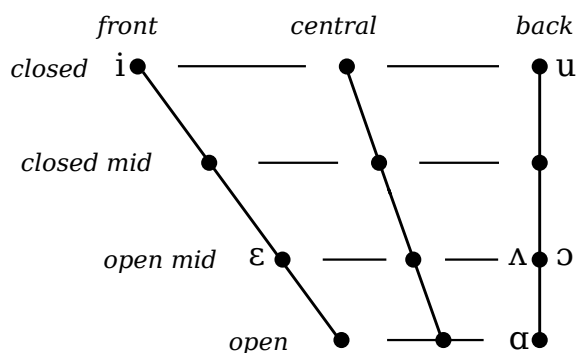


Figure 3.1 - Tungag vowels.

Figure 3.3 shows the orthography which will be used throughout the book, in line with existing orthography conventions. The first line shows the different phonemes and allophones from figure 3.1 and 3.2 with the allophones italicized, and the second line shows the orthography used.

All the consonants have a long and a short form, and short plosives can also be weakened to fricatives: p k g b - *ɸ x ɣ β*. The orthography does not differentiate between

	labial		coronal				dental			radical		laryngeal
	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	post-alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	epi-glottal	
nasal	m m:		n n:					ŋ ŋ:				
plosive	p p: b		t t: d					k k: g g:				
fricative	ɸ β	v		s s:				x ɣ				
approximant												
trill			r									
tap, flap												
lateral fricative												
lateral approximant			l l:									
lateral flap												

Figure 3.2 – An inventory of Tungag consonants.

a ʌ b d ɛ ɸ g g: ɣ i k k: x l l: m m: n n: ŋ ŋ: ɔ p p: r s s: t t: u β
 a a b d e f g g g i k k k l l m m n n ng ng o p p r s s t t u v

Figure 3.3 – Tungag orthography.

allophones, so for example, /β/ is variantly [b] or [β] at end of a syllable, and the orthography is v. Orthographically b can only occur at the beginning of a syllable; i.e., the lengthened partner phoneme of /β/ = /b/. This difference in length can be phonemic and some verbs have a semantic difference coded by the difference in length. An example for /β/ occurring at the beginning of a syllable is in the word *vungum* ‘to submerge someone/something’. When lengthened to *bungum*, this encodes lower transitivity, i.e., ‘to be submerged’. I discuss this example in section 4.1.1. Another example:

- (1) *ka -po togon a mang matan ki -po kkinle akorong pok i -a*
 3SG -CONT have DET a.certain group 3PL -CONT recognize straight back OBJ -3SG
 ‘there were some who recognised it clearly’ [046.003: lengthened consonant - lower transitivity]
- (2) *tara kinle a igenen ang*
 1PL.INC recognize DET person DEFPOST
 ‘we recognize the person’ [136.202: short consonant - higher transitivity]

The lengthened consonant is written with a double consonant in example (1) for illustration purposes. However, throughout the book I will follow orthographic convention, which does not differentiate between allophones and which uses only one consonant for both short and long pairs of consonants, although it distinguishes orthographically between the weakened plosives for the pairs /b/ - /v/ and /d/ - /r/. There will be a few exceptions, for example the locational morpheme *kke* ‘here’ and the deictic demonstrative *ke* ‘this’ do make the distinction. This is inconsistent orthographically, but I

note the difference where significant, and wish to follow the orthographic conventions. The same applies to the fact that verbal morphemes are written together but separate from the verb root. For example, the verb complex from example (1) is written *ka-po togon* 'there is', not *ka-po-togon*.

3.3 Morphemes

The stem is the most common type of morpheme in Tungag. Many words in Tungag consist of a stem only. They can constitute any kind of word, for example a noun - *iat* 'stone', a verb - *kik* 'jump', an adjective - *kei* 'wild', a conjunction - *kantanem* 'although', an adverb - *pok* 'back' or a preposition - *le* 'from'. Besides stems, other morphemes can be grouped into derivational and inflectional affixes. These modify the stem and, if they are derivational, change the word class.

3.3.1 Derivation and inflection

Table 3.1 gives an overview of Tungag affixes and their function together with examples of their use. The table differentiates between derivational and inflectional affixes.

Table 3.1 - Derivational and inflectional affixes.

AFFIX	FUNCTION	EXAMPLE
Derivational affixes		
a-	verb → adv.	<i>lak</i> 'climb' → <i>alak</i> 'upward direction'
-an	noun → adj.	<i>to</i> 'wave' → <i>toan</i> 'wavy'
Inflectional affixes		
ang-	reciprocal	<i>mengen</i> 'talk' → <i>angmemengen</i> 'discussion'
a-	causal	<i>tung</i> 'stand' → <i>atung</i> 'stand (something) up'
-ai	transitivizer	<i>lomlomon</i> 'believe' → <i>lomlomonai</i> 'believe something'
ta-	detransitivizer	<i>luang</i> 'untie something' → <i>taluang</i> 'become untied by itself'
-an	part of the <i>an-guan...an</i> / <i>ago ta...an</i> construction	<i>ago ta tangis-an</i> 'don't cry'

Inflectional affixes do not change the word class, but do modify or add to the meaning of the word. Derivational affixes can change the type of word. For example the suffix *-an* can make a noun into an adjective: *langit* 'rain' - *langitan* 'rainy':

- (3) *mang keve taun ka -po taun langit -an*
 a.certain PL.SPC day 3SG -CONT day rain -DER
 'certain days are rainy days' [109.044: *langit* noun - *langitan* adjective]

The function of *-an* is perhaps better described as giving something the meaning of ‘being like something’.¹ *-An* can be attached to other adjectives (example 4) as well as to verbs (example 5).

- (4) *ka- -m to i osongon ilesvauk ka roro -an luai*
 POSS- 2SG life GEN marriage tomorrow 3SG good -DER very
 ‘your marriage life in the future is very good’ [129.020]

- (5) *ka -po luk pangau nei ka- -na paspasal -an*
 3SG -CONT get space in POSS- 3SG going -DER
 ‘it takes place in his going-along-ness (journey)’ [111.005]

In example (5) *paspasal* is marked as a noun with the possessive marker *kana*. Both *pasal* and *paspasal* can be used as a verb or as a noun meaning ‘to go’ or ‘going/trip/journey’. The *-an* suffix in this example indicates a ‘going-along-ness’ i.e., a journey. While the derivational affixes do have the function shown in table 3.1, their use is much more flexible, as this example shows. The same is true of *a-*, which is often used to derive adverbs from verbs. As I discuss in chapter 4, the meaning of this prefix is also causal. *A-* can be attached to adjectives as well as motion words.

These examples show how word categories in Tungag are not always as clear as it might seem at first glance. Because the word order is relatively fixed in Tungag, the word class often becomes apparent from its position in the clause. As expected, the most common means of derivation is conversion, in which the word class changes without an affix or any change to the stem, and where the context gives the information needed to know what is meant. For example, *maiten* can be an adjective meaning heavy but also a noun meaning difficulty or problem, depending on where it occurs in the sentence. The same is true for *abis* ‘work’:

- (6) *namem -ta -la abis a mang matan abis ve nia*
 1PLEX -PST -PERF work DET certain kind work with 3SG
 ‘we did (worked) some work with them’ [102.012: *abis* as a verb and as a noun]

Another type of word formation is reduplication. Reduplication is a morphological process which changes the meaning of the stem without using an affix. Stem modification does not occur in Tungag. Reduplication such as from *vis* ‘to hit, beat or fight’ to *visvis* ‘to fight or wage war’ changes intensification / duration.² Reduplication can also be used as a means of derivation which changes the word class. For example: *togon* ‘to have’ → *togtogon* ‘possessions’, or *kala* ‘light, free’ → *kalakala* ‘weigh, judge’.

Tungag also has a number of composite words, such as for example the word for the cardinal number eight, *limaletul* literally ‘five from three’, or *mangsikei* ‘a certain one’.

¹ This function of ascribing a characteristic can also be observed in the constructions *anguan ... an* and *ago ta ... an*, as well as in the question phrase *saka ... an* ‘which’.

² Compare section 3.6.1 where I explain that durative aspect is marked through reduplication.

3.4 Word classes - grammatical categories

3.4.1 Verbs

Different classes of verbs which have to do with motion and location are examined in chapter 4 with detailed lists of verbs from the corpus. Here I will look at structural differences between different types of verbs. Most of the structural differences pertain to the verb's transitivity. The following affixes and inflectional means can change the transitivity of a verb:

- A verb ending in *-ai* has higher transitivity than a verb without the affix and requires a noun phrase object. *susui* 'ask' (transitive) becomes *susui ai* 'ask' (higher transitivity), where *susui* is more general, i.e. to question someone, while *susui ai* is used when one is thinking of a particular question and refers to that question, i.e. to ask someone something. It has a more pointed end goal. The following examples illustrate this difference. Compare also example 16.

(7) *taun ka -la polpol i -au ta vuk polpol ang, na -ta -la **susui** aro ani -a*
 time 3SG -PERF answer OBJ -1SG OBL piece answer DEF.POST, 1SG -PST -PERF question good OBJ -3SG
 'when he answered me his answer, I had questioned him well' [128.100]

(8) *taun na -po kun **susui -ai** ani papa ta supsupai i mengen ke*
 time 1SG -CONT also ask -TRSV OBJ papa OBL meaning GEN talk this
 'when I had also asked papa about the meaning of this talk' [128.206]

- Lengthening the initial consonant marks lower transitivity of the verb. For example *vungum* 'to dunk something under water' vs. *bungum* 'to be submerged'³.
- It is possible to make a transitive verb intransitive with the prefix *ta-*. For example: *luang* 'untie something' becomes *taluang* 'become untied' which describes a process rather than an event needing an agent.
- The causative prefix *a-* makes the verb more transitive. For example: *sinong* 'sit' and *asinong* 'set down, or cause to be sitting'. It is not possible to add the causative prefix *a-* to an already transitive verb.

The following two inflectional means do not affect transitivity but have to do with reflexivity and reciprocity.

- The adverb *pok* 'back' can make a verb reflexive. For example:

(9) *Gapi ka -ta lamut **pok** i- a*
 Gapi 3SG -PST cut back OBJ -3SG
 'Gapi cut himself' [Ngen Isana p.c.]

³ Some lengthened consonants result in changed orthography. This is the case for v-b and d-r.

Compare this with the following example referring to preparing a wallaby for cooking:

- (10) *a ki -la lamut i- a*
 and 3PL -PERF cut OBJ -3SG
 ‘and they cut it (up)’ [030.081]

- The prefix *ang-* signals reciprocal action, for example *mengen* ‘talk’ → *ang-memengenai*⁴ ‘discuss’. In the following example the prefix *ang-* is added to the verb *susui* ‘to ask’, reduplication of *sui*). As well, the adverb *angpokpokai* ‘each other’ is added. This adverb is derived from the adverb *pok* ‘back, again’, and also signals reciprocity.

- (11) *na ki -la ang- susui -ai angpokpokai ani -ria*
 and 3PL -PERF RECIP- ask -TRSV each.other OBJ -3SG
 ‘and they asked each other’ [077.014: two means of marking reciprocity: the reciprocal prefix *ang-* and the reciprocal adverb *angpokpokai*]

The reciprocal prefix *ang-* often occurs together with the affix *-ai* signaling higher transitivity (see above). This occurs both in the verb and in the adverb *angpokpokai* in this example. Reciprocal verbs refer to two or more people involved and this explains the higher transitivity.

Compound verbs are two verb stems which occur directly after each other and which both predicate the subject together. They share person, tense, aspect, mood etc. markers. There is no change to the verb stem except that in some cases the first verb is shortened. The second verb is referred to here as V2 and is subordinate. For this reason I refer to this type of construction as a compound verb rather than a serial verb construction. Any verb can be put in the second position, but there are also a number of verbs which can only occur in the second position and cannot occur as the main verb in a clause. This will be discussed in more detail in section 3.4.5.

- (12) *na an sinong mengen ve nia*
 1SG MAW sit talk with 3SG
 ‘I will sit and talk with him’ [134.061]

In English, this example can either be glossed as ‘I sit talking with him’, ‘I sit and talk with him’, or ‘I talk with him while sitting’. Both sitting and talking predicate. The second verb, *mengen*, is an independent verb.⁵

⁴ Reduplication also often occurs in reciprocal verbs, probably because reciprocal actions have a longer duration.

⁵ Both of the following sentences are grammatically acceptable: ‘*na an sinong ve nia*’, ‘*na an mengen ve nia*’.

3.4.2 Nouns

Nouns can be derived in two ways, either by moving a verb or adjective into the noun slot or through reduplication. There are many nouns derived in the first way. Although there are no changes to the word, it is clear that they are used as a noun because of their position in the sentence and because they can be possessed or are marked as definite with one of the particles *a*, *na* or *ang*.

Example (14) shows a noun derived from the verb *tangam* ‘to sing’ marked with a definite article *a* and the definite post particle *ang*. The noun *tangam* is also modified with the adjective *ro*. The first example shows *tangam* as a verb and the second shows *tangam* as a noun.⁶

- (13) *Nuvat ka -ta tangam anongo*
 Nuvat 3SG -PST sing yesterday
 ‘Nuvat sang yesterday’ [*tangam* as a verb]

- (14) *mi -ta longong a tangam ro ang si Nuvat?*
 2PL -PST hear DET sing good DEFPOST GEN Nuvat?
 ‘Did you hear that good singing of Nuvat’s?’ [*tangam* as a noun]

Derivation to another word class takes place mostly by how the word is used in a clause or phrase slot. There are many nouns that are reduplicated verbs, but as mentioned above, often the reduplicated form is also used as a verb.

The following three examples show how one noun can be used in different slots as well as being reduplicated as a noun. Example (15) shows the unmarked use of the word *pasal* ‘go / walk’ as a verb. In example (16) *pasal* is reduplicated to *paspasal*, as well as being marked with a possessive pronoun indicating its use as a noun. There are many reduplicated nouns with a non-reduplicated verbal counterpart,⁷ but as the reduplicated form is often used verbally as well, it is not always clear whether reduplication itself functions as a derivational means. In example (17) the word *pasal* itself does not change, but it is marked with a genitive marker in the NP indicating that it is a noun.

- (15) *namem -ta pasal ane Baungung*
 1PLEX -PST go toward Baungung
 ‘we went to Baungung’ [035.001: *pasal* as a verb]

- (16) *ka -la -po susui -ai ani ka- -rilong paspasal*
 3SG -PERF -CONT ask -TRSV on.behalf.of POSS- 3DL going
 ‘he asked about our travels’ [031.048: *paspasal* as a noun through reduplication and possession]

⁶ Examples taken from L. Fast (1990):14.

⁷ See the Tungag-English word list in Appendix A.3.

(17) *selen i mengen o selen i **pasal***

path GEN talk or path GEN go

‘the way of talking or the way of going’ [128.223: *pasal* as a noun, marked with a genitive particle]

These examples of derived nouns show how it is possible to make use of the fixed word order and possessive markers or determiners to mark a word as a noun. The relatively fixed word order in Tungag means that it is possible to move words around in the sentence and clearly mark them as belonging to another word class without changing the form of the word itself.

3.4.3 Pronouns

There are four types of pronouns in Tungag: personal pronouns (subject, object or subject agreement pronouns), possessive pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. For the personal, possessive and interrogative pronouns, there are 15 different pronouns for each type. First, second and third person can be singular, dual, trial or plural (more than 4 or unspecified). Dual, trial and plural differentiate between exclusive and inclusive in the first person. Some demonstratives can also be used as pronouns. I have included them here for the sake of completeness, but discuss them in section 3.4.4.5 together with the other demonstratives, because they are structurally different from the pronouns discussed here. *Kana* ‘here, now, this’ and *sukana* ‘there’ can both refer to a person and can stand on their own.

3.4.3.1 Personal pronouns

Subject pronouns

Subject pronouns are used to stress a reference to someone without using the name of the referent, be it person or object. These are the only pronouns which can occur alone as an unbound morpheme and are shown in table 3.2⁸. Examples are shown in table A.2 in appendix A.2. While the subject pronouns can occur as unbound morphemes, the subject agreement pronouns (table 3.3) are used much more often and suffice for a sentence to be grammatical.

Subject agreement pronouns

The difference between subject pronouns and subject agreement pronouns becomes clear in example (18):

(18) ***nau**, **na** -ta -po nat lik*

1SG, 1SG -PST -CONT boy small

‘I, I was a little boy’ [053.074: personal pronoun *nau* and subject agreement pronoun *na*-]

⁸ The tables in this section are taken from L. Fast (1990).

Table 3.2 – Subject pronouns. Shortened forms are shown in brackets.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
singular	nau	numai	ninia (nia)
dual		namilong	rilong
dual excl.	namemlong		
dual incl.	tarung		
trial		namitol	ritol
trial excl.	namemtol		
trial incl.	taratol		
plural		nami	riria (ria)
plural excl.	namem (nem)		
plural incl.	tara		

A subject pronoun is a free morpheme which takes the place of a name or a person (occurring as the subject or noun phrase). The subject agreement pronoun on the other hand is bound to the verb root and is an obligatory part of the verb complex. In fact, while it is possible to leave out the verb when the meaning is clear from the context, the subject agreement pronoun is then still used and serves as a placeholder for the VP. Table 3.3 shows the subject agreement pronouns. Examples from the corpus are provided in table A.3 in Appendix A.2.

Table 3.3 – Subject agreement pronouns as part of the verb phrase.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
singular	na-	ku-	ka-
dual		milong-	kilong-
dual excl.	namemlong-		
dual incl.	tarung-		
trial		mitol-	kitol-
trial excl.	namemtol-		
trial incl.	taratol-		
plural		mi-	ki-
plural excl.	namem-		
plural incl.	tara-		

The question word *si* ‘who’ can also be inserted in the subject agreement slot. For example in a relative clause:

- (19) *ki -la arai kapa ani bung i imun ke, si -po bung*
 3PL -PERF see also OBJ smoke GEN stone.oven this, who -CONT smoke
 ‘they looked at the smoke of the stone oven, which was smoking’ [077.013: *si* in the subject agreement position]

These subject agreement pronouns are definite. To show indefiniteness, a quantifier (see table 3.5) is used.

Object pronouns

Object pronouns are formed by combining an object marker (either *i-* or *ani-*) and a person marker. The object marker *i-* refers to the direct recipient of an action (benefaction), whereas the object marker *ani-* refers to someone who benefits from an action (benefactive). *I-* marks an object of higher definiteness than *ani-* and can only be combined with a person pronoun ending, whereas *ani-* can also be combined with a full noun phrase object. The following two examples show these different object markers.⁹

- (20) *ka an alis i -ria ta inangun ang*
 3SG MAW give OBJ -3PL OBL shellmoney DEF.POST
 ‘he gave them the shell money’ [088.249: *i-* as an object marker: benefaction and higher definiteness]

- (21) *na ki -la ang- susui -ai ani -ria ta si ka pasal*
 and 3PL -PERF RECIP- ask -TRSV OBJ -3PL OBL who 3SG go
 ‘and they asked each other about who should go’ [030.030-031: *ani-* as an object marker: benefactive and lower definiteness]

Table 3.4 gives an overview of these person markers, which can combine with *i-* or *ani-* as in examples (20) and (21). Table A.4 in appendix A.2 contains examples for each kind of pronoun. These person markers are the same for object particles and possessive particles.

Table 3.4 – Person affixes which combine with the object particles *i-* (benefaction) and *ani-* (benefactive), the possessive markers *ka-/kaka-* and the alienably possessive markers *si-/singi-*, as well as combining directly with certain nouns, e.g. example (26). Irregularities in first and second person singular definite object are discussed below. For 3PL, *-ri* is used with *ka-/kaka-* and *-ria* with the other particles.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
singular	-g	-m	-na
dual		-milong	-rilong
dual excl.	-memlong		
dual incl.	-rung		
trial		-mitol	-ritol
trial excl.	-memtol		
trial incl.	-ratol		
plural		-mi	-ri/-ria
plural excl.	-mem		
plural incl.	-ra		

The object pronouns in first and second person singular with the direct object marker *i-* are different than would be expected from table 3.4: *iau* instead of *ig* (1SG) and *ua* instead of *im* (2SG).¹⁰ Examples are provided below.

⁹ Note the difference to *ta* which marks an oblique in both examples and which cannot take person markers in the same way.

¹⁰ the morphophonemic *u* is used instead of *i* as an object marker.

- (22) *ri na ka -ta ingus i -au e kke e Baungung akorong*
 PL.GNL mother 3SG -PST give.birth OBJ -1SG at here at Baungung straight
 ‘my mother gave birth to me right here in Baungung’ [145.004: the direct object pronoun *iau* (1SG)]

- (23) *namem -ta asok u -a si abis*
 1PL -PST send OBJ -2SG for.purpose work
 ‘we sent you to work’ [140.011: the direct object pronoun *ua* (2SG)]

3.4.3.2 Possessive pronouns and other means of possession

The person pronoun markers in table 3.4 combine with the possession particles *ka-* or *kaka-* ‘belonging to’ to produce a possessive pronoun. The resulting pronouns can be used in the subject and in the object slot, although they are much more common as objects.

In example (24) the possessive pronoun is an object and in example (25) it is part of the subject.

- (24) *alis ka- -g ngorem*
 give POSS- -1SG love
 ‘give my love’ [064.025: possessive pronoun in the object]

- (25) ***patvap si ka- -g papa ki -ta ago e iang e Tutuila***
 people.group GEN POSS- -1SG father 3PL -PST stay at there at Tutuila
 ‘the people group of my father were living there at Tutuila’ [144.011: possessive pronoun in the subject, the subject is marked in bold.]

Possession can also be marked directly onto the noun without the possessive particle *ka-/kaka-*. Example (26) shows how a person possessive suffix can be combined directly with a noun (*kunga -g* = *my arm*) to show possession. These nouns are typically body parts or kinship terms.

- (26) *ki -ta -po teng akit i -au e mang kunga -g*
 3PL -PST -CONT hold strongly OBJ -1SG at certain arm -1SG
 ‘they held me tightly by one arm’ [100.062: noun + possessive marker]

The following morphophonemic rules relating to the ending of the noun apply here. If the noun ends with a consonant, *i* is inserted,¹¹ and if it ends with a vowel there is no insertion:

¹¹ There are a number of exceptions where an *u* is inserted after a consonant, for example *ngur-u -g* (see second set of examples), *pat-u -g* ‘my head’, *is-u -g* ‘my nose’. Interestingly there is also a difference between *tauk-u-na* and *tauk-i-na* (both referring to a master/owner). The first refers to a master relationship with for instance a dog or a pig, and the latter is more general ownership such as a land or house (personal communication, L. Fast 2013).

26 – Word classes - grammatical categories

kak -i -g, kak -i -m, kak -i -na
leg GEN -1SG, leg GEN -2SG, leg GEN -3SG
'my leg, your leg, his/her leg'

ngur -u -g, ngur -u -m, ngur -u -na
mouth GEN -1SG, mouth GEN -2SG, mouth GEN -3SG
'my mouth, your mouth, his/her mouth'

kunga -g, kunga -m, kunga -na
arm -1SG, arm -2SG, arm -3SG
'my arm, your arm, his/her arm'

A third way of marking possession is with the genitive particle *si*. This is used with alienably possessed nouns.

- (27) *na -po kavulik **si** Betuel*
1SG -CONT daughter GEN Betuel
'I am Betuel's daughter' [074.022: NP *si* NP]

When a pronoun (person possessive affixes, see table 3.4) is substituted for a possessed noun, *ngi* is added to the genitive particle.

- (28) *ki atos ta kakao **singi** -ria*
3PL sell OBL cacao GEN -3PL
'they sold their cacao' [046.025: NP with possessive pronoun affix *singi*-]

Possession can also be marked with the particle *ke*. The difference is that *ke* is used in an NP with a noun head, while *ka/kaka-* is used with a phrase that has only person marking (this is the same for *si* and *singi*-).

- (29) *ki -ta aiveven a bil ang **ke** ri vap aongos*
3PL -PST care.for DET thing DEFPOST POSS PL.GNL people all
'they took care of the things belonging to all the people' [130.013]

3.4.3.3 Interrogative pronouns

The question words *sa* 'what', *si* 'who', *angisan* 'when', *voi* 'where', *saka...an* 'how/which' and *poisan* 'how many' are used as interrogative pronouns. For more examples see table 3.9.

- (30) *ku ane **voi**?*
2SG toward where?
'where are you going?' [087.034]

3.4.4 Modifiers

A modifier is a word which modifies a noun or noun phrase in order to further specify an attribute the noun has. Modifiers can be adjectives, numerals and non-numeral quantifiers as well as determiners and demonstratives. I will look at each of these in turn. The class of demonstratives is particularly relevant for the study of spatial language as these words are used to refer to a specific location.

3.4.4.1 Adjectives

Adjectives modify the noun phrase and occur directly after the noun. They can be grouped into four classes, modifying according to colour, size, quality and quantity. When adjectives co-occur, only the classes colour and size, and size and quality, can be combined (L. Fast 1990:28).

Adjectives can also occur as a predicate in a descriptive clause. Compare the following two examples in which the adjective *uruk* ‘happy’ occurs first in the adjective slot and then in the verb slot:

- (31) *ka -po igenen uruk*
 3SG -CONT man happy
 ‘he is a happy man’ [142.012: *uruk* in the adjective slot]

- (32) *man ki tokol ki -po uruk*
 if 3PL chew.betel.nut 3PL -CONT happy
 ‘if they chew betelnut they are happy’ [041.008: *uruk* as a predicate complement]

The adjective *lik* ‘small’ can modify another adjective. For example, *lu ro lik* literally: ‘house good small’ means a slightly good house rather than a small good house. In example (33), *lik* modifies the word *avunga* ‘far’.

- (33) *ka -la -po pasal avunga lik*
 3SG -PERF -CONT go far little
 ‘he went slightly farther’ [015.045]

Adjectives can be derived from other word classes either through moving them into the post-nominal slot, or by adding the suffix *-an* to a noun, cf. example (3).

3.4.4.2 Quantifiers

These words modify the noun with respect to quantity. Table 3.5 lists quantifiers with examples. L. Fast (1990) distinguishes between part-whole words which specify how much of a whole is meant, and the specifier *mang*. This first group of words modifies nouns as being parts of wholes.

Table 3.5 – Quantifiers with examples.

Quantifier	Gloss	Example
sikei	one	<i>taratol ding sikei a kuvak</i> 1TR.INC rip one DET young.coconut 'we opened a young coconut' [054.170]
ngono	dual ¹²	<i>ka -la pasal asiang ve ka- -na ngono kavulik</i> 3SG -PERF go down with POSS- -3SG two daughter 'she went down with her two daughters' [043.041]
men	some, a bit	<i>alis men kakao ani -g</i> give some cacao OBJ -1SG 'give some cacao to me' [135.133]
rukun	a few	<i>mang volo nat tanginang ve rukun kavulik tanginang</i> certain small.group boy young with a.few girl young 'a small group of young boys with a few young girls' [111.002]
volo	a small group	<i>ka -ta -po atogon a volo igenen, kitol -ta uli togon</i> 3SG -PST -CONT have DET small.group man, 3TR -PST HAB have <i>taun i pini</i> day GEN instruction 'there was a small group of men, they always had times when they instructed (me)' [128.020]
ri	plural general, honorific	<i>namem mika kuvul ve ri aina ka- -mem anamis</i> 1PLEX dance together with PL.GNL woman POSS- -1PLEX spec.dance 'we and the women danced our anamis dance' [072.010]
keve	plural specific	<i>ka -la luk ka- -na keve kakao</i> 3SG -PERF get POSS- -3SG PL.SPC cacao 'he took his (bags of) cacao' [108.017]
mamain	many various, always with <i>ta</i>	<i>aiveven ani mamain ta aina ki -ta -po ingus</i> care.for OBJ many.various OBL woman 3PL -PST -CONT give.birth 'care for the many women who gave birth' [048.018]
mang	a certain thing; other / another	<i>nau na -po teng a mang sula, na Lesley ka -po teng a</i> 1SG 1SG -CONT hold DET a.certain spear, and Lesley 3SG -CONT hold DET <i>mang sula</i> another spear 'I carried a certain spear, and Lesley carried another spear' [054.041]
miang ¹³	many	<i>na vap miang ki -po ago e iang</i> and person many 3PL -CONT stay at there 'and there were many people over there' [085.104]

¹² Different than the numeral two, which is *pongua*.¹³ *Miang* always occurs after the noun, as opposed to the other quantifiers.

3.4.4.3 Numerals

There are three groups of numerals in Tungag: cardinal; ordinal and distributive numerals. The cardinal numeral system in Tungag is based on groups of five and ten. The first five numerals are:

- *sikei* ‘one’
- *pongua* ‘two’
- *potol* ‘three’
- *puat* ‘four’
- *palpalima* ‘five’¹⁴

The numerals five to nine are compounds of five plus the numbers one to four, where the morphemes are shortened or changed somewhat.

- *limalesikei* ‘six, literally five from one’
- *limalengua* ‘seven, literally five from two’
- *limeletul* ‘eight, literally five from three’
- *limaleiat* ‘nine, literally five from four’
- *sangauli* ‘ten’

After the number ten, the numerals are combined with the conjunction *na* ‘and’, for example *sangauli na pongua* ‘twelve’. Above 20 the number of tens is added, for example: *potol a sangauli na pongua* ‘three tens plus two = 32’. The number 100 consists of two morphemes: *lelensangauli*.

Ordinal numerals in Tungag are marked as such with one of the three following ordinal morphemes, used interchangeably: *a-*, *va-* and *la-*. The ordinal noun phrase is structured in the following way:

Ordinal NP = +Ord +Numeral +i(genitive) +NP / Person Marker

For example, to say a phrase such as ‘the second letter’ one would say: *va* (ordinal morpheme) + *pongua* (numeral) + *i* (genitive marker) *panbuk* (letter, NP).

When referring to the first or the last of something, the adverbs *ainoai* ‘first’ or *akamusai* ‘last’ are used, rather than using an ordinal noun phrase as described above. For example¹⁵:

- (34) *au, a- kamus -ai i keve matas e iang*
 well, ORD- finish -TRSV GEN PL.SPC day at there
 ‘well, at the end of the years over there’ [147.009: ordinal phrase with *akamusai*]

¹⁴ Literally part (*palpal*) plus *lima*, the Proto-Oceanic word for five, i.e., one hand (part) of five.

¹⁵ *Akamusai* ‘the last’ has been divided into morphemes in example (34) in order to show the similarity to the structure of the ordinal nominal phrase. The structure of *ainoai* is similar. *Kamus* means end and *no* means face or front.

- (35) *na lomlomom kapa si ainoai luai i taun ke*
 1SG think also for.purpose the.first completely GEN time this
 ‘I think also about the very first time’ [008.006: ordinal phrase with *ainoai*]

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication. For example:

- (36) *siksikei a nat palau ki me serei*
 one.by.one DET boy only 3PL MTW arrive
 ‘one by one only the boys arrived’¹⁶ [133.064: distributive numeral *siksikei*]

3.4.4.4 Particles marking definiteness

The morpheme /a/ ~ /na/ occurs directly before the noun and marks it as being definite. The use of either *a* or *na* is purely morphophonemic, where *a* follows a word ending in a consonant or a high vowel, and *na* follows a word ending in a low vowel. Compare *sikei a taun* ‘one day’ and *pongua na taun* ‘two days’. The definite post particle *ang* is also used to signal definiteness in the NP. It is used anaphorically to point to something in a narrative which has already been mentioned, signaling known information.¹⁷

- (37) *ka an -la sang aulit a laman ang*
 3SG MAW -PERF run around DET water DEF.POST
 ‘he ran around the water’ [002.079: the particles *a* and *ang*]

In this example the small pond of water has been mentioned previously in the narrative. The definite post particle *ang* shows that the pond is known information. The particle *a* has a grammatical function linked to the use of the verb and adverb ‘run around’. The protagonist ran around an object, the water, marked with the definite article *a*.

3.4.4.5 Demonstratives and deixis

In addition to the definite post particle *ang* described above which is used deictically to signalise known information and to pinpoint the entity in question, there are a number of other words which are used to refer to a certain place, time or information as being either near (proximal) or far (distal). These can be used spatially or temporally. Discourse deixis particles point to information in a text. Table 3.6 gives an overview of these words which have a similar deictic function.¹⁸ They are discussed further in section 4.5, where I examine similarities in meaning and form and discuss the use of deixis in two narratives in detail.

¹⁶ This is idiomatic for saying only very few boys came.

¹⁷ See also section 5.4 where I refer to the role these articles play in marking ground NPs.

¹⁸ Compare the papers in Senft (2004) for other work on the use of demonstratives and deixis in Austronesian languages.

The following differences in their use and position in the sentence are due to differences in grammatical function: (1) demonstratives occur in the noun phrase directly following the noun and serve to point to an object (spatially or temporally); (2) the locative morphemes *kke* ‘here’, *suke* ‘there’ and *iang* occur in the noun slot and are always headed by a preposition; (3) the pair of interjections *vang* and *vanang* can be inserted directly into a sentence, directly following either the VP or a noun.

The following two examples show the difference between *suke* as a locational morpheme and *suke* as a demonstrative, both which point to something as being far, either spatially or temporally. The same applies for *kke* used as a locative and *ke*, a demonstrative in the noun phrase (see the example for *kke* in table 3.6).

- (38) *sang alak ane suke*
 run up toward there
 ‘run up to over there’ [100.034: the locative *suke* as part of a prepositional phrase]
- (39) *asiang ane no i kunaur suke, makarap ka -po uli siang singi -na*
 down toward front GEN point.on.coastline there, sun 3SG -CONT HAB go.down GEN -3SG
 ‘down toward the front of that point on the coastline there, the sun would always go down at that place’ [065.004: the demonstrative *suke* referring to the phrase *no i kunaur*]

Table 3.6 – Deictic demonstratives, locationals and interjections with examples.

Word	Gloss	Function	Example
ke	this	proximal, temporal or spatial	<i>ka me pasal vang ane vuk oring ke e Meteuta</i> <small>3SG MTW go presently toward piece place this at Meteuta</small> ‘presently he went to this place at Meteuta’ [088.121]
suke	that	distal, temporal or spatial	<i>ngono vuk mengen suke vang ka -po pasal</i> <small>DL piece talk that indeed 3SG -CONT go</small> <i>asungsuke</i> <small>like.that</small> ‘those two words indeed go like that’ [042.018]
kana	here, now	proximal	<i>kene kana ka -po matung</i> <small>snake here 3SG -CONT lie</small> ‘a snake is lying here’ [040.031]
sukana	over there	distal	<i>na -la antok: “ai, kene sukana!”</i> <small>1SG -PERF say: “hey, snake over.there!”</small> ‘I said: “hey, there’s a snake over there!”’ [040.001]

Continued on next page

Table 3.6 - continued from previous page

Word	Gloss	Function	Example
<p><i>Ang</i>, <i>nang</i> and <i>iang</i> are discourse deictics. The example for <i>iang</i> is found in the following section, since it is also a locative morpheme. An example for <i>ang</i> is included which illustrates the difference between <i>ang</i> and <i>nang</i>. Both are used to refer to the entity in question and signalise proximity, while <i>ang</i> is used deictically to signal known information and <i>nang</i> is a demonstrative which points to the object as being prominent.</p>			
nang	right here, prominent information	proximal	<p><i>parik namem pa lomlomonai avunga lak ta</i> <small>NEG 1PLEX NEG think far yet OBL</small></p> <p><i>nang</i> <i>a kene nang</i> <small>right.here DEF snake right.here</small> ‘we were not thinking that right here (there was) a snake, right here!’ [040.012]</p>
ang	the one referred to	post-positional determiner, proximal	<p><i>asukang na men lau ang nang ku-po abis</i> <small>like and a.bit behavior DEFPOST right.here 2SG -CONT work</small></p> <p><i>i -a</i> <small>OBJ -3SG</small> ‘and so that bit of action there that you are doing’ [096.004]</p>
<p>The following three locative morphemes are similar in both form and function to the demonstratives. The difference lies in their use as a noun i.e. grammatical function: all three can be headed by a preposition, albeit only one of the three primary prepositions <i>e</i>, <i>le</i> or <i>ane</i>. This is not possible with the other demonstratives.</p>			
iang	there	location, distal, a place already mentioned	<p><i>Meteran na Metekavil, parik na -ta pa ago e iang</i> <small>Meteran and Metekavil, NEG 1SG -PST NEG be at there</small> ‘Meteran and Metekavil, I have not been there’ [007.002]</p>
kke	here	locational morpheme, proximal	<p><i>na -po tung e kke mete laman ke</i> <small>1SG -CONT stand at here beside water this</small> ‘I stand here beside this water’ [074.005]</p>
suke	there	locational morpheme, distal	<p><i>e suke e rina ka -po atogon almang</i> <small>at there at village 3SG -CONT have mud.crab</small> ‘over there at the village there are mud crabs’ [049.003]</p>

Continued on next page

Table 3.6 – continued from previous page

Word	Gloss	Function	Example
<i>vang</i> and <i>vanang</i> are interjections which give emphasis to the information given / said. They are similar in form to other deictics as well as in their way of marking ideas / speech in a ‘spatial’ way i.e. as near or far - new or already known.			
vang	indeed, emphasis	new, presently	<i>ka me pasal asiang vang ane Taun</i> 3SG MTW go down presently toward Taun ‘he presently went down to Taun’ [088.163]
vanang	indeed, emphasis	already known	<i>na -ka posong na keve aina ke vang, kana ke</i> 1SG -INT tell DET PL.SPC woman this indeed, now POSS <i>Iguakasupan vanang</i> Iguakasupan indeed ‘I will tell you about this woman (emphasis), now (the one) belonging to Iguakasupan as I told you’ [088.168]

3.4.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are handled in depth in chapter 4, as many of them modify the verb with respect to location and direction. Adverbs serve to further specify the predication. Their function is diverse, ranging from location and direction to time to modality. They always occur post-verbally and are part of the verb phrase, although some are bound more closely to the verb than others, cf. *pelek* and *tung* in example (53). Many temporal adverbs overlap in meaning with spatial adverbs (see figures 4.4, 4.5 & 4.6 and table 4.10). Here I focus on the form and grammatical use of adverbs as well as on defining two different types of adverbs and discussing the difference to verbs, as the boundary is not always clear.

The derivational prefix *a-* is used to derive many adverbs from verbs: **Adverb = *a-* + verb**. The semantic relationship between the verb and the derived adverb is clearly visible. For example: **Liu** ‘pass’ - **aliu** ‘in passing’ or **lak** ‘ascend, climb’ - **alak** ‘in an upward direction’.

Example (40) shows the typical position of an adverb in a sentence:

- (40) *ki -po pasal aliu e iang*
3PL -CONT go along at there
‘they went along over there’ [032.007: **pasal + aliu**]

Some derived adverbs, however, are identical to derived verbs. Compare the positional and postural verbs listed in table 4.2, many of which are derived with the same causal prefix. For example: *siang* (verb ‘alight’) - *asiang* (verb ‘put down’) -

asiang (adverb ‘downward direction’).¹⁹ It is helpful to think of these words as being in different categories, while at the same time remembering that they are related, i.e., the positional verb *asiang* is different than the directional adverb *asiang*. Examples (41) to (43) show how *siang* and *asiang* are used in different contexts.

- (41) *namem an -la **siang** ngere lo*
 1PL.EX MAW -PERF get.off beside shore
 ‘we alight at the beach’ [043.065: *siang* as a verb]
- (42) *ki **asiang** i -mem e Noipuas*
 3PL put.down OBJ -3PL at Noipuas
 ‘they set us down at Noipuas’ [136.021: *asiang* as a verb]
- (43) *ka me -la pasal **asiang** ane Taun*
 3SG MTW -PERF go down toward Taun
 ‘he went down to Taun’ [088.162: *asiang* as an adverb]

In example (44) *siang* is used as a verb in the second position of a compound verb together with the verb *kik* ‘jump’.

- (44) *na na -ka **kiksiang** e kke*
 and 1SG -INT jump.down at here
 ‘and I will jump down here’ [054.047: *siang* used in a compound verb]

Not all derived adverbs have a verbal counterpart with the causative prefix. Compare the following example with the examples above:

- (45) *namemtol **liu** a keve matang si ri Pilis*
 1TR.EX pass DET PL.SPC garden GEN PL.GNL Pilis
- * *namemtol **aliu** a keve matang si ri Pilis*
 1TR.EX go.along DET PL.SPC garden GEN PL.GNL Pilis
- ‘we passed Pilis’ garden plots’ [039.006]

The verb *liu* is transitive. It requires a direct object specifying what is passed. A direct object, on the other hand, cannot occur together with the phrase *pasal aliu*. Rather, one can mention where the motion takes place (in example (40) *e iang* - at there), with whom the motion takes place or to what purpose.

As mentioned in section 3.4.1, it is possible in Tungag to produce compound verbs in which two verbs predicate and share VP markings. The example discussed there was the following:

¹⁹ For more examples and discussion see also the discussion of trajectory path verbs in section 4.1.5 and figure 5.21 in chapter 5.

- (46) *na an sinong mengen ve nia*
 1SG MAW sit talk with 3PL
 'I sit (and) talk with them' [134.061]

A very similar construction is the following, in which *suak* 'in meeting' is combined with the verb *angan*:

- (47) *na me angan suak u -a*
 1SG MTW eat in.meeting OBJ -2SG
 'I will come, and in meeting you, eat you' [002.086]

It is also possible to place an adjective in this slot. Compare example (48):

- (48) *ki angan matak i -a*
 3PL eat raw OBJ -3SG
 'They eat it raw' [030.083]

While there are a few derivational affixes in Tungag (see table 3.1), very often the position of a word in a sentence establishes whether it is a verb, noun, adjective or adverb. There is no formal distinction between the use of the verb phrases *na an sinong mengen*, *na me angan suak* and *ki angan matak* in the above examples. However, since *suak* cannot occur independently as a verb, it is classed as an adverb. There are a number of adverbs similar to *suak* which are used in the same way. These adverbs have a slightly different function than the group of derived adverbs. A verb phrase with a derived adverb is intransitive, cf. example (40), whereas this second group of adverbs in combination with another verb is transitive. Thus they are similar to verbs in that they require a direct object. They also seem very similar to many verbs used in the second position of a compound verb. Compare the examples above with the following examples:

- (49) *namemtol liu a keve matang si ri Pilis*
 1TR.EX pass DET PL.SPC garden GEN PL.GNL Pilis
 'we passed Pilis' garden plots' [039.007: *liu* as the main verb in a clause]

- (50) *ka -la sang liu a laman ang*
 3SG -PERF run pass DET water DEF.POST
 'he ran, passing the water' [002.076: The verb *liu* in a compound verb]

- (51) *namem -la sang aliu*
 1PL.EX -PERF run along
 'we drove along (the road)' [043.063: *aliu* as an adverb]

Liu in example (50) behaves in a similar manner to *suak* in example (47). The only difference is that *liu* can also occur as the main verb of a sentence, as shown in example (49), and I therefore class it as a verb.

These adverbs have a similar semantic function. They all modify the first verb in some way as to a spatial or conceptual relationship. All of them refer to the role of the figure in the action. For example, the verb *arai* ‘see’ does not encode motion, but in example (52) *kotok* ‘to find out’ in combination with *an* ‘motion away from the speaker’ refers to the figure moving about looking to find something out.

- (52) *tara an arai kotok*
 1PL.INC MAW see find.out
 ‘we (go) looking to find out’ [077.017]

Many of these adverbs relate the action or motion of a figure to a path of motion. They do not describe a purely directional path as the other directional derived adverbs do (cf. for example *alak* ‘up’, *asiang* ‘down’ etc.), but refer to the action in relation to how the motion takes place. For instance *tul* ‘en route’, *suak* ‘in meeting’ and *talang* ‘across from’ all refer to the relationship of the person moving to another person or object, and they modify the motion accordingly.

This shows an important characteristic of Tungag: The path of motion, when it occurs while an action takes place, does not need a second clause to describe it. Path and direction are often integrated directly into the verb phrase, either through the use of directional morphemes or with directional adverbs.

It is possible to combine two or more adverbs in the same clause. Example (53) shows two adverbs modifying the verb *pasal*. In this example the adverbs *pelek* ‘away from’ and *tung* ‘up to’ specify the direction of motion. The meaning of the two adverbs clearly indicate which NP is the source location (*ia*) and which is the goal location (*e Ranmelek*).

- (53) *na -la pasal pelek i -a tung e Ranmelek*
 1SG -PERF go away.from OBJ -3SG up.to at Ranmelek
 ‘I left him (and went) as far as Ranmelek’ [028.177]

The following examples show different possibilities in which certain kinds of adverbs can be combined. As mentioned previously, it is possible for two or more adverbs to occur together, both modifying the same verb. There are, however, restrictions as to the order of occurrence and the type of adverbs occurring together. Examples (54) and (55) show the position of the adverb *sumasuma* ‘quickly’ when combined with a directional adverb (*asiang*) and the adverb *luai*, which modifies *sumasuma* rather than the verb *pasal*. The combination of a directional and manner adverb is very common. The directional adverb occurs first, tying it more closely to the verb.

- (54) *namemtol -la pasal asiang sumasuma*
 1TR.EX -PERF go down quickly
 ‘we went down (the hill) quickly’ [043.026]

- (55) *na -ka pasal sumasuma luai*
 1SG -INT walk quickly very
 ‘I will walk very quickly’ [043.020]

3.4.6 Prepositions

Prepositions head a prepositional phrase and serve to link the noun in the prepositional phrase with the rest of the sentence/clause. Prepositions typically have to do with the location of an object and most of them are derived from locational nouns. Prepositions are discussed in detail in chapter 4.²⁰ Table 3.7 gives an overview of all Tungag prepositions with examples and a description of their function.

Table 3.7 – Prepositions with examples.

Prep.	Gloss	Description	Example
e	at	location	<i>namem me -la serei sumasuma e Kavieng</i> 1PLEX MTW -PERF arrive quickly at Kavieng ‘we arrived quickly at Kavieng’ [043.051]
ane	toward, to	direction	<i>namem -la kalip aliu ane Ranmelek</i> 1PLEX -PERF paddle along toward Ranmelek ‘we(excl.) paddled along toward Ranmelek’ [007.013]
le	from	direction	<i>ki -po sang le Angat</i> PL -CONT run from Angat ‘they drove from Angat’ [135.263]
dong	into ²¹	direction	<i>ka pirikit a rul -i -na dong a ese</i> 3SG squeeze DET sap -GEN -3SG into DET bottle ‘he squeezed its sap into a bottle’ [060.056]
kul	on	location	<i>ki -po ago kul i vul</i> 3PL -CONT be on GEN canoe ‘they were on the canoe’ [052.087]

Continued on next page

²⁰ See for example figure 4.10, which shows which locational nouns and prepositions are related.

²¹ More often *ane + nei* is used to describe motion into an enclosed area, where *nei* encodes the characteristic of the location as being enclosed (compare Section 5.4.1). For example:

ku -ta pasal ane nei laman
 2SG -PST go to in water
 ‘you went into the water’ [106.022]

Table 3.7 - continued from previous page

Prep.	Gloss	Description	Example
nei	in	location	<i>tara -po ago ananap nei ka- -ra keve lu</i> 1PL.INC -CONT be patiently in POSS- 1PL.INC PL.SPC house 'we will stay patiently in our houses' [104.015]
neite	under- neath	location	<i>na -ta -la ago neite ka- -rilong aiveven</i> 1SG -PST -PERF stay underneath POSS- 3DL care 'I stayed under their care' [135.001]
mete	before, in front of	location, tem- poral	<i>ka me -la -po ago pok mete lu</i> 3SG MTW -PERF -CONT stay back in.front.of house 'he came back and stayed in front of the house' [133.068]
neiliuan	in- between	location	<i>sikei neiliuan i laman ka -la atogon a malu</i> but in.between GEN water 3SG -PERF have DET wind <i>tavirimok ka -la serei</i> huge 3SG -PERF arrive 'but in the middle of the ocean a big wind came up' [052.018]
ngere	beside	location	<i>ri ien i ngere liung ki pa putuk ane nei</i> PL.GNL fish GEN beside reef 3PL go across toward at <i>los</i> river.mouth 'the fish from beside the reef swam across to the river mouth' [065.038]
mung	behind, after	location, tem- poral	<i>e mung i pongua na vik ka -la kamus</i> at after GEN two DET week 3SG -PERF finish 'after two weeks he finished' [070.021]
asi	for	purpose	<i>ka pilak ta ring ani lu ang asi ka- -na tung</i> 3SG choose OBL place OBJ house DEF.POST for POSS- 3SG stand 'he chose a place for his house to stand' [076.002]
ta	with	instrumental	<i>ki -po pai i -a ta pan i niu</i> 3PL -CONT weave OBJ 3SG INSTR leaf GEN coconut 'they weave it using coconut fronds' [005.012]
ani	for, on behalf of	benefactive, malefactive, recipient	<i>ka -po uli pege ani -g</i> 3SG -CONT HAB speak on.benefit.of 1SG 'he always spoke on my behalf' [128.027]
ve	with	accompan- iment	<i>ki -po pasal ve vebe</i> 3PL -CONT go with basket 'they went with (their) basket' [029.006]
tenei	at	temporal	<i>namem -po serei si tenei ias</i> 1PLEX -CONT arrive GEN at midday 'we arrived at midday' [029.056]

3.4.7 Conjunctions

Conjunctions join together different syntactic units and function as logical relations on three levels of the sentence (in the phrase, between phrases and between sentences). First, conjunctions at the phrasal level *a/na*²² ‘and’, *ve*²³/*veai* ‘with’ and *vo/o* ‘or’ can either join phrases or words to form compound NPs (see the first three examples in table 3.8, where the complete NP is marked in bold). Second, conjunctions at the sentence level introduce either a coordinate or subordinate clause. This is the largest group of conjunctions. The third group of conjunctions function at the discourse level to mark development in a narrative or argument. The conjunctions *au* ‘well, and so, and then’, *Kapa* ‘also’ and *mang anu* ‘another thing’ move the line of argument along, and a number of the interjections mentioned in section 3.4.10 signalise a conclusion, bringing a story line to its end.

Table 3.8 contains all the conjunctions in Tungag with their function and an example.

Table 3.8 – Conjunctions with examples.

Conj.	Gloss	Function	Example
Conjunctions functioning between NPs on the phrasal level			
a/na	and	coordinate	<i>Meteran na Metekavil</i> <i>parik na -ta pa ago e iang</i> Meteran and Metekavil NEG 1SG -PST NEG stay at there ‘I never stayed at Meteran and Metekavil’ [007.002]
veai/ve	with	accompan- iment	<i>na -la pasal akorong ane si ri Jenny ve</i> 1SG -PERF go straight toward GEN PL.GNL Jenny with Gordon Gordon ‘I went straight to Jenny and Gordon’ [027.008]
vo/o	or	phrasal	<i>namem abis kapa ta mang lu vo classroom</i> 1PLEX work also OBL a.certain house or classroom ‘we also built a certain house or classroom’ [073.022]
Conjunctions functioning between phrases on the sentence level			
velai ani	with	accompan- iment	<i>ka -la mamakus alava velai ani ka -la tangis</i> 3SG -PERF sad very with OBJ 3SG -PERF cry ‘he was very sad and he cried’ [108.009]
sikei	but	contrastive	<i>sikei ien ang ka -po ago nei i -na</i> but fish DEFPOST 3SG -CONT be in GEN -3SG ‘but the fish is inside it’ [005.038]

Continued on next page

²² A and *na* can also function on the sentence level, see the example for *kantanem* in table 3.8, which begins with *na*.

²³ The difference to the preposition *ve* is only in its function within the NP instead of as the head of a PP.

Table 3.8 - continued from previous page

Conj.	Gloss	Function	Example
kanta-nem	nevertheless	adversative	<i>na kantanem na -ka atolongon aongos i -a</i> and nevertheless 1SG -INT leave completely OBJ -3SG 'and nevertheless I intended to leave the matter completely alone' [028.069]
kanta-nem ... sikei	even though ... nevertheless	contra- expectation	<i>kantanem ka -ta -po ring vunga, sikei ka- -ri</i> even.though 3SG -PST -CONT place far.away, but POSS -3PL <i>selen i nas ani mang tunga -ria ka -ta -po</i> path GEN knowledge OBJ a.certain friend -3PL 3SG -PST -CONT <i>ro, na ka -ta -po uli serei.</i> good, and 3SG -PST -CONT HAB arrive 'even though it was a far away place, nevertheless their way of knowing about a given relative was good, and he habitually came to visit' [128.206-9]
vei	or else, lest	contrastive	<i>keve vap ke, na -po kin i -ria, vei ku -ta -la</i> PL.SPC people this, 1SG -CONT call OBJ -3PL, lest 2SG -PST -PERF <i>serei, ki -la kovek</i> arrive, 3PL -PERF not.be 'these people whom I am naming, it could be that you arrived and they were (already) gone (passed away)' [133.025]
using	because, since	grounds, reason	<i>mi mamaila ani -ria kapa, using a riria</i> 2PL respect on.behalf.of -3PL also, because DET 3PL <i>palau a keve vap ang, ki -po serei le si</i> only DET PL.SPC people DEFPOST, 3SG -CONT arrive from GEN <i>tivu -mi nang ko</i> grandparent -2PL that.one we.know 'you must respect them too, because it is those very people who are descended from your ancestors as you should know' [128.142]
asi/ani	for purpose	purpose	<i>na -ta mengen u -a ani ku malangas</i> 1SG -PST speak OBJ -2SG so.that 2SG clear 'I spoke to you, so that you understand'
si	when, at	circumstance	<i>si Friday ke, 20th, na me sang atatung a Evini</i> at Friday this, 20th, 1SG MTW run take.leave.of DET Evini 'on this Friday, the 20th, I will come and see Evini off' [022.003]
val	like, as	comparison	<i>ka -po serei val igenen si me pakangai si abis</i> 3SG -CONT arrive like person GEN MTW help GEN work <i>ang</i> DEFPOST 'he arrived like a person who had come to help with the work' [050.007]

Continued on next page

Table 3.8 – continued from previous page

Conj.	Gloss	Function	Example
asukang	as	referring to	<i>nau kapa na kun serei asukang val ka- -g papa</i> 1SG also 1SG also arrive as like POSS-1SG papa <i>ilesvauk</i> tomorrow 'I too will become like my father in the future' [134.024]
ta	that	complement	<i>na mengen asuang ke ta ri na -ria le</i> 1SG talk as this that PL.GNL mother -3PL from <i>Metekavil</i> Metekavil 'I say like this, that our mother is from Metekavil' [109.001]
man	if	conditional	<i>nei akalit, man ku vil a- rikek i -a, ka -po</i> in school if 2SG do CS- bad OBJ-3SG, 3SG -CONT <i>angkokoai si ki antok u -a ta ku sakol i -a o</i> enough GEN 3PL tell OBJ-2SG that 2SG change OBJ-3SG or <i>samui i -a</i> buy OBJ-3SG 'at school, if you wreck it, they might tell you to replace it or to pay for it' [036.013-014]
Conjunctions functioning between sentences on the discourse level			
au, kapa, mang anu	well, also, another thing	discourse ²⁴	<i>au, mang anu kapa, ka -po mengen i -au ta ku</i> well, another thing also, 3SG -CONT say OBJ-1SG that 2SG <i>ago ta pasal</i> be OBL go 'well, and another thing, he told me that you should not go' [015.038-9]
io, kanat	yes, okay	discourse	<i>io, ka -la kamus e kke</i> yes, 3SG -PERF finish at here 'yes, it is finished over here' [002.136]

3.4.8 Particles

The following particles mark the beginning of a certain type of phrase: object, genitive, possessive, oblique or definite noun phrase.

- The object markers *ani* and *i/u* occur at the beginning of an object phrase and, as mentioned in section 3.4.3.1, they signalise different levels of transitivity, see examples (20) and (21).

²⁴ They do not have to be used together.

- Genitive markers are *i*, *singi* and *si*, cf. examples (27) and (28). They signalise that something belongs to something else. In the following example the phrase *patvap si kag papa* can be glossed: the people group of my father, or my father's people group. The genitive markers can apply to a word, pronoun or phrase.

(56) *patvap si ka- -g papa ki -ta ago e iang e Tutuila*
 people.group GEN POSS- -1SG dad 3PL -PST stay at there at Tutuila
 'the people group of my father, they were living there at Tutuila (my father's people stayed at Tutuila)' [144.011]

These genitive particles can also signalise belonging in the sense of a location, and are often used to mark the source or goal of motion (compare the examples and discussion in section 5.4.1).

- Possessive markers are *ka*, *kaka* and *ke*. The first two take a pronoun ending, and the third occurs before a noun phrase, cf. examples (25) and (29).
- *Ta* and *tata* are oblique phrase markers, see example (57).

(57) *na -ta -la kamus ta abis*
 1SG -PST -PERF stop OBL work
 'I have stopped working' [071.005: oblique phrase marker]

- The particles *a/na* and *ang* mark a noun phrase as being definite, cf. section 3.4.4.4.

3.4.9 Question words

Table 3.9 gives an overview of question words in Tungag. These words can be substituted for the object and subject slot in a clause.

Table 3.9 – Question words with examples.

Question	Gloss	Example
si	who	<i>ri si ki -po seserei</i> PL.GNL who 3PL -CONT arrive 'who arrived' [011.042]
sa	what	<i>asan ke ka -ta serei le si sa</i> name this 3SG -PST arrive from GEN what 'what is the origin of this name' [077.005]
marai sa	for what reason	<i>ku -po sugul ta marai sa ka -po korou</i> 2SG -CONT wonder OBL because.of what 3SG -CONT withered 'you wonder why it is withered?' [106.001]
e voi	where	<i>na -la sui ta: "au, na Kavieng e voi"</i> 1SG -PERF ask OBL: "well, and Kavieng at where" 'I asked: "well, and where is Kavieng"' [135.069]

Continued on next page

Table 3.9 - continued from previous page

Question	Gloss	Example
angisan	when	<i>ka -ta sui i -au ta na -ta pasal asiang angisan</i> 3SG -PST ask OBJ -1SG OBL 1SG -PST go down when 'he asked me when I had gone down' [058.005]
poisan	how many	<i>parik ki pa nas ta poisan a taun ka -ta luk i -a</i> NEG 3PL NEG know OBL how.many DET day 3SG -PST take OBJ -3SG <i>asi an serei si kulenusa ke Tingwon</i> for.purpose MAW arrive GEN island this Tingwon 'they didn't know how many days it had taken him to get to the island Tingwon' [080.037-039]
which	saka ... an	<i>saka keve aina -an</i> which PL.SPC woman -DER 'which women' [088.167]

3.4.10 Interjections

These words are not part of a clause but occur as peripheral elements at the sentence level, usually at the beginning of a sentence. They can also occur on their own as an exclamation, either negative or affirmative. Some are used to comment on the meaning of the proposition (example (58)) or to signal that the speaker has reached the end of a section of discourse or is moving on to a new topic (example (59)). Compare also the third group of conjunctions in table 3.8, which serve a similar purpose. For more interjections see the word list in appendix A.3.

(58) *mi -po longong, **ingko**?*

3PL -CONT listen, right?

'you are listening, aren't you?' [120.074: the question tag word *ingko*]

(59) ***kanat**, ka -la ro tenei ngelik*

okay, 3SG -PERF good time.of.day afternoon

'okay, thank you, good afternoon' [121.001: the interjection *kanat*]

3.5 Phrase types

In this section I will focus on elements belonging to the verb phrase, noun phrase and on different types of prepositional phrases. A number of these elements (directional morphemes, directional adverbs, prepositional phrases of location and direction as well as motion verbs) are central in the study of spatial language and are discussed in more detail in chapter 4. This section serves to contextualise these spatial elements in an exhaustive overview of different phrase types used in the corpus and an overview of

how elements of the phrase fit together. For another discussion of phrases in Tungag as well as other examples, see L. Fast (1990):34-44.

3.5.1 Verb phrase

The verb stem is the head of the verb phrase. There are a number of morphemes which occur pre-verbally and are part of the verb phrase. These preverbal elements mark tense, aspect and mood as well as negativity, intention, possibility and the direction of motion. Of these, only the subject agreement morpheme is obligatory. It is also possible to leave out the verb stem, in which case the subject agreement morpheme serves as a place-holder for the verb phrase.

The post-verbal part of the verb phrase contains adverbial modifiers and the noun phrase object. Prepositional phrases and temporal complements, which are also closely tied to the verb semantically, are separate kinds of phrases and are therefore not part of the verb phrase. Figure 3.4 shows the possible elements in the verb phrase. The word order is relatively fixed, although there are no examples in the corpus where all occur at the same time, and some cannot occur together. I will explain each element in turn:

Pre-nucleus	Nucleus	Post-nucleus
Subject agreement - Intention - Possibility - Tense - Motion - Perfective aspect - Iterative aspect - Continuative aspect - Habitual aspect - Negation	Verb	Adverb - Intensifier - NPO

Figure 3.4 - Structure of the VP including all possible elements and the order in which they occur.

1. Subject agreement: The subject agreement pronoun is the only obligatory marker in the VP. The subject itself is not obligatory, and often the subject agreement pronoun suffices, especially when the subject is known. Table 3.3 shows these pronouns.

- (60) *namem -la kalip aliu ane Ranmelek*
 1PLEX -PERF paddle go.along toward Ranmelek
 'we paddled along toward Ranmelek' [007.013: subject agreement in the verb phrase.]

2. Intention: The intention marker *-ka* marks the intention of the speaker to do the action predicated in the verb. Only first person singular can co-occur with this morpheme, i.e., one can only say that one has the intention of doing something oneself but cannot mark the intention of a third person.

- (61) *na -ka pasal ane matang*
 1SG -INT go toward garden
 'I intend to go to the garden' [033.002: the intention marker *-ka*]

3. Mood: the possibility marker *-v* (also *-b*) cannot co-occur with intention. When the speaker is not sure if the action or state will take place, this can be marked with this morpheme. The free morpheme *nganing* ‘perhaps’ (example (63)) can also be used to express possibility and both can also be used together, although it is more common to use the marker *-v* for second and third person singular and to use the free morpheme with other pronouns.

- (62) *na parik ki -v -la arai lik tapai ani pura*
 and NEG 3PL -possibility -PERF see small for.now OBJ chicken
 ‘and they probably did not see the chicken at all’ [030.072: the possibility marker *-v*]

- (63) *ri vap posok **nganing** ki -po posong i -a ta Komanda, ingko?*
 PL.GNL people white perhaps 3PL -CONT call OBJ -3SG OBL commander, right?
 ‘the white people might call him commander, right?’ [088.406: the free morpheme *nganing* which marks possibility]

4. Tense: Past tense is marked with *-ta*, and this is the only tense marked lexically in the verb phrase. This marker is not obligatory and is often used at the beginning of a narrative but left out later, once the setting of the event line has been sufficiently established.²⁵

- (64) *na -ta mengen i -ria si mangsikei a taun*
 1SG -PST say OBJ -3PL GEN a.certain.one DET day
 ‘I talked to them on a certain occasion’ [004.054: the tense marker *-ta*]

5. Motion: Motion toward and away from the speaker can be marked with the morphemes *an* and *me*. They do not just attach to motion verbs, but to other types of verbs as well, for example to indicate that an action occurs while moving in a certain direction. These are discussed in greater detail in section 4.2.

- (65) *matvung ka -ta **me** asuai ani ri kone tanginang e kke aongos*
 stormy.season 3SG -PST MTW throw.away OBJ PL.GNL sand new at here completely
 ‘the storm threw new sand all over here’ [012.017: direction of motion markers]

6. Aspect: There are four markers for aspect which occur pre-verbally: perfective aspect with the verbal morpheme *-la*; continuative aspect with the verbal morpheme *-po*; habitual aspect with the morpheme *uli* and iterative aspect with *kun*. Durative aspect is marked directly in the verb by reduplication. Either the first consonant and vowel only are reduplicated or the whole verb root can be reduplicated. It is also possible to repeat the whole verb to signify that the action occurs over a longer period of time. However, this is only possible for verbs of motion and the verb *ago* ‘stay’. In section 5.3 I discuss the interplay between aspect and elements of motion events.

²⁵ This is discussed in more detail in the context of a narrative in section 5.3.3.

- (66) *ka -ta -la -po ngau lik ani angan*
3SG -PST -PERF -CONT weak small on.behalf.of eating
 'he had become weak so that he could hardly eat' [073.029: the aspectual markers *-la* and *-po*]
- (67) *na -po uli aiveven ani -a*
1SG -CONT HAB care.for OBJ -3SG
 'I always take care of it' [033.021: the aspectual marker *uli*]
- (68) *nau akorong na -la kun kalang ani -milong*
1SG straight 1SG -PERF also write OBJ -2DL
 'I myself will also write to you(2)' [089.022: the aspectual marker *kun*]
- (69) *ka pasal pasal pasal a ka -la serei*
3SG walk walk walk and 3SG -PERF arrive
 'he walked on and on and then he arrived' [128.155: durative aspect marked by repeating the verb]

7. Negation: Negation can be marked both on the clausal and on the phrasal level. In the verb phrase, the negation marker *tav* directly refers to the action of the verb. The negation particle *pa* as part of the phrase *parik ... pa* also occurs directly before the verb, but functions on a clausal level. *Tav* is therefore not as forceful since it has a smaller scope.

- (70) *ri vap ki -po tav seserei aro*
PL.GNL people 3PL -CONT NEG arrive well
 'the people were not arriving well (on time)' [132.186: the negation marker *tav*]
- (71) *using parik na pa buk arai ani kene*
because NEG 1SG NEG want see OBJ snake
 'because I don't want to see the snake' [040.041: negation on the clausal level]

8. Post-verbal parts of the verb phrase: After the verb there are slots for the adverb, which modifies the verb, and for intensification in regard to the adverb. The final slot in the VP is for the noun phrase object, which is obligatory after transitive verbs and is marked with one of the object particles *ani* or *i*.

- (72) *parik ka pa pakangai aroron luai ani -a*
NEG 3SG NEG help well completely OBJ -3SG
 'he did not help him very well' [052.054: the adverb *aroron*, the intensifier *luai*, and the noun phrase object *ania* as part of the verb phrase]

3.5.2 Noun phrase

Figure 3.5 shows the elements which can occur as part of the noun phrase. Examples for each of these elements can be found in the sections on the pertinent word classes in section 3.4.

Pre-nucleus	Nucleus	Post-nucleus
possessive pronoun - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Definite} \\ \text{Specifier} \end{array} \right\}$ - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Numeral} \\ \text{Number + Definite} \end{array} \right\}$ - Part-whole word	Noun	Adjective 1 - Adjective 2 - Intensifier - Quantifier - Demonstrative - Possessive phrase with a genitive

Figure 3.5 - Structure of the NP including all possible elements and the order in which they occur.

Possession can be marked on the NP in two ways: a possessive pronoun with the possessive particle *ka-* occurs before the elements listed in the pre-nucleus; a possessive phrase with a genitive particle (either *i* or *si*) occurs after the elements listed in the post-nucleus. In the following example both of these types of possession are used (the noun phrase is marked):

- (73) *ka -la luk ka- -na keve pan i ur*
 3SG -PERF take POSS- 3SG PL.SPC leaf GEN banana
 'she took her banana leaves' [045.042]

3.5.3 Prepositional phrase

The overview of prepositions in section 3.4.6 gives an exhaustive list of Tungag prepositions with examples and a description of their function. The spatial prepositions are discussed in section 4.4. Here I show how prepositions function in a phrase and how the prepositional phrase functions in the sentence. Example (74) shows the typical position of the preposition after the verb phrase and direct object and toward the end of the sentence.

- (74) *ki -po pai i -a ta pan i niu*
 3PL -CONT weave OBJ -3SG INSTR leaf GEN coconut
 ‘they weave it using coconut fronds’ [005.012: the instrumental preposition *ta*]

Example (75) contains two prepositional phrases with the prepositions *si* and *e*:

- (75) *ka-po asok i -au si matung e no i mon lik ang*
 3SG -CONT order OBJ -1SG for.purpose lie at front GEN boat small DEF.POST
 'he told me to lie down at the front of the little boat' [128.044: purpose PP with *si* + locational PP with *e*]

It is also possible to string together many prepositional phrases. In example (76) four prepositional phrases specify the location:

- (76) *namem -la atolongon a ngono ang- tivu e iang kul i kati nei lu i*
 1PL.EX -PERF leave.alone DET DL RECIP- grandrelation at there on GEN boat in house GEN
malepen ngere lo
 sick beside shore
 ‘we left the man and his grandchild over there on the boat in the hospital beside the shore’ [043.086: locational PPs with *e*, *kul*, *nei* and *ngere*]

3.6 Grammatical relations and sentence structure

The previous sections have shown the various constituents which are used in Tungag discourse. In the following section I will show how these constituents fit together and are used to create sentences. The basic sentence structure in Tungag is SVO. I will first look at elements of the verbal clause, followed by some examples of types of non-verbal clauses. I will then discuss examples of different types of sentences and finally look at examples for variation in the sentence structure.²⁶

3.6.1 Verbal clause

The verbal clause is composed of the verb phrase (see section 3.5.1) together with other constituents bound to the verb, and is the basis for most types of sentences. Figure 3.6 shows the unmarked structure of the verbal clause.

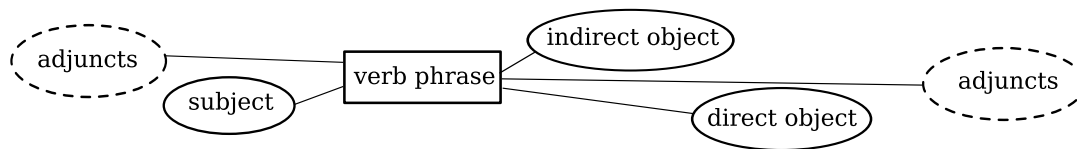


Figure 3.6 – Structure of the verbal clause.

Subject

Since the subject agreement morpheme is obligatory in the VP, a subject is not always specified, as often the subject agreement morpheme is sufficient. When a subject is present, it precedes the verb, and hence the subject agreement morpheme, directly. The following three examples show three different ways the subject can be realized: marked only with the subject-agreement marker; as a proper noun and as a noun phrase. The subject and/or subject agreement marker is highlighted in bold.

- (77) **ka** -ta alis i -mem ta vongo duk
 3SG -PST give OBJ -1PLEX OBL pig many
 'he gave us many pigs' [135.084: pronoun as subject]

- (78) **vul sel -an ka** -ta -po togon a sel
 canoe sail -DER 3SG -PST -CONT have DET sail
 'the sailing canoe had a sail' [053.029: proper noun as subject]

- (79) na **vul kapa na kati ki** -ta aulitai ani -a
 and canoe also and boat 3PL -PST around OBJ -3SG
 'and the canoe as well as the the boat, they circled it' [043.005: noun phrase as subject]

²⁶ This section is kept short, as the focus of this book is on spatial language, which is discussed in much more detail in chapters 4 and 5. Here I will focus on basic sentence structure and a few examples of variation. For more examples and discussion on pragmatic variation see also L. Fast (1997).

Object

Both the direct and indirect objects occur after the VP and after any adverbs modifying the verb. In the following example with the verb *alis* ‘give’ there are two constituents: the direct and indirect objects. The indirect object occurs first, occurring with the indirect object marker *i-*, and the direct object is marked by the oblique phrase marker *ta*.

- (80) *ki alis i -a ta mang keve bil*
 3PL give OBJ -3SG OBL some PL.SPC thing
 ‘they gave him some things’ [055.213: *alis*: a transitive verb with two constituents]

Adjuncts

At the beginning of a text, specifications of time and place usually occur before the subject at the beginning of a sentence with the purpose of setting the scene. Once a time frame has been established, temporal adjuncts occur at the end of the sentence.²⁷ The following two examples show the use of the temporal adjunct *anongo* ‘yesterday’ in two positions in the sentence:

- (81) *si taun suke anongo namem -ta -po angan palau a kirak*
 GEN time there yesterday 1PLEX -PST -CONT eat only DET taro
 ‘in those early days we only ate taro’ [135.095: temporal adjunct before the subject]
- (82) *ki an -la -po asosol i -au ta: “ku -ta ago e rina anongo”*
 3PL MAW -PERF -CONT tease OBJ -1SG OBL 2SG -PST be at home yesterday
 ‘they then teased me, (saying) that: “you stayed at home yesterday”’ [109.014: temporal adjunct at the end of the sentence]

Locational adjuncts are always prepositional phrases. In example (82) above, the locational adjunct *e rina* ‘at home’ occurs after the verb. In example (83), which is taken from the beginning of a narrative, the locational adjunct occurs at the beginning of the sentence.²⁸

- (83) *e kke kapa angasungai i ngere lo ka -po atogon na ring i -po maiak*
 at here also near GEN beside shore 3SG -CONT have DET place GEN -CONT fish
 ‘here also, close to the shore, there is a place for fishing’ [005.006: locational adjuncts at the beginning of a sentence]

²⁷ This is similar to the use of the verbal morpheme *-ta* (point in past time), which does not need to be used once the past tense has been established in a discourse or narrative.

²⁸ L. Fast mentions six types of prepositional phrases (location, instrument (*ta*), accompaniment (*ve*), benefactive, malefactive and recipient (all: *ani*) (L. Fast 1990:55 and 44ff)). These all function in the same way as the prepositional phrase functioning as a locational adjunct in example (83) above. See table 3.7 for examples of these prepositional phrases.

3.6.2 Non-verbal clause

Nonverbal clauses are clauses that do not have a verb phrase as a head. Often a clause contains no main verb but does contain other parts of the verb phrase, such as the subject agreement marker or TAM markers, as for example in the following existential clause.²⁹

- (84) *nau na -po igenen ago e rina*
 1SG 1SG -CONT person stay at home
 ‘I (am) a person who stays at home’ [109.042]

Existentials can also occur without any VP elements in a non-verbal clause:

- (85) *nau a tama -mi lik*
 1SG DET father 2PL small
 ‘I (am) your little father (father’s younger brother)’ [092.015]

3.6.3 Sentence types

In this section I give some examples for different types of sentences as well as complex sentences with subordinate and coordinate clauses. I will also look at three kinds of clause modification: negation, prohibition and the *anguan...an* construction.

The declarative is the most straightforward type of sentence with the basic VP and NP structure as listed in sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

- (86) *ka -po pasal avunga luai*
 3SG -CONT go far very
 ‘he went very far’ [015.023]

Directives (imperatives) have the same sentence structure as declaratives.

- (87) *nganlak ka antok ta: ku pasal ane si selen ke*
 later 3SG say OBL: 2SG go toward GEN road this
 ‘later he will say: “you go toward this road”’ [136.183]

Questions (interrogatives) can occur with or without a question word. In example (88) the question word *voi* ‘where’ is used.³⁰ When a question is phrased without a question word, it has the same structure as a statement. In this case intonation shows that it is a question. Alternatively one can use a question word tag such as *ingko* ‘isn’t that right?’, as in example (89).

²⁹ The verb *ago* ‘stay’ in this example is part of the relative clause *ago e rina*, which modifies the noun *igenen* ‘person’.

³⁰ For more examples with different question words see table 3.9.

- (88) *bung suke nang, ka -po uli pasal le voi?*
 smoke there that.one, 3SG -CONT HAB go from where
 ‘that smoke over there, where does it always come from?’ [077.014]

- (89) *ku -ta angan kana ka- -g vua, ingko!?*
 2SG -PST eat now POSS- 1SG betelnut, right
 ‘you ate my betelnut, didn’t you!’ [078.001]

Negation can occur on the phrasal level or on the clausal level. Example (90) shows negation on the clausal level. See example (70) for an example of negation in the verb phrase.

- (90) *parik ka -ta pa pasal ane iang*
 NEG 3SG -PST NEG go toward there
 ‘he didn’t go over there’ [134.020]

Negative imperative and prohibition with the construction *ago...ta...an* (which can also be shortened to *ago!*) meaning ‘stay!’, ‘don’t!’, is shown in example (91):

- (91) *na -po pege aro i -a: “Riku, ku ago ta tangis -an”*
 1SG -CONT say good OBJ -3SG: Riku, 2SG stay OBL cry -DER
 ‘I spoke to her gently: “Riku, don’t cry!”’ [133.093]

The *anguan...an* construction is similar in structure to the negative imperative. It is used to describe that something happens again.

- (92) *ka -la anguan tangis -an*
 3SG -PERF again cry -DER
 ‘she began crying again’ [040.013]

3.6.4 Variation in the sentence constituency order

The subject of grammatical valence was touched upon in section 3.4.1 on transitivity and in section 3.6.1 on the structure of the verbal clause. As shown for the sentence structure of declaratives, directives and questions, the subject normally occurs at the beginning of the sentence. It is, however, also possible for other constituents to be moved to occur before the verb for purposes of topic/focus (see L. Fast 1997). Often these are temporal or locational adjuncts, as discussed in section 3.6.1, but the object can also be moved forward. The fronted object (Passinganlogo’s canoe) in example (93) has a trace object (*ia*) which occurs in the usual object slot.

- (93) *sikei Passinganlogo ka- -na vul, to ka -la tang i -a, na ka -la tavungum*
 but Passinganlogo POSS- 3SG canoe, wave 3SG -PERF hit OBJ -3SG, and 3SG -PERF swamp
 ‘but (as for) Passinganlogo’s canoe, a wave hit it, and it swamped’ [052.022]

Furthermore, verb phrases can also be brought to the front, moving the subject back, as in example (94).

(94) *ki -la ang- tangis -ai na keve lava -na*

3PL -PERF RECIP- CRY -TRSV DET PL.SPC uncle -3SG

‘they cried together, his uncles’ [example from L. Fast (1997) fronted VP]

There are a number of elements of the sentence which are not part of the clause structure. These are the interjections listed in section 3.4.10, temporal adjuncts, some question words and discourse deictics such as the conjunctions *au* ‘well, and so’ and *so* ‘so’. Table 3.8 gave examples of different logical relations expressed by these conjunctions. These also serve to bind sentences together and further the text flow.

Table 3.8 also contains a list of conjunctions which function between sentences. The examples of subordinate and coordinate conjunctions listed there show how the sentence is constructed. Table 3.10 gives an overview of the different sentence structures discussed in this chapter.

Table 3.10 – Sentence structure for different types of sentences. The obligatory complements are shown with a solid line, facultative complements and adjuncts with a dotted line. Although adjuncts are shown here toward the end of the sentence, they can also occur at the beginning (see f.i. Example 83).

Intransitive clause				
subject	verb phrase	adjunct		
(95) <i>namem me -la serei sumasuma e Kavieng</i> 1PLEX MTW -PERF arrive quickly at Kavieng ‘we arrived quickly at Kavieng’ [043.051]				
Transitive clause (1 complement)				
subject	verb phrase	direct object	adjunct	
(96) <i>ki -po bis arikek a keve nat ang</i> 3PL -CONT hit badly DET PL.SPC boy DEF.POST ‘they beat up those boys very badly’ [135.261]				
Transitive clause (2 complements)				
subject	verb phrase	direct object	indirect object	adjunct
(97) <i>ka -ta alis i -mem ta vongo duk</i> 3SG -PST give OBJ -1PLEX OBL pig many ‘he gave us many pigs’ [099.079]				

Continued on next page

Table 3.10 – continued from previous page

Transitive clause, speech and perception verbs (2 complements)					
subject	verb phrase	direct object	ta	indirect object	adjunct
(98) <i>ki -la antok i -au ta: "na -po buk kon ien arikek"</i> 3PL -PERF say OBJ -1SG OBL: "1SG -CONT want eat fish badly" 'they told me: "we badly want to eat fish"' [133.041]					
Negation on the sentence level ³¹					
subject	parik	pa	verb phrase	adjunct	
(99) <i>Ngurpok parik ka pa osongon</i> Ngurpok NEG 3SG NEG married 'Ngurpok is not married' [122.007]					
Prohibition (negative imperative) ³²					
subject	ago ta	verb phrase	adjunct	-an	direct object
(100) <i>na ago ta kapau -an ani -a</i> 1SG be OBL lie -DER OBJ -3SG 'I must not lie to her' [097.045]					
Coordinate conjunction ³³					
verb phrase	coordinating conjunction	verb phrase			
(101) <i>namemlong -la -po sinong lik, na Makago ka -la serei</i> 1PL.EX -PERF -CONT sit little, and Makago 3SG -PERF arrive 'We were sitting a little, and Makago arrived' [040.004-005]					

Continued on next page

³¹ Since negation can apply to all kinds of verbs, the number of complements depends on the verb.

³² Depending on the verb, there can be one or more complement. A direct object will occur after *-an*.

³³ Only the verb phrases are shown in this figure, however, depending on the verb, any number of complements and adjuncts are possible. The coordinate conjunction does not change the word order.

Table 3.10 – continued from previous page

Subordinate conjunction ³⁴	
verb phrase	subordinate conjunction
<p>(102) <i>ki -po teng akit i -au e mang kunga -g, using ki -po misag, vei kar ka bam i</i> <small>3PL -CONT hold strongly OBJ -1SG at certain arm -1SG, because 3PL -CONT dislike, lest car 3SG bump OBJ</small></p> <p><i>-au</i> <small>-1SG</small></p> <p>‘they held me firmly by my arm, because they didn’t want a car to hit me (literally: dislike, lest a car should hit me)’ [100.062-064]</p>	
Fronted object	
direct object	subject
verb phrase	trace object
indirect object	adjunct
<p>(103) <i>keve sukal ang lenginang ka -ta -la tanga i -ria</i> <small>PL.SPC plant DEF.POST already 3SG -PST -PERF chop OBJ -3PL</small></p> <p>‘those plants, he already chopped them’ [085.077]</p>	
Fronted verb phrase	
verb phrase	subject
<p>(104) <i>ka -po tadut alava luai a to na malu tavirimok</i> <small>3SG -CONT begin very completely DET wave and wind huge</small></p> <p>‘it began very much, the waves and strong winds’ [012.005]</p>	

³⁴ Again, only the verb phrases are shown in this figure, however, depending on the verb, any number of complements and adjuncts are possible. The subordinate conjunction also does not change the word order in either sentence. The example contains a coordinate phrase and a subordinate phrase.

4 An overview of linguistic means used to describe location and movement in space in Tungag

This chapter ties into the grammar sketch in chapter 3, focussing in greater detail on the linguistic forms used in spatial language. In the following sections I will look at different types of spatial language in turn, defining each type of word according to its function and discussing examples from the corpus. This chapter is a presentation of the data. In chapter 5 I will analyse this data using the conceptual framework of a motion event.

The following example illustrates a motion event:

- (105) *na an sang ane Kavieng*
1SG MAW run toward Kavieng
'I drive to Kavieng' [128.127]

Sang 'run' is a manner of **motion verb**, in this case describing travel by motor boat. The **preposition** *ane* can be glossed as to or toward. It denotes a movement toward a goal. Kavieng is the name of a **location** in this example, located to the east of the speaker. The **directional morpheme** *an* encodes motion in the direction away from the speaker.

Directional adverbs are also often used to talk about movement in space in Tungag. There are a large number of adverbs which specify the direction of motion. For example:

- (106) *namem -po sang alak ane Kavieng*
1PLEX -CONT run up toward Kavieng
'we drive up to Kavieng' [007.004]

In this example the adverb *alak* adds a further spatial element to the utterance, changing the focus to the direction of the path of motion, in this case up to Kavieng in an eastward direction. Travelling east into the sunrise is conceptualised as an upward motion, meaning the speaker and the hearer can orient themselves according to an absolute frame of reference in order to know where the motion takes place when using the word *alak*.

A third example contains the **demonstrative** *suke* 'there' in a prepositional phrase,¹ which is used deictically to point to a faraway location.

- (107) *sang alak ane suke*
run up toward there.far
'drive up (east) to over there' [100.034]

¹ See table 3.6 in section 3.4.4.5 for an example of *suke* used within the NP.

A **locational noun** can also be used:

- (108) *ka me -la sinong e pangkul*
3SG MTW -PERF sit at top
 'he (comes and) sits at the top (of the hill)' [002.122]

In this example *pangkul* 'on top' describes the location where the sitting takes place.² The directional morpheme *me* encodes the path of motion to this location.

These four examples illustrate the different linguistic means available for spatial language which are central in this chapter: motion verb; preposition; directional morpheme; directional adverb; demonstrative and locational noun. The following sections will examine closely each word class, focussing on their grammatical usage, meaning and function.

4.1 Verbs of motion and location

As described in section 3.5.1, verbs are the head of the verb phrase, and markers for person, tense, aspect³, mood, possibility and negation occur pre-verbally as part of the verb phrase. The unmarked word order in Tungag is SVO⁴. Sometimes the verb is left out and only the obligatory subject agreement marker is used.

The tables in the following sections give an overview of the verbs in Tungag occurring in the corpus⁵ describing motion or location. Each section also contains a short description of the meaning and function of the verb type and some examples are discussed in detail.

I will first look at verbs of location (table 4.1), including the group of positional verbs which describe putting something into location (table 4.2). Many of these verbs are closely related to the group of postural verbs, which denote different postures for being at a location.

² Some locational nouns do not need a preposition in every situation and can head locational adjuncts to directly modify a verb. This is not the case for *pangkul*, which must be preceded by a preposition. I discuss this further in section 4.4.

³ The use of aspect is also relevant for a discussion of spatial language, and will be discussed in detail in section 5.3.

⁴ See L. Fast (1997) for examples of marked changes in this order for various communicational effects.

⁵ There are, of course, more verbs than those occurring in the corpus and consequently described here. However, since the texts in the corpus are a good representation of spatial language in Tungag and give a relatively wide range of different ways to talk about similar motion events as well as describing a large number of different motion events, the overview of verbs here is sufficient to show general rules about the kinds of verbs used to describe motion events and location in space in Tungag. (See table A.1 in Appendix A.1, where I give an overview of the types of texts used in the corpus).

The second group of verbs relevant for spatial language describe motion through space. Motion verbs can be divided into manner of motion verbs and path verbs. I divide the large group of path verbs into subsections: first, the generic motion verb *pasal* ‘go, walk’ and path verbs derived from combining *pa* (a shortened form of *pasal*) with a number of directional adverbs (table 4.3); second, three groups of path verbs sorted according to the temporal aspect of a path of motion ((a.) beginning motion verbs, (b.) verbs indicating the trajectory of motion and (c.) ending motion verbs) (table 4.4); third, path verbs indicating motion in relation to other motion (table 4.5). The manner of motion verbs and the group of verbs indicating an outside force causing motion will be the final two groups of verbs (tables 4.6 and 4.7).

I will also discuss two verbs in more detail, looking at how they are used in context and in combination with other types of spatial language: the locational verb *ago* ‘to be, to stay’ in section 4.1.3 and the manner of motion verb *kalip* ‘to paddle’ in section 4.1.8.

4.1.1 Verbs of location

Two groups of verbs encode location. The first group is shown in table 4.1 and consists of verbs which encode ‘being at a location’. The first of these verbs, *ago*, is the most common verb in the corpus (745 occurrences) and is used to describe being at or staying at a location. The other locational verbs listed encode a manner of being at a location. In section 4.1.2 I will discuss a second group of words having to do with location encoding ‘cause to be located’, as well as a group of closely related postural verbs describing being in a location in a certain position. Many of these verbs are closely related in meaning and/or form to the locational verbs. I have listed the postural verbs in table 4.2 separately from the locational verbs, because, although they also describe being in location, they focus on being in a certain position rather than being in a certain location. Additionally, they are related in form to the other verbs in table 4.2 encoding ‘cause to be located’.

Table 4.1 – Locational verbs.

Locational verb	Gloss	Example
ago	to be; to stay	<i>ki -ta -po ago e Angat</i> 3PL -PST -CONT stay at Angat ‘they stayed at Angat’ [143.007]
meleng	be adrift	<i>Passinganlogo ka -ta meleng</i> Passinganlogo 3SG -PST be.adrift ‘Passinganlogo was adrift’ [052.002]

Continued on next page

Table 4.1 – continued from previous page

Locational verb	Gloss	Example
lum	be sunk	<i>ka an -la lum nei pang ang</i> 3SG MAW -PERF be.sunk in lagoon DEF.POST 'and it was sunk in the lagoon' [142.016]
bungum	be submerged	<i>ka -po angkoai si bungum ani mon</i> 3SG -CONT able GEN be.submerged OBJ canoe 'it (the wave) is able to make the canoe be submerged' [059.009]
gon	to rest upon	<i>ka -po gon lakat kul i ting ang</i> 3SG -CONT rest.upon high.up.on on GEN nest DEF.POST 'he rested high up on the nest' [002.041]
talang	be across from	<i>sinong talang i -au</i> sit be.across.from OBJ -1SG 'sit across from me' [110.004]

The verb *ago* means to be at, or to stay at.⁶ A typical use of *ago* as the main verb gives the location where someone or something is staying, combining *ago* with the preposition *e* 'at' or *nei* 'in' to specify this location. Locational verbs in Tungag can also be combined with directional elements. In section 4.1.3 below I discuss possibilities of using the verb *ago* to refer to a location while combining *ago* with directionals.⁷

In addition to the locational verbs listed here, the verb *atogon* 'there is' (also 'to have') can be used existentially in a similar way to *ago* in some situations. Whereas *ago* refers to an animate object, *togon* refers to an inanimate object and specifies its location. In the same way as *ago* can be combined with a directional adverb when specifying the location in comparison to another location, the verb *atogon* can be combined with directional adjuncts.

- (109) *na ka -ta -po togon keve niu asiang ane ngere lo*
and 3SG -PST -CONT have PL.SPC coconut down toward beside shore
'and there were some coconuts down toward the beach' [109.014]

In the following I will look more closely at two additional locational verbs from table 4.1, *lum* 'be sunk' and *bungum* 'be submerged', in order to tease apart the difference between how Tungag speakers can encode being at location and causing to be at location and to clarify the locational aspect of the two verbs. The verb *lum* is closely

⁶ As discussed in section 3.6.3, the verb *ago* is also used in a negating function in the construction: *ago ta verb an*. The use of *ago* as a negative imperative signalling prohibition is related to its meaning to stay. Compare for example the English imperative "freeze!" meaning "do not do anything".

⁷ Compare also the discussion of the use of *an* in section 4.2.1 or example (194) for a discussion of directionals used with an action verb.

related to a verb encoding ‘cause to be located’, namely *alum* ‘sink’. *Bungum* ‘be submerged’, is closely related to *vungum* ‘submerge’. Although *vungum* does not appear in the corpus and is therefore not included in the list of verbs in table 4.2, it is discussed here to help clarify how lower and higher transitivity are used to differentiate between locational and ‘cause to be located’ verbs.⁸

The difference between *bungum* and the verb *lum* lies in the degree to which the object they describe is under water. *Bungum* describes a submerged object. A submerged canoe, for example, is filled with water and floats just under the surface of the water. *Lum* describes the location of an object which has been sunk to the bottom of a body of water. One could not use *lum* to describe the location of the canoe in the example above in table 4.1 for *bungum*, since the waves do not sink the canoe to be located at the bottom of the ocean. Rather, the canoe is submerged, filled with water, and floats just under the water’s surface. In this example for *bungum*, the speaker describes the possibility of waves sinking a canoe. The speaker is not talking about dunking / submerging a particular canoe; rather, this is a general statement about the possibility of a canoe being in a submerged state as a consequence of the waves. The initial fricative of *vungum*, on the other hand, encodes higher transitivity, meaning that a speaker using *vungum* to describe a submerged canoe would also describe an agent doing the submerging. The difference in the degree of transitivity here is a means of distinguishing between being in a submerged state, i.e. in a location just under the water’s surface, and being put into this submerged state, i.e. where a higher degree of motion is involved.

The difference between *lum* and *alum* is expressed with a causal prefix. The example in table 4.1 for *lum* describes the location of an object. This example is taken from a narrative about a man who has lost his teapot in the lagoon and who finds it the next day by setting the teapot lid afloat and watching where it sinks in the lagoon before diving down at that location to find the teapot. Example (110) shows the context of this sentence. Both the verbs *meleng* and *lum* are combined with directionals in this example, demonstrating that the distinction between manner of motion and location is not always a clear one.

- (110) *ka -la aboko i -a, na ka -la meleng taun asiang kapa na nei pang ang, na*
 3SG -PERF set.afloat OBJ -3SG, and 3SG -PERF float toward down also DET in lagoon DEF.POST, and
nia ka -po sinong, i -po tere tata -na tung si ka an -la lum nei pang ang.
 3SG 3SG -CONT sit, OBJ -CONT look OBL -3SG until GEN 3SG MAW -PERF be.sunk in lagoon DEF.POST
 ‘he sets it (the lid) afloat, and it also floats down toward the lagoon, and he sits and
 watches it until it is sunk in the lagoon’ [142.016]

⁸ The *v* in Tungag orthography represents a fricative and the *b* represents a lengthened stop. The fricative phoneme encodes higher transitivity and the stop phoneme lower transitivity: *vungum* ‘to submerge something/someone’; *bungum* ‘to be submerged’. Compare section 3.4.1.

The prepositional phrase *nei pang ang* ‘in the lagoon’ specifies the location of the teapot lid, while the verb *lum* describes being in this location in the state of being sunk. Compare this with the example for *alum* in table 4.2, which also describes sinking in the ocean, but which has a stronger focus on the causality: causing someone to be sunk in the ocean (i.e. he should be drowned).

4.1.2 Positional verbs: putting into location

The verbs in table 4.2 encode ‘cause to be located’. These verbs describe moving something into position. Some of these words are derived from some of the locational verbs in table 4.1. Others are derived from postural verbs with the causal prefix *a-*, and focus on the posture of the figure, such as whether it is standing, sitting or lying. These postural verbs are included at the end of the table as a reference. (The verbs encoding ‘cause to be located’ are similar in meaning to the group of verbs encoding ‘cause to move’. These will be discussed in section 4.1.6).

Table 4.2 – Verbs encoding ‘cause to be located’.

Verb	Gloss	Example
agon	set upon, on top of	<i>ka -la agon i -a e kul u -na i ka- -na vavai</i> 3SG -PERF set.upon OBJ -3SG at on GEN -3SG GEN POSS -3SG load ‘he set it on top of his load’ [045.043]
alak	set up, put on	<i>ki alak pok i -a ta lei e kke nei kunga -na</i> 3PL put.on back OBJ -3SG OBL spec.shell at here in arm -3SG ‘they put on him a lei shell here on his arm’ [055.212]
alakai	put on	<i>ka -po alakai ani -a e kke e kak</i> 3SG -CONT put.on OBJ -3SG at here at leg ‘he put it (some clothes) on here on his legs’ [124.052]
asiang	put down	<i>ka -ta -la asiang i -a singi -g</i> 3SG -PST -PERF put.down OBJ -3SG GEN -1SG ‘he put it down with me’ [138.024]
alum	sink	<i>ki alum i -a nei laman makasim</i> 3PL sink OBJ -3SG in water salt ‘they (should) sink him in the ocean’ [127.024]
akating	put down (a load)	<i>namemtol akating a vul</i> 1TREX put.down DET canoe ‘we(3) put down the canoe’ [039.022]
amatung	lay down	<i>ka -ta -po amatung a vongo e iang</i> 3SG -PST -CONT lay.down DET pig at there ‘he laid down a pig over there’ [133.157]

Continued on next page

Table 4.2 - continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
apuang	spread out to dry	<i>namem apuang i -a</i> 1PL.EX hang.up OBJ -3SG 'we spread it out to dry' [034.005]
asinong	set down; cause to sit	<i>ki asinong a kirim ani vap</i> 3PL set.down DET pile on.benefit.of people 'they set down a pile for the people' [055.168]
atakuk	hang up	<i>ki atakuk a iat e ngo -na</i> 3PL hang.up DET stone at neck -3SG 'they hung a stone around his neck' [127.024]
atung	put, set up	<i>tara -la atung ka- -na lu i malepen singi -na</i> 1PL.INC -PERF set.up POSS- -3SG house GEN sick GEN -3SG 'we will set his health centre at that (place)' [088.268]
tamul ⁹	drop	<i>ki -la tamul aongos a pan i ei ane vunep</i> 3PL -PERF drop completely DET leaf GEN tree toward ground 'all the leaves fell off to the ground' [012.022]
tavai	put down	<i>na me tavai tapai ani ka- -g keve kurip</i> 1SG MTW put.down for.now OBJ POSS- -1SG PL.SPC vine 'I will just put down my (sweet potato) runners' [033.013]
Related postural verbs encoding 'being in a position'		
tung, tu	stand	<i>ka -la tung asung i -na</i> 3SG -PERF stand near OBJ -3SG 'he stood near him' [002.037]
matung	lie	<i>ka -la matung e iang</i> 3SG -PERF lie at there 'he lay down there' [033.017]
sinong	sit	<i>ka -po sinong nei ting</i> 3SG -CONT sit in nest 'it (the bird) is sitting in the nest' [002.017]
takuk	hang down	<i>ka me takuk e kke na e kke kapa, val bush skirt</i> 3SG MTW hang.down at here and at here also, like bush skirt 'it hangs down here and here, like a bush skirt' [055.190]
puang	spread out to dry	<i>vakup ka puang le</i> cloth 3SG spread.out first 'the cloth (has to) dry first' [146.021]

Continued on next page

⁹ *Mul* refers to when leaves let go of the twig and fall. *Pan i ei* is the subject in this example (i.e. there is a marked clause order change).

Table 4.2 – continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
tikok	hang down from	<i>ri nguan vua ki -po tikok aliu aliu e suke</i> PL.GNL bundle.of betelnut 3PL -CONT hang.from along along at there <i>aongos si keve vua</i> completely GEN PL.SPC betelnut ‘bundles of betelnut are hanging all along on those betel nut trees over there’ [128.109]

The group of postural and positional verbs has a somewhat different function than the other motion verbs in this chapter in that they are static verbs, but I have included them because they have to do with motion and location. Postural verbs describe how someone or something is positioned in space, specifying what the location verbs *ago* and *togon* could also describe. Positional verbs describe motion on a small scale - that of putting a person or an object into a certain position. They are verbs of causative motion.

The difference between postural and positional verbs is that postural verbs indicate a way of being,¹⁰ whereas positional verbs include the act of putting something in a certain position. Positional verbs therefore have a degree of motion and direction, whereas postural verbs are more focussed on location. Positional and postural verbs are often related morphologically, such as for example the postural verb *sinong* ‘to sit’ and *asinong* ‘to place or put something somewhere’.

In the same way as with the verb *ago*, postural verbs, which describe a location rather than motion, are still able to combine with the directional morphemes *an* and *me* as well as with directional adverbs. Consider the following example where both postural verbs are combined not only with a directional morpheme but also with a directional adverb:

- (111) *man ka an sinong asiang lik a makarap, io, ka -po buk me tung lik*
 if 3SG MAW sit down little GEN sun, affirmation, 3SG -CONT want MTW stand small
pulakai le
 here.and.there first
 ‘when the sun goes down and sits a little lower, okay, then he wants to come stand around a bit first’ [055.108-109: **an sinong asiang + me tung pulakai**]

¹⁰ In many languages postural verbs often have a similar meaning to existential verbs, such as the Tungag verb *ago*, which means to be, to exist or to stay at. In some languages it is common to use postural verbs such as sit / stand / lie to mean ‘to be at’. In Dutch, for example, *Ik zit op school* means ‘I am at school’ (cf. Levinson 2003). This does not, however, seem to be the case in Tungag.

4.1.3 Example: *ago* and different ways of referring to location in combination with direction

As mentioned above, the verb *ago*, glossed as ‘to be’ or ‘to stay’, typically combines with a prepositional phrase headed by *e* ‘at’ or *nei* ‘in’. Another possibility for specifying the location of where one is or stays, is to combine *ago* with the genitive particle *si*, which is often combined directly with a pronoun (i.e., staying with / at person). *Si* must be used if the location is a person. The following example shows these two ways of combining a reference to a location with the verb *ago*.

- (112) *ki -ta -po ago e Angat, na na -ta -po ago singi -ria*
3PL -PST -CONT be at Angat, and 1SG -PST -CONT stay GEN -3PL
 ‘They lived at Angat and I stayed with them’ [143.007: **ago+e ago+si**]

Another way Tungag speakers refer to locations is to combine *ago* or other locational verbs with directionals. It is possible to combine *ago* with the directional morphemes *an* ‘motion away from speaker’ and *me* ‘motion toward speaker’, directional prepositions and adverbs. In examples (113) to (118), *ago* + location is combined with different directionals:

- (113) *na ka an ago si mang sikei a vuk oring*
and 3SG MAW stay GEN certain one DET piece place
 ‘and he (went and) stayed at a certain place’ [055.079: **an+ago**]

- (114) *na -ta me -la -po ago e Angat*
1SG -PST MTW -PERF -CONT stay at Angat
 ‘I (had come and) was living at Angat’ [143.004: **me+ago**]

- (115) *na tara -po ago aliu velai ani -a*
and 1PL.INC -CONT stay go.along with OBJ -3SG
 ‘and we are currently going on with it’ [111.007: **ago+aliu**]

- (116) *ki -po ago alak e oring ang*
3PL -CONT stay up at place DER.POST
 ‘they are up at that place’ [132.037: **ago+alak**]

- (117) *ri vap ki -po ago ane ngere lo*
PL.GNL people 3PL -CONT stay toward beside shore
 ‘the people (who) stay toward the beach’ [065.018: **ago+ane**]

- (118) *ka pasal tung si ka me ago pok e kke*
3SG go until GEN 3SG MTW stay back at here
 ‘he went until he (came and) stayed back here’ [128.053: **me+ago+pok**]

In these examples, the combination of *ago* with a directional often refers to motion toward ‘being at’ a location. Examples (113) and (114) combine a directional morpheme with *ago*. Rather than describing the motion which must take place to get to another

place, the directional motion morpheme is sufficient to convey that the motion has taken place in order to be somewhere. This focusses on the place where one stays or is rather than on the motion, while still encoding the information of the motion which occurred.

Examples (115) to (118) combine *ago* with directional adverbs and prepositions. These directionals place the act of being somewhere or staying somewhere in relation to another location. For example, example (116) is said in the context of telling where the speaker has been in the past. One of the places she has been to is Tioputuk, a village southeast of where she is situated when talking (Baungung) and also southeast of the last place she mentioned in her narrative (Meteran). When she says: “they are up at that place”, the directional adverb *alak* refers to the eastward direction of previously mentioned places. The speaker is not invoking the topological sense of *alak*, but is rather making use of the cardinal directions as a frame of reference.¹¹

Example (116) is taken from an interview in which the speaker is talking about places she went to as a child. She refers to a number of locations in different ways, often using directionals to locate the villages in relation to where she is while talking in Baungung. Figure 4.1 shows the places mentioned and the path or location encoded in specifying these locations. These references to locations are marked in bold in examples (119) to (124).

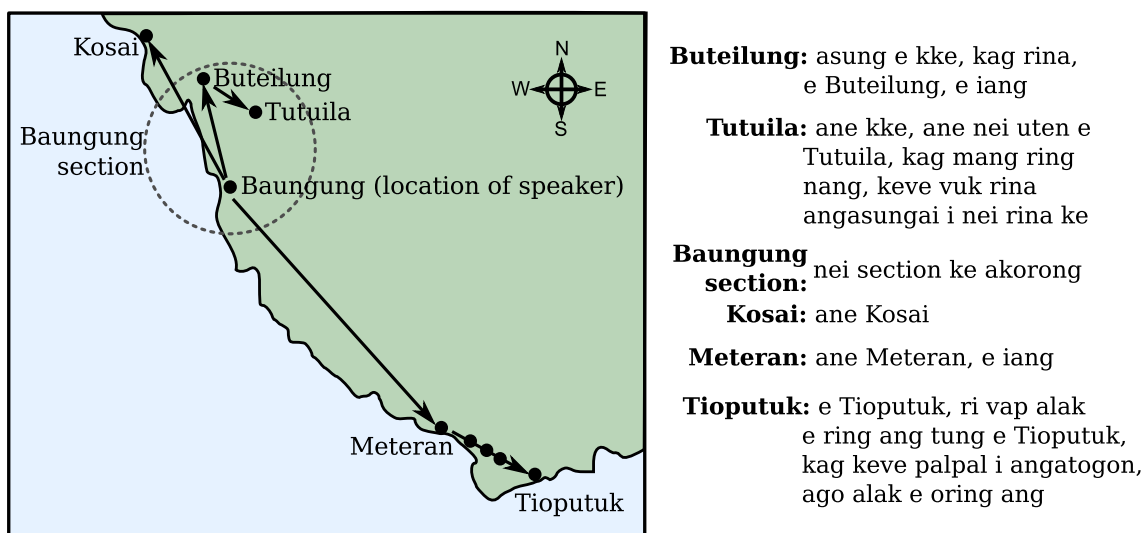


Figure 4.1 – Linguistic means used to refer to locations in examples (119)-(124).

¹¹ See also section 4.3.5 for an overview of all the different uses of *alak* and the different frames of reference they can use.

- (119) **asung e kke e Baungung section akorong, ka- -g rina i uli serei e Buteilung,**
 near at here at Baungung section straight, POSS-1SG village GEN HAB arrive at Buteilung,
na -po duk i matan vap e iang.
 1SG -CONT many GEN group people at there
 ‘nearby, right here in Baungung section, the village I always go visit is Buteilung, I have many people there’ [132.019-020]
- (120) **na ane kke, ane nei uten e Tutuila, ka- -g mang ring nang i -po uli pasal,**
 and toward here, toward in forest, at Tutuila, POSS-1SG another place that.one GEN -CONT HAB go,
ka -po keve vuk rina angasungai i nei rina ke, na -po nas aroron luai ani -ria.
 3SG -CONT PL.SPC part village near.by GEN in village this, 1SG -CONT know well very OBJ -3PL
 ‘and in this direction, into the forest at Tutuila, that is also a place to which I often go, there are a number of villages close to this village, I know them very well’ [132.021-023]
- (121) **vap duk na -po atogon i -ria nei section ke akorong.**
 people many 1SG -CONT have OBJ -3PL in section this straight
 ‘I know many people in this section’ [132.024]
- (122) **ane Kosai na -po togon, sikei parik ka pa aunai duk, using parik na -ta aunai**
 toward Kosai 1SG -CONT have, but NEG 3SG NEG very many, because NEG 1SG -PST very
pasiang asukang
 go.down like.that
 ‘toward Kosai I have (a few people I know), but not very many, because I did not often go down like that’ [132.025-027]
- (123) **ane Meteran na -po uli pasal asukang si keve taun asip, a vap duk na**
 toward Meteran 1SG -CONT HAB go like.that GEN PL.SPC time completely, and people many 1SG
-po nas i -ria e iang
 -CONT know OBJ -3PL at there
 ‘toward Meteran, I regularly go that way all the time, and I know many people there’ [132.030-031]

[Interviewer: up until where?]

- (124) **e Tioputuk, ka- -g ang- nanasai ve ri vap alak e ring ang tung e**
 at Tioputuk, POSS-1SG RECP- knowledge.of with PL.GNL people up at place DEF.POST up.to at
Tioputuk, using ka- -g keve palpal i ang- togon, ki -po ago alak e oring
 Tioputuk, because POSS-1SG PL.SPC part GEN RECP- have, 3PL -CONT be up at place
ang
 DEF.POST
 ‘at Tioputuk, I (am) acquainted with the people up at the places up to Tioputuk, because the various parts / sides of my kinfolk live up to at that place’ [132.034-037]

The speaker uses a number of different verbs to refer to the people she knows at each of these locations: (1) *Duk* ‘many’ in example (119) is an adverb used in the verb slot here, meaning ‘I have/know many people there’, (2) *nas* ‘know’ (and *angnanasai* ‘knowledge’ as a noun) in examples (120), (123) and (124), (3) *atogon* and *togon* ‘have’ in examples (121) and (122), (4) *ago* ‘stay’ in example (124) referring to a number of villages between Meteran and Tioputuk.

The path from Meteran to Tioputuk is from west to east, meaning that the villages are located along an (imaginary) path **up** from Meteran to Tioputuk. The same phenomenon is seen in the references to the villages Tutuila, Kosai and Meteran with the preposition *ane* ‘toward’. The speaker is not just pointing toward these villages, but to villages or houses located along the path to these villages. This is clear from the plural form *keve* used to refer to these locations (*keve vuk rina* in example (120) and *keve palpal* in example (124)). By using a directional adjunct with a locational verb, the speaker can either encode the path of motion to being at this location, or relate the location to her position while speaking.

4.1.4 Verbs of motion

The verb *pasal* can be glossed as to walk or to go. It can be applied to movement by foot, boat, car or plane and is the most frequently used motion verb in Tungag, occurring 669 times in the corpus. In certain contexts it is clear that *pasal* refers to the act of walking as opposed to another mode of motion.¹² In example (125) the default interpretation of *pasal* is that the figure is walking on the road, and the context of the narrative makes this clear as well.

- (125) *ninia ka pasal nei selen tung e kke*
3SG 3SG go in road up.to at here
 ‘he walked on the road up to here’ [053.024: **pasal: to walk**]

In example (126), *pasal* cannot refer to the act of walking, but in this case to driving a boat. This example is also interesting because the speaker corrects himself. The first verb he uses is *kokos*, a verb which describes either the act of getting on or boarding a boat, or the state of being on a vehicle.¹³ Here it refers to the beginning of a journey. The speaker corrects himself and rather uses the more general motion verb *pasal*. The fact that both *kokos* and *pasal* can be used to describe the trip to Kavieng shows that *pasal* can also be glossed as a generic motion verb meaning ‘to go’. It is not possible to walk to Kavieng on a boat.

- (126) *na kitol kokos o pasal ane Kavieng kul i Magilai*
and 3TR board or go toward Kavieng on GEN name.boat
 ‘and they(3) boarded or went to Kavieng on Magilai’ [084.003: **pasal: to go**]

¹² Walking is the unmarked form of human motion.

¹³ *Kokos* is included in the list of motion verbs below, even though it actually describes an action (boarding) or state. It is often used at the beginning of a motion event. Example (126) would still be grammatical without the correction by the speaker, i.e., *kokos* can be combined with a directional and goal.

Example (127) also illustrates this. The interviewer asks what kind of transportation is meant with the verb *pa* (a shortened form of *pasal*), and the speaker specifies with a manner of motion verb.

- (127) *na -la -po pa alak pok [on what transportation?] namem -ta -po kalip*
 1SG -PERF -CONT go up back [on what transportation?] 1PL.EX -PST -CONT paddle
 'I went back up [on what transportation?] we paddled' [145.035-036]

The shortened form of the verb *pasal* (*pa*) often compounds with certain directional adverbs to form new verbs. Table 4.3 provides an overview of all of these verbs with examples.

Table 4.3 – Pasal verbs.

Pasal verbs	Gloss	Example
pasal (pa)	walk, go	<i>ninia ka pasal nei selen tung e kke</i> 3SG 3SG go in road up.to at here 'he walked on the road up to here' [053.024]
pakasang	come this way (pasal akasang)	<i>ka -ta pakasang</i> 3SG -PST come.this.way 'he came this way' [098.117]
paliu	go along (pasal aliu)	<i>namemlong -la paliu ane kke</i> 1DL.EX -PERF go.along toward here 'we(2) came along to here' [140.044]
paputuk	go across (pasal aputuk)	<i>na -la songo aputuk i -a ta me paputuk</i> 1SG -PERF call across OBJ -3SG OBL MTW go.across 'I called across (for him) to come across' [128.108]
palak	go up, enter (pasal alak)	<i>na -ta an -la palak ane nei akalit</i> 1SG -PST MAW -PERF enter toward in school 'I entered the school' [139.008]
papelek	go leaving (pasal pelek)	<i>ka -ta papelek a tama -na</i> 3SG -PST leave DET father -3SG 'he left his father' [092.005]
papok	go back (pasal pok)	<i>ki papok ane si ka- -ri rina</i> 3PL go.back to GEN POSS -3PL home 'they go back to their home' [006.028]
pasiang	go down (pasal asiang)	<i>ku -po pasiang ane Umbukul</i> 2SG -CONT go.down to Umbukul 'you go down to Umbukul' [128.104]
pasuai	go away (pasal suai)	<i>pasuai ani tama -na</i> go.away OBJ father -3SG 'go away from his father' [092.011]

There is no difference between the use of the contracted form and the long form, for example, *paliu* and *pasal aliu* are interchangeable:

- (128) *pasal aliu (paliu) ane si ri nana*
 go along (go.along) toward GEN PL.SPC mother
 ‘go along to mother’

When comparing *pasal aliu* and *pasal liu* with the meaning of the sentence using *paliu*, it becomes clear that *paliu* is derived from the adverb *aliu* and not from the verb *liu*. Example (129) is ungrammatical:

- (129) **pasal liu ane si ri nana*
 go pass toward GEN PL.SPC mother

4.1.5 Path verbs

The path verbs in table 4.4 are divided into three groups which reflect the three temporal phases of a motion event: Path verbs focussing on the beginning of a motion event; on the trajectory and on the end of the motion event. The *pasal* verbs in table 4.3 belong to the second group, focussing on the trajectory of motion.

Table 4.4 – Path verbs.

Path verbs	Gloss	Example
Verbs of beginning motion		
tadut	get up; stand up	<i>na -la tadut pelek a Meteran</i> 1SG -PERF get.up away.from DET Meteran ‘I started out leaving Meteran’ [028.012]
tapasuk	start out; get up	<i>ka -po tapasuk suai ani Patitauai</i> 3SG -CONT start.out away.from OBJ Patitauai ‘he started out leaving Patitauai’ [088.146]
soung	leave; exit	<i>ka an -la panga na amanga -na, na aina ang ka -la</i> 3SG MAW -PERF open DET mouth -3SG, and woman DEF.POST 3SG -PERF soung exit ‘it opened its mouth and the woman exited’ [080.045-046]
Other verbs of beginning, which can be used to describe motion		
tutapong, tutapongai, tapong (V2)	begin ¹⁴	<i>namemtol -la tutapongai pasal alak</i> 1TR.EX -PERF begin walk up ‘we(3) began walking up’ [054.051]

Continued on next page

¹⁴ A number of verbs can only occur in the second position of a compound verb. These are marked as V2 in the following tables.

Table 4.4 - continued from previous page

Path verbs	Gloss	Example
kokos	board	<i>ka -po taun ro ani -mem si kokos ane Ranmelek</i> 3SG -CONT day good OBJ -3PL for.purpose board toward Ranmelek 'it is a good day for us to board (the boat to go) to Ranmelek' [134.032]
Path verbs focussing on the trajectory of motion		
liu	pass	<i>na -ka liu a Makago na Iaviling</i> 1SG -INT pass DET Makago and Iaviling 'I will pass Makago and Iaviling' [040.015]
lak (V2) ¹⁵	go up	<i>namem -po kal lak luai ane Neikonomon</i> 1PLEX -CONT paddle go.up completely toward Neikonomon 'we paddled all the way up to Neikonomon' [146.036]
alele	bypass	<i>tarung -la alele tapai ani taun ke</i> 1DLEX -PERF pass.by for.now OBJ day this 'let us(2) bypass / evade this day' [024.007]
aulitai	go around, circum-navigate	<i>ki -ta aulitai ani -a</i> 3PL -PST go.around OBJ -3SG 'they went around it' [043.005]
Verbs of ending motion		
siang	go down; get off	<i>namem -po siang e iang</i> 3PL -CONT alight at there 'we alighted over there' [125.004]
serei; seserei	arrive	<i>ka an -la serei e matang</i> 3SG MAW -PERF arrive at garden 'he arrived at the garden' [045.004]
ung	arrive by vessel at shore, land	<i>namemtol me -la ung e kke</i> 1TR.EX MTW -PERF land at here 'we(3) landed here' [053.055]
siken	reach, for good	<i>tung namem me siken na aus ang nei lu</i> until 1PLEX MTW reach DET rest DEFPOST in house 'until we come reach the rest for good at home' [043.153]

Beginning motion

The first group of verbs in table 4.4 describe the beginning of a motion event. The first two verbs focus on the sub-event of getting up to start a journey. *Tadut* describes the action of getting up, but can also be combined with a directional as in the example. Therefore it is included as a motion verb.

¹⁵ *Lak* meaning 'to climb' is listed as a manner verb. *Lak* as a path verb can only be used in the second position of a compound verb.

The verbs *tapasuk* and *tutapong* can both be glossed as begin or start. However, *tapasuk* is used when referring to a journey or a person moving (i.e., start out on a journey) and *tutapong* refers to the beginning of an action (i.e., start doing). It is not possible to use *tutapong* as a verb referring to a beginning motion event. *Tutapong* is a shortened form of the two words *tung* ‘stand’ and *tapong* ‘begin’, shortened to *tu tapong*. *Tapong* can also be combined with other verbs such as *serei tapong* ‘start arriving’, *luk tapong* ‘start taking’, *asalak asiang tapong* ‘start carrying down’, *tangat alak tapong* ‘beginning to dawn = daybreak’.

- (130) *namemtol -la -po asalak asiang tapong na usausa -an*
 1TR.EX -PERF -CONT carry.on.shoulder down start DET prepare -DER
 ‘we(3) started carrying the supplies down’ [043.037]

Kokos is another verb which is typically used at the beginning of a motion event. *Kokos* means to board (a vehicle). It can be used to describe the act of boarding and focus on the beginning of a journey (example 131) or refer to the state of being on a vehicle for the whole journey (example 132).

- (131) *namem -la kokos kul i kar, namem -la sang aliu, namem an -la serei*
 1PL.EX -PERF board on GEN car, 1PL.EX -PERF run along, 1PL.EX MAW -PERF arrive
 ‘we boarded the car, we drove along, we arrived’ [043.087-089]

- (132) *asi kokos tung e Ukarumpa*
 for.purpose board up.to at Ukarumpa
 ‘in order to be aboard (for the trip) up to Ukarumpa’ [043.141]

In example (132) the verb *kokos* is combined with an adjunct describing motion to a goal. In the example in table 4.4, *kokos* is combined with a prepositional phrase describing the direction of motion toward a goal.

Trajectory

These verbs encode the path or direction of motion directly in the main verb of the clause rather than in the adjunct as is often the case in Tungag. Some of these verbs (*lak*, *liu*, *ulit* as well as the ending motion verb *siang*, see table 4.4 for a gloss and example) have an adverbial counterpart (*alak*, *aliu*, *aulit*, *asiang*).¹⁶ While the path of motion is often encoded in a satellite to the verb such as an adverb, preposition or directional morpheme, these path verbs occur frequently in the corpus and are a normal and accepted choice for describing motion events.

Some of these verbs, such as *liu* ‘to pass’ focus only on the path of motion. Others, such as *lak* ‘to go up’, also have a manner aspect, for instance *lak* can be glossed as ‘to climb’ as well as ‘to go up’ or ‘enter’:

¹⁶ Compare figure 5.21 in section 5.5.2 where I show all the verbs that are used in this way.

- (133) *ka -la lak a keve ngakan suke*
 3SG -PERF climb DET PL.SPC branch there.far
 'he climbed that branch there' [054.148: climb]

- (134) *ka -ta lak nei keve lu aongos*
 3SG -PST go.up in PL.SPC house all
 'he entered all the houses' [031.074: go up, enter]

Verbs of ending motion

The third group of verbs in table 4.4 show examples of motion verbs which focus on the path to a goal of a motion event. For the verbs *serei* and *ung*, the goal is reached. For *siang*, however, the focus is not on the goal but rather on the act of alighting or getting off, here the reaching of the endpoint is only implied. Often the motion toward a goal is expressed with a prepositional phrase or an adverb.

The path of motion in relation to other motion

A final group of path verbs is shown in table 4.5. These verbs focus on motion occurring in relation to other motion or people moving, for example 'to follow' or 'to meet' someone. They include verbs in which the motion of both people occurs in the same direction as well as verbs in which two people move in opposite directions, for example toward each other. These verbs have an element of path as well as an element of manner, since they describe both a trajectory as well as **how** the motion occurs. Compare also caused motion verbs in table 4.6.

Table 4.5 – Motion in relation to other motion.

Verb	Gloss	Example
ausingai, ausiusing-ai	lead	<i>si ausiusingai ani -mem ta abis ke</i> for.purpose lead OBJ -1PLEX OBL work this 'to lead us in this work' [102.007]
auai	accompany	<i>ka- -g aina ka -la auai ve nau</i> POSS- -1SG wife 3SG -PERF accompany with 1SG 'my wife accompanies me' [043.025]
ruduai	meet	<i>asi me ruduai ani -mi ang- tama</i> for.purpose MTW meet OBJ -2PL RECP- father 'to come meet you, family' [022.002]
duai	meet, into, against	<i>ka -po duai a maiten</i> 3SG -CONT head.into DET problem 'he headed into problems' [122.015]
rokon, ang-arokonai	meet	<i>ki me ang- a-rokon -ai ve Passinganlogo</i> 3PL MTW RECP- CS- meet -TRSV with Passinganlogo 'they came and met with Passinganlogo' [052.121]

Continued on next page

Table 4.5 – continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
suak (V2)	coming towards	<i>igenen ang ka -la arai suak ani -a</i> man DEF.POST 3SG -PERF see come.toward OBJ 3SG 'the man saw him as he came towards him' [085.058]
angkokkot	in tandem with each other	<i>kilong -ta ang- kokkot ta ka- -rilong rukun vul</i> 3DL -PST RECP follow OBL POSS- 3DL few canoe 'they went in tandem with their(2) canoes' [052.013]
using, usi- using	follow	<i>keve vuk selen ke ike ku using i -a</i> PL.SPC piece path this this.one 2SG follow OBJ -3SG 'this path, you follow it' [106.035]
kokkot	follow, go single file	<i>ki -la kokkot i- -mem</i> 3PL -PERF follow OBJ- -1PLEX 'they followed us in single file' [102.089]

4.1.6 Caused motion verbs

The following group of verbs also indicate elements of path and manner, but the main element encoded is the fact that a figure moves because of an outside force, i.e., is caused to move. These words are also closely related to the verbs in section 4.1.2, which encode 'cause to be located', the difference is in how far they focus on the end result (being located) or on the motion (cause to move).

Table 4.6 – Caused motion verbs.

Verb	Gloss	Example
Verbs of pushing and pulling		
auak	cause to fall	<i>tara -po auak i -ria</i> 1PL.INC -CONT cause.to.fall OBJ -3PL 'we are making them fall' [127.023]
but	wrench out, uproot	<i>ki -po tanga but a keve ei</i> 3PL -CONT chop uproot DET PL.SPC tree 'they chopped and uprooted the trees' [120.021]
dal	drag along	<i>ki -la -po dal vul</i> 3PL -PERF -CONT drag canoe 'they dragged the canoe' [029.012]
pokai, ulpokai	turn over	<i>ku pokai ani -m</i> 2SG turn.over OBJ -2SG 'you turn yourself over' [047.020]

Continued on next page

Table 4.6 - continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
sulai	push	<i>ka -la sulai aliu ani kunga -na</i> 3SG -PERF push go.along OBJ arm -3SG 'he stretched out his arm' [002.053]
sung	lift up, dig out	<i>na -la -po sung i -ria</i> 1SG -PERF -CONT lift.up OBJ -3PL 'I lifted them up' [033.027]
Verbs of giving and taking		
aling	pick off (hot stones from fire)	<i>ka an -la aling i -a</i> 3SG MAW -PERF pick.off OBJ -3SG 'she picked it off' [045.109]
asuai	throw away	<i>ki -po asuai akipai ani ral</i> 3PL -CONT throw.away away.from OBJ coral 'they threw it away to the reef' [005.021]
alis / lis	give	<i>na -ka alis aliu ane iang</i> 1SG -INT give along toward there 'I intend to give it along to over there' [066.003]
luk	take	<i>ki -ta -po nas ani luk ani -mem ane Ranmelek</i> 3PL -PST -CONT know for.purpose take OBJ -1PL.EX toward Ranmelek 'they knew to take us to Ranmelek' [137.023]
lukluk	gather	<i>ki lukluk aliu ri giem</i> 3PL gather along PL.GNL shell 'they (walked) along gathering shells' [060.088]
pakang (V2)	take away	<i>nganlak ki luk pakang i -ra ta roe aongos ke</i> later 3PL take take.away OBJ -1PL.INC OBL ground all this 'later they will take away all this ground from us' [098.285]
sel	get	<i>na -la -po sel sumasuma si mang keve bil</i> 1SG -PERF -CONT get quickly GEN a.certain PL.GNL thing 'I was quickly getting (understanding) certain things' [069.014]
suai (V2)	remove	<i>ka luk suai ani keve bil</i> 3SG take remove OBJ PL.SPC thing 'he (will) remove the things' [012.010]
Verbs of carrying		
asalak	carry on shoulder	<i>ki asalak ka- -na usausan</i> 3PL carry.on.shoulder POSS- 3SG baggage 'they carried his baggage on their shoulders' [053.023]
kaka	carry on back	<i>ku kaka le ka- -rilong kavulik</i> 2SG carry first POSS- 3DL girl 'you carry their(2) daughter on (your) back' [014.020]

Continued on next page

Table 4.6 – continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
paus	carry in arms	<i>tara paus a keve abis ke</i> 1PL.INC carry DET PL.GNL work this 'we will carry this work' [141.032]
sunguk	carry, bear	<i>ki -la sunguk i -au</i> 3PL -PERF carry OBJ -1SG 'they carried me' [148.008]
Verbs of chasing		
anglullu	chase each other	<i>kilong -la anglullu e selen</i> 3DL -PERF chase.each.other at road 'they chased each other on the road' [002.069]
llu	chase	<i>ki llu i -ria</i> 3PL chase OBJ -3PL 'they chased them' [088.322]
solo	chase	<i>ki -la solo alak a aina lik ang si ka -na vakil</i> 3PL -PERF chase up DET woman small DEF.POST GEN POSS -3SG cave 'they chased the little woman into her cave' [077.023]
kirikai	drive out, chase away	<i>mi ago ta kirikai ani igenen ke</i> 2PL don't OBL drive.out OBJ person this 'don't drive out / away this person' [127.015]

4.1.7 Manner of motion verbs

Manner of motion verbs encode the way motion occurs. They can be the main verb in a motion event clause. These verbs can combine with directional morphemes and adverbs in the same way as *pasal* or other path verbs. Table 4.7 shows the manner verbs which occur in the corpus.

Table 4.7 – Manner of motion verbs.

Verb	Gloss	Example
lak	climb	<i>ka -la lak a sikei a tepega</i> 3SG -PERF climb DET one DET pawpaw 'he climbed a pawpaw tree' [054.035]
angsang	race each other	<i>ri vap ki -po angsang tata -na</i> PL.GNL person 3PL -CONT race.each.other OBL -3SG 'the people race each other with it' [136.209]

Continued on next page

Table 4.7 - continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
aupele	move	<i>na aupele na bil ke</i> 1SG move DET thing this 'I move like this thing' [137.070]
buas	surface	<i>ka an -po buas lak e mang palpal</i> 3SG MAW -CONT surface go.up at another area 'he surfaced at a different place' [002.108]
ulit	wander	<i>namemlong me -la ulit alak alak alak tung e suke</i> 1DL.EX MTW -PERF wander up up up up.to at there 'we(2) wandered all the way up to over there' [054.135]
buat	appear out of	<i>na an -la buat e iang</i> 1SG MAW -PERF appear.out.of at there 'I will surface over there' [068.035]
sang	run	<i>namem -la sang aliu pok</i> 1PL.EX -PERF run along back 'we ran along back' [043.063]
kalip	paddle	<i>namem -la kalip aliu ane Ranmelek</i> PL.INC -PERF paddle along toward Ranmelek 'we paddled along to Ranmelek' [147.071]
kik	jump	<i>ka me -la kik nei laman</i> 3SG MTW -PERF jump in water 'he jumped into the water' [002.130]
kiklak	jump up	<i>kiklak alak si ka- -ri selen</i> jump up GEN POSS- 3PL road 'jump up onto their road' [119.026]
mika	dance	<i>ka -po mika aulit a laman ang</i> 3SG -CONT dance around DET water DEFPOST 'he danced around the pond' [002.090]
ngus	wade	<i>namemtol an -po ngus le nei laman</i> 1TR.EX MAW -CONT wade first in water 'we(3) waded for a while in the water' [054.092]
pagin	pole (a vessel)	<i>pagin asiang lik</i> pole down small 'pole down a little' [043.046]
paskak	step	<i>ka -po paskak taun ani ka- -milong tung</i> 3SG -CONT step toward OBJ POSS- 2DL stand 'it was a step toward your(2) (being able to) stand' [089.037]
tap	swim (fish)	<i>ien ang ka -po nas ani tap ulit nei -na</i> fish DEFPOST 3SG -CONT know OBJ swim around in -3SG 'the fish know to swim around in it' [005.008]

Continued on next page

Table 4.7 – continued from previous page

Verb	Gloss	Example
tavap	rebound	<i>ka an tavap le ngere bang</i> 3SG MAW rebound from beside rock 'it rebounds from beside the rock' [012.008]
ssip	flee	<i>ka -la ssip pok ane uten</i> 3SG -PERF flee back toward jungle 'he fled back to the jungle' [002.124]
voko	float	<i>ri bil pulakai ki an -la voko e nei laman</i> PL.GNL thing willy.nilly 3PL MAW -PERF float at in water 'various things are floating in the water' [135.228]
palis ¹⁷	crawl	<i>na ri manmanik palis kul i vunep</i> and PL.GNL animal crawl on GEN ground 'and the animals crawling on the ground'
kas	swim	<i>ki kas alak ane ring kolo</i> 3PL swim upward.direction toward place dry 'they swam up to dry land / shore'
saul	roll	<i>saul asiang ane ngere lo</i> roll down toward beside shore 'roll down to the beach'
muip	swim underwater, dive	<i>ka an -la muip nei laman</i> 3SG MAW -PERF swim.underwater in water 'he went and swam underwater' [002.074]
riuk	stoop	<i>namem -ta riuk lak sumasuma</i> 1PL.EX -PST stoop go.up quickly 'we crouched upward quickly' [134.145]
ngoi	fly	<i>namem -la ngoi aputuk</i> 1PL.EX -PERF fly across 'we flew across' [043.127]
uak	fall	<i>ki -la uak ane vunep</i> 3PL -PERF fall toward ground 'they fell to the ground' [012.020]

4.1.8 Example: *kalip* - a manner verb

In this section I will examine the verb *kalip* 'to paddle' as an example of a manner verb. Table 4.8 shows the types of directional adjuncts and prepositional phrases which are used with *kalip* in the corpus. They are sorted according to the type of frame

¹⁷ The following three manner verbs were elicited but do not occur in the corpus.

of reference they use. Because travel by sea is one of the main modes of travel on Lovangai island, *kalip* is an important motion verb.

Table 4.8 – Directional adjuncts combined with *kalip* ‘paddle’, showing the number of occurrences of each adjunct in the corpus. *Kalip* occurs 61 times. Multiple adjuncts are possible.

frame of reference: coordinates used:	absolute sunrise-sunset axis	intrinsic position of speaker
	<i>asiang</i> ‘down’ 8 <i>alak</i> ‘up’ 6 <i>lak</i> V2 ‘go.up’ 2	<i>me</i> ‘MTW’ 1 <i>an</i> ‘MAW’ 2 <i>pok</i> ‘back’ 4
frame of reference: coordinates used:	relative topology	relative source/goal
	<i>aliu</i> ‘along’ 2 <i>duai</i> ‘against’ 1 <i>vulis</i> ‘around’ 1	<i>ane</i> ‘toward’ 9 <i>tung</i> ‘until’ 1 <i>le</i> ‘from’ 1

The sunrise-sunset (east-west) axis is used as an absolute frame of reference in Tungag: *Asiang* (‘down, west’, example (135)), *alak* (‘up, east’, example (136)).¹⁸ Many other Austronesian languages use absolute frames of reference for describing travel by sea. Often these are the cardinal directions or the direction of the prevailing winds.¹⁹

- (135) *namem -la kalip asiang tung e Lavongai*
1PL.EX -PERF paddle down up.to at Lavongai
 ‘we paddled down up to Lavongai’ [147.072: down up to Lavongai, i.e., away from sunrise]

- (136) *namemtol kalip alak*
1TR.EX paddle up
 ‘we(3) paddled up (east)’ [053.054: motion toward the sunrise]

Alak and *asiang* can also be used with a relative frame of reference based on topology. There are a number of examples in the corpus describing paddling up or down a river. In these cases *alak* ‘upward direction’ refers to motion away from the ocean inland upriver, e.g. example (137), whereas *asiang* ‘downward direction’ always refers to motion from the land to the ocean downriver, e.g. example (138). A third adverb describing the direction of a paddling motion along a river is *duai* ‘in passing’. In this

¹⁸ Compare the discussion of *alak* and different frames of reference used in section 4.3.5

¹⁹ Compare for example Bugenhagen (2010), Bennardo (2002a) or Blust (1997). François (2015) looks in detail at the up-down axis of the 17 Oceanic languages of the Torres and Banks Islands in Vanuatu. See François (2004):10-12 for a discussion of the up-down axis in Oceanic languages being based on the path of the sun (East-West) or the trade winds (South-East – North-West).

case the sentence describes two people paddling in opposite directions and passing each other, e.g. example (139).

- (137) *ka- -na tauan nang ka -po kalip alak*
 POSS- 3SG husband right.then 3SG -CONT paddle up
 ‘Her husband was paddling up (the river) right then’ [031.042: upward along a river from the ocean to the house inland]

- (138) *ki -po kalip asiang si mangsikei a sung e Metetui, ki an -po serei e nei laman*
 3SG -CONT paddle down GEN a.certain DET river at Metetui, 3SG MAW -CONT arrive at in water
 ‘they paddled down along a certain river at Metetui, they arrived at the ocean’ [029.015-016: downward along a river, from Metetui (inland) to the ocean]

- (139) *parik ka -ta pa kal duai lik ta sikei a mon*
 NEG 3SG -PST NEG paddle meet small OBL one DET canoe
 ‘he hadn’t met another canoe while paddling’ [031.054: in passing (both on the river but going in opposite directions)]

Motion along the coastline can make use of either an absolute frame of reference for the adverbs *asiang* and *alak*, or a topological frame of reference for the adverbs *aliu* ‘along, following the coastline’ and *vulis* ‘around a point of land’. *Aliu* in example (140) describes motion along the coastline from one village to another. Noilimanang in example (141) is the name of a point of land.

- (140) *namem -la kalip aliu ane Ranmelek*
 1PL.EX -PERF paddle pass toward Ranmelek
 ‘we paddled along to Ranmelek’ [007.013: toward Ranmelek along the coast]

- (141) *ki kal vulis a Noilimanang*
 3PL paddle go.around DET Noilimanang
 ‘they paddled around Noilimanang’ [065.019: around a point of land on the coastline]

An intrinsic frame of reference is used when the speaker describes the direction of motion based on his or her own position. This can be done with the adverb *pok* (‘back’, example (142)) or with the directional morphemes *an* (‘motion away from the speaker’, example (143)) and *me* (‘motion toward the speaker’, example (144)).

- (142) *namem kalip pok*
 1PL.EX paddle back
 ‘we paddled back’ [053.073: *pok* = back (home, end of story)]

- (143) *namem an kalip alak ane Metekavil*
 1PL.EX MAW paddle up toward Metekavil
 ‘we (go and) paddle up to Metekavil’ [140.020: *an* - paddle away from the position of the speaker]

- (144) *ka me -la kalip alak*
 3SG MTW -PERF paddle up
 ‘he paddles up (this way)’ [136.068: *me* - paddle toward the position of the speaker]

Talmy (2000) writes that for satellite-framed languages, manner verbs are able to combine with goals of motion. It is clear from the above examples that this is possible in Tungag. This will be discussed further in chapter 6.

4.1.9 Example: verbs of beginning and ending motion and directional adverbs

In this section I examine how verbs of beginning and ending motion and directional adverbs are used in the context of one narrative from the corpus. Figure 4.2 shows the path of motion portrayed as well as various landmarks mentioned in the text. The narrative is a short account of a trip to pick up a canoe where it was carved in the forest and bring it to someone's house. Table 4.9 contains a list of all the verbal phrases describing a motion event in this text.

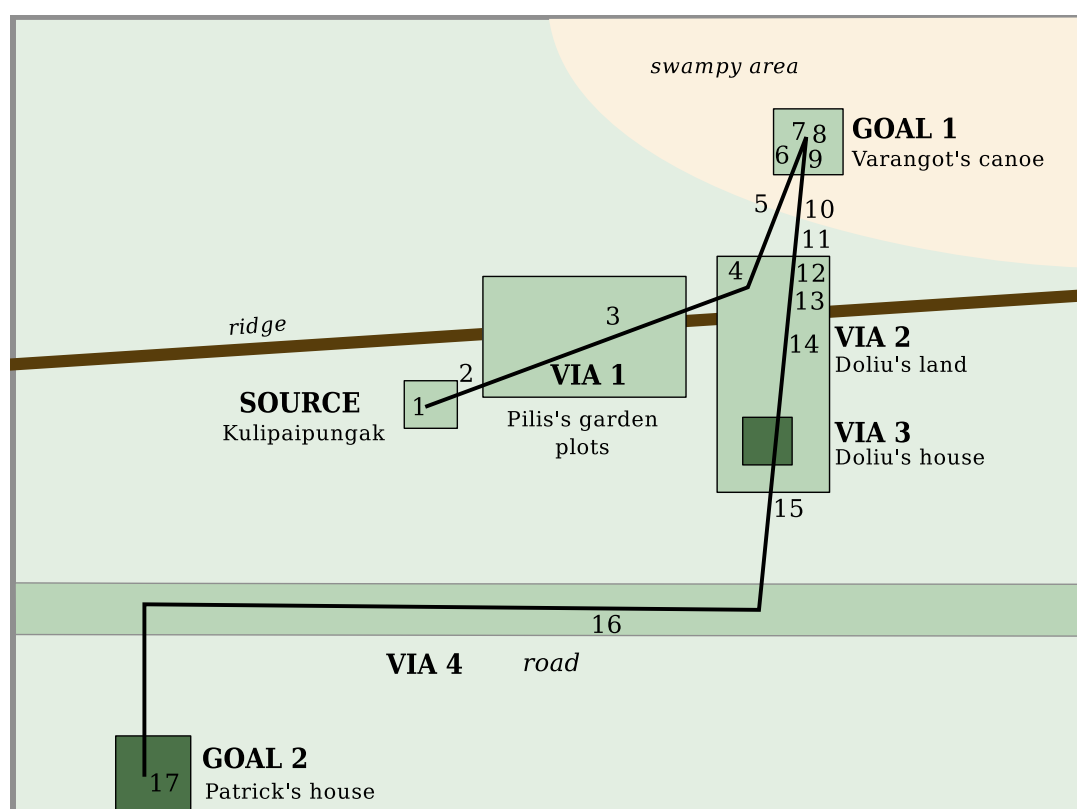


Figure 4.2 – Getting a canoe. The numbers correspond to the motion events in Table 4.9.

The narrative has a relatively simple structure, in that most of the sentences are short and in the form SVO, and (hardly any) additional information is given except to move the storyline along. In order to follow the text, it is important to know that Pilis's garden plots are situated on a ridge and that the goal of the journey, where the canoe

Table 4.9 – Motion events in the narrative. The numbers correspond to those in Figure 4.2.

	motion event	English translation
1	namemtol -la tapasuk	we(3) started
2	namemtol pasal	we(3) went
3	namemtol liu a keve matang si ri Pilis	we(3) passed Pilis's garden plots
4	namemtol -la pasal asiang vang si bolok ang si Doliu	we(3) went down at Doliu's block of land
5	namem pasal putuk	we went across
6	namemtol pasal lik	we(3) went a little bit
7	namemtol an -la serei si vul ang si Varangot	we(3) arrived at Varangot's canoe
8	namemtol -la angtung e iang	we(3) stood around over there
9	namemtol asalak a vul ang	we(3) picked up the canoe
10	namem -la pasal asiang	we walked down
11	pasal	walked
12	namemtol asalak alak	we(3) carried it up
13	namemtol -la pasal	we(3) walked
14	pasal asiang si ring si Doliu	walked down to Doliu's place
15	namemtol an pasal aliu	we(3) went along
16	pasal akasang asung e nei selen lava tung si ring si Patrick	walked approaching (coming nearer) on the big road, up to Patrick's place
17	namemtol akating a vul	we(3) put down the canoe

was located, is a swampy area lower in elevation than the ridge and also than Doliu's land.

The text is an example of movement within a relatively small area, where the speaker does not orientate himself according to a larger frame of reference (as is the case for example in the text discussed in section 4.5.1). Here the direction is closely linked to the geography of the land. As has been mentioned earlier, the verb *pasal* is used very frequently, with the direction of motion coded in the adjunct. There are, however, other verbs of motion used and I will look at these in turn and then come back to the directional adverbs.

The first verb used is one of beginning motion, *tapasuk*, which signals the beginning of the journey. The verb *tapasuk* is very often used at the beginning of a longer string of motion verbs and literally means 'to get up'. These verbs have been described in section 4.1.5. The motion verb *liu* used in the third utterance means 'to pass by'. *Liu* is a transitive verb. In this case the protagonists pass garden plots. The beginning nominal phrase is marked with a definite article. Compare this sentence to utterance 15, where the speaker says *pasal aliu*. *Aliu* in utterance 15 is used as an adverb and the VP is intransitive. Using the verb *liu*, then, allows the speaker to focus on that which is being passed, in this case the garden plots. This is important, because the

fact that the gardens are located on a ridge should be known to the audience, and thus the next sentence makes sense: *pasal asiang* - we went **down** to Doliu's land. This is understandable with the knowledge that Doliu's land is located downhill from Pilis's garden plots.

The next motion verb in the text is in utterance 7 - *serei* 'arrive'. *Serei* is combined with the directional morpheme *an*, signifying motion away from the speaker. *Serei* marks the end of the first part of the whole excursion. The verb *angtung* is a reciprocal verb: RECPSTAND. Although not a motion verb, it has been included here because it contains a sense of temporal displacement and fills the slot between the end of the first series of motion events and the beginning of the second set (the return).

Asalak means to bear something on one's shoulder. Although not a motion verb on its own, *asalak* is used here in place of a motion verb and in combination with a directional adverb (*asalak alak* 'carry up'). With the use of the directional adverb *alak*, this phrase can be glossed as 'to go carrying the canoe up the hill'.

Five times in the text the motion verb *pasal* is combined with a directional adverb: *pasal asiang*, *pasal putuk*, *pasial asiang*, *pasal aliu*, *pasal akasang*. Each of these specifies the motion in relation to the lay of the land. The first, *pasal asiang* 'go down', is the motion occurring between Pilis's garden plots on the ridge and Doliu's land, down from the ridge. Utterance 5 - *pasal putuk* 'go across' - is in relation to the aforementioned block of land. The place where the canoe is located in the swampy area is higher in elevation than the next leg of the journey through the swamp. After lifting the canoe onto their shoulders, the protagonists go down, along on the level and then up to Doliu's land. The use of the directional adverbs in this section clearly portrays the path of motion. At the same time, they presuppose that the listener knows this area.

In utterance 14 - *pasal asiang* 'go down' - the protagonists are still walking through Doliu's land, but have now passed the ridge and are walking down again toward his house, which is lower in elevation than the area of his land located on the ridge. *Pasal aliu* 'go along', in the next phrase, further moves the storyline along. The narrator does not specify any location here; only that they continue walking along. The directional morpheme *an* in this phrase locates the motion as away from the deictic centre. The speaker takes the perspective of the protagonists here by describing the motion as being in a forward direction. The last utterance combining *pasal* with a directional adverb is 16: *pasal akasang* 'go approaching'. *Akasang* marks a change in the narrator's vantage point, as the protagonists are now approaching the location of the speaker. The audience can now 'see' the canoe approaching from Patrick's place. In this phrase the protagonists approach the next landmark, namely the road. This sentence is interesting because it only uses one motion verb to describe the motion toward the road, along the

road and up to the final goal, something which is not done in the rest of the narrative, which rather breaks longer motion events up into smaller sections.

4.2 Directional morphemes

Bowden writes that directional morphemes “encode relative location with respect to the speaker or some object” (Bowden 1997:251). Tungag has two directional morphemes: *An* encodes motion away from the deictic centre,²⁰ and *me* motion toward the deictic centre. They occur as part of the verb phrase,²¹ and are frequently combined with motion verbs to indicate the direction of motion in relation to the position of the deictic centre. They also often combine with non-motion verbs, indicating the direction to which an action takes place, or, if an action is done while moving, showing in what direction this occurs. The relatively frequent use of these morphemes²² shows how aware Tungag speakers are at all times of location and movement in space within a referential frame.

For example, the verb *serei* ‘arrive’ encodes the end of a journey. *An* and *me* are used with *serei* to indicate whether *serei* refers to an outward or return journey. In example (145), *an* indicates that the goal location *e rina* ‘at home’ is located away from the speaker.

- (145) *ka an -la serei e rina*
3SG MAW -PERF arrive at home
 ‘he (went and) arrived at home’ [002.127: *an* + motion verb]

In this example the directional morpheme is paired with a motion verb to indicate the direction of motion. In example (146) the verb is not a motion verb but rather a verb of speech. Here *an* is paired with the deictic term *e iang* ‘over there’ and can be glossed as: we (go and) speak over there. This example shows the possibility in Tungag to leave out the motion verb and focus on what the person does, while encoding the motion using a directional morpheme.

- (146) *namemlong an -la mengen e iang*
1DL.EX MAW -PERF speak at there
 ‘we(2) (go and) speak over there’ [026.006: *an* + non-motion verb]

It is also possible (though not necessary) that the combination of a directional morpheme with a non-motion verb directly follows a motion event describing the path

²⁰ This is usually the speaker.

²¹ Cf. the description of the verb phrase in section 3.5.1.

²² See figure 5.22 for the percentage of use of directional morphemes with different motion verbs.

of motion occurring while the action takes place. This is the case in example (147), where *an* is combined with the locational verb *ago* ‘to be, to stay’. This utterance follows a motion event with the verb *pasal* ‘go’.

- (147) *taratol -la -po pasal, na taratol an -la -po ago nei lu*
 1TR.INC -PERF-CONT go, and 1TR.INC MAW -PERF-CONT stay in house
 ‘we(3) went and we(3) stayed at the house’ [104.008: *an* + non-motion verb]

The same applies for the directional morpheme *me*. Consider the following examples with and without explicit motion mentioned:

- (148) *ki me -la pasal alak*
 3PL MTW -PERF go up
 ‘they came up (to where we were)’ [051.066]

- (149) *na -la songo na John, na ka me -la sinong*
 1SG -PERF call DET John, and 3SG MTW -PERF sit
 ‘I called John, and he (came and) sat’ [110.004]

4.2.1 Example: the use of the directional morphemes *an* and *me* in a narrative

This section looks at the use of *an* and *me* with different types of verbs in the context of one narrative. The directional morphemes are used very frequently in this narrative, both with motion and with non-motion verbs. The narrative describes a journey from Umbukul to Baungung (a village about 15 km south-east along the coast) and back. The purpose of the trip is to attend a funeral. The route of motion is shown in figure 4.3.

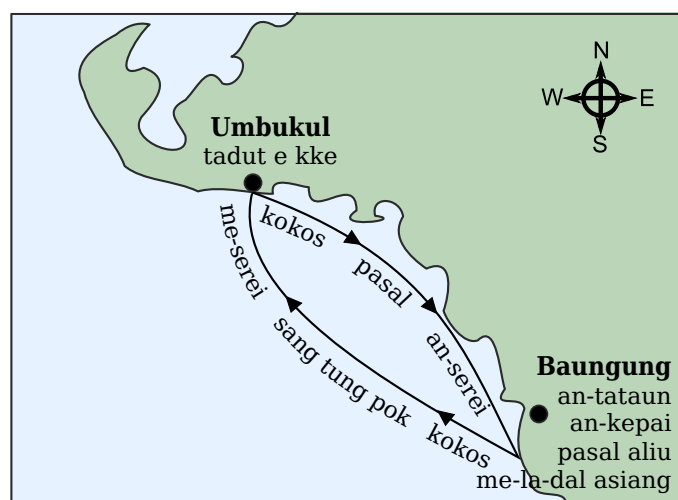


Figure 4.3 – Trip to Baungung. The verbal clauses describing motion events or using directional morphemes are portrayed on the map in the place they occur.

Although the narrative describes the purpose of the journey as attending a funeral, more than half the text describes the movement to and from Umbukul. Even the description of what happens in Baungung is part of this ‘there and back’ motion. Actions are described using *an* and *me*, clearly marking the change from doing things in Baungung while oriented away from Umbukul, to beginning the return journey. The speaker makes use of a relative frame of reference, using his position and perspective as a reference point according to which the motion and actions occurring in the narrative are anchored.

The speaker is in Umbukul at the time of telling the story. This location is important, because the direction of motion is always described in respect to the position of the speaker. Example (150) begins the narrative stating the purpose of the trip using the directional morpheme *an* with the non-motion verb *kepai* ‘bury’ as well as referring to the starting point and location where he is speaking with the demonstrative *kke* ‘here’.

- (150) *Namem -ta pasal ane Baungung si an kepai ani mang igenen ka -ta mat.*
 1PLEX -PST go toward Baungung GEN MAW bury OBJ a.certain person 3SG -PST die.
Namem -ta tadut e kke.
 1PLEX -PST get.up at here.
 ‘We went to Baungung to bury someone who had died. We started out here.’ [035.001-002]

The outward journey is described in example (151). The beginning, middle and end of the journey are described with separate clauses. The use of the directional morpheme *an* with the verb *serei* ‘arrive’ signals that this is the outward journey away from Umbukul.

- (151) *Namem -ta kokos kul i mon. Namem -ta pasal abis palau, na namem an -la serei*
 1PLEX -PST board on GEN boat. 1PLEX -PST go fast just, and 1PLEX MAW -PERF arrive
e Baungung, na namem an -la serei.
 at Baungung, and 1PLEX MAW -PERF arrive.
 ‘We boarded the boat. We went fast and we arrived at Baungung, and we arrived.’ [035.003-006]

After arriving in Baungung the women bake food (*tataun* - bake, example (152)) and the men dig the grave (*kepai* - dig / bury, example (153)). Both of these action verbs are marked with *an*, signaling that they are done while oriented away from the location of the speaker in Umbukul.²³

- (152) *Ri aina ki an -la tataun ani keve pok, na ka -la moso.*
 PL.GNL woman 3PL MAW -PERF bake OBJ PL.SPC food, and 3SG -PERF done.
 ‘The women baked some food, and it was ready.’ [035:007-008]

²³ The use of *an* here could also be directed from the deictic centre at Baungung, i.e., the men sit and wait while the women prepare the food and then all go together to the burial site. This is a second way to use the directional morphemes. Here *an* could be used to encode the motion occurring to do these two actions.

- (153) *Namem -la pasal, na namem an -la kepai ani matmat ke.*
 1PLEX -PERF go, and 1PLEX MAW -PERF bury OBJ dead.body this.
 'We went, and we buried this dead body.' [035:009-010]

Example (154) describes the funeral and subsequent feast. There are no references to motion or direction.

- (154) *Taun ka -la kamus, namem -la kepai assip ani -a, namem pasal, a ri vap*
 time 3SG -PERF end, 1PLEX -PERF bury completely OBJ -3SG, 1PLEX go, and PL.GNL people
ki -la sasagi na keve pok, na ki asinong i -a kul i pata. Ki songo aongos i
 3PL -PERF serve.meat DET PL.SPC food, and 3PL set.down OBJ -3SG on GEN table. 3PL call all OBJ
-mem ri vap lava ri aina na ri nat lik. Namem aongos namem sinong, na
 -1PLEX PL.GNL men big PL.GNL woman and PL.GNL child small. 1PLEX all 1PLEX sit, and
namem angan i -a. Namem -la angan assip a pok ang, na ri vap ki asuai
 1PLEX eat OBJ -3SG, 1PLEX -PERF eat completely DET food DEFPOST, and PL.GNL men 3PL remove
ani ngaun i ka- -mem angan.
 OBJ food.wrapping GEN POSS- -1PLEX eating.
 'When we were finished, we had buried it completely, we went and the people started serving food and we all sat down at the table. They called all the people, the big people, the women and the little children. We all sat down and ate. We ate all the food, and the people threw away the food wrapping.' [035:011-019]

The first verb with the directional morpheme *me* is clearly marked as the beginning of the return journey. After getting ready and going down to their canoe, they drag the canoe into the water. *Me* is added to the verb *dal*, the action of dragging the canoe along the sand, as this signals the change from being in Baungung oriented away from the speaker to moving back to Umbukul.

- (155) *Namem -la usausa. Namem -la pasal aliu ane si ka- -mem vul. Namem me -la*
 1PLEX -PERF prepare. 1PLEX -PERF go pass toward GEN POSS- -1PLEX canoe. 1PLEX MTW -PERF
dal asiang i -a.
 drag down OBJ -3SG.
 'We got ready. We went down to our boat. We dragged it down (into the water).'

The speaker uses the verb *serei* to describe both his arrival in Baungung and his arrival in Umbukul on the return journey. The first arrival is *an-serei*, whereas the second is *me-serei* (example (156)), signalling that the arrival is happening in motion toward the speaker, i.e., back toward Umbukul. Note the similarity in how the motion event is structured in example (151).

- (156) *Namem -la kokos. Namem sang tung pok e Umbukul, na namem me -la serei e*
 1PLEX -PERF board. 1PLEX run up.to back at Umbukul, and 1PLEX MTW -PERF arrive at
Umbukul.
 Umbukul.
 'We boarded. We drove back to Umbukul and we arrived at Umbukul.' [035:023-025]

4.3 Adverbs

The grammatical function and word formation of adverbs in Tungag was discussed in section 3.4.5. Adverbs occur directly following the verb and modify the verb for time, location, direction and manner. Adverbs occur frequently and two or more adverbs may be combined with one verb.

Example (157) shows how the adverb *asiang* ‘down’ modifies the manner verb *sang* ‘run’, describing the direction of motion of the figure:

- (157) *namem -la sang asiang ane kke*
 3PL -PERF run down toward here
 ‘we ran down here’ [135.245]

Figure 4.4 gives an overview of the Tungag adverbs in the corpus which have to do with space, time or manner of motion.²⁴ The figure is meant as a visual overview so that the reader can see at a glance how the adverbs are distributed and look for similar / related adverbs. For instance, a number of spatial and temporal adverbs use the same, or a closely related word. I will discuss all of these adverbs in the following sections, where they are presented in a more orderly manner.

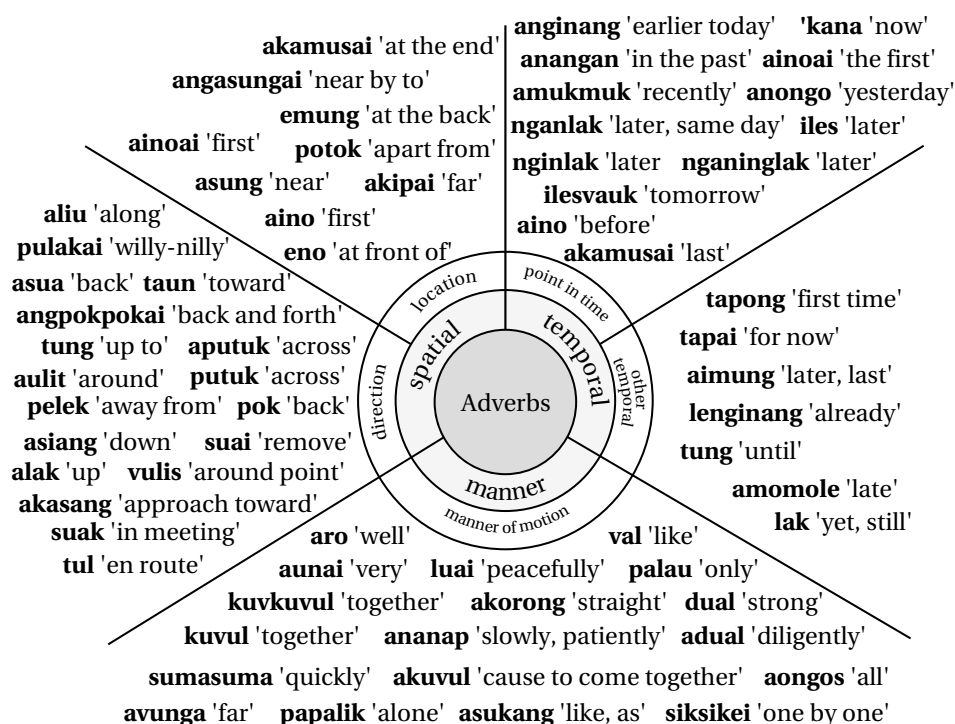


Figure 4.4 – Adverbs.

²⁴ The wordlist in Appendix A.3 contains all the adverbs in the corpus.

In the following sections I will discuss different types of adverbs in turn: Locational adverbs which indicate where an object is found in relation to another, often while both objects are moving (section 4.3.1); temporal adverbs, focussing on those which can be used both temporally and spatially (section 4.3.2); manner adverbs which modify motion verbs (section 4.3.3) and directional adverbs (section 4.3.4). In section 4.3.5 I will look at an example - the adverb *alak* ‘upward direction’. I will look at the use of this word in depth, focussing on different contexts of use and its meaning, providing a variety of examples from the corpus of what it can be used to refer to.

4.3.1 Locational adverbs

The locational adverbs from figure 4.4 are shown in table 4.10, grouped together to show similarities and oppositions in meaning.

Table 4.10 – Locational adverbs.

asung ‘near’	akipai ‘far’
angasungai ‘near by to’	potok ‘apart from’
emung ‘at the back’	eno ‘at the front’
akamusai ‘the last’	aino, ainoai ‘the first’

Locational adverbs specify where an action takes place and often relate the action or motion of a figure to a ground location. In example (158) the narrator describes a trip by boat on the ocean where he sees three whales. The motion of the boat is described in relation to the position of the whales with the adverb *asung* ‘near’.

- (158) *parik namem -ta pa angkoai si pasal asung i -ritol*
NEG 1PLEX PST NEG able GEN go near.by OBJ -3TR
 ‘we were not able to go close to them(3)’ [059.009: **motion verb + asung + location**]

Locational adverb are also often used to describe the static location of an object. In example (159), *asung* locates the position of the figure in relation to the object *ina*, described with the postural verb *tung* ‘to stand’.

- (159) *ka -la tung asung i -na*
3SG -PERF stand near OBJ -3SG
 ‘he stood near her’ [002.037: **postural verb + asung + object**]

The adverbs *emung* ‘behind’, *eno* ‘in front’ and *aino/ainoai* ‘the first’ are derived from the locational nouns *mung* ‘back’ and *no* ‘front, face’. *Aino* can be used both locationally and temporally (see the examples in the following section). *Emung* also has a counterpart *aimung* ‘last’. *Aimung* is usually used temporally. Compare the following two examples in which both are used temporally:

- (160) *na aimung namemlong -la pasal asiang*
and after 1DLEX -PERF go down
'and afterwards we(2) went down' [028.164]

- (161) **emung** *na -la antok*
 after 1SG -PERF say
 ‘afterwards I said’ [028.102]

Aimung can also be used in the verb slot. In example (162) it refers to being the last born.

- (162) *nau na -ta aimung luai i -ria*
 1SG 1SG -PST last very OBJ -3PL
 'I was the very last one of them' [128.014]

4.3.2 Temporal adverbs

There is a large group of temporal adverbs in Tungag which refer to a point in time. Those listed in figure 4.4 can be portrayed in the following way along a time scale:

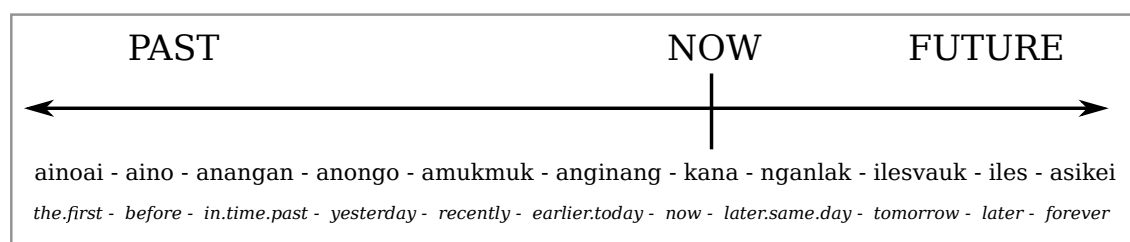


Figure 4.5 – Temporal adverbs referring to a point in time.

A number of these correspond very closely to or are identical with some of the spatial locational adverbs. *Aino* ‘before, ahead’ and *kana* ‘now, here’ can also be used as locational adverbs. Examples (163) and (164) show *aino* used temporally and locationally.

- (163) *mang taun **aino**, mang pongua na mani kilong -ta -po ago kuvul*
a.certain time before, a.certain two DET bird 3DL -PST -CONT stay together
‘long ago two birds were living together’ [030.002]
- (164) *namemlong -la -po sang **aino** ane nei vakil*
1DL.EX -PERF -CONT run ahead toward in cave
‘we(2) ran ahead into the cave’ [014.023]

Tung is another adverb which can also be used both spatially and temporally. As a temporal adverb, *tung* describes the time until something happens, e.g. example (165). As a directional adverb, it describes the direction of motion toward a goal, e.g. example (166).

- (165) *na -ta akalit le si ka- -g grade one tung si na akamusai ani ka- -g grade six*
 1SG -PST school from GEN POSS-1SG grade one until GEN 1SG finish OBJ POSS-1SG grade six
 ‘I went to school from grade one until I finished grade six’ [134.034]

- (166) *namem -la kalip asiang tung e Lavongai*
 1PL.EX -PERF paddle down up.to at Lavongai
 ‘we paddled down, up to Lavongai’ [147.072]

Tung in example (166) is further from the verb than the directional adverb *asiang*. In fact, it is even possible to insert a direct object between the verb and the adverb *tung* (which is not possible with other directional adverbs).

- (167) *na -la pasal pelek i -a tung e Ranmelek*
 1SG -PERF walk away.from OBJ -3SG up.to at Ranmelek
 ‘I walked away from her up to Ranmelek’ [028.117: **motion verb + path adverb + object + tung + goal**]

The time at which an event takes place is usually encoded in an adjunct preceding the verb phrase. This is also the case in examples (163) and (165) with the temporal adverbs *aino* and *tung*. *Pok* ‘again, back’ can also refer to both motion and time. The similar meaning of the two glosses when *pok* modifies a motion event means that it is not always clear whether *pok* is used temporally or spatially. In example (168) either (or both) glosses could apply.

- (168) *ka -po pasal pok*
 3SG -CONT walk back
 ‘he walks back/again’ [002.009]

4.3.3 Manner of motion adverbs

In this section I will look at the group of manner of motion adverbs. Table 4.11 gives an overview of these adverbs.

Table 4.11 – Tungag manner adverbs which can be used to modify motion verbs.

Tungag	English gloss	Tungag	English gloss
avunga	<i>far</i>	palau	<i>only</i>
akuvul	<i>cause to come together</i>	kuvul, kuvkuvul	<i>together</i>
amomole	<i>late</i>	sumasuma	<i>quickly</i>
adual	<i>diligently</i>	asukang	<i>like, as</i>
dual	<i>strong</i>	aunai	<i>very</i>
papalik	<i>alone</i>	ananap	<i>slowly, patiently</i>
aro, aroron	<i>well</i>	val	<i>like</i>
akorong	<i>straight</i>	siksikei	<i>one by one</i>
aongos	<i>all</i>	luai	<i>very, peacefully</i>

These adverbs can be used in some way to describe the way motion takes place. This includes adverbs which describe the nature of the motion and those which describe how the motion takes place. For example, *kuvkuvul* ‘together’ specifies that more than one person takes part in the motion. This is different from the adverb *sumasuma* ‘quickly’ which modifies the kind of motion occurring. Other manner of motion adverbs are only loosely linked to a motion verb and modify it not according to the kind of motion taking place, but in some other way, for example *palau* ‘only’ or *aro* ‘well’.

4.3.4 Directional adverbs

The directional spatial adverbs are a larger group than the locational spatial adverbs. Figure 4.6 shows the direction of motion referred to with each adverb. The arrow refers to the path and direction of motion, the large dot represents either the goal or source of motion, or refers to the ground relative to which the figure is moving. Some of the words have been portrayed with one large and one small arrow. In this case the small arrow shows motion of another object relative to the main motion.

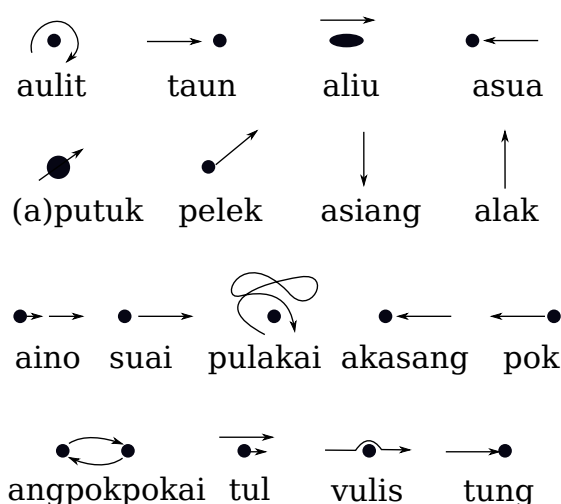


Figure 4.6 – Directional adverbs. The circle represents the ground and the arrow represents the path of motion relative to the ground. See also Wilkins and Hill (1995) and Senft (2000) for this type of annotation of directed motion events.

The following examples show how these adverbs are used, listing the adjuncts occurring after the verb phrase.²⁵

- (169) *ka an -la sang aulit a laman ang*
 3SG MAW -PERF run around DET water DEF.POST
 ‘he ran around the pond’ [002.079: motion verb + aulit + ground]

²⁵ Compare also the discussion of these adverbs in section 5.2.3 as well as figure 5.8, which sorts the directional adverbs according to the type of path they describe.

A manner of motion verb *sang* ‘run’ is combined with the directional adverb *aulit* ‘around’ describing the circular route of motion around the pond, the ground described in the NP *a laman ang*.

- (170) *na-po pasal taun a ka- -ri ring i -po ago*
 1SG -CONT walk toward DET POSS- -3PL place GEN -CONT stay
 ‘I walked toward the place where they were staying’ [134.045: motion verb + taun + goal]

The motion verb *pasal* ‘walk’ combines with the directional adverb *taun* ‘toward’ which points toward an endpoint. This endpoint is encoded in the phrase *a kari ring ipo ago*. The use of *taun* requires that an endpoint be mentioned.

- (171) *na -la pasal aliu ngere lo*
 1SG -PERF walk along beside shore
 ‘I walked along the shore’ [028.048: motion verb + aliu + ground location]

The ground in this example is long and narrow, encoded in the prepositional phrase *ngere lo* ‘beside shore’ or ‘beach’. The directional adverb *aliu* ‘along’ together with the path verb *pasal* describe the motion in relation to this ground.

- (172) *ka -la kik asua asi an serei pok si ka- -na sanga*
 3SG -PERF jump back for.purpose MAW arrive back GEN POSS- -3SG path
 ‘he jumped back in order to arrive back at his path’ [002.062-063: motion verb + asua + subordinate phrase (purpose)]

In this sentence a subordinate phrase contains the ground NP (*kana sanga* ‘his path’). In the main clause the manner verb *kik* ‘jump’ combines with the directional adverb *asua* ‘back’, while the subordinate clause interestingly describes the same motion event but from the perspective of arriving at the endpoint, using the verb of ending motion *serei* ‘arrive’ together with another directional adverb describing motion back to the endpoint.

- (173) *namemtol -la pasal putuk e nei uten*
 1TR.EX -PERF walk across at in jungle
 ‘we(3) walked across in the jungle’ [054.064: motion verb + putuk + ground]

The path verb *pasal* ‘walk’ together with the directional adverb *putuk* ‘across’ describe motion across a large ground area. The ground is described with the prepositional phrase *e nei uten* ‘at in jungle’. The whole path of motion takes place inside the jungle. Note that the motion events directly before and after this one in the narrative describe motion along the shore and back toward the shore respectively.

- (174) *parik ki pa angkoai si pasal aputuk luai korong*
 NEG 3PL NEG able GEN go across completely actually
 ‘they are not able to actually swim completely across (the reef)’ [065.043: motion verb + aputuk + manner]

The use of the directional adverb *aputuk* ‘across’, is very similar to the use of *putuk* in the preceding example. *Aputuk* has the added causal prefix *-a*, similar to a number of other directional adverbs. Compare the discussion of adverbs in section 3.4.5. In this example there is no ground mentioned in this clause, although it is known to be the reef from the preceding clause. Rather, the path of motion with the verb *pasal* ‘go’ is described in its entirety with two manner adverbs encoding the motion going all the way across (the reef). This path of motion is then negated as having happened, since the fish were not able to make it across the reef (without getting caught).

- (175) *mamai ka -ta -la pasal pelek a ri nana*
 my.father 3SG -PST -PERF go away.from DET PL.GNL mother
 ‘my father went away from his mother’ [146.008: motion verb + *pelek* + source]

In this sentence the ground is the NP *a ri nana* ‘the mother’ and the figure (*mamai* ‘my father’) moves in a direction away from the ground. The directional adverb *pelek* ‘away from’ describes a nonspecific direction of motion away from a source location.

- (176) *namem -la sang asiang kul i pongua na kati*
 1PL.EX -PERF run down on GEN two DET boat
 ‘we drove down on two boats’ [135.248: motion verb + *asiang* + manner]

The direction of motion described by *asiang* ‘down’, however, is a specific direction. In this example *asiang* refers to motion toward the sunset. The directional adverb is combined with a manner of motion verb *sang* ‘run’. The manner of motion is further specified with the prepositional phrase *kul i pongua na kati* ‘on two boats’.

- (177) *namemlong -la -po pasal alak ane Lavongai*
 1DL.EX -PERF -CONT go up toward Lavongai
 ‘we(2) went up to Lavongai’ [019.006: motion verb + *alak* + goal]

Alak ‘up’ is a directional adverb used in the same way as *asiang*, except that it describes an upward rather than a downward direction of motion. In this example *alak* refers to a direction toward the sunrise. For other directions which can be described with *alak* compare section 4.3.5. In this sentence the goal is mentioned in a prepositional phrase *ane Lavongai* ‘toward Lavongai’.

- (178) *ki -la pasal suai ane si keve ring angpetpetekai*
 3PL -PERF go remove toward GEN PL.SPC place different
 ‘they went away to various different places’ [098.295: motion verb + *suai* + goal]

Suai ‘remove’ is another directional adverb describing motion away from a ground location. Whereas *pelek* focusses on the path away from a source, the focus of *suai* is on the action of removing (oneself) away and the source location is not mentioned here, but rather the goal of motion, with the prepositional phrase *ane si keve ring angpetpetekai* ‘toward various different places’. *Suai* is combined here with the path verb *pasal*.

- (179) *sikei ka ago ta pasal **pulakai** si tenei ias*
 but 3SG do.not OBL walk willy-nilly GEN time.of.day daylight
 ‘but she must not walk about all over the place during the day’ [055.107: motion verb
 + pulakai + temporal adjunct]

Pulakai describes a roundabout path with no clear intention or goal. Here it is combined with the path verb *pasal* and a temporal adjunct.

- (180) *na -ka pasal **akasang** pok*
 1SG -INT walk approach.toward back
 ‘I intend to come back to here’ [028.060: motion verb + akasang + directional adverb]

The direction of the adverb *akasang* is one of approaching and presupposes a goal location. This example is also discussed below, see figure 4.7.

- (181) *ki -ta pasal **pok** ane nei rina*
 3PL -PST walk back toward in village
 ‘they walked back into the village’ [077.026: motion verb + pok + goal]

Pok ‘back’ can be used both spatially and temporally. It describes a direction of motion back to an already mentioned location. The goal of motion is encoded here in the prepositional phrase *ane nei rina* ‘toward the village’.

- (182) *namemlong -la -po sang **aino** ane nei vakil*
 1DLEX -PERF -CONT run ahead toward in cave
 ‘we(2) ran ahead into the cave’ [014.023: motion verb + aino + goal]

Aino is another adverb which can be used temporally and spatially (see the discussion of *aino* in section 4.3.2). Here *aino* combines with the manner of motion verb *sang* ‘run’ to describe the relative position of the figures as they move toward a goal (the prepositional phrase *ane nei vakil* ‘toward the cave’). *Aino* is used here to describe motion in relation to other motion. The figures (*namemlong* ‘we(2)’) move ahead of other figures also moving in the same direction.

- (183) *ka -po kovek i mang raung **angpokpokai***
 3SG -CONT not.have GEN another kill back.and.forth
 ‘there was no more killing of each other’ [085.100: action verb + angpokpokai]

In this example the path of motion is encoded only in the adverb. The verb in the clause is an action verb (*raung* ‘kill’) and *angpokpokai* describes the path of motion while killing, moving back and forth. The root of this word, *pok* ‘back’ is reduplicated and the prefix *ang-* specifies reciprocity while the suffix *-ai* adds transitivity. *Ang-* and *-ai* often occur together, because reciprocity presupposes the presence of more than one person doing something, i.e. a higher transitivity.

- (184) *namemlong -ta an ung **tul** e Baungung*
 1DLEX -PST MAW arrive en.route at Baungung
 ‘we(2) stopped in en route at Baungung’ [140.021: motion verb + tul + goal]

In this example a verb of ending motion, *ung* ‘arrive’, and a goal location in a prepositional phrase, *e Baungung* ‘at Baungung’, combine with the directional adverb *tul*. *Tul* describes a direction of motion in relation to the main route of motion.

- (185) *ki kal vulis a Noilimanang*
 3PL paddle around.point DET Noilimanang
 ‘they paddled around the point of land Noilimanang’ [065.019]²⁶

A manner of motion verb, *kal* ‘paddle’, is combined with the path adverb *vulis* and the ground location Noilimanang - the name of a point of land on the coastline. *Vulis* is used specifically to describe a path around a point.

- (186) *namem sang tung pok e Umbukul*
 1PL.EX run up.to back at Umbukul
 ‘we drove back up to Umbukul’ [035.026: motion verb + tung + path + goal]

Tung ‘up to’, as opposed to *taun* ‘toward’, describes a path of motion to a goal location while encoding the fact that the goal is reached. In this example it is combined with a manner of motion verb, another adverb and the goal location in a prepositional phrase.

In section 3.4.5 I discussed the possibility of combining two or more adverbs, showing that directional adverbs usually precede manner adverbs when the two types co-occur. There also appear to be restrictions as to the order in which directional adverbs can occur together, suggesting a distinction between different kinds of directional adverbs. This distinction corresponds to the different types of adverbs discussed in section 3.4.5. The following four examples show the use of the directional adverb *asiang* ‘down’ together with other directional adverbs as well as the locational adverb *aino* ‘ahead’.

- (187) *kilong kalip asiang pok*
 3DL paddle down back
 ‘they(2) paddled back down again’ [136.071: Motion + DirAdv + DirAdv]

- (188) *kilong sang asiang taun i -memtol*
 3DL run down toward OBJ -1TR.EX
 ‘they(2) drove down toward us(3)’ [043.071: Motion + DirAdv + DirAdv]

- (189) *namem -la kalip asiang tung e Lovangai*
 1PL.EX -PERF paddle down up.to at Lovangai
 ‘we paddled down up to Lovangai’ [147.072: Motion + DirAdv + DirAdv]

²⁶ *Vulis* can also be used in the verb slot. For example:

tara an vulis a mang kunaaur suke
 1PL.INC MAW around.point DET a.certain point.on.coastline there
 ‘let’s go around that point there’ [100.021]

- (190) *namemlong -la pasal asiang aino ve ka- -g aina*
1DL.EX -PERF go down ahead with POSS-1SG wife
 'we(2) will go down ahead, (I) with my wife' [043.032: Motion + DirAdv + LocAdv]

In these examples *asiang* uses an absolute frame of reference. In example (187) the direction is downriver, which is related to the position of the river in relation to the land and the ocean. In example (188) and (189) *asiang* uses the sunrise-sunset axis as an absolute frame of reference and in example (190) the direction of motion is in relation to the topography of the land: The speaker and his wife walk downhill. *Pok*, *taun*, *tung* and *aino*, on the other hand, have a different function because they use a different point of reference. *Taun* and *tung* require a direct object. The direction of motion they describe is in relation to this location. *Pok* and *aino* are used deictically. *Aino* (as well as the directional *using* which describes one figure following another) uses another moving object as a reference point. In example (190) the speaker tells someone else that he will go down with his wife first (as opposed to the person he is talking to, who will follow). *Pok* also uses known information and a deictic anchoring as a frame of reference.

In example (180) above, both *akasang* 'approach' and *pok* are used to describe the direction of motion of *pasal* 'walk'. In figure 4.6, the direction of *pok* and *akasang* were given as follows:

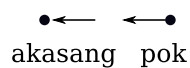


Figure 4.7 – The direction of motion described by *akasang* 'approaching' and *pok* 'back'.

Both adverbs can describe the same direction. They do so, however, from different starting points. *Akasang* focusses on movement toward a goal. Just like the English phrase 'to approach', it presupposes that one approaches a location. *Pok* on the other hand refers to the fact that the location being approached is a place where the speaker has already been, and approaches this location from his position at another location. He is going back there. Both focus on the goal of motion, while *pok* is used deictically as well as having an added temporal aspect. Example (191) makes this even clearer, when the source location is mentioned:

- (191) *ka pasal pok le Rabaul*
3SG go back from Rabaul
 'he came back from Rabaul' [070.026]

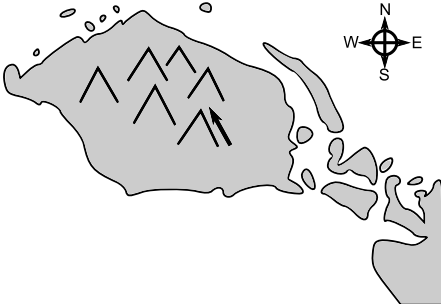
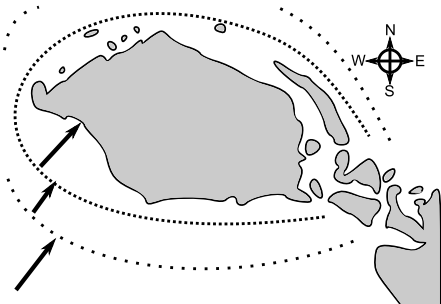
This example also shows that once the goal location has been deictically anchored, it is possible to use *pok* to describe the direction of motion back to this location both in the first person, e.g. example (180) as well as in the third person, e.g. example (191).

4.3.5 Example: *alak* - a directional adverb

In this section I look at how the directional adverb *alak* ‘up’ is used in the corpus. Table 4.12 shows examples of *alak* sorted according to the different frames of reference used when referring to an upward direction. I will describe and discuss five points which can be observed in the examples:

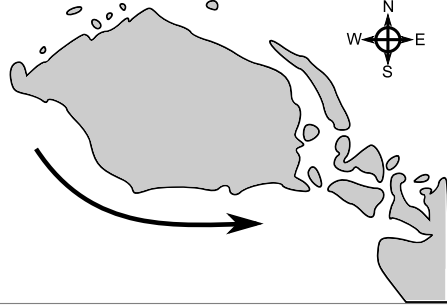
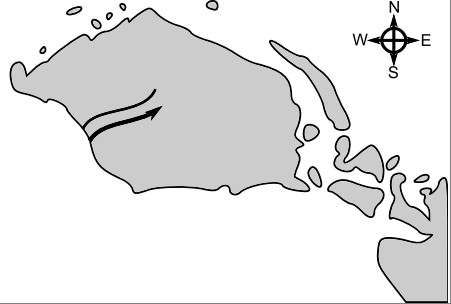
- What does *alak* refer to?
- Who or what can move in an upward direction?
- Which verbs does *alak* modify?
- Which prepositional phrases further specify the direction of motion?
- Which other adverbs combine with *alak*?

Table 4.12 – Different directions described with *alak*.

Example	Direction of motion
uphill	
<i>na -ta -po pasal alak ane nei uten e Tutuila</i> 1SG -PST -CONT walk up toward in forest at Tutuila ‘I walked up to the forest at Tutuila’ [120.004]	up a hill
from open water to shore	
<i>ri vukul lik ki -po pasal alak</i> GEN.PL fish small 3PL -CONT go up ‘the little fish swam up’ [005.017]	from open water to lagoon
<i>ki -po pasal alak ane rina</i> 3PL -CONT go up to village ‘they went up to the village’ [005.028]	from reef to shore

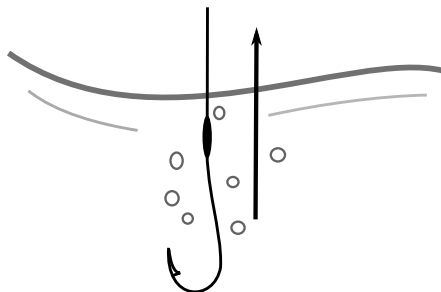
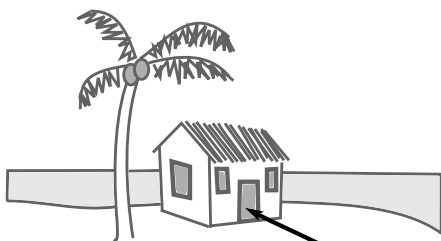
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Table 4.12 Directions described with *alak* – continued from previous page

Example	Direction of motion
<i>ka pasal alak luai ane nei rina</i> <small>3SG go up very to in village</small> 'it went all the way up to the village' [012.007]	from reef to shore (waves, inanimate subject)
<i>tak asiang vo tak alak ta bangang</i> <small>pull down or pull up OBL reef</small> 'the coming up or going down of the tide' [060.022]	position in relation to the reef (down or up)
<i>ki tutapong saup kul i laman alak</i> <small>3PL start hit on GEN water up</small> 'they started hitting the water up (to the shore)' [060.051]	from reef toward shore (non-motion verb)
from west to east	
<i>namem -po sang alak ane Kavieng</i> <small>PL.INC -CONT run up toward Kavieng</small> 'we drove up to Kavieng' [007.004]	from west to east
<i>namemtol me -la ulit alak alak alak tung e</i> <small>3PL.INC MTW -PERF wander up up up up.to at</small> <i>suke</i> there 'we wandered all the way up to over there' [054.135]	from west to east - with durative aspect
<i>ka -po buk akos alak luai ani -mem tung e</i> <small>3SG -CONT want load up completely OBJ -PL.INC up.to at</small> <i>Umbukul</i> Umbukul 'he wanted to take us (on board the vessel) all the way up to Umbukul' [059.016]	from west to east, with non motion verb
upriver and inland	

Continued on next page

Table 4.12 Directions described with *alak* – continued from previous page

Example	Direction of motion
<i>sang alak nei sung ang</i> run up in river DEF.POST 'drive up the river' [031.055]	up a river from shore to inland
<i>ka -la pasal alak</i> 3SG -PERF go up 'he went up' [043.068]	from the shore to the village
<i>ka -la pasal alak velai ani ka- -na vebe</i> 3SG -PERF go up with OBJ POSS- 3SG basket 'she walked up with her basket' [045.003]	from village (on shore) up to her garden (on ridge)
up out of an enclosed space	
<i>ka tak alak sumasuma pok a sitiring ang</i> 3SG pull up quickly again DET fishing.line DEF.POST 'he quickly pulled the line up again' [060.042]	up from out of the water
<i>ka -po saling alak nei iat</i> 3SG -CONT flow up in rock 'it is flowing up out of the rock' [066.002]	up out of a rock
entering an enclosed space	
<i>ka an -po pasal alak nei tepe</i> 3SG MTW -CONT go up in basket 'it swam up into the basket' [005.023]	from the water into a basket (fish trap)
<i>ka -la pasal alak nei lu</i> 3SG -PERF go up in house 'he entered the house' [058.009]	enter a house

Continued on next page

Table 4.12 Directions described with *alak* – continued from previous page

Example	Direction of motion
<i>ki -la solo alak a aina lik ang si ka- -na</i> 3PL -PERF chase up DET woman small DEF.POST GEN POSS- -3SG <i>vakil</i> cave ‘they chased the little woman up into her cave’ [077.023]	into a cave
<i>akos suai ani ka- -mentol ta usausan alak kul i</i> load away OBJ POSS- -2PL.INC OBL baggage up on GEN <i>kar</i> car ‘load our baggage up into the car’ [043.076]	put up onto / into a car

4.3.5.1 The direction of motion and frames of reference

Alak describes an upward direction. The examples in table 4.12 make it clear that this upward direction is not always based on the same frame of reference. *Alak* can mean the following: (1) upward along a vertical axis describing motion up a hill or to a higher point of land; (2) motion in an eastward direction (as opposed to *asiang* ‘downward motion’, which describes a westward direction); (3) motion along a river in an inland direction; (4) motion from the ocean toward land in varying degrees (deep water - shallow water (reef) - shore (beach) - village on the beach - further inland (topographically higher)); (5) motion out of an enclosed space in a vertical direction; (6) motion into an enclosed space, such as entering a house. The motion up out of an enclosed space is not the direct opposite of the meaning of entering. Note that the two examples in the corpus which use *alak* are both in regards to inanimate objects which also move up in a vertical direction. In comparison, the verb *soung* ‘exit’ is used to describe exiting an enclosed space such as a house.²⁷

The different uses of *alak* can be portrayed as motion along different axes based on different frames of reference²⁸:

- The east - west, or sunrise - sunset, axis is part of an absolute frame of reference. When using this frame of reference to orientate oneself, *alak* and *asiang* are always used to refer to the direction of motion.
- Motion up along a vertical axis includes motion up a hill or to a higher point of land as well as motion up out of an enclosed space. This motion also occurs in accordance with an absolute frame of reference. Motion down out of an enclosed space would not be referred to with *alak*. When upward motion is described in

²⁷ See section 5.6 for a discussion of exiting and entering.

²⁸ See section 2.2 for a definition of these frames of reference.

relation to the perspective of the speaker (for example, throwing something up) this would use a relative frame of reference.

- Motion from open water toward land and along a river inland is referred to as upward motion. This is in keeping with a land-sea axis, also an absolute frame of reference. This axis is typical of Austronesian languages (cf. Blust 2009).
- A fourth axis used is that for entering an enclosed space. This axis can be described as from outside to inside and uses an intrinsic frame of reference, determined by the inherent features of the object itself.

4.3.5.2 Different subjects which combine with *alak*

Usually *alak* is used in reference to motion by a person, but it can also refer to inanimate objects such as waves or a current, or a question asked²⁹. *Alak* can be used with many different kinds of subjects and does not differentiate between animate - inanimate, wet - dry, concrete - abstract. Two examples of inanimate objects (water) are given in table 4.12: waves coming up into the village and water flowing up out of a rock.

The same prepositional phrase (*nei* + NP) can be used to describe the goal of motion up out of an enclosed space and motion into an enclosed space. In this example the subject is an animal:

- (192) *vukul lik [...] ka an -po pasal alak nei tepe*
 specific.fish small [...] 3SG MAW-CONT go up in basket
 'the little vukul fish swam up into the basket' [005.022-23]

The direction encoded with *alak* suffices to describe the motion into an enclosed space as reaching an endpoint. The preposition *nei* encodes being in, but not the direction of motion. *Palak* 'enter, go up' as an imperative also encodes motion into an enclosed location. This is different than in English, where the prepositions 'in' and 'into' differ as to whether a directed motion event takes place. The direction of motion in this example is made clear through the adverb *alak* and the directional morpheme *an*, whereas *nei* encodes the characteristic of the basket as being large enough to enclose the fish.

4.3.5.3 Verbs modified by *alak*

The following verbs occur in the corpus modified by *alak*:

- Path verbs: *pasal* 'walk/go', *palak* 'enter'
- Manner of motion verbs: *sang* 'run', *kalip* 'paddle', *ssip* 'flee', *ulit* 'wander', *solo* 'chase', *kiklak* 'jump'

²⁹ This is used in a metaphorical sense, compare the English phrase: to raise a question.

- Positional verbs: *akos* 'load', *akos-suai* 'load-remove', *luk* 'take', *asalak* 'carry.on.shoulder', *asuai* 'throw'
- Action verbs (mostly in the context of fishing and gardening): *saup* 'hit', *tak* 'pull', *teng* 'hold', *sulai* 'push', *tanga-but* 'chop-uproot', *nga* 'hit, beat'
- Perception verbs: *pege* 'talk', *kin* 'pronounce, call', *songo* 'call', *taot* 'write', *tere* 'look'
- Locational verb and phrases describing a location: *ago* 'stay', *angnanasai* 'knowing', *matung* 'lie'
- Verbs used metaphorically: *polok* 'grow', *pakangai* 'help', *sasagi* 'serve.food', *tangat* 'daybreak', *aus* 'breathe', *tung, tu* 'stand', *to* 'live'³⁰

Figure 4.8 shows the distribution of the different types of verbs used.

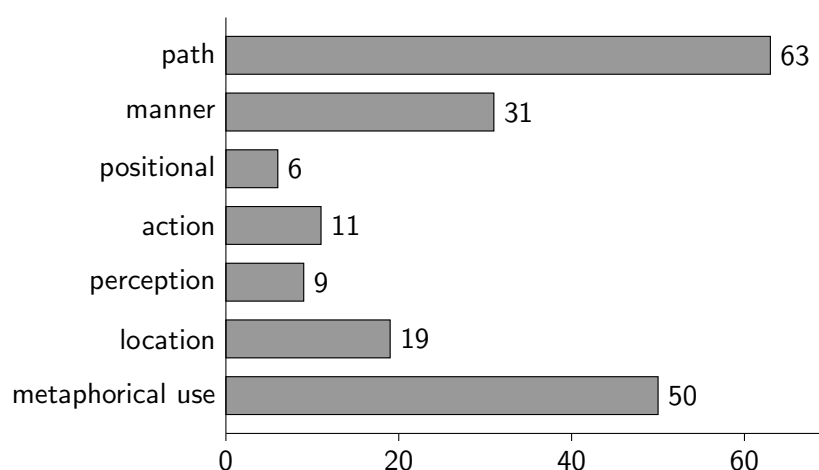


Figure 4.8 – Distribution of different types of verbs used with *alak* in the corpus, showing the total number of verbs.

The biggest group of verbs modified by *alak* are motion verbs. Of these, the generic motion verb *pasal* 'go, walk' occurs the most frequently. There are, however, a number of non-motion verbs which regularly occur with *alak*. These include the action, perception and location verbs, as well as a number of occurrences without any verb used to describe location (these are included as locationals in figure 4.8).

Alak used with the positional verbs describes the direction of putting something in position. In example (193) the main verb of the sentence is the positional transitive verb *akos* 'load' with three complements: SUBJ - load - OBJ - *alak* LOC.

- (193) *akos suai ani ka- -memptol ta usauasan alak kul i kar*
 load remove OBJ POSS-1TR.EX OBL baggage up on GEN car
 'load remove our(3) baggage up onto the car' [043.075]

³⁰ These verbs will be discussed in section 4.3.5.6.

In this example *alak* does not occur directly following the verb as would be expected of an adverb. This position is held by the adverb *suai*, which pushes the second adverb, *alak*, further back in the sentence after the direct object.³¹ This makes *alak* seem to act more as a preposition as part of the prepositional phrase specifying the location of the object: up onto the car.

Example (194) describes the action of a figure beating and destroying as he goes from village to village. Rather than saying something like: “he went and beat”, using a motion verb, it is possible to use an action verb and describe the motion with a directional, leaving out the motion verb which is not the main focus in this part of the narrative. *Nga alak* does not mean ‘to beat up’; rather, *alak* is used to describe the direction of the motion while beating.

- (194) *ka -po nga alak si ring ang*
 3SG -CONT beat up GEN place DEFPST
 ‘he beat, (going) up from village to village’ [098.232]

An example of an action verb used in the context of fishing is *tak* ‘pull’. *Tak* in example (195) describes the act of pulling a hook up out of the water, making use of the vertical axis in the same way as the verb *teng* ‘hold’ in example (196). Although *teng* is a non-motion verb, it is used together with the directional *alak* in much the same way as in example (194) above, i.e., he holds the fishing line while going back up. The act of holding (a fishing line) is central to the meaning of the sentence and therefore kept, even when describing the motion of coming back up to where the speaker is located. The focus is not on the motion, but on holding the fishing line.

- (195) *ka tak alak sumasuma pok a sitiring ang*
 3SG pull up quickly back DET string DEFPST
 ‘he quickly pulled up the fishing line’ [060.050]

- (196) *Angele ka me teng alak pok*
 Angele 3SG MTW hold up again
 ‘Angele will hold (it while bringing it) back up here’ [093.005]

The groups of action, perception and location verbs are similar in the way they use *alak*. The verb *ago* ‘stay, be at’ in combination with directionals is discussed in section 5.1. Here I will discuss the combination of *alak* with different types of non-motion verbs having to do with the location of an object in relation to the subject. The following excerpt from an interview exemplifies two uses of the adverb *alak* describing location. The excerpt is in answer to the following question:

interviewer: Now I am talking about the time when you were starting school and older until you finished high school probably, in that time period. You

³¹ As described in section 3.4.5, it is possible for two adverbs to modify a verb and in this case the adverb *suai* is bound more closely to the verb semantically.

were a young boy or man and you went to different villages, what were your most usual villages to go to?³² [134.034]

First, the speaker says that as a young boy he always stayed in Baungung. He then goes on to name the villages he did go to as well the reasons he did not ever go to some villages quite close by until he started going to high school. The speaker uses the adverb *alak* twice. Once in referring to the location of a village and once as describing the direction of looking toward other villages that he did not go to. The map in figure 4.9 shows the location of the villages named. The interview took place in Baungung, the place where this man also grew up.

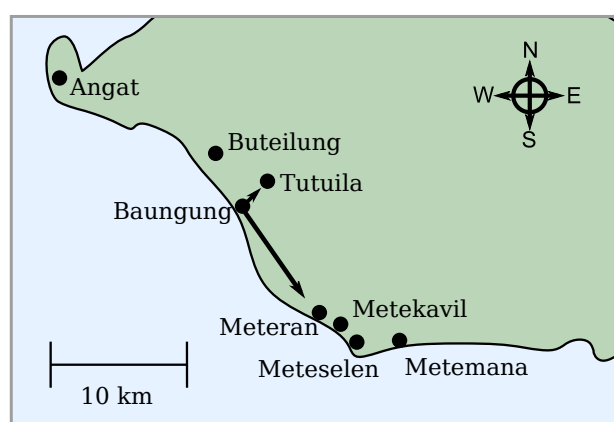


Figure 4.9 – Location of villages mentioned in example (197) with the direction of motion described by *alak* marked with arrows.

- (197) *Sikei ka togon a mang keve rina asukang val angasungai palau val ane*
 but 3SG have DET a.certain PL.SPC village like as close.to only like toward
Buteilung, na alak ane Tutuila na ane Angat ka -po palpal i rukun rina na
 Buteilung, and up toward Tutuila and toward Angat 3SG -CONT part GEN few village 1SG
-po nas ani pasal ane singi -na. Tutuman parik na -ta pa aunai uli pa tere alak
 -CONT know OBJ go toward GEN -3SG. True NEG 1SG -PST NEG very HAB go look up
asungsuke ane Meteran o Metemana, na rukun rina ke si taun na -ta -po nat
 like.that toward Meteran or Metemana, and few village this GEN time 1SG -PST -CONT boy
lik tung si na -la pasal ane nei highschool na emung i -na vang na -la -po
 small until GEN 1SG -PERF go toward in highschool and after OBJ -3SG indeed 1SG -PERF -CONT
nas ani pasal ane si keve rina asukang val Meteselen na ane Metemana o
 know OBJ go toward GEN PL.SPC village like as Meteselen and toward Metemana or
Metekavil na Meteran kapa.
 Metekavil and Meteran also.

‘But there were some villages close to Buteilung and up toward Tutuila and to Angat, they were some of the places where I went. It’s true, I did not always look up like to Meteran or Metemana, and some of these places when I was a little boy until I went

³² Compare the examples discussed in section 4.1.3 which are in answer to a similar question.

to high school. And after that I knew to go to these villages like Meteselen and to Metemana or Metekavil and also Meteran.’ [134.037-042]

In the text the speaker is talking about places he has been to. He is not only describing motion to these places, but rather listing locations he has been at. He groups a number of villages close to Baungung into two groups, first listing Buteilung, Tutuila and Angat, and then mentioning Meteran, Metemana, Meteselen and Metekavil together. The first group of three villages he mentions as three places that are quite close by. The verb *togon* ‘have’ describes these: “there are some villages”. Their location in relation to Baungung is in focus here. All three are specified with the preposition *ane* ‘toward’ which refers to a direction of motion. This motion is specified later in the sentence in a complementary expression: *pasal ane singina* ‘go toward them’. Of these three, only Tutuila is further specified with *alak*. Note the location of Tutuila on the map: Whereas Angat and Buteilung are located west of Baungung, Tutuila is located east as well as being up topographically away from the coast, hence *alak*. The second verb used with *alak* in this text is *tere* ‘to look’. The speaker says that as a young boy, he did not look up to Meteran or Metemana, meaning he did not go in an upward direction while looking at (i.e., visiting) these places. Although they are just as close as the other three villages mentioned, he did not go there as a young boy. The same east-west axis is used here, again locating the villages as being east of his location in Baungung.

4.3.5.4 Prepositional phrases which combine with *alak*

A motion verb combined with the directional adverb *alak* often has a prepositional phrase which further specifies the motion taking place or the goal of motion. The prepositional phrases occurring with *alak* in the corpus are shown in table 4.13

Table 4.13 – Prepositional phrases occurring with *alak*.

Prepositional phrase	Example
e LOCATION	<i>mi -po pasal alak e selen</i> 2PL -CONT go up at road ‘you(pl) go up the road’ [120.030]
nei LOCATION	<i>namem -la kalip alak nei sung</i> 1PL.EX -PERF paddle up in river ‘we paddle up the river’ [143.034]
si LOCATION	<i>kiklak alak si ka- -ri selen i lomlomon</i> jump up GEN POSS- -3PL road GEN faith ‘jump up on their road of faith’ [119.026]

Continued on next page

Table 4.13 Prepositional phrases with *alak* – continued from previous page

Prepositional phrase	Example
kul i LOCATION	<i>ninia ka -ta sang alak kul i vul ang le Tingwon</i> that.one 3SG -PST run up on GEN boat DEFPOST from Tingwon 'he drove up on the boat from Tingwon' [053.039]
neite LOCATION	<i>namem -ta -po kun polok alak neite -ria</i> 1PL.EX -PST -CONT also grow up under -3PL 'we also grew up under them (their leadership)' [133.145]
ane LOCATION	<i>ki -po pasal alak ane rina</i> 3PL -CONT go up toward village 'they went up to the village' [005.028]
ane nei LOCATION	<i>pasal alak ane nei uten e Tutuila</i> go up toward in forest at Tutuila 'go up to the forest at Tutuila' [120.004]
le LOCATION	<i>ninia ka -ta sang alak kul i vul ang le Tingwon</i> that.one 3SG -PST run up on GEN canoe DEFPOST from Tingwon 'he drove up on the canoe from Tingwon' [053.039]
velai OBJECT	<i>na ka -la pasal alak velai ani ka- -na vebe</i> and 3SG -PERF go up with OBJ POSS- -3SG basket 'and she went up with her basket' [045.003]
si PURPOSE	<i>ki -po pasal alak si an asiang ani ka- -ri keve</i> 3PL -CONT go up for:purpose MAW put.down OBJ POSS- -3PL PL.SPC kapkap money 'they went up in order to put down their money' [121.006]

Most of these prepositions combine with a location. The first five describe the location of the ground. The next three prepositional phrases also refer to a location, but in this case the prepositional phrase describes movement to a goal or from a source. The last two prepositional phrases refer to other relationships between the figure and an object: *Velai* refers to a means used and *si* conveys a purpose.

4.3.5.5 Other adverbs occurring together with *alak*

As mentioned earlier, more than one adverb can modify the same verb. In the corpus *alak* is found in combination with the following adverbs, most of which modify the manner of motion: *asung* 'near', *sumasuma* 'quickly', *luai* 'completely', *sumasuma pok* 'back quickly', *pok* 'back/again', *palau* 'only', *akasang* 'approaching', *lak* 'yet', *tul* 'until', *ananap* 'slowly'. When a manner adverb and a directional adverb occur together modifying the same verb, the directional always occurs before the manner adverb, which implies that it is more closely connected to the predication of the verb. For example:

- (198) *ka -po buk akos alak luai ani -mem tung e Umbukul*
 3SG -CONT want load up completely OBJ -1PLEX up.to at Umbukul
 ‘he wanted to load us up (and take us) all the way to Umbukul’ [059.016]

4.3.5.6 Figures of speech and metaphorical use

The adverb *alak* is regularly also used metaphorically. Table 4.14 illustrates several examples.

Table 4.14 – Metaphorical use of *alak*.

Metaphor	Example
sunrise	<i>ka -po tangat alak</i> 3SG -CONT dawn up ‘the sun rose’ [065.027]
give assistance to leaders	<i>alis kunga alak</i> give hand up ‘give assistance ‘up’ to leaders’ [025.004]
<i>pakangai alak</i> uses the same metaphor as <i>alis kunga alak</i>	<i>ki -ta -po pakangai alak e iang</i> 3PL -PST -CONT help up at there ‘and they helped us over there’ [138.004]
get involved in a discussion	<i>pa alak nei ka- -ri keve angmosolai</i> go up in POSS -3PL PL.SPEC issue ‘get into an issue in discussion’ [068.017]
growing up, describing childhood	<i>taun na -po polok alak</i> time 1SG -CONT grow up ‘when I was growing up’ [138.029]
raise a question	<i>susuiai ang ka -ta -la -po pasal alak nei komiti laba</i> question DEF.POST 3SG -PST -PERF -CONT go up in committee big ‘the question was raised with the committee’ [011.033]
breathe in, be alive, in contrast to <i>aus suai</i> - breathe out	<i>taun tara -po aus alak</i> time 3PL -CONT breathe up ‘when we breathe’ [120.065]
<i>alak</i> can be used to refer to time advancing upwards to the hour	<i>namem -po serei angasungai i sangauli na palpalima na</i> 1PLEX -CONT arrive near.by GEN ten and five DET <i>minit alak ane limaletul</i> minute up toward eight ‘we arrived around quarter to eight’ [043.052]
<i>pege alak</i> continue talking about something, discuss further	<i>taun na mengen asip i -ria, vap miang i -ria ki -po</i> time 1SG talk completely OBJ -3PL, people many OBJ -3PL 3PL -CONT <i>pege alak si sa na -po mengen tata -na</i> talk up GEN what 1SG -CONT talk OBL -3SG ‘when I had spoken everything to them, many of them spoke further on the topic of what I was saying’ [114.019-021]

Continued on next page

Table 4.14: Metaphorical use of *alak* – continued from previous page

Metaphor	Example
<i>tu</i> is a shortened form of <i>tung</i> : to stand. <i>Tu alak</i> or <i>tung alak</i> means to stop in at a village on a journey.	<i>ka -ta tung alak e oring ang</i> 3SG -PST stand up at place DEFPOST 'he stopped in at that place' [134.076]
<i>liklik alak</i> refers to childhood	<i>ka- -g liklik alak na -ta ago nei lu</i> POSS- -1SG small up 1SG -PST be in house 'growing up as a child I was at home' [128.007]

4.4 Prepositions and locational morphemes

Table 4.15 gives an overview of Tungag prepositions. Examples for these prepositions can be found in table 3.7 in section 3.4.6. In this section I will focus only on the spatial prepositions encoding direction and location. These prepositions specify either the location of an object or the direction taken by a motion verb. I will also look at the group of closely related locational nouns.

Table 4.15 – Overview of Tungag prepositions.

Tungag preposition	English gloss	Type of preposition
e	at	location
ane	to, toward	direction
le	from	direction
dong	into	direction
kul	on	location
nei	in	location
neite	underneath	location
neiliuan	in between	location
ngere	beside	location
mete	before, in front of	location
emung	behind, after	location
ani	for	modal, benefaction, malefaction, recipient
asi	for.purpose	modal
si, singi	genitive	modal, location, purpose
ta	instrumental	modal, instrumental
ve, veai	with	modal, accompaniment
tenei ³³	at	temporal

³³ *Tenei* is only used for a period of the day, evening or night.

Tungag prepositions can be grouped into the categories locational, directional and manner. In example (199) all three types of preposition are used to describe a motion event.

- (199) *na -la pasal **ve** ritol **ane** **nei** uten*
 1SG -PERF go with 3TR toward in forest
 'I went with the three of them to the forest' [112.017]

Ane indicates the direction of motion toward a goal. *Nei* encodes the location in the forest, and *ve*³⁴ is a manner preposition which indicates that the motion of the figure takes place with other people.

The first three prepositions in table 4.15, *e* 'at', *ane* 'toward' and *le* 'from', function somewhat differently than the other spatial prepositions. When they co-occur with other prepositions, they are used first. In the following three examples each of these prepositions is combined with a second preposition. The second preposition encodes the characteristic of the ground location, while the first preposition refers to the relationship between two elements of the clause.

- (200) *ki -po angkoi si pasal **e kul** i bangang*
 3PL -CONT able GEN go at on GEN low.tide.area
 'they are able to walk on the low tide area' [060.092]

- (201) *ki -ta pasal **ane** **nei** tongong*
 3PL -PST walk toward in mangrove.swamp
 'they walked to the mangrove swamp' [049.011]

- (202) *na ka an tavap **le ngere** bang*
 and 3SG MAW rebound from beside rock
 'and it rebounds from beside the rock' [012.008]

In example (201) the prepositional phrase *ane nei tongong* contains both the directional preposition *ane* as head of the phrase specifying toward where the motion takes place, and the preposition *nei* 'in', which modifies the nature of the goal, namely in the mangrove swamp. The combination of *ane* and *nei* is quite common but only together with a goal that is perceived as a container. For example, when a person goes to a goal encoded with *nei*, this goal location must be large enough to contain a person. One could say that the goal of motion is to be in the mangrove swamp, not beside it or close to it. Typical goals for such a phrase are: swamp, forest, ocean, cave and house. This use of prepositions to indicate the nature of the ground location is discussed further in section 5.4.1.

³⁴ *Ve* 'with' can be combined with verbs of motion and location, but does not itself have to do with either. The same applies for the prepositions *ani*, *asi*, *ta*, *tenei*. These will not be discussed further in this section.

The remaining spatial prepositions in table 4.15 can occur either together with these primary prepositions or on their own as the head of a prepositional phrase. These prepositions specify a location in relation to a ground. The preposition *dong* 'into' is an exception in that it refers to both location and direction. Many of these prepositions are closely related to locational nouns. Figure 4.10 shows the related prepositions and locational nouns.

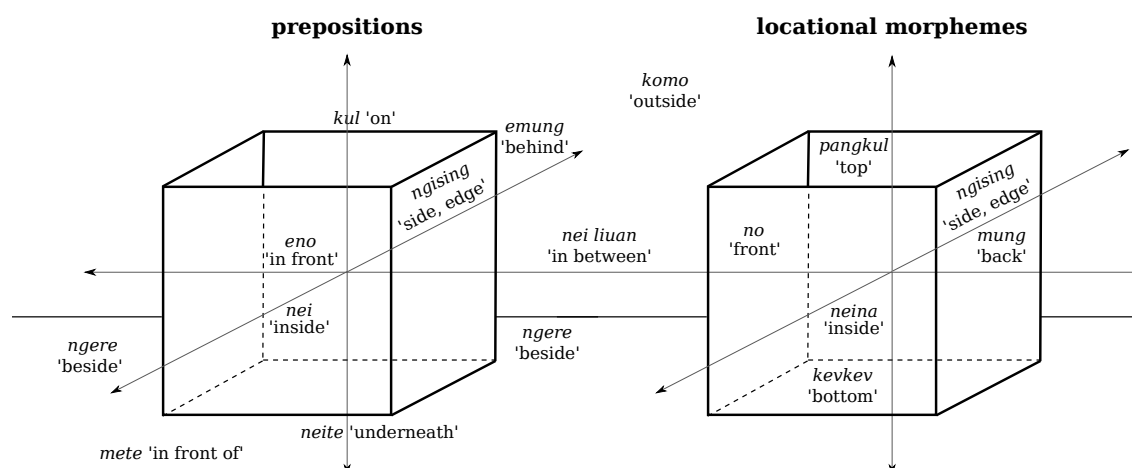


Figure 4.10 – Related prepositions and locational morphemes.

For example, the locational morpheme *no* refers to a person's face or the front of something. The prepositional phrase in example (203) is a parallel construction to the prepositional phrase in example (200): *e kul i bangang*.

- (203) *ka -ta -po ago e no i bang ke*
 3SG -PST -CONT be at front GEN rock this
 'it was at the front of this rock' [077.009: *no* as a locational noun]

No as a locational noun can also directly receive person markers. For example:

e no -g
 at face -1SG
 'on my face'

This refers to something being on my face as opposed to at the front of something, as in example (203). The difference between the two constructions lies in the use of the genitive particle *i* to mark possession when *no* is used to refer to the front of an object other than oneself. The same applies for the preposition *mung* 'behind, back side of a person'³⁵. Other prepositions can also take person markings. For example the preposition *kul* 'on':

³⁵ Cf. the examples of possession marked directly onto the noun, typically body parts and kinship terms, in section 3.4.3.2.

- (204) *man tara -la -po abis amiang kul -u -na*
 if 1PL.INC -PERF -CONT work many on -GEN -3SG
 ‘if we have worked on (used) it (canoe) a lot’ [087.064]

Compare here what Ross writes about Oceanic languages in respect to the use of the preposition ‘beside’:

“It is tempting to look for a POc relational noun which would correspond in its use to the English preposition ‘beside’. However, in many of its English uses ‘beside’ denotes a relative location, and, as I noted in §1, speakers of Oceanic languages do not make use of relative locations. We would expect POc reconstructions corresponding to meanings of English ‘side’ to denote an intrinsic, not a relative, location, and consequently perhaps to denote a part of a particular object.” (Ross 2003:254)

The locational morphemes and prepositions are used in an intrinsic frame of reference in Tungag in this way to denote a part of an object as shown in figure 4.10 above.³⁶

The relationship between the prepositions and locational morphemes, or rather the indistinct boundary between their use as prepositions or locational morphemes can be seen in the following examples with the preposition *nei* ‘in’. In example (205) and (206), *serei* ‘arrive’ occurs with *e nei* and *nei*.

- (205) *serei e nei lu*
 arrive at in house
 ‘arrive at the house’ [136.124: *serei* + *e* + *nei* LOC]

- (206) *serei nei lu i malepen*
 arrive in house GEN sick
 ‘arrive at the hospital’ [043.064: *serei* + *nei* LOC]

Depending on the context, *nei* could be either glossed as a locational morpheme (meaning: the inside of an object or place) or a preposition (in).

The same ambiguity holds for the locational morpheme *kevkev* referring to the bottom, although it does not hold for the locational morpheme *pangkul* ‘top’. *Kevkev* can be used as a locational noun headed by a preposition, e.g. example (207), but can also head a locational adjunct, e.g. example (208).

- (207) *igenen ka -po ago e kevkev*
 man 3SG -CONT stay at bottom
 ‘the man stayed at the bottom’ [135.021]

- (208) *ane ngere lo, ane suke, kevkev i Angat, ka -ta -po mang sikei a tulava si*
 toward beside shore, toward there, bottom GEN Angat, 3SG -PST -CONT a.certain one DET leader GEN
taun ang
 time DEF.POST
 ‘toward the shore, toward there, below Angat, he was a leader at that time’ [124.063-065]

³⁶ It would be interesting to look further at the use of the prepositions which denote body parts being used to refer to other objects as in example (203) above.

The shortened form of *kevkev* (*kev*) can combine directly with a verb to indicate the location where an action takes place. Here it is used as an adverb. For instance:

ka -po sinong kev
3SG -CONT sit bottom
 'he sat at the bottom'

The group of locational morphemes related to prepositions shown in figure 4.10 can be enlarged to include the following locational nouns which function in the same way. These words often combine with the three prepositions *e*, *le* and *ane*, but also with other prepositions indicating the location of an object. This is not an exhaustive list, but shows some of the typical locational nouns used in the corpus in prepositional phrases indicating a location.

- *vunep* - ground
- *vainagoan* - area of residence, ownership
- *rina* - village, home
- words referring to areas around the shore (see figure 5.18)
- *matang* - garden
- *uten* - forest
- *pangau* - space of time or area
- *selen* - path, road
- *tukul* - base
- *veles* - top end of tree
- *palpal* - part, area³⁷ (*palpal i lu* 'part of the house' *palpal lava* 'a large area')
- *voi* - where (question word)

As I mention above, the preposition *dong* 'into' is somewhat different than the others in that it has an element of both direction and location. It is also not related to any locational morpheme. An example from the corpus with the preposition *dong*:

(209) *ka pirikit a rul i -na dong a ese*
3SG squeeze DET sap GEN -3SG into DET bottle
 'he squeezed it's sap into a bottle' [060.056]

The combination of the prepositions *ane nei* 'toward in' is used to describe motion to a location that can be described with 'in' (example (210)), whereas *dong* is used to describe putting something in its respective container, as in example (209) and is combined with a direct object. It is also often used with speech verbs, where speech

³⁷ Related to this, the words *palkais* and *palso* refer to the left and right side of a person respectively. *kais* and *so* are used idiomatically and refer to the hand used to take stones off a fire and the hand used to shoot with a spear. These can be used as locational morphemes, for instance: *e palkais-i-na* 'on his left hand side'.

is conceptualised as being poured into its respective container - a person or group of people, as in example (211).

- (210) *namem -la kokos pok **ane** **nei rina** lava*
 1PL -PERF board back toward in village big
 ‘we boarded (to go) back to the town’ [059.007]

- (211) *na -po buk **mengen dong** ani ri vap i Umbukul*
 1SG -CONT want talk into OBJ PL.GNL people GEN Umbukul
 ‘I want to talk to the people of Umbukul’ [131.001]

In this section, the examples and discussion have shown how prepositions are used in different ways in Tungag. They have also shown that the distinction between prepositions and locational morphemes is not always clear.

4.5 Demonstratives and Deixis

Demonstratives are used in an external frame of reference to refer to something in space. They are deictic words which can be employed for spatial deixis and discourse deixis. Fillmore defines deixis as follows:

Deixis is the name given to uses of items and categories of lexicon and grammar that are controlled by certain details of the interactional situation in which the utterances are produced. These details include especially the identity of the participants in the communicating situation, their locations and orientations in space, whatever ongoing indexing acts the participants may be performing, and the time at which the utterance containing the items is produced. (Fillmore 1982:35)

Words signifying spatial deixis in Tungag usually come in pairs. In section 3.4.4.5 I introduced Tungag demonstratives and words used deictically and illustrated how they are used. Table 3.6 gave an overview of these words with examples from the corpus, while table 4.16 shows how they are related.

Table 4.16 – Demonstratives and words used deictically.

	proximal	distal
spatial/temporal	<i>ke</i> ‘this’	<i>suke</i> ‘that’
spatial/temporal	<i>kana</i> ‘here/now’	<i>sukana</i> ‘over there’
spatial	<i>kke</i> ‘here’	<i>suke</i> ‘there’
discourse	<i>ang</i> (object anaphor)	<i>iang</i> (place anaphor)
discourse	<i>nang</i> ‘this one’	–
interjections	<i>vang</i>	<i>vanang</i>

Demonstratives are often combined with other spatial words to point to or refer to a place or object. For example:

- (212) *au, namem an -la ane iang le, namemlong me -la ago.*
 well, 1PLEX MAW -PERF toward there first, 1DLEX MTW -PERF stay
 ‘well, we went over there first, (then) we(2) came and stayed here’ [140.049]

Figure 4.11 illustrates the motion which occurs in this example and shows which words are used deictically:

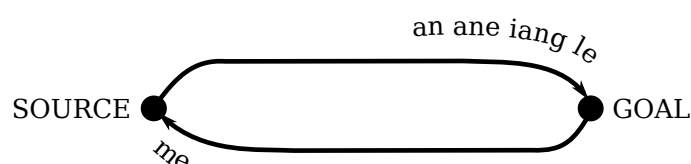


Figure 4.11 – The path of motion and words used deictically in example (212).

The reference to time in this utterance also gives a clue to the direction of the motion events. *le* is a temporal verbal morpheme which means first: First we went there, (then) we came back here. In this case the time is important, since it distinguishes between the two motion events.³⁸ Out of context it is impossible to know where the speaker is referring to. He defines his orientation with the use of the directional morphemes *an* and *me*. The first motion event is away from the speaker. Fillmore (1982) mentions the “time at which the utterance [...] is produced” (see quote above) as being relevant. The place where it is produced is also relevant here. Since the speaker is talking about his own movement in the past, the directional morphemes serve to point away from and toward his location at the time of telling this story. This location is the same as the source and goal of the two motion events.

In the following two sections I examine how demonstratives are used deictically in two narratives. In the first text (section 4.5.1) the speaker uses absolute and relative frames of reference as a means of orientation and according to which he then uses demonstratives to refer deictically to locations in the narrative. In the second text (section 4.5.2), the speaker describes many different journeys, using deixis and demonstratives to make his position during his travels clear to the listener.

4.5.1 Example from a narrative: The use of absolute and relative frames of reference

In the following text the narrator describes two round trips, one between Umbukul and Taun to get a canoe, and one between Umbukul and Meteinga directly following, using the canoe to bring someone to Meteinga. The route is shown on the map in figure 4.12. This text makes reference to upward and downward motion in relation to the

³⁸ In the English translation of example (212) I include the word ‘then’. In Tungag, the perfective aspect *-la* in the second clause indicates that the second motion event has begun. This is discussed further in section 5.3.3.

sunrise-sunset axis. I analyse how the portrayal of motion relates to knowledge of direction using different frames of reference. I also look at how demonstratives are used when referring to locations.

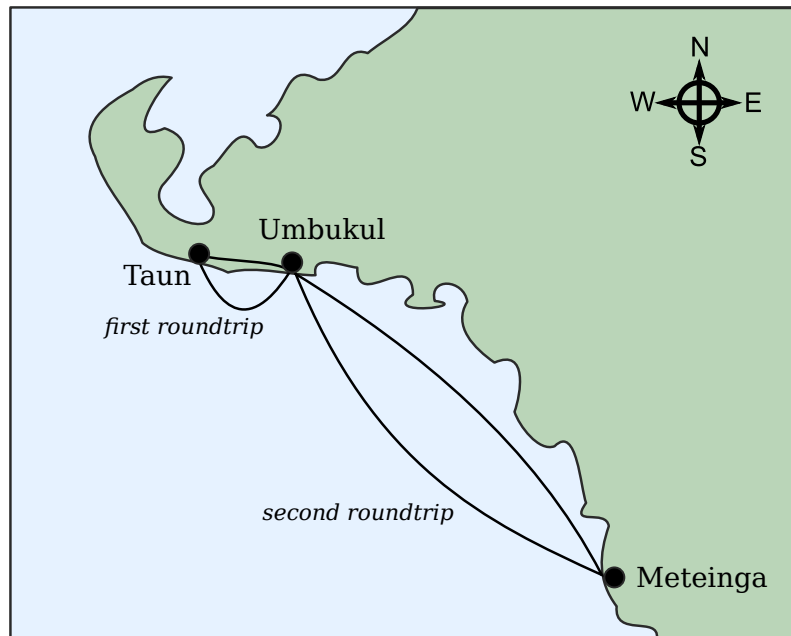


Figure 4.12 – Map of the two round trips described in section 4.5.1.

A short synopsis of the story is as follows: A patrol officer comes to Umbukul and wants someone to walk to Taun to get a boat to bring him to Meteinga. The protagonist, at that time a young man, explains the background of the situation and the kind of man the officer is. He then gives an account of his trip with another young man first to Taun, then back to Umbukul with the man who owns the boat they borrow, and finally on to Meteinga with the patrol officer and then back to Umbukul.³⁹

In the following section I will look at the motion events described in the two round-trips. The narrator uses two different ways to refer to the direction of motion. Although this text is relatively long, the section describing the actual motion events is kept quite short and succinct. When describing the first round-trip the speaker uses absolute directions, with the directional adverbs *alak* ‘up’ and *asiang* ‘down’, referring to the direction of sunrise and sunset. In his description of the second round-trip he uses a relative frame of reference, anchoring the direction of motion against the lay of the land. For both journeys he makes use of demonstratives to refer to locations.

³⁹ Important background knowledge for this narrative is that it is told as a joke to make fun of the patrol officer. L. Fast writes: “a further point is that this story is a joke/story, one told to me and often told in order to have a good laugh. The narrator, an elderly man had told it in a group for my benefit - i.e., I needed to hear this story as a newcomer and as one who asked questions about the colonial period” (Lesley Fast personal communication, 2011).

First round-trip: Umbukul - Taun - Umbukul

The first motion event regarding the protagonist occurs relatively late in the narrative, directly following the patrol officer ordering him and another boy to go to Taun and pick up a canoe there to paddle back to Umbukul. The officer's orders are given in reported speech:

- (213) *na ka -la asok i -memlong ta: "milong pasal, na milong an songo le na igenen ang, na milong dal a vul ang, a mi kalip alak i -a. Na ka me ung e kke si ka- -g pasal ane suke"*
and 3SG -PERF order OBJ -DL.INC OBL: "2DL go, and 2DL MAW call first DET person
 DERPOST, and 2DL drag DET canoe DERPOST, and 2PL paddle up OBJ 3SG. and 3SG MTW arrive at here
 for.purpose POSS- -1SG go toward there"
 'and he ordered us: "you(2) go and you(2) call that person and you(2) get the canoe and you(pl) paddle it up and it will arrive here for my travels to over there". [053.046-051]

Directly following the reported speech of the officer, which gives the purpose for the journey, the speaker describes the first round-trip (example (214)) from Umbukul to Taun and back:

- (214) *Namemlong -la -po sang asiang. Namemlong an -la songo le na igenen ang, na namemtol kalip alak. Kalip kalip kalip. Namemtol me -la ung e kke.*
1DL.EX -PERF -CONT run down. 1DL.EX MAW -PERF call first DET man DERPOST,
 and 1TR.EX paddle up. paddle paddle paddle. 1TR.EX MTW -PERF arrive at here.
 'We(2) ran down. We(2) (went and) called that person, and we(3) paddled up. Paddled, paddled, paddled. We(3) arrived here.' [053.052-055]

In both of these accounts, the speaker uses an absolute frame of reference to anchor the direction of travel. The speaker begins example (214) by saying: 'we ran down'. Down in this case refers to the direction away from the sunrise, i.e., west. After calling the person whose boat they will use, they paddle back up (east). During this section of text there is no specific mention of Taun or Umbukul. Since it is already known that the canoe is in Taun and that the officer is in Umbukul, making specific references to both places is superfluous. In combination with the sunrise-sunset axis, the narrator uses the directional morphemes *an* and *me*, which further clarify the direction of travel. The prepositional phrase *e kke* 'at here' with the demonstrative *kke* refers to the location where he started out, and is also the place where the narrative is being told.

Second round-trip: Umbukul - Meteinga - Umbukul

For the second round-trip, bringing the officer to Meteinga and then paddling back, the speaker uses a number of spatial deixis references. The motion events contain prepositions and adverbs which specify the direction of motion.

- (215) *Namem kalip, kalip, e kke laman tung e Meteinga. Moses, namem -la kalip ve nia ane suke. Namem an -la asisiang e Meteinga, na namem kalip pok.*
1PL.EX paddle, paddle, at here water up.to at Meteinga. Moses, 1PL.EX -PERF paddle with
 3SG toward there. 1PL.EX MAW -PERF unload at Meteinga, and 1PL.EX paddle back

'We paddled, paddled, (in the stretch) of water (from) here up until Meteinga. We paddled with Moses to over there. We unloaded at Meteinga, and we paddled back.'
[053.069-072, 070-071, 073]

The narrator specifies the goal of travel - Meteinga - twice by name, perhaps because the location is less well-known to the listener than Umbukul and Taun and also further away. In the first phrase he mentions the manner of motion, *kalip* 'paddle', and then describes the path: there is water all the way up to Meteinga. In other words, they paddled all the way without stopping once. This shows a possible way of including a description of the ground in the motion event.

The speaker then repeats the same motion event (paddle) so as to mention an important known person to the listener, Moses. He uses the deictic demonstrative *suke* 'over there' to refer to Meteinga. The next sentence is another description of the motion event, this time focussing on the arrival: we went and unloaded at Meteinga. For the return journey, the directional adverb *pok* 'back' suffices, as it is clear that the return journey brings him back to Umbukul, the starting point of his journey. In this case the speaker uses a relative frame of reference. *Pok* is used deictically to refer back to the starting point, a location already known to speaker and hearer.

4.5.2 Example: deixis and directional morphemes - using inference to refer to motion events

This text is an account of many different places to which the speaker went in order participate in and speak at a variety of church-related events.⁴⁰ The speaker frequently uses deictic references to refer to movement in space. This text is one of the more complex texts in the corpus in regards to the path of motion described. Not only does the speaker refer to very many different motion events within a relatively short text (11 legs to his journey, traveling to 6 different villages), he also often makes use of the directional morphemes *an* and *me*, directional adverbs referring to the geography of the land which require a sound knowledge of the area for the listener and refers to places only with deictics or demonstratives, leaving much of the information implicit. The map in figure 4.13 shows all of his journeys.

As explained in section 4.5, Tungag speakers often refer to locations deictically with the use of demonstratives. In table 4.17 I will look at each utterance of the speaker describing his travels as shown in figure 4.13. I will examine the use of the deictic phrases *e iang*, *e suke* and *e kke*. These can be glossed as: at there, at there, at here, the

⁴⁰ This text is part of a longer interview (Text 140 in the corpus) and is in answer to the following question: "Who was it that called you to preach? I asked Vat this question thinking he would answer 'Tiplas' (his older brother) and he answered by giving this description of the development of the variety of his preaching experience, at first observing Tiplas then taking on a few of his own independent assignments" (L. Fast personal communication 2011).

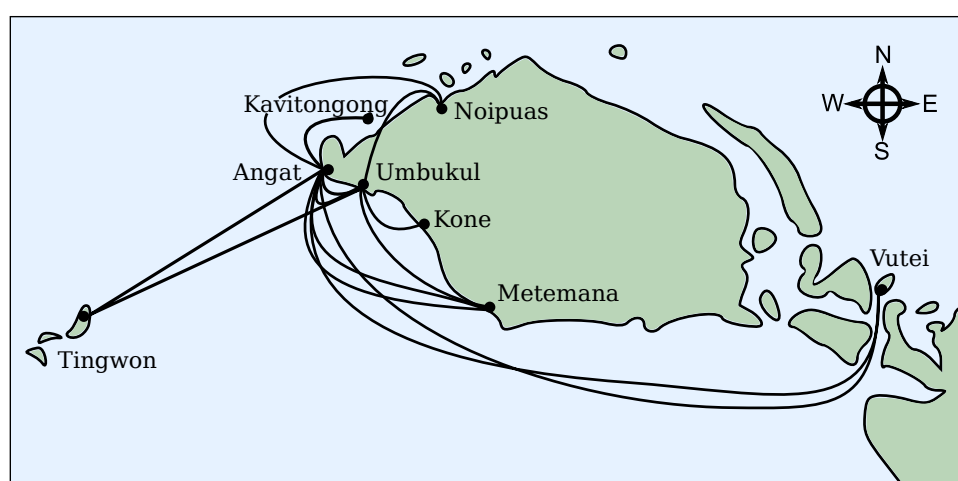


Figure 4.13 – Map of the journeys described in table 4.17.

difference between *e iang* and *e suke* being that *e iang* is discourse deixis referring to a place already referred to and *e suke* points to a location only (without the added aspect of discourse deixis). The speaker often combines demonstratives with the directional morphemes *an* and *me* to refer to the direction of motion. I will look at each of the five journeys in turn, focussing on the linguistic means the speaker uses to make clear to his audience where the movement takes place. For example, the first place name the speaker mentions explicitly is Noipuas, but this only occurs in the 8th utterance. Before that he describes his journey from Angat to Metemana and back, without explicitly naming these locations.

Table 4.17 – Deixis and inferred motion.

Text	Analysis
<i>First leg of the journey: Angat - Umbukul - Metemana - Angat</i>	
<i>na -ta ago le e kke</i> 1SG -PST be first at here 'I was first here for a while'	<i>E kke</i> refers to Angat, the place where the interview takes place and also the starting point for Vat's journeys described in the narrative.
<i>na -ta ago ago</i> 1SG -PST stay stay 'I stayed and stayed'	Reduplication of the verb in this way is a means of expressing durative aspect.

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Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<p><i>na na -po serei taun -ai</i> and 1SG -CONT arrive go.toward -TRSV</p> <p><i>ani tasi -g ta Tiplas</i> OBJ sibling.same.sex -1SG OBL Tiplas</p> <p><i>si aiveven e kke</i> GEN care.for at here</p> <p>'and I arrived approaching my brother Tiplas who is caring for (the church) here'</p>	<p>Vat describes arriving in Umbukul with the phrase <i>serei taunai ani NP</i>. He uses this phrase to describe the motion event from the perspective of its endpoint. <i>Taun</i> is an adverb which describes the direction of motion as being toward a goal. The transitive affix <i>-ai</i> is added to allow for the mention of the goal, namely his brother Tiplas. The skope of <i>kke</i> is widened here to mean the whole Umbukul church administrative area, making it possible to include Tiplas' location in Umbukul and Vat's location in Angat at the time in <i>e kke</i>.</p>
<p><i>na ka -la -po mengen i -au</i> and 3SG -PERF -CONT say OBJ -1SG</p> <p><i>si mang taun si ka-</i> GEN a.certain day GEN POSS-</p> <p><i>-memlong ane si rina ang</i> -1DLEX toward GEN village DEF.POST</p> <p><i>si ri nna -memlong</i> GEN PL.GNL mother -1DLEX</p> <p>'and he began telling me that on a certain day we would (go) to the village of our(2) mother'</p>	<p>This utterance describes a planned motion event, but does not use a motion verb. It is possible to refer to motion using only a preposition, in this case the preposition <i>ane</i> 'toward', perhaps this is done here because the clause referring to the motion event is subordinate to the main clause of the sentence.</p> <p>The village mentioned here, where Vat and Tiplas' mother comes from, is not mentioned by name. It is the village Metemana, where they travel to in the next sentence.</p>
<p><i>au namemlong an -la</i> and.so 1DLEX MAW -PERF</p> <p><i>mengen e iang</i> speak at there</p> <p>'And so we(2) went and spoke there'</p>	<p>Metemana is referred to here with the prepositional phrase <i>e iang</i>. The demonstrative <i>iang</i> points toward a place already referred to. Although Metemana was only mentioned as the village where their mother is from, it is clear to both speaker and hearer that <i>iang</i> refers to Metemana.</p>
<p><i>au le iang namemlong</i> and.then from there 1DLEX</p> <p><i>me -la ago pok</i> MTW -PERF stay again</p> <p>'And then from there we(2) (came back) and were here again'</p>	<p>This describes the motion from Metemana back to Angat / Umbukul circuit. In the previous utterance the speaker used the directional morpheme <i>an</i> to describe the direction of travel. Here he uses both the directional morpheme <i>me</i> and the adverb <i>pok</i>. <i>Pok</i> can be used temporally and spatially to mean 'back' or 'again'. He also mentions the source for this motion event with the demonstrative <i>iang</i>. Although this utterance clearly describes a motion event and makes use of a number of directionals, the verb used is not a motion verb but the locational verb <i>ago</i>. The speaker does not focus on the actual motion, but on the fact that they stayed at certain villages. It is not clear from the context so far, whether they returned to Angat, his starting point, or Umbukul, Tiplas' starting point.</p>

Continued on next page

Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<i>Second leg of the journey:</i> Umbukul - Angat - Noipuas - Angat - Noipuas - Angat	
<p><i>na ka -la -po togon mang</i> and 3SG -PERF -CONT have a.certain</p> <p><i>taun namemlong -la pa aliu</i> day 1DLEX -PERF go along</p> <p><i>ane kke ane Noipuas</i> toward here toward Noipuas</p> <p>‘and there was another time we(2) went over to here to Noipuas’</p>	<p>In the last utterance the goal was unclear. From this utterance it becomes clear that they stayed in Umbukul. The path of motion is described here with the verb <i>pa</i>, the directional adverb <i>aliu</i>, which signalises a trajectory along a ground, and the two prepositional phrases with the preposition <i>ane</i> encoding motion toward a goal. <i>Aliu</i> ‘along’ describes a common way of travelling from Umbukul to Noipuas - along to Metetui at the mouth of a river, north along the river to the ocean and along the coast to Noipuas. While narrating this story, the speaker is located in Angat. He refers to Noipuas with <i>e kke</i> ‘at here’, again widening the scope of ‘here’ to include Noipuas. In order to clarify this, he then refers to Noipuas by name.</p>
<p><i>si an ago si ri pastor</i> GEN MAW stay GEN PL.GNL pastor</p> <p>‘to go and stay with the pastor’</p>	<p>The speaker again doesn’t mention Noipuas, since the location was made clear in the previous utterance. Here he describes the purpose of the trip. He again refers to the motion with the directional morpheme <i>an</i>.</p>
<p><i>au namemlong me ago</i> and.then 1DLEX MTW stay</p> <p><i>pok le</i> again first</p> <p>‘And we(2) came back and were (here)’</p>	<p>The return journey again doesn’t specify Angat or the movement. Rather, the combination of the directional <i>me</i> with the verb <i>ago</i> + the adverb <i>pok</i> suffice. <i>Le</i> ‘first’ is used to refer to the fact that they first came back before heading back to Noipuas again (see the following two utterances).</p>

Continued on next page

Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<p><i>ka -po togon mang ago pok</i> 3SG -CONT have another stay again</p> <p><i>si ri aina e iang, pok e</i> GEN PL.GNL woman at there, back at</p> <p><i>Noipuas</i> Noipuas</p> <p>‘then there was another gathering of the women back over there at Noipuas’</p>	<p>Here the speaker is referring to a new trip to Noipuas. He talks about the trip without mentioning any motion there or back. Only in the next sentence, when he describes the return journey, is it clear that they had gone to Noipuas to the women’s gathering. The fact that it is a new trip to Noipuas is made clear through the use of <i>mang</i> ‘another’ and <i>pok</i>. <i>Pok</i> can refer to doing something again or to going back, i.e. both temporally and spatially one goes back to something already done. They again travel back to Noipuas, in order to preach at the women’s gathering there, and in the following utterance again go back to Angat. These journeys are not spelled out explicitly but the deictic particles give a number of clues about the direction of motion. In this case the speaker first refers to Noipuas with the prepositional phrase <i>e iang</i>, but then, to make it clearer where he is at this point in his narrative, refers to the village by name: <i>e Noipuas</i>.</p>
<p><i>au namemlong me ago</i> and.then 1DL.EX MTW be</p> <p><i>pok le e kke</i> again first at here</p> <p>‘And then we(2) came and were back here again’</p>	<p>Compare this utterance with the last one of the first leg of the journey. The same kind of return-trip back to Angat is described. These two sentences are very similar but differ in the use of <i>le</i>. In the first sentence, <i>le</i> is used as a spatial preposition, specifying the source of a motion event. In this sentence, <i>le</i> is not a preposition, but a temporal particle occurring at the end of a verb phrase. It can be used deictically to refer to something having already happened.</p>
<p><i>Third leg of the journey: Angat - Vutei - Angat</i></p>	
<p><i>ka -la -po togon mang songo</i> 3SG -PERF -CONT have another call</p> <p><i>ka -ta songo alak ane Vutei si</i> 3SG -PST call up toward Vutei GEN</p> <p><i>keve kulenusa ang i Tigak</i> PL.SPC island DEF.POST GEN Tigak</p> <p>‘there was another call, it called up to Vutei in the Tigak islands’</p>	<p>Vutei is one of the Tigak islands located east of Lovangai island, hence the upward direction (<i>alak</i> - east). In this utterance it is not yet the two men who are moving, but the call (<i>songo</i>) to come to Vutei is described as the figure of a motion event: <i>alak ane</i> GOAL. In other words it is possible for an inanimate phenomenon, in this case a call or a message, to be described using directional adverbs and prepositions.</p>

Continued on next page

Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<p><i>au, namem an -la ane</i> and.so, 1PLEX MAW -PERF toward</p> <p><i>iang le</i> there first</p> <p>‘And so we went there’</p>	<p>The meetings and work that this call to Vutei was about are not mentioned, even though this whole narrative is in answer to a question focussing on work and not on the travels. This utterance focusses only on the motion event. There is no verb in this sentence, since the motion and direction of motion is made clear through the adjuncts. Vutei has been mentioned by name in the previous sentence, so that here it suffices to refer to it with the demonstrative <i>iang</i>. The message they received called them up to Vutei (<i>songo alak</i>), so that the direction of travel is already established. Here the speaker uses a combination of the directional morpheme <i>an</i>, signalling motion away from the deictic centre in Angat, and the preposition <i>ane</i>, indicating motion toward the goal Vutei.</p>
<p><i>namemlong me -la ago</i> 1DL.EX MTW -PERF stay</p> <p>‘we(2) came and stayed’</p>	<p>The use of <i>me</i> makes it clear that the direction is back to Angat. <i>Ago</i> also points to Angat, since this is the place where the speaker normally lives. Unlike previous utterances, Angat is not referred to deictically.</p>
<p><i>Fourth leg of the journey: Angat - Tingwon - Umbukul - Angat</i></p>	
<p><i>mang taun ka -ta -po togon</i> another time 3SG -PST -CONT have</p> <p><i>songo e Tingwon si an ago si</i> call at Tingwon GEN MAW be GEN</p> <p><i>ri youth</i> PL.GNL youth</p> <p>‘another time there was a call from Tingwon to be with the youth’</p>	<p>The next call to preach comes from Tingwon and calls them to go be with the youth in Tingwon. The motion toward Tingwon from Angat is encoded with the directional <i>an</i> together with the locational verb <i>ago</i>.</p>
<p><i>au namemlong an -la ane</i> and.so 1DL.EX MAW -PERF toward</p> <p><i>iang kapa</i> there also</p> <p>‘and so we(2) (went) to over there also’</p>	<p>There is no verb in this sentence. The person, aspect and directional morphemes which are part of the verb phrase can stand on their own without the (implied) motion verb <i>pasal</i>. <i>Iang</i> is used because Tingwon has been mentioned in the previous sentence. <i>Kapa</i> refers to the fact that they have already gone to be in a number of other places for similar reasons.</p>

Continued on next page

Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<p><i>tung si mang taun ka an -la</i> until GEN a.certain day 3SG MAW -PERF</p> <p><i>-po sinong i abis e iang e</i> -CONT sit GEN work at there at</p> <p><i>Umbukul na ka -la songo i</i> Umbukul and 3SG -PERF call OBJ</p> <p><i>-au</i> -1SG</p> <p>‘until on another day he was sitting and working over there at Umbukul and he called me’</p>	<p>The temporal phrase <i>tung si mang taun</i> refers to an amount of time going by. During this time Vat travels back to Angat. The trip to Tingwon was only a short trip to speak for one evening. He lived life as normal until the call came to preach on his own. This call leads to the most significant event of the story as the answer to the question “who called you to preach?”. There is, however, no reference to his journey from Tingwon to Angat. Tiplas, who has up to this time been traveling together with his brother Vat, has now started to work as a pastor in Umbukul. This is referred to in a number of ways: the directional morpheme <i>an</i> indicates the location of Tiplas in Umbukul, away from Vat’s location in Angat. Tiplas moves away from where the speaker is located, and he sets up his work there, at Umbukul. This location is first referred to with the demonstrative <i>iang</i>, and then specified as being at Umbukul. Tiplas calls his brother to also come to Umbukul. The call (<i>songo</i>), which has been previously used a number of times as a noun, is a verb here. The phrase <i>ka an songo iau</i> is the core of the utterance. Both phrases with the directional <i>an</i> are closely connected and both help to signal motion away from the speaker.</p>
<p><i>ka -ta -po ago si Easter</i> 3SG -PST -CONT be GEN Easter</p> <p><i>nganing na ka v -ta -po</i> perhaps and 3SG perhaps -PST -CONT</p> <p><i>asang a keve vuk akalkalit na</i> run DET PL.SPC piece teaching and</p> <p><i>ka an songo i -au</i> 3SG MAW call OBJ -1SG</p> <p>‘he was involved in Easter perhaps, he might have been running some teaching sessions and he called me’</p>	<p>Vat explains this call in some more detail, explaining why he was called to Umbukul and for what reason: It is Easter and Tiplas is planning to run a teaching session and wants his brother to help him. Note the direction of the call: It comes to Vat from Umbukul to Angat. The manner of motion verb <i>asang</i> is used here in a metaphorical sense (much the same as in English where one can say ‘run a meeting’).</p>
<p><i>si an mengen si mangsikei</i> GEN MAW speak GEN a.certain.one</p> <p><i>palau a tenei vong e iang</i> only DET time.of.day dark at there</p> <p>‘to go and speak on only one evening over there’</p>	<p>The directional morpheme <i>an</i> refers to Vat’s motion, namely from Angat to Umbukul. Since Umbukul is also located away from Angat, the place where the story is being told, <i>an</i> is used to describe motion away from the speaker’s location when telling the narrative. Again he refers to Umbukul only through deixis with <i>e iang</i>.</p>

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Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<p><i>au na ane iang le, na na</i> and.so 1SG toward there first and 1SG</p> <p><i>me -la ago</i> MTW -PERF stay</p> <p>‘and so I (went) to over there first and then I came back here’</p>	<p>This sentence describes two journeys: from Angat to Umbukul and then from Umbukul back to Angat. The first trip has already been described in some detail in the previous sentences which mention the purpose of this trip. Here no motion verb is used. It is sufficient to use a prepositional phrase with a demonstrative. The temporal particle <i>le</i> signals that he first went to Umbukul. The second half of the sentence then describes the return journey to Angat. The directional morpheme <i>me</i> makes the direction of the journey clear, in the same way as the other return journeys to Angat.</p>
<p><i>Fifth leg of the journey: Angat - Tingwon - Umbukul - Angat</i></p>	
<p><i>au ka -la -po togon a</i> and.then 3SG -PERF -CONT have DET</p> <p><i>mang taun i sokotuk, ki -ta</i> a.certain day GEN plead, 3PL -PST</p> <p><i>atung i -a e kke,</i> set.up OBJ 3SG at here</p> <p><i>Kavitongong.</i> Kavitongong.</p> <p>‘And there was a day of prayer, they had set it up here (at) Kavitongong’</p>	<p><i>E kke</i> refers to here, but he is talking about Kavitongong although he is in Angat. This is a good example of the widening of the scope of a demonstrative. The speaker did the same above when referring to Noipuas. Kavitongong is quite close to Angat, and in order to contrast this with the other places he has mentioned which are further away, it can be included in the scope of <i>kke</i>. He again adds the name of the place to clarify which location in the range of <i>e kke</i> he means, so that the speaker does not assume he means Angat itself.</p>
<p><i>sikei ki -ta -po songo i</i> but 3PL -PST -CONT call OBJ</p> <p><i>-memlong ve Tiplas. Sikei nia</i> -3PL with Tiplas. But 3SG</p> <p><i>kapa ka -ta -po togon abis si</i> also 3SG -PST -CONT have work GEN</p> <p><i>an sinong ve ri pastor i</i> MAW sit with PL.GNL pastor GEN</p> <p><i>ring ke, section ke</i> place this, section this</p> <p>‘But they were calling us(2) with Tiplas. But he (this time) also had work to go and sit with the pastors of this place, of this section.’</p>	<p>Vat corrects himself, first he says <i>i ring ke</i>, ‘at this place’, but then corrects it to: <i>i section ke</i> ‘at this section’. A section is an administrative unit of the church, smaller than the circuit mentioned earlier. The meeting probably took place at Kone since that is the head of the section. This is not clear, but the use of <i>section ke</i> allows for the possibility that the meeting took place at Kone rather than at Umbukul, where Tiplas currently is staying. <i>Ke</i> is a proximal demonstrative that refers to here or this, as opposed to <i>suke</i> which refers to a place further away. Again, there is a widening of the scope of deixis here. The fact that he uses the directional <i>an</i> with the positional verb <i>sinong</i> ‘sit’ referring to the meetings, does point toward Kone and would also explain Vat’s correction.</p>

Continued on next page

Table 4.17 Deixis and inferred motion - continued from previous page

Text	Analysis
<p><i>na ka -la antok i -au ta: nau</i> and 3SG -PERF tell OBJ -1SG OBL: 1SG</p> <p><i>na -la pa alak asukang suke,</i> 1SG -PERF go up as there.far,</p> <p><i>na numai ku -la pa aliu si</i> and 2SG 2SG -PERF go passing GEN</p> <p><i>an luk ani ka- -g pangau e</i> MAW take OBJ POSS- -1SG space.of.area at</p> <p><i>suke</i> there</p> <p>‘and he said to me that: “I will go up like that there, and you will go along to take my place over there”’</p>	<p>The call came to Tiplas to go to Kavitongong. However, he tells his brother to go in his place, as he needs to travel to Kone. Vat quotes Tiplas’ words but uses an Angat vantage point: I will go up over there (to the pastors’ meeting in Kone), and you go <i>aliu</i> ‘along’ to there (Kavitongong). From an Umbukul vantage point, Kavitongong would be <i>asiang</i> ‘down’, but by using his location in Angat as the deictic centre, <i>aliu</i> ‘along’ is correct.</p> <p>Tiplas refers to Kavitongong as <i>e suke</i> ‘over there’. This is referring to the fact that he was called to go preach there, and that he wants Vat to <i>luk</i> ‘get’ his place, or task, for him. He uses the word <i>pangau</i> metaphorically to refer to his task.</p>
<p><i>au namem -la kalip aliu</i> and.SO 1PLEX -PERF paddle along</p> <p><i>ve ri nat i ring ke</i> with PL.GNL young.man GEN place this</p> <p><i>ane Kavitongong</i> toward Kavitongong</p> <p>‘And so I and the young men of this place paddled along to Kavitongong’</p>	<p>Vat and a group of young Angat men paddle to Kavitongong: <i>ring ke</i> ‘this place’ refers to Angat. L. Fast writes: “I think ‘asukang suke’ he said with a body motion towards the north, maybe just his jaw” (personal communication, 2011). <i>Aliu</i> ‘along’ is the right adverb to use here because to paddle to Kavitongong from Angat one travels along the coastline.</p>

5 Conceptual categories of a motion event: the use of spatial language in natural discourse

In the previous chapter I gave an overview of all the linguistic means available in Tungag for talking about location and motion in space. In this chapter I approach spatial language from a different perspective by looking at the basic conceptual categories of a motion event. These are shown in figure 5.1.¹ This chapter builds on the overview and description of spatial language in chapter 4 and the reader should recognise the elements of spatial language discussed so far. The focus of this chapter, however, is on the use of these elements of spatial language in natural language in the context of motion events and localisations.

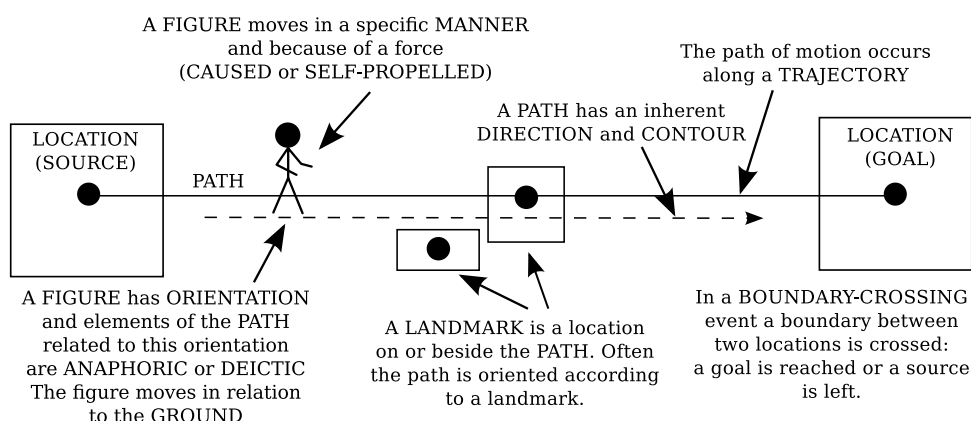


Figure 5.1 – Elements of a motion event. The division of a path into subspaces/sub-events allows for a more detailed description of parts of the event.

Different languages tend to focus on different parts of a motion event, making some more explicit while leaving others ambiguous or implied. In the following sections I describe how Tungag speakers encode the different elements of a motion event. This will set the stage for a typological classification of Tungag in chapter 6, drawing a number of conclusions as to where Tungag can be placed in Talmy's typology of motion events (cf. Talmy 1985; 2000).

5.1 Encoding location

A motion event includes a number of possible localisations which can either mark the beginning (source) or end (goal) of the path of motion, mark locations along the path

¹ This figure is repeated from chapter 2, where I discuss Talmy's definition of a motion event (cf. Talmy 1985).

which serve as landmarks, or specify the location where the motion occurs. The latter can include a general location in which the whole motion event takes place, or a ground region with a path component which establishes the trajectory (for example referring to a road as location). In this section I will look first at the different linguistic means used for marking a location in Tungag. I then move to examining how localisations are encoded in the context of motion events. I discuss any differences in the use of linguistic means for describing these different types of localisations. A final section looks in detail at the linguistic means used in the context of one narrative from the corpus.

5.1.1 Linguistic means available for talking about location

Tungag uses a variety of linguistic elements to express localisations.

First, spatial prepositions are used to specify the exact location of an object. One spatial preposition used to refer to location is *e* ‘at’. A prepositional phrase with *e* always includes the specific location, either as a noun or demonstrative. *E* can be combined with different kinds of verbs. Example (216) shows a prepositional phrase with *e* specifying the location where an action takes place.

- (216) *ka -v -la -po abis e kke nei education office*
 3SG -perhaps -PERF -CONT work at here in education office
 ‘perhaps he works here at the education office’ [109.051]

In this example the first reference to the location *e kke* is further specified with another prepositional phrase specifying the location as *nei education office*. This example shows how certain grounds are combined with different prepositions. An office is an enclosed space, hence the choice of the preposition *nei* ‘in’. The prepositional phrase with the demonstrative noun *kke* ‘here’ referring to the same location does not use *nei*, in fact, it is only possible to combine demonstrative nouns with the more general locational prepositions *ane*, *le* and *e*. See section 5.4.1 for a discussion of ground characteristics and how they influence the type of localisation chosen. Other locational prepositions are used in the same way as *e* and *nei* to mark a location.²

A second way to express a localisation is with a nominal phrase marked as such with the definite particles *a/na* or *ang* or the possessive particle *ka-*. Nouns which name an actual location cannot occur on their own post-verbally, i.e., they must occur together with a preposition or adverb. It is possible, however, to begin a phrase with a fronted noun phrase with the purpose of describing it as a location, as in example 217 (the location is highlighted):

² See table 3.7 for an overview of all locational prepositions with examples, and section 4.4 for a discussion of locational prepositions and the closely related locational nouns.

- (217) **selen ang ka -po vungavunga luai**
road DEFPOST 3SG -CONT long very
‘the road is very long’ [028.083]

When a path adverb is used to describe motion relative to a location, the location is encoded in a noun phrase, as in example (218):

- (218) **ka -la -po pasal aulit a laman ang**
3SG -PERF -CONT go around DET water DEFPOST
‘he walked around the water’ [002.087]

Third, demonstratives can be and are often substituted for any noun. They are used to point to a location. In Tungag it is typical to first refer to a location nonspecifically with a demonstrative, before specifying the location with a proper noun. Example (216) demonstrates this.

Fourth, the locational verb *ago* is also frequently used to describe being at a location, usually together with a prepositional phrase as in example (219):

- (219) **ka -ta -po ago e Lungatan**
3SG -PST -CONT stay at Lungatan
‘he stayed at Lungatan’ [088.415]

Finally, a location can be specified by inference and through the use of context information. For example, expected elements of a phrase can be omitted, while the context of the utterance makes the meaning clear. In example (220) there is no verb. The locational verb *ago* would fit here, but this is not an elliptical use, as this is the first sentence of a narrative. The fact that narratives are expected to start with a setting of the scene, in this example the time and place where the story starts, means that the main verb can be omitted. The location is marked with a prepositional phrase.

- (220) **Ka- -g mangsikei a taun roron, nau kuvul ve ka- -g angnanan nei akalit e**
POSS- -1SG a.certain.one DET day good, 1SG together with POSS- -1SG family in school at

Buteilung.

Buteilung

‘(I will tell you about) a wonderful experience I once had. I (was) with my family in school at Buteilung.’ [028.001-002]

5.1.2 Localisations in the context of a motion event

Localisations encoded in a motion event can refer to the place where the motion takes place, to a landmark along the route, or to a source or goal. When a location is encoded as source or goal, this means that the motion event is directed. The following three examples show different ways locations can be encoded as an element of a motion event. They describe where the motion takes place, e.g. example (221), where the

motion comes from, e.g. example (222) and where the motion is going, e.g. example (223).

(221) *namem -ta pasal asiang e selen asiang*
 1PLEX -PST walk down at road down
 ‘we walked down on the road going down’ [135.041]

(222) *ka -ta -po pasal le Vasanga*
 3SG -PST -CONT walk from Vasanga
 ‘he walked from Vasanga’ [134.030]

(223) *ki -ta pasal ane nei tongong*
 3PL -PST walk toward in mangrove.swamp
 ‘they walked to the mangrove swamp’ [049.011]

Each of these examples begins in the same way: with a personal subject agreement pronoun; a tense/aspect marker and the motion verb *pasal*. The subsequent prepositional phrases give clues as to the direction of motion (i.e., from or to a source or goal) or the location of the motion. Prepositional phrases are not the only linguistic means to signalise source, goal or landmark. In the following sections I will look at each of these localisation types in turn, focussing on the linguistic means used to encode the location where motion takes place (section 5.1.2.1), a landmark in respect to the path of motion (section 5.1.2.1), and the source (section 5.1.2.2) and goal (section 5.1.2.3) of a motion event.

5.1.2.1 Encoding a location in relation to the path of motion

In this section I will look at the first two types of localisation which can be encoded in a motion event: the location where motion takes place and the location of a landmark situated in respect to the path of motion. Figure 5.2 shows these two types of localisation.

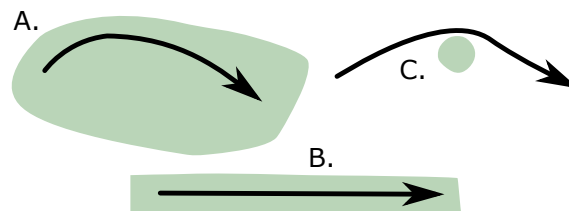


Figure 5.2 – Different types of locational adjuncts: A. The path of motion is enclosed in a location. B. The trajectory along which motion occurs is referred to as a location. C. The path passes a landmark.

In the figure, A and B belong to the first type of localisation. I differentiate between the two for the sake of the analysis in figure 5.3. In A the path moves in a general

location (i.e., motion in a forest), whereas in B this only includes the location of the path (i.e., motion along a road). C shows a landmark location in relation to the path of motion. A landmark is usually a well-known location which helps the speaker and listener orient themselves as to where the path of motion goes.

Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of the three different types of locational adjuncts shown in figure 5.2 for the two motion verbs *pasal* ‘go/walk’ and *sang* ‘run’.

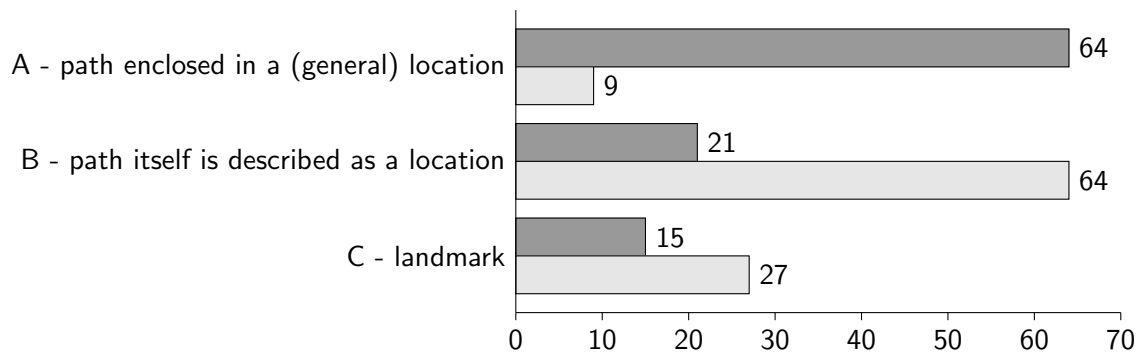


Figure 5.3 – Types of locational adjuncts occurring with the path verb *pasal* (dark grey) and the manner verb *sang* (light grey). The numbers indicate the percent of the total number of locational adjuncts used with each verb as they occur in the corpus.

It seems that type A (motion in an enclosed location) is much more typical for the path verb *pasal* than for the manner verb *sang*, perhaps because of the slower motion and the fact that moving (around) in a location often calls for a more general type of motion.³ An example for this type of localisation:

- (224) *ri aina ki pasal palau kul i bangang si taun bangang*
 PL.GNL woman 3PL go only on GEN low.tide.area GEN time low.tide
 ‘the women only walked on the low tide area when it was low tide’ [060.088]

Type A and B are quite similar in that the path is enclosed in a location, the difference is that the location in B is the shape of the path, such as the location of a road or a river. As figure 5.3 shows, there is a marked difference here between the use of *pasal* or *sang*. An example for this type of localisation:

- (225) *ninia ka pasal nei selen tung e kke*
 that.one 3SG go in road up.to at here
 ‘he went along the road up to here’ [053.024]

Example (226) is an example for type C, where the path of motion passes a landmark. Noilimanang is the name of a point of land on the coastline. *Vulis* describes motion around a point, different than *pasal aulit* ‘go around’, which describes a circular motion

³ Although *pasal* can also be glossed as to walk, a manner verb, it is more often used to refer to generic motion ‘to go’.

around an object. This type of localisation is used more often with manner of motion verbs.

- (226) *ki kal vulis a Noilimanang*
3PL paddle around DET Noilimanang
 ‘they paddled around Noilimanang’ [065.019]

5.1.2.2 Encoding a location as source

In this section I will look at how the source location of a motion event is encoded. The location where a motion event begins is often specifically mentioned in Tungag. There are different ways in which this can be done. Certain source adverbs such as *pelek* ‘away from’ or verbs such as *buat* ‘appear out of’ indicate that the direction of motion is away from a location. The preposition *le* ‘from’ is used together with a specific location to encode motion away from a source. Certain verbs, especially those which describe the beginning of a journey, such as *tapong* ‘begin’, *tadut* ‘start’, or *tapasuk* ‘get up / start’ and the action verbs *kokos* ‘board’ and *atatung* ‘see off’⁴ are also often combined with a specific naming of the source location.

The following three examples show different possibilities where the source is explicitly mentioned as a location as well as being implied by the meaning of a verb or adverb.

- (227) *na -la pasal pelek i -a tung e Ranmelek*
1SG -PERF go away.from OBJ -3SG up.to at Ranmelek
 ‘I went away from there up to Ranmelek’ [028.177]
- (228) *man na an -la buat e iang si saka men pangau -an*
if 1SG MAW -PERF appear.out.of at there GEN which some space.time -DER
 ‘whenever I arrive there (we don’t know when)’ [068.035]
- (229) *ka an -po buas lak e mang palpal*
3SG MAW -CONT surface go.up at another area
 ‘he surfaced at a different place’ [002.108]

In example (227) the directional adverb *pelek* is used to describe motion away from a location.⁵ In the corpus, this location is always mentioned and is always the source of a motion event.⁶ In examples (228) and (229) two similar verbs are used, *buas* and *buat*, both of which describe a motion of surfacing or coming up out of a location. Usually this is a body of water. In both of these examples this location is described with a

⁴ Compare section 4.1.5 for an overview of these verbs.

⁵ Compare the discussion of the use of aspect with *pelek* in section 5.3.

⁶ i.e., motion verb + *pelek* is not possible without mentioning the source location. It is however possible for this source location to be fronted, or to refer back to the location if it has already been mentioned as in the following example:

prepositional phrase as well as a noun which points to the location. An example of a source location with the preposition *le* is shown above in example (222).

There are a number of beginning motion verbs in Tungag which are used to describe the beginning of a journey. Often they describe the act of getting up, getting started or beginning. The verbs *tung* ‘stand’ or *kokos* ‘board’ can also be used to describe the beginning of a motion event.⁷ These verbs do not have to specify the source location, but they often do. Figure 5.4 shows the number of adjuncts which mention the source location (dark grey), an unspecified location (medium grey) or the goal location (light grey) occurring with the verbs *tapasuk* ‘get up’, *tadut* ‘begin’ and *kokos* ‘board’, all of which are typically used to encode the sub-event of beginning a motion event. The three verbs focus on different aspects of beginning motion. *Tadut* has more unspecified locations than *tapasuk*. However, these can be inferred to be the source of motion because of the meaning of the verb *tadut*. Figure 5.4 differentiates between whether the locational adjuncts are actually encoded as source or goal, or whether the location is mentioned but not specified to be a source or goal. These three verbs can be used to describe an action occurring at the beginning of a motion event, or be combined directly with source adjuncts to describe the motion event. For example, a locational adjunct with *kokos* usually describes the location where the boarding took place, which can either be the source location, if motion occurs, or just specify the location where the action of boarding occurs. The fact that *kokos* can also refer to the state of being boarded explains the fact that goal adjuncts can also be combined with this verb. All three verbs cater to a different aspect of leaving, which is mirrored in their different use of locational adjuncts.

na ka -la ssip ani ka- -na imun si nni lak [...] le si taun ang,
 and 3SG -PERF flee OBJ POSS- 3SG hot.stones GEN burn again [...] from GEN time DEF.POST,
ki -ta atuk a laman ang ta asan ke usi using ani ka- -na
 3PL -PST give.name.to DET water DEF.POST OBL name this, following OBJ POSS- 3SG
imun a aina lapan ke i ssip pelek
 hot.stones DET woman old this GEN flee away.from
 ‘and she fled away from her cooking place while it was still burning [...] from this day
 on, they gave this river this name according to the place the old woman had fled from’
 [077.025 and 077.028-029]

⁷ Compare also *atatung* ‘see off, take leave of’, which is used as the second verb in a compound verb in the following example:

si friday ke 20th na me sang atatung a Evini
 GEN friday this 20th 1SG MTW run say.goodbye DET Evini
 ‘this Friday, the 20th, I will come drive to say goodbye to Evini’ [022.003]

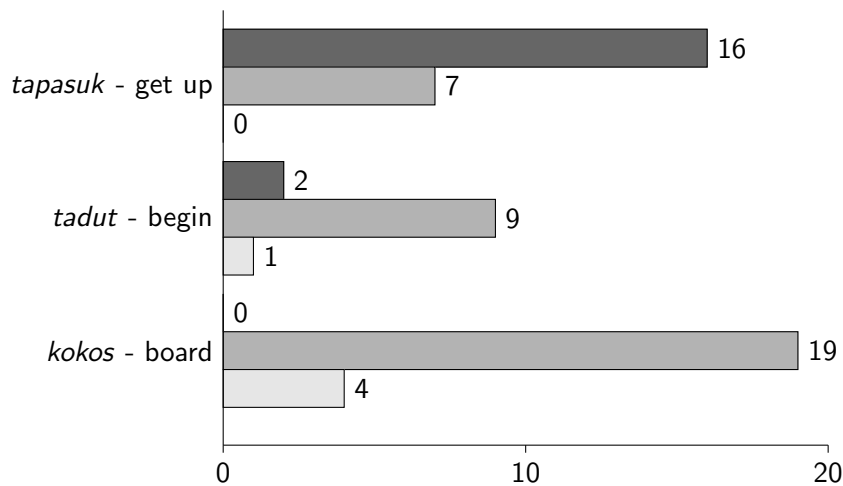


Figure 5.4 - Types of locational adjuncts used with the beginning motion verbs *tapasuk*, *tadut* and *kokos*: source (dark grey), unspecified location (medium grey), goal (light grey).

The following examples show source adjuncts occurring with each of these verbs. Example (230) encodes the location as source location with the directional *pelek*. Examples (231) and (232) do not encode the location as source, but the fact that the location is the source of a motion event is inferred from the context and the meaning of the verbs.

(230) *ka tapasuk **pelek** a Neikonomon*

3SG begin away.from DET Neikonomon

'He began (his journey) away from Neikonomon' [088.023]

(231) *ki -la tadut **e kulenusa Enang***

3PL -PERF get.up at island Enang

'they got up (and began their journey) at the island Enang' [052.094]

(232) *na me kokos **e ngere lo***

1SG MTW board at beside shore

'I board at the beach' [021.007]

The source of a motion event can also be marked temporally, since being at the source of a motion event always occurs before being at the goal and before beginning a journey. In example (233) the source location of the motion event is the water. The verb *palak* gives the direction of motion toward the shore. Two temporal markers are used: the temporal morpheme *-ta* (point in past time) and the temporal particle *le* 'first, already'⁸.

(233) *ku -ta palak le le nei laman*

2SG -PST go.up first from in water

'you first came up from out of the water' [106.025]

⁸ Not to be confused with the preposition *le* 'from', which is also used in this example.

Example (234) shows yet another way of marking a source location: the genitive particle *si(ngi)*. This particle indicates that something belongs to something else, similar to the relationship expressed by ‘of’ in English, and can also be used to refer to a location as the source of a motion event. Compare this with example (235), where the same particle is used to describe the relationship of belonging to:

(234) *ka -la -po pasal si ring ang*
 3SG -PERF -CONT go GEN place DEFPOST
 ‘he came from that place’ [002.011]

(235) *abis lu si keve tivu -mem*
 work house GEN PL.SPC grandrelation -3PL.INC
 ‘house building (at the time / in the method) of our ancestors’ [013.001]

Si can also be used to refer to a goal location. In that way it is ambiguous and the context of an utterance is crucial to distinguish whether *si* + LOC refers to a source or goal location. In example (236) *singina* refers to the (already mentioned) location as the goal of motion. Without the context, however, this sentence could be read to mean both: ‘these places, I came from there’ or ‘these places, I went there’.

(236) *Keve vuk ring ke, na -ta pasal singi -na*
 PL.SPC piece place this 1SG -PST go GEN -3SG
 ‘These places, I went there’ [128.051]

5.1.2.3 Encoding a location as goal

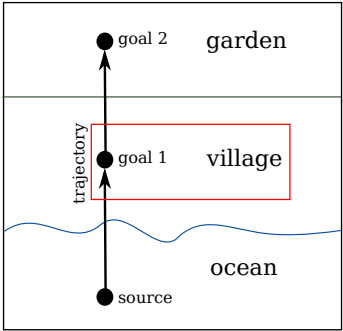
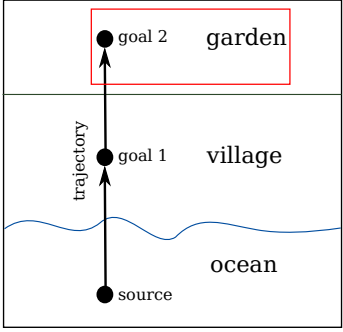
The goal of a motion event, similarly to the source, can be realised in a number of different ways: certain verbs such as *serei* ‘arrive’ in combination with a prepositional phrase; the preposition *ane* ‘toward’ and the genitive particle *si*; the directional adverbs *taun* ‘toward’ and *tung* ‘up to’ in combination with a particle (a definite particle or object marker) and noun phrase; the temporal adverbs *luai* ‘completely’ and *assip* ‘completely, all the way’, indicating that the motion is done to completion. After discussing two examples (237 and 238) as an introduction and overview of how goal locations can be encoded, I will look at each of these linguistic means in turn.

Example (233) is part of a longer utterance which describes a motion event from the source location (in the water) past a first goal (the village) to a second goal (the garden). The motion event is broken into sub-events, each of which are described with clear boundaries. This strategy of dividing a motion event up into smaller sub-events is typical in Tungag. To explain how a goal can be encoded, I will look at the two goals in this utterance. Example (237) contains the whole motion event⁹ and table 5.1 shows the linguistic means used for encoding the first and second goal.

⁹ This example is also discussed in section 5.5.3 in example (364).

- (237) *ku -ta palak le le nei laman, na ku an -la serei e rina, na ku -la pasal luai,*
 2SG -PST go.up first from in water, and 2SG MAW -PERF arrive at village, and 2SG -PERF go completely,
na ku -la pasal ane nei matang ang
 and 2SG -PERF go toward in garden DEF.POST
 ‘you first came up from out of the water, and you (went and) arrived at the village, and
 you went along all the way, and you went to the garden’ [106.025-028]

Table 5.1 – Encoding goal.

Figure	Example	Linguistic means
 <p>The diagram illustrates a vertical trajectory starting from a 'source' at the bottom (labeled 'ocean'), moving upwards through 'goal 1' (labeled 'village'), and ending at 'goal 2' (labeled 'garden'). A red rectangular box highlights the 'village' area. A vertical arrow labeled 'trajectory' points upwards from the source through the goals.</p>	<p><i>na ku an -la serei e</i> and 2sg maw -perf arrive at <i>rina</i> village ‘and you (went and) arrived at the village’ [106.026]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • direction away from the deictic centre (the daughter in this case) is given with the verbal morpheme <i>an</i> • the goal is encoded in the verb <i>serei</i> • the goal location is described with a prepositional phrase <i>e rina</i>
 <p>The diagram illustrates a vertical trajectory starting from a 'source' at the bottom (labeled 'ocean'), moving upwards through 'goal 1' (labeled 'village'), and ending at 'goal 2' (labeled 'garden'). A red rectangular box highlights the 'garden' area. A vertical arrow labeled 'trajectory' points upwards from the source through the goals.</p>	<p><i>na ku -la pasal ane nei</i> and 2sg -perf go toward in <i>matang</i> garden ‘and you go to(ward) the garden’ [106.028]</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the path verb <i>pasal</i> describes the motion occurring • the directional preposition <i>ane</i> indicates the direction toward a goal • characteristics of the ground at goal are given with the preposition <i>in</i> (the garden is an enclosed space)

In these two examples the goal locations are both prepositional phrases (*e rina* ‘at village’, *nei matang* ‘in garden’). These locational prepositions encode spatial characteristics of the goal location. Further indications of the presence of a goal location are the directional morpheme *an*, the directional preposition *ane* and the verb *serei*.

The following example, taken from a narrative describing a roundtrip to a neighbouring village (see also section 4.2.1 and figure 4.3 for a map of this journey), describes the motion event at the end of the journey to the final goal. The larger motion event depicting the return journey is divided into a number of smaller sub-events, each focussing on a different aspect of the return journey.

- (238) *namem -la pasal aliu ane si ka- -mem vul. Namem me -la dal asiang i -a.*
 1PLEX -PERF go along to GEN POSS- 1PLEX canoe. 1PLEX MTW -PERF drag down OBJ -3SG.
Namem -la kokos. Namem sang tung pok e Umbukul.
 1PLEX -PERF board. 1PLEX run up.to back at Umbukul.
 ‘We went along to our canoe. We dragged it down (to the water). We boarded. We rode back to Umbukul’ [035.023-027]

Using four motion events to describe the return journey allows the speaker to mention different sub-goals. First, they go to their canoe (first goal location). Then they drag it down. The direction of motion implies movement to the water, a second (implied) goal. Finally, they return to Umbukul.

The verb of arriving *serei* is the first linguistic means listed above which is used to encode a motion event with a goal location. Figure 5.5 shows all the adjuncts in the corpus occurring with *serei*.

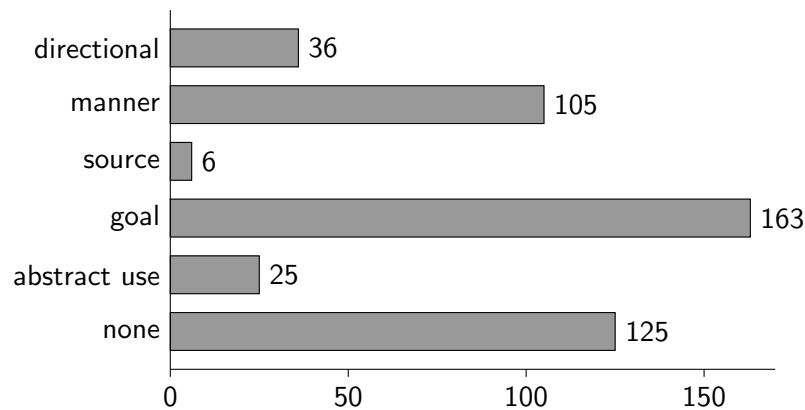


Figure 5.5 – Adjuncts occurring after the verb *serei* ‘arrive’ in 372 utterances. Multiple adjuncts can occur.

The goal location is encoded the most frequently. Of these 163 goal adjuncts, 62 refer specifically to the goal as a location and 34 to the goal as a person. The following two examples with the verb *serei* show a motion event with no goal location encoded (239) and with a goal location encoded (240):

- (239) *kati ang ka -ta -la serei*
 boat DEF.POST 3SG -PST -PERF arrive
 ‘the boat had arrived’ [133.060]

- (240) *mi me serei ngelik ias singi -mem*
 2PL MTW arrive afternoon daylight GEN -1PLEX
 ‘you arrived where we were in the afternoon’ [061.007]

The use of *serei* in example (239) encodes the fact that a boat has arrived; it is not followed by an adjunct specifying the goal location. *Serei* in example (240) names the goal (a group of people) and the time when the figure arrived. Here the goal is encoded

with the genitive particle *singi*. *Si/singi* is used when the goal is a person or group of people.¹⁰

Many goal locations are encoded using a prepositional phrase with *ane* ‘to, toward’. *Ane* occurs with 66 different verbs in the corpus, shown in figure 5.6.

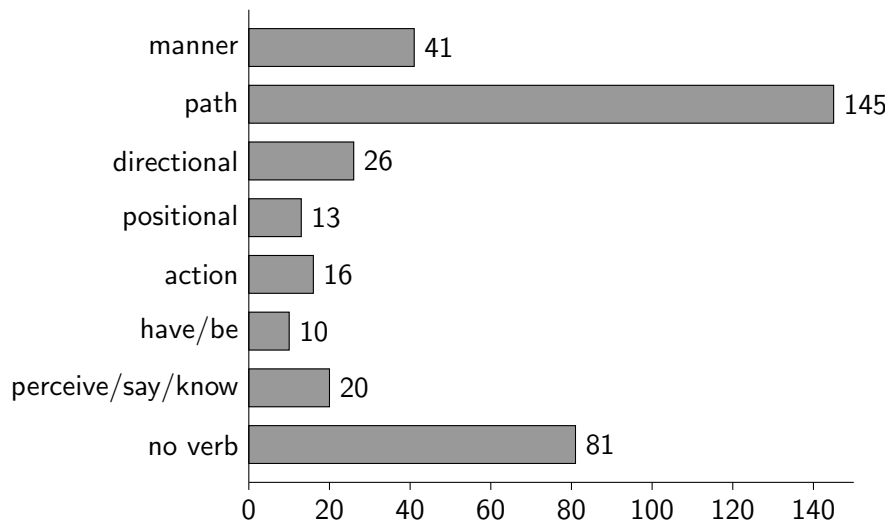


Figure 5.6 – Types of verbs occurring with the preposition *ane* ‘to’ in 381 occurrences in the corpus (29 uses are non-motion/metaphorical).

This figure shows a number of interesting things. First, the relatively large number of manner verbs shows that combining a manner verb with a goal is possible, a fact that is relevant for classifying Tungag according to a typology of motion events (cf. chapter 6), since this is highly constrained for verb-framed languages. Second, the large number of occurrences of *ane* without any verb is noteworthy. A number of these are elliptical, but others are clearly motion events without a verb, showing that the verbal morpheme markers together with the information about the direction of motion encoded in *ane* is sufficient to encode a motion event. Example (241) shows the elliptical use of *ane* without a verb (the first clause in the example contains the motion verb *ulit*). Example (242) encodes a motion event without a verb which is not elliptical.

(241) *namemlong ulit pok asukang ke, pok ane liung*
 2DL wander back like this, back toward reef
 ‘We’ll go back like this, back to the reef’ [054.072]

(242) *na -ka ane Meteran*
 1SG INT toward Meteran
 ‘I intend (to go) to Meteran’ [021.002]

Example (243) also describes the desire to go somewhere, this time with the verb *buk* ‘to want’. Example (244) describes the motion toward a goal with the demonstrative

¹⁰ Compare also the discussion of example (236) above.

iang ‘there’ as the goal. In this case the demonstrative refers back to a location previously mentioned (a call had come from Vutei, see section 4.5.2 for a discussion of this example and the examples in the same text). In these examples of motion events there are no motion verbs.

- (243) *na -po buk ane Ranmelek*
 1SG -CONT want toward Ranmelek
 ‘I want (to go) to Ranmelek’ [028.059]

- (244) *namem an -la ane iang*
 PL.INC MAW -PERF toward there
 ‘we (went) to over there’ [026.016]

The two directional adverbs *taun* ‘toward’ and *tung* ‘until, up to’ are used to encode a location as goal. The type of verb used can be a path or manner of motion verb, but *tung* cannot be combined with a verb of ending motion, such as *serei* ‘arrive’. *Tung*, as opposed to *taun* and the preposition *ane* ‘to, toward’, additionally encodes the fact that the goal is reached. In example (246), the speaker uses *tung* to clearly specify this fact.¹¹

- (245) *ki sang taun akorong na tama -na*
 3PL run toward straight DET father -3SG
 ‘they ran straight toward his father’ [122.014]

- (246) *nau na -po pasal ane Kone, tung palau e Kone*
 1SG 1SG -CONT go to Kone, up.to just at Kone
 ‘I went to Kone, just up to Kone’ [137.048]

A final way to encode goal is with the adverbs *luai* ‘very, completely’ or *assip* ‘completely, all the way’ together with a motion verb, which signal that the event was done to completion. These do not necessarily specify the goal location, but encode the end of a motion event which arrives at a goal.

- (247) *ka -la pasal asiang luai*
 3SG -PERF go down completely
 ‘he went all the way down’ [074.014: *luai* used to indicate that a goal was reached]

In this example the perfective aspective *-la* signals that the motion has started, and the adverb *luai* that it is carried out to completion, focussing on the motion event as a whole. The fact that a goal is reached is encoded, although the goal location itself is not mentioned.

¹¹ Compare the discussion on boundary-crossing events in section 5.6.

5.1.3 Talking about locations explicitly and implicitly: a discussion of examples from a narrative

The examples above show different linguistic means for encoding location. In order to examine these in more depth, this section looks at one narrative about a journey. I will describe how locations can be referred to explicitly and how the context provides information about a location which is inferred. Using one narrative will better communicate how the relevant context information is used and understood. The narrative describes a trip from Buteilung to Ranmelek and is shown in figure 5.7.

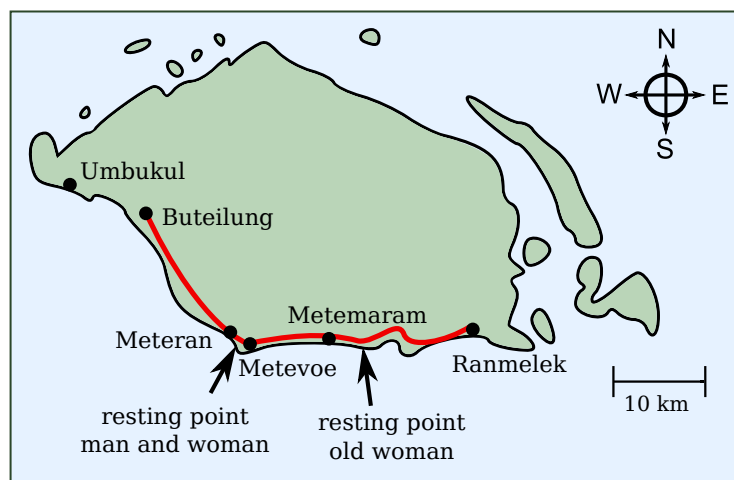


Figure 5.7 – Map of the journey from Buteilung to Ranmelek in Narrative 028. The locations mentioned are marked.

This is a difficult journey by foot which takes a number of days of travel, often without a path to follow. The journey occurred many years before the speaker tells the story and he tells it in Umbukul. This location has been marked on the map along with the beginning point of the journey Buteilung, the first stop Meteran, the two resting points mentioned in the story and the goal Ranmelek. Metevoe and Metemaram are mentioned in the narrative and serve as landmarks along the journey.

The narrative begins with a description of time and place (compare example (220) above) referring to Buteilung by name, and continues with the explicit naming of the goal Ranmelek and the reason for the journey:

- (248) *ka -ta atogon na songo ani -g le Ranmelek*
 3SG -PST have DET call for -1SG from Ranmelek
 'there was a call for me from Ranmelek' [028.003]

After describing his preparation for departure on the journey, the speaker twice refers to the first stop at Meteran. In example (249) it is a goal, and in example (250) it is a source location when he leaves the next morning:

- (249) *na me -la rot e Meteran*
 1SG MTW -PERF sleep at Meteran
 'I came to sleep at Meteran' [028.007]

- (250) *na -la tadut pelek a Meteran si ka- -g pasal*
 1SG -PERF get.up away.from DET Meteran for POSS- 1SG journey
 'I started away from Meteran for my journey' [028.012]

After leaving Meteran, the speaker searches for another place to sleep, because he had not been able to sleep in Meteran due to a loud party. He refers to the place he thinks of: 'towards the head¹² there is a place'. He refers to this location only once directly. After that any reference to it is anaphoric. He describes the fact that he knows of a certain man and his wife who are from Umbukul (where he is also from), and that he wants to make a stop there on his journey to rest there. He refers to this place twice, first mentioning the location itself, and second only referring to the man who lives there. He refers back to the place and the man in the same way, with the genitive particle + third person singular *singina*:

- (251) *na -po lomlomon ta: ane no ka -po atogon a ring, na an rot singi -na*
 1SG -CONT think that: toward face 3SG -CONT have DET place, 1SG MAW sleep GEN 3SG
 'I thought of the fact that toward the front (ahead) there was a place, I would go sleep there' [028.014-016]

- (252) *sikei a igenen ang na -ta -po buk an rot singi -na*
 one DET man DEFPOST, 1SG -PST -CONT want MAW sleep GEN -3SG
 'One man at whose (place) I wanted to sleep' [028.019-020]

The arrival at this location is marked with the verb *serei* 'arrive', see example (253). The location is not specified this time, as it is clear from the previous utterances. Upon arrival he finds that the man he hoped to see is not there, and that only his wife is present. The locational verb *ago* is used to describe the fact that the woman is there, but again, no location is specified. Her husband not being there is described in a parallel construction with the verb *kovek*.

- (253) *taun ang na -ta serei tenei vauk lik, tauan ang ka -po kovek, sikei aina*
 time DEFPOST 1SG -PST arrive time.of.day morning small, man DEFPOST 3SG -CONT not.be, but woman
ka -po ago
 3SG -CONT be
 'when I arrived (there) early in the morning, the man was not (there), but the woman was' [028.030-032]

The speaker approaches the woman, but again, there is no mention of the place, and when referring to a location the only location referred to is the woman. In example (254) he says that he goes very near, but he does not mention any location or what he

¹² This refers to a point of land along the coastline.

goes near to, because this is clear from the context. The following utterance describes the speaker approaching. After greeting her he realises that he does not know her after all and in example (255) gives up his idea of spending the night there.

- (254) *na -la pasal asung luai*
 1SG -PERF go near very
 ‘I went up close’ [028.033]

- (255) *na -la atolongon i -a*
 1SG -PERF leave OBJ -3SG
 ‘I left it’ [028.039]

The protagonist decides to ask the woman where her husband is, and in the ensuing discussion they refer to locations a number of times: examples (256) and (257), his question as to the whereabouts of her husband and her answer, contain a number of demonstratives, and it is highly likely that the woman’s utterance was accompanied by a gesture.

- (256) *“au, nei a ka- -m tauan e voi?”*
 well, in DET POSS- 2SG husband at where?
 ‘well, where is your husband?’ [028.044]

- (257) *“sukana, e palpal suke.”*
 over.there, at place there
 ‘over there, at that place’ [028.045]

Both of these utterances mention the place more than once. In example (256), the phrase *nei a NP* is a set phrase that can be used as a question.¹³ It uses the preposition *nei* ‘at, in’. The speaker also refers to the place where the husband is with the prepositional phrase *e voi*. The woman’s answer uses two demonstratives: *sukana* and *suke*. *Sukana* pointing to where he is, and *suke* referring to the place where he is, this is again encoded using a prepositional phrase which directly answers and complements the speaker’s question: *E voi? – E (palpal) suke* ‘at where – at there’.

The speaker goes to find the man and asks him if he can rest at his house. He then goes back to the house to sleep. This motion event is encoded as follows:

- (258) *na -ka pasal akasang pok, na na me -la rot*
 1SG -INT go approach.toward back, and 1SG MTW -PERF sleep
 ‘I intended to go back, and I slept’ [028.060-61]

Again, the goal of the motion event is not explicitly mentioned, but there are several references to the path and direction of motion as being toward a goal. The directional adverbs *akasang* and *pok* specify the direction of motion as being back to somewhere,

¹³ See table 3.9 for other possibilities of phrasing a question.

without explicitly mentioning where. Also, the directional morpheme *me* refers to his motion back in the direction toward where his journey started. These two means of specifying direction in the motion event suffice to make clear where he is at this point in the story.

After resting and leaving the man and woman, the speaker struggles with being hungry and not knowing where he will find food. While thinking about this he refers to the path itself as a sequence of locations in the following example:

- (259) *nei liuan i selen Metevoe tung e Ranmelek, parik nau na pa nas ta ri si e*
in middle GEN road Metevoe up.to at Ranmelek NEG 1SG 1SG NEG know OBL PL.GNL who at
selen
road
‘on the road between Metevoe and Ranmelek, I didn’t know who lived there along that road’ [028.071-72]

A main focus of the narrative is on the long hard journey by foot. Example (260) describes this, again referring to the path itself as a location, in this case mentioning both the road and the shore line.

- (260) *selen ang ka -po vungavunga luai si pasal ta kak, sikei na -ta pasal*
road DEEPOST 3SG -CONT far very for.purpose go INSTR leg, nevertheless 1SG -PST go
singi -na. Mang taun na -ta pasal e selen tutuman, mang taun na -po kik
GEN -3SG. a.certain time 1SG -CONT go at road true, another time 1SG -CONT jump
asiang ngere lo, na na -po pasal ngere lo
down beside shore, and 1SG -CONT go beside shore
‘the road was very long to go by foot, nevertheless I walked along it. Sometimes I walked on the road proper, other times I jumped down to the shore and walked along the beach’ [028.083-088]

After specifically naming this stretch of road, the next stretch of the journey begins. While wondering how he will find something to eat, the speaker twice refers deictically to locations without naming them, as they could be located anywhere along this stretch of the journey. See examples (261) and (262):

- (261) *parik ka pa rikek, man ka -po atogon a bol e kke*
NEG 3SG NEG bad, if 3SG -CONT have DET dry.coconut at here
‘it wouldn’t be wrong if there were some dry coconut here’ [028.094-95]
- (262) *o ka -po atogon a sa e iang*
or 3SG -CONT have DET what at there
‘or if there were something (to eat) over there’ [028.098]

Examples (263) to (267) are a typical way of referring to a place. The place name is not mentioned the first time it is brought up in the narrative, but it is first described using other means. In this case *mangsikei a vuk oring* ‘a certain place’ is not very specific. Only later in the text is this place then named. The location Metemaram is

a landmark along the journey which does not serve as a goal or a point of interest in the story. Rather, it serves to orient the listener to the speaker's whereabouts. Shortly after passing this place, he stops to sit and pray about how he can find food and then remembers an old woman who used to live near there when he was young. The two references to the location Metemaram in examples (263) and (265) are interspersed with motion events (wading through water), which also accentuate the slow plodding motion past this point on the journey. The combination of the adverb *tung* together with the genitive particle *si* as in example (263) is often used in the context of time and space, both to describe motion up to a goal or time until a goal.

- (263) *na -la pasal tung si mangsikei a vuk oring*
 1SG -PERF go up.to GEN a.certain.one DET piece place
 'I went up to a certain place' [028.105]

- (264) *na -la ngus*
 1SG -PERF wade
 'I waded' [028.106]

- (265) *oring ang Metemaram*
 place DEFPOST Metemaram
 'the place (was) Metemaram' [028.107]

- (266) *na -la ngus*
 1SG -PERF wade
 'I waded' [028.108]

- (267) *na na -la pasal aliu ngere lo*
 and 1SG -PERF went along beside shore
 'and I walked along beside the shore' [028.109]

Also of interest in these examples is the fact that the motion event with the manner verb *ngus* does not contain any directionals and is separated from the more typical motion event structure in example (267) (*pasal* + directional + location). The fact that the phrase *na -la ngus* is repeated has to do with durativity. The fact that the manner of motion is separated like this from the path of motion in example (267) is, however, interesting, because it is a typical structure for a verb-framed language (see the discussion in chapter 6).

After finding the old woman, who has prepared food and feeds him, the journey ends rather abruptly with a short succinct description of the last leg of the journey, clearly stating both that the source (the old woman) was left and the goal location (Ranmelek) reached¹⁴:

¹⁴ This construction, including both the goal and source of a motion event, is, however, more typical of a satellite-framed language. Again, compare the discussion in chapter 6.

- (268) *na -la pasál pelek i -a tung e Ranmelek*
 1SG -PERF go away.from OBJ -3SG up.to at Ranmelek
 ‘I walked away from her up to Ranmelek’ [028.177]

In conclusion, the examples discussed in this section exemplify three ways of referring to BEING AT LOCATION: (1) Spatial prepositional phrases are used to explicitly mention a location and the direction to, from or at this location; (2) the locational verb *ago* signals the act of being or staying somewhere, even if the location is not specified, which typically occurs when the location can clearly be inferred from the context of the narrative; (3) demonstratives such as *iang*, *suke* and *kke* point to a location, often in a prepositional phrase. Hearers are also often expected to infer a location from the context that the speaker provides.¹⁵ From the text discussed in this section,¹⁶ it seems that referring to a location by name is not as important as referring to the path of motion. Often locational information can be inferred after it has been mentioned at least once to the hearer. Tungag is quite flexible as to which locational adjuncts can be combined with different kinds of verbs, for example the combination of a manner verb with a goal location.

5.2 Encoding path

I now turn to the second main element of a motion event - the path of motion. In the previous sections I discussed how locations are encoded in a motion event. In this section I will look at the different linguistic means available for describing the path of motion, i.e., the trajectory along which a figure moves during a motion event. This includes path verbs, directional adverbs and adverbs describing a trajectory, the deictic verbal morphemes *an* and *me* (away from and toward the speaker) and the two prepositions *ane* and *le* (to and from). Such path elements are frequent in Tungag discourse, both when describing motion events, for which a large variety of directionals are often combined with other path elements, and also when describing non-motion events, as has been discussed earlier. It is also possible to focus on the path of motion by including it in a separate motion event.

¹⁵ Gesture is also important in pointing to places while speaking. Unfortunately, this goes beyond the scope of this book.

¹⁶ And also from others, see for example the analysis in section 4.5.2.

5.2.1 Path verbs

Although there are more manner verbs than path verbs in the corpus,¹⁷ the two most common motion verbs by far are the path verbs *pasal* ‘go’ and *serei* ‘arrive’¹⁸. In example (269), *pasal* describes the path of motion taken by the figure.

- (269) *ka -la pasal pok ane Tingwon*
 3SG -PERF go back toward Tingwon
 ‘he went back to Tingwon’ [052.124]

Another path verb is *liu* ‘to pass’¹⁹. A path verb with a similar meaning is *paliu* ‘go along, pass by’.²⁰ Examples (270) and (271) show the difference in use between *liu* and *paliu*. *Liu* requires a direct object which is the location the figure moves past, whereas *paliu* is intransitive and can be combined with a directional. In example (271) this is a direction toward a goal location.

- (270) *na -ka liu a ri Makago na Iaviling*
 1SG -INT pass DET PL.GNL Makago and Iaviling
 ‘I will pass Makago and Iaviling’ [040.015]

- (271) *na an paliu ane iang, ane si lu ang*
 1SG MAW go.along toward there, toward GEN house DEF.POST
 ‘I will go along to over there, to that house’ [143.046]

Some path verbs can also be used as manner verbs. For example *lak* and *siang* are path verbs because they can be used in the sense of going up and going down. They can also be used as manner verbs ‘climb’ and ‘alight / get off’. (See the discussion on *lak* in section 4.1.5). The verb *ulit* is another verb for which the distinction between path or manner of motion is not always completely clear. This verb has a number of variations: *aulit*, *uliulit*, *auliulit*. *Ulit* is used to describe going around a location, but is more often used in the sense of wandering around somewhat aimlessly, insofar it has

¹⁷ Cf. table 6.2. See also section 4.1.5 for an exhaustive list examples of path verbs occurring in the corpus, and section 4.1.7 for manner verbs.

¹⁸ *Serei* is a verb of ending motion. The verbs of beginning and ending motion are included as path verbs because they describe the beginning and ending of a path of motion.

¹⁹ *Liu* can also be used in a temporal sense describing time passing, as in the following example:

- sikei a week ka -la liu tapai i ri magau -g ta ri Wilma i -la*
 one DET week 3SG -PERF pass only GEN PL.GNL cousin -1SG OBL PL.GNL Wilma GEN -PERF
mat
 die
 ‘one week has passed since my cousin Wilma died’ [071.051]

²⁰ *Paliu* is derived from *pasal* + *aliu*. See table 4.3 for this and other verbs derived from combining *pasal* with a directional adverb.

an aspect of manner. I therefore count it as a manner verb, although taken literally it describes a path around something. *Aulit* can be used both as an adverb and as a verb. In both cases it clearly refers to a path around and does not have the sense of wandering around like *ulit*. In example (272) *ulit* is used as a manner verb with a directional adverb and a directional morpheme. *Alak* is repeated to show that the path went all the way up (compare durative aspect, see section 5.3).

- (272) *namemtol me -la ulit alak alak alak tung e suke e mang vuk oring lik*
1TR.EX MTW -PERF wander up up up up.to at there at a.certain piece place small
 ‘we wandered along all the way up to over there to a certain small place’ [054.135]

Compare also the following example which combines *ulit* with a manner verb in a compound verb. Again the path of motion is expressed in an adjunct to the verb.

- (273) *namemlong -la ulit raraung aliu e iang*
1DL.INC -PERF wander spec.way.to.fish along at there
 ‘we went around fishing, along over there’ [054.075]

In this example the prepositional phrase with a demonstrative *e iang* refers to a location and the directional *aliu* refers to the path of motion at this location.²¹

5.2.2 Verbal morphemes used to describe a trajectory

As discussed in section 4.2, verbal morphemes can combine with any kind of verb to indicate whether motion occurs toward or away from the speaker or another deictic centre, to indicate whether an action occurs while moving away from or toward a speaker, or at a location oriented away from or toward the speaker, cf. also examples (288) and (289).

In the following examples, the speaker describes a number of consecutive motion events, making use of both *me* and *an* to orient herself and to refer to the direction of motion. In example (276) it also becomes clear that the verbal morphemes can be used without any verb, similar to the use of the prepositions described in section 5.2.4.

- (274) *ri tauan ki -po vap pasal*
PL.GNL man 3PL -CONT people go
 ‘men are people who travel / go around a lot’ [133.051]
- (275) *ku -po taping ani tauan ang, ta ka me -la -po ago pok mete lu*
2SG -CONT surprise OBJ man DEFPOST, that 3SG MTW -PERF -CONT stay back in.front house
 ‘you are surprised that the man (who you knew had just gone away on a journey) is already back home again’ [133.054-055]

²¹ This is similar to the construction MOTION VERB + *ane nei* GROUND LOCATION, in which *nei* encodes characteristics of the ground. The preposition *e* here points to the spatial characteristics of the demonstrative noun.

- (276) *ka an -la e suke aliu pulakai le*
 3SG MAW -PERF at there along to.various.places first
 'he (went) to over there all over the place first' [133.056]

- (277) *na ka me -la -po serei pok*
 and 3SG MTW -PERF -CONT arrive back
 'and then he has arrived back again' [133.057]

The examples show how the deictic particles *an* and *me* are used to specify the orientation of a figure, both when being at a location as in example (275) or a when moving as in examples (276) and (277). This orientation can be conceptualised as a path.

5.2.3 Adverbs which describe a path or direction of motion

In section 4.3 I list all the directional, locational and manner of motion adverbs. These three groups of adverbs can be used to modify the motion in a motion event to provide further information as to the direction, location and manner of the motion. The first group of adverbs - directionals - are relevant for encoding the path of motion. They can be added to any motion verb to describe the direction the motion takes. Figure 5.8 shows the directional adverbs differentiated according to the focus of the direction they refer to.

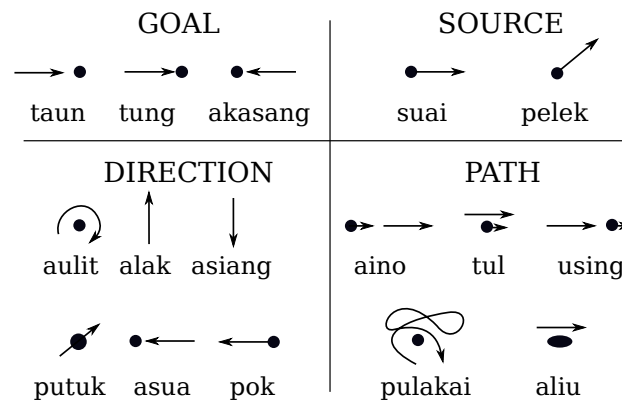


Figure 5.8 - Directional adverbs sorted according to the focus of the path described. See Wilkins and Hill (1995) and Senft (2000) for this type of annotation of directed motion events. Compare also figure 4.6.

In example (278), the path of motion is encoded in the directional adverb, while the manner of motion is encoded in the verb.

- (278) *namemlong -ta kalip alak kana tenei ias*
 2PLEX -PST paddle up now time noon
 'we(2) paddled up this midday' [136.060]

The following examples are taken from a text describing a special time which occurs twice a year, when many fish swim past the west coast of Lovangai island and people from all over congregate to fish. The speaker describes which people go to fish and how they get there. The map in figure 5.9 shows the locations and directions of motion mentioned in these examples.

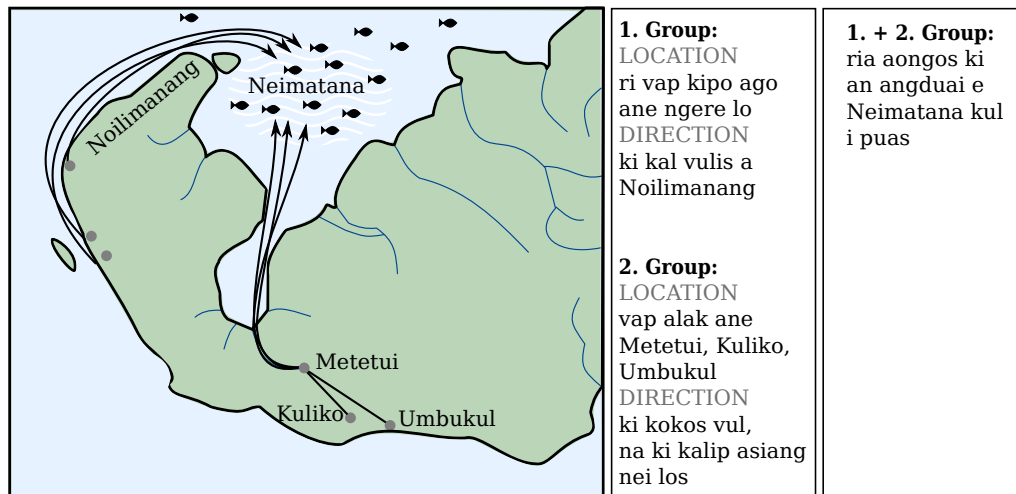


Figure 5.9 – Two groups of people travel to Neimatana to fish.

A summary of the whole excerpt is as follows: The people who live near the shore to the west paddle along the reef, passing by the point Noilimanang, while those living in the area of Metetui or Kuliko (and other parts of) Umbukul (walk to Metetui to the little river), board canoes and paddle westward and northward by way of the bay.

(279) *ri vap ki -po ago ane ngere lo*
PL.GNL people 3PL -CONT be toward beside shore
 ‘the people who live along the shore’ [065.018]

(280) *ki kal vulis a Noilimanang*
3PL paddle go.around DET Noilimanang
 ‘they paddle around Noilimanang’ [065.019]

(281) *na vap alak ane Metetui Kuliko Umbukul*
and people up toward Metetui Kuliko Umbukul
 ‘and people up to Metetui, Kuliko, Umbukul’ [065.020]

(282) *ki kokos vul, na ki kalip asiang nei los*
3PL board canoe, and 3PL paddle down in river:mouth
 ‘they board the canoes and they paddle down in the mouth of the river’ [065.021]

(283) *man a vap duk ki -la kinle korong a taun ang*
if DET people many 3PL -PERF recognise straight DET time DEFPST
 ‘if many people recognised that it was the right time’ [065.022]

- (284) *ria aongos ki an ang- duai e Neimatana kul i puas*
 3PL all 3PL MAW RECIP- meet at Neimatana on GEN sand.flat
 ‘they all go and meet each other at Neimatana on the sand flats’ [065.023]

This text contrasts two different locations and the path of people from these two locations to the same goal. The speaker makes use of path adverbs to describe both the path of motion as well as the location relative to his location in Umbukul.

In examples (280) and (282) two different path adverbs, *vulis* ‘around’ and *asiang* ‘down’ are combined with the manner of motion verb *kalip*²² ‘paddle’. *Vulis* describes the path around a location, in this case the point of land Noilimanang. *Asiang* describes a downward direction. Metetui is located at the source of a river, which flows north-west into a bay. In order to get to the sand flats to fish, people from Umbukul and Kuliko would walk to Metetui and then paddle down the river and then on to Neimatana. *Asiang* is used here to describe the motion downriver.

Examples (279) and (281) are two parallel constructions describing the two groups of people traveling to the sand flats to fish. They are contrasted because they take different routes in order to get there, depending on where they live. The first group are the people who live along the shore. For people living further away from Metetui, a route around the western-most point of the island is faster than to travel by foot to Metetui and paddle by canoe down the river and out to the sand flats. These people are described with the directional preposition *ane*, locating them in relation to the direction they travel. The location of the second group of people is described with *alak* ‘upward direction’. *Alak* is not describing a movement but the location of the group; they live at points located in the direction of the sunrise and inland²³ and as a group they walk to Metetui to board canoes.

5.2.4 Prepositions used to describe path

Two prepositions describe direction, *le* and *ane*. *Le* ‘from’ describes a direction from a source location and *ane* ‘toward’ a direction toward a goal location. This location must always be included, i.e., it is not possible to say: **namem pasal ane*. As such they focus less on the trajectory of motion than on the location where the motion is coming from or going to. However, *ane* can be used without any verb,²⁴ as in example (285):

²² *Kal* in Example (280) is a shortened form of *kalip*.

²³ Compare section 4.3.5, where I discuss the different directions encoded with *alak*.

²⁴ In the corpus, the preposition *le* is only used in this way to describe someone or something being from somewhere, as in the following example:

na mamai le kke
 and father from here
 ‘and my father (is) from here’ [109.002]

- (285) *namem ane nei lu i malepen*
3PL toward in house GEN sick
 ‘we (went) to the hospital’ [043.060]

In this example the path is encoded only in the preposition. Other examples with path prepositions pointing toward a goal or a source location were discussed in sections 5.1.2.2 and 5.1.2.3.

5.2.5 Focussing on the path of motion

In table 5.1 in section 5.1.2.3 I showed how the goals of one particular motion event were encoded linguistically. That motion event, describing a path from out of the water to the village and then on to the garden, is divided into three sub-events: first, the path from the ocean to the village; then the motion itself; and finally the motion from the village to the garden. While the focus when describing the motion event is mainly on the path from the source and to the goal, one of the trajectories is described specifically as such in a separate sub-event:

- (286) *na ku -la pasal luai*
and 2SG -PERF go completely
 ‘and you walk all the way’ [106.024]

Embedded in the context of the rest of the motion event, it is important to understand why this trajectory is mentioned separately, especially since it is directly followed by a motion event again describing the same motion, this time as a directed motion event toward a goal:

- (287) *na ku -la pasal ane nei matang ang*
and 2SG -PERF go toward in garden DEF.POST
 ‘and you go to the garden’ [106.025]

The context explains this focus on the path: *pasal luai* is used because the mother is stressing the fact that her daughter should have stopped, washed with fresh water, waited until the next day, and THEN gone to the garden. The text is taken from a speech by a mother talking to her daughter about her ‘sin’ of going straight from the sea water into the holy taro plot, thus messing up the growth of the sacred plant without first waiting a day.²⁵ Therefore, it is important to stress that she walked all the way to the garden from out of the water without first waiting.

This strategy of focussing on the path of motion in a separate motion event can also be seen in example (288), taken from the narrative discussed in section 5.1.3:

²⁵ L. Fast 2012, personal communication.

- (288) *na -la pasal aliu ngere lo, na na an -la sabonai ani igenen ang*
 1SG -PERF go along beside shore, and 1SG MAW -PERF find OBJ person DEF.POST
 ‘I went along the beach and I found the man’ [028.048-049]

The first motion event in this example uses the path verb *pasal* together with the path adverb *aliu* to describe the motion along the shoreline. This is a common combination to describe directed motion. In the second clause the path is referred to only with the verbal morpheme *an* together with a non-motion verb describing the action. Again, the motion event is separated from the action in a separate clause. In this case the directional morpheme is used with the action verb to link the action occurring with the path of motion. Such a relationship between the path of motion and an action is often expressed just with a directional morpheme. The action could also be expressed in a subordinate clause, such as in example (289), again with a directional morpheme with the verb:

- (289) *ki pasal si an luk pok e mang keve rina*
 3PL go for.purpose MAW get food at a.certain PL.SPC village
 ‘they went in order to get food at some villages’ [148.007]

In conclusion, we have seen that a number of path verbs are used very frequently in Tungag, but that the boundary between path and manner verbs is not always clear. For example, the most commonly occurring motion verb *pasal* can be glossed both as ‘to go’ or ‘to walk’.²⁶ Besides being encoded in the verb, path is also frequently encoded in a satellite to the main verb, with seemingly no preference as to whether the main verb encodes manner or path, even adding a path element to non-motion verbs with the directional morphemes *an* and *me*. The element of path, whether it focusses on the trajectory of a motion event or the direction travelled, is highly salient in Tungag. Also, it is typical in Tungag to divide a motion event into a number of sub-events, focussing in turn on the beginning, middle and end of a motion event. All these elements lead me to conclude that Tungag does not behave as a purely satellite-framed or verb-framed language, but that it allows for a flexibility in the way the path of a motion event is encoded.

5.3 The role of aspect in describing motion events

This section presents a quantitative analysis of the corpus and reveals correlations between the use of different kinds of aspect and the expression of different parts of a motion event. A second focus of the section is on the use of the perfective aspect in Tungag as a means of asserting that an event has begun.

²⁶ Compare also the verbs *lak* ‘climb / go up’ and *siang* ‘alight / go down’.

My method of analysis in the first section is to examine the type of aspect used with four different verbs in the corpus: the path verb *pasal* ‘go, walk’; the ending motion verb *serei* ‘arrive’; the beginning of motion verb *tapasuk* ‘start / get up’ and the manner of motion verb *sang* ‘run/drive’.²⁷ Taking all the occurrences of these verbs in the corpus, I analyse how aspect interacts with (1) the different kinds of verbs (path and manner) and (2) with the different adjuncts used with these verbs. For example, I compare the use of aspect across these verbs when a goal is mentioned in an adjunct or when a manner adverb is used to modify the verb.

The perfective aspect marker *-la* is used in Tungag to focus on the fact that a motion event has begun. Often perfective aspect is described as having the whole motion event in focus. Comrie (1976) writes that perfectivity is often characterised as indicating a completed action, going on the argue that the wording ‘complete action’ better defines the meaning of perfectivity (Comrie 1976:18). This is not the case in every language. See for example the discussion in Klein et al. (2000) about Mandarin Chinese, where aspectual particles are treated as assertion markers, and where the perfective aspect particle *le* does not indicate an endpoint (Klein et al. 2000:758). In Tungag, it seems that the perfective aspect marker *-la* focusses on the fact that a motion event has begun but is ambiguous about the ending of a motion event, i.e., whether the goal is reached or not. This relates to what I have mentioned earlier, that the beginning of a motion event is often described in greater detail than the end.

5.3.1 A narrative example to illustrate aspect in Tungag

Before presenting the quantitative analysis, it will be helpful to demonstrate some of the most important uses of aspect in Tungag through examples from the corpus. In section 3.5.1 I described the different kinds of grammatical aspect used in Tungag. Tungag has both perfective and imperfective aspect, with four different types of imperfective aspect: habitual, iterative, continuative and durative. Of the four types of imperfective aspect, the continuative is by far the most frequent. None of the aspect markers are obligatory and they are often combined. Most of these types of aspect are marked with a verbal morpheme which occurs before the verb stem: *la* (perfective); *uli* (habitual); *kun* (iterative) and *po* (continuative). Durative aspect is marked through repeating the main verb. Though aspect can also be expressed lexically, in this analysis I will only focus on grammatical aspect. Of the different types of aspect in Tungag, the perfective aspect *-la* and the imperfective continuative aspect *-po* occur the most frequently and are often

²⁷ The choice of these four verbs is partly driven by the fact that they occur frequently in the corpus (and are the most prolific motion verbs), making it easier to find trends. *Pasal* occurs 669 times, *serei* 372, *sang* 110 and *tapasuk* 53. They also represent motion verbs of different types.

combined. The meaning of these two different types of aspect is best understood in answer to questions which tease apart what the aspect focusses on:

- WHAT are you doing? - *na po pasal* - I am going now, focussing on ongoingness.
- what are you doing NOW? - *na la pasal* - I am going, as opposed to before, when I was not going, focussing on the relationship between something happening versus not happening, and on the fact that the motion event has begun.
- what are you doing now IN RELATION TO what you were doing earlier? *na la po pasal*: now as we speak, I am going, and the going is happening now (ongoing).

Tungag only has one tense marker, *-ta*, which marks an event as occurring at a point in the past. This marker is not obligatory, i.e., if in a narrative the time frame has been established, it is not necessary to repeat the temporal marker *-ta* with each verb.²⁸ In a narrative the temporal frame is set at the beginning, and subsequent events do not need the temporal marker. Rather, when each event begins, it is marked with *-la*, signalling that it has begun. Example (290) is the first utterance in a narrative and establishes the temporal setting both with the tense marker *-ta* and the temporal clause *mangsiikei a taun* ‘a certain day’. *-La* is then used to mark subsequent events during this overall time frame as having begun and as happening, as in example (291), taken from the same narrative. It is not, however, necessary to use perfective aspect to mark the fact that a motion event has begun. This can be marked in a number of different ways, for instance by mentioning the source, as in example (292), also taken from the same narrative.

(290) *mangsiikei a taun mangsiikei a igenen ka -ta tapasuk teneivauk lik*
 a.certain DET day a.certain DET man 3SG -PST start morning small
 ‘one day a certain man got up / started out early in the morning’ [002.001]

(291) *na ka -la tapasuk pok e rina*
 and 3SG -PERF start again at village
 ‘and he started again at the village’ [002.032]

(292) *au, igenen ang ka tapasuk le nei laman*
 and.so, man DEEPOST 3SG start from in water
 ‘and so the man got up out of the water’ [002.125]

The fact that the left boundary of a motion event is often clearly marked lexically (compare section 5.1.2.2 and example (292)) fits with the fact that perfective aspect is often used to focus on the fact that a motion event has begun.

Tapasuk is a verb of beginning motion and can be glossed as to start, or to stand up. Often it is used as the main verb of a motion event, as in examples (290) to (292), but

²⁸ It is not possible to use *-ta* to talk about the past in the future, as in the English sentence: ‘tomorrow I will have walked’. Rather, aspect is used for this type of time reference.

sometimes the motion event is further broken up into sub-events and *tapasuk* is used to describe just the beginning of a motion event, as in example (293):

- (293) *ka -po tapasuk e iang, na ka me -la -po pasal*
 3SG -CONT get.up at there, and 3SG MTW -PERF -CONT go
 'he started there and was making his way in this direction' [088.039]

The action described with *tapasuk* in this example is one of getting up / starting out. The second clause with the motion verb *pasal* describes the motion event after starting out. Here *-po* focusses on the ongoingness of the event, and *-la* on the fact that he is now going as opposed to getting up and starting to go.

Figure 5.10 shows the range in use of the different aspect particles. This figure shows a motion event mapped onto a time frame with three distinct temporal phases: being at source, moving from A to B and being at goal. The perfective aspect marker *-la* indicates that an event has begun, i.e., a change of state from being at location to moving from A to B has taken place. This can include the endpoint, but is not specific as to whether the goal location is reached or not.²⁹ The focus is on the left boundary of the motion event. The four types of imperfective aspect focus on the time during which the motion event occurs; it may be ongoing (continuative aspect *-po*); happen repeatedly (iterative aspect *kun*), happen out of habit (habitual aspect *uli*) or be of a particularly long duration (durative aspect through reduplication of the verb).

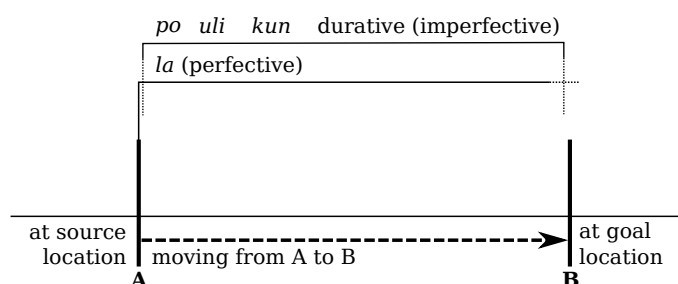


Figure 5.10 – The three distinct temporal phases of a motion event, showing the range in use of different aspect markers.

²⁹ However, if the motion event focusses on the end of motion, for example with the verb *serei* 'arrive', the perfective aspect can be used and indicates that the arriving has begun, for example:

- na an -la serei pok e Baungung*
 1SG MAW -PERF arrive back at Baungung
 'I arrived back at Baungung' [119.007]

5.3.2 An analysis of the use of aspect with different motion verbs and different types of adjuncts

The data presented in this section compares the use of aspect with four different motion verbs. These verbs each focus on different parts of a motion event: *tapasuk* ‘get up / start’ is a verb of beginning motion; *pasal* ‘go’ is a path verb which focusses on the motion event as a whole; *sang* ‘run’ encodes the manner of motion; *serei* ‘arrive’ encodes the end of motion, focussing on the right boundary of a motion event.

For each figure in this section, the data is presented as percentage of the total number of occurrences of each individual data set. Additionally, the absolute number of occurrences is shown. This allows the comparison of the total number of occurrences of each verb with the number of occurrences of the verb in combination with different adjuncts. Data sets with less than 15 occurrences were excluded from the evaluation. As with any corpus data collected in an (experimentally) uncontrolled environment, these graphs can only show trends and are not meant to represent a full statistical analysis of the use of aspect in Tungag. Figure 5.11 gives an overview of the use of aspect³⁰ with each of these verbs, while the subsequent figures will compare how the use of different types of aspect changes when different adjuncts are used with these verbs.

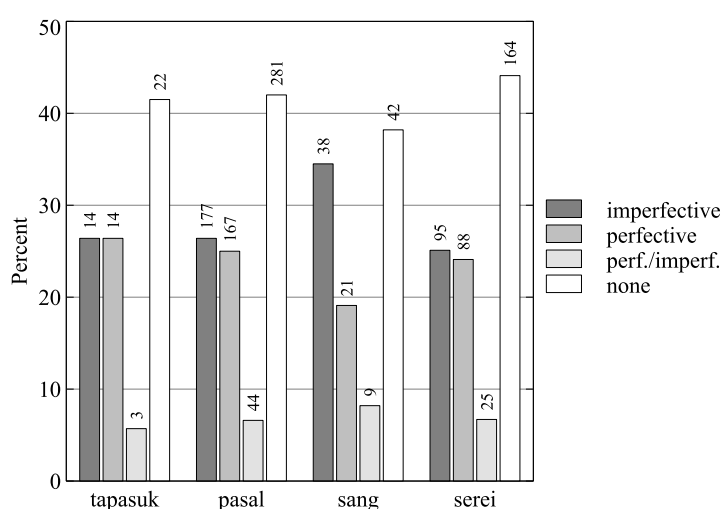


Figure 5.11 – A comparison of the use of different types of aspect for four verbs: get up/ begin, go, run, arrive.

³⁰ I combine the four kinds of imperfective aspect (habitual, iterative, durative and continuative, as well as combinations of different kinds of imperfective aspect) under the heading imperfective, since only the continuative aspect (*-po*) occurs frequently, and the combination of the different kinds of imperfective aspect does not affect the relation of perfective to imperfective aspect. Over all the verbs, the following combinations occurred: habitual/durative, continuative/durative, perfective/durative, perfective/continuative, continuative/habitual, continuative/iterative, perfective/iterative, perfective/continuative/habitual, perfective/continuative/durative, perfective/continuative/iterative.

Figure 5.12 compares the distribution of different types of aspect when each verb is combined with different adjuncts: path; manner; source and goal.

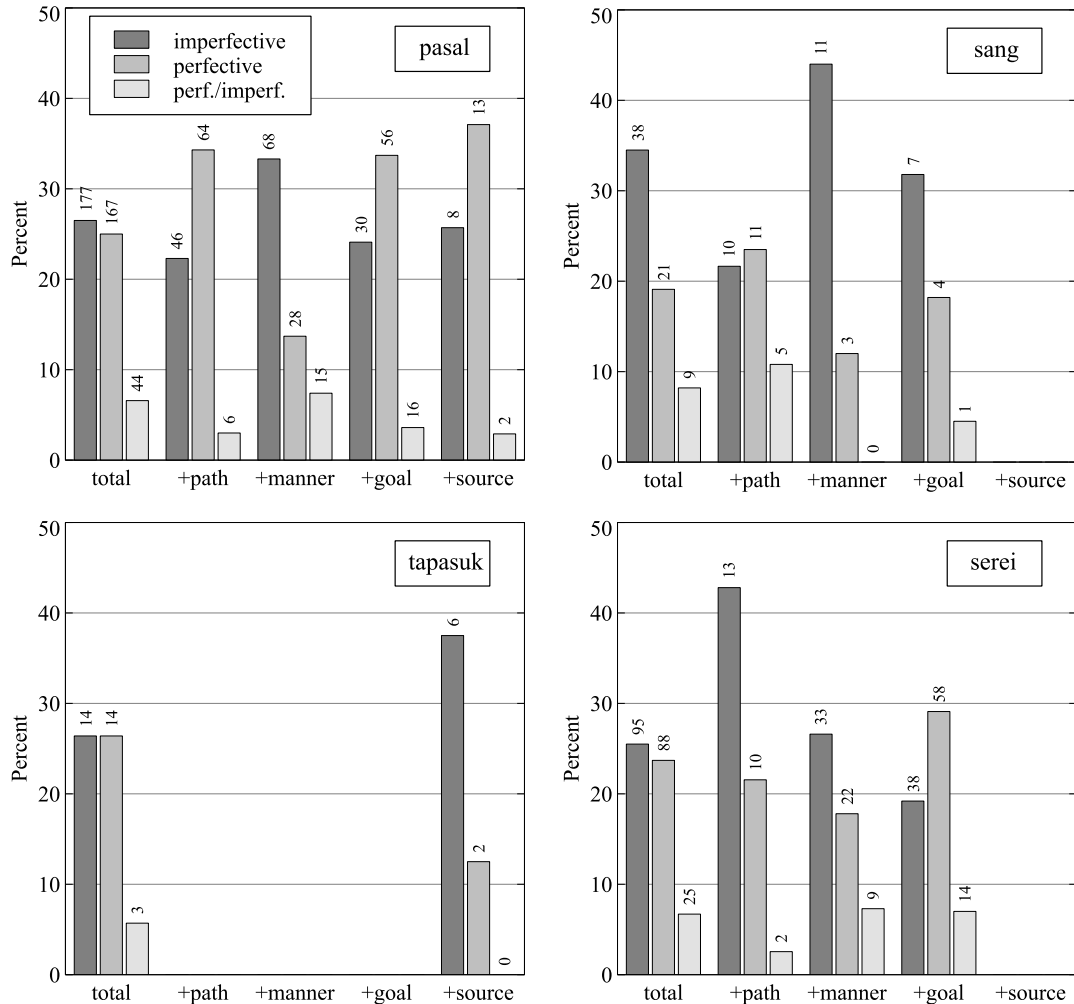


Figure 5.12 - The use of aspect in combination with different verbs, showing the distribution of different types of aspect when the verbs are combined with different adjuncts. The total number of occurrences in the corpus is indicated above each bar. Sample sets with less than 15 occurrences are left blank. Note that the occurrences without use of aspect (cf. figure 5.11) are omitted here.

Figures 5.11 and 5.12 show a number of things:

- There is no either/or correlation between imperfective and perfective aspect, both across different verbs and when the verbs combine with different adjuncts. This means that both imperfective and perfective aspect can be used with each of these verbs.
- While both perfective and imperfective are consistently used between 20 and 30 percent of the time for all four verbs (figure 5.11), the distribution of these aspect markers in combination with different adjuncts paints a different picture (figure

5.12). I will look at three of these adjuncts in more detail in the following three sections.

- In contrast with the other path (and beginning motion) verbs, the manner verb *sang* clearly combines more with imperfective than with perfective aspect (figure 5.11). At the same time, for the path verb *pasal* (first graph in figure 5.12), the use of perfective aspect is much lower when a manner adjunct is present. This trend can also be observed for the other two verbs with manner adjuncts. I explain this correlation with the fact that when manner of motion is present in an utterance, this in itself implies an ongoingness of the motion event, which corresponds to the choice of imperfective aspect.

In the following sections I will look at the distribution of imperfective and perfective aspect with the four different motion verbs when they combine with source adjuncts, goal adjuncts and path adjuncts.

5.3.2.1 Source adjuncts

Figure 5.13 shows the distribution of the use of different aspect markers for the verbs *pasal* ‘go’ and *tapasuk* ‘get up / start out’.³¹

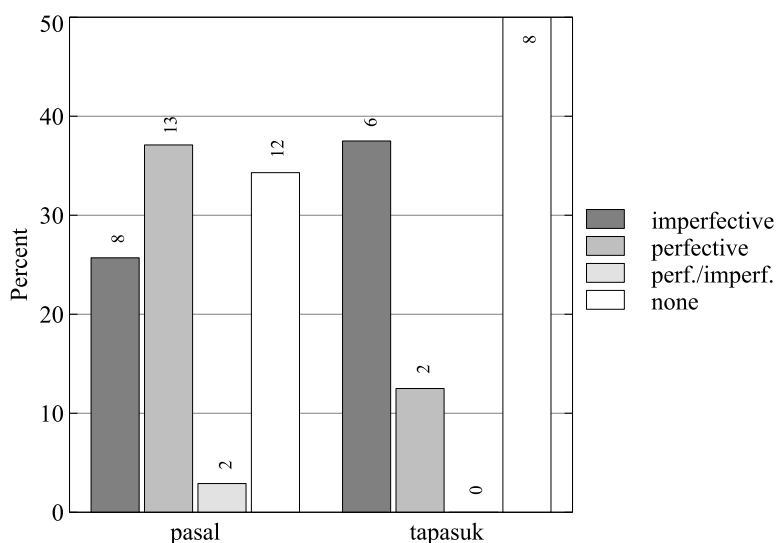


Figure 5.13 – The use of aspect with two different verbs (path and beginning motion) when a source adjunct is present. The total number of occurrences in the corpus is indicated above each bar.

³¹ This data is repeated from figure 5.12, here including the occurrences with no aspect. I will also do this for the goal and path adjuncts in the following two sections, allowing for an easier comparison of the way different verbs combine with aspect when a certain adjunct is present.

When a source adjunct is present, *pasal* uses perfective aspect more often. *Tapasuk*, which focusses on the beginning of a motion event, uses more imperfective aspect. In order to understand this correlation between the use of different types of aspect and the two different verbs, I looked at different ways source adjuncts can be encoded and examined whether they correspond to the use of either the perfective or imperfective aspect. For the verb *pasal*, different linguistic means encoding the source correlate with the use of different aspect markers: *-la* combines with the directional adverb *pelek* ‘away from NP’, and *-po* with the preposition *le* ‘from’. The third way a source location is marked, with the genitive *si*, combines with both *-la* and *-po* for *pasal*.

The use of the continuative imperfective aspect *-po* with the preposition *le* marking a source location is consistent across all verbs, cf. example (294):

- (294) *na ka- -na sip ka -ta -po pasal le Vasanga*
 and POSS-3SG ship 3SG -PST -CONT go from Vasanga
 ‘and his ship was coming from Vasanga’ [035.014]

In this example the prepositional phrase describes the source location as a starting point for the ship to travel from. The aspect *-po* focusses on the ongoingness of the ship’s motion and the source location serves as a static starting location. This is different when the directional adverb *pelek* is used. The correlation between the use of *pelek* with the perfective aspect does not hold for the verb *tapasuk*, since *tapasuk* uses *pelek* a number of times to mark source with both *-la* and *-po*. The following two examples show *pelek* used with *pasal* (with imperfective aspect) and *tapasuk* (with perfective aspect).

- (295) *na -la pasal pelek i -a tung e Ranmelek*
 1sg -PERF go away.from OBJ -3SG up.to at Ranmelek
 ‘I went away from there all the way to Ranmelek’ [055.216]

- (296) *ka -po tapasuk pelek na Vual*
 3SG -CONT start away.from DET Vual
 ‘and he started out away from Vual’ [088.051]

While *pasal* focusses on the motion as a whole, *tapasuk* focusses on the beginning of a motion event when the figure gets up to start out. *Pelek*, as used in example (295), is dynamic, pointing the motion away from the source location. *-La* is used here to focus on the event having begun, and includes in its range both the movement away from the source location as well as the movement toward the goal. Example (296) uses *pelek* with the continuative aspect marker *-po*, something that does not occur with other motion verbs. In this case, the meaning of the verb *tapasuk* explains this. Since *tapasuk* focusses on the act of getting up and beginning, this action itself is ongoing, albeit over a much shorter time frame than the motion event in example (295). Since the verb focusses on the time within which the motion event begins, the adverb *pelek*,

which indicates the direction the motion will take, is included in the range of use of the continuative aspect marker. Figure 5.14 shows this difference for the verbs *pasal* and *tapasuk*.

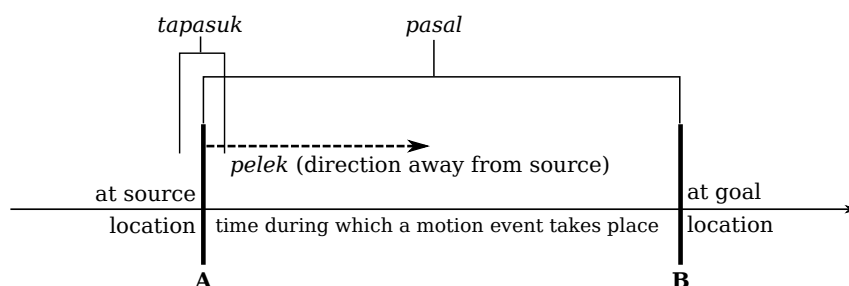


Figure 5.14 - Range of use of the beginning motion verb *tapasuk* 'get up / start out' and the path verb *pasal* 'go'.

5.3.2.2 Goal adjuncts

Figure 5.15 shows the distribution of different types of aspect with three verbs when they are combined with a goal adjunct.

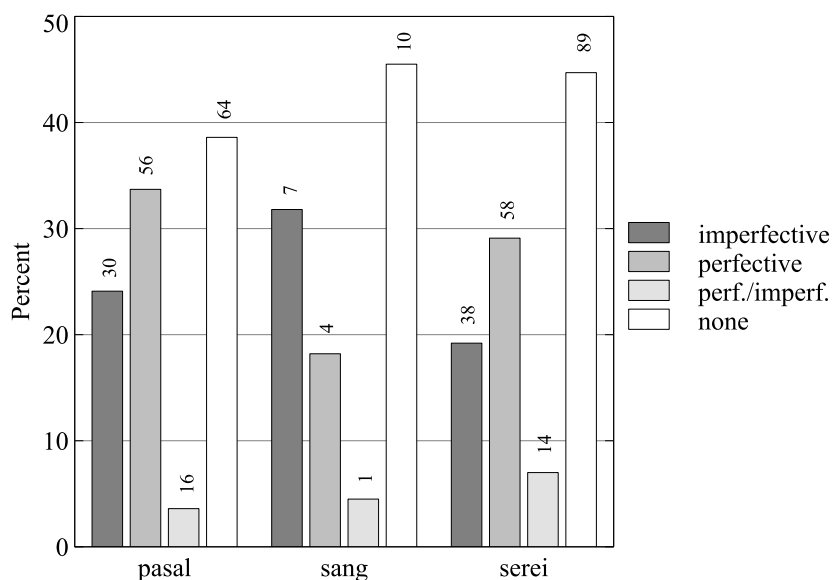


Figure 5.15 - The distribution of aspect markers with goal adjuncts mentioned for *pasal* 'go', *sang* 'run' and *serei* 'arrive'. The total number of occurrences in the corpus is indicated above each bar.

The manner verb *sang* 'run' uses more imperfective aspect than perfective, while the path verbs *pasal* 'go' and *serei* 'arrive' combine with perfective aspect more frequently

than with imperfective.³² A possible explanation is the fact that *pasal* and *serei* tend to focus on the path of motion as a whole, which corresponds to using perfective aspect to describe the whole event. The manner verb, however, focusses more on the way the motion occurs, leading to the overall higher use of the imperfective aspect, not just with the goal adjunct, but also in its overall use (compare figure 5.11) and when combined with path, source and manner adjuncts. When focussing on how a motion event occurs, i.e., on the manner, this implies that the event is ongoing. This correlation can also be observed in figures 5.11 and 5.12: in figure 5.11 the manner verb *sang* combines with imperfective aspect more often than the path verbs; in figure 5.12 the use of the imperfective aspect increases for each verb when it is combined with a manner adjunct.

Again, however, these correlations show trends but are not either-or correlations between the use of certain kinds of aspect and a verb when a manner adjunct is present. Examples (297) to (300) show perfective and imperfective aspect combined with a manner and a path verb, all with the prepositional phrase *ane* + NP marking the goal.³³

(297) *au, namem -po pasal ane nei tongong*
 well, 1PLEX -CONT go toward in mangrove.swamp
 ‘well, we were going to the mangrove swamp’ [029.027: continuative/imperfective aspect with the path verb *pasal*]

(298) *na ku -la pasal ane nei matang ang*
 and 3SG -PERF go toward in garden DEFPOST
 ‘and you went to the garden’ [106.028: perfective aspect with the path verb *pasal*]

(299) *namem -la sang tung ane nei town*
 1PLEX -PERF run up.to toward in town
 ‘we drove all the way up to town’ [043.094: perfective aspect with the manner verb *sang* and goal reached]

(300) *man namem -po sang alak ane Kavieng*
 if 1PLEX -CONT run up toward Kavieng
 ‘if we drive up to Kavieng’ [007.004: continuative/imperfective aspect with the manner verb *sang* and goal mentioned]

These examples show that in combination with a goal adjunct, it is possible to use both imperfective and perfective aspect with both the manner verb *sang* and the path verb *pasal*.

There are a number of different ways a goal adjunct can be encoded. the most common is with the preposition *ane* (shown in the examples above), which can also be preceded by a number of different directional adverbs such as *pok* ‘back’, *aliu*

³² Overall, *serei* combines with a goal adjunct more often than with a source adjunct.

³³ The ongoingness, encoded with *-po*, means that the motion event is ongoing, and the perfective aspect, *-la*, encodes that it is happening now. When both of these are combined with a goal, this indicates that the figure is going to the goal location at this moment. *Ane* therefore only encodes the direction, not the goal reached.

‘along’, *alak* ‘upward’ or manner adjuncts. Two other ways of marking goal are with the directional adverbs *taun* ‘toward’, and *tung* ‘up to, until’, which can also mark a temporal goal. These two directionals only occur together with the perfective aspect *-la*. *Ane*, however, is used with both *-la* and *-po* as well as other types of imperfective aspect. This fact is interesting, because while *ane* does not specify whether a goal has been reached or not, *tung* does encode the crossing of the boundary from the state of being en route to being at a goal location. The fact that it only occurs with the perfective aspect *-la*, means that this aspect marker (having begun) can include the crossing of the right boundary as well as the left boundary in its range.

5.3.2.3 Path adjuncts

Figure 5.16 shows the distribution of different kinds of aspect when a path adjunct is mentioned in combination with three different verbs. Each of these verbs focusses on a different part of a motion event.

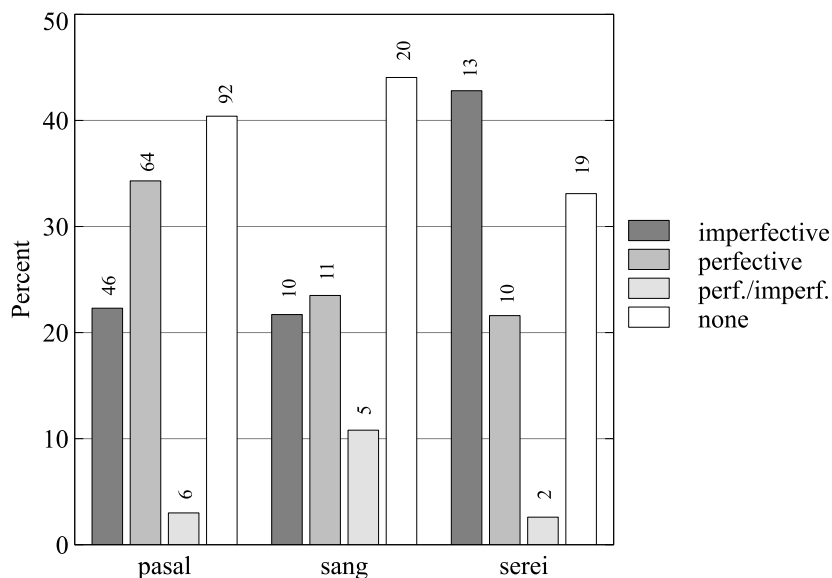


Figure 5.16 – The distribution of aspect markers with path adjuncts mentioned for *pasal* ‘go’, *sang* ‘run’ and *serei* ‘arrive’. The total number of occurrences in the corpus is indicated above each bar.

For this analysis I have combined the directional and trajectory adjuncts under the heading path adjuncts. A trajectory adjunct focusses on the trajectory of a motion event and is not directed (for example *aliu* ‘along’). A directional adjunct also describes the path of motion, but is oriented in one direction (for example *alak* ‘upward direction’).

The use of imperfective and perfective aspect is most balanced when the manner verb *sang* is combined with a path adjunct. The difference is quite marked for the

path verb *pasal* and the ending path verb *serei*. As mentioned above, the verb *serei*, describing the end of a motion event, can combine with perfective aspect, indicating that the arriving at a goal has begun. As shown in figure 5.12, perfective aspect is used more than imperfective aspect for *serei* only when a goal adjunct is present. When a path adjunct is mentioned, the use of imperfective aspect is much higher. This suggests a focus on the act of arriving rather than on the fact that arriving has begun.

- (301) *ki me -po serei pok e rina*
 3PL MTW -CONT arrive back at village
 ‘they came back to the village’ [128.068]

For the verb *pasal*, the distribution of perfective/imperfective aspect is the opposite. *Pasal* focusses on the path of a motion event. In combination with a path adjunct, the perfective aspect is used more often. (Compare figure 5.12. This is the case with all adjuncts except manner).

5.3.3 Using perfective aspect to assert that an event has begun

The perfective aspect is used in Tungag to focus on the fact that an event has begun. In order to describe how *-la* is used, it is helpful to look at a whole section of a narrative, since *-la* is used in relation to an already established temporal state.³⁴ *-La* focusses on the relationship between what is happening now versus what was happening earlier. As such it has an anaphoric function and focusses on the fact that a motion event has begun. This creates a link between events in a narrative. In that regard the use of *-la* in these sentences is similar to in English when one says: and THEN he did this, and THEN he did that.³⁵ Once the temporal setting is established, *-la* is used for subsequent events in the same time frame. *-La* focusses on the whole event by ascertaining that it has begun. This means that the left boundary is clearly marked while the right boundary remains ambiguous.

- (302) *Lavongai, na -po lomlomonai ani mang sikei a taun*
 Lavongai, 1SG -CONT remember OBJ a.certain one DET day
 ‘Lavongai, I remember a certain day’ [007.005]

³⁴ This narrative is part of a longer interview. In this section, the interviewee is talking about the topic of where she was in her youth or later in life on Lovangai island. She is considering various villages that she may or may not typically visit and whether she has relatives there. “After discussing villages near to her home village I ask: What about places further like Metekavil or Meteran or Lavongai (successively further from her home), when did you first go to places like these?” - personal communication with interviewer Lesley Fast.

³⁵ Cf. von Stutterheim and Carroll (2002) for a discussion of how ‘then’ is used to move a storyline along in English as well as a comparison of language-specific patterns for the construal of events in other languages.

- (303) *namem -ta kalip taun vul ka -ta rikek,*
 1PLEX -PST paddle time canoe 3SG -PST bad
 ‘we paddled when the canoe was broken’ [007.006-7]
- (304) *masin parik ka -ta pa abis.*
 boat.engine NEG 3SG -PST NEG work
 ‘the boat engine was not working’ [007.008]
- (305) *namem kuvul ve ri papa Emil,*
 1PLEX together with PL.GNL father Emil
 ‘we, together with papa Emil,’ [007.009]
- (306) *ka -ta me akos i -mem e kke si mang sikei a term.holiday,*
 3SG -PST MTW board OBJ -1PLEX at here GEN a.certain one DET term.holiday
 ‘he had come to pick us up (here) for a certain term holiday,’ [007.010]
- (307) *na namem -la sang asiang.*
 and 1PLEX -PERF run down
 ‘and we drove down’ [007.011]
- (308) *na masin ka -la rikek.*
 and boat.engine 3SG -PERF bad
 ‘and the boat engine broke’ [007.012]
- (309) *na namem -la kalip aliu ane Ranmelek.*
 and 1PLEX -PERF paddle along toward Ranmelek
 ‘so we paddled toward Ranmelek’ [007.013]
- (310) *namem an -la rot ka -mem sikei a vong*
 1PLEX MAW -PERF sleep POSS -1PLEX one DET dark
 ‘we slept for one night’ [007.014]
- (311) *na namem -la kalip asiang tung e Lavongai.*
 and 1PLEX -PERF paddle down toward at Lavongai
 ‘and (then) we paddled down toward Lavongai’ [007.015]
- (312) *na namem an -la rot e iang.*
 and 1PLEX MAW -PERF sleep at there
 ‘and we slept there (at Lavongai)’ [007.016]

In example (302), the aspect particle *-po* marks the utterance as being in the here and now. In the following two examples, the verb is marked with *-ta*, past tense, since the interviewee is speaking about the time when she was a young girl. This is followed by a sequence of motion events and actions, in which the speaker uses the aspect marker *-la*, signalling the fact that the events then began and happened. Compare example (303) and (304), which describe the motor being broken (ka **-ta** rikek, ka **-ta** abis) with example (308) (ka **-la** rikek). The difference in perspective between these examples is that while the first two talk about the fact that the machine was broken

at that time in the past, example (308) is an event in the narrative in a sequence of events: We drove down, and then the machine broke, because of that we had to paddle to Ranmelek and sleep there. Examples (307) to (312) all use the perfective aspect *-la*. Each of them describes the next event in sequence, marking the fact that a new event begins. The end of the event, however, is not always clearly marked. For example, in example (309) the goal Ranmelek is mentioned, but the fact that they arrived there only becomes clear through the next sentence (and we slept there for one night), which implies that they had already arrived there. This narrative shows that on the one hand *-la* focusses on an event as a whole with the fact that it has begun being ascertained, and on the other hand, that *-la* creates a link between a motion event and the narrative time frame.

5.4 Ground object features

A moving entity always moves along a path in relation to a ground. Certain features of the ground can influence how the motion event is described, i.e., they can place restrictions on which linguistic means can be chosen to describe the motion event. Figure 5.17 shows where the ground of a motion event is located in relation to the moving figure and other elements of a motion event.³⁶

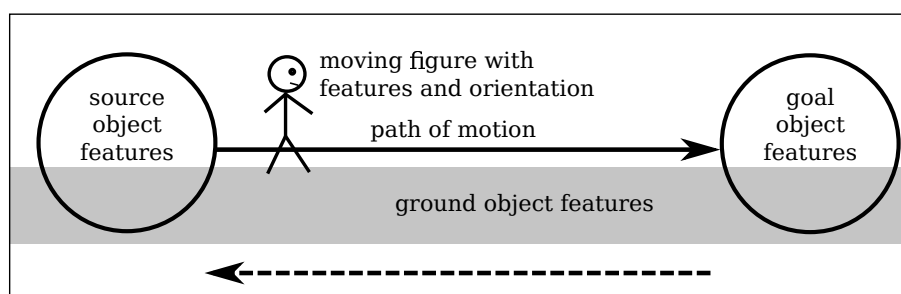


Figure 5.17 – Features of the ground and figure.

In Tungag, it is possible to include an additional spatial characteristic of the ground location through the use of prepositions. In example (313), the ground location is *uten* ‘forest’ and the figure (*na* - 1SG) walks up toward the forest. The second preposition *nei* ‘in’ encodes the spatial characteristic of the ground location as being an enclosed space.

- (313) *na -ta -po pasal alak ane nei uten*
 1SG -PST -CONT walk up toward in forest
 ‘I walked toward the forest’ [120.004]

³⁶ Features of the figure such as orientation and animacy will be discussed in section 5.5.

I will discuss this characteristic of Tungag for encoding spatial characteristics of ground locations in this section. I begin by reviewing different ways the ground of a motion event can be encoded. This is followed by an examination of different types of grounds (water, earth), in order to find out how the characteristics of the ground influence the way it is encoded as the ground in a motion event. Next, I look at different kinds of water (a pond, a river, the ocean), as well as dry land (the beach, a path/road). Motion through the air occurs in the corpus, but the air or sky is never referred to as a ground relative to the figure's motion. In this context I also address the question of how characteristics of the ground (wet, dry, shape and form etc.) influence how a ground is referred to in a motion event. I also discuss ground locations at source and goal, continuing the discussion of source and goal locations in section 5.1. I end with a description of how different kinds of ground NPs encode landmarks and the path itself (cf. section 5.1). The topic of ground characteristics will also be taken up in section 5.6 on boundary-crossing events. There, I examine the encoding of ground locations as source or goal when the left or right boundary of a motion event is crossed.

5.4.1 Characteristics of the ground

In section 3.5.2 I described the elements of an NP and its position in the sentence. This description applies to each ground NP. Therefore, I will focus here less on the linguistic means used to describe ground and more on how these linguistic means are used to describe different kinds of grounds. First, however, I examine a few examples of how the same ground NP (a small body of water) is marked in different ways in one narrative. In this narrative a man flees from a devil and hides in a small pool of water. In example (314) the devil dances around the pool of water.

- (314) *ka -an -la mika aulit a laman ang*
3SG -MAW -PERF dance around DET water DEF.POST
 'he danced around the (pool of) water' [002.090]

The ground NP contains both a determiner and the definite post particle *ang*.³⁷ The nature of the ground is wet and enclosed. It is big enough for the person to be enclosed in the water, but small enough for the devil to dance around it. The VP in this motion event contains a number of indicators of motion. The morpheme *an* indicates motion away from the protagonist. *Mika* 'dance' is a manner verb and *aulit* a directional adverb indicating the path of motion around a ground NP. *Aulit* makes the verb transitive.

Continuing with the same narrative, this body of water is referred to several more times. The meaning of the verb influences how the ground is encoded.

³⁷ Cf. section 3.4.4.4: *a/na* is a definite particle which occurs before the noun and *ang* is a definite post particle which functions anaphorically to point to an object already referred to (compare the pointing function of *iang*, a spatial deixis demonstrative and *ang*, a text deixis particle).

- (315) *ka -la -po ago **nei laman ke***
3SG -PERF -CONT be in water this
 'he was in the water' [002.031]
- (316) *ka an -la sang liu **a laman ang***
3SG MAW -PERF run pass DET water DEFPOST
 'he ran past the water' [002.076]
- (317) *ka an -la muip **nei laman***
3SG MAW -PERF swim.underwater in water
 'he swam under water in the water' [002.074]
- (318) *ka -po voko **e nei laman***
3SG -CONT float at in water
 'he floated in the water' [002.130]
- (319) *mangkaleng i ngur i -na ka -la -po serei **nei laman ang***
ripple GEN mouth GEN -3SG 3SG -PERF -CONT arrive in water DEFPOST
 'ripples from his mouth appeared on (the surface of) the water' [002.101]
- (320) *igenen ang ka tapasuk le **nei laman***
man DEFPOST 3SG get.up from in water
 'the man got up out of the water' [002.125]

The ground NP is marked in the narrative in the following ways. The first possibility was mentioned already: **a NP ang**. Another is **nei NP ke**, or just **nei NP**. A third option includes the preposition *e* 'at': **e nei NP**. This option is used both with the verbs *voko* 'float' and *serei* 'arrive'.

The object features of the ground here are "wet" and "enclosed". This means it is possible to be inside the ground location expressed by the NP. This is marked in examples (315), (317) and (318) with the preposition *nei*. Examples (314) and (316) both focus on the outside boundary of the ground NP. In this case the figure dances around it or runs past it, and the ground NP is encoded as a direct object without a preposition as in the other examples. Example (319) refers to the surface of the water with the preposition *nei*, and example (320) also refers to the whole body of water with the preposition *nei*, this time as the man is exiting the enclosed space.

The above examples show how a ground location with the features "wet" and "enclosed space" can be referred to in different situations. The location may be a source, e.g. example (320), goal, e.g. example (319), landmark, e.g. example (316) or ground, e.g. examples (315) and (318). In the following examples I look at a number of different kinds of bodies of water and other types of ground and examine how they can be referred to as the ground of a motion event. In examples (321) to (325) this is a river. The motion events either describe being at a location (examples (321) and (322)) or use a manner of motion verb to describe motion in relation to the river (examples (323) to (325)).

- (321) *mang ngonon ang- kisnga -nan kilong -ta -po ago e nei sung e Noipuas*
 a.certain DL RECIP spouse -ADVZ 3DL -PST -CONT be at in river at Noipuas
 ‘a certain married couple lived by a river at Noipuas’ [031.002]

- (322) *na -ta ago e iang nei sung ang*
 1SG -PST stay at there in river DEFPOST
 ‘I was over there, in the river’ [147.064-065]

- (323) *si sang alak nei sung ang*
 GEN run upward.direction in river DEFPOST
 ‘to drive up that river’ [031.055]

- (324) *namem -la kalip alak nei sung*
 1PL.EX -PERF paddle upward.direction in river
 ‘we paddled up the river’ [143.030]

- (325) *namem -po kal lak si ri sung*
 1PL.EX -CONT paddle go.up GEN PL.GNL river
 ‘we paddled up various rivers’ [146.030]

Again, depending on the type of motion encoded in the verb and the subsequent perspective of the river as a ground location, the river as ground in a motion event can be encoded in different ways. In examples (322) to (324) the river is encoded with the preposition *nei* ‘in’ indicating that the figure is located in the river. The river is marked with the definite post particle *ang* in examples (322) and (323). *Ang* is a text deixis particle which refers back to information already mentioned in the text. Example (321) also uses the preposition *nei* to encode the river location. However, it is headed by the preposition *e* and the whole prepositional phrase does not mean the married couple is located in the river, but rather that they live at, or beside the river. In example (325) the relationship between the figure and the ground is given with the genitive particle *si*, with the purpose of pointing attention to the rivers (he goes on to list three trips up separate rivers). The particle *si* is used in a similar way to *nei* described above to focus on the goal NP. When a goal or source is a person, it must be marked with *si*. For example:

- (326) *serei le si tivu -mi*
 arrive from GEN grandparent -2PL
 ‘arrive from your grandparents’ [128.142]

and not

- * *serei le tivu -mi*
 arrive from grandparent -2PL

The ocean can be referred to as *laman makasim* ‘saltwater’ or simply *makasim* ‘salt’. The following two examples refer to the ocean as ground location in different aspects of a motion event. The ocean is also encoded with the preposition *nei*.

- (327) *ka -la kalip asiang ane **nei makasim***
 3SG -PERF paddle down toward in salt
 'he paddled down to the ocean' [031.004]

- (328) *ki alum i -a **nei laman makasim***
 3PL sink OBJ -3SG in water salt
 'they should drown him in the ocean' [127.024]

The beach is usually encoded with the preposition *ngere* 'beside' and the word *lo* 'shore' (i.e., beside shore). *Ngere lo* can either refer to a long stretched location as in example (329), or to a location on the beach, as in example (330), where *ngere lo* together means beach, which can be conceptualised as a point location.

- (329) *na -la pasal aliu **ngere lo***
 1SG -PERF go along beside shore
 'I walked along the shore' [028.048]

- (330) *ka -la pasal asiang ane **ngere lo***
 3SG -PERF go down toward beside shore
 'he went down to the beach' [080.030]

Another ground location is the path/road itself (*selen*). As a ground in a motion event it is usually referred to either with the preposition *e* 'at', e.g. example (331) or *nei* 'in', e.g. example (332). In example (333), the road walked is described in a noun phrase without any preposition.

- (331) *ninia ka pasal **e selen tung e kke***
 the.one 3SG go at road up.to at here
 'he walked on the road up to here' [053.024]

- (332) *namemtol me -la pasal sumasuma alak **nei selen***
 1TR.EX MTW -PERF walk quickly up in road
 'we(3) walked quickly up the road' [054.161]

- (333) *na -la pasal **a vuk selen vungavunga***
 1SG -PERF walk DET piece road long
 'I walked along a very long stretch of road' [028.141]

There are a number of distinct ground locations in the area between the shore and the reef. These are shown in figure 5.18 together with the prepositions which typically occur with these ground locations: *ngere* 'beside', *kul* 'on' and *nei* 'in'. Each of the locations in this figure has certain characteristics which correspond to the preposition used. These prepositions, as in the examples above, are not only used to describe where a figure is located in respect to the ground, but often encode what kind of ground location is meant. For example, *ngere* 'beside' is always used with *lo* 'shore', encoding the fact that the shoreline is long and one is usually located beside it. The *bangang*

'low tide area' is a shallow area of water, large parts of which are exposed during low tide. The preposition *kul* 'on' encodes the nature of the ground as being an area where one is located on top of it.

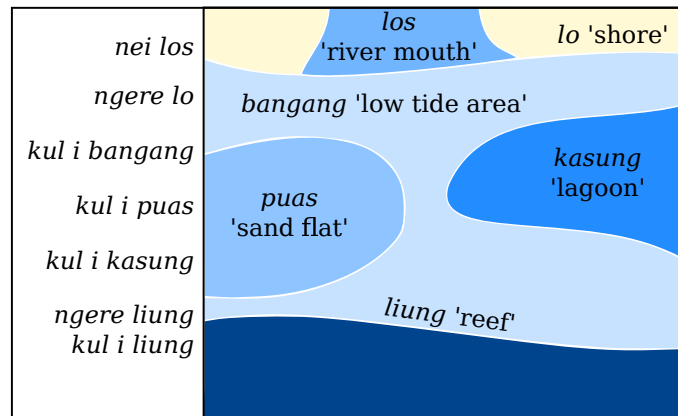


Figure 5.18 – Different areas off the shore and prepositions used in the corpus to describe the location in a motion event.

The following examples describe many different kinds of fish swimming around. These examples are taken from the narrative *taun i ien*³⁸, describing a certain time of year when many schools of fish pass the west coast of Lovangai island. Example (334) is the first utterance in the narrative and explains why this day is called *sang putuk* 'run across':

- (334) *ki -ta kin a taun ang ta sang putuk, asan suke ka -po atogon a rukun vuk*
 3PL -PST call DET day DEFPOST OBL RUN across, name there 3SG -CONT have DET few piece
mengen nei -na. Sang putuk ani man a ien ka sang
 talk in -3SG. Run across refers.to if DET fish 3SG run
 'They called this day 'run across', this name has a few meanings. Run across meaning when the fish swim' [065.009-011]

In the following examples, the motion of the fish swimming is described in detail as the narrator explains what is meant by 'run across'. Figure 5.19 shows the location where this motion takes place.

- (335) *mamain ta ien i ngere liung na nei los ki pasal kilakila si ka- -ri*
 many.various OBL fish GEN beside reef and in river.mouth 3PL go in.formation GEN POSS- -3PL
laulau -an na ka- -ri pukun -an.
 custom -DER and POSS- -3PL body -DER
 'many various kinds of fish, both from beside the reef and from in the river mouth, travel in groups according to their custom and size.' [065.037]

³⁸ Season of fish. Compare also the examples discussed with figure 5.9, which are taken from the same narrative.



Figure 5.19 – Location of the motion taking place in examples (335) to (338). Compare also figure 5.9.

- (336) *ri ien i ngere liung ki paputuk ane nei los*
 PL.GNL fish GEN beside reef 3PL go.across toward in river.mouth
 ‘the fish from beside the reef go across toward the river mouth’ [065.038]
- (337) *na ri ien i nei los ki kun paputuk ane kul i liung*
 and PL.GNL fish GEN in river.mouth 3PL also go.across toward on GEN reef
 ‘and the fish from in the river mouth they likewise go across toward the reef’ [065.039]
- (338) *na using ki -po pasal ang- duai asukang kul i puas ang, ka -la duk ta ien*
 and because 3PL -CONT go RECIP- meet as on GEN sand.flat DEF.POST, 3SG -PERF full OBL fish
aongos
 completely
 ‘and because they meet each other like this on the sand flat, it is completely full of all kinds of fish’³⁹ [065.040]

In examples (336) and (337) the two groups of fish are contrasted. Both are described using an NP with the genitive particle *i* (indicating an orientation away from a starting point). Whereas in English one might paraphrase ‘the river fish’ and ‘the reef fish’, Tungag uses a preposition to link each kind of fish to a different type of ground location: the fish of/from **in** the river and the fish of/from **beside** the reef. The characteristics of the river mouth and the reef lead to the use of these different prepositions. The reef is elevated higher than the ocean floor around it, and the fish can either be located beside the reef or on it, these fish are the deep sea fish. The river mouth is shallow water with clumps of coral and sea grass, and the fish are located inside it.

³⁹ He goes on to explain that when it is low tide, the fish cannot swim across from the *los* to the *liung* and get caught on the *puas*. At this time even unexperienced fishers can catch many fish (even spearing 2-3 fish in one go).

The prepositions *ngere*, *kul* and *nei* are used in these examples to describe the topology of the ground, adding a spatial component to the ground object. Other characteristics of the ground, such as whether it is wet or dry, are not differentiated. The reef (*liung*) is long and follows the coastline. This characteristic is mirrored in the choice of the preposition *ngere* ‘beside’. The position of the fish in relation to the reef can also be described with the preposition *kul* ‘on’, as in example (337). The same preposition is used with the sand flats (*puas*). In both cases the water is shallow. *Kul* focusses on the top surface of the ground and the fact that the fish can be located above it. The river mouth (*los*) is relatively deep compared to the *puas*. This area is enclosed and thus the fish are located inside it, with the preposition *nei*, cf. examples (335) to (337).

5.4.2 Ground marking of source and goal

Continuing with the ground marking of source and goal, I will examine a number of examples showing how the ground is marked when it is the goal or source of a motion event, especially with the use of prepositional phrases.

- (339) *igenen ang ka tapasuk le nei laman*
 man DEEPOST 3SG get.up from in water
 ‘the man went out of the water’ [002.125]

- (340) *ka an -la serei nei uten lava*
 3SG MAW -PERF arrive in forest big
 ‘he arrived in the big forest’ [136.121]

Example (339) clearly marks the source of motion, both with the beginning motion verb *tapasuk* as well as with the prepositional phrase *le nei laman* to mark the location of the source. Example (340) marks the goal of motion, again in the verb, with the verb of ending motion *serei*, as well as with the prepositional phrase *nei uten lava*. In these examples the ground location is marked with *nei*. Both the water and the forest are big enough to contain a person and have clearly marked boundaries. There are a number of other grounds that are always marked with *nei*, such as garden, mangrove swamp, cave, house and ocean. All of these have the characteristic in common that they are large enough for the figure of the motion event to be located inside them in an enclosed space.

The meaning of the two verbs in these examples indicate a source/goal, i.e., *tapasuk* is a verb describing the beginning of a motion event and *serei* the end of a motion event. In order to illustrate which linguistic means encode the source and goal, compare the following example with the locational verb *ago* describing a person being in the water:

- (341) *igenen ang ka -la ago nei laman*
 person DEFPOST 3SG -PERF be in water
 ‘the man is in the water’ [002.114]

In this example there is no motion and the location is encoded in the verb and the NP *nei laman*. In example (339) the motion verb is *tapasuk* and the prepositional phrase *le nei laman* encodes the path of motion away from a source location. In both cases, *nei laman* encodes the ground location water with the additional information that water has the property of being an enclosed space. Figure 5.20 illustrates the encoding of the ground location in these three examples:

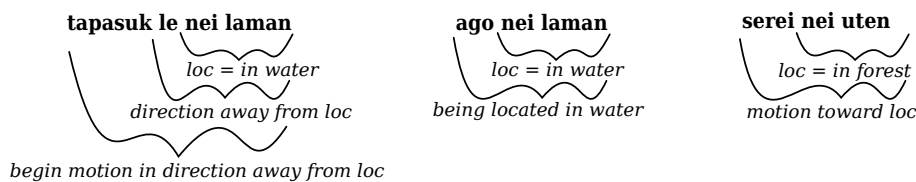


Figure 5.20 – Encoding ground location.

Example (340) and (341) are similar constructions (V *nei* NP), but while *ago nei laman* indicates being at a location, *serei nei uten* indicates motion toward a location. Motion toward or away from a ground location (goal or source) is typically encoded with the prepositions *le* ‘from’ or *ane* ‘toward’. With some motion verbs, however, this is not required. *Serei* is such a verb, as the motion toward a goal is already encoded in the meaning of the verb. Note that **serei ane nei laman ang* is always ungrammatical because it is not possible to combine the ending motion verb *serei* with a path toward a specific goal. It is, however, possible to combine *serei* and *ane* when the goal is a demonstrative noun, such as in the following construction commanding someone to come here:

- (342) *me serei ane kke*
 MTW arrive toward here
 ‘come here’ [003.003]

In the following two examples the ocean is described as a ground location at the goal of a motion event. Example (343) encodes the characteristic of the ocean as being an enclosed area. The goal of the motion event is to be in the water. In example (344), however, the preposition *nei* is not used. In this case the focus is on the edge of the ocean and not on the enclosed space in the ocean. The motion event ends at the water’s edge, i.e., on the shore.

- (343) *ka -po pasal asiang ane nei laman*
 3SG -CONT walk down toward in water
 ‘he walked down into the water’ [080.032]

- (344) *na kik totoi asiang ane laman*
 and jump prepare down toward water
 ‘and prepare to jump down to the water’ [031.068]

An interesting example is the following, which refers to the water of the ocean with a different preposition: *kul* ‘on’. In this case a motion event is described with the action word *saup* ‘hit’, describing a way of fishing where many people chase the fish into big nets by standing in a large semi-circle and then slowly closing in toward the nets, all the while hitting the water to scare the fish forward:

- (345) *ki tutapong saup kul i laman alak*
 3PL begin hit on GEN water upward.direction
 ‘they begin hitting the water (going) up (toward the shore)’ [060.061]

In this case, because the main verb of the clause is an action verb and not a motion verb, the figure is not localised in respect to the ground. Nevertheless, I have included this example to show how the characteristic of the ground as having a surface influences the choice of preposition. The example accentuates the difference between being in the water and the characteristic of water as having an upper surface, in this example there is no penetration into the water when the water’s surface is hit.

As the examples in this section show, Tungag uses grammatical means to encode specific properties of a ground location. This is the case not just for grounds that have the property of enclosing an object, but also for objects where the top surface of the ground is relevant, such as in example (345) when hitting the surface of the water, or in example (337) when differentiating between characteristics of the reef and the river mouth. Where in English one might say: the fish swam from the reef to the sea shelf, Tungag adds the prepositions *ON* the reef and *IN* the sea shelf to further describe characteristics of the ground. Ground locations at source and goal are also often marked with a second preposition indicating the characteristics of the ground in addition to a first preposition encoding the direction of motion from or toward a source or goal. This adds a more fine-grained specification of the ground as a spatial entity. In fact, phrases such as *ngere lo* and *nei uten* are often accentuated as one word.

5.5 Orientation and animacy of the figure

In this section I discuss a final element of a motion event - the figure in motion. I look at features of the figure which influence how it is portrayed in a motion event. First, I investigate animacy with the question of whether it makes a difference if the figure is alive - human or animal - or not. This is closely related to a second factor, that of caused versus self-propelled motion. I examine the corpus for correlations between these two types of verbs and the distinction of animacy/inanimacy. A third factor is the

orientation of the figure. After examining the difference between outward and return journeys, I will move on to the role deixis plays in giving clues to the orientation of the figure. This will lead directly to a discussion of how the notions of ‘coming’ and ‘going’ and ‘entering’ and ‘exiting’ are expressed in Tungag.

5.5.1 Animacy of the figure

In the following examples describing a motion event with the path verb *serei* ‘arrive’, the figure is an animate human, e.g. example (346), an animate animal, e.g. example (347), or inanimate, e.g. examples (348) and (349). Abstract ideas are also often described as being in motion. This includes speech or thoughts.⁴⁰ Although these are used in a metaphorical sense, the construction is the same both for animate and inanimate objects and for abstract ideas.

- (346) **ri** *Gerturuth ki -la -po serei vauk singi -g*
 PL.GNL Gerturuth 3PL -PERF -CONT arrive morning GEN -1SG
 ‘Gerturuth arrived here to where I am early in the morning’ [128.184: animate human]

- (347) **ien** *ka -po serei pok*
 fish 3SG -CONT arrive back
 ‘the fish came back’ [065.034: animate animal]

- (348) **mang lomlomonai** *ka -la serei, ka -la serei e kke*
 a.certain thought 3SG -PERF arrive, 3SG -PERF arrive at here
 ‘a certain thought arrived, it arrived here’ [028.128-9: inanimate object - idea]

- (349) **kirak** *ka -po serei aro pok ani -g si angan*
 taro 3SG -CONT arrive good back OBJ -1SG for.purpose eat
 ‘The taro again became healthy for me to be able to eat’ [101.011: inanimate object - food]

The above examples show that the same verb can be used to describe the motion of an animate figure and an inanimate figure. Typical self-propelled motion verbs are verbs which describe a type of motion only humans (or animals) can do, such as *ulit* ‘wander’ or *kalip* ‘paddle’. To a lesser degree this also includes verbs such as *pasal* ‘go, walk’ or a manner of motion verb such as *sang* ‘run’. In the corpus only human subjects can *ulit* or *kalip*. *Sang* is used both to describe the motion of animate and inanimate figures, and even speech or ideas (as in example (348) above). For example, a fish is described as running in example (350), while example (351) refers to a car and example (352) to speech.

⁴⁰ This is similar for postural verbs describing how someone or something is positioned at a location. The most common subjects combined with postural verbs are people. There are, however, also inanimate subjects which can sit, stand, lie or hang.

- (350) *ien ka -po sang putuk singi -na*
 fish 3SG -CONT run across GEN -3SG
 'and the fish swam across it' [065.035]

- (351) *kar ka -po nas ani sang e selen*
 car 3SG -CONT know OBJ run at road
 'the car knows how to drive on the road' [036.029]

- (352) *ka- -ra mengen ka -po sang sumasuma*
 POSS- 3PL talk 3SG -CONT run quickly
 'our talk ran quickly' [015.026]

Entity-specific motion verbs are typically used in satellite-framed languages, for example birds fly and fish swim. While Tungag displays other characteristics of a satellite-framed language, in this regard it resembles a verb-framed language in its frequent use of the generic motion verb *pasal*.⁴¹ This is reflected in the number of occurrences of certain verbs in the corpus. *Ngoi* 'fly' is used in the corpus only twice to describe the motion of an airplane, although there are quite a few narratives describing the motion of birds. In example (353) the motion of two birds is described with the generic motion verb *pasal*.

- (353) *(mang pongua na mani) kilong -ta -po pasal kuvul*
 (a.certain two DET bird) 3PL -PST -CONT go together
 '(a certain two birds) they went together' [030.005]

5.5.2 Caused motion and self-propelled motion

Caused motion, as opposed to self-propelled motion, means that the figure does not move out of its own accord, but because an action is done to it which causes it to move. In section 4.1.2 the causal prefix *a-* was discussed. This can be added to many posture words to make them positional (see the verbs in tables 4.2 and 4.6), indicating that something is caused to be in a certain position. This prefix is also used when deriving most of the directional adverbs such as *alak*, *aulit*, *asiang* 'up, around, down' etc.⁴² It is interesting that so many words which describe the direction of motion are derived with this causal prefix. The following examples illustrate how these are related to caused motion:

- (354) *si -po kalip asiang si an maiak*
 who -CONT paddle downward.direction for.purpose MAW fish
 'who were paddling down to go fishing' [031.011]

⁴¹ Compare the discussion of animate and inanimate objects combined with the path/manner verb *lak* 'go up, climb' in section 4.1.5.

⁴² See table 4.6 for an overview of all directional adverbs.

As an adverb, *asiang* indicates a downward direction. In example (354), the verb phrase is ‘paddle down(river)’, but, when looking carefully at the meaning of the derivational prefix, could be glossed as ‘paddle in the direction which causes one to be down.’

The verb *siang* can be glossed as ‘to go down’ or ‘alight’. For example:

- (355) *namem an -la siang ngere lo*
 3PL MAW -PERF alight beside shore
 ‘we alighted at the beach’ [043.065]

Example (356) uses *asiang* as a verb. In this case it has a clearer causal meaning: the small taros are caused to be down (put down).

- (356) *na ka -la a- siang ri kirak lik*
 and 3SG -PERF CS- go.down PL.GNL taro small
 ‘and he put down the small taros’ [045.018]

The relationship between these three words is mirrored in the way a number of other verbs are derived. Figure 5.21 shows the parallel construction for three of these verbs.

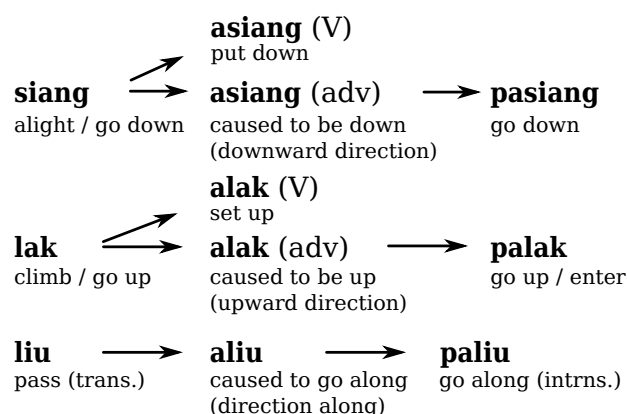


Figure 5.21 – Verbs and adverbs derived from the verbs *siang*, *lak* and *liu*.

These three path verbs (cf. also section 4.1.5) are closely related to a number of directional adverbs as well as the group of *pasal* + directional adverb verbs.⁴³ It is also interesting to note here that *siang* and *lak* have both manner of motion and path of motion meanings.

As mentioned above, causal prefixes on certain postural verbs create positional verbs (see section 4.1.2), which describe motion occurring because of an action of putting something in a certain position. For example, the postural verb *sinong* ‘sit’ becomes the positional verb *asinong* ‘set up / put’:

⁴³ Table 4.3 provides a more complete list of these words, as this figure only includes these *pa*-verbs to show a more complete picture of all words which can be derived from the verbs.

- (357) *ki a- sinong a kirak a- ulit -ai i -na vanang*
 3PL CS- sit DET taro CS- around -TRSV OBJ -3SG indeed
 ‘they set the taro around it indeed’ [055.164]

In this example, in addition to the positional verb *asinong*, the directional adverb *aulitai* describes a path of putting taro down around an object. Other positional verbs, both with the causal prefix *a-* and without, are listed in table 4.2 with examples of caused motion verbs which conflate cause and motion in the main verb. These are verbs such as carry, push, pull, move, take, roll, remove. When looking at these examples, what stands out is the great number of different verbs in this group of words. As is the case for the manner verbs, there are very many different verbs for caused motion,⁴⁴ but these verbs are not used as frequently as *pasal* to describe caused motion.

A second means of talking about caused motion, which actually occurs more frequently in the corpus, is the use of the verb *pasal* to express an agent-patient relationship. In example (358) a strong current sweeps the figure along (i.e., caused motion and not self-propelled motion of a human). In order to describe this motion, the speaker divides the event into three sub-events. The current is described as going up, and the figure’s motion is described as going according to the motion of the current.

- (358) *sikei kkel tavirimok vo -po pasal alak ang, ka -ta luk na*
 but current huge the.one -CONT go upward.direction DEFPOST, 3SG -PST take DET
Passinganlogo, na ka pasal tata -na nei laman lava
 Passinganlogo, and 3SG go OBL -3SG in water big
 ‘but the strong eastward current took Passinganlogo and went with him (bore him along) in the ocean’ [052.063-064: caused motion]

The third clause in this example describes the motion of the figure (Passinganlogo) in relation to the ground (the pronoun *tatana* referring to Passinganlogo and *ka* referring to the current). *Ta* or *tata* is a particle which indicates an instrumental relationship,⁴⁵ in this case that of motion caused by the current - the current is described here as an instrument which causes Passinganlogo’s motion. Caused motion can, therefore, either be expressed as a relationship between an agent and patient, as in the above example, or by means of a caused motion verb derived using the causal prefix *a-*, as in the examples above with the positional verbs *asiang* and *asinong*. Using the former to describe caused motion focusses on the action of the agent more than the motion of the figure.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Compare figure 6.1 and 6.2, which show the distribution of path, caused motion and manner of motion verbs in the corpus.

⁴⁵ *Ta* is also an oblique phrase marker, and in this example it also marks an oblique phrase. Perhaps this explains the relationship between *ta* as an oblique phrase marker and as an instrumental; i.e., it is difficult to differentiate which is meant here.

⁴⁶ Cf. Choi and Bowerman (1991) for a discussion of caused motion in English and Korean which addresses this issue.

A third way of describing caused motion is by implication, as the following example shows. The following section of text is taken from the same narrative as example (358). This is a story about a man who was lost at sea and adrift for two weeks. This section of the narrative describes a group of people in a passing boat who see something floating in the water, go back to see what it is, find and rescue the man and bring him back to shore and take care of him.

- (359) *ki an -la arai ani -a, ki -la pangun i -a, ki -la susui -ai aroron i -a, [...] ki -la*
3PL MAW -PERF see OBJ -3SG, 3PL -PERF wake OBJ -3SG, 3PL -PERF ask -TRSV good OBJ -3SG [...] 3PL -PERF
songo i -a, ki pasal alak a ki me itoiton i -a, ki alis pok i -a
call -OBJ -3SG, 3PL go up and 3PL MTW prepare OBJ -3SG, 3PL give food OBJ -3SG
 ‘they (went out and) saw him and they woke him, they questioned him gently [...] they called him and went up (took him back to shore), took care of him and gave him food’
 [052.100-109]

In this example a number of events are described, but only one motion verb is included, namely *pasal alak*. Directional morphemes are added to two further verbs: *arai* ‘see’, when the group of people drive out to see what is floating in the water; and *itoiton* ‘prepare’, directly after they have taken him to shore and taken care of him. This section of text describes caused motion, but it does so by implication only. Again it becomes clear that certain conceptual elements of a motion event are encoded in more detail than others.

A fourth way of talking about caused motion is with the group of words describing the act of causing an object to move by carrying it. These are listed in table 4.6. Examples (360) and (361) show two of these verbs:

- (360) *na nau na -la -po kaka na ka- -g vuvui ke*
and 1SG 1SG -PERF -CONT carry.on.back DET POSS-1SG grandchild this
 ‘and I, I carried my grandchild on my back’ [014.016]
- (361) *namemtol -la -po asalak asiang tapong na usausa -an*
3TR.EX -PERF -CONT carry.on.shoulder down start DET prepare -DER
 ‘we(3) started carrying the preparations (baggage) down’ [043.037]

5.5.3 Orientation of the figure

In a directed motion event the figure has a specific orientation. The verbal morphemes *an* and *me*, as well as the demonstratives used for spatial deixis (see table 3.6 for an overview and examples) are used to give clues as to the orientation of the figure. These words combine with the motion verbs and directionals in an utterance as well as the general context information to both situate a figure in space as well as to indicate the direction it is facing or moving. In this section I will first look at examples where speaker and figure are the same, and then move to instances where the speaker describes the

motion of another figure in order to look at how orientation is portrayed and whether there are any differences when the deictic centre is shifted.

The two directional morphemes *an* and *me* are often used to give clues to the orientation of the figure in both directed motion events as well as in non-motion events (see example (359) above).⁴⁷ These verbal morphemes allow the speaker to describe motion in relation to a location without having to always specify the motion. The orientation of the figure is described in relation to the position of the speaker (deictic origo).

In the following example, taken from a narrative told in first person, the speaker tells the story of finding a snake in his yard and chasing it with his friend Makago. The examples show the use of the deictic motion morpheme *me*, when differentiating between the motion of two different people (the protagonist and his friend). This serves to orient the direction of their respective motion.

- (362) *na -la ssip alak sumasuma. Na -la antok Makago: "Kene kana ka -po matung."*
 1SG -PERF flee up quickly. 1SG -PERF say Makago: "snake here 3SG -CONT lie."

Au, ka pasal sumasuma, na ka me -la arai ani kene.
 and.then, 3SG go quickly, and 3SG MTW -PERF see OBJ snake.

'I ran away quickly. I said to Makago: "there's a snake lying here!" Well, he walked quickly and he came and saw the snake.' [040.029-033]

Another example from this narrative again contrasts the orientation of the two figures, this time using two adverbs that describe a relative location (away from, near to):

- (363) *nau na -la pasal akipai, using parik na pa buk arai ani kene. Makago ka pasal*
 1SG 1SG -PERF go away.from, because NEG 1SG NEG want see OBJ snake. Makago 3SG go

asung ta naip ang.
 near.to INSTR knife DEEPOST

'I walked away, because I didn't want to see the snake. Makago went near (it) with the knife.' [040.040-042]

The position of the two figures is given with the adverbs *akipai* and *asung*, describing their position in relation to the position of the snake. This location was given in example (362) with the demonstrative *kana* 'here', pointing to a location close to where the speaker was located before moving away in example (363). The action of seeing the snake encodes the orientation of the figure with the morpheme *me*. This shows Makago to be oriented toward the location at which the speaker has just been, namely near the snake. The speaker and his friend went back toward the snake together and both look at it from that having-approached-together location. The deictic centre in

⁴⁷ Compare also the narrative discussed in section 4.2.1, in which actions done at a goal location of an outward journey are also given an orientation as being done away from the speaker (who is at the source location).

example (363) stays with the protagonist, and Makago's motion is in relation to his location. As becomes clear from these examples, there is no difference in the structure of motion events describing a person moving himself and describing the motion of another person. Adverbs, directional morphemes and demonstratives are all used to encode the orientation and direction of the motion.

Example (364)⁴⁸ shows how the deictic centre can be shifted to a person other than the speaker when addressing them directly.

- (364) *ku -ta palak le le nei laman, na ku an -la serei e rina, na ku -la pasal luai,*
2SG -PST go.up first from in water, and 2SG MAW -PERF arrive at village, and 2SG -PERF go slowly,
na ku -la pasal ane nei matang ang.
and 2SG -PERF go to in garden DEEPOST
 'you came up first from out of the water, and you went and arrived at the village, and you went all the way, and you went to the garden' [106.023]

In this example of a mother talking to her daughter, rather than say: *ku me la serei e rina*, the mother takes a subject related perspective, and describes the motion event with the verbal morpheme *an* - motion away from origo. In this case the deictic centre has been shifted from the speaker to her daughter.

In section 4.5 I looked at all the different ways deixis is used in Tungag, including the different deictic expressions. The narrative analysed in section 4.5.2⁴⁹ looks in detail at the motion being portrayed by a number of outward-bound and return journeys described by the protagonist. For example:

- (365) *au, namemlong me ago pok le*
and.then, 1DL.EX MTW stay again first
 'and we came back and were (here) again' [140.045]

In this example, the context is vital to understand who went where and when. The words *me*, *pok* and *le* point to the direction of motion and orientation of the figure, although there is no motion verb used.

In example (366), the motion and location are separated into two clauses. Again, *me* and *pok* orient the figure with respect to his location at the goal of motion, which is encoded with the demonstrative *kke*:

- (366) *ka pasal tung si ka me ago pok e kke*
3SG go up.to GEN 3SG MTW stay back at here
 'he went until he was back here again' [054.176]

⁴⁸ This example is also discussed in section 5.1.2.3 with respect to the way goal locations are encoded.

⁴⁹ For a more detailed analysis as well as the background context for examples (365) and (366), see the analysis in table 4.17.

5.5.4 Come and go words

Come and go words are used to describe motion in relation to the orientation of the figure. It is not possible to speak of coming or going without first establishing a frame of reference, i.e., a point from which or to which the motion is directed. The position of the speaker is an important point from which (go) and to which (come) motion can be directed. I have already discussed how *me* and *an* are used to signalise motion to and from the speaker.⁵⁰ Other words signalising coming and going are the adverb *pok* (also *angpok* - reciprocal use), as well as verbs of beginning and ending motion.⁵¹

Figure 5.22 shows the occurrence of *an* and *me* with three different verbs: the path verb *pasal*; the manner verb *sang* and the end of motion verb *serei*. The figure shows how often each verb occurs with a deictic particle. *Serei* clearly has the most occurrences. Note that *an* and *me* do not occur at all with the beginning motion verbs *tapasuk* and *tadut*.

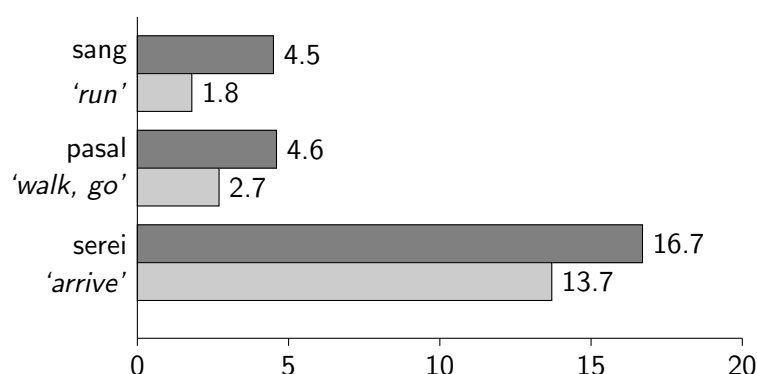


Figure 5.22 – The use of *me* (dark grey - motion toward speaker) and *an* (light grey - motion away from speaker) with different kinds of verbs. Shown as the percent of the total use of these verbs.

As a command to come or to go, the verb *pasal* is used for go and the verbal morpheme *me* is used for come. Compare *me ane kke* 'come here' and *pasal ane suke* 'go there'. *Me* can also be used alone without a verb stem, although its use is elliptical when not used as a command, cf. example (367). *An*, however, cannot stand on its own in the same way.

- (367) *a kana si me kokos kati si me ane kke, ka po pasal pok le Kavitongong*
 and now for MTW board boat for come toward here, 3SG -CONT go back from Kavitongong
 'and now for coming and boarding the boat for coming here, he came back from Kavitongong' [133.067]

⁵⁰ See the previous section and section 5.2.2.

⁵¹ See table 4.4 for examples of these verbs. Cf. also section 4.2.1 where *serei*, when arriving at the goal and back at the source on the return journey, is marked with the directional morphemes *an* and *me* to signalise which is the outward and which the homeward journey.

The verb *pasal* can be glossed as ‘to walk’ or ‘to go’. *Pasal*, however, can also be used to describe the motion in coming events. *Me pasal* can be used in the same way *me* is used with other verbs, cf. example (368). *Pasal* can also be used without the morpheme *me* to describe a return journey, cf. example (369).

(368) *ka me pasal ane Vukavuka*
 3SG MTW go toward Vukavuka
 ‘he came to Vukavuka’ [088.091]

(369) *na -ta pasal alak ane kke*
 1SG -PST go up toward here
 ‘we came up here’ [071.014]

In example (369) the demonstrative *kke* ‘here’ encodes the fact that the path is directed toward here, i.e., is a coming event. This makes use of a frame of reference centred around the origo. The demonstratives *kke* ‘here’ and *suke* ‘there’ can be used to point the direction of motion in a coming or going direction as shown in example (370).

(370) *na ka me ung e kke si ka- -g pasal ane suke. Si vuk taun ang*
 and 3SG MTW beach at here for.purpose POSS- -1SG go toward there. GEN piece time DEFPOST
namemlong -la sang asiang.
 2DLEX -PERF run down
 ‘and he beached (the craft) here for my trip over there. At that time we two drove down’ [053.051-052]

Example (367) is part of a longer description of motion back and forth. The following examples give the whole context. The path of motion is shown in figure 5.23.

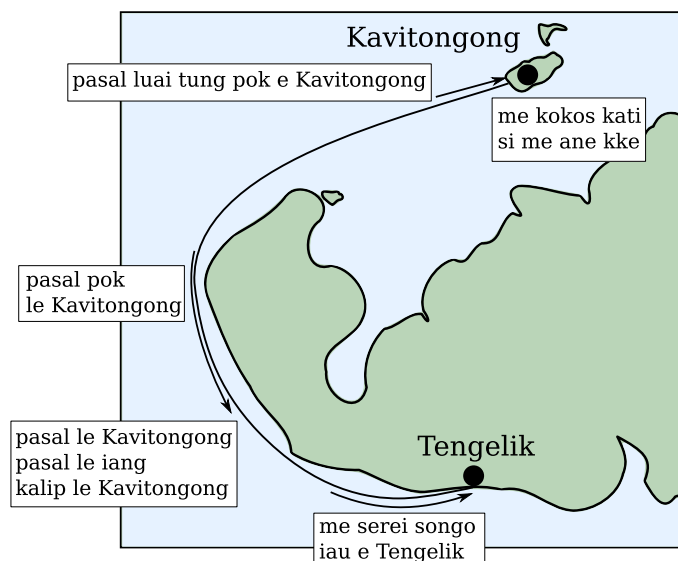


Figure 5.23 – Phrases used to describe the motion to and from Kavitongong and Tengelik in examples (367) and (371) to (380).

- (371) *mang teneivong ang ka me -la -po songo i -au,*
a.certain night DEF.POST 3SG MTW -PERF -CONT call OBJ -1SG,
‘that particular evening he came and called me,’ [133.059]
- (372) *using ka me arai ta kati ang ka -ta -la serei.*
because 3SG MTW see OBL boat DEF.POST 3SG -PST -PERF arrive.
‘because he saw that the boat had arrived.’ [133.060]
- (373) *Ka -po kalip le Kavitongong nang,*
3SG -CONT paddle from Kavitongong indeed,
‘He had actually paddled (all the way!) from Kavitongong!’ [133.061]
- (374) *na ka me -la serei songo i -au e Tengelik i pasal le Kavitongong.*
and 3SG MTW -PERF arrive call OBJ -1SG at Tengelik GEN go from Kavitongong.
‘and he arrived to call me at Tengelik (having just) come from Kavitongong.’ [133.062]
- (375) *Iko, ku -po pasal nang le Kavitongong?*
Isn’t.that.right, 2SG -CONT go indeed from Kavitongong?
‘[quoting her own speech] Really!? Are you actually coming (right now) from Kavitongong?’ [133.063]
- (376) *Na na -po taping luai ta ka -po pasal le Kavitongong.*
And 1SG -CONT surprise very that 3SG -CONT go from Kavitongong.
‘and I was very surprised that he had come from Kavitongong.’ [133.064]
- (377) *Au, ka pasal le iang,*
Well, 3SG go from there,
‘Well, he had come from there,’ [133.065]
- (378) *ka -po pasal luai tung pok e Kavitongong*
3SG -CONT go completely up.to back at Kavitongong
‘he goes all the way back to Kavitongong,’ [133.066]
- (379) *a kana si me kokos kati si me ane kke,*
and now for MTW board boat for come toward here,
‘and now in coming to board the speedboat to come here,⁵²’ [133.067]
- (380) *ka -po pasal pok le Kavitongong.*
3SG -CONT go back from Kavitongong.
‘he comes back from Kavitongong.’ [133.068]

These examples are taken from an interview where the speaker is talking about men in general and how they tend to leave home and roam around, and then come back home again. The figure she refers to as traveling back and forth is sitting beside her as she speaks to a third person. She uses verbal morphemes and demonstrative nouns to locate the figure in respect to the deictic centre: In example (377) *iang* indicates a

⁵² This *kke* is Kavieng, where the narrator is recounting this - in the context of an interview.

location situated away from the origo. In example (379) *kke* together with the verbal morpheme *me* point to the origo as the goal of the motion event.

In example (374) the speaker uses a compound verb (*serei songo*) to describe the figure coming to call her. The adverb *pok* is used a number of times in this text. The direction of motion in example (378) is toward Kavitongong and in example (380) it is toward Tengelik. Both are described with *pok*, and refer to the fact that he goes back to the respective location again.

Pok is an important word in come and go events. There are a number of variations of *pok* as well as different uses.⁵³ Of the 260 occurrences of the adverb *pok* in the corpus, 21 are temporal, 26 metaphorical and the rest spatial. There are several variations of the word *pok*: adding reciprocity with the prefix *ang-* and durative aspect through reduplication and transitivity with the suffix *-ai*, which also changes the word class to a verb. Examples for these variations follow.

- (381) *ki mas broom ani selen ang, using ka -po kana ta selen i pa ang- pok*
3PL must sweep OBJ road DEFPOST, because 3SG -CONT this OBL road GEN go RECIP back
 ‘they must sweep the path, because this is a path where people walk back and forth’
 [124.071-072: *angpok*]

- (382) *namemlong -po mengen suai singi -memlong angpokpokai ta sa?*
1DLEX -CONT talk away.from GEN -1DLEX back.and.forth OBJ what?
 ‘what are we(2) apologizing to each other(2) about?’ [136.138: *angpokpokai*]

Figure 5.24 shows the kinds of verbs occurring with *pok* in the spatial sense, meaning back (to a source location). For the 91 path verbs one can further differentiate between different types of path verbs, as shown in figure 5.25.

These two figures show the large range of types of verbs which can combine with *pok*, as well as the fact that for the path verbs, *pok* can be used with beginning motion, ending motion and trajectory path verbs.

⁵³ *Pok* can be used temporally or spatially. Used temporally, *pok* means again:

- ki -ta kapau pok i -ria*
3PL -PST lie again OBJ -3PL
 ‘they lied to them again’ [137.092: *pok* used temporally]

It can be used as a verb with the derivational suffix *-ai* to mean turn over (also *ulpokai*):

- ku pokai ani -m, na ku nat roron*
2SG turn.over OBJ -2SG, and 2SG boy good
 ‘you change your ways and you will be a good boy’ [047.020: *pokai*]

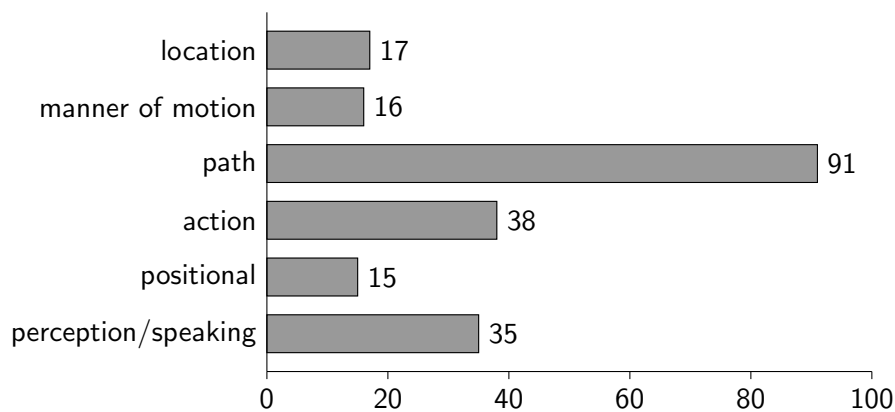


Figure 5.24 – Types of verbs occurring with the adverb *pok* with a spatial meaning.

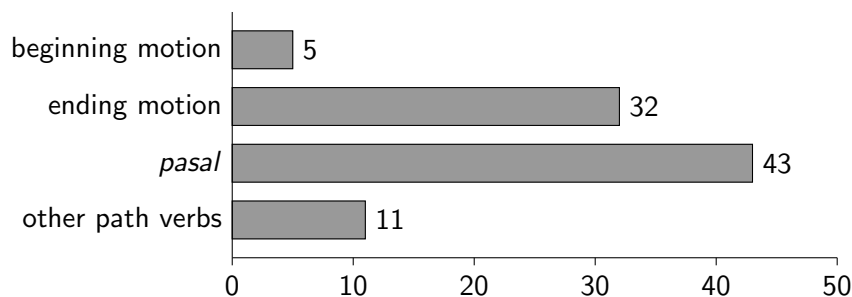


Figure 5.25 – Path verbs occurring with the spatial adverb *pok*.

The analysis of the orientation and animacy of the figure in a motion event can be summarised as follows. While there are entity-specific verbs in Tungag, more often the animacy of the figure does not influence the choice of motion verb. Inanimate figures are combined with motion verbs typically used with humans, and the motion of animals is often encoded with the generic motion verb *pasal* rather than entity-specific verbs. Caused motion can also be expressed with *pasal*. There are, however, many different verbs describing specific types of caused motion.⁵⁴ The orientation of the figure can be expressed through ‘come’ and ‘go’ constructions as well as with many different means of deixis encoding the orientation of the figure and direction of motion. These means are used frequently in Tungag, as has been discussed in detail earlier (compare the narratives discussed in section 4.2.1 and 4.5.2).

⁵⁴ The distribution of caused motion verbs in the corpus is similar to that of manner of motion verbs. Each group has many different verbs which only occur a few times in the corpus. On the other hand, there is less specification in the group of path verbs, although these occur more often in the corpus.

5.6 Boundary crossing events

In a boundary-crossing event, a character changes states from being at a location to moving, or from moving to being at a location. These two changes of state can be described respectively as the left and right boundary of a motion event. In this section I examine these two boundaries and discuss how Tungag encodes this change of state.⁵⁵ I have already discussed the fact that Tungag often focusses more distinctly on the left boundary of a motion event than on the right boundary (cf. sections 5.1.2.2 and 5.3) through the use of aspect and with beginning motion verbs.

In the following sections I will look at how boundary crossing is expressed in Tungag. First, section 5.6.1 focusses on the different linguistic means used to encode a boundary-crossing event. Constructions pointing to, toward or away from a location encode an inherent boundary. I will look at differences in encoding motion merely toward a goal and motion that brings one all the way to a goal (telic motion), encoding the fact that the goal has been reached. For example, in section 5.1.2.3 I discussed the preposition *ane*, which is often used to indicate the direction of motion toward a goal location, but does not specify whether the goal is reached or not. The adverb *tung* ‘up to, until’ does indicate motion up to goal location, while the adverb *taun* ‘toward’, like *ane*, is also non-telic. Second, another strategy in Tungag for dealing with boundary-crossing is to use a number of different sub-events to focus on each part of a boundary-crossing with a different motion event. Tungag often uses specific beginning or ending motion verbs to focus on these parts of a motion event. When this is done, the boundary-crossing is not encoded in a single event. I will discuss this in section 5.6.2. Third, when entering or exiting an enclosed space, the figure moves out of or into a location. I will look at different ways to encode entering and exiting in section 5.6.3.

⁵⁵ The way a language expresses boundary-crossing events is one of the criteria used for differentiating between satellite-framed and verb-framed languages. See chapter 2 and chapter 6. For a short comparison of how other languages encode boundary crossing, compare English (a satellite-framed language) and French (a verb-framed language). English has two prepositions ‘into’ and ‘in’, which differentiate between motion toward a goal which is reached, and path and location. The meaning of ‘walk into the forest’ is clearly different from ‘walk in the forest’. The first contains a boundary crossing event whereas the second does not. In French, on the other hand, the preposition *dans* is used in both situations and marks a ground location. Without a second step of analysis looking at the inferences of an utterance, it is not possible to differentiate between whether *dans* encodes a path to a location or movement at this location. Another characteristic of satellite-framed and verb-framed languages is that verb-framed languages cannot combine manner verbs with a boundary-crossing.

5.6.1 Linguistic means used to describe boundary-crossing

In examples (383) and (384)⁵⁶, a manner verb is used to describe motion toward a goal. In the first example the goal is mentioned but not reached; in the second example the goal is reached. Both examples are taken from the same narrative. In example (383), the motion event has a broader scope, that of a whole trip along the coast to a location. In example (384), the rowers stop and sleep at Lavongai on the way home to Umbukul.

- (383) *namem -la kalip aliu **ane** Ranmelek*
 3PL -PERF paddle along toward Ranmelek
 ‘we paddled along to Ranmelek’ [007.013]

- (384) *namem -la kalip asiang **tung e** Lavongai*
 3PL -PERF paddle down up.to at Lavongai
 ‘we paddled down to Lavongai’ [007.015]

Not only do these two examples differ as to the contexts in which they are uttered (the global context of example (383) and the specific sub-event in example (384)), but they also differ in how the motion toward the goal is encoded: the preposition *ane* encodes motion toward a goal, while the adverb *tung* with the preposition *e* specifies that the motion continued all the way up to the goal location. With the first example it would be possible to say: we paddled along to Ranmelek, but we didn’t reach Ranmelek. In fact, this is exactly what happens in the narrative. For the second example it is not possible to negate having actually reached Lavongai. In other words, it is clear from the phrase *tung e Lavongai* that the boundary to the goal location has been crossed. The fact that this is possible with a manner of motion verb is significant, since this is only possible for satellite-framed languages.

The two adverbs *assip* ‘completely’ and *luai* ‘completely, all the way’ specify that an action is completed. *Luai* can be combined with a motion verb to emphasise that one has moved all the way to a goal location, i.e., that the motion has been completed. Compare examples 385 and 386, where *luai* indicates the crossing of the boundary into the water:

- (385) *vuk taun ang ka -po pasal **asiang ane** nei laman*
 piece day DEFPOST 3SG -CONT go down toward in water
 ‘a certain day he went down to the water’ [080.032]

- (386) *na ka -la pasal asi an pasal **asiang luai** **ane** nei laman*
 and 3SG -PERF go for.purpose MAW go down completely toward in water
 ‘and he went in order to go all the way down to the water’ [080.031]

In both of these examples the goal location is marked with the preposition *nei* ‘in’. This indicates the nature of the ground, but does not mean that the goal of motion (being in the water) is also reached.

⁵⁶ These examples are also discussed in section 5.3.3.

The left boundary of a motion event is often more clearly marked than the right boundary. This has to do in part with the fact that the focus of a motion event is often on the motion, which implies that a source location has been left, but does not guarantee that a goal location is reached.

The adverbs *pelek* and *suai* describe the direction of motion away from a source location. Example (387) gives an example with *pelek*, and example (388) with *suai*.

- (387) *emung i tasi -mem ka -ta -la pasal pelek i -mem*
 after GEN sibling.same.sex -1PLEX 3SG -PST -PERF go away.from OBJ -1PLEX
 ‘after our brother left us’ [116.004]

- (388) *na ka -la pasal suai, na kilong -ta -la pong, na kilong -la kalip ane kulenusa*
 and 3SG -PERF go away.from, and 3DL -PST -PERF start, and 3DL -PERF paddle toward island
 ‘and he went away from (there), and they started out and they paddled to the island’
 [098.333]

5.6.2 Focussing on different parts of a motion event with sub-events

When passing a location or going through a location, the motion event is often broken down into sub-events. Example (389) shows how the beginning, middle and end of the motion event are separated into different clauses:

- (389) *na ka -la tung tapong le si ting ang, na ka -la koto sanga, ka -la koto*
 and 3SG -PERF stand begin from GEN nest DEFPOST, and 3SG -PERF clear path, 3SG -PERF clear
sanga, koto sanga, koto sanga na ka an -la serei e rina
 path, clear path, clear path and 3SG MAW -PERF arrive at village
 ‘he started out away from the nest, and he cleared a path all the way until he arrived at the village’ [002.021-024]

This example describes the figure moving from the bird’s nest to the village. Later in the narrative the figure retraces his steps in example (390) from the village back to the bird’s nest along the path he has cleared. Again, the motion event is broken down into sub-events. In both these examples the trajectory is separated from the arrival at the goal location (compare *koto sanga* with *serei e rina* in example (389) and *pasal* with *serei si ting i mani* in example (390)). Also, the left boundary is brought into focus with the beginning of motion verbs *tung tapong* and *tapasuk*, which again separate the source location from the rest of the motion event. These and other beginning motion verbs are used to focus on the boundary crossing at the source location, usually mentioning the location and the direction of motion away from the location.

- (390) *na ka -la tapasuk pok e rina, na ka -la pasal taun a ting i mani ang,*
 and 3SG -PERF start back at village, and 3SG -PERF go toward DET nest GEN bird DEFPOST,
si ka- -na an kong ani mani ang. ka -la pasal pasal pasal na ka an -la
 for.purpose POSS- -3SG MAW catch OBJ bird DEFPOST. 3SG -PERF go go go and 3SG MAW -PERF
serei si ting i mani ang, na ka -la tung asung i -na
 arrive GEN nest GEN bird DEFPOST, and 3SG -PERF stand close.to OBJ -3SG

‘and he started out back from the village and he went toward the bird’s nest, in order to catch the bird. He went along and he arrived at the bird’s nest, and he stood close to it.’ [002.032-037]

In example (390) the location at the goal (the bird’s nest) is specified with the fact that the figure stands near the nest (not wanting to scare the bird away) before he reaches out to catch the bird. The location at the goal is described here in detail, with the speaker noting not only the fact that he arrived at the nest, but where the figure stood in relation to the nest at the goal location.

The beginning motion verbs *tapasuk*, *tadut* and *tutapong* cannot be combined with a goal adjunct. However, motion events with *kokos*, which describes an action occurring at the beginning of motion (boarding a boat or a car to start a journey) or a state of being boarded, do sometimes mention the goal, cf. example (391).

- (391) *namem -la kokos pok ane rina lava*
 1PLEX -PERF board back toward village big
 ‘we boarded (to go) back to the mainland’ [059.007]

Directly following this example the next event in the narrative occurs while en route. This means that, while the goal is mentioned here, it is not reached. In fact, later on in the narrative the following two clauses describe the end of this motion event, e.g. example (392). The way the goal is mentioned as part of an overview of the journey in example (391) is similar to the mentioning of the goal location in example (383).

- (392) *namem -ta pasal sumasuma, na namem me -la serei e Angat*
 1PLEX -PST go quickly, and 1PLEX MTW -PERF arrive at Angat
 ‘we drove quickly and we arrived at Angat’ [059.012-013]

In figure 5.8 I showed the path or direction of motion for the different directional adverbs. The adverbs *aulit* ‘around’, *putuk* ‘across’ and *vulis* ‘around a point’ refer to motion across or around a landmark. In example (393), the second clause describes motion across a location, and is part of a sequence of preceding and following motion events.

- (393) *namemtol -po pasal e Talisabot ngere lo aliu, namemtol -la pasal putuk e nei*
 1TR.EX -CONT go at Talisabot beside shore along, 1TR.EX -PERF go across at in
uten [...] namemlong -la ulit pok veai ani keve sula, namemlong ulit pok
 forest [...] 1DLEX -PERF go.around back with OBJ PL.SPC spear, 1DLEX go.around back
asukang ke, pok ane liung
 as this, back toward reef
 ‘we(3) walked along the beach at Talisabot, we went through the forest [...] we(2) went back with the spears, we went back like that, back to the reef’ [054.063-064, 071-072]

Again, the motion event across the forest is separated from the previous motion event, although both use the same verb. Compare also the discussion of a text describing

a trip into the forest to get a recently carved canoe and bring it to someone's house in section 4.1.9. In that narrative a number of locations are passed through (a block of land, someone's garden plots). Each time one of these locations is crossed it is encoded in a separate motion event.

5.6.3 Entering and exiting

The words for entering and exiting in Tungag are *palak* (derived from *pasal* + *alak*) and *soung*. These two words indicate that a boundary has been crossed, and do not need to further specify the goal or source location with a prepositional phrase, although they can. For example:

- (394) *si keve taun aongos bung ka uli **soung** le iang*
GEN PL.SPC day all smoke 3SG HAB exit from there
 'every day smoke exited from there (from the place where she cooked)' [077.011]

- (395) *ka sang aliu a ka an -la **palak** si lu suke*
3SG run along and 3SG MAW -PERF enter GEN house there
 'he ran along and entered that house' [136.171]

- (396) *ka an -la panga na amanga -na, na aina ang ka -la **soung***
3SG MAW -PERF open DET mouth -3SG, and woman DEFPOST 3SG -PERF exit
 'it opened its mouth, and the woman exited' [080.045-046]

Exiting can also be described with the very common phrase for leaving, *pasal suai* 'go remove'. The event described in the previous example is referred to again later in the narrative with the verb *pasal suai*:

- (397) *vuk taun ang ka -po **pasal suai** ani amanga -na i ien ang*
piece time DEFPOST 3SG -CONT go remove OBJ mouth -3SG GEN fish DEFPOST
 'the time when she had exited the mouth of the fish' [080.053]

The examples in this section show that boundary-crossing events are possible with both path and manner of motion verbs. While it is possible to encode a boundary crossing at a goal location, the prepositional phrase *ane* NP, which is used very often to encode motion to a goal, is ambiguous as to whether the goal location is actually reached. It is also typical in Tungag to use separate clauses for the different sub-events of leaving, travelling and arriving at a goal location, thus using separate verbs for the boundary-crossing events. This is mirrored in the frequent use of separate beginning and ending motion verbs.

6 Conclusion: Tungag in a typological framework

In this chapter I tie together the theory presented in chapter 2 with the discussion of Tungag spatial language in chapters 3 to 5. The focus of the previous chapters was on a description of Tungag spatial language from three different viewpoints: in the context of Tungag grammar; in a presentation of the linguistic means used in spatial language; and from the perspective of how elements of a motion event are encoded. This chapter begins with a short summary of each of the preceding chapters. In section 6.2 I will then present five questions derived from the analysis in chapter 5 relating to the way motion events are encoded in Tungag. These questions will be discussed in the ensuing sections, where I will draw a number of conclusions about Tungag's place in a typological framework of motion events as well as discuss to what extent Talmy's typological framework is suitable for analysing Tungag spatial language.

6.1 A summary of the previous chapters

In chapter 2 I present the underlying theoretical framework for a description of motion events. It is possible to talk about space according to different frames of reference (Levinson 1996; cf. section 2.2). These frames of reference were used for the analysis of the use of certain lexical means in chapter 4. These are: locationals (cf. section 5.1); different frames of reference used with the manner of motion verb *kalip* 'paddle' (cf. section 4.1.8); directional morphemes (cf. section 4.2.1) and directional adverbs (cf. section 4.3.5). In addition to frames of reference as an analytical tool for spatial language, I discuss Talmy's concept of a motion event (Talmy 1985; 2000; cf. section 2.3). This serves as a framework for the discussion of how motion through space is described in Tungag in chapter 5. In chapter 2 I also give a short overview of other work on spatial language in Austronesian languages (section 2.1). Section 2.4 describes the typological continuum of verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. These terms are used by Talmy and others to describe the way a language typically encodes certain elements of a motion event, namely manner and path. I will make use of this presentation of Talmy's typology as I draw conclusions about Tungag spatial language in the present chapter.

Chapter 3 presents a grammar sketch of Tungag. The main grammatical structures are described, starting with the morpheme and ending with complex sentence structure. This chapter, together with the Tungag-English word list in Appendix A.3, introduces the reader to Tungag grammar and serves as a reference in the ensuing discussion of spatial language. This chapter illustrates that it is difficult to neatly define word

types in Tungag. Many words can be used in different slots in the sentence and their meanings arise from their function/position in the sentence.

Spatial language is the focus of chapter 4. This chapter gives a detailed description of the linguistic means used to talk about motion and location in space. This includes examples of different types of motion verbs occurring in the corpus (locational verbs, path verbs, manner of motion verbs, verbs of beginning and ending motion, verbs describing motion in relation to other motion, verbs describing motion occurring because of an action), directional morphemes, adverbs, prepositions and locational morphemes as well as demonstratives. While the aim of chapter 4 is to describe how Tungag spatial language is used, typical ways of encoding path and manner in Tungag become apparent. Both path and manner are often encoded in the verb as well as in satellites to the verb. As well, path is often added to locational expressions or action events. This strategy allows Tungag speakers to include an element of direction/orientation while focussing on encoding another element such as an action or localisation. Additionally, spatial characteristics of ground locations are encoded with prepositions. I see these characteristics of Tungag as indications of the flexible approach speakers can take when using spatial language. The use of spatial language in the corpus does not clearly adhere to a pre-existing model of spatial language use.

Chapter 5 focusses on the conceptual category of a motion event (cf. figure 5.1). Discussing each aspect of a motion event in turn, this chapter presents the means available in Tungag (see chapter 4) to describe different parts of a motion event and discusses how they are used. The following sections draw on this analysis of motion events in Tungag and I will discuss the results there.

6.2 Placing Tungag in a typology of motion events

In this section I will systematically compare typical characteristics of satellite-framed and verb-framed languages (Talmy 1985; 2000) with the way motion events are realised in Tungag.¹ The concepts of a motion event as used in this framework are a very helpful tool for comparing how different languages talk about motion. In order to interpret the Tungag data, I view the typology as a continuum from satellite-framed to verb-framed, rather than seeing it as an either-or typology (compare the discussion in chapter 2). Since the constraints used to define verb-framed and satellite-framed languages do not

¹ I deliberately place this section at the end of the book, to first give the reader an unbiased look at Tungag spatial language, starting from the data itself rather than trying to mould Tungag into a framework based on the way other languages talk about space. This chapter is not intended as an in-depth discussion of the topic, which would go further than the scope of this book. Much of the data on verb-framed and satellite-framed languages is based on experimental data designed to tease apart the fine nuances of spatial language (cf. for example Slobin 2006) while the data for this book comes from a corpus of texts.

consistently apply for Tungag, I cannot classify it as either a satellite-framed or verb-framed language. A continuum allows me to describe in what way Tungag resembles each type of language. At the same time this shows the difficulties which arise in attempting to define a language by the way it uses verbs and satellites in a language. As shown in chapter 3, defining a word type in Tungag is not always straightforward. The main verb of a motion event is often omitted, while directional morphemes or prepositions encode the path of motion (cf. the discussion of the preposition *ane* ‘to, toward’ in section 5.1.2.3). The presentation of the way Tungag encodes elements of a motion event in chapter 5 leads to a number of conflicting results in the light of Talmy’s typological framework. In the following sections I will explore five questions, which were raised from examining the way motion events are encoded in Tungag when attempting to compare Tungag with other languages using this typological framework. As will become clear, attempting to classify Tungag as either satellite-framed or verb-framed leads to conflicting results when drawing on different criteria as put forth in the literature. Rather, a view of Tungag on a cline from verb-framed to satellite-framed languages is more satisfactory, which suggests a shift may be needed in the criteria used to typologically classify the way languages encode motion events. The questions I address are the following:

- **How do the encoding of path and manner elements in Tungag compare to Talmy’s definition of a satellite-framed or verb-framed language?**

“A construction which expresses the core schema² in the verb is verb-framed (the verb is a framing verb). Languages for which this pattern is *predominant* are verb-framed. A construction which maps the core schema onto a satellite is satellite-framed. Languages that *characteristically* use this pattern are satellite-framed³.” (Talmy 2000:219)

Talmy defines a satellite as follows: “certain immediate constituents of a verb root other than inflections, auxiliaries, or nominal arguments” (Talmy 1985:102) and “the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun-phrase or prepositional-phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root. It relates to the verb root as a dependent to a head.” (Talmy 2000:102).

- **How easy is it in Tungag to describe manner of motion?**

Slobin (2004) shifts the focus of the verb-framed/satellite-framed distinction from path to the question of manner salience:

“Taking manner as a starting point, it appears that languages vary considerably with regard to this dimension, with V-languages paying much less attention to manner than S-languages” (Slobin 2004:223).

² The core schema refers to the path of a motion event.

³ English, for example, is a typical satellite-framed language and Spanish a typical verb-framed language.

- **Does Tungag allow boundary crossing (including goal reached) with manner of motion verbs, something that is highly constrained for verb-framed languages?**

Papafragou et al. (2002) write that for verb-framed languages

“it seems that manner-of-motion verbs cannot be readily combined with path prepositional phrases to denote movement which involves some sort of bounded (completed, traversed) path” (Papafragou et al. 2002:195).

- **How does Tungag typically segment motion events?**

This includes a discussion of how goal and source locations are typically encoded and how this compares to the strategies followed by verb-framed and satellite-framed languages in how they decompose location and motion elements of a motion event.

- **What types of adjuncts combine with different kinds of verbs?**

Rau et al. (2012) use the fact that manner is not usually expressed after a path verb as a criterium for classifying Yami, a Western Austronesian language, as verb-framed. I will discuss the different adjuncts occurring with different types of motion verbs.

6.2.1 How manner and path are typically encoded in a motion event

According to Talmy’s definition of a satellite above, in Tungag, this includes the directional adverbs and directional morphemes, but not prepositions. A typical motion event in Tungag encodes path in a satellite. In section 5.2 I examined the different ways path can be expressed. Directional adverbs, verbal morphemes (and prepositions) combine frequently with **both** path and manner verbs. At the same time, the most prolific motion verbs are path verbs. It is difficult to compare the encoding of path and manner elements in Tungag with Talmy’s definition above, because there does not seem to be a predominant use of either satellites or verbs to encode the core-schema of a motion event. Rather, both are frequently used. Additionally, the focus on the use of path and manner in a motion event does not give room to the fact that the same directional adjuncts which encode path in a motion event in Tungag are also frequently used to encode path in other types of events (such as describing the path of motion which takes place while an action occurs).

6.2.2 The relative use of manner and path verbs (manner salience)

Slobin (2004) proposes that a better framework for comparing how languages talk about space is to look at the ease with which manner is expressed. This approach focusses

on the way certain concepts can be encoded in a language rather than focussing on the types of linguistic means used.

Although the manner of motion in a motion event is often encoded in the verb in Tungag (17.3%), the occurrence of path verbs as the main verb of a motion event is much higher (55.4%). Figure 6.1 shows the frequency (shown as percent of total occurrence) with which different types of motion verbs are used to encode the 3004 motion events in the corpus. This break-down of motion verbs follows the division of different kinds of motion verbs in Tungag as presented in sections 4.1.7 (manner)⁴, 4.1.5 (path), 4.1.6 (cause to move) and 4.1.2 (put into position).

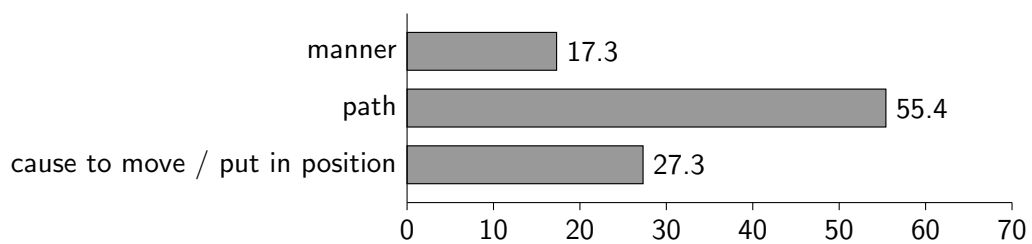


Figure 6.1 – The type of verb encoded in the main verb of a motion event. Shown as percentage of the total occurrence (3004 motion events).

Figure 6.2 shows the number of different verbs for each type, i.e., there are 34 different manner of motion verbs used in 17.3 percent of the motion events in the corpus.

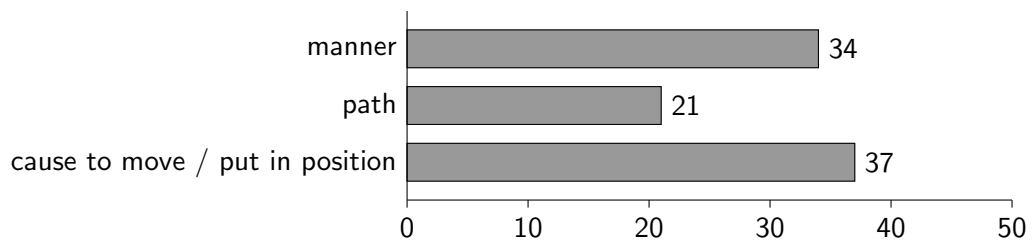


Figure 6.2 – The total number of different kinds of verbs in each category mentioned in Figure 6.1.

While figure 6.1 suggests that Tungag is a less manner salient language, the amount of different manner verbs⁵ in figure 6.2 suggests the opposite.

In his definition of a motion event, Talmy (1985) (cf. section 2.3) describes both manner and cause as distinct external events occurring in relation to the main motion event. In section 5.5.2 I discuss how causality is encoded in a motion event. Besides

⁴ I have included the category ‘motion in relation to other motion’ (cf. table 4.5) in the group of manner verbs for both figure 6.1 and 6.2.

⁵ This is also the case for the cause to move / put in position verbs, which are often closely related to manner verbs in both form and meaning.

the ‘cause to move’ verbs, many of the ‘put in position’ verbs are derived from postural, locational or motion verbs with the use of a causal prefix indicating caused motion. Causality is also often expressed in a satellite (compare the directional adverbs, many of which are derived from motion verbs with the same causal prefix). Causality is therefore expressed in much the same way as manner in Tungag, both in the verb and in satellites to the verb.

A typical use for manner of motion verbs in satellite-framed languages is to encode entity-specific motion. In section 5.5.1 I discussed the fact that motion events describing the motion of different types of animals is usually not entity-specific in Tungag. More often, the verb *pasal* ‘go’ is used to describe the motion of many kinds of animals, even though entity-specific motion verbs do occur in the corpus (such as *kas* ‘swim’, *ngoi* ‘fly’). Slobin writes:

“Typically, in V-languages, a neutral verb of motion is used to designate a creature’s normal manner of movement: owls ‘go’, fish ‘go’, people ‘go’, cats ‘go’, and so forth. Manner verbs are used when manner is foregrounded - and then owls can ‘soar’ or ‘flap’ (but apparently not across boundaries).” (Slobin 2004:6)

The many different entities which are described as ‘going’ in Tungag suggests that Tungag tends toward the verb-framed end of a continuum. On the other hand, the second part of the quotation mentions a boundary-crossing constraint for manner verbs, something that does not hold for Tungag as will be shown in the following section. Once again, Tungag displays typical characteristics of both a verb-framed and satellite-framed language.

6.2.3 Combining manner verbs with directional adjuncts and goals of motion

One of the assumptions about satellite-framed languages is that they can combine manner of motion verbs with path adjuncts in boundary-crossing events, something which is not possible in verb-framed languages.⁶ Slobin writes that “V-languages only license the use of a manner verb as a main verb in a path expression if no boundary-crossing is predicated” (Slobin 2004:225).⁷

In Tungag it is possible to combine manner of motion verbs with path satellites. Very often, a manner verb is combined with a directional and the goal or source of the motion event. In section 5.6 I discussed examples of manner verbs in motion events which specify that a goal is reached.⁸ Also, as discussed in section 5.3, the perfective

⁶ Beavers et al. (2010:347) write that *until* markers are the exception to this rule.

⁷ Others speak of a telic/atelic path distinction (cf. Beavers et al. 2010:348-9, Aske 1989), rather than boundary-crossing.

⁸ See section 5.6 for examples of boundary-crossing events with manner of motion verbs.

aspect marker is used to indicate that the left boundary of a motion event has been crossed, and combines just as readily with manner of motion verbs as with path verbs. The fact that a manner verb can combine readily with a path adjunct and a directional + goal/source adjunct strongly suggests that Tungag tends toward the satellite-framed side of the continuum, given the constraint on verb-framed languages mentioned above.

6.2.4 Strategies for marking goal and source

According to Nikitina (2009) (cf. also Talmy 1985), verb-framed languages have a different strategy for marking goals and sources of motion than satellite-framed languages, depending on which element carries the meaning:

“verb-framed languages encode the meaning of goal in the verb by using specialized verb forms, prefixes, etc., while satellite-framed languages express the same meaning outside of the verb (by particles, specialized adpositions, case marking, etc.). The same distinction can be used to describe the variety of ways in which languages can unambiguously encode the meaning of source of motion, distinguishing it from the other two meanings.” (Nikitina 2009:1114)

I have already ascertained that the beginning or ending of a motion event is often focussed on in a separate clause. This is done with a number of beginning and ending motion verbs. Of the 21 path verbs shown in figure 6.2, 8 verbs are of this kind (cf. table 4.4). In fact, the second most common motion verb in the corpus is *serei* ‘arrive’ encoding the arrival at a goal (520 occurrences). Source and goal are also often marked with a preposition or adverb, although this occurs less frequently than when they are encoded in the verb.

Zlatev and Yangklang (2004) and Slobin (1997) also mention the fact that different languages use different strategies for segmenting motion events. Slobin writes that verb-framed languages tend to use less information per clause, resulting in shorter and more frequent motion events to describe the same motion as speakers of satellite-framed languages. They compensate for this with more static scene descriptions (Slobin 1997:448). As observed earlier (cf. section 5.1.2.3), Tungag tends to break a motion event into smaller segments, specifying the beginning, trajectory and end of motion with separate motion events. This characteristic of Tungag is more typical of a verb-framed language.

6.2.5 Types of adjuncts which combine with different verbs

Figure 6.3 shows the distribution of different types of adjuncts with three different types of verbs: the manner verb *sang*; the path verb *pasal* and the path verb *pasiang*.

This figure shows that directional adjuncts⁹ are used across all types of verbs, especially with manner verbs.

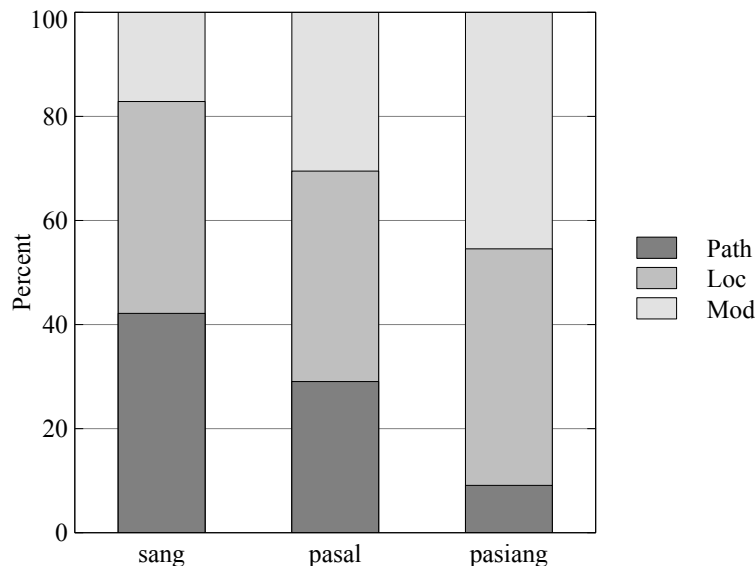


Figure 6.3 – Adjuncts occurring with the verbs *sang* ‘run’, *pasal* ‘go/walk’ and *pasiang* ‘go down’.

The verb *sang* has the highest degree of manner and *pasiang* the lowest. *Pasal* means both go and walk, so it includes an aspect of manner, while *pasiang*, which is a combination of *pa* (from *pasal* ‘go’) and *asiang* ‘downward direction’ is the most purely path verb of the three.

Rau et al. (2012), in their analysis of Yami, a Western Austronesian language, conclude that Yami is path salient for a number of reasons, one being that “manner is usually not expressed after the path verb. If it is expressed, it is coded as a serial verb construction” (Rau et al. 2012:14).

Figure 6.3 clearly shows the correlation between the type of verb and the type of adjuncts used. It also shows that it is possible for each type of adjunct to occur with both manner and path verbs. The amount of locational adjuncts encoding the ground is similar for all three verbs, while the amount of modal and path adjuncts differs. When comparing this with Rau et al.’s conclusion about how manner is expressed together with a path verb, these results again suggest that Tungag is situated toward the satellite-framed end of a continuum, because the path verb *pasiang* clearly combines with manner adjuncts (remember that manner adjuncts typically occur after the verb).

⁹ The path element in this figure combines path adjuncts and directional adjuncts, including directional morphemes.

6.2.6 Conclusion

Table 6.1 shows how Tungag compares to the characteristics of typical verb-framed and satellite-framed languages as discussed in sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.5 above.

Table 6.1 – A comparison of attributes of Tungag with typical characteristics of verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. (Table adapted from Zlatev and Yangklang 2004:187 and Slobin 2006:6).

	verb-framed language	satellite-framed language	Tungag
path expressed in:	verb	satellite	satellite/verb
manner expressed in:	adverbial	verb	verb and adverbial
typical construction type:	verb _{path} + subordinate verb _{manner}	verb _{manner} + satellite _{path}	verb _{path} /verb _{manner} + satellite _{path}
boundary-crossing constraint:	yes	no	few
several path segments per clause:	no	yes	no
manner-verb use	low	high	lower
ground specification:	lower	higher	higher
goal and source encoded in:	verb	satellite	verb and satellite

Table 6.1 clearly shows that Tungag does not conform to either a typical verb-framed or satellite-framed language. As discussed above, some characteristics of Tungag are typical of verb-framed languages, while other characteristics are more typical of satellite-framed languages. There have been different ways of addressing this issue for other languages.

A first solution is to propose a third type of language. This has been done previously with the suggestion that there are equipollently-framed languages (cf. Zlatev and Yangklang 2004, Slobin 2004 and Ameka and Essegbey 2006 discussed in section 2.4) in addition to verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. This is an attempt to include languages with serial verb constructions, which behave differently in the way they encode the path and manner of motion in a motion event. However, as I have discussed previously (cf. section 3.4.1) I argue that in Tungag, these types of verbs are more similar to compound verbs than serial verb constructions, and these compound verbs are not used in the same way or as much as in typical serial verb languages. The arguments for classing a language as equipollently-framed as brought forth in the literature therefore do not hold for Tungag.

Another solution to the problem of classifying Tungag is to take the view that the typology should be seen as a continuum rather than a bipolar typology.¹⁰ Tungag could then be placed toward the middle of a continuum, perhaps leaning slightly more toward the satellite-framed end when taking into account the discussion in sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.5 above. To summarise:

In Tungag, manner of motion verbs can be combined with a goal reached, something that is not possible for verb-framed languages. On the other hand, motion events are often broken down into sub-events to describe the boundary-crossing both at the left and right boundary of a motion event, focusing on the source, trajectory and goal as separate events. This is something that is more typical for verb-framed languages. Another similarity with verb-framed languages is the relatively low use of manner verbs compared to path verbs for describing motion events, as well as the use of path verbs where speakers of typical satellite-framed languages would only use a manner verb (cf. fish swim vs. fish go). The main premise for defining a language as satellite-framed or verb-framed concerns the way path is encoded in a motion event. In Tungag, while path and motion are usually conflated in the verb, path is also typically encoded in a satellite, combining with manner verbs and even combining path satellites with locational verbs¹¹ and action events. It is also possible to encode path in a satellite when no verb is used. The distribution of path and manner adjuncts with different types of verbs as portrayed in figure 6.3, shows that there is no restriction as to the type of adjuncts which can combine with different types of motion verbs, but that there is a correlation between the manner and path adjuncts and the manner and path verbs.

This second solution offers a way to work with the existing typology, allowing Tungag to be compared to typical satellite-framed and verb-framed languages. It is, however, also not completely satisfactory. Instead, rather than focussing on the extent to which Tungag can be seen as either satellite-framed or verb-framed by trying to force Tungag into an existing typology, I offer an explanation as to why Tungag does not fit well in Talmy's typology, explaining the need for a different approach to spatial language as I have taken in this book.

The method used in my analysis of the Tungag data is based on the premise that a description of how a language works needs to begin by looking at how the language is used rather than looking for patterns in the language which comply with an existing

¹⁰ For example, Lambert-Brétière (2009) examines a serialising verb language, Fon, and argues for a view of Talmy's typology as a continuum. He places Fon on the satellite-framing end of the continuum, rather than classing it as an equipollently-framed language

¹¹ Rau et al. (2012) and Huang and Tanangkingsing (2005) do not code existential verbs saying that something exists or is located at (as the verb *ago* 'be, stay' does) as motion events. While I do not class the verb *ago* as a motion event, I have discussed the fact that it and other locationals as well as action verbs can be combined with directionals (cf. for example section 4.1.3).

typology. This approach has led to a number of observations which I believe explain the conflicting results in table 6.1. The Tungag data suggests that using the concepts satellite and verb to compare how languages encode space is insufficient. An approach such as that which Slobin takes, which focusses on the manner-salience or path-salience of a language, is more applicable, because it starts with the conceptual categories of a motion event rather than the grammar of a language.

First, the data in the corpus shows that Tungag speakers can be very flexible when combining different elements of a motion event, whereas Talmy's typology does not allow for this flexibility. For example, the direction or path of a motion event is often combined with a localisation. This allows Tungag speakers to mention the path of motion while focussing on something else (be it a localisation or an action - see for example the discussions of narratives in sections 4.1.3 and 4.2.1). This flexibility is also seen in the fact that while Tungag speakers often divide a path of motion into shorter sections, focussing in turn on the beginning, path and ending of a motion event, something which is typical for speakers of verb-framed languages, it is still possible for speakers to encode a boundary-crossing event using manner of motion verbs, something that cannot be done by speakers of verb-framed languages.

Another way in which the Tungag data shows the flexibility of Tungag speakers when using spatial language is in the description of places, or ground specification. As discussed in section 5.4, Tungag speakers often include a spatial component when describing a place, for example the fact that a figure is situated in a ground location. This is clearly an aspect of spatial language, however, there is no room for this in a satellite-framed/verb-framed typology. By looking at what is possible in Tungag when talking about space rather than looking for expected characteristics of a language, certain features typical of Tungag spatial language become apparent.

It is also important to keep in mind other aspects of a language. As Beavers et al. (2010) suggest, the way spatial language is encoded reflects other general rules about the grammatical structure of a language and it is important to keep these in mind when analysing Tungag spatial language. While describing Tungag grammar (see chapter 3), I ascertained that the boundaries between different types of words in Tungag are not always clear. This makes a typological approach to spatial language which focusses on comparing how different types of words encode motion events problematic. In Tungag the same word form is often used as a verb or a noun, and can also be used as an adverb, adjective or preposition. Although the relatively fixed sentence structure makes it clear how the word form is to be understood, this flexibility is not just a type of conversion or zero derivation, but shows something fundamental about the flexibility of the language which is not just apparent in the realm of spatial language.

These three examples of flexibility in the use of Tungag offer an explanation as to why the more rigid approach in Talmy's typology does not give a sufficient picture of

how spatial language is used in Tungag in comparison with other languages. Rather than starting with the parts of speech to compare or describe how spatial language is used, a better approach is to begin with the conceptual categories of a motion event. The definition of a verb, preposition, adverb, noun etc. is not the same in every language and these words are not used in the same way in every language. However, since speakers of all languages can and do move from one point to another, focussing on comparing how they describe motion is a better starting point for a comparison. The conceptual categories of a motion event, which can be drawn from Talmy's typology (see the introduction to chapter 5 and figure 5.1 for a portrayal of these categories) provide such a starting point and have been used as a basis for the description of Tungag spatial language in this book.

6.3 Final remarks and outlook

I have presented an in-depth account of Tungag spatial language based on the way these linguistic means are used in the corpus to talk about motion and location in space. Tungag is able to combine different elements of a motion event in a much more flexible way than is possible for typical satellite-framed or verb-framed languages, for which stricter combination restrictions apply. This characteristic of Tungag can be observed throughout the book. On the morphological level, word categories can be quite open, for example, the distinction between prepositions and locational nouns is not always clear. Verbs can be used as nouns and adjectives, while the relatively fixed word order of the verb clause makes the meaning of the word clear. Tungag speakers also pay great attention to their position in space. Many different linguistic means are used to talk about movement through space, and the direction of motion and orientation of the speaker are frequently added to action verbs or locational expressions, allowing the speaker to focus on the action while including the motion occurring during the action. This is also observed in the fact that the ground of a motion event often encodes additional spatial characteristics.

It is important to remember that these observations are based on a corpus study. To find out more about how different types of spatial language in Tungag are used together, the next step would be to do field research with data elicitation and experiments under controlled circumstances in order to further investigate the subject matter. The word for space in Tungag, *pangau*, refers to both a space of time and a space of area. The common ground between spatial and temporal language has only been touched on in this book. This could be another fruitful topic of investigation.

A Appendix

A.1 An overview of the corpus

Table A.1 gives an overview of the files in the corpus. There are five types of files: (1) oral narratives (48 texts, 30676 words); (2) interviews (22 texts, 38546 words); (3) speeches (31 texts, 21318 words); (4) written letters (37 texts, 7762 words) and (5) written narratives (7 texts, 2428 words). This makes a total of 145 texts and 100,730 words in the corpus.

Table A.1 - List of files in the corpus.

reference number	word count	date	reference number	word count	date	reference number	word count	date
oral narrative			interview			letter		
002	1035	1986	027	149	2008	003	37	1987
004	492	2008	098	3192	2008	008	406	1990
005	393	1986	109	794	2008	009	38	1987
006	275	2008	124	984	2008	016	125	1987
007	117	2008	128	5132	2008	017	36	1988
011	552	1987	132	2314	2008	018	46	1988
012	296	1986	133	3451	2008	019	77	1988
013	309	1986	134	4582	2008	020	58	1988
014	495	1986	135	3567	2008	021	53	1988
026	254	2008	136	3314	2008	022	78	1989
028	1097	1987	137	2291	2008	023	73	1991
029	585	1986	138	2763	2008	024	84	1991
030	780	1986	139	249	2008	025	152	1991
031	616	1991	140	1427	2008	037	393	1990
033	209	1987	141	497	2008	038	177	1991
034	67	1986	142	797	2008	056	521	1988
035	172	1987	143	684	2008	061	79	1989
039	132	1987	144	148	2008	062	72	1988
040	379	1987	145	452	2008	063	37	1988
041	430	1987	146	448	2008	064	282	1988
042	156	1987	147	1013	2008	066	28	1989
043	1222	1987	148	298	2008	067	49	1989
044	389	1987	speech			068	435	1989
045	945	1987	015	443	1986	069	279	1989
046	775	1987	036	412	1987	070	677	1989
048	546	1988	047	729	1987	071	416	1990

Continued on next page

Table A.1 - continued from previous page

reference number	word count	date	reference number	word count	date	reference number	word count	date
049	507	1987	094	476	2008	072	369	1989
050	395	1987	095	628	2008	073	490	1990
051	874	1987	096	230	2008	081	139	1991
052	952	1987	102	1792	2008	082	378	1990
053	669	1988	104	1013	2008	083	628	1991
054	1204	1988	105	450	2008	084	81	1992
055	2198	1988	106	1080	2008	089	641	1992
065	697	1989	107	560	2008	090	144	1993
074	530	1991	108	760	2008	091	43	1994
075	313	1991	110	356	2008	092	100	1994
076	281	1991	111	872	2008	093	41	1994
077	301	1991	112	454	2008	written narrative		
078	309	1991	113	1103	2008	001	141	1993
080	829	1991	114	644	2008	010	78	1986
085	893	1993	115	42	2008	032	99	1986
086	302	1993	116	569	2008	057	74	1989
087	714	1993	117	595	2008	058	231	1989
088	4114	1992	118	936	2008	059	195	1998
097	643	2008	119	768	2008	060	1610	1989
099	652	2008	120	1288	2008			
100	500	2008	121	388	2008			
101	81	2008	122	558	2008			
			125	340	2008			
			126	477	2008			
			127	1595	2008			
			129	526	2008			
			130	641	2008			
			131	593	2008			

A.2 Examples of pronouns

The following three tables give examples for the pronouns found in tables 3.2, 3.3, and 3.4 in section 3.4.3.

Table A.2 – Examples of subject pronouns.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
sin-gular	<i>nau a tama -mi lik</i> 1SG DET father -2PL small 'I am your little father' [092.015]	<i>numai ku -la pa aliu</i> 2SG 2SG -PERF go along 'you go along' [026.036]	<i>ninia ka -la longong</i> 3SG 3SG -PERF listen 'he listened' [002.048]
dual		<i>Passingan ka auai</i> Passingan 3SG accompany <i>ve namilong</i> with 2DL 'Passingan will accompany you(2)' [054.018]	<i>na -la -po uli auai</i> 1SG -PERF -CONT HAB accompany <i>ve rilong</i> with 3DL 'I always accompany them(2)' [128.153]
dual excl.	<i>namemlong ve Isana,</i> 1DLEX with Isana, <i>namemlong me akalit e</i> 1DLEX MTW school at <i>Umbukul</i> Umbukul 'we(2) with Isana, we came to school in Umbukul' [147.018]		
dual incl.	<i>tarung</i> <i>no example in corpus</i>		
trial		<i>na -po buk</i> 1SG -CONT want <i>angmemengenai ve</i> discuss with <i>namitol singi -na</i> 2TR GEN -3SG 'I want to discuss it with you(3)' [104.012]	<i>na -la pasal ve ritol</i> 1SG -PERF go with 3TR <i>ane nei uten</i> to in forest 'I went with them(3) to the forest' [112.017]
trial excl.	<i>namemtol aongos</i> 1TR.EX all <i>namemtol -la kokos</i> 1TR.EX -PERF board 'we(3 exclusive) all boarded' [043.044]		

Continued on next page

Table A.2 – continued from previous page

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
trial incl.	<i>taratol</i> <i>no example in the corpus</i>		
plural		<i>parik na pa ago ve</i> NEG 1SG NEG stay with <i>nami e kke</i> 2PL at here ‘I didn’t stay here with you’ [004.047]	<i>na riria asip ki -po</i> and 3PL completely 3PL -CONT <i>misag</i> refuse ‘and they all refused’ [030.041]
plural excl.	<i>ki uli ago ve namem</i> 3PL HAB stay with 1PL.EX ‘they always stayed with us(excl)’ [050.015]		
plural incl.	<i>na -po buk pasal ve</i> 1SG -CONT want go with <i>tara</i> 1PL.INC ‘I want to go with us(incl)’ [104.004]		

Table A.3 – Examples of subject agreement pronouns.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
sin- gular	<i>na -ta ago e kke</i> 1SG -PST stay at here ‘I stayed here’ [078.004]	<i>ku -ta ago e iang</i> 2SG -PST stay at there ‘you stayed over there’ [138.090]	<i>ka -ta ago e</i> 3SG -PST stay at <i>Neikonomon</i> Neikonomon ‘he stayed at Neikonomon’ [088.014]
dual		<i>milong dal a vul</i> 2DL drag DET canoe <i>ang</i> DEF.POST ‘you(2) drag the canoe’ [053.049]	<i>kilong kalip alak</i> 3DL paddle up ‘they(2) paddled up(stream)’ [136.055]
dual excl.	<i>namemlong -la sinong</i> 1DL.EX -COMP sit <i>e iang</i> at there ‘we(2 excl.) will sit over there’ [136.083]		

Continued on next page

Table A.3 - continued from previous page

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
dual incl.	<i>tarung pasal ta</i> 1DL.INC go for.purpose <i>an maiak</i> MAW fish ‘we(2 incl.) will go fishing’ [054.010]		
trial		<i>mitol -po abis</i> 2TR -CONT work ‘you(3) work’ [104.016]	<i>kitol -la -po sinong</i> 3TR -PERF -CONT sit <i>kokoai</i> wait ‘they(3) sat waiting’ [043.132]
trial excl.	<i>namemtol me serei</i> 1TR.EX MTW arrive ‘we(3 excl.) arrived’ [054.167]		
trial incl.	<i>taratol angan i -a</i> 1TR.INC eat OBJ -3SG ‘we(3 incl.) will eat it’ [054.171]		
plural		<i>mi me serei pok</i> 2PL MTW arrive back ‘you(pl) arrive back’ [072.030]	<i>ki kalip asiang</i> 3PL paddle down ‘they paddled down’ [080.086]
plural excl.	<i>namem an -la asalak</i> 1PL.EX MAW -PERF carry <i>i -a</i> OBJ -3SG ‘we (excl.) carried it away’ [132.175]		
plural incl.	<i>tara abis kuvul</i> 1PL.INC work together ‘we(incl.) will work together’ [008.010]		

The person endings in Table A.4 can be used with the benefaction object marker *i*-, the benefactive object marker *ani*-, the possessive marker *ka-/kaka*- and the possession of alienably possessed nouns marked with *si-/singi*- as well as combining directly with certain nouns. Since the endings are the same I do not provide examples for each, but only for each ending.

Table A.4 – Examples of personal pronouns.

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
sin-gular	<i>ki -po alis taun si</i> 3PL -CONT give time for.purpose <i>pakangai ani- -g</i> help OBJ -1SG ‘they gave time to help me’ [146.017]	<i>parik ta kaka- -m ta</i> NEG OBL POSS- -2SG OBL <i>pura</i> chicken ‘that’s not your(sg) chicken’ [011.009]	<i>rina ang na -ta -po uli</i> place DEFPOST 1SG -PST -CONT HAB <i>pasal ane singi- -na</i> go to GEN- -3SG ‘that place, I always went to it’ [006.001]
dual		<i>ka- -milong abis ka -po</i> POSS- -2DL work 3SG -CONT <i>roron?</i> good? ‘is your(2) work going well?’ [064.016]	<i>na -la akalit i- -rilong</i> 1SG -PERF teach OBJ -3DL ‘I taught them(2)’ [043.042]
dual excl.	<i>parik ka -ta pa remrem</i> NEG 3SG -PST NEG easy <i>luai ani- -memlong si</i> very OBJ- -1DL.EX GEN <i>gule</i> search ‘it wasn’t very easy for us(2 excl.) to search’ [044.004]		
dual incl.	<i>na -po alis i- -rung ta</i> 1SG -CONT give OBJ- -1DL.INCL OBL <i>pongua na vik</i> two DET week ‘I gave us(2 incl) two weeks’ [010.007]		
trial		<i>teneivong luai ane</i> goodnight very toward <i>singi- -mitol aongos</i> GEN- -2TR all ‘a very good night to all of you(3)’ [068.001]	<i>kitol -la -po angan</i> 3TR -PERF -CONT eat <i>ssip aongos ka-</i> completely all POSS- <i>-ritol keve pelet</i> -3TR PL.SPC plate ‘they(3) completely ate up all of their(3) food’ [031.031]
trial excl.	<i>kilong sang asiang taun</i> 3DL run down toward <i>i- -memtol</i> OBJ- -1TR.EX ‘they(2) ran down toward us(3excl)’ [043.072]		

Continued on next page

Table A.4 - continued from previous page

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON
trial incl.	<p><i>na -la asok a</i> 1SG -PERF order DET</p> <p><i>Passingan: ka- -ratol</i> Passingan: POSS- -1TR.INCL</p> <p><i>tepega ssip i -a</i> papaya peel OBJ -3SG</p> <p>‘I ordered Passingan: peel our(3incl) papaya’ [054.127]</p>		
plural		<p><i>ki -po serei le si</i> 3PL -CONT arrive from GEN</p> <p><i>tivu -mi</i> grandparent -2PL</p> <p>‘they arrived from your grandparents’ [128.142]</p>	<p><i>ki -po papok ane si</i> 3PL -CONT go.back toward GEN</p> <p><i>ka- -ri rina</i> POSS- -3PL home</p> <p>‘they went back to their home’ [006.028]</p> <p><i>ri nna -ria ki -ta -po</i> PL.SPC mother -3PL 3PL -PST -CONT</p> <p><i>uli ago akit e</i> HAB stay strongly at</p> <p><i>Ranmelek</i> Ranmelek</p> <p>‘their mother always stayed put in Ranmelek’ [134.004]</p>
plural excl.	<p><i>ri nat ki -la lak</i> PL.SPC boy 3PL -PERF climb</p> <p><i>niu ani- -mem</i> coconut OBJ- -1PL.EX</p> <p><i>asi ka- -mem</i> for.purpose POSS- -1PL.EX</p> <p><i>inum</i> drink</p> <p>‘the boys climbed coconut trees for us(excl) so we could drink’ [039.023]</p>		
plural incl.	<p><i>vongo ka bis aongos i-</i> pig 3SG hit all OBJ</p> <p><i>-ra</i> -1PL.INCL</p> <p>‘the pig attacked all of us(incl)’ [099.029]</p>		

A.3 Tungag-English word list

A Tungag-English word list of the words occurring in the corpus.

A

a *det* definite particle

a *cnj* and

a- *px* causal prefix

a- *px* ordinal prefix

-a *sfx* third person singular

abis₁ *v* work

abis₂ *nou* work

aboko *v* put to float

adual *adv* diligently

aduk *adv* many

ago *v* be, stay, don't

agon₁ *v* put down

agongon₂ *nou*

responsibility

agusa *v* struggle

-ai *sfx* transitive suffix

aikut *v* ask for

aimung *adv* later, behind, last

aina *nou* woman, wife

ainak, ainainak₁ *v* agree

ainainakai₂ *nou*

agreement

ainau *v* steal

aingik, aingingik *v* slide, move over

aino₁ *adv* ahead, before, first

ainoi₂ *adv* first, the first

ainoinoi₃ *nou* leader

aisog, aisogsog *v* work

aisul *v* push

aiveven₁ *v* care for, watch out

aiveven₂ *nou* care

akala₁ *v* make free

akalakala₂ *v* lighten, take weight off

akalat *v* hunt for pigs

akalit₁ *v* teach, show

akalit₂ *nou* school

akalkalit₃ *nou* teaching, instruction

akamusai₁ *v* finish

akamusai₂ *adv* last

akanangai *nou* symbol, mark

akang₁ *v* close

akangbat₂ *adj* close

akasang *adv* approach toward

akating *v* put down

akau *v* give birth to

akeke, akekek *v* molest, destroy

akipai *adv* away from, removed

akit₁ *adv* strongly

akikit₂ *v* strengthen

akolkolemai *adv*

loitering, waiting

akorong *adv* straight

akos *v* load

akus₁ *nou* tell

akus₂ *nou* story, speech

akuskus₃ *v* speech, story, matter

akuvul *adv* cause to come together

alaba *adv* much

alak *adv* upward direction

alakat *adv* high up

alangtong₁ *v* compare

alangtongai,

alalangtongai₂ *nou*

comparison

alatun *v* praise

alava₁ *adv* very, much

alava₂ *adv* cause to be big

alele *v* pass by, postpone

ali, alis, alilis₁ *v* give

alilis₂ *nou* gift

alimang *v* give shine

aling *v* remove

aliu₁ *adv* go along, away

from speaker, passing

aliuai₂ *adv* in passing by

alivang *nou* type of shell

almang *nou* mud crab

almu *nou* father-in-law, son-in-law (of a male)

alok *adv* crookedly

alomonaus *v* bless,

breathe out

alomonaus *nou* blessing

alpok *v* discern

alum <i>v</i> sink	angasik <i>v</i> help	angnanan <i>nou</i> children
amadot <i>adv</i> forcefully	angasosolai <i>v</i> tease, pester each other	angnanasai <i>nou</i> knowledge of
amalak <i>adv</i> too early	angasungai <i>adv</i> near by to	angpapakangai <i>v</i> help each other
amalangas ₁ <i>v</i> make clear	angbis <i>v</i> fist fight	angpepegeai <i>v</i> discuss, group discussion
amalmalangasai ₂ <i>nou</i> making clear	angduai <i>v</i> meet each other	angpetpetekai <i>adj</i> different
amanga <i>nou</i> mouth	anginang <i>adv</i> earlier today	angpipisuai <i>v</i> confusion amongst each other
amarai <i>adv</i> because of	angisan <i>qwd</i> when	angpok ₁ <i>adv</i> back and forth
amarip <i>adv</i> gently	anggegelai <i>nou</i> argument, disagreement	angpokpokai ₂ <i>adv</i> back and forth, each other
amassa <i>nou</i> shelter	angkatakai <i>v</i> be familiar with each other	angruduai <i>v</i> meet with other
amatung <i>v</i> lay down	angkaul <i>v</i> compete	angsang <i>v</i> race with others
amiang <i>v</i> many	angkiki <i>v</i> scold each other, angry yelling match	angsuke <i>adv</i> like that
amiming <i>v</i> punish	angkilis <i>v</i> despise each other	angtaliungai <i>adv</i> separate from each other
aminaung <i>v</i> boast, take pride	angkisnganan <i>v</i> husband and wife	angtama <i>adv</i> family
amomole ₁ <i>v</i> be slow	angkoai ₁ <i>adv</i> enough, able	angtangai ₁ <i>v</i> cut, chop each other
amomole ₂ <i>adv</i> slow, late	angkokoai ₂ <i>adv</i> enough	angtangata ₂ <i>v</i> fight with knives
amukmuk <i>adv</i> recently	anglok <i>adv</i> in a crooked manner	angtangisai <i>v</i> cry with each other
amunai ₁ <i>v</i> hide	anglulu <i>v</i> chase each other	angtatapokai <i>v</i> reprimanding each other
amumunai ₂ <i>adv</i> secretly, hidden	angmagaunan <i>nou</i> cross cousins	angtaumal <i>nou</i> children
an <i>TA</i> motion away from speaker	angmamailai <i>v</i> show respect for each other	angtogon <i>v</i> related
-an <i>sfx</i> derivational suffix	angmamaralai <i>v</i> be angry with each other	angtokai <i>v</i> talk with each other
anamis <i>nou</i> specific dance	angmemengenai <i>v</i> discuss	angtua-ig <i>nou</i> my in-law (sister/brother in-law)
ananap <i>adv</i> slowly, patiently		
anangan <i>adv</i> in time past		
ane <i>prep</i> toward		
ang <i>pcl</i> demonstrative, definite post particle		
ang- <i>pfx</i> reciprocal prefix		
angaivevenai <i>v</i> care for each other		
angan ₁ <i>v</i> eat		
angan ₂ <i>nou</i> food		

angtuainan v be in in-law relationship

angtung v stand in group

angtunganan v friend

anguan adv again

angus nou vine

angusingai nou follow

angvolai v fishing term

ani₁ pcl object marker

ani₂ cnj so that

ani₃ cnj compared to, for, on behalf of

anini v burn (trans.)

anit nou spirit

anongo adv yesterday

antok₁ v say, tell

antok₂ nou talk

anu nou person, thing, one

aol v to possess

aongos adv all, completely

aosongon v marry off (trans.)

apetekai adv different

apok adv after all

apolokai v cause to grow

apu inj wow

apuang v hang up

apung₁ v cover up

apupung₂ nou covering lid

aputuk v across

arai₁ v see

ararai₂ v view, look

araring v pray

arikek adv badly

aro, aroron adv well

asalak v carry on shoulder

asapang v save, rescue

asan₁ nou name

asasan, asasanan₁ adj famous

asang, asasang v run something

aselenai v lead, show the way

asereiai v make appear, happen

asi cnj for purpose

asiang adv downward direction

asikei adv forever

asing, asising v wash, bathe

asinong v put, cause to sit

asisiang v unload

asisiangan nou container

asisinong nou creation

assip v flee

assip adv completely

asok v order, send to do something, send

asosol v tease

asu nou digging stick

asua adv back

asuai v throw away

asukang adv as, thus

asumsumal v excite, incite (trans.)

asung adv near

asungsuke adv like, as

atai v tell

atailai, atatailai adj special, taboo

atakuk v hang up

atakun v forbid

atalipai v leave alone

ataluaga nou name fauna

ataping adv surprising

atapunuk v to make complete

atatai nou instruction

atatung v see off, take leave of

ataulingai adv apart

atava adv against

ati nou morota

atiuai v pour

ato₁ v make well

ato₂ adv alive

atogon v have

atoktokngai₁ v try

atoktokngai₂ nou trial, testing

atolongon v leave alone

atos v sell

atuk v give name to

atukak v begin journey

atulisai v commission, give authority to

atumata v hope for

atung₁ v set up

atung₂ adv standing

atutuman adv true

au cnj well, and so, and then

-au sfx first person singular

auai *v* accompany
auak *v* cause to fall
aulei *v* quit
aules *v* turn
aulit₁ *adv* around
aulitai₂ *adv* around
aunai *adv* very
aupele *v* move
aus₁ *v* breathe, relieve, rest
ausai₂ *v* rest
ausai₃ *nou* rest, break
ausingai, ausiusingai *v* lead
avibis *nou* work
avibisan *nou* work, occupation, fast
avubus *nou* pot, bowl
avunga *adv* far
avus *nou* meat for eating

B

b, v *TA* possibility
ba *adj* unripe
ba *adj* blind
balus *nou* plane
bam *v* bump
bang₁ *nou* rock
bangang₂ *nou* low tide area
bas *v* bark of dog
bat *adv* block
batip *nou* housebuilding term
be *nou* butterfly

bek *nou* lip
bil₁ *nou* thing, matter
bil₂ *v* do
bis *v* hit
blok, bolok *nou* staked out land
bol *nou* dry coconut
bolo *nou* type of coconut
bom *v* bomb
bon *nou* swamp
bot *adj* deaf
buas *v* surface
buat *v* appear out of
buk *v* want
bung *nou* smoke
bungum *v* submerged
bus *nou* high tide
but *v* uproot, wrench out

D

dal, dalas₁ *v* drag
damal *v* sharpen
dap *v* scrape
daung *v* kill
daupa *v* mourn
daus *adj* clean, pure
dek *v* split
di *inj* stupid disagreement
ding *v* rip, open
dokot *v* stick to
dong *adv* into
dot *v* prick
duai *v* meet
dual₁ *adv* strong
dualai₂ *v* be stronger

than, be victorious
duk *adv* full, many
dul *nou* mud
dungai *v* reminisce

E

e *prep* at
e *inj* yes
ei *nou* tree
emung *adv* after
ese *nou* bottle

G

-g *sfx* first person singular
gai *v* disagree
gal *v* scrape clean
galang *v* demolish
galas *v* fish with goggles
galui *v* wash something
garas *nou* marijuana
gegel₁ *v* disagree
gel₂ *v* disagree
gelai₃ *v* disagree
gelep *v* glance at
gese *v* sweat
giem *nou* shell
gila *nou* specific bird, clan
gogoai *adj* pure, clean
gogonan *nou* burden
gok *v* way of drinking, snore
gol *adj* confused, mixed up
gom *adj* burial place

gon v rest upon
got v tie
gulang₁ v play, ruin
gulangan₂ nou play
gule, gulegule v search
gulgul adj empty
gumis nou specific shell
gus v search for
gusa₁ v struggle
gusagusangai₂ v struggle

I

i pcl object marker
i gen genitive marker, possessive
ia nou sister-in-law
iang dem there
ianga nou parrot
ias nou daylight
iat nou stone
iau inj what, really
iei nou tree
ielava nou whale
ien nou fish
igenen nou person, man
ike dem this one
iko, ingko, inggo inj right?!
iles adv later
ilesvauk adv tomorrow, future
ilung v be puzzled
imun nou stone oven
inangun nou shell money

inatus nou children
ingaininga nou mosquito
inggo, ingko qwd right
ingua nou devil
ingus v give birth
inongos nou need, partial, part
inum v drink
io inj yes, affirmation
irang v to pick
iri, ili inj exclamation
is nou nose
isuke dem that one
ites nou rope
itoiton₁ v prepare, fix, get ready
itoitonai₂ nou preparation, solution
iton₃ v repara, restore
iuang nou you there, that person

K

ka- pcl possessive particle
ka- psn.vrb third person singular
-ka TA intention
kabang nou long ago
kabat v fishing term
kaikais nou teeth
kail v scream
kais₁ v left handed
kais₂ v put hot stones back on food
kak nou leg

kaka- pcl possessive particle
kaka v carry
kaka nou specific meal
kakai nou brother
kakao nou cocoa
kakap v fetch water
kakaumang v despise
kakkal v peel
kal v wave beckoning to come
kala, kalakala adj light, free
kalakala v weigh, judge
kalang, kalakalang₁ v write, draw
kalkalang₂ nou writing
kalaro v thank you
kalat v bite
kaleng nou ripple
kalinga nou voice, words, message
kalip, kal v paddle
kalto nou star
kalvut nou specific shell
kama nou string of fish
kaming v garden taro
kamus₁ v end, finish, stop
kamus₂ adv end, finish
kana dem here, now, this
kanai nou seagull
kanat inj okay, alright
kande nou relation
kang nou species of shell
kangmatalang nou specific shell
kangmosong nou

specific shell	cup, bailing instrument	kisnga <i>nou</i> spouse
kangpakas <i>nou</i> specific shell	kavulik <i>nou</i> girl	kisong <i>nou</i> charcoal
kangviu <i>nou</i> specific shell	ke <i>pcl</i> possessive	kit <i>adj</i> hard, strong
kankanuai <i>nou</i> example, picture, shadow	ke <i>dem</i> this	kitkitip <i>nou</i> specific fish
kantanem <i>cnj</i> even though	kei <i>adj</i> wild	kitmat ₁ <i>nou</i> authority, power
kanus <i>v</i> spit	kelai <i>v</i> dig	kitmat ₂ <i>adj</i> difficult, strong
kap <i>v</i> dip water	kelkel <i>v</i> dig	kitol- <i>psn.vrb</i> third person trial
kap, kekap <i>adv</i> miss	kene <i>nou</i> snake	kiu <i>nou</i> last born
kap <i>nou</i> lime powder	kep ₁ <i>v</i> dig	kivung <i>v</i> meeting
kapa <i>adv</i> also	kepai ₂ <i>v</i> bury	kke <i>dem</i> here
kapau <i>adj</i> false, lie	kepkepai ₃ <i>nou</i> burial	kkel <i>nou</i> current
kapkap <i>nou</i> money	kere <i>adj</i> left over	kket <i>v</i> husk
karikot <i>nou</i> specific vine	keve <i>num</i> plural specific	kkit <i>v</i> pick
kariu <i>nou</i> bamboo	kevkev <i>nou</i> bottom	kkut <i>nou</i> firewood
karunga <i>nou</i> pandanas	kiap <i>nou</i> patrol officer	ko <i>inj</i> we know
kas <i>v</i> swim	ki- <i>psn.vrb</i> third person plural	koi <i>adv</i> able
kaskas <i>v</i> cuscus	ki, kiki <i>v</i> scold	koit <i>v</i> stuck
kasung <i>nou</i> land feature, lagoon	kikit <i>adj</i> strong, hard	kokelai <i>v</i> change
katak <i>adj</i> accustomed, familiar with	kiklak <i>v</i> jump up	kokkot <i>v</i> follow
katakai <i>nou</i> expert	kilakila <i>adv</i> in formation	koko <i>nou</i> specific shell
kati <i>nou</i> dinghy, boat	kilis <i>v</i> criticise	kokoai, kko <i>v</i> wait
kating <i>v</i> lay down	kilong- <i>psn.vrb</i> third person dual	kokolongong <i>v</i> listen
katok <i>inj</i> let's see	kin <i>v</i> call, pronounce	kokos, ko <i>v</i> rest upon, board
katu <i>nou</i> specific shell	kinkos <i>v</i> arrive at destination	kol <i>nou</i> specific bird
katui <i>nou</i> egg, seed	kinle, kinkinle <i>v</i> recognise	kolkol <i>nou</i> specific leaf
kau <i>nou</i> sweet potato	kipa <i>nou</i> cane, walking stick	kolo <i>adj</i> dry
kau <i>v</i> give birth to	kipang <i>nou</i> dwarf	koloko <i>nou</i> specific flora
kaut <i>v</i> wrap	kirak <i>nou</i> taro	kolongong <i>v</i> listen
kauvek <i>nou</i> dog	kirikai <i>v</i> drive out	kolovong <i>nou</i> part of sago plant
kavang <i>adj</i> old	kirim <i>nou</i> position of responsibility, pile	komo <i>nou</i> outside area
kavat <i>v</i> wear wrap-around	kirol <i>adj</i> complete	kone <i>nou</i> sand
kavi <i>nou</i> coconut shell,		konem <i>v</i> swallow

kong *v* catch
kope *nou* debt
kopos *nou* harvest, get fruit
korok *v* root up garden
korol *nou* specific fish
korong *adj* actually
korou *adj* withered
kos *v* step on, board
koto *v* clear undergrowth
kotok *adv* to find out
kovek₁ *adv* not have, none
kovek₂ *v* not be
ku- *psn.vrb* second person singular
kua *nou* mortuary feast
kuan *inj* all right
kudik *adj* short
kui *v* pain
kuk *v* cook
kuku *nou* cloud
kul *prep* on
kulenusa *nou* island
kulit *nou* skin
kun *v* cough
kun *TA* also, iterative aspect
kunaur *nou* point on coastline
kunga *nou* arm
kunis *v* untie
kup *v* shout
kure *nou* specific shell
kurek *nou* joke
kurip *nou* vine
kusil *v* mimic

kuvak *nou* fresh coconut
kuvkuvulan₁ *nou* group, pile
kuvul, kuvkuvul₂ *adv* together

L

-la *TA* perfective aspect
laba₁ *adj* big
lablabat₂ *adj* big
laging *v* block
laglag *v* boast
lain *nou* line
lak *adv* yet, still
lak₁ *v* go up, be up
lak, laklak₂ *v* climb
laka *inj* isn't that right
lakat *adv* high up on
lali *v* drive
lam *nou* lamp
laman *nou* water, river, benzine
lamut *v* cut
lang *v* fly, insect
langa *nou* specific shell
langai *v* buy back
langit *nou* rain
langitan *adj* rainy
lapan *adj* old
lapun *nou* old person
lau *nou* custom, behaviour
laulau *nou* specific fruit
laulauan *nou* behavior, action, custom

laup *v* go above
lava *adj* mother's brother
lava *adj* big
lavui *nou* gorgor
le *TA* first
le *prep* from
lei *nou* specific shell
leng *v* fear
lenginang *adv* already
li *v* cut
lik, liklik *adv* small
liliangus *nou* trap made of vines
lillis, lis, Ili *v* give
limaleat *num* nine
limalengua *num* seven
limalesikei *num* six
limaletul *num* eight
limang *v* give shine to
ling *v* remove
liu₁ *v* pass
liuluai₂ *v* pass by
liuan *prep* between, middle
liung *nou* reef
livus *adj* cold
llu *v* chase
llung *nou* hole
lo *nou* shore
logo *adj* poor
loi *inj* exclamation
lok *adj* crooked
lolokovo *adj* hesitant, fearful
lomon, lomlomon₁ *v* think, plan
lomlomonai₂ *nou*

thought, idea

lomontaun₃ v remember

longlong adj crazy

longogel v disobey

longong v hear, listen,
obey

los v laugh

los nou sea shelf

lotu₁ v pray, worship

lotu₂ nou church

lu nou house

luai nou calm, peace

luai adv very, completely

luang v tie

luk₁ v take

lukluk₂ v gather

luklukai₃ v quote

lullun v roll up

luluai nou boss

lulun v shake hands

lum v sink

lun v roll

lung adj deep

M

madot adj strong,
powerful

magang₁ nou ripe
coconut

magang₂ adj dry

maga, magau nou cross
cousin

magus v out of breath

mai nou specific flora

maiak v fishing

maiten₁ adj heavy

maiten₂ nou difficulty

makanga adj yellow

makarap nou sun

makas nou sore

makasim nou salt, ocean

makus adj sad

-mal sfx adverbializer

mal v mourn

malak adj hasty

malang nou opening

malanganto nou breath
of life

malangas adj light, clear

malas v get lighter

malepen nou sick

malik v nostalgic

malikom nou bat

malisa nou specific fish

malmalang v singsing,
singing celebration

malmalasupai nou

meaning

malu nou wind

malum adj weak, soft

malus adj smooth

mamai nou my father

mamaila v respect,
embarrassed

mamain pcl many various

mamaiten₁ v responsible

mamaiten₂ nou heavy,
worry, problem

mamakus nou sadness

mamal adv tired

man cnj if, when

man v admire

mana₁ adj wide

manamanag₂ adj wide

manas adj hot, difficult

mang det a certain, some,
another

mang₁ nou shine

mang₂ v shine

mangal v admire

mangava nou specific fish

mangsikei det a certain
one

mani, manmani nou bird

manik, manmanik nou
animal

manta adj lucky

manuaga nou eagle

mar nou kind of bird

marai cnj because of

marala, mamarala adj
angry

maramarak adj happy

marangan adj tired

marip nou shade

maru nou mast

mas TA should

masam adj wise

masamasa v argue

masung adv satisfied, full

massa nou shelter

mat v die

mata nou eye, hole

matak adv raw

matakoto nou window

matan nou kind, group

matanitu nou

government

matas nou season, year

matmat *nou* dead body
matmatan *nou* group
matukal *adj* ripe, mature
matung *v* lie
matvung *nou* stormy season
maus₁ *v* decorate
maus₂ *nou* decoration, clothes
me *TA* motion toward speaker
melek *adj* red
melem *adj* knowledgeable
meleng *v* float, adrift
-mem *sfx* first person plural exclusive
memengen *v* talk, discuss
-memlong *sfx* first person dual exclusive
-mentol *sfx* first person trial exclusive
men *num* some, a bit
meng *v* mix
mengen, memengen₁ *v* speak, talk, say
mengen, memengen₂ *nou* speech, talk
mes₁ *v* be ashamed, admit wrongdoing
messe₂ *nou* shame
mete *prep* before, in view of, in front of
metekuku *nou* sky, heavens
mi *psn.vrb* second person

plural
-mi *sfx* second person plural
miang *adv* many
mika *v* dance
milong *psn.vrb* second person dual
-milong *sfx* second person dual
miminaung₁ *nou* beauty
miminaungan₂ *adj* beautiful admirable
miminaungan₃ *nou* glory
ming *v* admit wrongdoing
mirik *v* hate, despise, humiliate
mis *nou* root
mis *v* chew
misag *v* refuse, dislike
miting *adj* black
mitol *psn.vrb* second person trial
-mitol *sfx* second person trial
mmail *nou* pain
mmal *nou* mourning
mmat *adj* low tide
moi *nou* spec plant
mole *adj* unmarried
moli *nou* citrus tree
molong *nou* flood
mon *nou* boat, canoe
monol *adj* ignorant
mopong *nou* burial place
moso *v* done
mosog *v* irritate
motem *adj* ripe

muia *nou* specific shell
muip *v* swim underwater, submerge
mulak *v* shiver
mulang *nou* mountain
mun, mumun *v* hide
mun *adj* hidden
mung *prep* behind, back of
mung *nou* rubbish
mus *nou* forest person
musik *adv* quiet, silent
mut *v* break
mutak *v* vomit

N

na *det* definite particle
na *cnj* and
na *psn.vrb* first person singular
-na *sfx* third person singular
naip *nou* knife
nak *v* pound
nal *nou* group
nambang *inj* that's right
namem *pron* first person plural exclusive
namem *psn.vrb* first person plural exclusive
namemlong *pron* first person dual exclusive
namemlong *psn.vrb* first person dual exclusive
namemtoll *pron* first

person trial exclusive
namemtol *psn.vrb* first
 person trial exclusive
nami *pron* second person plural
namilong *pron* second person dual
namin *v* taste
naminan *adj* tasty
namitol *pron* second person trial
-nan *sfx* adverbializer
nna, nana *nou* mother
nang *dem* this one, that one, right here
nankomo *nou* outdoor living space
nas₁ *v* know
nanas₂ *v* investigate
nanauai *v* remember, revere
nasai *v* feel
nat *nou* son, boy, child, young man
natok *adj* comforted
nau *pron* first person singular
nei₁ *prep* in
neina₂ *nou* inside area
neite₃ *prep* underneath
neikitung *adj* stingy
nem *nou* thing, matter
neneige *v* warn
nga, nganga *v* hit, beat
ngai *px* pull, push
ngaingaiga *nou* encouragement

ngakan *nou* branch
ngakputuk *nou* cross branch
ngakum *nou* crab
ngakut *v* tie knot
ngal *v* plant taro
ngamis *v* kick, wallop
ngan *v* burn
nganga *v* travel
ngangadek *v* hit and split
ngangaul *v* fish with string and hook
ngangngan *v* heat up
nganing *adv* perhaps
nganinglak *adv* later
nganlak *adv* later same day
ngau *nou* weak
ngaun *nou* food wrapping
ngaut *v* cut grass, bush
ngavia *nou* sago
ngelik *adv* afternoon
ngenget *v* answer
ngere *prep* beside
ngerele *nou* beach
nginlak *adv* later
ngisa *nou* tooth
ngngan *v* heat
ngo *nou* neck
ngoi *v* fly
ngolo *adj* childless, barren
ngom *v* hit, press with flat surface
ngono *mod* dual
ngorem *v* pity, love
ngot *v* hug, embrace

ngoto *nou* pile of rocks
nguan *mod* bunch of fruit
nguma *nou* specific bird
ngur *nou* mouth
ngus *v* wade
ni *v* burn
nia *pron* third person singular
ninia *pron* third person singular
nio *adj* crazy, foolish
niu *nou* coconut
nnas *nou* knowledge
no, nono *nou* face, front
numai *pron* second person singular

O

o *cnj* or
omo *nou* fence
oring *nou* place, matter
orodung *nou* dream
oros *v* lie
ose *nou* paddle
osong *v* arrive
osongon, ososongon *v* marry
osongon *adj* marry

P

pa *TA* negative particle
pagal *v* separate, divide
pagin *v* pole

pai *nou* stingray

pai *v* weave

painap *v* pineapple

paip *v* smoke

pakang *adv* take away

pakangai, pakpakangai,

papakangai₁ *v* help,
assist

papakangai₂ *nou*
assistance

pakangat *nou* liver

pakasang *v* come this
way

pakau *nou* frog

pakpak *nou* specific shell

pakut *nou* covered up
thing

pal *noun* top

pal *v* place

pala *v* tether

palak *v* go up, enter

palas, palpalas *v* explain

palau *adv* just, only, for
nothing

palis *v* crawl

paliu *v* go along

palpal *nou* part, area

palpalas *v* clarify, explain

palpalima *num* five

pan *nou* leaf

panbuk *nou* letter

pang *nou* lagoon

panga *nou* greens

panga *v* open

pangau *nou* space of
area, space of time

pangkul *nou* top

pangun₁ *v* wake

pangun₂ *adv* awake

papalik *adv* only, alone

papanai *adj* vast

papelek *v* go leaving

papok *v* go back

pappa *adv* only

paputuk *v* go across

para *v* stay awake

parik₁ *inj* no

parik₂ *TA* negative

pasak *nou* advice

pasal, pa₁ *v* go, walk

pasal₂ *nou* trip

pasiang *v* go down

pasingan *nou* leader,
saviour

paskak *nou* step

paspasal, paspasalan
nou going, journey

pasuk *nou* rise

pat *nou* head

pata *nou* bed, shelf, table

patai *v* nibble

patmani, patpatmani

nou clan

pato *nou* specific bird,

spirit

patvap *nou* people group

paus *v* carry, hold in arms

pege₁ *v* talk

pepege₂ *v* discuss

pelek *adv* away from

pelet *nou* plate

pemut *nou* trad house

pen *mod* some

perengan *nou* ship

petau *nou* crowd, group

petekai, petpetekai *adj*
different

peu *nou* older relative

pial *v* complain

pilak, pilpilak *v* choose

pinas *v* type of boat

pini *v* instruct

pinipini *nou* teaching,
instruction

pirikit₁ *v* squeeze

pirpirik₂ *v* squeeze

pis *v* tie choke

pisu *nou* trouble

pitopito *v* form, shape,
sculpt

piupiu *nou* finger

-po *TA* continuative aspect
marker

poisan *qwd* how many

pok *nou* food

pok₁ *adv* back, again,
somewhat

pokai₂ *v* turn over

pol, polpol *v* answer

polok, polopolok,

polpolok₁ *v* grow

polopolokan₂ *nou*

growth, generation

polpolokan₃ *nou* growth

pongos *v* squeeze sago

pongua *num* two

popo *nou* place formerly
gardened

poppo *nou* baby

poppot *nou* mortuary
feast

poso *v* say
posok *adj* white
posol *adj* magic
posong, posposong *v* call, name, say
potok *adv* apart
potol *num* three
ppak *nou* leprosy
pua *inj* wow, sorry, oh
puag *v* wrestle
puang *v* hang up
puas *nou* sand flat
puat *num* four
pukun₁ *nou* body, skin
pukunan₂ *adj* large in body
pulakai *adv* willy-nilly, around
pulis *nou* garden boundary
punuk *adj* dead, killed
pupung *nou* cover
pur *v* squeeze coconut
pura *nou* chicken
purut *v* pull weeds
put, putput *nou* hill
putuk *v* break
putuk *adv* across

R

-ra *sfx* first person plural inclusive
radaling *adj* slippery
radaupa *v* weeping for dead

rai *nou* storm
rakrak *nou* mud
ral *nou* coral
ramal *v* sharpen
rangai *nou* blood
rangama *nou* peaked roof
rangamut *nou* drum
-ratol *sfx* first person trial inclusive
rauan *nou* small fish
raung *v* kill
raurau, rauraung *v* way of fishing
reddek *v* split
remrem *adv* easy
ri *mod* plural general, honorific
-ri *sfx* third person plural
ria *pron* third person plural
-ria *sfx* third person plural
rikek *adj* bad
rilong *pron* third person dual
-rilong *sfx* third person dual
rina *nou* home, village
ring *v* place, piece
riria *pron* third person plural
ritol *pron* third person trial
-ritol *sfx* third person trial
riuk *v* stoop
riuriu *nou* rice
ro, roron *adj* good
rodo *v* join

rodot *v* prick
roe *nou* soil
rok *v* harvest certain kinds of fruit
rokon *v* meet
rot *v* sleep
ruduai *v* meet
rukun *mod* few
rul *nou* coconut cream, sap
-rung *sfx* first person dual inclusive
rungkuk *v* kill
ruvel *nou* dig

S

sa *v* chase
sa *qwd* what
sabonai *v* find
sagi *v* serve food
sai *v* housebuilding term
sain *nou* smell
saka *qwd* which, how
sakam *v* achieve, accomplish, win
sakol, sasakol₁ *v* change
sakolai, sasakolai₂ *nou* change
sal *v* shave off
salak *v* carry
salik₁ *v* draw, write
salsalik₂ *nou* writing, scriptures
saling, salsaling *v* flow
salip *v* troll fishing

salsal <i>nou</i> specific shell	si <i>pcl</i> genitive marker	sokoung <i>v</i> visit, lodge
saman <i>nou</i> outrigger canoe	si <i>cnj</i> for purpose	soksok <i>v</i> rub
samele <i>nou</i> knife	sia <i>nou</i> daka	soliu <i>adv</i> too much
samui <i>v</i> buy	siang <i>v</i> go down, alight	solo <i>v</i> chase
samulai <i>v</i> crack open	siang <i>v</i> be involved	soliu <i>adv</i> too much
san <i>qwd</i> which	siavun <i>nou</i> swordfish	somap <i>v</i> sew clothes
sang <i>v</i> run	sigil <i>v</i> touch	song <i>v</i> crush
sanga <i>nou</i> path	sikang <i>nou</i> plant shoot	songo ₁ <i>v</i> call
sangauli <i>num</i> ten	sikau <i>nou</i> wallaby	songosongo ₂ <i>v</i> call loudly
sangring <i>nou</i> relative	sikei <i>num</i> one	soturungai <i>v</i> bow down
sapal <i>v</i> beat sago	sikei <i>cnj</i> but, nevertheless	soung <i>v</i> exit, go out
sapang <i>v</i> save, rescue	siken <i>v</i> reach	ssip <i>adv</i> completely
saping <i>nou</i> clothes	siksikei <i>adv</i> one by one	sua <i>adv</i> back
sasagi <i>v</i> serve meat	silau <i>nou</i> specific bird	suai <i>adv</i> remove
sasang <i>v</i> run (something)	sili <i>v</i> hunt pig	suak <i>adv</i> in meeting
sasaup <i>v</i> beat	silup <i>adv</i> quickly	sugul <i>v</i> wonder
saul <i>v</i> roll	sin <i>nou</i> meat	sui, susuai ₁ <i>v</i> ask
saup <i>v</i> hit	sinang <i>nou</i> sunshine	sui, susui, susuiai ₂ <i>nou</i> question
saupai, sausaupai <i>v</i> decide, rule	singgapu <i>nou</i> type of taro	sui <i>nou</i> specific bird
sava <i>v</i> stumble	singi <i>pcl</i> genitive marker	suk <i>v</i> sew
save <i>nou</i> specific tree	sinong, sisinong ₁ <i>v</i> sit	sukal <i>v</i> plant
savil <i>nou</i> weapon	sinsinong ₂ <i>nou</i> position	suksukal <i>nou</i> horticultural growth
sekat <i>v</i> wrongly suppose	sip <i>v</i> flee	sukana <i>dem</i> over there
sel <i>v</i> get	sipak <i>nou</i> drunk	suke <i>dem</i> there far
selen <i>nou</i> path	sisil <i>v</i> slit	sul ₁ <i>v</i> push
serei ₁ <i>v</i> arrive	sitiring <i>nou</i> fish with string	sulai ₂ <i>v</i> push
sesel <i>v</i> receive, take	so <i>v</i> throw, shoot, spear	sula <i>nou</i> spear
seserei ₂ <i>v</i> arrive	so <i>cnj</i> so	sulu <i>nou</i> flat space leading to ocean
sesengen <i>v</i> glow	sog <i>adj</i> net fishing	suluk <i>v</i> burn off grass, plants
setpat <i>v</i> assume incorrectly	soggo <i>nou</i> corner	sumang <i>v</i> hurt feelings
seu ₁ <i>v</i> pay	soisinong <i>v</i> settle	sumasuma <i>adv</i> quickly, fast
seupok, seuseupok ₂ <i>nou</i> payment	sokai <i>v</i> rub body to dry off	
si <i>qwd</i> who	sokorongat <i>nou</i> sail	
	sokotuk ₁ <i>v</i> ask for, plead, pray	
	sokotuk ₂ <i>nou</i> prayer	

sung, susung v lift up, dig

sung *nou* river

sung v carry, bear

sunge *nou* specific shell

sungil v force

sungkau v dig up, harvest sweet potato

supsupai *nou* meaning

T

ta *cnj* with (instrumental)

-ta *TA* point in past time

ta- *pxf* detransitivizer

tab / tav *TA* negative marker

tabat *adv* blocked

tabek *nou* lip

tabut v become uprooted, be uprooted

tadek v broken

tading *nou* rip

tadut v stand up, get up, begin

tagalang v become collapsed, collapse

tagang *adj* resistant

taganu *nou* certain one

tainau v steal

tak v pull

takaman *nou* door

takuk v hang

takun v prevent

talang *adv* across from

talanga *nou* ear

talisa *nou* specific nut

taliung *adj* separated

talupus *adj* good looking

tama *nou* father

tamul v drop

tang₁ v tear

tanga, tangatanga₂ v chop, carve

tangai₃ v chop

tangatangai *nou* carving, statue

tangag v be stubborn

tangam v sing

tangat *nou* daybreak

tanginang *adj* new, young

tangis v cry, sound

taot v count, read

tapag *nou* tobacco

tapagal *adj* divided, happened by itself

tapai *adv* for now

tapangun v wake

tapasuk *nou* get up, start

taping v surprise

tapiok *nou* tapioca plant

tapong *adv* first time, start

tapunuk *adv* complete, enough

taputuk *adj* broken

tara *pron* first person plural inclusive

tara *psn.vrb* first person plural inclusive

taratol *psn.vrb* first person trial inclusive

tarung *pron* first person dual inclusive

tarung *psn.vrb* first person dual inclusive

tarak v tilt head and look up

tasi *nou* sibling same sex

tati *nou* endearing term for tasig

tata *pcl* oblique phrase marker

taot, tataot v read

tatapokai v reprimand, corrective advice

tatta v shred

tau *nou* sibling opposite sex

tauan *nou* man, male

tauia₁ *adj* rich

tautauia₂ *nou* riches

tauk₁ *nou* owner, master

taukai₂ v to own

taun, tataun v bake

taun *adv* toward

taun *nou* time, day

tava v slap

tava *adj* unskilled

tavai v put down

tavap v rebound

tavas v open

tavirimok *adj* huge, very large

telan v occupied, busy

tenei *adv* time of day

tenei ias *adv* midday greeting

tenei ngelik v afternoon

greeting
tenei vauk *v* morning
 greeting
tenei vong *v* evening
 greeting
teng, teteng *v* hold
tep *v* dig
tepe *nou* basket
tepega *nou* pawpaw
tere *v* watch, look
terek *v* disrespect
teremai *v* watch
tikok *v* hang
tikon *v* look closely
til₁ *v* cut, sever with
 swiping blow
titil₂ *v* slice
ting *nou* nest
tintiniman *nou* baked
 food packet
tip *v* spit by blowing
tipas *nou* son of a sister
tiring *nou* play
 instrument
titien *adj* pregnant
titis *nou* specific meal
tiv *adv* softly
tivokorong *nou* specific
 shell
tivtiv *nou* stick (from
 tree)
tivu *nou* grandparent,
 grandchild
to₁ *nou* life
to₂ *adj* alive
to₃ *v* live
to *nou* sugar cane

to *nou* wave
togon₁ *v* have
togtogon₂ *nou*
 possessions
tok *v* sever, of vine
tokol *v* chew betel nut
tokos *adv* last
tolongon *v* leave
tong *nou* back
tongong *nou* mangrove
 swamp
totoi *v* prepare
ttok *v* cut
tua *nou* specific vine
tuk *v* to name
ttuk *v* touch
tukul₁ *nou* base
tuktukul₂ *nou* reason,
 base, root
tukulai₃ *nou* reason
tukuvul *adv* stand
 together, be an association
tul *adv* en route
tulava *nou* leader
tuluk *v* drip
tuna *nou* freshwater eel
tung, tu₁ *v* stand
tungtung₂ *v* stand
tung *adv* until, up to
tunga *nou* sibling, friend
tupang *v* accuse
turung *adv* bowed
 forward
tus *nou* breast
tutapong₁ *v* begin
tutapongai₂ *nou*
 beginning

tutua *nou* specific flora
tutuman *adv* true
tutus *v* breast feed
tuvaluva *nou* shell of
 coconut

U

u *pcl* object marker,
 genitive marker
ua *sfx* second person
 singular
uai₁ *nou* fruit, bear fruit
uai₂ *v* bear fruit
uak *v* fall
ue *nou* specific vine
uk *nou* dove
ulak *v* unwrap
ule₁ *v* turn
ules₂ *nou* turn
ulen *nou* moon
uli *TA* repeatedly
ulit *v* go around, wander
ulpokai *adv* turn back
ululpokai *v* turn,
 translate
um *nou* sauce
ung *nou* hair, feather
ung *v* arrive
ur *nou* banana
ureurek *nou* flame
uring *nou* place
uriuri *nou* grass, weed
urmaus *nou* special
 decoration
urui *v* worry

uruk₁ *v* joyful, happy
uruk₂ *nou* joy
urung *v* sprout
usausa₁ *adj* prepare
usausan₂ *nou* baggage, things to take
usbat₁ *v* reward, pay
usbat₂ *nou* reward, payment
usen *v* rain down
using *cnj* because
using, usiusing₁ *v* follow
usingai₂ *nou* following
uten *nou* forest
uvene *nou* net

V

va- *px* ordinal prefix
vabat *v* cover wall
vaia *nou* specific tree
vainagoan *nou* area of ownership, residence
vakil *nou* cave
vakup *nou* cloth, wrap-around
vakut *adj* overgrown with weeds
val *adv* like
vala *adv* marker
valak *v* take apart
valuka *nou* wallaby
valus *nou* specific bird
vanang *dem* indeed
vang *dem* indeed, emphasis, as known

vangang *nou* head
vap *nou* people, men
varas *adj* naked, bare, insulting
vartambar *v* giving celebration
vartambar *nou* celebration
vauk *adv* morning
vauvau *nou* empty
vavai *nou* load
ve₁ *cnj* with
veai₂ *cnj* with
velai₃ *cnj* with, as well as
vebe *nou* basket
vei *cnj* lest, in case
veles *nou* top end of tree
vengevenge *nou* specific bird
vetpus *nou* boss
veua *nou* shark
vikvik *nou* tail
vil₁ *v* do, act
vilvil₂ *nou* doing, action
vinga *nou* abdomen
vis₁ *v* hit, beat, fight
visvis₂ *v* fight, war
visuk *adj* dirty
vo *cnj* or
vo₁ *dem* the one
voiang₂ *dem* the one who
voi *qwd* where
voko *v* float
vokol *nou* specific bird
vokove *nou* axe
volava *nou* big one, God
volo *mod* small group

volo *nou* octopus
volvolai *v* turn
vong₁ *adj* dark
vongvong₂ *adj* ignorant
vongo *nou* pig
vos₁ *adj* murky
vosvos₂ *adj* clouded, murky
vosap *nou* boss
vua *nou* betel nut
vubu, vuvui *nou* my grandrelation
vubuk₁ *v* desire
vubukai₂ *nou* desire
vubutinlu *nou* white ant
vuk *nou* piece, part
vukul *nou* small fish
vul *nou* canoe
vulis *adv* go around
vuluk *adj* wet
vunep *nou* ground
vunga₁ *adj* long, far
vungavunga₂ *nou* length
vungum *v* submerge
vusavusang *nou* rafter
vusulai *nou* knee
vut *nou* kind of tool, weapon

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Karin Fast grew up in Papua New Guinea and spent a significant amount of time in her childhood living on Lovangai island immersed in Tungag language and culture. This experience greatly influenced her choice of study (MA in Linguistics, Literature and Ethnology (2009), PhD in Linguistics (2013) at Heidelberg University). She has worked as a copy editor in the field of linguistics and taught German as a foreign language at university level for the past five years. She currently lives in the UK.

