

An Interlinearized ‘Family Problem’ Narrative Text from Matukar Panau

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This article provides an interlinearized and translated Matukar Panau text of the ‘Family problem’ picture task story, told by an elder community member to his nephew. To contextualize this text, a brief grammatical overview of the Matukar language is presented, followed by the language ecology, and information about the data collection of this text among others as part of building a cross-linguistic corpus.

Keywords: Oceanic languages, Papua New Guinea, SCOPIC, corpus building

1. Matukar Panau language profile
2. Grammatical overview
3. Data collection
4. Interlinearized text

1. Matukar Panau language profile*

Matukar Panau is an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. It is spoken in Madang Province in the village of Matukar and the hamlet of Surumarang. There are around 1000 villagers based in these two communities and likely around 300 speak Matukar Panau fluently, while others consider the language a badge of identity, but have more limited comprehension or speaking ability. The language has inherited grammatical features from proto-Oceanic as well as many contact features from the Papuan languages spoken nearby. Matukar and Surumarang communities are small and all community members know each other. These are the only places where Matukar Panau language is spoken widely, but the communities are very multilingual. All community members speak Tok Pisin, the English-based lingua franca creole of Papua New Guinea. Many younger members of the community only speak Tok Pisin, with Matukar Panau used primarily by people older than 40 years old.

Matukar Panau documentation is ongoing since 2010. Kadagoi Rawad Forepiso is my

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primary teacher, editor and facilitator. I call her *Nen* which means ‘mother’. Along with her help in documentation, several younger community members help with transcription and translation of the language using laptops and the linguistic software ELAN (Sloetjes and Wittenburg 2008). They receive help from older community members as well and so our project involves a team of people contributing in various ways to the documentation. Videos and accompanying ELAN files are available in open access archives.¹

2. Grammatical overview

Matukar Panau is an agglutinating, nominative-accusative language with subject prefixing and patient and recipient suffixing. Verbs are suffixed for aspect and reality status (cf. Elliot 2000). Matukar Panau has optionally expressed noun phrases (NPs), meaning that clauses can occur without any NPs and may only consist of a verb. Like many other Oceanic languages, Matukar Panau widely uses serial verb constructions (Barth and Anderson 2015; Crowley 2002), directional suffixes, and has differing possession strategies for alienable and inalienable possession (Barth 2019; Lichtenberk 1985; Lynch 1973). Like other Papuan languages of the Madang region, Matukar Panau is verb final and frequently uses clause chaining as a clause combining strategy (Barth and Ross under review; Mansfield and Barth 2021; Ross 2008; cf. Roberts 1987). Matukar Panau does not have an extensive system of case marking, but enclitics and suffixes can encode benefactive, comitative and locative functions. Finally, Matukar Panau has frequent, and sometimes complex, nominalizations.

The Matukar Panau phoneme inventory includes vowels /a, i, e~ɛ, o, u/, diphthongs /ai, au, ei, eu, oi/ and consonants /p, b, d̪, t̪, k, g, n, m, ŋ, f, s, h, l, r, w, j/. The orthography used for the transcription of Matukar Panau is very close to the phonemic representation with some substitutions that make it more similar to the orthography of Tok Pisin: the letter <y> represents IPA /j/, <ng> represents /ŋ/, <d> represents /d̪/, <t> represents /t̪/, and <e> is used for /ɛ/ and /e/. In order to better understand some aspects of the grammar of the interlinearized text, I provide several paradigms below. Table 1 presents Matukar Panau person agreement affixes.

¹ PARADISEC: <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/repository/DGB1>, <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/SocCog>, and ELAR: <https://hdl.handle.net/2196/00-0000-0000-0012-388F-3>.

Table 1 Person agreement affixes

Person/Number	Intransitive subject (S) and Agent-like (A) arguments		Patient-like (P) and Recipient (R) ² arguments
1sg	<i>nga-</i>		<i>-au</i>
2sg	∅	<i>w-</i> ³	<i>-o</i>
3sg	∅	<i>y-</i>	<i>-i</i>
1pl.incl	<i>ta-</i>		<i>-ad</i>
1pl.excl	<i>ngam-</i>		<i>-amam</i>
2pl	<i>a-</i>		<i>-ang</i>
3pl	<i>di-</i>		<i>-din</i>
3pl.PARTITIVE			<i>-ai</i>

Matukar Panau has multiple possession strategies (cf. Barth 2019 for more detail). The two most common are known as direct and indirect possession, following the accepted terminology in Oceanic linguistics. Direct possession occurs with body parts and many kinship terms, items that are inalienably possessed. In direct possession, a possessive marker is suffixed to the noun. Indirect possession occurs with some kinship terms and most objects and concepts that are alienable possessed. Indirect possession is marked on a classifier rather than on the noun. Many part-whole relationships, descriptive relationships and temporary co-occurrences are marked with what I have called associative possession (APS). The form of this strategy is a suffix on the possessum: *-(a)ma* followed by the same agreement marker that would occur for direct possession. Finally, referents may be possessed by inanimate entities or atypical possessors. When indirect possession is not appropriate for these situations, a suffix is found on the possessor with the form *-(a)nen*. Table 2 presents the agreement paradigm for direct (and associative) and indirect possession.

Table 2 Matukar Panau possessive suffixes

Person/Number	Direct	Indirect
1SG	<i>-u</i>	<i>ng-ha-u</i>
2SG	<i>-m</i>	<i>ha-m</i>
3SG	<i>-n</i>	<i>ha-n</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>-d</i>	<i>ha-d</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>-mam</i>	<i>nga-ha-mam</i>
2PL	<i>-mim</i>	<i>ha-mim</i>
3PL	<i>-di</i>	<i>ha-di</i>

As mentioned above, Matukar Panau has verbal suffixes that indicate aspect and reality status. The verbal suffixes also indicate whether or not a verb is final or medial, as clause

² The paradigms for transitive P arguments and ditransitive recipients are identical. These can co-occur, although this is rare. In these cases, either P or R can occur first.

³ *w-* & *y-* before verbs beginning with [a]

chains are a common clause combination strategy in the language. Clause chains encode multiple events, have one or more medial clauses, and a final clause. Medial clauses depend on final clauses for full aspectual information but they are not embedded and have their own arguments. In order to read the interlinearized text, it is useful to know that in Matukar Panau, medial clauses have a suffix on the verb that marks its medial status, reality status (realis or irrealis), and, in some cases, aspect. Final clauses have a suffix on the verb that fully specifies the reality status, mood and aspect of the clause. The medial clauses agree with the final clauses in aspect and reality status (more detail in Barth and Ross under review). Table 3 lays out the verbal suffix paradigm.

Table 3 Matukar Panau TAM Suffixes

Clause type	Suffix	Gloss	Meaning
<i>Final</i>	Ø	I:R, I:IRR:IMP	realis unmarked, imperative
	<i>e</i>	R:I:PFV	perfective
	<i>-go</i>	R:I:IMFV	imperfective
	<i>-gokai</i>	R:I:IMFV:HAB	habitual
	<i>-ba</i>	IRR:I	irrealis
	<i>-bawai</i>	IRR:DESID:I	desiderative or near future
	<i>-p</i>	IRR:IMP:I	imperative
	<i>Medial</i>	<i>-do</i>	R:D
<i>-e</i>		SEQ:D	realis (sequential)
<i>-ma</i>		HAB:D	habitual
<i>-p ~ -dop</i>		IRR:D	irrealis (sequential, simultaneous, overlapping)
<i>-dope</i>		COND1:D	when conditional
<i>-tape ~ -ape ~ -tap</i>		COND2:D	<i>if</i> conditional
<i>-kai</i>		D:DISJ	adversative

Note. The verbal suffixes vary in form due to the following morpho-phonological rules: (i) glide /w/ epenthesis if the suffix begins with a vowel (only /e/ here) and the verbal stem (including stem and optional object or aspect suffixes) ends in /a, au, u/; (ii) nasal epenthesis if the suffix begins with a vowel or non-nasal voiced consonant and the verbal stem ends in /ai, e, i, o/, the nasal inserted is /m/ before bilabials (only /b/ here), /n/ before alveolars (only /d/ here) and /ŋ/ elsewhere (here /e, g/); (iii) vowel /a/ epenthesis if the suffix begins with a consonant and the verbal stem ends in a consonant.

3. Data collection

Matukar and Surumarang are tightknit communities, with deep kinship, clan and friendship ties in dense social networks. The Family Problems Picture Task or FPPT (San Roque et al. 2012) was conducted in Matukar in January 2016. Audiovisual data was collected by the author and is available in PARADISEC in various formats (see footnote 1). The FPPT has four parts: 1) an initial description of the stimuli cards, which are presented in a pre-determined order, 2) sorting the cards in order to form a narrative, 3) telling the

narrative in the third person, and 4) telling the narrative in the first person. Speakers judged for themselves the best ordering for the stimuli cards, and so each narrative is slightly different. In section 4 below, each stimuli card name is given. This is simply to make the text more comparable with other FPPT narratives from other languages.

Ten pairs of speakers did the initial stages of the FPPT. These were usually kin members or sometimes friends. For the narrative phases of the FPPT, a third person came to listen to the narratives constructed by the initial pair of speakers. This third person was also usually a kin member or friend of the pair. In one case, two additional people came to listen to the narratives. All speakers were fluent in Matukar Panau, although they were also all multilingual speakers of at least Tok Pisin and usually other various Austronesian or Papuan languages as well. As there were thirty-one participants total, I am not reporting the language repertoire of each participant. However, I can say that the tasks were conducted in Matukar Panau with a few occasional Tok Pisin words.

The first part of the task was usually the longest. People already started creating narratives during this part of the task and used a great deal of direct reported speech and reported inner monologue to convey the content as they saw it. Generally, participants took turns describing what they each saw. Some participants spoke to the characters depicted in the cards.

For the second stage, some people who participated in the task did more involved sorting of the cards than others. Some speakers chose to leave the cards in the order they were presented, and some chose to create a narrative with a reverse order of the presentation of the cards. My guess is that this is probably based on how the cards were laid down during the first part of the task, as speakers finished describing them.

For each session, one person was chosen to tell the third person narrative. The other person was chosen to tell a first person narrative, but several people ended up telling a second third person narrative instead. Finally, the third, listening participant had various levels of involvement in the narrative stage of the task. Some only listened, others were asked and offered opinions during the narrative tellings, and others offered evaluative commentary at the end of the narratives. These were usually moral in nature and expounded on the bad behavior of the male character in the story. Sessions usually took around 40 minutes to complete. Table 4 below gives more details for the ten sessions of the FPPT in Matukar Panau. As recommended in San Roque et al. (2012: 168), sessions were run with either only women or only men. This was to avoid potential asymmetrical relationships in conversational pairs that could lead to one participant dominating the session. The session presented in Section 4 is from the session mjk02.⁴

⁴ Transcript taken from the file SocCog-mjk02-tk_jb_bk_3_20210528.eaf. Audiovisual recordings and the transcription can be found at <https://catalog.paradisec.org.au/repository/SocCog/mjk02>. Audiovisual recordings and transcriptions of the other texts can be found in the larger SocCog collection available in the PARADISEC archive.

Table 4 Matukar Panau FPPT Session details

Session	Recording Length	Participants
mjk01	44 minutes	3 women
mjk02	50 minutes	3 men
mjk03	31 minutes	3 women
mjk04	50 minutes	3 women
mjk05	43 minutes	3 men
mjk06	48 minutes	3 men
mjk07	32 minutes	3 women
mjk08	46 minutes	3 women
mjk09	37 minutes	3 women
mjk10	31 minutes	4 women

4. Interlinearized text

The text transcribed below is from a Matukar community member named John Bogg. He tells the story to his adult nephew Berry Kuyau in the third person. Also present at the recording were the author and Taleo Kreno, a speaker who participated in the earlier parts of the task with John. Of the people who participated in the recordings, John was a particularly animated and engaged story-teller, using many manual, facial and vocal gestures for enactment (Hodge, Barth and Reed under review). The text begins with a typical opener for a Matukar Panau story: ‘Today I will tell a story’ and closes with a typical finishing sequence: ‘Finished. It’s like that’.

For each example is made up of a transcription, a parsing of words into morphemes, glossing of morphemes, and an approximate English translation. The four lines represent the following:

1. Transcription in Matukar Panau orthography
2. Morphological representation
3. The gloss for each morpheme.
4. Free translation into English.

Each interlinearized example represents an utterance as John spoke it. These do not always correspond to English sentence equivalents, particularly in the cases of clause chains which span multiple lines here (cf. lines 7–11). In these cases, the English translation is followed by a comma. Quotations in English translations represent direct quotations that come either from purported reported dialogue or purported inner monologue of the characters. Gloss abbreviations follow the text in Table 5.

- (1) *gamoni ngau neraurau ta ngapasimbai*
gamoni ngau neraurau ta nga-pasi-mbai
 now 1.SG.A story one 1.SG.A-tell-IRR:DESID:I
 Today I will tell a story.

- (2) ngahau neraurau ngapasindop ebla
nga-ha-u⁵ neraurau nga-pasi-ndop ebla
 1.SG-POSS-1.SG story 1.SG.A-tell-IRR:D COMP
 I will tell a story like...⁶



Drunken gossip

- (3) hadi milok hanat anatudidi ida taitemba
ha-di milo-k hanat anatu-di ida tai-te-mba
 POSS-3.PL something-UNPOSS what picture-3.PL with 1.PL.INCL.A-see-IRR:I
 We will see pictures together.
- (4) gamoni main tep
gamoni main te-p
 NOW PROX see-IRR:IMP:I
 Now you look at this!
- (5) gamoni patatan ta
gamoni patatan ta
 now heavy one
 Now (comes) something serious.
- (6) tenggo?
te-nggo
 see-R:I:IMFV
 You see it?

⁵ Note that the paradigm for indirect possessive classifiers has prefixes and suffixes for first person singular and first person plural exclusive. Other persons have only suffix agreement.

⁶ Ellipsis is used to indicate that the utterance is incomplete. No grammatical conclusion occurs in the following examples. Where an utterance is followed by a comma, the grammatical conclusion comes in a later example.

- (7) tamat nub diluminge

tamat nub di-lumi-nge
 man beer 3.PL.A-drink-SEQ:D
 Men drank beer,

- (8) ya dibul ditordo

ya-a di-bul di-tor-do
 3.SG.S-go 3.PL.S-start 3.PL.S-go.around-R:D
 they did things and went around,

- (9) hadi yawadi wai ti ilodi grendo

ha-di yawa-di wai ti ilo-di gre-ndo
 POSS-3.PL spouse-3.PL due.to NEG thought-3.PL think-R:D
 they didn't think about their spouses,

- (10) yawan ta yawan pain ta yawe

yawa-n ta yawa-n pain ta ya-a-we
 spouse-3.SG one spouse-3.SG woman one 3.SG.S-go-SEQ:D
 a husband, a wife went,

- (11) hadi tamat ti malaltenen ilo wanem ya han wari wai yawe

ha-di tamat ti malal=te-nen ilo wanem ya ha-n
 POSS-3.PL man NEG village=LOC-P.POSS thought what.TPI EMP.TPI POSS-3.SG

wari wai ya-a-we
 worry due.to 3.sg.S-go-R:I:PFV

their husbands aren't in the village (i.e. they are drinking away from home), he (the man) goes away full of worry.



Sitting drinking

- (12) do mainangan, main tep nub duluminggo
do main-angan main te-p nub du-lumi-nggo
 and PROX-EMP PROX see-IRR:IMP:I water 3.PL.A-drink-R:I:IMFV
 And this one here, you look at this, they are drinking beer.
- (13) gamoni painda
gamoni pain-da
 now woman-COM
 Now the women too...
- (14) tamatda nub duluminggo
tamat-da nub du-lumi-nggo
 man-COM beer 3.PL.A-drink-R:I:IMFV
 ...with men, they are drinking beer.
- (15) madok haiyan madok haiyan madok uyan ti haiyan gamoni nal main te
mado-k haiyan mado-k haiyan mado-k uyan ti haiyan gamoni
 live-NMLZ bad live-NMLZ bad live-NMLZ good NEG bad now
nal main=te
 time PROX=LOC
 Life is spoilt, life is not good at this time.



Taken by police

- (16) tamat painim tamat gamoni pain dihumago main tep
tamat pain-im tamat gamoni pain di-hum-ago main
 man woman-PL man now woman 3.PL.A-fight.group-R:I:IMFV PROX
te-p
 see-IRR:IMP:I
 Men, women, now men hit women, look at this!

- (17) *tamat mainangan yawan huninge*
tamat main-angan⁷ yawa-n hun-i-nge
 man TOP-EMP spouse-3.SG hit-3.SG.P-R:I:PFV
 This man here hit his wife.

- (18) *han aimdami huninge*
ha-n aim-da-mi hun-i-nge
 POSS-3.SG SON-COM-only hit-3.SG.P-R:I:PFV
 He hit his son too.

- (19) *matan ti*
mata-n ti
 money-3.SG NEG
 They don't have money.



Hitting

- (20) *pain han aimdami matan wai yawan hante yau*
pain ha-n aim-da-mi mata-n wai yawa-n
 woman POSS-3.SG boy-COM-only money-3.SG due.to spouse-3.SG

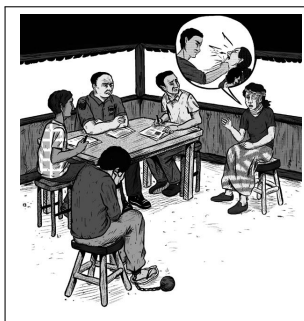
ha-n=te yau
 POSS-3.SG=LOC go
 The woman with her son and goes to her husband (to ask) for money.

⁷ Topic markers in Matukar have either a proximal *main* or distal *mon* form. Further, they may be suffixed with *-angan* or its reduced variant *-an* when the topic is particularly interesting, surprising, new or evokes an emotional response in the speaker. For the time being, I am glossing *-angan/an* as EMP for emphatic. Topic markers occur after a noun phrase or clause and usually there is a pause between the topic and following comment. Although deictic markers have the same form (see example 12), these occur either alone or following noun but without a pause. There are ambiguous cases where it is not clear if *main* or *mainangan* is a deictic or topic marker. *Main* is also used as a relativizer, but as Matukar Panau relative clauses have no special dependent morphology, there are also ambiguous cases where *main* might be a relativizer or topicalizer. In fact, it is this ambiguity that has allowed the topicalizer to come about.

- (21) *tamat dabok turdo naun songe tendo*
tamat dabok tur-do nau-n so-nge te-ndo
 man big stand-R:D face-3.SG come-SEQ:D see-R:D
 The big man stood and came and saw,

- (22) *malalalo tamat main ilon tigire*
malal=alo tamat main ilo-n ti=gire
 village=LOC man PROX inside-3.SG NEG=think
 that village man did not think,

- (23) *yawan huninge*
yawa-n hun-i-nge
 spouse-3.SG hit-3.SG.P-R:I:PFV
 he hit his wife.



In court

- (24) *main kagin uyan ti*
main kagin uyan ti
 PROX custom good NEG
 That is not good behavior.
- (25) *mainami pain dabok mainangan gaun hadite diyawe*
main-ami pain dabok main-angan gaun ha-di=te diy-a-we
 PROX-only woman big TOP-EMP police POSS-3.PL=LOC 3.PL.S-go-R:I:PFV
 The big woman went to the police.
- (26) *han ilo uya pasinge*
ha-n ilo uya pasi-nge
 POSS-3.SG inside good tell-R:I:PFV
 She told her thoughts.

- (27) *yawa-n tamat-e ar-lo di-nage-mbai gamuk di-nage-ndo*
 spouse-3.SG man-DEFID jail-in 3.PL.S-become-IRR:I talk 3.PL.A-put-R:D
mado-eng main ai-te
 sit-NMLZ PROX 2.PL.A-see
 They want to put her husband in jail and they are sitting and talking here, you see.

- (28) *manaiye*
manaiy-e
 like.that-DEFID
 That's it.

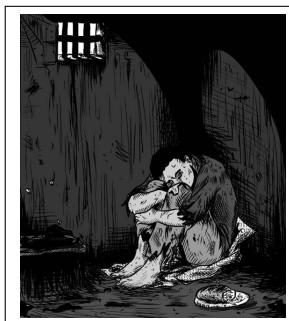


Receiving clothes

- (29) *gam arlo pide*
gam ar-lo pid-e
 already jail-in descend-R:I:PFV
 Now he goes inside the jail.
- (30) *han milo dipasinge*
ha-n milo milo⁸ di-pasi-nge
 POSS-3.SG something something 3.PL.A-take.out-SEQ:D
 They took out his things,
- (31) *han milok*
ha-n milo-k
 POSS-3.SG something-UNPOSS
 his things,

⁸ *milo milo* means 'something' or 'things'. In its unreduplicated form, *milo* means 'food'.

- (32) *ilonlo yenago main*
ilo-n-lo ya-en-ago main
 inside-3.SG-in 3.SG.S-stay-R:I:IMFV TOP
 he is staying inside.



Alone in the cell

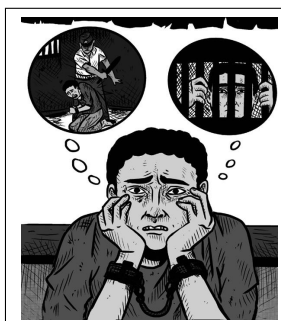
- (33) *main tep gam arlo madonge ilon so girendo madonggo* “*gamoni tagtag ngabulaba?*”

main te-p gam ar-lo mado-nge ilo-n so gire-ndo
 PROX see-IRR:IMP:I already jail-in sit-SEQ:D inside-3.SG come think-R:D

mado-nggo gamoni tagtag nga-bul-aba
 sit-R:I:IMFV now what 1.SG.A-do-I:IRR

Now you see he is already in jail and thinking, “Now what will I do?”⁹ yawa

- (34) “*kagin haiyanamok nagenge mainwaimi*”
kagin haiyan=amok nage-nge mainwaimi
 custom many=INTSF make-R:I:PFV therefore
 “I did a very bad thing”



Thinking about gaol

⁹ Quotation marks “...” in the translation indicate direct quotation. This is also the case for utterances that are direct quotations with no introductory verb as in the following example, i.e. (34).

- (35) “maski ngamadop”

maski nga-mado-p
 nevermind.TPI 1.SG.S-stay-IRR:D
 “Never mind, I will stay”

- (36) ilo girek uyan tagtag nage i saipidaba main alop

*ilo gire-k uyan tagtag nage i sa-i-pid-aba*¹⁰
 inside think-NMLZ good what make 3.SG.S ascend-3.SG.S-descend-I:IRR

main alop

PROX later

He thinks this and later he will become,

- (37) i saipid uyanaba

i sa-i-pid uyan-aba
 3.SG.S ascend-3.SG.S-descend good-I:IRR

he will become good.

- (38) “ngau yawau-da”

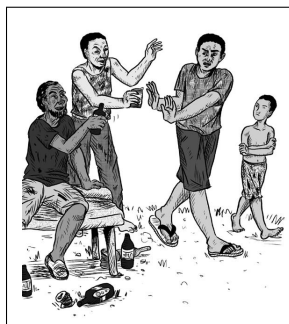
ngau yawa-u-da
 1.SG.S spouse-1.SG-COM

“Me and my wife.”

- (39) “ngau natu aipainim manaiyami dimadonggo”

ngau natu aipainim manaiy-ami di-mado-nggo
 1.SG.S small children like.that-only 3.PL.S-live-R:I:IMFV

“Me (and) the little children will live like this.”

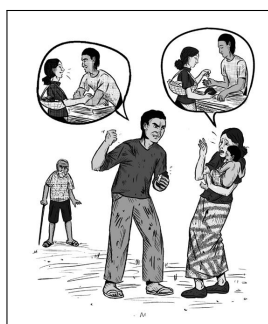


Refusing drink

¹⁰ The verb *saipid* ‘develop’ is a lexicalized version of *i sa i pid* ‘3sg ascend, 3sg descend’, and the morpheme glosses reflect the internal composition of this word. The *ai* sequence is pronounced as a diphthong showing that the morpheme boundaries have been reanalyzed and lost for speakers. However the form retains some of its historical aspects as it can only be used with third person. Other persons of this verb have different forms.

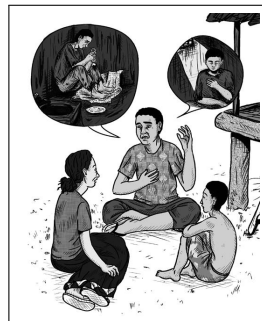
- (40) “main timok nganagedop,”
main ti=amok nga-nage-dop
 PROX NEG=INTSF 1.SG.A-make-IRR:D
 “I will not do that again,”
- (41) “tamat ta timok ngagidindop,”
tamat ta ti=amok nga-gi-din-dop
 man one NEG=INTSF 1.SG.S-call.out-3.PL.P-IRR:D
 “I will not call out to another man,”
- (42) “ang milo ta anage aluminggo main hamim main uyan ti”
ang milo ta a-nage a-lumi-nggo main ha-mim
 2.PL.S something one 2.PL.A-make 2.PL.A-DRINK-R:I:IMFV TOP POSS-2.PL

main uyan ti
 PROX good NEG
 “you guys, this thing you’re drinking is not good for you”
- (43) “kagin mon uyan ti kagin haiyan”
kagin mon uyan ti kagin haiyan
 custom DIST good NEG custom bad
 “That behavior is not good, it’s bad behavior”
- (44) “amado ngago”
a-mado nga-a-go
 2.PL.S-stay 1.SG.S-go-R:I:IMFV
 “You guys stay, I’m going”
- (45) “ngau ilokai ngago”
ngau ilo-kai nga-a-go
 1.SG.S inside-only 1.SG.S-go-R:I:IMFV
 “I go with only my thoughts”



About to hit

- (46) main uyan
main uyan
 PROX good
 This is good.
- (47) “pain yawenga ngau patatan wai yawe tulinge”
pain ya-a-we-nga ngau patatan wai ya-a-we tuli-nge
 woman 3.SG.S-go-SEQ:D-EMP 1.SG.S heavy due.to 3.SG.S-go-SEQ:D say-R:I:PFV
 “The woman went and talked about my problem.”
- (48) “gamoni ti=ngahunop ti=ngahunip ngapaiyonganaba”
gamoni ti=nga-hun-o-p ti=nga-hun-i-p
 now NEG=1.SG.A-hit-2.SG.P-IRR:D NEG=1.SG.A-hit-3.SG.P-IRR:D
nga-pai-yo-ngan-aba
 1.SG.A-CROSS-2.SG.P-CONT-I:IRR
 “Now I won’t hit you, I won’t hit him, I will just keep yelling at you.”



Family talking together

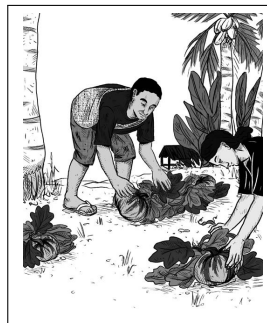
- (49) gamoni nal mainte
gamoni nal main=te
 now time PROX=LOC
 Now this time,
- (50) gam dimadonggo gam
gam di-mado-nggo gam
 already 3.PL.S-stay-R:I:IMFV already
 they already live (well).

- (51) milo hudungan patatan hudungan dimaiale
milo hudungan patatan hudungan di-mai-al-e
 something every heavy every 3.PL.S-leave-TERM-R:I:PFV
 They left behind all the bad behavior.
- (52) hadi aim dabokasmane
ha-di aim dabok=asman-e
 POSS-3.PL boy big=INTSF-R:I:PFV
 Their child is big.
- (53) main tep
main te-p
 PROX see-IRR:IMP:I
 Look at this!
- (54) tamat gamukado
tamat gamuk-ado
 man talk-R:D
 The man talks,
- (55) yawan mainangan seldo
yawa-n main-angan sel-do
 spouse-3.SG TOP-EMP laugh-R:D
 his wife laughs,
- (56) maindami nonggo, “ngahau nenmamad wagam kagin hudungan main uyan ti”
main-da-mi nong-go nga-ha-u nen mam-ad wagam
 PROX-COM-only hear-R:I:IMFV 1.SG-POSS-1.SG mom father-PL traditional.story
kagin hudungan main uyan ti
 custom every TOP good NEG
 this one (his child) listens and he says, “This is how my mother and father behaved
 before and it’s not good”



Thinking of home

- (57) maine main tep
main-e main te-p
 PROX-DEFID PROX see-IRR:IMP:I
 Look at this here!
- (58) “ngau malalte ngap, ngau yawaud, tagtag ditaiyauba? tutumauda o?”
ngau malal=te nga-a-p ngau yawa-ud tagtag
 1.SG.S village=LOC 1.SG.S-go-IRR:D 1.SG.S spouse-PL what
di-taiy-au-ba tutu-ama-u-da o
 3.P.S-see-1.S.P-I:IRR bones-APS-1.SG-COM QP
 “When I go to the village, how will my family see me? Am I skin and bones?”
- (59) “matau tainamanda o?”
mata-u tai-n-ama-n-da o
 eye-1.SG discharge-3.SG-APS-3.SG-COM QP
 “Do I have crust in my eyes?”
- (60) main yawe saipidangan do main tep
main ya-a-we sa-i-pid-angan do main te-p
 PROX 3.SG.S-go-SEQ:D ascend-3.SG.S-descend-EMP and PROX see-IRR:IMP:I
 He goes, comes around and look at this!
- (61) tidop
ti-dop
 finish-IRR:D
 It’s finished...



Garden together

(62) “milo ngampaindo abite”

milo ngam-pai-ndo abi=te
 food 1.PL.A.EXCL-plant-R:D garden=LOC
 “We work in the garden,”

(63) “hanate ong nagendop?”

hanat-e ong nage-ndop
 what-DEFID 2.SG.S make-IRR:D
 “what will we do?”

(64) gauni ebla

gauni ebla
 now COMP
 Now it's like

(65) ilo uyanlo madomba

ilo uyan-lo mado-mba
 inside good-in stay-IRR:I
 he will live well.



Standing in light

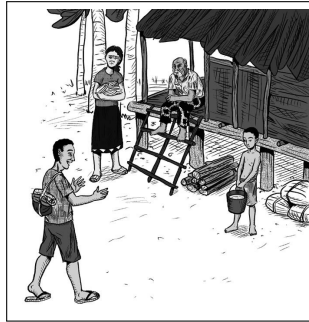
(66) arlo ti, gam palume malalte wai.

ar-lo ti gam palum-e malal=te wai
 jail-in NEG already come-R:I:PFV village=LOC like
 He finished jail and came back to the village.

(67) palum saipide

palum sa-i-pid-e
 come ascend-3.SG.S-descend-R:I:PFV
 He arrived.

- (68) *sabi gam pane o tidom kalam pane?*
sabi gam pane o tidom kalam pane
 sun already shoot or night moon shoot
 Was the sun already up or did moon light at night?



Homecoming

- (69) *main hiben*
main hibe-n
 TOP self-3.SG
 Up to him.
- (70) *abate palum dasgo, han ab malaltenen wai*
ab=ate palum das-go ha-n ab malal=te-anen wai
 house=LOC come ascend-R:I:IMFV POSS-3.SG house village=LOC-P.POSS like
 He goes to his house, his house in the village.
- (71) *tiyale*
ti-yal-e
 finish-TERM-R:I:PFV
 Finished.
- (72) *main manag*
main manag
 TOP like.that
 It is like that.

Table 5 Gloss abbreviations

A	agent-like argument	NMLZ	nominalizer
APS	associative possession	PL	plural
COM	comitative	P	patient-like argument
COMP	complementizer	P.POSS	patient possessor
CONT	continuative	PFV	perfective
D	dependent	POSS	possessor
DEFID	definite	PROX	proximal
DESID	desiderative	QP	question particle
DISJ	disjunctive	R	realis
DIST	distal	SG	singular
EXCL	exclusive	S	subject of intransitive clause
EMP	emphatic	SEQ	sequential
I	independent	TERM	terminative
IMP	imperative	TOP	topic
IMFV	imperfective	TPI	Tok Pisin
INCL	inclusive	UNPOSS	unpossessed
INTSF	intensifier	1	first person
IRR	irrealis	2	second person
LOC	locative	3	third person
NEG	negative		

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