THEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF WIK-MUNKAN DISCOURSE

by

Christine Anne Kilham

This thesis was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University.

April 1974
Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

C.A. Kilham

Christine A. Kilham
THEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF WIK-MUNKAN DISCOURSE

by

Christine A. Kilham

ABSTRACT

Wik-Munkan is an Australian Aboriginal language spoken in north-west Queensland, on the western side of the Great Dividing Range on Cape York Peninsula. This description is primarily concerned with the means available to a Wik-Munkan speaker to present and develop the themes of a discourse. The description is loosely based on generative semantics, but shows some influence of tagmemic theory as well; for instance, there is an acceptance of the existence of hierarchical levels in surface grammar.

Chapter 1 gives a brief description of the Wik-Munkan community at Aurukun in Cape York, and outlines the geographical location and linguistic classification of Wik-Munkan. It also includes a history of Wik-Munkan research.

Chapter 2 gives an outline of the thesis topic, and then a survey of studies by others on the subject of discourse in general and thematic organization in particular. The survey includes the contributions of various linguistic schools (Prague School, Transformational Grammar, Generative Semantics - represented particularly by Grimes - and Tagmemics) and of individuals such as Halliday and Sgall.

Chapter 3 is a surface sketch of the phonology and grammar of Wik-Munkan. It includes details of phonological clauses and sentences, intonation patterns, word classes, the tense, modal and case systems, reduplication, compounding, phrase structure, and a summary of the nature of clauses, sentences, paragraphs and discourses in Wik-Munkan.

Chapter 4 is a description of some topicalization patterns which are relevant at more than one point in the grammar, such as fronting, rhetorical questions and cycling. Chapter 5
describes areas of information in discourse in which thematic choice is involved; namely, the nucleus, setting and periphery. It also introduces the concept of different levels of theme.

Chapter 6 describes five discourse genres for Wik-Munkan; namely narratives, travelogues, procedures, explanations, and exhortations. It then goes on to describe how the global theme and its refinement, and the global setting are conveyed. The way in which the global theme is restated throughout some discourses almost like a refrain, is also described. The relationship of participant identification to the global theme is discussed briefly.

Chapters 7-9 deal firstly with the description of the surface phonological and grammatical nature of paragraphs, sentences and clauses respectively, and also with how each may be represented in the underlying semantic structure. In each case, there then follows a description of topicalization patterns used to indicate setting themes, and ways of indicating marked and unmarked thematic choices from the nucleus area of information. It is asserted that there is not just one way of making a theme prominent, and also that there may be combinations

Chapter 10 describes some thematic decisions which are conditioned by the choice of discourse genre. Chapter 11 is concerned with the relationship of thematic choice to the semantic component. It is asserted that there is a need for a semantic structure of discourse, rather than one which stops at sentences; it is also asserted that thematic decisions need to be represented in the semantic component.

Appendix A includes two tables which give phonological details of intonation carrying clitics, and intonation patterns, and also includes some mingograph examples. Appendix B includes two sample texts.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are so many to thank. My interest in linguistics and Bible translation began 12 years ago in 1962 at Maningrida in Arnhem Land. There, as a Government schoolteacher, in an Aboriginal school, I faced the complexities and challenge of teaching English in school, and of communicating with both adults and children in the camp. I owe much to the Burera and Gunavidji people who helped and encouraged me as I struggled to learn something of their languages. My interest was also fed and stimulated by David and Kathy Glasgow, who were living at Maningrida at that time, as members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.).

In 1967, by this time a member of S.I.L. myself, I went to Aurukun, in Cape York, and joined Barbara Sayers in her work there on the Wik-Munkan language. I have loved being with the Wik-Munkan people. Without their encouragement and solid help - and indeed, at times, their hilarious laughter at my attempts - I would have found it very hard to continue with my goal of fluency, and analysis of the language. It is impossible to mention all who have helped and encouraged, but the following I would like to mention especially: Mrs Topsy Wolmby, for her close friendship and her creative and imaginative approach to her language, and for sharing her insights with me; Kathleen and Ian Peinkinna, good friends and neighbours for several years, who have given willing help at many odd hours of the day and night; Mrs Louisa Go'olfree, my 'mother' according to the kinship system and a dear friend, who has on several occasions foregone fishing to help with exhausting and uninspiring checking; and to my good friends Mrs Winnie Koongotema, Mrs Hazel Chevathan, Mrs Mabel Pamulkan, Mrs Geraldine Kawangka and Mrs Maud Yunkaporta who have all given substantial and valued help. Over thirty men and women have contributed to this analysis through the telling of one or more stories on tape.
I am grateful also to some others who are or have been associated with Aurukun. I would like to especially thank Barbara Sayers and Marie Godfrey for making their materials on Wik-Munkan readily available to me. I would also like to thank Mrs Geraldine MacKenzie, Bill Miller and John von Sturmer for helping to clarify geographical details concerning Aurukun.

My interest in discourse analysis was quickened when I attended part of a linguistic workshop in New Guinea, in 1970, which was conducted by Dr Robert Longacre, of S.I.L., under the auspices of the New Guinea Branch of S.I.L. I would like to thank Dr Longacre and also Dr Phyllis Healey, both of whose help and ideas at that time helped shape the direction of my study later at A.N.U.

In March 1971, I joined the Department of Linguistics, within the Institute of Advanced Studies at the Australian National University. The University's scholarship provision has been most generous, and has included funds for two field trips to Aurukun. I have been grateful for Professor Wurm's encouragement and assistance in many administrative matters. Very special thanks goes to my supervisors, Drs Donald Laycock and Darrell Tryon, who have given prompt and valued criticisms on my work. Dr Tom Dutton was one of my supervisors in the early part of my programme, and I would like to thank him for his help also. Others who have read portions of earlier drafts of this thesis, and from whose help I have benefitted much, include Warren Glover, Ann Curnow and Dr Bruce Sommer.

In 1973 I attended a two-month linguistic workshop on the subject of discourse analysis, in Kathmandu, Nepal. The workshop was held under the auspices of the Nepal Branch of the S.I.L., and I would like to thank the members of S.I.L. Nepal very much for 'fitting me in'. The consultant in charge was Dr Joseph E. Grimes, of S.I.L., and also of Cornell University, New York. I value his help and stimulation and criticisms on my work very much indeed. I am grateful for the financial help of Mrs C.A. Morris and of the Australian Aborigines Branch of S.I.L., which enabled me to go to Nepal.
This thesis has also benefitted by the availability of two computerized concordances. One, of adult speech, was compiled on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the S.I.L. and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute and was sponsored by the National Science Foundation Grant GS-1605. The other was compiled by Monash University, Melbourne.

My grateful thanks go to Mrs Sue Tys for the final typing; and to Miss Ann Curnow and Miss Brigid Dalton for help in typing the semi-final draft. My brother Roger has given many long hours to the arduous job of proofreading; I appreciate his help very much.

I would like to especially mention the loving encouragement and interest of my family and of my friend Ann Curnow (from Aurukun); it has meant a very great deal. The encouragement of other friends in Canberra, Sydney, Cape York, Darwin, overseas, and far-flung places in Australia where fellow linguists and friends working alongside Aboriginal communities live, has also helped a lot.

Finally, I would never have done this thesis were it not for the Lord Jesus Christ's direction to my life, and my belief that I should set aside three years to train further in linguistics. This training I intend to use in working alongside fellow Bible translators as they work on the grammatical analyses of various Australian Aboriginal languages; I also expect that the training received will be of much benefit in further linguistic, literacy and translation work with the Wik-Munkan people.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE PAGE</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>xviii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAP</td>
<td>xxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 The Wik-Munkan People</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Language Classification and Dialects</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 History of Wik-Munkan Research</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Data Used for This Study</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes for Chapter 1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2: THE TOPIC</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Thesis Topic</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.1 Thematic Organization of Wik-Munkan Discourse</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.2 Marked and Unmarked Theme</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.3 Levels of Theme</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.4 Areas of Theme</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.5 Summary of Decision Making of Speakers re Thematic Choices</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1.6 Requirements for a Theory</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 Studies by Others</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.1 The Prague School</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.2 Sgall et al.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.3 Halliday</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.4 Generative-Transformational Grammar</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.5 Generative Semantics</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2.6 Tagmemics</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Theoretical Model</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Thesis Organization</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes for Chapter 2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3: SURFACE SKETCH OF WIK-MUNKAN PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

3.1 Outline of Phonology

3.1.1 Phonological Representation of Wik-Munkan
3.1.2 Syllable Structure
3.1.3 Word Stress
3.1.4 Rhythmic Juncture Phoneme -a
3.1.5 Compounds and Close-Knit Phrases
3.1.6 Stress Patterns of Grammatical Phrases
3.1.7 The Phonological Clause
3.1.8 Intonation Patterns
3.1.9 The Phonological Sentence
3.1.10 Information Blocks

3.2 Word Classes

3.2.1 Nouns
3.2.2 Adjectives
3.2.3 Pronouns
3.2.4 Demonstratives
3.2.5 Intensifiers-Diminutives
3.2.6 Verbs
3.2.7 Verbal auxiliaries
3.2.8 Adverbs
3.2.9 Temporals and Locatives
3.2.10 Particles
3.2.11 Conjunctions
3.2.12 Interjections
3.2.13 Interrogatives

3.3 Lexical Categories

3.4 Modal and Aspectual System

3.4.1 kan and ŋu
3.4.2 Other Moods and Aspects

3.5 Case System

3.5.1 Surface Case System
3.5.2 Syntactic Evidence for Distinguishing Cases
3.5.3 Further on the Case System
3.5.3.1 Ergative
3.5.3.2 Nominative
3.5.3.3 Vocative
3.5.3.4 Instrumental
3.5.3.5 Stationary Locative
3.5.3.6 Temporal
3.5.3.7 Referent
3.5.3.8 Goal
3.5.3.9 Accompaniment
3.5.3.10 Source
3.5.3.11 Possessive
3.5.4 Case Ranking and Word Order
3.5.5 Underlying Ergativity
3.6 The enclitic -àn
  3.6.1 -àn marking definiteness
  3.6.2 -àn and topicalized clauses
  3.6.3 -àn marking relative clauses
  3.6.4 -àn marking embedded complement clauses at the beginning of discourses
  3.6.5 -àn and apposition
  3.6.6 -àn and equative clauses
  3.6.7 -àn and -iy and theme
3.7 Reduplication
  3.7.1 Continuous Aspect
  3.7.2 Intensification
  3.7.3 Plurality
  3.7.4 Alternation
  3.7.5 Exclusion
  3.7.6 Non-Conformity or Difference
3.8 Compounding and Phrases
  3.8.1 Compounding and Close-Knit Phrases
3.9 Syntactic Phrases
  3.9.1 Modified Noun Phrases
  3.9.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrases
  3.9.3 Verb Phrases
  3.9.4 Temporal and Locative Phrases
6.1.4 Exhortations
6.1.5 Explanations
6.2 Global Theme
6.3 Global Setting
6.4 Non-initial Global Theme
6.5 Refinement of Global Theme
6.6 Restatement of Global Theme
6.7 Participant Identification and the Global Theme
6.8 -iy and the Global Theme
Notes for Chapter 6

CHAPTER 7: PARAGRAPHS AND PARAGRAPH THEME
7.2 Wik-Munkan Paragraphs
7.2.2 Phonological and Grammatical Criteria
7.2.2.1 Major Temporal Change
7.2.2.2 Major Spatial Change
7.2.2.3 Re-Orientation of Participants
7.2.2.4 Rhetorical Questions
7.2.2.5 Peripheral information and Restatement of Discourse Theme
7.2.2.6 Change in Kind of information
7.2.2.7 Closely Knit Semantic Domains
7.2.2.8 Interjections and Conjunctions
7.2.2.9 Phonological Criteria
7.3 Rhetorical Predicates underlying the organization of Paragraphs and Sentences
7.3.1 Introduction
7.3.2 Work of Grimes and Longacre relating to Rhetorical Predicates
7.3.3 Examples of Rhetorical Predicates underlying the organization of Wik-Munkan Paragraphs
7.4 The Point of Departure
7.4.1 Setting
7.4.1.1 Temporal Phrases
7.4.1.2 Temporal Clauses
8.5 Unmarked Theme of Sentence
8.6 Foregrounding of Sentence Theme
  8.6.1 Participants
    8.6.1.1 -ān-īy-a? fronting
    8.6.1.2 Rhetorical questions
  8.6.2 Propositions
    8.6.2.1 Topicalized Clauses
    8.6.2.2 Rhetorical Questions
    8.6.2.3 Lowered Intonation
8.7 Reminding of Sentence Theme
  8.7.1 Tagging
  8.7.2 Cycling
8.8 Combinations
Notes for Chapter 8

CHAPTER 9: CLAUSES AND CLAUSE THEME
9.1 Wik-Munkan Clauses
  9.1.1 Introduction
  9.1.2 Grammatical Clause Types
  9.1.3 Lexical Predicates and Role Relationships
9.2 Intonation Centres, Word Order and Information Structure
9.3 Unmarked Themes of Clauses
9.4 Marked Themes of Clauses
  9.4.1 Fronting
  9.4.2 Rhetorical Questions
  9.4.3 Emphatic Pronouns
  9.4.4 Tagging
  9.4.5 Combinations
9.5 Temporal Setting in Relation to Clauses
9.6 Dependent Clauses and Marked Theme
Notes for Chapter 9

CHAPTER 10: SOME THEMATIC DECISIONS CONDITIONED BY
            CHOICE OF DISCOURSE GENRE
10.1 Introduction
10.2 Segmentation of narratives
10.3 The frequency of -àn-iy-a? fronting in procedural texts 254
10.4 Cycling and Paraphrase in Hortatory and Explanatory Texts 255
10.5 Conclusion 258

CHAPTER 11: THE SEMANTIC COMPONENT AND THEMATIC CHOICE 259
11.1 Introduction 259
11.2 The Need for a Semantic Structure of Discourse 259
11.3 The Need for Thematic Decisions to be represented in the Semantic Component 263
11.4 The Representation of Thematic Choices from the Nucleus 266
11.5 Setting and Periphery and the Semantic Component 273

CONCLUSION 278

APPENDIX A: INTONATION PATTERNS AND MINGOGRAPH EXAMPLES 279
Table 1. Intonation Carrying Clitics 280
Table 2. Intonation Patterns 281
Mingograph Examples 285

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE TEXTS 291
B.I. New Guinea Film Review 292
B.II. The Snake 304

BIBLIOGRAPHY 310

INDEX 326
## LIST OF FIGURES

1. Segmental Phonemes ................................................................. 35
2. Order of Enclitics following a Noun Phrase ............................... 47
3. Pronoun Bases for Centre Cases ............................................... 48
4. Abbreviated Forms of Pronouns ............................................... 49
5. Demonstratives in Ergative and Nominative Case ......................... 50
6. Base Forms of Wik-Munkan Tense-Person Suffixes ....................... 53
7. Wik-Munkan Reciprocal Plus Tense-Person Suffixification ............. 54
8. Vocabulary Categories 2 and 3 ................................................ 60
9. kän and ญุ interverting with Verbal Tenses ............................. 62
10. Wik-Munkan Case Suffixes ...................................................... 66
11. Suggested Formalization of Foregrounding of Theme .................... 101
12. Suggested Formalization of Reminding of Theme ........................ 105
13. Suggested Formalization of Rhetorical Questions ....................... 109
14. -åän and -iy and Areas and Levels ........................................ 123
15. Underlying Representation of Narratives .................................. 126
16. Underlying Representation of Travelogues ............................... 129
17. Underlying Representation of Procedures .................................. 129
18. Underlying Representation of Exhortations ................................ 131
19. Underlying Representation of Explanations ............................... 133
20. Criteria for Identifying Paragraphs .......................................... 151
21. Underlying Representation of Example 288 ............................... 163
22. Underlying Representation of Example 289 ............................... 164
23. Marked and Unmarked Paragraph Themes .................................. 175
24. Criteria for Identifying Sentences .......................................... 192
25. Underlying Representation of Example 355 ............................... 201
26. Underlying Representation of Example 256 ............................... 202
27. Marked and Unmarked Themes of Sentence Nucleus ..................... 209
28. Orientation and Process Roles ............................................... 226
29. Interrelationships among Roles ............................................. 227
30. Marked and Unmarked Clause Themes .................................... 236
31. Dressler's representation of the place of modality in discourse ..... 261
32. Semantic Representation of Content of Examples ........................ 263

478-482
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Feature of prominent attached to an argument of a lexical predicate</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Suggested Representation of Global Theme and Refinement</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Underlying Representation of double -àn-ly-a? fronting in Surface Structure</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Suggested Underlying Representation of double -àn-ly-a? fronting referring to different participants</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Suggested Underlying Representation of Example 395</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Suggested Underlying Representation of Combination of Participant and Proposition as Marked Theme</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Negation as a Higher Predicate</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Tree Resulting after Predicate Raising</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Underlying Representation of Setting as a Higher Predicate</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In the setting out of the literal translation of examples, a full stop is written between two or more lexical items needed to represent the meaning of one Wik-Munkan morpheme (e.g. young.woman). Where more than one functional term is needed to represent the meaning of a morpheme, the relevant abbreviations (which begin with capitals or are numerals) are written contiguously without a fullstop or space in between (e.g. IPExclPst).

Ab    abundance
Acc   accusative case
Accom  accompaniment case
Adjr  adjectivizer
Aj    adjunct form (of pronoun)
C     consonant
Carb  carbohydrate food
Cj    conjunction
Cl    close distance
Co    co-ordinate
Coll  collective
Comp  compassionate particle
Cont  continued action intonation carrying clitic
D     dual number
Def   definite
Des   desiderative intonation carrying clitic
Emo  emotional
Emph  emphasis; emphasis intonation carrying clitic
Erg   ergative case
Excl  exclusive
Exclm  exclamation
Fig.  Figure
Fr    far distance
Fut   future tense
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gl</td>
<td>goal case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab</td>
<td>habitual aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>indicative intonation carrying clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>instrumental case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int</td>
<td>interrogative intonation carrying clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ints</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itrz</td>
<td>intransitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>stationary locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>middle distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms</td>
<td>means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.y.b</td>
<td>mother's younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomz</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onom</td>
<td>onomatopoeia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>plural number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Par</td>
<td>paragraph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos</td>
<td>positive intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>possessive case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pres</td>
<td>present tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>protein food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prop</td>
<td>proposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pst</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punct</td>
<td>punctiliar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ques</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rec</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>referent case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refl</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rd</td>
<td>reduplicated or partially reduplicated morpheme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhy</td>
<td>rhythmic suffix</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
S syllable; singular number (following a numeral)
Sbj subjunctive mood
Sec. Section
Seq sequential intonation carrying clitic
Src source case
Tag tag question intonation carrying clitic
Temp temporal
Top topic
Trz transitivizer

V vowel
VNeg verbal negative
Voc vocative case
1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
° intonation centre of clause
*** intonation centre of sentence
< crescendo
> descrescendo
† elevated pitch level } marked only where relevant
‡ lowered pitch level } to discussion
/
// longer pause

[] word supplied from context to make English translation of examples clearer

italic type font used for English words used within Wik-Munkan examples

* indicates beginning of focal part of example, namely:
Sec. 6.5 refinement of global theme
Secs. 7.5, 7.6.1, 7.6.2.3 and 7.6.2.4 nucleus of paragraph
Secs. 8.4.1 and 8.4.2 setting clause
Sec. 8.4.3 temporal word
Sec. 8.5 nucleus of sentence
Sec. 9.4.1 phrase with -âñ-a? fronting
Sec. 9.4.4 tagged phrase
Cape York Peninsula, showing Wik-Munkan tribal territory (adapted from Thomson 1972:vi)
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Wik-Munkan People

The majority of the Wik-Munkan people are today living at the Aurukun Presbyterian Mission, which is situated just above the junction of the Archer and Watson Rivers, on the Western side of Cape York Peninsula. In the same community live members of fourteen to fifteen other tribes. In February 1972 the Aboriginal community at Aurukun totalled 704, nearly 300 of whom are Wik-Munkan. Wik-Munkan is, however, the first language of most of the people under forty years of age in the community, regardless of their tribal allegiance. Most middle aged people who are not Wik-Munkan speak their own tribal languages as a first language, and Wik-Munkan as a good second. The older people, on the other hand, are a good example of passive multilingualism, as most prefer to speak their own languages, and 'hear' the others. At Edward River, 100 miles south of Aurukun, six closely related languages (or dialects) collectively called 'Mungkan' by the people in the area, are spoken by a total of approximately one hundred people. A few Wik-Munkan speakers live at Weipa, and a few at Coen.

Originally the Wik-Munkan were largely an inland group, although the boundary of their tribal territory extends to the coast at a couple of places, at Eramangk and at the mouth of the Archer River, as shown on the map. It touches the Watson River in the north, and extends to the Kendall River in the south. Rokeby Station is usually considered the eastern limit.

The Aurukun Reserve itself extends for about eighty-five miles from Pera Head to the Holroyd River, and is about thirty miles wide. The present area of the reserve is 2,610 square miles. Part of this area is used as a cattle station. Twenty-five miles north of the Mission is a mining camp, and here employees of the H.A. Bauxite Company have carried out an exploratory project on bauxite mining possibilities during the past four years.
The mission began in 1904. Today the white population numbers between 30 and 40. Facilities at the Mission include a hospital, schools, a church, a store, and a mechanics workshop. Times have changed since 1967, when the majority of the population would turn out to enjoy the arrival of the fortnightly mail plane. Nowadays planes are almost a daily sight and travel arrangements far easier. And since more money is available, more and more Wik-Munkan people are having the opportunity to see something of the Western world. The number of visitors to the community has also increased. This means that the Aurukun people are very much exposed to two ways of life, and to both the enrichment and the confusion that can come from attempts to reconcile the two. There exists side by side at Aurukun both corroborees and the latest country and western hits; both the wallaby brought home over the shoulder, and tinned 'Camp Pie' from the store; both the carefully made spear and the shotgun ordered from town; both strong home and family ties, and desires to get away and see the outside world.

During these years of increasing outside influences, and of the influences of other tribal groups, the Wik-Munkan language has not remained static. Fairly good English is spoken at Aurukun in addition to Wik-Munkan and the other Aboriginal languages and dialects. Wik-Munkan has held its own, and is very much a living language, but the influence of English can be seen in the lexicon, especially of young people. While some creative souls prefer to use Wik-Munkan compounds or phrases for Western objects, such as,

1. yuk ḟa̱-an-ak
   thing see-Nomz-G1
   spectacles

2. púŋi-p̀-m-∀̱m
   arm-wing-with
   aeroplane

others will choose the English names. When verbs are borrowed from English the suffix -ímpuŋ is added before the regular tense and person suffixes, e.g.
3. **readimpuŋ**

*read*

Especially with children and young people, borrowing from English is not confined to words for which there are no Wik-Munkan equivalents. For example, one sometimes hears young children saying things like

4. **kaʔ? big one ?ey**

*nose big one Ques*

[He or she] has a big nose, hasn't he?

And of course the Wik-Munkan have a perfectly good adjective meaning 'big'.

In 1973, a programme of bilingual education was introduced into the Aurukun School at the Headmaster's request. Children are now taught reading and writing in Wik-Munkan during their first two years at school, before facing the transition to English materials. Some adults and older school children are already literate or semi-literate in Wik-Munkan and a few of these have written down stories and songs in Wik-Munkan for use in the school programme.

### 1.2 Language Classification and Dialects

Wik-Munkan has been classified by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966:54) as belonging to the Pama-Nyungan phyllic family, Pama-Maric Group, and Middle-Pama Subgroup. This classification was worked out principally on the basis of cognate densities which were derived from Swadesh-type lists of 100 lexical items. The lists for the Cape York area were provided by Kenneth Hale. For languages to be in the same subgroup, as a general rule they must share a cognate density of between 51-70%, whereas dialects must share over 70%.

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin's original list of languages in the Middle-Pama Subgroup which includes Ombila, Kandju and Taior as well as the Wik languages, has been refined by Sommer (1969:12-15). He suggests that the Middle-Pama Subgroup should consist of the group of languages called Wik languages, including Wik-Munkan and Bakanha. In his 1972
list, Wurm follows this classification and lists the following languages as members of the Middle-Pama Subgroup (1972:143):

Wik Munkan, Wik Muminh, Wik Mean, Wik Epa, Wik Ngatara (Wik Alkan) and Wik Ngandjara (these latter two are classified as dialects), and Bakanha.

Counts of languages spoken at Aurukun and Edward River, and wordlists taken at Edward River by Barbara Sayers and myself, reveal several more languages and dialect names which are not recorded by Wurm or O'Grady et al., but which are closely related to Wik-Munkan. These are Wik-Ngathan, Gugu-Mu?in, Wik-Iiyan, Gugu-Mangk (alternatively called Gugu-Yi?an), Wik-Kayangan, Gugu-Ugbanh and Gugu-Uwanh. However, it does seem that at Aurukun and Edward River Wik-Ngandjara (listed by Wurm, 1972:143) is used as a cover term for some of these languages or dialects, namely, Gugu-Mumenh (listed by Wurm (1972:143) as Wik Muminh), Gugu-Mu?in, Gugu-Ugbanh and Gugu-Uwanh. At the time of writing, cognate counts have not been compiled from wordlists taken at Edward River. I would, however, judge that Wik-Iiyan at least, and possibly some of the other languages listed in this paragraph, would exceed the cognate density criterion of 71% and be dialects of Wik-Munkan.

It will be noticed that I have listed several of the above as Gugu (Koko) languages rather than Wik. I have Gugu-Mumenh, for instance, where Wurm and also Hale (n.d.:1) have Wik Muminh. In this I have been guided by what the speakers of the languages themselves use as a term, and speakers of Gugu-Mumenh, Gugu-Mu?in, Gugu-Uwanh and Gugu-Mangk refer to themselves as such, whereas speakers of Wik-Munkan normally refer to these same languages as Wik-Mumenh, Wik-Mu?in and so on. The Wik- and Gugu- appellations simply refer to the languages' respective words for 'word', 'language'. It may be that there are typological bases for separating Wik and Gugu languages, but further research is needed to establish whether this is so or not. To date, the picture is not at all clear. For instance, some of the features of Wik-Munkan include vowel length, phonemic secondary stress, bound person markers and three degrees of distance. Some Gugu languages,
such as Kuuku Ya-u, share all these features, while others, such as Gugu-Yalanji, share none. I would not be at all surprised, after cognate counts and cognate density matrices are completed for languages of Edward River and Aurukun, to find both some Gugu and some Wik languages as members of the Middle-Pama Subgroup.

1.3 History of Wik-Munkan Research

No formal investigation into the Wik-Munkan language was carried out before the late 1920's. Around that time two competent anthropologists, Ursula McConnel and Donald Thomson, began work with the Wik-Munkan. While neither were primarily concerned with the language, both include frequent references to it in their articles. Their field work extended into the mid 1930's. There was then a long period of inactivity concerning linguistic and anthropological research. This period included the time of the second World War. In the late 1950's, Alan Healey and William Oates of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.) visited the area for survey purposes. Kenneth Hale also visited Aurukun in the early 1960's and did some work on Wik-Munkan, as well as other Wik languages such as Wik-Me?an, and some languages of the Northern Pama Subgroup.

In late 1961, the S.I.L. assigned two researchers, Barbara Sayers and Marie Godfrey, to work on the analysis of the Wik-Munkan language, as a basis for literacy in the vernacular and Bible translation. S.I.L. is continuing work on Wik-Munkan to date, and the present members of the team include Barbara Sayers, Ann Curnow and myself.

The contributions of the principal researchers are described below.

a. Ursula H. McConnel carried out investigations in Cape York Peninsula between 1927-31 and in 1934. She published nearly a dozen articles and a book on the Wik-Munkan, describing the social organization, the religion, the myths, the arts, and industries. Wik-Munkan names for objects and customs are often provided. She herself says (1945:354) that her main interest
in the language was as a means of obtaining cultural ideas, rather than linguistic analysis for its own sake. Nevertheless, she published one article on the subject of Wik-Munkan phonetics (1945). The study is phonetic rather than phonemic, as the name suggests, although some contrasting pairs are given. While McConnel recognized length of vowels, she has several inaccuracies of transcription. She is however the first to admit that her account is tentative, and suffers from lack of opportunity to check her conclusions in the field (1945: 354).

b. Donald F. Thomson conducted field work with the Wik-Munkan tribe in 1932-3, and is the author of half a dozen anthropological articles on the Wik-Munkan and other Cape York tribes. His work is documented by frequent language examples, and by whole texts in some instances. He shows an appreciation and understanding of idiomatic expressions, and his references to the language make interesting reading. However, he too has several inaccuracies in transcription, and it appears that he did not recognize vowel length at all.

c. Kenneth Hale discusses the phonological developments of Wik languages (including Wik-Munkan) in an unpublished and undated manuscript (14 pp.). He includes a section on attestation in stems of the Middle-Pama Subgroup. He recognized both vowel length and the contrastive interdental series in Wik-Munkan. His work is of a high calibre.

d. Marie Godfrey of the S.I.L., worked on Wik-Munkan between 1962-7. She has published two papers on Wik-Munkan. One of these (1970) is a thorough tagmemic study of Wik-Munkan verb morphology. The other paper (1964) which was co-authored by Harland Kerr, is an insightful study of Wik-Munkan personal pronouns. In addition to this, Godfrey has written drafts of a tagmemic analysis of Wik-Munkan grammar from the word level through to some notes on sentence level (1967).
e. **Harland Kerr**, also of the S.I.L., has produced an unpublished and undated manuscript on the specific and generic functions of the Wik-Munkan case system, basing his conclusions on data gleaned from Godfrey and Sayers in 1964, during consultation with them over Wik-Munkan analysis.

f. **Barbara Sayers**, of the S.I.L., has worked on Wik-Munkan since 1962. She is the author of a number of thorough papers covering aspects of phonological and grammatical analysis of Wik-Munkan.

Her earlier publications include a tagmemic outline description of a dialect of Wik-Munkan spoken at Coen (1964), which was co-authored by Marie Godfrey; and an interesting account of locative, temporal and demonstrative pronouns (1964) which was co-authored by Harland Kerr. In an unpublished ten-page typescript manuscript (1970b) on discourse structure she gives some helpful preliminary notes on Wik-Munkan discourse genre. More recently, she has written two articles related to Bible translation, one brief article on questions (1972b) and another in which she discusses the application of discourse analysis to Bible translation (1973b).

In addition to this, Sayers currently has two major papers at the pre-publication stage. One is a well documented monograph on Wik-Munkan sentences (1972a). In this study, which is written in the tagmemic model, she treats sentence and paragraph as one collapsed level, a position which I have not accepted (see Secs.3.10.2, 7.2.2 and 8.2). In her paper she concentrates on describing the internal grammatical structure of each sentence type, as well as the intonation pattern, and to some extent the underlying lexical relationship.

The other major paper is a most helpful study of the interpenetration of stress and pitch in Wik-Munkan grammar and phonology. Part I (1974) is concerned with the analysis of the phonological clause and sentence, and with intonation patterns. Part II, which is to follow, will cover the levels of the phonological hierarchy from the word to the phoneme. In an earlier draft (1970a) of a paper on Wik-Munkan phonology,
Sayers included a section on consonant and vowel phonemes and another on syllable types.

1.4 Data Used for This Study

While I have scanned most of the Wik-Munkan texts available to me in the process of checking hypotheses, I have selected forty texts for closer scrutiny. For this closer examination, I have confined myself to the following varieties of discourse, told orally onto the taperecorder: 7 narratives, including both myths and other stories with plots; travelogues; hortatory texts where the speaker harangues his hearers or tries persuasion of a gentler type; procedures (steps in how to do something); and explanations. The shortest of these is two or three minutes on tape, while the longest is over half an hour. Some of these texts were recorded at the request of the linguist. Sometimes other Wik-Munkan speakers were present at the time of recording - but incidentally so, rather than being the audience the speaker was addressing. Some tapes, on the other hand, were made by informants when away from home, so they could send news to their relatives. Others were done for a live audience. All of the texts of adults talking to children fall into this latter category. A few of the hortatory texts were recorded in a natural setting when I 'happened' to be there. Some were spoken on tape at my request to simulate a situation in which someone was harangued or given advice. I am satisfied that these speakers gave a realistic performance.
As my fluency in the language must be described as moderate rather than native-like, I am relying more heavily on what I find in the above oral texts than on my own intuitions about the grammaticality of sentences, paragraphs, and discourse. I have, however, taken all of the texts selected for closer scrutiny to informants, wherever possible to the speakers of the texts themselves. In these sessions we went through the texts in detail, and where one or other of our intuitions were jarred, the informants were free to edit the texts, if this was necessary. In these cases, (which happen to be relatively few), the edited texts have been used for purposes of analysis. However, comparison with the original versions also provides valuable insights into the performance of Wik-Munkan speakers.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

1. In February 1972 the official tribal allegiance of the Aboriginal population was as listed below. The names in parentheses follow the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) conventions for representing language names, on the perhaps not fully justified assumption that contrast in voicing is not significant for all of the languages (where the spelling already conforms, the language name is written once only):

Wik-Munkan (Wig-Munggan) 296; Wik-Ngathan (Wig-Ngadhan) 126; Wik-Alkan (Wig-Algan) 72; Wik-Iiyan (Wig-Iiyan) 40; Gugu-Uwanh 40; Gugu-Mumenh 31; Wik-Way (Wig-Way) 23; Wik-Ngathar (Wig-Ngadhar) 14; Wik-Me?an (Wig-Me?an) 12; Gugu-Mu?in 7; Linngithiy (Linngidhiy) 6; Gugu-Ugbanh 6; Alngith (Alngidh) 3; Wik-Ep (Wig-Eb) 3; Wik-Kayangan (Wig-Gayangan) 3; Gugu-Mangk (Gugu-Mangg) 1; people from other areas such as Doomadgee and Mornington Island 21. Wik-Way is used as a cover term at Aurukun for several languages of the Northern Pama Subgroup, spoken to the north of Aurukun, including Linngithiy and Alngith.

2. Phonetically the name Wik-Munkan would be symbolized as wɪ̂kˈmʊŋkən. I have adhered to the official Queensland spelling of Wik-Munkan throughout this thesis, even though technically the more correct spelling would be Wik-Mungkan, because the sequences /ŋk/ and /ŋk/ both occur.

3. I am indebted to John von Sturmer, an anthropologist from the University of Queensland, who is working in the Aurukun and Edward River areas, for help in clarifying the boundaries of Wik-Munkan tribal territory.

4. When referring to the lists and judgements of others, I have retained their spelling of language names.

5. Bakanha, which Sommer (1969:15) classifies as belonging to the Middle-Pama Subgroup, has wi̍k as its word for 'word', rather than gugu. (Michael Martin (Edward River): personal communication.)

6. I am indebted to the Rev. David Thompson (Lochardt River), the Rev. Allen Hall (Edward River), Hank and Ruth Hershberger (Bloomfield River) and Dr. Bruce Sommer (Mitchell River) for providing information on Kuuku Ya-u, Kuuk Thaayorre, Gugu-Yalanji and Oy kangand respectively. (The first two language names would be spelt Guugu-Ya?u and Guugu-Dhaaayor according to AIAS convention.)

7. A few letters and stories written in Wik-Munkan are available, but those who wrote them were at that time not fully proficient in writing their own language with ease and speed. I feel that their judgements on sentence and
paragraph breaks, for example, will change once they are less intent on struggling over the spelling of individual words. A corpus of written materials by Wik-Munkan writers is just now starting to grow, under the stimulation of the need of the Aurukun school to have Wik-Munkan reading material freely available for use in the vernacular reading programme. (This corpus should expand after some Wik-Munkan speakers attend a Creative Writers' Workshop for Aborigines to be held in Darwin, in April-May 1974.)
CHAPTER 2: THE TOPIC

2.1 Thesis Topic

2.1.1 Thematic Organization of Wik-Munkan Discourse

For seven years now I have had many opportunities to listen to Wik-Munkan speakers expound on a chosen theme. It is fascinating at every grammatical level to observe the various ways of placing a theme in prominence, reiterating a theme, or allowing it to fade out of focus. I have listened to a speaker repeat and paraphrase his discourse theme many times, so that the discourse seems to be predominantly theme. I have listened to other texts where the discourse theme seems little more than a starting point. I had been dimly aware for some time of surface patterns such as fronting, reprise, tagging, cycling, sequence intonation and rhetorical questions in Wik-Munkan which can be used to highlight chosen themes; but the exact significance and conditions of occurrence eluded me. This thesis then is an attempt to find out more about the whys, the whens, and the hows of presenting and developing themes in Wik-Munkan discourse.

By 'theme' I mean both the starting point for what the speaker has to say, and the subject matter of the speaker, that is, what the speaker is talking about at that moment in the sentence or discourse. These two are sometimes one and the same thing, sometimes not. The first is closer to the Prague School's definition of theme, and the second to Halliday's definition. Their respective views will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.2. Theme can be considered purely a starting point and no more, when a speaker repeats some old information as a setting for the next event. On the other hand, if the speaker starts a sentence by fronting or preposing a certain referent and then goes on to comment about it, the fronted item would be both starting point and the subject of what the speaker is talking about.
In Section 2.2 where I discuss several theoretical viewpoints, it will be observed that the terms 'theme' and 'topic' are used by different writers for the same or similar phenomena. I am following Grimes (1972a:328) using 'theme' to refer to a speaker's semantic choice, and 'topic' to refer to the manifestation of that choice in surface structure.

The speaker's choice of theme may refer to either a referent or a proposition. Thus a single object or person may be the theme. Joint themes are also possible, where more than one person or object is involved, or where a person together with an object is involved. An event, or an idea, a plan of action, a command - in other words, propositions, may also be themes.

2.1.2 Marked and Unmarked Theme

During the thesis I will make constant reference to marked and unmarked themes. Marked theme occurs when the speaker chooses to make a theme prominent. Unmarked theme occurs when the speaker does not highlight theme in any way.

I am using prominence as a generic term. Different kinds of prominence possible for a theme include: bringing a participant into the story via fronting and the use of certain particles; reminding the listener of the theme by restatement at the end of a sentence; and giving an element of surprise via the use of a rhetorical question.

2.1.3 Levels of Theme

In a Wik-Munkan discourse, there are several thematic levels operating simultaneously. There is the global theme, which is the theme of the whole discourse. There are also subsidiary themes, whose domain of relevance or prominence may be associated with paragraphs, sentences and clauses, and which are therefore referred to in this thesis as paragraph themes, sentence themes and clause themes respectively. The association with each structural unit is less rigid than it may sound.
For example, it is not always easy to exactly pinpoint where
the domain of prominence of a marked theme ends. Nevertheless,
it is useful in Wik-Munkan to consider paragraph, sentence and
clause as centres of thematic influence.

2.1.4 Areas of Theme

In addition to different levels of thematic status in Wik-
Munkan, there are also themes operating in different areas of
a discourse, namely, the nucleus, setting, and periphery. The
nucleus concerns the participants and the interaction of
participants in relation to events, or procedures, or explanations, or exhortations, depending on the kind of discourse.
The setting concerns the temporal and locative elements, while
the periphery concerns references to the framework within which
the story is told, for example, direct personal experience,
stories handed down from ancestors, or reports of events such
as the viewing of a film.

Both setting themes and peripheral themes may be expressed
by some of the same surface topicalization patterns as themes
from the nucleus of the story. These themes from different
areas co-exist rather than compete with each other.

2.1.5 Summary of Decision Making of Speakers re Thematic
Choices

The way in which the word 'choice' is used in this thesis
can be best expressed in the words of Grimes (1973:2):

First, it is desirable to make a distinction between
those things in language over which the speaker can
exercise choice and those over which no choice is available
to him. The former reflect meaning; as many linguists
have pointed out, meaning is possible only when the speaker
could choose to say something else instead. The latter
are the more mechanical components of language, the
implementation process by which the results of the speaker's
choices are expressed in a conventional form that permits
communication with someone else.

I take the position in this thesis that the speaker can
exercise choices not only in the content of what he says, but
also in what elements of the content he makes thematic.
The rich complexity of decision making involved for the Wik-Munkan speaker in the area of thematic choice may be summarized as follows:

a) At each grammatical level, especially within the nucleus area, there are several surface patterns of topicalization available to the speaker. These reflect choices of marked or unmarked theme, and different kinds of prominence within marked themes. Combinations of two or more surface patterns of topicalization from the same area, particularly the nucleus, are also possible. It is necessary for the analyst to look at whether there are any constraints on combinations at the same level.

b) The speaker makes choices throughout a discourse concerning themes operating at different levels simultaneously, these levels being associated with discourse, paragraph, sentence, and clause. In connection with these choices, it is necessary to see whether the choice of a certain kind of global theme conditions the choices of lower levels. Levels of theme are obvious in the area of setting as well as nucleus.

c) The speaker may need to make simultaneous choices about themes operating in each area of the discourse. It is necessary to see what, if any, conditioning occurs when marked themes from different areas of a discourse co-occur.

2.1.6 Requirements for a Theory

There are at least three requirements for a theory to adequately represent Wik-Munkan:

a) It must cope with the representation of thematic decisions in the deep structure or semantic component, along with decisions of content. A set of underlying presuppositions will be necessary to cope with the different kinds of prominence available to the speaker.

b) It must weld together the results of the speaker's content and thematic decisions in the transformational component, as well as cope with any conditioning occurring when
themes from different areas and levels co-occur, or when themes within the same level co-occur.

c) It must cope with something as large and comprehensive as discourse.

Before describing my chosen theoretical framework (see Section 2.3) I would like to describe some studies by others.

2.2 Studies by Others

Studies written in a variety of theoretical persuasions have helped shape my thinking on the subject of discourse in general, and thematic organization in particular. There follows a summary and discussion of these. This summary is not meant to be a comprehensive survey of all that has been written on discourse in linguistics, but only the major contributions that have influenced this thesis. Little attention is paid to the stratificationalist viewpoint, although I am indirectly indebted to their work, as Grimes (1972a:29) acknowledges that he has drawn heavily on their ideas with regard to the notion of different kinds of information. This I have used in turn (Section 5.2).

2.2.1 The Prague School

The linguists of the Prague School in Europe have long been writing on the subject of theme. Their work is both valuable and refreshing, particularly as they have not made the clause or sentence the ceiling for their observations and investigations. The following discussion highlights the contribution of some Prague scholars but is not meant to be an exhaustive treatment.

Mathesius, the founder of the Prague School (1882-1945) was the forerunner of much recent work on thematic organization and information structure carried out by linguists such as Firbas, Daneš and Beneš. He was responsible for the development of the idea of functional sentence perspective (hereafter referred to as FSP) (Vachek 1966:89, Firbas 1964b:267). He
insisted on the importance of looking at the sentence-utterance from the point of view of the information conveyed by it, as well as from that of formal sentence analysis. He considered the information communicated in the sentence-utterance as having two parts, the theme and the rheme. "Mathesius defines the theme as 'that which is known or at least obvious in the given situation, and from which the speaker proceeds' in his discourse." (Firbas 1964b:268.) The theme therefore, in Vachek's words (1966:89) "does not, or does only minimally, contribute to the information provided by the given sentence-utterance." The rheme, on the other hand, conveys new information, and therefore contributes much to the information provided.

There are at least two other points of importance that Mathesius established about theme. Firstly, theme does not have to be expressed by a grammatical subject, although it often is. Secondly, as a normal principle, in linear sequence theme precedes rheme. This he stated to be in line with the laws of the psychology of learning (Vachek 1966:90).

Firbas has written several articles discussing, modifying and developing Mathesius' concept of FSP (in particular 1957, 1964a, 1964b, 1966).

Firbas introduces the concept of communicative dynamism (hereafter referred to as CD), (1964b:270):

By the degree of CD carried by a sentence element we understand the extent to which the sentence element contributes to the development of the communication, to which it 'pushes the communication forward', as it were.

His redefinition of theme is important (1964b:272):

The theme is constituted by the sentence element (or elements) carrying the lowest degree(s) of CD within the sentence. It follows from this definition that the theme need not necessarily convey known information or such as can be gathered from the verbal or situational context.

Even though he goes on to state that the essential feature of the theme is the lowest degree of CD, and not the communication of known information, it seems to me that his concept of theme
is still rather tied to known and unknown information. The strict dichotomy of known and unknown has gone, but the theme, when not conveying known information, is associated with the least unknown element.

Firbas feels this new definition of theme can be applied, (1) to contextually independent sentences, that is, those sentences occurring initially in discourse and in which all elements may convey new information. The degree of CD may nevertheless differ; (2) to contextually dependent sentences, in which all information is known. Here too the degree of CD may differ.

Firbas also describes what he calls the basic distribution of CD, (1964b:270):

This tendency consists in the capability of the sentence positions of gradually raising the degrees of CD, in the direction from the beginning towards the end of the sentence.

Along with this idea is his concept of theme proper, defined as the element which carries the very lowest degree of CD, and the rheme proper, the element which carries the very highest degree of CD. There is also the transition, which ranks between the theme and the rheme. The basic distribution of CD then is characterized by a theme-transition-rheme sequence.

Firbas insists however that theme is not consistently the first element in the sentence. Other means besides word order co-operate to bring about FSP. These include intonation, the emotive attitude of the speaker, context, and semantic structure. Emotive, agitated, or emphatic sentences in Czech follow the reverse order of rheme-theme (1964a:117). Context operates by thematizing some elements, such as pronouns and demonstratives, regardless of their position in the sentence. As these usually refer to information already given in the discourse, they are predisposed to be themes. Semantic structure operates by virtue of the fact that the semantic content of verbs, for instance, may differ from one another in the degree of CD. Firbas concludes that FSP is an outcome of an interplay
or tension between the basic distribution of CD and the other means (1966:241). He also notes that languages differ in their susceptibility to FSP and the various means by which it operates (1957:75).

Daneš relates theme-rheme (which he calls thème-propos organization) to intonation. He recognizes both neutral intonation contours, and special foregrounding forms. He says that not only may the rheme (propos) be emphasized for contrast, but a special intonation contour may be used to single out theme (1960:45-48).

Daneš has also written on the subject of a three-level approach to successfully interpreting the function of the sentence in the act of communication (1964). The three levels are: grammatical structure, semantic structure, and the level of the organization of the utterance (FSP). The latter includes rhythm, intonation, and the order of words and clauses.

Beneš (1968) has made some interesting observations about initial sentences of discourse. He says, for example, that the theme of the initial sentence of the discourse is presented as if it were already known, even though it may well contain all new information.

Beneš, in the same article, gives a criticism of the work on FSP (1968:273):

A drawback of the research in FSP carried out so far has been that it has been based largely on analysis and interpretation of texts, that little attention has been paid to what is for FSP of particular importance, viz. synthesis, generation of sentences, the proper process of the dynamic building up of an utterance and the production of a supersentence discourse unit.

Beneš' criticism appears justified. I would also make the comment that Prague linguists' judgement as to the degree of CD of elements sometimes seem to be based very much on subjective interpretation. I often cannot help asking the questions, 'How do you know?' and 'How can you prove it?'

While Prague scholars have been working on the CD of complex sentences, such as Golková's work on purposive constructions (1968), and while they have paid attention to
the contextual dependence or independence of sentences in discourse, (for example, Beneš 1968), I have not found any examples of their analysis applied to units larger than sentences. They are the first to admit however, that the paragraph is a valid sphere of operation of CD (Firbas 1957:96).

2.2.2 Sgall et al.

Sgall, working largely within a stratificational framework, has been very concerned to incorporate the Prague School concept of FSP into the description of the competence of language users (1967:211).

In the proposed description the symbols on the 'tectogrammatical' level are ordered from left to right (Sgall et al. 1969): this level corresponds to the basic generative component specifying the set of propositions (Sgall and Hajičová: 1970). These symbols correspond to the order of lexemic units, where those on the right have a higher degree of CD than those on the left. For unmarked cases, the actual word order would be the same as the order of symbols. For marked cases, grammatical rules would be necessary to change the order. This proposal may work quite well for Czech, which is more sensitive to the ordering of words according to their degree of CD, than is, for example, English. However, Sgall et al. go on to say that so much else has to be considered besides just the scale of CD, that

it is presumably not possible to account for all this in any description having the sentence as the main unit; only in a description working with units corresponding to text ..., or regarding a proposition as a unit realized by a string of sentences, could functional sentence perspective ... be modelled adequately. (1969:67)

In their 1970 article Sgall and Hajičová make another suggestion. The suggestion is a brief one but holds much promise. I quote (1970:29):
Certainly, the relation of the topic to the other elements of a sentence does not equal to the relation between different elements of the comment. It would be possible to take structures as *He told me about John that S* (where John must be mentioned in S) as a starting point and to conceive the performative matrix sentence as e.g. *I declare to you about NP that S* (where NP with an identical referential index is contained in S).

If this suggestion is meant to cover both unmarked and marked themes, I would suggest that specific presuppositions connected with various choices of marked theme would need to be incorporated into the performative matrix sentence (see Sec. 4.3 ff.).

2.2.3 Halliday

Halliday has drawn heavily on the work of the Prague School in his masterly study of thematic options in the English clause (1967). He differs from them however, in one important respect. He is careful to distinguish the functions 'given' and 'new' from the functions 'theme' and 'rheme'. He says (1967:205):

> The two are independently variable. But there is a relationship between them such that in the unmarked case the focus of information will fall on something other than the theme.

He defines theme by position, as that element which occurs first in the clause, and also by function. The theme is "what is being talked about, the point of departure for the clause as a message." (1967:212). This is in contrast to 'given', which is what was being talked about.

Halliday exemplifies marked and unmarked theme for clauses of different moods (1967:212-215, 219). He states the unmarked themes for moods as follows: the subject for declarative, the WH-item (interrogative word) for non-polar interrogative (content interrogatives), the modal constituent for the polar interrogative (yes-no interrogatives) and the predicative for imperative. In other words, the initial element is unmarked theme each time. Hope points out in his criticism of Halliday that this position means a question, such as 'What did John see' would have one theme, the WH-item, and its corresponding
answer, 'John saw a platypus' would have the subject 'John' as theme, which does not take account of the fact that questions and their answers share the same presuppositions (1972:10).

Halliday claims that we have a marked theme when something else besides the normal for each mood occurs initially in the clause. He says, "Marked theme represents a foregrounding of the speaker's point of departure." (1967:214). Marked themes tend to be separated out phonologically, to occur in what Halliday calls a separate information unit.

Halliday seems to assume that it is normally possible for only one marked theme to occur per clause. For example, he attempts to prove that the word 'yesterday' is thematic in the English sentence 'Yesterday John saw the play' because it cannot be followed by a thematic complement. This may be true for English, but for Wik-Munkan, themes from the setting (elements of place and time) may co-occur quite compatibly with themes from the nucleus, as already noted in Section 2.1.4. If this is true for other languages as well, it perhaps points to the weakness of Halliday's criteria to prove that 'yesterday' is thematic.

Halliday assigns words like 'however' (which he calls a discourse adjunct) the status of theme when occurring initially. But in these cases, he does not preclude the occurrence of another theme, whether a complement, or an adjunct of time or manner (1967:221).

Halliday does not limit thematic options in a clause to the fronting of single clause constituents. He describes cleft sentences with equative form as a further way of selecting or highlighting a theme. These give prominence to the theme by exclusion. Thus, 'Watney's' is presented as an exclusive goal in the slogan 'What we want is Watney's' (1967:224). Predications such as 'It was John who broke the window' give prominence to the theme by a different kind of exclusion. Thus the meaning is, "John and nobody else is the topic of the sentence" (1967:236).

Halliday describes further thematic options under the heading of 'substitution'. In the sentence 'He's always late,
John', 'John' is like a delayed theme, where the speaker seems to be reminding his listeners who or what he is talking about (1967:240-1). Under the heading 'reference', Halliday describes a further option, exemplified by the sentence, 'Britain it's all roads', where 'Britain' is the theme. He considers this structure "a means of isolating the theme from the rest of the sentence" (1967:241).

In contrast to the information systems (the 'given'-'new' structure) which relate to the preceding discourse, Halliday presents thematization as taking the clause and structuring it independently of what has preceded it (1967:212). It may relate to something already given in the preceding discourse, but not necessarily. Basically, Halliday considers the selection of theme independent of context (1967:242). This point of view I would challenge. To say that 'theme' and 'given' are independently variable does not necessarily imply that thematic choice is made independent of context. Halliday's viewpoint takes apparently no cognizance of the possible interrelationship between themes of larger structures, such as the global theme of the whole discourse, and themes of single clauses. The relationship between themes of different levels in Wik-Munkan is dealt with later (Sec. 7.9 and Chapter 10).

2.2.4 Generative-Transformational Grammar

Chomsky suggests in a footnote (1965:221) that Topic-Comment could be considered "the basic grammatical relation of surface structure corresponding (roughly) to the fundamental Subject-Predicate relation of deep structure." He continues to say that Topic-of-the-Sentence could then be defined as the leftmost NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure. The-Comment-of-the-Sentence would form the rest of the string. This solution would help account for cases where other than NP's occur in English subject position. Work by Gruber on child language (1969), together with his reference to data in languages other than English, suggests that the topic-comment
construction is logically more fundamental than the subject-predicate construction. He suggests that the former underlies the latter, and that the "subject-predicate is merely a special case of the topic-comment construction" (1969:424).

In a later article (1970) Chomsky introduces the notions of focus and presupposition, which, he concludes, are determined at least in part by properties of surface structure (1970:86).

Bach in an early study (1962), while looking at adjacent sentences, became aware of the importance of context in determining topic. Writing about German, he posits an optional Topic-shift transformational rule (1962:268):

Many shifts are the result of the preceding context, where the first element repeats a "topic" from the preceding sentence. It may be possible to reformulate this rule as a two-sentence transformation in which only the second of a pair of sentences undergoes any change.

Dixon, discussing the Dyirbal language, describes topic chains. Two or more consecutive sentences are described as having a common topic "if they contain the same topic NP, with the same situational referent" (1972:67). Topic for Dixon is defined via syntactic terms. An NP can be identified as a topic if it is in nominative case. Dixon presents a very interesting account of how Dyirbal contrives to keep the common NP as topic in a topic chain. Regardless of whether the referent of the common NP is actor in one sentence, acted upon in the next, and the goal in the following, sentences undergo transformations so that the common NP remains in nominative case. He presents tree representations of topic-chains, and also of the syntactic means possible for showing transition from one topic chain to another. Apart from reference to a particle which introduces a new topic or compares the topic with some earlier stage of itself, and some affixes which have a comparative or emphatic effect (1972:117, 239-240), Dixon does not discuss whether Dyirbal has means for making theme prominent. He states that, apart from two types of restrictions, word order is exceptionally free (1972:291).
Huddleston (1971) does not commit himself as to whether semantics has a generative or interpretative role, but asserts strongly that the thematic dimension must be taken into account at the semantic level. He has not attempted to produce a formalization of how this should be done. Huddleston discusses aspects of thematic organization, using Halliday's concept as a starting point, but expands the concept into further areas. For example, the choice of the verb buy versus sell is considered a matter of thematic organization. Semantically reciprocal verbs such as differ, resemble, have two or more terms, and these may be either thematically differentiated, as in 'Porpita differs from Velella', or thematically undifferentiated as in 'Porpita and Velella differ' (1971:75).

Gruber (1969:438-441), on the other hand, has attempted formalization of some forms of topicalization, using the formal tools of Chomsky's (1965) generative grammar. He suggests four alternatives for formalizing the generation of topic-comment expressions. The alternative he prefers is where (1969:439-440)

... a topic-comment expression consists of the juxtaposition of two types of sentence: the free noun phrase ..., and a sentence of any type ... .

In other words, topicalization can be treated as some sort of conjunction between two underlying sentences.

One advantage of this formalization is being able to account for certain intonation patterns, such as declarative, which sometimes occur with topic-comment constructions. From his study, which involved only one child, Gruber notes that the child produced sentences suggesting a topic-comment interpretation before transferring to regular English subject-predicate usage. If further evidence supported this, then I would think Gruber would have a strong point in favour of his preferred formalization rather than extraposition.
Generative semanticists as implied in name have given attention to the components of semantic deep structure. Some have considered whether thematization and focus require representation at this level.

Lakoff suggests at the beginning of one article (1971:234) that the semantic representation of a sentence can be defined as $SR = (P_1, PR, Top, F, \ldots)$. PR is a conjunction of presuppositions, while Top and F are respectively the topic and focus of the sentence. In the end, he puts forward the view that 'topic' is maybe, after all, a special case of presupposition. For at least some topics in English he suggests the predicates 'be about' and 'concern'. These would be two-place relations, "whose arguments are a description of a proposition or discourse and the item which is the topic of that proposition or discourse" (1971a:262).

Hornby (1971) disagrees with Lakoff that topic may be a form of presupposition. He points out that the following two sentences both have the same topic, namely, "the general acceptance of transformational theory", but that they have different presuppositions. The first sentence presupposes that transformational theory has not been generally accepted, while the second presupposes that it has (1971:447).

a) The general acceptance of transformational theory is impossible.

b) The general acceptance of transformational theory is surprising.

Hornby also gives the results of a psycholinguistic experiment to test the subjects' recall of sentences. From this experiment, he concludes that

... at least two aspects of sentence structure, the topic-comment distinction and presupposition, are stored in memory independently of the particular surface structure that is used to represent them. (1971:451)

Hope (1972:12, 13) separates the notions of topic and presupposition in a different way for Lisu. While he feels that focus and presupposition are deep structure notions, he
treats topic as a surface feature, which can be defined as the presupposition minus the verbal. Topic markers are assigned to NP's and sometimes to adverbs or subordinate clauses, in surface structure as a result of the presuppositions present in deep structure. Most of the examples of presuppositions given by Hope, apart from an occasional exception such as an additional presupposition to do with contrary-to-expected information are cognitive (1972:68). They have to do with content, and relate to what has preceded in the discourse, rather than to the speaker's perspective about that content.

Grimes (1972a) distinguishes the terms 'theme' and 'topic'. While theme reflects the speaker's semantic choice, topic is reserved for the way that choice is manifested in surface grammar. He asserts that the speaker's thematic decisions (which he prefers to call staging) should be a part of the semantic deep structure of discourse. He distinguishes staging from cohesion, another element of the semantic deep structure. Cohesion refers to the information structure of the discourse, given and new information, and so forth. Staging refers to the kind of perspective from which the speaker presents the information. Grimes follows Halliday in keeping the distinction of theme and rheme versus given and new.

There seem to be at least two issues in the various viewpoints and terminology expressed above. One is the old question of how much topic or theme is related to given information. Can they be considered as having a direct relationship, or are they essentially independent systems which nevertheless keep company quite frequently? The other issue is the use of the word presupposition. It seems to be used to refer not only to cognitive structure, but also to emotive slant, and to expectations about whether information is in line with prediction or not. Perhaps a clearer picture of where one linguist stands in respect to another would emerge if these different kinds of presupposition were distinguished more often.
Amongst generative semanticists who have been vocal about the need for a discourse semantic deep structure, rather than just sentence, are Dressler and Grimes. Dressler (1970) gives some examples of both semantic anaphora and elliptic anaphora from German which sentence grammar cannot handle. He suggests that modality, as well as tense, aspect, word order, and intonation should all be predicted by the semantic deep structure of discourse. He also suggests that "the topics of all periods of a discourse could form its condensed communicative-semantic deep structure" (1970:207).

Part of Grimes' proposals regarding the semantic deep structure of discourse have already been given above. He further suggests that there are three major kinds of input to the transformational component: content, cohesion, and staging (1972a:235-6).

While Grimes does indeed propose a formalization of a semantic deep structure which can be used for the content of discourse, he says little about how staging and cohesion decisions are represented in the underlying structure. The formalization he suggests for content as being "... satisfactory for any scale of magnitude from sentence to discourse" (1972a:225) is symbolized:

\[ F \rightarrow P^*A^* \]

\[ 1 \quad 0 \]

F stands for 'form' and represents a proposition. P stands for one or more predicates, and A for zero or more arguments. (The asterisk stands for any number greater than or equal to the subscript beneath it.) Then we have:

\[ A \rightarrow i(:F) \]

i stands for referential index, and this may itself be the entire argument, or the argument may be expanded to a further proposition. Grimes points out that this grammar of propositions is recursive in form, and there is therefore no limit to the size of trees implied by it (1972a:227).

Grimes' formalization is useful for a discourse or a sentence because the arguments are not restricted to semantic roles such as agent, patient, and instrument, and predicates
are not restricted to verbs and such like. Grimes distinguishes *lexical predicates*, which are role-related, from *rhetorical predicates*, which have the main function of organizing the content of discourse. A fairytale, for instance, may be represented by the rhetorical predicate of response, with the arguments of complication and resolution.

Setting predicates, of location, time, and direction, are added in as extra arguments. These are added "to the proposition that dominates everything that goes on within a single setting." (1972a:262)

Grimes suggests that cohesion and staging in the semantic deep structure could be projected onto content structure.

For example, the decision to talk about a particular referent could be expressed by attaching a feature *topic* to parts of the content tree that have the index of that referent. (1972a:341)

Whether this is the beginning of a workable solution remains to be seen. One thing such as representation would not show is the different kinds of prominence it is possible to give marked themes.

Other papers relating to the subject of thematization and topicalization have been written under the guidance of Grimes, though not necessarily in a generative semantic framework. These include: Taylor (1973), Miller (1973), Hooker (1972), Wheatley (1973), Newman (1973), Gieser (1972) and Kroeker (1972). Relevant points from some of these papers will be referred to later in the thesis.

2.2.6 Tagmemics

Tagmemicists have been claiming for some years that linguists must look beyond the sentence (for example: Pike 1964a and 1964b). For several of them, this conclusion was reached in the midst of struggling to come to grips with the language in translation sessions. One of these, for instance, was Loriot who produced an unpublished paper in 1958 on inter-sentence ties (revised and published later in 1970 with Hollenbach).
The tagmemic position of hierarchical levels from stem to discourse and the trimodal structure involving the grammar, phonology, and lexicon, lends itself very well to discourse analysis. Quite a number of monographs and articles have appeared describing various aspects of discourse, written within the tagmemic mould. Most of these concentrate on the description of surface structure (for example: Becker 1965; Bridgeman 1966; Longacre 1968a; Longacre 1970b; Morgan 1967; Reid 1970; Rowan 1972). More recently, both Longacre and Pike have been paying more attention to the notion of deep structure and mapping onto surface structure. Interestingly, Longacre's list of abstract relationships that can be expressed by sentences and paragraphs (1972:55 ff.) is in places very similar to Grimes' list of rhetorical predicates.

Most tagmemic work on the notion of topic has come from the Philippines or from work on Philippines type languages from other parts of the Indonesian areas. Longacre states (1968:II:25) that previous to 1968 published analyses of Philippine languages handled what is now called the Sentence Topic as a clause level feature. It was either regarded as an emphasis tagmeme within the clause, or an emphasis transformation of the clause. More recent analyses (for example: Reid 1970:21; Elkins 1971:224; Glover 1973:149-151) have treated Sentence Topic as a sentence peripheral tagmeme, along with exclamations, vocatives, and responses.

Reid (1970:21) uses the term Sentence Topic to cover both settings of time or site for a new sentence, and the singling out of specific situational roles. Sentence Topic is expounded by a relator axis phrase. Setting topics have one set of relators, while the situational role topics have another set. Setting and situational role topics may co-occur. Pronominal cross reference to the Sentence Topic may occur within the clause; in fact, it is obligatory for actor and possessor.

This formalization seems to lack in two areas.

(1) The domain of prominence of the Sentence Topic is not indicated in any formal way. It seems that the generative semanticists' concept of 'higher predicates' can better handle this.
(2) Secondly, Reid does not handle the pronominal cross reference in his formalization, but does so only via a prose statement of rules.

Elkins (1971:224-227) delegates discourse and paragraph topics to the outer periphery of the sentence, and sentence topic to the inner periphery. The sentence topic is cross referenced in the nucleus of the sentence by a pronoun, or by a verb if the sentence topic represents a process. I feel that this analysis fails to show the significance of discourse and paragraph topics to discourse and paragraph respectively; that is, their respective domains of relevance are not shown clearly.

Ballard (1968), Gieser (1968) and Ruch (1968) also delegate Sentence Topic to the Sentence Periphery. They do, however, in general show more awareness of the significance of Sentence Topic in their discussions of it. Ballard, for instance, states that Sentence Topic has either an emphatic function, or else it relieves the nucleus of the sentence of an overcrowding of contiguous noun phrases. Ruch describes the function of the Sentence Topic as highlighting a clause-level tagmeme for the purposes of contrast, emphasis, or to introduce new characters.

Prentice (1969) discusses clauses which have a preposed topic, labelling them thematic. He considers them derived, that is, they can be described in terms of transformations from another clause type (1969:394-397). This treatment means that a definite relationship is shown between the preposed topic and the cross-referenced element in the clause.

Sneddon (1973:225-227) posits thematic sentences consisting of two tagmemes, Theme and Base. The Theme announces someone or something, while the Base makes a statement about that person or thing. In treating Theme as part of the nucleus of the sentence rather than the periphery, I feel Sneddon is closer to the significance of Theme. The very name periphery suggests something which is neither very important or vital to the sentence. I would agree that this is not the case with themes and topics.
2.3 Theoretical Model

It seems to me that to work narrowly within the framework of one theoretical model could be as blind as being ethnocentric. I have, in fact, found it far from satisfying to try to work within the insights of one model. This thesis will be loosely based on the model of generative semantics, and will show some strong influences from tagmemic also. There is, for instance, an acceptance of hierarchical levels of surface structure.

My general reason for working partly within generative semantics is that its proponents ask 'why' as well as 'what'. It is not enough to just describe topicalization patterns. The reason why they occur and their significance must also be accounted for.

Grimes' adaptation of generative semantics, with his rhetorical as well as lexical predicates, is more suitable for my purposes than a semantic base which is mainly restricted to predicates expressing events or states, with roles as their arguments. Landerman and Frantz (1972) for instance, suggest higher predicates of tense, modality and aspect over propositions which have role arguments. Such a system without some concept such as the rhetorical predicate, would lack descriptive adequacy for handling discourse. The mind boggles at the thought of higher predicate heaped upon higher predicate. In actual fact, tense and modality often have significance over a longer stretch than just a sentence or clause, as suggested by Dressler (1970:206), and need to be shown as such.

For a theory to be able to handle thematic organization in its formalization, it needs to show the significance of each choice concerned with theme, the domain of prominence of the theme, and the constraints imposed by the selection of themes of differing status and application, e.g. how clause and sentence themes relate to global themes. This is a tall order. In this thesis I am attempting to go as far as possible without pretending to come up with all the ultimate answers.
2.4 Thesis Organization

Chapter 3 provides the background to the surface grammar of Wik-Munkan. It is not directly concerned with questions of theme. Chapter 4 deals with the description of some topicalization patterns which are relevant at more than one point in the grammar. Chapter 5 explains the concepts of areas and levels of theme (see Secs. 2.1.3 and 2.1.4) in more detail. Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 deal with discourse, paragraph, sentence and clause respectively. In each case, there is first a description of the surface grammatical and phonological units in question, and discussion concerning how they may be represented in the underlying semantic structure. Discussion then follows of how thematic choice is manifested at that level. Chapter 10 deals with some examples of thematic decisions conditioned by the choice of discourse genre. Chapter 11 is concerned with the need for a semantic structure of discourse, and with the formalization of thematic choices within the semantic component.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

1. Grimes discusses this point. He also includes cohesion decisions, which I have not concentrated on at all. His use of the term 'staging decisions' is similar to what I have called 'thematic decisions'. I quote from Grimes (1972a:236):

   How the transformational component welds together the results of the speaker's content, cohesion, and staging decisions is only poorly understood, since most work in the area of transformations has concentrated on cognitive underlying structures and only tentatively reached out toward the others.

2. He notes however that more than one adjunct can appear in thematic position in the clause (1967:219).

3. The free noun phrase is chosen without Pro from Gruber's R-6, which is S → (Pro) {NP}.

   The sentence may be of any type generated by R-6. R-7 is VP → V NP. (1969:440)

4. The formalization of A as given above is found in Grimes' 1973 revision of "Thread of Discourse", to be published by Mouton.

5. In a paper given at the LSA Meeting in 1972, Grimes suggested that features of known and unknown information could also be attached.
CHAPTER 3: SURFACE SKETCH OF WIK-MUNKAN PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

3.1 Outline of Phonology

Most of what is written in this section is a summary of papers written on Wik-Munkan phonology by Sayers (1970a, 1974). Specific acknowledgement is given where relevant.

3.1.1 Phonological Representation of Wik-Munkan

The following table sets out the symbols used for the segmental phonemes which are required by a surface phonological analysis of Wik-Munkan (Sayers 1970a:37-40, 42-43).

**Consonants**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Inter-</th>
<th>Alveo-</th>
<th>Alveo-</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tj</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vibrant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semi-Vowel</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>High</strong></td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mid</strong></td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Low</strong></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.1. Segmental Phonemes
In addition there are suprasegmental features of length and stress. Vowel length is phonemic and is symbolized by /\'. Primary and secondary stress are also phonemic, and are symbolized by /\'/ and /\'/' respectively where a word does not follow the common stress pattern (Sec. 3.1.3). An exception is made in the case of vowels other than /a/ in syllables following a syllable having primary or secondary stress; the occurrence of secondary stress on such vowels is predictable, and is therefore left unmarked (example 9).

Sayers (1970a:40-41, 43-46) has described allophonic variation for Wik-Munkan. The major variations are given in summary form here. Consonants are optionally lengthened when following a vowel with primary stress. When stops /p/ and /t/ occur between voiced consonants they may be voiced. The vibrant /r/ occurs as a voiced flap in intervocalic position, but as a voiced trill when in a consonant cluster. In extreme emphasis the semi-vowel /y/ may occur as [dʒ] in intervocalic position following a vowel with primary stress. The vowel /a/ has a mid central allophone [ə] in nonstressed syllables. Under certain conditions in two syllable words the allophone [ə] fluctuates with syllabicity of the following consonant. In words of more than two syllables, when nonstressed /a/ occurs between two stressed syllables, it may be actualized as length of the preceding consonant.

Loan words from English are mostly not transliterated, but written according to normal English spelling. When citing Wik-Munkan examples, English loan words have been written in italics, so as to distinguish them from Wik-Munkan. Most Wik-Munkan speakers have mastered English phonology fairly well, and have not assimilated the majority of English loan words into the Wik-Munkan phonemic system. The few exceptions, such as tjukun 'schooner' have been transliterated, and are typed in the same type font as Wik-Munkan words.
3.1.2 Syllable Structure

Most roots in Wik-Mûnkan are monosyllabic, and can be structured as CVC, CVCC, CVCCC, CV·C or CV·CC. Interestingly though, there is a marked tendency for verbs from the lexical category 3 (Sec. 3.3) to have roots of two or more syllables:

5. pukam
   sit

6. walânenjan
   cry

Sayers is currently working on a revised analysis concerning syllable division of roots and words of more than one syllable. The stress pattern of longer monomorphemic words is given in the next section.

3.1.3 Word Stress

The common stress pattern of monomorphemic words of more than one syllable is Š.S.§.S (primary stress . nonstress . secondary stress . nonstress) (Sayers 1970a:17 ff.):

7. ñépan
   egg

8. würalînam
   night fish

   If a vowel other than /a/ occurs in what would normally be a nonstress position, it will receive secondary stress:

9. ýêpêñ
   unlucky hunter

   There are a few forms (about twenty) where the vowel /a/ occurring in a nonstress position receives secondary stress. It seems possible that these words were historically compounds, even though native speakers react unfavourably to the suggestion of breaks (Kilham 1973:18).

10. pájâm
    really
There are another twenty forms recorded which have primary stress occurring on other than the first syllable. Some of these are onomatopoeic words or exclamations. Others were likely historically compounds or phrases, as it is sometimes possible to isolate one morpheme. The timing is faster than in compounds or phrases, and there is sometimes evidence of phonological fusion, such as the elision of the glottal at the supposed morpheme boundaries (Kilham 1973:19, 20).

11. kutjék
   head

12. tjalúpam
   splash

There are categories of suffixes in Wik-Munkan according to how they fit into the common stress pattern (Sayers 1970a: 11, 12). Class I suffixes receive either secondary stress or lack stress according to their environment, such as -ant, referent case suffix.

13. púk-ant
   child-Ref
   to/for the child

14. kómap-ánt
   young.woman-Ref
   to/for the young woman

Class II suffixes have innate secondary stress, and retain it whatever the environment. An example is -ák, which indicates goal or purpose. Class III suffixes innately lack stress, such as -aŋ when it has co-ordinative function. Other suffixes again (Class IV) are a sequence of two syllables with a non-stress-secondary stress pattern, which is retained whatever the environment, such as -ántəm, the possessive case suffix.

3.1.4 Rhythmic Juncture Phoneme -a

The vowel -a may optionally occur as a juncture phoneme between Wik-Munkan words. It has, in fact, been suggested (Silverstein: personal communication) that the base form of
all Wik-Munkan stems should be considered as ending with the vowel -a, such as CVCa, and that the final vowel could then be described as eliding under certain conditions. Such a conclusion may fit historical evidence better (Hale 1964:255), but there is no good synchronic evidence to support it. Not only are forms without -a by far the most common, but there is no way of predicting the occurrence or non-occurrence of -a at the phonemic level, or as related to syllable structure, number of syllables, and so on. It is, rather, related to clause and phrase rhythm, and also to matters of emphasis and style; for example, it may occur on each word of a clause spoken in slow, deliberate speech. I have written it in when citing Wik-Munkan forms in this thesis, and have simply labelled it rhythmic particle (Rhy).

3.1.5 Compounds and Close-Knit Phrases

The phonological pattern of compounds varies from monomorphemic words in several ways (Kilham 1973). Firstly, compounds have the stress pattern of primary stress followed by secondary stress, while monomorphemic words normally receive nonstress on the second syllable. Secondly, at the boundary of the two morphemes of compounds, many consonant clusters occur which do not occur in monomorphemic words. Thirdly, the second stem of compounds may have a long vowel. Long vowels do not occur in the second syllable of monomorphemic words which have primary stress on the first syllable.

Sequences of two recognizable stems which semantically and grammatically show some fusion, but where the second stem takes the primary stress, are termed close-knit phrases. Both compounds and close-knit phrases are further described in Section 3.8.

3.1.6 Stress Patterns of Grammatical Phrases

The word receiving the most stress in grammatical phrases, such as noun and verb phrases, is normally the modifier. Possessive pronouns take the intonation centre of a noun phrase
if an adjective is not present, but demonstratives normally do not. The stress, then, falls on the classes of words within the phrase which most often have the greatest degree of communicative dynamism according to the Prague School concept (Sec. 2.2.1).

15. nɪl ʷoʔeʔkam moʔ
   3S quickly run.3SPst
   He ran quickly.

16. waŋtʃ ʷoʔwik-ətʃiy
    woman word-Ab
    a talkative woman

3.1.7 The Phonological Clause

Sayers (1974:10-26) has described the phonological clause in Wik-Munkan as composed of two sections, the body and the terminal. The body is the lexical part of the rhythm wave. The terminal is either an intonation carrying clitic occurring as the last syllable of the rhythm wave, or pitch and/or loudness features of the last half of the last syllable if no intonation carrying clitic occurs.

Clause stress is defined in terms of loudness and pitch. The placement of clause stress (hereafter referred to as the intonation centre) has been described by Sayers as phonologically unpredictable, but predictable in terms of grammar. Most commonly, in a verbal clause in declarative mood, the tagmeme preceding the verb takes the intonation centre.

17. nɪl ʷoʔnąć kenj moʔ
   3S far high fly.3SPst
   He flew really high up.

18. puk ʷoʔŋok wamp-ːn
    child tall come-3PPst
    Some tall children arrived.

Mingograph examples (e) and (i) in Appendix A illustrate this feature also.

Sayers lists a number of grammatical conditions under which the intonation centre occurs either on the verb itself,
or else on a word or phrase which does not immediately precede the verb. For instance, if a verb is preceded by only a subject pronoun and followed by only an object or indirect object pronoun, the verb takes the intonation centre of the clause (1974:13).

19. nil *pi·k Ḫan-aŋ
   3S hit.3SPst 3P-Acc
   He hit them.

   Again, the morphemes such as ya? ('verbal intensifier'), ke? ('verbal negative') and ?ep ('positive intensifier') take the intonation centre regardless of where they occur in the clause. By contrast, I have observed that there are some Wik-Munkan words which never take the intonation centre regardless of where they occur in the clause even before the verb. These include kuyam 'used to', wey compassionate particle (Comp), naj 'maybe', Ḫak and Ḫamp 'also'.

   Further detail concerning the placement of the intonation centre within clauses which are in moods other than declarative, is given in Section 9.2.

   I have also observed both complex and secondary intonation centres within phonological clauses. A complex intonation centre occurs when two words within a phonological clause share the intonation centre. They are of equal loudness and pitch. An example is given in Section 9.4.2. A secondary intonation centre occurs when there is a further rise of pitch on a word following the verb. This rise of pitch is not as high as that of the word which takes the intonation centre of the clause. This is illustrated by the mingograph examples (h) and (i) given in Appendix A.

   There are nine intonation carrying clitics which may occur as terminal of the phonological clause. These are shown in Table 1 in Appendix A, along with details of their pitch level or glide, and loudness shape. They are merely listed here with their meanings: /-a/ ('indicative'); /-aʔ/ ('sequential'); /-ə/ or /-ey/ ('tag question'); /-a'/ ('interrogative'); /-e·/ or /-a·/ ('desiderative'); /-a··/ ('continued action') and /-aw/ ('extreme emphasis'). Some of these terminate a
grammatical sentence, while others help show the relationship between clauses. Some may do either, depending on where they occur. For instance, the Tag Question, Interrogative, Pleading or Desiderative, and Extreme Emphasis intonation carriers may terminate a sentence, while Continued Action carriers never do. Apart from its imperative and interrogative usages, the Sequential intonation carrier does not terminate sentences. The Indicative carrier occurs both finally and non-finally in sentences. Some of the intonation carriers are illustrated within the mingograph examples in Appendix A.

3.1.8 Intonation Patterns

Sayers (1974:45 ff.) has described intonation patterns for Wik-Munkan, and the grammatical usages for each.

In discussing the contrastive features on which she has based her description of intonation, she claims (1974:47):

There are two intonational features of the whole P-Clause which are phonologically contrastive:
(a) the general pitch level which may be neutral, elevated, or lowered, and
(b) the pitch range which may be neutral, expanded, or compressed.

The terminal of the intonation has two features which are phonologically contrastive:
(a) the pitch level or glide of the terminal which may be low, mid, high, low-mid rise, or high-low fall; and
(b) the loudness shape (envelope) of the terminal which may be steady, crescendo, or crescendo-decrecendo.

Combinations of these features and choice of intonation carrying clitic (Sec. 3.1.7) if present, yield twenty-six intonation patterns. Some intonation carrying clitics occur with one pattern only, while others occur with three or four. Details of the twenty-six intonation patterns are given in Table 2 in Appendix A.

I give here just two examples of intonation patterns. Pattern 3 has both neutral pitch level and neutral pitch range and occurs with the sequential intonation carrying clitic -a?.

It is often the intonation pattern for initial and medial clauses of sequential sentences. Its other uses include serial listing and content interrogatives. In the following example, which is taken from Sayers (1974:61), the first two phonological clauses have this pattern:

20. /\miŋ pàŋk-àn tjint-an-a? / ma'y-an-a? /
   Pro wallaby-Def spear-IPExclPst-Seq pick.up-IPExclPst-Seq
   ↑ ki'ŋk-an nun-aŋ ŋul/
   cook-IPExclPst 3S-Acc Temp

   We speared a wallaby, picked it up and then we cooked it.

The intonation carrying clitic -a? also occurs with a contour which has elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range (Pattern 10). This pattern is used for the first clauses of sentences expressing simultaneity, condition, and concession. It is also used for sentence topic, introductory time clauses, and imperatives. Again, in the following example, which is also taken from Sayers (1974:75), the first two clauses have this pattern:

   after.that.Mid-Top-Seq Tariri that-Top-Seq
   ↓ niŋ ŋaŋk min ya? /
   3S heart good no

   After that, as for Tariri, he was not happy.

3.1.9 The Phonological Sentence

Sayers (1974:27) also describes phonological sentence (P-Sentence) for Wik-Munkan:

A P-Sentence consists of one or more P-Clauses which has a single sentence-stress and characteristic features of pitch at the onset. It is bounded by obligatory pause.

The intonation centre of the P-Sentence is the highest one of the intonation centres of the constituent phonological clauses. A high rise of pitch of the intonation centre of a clause compared with the clause preceding it, identifies the onset of a new phonological sentence.

The first clause of the sentence is normally that which contains the intonation centre of the sentence. But again,
like the phonological clause, the placement of the intonation centre of the sentence is phonologically unpredictable, and determined by grammar (Sayers 1974:27 ff.). For example, in sentences where there is inverted sequence, the clause occurring second and giving the antecedent action is the one which takes the intonation centre of the sentence. An example of an inverted sequence sentence, and of other sentences where the intonation centre of the sentence occurs other than within the clause, are given in Section 8.2.1.

Sayers has described the pitch of a phonological sentence. In general:

When sentence-stress occurs in the first P-Clause in a sentence of two or more P-Clauses, the P-Sentence has an overall down drift of pitch of successive P-Clause stresses. (1974:40).

Sayers does not distinguish sentence and paragraph either phonologically or grammatically, but treats them as one unit. I have not accepted this position and the matter is discussed further in Section 3.10.2.

3.1.10 Information Blocks

The term information block will be used throughout this thesis. This term is taken from Grimes (1972a:296-7) who uses information block in preference to Halliday's term for the same thing, information unit (1967:201). He does this because of the many uses for the term unit already in vogue and the consequent danger of the term being misunderstood. The use of the term information block recognizes that a speaker is usually sensitive to how much a hearer can cope with at once, and thereby organizes his speech into 'packages of information'. In English, as also in Wik-Munkan, an information block corresponds to a single intonation contour. One information block may correspond to one grammatical clause, or it may be greater than or less than one grammatical clause. The following examples from Wik-Munkan illustrate these three possibilities respectively.
22. /°ʔi·y-anamp-a / ʷkâmp-an-antɔn-an ʷun-ampa/  
go-IPInclHab-Ind relatives-Accom-Def live-IPInclFut
We go to live with relatives.

23. /iŋi-an təw-antj-ən qul iŋi-an tən-a/  
see-3PHab woman-Erg-Def Temp see-3PHab-Seq
They see, the women see then...

24. /mupa nùntj-an-iy-a/  
wik ke-an-am ʔi·y-an/  
cousin own-Def-Top-Seq word VNeg-Nomz-Src go-3SHab
As for his own cousin, he goes without speaking.

Halliday recognizes (1967:202) that there may be higher units of information structure realized intonationally. Nevertheless, for the purposes of his article he accepts the stand that the relation between information units is one of simple linear sequence. I cannot accept this stand, and consider the phonological sentence as described by Sayers (1974) as a higher unit of information structure. This will be demonstrated more clearly in Chapters 7 and 8 on Paragraph and Sentence respectively.

3.2 Word Classes

For Wik-Munkan the following word classes are posited:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Temporals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>Verbal auxiliaries</td>
<td>Locatives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>Particles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intensifiers - Dimunitives</td>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some details of the membership, semantic content and inflectional and derivational possibilities are given in this section, but details of the modal and aspectual systems and the case system are left till Sections 3.4 and 3.5 respectively. While interrogatives are not considered a separate word class, as they intersect with several of the above, they are described briefly at the end of this section.

Nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs and locatives are open classes. All except interjections, intensifiers, conjunctions,
and some particles may take inflection, while nouns, adjectives
and verbs have derivational possibilities. -ân ('definite')
and -iy ('topic') may be suffixed to all word classes, except
for the exceptions already named. The suffix -am, when it
has emphatic force, may be suffixed to all word classes except
verbs, demonstratives, intensifiers, particles, some conjunctions
and interjections.

Not every Wik-Munkan word belongs to just one word class,
although most do. Some words may modify either noun or verb.

25. ?a·k ?atjântâŋ
   place high
   a high place

26. ?atjântâŋ ?an
   high stand
   stand on tiptoe

Others do double duty as indefinite pronouns and temporals,
for example, wiɣ, meaning 'sometime' or 'some/people'.

3.2.1 Nouns

Nouns inflect for case according to a nominative-ergative
system. The case markers are enclitics, and are suffixed to
the last word of the noun phrase.

Two derivational affixes which derive adjectives from
nouns are -atiy -tiy, and -amiy. The former means 'abundance
of quantity' or 'oversize'. Thus, for example, kal is 'rat',
while ?a·k kalatîy is 'a place overrun with rats'. On the
other hand, a man with big feet could be described as ?al?-atîy
(foot-oversize).

The suffix -amiy bears some resemblance to -atîy
semantically, as it refers to abundance or fullness, but only
in respect to meteorological features. Thus from kep 'moon',
is derived kep-amiy 'moonlight'; and from yuw 'cloud' is
derived yuw-amiy 'cloudy'.

Some nouns are preceded by classifiers, and the Generic
Specific phrases which result are described in Section 3.8.
Some classifiers denote animate objects and some inanimate;
others such as mìp 'protein' may denote either, and refer to both cooked meat or a live animal. There is no overt distinction of animate and inanimate nouns which applies throughout the language, but they differ in distribution. For example, inanimate nouns cannot be suffixed with the accompaniment case suffix -antàn.

There are some very restricted suffixes which apply to kinship nouns only. One example of these is -tjín ~ -antjín, an optional pluralizer.

27. wuñ-tjin
   older brother-Plural
   older brothers

Onomatopoeic nouns do not take case endings. Some examples of these in sentences are:

28. ?atjíy Ḳaw
    sneeze say
    sneeze

29. ?apamp Ḳe·?
    belch throw
    belch

The order of affixation of the enclitics which may occur at the end of a noun phrase is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Other Cases</th>
<th>Emphasis</th>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Topic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ântam</td>
<td>for example</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-àn</td>
<td>-iy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-aŋ Ergative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.2. Order of Enclitics following a Noun Phrase

3.2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives may be distinguished from nouns formally on the basis of different derivational potential. Intransitive and transitive verbs may be derived from adjectives by the suffixation of -am and -âŋ respectively.

30. ?oŋk 'long, tall' + -am intransitive → ?oŋkam 'grow long, verbalizer tall'

31. ?oŋk + -âŋ intransitive → ?oŋkâŋ 'stretch' verbalizer
When there is ellipsis of a noun due to it being understood from previous context, an adjective may become the head of a noun phrase.

32. yoṭ kán-ān we-p wun-in
   many Punct-Def sleep lie-3PPst
   Lots [of people] had already gone to sleep.

Adjectives normally follow the nouns they modify. Sometimes for extra emphasis, a speaker puts the adjective first in the phrase. Whichever order is chosen, the adjective takes the intonation centre of the phrase.

3.2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns, unlike nouns, are suffixed for case according to a nominative-accusative system. First, second and third persons are distinguished, and singular, dual and plural number. First person dual and plural pronouns are either inclusive or exclusive.

A paper by Godfrey and Kerr (1964) treats Wik-Munkan personal pronouns in detail. Their conclusions are summarized here.

Two series of partly coinciding base forms for personal pronouns are distinguished: those which take 'centre' cases, namely, nominative, accusative and vocative and those which take adjunct cases, such as referent and accompaniment. The following chart shows the base form which takes centre cases. This base form coincides with the pronoun in nominative case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>ηal</td>
<td>ηamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>ηan</td>
<td>ηan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nint</td>
<td>nip</td>
<td>ni·γ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>pul</td>
<td>ḫan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.3. Pronoun Bases for Centre Cases

The suffix -aŋ on the above base forms marks accusative case for pronouns except for the third person singular, where
the accusative form is nunąŋ. In addition there is an alternate
first person singular accusative form, namely 亡aŋaŋ. The
vocative suffix is -aľaŋ for the dual and plural second person
pronouns.

For the adjunct cases, there are suppletive alternate
bases for singular number, namely:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>亡aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>nunק</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>nunŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Onto these bases, referent, possessive, source, and reflexive
suffixes may be added.

Tense-subject person markers are obligatorily suffixed
to the verb. There are also a limited set of abbreviated forms
of pronouns in other cases which are optionally suffixed to
the verb. These are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st Sing.</th>
<th>3rd Sing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-anŋ</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referent</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>-ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source/Possessive</td>
<td>-aŋaŋ</td>
<td>-anťaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accompaniment</td>
<td>-anťaŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4. Abbreviated Forms of Pronouns

The free form of these pronouns may co-occur with the
abbreviated form.

The first person possessive form -aŋaŋ may be suffixed
to the adjective мeŋļ 'pretty' to give an affectionate term
мeŋļaŋaŋ 'dear one'.

There are also 'mate' pronominal constructions, where
the speaker links together two individuals or groups, by
sufffixing an abbreviated form of one pronoun onto the full
form of another.

33. nil-aŋ
    he-ISPoss
    that close relative or friend of mine

The third person singular subject pronoun nil is sometimes
used as a collective pronoun. This is most commonly found in
narrative texts (Sec. 6.1.1).
34. nil-a keʔ-am [js-wat-in ya?
3Col]-Rhy VNeg-Emph spread-3PPst no
They don't spread the news, no.

The third person plural subject pronoun ʔan can be used with an impersonal meaning, when the speaker either cannot or does not wish to make the subject specific. If the pronoun in the following example has no specific antecedent in the context of discourse, the effect it achieves is similar to English passive sentences where no subject is expressed.

35. ʔan pi·k-in nun-aŋ
3P hit-3PPst 3S-Acc
He got hit.

Wik-Munkan also has indefinite pronouns ʔonąŋan and ʔon 'another' and wiŋ 'some'. Wiŋ takes case inflection according to a nominative-ergative system.

3.2.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives, like nouns, are marked for case according to a nominative-ergative system. Three degrees of distance are distinguished for demonstratives, namely:

?i- close distance
na- mid distance
?a- far distance

Demonstratives for ergative and nominative cases are given in chart form below. Plurality may be distinguished by partial reduplication for demonstratives in ergative case, and by the affixation of -aŋ for those in nominative case, but plural marking is not obligatory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>? ilaŋan</td>
<td>nalaŋan</td>
<td>?a-laŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>?i·-ilaŋan</td>
<td>nai-nalaŋan</td>
<td>?ai-a-laŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>?inaŋan</td>
<td>nanaŋan</td>
<td>?anaŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>?inaŋan</td>
<td>nanaŋan</td>
<td>?anaŋan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.5. Demonstratives in Ergative and Nominative Case
The morphology of demonstratives remains unsettled. Taken as a whole along with locative and temporal demonstratives, they present a rather asymmetric system. It seems though that the final -an on the forms in the above chart can be isolated as the definite suffix. The forms ?alaŋ etc. occur but very rarely, and so the commonest forms are represented above. For the purposes of this thesis, morpheme breaks have not been shown for demonstratives cited in examples.

Demonstratives in instrument case are identical with ergative. Other case suffixes (with the exception of locative) such as referent, possessive and accompaniment, are suffixed onto the bases ?il-, nal- and ?al-.

A suffix which occurs with demonstratives before the definite suffix and meaning 'the same one' is -am.

36. ?alaŋamân
   that.FrErg.same
   that same one

Unlike some languages where demonstratives refer to third person only (see Sharpe 1972:5), close distance demonstratives in Wik-Munkan may be used in conjunction with first person pronouns. Also, demonstratives of all degrees of distance may be used with second person pronouns.

37. ñamp ?inâgan ko?alam gul want
   IPIncl these.Nom three Temp leave.3SPst
   She left us, we three.

38. ni·y nanaŋan kom-komâŋ we·p wûn-ânaŋ-a?
   2P those.MidNom young.women sleep lie-2PPut-Seq
   You young women go to sleep!

3.2.5 Intensifiers - Diminutives

There is a small class of words in Wik-Munkan which modify adjectives, adverbs, locatives and temporals. Some of these have a diminutive effect.

39. tjîl mîn ñe·?-in
   little good throw-3PPst
   They didn't throw the spears too badly.
40. wał koʔantj
   partly blind
   half blind

41. mal kaˑw
   side east
   to the east side

Others intensify.

42. wuˑt piˑʔan
   really big
   really big

   Intensification may also be achieved by reduplication
   (Sec. 3.7.2).

3.2.6 Verbs

Wik-Munkan is rather unusual amongst Australian languages
in not having a number of verb classes with distinct verbal
conjugations (see Dixon 1972:13). Apart from four verb-like
words which do not conjugate as verbs at all, the affixation
system is surprisingly regular.

Obligatory tense-person suffixes which occur with Wik-
Munkan verb stems simultaneously indicate tense or mood, and
the person and number of the subject. Three tenses are
distinguished: present, past and future, although the present
tense form has more often the force of habitual aspect.
Future tense suffixes differ from the corresponding past tense
suffixes only by secondary stress on the vowel for first and
some second persons. Subjunctive mood may also be distinguished.
Figure 6, which is adapted from Godfrey (1970:745), shows the
base forms of the tense-person suffixes.

Figure 7, also adapted from Godfrey (1970:750), shows the
addition of the reciprocal suffixes. She states the rules
for the reciprocal suffix as follows (1970:749):

   The allomorphs of the reciprocal suffix, -wu
   (basic) ~ -w ~ õw ~ -ø, are conditioned by the
tense-person suffixes following them, that is, -wu
   precedes /m, n, l/, -w precedes /a, i/, -w precedes
   /p/, and -ø precedes /u/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Subject</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-anamp</td>
<td>-amp</td>
<td>-amp</td>
<td>-imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-anal</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>-il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>-aŋ   -aŋən</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>-iŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonsing.excl.</td>
<td>-anàn</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-in -iyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-anàn</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-in -iyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-aniy</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-in -iyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-anip</td>
<td>-uw</td>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>-iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>-iy -iw -in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-antàn</td>
<td>-in   -iyn</td>
<td>-ayn</td>
<td>-iytàn -iwtàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-anpul</td>
<td>-pul</td>
<td>-owpul</td>
<td>-iyypul -iwpul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 6. Base Forms of Wik-Munkan Tense-Person Suffixes
It can be seen from Figures 6 and 7 that due to homophony of some suffixes, the bound person suffixes do not make as many distinctions as the free pronoun forms.

Transitive and intransitive verb types have exclusive membership in Wik-Munkan. There are, however, wide derivational possibilities in that transitive verbs may be derived from intransitive verbs and adjectives by the addition of the transitivizer -âɁ.

43. ŋotan 'black' + -âɁ + ŋotanaɁ 'blacken'
44. wamp 'come' + -âɁ + wämpaɁ 'bring'

Some intransitive verbs cannot be made transitive in this fashion, but instead have a transitive 'mate'.

45. ʔapentj 'run away, escape' but mə·y 'run away with, kidnap' (literally 'pick up')
46. pentj 'burn' (intransitive) but ki·ŋk 'cook, burn' (transitive)

There are at least four ditransitive verbs in Wik-Munkan (Godfrey 1970:748) which may take two external objects, such as ɰə·ʔ 'name'. While transitive and ditransitive stems in
Wik-Munkan may take the reciprocal suffixes, there are a few verbs which are always reciprocal in form, such as pek-'fight'.

47. pek-wun-tan
    fight-Rec-3PPres
    They are fighting.

There are four verb-like words which are never conjugated: ka·ŋk 'like', mak 'let be', we·ŋ † 'loves', ?aw 'fond of'. The first two are normally followed by another verb in future tense (gapping of the second verb sometimes occurs after ka·ŋk when understood from the context of the discourse).

48. nil ka·ŋk ?i·y-ow
    he likes go-3SFut
    He wants to go.

49. mak ?i·y-ow
    let.be go-3SFut
    Let him go!

ka·ŋk may also be followed by a verb in past tense. The meaning of the sentence then becomes '(he) had the pleasure of doing such-and-such'.

Both we·ŋ † and ?aw follow the nouns or nominalized verbs which refer to the object of the person's love or taste. ?aw is a stronger word than we·ŋ †, although both can have either good or bad connotation.

50. puk we·ŋ †
    children loves
    fond of children

51. ?en·k-an ?aw
    ask-Nomz fond-of
    an inquisitive person

Godfrey (1970:752-4) also distinguishes quotative, copulative and impersonal verbs. Copulative verbs take complements. Some copulative verbs such as ?i·y 'to be' also have membership in the intransitive subclass, in this case with the meaning of 'to go'.

Impersonal verbs are those which normally have a free form of the object expressed following the verb, which would
have the semantic role of 'patient' (Sec. 9.1.3). The surface grammatical subject, if there is one, is either a body part, an inanimate material object, or a subject pronoun which agrees in person and number with the object pronoun.

52. kutjok we·tj-an nun-ang
head sick-3S 3S-Acc
He has a headache.

The nominalizer -an may also be suffixed to verbs, as in example 51 above. Following the nominalizer the case suffixes -am ('source'), -aŋ ('temporal'), or -âk ('goal') may occur, giving past and present participles, and purposive forms of the verb respectively.

53. níl ?eŋk-an-ak wamp
3S ask-Nomz-Gl come.3SPst
He came to ask.

The verbal negative ke? and the manner base yım- (see Sec. 3.2.8) can also be suffixed with the combinations -an-am and -an-aŋ. In these cases it seems plausible that these suffixes can be considered to have a similar function as for verbs.

54. ya·m ke?-an-am
long VNeg-Nomz-Src
after a little while

55. min ke?-an-aŋ
Pro VNeg-Nomz-Temp live-3PPst
They lived without food.

3.2.7 Verbal auxiliaries

There are two verbal auxiliaries in Wik-Munkan, ke? and qul, whose meanings and functions are best described in the section on the modal and aspectual system (Sec. 3.4).

3.2.8 Adverbs

The term adverb here is used more narrowly than in traditional grammar, and reserved for adverbs of 'manner' (Lyons 1968:326), such as teŋkam 'quickly'. Adverbs normally precede the verbs they modify.
Onomatopoeic adverbs are not uncommon:

56. tjam tjam [mʊŋk]
    chomp chomp eat
to chomp on one's food

57. tjalúpam mu·ntj
    'splosh' swim
to dive

There is also a series of deictic adverbs with the base yim- such as yimanaŋ with the meaning of 'like that, in this manner' (see Sec. 3.2.6 for suggested morphology). Contracted forms also occur such as yínəŋ, which is a contracted form of yimanaŋ.

3.2.9 Temporals and Locatives

Temporals are words indicating time. The specification of time is much less exact than in English: pe·tán 'yesterday', 'a few days ago', 'last week'; ə́·?təm 'morning', 'tomorrow'; ?ínmən 'later today', 'right this moment'. The suffix -anam occurs with a restricted number of temporals, such as njī·ŋk 'recently' and ke·nk 'a long time ago', and gives adjectival force.

58. ə·k njí·ŋk-anam
    place recent-Adjr
    recent days

The suffix -anam also occurs with ke·nk at the beginning of a sentence when the time span covers more than one sentence.

Locatives indicate spatial orientation, such as: Ḣaʔ 'close'; pek 'down'; ka·w 'east'.

The suffixes -aŋk and -am occur with a restricted number of locatives. -am, when occurring with locatives, has the meaning of 'towards' rather than the source meaning of the homophonous case suffix -am.

59. ka·w-am
    east-towards
    in the east direction
When locatives occur in a clause in which the verb refers to a stationary action, -aŋk may be suffixed to locatives with the meaning of 'at' (Godfrey 1967).

60. kenj-aŋk
    up-at
up on high

There are also several series of demonstratives which can have either temporal or spatial meaning, and which can refer to circumstances as well. ?án-pál-án (there (far).here-Def) can mean 'after that (from that time)', 'from there', or, 'from that reason'. Like the demonstratives described in 3.2.4, these are also marked for three degrees of distance, close, mid and far. These demonstratives have been described in detail by Sayers and Kerr (1964).

3.2.10 Particles

Wik-Munkan has a few forms which modify the meaning of a sentence, rather than just the noun or verb. Those that are separate phonological words I am calling particles. Some examples are: wey, an expression of compassion to another, or sensitivity towards oneself (Comp); nàŋ 'maybe'. Some, such as wey, never occur alone. In a clause or sentence, particles never take the intonation centre.

3.2.11 Conjunctions

Conjunctions have a co-ordinating or subordinating function. Some have both. For example, puŋ has been described by Sayers (1972a:216) as a broad spectrum conjunction, as it can variously mean 'and', 'but', 'because', 'so', 'therefore'. yípam 'because' and ?a? 'and then' are other examples of Wik-Munkan conjunctions.

3.2.12 Interjections

Wik-Munkan has several interjections ranging from responses such as ?e·ʔ 'yes', ya· expressing agreement, and
ya? 'no', to exclamations such as yaká·y (also said as yákay) expressing alarm or sudden emotion, and ?apú? 'Oh, I made a mistake!'. Interjections tend to be phonologically unusual. Wik-Munkan is characterized by closed syllables. One of the very few exceptions to this is ya· (above). Some interjections such as ?apú? above have primary stress on other than the first syllable. Perhaps the only word in the language which can have primary stress on either the first or the second syllable is yaká·y.² When it has primary stress on the first syllable it loses the length on the second syllable.

3.2.13 Interrogatives

Interrogatives intersect with several of the above word classes. There are three interrogative stems: ṣe·n 'what', we·? 'who', and want- which concerns location and manner.

The interrogatives with we·? and ṣe·n as stems inflect for case according to a nominative-ergative system. Those with we·? as stem may take the same case endings as animate nouns do. The stem we·? is reduplicated to indicate plurality.

61. we·?-we·?-aŋ
who-Rd-Erg
Who (plural)

The interrogatives with ṣe·n as stem may take the same case endings as inanimate nouns.

62. ṣe·n-aŋ
what-Inst
what with?

ṣe·n when reduplicated has the meaning of 'how many?'.

Questions with want- as stem include wántåk 'what', 'how', and wantín 'where'. When want- is reduplicated for these two interrogatives, the universal quantifiers of wánt-wántåk 'whatever' and wánt-wántín 'whichever' result (Sayers: personal communication). There is also wánt-wántínåk, which is suffixed with the goal suffix -åk, meaning 'wherever'.
3.3 Lexical Categories

Wik-Munkan, in common with some other Australian languages such as Dyirbal, which has been described by Dixon (1971), has a special 'avoidance vocabulary'. There are in fact three categories of words in Wik-Munkan in this respect. There are those which can be used with anybody such as ka·j 'mother', poŋkok 'grasshopper', ḛonam 'one' and ?e·? 'yes'. There are no alternative forms for words in this first category. A second category includes words which cannot be used with certain relatives, especially a woman's brother's children. These words have alternative forms (Category 3) which can be used with anybody, but must be used with a woman's brother's children. Although these are not restricted in their use, they are rarely heard apart from the special context in which they must be used. Categories 2 and 3 are illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 2</th>
<th>Category 3</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka·j</td>
<td>wu·p</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puk</td>
<td>?o·ymph</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḛu·k</td>
<td>ḛu·įiy</td>
<td>'snake'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḛum</td>
<td>?upaŋup</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manj</td>
<td>me·įakaŋ</td>
<td>'small'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me·tj</td>
<td>pe·paŋ</td>
<td>'hungry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋ</td>
<td>wa·kaŋ</td>
<td>'climb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muŋk</td>
<td>waŋjampuŋ</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya?</td>
<td>ka·įam</td>
<td>'no'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.8. Vocabulary Categories 2 and 3

These categories are not observed so strictly today as they were in the traditional cultural setting.

There is a fourth set of words which is restricted in its use, but for social reasons. This set consists mainly of words denoting sexual organs, and can be used only with a small set of relatives and people of the same sex.
3.4 Modal and Aspectual System

Some moods and aspects intersect with tense in Wik-Munkan. Present tense affixes also indicate habitual aspect; future tense affixes normally indicate imperative mood when used with first or second person. The imperative usage is accompanied by an elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range of the intonation contour, along with the sequence intonation carrying clitic -a? (Sayers 1974:73):

63. /t̃iŋt̃u·y m̃oʔ-àn-aʔ/  
   2S far run-2SFut-Seq  
   You run away!

64. /t̃iŋamp̃ ?i·y-àmp-aʔ/  
   IPIncl go-IPIncl Fut-Seq  
   Let's go!

Future tense may also indicate a mood of advisability or duty, when the verb takes the intonation centre of the clause.

65. jəŋ əŋó·ntj-àyn  
   3P enter-3PFut  
   They should enter.

The subjunctive mood is indicated by verbal affixes (see Sec. 3.2.6), and continuative aspect by reduplication of the verb stem and sometimes the intonation carrying clitic -a· as well (see Sec. 3.7.1).

3.4.1 kən and ṣuł

The verbal auxiliaries kən and ṣuł play a part in the formation of several moods and aspects as summarized in Figure 9. The following résumé draws heavily on the work of Godfrey (1967).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| kan    | Punctiliar                  | Temporal 'now', 'then' | a) Immediate Future  
|        |                             |             | b) Desiderative  |
| kanam  | Complete                    |             |                 |
| Ꙛul    | a) Predictive               | a) Temporal 'later on' | Temporal 'later on'   
|        | b) Temporal 'then'          | b) Intentional |                 |
|        | c) Conjunction 'so', 'so then', 'well then' |                 |                 |
| kánàn  | 'after'                     |             |                 |
| Ꙛulâna?} { Ꙛulâniya?} | Temporal 'after that'       |             |                 |
|        | 'then'                      |             |                 |
| kan-ꕚul | a) Inchoative              |             | Near Future     
|        | b) Complete                 |             |                 |

Fig. 9. kan and Ꙛul intersecting with Verbal tenses

kan has the primary meaning of punctiliar aspect, and occurs most often preceding a verb in past tense. kan occurring in a clause with a verb in future tense, or in imperative mood, gives an aspect of immediate future.

66. kan Ꙛul Ꙛgay _dropout*David-ant wënk- Ꙛðø-a?
Punct IS David-Ref search-ISFut-Seq
I will look for David now!

67. kan Ꙛgay Ꙛuk-a?
Punct descend-Seq
Get down at once!

When the combination of kan and future is accompanied by elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range of the intonation contour, and the intonation carrying clitic -a· or -e·, the mood is desiderative (Sayers 1974:76).

68. kan Ꙛgay Ꙛy- ينبغي Ꙛø-a·
Punct go-ISFut-Des
I wish I could go!
kan occurring with verbs in present tense has a temporal meaning of 'now', or 'then'. Such occurrences are normally within the context of procedural discourse, where customary actions and ceremonies are described.

69. /kan keʔ-an-tan / ʔak kan tǎn-̂-ʔ-antàn/
Punct dance-3PPres water Punct stand-Trz-3PPres
Then they dance. Then they stand the water [on the ground].

When kan is suffixed with -am ('emphasis'), complete aspect results. On the other hand, when -àn ('definite') is suffixed, the resultant meaning is 'after'. kánàn normally occurs in a dependent temporal clause. It may co-occur with any tense.

70. /kán-àn mu·ntj-antan-aʔ / ʔay-àn kan ʔa·ṇ-antan/
Punct-Def bathe-3PPres-Seq food-Def Punct give-3PPres
After they bathe, then they give out the food.

qul has a primary temporal meaning of 'later on', (Temp). It occurs having this meaning with verbs in future tense, and with verbs in present tense in the context of procedural discourse.

71. ʔay ʔal-ʔam qul ʔi·y-ʔŋ-ʔa
IS here-towards Temp go-ISFut-Ind
I will come back later.

When qul occurs with verbs in present tense in contexts apart from procedural discourse intentional mood results in addition to the meaning of 'later on'.

72. nil ʔgul pent-an
3S Temp come-out-3SPres
She is planning on coming out later on.

When qul receives the intonation centre of the clause, and at the same time precedes a verb in past tense, predictive mood results.

73. nil ʔgul ke·k
he Temp fall-3SPst
I predict he will fall!

When qul is unstressed and occurs with verbs in past tense, the meaning is 'then'. 
74. *pam *jona*jan *gul wamp
man another Temp come.3SPst
Then another man came.

75. *nil *pe'ya-pe'ya *gul
3S cry-Rd.3SPst Temp
He cried and cried then.

*gul* occurring unstressed in clause initial position has the meaning of 'so', 'so then', 'well then'. When *gul* occurs in a separate information block, initially in a clause or sentence (or paragraph), the temporal meaning of 'then', 'after that' is dominant. In this situation, *gul* receives topical- ization suffixation. It is suffixed by -àn ('definite'), and possibly also by -iy ('topic'), and finally by the sequence intonation carrying clitic -a? (Sec. 4.2).

76. /gul-àn-iy-a? / ka?p ku*jam-aŋ want / Temp-Def-Top-Seq wet.season two-Erg leave
And then, two years passed by.

The compounded form kan-*gul* may precede verbs of any tense. With future tense, kan-*gul* has the aspect of near future. With past, and present tense verbs, kan-*gul* indicates completive aspect when the verb is in a dependent temporal clause. On the other hand, when kan-*gul* occurs in clauses which have the intonation of indicative mood, informants will sometimes give the clause an inchoative meaning.

77. *nil kan-gul *jaw
he Punct-Temp say.3SPst
He began to speak.

3.4.2 Other Moods and Aspects

The unconjugated verbs ka*-ŋk and mak, which express desiderative and permissive moods respectively, have been described in Section 3.2.6.

There are several words which have a modal impact. There are the negatives: ke?, verbal negative, ya?aŋam 'to no avail' and ya?, non-verbal negative. ke? may be compounded with the temporal *gul*, with the meaning of 'never again'.

He never went again.

?ep expresses certainty, while naŋ and ya·ka? express probability. puŋ has the sense of 'hardly'. ya·?an has the meaning of 'just'. When the negative ya? is used immediately preceding a verb, it has an intensifying effect. The action of the verb actually takes place but the result of it is bad for the actor, or he has been frustrated in his goal.

79. nil əya? ŋá-
3S Neg.Ints look.3SPst
He looked to no avail.

80. mîŋ ñâ?-àŋ əya? ñu·tj
fish Def Neg.Ints fall.off.3SPst
The fish slipped off [the line].

The adverbs muŋkanam and ño·ŋkam 'keep on doing something' and ño·ntan 'always', give iterative and durative aspects respectively.

3.5 Case System

3.5.1 Surface Case System

The surface case system of Wik-Munkan may be represented by Figure 10.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ERGATIVE (Transitive Subject)</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>NOMINATIVE Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINATIVE (Intransitive Subject &amp; Object)</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ACCUSATIVE -aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCATIVE</td>
<td>-àŋ (close)</td>
<td>?a·yàŋ (2S) 2D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ey (mid)</td>
<td>-alàŋ (close) &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-øy (far)</td>
<td>-aløy (mid) 2P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL (including concomitant &amp; means)</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>ǂjampanŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATIONARY LOCATIVE</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>&lt;-antàŋ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMPORAL</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENT (including Allative &amp; Benefactive)</td>
<td>-ant</td>
<td>&lt;-ant&gt;³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL (Purposive &amp; Allative)</td>
<td>-àk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOMPANIMENT</td>
<td>-antàŋ</td>
<td>&lt;-antàŋ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ǂjampanŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE (including Causal &amp; Ablative)</td>
<td>-antàm</td>
<td>&lt;-antåm&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-am</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSIVE</td>
<td>-antåm</td>
<td>&lt;-antåm&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 10. Wik-Munkan Case Suffixes**

3.5.2 Syntactic Evidence for Distinguishing Cases

At first indication, Fig.10 can give the impression of an external grid being forced on the data. The clitic -aŋ appears with several functional labels, including ergative, instrumental, stationary locative, temporal, and accusative (the latter for pronouns only). It is hard to seriously entertain the thought of the accusative usage being in the same semantic domain as the others. But those remaining in the list have not such clear cut distinctions in Australian
languages. Dixon notes (1972:11) that most Australian languages do not have a separate case inflection for instrumental. Sharpe (1970:44) does not find it easy to determine whether instrument and location should be separate cases in Alawa. Sommer's locative case covers both locative and temporal orientation (1972:46).

Syntactic evidence supports the distinctions made for Wik-Munkan.

a) Ergative and instrumental cases can be distinguished on the grounds that subject-person affixes on the verb agree with a noun marked for ergative case, but never with a noun marked for instrumental case. Again, ergative phrases may be pronominalized; instrumentals may not be. It is true that ergative and instrumental demonstratives coincide, but the corresponding interrogatives do not. These are:

81. we·ʔ-aŋ
    who-Erg
    Who [did it]?

82. ηe·ʔ-aŋ
    what-Inst
    What with?

While most nouns taking ergative case are animate, and most nouns taking instrumental case are inanimate, this is not water-tight. Some inanimate nouns occur with the ergative suffix -aŋ, as subjects of transitive verbs, where no human agent is implied.

83. ḷak ḷaʔiʔ-y-aŋ ḷuw  ngaŋ-aŋ
    water big-Erg find.3SPst IPExcl-Acc
    A big storm caught us.

Most of such examples involve the weather, or moving vehicles, so perhaps what is required is rather a revision of the notions animate and inanimate. It may be that the downpouring of the rain, or the buffeting of the wind is considered in some sense animate.

Ergatives and instrumentals may further be distinguished on the grounds that ergative phrases are confined to transitive clauses; instrumental phrases are not.
b) **Instrumental and Locative** can be distinguished syntactically, although the distinction is not completely clear cut. Locative and instrumental demonstratives and interrogatives differ from each other, namely:

84. \textit{wantin} and \textit{wantig} versus \textit{ŋe·n-aŋ}  
   where versus \textit{what-Inst}  
   what with

85. \textit{ʔaŋan} (& other locative series) versus \textit{ʔalaŋan}  
   there versus with that

The confusion lies in the fact that instrumental interrogatives and demonstratives are sometimes used to refer to nouns in locative case; but the reverse is not true, that is, locative interrogatives and demonstratives are not used to refer to nouns in instrumental case. The examples below illustrate both instrumental and locative demonstratives being used to refer to nouns functioning as locatives.

86. /\textit{wunp-an} \textit{jan-aŋ} / \textit{dinghy-aŋ} \textit{ʔaŋ-am-an} /  
   put-IPExclPst 3P-Acc dinghy-Loc there-same-Def

   We put them in the dinghy, in that same one.

87. /\textit{pillow} / \textit{ʔalaŋan} \textit{nji·n-aŋ} /  
   pillow that.Inst sit-ISPst

   A pillow, that's what I sat on.

c) **Locative and Temporal** can be distinguished on the grounds that their corresponding interrogatives differ. The temporal interrogative is:

88. \textit{ʔa·k}  "\textit{ŋe·n}  
   time/place what when?

   It is true that the word \textit{ʔa·k} can mean 'place' as well as 'time'.

89. \textit{keʔ} \textit{yé·tj-án} \textit{ʔa·k-aŋ-an}  
   VNeg vomit-2SFut ground-Loc-Def

   Don't vomit on the ground!

   But \textit{ʔa·k} in a close-knit phrase with \textit{ŋe·n} always has a temporal sense. In other respects, locatives and temporals are very close. For example, locative demonstratives may have temporal orientation as well. Possibly the grounds are not
sufficient to separate locative and temporal, but for convenience they have been differentiated in the above analysis.

d) **Source and Possessive.** The source suffix -ant'am is hard to separate semantically from the possessive suffix with the same form. Nevertheless, syntactically they must be considered two cases, as other case suffixes may follow the possessive suffix but not the source suffix or other case suffixes.

90. nil ka·ŋ nuŋ-anτam-anτaŋ ?i·y  
    3S mother 3SAj-Poss-Accom go.3SPst  
    He accompanied his mother.

91. ṇay pi·p nuŋ-anτam-anτam wínjάŋ mo-ʔaŋ  
    IS father 3SAj-Poss-Src fright run-ISPst  
    I was frightened of his father.

When a possession of the possessed is referred to, two possessive suffixes occur together. Other case suffixes do not act in this way.

92. nan-a        ka·ŋ  ṇaŋ-aŋ-am-anτam  
    that.Mid-Rhy mother ISAj-Poss-Poss  
    That thing over there belongs to my mother.

3.5.3 Further on the Case System

The case suffixes as shown in Fig.10 are all enclitics, and occur suffixed to the last word of the phrase. There are also the particles ḟam and ḟampaŋ which have as one of their functions the indication of instrumental or accompaniment case. The case of a noun may be indicated by a demonstrative instead of a case enclitic. The two do not co-occur within the one phrase.

Nouns, demonstratives and interrogatives are marked for case according to a nominative-ergative system. In this system the subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs are distinguished, and the former is referred to as being in ergative case. On the other hand, intransitive subjects and objects are both marked for nominative case. Pronouns function
according to a nominative–accusative system. Here intransitive and transitive subjects are indicated by the same pronominal stems and are referred to as being in nominative case. Objects are distinguished from both, and are in accusative case. Some details of centre and adjunct cases for pronouns are given in Section 3.2.3.

The Class I suffixes -aŋ, -am and -ant are stressed or unstressed according to their environment. The suffixes -aŋ ('vocative'), -åk, -antåm and -antåŋ retain stress as marked regardless of environment (Sec. 3.1.3).

3.5.3.1 Ergative

The following is an example of an animate noun phrase in ergative case.

93. nil ka·ɪ̱ kuntj-aŋ-an ?almp-aŋ-am 
    3S mother own-Erg-Def digging.stick-Inst-Emph
puŋ-an nun-aŋ
hit-3SPres 3S-Acc

Her own mother hits her with a digging stick.

3.5.3.2 Nominative

The next two examples show noun phrases as intransitive subject and object respectively. Both are in nominative case, which is realized by zero.

94. pam wantj yot kuŋk moʔ-in 
    man woman lots north run-3PPst
Lots of people flew north.

95. ŋay pam wantj yot jaŋ-aŋ 
    IS man woman lots see-ISPst
I saw lots of people.

3.5.3.3 Vocative

The vocative case suffixes, which are distinguished for three degrees of distance (as shown in Fig.10) are marked only on proper nouns, kinship terms and second person pronouns.
The /e/ and /o/ vowels of the mid and far distance suffixes are sometimes very much lengthened. In these instances the last syllable takes word stress.

96. kά·ɪ-άŋ
mother-Voc
Hey, mother!

97. nɪp-αίό·γ
2D-Voc.2Far.Dist
Hey, you two over there!

3.5.3.4 Instrumental

Instrumental covers several closely related semantic concepts: instrumental, comitative, means and even manner. I can find no syntactic evidence to separate these. They share the same demonstratives and interrogatives. Example 93 above shows a noun marked as instrument.

The concomitant sense of -άŋ can be illustrated by the following example.

98. pal-am wamp-antan wukal ḋa?iγ-άŋ
here-towards come-3PPPRES money big-with
They come here with lots of money.

The particle ḋampaŋ and its abbreviated forms ḋamp and ḋam can be used either with a concomitant sense or to mean 'also'. Both uses are illustrated in the following example.

99. /ʤan moʔ-in axe ḋam / knife ḋam moʔ-άɪ-ʔn
3P run-3PPSt axe with knife also run-Trz-3PPSt
nuŋ-ant /
3SAj-Ref
They ran with an axe, and they ran a knife to him also.

Neither instrumental nor concomitant usages are confined to concrete inanimate objects. For example, a specific language may be an instrument of telling a story, and a person may come 'with news', or come out 'with a dance'.

The suffix -άŋ can also express means.

100. /puk manj wiγ-aʔ / dinghy-άŋ moʔ-in /
child small some-Seq dinghy-Ms run-3PPSt
Some of the children travelled by means of the dinghy.
Animate nouns, such as animals, may be means.

101. ŋay ?ín-ŋûl-âń mo?-aŋ yaŋaman-aŋ-îy-a
    IS this-Temp-Def run-ISPst horse-Ms-Top-Ind
    This is the first time I've ridden on a horse.

Other times -aŋ as means is closer to the English concept of manner. A restricted set of nouns, mainly body parts, may be suffixed with -aŋ to indicate the manner of doing something. Several of these are idiomatic.

102. wump-aŋ ?i·y
    hump-with go.3S.Pst
    He walked hunched over.

3.5.3.5 Stationary Locative

The following example shows a noun in locative case.

103. ma?-kuțjam wun wukaŋ-aŋ
    hand-two lie-3SPst hole-Loc
    He [the ghost] stays in the hole two days.

Body parts may take locative case. In this case they may be followed by a pronoun in apposition. As body parts cannot be possessed, the pronoun is in accompaniment case.

104. Lynette ?iŋk-aŋ njì·n ·ŋaŋ-aŋ-aŋ
    Lynette shoulder-Loc sit.3SPst ISAj-Accom
    Lynette sat on my shoulder.

3.5.3.6 Temporal

An example of -aŋ used with a temporal noun, is as follows:

105. Ḣan quḷ wamp-in ·qamp-aŋ / kintj Ḣonam-aŋ ?anan-iy
    3P Temp come-3PPst IPIncl-Ref sun one-Temp that-Top
    I predict they'll come to us on another day.

3.5.3.7 Referent

The referent enclitic -ant is used with animate nouns and pronouns to indicate indirect object, a locative 'to' meaning, or a benefactive 'for' meaning.
106. nil puk manj-ant ṭeʔ?
    child small-Ref gave.3SPst
    He gave [it] to the child.

-ant is sometimes used for the semantic role of patient, and an agent will be neither present nor implied.

107. ƞaŋk wik? pe·y-ant
    heart cry.of.anguish cry-3SPst-Ref
    He's distressed and in anguish.

108. walkant ka·ntj pént-âŋ ŋan-t
    cheek bone come.out-Trz.3SPst 3P-Ref
    Their cheekbones were sticking out.

3.5.3.8 Goal

-âk is normally suffixed to inanimate nouns, with the meaning of location 'towards' or purpose. It may also be suffixed to nominalized verbs with the meaning of purpose.

109. míf-âk ʔí·y-amp-a?
    fish-Gl go-IPInclPut-Seq
    Let's go fishing!

110. ŋaŋ Ḳu·t muŋk-an-ak pént-âŋ ŋan-ʔŋ
    IPExcl milk drink-Nomz-Gl go.out-Trz-IPExclPst 3P-Acc
    We sent them out to drink milk.

Occasionally -âk is suffixed to animate nouns instead of, or following, the referent -ant. A stronger effect is thereby achieved.

111. ŋiŋt ʔí·y-ân ŋan-t waŋtʃjŋ-âk-ân pal ʔí·y-âŋ
    2S go-2SFut 3P-Ref old.women-Gl-Def here go-3PPut
    You go to those old women [and persuade them] to come here.

3.5.3.9 Accompaniment

Examples showing nouns and pronouns in accompaniment case follow. The accompaniment is sometimes close to means semantically.

112. ƞaŋy-ân puʧ wik kuʧ-âŋ Benny-antâŋ
    IS-Def but word send-ISPst Benny-Accom
    But I sent word with Benny.
113. \(\text{ŋəŋ-əŋəŋ we·} ? \text{?i·y-ow} \)
\(\text{ISAj-Accom who.Nom go-3SPut} \)
Who will go with me?

Animals and dependent humans are not normally suffixed with -antəŋ, but are followed by the particle təməŋ or one of its abbreviated forms.

114. \(/\text{pi·m ?anaŋan mo?}-\text{in tən-t / puk manj təm /} \)
men those run-3PPst 3P-Ref child small also
The men ran to them, and the children went too.

3.5.3.10 Source

The source suffix -antəm, with animate nouns and pronouns has the meaning of cause, or location 'from'.

115. \(\text{nil wınjəŋ mo? nuŋ-antəm} \)
\(\text{3S fright run.3SPst 3SAj-Src} \)
He was frightened of him.

116. \(\text{nil tən-təm mo?} \)
\(\text{3S 3P-Src run-3SPst} \)
He ran away from them.

The second form of the source suffix -am is used with inanimate nouns to mean location 'from', or cause.

117. \(/\text{nil wəŋk-am-an ma·y / kuntəw-an /} \)
\(\text{3S stringbag-from-Def take-3SPst stone-Def} \)
He took the stones from the stringbag.

118. \(\text{?in yi·ntj wun / ŋak-am}^6 \)
\(\text{this wet lie.3S water-Src} \)
This is wet because of the rain.

-am may be used with an animate noun to mean 'location from', but in this case the noun assumes a more abstract status. For example puk-am (puk 'child') has the sense of 'from childhood', or 'from the time of being a child'. Either -antəm or -am may be used with inanimate nouns with the meaning of original source. This should perhaps be considered possessive.

119. \(\text{kaŋk banana-antəm} \)
\(\text{leaf banana-Src} \)
leaves from the banana tree.
-antām may also be used in the initial sentences of discourses, where the speaker is announcing his topic. In these instances, it may be glossed 'about', 'concerning'.

120. ṅay wik kaŋ waːʔ-ãŋ wantj-antam
       IS word old tell-ISFut woman-Src

       I'm going to tell you a story about a woman.

3.5.3.11 Possessive

The possessive suffix -antām may be used with both nouns and pronouns.

121. puk pul-antam nan-a
       child 3D-Poss there.Mid-Ind

       The child of those two is over there.

Body parts are normally not possessed. While accompaniment pronouns may occur in apposition to body parts in locative case (3.5.3.5), accusative pronouns may occur in apposition to body parts which are objects.

122. maʔ paŋ nun-ãŋ ḫuʔ-k-ãŋ-ãn
       hand bite.3SPst 3S-Acc snake-Erg-Def

       The snake bit his hand.

3.5.4 Case Ranking and Word Order

Two preferred word orders for the Wik-Munkan clause correlate with the nominative-ergative and nominative-accusative systems respectively. These are:

   a) (S) O noun V
   b) (S) V O pronoun

The brackets show that the free form of the subject is by no means obligatory, as suffixation on the verb shows person and number of subject. When the free form of the subject occurs, it typically occurs initially in the clause, whether noun or pronoun. On the other hand, the occurrence of the free form of the object is highly preferred. It is important to mention that the patterns shown above apply most to pronouns in third person, as statistically first and second person pronouns occur
before the verb about 50% of the time. This is to be expected as nouns cannot substitute for them.

There is some constraint as to how many clause constituents can occur before the verb. More than three is considered overcrowded. There is case ranking apparent in that subject and object (when identified by a noun) have prime right of way to occur preceding the verb. A noun marked with -ant, referent, has the next highest rank, while a pronoun in referent case follows the verb as does the object pronoun. If one or more of the above do not occur, then by default words or phrases marked for the more oblique cases, such as locative, source, and accompaniment, may occur preceding the verb.

The exception is nouns marked with -ak expressing goal. Such nouns may occur before the verb, but frequently occur after the verb even when there is nothing before the verb.

3.5.5 Underlying Ergativity

The Wik-Munkan case system can be considered weakly ergative. Supporting this is the nominative-ergative system used for nouns in Wik-Munkan although it must be mentioned that while the ergative case suffix is strongly preferred, it is not strictly obligatory. It is sometimes absent when there is no ambiguity as to who the subject of a transitive clause is. Another support for underlying ergativity is that nouns referring to the actors in reflexive and reciprocal constructions are normally suffixed with the ergative marker -aŋ.

123. wantj-aŋ nuŋ-ant-akam ?u·k-?u·k
    woman-Erg 3SAj-Ref-Ref1 scratch-Rd.3SPst
    The woman scratched herself.

124. wantj kutjam-aŋ pi·k-uw-pul
    women two-Erg hit-Rec-3DPst
    The two women were fighting.

There is at least one situation where the nominative-ergative system used for nouns, and the nominative-accusative system used for pronouns appear to be in tension. Where a
pronoun and noun with the same reference occur together in a noun phrase as the subject of a transitive clause, the noun will sometimes have the ergative marker, and sometimes not.

125. /nil Marie-iy-a? / kutjam witj / 3S Marie-Top-Seq two catch.3SPst

As for Marie, she caught two fish.

126. /nil pam ṭum nuŋk-aŋ-am-aŋ ṭjint / Mittaboy-aŋ ?ey / 3S man fire 2S-Poss-Erg spear.3SPst Mittaboy-Erg Ques

Your husband, Mittaboy, speared it, did he?

A strong point against declaring Wik-Munkan any more than weakly ergative is that in larger structures than a clause, subjects work together as a unit. For clauses in sequence which share the same subject, the free form of the subjects of subsequent clauses are normally deleted, although pronoun reference sometimes occurs. This is regardless of the combination of transitive and intransitive. The examples below show transitive-intransitive and intransitive-transitive combinations respectively.


As for the child, the mother carried him to the river, and she went down into the water.

128. /nil pul manj-iy-a? / work ?ánmann 3S young mother small-Top-Seq work only ?i·y-ʔi·y wey / may ka-ka·mp yot-a / go-Rd3SPst Comp food bury.Rd3SPst lots-Ind

As for the young mother, she only worked, and planted lots of food.

For sequences of clauses, then, the subject must be considered the most important notion in Wik-Munkan, rather than the ergative notion. From this angle Wik-Munkan gives some support to the universal base hypothesis proposed by Chomsky (1957), where the subject was retained as a unit.
3.6 The enclitic -àn

The definite enclitic -àn and the topic enclitic -iy receive much attention in this thesis, as both are related to thematization. The enclitic -àn in particular falls into the category of 'Pesky little Particles' (Grimes 1972a:117), in that it is hard to pin down. It has a variety of functions, and these are summarized here. Its most common function is to indicate definiteness, and it has been labelled accordingly. Moravcsik (1969:64) has defined definiteness as: '...a noun is definite if it is the same as the one mentioned before; and definiteness marking is an optional surface manifestation of "sameness".'

3.6.1 -àn marking definiteness

When a participant or object enters a discourse for the first time, the phrase referring to him or it is not normally suffixed with -àn. An exception to this is if the participant or object is already known to the listener, either from previous conversation, shared background, or from being in the sight of both.

Demonstratives and personal pronouns are also considered definite and therefore relate to given information. -àn does not normally co-occur with demonstratives, but may do so with personal pronouns. Subsequent noun references to participants or objects are normally suffixed with -àn, or followed by a demonstrative, or preceded by a pronoun in apposition.

The above statement must be considered a tendency, rather than a rule. At least one factor besides given information, that of interaction, can be seen to influence the occurrence of -àn and demonstratives, and the combination of -àn with personal pronouns. So long as a participant remains the sole actor for a chain of events, the normal pattern of participant identification is:

noun, pronoun, zero, zero, zero....

Zero here refers to the deletion of the free form of the
pronoun. There are still obligatory verbal affixes which give person and number of subject. For subsequent chains of events, the speaker may begin with pronoun reference.

If there is interaction between a participant in first person and a participant in third person, then a common form of reference to the character in third person at the beginning of a chain of events in which he begins as actor is a pronoun in apposition with a noun or proper noun. But once a participant in third person begins interacting with another participant in third person, or is presented in contrast to him, then -ân or a demonstrative is likely to occur with one or both while ever they interact. It is in this situation where combinations of a pronoun and -ân, and proper nouns and -ân, and combinations of both, most often occur.

The use of -ân does in fact show up best in a good murder story, where there is plenty of interaction, and plenty of shuffling back and forth of roles.

3.6.2 -ân and topicalized clauses

Typically, -ân is suffixed on a noun phrase within a topicalized clause, regardless of whether the noun phrase concerned is given or new information. Topicalized clauses are described in detail in Section 8.6.2.1. The example below contains all new information.

129. /mu·t-ân kuyam .ne·y-ln-a? / truck-antam-ân-a? / noise-Def used-to hear-3PPst-Seq truck-Src-Def-Seq

When they used to hear the noise of the truck....

These clauses are dependent intonationally, and are often part of sentences expressing simultaneity or close sequence.

3.6.3 -ân marking relative clauses

-ân is suffixed to the first or sometimes second word of a relative clause. In a restrictive relative clause, the antecedent and the relative clause are in one information block, and the antecedent is not marked with -ân.7
130. /?an-a ?iŋ-am we·nt-an / ?a·k níl-án mul thay-Rhy here.in-Empf turn-3SPres place 3S-Def dead wun / ?ʊŋən / lie-3SPst there.in He goes round and round here, in the place where he died, there.

131. /miŋ ŋan ŋuŋ-an ?uw-anan / fish IPExcl night-Def find-IPExclPres the fish which we find at night.

In a non-restrictive relative clause, the antecedent may be suffixed by -án or followed by a demonstrative, and the relative clause may be in a separate information block.

132. ŋan kon-ŋŋ-am pî·-ŋyaŋ wik ?anan /ŋən-án 3P ear-Loc-Empf keep-3PPut word that 3P-Def ŋaw-in-ŋəŋ say-3PPst-ISRef
They must keep that word, which they told me about.

The use of -án marking relative clauses is seen to be related to its indicating definiteness, as relative clauses normally contain given information.

3.6.4 -án marking embedded complement clauses at the beginning of discourses

At the beginning of a discourse, the discourse theme is usually stated in an embedded complement clause. A noun or pronoun constituent of the clause is suffixed with -án, even though the information is new.

133. ŋay wik kaj f?iñan wáo·?-aŋ-a / ŋan kaŋk-aŋ-an IS word old this tell-ISFut-Ind IPExcl bush-Loc-Def wun-wun-an / live-Rd-IPExclPst
I'm going to tell you about how we lived in the bush.

134. ŋay kan ?iñ wáo·?-aŋ / may palow-án IS Punct this tell-ISFut food damper-Def yump-anan / make-IPExclPres
I'm about to tell you how we make damper.
3.6.5 -˚ân and apposition

There are least two patterns of apposition involving a noun and pronoun. In the first the noun precedes the verb and takes the intonation centre. A pronoun follows the verb. Both noun and pronoun are in the one information block. In these instances, -˚ân very occasionally occurs suffixed to the noun.

135. \textit{mîŋ kà·t pi·?an tjìnt-an nun}
\textit{Pro mother big spear-3SPres 3SAcc}
He spears the mother [goose].

In the second, the pronoun and the noun both follow the verb. The noun is in a separate information block, and it is common for it to be suffixed with -˚ân.

136. \textit{nîl pi·k nun-˚aŋ / pûk máŋ-j-˚ân}
\textit{3S hit 3S-Acc child small-Def}
He hit him, that little child.

3.6.6 -˚ân and equative clauses

Equative clauses have a topic-comment sequence. The enclitic -˚ân is normally suffixed to the noun phrase which is topic, but never to that which is comment.

137. \textit{Goroka-˚ân ?a·k min}
\textit{Goroka-Def place good}
Goroka is a good place.

3.6.7 -˚ân and -iý and theme

The part -˚ân and -iý play in topicalization patterns such as fronting and tagging is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.7 Reduplication

Reduplication constitutes the basic form of some Wik-Munkan words. Many of these are onomatopoeic names for birds and animals, or descriptions of human actions or reactions.

138. \textit{mîŋ kàŋ-kàŋ}
\textit{Pro eagle's.cry}
eagle
3.7.1 Continuous Aspect

Verb stems may receive partial or full reduplication of their first syllable to indicate continuous aspect. Where there is partial reduplication, the rule is:

\[ \text{CVC}(C) \cdot (C) \rightarrow C\text{-}C\text{VC}(C)\cdot (C) \]

That is, the vowel of the verb stem becomes the mid central vowel /æ/ in the partially duplicated morpheme. The second syllable receives primary stress. Primary stress occurs on the first syllable of fully reduplicated stems.

140. \text{kə-kål}  
Rd-row.3SPst  
He rowed and rowed.

141. \text{pé-y-pé-y}  
cry-Rd.3SPst  
He kept on crying.

3.7.2 Intensification

Words from several classes may be reduplicated for intensification, such as adjectives and adverbs, and some temporals and locatives.

142. \text{?eřkam 'fast'} \rightarrow \text{?eřk-?eřkam 'really fast'}

143. \text{ŋuṭan 'night-time'} \rightarrow \text{ŋut-ŋuṭan 'in the dead of night'}

144. \text{ketj 'far'} \rightarrow \text{kėtj-kėtj 'a really long distance'}
3.7.3 Plurality

A restricted number of nouns referring to older child and teenage age groups, demonstratives with ?a1- base, and interrogatives with the base we·? may be reduplicated to indicate plurality.

145. ?a1a1an 'that one' (Erg) → ?a1-?a1a1an 'those ones' (Erg)
146. koma1d 'young woman' → kó1m-kó1ma1d 'young women'
147. we·? 'who' (Sg.Nom) → we·?-we·? 'who' (Pl.Nom)

3.7.4 Alternation

Numerals and ma? 'hand' may be reduplicated to express alternation.

148. jónam 'one' → jó1n-jó1nam 'one by one'
149. ma? 'hand' → ma?-ma?-aŋ (hand-Rd-Inst) 'to take in turns'

3.7.5 Exclusion

Pronouns reduplicated, and suffixed with the emphatic -am, express exclusion.

150. ni1 'he' → ni1-ni1-am 'he by himself'

3.7.6 Non-Conformity or Difference

Personal pronouns may be reduplicated to emphasize that something or a way of doing something is different from the norm. Here the primary stress goes on the second stem.

151. ni1 'he' → ni1-ni1 'different'
152. pul 'those two' → pul-púl 'that's their way of doing it'

3.8 Compounding and Phrases

3.8.1 Compounding and Close-Knit Phrases

Dixon (1972:17) has stated that 'In Australian languages there are as a rule rather few compound nouns'. Wik-Munkan
is an exception, for it is rich in compounds and close-knit phrases for several word classes. I have described these in detail elsewhere (1973) and a summary only will be given here.

Wik-Munkan has compounds for all word classes except intensifiers and particles. There are some interrogative compounds also. There are close-knit phrases paralleling most of these same word classes. Compounds and close-knit phrases are separated mainly on the basis of stress pattern. The majority of compounds have the pattern primary stress-secondary stress. In close-knit phrases the second morpheme receives the primary stress. There is some correlation between the degree of semantic fusion and stress pattern. Compounds tend to have a tighter degree of semantic fusion than close-knit phrases, in that they are more often idiomatic, and also in that the meaning of one or both morphemes is not always easy to determine. Nevertheless, compounds and close-knit phrases express some of the same semantic relationships, such as modification and co-ordination.

153. (miŋ) ká·!?-wèʔaʔ
   Pro ear-wide
   frilly necked lizard

154. wik o'kaŋ
   word old
   story

Some compounds are metaphors which have become names of things.

155. miŋ máʔ-wùnt
   Pro hand-wind
   prawns, crayfish

There are several hundred verbal compounds which express an action, a process, or a state of being. These are idiomatic, and mainly composed of body part plus verb stem.

156. máʔ-ʔa·ŋ
   hand-offer
   help

In fact, body parts feature largely in both compounds of various word classes and close-knit phrases. They are used in both
their literal and extended meanings. The term kon 'ear' is often used when mental processes such as realization, perception and memory are involved. Compounds and close-knit phrases formed with man 'neck', 'throat' often have unpleasant connotations.

157. màn-ʔà.ʃ
   throat-give
   tease

The semantic domains of several of the other body parts in their extended meanings can be similarly summarized, although in no instance is the semantic domain watertight.

To date over five hundred close-knit phrases are recorded which express a generic-specific relationship. These phrases are juxtapositions of noun plus noun, where the first word gives the broader setting, and the second narrows the field. The phrases are considered close-knit because of their frequent collocation.

158. kutjék əka·ntj
   head bone
   skull

159. puk əwəntj
   child woman
   female child

In the majority of cases, generic-specific phrases are terms for such things as body parts, specific animal types, foods, spear types, geographical features, age brackets or social status. Some generic nouns such as yuk 'tree, thing', may 'carbohydrate food', mĩŋ 'protein, edible animals' are very widely used and are similar to noun classifiers.

160. mĩŋ əpaŋk
    Pro wallaby
    wallaby

161. may əpoʔaŋ
    Carb fruit.species
    yellow fruit
In generic-specific phrases the first noun almost invariably has literal meaning, although the second noun sometimes has extended meaning.

162. jul əkaʔ
       womera nose
       hook on womera (spear-thrower)

3.9 Syntactic Phrases

3.9.1 Modified Noun Phrases

The head of the noun phrase is the noun or close-knit noun phrase. It may be modified by adjectives, possessive pronouns, indefinite pronouns, locatives and demonstratives, all of which normally follow the noun. Adjectives in their turn may be modified by intensifiers. There is a highly preferred order of modifying constituents in a noun phrase:

Noun - Adjective - Possessive or Indefinite Pronoun - Locative - Demonstrative

In practice it is extremely rare to hear more than two modifying elements occurring in a noun phrase. The noun may not occur at all, and in this instance an adjective, indefinite pronoun, or demonstrative acts as head of the phrase. There is a ranking apparent in the order in which modifying constituents act as the head of the noun phrase which reflects the preferred order shown above.

163. pam min ?anaŋan
       men good those.Nom
       those good men

164. pinj naŋ-aŋam ?anaŋan
       aunt ISAŋ-Poss that.Erg
       that aunt of mine

165. wiŋ ?anaŋan
       some those.Nom
       some of them

166. yuk pek-pek-aŋ
       tree down-Rd-Loc
       down underneath the tree
The noun phrase may be preceded by a pronoun in apposition to it. If the phrase is functioning as an object or indirect object, a further appositive pronoun may follow the verb.

167. /jan-aŋ wiŋʔan-aŋan-iŋ ñáʔ-ñáʔ-ın jən-aŋ /  
    3P-Acc others those-Top see-Rd-3PPst 3P-Acc  
They saw those others.

168. /niʔ wantj eʔkampan nuŋ-antam ʔalʔal-ʔəlanan-iŋəʔ /  
    3Coll woman relative 3SAj-Poss Rd-that-Top-Seq  
  yəʔwáʔ?ʔonk wak-in nuŋ-ant /  
   grass.skirt long sew-3PPSt 3SAj-Ref  
As for the female relatives of hers, they made her a long grass skirt.

169. /jən ʔən-wiŋʔan-aŋan ʔəl-əlanan /  
    3P others those.Nom say-3PPres  
Those others say...

170. /pəl ʔən-teʔ-ən-ən nuŋ piʌk ən ʔən-pək nən ən ən /  
    here there turn-Trz-3SPres 3SAcc child small-Def-Top  
He turns the child around.

It is not uncommon for the appositive pronoun to be in a separate information block from the rest of the noun phrase. Intonationally at least, these should then be considered as two phrases.

171. /niʔ-aʔ / wantj-ən-aʔ / kəm-pək moʔ /  
    3S-Seq woman-Def-Seq fast run.3SPst  
As for the woman, she ran fast.

172. /niʔ piʔk nuŋ-aŋ / pək nən nən /  
    3S hit.3SPst 3S-Acc child small-Def  
He hit the little child.

A noun and the adjective which modifies it may also occur as two separate phrases intonationally and grammatically. Both phrases may be suffixed for definiteness, topic, by case markers, and by intonation carrier clitics. The phrases may be contiguous, or one may precede the verb and one follow. This is sometimes done in order to focus on the participant, and sometimes to avoid overcrowding within one phrase.

173. múl-ən-aʔ / wantj-aʔ / njəʔ-ən-ən-ən nuŋ  
    dead-Def-Seq woman-Seq sit-Trz-3PPst 3SAcc  
As for the dead woman, they sat her up.
3.9.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrases

When a co-ordinate phrase refers to the speaker or listener and a third person, the normal pattern is the juxtaposition of a pronoun with a proper noun or kinship noun suffixed by the co-ordinate suffix -aŋ. The pronoun is normally first or second person and dual number, referring to the number of persons involved. The co-ordinate enclitic -aŋ is homophonous with the ergative case suffix -aŋ in its unstressed form; that is, the co-ordinate -aŋ suffix is innately unstressed.

174. ḡăn  Topsy-aŋ
      IDEExcl Topsy-Co
      Topsy and I

175. nip  ka·ɪ-aŋ
      2D  mother-Co
      You and mother

When only third person nouns and pronouns are involved, the speaker may or may not choose to name both. To use Huddleston's terminology (1971:75) the first two examples below could be considered thematically differentiated and the third one thematically undifferentiated. There is more freedom in the order of pronouns and nouns in co-ordination of third persons, and also the co-ordinate suffix occurs sometimes once, sometimes twice, sometimes not at all.

176. ka·ɪ-aŋ  pul
      m.y.b.-Co  3D
      Mother's younger brother and the other person

177. ḋan  Marie we·ʔ-an-aŋ
      3P  Marie who-Def-Co
      Marie and the rest of that group

178. John-aŋ  pul  Michael-aŋ
      John-Co  3D  Michael-Co
      John and Michael

Inanimate objects may be co-ordinated according to this construction also.

179. waɪy  pul  miŋ-aŋ
      yam  3D  fish-Co
      yams and fish
When one of these co-ordinate phrases functions in one of the oblique cases such as referent or accompaniment, the pronoun is suffixed with the relevant case marker.

180. Michael-aŋ pul-ant David-aŋ
Michael-Co 3D-Ref David-Co
to Michael and David

The particle ŋak 'etcetera' also functions in co-ordinate phrases. One or more inanimate nouns are specified, and ŋak closes the phrase.

181. may ŋak
food etcetera
food and all the other things

Co-ordination is also expressed by listing. Such listing is open-ended. In this case, each item except the last is suffixed by the sequence intonation carrier -aʔ. There is a slight pause between each. We have here then several phonological phrases. Quite frequently a pronoun in the clause is cross-referenced to the group of listed items.

182. qąn-ąn-a wenk-an nuŋ-ant / ka-ŋ
IPEExcl-Def-Rhy search-IPPst 3SAj-Ref mother
ŋąj-aʔ-am-aʔ / piʔam ŋąj-aʔ-am-aʔ / pam ŋum
ISAj-Poss-Seq father ISAj-Poss-Seq man fire
ŋąj-aʔ-am-aʔ / Benny
ISAj-Poss-Seq Benny
We all searched for her, my mother, my father, my husband and Benny.

3.9.3 Verb Phrases

The verb is the head of the verb phrase. It may be modified by modal and aspectual particles, adverbs, onomatopoeic words, noun phrases expressing modification, and nouns marked with the instrumental case suffix -aŋ.

The modal and aspectual particles have already been described in Section 3.4. Examples of other modifiers can be seen below. These normally occur immediately preceding the verb.

183. ?itaŋam ?i·y
slowly go.3SPst
He walked slowly.
184. lopam ū·tj
Onom come.off.3SPst
It suddenly came right off!

185. me·? weʔaʔ-empt i·ʔ
eye wide-Emph go.3SPst
He went wide-eyed.

186. ?um-empt i·ʔ
chest-with go.3SPst
He went straight ahead.

3.9.4 Temporal and Locative Phrases

Temporal and locatives may be modified by a small set of adjectives.

187. ƞuŋŋ ʔoŋk
night long
all night

188. kîŋtj kenj
sun high
midday

Another locative phrase construction is where demonstratives precede the locative or directional which they modify.

189. ʔin ka·w
here east
here close in the east

190. ʔan-am pek
there-Emph down
down over there

Locative phrases are sometimes formed by the juxtaposition of two locatives. Some of these have a specialised meaning.

191. pal pu·ʔ
here there
everywhere

3.10 Clause to Discourse

Grammatical levels from stem through to discourse may be distinguished in Wik-Munkan. In Section 3.10.1 definitions of
clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse are attempted. The formal criteria for distinguishing sentences and paragraphs in Wik-Munkan are summarised in 3.10.2. More detail on each level, including discussion and evidence, is given in Chapters 6-9.

3.10.1 Definitions

In one sense discourse can be considered a linguistic primitive, and thereby largely undefinable. Nevertheless, it is worth an attempt. A random combination of sentences juxtaposed and bounded by silence does not make a discourse. A discourse, rather, is produced when a speaker sets out to speak or write on a certain topic, and where what he says has a beginning and an end, recognizable by other members of his communaelct. A discourse then has features of coherence and continuity.

In Wik-Munkan there are formal linguistic signals for the beginnings and ends of discourses, and so a discourse can be considered a complete speech act. But from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, no discourse is complete in itself. Something happened, such as a conversation or an event, to provoke the discourse, and its completion may trigger something else again, such as an event or another discourse.

This definition of discourse does not exclude the possibility of discourses embedded within other discourses. An example of an embedded discourse in Wik-Munkan is where a speaker tells a gruesome story about a child who was eaten by a crocodile as an illustration of one of her points of advice in a hortatory discourse. The embedded discourse in this example does not have the normal signals for the beginnings and end of a narrative.

I consider paragraphs to have the function of presenting and developing the discourse theme. They are generally combinations of sentences which group together, although paragraphs embedded within paragraphs are not excluded, and nor are one-sentence paragraphs (see Sec. 3.10.2 for formal markers).
A sentence is far from Bloomfield's definition of it (Lyons 1968:172):

an independent linguistic form, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any larger linguistic form.

It is rather a combination of clauses linked in a statable relationship and which are very much conditioned by the discourse of which they are a part. Single clauses which are not dependent phonologically on other clauses are not excluded from being called sentences.


The clause is the proper domain of such grammatical relations as predicates of various sorts, objects, complements, benefactives, and adjuncts. It is also the domain of the lexical, situational, or semiological relations which Fillmore (1968a,b) has called CASE.

Clauses may be either verbal or non-verbal in Wik-Munkan. Non-verbal clauses, such as equational clauses, are considered to have a copula in the deep structure. Gapping of the verb in verbal clauses sometimes occurs where it is understood from preceding context.

Longacre has likened the clause to the logician's notion of the predicate calculus, and the sentence to that of the statement calculus, in that relations such as conjunction, alternation and implication are often the domain of the sentence (1970a:783). Later (1972:51-92) he develops these ideas in depth, and presents a taxonomy of the deep structures of inter-clausal relations which normally encode into the surface grammar of sentence and paragraph units. These include conjoining, paraphrase, temporal, implication and illustration.

Grimes (1972a:251 ff.), on the other hand, uses the term 'rhetorical predicate' in contrast to 'lexical predicate'. Lexical predicates have semantic roles as their arguments, and are most often expressed by clauses in surface structure. Rhetorical predicates join lexical predicates together, and they may also join other rhetorical predicates together. Discourse, paragraphs and sentences normally have an underlying representation organized by rhetorical predicates.11 (Sec. 7.3.2.) Grimes has divided rhetorical predicates into
paratactic (such as alternative and response), hypotactic (such as explanation and specific) and neutral (such as collection and covariance).

The finding of a stretch of speech in text which has the underlying form of a certain rhetorical predicate does not define sentence for us, however, any more than it does paragraph. The rhetorical predicate of covariance, for example, can find expression in surface structure in a sentence, or a paragraph or a discourse. Longacre's work has likewise shown some deep structure relationships at both sentence and paragraph level. Thus in Daga (Longacre 1972:118-9) there are Co-ordinate Sentences as well as Co-ordinate Paragraphs, Parallel Sentences as well as Parallel Paragraphs, Antithetical Sentences and Antithetical Paragraphs, Reason and Result Sentences and Reason and Result Paragraphs.

3.10.2 Formal Criteria for Distinguishing Sentence and Paragraph

Sayers has stated that it proved impossible to find structural evidence for making a distinction between sentences and paragraphs in Wik-Munkan (1974:43).

Earlier in her paper, she states that in most phonological sentences the sentence-stress (or intonation centre of the sentence) is on the first phonological clause (1974:28). Exceptions to this are grammatically predictable. She further states (1974:40):

When sentence-stress occurs in the first P-Clause in a sentence of two or more P-Claus es, the P-Sentence has an overall downdrift of pitch of successive P-Clause stresses.

This is a key statement, and expresses the most important criterion for delimiting a Wik-Munkan text and establishing sentences. Nevertheless, in using it, Sayers and I have come out with opposing views on the matter of sentences and paragraphs.

The major criteria I have used to distinguish paragraphs, on the other hand, are major time changes. The concept of
'major' here is supported by grammatical features, which will be exemplified in Chapter 7. Another important criterion is the reorientation of participants. For hortatory discourse, rhetorical questions often correlate with the introduction of a new argument or illustration, and are considered a new paragraph. I have not been able to state clearly any predictable phonological characteristics of a paragraph, except that there tends to be a concentration of phrases and clauses with elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range and the sequence intonation carrier -a? occurring at the beginning of some paragraphs.

Within paragraphs so defined, I can establish several units I call sentences. These are most often characterized by a rise of pitch on their first clause compared with the last clause of the preceding sentence, and thence a general downdrift of pitch of the intonation centres of each successive clause. The exceptions noted by Sayers concerning the grammatically predictable placement of stress within a sentence still hold. But they do not prevent the first clause of a sentence having a higher intonation centre than the last clause of the preceding sentence, even though that same first clause may not contain the intonation centre of the sentence. There are also one-clause sentences, which are terminated by specific intonation carrying clitics (Sec. 8.2.4). The phonological criterion here is supported by a trend for the subject of the sentence to be referred to by a noun or free form of the pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. There is also support from the aspect word ณู, which helps indicate sentence boundaries when it occurs in clause initial position. Sentences defined phonologically do not match completely with those defined grammatically or semantically, but the rate is nevertheless quite high.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

1. The vowel /a/ accounts for approximately 69% of all occurrences of short vowels in Wik-Munkan, and for 61% of all vowels, both short and long (Sayers 1970a:11).

2. It is very probable that yakə'y is not an original Wik-Munkan word, as it or forms similar to it are widespread throughout Australian Aboriginal languages.

3. Allomorphs of the referent suffix used with pronouns are: -t, -ant and -ař. -t occurs following an alveolar nasal, -ař following stops, and -ant elsewhere. The accompaniment and source/possessive cases are completed by the addition of -ʔaŋ and -əm respectively to the referent pronouns.

4. Dixon (1972:11) comments that in Wik-Munkan the homophonous forms for ergative and locative probably go back to -(ŋ)gu and -(ŋ)ga respectively.

5. Very occasionally a possessed body part is heard in conversation, probably due to the pressures of English.

6. The verb wun can mean 'lie down', 'live', or it can have a stative meaning of 'be', 'exist', 'in the state of'. When the latter, it is not normally inflected for present tense.

7. This is in concord with Moravcsik's observations from a survey of a number of languages (1969:69). She notes that, apart from some dubious cases, definite noun phrases do not become the heads of restrictive relative clauses.

8. For this section I have drawn heavily on Godfrey's data and notes on Wik-Munkan phrases (1967).

9. Of course exceptions immediately spring to mind such as the interrupted story, or the rambling dream of a child, or the situation where a speaker or writer finishes a story at a partly unresolved point and leaves his audience cliff-hanging. This is often a deliberate variation on the norm, often with the aim that the audience will be provoked to think more - and in fact, in these cases it is the audience who in their own minds attempt to resolve the discourse.

10. Some linguistic features may not be easy to account for unless the sociolinguistic background is known. Thus normally demonstratives in Wik-Munkan stories are reserved for given information. But the occurrence of the close-distance demonstrative ?inaŋaŋ 'these' following the word
for 'bullocks' at the first mention of bullocks in the Wik-Munkan story of David and Goliath is obvious if one knows that the story was told on a cattle station with 9,000 head of cattle!

11. Grimes (1972a:265) shows that the sentence is not necessarily the minimum expression of rhetorical predicates, (although it mostly is). For example, he gives some examples of phrases which have the underlying representation of collection, which is one of his rhetorical predicates. Longacre (1972:86) likewise does not limit the Predicate Calculus to being encoded only by clauses, and the Statement Calculus only by sentences and paragraphs.
CHAPTER 4: TOPICALIZATION PATTERNS RELEVANT AT MORE THAN ONE POINT IN THE GRAMMAR

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter are described some manifestations of the semantic choice of theme in surface structure (Sec. 2.1.1). I am calling these topicalization patterns. Those discussed in this chapter are those which are relevant at more than one point in the grammar, and further reference will be made to each in later chapters. The significance of each will be discussed, and some starting ideas for formalization given.

Before going on to specific topicalization patterns, the enclitics -àn and -iy and some intonation contours are discussed further. 1

4.2 Functions of -àn, -iy and Intonation patterns in relation to topicalization

Combinations of one or both of the enclitics -àn ('definite') (Sec. 3.6), and -iy ('topic'), with sequence or indicative intonation patterns (see Sec. 3.1.8 and Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2) play a large part in fronting and tagging topicalization patterns (see Secs. 4.3 and 4.4). Demonstratives may substitute for -àn.

A fronted phrase is often in a separate information block (Sec. 3.1.10) in front position in a grammatical clause, sentence or paragraph. It is usually suffixed with either or both -àn and -iy. The intonation contour is normally one of elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range, with the sequence intonation carrying clitic -a?. Mingograph examples a), b) and c) in Appendix A illustrate fronting.

192. /† puk mánj-àn-iy-a? / píṭj-âj-antàn nun / child small-Def-Top-Seq spotty-Trz-3PPres 3SAcc

As for the child, they paint him.

A tagged phrase may also be in a separate information block at the end of a grammatical clause or sentence. It too may be suffixed with either or both -àn and -iy. The
intonation contour is normally neutral in pitch range, but slightly lower in pitch level than the contour preceding it. There is either no intonation carrying clitic, or else the clitic -a, which is lenis and low, occurs. Both -a and the absence of a clitic have indicative meaning (Sayers 1974: 51, 58.) Mingograph examples e) and g) in Appendix A illustrate tagging.

193. ?a? kan ke·ʔ-anʔan / ɬám-ɬən-iʔ / ɬj Punct dance-3PPres man-Def-Top
And then they dance, the men do.

Fronted phrases in a separate information block occasionally occur with an intonation pattern similar to that used for tagged phrases. The difference is that the pitch level is slightly higher than the intonation contour which follows.

194. /coconut ?eːk-əŋ-an-iʔ / yeʔj-a ŋɬən-əŋ coconut shell-Inst-Def-Top pour.3SPst-Rhy 3P-Acc
/salt-ɬən / salt-Def
With the coconut shell, he poured [water] on the salt.

The enclitic -ən has already been described as having a close association with information that is already known to the hearer, either because it has been previously given in the context of discourse, or because it is shared background (see Sec. 3.6.1). In its role in fronting and tagging patterns, it retains this close association. The enclitic -iʔ shows a similar association with known information.

In the example which follows, there is shared background between the two characters who are conversing, in the sense that kemp 'body', 'flesh' is in the sight of both.

As for that flesh of yours, I will throw it to the birds.

-ən and -iʔ may also be suffixed to phrases which are implied information. In the following example, the characters have not been introduced before, but they are implied in the
sense that in Aboriginal culture everyone is automatically expected to have special social roles in traditional life. For instance, some steps of a ceremony are carried out only by particular classes of relatives.


As for those female relatives of hers, they made her a long grass skirt.

The association with known or implied information is not watertight, however. Phrases which are new information are sometimes fronted, and occasionally are suffixed by -ân and maybe -iy as well. In these instances, an explanation of the new information sometimes follows soon afterwards.

197. /ʔaʔ yúk-ân-aʔ / maγy / nil maʔ-âŋ kal / Cj stick-Def-Seq pick.up.3SPst 3S hand-Loc carry.3SPst staff-ân waʔ-antən / yúk-ân-a / staff-Def call-3PPres stick-Def-Ind

And that stick, he picked it up. He carried it in his hand, - a staff they call it, that stick.

On the other hand, a fronted phrase which is new information may not be suffixed by either -ân or -iy.

198. /ʔimp šan-t-aʔ / kaʔ 昶amp-âʕ-a yimanaŋ bark 3P-Ref-Seq like IFIncl-Ref-Rhy same.manner nananaŋ šán-t-ân yaʔ / those.Mid 3P-Ref-Def Neg

As for their bark, it's not like ours - those are not, no.

Fronted time words invariably receive either or both -ân and -iy marking. These are not given information in the same sense as nominal phrases. They relate back to the previous temporal orientation, and are dependent on it, but apart from that they announce a new setting of time.

199. /yaʔm keʔ-âŋ-am-iy-aʔ / ʔaʔ? šán-âŋ-iy-aʔ / long VNegr-Nomz-Src-Top-Seq day another-Def-Top-Seq wík neγʔ / David-âŋ-an / word hear-3SPst David-Erg-Def

Before much time elapsed, just the next day, David heard a shout.
Fronted phrases, then, which are marked with -àn and -iy correlate closely, but not completely, with known or implied information. New information may be topicalized without -àn or -iy marking. Fronting topicalization patterns then, cannot be tied to known and implied information.

The main purpose of the enclitic -iy is to extend the degree of prominence of the topicalized phrase. The extent to which it does this is relative. Setting elements of time and place, which are fronted and suffixed by -àn-iy-a?, normally have relevance over a whole paragraph. If suffixed by just -àn-a?, their domain may be but a sentence. On the other hand, fronted nominal phrases suffixed by -àn-iy-a? may have prominence over a sentence or two only. Those suffixed with -àn-a? may have relevance for only a clause.

While the enclitic -iy is concerned more with indicating the extent or domain of prominence, the intonation patterns apply more to the intensity with which something is made prominent. The sequence intonation carrying clitic -a? has features of both high pitch and loudness and thereby provides a dramatic form of topicalization for the speaker. Those topicalized phrases which have indicative intonation patterns do not receive nearly the same intensity of prominence.

Information blocking and topicalization are not dependent on each other. A phrase may be tagged or fronted without being in a separate information block. On the other hand, a phrase is sometimes put in a separate information block for other reasons than topicalization. For instance, it may be done to avoid overcrowding of lexical items within one intonation contour, so that the information rate is slowed down. Nevertheless, putting a fronted or tagged phrase (which the speaker has chosen as topic) in a separate information block gives it a greater degree of prominence than it would otherwise have.

For convenience, the possible combinations of -àn, -iy and intonation carrying clitics will be referred to in the following way from now on: -a? fronting; -àn-a? fronting; -iy-a? fronting; -àn-iy-a? fronting; -àn tagging and so on.
4.3 Fronting

The significance of fronting as a topicalization pattern is that it represents a foregrounding of the speaker's current theme. Typically, a nominal phrase with -án-ìy-ə? fronting starts off a chain of events performed by the participant to whom the fronted phrase refers. On the other hand, it may begin a description of the participant. A time word fronted typically provides the temporal setting for a number of events.

Sgall's suggestion (1970:29) of representing the relationship between topic and comment in the performative is a good one (Sec. 2.2.2), and can be applied to the formalization of fronting. Foregrounding of theme could be represented as:

![Diagram](image)

I declare to you about X

that Prop

Fig. 11. Suggested Formalization of Foregrounding of Theme

The overwhelming, although not watertight, trend for fronted phrases to be known or implied information needs to be stated also as part of the formalization. A probability vector could be written into the presupposition to show that, for instance, on nine occasions out of ten, X is given or implied information:

Presupposition: X is given or implied information (.9,.1)

There is almost no limit as to what can be fronted. Pronouns (Sec. 3.2.3), demonstratives (Sec. 3.2.4), noun phrases in any case, temporals, locatives, some modals, and embedded clauses can all be fronted. The following examples show fronted noun phrases in a variety of cases.
As for the little child, she minded him in her lap.

201. /wa·ŋk-am-an-iy-a? / wíŋ-an / string.bag-Src-Def.Top-Seq take.3SPst-Acc
From the string bag, she took the baby.

202. /kek tjol-an-ŋ-an-a? / ye·mp-aŋ / spear iron-Inst-Def-Seq loosen-ISPst
With an iron spear, I loosened it.

The next two examples show a locative and a temporal fronted respectively.

203. /kenj-anŋ-an-iy-a? / kaŋk ṇe·n-antam / high-on-Def-Top-Seq leaves what-Src
On the top, what were the leaves from?

204. /ŋá·tìŋam-àn-iy-a? / ñutj-an nuŋ-ant ñul /
morning-Def-Top-Seq go.early-3SPst 3SAj-Ref Temp
Early in the morning, he hurries to him.

Relative clauses, and verbs suffixed with participial, or purposive markers may also be included in fronted phrases.

205. /ʔa·wutj nil-am-an ñujam-a? / ñáŋmán house 3S-Emph-Def die.3SPst-Seq there.same
we·nt-an /
go.3S Pres
At the house where he died, there he goes round and round.

206. /ke? pí·k-an-ām-ān-iy-a? / ʔa·? ḍe·k-ān
VNeg hit-Nomz-Src-Def-Top-Seq mouth spit-Def
ʔa·? am-an wunp-in / maʔ-aŋ meʔ nám-p-nám-uw-in / mouth-Src-Def put-3PPst hand-Inst eye rub-Rd-Rec-3PPst
As for those who had not been hit, they took spit from their mouths, and rubbed it in each other’s eyes with their hands.

207. /nil ŋá·ntamñè·y-an-āk-ān-iy-a? / kutjék-ŋaŋ-am
3S think-Nomz-Gr-Def-Top-Seq head-Loc-Emph
ka·ʔáŋm yaʔ /
first Neg
Thinking to do something doesn’t begin from the head.

Pronouns normally receive either -aʔ or -iy-aʔ fronting, as they already carry definiteness as part of their meaning.
The conditions under which -án is suffixed to a pronoun is discussed in Section 3.6.1.

208. /tan-a? / ke? yipak ñe·y-in /
    3P-Seq VNeg yet hear-3PPst

As for them, they hadn't yet heard.

209. /gamp-iy-a? / ñep ké·nk-àn gamp-ɑfɑŋ-a /
    IPIncl-Top-Seq alright long.time-Def ISIncl-Accom-Ind

As for us, it was alright here a long time ago.

Sometimes the third person singular subject pronoun nil precedes a fronted noun or noun phrase (nil fronting). When the surface case of the noun or noun phrase is other than subject, there is contrast with something else in the sentence or in a nearby sentence. In the first example below, where the fronted item 'bullet' is in the surface case of instrument, the speaker is contrasting rifles and shotguns. With a rifle, only one bird can be shot at one time with the one bullet, while with the pellets that come spray ing out of a shotgun it is possible to shoot several birds at once.

    3S bullet-Inst-Def-Seq father Lynette-Poss-Erg-Def-Seq
    ñâm ìum · ɡɑj-ɑʔam-ɑŋ-an-a? / ñonam ñep puŋ-an /
    man fire ISAj-Poss-Erg-Def-Seq one Pos shoot-3SPres

With a bullet [rather than pellets] Lynette's father, my husband, can shoot one bird.

In the next example the speaker is contrasting what is done with goose eggs at different stages of freshness. The surface case of both fronted items is object.

211. /nil waj kaʔ ñanaŋan-iy-a? / ke·nk-am-an
    3S partly bad those-Top-Seq long.time-Src-Def
    kal-a? / ñan-a pókâp wunp-antam / ...... /
    lay.3SPst-Seq that-Rhy separate put-3PPres
    nil pù·kanâm-ɑn-a? / wuʔp-ɑŋ wunp-antam /
    3S fresh-Def-Seq bunk-Loc put-3PPres

Those half bad ones, that were laid a long time ago, they put those on one side ... but as for the fresh ones, they put them on the bunks.

A fronted item may be put in a separate information block, but without the distinctive sequence intonation pattern. It may have, rather, indicative intonation. This form of
topicalization has not been found sentence initial. Rather, it occurs in a sentence medial or sentence final clause which is a paraphrase or restatement of a previous clause. The particles -ân and -îy may occur. In the following example the clause is a restatement of the use of an implement following a description of what it is like.

212. /ṭonam-aŋ / ṭâlaŋamân / ṭaʔ-ṭaʔ-ow nuŋ-amaŋ / one-Inst that.same.Inst push-Rd-3SPut 3SAj-Ref1

With that one, that same one, he will push himself.

Further presuppositions concerning contrast and paraphrase respectively would need to be written into the formalization of nil fronting and fronting with an indicative intonation pattern.

More than one phrase may be fronted at any one time. Sometimes the phrases are an appositive pair or group. In this case, there is not necessarily matching of -ân and -îy suffixation.

If one of an appositive pair is suffixed with -ân-îy-aʔ, and the other with -ân-aʔ, the former comes first in the sentence.

213. /puk kûntj-ân-îy-aʔ / puk wût-ân-aʔ / punj-aŋ child own-Def-Top-Seq child male-Def-Seq creek-Loc ?uk / descend.3SPst

As for her child, that male child, he went down into the creek.

Other times the fronted items have different referents.

214. /wantj kutjam-an-aʔ / puk máŋj-ân-aʔ / pâm-ân-aʔ / woman two-Def-Seq child small-Def-Seq man-Def-Seq miŋ keʔ-an-aŋ wun-in / Pro VNeg-Nomz-Temp live-3PPst

As for the two women, and the child, and the man, they lived without game.

4.4 Tagging

The significance of tagging as a topicalization pattern is that it represents a reminder of the speaker's current theme. It is similar to what Halliday calls 'delayed theme'.
for English. He feels that the meaning of delayed theme is something like "first I'll say what I have to say and then I'll remind you what I'm talking about." (1967:240).

It typically occurs at the end of a sentence, and restates the identity of the theme of the clause, sentence, or of several sentences. A tagged phrase, then, typically refers to known information, usually to that which has already been given in the context of discourse. Very often there is a pronoun or noun in the part of the clause preceding the tagged phrase which is in cross-reference to it.

Following the idea given for formalizing fronting, (see Sec. 4.3) a restatement of theme could be formalized as:

![Diagram of theme formalization]

Presupposition: X is given information.

Fig. 12. Suggested Formalization of Reminding of Theme

The lower proposition would contain an NP with an identical referential index to X in the rightmost proposition.

In that tagged phrases restate the identity of the current theme, they are typically nouns or noun phrases rather than pronouns.

215. /puk mānj-ān wey kal-an / pi·p child small-Def Comp carry.3SPst-Acc father
kuntj-aŋ-an-i·y / own-Erg-Def-Top
He took the child, the father did.
In the following example, the tagged noun phrase is followed by a non-restrictive relative clause.

216. /nii-a pe·y·pe·y / puk ma·nj-ân-iy / ma·nj-an-ân
3S-Seq cry-Rd.3SPst child small-Def-Top film-Loc-Def
ja-ja an nun / see-Rd-IPExclPst 3SAcc

He cried and cried, the little child did, the one we saw in the film.

While noun phrases in any case may occur in clause or sentence final position, only subject, object and indirect noun phrases are normally considered marked theme in this position. The position is not marked for locative or time phrases, or phrases in oblique cases such as accompaniment, and source (see Secs. 3.5.4 and 9.2).

Cross-reference in the part of the clause preceding the tagged phrase is sometimes via a bound subject affix, as in example 215, (where third person past tense is realized by zero) and sometimes via a pronoun or demonstrative, as in example 216.

Tagged phrases sometimes cross-reference to nouns also, such as body parts.

217. me·? yuk-an-ân ju?-an wey / pük-ân-iy /
eye stick-Inst-Def poke.3SPst-Acc Comp child-Def-Top

He poked the child in the eye.

But whether or not there is cross-reference within the grammatical clause of which the tagged phrase is a part, for -ân-iy tagging at least there is normally cross-reference to a noun phrase in the same sentence or group of sentences. The sentence or sentences normally describe a group of events or description in which the participant is prominent, and the first noun reference to him or it is at or near the beginning of the sentence or sentences. The example 216 can be seen in its larger setting in Appendix B.I.29-30.

More than one phrase can be tagged at once. The phrases may refer to the same referent, or to different ones.
218. /nɪl-ān-i[y-a? / piʔ-an-a  / 3S-Def-Top-Seq keep-3SPres-Rhy man that.Erg-Top-Rhy  
kuʔ-an / godfather that.Erg 
As for him, he keeps it, that man does, the godfather.

219. /kən kɑːl-an nun pam máŋtəy-an-əŋ puk  
Punct carry-3SPres 3SAcc man elder-Erg child  
mánj-ān-iy / small-Def-Top 
Then the old man carries the child.

4.5 Reprise

Cross-referencing for tagging has already been described. This is a form of reprise, a term used by Halliday (1967:241) and also by Grimes (1972a:821 ff.).

Fronted phrases may also be cross-referenced in the main body of the clause, normally by an anaphoric pronoun or demonstrative. In this way they are given further prominence.

220. /kəkən t[ək-əŋ-aʔ / tɑgən wunp-wunp ʔey  
coconut shell-Loc-Seq there put-Rd.3SPst Exclm  

/kʉːk / ʔanaŋ-an-iy /  
ashes those-Top

In the coconut shell, there he put those ashes!

Sometimes, surface case agreement is not present between the fronted word or phrase and the anaphoric pronoun or demonstrative with the same reference. In these cases, the fronted item is in the surface case of nominative, and it is the case of the anaphoric pronoun or demonstrative or second noun which determines its function in the clause. In the following two examples there is no surface case agreement. In the first example, the cross-referencing takes the form of an abbreviated form of the referent pronoun, the suffix to the verb -ant.

221. /nɪl Mary-ān-i[y-aʔ / meʔ kam piʔ-j-ant /  
3S Mary-Def-Top-Seq eye juice break.3SPst-Ref

As for Mary, she wept.
As for them, we left them there.
Sometimes the cross-reference is to a noun in the main
body of the clause which specifies part of a whole.
223. /puk manj-àn-a? / kem manj-a mungk /
child small-Def-Seq flesh small-Rhy eat.3SPst
Of the child, he ate a small amount.
It is also possible to have more than one phrase fronted
with different referents, and to have cross-referencing in the
main body of the clause to just one of these.
224. /nil gupriv ʔan-ttem ?ilangan-iy-a? / wik
3S friend IDEExcl-Poss this.Erg-Top-Seq word
wây-àn-iy-a? / kuŋtj ʔan-ttem-àn-a múl-àn-a
bad-Def-Top-Seq subling IDEExcl-Poss-Def-Rhy dead-Def-Rhy
wun-pul-a? / nil-a lat ?ump-ant / Auntie
lie-3DPst-Seq 3S-Rhy letter write.3SPst-Ref Auntie
McClure-ant-àn /
McClure-Ref-Def
This our friend, she wrote the bad news about our brother
and sister dying in a letter to Auntie McClure.
Examples such as 218, 220 and 224 show that combinations
of fronting and tagging in the one grammatical clause are
possible.

4.6 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions have several functions in Wik-Munkan
(Secs. 7.6.1 and 7.6.2.2). Just one of these is introduced
in this section.
Rhetorical questions may enter into a special kind of
reprise construction, where a clause constituent, a clause,
or even a sentence, may be cross-referenced to it. These can
be considered thematically partitioned pseudo-cleft construc-
tions, of the form 'Q be A'. The term 'pseudo-cleft' is used
as in transformational literature, e.g. Huddleston 1971:86, 211.
The significance of such rhetorical questions is to
prepare the listener for some kind of surprise. It is as if
the speaker is saying, "Wait for it. I have something surprising, perhaps even startling, coming up". The phrase or clause or sentence which is in cross-reference to the rhetorical question normally contains new information.

225. /wantin-ak gul jē·? / yuk-āŋ wiį-pāŋ / where-G1 Temp throw-3SPst tree-Loc stick-Trz.3SPst

And where do you think she threw [the line] next? She got it caught in a tree!

226. /ʔaʔ Louisa-ag ʔeʔ-n want / koʔ-g want / Cj Louisa-Erg what leave.3SPst teeth leave.3SPst

And what did Louisa leave behind? She left her teeth behind!

The rhetorical question is sometimes in the same information block as the phrase which is cross-referenced to it. In these instances the rhetorical question and the phrase to which it refers are normally contiguous and precede the verb. They have the same level of pitch, and together form a complex intonation centre (Sec.3.1.7).

227. /kuʔ-tan ʔaʔ-kān nil-am ʔump / oʔeʔ-n-ąŋ-a cord etc-Def 3S-Emph cut.3SPst what-Inst-Rhy

{oʏuk-a piʔ-qi-ąŋ ʔumpʔ-ump-antan kuʔ-tan ʔaʔ-n-təm wood-Rhy bamboo-Inst cut-Rd-3PPres cord 3P-Poss}

puk manj-i yap ʔaʔ-n-təm-ʔaʔ ʔaʔ-k-ŋeʔ-y-an-a / child small-Top 3P-Poss-Def place-hear-3SPres-Rhy

She cut the cord herself. What with? They cut the cords with bamboo, of their children who are born.

The formalization of rhetorical questions in reprise constructions could be as follows:

```
I declare to you about X
that

Presuppositions: X is surprising
X is new information
```

Fig.13. Suggested Formalization of Rhetorical Questions
4.7 Clauses with Sequence Intonation

Clauses which have an intonation contour of elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range with the sequence intonation carrier -aʔ, form the introductory clauses of sentences which express a number of relationships. Included in these are simultaneity, concession and condition.

In relationship to thematic organization, these clauses can be divided into setting clauses and topicalized clauses. Setting clauses may tell of the passing of time, or they may restate an event already described and note its completion. In either case the setting clause becomes a point of departure for the next event or series of events. There are also continuous setting clauses, which have either or both reduplication of the verb stem and the continuous intonation carrier clitic -aʔ.

Topicalized clauses are normally both the topic for what follows as well as being the point of departure. They may be either given or new information. They very often express a simultaneous temporal relationship.

Both setting and topicalized clauses will be discussed further in Secs. 7.4.1.2, 7.4.1.3, 7.4.1.4, 7.6.2.1, 8.4.1, 8.4.2, and 8.6.2.1.

4.8 Cycling

In its simplest form, a cyclic construction in Wik-Munkan has the linear order A B A'. That is, a speaker recapitulates his starting point (Sayers 1972a:327). Both sentences and paragraphs are sometimes cyclic in Wik-Munkan. A speaker closes a cyclic sentence by paraphrasing the first clause.

228. /pɪ́p ηát-ařam-aŋ ?ém-áʔ-an-ām-ąŋ-a / ka-ʔ father ISAj-Poss-Erg grow-Trz-Nomz-Src-Erg-Ind mother ηát-ařam-aŋ-a / pul waʔ-pul x ař-aŋ-a / ηay puʔ ISAj-Poss-Erg-Ind 3D tell-3DPst ISAj-Ref-Ind IS for keʔ ɪát-aŋ meʔ maŋ-ąŋ yaʔ-a / ʔin-a wik puł VNeg see-ISPst eye IS-Emph Neg-Ind this-Rhy word 3D
wa·ʔ-wa·ʔ-pul / ka·ʔ-aʔ / pi·p-iy
tell-Rd-3DPst mother-Seq father-Emph
?em-aʔ-an-am-aʔ / ɳaʔ-aʔam-aŋ /
grow-Trz-Nomz-Src-Seq ISAj-Poss-Erg

My adopted father and my mother told me this story; I didn't see it with my own eyes, no, my adopted father and mother told me this story.

A cyclic paragraph may have all or part of its initial sentence paraphrased at the close. In both cyclic sentences and paragraphs the speaker is at liberty to add some new information to the paraphrase.

The significance of cycling seems to be the speaker's desire to impress a certain point onto the hearer's memory. It is as if he is saying, "This is something I want to be sure you remember"; or, in the case of a description, "This is something worth describing for you to remember". In example 228 given above, the speaker is at pains to impress on her listeners the authenticity of her story by tying it back to her parent's knowledge of tradition.

The formalization of cycling would need to contain a presupposition to the effect that the information of the first proposition should be remembered by the listener.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

1. Formalization is discussed in more detail in Chapter 11.

2. Labov (1969:738 ff.) discusses this matter in some detail. Grimes discusses the idea of probability vectors to represent two alternative rules at some point in the grammar (1972a:832 ff.).
CHAPTER 5: AREAS AND LEVELS OF THEME

5.1 Introduction

It has already been stated that in a Wik-Munkan discourse there are not only several thematic levels operating simultaneously (Sec. 2.1.3) but also there are themes operating in different areas of a discourse (Sec. 2.1.4). These concepts of areas and levels are further defined and exemplified in Sections 5.2 and 5.3 respectively, and their interrelationship shown in Section 5.4.

5.2 The Concept of Areas of a Discourse

Grimes (1971) distinguishes different kinds of information in discourse. Those he names and describes are events, participants (identification), setting, background, collateral and performative. Setting refers to temporal and locative elements. Background covers explanations, the relating of prior or foreshadowed events, and evaluations. Collateral information tells "what might have happened, but did not, or what might happen later" (1971:70). Quotations are typically collateral information, likewise negatives, futures and questions. Performative information has to do with the relation between the speaker and the hearer, and the speech situation they are in. As Grimes explains, events are the backbone, or central part, of narratives and procedures. On the other hand, explanations are the central part of expository texts, and events for these texts are background information.

Dvořáková distinguishes the amount of communicative dynamism typically carried by setting information compared with events. She says (1964:133):

We suppose that the indication of the place (the local setting of the action), conveyed by the adverb, is communicatively less important than the action (what is actually happening). The notion conveyed by the adverb recedes, as it were, into the background.

Landerman and Frantz (1972:158) also support the idea of different kinds of information in their handling of tense
and negation. While they posit both as higher predicates in
the semantic component, tense is considered to be generally
higher than negation. The grounds for this are: '... tense
tends to be more of a setting of the stage for that which is
declared, while negation is an integral part of the
declaration'.

These studies suggest the need and usefulness of dis-
tinguishing formally different kinds of information, or
different areas of a text.

5.2.1 Areas of Theme in Wik-Munkan

In Wik-Munkan it is possible to distinguish themes
operating in at least three areas of a text, namely, in the
nucleus, setting and periphery. My use of the term 'area'
is somewhat similar to Grimes' term 'kind(s) of information'.
I am using nucleus to refer to the combination of the partici-
pants and the backbone or central part of the text, that is,
events for narratives and procedures, explanations and
descriptions for explanatory discourses, and evaluations
and collateral material for exhortations (see Sec. 6.1 for
discussion of discourse genre). By setting I refer to the
locative and temporal orientations within a text. Periphery
refers to the framework within which the story is told, and
which may be referred to by the speaker as a point of
reference between him and the hearer.

Both setting themes and peripheral themes can be repre-
sented formally in surface structure by some of the same
topicalization patterns that are used for themes from the
nucleus of a text, for instance -àn-a? and -àn-iy-a? fronting,
and clauses with sequence intonation. Also, -iy, ('topic'), may
occur suffixed to setting and peripheral elements mid intonation
contour and within the main body of the clause (see Sec. 6.8).

Themes from different areas may operate simultaneously in
a text. They co-exist rather than compete with each other.
If themes from more than one area occur together at the
beginning of a paragraph, then we may expect the following
surface order: periphery, setting, nucleus. The following example demonstrates this.

229. Periphery:

/kan  tà- gà-an-a? /   nil-nil-am pi·ʔ-pi·ʔ-an
Punct Rd-see-IPExclPst-Seq 3S-Rd-Emph mind-Rd-3SPst-Acc
ʔáŋmán-a? /
there.same-Seq

Setting:                Nucleus:
ŋa·ʔ  dón-àn-iy-a?   /   puk mánj-àn-iy-a? /  ka·t
day another-Def-Top-Seq child small-Def-Top-Seq mother
kuntj-aŋ-a?   /   pek kal-an   wo?uw-ak /
own-Erg-Seq  down carry.3SPst-Acc river-Gl

We kept on watching her minding him all by herself, and the next day, as for the child, the mother took him to the river.

Ordering rules are then necessary. These, and the question of whether periphery and setting should be considered higher predicates, are discussed in Section 11.5.

For the purpose of this thesis, background and collateral information such as conversation between participants in a discourse, have not been considered separately. From the point of view of thematic organization, they are embedded information in a discourse. They do not necessarily follow the mainstream of the discourse theme, and may themselves have a nucleus and setting of their own, and perhaps even periphery as well. They too then may have themes operating in different areas. Example 230 shows a setting theme within part of a conversation. Example 231 shows a phrase with -àn-iy tagging, which is a reminder of the theme at end of an explanation.

   2P sun-bad-Temp-Def-Seq Carb damper-Def get-2PPut-Seq
ni·y yo·n   pênt-àn   ŋul /  ka·t  pi·p
2P outside go.out-2PPut Temp-Ind mother father
ni·y-antam-ant-a /
2P-Poss-Ref-Ind

In the afternoon, you get some damper, and then go to the village, to your parents.

231. /nil-a namanaman wa·ʔ-wun-tan /  ŋa·nwíy-àn-iy/
   3S-Rhy for.that.purpose.Mid call-Rec-3PPres sacred-Def-Top
For that reason, they call him by a sacred name amongst themselves.
5.2.1.1 Setting

The co-existence of themes from the setting and the nucleus areas of a text is not a new concept. Reid, for instance, distinguished two sets of relators marking Sentence Topic for Central Bontoc (1970:21-23). One set, the <as> class, occur with phrases which have to do with time or site, and the other, the <nan> class, occur with phrases which expound situational roles such as actor, goal and instrument. He states that a sequence of two Sentence Topics may occur, one with an <as> class relator, and the other with a <nan> class relator.

Setting themes in Wik-Munkan are a departure point and no more. That is, they are not normally the speaker's current subject matter. They provide a temporal or spatial orientation for that subject matter only, regardless of whether a following nucleus theme is marked or unmarked in surface structure.

Setting themes may be expressed by temporal words with -àn-a? or -àn-iy-a? fronting.

   Cj early.morning-Def-Top-Seq go.early-3SPres 3SAj-Ref
   ŋu! /
   Temp
   Early in the morning he hurries to him.

They may also be expressed by a clause which repeats old information. These clauses I have called setting clauses. They can be divided into punctiliar and continuous. The former recapitulate the last event, at the same time noting its completion and therefore the passing of time. Example 233 follows a paragraph which describes children entering school.

233. /kán-àn ʔo·ntj-ant-an-a? / ŋáy-àn piʔ-ʔaŋ ʔan-aŋ /
   Punct-Def enter-3PPres-Seq IS-Def mind-ISPst 3P-Acc
   ka·ʔatjam-a /
   first-Ind
   After they used to enter school, I minded them at first.

Continuous setting clauses are mainly found in travelogues (Sec. 6.1.2), where the characters are constantly on the move.
At the beginning of most paragraphs and some sentences, the movement is reiterated.

234. /ka·w moʔ-an-a· / ?a·wuʔ j pi·ʔa·ŋ nə·ntj-an / east run-IPExclPst-Cont house big-Loc enter-IPExclPst

We kept on going east, and then we entered a big house.

Setting clauses have the lowest degree of communicative dynamism within the sentences or paragraphs in which they occur in that they are merely reiterating given information. They do not push the communication forward at all, but provide an orientation within which it can be pushed forward. When they occur, they would constitute the theme of a sentence according to Fīrbaš's definition. He considers the theme to be constituted by the sentence element(s) which carries the lowest degree of communicative dynamism (1964b:272).

Temporal and locative demonstratives, which often occur as setting themes, must also be considered to have a low degree of communicative dynamism. They merely acknowledge that a span of time or space (or both) has passed.

235. /ʔaŋpələn-aʔ / wik· nə·ʔy / then.from-Seq word hear.3SPst

And after that, he heard a shout.

Beneš has in fact made a distinction between basis and theme. Fīrbaš gives an English translation of Beneš' concept of basis (1964b:276):

By 'basis' he understands the phenomenon that 'as the opening element of the sentence links up the utterance with the context and the situation, selecting from several possible connections one that becomes the starting point, from which the entire further utterance unfolds and in regard to which it is oriented'.

His concept of theme then would be the element from within the rest of the sentence which has the lowest amount of communicative dynamism. Beneš' definition of basis is very close to what I mean by setting theme, although his definition is broad enough to cover peripheral themes as well. I have chosen to retain the term theme to cover the three areas because of the similarity in surface topicalization patterns which are employed.
I doubt whether it is sound to push the idea of marked and unmarked themes for setting and periphery. It is true, for instance, that there is a choice between making a temporal change prominent or not, but the choice is rather one of making it thematic versus non-thematic, rather than marked theme versus unmarked theme. This idea is discussed and exemplified in Section 7.4.1.5 in relation to setting changes at paragraph boundaries. For the moment, an example of a temporal word, occurring at the beginning of a paragraph and without thematic suffixation, will be given.

236. /kan-ŋul wey ?a·k ʃón-ðk ?ek-ìn-a /
Punct-Temp Comp place another-G1 get.up-3PPst-Ind

And then they shifted to another camp.

Setting themes are further described in Chapters 6-9.

5.2.1.2 Periphery

The periphery refers to the framework within which, or the viewpoint from which, a story is told. It may, for instance, be a reported story, or it may be an eye-witness account. When a speaker makes overt reference to the framework within which his story is told, he is doing so in order to communicate something to the listener. He may, for instance, assert that his story is one that was handed down from the tribal elders, in order to give added authenticity.

237. /ŋay ?in wik kaj waʔ-ʔąŋ-a / ke·nk-anam
IS this word old tell-ISPut-Ind long.ago-Adjo
ʔąnpårən-a / wu·t-a? wantʃíŋʔ-a? muł ?anaŋan
then.from-Ind old.men-Seq old.women-Seq dead those
wun-ın ke·nk /
live-3PPst long.ago

I'm telling you the story from a long time ago, from the ancestors who lived long ago.

In some texts, the source of the story is referred to not once, but several times. Subsequent references then become the reiteration of given information, and have low communicative dynamism. Sometimes these occur initially in a paragraph in clauses with sequence intonation, as in examples 229 and 238.
They precede themes from the setting, which in turn precede themes from the nucleus (see example 229).

238. /ŋan ma·nj-aŋ-an jəj-an-a?/ wantj
     IPExcl film-Loc-Def see-IPExclPst-Seq woman
?alaŋan-iy-a?/ pul manj ?alaŋan-iy-a?/ that.Erg-Top-Seq young-mother small that-Erg-Top-Seq
ŋe·n wey/ ḟip nuŋ-ant-akam-an ye·p
what Comp stomach 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def lower.belly
páŋk-pāŋk-āt ḋum-aŋ/
warm-Rd-Trz-3SPst fire-Loc

We watched the picture, and saw that woman, that young mother – what did she do? – she warmed her own belly by the fire.

Such peripheral themes, like setting themes, are also points of departure and no more. In the topicalisation pattern of a clause in sequence intonation, they have only been found at the beginning of paragraphs, which suggests that their domain of application is for a paragraph-like stretch. At the beginning of another paragraph in the same film, the word for 'film' receives -ān-iy tagging.

239. /ŋan jəj-jəj-an nun ḟa·ʔ? ʔaŋ-atiy
     IPExcl see-Rd-IPExclPst 3SAcc mouth fat-Ab
muŋk-muŋk ma·nj-aŋ-an-iy/
eat-Rd.3SPst film-Loc-Def-Top

We saw him eagerly drinking his mother's milk in the film.

Other references to the periphery may occur in the middle of paragraphs without any formal thematic marking. In the following example, the reference to the periphery is in a non restrictive relative clause.

240. /nil-aʔ pe·y-pe·y/ puk mãŋ-ān-iy/ ma·nj-aŋ-an
     3S-Seq cry-Rd.3SPst child small-Def-Top film-Loc-Def
jəj-jəj-an nun /
     Rd-see-IPExclPst 3SAcc

He cried, that child did – the one we saw in the film.
5.3 The Concept of Levels of Theme

Themes within a Wik-Munkan discourse differ according to the domain over which they have prominence. A global theme has prominence throughout the whole discourse. Subsidiary themes have prominence for a shorter stretch within the discourse. There can be, then, more than one thematic level operating at once, that is, themes of differing status may co-occur.

Like the concept of areas of theme, the concept of levels of theme is similarly not new. Elkins (1971:224-7), writing on Western Bukidnon Manobo, formally distinguished paragraph or discourse topic and sentence topic, and notes that paragraph topic may co-occur with sentence topic in the same sentence. Kroeker (1972) describes narrative themes in Nambiquara as being either global or local in scope. Miller (1973) distinguishes discourse, paragraph and clause themes for Mamanwa. She describes how the speaker can use special particles to implement his choice of discourse theme. On the other hand, a paragraph theme is represented as the goal of the first action of the initial sentence of the paragraph. A clause theme is preceded by a topic marker and also signalled by focus inflection in the verb. She also discusses sentence linkage which can be used as a thematic device. Taylor (1973:2) writing on Tamang, states that 'In the development of the main topic of the narrative each hierarchical unit has its own topic'. Halliday (1967:219-21), discussing adjuncts in thematic position, distinguishes between sentence adjuncts and discourse adjuncts, and notes that the occurrence of a discourse adjunct does not preclude the occurrence of a sentence adjunct within the same sentence.

In summary, while most of the studies above clearly establish global themes and themes of lesser status, few clearly distinguish formally themes associated with each hierarchical unit from discourse to clause. There seems to be a fluid area for most around sentence and paragraph.
5.3.1 Wik-Munkan Thematic Levels

Thematic levels associated with the discourse, paragraph, sentence and clause respectively can be formally distinguished for Wik-Munkan. Thematic levels can be seen to intersect with areas of theme for nucleus and setting at least. Reference to the periphery occurs much more rarely, but it is still possible to obtain some idea of varying domains of prominence for peripheral themes. The topicalization patterns reflecting thematic choices associated with each level are discussed in detail in Chapters 6-9.

It must be borne in mind that the word 'associated' has been chosen deliberately. As stated earlier (Sec. 2.1.3) the ties with each grammatical level are loose rather than rigid. Each level can be considered a centre of thematic influence, rather than a strict setting of boundaries. These centres of thematic influence can be thought of as semantic units which do not always map onto the corresponding grammatical units in a one-to-one manner.¹ In addition to this, they are conditioned by the discourses within which they occur. The prominence a certain topicalization pattern gives to a phrase may vary according to discourse genre. For instance, -án-îy-aʔ fronting is very frequent in procedural discourse. One participant after another, marked with -án-îy-aʔ, may come on the scene in quick succession to perform his role. On the other hand, -án-îy-aʔ fronting is far less common in narrative discourse. This is discussed further in Section 10.3.

5.3.2 Co-occurrence of Marked Themes from Different Levels

It is possible for a marked sentence theme and a marked clause theme, both from the nucleus, to occur together in the one sentence. In this case, the usual order is for the sentence theme to precede the clause theme. In the full context of the following example (see Appendix B.I:29-30) it is preceded by a peripheral theme and a setting theme. Ordering rules are given in Section 11.4.

As for the child, the mother carried him down to the river.

5.4 -âŋ and -iy and Areas and Levels

The topic suffix -iy is interesting in that in relation to setting it gives fronted temporal and locative phrases prominence over a whole paragraph. But in relation to participants it gives them prominence over an approximate sentence, and not necessarily any further. Phrases from the nucleus of a story with -âŋ-iy-a? fronting may be replaced more than once before the end of a paragraph. Also time words marked with -âŋ-a? fronting are relevant over an approximate sentence, whereas participants similarly marked may be relevant over a clause only.

Further, there is a definite trend for setting punctiliar clauses occurring initially in a paragraph to contain an aspect word, kaâŋ or ãŋul, and for the aspect word to be suffixed with -âŋ. These clauses normally summarize the information given in all or most of the preceding paragraph (see Sec. 7.4.1.3 for examples). On the other hand, setting punctiliar clauses occurring within a paragraph typically do not contain an aspect word. If -âŋ occurs, it occurs suffixed to a noun which is part of the given information which the clause is reiterating. These clauses typically summarize or repeat the information of the sentence before only. Frequently they consist of just a verb with sequence intonation. (See Sec. 8.4.1 for examples.)

On the other hand, topicalized clauses occurring at the beginning of sentences frequently have a content word within them marked with -âŋ, regardless of whether the word so marked is given or new information. Mostly the word suffixed with -âŋ is a noun. (See Sec. 8.6.2.1 for examples.)
These points may be diagrammed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Paragraph</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Temporal and</td>
<td>-àn-iy-a?</td>
<td>-àn-a?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative Phrases)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nucleus</td>
<td>-àn-iy-a?</td>
<td>-àn-a?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Phrases relating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and objects)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>-àn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Punctiliar</td>
<td>on aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting Clauses)</td>
<td>-iy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on aspect</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nucleus</td>
<td>-àn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Topicalized</td>
<td>on content</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clauses)</td>
<td>on content</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>word</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 14. -àn and -iy and Areas and Levels
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 5

CHAPTER 6: DISCOURSE AND GLOBAL THEME

6.1 Discourse Genre

The varieties of discourse which have been studied for this thesis are narratives, travelogues, exhortations, procedures and explanations. I do not think of these discourse genres as inviolable and completely separate types, as there are certainly discourses which are mixtures. While I am not including dialogue as a separate discourse genre, several of the narrative, travelogue and procedural texts include accounts of conversation between the participants. In addition to this, some of the hortatory texts demand a short (usually monosyllabic) response from the hearer at certain 'challenge' points.

6.1.1 Narratives

I am reserving the term narrative in this thesis for stories which have a recognizable plot. Most narratives in the corpus of data are myths, but there are also an account of the traditional punishment for adultery told in narrative style, a modern day story about a snapped clothesline disaster, and a freely told version of 'David and Goliath'.

I am using the term 'plot' in a narrower sense than the dictionary meaning. Propp (1958) stated that the idea of functions was basic to folklore analysis. He posited a limited number of functions which 'serve as stable, constant elements in folktales, independent of who performs them, and how they are fulfilled by the dramatic personae. They constitute the components of a folktale' (1958:20). These include functions such as villainy, lack, reward, rescue from pursuit. Propp also defined the roles in functions of characters who appear regularly in folktales, such as the villain, the victim and the hero. Wik-Munkan narratives may be represented by the rhetorical predicate (Sec. 3.10.1) of response, with the arguments of situation, complication, mediation and resolution.
These arguments bear some similarity to the functions of a folktale as described by Propp. It is in this more tightly constrained sense, then, that I use the term 'plot'. A description of a loose collection of events, such as the chronological happenings in a day in a city street, would be rather unlikely to have a plot in this sense.

Others who have applied Propp's work to linguistic analysis include Wise (1971:152), Grimes (1972a:256) and Glover (1973:53-9). (See Sec. 7.3 for further discussion of rhetorical predicates.)

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram.png)

**Fig.15. Underlying Representation of Narratives**

A tree diagram which represented a narrative in full would employ much recursive embedding of further rhetorical predicates, both those of response and others.

In the mapping of the underlying representation onto surface structure, new arguments of the matrix proposition typically coincide with the beginning of a new paragraph. There is not, however, a one-to-one correspondence; several paragraphs for instance, may occur between the arguments of mediation and resolution.

Some narratives are characterized by the occurrence of the intonation carrying clitic -ey, indicating a tag question, at certain tension points. This seems to be close to Labov and Waletzky's (1966:33-9) concept of evaluation in narratives. They suggest that the overall structure of narratives is orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution and coda. The evaluation may occur at the break between complication and resolution, or it may be fused with the resolution. They define evaluation as (1966:37):
...that part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others.

In Wik-Munkan, -ey sometimes occurs at the end of the mediation. For instance, the mediation may have involved the search for the villain. Once he is found, the resolution can proceed. The following two examples show -ey occurring at the end of a sentence announcing the discovery of the villain or villains.

242. /ka·w ka·w ka·w-a? / ḥaṭ- a pul- añ -ey /
     east east east-Seq see.3SPst-Rhy 3D-Acc-Tag

He kept on going east, and then he saw them, did he?

243. /ḥaṭ-ḥaṭ-a? / ṭi-n-am pek wun-ey /
     see-Rd.3SPst-Seq here-Emph down lie.3SPst-Tag

He looked and looked - "He's down here, is he?" [he said].

-ey occasionally occurs also at tension points within the complication. In example 244, the speaker is a snake who has approached and seen the wife of another sitting alone in the shade. He plots to abduct her.

244. /ṇaṭ-a komaŋ ṭi in nji·n ḥaṭ / ṭaw-ey /
     ISAj-Rhy young.woman here sit.3SPst ISAj say.3SPst-Tag

"Here's my young woman sitting here!" he said, did he?

Grammatically, Wik-Munkan narratives are characterized by past tense forms of the verb except for embedded conversation and background material. Most narratives are told in third person; a few are first person accounts. Temporal sequence is in focus, and events are normally chronologically ordered. It is, however, possible to relate a strategic event or events involving one or more participants of the story, and then backtrack and relate what another participant has been doing meanwhile. Sometimes a speaker will shift the focus back and forth between two participants or two sets of participants, keeping some parallelism between what each is doing. On the other hand, sometimes one set does not realize the activity of other till late in the story. In these instances, there may be two sub-plots, each with their own complication and mediation, which do not necessarily match chronologically.
Because narratives have temporal sequence in focus, they are characterized by the occurrence of temporal phrases and clauses, temporal demonstratives such as ?áŋpâlàn 'after that', kan and ñul with their temporal usages (Sec. 3.4.1) and ?a?, a conjunction meaning 'and then'. Setting clauses which repeat information about an event and note its completion, also occur. Spatial orientation is commonly established for narratives too.

Participant identification for narratives can be described as 'stripped down', particularly in reference to the subject. After the first reference to the subject via noun phrase or pronoun, the free form of the pronoun rarely occurs again within that chain of events. Phonologically, narratives are mainly characterized by sequence and indicative intonation patterns.

A further point about narratives, especially the traditional stories, is that ñil, third person singular subject, is sometimes used as a collective pronoun (Sayers 1970b:1).

6.1.2 Travelogues

I am using 'travelogue' as a cover term to refer to texts which are basically a collection of anecdotes. They owe their cohesion to temporal sequence being in focus, and also to a core of central participants. A shifting spatial scene normally parallels the shifting temporal scene.

Some of the texts which I am calling travelogues are hunting, fishing, or food gathering stories. Others involve trips to nearby towns or stations, and even to New Guinea. They may be represented by the rhetorical predicate of collection, with the qualification that its arguments, namely episodes, are ordered in time.
Grammatically, travelogues have many of the same characteristics as narratives, excepting the tag question morpheme -ey occurring at tension points (except where there are embedded narratives). A further difference is that the great majority of travelogues are told in first person.

A common feature of most travelogues is the continuous setting clause (Sec. 7.4.1.4). These are not confined to travelogues, but are mostly associated with them (see Sec. 7.4.1.4 for description of continuous setting clauses).

6.1.3 Procedures

Procedures refer to texts which relate customary ways of doing things, in realms such as cooking, hunting, arts and crafts, and ceremonial life.

Procedures may be represented by the rhetorical predicate of result, with the arguments of antecedent and consequent. The antecedent in turn is represented by a rhetorical predicate of collection, which has chronologically ordered arguments of procedures.
Grammatically, procedures are characterized by verbs in present tense signifying habitual aspect. They are told in either first or third person, although occasionally a speaker will give specific instructions to his hearers on how to do something. In this case, the instructions are given in second person, and future tense is used with the verb, denoting imperative mood.

As procedures are told in chronological sequence, they are also characterized by temporals, temporal conjunctions, and punctiliar setting clauses, as for narratives. They demonstrate the aspect words kan ('punctiliar'), and qul ('temporal'), used with the verbs in present tense (Sec. 3.4.1).

Phonologically, procedures, like narratives, are mainly characterized by sequence and indicative intonation patterns, but the occurrence of -an-iy-a? fronting is more frequent in procedural discourses. This latter point is discussed in Section 10.3.

6.1.4 Exhortations

The term exhortations, or hortatory discourse, refers to texts where the speaker is bent on influencing his listeners, either by persuasion or by sharp challenge, to the point of using ridicule or sarcasm. In my corpus of data, examples of Wik-Munkan hortatory texts range from persuasions to come fishing at night; lively negative commands concerning stealing, gambling, hitting or committing adultery; to strong pleas concerning retaining traditional dancing and hunting skills, and following God's way.

Exhortations can be represented by the rhetorical predicate of purpose, again with arguments of antecedent and consequent. As for procedures, the antecedent is represented by the rhetorical predicate of collection. However, this time the arguments of collection, called points, are not chronologically ordered. Time sequence is not in focus at all in hortatory discourses.
EXHORTATION

Purpose

Antecedent

Collection

Point

Point

Point

Consequent

Fig. 18. Underlying Representation of Exhortations

Grammatically, exhortations are characterized by the use of the future tense and subjunctive mood. Future tense indicates imperative mood when used with second person. Second person is used most frequently, but if the speaker chooses to include himself in a command, he uses first person inclusive plural. In this context, future tense has the effect of obligatory mood.

245. /ŋamp-a ke? máʔ-kūt:jáŋ-amp /
    IPIncl-Rhy VNeg hand-steal-IPInclFut

We must not steal!

Sometimes in hortatory discourse a speaker prefaces a remark with an overt performative clause, such as "I say to you". In these instances, he may use a special tense person suffix on the verb, -anâl, which is homophonous with the first person dual present tense suffix. This form is used when the person is speaking with strong emotion.

246. /ŋay ?inan jaw-anal nuŋk-aʔ / nint
    IS this say-IS.Emo 2SAj-Seq 2S
    wíy-wly-antàng-án ke? wún-án / other-other-Accom-Def VNeg live-2SFut

I say strongly to you - don't live with others [who are not your relatives].

Contrary to the stripped down participant reference used in narratives and travelogues, the free form of the subject pronoun can occur over and over again in a burst of instructions in hortatory discourse.

247. /ni·y-aʔ / komaŋ-aʔ / jítj-án
    2P-Seq young.women-Seq know-2PFut
    kéʔ-an-ak-án-iy // (?e·)// ni·y naŋ ŋul
dance-Nomz-G1-Def-Top (yes) 2P maybe Temp
As for you, you young women, you must learn to dance. (Yes) You may be willing to dance later. You will retain it, won't you? (Yes) Then when you are grown women, you will be dancers! We must keep [the dancing]! (Yes).

The example above also shows how the listeners will sometimes respond at challenge points of the exhortation. The word in brackets ?e· is a response indicating agreement by the hearers.

Phonologically, exhortations show contrast with other discourse genre. The advice tends to come in short sharp bursts separated by pause, and there is a concentration of clauses with elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range, and clauses with expanded pitch range (Sec. 3.1.8). Grammatically, there is a concentration of interrogatives (including rhetorical questions) and imperatives.

6.1.5 Explanations

Explanations refer to texts which describe, and/or explain the whys and wherefores of doing things. Explanations in the corpus of data cover subjects such as character sketches, the reasons for carrying on some crafts and hunting methods, explanations of traditional beliefs, and the mysteries of the tape recorder and the posthole digger.

Explanations can be represented by an explanatory rhetorical predicate which is added in as an extra argument to a dominating proposition. It is a hypotactic proposition which is subordinate to the rest of the dominating proposition, and which supplements or supports it (see Grimes 1972a:257). The supporting argument of explanation itself is represented by a rhetorical predicate of collection, with points as arguments.
The main argument(s) of the dominating proposition may stand for either a proposition such as "why we make mats", or a referential index such as "tape recorder" which terminates the recursion. Temporal sequence is not in focus for explanations, although some sections of explanations may have temporal orientation.

Grammatically, explanations tend to be characterized by verbs in habitual and subjunctive moods. There is no real restriction of person, although second person has not been found very often, and then not throughout the whole discourse.

Explanations tend to have a concentration of sentences expressing reason and result, and the conjunctions that go with them, such as yípmám 'because' and namánam 'therefore'. Sentences expressing contrast and negated antonyms also often occur. When descriptive material is involved, stative and equative clauses are common. Manner words from the anaphoric series yímanaŋ 'like this' (Sec. 3.2.8) and so on, also occur quite often in descriptive material.

6.2 Global theme

In all the genres of discourse dealt with above, global themes may occur. A global theme provides the subject matter and the point of departure for the whole discourse. It is normally stated within the first one or two sentences of the discourse. It can even be said that being at the beginning of the discourse confers theme status, in accordance with the
observation of Grimes that 'the principle seems to be universal that topics are mentioned early within their constructions' (1972a:862).

Most discourses begin with an overt performatve, where the speaker announces his intention of relating a story, procedure or explanation. Some go on to command the listener's attention.

248. /ŋay nî.y-ant. wâ:?-âŋ / manj-iy-a /
   IS 2P-Ref tell-ISFut small-Emph-Ind
   I'm about to tell you, little ones, ...

249. /ŋay ?in wik kaj wâ:?-âŋ-a /
   IS this word old tell-ISFut-Ind
   I'm going to tell you this story ...

250. /Chris-a? / ?in-a · ŋay nuŋk-ař-a puṯam wik kaj
   Chris-Seq here-Rhy IS 2SAj-Ref-Rhy again word old
   wâ:?-âŋ / kan ?in · gê-y-ân-a? /
   tell-ISFut Punct this near-2SFut-Seq
   Chris! Here I am to tell you another story. Now you listen to this!

Following the performatve comes the statement of the global theme. This may be either a proposition, or a referential entity. The latter may be a participant, the name of a ceremony, an object, or a place name. It is normally suffixed with the source enclitic -antām, or followed by a demonstrative in source case which in this context has the gloss "about", "concerning".

251. /wik kaj ?inan wâ:?-âŋ-a / pam kemp patj-antām-a
   word old this tell-ISFut-Ind man flesh white-Src-Ind
   I'm going to tell you this story about a white man.

252. /?in-a / ŋay wik kaj îonaŋan qul wâ:?-âŋ-a /
   now-Ind IS word old another Temp tell-ISFut-Ind
   ?in-iy-a / ?utjanam-a / wik kaj ?utjanam
   this-Top-Ind initiation-Ind word old initiation
   ?âlantām-ân /
   that.Src-Def
   Here I am to tell another story, and it's this, - initiation - it's about that initiation ceremony.
Sometimes, however, the referential entity is simply the object of the verb wa·? 'tell'.

253. /kan train ?in wà·?-åŋ ni·y-ant /
Punct train this tell-ISFut 2P-Ref

Now I'm going to tell you about this train.

There is one text in the corpus of data which begins very elliptically, and without an overt performative. In this case the referential entity is a personified animal.

spear-bad-with-Seq man-Seq lots-Rhy come-3PPst

There was a man, a porcupine, (and lots came to him).

When a global theme is a proposition, it is typically stated in an embedded complement clause, as a complement of the verb wa·? 'tell' (Sec. 3.6.4). The first phrase of the embedded clause is normally suffixed with the definite clitic -åŋ. The proposition in the embedded clause often contains reference to the main participants of the discourse as well as to the main activity.

255. /ŋay wík kaŋ ?inan wà·?-åŋ-a? /
IS word old this tell-ISFut-Seq IPExcl

kaŋ-åŋ-an wun-wun-an /
bush-Loc-Def live-Rd-IPExclPst

I'm going to tell you this story about how we lived in the bush.

256. /ŋay ni·y-ant wà·?-åŋ / manj-iy-a / póť-j-åŋ
IS 2P-Ref tell-ISFut small-Emph-Ind flower-Def

?ump-ant-an /
make-3PPres

I'm going to tell you little ones about how they make [feather] flowers.

Sometimes gapping of the verb wa·? occurs.

257. /?inan-iy-a / wík kaŋ-a / ku·ntj géŋ-ařåm-åŋ
this-Top-Ind word old-Ind sibling ISAj-Poss-Def

?apentj wey / Maud đ / ñån-åŋ-a wenk-an
disappear.3SPst Comp Maud PIEExcl-Def-Rhy search-IPExcl

nuŋ-ant /
3SAj-Ref

Here's a story about how my sister Maud got lost, and about how we searched for her.
Hortatory discourses only occasionally begin with an overt performative. When they do, the verb used is ꦗᬪ 'say', rather than ꦗᬪ 'tell', 'relate'. The global theme follows in an independent clause rather than in an embedded clause.

258. /菅 長 in ꦗᬪ-ارة ni. IPV-ant / ꦗᬪ-iy-a?/
   Punct IS this say-ISPut 2P-Ref  IPIncl-Top-Seq
a point of contact between himself and the hearer, and so he maintains the theme-rheme organization for the introductory sentence, even though all the information may be new. The theme of the utterance is simply presented as something given.

In Wik-Munkan, the use of the definite suffix with embedded complement clauses at the beginning of discourses seems akin to the idea of presenting the theme as something given. The use of -ân or a demonstrative following a referential entity which is global theme, or suffixed to a phrase within the opening sentence of a hortatory discourse, has a similar effect.

6.3 Global Setting

So far discussion of the global theme has been mainly concerned with the nucleus area. When a discourse is temporally or spatially oriented, the setting for the discourse as a whole may sometimes be stated within the first one or two sentences of the discourse.

261. /?iin-an-a wá'?'-âŋ ni·y-aňt-a / wik kaf wantj this-Rhy tell-ISPut 2P-Ref-Ind word old woman
jînam-antâm-a / ?a·k ?in pûnjtan-antâm-a / one-Src-Ind place this tribal.country-Src-Ind
?a·k yoýk ?âtjantâŋ-ân wûn-tân / New Guinea woman / place hill high-Def exist-3PPres New Guinea woman
I'm going to tell you a story about one woman from this country, where there are high mountains - she's a New Guinean woman.

262. /?iin-an-ância / Chris / nuŋk-âň-a wá'?'-âŋ / this another Chris 2SAj-Ref-Rhy tell-ISPut
njî·ŋk-án nan-a ?î·y-an ?îmanám-ân / recently-Def IPExcl-Rhy go-IPExclPst here.from-Def
né·n-âk-a? / kulitj nan-t ?ianan wey what-G1-Seq clothes IPExcl-Ref these Comp
pûŋ-ân / wash-IPExclPut 3P-Acc
This is another story I'm going to tell you now Chris. Today we went out from here, what for? - to wash our dirty clothes.
Sometimes a physical place is part of the nucleus information of the global theme, as can be seen from example 255. However, once the discourse gets underway, it becomes the setting for the activities which are carried out there.

Sometimes the setting is not stated till the refinement of the global theme, which is discussed in Section 6.5.

6.4 Non-initial Global Theme

There are two exceptions to a global theme being stated initially in a discourse. One is where peripheral information (see Sec. 5.2.1.2) is given first in the discourse, and the other is where the speaker deliberately represses part of the global theme till later in the discourse, to give an air of mystery. These may both be considered instances of marked global theme.

In the following example, the speaker asserts initially in the discourse that her story is not only from the traditional past, but also that she as a child had been an eyewitness. This peripheral information is meant to communicate both respect for the story and authenticity. Only after this does she go on to say what the specific ceremony is that she describes in the discourse, namely, a mourning dance for a dead person.

263. //?inan-a wi̱k ƙa̱t wà·ʔaŋ-a / ʔa·k ƙa̱t ƙamp-aŋam this-Rhy word old tell-ISFut-Ind time old IPIncl-Poss ke·nk-anam yump-amp-a // ŋay puk maŋ-am-an long.ago-Adjr make-IPInclPst-Ind IS child small-Src-Def ?i·y-aŋ / ŋay ?inan ƙa̱t-ŋaŋ-y-a / ŋay kon-aŋ-am go-ISPst IS this see-ISPst-Seq IS ear-Loc-Emph pi·ʔ-aŋ / mind-ISPst

I'm going to tell you a story about our old customs from long ago that we carried out. When I was a child, I saw this, and I've remembered it.

Another example of peripheral information coming first in a discourse establishes the story as coming from the Bible.
Little ones, would you like to hear a story? This story that I'm going to tell you is from the sacred book.

A traditional story about a man and a huge snake provides an example of deliberate repression of part of the global theme, in order to give an air of mystery. In the initial sentence of the discourse, there is no hint of what is going to happen or who the other main character is:

```
/pam ke·nk ?a·k ?e·p-an-anj ?i·y-?i·y
man long.ago place crouch-Nomz-Temp go-Rd.3SPst
/ŋ̪ɔŋkŋɔŋkam /
ignorant
```

A long time ago a man went out hunting. He didn't know what would happen that day.

The story continues with the man going on and on till the cool of the day, and then trees begin falling down everywhere.

```
He wonders what is happening.
```

```
/goodness, what's that crawling along?
```

It is only after this that the other main character, the snake, is brought in. Interestingly, the first noun reference to Ḩu·k 'snake' is suffixed with -än-iy.

6.5 Refinement of Global Theme

Very often following the initial sentence of a discourse, a sentence or paragraph follows which gives what can be called a refinement of the global theme. This is similar to what is called 'restriction' by Becker (1965:238) in a tagmemic description of paragraphs. One of his paragraph types he posits as having a restriction slot, where the exponent has the function of narrowing down or defining the topic. Hooker (1972) applies the same term to Ivatan narrative discourses. She says that the topic of the discourse is stated in the first
one or two sentences in general terms. In the remainder of the introductory paragraph it is restated in more specific terms, and this restatement she calls the restriction. There are parallels to this in Wik-Munkan in a number of texts. In the following examples the beginning of the refinement is marked by an asterisk.

267. /wik kaŋ?inan wá·ʔ-ðŋ-a / pam kemp paŋ-j-antam //
   word old this tell-ISPut-Ind man flesh white-Src
   *pam nil ʔá·k-mín-a / nil pam wu·t
   law man 3S place-good-Ind 3S man elderly.male silly
   jaŋ-a /
   also-Ind

   I'm going to tell you a story about a white man. He's a very funny man, and he is silly too.

The rest of the text from which this example comes is devoted to describing the humorous performances of the white man in question. In another text, which is about trains, the second sentence of the discourse describes the rattling of the train. This can be regarded as the refinement of the global theme, as a fair proportion of the rest of the text is concerned with the disruptive effect of the train's rattling.

268. /kan train ʔin wá·ʔ-ðŋ ni·y-ant // *ŋan
   Punct train this tell-ISPut 2P-Ref    IPExcl
   train-ʔ-ŋ-an pe·y-an-aʔ / ʔan-a ya?-im
   train-Ms-Def travel-IPExclPst-Seq that-Rhy NegInts-Emph
   wúŋjáʔ-an ʔan-ŋ-a /
   shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc-Ind

   Now I'll tell you all about this train. When we went in the train, it really shook us!

   Sometimes the setting or the specification of main characters, or both, are not given until the refinement. In the following example, the statement of the temporal and spatial settings and the main characters are all reserved for the refinement.

269. /ʔin-a / ʔay wik kaŋ?onaŋan ʔul wá·ʔ-ðŋ-a /
   this IS word old another Temp tell-ISPut-Ind
   ʔin-ly-a / ʔutjanam-aʔ / wik kaŋ?utjanam
   this-Top-Ind initiation-Seq word old initiation
Here I am to tell you another story. This one is about the initiation ceremony. A long time ago, they used to hide those young men in a sacred place.

Sometimes the refinement is not so much a restatement, but an evaluation.

This story I'm telling you is about how they perform the ceremony concerning the umbilical cord. This cord ceremony is very sacred to us here.

Sometimes the refinement is the first phase or first development of the global theme, which gives way in time to a further development and then perhaps to another. Thus, in one text about children entering school for the first time, the refinement states that some children are good, and some are bad. This in time gives way to another subsidiary theme, this time concerning the value of school. The final subsidiary theme is that all the children have settled down now and all have "good heads".

6.6 Restatement of Global Theme

The global theme and its refinement can be seen to affect the organization of explanatory and hortatory texts in a particular way. There is typically repetition or paraphrase of the refinement several times throughout the text. Such repetition or paraphrase may occur at the end of a paragraph, almost like a summary; or at the beginning of a paragraph,
like a point of departure. Sometimes, phonologically at least, the restatement has more the status of a refrain between paragraphs. It may also occur in paragraph medial position.

The restatement of the global theme or its refinement does not occur neatly between every major activity, point or description which illustrates the global theme, but sometimes it is "almost" like that. Linguistically, the restatements are not just baldly stated, but are often amplified structures, negated antonym pararaphrases, cycling, or contain a rhetorical question, command, or manner word.

In a short text about a train, the refinement, given in example 268, is restated twice within the text.

271. /yimanaq-a? / ya?-im wûnjât-an ḡan-aŋ / like this-Seq NegInts-Emph shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc
   It really shook us!

272. /wûnjât-an ḡan-aŋ-ğa / kuŋēntj ka·w-am
    shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc-Ind corner east-towards
   ku·w-am // ya?-im wûnjât-an ḡan-aŋ / west-towards NegInts-Emph shake.3SPres IPExcl-Acc
   ƞak-a ɪ́ám-áŋ /
   water-Rhy also-Def
   It shook us, and sent us to the east and west corners. It really shook us, and the water [in our hands] too.

In one hortatory text, where the refinement of the global theme can be translated as "Let's leave our anger behind", several of the following paragraphs begin with a paraphrase of this refinement.

273. /kan-a? kul kan wânt-âmp-a? / ƞamp
    Punct-Seq anger Punct leave-IPInclFut-Seq IPIncl
    yey-yey pek-wump-a? /
    never.again fight-Rec.IPIncl-Seq
   Enough! Let's leave our anger! Let's not fight for ever!

274. /ŋé·y-áŋ-a? / ḡay wikmuŋkan ɪ́aw-áŋ-ğa? /
    hear-2PFut-Seq IS Wik-Munkan say-ISFut-Seq
   ƞé·y-áŋ-a? / kan wânt-âmp-a? /
    hear-2PFut-Seq Punct leave-IPInclFut-Seq
   Listen! I'm talking to you in Wik-Munkan! Listen! Let's leave it!
We've jumped into the New Year now, and I'm saying this. It [fighting] is for leaving! Let's leave our anger!

6.7 Participant Identification and the Global Theme

Main characters of discourses are normally stated within the global theme or refinement. If there is just one main third person character, or one who supersedes others in importance, there is a tendency for that character to be simply identified by nil 'he', 'she' at some points of the discourse. This is despite the presence of other third person characters. In the context preceding the following example, the activity of a female relative has just been described, namely that of trimming a grass skirt for a pregnant woman. The sentence given below denotes a change of actor to the pregnant woman.

She only worked and worked, and planted food for herself.

This sentence is, in actual fact, a restatement of the refinement of the global theme, so there is no real danger of ambiguity. Nevertheless, because the pregnant woman is the highest ranked character in the text, the speaker here felt no need to identify her by a noun, as is the normal procedure when there is switching from one third person character to another.

This tendency has parallels in the sociolinguistic situation of the Wik-Munkan community. For instance, when talking about her husband, a woman may refer to him simply by the pronoun nil, without giving any prior noun identification.
6.8 \(-\text{iy}\) and the Global Theme

Another way in which the global theme affects the whole text is that there is a trend for references to the main characters and main setting throughout the discourse to be suffixed with the enclitic \(-\text{iy}\), ('topic'). Mostly it follows the definite clitic \(-\text{an}\) or a demonstrative. Thus in the text relating a film about a pregnant woman (see Appendix B.I) nearly every reference to the woman and the child she later bears, is suffixed with \(-\text{iy}\). (This is with the exception of reference via the subject pronoun \(\text{nii}\), which is mostly not marked with \(-\text{iy}\) in this text.) Suffixing with \(-\text{iy}\) is not confined to fronting and tagging positions.

277. /\text{wantj} \text{kampan} \text{nuŋ-antam} ŋonam ke? \text{nuŋ-antåŋ-ân-iy} \text{woman relative} \text{3SAj-Poss} \text{one} \text{VNeg} \text{3SAj-Accom-Def-Top} \text{?i·y} / \text{ya}? / \text{go.3SPst} \text{Neg}

Not one female relative accompanied her, no.

It will be recalled that \(-\text{ân-iy-a}\) fronting normally gives a participant prominence over a sentence approximately (Sec. 5.4). But there is no conflict in Wik-Munkan for a referential entity which is part of the global theme to be marked with \(-\text{iy}\) within a sentence which begins with a different referent receiving \(-\text{ân-iy-a}\) fronting.

In the following example, references to two participants who are not part of the global theme, are fronted, the second one with \(-\text{ân-iy-a}\) fronting. Later on in the sentence, a reference to the man who is part of the global theme is suffixed with \(-\text{ân-iy}\). The global theme here is superimposed on the local sentence theme.

278. /\text{nił ka·} j kuntuŋ-a? / \text{wantj} \text{mántåyan-ân-iy-a} / \text{3S} \text{mother own-Seq} \text{woman elder-Def-Top-Seq} \text{?ánmån} \text{?i·y-anpul} \text{nuŋ-antåŋ} \text{koy-koyuw pam} \text{?alantåŋ} \text{only} \text{go-3DPres} \text{3SAj-Accom Rd-behind man that.Ref} \text{mántåyan-antåŋ} / \text{kan} \text{wamp-anpul} \text{ţinţ-ţinţ-ţul} / \text{elder-Accom} \text{Punct come-3DPres close-Rd Temp} \text{pám-ân-iy} \text{?um} \text{kenj} \?ánmån \text{wun} / \text{man-Def-Top} \text{chest high same.way lie.3SPst}
As for the mother, and the old woman, they just follow behind the male elder towards the man; they've come closer now, and the man is still lying there chest up.

In example 279 a minor character is the marked theme of the sentence, but in addition, later on in the sentence the locative ?înan 'in this (place)' is suffixed with the topic clitic -iy. The locative here refers to the global setting.

279. /ni/1 wantj kampan nuŋ-anṭam ḫonam-āŋ-āŋ-iy-a? / may 3S woman relative 3SAj-Poss one-Erg-Def-Top-Seq Carb pi·ʔan ka·mp-ant-a / ka? ŋāmp-āŋ
big bury.3SPst-Ref-Ind like IPIncl-Def
ka·mp-anamp-a miŋ-a may-a? / yΪmanāŋ-āŋ
bury-IPInclPres-Rhy Pro-Rhy Carb-Seq same.manner-Def
ţan ?înan-iy ?a·k ka·mp-ant-an / miŋ-a may /
3P this.in-Top place bury-3PPres Pro-Rhy Carb

One of her female relatives put lots of food in a ground oven for her, just as we put food in a ground oven, both meat and fruits, so they do it here in this place in the same way.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 6

1. Some songs, which are the indigenous Wik-Munkan counterpart to European country and western music, have been recorded and transcribed, but are outside the scope of this thesis.

2. For instance, one text, which relates the story of a traditional ceremony, begins in narrative style. About half way through, the speaker changes to procedural style. Procedures and explanations in particular seem to merge together at times, if there is some temporal orientation necessary concerning what the speaker is explaining. The text in Appendix B.I is not a clear example of one discourse genre.

3. Longacre (1968a:160-188) has done detailed work on the internal relations of dialogue paragraphs reported within a discourse. Later (1972:78-9) he develops the concept of the repartée calculus to represent the deep structure of dialogue. Clancy (1972) has worked on the analysis of a recorded conversation in which several people took part. Glover (1973:183-6), writing on Gurung, describes conversational discourse (involving two or more speakers) as a separate discourse type. He sees conversational discourse as an instance of the sememic relation of conjunction.

4. I am aware of the possibility of a collection of anecdotes which take place within an unchanging spatial setting. However, within the data I have in hand, collections of anecdotes involve situations where the character(s) is on the move, either for purposes of travel or for such purposes as hunting.

5. Glover (1973:178), on the other hand, declares that 'the basic sememic relation encoded by PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is that of PROBLEM-SOLVING'. This relation has the arguments of conflict, mediation and resolution. My choice of result is perhaps a semantic one. Procedures normally relate culturally known and expected steps, which lead to a predetermined goal, or result. I find it hard to reconcile the idea of conflict with procedures.

6. Grimes (1972a:266) prefers to collapse the relations of condition, result and purpose into a single relation called covariance. I have retained the more specific semantic terms. At the discourse level, the relations of purpose and result can be grammatically distinguished on the grounds of temporal relation. The rhetorical predicates of purpose have a future orientation, and in fact it is not known whether the purpose is achieved. Results have a non-future orientation, and the result is presented as something that is achieved. Bieri (1973), writing on Sunwar,
has similarly found it useful to retain specific types of covariance rather than collapse them into one single relation. She distinguishes condition, result and reason according to four criteria, namely: different referential relationships between the two arguments of each type, different temporal relations, different marking in surface structure, and different functions in discourse.

7. The occurrence of -anâl indicating strong emotion is mostly found in hortatory discourses, but not confined to them.

8. In everyday conversation, it is very common to hear manj 'small' or puk manj 'small child' suffixed with -iy at the end of the phrase. This is an emphatic suffix, homophonous with the topic enclitic -iy. Grammatically, it occurs in a different position in the ordering of suffixes, occurring immediately after the stem, e.g. puk manj-iy-antâm (child small-Emph-Poss) 'the child's'. The topic enclitic -iy follows case suffixes and the definite enclitic -ân.

9. The words enclosed in brackets are not part of the global theme.

10. The suffix -al in this example is an abbreviated form of the close distance vocative suffix -alâŋ used with dual and plural second person pronouns.

11. This is not the typical order. Normally the participant receiving -ân-îy-â? fronting precedes one that has -ân-â? or -â? fronting (Sec. 5.3.2).
CHAPTER 7: PARAGRAPHS AND PARAGRAPH THEME

7.1 Introduction

The use of the word 'paragraph' very quickly arouses suspicion amongst some linguists. Questions are often raised about the validity of the paragraph, and whether it is perhaps nothing more than a typographer's convention. In Section 7.2.2 I give the phonological and grammatical criteria for establishing oral paragraphs in Wik-Munkan.

One cannot assume that oral paragraphs and written paragraphs would be identical for any given language in their boundary signals and internal structure. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note an experiment carried out at the University of Michigan which showed that students were able to restore paragraphing to written material. To my knowledge no similar experiments have been carried out testing recognition of paragraphs in oral material.

7.2 Wik-Munkan Paragraphs

Wik-Munkan paragraphs can be described as being combinations of sentences which group together (and sometimes embedded paragraphs as well), and which have the function of presenting and developing the global theme of the discourse. One-sentence paragraphs are also possible. Such groups of sentences or one-sentence paragraphs can be formally defined as paragraphs by grammatical and phonological criteria (Sec. 7.2.2). In addition, paragraphs have the underlying representation of rhetorical predicates such as response, explanation and contrast (Sec. 7.3).

7.2.1 Function

In their function of presenting and developing the global theme, some paragraphs introduce that global theme; others conclude it. Some illustrate it, some elaborate upon it, some
reinforce it via contrast or collateral information or restatement. Some consist of an aside which is necessary background material for the development of the global theme. Other paragraphs again are essentially a comment on the global theme, where the speaker gives an evaluation of his subject matter. Some paragraphs move the theme along (for example, chronologically), rather than reinforce, expand or evaluate.

Certainly, the functions listed above do not exclusively belong to paragraphs. For instance, a single sentence may introduce a global theme, and a single clause conclude it (and not necessarily form a separate paragraph). An illustration of a global theme may be several paragraphs in length. Nevertheless, such functions are more often performed by formally defined paragraphs in Wik-Munkan than by other linguistic units.

The way in which paragraphs develop the global theme differs for some discourse genres. For example, for hortatory discourses the functions of reinforcement, expansion and illustration are most prominent. The introduction of a new argument, or the illustration of an existing one, often coincides with grammatical and phonological signals of paragraphs. On the other hand, for narratives, a new development of the plot often coincides with a major setting change and a re-orientation of characters, which are both criteria for establishing paragraphs. Once a narrative gets underway, paragraphs have the function of moving the global theme along towards its resolution, rather than functions of restatement and reinforcement. Travelogues, similarly, have few paragraphs which reinforce or restate. As travelogues are anecdotal rather than plot centred, the paragraphs within them function basically as a loose, though chronologically ordered, collection of comments on the global theme. For example, for some travelogues, the next major sight or incident en route corresponds with formal criteria for establishing paragraphs.

As stated earlier (see Secs. 2.1.3 and 5.3.1) there are several thematic levels operating simultaneously in Wik-Munkan,
which may be associated with discourses, paragraphs, sentences and clauses respectively. Paragraphs, then, have their own themes. While these are sometimes reinforcements of the global theme, or of a phase of the global theme (see Sec. 6.5), more often paragraphs have their own subsidiary themes which relate to and develop the global theme. More is said on this in Section 7.9.

The way in which some texts are punctuated by the restatement of the global theme or its refinement was discussed in Section 6.6. In some texts, especially exhortations, this restatement of the global theme does indeed become the theme of some paragraphs within the text. But more often, the restatement is superimposed on the organization of the text, and occurs at the borders of paragraphs almost like a refrain.

7.2.2 Phonological and Grammatical Criteria

The boundary criteria for signalling the beginning of paragraphs are often at one and the same time, topicalization patterns which indicate setting or peripheral themes, or ways of foregrounding the theme of the nucleus of the paragraph. These are described in Sections 7.4 and 7.6 respectively. Similarly the closure of a paragraph is sometimes obvious because there is a reminder of the paragraph theme. This is described in Section 7.7.

Criteria which are treated in depth in Sections 7.4 and 7.6 and 7.7 are merely introduced in this section, whereas other criteria not treated elsewhere are described more fully. Criteria for identifying paragraphs can be diagrammed as follows:
### Grammatical Criteria:

**Main**
- Major Temporal Change (temporally oriented discourses only)
- Major Spatial Change (usually accompanied by a major temporal change)
- Re-orientation of participants
- Rhetorical Questions
- Peripheral information and Restatement of discourse theme occurring at paragraph borders

**Supporting**
- Changes in kind of information (often with accompanying tense changes)
- Closely knit semantic domain
- Certain interjections and conjunctions

### Phonological Criteria:

- First sentence of paragraphs high in pitch
- Tendency for concentration of contours with elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range
- Sequence intonation carrier -ə? initial in paragraph

---

**Fig. 20. Criteria for Identifying Paragraphs**

Not one of these criteria can be said to always occur signalling a new paragraph, so that no single one gives unfailing guidance in indicating paragraphs. Sometimes a combination of more than one criteria occurs. Sometimes too there is co-occurrence of one or more minor features, which occur with one or more main criteria at the beginning of paragraphs. These I have called supporting criteria. Some supporting criteria, such as the interjection ya· 'all right', 'well then', 'yes', sometimes occur within paragraphs as well as at the beginning of paragraphs.

Some criteria are more characteristic of some discourse genres than others. On the other hand some criteria have not been found in some discourse genres. For instance, the
continuous setting clause (Secs. 7.2.2.1 and 7.4.1.4) is mostly associated with travelogues, but also occurs in the mediation section of narratives. A few examples have also been found in procedural and explanatory texts, but none in hortatory texts. Details of occurrence in specific discourse genres are given with the description of each criterion where relevant.

7.2.2.1 Major Temporal Change

In narratives, procedures and travelogues an indication of a major time change emerges as the strongest criterion for indicating new paragraphs. This may be by temporal phrases or clauses, by setting clauses, or by strategic positioning of the aspect words かん and ぬる. These are all described and discussed in Section 7.4, and there is also reference to かん in Section 7.2.2.2.

As paragraphs in several languages are the domain of a major setting change, temporal or spatial or both, (Grimes 1972a:862; Stokes 1971; Glover 1973:153) then it seems that setting should belong as a constituent of the deep structure of a paragraph rather than of a sentence. Extra mentions of the setting in the further sentences of a paragraph could then be thought of as optional agreement. This is further discussed in Section 11.5.

7.2.2.2 Major Spatial Change

Some temporal changes implicate spatial changes as well. For instance, continuous setting clauses indicate both the passing of time as well as movement from one place to another. When an aspect word such as かん occurs with temporal force and also with a motion verb such as い・や 'go', changes of both time and place are indicated. In fact, in any temporally oriented text, a spatial change normally implicates a temporal change, although the reverse is not necessarily true. I say 'normally' in the last sentence because sometimes a speaker may describe the simultaneous activities and spatial settings of two sets
of participants in a sequence of two paragraphs. For instance, in one text, there is a paragraph describing a man going for goose eggs, while the next paragraph describes a group watching him from a good distance away.

In explanatory discourses, which are not basically temporally oriented, major spatial change is sometimes involved in indicating a new paragraph.

280. */a·k ?i:n-a ge·n-a? / wiy-a kuŋk ?i·y-antan pam place this what-Seq some-Rhy north go-3PPres men ?imanam /
here-from

And what about this place? Men from here are going north.

The question may well be asked how one distinguishes major spatial changes from minor ones. In actual fact, spatial change is rarely a sole indicator of a new paragraph. For instance, a rhetorical question occurs as well in example 280. In the two paragraphs referred to from the text about goose eggs, there is also re-orientation of participants, as well as supporting criteria of changes in the kind of information, and the occurrence of the interjection ya· 'well then' with one.

However, for some texts (mostly narratives) where the paragraphing can sometimes be described as less overtly marked, the combination of a locative or directional word with a motion verb does indicate a new paragraph. These are briefly described in Section 7.4.1.5 and discussed further in Section 10.2.

Sometimes the punctiliar aspect word kan occurs in conjunction with a motion verb as the last clause of a sentence. It has indicative intonation, and is lower in pitch than the preceding clause. Such clauses indicate that following events have shifted to a new location, and can be considered as indicating the close of a paragraph.

281. */ʔanəʔ ɳə·ntj-âŋ / kan ?i·y / that.in enter-Tzr.3SPst Punct go.3SPst

... he put [them] in there, and off he went.
7.2.2.3 Re-Orientation of Participants

Re-orientation of participants is a cover term for a number of possible arrangements of participants in paragraphs. It may refer to the reshuffling of present participants, or to the introduction of an important new participant. It may also refer to complete switching to another participant or set of participants in a new paragraph. For instance, in one text there are four main characters: a blue-tongued lizard and his brown snake wife; a taipan snake (who abducts the lizard's wife); and a wallaby (who informs the lizard of the abduction). Some paragraphs are concerned with the relationship between the lizard and his wife, and others with that between the taipan and the lizard's wife. Others again involve conversations between the wallaby and the lizard, while some paragraphs concentrate on the thoughts or activities of the lizard alone. In another text, a travelogue describing a country show, the main characters remain fairly constant, but with each paragraph setting clause indicating movement of time and space, something or someone new comes onto the scene - horses, a man with a snake, a merry-go-round, children playing in miniature dinghies and aeroplanes, and so on. This can also be thought of as re-orientation of participants.

When the re-orientation of participants becomes the marked theme of a paragraph, two or more contiguous phrases referring to participants may receive -ân-gi-a? or -ân-a? fronting at the beginning of a paragraph. These phrases may refer to the one participant and therefore be in apposition, or they may refer to different participants. Examples of double fronting are given in Section 7.6.1.

In a few texts which describe the procedure for a ceremony, the way participants enter and re-enter is significant for paragraphing in a different way. The ceremony moves through several stages, and at each stage most of the participants have a part to play. So in each paragraph most of the participants enter, and their parts pertaining to that part of the ceremony are described. In the next paragraph, most of them
enter again - and their parts pertaining to the next part of the ceremony are described, and so it goes on.

7.2.2.4 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions in Wik-Munkan can function on several grammatical levels, including paragraphs, sentences and even clauses. When a rhetorical question occurs by itself or just with a pronoun in a separate information block, it can be considered to be initiating a paragraph. Such rhetorical questions normally have an intonation contour which has elevated pitch level and the sequence intonation carrier -a?. They usually pose a question which takes the speaker several sentences to answer. Rhetorical questions occurring within a clause with a verb such as tä 'see' may also take several sentences to answer. The way in which rhetorical questions foreground both propositions and references to participants is discussed and exemplified in Sections 7.6.1 and 7.6.2.2.

7.2.2.5 Peripheral Information and Restatement of Discourse Theme

Peripheral information has already been described as occurring at paragraph borders when it comes in the form of a clause with sequence intonation (Sec. 5.2.1.2). The restatement of the discourse theme also typically occurs at paragraph borders (Sec. 6.6). These then can both be considered criteria which help indicate paragraphs.

Occasionally peripheral information occurring initially in a paragraph occurs in a clause with indicative intonation.

282. /?a·k ?inan wa·?-ana! ni·y-anṭ-a / Goroka-ān
place this tell-ISEmo 2P-Ref-Ind Goroka-Def
?a·k min-a /...
place good-Ind
I'm going to tell you about this place. Goroka is good place...
7.2.2.6 Change in kind of information

Change in information kind is a supporting criterion. It emerges quite strongly in some texts, and in others it is not relevant at all. In those in which it is relevant, we may go from description, to advice, to an evaluation, to an aside, and then to a dialogue block. Along with these changes in kind of information sometimes goes correlating tense changes. For instance, in one hortatory text, the speaker is bent on persuading two friends to go fishing for bonefish at night. The tense used is mostly future. In the second paragraph she gives an account of the procedure used for getting bonefish. The tense used is habitual. In the third paragraph she returns to persuasion, and this time mostly uses verbs in subjunctive mood.

7.2.2.7 Closely Knit Semantic Domains

Another supporting criterion found on some texts is the close-knit semantic cohesion of some paragraphs. These paragraphs normally have their main verbs all in one semantic domain, or in closely related semantic domains. The illustrations in the next paragraph come from a text about hunting for goose eggs.

In the following example (English translation only), the main verbs are in the closely related domains of 'calling' and 'thinking about'. But it is interesting that the verbs in the clauses which express result are all in the one semantic domain - verbs of 'collecting' and 'heaping up'.

283. Yes, and now they do not call the man's name, they only call him by a sacred name. If they were to call the name
If they were to think about it
then what [would happen] about the eggs? - the man would collect only a few, so therefore they only call him by a sacred name so that he will collect lots of eggs and heap up his canoe with them.
The next paragraph following this describes a sequence of actions and the main verbs in this paragraph are mostly motion or induced motion, e.g. 'set off', 'go early', 'push' (the canoe), 'push' (synonym) and so on.

A later paragraph again describes the sharing of the cooked geese, and other food. Most of the main verbs concern closely related notions such as 'sharing', 'giving', and 'partaking'. Others are negated antonyms of these, e.g. 'do not go without'.

After they cook those geese eggs,
and take them out of the ground oven,
they share the food amongst themselves, amongst the relatives.

Not one goes without,
you give to everyone.

As for the man, they put food aside earlier for him, yams etc.

When he comes, they put the food in front of him,
for he's hungry, having got up early.
He eats the food [yams etc.] and some eggs,
and then they partake of the food, the other people do, the relatives.

Not one goes without,
you share it.

This is the custom about the eggs,
some can't eat them all by themselves,
- this [custom] was left by the ancestors.

7.2.2.8 Interjections and Conjunctions

The interjection ya· 'yes', 'all right', 'well then' and the conjunction ?a? 'and then' can be considered supporting rather than defining criteria for indicating paragraphs, as both may occur within paragraphs as well. I mention them here because they occur at the beginning of paragraphs often enough not to be ignored.

Well then, after that, another spoke...
And then the next morning he hurries to him...

7.2.2.9 Phonological Criteria

Phonological criteria must also be described as supporting rather than defining. The intonation centre of the first sentence of a paragraph is generally considerably higher than the intonation centre of the last clause of the preceding paragraph. But I have not been able to detect a gradual run-down in pitch (and perhaps tempo as well) throughout a paragraph such as some have found (Morgan 1967:124; Hudson 1971:11). There may be a tendency for a longer pause at the end of paragraphs than at the end of sentences within paragraphs.²

Some paragraphs with foregrounded topics, however, begin with a concentration of intonation contours with elevated pitch level, compressed pitch range, and the sequence intonation carrier clitic -a? closing each (see mingograph example b) in Appendix A).

7.3 Rhetorical Predicates underlying the organization of Paragraphs and Sentences

7.3.1 Introduction

It is not my intention³ in this thesis to give a complete listing and description of all the rhetorical predicates which organize the underlying representation of discourses, paragraphs and sentences in Wik-Munkan (see Sec. 3.10.1). Discourses I have attempted to cover fairly fully (Sec. 6.1) and in fact, each of the rhetorical predicates there described sometimes organize the underlying representation of paragraphs and sentences as well. But there are several more rhetorical predicates as well which are more commonly associated with sentences and paragraphs, such as paraphrase and contrast.
7.3.2 Work of Grimes and Longacre relating to Rhetorical Predicates

Grimes and Longacre, from their vantage points of having served as consultants in the analysis of tribal languages in various parts of the globe, have both done work in depth on the subject of interrelations of propositions. Grimes has produced a list of rhetorical predicates, which he has divided into paratactic, hypotactic and neutral (1972a:251 ff.). The two paratactic rhetorical predicates are alternative and response. The latter includes relationships such as question and answer, remark and reply, and a problem and its solution which involve arguments such as complication and resolution (see Sec. 6.1.1 on narratives represented by the rhetorical predicate of response).

Hypotactic rhetorical predicates include supporting predicates such as attributive, equivalent, specific, explanation and evidence; setting predicates that refer to space or time; and identification predicates such as representative and replacement. Grimes' present position (1972a:257) is to add the hypotactic proposition as an extra argument to some other proposition, so that it is subordinated to it. This differs from his earlier position in which the dominating proposition had the arguments central and peripheral (1972c:514). (See Sec. 6.1.5 for explanatory discourse represented by the rhetorical predicate of explanation.) Grimes' neutral rhetorical predicates, which can map onto surface structure as either paratactic or hypotactic constructions, include collection (Sec. 6.1.2) adversative, and covariance. The latter includes relationships such as purpose (Sec. 6.1.4) and condition, which Grimes does not distinguish as separate rhetorical predicates (see footnote 6, Chapter 6).

Longacre (1972:52-78) has produced a taxonomy of the deep structure of inter-clausal relations. He makes this statement about these relations (1972:52):

...we may contend that there are a finite number of ways of combining clauses in inter-clausal relations in the deep structure, and that these encode into the surface grammar of sentence and paragraph units.
Longacre's taxonomy is very thorough and careful work, which is well documented with English examples and references to tribal languages. In developing his taxonomy, the main headings he gives are conjoining, paraphrase, temporal, implication, alternation, deixis, reporting and illustration. Under each main heading he lists several varieties. For instance, conjoining includes both coupling and contrast, while paraphrase includes relationships such as equivalence, negated antonym, generic-specific, and amplification.

Glover (1973:36-51) has used Longacre's work as a basis and applied it to the analysis of one language, Gurung, spoken in Nepal. In his statement level of sememic structure, he describes the interrelations of propositions under the main headings of conjunction, disjunction, implication, paraphrase and temporal connection. He gives examples in this section of the mapping of these sememic relations onto grammatical levels from phrase to discourse. Sayers (1972a) who also follows Longacre refers throughout her monograph on Wik-Munkan sentences to the deep structure relations encoded by various sentence types.

7.3.3 Examples of Rhetorical Predicates underlying the organization of Wik-Munkan Paragraphs

One of the problems I have encountered in both paragraph and sentence analysis is that it is not always clear to me which rhetorical predicate is relevant for a particular stretch of speech, which by grammatical and/or phonological criteria is either a sentence or a paragraph. Wik-Munkan has some formal grammatical links such as γípmam 'because' and ka?pá·l 'therefore', but these are optional, and sentences and paragraphs without them may also encode reason or result. Sometimes only one semantic interpretation is possible for sentences and paragraphs without formal grammatical links, but other times it seems that a certain paragraph or sentence could be interpreted in different ways. The following example, (which happens to be a sentence rather than a paragraph) could be
interpreted as a co-ordinate relationship, or temporal sequence, or result, or even generic-specific.

287. /qul-qul-an-a? / ?ep kutjék ?anan wa·p-a kan
    Temp-Rd-Def-Seq Pos head that brain-Rhy Punct
    kuyam wun ɀan-t-å / Ʌa·ntamqe·y-in ya·
    used.to lie-3SPst 3P-Ref-Tag thing-3PPst yes
    ?a·k-a ?in-a school yimanåq ?ey / Ʌe·y-in /
    place-Rhy this-Rhy school like.this Ques think-3PPst
    popam nji·n-in /
    still sit-3PPst

Later on, they came to their senses, and they thought, 'Oh yes, school is like this, is it?' and they listened and sat quietly.

Glover (S.I.L. Nepal: personal communication) has suggested that there may be a hierarchy of relationships, so that, for instance, result includes sequence, and sequence includes co-ordination (with time-indexing).

A comment of Grimes' follows on from that of Glover's. He feels that whether a neutral predicate maps onto surface structure in a hypotactic or paratactic form depends on decisions made in the area of staging (Sec. 2.2.5). He says (1972a:271):

...relations of dominance and subordination have to do ultimately with the staging of parts of a discourse. The speaker imposes a perspective on the purely cognitive aspects of meaning.

The following two short paragraphs illustrate the underlying representation of the rhetorical predicates of result and illustration respectively. The sentences of the paragraphs are numbered (numbers in brackets).

288. (1) pa·l-am  pent-an-a? / ?a† ?anan
    here-towards go.out-IPExclPst-Seq bell that
    Ʌe·y-an mànj-ån pi·k-in-a? school pi·ʔan-aŋ
    hear-IPExclPst small-Def hit-3PPst-Seq school big-Loc
    ?anan-a? / ʔan·-åŋ-a pu† yo·n kuyam
    that-Seq IPExcl-Def-Rhy so outside used.to
    pent-an-a may Ʌak-åk-a? / Ʌak-a pu†-a
    go.out-IPExclPst-Rhy Carb water-G1-Seq water-Rhy so-Rhy
    múŋk-åyn // (2) pu† mànj·iy-aŋ-åŋ-a? / Ʌu·t
    drink-3PFut so small-Emph-Erg-Def-Seq milk
When we came back here, at the time of hearing them ring the small bell in the big school, we used to go outside for a drink, so [the children] could have a drink, so we could send them out for the milk, and also to the toilet.

The rhetorical predicate underlying the organization of the nucleus of this paragraph is represented in Fig.21, using English translation. Setting predicates are discussed in Sec. 11.5. This paragraph contains the formal result marker $pu$ which occurs (not once, but three times!) and so the result rhetorical predicate is added in as a hypotactic predicate. The example also shows recursive embedding of rhetorical predicates of paraphrase and specific and collection. Semantic roles, such as Agent and Patient, are discussed in Sec. 9.1.3.
The second paragraph has the underlying representation of illustration, with an embedded rhetorical predicate of paraphrase, of the negated antonym variety.
289. (1) /i'n-àn ke? · qul pe·y-in-a? / ñe·n-a? / kutjöök 3P-Def VNeg Temp cry-3FPst-Seq what-Seq head
wa·p min-a qul-a? / ?ì·y-?ì·y-an // (2) ?áì-àn brain good-Rhy Temp-Seq go-Rd-3SPres bell-Def
ñe·y-in-a? / pek / wik ke?-an-aŋ ?ánmán hear-3PPst-Seq inside word VNeg-Nomz-Temp only
ño·ntj-in kuyam wey ñan-am-an / enter-3PPst used.to Comp 3P-Emph-Def

They didn't cry anymore - what? - they settled down. When the bell used to ring, they just used to go inside [school] without chattering.

The rhetorical predicate underlying the representation of this paragraph is illustrated in Fig.22. It will be noticed that I have put the adverbial element 'without chattering' as a higher predicate. In this I am following the practice of Landerman and Frantz (1972:168-194).

![Diagram](image)

**Fig.22.** Underlying Representation of Example 289.

7.4 The Point of Departure

Returning now to the subject of thematic organization, I first consider the departure points of paragraphs. I have already (Sec. 2.1.1) made a distinction between themes which are purely a starting point and no more, and which provide a setting for what follows, as against those which are the
subject matter of a paragraph, sentence or clause and can be
the starting point as well. Setting and peripheral themes
belong to the former, and themes from the nucleus to the
latter.

Some reference to setting as a point of departure for
paragraphs has already been given in outline form in Sections
5.2.1.1 and 7.2.2.1. This is expanded and exemplified in
Section 7.4.1. The way in which peripheral information may
occur as a point of departure for paragraphs has been described
in Section 5.2.1.2 and will not be referred to further here.
In Section 6.6 the restatement of the discourse theme sometimes
occurring at the beginning of a paragraph and acting like a
point of departure, has been noted and exemplified and also
will not be referred to further in this section. In Section
7.4.1.6 however, there is a brief discussion of how the
restatement of a previous argument may act as 'setting' for a
new paragraph in hortatory discourse.

7.4.1 Setting

7.4.1.1 Temporal Phrases

Mention has already been made (Sec. 5.4) of the fact that
temporal words or phrases which receive -ān-iy-a? fronting
have prominence over a whole paragraph. Temporal words such
as ɳə̄ʔtIl?am 'morning', temporal demonstratives such as
ʔàn?påñam 'after that' and the aspect words kəŋ and ɳəl (or the
two together compounded) may all receive -ānïya? fronting (or
-iy-a? fronting in the case of the demonstratives) and thereby
provide the temporal setting for a paragraph. The aspect word
Ɂəl may also occur initially in a phrase with a temporal
demonstrative with -iy-a? fronting. Also a temporal phrase
such as ya·m keʔanam (long without) 'before too long' can
receive -ān-iy-a? fronting.

In saying that such temporal phrases provide a temporal
setting for the whole paragraph I do not mean to say that the
time cannot change during that paragraph. It obviously can.
Temporal setting, rather, refers to spans of time which the speaker chooses how to partition. When a speaker decides to compress six events instead of three into one time span, beginning, say, with ?änparitya? 'after that', this is a choice which partly relates to thematic organization.

Examples of temporal words and phrases receiving -änifya? or -ifya? fronting follow. One example shows two such phrases occurring together. The full context of the rest of the paragraph following on from example 290 may be seen in Appendix B.I. 43-44.

290. /?änparitya? / puk mänjänapeypeyä? / after.that-Top-Seq child small-Def-Rhy cry-Rd.3SPst-Seq waŋkamaniyä? / witj-an / ...
string.bag-Src-Def-Top-Seq take.out.3SPst-Acc

After that, when the child cried, she took him out of the string bag...

291. /ŋul ?amanamifya? / pam ?änparitya? ñaw Temp after.that-Top-Seq man that-Top-Rhy say.3SPst
puk kunțj-ant / ...
child own-Ref

Then after that, that man said to his child...

292. /ŋatam-anifya? / wantj ?anajanifya? / wöl next.day-Def-Top-Seq women those-Top-Seq sacred.dance
kan pațant / ...
Punct sing-3PPres

The next day, as for those women, they sing the sacred dance.

293. /känŋulänparitya? / ḳa?tam-enifya? / ḳunp-a Punct-Temp-Def-Top-Seq next.day-Def-Top-Seq star-Rhy ḳat-anålänparitya? / ụm pațăm kiŋk-anten / ...
see-Nomz-Temp-Def-Top-Seq fire really burn-3PPres

When that's over, then the next day, very early in the morning [before first light] they make a really big fire...

294. /yaṃ ke?an-anamifya? / ḳa? ḳon-anparitya? / long VNeg-Nomz-Src-Top-Seq day another-Def-Top-Seq
wik peyä David-anəŋ-an / ...
word hear.3SPst-Rhy David-Erg-Def

Before too long, the next day, David heard shouting...
Temporal words and phrases such as 'tomorrow', 'afternoon', 'the next day' which are followed by the temporal aspect word Ꙗ with -àn-aʔ fronting also provide the temporal setting for a paragraph.

295. /ŋaʔ tam Ꙗ-àn-aʔ / Ꙗ yan yî:p ?i·y-an / ...
   next.day Temp-Def-Seq IPExcl south go-IPExclPst

Then the next day, we went south...

Reduplication within a time word is another way of indicating a major time change. It indicates that a relatively long time has passed as well as providing the temporal orientation for the paragraph. In the first example below, there is expanded pitch range on the first syllable (indicated by ‘ ’) as well as reduplication of the aspect word Ꙗ. In these cases, -îy may occur but does not always.

296. /ŋul-ŋul-àn-aʔ / ?ep-a / kutjék ?anan wa·p-aʔ kən
   Temp-Rd-Def-Seq Pos-Ind head that brain-Seq punct
   kuyam wun tän-t-à / ...
   used.to lie.3SPst 3P-Ref-Tag

After a long long time, it was all right, they used to come to their senses, didn't they...

297. /ŋul-a puŋ-wây-wây-aŋ-àn / kən-ŋul wamp / ...
   Temp-Rhy sun-bad-Rd-Erg-Def Punct-Temp come.3SPst

Then very very late in the afternoon he arrived at last...

7.4.1.2 Temporal Clauses

There are also clauses referring to a specific time or period of time which provide the temporal orientation for a paragraph. These temporal clauses typically contain the punctiliar aspect word kən suffixed with the definite clitic -àn. Sometimes, however, the clause contains rather the temporal aspect word Ꙗ. Temporal clauses typically have sequence intonation.

298. /kep kən-àn ʔe·ʔ-aʔ / ʔan-a kən-ŋul
   moon Punct-Def throw.3SPst-Seq then-Rhy Punct-Temp
   ʔe·ʔjan nîl-àn-îy wântj-àn / ...
   feel.3SPst 3S-Def-Top woman-Def

After the month was up, she began to feel [labour pains], the woman did...
We kept on minding them, and meanwhile much time passed by in that place, and then they began to think...

At the time of the next month, at that same time, when it was time for her labour pains to begin...

Temporal words, phrases and clauses do not have as low a degree of communicative dynamism as do setting clauses (to be described in Secs. 7.4.1.3 and 7.4.1.4). While they relate to and depend on a previous temporal orientation, they nevertheless are announcing a new time span via what can be thought of as a temporal content phrase or clause. That is, a word such as 'morning' or 'afternoon' or a clause such as 'when the month was up' conveys a temporal setting to the listener which he is able to pinpoint far more than a demonstrative or aspect word which merely says 'after that' or 'and then', or a clause which merely repeats a given event as setting for the next.

7.4.1.3 Punctiliar Setting Clauses

Punctiliar setting clauses restate an event or summarize a chain of events already described and note their completion. They then become the point of departure for the next event or series of events. They are thus temporal in force, as they convey the impression of 'after he had done such and such, he...'.

Punctiliar setting clauses may occur as points of departure for both sentences and paragraphs. In both cases they have elevated pitch level, compressed pitch range and the
sequence intonation carrying clitic -aʔ. They also normally do not contain a free form of the subject. Those that are the departure point for paragraphs not only summarize all or most of the preceding paragraph, but they also typically contain an aspect word, either kan or őul, which is suffixed with the definite clitic -an.

The following example follows a paragraph which describes how young children first enter school.

301. /ˈtκάන-అన  గో-న్టే-అంతాన-అ/ / నాయ-అన పి-ʔ-అగ  జాన-అగ
Punct-Def enter-3PPres-Seq IS-Def mind-ISPst 3P-Acc
kaʔ-ʔడమ-అన-అ /
first-Def-Ind

After they used to enter [school], I minded them at first.

The punctiliar setting clause in the next example summarizes part of the preceding paragraph, which describes how the woman cleared away the grass so she could make a hut for herself. The speaker digresses at the end of the paragraph and gives a description of the sort of grass used in that country for building material. Then follows the next paragraph with the speaker referring back to making the hut. In doing so, she is selecting what she needs to summarize out of the previous paragraph in order to go on with describing the woman's activities.

302. /ˈtκάన-అన  మింటే-డి / గుర్ప-అ / / గుర్ప  పెక-పెక-అగ
Punct-Def finish-Trz.3SPst hut-Seq hut inside-Rd-Loc
ొయిల-అన  కం-క yump  మిన-మిన /
Temp-Def place make.3SPst good-Rd

When she had finished making the hut, she worked on the inside then, and did a really good job.

The two paragraphs preceding the next example describe plans for leaving a sacred place in the bush, and how the group begin to emerge.

303. /ˈtపెంట-డి-విన గుల-అన-అ / / kాన-అన-అ / / గు క
go.out-Trz-3PRecPst Temp-Def-Seq Punct-Def-Seq snake
పింపాన-అమే గుల-అన-అ / / కోయం-అమే గుల-అన-అ / /
stomach-Src Temp-Def-Seq back-Gl Temp-Def-Ind

And when they've all come out, and left the place of the snake's stomach, they proceed to go back.
In connection with punctiliar setting clauses summarizing given information, it is interesting to compare what Hope has to say about Lisu (1972:66).

When commencing a new episode in a connected discourse it is common for the speaker to summarize those presuppositions of the preceding episode which have an immediate bearing on what is to follow. This summary is in the form of a series of topicalized sentences.... Such summaries of presupposition mark the beginnings of new episodes in the discourse, roughly equivalent to new paragraphs.

7.4.1.4 Continuous Setting Clauses

Continuous setting clauses reaffirm the movement of the participant or participants in a story. They therefore mostly have both temporal and spatial force. They are most often found in travelogues, where the characters are either continually moving on, or else have phases of activity involving movement. They can be considered as points of departure as they are merely reiterating the already given direction or mode of travel.

Continuous setting clauses occur as points of departure for both sentences and paragraphs. Those which begin a paragraph typically have repetition of either the verb or a directional word and/or a long drawn out continuous intonation carrier clitic -a·.

304. /tu·w ku·w mo?-an-a· / yoyk-am / ?atjantaq-im
    west west run-IPExclPst-Cont hill-Src high-Emph
    yoyk ?anan-iy / pek-am-im ?uk-an / ...
    hill that-Top down-towards-Emph go.down-IPExclPst

We kept on going west, and came down from the hill, that high hill.

305. /t'koyam mo?-an mo?-an-a· / tjip
    back run-IPExclPst run-IPExclPst-Cont halfway
    ketj-an-im ?uw-an jan-aŋ / ...
    far-Def-Emph find-IPExclPst 3P-Acc

We kept on driving back, and halfway back we found them.

Sometimes the directional is repeated several times and there is gapping of the verb. The continuous intonation carrier
-a· sometimes occurs on the last repeat of the directional, as for repeats of verbs, as seen in example 307.

306. /t`ka·w ka·w ka·w ka·w ka·w / ſa? we·tʃ / east east east east east foot track.3SPst
He kept on going and going in the east direction, and followed the tracks.

307. /t`ka·w ka·w ka·w-a· · · / ſonan ſul ſal ſul / east east east-Cont another Temp see.3SPst Temp
He kept on going east, and then he saw another [emu].

Occasionally a verb other than a motion verb occurs in a continuous setting clause. In one text, where the participants sit for quite some time watching a ring event at a show, two paragraphs begin with continuous setting clauses which have the verb njì·n 'sit'.

308. /tya· njì·n-an njì·n-an ſagam-a? / ſul yes sit-IDExclPst sit-IDExclPst there.in-Seq Temp
Sissy Marie ſaw / ... Sissy Marie say.3SPst
Yes, we sat on and on there, and then Sissy Marie said...

7.4.1.5 Non-theematic Setting

Setting change may also be indicated initially in paragraphs by a clause which includes a motion verb and an aspect word (without -a·n), a directional or a locative word. These are not setting clauses in the sense that they restate a previous action, or reaffirm constant movement. But they do indicate movement, and therefore spatial and temporal change. Occasionally they have sequence intonation, but more often their intonation is indicative (see Appendix A).

309. /nìl mig wé·l-a·n-a? / kan mat / 3S Pro blue.tongued.lizard-Def-Seq Punct climb.3SPst
may ſámp-a·n-a / food with-Def-Ind
The blue-tongued lizard climbed up then, with his food.

310. /koyam kal-uw-in / ſá·k·åk·àn kal-uw-in-a? / back carry-Rec-3PPst place-G1-Def carry-Rec-3PPst-Seq nil-a komaŋ-an-a? ſi·k·in nun-ag / ... 3S-Rhy young.woman-Def-Seq hit-3PPst 3S-Acc
They went back then. When they got back, they beat up the young woman...

311. /kən-a kəl-a? / təm pəp-an-an-a?
Punct-Rhy carry.3SPst-Seq fire firestick-Inst-Def-Seq
wupam ŋɛntɛj / kɔyam-åk-aŋ iy /
right.in hide.3SPst back-Gl-Def-Top

Then he started back [with the heart], and put the firestick through [the string] so as to carry it back.

In selecting to indicate spatial and temporal change in this way, the speaker is not making setting change prominent. He is not using any of the surface patterns of topicalization. Not all clauses with sequence intonation are thematic, but only those which have elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range (Appendix A: Table 2). Therefore he has chosen to make setting non-thematic in such clauses. This choice is in fact conditioned by the discourse genre. Some discourses, notably narratives, show a less overtly marked partitioning of some sections of the text (Sec. 10.2).

7.4.1.6 Restatement as departure point

It has already been noted that the restatement of the discourse theme sometimes occurs at the beginning of a paragraph (Sec. 6.6) and, in doing so, acts like a point of departure. In hortatory texts, sometimes a paraphrase of one of the points of a previous paragraph acts in a similar way and provides the ground, or 'setting' for the next argument or illustration. In hortatory discourse this is not done, however, by clauses in sequence intonation which are lexically non-final in a sentence. Example 477 in Section 10.4 provides an example of new paragraphs being tied back to preceding paragraphs by an opening repetition or paraphrase of one or more of the main ideas in a previous paragraph.
7.5 Unmarked Theme of Paragraph Nucleus

Some paragraphs reveal no particular attempt of the speaker to make the subject matter of the paragraph prominent. That is, he does not present his chosen theme via any of the topicalization patterns available to him such as -àn-iy-a? fronting, rhetorical questions and cycling. In these instances, the nucleus of the paragraph has an unmarked theme. The unmarked theme of a paragraph is usually presented in the first sentence, following any setting or peripheral elements. This first sentence, then, forms the 'what I am talking about now', and the point of departure of the nucleus information of the paragraph.

Some examples of unmarked paragraph theme follow. An asterisk marks where the nucleus of the paragraph begins. Following the citing of the unmarked paragraph theme, an English translation or summary is given in parentheses of the content of the rest of the paragraph. The relation of the theme to the rest of the paragraph can thus be observed.

312. /ŋul ʔamanam-iy-a?/ *pam ʔaman-iy-a ำטע Temp after.that-Top-Seq man that-Top-Rhy say.3SPst

puk kunτj-ant /ŋal-a míŋ-åk ?iyclerview-y-ål-a?/ child own-Ref IDIncl-Rhy Pro-G1 go-IDPut-Seq

After that, that man said to his son, 'Let's go hunting'.
(They left the two women there, telling them to stay and mind the camp. The father took his son. They searched for game, but got none.)

The next example is preceded by a restatement of the first phase of the global theme (not included in the example).

313. */ŋay puk ʔu-yʔu-y máʔ-wåk-aŋ / IS child many-Rd hand-chase-ISpst

I struggled with lots of children.
(They ran home to their mothers, and I chased them and found them on the road and brought them back to school, and to the teacher.)

314. /pal pal pal ḫiŋṯ ḫiŋṯ ·ŋuí-àn-iy-a?/ *tǝnom here here here close close Temp-Def-Top-Seq one

wantj-aŋ mántâyan-åŋ nατ kutj-an wantjʃíŋṯ woman-Erg elder-Erg maybe send-3SPres old.woman
He keeps on coming closer and closer, and then the old women maybe send one person [saying] 'Look [out for him]!'

('Can you see the sacred man? Is he close yet, or still a bit far in the east?' 'No he's close, he's rounded the corner!' (Orders for the ground oven to be lit follow. Then they all shout with excitement that the man is close now, and dance for joy at the thought of the food he is bringing back.)

Some unmarked themes are points of departure for the nucleus in the sense that they are the first of a sequence of events, such as in example 314. Others, such as example 313, form the subject matter of an explanation or description.

It may be wondered how it is possible to identify a paragraph which has an unmarked theme, apart from semantic cues. It is usually possible to put the horse before the cart in this matter; that is, identification can be made by phonological and grammatical criteria as outlined earlier (Sec. 7.2.2). For instance, examples 312 and 314 begin with temporal phrases with -ān-iy-a? fronting (Secs. 7.2.2.1 and 7.4.1.1). Example 313 is preceded by a restatement of the discourse theme (Sec. 7.2.2.5) and also involves a change in the kind of information from a dialogue block to a chain of events (Sec. 7.2.2.6).

The choices available to a speaker regarding marked and unmarked theme of the nucleus of the paragraph are represented in a flow chart in Fig.23. (Marked paragraph theme is described in Sections 7.6 and 7.7.) One reservation should be stated about the flow chart, however. It may give the impression that the speaker can select but one way of marking theme in a paragraph. But combinations are indeed possible, and some of these are exemplified in Section 7.8.

7.6 Ways of foregrounding paragraph theme

This will be considered under two sections, foregrounding of references to participants, and the foregrounding of propositions.
Fig. 23. Marked and Unmarked Paragraph Themes (Fg = Foregrounding, Rm = Reminder, Prop = Proposition, Partcp = Participant)
7.6.1 Participants

The occurrence of -ân-iy-a? fronting has been mentioned elsewhere (Sec. 5.4) as giving a participant prominence over an approximate sentence. Sometimes such fronting of one participant occurs in the first sentence of a paragraph, and sometimes in sentences medial in a paragraph, or both. There is a tendency in some texts, especially procedures, for there to be double fronting of phrases referring to participants at or near the beginning of paragraphs. Sometimes both fronted phrases refer to the one participant, and the second phrase then clarifies the first in some way, or adds information. Such a participant then normally has prominence over most or all of the paragraph. While both appositive phrases may receive -ân-iy-a? fronting, sometimes one (or two if there are three fronted phrases, which is possible) may receive -ân-a? or -a? fronting only. Once again, the point at which the nucleus begins is marked with an asterisk.

315. /gan maŋ-an-âŋ-an .createComponent-Top-Seq see-IPExclPst-Seq woman

316. /gan maŋ-an-âŋ-an .createComponent-Top-Seq see-IPExclPst-Seq woman

We were watching the picture, and that woman, the young mother, what did she do?...

As for the umbilical cord of the child, that which is tied up in wax, he keeps it, that man does, the godfather.

317. /kan kal-a? / Punct-Rhy carry-3S

right.in hide-3S
Then he started back [with the heart] and put the fire-stick through [the string] so as to carry it back. The brown snake, the woman belonging to the blue-tongued lizard, his wife, she swore and swore at him.

Sometimes two fronted phrases at the beginning of a paragraph refer to different participants. In this case, the double fronting (except where simple listing is involved) brings the relationship of the two participants into prominence. The two participants typically have different roles, as can be seen from examples 318 and 319, where one phrase with -àn-iy-a? fronting is in ergative case, and the other in nominative. The word participant here can be extended to include inanimate referents as well as animate ones. Sometimes one of the participants receives -àn-a? or -a? fronting as can be seen in Appendix B.I. 29. However, in this instance, the participant with -àn-iy-a? fronting is the more prominent one.

318. /*kú·tan-àn-àn-iy-a? puk manj ku·tan godfather-Erg-Def-Top-Seq child small umbilical.cord
¡ápät-an nun ku·tan ?alaqan pam take.off.3SPst-Acc 3S.Acc godfather that.Erg man
?alaqan / ... that.Erg

As for the godfather, concerning the child's cord, he takes it from his neck, that man does, the godfather...

319. /*nil  şu̱p  qan-təm  ?ilaqan-iy-a? / wik 3S friend IDEExcl-Poss this.Erg-Top-Seq word
wày-àn-iy-a? / ku·ntj qan-təm-qan-a múl-àn-a bad-Def-Top-Seq sibling IDEExcl-Poss-Def-Rhy dead-Def-Rhy
wun-pul-a? / nil-a lat ¿ump-ant / Auntie lie-3DPst-Seq 3S-Rhy letter write.3SPst-Ref Auntie
McClure-ant-àn / McClure-Ref-Def
As for this our friend, concerning the bad news about the loss of our brother and sister, she wrote it in a letter to Auntie McClure.

Another way of foregrounding a participant who is the theme of a paragraph is via rhetorical questions. In these instances, the rhetorical question carries with it the presupposition that the emergence of this particular participant is surprising or unusual. This use of rhetorical questions is found most often in travelogues.

The rest of this paragraph describes the antics of the monkeys.

The rest of the paragraph describes how the man was unusually dressed and how he rode several horses at once.

Sometimes two participants in the one sentence at the beginning of a paragraph are foregrounded via rhetorical questions. In its context, a restatement of the first phrase of the discourse theme precedes the following sentence.

The rest of the paragraph relates how the one who had the funny feeling (a wallaby) kept shouting in vain to the oblivious blue-tongued lizard.
7.6.2 Propositions

As shown in Fig. 23, propositions can be foregrounded in a number of ways at the beginning of paragraphs, thereby becoming the marked theme of the paragraph. Each grammatical or phonological device used is significant in a different way, and each conveys a different kind of prominence.

7.6.2.1 Double Clause Topicalization

Just as there can be double fronting of phrases referring to participants at the beginning of paragraphs, so there can be a double occurrence of a topicalized clause (Sec. 4.7). The second topicalized clause is typically a paraphrase or parallel situation of the first, and the event(s) so foregrounded then has prominence over a paragraph, rather than a sentence. Single topicalized clauses normally have prominence over a sentence.

323. /nil-a kek-a ka? wel-aŋ-an
3S-Rhy spear-Rhy tried.to blue.tongued.lizard-Erg-Def
jeʔ-iy nuŋ-ant-a? / jaŋpan-ant-a? / kek
throw-3SSbj 3SAj-Ref-Seq taipan-Ref-Seq spear
kemp-aŋ-an wip-ow kek nuŋ-antam-a? /
flesh-Loc-Def stick-3SFut spear 3SAj-Poss-Seq
?ompam-aŋ juj-antam / talok /
middle-Loc break.3SPst-Src Onom

The blue-tongued lizard tried to spear the lizard, he thought he'd stick his spear in his flesh - but his spear broke in half - Crack!

The rest of the paragraph talks about the spears of the two contestants, and how the lizard's spear broke because of its poor quality.

324. /nil waŋ-aŋ-an paʔ-a? / nil
3S ant.species-Erg-Def bite.3SPst-Seq 3S
mó·tjam-aŋ-ân paʔ-a? / nil yuk manj-aŋ
ant.species-Erg-Def bite.3SPst-Seq 3S stick small-Inst
jak ğuʔ-a ğan-aŋ-a / ?an ?a·wul-aŋ
etc. poke.3SPst-Rhy 3P-Acc-Ind then perspiration-Inst
?aŋmâŋ jeʔ-iʔ-in / wu·t māntâyân-aŋ /
only give-3PPst male elder-Erg
If they get bitten with a green ant, or a beef ant, or if they get a poke from a sharp stick, the old men rub them with perspiration [as a cure].

The rest of the paragraph describes how it is necessary to be stoical under such adversities, as they (the young men) are in a sacred place.

7.6.2.2 Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions at the beginning of paragraphs (see Sec. 7.2.2.4) are used to relate to propositions in two ways. In non-hortatory discourses, they are a means of giving prominence to an event or series of events. As for participants (Sec. 7.6.1), they signify that the event is unusual or surprising.

325. /ge·n-à / kan-ŋul-a / monkan
   what-Tag Punct-Ind nape.of.neck
   kum-win-a? / pók-pòkàp wun-in /
   ignorant-3PRecPst-Rd-separate live-3PPst

   And what now, [do you think?] They lived apart from each other, they lived separately.

The rest of the paragraph elaborates upon this, and gives the reasons for it.

326. /ge·n-a? / pip-aŋ mak-mak-in nun-aŋ / ĭum-aŋ
   what-Seq clay-Inst cover-Rd-3PPst 3S-Acc fire-Inst
   pařk-pařk-at-in / ...
   Rd-heat-3PPst

   And what next ever? They covered her with clay, and heated her [body] by the fire.

The rest of the paragraph explains why this was done.

In hortatory texts, on the other hand, rhetorical questions at the beginning of paragraphs are used as a challenging device. For instance, the question may be asked, and the choice then posed.

327. /wántāk-a? / ṅay ni·y-ant ı́w-àŋ-a / pam wantj-ant /
   what-Seq IS 2P-Ref say-ISPut-Ind man women-Ref
   ni·y wántāk qa·ntamge·y-ani·y / ṅamp-a ya·m
   2P what think-2PPres IPIncl-Rhy long
What about it? I'm saying to you men and women - what do you think, shall we fight for ever?

7.6.2.3 Cycling of First Sentence of Paragraph

Cycling of sentences (see Sec. 4.8) more properly belongs in the next chapter on the sentence, as it is not confined to occurring initially in the paragraph, and is not different in its form initially in a paragraph than in other places.

Nevertheless, some initial sentences in paragraphs are structured cyclically, and the theme of the paragraph thereby gains more prominence, and also carries with it the presupposition that this is something the speaker wishes to impress upon his hearers. (Sec.4.8.)

Two examples are given here.

328. /kán-àn mʃntʃ-ʌ t wuʔp-a? / *wuʔp pek-pek-aŋ
Punct-Def finish-Trz.3SPst hut-Seq hut inside-Rd-Loc
ŋuño-án ?a·k yump min-mín / nil-nil-am-a / Temp-Def place make.3SPst good-Rd 3S-Rd-Emph-Ind
wantj-a kampan nuŋ-antam ŋonam ke?
woman-Rhy relative 3S-Poss one VNeg
nuŋ-antəŋ-án-iy /i·y / yaʔ-a / nil-nil-am
3SAj-Accom-Def-Top go.3SPst Neg-Ind 3S-Rd-Emph
pókàpaŋ / separate

Having finished making the hut, she then worked on the inside and did a really good job, all by herself. Not one female relative accompanied her, not one. She did it all by herself.

The rest of the paragraph describes activities following on from this which she carried out by herself.

329. /ŋul-ŋul-an-a ka·p yot-aŋ-an want-a
Temp-Rd-Def-Rhy wet.season lot-Erg-Def leave.3SPst-Rhy
ŋan-aŋ-a? / *kan-ŋul ŋán-án-a ŋik
IPExcl-Acc-Seq Punct-Temp IPExcl-Def-Rhy word
yump-an // ?aʔ kan ŋamp-a ŋapəŋumpan puʔʔ in
make-IPExclPst Cj Punct IPIncl-Rhy policeman so here
kan piʔ-anamp / ŋamp-a pam kütjam piʔʔ-piʔʔan
Punct keep-IPInclPres IPIncl-Rhy man two Rd-big
After many years had passed by, we made plans. [We said,] 'Let's have some policemen here. Can't we have two leaders for our place here so that they can keep the place strong?' Yes, we made plans.

The rest of the paragraph describes how they begin to implement the plans.

7.6.2.4 Negated Antonym and other paraphrase in First Sentence of Paragraph

Negated antonym paraphrase, and also other forms of paraphrase and amplification (Sayers 1972a:1-47) are also not confined to occurring in the initial sentences of paragraphs. When they do, however, they give the theme of the paragraph more prominence than it would otherwise have.

In negated antonym paraphrase the speaker says what something is, and then says what it is not. Or, in the case of an event, he says what happened and then says what did not happen. The order of negative-positive may occur as well. Negated antonym paraphrases have a sharpening effect. The stating of what something is not defines more sharply what it is.

   night only-Seq long-Rd-Itrz-3DPst-Seq for-Rhy
   ke? wun-iypul-a /
   VNeg lie-3DSbj-Ind

   All night long, those two keep on going; they wouldn't [dare] to rest.

331. /yaː / ?an-a puŋ-a pám-àn-a namp keʔ-am
   yes now-Rhy so-Rhy man-Def-Rhy name VNeg-Emph
   witj-antan-a / ge·nwí’y ?ánmàn waʔ-ʔantán /
   call-3PPres-Ind sacred.term only call-3PPres

   Yes, so they don't call the man by his name, they only call him by a sacred term.
Amplification and paraphrase also feature sometimes when a paragraph theme is stated. The second clause is a paraphrase of all or part of the first clause. The verbs of the two clauses are normally identical or else in the same semantic domain. Sometimes extra information is given in the second clause. The speaker's aim in using these constructions at the beginning of paragraphs seems to be to hold the theme before his hearers for a bit, and thereby give it more prominence. No special presuppositions, such as surprise, seem to be involved, so these constructions can perhaps be considered examples of unmarked prominence.

332. /gul ?á·k-ák-án kal-anan-a? / *kuntjan-a?
   Temp place-Gl-Def carry-IPExclPres-Seq pandanus-Seq
   wayk pul-aŋ-an qan ki·ŋk-anan / qak-a?
dye 3D-Acc-Def IPExcl cook-IPExclPres water-Seq
   wayk-a? kuntjan kaŋp pentj-antan /
dye-Seq pandanus together cook-3PPres

When we come back to the camp, we boil those two, the pandanus and the dye; the water and the dye and the pandanus all cook together.

333. /gul ?ánpålàn-iy-a? / *pam ŋonam wamp
   Temp after.that-Top-Seq man one come.3SPst
   ka·?áŋanãm ŋonam nil-nil-am wamp /
   at.first one 3S-Rd-Emph come.3SPst

Then after that, one man came; at first one man came by himself.

7.7 Ways of reminding of paragraph theme

Tagging has already been introduced in Section 4.4. It has been described as representing a reminder of the speaker's current theme. Just as double fronting sometimes occurs initially in paragraphs (Sec. 7.6.1) so double tagging, referring to participants, can occur finally in a paragraph. Cycling has also already been introduced (Sec. 4.8) and some discussion of cyclic sentences is given in Section 7.6.2.3. A cyclic paragraph represents another way of reminding the listener of the paragraph theme when propositions are involved.
As for Section 7.6, this section also will be developed in two sub-sections, one relating to participants and one relating to propositions.

7.7.1 Participants

Double -àn-îy tagging at the end of paragraphs may involve apposition, or the phrases may have different referents.

The first example below involves two phrases in apposition. The content of the paragraph preceding the last clause has referred to a search for a young couple by the relatives of the girl. Their conversation along the way as they search includes vengeful mutterings about what they will do to the female relatives of the young man in return. The clause in example 334 occurs at the close of one such muttering.

334. .../jəw-in pam ?anaŋan-iy kampan wantj say-3PPst men those-Top relative woman
   kóməŋ-antəm-àn-iy /
young.woman-Poss-Def-Top
   ...they said, those men, the relatives of the young woman

The next example, which is from the same text as example 334, involves phrases with different referents. The preceding part of the paragraph describes how the two young people are running away as fast as they can, in case they are found and beaten up and speared. In this example, the first of the two phrases actually has listing intonation (Sec. 3.9.2).

335. .../kek-aŋ-an-a puŋ-iyən-a /
spear-Inst-Def-Rhy spear-3PSbj-Ind
   pám-àn-iy-a? / puŋ koməŋ-an-iy /
man-Def-Top-Seq and young.woman-Def-Top
   ...They might spear them, that is, the man and the young woman.

7.7.2 Propositions

An example of a cyclic paragraph from a hortatory text follows. A paraphrase of part of the first sentence occurs at the end of the paragraph.
When you are older and are grown women, you might become lovers of playing cards. You two just think! Our elder brother [Christ], he didn't play cards. He grew up doing only good things. You two don't play cards anymore. It's very bad. For if you keep playing, cards might become attractive to you.

A further example comes from a narrative. A paraphrase of the first two clauses comes at the end of the paragraph, but this time extra information is included. The extra information is implicit in the first two clauses, having already been given previously in the discourse.
they're like those other large waterlily roots. That's all he was thinking of, and he didn't know about his wife being close by, no.

7.8. Combinations

In Wik-Munkan, it is possible to give prominence to a paragraph theme in more than one way. A speaker may, in fact, make both participants and propositions prominent.

Some examples already given in this chapter exhibit combinations of ways of marking paragraph theme. Example 315, for instance, shows double -àn-iy-a? fronting and also a rhetorical question which applies to a proposition.

The following example also shows double fronting along with a rhetorical question. In this case, both fronted phrases and the rhetorical question apply to the one participant.

338. /nîl jon ?înan-iy-a? / pa?amp-an-a? / ?an-a kâŋk 3S another this-Top-Seq dye-Def-Seq that-Rhy bush yuk manj-a / nîl-a qe·n-a? / ... tree little-Ind 3S-Rhy what-Seq

As for this other, the dye, it's a small bush, what is it?...

The rest of the paragraph goes on to describe (in this case to an uninitiated listener) the bush and the way in which dye is extracted from it.

7.9 Relation to Global theme

Halliday has said (1967:212):

...thematization takes a unit of sentence structure, the clause, and structures it in a way that is independent of what has gone before.

Halliday is talking about clauses here, but that does not particularly matter. The general assumption can be challenged. A comment of Hope's is important for the point under consideration (1972:67):

In a discourse it would appear that there is an accumulation of presuppositions, each sentence adding to the presuppositions of the sentence to follow, and that periodically the speaker needs to select the
pertinent ones from the accumulated mass, as some of the ones that have been accumulated are no longer relevant.

Some forms of topicalization, in particular punctiliar setting clauses and to some extent fronting and tagging patterns, partly serve the function Hope is talking about. These are those which are most associated with given information. The other part that they, and other topicalization patterns, serve is discussed in Section 7.2.1, where I have striven to explain the function of paragraphs as presenting and developing the global theme. In that section, I have talked about paragraphs as whole units, and not singled out the themes for attention. Nevertheless, the paragraph theme is an essential jumping off point for the paragraph to fulfil its function within the discourse.

The fact that some or all information within a topicalization pattern may be new, does not necessarily mean it has been structured independently of what has gone before. Rhetorical questions, for instance, are often associated with new information. Topicalized clauses sometimes contain new information. Nevertheless, their occurrence is moulded by the rhetorical predicate which underlies the organization of the whole discourse. For instance, the information presented in example 325 is partly new, but it is part of the resolution of a narrative. This resolution came as a result of a mediation, which in turn was a response to a complication (see Sec. 6.1.1). The whole concept of a discourse having features of coherence and continuity (Sec. 3.10.1) demands that not only paragraph themes but also sentence and clause themes, are very much related to the global theme.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 7

1. The experiment referred to on paragraph recognition was carried out by the Center for Research on Language and Language Behaviour, University of Michigan (Becker 1966: 69-70). The researchers removed indentations from written material, and asked students to indicate where they thought paragraphs should be. In most cases, the students restored the original paragraph indentations of the author. Where they did not, they tended to agree with each other. Further tests indicated that students were reacting to grammatical cues as well as semantic ones.

2. While some mingograph studies were carried out on Wik-Munkan texts, the great majority of tapes collected in the field proved to be not good enough in technical standard to come out well on the mingograph. Consistent background noises, like the garrulous Aurukun roosters, did not help. Only two short texts came out clearly on the mingograph, and this is not sufficient to make authoritative statements about pause length between paragraphs.

3. Sayers (1972a) has already described in full the internal structure of Wik-Munkan sentence-paragraph (she does not distinguish the two) and the deep structure relations encoded by some types.

4. While I have accepted and used Grimes' term 'rhetorical predicate', my terms for specific rhetorical predicates do not always coincide with his. He does not include 'illustration', for example, although it could perhaps 'fit' under his heading 'specific'. I have taken the term 'illustration' from Longacre (1972:77) whose taxonomy of the deep structure of inter-clausal relations seems to me far more complete than Grimes' list of rhetorical predicates (1972a:251 ff.).

5. It may be observed that ku·tan has two glosses here. This is correct. The term is used for both the umbilical cord, and for the man who enters into a special relationship with the child after a ceremony concerning the umbilical cord. The English gloss 'godfather' is not very appropriate, but is the nearest equivalent I can think of.
CHAPTER 8: SENTENCES AND SENTENCE THEME

8.1 Introduction

In Section 3.10.1 I defined Wik-Munkan sentences as combinations of clauses linked in a statable relationship, and also single clauses which are not dependent phonologically on other clauses. I also made the point that sentences are very much conditioned by the discourses in which they occur, rather than being the zenith of linguistic analysis, as is suggested by Bloomfield (Lyons 1968:172).

In Section 8.2 I discuss the criteria for determining sentence boundaries, and in Section 8.3 I give examples of rhetorical predicates underlying the organization of sentences with two or more clauses. Such sentences are semantically combinations of propositions, which in their turn form other propositions, just as can be said for paragraphs and discourses.

Some general points need to be made before proceeding into a discussion of criteria. Grimes and Glock (1970:415), in their discussion of Saramaccan narrative patterns, treat sentences as part of the surface grammar. One of the points they make is the following:

Evidently the mapping relation between semantics and grammar has various ways of packaging information into chunks of limited size.

One of the choices that is involved here is how much to put in one sentence (or paragraph). A speaker can choose to string six clauses together into one sentence, or he can choose to break those six clauses into two or more sentences, providing semantic constraints allow this.

Longacre (1968:II:1) also discusses this point. He says:

... a G(rammatical)-sentence may be posited which optionally structures as one or two P(honological)-sentences (i.e. has optional medial final juncture).

I quote here the policy which Reid (1970:6) has followed for determining sentence boundaries where the option of a medial final juncture is chosen.
Two clauses not phonologically bound (i.e., separated by final sentence intonation), form all or part of two grammatical sentences where no link is present, even though a link may be plausibly supplied.

I have followed the principle of this policy in Wik-Munkan sentence analysis, although the phonological details differ (see Sec. 8.2).

The determination of sentence boundaries in Wik-Munkan is not always completely clear, due to the tension sometimes evident between phonological signals, grammatical cues and semantic cohesion, in varying combinations. Longacre (1968: II:3) has discussed this problem. He says:

Such a unit as a phonological sentence may be posited in any language. It has a characteristic sentence-final juncture and other unifying features as well (e.g. intonation contour). This phonological unit is not necessarily in one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical sentence. Nevertheless, the latter is not posited without consideration of the former.

Later (1968:II:5) he goes on to talk about the lexical sentence, and how it, in turn, is subject to grammatical constraints. I have found Longacre's ideas useful in the determination of sentence boundaries in Wik-Munkan.

8.2 Criteria for Determining Sentence Boundaries

As is the case for paragraphs (Sec. 7.2.2) the boundary criteria for signalling the beginning of sentences are often at one and the same time topicalization patterns indicating setting themes and occurring as points of departure for sentences, or means of foregrounding referents and propositions that are the themes of the nucleus of the sentence. Similarly, the closure of a sentence is sometimes obvious because there is a reminder of the sentence theme. These are described in detail in Section 8.4 (setting theme) and Sections 8.6 and 8.7 (nucleus themes), and merely introduced in this section.

The criteria for identifying sentences are diagrammed in Fig.24. As for paragraphs (Sec. 7.2.2), no single criterion always occurs. In addition, there is sometimes a combination of more than one criterion.
The first two phonological criteria have been stated in an oversimplified form for the sake of the diagram (Fig. 24). Some of the conditions which accompany these rules as stated are explained in Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 respectively.

8.2.1 Rise of pitch and downdrift

The phonological sentence in Wik-Munkan has already been described in Section 3.1.9 and referred to again in Section 3.10.2. To summarize, it was described as one or more phonological clauses grouped together and sharing a single sentence stress, (or sentence intonation centre). Typically, the intonation centre of the sentence co-occurs with the intonation centre of the first clause of the sentence. Where it occurs elsewhere, its placement is predictable grammatically. When the intonation centre occurs on the first clause of the sentence, from that point on there is an overall downdrift of the pitch of the intonation centres of successive clauses (Sayers 1974:40). (See Mingograph examples h) and i) in Appendix A).
### PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA:

- Rise of pitch of intonation centre of first clause of sentence compared with last clause of preceding sentence, and thence general downdrift till next rise.

- Clauses which have sequential intonation typically initiate sentences or are one-clause sentences.

- Clauses which have continued action intonation initiate sentences.

- Clauses which have Tag Question, Interrogative, Desiderative, or Extreme Emphasis intonation are normally one-clause sentences.

### GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA:

- `-àn-iy-a?` fronting initiates a sentence.

- `-àn-iy` tagging closes a sentence.

- Tendency for the subject of a sentence to be referred to by noun or pronoun at the beginning of a sentence.

- Some aspect words, conjunctions and interjections typically initiate or close a sentence.

---

**Fig. 24. Criteria for Identifying Sentences**

When segmenting a Wik-Munkan text into its component sentences, a rise of pitch of the intonation centre of a clause compared with the clause before it normally signifies the start of a new grammatical sentence. This rise is often quite marked. Typically, there is then a downdrift, as stated in the above paragraph, until the onset of the next rise in pitch, and so it goes on. Wik-Munkan does not have a distinctive sentence final intonation.\(^1\) The indicative intonation pattern often terminates sentences, but it is also found on non-final clauses in some instances. These are notably first or medial clauses of sentences expressing or including paraphrase, apposition or listing (Sayers 1974:51-56). A clause following them which is the same or lower in the pitch of its intonation centre is
considered part of the same sentence on both phonological and semantic grounds. (Mingograph examples b) to i) in Appendix A illustrate indicative intonation patterns.)

As stated in the first paragraph of this section and referred to in Section 3.1.9, sometimes the intonation centre of the sentence occurs on a clause which is other than the first clause of the sentence. These instances are in most cases grammatically predictable, and have been described in detail by Sayers (1974:27 ff.). For instance, the morphemes such as ya? ('verbal intensifier'), ke? ('verbal negative'), and ?ep ('positive intensifier'), which have been previously described as taking the intonation centre of the clause wherever they occur (Sec. 3.1.7) also normally take the intonation centre of the sentence wherever they occur. As they are often part of a combination of clauses expressing contrast, or negated antonym paraphrase, their occurrence in a later clause of such combinations is not considered a new sentence. In other words, semantic cohesion overrides phonological rules at such a point. In the following examples, sentence stress is represented by °°, following the practice of Sayers (1974:27).


pal-an-an-a °°ke?-ŋul ŋó·ŋtj-àmp here-towards-Def-Rhy VNeg-Temp enter-IPInclFut

school-àk-âñ-a /
school-Gl-Def-Ind

Now we're going out, we won't be coming back into school.

An example of an inverted sequence sentence, given by Sayers (1974:14) shows the intonation centre of the sentence occurring on the antecedent. Apart from the semantic cohesion evident in these two clauses also, the first clause has a sequence intonation pattern, which normally qualifies it to initiate a sentence (Sec. 8.2.2).

340. /nip °i·y-uw-a? / °°kulîtj ka·?āj̣am kán-âñ

2D go-2DPst-Seq clothes first Punct.Def

puŋ-uw /
wash-2DPst

You two went after you had washed the clothes.
Other exceptions to the first clause of a sentence taking the intonation centre include direct and indirect quotation sentences. The content of the quotation in both cases may begin with a clause which is higher in pitch than the preposed quote formula, such as nil ʕaw 'he said'. In cyclic sentences (see Sec. 4.8) the first clause of the sentence takes the intonation centre of the sentence, but shares it with the final clause which has approximately the same pitch (Sayers 1974:38).

The exception which is the strongest of all, and which supersedes the others listed if occurring together with one of them, is a semantic factor rather than a grammatical one. When a word receives very heavy emphasis, it has not only high pitch and loudness, but is expanded in pitch range as well (indicated by ‘’). The following example shows the intonation centre of the sentence occurring on the emphasized word in the second clause. This has higher pitch than the verbal negative ke? in the first clause.

341. /j án-ân ?a·k way ka·ŋk ə̃ke? ?an pēk-ân nji·n-ayn
    3P-Def place bad like VNeg there down-Def sit-3PFut
    school-aŋ-an / j án-ə ka·ŋk ə²yö·n? in ké·ʔ̄yn /
    school-Loc-Def 3P-Rhy like outside here play-3PFut

    They don't like to sit in that bad place, in that
    school; they like to play outside [in the village].

    Again, semantic cohesion overrides the general phono-
    logical rule. A further example is provided by mingograph
    example g) in Appendix A.

    The point should be made again, however, (Sec.3.10.2)
    that the exceptions noted above do not prevent the first
    clause of such sentences having a higher intonation centre
    than the last clause of the preceding sentence. It typically
    does.

    There is one exception, however, to the general rule of
    a rise in pitch signifying a new grammatical sentence. This
    concerns background information. A grammatical sentence
    giving background information may have overall lower pitch
    than the last clause of the preceding sentence.
342. (last clause /nint-a kan *pal ?f·y-àn-a? //
of preceding 2S-Rhy Punct here go-2SPut-Seq sentence)
(bakground ıpuk månj-àn wey °°kek wey information) child small-Def Comp spear Comp
yump-a / kek °manj yump /
make.3SPst-Ind spear small make.3SPst
ké·?-à attaches a k-àn-a /
play-Trz-Nomz-Gl-Def-Ind

[After that, his father said to him] "You come here!"
(background information): The little child was making a spear, he was making a little spear to play with.

8.2.2 Sequential Intonation

It can be seen from an examination of Table 2 in Appendix A (Nos. 3, 10, 16 and 21) that intonation contours which have the sequence intonation carrying clitic as terminal have quite a number of grammatical usages. Some of these coincide with topicalization patterns such as setting clauses (Sec. 4.7), topicalized clauses (Sec. 4.7), and -àn-iy-a? fronting (Secs. 4.2 and 4.3), which are all to receive further attention in this chapter (Secs. 8.4.1, 8.6.2.1 and 8.6.1.1 respectively). Each of these topicalized patterns have intonation contours of elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range. However, whether clauses in sequence intonation coincide with topicalization patterns or not, they typically initiate a sentence. An example of a sentence expressing temporal sequence follows, where the first clause has a sequence intonation pattern.

343. /wé·nà attaches a? / ʔfmàn pi·k-an-a
turn-Trz.3SPst-Seq here hit.3SPst-Acc-Rhy
ŋulŋàŋk-am / múl-àkam /
forehead-Emph dead-up.to

He turned around, and then hit him here on the forehead, and killed him.

Exceptions to the rule stated above are possible when a clause with sequence intonation has a lowered pitch level. Such clauses may initiate sentences (see No.16, Table 2, Appendix A), but where their intonation centres are lower than
the clause preceding them, they can be considered sentence-medial clauses (see example 350).

It can be seen from previous discussion and examples (Secs. 7.6.2.1 and 7.6.1) that more than one clause with sequence intonation, and more than one phrase receiving -ân-iy-a? fronting, or a combination of both, can occur at the beginning of sentences. Such sentences often are the initial sentences of paragraphs. Apart from most instances of imperative and interrogative usages of sequence intonation, a concentration of phrases and clauses in sequence intonation does not mean that each begins a new grammatical or phonological sentence. They are non-final in both respects, and the sentence is normally completed by one or more clauses in indicative intonation.

The content-interrogatives and imperative usages of sequential intonation are often one-clause sentences.

344. /\wan\̞\̞ ŭn-ak ni\dak? \i\dak?-ân-a? /  
   where-G1 2P go-2DFut-Seq  
   Where are you going?

345. /\kan mô-?ân-a? /  
   Punct run-2SFut-Seq  
   Run away!

Occasionally, however, they form the final clause of a grammatical sentence.

346. /\ŋ\=\̞ \̞ âk wey pé\̞ t\̞ j-âyn wey-a? / mô?-ân  
   water-G1 Comp shout-3PFut Comp-Seq run-2PPut  
   \dub\̞ an-t-a? /  
   3P-Ref-Seq  
   If they [the old people] cry out for water, run to them!

Mingograph examples a), c), d), g) and i) in Appendix A illustrate clauses with sequence intonation.

8.2.3 Continued Action Intonation

Phonological clauses which have the continuous action intonation carrying clitic -a·- typically initiate a grammatical
sentence. Such clauses are most often found as part of the initial sentences of paragraphs (Sec. 7.4.1.4), but are not confined to that position. Continuous setting clauses used with sentences are discussed in Section 8.4.2.

More than one such clause can occur at once, and there may even be combinations of these clauses with those having sequence intonation. As is the case for concentrations of clauses and phrases with sequence intonation, each clause is non-final, and the sentence is normally completed by a clause having indicative intonation. The following example occurs at the beginning of a paragraph.

347. /ka? ʔi·y-in-a·· / kal-kal-in-a·· / kungen’tj-àn like.(Cj) go-3PPst-Cont row-Rd-3PPst-Cont corner-Def
ŋo·ntj-in-a? / pam òuw-in /
enter-3PPst-Seq man find-3PPst

They kept struggling on, and rowing and rowing, and then they rounded the corner and found some men.

Example 361 provides an illustration of a similar combination occurring at the beginning of a sentence within a paragraph.

8.2.4 Intonation Patterns and One-Clause Sentences

Clauses which have tag question, interrogative, desiderative, or extreme emphasis intonation carrying clitics are typically one-clause sentences (intonation patterns 4, 6, 7, 11 and 23 in Table 2, Appendix A). This statement also applies to those intonation patterns without intonation carrying clitics which are variants of interrogative and emphasis intonation (intonation patterns 5, 12 and 19 in Table 2, Appendix A).

Several of the above are illustrated in the following sentences which follow each other in sequence in a hortatory discourse.

348. /ni·y ŋul wàntàk-a? / ni·y ŋul pek-wun
2P Temp what-Int 2P Temp fight-Rec.2PFut
ʔin-iyw òey // kan ni·y ʔaw-iw-e // ni·y ŋul puk
here-Top Ques Funct 2P say-2PSbj-Des 2P Temp child
Now what about it? Are you going to fight some more here? Come on, tell me! Are you going to grow up good children? Do you think you might stop fighting? You bite each other with your teeth like dogs, don't you? Have you been listening to me? Come on, answer me!

Such one-clause sentences in sequence may keep fairly similar in their pitch level, although the speaker usually chooses to make some sentences more emphatic than others and hence higher in pitch.

8.2.5 -àn-iy-a? fronting, -àn-iy tagging, and -àn-a? fronting on time words

When -àn-iy-a? fronting occurs, it typically initiates a sentence, while -àn-iy tagging typically closes a sentence. These are discussed and exemplified in Sections 8.6.1.1 and 8.7.1 respectively. When -àn-a? fronting is used with time words or temporal demonstratives it typically initiates a sentence (see Sec. 8.4.3).

8.2.6 Free form of subject at beginning of sentence

There is a tendency for sentences capable of phonological definition (Sec. 8.2.1) to have their subjects identified by a noun phrase or free form of the pronoun in the first clause of the sentence. (Sentences occurring at the beginning of paragraphs, on the other hand, tend to be the domain of reorientation of participants (Secs. 7.2.2.3 and 7.6.1). Formally, this may involve fairly full reference to more than one participant.) If subsequent clauses in a sentence share the same subject, the reference to it is then normally via a bound form of the subject affix on the verb only, although the
final clause may contain a tagged noun phrase giving a reminder of the subject.

The following example illustrates this tendency. The sentences are numbered.

  3S-Seq so-Seq teacher Gillan-Def-Seq here
?i:y-ař / jaw-ař kuyam //
come.3SPst-ISRef say.3SPst-ISRef used.to
(2) /ŋåy-ån pu>j jaw-åŋ ि>an-t / wik núŋ-antåm-ån-iy
  IS-Def so say.ISPst 3P-Ref word 3SAj-Poss-Def-Top
wa·?-aŋ ि�>an-t //
tell.ISPst 3P-Ref
(3) /jån-jån-am-ån kuyam ké·?-åt-in-a / yo·n
  3P-Rd-Emph-Def used.to play-Trz-3PPst-Ind outside
jåk-ån kuyam pënt-åt-an ि>an-åŋ //
etc.-Def used.to go.out-Trz-IDPst 3P-Acc
(1) So she, teacher Gillan, used to come to me and talk to me.
(2) So I related the words she said to them.
(3) They used to play when we took them outside and so on.

This is, however, a tendency only. There are, for example, some instances where a noun or pronoun reference to the subject occurs in the second clause of a sentence as well as the first. In these cases there is normally the constraint that the second clause is in a paraphrase relationship to the first. The speaker may even wait till the second clause to clarify who the participants are, as in the example below.

350. /jån-a miŋ keʔ-an-åŋ wun-in-a / wantj
  3P-Rhy Pro VNeg-Nomz-Temp live-3PPst-Ind woman
kutjam-an-a? / puk mànj-ån-a? / pâm-ån-a miŋ
  two-Def-Seq child small-Def-Seq man-Def-Rhy Pro
keʔ-an-åŋ wun-in / kaŋk-åŋ-a wun-in /
  VNeg-Nomz-Temp live-3PPst bush-Loc-Rhy live-3PPst
They lived without meat, the two women, the child and the man lived without meat in the bush.

8.2.7 Aspect Words, Conjunctions and Interjections

The temporal aspect word ŋu! is indicative of a new sentence when it occurs initially in a clause.
  Temp-Seq father own say.3Spst-Ref 2S.Voc Punct 2S-Rhy
  pal ?í:y-án-a? /
  here go-2sfut-Seq
  Then his father said to him, "Hey you, come here!"

352. /ŋul póli-án-a ñaw-pul / ñal-a kan ?í:y-ál
  Temp 3D-Def-Rhy say-3Spst ID-Rhy Punct go-IDFut
  wi:l-e· /
  younger.sister-Des
  Then those two said [to each other] "Come on, younger
  sister, let's go".

  The punctiliar aspect word kan has already been mentioned
  as sometimes occurring with a motion verb at the end of a
  paragraph. If it occurs in a separate information block
  following a clause with a verb other than a motion verb, it
  may indicate the closure of sentences occurring within para-
  graphs. The following example is highly elliptical and
  depends on what has been given in previous context for
  understanding.

353. /wal wáy-án ñaj-in-a? / kan /
  partly bad-Def see-3PPst-Seq Punct
  They saw [those young men] pretty wretched physically,
  and then [they know it is time] to finish.

  The interjection ya· typically indicates a new grammatical
  sentence. The sentences are numbered for the following
  example.

354. (1) /ʔaʔ puk kun'tj-án ñaw / Val-án / ñaj-aʔ-a
  Cj child own-Def say.3Spst Val-Def ISAj-Ref-Rhy
  wúnp-án-a? // (2) /ya· ñay wuńp-aŋ-ant /
  put-2Fut-Seq yes IS put-ISPst-Ref
  Then her child, Val, said, "Put [it] on for me!" Yes,
  so I put it on for her.

  Some other conjunctions such as ?aʔ 'then' and puʔ 'but',
  'so' are capable of functioning on different levels and may
  occur sentence medially or sentence initially. Others how-
  ever, such as yípmăm 'because' never occur initially in a
  sentence.
8.3 Some Examples of Rhetorical Predicates underlying the organization of Sentences

A discussion of rhetorical predicates is given in Section 7.3. Two examples are given below of rhetorical predicates underlying the organization of sentences. For the purposes of this chapter, tense is ignored in the representation.

355. /naŋ wamp-ow / naŋ yaʔ-a /
maybe come-3SFut maybe Neg-Ind

Maybe he'll come, or maybe he won't.

Example 355, which illustrates the paratactic rhetorical predicate of alternation, may be represented as follows.

```
  Alternation
     / /come
    / /Agent
     / /HE
    / /Neg
     / /come
    / /Agent
     / /HE
```

Fig. 25. Underlying Representation of Example 355

356. /niŋ yan-ax kaŋ-axʔ-a? / yan puŋʔ eŋkam mam-in
3S 3P-Acc like-Seq 3P because quickly learn-3PPst
yúmp-an-ˈaŋ ˈyiman-ˈaŋ-iŋ / make-Nomz-G1-Def manner-Def-Top

He likes them, because they've learnt quickly how to do it like this [make fences].

Example 356 illustrates the hypotactic rhetorical predicate of reason, and it may be represented as follows.
8.4 Point of Departure

Topicalization patterns indicating setting themes which may provide a departure point for paragraphs, have been described in Section 7.4.1. Sentences may also have initial phrases and clauses which provide a setting for what follows. These are similar to some of those used for paragraphs, though on a smaller scale. They can be formally distinguished. The three topicalization patterns used for setting themes whose domain of application is for approximately that of a sentence, are punctiliar setting clauses, continuous setting clauses and temporal words and demonstratives with -àn-a? fronting. These are described in Sections 8.4.1, 8.4.2 and 8.4.3 respectively.
8.4.1 Punctiliar Setting Clauses

Punctiliar setting clauses which act as a departure point for paragraphs (Sec. 7.4.1.3) typically contain an aspect word, either *kan or *ŋul, which is suffixed with the definite clitic -án. In addition to that, they are normally a summary of all or most of the preceding paragraph.

Punctiliar setting clauses which act as departure points for sentences, however, typically do not contain an aspect word. If the definite clitic -án occurs within the clause, it is suffixed to a noun or pronoun which is given information. Very often, though, the clauses consist of a verb only with the sequence intonation carrying clitic -a?

They normally summarize the information of part or all of the previous sentence only, and occasionally the material of a few short sentences. The examples below are given along with the sentences which precede them, so that they can be seen in context. The point at which the setting clause begins is marked with an asterisk, and a little of the rest of the sentence it begins is also given.

357. */kan múl-áŋ-an wey-a / ?ompam ?ump-an Punct dead-Trz.3SPst-Acc Comp-Rhy waist cut.3SPst-Acc
     ?ínpál-an / ?a? ʃum-aŋ ki·ŋk-an // *ʃum-aŋ-an here from Cj fire-Loc cook.3SPst-Acc fire-Loc-Def
     ki·ŋk-an-a? / kú·p-kú·p-ant ñul puk cook.3SPst-Acc-Seq wait-Rd.3SPst-Ref Temp child
     manj-ant-an / ... small-Ref-Def

Then he killed him, and cut him in half at the waist here, and put him in the fire for cooking. After he'd put him in the fire for cooking, he waited for the child [to be cooked].

358. */puk nil min-a / min ?em-a / pam we·n / child 3S good-Ind good grow.3SPst-Ind man become.3SPst
     komp-a // *?em-a? / min ʃok-án young.man-Ind grow.3SPst-Seq Pro etc.-Def
     pi·?a? / min-min-akam pi·? / mind-3SPst-Seq good-Rd-utmost mind.3SPst

He was a good child, and grew up good, and became a young man. Having grown up, he minded the animals, he minded them really well.
He went straight to the river, and picked up some stones.
As for those stones, there were five of them that he picked up, like the fingers of my hand here. After he'd picked them up, he put them in a dilly bag...

8.4.2 Continuous Setting Clauses

Continuous setting clauses which reaffirm the movement of the participant(s) and which act as a departure point for paragraphs have been described in Section 7.4.1.4. Typically, they contain a repetition of a motion verb or a directional word, and/or a long drawn out continuous action intonation carrying morpheme. Mostly they have both. They indicate a significant passing of time and change of spatial setting.

Occasionally the movement of participants is reaffirmed at the beginning of sentences within paragraphs also. In these cases, the clause consists of a verb only, or a verb and directional. It mostly has the sequence intonation carrying clitic -a?, rather than the continuous action clitic -a'.

Compared with the continuous setting clause at the beginning of the paragraph in which it occurs, it indicates a short duration of time and slight change of place (360), or a temporary continuing on of a minor phase of activity within the discourse (361). Two examples are given below. They begin with the paragraph in which the continuous setting clauses under attention occur. An asterisk indicates these clauses.
We kept on driving and driving, and crossed creeks and so on, and then, close to us, high up, what was it like – they were making a little bridge! We went a little further, and found a house...

We kept on and on, rowing in an easterly direction, and there we threw our lines in. We kept on throwing them in, and I was really throwing mine in, and I got a bite very quickly...

8.4.3 Temporal Words with -àn-aʔ fronting

It has been stated in Section 7.2.2.1 that an indication of major time change is the strongest criterion for indicating new paragraphs. The idea has also been put forward that perhaps setting should belong as a constituent of the deep structure of a paragraph rather than of a sentence. References to time changes at the beginning of sentences within paragraphs are few and far between. Occasionally, however, one is found. These are typically temporal words or demonstratives with -àn-aʔ fronting, and their area of application is over a much shorter stretch than temporal words and phrases with -àn-iy-aʔ fronting. When the aspect word ṇuλ occurs with -aʔ fronting at the beginning of a sentence it may either indicate a slight time change, with the meaning of 'and then', or else it can have more the dominant meaning of 'so' as introducing a response to a previous action.

The first example below is introduced within the context of part of the paragraph it occurs in. Again, the focus point of the example is marked with an asterisk.
We flew on further and further, and then we landed there
in the north, really far north, at Horn Island. That
was alright, and from there we flew on.

In a reported conversation within an explanatory discourse,
the speaker refers to two time spans within two sentences.
Both receive -àn-a? fronting, and one occurs as the second
fronted item in the sentence it is in.

Sometimes -àn-a? fronting is found on time words which
introduce a short stretch of background information. In the
following example the previous sentence is given along with
the sentence containing background information so the context
can be seen.

As for her, she picked up a bush torch, like our bush
torches. A long time ago, they used to light bush
torches in our place, and tie them up in the same way.
Example 351 in this chapter provides an example of ğu with -aʔ fronting.

8.5 Unmarked Theme of Sentence

Unmarked themes of the paragraph nucleus have been described in Section 7.5. In a similar way, the speaker may choose not to make the subject matter of the sentence prominent. The unmarked theme of a sentence is usually presented in the first clause, following any setting topicalization patterns.

Some examples of unmarked sentence theme follow. An asterisk marks where the nucleus of the sentence begins. An English translation of the rest of the sentence which follows the unmarked theme is given in parentheses following the translation of the first part of the sentence.

As is the case with paragraphs (Sec. 7.5) some unmarked themes of sentences are the first of a sequence of events, while others form the subject matter for description, explanation or paraphrase.

365. /*wí'y-àn wey ?ep / ...
   some-Def Comp Pos
   Some were all right;
   (they sat quietly, and they laughed and they played also.)

366. /kaʔáṭam-aʔ / *?ik-a maʔy-aŋ / ...
   at.first-Seq bush.dish-Rhy pick.up-ISPst
   At first, I picked up the bush dish,
   (then I got some flour and put just a little in, not a big bit.)

367. /kaʔw moʔ-an-aʔ / *ʔawutj piʔan-aŋ
   east drive-IPExclPst-Cont house big-Loc
   ʔoʔntj-an / enter-IPExclPst
   We kept on going east, and then we went inside a big house -
   (that's where we had our cup of tea.)

The choice of unmarked theme may itself have been subject to decisions in the area of staging. For instance, the
following example has an unmarked theme which is followed by a subordinate clause of reason.

368. /nil min-am ʔep teʔ wantjínŋ ʔalanam / Ąay 3S good-Emph Pos throw.3SPst old-lady that.Erg IS
puŋ kan máʔ-ʔaŋ-ǎŋ máʔ-yot-am / because Punct hand-give-ISPst-Acc hand-lot-Emph

She threw her fishing line in really well, that old lady did, because I'd helped her lots of times [and she knows how now].

As result and reason are the converse of each other, this sentence could be transformed so that the subordinate clause becomes the independent clause, and vice versa. What the speaker chooses to put in the independent clause is probably what he considers the most important as a starting point. Questions of given and new information are relevant too, as subordinate clauses of reason, at least, are perhaps more likely to refer to given information than independent clauses. This is far less likely to be true of result and purpose clauses.

The choices available to a speaker regarding marked and unmarked theme of the nucleus of the sentence are represented in a flow chart in Fig.27. Marked sentence theme is described in Sections 8.6 and 8.7.
Fig. 27. Marked and Unmarked Themes of Sentence Nucleus (Fg = Foregrounding, Rm = Reminder, partcp = participant)
8.6 Foregrounding of Sentence Theme

This will be considered under two sections, foregrounding of references to participants, and the foregrounding of propositions.

8.6.1 Participants

There are two ways of foregrounding references to participants for sentences. These are -àn-iy-a? fronting, and rhetorical questions.

8.6.1.1 -àn-iy-a? fronting

A reference to a participant which receives -àn-iy-a? fronting or a pronoun which receives -i�-a? fronting, are instances of marked sentence theme. They represent a foregrounding of the speaker's point of departure for the nucleus information of the sentence.

It cannot be said in any absolute way that the domain of prominence of a phrase from the nucleus with -àn-iy-a? fronting is for an exact grammatical sentence. This is not so, but its main association is with a stretch of speech that is sentence-length. Sometimes the domain of prominence is for two or even three grammatical sentences.

In some discourses, -àn-iy-a? fronting does not occur at all. In others, it is very frequent, and some paragraphs may have several sentences within them beginning with a phrase with -àn-iy-a? fronting. In other discourses, -àn-iy-a? fronting may be used but half-a-dozen times. It is very rare for two consecutive sentences to have phrases with -àn-iy-a? fronting which refer to the same participant.

Much has already been said about the relationship of -àn-iy-a? and -àn-a? fronting to given and new information, and also to the variety of phrases which can be fronted in these ways (Secs. 4.2 and 4.3). This section provides further statements concerning the application of -àn-iy-a? fronting as
it relates to the larger context of discourse. Each statement of the application of -ân-îy-a? fronting is followed by a number in brackets referring to the example(s) which illustrate it.

The majority of phrases in a discourse which have -ân-îy-a? fronting refer to participants or objects which are part of the global theme. The phrase may initiate a description of the participant near the beginning of the discourse before events get underway (369). It may, on the other hand, initiate an event or a chain of events for which the main participant(s) is actor (370) or object (371).

On the other hand, -ân-îy-a? fronting may be used with phrases which refer to relatives of a main participant who perform special social roles in relation to him (372). It may also be used with phrases which refer to participants who come into major interaction with a main character (373). It can be used with phrases referring to body parts of a main character which come under attention (374), to the tools in his hand (375), or to objects which are the focus of his activity (376). It may also be used where contrast with the main character or his way of doing things, is involved (377). More will be said about the frequency of occurrence of -ân-îy-a? fronting in specific discourse genres in Section 10.3.

369. /David-ân-îy-a? / shepherd boy-a / mîŋ
    David-Def-Top-Seq shepherd boy-Ind Pro
    pi·ʔ-pi·ʔ-a / mîŋ sheep /
    mind-Rd.3SPst-Ind Pro sheep

As for David, he was a shepherd boy, and he minded sheep.

    man godfather-Erg-Def-Top-Seq Onom get.up-3SPres
    nji·n-an pawám /
    sit-3SPres really

As for the godfather, he raises himself quickly [from his prone position] and really sits up.
As for the man, they recognize his person, "There he goes, the sacred one!" some of them say who are sitting in the shade.

Those female relatives of hers made her a long grass skirt, and she tried it on round her waist, and it came down way below her knees.

As for this Philistine, David said to him, "I will kill you, and that flesh of yours".

On his head, they put a headdress or flowers.

As for those stones, he picked up five like the fingers on my hand here.
pätj-pätj-åŋ nuŋ-ant-akam-an wey / ?etj-aŋ
clean-Rd-Trz.3SPst 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def Comp clean-Loc

yipam puk mànj-åŋ ?a·k-ŋe·y-ow-ant-a /
so.that child small-Def place-hear-3SFut-Rhy-Ind

As for the grass, she cut it and cut it, and cleared the area herself, so that it would be a clean place for the child to be born.

For the next example, part of the previous sentence is given also.

377. /ku·tan ‿ák-åŋ nil-am ?ump-a /
   umbilical.cord etc.-Def 3S-Emph cut.3SPst-Ind
   ñe·n-aŋ-a yuŋ pi·ŋi-aŋ ?ump-?ump-antan 
   what.Inst-Rhy stick bamboo-Inst cut-Rd-3PPres
   //?amp-ïy-a? / ?ep-a ké·nk-åŋ ?amp-äfram-aŋ-a /
   IPIncl-Top-Seq Pos-Rhy long.ago-Def IPIncl-Poss-Erg-Ind
   glass-Inst-Seq some-Seq mussel-Inst used.to cut-3PPst
   ku·tan puk manj-iy ?amp-äfram ké·nk-åŋ
cord child small-Emph IPIncl-Poss long.ago-Def
   ?a·k-ŋe·y-in-a /
   place-hear-3PPst-Ind

She cut the cord herself, what with, with bamboo they cut the cords here... As for us, in our place a long time ago they used to cut the cord with glass, or some with a mussel, that's how it used to be done for the cords of the children born a long time ago in our place.

When there is reprise, that is, cross reference to the fronted item in the main body of the clause via a noun phrase or free pronoun, there is perhaps more intensity of prominence (Sec. 4.5). There do not seem to be any differences in functions. Sometimes it is just for the sake of clarification. In the text which this example comes from, both the godfather and the umbilical cord are referred to by ku·tan, and so there is clarification in the body of the clause as to who the fronted phrase refers to.

378. /ku·tan-åŋ-åŋ-iy-a? / pam nil ku·tan-åŋ-åŋ
godfather-Erg-Def-Top-Seq man 3S godfather-Erg-Def
   wa·nk ?i·y-an nuŋ-antam-a /
   oblivious go-3SPres 3SAj-Src-Ind
As for the ku·tan, the man that is, the godfather, he avoids him.
8.6.1.2 Rhetorical questions

Sometimes a participant or object which is the subject-matter of a sentence is made prominent by the use of a rhetorical question within the first clause. Formally, these are not very different from those used to foreground a participant who is the theme of a paragraph (Sec. 7.6.1). It seems, however, that those occurring in the first sentence of a paragraph give the participant they refer to more prominence (namely, over the paragraph) by virtue of their position. As is the case for paragraphs, rhetorical questions occurring with sentences carry the presupposition of surprise or unusualness.

379. /we·ʔ-aŋ kal-a ʔan-aŋ-a'/ lady þonam-a
   who-Erg carry.3SPst-Rhy IPExcl-Acc-Int lady one-Ind
   Lorna Luff-a / ?aŋaŋ kal-a ʔan-aŋ / car
   Lorna Luff-Ind that.Erg carry.3SPst-Rhy IPExcl-Acc car
   nung-anṭam-aŋ móʔ-ąj-a ʔan-aŋ / 3SAŋ-Poss-Loc drive-Trz.3SPst-Rhy IPExcl-Acc

   Guess who took us? A lady, Lorna Luff, she took us, she drove us in her car.

380. /ʔaʔ Loui-sa-aŋ-a ne·n want-a'/ ko·ʔ-a
   Cj Louisa-Erg-Rhy what leave.3SPst-Int teeth-Rhy
   want-a keptan țam / ?aŋaman landing wun / leave.3SPst-Rhy basket also there.on landing lie.3SPst
   yu·ntj-a ne·n ținj-a ?upan ținj-ąn a wun / tree-Rhy what near-Rhy milkwood near-Def-Rhy lie.3SPst
   ko·ʔ /
   teeth

   And what do you think Louisa left behind? She left her teeth behind, and her basket too, down there at the landing, near what tree, the milkwood tree. There she left her teeth.

   The next sentence in the paragraph following this example describes how someone else left a billycan behind. The example 380 also has an example within it of a rhetorical question used within a clause. This is described in Section 9.4.2.
8.6.2 Propositions

There are three ways of foregrounding the themes of sentences: topicalized clauses, rhetorical questions and lowered intonation of the first clause.

8.6.2.1 Topicalized Clauses

Clauses which have elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range, and the sequence intonation\(^3\) carrying morpheme -a? in the introductory clauses of simultaneous and condition sentences. For classificatory purposes, simultaneity is considered by Sayers to include close sequence (1972a:98).

Two clauses in a simultaneous or close sequence relationship may be distinguished semantically depending on whether the event of the second clause happens as a result of the first. The next two examples illustrate simultaneous sentences where there is not necessarily any causal relationship between the two clauses.

381. /mu·ntj-mu·ntj-pul :on-iγ-a? / nil pikuw-a
    swim-Rd.3DPst other-Top-Seq 3S crocodile-Rhy
    wō?wōyan ?ąŋmɑn tjup-a ĵænp /
    other.side there.on Onom-Rhy jump.3SPst

When the two of them were swimming one day, a crocodile jumped into the water on the other side.

382. /ŋay-a kāβ-kâฑ-aŋ-a? / nil ąŋmɑn
    IS-Rhy make-Rd-ISPst-Seq 3S there.on
    njii·n-aɾ-a ĥiniŋ ąŋτ-aɾaŋ /
    sit.3SPst-ISRef-Rhy close ISAj-Accom

Yes, while I made [pandanus things] she sat there close beside me.

There are other sentences which demonstrate a semantically causal relationship, as well as one of simultaneity, or close sequence. Typically a noun phrase within these clauses is suffixed with the definite clitic -ąn, regardless of whether the noun in question, or perhaps the content of the whole clause itself, is given or new information. These are the clauses I am calling topicalized clauses. They present a
foregrounding of a proposition of the nucleus of the sentence which is a departure point for the rest of the sentence. Alternate ways of presenting the same information could be via the first clause of a sequence sentence, which has neutral pitch level and pitch range, or via the subordinate clauses of reason sentences, or by dependent clauses with verbs which have present participial endings. None of these means would have given marked theme status to the same information.

Some examples of topicalized clauses follow. The nouns marked with -àn in the first clauses of examples 383 and 385 are new information.

383. /mú·t-àn kuyam 丏e·y-in-a? / truck-antâm-àn-a? / noise-Def used.to hear-3PPst-Seq truck-Src-Def-Seq
   ?an-a wey we·amenti / pal-am pu·y-am
   then-Rhy Comp went.silly-3PPst here-towards there-towards
   ŋat-in /
   look-3PPst
When they used to hear the noise of the truck, they went silly, and looked round everywhere.

384. /gân train-aŋ-an pe·y-an-a? / ?an-a
   IPExcl train-Ms-Def go-IPExclPst-Seq that-Rhy
   ya?-im wúntjât-an gân-aŋ-a / ŋip Neg.Ints-Emph shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc-Ind stomach
   ŋak-im wûnjât-an gân-aŋ /
   also-Emph shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc
When we travelled in the train, it really shook us, and it shook our stomachs too.

385. /pam-aŋ-an ŋat-antân ŋan-aŋ ŋiŋįt-am-a? / men-Erg-Def see-3PPres 3P-Acc close-Emph-Seq
   ŋjint-antân ŋan-aŋ / spear-3PPres 3P-Acc
When the men see them [the fish] up close, they spear them.

Example 324 in Chapter 7 shows an example of topicalized clauses which are conditional.
8.6.2.2 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions may be used to give prominence to the proposition contained in the first clause of the sentence, or a clause near the beginning of the sentence. Once again, the presupposition of surprise is involved. Each of the following examples could alternatively have presented the proposition in question via an unmarked equivalent. An English translation of the unmarked equivalents for each example would be:

(386) They cry and cry.
(387) He cooks the grass.
(388) She did some work.

386. /puŋ ñan ʔeq·n-am-a? / pé·y-pè·y-antàn / ʔeqŋk ʔentj for 3P what-Seq-cry-Rd-3PPres heart become want-a ñan-ʔeq-a /
leave.3SPst-Rhy 3P-Acc-Ind
For why do they cry and cry? They are broken hearted.

387. /ʔan-a ʔeq·n-àk puŋ-a Ꞩ / wàk-àn-iy ki-kf·eqk-a Ꞩ / now-Rhy what-G1 for-Int grass-Def-Top Rd-cook.3SPst-Int
puŋ salt ?ā·kanàk-àn-iy yump-ow-à / ʔeqŋtam for salt that.for-Def-Top make-3SFut-Tag salt
ʔinaŋaŋ-a /
these-Ind
Now why did he cook that grass? It's for the purpose of making salt, isn't it.

388. /nił-iy wantj wey-a? / ʔi·mpaŋ-ʔeq / *nił-a ʔeq·n-a? / 3S-Top woman Comp-Seq stomach-with 3S-Rhy what-Seq
ʔa·k-a ʔak we?-a? / wak ʔak-àn place-Rhy etc. dig.3SPst-Seq grass etc.-Def
ʔak-a? / ʔa·k tjij ʔeq·n-àn mîtj-àŋ-a Ꞩ / sweep.3SPst-Seq place sand Temp-Def soft-Trz.3SPst-Seq
may ʔak-a ka·mp-an nuq·ant-akam-an / food also-Rhy plant.3SPst-Acc 3SAj-Ref-Ref1-Def
This woman was pregnant, but what did she do? She dug the ground, she swept away the grass, she softened the soil then, and planted food for herself.
8.6.2.3 Lowered Intonation

It sometimes happens that a clause, which by other criteria, is the initial clause of a new sentence, has an intonation centre which is actually lower than the clause which precedes it. Unless background information is involved (Sec. 8.2.1) this lowered intonation carries with it the presupposition that the material is of a serious or solemn nature. It can also be considered a means of foregrounding the theme of the sentence.

Example 389 follows the close of a conversation. The first clause is the first of a chain of events, and in this way provides the departure point of the nucleus information.

389. /+kitj ?anan ma·y / ʃum pup-am-an
   bark that pick.up.3SPst fire firestick-Src-Def
   witj / ʃaʔ-an / wík-ʃaw-an-ând
   take.out.3SPst undo.3SPst-Acc word-speak-Nomz-Def
   ma·y kitj-am-an / kenj-am ʃéʔ-ʔ-nàŋ /
   pick.up.3SPst bark-Src-Def high-towards eye-give.3SPst
He picked up the bark, and drew the firestick out of it. He undid it, and took out the heart [of their dead relative] from the bark, and held it high for all to see.

8.7 Reminding of Sentence Theme

There are two ways of reminding the hearer of the sentence theme. Tagging is used for reference to participants, and cycling is used for reminders of propositions.

8.7.1 Tagging

Tagging has already been described in some detail in Section 4.4.

A phrase which receives -àn-iy tagging typically occurs in a separate information block at the end of a sentence. It normally acts as a reminder of the main participant or object, in the grammatical sentence in which it occurs, but sometimes it refers back to a previous sentence. It normally occurs at the end of a description or chain of events.
While -ån-ìy-åï fronting and -ån-ìy tagging may co-occur in the one sentence (see Sec. 8.8) it is not obligatory that the participant receiving -ån-ìy tagging be marked theme at the beginning of the sentence. He may simply be part of the information of a clause at the beginning of a sentence which is unmarked theme. Some examples follow.

390. /kemp way-a? / ?a·k watjan nät-pål-år
flesh bad-Seq place far far-here-Def
mo?-mo?-an / ya?-im wûnjàt-an
drive-Rd-IPExclPst Neg.Ints-Emph shake-IPExclPst
ongan-a / kemp ïák-år-ìy /
IPExcl-Acc-Ind flesh etc.-Def-Top

Our bodies were sore, [for] we'd driven from a far away place and were really knocked around, our bodies were.

The next example is interesting in that the embedded conversation has -ån-ìy tagging as well as the events surrounding it.

feel.3SPst-Seq this-Rhy heavy-Ind say.3SPst IS-Rhy
ke?-am ïï·tj-an-a ?inan-ìy-a / ïápát
VNeg-Emph know-ISPst-Rhy this-Top-Ind take.off.3SPst
koyam / David-an-år-ìy /
back David-Erg-Def-Top

He felt [them on him], "This is heavy", he said, "I'm not used to these things", and he took them off again, David did.

392. /?a·k ?in-a ñe·n-a? /ñe·n wonk-a ñon-an-im
place this-Rhy what-Seq what side-Rhy other-Loc-Emph
je?-je·?-an nuŋ-amaŋ-a / ?inan-ìy /
Rd-throw-3SPres 3SAj-Refl-Rhy this-Top

What's happening to this place? It's completely changed, this place has.

The next example refers back to the previous sentence which describes how the grass is heaped on the fire.

393. /kan-a pentj-pentj-a? / ñum-a wû·t pi·?an-an
Punct-Rhy burn-Rd-3SPst-Seq fire-Rhy Ints big-Loc
pentj-pentj-in / wák-år-ìy /
burn-Rd-3PPst grass-Def-Top

It kept on burning and burning, and the fire that was burning it got really big, that the grass [was burning it].
8.7.2 Cycling

Cycling has already been described in general in Section 4.8, and cyclic paragraphs are given some attention in Section 7.7.2. Cyclic sentences occurring at the beginning of paragraphs are discussed in Section 7.6.2.3.

The significance of cycling has been stated as the speaker's desire to impress a certain point onto the hearer's memory. It is therefore interesting to note the places within discourse where cyclic sentences most often occur. Cyclic sentences are sometimes used for description of places or objects (example 394), or the description of feelings (395). They are also sometimes used to impress a command (396) or a reason for doing something (397) on the hearer.

In cyclic sentences, the speaker gives the theme in the first clause, and then reminds the hearer of it again in the last clause of the sentence. Some examples follow.

394. /nil-a yuk ?oŋk ?anan / t̑an-iy wa·?-antan
3S-Rhy stick long that 3P-Top call-3PPres
\[ ?u·I / wa·?-antan / ?anan yuk \ ?oŋk \ ?anan / \]
\[ long.pole call-3PPres that stick long that \]
It's a long stick, they call it a pole, that one, the long stick.

395. /pe·y-pe·y woyampiy nuŋ-antam / puŋ pam t̑antjiy
cry-Rd.3SPst adulterer 3SAj-Src for man handsome
\[ min-am-a / t̑aypan \ ?anan / nuŋ-antam pe·y-pe·y / \]
good-Emph-Rhy taipan.snake that 3SAj-Src cry-Rd.3SPst
She wept over her lover, for he was a really handsome man, that taipan snake, over him she wept.

396. /ɡé·y-àn-a? / ŋay wíkmùŋkan tháw-àng-a /
listen-2PFut-Seq IP Wik-Munkan say-ISFut-Ind
\[ ɡé·y-àn-a? / \]
\[ listen-2PFut-Seq \]
Listen! I'm talking to you in Wik-Munkan! Listen!

397. /ŋan puŋ t̑aw-an nuŋ-ant ?uk-ow /
IPExcl so say-IPExclPst 3SAj-Ref get.down-3SFut
\[ ka·ntj ŋuI pip-ow nuŋ-ant-akam / ?an-a puŋ \]
bone Temp break-3SFut 3SAj-Ref-Ref1 then-Rhy so
We told him to get down, lest he break his bones, or fall and kill himself, therefore we told him to get down.

8.8 Combinations

As is the case with paragraphs (Sec. 7.8), a speaker is not bound to just one way of making a sentence theme from the nucleus prominent. All kinds of combinations are possible. There may be both fronting and tagging (398), rhetorical questions and tagging (392), cycling and tagging (399) and fronting and rhetorical questions (Appendix B.1.33). Some of these combinations both refer to the participant (392, 398), whereas others refer to both the participant and the proposition (399).


As for the child, he lies on the chest of that godfather: they put him down on his chest, the child, that is.

399. /?an-a ÇÃOntj jàyan / ku'tan kun'tj ?alant-an / that-Rhy sacred strong godfather own that.to ke?-'a wày-à'n-an nun / waŋk-a / VNeg-Rhy bad-Trz.3SPres 3SAcc dillybag-Ind kayaman jàk-àn wün-tàn nuŋ-ant / ku'y spear.making tool etc.-Def live-3PPres 3SAj-Ref string ?àŋ-à-n-a / ?aŋ-an wun nuŋ-ant / ?an-a puŋ etc.-Def-Ind there.in lie.3SPst 3SAj-Ref that-Rhy for ężntj jàyan-a / ku'tan kudàŋ-ant-an-iy / sacred strong-Ind godfather own-Ref-Def-Top

[The umbilical cord] is sacred to the godfather. He doesn't spoil it, but puts it in his dillybag along with his spear making tool for it's sacred to him, to that godfather.
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 8

1. Originally termination intonation was posited by Sayers, but she has now changed her analysis owing to informant reaction. If a tape recording of a text was stopped at the end of a first clause (of, say, a paraphrase sentence) with indicative intonation the informant did not recognize it as non-final (Sayers: personal communication).

2. Occasionally a speaker suffixes a verb in a supposedly punctiliar setting clause with -Įy ('topic'). The data I have on this is too meagre to make assertive statements. It seems, that in these cases, the clause is a repetition of information given in the preceding sentence, but it then becomes a topicalized clause which provides the nucleus theme of the next paragraph. An example can be found in the text in Appendix B.II.11.

3. The sequence intonation carrying clitic -ą? used with simultaneous, conditional and concession sentences varies with the absence of a clitic, and also with the low, steady indicative clitic -ą (see Table 2, Appendix A, Nos. 8-10). However, the occurrence of -ą? is by far the most common.
CHAPTER 9: CLAUSES AND CLAUSE THEME

9.1 Wik-Munkan Clauses

9.1.1 Introduction

The definition I have accepted for clauses is given in Section 3.10.1. Typically a Wik-Munkan clause has a verb phrase with one or more noun phrases whose relationship to the action, process or state expressed by the verb is shown by surface case markings. (Wik-Munkan verbs and case system have already been described in Sections 3.2.6 and 3.5 respectively.) There are also clauses which do not contain a verb. They have, rather, two (or more) noun phrases which are in an equational, attributive, possessive or existential relationship to each other.

The minimal manifestation of a verbal clause is a verb. In a discourse, most clauses contain but one or two noun phrases, although certainly more are possible. The first clause of a sentence tends to contain more noun phrases than subsequent clauses in the sentence. In addition, there is a tendency for the first clauses of sentences and particularly of paragraphs, to give fuller reference to participants than clauses occurring elsewhere. This is certainly no more than a tendency however.

9.1.2 Grammatical Clause Types

In a preliminary tagmemic study of Wik-Munkan clauses, Godfrey (1967) suggested the following clause types for Wik-Munkan: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, reciprocal, complement, stative, equative and possessive. The latter three are non-verbal, while the others are verbal clauses. I have accepted this classification of the surface grammar of Wik-Munkan as it relates to clauses with the addition of one more non-verbal clause, existential. The distinctions have been made mainly on the bases of different classes of verbs.
occurring in the clause (e.g. transitive versus intransitive), and on the occurrence or non-occurrence of noun phrases with certain functions within the clause (e.g. a complement clause has a noun phrase with the function of complement, and possibly has a noun phrase with the function of object as well, whereas an intransitive clause has neither).

Examples\textsuperscript{2} of the clause types are given below.

Intransitive

400. /\text{n}a\text{n}a \ ?e\text{r}k\text{a}m \ m\text{\?}e\text{\?}m\text{\?}a\text{\?} / 
     IPExcl-Rhy fast \ run-Rd-IPExclPst
     We ran very fast.

Transitive

401. /p\text{\?}a\text{\?}m \ m\text{n}\text{\t}\text{\?}\text{\?}\text{\?}\text{\?}\text{\?}\text{\?} \ k\text{\?} \ ?-\text{\?}\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} / 
     man elder-Erg \ play-Trz-3SPres 3SAcc-Ind
     The old man plays with him.

402. /m\text{\?}i\text{\?}n \ k\text{\?} \ ?-\text{\?}\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} / 
     Pro mother-Rhy big \ Punct spear-3SPres 3SAcc
     He spears the big mother [goose].

Ditransitive

403. /n\text{\i\l} \ p\text{\?}a\text{\?}m \ a\text{\?} / 
     3S \ man-Erg Pro \ fish \ give-Rd.3SPst 3PAcc
     The man was giving them fish.

Reciprocal

404. /k\text{\e\k} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} / 
     spear-Inst-Def \ hit-3PRecPst
     They thrust each other with spears.

405. /h\text{\?}\text{\?}\text{\?}\text{\?} \ k\text{\i\t} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} / 
     IPIncl-Rhy sun-Loc maybe \ see-IPRecFut
     Maybe we'll see each other at midday.

Complement

406. /\text{\?}a\text{\?}n \ a\text{\?} \ \text{\?}\text{\?} \ k\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} / 
     that-Rhy air \ VNeg-Nomz-Temp become.3SPst
     It became airless.

407. /w\text{\?}a\text{\?} \ \text{\?}\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} \ a\text{\?} / 
     partly \ bad-Def \ see-3PPst 3PAcc
     They saw them beginning to get weaker.
Existential
408. /ŋak-a ?áµµán ɬan-t /  
    water-Rhy there.on 3P-Ref 
    Water [was] there for them.

Stative
409. /ʔan-a ñentʃ-a ɬáyan-a /  
    that-Rhy sacred-Rhy strong-Ind 
    That thing is really sacred.

Equative
410. /kɑ̑ː ñá-ɬəm-án Mary /  
    mother ISₐj-Poss-Def Mary 
    My mother is Mary.

Possessive
411. /ŋay-a wukaɭ píʔan ɬul /  
    IS-Rhy money big Temp 
    I have lots of money now.

412. /nän-a kaː t píːp ɬamp-aŋ /  
    that.Mid-Rhy mother father with-Co 
    That person [over there] has parents.

All of the above clauses may occur as independent clauses 
and they also have distributional variants which occur as 
subordinate clauses. For example, most of the above could 
occur as clauses expressing result or reason (with adjustment 
of the tense of the verb in some cases).

9.1.3 Lexical Predicates and Role Relationships

Grimes (1972a:251) distinguishes lexical predicates 
from rhetorical predicates (Sec. 7.3.2). The former have 
semantic roles as their arguments. Several linguists have 
made lists of semantic roles, namely, the ways in which 
participants relate to the action or state expressed by the 
lexical predicates. Fillmore's list of cases (1968) is the 
most notable of these. Several others have used his work as 
a basis, and come up with slightly different lists, for 
extample, Frantz (1971) and Grimes (1972a). In 1973, Grimes 
revised his earlier list, and it is this revised list which
I have accepted. Figures 28 and 29 outline the system. He uses the term 'role' rather than 'case', so as to distinguish the semantic relationships from the surface case system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>Position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Motion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig. 28. Orientation and Process Roles**

Grimes distinguishes orientation and process roles, both of which may be either static or dynamic. Orientation roles are defined in spatial terms, and involve position or motion. Grimes also says (1973:8):

They also have a nonspatial or metaphorical area of meaning in which the linguistic form is appropriate for movement but semantically nothing moves: this idea (O) came to me (G) from Austin Hale (S), the tune (O) kept running through his brain (R).

A verb like 'flow' would be dynamic, as it involves change of position, whereas a verb like 'sit' would be static.

Process roles, on the other hand, are, in Grimes' words (1973:8):

...independent of orientations to motion or position. Instead, they have to do on the dynamic side with changes of state, and on the static side with stable states.

Figure 29 represents the orientation and process roles which Grimes proposes and the combinations possible where there are counterparts. The agentive complex, which is represented at the top of the diagram, is considered to be outside the orientation and process systems, as also is the benefactive role. The occurrence of force is incompatible with that of agent and instrument.
A brief summary of Grimes' description (1973:6-16) of each role now follows. It should be said from the outset, however, that a specific argument in a proposition can have two roles simultaneously. For instance, when a person is commanded to 'listen' or 'hear' (both are translated by ɲe·γ in Wik-Munkan), his positive response means that he has both the role of Agent and that of Patient.

**Agent** (A) identifies the participant who is responsible for an action. **Instrument** (I) identifies the tool used by the agent to bring about an action or process. Both are causal elements, involved in a single chain of action. **Force** (F) or noninstigative cause 'asserts a causal relation devoid of responsibility. It is incompatible with both agent and instrument' (Grimes 1973:15). An example is: Malaria (F) killed the girl (P).

The first orientation role, **Object**, has its orientation to its physical environment given to it by the predicate. In the dynamic instance, it identifies the thing that is moving, and in the static, the thing that is in a particular position. **Source** (S) applies only to motions, and it 'identifies the location of the object at the beginning of the motion, the initial boundary of the event' (Grimes 1973:6).
**Goal (G)** also applies only to motions, and it, on the other hand, identifies the terminal boundary of the event. **Range (R)** 'indicates the path or area traversed, as in the ball (O) rolled down the gutter (R). With position, Range indicates static location, as in his house (O) is situated on top of a hill (R)' (Grimes 1973:7). Grimes makes the point that Range is not to be confused with the notion of setting. **Vehicle (V)** refers to that which conveys the object and moves it along.

The first of the process roles, **Patient (P)** is defined by Grimes as 'the relation between a thing that gets changed and the process that changes it, or in the static sense, between a thing that is in some state and the state it is in' (1973:8). He now includes his earlier notion of Experiencer (1972a:151) in the Patient role. **Material (M)** identifies the state of something before it undergoes a process, and **Result (Rs)** its state afterwards. **Referent (Rf)** identifies the limitation of a process to a certain field or object, where the latter undergoes no change as a result. An example is: We (A) talked about politics (Rf).

The **Benefactive (B)** role stands outside the orientation and process systems, in that it can seemingly be attached to almost anything. It identifies the participant on whom an action has a secondary effect, good or ill.

In his earlier work, Grimes (1972a:162) also distinguished **Essive**, the role used for identification, and associated with notions of 'having' and 'being' in English. The concept covered by Essive does not seem to be included in Grimes' 1973 list. It can be distinguished from other roles in that (Grimes 1972a:162-3):

- It bestows a nominal status on the proposition to which it belongs, allowing it to be referenced as a quantifiable entity.... Essive may be the only case associated with a predicate...

Glover (1973:70 ff.) has described in detail the inter-relationships of semantic roles and grammatical structure at clause level in Gurung, taking each clause pattern in turn. I shall be content with some examples.
The subject of Wik-Munkan intransitive clauses may have the semantic roles of Agent (as in 413), Object (414) or Patient (415). The semantic role is indicated at the end of the relevant phrase.

413. /puk manj-iy ?anjaŋ (A) mo?-mo?-in / child small-Emph those run-Rd-3PPst
Those little children ran.

414. /ŋak (O) ?uk-?uk /
water fall-Rd.3SPst
It rained.

415. /jən-a (P) ŋək-am nji·n-in /
3P-Rhy heart-Emph sit-3PPst
They were glad.

In Section 3.5.3.10 five examples are given of the surface case of Source. These represent a variety of semantic roles. In example 115 nəŋtantam 'his' could be an example of the role of Referent if the person concerned did nothing to provoke the fright. Examples 116 and 117 are examples of the Source role, while example 119 is an example of the Material role. The word ŋək-am, on the other hand, in example 118 is an example of Force. The clause could, for instance be paraphrased as:

416. /ŋak-aŋ (Fc) yɨ·ntj-ät-a nun-aŋ /
water-Erg wet-Trz.3SPst-Rhy 3S-Acc
The rain wet it.

While the surface case of referent mostly has the semantic role of Benefactive, it can sometimes have a semantic role of Patient, as in example 417.

417. /ŋat-aŋ (P) ŋəgk pe·y·an nəŋ-antam /
ISAj-Ref heart cry-3SPres 3SAj-Src
I'm sad about him.

A further example concerns the grammatical objects (nominative case) of transitive clauses. These can have the semantic roles of Object (as in 418), Patient (419) and Range (420).
In Section 3.1.7 the normal placement of the intonation centre of declarative clauses was described, namely, on the phrase preceding the verb. This can be considered the unmarked placement of the intonation centre. Some grammatical conditions were described under which the intonation centre occurred elsewhere.

The emotive or emphatic attitude of the speaker is sometimes a factor also in determining marked placement of the intonation centre in declarative clauses, as in examples 421 and 422.

421. /may ka-kā·mp / ơyot-a / Carb Rd-plant.3SPst lots-Ind
   She planted lots and lots of food!

422. /Jesus ơ?uäm ŋamp-ař / Jesus die.3SPst IPIncl-Ref
   Jesus died for us!

For non-verbal clauses, the intonation centre falls on the predicate, or on what is sometimes called the comment (Sayers 1974:15).

423. /Goroka-ān ʔa·k ơmin-a / Goroka-Def place good-Ind
   Goroka is a good place.

I have not observed any exceptions to this.

Interrogatives, imperatives and clauses in desiderative mood which consist of one grammatical clause only have all
been treated as one-clause sentences (Sec. 8.2.4). They also have a characteristic or unmarked placement of the intonation centre. For content interrogatives the intonation centre falls on the interrogative word (424), while for desiderative clauses it falls on the verb (425).

424. /nint .wantin-ak ?/n?y-àn-a? /
   2S where-Gl go-2SFut-Seq
   Where are you about to go?

425. /kan 2.0-an-e /
   Punct tell-2SFut-Des
   I wish you would tell me!

The verbs of imperative clauses normally receive the intonation centre (426). Instances of marked intonation centres have been observed where the aspect of the verb (427), or the subject (428) has been made emphatic.

426. /kan .ö?/n?y-àn-a? /
   Punct go-2SFut-Seq
   Go away!

427. /kul 0ankan want-amp-a? /
   anger Punct leave-IPInclFut-Seq
   Let's leave our anger now!

428. /öni.y mfr-àn-a? /
   2P choose-2PFut-Seq
   You choose!

In general, it can be said that the phrase which takes the intonation centre conveys new information, particularly in declarative clauses, both verbal and non-verbal, and interrogative clauses. This may be something completely new, which has never been mentioned before. On the other hand, it may add colour or provide a different slant to something already given.

Some attention has already been given to preferred word order and case ranking (Sec. 3.5.4). It can be said that Subjects, whether identified by a noun or pronoun, and Objects, when identified by a noun, most often occur before the verb in declarative clauses. Ranking closely behind them are noun
phrases in Referent case. Instrument comes next in rank. For other cases, such as Locative, Accompaniment, Source, and Goal, the unmarked positioning is following the verb. If none, or only one of the cases of Subject, Object, Referent or Instrument occur before the verb, then a phrase from the remaining cases may occur there by default. This is also considered unmarked.

The preferred word order and case ranking which has been outlined suggests that, given a choice of more than one new item in a clause, that with the higher rank will occur in the position immediately before the verb and take the intonation centre. If however, a phrase from a lower ranking case is new information, and a phrase from a higher ranking case is given or implied information, then the system of new information occurring before the verb and taking the intonation centre becomes the dominating factor. The co-ordinate instrument phrase in the next example is new information, whereas the object following the verb is shared background knowledge.

429. /ŋaʔalaŋk-aŋ-aʔ wiy-aʔ ʊʔotjaŋan-aŋ kuyam ʔump-in glass-Inst-Seq some-Seq mussel-Inst used.to.cut-3PPst ku·tan puk manj-iy əamp-arəm ké·nk-ən umbilical.cord child small-Emph IPIncl-Poss long.ago-Def ?a·k-ŋe·ŋe·y·in-aʔ place-Rd-hear-3PPst-Ind

With glass, or sometimes with a mussel, they used to cut the cords of the children who were born in our country.

If a noun phrase from a higher ranked case occurs together with one from a lower ranked case before the verb and given that one of the phrases contains new information, then that is the phrase that will occur immediately before the verb.

The phrase yuk wu·yan-aŋ is new information in the following example.

430. /nɪl ?o·ŋj wəy-ən ʊʔkeʔ yuk wu·yan-aŋ 3S spirit bad-Def VNeg thing cross.beam-Loc wun əan-tʔ / lie.3SPst IPExcl-Ref

That bad spirit didn't go on the cross for us!
9.3 Unmarked Themes of Clauses

In his study of thematization in relation to English clauses, Halliday (1967:212-4 and 218-21) has presented his views on the unmarked themes of clauses. He says that the unmarked theme differs according to the mood of the clause, but in each case it is the element which occurs in first position. For declarative clauses, then, the subject is the unmarked theme. For polar (yes-no) interrogatives, it is the modal element itself, as in 'did John see the play?'. On the other hand, the interrogative word is the unmarked theme for non-polar (content) interrogatives. (In Section 2.2.3 I have outlined Hope's criticism of Halliday's choice of the interrogative as unmarked theme.) For imperative clauses, he posits the verb as unmarked theme, and he suggests that the introductory conjunction in independent clauses may be unmarked theme.

While Halliday is careful to distinguish the given-new and theme-rheme systems, he recognizes that there is a relationship between them in cases of unmarked theme of clauses. For here, he says, the focus of information falls on something other than the theme (1967:205).

For Halliday, the focus of information 'reflects the speaker's decision as to where the main burden of the message lies' (1967:204). Information focus is new information, either new in content, or cumulatively new in the sense that it adds a new slant, and is presented in a way that makes it not recoverable from the preceding discourse. Halliday recognizes that features of mood may be the focus of information as well as lexical items. For English the word or phrase which is the focus of information takes the intonation centre of the clause. Halliday has stated the typical position of the intonation centre for English clauses (1967:204):

It was very early observed that in many, perhaps a majority of, instances in English the tonic falls on the last accented syllable in the tone group.
By contrast with English, Wik-Munkan does not have any significant word order differences for clauses of different moods, except for one constraint involving content, or non-polar, interrogatives. The interrogative word, regardless of its surface case marking, occurs before the verb. This is in contrast to non-interrogative phrases in the lower-ranked cases, whose unmarked position is following the verb, but which sometimes occur before the verb.

I cannot, in fact, find any good reasons in Wik-Munkan for following Halliday's idea of having different unmarked themes according to clause mood. Some of the Wik-Munkan counterparts to the elements he has chosen for unmarked themes in English, such as the interrogative word for nonpolar interrogatives, and the verb for imperative clauses, receive the intonation centre of the clause in Wik-Munkan. And in Wik-Munkan, as also in English, the intonation centre of the clause is generally associated with new information. If Halliday is right in his ideas about unmarked themes for English clauses in moods other than declarative, then there is a real difference evident between English and Wik-Munkan concerning what elements can occur as unmarked theme, and what can occur as the unmarked information focus. This subject needs study in many languages before we can approach anything like language universals.

My position concerning the unmarked themes of Wik-Munkan clauses is as follows. For intransitive and non-verbal clauses which match an information block, the unmarked theme is the grammatical or surface subject. For verbal clauses, if the subject is identified by a free form, it is usually referred to by a pronoun initially in the sentence, and sometimes by a noun phrase. The subject may also be identified simply by an affix on the verb. For non-verbal clauses, the surface subject typically occurs first. Transitive clauses often contain an object pronoun which refers to information given in a previous sentence or clause in the discourse. In these cases, I see no reason why the object pronoun cannot join with the subject as part of the unmarked theme. If interaction is what is
involved and what is expected, then the object is as much a point of departure for the message of the clause as is the subject. Object pronouns most typically occur following the verb and the pitch level drops on them considerably from that of the verb.

In many cases the subject of a clause refers to given information. More often than not, a participant is introduced into a discourse in a case other than subject, either as object or in a more oblique case like accompaniment. He may later become the subject of an action or of a statement about him. There is no bar, however, to the subject of a clause referring to new information.

The choices available to a speaker regarding marked and unmarked theme of clauses is represented in a flow chart in Fig.30.
Fig. 30. Marked and Unmarked Clause Themes (Fg = Foregrounding, Rm = Reminder)
9.4 Marked Themes of Clauses

There are ways, too, within clauses, of giving prominence to the theme. These are fronting, rhetorical questions, emphatic pronouns, and tagging. Some of these topicalization patterns are similar to those used with paragraphs and sentences (see Secs. 7.6, 7.7, 8.6 and 8.7), but those which mostly have application over just a clause can be distinguished on either grammatical or phonological grounds or both.

The marked theme of a clause may sometimes be the subject or object of the clause. In addition, fronting or rhetorical questions at least can be used with phrases of lower-ranked cases.

9.4.1 Fronting

Fronted phrases which typically have a domain of prominence extending over just a clause, may or may not be in a separate information block from the rest of the grammatical clause to which they belong.

Those which are in a separate information block typically receive -â’n-a? fronting, and mostly -a? fronting if the phrase contains a pronoun. Noun phrases which are new information are more likely to receive -a? fronting also (Secs. 4.2 and 4.3). Generally speaking, the pause after -â’n-a? and -a? fronting is much slighter than that following -â’n-iy-a? fronting.

In the discussion concerning -â’n-iy-a? fronting, (Sec. 8.6.1.1) it was stated that while the main association of -â’n-iy-a? fronting is with a stretch of speech of sentence-length, this cannot be claimed in any absolute way. In a similar way, a phrase which receives -â’n-a? fronting generally has prominence over one grammatical clause, but on occasions, the prominence extends for two or three clauses.

The following examples illustrate sentences which have two or more clauses within them beginning with -â’n-a? fronting (431 and 432), or where the second clause of a sentence demonstrates a change of clause theme via fronting which is not
in a separate information block (433). The whole sentence is
given in each instance.

431. */i·y-?i·y-a··· / tljil pi·?an ñul /
go-Rd.3SPst-Cont stomach-Def-Seq little big Temp
?a·k-án-a? / in kan-ñul wamp-ant wey /
time-Def-Seq close Punct-Temp come.3SPst-Ref Comp
pük-án kal-ow /
child-Def carry-3SFut
She kept on and on [working], and as for her stomach, it
was getting bigger now, and her time was close for having
the child.

from.then-Top-Seq Philistine-Def-Seq chest-with
?i·y-ant-a / David ?in-a? / ma? · nóntj /
go.3SPst-Ref-Ind David this-Seq hand enter.3SPst
wa·ŋk-am-an-a? / ma·y /
string.bag-Src-Def-Seq take.3SPst
After that, the Philistine came straight to him; David
here, he put his hand [into his bag], and from his bag
he took out [the stones].

433. */wō·ŋkintj-an-a? / meŋäŋ wunp pul-ant / nu·j
liver-Def-Seq middle put.3SPst 3D-Ref shark.flesh
wiy-a kenj-aŋk ?añän wun-in wonk-aŋ tampaŋ /
some-Rhy top-side there.on stay-3PPst side-Loc also
The liver, he put in the middle of those two, and some
shark flesh was lying up there on the sides too.

Phrases which have -án-a? fronting may have a variety
of relationships to the verb. A speaker can choose as his
marked theme not only intransitive subjects (432) and transitive
subjects (434) but also items with other functions such as
objects (433), the source from which something comes (432), a
stationary location (corresponding to Range semantically)
(435), instrument (436), possessed items (437). Examples will
be given in the context of their sentences, so that the domain
of prominence can be observed. An asterisk marks the beginning
of the phrase with -án-a? fronting.

434. /*pi·p kintj-aŋ-an-a? / tampa yuk manj-a / me·?
father own-Erg-Def-Seq with stick small-Ind eye
pépan-âŋ-ân pí·?-pl·?-an /
sharp-with-Def keep-Rd.3SPst-Acc
As for his father, he kept with him a small stick, with
a sharp point.
They carried her a long way, and brought her to that hill, and made one of those chairs from wood [for her].

When their [fishing lines] got caught in snags down there in the water, I went down and loosened [the line] with my fish spear.

Yes, we took off the string, and threw the bark away, and her fish we cut in half.

The next example shows a phrase which is new information with -a? fronting. The example is interesting in that there is also a marked sentence theme with -ån-iy-a? fronting. The sentence theme, kuřk 'ash', is also new information in a sense, although as there has just been a description of a fire, it is perhaps rather implied information.

And after that was over, he picked up the ashes, and put them in a coconut shell, those ashes.

The marked and unmarked themes of the two non-verbal clauses are respectively illustrated by the following two examples.
439. /?â·k-ân-a? / wak-atiy /
   place-Def-Seq grass-Ab
   As for the place, it was grassy.

440. /Goroka-ân  ?a·k min-a /
   Goroka-Def place good-Ind
   Goroka is a good place.

Phrases containing relative clauses sometimes receive
-ân-a? fronting.

441. /?a·wutj nîl-ân wun pi·?an ?ânpâlân-a? /
   house 3S-Def live-3SPst big from.that-Seq
   ?uk / gâmp-ãr-âk-ân wey / ma? yuk-âŋ /
   come.down.3SPst IPIncl-Ref-Gl-Def Comp hand stick-with

   From the big house where she lived, she came down to us
   with a stick in her hand.

   In general, -ân-a? fronting refers to tools, locations,
   and objects, and so on, which are minor in relation to the
   mainstream of the story. This can be compared with the
   functions of -ân-îy-a? fronting (Sec. 8.6.1.1). When -ân-a?
   fronting is used with a main character or object, usually just
   an account of one action or item of description follows,
   rather than a chain of such.

   Occasionally reprise (Sec. 4.5) is associated with -ân-a?
   fronting, such as in example 438, or example 223. This may
   give more intensity of prominence (rather than extend the
   domain, as in 438), or it may simply clarify or specify part
   of a whole, (as in 223).

   Example 212 shows -ân fronting occurring with indicative
   intonation rather than the sequence intonation of -ân-a?
   fronting. This is not very common, but when it does occur it
   is the marked theme of a clause which is a paraphrase of a
   previous clause.

   Sometimes a fronted item is not set off phonologically
   from the rest of the clause. In the case of pronouns which
   refer to grammatical objects or indirect objects, these normally
   occur initially in the clause with the surface case of subject,
   and are cross-referenced to a further pronoun or abbreviated
   pronoun within the clause which is marked for the appropriate
case (442, 443). Noun phrases referring to indirect objects sometimes similarly show lack of surface case agreement with the pronoun they are cross-referenced to (444).

442. /nip-a puř Tariri-aŋ múl-åŋiy nip-aŋ / 2D-Rhy but Tariri-Erg dead-Trz-3SSbj 2D-Acc
As for you two, Tariri might kill you.

443. /ŋay-a wey yuk kutjam ŋeʔ-aŋ / IS-Rhy Comp thing two give.3SPst-Ref
To me he gave two things.

444. /pam wiy naŋ keʔ ñaw- iw ñan-t ?ey / men some maybe VNeg say-2DSbj 3P-Ref Ques
You wouldn't speak to those men about it, would you?

If a phrase from a lower ranked case occurs initially in a clause, not by default but despite the occurrence of other lexical items before the verb, this can also be considered an instance of marked theme.

445. /pal kenjuw-im kaʔ ñeŋ yímanaŋ / bridge manj-iy here top-Emph like(Cj) what manner bridge small-Emph
yu-yúmp-in-im / Rd-make-3PPst-Emph
On top what was it like — they were making a small bridge.

446. /punjtjá·kam wák-àn we·nt-an-am ŋuŋ / everywhere grass-Def turn-Nomz-Src pull.3SPst
From everywhere around, she pulled out the grass.

9.4.2 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions which refer to marked themes of clauses can be distinguished from those used within sentences and paragraphs (Secs. 8.6.1.2 and 7.6.1). The rhetorical question is in the same grammatical clause as the participant to which it refers. It is also sometimes within the same intonation contour as well, and may, in fact, form a complex intonation centre (Sec. 3.1.7) with the noun to which it refers (447). Once again, the presupposition of surprise or unusualness is involved.
What with, with bamboo they cut the cords of their children who are born in this place.

In the following example, the rhetorical question cross-references with a demonstrative as well as with a noun phrase.

With what, with a long bamboo pole, with that he drew out the water.

9.4.3 Emphatic Pronouns

Subjects of clauses may be made marked themes via the use of emphatic pronouns. These carry a certain air of exclusiveness, such as 'he was the one who...'. The domain of prominence is usually over just one clause but sometimes extends over more than one. The examples below are given in the context of their sentences.

"There's lots and lots!" says the man, he was the one saying it.

They themselves ran to me, and said to me, and asked me, "Why did the bell ring?"

9.4.4 Tagging

Reminders of clause themes are also possible. These receive -àn tagging. As is the case for -àn-à? fronting,
sometimes the domain of prominence extends beyond one clause, but not typically. It is possible for -àn tagging to occur at the end of clauses occurring medially in a sentence (as in 452). An asterisk marks the tagged phrase within the following examples.

451. \textit{teacher} min-a / ðənәn wәʔ-әŋ-әn / *\textit{teacher}
teacher good-Ind that tell.about-ISPst-Acc teacher
Gillan-әn / Gillan-Def

I was telling [them] about that good teacher, Teacher Gillan.

452. /min-min pɁ-ʔ-әn ðәn-әŋ / *puk manj-ә nanaɡan /
good-Rd mind-2PFut 3P-Acc child small-Rhy those
ŋaŋ yipam ?úw- ál niɁ-yaŋ-ә / naɡan wàmp-әŋ
IS so.that find-ISEmo 2P-Acc-Ind there.Mid come-ISFut
niɁ-yaŋ-әn / 2P-Ref-Ind

Look after them really well, those children, so that I'll find you all [there] when I come back there.

The next sentence (453) shows yiʔwàɁ 'grass skirt' as part of the phrase which is the focus of information in the first clause, following the sentence theme which has -àn-iy-ә? fronting. It becomes the subject of the last clause of the sentence, and receives -àn tagging as well.

453. /niɁ-a wantj kampan nuŋ-әntam ?àl-ʔàlanɡan-iy-әʔ / 3Coll-Rhy woman relative 3S-Poss Rd-that.Erg-Top-Seq
yiʔwàɁ  qaŋ wak-in nuŋ-әnt / ʔa?
grass.skirt long make-3PPst 3SAj-Ref Cj
mipәŋ-әʔ / ðompam-әŋ-әʔ / yәŋ puŋk-ә pek ?ànmàn
try.3SPst-Seq waist-Loc-Seq leg knee-Rhy down same
ʔuk-әnt / *yiʔwàɁ-ʔ-әn /
go.down.3SPst-Ref grass.skirt-Def

As for her female relatives, they made a very long grass skirt, and she tried it on round her waist, and it came down past her knees, the grass skirt did.

9.4.5 Combinations

Various combinations of ways of marking clause theme are possible. Some examples are fronting and tagging (as in 454),
-àn-a? fronting and a rhetorical question (455) and an emphatic pronoun receiving -àn tagging (456).

454. /mo'm ?alan'tan-a? wa·ʔ-in / King Saul-ant-an / boss that.Ref-Seq tell-3PPst King Saul-Ref-Def
They told that boss, King Saul.

bunk-aŋ ḣak-im / bunk-Loc etc.-Emph
As for that food, where did it stay - on the tables and bunks.

456. .../jaw-an wey / nil-am-an / say-3SPres Comp 3S-Emph-Def
He said it, he was the one.

9.5 Temporal Setting in Relation to Clauses

Temporal setting has been stated as very important for paragraphs (Sec. 7.2.2.1) and as much less important for sentences (Sec. 8.4.3). There are even fewer instances of temporal words occurring within clauses which have application over a clause only.

Those that do occur sometimes occur initially in the clause (but not set off phonologically) and so can be considered as points of departure, as settings for the nucleus information of the clause (as in the second clause of 457). Other times the temporal word may occur medially in the clause (as in the first clause of 457).

Most commonly, temporal words which have application over just a clause refer to background information (457, 458). Sometimes they are simply repetitions of the time span already stated for the paragraph (459). Slight changes of the time span are usually indicated within clauses simply by the aspect word ŋul, which mostly has temporal force.

457. /ŋay ŋji·ŋk ŋul mo?-aŋan / ka·ʔájam keʔ-am
IS recently Temp fly-ISPres earlier VNeg-Emph
ʔájam-aŋan ?a·k ?anan-iy /
see-ISPres place that-Top
This is the first time I've flown, I didn't ever see that place before.

458. /puŋ ké·nk-án ʔay-a pam ɪəm ɪam ʔán-án-iɣ
for long.ago-Def IS-Rhy man fire with IDEExcl-Def-Top
ʔi·y-an-a /
go-IDEExclPst-Ind
For a long time ago I had a husband and we went together.

An English translation of the paragraph initial clause which precedes example 459 is as follows: "A long time ago, when a young man ran away with a girl, when they escaped in the night..."

459. /ya· ka·ɪ piʔ-an-an puŋ wuʔ?ʔek-an ʔaŋ
yes mother big-Def so Onom get.up-3SPres maybe
ʔuṭaŋ-an /
night-Def
Well then, so the mother maybe rises quickly in the night.

9.6 Dependent Clauses and Marked Theme

Halliday (1967:220) has made the interesting statement that while co-ordinating conjunctions such as 'and', 'or' and 'but' can be followed by the full range of thematic variation, subordinating conjunctions permit restricted variation only.

In Wik-Mun, however, quite a range of variation of marked theme options is possible following subordinating conjunctions. The following examples illustrate fronting (460), rhetorical questions (461) and tagging (462).

460. /wunt-ɑŋ-an keʔ penj-ow-aʔ / ʔan puŋ
wind-Erg-Def VNeg blow-3SPut-Seq that because
nɪnτ-ɑŋ-aʔ ɡɑŋk way /
2S-Def-Seq heart bad
Don't let the wind blow it away, for as for you, you'd be sad.

461. /nuŋkwoy ʔan ɡe·n-a maʔ wentj
even.though IDEExcl what-Rhy hand sore
ʔuʔ-anan-aʔ /
find-IDEExclPres-Seq
Even though we get what? - sore hands...
462. .../?aʔ ñíŋk-a paʔ-an nun / yipam Cj small.of.back-Rhy bite-3SPres 3SAcc so.that
?i·y-ow-a / ʔayan-am-ow-ant puk mânj-ân-a /
go-3SFut-Ind strong-Itrz-3SFut-Ref child small-Def-Ind
kamp moʔ-ow-ant ʔeŋkam-a /
fast run-3SFut-Ref quickly-Ind
...and he bites him on the small of the back so that
he'll walk for him and grow strong for him, that child
will, and run fast for him [for the elder].

An example of fronting has also been found in an embedded
complement clause.

463. /keʔ-am ɲa·ntamŋe·y wantj ɲûn-antâm-ân-a? /
VNeg-Emph think/know.3SPst woman 3SAj-Poss-Def-Seq
婷wun / yaʔ-a /
close lie.3SPst Neg-Ind
He didn't realise that as for his wife, she was close
by, no.

Halliday has also made the following statement about
dependent clauses (1967:221):

...the interpretation of theme in this environment
requires the recognition of it as secondary to the
underlying theme of such a clause, its relation of
dependence to another clause.

I find it hard to reconcile the idea of subordinating
conjunctions such as 'because', 'even though' being the theme
of the nucleus information of the clause. Be that as it may,
there is an area of thematic choice in dependent clauses
involving the placement of the conjunction. It may come
initially in the dependent clause, as in example 462, or it may
be preceded by either a noun phrase (464) or verb or whole
clause (465). In these cases, it appears that the speaker is
giving more prominence to his clause theme in the case of the
noun phrase, and more prominence to the proposition within
the context of the sentence in the case of the verb or clause.

464. .../?eŋj-aŋ yipam puk mânj-ân
clean-Loc so.that child small-Def
ʔá·k-ŋe·y-ow-ant-a /
place-hear-3SFut-Ref-Ind
...so that in a clean place the child would be born to
her.
An English translation is given only of the clauses preceding the dependent clause given in example 465.

(Sam and I went first to mark for them, we just dug some holes partly for them).

465. .../tâ'î-âyn yipam /
       see-3PFut so.that
        ...
 ...so they could see [where to go].
NOTES FOR CHAPTER 9

1. In a count made in three texts, the number of noun phrases per clause averaged less than two.

2. Examples 403, 406, 408, 411 and 412 come from Godfrey's data (1967).

3. Normally when the subject and object occur together before a verb, the subject is a pronoun and occurs initially in the clause, and the object noun then immediately precedes the verb. It is extremely rare for a subject noun and an object noun to occur together before a verb in the one information block.

4. There are usually no more than two lexical items occurring before the verb in a clause when a grammatical clause matches an information block. The exceptions to this are very rare, and when they do occur, all the phrases are given information. The following example comes from a clause with sequence intonation which is part of a comparison.

   466. /məŋ wəlɪŋ ʃək-wəŋ wə-ŋək-əŋ monkan-əŋ
          Carb yams etc.-Def dilly.bag-Loc nape.of.neck-Loc
         ?uk-ʔuk-əʔ / ...
         go.down-Rd.3SPst-Seq

         She carries the yams in her dilly bag hanging from
         the back of her neck (in the same way as they do)...

5. Hope states (1972:13-16) that in Lisu a sentence may have a number of topics, but only one focus. There are two markers of topic in Lisu, one which indicates that the topic has remained unchanged, and another which introduces a new topic.

6. When the subject is referred to by a noun, and there is nothing intervening between it and the verb, it typically receives the intonation centre.

   467. /ŋək-əŋ ʔep ɣan-əŋ wey /
          rain-Erg soak.3SPst IPExml-Acc Comp

          The rain soaked us.

Such nouns are sometimes new information and sometimes not. When a clause consists of a subject pronoun and verb only, the intonation centre falls sometimes on the pronoun and sometimes on the verb.

   It is not possible, then, to keep a completely clear distinction between the focus of information and the unmarked theme.
7. While my study of thematic organization in Wik-Munkan stops at the clause, I do not believe thematic decisions end there. I believe the concept is valid also for studying phrases, and I am, for instance, curious to know why the Wik-Munkan sometimes vary their usually rigid order of noun followed by adjective for noun phrases, as in the following example:

468. /*in 4=4-n-t 0-w\'y-wly-am 2imp */  
  this 3P-Ref some-Rd-Emph bark

This bark of theirs is different.

Normally the adjective meaning 'different' would follow the noun. Despite the variation of order, the adjective, which conveys new information and therefore the most communicative dynamism, still retains the intonation centre of the phrase and of the clause as well. It seems that thematic factors may enter in here as well.
CHAPTER 10: SOME THEMATIC DECISIONS CONDITIONED BY CHOICE OF DISCOURSE GENRE

10.1 Introduction

Up to this point it has been noted here and there that some topicalization patterns are more characteristic of some discourse genres (Sec. 6.1) than others. Continuous setting clauses, for instance, have been described as mostly associated with travelogues (Sec. 6.1.2). The occurrence of -àn-îy-a? fronting was noted as being more frequent in procedural discourse (Sec. 6.1.3).

It is my intention in this chapter to focus in on the way in which the choice of discourse genre already conditions some decisions in the area of thematization or staging. In other words, there is a point to which the discourse genre chosen by the speaker limits the range of options concerning the use, or frequency of use, of the various topicalization patterns. It also affects whether the unmarked alternatives are more likely to be chosen in some places.

There are three areas where such conditioning is particularly obvious. One is the tendency towards less overtly marked segmentation of portions of narrative texts. Another is the frequency of use of -àn-îy-a? fronting in procedural texts, and finally there is the frequency of use of cycling and paraphrase in hortatory and explanatory texts. These three topics are discussed in Sections 10.2, 10.3 and 10.4 respectively.

10.2 Segmentation of narratives

Travel narratives and unit narratives (or anecdotes) are posited as two separate discourse types in Saramaccan by Grimes and Glock. They make an interesting distinction between the two, as follows (1970:421):

The travel narrative is an easily distinguished form among the discourse types of Saramaccan, being quite different from the UNIT NARRATIVE or anecdote. In the
latter genre, paragraph organization is rudimentary or missing, and a larger proportion of the narrative is devoted to developing a single setting and to background information. Motion verbs appear only incidentally as pointers to the setting.

There is a somewhat parallel situation between Wik-Munkan narratives and texts from other discourse genres. My use of the term narrative, however, is different from that of Grimes and Glock. I have reserved it for stories which have a recognizable plot, and which typically go through the four stages of situation, complication, mediation, and resolution (Sec. 6.1.1).

The segmentation of portions of a Wik-Munkan narrative into paragraphs can be described as subtle or less overtly marked compared with that of other discourse genres. I consider it subtle, rather than rudimentary or missing, as it involves the choice of sentences initial in paragraphs where the setting is typically non-thematic and the nucleus information unmarked. This subject has already been introduced in Section 7.4.1.5 and some examples given.

At the beginning of a narrative, when a speaker is establishing the situation and then goes on to describe the complication (Sec. 6.1.1) paragraph boundaries are usually very obvious and easily identifiable. For example, -dān-iy-aʔ fronting on time words, and phrases referring to participants may be used, or there may be double clause topicalization. Similarly, towards the close of the narrative, particularly in those where the speaker describes the resolution in some detail and perhaps comments on it as well, paragraphs become easily identifiable once more.

But while the participants in the text are involved in the mediation, and things are moving on rapidly towards resolution, then the moving from one major lexical chunk of the discourse to another is not forced strongly upon the hearer's perception. The concentration, rather, is on the fast moving plot.

There is one qualification to this. Sometimes in the mediation section of a narrative, a participant has to move
rapidly from point A to point B in order to catch up with the villain, and carry out the desired resolution. In these instances, the speaker may segment this portion of the text into paragraphs via continuous setting clauses. Nevertheless, the rest of the first sentence of the paragraph is typically an unmarked theme of the paragraph, or one with minimal paraphrase.

469. /ka·w ka·w ka·w ka·w / \ta? we·tj / east east east east foot track.3SPst

He kept on going east, and then he bent down to study the tracks.

470. /ka·w ka·w ka·w-a·· / \tonaq \nu\l \ta\l / east east east-Cont another Temp see.3SPst Temp

nil-am-an-iy \ta\l wey-a / \we\l\-aŋ / 3S-Emph-Def-Top see.3SPst Comp-Ind blue.tongued.lizard-Erg

He went further east, and then he saw another [dead emu], he was the one who saw it, the blue-tongued lizard was.

More typically, however, the boundaries of paragraphs within the mediation stage of the narrative are indicated simply by sentences where the first clause includes a motion verb and either an aspect word (\ka\ or \nu\l\), a directional or a locative.

Some examples of such sentences have already been given in Section 7.4.1.5. Two further examples are given here. Both are from the mediation of the same text, which is moving towards the resolution.

471. /?um-aŋ \ka\ \?i·y-pul pul-ant-akam / ma?-a chest-with Punct go-3DPst 3D-Ref-Ref1 hand-Rhy

pemp-aŋ-an-a \ka\-iy \untj-uwpu\l / fist-Inst-Def-Rhy Punct-Top punch-3DRecPst

\untj-uwpu\l / punch-3DRecPst

They went straight towards each other, and began punching each other with their fists.

472. /nil \taypan-an-a \?aŋpål \mo?-ant / 3S taipan.snake-Def-Rhy from.there run.3SPst-Ref

\ompam \pa\l-an / \pa\l-an / pu\l? waist bite.3SPst-Acc bite.3SPst-Acc hardly \pa\l-an / bite.3SPst-Acc
The taipan snake ran from there to him, and bit him round the waist, and he bit again, [but] he could hardly bite.

Sometimes a paragraph within the mediation stage of a narrative is indicated simply by a change of concentration from one group of participants to another. The following example follows a long description of the escape of two young people.

473. /jän-a ʔákmaʔ-in pul-aŋ / ?iʔ-yʔiʔ-y-in /

The rest of the paragraph goes on to describe how the group find the tracks of the young people, and the conversation that follows.

In one narrative text, one participant's resolution to the complication forms the complication for a second plot. A family are without food in the bush, so the father attempts to resolve the situation by going hunting. He takes his son. When no meat is found, he plots to kill his son. The section describing the child's suspicions and resistance and the father's torture and then murder and cooking of the child moves swiftly. There is one clause midway with a motion verb and aspect word. The father then takes the body from the fire, eats a little, and carries the rest back to his two wives. They are incensed, and plot revenge. They contact the other relatives, and together kill the man in turn and burn his body. Interestingly, from the point where the man begins to return to his wives with the child's body, paragraph breaks are much more prominent than for other narratives. It is possibly because there is an early resolution of the first section of the story. The rest of the plot, the revenge killing, would be culturally expected, and so perhaps does not hold so much suspense.
10.3 The frequency of -àn-iy-a? fronting in procedural texts

In most procedural texts which describe ceremonies, -àn-iy-a? fronting (Sec. 8.6.1.1) used with phrases referring to the participants is common. Its occurrence is significantly more frequent in procedures than in other discourse genres. While narratives are plot-centred, and travelogues are anecdote-centred, and hortatory and explanatory discourses are ideas or description-centred, procedural texts which describe ceremonies are very much role-centred. That is, they are as much concerned with who in the kinship or social system performs a step in the procedure as with the step itself. Certain steps in procedures are performed only by or for specific relatives or people in a certain status in the social system. For instance, only a man's cousin can get water for him when he is going through initiation. And again, it is the child's godfather who keeps the umbilical cord of the child as a sacred possession.

In some procedural texts a reference to a participant may receive -àn-iy-a? fronting nearly every time he steps onto the stage to perform his part in a step of the ceremony or to be the focus of an action. If an inanimate object, such as the umbilical cord of the child, is very significant to the story also, phrases referring to it may also receive -àn-iy-a? fronting when it is central in a new activity of the procedure.

The following examples show concentrated patches of the use of -àn-iy-a? fronting. Both examples are from the same text.

474. /kú·tan-àn-àn-iy-a? / ?um kenj-aŋ wun
godfather-Erg-Def-Top-Seq chest high-Loc lie.3SPst
nuŋ-ant / pám-àn-iy // puk máŋj-àn-iy-a? /
3SAdj-Ref man-Def-Top child small-Def-Top-Seq
máŋtåyan-àn kal-an nun // ka·ŋ kúŋtj-àn-iy-a?
elder-Erg carry-3SPres 3SAcc mother own-Def-Top-Seq
koy-koyuw ?i·y-àn yuk way min ʒampaŋ-an /
Rd-behind go-3SPres things bad good with-Def
As for the godfather, he lies down chest up [ready for him], that man does. As for the child, the elder carries him. As for [the child's] own mother, she comes behind with the things.
10.4 Cycling and Paraphrase in Hortatory and Explanatory Texts

The close-knit semantic cohesion of some paragraphs has been discussed in Section 7.2.2.7. The examples in that section illustrate both cycling and paraphrase.

It is true that there is a certain amount of repetition or summary of given information in narratives, procedures and travelogues. Punctiliar setting clauses feature in the former two, and continuous setting clauses in the latter in particular. It is also true that these discourse genres are not without their examples of cyclic sentences and paragraphs and of paraphrase. They are used at points such as descriptions of places or objects, and descriptions of feelings (see Sec. 8.7.2 for cyclic sentence examples). Paraphrase may occur at other places too; for instance, at the significant tension points in narratives, such as the informing of the complication (for example, abduction); the finding of the villain; the duel between the hero and the villain; and the climax, such as the death of the villain.

Generally speaking, however, narratives, procedures and travelogues do not linger too long with a series of clauses with verbs in closely-knit semantic domains, or with an
interplay of two domains as is shown in example 283 in Section 7.2.2.7. They are concerned primarily with bringing the global theme towards its resolution, or final result, or to the last anecdote of the travelling or hunting adventure.

Both cycling and paraphrase, on the other hand, are very characteristic of both explanatory and hortatory texts. The development of the global theme seems to almost inch forward at times, as it were. There may be sentences containing series of clauses which are paraphrases of each other, but where each adds a little new information each time. Sentence 1 in example 476 exhibits such. It can also be seen in example 476 that each new sentence contains a paraphrase or summary of part of a previous sentence, mostly of the sentence immediately prior to it. Sentence 2 summarizes sentence 1 with a setting clause, but sentences 3 and 4 paraphrase portions of sentences 2 and 1 respectively via result clauses. The following example is one complete short text.

476. (1) /jan ?inan yuki u?ant?an / jan ?inan work 3P this tree cut-3PPres 3P this work
    3i·y-ant?an yuki u?ant?an ja-a? / na-a? go-3PPres tree cut-3PPres all.the.time
d?on-t?on-a? mango yuki u?anjan u?ant?an t?an-aj / another-Rd-Seq mango tree these cut-3PPres 3P-Acc
(2) /k?·k?-d?-ant?an t?an-aj-a? / ne·n-am-a? / t?an-a fall-Trz-3PPres 3P-Acc-Def what-Src-Seq that-Rhy
pu?·a yim-yiman?am / want? ?alpan ??om wa?am because-Rhy Rd-manner woman sick one almost
ma·k-an / pu?· ?anan pip / tread.3SPst-Acc branch that broke.3SPst
(3) /yu?k-?on-a? ?anjan may-aj-am n?a? pu?·a / tree-Def-Rhy heavy food-Erg-Emph shut.3SPst for-Ind
n?np?al ya·ka? ne·n / yu?k-?on-iy ?u?· / therefore maybe what tree-Def-Top broke.3SPst
(4) /jan pu?· n?np?alan yuki u?anjan pu?·ant?an t?an-aj / 3P so therefore tree these cut-3PPres 3P-Acc
na-a? d?on-t?on-iy-a? / t?an-a pu?·a?k way nu? day another-Rd-Temp-Def-Top that-Rhy so place bad Temp
ne·n ?alpan ?ak ma·k / wun-an-aj-ai?y / what sick.ones etc. tread.3SPst lie-Nomz-Temp-Def-Top
n?np?alan u?ant?an / therefore cut-3PPres
(1) They are chopping trees here; this is the work they go to; they cut down trees all the time; every day they cut down these mango trees.

(2) They fell them, why? Because it was like this - one sick person was almost crushed when that branch broke.

(3) The branch was heavy, and loaded with fruit, and so maybe from what? - from that, the branch broke.

(4) Therefore they chop down these trees, every day, for otherwise the place would be dangerous and sick people lying there would be crushed. Therefore they cut them down.

Another text, which is on the subject of leaving fighting, is interesting in that each new paragraph is tied back to the preceding one by a repetition or paraphrase of at least one, sometimes more, of the main ideas of the previous paragraph. This is sometimes the discourse theme, but sometimes other points are paraphrased as well. An English translation of the outline of the main point follows. (Each new idea introduced into the discourse is labelled by a different letter of the alphabet, and each paraphrase or summary of a previous idea is labelled with the same letter plus an apostrophe.) Another point of interest about this text is that it contains no subordinate clauses of any kind, either grammatical or phonological. Most hortatory texts contain some subordinate clauses such as condition and reason, and explanatory texts are especially characterized by subordinate clauses of reason and result.

477. Par.1. The Old Year has gone, and we've entered the New
      Let's forget our anger B
      We're in the New Year A'
      Let's leave our anger behind B'
      We're in the New Year. A'

Par.2. What [about it]? (Rhetorical question)
      I'm telling you, what do you think -
      shall we fight for ever? B'
      I'm telling you, let's leave it! B'
      We're in the New Year. A'
Par.3. Let's leave our anger. Stop it! B'
And the sorrow of last year (they've gone to heaven, let's not think about it). C

Par.4. Listen!
Let's leave our anger B'
Our children are starting to copy us. D

Par.5. We've entered the New Year now A'
I'm saying to you, let's leave our anger B'
Tonight let's think - who is it you love - God or the devil? E
The devil didn't die for us, or come as a child for us, Jesus did, not the devil. F

Par.6. Who is it you love? E'
You must choose - no-one chooses for you - you choose yourselves G
Who is it you love? E'
There are two, who do you love?
Jesus died for us, not that devil. F'

Par.7. I'm saying this to you
You must choose - others won't choose for you G'
Let's consider and go happily. H

10.5 Conclusion

The suggestion of writing probability vectors into presuppositions where relevant was given in Section 4.3 as part of the discussion on fronting. This basically stems from ideas presented by Labov (1969). When one comes to analyse whole discourses, strong tendencies, such as have been discussed in this chapter, should not be ignored. While I have not applied the idea of probability weighting in this thesis beyond fronting, it could well become an important part of practical discourse analysis.
CHAPTER 11: THE SEMANTIC COMPONENT AND THEMATIC CHOICE

11.1 Introduction

Two assumptions underlie this chapter: that the semantic component should have discourses for starting points and not be restricted to sentences; and that thematic decisions need to be represented in the semantic component.

11.2 The Need for a Semantic Structure of Discourse

I have accepted the position of the generative semanticists that language is a system that maps from meaning to sound, or from content to form; and further that (Landerman and Frantz 1972:50):

...this assumes that there are formal objects (semantic structures) which directly represent at least those components of possible messages which are reflected in the corresponding expressions of those messages.

McCawley (for example 1971:285) and others have claimed that semantic structures have the same formal nature as syntactic structures, and so can be similarly represented by phrase structure trees. There has also been the recognition that semantic structure has correlates with logical rules, providing that logic is taken in a broad enough sense to include not only inference but also other relationships between sentences (McCawley 1971:285-6). Lakoff therefore proposed the term 'logical structure' instead of semantic structure and this has been taken up by others such as Frantz (1973:6).

Further assumptions of generative semanticists which I have accepted include the claim that there is a single system of rules which relate semantic structures and surface structures via intermediate stages (McCawley 1971:285). And further, in the words of Landerman and Frantz (1972:51):

It now is possible to define the grammar of a language as the set of constraints, or limitations, on what is a possible derivation from content (Logical Structure) to expression (Surface Structure) in that language.
However, while the theory of generative semantics probably displays no real in-built restriction to sentence grammar, in practice in their formalizations of semantic structure, most generative semanticists seem to have carried on the self-imposed restriction of generative grammar to sentences (for example Lakoff 1971a; McCawley 1968; Hope 1972). Certainly the dependencies obvious in sentences due to the context of surrounding sentences or the discourse as a whole have been recognized. But these dependencies have been handled mainly by including within the semantic representation of a sentence notions such as presupposition and focus (see summary of Lakoff's proposals in Sec. 2.2.5).

Hendricks has made the following statement (1972:83-4):

A growing number of linguists are becoming convinced that the various strategies devised to handle (rather by-pass) dependencies result in a distortion or impoverishment of the phenomena in question. They are convinced that phenomena such as deixis, anaphora, pronominalization, etc. cannot adequately be dealt with unless linguistic analysis is extended beyond the sentence. They recognize interdependencies between sentence and discourse that justify such an extension.

I count myself amongst that growing number of linguists. For generative semanticists, this implies a semantic component which can handle the representation of whole discourses as well as sentences. Amongst those who have been vocal about this point are Dressler (1970) and Grimes (1968, 1972a, 1972b). Dressler concentrates on illustrating how anaphora in dialogue cannot be handled by sentence grammar. He goes on to claim (1970:206-7) that modality should belong to the discourse level rather than to the sentence level. His proposed tree structure of discourse, reproduced below in Figure 31, shows units which he calls periods immediately dominated by discourse (although he recognizes that there are other large entities). He states that periods are held together by the same modality, and derived from the same abstract verb respectively. He claims further (1970:207):

These periods have other common features as well, such as in tense, aspect, word order, intonation, which should all be predicted by a full-fledged semantic deep structure.
Fig. 31. Dressler's representation of the place of modality in discourse (1970: 207)

Wik-Munkan provides several arguments which can be added to those of Dressler's to point out the need for a semantic representation which is not restricted to sentences. Firstly, there is the way in which, throughout the discourse, the topic suffix -iy is very often suffixed to phrases referring to participants or settings which are part of the global theme (Sec. 6.8). Secondly, there is the way in which the global theme or its refinement may be restated almost as a refrain between the paragraphs of some discourses (Sec. 6.6). Neither of these two features makes any sense apart from reference to the global theme. Linguists who concentrated on sentence grammar have been criticized by Hendricks (1972: 83) thus: 'Their attitude was that beyond the sentence there were only other sentences.' It is good that this attitude is on the wane. In a discourse the same weight cannot be given to all sentences. The sentence which contains the global theme in Wik-Munkan, for instance, obviously has a quite different status and communicative function than other sentences in the discourse. It holds the key to many of the dependencies of other sentences. The sentences which contain the restatements of the global theme or its refinement are of a different order again. They do not necessarily show any close semantic or grammatical cohesion with the sentences contiguous to them, but relate back to the global theme.
The fact that temporal words and phrases which receive -จำนวนมาก-ย-ยา fronting in Wik-Munkan have application over a paragraph-like stretch (Sec. 7.4.1.1) is another argument in favour of a semantic component which extends beyond the sentence. Again, the tendency for sentences which convey background information to have lowered pitch level (Sec. 8.2.1) only makes sense in relation to the mainstream of the discourse, for a sentence describing events may be background information in an explanatory discourse, while on the other hand, a sentence conveying a description may be background information in a narrative discourse.

Wik-Munkan evidence also supports Dressler's arguments that modality, tense and aspect belong to the discourse level, or at least to larger entities than the sentence within the discourse. The dominating tense of narratives, for instance, is past (Sec. 6.1.1), while the dominating aspect of procedures is habitual (Sec. 6.1.3). Conversation, or background or collateral material embedded within a discourse (Sec. 5.2.1) may be in a different tense or aspect, but that should not prevent us making the dominating tense or aspect a higher predicate of the semantic representation of the discourse.

The formalization which Grimes (1972a:225) has proposed as being equally adequate for discourses as well as sentences, and for any units which might lie in between, has been already outlined in Section 2.2.5. This is recaptured here briefly.

\[
F \rightarrow P_1^* \text{ A}^*_0 \\
A \rightarrow i (: F)
\]

His distinction between lexical predicates and rhetorical predicates has also been mentioned in Section 2.2.5 and discussed further in Sections 7.3 and 9.1.3. Grimes includes setting and identificational predicates amongst his list of hypotactic rhetorical predicates (1972a:262-3).

I am accepting Grimes' formalization as a starting point for the discussion in the rest of this chapter.
11.3 The Need for Thematic Decisions to be represented in the Semantic Component

Let us look first at the following five examples which are similar in content.

478. /ka·t kun tj-aŋ-an puk manj pí?-pl·?-an nun /
mother own-Erg-Def child small mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc
The mother looks after the child.

479. /ka·t kun tj-aŋ-an-iý-a? / puk manj pí?-pl·?-an
mother own-Erg-Def-Top-Seq child small mind-Rd-3SPres
nun /
3SAcc
As for the mother, she looks after the child.

480. /puk máŋ-âŋ-iý-a? / ka·t kun tj-aŋ-an
child small-Def-Top-Seq mother own-Erg-Def
pí?-pl·?-an nun /
mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc
As for the child, the mother looks after him.

481. /ka·t kun tj-aŋ-an pí?-pl·?-an nun / puk
mother own-Erg-Def mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc child
máŋ-âŋ-iý /
small-Def-Top

The mother looks after him, that child.

482. /ka·t kun tj-aŋ-an-iý pi·?-pi·?-an nun / puk
mother own-Erg-Def-Top mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc child
máŋj-âŋ /
small-Def

The mother looks after the child.

The content of these five examples could all be represented by the following underlying semantic structure

![Diagram](image)

Fig.32. Semantic Representation of Content of Examples 478-482
This, however, does not account for at least three things. One is the relationship of these sentences to information already given in the discourse. In examples 478 and 479, puk manj 'child' is most likely new information, as it lacks the definite suffix -ân. All other references to participants in the examples are most likely given information as they are suffixed for definiteness. These are examples of what Grimes has called the system of cohesion, 'which has to do with the way information mentioned in speech relates to information that is already available' (Grimes 1972a:295). The other two things not accounted for both relate to thematization (called staging by Grimes). The 'mother' is the unmarked clause theme of example 478, but the marked sentence theme of example 479. The 'child', on the other hand, is marked sentence theme of examples 480 and 481, foregrounded in 480, and as a reminder in 481. In example 482 the 'child' occurs again as a reminder, this time as marked clause theme. The third thing to notice is that in example 482, the phrase referring to 'mother' is suffixed with -iŷ, but not set off in a separate information block. This is most likely an indication that the mother is part of the global theme, and therefore noun phrases referring to her may be suffixed with -iŷ ('topic') throughout the discourse, whether the phrase is in a separate information block or not (see Sec. 6.8).

These five examples, then, show the same semantic content organized differently in surface structure due to decisions concerning thematization, and factors relating to cohesion. The latter is important, but is not discussed further, except as it relates to thematization.

Grimes (1972a:328) gives two English examples of a similar phenomenon:
483. My dog has fleas.
484. Fleas my dog has.

He then goes on to say:

It is evident that thematic choice is independent of content structure; both the examples in the preceding paragraph have the same predicates and arguments.
It is evident that somehow the speaker's thematic decisions need to be represented within, or superimposed upon, the semantic structure of the content of the discourse. Grimes' ideas (1972a:341) about this are quoted below, although it must be remembered that to date they are programmatic and have not been worked out in practice.

It is quite possible that both cohesion and staging, though ultimately not dependent on content structure, are projected on it. For example, the decision to talk about a particular referent could be expressed by attaching a feature topic to parts of the content tree that have the index of that referent. This then implies that the ordinary transformations of language operate on a representation of the result of linking content, cohesion, and staging together into a single structure, while an earlier set of transformations whose form has not yet even been sketched operates on the separate representations that link them.

Sgall (1967:210) also quotes pairs of sentences, this time from Czech, which differ only in functional sentence perspective (FSP) (for a discussion of FSP see Sec. 2.2.1).

485. 'Na Moravě žijí Češi
Moravia is inhabited by Czechs.

486. Češi žijí na Moravě
Czechs live in Moravia.'

As a result of such pairs of sentences, Sgall goes on to assert (1967:211):

...FSP should be incorporated in the description of the competence of language users, for instance in a form making it possible to distinguish the position of a component in FSP in any case where there is an opportunity to choose the order of elements.

He also has suggestions concerning the process of generating propositions where FSP is taken into account. Talking of sentences, he says (1967:211) that rather than a proposition beginning with a symbol corresponding to the notion of sentence, it could begin with a lexeme which is chosen as the theme of the sentence. The derivation then proceeds with the attachment of another word to the phrase so derived. The former is then rhematic in respect to the first phrase. In a
later article, Sgall and Hajičová (1970:29) suggest that the relationship between topic and comment can be formalized by means of the performative.

Certainly, the relation of the topic to the other elements of a sentence does not equal to the relation between different elements of the comment. It would be possible to take structures as He told me about John that S (where John must be mentioned in S) as a starting point and to conceive the performative matrix sentence as e.g. I declare to you about NP that S (where NP with an identical referential index is contained in S).

I have already used this idea to some extent in Chapter 4, where Figures 11, 12, and 13 show some starting ideas for formalizing fronting, tagging and rhetorical questions respectively.

In Section 11.4 I discuss the representation of thematic choices involving information from the nucleus. The ideas of Grimes and Sgall are further used and discussed.

11.4 The Representation of Thematic Choices from the Nucleus

The quotation from Grimes given in Section 11.3 includes the suggestion that the feature topic could be attached to part of the content tree. In another paper (1972b:16) he illustrates this for a lexical predicate (here using the word 'prominent' instead of 'topic'), but implies that the prominence of an argument of a rhetorical predicate could be indicated in a similar or parallel fashion. His suggestion is reproduced below in Figure 33.

```
Fig.33. Feature of prominent attached to an argument of a lexical predicate
```

This would trigger a topicalization transformation which would yield, I presume, either of the following two sentences in surface structure:
'With a knife I carved the roast' or
'I used a knife to carve the roast'.

However, neither this formalization nor that of Sgall and Hajičová's given in Section 11.3 take account of the fact that there is not just one kind of prominence of theme. Throughout this thesis, I have asserted not only that themes have different domains of prominence (Sec. 5.3) but also that they have different kinds of prominence. Prominence, then, becomes a generic term, and the information that a phrase is prominent, or that something is a topic, is not sufficient for a transformation to operate upon. To mark a phrase referring to a participant or participants within a paragraph as prominent, for instance, would mean about six possibilities concerning the final representation in surface structure (Fig.23) and such a statement applies to sentences and clauses as well (Figs.27 and 30). In each of these three flow charts referred to, the presuppositions which accompany some surface structure manifestations of marked theme are summarized, some referring to participants, and others to propositions. Rhetorical questions, for instance, typically have the presupposition of surprise or unusualness. Propositions which have lowered intonation (providing they do not refer to background information) have the presupposition of being material of a serious or solemn nature. Emphatic pronouns have the presupposition of giving a certain air of exclusiveness. These are just some examples. Not every choice represented in the flow charts is accompanied by a special presupposition. The choices which result in -ån-îý-a? and -ån-a? fronting, and double clause topicalization, for instance, are simply labelled 'foregrounding'. There is, then, both 'ordinary' prominence as well as that which is of a special kind.

When it comes down to the essentials of formalization, I too have ideas which are little more than programmatic. I will start from the point at which there has already been a welding together of the speaker's content, thematic and cohesion decisions into a single representation on which the
ordinary transformations of language (as referred to in the quote from Grimes in Sec. 11.3) can operate.

For a start, the global theme and its refinement (Secs. 6.2 and 6.5) is very often outside the main arguments of the rhetorical predicate which represents the underlying organization of a discourse. For instance, the global theme of a travelogue may state briefly who the participants are, and where they went to, but it is not itself an episode (see Fig. 16 showing underlying representation of travelogues). Similarly, the global theme of a procedure (see example 252) is not itself one of the steps of the procedure (Sec. 6.1.3). For a narrative, the global theme mainly states who the characters are, and this is usually independent of the first argument (situation) of the response predicate as applied to plots.

The semantic content of the global theme and its refinement (if it has one) needs then to be represented at the top of the tree, as shown in Fig. 34 for a narrative.

![Diagram](image)

Fig. 34. Suggested Representation of Global Theme and Refinement
Each participant referred to within the global theme and its refinement can be indexed. This will indicate two things during the rest of the tree. Firstly, it will indicate that the participant is part of the global theme, and secondly, that he or she is given information. The second will trigger the transformation that suffixes -ân ('definite') onto noun phrases, and the first that which may suffix -îy ('topic') to phrases throughout the discourse referring to participants which are part of the global theme (Sec. 6.8).

Throughout the rest of the tree representing the semantic structure of the discourse, Sgall and Hajičová's method (Sec. 11.3) for showing the relationship of a topic or theme to the rest of the sentence by stating it within a performative sentence could be adopted for the representation of marked theme from the nucleus. It need not be restricted to lexemes such as noun phrases, however, nor be restricted to showing the relationship of themes to clauses or sentences. The same mechanism could be used for indicating the prominence of both participants and propositions, either singly or together. It could also be used for a paragraph-like stretch as well as a sentence-like stretch of speech. For instance, example 316 is the beginning of the nucleus information of a paragraph which corresponds to the Consequent argument in the underlying representation of procedures (Fig.17). It is an instance of marked theme of a paragraph where double -ân-îy-a? fronting is the surface manifestation. It could be represented as in Fig. 35. The rest of the content of the paragraph has just been represented very simply with approximate English translation, and without all the arguments spelled out. But because a main argument of the underlying representation of a discourse is often represented by a paragraph in surface structure (see Sec. 6.1.1) this representation would trigger a transformation which would bring about double fronting in the surface structure. Double fronting referring to two participants with different roles, on the other hand, could be represented as in Fig.36.
There is no reason why a proposition could not represent the argument of referent. For instance, example 395 could be represented as in Fig.37.

Fig.35. Underlying Representation of double -àn-ly-a? fronting in Surface Structure.
Fig. 36. Suggested Underlying Representation of double -àn-ìy-aʔ fronting referring to different participants
Because the presupposition of 'impressive' has been added in to the argument of the performative predicate which refers to the proposition which is marked theme, this then triggers a transformation which would bring about cycling in the surface structure.

If a combination is involved, such as both a participant and a proposition becoming marked themes of a sentence or paragraph, then these could be shown together in the performative matrix proposition, with any appropriate presuppositions indicated, as in Fig.38 below.
This process may become particularly complicated at the beginning of paragraphs. If the paragraph begins with two foregrounded phrases, one of which has a domain of prominence over the paragraph and the other mainly over the first sentence of the paragraph, then ordering rules are necessary, as the former typically come first. These can be represented as below. I will assume that the transformational rules assigning -àn-ìy-a? and -àn-a? suffixation have already taken place.

Paragraph → X NP-àn-ìy-a? NP-àn-a? Y

11.5 Setting and Periphery and the Semantic Component

Grimes has suggested (1972a:262) the following solution for representing setting predicates in relation to the semantic structure of discourse:

Setting predicates of location, time, and direction are added in as extra arguments, like any hypotactic predicate, to the proposition that dominates everything that goes on within a single setting.

This may be a good solution. However, I have some aversion to putting setting predicates in the same category formulation-wise as other hypotactic predicates such as
'specific' and 'attributive' which belong to the nucleus area of information.

In Section 5.2.1 I have distinguished three kinds, or areas of information in Wik-Munkan texts, and stated that it is possible to distinguish themes operating in each of these areas. The way in which these are distinguished is discussed in Chapters 6-9.

I prefer to represent both setting themes and peripheral themes as higher predicates. Landerman and Frantz (1972:123 ff.) have treated negation, tense, and adverbials as higher predicates of what would be equivalent to Grimes' lexical predicates. The transformation of predicate raising brings about the correct surface structure. For instance, the following tree shows negation as a predicate which takes the whole proposition as its argument. The example is from Blackfoot, a language of North America (Landerman and Frantz 1972:124-5).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{P} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{O} \\
yama \\
\text{(neg)} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{A} \\
ca \\
\text{(go)} \\
\text{cochi} \\
\text{(pig)}
\end{array}
\]

Fig.39. Negation as a Higher Predicate

When the transformation of predicate raising is carried out, the following tree results:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{P} \\
\text{V} \\
\text{A} \\
yama \\
\text{V} \\
\text{cochi} \\
ca
\end{array}
\]

Fig.40. Tree Resulting after Predicate Raising
The rationale behind this formalization is that negation, as well as tense, adverbials and perhaps mood also, say something about the whole utterance; that is, they have scope over the whole proposition. For tense, this refers to the time of the event; for mood, to the speaker's attitude about the event, and so on.

Landerman and Frantz also ask the question: 'Given that both tense and negative are higher predicates, which of the two is higher?' (1972:158). They choose tense as the higher for the following reasons:

If tense is a relation of the time talked about to the time of the speech act, it would appear that tense tends to be more of a setting of the stage for that which is declared, while negation is an integral part of the declaration.

I have said earlier in this chapter (Sec. 11.2) that I agree with Dressler that tense and modality more properly belong to the discourse or large entities within it. Such a representation would achieve greater generality in comparison with attaching tense as the higher predicate of individual lexical predicates (unless these represent embedded information such as relative clauses or complements; or subordinate clauses, or such like). This does not destroy Landerman and Frantz' concept of higher predicates, however; it is rather a case of applying it to larger blocks of language than they have illustrated in their book.

It seems that setting and peripheral themes both fit into the concept of higher predicates. Peripheral themes would be the higher of the two, as it is the furthest removed from being an integral part of the content. Both could be represented, where relevant, as higher predicates of the global theme. Further references within a text to the periphery and a locative setting which may be constant for the whole discourse then become cases of agreement.

With temporal setting, however, and corresponding spatial setting, it is a different story. As stated earlier (Sec. 7.2.2.1), major temporal change is the most important indication
of a new paragraph for some discourse genres, as its scope, or domain of prominence is relevant throughout a paragraph-like stretch. It then can be represented as a higher predicate over the rhetorical predicate which represents the underlying organization of a given stretch of speech which is most likely to correspond to a paragraph in surface structure. Temporal words and phrases which in surface structure have -åń-íy-ɑ? fronting (Sec. 7.4.1.1), as well as punctiliar and continuous setting clauses which have domain over paragraphs (Secs. 7.4.1.3 and 7.4.1.4) could be represented in this way. A paragraph which began with a punctiliar setting clause, and then went onto content organized by the rhetorical predicate of result, could have its setting represented as follows:

Fig. 41. Underlying Representation of Setting as a Higher Predicate

Settings which are more minor in domain such as those punctiliar and continuous setting clauses and time words fronted with -åń-ɑ? which have prominence over sentence-like stretches, (Secs. 8.4.1, 8.4.2 and 8.4.3) also can be represented as higher predicates over the propositions to which they apply.

Non-thematic settings (Sec. 7.4.1.5) can be represented as higher predicates also, but in these cases the transformations concerned would incorporate the setting elements as part of the first clause of the sentence. Where setting and periphery are thematic, the following order obtains for a paragraph.

Paragraph → Periphery → Setting Nucleus
Thematic peripheral elements typically do not occur with sentences and so the order for them is simply:

\[ S \rightarrow \text{Setting} \quad \text{Nucleus}. \]
CONCLUSION

In this thesis I have demonstrated the means available to a Wik-Mun k speaker to present and develop the themes of a discourse. It has been asserted that themes operate in different areas of discourse, namely, the nucleus, setting and periphery. It has also been asserted that there are several thematic levels operating simultaneously, and these have been illustrated from the global themes of discourses through to themes of clauses. Both marked and unmarked themes at each level have been described; it has also been shown that there is not just one kind of prominence available to the speaker via marked themes, but several. The conclusions drawn from Wik-Munkan have been related to the Prague School ideas on theme and rheme, illustrated mainly by Czech; Halliday's work on theme in English clauses; and Grimes' and Longacre's ideas about discourse from their studies of several languages in different parts of the world. Some programmatic ideas have been given on formalization.

This thesis has also shown however that a great deal more work needs to be done on the topic of thematic organization. It is my hope that this thesis will contribute something to the still insufficiently charted seas of this subject, and also provide a useful stimulus for further studies on Australian Aboriginal languages relating to discourse and theme.

In Prague School terminology, I have concentrated on theme, but said very little about the other side of the coin, namely, rheme. Studies on the relationship of these two as applied to discourse, would be most valuable.

Also, a great deal more work needs to be carried out concerning formalization of the underlying representation of both the content and thematic decisions of discourse. Studies relating to this are likely to form a major part of future analyses of discourse.
APPENDIX A: INTONATION PATTERNS AND MINGOGRAPH EXAMPLES

This appendix includes two tables, giving details of intonation-carrying clitics and intonation patterns respectively. Both tables represent summaries of the work of Sayers (1974). Some mingograph examples of intonation patterns follow the tables. The full line represents pitch variation, and the dotted line intensity variation of utterances. A base line has been drawn in to aid interpretation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation Carrier</th>
<th>Pitch Level or Glide</th>
<th>Loudness Shape</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Abbreviations Used</th>
<th>Simplified Symbols used throughout thesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (-a^1) ((\sim #^1))</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>steady</td>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (-\dot{a}?^3)</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>steady</td>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td>Seq</td>
<td>-a?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (-\dot{a}^31&lt;&gt; &amp; -\dot{e}^y^31&lt;&gt;)</td>
<td>high-low</td>
<td>crescendo-decrescendo</td>
<td>Tag Question</td>
<td>Tag</td>
<td>-\dot{a}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high-low</td>
<td>crescendo-decrescendo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (-a^2 ) ((\sim #^2))</td>
<td>mid</td>
<td>steady</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>-a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. (-\dot{e}:^31&lt;&gt; &amp; -\dot{a}:^31&lt;&gt;)</td>
<td>high-low</td>
<td>crescendo-decrescendo</td>
<td>Pleading or Desiderative</td>
<td>Des</td>
<td>-e·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high-low</td>
<td>crescendo-decrescendo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a·</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (-\dot{a}:^3)</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>steady</td>
<td>Continued Action</td>
<td>Cont</td>
<td>-a''</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. (-\dot{a}w^31&lt;)</td>
<td>high-low</td>
<td>crescendo</td>
<td>Extreme Emphasis</td>
<td>Emph</td>
<td>-aw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Intonation Carrying Clitics

(Note: \(\sim #\) etc. refers to variation with absence of clitic)
### A. Neutral Pitch Level and Neutral Pitch Range

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.                 | #1       | a) Termination of Sentences  
                    |          | b) Non-final clause in paraphrase sentence  
                    |          | c) Non-final clause preceding appositional phrase  
                    |          | d) Listing following verb |
| 2.                 | -a       | same usages as for 1 |
| 3.                 | -a?      | a) Non-final clauses of sequence sentences  
                    |          | b) Listing  
                    |          | c) Content-interrogatives |
| 4.                 | -â        | Tag questions  
                    | -ey      | |
| 5.                 | #2       | a) Yes/No questions  
                    |          | b) Content-Interrogatives |
| 6.                 | -a'      | same usages as for 5 |
| 7.                 | #12<     | a) Yes/No questions  
                    | used with question particle ?ey | b) Polite questions |

Table 2. Intonation Patterns

(continued over)
B. Elevated Pitch Level and Compressed Pitch Range

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>#¹</td>
<td>a) Simultaneous Sentences (including Topicalized Clauses*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Conditional Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Concession Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First Clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Same usages as for 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>-a?</td>
<td>a) Same usages as for 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Sentence Topic (-ân-iy-a? fronting*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Imperative Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) Introductory time clauses (including Setting clauses*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>{-e·</td>
<td>Pleading or desiderative one-clause sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a·</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>#²</td>
<td>Polite questions (optionally followed by question particle ?ey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>-a·</td>
<td>Used with non-final clauses indicating continuous action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 continued

* represents terminology used in this thesis

(continued over)
## C. Lowered Pitch Level and Neutral Pitch Range

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 14. #¹ | -a | a) Relative Clause  
b) Used for an aside which is within or follows another clause  
c) May be used on preposed and postposed quote formulas of quotation sentences  
d) Final Clause of sentences where first clause indicates continuous action (see 13) |
| 15. -a | |
| 16. -a? | May occur on initial quote formulas providing following quote is emphatic |
| 17. #² | |
| 18. #¹²< | May occur following rhetorical question clause as described for 17  
| used with question particle ?ey |

Table 2 continued

(continued over)
D. Neutral Pitch Level and Expanded Pitch Range

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Used on phonological clauses conveying extreme emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Same usages as for 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>-a?</td>
<td>Same usages as for 3 (Fig.2) but conveys extreme emphasis also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>-δ</td>
<td>Emphatic Tag Questions (compare 4, Fig.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>-aw</td>
<td>Same usages as for 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Same usages as for 5 (Fig.2) but conveys extreme emphasis also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td>Same usages as for 6 (Fig.2) but conveys extreme emphasis also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Negative emphatic statements (high and steady)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 continued
Yes, and after that, I said to her, 'You stand here still, and watch!'  

Illustrates (1) -án-iy-a? fronting on a temporal demonstrative  
(2) Sequence intonation used with an imperative clause  
(3) First clause has indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
As for that other bad one, the one who'd drunk beer, that man, that driver, he had his nose cut with glass.

Illustrates (1) Concentration of fronting at the beginning of a paragraph
(2) Sentence closes with indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
As for that other driver, he had drunk beer.

Illustrates -àn-iy-a? fronting

As we were driving along the road, those two cars ran into each other.

Illustrates (1) Topicalized clause

 (2) Sentence closes with indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
e)

For the truck will crush them to death.

Illustrates (1) -àn-iy tagging.

(2) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)

(3) Phrase before verb taking intonation centre of clause

f)

And what happened to those two [cars]? Those cars got smashed, in the front.

Illustrates (1) A rhetorical question

(2) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
But when we came, they opened their mouths wide in astonishment at us, our relatives did.

Illustrates (1) Emphatic word taking intonation centre of sentence (ŋa'ʔ-am)
(2) -ʔan tagging
(3) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)

And then he really came with the plane, Michael came.

Illustrates (1) Downdrift in pitch of clauses in sequence
(2) First clause has secondary intonation centre (pâ'm)
(3) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
When I lived in the bush, at the place called Kencharang, Michael came in the plane and flew high above us, and dropped a message to us by means of a bottle.

Illustrates (1) Clauses in sequence, each slightly lower in pitch.
(2) Topicalized clause (first clause)
(3) Intonation centre of clause occurring on phrase immediately before verb
(4) Secondary intonation centre of clause (kenj)
APPENDIX B: SAMPLE TEXTS

Two texts are included in this Appendix. The first (B.I.) 'New Guinea Film Review', was told by Mrs Topsy Wolmby, a middle-aged Wik-Munkan speaker. The story was told when Mrs Wolmby was in New Guinea in 1970, assisting at a linguistic workshop. While there, she saw a film one evening which pictured one tribe's method of preparing for childbirth and of caring for the child afterwards. This text was told on tape for the purpose of telling her relatives back home about the film. The text is an example of a 'mixture' (Sec. 6.1) - that is, it does not clearly belong to just one discourse genre. It shows some features of both procedures and explanations, although the tense is past, as is common for both narratives and travelogues.

The second text (B.II.) 'The Snake', was told some years ago by Desmond Kawangka to one of the linguists at Aurukun. Mr Kawangka is also a middle-aged Wik-Munkan speaker. The text is a narrative, and is a traditional story.

The alphabetical letters convey the start of a new paragraph, while the numerals indicate sentences.
B.I. NEW GUINEA FILM REVIEW

A. (1) ?inan-a wá·?-âŋ ni·y-ant-a / wik ka? wantj-a this-Rhy tell-ISFut 2P-Ref-Ind word old woman-Rhy

?ónam-ântâm-a // ?a·k ?in pûnjtjan-ântâm-a / one-Src-Ind place this tribal.country-Src-Ind

?a·k-a yoyk ?átjanťâŋ-âŋ wûn-ťän // New Guinea place-Rhy mountain high-Def live-3PPres New Guinea

woman //

woman

B. (2) nil-iy wantj wey-a? ?i·mpan-âŋ // nil-a ñe·n-a? / 3S-Top woman Comp-Seq belly-with 3S-Rhy what-Seq

?a·k-a ?ák-âŋ place-Rhy etc. dig.3SPst-Seq grass-Rhy also-Def

?ák-âŋ? / ?a·k-a tjil ñûl-âŋ míťj-âŋ-a? / sweep.3SPst-Seq place-Rhy sand Temp-Def soft-Trz-Seq

may ?ák ka-âmp nuŋ-ant-akam-an // (3) nil Carb etc. Rd-plant.3SPst 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def 3S

nuŋkwey ?i·mpan-âŋ-a? / nil-a kankânam work even.though belly-with-Seq 3S-Rhy truly work

?i·y-?i·y / ke?·am nji-nji·ñ / muťkanim ?ánmàn go-Rd.3SPstVNeg-Emph Rd-sit.3SPst always only

?i·y-?i·y wey //
go-Rd.3SPst Comp

C. (4) ?i·y-?i·y-a·· / tîp-ân-a? tjil pi·?an ñul / go-Rd.3SPst-Cont belly-Def-Seq little big Temp

?á·k-ân-a? tînt kan-ñul wamp-ant wey / time-Def-Seq close Punct-Temp come-3SPst-Ref Comp

pûk-ân kal-ow //
child-Def bear-3SPut


kan-ñul ?i·mpan pek-ow-an // (6) nil-a wantj-a Punct-Temp belly pain-3SPut-Def 3Coll-Rhy woman-Rhy


puŋk-a pek ?ānmann uk-ant yiʔwa·t-ǎn // knee-Rhy down just descend.3SPst-Ref grass.skirt-Def

(7) nil ūon kampan nuŋ-antam wantj-a 3S another relative 3SAj-Poss woman-Rhy

tōnam-ʔaŋ-ʔaŋ-a? / ʔump-ʔump-ant / puŋk-ʔaŋ-am ?ānmann / one-Erg-Def-Seq cut-Rd.3SPst-Ref knee-Loc-Emph there.same

we·nt-an-am / ūa? min-mín ʔump-ant / ?a? kan turn-Nomz-Src Ints good-Rd cut.3SPst-Ref Cj Punct

wun-ant ʔu 1 // (8) nil-a wey work ?ānmann lie.3SPst-Ref Temp 3S-Rhy Comp work only ?i·y-ʔi·y / may ka-kámp nuŋ-ant-akam-ʔaŋ-iy // go-Rd.3SPst Carb Rd-plant.3SPst 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def-Top

E. (9) kep kān-án ūeʔ-aʔ / ?an-a kan-ɡul moon Punct-Def throw.3SPst-Seq then-Rhy Punct-Temp

ŋe·tjan nil-án-iy wántj-àn / ʔi·mpan pe·pek-an feel.3SPst 3S-Def-Top woman-Def belly Rd-pain.3SPst-Acc

manj-manj // (10) nil yífāk-aʔ / work ?ānmann ?i·y-ʔi·y // small-Def 3S yet-Seq work only go-Rd.3SPst

(11) piʔan-ʔaŋ ɡūl-án ?uw-an gaʔ menaŋ-aʔ / big-Erg Temp-Def find.3SPst-Acc day middle-Seq

yot-a kān-án we·p wun-in-aʔ pam ūum nuŋ-antam many-Rhy Punct-Def sleep live-3PPst-Seq man fire 3SAj-Poss

tām-àn / (12) nil·iy-aʔ / ūum qaŋt ma·y ka? also-Def 3SPst-Seq fire light pick.3SPst like ūu·tj ɡamp ʔanana // ke·nk ʔanana? / ʔu·tj bush.torch IPIncl that-Ind long.ago that-Seq bush.torch

pājāt-in ɡan-t-aʔ / kaŋ-in/yfmanāŋ-ʔaŋ // light-3PPst IPExcl-Ref-Seq tie-3PPst like.this-Def

(13) ūum qaŋt-āŋ wey kan ?i·y-ʔi·y pek-a fire light-Def Comp Punct go-Rd.3SPst down-Rhy

pōkāpāŋ-a / puk manj-āŋ-iy ʔa·k-ŋe·y-ow-ant wey / alone-Ind child small-Def-Top place-hear-3SFut-Ref Comp

punťaŋʔ-y ūŋ-t-aʔ / ɡāk-án pūŋt-āŋ ?ukʔ-ʔuk-aʔ / valley close-Ind water-Def river-Def descend-Rd.3SPst-Seq
piŋtäŋ // (28) ṭamp-iy-a? ?ep-a / ké·nk-án
bamboo-Inst IPIncl-Top-Seq Pos-Ind long.ago-Def

IPIncl-Poss-Loc-Rhy glass-Inst-Seq some-Seq mussel-Inst

kuyam ?ump-in ku·tan puk manj-iy
used.to cut-3PPst umbilical.cord child small-Emph

ŋamp-ʔam ké·nk-án a·k-ŋe-ŋe·y-in-a / ?in-a
IPIncl-long.ago-Def place-Rd-hear-3PPst-Ind this-Rhy

piŋtäŋ ?ump-ant-an ku·tan puk
bamboo-Inst cut-3PPres umbilical.cord child

mánj-iy-antəm-ąn-iy //
small-Emph-Poss-Def-Top

H. (29) kan ṭa·tát-an-a? níl-nil-am
Punct Rd-see-IPExclPst-Seq 3S-Rd-Emph

piʔ-piʔ-an ?āŋmàn-a? / ŋaʔ?
mind-Rd-IPExclPst-Acc there.same-Seq day

 tôń-àn-iy-a? / puk mànj-àn-iy-a? ka·t
another-Def-Top-Seq child small-Def-Top-Seq mother

kuntj-aŋ-a? pek kal-an / woʔuw-ak / punj-aŋ
own-Erg-Seq down carry.3SPst-Acc river-Gl creek-Loc

?uk-ʔuk ṭák-ąk / ?aŋaŋ ṭak-a ṭaʔ? kutjaŋ-a
descend-Rd.3SPst water-Gl there.in water-Rhy Ints cold-Rhy

mu-mú·ntj-ąń-an puk mànj-àn-iy wu·t-a
Rd-wash-Trz.3SPst-Acc child small-Def-Top male-Rhy

mánj-àn // (30) níl-a? pe·y-pe·y / puk mànj-àn-iy /
small-Def 3S-Seq cry-Rd.3SPst child small-Def-Top

maŋ-ŋ-aŋ-an ṭa·tát-an nun / puk manj-a piʔ-an /
film-Loc-Def Rd-see-IPExclPst 3SAcc child small-Rhy big

kemp patj-am-aw //
skin white-Emph-Emph

I. (31) ka·t-a kutj-aŋ-an-iy mú·ntj-mú·ntj-ąń-an-a?
mother-Rhy own-Erg-Def-Top wash-Rd-Trz.3SPst-Acc-Seq

pátj-ąń-an-a? kan-ŋul koyam kal-an
clean-Trz.3SPst-Acc-Seq Punct-Temp back carry.3SPst-Acc

ŋoŋkaįl manj-a núŋ-ant-ąm-ąk ṭā·kanak-ąn //
hut small-Rhy 3SAj-Ref-Poss-Gl there.to-Def
(32) nil wantj kampan nuŋ-antam ŋónam-âŋ-âŋ-iy-a? / 3S 'woman relative 3SÁj-Poss one-Erg-Def-Top-Seq
may piʔan ka·mp-ant-a / ka? ŋámp-âŋ
Carb big plant.3SPst-Ref-Ind like(Cj) IPIncl-Def
ka·mp-anamp-a miŋ-a may-a? / ŋímanâŋ-âŋ ŋán bury-IPInclPres-Rhy Pro-Rhy Carb-Seq like.this-Def 3P
?iŋan-iy ?a·k ka·mp-antan / miŋ-a may // there.in-Top place bury-3PPres Pro-Rhy Carb
(33) kenj-aŋk-an-iy-a? kaŋk ĉe·n-antam-aʔ / may high-at-Def-Top-Seq leaves what-Src-Int Carb
banana-antâm kaŋk / wunp-antan / ka·mp-antan kaŋ-antan / banana-Src leaves put-3PPres bury-3PPres cover-3PPres
ka? ŋámp ŋánmân ?a·k wun ŋímanâŋ-âŋ // like(Cj) IPIncl same.way place lie.3SPst like.this-Def
(34) may yot-a kal-ant pul manj
Carb lots-Rhy carry.3SPst-Ref young.mother small
?alantan-iy-a / puʔ me·tj nji-njí·n wey-a // that.Ref-Top-Ind for hungry Rd-sit.3SPst Comp-Ind
(35) duk mânj-âŋ kal-a? pa·l nâl-âŋ
child small-Def carry.3SPst-Seq therefore 3S-Def
me·tj // (36) mây-âŋ-a muŋk-muŋk ŋaʔ? ?an-?ánam
hungry food-Def-Rhy eat-Rd.3SPst Ints Rd-there
kiyam piʔ? wey muŋk-muŋk / me·tj-a //
used.to mind.3SPst Comp eat-Rd.3SPst hungry-Ind
J. (37) ?ánpálan-iy-a? wa·ŋk-aŋ ŋentj-an-aʔ
from.there-Top-Seq string.bag-Loc hide.3SPst-Acc-Seq
kan-ŋul kal-ow-an koyam pí·p-ly-ant-âŋ-âŋ-a
Punct-Temp carry-3SFut-Def back father-Emph-Ref-Def-Rhy
ʔá·k-âk-âŋ // (38) wa·ŋk-aŋ wun-wun-a?
place-G1-Def string.bag-Loc lie-Rd.3SPst-Seq
monkan-aŋ wa·ntj / keʔ way min ke·nk
nape.of.neck-Loc hang.3SPst like(Cj) bad good long.ago
wantjínŋ ŋámp-â ŋám-âŋ kal-in-aʔ / may wâtiy
old.lady IPIncl-Poss-Def carry-3PPst-Seq Carb yams
fják-âŋ wa·ŋk-aŋ monkan-aŋ
e tc.-Def string.bag-Loc nape.of.neck-Loc
?uk-?uk-a yímanàŋ-àŋ // (39) ñan-t puŋ descend-Rd.3SPst-Rhy this.manner-Def 3P-Ref for
manj-a ñán-tàm-àŋ ?à·k-ŋè·y-antàm-a? / ñàn ?um-aŋ small-Rhy 3P-Poss-Def place-hear-3PPres-Seq 3P chest-Loc
ke? kal-antan ka? nàmp-àm-àŋ / ñàn-a VNeg carry-3PPres like(Cj) IPIncl-Def-Ind 3P-Rhy
wa·ŋk-aŋ ñentj-antan monkan-aŋ wa·ntj-antan // string.bag-Loc hide-3PPres nape.of.neck-Loc hang-3PPres
(40) ma? ka? min-am puŋ kal-antan hand nose good-Emph for carry-3PPres
wa·ŋk-aŋ-an-iy-a? / ke? ke·k-antan-a puk string.bag-Loc-Def-Top-Seq VNeg fall-3PPres-Rhy child
manj-a ñán-tàm-àŋ wa·ŋk-am-an ya? / (41) ?a? small-Rhy 3P-Poss-Def string.bag-Src-Def Neg Cj
pi·p-iy-ant wàmp-àt-an ?à·k-àk-a? father-Top-Ref come-Trz.3SPst-Acc place-Gl-Seq
kampan-ak-a? / ?àŋgam want-an // (42) nil relative-Gl-Seq there.on leave.3SPst-Acc
pul mànj-àn-iy-a? work ?ànman ?i·y?-?i·y young.mother small-Def-Top-Seq work only go-Rd.3SPst
wey / may ka-kà·mp yot-a // Comp Carb Rd-plant.3SPst lots-Ind
K. (43) ?ànpàlan-iy-a? / puk mànj-àn-a there-here-Def-Top-Seq child small-Def-Rhy
pe·y-pe·y-a? wa·ŋk-am-an-iy-a? / witj-an / cry-Rd.3SPst-Seq string.bag-Src-Def-Top-Seq take.3SPst-Acc
ñú·t ñá·t-ñá·t-an // (44) nil wa·ŋk-am-an breast offer-Rd.3SPst-Acc 3S string.bag-Src-Def
yo·n ke? pént-àt-an-a? / nil ñá·t-à·n outside VNeg go.out-Trz.3SPst-Acc-Rhy 3S mouth-Def
we?àr-àt-a? / ña? ñá·kanak-àn-a ñú·t-àn-a? wide-Trz.3SPst-Seq mouth there.to-Def-Rhy breast-Def-Seq
ñú·t mé·? ña·?-aŋ ñentj-ant-a / kan-gul breast eye mouth-Loc hide.3SPst-Ref Punct-Temp
muŋk-muŋk ?ey //
drink-Rd.3SPst Emph

L. (45) ŋan-a ʃá-t-ʃá-an nun ʃaʔ? ?aɬ-atɬiy
IP-Rhy see-Rd-IPExclPst 3SAcc mouth fat-Ab

muŋk-muŋk maɲ-aŋ-an-iy / ʃu·t-a kaɬ
drink-Rd.3SPst film-Loc-Def-Top milk-Rhy mother

kúntj-án-iy // (46) ʔánpálan-aʔ koyam wa·ntj-an /
own-Def-Top from.there-Seq back hang.3SPst-Acc

kaʔ noŋkam work ʔi·ʔ-ʔi·ʔ / may ka-ká·mp //
like(Cj) absorbed work go-Rd.3SPst Carb Rd-plant.3SPst

(47) ʔimp-a ʃan-t-a / kaʔ ʔaŋ-aʃ-ʔa yímanaŋ
bark-Rhy 3P-Ref-Ind like(Cj) IPIncl-Ref-Rhy like.this

nanaŋan ʃán-t-án yaʔ-a / ʔaŋ-aʃ-ʔa yímanaŋ ʔimp-a ʔayan
those.Mid 3P-Ref-Def Neg-Ind IPIncl-Poss bark-Rhy hard

puŋ-a / poŋ-ɬ-am ʔump-anamp-a // (48) ʔin
for-Ind messmate.tree-Src cut-IPInclPres-Ind this

ʃan-t wi₇-wiy-am ʔimp-a // (49) ʃan kúntòw-aŋ
3P-Ref some-Rd.Emph bark-Ind 3P stone-Inst

pi·k-antən-a / ʔaʔ law yi·k-antən / wonk-a ʃán-án /
hit-3PPres-Ind Cj Onom bend-3PPres side-Rhy other-Def

kaʔ ʔi·k-a kón-án-a yímanəŋ-án
like(Cj) bush.dish-Rhy ear-Def-Rhy like.this-Def

yalam-aʃ-antən / kutjόk-aŋ wa·ntj-antən ku·ʔ-aŋ-an-iy
gather-Trz-3PPres head-Loc hang-3PPres string-Inst-Def-Top

kaʃ-antən / ʔayan-a / keʔ yipam ʔak-aŋ ʔep-ow
tie-3PPres firm-Ind VNeg so water-Erg soak-3SFut

ʃan-t puk manj-iy-an //
3P-Ref child small-Emph-Def

M. (50) kan nánmáŋ-aʔ yaʔ·gul puk manj-antam
Funct that.same.Mid-Ind Neg Temp child small-about

nan-iy //
that.Mid-Top
English Translation:

A. (1) I'm going to tell you a story about one woman from this country, where there are high mountains – she's a New Guinean woman.

B. (2) This woman was pregnant, but what did she do? She dug the ground, she swept away the grass, she softened the soil then, and planted food for herself. (3) Even though she was pregnant, she really worked and worked, she didn't sit down, she was always working.

C. (4) She kept on and on [working], and as for her belly, it was getting bigger now, and her time was close for having the child.

D. (5) Then the next month came around, and that was the time for her labour pains to begin. (6) As for those female relatives of hers, they made her a long grass skirt, and she tried it on round her waist, and it came down way below her knees. (7) As for another one of her female relatives, she trimmed it for her, going round at knee level; she trimmed it really evenly, and there it was [ready] for her. (8) She [the woman] only worked and worked, and planted food for herself.

E. (9) After the month was up, she began to feel [labour pains], the woman did, just small labour pains. (10) But she still did nothing but work. (11) Then really big pains came in the middle of the night; those others were all asleep, including her husband. (12) As for her, she picked up a bush torch, like our bush torches. A long time ago, they used to light bush torches in our place, and tie them up in the same way. (13) She went down off by herself with the bush light, for the child to be born to her; she went down close to a valley, where there is a river flowing, there beside that. (14) This place is grassy; we saw it in the film. (15) As for the grass, she cut it and cut it, and cleared the area herself, so that it would
be a clean place for the child to be born. (16) She went round pulling up the grass from everywhere, and then she made a hut, covering the top with grass. (17) Their grass here is good, they make huts and small houses like this with grass. (18) They call it kunai grass. We don't have grass like this growing, no; this grass grows in their place.

F. (19) When she had finished making the hut, she worked on the inside then, and did a really good job, all by herself. Not one female relative accompanied her, not one; she did it all by herself. (20) She took a lighted firestick, and gathered [firewood], and lit a fire; it got hot quickly. (21) Then she sat down alone to have that child. (22) The labour pains came, and then the child was born to her. (23) He was a big male child! - she had a boy - a really handsome child! (24) We saw him in the film - he had big hands and big feet, and she minded him in that same place.

G. (25) We were watching the picture, and that woman, that young mother, what did she do? - she warmed her own belly by the fire, like in the old days in our place, the old women who are now dead - they used to do the same. (26) As for the little child, she minded him in her lap. (27) She cut the cord herself. What with? They cut the cords with bamboo, of their children who are born, - oh yes, that's it, they cut [them] with that bamboo. (28) As for us, in our place a long time ago they used to cut the cords with glass, or some with a mussel, that's how it used to be done for the cords of the children born a long time ago in our place; here they cut the cords of children with bamboo.

H. (29) We kept on watching her minding him all by herself, and the next day, as for the child, the mother took him to the river, and she went down into the water, and there in that really cold water she washed the child, the little boy. (30) He cried and cried, the little child did, the
one we saw in the film, that big child, with really fair skin.

I. (31) His mother washed and washed him, and cleaned him, and then she took him back, to her little hut there.
(32) One of her female relatives put lots of food in a ground oven for her, just as we put food in a ground oven, both meat and fruits, so they do it here in this place in the same way, for both meat and fruits. (33) On the top, what were the leaves from - they put the leaves of a banana tree there. They put [the food] in, and then cover it, like we do in our place. (34) She carried lots of food to the young mother, for she was hungry. (35) She had borne a child, and therefore she was hungry. (36) She ate and ate that food, she just kept on eating and eating, for she was hungry.

J. (37) After that, she put the child in her stringbag, and went back then to the father [of the child], to the camp. (38) The child was lying in the stringbag, and she hung the bag on her back, like the old women in our place used to carry their things, they used to carry yams etc. in stringbags hanging from their backs in the same way.
(39) The women have this custom here in New Guinea. When their children are born, they don't carry them in front like we do, they put them inside stringbags and carry them behind their back. (40) They carry them cleverly in the stringbags; their children don't fall out from the stringbags, no. (41) She came back to the camp to the child's father, and then she left there. (42) That young mother, she only worked, and planted lots of food.

K. (43) After that, when the child cried, she pulled him up from [inside] the stringbag, and offered him her breast. (44) She didn't take him right out of the stringbag, she just opened the mouth of the bag, and held her breast close to the top of the bag, and the nipple to the child's mouth, and he drank and drank then.
L. (45) We saw him eagerly drinking his mother's milk in the film. (46) After that she hung the bag on her back again and got absorbed in her work, and planted food. (47) As for their bark, it's not like ours - those are not, no. Our bark is hard, we cut it from the messmate tree.
(48) Theirs is different. (49) They belt it with stones, and bend it, and then do the other side, like gathering up the sides of a bush dish, - they gather it up, and put it over their heads, and tie it with string, firmly, so that the rain won't wet their children.

M. (50) That's all, that's the end of the story of that child.
B.II. THE SNAKE

A. (1) /pam ke·nk-a ?a·k ?e·p-an-aŋ ?i·y-?i·y / man long.ago-Rhy place crouch-Nomz-Temp go-Rd.3SPst
Rhy go.3SPst
ŋoŋkoŋkam-a // not.knowing-Ind

B. (2) ?i·y-a ?i·y-a ?i·y-a ?i·y / go.3SPst-Rhy go.3SPst-Rhy go.3SPst-Rhy go.3SPst
ka·ŋentj wunp // (3) ká·ŋentj-aŋ wunp-a? / westerly.wind put.3SPst westerly.wind put.3SPst-Seq
kutjaŋ ?i·y-?i·y // go-Rd.3SPst

C. (4) ?i·y ?i·y ?i·y ?i·y ?i·y-a? / go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst go-Rd.3SPst-Seq
yuk-a náŋ-t-náŋ-t-am want-a / ?á·k-án-iy
tree-Rhy piece-piece-Emph leave.3SPst-Ind place-Def-Top
?uw // (5) ?a· · ?iŋ ŋe·n ŋu-ŋú·tj // ya? find.3SPst Exclm this what Rd-crawl.3SPst Ints

D. (6) gul yimanaŋ-a? / ?ep-am ŋa·ŋ-ŋa say.3SPst Temp this.manner-Seq Pos-Emph see.3SPst-Ind
ŋaŋ ?u·k-án-iy / muŋ ?uw (7) ŋay kan snake-Def-Top tail find.3SPst IS Punct
wé·tj-åŋ-an-a? // track-ISPut-Acc-Seq

E. (8) ?i·y-a-a / ŋom-pam-am ?uw // (9) ŋom-pam go.3SPst-Cont middle-Emph find.3SPst middle
?uw-a? / pu·y-am-am mo? // find.3SPst-Seq far-towards-Emph run.3SPst

(10) puŋam γul ?i·y-a-a / man-a ŋaŋ ey // again Temp go.3SPst-Cont neck-Rhy see.3SPst-Tag
(11) níl-án-a? pip pokan ŋaŋ // (12) máŋ-án 3S-Def-Seq clay all.over cover.3SPst neck-Def
?uw-iy-a? / ŋay kan puŋam ya·?an mó-åŋ-a / find.3SPst-Top-Seq IS Punct again just run-ISPut-Ind
ya? ŋaw // Ints say.3SPst
F. (13) mo? mo?-a mo?-a? / ke·nk
run.3SPst run.3SPst-Rhy run.3SPst-Seq front

γ̄l-àn iy-a? ɨn / kan-a ɨn //
Temp-Def-Top-Seq stand.3SPst Punct-Rhy stand.3SPst

(14) yám-pål mu·t ɲe·y wu········ ɲe·y //
somewhere-here noise hear.3SPst Onom hear.3SPst

kutjék-àn-a kon tám-àn tǎi-a / mal-m ál mal-m ál
head-Def-Rhy ear also-Def look.3SPst-Ind Onom-Rd Onom-Rd

t̄a-taw // (15) kutjék-àn tǎi-a? / ya·?in
Rd-say.3SPst head-Def look.3SPst-Seq yes here
wu-wùn // (16) kek-a mam / kek way ?in-ey //
Rd-lie.3S spear-Rhy take.3SPst spear bad this-Tag

(17) kek ɨn-a way mitj //
spear another take.3SPst this-Rhy bad soft

(18) ɨn-a way mitj // (19) tón-àn
another take.3SPst this bad soft another-Def

take.3SPst-Seq Cj this.Inst thrust-ISFut-Seq

ȳkan-âŋ-àŋ / yikan
strong.wattle.spear-Inst-Def strong.wattle.spear Onom

ma·y // (20) tǎj-ːtǎj-ːan-a? / kutjék wa·p
pick.up.3SPst see-Rd-3SPst-Acc-Seq head brain

ʔanan ʔoʔanaŋ-an // (21) t̄a·kǎŋ puŋ //
that pierce.3SPst-Acc Onom thrust.3SPst

G. (22) nil kan yalam / wu······ nàt-pål-àn-a
3S Punct coil.3SPst Onom far-here-Def-Rhy

ȳl-yalam // (23) yalam yalam yalam
Rd-coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst

yalam-a··· wump ńaŋ-a kenj-a··· / naŋ kenj-a
coil.3SPst-Cont heap far-Rhy high-Cont far high-Rhy

wun // (24) wun-wun-a? / popam yípák wun //
lie.3SPst lie-Rd.3SPst-Seq still yet lie.3SPst

me·ʔ tjaʔ ?iik / pal pu·y tǎj /
eye half.open.split.3SPst here there see.3SPst

tǎj-a tǎj //
see.3SPst-Rhy see.3SPst
H. (25) kan *ŋkaʔ-a / kenj *tan-an-iy // (26) man-a Punct stretch.3SPst-Ind high that-Top neck-Rhy

kan *tan / kenj- a kenj-a kenj-a kenj-a Punct stand.3SPst high-Rhy high-Rhy high-Rhy high-Rhy

kenj-a / yuw *tan kẹnj-àn *uw // (27) pal high-Ind cloud there high-Def find.3SPst here

pu · y-a  tàt // (28) wantj-a pam nàj-àn there-Rhy look.3SPst women-Rhy men far-Def

tàt-a? / *tan mìn-àk ʔi · y-an // *tan máy-àk ʔi · y-an / see.3SPst-Seq that Pro-Gl go-3SPres that Carb-Gl go-3SPres

kùʔ-àk kuyam tàw-an / òw / *an kùʔ-àk tàw-an / dog-Gl used.to say-3SPres Onom that dog-Gl say-3SPres

ìw · k ?alañ-àn-ìm  tàt ían-àŋ // (29) íon snake that.Erg-Emph see.3SPst 3P-Acc another

kuyam tàt / *an-a we · p wun // (30) íon used.to see.3SPst that-Rhy sleep lie.3SPst another

kuyam tàt / *an-a may kaʔaʔ íinj-an-ej // used.to see.3SPst that-Rhy Carb yam squeeze-3SPst-Tag

(31) íon-àn tàt-a? / pal pu · y tàt-a? / another-Def see.3SPst-Seq here there see.3SPst-Seq

?a · kanak nàj-àn-ly tàt / popam yípàk ìan there.Gl far-Def-Top see.3SPst still yet stand.3SPst

yípàk // (32) me · ? ka? pek-a? / ?ep-am tàt // yet eye like(Cj) down-Cj Pos-Emph see.3SPst

(33) ?àŋ / nil pím-àn-à ?olót-àŋ ŋò · ntj-a / Exclm 3S man-Def-Rhy hollow.log-Loc enter.3SPst-Ind

wupam ŋò · ntj / kan wun-wun // (34) tàt inside enter.3SPst Punct lie-Rd.3SPst look.3SPst

tàt-a? / ?inam pek-a wun-ey // look.3SPst-Seq here.in down-Rhy lie.3S-Tag

I. (35) kan-a yalam pal-am / yu········ / Punct-Rhy coil.3SPst here-towards Onom

pal-am yalam yalam yalam yalam-a? / here-towards coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst-Seq

pek // (36) yá · ?-yâ · ?an-aŋ ìu · tj yam-an-aʔ / down Rd-just-Manner crawl.3SPst somewhere-Loc-Seq
  Punct stretch.3SPst-Ind high that-Top neck-Rhy
  kan Ʉan / kenj-a kenj-a kenj-a kenj-a
  Punct stand.3SPst high-Rhy high-Rhy high-Rhy high-Rhy
  kenj-a / yuw ?an kẹnj-àn ?uw // (27) pəl
  high-Ind cloud there high-Def find.3SPst here
  pu·y-a Ʉaŋ // (28) wantj-a pam nàŋ-àn
  there-Rhy look.3SPst women-Rhy men far-Def
  Ʉaŋ-a? / ?an mìŋ-àk ?i·y-an // ?an mày-àk ?i·y-an /
  see.3SPst-Seq that Pro-G1 go-3SPres that Carb-G1 go-3SPres
  kúʔ-àk kuyam Ʉaw-an / ?ow / ?an kúʔ-àk Ʉaw-an /
  dog-G1 used.to say-3SPres Onom that dog-G1 say-3SPres
  Ʉu·k Ʉaŋan-im Ʉaŋ Ʉan-aŋ // (29) ɬon
  snake that.Erg-Emph see.3SPst 3P-Acc another
  kuyam Ʉaŋ / ?an-a we·p wun // (30) ɬon
  used.to see.3SPst that-Rhy sleep lie.3SPst another
  kuyam Ʉaŋ / ?an-a may kaʔaŋ ?iŋ-an-ey //
  used.to see.3SPst that-Rhy Carb yam squeeze-3SPst-Tag
  (31) ɬon-àn Ʉaŋ-a? / pəl pu·y Ʉaŋ-a? /
  another-Def see.3SPst-Seq here there see.3SPst-Seq
  ?a·kanak nàŋ-àn-iy Ʉaŋ / popam yípàk ɬan
  there.G1 far-Def-Top see.3SPst still yet stand.3SPst
  yípàk // (32) me·ʔ kaʔ pek-aʔ / ?eʔ-am Ʉaŋ //
  yet eye like.(Cj) down-Cj Pos-Emph see.3SPst
  (33) ɬan / nil pí·m-àn-a ʔolót-aŋ ɬo·ntj-a /
  Exclm 3S man-Def-Rhy hollow. log-Loc enter.3SPst-Ind
  wupam ɬo·ntj / kan wun-wun // (34) Ʉaŋ
  inside enter.3SPst Punct lie-Rd.3SPst look.3SPst
  Ʉaŋ-aʔ / ?iŋam pek-a wun-ey //
  look.3SPst-Seq here.in down-Rhy lie.3S-Tag

I. (35) kan-a yalam pal-am / yu·...........
  Punct-Rhy coil.3SPst here-towards Onom
  pal-am yalam yalam yalam yalam-a? /
  here-towards coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst-Seq
  pek // (36) yáʔ-yaʔ·ʔan-aŋ ɬu·tj yam-aŋ-aʔ /
  down Rd-just-Manner crawl.3SPst somewhere-Loc-Seq
J. (37) ya?-ŋul puŋ ?ánmán-ey / ?a·k kat?alaŋ
Neg-Temp so that.same-Tag custom old that.Erg

?ump-an / wa·ʔ-aŋ ?in-iy ?ey //
make.3SPres tell-ISpst this-Top Tag
English Translation:

A. (1) A long time ago a man went out hunting; he didn't know what would happen that day.

B. (2) He kept on going and going, and the westerly wind was blowing. (3) The westerly wind was blowing, and it became cool.

C. (4) He kept on and on and on and on, and then trees began falling down everywhere in pieces, crashing to the ground. (5) "Goodness! What's this crawling along?", he said to himself. (6) And then it was like this, he looked hard, and saw a snake; he found the tail. (7) "I'll follow it!", [he said].

D. (8) He kept on going, and he found the middle part [of the snake]. (9) After he'd found the middle part, he ran on further.

E. (10) He went on again, and he saw the neck, did he? (11) He plastered himself with clay. (12) After he'd found the neck, [he said], "I'll just run on again!", he said to himself.

F. (13) He kept on running, round from the front [from the other direction], and there he stood. (14) From somewhere he heard a noise, "Woooooooooooooo!", he heard; he saw the head, and it had ears too, and it [the snake] was saying "Mal-mal mal-mal!". (15) After he'd seen the head, he thought, "Oh yes, it's here." (16) He grabbed a spear - "This is a spear of poor quality, is it?" [he thought]. (17) He grabbed another [spear] - "This one's no good, it's soft" [he said]. (18) He grabbed another, - "This one's no good, it's soft", [he said]. (19) He grabbed another, [and said], "I'll thrust him with this, with this strong wattle spear!", and he picked up the wattle spear swiftly. (20) He steadied his aim, [he threw the spear], and made a hole in [the snake's] brain. (21) He pierced it [his brain].
G. (22) [The snake] coiled into a heap, making a noise like "wooooooooooo..."; from a long distance he coiled into a heap. (23) He kept on coiling and coiling and coiling, till there was a really high heap, up there high up. (24) He stayed up there, and he just stayed still, and half opened his eyes, and looked all around, he looked and looked.

H. (25) Then he stretched himself, really high up. (26) He stretched his neck, higher and higher and higher, till he reached the clouds. (27) He looked round everywhere. (28) He saw people far down; one was going hunting; one was food gathering; one was calling to his dog, calling "Ow!", to his dog; that snake watched them. (29) Then he saw another sleeping. (30) He saw another, "He's straining yams, is he?" [he said]. (31) He saw others, and he looked round everywhere, he looked far around all over the place, and he was still standing there very still. (32) He just lowered his eyes to look down, and he saw [him]. (33) "Hullo, what's this!" [he said]. That man scrambled into a hollow log, and went right inside, and lay there. (34) [The snake] kept looking, "This is where he is, is he?" [he said].

I. (35) He started to coil down again, making the noise of yooooooooo...; he coiled down and down and down, right down. (36) He just crawled around somewhere near the man [but a little bit away to trick him], he just crawled along like this, he was just crawling near him, and "Crunch! Crunch!", the snake bit the man in two.

J. (37) That's the end of the story, isn't it, that old custom that they used to tell, that I've told you about, haven't I?
The following abbreviations are used:

AAS  Australian Aboriginal Studies
AIAS  Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
AnL  Anthropological Linguistics
BSE  Brno Studies in English
BUFFSP  Brno Universita Filosoficka Faculta Sbornik Prací
CCC  College Composition and Communication
CLS-RM Papers from the _____ Regional Meeting of the Chicago
  Linguistic Society
FoL  Foundations of Language
GUM  Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics, George-
  town University School of Languages and Linguistics, 
  Washington, D.C.
IJAL  International Journal of American Linguistics
Lg   Language
NoT  Notes on Translation
OL   Oceanic Linguistics
PLRF Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, SIL
  of the University of Oklahoma, Norman.
SIL  Summer Institute of Linguistics
TLP  Travaux Linguistiques de Prague
WPLO Working Papers in Linguistics, Computer and Information
  Science Research Centre, Ohio State University
ALLERTON, D.J.

BACH, Emmon
1962 'The Order of Elements in a Transformational Grammar of German', Lg 38:263-269.

BACH, Emmon and Robert T. HARMS (Eds.)

BALINT, Andras
1970 'Modification and Discourse Analysis', Kivung 3(3): 144-149.

BALLARD, Lee

BECKER, A.L.

BENES, Eduard

BIERI, Dora

BRIDGEMAN, Loraine
CALLOW, Kathleen

CAUGHEY, Ross

CHOMSKY, Noam

CLANCY, Patricia

DANEŠ, František
1960 'Sentence Intonation from a Functional Point of View', *Word* 16:34-54.

DIXON, R.M.W.

DRESSLER, Wolfgang
DVOŘÁKOVÁ, Eva

ELKINS, Richard E.

FASOLD, Ralph W.
1970 'Two Models of Socially Significant Linguistic Variation', Lg 46(3):551-563.

FILLMORE, Charles J.

FILLMORE, Charles J. and D. Terence LANGENDOEN

PIRIBAS, Jan
1957 'Some Thoughts on the Function of Word-Order in Old English and Modern English', BUFFSP 6:72-100.
1964a 'From Comparative Word-Order Studies', BSE 4:111-125.
1966 'Non-Thematic Subjects in Contemporary English', TLP 2:239-256.
FRANTZ, Donald G.
1971 *Towards a Generative Grammar of Blackfoot.* S 1 L
PLRF 34.

GIESER, C.R.
1968 *Notes on sentence structure of Guininaang (Kalinga).*
Typescript. (SIL, Philippines).

GLASGOW, K.

GLASS, Amee
1971 *A Tentative Description of Ngaanyatjara Discourse and Paragraph.* Typescript. (United Aborigines Mission Language Dept.).

GLEASON, H.A. Jr.

GLOVER, W.W.

GODFREY, Marie
1967 *Notes on Word, Phrase, Clause and Sentence Levels in Wik-Munkan.* Typescript (80 pp.).

GODFREY, Marie and H.B. Kerr
GOLKOVÁ, Eva
1968 'On the English Infinitive of Purpose in Functional Sentence Perspective', *BSE* 7:119-128.

GORDON, David and George LAKOFF
1971 'Conversational Postulates', *CLS-RM* 7:63-84.

GRIMES, Joseph E.
1966 'Some inter-sentence relationships in Huichol'.
1972a *The thread of discourse*. (Technical Report No.1, National Science Foundation Grant GS-3180), Department of Modern Languages and Linguistics, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. (Pp.552 onwards refer to draft of extra chapters in manuscript.)
1972c 'Outlines and Overlays', *Lg* 48:513-524.
1973 *Semantic role structure*. (Revised pre-publication draft of Grimes 1972a: Ch.8).

GRIMES, J.E. and N. GLOCK

GRUBER, Jeffrey S.
GULSTAD, Daniel E.

HALE, E. Austin

HALE, Kenneth


HALLIDAY, M.A.K.
1967 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part II', *Journal of Linguistics* 3:199-244.

HANSEN, K.C. and L.E.

HAUSENBLAS, Karel

HENDRICKS, William O.

HOOKER, Betty

HOPE, Edward Reginald
HORNBY, Peter A.

HUDDLESTON, Rodney D.

HUDSON, Joyce

HUTCHINSON, L.

KERR, Harland B.

KILHAM, Christine
1972a Preliminary Write-up of One Wik-Munkan Text. Typescript.
KLAMMER, Thomas P. and Carol J. COMPTON

KROEKER, Menno H.

LABOV, William

LABOV, William and Joshua WALETZKY

LAKOFF, George

LAKOFF, George and John Robert ROSS

LAKOFF, Robin
1971 'If's, And's and But's about Conjunction'. In: Fillmore and Langendoen (1971):115-149.

LANDERMAN, Peter and Donald FRANTZ
1972 Notes on Grammatical Theory. SIL, in co-operation with the Ministry of Education, Lima, Peru.
LARSON, M.L.

LAWRENCE, Marshall

LONGACRE, Robert E.
1970a 'Sentence Structure as a Statement Calculus', Lg 46(4):783-815.

LORIOT, (LAURIAULT), James
1957 'Some Problems in Translating Paragraphs Idiomatically', The Bible Translator 8:166-169.

LORIOT, James and Barbara HOLLENBACH

LYONS, John

McCawley, James D.


**McCONNEL, Ursula H.**


1939  'Social Organization of the Tribes of Cape York (Part 1)', *Oceania* 10(1): 54-72.


**MARSH, J.**


**MILLER, Helen**


**MORAVCSIK, Edith A.**


**MORGAN, James O.**


**MORTON, Beth**


**NEWMAN, John F.**

O'GRADY, Geoffrey N. and C.F. and F.M. VOEGELIN

PIKE, Kenneth Lee
1964a 'Beyond the sentence', CCC 15:129-135.

POOLE, Millicent E.

POWLISON, Paul S.

PRENTECE, D.J.

PROPP, Vladimir

REID, A.A., R.G. BISHOP, E.M. BUTTON and R.E. LONGACRE
1968 Totonac: from Clause to Discourse. SIL PLRF 17.

REID, Lawrence A.
1970 Central Bontoc: Sentence, Paragraph and Discourse. SIL PLRF 27.

ROSS, John Robert
ROWAN, Orland

RUCH, Edward

SADOCK, Jerrold M.

SAYERS, Barbara
1972a The Sentence in Wik-Munkan. Typescript. (Pre-publication draft).
1972b 'What Is It that I Don't Know?', NoT 46(6).
1973a Grammatical Implications in Wik-Munkan Phonology. Typescript. (First draft; intonation section has since been revised (Sayers 1974)).
1973b 'An Argument for the Practical Application of Discourse Analysis to Translation'. To appear in NoT.

SAYERS, Barbara and Marie GODFREY
1964 'Outline Description of the Alphabet and Grammar of a Dialect of Wik-Munkan, spoken at Coen, North Queensland', AIAS AAS 2:49-78.
SAYERS, Barbara J. and Harland B. KERR

SCHULZE, Marlene and Dora BIERI

SGALL, Petr

SGALL, Petr, Ladislav NEBESKÝ, Alla GORALČÍKOVÁ, and Eva HAJIČOVÁ
1969 A Functional Approach to Syntax in Generative Description of Language. Elsevier, N.Y.

SGALL, Petr and Eva HAJIČOVÁ

SHARPE, M.C.
1972 Alawa Phonology and Grammar. AIAS AAS 37.

SHEFFLER, Margaret
1969 'Results of Network Diagramming: as applied to the Revision of Mundurukú Mark', Not 32:2-32.

SHERZER, Joel

SILVERSTEIN, Michael
SOMMER, B.A.

SNEDDON, J.N.

STEINBERG, Danny D. and Leon A. JAKOBOVITS

STOKES, Judith
1971 Anindilyaugwa Discourses and Paragraphs. Typescript. (Church Missionary Society, Northern Territory).

TAYLOR, Doreen

THOMPSON, Sandra Annear

THOMSON, D.F.
1972 Kinship and Behaviour in North Queensland. (Ed. by Scheffler, H.W.), AIAS AAS 51.

VACHEK, Josef
1966 The Linguistic School of Prague. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
WHEATLEY, James
1973 'Pronouns and Nominal Elements in Bacairi Discourse', 
Linguistics 104:105-115.

WHEELER, Alva
1967 'Grammatical Structure in Siona Discourse', 
Lingua 19:60-77.

WINBURNE, J.N.
1962 'Sentence Structure in Discourse', Proceedings of 
the Ninth International Congress of Linguists 

WISE, Mary Ruth
1971 Identification of Participants in Discourse: A Study 
of Aspects of Form and Meaning in Nomatsiguenga. 
SIL PLRF 28.

WURM, S.A.
1972 Languages of Australia and Tasmania. Mouton, The 
Hague.
INDEX

accompaniment case 48, 73-4, 232
accusative case 48-9
adjectives 45-6, 47-8
adjunct, see case
adverbs 56-7
advisability mood 61
alternation 83
anaphora 28
apposition 81, 104
areas of theme, see theme
aspectual system 61-5
avoidance vocabulary 60

Bach 24
background information 113, 115, 194-5, 218, 244, 262
Ballard 31
Becker 139
Beneš 16, 19, 136
case ranking, 75, 231-2, 232, 241
case system 51, 65-77, 107
adjunct cases 48-9
centre cases 48
nominative-accusative 48, 70, 75-6
nominative-ergative 46, 50, 59, 69, 75-6
CD, see communicative dynamism
choice 14, 15
Chomsky 23-4
clause 92, 189, 223-49
grammatical 44
phonological 40-4, 191
cleft sentences 22
pseudo-cleft 108
close-knit phrases 39, 84-6
close-knit semantic domain 156-7
cohesion 27-9, 264
collateral information 113, 115, 262
collection, see rhetorical predicate
collective pronoun, see pronouns
commands 136, 142
comment, 21, 23, 26
communicative dynamism (CD) 17-20, 40, 113, 117, 136, 168
complement clauses 80, 135, 137, 223-4, 275
completeive aspect 63-4
complication 125-7, 187, 251, 253
compounds 31, 38, 83-4
conjunctions 58, 157-8, 200
continuous action clitic 42-3, 170
continuous action intonation 196-7
continuous aspect 61, 82
continuous setting clauses 116, 129, 152, 170-1, 204-5, 255
contrast 103, 158
co-ordinate noun phrase 88-9
copulative verbs 55
criteria, paragraphs 150-8, 174
sentences 190-200
cycling 100-1, 142, 181-2, 184-6, 220-1, 255-8.
Daneš 16, 19
declaration clause 233
declarative mood 21
definite suffix -án 51, 78-91, 97-100, 122-3, 135-7, 169, 203, 215, 269
delayed theme, see theme
demonstratives 50-1, 58, 68, 137
dependent clauses 245-7
derivational affixes 46-7, 54
desiderative clitic 41-2, 197
desiderative mood 62, 230-1
dialogue 125, 146
diminutives 51
discourse 28, 90-1, 125-47, 149, 151-2, 259-62
distance (degree of) 50, 58, 70-1
ditransitive clauses 223-4
ditransitive verbs 54
Dixon 24
Dressler 28, 260-2
durative aspect 65
Dvořáková 113
Elkins 31
emphasis 194
emphasis clitic 41-2, 197
emphatic pronoun 242, 244
equitative clauses 81, 223-5
ergative case 67, 70, 177
ergativity 76-7
evaluation 126, 141
exhortations, see hortatory discourse
explanatory discourse 114, 132-3, 141, 146, 152-3, 255-6, 262, 291
existential clause 223-5
Firbas 16, 17-9, 117, 136
focus 24, 26, 233
foregrounding 22, 101, 158, 174-83, 190, 210-8
fronting 12, 97-100, 101-4, 107-8, 144, 187, 221, 243-6, 258
-án-a? fronting 122, 154, 198, 237-41
-án-iy-a? fronting 101, 116, 121-2, 130, 154, 165-6, 176-7, 195-6, 198, 205, 210-5, 239, 251, 254-5, 262, 270-1
nil fronting 103
functional sentence perspective (FSP) 16-7, 18-20, 265
gapping 135, 170
generative semantics 26-9, 32, 259-60
Gieser 31
global theme, see theme
Glover 160-1, 228
goal case 73, 232
Godfrey 6
Golková 19
Grimes 16, 27-9, 32, 34, 44, 92, 159, 225-8, 262, 265
Gruber 23, 25
habitual aspect 61, 130, 133
Halliday 12, 21-3, 27, 44-5, 186, 233-6
higher predicates 32, 114, 164, 274-6
Hooker 139
Hope 21, 26-7, 170, 186-7
Hornby 26
hortatory discourse 114, 130-2, 136, 141-2, 149-50, 152, 172, 180, 255-7
Huddleston 25
hypotactic predicates 132-3, 159, 161, 274

imperative 21, 61, 131-2, 230-1

impersonal pronouns, see pronouns

impersonal verbs 55-6

inchoative aspect 64

independent clauses 225

indicative clitic 41-2

indicative intonation pattern 128, 153, 155, 171, 192, 240

information 17-9, 21, 23, 45, 122, 137, 210, 215, 233, 248

kinds of 156

given/known 27, 78-9, 98, 100-1, 117

implied 98, 100-1

new/unknown 99, 109, 187, 231-2, 237, 239

information block (unit) 22, 44-5, 81, 98, 100, 103, 109, 218, 237-8, 248

instrumental case 67-8, 71-2, 232

intensifiers 52

intensification 65, 82

intentional mood 63

interjections 58-9, 157-8, 200

interrogatives 21, 59, 68, 132, 136, 230-1, 233-4

interrogative clitic 41-2, 197

intonation 18-9, 25

intonation carrying clitics 40-3, 279-80

intonation centre, clause 40-1, 94, 195, 230-2, 248

complex 41, 109, 241

phrase 39

secondary 41

sentence 43-4, 93, 158, 191

intonation patterns 42-3, 97-100, 281-90

intransitive clause 77, 223-4, 234

intransitive verbs 54

iterative aspect 65

kan 61-4, 122-3, 128, 130, 152-3, 165-9, 200, 203, 252

Lakoff 26

lexical categories 60

lexical predicates 29, 92, 225-30, 275

loan words 2-3, 36

locative, case 68, 72, 232

demonstratives 117

phrases 90

words 57-8

Longacre 92-3, 159, 189-90

McCawley 259

marked, less overtly 152, 250-3

theme 13, 20-2, 118, 121, 145, 208, 216, 219, 237-44, 264, 272

Mathesius 16-7

mediation 125-7, 152, 187, 251-2

modal system 61-5

modality 28, 260, 262, 275

motion verbs 152, 171, 200, 204, 252
narratives 113-4, 121, 125-8, 149, 152-3, 250-3, 262, 268, 291
negatives 64-5, 114, 274
neutral predicates 159
nominalizer 56
nominative case 48, 70, 177
nouns 45, 46-7, 48, 75-6
classifiers 46
phrases 86-7
nucleus information 14, 114-6, 173-4, 190, 207, 221, 266, 269, 276-7
gut 61-4, 122-3, 128, 130, 165-9, 199-200, 203, 206, 252

object 231
object pronoun 234-5
onomatopoeia 47, 81
orientation roles 226-8

paragraphs 91, 93-4, 126, 141-2, 148-88
paraphrase 104, 141-2, 158, 182-3, 199, 255-8
paratactic predicate 158, 161
participants 176-8, 210-4
identification 128, 131, 143, 223
particles 58
performative 131, 134-5, 269, 272
periphery 14, 114-5, 118-9, 121, 138, 155, 165, 173, 273-7
phrases 86-90, 249
pitch level 42, 194
elevated 132, 155, 158, 168, 172, 195, 215
lowered 195, 218, 262
pitch range 42
compressed 158, 169, 172, 195, 215
expanded 132, 167, 194
plot 125-6, 251
plurality 83
possessive case 49, 69, 75, 223-5
Prague School 12, 16-20, 21, 272
predictive mood 63
Prentice 31
probability vectors 258
procedures 113-4, 121, 129-30, 146, 152, 154, 254-5, 262, 291
process roles 226-8
prominence 13-4, 22, 100, 121-2, 172, 179, 180-1, 186, 207, 210, 214, 217, 237, 240, 242-3, 246, 266-7
pronouns 48-50, 75-6
abbreviated 49
collective 49, 128
impersonal 49
'mate' 49
proposition 13, 133-4, 179-86, 215-8
Propp 125-6
punctiliar aspect 62
punctiliar setting clauses 116, 122, 130, 168-70, 187, 203-4, 255
reciprocal 52-4, 76
reciprocal clauses 223-4
reduplication 50, 59, 81-3, 167
referent case 48-9, 72, 232
referent (ial) entity (index) 13, 133-5
reflexive 49, 76
refinement (of global theme) 138, 139-41, 141-3, 150, 261, 268-9
Reid 30-1, 116, 189
relative clauses 79-80, 102, 276
reminding (of theme) 183-6, 218-21, 242
re-orientation of participants 153, 154-5
reprise 107-8, 109, 213, 240
resolution 125-7, 187, 251, 253, 256
restatement (of global theme) 141-3, 150, 155, 172-3
rhea 17, 21, 137, 278, 233
rhetorical predicates 29, 92-3, 125-6, 128-33, 148, 158-64, 187-8, 201-2, 225, 276
alternative 201
collection 128-33
illustration 161, 163
purpose 130-1, 146
reason 202
response 155-6
result 129, 146, 161, 164
rhetorical questions 108-9, 142, 153, 155, 178, 180, 214, 217, 221, 241-2, 245
rhythmic juncture phoneme 38-9
Ruch 31
Sayers 7-8, 35, 93
semantic component 15, 28, 259-77
semantic roles 32, 225-30
sentence 92-4, 148, 189-222, 260-1
one-clause 197-8, 231
phonological 43-4, 45, 191
sentence topic 30-1, 116
sequential clitic 41-3
sequential intonation 110, 119, 128, 130, 167, 171, 195-6
setting 14, 100, 113-8, 140, 146, 152, 164-72, 173, 190, 202-7, 244-5, 273-7
clauses 110, 128
global 137
non-thematic 171
predicates 29
Sgall 20, 101, 265
simultaneous sentence 215
situation 125-7, 251
Sneddon 31
source case 49, 69, 74-5, 227, 232
staging 27-9, 161
stative clause 223-5
stress, phrase 39-40
primary 36
secondary 36, 52, 70
word 37-8
subject 231, 234-5
subjunctive mood 52, 61, 131, 133
subordinate clauses 208, 216, 225, 245-7, 258, 275
syllable structure 37
tag question 41-2, 126-7, 129, 197
tagging 97-8, 100, 104-7, 144, 183-4, 187, 218-9, 221, 242-4
-àn-iy tagging, 115, 198
tagmemics 29-31, 32
temporal 57, 63, 205-7, 262
case 68, 72
clauses 167-8
demonstratives 117, 128
phrase 90, 165-7
tense 114-275
tense-person suffixes 49, 52-4
areas of theme 14, 113-9, 122-3
choice, thematic 259-77
clause theme 13, 121, 187
delayed theme 23
global theme 13, 120-1, 133-7, 138-9, 141-5, 148-50, 186-7, 211, 256, 261, 268-9
levels of theme 13, 120-4, 149
paragraph theme 13, 121, 187
sentence theme 13, 121, 187
topic 13, 21, 23-7, 265-6
topic suffix -iy 97-100, 122, 136, 139, 144, 261, 264, 269
topicalization patterns 97-112, 150, 173, 187, 190, 195, 256
topicalized clauses 79, 97, 110, 179-80, 187, 196, 215-6, 251
transformational component 15
transitive clauses 77, 223-4, 234
transitive verbs 54
travelogues 116, 128-9, 149, 152, 154, 178, 268, 291
unmarked theme 13, 20-1, 118, 173-4, 207-8, 233-6, 239, 252, 264
verbs 52-6, 82, 223
verb phrases 89-90
verbal auxiliaries 61-4
vocative case 48, 70
word classes 45-59, 75
word order 24, 231-2, 234