THE SENTENCE IN WIK-MUNKAN:
A DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSITIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

by
Barbara J. Sayers
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Canberra, A.C.T. 2600,
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First published 1976.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for help in the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 138 4
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PREFACE

On hearing a paper of Professor Robin's (The Eleventh Congress of Linguistics: 'The Case of Grammar of Maximus Planudes'), in which he traced modern ideas of case grammar back to the thinking of a man in the twelfth century, I asked him two questions: (1) "Is there ever a new idea in linguistics?" and (2) "How can we recognize progress in linguistics if we see it?" On hearing the first question he paused a while and then said, "I think there sometimes is a new idea in linguistics." To the second question he replied after a similar hesitation, "Well, I think describing a previously undescribed language is really progress." I think that responses of this sort from a recognized authority in the history of linguistics are very significant. Much of apparent progress in linguistics consists of giving new labels to old viewpoints, or of working out new angles of essentially old points, or sometimes of amalgamating in a new synthesis older points of view.

Also a great deal of the work of the modern linguist consists of assimilating points of view from the rhetorician, literary critic, or student of literature and restating these in a form consistent with the rest of the corpus of linguistic knowledge. This is not to deny, however, that there is an occasional 'new idea' in linguistics.

Professor Robin's second response surprised me considerably. On reflection, however, it fits. If we are seriously interested in understanding language, then there is no substitute for the study of particular languages. That such a language as Wik-Munkan will probably never be studied in the depth that English, French or German is being studied, is beside the point. Can we ever claim to know anything about language when most of our conclusions are based on in-depth studies of a mere handful of the world's languages and most of these languages from Western Europe? Each distinct linguistic culture area of the world and each language within it has something to contribute to the understanding of language.
In accordance with Professor Robin's second response we may consider then that the publication of this volume marks genuine progress in linguistics. That is not to say that the present volume is a definitive study of Wik-Munkan. In fact, in what language has a definitive study ever been published, regardless of the time invested in its study? This study is at least a far cry from the days when in the United States a graduate student would go out to spend two-and-a-half months of his summer vacation on an Indian Reservation and then proceed on the basis of the data gathered to write a 'grammar' of the language. Miss Sayers has stayed long enough with the Wik-Munkan to speak their language and to empathize considerably with the people and their culture.

Several things of interest arise in the present monograph. One of these is the collapsing of sentence and paragraph as a common structural level. A second item of interest is a very detailed and careful description of varieties of paraphrase. A third item of interest is the handling of the peculiar cycling structure found in Wik-Munkan and probably in many other Australian languages as well. Although I have freely edited Miss Sayers' manuscript, I have made no essential change in her solutions or presentation.

This monograph was first drafted at a Workshop under the auspices of the Office of Education (of the United States Government), Health, Education and Welfare Project (contract 0-9-097756-4409(014)) held on the Ukarumpa Base of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Papua New Guinea. As an advocate of the usefulness of grammatical hierarchy, i.e. description of grammar in terms of ascending levels (morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, discourse) I arrived as principal investigator at this Workshop with a certain curiosity to know how these various grammatical levels, especially the higher levels, would function in the languages represented in the project. Three Australian aboriginal languages were represented in the workshop, and in all three the search for a distinction between the structural levels of sentence and paragraph proved to be a frustrating endeavour. This was not because of any inherent scepticism on the part of myself or the participants against finding such a threshold. In language after language of the project the assumption of such a threshold proved fruitful, especially in the chaining languages of the New Guinea highlands (compare previous monographs of Fore (Scott 1973) and Wojokeso (West 1973) published in Pacific Linguistics. But in spite of a predisposition to find sentence and paragraph as distinct levels, it seemed useless to posit such a distinction. We had met a similar situation before in the study of Mayan languages of Mesoamerica. In that family of languages it proved impractical to distinguish word from
phrase. What emerges from all of this is a theory of hierarchy in which, while we commonly expect to find certain levels in the great majority of the world's languages, we are prepared to accept hierarchical arrangements which have fewer levels in particular instances.

In languages where sentence and paragraph are distinguished, they are levels of organization in the surface structure in which the sentence is a more tight and more compact unit and the paragraph is the more diffuse unit which permits a seriatim treatment of items within it. In such languages we may, of course, find an occasional long sentence which has fully as much information as any paragraph and we may occasionally find a short paragraph which could easily have been expressed as one sentence. Their function in discourse is quite distinct. Most typically discourses are composed of paragraphs and of embedded discourses (which in turn are composed of paragraph) while paragraphs are composed of sentences. The presence of the two units in the surface organization of the language gives a stylistic choice which is available for marking features such as prominence and peak. It is important to note, however, that sentence and paragraph, in languages where they are distinguished, draw essentially on the same set of deep structures, namely those of the enlarged statement calculus as described in a series of two articles (Ballard, Conrad, and Longacre 1971a, 1971b).

In a language such as Wik-Munkan where sentence and paragraph are not distinct levels in the surface structure, the entire apparatus of the enlarged statement calculus is expressed on the one undifferentiated level. The present monograph attempts to describe what the various deep structures are in regard to each unit. The undifferentiated unit is here called sentence. It could as well have been called paragraph. But it does not matter. It seems desirable to have called the unit by one of the two familiar names rather than attempting some kind of bizarre or conflated new name.

As stated above, varieties of paraphrase are handled in the present monograph in considerable detail. It seems to be a universal characteristic of a language that there are ways in which essentially the same idea may be expressed two or more times in varied wording. This partly reflects the redundancy capacity of a language which is able to operate under conditions of considerable noise and distraction. It is simply a fact that in most situations if something is said only once, albeit very correctly, it will rarely get through to the hearer. Paraphrase, therefore, is described in terms of this attempt to repeat, reinforce and eventually communicate with the hearer. This means that paraphrase is not necessarily restricted to close equivalence. In
fact there is reason to believe that pure repetition of wording is not paraphrase, but often expresses some such idea as duration or continuance: he went and he went and he went, meaning 'he kept on going' in New Guinea Highland's languages. Paraphrase, then, inevitably involves the use of synonyms and addition or loss of information is going from one sentence base to the other. Allowing, therefore, this looser and more pragmatic use of paraphrase, Miss Sayers has handled this part of the structure of Wik-Munkan with considerable detail and finesse.

A very un-Indoeuropean and interesting feature of Wik-Munkan is its penchant for cyclic structure. That is, where we would be content to say in the average Indoeuropean language, 'I went, but my wife stayed home', Wik-Munkan says something on the order of, 'I went, but my wife stayed home, but I went anyway', where the end of the paragraph recapitulates, echoes or repeats in some way the beginning. It is evident that the theory of paraphrase ties considerably into the description of the cyclic materials. The cyclic nature of Wik-Munkan in sentences is so marked that experimental literacy materials in which this is not employed have not been effective. That is, in Wik-Munkan, sentences are not understood if they are too short, and too short is defined as lacking the cyclic element.

Robert E. Longacre
Dallas, Texas
July, 1974
KEY TO SYMBOLS

+     obligatory
+     optional
n=3   tagmeme may be repeated up to a maximum of three
times (etc.)
Φ     zero morpheme
< >   set of which filler is one member

the same filler must be used in each slot unless
specifically indicated otherwise

*     items occur in only a restricted number of examples
    in examples, enclosed material is not part of syntagmeme
    being illustrated but provides context for understanding
    of examples

[ ]   in examples, enclosed material is embedded syntagmeme
      of the same type as its matrix syntagmeme

+ + +   at least one of the '+'s thus connected must be read
       as +

fillers listed below the dotted line occur within the
fillers listed above the dotted line

TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

1. All capitals indicates syntagmeme of tagmeme on the DISCOURSE
   (this type) level.
2. All capitals indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the PARAGRAPH
   (this type) level.
3. Capitalization of the initial letter indicates syntagmeme or tag-
   meme on the Sentence (this type) level.
4. Capitalization of the initial letter indicates syntagmeme or
   tagmeme on the Clause level.

BI-DIMENSIONAL ARRAYS

Each sentence type is described two ways: (1) by a bi-dimensional
array plus other information enclosed within the array; (2) by a
descriptive statement in prose. Both (1) and (2) convey the same
information. Readers uncomfortable with formal notations may likely
prefer (2), while those interested in the generative capacity of a
particular sentence type will likely prefer (1).
To illustrate how to interpret the bi-dimensional array, we give here the reading of the array for Antithetical Sentence found in Section 4.6:

The Antithetical Sentence consists of an obligatory Thesis Base slot filled by Transitive Clause, Sequence Sentence or Contrast Sentence followed by an optional Pivot slot filled by puth but which occurs here or within the Antithesis Base slot. This in turn if followed by an obligatory Antithesis Base slot filled by Intrasitive Clause, Transitive Clause, Coordinate Sentence, Non-future Result Sentence, Sequence Sentence or ɣa' no (opposite value to Thesis Base).

FORMAT OF EXAMPLES

The slot names of tagmemes pertinent to the Sentence have been included in the examples but the fillers of these slots have not been named. When the filler is an embedded sentence it occurs in parenthesis, but the name of the embedded syntagmeme is not included. When the example under consideration is embedded in another sentence, or when an example contains Sentence Periphery, these non-pertinent parts of the example are separated from the part under consideration by parenthesis.

NOTES TO THE READER

Clause Types

Clause types in Wik-Munkan are verbal and non-verbal. The verbal clauses are Transitive, Intransitive, Di-transitive and Complement (stative verb). The non-verbal clause types are Existential, which is used in the sense of Equative; Stative and Possessive. The inventory of non-verbal clause types differs from Kilham's (1974:225) where she lists four types, Existential, Stative, Equative and Possessive.

The Negative ɣa'

The negative ɣa', ɣa'a no, not, opposite to fact could in many of its occurrences be described as a negative pro-verb. A negative Base tagmeme may be expounded by ɣa'. When the free subject of the verb replaced by ɣa' occurs it is marked for nominative or ergative case according to the transitivity of the verb for which ɣa' substitutes.

Alternate Forms of Words

With few exceptions, words in Wik-Munkan have two phonetic forms when spoken in isolation, that is, with or without the final vowel a. The final vowel a at the end of a phonological phrase occurs in a
number of contrastive intonation patterns as described in Sayers (forthcoming b). When it occurs medially in a phonological phrase it is a juncture phoneme related to the internal rhythm of the phrase.

Many words therefore appear in two forms in this monograph, without any difference in meaning; e.g., ya' or ya'a no, not, opposite to fact; ke', ke'a (verbal negative); pam, pama man.

The Conjunction puth

The conjunction puth can be described as a 'broad spectrum' conjunction having the range of meanings and, but, because, if, so and for when used in various constructions. It is often difficult to give an adequate single word translation of a particular occurrence.

The Bound Conjunction -a'

The bound conjunction -a' with high rising intonation occurs between phrase level, Clause level and Sentence level tagmemes. (1) On phrase level it occurs between nouns and in serial listing with the meaning and. (2) On clause level it occurs at the end of Sentence Topic and links this tagmeme to the remainder of the clause. (3) It occurs between clauses in sequential constructions meaning and then, and it also occurs at the end of a content-interrogative clause and anticipates the response (as a sequence).

Use of Loan Words

The English loan words used most frequently in Wik-Munkan (apart from words used for introduced items or concepts such as employment) are if and or and to a lesser degree ought. Their use is discussed in the descriptions of the relevant sentence types. These conjunctions are used frequently by younger speakers, less frequently by older speakers and not at all by the oldest speakers.

Case system

In the case system in Wik-Munkan, free subject pronouns are nominative-accusative. Nouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and modified noun phrases are nominative-ergative. Ergative case is symbolized ts (transitive subject) in examples.

Tense

The term 'tense' has been used in this monograph to cover both tense and aspect; in some situations, it also covers mood. Subjunctive mood is not specifically marked for tense, but it usually understood as past.
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<td>Red Recap</td>
<td>Reduction Recapitulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ref</td>
<td>referent</td>
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</table>
Wik-Munkan is an Australian Aboriginal language now mainly spoken at Aurukun on the Archer River on the West Coast of Cape York Peninsula, Queensland. There are approximately 750 people who speak Wik-Munkan either at Aurukun or in the surrounding area including Weipa, Coen, Edward River, cattle stations and in resettled areas within the Reserve. About 300 of these people call themselves Wik-Munkan and speak Wik-Munkan as their first language. The remainder belong to other tribes, but for many of them especially the younger generation, Wik-Munkan is their first language. The older people of these tribes either speak Wik-Munkan as a second language or understand it, but communicate to Wik-Munkans by speaking their own language (passive bilingualism).

The language is classified as belonging to the Pama-Nyungan Family, Pama-Maric Group, Middle Paman Sub-Group (O'Grady, Voegelin & Voegelin 1966:54). The list of languages classified as Middle-Paman subgroup has been refined by Sommer (1969:12-15). Wurm follows Sommer's classification and lists the following languages as members of the Middle-Paman Subgroup (1972:143): Wik-Munkan, Wik Muminh, Wik Mean, Wik Epa,
Wik Ngatara (Wik Alkan) - Wik Ngandjara (these latter two classified as dialects) and Bakanha.

Within Wik-Munkan there are a number of slight dialect differences between family groups from different localities. This paper is based for the most part on the Archer River Dialect.

This analysis is based on some 150 pages of text material which was recorded in periods between 1962-1970 while I was resident at Aurukun under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Many speakers were involved in the recording of these stories and dialogues. Some of this material was processed on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, sponsored by grant GS 1605 of the National Science Foundation.

This project was undertaken at the Summer Institute of Linguistics base at Ukarumpa in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea from June to October 1970. In 1972, while the writer was in Mexico, it was revised and extensively edited by Robert Longacre and almost brought to completion.

The final draft was completed at the Australian Aborigines Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Berrimah, Darwin, in February 1975.

**ORTHOGRAPHY**

The orthography used in this monograph is the practical one used by the Wik-Munkan people in reading and writing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Phonemes</th>
<th>Practical Orthography</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bi-labial</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apico-dental (interdental)</td>
<td>t, n</td>
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<td>Apico-alveolar (alveolar)</td>
<td>t, n, l, r</td>
<td>t, n, l, r</td>
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<td>Lamino-palatal (alveo-palatal)</td>
<td>ŋ, ŋ</td>
<td>ch, ny</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dorso-velar (velar)</td>
<td>k, ng</td>
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<td>Glottal</td>
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<td>Vibrant</td>
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<td>Vowels (short)</td>
<td>i, e, a, o, u</td>
<td>i, e, a, o, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vowels (long)</td>
<td>i:, e:, a:, o:, u:</td>
<td>i:, ee, aa, oo, uu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Word Stress, primary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Word Stress, secondary</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Note: In this monograph stress has been written only when a word does not follow the normal stress pattern (see Sayers: forthcoming a and c), and where its absence could be confusing. For example, primary word stress is only written when it occurs other than on the initial syllable of a word and secondary stress is only written to mark future tense/imperative mood.

The use of nh in this monograph is not consistent; the distinction between n and nh has now been dropped from the practical orthography for the following reasons. (1) Younger speakers do not consistently make this distinction except in a few examples. (2) Ambiguous forms have caused no problems to readers and writers, who recognize words satisfactorily in context. (3) There is considerable dialect variation in some words from speaker to speaker. (4) Tension between speakers with different usages has been eliminated since the distinction between n and nh was dropped.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the consultant help given during the original analysis by Dr. Phyllis Healey of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The guidance and encouragement of the project director, Dr. Robert Longacre, greatly facilitated the writing of the first draft of this monograph, and without his extensive editorial help in 1972 the volume as it now stands would not have been completed.

I also want to express my sincere thanks to my co-worker Miss Christine Kilham for her constructive criticism of the analysis and for her editorial help on the preceding (first) draft.

Special thanks are also extended to my good friends and faithful language helpers, Mrs. Topsy Wolmby and Mrs. Winnie Koongotema of Aurukun who went with me to New Guinea and helped during the analysis and writing of the first draft. Others whose continued help over the years has been invaluable in many ways are Mrs. Hazel Chevathun, Mrs. Geraldine Kawangka, Mr. and Mrs. Ian Peinkinna and Mrs. Maud Yunkaporta.
0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 SENTENCE AND PARAGRAPH

This analysis was commenced under the assumption that there would be two structural levels, PARAGRAPH and Sentence (See Longacre 1972). It was relatively easy to divide each text in the data into semantic units, marked by clear phonologically signalled borders and clear identification of time, location and participants. These semantic units were labelled PARAGRAPHS. It was also relatively easy to find within these semantic units the kind of propositional relationship expected in Sentences. As the analysis proceeded, however, it became increasingly difficult to define the borders of sentences within the posited paragraphs. That is, my original paragraphs were not easily described as linear strings of sentences but were frequently best described as layers of embedding of sentences. This is most clearly demonstrated in the cyclic constructions (See Sect. 11).

Once the initial breaks were made between paragraphs, most of the work was then done on the propositional relationships within the sentences. In many instances, as analysis proceeded, these sentences 'grew' till their borders coincided with the paragraph borders. The analysis, however, continued describing the internal propositional relationships rather than the semantic unity and border features of these semantic units.

Rather than set up a limited number of PARAGRAPH Types, such as ELABORATION and DIALOGUE, I decided to overlook these more likely problem areas and collapse the two levels into one. For this collapsed level I have retained the name of Sentence as this description is basically concerned with the interpropositional relationships typical of sentences (See Longacre 1970). The features which would otherwise be handled as onset features of PARAGRAPH (Kilham 1974) have been handled here as Sentence Periphery. The description is basically the same as Kilham's but the terminology is different; e.g. my 'Sentence
Topic' is her 'fronting'. The same grammatical and phonological features are described in both. In this analysis I have considered there to be no overt grammatical markers of paragraph. I did not consider the identification of time, location or participant to be grammatical, and as a result I described this identification as Sentence Periphery, recognizing that phonologically and semantically it had the features of Paragraph. From a grammatical point of view (rather than a semantic one) the limited number of fillers of the noun phrase in this position could be considered a marker of onset of a grammatical paragraph. In this position it is of special interest that the boundaries of phonological clauses do not coincide with those of grammatical clauses. A grammatical clause in which a new topic, participant, or time horizon is introduced frequently refers to the introduced element by two or more phrases in apposition. Such a single grammatical clause corresponds to more than one phonological clause, e.g. as in the following examples:

1. Tariri'aniya', pam pii'an anmaniya',
   Tariri-that-sp-cj man big that-pre-ref-sp-cj
   ngangka pe-péey thant,
   heart cried-he them-to
   That big important man Tariri hates them...

2. Pam nil Tariri'aniya', nil ngangk min ngul ya'a,
   man he Tariri-sp-cj he heart good now not
   That man Tariri, he was not happy...

3. Kinchanganiya' kinch karkananganiya',
   day-time-in-sp-cj sun hot-with-that-sp-cj
   kinch kenyangan, than weep min wuntan.
   sun above-in they sleep well sleep-they-ct
   In the daytime when the sun is hot above us they sleep well.

When such an appositional element follows the verb (with its adjuncts, if any), grammatical and phonological clauses more often correspond. This post-verbal appositional element is handled in this paper as a deleted predicate construction, as the intonation pattern is the same whether the verb is repeated or not. Typically this type of expansion following the verb occurs other than in the initial clause of a semantic unit, and could be considered the grammatical feature of closure of a paragraph as in:

...nil ngangk pe-péey thant, Tariran.
   he heart cried-he them-to -that (hated them)
...he hated them, that Tariri (hated them).

Kilham (1974) refers to such expansion as 'tagging'.

The main problem is regarding this semantic unit as a sentence is its length and complexity. However, this long complex unit has
phonological cohesion or 'dependence'. Phonology plays an important part in keeping the distinction clear between 'mainline' or 'theme' material and peripheral material.

Informant reaction to punctuation of complex written material is one criterion which has caused me to consider this semantic unit as a single complex sentence. While the semantic unit could be roughly described as having three significant pitch levels, the reader does not respond to these in the way first expected. The levels could be described as 'semantic level' (highest, corresponding to phonological paragraph); 'theme level' (mid, corresponding to phonological sentence); and 'peripheral level' (lowest, corresponding to phonological clause or phrase. This level may need to be further divided). One would expect the onset of 'semantic level' to indicate a new paragraph, the onset of 'theme level' to indicate a new sentence within the paragraph and the onset of 'peripheral level' to indicate some kind of coordinate or subordinate relationship within the sentence such as apposition, modification or causation.

The reader, however, does not respond in this way. There is no problem with the onset of 'semantic level' which is read as predicted. Readers begin indented units with the highest pitch level. The problem is encountered when a further 'theme level' clause follows a full stop. In a high proportion of instances such a new clause is read with a significant pitch rise to 'semantic level' intonation and the 'theme' link (time, location, reason, participant, etc.) is lost. This is especially a problem after a series of appositional clauses on the 'peripheral level'. Similarly, a clause of 'peripheral level' will be read as 'theme level' unless there is some indication in the punctuation to show a lowering of pitch. The practical problem of course is that 'theme level' and 'peripheral level' cannot both be adequately indicated by the same punctuation (and that full stop can only be used at the end of a semantically independent unit).

There is also a problem with such apparently sentence final constructions as 'Tag Question' which have contrastive intonation carriers with contrastive terminal intonation (Sayers: forthcoming b). These frequently occur sentence finally and also utterance finally, but they also occur at the end of a Base of another sentence type, e.g. finally in Text (Base) of a Reason Sentence.

Text (Tag Question): ngan mee'-miy nunang-aa?
we know/recognize him don't we

Reason Base (Trans Cl): ngan puth townang thanhan nunang,
we because in-town we-saw him
peetanaman.
yesterday

It's true that we recognize him because we saw him in town yesterday.
There is high probability that this would be mis-read following a question mark after the Tag Question. The Reason Base would then be read as a new theme and the close link between the two clauses would be lost. In other words, punctuation which would be expected to mark sentence finality would be consistently mis-read. The conclusion I draw from this is that finality signalled by a full stop is only possible at the end of a semantic unit.

It is, however, possible to paraphrase many of the long sentences of oral Wik-Munkan into several short sentences, but this can only be achieved by changing the grammatical structure so that each is a typical semantic unit correctly linked to other semantic units. This is done by inserting adequate lexical repetition to give identification of participants, time or location and by making logical relationships quite explicit. These same methods can be used in composing written material to produce shorter more readable sentences.

In summary, in oral Wik-Munkan these semantic units which are easily identifiable and the propositional relationships which make up those semantic units exhibit such a phonological unity that for the most part it is awkward to handle them separately. This analysis is validated by the reaction of literate Wik-Munkans to their own language in writing.

0.2 INTONATION

Both stress and pitch are contrastive in Wik-Munkan. Detailed analysis is presented in Sayers: forthcoming b and forthcoming c, while a more summary presentation is given in Sayers: forthcoming a.

The grammatical units discussed in this paper have been analysed and described without reference to the detailed analysis of these suprasegmental features. Rather suprasegmental material has been handled here simply in terms of a Basic Intonation pattern and modifications thereof. The suprasegmental contrasts ignored in such a general treatment are not crucial to distinguishing the various sentence types of Wik-Munkan. After the grammatical analysis here presented was completed, more intensive work on the suprasegmental features led to the detailed analysis presented in the papers mentioned above.

The term 'Basic Intonation' as used throughout this monograph refers to a pattern where one word in a phonological clause receives a peak of prominence, called clause-stress. This clause-stress coincides with the word-stress of the word on which it occurs. From the beginning of the phonological clause up to the word with clause-stress, each syllable with word-stress becomes progressively higher. Following clause-stress, the pitch drops sharply until it reaches the final
syllable. The final syllable or the last half of the final syllable carries contrastive patterns of intonation.

0.3 SENTENCE PERIPHERY

There are a number of structures in Wik-Munkan which are considered Sentence Periphery. Their nature and distribution are not distinctive for the various sentence types described in this monograph. It therefore seems best to treat them once here, rather than to repeat the same information in each succeeding section. In Section 1, Simple Sentence, fillers of the Periphery slot are again listed, and included in the examples. Thereafter Sentence Periphery is ignored as not pertinent to the point of the description. Some of these peripheral items are similar to those described by Longacre (1970) as the outer periphery, and others are those described as the inner periphery. Also included in this section are some features which would more usually be found as introducers on the PARAGRAPH level, such as temporal words which show the time horizons.

The Outer Periphery includes Vocatives such as nouns, pronouns and kinship terms each marked for vocative case and relative distance of speaker to the one/s addressed. The case markers for nouns are -ang (voc close dist), -ow (voc mid dist), and -ay (voc far dist). The case markers for the dual and plural second person pronouns nip you (dl), and niiy you (pl) are -alang (voc close dist), -alay (voc mid dist) and -aloay (voc far dist).

The Response to these vocatives is the word kow which could be translated I've heard you. or What do you want? Occasionally the words ee'a and yaa yes may occur but these are usually immediately followed by a sentence of explanation such as:

yaa, ngay kan ngeeyang
yes 1 punct heard-I
Yes, I have heard you.

Exclamations are a further form which occur as the outer periphery of sentences. These include exclamations of disgust, fear, amazement and surprise such as yakay, yakakáatey, yakaráy and yówerakam, which could be translated Ouch, Help, It hurts, etc., and those used to correct oneself such as apá and apéy, which could be translated I beg your pardon., That was wrong., or I'll try again.

The particle yaa which could be translated yes occurs to highlight change of topic, participant or focus. It occurs, for example, between a proposal and its execution (see Section 11).

The Inner Periphery consists of Sentence Topic which has Sentence Topic Intonation. When the Sentence Topic is a noun the Sentence is
usually only one Clause with intonation for the Sentence or Clause type expounding that tagmeme. The significant feature of the Sentence Topic construction is that whatever word or Phrase is Topic is a separate phonological clause from the rest of the grammatical clause, that is a one clause sentence would be composed of at least two phonological clauses. The Sentence Topic may be expounded by one, two or three phrases, each a separate phonological clause with Sentence Topic Intonation.

Sentence Topic Intonation is Basic intonation with overall higher pitch and obligatory high rising sequence intonation on the final intonation carrier -a'. Frequently the specifier -iy also occurs followed by the intonation carrier -a'; that is, iya'. The intonation on this phonological clause indicates it is obligatorily followed by another phonological clause which corresponds to the remainder of the one grammatical clause.

Time words which would be considered the time horizon of a new PARAGRAPH, if such a separate level had been recognized in Wik-Munkan, also occur as Inner Periphery of the sentence. These words also have Sentence Topic Intonation as described above. These words include the conjunction a' and the time words ngula' and then, anpalaniya' after that, angulana' and then, amanama after that, an-ányiyangan at that same time and kaa’áthamiya' at first. This intonation also occurs on more specific time words such as ngaa'atingamaniya' in the morning and on time clauses such as kaap thonamangan wantaniya' after one wet season.

Tag Question is also part of the periphery of a Sentence. This is shown by the Tag Question Marker -aa? which has crescendo followed by decrescendo accompanied by falling pitch. This marker is suffixed to the last word of the Clause or Sentence to which it applies. The meaning conveyed by this intonation carrier may be translated as that's true, or isn't it?

Examples:
1. Tag Question: Inan kankanamaa?
   this true isn't it
   This is true, isn't it?
2. Occurring with Simile Sentence, embedded in Quotation Sentence
   Simile (Tag Question): Ina ka' opara ngantam yimanangaa?
   this like medicine ours same-manner isn't it
1. SIMPLE SENTENCE

A simple or single clause sentence does not occur very frequently in the oral Wik-Munkan text material analysed in this monograph. However, such sentences are by no means rare; their percentage of occurrence in normal conversation is high.

When a Simple Sentence occurs as the filler of a Discourse level slot it includes features of the Sentence that do not occur in clauses - namely, features of both the inner and outer periphery. From the outer periphery it includes vocatives, responses and exclamations and from the inner periphery such features as time horizons and participant identification with accompanying Sentence Topic Intonation.

Frequently a Simple Sentence is quite complex, as when a slot within the single clause constituting its non-peripheral (nuclear) portion is filled by an embedded sentence rather than by a word or phrase.

In contrast to these Simple Sentences with complexity due to embedding, there are many multi-clause sentences which correspond to single clause sentences in English. This occurs because there is a very limited amount of expansion allowed in a single clause, so expansion expressed in English by clause periphery such as time or location, is for a large part expressed by a separate clause. Amplification of the items in the clause nucleus may also occur as a separate clause, but more typically this expansion occurs with the verb deleted.
The Simple Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Periphery $n=2$</th>
<th>+ Nucleus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sentence Topic Intonation</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Horizon</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td>Ditransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclamation</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>Existential Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocative</td>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tag Question</td>
<td>Possessive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fragmentary Cl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clauses occur in any person, number and tense. Fragmentary clauses are marked for case. Sentence Topic Intonation, indicated by 'STI' in the examples, occurs simultaneously with, not preceding, Nucleus. Tag Question follows Nucleus.

The Simple Sentence has one obligatory base tagmeme, Nucleus, and one optional tagmeme, Periphery. Nucleus may be expounded by Intransitive Cl, Transitive Cl, Ditransitive Cl, Complement Cl, Existential Cl, Stative Cl, or Possessive Cl, in any person, number, and tense. It may also be expounded by Fragmentary Cl, which is marked for case. Periphery may be expounded by Time Horizon, Response, Exclamation, Comment, Vocative or Tag Question. Periphery precedes Nucleus except in two cases: (1) Sentence Topic Intonation occurs simultaneously with Nucleus; (2) Tag Question occurs after Nucleus.

Examples:

1. Peri: (STI)

Nuc: Kuutananganiya' umbilical cord(man)-ts-that-sp-cj man he
kuutanang waangk iiyan nungantam umbilical cord(man)-ts straight-past goes-he him-from

The kuutan man avoids him (the kuutan child).
2. Nuc:  Ina wik kath waa'ang  
   this story old tell-about-I
   kuutanangani       kee'antan,
   umbilical cord(ceremony)-ts-that-sp perform-they-ct
   manyiy.
   small-sp(children)
   I'm telling you this story about performing the kuutan ceremony
   for children.

3. Peri:  Ngula'  Nuc: komanh kucham  
   and then-cj young woman two
   angiya  kan nhochampul.
   there-stay-sp punct settled-they-dl-ct
   And then those two young women settled down there to stay.

   punct leave-we you father
   We leave you now father

5. Nuc:  Kan olpamang.  
   punct thin-become-I
   I've become thin.

   truly ears man-man-for neg-intens went-they-dl
   Truly, they never went looking for a man (flirting)!

7. Peri:  (ST1)  
   Nuc: Nil Maryaniya', mee'kám pichanta.  
   she that-sp-cj eye juice came-out-to-her
   (As for) Mary, she wept.

   excl I smoke-lots smell-I
   Oh dear, I smell smokey.

   poor thing old-lady-that blind becoming-she
   Poor thing, the old lady is becoming blind.

      that sacred kuutan-own to-him
      That is sacred to that kuutan man.

11. Nuc:  Anhanow!  
      heavy-excl
      It's really heavy.

12. Peri:  (ST1)
   Nuc:  Inaniy aaka', than yaraman thakan yalmathin.  
      this-sp-place-cj they horses eto-that gather-they
      This is the place where they gathered the horses etc. (cattle).
    yes(agenda)  I money lots now
    Yes, I have lots of money now.

14. Peri: (ST1)
    Nuc: Niliya', Peri: (ST1) puk manya pulantamaniya',
        she-st-cj      child small theirs-dl-that-sp-cj
    nila picham poch.  
        she shoulder sore
    This little girl of theirs has a sore shoulder.

15. Nuc: Ngampa kan thompaka.
        we-pl-incl punct beach-to
    Let's (go) now to the beach.

16. Nuc: Ngeen-ngeen yaa'ka'a'?  
        how-many maybe
    I wonder how many (she caught)?

17. Nuc: Ngay naakanaka.
        I that(reason)-for
    I came for that reason.

    I yours east
    I, your friend (am going) east.

19. Nuc: Pamangana!
        man-ts-that
    It was a man (who did that)!

20. Nuc: Ke' waa'an ngayang!
        neg tell-about-you me
    Don't tell about (blame) me!

21. Nuc: Kan apapa  
        punct hush
    Be quiet!

22. Nuc: Ngay thathangan nunang likenakan
        I see-I-her her to-here-sp
    wampan may kiingkanak.
        coming-she food for the purpose of cooking
    I can see her coming here to cook (her cake in my oven).

    that like ghost saw-they-cj
    It was as if they saw a ghost.

    that his-own-reflexive playing-for
    That's his own to play with!
25. Nuc: Nanpal wee'ang ee'pa?
   from-there who-ts creep-up-he
   Who crept up from there (on a wallaby to spear it)?

26. Peri: (ST1) Peri: (ST1)
   Nuc: Kán-ngūlaniya' Taririaniya' nila
cunct-now-sp-cj Tariri-that-sp-cj he
   Jesusan wee'angan puth waa'înanta.
   Jesus-that who-ts-that but tell-about-sj-to-him.
   Well now, who would have told Tariri about Jesus?

27. Nuc: Kan-kánam Peri: -aa?
   true tag-quest
   It's true isn't it?

2. JUXTAPOSED SENTENCES

These sentence types, alone among Wik-Munkan sentence types, are
classified both by lack of internal link or marker and also by
being binary. They thus are distinguished from the Procedural Sentence
(main subtype) which, although lacking links or markers, is multi-based
rather than binary. Likewise, the sentences of this section are
distinct from the other binary types, which contain internal links
(between bases) or markers (in one or both bases). While some quota-
tion sentences might also be characterized as lacking markers and
having binary structure, the presence of the quotation formula in such
constructions is itself a marker of sorts.

Sentences in this section are: the Paraphrase Sentence (with many
subtypes), the Repetition Sentence, and the Explanation Sentence.

These various sentence types and subtypes are compared and con-
trasted in Diagram 1.

2.1 THE PARAPHRASE SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

The purpose of this sentence type is to say the same thing twice -
and possibly succeed in saying it better the second time. In this, the
main subtype, the second verb is a synonym of the first and both verbs
have the same tense and person referents. The introduction of new
information in the second base or deletion of reference to old informa-
tion (from base one) is apparently incidental and not focal.
### Juxtaposed Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Tagmemes</th>
<th>PARAPHRASE</th>
<th>AMPLIFICATION</th>
<th>NEGATED ANTONYM</th>
<th>GENERIC SPECIFIC</th>
<th>REDUCTION</th>
<th>REDUCTION AMPLIFICATION</th>
<th>REPETITION</th>
<th>EXPLANATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Paraphrase</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Amplification</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text neg/pos and Paraphrase pos/neg</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text Generic and Amplification Specific</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Reduction Paraphrase</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Reduction Amplification</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Text and Explanation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Markers

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Same referents</th>
<th>Same referents</th>
<th>Same referents</th>
<th>Same referents</th>
<th>Same referents</th>
<th>Same or Different referents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Same referents</td>
<td>Same referents</td>
<td>Same referents</td>
<td>Same referents</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pos/Neg</th>
<th>Pos/Pos</th>
<th>Pos/Pos</th>
<th>Pos/Neg or Neg/Pos</th>
<th>Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg</th>
<th>Pos/Pos</th>
<th>Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg</th>
<th>Pos/Pos</th>
<th>Pos/Pos or Neg/Neg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Similar Verbs</td>
<td>Same verb</td>
<td>Verbs may be Antonyms or same or similar verbs with one negated.</td>
<td>Same or similar verbs</td>
<td>Similar Verbs</td>
<td>Same Verbs</td>
<td>Same Verbs</td>
<td>Different Verbs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|-----------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|

| Intonation | Basic Intonation Pattern with normal range in each base with highest clause-stress (sentence-stress) on First Base. Linkage is by mid step-down sequence intonation. | | | | | | | |
The Paraphrase Sentence (main subtype) is represented by the following bidimensional array:

+ Text + Paraphrase

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Cl</th>
<th>Intransitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indirect Quote Merged S

Similar verbs, same tense and person
Same referents, same or different form
Optional new information in Paraphrase
Positive-Positive

Basic intonation - normal range
P Clause nucleus lower in Paraphrase
than in Text
Linked by sequence intonation

The Paraphrase Sentence has two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Paraphrase. Both bases may be expounded by Intransitive Clause, Transitive, Stative and Complement Clauses, and in addition, Paraphrase is expounded by Indirect Quote Merged Sentence.

In this sentence type most of the lexical material of Text is repeated in Paraphrase. Referents within the bases are the same, and may be manifested by identical lexical items (except the verbs which must be synonyms), synonyms or situational equivalents. When additional information is added in the Paraphrase, some of the original information in Text is optionally omitted in Paraphrase.

The tenses of the verbs must be the same. In the present data both bases are positive, but it is thought that, with more data, two negative bases could be found to occur as well.

In some examples (cf. #4) the bases of the Paraphrase Sentence (and in one example those of the Reduction (Paraphrase) Sentence) are preceded by a clause or phrase with the general meaning 'It was like this'. At this point it is not clear whether these clauses and phrases should be considered to constitute an additional tagmeme of the Paraphrase
Sentence, and possibly of the general sentence periphery, or whether it should be considered to constitute a manner slot on the clause level.

The Paraphrase Sentence typically embeds in other sentence types as illustrated below.

The intonation pattern of this sentence type is that of two Phonological Clauses each with basic intonation. The first Phonological Clause has either form of sequence intonation and the second Phonological Clause has either form of final intonation. Clause stress occurs on the pre-verb clause level tagmeme, that is in the clause stress position of basic intonation. Clause stress of the Paraphrase tagmeme is slightly lower pitch than clause stress of Text.

Examples:

1. Text: Thon way ananiya' ngak mungkanana' pama' drivera' other bad that-sp water drank-he man
   ana kaa' nga'alangk alangan            umpan Paraph: ngulngángk dem nose glass that-with-tr out-he forehead
   anpalana' kaa'akam ikathan nga'alangkang. from-there nose-up-to split-he glass-with
   The bad driver who had drunk beer had his nose cut with the glass from the forehead right up to the nose.
   In Contrast Sentence: WT

2. Text: ngan wey kenya ngul matan, Paraph: pipúthak we emo high then climbed-we timbered-place-to
   went-we
   (Yea) then we went up to higher ground, we went up to the timbered place.
   In Sequence Sentence: FL 56

3. (A' nilan ep Taririaniya') Text: a' thaw thant cj he-that fact -that-sp cj said-he them-to
   patham Paraph: nungantakam waa'. really himself told-about-he
   And then he really did it, and spoke to them, telling them about himself.
   In Generic Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence: OPV 270-271

4. (A' nil yinamana wampa) Text: ngangk nunganta mina, kana cj he like-this came-he heart his good punct
   ween, Tariri alantan, Paraph: ngangka min wunant anman. became-it that-one-to heart good was-to-him only
   And then it was like this, Tariri's heart became good and he was happy.
   In Explanation Sentence: WMV 193-195
5. Two examples in one sentence, both embedded, with second example embedded in a Future Result Sentence which is in turn embedded in an Indirect Quote Merged Sentence:

Text: ngan puth thawan thant, Paraph: pechan an thant
we so say-we them-to shout-we them-to

Text: ilayyn wooyan anpalan Paraph: aak wantayn
go-they-ft road that-from place leave-they-ft
(truckan yipmam mo'ow).
that so-that run-it-ft

So we say to them, we call out to them to go away from the road, to leave the road so that the truck can run.

CT 24-27

6. (ngul aakakan kalanana') Text: kunchanaa wayk pulangam
then place-to carry-we pandanus-seq root-dye them-two
ngan ki lingkanan Paraph: ngaka' wayka'
kunchan karp
we cook-we-it water-and root-dye-and pandanus together
penchantan,
cook-they

And then we carried it to the place where we cook the pandanus and dye together, the water and the pandanus and the dye they cook together.

In Sequence Sentence: FL 197-198

7. (pulana mee'ngathapula piip ngamparamant in kenya)
they-dl eyes-shut-they-dl father ours-to here above

Text: a'ngangkana min wunpul. Paraph: ngangkan
thayanampul.
strong-vb-they-dl

... those two prayed to our Father on high, so their hearts were happy and they were strengthened.

In Non-future Result Sentence: WMV 179-180

8. Text: kanan akaramina Paraph: kuchekan manyan weemina,
punct withered-they head-that small became-they

... the heads were withered and had become small...

In Sequence Sentence: WMV 61-63

2.2 AMPLIFICATION (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This important subtype differs from the main subtype in that here the two bases have the same verb in their predicates and the introduction of new information (as a further phrase in the second base, or as repetition and expansion of a phrase found in the first base) is apparently focal. Deletion of old information in the second base (relative to the first base) is apparently incidental.
The Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ Amplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence S</td>
<td>Parallel S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Identical verb with identical tense and person
Same referents, same or different form
Obligatory new information in Amplification
Positive-Positive
Intonation same as Paraphrase Sentence

The Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Amplification. Both Text and Amplification can be filled by Transitive, Intransitive and Complement Clauses and in addition to these, Amplification may be filled by Sequence Sentence, and Parallel Sentence.

Except for three instances (Examples 2, 12, and 19 where there is in Amplification slot either a clause embedded at clause level or an embedded sentence) the syntagmemes expounding the bases are the same. In even these three examples, however, the second matching construction occurs as part of a larger construction.

The same verb occurs in both bases with identical tense-person markers. Not only is there the same subject between bases but other referents are the same also, in same or different form. In the present data all examples are positive-positive, but again it is assumed that with more data, examples will be found with both bases negative.

In the Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence there is the obligatory addition of at least one new item of information. This new information in Amplification takes the form of (a) either a new clause level tagmeme, such as Instrument, Object, Manner or Time; (b) expansion of a clause level tagmeme already occurring in the clause filling Text; or (c) addition of a new clause which either embeds within the clause
brought forward from Base one or forms with that clause an embedded sentence.

In the examples, the following clause level tagmemes occur expanded in Amplification: Subject, Location, Predicate, Object, Direction and Source.

While all of the referents of the Text may be repeated in Amplification, there is usually deletion of some lexical information in Amplification. In a number of examples Object, Source, Location and Time are deleted while in others only the free form of the subject pronoun is deleted in the Amplification tagmeme.

While this subtype need not occur embedded (it may, e.g. expound EPISODE of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE) it embeds in many other sentence types.

The intonation pattern of Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is the same as that of the Paraphrase Sentence.

Examples:

1. Text: ana than muunthantan ngul, Amplification: tie fastanga' dem they tie-they-ct then fast-with-cj staplesang muunthantan ...
   -with tied-they-ct
   ... then they tie them, they tie them with tie fasts and with staples...

   In Sequence Sentence: MF

2. Text: pul um mo'apul thananana' pul uman mo'apul.
   they-dl straight ran-they-dl saw-we-pl they-dl straight ran-they-dl
   ... they ran towards each other, we saw them run towards each other.

   In Sequence Sentence: WT 22

3. Text: Pam thon minananiya' car nungantama ya' weent man other good-one-that his int turned-it
   Amplification: mi-mi-mi weent...
   screeching turned-it
   One man, that good man, his car really turned around screeching as it turned...

   WT 24

4. Text: wiya yot we'anan yuk thonamam pi'ananam, some lots dig-we-pl tree one-from big-from
   Amplification: wiya kankánam yot we'anan.
   some truly lots dig-we-pl
   ... we dig lots, we really dig lots from one big tree.

   In Sequence Sentence: FL 117
cj scraped-we-pl mud-shell-with scraped-we-pl
We scraped it, we scraped it with a mudshell.
   In Procedural Sentence: FL 123

6. Text: Than yuk yongkan umpantan Amplification: swing saw
   they tree ironwood cut-they-ct
   alangan umpantan.
   that-with cut-they-pl-ct
They cut the ironwood tree, they cut it with that swingsaw.
   In Topic-switching Procedural Sentence: MF 12

7. Text: kalan aakanak Amplification: fenceline aakanak
   carries-it there-to there-to
kalan ...
carries-it
... it carries it (logs) to there, it carried it there to the fenceline...
   As second Base of Coordinate Sentence: MF 14

8. Text: Tariri'ana, ana patham pam min ngul iiya,
   Tariri-sp that really man good now went-he
Amplification: ngangka min ngul iiya.
   heart good now went-he
Tariri was a really good man now, he was really changed now.
   In Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence: WMV 239-240

   punct-now went-up-we high emo early-night
ngul mat-matan.
   then went-up-we-pt
... then we went up above when it was dark.
   In Sequence Sentence: VR 74-75

10. Text: a' umpangan pikaniy Amplification: thayan manyang
    cj cut-I-sp fin-sp axe small-with
umpangan pikana.
   out-I-that fin-that
(So I went...) and I chopped that fin, I chopped it with a small axe.
   In Sequence Sentence: VR 99-100

11. (Yaa) Text: pam thum nungantam alanganiya', Archie Smith
    man-fire hers that-one-tr
    alanganiya' minh pūnthāmang mam
    that-one-tr fish net-in caught-he
Amplification: yot, minh nga'a, thapangumpan thak
lots pro fish sharke also
mam, nylingkuchan thak.
cought-he fresh-water-shark also

Yes, that one, her husband, Archie Smith, caught lots of fish in
a net, fish, sharks and freshwater sharks too.

FL 15-16

12. (Yaa) Text: nil thee' Amplification: kuuyan wunyatha'
she threw-she line-that swang-she
thee'...
threw-she

Yes, she threw the line, she swung it and then threw it...

In Sequence Sentence: VR 54-56

13. Text: kaa'atham maka' Amplification: nhuuthan
first squeezed-he-cj stringray-flesh-that
mak-mak.
squeezed-cont-he

(He tied up the fish), at first he squeezed it, he squeezed and
squeezed the stingray flesh.

In Sequence Sentence: FL 29-31

14. (ee') Text: last yearan yim-yimanama' puk thonaman
-that same-way child one-that
yim-yimanam mata,
same-way climbed-up-she
tree far
kenya mat,
high climbed-she very-high

Yes, last year a child climbed a tree in the same way, she climbed
very very high,...

In Sequence Sentence: CT 10, 10a

15. (ngan piiyan way-m'ina') Text: koyam ngul mo'an aakak
we bought-we bad-good-cj back then ran-we place-to
Amplification: aak nganan wun-wun, aakankan mo'an.
place we stayed-cont-we there-to ran-we

(When) we had bought the things we went back to the place where
we were staying, we went right back to that place.

In Sequence Sentence: WT 54-57

16. Text: aak nungantam anganiya, kan wunpa, Amplification:
place his there-sp punct put-he
kuchekan thum thinth wunpa
heard-that fire close put-he

... he put the (heads) there in his place, he put them close to
the fire,...

In Sequence Sentence: WMV 59-60
17. **Text:** Than yok umpantan thaa'tha' ngaa' thonthó
    amplify: mango yuk inangan umpantan thanang,...
    They are all the time cutting down trees, cutting down these mango
trees,...

18. **Text:** Nilan thawa,
    Amplification: ngangkamanana thaw.
    He Tariri said, speaking from his heart...

19. **Text:** nilan mulatha,
    Amplification: bowanga arrowanga mulath thanang, kekanga mulath thanang...
    In Indirect Quote Sentence:

20. **Text:** a' nil patham wamp puntha-paam-thampang
    Amplification: Michael wamp.
    In Sequence Sentence: WT 18-20

2.3 **NEGATED ANTONYM (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE**

This subtype differs from the main subtype in that here we have a
pair of antonyms (or situational opposites) in the two bases, with
negation of one member of the pair. This amounts to a type of para-
phrase that probably succeeds more in saying the same thing twice
(equivalence) than does the main subtype, which resorts to the use of
synonyms. Here, as in the main subtype, addition of new information
in the second base or deletion of old is apparently incidental.
The Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text_neg/pos</th>
<th>+ Paraphrase_pos/neg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation S</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
<td>Existential Cl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs have same tense

All other lexical referents constant

A pair of antonyms or situational opposites in Text and Paraphrase

Negation of the antonym in one base versus absence of negation in the other base

The Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence is regarded as another subtype of the Paraphrase Sentence. It resembles, however, the main subtype more than the subtype just described. There are two obligatory tagmemes, Text and Paraphrase. Text and Paraphrase may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive, Stative, and Complement Clauses, as well as by Direct Quote Sentence. In addition, Text may be expounded by Explanation Sentence and Paraphrase by Existential Clauses.

The Text may be positive with a negative Paraphrase or negative with a positive Paraphrase. The most frequently occurring order is negative-positive. The negative may be a negated antonym or a negated situational opposite. It is not necessarily the predicates of the clauses which fill the bases that contain the pair of antonyms or situational opposites; they may, for example, be the Object or Location, or Comment tagmeme of Stative Clauses. In that all other lexical referents remain constant, examples whose bases are filled by verbal clauses have the same tense and person.

In Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence the Paraphrase tagmeme has the function of both paraphrasing and of defining more sharply the lexical material of Text. The stating of what something is not, helps to show more clearly what it is. It is possible for new lexical information to occur in Paraphrase tagmeme, as in Example 5.
Again, the Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence can occur unembedded (e.g., as APERTURE in an EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE) but it typically occurs embedded.

The overall intonation pattern of the Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence is of two Phonological Clauses juxtaposed. The intonation pattern of each base is the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence type which expounds the tagmeme. Regardless of which comes first, the negated proposition or the antonym, the clause stress of the Text tagmeme is higher pitch than the clause stress of the Paraphrase tagmeme.

**Examples:**

   `big` `neg` `small-very-sp`
   ... it's not big, it's very small.
   In Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence: FL 126

2. (ana ngeeyin) Text: `puth ina aak min` Paraph: `aak way ya'a.`
   `that heard-they` `place bad neg`
   ... they have heard, but this place is good, this place isn't bad.
   In Reason Sentence: KL 034

   `after-that-sp` `heart-that good lay-to-him`
   After that Tariri was not happy, he was unhappy.
   WMV 28-29

4. Text: `Nip ke' iiyowa` Paraph: `nip ingama,`
   `you-dl neg go-you-dl-ft` `you-dl here-remain`
   You two don't go, stay!...
   As Text of Reason Sentence:
   WMV 89-92

5. (ana puth ngangk wayang ngan wunan, ka'paal thawanan thant) Text: `ukayn` Paraph: `ke' matayn`
   `get-down-they-ft` `neg climb-up-they-ft`
   yukaniy `kenya kech.`
   tree-that-sp high far
   ... because we would be sad, therefore we say to them to get down, not to climb far up high in the tree.
   In Indirect Quote Sentence embedded in Non-future Result Sentence: CT 8
6. Text\_pos: thon\ alangan\ ep\ Paraph\_neg: ke'am\ mungk\ driver. other\ that-tr\ fact\ neg-emph\ drank-he ... the other one was alright, that driver hadn't drunk.

In Contrast Sentence: WT 41

7. Nil\ thawan\ thanta\ pam\ al-alantana'\ Text\_neg: yimananganiy\ ke'\ he\ says-he\ them-to\ men\ those-to-cj\ like-this-sp\ neg\ yumpäna',\ thawan\ thant,\ Paraph\_pos: 'niliy\ yimanangan\ ep\ make-you-ft\ says-he\ them-to\ you\ like-this\ Fact\ yumpäna'. make-you-ft

He says to those men, to them, "Don't make it like this," he says to them, "You should make it like this."

MF 79-82

8. Text\_neg: Thonam\ nila\ ya'a\ ke'an\ wun,\ Paraph\_pos: ma'-mångkamant\ one\ it\ no\ neg\ is\ everyone-for\ aathwuntan. give-they

It is not only for one, they share it with everybody.

GE 079

9. Text\_neg: Aak\ keenkana\ wun\ ya'a\ Paraph\_pos: ngul\ aak\ ina\ place\ first\ was\ no\ now\ place\ this\ nyi\ lingkanam\ ngul. recently\ now

At first this place wasn't like this, this place is just recently like this.

PY 038

2.4 GENERIC-SPECIFIC (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This is similar to the Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence described in 2.1. Here, however, new information is introduced not so much by the introduction of further lexical elements into the second base as by replacing generic lexical items in the first base with more specific lexical items in the second base. Again, introduction of new information is focal and deletion (of items brought forward from Base one) is incidental.

The Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
The Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence is composed of two obligatory tagmemes, \text{Text}^{\text{generic}} and \text{Amplification}^{\text{specific}}. \text{Text} may be expounded by Intransitive, Transitive and Stative Clauses. \text{Amplification} may presumably be expounded by these same clause types (except Intransitive Clause is not found in present data), and in addition by Contrast Sentence and Deleted Predicate Amplification Sentence.

In this subtype as in the previous, the lexical material that is in \text{Text} is paraphrased in \text{Amplification} tagmeme but the relationship between the lexical material of the two bases is generic-specific. When the verbs of the two bases are different, the nature of the action is more narrowly specified in the second base. When the verbs of the two bases are the same, the lexical material in one or more of the clause level tagmemes of the \text{Text} is made more specific in \text{Amplification}. Combinations of non-verbal clauses filling the bases also occur, as in Examples 6 and 7.

The verbs in both bases have the same tense and aspect. Usually both bases have the same subject, but sometimes, as in Examples 1 and 7 the subject of the \text{Text} is collective and covers all the subjects of the Contrast Sentence filling Amplification.

The only example which does not have two positive bases is Example 5, where the verb of the first base has a negative meaning and where the second base is overtly negative.

The order of the bases may permute, in that sometimes, as in Example 6, the specific information comes first.

Again while this subtype may occur unembedded (e.g. as STAGE of a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE) it typically occurs embedded.
The intonation of Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence is the same as that of the main subtype (2.1) and the amplification subtype (2.2). The intonation of each base is the same as the clause or sentence type expounding the base.

Examples:

1. Text **generic**: Pôk-pôkapang nyiinan Ampl** specific**: Dora thonamantang separate sat-we one with nyiin, Mrs. Pearsonanatang, ngay thonamantang Ampl** specific**: Mrs. sat-sha -with I one-with sat-I Ramsayantang, -with
   We sat separate, Dora sat with one, Mrs. Pearson, and I sat with another, Mrs. Ramsay...
   In Non-future Result Sentence: DM

2. Text **generic**: ngay thaa'óyngk chintangan Ampl** specific**: kunthúl I bait speared-I chintangan, pił'an. speared-I big
   ... and I speared bait, I speared a rifle fish, a big one.
   In Sequence Sentence: VR 11-13

3. Text **generic**: pam anangan wuntan Peretana, than work men those live-they Peret-that they tha'iy iiyian Ampl** specific**: fence vumpantan,... lots go-they-ct make-they-ct
   (Yes), those men who live at Peret do a lot of work, they are making the fence...
   In Non-future Result Sentence: MP 16

4. Text **generic**: puth Tariri'ang mulathiy nipang because -tr kill-he-sj you-dl-obj Ampl** specific**: man umpix nipang. neck cut-he-sj you-dl-obj
   ... because Tariri will kill you, he will cut your throats.
   In Reason Sentence: WMV 91-92

5. (yaa') Text **generic**: anpalan puth tha'pål umppul yes from-that so foot-here did-they Ampl** specific**: ke'am ngul muunch-muunchpul punthang neg-emph then swim-they-dl-pt river-in anganiy -- aak puth thangk ananiy, pulana winyang mo'apul there-sp place because deep that-sp they-dl frightened-ran-they pikuwantam puth. crocodile-from because
   Yes, so from that they never went again, they never swam again, for the place is deep, and they were frightened of the crocodile.
   In Simple Resolved Dialogue Sentence (as SP3-non-verbal): FL 180-181
6. Ampl specific: ina minh mànpāthan mina
   this fish sweet good
Text generic: ina aak min nīyantama,
   this custom good yours-pl
   This fish is sweet, it's good, this custom of yours,...
   In Quotation Sentence: FL 95-96

7. Text generic: nil wayk ianiya, yuka, pī'ān ya'a
   It root-dye this-sp tree big not
Ampl specific: wiya pī'īl'ānam, wiya manyiy, penth.
   some big-big-emph some small shoots
   This root dye, this tree, it's not (really) big, some are big, and
   some are small, they are shoots.
   As STAGE of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE:
   FL 115

8. Text generic: ingulana ngay ngangk ngatham min wuna
   recently I heart mine good was-it
Ampl specific: ngay Godant thee'āngan.
   I -to gave-I-it
   ... recently my heart became good, I gave it to God.
   In Contrast Sentence: WMV 220-221

9. Text generic: ngay inmana ngangk mina, Ampl specific: ngay
   I here-now heart good
   kan thiichanga pam wanch kaangk wunānga,...
   punct know-I men women love be-I-it
   Now my heart is good, I know how to love my people,...
   In Quotation Sentence: WMV 223-224

2.5 REDUCTION (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This subtype resembles the main subtype in employing synonyms of
the verbs in the two bases. No new information is introduced in the
second base; on the contrary there is extreme compression of the lexical
content in the second base which typically contains only a verb.
Presumably the second base here serves as a condensed summary of the
first.

The Reduction (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following
bidimensional array:
In this subtype of Paraphrase Sentence there are less lexical items in the Reduction Paraphrase tagmeme than in Text. There is a marked reduction of the number of clause level tagmemes in Reduction Paraphrase tagmeme. In the examples following only the predicate occurs of the clauses which fill Reduction Paraphrase slot.

Examples:

1. Text: Yipaka, ngan kurkang ngula kaampän wait we ashes-in later bury-we-ft
   minh inana Red Paraph: thenchäna.
   fish this hide-we-ft
   Wait, we'll bury the fish in the ashes, we'll hide it (in the ashes for cooking).
   FL 55-56

2. Text: Ngay puth nungantaniya waa'anganta, I so her-to-sp told-I-her-to
   thawanganta...
   said-I-her-to
   So I told her, I said to her...
   As Quotation Formula of Quotation Sentence: FL 164-165

3. (Yim-yimanamaniy ngana) Text: ngak thon-thon pantham like-this-sp we water one-by-one welle
   paath-paatthin, Red Paraph: we'in
   tried-they-pt dug-they-pt
   It was like this for us--one by one they tried for wells, they dug...
   In Sequence Sentence: DW 1, 2

2.6 REDUCTION AMPLIFICATION (PARAPHRASE) SENTENCE

This subtype resembles the important subtype of 2.1 in that we here also have the same verb rather than synonyms. Here however, rather than introducing anything new in the second base it has fewer lexical items than the first base. Perhaps the purpose of this subtype is to
achieve emotional poignancy by the highlighted and stripped-down repetition (cf. Example 3).

The Reduction Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ Reduction Amplification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identical verb with identical tense-person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less information in Reduction Amplification</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(and obligatory lack of new information)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive-Positive or Negative-Negative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The essential difference between the Amplification subtype and this subtype, Reduction Amplification, is the obligatory absence of new lexical information in the Reduction Amplification tagmeme of the latter which has, in fact, less lexical material in its second base. Admittedly, in the Amplification subtype there is usually deletion of some of the lexical information given in the Amplification tagmeme versus that given originally in the Text. Here, however, the reduction of the lexical information takes a more specific form, i.e. there is one less clause level tagmeme (e.g. Object or Location) in Reduction Amplification tagmeme than occurs in Text, and/or there is less information in a clause level tagmeme found in the second base than there is in the corresponding clause level tagmeme found in the first base, e.g. Indirect Object in Examples 2 and 3.

The fact that Example 1 has two negative bases is a good reason for thinking that two negative bases would be possible for the Amplification subtype and in some other subtypes as well.

Reduction Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence has been found embedded in Reason Sentence and as Quotation Formula of Quotation Sentence. The latter is of possible interest in that presumably in introducing a quotation it is awkward to have a verb of speech accompanied by many noun phrases and adjuncts; the clause is therefore repeated in simpler form. In that Reduction (Paraphrase) Sentence also embeds as Quotation Formula, we may have here a partial rationale for the development of these two subtypes.
Examples:

1. Text: Nil \textit{kaangk} ke' \textit{pam kemp pachama}, Red Ampl: nil \textit{he likes} neg men flesh white-nom \textit{he kaangk ke'...}
   
   He doesn't like white people, he doesn't like them...
   
   As Text of Reason Sentence OPV

2. Text: Pam wanch wi\textit{y} alantan thaw, Shapra people \textit{men women some those-to said-he}
   
   Red Ampl: wi\textit{y} alantan thaw... \textit{some those-to said-he}
   
   And he said to those people, the Shapras, he said to them...
   
   As Quotation Formula of Quotation Sentence: OPV 17-18

3. Text: Ngula, nilan\textit{an thuu}cha mān-māngkang koy-koyuw, pam \textit{then he-that crept-he back-loc behind man}
   
   pīi'an thon alantan - pam pīi'an nilanly liya, \textit{big another that-one man big he-that-sp went-he}
   
   Red Ampl: alantan thuu\textit{ch}.
   
   that-one crept-he
   
   After that he crept behind the important man--he was a chief--he crept behind him.
   
   WMV 14

2.7 REPETITION SENTENCE

This sentence type contrasts with the Paraphrase Sentence in all its subtypes in that here we have repetition with minimum or no variation - and hence no real paraphrase. By the same feature, repetition without variation, this sentence type is easily distinguished as a formal pattern from the Paraphrase Sentence. Probably the thrust of this sentence type is emphasis.

The Repetition Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Same verb</th>
<th>Same referents</th>
<th>Repeat of same lexical material</th>
<th>No new information</th>
<th>Positive-Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Repetition$^n=2$</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Repetition$^n=2$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
While the Repetition Base does not necessarily involve exact repetition of the Text without variation, the variation is minimal and involves neither loss nor gain of information. Thus, in Examples 2 and 3 below the repetition involves only a change of word order—giving the sentence a chiasmic structure. In Example 1 the first base contains a pronoun which is not repeated in the second base but which is surely understood there. The pronoun might, in fact, be construed as a common feature of the entire sentence.

Examples:

1. Text: a' pula matches wantapul,  Repetition: matches cj they-dl left-they-dl
   wantapul (thawan pulanta, nip matches puuy-puuy
   left-they-dl said-we them-dl-to you-dl further-away
   nip ey?)
   you-dl quest
   ... and those two left the matches behind, they left the matches
   behind and we asked them, "Did you two leave the matches there
   far away?"

   In Sequence Sentence: MW 002

2. (Ngan iiyan) Text: thanang angam wantan
   we-pl went-we them there-stay left-we
   Repetition: wantan thanang angaman (nyiin-nyiin minh nga'ak).
   left-we them there-stay eat-cont fish-for
   We went and we left them there, we left them there, and we sat
   down to fish.

   In Sequence Sentence

3. Text: ...pathan ya'angam Repetition: ya'angam pathan
   bit-he no-avail no-avail bit-he
   Repetition: ya'angam pathan...
   no-avail bit-he
   ... he bit to no avail, and he bit and he bit to no avail...

   In Implicit Frustration Sentence:
   MR 098

2.8 EXPLANATION SENTENCE

This sentence type, while a juxtaposed type like the previous two, has too much formal variation between its bases to qualify as a Paraphrase Sentence—or, of course, as a Repetition Sentence. The purpose of the second base is to explain some noun phrase or other referent in the first base.
The Explanation Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive Cl</strong></td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stative Cl</strong></td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Deleted Predicate</strong></td>
<td>Existential Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amplification S</strong></td>
<td>Contrast S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Different verbs and other referents do not remain constant
New information (Explanation about one clause level tagmeme in the Text)
Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive

Examples:

1. Text: Hullowim thawan thant Expl: wiya miyalmantan
   said-we them-to some well-they-pt
   wiya ya'ngul.
   some finished (not well)
   We said hullo to them, some of them were well and some were not.
   MB

2. Text: Thana wuntana iitha thaiyangan
   they live-they-pl thick-scrub lots-in
   wuthanang Expl: aaka namiyya Peru Expl: niliya, thick-in place name-sp
   aak inaniya South America'ang.
   place this-sp -in
   They live in the thick bush, in the thick scrub, the place is called Peru and this place is in South America.
   WMV 8-10

3. Text: wiya ep Expl: kuupamin wey some fact(alright) happy-they emo
   Text: wiyiya kaang ke' Expl: popam angman nyiinin. some-sp like neg silently there eat-they
   ... some were alright - they were happy; others didn't like it - they just sat there silently.
   KL 015
4. ... Text: Mr. Smith puth mëe'-miyi pama
   but knowing man

   Expl: nil yumpanam keenkanam.
   he made-perfect long time ago

   ... but Mr. Smith knows - he has been making them for a long time.

3. TEMPORAL AND COORDINATING SENTENCES

   The sentence types of this section have bases which are related in
   their deep structures by temporal succession or overlap, and by coup­
   ling. Except for the Inverted Sequence Sentence and the Simultaneous
   Sentence, the main subtypes are multi-based rather than binary. The
   use of the conjunctions '-a' and 'a' and is especially characteristic of
   this group of sentences. Furthermore, except for the Coordinate
   Sentence, optional markers occur within the bases of these sentence
   types as well.

   Diagram 11 compares and contrasts the sentence types of this section.
   There are two subtypes of Sequence Sentence, Inverted Sequence and
   Compleative Action (Sequence) Sentence. These features will be dis­
   cussed in more detail under each sentence type or subtype.

   Of considerable relevance in distinguishing the sentence types of
   this section is the relative importance given to temporal considera­
   tions. In the Sequence Sentence types (3.1-3.3) and in the Procedural Sentence
   (3.4) temporal succession is featured—even if the reporting of events
   is given in inverse order from their occurrence (as in 3.3). In the
   Simultaneous Sentence (3.6) temporal overlap is featured. The Topic-
   Switching Procedural Sentence has only a secondary interest in temporal
   succession; its focus is on the varying people or things involved in
   successive steps of an activity. In the Coordinate Sentence, time is
   not in focus at all and examples occur in which it is difficult to know
   whether succession or overlap is involved in the real world situation.

3.1 SEQUENCE SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

   This sentence type presents a series of events in chronological
   succession. It is similar to both Sequence Sentence and Narrative
   Paragraphs in languages with a clear sentence-paragraph threshold.
### Temporal and Coordinating Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Compleitive Action</th>
<th>Inverted Sequence</th>
<th>Procedual</th>
<th>Topic Switching</th>
<th>Simultaneous</th>
<th>Coordinate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Markers</td>
<td>Optional -a' or -a between bases.</td>
<td>Optional -a' or -a between bases.</td>
<td>Optional -a' or -a between bases.</td>
<td>Optional -a' between bases.</td>
<td>Optional -a' between bases.</td>
<td>Optional -a' between bases.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same/ Different Subjects</td>
<td>Same subject.</td>
<td>Same subject.</td>
<td>Same subject.</td>
<td>Same subject.</td>
<td>Same subject.</td>
<td>Same subject.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive/ Negative</td>
<td>Pos/Pos</td>
<td>Pos/Pos</td>
<td>Pos/Pos</td>
<td>Pos/Pos</td>
<td>Pos/Pos</td>
<td>Pos/Pos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encoding</td>
<td>Logical sequence of events.</td>
<td>Logical sequence of events.</td>
<td>Logical sequence of events.</td>
<td>Various participants in successive focus in cultural procedures.</td>
<td>Various participants in successive focus in cultural procedures.</td>
<td>Events related to time not in focus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>Basic Intonation of Bases. With same subject, mid step-down sequence sub-type Intonation may occur. Otherwise -a' sequence Intonation occurs between bases.</td>
<td>High pitch with narrow range modification of Basic Intonation followed by intonation carrier -EB on first base.</td>
<td>Baseline with either sub-type of sequence Intonation.</td>
<td>Basic Intonation of each base with mid step-down sequence Intonation between bases.</td>
<td>Basic Intonation of each base with mid step-down sequence Intonation between bases.</td>
<td>Basic Intonation of each base with mid step-down sequence Intonation between bases.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Sequence Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antecedent Base</th>
<th>+ (± Cj)</th>
<th>Consequent Base</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Deleted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>and/or</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal Cl</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td>Amplification S</td>
<td>Reason S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Repetition S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deleted Predicate</td>
<td></td>
<td>Indirect Quote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Merged S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Future Result S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deleted Predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completive S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Quotation S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Action S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Deleted Predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Negated Antonym S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Temporal progression of events
Normally same tense
Same or different subject
Usually Positive-Positive
Sequence intonation

The Sequence Sentence is composed of two obligatory bases, Antecedent Base and Consequent Base. Antecedent Base may be repeated. The bases are optionally joined by the conjunction -a' and/or a'. The Antecedent Base may be expounded by Intransitive, Transitive and Reciprocal Clauses, and by Direct Quote, Repetition, Deleted Predicate Parallel, Coordinate, Simultaneous, and Completive Action (Sequence) Sentences. The Consequent Base may be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses and by Amplification (Paraphrase), Quotation, Repetition, Indirect Quote Merged, Future Result, Deleted Predicate Quotation, Deleted Predicate Paraphrase, and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentences.
The particles ngul, ngulan now, then, optionally occur in any base but the first. However, there are two examples of ngul in the first base where it refers back to the preceding Sequence Sentence and is therefore a constituent of the whole sentence - rather than of the first base as such. The occurrence of this particle is frequent in conversation but is relatively rare in text material. Nanpalaniya' after that also occurs in the second base of many examples where it may co-occur with ngulan then, kanan 'punctiliar', and kanam 'completive' which optionally occur in the Antecedent Base. (There is one example of kan in second base - Example 15). One example (28) with a Completive Action Sentence expounding Base 1 and yip-yipak yet in the exponent of Base 2 expounds Span-Span temporal sequence. Still another example (29) encodes Span-Event - the deep structure which is more usually encoded in a Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence.

The conjunction a' occurs most frequently when there is a marked change of focus, (cf. Coordinate Sentences). Where all or some bases following each other have the same subject it is common for the free subject to occur in the first base only, (see Example 14) if at all. There are exceptions, however, and in two examples (12 and 13) the free subject occurs in the second base and not the first base.

The tense of each base is normally the same and can be either past-past, future-future, or customary-customary. When the first base is a command this is lexically future and the second base is then future. The exception to same tense combination is the combination past-future, occurring in one example (25). This combination has the general meaning 'this has happened/we have done this and now this will happen/we will do that'. The bases may have same or different subject, and are all positive.

The Consequent Base may be multiply repeated, as in Example 27 where Consequent Base occurs eight times in a Sequence Sentence which has a total of ten bases.

The Sequence Sentence normally expounds discourse-level tagmemes; it may occur, however, embedded in Direct Quote Sentence.

The bases of Sequence Sentence are joined by obligatory sequence intonation. The bases have basic intonation. The final base has final intonation. The sequence intonation with mid step down occurs with bases with same subject, while the intonation of high step up with -a' and occurs with bases with both same and different subjects.
Examples:

1. Ant Base: Yaa, ngay iiyanga! Cons Base: hookana, thaa' minh
   yes I went-I-cj that mouth pro
   nga' anpalana thapathang, Cons Base: thaa'oyngk wunpang.
   fish from-that took-off-I bait put-I
   Yes, I went and I took the hook from the mouth of the fish and I
   put the bait on.
   
   VR 83-5

2. Ant Base: Yaa, ngay iiyanga! Cons Base: thaa' umpangan,
   yes I went-I-cj mouth cut-I
   chaawarang umpang, Cons Base: a' wichangan hookanan.
   knife-with cut-I cj pulled-out-I that
   Yes, I went and I cut the mouth (of the fish), I cut it with a big
   knife, and I pulled out the hook.
   
   VR 89-92

   here come-imper here take-off-imper
   Come here and take this off.
   
   VR 81-82

4. Ant Base: Ngaan paanthaniya! Cons Base: an kinch keny ngul
   we camped-we-cj dem sun high then
   ekan.
   got-up-we
   We slept and then we got up when the sun was high.
   
   VR 119-20

5. Ant Base: Yaa, ngay iiyanga! Cons Base: thawangant, 'pal
   yes I went-I-cj said-I-to-her here
   kan iiyän', ngan inan kan kathan minhanna'.
   punct come-you-ft we here punct tied-we fish
   I went and said to her, "You come here (to where) we have tied up
   fish".
   
   FL 22-25

6. Ant Base: Yaa, thonangan ngul kathan Cons Base: mak
   yes another then tied-we squeezed
   minhaniya' Cons Base: kichan ngul pipa' Cons Base: a'
   fish-cj bark then broke-her-cj cj
   kuuyang kath, Billyangan kich anan minh thampangan.
   string-with tied-he tr bark that fish too
   Then we tied up another fish, squeezed it, and Billy broke the bark,
   and tied the fish and the bark together.
   
   FL 26-30
7. Ant Base: Kurkan we'arathangant  Cons Base: a' kurkang  
    ashes scattered-I-for-him  cj ashes-in
  kaampan minhan.
  buried-we fish
  I scattered the ashes for him and we buried the fish in the ashes.
  FL 63-4

8. Ant Base: Ngan kenya matana'  Cons Base: ngay pi'
    we high went-up-we-cj  I ant bed
  anangan piikangant  Cons Base: a' pek ukathan.
  those hit-I-for-her  cj down took-down-we
  We went up high, I hit those antbeds for her and we carried them down.
  FL 65

9. Ant Base: Landroveran mo'an koyam  Cons Base: kalan,
    runs-it behind  carries-it
  aakanak, fenceline aakanak kalan,  Cons Base: keekathan.
  there-to there-to carries-it  drops-it
  The landrover goes behind and carries it to there, to the fence-line, and drops it.
  MF 14

10. Yaa, Ant Base: ngay puth putham thee'angant  Cons Base: yes I so again threw-I-for-her
    a' minh thonam ngul wich.
    cj fish one then caught-she
    Yes, so I threw (it) again for her and then she caught a fish.
    VR 65-66

11. Ant Base: Nama menchan aniya' may menchan anan
    yams cooked that-sp food cooked that
    aathwuntana'  Cons Base: nangapaliya' erp ngulan
    offer-they-Recip-cj  after-that-sp raw then
    thee'antan thant.
    give-they them-to
    They offer each other the cooked food, the cooked yams, and after that they hand out the uncooked food.
    PN 63-4

12. Ant Base: Kanan yuk-way-mín pungala  Cons Base: ngal
    punct things washed-we we-dl
    nungant liiyal, moom ngalantamant.
    her-to went-we boss ours-to
    When we had washed the (dishes) we went to our boss.
    (Conversation)
13. Ant Base: Palam ngulan liyala Cons Base: ngal yuurpam  
here then went-we we-dl straight  
keyak wenk-wenkal.  
-for searched-we-ct-pt  
When we had come back we went straight to look for the key.  
(Conversation)

14. (Puth thanan thawan tan) Ant Base: ma' ko'alam anganlya  
for they say-the day three there-sp  
imchalamana yamang ekana, Cons Base: mee' ikana,  
ghost somewhere gets-up eye opens  
Cons Base: makarana thayanmana, Cons Base: iiyan ngul yuupa.  
sinews hard-vb goes-he then restless  
For they say, "On the third day, the ghost gets up somewhere close,  
he opens his eyes, his sinews get hard, and then he moves around."  
In Quotation Sentence: PE 29-32

punct wash-they-cj food punct offer-they  
When they are washed, they give them food.  
PN 55-56

16. Ant Base: A' pula matches wantapul, matches wantapul  
cj they-two left-they-two left-they-two  
Cons Base: thawan pulanta, "nip matches puuy-puuy nip  
said-we those-dl-to you-dl far-far you-dl  
ey?" ques  
And those two left their matches behind, they left them behind,  
and we asked them, "Are your matches over there?"  
MW

17. Ant Base: Ngan iiyan, Cons Base: thanang angam wantan, wantan  
we went-we them there left-we left-we  
thanang angaman Cons Base: nyin-nyiin, minh nga'ak.  
them there sat-ct-we pro fish-for  
We went, and we left them there, we left them there, and we sat  
down to fish.  
MW 062

18. Ant Base: Ngan piiyan way-mina Cons Base: koyam ngul  
we brought-we things back then  
mo'an aakak, aak nganan wun-wun, aakanak mo'an.  
went-we place-to place we live-we there-to went-we  
We bought things and we went back to the place, where we live,  
right to that place.  
WT 27
19. Ant Base: Nil yinamana ongkamana, Cons Base: pii' an.
   he likewise lengthens-he hits-he
   He in the same way lengthens it and hits it.
   MF 17

20. (Yaa) Ant Base: than pam al-alangana' pe'an thapathantana'
   yes they men those-pl-tr skin take-off-they-hab
   yukana', Cons Base: mee'pepan umpantan.
   trees-cj eye-sharp make-they-hab
   Yes, those men take the bark off the logs and then they make sharp points.
   MF 27

21. Ant Base: Pam thonamangan yuk maayana'
   Cons Base: pii' an
   man one-tr-that log picks-up-he-cj minds-he
   nung min-min Cons Base: a' kuchek alangana' pii' an, yuk
   his well then head that hits-he log
   ananiy, yongk ananiy.
   that ironwood that
   One man picks up a log, he minds it carefully, and then he hits
   the head of the log, of that ironwood.
   MF 16

22. Ant Base: Nil wampow naakanakan, Cons Base: thawa'n
   she come-she-ft there-to say-ft
   nungant wik kuchowara pal,
   her-to word send-she-ft-to-me here
   When she comes there tell her to send me a message here (at home).
   (Informant's report of phone message)

23. Ant Base: Thumaniya' thipan angman Cons Base: puth-puthaman
   fire-sp burnt-down there again-again
   wunpanan thuman Cons Base: mulam penchan waykaniy
   put-we-cj firewood fully cooked dye-that-sp
   kunchanang pulan, karp.
   pandanus-cj they-dl together
   When the fire is burned down, we put firewood on again and again
   (until) the pandanus and dye are cooked, both together, properly.
   FL 120

24. Ant Base: Ana puth pamam uthamana, or wanch nathiy
   dem then man dies-he or woman maybe
   or puk weya aawuchan wantanampa, Cons Base: liyanampa
   or child emo house leave-we-cj go-we-cj
   kámpanantángan wunamp.
   relatives-accomp stay-we
   When a man dies, or maybe a woman or child, we leave the house.
   We go and we stay with our relatives.
   OR 5-8
25. (Piip ngantam in kenya) Ant Base: ngan ina aak father ours here above we this song
  thakan pathan, mee'wuthanman thak wik nungkaram etc sang-we prayed-we etc words yours
  anman minam ngeeyan Cons Base: ana konangam pii'an. only we well heard-we
dem ears-in hold-we-fit

Our Father in heaven, we are here, we have sung, prayed and heard your good word, and we will remember them.

PR 2

26. Ant Base: Ngay puk manyaman iliyanga, ngay inan thathang, I child small went-I I this saw-I
  Cons Base: ngay konangam pii'anga. I ear-in held-I

When I was a child I saw this and I've remembered it.

PN 4-5

27. Ant Base: A' kán-ngül aniya! Tariri aniya iliy aak thonakana, CJ compl dem that went place another-to
  Cons Base: pam anangan thatha, Cons Base: pekwinana, men those saw fought-ref-they
  Cons Base: pamana kuchéka mamanang ump, mana mamanang ump, men head taking cut neck taking cut
  Cons Base: koyama kal aak nungantamak Cons Base: aak back took place his-to place
  nungantam anganiya, kan wunpa, kuchékan thum thinth wunp his there punct put head fire close put-he
  Cons Base: kanan akaramina', kuchékan manyan weenina, punct dried-they head small became-they
  Cons Base: ana mutha thu-thú' thant, kuchékaniy mana dem tails poking the other to-them head-sp neck
  mamanang, Cons: man-úch inpalan ngoonch, kuchék ananiy! taking heads from here entered heads those

Comment: ke'ama, puth wee'angan waal'mn Godaniya, wikan yi neg for who-ts told-they-pt God-sp word-sp

Then Tariri went to another place and he saw these men, they fought, he cut the men's heads off, he cut them off at the neck and carried them back to his own place, he put them down in his place, he put the heads close to the fire. When they became dried up they became small and he joined them up one behind the other, he made a necklace and put his head into it. He shouldn't (have done this) but who had told him God's words.

WMV 53-66

28. Ant Base: A' kana kalan, kalanaa, kungénch kan wantan, CJ punct rowed-we rowed-we-ct corner punct left-we
  Cons Base: yip-yipak kal-kalan yipak, kecha. yet rowed-we yet far

Then we rowed and we rowed and we rowed, we left the corner and we were still rowing yet for a long way.

MW 019
29. Ant Base: Uukanan, uukanan, uukanana’

Cons Base: a’

scraped-we scraped-we scraped-we-cj

angan thee’anan kunchanang angan, karp pul puth
there threw-us pandanus-on there together they-two for
anganly penchanpul.
there cook-they-dl

We scraped and we scraped and we scraped and then we threw (it)
on the pandanus because those two there cook together.

3.2 **COMPLETIVE ACTION (SEQUENCE) SENTENCE**

In this subtype of the Sequence Sentence the first base encodes a
span and the second and third bases subsequent events.

The Completive Action (Sequence) Sentence is represented by the
following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
<th>a’ and</th>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-future Result S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with optional full reduplication of the verb or locative and -aa continuous action marker on verb</td>
<td></td>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>with optional occurrence of kan and/or &lt;ngul&gt; within clause or sentence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Same tense
Same subject
First base encodes a span; further bases encode successive events
Positive-Positive
Intonation (on fully reduplicated verbs): Sequence intonation between each Phonological Clause followed by low pitch on Completive Action tagmeme (otherwise): High pitch narrow range on first base with continued action intonation -aa followed by low pitch on Completive Action tagmeme
The Compleitive Action (Sequence) Sentence is a subtype of Sequence Sentence. Both base tagmemes are obligatory, and an additional Compleitive Action tagmeme may occur. The Conjunction a' occurs only rarely (Example 5). The Continued Action tagmeme, which is expounded by Transitive Clause and Paraphrase Sentence, may be characterized by full reduplication of the verb or the locative; it must have the continuous action marker -aa on the verb. In an example of Deleted Predicate Compleitive Action Sentences (see section 11.3) the locative word is repeated, the verb is deleted, and the -aa occurs on the last locative word. In Examples 2 and 4, partial reduplication of the verb co-occurs with the continuous action marker -aa. -aa is not only a continuous action marker but an intonation carrier. The relative length of the intonation carrier -aa indicates the relative length of the motion being described, i.e. the longer the continuous action marker is held, the longer the motion or action.

The Compleitive Action tagmeme may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, and by Non-future Result Sentence and Direct Quote Sentence. Kan 'punctiliar' and <ngu> then optionally occur within the clause or sentence filling the Compleitive Action tagmeme. The verb of the Compleitive Action tagmeme is usually the logical sequel or completion of the event of the Continued Action tagmeme.

Both bases have the same subject and tense (past-past). In all examples found, both bases are positive. The linear ordering of the tagmemes is fixed and is the same as the chronological order of the events.

The Compleitive Action (Sequence) Sentence occurs embedded in the Sequence Sentence (main subtype) and in the Simultaneous Sentence.

The intonation of the Compleitive Action (Sequence) Sentence depends largely on the verb filling the Continued Action tagmeme. When this verb or locative is reduplicated in full, sequence intonation occurs between the reduplicated verbs (mid step down with no -a' intonation morpheme). Each reduplication of the verb is a separate phonological clause with clause stress. Otherwise the verb which has the Continuous Action marker -aa, is a phonological clause with modified basic intonation. The overall pitch is high stepping up from low and fast preceding clause stress. Clause stress occurs on the verb which is high and has narrow range intonation, carrying on level and frequently laryngealized on the intonation carrying morpheme -aa.

The intonation pattern of the Compleitive Action tagmeme is lower than that of the Continued Action tagmeme. It is basic intonation with normal to low pitch and normal range. Clause stress is considerably lower than on the verb/s of the Continued Action tagmeme.
Sentence final intonation may be either subtype of final, but the low step down type occurs more frequently.

In some examples both types of continued action occur, in which cases both types of intonation occur together. When a single syllable locative is repeated each is a separate phonological clause, and the pitch of each is level and the same height with neither form of sequence intonation (such as occurs wherever the word it occurs on is more than one syllable).

Examples:

1. Cont Action: Kaaw, kaaw, kaaw kalanaaa Comp Action: angngul east east east rowed-we and-then

   thee'an.
   threw-we

   We rowed on and on to the east and then we threw (our lines).
   MW 069

2. Cont Action: Nganiya kal-kalanaaa, Comp Action: ngan ngul we rowed-ct-we we then

   aak uwan, Comp Action: matathan, kuuw nangaman.
   place-found-we took-up-we west there-in

   We rowed and rowed and then we found the place, we took (the dinghy) up, there in the west.
   MW 117

3. Cont Action: A' thee'an, thee'an, thee'an, thee'anaa c] threw-we threw-we threw-we threw-we-ct

   Comp Action: kan ngul iiyan.
   compl then went-we

   We threw our lines in over and over again and then we went.
   MW 072


   kungénchan ngoonchina, Comp Action: pam uwiyn.
   corner entered-they man found-they

   Like this they went on and on, they rowed and rowed, and went round the bend and found a man.
   MW 005


   a' kungenchan kan pentan, Comp Action: thanhan, aakana
   cf corner punct came-out-we saw-we place

   kana, kinch ing-ngul kuuw.
   punct sun recently west

   Then we kept on rowing north, then we came out round a bend and saw the sun had just gone down in the west.
   MW 020
6. Cont Action: Ngan kalanaa, Comp Action: puuy chintan, we rowed-ct crab speared-we
kuuw yiip liyan aniy.
west south went-we that-sp
We rowed and rowed, then we speared a crab, we went south west.
MW 065

7. Cont Action: A' kana kalan, kalanaa comp Action:
cj punct rowed-we rowed-we-ct
kungénda kan wantan yiip-yipak kal-kalan yipak, kecha.
corner punct left-we still-still rowed-we yet far
Then we rowed and we rowed and we rowed, we left the corner and we
were still rowing yet for a long way.
MW 019

3.3 INVERTED SEQUENCE SENTENCE

This sentence type is a binary structure in which the event encoded
in the first base is chronologically subsequent to the event recorded
in the second base.

The Inverted Sequence Sentence is represented by the following
bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Consequent Action</th>
<th>+ CJ</th>
<th>+ Antecedent Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>-a'</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Purposive S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

with optional occurrence of ngul then, later, non-initial within this base

with obligatory occurrence of kana'punctiliar, kanaman 'completive'

Same tense
Same subject
Linear order of bases is opposite to chronological order of events
Positive-Positive
Two phonological clauses with highest pitch in punctiliar and completive marker within second phonological clause
In the Inverted Sequence Sentence the linear order of bases is opposite to the chronological order of events. This is made clear by the obligatory occurrence of *kanan* 'punctiliar' or *kanaman* 'completive' within the Intransitive or Transitive Clause expounding Antecedent Action Base. *ngul then* optionally occurs within the Consequent Action Base, which may be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses and Purposive (Future Result) Sentence. As in the Sequence Sentence the bases may be optionally linked by the conjunction *-a*. Both bases are obligatory.

In the examples, both bases have the same subject and the verbs have the same tense. Both bases are positive.

In this sentence type the punctiliar marker *kanan* or the completive marker *kanaman* has the highest pitch of the whole sentence. The first base is a phonological clause with basic intonation. Clause stress is on the verb when it occurs following the free form pronoun, or on the word preceding the verb when this word is other than the free form subject pronoun. In the second phonological clause apart from clause stress occurring on the completive marker or the punctiliar marker the intonation pattern is basic.

**Examples:**

Example 1 was heard in conversation and Examples 2-6 were elicited.

1. Cons Act: *Nip iiyuwa*  Ant Act: *dishes kaa'atham
   you-dl went-you
   *kanan punct wungu*
   *punct washed-you*
   You two went after you had washed the dishes.

2. Cons Act: *ngay minh nga'ak iiyang ngul*
   *I fish for went-I later (then)*
   Ant Act: *kanan kulich pungang*
   *finished clothes washed-I*
   I went fishing after I had washed the clothes.

3. Cons Act: *ngay churchak iiyang Ant Act: *kanan may mungkang,*
   *I finished food eat-I*
   I went to church after I had eaten breakfast.

4. Cons Act: *ngay kalang baskets a' mats handcraft aakanakan*
   *I carried-I place-that-to*
   Ant Act: *ngay kanaman weep wunang kinch-kénya*
   *I finished sleep lie-I sun high*
   I took baskets and mats to handcraft after I had a sleep at lunch-time.
5. Cons Act: ngan iiy an ngul store'ak Ant Act: kanaman
   we went-we then -to finished
   We went to the store after we had washed the curtains.

6. Cons Act: nil iiy ngul wik ngeeyanak Ant Act: kanan
   he went-he then words hear-to finished
   He went to a meeting after he came home from work.

3.4 PROCEDURAL SENTENCE

This sentence type describes a series of customary activities in chronological succession. It corresponds to a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH in many languages. It contrasts with the Sequence Sentence in being a same-subject string and in lacking the conjunction and markers of the Sequence Sentence.

The Procedural Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity⁷ + Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Result S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence Rhetorical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanatory S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Same tense, different verbs
Same subject
Temporal progression
Each new time horizon optionally introduced by sentence topic intonation (e.g. Activity 2 of Example 4 and Activity 1 and 2 of Example 6)
The Procedural Sentence is composed of two bases: Activity tagmeme which occurs from one to seven times, and an optional Comment tagmeme. The Comment tagmeme may permute to between Activity tagmemes (Example 4).

The tense is the same in all the verbs, but the verbs themselves are different. A time horizon may go with more than one Activity Base (e.g., Example 4). The subject is the same for all Activity Bases, and all Activity Bases are positive.

The actor initially may have sentence topic intonation and thereafter each time horizon optionally has this intonation (See Sentence Periphery). Each time horizon with sentence topic intonation has clause stress at about the same height of pitch. Clauses referring to subsequent activities within the same Activity Base do not have either sentence topic intonation or rising sequence intonation. Nevertheless, such clauses are separate Phonological Clauses with intervening mid step down sequence intonation.

Examples:

1. **Activity₁**: Aawuch ngulan thapathantana' pam house then open-they-ct-cj man mûuy-kûnchang ananiya' wanch múuy-kûnchangiya' cousin-real-ts that-sp-cj women cousin-real-ts-cj munthang mamwuntan charcoal-with rub-they-ct-recip we-pl cj waa'anamp kayalpan mamana, mamwunampany puth. call-we kayalpan rub-we rub-we-pl-recip-sp because When they open the house the men cousins and the women cousins rub themselves with charcoal; we call this (the) kayalpan (rub) because we rub each other.

   OR 30-33

2. **Activity₁**: Pam kuutananganiya' wur ekan man kuutan-sp-cj quickly gets-up-he Activity₂: nyo'in patham kuutananganiy wampan site-he really kuutan (baby) comes-he Activity₃: aawalangan thee'an nun underarm-sweat-with throws-he him Activity₄: pungka pathan nun thinka pathan nun knee bites-he him small-of-back bites-he him Activity₅: wu'an nun mën-Mën emowant blowe-he him well grow-he-ft-to-him yipnam wench ke'anhang Comment: aak ngamparamaniy puth. so-that sores without place ours-sp because The kuutan man gets up quickly; he really sits and the kuutan (baby) comes to him; he rubs him with underarm sweat; he bites his knees, he bites the small of his back; he blows on him so that he will grow up well for him without any sores, for that's our custom.

KU 51-60
3. Activity 1: Kan kalan nun, pam mantayanang puk manyaniy punct carries-he him man old-ts child-sp

Activity 2: kee'athan nun Activity 3: thanathan nun aakang plays-he him stands-up-he him ground-on

Activity 4: pungka pathan nun a' thinka pathan nun
knees bites-he him cj back bites-he him

yipam ilyow thayanmowant kamp mo'owant erkam
so-that go-he-ft strong-he-ft-him-to fast run-he-ft-to-him fast

Activity 5: kalan nun Activity 6: pal-puuy

Activity 7: weentathan nun, puk manyaniy Activity 8: pathan nun.
turns-around-he him child-sp

The old man carries the baby; he plays with him; he stands him on the ground; he bites him on the knees and he bites him on the back so that he will go for him, so that he will be strong for him and so that he will run for him fast; he carries him; he turns him around here and there and he bites him.

KU 28-38

4. Activity 1: Kuutananganiya' pup many kuutan nungantamaniya'
cord-that-sp-cj child cord his-that-sp-cj

manangan thapathan nungantam kuutan alangan nungantang
neck-on-that take-off-he his-from cord that-ts (man) his-on

ngul manang kalan Activity 2: a'ngaa'atingamaniya'
then neck-on carries-he cj morning-in-that-sp-cj

nguchant ngul Activity 3: pathan nun
early-goes-he-him-to then bites-he him

Activity 4: thanathan nun if minam eman man wench ke'anhang
sees-he him well grows-he sores without

thathan nun Comment: "yaa, minam emanara ey"
sees-he him yes well grows-he-me-for ques

kuutan kunchan thawan, pamaniy Activity 5: eman
cord real-that says-he man-that grows-he
nungantam kuutane' kaap thonamangan wantaniya, kan patham
him-to-cj wet season one-that leaves-he-sp punct really

iian, otang anman kuutan angan.
goes-he short only cord-child there

The man kuutan takes the cord from the baby kuutan's neck and wears it around his own; in the morning he goes early to him; he bites him; he sees him if he has grown well for him without any sores, the man sees him the baby; he grows for him for one wet season, he just toddles for him, the kuutan baby.

KU 60-71

5. Activity 1: Dance kan kee'antan
punct dance-they-ct

Then they dance.

OR
6. **Activity 1**: kan ke'ant, nil wanchinthananiya' punct dance-they-ct she old-lady-that-sp-cj

wuungk pi'an an pathantan, ngak kan thanathantan dance big-that sing-they-ct water punct stand-they-ct

kinchangam anana, wiyanan ngul pentantan ngeen day-time-in that some-that then come-out-they-ct what

thampanganiya, dance thampanganiya Activity 2: kanan with-that-sp with-that-sp compl

ngak thanathantiya' danceaniy kan pentathantan water stand-they-ct-sp-cj -that-sp punct bring-out-they-ct

Activity 3: than nan-nâniyangan patham muunchantan, oathamang they at-that-time really wash-they-ct children-ts

kuunchanga kaath-pi'an anang muunchathantan thanang múuy-kûnch siblings-ts mother-big-ts wash-they-ct them cousins-real

anan pam wanch muuyanchin anangan, muunchathantan thanang that man woman cousins-pl those wash-they-ct them

maakiy aymiy thakan

man-bereaved-of-child woman-bereaved-of-child etc

muunchathantan thanang kayalpan anan Activity 4: thum wash-they-ct them kayalpan that (when) fire

munthan pentow kempam ananiya pach ananiya charcoal come-out-it-it flesh-from that-sp white-that-sp

anan kan liiyant ana ya'-ngul Comment: wik ke'anhang that punct go-they-ct that finished now word without

ke' liiy-liiyant ngul, wik athamáyan ngul thawayn.

neg go-they-ct-cont then word loudly then speak-they-it

They dance, the old ladies, they really sing a big dance and they stand the water for us in the daytime; some of them come out what with? with a dance; when they have stood the water up they really bring the dance out; at that same time they really wash the children, the brothers and sisters, the big mother, they wash them the cousins, those men and women cousins, they wash them, and the men and women bereaved of children, they wash them too - that is kaya lápan - when the charcoal comes off the flesh and it's white then they go, it's finished then; without speaking they don't go now, they speak loudly now.

OR 40-57

3.5 **TOPIC-SWITCHING PROCEDURAL SENTENCE**

This sentence type, like the former, describes a series of customary activities in chronological succession. Here, however, the focus is not on the chronological succession itself, but on switching the participant or item featured as topic in first one base, then the next. Same or different subjects are permitted. The new topic in each successive base is set off by features of affixation and intonation.
The Topic-switching Procedural Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Initial Participant Base</th>
<th>+ Additional Participant Base&lt;sup&gt;n=9&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>+ Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple S</td>
<td>Simple S</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence S</td>
<td>Sequence S</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amplification</td>
<td>Future Result Rhetorical Question S</td>
<td>Coordinate S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical Question S</td>
<td>Reason S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future Result S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Or' Alternative S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Obligatory Sentence Topic in exponent of each base

Different verbs, same tense
New referent in the Sentence Topic of each successive base
Usual structure of Sentence Topic:

a) Obligatory conjunction -a' plus Sentence Topic intonation occurs on noun phrase introducing all new referents - both Initial Participant Base and Additional Participant Base

b) Beside the conjunction -a' there is frequent use of specifier suffix -iy on noun phrase which introduces each referent

In the poorly attested Contemporary Procedural variant (Example 6) of this sentence type Sentence Topic is not obligatory

The Topic-switching Procedural Sentence is composed of three tagmemes: an obligatory Initial Participant Base, an obligatory Additional Participant Base, and an optional Comment tagmeme. The second tagmeme may occur from one to nine times.

The tense is the same with all verbs but the verbs are different. At least one referent is different in each successive Participant Base: the new referent may be subject, object, etc., and is encoded in the Sentence Topic of the sentence which expounds Participant Base.

Sentence Topic here has the structure described in Section 1 and summarized above in the bidimensional array.

This sentence type commonly encodes cultural activities where vari-participants and items come into successive focus. As is seen in
Examples 1-5 below its structure is quite regular. There is a slight irregularity in Example 4 where the putative Sentence Topic is non-initial in Base 2 and has final low falling intonation.

Example 6 is typical of a variant which is sometimes overheard. In this Contemporary Procedural (variant) the obligatory requirements of the main type - in regard to occurrence of Sentence Topic in each base - are relaxed. The participants are not highlighted but are referred to in a more general way, e.g. by use of pronouns.

Examples:

1. Part 1: A' koyam ngul liya, pam wanch nungantamana
   cj back then went-he men women his
   thaa'ath thanang Part 2: Dorisang pula Lorettaangana'
   taught-he them -cj they-dl -cj-cj
   koyam liypul, Indian people alantan.
   back went-they-dl those-to
   And then he went back to his own people and taught them, and Doris
   and Loretta went back to those Indian people.
   WMV 233-235

2. Part 1: kuutananganiya' um-kenya wun nungant pamaniy,
   kuutan-man-cj chest-up lies-he to-him man-sp
   Part 2: puk manyaniya' mantayanang kalan nun,
   child-cj old-man-ts carries-he him
   Part 3: kaath kunchaniya' kóy-kóyuw liyan, yu-k-way-mín thampang,
   mother-real-one-cj behind goes-she things with
   Part 4: nil kém-kunchanga' or nath wey wanch mantayan nath
   she grandmother-cj or maybe emo woman old maybe
   wun nungantang thinth, alangan puntha-paam thampang
   lives-she her-with close that-one-ts bird-wing with
   liyan nyeennyen kentan nungantam, ana puth nyeennyen
   goes-she flies sends-away-she him-from that because flies-that
   ke' wampan puth yu-k-wáya, puntha-paamangan penyán nunang
   neg come-it because thing-bad bird's-wing-with fans-she him
   káath-kuncha' puk manyan.
   mother-real-cj child small
   The kuutan man lies chest up for him (the baby); the old man carries
   the baby; the mother comes along behind with the things; the
   grandmother, or maybe an old woman who lives nearby comes with a
   bird's wing (fan) to send the flies away from him because flies
   muen't come because they are bad, she fans him and the mother
   with the bird's wing.
   KU 21-27
3. **Part 1**:
Puk manyaniya' pichathantan nun, morphanga' child-cj paint-they-ct-him white-clay-with-cj wu'ang,  
Part 2:
kuchekaniya' olka red ochre-with head-sp-cj feather-headress  
w unpantan nungant, or pach man uchang wampan put-they-pl-cj-him-on or flowers throat beads-with comes-he wiya man uungkamang wunpan puk many alantanan, some throat pearl-shell-necklet put-ct-he child that  
Part 3:
kuutan nungantamaniya' manang kathantan, cord his-sp-cj neck-on tied-they-ct  
Part 4:
kuutananiya' womang makantan,  
Puk manya' woman makantan,  
Part 5:
pukuwa' cord-sp-cj wax-in stick-they-ct red berries-cj  
pakang makantan kenyangkaniy womangan, ách-úmpanana, wax-in stick-they-above-in-sp wax-in-sp looks-nice  
Comment: puk manyaná ách-úmpen nungant, wampan nungant child looks-nice him comes-he him-to  
kuutan anganiy. kuutan there-sp  

They paint the child with red and white ochre and on his head they put a feather headdress or flowers, some come with beads around their necks and others have a pearl shell necklace put on them; they tie his umbilical cord covered in wax around his neck, it has red berries stuck in the wax to make it look nice; the child looking nice is brought there to the kuutan man.

KU 12-20

4. **Part 1**:
Kootranganiya' pach wunpantan man uchang head-on-sp-cj flowers put-they-ct neck beads-with man uungkamang  
Part 2:
pipang mamwuntan, neck pearl-shell-necklet-with mud-with rub-they-recip morpanga' wu'ang  
Comment: wanch anangan white-ochre-with-cj red-ochre-with ách-úmpan thanang. nice-looks them  

They put flowers on their heads and beads and pearl shell necklets on their necks; they rub each other with red and white ochre, it makes those women look nice.

PN 51

5. **Part 1**:
Than wiyaniya' ana ngeen yumpantan, dance yumpantan they some-sp-cj that what make-they-ct make-they-ct  
Part 2:
wiyanganiya' may kiningkantan  
Part 3:
wiyanganiya' some-ts-sp-cj food cook-they-ct some-ts-sp-cj kampan kunchaniya' ana patham aawuchanan pach relatives real-sp-cj that really house (for) flowers thuthantana kangk thak thuthantan pull-they-ct-cj bushes thuk that pull-they-ct
Comment: aawuchan ach-umpow pam mulantamaniya aawuchan. house-that look-nice-it-ft man dead-poss-sp house-that
And what do some of them do? They make a dance, others cook food and others, the real relatives they pull flowers and bushes etc.
to make the house look nice, the dead man's house.

OR 34-39

6. Part 1: Than yuk yongk umpantan, keekathantan swing-saw they tree ironwood chop-they-ct fell-they-ct
alangan umpantan yukan ompam umpan, Part 2: yaa, than that-with out-they-ct tree-that half oute-it yes they
pam al-alangana¹ pe'an thapathantana¹ yuk ana
men those-ts-cj skin peeled-off-they-ct-cj tree that
mee'pepan yumpantana, Part 3: Landrover mo'an koyam maayan sharp-point made-they-ct runs-it back picks-up-it
kalan aakanak fenceline aakanak kalan,
carries-it that-place-to that-place-to carries-it
keekathan, Part 4: tractor kul-kulam mo'an, pam thum ngatharamang drops-it behind runs-it man fire mine-ts
mo'athan tractoran, ngeen yuk anangan piikow thanang drives-he -that what logs those hit-it-ft them
Part 5: Pam thonamangan yuk maayana¹ pli'an nung min-min man one-ts log picks-up-he-cj minds-he it well
a¹ kuchek alangan piikan yukanaya yongkanan, nil cj head on-that-one hits-he log-that ironwood-that he
yinaman ongkamana¹ piikan, Part 6: a¹ ngeen in-that-manner lengthens-it-cj hits-he cj what
angaman wampan, strainer angaman there-that-place comes-it there-that-place
Part 7: pam wihiy thana¹ kuchamang puliya tractor kul-kulam man some they-cj two-ts they-dl-sp behind
kalapul, barbed-wireana mo'athanpulaa plain wire
take-they-dl -that run-it-they-dl-cj-cj
mo'athanpul Part 8: pam wiyan liyantan koy-koyuwana¹ ran-it-they-dl-cj-cj-cj man others go-they-pl-cj behind
ana than muunthantan ngul tie fastanga staplesang muunthantan, that they tie-they-ct then -with staples-with tie-they-ct
pungantan, Part 9: nil pam nil-nTlam kóy-kóyuwan liyana¹ hit-they-ct he man himself behind goes-he-cj
ana nil droppers anangan wunpan thanang, Part 10: ngay wey that he those puts-he them I emo
keenk liyana nganwey Samang liyanana markim punganan than firt go-I we-emo -cj go-we-ct do-we them-for
keenk aawara we'an an than yaa'an thonakam thaa'thanpanam first hole dig-we-ct them-for just only partly-done
thathayn yipam, Comment: workan nanpal erkam see-they-ft eo-that that-from quickly
minch-minchan than, finishes-it them-for
They cut ironwood trees, they fell it, they cut it with a swing saw, the log is cut in half; yes, those men take off the bark, they make the log sharp pointed; the Landrover goes behind and picks it up and carries it to that place, the fence-line place and drops it; the tractor goes behind the landrover - my husband drives the tractor - What for? to hit those logs; one man picks up those logs and minds them well and he hits the head of the ironwood log, like this he lengthens and hits them; and what comes to there? the strainer comes to there; two other men they come behind with the tractor and they run out the barbed wire and the plain wire; some other men come behind and they tie them, they tie them with tie fasts and with staples and hit them; one man goes behind by himself and he puts those droppers on; I go first, Sam and I go first and mark for them, we dig holes for them, we just do it partly so that they can see and from this the work finishes quickly for them.

MF 23-54

3.6 SIMULTANEOUS SENTENCE

This is a binary structure which exists to encode deep structure overlap, i.e. activities, states, or events at least parts of which are underway at the same time. This sentence may, however, also encode elliptical constructions with a motion verb in the first base: We went to x [and while there] so-and-so happened; and some instances of chronological succession. In the latter case the surface structure of simultaneity imposed on deep structure succession gives a resultant meaning of close sequence.

The Simultaneous Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Action</th>
<th>+ Cj</th>
<th>+ Simultaneous Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Compleitive Action S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Di-transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal Cl</td>
<td>Parallel S</td>
<td>Purposive S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous S</td>
<td></td>
<td>an-aniyang an at that time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Same tense (but may have past-future in second/variant)
Same or different subject
Actions overlapping, either both continuous, or one continuous and one punctiliar
Positive-Positive / Negative-Positive (one example)
The variant (1) with a motion verb in the first base, and an-aniyang at that time in the second base means: We went to X [and while there] so-and-so happened
Variant (2) with kan punctiliar in first base and an-aniyangan (ngul) means close sequence
Basic intonation is modified in Action Base and has higher pitch and narrower range, and optionally ends with -a' and sequence intonation. The Simultaneous Action Base is lower pitched and normal range.

The Simultaneous Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Action and Simultaneous Action which are optionally linked by -a'. Action may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses and Compleitive Action Sentence. Simultaneous Action may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive, Di-transitive and Reciprocal Clauses, and by Parallel, Purposive and Simultaneous Sentences. an-aniyangan at that time optionally occurs in the second base as summarized in the apparatus.

Except for the second variant described below, the tense combinations found in our present data are past-past, customary-customary, and imperative-future (imperative is regarded as lexically future). Bases may have same or different subject. Both bases are positive in all but one of the extant examples.

Both bases are obligatory, and no repeated bases have been found. In two examples (5 and 11) two Simultaneous Sentences occur together, both embedded in the one sentence (Reason Sentence and Contrast Sentence respectively).

While the actions of the two bases are simultaneous, either both actions may continue on together, or one action may be punctiliar and the other continuous. When one action is punctiliar, it may occur first in the sentence as in Example 11b, or second, as in Examples 6 and 7. When both bases of the Simultaneous Sentence have the same subject, one base may be transformed to a present participle construction.

Sometimes examples are ambiguous, in that it is difficult to
ascertain whether they are Sequence or Simultaneous Sentences. One such example is Example 3. As the Kuutan ceremony referred to in the second base is completed before the cord is cut, it is difficult to know whether the lexical material of the first base when children are born refers to the first part of the birth (birth of the baby) of the whole birth (birth of the baby and delivery of placenta (kuutan)). If the speaker means the first part of the birth, then this would be a Sequence Sentence. If they mean the birth as a whole, then the actions of the bases are simultaneous, and the example is a Simultaneous Sentence. Informant reaction also reflects some uncertainty, in that they will allow any of the particles an-aniyangan at that time, or namanama after that or annugulan and then to be optionally inserted between the bases in this example.

Variants of this sentence type have already been indicated. Notice first of all that while an-aniyangan at that time is rare in the main subtype which encodes overlap it is nevertheless natural and unforced in such usage. Thus, in Example 13 an-aniyangan occurs in a sentence which encodes two coterminous (or at least extended) activities. In Examples 14-16, however, the structure is clearly elliptical. The motion verb of the first base indicates an event which takes place before the event recorded in the second base. Nevertheless these examples seem to indicate that it is during the period of time when the subject is at the location reached as indicated in the motion verb, that the event of the second base took place. This seems like a not inappropriate extension of the simultaneous surface pattern. In this subtype the same tense requirement is preserved as in the main subtype.

The second variant, seen in Examples 17 and 18, is more aberrant. Here the punctiliar marker in the first base (and ngul in the second base of 17) clearly indicate succession. On the other hand, an-aniyangan seems elsewhere to mark a time horizon or simultaneity. Here, apparently, an overall meaning of close sequence results. A differing analytical option would be to make such sentences as 17 and 18 a variant of the Sequence Sentence. However, in view of the fact that in some other languages of the world simultaneous surface patterns are extended to cover close sequence as well, I assign this variant to the Simultaneous Sentence. One price of this assignment is that we now must say that the same-tense rule does not hold in the variant.

The Simultaneous Sentence occurs embedded in Reason Sentence, Contrast Sentence and Sequence Sentence. Also encoding as simultaneous are participial constructions such as:

\[ \text{ngay ma'pûnth thuthanang iiyang.} \]
\[ I \text{ arms swinging went-I} \]

\[ I \text{ went along swinging my arms.} \]

In this construction same subject is obligatory.
The intonation pattern of the Action Base is the same as that of the Protasis Base of the Conditional Sentence. This intonation pattern is a modification of basic intonation in that it is higher pitch and narrower range than basic intonation and optionally ends with the morpheme -a' and its accompanying sequence intonation. The intonational pattern of the Simultaneous Action tagmeme is lower pitch and normal range. It is the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme.

Examples:

1. Action: Pam wi-yi-y thana' kuchamang puliya, tractoran kul-kulam men some they-cj two-tr they-dl -that behind kalanpul Simu Action: barbed wire ana mo'athanpula, plain take-they-ct dem run-tr-they-ct wire mo'athanpul. run-tr-they-ct
   Some of those men, those two, they take the tractor behind, they run the barbed wire, and they run the plain wire.
   MF 40-42

2. Action: Ninta ngayang ma' thatha' Simu Action: ngay you me hand watch-Imper-cj I nungk mee'nathānga. you show-I-ft
   You watch my hands and I will show you.
   FL

3. Action: Barbara'ang ke'an thathowanya' Simu Action: ngay ts neg look-she-ft-me-cj I mulathāng ku' waak nungantam. kill-I-ft cat here
   When Barbara is not looking, I'll kill her cat.

4. Action: Puk manyam mee'penchantanana, children small born-they-ct Simu Action: kuutan an waa'antan pam alantan. umbilical-cord call-they man that-one-to
   When children are born, they call the cord to that man.
   KU 3

5. Action: Ngan kaa'āthamiya' kich uwan, Simu Action: nil we first bark found-we she anman iiy - ngantang. there went-she us-accom
   She accompanied us when we went to find bark first.
wik kuchananakan iiyang Action: nip puth tha'ai angan words send-for want-I you-dl and door there
nylin-nylinuwa, Simu Action: wooyan thath-thathuw.
sat-ct-you-dl-pt road watched-you-pt-ct
You two saw me when I was going to send a message, because you were sitting at the door watching the road.

(Converson) Two Simultaneous S embedded in Text and Reason tag-memes of Reason S

7. Action: Ngan mo'mo'an wooyanangana' Simu Action: car we ran-ct-we-pt road-on-cj
kucham pul um.
two they-two straight-on
When we were going along the road, two cars came together.

WT 19

8. Action: Muunch-muunchapul thoniya' Simu Action: nil awam-they-dl-ct-pt day-cj it
plkuwa wo'woyian angman chupa thanp.
crocodile other-side there onam jumped-he
When they two were swimming one day, he the crocodile jumped into the water on the other side.

FL

inan thathang - ngay konangam pii'anga,... this saw-I I ear-in held-I
When I was a child I saw this and I've remembered it...

In Sequence S: PN 4, 5

10. Action: Kananiya' workak pankantan, Simu Action: ngan punct -to go-out-they-ct we
angaman nyiinan may kiingkanan, thant keenk.
there sit-we food cook-we-ct them-for first
And when that's finished, they go to work, while we stay there and cook food, for them first.

MP 4

11. (Yaa') Action: ngaya kath-kathanga', Simu Action: nil angaman I made-ct-I-pt-cj she there
nyiina ra thinth ngatharang.
sat-she-to-me close me-accom
Yes, while I made (pandanus articles) she sat close to me there.

FL 136-7
meethama!, Action: nganth uthamana! Simu Action: ngan awake-cj light died-ct-cj we
yipaka nyiin-nyinn yoon, thengk-thengkan.
yet eat-ct-pt-we outside laughed-ct-pt
While the light was burning we were still awake, when the light went out, we still sat outside, laughing.

In Contrast S: VR 114-5

Sentences with an-aniyangan:

13. Action: Nga mpa may anan mungk-mungkampa, Simu Action: pul we food that ate-ct-pt-cont they
an-anTyangan piik-piikuwpu!.
at that time hit-recip-they-two-cont
While we were eating our food, those two were hitting each other.

14. Action: Ngan thompang ukan we beach went-down-cj -to
Simu Action: an-anTyangan ngan thahan piikuw pach.
at-that-time we saw-we crocodile white
At the time we went down to the beach Yaanang we saw a white crocodile.

15. Action: Ngay keenkanam weenam pii'anak iiyang Simu Action: I long ago lake big-to went-I
an-anTyangan ngay minh punchiy yet wich-wichang kuuyang.
at-that-time I animal turtle lots caught-I line-with
A long time ago I went to big lake, at that time I caught lots of turtles with a line.

16. Action: Ngan keenkanam may atak iiyan Simu Action: we long-time-ago food honey-for went-we
an-anTyangan thathan minh achamp ko'alama ngakak ukin.
at-that-time saw-we animal emu three water-for went-down-they
A long time ago we went for honey, at that time we saw three emus go down for water.

17. Action: May kanan mungkampa! Simu Action: an-anTyangan food punct finish-ct-ct
ngul minchathaan parcel puth kathaan kuuyang.
then finish-you-ct cj tie-you-ct string-with
When we have finished eating, at that time you will finish wrapping the parcel with string.

Conversation

18. Action: May menchanang ana, kanam pencha, food ripe-with dem punct ripened
Simu Action: an-anTyangan mungkamp.
at-that-time eat-ct-pt
When the food is ripened, at that time we eat it.
3.7 COORDINATE SENTENCES

This sentence type is a multi-based same subject string which reports events or activities in the same semantic domain. Various co-occurrence restrictions make this construction in Wik-Munankan more restricted than are coordinate sentences in many languages.

The Coordinate Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Action</th>
<th>+ Coordinate Action</th>
<th>+ Cj</th>
<th>+ Coordinate Action n=2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyclic Coordinate S</td>
<td>Cyclic Coordinate S</td>
<td>Cyclic Coordinate S</td>
<td>Cyclic Coordinate S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs have same tense
Same subject
Temporal relations not in focus
Bases all positive or all negative
Sequence intonation between bases;
final base with final intonation

The Coordinate Sentence is composed of an Action Base, and up to two Coordinate Action Bases (although it is suspected that more could occur). The first and third bases are obligatory; the second is optional. The Action Base may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, and Paraphrase and Cyclic Coordinate Sentences. The final Coordinate Action Base is expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clause. The non-final Coordinate Action Base is expounded by Intransitive Clause only in our present examples.

The final Coordinate Action Base is optionally linked to the preceding base by the conjunction a'. The conjunction a' occurs more frequently when there is definite change of focus, such as shift to a different rather than to a similar action and introduction of a different (non-subject) referent.

The verbs have the same tense in all bases. The examples found have either all past tense or all future tense in all bases. All bases have the same subject. The bases are either all negative or all positive.

As described earlier in the paper, temporal succession of events is not in focus in Coordinate Sentences.
The Coordinate Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence Sentence, and Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence.

The bases are joined by obligatory sequence intonation. The final base has final intonation.

**Examples:**

1. *(Piip ngantam in kenyang an ina) Action: aak thakan pathan father ours here high we here sing-we-past-etc
   
   Coord Action: mee'wuthanman thak, Coord Action: wik nungkaram eye-shut-we also words yours
   
   anman minam nggeyan (ana konangam pii'an).
   only well heard-we dem ear-in hold-we-ft
   
   Our Father in heaven, we are here, we have sung, etc., prayed, etc., and heard your good word, and we will remember them.

   In Sequence S: PR 2

2. *(Inpalaniyathuukana wantäm) Action: ke'ngul mee'wuthanmämampa from now snake leave-we-ft neg will pray-we-ft
   
   mee' ke' ngathäm Coord Action: Pungkang ke' nyiinämampa
eye neg shut-we-ft knee-with neg sit-we-ft
   
   (wantämthuuk pii'ananiy).
   leave-we-ft snake big
   
   From now let us leave the snake, we will never pray (to him) again we won't pray (to him), we won't kneel (before him), let us leave the big snake.

   In Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S: OPV 246-250

3. Action: Ngan ngutanganiya mee'atham nylin-nylin, Coord Action: we night-in awake sat-cont-we
   
   thengk-thengkanim Coord Action: a'ngan thampang aak thakan
laughed-cont CJ we also place swept-we-ct
   
   We sat awake in the night, laughing, and we also swept the place.

   VR 110-112

4. The first part of the following sentence is elliptical, and refers back to the preceding sentence in the text. It is not clear what sentence type this example of Coordinate Sentence is embedded in. It may be that the whole sentence should be regarded as a Coordinate Sentence.

   *(Nila thuukapii'ana, thana wa'a'antan boa constrictora, wa'a'antan, he snake big they call-they
thuuk thana piil'piil'antan Action: nila an kuyam, alantan
snake they mind-ct-they he dem used-to-to-that-one
mee'a-wuthan, pungkanga nylin, mee'wuthanmamt, prayed-he knee-with sat-he prayed-he-to-him
Coord Action: a'pam wanch thak konych thanang.
CJ men women too cursed-he them
   
   They keep (worship) the big snake that is called the boa constrictor - he prayed to him, knelt to him and prayed to him and he cursed men and women too.

WMV 73-80
4. PARALLEL, DISJUNCTIVE, AND CONTRASTIVE SENTENCES

Here there is a spectrum of sentence types ranging from a variety of coupling which systematically varies one and only one noun phrase, to three sorts of disjunctive sentences which posit choices among predicates or one of their terms, to Contrastive Sentences which have a two-fold contrast between their bases. Antithetical Sentence which encodes Expectancy Reversal is considered here also because of its surface feature resemblance to the structure of the Contrast Sentence.

Points of comparison and contrast between the sentence types of this section are summarized in Diagram III. It is instructive, for example, to note that the Parallel Sentence requires the same verb in all its bases, while other types do not. But even when the other sentence types have the same verb, points of structural contrast remain. Thus, the Parallel Sentence differs from the Alternative Sentence in that when the latter has the same verb in both bases, one base will be negative and the other positive. Other surface features of the latter, including the use of markers, make it plain that choice must be made between the negative or positive predication. Parallel Sentence differs from the Contrast Sentence in that in the latter, two referents must differ between the bases. Again, when the same verb occurs in both bases of the Contrast Sentence one must be negated - unless the two opposed referents are only in the terms of the predication. Again, peculiar markers not found in the Parallel Sentence, occur in the Contrast Sentence. Furthermore, the Parallel Sentence differs from the Alternative, Contrast and Antithetical Sentences in that while the Parallel Sentence is multi-based the latter are binary.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Tagmemes</th>
<th>Parallel</th>
<th>Alternative</th>
<th>Conditional Alternative</th>
<th>Alternative with or</th>
<th>Contrast</th>
<th>Antithetical</th>
<th>Reversal (Antithetical)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text, Parallel n = 3, and Comment</td>
<td>Prop and Alt Prop Base</td>
<td>Cond Prop and Cond Alt</td>
<td>Prop and Alt Prop</td>
<td>Text and Contrast</td>
<td>Thesis and Antithesis</td>
<td>Thesis project and Antithesis/reversal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markers</td>
<td>Optional connective 'as, 'a', 'puth'</td>
<td>Optional Potential Marker nath maybe with both bases</td>
<td>Optional Conditional Alternative Marker nath-thin alternatively between bases</td>
<td>Obligatory loan word or between bases</td>
<td>antithetical 'FACTIVE marker' ya's 'opposite to fact' push 'adversative' frequently occur in one or more bases</td>
<td>Obligatory Pivot 'puth' but</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same/Different</td>
<td>Same or Diff subject</td>
<td>One Referent Constant</td>
<td>Same subject</td>
<td>Same or Diff subject</td>
<td>Same or Diff subject</td>
<td>Same or Diff subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive/Negative</td>
<td>All Pos or All Neg</td>
<td>Pos/Neg</td>
<td>Pos/Neg or Antonym</td>
<td>Pos/Neg</td>
<td>Pos/Neg or situational opposite</td>
<td>All combinations except Neg/Neg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exponents</td>
<td>Limited exponents which are mostly clauses. Same exponents in each base.</td>
<td>Expounded mostly by clauses. Frequently different exponents in each base.</td>
<td>Expounded by embedded indefinite Condition S.</td>
<td>Expounded mostly by clauses. Same or different exponents of bases.</td>
<td>Wide range of exponents. Same or different exponents of bases.</td>
<td>Expounded by clauses and embedded sentences. Same or Diff exponents of bases.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>Identical intonation. Drop of Pitch on each successive parallel.</td>
<td>Intonation of Cl or Sentence type expounding each base. Bases linked by sequence intonation.</td>
<td>Intonation of two proposition tagmemes is that of sentence expounding tagmemes. Then of marker takes clause stress.</td>
<td>Intonation of clause or sentence type expounding each base. Link or is fast with low pitch.</td>
<td>Marker 'FACTIVE' ya's 'opposite to fact' take clause stress. When base negated by ke' or ya' these receive clause stress higher than that of positive base.</td>
<td>First base lower overall pitch and narrow range. Clause stress higher on Antithesis base. Occurs on ya' no if present. 'puth' but is low pitch and rapid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pivot tagmeme may be separate phonological clause. Clause stress on 'FACTIVE' or then of pivot.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1 THE PARALLEL SENTENCE

This sentence type maintains identity of form and lexical items (including the verb) from base to base but systematically varies one noun phrase. Thus, similar but differing predications are made from base to base.

The Parallel Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>(+ Connective)</th>
<th>Parallel</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>-aa</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>-a'*</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antithetical S</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td>Antithetical S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>putha' a'*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Same verb and same tense
- Same or different subject
- One and only one referent changes from base to base
- All bases positive or all negative
- Identical intonation with drop of pitch on each successive Parallel

A minimal Parallel Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes Text and Parallel, which are optionally linked by a Connective. Up to two additional Parallel Bases occur in our present data, and an optional Comment Base. The Text and Parallel Bases are expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses and by Antithetical Sentences. Comment Base is expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses (Examples 3, 9). The connective is expounded by -aa, -a' optionally suffixed to the verb, or by a' between bases, and in one instance by putha' a' which translates as and in this situation.

Stringent co-occurrence restriction characterizes this sentence type. Text and Parallel must be filled by identical constructions, for example, when Text is expounded by a Transitive Clause, Parallel will also be expounded by Transitive Clause. The same predicate is obligatory in all bases (except Comment). For all bases except Comment, one, but only one referent must change - such as subject, object, indirect object, direction, or time. The referents that remain the same are mostly identical in form, but in one example (4) the Stative Clause which fills Antithesis slot of the Antithetical Sentence which fills Parallel is somewhat expanded compared with its counterpart in Text.
When there is same subject, the free form of the subject is usually deleted in Parallel. Where Parallel Sentence is embedded in another sentence, the free form of the subject does not normally occur in either Text or Parallel. In Examples 5 and 8 there is a time word in one base only, in (5) in Text and in (8) in Parallel. All bases must have the same tense. The bases must be either all positive or all negative.

The asterisked items in the array, i.e. the Connective -a' and the combination punha' a' and the occurrence of a third Parallel Base have only been found in Deleted Predicate Parallel Sentences. (See section 11.3).

Typically this sentence type occurs embedded in other sentences.

The Text and each Parallel have identical intonation, with a drop of pitch on the first and each successive Parallel. The pitch range is narrow. These features are superimposed on the intonation patterns of the sentences and/or clause type which expound the bases.

Examples:

1. (Pam wiyi thana' kuchamang puliya, tractoran kul-kulam men some they two-tr they-dl -that behind kalanpul) Text: barbed wire mo'athanpulaa carried-they-ct ran-out-they-ct-conn Parallel: plain wire mo'athanpul ran-out-they-ct

Other men, those two, they take the tractor behind, they run barbed wire, they run plain wire (from the tractor).

As Paraphrase of Paraphrase S: MF 18

2. (Yaa, nil wanchìnthan thawa') Text: puntha-paam-thàmp ke' wey yes she old woman said-she aeroplane neg emo wampowa' kinchkénya Parallel: ngaa'atingam ke' wey wampowa. come-it-ft sun-high early-morning neg emo come-it-ft The old woman said, "The plane won't come at mid-day, it won't come early in the morning."

In Quotation S: WT 11, 12

3. (Ngay thawangant, "ngay oynk ke'am yeechanga,) I said-I-to-her I vomit neg poured-I Text: puntha-paam-thàmpang mo'angaa. Parallel: chukun plane-in went-I-conn boat mo'anga (minam mo'anga)." went-I well went-I I said to her, "I have never vomited, I've travelled in a plane and I've travelled in a boat, I've travelled well."

In the Quote of a Quotation S: MT 164
4. Text: thon paathina' waya chil Parallel: thon paathina' another tried-they bad sand another tried-they yim-yimanam chil anman, chilatly anman. same-way sand only sand-lots only ... they tried one, it was bad, it was sandy, they tried another it was the same, sandy, lots of sand only.

In Sequence S: DW 4, 5

5. Text: Ngaa'atamiya' wanch anangiya' wool kan pathantan tomorrow-sp women those-sp small-dance punct danced-they Parallel: wuungk pathantan, big-dance sing-they The next day those women sing a small dance and they sing a big dance...

In Sequence S: PN 33, 34

6. Text: Than maniyatham inangana kan kee'antan, they alive these punct dance-they Parallel: nila minchalamanaka kan kee'an, he ghost-that punct dances-he Those who are alive dance, and he the ghost dances,...

In Sequence S: PE 26, 27

7. (kee'athan nuna, thanathan nun aakanga') Text: pungk plays-he-tr him stands-he-tr him ground-on knees pathan nun a' Parallel: thinka pathan nun, bits him small-of-back bites-he him ... he plays with him, he stands him on the ground, he bites his knees, he bites the small of his back...

In Sequence S: KU 29-32

8. Text: Pam wanch ngatharamanta, ngay kaangk wunanga; Parallel: pam men women mine-to I like lie-I men wanch wiya nath-nathan wuntan, kan-ngul ngay kaangk wunanga,... women some far-far live-they punct-now I like lie-I I love my own people, and I love the people who live far away, (I love them) now,...

In Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S: WMV 226-8

9. Text: Nil Barbara'angiya wicha, ko'alam wich, she -tr-sp caught-she three caught-she Parallel: nil Marie'lya, kucham wich, Parallel: Louisa'angiya she -sp two caught-she -tr-sp seven wich --minh nga' Comment: anangan wichin thanang. caught-she pro fish those caught-they them Barbara caught three fish, Marie caught two, and Louisa caught seven fish, that's the fish they caught.

MW
10. Text: **Wiyiya ka'ara we'antan**, Parallel: **wiyiya nham some-sp yam-type dig-they**
    **we'antan**, Parallel: **wiyiya may wathiy we'antan**,
    **dig-they some-sp food yam-type dig-they**

Comment: **may nanangan yo' yalamathwuntan.**
    food those lots gather-together-they

Some dig ka'ara yams, some nham yams and some wathiy yams. That's the food they gather together.

4.2 ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

This sentence type encodes Alternation with Excluded Middle, i.e. it poses a choice between but two alternatives. To force this choice a same subject predicate may be repeated and negated; or an antonym of the predicate or of one of its terms may be used.

The Alternative Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Potential Marker</th>
<th>Proposition Base</th>
<th>Potential Marker</th>
<th>(± Negative Alternate)</th>
<th>Proposition Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nath maybe here or within Proposition Base</th>
<th>Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl 'Like' Merged S</th>
<th>nath maybe ya'/ya'a no kaangk ke' don't like, don't want to</th>
<th>Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl 'Like' Merged S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phonological Clause</td>
<td>Phonological Clause</td>
<td>Phonological Cl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Alternative Sentence has five tagmemes, Potential Marker, Proposition, Potential Marker, Negative and Alternate Proposition. Both Potential Marker tagmemes are expounded by nath *maybe* which occurs either preceding or within the Proposition and Alternate Proposition tagmemes. Proposition and Alternate Proposition are expounded by Transitive Clause, Intransitive Clause and the 'Like' Merged Sentence. The Negative tagmeme is expounded by *ya'/ya'a no* or *kaangk ke* *don't like to, don't want to.*

While both Potential Markers expounded by nath, may occur, at least one must occur. The Proposition tagmeme is obligatory. Again, while both the Negative tagmeme and the Alternate Proposition (neg) tagmeme may occur, at least one of the tagmemes must occur.

The Proposition and Alternate Proposition tagmemes are expounded by clauses, either Transitive or Intransitive in all cases except one (Example 5). It is considered probable that other sentence types will be found to be exponents of the base tagmemes on the addition of further data.

The tense of the two bases is future in all but one example (3) where Alternate Proposition Base has customary aspect which is set over against the future tense in the Proposition Base. The accompanying examples happen to be limited to second and third person, singular and dual, but presumably any person and any number could occur. The important structural restriction is that both bases have the same subject, hence the same person and number.

The two bases are positive and negative respectively, or antonymical. Negative expounded by *ya'/ya'a no* or *kaangk ke* *don't want to* serves to anticipate and reinforce a following negative or antonym (in the Alternate Proposition Base). The Negative may, however, occur with an implied but unstated Alternate Proposition Base, and the latter may occur without the former, when the former two bases are permuted so that the first base is negative, *ya'/ya'a no* precedes nath (when both occur) and reinforces the preceding negative (Example 7).

The Potential Marker nath *maybe* may occur before or within the exponents of Proposition, Negative or Alternate Proposition tagmemes, but wherever it occurs it groups with the exponent of one of these three tagmemes to form a Phonological Clause. The Alternative Sentence is composed of either two or three Phonological Clauses, depending on whether or not the Alternate Proposition tagmeme occurs. Linkage of the bases is by sequence intonation of the mid step-up variety. The intonation pattern of each Phonological Clause is that of the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme, this applies both to overall pitch patterns and the position of clause stress.
Examples: These seven examples were elicited or heard in conversation.

1. Prop: Nath wampow, Neg: nath ya'a Alt Prop: ke'am wampow.
   -maybe come-he-ft maybe neg neg come-he-ft
   Maybe he will come, or maybe he won't.

   -maybe come-he-ft maybe there stay-he-ft
   Maybe he will come, or maybe he will stay there.

3. Prop: Anne nath miyal wampow pal, Neg: nath ya'
   Alt Prop: yaam way-wayama wunan.
   long time very-sick lie-she-ct
   Anne might come back well, maybe she won't, she might still be quite sick.

   -you-dl here maybe like do-you-dl-ft maybe no
   Maybe you two would like to do this, maybe you wouldn't.

5. Prop: Nip inan nath kaangk yumpow, an ep,
   -you-dl here maybe like do-you-dl-ft dem fact
   Neg: nath kaangk ke' Alt Prop: ke' yumpow puth.
   maybe like neg neg make-you-dl-ft cj
   Maybe you two would like to make this, that's alright, maybe you don't like (to make it), so (if so) don't make it.

6. Prop: Nint inan yumpâna, Neg: nath kaangk ke'
   -you this make-you-ft maybe like not
   Alt Prop: thon ngul ep yumpân.
   other then fact make-you-ft
   You do this, maybe you don't want to, then do this other.

   -maybe neg come-he-ft maybe come-he-ft
   He might come, or maybe he won't.

4.3 CONDITIONAL ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

A further type of alternative sentence, this sentence type has bases expounded by Conditional Sentences; it thus posits a choice between opposed implications.

The Conditional Alternative Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
The Conditional Alternative Sentence has two bases, Conditional Proposition and Conditional Alternate Proposition. They are optionally linked by the Conditional Alternative Marker nhok thón (groin other) on the other hand. In the Conditional Alternative Sentence each base is expounded by an embedded Indefinite Condition Sentence.

The tense of the bases must agree. The most frequent tense is future-future, but customary-customary also occurs. If both were past tense then such a construction would presumably be Alternative Contrafactual Sentence, but no examples have been found to date.

The lexical restrictions of this sentence type are much like those of the preceding type. It is simply necessary to specify that the crucial lexical items are in corresponding bases of the embedded conditional sentences that expound each base. Having specified this, we then find positive versus negative use of the same predicate, or pairs of antonyms and situational opposites as in the previous sentence type.

Intonation of the two proposition tagmemes is that of the sentence expounding the tagmeme. The Conditional Alternative Marker nhok thón alternatively groups with the following base to form a Phonological Clause; thón of the Marker takes the clause stress. The pitch height of the nucleus of this second Phonological Clause is the same as that of the highest Phonological Clause nucleus in the preceding embedded sentence.
Examples:

1. Cond Prop: Koonha pech menhang anan pipan, ana ngak
tooth space middle that broke-it-ct that water
min mungkan, aak minang wun Cond Alt Prop: nil
good drinks-he-ct place good-in lives-he
koonha pech ke'am ana wuna, thuthana, ana aak
tooth space neg-emph that lives-he broken-it-ct that place
wayak liyan, ngak way mungkan, panth-panth thamp
bad-to go-he-ct water bad drinks-he-ct maggots also
yamang.
somewhere-there (like)
Where there's a tooth space in the middle, he (or she) drinks good
water and lives in a good place. (Alternatively) where there's
no tooth space, he (or she) goes to a bad place, and drinks bad
water, like with maggots somewhere there.

PE 100-103

2. Cond Prop: Nil ngak wey wampow ngay ingam,
it rain emo come-it-ft I here-stay
Cond Alt Marker: nhoka thón Cond Alt Prop: nil pungan
groin other it sun
wukōwanya ngay ep liyāng.
burn-it-ft-me I fast go-I-ft
If the rain comes I'll stay here, alternatively if the sun shines
on me I'll go.

3. Cond Prop: Ngamp Aurukunak wey uwamp kinch
we-pl-incl -to emo find-we-pl-incl-ft sun
kenya ep ang mungkāmp Cond Alt Marker:
above fast-all-right there-stay eat-we-pl-incl-ft
nhoka thón Cond Alt Prop: ngamp customs yaam wey
groin other we-pl-incl long-time emo
mee p'i l'ayn ngampang kinchawāyang
eye mind they-pl-ft (delay us) we-obj sun-bad
wampāmp.
come-we-pl-incl-ft
If we get to Aurukun at mid-day that will be all right, we will
eat there, alternatively if customs delay us we will come at
evening.

Conversation

4. Cond Prop: Aak ngak an wampan kinch ongk thum heater
place water that comes-it sun long fire
p'i l'anamp pung ukanakam, Cond Alt Marker:
mind-we-pl-incl-ct sun go-down-right-up-to
nhok thón Cond Alt Prop: minam park-parkana, thum heater
groin another well shines-it fire
ke' p'i l'anamp, yoon puth nyilinanamp pung
neg mind-we-pl-incl-ct outside because sit-we-pl-incl-ct sun
karkanang.
hot-in
If it rains all day we keep the heater going right up to when the sun goes down, alternatively when the sun shines brightly, we don't have the heater because we sit outside in the hot sun.

Conversation

4.4 'OR' ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

This alternative sentence type employs the English loanword 'or' and has further additional features which set it apart from the other alternative sentences. Apparently the 'Or' Alternative Sentence may include alternation either with or without excluded middle while the other two alternative sentence types seem to be restricted to the latter.

The 'Or' Alternative Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
<th>or</th>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existential Cl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Result S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense-aspect is: past-past
past- (Existential Cl), or
customary-subjunctive

Same subject, Same person and number
Negative-Positive and Positive-Negative
Both bases have the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence which expounds the bases
The link or is fast and with low pitch

The English loanword or is now used by many Wik-Munkan speakers. The use of or as an Alternative Marker is most common on the phrase level. Out of 10 examples of or in the Wik-Munkan Concordance only three were in sentence level constructions while seven were phrase level. The use of or does not substitute for math maybe which optionally is associated with each base of the Alternative Sentence. Rather or occurs between the bases of a construction which seems to have been added to the Wik-Munkan as a further sentence type. The use of or can be compared with the Conditional Alternative Marker nhok thón (groin other) alternatively, on the other hand. However, or usually occurs between phrases or clauses while nhok thón occurs in Conditional
Alternative Sentences between embedded sentences which expound the Conditional Proposition and Conditional Alternate Proposition tagmemes.

There are two obligatory base tagmemes, Proposition Base and Alternate Proposition Base and the obligatory Alternative Marker or. Proposition is expounded by Transitive Clause and Alternate Proposition is expounded by Transitive Clause, Existential Clause and Future Result Sentence. While further exponents of these bases may be found later it appears that the second base of this sentence is less restricted in exponence than is the first. The Alternative Marker is expounded by the loanword or.

The tense combinations of the three examples found are past-past, past-Existential Clause-(tenseless), and customary-subjunctive. Person and number are both the same whether overtly stated or not. The subjects are the same in both bases, or the implication is that the second subject is the same.

The alternatives offered in this sentence type need not be positive-negative variants of the same predicate nor antonyms. Thus, as in the third example below, we may simply find two possible courses of action expressed in terms from the same semantic domain without any implication of excluded middle. On the other hand, the first example has in its first base a question which implies a negative as contrasted with the positive of the second base. The second example employs in the first base an overt negative in a question implying a positive answer; but here the focus is an antonymical expression rather obliquely expressed. Probably, then the first two examples include alternation with excluded middle.

This sentence may occur embedded in Sequence Sentence or Concession Sentence. Both the Proposition Base and the Alternate Proposition Base have basic intonation when a clause expounds them. When an embedded sentence expounds a base the base takes the intonation appropriate to that sentence type. The two bases are linked by the Alternative Marker or which occurs fast and with low pitch between the two bases.

Examples:

1. (Muk ngaparamaniy, minh aakanakan, pi'úmak iiya) uncle ours-sp fish there-for bush-oven-to went-he
   Prop: ya' that he ques Alt Marker: or Alt Prop: minh angam
   uw? neg saw-he ques or fish there
   found-he
   Our Uncle, he went there for fish, to the bush oven, did he look
   in vain, or did he find fish there?

   In Sequence S: GM 031
2. Prop: Lukuw ya' ey, nathan ke' thuchin ey? 
   no ques maybe neg went-down-they ques 
Alt Marker: or Alt Prop: thaa' palam yam? 
   or intens here somewhere 
   Not Lukuw, ey, maybe they went down there, or somewhere back here? 
   GM 111 

3. Prop: Ningeeyan wik minan thawanamp thant, Alt Marker: or 
   he hears-ct words good say-we-ct them-to 
Alt Prop: thatimp thanang, nyilinythana ngakama, thee'amp 
   see-we-sj them sit-they-sj water-from give-we-ft 
   thant, ngak many. 
   them-to water small 
   He hears us, (if) we say good words to them, or if we maybe see 
   them sitting thirsty, we will give them some water. 
   In Concession S: WM 084 

4.5 CONTRAST SENTENCE 

Contrast, as encoded in this binary sentence type is two-pronged. 
Commonly opposed predicates are contrasted, either by repeating and 
negating the predicate of the first base or by presenting its antonym 
in the second base. In addition, a further contrast is found in the 
terms of the two predications. Alternatively, the predicates may be 
kept identical and there may be two contrasting pairs of terms. 

The Contrast Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ Contrast</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotation S</td>
<td>Reciprocal Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amplification S</td>
<td>Future Result S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneous S</td>
<td>Simultaneous S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Like' Merged S</td>
<td>'Like' Merged S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate S</td>
<td>Simile S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reason S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explanation S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Antithetical S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negated Antonym S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One of the following optional markers occurs in one or both bases: Factative Marker *ep* it is, it is true; Adversative *puth* but; Opposite to Fact Marker *ya'a* not, won't, doesn't (in some cases Predicate of Stative Cl)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normally same tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same or different subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May be positive-negative, negative-positive, or positive-positive (with antonyms)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When either Factative Marker <em>ep</em>, or Opposite to Fact Marker <em>ya'a</em> occur this receives clause stress or they occur as a separate P Clause to the remainder of the clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When the negatives <em>ke'a</em> or <em>ya'a</em> occur these receive clause stress. Either form of sequence intonation occurs between the two bases.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Contrast Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes, Text and Contrast. Both Text and Contrast can be expounded by Transitive Clause, Intransitive Clause, Stative Clause, Complement Clause, Paraphrase Sentence, Simultaneous Sentence, and 'Like' Merged Sentence. In addition, Text may be filled by Quotation Sentence, Amplification Sentence and Coordinate Sentence while Contrast may be filled by Reciprocal Clause, Future Result Sentence, Simile Sentence, Reason Sentence, Explanation Sentence, Antithetical Sentence and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence. Some of these exponents are restricted to Deleted Predicate and Cyclic Contrast Sentences in our present data.

Granting that the data are still relatively fragmentary and that more exponents will be found for each base of the Contrast Sentence, it nevertheless appears that there is a greater variety of exponence in the second base than in the first. It is also evident that this sentence type is on a high layer of organization in that it embeds within itself many other sentences.

Sentences and clauses of both same and different structure may occur together in Contrast Sentence though it is common for the syntagmemes expounding each base to be the same.

This sentence type is characterized by a considerable variety of markers. These markers, viz. Factative Marker *ep*, Opposite to Fact Markers *ya'a*, and Adversative *puth* - along with the verbal negative *ke'* co-occur with each other across bases as follows:
ep in Text co-occurs with ya'a, ke'a, or φ in Contrast
puth in Text co-occurs with puth, φ, or ep in Contrast
ya'a in Text co-occurs with φ in Contrast
ke'a in Text co-occurs with ep and puth in Contrast

In Cyclic Contrast Sentences (cf 11.1) ep occurs in Text and both ep and puth occur in Text'. These can co-occur with ke' in Contrast.
In one sentence ep in Text co-occurs with ya' in Contrast and ep in Text'. These various co-occurrence possibilities for markers in the Contrast Sentence and in the Cyclic Contrast Sentence are summarized in the following diagram.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ Contrast</th>
<th>+ Text'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ep</td>
<td>ep</td>
<td>ep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puth</td>
<td>puth</td>
<td>puth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'a</td>
<td>ya'a</td>
<td>ya'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke'</td>
<td>ke'</td>
<td>ke'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these co-occurrences across bases, within bases more than one marker or the negative ke' may occur, but only rarely. Thus ep and ya'a occur together in the Text of one example, and puth and ke' in the Text of another, while combinations found in Contrast tagmeme are in one instance ke', ke' and in another ep, puth, ep. In the Text' tagmeme of one example ep and puth occur together.

Deletion of the verb in one base occurs frequently in Contrast Sentence. Examples can be seen in the section on Deleted Predicate Contrast Sentences.

When two verbal clauses or sentences expound the bases, there is only one exception (Example 10) to the verbs being the same tense. The bases may have same or different subjects. The combinations negative/positive and positive/negative occur, and in Cyclic Contrast positive/negative/positive. Both Bases may be positive when situational opposites or antonyms occur.

There must be contrast at two points between the base tagmemes. Very frequently, the same verb is used in both bases but is negated in one base, either by the verbal negative ke' or by the Opposite to Fact Marker ya'a. In some examples the form of the fillers expounding the Subject or Object tagmemes in each base are the same, but the referents are different e.g.
Wiya min, wiya ya'a.
some good some no

Some are good, some (others) are not.

In spite of embedding many sentence types in its bases Contrast Sentence itself occurs embedded in Quotation Sentence, Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence, Explanation Sentence, Mistaken Thought Sentence (Cyclic example only), and Paraphrase Sentence.

Although this sentence regularly encodes contrast, one example (7) encodes Negated Antonym Paraphrase. While the latter usually encodes as a subtype of Paraphrase Sentence (2.3), in this example the negated antonym is expressed rather elliptically and obliquely and falls into the surface structure of the Contrast Sentence. Thus, puth occurs in the second base of this example - where it does not occur in a properly formed Paraphrase Sentence.

The intonation pattern for this sentence type varies according to the exponents of the base tagmemes and also varies according to the optional occurrence of Factative ep, and Opposite to Fact ya'a. When either Factative ep or Opposite to Fact ya'a occur these particles either take clause stress, or occur in a separate Phonological Clause to the remainder of the expounding tagmeme. When one base is negated, either by verbal negative ke', or ya'a, the Phonological Clause in which the negative occurs has higher clause stress than the Phonological Clause expounding the positive tagmeme. When neither base is negated but contrast is by an antonym or a situational opposite, if either Phonological Clause contains the particle ep, that clause takes the higher clause stress. When the Opposite to Fact Marker ya'a occurs in a separate Phonological Clause to the remainder of the expounding syntagmeme, the clause stress of the other Phonological Clause in the construction is lower.

Between the two bases either form of sequence intonation occurs, and finally either form of final intonation occurs.

Examples:

   some cj dead some cj today alive go-they
   Some are dead, some are alive today.
   TG 170

2. (Pok-pokapang nyiinan) Text: Dora thonam nyiin, Mrs. Pearson antang, separate sat-we one sat-she -accom
   Contrast: ngay thonamantang nyingang, Mrs. Ramsay antang.
   I another-accom sat-I -accom
   We sat separate, Dora sat with one, with Mrs. Pearson, and I sat with another, Mrs. Ramsay.

   As Amplification of Generic-Specific S: MB
3. Hulloim thawan thant, - Text: wiya miyalmantan, hullo said-we them-to some better-they
Contrast: wiya ya' ngul.
   some not now
We said hullo to them, some were well, and some were not.
   In Explanation S: MB

4. Text: Wiya ep wey kuupamin wey Contrast: wiyyiya
   some fact emo happy-they emo some-sp
kaangk ke', popam angan nyiin-nyiinin,...
   like not still there sat-they-cont-pt
Some were happy (at school), but some didn't like it, and just
   sat quietly...
   In Explanation S: KL 015

   some dead lie-they-sj some sores find-they-sj
Some might die, and some might get sores.
   WN 031

6. Text: Yuk puth thanchalaw, kek nilan yump thanang,
   tree but milkwood bad spears he made them
Contrast: nil-nungantan ep, thaypanangan ana kek yakala,
   he-his fact taipan-ts dem spear wattle
thayan puth, ep wey, chaapara ngul-ngánk pichathan.
   strong but fact emo blood forehead burst-it-pt
The spears he made of milkwood are no good, but the spears his mate,
   the taipan snake, made of wattle are good, they are strong and all
right to spear him and make his forehead bleed.
   TG 072-3

7. Text: Puth ngamp aakiyá'ang ke' iiyimp, yiip aniy,
   but we for-no-purpose neg go-we-sj south that
wanchinth al-alantan, Contrast: wik, min puth kalanamp
   old-woman those-to words good but carry-we
thant, wiyant wik waa'ímp, Godantam wik min,
   them-to some-to words tell-we-ft -poss word good
We don't go south to the old ladies for no reason, but we take the
   good words to them, we tell the good words to others, God's good
words...
   In Paraphrase S: PT 227-8

8. Text: Thanan kaangk ke' aak wayan pekan nyiinäyna, schoolangan,
   they like neg place bad down sit-they-ft school-in
Contrast: kaangk yoon in kee'ayn, aak wiya-wiyam
   like outside here play-they-ft place different
maakin.
   trod-they
They don't like to sit in a bad place, in school, they like to play
   here in the village, (for) (school) was strange to them.
   KL 016
4.6 ANTHETICAL SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

This sentence type, which resembles the Contrast Sentence, encodes Expectancy Reversal. The first base contains a predication which would lead one to expect a certain predicate or range of predicates in the second base. The second base contains, however, a denial of the expected predicate either by negating it or by stating its opposite. In one case (Example 1) a blocking circumstance is given without explicit denial of the expected predicate.

The Antithetical Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Thesis</th>
<th>+ Pivot</th>
<th>+ Antithesis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>puth but infrequently occurs here or within Antithesis Base</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amplification S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reason S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Amplification S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Coordinate S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Future Result S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reason S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cyclic Negated Antonym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paraphrase S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ya' no (neg pro-verb) (opposite value to Thesis Base)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Same or different verbs. Deleted predicate frequent in Antithesis if same verb - or only ya' occurs
Past-Past
Same or different subjects
The sentence is two Phonological Clauses. The first Phonological Clause is normal intonation for the clause or sentence which expounds the base, but may be slightly lower and have a narrower range. Clause stress in the Antithesis Base is higher than in Thesis and occurs on ya' if present or according to clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme.
puth but, when it occurs, is low pitch and rapid.
The Antithetical Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes, Thesis and Antithesis and the optional pivot puth but. The Thesis Base is expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses and by Amplification, Contrast and Reason Sentences. The Antithesis is expounded by Intransitive, Transitive and Stative Clauses and by Paraphrase, Amplification, Co-ordinate, Future Result, Reason and Cyclic Negated Antonym Paraphrase Sentences.

The pivot puth but occurs infrequently between the two bases or within the Antithesis. In two examples (4 and 7) puth occurs within the Antithesis but is an embedded Reason Sentence where it is best translated because.

When the verb of the Antithesis would be the same as the verb of the Thesis the opposite value to the Thesis is frequently obtained by the use of the negative pro-verb ya' no, but no. In one example (6) ya' no and the negated verb of Thesis co-occur.

The tense of both bases is past. The only occurrence of future in either base is within an embedded Future Result Sentence where it is an infinitive construction or carries a hypothetical meaning in conjunction with the word nath maybe.

The bases may have either the same or different subjects.

This sentence type may occur up to three times in succession. It frequently occurs embedded in other sentence types.

The sentence is composed of two Phonological Clauses. The Thesis Base has normal intonation for the Clause or Sentence type which expounds it, but the pitch level may be slightly lower and with narrower range. Clause stress is higher in the Antithesis and occurs on the neg pro-verb ya' if it is present. When the optional marker puth but occurs it is low pitch and rapid.

Examples:

1. Thesis: Ngaya, pam thum ngatharam ngan iiy-iiyan, kal-kalan
   \[I \text{ man fire mine we went-we-cont rowed-we-cont}\]
   \[wongkam tiya \text{ Antithesis: ngaka puth pisi'ana ku'mulaman kan}\]
   \[wind-lots water but big high-tide punct\]
   \[kampa mo'a kaaw ngul... fast ran-it east then\]

   My husband and I were going along, we rowed and rowed in the wind but the tide was very high and running fast to the east...

   In Explicit Frustration S: MW 102
2. Thesis: Ngay wey keenk iiyang, ngan wey Samang iiyan marklm
I\_emo first went-I we\_emo Sam-conj went-we mark
puanggan thant keenk aawara we'anan thant Antithesis: do-we-pt them-for first hold dug-we-pt them-to
yaa'an thonakam thaa'-thanpanam - thathayn yipmam.
just only partly see-they-it so-that
Sam and I went first to mark for them so that they could see where
to go but we only dug partly for them.

one tried-they-pt bad sand another
paathina' Antithesis: yim-yimanam chil anman, chilatii anman.
tried-they-pt same-manner sand only sand-lots only
They tried one and it was no good, it was sandy; they tried another
and it was the same way, sandy only, full of sand only.

4. (ngay olatang matangan) Thesis: kuuw thathanga Antithesis: ya'
I\_log climbed-I west looked-I no
north looked-I no south looked-I
Antithesis: ya' - puth wooyan kaawan nganan matan um
no because road east we climbed-we straight
kuuw a' putham pechangan.
west cj again shouted-I
...I climbed a log, and I looked to the west, but didn't see, I
looked to the north but didn't see, I looked to the south but
didn't see, because we came on the east road towards the west,
and I shouted again.

3 Three Antithetical Sentences
filling Text and Parallel of Parallel S (in turn embedded
in Reason S): AP 044

5. Thesis: wiya ep kuchéka, puk manyiy, wiya ya'a
some fact head child small some no
Antithesis: ngul-ngulana epa, kuchékanan, waapanan kan
later-on fact head brain punct
kuym wun thant, ngaantam ngeeyina.
used-to be them-to thought-they-pt think-they
...some children were alright, they had good brains, but others
didn't, but later on they used to have good brains and think.

KL 018
6. Thesis: kek yam nath maayowa, pungow pulanga spear somewhere maybe pick-up-ft shoot-he-ft those-dl

Antithesis: puth ya'ey, ke'am kekanly pekam maay spear-that-sp below picked-up-he pulanta, mulath pulang, ya'ey those-two-for killed-he-pt those-dl no-ques

(His men watched him)...to see if he would pick up a spear to spear those two, but no, he didn't pick up a spear to kill them, no, he didn't.

WMV 135-8

7. Thesis: ngan wampanana' Antithesis: thana ke' ngaantamngeeyin we came-we-pt-cjal they neg thought-they-pt nganan wampän - than puth ngaantamngeeyina ngan ka' mail we-emph came-we-ft they because thought-they we like plane'ang wampan, Sunday.
-in came-we-ft

...we came and they didn't know we were coming because they thought that we would come in the mail plane on Sunday.

In Reason S: WT 25-29

4.7 REVERSAL (ANTITHETICAL) SENTENCE

This subtype, like the main subtype, expresses expectancy reversal. Here, however, frustrated intention or preference is encoded. The verb of the first base expresses such intention or preference while the second base expresses some blocking circumstance or counter-consideration that frustrates the fulfillment of the intention or preference. When the subjects of the two bases are different the verb of the first base expresses a command or instruction not carried out by those to which it is addressed. The Pivot, obligatory in this subtype, is expounded by nhok thon the other groin, i.e. the other hand, alternatively or by nhok thon puth (for puth see main subtype).

While the occurrence of medial nhok thon makes this subtype of Antithetical Sentence superficially similar to the Conditional Alternative Sentence note that the latter requires conditional sentences in its bases and a certain distribution of positive and negative values of the same predicate (or antonyms), that the nhok thon is not obligatory in the latter, and that it does not couple nhok thon with puth.

The Reversal (Antithetical) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
The following examples have not been fully analysed but appear to be related to other sentences of perception, to antithetical as well as having alternate propositions. Considerably more work is needed on these comparatively rare constructions.

Examples:

1. **Thesis project**: Ngamp ngaantamnggeyamp Noreen ep we-pl-incl thought-we-pl fact

   *Pivot*: nhoko thóna, Antithesis reversal: wík see-we-pl-incl-ft

   *Anti thesis reversal*: way nguł ngeeyamp ke' nguł wampayn week inan, bad now heard-we-pl-incl-pt neg now come-they-ft this

   *Future Result S*: week thonangan nguł wampayn.

   Another later come-they-ft

   We thought we would see Noreen but we have heard bad news, they won't come this week they will come next week.

2. **Thesis project**: Ngay ka' ingam nýiínang kulich pungāng

   *I like stay-here sit-I clothes wash-I-subj*

   *Pivot*: nhoka thón puth

   *Antithesis reversal*: minh nga' thóun puth

   ngaantam ngeeyang.

   *thought-I*

   I thought I'd sit here and wash clothes but I thought about fish (going for).

3. **Thesis project**: Ngay ka' ke' iiyang pai New Guinea'ak,

   *I like neg go-I-pl here* -to

   *Puth ngaantamnggeyang wee'ang nguł pií'ow thanang because thought-I who-ts then mind-he-ft them*
I thought I wouldn’t come here to New Guinea because who would mind them (the family) but I thought (believed) God would mind them well.

The men said for us to go for pigs with them but we women had made plans to go for fish.

5. CONDITION SENTENCES

As in many languages, Wik-Munkan has two contrasting conditional sentence types: a general, nothing-implied condition (here called Indefinite Condition Sentence) and a Contrafactual Condition Sentence.

Points of comparison and contrast between the two sentence types are summarized in Diagram IV.

Note that the two types have distinct tense sequences. Also, in Indefinite Condition Sentences the Universal Quantifiers <wee'ang> whoever optionally occur. Markers provide a few more distinctions. Thus, while the factative marker ep occurs in both subtypes, it is optional in Indefinite Condition Sentences and obligatory in Contrafactual Sentences. The 'broad spectrum' conjunction puth but optionally occurs within the bases of the Contrafactual Condition Sentences, but does not occur in the Indefinite Condition Sentence. In Examples 7 and 8 of Indefinite Condition Sentences puth occurs but here the function is linkage of bases in the embedding Alternative and Reason Sentences respectively. Nath maybe occurs optionally in both subtypes.

The tense combinations of Indefinite Condition are future-future, subjunctive-subjunctive and more rarely future-subjunctive and subjunctive-future. The general meaning of Indefinite Condition is 'If this happens, then that will happen'. There is also one example of future-past. Here the meaning is 'If/when this will happen, I will have done that'. The tense combinations of Contrafactual Condition are past-subjunctive, subjunctive-past, and subjunctive-subjunctive. Also, an Equative Clause may occur in the Protasis Base and a Clause with a verb in the subjunctive mood in the Apodosis (see Example 4). The general
meaning of Contrafactual Condition is 'If this had happened, that 
would have happened'.

The loanword 'if' frequently occurs in Contrafactual Condition 
Sentences although only one example is given here. Its most frequent 
use is in Complement Clauses where one of the stative verbs, such as 
ili- to go, to be, wun- to lie, to be etc. would otherwise be used but 
is regularly deleted on addition of 'if'. Sometimes 'if' co-occurs, 
however, with the stative verbs. While most speakers use 'if' at some 
time, explicit informant reaction has been against its use. For example 
one informant changed the following example from using 'if' to using 
the stative verb.

a) If pula wey pama, ngay ep mulathing pulang
   if they-dl emo men I fact kill-I-sj them-dl
b) Pula wey pam iyiypula, ngay ep mulathing pulang
   they-dl emo man go-they-dl-sj I fact kill-I-sj them-dl
   If they had been men I would have killed them.

a is version on tape of WMV 140-141 while b is the informant's version.

When the subjunctive-subjunctive combination occurs, the tense of 
the sentence is unstated therefore whether the sentence is Contrafactual 
or Indefinite Condition is obvious only from context.

The intonation pattern of both the Conditional Sentence types is 
basically the same. The Protasis Base has the distinctive intonation 
that also occurs on the Action Base of a Simultaneous Sentence. This 
tonation is a modification of basic intonation, in that it is higher 
pitch and narrower range than basic intonation. Clause stress (usually) 
occurs on the verb which occurs finally.

There is a sudden step down of pitch to the Apodosis, which is 
markedly lower than the Protasis. The intonation pattern of the 
Apodosis is the basic intonation pattern and clause stress occurs on 
the pre-verb word. When the construction contains the factative marker 
ep clause stress occurs on this word.
## DIAGRAM IV

**CONDITION SENTENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>INDEFINITE CONDITION SENTENCE</th>
<th>CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITION SENTENCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Base Tagmemes</strong></td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Protasis and Apodosis.</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes: Protasis and Apodosis, and one optional Base tagmememe: Explicit Negative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Markers</strong></td>
<td>&lt;wee'ang&gt; who and nath maybe optionally occur in Protasis. ep factative marker optionally occurs in Apodosis</td>
<td>puth but optionally occurs in either or both bases or two out of three when three bases occur. nath maybe optionally occurs in Protasis. ep factative marker optionally occurs in Apodosis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tense of Bases</strong></td>
<td>Future tense and subjunctive mood in all possible combinations.</td>
<td>Past-Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Past or Subjunctive-Subjunctive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Same/ Different Subjects</strong></td>
<td>Bases have different subjects.</td>
<td>Same or different subjects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pos/Neg</strong></td>
<td>Pos/Pos or Neg/Pos.</td>
<td>Pos/Pos or Neg/Pos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Encodes</strong></td>
<td>Hypothetical conditions (but implications with a universal quantifier).</td>
<td>Implication contrary to actual course of events. Both bases are to be understood as the opposite of their overt positive or negative value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intonation</strong></td>
<td>Protasis Base has high pitch narrow range intonation with sequence intonation -a'. Apodosis Base has a sudden drop of pitch and normal range intonation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1 INDEFINITE CONDITION SENTENCE

Here encode not only hypothetical conditions (if X, then Y), but implications with a universal quantifier in the first base (whoever X's will by Y-ed).

The Indefinite Condition Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protasis</th>
<th>Apodosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Result S</td>
<td>Indirect Quote Merged S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'Like' Merged S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequence S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universal quantifiers</td>
<td>ep 'factative' optionally occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;wee'ang&gt; whoever and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nath maybe optionally occur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future tense or subjunctive mood must occur in either base</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same or different subjects</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protasis Base has high pitch narrow range intonation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apodosis Base has a sudden drop of pitch and normal range intonation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Indefinite Condition Sentence has two obligatory bases. Protasis and Apodosis. Both Protasis and Apodosis may be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses. In addition, Protasis may be expounded by Future Result Sentence and Apodosis by 'Like' Merged Sentence, Sequence Sentence, and Indirect Quote Merged Sentence.

(Tense combinations have previously been described in the introduction to this section). The bases have different subjects in examples so far found. Bases are either Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive.

The Universal Quantifier <wee'ang> whoever, which optionally occurs in Protasis is expounded by the personal interrogative pronouns, both singular and plural (either marked as subject of transitive verb or unmarked as subject of intransitive verb). In this construction, the universal quantifier qualifies a noun or pronoun in the first base. The plural form of the universal quantifier may be used in conjunction...
with the singular pronoun object (indirect object etc.) or referent pronoun. In the examples provided only wee'ang who (transitive subject) and wee' nath whoever (who - maybe) occur, but the plural forms, such as wee'-wee' who (pl) and wee'wee'ang who (trans., subject, plural) have been overheard in conversation.

The Indefinite Condition Sentence occurs embedded in Reason Sentence, Alternative Sentence and Future Result Sentence, and Indirect Quote Merged Sentence.

The Protasis has basic intonation modified by overall higher pitch with narrower pitch range. There is a drop of pitch to the Apodosis which is a phonological clause with basic intonation of unmodified pitch height and normal pitch range. When the factative marker ep occurs in this construction it takes clause stress but is not exceptionally high in pitch.

1. The following elicited set shows the four possible combinations of tense and mood.

a) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampowa
   Apo: ngamp aakanak iliyämp.
   aeroplane emo come-īt-īt we there-to go-īe-īt

b) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampiya
   Apo: ngamp aakanak iliyimp.
   aeroplane emo come-īt-sj we there-to go-īe-sj

c) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampowa
   Apo: ngamp aakanak iliyimp.
   plane emo come-īt-īt we there-to go-īe-sj

d) Pro: Puntha-paam wey wampiya
   Apo: ngamp aakanak iliyämp.
   aeroplane emo come-īt-sj there-to go-īe-īt

If the aeroplane comes, we will go.

2. Pro: Than nath kaangk ke'nath nggeeyyna, Apo: ngamp koyaman
   they maybe like neg maybe hear-they-īt we back
   pentämpa, waa'ämp thant.
   go-out-īe-īt tell-īe-īt them-to

If they don't like to hear, we (should) go back out and tell them.

WM 095

3. Niiy ngayang wik. nggeeyān ngayanga - Pro: niiy ke'an wik
   you me words hear-you-īt me you neg words
   nggeeyān ngayang, Apo: ngaya mulathāng niiyang thamppanga.
   hear-you-īt me I kill-īīt you also
   You listen (and obey) my words (because) if you do not listen to
   me and obey me I will kill you (pl) also.

   In Reason S: OPV 21-3

   he who-īr neg words hear-he-īt-me I kill-īt-him
   Whoever does not hear and obey my words, I will kill him.

WMV 20, 21
5. Pro: Pam Kemp pachang wee'ang ngoonchow aak ngatharam ingana man skin white-tr who-tr enter-he-ft place mine here
Apo: ngay mulathángana. 
I kill-I-ft-him.
If any white man comes into my country here, I will kill him.
WMV 38, 39

6. Pro: Pam Kemp pacham wee'ath wampow aak ngatharamang man skin white who maybe come-he-ft place mine-in tha'ang maakow
Apo: ngaya mulatháng.
foot-with tread-he-ft I kill-I-ft.
If any white man comes here to stay in my country, I will kill him.
OPV 42-44

7. Pro: Ngay wey weechowany Apo: nip ekow, klingkow
I emo sick-it-me you-dl get-up-you-dl-ft cook-you-dl-ft
Pro: puth kemp min wey paanthang Apo: ep ekang.
but flesh well camp-I-ft foot get-up-I-ft
If I am sick, you two get up and cook but if I sleep well I'll get up all right.

In Alternative S
(Conversation)

8. (Yaa, ngay nintang puth may erkam aathanga) Pro: puth nil yes I you but food quickly give-I-ft if he three o'clock wampo wa Apo: ngay nintang may ing ep aathang. come-he-ft I you food here fact gave-I-pt
Yes, I will give you food quickly, then if he comes at three o'clock I will have (already) given you food here.

In Future Result S: WT 9

9. (Engkangant pilotang) Pro: nil Chrisan thathiy Apo: asked-I-him-pt to he -sp see-he-sj
engkow nungant, Chrisant may pil'an likanak kalow.
ask-he-ft her-to to food big here-to carry-she-ft
I asked the pilot if he had seen Chris to ask her to bring lots of food here.

In Indirect Quote Merged S

5.2 CONTRAFACTUAL CONDITION SENTENCE

Here as in almost all languages a special structure exists to express an implication contrary to the actual course of events. Both bases of the Contrafactual Sentence are to be understood as the opposite of their overt positive or negative value.

The Contrafactual Condition Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Protasis</th>
<th>+ Apodosis</th>
<th>+ Explicit Negation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>puth ya'a but no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sometimes if</td>
<td>(sometimes if</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occurs and verb</td>
<td>occurs and verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be deleted)</td>
<td>may be deleted)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional occurrence of ep 'factative' and puth but</td>
<td>Optional occurrence of ep 'factative'</td>
<td>Optional occurrence of puth but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past-Subjunctive, Subjunctive-Past, or Subjunctive-Subjunctive (Also: tenseless Equative Cl-Subjunctive).</td>
<td>Same or different subject</td>
<td>Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protasis has high pitch narrow range intonation</td>
<td>Apodosis has sudden drop of pitch and normal range intonation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When Explicit Negation occurs, highest clause stress usually occurs on ya' no</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contrafactual Condition Sentence has two obligatory base tagmemes, Protasis and Apodosis. Both Protasis and Apodosis Bases may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses. In addition, Protasis may be expounded by Complement and Stative Clauses. The occurrence of the loanword if in Protasis is described in the introduction to this section. The Apodosis may also be expounded by Purpose and Sequence Sentences. The tagmeme Explicit Negation filled by puth ya'a optionally occurs following the Apodosis.

As for Indefinite Condition Sentences, the tense and mood combinations have been previously described. The bases may have same or different subject. Only the Protasis Base may be negated.

A free English translation for this sentence type could be 'If/when/under these circumstances they had X-ed then I would have Y-ed', rather than, 'Were they to X, I would Y' of Indefinite Condition. That is, this sentence type, Contrafactual Condition, indicates values which are the opposite to those that are stated, i.e. 'They didn't X, therefore I didn't Y.' In one example, the opposite value is made explicit by
the occurrence of the Explicit Negation tagmeme, puth ya'a but no (Example 2).

To date few Contrafactual Condition Sentences have been found in the corpus of data. Most examples have been elicited, or recorded from conversation and relate to events that had just happened at the time of eliciting or of overhearing the sentence.

To date few examples of embedding in other sentence types have been found, but cf. Example 4 where this Contrafactual Conditional Sentence embeds in a Contrast Sentence.

The Protasis has basic intonation modified by overall higher pitch with narrower pitch range. There is a drop of pitch to the Apodosis which is a phonological clause with basic intonation of unmodified pitch height and normal pitch range. The factative marker ep takes clause stress in each base. When ya' no occurs in optional Explicit Negation it usually has highest clause stress.

Examples:

1. a) Pro: If pula wey pama, Apo: ngay ep mulathing pulang. 
   they-dl emo men I fact kill-I-sj them-dl
   If they had been men, I would have killed them.
   WMV 140-1

   b) Pro: Pula wey pam iiyypula, Apo: ngay ep 
   they-dl emo men go-they-di-sj I fact mulathing pulang.
   kill-I-sj them
   If they had been men, I would have killed them.
   WMV 140-1 Informant's revision

2. Pro: Niiy puth ep wampin
   you but fact come-you-sj I fact went-I
   Explicit Negation: puth ya'a. 
   but not
   Had you come, I would have gone, but you didn't (come).

3. Pro: Ninta kinchangam wampin ngalanta, 
   you day-in come-you-sj us-to
   Apo: ngamp ep iiyimp. 
   we fact go-we-sj
   If you had come in the daytime, we would have gone.

4. Inan pul wanch kucham weya, ngay puth ke' wey mulathing 
   this they-dl women two emo I cj neg emo kill-I-sj 
   pulanga - Pro: ma'-wanch-p'am nath Apo: ep mulathing pulang. 
   them-dl hand-woman-man maybe I fact kill-I-sj them-dl 
   These two women, I won't kill them - if they were man and wife
   then I would kill them.

   In Contrast Sentence: OPV 139-40
5. Pro: Nip puth peetnam wampiwa, Apo: ngay ep iiying, 
you-dl cj yesterday came-you-dl-sj I fact go-I-sj
If you two had come yesterday, I would have gone.

6. Pro: Ninta puth ke' wey keyan wayathin, Apo: ninta puth 
you cj neg emo key-that lost-you-sj you cj 
ep ngoonchin. 
Fact enter-you-sj
If you had not lost the key, you would have gone in (to the home).

7. Pro: Pul wey Chrisang kan wampiypula 
they-dl emo -cj punct come-sj-they-dl
Apo: ngan wey ep umang uwin pulang. 
we emo fact chest-with find-we-sj them-dl
If those two, Chris (and the other) had come we would have met them.

8. Pro: Nint puth key kan wey uwan Apo: nint ep ngoonchin 
you cj punct emo found-you you Fact enter-you-sj 
aawuchang. 
house-in
If you had found the key, you would have gone into the house.

9. Pro: Ngay wey weechinya' Apo: nip ep ekiw, 
I emo sick-I-sj-cj you-dl fact get-up-you-sj 
may kiingkiw ngampara. 
food cook-you-dl-sj us-all-for
Had I been sick, you two would have got up and cooked for us all.

10. Pro: Ngay wey weechinya' Apo: nip ep ekiw, 
I emo sick-I-sj-cj you-dl fact get-up-you-dl-sj 
may kiingkanak ngampara. 
food cook-for us-all-for
Had I been sick you two would have got up and cooked for us.

6. CONCESSION SENTENCES

These three surface structure types encode Expectancy Reversal (cf. Antithetical Sentence above).

Both Frustration Sentence types differ from the Concession Sentence in that Frustration Sentences have an obligatory Frustration marker ya'angam to no avail which never occurs sentence initial, and the Concession Sentence has the obligatory Concession marker nungkwoy even although, regardless of the fact, which obligatorily occurs sentence initial. The optional Priority markers mak and makant of Concession Sentence do not occur in the Frustration Sentences. Furthermore, wider tense combinations occur in Concession Sentences than in Frustration Sentences.

Frustration Sentences fall into two types, Explicit Frustration Sentence, and Implicit Frustration Sentence. As suggested by their
## Diagram V

### Concession Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Tagmemes</th>
<th>Concession Sentence</th>
<th>Explicit Frustration Concession Sentence</th>
<th>Implicit Frustration Concession Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes.</td>
<td>Two obligatory Base tagmemes.</td>
<td>Two Base tagmemes: + Action + Frustrated Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markers</td>
<td>Obligatory concession marker nungkwoy nevertheless Optional priority marker mak must.</td>
<td>Obligatory frustration marker ya'angam to no avail.</td>
<td>Obligatory frustration marker ya'angam to no avail.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S/Diff Subject</td>
<td>Same or Different Subject.</td>
<td>Same or Different Subject.</td>
<td>Same Subject.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos/Neg</td>
<td>Pos-Pos, Pos-Neg, Neg-Pos.</td>
<td>Pos-Pos.</td>
<td>Pos-Pos, Neg-Pos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Same or different.</td>
<td>Same or different.</td>
<td>Same or similar (same semantic domain).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>Text and concession marker are one P. Clause with high pitch narrow range basic intonation. Counter consideration has sudden drop pitch and normal range basic intonation.</td>
<td>Highest pitch of sentence of frustration marker ya'angam to no avail which is the clause stress of the P. Clause expounding Frustrated Action tagmeme.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
terms, in the latter, the result of a frustrated action is implied, while in the former, it is made explicit. The Explicit Frustration Sentence has an Explicit Result tagmeme not shared by the Implicit Frustration Sentence. In addition, the latter has an optional Action tagmeme which does not occur in the former. In the Explicit Frustration Sentence, the Frustration marker *ya'angam to no avail* occurs between bases or within the first base, while in the Implicit Frustration Sentence *ya'angam* occurs within the second base.

### 6.1 CONCESSION SENTENCE

The first base of this sentence type admits difficulties, adverse circumstance, etc., while the second base affirms the necessity of acting other than these negative factors might indicate. This sentence type encodes, then, a variety of Expectancy Reversal.

The Concession Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Concession Marker</th>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ Priority</th>
<th>+ Counter Consideration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>nun</strong>kwoy <strong>regardless of the fact</strong></td>
<td>Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Di-transitive Cl Quotation S</td>
<td><strong>mak must</strong></td>
<td>Intransitive Cl Transitive Cl Negated Antonym Paraphrase S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>± makant</strong> (verbal substitute) co-occurring with preceding <em>p</em>uth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense combinations: Past-Past, Customary-future, future-future, subjunctive-future

Same or different Subject

Positive-positive, Positive-negative, Negative-positive

Marker and Text form one phonological clause with high pitch narrow range basic intonation

Counter Consideration has a sudden drop of pitch and normal range basic intonation
A Concession Sentence is comprised of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Counter Consideration, preceded by the obligatory Concession marker nungkwoy regardless of the fact, even though. The linear ordering of the tagmemes in this construction is fixed.

The optional Priority marker tagmeme is expounded by mak must, nevertheless, still. When this marker occurs the verb in the Counter Consideration tagmeme must be in the future tense.

The verbal substitute makant which co-occurs with preceding but, and, so, replaces both mak must, nevertheless, still and a finite verb in the future tense; it occurs only when the obvious (logical) verb of the Counter Consideration tagmeme has been referred to in the Text tagmeme (see Example 1).

The Text and Counter Consideration Bases may both be expounded by Intransitive and Transitive Clauses. In addition, Text may be expounded by Di-transitive Clause and Quotation Sentence. Counter Consideration may also be expounded by Negated Antonym Paraphrase Sentence.

The tense combination of Text and Counter Consideration are Past-Past, Customary-Future, Subjunctive-Future, and Future-Future. The bases may have same or different subject. The following combinations occur: positive-positive, negative-positive, and positive-negative.

The Concession Sentence encodes expectancy reversal.

To date one example has been found of the Concession Sentence embedded in a Cyclic Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence.

The Concession marker nungkwoy regardless of the fact and the Text tagmeme form one Phonological Clause with high pitch narrow range basic intonation. The intonation of Counter Consideration has a sudden drop of pitch with basic intonation of normal range.

Examples:

1. This example is embedded as the Text of a Cyclic Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence. It also expounds a Rhetorical Question Base. (It is included here to show the use of makant).

   Regardless of the fact that what? That we have sore hands from digging dye, nevertheless we must...

   WH 4
2. **Nungkwoy**  
Text: than way thak yumpiyan nungka, Counter  
even-though they bad etc do-they-sj you-to  
Consideration: ke'a, a' thuchān, ngangk min wunān  
don't cj loose-ft-you heart good live-ft-you  
maalathwun.  
settle-recip-you  
Even though they may do bad to you, don't (you do bad) let go, be  
happy and quieten down.  

3. **Nungkwoy**  
Text: thawin kāmpa-kūnchān, "ke'  
even-though said-they relatives own neg  
iiyowa," Counter Consideration: pula iiypul.  
go-ft-you they-dl went-they-dl  
Regardless of the fact that their relatives said, "Don't go", they  
went.  

4. **Nungkwoy**  
Text: thok pī'an kiing-kiingkanamp, Counter  
even-though smoke big cook-we-hab  
Consideration: mak pathayn, me'ang,  
nevertheless bite-ft-they mosquitoes-ts  
punthaman ke'anhang.  
net without  
Even although we make a lot of smoke, nevertheless they will bite,  
the mosquitoes, (because) we have no net.  

5. **Nungkwoy**  
Text: ngayang kon weechan, Counter Consideration:  
even-though me ear sick-it  
ngay minh nga'ak iiyāng.  
I protein fish-for go-1-ft  
Even though I have a sore ear, I will still go fishing.  

6. **Nungkwoy**  
Text: ngampang yotang waa'ayn, Counter  
even-though we lots-ts tell-they-ft  
Consideration: ngamp ke' kul thawāmp.  
we neg anger say-we-ft  
Even though they talk about us a lot, we will not get angry.  

7. **Nungkwoy**  
Text: ngamp inan wunanamp  
even-though we here (now) stay-we-hab  
Counter Consideration: ngamp koyam ngul iiyāmpa.  
we back will go-we-ft  
Even though we are staying here (now), we will go back.  

6.2 **EXPLICIT FRUSTRATION SENTENCE**

The first base of this sentence type expresses unavailing effort.  
The second base may express either the reversal of the anticipated  
predicate (Example 1), or a substitute action (Example 2) or statement  
of the blocking circumstance plus both of the above (Example 3).
The Explicit Frustration Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Frustrated Action</th>
<th>+ Frustration Marker</th>
<th>+ Explicit Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Transitive Cl]</td>
<td>[ya'angam to no avail occurring here or in Frustrated Action Base]</td>
<td>[Transitive Cl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antithetical S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Result S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puth but optionally occurs here</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All bases past tense  
Same or different subject  
Positive - Positive  
Highest clause stress of sentence is on Frustration Marker

The Explicit Frustration Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Frustrated Action and Explicit Result. The obligatory Frustration marker ya'angam occurs either between the bases or within the Frustrated Action Base. Both bases may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, but clause types must match across the bases. In addition Antithetical Sentence may expound Frustrated Action Base and Result Sentence may expound Explicit Result Base. In one example (2) the conjunction a' occurs between the bases. The marker puth but optionally occurs in base one.

Both bases have the same tense, and in these examples only past tense occurs. The bases may have same or different subject. The action of the Frustrated Action Base is a positive attempt, but one which is unsuccessful. The Explicit Result tagmeme is positive in all examples, although part of the exponent of this tagmeme is Example 3 is negative.

The Explicit Frustration Sentence may occur embedded in Reason Sentence.

The highest pitch and clause stress of the Explicit Frustration Sentence occurs on the Frustration marker ya'angam to no avail which is also the nucleus of the Phonological Clause expounding the Frustrated Action tagmeme. Intonation on the remainder of the sentence is that of the clause or sentence type expounding the Frustrated Action and Explicit Result tagmeme.
Examples:

1. Frus Action: Ngay puth ya'angam yuk manya thak kangk I but to-no-avail sticks small with leaves

thak klingkanga, Explcit Result: nganang me'ang
too cooked-I us mosquitoes-tr

war'am maayana.
almost picked-up

To no avail I cooked small branches, leaves etc., (still) the
mosquitoes almost picked us up/carried us away.

PL 61

2. (Ngan wey Nate ngan wey yaraman thonamang) Frus Action: nipanta we emo we emo horse one-on you-dl-his

ya'angam peyuwa, Explic Result: a' nip ukuw.
to-no-avail jumped-you cj you got-down-you

...Nate and I (will go) on one horse, for you two tried riding
but (you couldn't do it) and you got down.

In Reason Sentence: PT 101

3. Frus Action: Ngaya, pam-thüm ngatharam ngan iiy-iiyan,

my man-fire mine we went-we-ct

kalan-kalan wongkantiya, ngaka puth pi'i'ana ku'mulaman
rowed-we-ct windy-lots water but big high-tide

kan kampa mo'a kaaw ngul, ya'angam, Explicit Result:
punct fast ran east then to-no-avail

"ana yaam ke' thee'imp" putha kan iiyana, kungenchanga
dem long neg throw-we-sbj so punct went-we corner-in

thee'an, ngaanhamaka thee'an wey.
throw-we sand-from threw-we emo

My husband and I rowed and rowed, (but) it was windy and the tide
was running out fast (so) it was useless (fishing) (so we said)
"Let's not keep throwing out (our line) here," (we said), so we
went on and threw out (our lines) round the bend, in a sandy place.

MW 102-4

6.3 IMPLICIT FRUSTRATION SENTENCE

This sentence type records an action in its first base and tells us
in the second base that the action was unavailing. Usually the second
base is shorter than the first whose verb it may repeat.

The Implicit Frustration Sentence is represented by the following
bidimensional array:
The Implicit Frustration Sentence is composed of two base tagmemes, (optional) Action and (obligatory) Frustrated Action. Action Base is expounded by Reason Sentence or Quotation Sentence, while Frustrated Action Base may be expounded by Intransitive Clause, Direct Quote Sentence or Repetition Sentence. As indicated, however, in the array, Direct Quote Sentences do not expound both bases in a given example of this sentence type. When this sentence type expounds the first base, another sentence type expounds the second; and when Direct Quote Sentence expounds the second base no first base occurs. Within the Frustrated Action Base, *ya'angam to no avail* the Frustration marker, obligatorily occurs.

The verb of the Frustrated Action Base is the same or similar to the verb of Action Base. In the examples all bases are past tense. Both bases have the same subject. The only combination found is positive-positive. The action is a positive attempt but the actor is not successful in what he sets out to do.

The Implicit Frustration Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence and Result Sentences.

As in the Explicit Frustration Sentence the Frustration marker *ya'angam to no avail* takes the highest clause stress in the Implicit Frustration Sentence. Otherwise the tagmemes Action and Frustrated Action have the intonation pattern of the clause or sentence type expounding the respective tagmemes.
Examples:

1. Action: Nil taypanana anpal mo'ant ompam it taipan-snake-that from-then went-to-him middle

pathan, pathan, pathan, pur' pathana, kemp puth thayan,
bit-he bit-he bit-he hardly bit-he skin for hard
pimpana thayan putha, Frus Action: pathan ya'angam, ya'angam scales hard for bit-he to-no-avail to-no-avail
pathan, ya'angam pathan.
bit-he to-no-avail bit-he

Then the taipan snake went and bit him round the middle. He bit and he bit but he could hardly bite, for the flesh was hard and he bit, all to no avail, and the scales were hard too. He bit but to no avail.

MR 098

2. Action: Nila pecha-pech, 'yaakáy, wench-tháa' pocha, she cried-ct-she exclam sore-bad sore
kekang ke' pungan nganyanga, Frus Action: ya'angam spear-with neg spear-you me
tha-tháw.
sctd-ct-she
She cried out, "Ouch, I'm very sore, don't spear me," to no avail she cried.

WO 069

3. Frus Action: Niyant ya'angam thawangaa, "apap,
you-to to-no-avail said-I-tag quest quiet
weep wunána niiy wika pii'pii'anniiya, ka' ngongkama,
sleep lie-imper you noise hold-you-ct like not-knowing
wik weenthíya."
words love-sp
I said to you to no avail didn't I, "Be quiet, go to sleep, you're making lots of noise, you're not taking any notice, you're too fond of talking."

TG 125

4. (Ngutangananiy kaniyaa, wik anan pii'pi'ampa) night-that-sp punct-sp-tag-quest words that held-ct-we
Action: nila pechapul "ya'a, apapa, wunän weepa," he(coll) cried-they-dl no quiet lie-you-imper sleep
Frus Action: ya'angam putham pechapul. to-no-avail again cried-out-they-two

It was night time, wasn't it, when we made lots of noise, and they cried out, "No! Quiet! Go to sleep!" They cried out again to no avail.

TG 114-5
7. RESULT AND REASON SENTENCES

These various sentence types and subtypes encode causation, i.e. either efficient cause or final cause (purpose). Points of comparison and contrast among these types and subtypes are summarized in Diagram 6.

It seems best at this stage to regard Future Result and Purposive Sentences as subtypes. Both encode Final Cause, i.e. Purpose, with slight differences in surface structure. In the Future Result Sentence the Future Result Base is expounded by a clause or sentence with the verb normally in future tense, and the Result marker yapmam occurs very frequently. The Purposive Sentence has a Dependent Clause with a nominalized verb marked for purpose expounding Purpose tagmeme, and the Result marker yapman so that rarely occurs. A further difference is that in Future Result Sentences the Future Result Base may optionally occur twice, while no examples have been found of the Purpose tagmeme repeating. It does, however, seem plausible that the Purpose tagmeme could repeat.

The Non-future Result Sentence has very distinct markers from those of the Future Result Sentence. The two sentence types are further distinguished by tense sequence. Furthermore, the Non-future Result Sentence encodes in its first base Efficient Cause - rather than Final Cause (Purpose). The Reason Sentence, like the Non-future Result Sentence, encodes Efficient Cause. Here, however, Efficient Cause is encoded in the second base and none of the distinctive markers of Non-future Result Sentence are found.
## Diagram VI

### Result and Reason Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Tagmemes</th>
<th>Purpose Subtype</th>
<th>Non-Future Result S</th>
<th>Reason S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Base Tagmemes, Future Result may repeat twice (n=3).</td>
<td>2 Base tagmemes. No repeat of Purpose tagmeme.</td>
<td>2 Base tagmemes. Non-future Result may repeat once (n=2).</td>
<td>2 Base tagmemes. Reason tagmeme may repeat once (n=2).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exponents of Base tagmemes</td>
<td>Limited exponents of both base tagmemes. Dependent CI in Purpose Tagmeme.</td>
<td>Text Base expounded only by clauses + optional path. Non-future Result expounded by clauses and limited sentence types.</td>
<td>Wide range of exponents of both Base tagmemes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person &amp; tense of bases</td>
<td>Wide range of tense in Text Base. Mostly future, but may be customary aspect and subjunctive in Fut Result Base.</td>
<td>Same tense or past-subjunctive combination. Obligatory absence of future tense.</td>
<td>Usually tense between bases correspond; but not necessarily aspects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same/Different Subject</td>
<td>S/Diff Subject</td>
<td>S/Diff Subject</td>
<td>S/Diff Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pos/Neg</td>
<td>Pos/Pos or Pos/Pos/Neg</td>
<td>All Pos/Neg possibilities</td>
<td>All Pos/Neg possibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Markers</td>
<td>Infrequent yipmam so that</td>
<td>Obligatory. Wide range of Non-Put Result markers: &lt;ka'paa&gt; therefore</td>
<td>Optional but frequent path because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>CI stress on Future Result tagmeme - once or repeated.</td>
<td>CI stress on nominalized verb expounding Purpose tagmeme.</td>
<td>CI stress pre-verb in both bases.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.1 **FUTURE RESULT SENTENCE**

This binary sentence type encodes in its second base Final Cause (Purpose) in all except one example (14) where the second base is the result of Efficient Cause in the first base.

The Future Result Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Text</th>
<th>+ (+ Result Marker)</th>
<th>+ Future (_n^2) Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>yi pmam <em>so that</em></td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>occurring here</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel S</td>
<td>or in Future</td>
<td>Di-transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coordinate S</td>
<td>Result Base</td>
<td>Coordinate S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antithetical S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Negated Antonym S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negated Antonym S</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Simultaneous S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence S</td>
<td></td>
<td>Future Result S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Majority of examples have future tense in Future Result Base; second Future Result Base may be customary or subjunctive

Same or different subject
Positive-positive\(n\) or positive-positive-negative
Clause stress occurs on verb of Future Result tagmemne

The Future Result Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Future Result; and the optional Future Result Marker tagmeme expounded by yi pmam *so that* or by puth *so that*. The latter has only occurred in one example (9) where it follows an imperative in the Text tagmeme.

The Text and Future Result Bases may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, Coordinate Sentences and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence. In addition, Text may be expounded by Parallel Sentence, Antithetical Sentence, and Sequence Sentence. Future Result Base may also be expounded by Di-transitive Clause, and in Rhetorical Question Future Result Sentences by Simultaneous Sentence (See section 11.2 Example 6).

Same or different subject may occur. The free form of the subject occurs in Future Result tagmeme only when there is a change of subject, or change of focus, as may be seen in Example 5. Its occurrence under these conditions is optional. In the great majority of cases the verb of the Future Result Base is future tense. However, in two examples (11 and 13) customary aspect and subjunctive mood respectively occur in a second Future Result tagmeme. The tense of the verb in Text Base
may be customary, past or future. The combinations positive-positive and positive-positive-negative occur. In Example 9, the Future Result Base embeds a Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence with negative-positive values.

The linear ordering of the base tagmemes is fixed, but the Result Marker yi pman so that may occur between bases, within the Future Result Base, or finally in the sentence (cf. Example 6). The Future Result tagmememe may optionally occur twice, with yip pman occurring within the repeated Future Result Base (cf. Examples 5, 11).

A succession of putative Future Result Bases without repeated yip pman might best be considered to be but one surface structure Future Result Base expounded by an embedded sentence (especially Coordinate, Paraphrase, or Simultaneous). Thus, in Example 3 an embedded Coordinate Sentence with three bases is posited as exponent of the Future Result Base rather than three Future Result Bases. In this instance one occurrence of yip pman so that and absence of the free subject characterizes the whole embedded sentence.

On the other hand repeated yip pman seems to indicate that a succession of Future Result Bases is intended in the surface structure. In both Examples 5 and 11 a pair of Future Result Bases follows the Text. While the lexical stuff of each pair of bases could be construed as an embedded sentence (Coordinate in 5 and Paraphrase in 11), the recurrence of yip pman tells us that we have here in the surface structure two Result Bases each related to the Text in its own right. In Examples 12 and 13 where recurrences of yip pman also mark a pair of Future Result Bases in each example the arrangement is different. Here the two Future Result Bases constitute an embedded Future Result Sentence which expounds Future Result Base after Text. This embedded Future Result Base has, however, its own Text and Future Result Base. Thus, the first yip pman marks Future Result Base of the embedding sentence while the second yip pman marks a Future Result Base in the embedded sentence.

The Future Result Sentence occurs embedded only in Quotation Sentence, in Simile Sentence and in Procedural Sentence in our present data. This fact, plus the number and variety of sentence types which expound bases of the Future Result Sentence probably indicate that this sentence type is on a relatively high layer of organization. The Future Result Sentence also occurs as APERTURE in HORTATORY DISCOURSE and PROCEDURE in PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

In the Future Result Sentence clause stress occurs on the verb in the Future Result tagmememe, whether the latter occurs only once, or is repeated. The clause stress of each Phonological Clause (Future Result tagmememe) is approximately the same in the first occurrence of the
tagmeme and in its repeats. Other than the position and height of clause stress the intonation is that of the clause or sentence type expounding the Text or Future Result tagmeme.

Examples:

(Because of the relevance of future tense suffix to this sentence type, this suffix is underlined below):

1. Text: ngaa'-thonana' Saturdayana' ngan Rocky aakanak day another-cj that-cj we there-to
   iiyan, township aakanak, Fut Res: waymin piyān anpal went-we there-to things buy-we-ft from-there
   ...the next day, Saturday, we went to Rocky, to that township to buy things from there,

   In Quotation Sentence: WT 18

2. Text: ngan wey in wampana, Fut Res: aak nungkaram in we emo here came-we place yours here
   tha'ang maakān, wika mamān nungkaram. foot-with tread-we-ft words learn-we-ft yours
   We came here to stay in your place so that we can learn you language.

   In Quotation Sentence: WMV 126-8

3. (Piip ngantam in kenya, ngan nungk in ngaa'atingam wampananana)
   Father ours here above we yours here morning come-we
   Text: aak ina nungk, Sunday ina, pokapang wunpan ngant, time this yours this alone put-you for-us
   Fut Res: yipmam mee'-wuthanmān nungka, aak pathān nungka, so-that pray-we-ft you-to sing-we-ft you-to
   wık thawān nungka...
   words speak-we-ft you-to
   Our Father above, we come to you here in the morning, this day is yours, this Sunday, you gave it to us to keep separate so that we can pray to you, sing to you, and speak to you...

   GP 1.3

4. Text: Ngangk ngantaman tha'a' pa'ant piil'ān nungkaram, hearts ours-emph door open we-will-keep for-you
   Fut Res: wık minam yipmam mamāna,... word good so-that keep-we-ft
   We will keep our heart's door wide open so that we will keep your good words,...

   In Simile Sentence: GP 1.5

5. Text: Pam wanch kuchan ngant Fut Res: wik nungkaram men women sent-you us-to word yours
   wampathayn ngantak, iikanakan aak, tha'a'-ngānth bring-they-ft to-us-for here-to-this place tongue
   wunpayn wık Fut Res: ngan yipmam mamāna, ngeeyān put-they-ft word we so-that hold-we-ft hear-we-ft
You sent people to us to bring your word to us here in this place to put your word into our language so that we can learn and hear it and so that we teach others too.

GP 2.14-18

Sam and I went first to mark for them so that they could see where to go but we only dug partly for them.

In Quotation Sentence: FL

He was just proud, so that they would talk about him as being a wild man.

In Quotation Sentence: WMV 70-71

Watch us going a long way away today so that we won't leave your words but will keep them in our hearts.

GP 2.38-46

...he plays with him and stands him up on the ground and bites his knees and bites the small of his back so that he will walk, and become strong for him and will run for him quickly,...

In Procedural Sentence: KU 29-35
11. Text: Min nil puukanam weya ana maayantan pokap good they(coll) new-part emo those pick-up-they alone
wunpantan thapang Fut Res: vipam wunpayn piil'ayn put-they at-each-end so-that put-they-ft mind-they-ft
ngulak nathak Fut Res: palam vipam later-for a-long-away-for back-to-here so-that
kalantan aak aawuch inan ngeeyantan.
carry-they-ct place house this hear-they-ct
They pick up the good new ones (geese eggs) and put them aside at the end so that they can put them down and mind them for later for (eating) a long way away so that they can take them back to the place where they live.

12. Text: ngay puthama' nungkarang iiyanga' Fut Res:
I again-cj you-with go-I-ft
[Text: waykan uwanga' Fut Res: mee'nathãnara.]
dye find-I-ft you-show-me-ft
I will go with you again to find dye (so that) you can show me.
In Quotation Sentence: FL 150-151

13. (...)ngay puth thawanganta') Text: kiiingkãna thum-múnth
I so said-I-her-to-cj cook-you-imp coals
pipãna Fut Res: [Text: thok ngul pentowa']
break-you-imp smoke then (so) come-out-it-ft
Fut Res: me' ké'ngãl wâmpìy aniy nungkara]
mosquitoes won't-again come-it-sj that-sj you-to
...so I said to her, "Burn it and break up the coals so that the smoke will come out and so that the mosquitoes won't come to you."
In Quotation Sentence: OPV 49-50

One example has been found of Future Result Base with ngul + past tense which has the sense of prediction.

14. Text: ngay puth pam piil'an an mulathang kaa'atham
I but man big killed-I first
Fut Res: ngayangan pam-wanch ngatharamang ngul then
me-emph people mine-ts
mulathin ngayang
kilI-they-pt me
I killed the big man at first, so (I predict) my people might kill me.
In Quotation S: OPV 49-50

7.2 PURPOSE (FUTURE RESULT) SENTENCE

A nominalized verb with purpose marker occurs in the second base of this subtype. In most examples the second base encodes Final Cause (Purpose) although in a few (Examples 1, 2) the last base encodes the logical object of verbs 'learn' or 'help/teach'.

The Purposive (Future Result) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Dependent Trans Cl with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>nominalized verb and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negated Antonym</td>
<td>purposive marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Paraphrase) S</td>
<td>Optional and rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occurrence of Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marker yipmam so that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Text has customary, past, past continuous, or future tense
- Same or different subject
- Positive-Positive, or Negative-Positive
- Clause stress occurs on the nominalized verb
- expounding the Purpose tagmeme

The Purposive (Future Result) Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Purpose. The optional Result Marker tagmeme, expounded by yipmam so that, occurs infrequently in this construction within Purpose Base. The Text tagmeme may be expounded by Intransitive Clauses, by Transitive Clauses and by Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence. The Purpose tagmeme is expounded by a dependent Transitive Clause (nominalized verb and purposive marker).

The following tenses may occur on the verb of the Text Base: customary, past, past continuous, and future tense. The free subject does not occur in the Purpose tagmeme, nor is subject person shown on the dependent verb. Normally the subject of the action of Text is also the subject (implied) of the action of Purpose Base. In Example 2 the object of Text is the implied subject of Purpose. The combinations Positive-Positive and Negative-Positive occur.

In one example (5) the Purpose tagmeme occurs within the Text tagmeme, between the subject and verb of the clause filling Text.

The analytical option of treating the Purpose Base as a clause level tagmeme rather than a sentence level tagmeme has been considered. Wik-Munkan clauses have an optional purpose tagmeme, filled mostly by noun phrases marked by -ak showing goal or purpose. However, it has been decided to treat the Dependent Clauses as fillers on the sentence level because of the optional occurrence of a number of clause level
tagmemes (object, indirect object, manner) within the Dependent Clauses. Another factor was the optional though rare occurrence of *yipmam so that*, which is considered relevant on sentence level in Future Result Sentences. Special conditions have, however, been posited where it seems best to treat the Dependent Clause as expounding a clause level tagmeme.

All examples given here of Purposive (Future Result) Sentence are embedded in Reason Sentence, Paraphrase Sentence, Sequence Sentence, Quotation Sentence, or Simultaneous Sentence.

Purposive Sentences may transform to Future Result Sentences by the addition of *yipmam so that* and by the dependent verb becoming future tense and being marked for person and number.

The intonation of the Text tagmeme is that of the sentence or clause type expounding the tagmeme, but it always ends with the sequence intonation of mid step down. The clause stress occurs on the nominalized verb marked for purpose in the Purpose Base and the overall intonation is basic with sentence final intonation of either type.

Examples:

1. *(nil thanang kaangka') Text: Than puth er kam mamin
   he them likes they because quickly learned-they
   Purpose: yumpa nak an yimananganiy.
   make-purp in-that-manner-sp
   ...he likes them because they have learned how to make fences like
   this.
   In Reason S: MF

2. *(Ya'a ina ngay inngulan kuuy thee'thee'angan)
   no this I here-now line threw-I-pt-it
   Text: ngayang puth ke'am ma'aathin ngayang
   me because never helped-they me
   Purpose: kuuy thee'anakaniy,
   line throw-purp-sp
   No, I just now threw a line for the first time because they never
   taught me how to throw a line before...
   In Quotation Sentence: VR 63-64

3. *(Nil wal kath ananganiya keenkanaman kala
   ke(coll) partly bad those long-time-ago laid-she(coll)
   ana pókā pang wunpantan,) Text: nil anangan pi'angiy
   that separate put-they it(coll) those ant-bed-in
   kaampantan Purpose: mungkananakiy,
   bury-they eating-purp-sp
   Those partly bad ones (geese eggs) that were laid a long time ago,
   they put them aside, they cook them in antbed, for the purpose of
   eating them...
   In Sequence S: GE 069
4. Text: ngamp thāmp, ngamp wunāmpong, namp inaniy wunpanāmp
we too we live-we-tag-quest name this-sp put-we-ct
kepa' kaap wey, onchan thee'aniy pam alantān, namp
moon wet-season emo pre-wet throw-sp man that-one-to name

Purpose: pam pīl'ān alantān namp yumpānākiya
Text: ngan puth
man big that-to name make-for-sp
we but

yotamaniy nathan ke' pankayn yotam angam
lote-sp long-way neg return-they-f t lots there

Purpose: nampan yīpmam yumpānāk nung.
name so-that make-purp him-for

...we too, we who live here, don't we, we put our names (vote) in
the month, in the wet season and in the pre-wet season, we vote
for that man, lots of us don't go a long way back to the bush, we
stay so that we can vote for that man.

Two examples of Purposive (Future Result) S embedded in Paraphrase
S: PY 99-101

5. Text: Ngay Purpose: wik kuchānān
Text: iiyang.
I word send-purp went-I-pt

I was going to send a message.

Simultaneous S: Conversation

7.3 NON-FUTURE RESULT SENTENCE

Here, Efficient Cause encodes in the first base of the sentence and
the Result in the second base.

The Nonfuture Result Sentence is represented by the following
bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
<th>Intransitive Cl</th>
<th>Equative Cl</th>
<th>Optional but frequent occurrence of puth but</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka'pāl therefore</td>
<td>puth so, then</td>
<td>inpal/imanam therefore, so, from this</td>
<td>nanpal/namanam therefore, so, from that (mid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anpal/amanam therefore, so, from that (far)</td>
<td>The above occur here or in Result Base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Text + Nonfuture Result Marker + Result

Transitive Cl
Intransitive Cl
Stative Cl
Sequence S
Coordinate S
Same tense, or past-subjunctive combination (future tense does not occur)
Same or different subject
All Positive-Negative combinations
Bases linked by sequence intonation
Nonfuture Result Marker, in whatever position, forms part of Phonological Clause which expounds Result tagmeme; it occurs fast and low pitch preceding P Clause stress.

The Non-future Result Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Text and Result and linked by an obligatory Non-future Result Marker <ka'pála> therefore which occurs either preceding or within the exponent of the Result Base.

The Text Base may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive and Equative Clauses. The conjunction puth but frequently occurs within the clause expounding Text.

The Result Base may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive and Stative Clauses, and Sequence and Coordinate Sentences. Examples which are given here illustrate the occurrence of the Non-future Result Markers listed in the array. An example of the reduplicated form of amanam, that is am-amanam therefore may be found in the section on Deleted Predicate Non-future Result Sentences (11.3). Examples of the use of nanpal therefore may be found in the Cyclic (11.1) and Rhetorical Question (11.2) sections.

The forms inpal, nanpal, and anpal and imanam, namanam and amanam are alternate sets. They show source as regards time, location and reason. Three degrees of distance are distinguished. Thus inpal and imanam may both be variously translated from now, from here and so for this reason. nanpal and namanam express mid-distant time, location or reason, while anpal and amanam express far-distant time, location or reason. The mid-distance forms nanpal and namanam from that, therefore are by far the most frequent in text materials. ka'pála is best translated therefore and occurs often in Non-future Result Sentences. The conjunction 'a occurs in a very small number of examples and carries the meaning of so in this environment. The 'broad spectrum' conjunction puth also occurs in Result Base, where it usually co-occurs with another marker, and is best translated as so, therefore. In those constructions in which the conjunctions which occur have a wide range of meaning, the deep structures which are encoded in the sentence bases help in separating the construction types.

The tense combination most frequently found is past-past. Past-
subjunctive occurs in two examples, while customary tense occurs in conjunction with a non-verbal clause. Future tense does not occur. Bases may have same or different subject. The following combinations occur: positive-positive, negative-negative and (positive)-positive-negative.

The Non-future Result Sentence embeds in Quotation Sentence, Coordinate Sentence and Alternative Sentence in our present data.

The bases, Text and Result, are linked by either subtype of sequence intonation. The Non-future Result Marker <ka'páal> therefore (see array for full set) occurs preceding the Result Base, but as part of the same Phonological Clause where it takes pre nuclear low pitch and fast intonation. This marker may occur either preceding or following the free subject pronoun of the clause or sentence which expounds the base. Clause stress occurs pre-verb in both bases, and any other intonational features are those of the clause or sentence expounding the base.

Examples:

1. Text: ngakam péey-péey Result: puth koyam an erkam water-from cried-he-pt so back part quickly
   ka'páal kalang nunang.
   therefore carried-I-pt him
   ...he was crying for water so therefore I quickly carried him back.
   In Quotation S: MG 094

2. Text: Pula puth ke' wamppul Result: ka'páal they-two but didn't come-they-two therefore
   ngamp ke' iiyamp.
   we-all didn't go-we-all
   They didn't come so we didn't go.
   Conversation

3. Text: Barbara puth keenk iiy naakanakan Result: but first went-she to-that-mid-place
   imanam ngay may ke'mungkanam wantang nungant iiyang.
   therefore I food uneaten left-I-pt her-to went-I-pt
   Barbara went first to the cubicles (that place) therefore I went to her without eating my food (breakfast).
   Conversation

4. (ngay puth thawang) Text: "ee'a wik ngamparam puth inaniiy I but said-I yes words ours but this
   Result: namanam ngeeyanniyy." therefore listen-you-all
   So I said, "This is our language therefore you listen."
   In Quotation S: Pt 055
5. Text: pulana mee'ngathapula piip ngamparamant
they-two eyes-shut-they-two father ours(pl)-to

Result: a'ngangkana min wunpul ngangkam
therefore heart good were-they-two heart-from
thayanpul.
strong-they-two

...they prayed to our Father therefore they felt good and their
hearts were strengthened.

In Non-future Result S: WMV 179-80

6. Text: pulakan ngaatamgeepul Godan pulantang
they-two punct believed-they-two God-that with-them-two
wonka' side-cj

Result: a'liypul pam wanch lantan.
and then went-they-two people these-to

...they believed that God was by their side so they went to these
people.

In Coordinate S: WMV 104-106

7. Text: Inan pul wanch kuchamweya
These they-two women two-part
mulathing pulang,
kill-I-sj them-two

These two are women so I wouldn't kill them,...

In Alternative S: OPV 139

8. Text: Barbara'ang nyiingk wayathanya
Barbara recently unsettled-me
ngay ke' yipak workak iiyang.
I still purp go-I-pt

Barbara recently unsettled me, that is why I haven't gone to work
yet.

Conversation

9. Text: Ngan Winnieang kaangk Anne'ak iiyanan
we like -purp go-we-pt

Result: anpal ngan the'ang kan iiyan aakanakan.
from-that we foot-on punct went-we place-that-to
Winnie and I wanted to go to see Anne, from that reason we went
there on foot.

Conversation

7.4 REASON SENTENCE

This sentence type, in distinction from the preceding, encodes
Efficient Cause in its second base.

The Reason Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional
array:
The Reason Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes; Text and Reason. The conjunction \textit{puth because} optionally occurs as Reason Marker tagmeme, either between the two base tagmemes or within the Reason tagmeme. When there is no marker the implicational relationship shows Reason in contrast to Result. i.e. in Reason the implication is that the second item leads back to the first (i.e. \( P \preceq Q \)) while in the Result the first item leads on to, or results in, the second (i.e. \( P \supset Q \)).

Both Text and Reason Bases may be expounded by Transitive, Intransitive and Stative Clauses. In addition, Text may be expounded by Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence, Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence, and Sequence Sentence. Reason Base may also be expounded by Equative Clause, Quotation Sentence, 'Like' Merged Sentence, Purposive (Future Result) Sentence, Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence, and Explanation Sentence.

The tenses of the two bases may be any tense but future. The tenseless forms of the verb also occur, i.e. subjunctive and perfect. Continuous aspect often occurs, both customary and past. Where two verbal exponents occur, normally the tenses of the bases are the same, (mostly past-past or customary-customary). Aspect does not necessarily
correspond, however, in that past and past continuous sometimes occur together. Other possible combinations are customary-subjunctive, perfect-past, and past-customary. The bases may have same or different subject. The following combinations occur: positive-positive-(positive); negative-positive-(positive) and (positive)-positive-negative.

The Reason Base may optionally repeat once. In both the examples where Reason Base is repeated (Examples 1 and 13) puth because occurs within the exponent of the repeated Reason Base. (Cf. the distribution of yipmam therefore in Future Result Sentences).

The Reason Sentence embeds only in Sequence Sentence and Direct Quote Sentence (Example 9) in our present data.

Reason Sentence may be separated from Future Result Sentence on the grounds of different markers and different tense combinations. The Reason Marker puth because contrasts with the Result Marker yipmam so that in Future Result Sentences. The one example of puth in a Future Result Base (Example 9) is in conjunction with future tense of the verb. Future tense does not occur in Reason Sentence.

The Reason Sentence has only one exponent of Reason Marker viz. puth because. The Non-future Result Sentence has a number of exponents of the Non-future Result Marker, viz. <ka'páa> therefore which can not be substituted for puth in Reason Sentence.

The two bases, Text and Reason are linked by either sequence intonation with mid step down. The two bases are linked in this manner with the intonation pattern of each base being that of the clause or sentence expounding the base. When the optional Reason Marker puth because occurs (either between the two base tagmemes, or within the Reason tagmem), it occurs within the Phonological Clause expounding Reason. If the Reason tagmeme is repeated it also occurs within Reason² tagmeme. puth because is always fast and low pitch regardless of its position within the grammatical clause or sentence expounding the base.

Examples:

1. (yaa) Text: anpalan putha' tha'pál umppul
   yes therefore so foot-here cut-they-two-pt (never went
   ke'am ngul muunch-muunchpul putthang anganiy
   again) never then bathed-they-two-pt creek-in there-in
   Reason: aak puth thangkanani Reason: pulà winyang
   place because deep-that-sp they-two frightened
   mo'pul pikuwentam puth.
   ran-they-two-pt crocodile-from because
   ...yes, so therefore they didn't go there ever again, they didn't
   bathe there ever again in the creek because it was deep and they
   were frightened of the crocodile.
2. Text: Ngaya pam piil'an inman  
   Reason: ngay kan  
   I man big here-now  
   I punct  
   mulathangana pamanî, chiefanî, pam piil'anâna,  
   killed-1-pt man-spec chief-spec man big-that  
   I am chief here now because I have killed the big man, the chief...  
   WMV 18-19  

3. Text: Tariril an ucha ongk ngoonch mananganîy  
   Reason: ruth  
   Tariri-emph beads long put-on-he-pt neck-on-sp  
   Tariri put a long necklace around his neck because he had killed  
   lots of people...  
   OPV 69-70  

4. Text: nil minam ep thee' wanchînth alangan  
   she well fact threw-she-pt old-woman that-tr  
   Reason: ngay ruth  
   kan ma'aath-aathangan mâ'-yotam.  
   I because punct helped-I-pt-cont-her hand-lots (of times)  
   ...the old lady threw it well because I had helped her lots of  
   times.  
   VR 19-20  

5. Text: ina ruth nilnål  
   Reason: Smithan ruth  
   this but different -that because  
   mée'mîiy pama nil yumpanam keenkanama.  
   knowing man he made-perfect a long time ago  
   ...but this is different because Smith knows how to make them  
   because he has made them from a long time ago.  
   MF 63-65  

6. Text: nil thanang kaangka'  
   Reason: than ruth  
   he them likes-cj they because  
   erkam mamin yumpanaka yimananganîy.  
   quickly learned-they making-for in-this-manner-sp  
   ...he likes them because they have learned to make fences like this.  
   FL  

7. (Ngan kaa'àthama' oyngk chintanan puuya' yaa'ka'a chintin  
   we first-cj bait spear-we crab maybe spear-we-sj  
   piil'anan Text: anaman thee'in  
   Reason: thaa'oyngk min  
   big-emph then throw-we-sj bait good  
   ruth  
   because crab-that-sp  
   First we spear bait, maybe it's a big crab, only then would we  
   throw the line because crabs are good bait...  
   WH 2.4-7
8. Text: manchathanan thayanangana' piikanana' angan thee'anan
   flatten-we-ct axe-with-cj hit-we-ct-cj there throw-we-ct
   kunchanang angan Reason: karp pul
   pandanus-on there together they-two because there
   penchanpul.
   cook-they-two-ct
   ...we flatten it with an axe, we hit it and then we throw it there
   on the pandanus because those two cook together.

   no this I just-now line threw-cont-I-pt me
   because ke'am ma'aathin ngayang kuuy thee'anakaniy,"
   "No, I just now threw a line for the first time because they never
   taught me how to throw a line before"...

   In Direct Quote Sentence: VR 63-64

10. Text: ngay wey puth minh ke' wlichanam Reason: work ngath
   I but fish didn't catch(perfect) mine
   anman thanang ma'-wak-wakanankan thanang anman ma'-wak-wakang.
   only-that them help-cont-purp them only helped-cont-I-pt
   ...I didn't catch any fish, my work was to help them and I only
   helped them.

   VR 101-2

11. Text: woyan thon wakangan Reason: ngay puth
   road another followed-I-pt I
   kon-thaa'-wáy yipak, komanh.
   ear-mouth-bad (ignorant) still young-girl
   ...I took the wrong road because I was still an ignorant young
   girl.

   AP 060

   child small cried-they-for-me-pt because cold
   ...the children cried for me because it was cold.

   MG

13. Text: ngan ngul we'an Reason: puth aak ngampara
   we then dug-we-pt because place(custom) ours
   Reason: ngamp ko'anch puth ke' pii'anampa thanang, wathi
   we blind because neg keep-we-ct them yams
   yams
   ...we dug the yams then because it is our custom and because it is
   our custom not to keep these two kinds of yams from the blind.

   GM 171
14. Text: ngamp wey ingam wunamp ngul puth ke' we-pl-incl emo stayed stayed-we-pt then but neg
i iy- i iyamp Reason: puk manya yot ke' kalimp
go- cont-pt-we child small lots neg carry-we-sj
thanang ngampan thawamp.
them we-pl-incl said-we-pt
...we stayed then, we didn't go because we wouldn't take all those children; we said.

AP

15. Text: nil Mrs. Smith ana' angman than-tha n she -emph-cj there-that-place stood-cont-she-pt
Reason: kaangk pent-pent thé th-thathhán, like coming-out-she-cont-pt see-cont-ft
Mrs. Smith stood there because she liked coming out to see...

FL 32-34

8. SENTENCES WITH ka' similar, about to

These sentences have in common the formal feature that the particle ka' similar, about to occurs in either their second or their first base. Diagram Vll presents points of likeness and dissimilarity between the three sentence types of this section.
## Diagram VII

**Sentences with ka' like, about to**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Simile Sentence</strong></th>
<th><strong>Mistaken Thought Sentence</strong></th>
<th><strong>Frustrated Sequence Sentence</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tagmemes</strong></td>
<td>2 Obligatory and 1 Optional.</td>
<td>1 Obligatory and 2 Optional.</td>
<td>2 Obligatory.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Markers</strong></td>
<td>+ ka' similarity marker in second Base. + yimanang like this (appearance/manner) in Simile and Manner Base, and + anman like that in Simile Base. Second Base may be negated by ya'a no, but then means not like this.</td>
<td>+ ka' appearance marker in first Base. + puth but, a' but between bases. ya'a no occasionally occurs as reality along with explicit reality.</td>
<td>+ ka' about to within first Base. ya'a no frequently occurs and makes explicit the negation of first Base.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject</strong></td>
<td>Same/Diff, but Diff more frequent.</td>
<td>Same/Diff (but restricted).</td>
<td>Same/Diff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pos/Neg</strong></td>
<td>Proposition and Simile Base Pos-Pos (but may be expounded by Neg-Ant Sentence). Manner Base Pos or Neg.</td>
<td>All bases are Positive except Reality Base which may be Negative. A succession of two Reality Bases is Neg-Pos.</td>
<td>First and second bases may be Positive with Intervening Negative tagmemes. Otherwise: Second Base is negative or contains an antonymous predicate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intonation</strong></td>
<td>Markers are in P. Clause of Base within which they occur. P. Clause with ka' is high pitch and narrow range. ka' is low and fast.</td>
<td>ka' is lowest pitch in P. Clause in which it occurs. The word, phrase, or clause following ka' is all higher than that which precedes it. puth but occurs with low pitch between two bases. ngui and then in transition base is low and fast.</td>
<td>Modification of Basic Intonation in first Base - step down to ka' rather than step up. Sharp rise following ka' to verb, rather than step down. ya' no occurs as separate P. Clause and has high pitch. Second Base lower pitch throughout.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.1 THE SIMILE SENTENCE

The Simile Sentence expresses a comparison between two activities or things one of which is given in the Proposition and the other in the Simile Base with intervening Simile Marker ka' similar, like. The comparison is usually reinforced by a Similarity Marker and Manner Base such as so X will go/do. The minimal reading of this sentence type may encode Exemplification rather than Comparison (Example 4). A subminimal reading (Example 7) evidently encodes a comparison from which the ka' and Simile Base are deleted.

The Simile Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

```
+ Proposition  + Simile Marker  + Simile Base  (+ Similarity Marker  + Manner)  \^n=2
```

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Cl</th>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
<th>Negated Antonym S</th>
<th>Sequence S</th>
<th>ka'/ke' (dialect variants)</th>
<th>Noun phr</th>
<th>Intran Cl</th>
<th>Trans Cl</th>
<th>Compliment Cl</th>
<th>Negated Antonym S</th>
<th>Generic-Specific S</th>
<th>yimanang/yimanam like this/that</th>
<th>Intran Cl</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Result S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Occurs here or in Simile Base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anman like that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When + Simile Marker + Simile Base is repeated, ka' may be deleted in the repeat.

- Tense of Prop Base agrees with tense of Manner Base.
- Same subject in Prop Base and Manner Base.
- Same/Different subject in Simile Base (latter is more frequent).
- Prop Base and Simile Base are positive; but either may be expounded by Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S (with values: positive-negative, or negative-positive);
- Manner Base may be positive (expressing a positive comparison: like this) or negative (expressing a negative comparison: not like this).

Intonation: ka' forms with Simile Base a phonological clause and is low and fast.
- Phonological Clause which contains Simile Base has high pitch and narrow range.
- yimanang when occurring in previous base forms part of previous phonological clause; otherwise it forms a phonological clause with the Manner Base.
- Phonological clause which contains Manner Base has basic intonation.
A Simile Sentence is composed of an obligatory Proposition Base; an obligatory Simile Marker with an obligatory Simile Base; and a further optional pair of tagmemes of which the first may occur without the second but not vice versa: Similarity Marker and Manner Base. The whole string of tagmemes from Simile Marker on may be repeated twice in various readings according to the indicated obligatory/optional possibilities. It is significant that various clause and sentence types (see the array) can expound the Proposition Base, that among other exponents a noun phrase may expound Simile Base, and that Intransitive Clause (or Result Sentence with Intransitive Clause in its second base) expounds Manner Base. The occurrence of the single noun phrase as exponent of Simile Base (Example 6) correlates with the fact that indication of the object of the comparison can be relatively minimal. The requirement of an Intransitive Clause in the exponent of Manner correlates with the fact that a limited number of such verbs (thus it goes/does) are used to reinforce comparisons. The Simile Marker, expounded by ka'/ke' like, is essential to the expression of the comparison which can be further reinforced by anman like that in the Simile Base, and - more regularly - by the Similarity Marker expounded by yimanam like this, in this manner.

Possible tense combinations of the bases are: past-past, customary-past, future-future, customary-customary, future-customary-future, and future-past-future. The tense of the Manner Base agrees with the tense of the Proposition Base. Most examples have bases with different subjects, but a few examples (Example 7, 8) have same subject. While the first two bases are positive (counting embedded Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) as positive), the third base may be positive or negative.

The Similarity Marker ka' normally occurs preceding the Simile Base, but may occur after the first word of the Simile Base. The Manner Marker yimanang like this may occur preceding Manner Base but it may permute and occur within the Simile Base, or preceding the Simile Base. anman occurs within the Simile Base. The linear ordering of base tagmemes is not fixed and in Example 8 Simile Base occurs before Proposition.

Example 4 is of peculiar interest in that it encodes Exemplification rather than Comparison. The reading here is minimal in that it consists only of Proposition Base, Simile Marker and Simile Base. Example 8 - in spite of length - is similarly minimal but encodes Comparison. Example 7 is subminimal; the comparison is never expressed: 'we were really thrown around; like .......'.

The Simile Sentence occurs embedded in Contrast Sentences, and Reason Sentence.
The intonation pattern for the Simile Sentence is as follows. The intonation and clause stress of the Proposition Base are those of the sentence type or clause type which expounds the tagmeme. Here, as elsewhere, when there is a negative clause stress falls on the negative. Aside from this, whatever word precedes yimanang or anman in the same phonological clause receives the clause stress. Otherwise yimanang itself receives clause stress. The remainder of the sentence has the same intonation as the Frustrated Sequence Sentence, i.e. the Similarity Marker ka'a like is low, and when a pronoun precedes it, it drops to below the pitch of that pronoun. There is the same high rise of pitch following ka'a up to the following Simile Base. The Simile Base itself has modified basic intonation, i.e. fairly high pitch with narrow range.

**Examples:**

1. **Prop:** Driver thon alanganiya' ngak way mungk, Simile driver one that-one-tr water bad drank-he
   
   Base: ana ka' nil ko'anch yimanang nylay-nylin, 
   
   One driver had drunk beer and it was like as if he was blind...

   **In Contrast Sentence:** WT 20

2. **Prop:** Kaa'átham ngeeyána, kootrang pii'ána ngangkang first hear-we-ft head-in mind-we-ft heart-in
   
   ngoonchow, ngantaniy Simile Base: ka' kaanch minana keekan enter-ft-it ours-that like seed good-that falls-it
   
   pal-púyana, ngaanh minangan, ngaanh kuntowang angan keekan here-there sand good-in-that sand stone-in there falls-it
   
   yimanang ya'a, Manner Base: ke' pii'an ngangk, - erkaman wayamán. 
   
   First we will hear (then) we will keep them in our heads and it will go into our hearts, like good seed that falls here and there in the good ground, not like those that fall into the stony ground - we won’t keep our hearts (like this) and become bad quickly.

   **Future Result S:** GP 1

3. **Prop:** nungkaram wik puth ke' wantána, pii'án anman yours words so neg leave-we-ft mind-we-ft only
   
   ngangkang Simile Base: ka' kaanch min anman kuntowang keekana, heart-in like seeds good only stone-in falls-it
   
   kaancha, Manner Base: yimanang ke' iiyán, Simile Base: 
   
   seeds like-this neg go-we-ft
   
   akaramin liyan kinchang Manner Base: yimanang ngan ke' iiyán, withered goes-it sun-in like-this we neg go-we
See us, (as) we go a long way this day, your words we won't leave, we will only keep them in our hearts, like those good seeds that fall in stony ground, like that we won't go, like withered in the sun we won't go.

GP 2.38-46

4. Prop: Puk manyiy than yukang thakan matantana' Simile child small they tree-on also climb-they-cj
Base: ka' nyingk inan Treveoran ma'-matan aawuch kenyangk, like recently here -that climbed-he house high-on
The children climb up in trees, etc., like recently here Trevor climbed up on top of a house, ...

In Reason S: CT 2,3

5. Prop: liyan aawuch ngtamak kana, nathan iiyāna, piil'āna go-we house ours-to punct far go-we-ft mind-we-ft
Simile Base: ka' kaanch minan keeka, aak ngaanh like seeds good-that fell place sand
minangana, Manner Base: yimanangan iiyāna.

(When) we have gone to our houses, and have gone a long way away, we will keep them (words) like the good seeds feel on the good ground, we will go in that manner.

GP 2.6-10

6. Prop: Ke' piikanamaniya, thaa' théekana thaa'aman, wunpiyant neg hit-perfect-sp mouth-spit mouth-from put-they-them-to ma'ang, mee' namp-nampuwin Simile Base: ka' mee' hand-with eyes rubbed-recip-they like eye

(The children who) had not been hit put saliva from the mouth on their fingers, and rubbed their eyes with their hands, it was like tears...

In Contrast S: TG 130

7. (Ana winyangim peeyana) Prop: an thee'an nganang dem frightened cried-we dem threw-it us
Manner Base: yimananga, ya'im wunyathan nganang. like-this intens shook-it us

We were frightened - for we were thrown around - it was like this, it really shook us.

In Reason S: DM
8. Simile Base: Anan ka' many thanthana, oonya pathaman
dem like ghost see-they ghost really
yamang, wampan, Prop: thanan kee'antan, pam wanch
somewhere-close comes-it they dance-they men women
mányathamana' nilana' oonyana' anman mookaman, pam
alive-ones-cj he-cj ghost-cj that-one imitates man
mulananiy kee'an yamang.
dead-that-sp dances-he somewhere-close
It's as though they see a ghost, coming somewhere close as they,
the ones who are alive, dance, and the ghost dances somewhere
close, imitating the dead man.

OR 84-88

8.2 MISTAKEN THOUGHT SENTENCE

As indicated in its name this sentence type records a mistaken
impression in its first base. It, however, with great frequency also
encodes in its third base the reality which was falsely taken to be
something else, and - with less frequency - may record in the second
base the event or circumstances which led to the discovery that the
impression was false. Here ka' in the first base indicates something
mistaken for another instead of a comparison.

The Mistaken Thought Sentence is represented by the following
bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appearance Base</th>
<th>Transition Base</th>
<th>Adversative</th>
<th>Reality Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>put but occurs here or in Reality Base</td>
<td>noun phrase ya'a no/ Equative Cl whose predicate is expounded by ya'a no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl where verb is ngántamangŋey think (frequently deleted) plus object expounded by phrase or clause</td>
<td>Transitive Cl preceded by ngul then</td>
<td>Reality Base</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka' like obligatorily occurs</td>
<td>-ant 3rd sing referent bound pronoun optionally occurs finally in clause</td>
<td></td>
<td>Intrans Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Antithetical S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs of bases are past tense; verb of clause embedded in Appearance Base may be past or future

Same or different subject

Appearance Base and Reality Base contain a pair of antonyms, situational opposites, or contrasted participants

First and second bases are positive; the third (Reality) is positive or negative; a sequence of two Reality Bases is negative-positive

Clause stress of Appearance Base on final word of phonological clause; all that precedes it is low and fast; ka' has lowest pitch in phonological clause

puth Adversative has low pitch

Reality Base has basic intonation

The Mistaken Thought Sentence is composed of three base tagmemes, (obligatory) Appearance, (optional) Transition and (obligatory) Reality. The optional Adversative Marker tagmemes puth but occurs either before the Reality Base or within it. The Appearance Base is expounded by either an Equative Clause or by a Transitive Clause which has the verb nga'antamngāey think.

If the exponent of the Appearance Base is an Equative Clause, ka' occurs in the Predicate of the Equative Clause, and it is sometimes reinforced with yimanang like this as in Example 1 (cf. Simile Sentence). Within the Equative Clause the actual mistaken thought or idea may encode as a noun phrase which optionally is marked with -ant 'third person singular referent' and which is final in its clause. When the exponent of Appearance Base is a Transitive Clause with the verb think the actual mistaken thought or idea is encoded as the object of this verb, whether as noun phrase or as an embedded Transitive or Intransitive Clause. Within the embedding Transitive Clause itself, the subject may take the -ant suffix. Not infrequently, however, the verb think is deleted and even the accompanying subject (see Examples in 11.3). The marker ka' normally occurs after the verb think when the latter is present.

The Transition Base, which is optional, is expounded by an Intransitive Clause preceded by ngul then. Here some action or event causes the speaker to realize he is wrong, and the Reality Base follows. This may be expounded by noun phrases (both modified noun phrases and coordinate noun phrases), by ya'a no, by an Equative Clause where ya'a no expounds the Predicate, Transitive, and Intransitive Clauses and by Antithetical Sentence. patham really sometimes occurs in the noun
phrase expounding a Reality Base. In the one example with no Reality Base (Example 5) the reality is implied by what follows, which is a result of the Mistaken Thought. Two Equative Clauses with ya'a filling Predicate do not occur together expounding repeated Reality tagmemes. Under these circumstances, the first Reality Base will be expounded by ya'a or by an Equative Clause whose Predicate is expounded by ya'a no and the second Reality Base will be expounded by a phrase or clause which gives positive identification to the reality.

The verbs of the Appearance, Reality and Transition Bases are all in the past tense, but the verb of the embedded Transitive or Intransitive Clause occurring in Appearance Base may be either past or future. The Appearance and Reality Bases sometimes have the same subject when Appearance Base is expounded by a Stative Clause, as in Example 1, otherwise the bases have different subjects.

The only base which may be negative is the Reality Base. A negative or an antonym (or situational opposite or contrasting participant) is required here. As explained above it is not infrequent to have a negative-positive sequence in a pair of Reality Bases (cf. Negated Antonym (Paraphrase)).

While the Reality Base has been included as an obligatory tagmeme for this sentence type, there is an occasional occurrence (one example only here) embedded in another sentence type where the negative reality is not overtly stated but is implied by the following result (Example 5).

This sentence type occurs embedded in Quotation Sentence, Sequence Sentence, and Result Sentence.

Examples:

1. Nilan thaw - Appearance: a' inan minh ka' erp yimananga' she said cj this fish like raw like-cj
   Adversative: but Reality Base: n'ila kanam pencha. it punct cooked
   She said, "This fish looks like it's raw, but it's cooked."
   In Quotation S: FL 88-89

2. Appearance: ngul ngampan ngáantamnëeyampa, ka' white and we-emph thought-we
   teacheran wampowa, Transition: ngul thathampan thithan, -that come-she-st
   Reality: ina half-caste ey? puth nilan kuchék min. this ques but she head good
   ...and we thought that a white teacher was coming, but when we saw her close, she was a half-caste, wasn't she, but she had good brains.
   In Sequence S: TG 018
3. (Yaa), Appearance: ngay ka' wunyang ant minhaniy chint I like o.bro.-ref speared-he fish-that-sp
Angusanganta Reality: nila pam thum nungkaramang chint, he man fire yours-ts speared-he

Mittaboyang ey?

Yes, I thought it was older brother, Angus, who speared the fish, but it was your husband, Mittaboy, who speared it, wasn't it?

GM 015-6

4. (Aaya, ngayan thawangana, "wee' pechana?" Appearance: pam excl I-emp h said-I-emp h who shouts-he man

ka' thonant, Reality: nil ya' Reality: Rexang pulaa, Angusang. like one-ref he no -cj they-dl-cj -cj

I said, "Who is shouting out?" I thought it was one man, but it was two, Rex and Angus.

GM 176

5. Appearance: Thuukaniy, thuuk manchaniy, ka' snake-that-sp snake death adder-that-sp like

kochanta, Transition: ngul ka' putham ma' ongkaratha, lizard-ref then just-as again hand stretched-she

ma'an an pathan. hand-that bit-it-her

(She) thought that snake, the death adder was a lizard, then just as she stretched out her hand again it bit her hand.

In Result S TG 060


I thought it was a snake, but it wasn't.

Conversation

8.3 FRUSTRATED SEQUENCE SENTENCE

This sentence type encodes in its first base a frustrated intention. Its second base typically encodes the blocking circumstance that resulted in the frustration (although Example 2 apparently encodes the unexpected outcome itself in Base 2). Here ka' in the first base expresses neither comparison nor one thing mistaken for another but expresses the 'as-if-ness' of something intended but never carried out.

The Frustrated Sequence Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
A Frustrated Sequence Sentence is composed of two obligatory base tagmemes, Frustrated Action and Frustrating Action. The linear ordering of these tagmemes is fixed and is opposite to the chronological order in that the action which is projected but frustrated is mentioned before the action which frustrates it. The Intention Marker ka' best translated as just as, right at that time, intended obligatorily occurs following the sentence initial free form pronoun of the Frustrated Action Base (as does the Appearance Marker in the Appearance Base of a Mistaken Thought Sentence when the verb is deleted).

The negative ya'a or nila ya'a it doesn't optionally occurs, but when it is absent, the Frustrating Action Base must contain either the negative ke' (which precedes verbs), or a verbal antonym of the verb which occurs in the Frustrated Action Base. Ya'a and ke' may co-occur, but in this situation ya'a is a negative intensifier, and occurs in a separate preceding phonological clause.

The tense of the Frustrated Action tagmeme is subjunctive or future, while the tense of the Frustrating Action Base is past or customary. The subjects in the two bases may be either the same or different. The relationship of positive-negative is as follows: the first base (Frustrated Action) is a positive intention which is frustrated (thus negated) by the second base (Frustrating Action) which prevents the action of the first base from taking place. The (deep structure) negation may take the surface form of a negated verb or a verbal antonym. The negative or antonym may be in the sentence which expounds...
Quote of a Direct Quote Sentence when this syntagmeme expounds Frustrating Action Base.

Both the Frustrated Action tagmeme and the Frustrating Action tagmeme are obligatory, while the negative ya'a no or nila ya'a it doesn't optionally occurs between the two bases. This negative when present acts as a pivot negating the preceding base and intensifying the following base.

This sentence type does not embed in other sentence types. It occurs as an EXCHANGE in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE.

Examples:

1. Frd Act Base: Nil ka' paathiya', Neg: ya'
   
   she just-as try-sj she no
   
   Fing Act: lopam thuuchantam.
   right-off fell-off-from-her
   
   Just as she tried it, no, it fell off from her.
   
   FL 138-9

2. Frd Act: Nil puth ka' weman pentowa, Neg: nila ya'a, it but just-as red-that come-out-it it no
   
   Fing Act: ngotan wiy inangan yimanang pentan, kanaan black some these like-these comes-out punct
   
   kiingkanananiy, puth mina.
   cooked-that-sp but good
   
   Just as the red is going to come out, it doesn't, it comes out black like these when it is cooked, but it's good.
   
   FL 224-8

3. Frd Act: Ngaa'-thon ngulana' ka' muunchiypul, ukiypul day-another then-cj just-as bathe-they-two-sj go-down
   
   punth um aakanaka, Fing Act: ngan Bennyang thawan nungant, river straight there-to we -cj said-we him-to
   "Nipa ke' muunchowa, pikuwa nang wo'woyana', peeya."
   
   you-two neg bathe-you-dl crocodile there other-side-cj goes-he
   
   Another day they were about to bathe, to go straight down to the river, (when) Benny and I said to him, "Don't bathe. A crocodile is there on the other side."
   
   FL 175-9

4. Frd Act: Ngan ka' ekānaniy ngakaka thakanim iiyāna we just-as get-up-it water-for etc get-we-ft
   
   Fing Act: ana pal yuupima, ke-kēekan, nilara.
   dem here moving-emph-it fell-cont-she she-mine
   
   We tried to get up to get water, etc., but (the train) was moving about, and she, my friend, fell down.
   
   MB 6
5. Frd Act: Ngay ka! mulathing pulang, wanch komanh
   I just-as kill-I-sbj them-two women young
   kucham inangana, Fing Act: ngul ngayan thawang, "wantān
   two these then I-emph said-I leave-ft
   pulang, wanch komanh kucham anangiya, pul puth
   them-dl women young two those-sp they-dl but
   wantak wey keka thula maayiyul, mulatiiypul
   how emo spear womera pick-up-sbj kill-sbj-they-two
   ngampanga - wantāmp pulang!"
   us leave-we-ft them-dl

   I was about to kill these two young women, but then I said, "Leave
   the two young women alone, for are they likely to pick up spears
   and spear throwers and kill us? Let us leave them along."

   OPV 283

9. THE QUOTATION SENTENCES

   Besides Direct and Indirect Quote Sentence types Wik-Munkan has an
   Indirect Quote structure that is a merged sentence, and has a further
   similar merged sentence that expresses liking something or being
   pleased with it. Here, as in many languages formal structures similar
   to quotation are put to non-speech uses. Most of these sentence types
   have one or more subtypes. These various types and subtypes are com-
   pared on the accompanying charts.
### Diagram VIII (a)

#### Quotation Sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DIRECT QUOTE S</th>
<th>INDIRECT QUOTE S</th>
<th>INDIRECT YES/NO QUESTION (SUBTYPE)</th>
<th>INDIRECT QUOTE MS</th>
<th>INDIRECT CONTENT QUESTION (SUBTYPE)</th>
<th>INDIRECT POLITE REQUEST (SUBTYPE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb of QF</strong></td>
<td>thaw speak.</td>
<td>waa' tell about.</td>
<td>thaw speak.</td>
<td>engk ask.</td>
<td>engk ask.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>waa' tell about.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person and Tense of verb of QF</td>
<td>past. 1st, 3rd person.</td>
<td>past. 3rd person.</td>
<td>imper/past. 2nd person.</td>
<td>future, customary or past. 1st, 2nd, 3rd person.</td>
<td>imper. 2nd person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrence of free subject in Quote Base</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person and Tense of verb (s) of Quote</td>
<td>any tense. 3rd person.</td>
<td>past. 3rd person.</td>
<td>ft/sj/pt. 3rd person.</td>
<td>ft/sj. 3rd person.</td>
<td>ft/sj. 3rd person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Wide range of exponents of Quote. (expected that ngaangam-meey to think pech to shout also occur).</td>
<td>Narrow range of exponents of Indirect Quote. 1QF, and Indirect Quote only one P. Clause.</td>
<td>Optional final ey question marker. Only one P. Clause.</td>
<td>Narrow range of exponents of Indirect Quote. Only one P. Clause.</td>
<td>Content interrogative word in Indirect Question. Only one P. Clause.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'LIKE' MERGED S</strong></td>
<td><strong>'LIKE' CONDITIONAL ANSWER (SUB-TYPE)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb of 'Like' Base</strong></td>
<td>kaangk <em>like</em> non-conjugating verb. If conjugates, co-occurs with <em>pent</em> to come out.</td>
<td>kaangk <em>like</em> non-conjugating verb.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person and Tense of 'Like' Base</strong></td>
<td>1st, 2nd, and 3rd person. If verb of Action Base is pt, <em>pent</em> to come out occurs with kaangk <em>like</em> and is inflected for past.</td>
<td>2nd person.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occurrence of subject in 'Like' Base</strong></td>
<td>Obligatory occurrence of free subject pronoun.</td>
<td>Obligatory absence of free pronoun.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Person and Tense of Action Base</strong></td>
<td>Future when only kaangk <em>like</em> occurs. If verb is past, kaangk <em>like</em> and <em>pent</em> to come out co-occur (except where <em>pent</em> occurs in literal sense).</td>
<td>Obligatory 2nd person (sg, dl, pl) in Action Base. Future tense of imperative mood (no tense marker).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td>Limited exponent of 'Like' Base. Wide range exponents of Action Base. Usually only one P. Clause.</td>
<td>Limited exponents of both tagmemes. Only one P. Clause.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It can be seen that the main criteria used for contrast among these surface structures are:

a) Tense and person of verbs of both Quotation Formula and Quote or Indirect Quote (or Indirect Question).

b) The obligatory absence versus optional or obligatory occurrence of the free subject in Quote or Indirect Quote Base where this is same or different from subject of Quotation Formula.

c) The wider range of exponents of Quote in Direct Quote Sentences than in Quote tagmemes in other quotation sentence types.

d) The number and linear position of Quote Formulas (not represented in chart) is another factor. In Direct Quote Sentence the Quote Formulas (up to two may occur) are optional and one may occur preposed, the other postposed or one or more may permute to within the Quote. The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence and its subtypes on the other hand have one obligatory preposed Quote Formula which does not repeat or permute. The Indirect Quote Sentence (main subtype) has a preposed and a postposed Quote Formula both of which are obligatory and do not permute, while its subtype Yes/No Question (Indirect Quote) has one obligatory preposed Quotation Formula which does not permute.

e) The contrasting feature of the intonation of Direct Quote Sentence with the Indirect Quote Sentences is that in Direct Quote Sentence the Quotation Formula is fast and low and is a separate phonological clause to the Quote tagmeme; while in the Indirect Quote Sentence the Quote tagmeme is fast and low, but is part of the same phonological clause as the Quote tagmeme with clause stress occurring within the Quote tagmeme.

9.1 DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

The Wik-Munkan Direct Quote Sentence, like such sentences in other languages proposes to report the speech of some speaker without adaptation to the viewpoint of the reporter.

The Direct Quote Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
+ Quote Formula₁

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Cl</th>
<th>Any Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>where verb is thaw speak or engk ask</td>
<td>Sentence fragment such as Responses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where verb is waa' tell about</td>
<td>Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amplification S</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with the same verb of speech in both bases</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Quote

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>where verb is thaw speak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ Quote Formula₂

| Intransitive Cl | |
|-----------------| |
| where verb is thaw speak |

Verbs of Quote Formulas are past
Quote Formula₁ may permute to within the Quote
Quote Formula₁ intonation is low pitch and fast, Quote is higher pitch than Quote Formula₁
Quote Formula₁ and Quote are separate phonological clauses

The Direct Quotation Sentence has only one obligatory tagmeme, the Quote. Both the preposed and postposed Quote Formula tagmemes are optional; both may occur, neither may occur, but one usually occurs. When the Quote is lengthy both usually occur. The Quote Formula₁ may also occur interlarded within the Quote. The verb in the Quote Formula₁ is one of the verbs of speech, the most frequent form being thaw say. This verb and engk ask, which are intransitive verbs (the free subject (noun) occurring with these verbs is unmarked and therefore the verbs must be intransitive) occur in Intransitive Clauses which expound the preposed Quote Formula₁. A further verb waa' tell about is a transitive verb (the free subject (noun) is marked by -ang, transitive subject marker) which occurs in Transitive Clauses which also expound Quotation Formula₁. It is expected that other verbs of speech or thought could occur also in Quote Formula₁ such as pech shout, ngaanthamngeeey think. An Amplification Sentence with the same verb of speech in both bases may expound Quote Formula₁ (Example 11).

Potentially Quote tagmeme may be expounded by any clause, sentence fragment such as responses, and vocatives, sentences, and by any discourse.

Quote Formula₂ is expounded only by Intransitive Clauses containing the verb thaw speak. In examples with the Quote Formula₂ the free subject does not usually occur. Frequently the clause expounding Quote Formula₂ consists of the verb only (Example 6 and 9). The
formulaic form ni la n th aw he said has been heard, however, in conversation.

The tense of the verbs of speech in the clauses expounding the Quote Formulas is past in all examples. The tenses of the verb of the exponents of the Quote is unrestricted except for restrictions imposed by the embedded clause, sentence, or discourse. The subjects of the Quote Formula(s) (which of course, have the same subject) and Quote Base are the same or different. All persons, like all tenses may occur in Quote. Where third person subject occurs in Quote Formula(s) and first person subject in Quote the same referent is intended. The Quote Formula is positive in all examples. Again, the Quote is unrestricted as to positive, negative, or any combination of the two values - except as such restrictions are imposed by embedded structures.

The Quotation Sentence may be embedded in Sequence Sentence, Simple Dialogue Sentence, Complex Dialogue Sentence and in Compound Dialogue Sentence.

The pitch of the Quote is higher than that of the Quote Formulas, but has the same relative intonation that we would expect to find in the corresponding unembedded construction. The Quote Formula₁, especially when expounded by a clause, is fast and low (modification of basic intonation). The Quote Formula₁ and the Quote form separate phonological clauses and mid step down sequence intonation occurs between them. The latter is in line with the fact that this sentence type purports to give direct reporting without adaptation of the words reported to the viewpoint of the reporter. The phonological boundary explicitly sets off the reporter from what he is reporting. Postposed Quote Formula₂ is very low and fast and takes final intonation.

Examples:

1. (Yaa, ngay iiyanga') QF₁: thawangant, Quote: "pal kan
   yes I went-I
   said-I-to-her here punct
   iiyāna' ngan inan kan kathan, minhana."
   come-you-imp we here punct tied-we fish-that
   Yes, I went and said to her, "You come here (to where) we have
   tied up the fish."

   In Sequence S: FL 22-25

2. QF₁: Nilan engk nganta, Quote: "nip wantak ngul
   she-emph asked-she us-to you-dl how then
   iniy yumpowa', minha..."
   this-sp make-you-ft fish
   She asked us, "How will you make (prepare) this fish?..."

   In Simple Dialogue S: FL 42-3
3. QF₁: ngay thawanganta, Quote: "nint thatán thonakama." I said-I-to-her you watch-you-ft only
... I said to her, "You just look."
In Complex Dialogue S: FL 44-45

4. QF₁: nilan thaw, Quote: "a' inan minh ka' erp yimananga' puth she said cj this fish like raw like but
nila kanam pencha', minh woongkanch in ina inmin wun pach it punct cooked fish liver this here now lies white
yipak ey?..."
yet ques
...she said, "This fish looks like it's raw, but it's cooked.
Does the liver stay white like this?..."
In Compound Dialogue S: FL 87-90

5. QF₁: ngan thawan nunganta, Quote: "nana minh kanan we said-we her-to that fish punct
pencha', kan paathā." cooked now try-imper
...we said to her, "That fish is cooked, now try it."
In Compound Dialogue S: FL 91-93

6. Quote: "ina minh mànāthana, mina, ina aak min niliyantama" this fish sweet good this custom goods yours
QF₂: thaw. said-she
...this fish is sweet, it's good, this custom of yours is good," she said.
In Compound Dialogue S: FL 95-97

7. Quote: "ee'a," QF₁: nilan thaw, Quote: "ngay puth ya'angama yes she said I for to-no-avail
yuk manya thak, kangk thak ki-kíngkanga nganang thing small with bushes too cooked-ct-I us
me'ang war' am maayana..." mosquitos-tr almost picked-up
"Yes," she said, "I to no avail burnt bushes and things. The mosquitos almost carried us away..."
In Compound Dialogue S: FL 109-113

8. QF₁: ngay puth thawanganta', Quote: "kiíngkāna' thum
I so said-I-to-her-cj cook-you-imper fire
munth pipānā', thok ngul pentowa' me' ké'-ngūl coals break-you-imper smoke then come-out-ft mosquitos neg
wampiy aniy nungkara." will-come-sbj that-sp you-to
So I said to her, "Burn (it), and break up fire coals, so that the smoke will come out and so that the mosquitos won't come to you."
In Compound Dialogue Sentence:
FL 114-8
this custom good yours-cj said-she
"..."this is a good custom of yours," she said.
In Compound Dialogue S: FL 52

10. QF1: Than puth ka'páal wanchfnth anangan thawin, wuut
they so therefore old-woman those said-they old-men
thakan, Quote: "ina wik min, ngan Ínggul an ngeeyana, too-emph this word good we just-now heard-we
Wik-Munkanang waa'an niy ngant, ngan ke' ngeeyan kaal'athaman
-in tell-you us-to we not heard-we first
yimanama, Archie'ang ke' waa'an ngant yimanang, nil
like-this -tr neg tells-she us-to like-this she
kiil thangama waa' ngant, ngan puth inan ep, ngan
English-in-emp thold-she us-to we but now fact we
kaangk, kán-ngul, ngan ngaantamngeeyan pamaniy nunana,
like compl we think-we man-that-sp him
-in like-this said-they
So for that reason those old women and old men said, "These are
good words we have just heard in Wik-Munkan, that you are tell-
ing us, we have not heard it like this before, Archie doesn't
tell it like this, she told us in English, but now what we have
heard (we understand) all right, we like it, and now we believe
in that man, Jesus," like this they spoke.
In Sequence S: PT 230

11. Quote: "Minh pulant ina' waa'pul ngant Quote: "thee'an pulant" pro their-dl here told-they-two told-he
quina" give-you-imper those-dl-to "Their meat is here," those two said, he said to us, "give it to
them."
In Sequence S: WM 110

12. Yaa, QF1: ngay wunpanganta' ngay thawang Quote: "ninta I put-I-for-her-cj I said-I you
ngul thee'an ey? kuuyan ey?" now throw-you-its ques line-this ques
Yes, I put it on for her and I said, "Will you throw it now, (will you throw) the line?"
In Sequence S in Compound Dialogue S: VR 23-25

13. QF1: ngul minh hookan thaa' anpalan thapathaka' ngathara then fish -that mouth that-from take-off-purp me-to
thawin Quote: "pal iiyána, in thapataha..." said-they to-here come-you-imp this take-off-you imper
...when they wanted to take the hook from the fish's mouth they
said to me, "Come here, take this off."
In Complex Dialogue S: VR
14. Quote: "ina in kenya, pintalang uka, ngakangan
this here high plain-on fell-it water-in
ke'am uka' ngay in kenya thee'ang, pintalang."
not fell-it-cj I here high threw-I plain-on
"It's here, above, it fell on the plain, it didn't fall in the
water. I threw it up here on the plain."

In Compound Dialogue S: VR 40, 41

9.2 INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE (MAIN SUBTYPE)

The Indirect Quote Sentence in Wik-Munkan is not, as in some lan-
guages a transformation of any and all Direct Quote Sentences. Rather,
the main subtype of Indirect Quote and the subtype described below (as
well as the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence and its subtypes) represent
a handful of encoding possibilities having to do with specific person
sequences and specific situations such as reporting of incidents, of
types of questions, and of requests.

The Indirect Quote Sentence (main subtype) is limited to past tense,
and same subject in Quotation Formula and Quote. Here the speaker
reports a past activity which he himself performed.

The Indirect Quote Sentence is represented by the following bidi-
dimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Indirect Quote Formula₁</th>
<th>+ Indirect Quote Formula₂</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where verb is waa' tell</td>
<td>where verb is waa' tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
<td>Complement Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free subject obligatory</td>
<td>free subject obligatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>occurs</td>
<td>occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence S</td>
<td>Sequence S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense of all verbs is past
Quote Formulas and Indirect Quote Base have same subject
Positive - Positive - Positive
Each tagmeme has clause stress and intonation of clause or
sentence type expounding the tagmeme
There is obligatory absence of pause between Indirect Quote
Formula₁ and Indirect Quote, but normal sequence intonation
between Indirect Quote and Indirect Quote Formula₂
The Indirect Quote Sentence has three obligatory tagmemes, the pre-
posed and postposed Indirect Quote Formulas, and the Indirect Quote.
The Indirect Quote Formulas are expounded by Transitive Clauses where
the verb is waa' tell. The Indirect Quote Formula₁ is frequently pre-
ceded by yimanang like this. The Indirect Quote may be expounded by
Transitive Clause, Complement Clause and Sequence Sentence. It is
evident that the variety and range of exponents of Indirect Quote are
more restricted than for Direct Quote.

The verbs of both the Indirect Quote Formulas and of the Indirect
Quote are in the past tense. The subjects of both Indirect Quote
Formulas and the Indirect Quote are the same. The free subject obli-
gatorily occurs in the Indirect Quote. The examples are all positive-
positive-positive. The linear ordering is fixed.

The Indirect Quote Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence Sentence.

In the Indirect Quote Sentence, the Indirect Quote Formula₁, the
Indirect Quote, and the Indirect Quote Formula₂ each receives clause
stress according to the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme.
However, while each receives clause stress there is obligatory absence
of pause between the preposed Indirect Quote Formula₁ and the Indirect
Quote. It seems plausible to consider these to be two phonological
clauses each with basic intonation but linked by absence of pause be-
tween the two bases rather than by one of the sequence intonation sub-
types. Either subtype of sequence intonation may occur between the
Indirect Quote tagmeme and the postposed Indirect Quote Formula.

Examples:

1. IQF₁: wik kuyam waa' than t Ind Quote: nilana
   words used-to told-he-about them-to he-emph
   mulatha, bowanga arrowanga mulath thanang, kekangan
   killed-he bow-with arrow-with killed-he them spear-with
   mulath thanang, manangan y waanch kuchekana pama wancha
   killed-he them neck-on-sp hung-he heads-that men women
   ananiya ', IQF₂: anana waa' nungantakam.
   those-sp that told-about-he himself
   ...he told them about how he had killed with bow and arrow how he
   killed with spears, and that he hung the heads of men and women
   around on his neck, thats what he told them about himself.
   In Sequence S: WMV 213-8

The following examples were supplied by the informants.

2. IQF₁: Nil Louisa'ang waa' than t Ind Quote: nil
   she -tr told-about-she-pt them-to she
   keenk may minan klingk pulant, kaathanta'
   first food good cooked-she-pt those-dl-for mother-for-cj
   piipant IQF₂: yimanang waa' than t.
   father-for like-this told-about-she-pt them-to
Louisa told them that she used to cook good food for those two, mother and father, like this she told them.

3. IQF1: Nil Dora'ang waa' thant Ind Quote: nilan keenk she -tr told-she-pt them-to she first
gardenang mayan kaamp-kaamp IQF2: yimanang waa' -in food planted-cont-she like-this told-about-she-pt
nunang antakam.
herself

Dora told them that she used to plant in the garden, she told this about herself.

4. IQF1: Nil wuut Mickeyang waa' thant he old-man -tr told-about-he-pt them-to
Ind Quote: nil keenkam pam wanch jotan chint-chint he first men women lots speared-he-cont
kekang IQF2: yimanang waa' thant.
spear-with like this told-about-he them-to

The old man Mickey told them that long ago he speared lots of men and women, like this he told them.

5. IQF1: Nil pam ngatharamang waa' ngant he man mine-tr told-about-he-pt us-to
Ind Quote: nil keenk m'nh-thûp liy-liya he first fish-lucky went-cont-he
IQF2: yimanang waa' ngant, like this told-about-he-pt us-to

My husband told us he used to be a good hunter, like this he told us.

6. IQF1: nil waa' Indirect Quote: nil kaa'átham she told-about-she she first
ngaa'-thon-thón liy-liy thant workak IQF2: nil every-day went-she-ct to-them -for she
yimanang waa' nungantakam.
like-this told-about-she herself
She told them that at first (a long time ago) she went every day to work for them.

Conversation

9.3 YES/NO QUESTION (INDIRECT QUOTE) SENTENCE

This again is a limited, specialized structure. The verb of the indirect question formula is imperative and second person or past and first person, i.e. one is either requesting the addressee to ask a third party a question or is recounting to the addressee how he himself asked a question of a third party. The indirect object of the quotation formula is the third person actor of the quote itself: 'Ask him if he would/if he has...'
The Yes/No Question (Indirect Quote) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Indirect Question Formula</th>
<th>+ Indirect Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intransitive Cl</strong> where verb is <em>engk ask</em></td>
<td><strong>Intransitive Cl</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive Cl</strong></td>
<td><strong>Condition S</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Free subject obligatorily occurs</strong></td>
<td><strong>ey question marker optionally occurs finally</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb of Indirect Question Formula is imperative, 2nd person or past, 1st person
Indirect object of first base has same referent as subject of second base
Verb of Indirect Question is future/subjunctive or past, and third person
Obligatory absence of pause between the Indirect Question Formula and the Indirect Question

Yes/No Question (Indirect Quote) Sentence is a subtype of Indirect Quote Sentence. As in the main subtype, the free form of the subject obligatorily occurs in the Indirect Question tagmeme. The verb of the Indirect Question Formula is *engk ask* and this may be imperative and second person or past and first person. The verb of the Indirect Question must be third person, but can be either future subjunctive or past. The indirect object of the first base has the same referent as the third person subject of the second base. Sentence finally the question marker *ey* optionally occurs, but has not been found co-occurring with subjunctive.

There is obligatory lack of pause between the Indirect Question Formula and the Indirect Question as in the main subtype. The two bases each have clause stress and form separate phonological clauses. In the Indirect Question Formula clause stress occurs on the verb. In Example 5 clause stress also occurs on *pilotanta to the pilot* which is a separate phonological clause with a pause between it and the verb. Clause stress in the Indirect Question tagmeme varies according to the clause or sentence type expounding the tagmeme.
Examples:

1. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil nath wampow ey?
   ask-you imper him he maybe come-he-ft ques
   Ask him if he will come.

2. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil nath wampiy.
   ask-imper him-to he maybe come-he-sj
   Ask him if he might come.

3. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil Chris kan thath ey?
   ask-imper him-to he punct saw-he ques
   Ask him if he saw Chris.

4. IQuF: Engkān nungant Ind Ques: nil Chris ngaa'atam
   thathōw ey?
   see-he-ft ques
   Ask him if he will see Chris tomorrow.

5. IQuF: Engkangānt, pilotant Ind Ques: nil Chrisan thathow
   asked-I-him -to he -that see-he-ft
   engkow nungant, Chrisant, may pi'lan ilkanak kalōw.
   ask-he-ft her-to -to food big to-here bring-she-ft
   I asked the pilot if he sees Chris to ask her to bring lots of food here.

9.4 THE INDIRECT QUOTE MERGED SENTENCE

This type of quotation sentence has the structural restriction that a free subject may not occur in its quote base (Contrast 9.2-9.3); rather the obligatory indirect object pronoun of the first base is portmanteau subject of the second base (cf. 9.3). As a type of indirect quotation this sentence type is, however, less restricted as to person than is 9.2 and its subtype 9.3. Deep structure reporting of commands and requests is encoded in this sentence type.

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Merged Quote Formula</th>
<th>Merged Indirect Quote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Cl where verb is thaw to speak</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Cl where verb is waa' tell</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraphrase Sentence (in examples verbs are thaw to speak and pech to shout)</td>
<td>Future Result S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free subject does not occur in Merged Indirect Quote</td>
<td>Negated Antonym S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect object pronoun Merged Quote Formula is subject of Merged Indirect Quote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb of Merged Quote Formula is past, customary, or future, and any person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb of Merged Indirect Quote is future tense and any person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obligatory absence of pause between the Merged Quote Formula and Merged Indirect Quote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence has two tagmemes, Merged Quote Formula and Merged Indirect Quote. The Merged Quote Formula is expounded by a Transitive or Intransitive Clause or by a Paraphrase Sentence. The verb or verbs of the exponent of the Merged Quote Formula are verbs of speech. Occurring in examples here are waa' tell about (transitive), thaw speak and pech shout (intransitive). The Merged Indirect Quote Base may be expounded by Intransitive Clause, Transitive Clause, Future Result Sentence and Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence.

The indirect object which obligatorily occurs in the Merged Quote Formula, is the portmanteau subject of the Merged Indirect Quote, in that the free form subject noun or pronoun does not occur in the latter. For this reason this sentence type is regarded as a merged sentence.

The verb of the Merged Quote Formula is inflected in the usual manner for person, number and tense (past, customary, future, and imperative). The verb may be any person. The verb of the Merged Indirect Quote is future tense, and any person. One example (Example 2) has subjunctive on one of the verbs in the sentence expounding Merged Indirect Quote tagmeme may be expounded by a Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence (which, again, counts as a positive; cf. 8.1).

The Merged Indirect Quote tagmeme is obligatory. In one subminimal
example (4) the Merged Quote Formula does not occur, but the form it would take is implied by the preceding clause which expounds Antecedent Base of the Sequence Sentence that the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence in this example is embedded in.

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence occurs embedded in Sequence Sentence, Implicit Frustration Sentence, Non-future Result Sentence, Future Result Sentence, and Reversal (Antithetical) Sentence.

The Indirect Quote Merged Sentence is two phonological clauses with obligatory absence of pause between the bases. Clause stress of the first base occurs on the verb of speech and in the second base on the verb or the verb modifier. Clause stress may be approximately the same height in both bases, or higher in either base. When the sentence encodes a deep structure Command there is a wider range of pitch and stronger emphasis than when encoding a Request.

Examples:

1. MQF: ngamp waa'amp thant Mind Quote: kon we-pl-inc tell-about-we-ft them-to ear kenyangk iiyavn,... high-up go-they-pl-ft ...we will tell them to be alert...
   In Sequence S: WM 045

2. MQF: Nga puth thawan nungant Mind Quote: ukow we-pl-exc but said-we him-to come-down-he-ft kaanch ngul pipow nungantakam, ana puth mulakam bone later break-he-ft his-own dem and death-to unchiy nungantakam. knock-he-sj himself
   For we told him to come down, that he will break his bones, he will knock himself to death.
   In Non-future Result S: CT 4-7

3. MQF: ngan ka'páal thawanan thant we-pl-excl therefore say-we-cust them-to Mind Quote: wách-wachan kee'ayn wooyan anpalan,... far-away play-they-ft road that-from ...therefore we tell them to play a long way from the road,...
   In Non-future Result S: CT 29-30

4. (ninta iiyān nunga') Ind Quote: pal kan iiyowa' you-sg go-you-imper her-to-cj here punct come-she-ft thathow ngalanga' want-wāntakan yumpanala. see-she-ft we-dl-obj-cj how make-we-dl-ct ...you go, (tell her) to come here to see us, how we make it.
   In Sequence S: MF 18-21
5. MQF: Wiya puka pil'pi'an thawan thanta manyiyant, some children big said-we them-to small-to al-alantan weentha, Mind Quote: weep kan wunayna, those-to silly sleep punct lie-they-ft yaam ke' wik pil'ayn (ya'angam).
long-time neg word keep-they-ft useless
We said to the big children and to those little ones, to those silly ones, to go to sleep and not to keep talking, but it was useless.

In Implicit Frustration S: TG 117

6. (ana puth ngangk wayang ngan wunan) MQF: ka'páal thawan dem but hear sad-with we be-we therefore say-we-ct thant Mind Quote: ukayn, ke' matsuy bëna kech. them-to get-down-they-ft neg climb-they-ft high far
...because we would be sad, therefore we say to them to get down, not to go up in the tree, high up.

In Non-future Result S: CT 8

7. MQF: Ngan puth thawan thant, pechakan thant we so say-we-ct them-to shout-we-ct them-to
Mind Quote: iliyan wooyan anpalan aak wantayn go-they-ft road that-from place leave-they-ft truckan yipmam mo'ow,...
-that so-that run-it-ft
So we say to them, we call out to them to go away from the road, to leave room so that the truck can run...

In Future Result S: CT 24-27

8. MQF: Pam thawin ngant Mind Quote: minh nhithanak iliyan man said-they to-us meat pig-for go-we-pl-ft thantang...
them-with
The men said for us to go for pigs with them...

In Reversal (Antithetical) S

9. MQF: Thawan nungant Mind Quote: wik kalowara pal. say-you her-to words carry-she-ft-to-me to-here Tell her to bring the message to me here (to the study cubicle - when it comes).

9.5 CONTENT QUESTION (INDIRECT QUOTE MERGED) SENTENCE

This subtype of the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence has the typical features of the main type but is specialized in respect to use of only the verb ask in its quotation formula and in respect to the exponent of its quote base. There are restrictions on tense and person sequences as well.
The Content Question (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Cl where verb is engk ask</th>
<th>Content Interrogative Intransitive Cl Content Interrogative Transitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb of Merged Quote Formula is imperative, 2nd person</td>
<td>Verb of Merged Content Question is 3rd person and either future tense, or subjunctive mood, or past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free subject does not occur in Merged Content Question Base</td>
<td>Indirect object pronoun of Merged Quote Formula is portmanteau subject of Merged Content Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause stress occurs on interrogative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Content Question (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence has two tags, Merged Quote Formula and Merged Content Question.

The verb of the Merged Quote Formula is engk ask and is imperative and second person. The verb of the Merged Content Question must be third person, but can be either subjunctive or past. The indirect object of the first base has the same referent as the third person subject of the second base which is never expressed by a free subject.

The Content Question (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is two phonological clauses with obligatory absence of pause between bases. Clause stress of the first base occurs on engk ask and that of the second base on the interrogative. Clause stress is highest on the interrogative in the second base.

Examples:

The examples were supplied by the informants.

1. MQF: Engkān nungant M Content Ques: aak ngeen wampiy? ask-imper him-to time what come-he-sbj
   Ask him when he might come.

2. MQF: Engkān nungant M Content Ques: aak ngeen wampow? ask-imper him-to time what come-he-ft
   Ask him when will he come.
3. MQF: Engkān nungant M Content Ques: ngēen-ngēen ask-imper him-to what-what (how many) pal kalow? here bring-he-ft Ask him how many he will bring.

4. MQF: Engkān thant M Content Ques: wantin wunpin? ask-imper them-to where put-they Ask them where they put it.

9.6 POLITE REQUEST (INDIRECT QUOTE MERGED) SENTENCE

This further subtype of the Indirect Quote Merged Sentence is much like the preceding. The chief distinctions are: negative verb in first base and use of -ey question marker in sentence final. This encodes a polite way to ask an addressee to make a request of a third party.

The Polite Request (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Merged Quote Formula</th>
<th>+ Merged Polite Request</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negated Intransitive Cl</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where verb is engk ask</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ey question marker</td>
<td>optionally occurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verb of Merged Quote Formula is imperative or subjunctive and in 2nd person and negated
Verb of Merged Polite Request is 3rd person and either future or subjunctive
Free subject does not occur in Merged Polite Request Base
Indirect object pronoun of Merged Quote Formula is portmanteau subject of Merged Polite Request
Clause stress occurs on negative ke'
The Merged Polite Request Base has final question intonation on question marker -ey
Obligatory absence of pause between Merged Quote Formula and Merged Polite Request
The Polite Request (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence has two tagmemes, Merged Quote Formula and Merged Polite Request.

The verb of the Merged Quote Formula is engk ask and it is always negated by the verbal negative ke'. It may be either imperative or subjunctive mood and is second person. (In all the examples in the present corpus it is also singular but conceivably could be dual or plural). The indirect object of the first base has the same referent as the third person subject of the second base, which is never expressed by a free subject.

The Polite Request (Indirect Quote Merged) Sentence is two phonological clauses with obligatory absence of pause between the two bases. Highest clause stress occurs on the negative ke' in the first base. Clause stress of the second base occurs according to the intonation of the clause type expounding the tagmeme. This second base (Merged Polite Request) also has final question intonation on the question marker ey or on the last syllable of the last word of this clause which is then slightly higher in pitch than if the clause were indicative mood.

Examples:

The examples were supplied by informants

1. MQP: Ninta ke' engkin nungant you neg ask-you-sj him-to
   Merged Polite Request: iikanak wampow, ey?
   here-to come-he-fit ques
   You wouldn't mind asking him to come here, would you?

2. MQP: Ninta ke' engkan thant merged Polite
   you neg ask-you-fit them-to
   Request: yūk-way-mín pal kalayn ey?
   things-bad-good here carry-they-fit ques
   Would you mind asking them to bring the luggage here?

3. MQP: Ninta ke' engkin nungant you neg ask-you-sj him-to
   Merged Polite Request: may thee'ly ngath ey?
   food give-he-sj to-me ques
   Would you mind asking him to bring food to me?

4. MQP: Ninta ke' engkan pulant merged
   you neg ask-you-fit those-dl-to
   Polite Request: lat wichowpulant ey?
   book read-they-dl-ft-for-him ques
   You wouldn't mind asking those two to read for him would you?
5. MQF: Nintak e' engkin you neg ask-you-sj -to
Merged Polite Request: yalkam pekir?
shake dance-she-sj-for-me-ques
You wouldn't mind asking Chris to shake a leg (dance) for me, would you?

9.7 'LIKE' MERGED SENTENCE

This sentence type encodes expression of pleasure in some activity or action. Some examples apparently encode desire (to inaugurate a pleasurable course of action) or a polite question (perhaps equivalent to an invitation to do something). Examples of this sentence type with the same subject in the two bases show considerable internal cohesion; those with different subjects show less cohesion and could be posited as a subtype.

The 'Like' Merged Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ 'Like' Base</th>
<th>+ Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clause with unconjugated verb kaangk like</td>
<td>Transitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optional occurrence of nath maybe</td>
<td>Intransitive Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majorlty have same subject in both bases. Verb of Action Base is past or future</td>
<td>Reason S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive-Positive or Negative-Positive</td>
<td>Sequence S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The whole sentence constitutes one phonological clause (apart from phonological breaks within embedded constructions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When the negative ke' occurs it receives clause stress.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otherwise clause stress occurs on the verb following kaangk, but kaangk is also high pitch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 'Like' Merged Sentence is composed of two obligatory bases, 'Like' Base and Action. The verb kaangk which occurs in the clause of 'Like' Base never inflects. The marker nath maybe optionally occurs in the 'Like' Base. Action Base may be expounded by Transitive and Intransitive Clauses, Reason Sentence, and Sequence Sentence.

Kaan gk itself never inflects, when inflection is required the verb wun to lie, to be, pent come out occurs immediately following it and takes the inflection. The resultant construction is then only a
The second verb in the majority of examples is in the future tense, which is used much as an infinitive type construction is used in English, i.e. the primary use of the future to express futurity is subordinated here to a secondary use in encoding a complement. The other tense used is past, which occurs infrequently and indicates pleasure in some specific completed action.

In sentences with same subject in both clauses there is obligatory absence of the second subject. In those with different subjects in each clause the occurrence of the free subject pronoun is obligatory. When both verbs have the same subject they are frequently juxtaposed, but they may be separated by a phrase or particle, i.e. object, locative, goal, negative, or nath maybe. With different subjects a string of several elements may intervene. Thus, in one example (15) of this sentence with different subjects, negative, manner, modifier and subject occur between kaangk and the second verb. In example (16) subject, temporal, and directional intervene between the two verbs. In sentences which have the same subject, the subject (which precedes kaangk) is shared by both bases.

Both positive-positive and negative-positive occur in the bases. When the first base is negated, the verbal negative ke' occurs following kaangk to like. (When co-occurring with kaangk the negative most frequently follows kaangk even when it does not occur in a Merged Sentence, while with all other verbs negated by ke' the negative occurs preceding the verb.) Examples 4 and 6 where ke' occurs with ey question marker (on first or second base) encode a polite question (equivalent to an invitation or suggestion) (cf. 9.6).

The 'Like' Merged Sentence occurs embedded in Direct Quote Sentence, Paraphrase Sentence, Contrast Sentence, Indefinite Condition Sentence, Non-future Result Sentence, and Reason Sentence. The 'Like' Merged Sentence also occurs as an EXCHANGE in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE.

Examples:

A. Same subject, future tense in second verb

1. 'Like' Base: Nilan kaangk Act: thathōw ngalang, she-emph see-shē-ft us

   She likes to see us,...

   In Direct Quote S: FL 43

2. 'Like' Base: Ngay kaangk Act: manānga' kunchan kathanniiya. I see learn-I-ft pandanus make-you-ct

   ...I would like to learn how you make pandanus (articles).

   In Direct Quote S: FL 84
3. 'Like' Base: Than kaangk Act: nungkaram wik ngeeyayn.
   they like your words hear-they-ft
   They like to hear your words.
   GP 1

4. (ngul nilara Marie thaw) 'Like' Base: ninta kaangk ke'
   then she-mine said-she you like neg
   Act: peyân ey?
   Jump-you-ft ques
   ...then she, my one, Marie, said, "You wouldn't like to jump on
   (the horse), ey?"
   In Direct Quote S: KA 041

5. 'Like' Base: Nila kaangk Act: wathly mungkow pul minhang.
   he likes yams eat-he-ft they-dl meat-cj
   He likes to eat yams, together with meat.
   GM 133

6. (Thaw ngant,) 'Like' Base: "nipa kaangk ke' ey
   said-he we-to you-dl like neg ques
   Act: yinangan thee'ow thanang ey?"
   same way throw-you-dl them ques
   He said to us, "You two wouldn't like to throw (balls) at (the
   ducks) in the same way?"
   As Quote of Direct Quote S: KA 063

7. 'Like' Base: Puk wiya kaangk Act: ngoonchayn
   children some like enter-they-ft
   schoolaka, (wiya ya'a aak way ngeeyantan).
   -to some no place bad hear-they-ct
   Some children like to go to school, some don't, (because) they
   hear it is a bad place.
   In Contrast Sentence: KL

8. (Wiyan thawina,) 'Like' Base: "ngay kaangk
   some said-they I like
   Act: school liy-liyânga, 'Like' Base: ngay kaangk
   go-I-ct-ft I like
   sing-I-ft said-they
   Some said, "I like going to school, I like singing," they said.
   In Paraphrase S within Quotation S: KL 053

9. 'Like' Base: Ngaya kaangk Act: engkâng nungka, kaatha,
   I like ask-I-ft you-to mother
   keenkanaman niyan kôm-kômanhana liyan,
   long-ago-emph you-pl young-girls went-you
   I want to ask you, mother, what it was like when you were young
   girls long ago,...
   In Paraphrase S: MT 001
10. 'Like' Base: ngaya kaangk Act: ngeeyāng wik-kāthan
   I like hear-I-ft stories-that
   nungkarama.
yours
   ...I would like to hear your stories.
   In Paraphrase S: MT 002

11. 'Like' Base: Than nath kaangk ke' Act: ngeeyāyna,
   they maybe like neg maybe hear-I-ft-they
   (ngamp koyaman pentāmpa, waa'āmp thant.)
   we back go-out-we-ft tell-we-ft them-to
   They maybe don't like to hear, (but) when we go out (of church)
   we will tell them.
   As Protasis of Conditional S:
   WM 095

B. Same subject, past tense in second verb
   youths like go-out-they-pt
   The young boys like going out (to the bush for holidays).
   MG 165

13. (Yaa, ina wik min waa'angang wik-kātha) 'Like' Base: ngay
    yes this words good told-about-you story
    kaangk pentang, Act: ngeey-geeyang ey.
    like come-out-I-pt hear-ct-I-pt int
    Yes, this was a good story you told; I liked listening.
    MT 035-6

14. 'Like' Base: Ngampan kaangka pentamp Act: kangkangam
    we like come-out-pt bush-in-emph
    wunamp wey, (palaman puth kemp min ngul wampamp,
    stay-we-pt emo back for flesh good then came-we
    may minh yota mungk-mungkamp).
    food meat lots ate-we-ct-pt
    We liked staying in the bush, and we came back feeling good,
    (because) we had eaten lots of (carbohydrate) food and fish.
    In Reason S: JM 128

C. Different subject, future tense in second verb
15. 'Like' Base: Puth nganan kaangk ke' yimānanang Act: putham
    but we like neg same manner again
    pukan keekayn, kaanch pikayn thantakam,...
    child all-they-ft bones break-they-ft their-own
    But we don't like it to happen again, for children to fall, to
    break their bones...
    In Non-future Result S: CT 14-16
16. 'Like' Base: Ngay *kaangk* Act: nihan ngaa'-thonthón

\[ \text{I like you-dl night every} \]

\[ \text{I like you two to come here every day.} \]

Conversation

9.8 **CONDITIONAL ANSWER ("LIKE" MERGED) SENTENCE**

This subtype is similar to those main type examples which have the same subject and encode a polite question which is somewhat equivalent to an invitation. Here, however, the free pronoun (obligatorily absent in the same subject examples of the main subtype) must occur between *kaangk* and the second verb. The construction is highly elliptical and means something on the order of 'If you would like to do X [of which we/you have spoken, then do X].'

The Conditional Answer ("Like' Merged) Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Choice Marker</th>
<th>+ Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kaangk</em> <em>like</em></td>
<td>Transitive Cl with potential marker <em>nath</em> <em>maybe</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future or imperative tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free subject occurs immediately after <em>kaangk</em> and is second person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bases are positive-positive and have same subject</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This sentence is a subtype of 'Like' Merged Sentence in that it also contains *kaangk to like*. The order of the bases is fixed and both bases have the same subject. Optionally, *ee'a yes* of the Sentence Periphery occurs initially followed by *kaangk to like* which is obligatory followed by the second person free subject pronoun *you* (*nint* (singular) *nip* (dual), or *niiy* (plural)) optionally followed by *nath/nathiyy might, maybe*, which is then obligatory followed by the second verb - either in future tense or imperative mood.

As already stated this construction is highly elliptical. It implies that the projected (and presumably pleasurable) activity has been already mentioned, and that consent is given for the addressee to do it. Possibly examples 4 and 6 under 9.7 are an alternative way of encoding the same deep structure as that encoded here.
The significant difference between this sentence and the 'Like' Merged Sentence is that a free pronoun which applies to both bases must come between the bases, while in the main subtype of the same subject variety a pronoun may not occur in this position.

The intonation pattern of this sentence is modified basic intonation. Kaangk like occurs pre clause stress, fast and with low pitch while clause stress occurs on the subject pronoun.

Examples:

1. (Ngana putth wooka thakan maayān ey?) ee'a we then rubbish etc pick-up-we-ft ques yes

   Choice Marker: kaangk Action: niįy nathiy maayāna. like you mayby pick-up-you-ft

   Shall we pick up the rubbish? Yes, if you would like to pick it up.

   KL 069

2. Choice Marker: Kaangk Action: nintan nath thee'ara. like you mayby give-to-me-imper

   (Would you like tea?) If you would like to give it to me.

   Conversation

10. DIALOGUE SENTENCES

Dialogue Sentences consist of three types - Simple Dialogue Sentence, Complex Dialogue Sentence and Compound Dialogue Sentence. These types are distinguished in that the first sentence type is a simple binary structure encoding either a Question and its Answer (as Speech₁ and Speech₃) or a Proposal and its Response or Execution (also as Speech₁ and Speech₃). The Complex Dialogue Sentence has a further tagmeme Speech₂ whose purpose is to parry, or divert the thrust of a Speech₁. The Compound Dialogue Sentence is composed of a series of embedded dialogue sentences (Exchanges) which reach internal resolution at various points (end of an Exchange).

A feature of all dialogue sentences is the frequent occurrence of Non-verbal Response or Execution. This occurs frequently in each of the three types of dialogue sentence and is not mutually exclusive with a verbal response, that is, both verbal response and non-verbal response may co-occur in the same sentence.

A structural clue that the non-verbal response fills a similar dialogue slot as that filled by a verbal response is seen in the frequent occurrence of yes initial in the embedded sentence which expounds a Speech₃ with non-verbal response. This is significant in that yes also characterizes verbal response.

Types of Dialogue Sentence are compared and contrasted in Diagram IX.
**Diagram IX**

**Dialogue Sentences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Simple Dialogue S</th>
<th>Complex Dialogue S</th>
<th>Compound Dialogue S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tagmemes</strong></td>
<td>2 obligatory SP tagmemes: SP₁, SP₂; optional Setting and SP₃ (Terminus and/or Acceptance)</td>
<td>2 obligatory SP tagmemes: SP₁, SP₂; optional SP₃.</td>
<td>2 obligatory Exchanges each expounded by Simple Dial S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meaning of Construction</strong></td>
<td>Proposal or Question and its Execution.</td>
<td>Parrying of Proposal, Question or Remark.</td>
<td>A series of exchanges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Exponents</strong></td>
<td>SP₁, obligatorily expounded by Quotation Sentence.</td>
<td>SP₁, obligatorily expounded by Quotation Sentence.</td>
<td>Some variation of exponents of tagmemes after 1st exchange.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No significant tense, person distinctions or intonation patterns.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For a full discussion of the general apparatus of dialogue analysis see Longacre 1968, Volume 1, pp 168 ff. The present treatment of Wik-Munkan Dialogue Sentences is extremely sketchy. More research and analysis are needed.

10.1 SIMPLE DIALOGUE SENTENCE

A Simple Dialogue Sentence consists of Speech₁ which encodes a deep structure Question, or Proposal (including Command and Threat) and Speech₃ which encodes the corresponding Answer, Response, or Execution and may, therefore, be verbal, non-verbal, or both (reported in the same embedded sentence).

It is important to note that the deep structure category Question does not necessarily correspond to a surface structure grammatical question. The latter may encode, e.g. a polite request and be, therefore, deep structure Proposal (cf. Example 1 below). To this simple binary structure with two obligatory parts certain optional tagmemes may be added: Setting (provides non-dialogue background for the sentence); Speech₀ (a deep structure Remark which ties into the rest of the sentence only in a loose way), and Speech₄ (Acquiescence and/or terminating events). Speech₀ may permute to the interior of the sentence (between a Speech₁ and a Speech₃). (See 10.3, last Exchange in Example 2, for an example of Speech₀).

Example 5 below has the surface structure of a Simple Dialogue Sentence. It has the peculiarity that the Speech₁ and Speech₃ have the same subject rather than the subject-switching that is characteristic of dialogue. One may, however, carry on a conversation with oneself or make a proposal (verbally) and carry it out (non-verbally). The latter is what is found in the example under discussion. This sentence, however, while having the surface structure of simple dialogue has two exchanges in its deep structure (cf. 10.3). Speech₃ not only encodes the execution of the Proposal encoded in Speech₁ but contains a fresh Proposal (to kill those who don’t obey him) and the surface structure Speech₄ is Acquiescence in the latter. Diagrammatically this may be summarized:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surface Structure</th>
<th>Deep Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sp₁</td>
<td>Proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp₃</td>
<td>Execution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sp₄</td>
<td>Proposal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Acquiescence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Execution that terminates the first deep structure exchange and the fresh Proposal are encoded in the same surface structure Coordinate Sentence - hence one surface structure unit.
The Simple Dialogue Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>$+Sp_0$</th>
<th>$+Sp_1$</th>
<th>$+Sp_3$</th>
<th>$+Sp_4$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stative Cl</td>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
<td>Direct Quote S</td>
<td>Direct Quote S Parallel S</td>
<td>Sequence S Coor S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep structure: (various background)</td>
<td>Remark (peripheral)</td>
<td>Question Proposal</td>
<td>Answer (verbal) Execution (non-verbal)</td>
<td>Acquiescence/Terminating events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense: verbs in Quote Formulas are past; and parts of dialogue follow chronologically.

Subjects: usually different; may be same (dialogue with oneself)

$Sp_0$ has only one example, which occurs in an embedded Simple Dialogue Sentence in Section 10.3 Example 2. Other peripheral remarks are embedded in exponents of $Sp_3$ and $Sp_4$ of Example 5 in this section.

The Simple Dialogue Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, $Speech_1$ and $Speech_3$, and three optional tagmemes, Setting, $Speech_0$, and $Speech_4$.

$Speech_1$ and $Speech_3$ and the optional tagmeme $Speech_0$ are all expounded by Direct Quote Sentences and $Speech_3$ may also be expounded by Parallel or Sequence Sentences. The optional Setting tagmeme is expounded by a Stative Clause and the optional $Speech_4$ tagmeme by Sequence and Coordinate Sentences.

The tense of the verbs in the Quote Formulas is past and the various parts of the dialogue are chronologically ordered. The subjects are different unless one is addressing oneself (see Example 5).

The intonation is that of the Clause or Sentence type expounding various tagmemes.

**Examples:**

1. **Setting:** Inan wik-kath thonangana ngan Love River ana story old another we that
   
   wun-wun, Manchiliy angan $Sp_1$ (Prop): puk wee'antama?
   
   stayed-cont there-at child whose

   Mr. Smith a' Mrs. Smith pulantam ang wun-wun
   
   cj theirs-d1 there stayed-cont-she

   ngantang paanth-paanth nilan thaw "aayang, ngananga
   
   us-with camped-cont-she she-that said-she hey us
This is another story, (about when) we stayed at Love River, at Manchiliy. Whose child? Mr. and Mrs. Smith's theirs, stayed there with us, camped there. She said, "Hey, will you take us for fish?" Yes, I took Val and Rick and the old lady, the mother, Mrs. Smith I took.

2. **Sp₁ (Prop):** Ngay kangkangana wunanga' Kencharangan aak namp I bush-in stayed-I -at place name a' Michaelang puntha-paam-thampang mo'ath keny-keny ngantang c'j -ts plane flew-he-it high-very us-loc a' nil lat keekath nga'alangkang nilan thawa' 'nintiya' c'j he letter dropped-he bottle-in he-that said you-sp-c'j Mauda' Peret kuupānāra ngay anpal maayāng -c'j wait-you-for-me-ft I there-from pick-up-I-ft nintang, kungka Weipa'ak" **Sp₃ (Execution):** yaa, ngan putha you north -for yes we so ngaa'atingam mo'an Peretak wampan ngayang angam wantin, morning went-we -to came-we me there-stay left-they (While) I was staying in the bush at a place called Kenchar, Michael flew the plane high above us and he dropped us a letter in a bottle (plastic) and he said "You Maud wait for me at Peret, I will pick you up from there, for the north, (to take you to) Weipa." Yes, so we went early in the morning to Peret, we came, and they left me there.

3. **Sp₁ (Ques):** ngay puth engkangant "ninta kuuy keenkanam I so asked-I-to-her you line long-time-ago thee'thee'an minhak ey?" **Sp₃ (Ans):** nilan thaw "ya'a, threw-it-cont-you fish-for quest she said-she no ina ngay inngulan kuuy thee'thee'anga' ngayang puth ke'am this I here-now line threw-cont-I-c'j me because never ma'aathin ngayang, kuuy thee'anakaniy **Sp₄ (Termination):** yaa, shown-they me line throw-for yes ngay puth putham thee'angant a' minh thonam ngul wich. I so again threw-I-for her c'j fish one then caught-she ...so I asked her, "Have you (known how to) throw a line from a long time ago for fish?" She said, "No, I just now threw a line, (for the first time), they have never shown me how to throw a line." Yes, so I threw (it) again for her and then she caught a fish.

**VR 1-9**
4. **Sp₁ (Prop-Command):** Yaa, ngula', anpalaniya', thaw pāthām
   yes then-cj after-that-cj said-he really
   wanch pam nungantam alantan, "wuuch maniy kaachiya pulanta,
   woman man his those-to house small build-cj those-two-for
   ngorkala," a' wanch mantayan umpāna, pii'ow
   hut cj woman old-one beckon-you-ft mind-ahe-ft
   pulang weya," thaw Sp₃ (Execution): yaa, ngorkal many
   those-two emo said yes hut small
   kaachin pulant, wanch komanah alantaniy a' wanch mantayanangana
   built-they for them woman young those-for cj woman old-ts
   pii'pil pulang, pulanganiy wey
   minded-cont-ahe them-two those-two-sp emo
   Sp₄ (Acquiescence and Termination): a' ngangkaman thawpul,
   cj heart-from said-they-two
   "Godang in keny wik kan ngeeya, ngalantam aniya"
   God-ts here high word punct heard ours that
   thawpul a' angama wunpul, ma'a-aath-aathpul thanang.
   said-they-two cj there stayed-they helped-ct-they-two them
   Yes, then after that he really said to his people, to them, "Build
   a small house for those two, a hut, and beckon an old lady to mind
   those two" he said. So they built a small hut for those two young
   women and an old woman minded them, those two. Those two said
   from their hearts, "God above has heard our prayers," they said.
   And they stayed there and helped those people.

5. **Setting:** Kaapa sevenanga, Tariri'ana pam kompa liya
   wet-seasons seven-in-that man young was-he
   Sp₁ (Proposal): nilaniy thaw, "ngaya kaangk pam pii'an
   he-that-sp said-he I like man big
   liyānga pam wanch ngatharam ilantana"
   go-I-ft men women mine to-these
   Sp₃ (Execution): (Non-verbal and verbal) ngula, nilana thuucha,
   after he-that crept
   mān-māngkang kōy-kōyuw, pam pii'an thon alantan - pam
   back-loc behind man big another to-that-one man
   pii'an nilaniy liya - alantan thuuch, a' ep mulathan
   big he-that-sp was to-that-one crept-he cj fact killed-he
   ey, a' koyam ngul liiy, pam wanch Shapra, pam wanch alantan,
   ques cj back then went-he men women men women to those
   a' pecha thanth, "ngaya pam pii'ana, inmana, ngaya kan
   cj shouted-he them-to I man big now I punct
   mulathangana, pam aniya chief ananiya, pam pii'ana ana,
   killed-I-him-pt man that that-one-sp man big that
   nila weel'ang ke' wik ngeeyowany a, ngay múlāthangāna
   he who-ts neg word obey-ft-he-me I kill-ft-him
   Sp₄ (Acquiescence and Termination) paman wanch yotan ngeeyina -
   men women lots heard-they
   than puth wantak thawiyan koyamaniy, ngangk akangam
   they but what could-say-they back-sp heart shaking
For seven years Tariri was a young man, he said, "I'd like to be a big man of my people (chief)." Then after that he crept along behind that other big man, he crept behind that one and then he killed him and then he went back to those Shapra people and called out to them, "I am the important man now, I have killed him the chief, the other big man, and whoever doesn't hear my words and obey me, I will kill him." The people heard him but what could they say back because they stood there in fear, because Tariri was the big man, he had arms like a tree and he was very hard.

WMV 11-27

10.2 COMPLEX DIALOGUE SENTENCE

Complex Dialogue Sentence occurs when other than the expected response follows a Speech₁ utterance. A counter-token, Speech₂, occurs whose purpose is to parry, or divert the Speech₁. In effect, the use of a Speech₂ is a bid for the control of the conversation. Thus, if Speech₁ encodes a Question or Proposal, either of these may be followed by a Speech₂ which encodes a counter-question or a counter-proposal. The Speech₁ and Speech₂ need not correspond as to deep structure (as must Speech₁ and Speech₃ - where Question calls for Answer and Proposal for Response/Execution). Rather, we may counter either a question or a proposal with another question or another proposal. That is, we may either question a question or brush it aside with a proposal for a new course of action; and we may likewise question a proposal or attempt to replace it with a new proposal. When the optional Speech₃ occurs in a Complex Dialogue it is matched to the last counter-token (Speech₃). Thus a Speech₃ may answer the last counter-question or respond/execute the last counter-proposal.

It is necessary to add here a new Speech₁ (Remark) and a Speech₂ (Counter-remark). There seems, however, to be no reason to believe that Simple Dialogue Sentences of Speech₁ (Remark) and Speech₃ (Evaluation) could not occur. Examples should be found in a wider corpus. Notice that we here add no further tagmemes but recognize a further trio of deep structures encoded in tagmemes which have already been posited.

Speech₄ occurs in the Complex Dialogue Sentence as in the Simple Dialogue Sentence. Presumably Setting and Speech₀ (Remark - of a peripheral nature) could also occur here in spite of lack of examples in our present corpus - but Setting and Speech₀ are not entered into the accompanying array.
The Complex Dialogue Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct Quote S</th>
<th>Direct Quote S</th>
<th>Direct Quote S</th>
<th>Sequence S</th>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deep structure:</td>
<td>Counter-Question</td>
<td>Counter-Proposal</td>
<td>Answer (verbal)</td>
<td>Terminating event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Counter-Proposal</td>
<td>Execution (non-verbal)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposal</td>
<td>Counter-Remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remark</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tense: verbs in Quote Formulas are past; and parts of dialogue follow chronologically.
Subjects: different (but cf. Simple Dialogue Sentence)

The Complex Dialogue Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, Speech₁ and Speech₂, and two optional tagmemes, Speech₃ and Speech₄.

Speech₁, Speech₂ and Speech₃ may all be expounded by Direct Quote Sentences. In addition the optional tagmememe, Speech₃ may be expounded by Sequence Sentence and the optional Speech₄ is expounded by Transitive Clause.

The tense of the verbs in the Quote Formulas is past and the various parts of the dialogue are chronologically ordered.

The subjects are different unless one is addressing oneself.

The intonation is that of the Clause or Sentence type expounding the various tagmemes.

Examples:

1. Sp₁ (Rem): Anpalaniya' wee' Philipan kan iiy, iiya' after-that who -sp punct went-he went-he-cj
   Nathanielant waa' "ngaya ang uwanga, Messiah ana to told-about-he-pt I there found-I that keenkanam ana waa'ina, Moses wee'ananang wik long-time-ago that told-about-they those-group words
   katha inan uwangana" Sp₂ (Rem): ngul Nathanielan thawa' story this found-I-him then -sp said-he-cj
   ngul nathapala ngeen miniy pentowa, Nazareth then far-from-there what good-sp come-out-it-ft
   anpalaniya' anpal min ke' pentiya, anythingiya. from-there-cj from-there good neg come-out-it-sj -sp
After that who? Philip he went and told Nathaniel, "I found there the Messiah about whom they told, Moses and those others, I found this one." And then Nathaniel said, "From over there what good thing would come out, from Nazareth? Nothing good would come out, (not) anything."

WM 40-48

2. Sp₁ (Prop): putham ngulan' thawara "ngath thee'āna"
   again then-cj said-she-to-me mine throw-you
Sp₂ (Prop): ngay puth thawang "ninta kan paatha ninta
   I but said-I you punct try-imp you
ngul thee'a" Sp₃ (Exc): yaa, nil thee', kuuyan
   later throw-imper yes she threw-she line
wunyatha'
   thee'
   wantinak ngul thee'a?
swang-she-it-cj threw-she-it where-to then threw-she-it
yukang wipath
   Sp₄ (Acquiescence): ngana angman
   tree-in caught-she-it we there-stay
   thengkan uw-awan, wo'uw wonkang angman.
laugh
   found-we river side-on there-stay
   ...and again she said to me, "Will you throw mine?" but I said to her, "You try (so that) you will (learn to) throw it." Yes, she threw the line, she swang it, she threw it. Where did she throw it? She caught it in a tree. There we had a good laugh, there on the side of the river.

3. Sp₁ (Ques): Nil wanch́nthan engkant
   she old-woman-that asked-she-to-her woman young
   "may chilik ya' ey?" Sp₂ (Ques): puth nil wanch
to-that-one food tobacco none ques
   but she woman
komanhan koyam engkant,
   "than thawin chukkun
   young-that back asked-she-to-her they-pl said-they-pl boat
kanan wampan ey?"
compl came-it ques

The old lady asked the young woman, "Have you any tobacco?" but the young woman asked her, "Have they said the boats come yet?"

10.3 COMPOUND DIALOGUE SENTENCE

The Compound Dialogue Sentence is composed of two or more Exchanges. Each Exchange is expounded by a Simple Dialogue Sentence. Up to four Exchanges each expounded by an embedded sentence, occur in the Compound Dialogue Sentence in our present corpus. This sentence type may also have an optional Setting tagmeme and an optional Terminus tagmeme which seems to be not a Speech₄ but rather a closure-like feature of the whole Compound Sentence. Presumably, further data would provide examples with exchanges expounded by Complex Dialogue Sentences.
The Compound Dialogue Sentence is represented by the following bidimensional array:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Setting</th>
<th>Simple Dial S</th>
<th>Simple Dial S</th>
<th>Transitive Cl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reason S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First sentence of a non-initial Exchange or the Quote within it may be elliptical (dependent on previous Exchange).

Subjects are typically different within an Exchange and may alternate (S₁, S₂; S₁, S₂ etc) between Exchanges. When Sp₃ of Ex₁ encodes Execution (non-verbal), then Sp₃ of Ex₁ and Sp₁ of Ex₂ may have the same subject.

New subject (not in Ex₁) may be introduced in the Sp₁ of Ex₂.

The Compound Dialogue Sentence has two obligatory tagmemes, Exchange₁ and Exchange₂, the latter of which may be repeated three times; and the two optional tagmemes, are Setting and Terminus.

Exchange₁ and Exchange₂ are expounded by Simple Dialogue Sentences. (Presumably further data would find Complex Dialogue Sentences expounding these tagmemes). The optional Setting is expounded by Purpose Sentence and the optional Terminus by a Transitive clause or a Reason Sentence.

In a non-initial exchange the first sentence or the Quote within that sentence may be elliptical. This ellipsis is dependent on the information of the preceding Exchange.

Subjects are typically different within an Exchange and alternate between Exchanges.

When Speech₃ of a preceding Exchange encodes non-verbal Execution then the following Speech₁ may have the same subject.

New subjects may be introduced in Speech₁ of an Exchange other than Exchange₁ where the original participants are introduced.

The intonation is that of the Clause or Sentence type expounding the various tagmemes.
Examples:

1. Exch₁ Sp₁ (Prop): a' pūk-kūnch an thaw, Valan, and then child-own that said-she Val-that "ngathara wanpana" Sp₃ (Exec): yaa, ngay wunpanganta' mine put-you-cj yes I put-I-her-for-cj

Exch₂ Sp₁ (Ques): ngay thawang, "ninta ngul thee'an ey, I said-I you now throw-you quest

kuuyan an ey?" Sp₃ (Ans and Execution): nilan thaw, "ee, line-that quest she said-she yes

ngay kan paathāṅga" - ngay koyam iiyanga' kuuy ngathan I punct try-I-fut I back went-I-cj line mine-sp

thee'ang, nỳin-nyinanganga' ngay nggeeyangang Val an thaw third-I sat-cont-I-cj I heard-I-her that said-she

pech, ɗhamāyan Exch₃ Sp₁ (Ques): ngay weentangana' call-out-she loudly I turned-around-I-cj

ngay thawang, "ngeenama?" Sp₃ (Ans): nilan thaw "ngay I said-I what-from she said-she I

kuuyan ka' thee'inga" Exch₄ Sp₁ (Ques): ngay puth thawang line-sp like throw-I-sj I so said-I

"puth wantina?" Sp₃ (Ans): "ina in kenyat pintałang an uka but where this here above plain-on fell-it

ngakangan ke'am uka' ngay in kenyat thee'ang, pintałanga" water-in never fell-it-cj I here above threw-I plain-on

Terminus: ngan an thengkan min uw-uwan, angman nungantam. we laughed-we good found-we there-stay her-from

... and then her child, Val said, "Put (it) on for me." Yes, I put it for her. I said, "Will you throw it, the line?" She said, "Yes, I will try." I went back and I threw my line. I sat and sat and I heard Val call out loudly. I turned around and I said, "What from?" She said, "I tried to throw the line." So I said, "But where?" "It's here, it fell, above on the plain, it didn't go down in the water. I threw it here above on the plain." We had a good laugh, there from her.

VR 21-43

2. Setting: Yaa, minh thanan wíchina' than puth kaangk, yes fish they-that caught-they they but like

ngangk-mín wichanakaniy Exch₁ Sp₁ (Prop): ngul minh happy catching-for-sp later fish

hookan thaa' anpalan thapathaka' ngathara thawin -that mouth that-from take-they-it-for me-to said-they

"pal iiyyan in thapathana" Sp₃ (Exec): yaa, ngay to-here come-you this take-off-you-cj yes I

iiyang' hookana, thaa' minh nga' anpalana thapathang, went-I-cj -that mouth fish that-from took-off-I

thaa'ányngk wunpang Exch₂ Sp₁ (Ques): Rickang yim-yimanam ka'ant bait put-on-I -its same-way cat-fish

pil'ān wich, ngathara thawara "ina wantakaa ngay big caught-he to-me said-he-to-me this how-cj I
Three surface structure features of Wik-Munkan are of such extensive use that they require special attention here. In that these surface structure features co-occur with many of the sentence types already described they may be considered to determine further types derived from those basic types. Thus, many sentence types may be given CYCLIC structure so as to produce a cyclic sentence derived from the basic sentence type. It is not known at present precisely how many of the basic types may be given such cyclic structure: presumably the present data are spotty in this regard and the picture will be rounded out more satisfactorily on addition of further data. Similarly, many sentence types already described may be given the structure of a RHETORICAL QUESTION. Again, here it is not known at present how extensive is the use of this feature with the basic sentence types. A further
feature is recapitulation in a structure from which one or more predicates are deleted; this is referred to henceforth as simply DELETED PREDICATE structure. All these features have in common stylistic elaboration of basic sentence types. Furthermore, some of them can co-occur with each other in elaborating a basic type into a new type of considerable derivational complexity.

These further features that co-occur sporadically with various of the basic types are here termed SENTENCE MULTIPLIERS - since they by co-occurrence with the basic types yield more types.

It is a matter of no small importance that we eventually come to understand better the limits of use of the sentence multipliers. With what types may a given multiplier not be used? With what types is a given multiplier most typically used? Only in answering these and similar questions can we understand better the real thrust and stylistic significance of these devices. Thus it appears unlikely that the sentence multipliers would ever be used with any of the dialogue sentences. On the other hand, all three multipliers seem to be used with various subtypes of the Paraphrase Sentence, two with the Parallel Sentence, two with the Contrast Sentence and all three with various sorts of Reason and/or Result Sentences. It seems, therefore, that the sentence multipliers are primarily devices for elaborating such basic structures as those just listed.

The accompanying diagram (Diagram X) summarizes features characteristic of the three multipliers and comparisons between them.
## The Sentence Multipliers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function of Multiplier</th>
<th>Cyclic</th>
<th>Rhetorical Question</th>
<th>Deleted Predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis/Recapitulation of sentence level tagmememe. Closure of lexical unit.</td>
<td>Emphasis of clause level tagmememe as introduced by interrogative, such as who, what in, where, why etc.</td>
<td>Recapitulation of sentence level tagmememe, but with emphasis on clause level tagmememe due to deletion of verb.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurs in all discourse genre, but less frequently in NARRATIVE.</td>
<td>Occurs in all discourse genre, but most frequently in NARRATIVE, HORTATORY and (as POINT) in EXPOSITORY.</td>
<td>Occurs in all discourse genre. Also occurs as simple deletion of predicate in many existing sentence types without being a multiplier.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No alternate analysis - only multiplies existing sentence types.</td>
<td>No alternate analysis - only multiplies existing sentence types.</td>
<td>Alternate analysis as discontinuous noun phrases is awkward in that the two parts of NP would occur in separate P. Clauses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.Q., Del. Pred., and both R.Q. and Del. Pred.</td>
<td>Cyclic, both Cyclic and Del. Pred.</td>
<td>Cyclic, both Cyclic and R.Q.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple Amplification Paraphrase Neg-Antonym Paraphrase Generic-Specific Reason Future Result Contrast Coordinate</td>
<td>Simple Amplification Paraphrase Neg-Antonym Paraphrase Reason Future Result Parallel Sequence Simile</td>
<td>Simple Amplification Neg-Antonym Paraphrase Generic-Specific Non-future Result Parallel Contrast Mistaken Thought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Discourse Types

- **CYCLIC**
- **Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**
- **Cyclical Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**

### Discourse Types in Which it Mostly Occurs

- **CYCLIC**
- **Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**
- **Cyclical Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**

### Alternate Analysis

- **CYCLIC**
- **Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**
- **Cyclical Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**

### Co-occurs with other multipliers

- **CYCLIC**
- **Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**
- **Cyclical Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**

### Sentences Types Multiplied

- **CYCLIC**
- **Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**
- **Cyclical Rhetorical Question**
- **Deleted Predicate**
11.1 CYCLIC SENTENCES

Cyclic Sentences in Wik-Munkan are paralleled by similar structures in Walmatjari (Hudson 1970) and Mantjiltjara (Marsh 1970). That they are called 'paragraph' in the latter two languages and 'sentence' in Wik-Munkan is of no great consequence. In all three languages the hypothesis is being tested that for these languages, sentence and paragraph do not constitute distinct grammatical levels. It is of little importance whether the common level be called 'sentence' or 'paragraph'. Undoubtedly we are dealing with similar structures in the three languages.

Cyclic sentences seem to reflect a fondness for closure on the part of the speaker. At the end of the sentence he recapitulates material from the beginning. Thus, a base tagmeme A in sentence-initial position is paralleled by a base tagmeme A' at sentence end. This gives rise to surface structures such as the following (where A and B stand for sentence-base tagmemes of a cyclic sentence type but derived from corresponding tagmemes of basic sentence types): ABA', ABB'A' and ABA₁'B'A₂'.

It is of considerable importance to recognize that the A' and B' are rarely simple reiteration but almost always include a certain amount of expansion and amplification. A failure to recognize this tendency to amplification led to initial analytical difficulties, i.e. it was considered that cyclic sentences were comparatively rare because something close to pure reiteration was required of them. It now appears, however, that cyclic sentences are of considerable frequency and involve an additional or 'outer' way of expanding a sentence over and beyond the possibilities inherent in the various binary structures grouped together as subtypes of the Paraphrase Sentence.

To date cyclic structure has been found as a multiplier of the following sentence types (either in simple cyclic multiplication or in examples with more than one multiplier - see Section 11.4): Contrast, Paraphrase, Amplification (Paraphrase), Negated Antonym (Paraphrase), Generic-Specific (Paraphrase), Coordinate, Reason, and Future Result Sentences. Cyclic and Rhetorical Question multipliers occur together with the following types: Non-future Result, Future Result, Reason and Simultaneous.

In some Cyclic Sentences it is difficult to know whether a Reason Sentence or one of the Result Sentences has been elaborated into a cyclic structure. This is not to be wondered at. The reason-result difference in sentence structure in Wik-Munkan, English, and many other languages is based on a surface structure distinction in linear order in which Efficient Cause is encoded in the second base of the Reason
Sentence and in the first base of the Result Sentence - although, to be sure, other features (markers, tense restrictions, transformational potential) exist to reinforce the distinction. But, in a cyclic sentence of either sort, the recapitulation of the first base sets up implications going in both directions, i.e. 'I'm tired, so I don't want to go downtown, because I'm tired' and 'I don't want to go to town because I'm tired, so I don't want to go to town'. Here it is obvious that the stage is set for features of both basic sentence types, Reason or Result, to appear in the same cyclic sentence. The structural contrast between the two basic types is wholly or partially neutralized in the cyclic type which is derived from either of them.

Examples:

Cyclic Contrast Sentences

1. A Text: Aak ina wįy-wTyam ngul weenan
place this different now become
B Contrast: aak keenkan ya'a
place first not
B' Contrast: wonk thonamin wun
side other-emp lay-it
A' Text: ngul ina ep ngul.
own this fact now
This place has become different, it wasn't (like this) at first it was on its other side, (i.e. it was different), now it is (all right).

PY 91

2. A Text: wiy minaman epa
some good-that fact
B Contrast: manyiy inangan ya' wayiy
small-sp these neg-intens bad-sp
A' Text: nil pil'anan ep min.
he(coll) big-that fact good
...some (of that fish type) are all right, the small are not, they are bad, but the big ones are good.

3. A Text: Ina wik min, ngan inngulan ngeeyana, Wik-Mungkanang
this word good we just-now heard-we -in
waa'anni ngant
tell-you-ct us-to
B Contrast: ngan ke' ngeeyan kaa'áthaman yimanama, Archie'ang
we neg heard-we first like-this -ts
ke' waa'an ngant yimanang, nil kiithanga ngant, neg tells-she us-to like-this she English-in-empf told-she us-to
A' Text: ngan puth inan ep, ngan kaangk, kán-ngul ngan
we cj this fact we like compl we
ngáantamgēeyan pamaniy nunana, Jesusana.
think-we man-that-sp him-that -that
Those are good words we have just heard in Wik-Munkan, that you are telling us, we have not heard it like this before, Archie doesn't tell it like this, she told us in English, but now what we have heard (we understand) all right, we like it and now we believe in that man, Jesus.

PT 230

Cyclic Paraphrase Sentence

4. A Text: Ngan thengkanakan ween, yot ananganiy ngan, we laughing-up-to became lots those-sp we

B Paraphrase: Paraphrase Sentence  

Text: ngan ngangk min nylin we heart good eat

Paraphrase: ngangk kuupanana, anganly aak heart glad there-at place

A' Text: thengkanim kee'an yot. laughed-we played-we lots

We all laughed, we were happy, we were glad in that place, we all laughed lots.

Cyclic Amplification Sentence

5. A Text: Ngamp yoyk matamp, we hill climbed-we

B Amp: yoyk pi'l' an matamp, hill big climbed-we

A' Text: yoyk matamp, hill climbed-we

We climbed a hill, a big hill we climbed...

Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

6. A Text: Inpalaniya' thuukana wantamp from-now-sp snake leave-we-ft

B Neg Ant Para: ke'-ngüi mee'wuthanmampa, mee' ke' ngathamp, neg-then pray-we-ft eye neg shut-we-ft

pungkang ke' nyiinampa knee-on neg sit-we-ft

A' Text: wantamp thuuk pi'lananiy. leave-we-ft snake big-that-sp

From now on let us leave the snake, we will never pray (to him) again, we won't pray (to him), we won't kneel (before him), let us leave the big snake.

7. A Text: Ina in keny, pintalangan uka, this here high plain-on fell-it

B Neg Ant Para: ngakangan ke'am uka' water-in neg fell-it

A' Text: ngay in keny thee'ang, pintalanga. I here high threw-I plain-on

It's here, above, it fell on the plain, it didn't fall in the water, I threw it up here on the plain.

VR 40, 41
Cyclic Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

8. A Text: Ngamp thawamp Jesusant pal iiyāna
   we-pl-incl say-we-pl -to to-here come-you-imper
   ngangk ngatharang ing wunāna
   heart mine-in here-stay stay-you-imp
B Neg Ant: ke' kuchampantaniya
   neg send-we-pl-ref-sp
A' Text: ngamp ngoonchathamp ngangk ngamparang ingan.
   we-pl bring-in-him-we-pl heart ours-in her-stay
   We should say to Jesus to come here and stay in our hearts, we
   shouldn't send him away, we should bring him into our hearts to
   stay.

WM 219-223

Cyclic Generic-Specific (Paraphrase) Sentence

9. A Text Generic: Ngaa'-thon-thón ana yim-yīmanam,
   night every that same-manner
B Amplification Specific: ekanan ngaa'atingam, may
   get-up-we-ct morning-in food
   mungkanana' churchakam iiyanan mee' ngathanak,
   eat-we-cj -up-to go-we-ct eyes shut-for
A' Text Generic: nil yinaman iiyan ngaa'-thon-thónaniya.
   it same-manner goes-it-ct night every-that-sp
   Every day it's the same, we get up in the morning, we eat, we
   go to church to shut our eyes (pray), it's the same every day.

In the following three examples Efficient Cause is encoded in the
central base(s).

Cyclic Reason Sentences

10. A Text: ngan puth thawan thant, pechanan thant
    we so say-we-ct them-to shout-we-ct them-to
    iiyayn wooyan anpalan, aakan wantayn truck
    go-they-ft road that-from place-that leave-they-ft
    yipam mo'ow
    so-that run-it-ft
B Reason: ngul puth mulakam maak thanang truckangan
    now because dead-up-to crush-it them -ts-that-sp
A' Text Result: ngan ka'páal thawan thant wách-wāchan
    we therefore say-we-ct them-to far-away
    kee'ayn wooyan anpalan
    play-they-ft road that-from
    ...so we say to them, we shout out to them to go from the road,
    to leave the road so that the truck can run there, because that
    truck could crush them to death, therefore we say to them to
    play a long way from that road...
11. A Text: Nanpalaniya' Taririaniya ngutanga kinchanga
   after-that that-sp night-in day-in
   kon kenyangka wun
   ear above lay-he

   B Reason Base: nil ngáamtamngéey pam wanch nungantam ngul
      he thought-he man woman his then
      puthangkaniy mulathayn nunang ka' nilan mulath pam
      revenge-sp kill-they-ft him like he-that killed-he man
      pii'anana,
      big-that

   B' Reason: a' nilan yinang ngáamtamngéey
      cj he-that like-this thought-he

   A' Text: kon kenyangka wun mee'athama wun.
      ear above lay-he awake lay-he

   After that Tariri was alert day and night because he thought
   his people would kill him just as he had killed the (previous)
   chief. He thought like this so he lay there alert and awake.

12. A Text: Ngal ingam ngiinal puuyan ke' iiyal
      we-two-incl here sat-we-two-incl further neg go-we-two-incl

   B Reason: ana puth aak-pech ke'anhang ngul
      that because space none then

   A' Text: ngal ingam nyoinal.
      we-dl-incl here-stay sat-we-two-incl

   We sat here, we didn't go any further because there wasn't
   space then, so we sat here.

KA 134

Cyclic Coordinate Sentence

13. (Nila thuuk pii'ana, thana waa'antan boa constrictor,
    he snake big they call-they
    waa'antan, thuuk thana pii'piii'antan)
    call-they snake they mind-they-cj

   A Text: nilan kuyam alantam mee'a-wuthan
      he-that used-to to-that-one prayed-he

   B Coord: puugkanga nyoinal
      knee-on sat-he

   A' Text: mee'wuthanmant (a' pam wanch thak konych thanang.)
      prayed-he-him-to cj men women too cursed them

      (The big snake that they call the boa-constrictor, they worship
      that snake) he prays to that one, he kneels to that one, he
      prays to that one (and he curses the people).

WMV 73-80
11.2 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

A further multiplier that occurs very frequently is the Rhetorical Question. While the conversion of a basic sentence type to a Rhetorical Question may involve a certain amount of paraphrase and amplification it appears that the main thrust of such derived sentence types is emphasis. The particular item emphasized may be phrase-level, clause-level, or sentence-level. This form of elaboration of basic types has not been reported in the two Western Desert languages whose higher-level structure was investigated at the same time as that of Wik-Munkan.

The imposition of Rhetorical Question structure takes one of two possible forms: (1) one base of the basic sentence type is converted to a Rhetorical Question, and the rest of the construction is let serve as Response; or (2) a further (usually) initial base is added to carry the Rhetorical Question and the material derived from the basic sentence type is let serve as the Response.

In the first case, in the examples below a slash separates Rhetorical Question Base from the original name of the base in the basic sentence type; while slash similarly separates Response Base from the original base name. Thus R Q Base/Proposition means 'Rhetorical Question Base derived from a sentence type in which this base functions as Proposition'; and Response Base/Simile means 'Response Base derived from a sentence type in which this base functions as Simile' (cf. Examples 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 below).

In the second case, however, the R Q Base is added in sentence-initial position and Response is expounded by an embedded sentence which corresponds to the basic sentence type (cf. Examples 1-5, and 7 - where the R Q Base intervenes between successive bases of a Sequence Sentence).

The Rhetorical Question Sentence is composed of two tagmemes, the obligatory Rhetorical Question Base and obligatory Response Base. In that interrogatives are crucial to the derivation of Rhetorical Question Sentences I append here a list of the interrogatives and interrogative pronouns that figure in the Rhetorical Question Base:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wee'a</th>
<th>who sing</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wee'-wee'a</td>
<td>who plur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wee'ang</td>
<td>who sing</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wee'wee'ang</td>
<td>who plur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wee'ant</td>
<td>to whom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantak</td>
<td>what for</td>
<td>Referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngeenak</td>
<td>what for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rhetorical Questions occur with the following sentence types: Parallel, Paraphrase, Amplification (Paraphrase), Negated Antonym (Paraphrase), Sequence, Future Result, Reason, and Simile.

It is worth noting here that Rhetorical Questions give a pseudo-dialogue cast to a sentence. But while true dialogue (cf. Dialogue Sentences) encodes deep structure Repartee, here the pseudo-dialogue aspect of the sentence is a feature of surface structure which yields a surface structure meaning of emphasis.

Examples:

Rhetorical Question Parallel Sentence

1. RQ Base: a' thaa'oyngk wee'ant thee'angan?
   cj bait whom-to threw-I
   Response Base: Parallel S
   Val-to threw-I-pt cj Rick-to threw-I
   ...and to whom did I give the bait? To Val and to Rick.

Rhetorical Question Paraphrase Sentence

2. RQ Base: Yaa, inaniya waa'angan ngeena?
   yes this-sp-cj tell-I-ct what
   Response Base: Paraphrase S
   Text: wayk nganan we'an-an Paraphrase: uwanan kangkang,
   dye we dig-we-ct find-we-ct bush-in
   Yes, this that I'm telling you, what is it? We dig dye, and find (it) in the bush...
Rhetorical Question Amplification Sentences

3. RQ Base: nil ngangk ngeen that heart what
   Response Base: Amplification S
   Text: kaang wunow that ya'a like lie-he-ft them-to doesn't
   Ampl: nil ngangkan pe-pëey that he heart cried-he-ct them-to
   ... and what was his heart like? He didn't love them, he hated them.

Rhetorical Question Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

5. RQ Base: an ngeen ngangk that heart what
   Response Base: Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence
   Text: nil ngangk ngeen ngangk an pe- peey that he heart cried-he-ct them-to
   ... and what was his heart like? He didn't love them, he hated them.

Rhetorical Question Sequence Sentence

6. RQ Base/Base₁: wantinak ngul thee'a where-to then threw-she
   Response Base/Base₁: yukang wipath tree-on stuck-it
   ... where did she throw it next? It got stuck in the tree...

Rhetorical Question Future Result Sentence

8. RQ Base/Text: Ngeenak than fenceaniy yumpantana, puth ngeenak7 why they fence-that-sp make-they but why
   Response Base/Future Result: bullockan yipmam wonk palangk bullock-that so-that side this-on
   Ingman wunayn min-miniy anangman, here-stay lie-they-ft good-very there-stay-prereferent
Why are they making that fence? For what? So that bullocks will live on this side, and stay in that very good place.

Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence

9. RQ Base/Text: nilan puth wantak thawiy pulanta he but what say—would—he them—dl—to
Response Base/Reason: pulan puth kuunch anman they—dl because brother only
waa’—pul nunang komahn kuchamang ananlya. talked—about—they—dl him young—women two—ts those—two—sp
...but what could he say to those two because those two young women only called him brother.

Rhetorical Question Simile Sentences

10. RQ Base/Proposition: Yuk ina ka’ ngeen yimanam thing this like what same—manner
Response Base/Simile: ka’ waangk ngantam patham. like string—bags ours really
What is this thing like? It is really like our string bags.

11. RQ base/Proposition: Aak ina ngeen place this what
Response Base/Simile: min ngul ka’ wi y inana kemp pach good now like some this skin white
nath—nath ngan ina yim—yimanam kemp pacha’ ngana’ karp. far-away we this this—manner skin white—cj we—cj together
What is this place like? It’s good now, like the white people’s place far away, we’re the same now, the white people and us.

11.3 DELETED PREDICATE

As a sentence multiplier, Deleted Predicate is somewhat more problematic than the two already described and illustrated. In some of the basic types, deletion of the predicate of one base is a rather predictable and mundane occurrence (cf. deletion of the verb thought in Mistaken Thought Sentence). Clearly, a sentence multiplier should be an additional feature over and beyond those characteristic of a basic sentence type. I have tentatively posited such a feature as co-occurring with the following basic sentence types: Parallel, Contrast, Amplification (Paraphrase), Generic-Specific (Paraphrase), Negated Antonym (Paraphrase), Completive Action (Sequence), Non-future Result, and Mistaken Thought (but not by virtue of deletion of the verb thought).

In some examples, Deleted Predicate sentence types could be analyzed as discontinuous noun phrases. This analysis has been rejected as it leads to clumsy noun phrases, with part in one Phonological Clause and the remainder in another. Also regarding intonation, there is no difference in the intonation pattern when the second Phonological Clause
contains a verb and when the verb (Predicate) is deleted; that is, it can be supplied and is treated as if there in all examples. When the verb does occur, e.g. in Amplification (Paraphrase) Sentence it is low and fast and occurs sentence final.

Examples:

Deleted Predicate Parallel Sentences

1. Yaa, Text: ngay Valan kalangana' Parallel: Rick put
   yes: I Val-that took-I-her-cj and
   Parallel: a' wanchîntan kátth-kûnîchan, Mrs. Smithan kalangan.
   cj old-lady-that mother-own-that -that took-I-her
   Yes, I took Val and (I took) Rick and the old lady, the mother
   Mrs. Smith, I took her too.

   VR 8, 9

2. Text: Ana puth paman uthamana' Parallel: or wanch nathiy,
   dem then man-that dies-he-cj or women maybe
   Parallel: or puk weya, (aawuchan wantanampa,)... or child emo house leave-we-hab
   When a man dies, or maybe a woman (dies) or child (dies), we leave
   the house (and go and stay with our relatives).
   In Sequence S: OR

Deleted Predicate Contrast Sentences

   today no day-another maybe come-he-ft
   ... he won't (come) today, maybe he'll come another day.

   child small some fact good enter-they some no
   Some children are all right, they go to school without any fuss but
   others don't (go to school without fuss).
   KL 003-004

5. Text: wiyiy thawantant, "ngay ep ya'a",
   some say-they I fact no
   Contrast: nil wiya oynkang wantan thanang,
   he(coll) some vomit-ts leaves-it them
   ... some say, "I'm all right, I won't (vomit)", but others vomit,...

6. Text: Ngay-nungantiya', kenyangk wunang,
   I-here-sp-cj high-on lay-I
   Contrast: nil Dora pekangk.
   she below-on
   I slept on the top bunk and Dora (slept) on the bottom.

MB
7. Text: Puk wiya kaangk ngoonchayn schoolaka, children some like enter-they-ft-to
Contrast: wiya ya'a, aak way ngeeyantan, some no place bad hear-they-ct
Some children like to go to school, but some don't (like to), they hear bad things about it.
KL 004

Deleted Predicate Amplification Sentences
8. Text: Nil ngangk nungantamaniy ngangka pe-péey, he heart his-that-sp heart cried-he-cont
Ampl: pam wanch nungantamak aakanakaman kampan, men women his-to those-to relatives
He had hate in his heart, he even (hated) his own relatives...

Deleted Predicate Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence
10. Text neg: way thakan ke'am thee'antan ngant, bad etc never give-they-pl us-to
Para pos: min anman.
...they never give us bad, (they) only (give) good.
GP2 31-37

Deleted Predicate Generic-Specific Sentences
11. Generic: aakana wiy-wiyama Specific: liithan ananiya place-that different jungle that-sp
...this place is strange, the jungle (is strange)...
12. Generic: nana way naniya, Specific: pik nanganiya. those bad those-sp fins those-there-sp
...those are bad, those fins there (are bad).

Deleted Predicate Complete Action Sentence
13. Action: a'kenya kenyas kenyaa, Completed Action: kan patham
pecha n. "thum ya' ey?" cried-we firewood not ques
...and we (went) up and up and up, and then we really called out, "There isn't any firewood there, is there?"
WM 052
Deleted Predicate Non-future Result Sentence

14. Text: Ngay ngaa'thonhón ngaa'am chintanara'
   *I every-day dark-from spears-to-me-cj*
   
   Res: am-amanam ngay kemp waya'
        from-that(reason) I body bad-cj
   
   Res: ka'páal ke' ek-ekang mee'ngútangama.
        therefore neg get-up-I early
   
   *I (work) every day until it is dark therefore I feel bad so I
don't get up early in the morning.*

   Recorded from Conversation

Deleted Predicate Mistaken Thought Sentence

15. Appearance Base: Ngay ka' ku'waakanta, Reality: puth ya'a
   *I like cat-to-it but no*
   
   Reality: ku' path am.
          dog really
   
   *I (thought) it was a cat, but, no, (it's) really a dog.*

11.4 EXAMPLES WITH MORE THAN ONE MULTIPLIER

The following examples are where more than one multiplier occurs with a basic sentence type.

Cyclic Deleted Predicate Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) Sentence

1. A Text: Nil ngakak pam muuy kunchang alangan
      *he water-for man cousin own-ts that-ts*
      
      uwan nungant, kuutan nungantamakaniy,
      finds-he him-for his-own-for-sp
      
      B Para: piipiyang ya'a, kuunchang ya'a,
      father-ts no brother-ts no
      
      A' Text: nil pam muuyanan weentowan
      *he man cousin-that turn-round-ft-for-him*
      
      ngakaka, mayaka, minhaka.
      water-for food-for meat-for
      
      The man who is his own cousin finds water for him, for his kuutan;
his father (does) not, his brothers (do) not; it is his cousin
who searches for water and food and meat for him.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Simultaneous Sentence

2. A Text: ngan we'anana'
   
   B RQ Base: ngeenana weechanan,
   *we dig-we-ct-cj what-that follow-we-ct*
   
   B' Response/Simultaneous: tha'púntamanan anan weechanan,
   *roots-those that follow-we*
   
   A' Text: we'anana.
   *dig-we-ct*
   
   *...when we dig, what do we follow, we follow that root, (when) we dig.*
Cyclic Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence (deleted Response)

3. Text: Wantān pulang, RQ Base/Reason: pula puth wantak leave-you-ft them-dl they-dl but what wey kek maayiyul, mulathiypul ngampang, emo spear pick-up-sj-they kill-sj-they us

Text': wantāmp pulang. leave-we-ft them-dl

(You) leave them, (because) would they pick up a spear to kill us, (so) we will leave them.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Result Sentence

4. A Text: yaa, puth than wik nungantamana' konangam pi l'in yes so they words his-that-cj ear-in held-they

B Result: Rhetorical Question Negated Antonym (Paraphrase) S

RQ Base/Text neg: ke' thak ngee yumpantan way-wāy neg etc what make-they-ct bad-bad

thampanganiy ngul, Response Base/Para pos: than minam anman too-that-sp then they good only

yumpantan, A' Text: wik nungantaman ngaantam-ngeeyantan, do-they-ct words his-that hear-they-ct

konangam pil'antan.

ear-in hold-they-ct

...yes, so they remembered his words so that they don't make (the fence) badly, they only make it well, they believe and remember his words.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Deleted Predicate Simple Sentence

5. A RQ Base: A' Louis'ang nggeen wanta cj Louisa-ts what left-she

B Response Base: Rhetorical Question Sentence

RQ Base: koonha wanta kempan tham angaman landing teeth left-she basket too there-stay

wun yuunch nggeen thinta was-it tree what near

Response: upun thintan wun A': koonh.

poison-tree close-that lay-it teeth

What did Louisa leave behind? She left her teeth behind, and her basket also, there at the landing, near what tree? - near the poison tree, there she left her teeth.

Cyclic Rhetorical Question Deleted Predicate Reason-Result Sentence

6. A RQ Base/Text: Than inan work umpantan thaa'thā' they this do-they-ct all-the-time

ngaa'thonthóna' mango yuk inangan umpantan thanang, day-every tree these cut-they-ct them

keekathantan thanang, ngeenama? fell-they-ct them why
B Response Base/Reason: Cyclic Reason Sentence
A Text: anan puth yim-yimanama, wanch alpan thonam
   it but like-this woman sick one
war'am maakan   punthanany pip
almost crushed-it-her branch-that broke-it
B Reason: yuk anhanh mayangam ngath
   tree heavy fruit-full shut
A' Text: Rhetorical Question Non-future Result Sentence
RQ Base/Text: puth naa'pal yaa'ka'a ngeena
   but from-what maybe what
Response Base/Result: yukaniy thuth
   tree-that-sp broke-it
A' Text-Result: than puth naa'palan yuk inangan pupantan
   they but therefore tree these cut-they-ct
ngaa'thonthonang
day-every-on
B' Reason: Rhetorical Question Reason Sentence
RQ Base/Text: ana puth aak way ngul nggeen
   dem because place bad then what
Response Base/Reason: alpan thak maak wunangangan
   sick etc crush-it lying-there-sp
A' Text-Result: naa'palan umpantan.
   therefore cut-they-ct
A  Why are the men here working every day, chopping down and
   felling these mango trees?
B  It's like this, one sick woman was almost crushed when a
   branch broke, because the branch was heavy with fruit and from
   that, what?, maybe the tree broke.
A'  therefore they are chopping down these trees every day
B'  because the place would become dangerous, why? - the sick
   people lying there would get crushed.
A'  therefore they chop (the trees) down.
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