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AN OUTLINE OF BUKIYIP GRAMMAR

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EDITORIAL NOTE

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

The following symbols and abbreviations are used in this paper.

ADJ	Adjectiviser
AFF	Affected person
AG	Agent
ASP	aspect
BENEF	benefactive
CFC	contrary to fact conditional
cl 1, 2 ...17	represent noun class numbers, so that cl 2SG means noun class 2 singular, while 2 SG means second person singular
CL	clause
D	different
DEM	demonstrative
DIAL.GP	dialect group
DIRECT	directional tagmeme
DL	dual
D.REF	displaced reference
EXP	experiencer
F	feminine
FI and/or .	final intonation
FUT	future
IMP	imperative mood
IND OBJ	indirect object
INSTR	instrument
IRR	irrealis mood
LOC	locative word
M	masculine
MIX	mixed gender
n	indicates a tagmeme can be repeated a certain number of times
NEG	negative
NFI and/or ,	non-final intonation
NOM	nominaliser
OBJ	object
PAT	Patient
PERM	permanently; permanent aspect
PL	plural
POSS	possessive

PAST	past tense
R	realis mood
REF	reference/referent
REFL	reflexive
S/D	same or different
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
V	any vowel; verb
we 2	we dual
ø	zero morpheme
?	morpheme of uncertain meaning
→	becomes
/	in the context X →Y/Z, / means 'in the environment of', so that the entire expression means 'X becomes Y in the environment of Z'
±	optional
+	obligatory
~	or
#	morpheme boundary within phonological word
<*n*->	the class of affixes of which *n*- is a member
+	between vernacular words means that these words are to be translated as one unit rather than separately
+	in formulae means that the immediately following tagmeme is obligatory
.	between words in the English translation means that the words so joined correspond to one vernacular morpheme
/	is used to mean 'or' when occurring with the English translation.
3 preceding F, M, or MIX means third person	
--------	deep structure representation is shown below this line
*	indicates probably no other fillers possible
( )	words in English translation so enclosed are implied information

The symbolism for deep structure representation is as in Longacre (1972) with the following additions:

/P/	Predicate P is optional. This is used to save space in combining deep structure representations of two or more very similar deep structures.
eP	the predicate P has an evaluation relationship to the associated predicate with which it is conjoined by ∧

The symbols in Longacre (1972) will be listed here for convenience:

a E U	term is an element of set U
a, b, ..., n	terms of predicates, always written immediately to the right of the predication containing them
x, y	further predicate terms with a spatial or temporal function
a'	synonym or situational equivalent of term 'a'

a"	antonym or situational opposite of term 'a'
Eab	equational predication, 'term a is b'
P, Q, R (but not U)	predicates. If terms have been assigned to some or all of the variables to form an acceptable statement, the result is called a predication. With no terms specified, predicate symbols without temporal quantifiers refer to the entire predication. With terms specified, they refer to the predicator only.
$\bar{P}$	negation of predicate P
P'	predication involving a synonym or situational equivalent of a lexical item with the same function in P
P"	predication involving an antonym or situational opposite of a lexical item with the same function as in P

The following three symbols are used as temporal quantifiers of predicates:

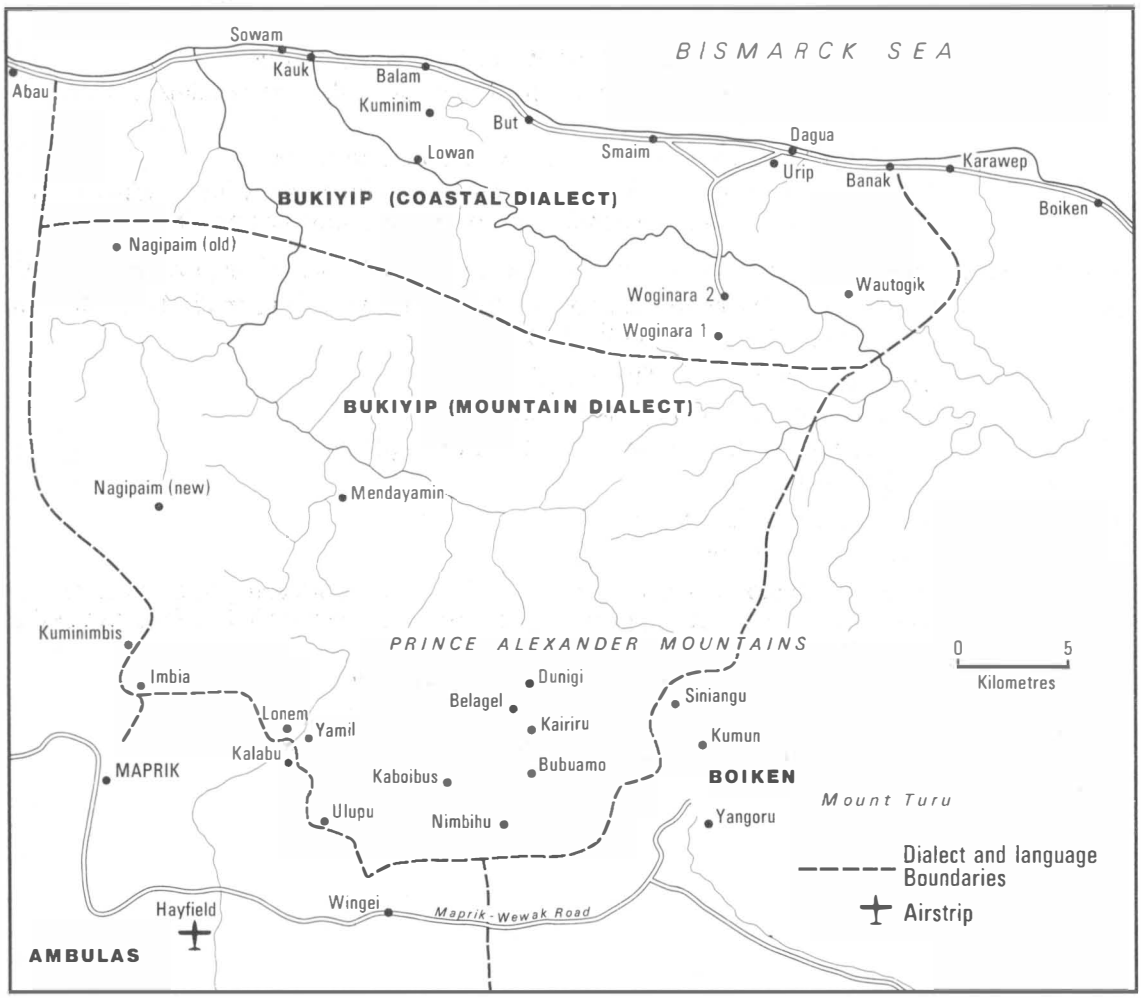
$\underline{P}$	P denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state
$\underset{\cdot}{P}$	P denoting a punctiliar event
$\underline{P}\wedge\underset{\cdot}{Q}$	P denoting a non-punctiliar activity or state which overlaps in time with a punctiliar event in Q
$P\supset Q$	if P, then Q
Pa	P with first term (actor) 'a'
Pab	P with first term (actor) 'a' and a subsequent term 'b' which may or may not function as goal
$Pa\wedge Qb$	P with first term (actor) 'a', and Q with first term (actor) 'b', distinct from 'a'. If no terms are specified in a predicate it is understood that the actors may be either the same or different.
$Pa\wedge Qa$	P with first term (actor) 'a' and Q with the same first term (actor) 'a'
$P(a)\wedge P(b)\wedge\ldots\wedge P(n)$	Conjunction of 'n' identical predications with non-identical terms having the same function in each predication.
$P\beta$	Operator β changes the positive-negative value of P so that every predicate in the expression takes on one of the two values. For example, $[P\beta\supset Q\beta]\wedge P\wedge Q$ means any one of the four possibilities: $[\bar{P}\supset\bar{Q}]\wedge P\wedge Q$, $[\bar{P}\supset Q]\wedge P\wedge\bar{Q}$, $[P\supset\bar{Q}]\wedge\bar{P}\wedge Q$, or $[P\supset Q]\wedge\bar{P}\wedge\bar{Q}$.
P(a)	P involving term 'a' which has the same function as any other term or terms enclosed in parentheses in the same expression
$P\vee Q$	P or Q or both (inclusive disjunction)
$P\ddagger Q$	either P or Q, but not both (exclusive disjunction)
$P\forall a$	P with universally quantified participant term 'a' which may or may not have the same function in other predications in the expression
$P\forall t$	P with universally quantified temporal term 't' which may or may not have the same function in other predications in the expression
P(U)	P with universal set U as a term which has the same function as other terms in the expression which are enclosed in parentheses. For example, in $\bar{P}(U)\wedge P(a)$, U has the same function in $\bar{P}$ as term 'a' has in P.

The following seven symbols occur with subscripts preposed to predicate symbols, distinct from the terms of their respective predicates, which occur postposed. These preposed subscripts relate P to a following predicate in the same expression.

aP	P with a reporting function denoting awareness of a statement in the following predicate
cP	metalanguage predicate with a calling or naming relationship to the following predicate
gP	P involving a more generic term which contrasts with a corresponding and more specific term in predicate sP
iP	P denoting an intent relationship with the following predicate
sP	P involving a more specific term which contrasts with corresponding and more generic term in gP
tP	P which denotes a mistaken idea in the following predicate
wP	P which denotes reported speech in the following predicate, with no implication about whether or not the statement results in a corresponding action

The following symbol is similar to the seven above, but relates to the preceding predicate instead.

pQ	Q has a purposive relationship (final cause) to the preceding predicate. That is, the preceding predicate was for the purpose of Q.
$\exists$P	existential predication: 'There is ...'.
t	predicate term with a temporal function
U	universal set, such as the set of all people or all places
U -a	complement of set U-a
$\forall$a	universal quantifier, 'for every term a'
$\exists$	existential quantifier
(▭)	expression enclosed in parentheses, which must be more than just a predicate term, is an unstated presupposition with respect to the remainder of the expression not so enclosed
[▭]	expression so enclosed must be grouped as one unit
$P\wedge\begin{cases}P\\Q\\R\end{cases}$	the three expressions P$\wedge$P, P$\wedge$Q, and P$\wedge$R



THE BUKIYIP LANGUAGE AREA

0. INTRODUCTION

Bukiyip (Mountain Arapesh) is a member of the Arapesh family of the Kombio stock of the Torricelli phylum in Papua New Guinea, as documented by D.C. Laycock (1973:14-15). It is spoken by approximately 5,000 people living on the southern side of the Prince Alexander Range between Yangoru and Maprik in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. The people recognise at least four minor dialect variations: Chamaun, Buki, Lohuhwim and Yamil. The same language, with considerable dialect variation, is spoken in a wide region extending north and north-west through the Torricelli Range to the coast between Dagua and Suom, as reported by Bob Bugenhagen (1981). The other two distinct languages of the Arapesh family listed by Laycock (1973) are Muhian (Southern Arapesh) and Bumbita, which are spoken in the area west of Maprik between the Amuk River and Drekikir. Nekitel (1985) has added Abu' as a fourth member of the family.

The distinctive feature of the languages of the Arapesh family is their extensive noun class system, which plays a central role in their grammatical structure. In the verb morphology, every subject and object affix agrees with its nominal referent. In addition there is obligatory noun phrase agreement between every modifier and the head noun. Beyond this, every pronoun and demonstrative also agrees with the noun to which it refers.

The only previously published study of Bukiyip is the work of R.F. Fortune (1942), which is based on the coastal dialect spoken around Dagua. This present study[1] follows Dr Fortune's basic analysis of the noun class system, with minor adaptations, as well as benefiting from certain insights presented in his grammatical notes. The grammatical structure of the coastal dialect is quite similar to Bukiyip. A comparison using the SIL 200-word list shows 86 per cent probable cognates in noun and verb stems.

The data consists of 85 texts collected during 30 months residence at Bubuamo village between 1971 and 1976 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. These texts represent Lohuhwim, Chamaun and Buki dialect groups, but are primarily from the latter two.

The approach of this study is somewhat eclectic. It usually follows the tagmemic model, but departs from it in the use of transformational rules to describe certain stem-level and clause-level relationships.

The sentence level analysis in section 7 follows the approach of Ballard, Conrad and Longacre (1971). That study is committed to the thesis that "a set of deep grammar relations needs to be posited to account for the moving of the same or very similar lexical material through changing patterns of interclausal relations. The sentence, as the immediately ascending hierarchical level above the clause, needs such a set of relations if we are to understand the dynamics of that level." The basic definition of the deep structure symbolism used to represent interclausal relations is the following: P, Q, R (but not U) are predicates. The choice of the term predicate is an attempt to follow the general use of this term in the predicate or function calculus of mathematical logic as an entity which maps terms into propositions. That is, P, Q and R are viewed as 'verbs' with variable cases such as agent, patient, etc., so that the assignment of specific terms to these cases results in a statement or proposition. If the terms have been assigned to some or all of the variable cases in the above symbols, the resulting proposition is called a predication. With no terms specified, predicate symbols without temporal quantifiers refer to the entire predication. With terms specified, they refer to the predicator only.

All the logical symbols used, such as ∧ for 'and', V for inclusive disjunction, ≢ for exclusive disjunction, ⊃ for 'if-then' and $\bar{P}$ for 'negation of predicate P', have a precision in mathematical logic which does not allow them to correspond precisely with natural language structures. However, the correspondence is sufficiently close to justify their use here. The symbolism used to represent deep structure relations in section 7 is used with the realisation that it must be treated with caution and not taken to imply perfect correspondence with its use in mathematical logic.

Because of the elaborate noun phrase agreement system in Bukiyip, this study begins with word level and works up through stem, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse.

Some features of the verb morphology are rather unusual for a non-Austronesian language. With very few exceptions, every verb is affixed for person and number. Therefore the verb morphology is essentially the same, regardless of the verb's distribution. Outside the Arapesh family, no other language in the Torricelli phylum is known to have this extreme scarcity of unaffixed verbs.

The two major exceptions to universal verb affixation for person and number are some imperative forms in which all affixation is lost in certain cases, and certain infrequent constructions consisting of repeated identical unaffixed verb stems used to signal intense or continued action. Discounting these exceptions, there are no 'medial verbs' which have a more limited affixation pattern. This means that the verb morphology is not useful in determining sentence boundaries. Intonation is not very useful either. Therefore a set of multiple tagmemic and lexicosemantic criteria have been used to define the sentence. These criteria include repeated verb or repeated close synonyms of the verb, quote closers, question closers, scope of negation, occurrence of Time, Location, and or Benefactive-Instrumental tagmemes, and the occurrence of certain sentence-level tagmemes at certain characteristic places in clause strings. The application of this diverse set of criteria gives a consistent and plausible analysis. Furthermore, these units correspond closely with the conclusions of a strictly lexicosemantic approach to another non-Austronesian language of the Sepik-Ramu phylum (Abbott 1979).

1. PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of Bukiyip with their allophones are: consonants p (p^h), t (t^h), k (k^h), b (b), d (d), g (k, g), s (s), ch ($tš^h$), j (dž), h (W, x, h), m (m^w, m), n (n), ny (ñ), l (l̪, ɫ, l), r (ř, r), w (w, U), y (y) and vowels i (ɪ, i), e (e, ɛ), a (ʌ, a), o (o^u), u (u, U). æ (æ), é(ə, ë), and ú (ɨ high central).

The orthography used here is identical to the practical orthography except that (1) in this paper, word final *ny* is written *ny* instead of *n* as in the practical orthography, (2) word final *gw* and *hw* are written as *gw* and *hw* respectively in this paper, instead of *g* and *h* respectively as in the practical orthography, and (3) the sequence *nyú* when no rounded vowel or *w* follows is written as *nyú* instead of *nyu* as in the practical orthography.

The phonotactics are rather irregular and are summarised here: all phonemes except *r* and *u* occur word initially, all phonemes occur word medially, and all phonemes except *y, r, d,* and *j* occur word finally. In word medial consonant clusters C_1C_2, if C_1 is *b*, C_2 can be *w, l,*
C_1 is *l*, C_2 can be *w,*
initial consonant clusters, the first consonant is *b, k, h,*
w. The only word-final consonant clusters are *hw* and *gw*.

Word-initial vowel clusters are *ou, au, ai,* and *ia.* Word medial clusters V_1V_2 are as follows: if V_1 is *e*, V_2 is *a, o, i,* or *u*; if V_1 is *a*, V_2 is *u, e,* or *i*; if V_1 is *i*, V_2 is *é, a,* or *e*; if V_1 is *o*, V_2 is *u* or *i*; if V_1 is *u*, V_2 is *u*; and if V_1 is *ú*, V_2 is *o.* The only final vowel clusters are *eo, ou,* and *uu.*

Penultimate word stress occurs very generally and usually coincides with high pitch on the stressed syllable.

Four contrastive intonation contours have been observed. All except the imperative occur phonological clause finally. In addition, there are characteristic intonation patterns associated with morphological markers signalling alternative interrogative and non-future negation. These are illustrated in (4) and (5). The approximate relative pitch is indicated by the height of the intonation line above the text line.

1.1 FINAL INTONATION

The final intonation contour is manifested by falling pitch on the final syllable of the clause. Final intonation is nearly always followed by a pause. This contour is illustrated in the final contour in (1). It is symbolised by the full stop (.).

(1) NN 105:

biyebih,	*m-u-nak*	*m-u-lu*	*lowas.*
day after tomorrow	1PL SUBJ-IRR-go	1PL SUBJ-IRR-cut	trees

'Day after tomorrow we will go and cut trees.'

1.2 NON-FINAL INTONATION

The non-final intonation contour is characterised by level mid pitch on the final syllable of the clause and is often accompanied by a pause. This contour is illustrated in the first contour in (1), and is symbolised by a comma (,).

1.3 INTERROGATIVE INTONATION

The interrogative intonation contour is characterised by level pitch, usually high or mid, on the final word in the clause. It is symbolised by (?) and illustrated in (2).

(2) *Ny-ú-nak* *wabel?*
2SG-IRR-go village
'Are you going to the village?'

1.4 IMPERATIVE INTONATION

The imperative intonation contour is characterised by relatively heavy stress (symbolised by ") and high pitch which continue throughout the clause until the final syllable, when the pitch drops rapidly. This contour is signalled by (!) and illustrated in (3).

(3) *"Ny-ú-nak* *"wabel!*
2SG SUBJ-IMP-go village
'You go to the village!'

1.5 INTONATION OCCURRING WITH MORPHOLOGICAL MARKERS

Alternative interrogatives are usually marked by clause-final *o wok o* 'or not', which also has a characteristic intonation: intonation on each *o* is low level, while on *wok* it is high level. Elsewhere in this study this intonation contour is symbolised by the clause-final *o* followed by (?), and is illustrated in (4).

(4) NN 112
Yek i-na-m-enyú o wok o?
I 1SG IRR-go-BENEF-2SG OBJ or not or
'May I go with you, or not?'

Non-future negation is signalled by *wo...e* 'did not' and is characterised by heavy stress and optional length on the penultimate and ultimate syllables of the clause. Mid pitch, slightly falling, occurs in the final syllable. The phonological word or phrase between *wo* and *e* is usually characterised by short rapid syllables. This intonation contour is signalled by full stop (.) following *e*, and is illustrated in (5).

(5) *Wo n-ú-dúkemech 'e.*
NEG 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-understand NEG
'He didn't understand.'

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The major morphophonemic changes are summarised by the following 18 rules. Rules 8-18 are distinct from the rest in that they are subject to morpheme boundary constraints. Rules 8-18 also may be restricted to the Chamaun and Buki dialect groups in which most of the research has been carried out.

One of the most intriguing morphophonemic features of the language is the constantly changing vowel which signals realis or irrealis mood. Rules 1-8 were originally set up in an attempt to predict the correct vowel in all cases. In fact they apply generally throughout the language.

The following three assumptions have been made in this morphophonemic analysis:

A) Basic forms for irrealis and realis moods are *ú-* and *a-* respectively, as indicated in (6) and (7).

(6) *n-ú-túl-únú*
3SG.M-IRR-see-3SG.M OBJ
'He will see him.'

(7) *n-a-túl-únú*
3SG.M-R-see-3SG.M OBJ
'He saw him.'

B) Basic forms for first person singular prefixes are *i-* '1SG SUBJ IRREALIS'

(8) *i-nak*
1SG SUBJ IRR-go
'I will go'

which is derived by applying morphophonemic rule 2, $i+ú \rightarrow i$, giving

i + *ú* + *nak* → *inak*
1SG IRR go

and

(9) *y-a-nak*
1SG SUBJ-R-go
'I went.'

which follows from the definition of the basic forms

a- 'realis' and
y- '1SG SUBJ REALIS'

C) Basic form for third person free pronouns when the referent is nearby is:

é C(C)*a*C(C), as is shown by:

(10) *énan* 'it, class 7 SG (nearby)'

(11) *ohohw* 'it, class 12 SG (nearby)' (rule 6)

(12) *élab* 'it, class 2 SG (nearby)'

In the statement of the morphophonemic rules the following abbreviations are used:

V_r = *u, o* (rounded vowels)

V_c = *ú, é, a* (central unrounded vowels)

V_u = Vc + *i, e, ae* (unrounded vowels)

C = any consonant

C_{alv} = *y, ny, ch, j* (alveopalatal consonants)

C_r = *m, b, h, w, p* (rounded consonants)

V_f = *i, e, ae* (front vowels)

In examples, a number above the arrow indicates the rule which describes the change.

With these assumptions, we now list the following partially ordered morphophonemic rules:

RULE 1. $V_cC_{alv} \rightarrow V_fC_{alv}$

(13) *h-ú-chlú* → *hichlú*

(14) *p-a-chuh* → *pechuh*

(15) *n-a-jigúl* → *nejigúl*

(16) *p-ú-nyah* → *pinyah*

(17) *ényény* → *enyeny*

(18) *atúnyú* → *atinyú*

RULE 2. *w + ú → u,*
ú + w → uw,
i + ú → i (semivowel rule)

(19) *i-ú-nak* → *inak*

(20) *w-ú-nak* → *unak*

For an example of *ú + w → uw*, see rule 11.

RULE 3. *ny + u → nyú*, unless another *u* occurs in the following syllable within the phonological word.

(21) *ny + upwe* → *nyúpwe*

(22) *bolany + umu* → *bolanyumu*

(23) *ny-ú-suh* → *nyusuh*

(24) *ny + uwu* → *nyuwu*

(25) *nyunuk* 'snake type' occurs BUT *nyúnuk* does not.

RULE 4. *ú* + C_rV_r → *u*C_rV_r; *é*C_rV_r → *o*C_rV_r

(26) *p-ú-hok* → *puhok*, BUT *p-ú-búk*; not *pubúk*

(27) *n-ú-bo* → *nubo*, BUT *n-ú-búk*, not *nubu*

(28) *echébuk* → *echobuk*

(29) *p-é-kémúk* $\xrightarrow{10}$ *pékémuk* $\xrightarrow{4}$ *pékomuk*

RULE 5. *a* + CV_c → *é*CV_c

(30) *n-a-bah* → *nébah*

(31) *n-a-sah* → *nésah*

(32) *n-a-múnek* → *némúnek*

(33) *p-a-lau* → *pélau*, BUT *n-a-lu*, not *n-élu*

RULE 6. If V_c is not *a*, V_c + C + *w* → V_rC*w*

(34) *ny-ú-hwech* → *nyuhwech*

(35) *éhwahw* $\xrightarrow{6}$ *ohwohw* $\xrightarrow{7}$ *ohohw*

(36) *égwagw* $\xrightarrow{6}$ *ogwogw* $\xrightarrow{7}$ *ogogw*

(37) BUT *éhah* and *égag* do not change.

RULE 7. $Cw + V_r \rightarrow CV_r$

See (35) and (36).

RULE 8. *i# + i → i*

(38) *i-ú-tak* $\xrightarrow{-2}$ *iitak* $\xrightarrow{-8}$ *itak*

RULE 9. *#w + é → #wo*

(39) *#w-é-nak* $\xrightarrow{-9}$ *wonak*

(40) *kw-é-nak* $\xrightarrow{-9}$ *kwonak* $\xrightarrow{-7}$ *konak*

RULE 10. *m# + ú → mu*, except when *mú* precedes the sequence voiced stop + *ú; mén → mon.*

(41) *m-ú-klupu* $\xrightarrow{-10}$ *muklupu*, BUT *múdúkemech* occurs, not *mudúkemech*

(42) *m-ú-bo* $\xrightarrow{-10}$ *mubo*

(43) *m-a-nak* $\xrightarrow{-5}$ *ménak* $\xrightarrow{-10}$ *monak*

RULE 11. $\#V_c + tV_r \rightarrow otV_r$

(44) *étobuk* → *otobuk*

(45) BUT *étúdak* is unchanged.

(46) *atúwe* $\xrightarrow{-2}$ *atuwe* $\xrightarrow{-11}$ *otuwe*

(47) BUT *atúnú* is unchanged.

RULE 12. *e# + úk → eik*

(48) *napwe + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-12}$ *napweik*

(49) *chapwe + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-12}$ *chapweik*

RULE 13. $C\# + CV_c \rightarrow CV_cCV_c$ (in which the V_c are the same vowel)

$C\# + C_{alv} + i \rightarrow C_r iC_{alv} i$

(50) *chagas + búk* $\xrightarrow{-13}$ *chagasúbúk*

(51) *atap + chi* $\xrightarrow{-13}$ *atapichi*

RULE 14. *ú + C# + u → uCu*

(52) *u-túl-úgún + -u* $\xrightarrow{-14}$ *utúlúgunu* $\xrightarrow{-14}$ *utúlugunu* $\xrightarrow{-14}$ *utulugunu*

RULE 15. *ú# + C + u# → oCu#*

(53) *natalú + -gu* $\xrightarrow{-15}$ *nataglogu*

RULE 16. $V_rC_r\# + \acute{u} \rightarrow V_rC_ru$

(54) *nechuh + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-16}$ *nechuhuk*

(55) *nowachoh + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-16}$ *nowachohuk*

(56) *chaklipom + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-16}$ *chaklipomuk*

(57) *kwúhúl* $\xrightarrow{-2}$ *kuhúl* $\xrightarrow{-16}$ *kuhul*

(58) *múhúl* $\xrightarrow{-10}$ *muhúl* $\xrightarrow{-16}$ *muhul*

RULE 17. *u# + ú → uwu*

(59) *cheyotu + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-17}$ *cheyotuwuk*

(60) *natu + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-17}$ *natuwuk*

(61) *nutuwalu + -úk* $\xrightarrow{-17}$ *nutuwaluwuk*

RULE 18. *ú# + u → o*

(62) *yekinú + umu* $\xrightarrow{-18}$ *yekinomu*

(63) *túkanitú + umu* $\xrightarrow{-18}$ *túkanitomu*

(64) *aninú + umu* $\xrightarrow{-18}$ *aninomu*

3. WORD

The word level is an area of considerable complexity due to the noun class system which affects the morphological shape of every adjective, verb, pronoun and demonstrative in the language.

3.1 NOUN

Nouns are defined as a word class occurring with one of a closed set of 18 suffixes, the majority of which are differentiated for singular and plural. This set of suffixes is designated *<-unú>* and is listed in the noun suffix columns of Tables 1 and 2. These 18 different combinations of affixes marking singular and plural define 18 classes of nouns. Most of the classes seem to be semantically arbitrary, but three of them can be semantically defined in a general way as 'male' for class 7, (man, son, brother-in-law, father, etc.), 'female' for class 4 (woman, daughter, grandmother, house fly, tree branch) and 'mixed or unspecified gender' for class 8 (person, child). Class 8 is clearly the unmarked class for the system. Class 17 consists of personal names and class 18 consists of place names.

The general structure of nouns is:

Noun =	+Noun Nucleus	+Number
	noun root	*<-unú>*

(65) *bú-b*
betel nut-cl1SG
'betel nut'

(66) *bú-bús*
betel nut-cl1PL
'betel nuts'

The two different suffixes *-b* 'class 1 singular' and *-bús* 'class 1 plural' are the characteristic number suffixes which occur with class 1 nouns. A few class 1 nouns end in *n* in the singular, such as *malú-n* hornet-cl1SG 'hornet', and *mal-bús* hornet-cl1PL 'hornets'. These and other exceptions to the general affixation pattern in the various noun classes are described in Table 2.

Nouns occur with possessive modifiers and/or (rarely) with possessive suffixes. Nouns also occur with other modifiers. In every case the modifiers have obligatory suffixes which agree in number and class with the noun. That is, there is noun phrase agreement.

Nouns occur in the head slots of all types of noun phrases, the Modifier slot of Modified Noun Phrase 2 (5.2.2), the Axis slot of Locative Phrases of type 1 and type 2 (5.9, 5.10), and in the head slot of Modified Locative Phrases.

Table 1 indicates the various affixes which occur with the 18 noun classes. The analysis is based on Fortune (1942). There are three classes of affixes shown: noun suffixes which are designated *<-unú>*, adjective suffixes, and verb prefixes. The class *<-unú>* occurs obligatorily on all nouns except classes 17 and 18, and the majority of these suffixes encode number, distinguishing singular and plural. The class *<-unú>* is also used to encode direct object as illustrated in section 3.4.

The adjective suffixes obligatorily occur with all adjectives and show agreement with the noun they modify. This agreement system is reflected by the similarity in the forms for noun and adjective suffixation, as in (67):

(67) *N-a-wak* *yopi-chi* *kakwi-ch.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-eat good-cl8PL food-cl8PL
'He ate good food.'

Verb prefixes encode agent, patient and experiencer. They are obligatory with the verbs in most verb classes, as indicated in Section 3.4. These prefixes always agree with the noun to which they refer.

TABLE 1: NOUN CLASS MATRIX 1

Noun Class	Gloss of Examples	Example singular/plural	Noun Suffix <-*unú*>[1] singular	Noun Suffix <-*unú*>[1] plural	Adjective Suffix <-*ny*> singular	Adjective Suffix <-*ny*> plural	Verb Prefix <*n*->[2] singular	Verb Prefix <*n*->[2] plural
1	betel nut	*búb; búbús*	*-b/n*	*-bús*	*-bi*	*-búsi*	*b-/n-*	*s-*
2	village	*wabél; walúb*	*-bél*	*-lúb*	*-bili*	*-lúbi*	*bl-*	*bl-*
3	faeces	*dewag; dewas*	*-g/-gú*	*-s/-as*	*-gali/-gú*	*-gasi*	*g-*	*s-*
4	woman	*élmatok; élmagou*	*-k*	*-ou/-eb*	*-kwi*	*-wali*	*kw-*	*w-*
5	banana	*apam; apas*	*-m/-bal*	*-s/-ipi/-bal*	*-mi/-bali*	*-si/-ipi/-bali*	*m-/bl-*	*s-/p-/bl-*
6	moon	*aun; aub*	*-n/-nú*	*-b*	*-nali*	*-bi*	*n-*	*b-*
7	man	*élman; élmom*	*-n/-nú*	*-m*	*-nali*	*-mi*	*n-*	*h-*
8	child	*batawiny; batawich*	*-ny/-l*	*-ch/-has*	*-nyi/-li*	*-chi*	*ny-/l-*	*ch-*
9	leaf	*chuwup; chuwus*	*-p*	*-s*	*-pi*	*-si*	*p-*	*s-*
10	mosquito	*aul; auguh*	*-l/-ny*	*-guh*	*-li/-ny*	*-guhi*	*l-/ny-*	*hw-*
11	dog	*nobat; nobagw*	*-t/-tú*	*-gw*	*-tali*	*-gwi*	*t-*	*gw-*
12	sago leaves	*lohuhw; lohulúh*	*-hw*	*-lúh*	*-hwi*	*-lihi*	*hw-*	*hl-*
13	road	*yah; yeh/yegwih*	$-V_1h$	$-V_2h$	*-hi*	*-h*	*h-*	*h-*
14	box	*kes; kes*	*-s*	*-s*	*-si*	*-si*	*s-*	*s-*
15	small pig	*buligún*	*-gún*	*-gún*	*-gúni*	*-gúni*	*gn-*	*gn-*
16	garden	*yawihas*	*-has*	*-has*	-	-	*gn-*	*gn-*
17	personal names		-	-	*-nali/-kwi*	-	*n-/kw-*	-
18	place names		-	*-gún*	-	*-gúni*	*gn-*	*gn-*

1. Note that the most commonly occurring forms from <*-unú*>, those usually used to encode human referents, are given in Table 6.
2. The affix set <*n-*> includes also the person-number prefixes of Table 5.

The following comments will clarify certain details in Noun Class Matrix 1. In the Noun Suffix column, if two or three alternative noun suffixes are listed and there are the same number of alternatives listed for adjectival and verbal affixes, then the alternatives correspond respectively, the first with the first, the second with the second, etc. Other alternative affixes indicate a grouping together in this analysis of nouns which are similar in some but not all of their affixation. In class 17, personal names, for example, the affixes vary with respect to male and female, just as in classes 4 and 7 respectively. Similarly the mixed gender affix *ch* is the same as in class 8.

The vowels V_1 and V_2 listed in class 13 occur in various combinations as follows:

		singular	plural
hah/heh	'finger'	*-ah*	*-eh*
múh/múh	'breastbone'	*-úh*	*-úh*
wilúh/wilih	'hand drum'	*-úh*	*-ih*

Classes 1 through 14 contain the majority of all nouns. Most of these are 'count' nouns plus some others. Class 8 is the class which contains, among many other things, all nouns of unspecified sex, such as *batawiny* 'child' and *élpeny* 'person'. Most birds, trees and leaves are in classes 6 and 9. Class 14 contains only words which are borrowed from Tok Pisin and which end in *s*. The other classes apparently have no systematic semantic features.

Classes 17 and 18 contain nouns which are free stems, cannot occur with numerical modifiers, and which can occur with a very few if any modifiers.

Class 17 consists of the proper names of people, most of which do not have a meaning. One exception is *débalún* 'hornbill'. Class 17 nouns occur in the Head slot of Coordinate Noun Phrases and in the Axis slot of Possessive Phrases.

There are a few irregularities in most of the classes, some of which are indicated by the alternative affixes in Table 1. Further examples are given in Table 2.

3.2 PRONOUN

Pronouns are a class of words which substitute for or are in apposition to a Modified Noun Phrase_1, Modified Noun Phrase_2, Coordinate Noun Phrase, or Apposition Noun Phrase in a clause. Pronouns give information of number and gender and do not occur with descriptive modifiers. They occur in the Subject, Object, Indirect Object and Instrumental-Benefactive slots of clauses, in the Apposition and Identification slots of Apposition Noun Phrases, in the head slots of Coordinate Noun Phrases, and, in possessive form, occur in the Possessive slot of Modified Noun Phrase_1.

Third person masculine and feminine forms, both singular and plural, and the third person mixed gender forms have both proximal and distal forms, the latter being listed first. The proximal forms signal closer proximity to the speaker and are used much more frequently than the distal forms. The alternate forms for first and second person singular are simply alternate pronunciations of two closely related dialect groups.

TABLE 2: NOUN CLASS MATRIX 2

Noun Class	Gloss of Examples	Example singular/plural	Noun Suffix <-*unú*>[1] singular	Noun Suffix <-*unú*>[1] plural	Adjective Suffix <-*ny*> singular	Adjective Suffix <-*ny*> plural	Verb Prefix <*n*->[2] singular	Verb Prefix <*n*->[2] plural
1	hornet	*malún; malbús*	*-n*	*-bús*	*-nali*	*-búsi*	*n-*	*s-*
3	bamboo	*mahlageiny; mahlagas*	*-ny*	*-gas*	*-nyi*	*-gasi*	*ny-*	*s-*
3	garden marker	*(w)almegú; (w)almagas*	*-gú*	*-gas*	*-gali*	*-gasi*	*g-*	*s-*
3	head	*boglom; bélagas*	*-m*	*-gas*	*-mi*	*-gasi*	*m-*	*s-*
3	firewood	*ulegúl; ulegas*	*-gúl*	*-gas*	*-nyi*	*-gasi*	*ny-*	*s-*
4	grandmother	*babeik; babeigwial*	*-k*	*-ial*	*-kwi*	*-wali*	*kw-*	*w-*
4	coconut palm tree	*ohok; ehemeb*	*-k*	*-meb*	*-kwi*	*-wali*	*kw-*	*w-*
4	red parrot	*ahuk; ahwib*	*-k*	*-ib*	*-kwi*	*-wali*	*kw-*	*w-*
4	breast	*nyumab; nyumeb*	*-mab*	*-meb*	*-bi*	*-bi*	*b-*	*b-*
5	tongue	*yeham; yehep*	*-m*	-Vp(V=*e/i*)	*-mi*	*-pi*	*m-*	*bl-*
5	stone	*utom; utabal*	*-m*	*-bal*	*-mi*	*-bali*	*m-*	*bl-*
6	tree snake	*lowanú; lowanab*	*-nú*	*-b*	*-nali*	*-bi*	*n-*	*b-*
7	father	*aninú; ahlim*	*-nú*	*-m*	*-nali*	*-mi*	*n-*	*h-*
7	mother's brother	*hwahwoninú; wanalúh*	*-nú*	*-lúh*	*-nali*	*-mi*	*n-*	*h-*
8	trouble	*ina; inahas*	-V[3]	*-has*	*-nyi*	*-chi*	*ny-*	*ch-*
8	fish net	*miyokul; miyokulhas*	*-l*	*-has*	*-nyi*	*-chi*	*ny-*	*ch-*
8	door	*kiltam; kiltapoguhas*	*-m*	*-has*	*-nyi*	*-chi*	*ny-*	*ch-*
10	bird	*almil/alminy; almiguh*	*-ny ~ -l*	*-guh*	*-nyi*	*-guhi*	*ny-*	*hw-*
11	door	*witú; witogw*	*-tú*	*-gw*	*-tali*	*-gwi*	*t-*	*gw-*
11	wild sugarcane	*alúh; aluwag*	*-h*	*-g*	*-hi*	*-gali*	*h-*	*g-*
12	net bag	*ichahw; ichalúh*	*-hw*	*-lúh*	*-gali*	*-gasi*	*g-*	*s-*
13	feather	*halúp; halih*	*-p*	*-ih*	*-pi*	*-hi*	*p-*	*h-*

1. Note that the most commonly occurring forms from <-*unú*>, those usually used to encode human referents, are given in Table 6.
2. The affix set <*n*-> includes also the person-number prefixes of Table 5.
3. In noun class 8, the vowel V can probably be any vowel, but *o* and *e* have not yet been observed. Many loan words from Tok Pisin are in this subtype, such as *hama* 'hammer' and *hamahas* 'hammers'.

Personal Pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	*yek(eik)*	*ohwak*	*apak*
2	*nyak(nyek)*	*bwiepú*	*ipak*
3 masculine	*énan/nani*	*omom bwiom*	*omom/mami*
3 feminine	*okok/kwakwi*	*owo bwiou*	*owo/wawi*
3 mixed gender		*echech bwiech*	*echech/chachi*

The other third person pronouns, used when the referents are non-human, are listed in the Pronoun and Demonstrative Class Matrix, Table 3. The forms for classes 4, 7, and 8 are the same form as used for personal referents.

Class 17, proper names, reverts back to the class 4 or 7 forms, depending on whether the person referred to is female or male respectively.

The structure of the possessive pronoun is:

Possessive Pronoun:

pronoun nucleus	possessive	agreement
pronoun	*-i*	*<-unú>*

That is, a possessive pronoun is a bound stem consisting of a pronoun nucleus slot manifested by a pronoun followed by a possessive slot manifested by the possessive enclitic *-i*, followed by an agreement slot manifested by one of the noun suffixes from class *<-unú>* which are listed in Table 1 in section 3.1.

(68) *énan-i-ny* *moul*
he-POSS-cl8SG work
'His work.'

3.3 DEMONSTRATIVE

Demonstratives are unmodified words which substitute for all types of noun phrases in clauses, and which signal third person reference. Demonstratives show distinction of number (singular or plural) and gender (noun class). They are listed in Table 3.

3.4 VERB

3.4.0 VERB STRUCTURE FOR VERB CLASSES 1-6

Verbs are a class of bound stems which occur in the head slot of verb phrases. They are identified by their occurrence with two large classes of person-number-gender affixes which are symbolised as *<n->* 'subject', which marks agent or initiator, and *<-unú>* 'object' which marks patient, experiencer and recipient.

It would be possible to follow Fortune (1942) and analyse these affixes as separate particles, but the above approach is simpler and makes for less skewing between the grammatical and phonological hierarchies. These affixes are very closely bound to the verb stem phonologically, as indicated by the morphophonemic rules in section 2 and rules 19 through 24 in this section.

TABLE 3: PRONOUN AND DEMONSTRATIVE NOUN CLASS MATRIX

	PRONOUN				DEMONSTRATIVE[1]	
Noun	Singular		Plural			
Class	Proximal	Distal	Proximal	Distal	Singular	Plural
1	*ébab*	*babi*	*ébúsab*	*babasi*	*ébúdak*	*ébúsúdak*
2	*éblab*	*babli*	*éblalúb*	*balbi*	*ébúlúdak*	*élbúdak*
3	*égag*	*gagi*	*égsag*	*gagasi*	*égúdak*	*égúsúdak*
4	*okok*	*kwakwi*	*owou*	*wawi*	*oukudak*	*oudak*
5	*omom*	*mami*	*éblab*	*babali*	*omudak*	*ébúlúdak*
6	*énan*	*nani*	*ébab*	*babi*	*énúdak*	*ébúdak*
7	*énan*	*nani*	*omom*	*mami*	*énúdak*	*omudak*
8	*enyeny*	*nyanyi*	*echech*	*chachi*	*enyédak*	*echédak*
9	*énap*	*papi*	*ésas*	*sasi*	*opudak*	*ésúdak*
10	*élal*	*lali*	*oguhogw*	*gwaguhi*	*élúdak*	*oguhudak*
11	*état*	*tati*	*ogogw*	*gwagwi*	*étúdak*	*ogudak*
12	*ohohw*	*hwahwi*	*éhlah*	*hlahli*	*ohudak*	*éhúlúdak*
13	*éhah*	*hahi*	*ohoh*	*haehi*	*éhédak*	*éhúdak*
14	*ésas*	*sasi*	*ésas*	*sasi*	*ésúdak*	*ésúdak*
15	*égnag*	*gani*	*ogohuh*	*gwaguhi*	*égúndak*	*oguhudak*
16	*égúgún*	*gani*	*égúgún*	*gani*	*égúndak*	*égúndak*
17	*énan*	*nani*	*omom*	*mami*	*énúdak*	*omudak*
	okok	*kwakwi*	*owou*	*wawi*	*oukudak*	*oudak*
18	(same as Class 2, since *wabel* 'village' is Class 2)					

1. Forms given are 'nearer to speaker than hearer'; there is another set of demonstratives for the situation 'nearer to speaker than hearer'. They are formed from the above demonstratives by the rule *-dak* → *-buk*.

There are eight classes of verbs which use different strategies for combining the two classes of affixes mentioned above. It is possible to summarise these eight classes in a general bi-dimensional array as indicated in Table 4. The details of each class will be described later in this section.

TABLE 4: GENERAL VERB STRUCTURE

(Subject)	(Mood)	(Object$_1$)	Verb Nucleus	(Object$_2$)
<n->	*{u-}* 'irrealis' *{a-}* 'realis'	*<unú->*	verb root 1-6 verb stem 1,2 *-no* 'to burn' *-k* 'to give'	*<-unú>*

(Benefactive)	(Directional)
{-m) 'benefactive' + *<-unú>/-ag* 'here'	*-u* 'displaced reference' *{-i}* 'motion toward speaker' *{-uk)* 'permanent aspect'

Rules:

1. One of $Object_1$ or $Object_2$ can occur with the appropriate class of transitive verbs, and is obligatory with certain of these classes, but the two objects never co-occur.

2. Mood occurs with every verb class except class 5.

3. Subject occurs with every verb class except class 5, in which $Object_2$ is obligatory and no other items can occur.

The verb roots 1-6 correspond to the six verb classes which will be listed below. Examples of each type of verb root are included in the description of each verb class. Verb stems 1 and 2 are described in sections 4.6 and 4.7 respectively.

Each of the verbal affixes mentioned in Table 4 will now be described in turn.

3.4.1 PERSON-NUMBER SUBJECT PREFIXES <*n*->

The class <*n*-> consists of all the singular and plural verb prefixes listed in Table 1, marking third person grammatical subject and also the set of prefixes described in Table 5, which are the basic person-number prefixes used for marking first and second person grammatical subject.

TABLE 5: <*n*-> MATRIX

Person:	Singular	Dual	Plural
first	*{i-}*	*w-*	*m-*
second	*ny-*	*p-*	*p-*

In Table 5, *{i-}* 'first singular' has two allomorphs. With irrealis mood, *i-* occurs, and with realis mood *y-* occurs. This alternation is illustrated in (69) and (70).

(69) *Kaman* *i-nak* *wabél.*
tomorrow 1SG SUBJ IRR-go village
'Tomorrow I will go to the village.'

(70) *Nabotik* *y-a-nak* *wabél.*
yesterday 1SG SUBJ-R-go village
'Yesterday I went to the village.'

The form *h-* 'third person masculine plural' which is used in the Buki, Chamaun and Lohuhwim dialects has the alternate form *m-* which is generally used in the Yamil dialect.

Yamil:
(71) *Amom* *m-a-nak.*
they M 3PL.M SUBJ-R-go
'They (male) went.'

Buki, Chamaun and Lohuhwim:
(72) *Amom* *h-a-nak.*
they M 3PL.M SUBJ-R-go
'They (male) went.'

This class of prefixes symbolised by *<n->* function as the subject marker for all classes of verbs which are marked for subject. These prefixes mark agent, which is usually animate, and also initiator or inanimate agent. Less frequently, they mark experiencer and patient.

Example (73) illustrates the use of *h-* 'class 13 subject marker' to mark initiator. This prefix is not found in Table 5 but is one of the members of *<n->* which is a verb prefix listed in Table 1.

(73) *Echah* *h-a-lali*
rain cl13 SUBJ-R-rain
'Rain rains/rain comes down.'

Example (74) illustrates the use of *<n->* encoding experiencer.

(74) *Énan* *n-a-leh.*
3SG.M 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cry
'He cried.'

Example (75) illustrates the use of *<n->* to encode patient.

(75) *Okok* *kw-a-gak.*
3SG.F 3SG.F SUBJ-R-die
'She died.'

Example (76) illustrates the use of *<n->* as agent.

(76) *Énan* *n-a-k-anú* *kakwich.*
3SG.M 3SG.M SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ food
'He gave him food.'

3.4.2 PERSON-NUMBER OBJECT SUFFIXES *<-unú>*

The members of *<-unú>* 'object marker' in Table 6 mark grammatical object for all first and second person referents and for the third person referents of the 'human' nouns: those listed in noun classes 4 ('female'), 7 ('male') and 8 ('mixed gender') in Table 1: Noun Class Matrix 1. By definition *<-unú>* also includes all the noun suffixes listed in Table 1. These suffixes include the forms which mark third person singular and plural object for all the noun classes not accounted for in Table 6.

TABLE 6: *<-unú>* MATRIX

Person:		Singular	Dual	Plural
first		*-uwe/-owe*	*-ohu*	*-apú*
second		*-enyú/-inyú*		*-epú*
third	masculine	*-unú/-anú*		*-om*
	feminine	*-ok/-uk*		*-ou*
	mixed	*-eny/-iny*		*-ech/-ich*

If the verb stem ends in a vowel or is *-ø-* 'hit, kill', the initial vowel of each of the above suffixes is dropped. If the verb stem ends in a consonant, the *<-unú>* suffix for any third person referent not in the *<-unú>* matrix above is obtained by taking the corresponding noun suffix listed in Table 1 and adding *u*.

The class *<-unú>* 'object marker' is a marker which encodes patient, experiencer and recipient. In (77) *<-unú>* encodes recipient.

(77) *Ch-a-k-anú* *mahich.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ meat
'They gave him meat.'

Example (78) illustrates *<-unú>* encoding experiencer. The form *-tú* is not found in Table 4 as such but is the noun class 11 singular suffix form from Table 1: Noun Class Matrix 1, which is by definition a part of *<-unú>*. Since the verb *elgei-* 'be afraid' is a class 6 verb, it is not marked for subject.

(78) *Elgei-tú.*
be afraid-cl11 SG OBJ
'Fear hit the dog' or 'The dog is afraid.'

In (79), *<-unú>* encodes patient.

(79) *Echech* *ch-a-ø-pú.*
3PL.MIX 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-hit-1PL OBJ
'They hit us.'

When *<-unú>* 'object marker' occurs preceding the verb nucleus, as it does in verb class 1, then a number of morphophonemic changes occur, depending on whether the verb stem or verb root begins with a consonant or a vowel. These changes are described and illustrated in a number of morphophonemic rules following the description of each of the affixes in Table 4.

The function of the subject and object markers in the verb is summarised as follows. One or the other of the forms *<n->* 'subject marker' and *<-unú>* 'object marker' is present in every verb, and with transitive verbs it is possible to have both present in the same verb. The functions of the two classes of affixes are different, but they partially overlap. The class *<n->* marks agent or initiator and less frequently, patient or experiencer, while the class *<-unú>* marks patient, experiencer or recipient. Whenever *<-unú>* functions as experiencer, the verbs – all from class 6 – are never prefixed with *<n->*. That is, class 6 verbs are not marked for grammatical subject. Instead they are marked with a member of *<-unú>* which encodes experiencer.

3.4.3 Realis-Irrealis Prefixes

The mood marker is obligatory in all verbs except class 6. Only two moods, realis and irrealis, will be discussed here. The other two moods, imperative and interrogative, are discussed in sections 6.2.2 and 6.2.3 respectively. The basic forms for realis and irrealis mood are *a-* and *u-* respectively. The surface forms are generated by morphophonemic rules described and illustrated in rules 1-8 of section 2.

Realis mood is used to encode all events that occurred in the past and present time. Irrealis mood is used to encode all future events and all events that did not actually happen in the past. Irrealis mood is also used to encode explanatory information in oral narrative text. For a description of this phenomenon see Conrad (1981).

Examples (80) through (84) illustrate some of the uses of realis and irrealis moods.

Realis mood encoding a past event:

(80) *Nabotik* *ch-a-ø-nú* *n-a-gak.*
yesterday 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-hit-3SG.M OBJ 3SG.M SUBJ-R-die
'Yesterday they hit him, and he died.'

Realis mood encoding a present event:

(81) *Namaitú* *ch-e-alúb.*
now 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-sing and dance
'They are singing and dancing now.'

Irrealis mood encoding a future event:

(82) *Kaman* *ch-ú-naki.*
tomorrow 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-come
'They will come tomorrow.'

Irrealis mood encoding an event which did not occur in past time:

(83) *Nabotik* *wo* *n-ú-naki* *e.*
yesterday PAST NEG 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-come PAST NEG
'Yesterday he didn't come.'

Example (84) illustrates irrealis mood encoding events that did not occur but could have: irrealis mood encoding collateral information.

(84) RM 060
Enúdak *Huhukwil* *n-ú-pe* *ele,* *kobwi*
this SG.M Huhukwil 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-be CFC FUT NEG

énech *élpech* *ch-ú-lahe* *deke*
some 3PL.MIX people 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-walk around FUT

n-e-ø-ch *n-i-ch-ah* *yúh.*
3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-kill-3PL.MIX OBJ 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-3PL.MIX OBJ-eat completely

'If this creature Huhukwil would have remained alive, there would not be any people walking around, since he would have killed and eaten them all.'

3.4.4 Benefactive suffixes

Following Object$_2$ in Table 4 is an optional Benefactive slot manifested by *(-m)* 'benefactive' plus a member of *<-unú>* 'object marker' or the locative marker *-ag* 'here'. The morpheme *(-m)* 'benefactive' has the following allomorphs:

-ma occurs preceding members of the class *<-unú>* which begin with a consonant and have a central vowel following;

-mu occurs preceding the members of the class *<-unú>* which begin with a consonant and have a rounded vowel or *w* following, and when occurring word finally;

-m occurs elsewhere.

There is also a transitional vowel, usually *u*, preceding *(-m)* when the affixed verb stem ends in a consonant, which contradicts rule 24 below.

Example (85) illustrates the allomorph *-mu.*

(85) *Ch-a-na-mu* *bulguh.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go-BENEF pigs
'They went for pigs.'

In (86) the member of *<-unú>* that occurs following *-m* is *-ech* '3PL.MIX OBJ'

(86) CK 012
M-u-bani-m-ech *bi-ech* *yawihas.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-plant-BENEF-3PL.MIX OBJ two-3PL.MIX gardens
'We will plant two gardens for them.'

{-m} also encodes accompaniment, as in (87).

In example (87) the item *wok* 'no' enclosed in parentheses is optional.

(87) NN 281
Yek *i-na-m-enyú* *(wok)* *o* *wok?*
1SG 1SG SUBJ IRR-go-BENEF-2SG OBJ NEG NEG NEG
'May I go with you, or not?'

3.4.5 DIRECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The directionals in Table 4 are *-u* 'displaced reference', *{-i}* 'motion toward speaker', and *{-úk}* 'permanent aspect'.

The morpheme *-u* is used to signal motion to a place distinct from that where the speaker and hearer are at the time of speaking. It is used only with motion verbs or verbs that are semantically compatible with a motion verb.

(88) *Kedek* *i-nak-u.*
later today 1SG SUBJ IRR-go-D REF
'I will go later today.'

(89) *Kamon* *i-hw-ech-u.*
tomorrow 1SG SUBJ IRR-hold-cl8PL OBJ-D REF
'Tomorrow I will take the things and bring them to where you (the hearer) will be.'

The morpheme *{-i}* 'motion toward speaker', is used to signal motion in the direction of the speaker. There are two different allomorphs:

-li occurs following vowels;

-i occurs elsewhere.

This morpheme *{-i}* is illustrated in (90) and (91).

(90) NH 043
W-a-hw-ech-i.
1DL SUBJ-R-hold-cl8PL OBJ-MOTION TOWARD SPEAKER
'We two held the things and came' or 'We two brought the things.'

(91) *I-tal-um-ona-li* *yeguh.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-buy-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ-MOTION TOWARD SPEAKER fish
'I will buy the fish for him and bring it.'

The morpheme *(-úk)* is semantically complex. Although usually glossed as PERM (permanent aspect) for brevity, it does not mean merely permanent aspect. When occurring with an intransitive verb, it signals that the agent went to another place and remained there. When occurring with a verb that takes a patient as well as an agent, however, this suffix signals not only that the patient remained at a given location, but also that the agent did not remain there but went to a different location. The suffix *-úk* can only occur with patients that are not in control. This list includes inanimate objects, dead people, small babies, sleeping people, and drunken people. *-úk* has an allomorph *-gúk* which occurs following vowels.

In (92) the suffix *-úk* means not only that the sago leaves remained but that the speaker went to another location. The location suffix *-ag* does not occur in the class *<-unú>* but has presumably derived from *agúndak* 'here'.

(92) *Y-a-húlú-búk-úm-ag-úk.* *wah.*
1SG SUBJ-R-cl13PL OBJ-put-BENEF-here-PERM sun
'I put the [*lohulúh* 'sago leaves'] in the sun and they will remain there, and I went.'

(93) *Énan* *n-a-nak-úk.*
3SG.M 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go-PERM
'He went (and did not return).'

Before describing each of the eight verb classes in detail, the morphophonemics involving object affixation will be described: in considering the examples, reference should be made to Tables 1 and 2.

3.4.6 MORPHEMIC ALTERNATION IN VERB STEMS

There are a number of changes in verb stems which occur when the verb occurs with an object affix (a member of *<-unú>* defined in the context of Table 6). Many of these changes are explained by the morphophonemic rules in section 2. Many of the others are explained by the following additional partially ordered rules which apparently apply only at morpheme boundaries. The rules are numbered beginning with number 19, which follows the last morphophonemic rule of section 2, number 18.

RULE 19: *w*- deletion: C(C)# + *w* → C(C).

Examples (94) through (97) illustrate Rule 19. (94) first establishes the presence of a verb stem initial *w* in the verb *-weh* 'to bake, burn'.

(94) *Ch-o-weh* *bret.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-bake bread
'They baked bread.'

In (95), Rule 19 is applied. That is, the *w* in *weh* 'bake' has been deleted.

(95) *Ch-o-gún-eh* *buligún.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl15SG OBJ-bake small pig
'They baked the small pig.'

(96) *Ch-e-hl-eh* *lohulúh.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl12PL OBJ-burn sago leaves
'They burned the sago leaves.'

(97) *Ch-e-lb-eh* *nalúb.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl2PL OBJ-burn fence
'They burned the fence.'

From this point on in the examples illustrating rules 19 through 24, each example shows a free object which is then replaced by the corresponding object affix to show the change which occurs. In examples (98) and (99) this same rule is illustrated using the verb *-wak* 'to eat', which also undergoes an idiosyncratic stem change from final *k* to *h*.

(98) *Ch-a-wak* *nyúlúb.* → *Ch-a-lb-ah.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-eat intestines 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl2PL OBJ-eat
'They ate intestines.' 'They ate them (intestines).'

(99) *Ch-a-wak* *woligún.* → *Ch-a-gn-ah.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-eat food 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl17PL-eat
'They ate food.' 'They ate it (food).'

RULE 20: *k* deletion: *k#* +C → C

(100) *N-a-lak* *wilpat.* → *N-a-la-tú.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-build house 3SG.M SUBJ-R-build-cl11SG OBJ
'He built a house.' 'He built it (a house).'

(101) *Ch-a-tupak* *nadúlúlúh.* → *Ch-a-tupa-lúh.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cut vines 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cut-cl12PL OBJ
'They cut the vines.' 'They cut them (vines).'

(102) *I-nak* → *I-na-m-enyú.*
1SG SUBJ-IRR-go 1SG SUBJ-IRR-go-BENEF-2SG OBJ
'I will go.' 'I will go with you.'

RULE 21: *ú*- deletion: C_1*ú*C_2# +V → C_1C_2V

(103) *Ny-i-jigúl* *nyih.* → *Ny-i-jigl-eh.*
2SG SUBJ-IMP-light fire 2SG SUBJ-IMP-light-cl13SG OBJ
'You light a fire.' 'You light it (fire).'

(104) *N-e-chúbúl* *ayag.* → *N-e-chúbl-agú.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-break leg 3SG.M SUBJ-R-break-cl3SG OBJ
'He broke his leg.' 'He broke it (his leg).'

RULE 22: *lh* metathesis: *lh#* → *hl#*

In (105) *lh* remains as it is, because there is no morpheme break following:

(105) *N-a-lhwas.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-run away
'He ran away.'

However in (106) the rule applies because of the morpheme boundary. Rules 19 and 21 have also applied in this example, deleting the *w* in *-wak* (which then becomes *-ah*; see comments on (115) below) and the *ú* in *lúh*, respectively.

(106) *Kobwi* *ch-u-wak* *wimulúh.* → *Kobwi*
FUT NEG 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-eat Chinese taro FUT NEG

ch-u-lúh-ah. $\xrightarrow{19,21}$ *Kobwi* *ch-u-lh-ah*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-eat FUT NEG 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-eat

$\xrightarrow{22}$ *Kobwi* *ch-u-hl-ah.*
FUT NEG 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-eat
'They will not eat it (Chinese taro).'

In (107) Rules 19 and 21 have deleted the *w* in *-weh* and the *ú* in *-lúh*:

(107) *Kobwi* *h-u-weh* *ohwailúh.* $\xrightarrow{19,21}$
FUT NEG 3PL.M SUBJ-IRR-bake breadfruit
'The men will not bake the breadfruit.'

Kobwi *h-ú-lh-eh* $\xrightarrow{22}$
FUT NEG 3PL.M SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-bake
'The men will not bake them (breadfruit)'

Kobwi *h-ú-hl-eh.*
FUT NEG 3PL.M SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-bake
'The men will not bake them (breadfruit).'

RULE 23: Semivowel insertion

In this rule, the following two definitions are used:

V_r is defined as *u, o* (rounded vowels)

V_u is defined as *ú, é, a, i, e, ae* (unrounded vowels)

$$V_r\# + V \rightarrow V_rwV$$
$$V_u\# + V_r \rightarrow V_uwV_r$$
$$V_u\# + V_u \rightarrow V_uyV_u$$

This rule generally does not apply in fast speech.

Rule 23 is ordered with respect to rule 24. That is, rule 23 must apply first and Rule 24 apply afterward, and never the reverse. This is illustrated by (108):

(108) *H-a-blo* *loas.* $\xrightarrow{23}$ *H-a-blo<u>w</u>-agas.*
3PL.M SUBJ-R-cut down trees 3PL.M SUBJ-R-cut down-cl2.3PL OBJ
'The men cut down trees.' 'The men cut them down (trees).'

(109) *N-a-ble* *loas.* → *N-a-bley-agas.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cut poles 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cut-cl2PL OBJ
'He cut poles.' 'He cut them (poles).'

In (110) the rules $V_u\# + V_r \rightarrow V_uwV_r$ and $V_r\# + V \rightarrow V_rwV$ are both illustrated. In the first stage rule 19 applies to delete the *w* from the verb stem *-wak* 'eat' and then the stem-final *k* changes to *h*.

(110) *Ch-a-wak* *yamigou* $\xrightarrow{19}$ *Ch-a-ou-ah* $\xrightarrow{23}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-eat flies 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl4PL OBJ-eat
'They ate flies.'

Ch-a-wou-wah.
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl4PL OBJ-eat
'They ate them (flies).'

RULE 24: Vowel insertion

$(C_1)C_2\# + C_3\ V_1 \rightarrow (C_1)\ C_2\ V_2\ C_3\ V_1$

If C_3 is *w*, then V_2, the inserted vowel, is *o*. If C_3 is *m*, then V_2 is *u*. Otherwise V_2 is the same vowel as V_1. In (111) Rule 21 has been applied first (reducing *-búl* 'cl2SG OBJ' to *bl*), producing the sequence *bl#b*.

(111) *Ch-a-búk* *nyúbel* $\xrightarrow{21}$ *Ch-a-bl-búk.* $\xrightarrow{24}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-put intestine 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl2SG OBJ-put
'They put the intestine (there).

Ch-a-blú-búk.
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl2SG OBJ-put
'They put it (the intestine) (there).'

In (112) Rules 21 and 22 have also been applied, eliminating the vowel in *-lúh* and then changing *lh* to *hl*.

(112) *N-a-búk* *lohulúh.* → *N-a-lúh-búk.* $\xrightarrow{21,22}$
3SG.M SUBJ-R-put sago leaves 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl12PL OBJ-put
'He put sago leaves (there).'

N-a-hl-búk. $\xrightarrow{24}$ *N-a-hlú-búk.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl12PL OBJ-put 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl12PL OBJ-put
'He put them (sago leaves) (there).'

(113) *N-a-búk* *plag.* → *N-a-g-búk.* →
3SG.M SUBJ-R-put plank 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-put
'He put planks (there).'

N-a-gú-búk.
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-put
'He put them (planks) (there).'

In (114) Rule 24 has applied first, and then the stem changed from *-wak* to *-wah*. Had Rule 19 applied first, the result would have been *chatah*.

(114) *Ch-a-wak* *nobat.* → *Ch-a-t-wak.* $\xrightarrow{24}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-eat dog 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl11SG OBJ-eat
'They ate a dog.'

Ch-a-to-wak. $\xrightarrow{19,23}$ *Ch-a-to-wah.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl11SG OBJ-eat 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl11SG OBJ-eat
'They ate it (a dog).'

However, there are a few verb stem changes which are not accounted for by the above Rules 19-24. There are no known rules which will account for the following six idiosyncratic verb stem changes, each of which is illustrated in a single example in (115) through (120). All known examples of this phenomenon are listed here.

In example (115) the change *ch-a-gw-wak* to *ch-a-gw-ak* could be handled by rule 19, but the change from *-ak* to *-ah* for the verb stem 'eat' cannot be handled by any known rule and therefore is listed as an exception.

(115)	*Ch-a-wak*	*yabigw.*	→	*Ch-a-gw-ah.*
	3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-eat	soup		3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl1 1PL OBJ-eat
	'They are eating soup.'			'They are eating it (soup).'
(116)	*N-a-klipu*	*anan*	→	*N-a-klip-anú.*
	3SG.M SUBJ-R-tell	3SG.M		3SG.M SUBJ-R-tell-3SG.M OBJ
	'He told him.'			'He told him.'
(117)	*N-a-kú*	*anan*	→	*N-a-k-anú.*
	3SG.M SUBJ-R-give	3SG.M		3SG.M SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ
	'He gave (it) to him.'			'He gave (it) to him.'

In the previous three examples (115) to (117), there seems to be no difference in meaning between the two forms other than the fact that the object has more prominence when it occurs as the free form. However, in (118) to (120) there is a slight semantic or pragmatic difference which is specific to the particular verb involved. In (118), for example, the form with the free object is used in the case where there is some doubt whether the speaker knows the woman involved. When the second form is used there is no doubt: the speaker knows both the husband and his wife.

(118)	*N-a-suh*	*okok.*	→	*N-a-hw-ok.*
	3SG.M SUBJ-R-hold	3SG.F		3SG.M SUBJ-R-hold-3SG.F OBJ
	'He married her.'			'He married her.'

In (119), the form with the free object is obligatory if the object referent is visible. However, if the object referent is inanimate this distinction is much less clear cut.

(119)	*H-a-bo*	*énan.*	→	*H-a-ø-nú.*
	3PL.M SUBJ-R-hit/kill	3SG.M		3PL.M SUBJ-R-hit/kill-3SG.M OBJ
	'The men hit/killed him.'			'The men hit/killed him.'

In (120), there is a slight semantic contrast present. The free object form is used in situations where the object is new information, such as when someone does not see the pig. The bound pronoun form is used if the object is given information, in such contexts as people looking for a pig and then finding it.

(120)	*Ch-a-tik*	*buwul.*	OR	*Ch-a-túl-úl.*
	3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-see	pig		3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-see-cl10SG OBJ
	'They saw a pig.'			'They saw it (the pig).'

The following two rules apply only to certain object affixes belonging to the class *<-unú>* 'object marker' when prefixed to class 1 and 3 verb stems beginning with a vowel. Since they do not apply to the entire language they will not be included in the numbering system with the previous 24 morphophonemic rules.

(i) $\#V_1h\# + V_2 \rightarrow h\#V_2$

In (121) the verb *wak* 'eat' has also undergone the stem change *wak* → *ah* noted above.

(121) *Nobat* *t-a-wak* *hah.* → *Nobat* *t-a-ah-ah.* $\xrightarrow{i}$
dog cl1 1SG SUBJ-R-eat finger dog cl1 1SUBJ-R-cl3SG OBJ-eat
'The dog ate a finger.' 'The dog ate it (a finger).'

Nobat *t-a-h-ah.*
dog cl1 1SG SUBJ-R-cl3SG OBJ-eat
'The dog ate it (a finger).'

In some cases, presumably to avoid ambiguity, the rule does not apply. For instance, in (122), if the rule were to apply, reducing *-eh* to *h*, the form would be *t-a-h-ah*, which would be ambiguous. It could mean either 'The dog ate fingers' or 'The dog ate a finger'.

(122) *Nobat* *t-a-wak* *heh.* → *Nobat* *t-a-eh-ah.*
dog cl1 1SG SUBJ-R-eat fingers dog cl1 1SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-eat
'The dog ate fingers.' 'The dog ate them (fingers).'

(ii) #s# + V → *gas* V

This rule applies only to class 3 object affixes in the Chamaun dialect when prefixed to class 3 verb stems. In (123) the verb stem has changed from *wak* to *ah*.

(123) *N-a-wak* *dewas.* → *N-a-s-wak* →
3SG.M SUBJ-R-eat faeces 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-eat
'He ate faeces.'

N-a-s-ah. $\xrightarrow{ii}$ *N-a-gas-ah.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-eat 3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-eat
'He ate it (faeces).'

3.4.7 STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

Verbs are divided into eight classes on the basis of affixation with members of the classes *<n->* 'subject marker' and/or *<-unú>* 'object marker' and occurrence with free subjects and/or free objects, as indicated in Table 7.

In every case the members of classes *<n->* and *<-unú>* show obligatory agreement in number and gender with the nouns to which they refer. The summary, Table 4, indicated some of the general features of these eight verb classes, which are shown in Table 7. Each class will now be described in detail, since the differences in affixation and co-occurrence restrictions are considerable. The verb nucleus for each verb class will be filled by the verb root corresponding to that verb class. There may be other verb stems which are fillers as well.

Class 1 is a relatively small class of transitive verbs in which the subject prefix from the class *<n->* is followed by a mood marker and then by an obligatory object prefix from the class *<-unú>* which is followed by the verb root:

Subject	Mood	Object	Verb Nucleus
<n->	*(ú-)* 'irrealis'	*<unú->*	verb root
	(a-) 'realis'		

TABLE 7: VERB CLASS MATRIX

	Occur with obligatory *<n->* 'subject marker' prefix preceding mood slot Transitive				Intransitive	No *<n->* 'subject marker' nor mood slot Stative
	Occur with *<-unú>* 'object marker'				No *<-unú>* 'object marker'	Occur with obligatory *<-unú>* 'object marker'
	Obligatory object *<-unú>*		Optional object *<-unú>*			
	prefix	suffix	prefix	suffix		
Optional Free Subject	1	2	3	4 (8)[1]	5	6
Obligatory Free Subject				(7)[1]		

1. Verb classes in parentheses have a very limited number of members; so far only one each. Class 4 differs from Class (8) in that (8) has two object slots, both manifested by a member of the class *<-unú>*, while Class 4 has only one.

In (124-126) the free object is optional, since it is marked with an object marked in the verb.

(124) *H-a-b-ah* *(oub).*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl6PL OBJ-eat coconuts
'He ate (coconuts).'

(125) *N-a-bal-ah* *(abal).*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl5PL OBJ-drink water
'He drank (water).'

(126) *N-a-ny-ah* *(obutiny).*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl8SG OBJ-eat long yam
'He ate (a long yam).'

Class 2 verbs are a relatively large class for which both subject prefix and object suffix are obligatory:

Subject	Mood	Verb Nucleus	Object	(Directional)
<n->	*{ú-}* 'irrealis'	verb root 2	*<-unú>*	*{-u}* 'displaced reference'
		or		
	{a-} 'realis'	verb stem 2		*{-i}* 'motion toward speaker'

(127) *N-a-ø-nú.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-hit-3SG.M OBJ
'He hit him.'

In (127), this zero verb stem meaning 'hit' can also mean 'kill'.

(128) SA 157
Mamakikw *kw-a-hw-ab* *okub.*
mother 3SG.F SUBJ-R-hold-cl6PL OBJ firewood ignited
'The mother held the piece of burning wood.'

(129) NH 043
Ohwak *w-a-hw-ech-i.*
1DL 1DL SUBJ-R-hold-cl8PL OBJ-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER
'We two brought the things.'

(130) *Kamon* *i-hw-ech-u.*
tomorrow 1SG SUBJ IRR-hold-cl8PL OBJ-D REF
'Tomorrow I will bring the things to you at another place.'

Class 3 verbs are a relatively large class of transitive verbs occurring with optional object prefixes:

Subject	Mood	(Object)	Verb Nucleus	(Benefactive)
<n->	*{ú-}* 'irrealis'	*<-unú>*	verb root 3	*{-m}* 'benefactive'
	{a-} 'realis'		verb stem 1	+ *<-unú>* or *-ag* 'locational'

(Directional)
-u 'displaced reference'
{-i} 'direction toward speaker'
-úk 'remain'

Verb stem 1 is described in section 4.6.

(131) *M-ú-hlú-búk* *(ulalúh).*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-put posts
'We will put (the posts) down (there).'

OR: *M-ú-búk* *(ulalúh).*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-cl12PL OBJ-put posts
'We will put (them) (there).'

(132) *Owou* *w-i-chu-lúh* *(kakwich).*
3PL.F 3PL.F SUBJ-IRR-cl8PL OBJ-cook food
'They (women) will cook the food.'

OR: *W-i-lúh* *(kakwich).*
3PL.F SUBJ-IRR-cook food
'They (women) will cook the food.'

(133) *N-é-bal-ulukw-i* *(utabél).*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl5PL OBJ-put in pocket-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER money
'He put the money in his pocket and came.'

(134) *Ch-u-guhu-sah-u.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-cl10PL OBJ-carry on shoulders-D REF
'They will carry them (*bulguh* 'pigs') on their shoulders to where you (the hearer) are going.'

In (134) there is vowel insertion just before the benefactive marker *-m* as described in Rule 24 in this section. Both the benefactive and directional slots are present.

(135) *I-gasa-búk-um-ana-gúk.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-cl3PL-put-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ-remain
'I will put the firewood (there) for him and it will remain and I will go.'

In (136) again there is vowel insertion before *-m* 'benefactive'. Since class 8 plural object is the unmarked form for objects, it is not possible to specify what the object is.

(136) *I-chu-sah-um-ona-li.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-cl8PL OBJ-carry on shoulders-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER
'I will carry the things on my shoulder for him and come.'

(137) *I-chu-sah-um-oné-gu.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-cl8PL OBJ-carry on shoulders-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ-D REF
'I will carry the things on my shoulder for him to another place where he and you (the hearer) will be.'

Class 4 verbs are a relatively large class of transitive verbs which occur with an obligatory subject prefix and optional object, benefactive and directional suffixes:

Subject	Mood	Verb Nucleus	(Object)	(Benefactive)
<-n->	*(u-)* 'irrealis'	verb root 4	*<-unú>*	*-m* 'benefactive'
	(a-) 'realis'	verb stem 2		+ *<-unú>* or *-ag* 'locational'

(Directional)
-u 'displaced reference'
(-i) 'direction toward speaker'
-úk 'remain'

Verb stem 2 is described in section 4.6. The benefactive tagmeme is manifested by the benefactive marker *-m* followed by a member of the class *<-unú>* which signals the benefactee.

Rules:

1. All optional tagmemes can co-occur.

2. Only certain class 4 verb roots can occur with benefactive and directional tagmemes. These are the verbs which occur with an optional source or goal in the case frame of the verb.

In (138), (139) and (140) the verb stem for 'see' has two variant forms, *-tik* and *-túl*, depending on whether it occurs with a free object or with an object suffix. This verb is one of the six irregular verb stems previously discussed in the context of examples (115)-(120).

(138) *N-a-tik* *nyak.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-see 2SG
'He saw you.'

(139) *N-a-túl-inyú.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-see-2SG OBJ
'He saw you.'

(140) *N-a-túlúgún-u.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-look-D REF
'He looked over there.'

(141) *M-u-di.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-pick
'We will pick (it).'

(142) *M-u-di* *kopi.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-pick coffee
'We will pick coffee.'

(143) *M-u-di-yeny.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-pick-cl8PL OBJ
'We will pick it (coffee).'

(144) *Ny-ú-galúk-ém-anú.*
2SG SUBJ-IMP-return-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ
'You give (the things) back to him.'

In (145) every optional slot is present.

(145) NZ 008
Ali *doumun* *ch-a-núk-as-um-ech-i.*
and now today 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-pull-cl9PL OBJ-BENEF-3PL.MIX OBJ-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER
'And today they pulled the slit gong drums for the others (in the direction of the speaker).'

Again in (146) every optional slot is present.

(146) *M-u-di-yeny-um-ech-úk.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-pick-cl8PL OBJ-BENEF-3PL.MIX OBJ-PERM
'We will pick it (coffee) for them and it will remain and we will go.'

(147) *M-o-nak* *m-u-di-yúk* *kopi.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-go 1PL SUBJ-IRR-pick-PERM coffee
'We will go and pick coffee and it will remain and we will go.'

Examples (148) and (149) illustrate the relative ease with which Tok Pisin verbs are incorporated into the overall verb system. For more discussion on these verbs see section 4.6, verb stem 2.

(148) NX 011
(Owou) *w-o-ne-takis-um-eny.*
3PL.F 3PL.F SUBJ-R-do-tax-BENEF-cl8SG OBJ
'The women assessed themselves for the purpose of buying it (a cow).'

(149) NT 047
Ipak *p-e-ne-lainim-apú.*
2PL 2PL SUBJ-R-do-teach-1PL OBJ
'You taught us.'

Class 5 verbs are a relatively large class of intransitive verbs. They occur with an obligatory subject prefix and with optional benefactive and directional affixes, but never with an object affix:

Subject	Mood	Verb Nucleus	(Benefactive)	(Directional)
<n->	*{ú-}* 'irrealis'	verb root 5	*-m* 'benefactive'	*-u* 'displaced reference'
	{a-} 'realis'	verb stem 2	*+<-unú>*	*{-i}* 'motion toward speaker'
				-úk 'remain'

Rules:

1. Benefactive cannot occur if verb nucleus is manifested by verb stem 2.
2. Benefactive occurs only with a certain subset of verb root 5.
3. If benefactive occurs, then an instrumental-benefactive tagmeme must occur following the verb.
4. If benefactive occurs, any verb stem final *k* is deleted.

(150) *Yah* *h-é-ne-pas.*
road cl13SG SUBJ-R-do-blocked
'The road is blocked.'

(151) RK 005
At-úb *b-a-kús-úk* *ulah.*
one-cl6SG/PL cl6SG/PL SUBJ-R-be-PERM jungle
'One (coconut) was still there in the jungle.'

(152) *Omom* *h-a-nak-úk* *namaitú.*
3PL.M 3PL.M SUBJ-R-go-remain now
'Now the men went and stayed.'

(153) HO 012
N-a-nú *elmatokw* *ch-a-nak-u.*
3SG.M-R-and woman 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go-D REF
'He and his wife went there (to another place).'

In (154) the verb stem final *k* in *nak* 'go' has been deleted, in accordance with Rule 20, following the last bi-dimensional array.

(154) SC 063
Ch-a-na-mu *bulguh.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go-BENEF pigs
'They went to get pigs.'

(155) NN 011
Wabigún *m-ú-tanomo-li.*
afternoon 1PL SUBJ-IRR-return-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER
'We will return in the afternoon.'

(156) *Jogai-we-li* *y-a-pwe-ik* *wabél.*
old-1SG-one who 1SG SUBJ-R-be-PERM village
'I am an old person and so I stay at the village.'

(157) *Yek* *i-na-m-onú.*
1SG 1SG SUBJ IRR-go-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ
'I will go for him (on his behalf)' OR 'I will go with him.'

Class 6 verbs consist of a small number of stative verbs which usually occur with an animate experiencer encoded by a member of the class *<-unú>* 'object marker' which is suffixed to the verb root:

Verb Nucleus	Object
verb root 6	*<-unú>*

(158) *Élgei-nú.*
be afraid-3SG.M
'He is afraid.'

(159) *Élgei-tú* *(nobat).*
be afraid-cl11SG dog
'(The dog) is afraid.'

(160) *Éblany-iwe.*
be ashamed-1SG
'I am ashamed.'

(161) NN 423
Kweipan *yopw-ich* *(kakwich)....*
long time later good/mature-cl8PL garden food
'A long time later, the (garden food) will be ripe ....'

Class 7 verbs are a small class of transitive verbs with obligatory free subject, obligatory subjects and optional objects:

Subject	Mood	Verb Nucleus	(Object)
h- 'class 13 singular' (in this case *nyih* 'fire')	*ú-* 'irrealis' *a-* 'realis'	*-no* 'to burn'	*-unú*

So far this class includes only one verb stem: *-no* 'to burn'. The class is distinguished from class 4 in that class 4 verbs all have an optional free subject, while this class has an obligatory free subject, *nyih.*

(162) NB 64
(Énan) *nyih* *h-a-nú-nú.*
3SG.M fire cl13SG-R-burn-3SG.M OBJ
'The fire burned him.'

(163) *Nyih* *h-a-no.*
fire cl13SG SUBJ-R-burn
'The fire is burning.'

Class 8 consists of one member, the verb root *-kú* 'to give': therefore this class number is shown in Table 7 in parentheses. It contrasts with verb class 4 in the number of optional tagmemes which can occur, and its transformation potential. Class 8 has two possible optional object slots and an optional directional slot.

Subject	Mood	Verb Nucleus	(Object$_1$)	(Object$_2$)	(Directional)
<n->	*{ú-}* 'irrealis'	*-kú* 'give'	*<-unú>*	*<-unú>*	*-u* 'displaced reference'
	{a-} 'realis'				*{-i}* 'motion toward speaker'
					-úk 'permanently'

The Object$_1$ slot is what is termed indirect Object in traditional grammar. There is no morphological distinction between Object$_1$ and Object$_2$.

Rules:

1. All optional tagmemes can co-occur.

2. If Object$_2$ is present then Object$_1$ is obligatory.

(164) RE 084
Ali *k-o-k-e-yech-i*
and then 3SG.F SUBJ-R-give-1SG OBJ-cl8PL OBJ-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER

wilúh *buany.*
drum flute
'And then she gave me the drum and the flute.'

In (165) neither object is overtly marked in the verb. However, *elpech* 'people' manifests Object$_1$, and Object$_2$ is understood from the situational context as "things".

(165) *N-a-kú* *elpech.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-give people
'He gives (things) to people.'

In (166) Object$_1$ is manifested by *-ana* '3SG.M OBJ' and Object$_2$ by *onowip biabal* 'six two' = '8 stones (= 80 toea)'.

(166) NK 069
Ali *onowip* *bia-bal* *h-a-k-ana-li.*
so six two-cl5PL 3PL.M SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ-DIRECTION TOWARD SPEAKER
'So the men gave him 80 toea and he came.'

It seems helpful to view the various verb classes in terms of case grammar, as outlined in Fillmore (1968). The particular cases used in this analysis are taken from Grimes (1975:119ff) with slight modification.

3.4.8 SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

There is a rough correlation between the surface structure classes and their case frames, as indicated in Table 8, in which optional cases are enclosed in parentheses. Note that Patient (PAT) has been divided into two categories, Patient and Affected person (AFF). Other abbreviations are: AG Agent, INSTR Instrument, EXP Experiencer, LOC Locative, REF Referent and TEMP Temporal.

TABLE 8: CASE FRAMES FOR VARIOUS VERB STEMS

Surface Structure Class	Sample Verb Stem		Case Frame
1	*-uh*	'wash'	+AG AFF (INSTR)/(LOC)
1	*-wak*	'eat/drink'	+AG AFF (INSTR)
2	*-be*	'hit/kill'	+AG AFF (INSTR)
2	*-suh*	'hold'	+AG AFF (INSTR)
3	*-búk*	'put'	+AG (AFF) (LOC)
3	*-lúh*	'cook'	+AG (PAT) (LOC)
4	*-uwu*	'plant'	+AG (PAT) (LOC)
4	*-tik*	'see'	+EXP (REF) (LOC)
4	*-leh*	'cry'	+EXP (REF)
4	*-klipu*	'tell'	+AG (PAT) (GOAL)
4	*-klupu*	'wash'	+AG (AFF)
4	*-gakomu*	'help'	+AG (PAT) (GOAL)
4	*-di*	'pick'	+AG (AFF) (LOC)
5	*-gak*	'die'	+PAT
5	*-nak*	'go'	+AG (INSTR) (LOC) (TEMP)
5	*-wich*	'enter'	+AG (LOC)
5	*-p(w)e*	'be, remain'	+PAT (LOC)
6	*elgei-*	'be afraid'	+EXP (REF)
6	*dodogowi-*	'be strong'	+EXP (REF)
6	*éma-*	'be heavy'	+PAT
6	*ablany-*	'be ashamed'	+EXP (PAT)
6	*bulkol-*	'disappear'	+PAT
6	*klúklúk-*	'shiver'	+PAT
7	*-no*	'burn'	+AG (AFF)
8	*-kú*	'give'	+AG AFF (PAT)

Classes 1-4 clearly contrast with 5 and 6 as a unit. Classes 1-4 occur with an obligatory Agent and an optional or obligatory Patient/Affected person, with the exception of the verbs of perception such as 'see', 'hear' and 'cry' which take obligatory experiencer and optional patient. This may indicate the artificiality of this classification from the viewpoint of the Bukiyip people.

The stative verbs of class 6 are semantically distinct in that they take obligatory Experiencer or Patient.

It is also clear that class 8 *-kú* 'give' has a unique case frame with obligatory Agent and Affected person, and optional Patient.

Many of the remainder of experiencer verbs in English are expressed by noun plus verb idioms in Bukiyip.

These semantic classes of verbs based on case frames can be grouped into nine different classes which can be ordered according to the degree of transitivity, somewhat similar to the approach used by Bruce for Alamblak (Bruce 1979:345-353). In this analysis the ordering was determined by the number of participants and by the applicability of the imperative and reciprocal-reflexive transformations. Those verb classes which could not undergo these transformations were considered to have lower transitivity than those verb classes to which these transformations could be applied without difficulty. The order signifies the degree of transitivity, beginning with the least transitive and going on to the highest (case frame number 9). This order is illustrated in Table 9, which shows the acceptability of these two transformations for each verb class.

TABLE 9: SEMANTIC VERB CLASSES ORDERED ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF TRANSITIVITY

Semantic Verb Class	Representative Verb Root		Imperative Transformation	Reciprocal/Reflexive Transformation
1	*éma-*	'be heavy'	-	-
2	*-gak*	'die'	-	-
3	*-wich*	'enter'	x	-
4	*élgei-*	'be afraid'	x	-
5	*-leh*	'cry'	x	x with *meoh* 'for nothing'
	-nak	'go'	x	x with *meoh* 'for nothing'
6	*-tik*	'look at, find'	x	x
7	*-klupu*	'wash an inanimate object'	x	x
8	*-búk*	'put'	x	x
9	*-kú*	'give'	x	x

- means the transformation does not occur
x means the transformation does occur

There is a clear correlation between the acceptability of the two transformations and the degree of transitivity as determined by such factors as number of participants and occurrence with an object. If neither transformation is acceptable, as in verbs of classes 1 and 2, this correlates with verbs such as *éma-* 'heavy' and *-gak* 'die', which do not take an object and have only one participant. If only one of the two transformations is acceptable, as with verb classes 3 and 4, this correlates wtih verbs such as *-wich* 'enter' and *élgei-* 'to be afraid'. If both transformations are acceptable, as in verb classes 5 through 9, this correlates with verbs which either have more participants or which take an object or both, such as *-leh* 'cry', *-nak* 'go', *-tik* 'look at, find', *-klupu* 'wash', *-búk* 'put' and *-kú* 'give'. There is one intermediate class, class 5, which is in the middle position among the nine classes. In class 5 verbs, both transformations are acceptable, but not unconditionally so. The reciprocal/reflexive transformation is generally acceptable only if there is an additional free adverb present, as illustrated in (167) through (170). The examples marked with an asterisk are unacceptable.

(167) *Ch-a-na-nak* *meoh.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-REFL-go for nothing
'They themselves went for nothing.'

(168) **Ch-a-na-nak.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R.REFL-go
'They themselves went.'

(169) *N-e-ne-leh.* *meoh.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-REF -cry for nothing
'He himself cried for nothing.'

(170) **N-e-ne-leh.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-REF -cry
'He himself cried.'

This situation with class 5 verbs is interpreted as an intermediate state between unconditional acceptability and unacceptability of the reciprocal/reflexive transformation. Such an interpretation is somewhat strengthened by the fact that the transformation in question is acceptable with an adjunct adverb in all verbs tested in classes 6 through 9.

In the following nine case frames these abbreviations are used:

A	actor
U	undergoer
SC	scope
OUTER OBJ	outer object

1. A U
{PAT} - *éma-* 'to be heavy'

(171) *[taia]*$_{PAT}$ *éma-ny*
tyre heavy-cl8SG
'The tyre is heavy.'

2. A SC
PAT ({LOC / TEMP}) *-gak* 'die'

(172) *[Jon]*$_{PAT}$ *n-a-gak* *[wabél]*$_{LOC}$
Jon 3SG.M SUBJ-R-die village
'Jon died in the village.'

3. A U
AG LOC *-wich* 'enter'

(173) *[Énan]*$_{AG}$ *n-a-wich* *[wilpat]*$_{LOC}$
he 3SG.M SUBJ-R-enter house
'He entered the house.'

4. A U
EXP (REF) *élgei-* 'be afraid'

(174) *[Énan]*$_{EXP}$ *élgei-nú.*
he be afraid-3SG.M OBJ
'He is afraid.'

(175) *[Énan]*$_{EXP}$ *élgei-no-mu* *[nobat]*$_{REF}$
he fear-3SG.M OBJ-BENEF dog
'He is afraid of the dog.'

5. A U SC
EXP AG (PAT) ({LOC / TEMP}) *-leh* 'cry' / *-nak* 'go'

(176) *[Yek]*$_{EXP}$ *y-e-leh.*
I 1SG SUBJ-R-cry
'I cried.'

(177) *[Ch]*$_{EXP}$*-e-le-p-[onú]*$_{PAT}$ *[nabotik]*$_{TEMP}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cry-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ yesterday
'They cried for him (mourned because of his death) yesterday.'

(178) *[Yek]*$_{AG}$ *i-na-m-onú*
1SG 1SG SUBJ IRR-go-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ
'I will go for/with him.'

6. A U
EXP REF *-túl* 'see'

(179) *[Okok]*$_{EXP}$ *kw-a-túl-[únú]*$_{REF}$
she 3SG.F SUBJ-R-see-3SG OBJ
'She saw him.'

7. A U SC
AG AFF ({LOC / TEMP}) *-klupu* 'wash' (where AFF is inanimate)
-uh 'wash by pouring water' (where AFF is animate)

(180) *[Kw]*$_{AG}$*-a-klupu* *[lúseh]*$_{AFF}$
3SG.F SUBJ-R-wash clothes
'She washed clothes.'

(181) *[N]*$_{AG}$*-e-[no]*$_{AFF}$*-uh* *ébal* *[wolúb]*$_{LOC}$
3SG.M SUBJ-R-3SG OBJ-wash water river
'He washed him by pouring water, in the river.'

8. This frame is distinguished from 7 in that SC is nearly always obligatory.
A U SC
AG AFF LOC *-búk* 'put'

(182) *[N]*$_{AG}$*-a-gu-búk* *[plag]*$_{AFF}$ *[adúk]*$_{LOC}$
3SG.M SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-put planks outside
'He put the planks outside.'

9. A U OUTER OBJ
AG AFF PAT *-k* 'give food to'

(183) *[N]*$_{AG}$*-a-k-[anú]*$_{AFF}$ *[mahich]*$_{PAT}$
3SG.M SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ meat
'He gave him meat.'

3.5 ADJECTIVE

Adjectives are a class of bound stems which occur in the Modifier$_2$ or Modifier$_3$ slots of Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ (5.2.1), in the Comment slot of Topic Comment clauses (6.1.5) and in the Equational Predicate slot of Equational clauses (6.1.4). All adjectives are obligatorily suffixed to show agreement with the nouns they modify or refer to. Adjectives are subdivided on the basis of their distribution in Noun Phrases (5.2), Equational Clauses (6.1.4), and Topic Comment Clauses (6.1.5). Class 1 adjectives fill the Comment slot of Topic Comment Clauses. They consist of the adjective root followed by the noun suffix given in Table 1 in section 3.1.

Examples (184) and (185) illustrate class 1 adjectives.

(184) *Éné-dak* *élman* *yopu-nú.*
DEM cl7SG-this man good-cl7SG
'This man is healthy.'

(185) *Ouku-dak* *élmatok* *yopu-k.*
DEM cl4SG-this woman good-cl4SG
'This woman is healthy.'

Class 2 adjectives consist of adjective root plus the Adjective$_2$ suffix given in Table 1 in section 3.1. Class 2 adjectives are those which occur in Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ and in the Equational Predicate slot of Equational Clauses.

Modified Noun Phrase$_1$:

(186) *Yopu-kwi* *élmatok.*
good-cl4SG woman
'Good woman.'

(187) *Yopu-nali* *élman.*
good-cl7SG man
'Good man.'

In Equational Clauses:

(188) *Éné-dak* *élman* *yopu-nali.*
DEM cl7SG-DEM man good-cl7SG
'This man is a good man.'

(189) *Ouku-dak* *élmatok* *yopu-kwi.*
DEM cl4SG-DEM woman good-cl4SG
'This woman is a good woman.'

A further class of adjectives are derived adjectives, with structure as indicated in the following bi-dimensional array: (V indicates the word final vowel in class 12 nouns.)

Derived adjective =

Adjective Nucleus	Adjectiviser	Agreement
noun	*i* ~ V	noun suffix

That is, a derived adjective consists of an obligatory adjective nucleus slot manifested by a noun followed by an adjectiviser slot, manifested by *i* or the word final vowel in class 12 nouns, followed by an agreement slot manifested by a noun suffix which agrees with the noun manifesting the noun in the adjective nucleus slot.

These derived adjectives occur with the same endings as class 1 adjectives (i.e. noun suffix endings from Table 1 in section 3.1) and occur in the Modifier slot of Modified Noun Phrase$_2$. Some speakers prefer the head and modifier to be in the reverse order.

(190) *nehabigú* *rais-i-gú*
garden rice-ADJ-cl3SG
'A rice garden'

(191) *awehw* *kau-we-hw*
song cow-ADJ-cl12SG
'A song about a cow'

3.6 NUMERAL

Numerals are a class of bound stems occurring with the noun suffixes in Noun Class Matrix 1. Numerals occur in the Head Slot of Numeral Phrases (5.15) and in the Modifier$_1$ slot of Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ (5.2.1).

The assumed basic forms of the numeral roots are:

atú- 'one'
bia- 'two'

The particular morphophonemic rule governing the affixation of these forms is that the final vowel of the numeral assimilates to the point of articulation of the final vowel of the noun stem it modifies. Other morphophonemic rules also apply following this assimilation, such as rule 11, illustrated in (192) through (195).

(192) *atú* + *-hw* *(ulohw)* $\xrightarrow{-11}$ *otuhw*
one cl12 post one

(*ú* assimilates to *u* because of back final vowel *o* in *ulohw*).

(193) *atú* + *-m* *(utom)* → *atum* $\xrightarrow{-11}$ *otum*
one cl5 stone one

(194) *atú* + *-p* *(chuwup)* → *atup* $\xrightarrow{-11}$ *otup*
one cl9 leaf one

(195) BUT *atú* + *-p* *(labúp)* → *atúp*
one cl9 rib one

In (195) the *ú* does not change because the final vowel of *labúp* 'rib' is also a central vowel and thus the conditions for morphophonemic rule 11 are not met: therefore *a* in *atúp* does not change to *o*.

(196) *bia* + *-ch* *(batowich)* → *biech*
two cl8PL children two

(197) *bia* + *-h* *(heh)* → *bieh*
two cl13PL fingers two

(198) *bia* + *-m* *(élmom)* → *biom*
two cl7PL men two

(199) *bia* + *-gw* *(betogw)* → *biogw*
two cl11PL beds two

(200) NA 2
bia-s *ot-up* *chuwus*
two-cl9PL one-cl9SG leaves
'Three leaves' (This can also mean six kina as *chuwup* 'leaf' came to mean also one pound Australian currency and then two kina.)

Note that the root *nobati-* 'four' is an exception to the above assimilation rule:

(201) *nobati* + *-m* *(élmom)* → *nobatim*
four cl7PL men four

(202) *nobati* + *-gw* *(wilagw)* → *nobatigw*
four cl11PL houses four

There is also a similarly suffixed quantitative stem *éné-* which can mean 'one, an, some', depending partly on the noun which it modifies and partly on whether the suffix to show concordance with the noun is marked for singular or plural. This stem occurs in the Modifier$_1$ slot of Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ (5.2.1) and is important in the introduction of new information. That is, when a new participant is introduced in a narrative, it is obligatory that it be introduced with this form.

Quantitative stem:

(203) *on-owh* *wanohw*
some-cl12SG fight
'Some fights: a fight' (*wanohw* 'fight, war' is homophonous for singular and plural)

(204) *én-eny* *moul*
some-cl10SG work
'Some work' (*moul* 'work' has the same form for singular and plural)

(205) *on-ok* *élmatok*
some-cl4SG woman
'A woman'

(206) *on-om* *apam*
some-cl5SG banana
'A banana'

(207) *én-as* *apas*
some-cl5PL bananas
'Some bananas'

3.7 LOCATIVE

Locatives are a small class of free stems which occur in the Locative slot in clauses and also in the Modifier slot of Modified Locative Phrases. All members of this class observed to date are listed:

gani	'there, that place, toward, to'
énebik/énégún	'some place'
agnú/agúndak	'here; nearer to speaker than hearer'
agénobuk	'here; nearer to hearer than speaker'
lougún	'a long way away'
hélékati ~ hélék	'nearby'
kipaigúnumu	'another place'
adúk	'outside'
numun	'inside'
owiny	'lower elevation, down below'
yéhah ~ ahah	'over there'

iluh	'above, higher elevation, sky, heaven'
atap	'below, on earth'
chihah	'on top of'
chakémehah ~chúkamu	'underneath'

The first four of the above locative stems form a special subclass called locative relators. They occur in the relator slot of a Locative Relator Axis Phrase with any of the above locatives. *Yéhah ~ ahah* also has a special status in that it, along with *umu* 'place', occurs in the Locative slot of the Modified Locative Phrase.

3.8 TEMPORAL

Temporals are free or bound temporal stems. Free temporal stems occur in Time slots of clauses and in the Head slot of Serial Temporal phrases (5.14).

(208) *Nabotik* *n-é-nak.*
yesterday 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go
'He went yesterday.'

(209) RJ 174
Kamon *biyebih* *wonebih...*
tomorrow day after tomorrow two days after tomorrow
'Tomorrow, the day after and two days after ...'

Bound temporal stems occur in the Axis slot of Temporal Relator-Axis Phrases. Usually these temporal stems are plural nouns with a temporal semantic component.

(210) RJ 172
webús-abali
night-time
'at night, night time'

3.9 ADVERB

Adverbs are free or bound stems which occur in the Modifier$_1$ and Modifier$_2$ and Modifier slots of Modified Verb Phrase, Repeated Verb Phrase, and Motion Verb Phrase. There are three classes of adverbs.

Adverb$_1$:

Subject	Mood	Adverb Nucleus
n-	*ú-* 'irrealis'	*-natimogúk* 'all'
	a- 'realis'	*-nubu* 'very; completely'
		-gamu 'well'

The members of the class Adverb$_1$ are inflected forms. They are not called verbs because they do not occur independently but only with a verb. They demonstrate a strong structural dependency on the verb with which they occur. That is, they match the verb with which they occur both in person, number and mood. Although these forms are inflected very much like verbs, they are not verbs from the viewpoint of this analysis, since verbs are defined as a class of bound stems which occur in the Head slots of Verb Phrases. The above forms, although they are bound stems, do not occur in the Head slots of Verb Phrases.

Examples (211) through (213) illustrate Adverb$_1$:

(211) *Echech* *ch-a-natimogúk* *ch-a-nak.*
3PL.MIX 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-all 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go
'They all went.'

(212) *Énan* *n-a-nubu* *n-a-gak.*
3SG.M 3SG.M SUBJ-R-completely 3SG.M SUBJ-R-die
'He died completely.'

(213) *Awou* *w-a-gamu* *w-a-dúkemech.*
3PL.F 3PL.F SUBJ-R-well 3PL.F SUBJ-R-understand
'The women understand well.'

Adverb$_2$ is a small class of adverbs including the following:

wotak	'more, not yet, still'
eke~deke	'future'
a~ya	'past'

Adverb$_3$ is a small class of adverbs. All known members are listed here. This class differs from Adverb$_2$ in that it occurs in the Modifier$_2$ slot of Modified Verb Phrase$_1$ while Adverb$_2$ can occur only in the Modifier$_1$ slot.

yúh	'completely, all, when completed'
mealúh~meoh	'for no reason'
namudak	'like that'
ati	'only, just'
dédag	'strongly, firmly'
kalbúk	'all right, well'
nebegún	'strongly' or 'excessively'
atúgún	'together'
jélúg	'enough, finished'
hwaloh	'irregularly, any old way'
chokubél	'not excessive, moderately, quietly, softly'
usinabél~wisinabél	'quickly'
take	'continuous' (which so far occurs only with *bo* 'hit' in repeated verb phrase (5.1.2))

3.10 INTERROGATIVE

Interrogatives are free or bound stems which introduce or fill interrogative slots in Interrogative Clauses (i.e. clauses which require answers other than yes/no) (6.2.3). Polar questions are analysed separately as yes/no (6.2.4). The bound interrogative stem *mei-* 'what' occurs in the Modifier slot of Interrogative phrases, suffixed with the Adjective$_2$ suffixes listed in Table 1 in section 3.1. This same stem *mei-* occurs with these same suffixes in the Subject and Object slots of Interrogative Clauses with the meaning 'who' or 'whom'. The free stem *omuni* 'who, whom' can be substituted for any bound form of *mei-*.

All interrogatives known are:

omuni	'who, whom'
malmu	'what'

monoken 'why'
mei- + adjective$_2$ suffix from Table 1 'what'

(214) *Mei-hi* *nyumnunah?*
what-cl13SG day
'When, what day?'

(215) *Mei-béli* *wabel?*
what-cl2SG village
'What village?'

(216) *N-a-klip-enyú* *malmu?*
3SG.M-R-tell-2SG OBJ what
'What did he tell you?'

(217) *Ny-é-nak-moli* *monoken?*
2SG-R-go-come why
'Why did you come?'

(218) *Monoken* *da* *wo* *ny-ú-klipw-e* *ye?*
why therefore NEG 2SG-IRR-tell-1SG OBJ NEG
'Why didn't you tell me?'

(219) *Ch-a-kli* *mei-nali?*
3PL.MIX-R-say who-cl7SG
'Whom did they say? (did it, or was referred to)'

(220) *Omuni* *n-a-ø-nú?*
who 3SG.M-R-hit-3SG.M OBJ
'Who hit him?'

(221) *Mei-wali* *w-a-nak?*
who-cl4PL 3PL.F-R-go
'Which women went?'

When occurring in sentence initial position, these stems are often followed by the particle *da* which is a variant of *dakia* meaning 'therefore'.

3.11 RESPONSE

Responses are uninflected free stems occurring in the Response slot of sentences or in the Nucleus slot of Simple Sentences. *Wotak* 'not yet, more' also occurs in the Modifier$_1$ slot in Modified Verb Phrase 1 (5.1.1), and in the Modifier$_2$ slot in Motion Verb Phrase (5.1.4). Many of these responses also occur in the Comment slot of Topic Comment Clause (6.1.5).

oo	'yes'
oo/wak	'Oh no!'
ah/wak	'Oh no!'
ee ~ ehe	'no'
wak	'not' (more emphatic than *ehe ~ ee*)
wotak	'not yet, more'
wosik	'all right'

3.12 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are uninflected free stems occurring in the Link or Alternative Link slot in sentences. The function of each conjunction is described in section 7 where the various sentence types involving these conjunctions are described. Since the semantics of some of these conjunctions is quite complex, only a very general meaning is given here.

Conjunction	Sentence Type	Section
o 'or'	Alternative Sentence	7.2.1
ele 'contrary to fact condition'	Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence	7.2.2
aliga 'until'	Continuation Sentence	7.2.3
namudak 'like this' (cataphoric)	Explanatory Sentence	7.2.7
douk 'and a (short) time elapsed'	Succession Sentence	7.2.9
wakúli nau 'and then'	Completed Action Sentence	7.3.10
umu 'if, when, but, about'	Purpose Sentence	7.3.1
umu ~ mu 'so that, in order that'		
oli ~ eli 'and, therefore, but'	Conjunction Sentence	7.3.3
deke ~ eke 'lest, but'	Warning Sentence	7.3.9
sapos 'if' (Tok Pisin loan)	Conditional Sentence	7.3.2

oli ~ eli is also used quite frequently in Contrast Paragraph (8.2) and less frequently in other paragraph types.

namudak also has an anaphoric use in which it is often translated 'therefore' in Reason Paragraph (8.4).

douk is also used to introduce new participants or reintroduce previously introduced participants in a new episode.

3.13 NEGATION PARTICLES

Negation particles occur in the Negation$_1$ slot of Negation Sentence (7.2.4). There are two main forms:

ino ~ wo...e 'non-future negative'
kobwi ~ bwi 'future negative'

The future negative *kobwi* is also used to encode negative imperatives. This function is described and illustrated in section 6.2.5 when discussing the Negative Transformation.

3.14 EVALUATION PARTICLES

Evaluation particles are free stems which occur in the evaluation slot of Evaluation Sentence (7.3.4). All known members of this class are:

júlúg 'enough'
doumun 'now'
wosik 'all right'
wak 'no'
wotak 'not yet' (although a member of Adverb$_2$, this also occurs in the evaluation slot of Evaluation Sentence).

3.15 RELATORS

Relators are free or bound forms which occur in the Relator slot of Relator Axis phrases. The phrase types in which they occur and the sections in which they are described are listed below:

Relator	Phrase Type	Section
-i 'possessive'	Possessive Phrase	5.3
at + -unú, ati 'only'	Limiter Phrase	5.4
kénak; meoh 'reflexive, intensive'	Intensive Phrase	5.5
-umu 'for, with'	Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase	5.6
-umu 'the place of, where'	Locative Phrase$_2$	5.10
(ko)bwidou(k)...-umu	Similarity Phrase	5.7
(é)nagún 'with, also'	Accompaniment Phrase	5.8
-abali 'time (when)'	Temporal Phrase$_1$	5.12
-ahah 'there'	Locative Phrase$_2$	5.10

4. STEM

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In sections 4.1 to 4.3 the following morphophonemic rules apply: if the member of object class *<-únú>* ends in a vowel, delete the first vowel of *ali*. If the member of class *<-únú>* ends in a consonant, add *i*.

4.1 NOUNS DERIVED FROM ADJECTIVES

Adjective nominalisation: adjective stem + *i* → adjective stem + *i* + *lúli*

Adjective root → adjective root + *<-únú>* + *ali/i*

(222) *yowe-nyi*
bad-cl8SG
'bad' (when modifying class 8 singular nouns)

(223) *yowe-ch-i*
bad-cl8PL-that which
'that which is bad; badness'

A further nominalisation transformation can be applied to (222) and (223).

(224) *ch-é-nek* *yowe-ch-i-lúli*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-do bad-cl8PL-that which-NOM
'those who do bad'

(225) *yowe-na-li*
bad-3SG.M-the one who
'the one who is bad'

(226) *yopwi-nyi*
good-cl8SG
'good' (when modifying class 8 singular nouns)

(227) *yopwi-ch-i*
good-cl8PL-that which
'that which is good; goodness; those who are good, those who do good'

(228) *ch-é-nek* *yopwi-ch-i-lúli*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-do good-cl8PL-that which-NOM
'those who do good'

(229) *yopu-na-li*
good-3SG.M-the one who
'the one who is good'

4.2 NOUNS DERIVED FROM LOCATIVES

Locative nominalisation: locative → locative + *i* + <*-únú*> + *ali/i*

iluh 'above, sky' →

(230) *iluh-ina-li*
above-3SG.M-the one who
'the one who is above'

also alternative form: *iluh-inú* 'the one who is above'

atap 'below; earth' →

(231) *atap-ina-li*
below-3SG.M-the one who
'the one who is below, the one who is on earth'

There is the alternate form *atap-inú* 'the one who is below'. The forms 'stem plus *chi*' which occur with adjectives in section 4.1 above do not occur with the same meaning. In case of locatives the resultant forms have the following meanings:

(232) *iluh-ch-i* $\xrightarrow{13}$ *iluh-ich-i*
above-cl8PL-the one who
'those who are above'

(233) *atap-ch-i* $\xrightarrow{13}$ *atap-ich-i*
below-cl8PL-the one who
'those who are below'

Note the application of morphophonemic rule 13 in section 1 in (232) and (233).

4.3 NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERBS

Nouns are derived from verbs by a transformation further described in section 6.2.6.

(234) *Ch-a-gak.*
3MIX.PL SUBJ-R-die
'They died.'

(235) *ch-a-gak-úli*
3MIX.PL SUBJ-R-die-NOM
'those who died'

similarly:

(236) *Ch-a-itak.*
3MIX.PL SUBJ-R-stand up
'They stood up.'

(237) *ch-a-itak-úli*
3MIX.PL SUBJ-R-stand up-NOM
'those who stood up'

4.4 TEMPORAL STEMS

Temporal stems are a small closed class occurring in Temporal slots of clauses. All known stems are listed here.

(238) *g-ú-glúk-i-bús*
cl3SG SUBJ-IRR-dawn-POSS-cl1PL
'early mornings, dawnings'

The rationale behind the above affixation is as follows: a referent *nyiltab* 'time' (class 1 noun) is presupposed, resulting in the *-bús* 'cl1PL' ending. Often the singular form *gúglúk* is used for future mornings.

(239) MB 38
élokohun-i-b-umu *(nyiltab)*
middle-POSS-cl1SG-time when time
'at midnight'

Again a referent *nyiltab* 'time' (class 1 noun) is assumed and can optionally follow.

The plural form is also possible:

(240) *élokohun-i-bús-umu*
middle-POSS-cl1PL-time when
'customarily at midnight'

4.5 QUANTITATIVE STEMS

There are a number of quantitative stems. Some are used to substitute for nouns as in section 4.1.

(241) *wolobai-chi*
many-cl8PL
'many' (class 8 objects)

These quantitative stems also occur in the Modifier$_1$ slot of Modified Noun Phrase 1 (5.2.1). All known stems are listed here.

(242) *wolobai-chi* *élmon* *élmagou*
many-cl8PL men women
'many men and women'/'many people'

(243) *eh-eh* *nyúmneh*
every-cl13PL day
'every day'

(244) *ih-eny* *bolany*
every/all-cl8SG talk
'every talk'/'every word'

(245) *én-ech* *élpech*
some-cl8PL people
'some people'

(246) *gwodi-chi* *élmom* *élmagou*
few-cl8PL men women
'a few men and women'

4.6 VERB STEM1

Evidence for a compound verb stem is very limited. Verb stem1 occurs in the verb nucleus slot of class 1 verbs:

verb stem1 =

Core1	(Object)	Core2
-wi-	*<-unú>*	*búk* 'put'

That is, compound verb stem1 consists of an obligatory core1 tagmeme manifested by the verb root *-wi-* 'enter', followed by an optional object tagmeme manifested by a member of *<-unú>* followed by an obligatory core2 tagmeme manifested by *-búk* 'put'. All known examples are listed below:

(247) *I-wi-gú-búk.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-enter-cl3SG OBJ-put
'I will enter and put [the boards] (there).' (referent is a Tok Pisin loanword *plag* 'planks, boards')

(248) *I-wi-búk.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-enter-put
'I will enter and put (it).'

Therefore these examples are interpreted as fused short forms of:

(249) *I-wich* and *i-gú-búk.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-enter 1SG SUBJ IRR-cl3SG OBJ-put
'I will enter and put [the boards] (there).'

Identical subject deletion plus *wich* → *wi* has occurred in the first example. In the second example the object marker *-gú* has also been deleted.

4.7 VERB STEM$_2$

The structure of verb stem$_2$ is:

Verb Stem$_2$:

Core$_1$	Core$_2$
-ne 'do'	verb roots borrowed from Tok Pisin
	noun roots borrowed from Tok Pisin
	descriptive roots borrowed from Tok Pisin

That is, compound verb stem$_2$ consists of a core$_1$ tagmeme manifested by the verb root *ne* 'to do' followed by a core$_2$ tagmeme manifested by a Tok Pisin verb root, noun root, or descriptive root.

There are a very limited number of verb roots, descriptives, and nouns borrowed from Tok Pisin which have been observed manifesting core$_2$ tagmeme. Note that some verb roots from Tok Pisin are also noun roots (i.e. *takis* 'taxes or toll, to pay taxes or toll').

Verb roots borrowed from Tok Pisin:

was	'to watch for, care for'
laikim	'to like, desire'
pasim	'to fasten, join'
draiv	'to drive'
makim	'to mark, designate'
kirapim	'to start'
sigal	'to shake hands'
ting	'to think'
lukautim	'to watch over, care for'
trikim	'to trick'
tilim	'to pass out, give out'
bot	'to vote'
wetim	'to wait'

Noun roots borrowed from Tok Pisin:

poroman	'companion, helper'
malolo	'rest'

Compound verb stem$_2$ occurs manifesting the verb nucleus tagmeme in class 2, 4, and 5 verbs. Which class occurs depends on whether the Tok Pisin form coupled with the verb *ne* 'to do' occurs with an optional object suffix *(draiv* or *was)* or no object suffix at all *(pas, poroman, malolo).*

Examples:

Compound Verb Stem$_2$ = + core$_1$:*ne* + core$_2$:*takis*

(250) *w-o-ne-takis-um-einy*
3PL.F SUBJ-R-do-taxes-BENEF-cl8SG OBJ
'They collected taxes for buying [a cow].'

Verb Stem$_2$ = + core$_1$:*ne* + core$_2$:*pas*

(251) *yah h-é-ne-pas*
road cl13SG SUBJ-R-do-blocked
'The road is blocked.'

4.8 Reflexive verb stems

Reflexive verb stems are formed by the application of the Reflexive Transformation to the verb root. This transformation applies to verb root 3 and verb root 4, and consists of adjoining *na-* 'reflexiviser' to the left of the verb root.

Reflexive Transformation:
Verb stem reflexive → *na-* + verb root

The following additional morphophonemic rule applies in example (252) where V_f is a front vowel: $a + h \ V_f \rightarrow$ "V_fh V_f.

(252) NV 137
I-ne-hech-ik *i-nak-mo-li* *nyak.*
1SG SUBJ IRR-REFL-push-PERM 1SG SUBJ IRR-go-BENEF-come you
'I will push myself and I will come to you.'

(253) NS 129
Ch-a-no-suh *mani.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-REFL-hold money
'They hold money for themselves.'

(254) *Ny-a-no-susuh* *éménab.*
cl8SG SUBJ-R-REFL-stuck ground
'It (class 8 object) was stuck in the ground.'

(255) *Ch-a-na-ginoh.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-REFL-decorate
'They decorate themselves.'

4.9 Adjective Stem2

The structure of adjective stem2 is:

Adjective Stem2

Adjective Core	Modifier 2
ih- 'every'	*<-ny>*
én -'some'	

That is, adjective stem2 consists of an obligatory Adjective Core slot manifested by adjective root2 followed by an obligatory Modifier 2 slot manifested by a member of *<-ny>*.

Rules:

1. So far the only adjectives in adjective root2 are:

   ih- 'every'
   én- 'some'

2. *<-ny>* is the class of all noun suffixes listed in Table 1, section 3.1, both singular and plural.

(256) *ih-eny* *bolany*
every-cl8SG talk
'every talk/every word'

(257) *én-ah* *nyumnah*
some-cl13SG day
'some day/one day'

5. PHRASE

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The phrase level is one of considerable complexity. A total of 23 phrase types are posited, including four types of verb phrases, four noun phrases, eight types of modified noun phrases, two types of temporal phrases, two types of locative phrases, a numeral phrase, an interrogative phrase and an adjective phrase.

5.1 VERB PHRASE

The following four verb phrases are posited:

Modified Verb Phrase (5.1.1)
Repeated Verb Phrase (5.1.2)
Coordinate Verb Phrase (5.1.3)
Motion Verb Phrase (5.1.4)

Because of the identity of the referents of subject and/or object affixes and the lack of intervening material such as noun phrases, these constructions have been analysed as verb phrases rather than as sequences of clauses.

Since negation is a clause or sentence level phenomenon and occurs in the irrealis mood only, all negation has been analysed at clause and sentence level. Analysing it at phrase level would result in several more verb phrase types and would not eliminate the necessity to analyse negation at the clause and sentence level also.

5.1.1 MODIFIED VERB PHRASE

Modified Verb Phrase$_1$ consists of an optional Modifier$_1$ slot filled by class 1 adverbs, an obligatory Head slot filled by a verb of class 1 through 7 (in the realis or irrealis mood), plus an optional Modifier$_2$ slot manifested by class 2 adverbs or an Adverb Phrase.

±Modifier$_1$	+Head	±Modifier$_2$
adverb$_1$	verb class 1-7	adverb$_3$
adverb$_2$		adverb phrase

Rules:

1. If Head is manifested by a class 6 verb, then an obligatory subject occurs immediately preceding the Head slot, making the Modified Verb Phrase discontinuous. See example (259).

2. If Modifier$_1$ occurs, usually Modifier$_2$ does not occur.

3. Modifier$_2$ can be manifested by *jélúg* 'enough' if and only if Head is manifested by a verb stem in the realis mood.

4. Modifier$_1$ can be manifested by *ya* 'past' if and only if Head is manifested by a verb stem in realis mood.

A number of examples follow:

(258) NM 7
Ny-ú-nubu *ny-ú-kús-úk.*
cl8SG SUBJ-IRR-very cl8SG SUBJ-IRR-be-PERM
'The trouble will be settled once and for all.'

(The class 8 referent in (258) is *bolany* 'talk, language, trouble', hence the free translation.)

(259) XT 419 (see section 5.18 for analysis of *sili sili ati*)
Ch-a-ho-guh *sili* *sili* *ati*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-tie-cl10PL OBJ different different only
'They tied up the pigs separately.'

(260) XT 419
M-i-tak-um-oh *namudak* *at-únú* *ati.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-get up-BENEF-cl12SG OBJ like that one-cl7SG only
'We will start the feast like this – one man will tie up one pig and another man will tie up another pig.'

(The class 12 item is *alatihw* 'feast', hence the free translation.)

(261) PA 143
Deke *m-u-nek* *usinabél.*
FUT 1PL SUBJ-IRR-do quickly
'We will do it quickly.'

(262) PA 144
P-ú-natimogúk *p-ú-nak*
2PL SUBJ-IRR-all 2PL SUBJ-IMP-go
'You all go!'

(263) *Deke* *nyih* *h-ú-nú-nú.*
FUT fire cl13SUBJ-IRR-burn-3SG.M OBJ
'The fire will burn him.'

(264) MD 2
W-e-chúlokuh *jélúg.*
3PL.F SUBJ-R-wash enough
'They (female) washed and then they finished.'

(265) RE 157
A *n-a-itak.*
PAST 3SG.M SUBJ-R-get up
'He got up.'

(266) RG 166
K-o-gamu *k-o-múnek.*
3SG.F SUBJ-R-well 3SG F SUBJ-R-hear
'She heard it clearly.'

(267) PB 145
Wotak *n-e-chuh.*
more 3SG.M SUBJ-R-sleep
'He is still sleeping.'

(268) NK 10
Púpuwal-as *yúh.*
broken-cl14SG SUBJ completely
'The windscreen is completely broken.'

(The class 14 item is *glas* 'windscreen'.)

(269) *G-a-nubu* *g-a-túblanú* *yúh.*
cl13SG SUBJ-R-very cl13SG SUBJ-R-capsize completely
'The truck capsized completely.'

(Class 3 object is *trag* 'truck'.)

(270) RC 154
M-a-pwe *sili* *sili.*
1PL SUBJ-R-be different different
'We stayed and lived separately.'

(271) XS 418
Ny-a-pwe *namudak.*
cl8SG SUBJ-R-be like that
'The issue is still like that.'

(Class 8 SG item is *bolany* 'talk'.)

(272) RD 155
K-o-naki *meoh.*
3SG.F SUBJ-R-come without anything
'She came naked.'

(273) PC 147
M-a-pwe *hwaloh.*
1PL SUBJ-R-be irregularly
'We are not following the customs of the ancestors majority.'

(274) *O,* *ya* *y-a-naki.*
yes PAST 1SG SUBJ-R-come
'Yes, I came.'

(*o* is not part of the verb phrase. It fills the response slot in the sentence.)

5.1.2 REPEATED VERB PHRASE

This phrase type is very rare. The majority of the examples come from folk tales.

Repeated Verb Phrase

$Head_1$	(Modifier)	$Head_2$	(Modifier)	^{n}
verb 10 or		verb 10 or		
motion verb	$adverb_3$	*-lto* 'to go up'		

That is, a Repeated Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot, repeated at least once, which is manifested by a motion verb or a verb of class 10, defined in Rule 4 below. An optional Modifier slot manifested by an adverb of class 3 can occur following each Head slot.

Rules:

1. If Modifier occurs, it usually occurs with Head 1 and with each repetition of Head 2.

2. n = 1 to 4.

3. Repeated Verb Phrase cannot be negated (i.e. Negation Transformation is blocked).

4. Verb 10 consists of a limited number of unaffixed verb roots, a few affixed with *w-* 'intensive continuous', including the following:

w-akú	'to strengthen'
bo	'to hit'
w-emu	'to heap up'

Usually Head 1 and Head 2 are manifested by the same member of Verb 10.

(275) RJ 26

[w-akú w-akú w-akú w-akú]$_{RVP}$ *ch-a-lak nabél*
intensive-strengthen 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-build fence

ch-a-kli ch-e-geik mamawe-ges-i-bél.
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-say 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-build mother-cl3PL-POSS-cl2SG
'They continued to strengthen their position. – They built a fence. They wanted to build a mother-type fence (i.e. a very strong fence).'

(276) RH 002

... n-a-uli nobag, n-a-na n-a-na n-a-nak
3SG.M SUBJ-R-hunt dogs 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go

n-a-nú nobag.
3SG.M SUBJ-R-with dogs
'... he went hunting with dogs and went and went and went a long way with the dogs.'

(277) SA 126

... ch-a-nak ch-e-temu ch-e-temu,
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-sit 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-sit

buligele-ch-úk a ch-a-nak.
disappear-3PL.MIX-PERM PAST 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go
'... they went and sat and sat for a long time and disappeared and went.'

(278) NM 97

Aligú [botake botake botake]$_{RVP}$ *aligú ch-a-bih*
continue until hit continuous until 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go down

gani owiny.
there below
'They continued to hit him until they went down there, to a lower elevation.'

(279) RJ 24

[Ch-e-chunibom-alúh pwe ch-e-ges-emu]$_{CVP}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-put on top of-cl12PL OBJ be 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl3OBJ-put/heap up

[w-emu w-emu w-emu w-emu]$_{RVP}$ *ulegúl [g-a-lto*
intensive-heap up firewood cl3PL SUBJ-R-go up

*g-a-lto g-a-lto g-a-lto]*RVP *[g-a-lto* *g-a-kih]*CVP
cl3PL SUBJ-R-go up cl3PL SUBJ-R-go up

g-a-taglú *wilpat* *ch-e-yotu* *adúk*
cl3PL SUBJ-R-appear house 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-stand outside

ch-o-wach-agas.
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-throw-cl3PL OBJ
'They continued to put firewood on top of the wooden plates, they continued to heap firewood, and the wood continued to pile up until it came out of the house and they stood outside and threw still more wood.'

5.1.3 COORDINATE VERB PHRASE

Coordinate Verb Phrase:

$Head_1$	$Head_2$	(Modifier)
verb 1-5	verb 1-5	*yúh* 'completely'
Coordinate Verb Phrase	Modified Verb Phrase	

That is, a Coordinate Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory Head manifested by a verb of classes 1 through 5 or a Coordinate Verb Phrase followed by another obligatory Head slot filled by a verb stem of classes 1 through 5 or a Modified Verb Phrase, followed by an optional Modifier slot manifested by *yúh* 'completely'.

Rules:

1. Depth of self embedding of Coordinate Verb Phrase so far observed is only one.

2. Verb 1-5 in $Head_1$ slot can have its person-number and mood prefixes deleted if and only if the verb stem is *-pwe* 'to be'.

3. If $Head_1$ is manifested by an inflected form of *-kli* 'to say, to want', the verb stem manifesting $Head_2$ must be in irrealis mood.

4. Not all members of $Adverb_3$ have yet been observed manifesting the Modifier slot but it assumed that they can occur.

5. Certain verbs meaning 'finish' occur in $Head_2$ but not in $Head_1$. Their stem forms are *-at-, -atak, -túh.* The verb *-pwe* 'to be' can occur in either Head slot.

(280) *M-u-pwe* *m-i-yalúb.*
1PL SUBJ-IRR-be 1PL SUBJ-IRR-sing and dance
'We will remain and sing and dance.'

(281) XQ 416
Ny-ú-duk-oguh *ny-i-yat-oguh.*
2SG SUBJ-IRR-sew-cl10PL OBJ 2SG SUBJ-IRR-finish-cl10PL OBJ
'You will sew the [class 10 objects (*weguh* 'sago leaves')] and will finish.'

(282) MD 2
Kw-a-kli *k-u-sahu.*
3SG.F-R-say 3SG.F-IRR-fasten
'She wanted to fasten (the grass skirt) ...'

(283) NN 8
W-i-chú-lúh *w-i-ch-ah.*
3PL.F SUBJ-IRR-cl8PL OBJ-cook 3PL.F SUBJ-IRR-cl8PL OBJ-eat
'They will cook and eat (the food).'

(284) NT 132
M-a-pwe *m-a-gipech-eny.*
1PL SUBJ-R-be 1PL SUBJ-R-follow-cl8SG OBJ (talk)
'We kept on following it (the talk).'

(285) NB 6
Pwe *m-e-yotu.*
be 1PL SUBJ-R-stand
'We kept on standing.'

(286) *Y-e-ne* *y-a-pwe.*
1SG SUBJ-R-do 1SG SUBJ-R-be
'I remained resting.'

(287) *H-e-yaguleh* *h-e-yat-eny.*
3PL.M SUBJ-R-talk 3PL.M SUBJ-R-finish-cl8SG OBJ (talk)
'They (male) finished talking.'

(288) *Ch-e-nek-ab* *ch-a-b-ah.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cut-cl17OBJ 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl17OBJ-eat
'They cut and ate the coconuts.'

(289) NF 5 (Coordinate Verb Phrase = +H_1:Coordinate Verb Phrase +H_2: *wakukwihech*)
[W-o-gabwe-yech *w-a-klup-ech]*$_{CVP}$
1DL SUBJ-R-fix-cl8PL OBJ 1DL SUBJ-R-wash-cl8PL OBJ

w-a-kukwih-ech
1DL SUBJ-R-fix well-cl8PL OBJ
'We fixed them up, washed them, and straightened them up very well.'

(290) RM 177b (Note the embedding: Coordinate Verb Phrase = H_1:Coordinate Verb Phrase +H_2:Modified Verb Phrase)
[N-e-ø-ch *n-i-ch-ah* *yúh]*$_{CVP}$
3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-kill-3PL.MIX OBJ 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-3PL.MIX OBJ-eat completely

[n-i-yat-ech-úk *yúh]*$_{MVP}$
3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-finish-3PL.MIX OBJ-PERM completely
'He would have killed and eaten them completely – he would have finished them once and for all – to the very last man.'

5.1.4 MOTION VERB PHRASE

Motion Verb Phrase:

$Head_1$	$Head_2$	(Modifier)
Motion Verb	$Verb_3$	$Adverb_3$
Motion Verb Phrase	Coordinate Verb Phrase	

That is, a Motion Verb Phrase consists of an obligatory $Head_1$ slot manifested by a motion verb or a Motion Verb Phrase followed by an obligatory $Head_2$ slot manifested by a verb of class 3 or a Coordinate Verb Phrase, followed by an optional Modifier slot manifested by $adverb_3$.

Rule:

1. Self-embedding beyond depth 1 has not been observed.

Motion verb is a relatively large subclass of verbs including class 5 verbs plus a few class 3 verbs. Motion verb includes the following verb roots with their appropriate affixes:

-yomweh	'swim, drift'
-kih	'arrive, go up'
-húl	'take'
-nak	'go'
-walébél	'go to an area of the same village which is lower in elevation'
-gimébél	'go to an area of the same village which is higher in elevation'
-tanamu	'turn back, return'
-sahal	'run, go running'
-naki	'come'

(291) PD 149
Y-é-nak-i *y-e-yotu* *meoh.*
1SG SUBJ-R-go-come 1SG SUBJ-R-stand for no reason
'I came and stood for no reason.'

(292) MD 1
U-nak *w-i-chúlokuh.*
3PL.F SUBJ IRR-go 3PL.F SUBJ-IRR-wash
'They will go and wash.'

(293) NM 8
Ny-ú-nak-i *ny-ú-pwe.*
2SG SUBJ-IMP-go-come 2SG SUBJ-IMP-be
'You go and stay.'

(294) MD 5 (Motion Verb Phrase = $Head_1$:Motion Verb +$Head_2$:*nénak*)
N-e-yomweh *n-é-nak.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-swim 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go
'He swam and went; he went swimming.'

(295) (Motion Verb Phrase = +$Head_1$:*hakih* +$Head_2$: Coordinate Verb Phrase)
H-a-kih *h-a-pwe* *h-a-wak.*
3PL.M SUBJ-R-arrive 3PL.M SUBJ-R-PL.M SUBJ-R-be 3PL.M SUBJ-R-eat
'The men arrived and continued eating.'

(296) NS 130 (Motion Verb Phrase = +$Head_1$: Motion Verb Phrase +$Head_2$: Modified Verb Phrase)
Ch-e-nyú-húl *ch-e-nyu-lú*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl8SG OBJ-bring 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl8SG OBJ-put

ch-e-nyú-sah-i
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl8SG OBJ (cow)-carry on shoulder-come
'They brought the cow, put it on a stretcher and came carrying it on their shoulders.'

5.2 NOUN PHRASE

The noun phrase is an area of fairly intricate structure. In addition to noun phrase agreement, there is considerable embedding. Four types of noun phrases are described.

5.2.1 MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE$_1$

Modified Noun Phrase$_1$:

(Modifier$_1$)	(Modifier$_2$)	(Possessive)	(Head)
demonstrative	adjective$_2$	Possessive Phrase	noun 1-15
Numeral Phrase	Adjective Phrase	Possessive Pronoun	Coordinate Noun Phrase
quantitative stem	Nominalised Clause		
	Limiter Phrase		

(Modifier$_3$)
derived adjective
adjective$_2$

That is, a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ consists of an optional Modifier$_1$ slot filled by a demonstrative, Numeral Phrase, or quantitative stem, followed by an optional Modifier$_2$ slot filled by a class 2 adjective, an Adjective Phrase, a Nominalised Clause, or a Limiter Phrase, followed by an optional Possessive slot filled by a Possessive Phrase or a possessive pronoun, followed by an optional Head slot filled by a noun of classes 1 through 15 or a Coordinate Noun Phrase, followed by an optional Modifier$_3$ slot filled by a derived adjective or a class 2 adjective.

Rules:

1. The order of the constituents is usually as indicated in the bidimensional array. Often a change in order indicates a shift in focus or prominence. See examples (299) and (300).

2. Not all the optional slots can occur at any one time. If one or both of Modifier$_1$ and Modifier$_2$ occur, Possessive is permuted to postnuclear position, i.e. immediately following the Head tagmeme. In this case Modifier$_3$ cannot occur unless Possessive is manifested by a possessive pronoun only.

3. If Modifier$_1$ or Modifier$_2$ are the only optional constituents occurring in the phrase, they can be permuted to postnuclear position.

4. Co-occurrence of one or two of Modifier$_1$, Modifier$_2$, and Modifier$_3$ is frequent, but co-occurrence of all three is rare but allowed by native speakers.

5. If Modifier$_2$ is manifested by a nominalised clause, possessive tagmeme does not occur.

6. There is obligatory agreement of each demonstrative, numeral stem, filler of Relator slot of Possessive Phrase, filler of Axis slot of Limiter Noun Phrase, possessive pronoun, derived adjective, and class 2 adjective, with the noun manifesting the Head slot. The agreement system is outlined in Table 1 in section 3.1.

7. If the context is clear, Modifier$_1$ or Modifier$_2$ can occur by itself with the Head deleted. See (297) and (306).

Modifier Noun Phase$_1$ occurs in the Head and Apposition slots of Apposition Noun Phrases, in the Head slot of Coordinate Noun Phrases, in the Axis slot of Possessive Phrase, Locative Phrase, Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase and Similarity Phrase and in the following clause level slots: Object, Indirect Object, Subject, Topic, Comment, and Temporal.

(297) NL 2 (Modifier$_1$:quantitative stem)
én-oguh
some-cl10PL (birds)
'some birds'

(298) XR 417 (Possessive:Possessive Pronoun + Head:noun)
Nyak-i-hw *suluhw.*
you.SG-POSS-cl17PL rings
'Your rings.'

(299) SE 194 (Modifier$_1$:quantitative stem + Head:noun)
On-ohw *wanohw.*
some-cl12PL fights
'Some fights.'

(300) SE 194 (Head:noun + Modifier:quantitative stem)
Wanohw *on-ohw.*
fights some cl12PL
'Some fights.' (With fights more prominent than in (299))

(301) RG 168 (Modifier$_2$:Adjective Phrase + Head:noun)
Ih-eny *ih-eny* *bolany.*
every-cl8SG every-cl8SG talk
'All kinds of talk; every talk.'

(302) SA 182 (Modifier$_2$:nominalised clause + Head:noun + Modifier$_1$:demonstrative)
[Yek *y-a-kli-yeny-úli]*$_{MOD2}$ *bolany* *senye-dak.*
I 1SG SUBJ-R-say-cl8SG OBJ-that which talk cl8SG DEM-this
'This talk which I said.'

(303) (Modifier$_1$:demonstrative + Head:noun + Possessive:Possessive Phrase + Possessive: Possessive Pronoun)
Enye-dak *moul* *kausel-omi* *omom-i-ny.*
cl8SG DEM-this work local govt council-those with them them PL.M-POSS-cl8SG
'The work of the local government council and their associates.'

(304) NK 10 (Modifier$_1$:demonstrative + Modifier$_2$:adjective$_2$ + Head:noun)
Égú-dak *nebe-gali* *trag.*
cl3SG DEM-this big-cl3SG truck
'This big truck.'

(305) CK 6 (Modifier$_2$:Limiter Phrase + Head:noun)
Head:*enye-dak* Limiter:*at-iny* *bolany.*
cl8SG DEM-this only-cl8SG talk
'Only this talk.'

(306) (Modifier$_2$:adjective$_2$)
nebe-nali
important-cl7sg
'important (man)'

(307) NK 6 (Possessive:Possessive Phrase + Head:noun)
Owiny ahah-i-s opis.
below over there-POSS-cl14SG office
'The office down below over there.'

(308) NN 16 (Possessive:Possessive Phrase + Head:noun
Head:demonstrative + Possessive:*-i*)
S-ouku-dak-i-nú élman.
first mentioned-3SG.F DEM-this-POSS-cl7SG man
'The first-mentioned woman's husband.'

(309) NB 9 (Head:noun + Possessive:Possessive Phrase
Head:noun 18 + Possessive:*-i*)
Yah Yangore-ih.
road Yangoru-POSS-cl13SG
'The Yangoru road.'

(310) NB 3 (Head:Coordinate Noun Phrase + Possessive:Possessive Phrase
Head:noun 17 + Possessive:possessive pronoun)
Dram sowel tamiok Wanguen énan-i-ch.
drum shovel axe Wanguen 3M.SG-POSS-cl8PL
'Wanguen's drum, shovel, and axe.'

(311) NF 6 (Possessive:possessive pronoun + Head:noun + Modifier$_3$:derived adjective)
Apak-i-ny bolany généga-i-ny.
our PL-POSS-cl8SG talk indigene-POSS-cl8SG
'Our indigenous language.'

(312) NN 25 (Head:noun + Modifier$_3$:derived adjective)
néhabigú rais-i-gú
garden rice-POSS-cl3SG
'rice garden'

(313) HC 1 (Possessive:possessive pronoun + Head:noun)
énan-i-guh mabeguh.
he-POSS-cl10PL marbles
'his marbles'

(314) HG 29 (Possessive:Possessive Phrase + Head:noun + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Possessive:possessive pronoun)
Nebe-nali aninú énan-i-hw awehw.
important-cl7SG father he-POSS-cl12SG song
'Important father's song.'

(315) NA 2 (Modifier$_1$:numeral stem + Head:noun)
bwi-yogw betogw
two-cl11PL beds
'two beds'

(316) NA 2 (Modifier$_1$:numeral stem + Head:noun)
bwi-yech lowas
two-cl13PL trees
'two trees'

TABLE 10: MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE$_1$ WITH DOUBLE EMBEDDING

Noun Phrase$_1$ = Possessive:Possessive Phrase + Head:noun

Possessive Phrase = Head:Apposition Noun Phrase

Apposition Noun Phrase = Head:Apposition Noun Phrase + Apposition:derived noun stem

Apposition Noun Phrase = Head:demonstrative + Apposition:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$

Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ = Possessive:Possessive Pronoun + Head:noun

(317) NV 135 *Énédak* *yek-i-nú* *wàntok* *Siyapan-pimi-nú*
cl7SG DEM-this I-POSS-cl7SG friend Japan-POSS-person-cl7SG
énan-i-s *kes.*
he-POSS-cl14SG suitcase
'This man, my friend, a person from Japan's suitcase.'

Note double embedding of Apposition Noun Phrase in Possessive Noun Phrase manifesting Possessive tagmeme of entire Noun Phrase$_1$.

5.2.2 MODIFIED NOUN PHRASE$_2$

Modified Noun Phrase$_2$:

Modifier	Head
noun stem	noun
noun 17	
noun 18	
Locative Phrase$_3$	

That is, a Noun Phrase$_2$ consists of an obligatory Modifier manifested by a noun stem, a class 17 or 18 noun, or a Locative Phrase$_3$, followed by an obligatory Head slot manifested by a noun.

This is a very rare construction: all known examples are listed here:

(318) NB 9
tela tela *stua.*
protestant store
'The protestant's store.'

(319) NK 1
Lumémbuli-omwi *yah.*
Lumembuli-those with him road
'The road belonging to Lumembuli and his associates.'

(320) CK 5
Manohweh *buwul.*
Manohweh pig
'Manohweh's pig.'

(321) NG 1
Naluwagi *núgawik.*
Naluwagi daughter
'Naluwagi's daughter.'

(322) *Yangoru* *yah.*
Yangoru road
'The Yangoru road.'

5.2.3 APPOSITION NOUN PHRASE

Apposition Noun Phrase:

Head	Apposition	(Identification)
Apposition Noun Phrase	Clause	pronoun
Coordinate Noun Phrase	nominalised clause	
demonstrative	Coordinate Noun Phrase	
Intensive Phrase	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	
noun 18	noun 17	
pronoun	noun 18	
temporal stem	derived noun stem	
	pronoun	
	temporal stem	

That is, an Apposition Noun Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by one of a variety of fillers: a Coordinate Noun Phrase, another Apposition Noun Phrase and Intensive Phrase, a demonstrative, a pronoun, a temporal stem, or a class 18 noun (place name). The Head slot is followed by an obligatory Apposition slot manifested by either a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, a Coordinate Noun Phrase, a nominalised clause, a derived noun stem, a class 17 or 18 noun (i.e. a personal name or a place name), a pronoun, a temporal stem, or a clause. The apposition slot is followed by an optional identification slot manifested by a pronoun.

In addition to the self-embedding in the Head slot of the Apposition Noun Phrase as indicated above, Apposition Noun Phrase occurs filling the Subject, Object and Indirect Object slots in transitive and intransitive clauses and the Topic slot in Topic-Comment clauses, and in the Modifier slot of all types of Modified Noun Phrases.

Rules:

1. If Head is manifested by a pronoun, Apposition is not, and conversely.

2. Only two levels of self-embedding of Apposition Noun Phrase in the Head slot have been observed.

3. If Apposition is manifested by a derived noun stem, Head is manifested by Modified Noun Phrase$_1$.

4. If Apposition is manifested by a noun of class 17, Head is manifested by a pronoun. This is the only condition under which the Identification constituent is present. The pronoun occurring in the Identification slot must refer to the one manifesting Head.

5. In general, it seems the order of the two tagmemes Head and Apposition can be reversed unless Head is manifested by a pronoun. The above order is more frequent. Also, there is a tendency for the longer of the two units to occur second.

6. If Head is manifested by temporal stem, Apposition must be manifested by a temporal stem or a clause.

(323) NI 1 (Head:pronoun + Apposition:noun 17)
Yek Matias
I Matias
'I, Matias.'

(324) NM 6 (Head:Apposition Noun Phrase + Apposition:noun 17 + Identification:pronoun)
Yek aninuú Ibara yçk...
I father Ibara I
'I, the father, Ibara, I ...'

(325) NZ 141 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Apposition:noun 17)
Yek-i-nú saninú inachúkiya..
I-POSS-cl7SG older brother Inachúkiya
'My older brother, Inachúkiya ...'

(326) RL 176 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Apposition:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Wilpat kélobu.
house spirit house
'The house — the spirit house.'

(327) XB 401 (Head:Coordinate Noun Phrase + Apposition:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Utabal, suluhw bwi-yeny wogélomu.
money rings two-cl8SG payment kind
'Money and rings, two kinds of payment.'

(328) NV 135 (Same as (317) illustrating Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, but abbreviated here.)
(Head:Apposition Noun Phrase + Apposition:derived noun stem)
Éné-dak yek-i-nú wantok Siyapan-i-pimi-nú..
cl7SG DEM-this I-POSS-cl7SG friend Japan-POSS-person cl7SG
'This man, my friend, a Japanese ...'

(329) (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Apposition:derived noun stem)
Élman holhol-i-na-li...
man light weight-POSS-3SG.M-one who
'A man, one who is light weight ...'

(330) (Head:Intensive Phrase + Apposition:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Yek kénak núgawik...
I intensive/reflexive daughter
'I myself, the daughter ...'

(331) (Head:Modified Noun Phrase + Apposition:Coordinate Noun Phrase)
Iha-lúb walúb Lohuhwim Chamaun Buki
all-cl2PL villages Lohuhwim dialect group Chamaun dialect group Buki dialect group

Oblap Yous Bonoh.
Maprik dialect group ocean dialect group Bonoh dialect group
'People from all the villages, from the Lohuhwim, Chamaun, Buki, Maprik, the ocean, and the Bonoh dialect groups.'

(332) HC 10 (Head:temporal stem + Apposition:temporal stem)
Nubuwakih *Mande...*
day before yesterday Monday
'The day before yesterday, Monday ...'

(333) XW 420 (Head:temporal stem + Apposition:Clause)
Kaman-omi *aun* *n-ú-taw-ali...*
tomorrow-those with moon cl6SUBJ-IRR-stand-come
'In a few days, when the new moon rises ...'

(334) NB 5 (Apposition:noun 18 + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Hyasogwah, *masil...*
Hyasogwah ground name mud
'The place Hyasogwah, the mud ...'

(335) NN 38 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Apposition:nominalised clause)
Iluh-i-gw, *m-o-lo-gw* *g-o-temo*
above-POSS-cl1 1PL 1PL SUBJ-R-build-CL1 1PL OBJ cl1 1PL SUBJ-R-be on top

iluh *úli...*
above those which
'The houses above the ground, those which we built and they are above the ground ...'

5.2.4 COORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

Coordinate Noun Phrase:

Head	+[Head	(Coordinate)
Apposition Noun Phrase	Apposition Noun Phrase	*o*
Modified Noun Phrase	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	*úli*
noun 17	noun 17	*<n->+ a- + -nú*
pronoun	pronoun	*<n->+ ú- + nú*

(Head)]^n
Apposition Noun Phrase
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$
noun 17
pronoun

That is, a Coordinate Noun Phrase is an open-ended structure consisting of a minimum of two head tagmemes, each of which is manifested by an Appositional Noun Phrase and/or a class 17 noun, or a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ or a pronoun.

Rules:

1. The Coordinate tagmeme is present only if the preceding Head tagmeme is manifested by a noun of class 17, or by an Apposition Noun Phrase or Modified Noun Phrase in which the Head slot is manifested by a class 4, 7, or 8 noun referring to a human being.

2. If Coordinate is present, the first Head tagmeme can often be deleted (see example (343)).

3. The Coordinate tagmeme is cumulative in its reference. For example, *chanú* '3PL.MIX R and' and not *kwanú* '3SG.F R and' in example (337) below. *a-* preceding *-nú* 'and' is the realis marker. In other words, this variant of Coordinate Noun Phrase is inflected like a verb.

4. *<n-> + nú* has a variant form *nanok* which is optionally used to connect husband and wife. *<n-> + nú* also has an abbreviated form when the second and last Head slot is manifested by a pronoun.

5. The number, ^{n}, of repetitions of the Head tagmeme has been observed up to n = 3 with Coordinate present, and up to n = 4 with Coordinate deleted.

6. If the Coordinate tagmeme is not present, a listing intonation occurs with each Head tagmeme present. See example (339).

(336) NK 10
Halipeim n-a-nú omom
Halipeim he-R-and them male

becomes

Halipeim n-an-om
Halipeim he-and-them male
'Halipeim and the other men.'

The Coordinate Noun Phrase occurs in Subject, Object, Topic and Indirect Object slots of clauses and in the Head slot of Apposition Noun Phrase.

(337) NK 7 (Head:noun 17 + Coordinate:*<n-> + -anú* + Head:pronoun + Coordinate:*<n-> + -anú* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$
Lomémbuli n-a-nú okok ch-a-nú núgawik.
Lomembuli he-R-and she they.MIX-R-and daughter
'Lomembuli, his wife and daughter.'

(338) SE 195 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Ot-uk élmatok at-unú élman.
one-3SG.F woman one-3SG.M man
'One woman and one man.'

(339) NN 12 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Sahich, peletogw, élboguh, ichalúh.
earthen pots plates tools and weapons net bags
'Earthenware pots, plates, tools, weapons, and net bags.'

(340) NZ 141 (Head:noun 17 + Coordinate:*úli* + Head:noun17)
Aliwus úli Kibari.
Aliwus and Kibari
'Aliwus and Kibari.'

(341) NA 4 (Head:noun 17 + Coordinate:*nanok* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Halipeim n-an-ok élmatok.
Halipeim he-and-3SG.F woman
'Halipeim and his wife.'

(342) ND 5 (Head:noun 17 + Coordinate:*<n-> + a-nú* + Head:noun 17)
Adam ny-a-nú Ewa.
Adam you SG-R-and Eve
'Adam, you and Eve.' (used when addressing Adam)

(343) NS 1 (Coordinate:*<n->* + *a-nú* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
W-a-nú *batowich.*
they FEM-R-and children
'The females and children.'

(344) (Head:noun 17 + Coordinate:*<n->* + *ú-* + *nú* + Head:noun 8)
Kaman *Lumombuli* *n-ú-nú* *batowich* *ch-ú-nak* *Wiwaek.*
tomorrow Lumombuli 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-and children 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-go Wewak
'Tomorrow Lumombuli and his children will go to Wewak.'

5.3 POSSESSIVE PHRASE

Possessive Phrase:

Head	Possessive
Apposition Noun Phrase	personal pronoun
Coordinate Noun Phrase	*-i*
demonstrative	
Locative Phrase$_3$	
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	
noun 17	
noun 18	
noun stem	

That is, a Possessive Phrase consists of an obligatory Axis slot manifested by a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, a Coordinate Noun Phrase, and Apposition Noun Phrase, a noun stem, a class 17 or 18 noun, a demonstrative, or a Locative Phrase, followed by an obligatory Possessive slot manifested by either a possessive pronoun composed of a pronoun plus *-i* 'possessive' or the possessive enclitic, *-i*.

Possessive Noun Phrase occurs in the Possessive slot of Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, and in the Afterthought slot of clauses. For examples see the following from section 5.2.1: (298), (307-314).

5.4 LIMITER PHRASE

Limiter Phrase:

Head	Limiter
adverb	*at-* + *<-únú>*
demonstrative	
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	*ati* 'only'
noun stem	
pronoun	

That is, a Limiter Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by an adverb, a pronoun, a demonstrative, a noun stem, or a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, followed by an obligatory Limiter slot manifested by a relator consisting of *at-* 'only' plus a member of *<-únú>*.

Rules:

1. There is obligatory agreement of *<-únú>* in number and gender (noun class) with the pronoun, demonstrative, noun stem, or noun filling the Head slot of a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ manifesting the Head tagmeme.

2. If Axis is manifested by adverb, the Limiter slot is manifested by *ati* 'only'.

Limiter Phrase occurs in the Subject, Object, Locative, and Comment slots of clauses and in the Possessive slot of Modified Noun Phrase$_1$.

(345) NL 1 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Limiter:*atúnú*)
Aninú *at-únú.*
father only-3SG.M
'Father only.'

(346) NL 13 (Head:adverb + Limiter:*ati*)
Namu-dak *ati.*
like-this only
'Just like that.'

(347) NN 38 (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Limiter:*otugw*)
Atap-i-gw *apak-i-gw* *ot-ugw.*
below-POSS-cl11PL we PL-POSS-cl11PL only-cl11PL
'Only our houses which we built on the ground.'

In (347), the morphophonemic rule 11 applies.

(348) NN 144 (Head:noun stem + Limiter:*atúgún*)
Buwul-i-gún *at-ú-gún.*
pig-POSS-diminutive cl15SG only-dimunitive cl15SG
'Only a small pig.'

(349) RE 160 (Head:demonstrative + Limiter:*otuhw*)
Ohu-dak *ot-uhw.*
cl12SG DEM-this only-cl12SG
'This song only.'

(350) (Head:pronoun + Limiter:*ot-uwe*)
Yek *ot-uwe.*
I only-1SG
'I only.'

5.5 Intensive Phrase

Intensive Phrase:

Head	Intensifier
pronoun	*kénak*
	meoh

That is, an Intensive Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot filled by a pronoun followed by an obligatory Intensifier slot filled by *kénak* or *meoh*, 'reflexive, intensive'.

This phrase occurs in the Head slot of Appositional Noun Phrases and in the Subject slot of clauses. In certain other closely related dialects, *kénak* is replaced by *meoh.*

(351) *Echech* *kénak.*
they MIX reflexive/intensive
'They themselves.' OR 'They indeed.' OR 'Their choice.' (idiomatic usage)

5.6 INSTRUMENTAL-BENEFACTIVE PHRASE

Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase:

Benefactive	Head
umu 'for, benefactive, with'	intransitive clause
	transitive clause
	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$

That is, an Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase consists of an obligatory Benefactive slot filled by *umu* 'for, benefactive, with' followed by an obligatory Head slot filled by a transitive or intransitive clause or a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$.

Rules:

1. If the deep structure on clause level is benefactive, the head must be manifested by a clause which has animate reference, or by Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ in which the head slot is manifested by an animate noun.

2. If the clause level deep structure is instrumental, the axis tagmeme is manifested by a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ with head slot manifested by a non-human noun.

3. In general the benefactive constituent does not occur in cases where the phrase has an instrumental function. However in (357) there the relator is optional.

This phrase occurs in the Instrumental-Benefactive slot of clauses. In the following, (352) to (354) are Benefactive; (355) to (357) are Instrumental.

(352) NB 9 (Benefactive:*umu* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Y-a-salik *stoakipa* *umu* *mabeguh.*
1SG SUBJ-R-ask clerk for marbles
'I asked the store clerk for marbles.'

(353) (Benefactive:*umu* + Head:transitive clause)
Ipak *biguh* *h-o-k-epú* *umu* *[P-ú-nek* *moul.]*
you PL bones cl10PL SUBJ-R-give-2PL OBJ for 2PL SUBJ-IRR-do work
'Your bones don't have strength for you to do work.'

(354) (Benefactive:*umu* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Ch-a-hlitak *umu* *én-al* *buwul* *Ilenyuwae-yomi*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-argue about one-cl10SG pig Ilenyuwae-and others with her
echech-i-l.
they PL.MIX POSS-cl10SG
'They argued about a pig belonging to Ilenyuwae and her associates.'

(355) NN 26 (Benefactive:ø + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Ch-o-ø-guh *bélawas.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-cl10 PL OBJ (pigs) spears
'They will shoot the pigs with spears.'

(356) NM 3
N-a-kli *n-a-dúk-anú* *tamiok* *Lowénam.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-say 3SG.M SUBJ-R-kill-3SG.M OBJ axe Lowenam
'He wanted to kill Lowenam with an axe.'

(357) NS 2 (Benefactive:*umu* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
H-a-dúk-ech *umu* *katres* *ileven* *pele-i-s.*
3.PL.M SUBJ-R-kill-3PL.MIX OBJ (cows) with bullets eleven ADJ-POSS-cl14PL
'The men killed the cows with eleven bullets.'

5.7 Similarity Phrase

Similarity Phrase:

Similarity	Head	Similarity
(ko)bwidou(k) 'like'	intransitive clause transitive clause demonstrative pronoun Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	*-umu* 'like'

That is, a Similarity Phrase consists of an obligatory discontinuous Similarity slot filled by *bwidou...umu* 'like', which has alternate forms of an optional *ko-* prefix and *-k* suffix, followed by an obligatory Head slot filled by any transitive or intransitive clause, a pronoun, a demonstrative, or Modified Noun Phrase$_1$.

Rules:

1. *Bwidou...-umu* is a discontinuous morpheme meaning 'like'.

2. *-umu* is bound phonologically very closely to the last element of the manifestation of the head slot. As a result, the first *u* of *umu* is usually lost when the *-umu* occurs following a front vowel.

This phrase type occurs in the modifier slot in clauses and in the Comment slot of Topic Comment clauses.

(358) NT 132 (Similarity:*bwidouk* + Head:transitive clause + Similarity:*-mu*)
Bwidouk echech ch-a-kli-mu.
like they MIX 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-say-like
'Like they said.'

(359) NT 132 (Similarity:*bwidou* + Head:intransitive clause + Similarity:*mu*)
Bwidou at-iny elpeny ny-a-pwe-mu.
like one-cl8SG person cl8SG SUBJ-R-be-like
'Like one person is.'

(360) (Similarity:*bwidouk* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Similarity:*omu*)
Bwidouk at-únú anin-omu.
like one-cl7SG father-like
'Like one father.'

(361) RG 164 (Similarity:*bwidou* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Similarity:*umu*)
Bwidou mamakik-umu.
like mother-like
'Like mother.'

(362) RG 164 (Similarity:*bwidou* + Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Similarity:*omu*)
Bwidou yek-i-n-omu.
like I-POSS-3SG.M-like
'Like my husband.'

5.8 ACCOMPANIMENT PHRASE

Accompaniment Phrase:

Head	Accompaniment
pronoun	*nagún* 'also'
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	
Apposition Noun Phrase	

That is, an accompaniment Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by a pronoun, a Modified Noun Phrase of class 1, or an Apposition Noun Phrase, followed by an obligatory accompaniment slot manifested by *nagún* 'also'.

Rule:

1. *nagún* also has two alternate forms which are possible dialect variants: *alagún* and *anagún*. The form *nagún* has never been observed with a form encoding a first person referent in the head slot. There is no known difference in meaning nor any other known rule to predict the distribution of these three forms.

(363) CK 1 (Head:pronoun + Accompaniment:*énagún*)
Yek énagún.
I also
'I also.'

(364) (Head:pronoun + Accompaniment:*nagún*)
Echech tuwag-omi [apak]$_H$ *[nagún]*$_{ACC}$
they MIX European-those with them we also
'Those Europeans, their associates, and we also.'

5.9 LOCATIVE PHRASE$_1$

Locative Phrase$_1$:

(Locative)	Head	Identifier
locative (word)	locative clause	noun 18
	locative word	
	Locative Phrase$_2$	
	Locative Phrase$_3$	
	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	
	noun 18	

That is, a Locative Phrase$_1$ consists of an optional Locative slot manifested by a class of locative relators followed by an obligatory Head slot manifested by a locative word, a locative clause, a Locative Phrase$_2$, a Locative Phrase$_3$, Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, or a class 18 noun, followed by an optional Identifier slot manifested by a class 18 noun (i.e. a place name).

Rules:

1. The order of the Head and Identifier slots can be permuted.

2. The Locative slot is always presents unless the Head slot is manifested by Locative Phrase$_2$, or by a fairly complex Modified Noun Phrase$_1$.

3. If head is manifested by a locative word, it must be different from the locative word manifesting the locative slot. Not every locative word has been observed manifesting locative, but the great majority of them have been.

This phrase type occurs in the locative slots of clauses.

(365) NN 13 (Locative:*gani* + Head:Locative Phrase$_2$)
Gani echech-umu.
at 3PL.MIX-place
'At their place.'

(366) QB 33 (Locative:*agnú* + Head:noun 18)
Agnú pomalmal.
here four malmal
'Here at Four Malmal.'

(367) NV 138 (Locative:*agúndak* + Head:locative)
Agúndak adúk.
here outside
'Here, outside.'

(368) (Locative:*gani* + Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:noun 18)
Gani wébel-ahah lohich-itú.
there other side-there lohich-cl1 1SG
'Over there to the other side at the tributary named Lohichitú.'

(369) NK 7 (Locative:*gani* + Head:Locative Phrase$_2$)
gani ch-a-lak wilag-umu
there 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-build houses-place
'to where they built houses'

(370) NF 1 (Locative:*gani* + Identifier:noun 18 + Head:Modifier Noun Phrase$_1$)
Gani Hyasogú topagú.
there Hyasogu ground name curve
'The curve in the road there at Hyasogú.'

(371) NJ 1 (Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:Coordinate Noun Phrase)
Ohwak-ému ya-nú Pita.
we DL-place I-and Peter
'The ground belonging to Peter and me.

Because of the *ohwak* 'we two' in (371), the first tagmeme in Coordinate Noun Phrase manifesting Identifier has been deleted.

(372) NK 9 (Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Túkan-itomu wilpat.
end part-POSS-cl11SG-place house
'The end section of the house.'

(373) NV 139 (Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
Olokohun-i-h-umu yah.
middle-POSS-cl13 SG-place road
'The middle of the road.'

(374) (Locative:*owiny* + Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:Modifier Noun Phrase$_1$)
Owiny enan-umu yawihas.
below he-place garden
'At his garden down below.'

(375) RF 163 (Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:noun 18)
Bawagas-umu Bubuamo.
tree trunk-place Bubuamo
'The root place, Bubuamo.' OR 'The original place, Bubuamo.'

(376) MS 130 (Head:Locative Phrase$_2$ + Identifier:noun 18)
Wébél-ahah lohich-itú.
other side-there lohich-cl11SG
'Over there to the other side, at the tributary named Lohichitú.'

(377) *W-é-nak w-a-glik-i yah.*
3PL.F SUBJ-R-go 3PL.F SUBJ-R-go down-come road
'They went and came down to the road (which goes and comes out at Kwagwi village).'

5.10 LOCATIVE PHRASE$_2$

Locative Phrase$_2$:

Head	Locative
intransitive clause	*-umu* 'where'
transitive clause	*-ahah* 'there'
locative	
noun	
pronoun	

That is, a Locative Phrase$_2$ consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by a transitive or intransitive clause, a locative stem, a noun, or a pronoun, followed by a Locative slot manifested by the locative-temporal enclitic *-umu* 'where' or 'when' (see (383), (384)) or *-ahah* 'there'.

Rule:

1. *-ahah* is infrequent. This phrase type occurs in the Locative slot in clauses and in the Head slot in Locative Phrase$_1$.

(378) NK 6
owiny-ahah
below-there
'down below over there'

For other examples, see (365), (368), (369), (371), (374), and (375).

5.11 LOCATIVE PHRASE$_3$

Locative Phrase$_3$:

Head$_1$	Head$_2$
Locative$_2$	Locative$_3$

That is, a Locative Phrase$_3$ consists of two obligatory Head slots Head$_1$ and Head$_2$ each manifested by a locative.

Rule:

1. The locatives manifesting Head$_1$ and Head$_2$ must correspond. Usually they are antonymns. Once the locative manifesting Head$_1$ is chosen, there is only one locative that can occur in Head$_2$.

This phrase type occurs in the Location slot in clauses and in the Modifier slot in Modified Noun Phrase$_2$.

(379) W 432
Wibél *wébél.*
this side that side
'On either side.'

(380) *iluh* *atap*
above below
'above and below, from top to bottom, heaven and earth'

5.12 TEMPORAL PHRASE$_1$

Temporal Phrase$_1$

Head	(Temporal)
temporal stem	*-abali* 'time'

That is, a Temporal Phrase$_1$ consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by a temporal stem plus an optional Temporal slot filled by a temporal relator enclitic *-abali* 'time, the time when'.

Rule:

1. In some closely related dialects this relator is followed by *nyiltab* 'time'.

This phrase type occurs in Temporal slots in clauses.

(381) RJ 172
webús-abali
night-time
'at night; night time'

(382) RJ 172
nyúmúnegwih-abali
day-time
'during the day; day time'

5.13 TEMPORAL PHRASE$_2$

Temporal Phrase$_2$

(Modifier)	Head
húlúkati-mu 'nearly-when'	temporal word

That is, a Temporal Phrase$_2$ consists of an optional Modifier slot manifested by *húlúkati* 'nearly' which is obligatorily suffixed by *-umu* 'when' followed by an obligatory Head slot manifested by a temporal word.

This phrase type occurs in Time slots in clauses and in the Apposition slot of Apposition Noun Phrases.

(383) (Modifier:*húlúkati-mu* + Head:temporal word)
húlúkati-mu *g-ú-glúk.*
near-time when cl3SG-IRR-dawn
'Nearly dawn.'

(384) NN 5 (Apposition Noun Phrase = Head:noun + Apposition:Temporal Phrase$_2$)
wab olsem *húlúkati-mu* *g-ú-glúk.*
night near-time about cl3SG-IRR-dawn
'At night, near to dawn.'

In (384) the Tok Pisin loan word *olsem* can be omitted. It merely reinforces the idea of "nearly".

5.14 Serial Temporal Phrase

Serial Temporal Phrase:

Head	Head^n
temporal word	temporal word

That is, a Serial Temporal Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by a temporal word followed by at least one Head slot filled by a temporal word.

Rules:

1. The second Head slot can be repeated up to three times, i.e. n = 1-3.

2. The temporal words must be from the same general semantic domain. That is, either all must be names for days, or names for times of the day, etc.

This phrase type occurs in the time slots of clauses.

(385) ND 6
Nyumunah *wab.*
day night
'All the time, day and night.'

(386) RJ 174
Kaman *biyebih* *wanebih.*
tomorrow day after tomorrow two days after tomorrow
'Tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, the day following.'

5.15 Numeral Phrase

Numeral Phrase:

Head	(Head)	(Head)
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	numeral stem	numeral stem
numeral stem		

That is, a Numeral Phrase consists of one, two or three Head slots each manifested by a numeral stem. The first Head slot can also be manifested by a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ in which the Modifier slot is manifested by the quantitative stem *énúgú* 'some' and the Head slot is manifested by *chikninú* 'full man'.

Rules:

1. Except for the following four stems, *anap* 'nine', *wiwis* 'twelve', *aiyag* 'fifteen' and *elmanigú* 'eighteen', all the stems show obligatory agreement with the noun which they modify. With the above four stems, the agreement is omitted unless there is only one Head tagmeme present in the phrase, in which case the agreement is optional.

2. However, the numeral stem *elmanigú* 'eighteen' has never been observed with any suffixation showing agreement with the corresponding noun.

Numeral phrases occur in the Modifier$_1$ slot of Modified Noun Phrase$_1$. The following numerals from 1 to 24, showing agreement with respect to noun class 8, will serve to illustrate the system.

(387) (Head:numeral stem)
ati-ny
one-cl8SG
'one'

(388) (Head:numeral stem)
bie-ch
two-cl8PL
'two'

(389) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
bie-ch *ati-ny*
two-cl8PL one-cl8SG
'three'

(390) (Head:numeral stem)
nobat-ich
four-cl8PL
'four'

(391) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
nobat *ati-ny*
four one-cl8SG
'five'

(392) (Head:numeral stem)
onowip-ich
six-cl8PL
'six'

(393) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
onowip *ati-ny*
six one-cl8SG
'seven'

(394) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
onowip *bie-ch*
six two-cl8PL
'eight'

(395) (Head:numeral stem)
anap-ich
nine-cl8PL
'nine' OR

(396) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
onowip *bie-ch* *ati-ny*
six two-cl8PL one-cl8SG
'nine'

(397) (Head:numeral stem OR Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
anap *ati-ny* OR *tenpelei-ch*
nine one-cl8SG ten-cl8PL
'ten'

(398) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
anap *bie-ch*
nine two-cl8PL
'eleven'

(399) (Head:numeral stem)
wi-wis-ich
hand-hand-cl8PL
'twelve'

(400) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
wi-wis *ati-ny*
hand-hand one-cl8SG
'thirteen'

(401) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
wi-wis *bie-ch*
hand-hand two-cl8PL
'fourteen'

(402) (Head:numeral stem)
aiag-ich
leg-cl8PL
'fifteen'

(403) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
aiag *ati-ny*
leg one-cl8SG
'sixteen'

(404) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
aiag *bie-ch*
leg two-cl8PL
'seventeen'

(405) (Head:numeral stem)
élman-igú
man-cl3SG
'eighteen'

(406) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
élman-igú *ati-ny*
man-cl3SG one-cl8SG
'nineteen'

(407) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
élman-igú *bie-ch*
man-cl3SG two-cl8PL
'twenty'

(408) (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$)
(Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ = Head:*énugú* + Modifier$_3$:adjective$_2$)
én-ugú *chikn-igú*
some-cl3SG full-cl3SG
'twenty-one'

(409) (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Head:numeral stem)
(Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ = Head:*énugú* + Modifier$_3$:adjective$_2$)
én-ugú *chikn-igú* *ati-ny*
some-cl3SG full-cl3SG one-cl8SG
'twenty-two'

(410) (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ = Head:*énugú* + Modifier$_3$:adjective$_2$ + Head:numeral stem)
én-ugú *chikn-igú* *bie-ch*
some-cl3SG full-cl3SG two-cl8PL
'twenty-three'

(411) (Head:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ = Head:*élman* + Modifier$_3$:adjective$_2$)
élman *chikni-nú*
man full-cl7M.SG
'twenty-four'

(412) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
nobat *at-úb*
four one-cl1SG
'five (class 1 objects)'

(413) (Head:numeral stem + Head:numeral stem)
bi-oguh *at-úl*
two-cl10PL one-cl10SG
'three (class 10 objects)'

5.16 Interrogative Phrase

Interrogative Phrase:

Modifier	Head
interrogative word	noun 1-14

That is, an Interrogative Phrase consists of an obligatory Modifier slot manifested by an interrogative word followd by an obligatory Head slot manifested by a noun of classes 1 through 14.

This phrase type occurs in the Temporal and Locative slots of Interrogative clauses.

(414) (Modifier:interrogative word + Head:noun 1-14)
Mei-hi *nyúmnah* *ny-ú-tanomoli?*
what-cl13SG day 2SG SUBJ-IRR-return
'When will you return?'

(415) (Modifier:interrogative word + Head:noun 1-14)
Mei-béli *wabél?*
what-cl2SG village
'What village?'

(416) (Modifier:interrogative word + Head:noun 1-14)
Monok-ab *nyiltab?*
what-cl1SG time
'What time?'

5.17 ADJECTIVE PHRASE

Adjective Phrase:

$Head_1$	$Head_2$
adjective $stem_2$	adjective $stem_2$

That is, an Adjective Phrase consists of an obligatory $Head_1$ slot manifested by an adjective $stem_2$ followed by another $Head_2$ tagmeme with the same filler repeated.

This phrase type occurs in the $Modifier_1$ slot of Modified Noun $Phrase_1$.

Rules:

1. $Adjective_2$ suffix manifesting $Modifier_2$ slot in adjective $stem_2$ must agree in gender and number with the noun manifesting the Head slot of Modified Noun $Phrase_1$.

2. The Adjective Core slot of adjective $stem_2$ (4.9) in $Head_1$ slot must be manifested by the same $adjective_2$ root as the Adjective Core slot in the adjective $stem_2$ in the $Head_2$ slot.

3. If Adjective Core slot in adjective $stem_2$ in the $Head_1$ slot is manifested by *én* 'some; new information' then the $Modifier_2$ slot must be manifested by an $adjective_2$ suffix plus *-i* 'possessive'.

4. If Adjective Core slot in adjective $stem_2$ in the $Head_1$ slot is manifested by *sili* 'different', then the $Modifier_2$ slot is deleted.

(417) RG 168 (Adjective Phrase = $Head_1$:*iheny* + $Head_2$:*iheny*)
Ih-eny *ih-eny* *bolany.*
every-cl8SG every-cl8SG talk
'All kinds of talk.'

(418) (Adjective Phrase = $Head_1$:*énenyi* + $Head_2$:*éneny*)
Én-eny-i *én-eny* *moul.*
some-cl8SG-POSS some-cl8SG work
'All kinds of work.'

(419) (Adjective Phrase = $Head_1$:*sili* + $Head_2$:*siliny*)
Sili *sili-ny* *moul.*
different different-cl8SG work
'Different kinds of work.'

5.18 ADVERB PHRASE

Adverb Phrase:

Head	(Modifier)	Exclusion
kwalowi 'partly'	*atúnú* 'one (male)'	*meoh* 'nothing'
sili sili 'different'		*ati* 'only'
namudak 'like that'		

That is, an Adverb Phrase consists of an obligatory Head slot manifested by *kwalowi* 'partly', *sili sili* 'different', or *namudak* 'like that', followed by an optional Modifier slot manifested by *atúnú* 'one (male)', followed by an Exclusion slot manifested by *meoh* 'nothing' or *ati* 'only'.

All known examples are listed below:

(420) (Head:*kwalowi* + Exclusion:*meoh*)
Kwalowi meoh.
partly nothing
'Medium.'

(421) (Head:*sili sili* + Exclusion:*ati*)
sili sili ati
different different only
'completely different' OR 'separately'

(422) (Head:*namudak* + Modifier:*atúnú* + Exclusion:*ati*)
Namudak at-únú ati.
like that one-3SG.M only
'Just like that, one by one.'

6. CLAUSE

6.0 INTRODUCTION

A clause is defined as a construction containing one and only one predicate, equational, or topic tagmeme. This analysis makes no distinction between dependent and independent clauses, nor between medial and final clauses. The various relationships which some linguists have described as dependent clauses are handled in this analysis as Temporal Clauses (6.1.7) and in the sentence analysis in section 7. This is because the morphemes signalling these relationships are separate words or particles instead of affixes.

There is no need to distinguish between final and medial clauses and final or medial verbs, since there is only one general kind of verb affixation. Within each verb class, the verb affixation is essentially the same regardless of where in a sentence the verb occurs.

With relatively few exceptions, verb morphology is the same for all verbs, regardless of their distribution in a sentence and regardless of different patterns of affixation as described in section 3.4.

The two major exceptions to this generalisation are (1) certain imperative forms described in section 3.4, in which all affixation is lost so that only the verb stem remains; and (2) certain infrequent constructions consisting of identical verb stems unmarked for person, number and gender repeated three or four times to signal intense and/or continued action. The majority of the latter forms occur in legendary narrative text. In addition, there are a few free forms involving

sound symbolism which may or may not be unaffixed verbs. These exceptions have been analysed as Repeated Verb Phrase (RVP) or Coordinate Verb Phrase (CVP).

There is one example of one construction in which the verb stem *pwe* 'to be' occurs unaffixed preceding a fully affixed verb and evidently means continuous action. This is the Coordinate Verb Phrase in (423) below. The following examples include every observed instance of reduced verbs except the imperatives mentioned above.

(423) RJ 24
[Ch-e-chúnibom-alúh *pwe* *ch-e-ges-emu]*$_{CVP}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-put on top of-cl12PL OBJ be 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl3PL OBJ-put/heap up

[w-emu *w-emu* *w-emu* *w-emu]*$_{RVP}$ *ulegúl* *[g-a-lto*
intensive-heap up firewood cl3PL SUBJ-R-go up

g-a-lto *g-a-lto* *g-a-lto]*$_{RVP}$ *[g-a-lto* *g-a-kih]*$_{CVP}$ *g-a-taglú*
cl3PL SUBJ-R-go up cl3PL SUBJ-R-appear

wilpat *ch-e-yotu* *adúk* *ch-o-wach-agas.*
house 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-stand outside 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-throw-cl3PL OBJ
'They continued to put (firewood) on top of the wooden plates, they continued to heap up firewood and the firewood continued to pile up until it came out of the house. So they stood outside and threw more firewood.'

(424) RJ 26
[W-akú *w-akú* *w-akú* *w-akú]*$_{RVP}$ *ch-a-lak* *nabél*
intensive-strengthen 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-build fence

ch-a-kli *ch-e-geik* *mamawe-ges-i-bél.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-say 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-build mother-cl3PL-POSS-cl2SG
'They continued to strengthen the defense. They built a fence. They wanted to build a mother-type wooden fence (a very strong fence).'

(425) NM 97
Aligú *[bo-take,* *bo-take,* *bo-take,]*$_{RVP}$ *aligú* *ch-a-bih*
until hit-continue until 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go down

gani *owiny.*
there below
'They continued to hit him until they went down there, to a lower elevation.'

However, a few of these unaffixed forms may be related to sound symbolism:

(426) RJ 31
...ali *nyúblúl* *l-ú-nak-i* *ali* *l-u-pwe* *blog* *blog*
then breadfruit sap cl10SG SUBJ-IRR-go-come then cl10SG SUBJ-IRR-be hit hit

l-ú-bo *chuwus,* *ny-ú-pwe* *ny-ú-menek* *ny-ú-kli*
cl10SG SUBJ-IRR-hit leaves 2SG SUBJ-IRR-be 2SG SUBJ-IRR-hear 2SG SUBJ-IRR-say

ch-e-le-pw-e.
3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-cry-BENEF-1SG OBJ
'... then the breadfruit sap will come and then it will hit *blog blog* on the leaves, and you will keep on hearing it and then say, "They are crying for me".'

(427) RJ 33

Ali	*nyúblúl*	*ny-ú-mének*	*pagpagpagpag*	*chelihis*
then/but	breadfruit sap	2SG SUBJ-IRR-hear	hit	breadfruit leaves

ny-ú-kli	*ch-a-pwe*	*ch-e-le-pw-e.*
2SG SUBJ-IRR-say	3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-be	3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cry-BENEF-1SG OBJ

'But when you hear the sound *pag pag pag pag* on the breadfruit leaves, you will be aware of this: "They are mourning for me".'

Probably the best analysis of the *blog blog* in (426) and the *pag pag pag pag* in (427) is to consider them Repeated Verb phrases in which all the affixation has been removed.

6.1 INDICATIVE CLAUSE TYPES

Clause Matrix 1 (Table 11) indicates five basic clause types: transitive, intransitive, stative, equational and topic comment. Distinctions between these types are summarised in Clause Matrix 2 (Table 12). The imperative, interrogative, yes/no question, and past and future negative modifications of these five basic types are derived by the transformations described in sctions 6.2.2 to 6.2.5.

6.1.1 TRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The structure of the indicative transitive clause with the most frequent order of the optional tagmemes is:

(Temporal)	(Subject)	Transitive Predicate
Temporal Word	Apposition Noun Phrase	Compound Verb Stem
Temporal Phrase$_1$	Coordinate Noun Phrase	Modified Verb Phrase
	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	Repeated Verb Phrase
	Modified Noun Phrase$_2$	Coordinate Verb Phrase
		Motion Verb Phrase

(Object)	(Indirect Object)	(Instrumental-Benefactive)
Apposition Noun Phrase	Apposition Noun Phrase	Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase
Coordinate Noun Phrase	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$		
Modified Noun Phrase$_2$		

(Locative)	(Modifier)
Locative Phrase$_1$	*enyudak* 'like this'
Locative Phrase$_3$	*namudak* 'like that'
	Similarity Phrase

That is, a transitive indicative clause consists of an optional Temporal tagmeme manifested by a temporal word or Temporal Phrase$_1$, followed by an optional Subject tagmeme manifested by an Apposition Noun Phrase, a Coordinate Noun Phrase, or a Modified Noun Phrase of type 1 or 2, followed by an obligatory transitive Predicate tagmeme manifested by a compound verb stem or by a verb phrase of class 1 through 4, followed by an optional Object tagmeme manifested by an Apposition Noun Phrase, a Coordinate Noun Phrase, or a Modified Noun Phrase of type 1 or 2, followed by an Indirect Object tagmeme manifested by an Apposition Noun Phrase or by a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, followed by an optional Instrumental-Benefactive tagmeme manifested by

an Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase followed by an optional Locative tagmeme manifested by a Locative phrase of type 1, 2 or 3, followed by an optional Modifier tagmeme manifested by *enyudak* 'like this', *namudak* 'like that' or a Similarity Phrase.

Rules:

1. The Instrumental-Benefactive tagmeme occurs preceding the Object if used as Instrumental and following the Object if used as Benefactive.

2. Only transitive verbs (classes 1 through 4, and 8 and 9) can occur manifesting the head tagmemes of any of the verb phrases in the transitive Predicate slot.

3. The Temporal tagmeme can optionally occur following Object, giving Temporal tagmeme greater emphasis.

4. If any other tagmeme except Temporal or Subject occurs preceding the transitive Predicate, the prepredicate tagmeme is assumed to be functioning as Sentence Topic. This means that the Topicalisation transformation has been applied to the transitive clause to transform it into a Simple Sentence with Sentence Topic tagmeme occurring before the transitive Predicate. (See section 7.1 on Simple Sentence for details and examples. Also see section 6.2.1 for details of the Topicalisation transformation.)

5. Not all optional clause tagmemes can co-occur. Usually one, or at the most two or three optional tagmemes occur with transitive Predicate. When the Modifier tagmeme occurs, then it is possible for three other optional tagmemes to co-occur (see example (443). If Object occurs, Indirect Object and Instrumental Benefactive cannot both occur.

6. The Modifier tagmeme occurs only if the transitive clause is manifesting the Explanation slot of an Explanatory Paragraph (see section 8.5) or if the transitive Clause manifests the Quotation slot of a Direct Quote Sentence or the Indirect Quotation slot of an Indirect Quote Sentence.

7. The Object tagmeme and possibly others (but not the predicate occurring clause final) can optionally be repeated for additional emphasis or as an afterthought to add a small amount of new information (see example (443)).

8. Long or repeated manifestations of optional tagmemes can be shifted to clause final position (as in example (443)).

In all the following analysed clause examples, square brackets indicate the filler of a tagmeme in which the filler is more than one word.

TABLE 11: CLAUSE MATRIX 1 – BASIC CLAUSE TYPES

	Indicative	Imperative	Interrogative
Transitive	*N-a-ø-nú.* he-R-hit-him 'He hit him.' *N-a-suh.* he-R-hold 'He held it.'	*P-é-ø-nú!* you PL-IMP-hit him 'You all hit him!' *Ny-ú-nak!* IMP-hold 'Hold it!'	*Monokendakio p-a-ø-nú?* why you PL-R-hit him 'Why did you hit him?' *Monokendakio p-a-suh?* why you PL-R-hold 'Why did you hold it?'
Intransitive	*N-a-nak.* he-R-go 'He went.'	*Kwa-suh!* you-IMP-go 'Go!'	*Monokendakio ny-a-nak?* why you-R-go 'Why did you go?'
Stative	*Okudak núgawikw yopu-k.* this daughter healthy-she 'This daughter is healthy.' *Apak dodogowi-pú.* we strong-we 'We are strong.'	*Ny-u-pe aliga yopi-nyú!* you-IMP-be until good-you 'You continue until you are healthy!' *Ipak p-ú-pe dodogowi-pú!* you you PL-IMP-be strong-you PL 'You all be strong!'	*Malmu dakio okudak núgawikw yopu-k?* why thus this daughter healthy-she 'Why is this daughter healthy?' *Malmu dakio apak dodogowi-pú?* why thus we strong-we 'Why are we all strong?'
Equational	*Yek Ibara.* I Ibara 'I am Ibara.'	-	-
Topic Comment	*Okudak núgawikw yopu-kw-i.* this daughter good-she-one who 'This daughter is a good person.' *Apak dodogowi-pa-li.* we strong-we-one who 'We are strong people.'	*Ny-ú-pe aliga yopi-nya-li!* you-IMP-be until good-you-one who 'You continue until you are a good person!' -	*Malmu dakio okudak núgawikw yopu-kw-i?* why thus this daughter good-she-one who 'Why is this daughter a good person?' *Malmu dakio apak dodogowi-pa-li?* why thus we strong-we-one who 'Why are we strong people?'

TABLE 11: CLAUSE MATRIX 1 – BASIC CLAUSE TYPES (cont'd)

	Yes/No Question	Non-future Negative	Future Negative
Transitive	*N-a-ø-nú o wak?* he-R-hit-him or not 'Did he hit him or not?' *N-a-hwe-ny o wak?* he-R-hold-it or not 'Did he hold it or not?'	*Wo n-é-ø-nú e.* NEG he-IRR-hit-him NEG 'He didn't hit him.' *Wo n-u-hwe-ny e.* NEG he-IRR-hold-it NEG 'He didn't hold it.'	*Kobi n-é-ø-nú.* FUT NEG he-IRR-hit-him 'He will not hit him.' *Kobi n-u-hwe-ny.* FUT NEG he-IRR-hold-it 'He will not hold it.'
Intransitive	*N-a-nak o wak?* he-R-go or not 'Did he go or not?'	*Wo n-ú-nak e.* NEG he-IRR-go NEG 'He didn't go.'	*Kobi n-ú-nak.* FUT NEG he-IRR-go 'He won't go.'
Stative	*Núgawikw yopu-kw o wak?* daughter better-she or not 'Is the daughter better (healthy) or not?' *Apak dodogowi-pú o wak?* we PL strong-we PL or not 'Are we strong or not?'	*Wo yopu-kw e.* NEG better-she NEG 'She didn't get better (healthy).' *Apak wo dodogwi-pú e.* we PL NEG strong-we PL NEG 'We are not strong.'	*Kobi yopu-kw.* FUT NEG better-she 'She will not get better (improve in health).' *Apak kobi dodogowi-pú.* we PL FUT NEG strong-we PL 'We will not be strong.'
Equational	*Anan Halipeim o wak?* he Halipeim or not 'Is he Halipeim or not?'	*Anan wo Halipeim e.* he NEG Halipeim NEG 'He is not Halipeim.'	
Topic Comment	*Okudak yopu-kw-i núgawikw o wak?* this good-she-one who daughter or not 'Is this daughter a good person or not?' *Apak dodogowi-pa-li o wak?* we PL strong-we PL-those who or not 'Are we strong ones or not?'	*Okudak wo yopu-kw-i núgawikw e.* this NEG good-she-one who daughter NEG 'This daughter is not a good person.' *Apak wo dodogowi-pa-li e.* we PL NEG strong-we PL-those who NEG 'We are not strong people.'	*Okudak kobi yopu-kw-i.* this FUT NEG good-she-one who 'This daughter will not be a good person.' *Apak kobi dodogowi-pa-li.* we PL FUT NEG strong-we PL-those who 'We won't be strong people.'

TABLE 11: CLAUSE MATRIX 1 (TOPIC COMMENT CLAUSE VARIATIONS)

Indicative	Imperative	Interrogative	Non-Future Negative	Future Negative
Apak élmom. we PL men 'We are men.'	-	*Malmu dakio ipak* why you PL *élmom?* men 'Why are you men?'	*Ipak wo élmom* you PL NEG men *e* NEG 'You are not men.'	-
Yek nebe-we-li. I Important-I-one who 'I am an important person.'	*Ny-u-pwe* you-IMPER-be *nebe-nya-li.* important-you-one-who 'You be one who is important.' 'You be an important person.'	*Malmu dakio* why *ny-a-pwe* you-R-be *nebe-nya-li?* important-you-one who 'Why are you an important person?'	*Wo nebe-we-li* NEG important-I-one who *e.* NEG 'I am not an important person.'	*Kobwi nebe-we-li* FUT NEG important-I-one who 'I will not be an important person.'
Walúb wo analúb marbles NEG some *e.* NEG 'There are no marbles.'	-	*Malmu dakio malúb* why marbles *wak?* no 'Why are there no marbles.'	*Malúb wo analúb e.* marbles NEG some NEG 'There are no marbles.'	*Malúb kobwi analúb.* marbles FUT NEG some 'There will not be any marbles.'

TABLE 12: INDEPENDENT CLAUSE MATRIX 2 — DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CLAUSE TYPES

a. optional; obligatory tagmemes
b. different fillers in clause level slots
c. different external distribution
d. different affixation on clause level fillers
e. transformation potential differences

	transitive	intransitive	stative	equational	topic comment
transitive		acde	abcde	abcde	abcde
intransitive			abcde	abcde	abcde
stative				abcde	bcde
equational					abde

(428) CK 1 (Transitive Predicate + Object + Temporal + Instrumental-Benefactive)
M-i-yagwleh *[enyudak bolany]*$_{OBJ}$ *namaitú [umu alatihw]*.$_{I-B}$
1PL SUBJ-IRR-talk this talk now about feast
'We will now talk about a feast.'

Note: Alternative form of (428): Temporal tagmeme could occur clause initial. Also note that in (428) Instrumental-Benefactive is functioning as Benefactive, but in (437) it is functioning as Instrument.

(429) NM 104 (Subject + Transitive Predicate + Instrumental-Benefactive + Object)
Yek i-k-um-onú wabok én-anú.
I 1SG SUBJ-IRR-give-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ black palm stick someone-3SG.M
'I will hit someone (male) with a black palm stick.'

(430) NM 114 (Subject + Transitive Predicate + Object + Indirect Object)
Yek y-o-wak-anú bolany Anis.
I 1SG SUBJ-R-send-3SG.M OBJ talk Anis
'I sent Anis the talk.'

(431) XC 403 (Subject + Transitive Predicate + Object + Indirect Object)
Atúnú n-é-kéna-li suluhw nauklinenú.
one (male) 3SG.M SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ-come rings father in law
'He will return the rings to the father-in-law.'

(432) HL 14 (Transitive Predicate)
I-ch-ah.
1SG SUBJ IRR-cl8PL OBJ-eat
'I will eat food.'

(433) NH 2 (Temporal + Transitive Predicate + Object)
Nabotik ch-e-lawali kepehas.
yesterday 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-bring sheet iron
'Yesterday they brought pieces of sheet iron.'

(434) NB 11 (Transitive Predicate + Object)
Y-é-bule *utalúh.*
1SG SUBJ-R-cut grass
'I cut grass.'

(435) NM 10 (Transitive Predicate + Indirect Object)
N-a-kú *Wiyaman.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-give Wiyaman
'He gave it to Wiyaman.

(436) NT 69 (Temporal + Transitive Predicate)
Namaitú m-é-mének.
now 1PL SUBJ-R-hear
'Now we have heard it.'

(437) NM 54 (Transitive Predicate + Instrumental-Benefactive)
[N-a-kli *n-a-dúk-anú]*$_{TP}$ *tamiyok* *Lowenem.*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-say 3SG.M SUBJ-R-kill-3SG.M OBJ axe Lowenem.
'He wanted to kill Lowenem with an axe.'

(438) NM 49 (Subject + Transitive Predicate + Instrumental-Benefactive)
Ahlechim *n-o-wachak-u-m-onú* *anas.*
Ahlechim 3SG.M SUBJ-R-throw-BENEF-3SG.M OBJ one
'Ahlechim hit him with one hand.'

(439) NS 8 (Transitive Predicate + Object + Instrumental-Benefactive)
Ch-é-nek *[nebenyi moul]*$_{OBJ}$ *[umu* *enyudak kopi].*$_{I-B}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-do big work BENEF this coffee
'They did hard work in preparing this coffee.'

(440) QA 90 (Transitive Predicate + Locative)
[Ch-e-ne *sawolim-anú]*$_{TP}$ *[gani wolúb Golokwinyi].*$_{LOC}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-do shovel-cl7SG OBJ there river Golokwinyi
'They shoveled sand and gravel there at Golokwinyi River.'

(441) HL 47 (Note that *-ah* 'to eat' is a class 10 verb so that the object affix is a prefix)
(Subject + Temporal + Transitive Predicate + Object)
[Y-a-nú batowich]$_{S}$ *dokwechúk* *m-a-ch-ah* *apak-i-ch.*
I-R-and children recently 1PL SUBJ-R-cl8PL OBJ-eat wePL-POSS-cl8PL
'I and the children ate our food recently.'

(442) HQ 11 (Temporal + Transitive Predicate + Object)
[Tunde Trinde]$_{TEMP}$ *p-e-nek* *[eneny kopi-yi-ny* *moul].*$_{OBJ}$
Tuesday Wednesday 2PL SUBJ-IMP-do some coffee-POSS-cl8SG work
'Tuesday and Wednesday you do some work on your coffee projects.'

(443) HK 23 (Subject + Transitive Predicate + Indirect Object)
[Apak ahlim]$_{S}$ *m-u-k-om* *saki* *namudak* *[núgamim,*
wePL fathers 1PL SUBJ-IRR-give-3PL.M OBJ knowledge like that sons

choku-choku-mi *núgamim.]*$_{IO}$
small-small-3PL.M those who sons
'We fathers will give knowledge to our very young sons like that.'

(444) (Temporal + Transitive Predicate + Object + Modifier)
Eke *ch-ú-bo* *énanú,* *[bwidouk* *echech* *ch-a-kli-mu].*MOD
future 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-hit one male like they PL.MIX 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-say-that
'They will kill a man, as they said.'

6.1.2 INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

The most frequent order for the Indicative Intransitive Clause is:

Indicative Intransitive Clause:

(Temporal)	(Subject)	Intransitive Predicate
temporal word	Apposition Noun Phrase	Modified Verb Phrase
Temporal Phrase$_1$	Coordinate Noun Phrase	Repeated Verb Phrase
	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	Coordinate Verb Phrase
	Modified Noun Phrase$_2$	Motion Verb Phrase
(Instrumental-Benefactive)	(Locative)	(Modifier)
Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase	Locative Phrase$_1$	adverb
	Locative Phrase$_3$	Similarity Phrase

That is, an intransitive indicative clause consists of an optional Temporal tagmeme manifested by a temporal word or Temporal Phrase$_1$, followed by an optional Subject tagmeme manifested by an Apposition Noun Phrase, a Coordinate Noun Phrase, or a Modified Noun Phrase of type 1 or 2, followed by an obligatory Intransitive Predicate tagmeme manifested by a Modified, Repeated, Coordinate or Motion Verb Phrase, followed by an optional Instrumental-Benefactive tagmeme manifested by an Instrumental-Benefactive Phrase followed by an optional Locative tagmeme manifested by a Locative Phrase of type 1 or 3, followed by an optional Modifier tagmeme manifested by an adverb or a Similarity Phrase.

Rules:

1. Temporal tagmeme can occur clause finally.

2. Only class 5 verbs can occur manifesting the Head tagmemes of the verb phrases in the intransitive Predicate slot.

3. Not all the optional tagmemes can co-occur. Usually one or two, or at the most three, can occur with the intransitive Predicate.

4. Modifier occurs only if the intransitive clause is manifesting the Explanation slot of an Explanatory Paragraph (8.5) or if this intransitive clause manifests the Quotation slot of a Direct Quote Sentence (7.2.6) or the Indirect Quotation slot of an Indirect Quote Sentence.

5. At the most one other optional tagmeme can co-occur with Modifier.

(445) NM 022 (Intransitive Predicate + Instrumental-Benefactive)
Ny-a-itak *[umu* *ouku-dak* *Semetokwa.]*$_{I\text{-}B}$
it-R-arise about 3SG.F DEM-this Semetokwa
'The problem arose about this woman, Semetokwa.'

(446) (Intransitive Predicate + Locative + Temporal)
[W-é-nak-i *w-a-bih-i]*$_{IP}$ *agéndak* *belo+bek.*
3PL.F SUBJ-R-go-come 3PL.F SUBJ-R-go down-come here 1pm
'They came and came down here at 1pm.'

(447) XC 005 (Temporal + Intransitive Predicate + Locative)
Doumweh ch-u-pwe wabél.
today 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-be village
'Today they will stay in the village.'

(448) CK 032 (Subject + Intransitive Predicate + Locative)
[Yek Chuwaba Yelobwi Jogiyam Simon]$_S$ *m-a-bih Bulbudukihi*
I Chuwaba Yelobwi Jogiyam Simon 1PL SUBJ-R-go down Bulbudukihi
'I, Chuwaba, Yelobwi, Jogiyam, and Simon went down to Bulbudukihi.'

(449) NK 86 (Subject + Intransitive Predicate)
Ohwak [w-a-bih w-o-nak.]$_{IP}$
we.DL 1DL SUBJ-R-go down 1DL SUBJ-R-do
'We went down and went.'

(450) NK 114 (Intransitive Predicate + Locative)
M-a-pwe (gun-douk).
1PL SUBJ-R-be here-there (nearer to the hearer than the speaker)
'We stayed there.'

(451) NK 146 (Intransitive Predicate + Temporal)
[M-a-pwe m-o-naki]$_{IP}$ *wab.*
1PL SUBJ-R-be 1PL SUBJ-R-come night
'We continued to come at night.'

(452) XD 3 (Intransitive Predicate + Locative)
H-a-pwe Malabeim-ak.
cl13SUBJ-R-be Malabeim-LOC
'The rain-making magic is at Malabeim village.'

(453) XF 015 (Intransitive Predicate)
M-u-kihi.
1PL SUBJ-come up
'We will come up to higher elevation within the village.'

(454) RM 067 (Temporal + Subject + Intransitive Predicate + Locative)
Namaitú [énech elpech wolabai-chi]$_S$ *ch-a-pwe [égú-dak nahabigú.]*$_{LOC}$
now some people many-cl8PL cl8PL SUBJ-R-be this-near garden
'Now many people are here in Papua New Guinea.'

Note: The form *egudak nahabigu* 'this garden' is used figuratively to mean 'the country of Papua New Guinea'.

(455) RM 65 (Intransitive Predicate + Modifier)
Ch-e-lahe namudak.
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-go around like that
'They travelled like that.'

(456) HK 006 (Intransitive Predicate + Locative + Modifier)
P-ú-lahe yah namudak.
2PL SUBJ-IMP-go around road like that
'You travel on the road like that.'

(457) NN 400 (Subject + Intransitive Predicate + Modifier)
[Enyudak élmatokw-i-ny]$_S$ *ny-i-yotu* *namudak.*
this woman-POSS-cl8SG cl8SG SUBJ-IRR-stand like that
'This problem about the woman is like that.'

(458) NT 133 (Intransitive Predicate + Locative + Modifier)
Ch-ú-pe atúgún, [bwidouk at-únú anin-omu]$_{MOD}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-be together like one-cl7SG father-like
'They will stay together, like one person/father.'

6.1.3 STATIVE CLAUSE

Indicative Stative Clause:

(Temporal)	Subject	Predicate
temporal word	Apposition Noun Phrase	adjective
Temporal Phrase$_1$	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	
	pronoun	

That is, an Indicative Stative Clause consists of an optional Temporal tagmeme manifested by a temporal word or Temporal Phrase$_1$ followed by an obligatory Subject tagmeme manifested by an Apposition Noun Phrase, a Modified Noun Phrase of type 1, or a pronoun, followed by an obligatory Predicate tagmeme manifested by an adjective.

(459) XC 039 (Subject + Predicate)
Élmato-k yopu-k.
woman-cl4SG good-cl4SG
'The woman has recovered.'

Note: In other contexts this can mean 'The woman is mature'.

(460) NC 004 (Subject + Predicate)
[Yek-i-ny moul]$_S$ *yopw-iny.*
1SG-POSS-cl8SG work good-cl8SG
'My work is good.'

(461) NF 006 (Temporal + Subject + Predicate)
Luhut aiya-g yopu-gú.
later on leg-cl3SG good-cl3SG
'Later on its leg will be healed.'

(462) (Subject + Predicate)
Yek yopu-we.
1SG good-1SG
'I have recovered.'

(463) NK 084 (Subject + Predicate)
[Lomubuli on-ok nugawikw okwokw-i-tú wilpa-t]$_S$ *dodok-atú.*
Lomubuli 3SG.M-cl4SG daughter 3SG.F-POSS-cl11SG house-cl11SG very nice-cl11SG
'Lomubuli's daughter's house is very nice.'

6.1.4 EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

Indicative Equational Clause:

Subject	Equation
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	noun 17
pronoun	noun 18
	derived noun stem

That is, an Indicative Equation Clause consists of an obligatory Subject tagmeme manifested by a Modified Noun Phrase of class 1 or a free pronoun, followed by an obligatory Equation tagmeme manifested by a noun of class 17 or 18 or a derived noun stem. An Equational Clause is clearly distinguished from a Topic Comment Clause because the former does not take the imperative or question transformation.

(464) RD 001 (Subject + Equation)
Yek Ibara.
1SG Ibara
'I am Ibara.'

(465) RM 001 (Subject + Equation)
[Yek-i-nú ani-nú]$_S$ *Duna.*
1SG POSS-cl7SG father-cl7SG Duna
'My father was named Duna.'

(466) NG 001 (Subject + Equation)
[Anan-i-nú ani-nú]$_S$ *Jamanduwu.*
3SG.M POSS-cl7SG father-cl7SG Jamanduwu
'His father is Jamanduwu.'

(467) SD 001 (Subject + Equation)
[Yek-i-bél wa-bél]$_S$ *Bonohwitomu.*
1SG POSS-cl2SG village-cl2SG Bonohwitomu
'My village is Bonohwitomu.'

(468) RG 179 (Subject + Equation)
Anan oblom-i-nú.
3SG.M Maprik language-POSS-3SG.M
'He is a man who is a native speaker of the Maprik language.'

6.1.5 TOPIC COMMENT CLAUSE

Indicative Topic Comment Clause:

+Topic	+Comment
noun 18	nominalised clause
pronoun	demonstrative
Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	locative word
	Locative Phrase$_1$
	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$
	derived noun stem
	response
	Similarity Phrase
	temporal word
	Temporal Phrase$_1$

That is, an Indicative Topic Comment Clause consists of an obligatory Topic tagmeme manifested by a type 1 Modified Noun Phrase, a class 18 noun, or a pronoun, followed by an obligatory Comment tagmeme manifested by one of a number of different fillers: a nominalised clause, a demonstrative, a locative word, a Locative Phrase$_1$, a type 1 Modified Noun Phrase, a derived noun stem, a response word, a Similarity Phrase, a temporal word or a Temporal Phrase$_1$.

Rules:

1. Order of the two tagmemes can occasionally be reversed, as in (472). This may be a way of highlighting the comment tagmeme.

2. There is obligatory agreement of number and gender between the fillers of Topic and of Comment if Comment is manifested by a demonstrative or a derived noun stem.

(469) MD 2 (Topic + Comment)
Okok wak.
3SG.F no
'She didn't have any.'

(470) NL 090 (Topic + Comment)
[Ani-nú anan-i-ny bola-ny]$_T$ *enye-dak.*
father-cl7SG 3SG.M-POSS-cl8SG talk-cl8SG cl8SG DEM-here
'Father's talk is like this.'

(471) NT 118 (Topic + Comment)
Anan nebe-be-nali.
3SG.M important very-3SG.M-one who
'He is a very important man.'

(472) NB 052 (Comment + Topic)
Lougún Ukarumpa.
distant Ukarumpa
'Ukarumpa is far away.'

(473) NZ 021 (Topic + Comment)
Ohwak-i-m [h-a-suh bulguh uli.]$_C$
1DL-POSS-3PL.M 3PL.M SUBJ-R-hold/tie pigs those who
'Our two pig exchange partners are the ones who tied up the pigs.'

(474) RG 002 (Topic:Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ + Comment:Similarity Phrase)
Unaluk [bwidouk mamakik-umu.]$_C$
cassowary like mother-like
'The cassowary is like a mother.'

6.1.6 Ordinal Clause

Ordinal clauses are clauses expressing time using ordinal numbers. They occur only in the Temporal slot of indicative clauses or in the Temporal Margin slot of any sentence type.

Ordinal Clause:

Transitive Predicate	Temporal	Object	Temporal
verb with verb stem *-kli* 'say'	*-mu* 'the time when'	numeral stem Numeral Phrase	*umu* 'the time when'

That is, an ordinal clause consists of an obligatory transitive predicate tagmeme manifested by a verb with verb stem *-kli* 'to say' followed by an obligatory Temporal slot manifested by the particle *-mu* 'the time when', followed by an obligatory Object tagmeme manifested by either a numeral stem or a Numeral Phrase, followed by an obligatory Temporal slot manifested by *umu* 'the time when'.

Rule:

1. The first Temporal tagmeme is actually manifested by *umu*, but since it immediately follows a vowel the first *u* in *umu* is lost.

(475) *Ch-a-kli-mu* *nobat-ich-umu.*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-say-when four-cl8PL-time when
'In the fourth year...'

(476) *H-a-kli-mu* *bwi-yeh-umu.*
cl13SG SUBJ-R-say-when two-cl13PL-time when
'The second day ...' OR 'On the second day...'

Note in (476) the referent in class 13 is *nyúmúnah* 'day'.

6.1.7 TEMPORAL CLAUSE

This clause type occurs in the Temporal Margin slot of sentences.

Temporal Clause:

Head	Temporal
indicative clause	*-umu* 'when, the time when'
	-abali 'when'
	taim 'when'
	yet 'when ... still'

That is, a Temporal Clause consists of an obligatory Head tagmeme manifested by any indicative clause followed by a Temporal tagmeme manifested by *-abali* 'when', *-umu* 'when, the time when' or two closely related words in Tok Pisin – *taim* 'when' and *yet* 'still' or 'when ... still'.

Rule:

1. Head and Temporal can be permuted if Temporal is manifested by *taim* or *-abali.*

(477) RM 062 (Temporal + Head)
Taim *[ch-ú-kli* *ch-ú-na-mu* *Kairiru]*$_{H}$
when 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-say 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-go to Kairiru village

ch-u-no-hwalo-m-ogu...
3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-REFL-call-BENEF-D REF
'When they would want to go to Kairiru village, they themselves would call out ...'

Note that in (477) the order of the two tagmemes is reversed because *umu* 'the time when; when', which would occur following the Head tagmeme, has been replaced by the Tok Pisin *taim* and this has resulted in the Temporal tagmeme occurring first to match the Tok pisin word order.

(478) NV 073 (Head + Temporal)
[Pris *kar* *ny-a-naki* *lougún]*$_{H}$ *[yet]*$_{TEMP}$ *y-e-chuh* *atap*
police car cl8SG SUBJ-R-come long way still 1SG SUBJ-R-sleep below

y-a-húl *logúl* *pris* *kar* *ny-a-kús* *ny-a-ti-we* *nau*
1SG SUBJ-R-hold hand police car cl8SG SUBJ-R-be cl8SG SUBJ-R-see-1SG OBJ now
'When the police car was still a long way away, I lay down on the road and held up my hand and the police car was there and saw me.'

(479) HM 023 (Head + Temporal)
[Echech *at-ich* *ch-a-lahe]*$_{H}$ *[abali]*$_{TEMP}$ *apak* *kobwi*
3PL.MIX only-3PL.MIX 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-walk around when 1PL FUT.NEG

m-u-tul-ich
1PL SUBJ-IRR-see-3PL.MIX OBJ
'When they are walking around alone, we won't see them.'

(480) XW 083 (Head + Temporal)
[Kar *ny-u-wich]*$_{H}$ *[abali]*$_{TEMP}$ *n-i-nyalú* *kiltam.*
car cl8SG SUBJ-IRR-enter when 3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-open door
'When the car will enter the garage, he will open the door.'

(481) NL 101 (Head + Temporal)
[Ny-u-la-li *batowich]*$_{H}$ *[umu,]*$_{TEMP}$ *imas* *ny-u-ne-pilim...*
2SG SUBJ-IRR-bear-come children time when IMP 2SG SUBJ-IMP-do-feel pain
'When you bear children, you must feel pain...'

6.2 TRANSFORMATIONS

Although this analysis generally follows the tagmemic model, both the Sentence Topicalisation and the non-indicative clause types are described using transformations, in order to obtain greater simplicity of description and more insight into the relationships among clauses and between clauses, and the Simple Sentence. The following abbreviations are used in describing transformations: C 'consonant', V 'vowel', v 'verb', vs 'verb stem', N 'Noun'.

6.2.1 TOPICALISATION

The topicalisation transformation consists of permuting any transitive or intransitive clause tagmeme other than subject or Temporal to prepredicate position. This permutation highlights the prepredicate tagmeme as Sentence Topic and thereby transforms the clause into a Simple Sentence. The Simple Sentence has one peripheral tagmeme, Sentence Topic, which distinguishes it from a clause which has no peripheral tagmemes.

The topicalisation transformation further operates on a transitive or intransitive clause to change the Subject tagmeme to Sentence Topic in the following manner: either (1) the Subject tagmeme is repeated or (2) the Subject tagmeme manifested by a Coordinate Noun Phrase has a Coordinate tagmeme manifested by *o* 'topical connective'.

This topicalisation transformation can be stated in the following formula:

transitive/intransitive Clause → X + (transitive/intransitive Clause-X)
→ Y + Y + (transitive/intransitive Clause -Y)
→ Y *(o)* + (transitive/intransitive Clause -Y)

where X is any tagmeme except Temporal or Subject, and (transitive/intransitive clause -X) is the same as on the left of the arrow with tagmeme X deleted. The second and third rules are defined analogously. Y represents the Subject tagmeme and Y *(o)* representing the subject tagmeme manifested by a Coordinate Noun Phrase with the Coordinate slot manifested by *o* 'topical connective'.

(482) PA 144

[Bwiyas,	*bwiyas*	*otup]*TOPIC	*[w-i-chú-lúh.]*NUCLEUS
two	two	one	3PL.F SUBJ-IRR-cl8PL OBJ-cook

'... Two or three pans of food is the amount which the women will cook.'

Note that the filler of Sentence Topic would occur clause final, manifesting Object tagmeme, if the Topicalisation transformation had not been applied.

(483) QA 48

[Manohweh	*Manohweh]*TOPIC	*[n-e-nak*	*n-a-lawali*
Manohweh	Manohweh	3SG.M SUBJ-R-go	3SG.M SUBJ-R-bring

*agogweh.]*NUCLEUS
sago branch rake
'... Manohweh, the one I am talking about, went and brought a sago branch rake ...'

Note that *Manohweh,* being repeated, is analysed as Sentence Topic.

6.2.2 IMPERATIVE TRANSFORMATION

The Imperative transformation stated below does not apply to indicative Equational clauses, but only to certain indicative Stative and Topic Comment clauses, as indicated in the following rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{Stative Clause}\\ \text{Topic Comment Clause}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \left(\begin{Bmatrix}\textit{nyak}\\ \text{you SG}\end{Bmatrix}\right) \begin{Bmatrix}\textit{ny-u-pwe}\\ \text{2SG SUBJ-IMP-be}\end{Bmatrix} \quad \begin{matrix}\textit{(aliga)}\\ \text{until}\end{matrix}$$
$$\begin{Bmatrix}\textit{ipak}\\ \text{you PL}\end{Bmatrix} \begin{Bmatrix}\textit{p-u-pwe}\\ \text{2PL SUBJ-IMP-be}\end{Bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{adjective}_{2S/PL}\\ \text{derived noun stem}_{2S/PL}\end{bmatrix}$$

Optional elements are enclosed in parentheses and the subscript 2S/PL indicates that the corresponding adjective or derived noun stem must be changed to second person singular or plural form, according to whether the second person singular forms (beginning with *ny*) or the plural forms are selected in the first two segments of the transformed construction.

Conditions of application:

(1) In general Stative clause must have the Temporal tagmeme deleted and Subject tagmeme manifested by a noun or pronoun.

(2) Topic Comment Clause must have Topic tagmeme manifested by a pronoun or Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ consisting of only a noun, and Comment must be manifested by a derived noun stem.

(3) With certain adverbs or derived noun stems, the optional segment *aliga* 'until' seems almost obligatory. With others, its addition changes the meaning slightly.

(484) Stative Clause

ipak	*dodogowi-pú*	→	*ipak*	*p-u-pwe*	*dodogowi-pú*
2PL	strong-2PL		2PL	2PL SUBJ-IMP-be	strong-2PL
'You are strong.'			'Be strong.'		

(485) Stative Clause

mamakik	*yopu-k*	→	*ny-u-pwe*	*aliga*	*yopwi-nyu*
mother	good-3SG.F		2SG SUBJ-IMP-be	until	good-2SG
'The mother has recovered.'			'You continue on until you have recovered.'		

(486) Topic Comment Clause

okudak	*núgawikw*	*yopu-kw-i*	→	*ny-u-pwe*	*aliga*	*yopwi-ny-ali*
this	daughter	good-3SG.F-one who		2SG SUBJ-IMP-be	until	good-2SG-one who
'This daughter is a good person.'				'You continue until you are a good person.'		

For transitive and intransitive indicative clauses, the imperative transformation involves one of the following five rules, depending on the verb class involved:

1. CV → *kw*V: C-V-vs → *kw*V-vs, with class 1-5 verbs

(487) *n-a-itak-úk* → *kwa-itak-úk*
he-R-get up-PERM — IMP-get up-PERM
'He got up and stood up.' — 'Get up and stay up.'

(488) *n-a-taglú* → *kwa-taglú*
he-R-go out — IMP-go out
'He went out.' — 'Go out.'

(No analogous clause available) *kwu-tuwuk*
IMP-leave alone
'Leave it alone.'

The intensive imperative prefix *kw*V is used only in a very limited number of situations in which it is necessary to give commands to fellow-workers on a group project, or to command children, such as when someone else is unknowingly blocking the path into a house. To use it in any other situation is an indication of anger on the part of the speaker and may result in a fight. Part of the restrictions on the use of it may be due to the fact that it is identical in form with the third singular feminine indicative verb forms, which may result in ambiguity. The usual rule for V is:

V = *u* if the following vowel in the verb stem is *u*,
V = *ú* if the following vowel in the verb stem is *ú*,
V = *a* otherwise.

2. CV or C-V-vs → vs with class 1-5 verbs

(489) *n-a-suh* → *suh!*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-hold — hold
'He held it.' — 'Hold!'

(490) *n-a-húl* → *húl!*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-take — take
'He took it.' — 'Take it!'

(491) *n-a-pwe* → *pwe!*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-be — be
'He is here.' — 'Stay where you are!'

(492) *n-a-bihi* → *bihi!*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-come down — come down
'He came down.' — 'Come down!'

3. CV → C_2V; C-V-vs → C_2-V-vs with class 1-5 verbs

(493) *n-u-bo* → *ny-u-bo!*
3SG.M SUBJ-IRR-hit — you-IMP-hit
'He will hit.' — 'Hit!'

n-a-ø-nu → *p-é-ø-nu!*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-hit-him — you PL-IMP-hit him
'He hit him.' — 'Hit him!'

This is the most common imperative transformation.

4. vsCV → $noun_{17}$, *wo* vsC_2V +*umu* X *e* with class 6 verbs and Noun-Verb idioms.

(494) *elgei-nú* → *Kevin, wak elgei-nyo-mu iduwul e?*
fear-he — Kevin NEG fear-you-about snake NEG
'He is afraid.' — 'Kevin, aren't you afraid of the snake?'

(495) *ulkum m-e-k-ena-guk* →
heart cl15SG SUBJ-R-give-3SG.M OBJ-PERM
'He forgot.'

Kevin, ulkum wok m-ú-k-enye-gúk umu keichoguhas e?
Kevin heart NEG cl5SG SUBJ-IRR-give-2SG OBJ-PERM about bow and arrows NEG
'Kevin, you haven't forgotten about the bows and arrows?'

In both examples the negative rhetorical question is used as the imperative, implying that the positive should have occurred but didn't: that is, Kevin should be afraid of snakes and should have forgotten about bows and arrows.'

5. With class 7 verbs, the imperative transformation is blocked.

6.2.3 INTERROGATIVE TRANSFORMATION

The Interrogative Reason-Description Transformation consists of the following rules, where v is an inflected verb of class 1-5 and (N) is a noun or noun phrase:

Interrogative Reason-Description Transformation:

1. v → *monoken dakia* v?
why

2. v → *malmu dakia* v?
why

3. (N) v → (N) v *umu monoken?*
because why

4. v → v *malmu*
why

Conditions of application:

(1) 1 and 2 seem approximately interchangeable, although certain speakers use only 2 with Stative Clauses and Topic Comment Clauses.

(2) Only 3 can be used with noun-verb idioms.

(3) 3 is more frequent with intransitive verbs.

(4) 4 applies only to a limited class of verbs such as *-klip* 'tell; say' and *-nek* 'do'.

(496) *ch-a-ø-nú* → *monokendakio* *ch-a-ø-nú?*
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-hit-3SG.M OBJ — why — 3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-hit-3SG.M OBJ
'They hit him.' — 'Why did they hit him?'

(497) *n-a-nak* → *n-a-nak* *umu monoken?*
3SG.M-R-go — 3SG.M SUBJ-R-go — for what
'He went.' — 'Why did he go?'

(498) *Apak dédégowi-pú* → *malmudakio* *apak dédégowi-pú?*
1PL strong-1PL — why — 1PL strong-1PL
'We are strong.' — 'Why are we strong?'

(499) *Apak dédégowi-pa-li* → *malmuda* *apak dédégowi-pa-li?*
1PL strong-1PL-those who — why — 1PL strong-1PL-those who
'We are strong people.' — 'Why are we strong people?'

(500) *h-a-naki* → *h-a-naki* *umu monoken?*
3PL.M SUBJ-R-come — 3PL.M SUBJ-R-come — for what
'The men came.' — 'Why did the men come?'

(501) NL 049
n-a-klip-epú → *n-a-klip-epú* *malmu?*
3SG.M SUBJ-R-tell-2PL OBJ — 3SG.M SUBJ-R-tell-2PL OBJ — what
'He told you.' — 'What did he tell you?'

(502) NL 031
i-nek-eb → *i-nek-eb* *malmu?*
1SG SUBJ IRR-do-cl1SG OBJ — 1SG SUBJ-IRR-do-cl1SG OBJ — what
'I will make something with earth.' — 'What will I make with earth?'

The Interrogative Identification Transformation consists of the following rules, where v_1 is an inflected verb of class 2, v_2 is an inflected verb classes 3-6, and N, N_1, N_3 are nouns or noun phrases and the interrogative stem is the bound interrogative stem *mei* described in section 3.10.

Interrogative Identification Transformation:

1. Nv_1 → interrogative stem v_1?
   Nv_1 → *omuni* v_1?
2. $N_1v_2N_2$ → interrogative stem v_2N_2?
   → *omuni* v_2N_2?
   $N_1v_2N_2$ → N_1v_2 interrogative stem?

Conditions of application:

(1) Interrogative stem must be suffixed with the Adjective suffix which agrees with N, N_1 or N_2 in number and gender as described in Table 1, section 3.1.

(503) *Ananú n-a-naki.* → *mei-na-li n-a-naki?*
INDEF he 3SG.M-R-come who-3SG.M-the one who 3SG.M SUBJ-R-come
'A man came.' 'What male came?'

→ *omuni n-a-naki?*
who 3SG.M SUBJ-R-come
'Who came?'

(504) *Chinyamia n-a-bo Lowenam* → *Omuni n-a-bo Lowenam?*
Chinyamia 3SG.M-R-hit Lowenam who 3SG.M-R-hit Lowenam
'Chinyamia hit Lowenam.' 'Who hit Lowenam?'

→ *Chinyamia n-a-bo mei-na-li?*
Chinyamia 3SG.M-R-hit who-3SG.M-the one who
'Whom did Chinyamia hit?'

6.2.4 YES/NO QUESTION TRANSFORMATION

It seems preferable to distinguish constructions which ask for a yes/no answer from those which express several alternatives. The former are here analysed as Question Clauses, resulting from applying the Yes/No Question Transformation to indicative clauses. The constructions expressing alternatives are analysed as Alternative Sentences. This type of construction is distinguished from Question clauses in that there are almost always two or more clauses terminating with *o* 'or' while Question clauses usually terminate with *o wak?* 'or not?' *Wak* often changes to *wok*, especially in rapid speech.

The Yes/No Question Transformation is illustrated in Table 11, Clause Matrix 1 in section 6.1. It is defined by the following rule:

indicative Clause → indicative Clause + *o wak?*
where the '?' indicates alternative intonation.

The conditions of application are as follows:

(1) Does not apply to Equational Clauses.

(2) The final *wak* is often deleted and then the Alternative intonation is carried on the remaining *o*.

(3) When applying to Stative Clauses, *wak* is replaced by *wotak* 'not yet'.

(4) When applying to Topic Comment Clauses, the final *wak* is omitted.

(505) NM 021
P-ú-ke anabal utabal! →
2PL SUBJ-IMP-give-1SG OBJ some money
'Give me some money!'

P-ú-k-e anabal utabal o wak?
2PL SUBJ-IRR-give-1SG OBJ some money or not
'Will you give me some money, or not?'

(506) *I-nak.* → *i-nak o wak?*
1SG SUBJ IRR-go 1SG SUBJ IRR-go or not
'I will go.' 'May I go or not?'

(507) *núgawikw yopu-kw* → *núgawikw yopu-kw o wotak?*
daughter healed-3SG.F — daughter healed-3SG.F or not yet
'The daughter is healed.' — 'Is the daughter healed, or not yet?'

(508) *Okudak núgawikw yopu-kw-i* →
this daughter good-3SG.F-one who
'This daughter is a good person.'

Okudak núgawikw yopu-kw-i o wak?
this daughter good-3SG.F one who or not
'Is this daughter a good person or not?'

(509) *I-nak Yangoru* → *I-nak Yangoru o wak?*
1SG SUBJ IRR-go Yangoru — 1SG SUBJ IRR-go Yangoru or not
'I will go to Yangoru.' — 'May I go to Yangoru or not?'

6.2.5 NEGATION TRANSFORMATION

Negative Clauses are formed from the indicative clauses by application of the past Negation or future Negation transformations as illustrated in Table 11, Clause Matrix 1, section 6.1, and defined by the following rules:

Past Negation Transformation:

1. Intransitive/transitive Clause → *wo/wotak* + Clause + *e*.

2. Topic Comment Clause: + Topic + Comment → + Topic *wo* + Comment *e*.

3. Stative Clause: ± Temporal + Subject + Predicate: adjective → + Temporal + Subject + *wo* + Predicate: adjective *e*.

4. Equational Clause: ± Temporal + Subject + Predicate: adjective + Temporal + Subject + *wo* + Predicate: adjective *e*.

Future Negation Transformation (Fut Neg):

5. Intransitive/transitive Clause → *kobwi* + Intransitive/transitive Clause.

6. Topic Comment Clause: + Topic + Comment → + Topic + *kobwi* + Comment.

Conditions of application:

(1) In 1 and 5 often all optional tagmemes are deleted prior to the application of the transformation.

(2) In 1, the Temporal tagmeme is either deleted or occurs prior to *wo*.

(3) 1 through 5 apply only to clauses with severely restricted fillers of the clause level slots. No embedding of clauses and very little embedding of phrases is allowed.

(4) Subject and/or Object tagmemes can occur either before or after *wo* when 1 is applied.

(5) In 1 and 5, any iP manifested by *-kús* 'to be, inanimate' is replaced by *en- + -unú*, where *-unú* is the appropriate verb suffix from the *<-unú>* class as described in Table 6. Occasionally the intransitive Predicate occurs following *e* in 1.

(6) The Topicalisation transformation can be applied following 1 through 5.

(7) In 1 through 5, all verbs in realis mood must be changed to irrealis mood.

(8) 1 can be applied to Narrative Sentences. Therefore negation is a sentence as well as a clause phenomenon.

(9) 1 is blocked if the Predicate tagmeme in a transitive or intransitive clause is manifested by a Modified Verb Phrase whose Modifier 1 tagmeme is manifested by *wotak* (see (522)).

In the following examples, the final output construction is the example referred to from text. The initial clauses are included to illustrate how the transformations work.

(510) NT 084

Ulkwip	*p-a-lú*	*sisah...*	→	*kobwi*	*ulkwip*	*p-ú-lú*	*sisah...*
hearts	cl5PL SUBJ-R-be	bad		FUT.NEG	hearts	cl5PL SUBJ-IRR-be	bad
'They are sad...'				'They will not be sad...'			

(511) RM 060

Énech	*élpech*	*ch-a-lahe...*	→	*kobwi*	*énech*	*élpech*	*ch-ú-lahe...*
some	people	3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-walk around		FUT.NEG	some	people	3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-walk around
'Some people walked around...'				'There will not be any people walking around...'			

(512) SD 46: *-atú* and *-eny* are the <*-unú*> verb suffixes in condition 5.

Kot	*t-a-pwe*	*kalabus*	*ny-a-pwe...*	→
court	cl11SG-R-be	jail	cl8SG-R-be	

'There are courts and jails ...'

Kot	*kobwi*	*én-atú*	*kalabus*	*kobwi*	*én-eny...*
court	FUT.NEG	some-cl11SG	jail	FUT.NEG	some-cl8SG

'There will not be any courts or jails ...'

(513) XD 041

Kakwich	*yowe-ch.*	→	*Kakwich*	*kobwi*	*yowe-ch.*
garden food	bad-cl8PL		garden food	FUT.NEG	bad-cl8PL
'The garden food is bad.'			'The garden food will not be bad.'		

(514) HG 003

Aninú	*ananiny*	*bolany*	*yowe-nyi*	→
father	3SG.M POSS cl8SG	talk	bad-cl8SG	

'Father's talk is bad.'

Aninú	*ananiny*	*bolany*	*wo*	*yowe-nyi*	*e.*	
father	3SG.M POSS cl8SG	talk	NEG	bad-cl8SG	NEG	

'Father's talk is not bad ...'

(515) HN 019: In this example the topicalisation transformation has been applied to the output of transformation 5 so the object *bulguh* 'pigs' is highlighted as Sentence Topic and occurs sentence-initially.

P-é-ø-guh	*bulguh*	→
2PL SUBJ-IMP-hit-cl10PL OBJ	pigs	

'You hit the pigs.'

Kobwi	*p-é-ø-guh*	*bulguh*	→
FUT.NEG	2PL.SUBJ-IMP-hit-cl10PL OBJ	pigs	

'Don't hit the pigs.'

Bulguh kobwi p-é-ø-guh
pigs FUT.NEG 2PL SUBJ-IMP-hit-cl10PL OBJ
'As for the pigs, don't hit them.'

(516) NN 496: In this example the topicalisation transformation has been applied to the output of transformation 1 so that the object *énechi énech* 'all kinds of things' is highlighted as Sentence Topic and occurs sentence-initially.
Ch-e-nek-ech énechi+énech →
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-do-cl8PL OBJ all kinds of things
'They do all kinds of things.'

Énechi+énech wo ch-e-nek-ech e.
all kinds of things NEG 3PL.MIX SUBJ-IRR-do-cl8PL OBJ NEG
'As for all kinds of things, they didn't do them.'

(517) NN 426: Here transformation 1 has been applied to a Narrative Sentence.
Apak dodogowi-pú m-u-lib yawihas m-u-wu kakwich. →
1PL strong-1PL 1PL SUBJ-IRR-cut gardens 1PL SUBJ-IRR-plant food
'We are strong and will cut bush for gardens and plant garden food.'

Apak wo dodogowi-pú m-u-lib yawihas m-u-wu kakwich e.
1PL NEG strong-1PL 1PL SUBJ-IRR-cut gardens 1PL SUBJ-IRR-plant food NEG
'We are not strong/not able to cut bush for gardens and plant garden food.'

(518) NH 043: Note Temporal tagmeme manifested by *nabotik* 'yesterday' precedes *wo.*
Nabotik gamu m-a-klupw-ech. →
yesterday well 1PL SUBJ-R-wash-cl8PL OBJ
'Yesterday we washed the things well.'

Nabotik wo gamu m-u-klup-ech e.
yesterday NEG well 1PL SUBJ-IRR-wash-cl8PL OBJ NEG
'Yesterday we didn't wash the things very well.'

(519) HM 007
Dodogowi-ch. → Wo dodogowi-ch e.
strong-3PL.MIX NEG strong-3PL.MIX NEG
'They are strong.' 'They aren't strong.'

(520) NO 043
Enyudak bolany kalbú. → Enyudak bolan wo kalbúk e.
this talk good this talk NEG good NEG
'This talk is good.' 'This talk is not good.'

(521) NV 046: Note that the topicalisation transformation has been applied to the output of 1.
S-a-kús Wiwek Lei Rabaul. →
cl5PL SUBJ-R-be Wewak Lae Rabaul
'These knives are in the stores at Wewak, Lae, and Rabaul.'

Wiwek Lei Rabaul wok én-as e.
Wewak Lae Rabaul NEG some-cl1PL NEG
'As for the stores in Wewak, Lae, and Rabaul, they don't have these knives.'

(522) NM 7

Wotak m-u-lpok.	→	*Kobwi wotak m-u-lpok.*
more 1PL SUBJ-IRR-fight		FUT.NEG more 1PL SUBJ-IRR-fight
'We will fight some more.'		'We will not fight anymore.'

6.2.6 RELATIVE CLAUSE TRANSFORMATION

A relative clause is formed from an indicative clause or from an indicative Topic Comment Clause by the following relative clause transformation:

indicative Clause → indicative Clause + *úli* = nominalised clause
Topic Comment Clause → Topic Comment Clause + *<-unú>* + *-úli* = nominalised clause

That is, the transformation adjoins to an indicative Clause the relativiser *úli* 'the one(s) who, that which', etc. The transformation can also apply to a Topic Comment clause by adjoining a member of the *<-unú>* class, followed by *-úli*. Note that the resulting relativised clause is called a nominalised clause. That is because there seems to be no difference between nominalisation and relativisation.

Relative clauses are very frequent in text. They occur primarily manifesting the Modifier 2 tagmeme in Modified Noun Phrase$_1$, the Subject tagmeme of indicative transitive clauses, and the Topic tagmeme of Topic Comment Clauses.

Rules for relativisation transformation:

1. Usually the final vowel of the *<-unú>* class suffix is replaced by *a*.

2. Comment tagmeme of the Topic Comment Clause must be manifested by *wak* 'no' and the Topic tagmeme can be deleted (see (523) below).

3. Most frequently the Topic Comment Clause occurs manifesting the Condition tagmeme of a Conditional Sentence.

(523) SA 159: Condition tagmeme of a Conditional Sentence is manifested by a relative clause which is a relativised Topic Comment clause which was, prior to relativisation:
Topic + Comment
[Anan]$_T$ *[mamakik wak ok]*$_C$
he mother NEG 3SG.F
'He did not have a mother.'

Note that Topic: *anan* has been deleted.

nominalised Clause = Topic Comment Clause
[Mamakik wak ok-ana-li]$_{TC}$ *mohukik kw-a-hok oblak.*
mother no 3SG.F-3SG.M-one who sister 3SG.F SUBJ-R-hold coconut shell
'If he was a man without a mother, his sister held the coconut shell.'

The member of *<-unú>* is *-ana* 'he'.

(524) In this example, the Topic Comment clause originally was:
Topic Comment Clause = +Topic: *bwiyou* +Comment: *élmom wok*
two cl4PL men no
'The two women didn't have husbands.'

Note that in the relativisation transformation, the Topic tagmeme is not deleted as it was in the previous example. The member of *<-unú>* is *-owa* 'they, feminine'.

Bwi-you élmom wok owa-li.
two-cl4PL men no 3PL.FEM-those who
'The two women who didn't have husbands.'

(525) RJ 031: This is an indicative transitive clause with the Locative tagmeme manifested by a Locative Phrase$_1$, which has the Locative tagmeme manifested by *chihah* 'on top of' and the Head tagmeme manifested by a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ whose Modifier 2 tagmeme is manifested by a nominalised clause manifested by a Locative Phrase$_1$ = Locative: *chihah* Head: Modified Noun Phrase$_1$.
Ch-o-hw-umu chihah [yaulelúh]$_H$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-cl12SG OBJ-put on top of wooden plates

[ch-a-bal-úlúh utabal úli]$_{NOM.CL}$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-carve-cl12PL OBJ stones those which
'They put this wooden plate on top of the wooden plates which they had carved with stone tools.'

(526) NK 123: The nominalised clause manifests the Modifier 2 tagmeme of a Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ which manifests the Object tagmeme of the entire example which is an indicative transitive Clause.
H-a-gabwe-yagú [[agú-dak]$_{MOD1}$ *[nebe-gali]*$_{MOD3}$ *[trag]*$_H$
3PL.M SUBJ-R-fix-cl3SG OBJ cl3SG DEM-this large-cl3SG truck

[g-a-lahe-mu bensin úli]$_{NOM.CL}$*]*$_{OBJ}$
cl3SG SUBJ-R-travel-BENEF gasoline the one which
'They repaired this big truck which carries gasoline around.'

(527) NN 474: The nominalised clause manifests the Subject tagmeme of an indicative intransitive clause.
[Seiwak bl-é-nak bl-anúk nyublas úli]$_{NOM.CL}$
long ago cl2PL SUBJ-R-go cl2PL SUBJ-R-pull slit drum those which

bl-ú-naki.
cl2PL SUBJ-IRR-come
'Those who a long time ago had gone and pulled the slit gong drums will come ...'

(528) RF 068: This is a Direct Quotation Sentence in which the Quotation is manifested by a relative Clause which manifests the Topic tagmeme of an indicative Topic Comment Clause.
Ch-a-kli [ah, apak m-u-sah buwany úli]$_{T=NOM.CL}$ *[wak]*$_C$
3PL.MIX SUBJ-R-say oh 1PL 1PL SUBJ-IRR-carry flutes those who no
'They said, "Oh! We are not people who carry flutes!"'

7. SENTENCE

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Sentences are classified as either Simple, Tight, or Loose. The Simple sentence consists of a nuclear tagmeme manifested by a clause, plus one or more peripheral tagmemes. The Tight and Loose sentences all consists of two or more Bases or base-like tagmemes often joined by some type of Link tagmeme.

Sentence boundaries are often difficult to define, since neither verb morphology nor intonation are very useful, although final intonation is sometimes applied as a secondary criterion. The major criteria which have been used are: repeated verb or repeated close synonymn of verb, end of

quotations, end of questions, domain of negation (see Negation Sentence), occurrence of Time and/or Location and/or Benefactive clause-level tagmemes, and the occurrence of certain conjunctions and vocative constructions which seem to be associated with a unit larger than the clause.

Repeated verb or repeated close synonym of verb is a particularly useful and objective criterion, but difficult to apply. It is necessary to note carefully whether or not (1) the repeated stretch is identical with or shorter than the first occurrence, or (2) the repeated stretch is longer than the first occurrence — particularly whether an additional clause level tagmeme or verb phrase level tagmeme is present. In case (1) the repeated verb marks a sentence boundary while in case (2) the repetitions are joined to form an Amplification Sentence which ends at the end of the repeated stretch.

Ends of quotations are occasionally marked by QF_2 (see Direct Quote Sentence) but more often simply by the context and meaning and the reference of the pronouns or person-subject affixes on the verbs.

Ends of questions are marked by context and occasionally by characteristic question words and/or intonation.

Usually the Time clause-level tagmeme occurs at the beginning of a clause or string of clauses which turns out to be a sentence, while the Locative or Benefactive clause-level tagmemes usually occur at the end of such a string.

Vocative tagmemes, manifested by pronouns, personal names, and certain kinship terms, all with a characteristic calling intonation, typically occur at the beginning of a string which I would hope and expect to be a sentence. Afterthought tagmeme, manifested by a Coordinate Noun Phrase or an Apposition Noun Phrase, typically occurs at the end of such a string. There are several conjunctions which typically occur preceding one of these strings: these items include *na* 'and' (which is a loan from Tok Pisin), *douk* 'now, and', *oli* or *orait* 'and, but, all right, like this, and now'. Therefore such items, provided they occur following an immediately preceding final intonation, are often good indications of a sentence boundary. Such conjunctions typically precede the Vocative tagmeme if it occurs and would generally be the first element of any such string which might be called sentence. See the bidimensional array for Simple Sentence in section 7.1.3.

In this and all following descriptions of these conjunctions, the glosses are only approximate and their real function can be seen only by studying the various examples given throughout section 7, with the qualification that the full function can be understood only by looking at the entire discourse context.

Except for the intonational criteria, many of the above criteria for sentence may seem rather arbitrary. The claim that they work together as a system is supported by a separate analysis of Bukiyip sentence using the criterion of local cohesion (Conrad 1983). This study provides evidence that the local cohesion criterion, with some minor extensions, basically coincides with the above analysis.

Three conjunctions in particular are found to occur with an extremely wide area of meaning: (1) *deke* 'future, lest, but' links bases in the Warning Sentence; (2) *umu* 'when, if, but, because, about, concerning, so that, in order that' links bases in the Purpose Sentence; (3) *oli* 'but, and, therefore, so, so that, then' links bases in the Conjunction Sentence. In the examples of these three sentence types, the conjunctions will not necessarily be translated by the same English word or have the same meaning in every example. It is not possible to predict from the morpheme-by-morpheme translation what the meaning of the conjunction should be. The meanings given in the free English translation for each example are essentially correct. The meanings are not always

what an outsider would expect from looking at the language, but the examples have been checked carefully with native speakers and in the particular contexts in which they occur they do have the meaning indicated.

The following approach has been used in the presentation of each sentence type. Following an introductory section discussing the function and distribution of the sentence type is a bidimensional array indicating the structure. If an asterisk occurs at the bottom of any column in which fillers of a particular slot are listed, this means that it is probable that the present list of fillers is exhaustive. If there is no such asterisk, then it is probable that a number of other types of fillers also can occur.

The deep structure representations occur in the bidimensional array below the broken lines. Examples are grouped according to the deep structure they encode. If a sentence type encodes more than one deep structure, the order of presentation corresponds with the order in which the deep structures are listed in the lower half of the bidimensional array. The percentages which occur above or near the ± (optional) symbol in the first line of the array indicate the approximate percentage of the examples in which the optional tagmeme is present. Following the bidimensional array are various rules which include details and restrictions that are significant to the particular sentence type under discussion. There are other rules, such as many co-occurrence restrictions on the fillers of various slots, which are unstated unless they seem particularly important in the construction.

7.1 Simple Sentence and Sentence Periphery

The Simple Sentence is extra-systematic in that it has only one base, the Nucleus, while all other sentence types have at least two bases. The Nucleus contains either one clause or one clause containing one or more embedded clauses. A Simple Sentence is distinguished from a clause by the presence of one or more peripheral tagmemes.

These peripheral tagmemes occur with many and probably all sentence types. To avoid repetition they will be described here along with Simple Sentence, rather than repeating them in the discussion of each sentence type. The somewhat free order of these tagmemes is as follows: Sentence Conjunction, Vocative, Response, Sentence Topic, Remark, Temporal Margin, Nucleus, Afterthought. Of these peripheral tagmemes, Response, Sentence Topic, Remark, Temporal Margin and Afterthought can occur with a sentence which is embedded in another sentence, and are therefore defined as the Inner Periphery. Sentence Conjunction and Vocative are designated Outer Peripheral because they do not occur with an embedded sentence except occasionally within a Direct Quote Sentence. For the fillers manifesting these various peripheral tagmemes, see the bidimensional array for Simple Sentence, section 7.1.3.

7.1.1 Inner Periphery

Examples of Inner Periphery follow, with at least one example of each occurring in an embedded sentence.

Response

The Response tagmeme usually occurs when a Simple Sentence is embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence manifesting a $Speech_3$ slot in a Dialogue Paragraph.

(529) XD 045
Halipeim naklipanú wak yek wak utabal. Nubuakih naklipunaguk.
Halipeim he told him no I no money few days ago he told him
'Halipeim told him, "No! I don't have any money." He told him a few days ago.'

Simple Sentence embedded in Direct Quote Sentence

Quotation Formula 1: *Halipeim naklipanú*
Quotation: Simple Sentence
Response: *wak*
Nucleus: Topic Comment Clause *[Yek]*$_T$ *[wak utabal]*$_C$
Quotation Formula 2: *Nubuakih naklipunaguk*

(530) NK 021
Naklipanú Oo wak. Kar chikniny.
he told him oh no car full
'He told him, "Oh, no! The car is full."'

Simple Sentence embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence

Quotation Formula: *Naklipanú*
Quotation: Simple Sentence
Response: *Oo wak*
Nucleus: Topic Comment Clause *[kar]*$_T$ *[chikniny]*$_C$

(531) NK 44
Chaklipanú, Oo, wak ahúdak yah ... hanak kelahumak uli
they told him oh no this road it went/goes Kelahu village that which

yoweh chokuh.
bad narrow
'They told him, "Oh, no. This road which goes to Kelahu village is a bad, narrow road."'

The Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ manifesting the Topic slot in the Topic-Comment Clause contains a relative clause. Three dots indicate a point where the filler of the Comment slot could occur if the relative clause *hanak kelahumak uli* 'which goes to Kelahu village' were deleted.

Quotation Formula: *Chaklipanú*
Quotation: Simple Sentence
Response: *Oo, wak*
Nucleus: Topic Comment Clause *[ahúdak yah ... hanak kelahumak uli]*$_T$ *[yoweh chokuh]*$_C$

Sentence Topic

The criteria for Sentence Topic are diverse and rather complex.

In transitive clauses which have been transformed into Sentences by the Topicalisation Transformation, the Sentence Topic tagmeme is identified by its prepredicate position in the clause (Simple Sentence). The normal word order for a transitive clause is: Temporal, Subject, Predicate, Object, Direct Object, Instrumental-Benefactive, Locative. When any clause level tagmeme other than Subject or Temporal occurs ahead of the Predicate, we assume that the Topicalisation Transformation has been applied to change the clause into a Simple Sentence (i.e. the tagmeme which occurs before the Predicate is functioning as Sentence Topic). In the following examples, each sentence can be transformed back into another with 'normal' order.

(532) PA 144
Wolobaichi, deke bwiyas, bwiyas atup w-i-chúlúh.
many they PL.MIX FUT two two one (pans) they PL.FEM IRR-cook food
'If there are many people, the women will cook two or even three pans of food.'

This is a Warning Sentence in which Bases is expounded by a Simple Sentence with a Sentence Topic slot.

Base$_1$: *wolobaichi*
Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Topic: *bwiyas, bwiyas atup*
Nucleus: *w-i-chúlúh*

Note in (532) that the normal position for *bwiyas, bwiyas atup* 'two or three (pans)' would be following the Predicate. Since it occurs in prepredicate position, and is not the Subject, we know it is Sentence Topic.

(533) NM 34
Yek monokeny bolany p-ú-klipw-e?
me what talk you PL-IRR-tell-me
'As for me, what will you tell me?'

This is a Simple Sentence. Note that *yek* 'me' is the Object, but occurs first and is therefore Sentence Topic.

Sentence Topic: *Yek*
Nucleus: *monokeny bolany p-ú-klipw-e?*

(534) QB 26
Enyudak mou-l. olsem apak yet
this work-cl10SG like this we PL ourselves

m-o-ne-laigim-enyi. bai m-u-nek-eny.
we PL-R-do-desire BENEF-that which cl10SG FUT we PL-IRR-do-cl10SG OBJ
'This work, the work which we ourselves wanted, we will do.'

The Nucleus is manifested by a transitive clause with an embedded clause marked by an adjective suffix *-enyi* 'that which class 10 singular' on the end of the verb. Since the Object *enyudak moul* 'this work' occurs in prepredicate position, it is Sentence Topic.

Sentence Topic: *enyudak mou-l*
Remark: *olsem*
Nucleus: *apak yet m-o-ne-laigim-enyi. bai m-u-nek-eny*

In the case of Equational Clauses, there is no known possible transformation to make the Subject a Sentence Topic. For example:

(535) *[Yek]*SUBJECT *[Ibara]*EQUATION
I Ibara
'I am Ibara.'

In the case of a Negation Sentence, the presence of a free subject tagmeme in initial position is evidence that the Subject is Sentence Topic.

(536) NM 6
Yek i-pwe mweyoh, yawihas kobwi i-lib, kakwich kobwi
I I IRR-be nothing gardens FUT NEG I IRR-cut/slash garden food FUT NEG

i-wu *énech.* *Apak* *nyulub* *b-a-ø-pú.* *apak* *wo*
I IRR-plant some we PL intestine it(intestine)-R-hit/kill-us OBJ we PL PAST NEG

dodogoipú *m-u-lib* *yawihas* *m-u-wu* *kakwich* *e.*
strong we PL we PL IRR-cut/slash gardens we PL IRR-plant garden food PAST NEG
'If I don't do anything – if I don't cut gardens, if I don't plant any garden food, we will be hungry – as for us, we will not be strong nor will we cut gardens, nor will we plant any garden food.'

This is a Conditional Sentence in which the Result base is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence in which the Topic slot is filled by a Negation Sentence with Sentence Topic tagmeme. The last two bases of the Narrative Sentence expounding the Condition Base are each manifested by a Simple Sentence Topic.

Condition: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *Yek i-pwe mweyoh*
  Base$_1$: Simple Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *yawihas*
    Nucleus: *kobwi i-lib,*
  Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *kakwich*
    Nucleus: *kobwi i-wu énech.*
Result: Evaluation Sentence
  Evaluation: *apak nyulub b-a-ø-pú.*
  Topic: Negation Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *apak*
    Negation$_1$: *wo*
    Base$_1$: *dodogoipú*
    Base$_2$: *m-u-lib yawihas*
    Base$_2$: *m-u-wu kakwich*
    Negation$_2$: *e.*

The prepredicate position criterion cannot be used to tell whether the Subject is Sentence Topic or not, since it usually occurs before the Predicate anyway. At the present stage of analysis, we assume that the Subject is Sentence Topic if: (1) it is repeated, with or without final intonation (see the next example, (537)) or (2) it is expounded by a Coordinate Noun Phrase in which the Coordinate slot is manifested by *o* 'topical connective', as in (538). (When the connective is manifested by other conjunctions, the Coordinate Noun Phrase is functioning as clause Subject.)

(537) QA 48
M-a-tukal *m-o-wachaluk* *ulah* *aliga*
we PL-R-take away it (mud) we PL-R-throw away it (mud) remain jungle until

Manohweh. *Manohweh* *n-e-nak.* *n-a-lawali* *agogweh,* *h-a-naki.*
Manohweh Manohweh he-R-go he-R-bring sago branch rake they-PL.M-R-come

h-e-glabiyal *n-a-nú* *Dugút.*
they M-R-rake away it (mud) OBJ he-R-and him Dugut
'We took away the mud and threw it away in the jungle, and it stayed there until Manohweh, the one I am talking about, went and brought a sago branch rake, and then the men came and raked away the mud, he and Dugut.'

Sentence Topic and Afterthought occur together in a Narrative Sentence expounding Base$_2$ of a Continuation Sentence. The fact that *Manohweh* 'Manohweh' is repeated indicates that this is Sentence Topic.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *M-a-tukal*
Base$_2$: *m-o-wachaluk ulah*
Link: *aliga*
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Sentence Topic: *Manohweh.*
Base$_1$: *Manohweh n-e-nak*
Base$_2$: *n-a-lawali agogweh,*
Base$_3$: *h-a-naki. h-e-glabiyal*
Afterthought: *n-a-nú Dugút*

REMARK tagmeme is illustrated as follows:

(538) QB 29

Olsem	*ino*	*ch-ú-namoli*	*echechiny*	*laik.*	*Apakiny*	*laik*
like this	NEG	they PL.MIX-IRR-come	their PL.MIX	desire	our PL	desire

kansolomi	*o*	*buwul*	*nubat.*	*o*	
local govt counsellor those with him	topical connective	pig	dog	topical connective	

apak	*buwul*	*nubat.*	*m-a-kli*	*orait.*	*ch-a-naki,*	*ch-a-pwe*
we PL	pig	dog	we PL-R-say	O.K.	they PL.MIX-R-come	they PL.MIX-R-be

egúnú	*pomalmal.*
here	Four.Malmal

'In this way, they didn't come because of their own desire – but they came because of our desire – the local government counsellors and we rank and file people, we said "OK" and they came and are here at Four Malmal.'

This example illustrates Remark as well as Sentence Topic. It is a Contrast Sentence with peripheral Remark tagmeme. Base$_2$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence with two peripheral tagmemes: Remark and Sentence Topic.

Remark: *olsem*
Base$_1$: *ino ch-ú-namoli echechiny laik*
Link: final intonation
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Remark: *Apakiny laik*
Sentence Topic: *kansolomi o buwul nubat. o apak buwul nubat.*
Base$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
QF$_1$: *m-a-kli*
Quotation: *orait.*
Base$_3$: *ch-a-naki, ch-a-pwe egúnú pomalmal.*

TEMPORAL MARGIN tagmeme is illustrated as follows:

(539) NS 2

Énanú	*Kaboibis.*	*Mailaduwu.*	*Húlúkatimu*	*n-ú-dúk*	*yek.*	*oli*	
one he	Kaboibis village	Mailaduwu	nearly	he-IRR-kill	I	but	

yek	*y-a-tik*	*katres*	*s-a-nakmoli*	*s-ú-bo*	*yek,*	*y-a-bih*
I	I-R-see	bullet	it (bullet)-R-come	it (bullet)-IRR-kill	me	I-R-go down

y-a-kús	*atap.*
I-R-be	below

'Then a man from Kaboibis village named Mailaduwu nearly killed me, but when I saw the bullet coming to kill me, I dropped to the ground and remained there.'

This is a Conjunction Sentence which functions as a paragraph introducer. $Base_2$ is expounded by a Simple Sentence with Temporal Margin.

$Base_1$: *Énanú Kaboibis. Mailaduwu. Húlúkatimu n-ú-dúk yek.*
$Link_2$: *oli*
$Base_2$: Simple Sentence
Temporal Margin: *yek y-a-tik katres s-a-nakmoli s-ú-bo yek,*
Nucleus: *y-a-bih y-a-kús atap.*

(540) NV 139

Pris	*kar*	*ny-a-naki*	*logún*	*yet*	*y-e-chuh*	*atap*	*y-a-húl*
police	car	it (car)-R-come	long way	still	I-R-sleep	below (on ground)	I-R-hold up

logúl,	*pris*	*kar*	*ny-a-kús*	*ny-a-ti-we*	*nau.*
hand	police	car	it-R-be	it-R-see-me OBJ	now

'When the police car was still a long way away, I reclined on the road and held up my hand, and then the police car was there and saw me.'

This is a Narrative Sentence with Temporal Margin.

Temporal Margin: *Pris kar ny-a-naki logún yet*
$Base_1$: *y-e-chuh atap*
$Base_2$: *y-a-húl logúl,*
$Base_3$: *pris kar ny-a-kús ny-a-ti-we nau.*

AFTERTHOUGHT tagmeme is illustrated as follows:

(541) NN 2

I-wu	*élalúh,*	*i-wu*	*núgau,*	*i-wu*	*núgalúh,*
I IRR-plant	sugarcane	I IRR-plant	taro.type for planting	I IRR-plant	taro.type

kweipan	*yopwich*	*m-u-nekech*	*mw-i-chah.*	*egedak*	*nahabigú.*
later	mature	we PL-IRR-cook it	we PL-IRR-eat it	this	garden

'I will plant sugarcane, I will plant *núgau* (taro buds) and *núgalúh* (taro), and later, when it is mature, we will cook the food and eat it – from this garden.'

$Base_1$ is expounded by a Parallel Sentence and $Base_2$ by a Simple Sentence with two peripheral tagmemes: Temporal Margin and Afterthought.

$Base_1$: Parallel Sentence
$Base_1$: *I-wu élalúh,*
$Base_2$: *i-wu núgau,*
$Base_2$: *i-wu núgalúh,*
$Base_2$: Simple Sentence
Temporal Margin: *kweipan yopwich*
Nucleus: *m-u-nekech mw-i-chah.*
Afterthought: *egedak nahabigú*

In this example the Afterthought is identified by position, by the preceding final intonation, and by the fact that it does not really fit anywhere in the structure of the sentence. It cannot be identified as Object, Location, or any other clause level tagmeme. It simply adds a comment to the Simple Sentence.

(542) QA 91

Wolgeta	*lohuhwim*	*ch-a-naki*	*yúh.*	*ali*	*apak,*	*n-a-kli*	
all	Lohuhwim dial.gp.	they PL.MIX-R-come	all	but	us PL	he-R-say	

apak	*madeih.*	*ipak*	*wok*	*Madeih*	*étúgún.*	*júlúg*	*yúh*	*ipakiny*
we PL	Mondays	you PL	work	Mondays	only	enough	finish complete	your PL

moulú	*ipak*	*Bubuamo.*	*ali*	*wolgeta*	*walub,*	*b-e-nek-eny*
work	you PL	Bubuamo village	and	many	villages they	(villages)-R-do it (work)

tride.
Wednesday
'All the people from the Lohuhwim dialect group came, but, as for us, he said that we work Mondays: "You all work only Monday – that's enough – your work is complete, you people of Bubuamo village", and the people from many other villages will do the work on Wednesday.'

Base$_2$ of this Conjunction Sentence (embedded in another Conjunction Sentence) is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence with Quotation expounded by an Evaluation Sentence with Afterthought tagmeme.

Base$_1$: Conjunction Sentence
  Base$_1$: *wolgeta lohuhwim ch-a-naki yúh.*
  Link$_2$: *ali*
  Base$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *apak,*
    Quotation Formula 1: Indirect Quote Sentence: *n-a-kli*
    Quote Base: *apak madeih.*
    Quotation: Evaluation Sentence
      Topic: *ipak wok Madeih étúgún.*
      Evaluation: *júlúg yúh ipakiny moulú*
      Afterthought: *ipak Bubuamo.*
Link$_2$: *ali*
Base$_2$: *wolgeta walub, b-e-nek-eny tride.*

(543) QA 208

M-o-gahúl,	*deke*	*g-u-bo*	*Teimini,*	*Chamaun*
we PL-R-stand up (rafters)	FUT	it (rafter)-IRR-hit/kill	Teimini	Chamaun dialect group

Kragumun.
Kragumun village
'We stood up the rafters and one nearly hit Teimini, from the Chamaun dialect group, from Kragumun village.'

This is a Warning Sentence in which Base$_2$ is manifested by a Simple Sentence with an Afterthought tagmeme expounded by an Apposition Noun Phrase.

Base$_1$: *m-o-gahúl,*
Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
  Nucleus: *g-u-bo Teimini,*
  Afterthought: *Chamaun Kragumun.*

(544) QA 68
Ipak doumweih madih júlúg, ipakiny moulú.
you PL today Monday enough your PL work
'Today, Monday, is enough for all of you – you have worked enough.'

This is a Simple Sentence Nucleus expounded by Topic Comment Clause followed by peripheral Afterthought tagmeme.

Nucleus: *ipak doumweih madih júlúg,*
Afterthought: *ipakiny moulú.*

7.1.2 Outer Periphery

Unfortunately there are no examples of Sentence Conjunction Tagmeme occurring with any other Sentence type except Simple Sentence.

Example illustrating Vocative Tagmeme:

(545) HL 12
Oo, ohwak doukwechúk. ya-nú batowich doukwechúk m-a-chah apakich.
yes we two recently I-and children recently we PL-R-eat ours
'Oh yes, we recently ate ours – the children and I just ate ours.'

This is an Amplification Sentence with Outer Peripheral Vocative Tagmeme.

Vocative: *Oo,*
Base$_1$: *ohwak doukwechúk.*
Amplification: *ya-nú batowich doukwechúk m-a-chah apakich.*

Examples illustrating Sentence Conjunction in Simple Sentences:

(546) HQ 111
Orait p-e-menek?
and now you PL-IRR-hear obey
'And now, will you all hear these words and obey them?'

Sentence Conjunction: *orait*
Nucleus: *p-e-menek?*

(547) HQ 84
Douk namaitú yek-otuwe y-anú chokwichi étich m-a-pwe.
and now now I-only I-and young ones only we PL-R-be
'And now only I and the young people are still in school.'

Sentence Conjunction: *douk*
Nucleus: *namaitú yek-otuwe y-anú chokwichi étich m-a-pwe.*

7.1.3 Simple Sentence

The Simple Sentence occurs in all discourse types and in a very wide variety of paragraph types, as well as being embedded in many other sentence types. It is likely that the Simple Sentence can embed in every other sentence type. It occurs in certain specialised contexts with specialised functions: (1) as the first sentence in a discourse (see the first two examples, (548) and (549)); (2) as the first and/or only element manifesting the Base Slot of a Direct Quote Sentence (see example (550)). Note that at least one peripheral tagmeme must occur with the Nucleus. If no peripheral tagmeme occurs, the expression is simply a clause. The structure of the Simple Sentence is shown in the bidimensional array opposite.

Simple Sentence	±Sent.Conj.	±Voc.	±Response	±Sent.Topic	±Remark	±Temporal Margin	±Nucleus	±Afterthought
	na 'and' *douk* 'and now' *oli* or *orait* 'and, but, all right, like this, and now'	pronoun personal names kinship nouns *	*wak* 'no' *wosik* 'all right'	pronoun numeral Modified Noun Phrase$_1$	*olsem(a)* 'so/ like this' *wosik* 'all right' *ehe* 'mild negative' *júlúg* 'enough' *ehoho* or *eo* 'truly' *orait* 'then, O.K., all right, finally'	Temporal Axis-Relator Clause *	Clause response	Coordinate Noun Phrase Apposition Noun Phrase
Overlap: Continuous Punctiliar						P ^	Q	
Punctiliar-Continuous						P ^	Q	
Succession: Span-Event						P ^	Q	
Event-Event						P ^	Q	
Simple Predication						P		

Rules:

1. If Temporal Margin is expounded by Indicative Clause plus *umu*, it is permuted to post Nuclear position and Afterthought is not permitted. (The structure of Indicative Clause plus *umu* preceding the nucleus is analysed as Purpose Sentence.)

2. The exponent of Temporal Margin always has non-final intonation.

3. One Peripheral tagmeme must occur with the Nucleus, usually only one. However, Remark can occur with Afterthought, Vocative, and Sentence Topic.

4. Sentence Conjunction can occur with Afterthought.

5. If Temporal Margin occurs, no other Peripheral tagmeme can occur except, rarely, Afterthought or Sentence Conjunction. If Sentence Conjunction co-occurs, it is permuted to the position immediately preceding the Nucleus.

6. Note that the deep structures indicated are encoded by Simple Sentence just if Temporal Margin is present.

7. Remark can follow Sentence Topic.

8. Sentence Conjunction tagmeme, particularly when expounded by *douk*, occasionally has higher level significance, such as marking a new paragraph or shift of focus, or both.

9. The vowel (V) in temporal enclitic -V*bali* depends on dialect variation and morphophonemic rules approximating vowel harmony (V becomes the last vowel in preceding word ending in any consonant, except alveopalatals).

10. If Temporal Margin is present the verbs occurring in the exponents of both Temporal Margin and the Nucleus must be in unreal or imperative aspect.

11. The deep structure Simple Predication is encoded if and only if the Nucleus is manifested by a response word.

Examples illustrating Simple Sentence manifesting a Discourse Introduction slot:

(548) QA 1

Nabatik	*m-o-nek*	*nebenyi*	*moul,*	*m-anú*	*kiyap.*
yesterday	we PL-R-do	big	work	we PL-and he	patrol officer

'Yesterday we did hard work, we and the patrol officer.'

Afterthought tagmeme follows the Nucleus.
Nucleus: *Nabatik m-o-nek nebenyi moul,*
Afterthought: *m-anú kiyap.*

(549) QB 1

Yek	*Lukas*	*Kwanihim,*	*y-a-kli*	*ya.*	*i-ne-toksawemu*	*enyedak*	*bolany.*
I	Lukas	Kwanihim	I-R-say	now?	I-IRR-do-explain about	this	talk

kiyap	*n-e-k-ech-enyi*	*mou-l.*
patrol officer	he-R-give-them OBJ-that which-cl10SG	work-cl10SG

'I, Lukas Kwanihim, I desire to explain about this talk which concerns the work which the patrol officer gave them.'

Sentence Topic tagmeme is manifested by an Appositional Noun Phrase. The Nucleus is manifested by a transitive clause with two layers of embedding: an embedded clause (following the main clause) with another embedded clause signalled by the verb *n-e-kech* 'he gave them' followed by cl10SG adjective suffix *enyi.*

Sentence Topic: *Yek Lukas Kwanihim*
Nucleus: *y-a-kli ya. i-ne-toksawemu enyedak bolany. kiyap n-e-k-ech-enyi mou-l.*

Example illustrating Remark tagmeme occurring with one other Peripheral tagmeme: Remark and Vocative together:

(550) NM 140
y-a-kli Anis, ehe, Ny-u-naki ny-u-pwe
I-R-say Anis mild NEG you-IMP-come you-IMP-be
'I said, "Anis, no – don't go away – come and stay here."'

This is a Simple Sentence embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence.
Quotation Formula 1: *y-a-kli*
Quotation: Simple Sentence
Vocative: *Anis,*
Remark: *ehe,*
Nucleus: *ny-u-naki ny-u-pwe*

Remark and Sentence Topic together:

(551) QB 26
Enyudak moul. olsem apak yet
this work cl10SG like this we PL ourselves

m-o-ne-laigimw-enyi. bai m-u-nek-eny.
me PL-R-do-desire BENEF-that which cl10SG FUT we PL-IRR-do-cl10 SG OBJ
'This work, the work which we ourselves wanted, we will do.'

The Nucleus is manifested by a transitive clause with an embedded clause marked by an adjective suffix on the end of the verb as in example (534) of this section.
Sentence Topic: *enyudak moul.*
Remark: *olsem*
Nucleus: *apak yet m-o-ne-laigimw-enyi. bai m-u-nek-eny.*

Examples of Temporal Margin plus Nucleus:

Encoding Continuous-Punctiliar Overlap $\underline{P} \wedge \underset{.}{Q}$:

(552) XW 423
Kar ny-u-wich-abali, n-i-nyalu kiltam.
car it (car)-IRR-enter-when he-IRR-open door
'When the car enters the garage, he will open the door.'

Temporal Margin: *Kar ny-u-wich-abali,*
Nucleus: *n-i-nyalu kiltam.*

(553) HQ 68
Tem yah h-ú-kli h-u-wichi, na p-ú-búk maket.
when road it (road)-IRR-desire it (road)-IRR-come in and you PL-IMP-put market
'During the time when the road is finished into our area, you all should build a market.'

The Sentence Conjunction tagmeme manifested by *na* 'and' is optional and can occur first.
Temporal Margin: *tem yah h-ú-kli h-u-wichi,*
Sentence Conjunction: *na*
Nucleus: *p-ú-búk maket.*

Example encoding Punctiliar-Continuous Overlap $\underset{.}{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$:

(554) NB 26

N-o-wechikeny, *dou* *w-e-tegleh* *echedak,* *deke*
he-R-stopped it (motorbike) and soon we 2-R-loosen it (things) these things lest

echah *h-ú-lú* *h-ú-naki* *luhut* *n-ú-nak* *Yangor-omu.*
rain it (rain)-IRR-rain it (rain)-IRR-come later he-IRR-go Yangoru-when to
'He stopped the motorbike and right away we loosened the things lest the rain come later, when he would want to go to Yangoru.'

This is a Warning Sentence in which $Base_1$ is manifested by a Succession Sentence and $Base_2$ by a Simple Sentence with Temporal Margin marked by *umu* occurring following the Nucleus. By morphophonemic rules, *umu* is here realised as *omu.* It has a double function, marking both 'the place where' and 'time when'.

$Base_1$: Succession Sentence
  $Base_1$: *N-o-wechikeny,*
  Link: *dou*
  $Base_2$: *w-e-tegleh echedak,*
$Link_2$: *deke*
$Base_2$: Simple Sentence
  Nucleus: *echah h-ú-lú h-ú-naki*
  Temporal Margin: *luhut n-ú-nak Yangor-omu.*

Note that Ṗ represents 'he will go to Yangoru' and Q represents 'the rain will come and it will rain', although the surface structure is permuted so that the clause representing Ṗ occurs last.

Example encoding Succession of Span-Event variety $\underline{P} \wedge \underline{Q}$:

(555) *Mahlagas* *s-u-kús-úk,* *ch-ú-ne* *sakich.*
bamboos they (bamboos)-IRR-be-remain they PL.MIX-IRR-do find vines
'When the bamboos will be there and remain, and then they will go and find vines.'

Temporal Margin: *mahlagas s-u-kús-úk,*
  Nucleus: *ch-ú-ne sakich.*

Examples encoding Succession of Event-Event variety Ṗ ∧ Q:

(556) *Kwali* *ipak* *kénak* *p-ú-túkemagúnúk* *atap-abali,*
later you PL yourselves you PL-IRR-leave remain below-time when

p-é-naki *yekibel* *wabel.*
you PL-IMP-come my village
'Later, when you yourselves leave the earth, come to my village.'

Temporal Margin: *kwali ipak kénak p-ú-túkemagúnúk atap-abali,*
Nucleus: *p-é-naki yekibel wabel.*

(557) HQ 79

P-e-menekúk *étuk* *belo,* *p-i-tak* *p-é-naki*
you PL-IRR-hear remain one signal bell you PL-IMP-get up you PL-IMP-come

p-e-ne-bum-umu *sugul.*
you PL-IMP-do-gather-BENEF school
'When you hear the first bell, you all get up and come and assemble for school.'

Temporal Margin: *P-e-menekúk étuk belo,*
Nucleus: *p-i-tak p-é-naki p-e-ne-bum-umu sugul.*

Examples encoding Simple Predication P:

(558) RF 030
*[Yek]*TOPIC *[e]*NUCLEUS
I not
'Not I.'

(559) RF 030
N-a-kli *ee* *on-ue*
3SG.M-R-say no right (hand)-I
'He said, "No. I'm right-handed."'

Simple Sentence embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence. The Nucleus of the Simple Sentence is manifested by a Topic Comment Clause in which the Topic has been deleted.

Quotation Formula: *N-a-kli*
Quotation: Simple Sentence
Response: *ee*
Nucleus: Topic Comment Clause
Topic: (deleted)
Comment: *on-ue*

7.2 TIGHT SENTENCES

The distinction between tight and loose sentences has been made by Longacre (1970:20) in a number of languages with varying degrees of success. Because it seems to fit reasonably well in this language and because at present no other meaningful arrangement of the sentence types can be found, it is used here.

A tight sentence is a sentence type with relatively few deep structures, usually only one. A loose sentence, on the other hand, has a relatively large number of different deep structures which are encoded, ranging from two to eight or ten, depending on the degree of distinctions which are made in the deep structure types and subtypes. Using this criterion, there are only four sentence types which turn out to be borderline cases: Amplification Sentence, Contrast Sentence, Direct Quote Sentence, and Indirect Quote Sentence. Contrast Sentence is categorised as loose because it has slightly more differences in its deep structure than Amplification Sentence. On the basis of frequency of encoding, the Direct Quote Sentence is classified as tight. It very rarely encodes anything else but Speech. Indirect Quote Sentence, however, frequently encodes both Speech and Intent or Desire; therefore, it is classified as loose. The Completed Action Sentence is an extra-systemic tight sentence. Table 13 indicates the arrangement of sentence types according to the above criterion.

7.2.1 ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

The Alternative Sentence is a multibase structure identified by the alternative marker *o* plus alternative intonation following each base. This sentence is used to express one of several alternatives (without excluded middle), one of only two alternatives (with excluded middle) or to ask a question regarding two alternatives. It is a relatively rare sentence type, with only six examples in the present corpus. It is found in Explanatory, Narrative, and Hortatory Discourses, in many paragraph types. The interrogative Alternative Sentence (i.e. surface structure encoding of Alternative Sentence encoding Pa≠Pa) occurs very frequently in Conversation Paragraphs.

TABLE 13: BUKIYIP SENTENCE SYSTEMS

	Alternative-Purpose	Conditional	Sequential	Evaluation	Narrative	Quote	Explanatory	Amplification	Temporal	Completion
Tight Link	Alternative Sentence *o*	Contrary to Fact Sentence *ele*	Continuation Sentence *aliga*	Negation Sentence *wo ... e* or *kobwi* and *wak*	Limitation Sentence -	Direct Quote Sentence -	Explanatory Sentence *namudak*	Amplification Sentence -	Succession Sentence *douk*	Completed Action Sentence *wakúli ~ nau*
Loose Link	Purpose Sentence *umu*	Conditional Sentence NFI	Conjunction Sentence *oli ~ eli*	Evaluation Sentence -	Narrative Sentence -	Indirect Quote Sentence -	Contrast Sentence -	Parallel Sentence -	Warning Sentence *deke*	

Alternative Sentence						
	+Base$_1$ Link	+Alternative Link	+Base$_2$ Link)	+Alternative	...±(+Base$_1$	+Alternative
	Indicative Clause	*o?* 'or'	Indicative Clause	*o?* 'or'	Indicative Clause	*o?* 'or'
	Conditional Sentence		Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence			
Alternation						
With Excluded Middle	Pa	ǂ	$\overline{P}$a			
	Pa	ǂ	Pa"			
Without Excluded Middle	Pax	V	Pay	...V	Pan	

Rules:

1. If encoding Paǂ$\overline{P}$a, the following restrictions are present: (1) no more than two Bases are possible; (2) Base$_2$ can be deleted along with the Alternative Link slot following Base$_2$; (3) if Base$_2$ occurs, it must be expounded by *wok* 'no'; (4) the first Alternative Link slot can be manifested by *wok o* 'or not', in which case the second Alternative Link slot is deleted and Base$_2$ is expounded by *wok?* 'not'. However, the exponents indicated in the bidimensional array are preferred.

2. If Base$_2$ is expounded by Conditional Sentence, only two bases are possible and Base$_2$ must be manifested by either Conditional Sentence or Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence. In this case each Alternative Link slot occurs preceding it's respective Base and also the Alternative Link slot occurs preceding Base$_2$ or the Result Slot within the Condition and Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence.

3. If n = 3, the third Alternative Link slot can be deleted.

4. *wok* alternates with *wak*, but *wok* seems preferred in this sentence type.

Examples encoding Alternation with Excluded Middle Paǂ$\overline{P}$a:

(560) NM 35
P-ú-k-e *énébel utébal o wok o.*
you PL-IRR-give-meOBJ some money or no or
'Will you give me some money, or not?'

Base$_1$: *p-ú-k-e énébel utébal*
Alternative Link: *o*
Base$_2$: *wok*
Alternative Link: *o.*

(561) NM 115
Ny-u-k-e *énech kakwich* *o?*
you SG-IRR-give-me OBJ some garden food or
'Will you give me some garden food, or not?'

Base$_2$ and the Alternative Link which would normally follow it are deleted.
Base$_1$: *ny-u-k-e énech kakwich*
Alternative Link: *o?*

(562) NM 112
Yek *i-na-m-enyu?* *wok* *o* *wok?*
I I IRR-go-with-you SG OBJ no or no
'May I go with you, or not?'

In this example the less frequent exponents of the Alternative Link slots are present.
Base$_1$: *Yek i-na-m-enyu?*
Alternative Link: *wok o*
Base$_2$: *wok?*

Example encoding Alternation with Excluded Middle Pa≠Pa":

(563) HL 82
o? *eik* *i-gakúk.* *saninú* *n-u-pwe* *o?* *saninú*
or I I IRR-die remain older brother he-IRR-be or older brother

n-ú-núk-ech *n-ú-gakomw-ech.* *N-ú-k-ech*
he IRR-care for-them (children) he-IRR-help-them (children) he-IRR-give-them (children)

saki *o?* *ele* *eik* *elmatok* *k-u-gak,* *yek* *elman* *otuwe,* *o?*
knowledge or CFC I woman she-IRR-die I man I only NFI or

yek *i-k-ech* *saki.*
I I IRR-give-them (children) knowledge
'If I would die, and if my older brother would remain, he would care for my children and help them and instruct them. Or if my wife would die and I, the man only, would remain, I would instruct them.'

In this example, Base$_1$ is manifested by a Conditional Sentence and Base$_2$ by a Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence.
Alternative Link: *o?*
Base$_1$: Conditional Sentence
  Condition: Narrative Sentence
    Base$_1$: *eik i-gakúk.*
    Base$_2$: *saninú n-u-pwe*
  Alternative Link: *o?*
    Result: Narrative Sentence
      Base$_1$: *saninú n-ú-núk-ech n-ú-gakomw-ech*
      Base$_2$: *n-ú-k-ech saki*
Alternative Link: *o?*
Base$_2$: Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence
  Contrafactual Marker: *ele*
  Condition: Narrative Sentence
    Base$_1$: *eik elmatok k-u-gak,*
    Base$_2$: *yek elman otuwe*
  Contrafactual Marker: ,

Alternative Link: *o?*
Result: *yek i-k-ech saki*

Example encoding Alternation without Excluded Middle Pax V Pay ...V Pan:

(564) HL 3

Yek	*i-kli*	*i-nak*	*dakibili*	*wabel.*	*i-nak*	*Bukinalu*
I	I IRR-say/want	I IRR-go	whatever	village	I IRR-go	Bukinalu village

o?	*i-nak*	*Kumun*	*o?*	*i-nak*	*Kweyan*	*o?*
or	I IRR-go	Kumun village	or	I IRR-go	Kweyan village	or

'If I want to go to any village – I want to go to Bukinalu or Kumun or Kweyan.'

This is an Amplification Sentence in which $Base_1$ is expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence.

$Base_1$: Indirect Quote Sentence
Quotation Formula 1: *yek i-kli*
Indirect Quotation: *i-nak dakibili wabel.*
Amplification: Alternative Sentence
$Base_1$: *i-nak Bukinalu*
Alternative Link: *o?*
$Base_2$: *i-nak Kumun*
Alternative Link: *o?*
$Base_3$: *i-nak Kweyan*
Alternative Link: *o?*

7.2.2 Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence

The Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence is identified by the contrafactual marker *ele* which expounds $Link_2$ and occasionally expounds $Link_1$ also. Other identifying features are unreal aspect in all verbs and absence of negation in Hypothetical Condition. This sentence occurs embedded only in Alternative Sentence in the present corpus. This is assumed to be significant, in that the contrary to fact condition is sufficiently complex and independent to block any embedding in other sentence types. Alternative Sentence, however, is an appropriate structure for expressing alternative conditions and therefore can embed the Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence. Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence occurs in all discourse types and in a wide variety of paragraph types including Conversation Paragraph. See Conditional Sentence (7.3.2) for the evidence supporting the analysis of Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence as a separate sentence type.

Contrary to Fact Conditional 10%			
$\pm Link_1$	+Condition	$+Link_2$	+Result
sapos 'if' *ele* Contrary to Fact Condition	Indicative Clause Evaluation Sentence Narrative Sentence	*ele,* Contrary to Fact Condition with non-final intonation	Indicative Clause Warning Sentence *wosik* 'all right'
Contrafactual	$(P_\beta \wedge P_\beta \supset Q_e) \wedge P \wedge [P$	$\supset$	$Q]$

Rules:

1. All verbs occurring in constructions expounding Condition and Result must be in unreal aspect.

2. Topic Comment Clause has not been observed to co-occur expounding both Condition and Result.

3. Condition can be deleted if previously mentioned in the same paragraph or a reasonably adjacent paragraph (see example (570)).

4. Result can be either negative or positive, but no negation has been observed in Condition.

5. $Link_1$ occurs only if Condition is expounded by a relatively short clause. However, short clauses can expound Condition without $Link_1$ occurring.

6. *ele*, contrary to fact condition, can be deleted from $Link_2$, leaving only non-final intonation expounding $Link_2$. However, one contrary to fact marker is always present, so if *ele* is deleted from $Link_2$, *ele* will occur in $Link_1$.

7. *ele* can occur in both $Link_1$ and $Link_2$, although this is infrequent.

8. *sapos* can occur in $Link_1$ and *ele* in $Link_2$, although this is infrequent.

9. *ele* occurs following word final *u* or *uh*, and with certain speakers from other dialects.

10. *ele*, contrary to fact condition, is deleted from $Link_2$ if the encoding of contrafactuality is marginal (568) or refers to the future (see (563)), listed under Alternative Sentence.

Examples:

(565) RL 176
Ch-ú-pwe *ele,* *ch-e-ø-nyu.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-be CFC NFI they PL.MIX-IRR-kill-you OBJ
'If they were here, they would kill you.'

Condition: *ch-ú-pwe*
$Link_2$: *ele,*
Result: *ch-e-ø-nyu.*

(566) NV 138
Sapos *p-ú-taglagúk* *adúk* *ele,* *kobwi* *i-nek* *karobus.*
if it (knife)-IRR-go/appear-remain outside CFC NFI FUT NEG I IRR-do jail
'If the knife had gone outside and stayed there, I would not have gone to jail.'

(The narrator is telling of an unsuccessful attempt to get rid of a piece of incriminating evidence, his large and illegal switchblade knife, following a drunken fight in the bar of the Hotel Cecil in Lae.)

$Link_1$: *sapos*
Condition: *p-ú-taglagúk adúk*
$Link_2$: *ele,*
Result: *kobwi i-nek karobus.*

(567) XW 422
Ele *nyuglús* *ele,* *wosik.*
CFC cold CFC NFI all right
'If it were cold, it would have been all right.'

(Explanation of why Len Chipping, desiring a cooler climate, did not remain with the Bukiyip people.)

Link$_1$: *ele*
Condition: *nyuglús*
Link$_2$: *ele,*
Result: *wosik.*

This is the only example which is not clearly contrafactual and could possibly be hypothetical. It is in a hortatory text as part of an exhortation to young people.

(568) HN 67

ele	*p-é-múnek*	*bolany*	*wosik*	,	*p-u-pwe*	*kalbék.*
CFC	you PL-IRR-hear/obey	talk	all right	NFI	you PL-IRR-be	well

'If you all would obey the talk, you would be in a good situation.'

The Condition is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence. Example from near Lohuhwim dialect area.

Link$_1$: *ele*
Condition: Evaluation Sentence
  Topic: *p-é-múnek bolany*
  Evaluation: *wosik*
Link$_2$: ,
Result: *p-u-pwe kalbék*

(569) RM 177B

Énúdak	*Huhukwil*	*n-u-pwe*	*ele,*	*kobwi*	*énech*	*élpech*
this man	name	he-IRR-be	CFC NFI	FUT NEG	some	people

ch-ú-lahe	*n-e-ø-ch*	*n-i-chah*	*yúh.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-go around	he-IRR-kill-them OBJ	he-IRR-eat them OBJ	all

'If this spirit-man Huhukwil would be alive, there would not be any people walking around, because he would have killed and eaten them all.'

Result is expounded by a Warning Sentence.

Condition$_1$: *énúdak Huhukwil n-u-pwe*
Link$_2$: *ele,*
Result: Warning Sentence
  Base$_1$: *kobwi énech élpech ch-ú-lahe*
  Base$_2$: *n-e-ø-ch n-i-chah yúh.*

(570) RM 177B

Ele	*seiwak*	*n-e-ø-ch*	*n-i-chah*	*yúh.*
CFC	long ago	he-IRR-kill-them OBJ	he-IRR-eat them OBJ	all

n-i-yat-ech-úk	*yúh.*
he-IRR-finish-them OBJ-remain	all

'If the ogre were still alive, he would have long ago killed and eaten all the people, to the last man.'

This example occurs following the previous one in a later summarising paragraph. Since the Condition is obviously the same as in example (569), it is deleted. This comes from Lohuhwim dialect group. Result is expounded by a transitive clause with an embedded verb phrase.

Link$_2$: *ele*
Result: *seiwak n-e-ø-ch n-i-chah yúh n-i-yat-ech-úk yúh.*

See also example (563): Base$_1$ of this Alternative Sentence is manifested by a Conditional Sentence and Base$_2$ by a Contrary to Fact Condition Sentence.

7.2.3 CONTINUATION SENTENCE

Continuation Sentence is identified by the link *aliga* 'continue until' with or without other conjunctions and/or repetitions of *aliga*, which are discussed in the rules following the bidimensional array. It is used to join clauses and or sentences in temporal succession with a particular relationship between them: the first action or state is viewed as continuing over a span of time, long or short, until another punctiliar event or action spread over a period of time occurs.

Continuation Sentence is typically an embedding rather than an embedded sentence type, although it does occur embedded in Purpose Sentence, Conjunction Sentence, and Narrative Sentence. Continuation Sentence occurs in all major discourse types and in most paragraph types, although most frequently in the various types of narrative discourse. In hortatory discourse this sentence type is rare, and so far occurs only embedded in a Narrative Sentence. Within Narrative Discourses which frequently shift location, such as travel narratives, Continuation Sentence very frequently functions as the transitional sentence which signals the movement from one place to another. As such, Continuation sentence is often right at the border of two paragraphs, marking either the end of one paragraph or the beginning of another.

Continuation Sentence	$+Base_1$	$+(+Link$	$+Base_2)^n$
	Indicative Clause Conjunction Sentence Narrative Sentence Parallel Sentence Simple Sentence	*aliga* 'until' *aliga douk* 'until quite soon' or 'until at last' *aliga nau* 'until'/*inap* 'until' or 'until quite soon'	Indicative Clause Amplification Sentence Narrative Sentence Warning Sentence Purpose Sentence
Span-Event	Pa	∧	Qa
	Pa	∧	Qb
Span-Span	Pa	∧	Qa

Rules:

1. If n=2, the first repetition of $Base_2$ can be expounded by the last clause in $Base_1$ (see 575) under Span-Event with same subject Pa∧Qa.

2. *aliga* expounding Link can be repeated as *aliga, aligeliga, aligeli geli geliga*, etc., with long time spans roughly correlating with many repetitions of *geli*. Also *aliga* or any of the repeated forms above all have alternate forms with first vowel either *a* or *e* and the last vowel either *a* or *e* or *u*. For simplicity these vowels are all written as *a*. The repeated forms occur with heavier stress on the final syllable *-ga* in contrast to the general pattern of penultimate word stress.

3. All bases must be in the same aspect, either realis or irrealis.

4. No negated or imperative forms are permitted in any Base.

5. If the sentence is embedded in another sentence, n=1; otherwise n=1 or 2.

6. Non-final intonation (,) occurs preceding $Base_2$ if the Link is expounded by *aliga nau* 'until', and is optional otherwise.

7. If the time lapse between the first and second or subsequent predications is short, the Link can be expounded by *aliga douk*. However, in certain contexts this exponent signals emphasis on the following Base with the connotation of 'until at last' or 'until finally'.

8. Tok Pisin *inap* 'until, enough' corresponds to vernacular *aliga* or *aliga douk*.

Examples encoding Span-Event with same actor Pa∧Qa:

(571) NS 147
M-e-yalúb, alige+eliga g-a-glúk.
we PL-R-sing and dance continue until dawn-R-dawn
'We sang and danced until dawn.'

Base$_1$: *M-e-yalúb,*
Link: *alige+eliga*
Base$_2$: *g-a-glúk.*

(572) NB 24
W-o-sahal aligeli+geligú w-a-bih Yangoru
we 2-R-go fast continue until we 2-R-go down Yangoru
'We went at a fast rate until we came to Yangoru.'

Base$_1$: *w-o-sahal*
Link: *aligeli+geligú*
Base$_2$: *w-a-bih Yangoru*

(573) NI 39
Joni n-a-pwe orait yek y-e-ne skelim rais, aligú, y-e-yata-s
John he-R-be and I I-R-do distribute rice until I-R-finish-it (rice)

pletogw, y-e-ne pinisim wolobaichi ch-a-túh
plates I-R-do finish all PL.MIX they.PL.MIX-R-finish
'John stayed and I distributed the rice until I had finished putting some on every plate – I finished distributing it to all the people.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Conjunction Sentence and Base$_2$ by an Amplification Sentence.
Base$_1$: Conjunction Sentence
Base$_1$: *Joni n-a-pwe*
Link$_2$: *orait*
Base$_2$: *yek y-e-ne skelim rais,*
Link: *aligú,*
Base$_2$: Amplification Sentence
Base: *y-e-yata-s pletogw,*
Amplification: *y-e-ne pinisim wolobaichi ch-a-túh*

(574) NS 9
Ch-a-no-suh mani. alige+alige nau, orait élmagou yet
they PL.MIX-R-REFL-hold money continue until now then/finally women themselves

w-e-yagulepu enyedak kau. owo kénak.
they-PL.FEM-R-talk this cow they PL.FEM themselves

w-o-ne-takis-um-einy.
they PL.FEM-R-do-collect-BENEF-it (cow) OBJ
'The women themselves held the money until finally they themselves talked about this cow and collected the money for it.'

Base$_2$ is expounded by Narrative Sentence. Although on the surface this sentence would appear to be either a Continuation or a Conjunction Sentence, the deep structure of 'continuation of X until Y' seems to be conclusive evidence in favour of it being a Continuation Sentence.

Base$_1$: *ch-a-no-suh mani.*
Link: *alige+alige nau,*
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
  Remark: *orait*
  Base$_1$: *élmagou yet w-e-yagulepu enyedak kau.*
  Base$_2$: *owokénak. w-o-ne-takis-um-einy.*

(575) QA 27

M-a-n-anú	*m-o-nek-eny,*	*m-o-naki*	*aliga.*	*m-o-naki*
we PL-R-and-he	we PL-R-do-it (work) OBJ	we PL-R-come	until	we PL-R-come

aliga.	*m-a-bihi*	*Kamujan,*	*Jalagi.*
until	we PL-R-come down	Kamujan hamlet	Jalagi ground name

'We and he did the work and kept on working, until we came down to Kamujan hamlet, that is, Jalagi.'

Note that the first occurrence of Base$_2$ is expounded by the last clause in Base$_1$.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *m-a-n-anú m-o-nek-eny,*
  Base$_2$: *m-o-naki*
Link: *aliga.*
Base$_2$: *m-o-naki*
Link: *aliga.*
Base$_2$: *m-a-bihi Kamujan, Jalagi.*

(576) QB 9

Énech	*ch-ú-lib*	*wichap,*	*énech*	*ch-ú-túk*
some PL.MIX	they PL.MIX-IRR-cut	grass	some PL.MIX	they PL.MIX-IRR-take out

dagubés.	*énech*	*ch-ú-blo*	*lowas.*	*énech*
bamboo roots	some PL.MIX	they PL.MIX-IRR-cut	trees	some PL.MIX

ch-ú-lak	*éménab.*	*inap*	*ch-ú-ne-stretimu*
they PL.MIX-IRR-smooth	ground	continue until	they PL.MIX-IRR-do-fix up BENEF

yah	*étúh.*	*bai*	*wotak*	*ch-ú-tanomoli*	*gen.*
road only	FUT	not yet	they PL.MIX-IRR-return	again

'Some of them will cut grass, some will take out bamboo roots, some will cut trees, some will smooth out the ground and they will continue until they have fixed up the road, and then they will return.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Parallel Sentence and Base$_2$ by a Narrative Sentence.

Base$_1$: Parallel Sentence
  Base$_1$: *énech ch-ú-lib wichap,*
  Base$_1$: *énech ch-ú-túk dagubés.*
  Base$_1$: *énech ch-ú-blo lowas.*
  Base$_2$: *énech ch-ú-lak éménab.*
Link: *inap*

Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *ch-ú-ne-stretimu yah étúh.*
Base$_2$: *bai wotak ch-ú-tanomoli gen.*

(577) QB 40

Na	*ch-i-nyukulanú*	*egúnúdak*	*wolgeta*	*yah.*	*inap*
and	they PL.MIX-IRR-pour out it (sand)	here	all	road	until

ch-ú-taglú	*pomalmal.*	*aliga*	*ch-e-beh*
they PL.MIX-IRR-appear come	Four Malmal hamlet	until	they PL.MIX-IRR-go down

gani	*bris.*
to	bridge

'And they will pour out the sand here on all of the road and continue until they come to Four Malmal hamlet – until they go down as far as the bridge.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Simple Sentence and Base$_2$ and the Link are repeated.
Base$_1$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Conjunction: *na*
Nucleus: *ch-i-nyukulanú egúnúdak wolgeta yah*
Link: *inap*
Base$_2$: *ch-ú-taglú pomalmal*
Link: *aliga*
Base$_2$: *ch-e-beh gani bris*

Examples encoding Span-Event with different actors Pa^Qb:

(578) QA 55

eo	*giyap*	*n-e-ne-soremapú.*		*Nyigiku*	*kansol*
truly/oh	patrol officer	he-R-do-sorry-BENEF us PL OBJ		Nyigiku	local govt.counsellor

blo	*Alisu*	*apakinú*	*n-a-gakémapú.*	*aliga+aliga*
from	Alisu village	ours	he-R-help BENEF us PL OBJ	until

m-e-yatal,	*élúdak*	*masil.*
we PL-R-finish it (mud) OBJ	this	mud

'Truly, the patrol officer was sorry for us and helped us, and our local government counsellor from Alisu village, Nyigiku, helped us, and continued until we finished removing this mud.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.
Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Remark: *eo*
Base$_1$: *giyap n-e-ne-soremapu.*
Base$_2$: *Nyigiku kansol blo Alisu apakinú n-a-gakémapú.*
Link: *aliga+aliga*
Base$_2$: *m-e-yatal, élúdak masil.*

(579) NH 6

Wokli	*w-a-pwe*	*w-e-ne-nilimeb*	*dou*	*aligú*	*b-a-túh.*
now	we 2-R-be	we 2-R-do-nail it (black palm)	now soon	until	it (black palm)-R-finish

'We continued to nail the black palm until it was soon finished.'

Base$_1$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Conjunction: *wokli*
Nucleus: *w-a-pwe w-e-ne-nilimeb*

Link: *dou aligú*
Base$_2$: *b-a-túh.*

(580) QA 48
M-a-túkal *m-o-wachalúk* *ulah.* *aliga*
we PL-R-take away it (mud) we PL-R-throw away it (mud) remain jungle until

Manohweh. Manohweh n-e-nak. n-a-lawali agogweh, h-a-naki
Manohweh Manohweh he-R-go he-R-bring sago branch rake they PL.M-R-come

h-e-glabiyal *n-a-nú* *Dugút*
they PL.M-R-rake away it (mud) OBJ he R-and him Dugut
'We took away the mud and threw it away in the jungle and it stayed there, until Manohweh, the one I am talking about, went and brought a sago branch rake and the men came and raked away the mud, he and Dugut.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence and Base$_2$ by a Narrative Sentence with two inner peripheral tagmemes.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *m-a-túkal*
Base$_2$: *m-o-wachalúk ulah.*
Link: *aliga*
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Sentence Topic: *Manohweh.*
Base$_1$: *Manohweh n-e-nak.*
Base$_1$: *n-a-lawali agogweh.*
Base$_2$: *h-a-naki h-e-glabiyal,*
Afterthought: *n-a-nú Dugút*

Examples encoding Span-Span Pa∧Qa:

(581) RM 177A
Gipwech-suhwi *n-o-walabali* *n-a-naki* *aliga* *n-a-nak* *n-a-ltowi*
follow-hold come he-R-follow river come he-R-come until he-R-go he-R-come up

umu *n-i-kih* *n-ú-taglali* *elbinyoguhwas* *umu,* *oli*
to he-IRR-go up he-IRR-arrive come Elbinyoguhwas ground name when but

énan *n-a-liki* *ati* *elpenyinú* *aliga* *n-a-kihi* *n-e-temoli*
he he-R-be first come only friend man until he-R-come up he-R-come

Ihwolonig *omu* *n-o-hwalechi* *egúnúdak*
Ihwolonig ground name when he-R-call them PL.MIX OBJ-come here DISPL REF

wabel *Gehiyan,* *Belegel.*
village Gehiyan ground Belegel.village
'The spirit man followed the real man, came, followed the river, kept coming until he went up, went and had almost arrived at Elbinyonguhwas. But by then the real man had come first and kept on coming until he came up and arrived at Ihwolonigu and while coming he called the men and women from here the village of Gehiyan, that is, Belegel.'

This is a Contrast Paragraph in which both Statement and Contrast are expounded by a Continuation Sentence, each of which contain embedded Purpose Sentences.

CONTRAST PARAGRAPH
STATEMENT: Continuation Sentence
Base$_1$: *Gipwech-suhwi n-o-walabali n-a-naki*

Link: *aliga*
Base$_2$: Purpose Sentence
Base$_1$: *n-a-nak n-a-ltowi umu n-i-kih n-ú-taglali elbinyoguhwas*
Link: *umu,*
Base$_2$: (in double function, acting also as first base of following Continuation Sentence, where it is listed)
CONTRAST: Continuation Sentence
Base$_1$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Conjunction: *oli* (functions also as paragraph link)
Nucleus: *e énan na n-a-liki ati*
Afterthought: *élpinyinu*
Link: *aliga*
Base$_2$: Purpose Sentence
Base$_1$: *n-a-kihi n-e-temoli ihwolonigú*
Link: *omu*
Base$_2$: *n-o-hwalechi egúnúndak wabel Gehiyan, Belegel*

7.2.4 NEGATION SENTENCE

Although the Negation transformation operates on the clauses rather than on the sentences in many languages, the number of clauses and complexity of clause structure and even possible embedded sentences that are negated by discontinuous negation morphemes in Bukiyup seem to warrant a Negation Sentence. This type of sentence is a potentially multi-base structure which begins and ends with various types of Negation tagmemes. The Negation Sentence is used to negate a series of from two to five clauses. Basically, the negation is of two types. *Kobwi* 'future negative' is used for negative imperative constructions as well as for negating any predications referring to the future. The discontinuous morpheme *wo ... e* 'past negative' is used to negate predications referring to the past and present. The Tok Pisin *ino* often replaces the *wo ... e*.

The Negation Sentence occurs in most paragraph types and in all discourse types, but is particularly frequent in Hortatory and Explanatory discourse. The Negation Sentence also occurs embedded in other sentences as follows: in Explanation slot of Explanatory Sentence, in Result slot of Conditional Sentence, in Topic slot of Evaluation Sentence, and in Base$_2$ of Purpose Sentence.

Negation Sentence	+Negation$_1$	+Base$_1$	±(Base$_2$)^n	±Negation$_2$	±Negation$_3$
	ino or *wo...* 'past negative'	Indicative Clause	Indicative Clause	*e* 'past negative'	*wok* 'no'
	kobwi or *bwi* 'future negative'	Warning Sentence			
	yaniwas umu yakliwakumu 'I don't want/ I don't like it that'	Negated Clause	Negated Clause		
Negation		$\bar{P} \wedge$	$\bar{Q} \ldots \wedge \bar{N}$		
Negative Obligation		$oP \wedge$	$\bar{Q}$		

Rules:

1. Negation$_2$ occurs only if Negation$_1$ is manifested by *wo*... Occasionally Negation$_2$ is omitted even in this case.

2. All verbs must be in the irrealis mood.

3. Negation$_1$ can be repeated following Base$_1$ and preceding each repetition of Base$_2$ if Negation$_1$ is manifested by *kobwi.*

4. Negation$_3$ is deleted if the Negation Sentence is embedded in the Result slot of a Conditional Sentence.

5. In Negation$_2$, *e* → *ye* when following word final *-e* or *-i.*

6. In Negation$_3$, *wok* seems to be in almost free fluctuation with *wak* 'no'.

7. Base$_2$ can be deleted if Base$_1$ is expounded by Warning Sentence.

8. If verbs manifesting Base$_1$ and Base$_2$ are in the imperative aspect and if Negation$_1$ is manifested by *kobwi/bwi,* the sentence encodes Negative Obligation.

9. Negation$_3$ is often deleted when Negation Sentence is embedded in another sentence type.

10. If Bases 1 and 2 are manifested by Negated Clauses, then Negation$_{1\text{-}3}$ is deleted.

11. Negative Clause must be the result of applying the Future Negation transformation.

12. If Negation is expounded by *yaniwas umu* or *yakliwak umu,* then Negation$_2$ does not occur, and the Bases are usually expounded by clauses or sentences with verbs in second person plural imperative aspect.

(582) NT 105

Kobwi	*m-u-hlitak,*	*kobwi*	*m-u-lpok,*	*wak.*
FUT NEG	we PL-IRR-argue	FUT NEG	we PL-IRR-fight	no

'We will not argue, we will not fight, no!'

This example is extracted from an Explanatory Sentence in which it is embedded.
Negation$_1$: *kobwi*
Base$_1$: *m-u-hlitak,*
Negation$_1$: *kobwi*
Base$_2$: *m-u-lpok,*
Negation$_3$: *wak.*

(583) QA 101

Wo	*n-ú-naki.*	*n-u-su-p-ape*	*énal buwul.*	*m-u-tah-al*	*wok.*
PAST NEG	he-IRR-come	he-IRR-tie-BENEF-us	one pig	we PL-IRR-cut-it (pig)	no

'He didn't come and tie up a pig for us so we could cut it up and eat it, no!'

Base$_2$ is repeated and Negation$_2$ is deleted.
Negation$_1$: *wo*
Base$_1$: *n-ú-naki.*
Base$_2$: *n-u-su-p-ape énal buwul.*
Base$_2$: *m-u-tah-al.*
Negation$_3$: *wok*

(584) NN 6

Yek	*i-pwe*	*mweyoh,*	*Yawihas*	*kobwi*	*i-lib,*	*kakwich*	*kobwi*
I	I IRR-be	nothing	gardens	FUT NEG	I IRR-cut/slash	garden food	FUT NEG

i-wu *énech.* *apak* *nyulúb* *b-a-ø-pú.* *Apak* *wo*
I IRR-plant some we PL stomach it (stomach)-R-hit (zero)-us we PL PAST NEG

dedegoi-pu, *m-u-lib* *yawihas.* *m-u-wu* *kakwich,* *e.*
strong-we PL we PL-IRR-cut/slash gardens we PL-IRR-plant garden food PAST.NEG
'If I wouldn't do anything ... if I wouldn't slash garden areas, if I wouldn't plant some garden food ... we would be hungry and we would not be strong, we would not have slashed garden areas, and we would not have planted garden food.'

This Negation Sentence with Sentence Topic manifested by *apak* 'we PL' is embedded in the Second (and final) Result tagmeme of a Conditional Sentence. Note that Negation$_3$ tagmeme is omitted.

Condition: *Yek i-pwe mweyoh,*
Condition: *Yawihas kobwi i-lib,*
Condition: *kakwich kobwi i-wu énech.*
Result: *apak nyulúb b-a-øpú.*
Result: Negation Sentence
  Sentence Topic: *Apak*
  Negation$_1$: *wo*
  Base$_1$: *dedegoi-pu,*
  Base$_2$: *m-u-lib yawihas.*
  Base$_2$: *m-u-wu kakwich,*
  Negation$_2$: *e.*

Examples encoding Negative Obligation $oP \wedge \bar{Q}$:

(585) HQ 45
P-é-naki *p-ú-pwe,* *kobwi* *p-é-luk* *bagúl,* *p-é-nek*
you PL-IMP-come you PL-IMP-be FUT NEG you PL-IMP-do play around you PL-IRR-do

énechi *énech.* *p-i-yaguleh* *wilpat* *p-i-yakes* *p-é-nek* *pani* *wok.*
things some you PL-IRR-talk house you PL-IMP-laugh you PL-IMP-do jokes no
'You come and stay put, don't fool around and play around, don't do all kinds of things, don't talk inside the school house, don't laugh, don't tell jokes, no!'

This is an Imperative Sentence with an embedded Negative Sentence:

Base$_1$: *p-é-naki p-ú-pwe,*
Base$_2$: Negative Sentence
  Negation$_1$: *kobwi*
  Base$_1$: *p-é-luk bagúl,*
  Base$_2$: *p-é-nek énechi énech.*
  Base$_2$: *p-i-yaguleh wilpat*
  Base$_2$: *p-i-yakes*
  Base$_2$: *p-é-nek pani*
  Negation$_3$: *wok.*

(586) NT 133
na *kobwi* *ulkwip* *p-e-lú* *sisa.* *deke* *p-i-kli,* *o*
and FUT NEG hearts they (hearts)-IMP-think badly lest they (hearts)-IRR-say oh

deke *ch-e-ø-pú* *na* *ch-ú-lawali* *kipainyi* *pasin*
FUT they PL.MIX-IRR-kill-us and they PL.MIX-IRR-bring another custom

ch-e-ø-pú, *wak.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-kill-us no
'And don't think badly in your hearts, lest your hearts think, "Oh, they will kill us and bring another custom and kill us", no!'

$Base_1$ of this example is expounded by a Warning Sentence which has $Base_2$ expounded by a Quote Sentence which has its Quotation expounded by another Warning Sentence which has $Base_2$ expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Sentence Conjunction: *na*
$Negation_1$: *kobwi*
$Base_1$: Warning Sentence
  $Base_1$: *ulkwip p-e-lú sisa.*
  Link: *deke*
  $Base_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
    QF_1: *p-i-kli,*
    Quotation: Warning Sentence
      Remark: *o*
      Link: *deke*
      $Base_1$: *ch-e-ø-pú*
      Link: *na*
      $Base_1$: *ch-ú-lawali kipainyi pasin*
      $Base_2$: *ch-e-ø-pú,*
$Negation_3$: *wak.*

(587) HO 052
y-a-niwas *umu* *p-ú-naki* *eli* *p-ú-nek-ech*
I-R-do not want concerning you PL-IMP-come and you PL-IMP-do-cl8 PL OBJ

p-ú-naki *eli* *p-ú-nek-ech* *echúdak énechi énech énan*
you PL-IMP-come and you PL-IMP-do-cl8 PL OBJ this these those he

n-a-penyu-ta-li *wilpat,* *wak.*
he-R-reside-cl11 SG-REL house no
'I don't want you to come and do these things and these kinds of things which are damaging to the house he resides in, no.'

This is a Negation Sentence with $Base_1$ manifested by a self-embedded Conjunction Sentence.

Negation: *y-a-niwas umu*
$Base_1$: Conjunction Sentence
  $Base_1$: Conjunction Sentence
    $Base_1$: *p-ú-naki*
    Link: *eli*
    $Base_1$: *p-ú-nek-ech p-ú-naki*
    Link: *eli*
    $Base_2$: Clause: *p-ú-nek-ech echúdak énechi énech énan n-a-penyu-ta-li wilpat,*
$Negation_3$: *wak.*

7.2.5 Limitation Sentence

The Limitation Sentence is unique in its distribution within sentences. It has not been observed embedded in any other sentence type except Direct Quote Sentence, which can embed any utterance. It occurs frequently in Explanatory Discourse and in Hortatory Discourse where it often

functions as the closure for an Explanatory Paragraph, but rarely occurs in other discourse types. It is identified easily by the characteristic filler of the Limitation slot: *namudak ati* 'just like this' or its two Tok Pisin equivalents *olsem tasol* and *em.*

The Limitation Sentence is used both for closing an Explanatory Paragraph in preparation to beginning a new paragraph on a new subject and for extra emphasis.

Limitation Sentence	+Statement	+Limitation
	Indicative Clause	*namudak ati* 'just like this'
	Narrative Sentence	*olsem tasol* 'just like this'
	Parallel Sentence	*em* 'just like this; that's it'
Specific-Generic Paraphrase	sPa	^ gPa

Rules:

1. Usually this sentence type occurs paragraph final.
2. The exponent of the Limitation slot always occurs with final intonation.
3. If Statement is expounded by a sentence, final intonation always occurs at the end of the sentence.
4. It seems that practically any sentence type can occur in the Statement slot.

Examples:

(588) QA 110
Mandeih ipak p-é-nek-eny Bubuamo. P-i-tak.
Mondays you PL you PL-IMP-do-it (work) Bubuamo village you PL-IMP-get up

namudak ati.
like that only
'You people of Bubuamo, get up and work on Mondays, just like that.'

Statement slot is manifested by Narrative Sentence.
Statement: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *Mandeih ipak p-é-nek-eny Bubuamo.*
Base$_2$: *P-i-tak.*
Limit: *namudak ati*

(589) QA 112
Kwali kar ny-u-naki, ny-u-ne sawolim-anú g-ú-nak
later truck it (truck)-IRR-come it (truck)-IRR-do shovel-it (sand) it (truck)-IRR-go

g-u-kole-yanú yah, em.
it (truck)-IRR-pour out-it (sand) road just like that
'Later a truck will come and will shovel the sand and go and pour it out on the road, just like that.'

Statement slot is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.
Statement: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *kwali kar ny-u-naki,*

Base$_2$: *ny-u-ne sawolim-anu*
Base$_2$: *g-ú-nak*
Base$_3$: *g-u-kole-yanú yah,*
Limit: *em.*

(590) QA 157

Yek	*i-kih*	*i-lak*	*énop,*	*Kebliwen*	*n-ú-kih*	*n-ú-lak*
I	I IRR-go up	I IRR-build	one (section)	Kebliwen	he-IRR-go up	he-IRR-build

énop.	*namudak*	*ati.*
one (section)	like this	only

'I will go up and build one section and Kebliwen will go up and build one section, just like that.'

Statement slot is expounded by a Parallel Sentence.
Statement: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *Yek i-kih i-lak énop,*
Base$_2$: *Kebliwen n-ú-kih n-ú-lak énop.*
Limit: *namudak ati.*

(591) QA 112

Ch-u-nek-eny	*namudak*	*ati.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-do-it (work)	like this	only

'They will do it just like that.'

This is the only example in which Statement is expounded by a clause.
Statement: *ch-u-nek-eny*
Limit: *namudak ati.*

7.2.6 Direct Quote Sentence

The Direct Quote Sentence is used for quoting the speech of others, and is preferred to the Indirect Quote Sentence which is very rare. The deep structure is symbolised by speech.

Direct Quote Sentences occur in all types of discourse, in most types of paragraphs and have so far been observed embedded in other sentences as follows: in Base$_1$ of the Purpose Sentence, in Result Base of the Conditional Sentence, in Base$_2$ of the Warning Sentence, and in the Quote Base of the Narrative Sentence. Quotation Formula$_2$ has not been observed occurring with any of these embedded Direct Quote Sentences. This is assumed to be obligatory absence because of the Direct Quote Sentence being embedded in another sentence, and not simply an accident due to a limited corpus.

Direct Quote Sentence	95% ±Quotation Formula$_1$	+Quotation	5% ±Quotation Formula$_2$
	Transitive Clause Indirect Quote Sentence	Indicative Clause Any Sentence Paragraph Discourse Song	Transitive Clause
Special Features:	Predicate must be expounded by verb stem or verb phrase with an inflected form of any of the following verbs: *-kli* 'say'; *-klipu* 'tell'; *-salik* or *-lik* 'ask'; *-yalúb* 'sing'		Predicate must be an inflected form of either *-kli* 'say' or *-klipu* 'tell'
Speech	wP ^	Q	
Awareness	aP ^	Q	

Rules:

1. Quotation Formula$_1$ is present in approximately 95% of the examples. If it is absent, Quotation Formula$_2$ is present unless the Direct Quote Sentence occurs in a Conversation Paragraph.

2. If Quotation Formula$_1$ is expounded by either form of 'ask', the Quotation is expounded by a Question Clause or an Interrogative Clause. However, the Quotation can be expounded by a Question Clause or an Interrogative Clause with Quotation Formula$_1$ manifested by either *-klipu* 'tell' or one of the forms of 'ask'.

3. Quotation Formula$_3$ is expounded by a verb phrase with an inflected form of *-yalúb* 'sing' if Quotation is expounded by a song. *Namudak* 'like this' is optional following the verb stem *-yalúb.*

(592) NK 43

M-u-nak *Hefild* *bai* *ch-ú-gabwe* *kar.* *Ch-ú-ne* *pam*
we PL-IRR-go Hayfield FUT they PL.MIX-IRR-fix car they PL.MIX-IRR-do pump

ones *gris* *na* *wel,* *orait* *bai* *m-u-naki* *bek.*
some grease and oil and then FUT we PL-IRR-come back
'We will go to Hayfield and they will fix the car, they will put in grease and oil and then we will come back, he told us.'

Quotation is expounded by a Conjunction Sentence, although *eli* has been replaced by *orait* in this example.

(593) HL 39

Eik *i-nu* *núganinú* *u-naki.* *owo* *u-húl*
I I IRR-and son we DL IRR-come they PL.FEM they PL.FEM IRR-take

ohwakich. *u-k-ohu* *w-i-chah,*
our DL food they PL.FEM IRR-give-us DL OBJ we 2-IRR-eat it

u-salik-ou *ipakich* *doukwechúk* *p-a-chah?*
we DL IRR-ask-them PL.FEM OBJ your PL food recently you PL-R-eat it
'I and my son will come, the women will get the food for us, they will give it to us, we will eat it, and ask them, "Did you just eat yours?"'

This is a Narrative Sentence with $Base_1$ repeated three times and a Direct Quote Sentence in which Quotation $Formula_1$ is expounded by *usalikou* 'we two will ask them' and the Quotation by an Interrogative Sentence.

$Base_1$: *eik i-nu núganinú u-naki.*
$Base_1$: *owo u-húl ohwakich.*
$Base_1$: *u-k-ohu*
$Base_2$: *w-i-chah,*
Quote Base: Direct Quote Sentence
Quotation $Formula_1$: *u-salik-ou,*
Quotation: *ipakich doukwechúk p-a-chah?*

(594) QA 91
Wolgeta *Lohuhwim* *ch-a-naki* *yúh.* *oli* *apak* *n-a-kli*
many/all Lohuhwim dialect group they PL.MIX-R-come all but we PL he-R-say

apak *madeih.* *ipak* *wok* *mandeih* *étúgún,* *júlúg* *yúh* *ipakiny*
we PL Mondays you PL work Mondays only enough completely your PL

moulú *ipak* *Bubuamo.*
work you PL Bubuamo village
'All the people from the Lohuhwim dialect group came, but, as for us, he said that we work Mondays: "You all work only on Mondays – that's enough – your work is all finished, you people of Bubuamo village."'

This Direct Quote Sentence is embedded in a Conjunction Sentence. The Quotation $Formula_1$ is expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence, while the Quotation Base is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence with Afterthought tagmeme.

$Base_1$: *wolgeta Lohuhwim ch-a-naki yúh.*
Link: *oli*
$Base_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
Sentence Topic: *apak*
Quotation $Formula_1$: Indirect Quote Sentence
Quotation $Formula_1$: *n-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: *apak madeih.*
Quotation: Evaluation Sentence
Topic: *ipak wok mandeih étúgún,*
Evaluation: *júlúg yúh ipakiny moulú*
Afterthought: *ipak Bubuamo.*

(595) QA 66
N-akli *ipak* *kamon* *moul* *wok.* *Ipak* *doumeih* *Madeih* *júlúg,* *ipakiny*
he-R-say you PL tomorrow work no you PL today Mondays enough your PL

moulú. *Kamon* *Nibihu* *Kragumun* *ch-ú-naki*
work tomorrow Nibihu village Kragumun village they PL.MIX-IRR-come

ch-ú-nek-eny *Lohuhwim* *ch-ú-bih,*
they PL.MIX-IRR-do-it (work) Lohuhwim dialect group they PL.MIX-IRR-go down

ch-ú-nek-eny *Lohuhwim* *ch-ú-bih,*
they PL.MIX-IRR-do-it(work) Lohuhwim dialect group they PL.MIX-IRR-go down

ch-ú-sah *weisan* *wolúb.* *n-a-klip-apú.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-carry sand and gravel river he-R-tell-us.OBJ
'He said, "Tomorrow you don't have any work. You have worked today, Monday and your work is finished. Tomorrow the people of Nibihu and Kragumun villages will come and they will do the work, and the Lohuhwim dialect group will come down and do it. They will carry sand and gravel from the river", he told us.'

The Quotation Formula$_1$ is expounded by *nakli* 'he said', the Quotation is expounded by a Contrast Sentence, followed by a beginning of a new paragraph, introduced by *kamon* 'tomorrow', which is manifested by a Narrative Sentence followed by a Simple Sentence.

Quotation Formula$_2$ is expounded by *naklipapú* 'he told us'.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *n-akli*
Quotation: *ipak kamon moul wok. Ipak doumeih Madeih júlúg, ipakiny moulú. Kamon Nibihu Kragumun ch-ú-naki ch-é-nek-eny Lohuhwim ch-ú-bih, ch-ú-nek-eny Lohuhwim ch-ú-bih, ch-ú-sah weisan wolúb.*
Quotation Formula$_2$: *n-a-klip-apú.*

(596) NN 109
i-nak *yah,* *ényeny* *ny-a-lik-e,* *ny-u-nak* *meigini?* *i-namu*
I-IRR-go road he cl10SG (friend) he-R-ask-me OBJ you-IRR-go where I IRR-go-to

Wiwaeg. *makunih* *wotak* *ny-u-naki?* *biyebih* *wotak*
Wewak how many days not yet you-IRR-come day after tomorrow not yet

i-naki.
I-IRR-come
'I will go on the road, and one friend will ask me, "Where are you going?" "I am going to Wewak." "How many days until you come back?" "I will come back day after tomorrow."'

This is a Conversation Paragraph expounded by four sentences: a Narrative Sentence in which a Direct Quote Sentence is embedded comes first and then three Direct Quote Sentences with no quotation formula of any kind.

Narrative Sentence: Base$_2$: *i-nak yah,*
Quote Base: Direct Quote Sentence
Quotation Formula$_1$: *ényeny ny-a-lik-e,*
Quotation: *ny-u-nak meigini?*
Direct Quote Sentence:
Quotation: *i-namu Wiwaeg.*
Direct Quote Sentence:
Quotation: *makunih wotak ny-u-naki?*
Direct Quote Sentence:
Quotation: *biyebih wotak i-naki.*

Example encoding Awareness aP∧Q:

(597) RJ 31
Kobwi *u-bihi.* *ali* *nyublúl* *ny-u-menek* *pag* *pag* *pag*
FUT NEG we 2 IRR-come down but breadfruit sap you-IRR-hear hit hit hit

ehelihis	*ny-u-kli*	*ch-a-pwe*	*ch-e-lepw-e.*
breadfruit leaves	you-IRR-know/be aware	they PL.MIX-R-be	they PL.MIX-R-mourn-me

'We two will not come down, but when you hear the breadfruit sap going *pag pag pag* on the breadfruit leaves, you will be aware of this: "They are mourning for me".'

This is a Conjunction Sentence in which the second Base is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence with a Temporal Margin. The entire Conjunction Sentence is part of a long Direct Quote Sentence.

Base$_1$: *Kobwi u-bihi.*
Link$_2$: *ali*
Base$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
  Temporal Margin: *nyublúl ny-u-menek pag pag pag ehelihis*
  Quotation Formula$_1$: *ny-ukli*
  Quotation: *ch-a-pwe ch-e-lepw-e.*

The analysis of this example (597) poses some interesting problems. The surface structure is marked first person singular (rather than second person singular) in the object in the Quotation, *ch-e-lepw-e* 'they are mourning me'. Therefore it seems that this must be a Direct Quote Sentence. However, this contradicts the general rule that all quotes embedded in direct quotes are indirect instead of direct. Also this is the only example of Direct Quote Sentence encoding Awareness. All other Direct Quote Sentences encode speech. Possibly this is a case of surface structure fusion of Direct and Indirect Quote Sentences. Or, possibly, this example indicates that Direct and Indirect Quote Sentences should be redefined so that this example is an Indirect Quote Sentence.

7.2.7 Explanatory Sentence

The Explanatory Sentence is used to explain various procedures, rules, desires, customs, and also to explain the meaning of one language in another. This sentence type is similar to the Limitation Sentence in that it has not been observed embedded in any other sentence type. It occurs in all types of discourse. In addition to its explanatory function, this sentence type can be used with the Explanatory slot deleted, as the closing formula in Procedural Discourse and as the closing formula for an Explanatory Paragraph. When occurring with this closing function, the entire preceding discourse or paragraph could be viewed as expounding the (deleted) Explanatory slot.

Explanatory Sentence	+Topic	±Explanatory Link	+Explanation
	Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ pronoun	non-final intonation followed by *namudak* 'like this'	Amplification Sentence Imperative Sentence Narrative Sentence Negative Sentence Simple Sentence
Special Features: usually the Head slot of the Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ is deleted, leaving such adjectives as: *bodeiny* 'English (language)'; *genugainy* 'Vernacular (language)'. Otherwise the phrase is *éneny bolany* 'some(one) talk' with optional Modifier$_2$ slot manifested by an Adjective Clause of form Indicative Clause + *uli* 'that which' or *umu* 'about'		*namudak* is optional but present about 95% of the time	
Paraphrase:			
Generic-Specific	gPa	∧	sPa
Metalanguage	cP	∧	Q

Rules:

1. Topic slot can be deleted if it is identical with the last word of the previous sentence.

2. The Explanatory Link *namudak*, which occurs about 95% of the time, can be permuted to precede the Topic slot. However, as indicated in the formula, the non-final intonation still follows the Topic slot.

3. The Explanatory Link *namudak* is omitted only if Topic is expounded by *éneny bolany* 'some(one) talk'.

4. If Topic is manifested by *éneny bolany* 'some talk', it can be repeated.

5. If the Modifier$_2$ slot in Topic is present (as in Special Features), the remainder of the Modified Noun Phrase *(éneny bolany)* can be deleted.

Examples encoding Generic-Specific paraphrase gPa∧sPa:

(598) NT 154

Apak , *namudak.* *m-o-nek* *hinyigi-mu* *mani.* *apak* *m-o-nek*
we PL NFI like this FI we PL-R-do covet about money we PL we PL-R-do

laigi-mu *moni* *tasol.*
covet-for money only
'We are like this: we covet money, only money.'

The Explanation slot is expounded by an Amplification Sentence.
Topic: *Apak*
Explanatory Link: , *namudak.*

Explanation: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *m-o-nek hinyigi-mu mani.*
Amplification: *apak m-o-nek laigi-mu moni tasol.*

(599) HN 20

Génúgaich	*namudak.*	*Kobwi*	*p-é-nak*	*p-ú-kú*	*alúh,*
indigene's things	like this	FUT NEG	you PL-IMP-go	you PL-IMP-do	stealing

p-ú-pwe	*kalbúk.*	*bulguh*	*kobwi*	*p-o-ø-guh*	*nubagw*
you PL-IMP-be	well	pigs	FUT NEG	you PL-IMP-hit-them (pigs)	dogs

kobwi	*p-o-ø-gw*	*owatogw*	*kobwi*	*p-o-ø-gw*
FUT NEG	you PL-IMP-hit-them (dogs)	chickens	FUT NEG	you PL-IMP-hit-them (chickens)

kakwich	*kobwi*	*p-ú-kumwech*	*alúh.*	*búbús*	*kobwi*
garden food	FUT NEG	you PL-IRR-do for them (food)	stealing	betel nuts	FUT NEG

p-ú-kúmabús	*alúh.*	*oub*	*kobwi*
you PL-IMP-for them (betel nuts)	stealing	coconuts	FUT NEG

p-i-di-yab.
you PL-IMP-get-them (coconuts)
'Concerning indigene's things, it is like this: don't go and steal; be good – don't hit pigs, don't hit chickens, don't steal garden food, don't steal betel nuts, don't steal coconuts.'

The Explanation slot is expounded by a Parallel Sentence whose first base is expounded by a Contrast Sentence.

Topic: *Génúgaich*
Explanatory Link: *namudak.*
Explanation: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: Contrast Sentence
Base$_1$: Negation Sentence
Negation$_1$: *Kobwi*
Base$_1$: *p-é-nak.*
Base$_2$: *p-ú-kú alúh,*
Base$_2$: *p-ú-pwe kalbúk.*
Base$_1$: *bulguh kobwi p-o-ø-guh*
Base$_1$: *nubagw kobwi p-o-ø-gw*
Base$_1$: *owatogw kobwi p-o-ø-gw*
Base$_1$: *kakwich kobwi p-ú-kumwech alúh.*
Base$_1$: *búbús kobwi p-ú-kúmabús alúh.*
Base$_2$: *oub kobwi p-i-di-yab.*

(600) NN 117

Éneny	*bolany*	*namudak*	*apakigw*	*wilagw*	*m-a-log-úli.*
one/some	talk	like this	our	houses	we PL-R-build-that which

m-a-log-úli	*ch-o-hwal-ogw*	*haus*	*kuk,*
we PL-R-build-that which	they PL.MIX-R-call-them (houses)	house	cook

ch-a-pwe	*ch-é-nek*	*kakwich*	*umu.*
they PL.MIX-R-be	they PL.MIX-R-cook	garden food	that which

'Some talk about our houses which we build is like this: they call the houses which we build *"haus kuk"* – the houses in which they customarily cook garden food.'

The Topic slot is manifested by Modified Noun Phrase$_1$ with Adjective Clause marked by *uli.*

Topic: *éneny bolany*
Explanatory Link: *namudak*
Topic (adjective): *apakigw wilagw m-a-log-úli.*
Explanation: Simple Sentence
  Sentence Topic: *m-a-log-úli*
  Nucleus: *ch-o-hwal-ogw haus kuk, ch-a-pwe ch-é-nek kakwich umu*

Examples encoding Metalanguage cP∧Q:

(601) NT 102

namudak	*bodeiny*	*i*	*no*	*ken*	*m-u-ne*	*kros.*
like this	Tok Pisin	predicate marker	NEG	abilitative	we PL-IRR-do	anger

'In Tok Pisin it's like this: "I no ken *mune* kros".'

Topic and Explanatory Link slots are permuted.

Explanatory Link: *namudak*
Topic: *bodeiny*
Explanation: *i no ken m-u-ne kros*

(602) NT 104

Génúgainy	*namudak*	*kobwi*	*m-u-hlitak*	*kobwi*
vernacular language	like this	FUT NEG	we PL-IRR-argue	FUT NEG

m-u-lpak,	*wak.*
we PL-IRR-fight	no

'In the vernacular it's like this: "*kobwi muhlitak, kobwi mulpak, wak.* "'

The Explanation slot is expounded by a Negative Sentence.

Topic: *Génúgainy*
Explanatory Link: *namudak*
Explanation: Negative Sentence
  Negation$_1$: *kobwi*
  Base$_1$: *m-u-hlitak,*
  Negation$_1$: *kobwi*
  Base$_2$: *m-u-lpak,*
  Negation$_3$: *wak.*

7.2.8 Amplification Sentence

Amplification Sentence is a very common sentence type and is found in all types of discourse, and in many paragraph types. It occurs very frequently embedded in the final base of a Narrative Sentence, Conjunction Sentence, and Continuation Sentence. It also occurs embedded in the Explanation slot of Explanatory Sentence. It is one of the few sentence types that occurs fairly frequently as a self-embedded construction. An Amplification Sentence can occur embedded in either Statement or Amplification slot of another Amplification Sentence.

This sentence type is used to paraphrase a previous clause or sentence. The Amplification slot has four functions: (1) as a mild type of emphasis on the repeated verb or verb phrase or set of verbs (in cases of embedding); (2) providing a way of introducing one extra tagmeme not present in the previous predication (Statement slot); (3) expanding or identifying more fully in actor or

other term present in the Statement slot; and (4) as a strong emphasis or highlighting of the additional tagmeme not present in the Statement slot.

Amplification Sentence is identified by the repetition of the identical or closely synonymous verb following a final intonation. In most cases there is an additional Time, Location, Benefactive, Instrument, or Object Clause level tagmeme occurring with the repetition of the verb. Occasionally the only expansion is an additional slot in the verb or in a verb phrase. It is this additional tagmeme, affix or verb phrase slot, crucial in distinguishing an Amplification Sentence from a repeated verb construction, which is one of the few clear marks of a sentence boundary. In the repeated verb construction, the verb is repeated in identical or abbreviated form with nothing added from the previous clause. In the Amplification Sentence something is nearly always added. Intonation also helps in distinguishing these two constructions. In the majority of cases, an unembedded Amplification Sentence will end with a final intonation. In the great majority of cases of a repeated verb construction, the repetition of the verb will be followed by a non-final intonation.

The Amplification Sentence is similar to the Parallel Sentence, from which it is distinguished by the following contrastive features:

(1) Number of bases: Amplification Sentence is a two-base structure, while Parallel Sentence is multi-base.

(2) The actors in Amplification Sentence are identical in deep structure (i.e. reference) and in 95% of the examples in surface structure also, while in Parallel Sentence the actors can be same or different.

(3) The verbs in Amplification Sentence can be transitive or intransitive, while all examples of Parallel Sentence, except one, occur with transitive verbs.

(4) In nearly every instance of Parallel Sentence, there is an additional contrastive term present in each base, while in the Amplification Sentence this contrastive term is present in the last base only.

Amplification Sentence	+Statement		+Amplification
	Indicative Clause		Indicative Clause
	Narrative Sentence		Alternative Sentence
	Amplification Sentence		Amplification Sentence
			Narrative Sentence
			Parallel Sentence
Paraphrase:			
Identity Equivalence	Pa	^	Pa
	Pa	^	P'a
Statement-Specification	Pa	^	Pab
	Pa	^	Pax
	Pa	^	P'ax

Rules:

1. Verb stems in each tagmeme are in the same mood.
2. No negation can occur in either tagmeme.

3. Verbs in each tagmeme must be identical or close synonyms and must have the same subject.

4. The Amplification slot must be expounded by a construction which has an additional term (Time, Location, Object, Benefactive, Instrument slot or affix, or additional verb phrase slot) not present in the similar construction in Statement, unless the verbs in the two tagmemes are different.

5. If this sentence type is self-embedded or embedded in a Narrative Sentence, the order of the two tagmemes can be reversed in the embedded Amplification Sentence.

6. If Statement is expounded by a single clause, the verb can be deleted (cf. example (606) encoding Statement-Specification).

Examples encoding Identity-Equivalence Paraphrase with Identical Predications Pa∧Pa:

(603) NS 136

Ch-e-nyu-húl	*ch-a-tah-eny.*	*ch-e-nyu-húl*
they PL.MIX-R-it (cow)-take	they PL.MIX-R-cut-it (cow)	they PL.MIX-R-it (cow)-take

ch-a-tah-eny	*ch-e-yat-eny.*
they PL.MIX-R-cut-it (cow)	they PL.MIX-R-finish-it (cow)

'They took the cow and they cut it - they took it and cut it all.'

The Amplification tagmeme is expounded by a verb phrase with an additional slot.

Statement: *ch-e-nyu-húl ch-a-tah-eny.*
Amplification: *ch-e-nyu-húl ch-a-tah-eny ch-e-yat-eny.*

Synonymous Predications Pa∧P'a:

(604) MN 104

Ch-a-bih	*ch-a-labúlumonú*	*ch-a-ø-nú,*
they PL.MIX-R-go down	they PL.MIX-R-surround him	they PL.MIX-R-hit-him

n-a-bih	*n-a-kús*	*gani*	*owiny,*	*énan*	*umu*	*yawihas.*	*oli*
he-R-go down	he-R-be	there	down below	some man	place	garden	therefore

yek	*aninú*	*Ibara*	*yek*	*y-e-ne*	*wari*	*yek*	*opahw*	*nyihihichihw.*
I	father	Ibara	I	I-R-do	feel bad	I	stomach	hot

'They went down and surrounded him, hit him, and he went down and lay down below in one man's garden, so I, Ibara, his father, felt bad – I was angry.'

This Amplification Sentence is embedded in a Conjunction Sentence in which the first base is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *Ch-a-bih.*
  Base$_2$: *ch-a-labúlumonú ch-a-ø-nú,*
  Base$_3$: *n-a-bih n-a-kús gani owiny, énan umu yawihas.*
Link: *oli*
Base$_2$: Amplification Sentence
  Statement: *yek aninú Ibara yek y-e-ne wari*
  Amplification: *yek opahw nyihihichihw.*

(605) QA 69

Kamon	*Nibihu*	*Kragumun*	*ch-ú-naki*
tomorrow	Nibihu village	Kragumun village	they PL.MIX-IRR-come

ch-ú-nek-eny,	*Lohuhwim*	*ch-ú-bih,*
they PL.MIX-IRR-do-it (work)	Lohuhwim dialect group	they PL.MIX-IRR-go down

ch-ú-nek-eny. *Lohuhwim* *ch-ú-bih,*
they PL.MIX-IRR-do-it (work) Lohuhwim dialect group they PL.MIX-IRR-go down

ch-ú-sah *weisan* *wolúb.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-carry sand river
'Tomorrow the people from Nibihu and Kragumun will come and do the work, the Lohuhwim dialect group will go down and do it; they will go down and carry sand from the river.'

This example is extracted from a long Quotation Sentence. Here is a Narrative Sentence with $Base_3$ expounded by an Amplification Sentence in which both Statement and Amplification slots are expounded by Narrative Sentence which have synonymous sets of verbs. The Statement of the Amplification Sentence contains verbs 'go down', 'do', while the Amplification slot contains verbs 'go down' and 'carry'.

$Base_1$: *Kamon Nibihu Kragumun ch-ú-naki*
$Base_2$: *ch-ú-nek-eny,*
$Base_3$: Amplification Sentence
  Statement: Narrative Sentence
    $Base_2$: *Lohuhwim ch-ú-bih,*
    $Base_3$: *ch-ú-nek-eny.*
  Amplification: Narrative Sentence
    $Base_2$: *Lohuhwim ch-ú-bih,*
    $Base_3$: *ch-ú-sah weisan wolúb.*

Examples encoding Statement-Specification with Specified Object Pa∧Pab:

(606) HL 12
Oo, *ohwak* *doukwechúk* *y-a-nú* *batowich* *doukwechúk* *m-a-chah* *apakich.*
yes we two recently I-R-and children recently we PL-R-eat ours
'Yes, we just ate ours – the children and I just ate ours.'

The clause in $Base_1$ has had the verb deleted. The Sentence begins with a peripheral Vocative tagmeme. There was evidently a grammatical lapse on the part of the speaker, who changed from we dual to we plural, when obviously the same individuals are meant.

Vocative: *Oo,*
Statement: *ohwak doukwechúk*
Amplification: *ya-nú batowich doukwechúk m-a-chah apakich.*

(607) NS 156
Ch-a-talihech. *ch-a-talihech* *udús.*
they PL.MIX-R-count they PL.MIX-R-count bark dishes
'They counted – they counted the bark dishes.'

Statement: *ch-a-talihech.*
Amplification: *ch-a-talihech udús.*

Examples encoding Statement-Specification with Specified Location and Synonymous Predications Pa∧Pax:

(608) QB 6
Bai *ch-ú-na-mu* *moul* *bai* *ch-ú-nak.* *ch-ú-nek*
FUT they PL.MIX-IRR-go-BENEF work FUT they PL.MIX-IRR-go they PL.MIX-IRR-do

moul gani Penabari.
work there river name
'They will go – they will go for work, and they will do it there at the Penabari river.'

In this example the Statement is expounded by an Amplification Sentence in which the Statement and Amplification tagmemes are permuted. Note that the verbs are not identical here, but are synonymous. The synonymity is established by the first Amplification Sentence which explains that 'go' really here means 'to go for work'.

Base$_1$: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *bai ch-ú-na-mu moul bai ch-ú-nak.*
Amplification: *ch-ú-nek moul gani Penabari.*

(609) HQ 6

P-i-tak	*p-é-nak,*	*p-é-lpogech*	*yah*	*p-é-nek*	*yahiny*
you PL-IMP-get up	you PL-IMP-go	you PL-IMP-cut	road	you PL-IMP-do	road

moul made.
work Monday
'You get up and go and cut the grass on the road – do road work on Monday.'

Statement is manifested by a Narrative Sentence.

Statement: Narrative Sentence
Base$_2$: *p-i-tak p-é-nak,*
Base$_3$: *p-é-lpogech yah*
Amplification: *p-é-nek yahiny moul made.*

Examples with Specified Location and Identical Predications Pa∧Pax:

(610) HL 23

U-na-mu	*dakigúnúmu.*	*U-nak*	*dakibili*	*wabel.*
we two IRR-go-to	whatever place	we two IRR-go	whatever	village

u-nak	*Nibihu*	*o,*	*u-nak*	*Kragumun,*	*a*	*u-nak*
we two IRR-go	Nibihu village	or	we two IRR-go	Kragumun village	or	we two IRR-go

oblomak	*o.*
a Maprik language village	or

'Wherever we will go, whatever village we will go to – to Nibihu village or Karagumun village or to a Maprik village.'

This example is a self-embedded Amplification Sentence with Amplification slot of the embedded sentence expounded by an Alternative Sentence.

Statement: *u-na-mu dakigúnúmu.*
Amplification: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *u-nak dakibili wabel.*
Amplification: Alternative Sentence
Base$_1$: *u-nak Nibihu o,*
Base$_2$: *unak Kragumun, a*
Base$_3$: *u-nak oblomak o,*

(611) HA 81

P-é-naki	*p-é-nek*	*sugul.*	*wabwigún*	*p-é-nek-eny*
you PL-IMP-come	you PL-IMP-do	school	afternoon	you PL-IMP-do-it (school)

aglúpil *p-é-nek-eny* *wab.*
morning you PL-IMP-do-it (school) night
'You come and go to school – in the afternoon, in the morning, and at night.'

Amplification is expounded by a Parallel Sentence with the verb in its last base deleted.

Statement: *P-é-naki p-é-nek sugul.*
Amplification: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *wabwigún p-é-nek-eny,*
Base$_1$: *aglúpil p-é-nek-eny*
Base$_2$: *wab.*

7.2.9 Succession Sentence

The Succession Sentence consists of two bases and is used to conjoin clauses in temporal succession. The link *douk* frequently indicates a very short time between the event described in the two bases.

This sentence type is used mainly by the Chamaun dialect group, and is used by some speakers much more frequently than others.

The link *douk* also occasionally functions on a higher level in addition to its linking function in this sentence type. In the first two examples it signals the entrance of a new participant or the re-introduction of previous participants who will begin a new episode in the narrative.

The same particle *douk* occurs in other contexts besides this sentence type. Most frequently it occurs at the beginning of a new paragraph.

Succession Sentence	+Base$_1$	+Link	+Base$_2$
	Clause Conjunction Sentence Completed Action Sentence Narrative Sentence	*douk* 'and, and right away'	Clause Conjunction Sentence Continuation Sentence Narrative Sentence
Temporal Succession:			
Event-Event	Ṗ	∧	Q̣
Event-Span	Ṗa	∧	Q̣b

Rules:

1. Verbs in both bases must be in realis mood.
2. Neither base can be negated.

Examples encoding Event-Event Ṗ∧Q̣:

(612) NK 115
M-a-pe *douk* *Masta* *Hovi* *n-a-naki.*
we PL SUBJ-R-be and European man Hovey he SUBJ-R-come
'We stayed and the European, Mr Hovey, came.'

Base$_1$: *m-a-pe*
Link: *douk*
Base$_2$: *Masta Hovi n-a-naki.*

(613) HO 006
M-o-nekomu *douk* *m-a-kih-i*
we PL SUBJ-R-go around and soon we PL SUBJ-R-arrive-come

m-o-palag-ech *ch-a-pe-lúli.*
we PL SUBJ-R- meet-3 PL.MIX OBJ 3 PL.MIX SUBJ-R-be-those who
'We went walking around and soon we arrived and met those who had stayed.'

Base$_1$: *m-o-nekomu*
Link: *douk*
Base$_2$: *m-a-kih-i m-o-palag-ech ch-a-pe-lúli.*

Examples encoding Event-Span P∧Q:

(614) NP 030
W-o-naki *douk* *m-a-pe* *h-o-wak* *abal.*
we DL SUBJ-R-come and we PL SUBJ-R-be they PL.M SUBJ-R-drink water
'We came and stayed and they drank water.'

Base$_1$: *w-o-naki*
Link: *douk*
Base$_2$: *m-a-pe h-o-wak abal.*

(615) NR 026:002
Klúklú *douk* *y-a-pe* *y-a-pe* *y-a-pe* *y-a-pe* *éliga* *éliga*
shiver and I SUBJ-R-be I SUBJ-R-be I SUBJ-R-be I SUBJ-R-be until until

loubali.
long time
'I shivered and stayed inside the house for a long time.'

Base$_1$: *Klúklú*
Link: *douk*
Base$_2$: *y-a-pe y-a-pe y-a-pe y-a-pe éliga éliga loubali.*

7.3 Loose Sentence

A Loose Sentence was defined in section 7.2 as a sentence type which encodes a relatively large number of different deep structures. On this basis the following sentence types are classified "loose" in contrast to "tight".

7.3.1 Purpose Sentence

The Purpose Sentence is a two-base structure with obligatory sentence medial link *umu* 'when, if, but, because, about, concerning, so that'. This sentence type is used in a wide variety of situations in order to express purpose, reason, hypothetical condition, succession, overlap, and, rarely, even contrast. The Purpose Sentence encodes six different deep structures. As indicated in rules 1-2, intonation is important in this sentence. All the deep structures for this sentence type, except Efficient and Final Cause, are encoded if the link *umu* occurs with non-final intonation. When this sentence type encodes the deep structures of Efficient and/or Final Cause, however,

non-final intonation never occurs following the link *umu*, although a final intonation often precedes the *umu*.

The Purpose Sentence occurs frequently in Narrative and Explanatory Sentences, embedded in $Base_1$ and $Base_2$ slots of the Narrative Sentence.

Although Purpose Sentence is marked by the *umu* link and the intonation as stated above, this construction is not always easy to recognise. Not every sentence-medial *umu* marks a Purpose Sentence. The two most common exceptions to this are the constructions in which the *umu* marks an embedded clause or sentence and those in which *umu* simply marks a Benefactive clause-level slot.

The following example illustrates both uses of *umu*. The first *umu* following *redim* 'prepare' occurs with *bulguh* 'pigs' in a Benefactive Relator-Axis Phrase filling the Benefactive slot in the clause, 'They will go and prepare for pigs'. The second *umu* is the next to the last word in the sentence. It marks the embedded clause *alkilúb chichúkalas umu* 'the coconut leaves with which they had covered up the slit gong drums'. In an embedded construction the *umu* often occurs sentence finally. If it occurs sentence medially, it is usually followed by a final intonation.

(616) NN 118

S-ú-kús *ch-ú-nak* *ch-ú-ne* *redim* *umu*
they (slit gong drums)-IRR-be they PL.MIX-IRR-go they PL.MIX-IRR-do prepare for

buluguh, *ch-ú-nak* *ch-o-hwo-guh,* *ch-ú-naki*
pigs they PL.MIX-IRR-go they PL.MIX-IRR-tie them (pigs) they PL.MIX-IRR-come

oli, *ch-ú-nikúk* *alkilúb*
and then they PL.MIX-IRR-uncover coconut leaves

ch-i-chúkal-as *umu*
they PL.MIX-IRR-cover-them OBJ (drums) that which

ch-ú-gúdúk-as
they PL.MIX-IRR-hit-them OBJ (drums)
'They will leave the slit gong drums there and go and get money for buying pigs, they will go and tie up the pigs, they will come, and then they will uncover the coconut leaves with which they had covered up the slit gong drums and will hit them.'

In the following example there are two occurrences of *umu* which define the embedded clause *umu nubuwakih chalpok umu* 'about men and women who fought a few days ago':

(617) NP 121

Yek *y-a-kli* *i-yaguleh* *éneny* *bolany* *umu* *nubuwakih*
I I-R-say I IRR-talk one/some talk about a few days ago

ch-a-lpok *umu.*
they PL.MIX-R-fight who
'I want to tell a story about men and women who fought a few days ago.'

To distinguish Purpose Sentence from benefactive and embedded constructions it is helpful to note two rules: (1) most constructions in which *umu* follows a verb are benefactive constructions and not Purpose Sentences (although there are three exceptions to this so far – one hypothetical encoding (620) and two encodings of efficient cause (622), (623), and (2) in embedded constructions usually the *umu* which marks the end of an embedded clause or sentence occurs with a final intonation, while in the Purpose Sentence the *umu* occurs with either a non-final intonation, a final intonation on the word preceding the *umu*, or neither of these two intonations. So far there

is one ambiguous example which may not fit these conditions. It involves a sentence-final *umu* which seems to be purposive rather than embedding. This would be the only case of a Purpose Sentence with the link *umu* permuted to the end of the sentence.

Purpose Sentence	+Base$_1$	+Link	+Base$_2$
	Indicative Clause Topic Comment Clause Continuation Sentence Narrative Sentence Direct Quote Sentence	*umu* 'when, if, but, because, about, concerning' +NFI; *.umu* or *omu* 'so that, in order that'	Indicative Clause Topic Comment Clause Contrast Sentence Narrative Sentence Negative Sentence
Overlap	$\underline{P\_\_}$	$\wedge$	$\underline{\_\_Q}$
Succession (Event-Span)	$\underline{P}$	$\wedge$	$\underline{Q}$
Contrast	$\bar{P}(a)$	$\wedge$	P(b)
Hypothetical	P	$\supset$	Q
Efficient Cause	$P\wedge[P$	$\supset$	Q]
Final Cause	$P\wedge[P$	$\supset$	pQ]

Rules:

1. Surface structures encoding Final and/or Efficient Cause often occur with final intonation on the word preceding the *umu*, but never with non-final or final intonation following the *umu*.

2. Surface structures encoding other deep structures occur with non-final intonation following the *umu*.

3. In surface structures encoding Hypothetical Implication, the verbs in both bases must be in unreal aspect. However, verbs with unreal aspect in both bases do not guarantee that a Hypothetical Implication deep structure is encoded.

4. By morphophonemic rules not yet formalised, *umu* → *omu* when following word final *gu* or *gú*.

5. If encoding Hypothetical Implication, Base$_1$ can be repeated with slight variations in the surface structure.

6. If encoding Overlap, Base$_1$ and the Link can be repeated with same actor and different predications.

Example encoding Succession (Event-Span) $\underline{P}\wedge\underline{Q}$:

(618) RM 177A

Gipwech-suhwi *n-o-walabali* *n-a-naki* *aliga* *n-a-nak* *n-a-ltowi*
follow-hold come he-R-follow river come he-R-come until he-R-go he-R-come up

umu *n-i-kih* *n-ú-taglali* *elbinyoguhwas* *umu,* *oli* *énan*
to he-IRR-go up he-IRR-arrive come Elbinyoguhwas ground when but he

n-a-liki *ati* *élpinyinu* *aliga* *n-a-kihi* *n-e-temoli* *ihwolonigú*
he-R-come first only friend man until he-R-come up he-R-come Ihwolonig ground

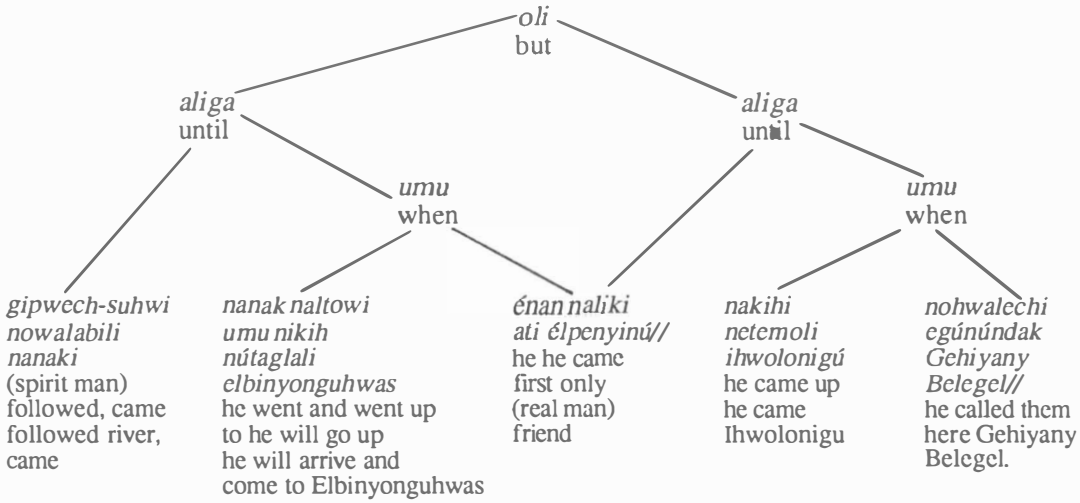
omu *n-o-hwalechi* *egúnúndak* *wabel* *Gehiyan,*
when he-R-call them PL.MIX OBJ-come here D.REF village Gehiyan ground

Belegel.
Belegel.village
'The spirit man followed the real man, came, followed the river until he went up and had almost arrived at Elbinyonguhwas, but by then the real man, the friend, had come first and continued until he arrived at Ihwolonigu, and while still coming, he called the men and women from here, the village of Gehiyan, that is, Belegel.'

This is a Conjunction Sentence in which each Base is expounded by a Continuation Sentence, each of which contain embedded *umu* Purpose Sentences. See chart illustrating the embedding.

Base$_1$: Continuation Sentence
  Base$_1$: *Gipwech-suhwi n-o-walabali n-a-naki*
  Link: *aliga*
Base$_2$: Purpose Sentence
  Base$_1$: *n-a-nak n-a-ltowi umu n-i-kih n-ú-taglali elbinyoguhwas*
  Link: *umu,*
  Base$_2$: (in double function, acting also as first base of following Continuation Sentence, where it is listed)
Link: *oli*
Base$_2$: Continuation Sentence
  Base$_1$: Simple Sentence
    Nucleus: *énan n-a-liki ati*
    Afterthought: *élpinyinu*
  Link: *aliga*
  Base$_2$: Purpose Sentence
    Base$_1$: *n-a-kihi n-e-temoli ihwolonigú*
    Link: *omu*
    Base$_2$: *n-o-hwalechi egúnúndak wabel Gehiyan, Belegel.*

Illustration of Embedding in (618)



Example encoding Contrast $\overline{P}(a) \wedge P(b)$:

(619) ND 4
Kobwi *ch-ú-bo* *ipak* *umu* *ch-a-bo* *yek.*
FUT NEG they PL.MIX-IRR-hit/kill you PL but they PL.MIX-R-hit/kill me
'Your sins will not hurt you, but they hurt me.'

Base$_1$: *kobwi ch-ú-bo ipak*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *ch-a-bo yek.*

Examples encoding Hypothetical Implication P⊃Q:

(620) RM 177
Nyak *wotak* *ny-i-chuh* *umu* , *Yek* *i-naku* *i-bal* *nyak.*
you SG still you SG-IRR-sleep if NFI I I IRR-come I IRR-awaken you
'If you are still sleeping, I will come awaken you.'

This is extracted from a complex Continuation Sentence.
Base$_1$: *nyak wotak ny-i-chuh*
Link: *umu,*
Base$_2$: *Yek i-naku i-bal nyak.*

(621) NN 111
Ny-u-kli *wak* *ébal* *umu* , *kakwich* *kobwi* *i-nek*
you SG-IRR-say no water if/concerning NFI garden food FUT NEG I IRR-make

énech, *wak.*
some no
'If you refuse to get the water, I will not cook any garden food.'

In this example, Base$_2$ is expounded by a Negation Sentence.
Base$_1$: *ny-u-kli wak ébal*
Link: *umu,*
Base$_2$: *kakwich kobwi i-nek énech, wak.*

Examples encoding Efficient Cause P∧[P⊃Q]:

(622) NN 108
M-e-nek-umu-nyu *nyublap* *umu* *ch-a-lpok*
we PL-R-do-BENEF-you SG OBJ slit gong drum because they PL.MIX-R-fight

ch-a-hlitak *ch-a-nú* *nyakik* *élmatok.*
they PL.MIX-R-argue they PL.MIX-R-and your wife
'We hit the slit gong drum to signal you to come because the men and women fought and argued with/about your wife.'

In this example, Base$_2$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.
Base$_1$: *M-e-nek-umu-nyu nyublap*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *ch-a-lpok ch-a-hlitak ch-a-nú nyakik élmatok.*

(623) NN 110
Oukudak *kw-a-h-ok* *umu* *kw-a-núlpog* *umu* *okwokwinú* *élaminú.*
this woman she-R-revile-her because she-R-think bad about her husband
'This woman reviled her because the woman thought badly about her husband.'

Base$_1$: *Oukudak kw-a-h-ok*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *kw-a-núlpog umu okwokwinú élaminú.*

Examples encoding Final Cause P∧[P⊃pQ]:

(624) NN 27
M-u-nyukul abal umu obutich ch-ú-nú lowu-lowuchi.
we PL-IRR-pour water so that long yams they-IRR-go down long-long
'We will pour water on the garden so that the long yams will go down and grow very very long.'

Base$_1$: *m-u-nyukul abal*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *obutich ch-ú-nú lowu-lowuchi.*

(625) NM 26
Labepim. Labepim n-a-suh bulguh bwiyoguh. m-u-tahaguh
Labepim Labepim he-R-tie pigs two we PL-IRR-cut them OBJ (pigs)

m-u-nagabwe-mu. umu m-a-bo enydak bolany sabúl
we PL-IRR-fix-BENEF so that we PL-R-hit/kill this talk/trouble first

umu ny-a-itak umu.
that which it (talk)-R-go up that
'Labepim, the one I am talking about, tied up two pigs and we will cut them and make peace, so that we will end this trouble which first arose.'

In this example, Base$_1$ of the Purpose Sentence is expounded by a Narrative Sentence with Sentence Topic.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Topic: *Labepim.*
Base$_1$: *Labepim n-a-suh bulguh bwiyoguh.*
Base$_1$: *m-u-tahaguh*
Base$_2$: *m-u-nagabwe-mu.*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *m-a-bo enydak bolany sabúl umu ny-a-itak umu.*

(626) NN 111P
Enyeny Bubus wak umu ny-u-k-enyu-moli.
he cl10 SG (friend) betel nut no purpose he cl10 SG-IRR-give-you OBJ-come
'He does not have any betel nut to give you.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a self-embedded Topic Comment Clause.

Base$_1$: Topic Comment Clause
Topic: *Enyeny*
Comment: Topic Comment Clause
Topic: *bubus*
Comment: *wak*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *ny-u-k-enyu-moli*

(627) NN 116
Apak dodogoi-pú , m-u-lib yawihas, m-u-wu kakwich,
we PL strong-we PL NFI we PL-IRR-cut/slash gardens we PL-IRR-plant garden food

apak	*m-i-chah,*	*Batowich*	*ch-i-chah*	*umu*
we PL	we PL-IRR-eat it (food)	children	they PL.MIX (children)-IRR-eat it	so that

yopwich.
mature/full grown
'As for us, if we are strong, we will cut gardens, we will plant garden food, we will eat it and our children will eat it, so that they will mature.'

This is a Conditional Sentence with Condition expounded by a Simple Sentence with Sentence Topic and Result by a Narrative Sentence with final base expounded by a Purpose Sentence in which $Base_2$ is expounded by a Topic Comment Clause with Topic deleted.

Condition: Simple Sentence
  Sentence Topic: *Apak*
  Nucleus: *dodogoi-pú*
Link: ,
Result: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *m-u-lib yawihas,*
  $Base_1$: *m-u-wu kakwich,*
  $Base_1$: *apak m-i-chah,*
  $Base_2$: Purpose Sentence
    $Base_1$: *Batowich ch-i-chah*
    Link: *umu*
    $Base_2$: *yopwich.*

7.3.2 Conditional Sentence

The Conditional Sentence is a two-base structure occurring in a wide variety of paragraph and discourse types. It is identified by the optional conditional marker *sapos* 'if', the Link expounded by non-final intonation, all verbs in the same aspect (95% of the time irrealis aspect), and frequent negation in the Condition base. This sentence type is used primarily to express a hypothetical condition but occasionally to express Contrafactuality or Contingency. The verbs in the Condition and Result bases are in the real aspect if the sentence encodes Contingency. This sentence type is similar to the Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence but is distinguished from it by the following contrastive features:

(1) Conditional Sentence has its link manifested by non-final intonation only, the Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence Link is manifested by *ele.*

(2) The Condition base of Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentences does not occur negated, while Condition base in Conditional Sentence can be. This is not a conclusive contrast because it is possible that in a larger corpus Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence will occur with a negated Condition base.

(3) Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence, true to its name, encodes only Contrafactuality while Condition Sentence encodes at least two other deep structures as well.

(4) List of fillers in the second base seem to be significantly different, although this is not conclusive.

(5) Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence occurs embedded only in Alternative Sentence in the present corpus, but Conditional Sentences occur embedded in both Alternative and Warning Sentence.

Conditional Sentence	±Conditional Marker	+Condition	95% +Link	+Result	
	sapos 'if'	Indicative Clause Nominalised Clause Narrative Sentence Purpose Sentence		, non-final intonation	Indicative Clause Imperative Clause Topic Comment Clause Contrast Sentence Continuation Sentence Direct Quote Sentence Evaluation Sentence Narrative Sentence Negative Sentence
Hypothetical			P	⊃	Q
Contrafactual		$P_\beta \wedge [P_\beta \supset Q_\beta] \wedge [$	P	⊃	Q]
Contingency			$\dot{P}$	⊃	$\dot{Q}$
			$\underline{P}$	⊃	$\underline{Q}$

Rules:

1. A Nominalised Clause expounds Condition base only if the sentence encodes Contingency.

2. If the sentence encodes Contingency, the verbs in both bases can be in real aspect. However, the sentence can also encode Contingency with all verbs in unreal aspect.

3. With sentences encoding all other deep structures except Contingency, verbs in both bases must be unreal aspect.

4. Either or both bases can be negated.

5. If the Link does not occur, either the Condition Base is manifested by an involved embedded construction and terminated by final intonation or else the sentence encodes contingency.

6. In one example ((630) encoding Hypothetical) it seems that Condition base is repeated. This is interpreted as a false start. This same example also is unique in that the Link is expounded by *orait* 'then' as well as the non-final intonation.

(628) HN 65

P-é-nek *trebel-umu* *echechich* , *ch-ú-law-epa-mu*
you PL-IRR-do bad things-about their things NFI they PL.MIX-IRR-take-you PL OBJ-to

kotogw.
courts
'If you foul up their things or steal them, they will take you to court.'

Condition: *P-é-nek trebel-umu echechich*
Link: ,
Result: *ch-ú-law-epa-mu kotogw.*

(629) NJ 1
Agúndak , *m-ú-túk-atú.*
here NFI 3PL SUBJ-IRR-tear down-it
'(If you build the house) here, we will tear it down.'

Most of the exponent of the Condition base has been deleted but is obvious from the context.

Condition: *agúndak*
Link: ,
Result: *m-ú-túk-atú.*

(630) QA 230
Sapos kar ny-u-naki, trag g-ú-naki , orait p-é-nak
if car it (car)-IRR-come truck it (truck)-IRR-come NFI then you PL-IMP-go

p-é-nu énanú weisan Beyam
you PL-IMP-shovel some sand Beyan river
'If the car – I mean the truck – comes, then you go and shovel some sand from Beyam river.'

In this example, the repetition of Condition is assumed to be due to a false start in which the word *kar* 'car' was used erroneously instead of *trag* 'truck'. Result is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Conditional Marker: *sapos*
Condition: *kar ny-u-naki,*
Condition: *trag g-ú-naki*
Link: , *orait*
Result: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *p-é-nak*
  Base$_2$: *p-é-nu énanú weisan Beyam*

(631) NN 116
Kakwich wak , batowich kobwi yopwich wak. batowich jinyukich
food no NFI children FUT NEG mature/full grown no children stunted

ch-u-pwe namudak.
they PL.MIX-IRR-be like this
'If there is no food, the children will not grow large, no! They will be stunted and they will stay like that.'

In this example the Result base is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence in which the Topic is expounded by a Contrast Sentence which contains an embedded Negation Sentence.

Condition: *kakwich wak*
Link: ,
Result: Evaluation Sentence
  Topic: Contrast Sentence
    Base$_1$: Negation Sentence
      Base$_1$: *batowich kobwi yopwich*
      Negation$_3$: *wak.*
    Base$_2$: *batowichjinyukich*
  Evaluation: *ch-u-pwenamudak.*

(632) QA 234

trag kobwi g-ú-naki , ny-u-nekech p-é-ne moul barit.
truck FUT NEG it-IRR-come NFI you-IMP-forget it you PL-IMP-do work ditch
'If the truck does not come, forget it and work on the ditch.'

Result is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Condition: *trag kobwi g-ú-naki*
Link: ,
Result: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *ny-u-nekech*
  Base$_2$: *p-é-ne moul barit.*

(633) NN 6

Yek i-pwe mweyoh, yawihas kobwi i-lib, kakwich kobwi
I I IRR-be nothing gardens FUT NEG I IRR-cut/slash garden food FUT NEG

i-wu énech. Apak nyulúb b-a-ø-pú apak wo
I IRR-plant some we PL intestine it-R-hit/kill-us OBJ we PL PAST NEG

dodogoipú, m-u-lib yawihas. m-u-wu kakwich, e.
strong we PL we PL-IRR-cut/slash gardens we PL-IRR-plant garden food PAST.NEG
'If I don't do anything, if I don't cut gardens, if I don't plant any garden food, we will be hungry – as for us, we will not be strong, we will not cut gardens, and we will not plant any garden food.'

In this example Condition base is expounded by a Narrative Sentence and Result is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence in which a Negative Sentence with Sentence Topic is embedded. Note that the Link is not present. Topic and Comment tagmemes in the Evaluation Sentence are permuted. It is possible that further paragraph analysis will indicate that this example is a Condition Paragraph instead of a Conditional Sentence.

Condition: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *Yek i-pwe mweyoh,*
  Base$_1$: *yahiwas kobwi i-lib,*
  Base$_2$: *kakwich kobwi i-wu énech.*
Result: Evaluation Sentence
  Evaluation: *Apak nyulúb b-a-ø-pú*
  Topic: Negation Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *apak*
    Negation$_1$: *wo*
    Base$_1$: *dodogoipú,*
    Base$_2$: *m-u-lib yawihas*
    Base$_2$: *m-u-wu kakwich,*
    Negation$_2$: *e.*

Example encoding Contrafactual $[P_\beta \wedge [P_\beta \supset Q_\beta] \wedge [P \supset Q]$:

(634) *Sapos ch-ú-hech bwiyech , ch-ú-noknu*
if they PL.MIX-IRR-cut them (cows) two (cows) NFI they (cows)-IRR-be enough for

Bonohwitamu.
Bonohwitamu village
'If they had cut up two cows, the two would have been sufficient for the entire village of Bonohwitamu.'
(Actually they only cut up one, and there was not enough for everyone.)

Conditional Marker: *sapos*
Conditional: *ch-ú-hech bwiyech*
Link: ,
Result: *ch-ú-noknu Bonohwitamu.*

Example encoding Contingency of variety P⊃Q:

(635) SA 182

Mamakik	*wak*	*ok-ana-li*	*mohukik*	*kw-a-hok*	*oblak.*
mother	no	she-he-one who	sister	she-R-hold	coconut shell

'If he was a man without a living mother, his sister held the coconut shell.'

This example is from the context of a male initiation ceremony. Condition is expounded by a Nominalised Clause.

Condition: *mamakik wak ok-ana-li*
Result: *mohukik kw-a-hok oblak.*

Example encoding Contingency of variety P⊃Q:

(636) NL 101

Ny-u-lali	*batowich*	*umu*	*imas*	*ny-u-ne*	*pilim*	,	*ny-u-bilak*
you-IRR-bear	children	when	you must	you-IRR-no	feel pain	NFI	you-IRR-do

aliga	*deke*	*ny-i-chúlú*	*batowich.*
until	FUT	you-IRR-give birth	children

'When you bear children, you must feel pain and keep on feeling it until you give birth to the children.'

This is a Conditional Sentence in which the Condition is expounded by a Purpose Sentence and the Result is expounded by a Continuation Sentence. The deep structure is viewed as Contingency in that the cessation of the pain of childbirth is contingent on the bearing of the child.

Condition: Purpose Sentence
  Base$_1$: *Ny-u-lali batowich*
  Link: *umu*
  Base$_2$: *imas ny-u-ne pilim*
Link: ,
Result: Continuation Sentence
  Base$_1$: *ny-u-bilak*
  Link: *aliga*
  Base$_2$: *deke ny-i-chúlú batowich.*

7.3.3 Conjunction Sentence

Conjunction Sentence is potentially a multi-base structure identified by the sentence medial link *ali, oli, orait, ali sapos,* or *ali douk,* (hereafter symbolised *oli*) which occurs sentence initially under certain conditions described in Rules 4 and 5. In certain environments the first base is omitted. The Conjunction Sentence occurs in all discourse types and in nearly all paragraph types. When embedded, it usually occurs in another Conjunction Sentence, but also occurs embedded in the first base of Continuation Sentence. Conjunction Sentence embeds a wide variety of clauses and sentences in either base. This sentence type is used to express an extremely wide variety of

inter-clausal relationships: Coupling, Contrast, Summary Paraphrase, Temporal Overlap, Temporal Succession, and Causation.

The conjunction *oli* also functions as paragraph introducer, Hortatory Discourse Nucleus introducer, and Closure introducer for Explanatory Discourse.

The embedding involved in Conjunction Sentences can be fairly complex. The general principle of analysis used is that embedding beyond three layers is considered improbable and too complex for easy decoding by the hearer. This follows Yngve's depth hypothesis (Yngve 1964:135-138). That is, one Conjunction Sentence is allowed to embed another if this does not result in more than three layers of embedding in the entire sentence. Instead, the remaining occurrences of *oli* joining clauses or sentences are analysed as repetitions of $Link_2$ and $Base_2$. The repetitions of up to four consecutive strings of clauses joined by *oli* have been analysed using these principles to avoid more than three layers of embedding.

An alternate analysis of certain examples purporting to be self-embedding Conjunction Sentences would result in a sequence of two Conjunction Sentences, the second with first base deleted. This solution is rejected because the above principle seems to cover even fairly complex cases and is also consistent with general Papua New Guinea language typology.

Conjunction Sentence				
	$\pm Link_1$	$+Base_1$	$+(+Link_2$	$+Base_2)^n$
	ali, oli, orait 'OK, all right, and, so like this, therefore, if, then'	Indicative Clause Amplification Sentence Conjunction Sentence CFC Sentence Contrast Sentence Narrative Sentence	*ali, oli, orait* 'but, and therefore, so, so that, then' *ali douk* 'so that now' *ali sapos* 'but if' *	Indicative Clause Interrogative Clause Amplification Sentence Conjunction Sentence Direct Quote Sentence Narrative Sentence Execution Paragraph
		P	$\wedge$	Q
Coupling		$Pa \supset Qba$	$\wedge$	$Pa \supset Qab$
Contrast		Pa	$\wedge$	$\bar{P}b$
		P(a)x	$\wedge$	P(b)x"
		Pax	$\wedge$	Qbx"
Summary Paraphrase		sP	$\wedge$	gP'(U)
Overlap		$\underline{P}$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}$
Succession				
Span-Event		$\underline{P}$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}$
Event-Event		$\dot{P}$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}$
Efficient Cause		$P \wedge P$	$\supset$	$\dot{Q}$

Rules:

1. Either base can be negated, but not both.
2. There seems to be almost free variation between *oli* and *ali*.

3. Tok Pisin *orait* is used frequently, manifesting either Link. However, there are certain restrictions on occurrence of *orait* when manifesting $Link_2$, related to which type of deep structure is being encoded.

4. $Link_1$ occurs frequently when the Conjunction Sentence is quite complex or if functioning as the introducer of a paragraph.

5. If encoding Overlap or Event-Event Succession, non-final intonation precedes *oli* in $Link_2$. With other encodings this non-final intonation is optional. If complex embedding occurs, however, final intonation usually precedes *oli* in $Link_2$, instead of the optional non-final intonation.

6. $Base_1$ can be deleted if obvious, if following a long Direct Quote Sentence, or if the sentence is functioning as a paragraph introducer. (See last example encoding Efficient Cause, (654) NS 20.)

7. $Link_2$ is manifested by *ali sapos* 'but if' only if there is complex embedding involving Hypothetical Implication. (See (639) RM 177 encoding Coupling of type $Pa \supset Qba \wedge Pb \supset Qab$).

8. n = 1, 2, or 3.

9. If encoding Hypothetical Implication, $Link_1$ is nearly always present.

10. When encoding Efficient or Final Cause, *ali* in $Link_2$ is often lengthened to *ali dakio* in the Buki dialect group.

Examples encoding Coupling of variety $P \wedge Q$:

(637) HQ 35

P-é-nek	*tingting*	*umu*	*enyudak*	*moul.*	*P-i-tak*	*p-é-nek*
you PL-IMP-do	think	about	this	work	you PL-IMP-get up	you PL-IMP-do

éneny	*bisinisiny*	*moul*	*,*	*ali*	*eheh*	*nyuméneh*	*nyuméneh*
some	business type	work	NFI	and	every	days	days

p-é-namoli	*sugul.*
you PL-IMP-come	school

'Think about this work, get up and do some work involving cash crops, and come to every day.'

$Base_1$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

$Base_1$: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *p-é-nek tingting umu enyudak moul.*
  $Base_1$: *p-i-tak*
  $Base_2$: *p-é-nek éneny bisinisiny moul*
Link: *, ali*
$Base_2$: *eheh nyuméneh nyuméneh p-é-namoli sugul.*

(638) HQ 97

Yek	*Ibara*	*y-e-yaguleh-eny*	*enyudak*	*bolany.*	*y-a-klip-epú*	*.*	*ali*
I	Ibara	I-R-tell-it (talk) that which	this	talk	I-R-tell-you PL OBJ	FI	and

p-é-mének	*yekiny*	*umu*	*,*	*p-é-ne-nek*	*moulu*	*bisnis.*
you PL-IRR-hear/obey	my (talk)	if	NFI	you PL-IMP-REFL-do	work	business

'I told you this talk which I, Ibara, have said, and if you hear my talk, you yourselves begin some work involving cash crops.'

$Base_2$ is expounded by Purpose Sentence which encodes Hypothetical Implication, which I have ignored in the deep structure representation. $Base_1$ is manifested by one clause embedded within another.

$Base_1$: *yek Ibara y-e-yaguleh-eny enyudak bolany. y-a-klip-epú*
$Link_2$: . *ali*
$Base_2$: Purpose Sentence
  $Base_1$: *p-é-mének yekiny*
  Link: *umu* ,
  $Base_2$: *p-é-ne-nek moulu bisnis.*

(639) RM 177

Énanú	*n-a-kliponú*	*ali*	*kamon*	*yek*	*i-chuh,*	*yek*	*wotak*		
some male	he-R-tell him OBJ	ok	tomorrow	I	I IRR-sleep	I	not yet		
i-chuh	*umu*	,	*nyak*	*ny-é-naki*	*ny-u-bal*	*yek*	.	*ali*	*sapos*
I IRR-sleep	if	NFI	you	you-IMP-come	you-IMP-awaken	me	FI	but	if
a	*nyak*	*wotak*	*ny-i-chuh*	*umu* ,	*yek*	*i-naku*	*i-bal*		
then?	you	not yet	you-IRR-sleep	if NFI	I	I IRR-come	I IRR-awaken		
nyak	.	*ali*	*bai*	*u-nak*	*u-bo*	*yeguh*	*wolúb.*		
you	FI	and	FUT	we DL IRR-go	we DO IRR-hit/kill	fish	river		

'A man said, "All right, tomorrow, if I am sleeping – if I am still sleeping – you come and wake me; but if you are still sleeping, I will come and awaken you and we will go fishing at the river."'

This is a Direct Quote Sentence which has its Quotation manifested by a Conjunction Sentence in which the first base is manifested by another Conjunction Sentence of considerable complexity: each base contains a Purpose Sentence. Note that it is this second (embedded) Conjunction Sentence which is the focus of the example and is the one to which the deep structure representation refers.

QF_1: *énanú n-a-kliponú*
Quotation: Conjunction Sentence
  $Base_1$: Conjunction Sentence
    $Link_1$: *ali*
    $Base_1$: Purpose Sentence
      $Base_1$: *kamon yek i-chuh*
      $Base_1$: *yek wotak i-chuh*
      Link: *umu* – ,
      $Base_2$: *nyak ny-é-naki ny-u-bal yek.*
    $Link_2$: . *ali sapos*
    $Base_2$: Purpose Sentence
      $Base_1$: *a nyak wotak ny-i-chuh*
      Link: *umu* ,
      $Base_2$: *yek i-naku i-bal nyak*
  Link: . *ali*
  $Base_2$: *bai u-nak u-bo yeguh wolúb.*

Example encoding Contrast of type $Pa \wedge \bar{P}b$:

(640) QA

o	*Bubuamo ch-e-nek-eny*	*gut*	*moulú.*
yes	Bubuamo they PL.MIX-R-do-it OBJ (work)	well	work

ch-é-nek-eny *ch-a-kukwih-eny* . *ali*
they PL.MIX-R-do-it OBJ (work) they PL.MIX-R-do very well-it OBJ (work) FI but

Lohuhwim *wok.*
Lohuhwim dialect group no
'Yes, the people of Bubuamo do their work well, very well, but the Lohuhwim dialect group doesn't.'

The first base is manifested by an Amplification Sentence with inner peripheral Remark tagmeme.

$Base_1$: Amplification Sentence
Remark: *o*
Statement: *Bubuamo ch-e-nek-eny gut moulú*
Amplification: *ch-é-nek-eny ch-a-kukwih-eny*
$Link_2$: . *ali*
$Base_2$: *Lohuhwim wok.*

Examples encoding Contrast of type P(a)x∧P(b)x":

(641) QA 98
Doumun *Kragumun* *ch-é-nek-eny* *Kragumun*
today Kragumun village they PL.MIX-R-do it (work) Kragumun village

Nibihu, *ch-é-nek-eny* *Tude* . *ali* *kamon* *eke*
Nibihu village they PL.MIX-R-do-it (work) Tuesday FI but tomorrow FUT

meibili *bl-é-nek-eny?*
which village village-IRR-do-it(work)
'Today the people of Kragumun are doing the work – the people of Kragumun and Nibihu are doing the work on Tuesday, but tomorrow which village will do it?'

$Base_1$ is expounded by an Amplification Sentence.

$Base_1$: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *doumun Kragumun ch-é-nek-eny*
Amplification: *Kragumun Nibihu, ch-é-nek-eny Tude*
$Link_2$: . *ali*
$Base_2$: *kamon eke meibili bl-é-nek-eny?*

(642) QA 253
Ipak *p-i-lik* *madeih* . *ali* *tude* *tride* *fode*
you PL you PL-IMP-be first Monday FI but Tuesday Wednesday Thursday

p-é-nek *ipakiny.* *p-é-nú* *Ibara* *p-é-ne* *moul-omu,*
you PL-IMP-do your (work) you PL-IRR-and Ibara you PL-IMP-do work-that which

kolobu.
spirit house
'You work first on Monday, but on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday do your own work, the work which all of you and Ibara will do – on the spirit house.'
(Note that the verb 'to work', which corresponds to P in the deep structure representation, has been deleted from the first clause.)

$Base_2$ is expounded by a Simple Sentence with Afterthought tagmeme and an embedded clause marked by *umu* realised here by morphophonemic rules as *omu.*
$Base_1$: *Ipak p-i-lik madeih*
$Link_2$: . *ali*

Base$_2$: *tude tride fode p-é-nek ipakiny. p-é-nú Ibara p-é-ne moul-omu,*
Afterthought: *kolobu.*

(643) QA 91

Wolgeta	*louhuwim*	*ch-a-naki*	*yúh*	*.*	*ali*	*apak,*	*n-a-kli*
all	Louhuwim dialect group	they PL.MIX-R-come	all	FI	but	us PL	he-R-say

apak	*madeih.*	*ipak*	*wok*	*Madeih*	*étúgún.*	*júlúg*	*yúh*	*ipakiny*	*moulú,*
we PL	Mondays	you PL	work	Monday	only	enough	complete	your PL	work

ipak	*Bubuamo*	*.*	*ali*	*wolgeta*	*walub,*	*b-e-nek-eny*	
you PL	Bubuamo village	FI	and	many	villages	they (villages)-IRR-do-it (work)	

trinde.
Wednesday
'All the people from the Louhuhwim dialect group came, but as for us, he said that we work Mondays: "You work only Mondays – that's enough – your work is completed you people of Bubuamo," and many other villages will do the work on Wednesday.'

This is a Conjunction Sentence embedded in another Conjunction Sentence, both of which illustrate the deep structures P(a)x∧P(b)x" or P'(a)x∧P(b)x": the surface structure of the verb is problematic. In the first clause, *chanaki* 'they PL.MIX came' is assumed to be a synonym for work, since that was the purpose for their coming and the fact of their working is stated in detail in the previous sentence. The parallel verb in the second predication is Tok Pisin *wok* 'work'. Only the third predication has the usual verb stem *nek* 'to work'. The first Conjunction Sentence has its Base$_2$ manifested by a complex type of Direct Quote Sentence containing: Sentence Topic, Quotation Formula manifested by an Evaluation Sentence with inner peripheral Afterthought tagmeme in final position. For the structure of the Conjunction Sentence, Base$_1$, refer back to example (594).

(644) HQ 32

Nabotik	*komiti*	*n-a-naki*	*n-a-klip-apú*	*enyédak*	*bolany*	*.*	*ali*
yesterday	committee member	he-R-come	he-R-tell-us OBJ	this	talk	FI	but

nameitú, p-i-chuh?
today you PL-IRR-sleep
'Yesterday the committee member came and told us this talk, but today will you sleep?' OR 'Yesterday the committee member came and told us this talk and today you all start obeying it, and don't just ignore it.'

Base$_2$ is expounded by an Interrogative Clause used as a rhetorical question.
Base$_1$: *Nabotik komiti n-a-naki n-a-klip-apú enyédak bolany*
Link$_2$: . *ali*
Base$_2$: *nameitú, p-i-chuh?*

Examples encoding Contrast of type Pax∧Qax":

(645) HQ 9

p-é-suh	*saris*	*p-é-bo*	*yah*	*madeih*	*.*	*ali*	*tude*
you PL-IMP-hold	grass knives	you PL-IMP-hit	road	Monday	FI	but	Tuesday

trinde	*p-é-nek*	*éneny*	*kopiyiny*
Wednesday	you PL-IMP-do	some	coffee

'You all take grass knives and cut the grass on the road on Monday, but on Tuesday and Wednesday do some work on your coffee.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_2$: *p-é-suh saris*
Base$_3$: *p-é-bo yah madeih*
Link$_2$: . *ali*
Base$_2$: *tude trinde p-é-nek éneny kopiyiny*

Example encoding Summary Paraphrase sP∧gP'(U):

(646) HQ 12

P-é-nou *kopi* *p-é-nou* *éneny* *kokou,* *p-é-nou* *énowu*
you PL-IMP-plant coffee you PL-IMP-plant some cocoa you PL-IMP-plant some

ehemeb , *ali* *p-i-yaguwleh* *umu* *senyudak.*
coconut trees NFI and you PL-IMP-talk think do about this (work)
'You plant coffee, cocoa, some coconut trees, and talk about this work, think about it, and do it.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Parallel Sentence.

Base$_1$: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *p-é-nou kopi*
Base$_1$: *p-é-nou éneny kokou,*
Base$_2$: *p-é-nou énowu ehemeb*
Link$_2$: , *ali*
Base$_2$: *p-i-yaguwleh umu senyudak.*

Examples involving Overlap of type P__∧Q:

(647) NM 32

Kweipon, *énanú* *élman* *n-é-kli* *n-ú-taluk* , *oli* *wotak*
later some male man he-IRR-say he-IRR-buy her OBJ NFI then not yet

ch-ú-galúk *ouhudak* *suluhw* *utébal.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-return remain these rings money
'Later when a man wants to buy her, then they will return these rings and money.'

Base$_1$: *Kweipon, énanú élman n-ú-kli n-ú-taluk*
Link$_2$: , *oli*
Base$_2$: *wotak ch-ú-galúk ouhudak suluhw utébal.*

(648) HQ 17

P-u-pwe *mu* *p-i-tak* *umu* *p-i-yaguleh* *enyédak*
you PL-IRR-be when you PL-IRR-get up when you PL-IMP-talk think do this

atiny . *ali* *ipak* *tem* *wabigún* *aglúpil* *p-i-tak* *p-é-namoli*
only FI and you PL when afternoon morning you PL-IMP-get up you PL-IMP-come

sugul *chopuk.*
school again also
'When you sit down and when you get up, talk and think about and obey nothing but this, and in the morning and afternoon go to school too.'

Base$_1$ is manifested by a Purpose Sentence.

Base$_1$: Purpose Sentence
Base$_1$: *p-u-pwe*
Link: *mu*
Base$_1$: *p-i-tak*

Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *p-i-yaguleh enyédak atiny*
Link$_2$: . *ali*
Base$_2$: *ipak tem wabigún aglúpil p-i-tak p-é-namoli sugul chopuk*

Example encoding Span-Event type Succession $\underline{P}\wedge\underset{\cdot}{Q}$:

(649) SD 191
M-a-pwe atiny kwal. oli siyapan ch-a-naki.
we PL-R-be one year then Japanese they PL.MIX-R-come
'We stayed for one year and then Japanese soldiers came.'

Base$_1$: *m-a-pwe atiny kwal.*
Link$_2$: *oli*
Base$_2$: *siyapan ch-a-naki.*

Examples encoding Event-Event Succession $\underset{\cdot}{P}\wedge\underset{\cdot}{Q}$:

(650) NS 152
Ch-a-taglomu lotu pinis , ali olgeta élmagou
they PL.MIX-R-come out from church service finish NFI then all women

w-o-lali udús. w-o-sébúk.
they PL.FEM-R-bring come bark dishes they PL.FEM-R-put them (bark dishes)
'When they had finished coming out from the church service, all the women brought bark dishes and put them down there.'

Base$_2$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.
Base$_1$: *ch-a-taglomu lotu pinis*
Link$_2$: , *ali*
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_2$: *olgeta élmagou w-o-lali udús.*
Base$_3$: *w-o-súbúk.*

(651) QB 22
M-u-nek moul , orait wolgeta ken kar ch-ú-naki.
we PL-IRR-do work NFI and then all kinds car they PL.MIX-IRR-come

olsem bisnis kar. o gavmanich, o énenyi éneny.
like this business car or government theirs or some (car) some (car)
'We will do work and then all kinds of cars will come – like this: public motor vehicles, or administration vehicles – all kinds of vehicles.'

Base$_2$ is expounded by an Amplification Sentence whose Amplification tagmeme is manifested by an Alternative Sentence with the verb 'come' deleted in each one of the three instances where it might have occurred.
Base$_1$: *m-u-nek moul*
Link$_2$: , *orait*
Base$_2$: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *wolgeta ken kar ch-ú-naki.*
Amplification: Alternative Sentence
Remark: *olsem*
Base$_1$: *bisnis kar.*
Alternative Link: *o*
Base$_1$: *gavmanich,*

Alternative Link: *o*
Base$_3$: *énenyi éneny.*

Examples encoding efficient Cause P∧P⊃Q:

(652) NM 110

Omom	*h-a-kumonú*	*wabúok*	.	*oli*	*i-kumonú*
they M	they M-R-hit him OBJ	black palm stick	FI	so	I IRR-hit him OBJ

wabúok	*énanú.*
black palm stick	another male

'They hit him with a black palm stick, so I will hit someone else with a black palm stick.'

Base$_1$: *omom h-a-kumonú wabúok*
Link$_2$: . *oli*
Base$_2$: *i-kumonú wabúok énanú.*

(653) HL 51

G-ú-glúk	,	*ali*	*i-klipwech*	*élmatok*	*batowich,*	*Oo,*	
it (dawn)-IRR-dawn	NFI	then	I-IRR-tell-them PL.MIX OBJ	woman	children	yes	

eik	*nagún*	*m-u-nak*	*yawihas.*	*m-u-nek*	*dakinyi*	*moul*	. *ali*
I	also	we PL-IRR-go	garden	we PL-IRR-do	whatever	work	FI therefore

batowich	*ch-ú-kli,*	*wosik* *m-u-nak.*
children	they PL.MIX-IRR-say	all right we PL-IRR-go

'When it is dawn, then I will tell the wife and children, "Yes, I also will go to the garden and will do whatever kind of work there is to do" and therefore the children will say, "All right, we'll go."'

This is a Conjunction Sentence with an embedded Conjunction Sentence in which both bases are expounded by Direct Quote Sentences.

Base$_1$: *g-ú-glúk*
Link$_2$: , *ali*
Base$_2$: Conjunction Sentence
  Base$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
    Quotation Formula$_1$: *i-klipwech élmatok batowich,*
    Quotation: Narrative Sentence
      Vocative: *Oo,*
      Base$_2$: *eik nagún m-u-nak yawihas.*
      Base$_3$: *m-u-nek dakinyi moul*
  Link$_2$: . *ali*
  Base$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
    Quotation Formula$_1$: *batowich ch-é-kli.*
    Quotation: Simple Sentence
      Remark: *wosik*
      Nucleus: *m-u-nak.*

(654) NS 20

W-o-daleheny	*ny-a-nak*	*ny-a-taglú*	*handet*	*pimpti*
we DL-R-count it (money)	it (money)-R-go	it (money)-R-appear	hundred	fifty

doula	.	*ali*	*n-a-kli,*	*ny-e-noknu*	.	*ali*	*m-a-kihi*
dollars	FI	so	he-R-say	it (money)-R-be enough	FI	and then	we PL-R-come up

m-e-chuh.
we PL-R-sleep
'We two counted the money and it amounted to $150, so he said "It's enough" and then we all came up and slept.'

This is a Conjunction Sentence with first base expounded by another Conjunction Sentence in which the first base is expounded by a Narrative Sentence and the second by a Direct Quote Sentence.

Base$_1$: Conjunction Sentence
  Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
    Base$_2$: *w-o-daleheny.*
    Base$_3$: *ny-a-nak ny-a-taglú handet pimpti doula*
  Link$_2$: . *ali*
  Base$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
    Quotation Formula$_1$: *n-a-kli,*
    Quotation: *ny-e-noknu*
Link$_2$: . *ali*
Base$_2$: *m-a-kihi m-e-chuh.*

7.3.4 EVALUATION SENTENCE

The Evaluation Sentence is potentially a multi-base structure in which the Evaluation base can be repeated. It is used to express positive or negative evaluations in description, and in exhorting people to action as well as to express frustration.

This sentence type is identified by the characteristic closed class of words and phrases that expound the Evaluation slot in all examples except the following three: (1) in two examples (see examples (663), (665) encoding Amplification) the first Evaluation base is manifested by a Topic Comment Clause and (2) in another, the repetition of the Evaluation base is manifested by a Narrative Sentence (see (657)). The features which separate this sentence type from Contrast Sentence are delineated in the discussion of the latter (7.3.7).

Evaluation Sentence has not been observed embedded in other sentence types except for one example encoding Negated Antonym (see example (633) NN6), in which an Evaluation Sentence is embedded in a Conditional Sentence. Evaluation Sentence occurs in all discourse types and in a reasonably wide variety of paragraph types.

Evaluation Sentence			
	+Topic		+(Evaluation)^n
	Indicative Clause		*júlúg* 'enough'
	Narrative Sentence		*doumun júlúg* 'now it is enough'
	Negation Sentence		*pinis o júlúg* 'enough, it is finished'
	Parallel Sentence		*wosik* 'all right'
	Simple Sentence		*wak* 'no'
			wotak 'not yet'
			gutpela 'good'
			totemic clan names, Indicative Clause
			Topic Comment Clause, Narrative Sentence
Expectancy Reversal	$(P \supset Q) \wedge P$	$\wedge$	$Q_\beta \wedge /S/$
Evaluation	$\underline{Q}$	$\wedge$	eP
Negated Antonym Paraphrase	$\bar{P}''a$	$\wedge$	Pa
Contrast	P	$\wedge$	P''
Amplification	Pab	$\wedge$	Ebc

Rules:

1. n = 1 or 2.
2. Evaluation is expounded by Topic Comment Clause or Narrative Sentence if n = 2.
3. Evaluation Sentence encodes the fuller form (i.e. with /S/ present) of expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_\beta \wedge /S/$ only if n = 2. If n = 1, the more abbreviated form occurs and the surrogate action predication /S/, is omitted.
4. Evaluation is expounded by Indicative Clause if sentence type is embedded.
5. When embedded in another sentence, the Evaluation tagmeme can occur first.
6. The two bases are linked by either final or non-final intonation.

Examples encoding Expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_\beta \wedge /S/$:

The optional predication /S/ is present only in example (657).

(655) NS 55
M-a-túlúgún. *wak.* *wotak.*
we PL-R-look for no not yet
'We looked for the cows, but couldn't find them, not yet.'

Evaluation is repeated in this example.
Topic: *M-a-túlúgún.*
Evaluation: *wak.*
Evaluation: *wotak.*

(656) NL 5

N-é-nekok, namudak n-a-pwe n-a-bilakok umu , kw-i-tak, wak.
he-R-make her like this he-R-be he-R-do/try her so that NFI she-IRR-get up no
'He made her like this and he continued to try to help her so that she would get up, but he was unsuccessful.'

A Narrative Sentence which embeds Purpose Sentence expounds Topic. Intonation in this example seems to be irregular and is presumably due to the fact that the speaker was having difficulty in knowing what to say.

Topic: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *n-é-nekok, namudak*
  Base$_2$: Purpose Sentence
    Base$_1$: *n-a-pwe n-a-bilakok*
    Link: *umu* ,
    Base$_2$: *kw-i-tak,*
Evaluation: *wak.*

(657) NM 8

Y-é-nak y-a-bih y-a-pwe, wak, ulkum m-o-lú m-o-lali,
I-R-go I-R-go down I-R-be no heart it (heart)-R-think it (heart)-R-think come

wotak y-a-ltowi. y-a-kihi.
not yet I-R-come up I-R-come up
'I went, went down, and stayed there, and was not satisfied. I thought about returning and waited and then I came back up.'

This is the only example in which the optional surrogate action predication /S/ is present. The Evaluation tagmeme is repeated and in the repetition is expounded by a Narrative Sentence. It is the repetition of the Evaluation tagmeme which is represented by the surrogate action predication /S/.

Topic: *y-é-nak y-a-bih y-a-pwe,*
Evaluation: *wak,*
Evaluation: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *ulkum m-o-lú*
  Base$_2$: *m-o-lali,*
  Base$_3$: *wotak y-a-ltowi. y-a-kihi.*

Examples encoding Evaluation Q∧eP:

(658) NT 130

M-u-pwe namudak, wosik gutpela.
we PL-IRR-be like this all right good
'If we stay like this, it will be all right – it will be good.'

Evaluation tagmeme is repeated.

Topic: *M-u-pwe namudak,*
Evaluation: *wosik*
Evaluation: *gutpela.*

(659) NT 161

Apak m-a-kli moni. wosik.
we PL we PL-R-say money all right
'We want money, and it will be all right.'

Topic: *Apak m-a-kli moni.*
Evaluation: *wosik.*

Examples encoding Negated Antonym Paraphrase $\overline{P}$"a∧Pa:

(660) NS 164
Kau nagún wok ny-u-noknu e umu élmagou. tokohainy.
cow also no it (cow)-IRR-be enough not for women be insufficient it (cow)

wo wolobaich.
not much
'The cow just wasn't big enough for the women to have enough meat – it was insufficient – there just wasn't very much.'

Evaluation tagmeme is repeated in this example which has an initial peripheral Sentence Topic tagmeme.

Sentence Topic: *kau nagún*
Topic: *wok ny-u-noknu e umu élmagou.*
Evaluation: *tokohainy.*
Evaluation: *wo wolobaich.*

See also example (633), a Conditional Sentence in which the Result base is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence.

Examples encoding Contrast P∧P":

(661) QA 114
Ẽblabuk wabel tunde, éblabuk wabel trinde, éblabuk wabel
that village Tuesday that village Wednesday that village

fonde, éblabuk wabel fraide. pinis o júlúg.
Thursday that village Friday finish or enough
'The people from that village will work Tuesday, that one Wednesday, that one Thursday, that one Friday, and they will be finished.'

Topic slot in this example is expounded by a Parallel Sentence.

Topic: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *éblabuk wabel tunde,*
Base$_1$: *éblabuk wabel trinde,*
Base$_1$: *éblabuk wabel fonde,*
Base$_2$: *éblabuk wabel fraide.*
Evaluation: *pinis o júlúg.*

(662) HQ 94
P-e-chuh júlúg.
you PL-R-sleep enough
'You have all slept long enough.' (i.e. 'Before you all have followed the old way like those who sleep and now that way is finished and you should follow the new way of reading and writing.')

This example illustrates the encoding of Contrast with deletion of all but the minimum information.

Topic: *p-e-chuh*
Evaluation: *júlúg.*

Examples encoding Amplification Pab∧Ebc:

(663) NS 172

Jobeiwi	*ch-a-k-ana-gúk*	*ohwim*	*otum,*	*manú*	*nyubel.*
Jobeiwi	they PL.MIX-R-give-him-remain	hooves	only	them (hooves) and	stomach

Lomwenyan	*nanu*	*Kwipun*	*boglom*	*otum.*	*Echech*	*éménabich*
Lomwenyan	he and	Kwipun	head	only	they PL.MIX	those of the ground

Kumunigúl.
Kumunigul totem
'As for Jobeiwi, they gave him only the hooves and the stomach, and Lomwenyan and Kwipun only the head since they were those of that local area, from the totemic clan Kumunigul.'

This is an Evaluation Sentence with Topic expounded by a Parallel Sentence in which the first base is expounded by a Simple Sentence with Sentence Topic. The Evaluation tagmeme is repeated. The translation 'since' is doubtful and therefore this is analysed as deep structure Amplification.

Topic: Parallel Sentence
  $Base_1$: Simple Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *Jobeiwi*
    Nucleus: *ch-a-k-ana-gúk ohwim otum, manú nyubel.*
  $Base_2$: *Lomwenyan nanu Kwipun boglom otum.*
Evaluation: *echech éménabich*
Evaluation: *Kumunigúl.*

Example (594) has an Evaluation Sentence embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence which manifests the second base of a Conjunction Sentence. Note that the Evaluation slot is manifested by a Topic Comment Clause with the two tagmemes permuted from the normal order, presumably in order to highlight the filler of the Comment slot: *júlúg yúh* 'enough, completely'.

7.3.5 Narrative Sentence

The Narrative Sentence is probably the most common sentence type. It is used to conjoin clauses in a wide variety of relationships: in temporal sequence, in a paraphrase relationship in which each clause basically has the same information, in a contrast relationship in which one clause contrasts sharply in meaning with the preceding one, in linking a speech event with a preceding event or events, and, infrequently, in expressing cause and effect.

The Narrative Sentence is a multi-base structure occurring in every discourse type and in nearly every paragraph type. It also occurs embedded in many other sentence types: in $Base_1$ or $Base_2$ of the Purpose Sentence, the Conjunction Sentence, and the Continuation Sentence; in the Statement of the Limitation Sentence, in the Explanation slot of the Explanatory Sentence, in $Base_2$ of the Contrast Sentence, in Statement or the Amplification slot of the Amplification Sentence, in $Base_2$ of the Warming Sentence, in the Topic slot of the Comment Sentence, and in the Temporal Margin of the Simple Sentence.

So far every example encoding Contrast in predications $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$ is embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence, but this is probably due to a limited corpus. $Base_1$ and $Base_2$ are sufficiently similar to be suspect as possible repetitions of the same base. However, they can be distinguished by the following features:

(1) $Base_1$ can be repeated up to three times, while $Base_2$ occurs only once.

(2) $Base_1$ is manifested by certain types of sentence (Direct Quote, Indirect Quote) which do not occur in $Base_2$.

(3) Certain sentences of considerable complexity, such as Warning Sentence, Purpose Sentence, and even self-embedded Amplification Sentence occur in $Base_2$ but not in $Base_1$. In these cases, $Base_2$ has a special relationship to $Base_1$ which is not reciprocal or repeated in any sense. Rather $Base_2$ functions as a sort of Amplification, Summation or Elaboration of $Base_1$. Therefore it seems clear that $Base_2$ has a unique function as well as a distinct set of fillers.

Narrative Sentence	$+(Base_1)^n$		$+Base_2$		$\pm$Quote Base
	Indicative Clause Indirect Quote Sentence Parallel Sentence		Indicative Clause Amplification Sentence Warning Sentence Purpose Sentence		Direct Quote Sentence Indirect Quote Sentence
Temporal Succession:					
Event-Event	$\dot{P}a \wedge \dot{Q}a$ ...	$\wedge$	$\dot{N}a$		
Same Actor					
Reciprocal Actors	$\dot{P}ab$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}b \wedge /\dot{R}/$		
	$\dot{P}a \wedge \dot{Q}a$	$\wedge$	$\dot{R}ba$		
Different Actors	$\dot{P} \wedge \dot{Q}$...	$\wedge$	$\dot{N}$		
Event-Span-Event	$[\dot{P}ab \not\equiv \dot{P}a] \wedge \dot{Q}b$	$\wedge$	$[\dot{R}ab \not\equiv \dot{R}a] \wedge /\dot{S}/$		
Event-Speech	$\dot{P} \wedge \dot{Q}$...	$\wedge$	$\dot{N}$	$\wedge$	$wR \wedge S$
Contrast	$P(a)$	$\wedge$	$P''(b)$		
	Pab	$\wedge$	Pba		
Paraphrase:					
Specific-Generic	$sPa \wedge sQa$ ...	$\wedge$	gNa		
Generic-Specific	gPa	$\wedge$	sPa		
Efficient Cause	$EPab \wedge EPab$	$\supset$	Qc		
	$P \wedge P$	$\supset$	Q		

Rules:

1. In $Base_1$, n = 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4.

2. There can be no more than three different actors, but the norm is one or two.

3. The aspect in each base must be the same unless deep structures encoded are Event-Span-Event or Contrast (in predications) $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$. In these cases, the last base or two bases can be in the irrealis aspect, with the previous bases in the real aspect.

4. If Quote Base is present, $Base_1$ can be deleted.

5. Tok Pisin connective *na* 'and' has been observed following $Base_1$ with same actor in all three bases.

6. If encoding Efficient Cause, only the two obligatory bases can occur.

7. If Quote Base occurs, $Base_2$ is expounded by an Indicative Clause.

Examples encoding Event-Event (Same Actor) Ṭa∧Qa ... ∧Ṇa:

(664) QA 104

Ch-a-naki *b-é-ne* *bum*
they PL.MIX-R-come they (people of various villages)-R-do come together

ch-a-nú *weisan wolúb.*
they PL.MIX-R-carry/shovel sand river
'They came and gathered together from several villages and carried sand from the river.'

Base$_1$: *ch-a-naki*
Base$_1$: *b-é-ne bum*
Base$_2$: *ch-a-nú weisan wolúb*

(665) QA 181

Ehoho *kwali Ibara eke n-ú-suh nebeli buwul.* *n-ú-ne* *blisenimeny*
oh truly later Ibara FUT he-IRR-tie big pig he-IRR-do make feast

enyudak kolobu *wilpat.* *n-ú-nek nebegúni moa woligún.*
this spirit house house he-IRR-do big very food

n-ú-nekagún-umu *Pelúg buwanyinú.*
he-IRR-fix food-BENEF Peilug pig exchange partner
'Oh, truly, later Ibara will tie up a large pig, and he will make a feast because of this spirit house – he will fix a whole lot of food – he will fix it on behalf of his pig exchange partner Peilug.'

In this example, Base$_2$ is expounded by a self-embedded Amplification Sentence.
Remark: *ehoho*
Base$_1$: *kwali Ibara eke n-ú-suh nebeli buwul.*
Base$_2$: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *n-ú-ne blisenimeny enyudak kolobu wilpat.*
Amplification: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *n-ú-nek nebegúni moa woligún.*
Amplification: *n-ú-nekagún-umu Pelúg buwanyinú.*

Examples encoding Event-Event (Reciprocal Actors) Ṭab∧Qb∧/Ṛ/:

(666) QB 16

Olsem *kiap* *apakiny laik yet m-o-ne laigim-anú*
like this patrol officer our choice ouselves we PL-R-do desire-him

kiap. *n-a-naki n-a-pwe pomalmal.*
patrol officer he-R-come he-R-be Four Malmal hamlet
'The patrol officer is the one that we ourselves desired and he came and lived at Four Malmal hamlet.'

Preceding Base$_1$ is a peripheral Sentence Topic tagmeme expounded by *olsem kiap* 'in this way the patrol officer'.
Sentence Topic: *olsem kiap*
Base$_1$: *apakiny laik yet m-o-ne laigim-anú kiap.*
Base$_2$: *n-a-naki n-a-pwe pomalmal.*

(667) NS 143
Ch-e-chakal-iny *ch-e-yalúb.*
they PL.MIX-R-cover it (cow) they PL.MIX-R-sing and dance
'The men and women covered up the cow, it stayed there, and they sang and danced.'

Base$_1$: *Ch-e-chakal-iny*
Base$_2$: *ch-e-yalúb.*

(668) NN 2
I-wu *élalúh,* *i-wu* *núgau,* *i-wu* *núgalúh,* *kweipon*
I IRR-plant sugarcane I IRR-plant taro bud type I IRR-plant taro type later

yopwich *m-u-nekech* *m-i-chah.* *égédak* *nahabigú.*
mature we PL-IRR-cook it we PL-IRR-eat it this garden
'I will plant sugarcane, *núgau* taro buds, and *núgalúh* taro, and later when it is mature, we will cook the food and eat it – from this garden.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Parallel Sentence and Base$_2$ by a Simple Sentence with two peripheral tagmemes; Temporal Margin and Afterthought.

Base$_1$: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *I-wu élalúh,*
Base$_1$: *i-wu núgau,*
Base$_2$: *i-wu núgalúh,*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
Temporal Margin: *kweipon yopwich*
Nucleus: *m-u-nekech m-i-chah.*
Afterthought: *égédak nahabigú.*

Example encoding Event-Event Ṗa∧Q̣a∧Ṛba:

(669) QA 210
Túkal-agú *m-o-wacha-ga-gúk.*
it (rafter)-R-come down we PL-R-throw away-it (rafter) remain
'(The rafter) came loose, came down, and we threw it away and it stayed.'

Base$_1$: *Túkal-agú*
Base$_2$: *m-o-wacha-ga-gúk.*

Examples encoding Event-Event (different actors) Ṗ∧Q̣...∧Ṇ:

(670) NN 116
Apak *dodogoi-pú,* *m-u-lib* *yawihas,* *m-u-wu* *kakwich,*
we PL strong-we PL we PL-IRR-cut/slash gardens we PL-IRR-plant garden food

apak *mw-i-chah.* *batowich* *ch-i-chah.* *umu*
we PL we PL-IRR-eat it children they PL.MIX-IRR-eat it so that

yopwi-ch.
mature/grow large-they PL.MIX
'We are strong, we will cut bush for gardens, plant garden food, eat it, and the children will eat it so that they will mature.'

Base$_1$ is repeated four times and Base$_2$ is expounded by a Purpose Sentence.

Base$_1$: *Apak dodogoi-pú,*
Base$_1$: *m-u-lib yawihas,*
Base$_1$: *m-u-we kakwich,*

Base$_1$: *apak mw-i-chah.*
Base$_2$: *batowich ch-i-chah. umu yopwi-ch.*

(671) NS 149
Halipeim n-a-kihi. ch-e-nek lotu. sande. ch-e-nek
Halipeim he-R-came up they PL.MIX-R-do church meeting Sunday they PL.MIX-R-do

lotu.
church meeting
'Halipeim came up and they had a church meeting – they had a church meeting on Sunday.'
Base$_2$ is expounded by an Amplification Sentence.

Base$_1$: *Halipeim n-a-kihi.*
Base$_2$: Amplification Sentence
Statement: *ch-e-nek lotu.*
Amplification: *sande. ch-e-nek lotu.*

Example encoding Event-Span-Event [Ṭab≠Ṭa]∧Q̲b∧[Ṛab≠Ṛa]∧/Ṣ/:

(672) QA 134
Yek y-a-ø-gas bwiyogw atutu unugw. s-a-kús kédak
I I-R-cut-them (bamboos) two one bundles they (bamboos)-R-be later

wabwigún, i-sah énatú. i-nak, tuhlubun.
afternoon I IRR-carry one (bundle) I IRR-go Tuhlubun hamlet
'I cut three bundles of bamboo, they stayed there and later in the afternoon I will carry one bundle and go to Tuhlubun.'
Base$_1$ is repeated three times.

Base$_1$: *Yek y-a-ø-gas bwiyogw atutu unugw.*
Base$_1$: *s-a-kús*
Base$_1$: *kédak wabwigún, i-sah énatú.*
Base$_2$: *i-nak, tuhlubun.*

Examples encoding Event-Speech Ṭ∧Q̣...∧Ṇ∧wR∧S:

(593) above is a Narrative Sentence with Base$_1$ repeated three times and with Quote Base expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence in which Quotation Formula$_1$ is expounded by *usalikou* 'we will ask the women' and the Statement by an Interrogative Clause.

(673) QA 226
N-a-lum-apú, n-a-kli, orait ipak p-é-nak. p-é-tupak baritogw.
he-R-get-us PL OBJ he-R-say ok you PL you PL-IMP-go you PL-IMP-dig ditches

sapos kar ny-u-naki. trag g-ú-naki , orait p-é-nak.
if car it (car)-IRR-come truck it (truck)-IRR-come NFI ok/then you PL-IMP-go

p-é-nu énanú weisan beyam. trag kobwi g-ú-naki,
you PL-IMP-shovel some sand Beyam river truck FUT NEG it (truck)-IRR-come

, nyunekech, p-é-ne moul barit.
NFI forget it you PL-IMP-do work ditch
'He rounded us up and said, "OK, go and dig ditches. If the truck comes, then go and shovel some sand at Beyam River. If the truck doesn't come, forget it and work on the ditch."'

The $Base_1$ slot is omitted as in Rule 4 and the Quote Base is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence which is expounded by a Contrast Paragraph, containing two Conditional Sentences which have their Result Base expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

$Base_2$: *n-a-lum-apú,*
Quote Base: Quotation $Formula_1$: *n-a-kli,*
Quotation: Contrast Paragraph
Introduction: Narrative Sentence
Remark: *orait*
$Base_1$: *ipak p-é-nak.*
$Base_2$: *p-é-tupak baritogw.*
Thesis: Conditional Sentence
Condition: *sapos kar ny-u-naki.*
Condition: *trag g-ú-naki*
Link: ,
Result: Narrative Sentence
Remark: *orait*
$Base_1$: *p-é-nak.*
$Base_2$: *p-é-nu énanú weisan beyam.*
Antithesis: Conditional Sentence
Condition: *trag kobwi g-ú-naki*
Link: ,
Result: Narrative Sentence
$Base_1$: *nyunekech,*
$Base_2$: *p-é-ne moul barit.*

Examples encoding Contrast in predications $P(a) \wedge P''(b)$:

(674) NK 10

M-o-nak.	*aligé,*	*m-a-húl*	*kahúlúh*	*n-a-klip-apú*	*ipak*	
we PL-R-go	until	we PL-R-go	small curves in road	he-R-tell-us PL OBJ	you PL	

p-i-bih.	*yekotuwe*	*i-temogu*	*kar,*	*inú*	*batowich.*
you PL-IMP-go down	I only	I IRR-be	car	I and	children

'We went and kept on going until where there were small curves and he told us, "You all go down; only I and the children will stay in the car."'

This is a Continuation Sentence in which $Base_2$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence in which the Quote Base is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence in which the Quotation is expounded by a Narrative Sentence encoding Contrast in predications.

$Base_1$: *M-o-nak.*
Link: *aligé,*
$Base_2$: Narrative Sentence
$Base_2$: *m-a-húl kahúlúh*
Quote Base: Direct Quote Sentence
Quotation $Formula_1$: *n-a-klip-apú*
Quotation: Narrative Sentence
$Base_1$: *ipak p-i-bih.*
$Base_2$: *yekotuwe i-temogu kar,*
Afterthought: *inú batowich.*

(675) QA 175
N-a-kli, y-a-pwe, iken ny-u-l-eny.
he-R-say I-R-be it is ok you-IMP-put on-roof-it (spirit house)
'He said, "I am here, (at Four Malmal, nearby and will not assist,) but it's OK – you put the roof on the spirit house."'

This example is a Direct Quote Sentence with its Quotation expounded by a Narrative Sentence which encodes Contrast in predications.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *n-a-kli,*
Quotation: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *y-a-pwe,*
Base$_2$: *iken ny-u-l-eny.*

Example encoding Contrast in terms Pab∧Pba:

(676) NT 61
Na apak kobwi m-u-hú ipak. ipak kobwi p-e-hú
and we PL FUT NEG we PL-IRR-revile you PL you PL FUT NEG you PL-IMP-revile

apak.
we PL
'We will not revile you and don't you revile us.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Simple Sentence.

Base$_1$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Conjunction: *na*
Nucleus: *apak kobwi m-u-hú ipak.*
Base$_2$: *ipak kobwi p-e-hú ipak.*

Example encoding Specific-Generic paraphrase sPa∧sQa∧...∧gNa:

(677) QA 22
P-o-wahu baritogw p-a-kukwihogw. p-a-glagúl
you PL-R-dig ditches you PL-R-do very well them (ditches) you PL-R-take out

utalúh. p-a-kukwihagún,
grass you PL-R-do very well it (place where grass is taken out)

p-é-nek-eny.
you PL-R-do-it (work)
'You all dug ditches very well and took out the grass very well – you all did this work.'

Base$_1$: *p-o-wahu baritogw p-a-kukwihogw.*
Base$_1$: *p-a-glagúl utalúh. p-a-kukwihagún,*
Base$_2$: *p-é-nek-eny.*

Examples encoding Generic-Specific paraphrase gPa∧sPa:

(678) HQ 95
a p-i-tak-umu éneny bisnis, namaitú p-é-nek-eny.
and you PL-IMP-get up-BENEF some business now you PL-IMP-do-it (business)
'You all start some business now – do it right now.'

In this example, the more generic predication is permuted to the final position.

Base$_1$: *a p-i-tak-umu éneny bisnis,*
Base$_2$: *namaitú p-é-nek-eny.*

(679) QA 60
élúh. *p-é-nak.*
afternoon bell you PL-IMP-go
'Because now it is the time to stop work, you all go.'
(Although there is no surface structure verb 'to be' present, the equational structure is encoded in $Base_2$).

$Base_2$ is expounded by a Topic Clause *namaitú élúh* 'now afternoon bell' with Topic slot (manifested by *namaitú*) deleted.

$Base_1$: *élúh.*
$Base_2$: *p-é-nak.*

Examples encoding Efficient Cause of type $P \wedge P \supset Q$:

(680) NL 9
N-a-pwe ulkum m-o-lú, orait n-é-ne salimoli lowas. lowas
he-R-be heart it (heart)-R-think and then he-R-do send trees trees

s-a-taglú.
they (trees)-R-appear
'He continued to think and then he sent trees and so they appeared.'

This Narrative Sentence is embedded in a Conjunction Sentence.

$Base_1$: *n-a-pwe ulkum m-o-lú,*
$Link_2$: *orait*
$Base_2$: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *n-é-ne salimoli lowas.*
  $Base_2$: *lowas s-a-taglú.*

(681) NL 49
em i élmatok kw-e-menek énaniny bolany.
she be woman she-R-obey/hear his talk
'She was a woman, so she obeyed his talk.'

$Base_1$: *em i élmatok*
$Base_2$: *kw-e-menek énaniny bolany.*

(682) NC 1
y-a-túlútú wilpat y-e-nehilau.
I-R-see it (house) house I-R-be happy
'I saw the house and so I was happy.'

$Base_1$: *y-a-túlútú wilpat*
$Base_2$: *y-e-nehilau.*

7.3.6 Indirect Quote Sentence

The Indirect Quote Sentence is quite rare, occurring only about a dozen times in the present corpus. It has been observed in all types of discourse except Hortatory. It occurs embedded in a limited number of other sentence types: in the first base of Warning Sentence, in the last base of Continuation and Conjunction Sentences, in $Base_2$ or Quote Base of Narrative Sentence, and in the Quotation Base and Quotation $Formula_1$ slots of Direct Quote Sentence.

Indirect Quote Sentence also functions as the formulaic Aperture in various discourse types. When functioning in this way, it encodes Intent/Desire. Usually the formula is some slight

variation of "I want to talk about X". The other two principal uses of the Indirect Quote Sentence are to encode intent or desire generally and to report speech either when the speech is embedded in a direct Quotation or otherwise.

The Indirect Quote Sentence is very similar to the Direct Quote Sentence, from which it is distinguished by the following contrastive features:

(1) Direct Quote Sentence never functions as discourse Aperture.

(2) Direct Quote Sentence which encodes speech never occurs within another Direct Quote Sentence, while Indirect Quote Sentence does. (See (597) under Direct Quote Sentence, in section 7.2.6 which encodes awareness.)

(3) In Indirect Quote Sentence the pronoun reference is the same in the Quotation Formula$_1$ and in the Indirect Quotation (i.e. third person in Quotation Formula$_1$ has the same referent in Indirect Quotation). However in Direct Quote Sentence, in the pronoun reference in Quotation Formula$_1$ is different from that in the Quotation Base.

(4) The exponents of Quotation Formula$_1$ in Indirect Quote Sentence are limited to inflected forms of *-kli* 'to say, want, think, desire' and *-klip* 'to tell, to say to someone else'. The exponents of Quotation Formula$_1$ in Direct Quote Sentence are not restricted to this extent.

It is of interest that not all strings of clauses beginning with a clause of the type which can manifest Quotation Formula$_1$ are analysed as Indirect Quote (or Direct Quote) Sentence. For an example, consider (683) extracted from a long Continuation Sentence:

(683) RJ 20
Ali *ch-a-klip-onú* *n-a-glúk.*
and then they PL.MIX-R-tell-him he-R-go down
'... and then they told him and he descended.'

Link$_2$: *ali*
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *ch-a-klip-onú*
Base$_2$: *n-a-glúk.*

This construction manifesting Base$_2$ of the Continuation Sentence with Link *ali* does not mean 'they told him that he should go down'.

Indirect Quote Sentence				
	+(Quotation Formula$_1$)^n		+Indirect Quotation	5% ±Quotation Formula$_2$
	Transitive Clause		Any Clause Any Sentence Any Paragraph	Transitive Clause
Special Features:	Predicate must be expounded by an inflected form of *-kli* 'say, think, want, desire, know' or: *-klip-* 'tell, say to another'			Predicate must be expounded by an inflected form of *-kli* 'say'
Speech	wP	^	Q	
Intent/Desire	iP	^	Q	

Rules:

1. If Intent/Desire is encoded, verbs in exponents of Indirect Quotation must be in irrealis mood.

2. If verb in Quotation Formula$_1$ is in irrealis mood, verbs in exponents of Indirect Quotation must be in irrealis mood.

3. If Intent/Desire is encoded, then *-klip-* is not permitted in Quotation Formula$_1$ and Quotation Formula$_2$ cannot occur.

4. If occurring embedded in the Quotation Base of a Direct Quote Sentence, then *-kli* cannot occur in Quotation Formula$_1$.

5. n = 1 or 2. If n = 2, then the free subject tagmeme in the transitive clause, if any is present, can be deleted in the first repetition.

6. In Quotation Formula$_2$, *-kli* has only the one sememic realisation 'say'.

Examples encoding Speech wP∧Q:

(684) XC 128

ch-ú-glup-ok,	*aliga*	*aliga*	*aliga*	*ch-ú-kli,*	*mamachich*
they PL.MIX-IRR-give food-her	until	until	until	they PL.MIX-IRR-say	parents

ch-ú-kli,	*kamon*	*ch-ú-weh*	*ibahw.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-say	tomorrow	they PL.MIX-IRR-eat	tree bark

'They will give her food and continue until the parents will say that they (the parents) will eat *ibahw* tree bark tomorrow.'

This is a Continuation Sentence with Base$_2$ expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence with Quotation Formula$_1$ repeated.

Base$_1$: *ch-ú-glup-ok,*
Link: *aliga aliga aliga*
Base$_2$: Indirect Quote Sentence
  Quotation Formula$_1$: *ch-ú-kli,*
  Quotation Formula$_1$: *mamachich ch-ú-kli,*
  Indirect Quotation: *kamon ch-u-weh ibahw.*

(685) LE 4

énan	*n-a-kli*	*yek*	*i-wich*	*umu*	*énaniny*	*moul*	*n-o-nohwalomu*
he	he-R-say	I	I IRR-enter	BENEF	his	work	he-R-REFL call BENEF

Siping	*Manija.*
Shipping	Manager

'He said that I would have his job, which is called Shipping Manager.' OR 'He said that I could replace him whose title is Shipping Manager.'

This is an Indirect Quote Sentence taken from a letter in which there is an indirect quotation of the contents of another letter in which the person referred to by 'I' is invited to apply for the job of Shipping Manager.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *énan n-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: *yek i-wich umu énaniny moul n-o-nohwalomu Siping Manija.*

(686) QA 13

h-a-kli	*o*	*Bubuamo*	*ch-é-nekeny*	*gut*	*moulu.*
they PL.M-R-say	yes	Bubuamo village	they PL.MIX-R-do it	well	work

ch-é-nekeny *ch-a-kukwiheny.* *oli* *Lohuhwim* *wok.*
they PL.MIX-R-do it (work) they PL.MIX-R-do it very well but Lohuhwim no

Lohuhwim *ch-a-naki,* *ch-e-ne-situsateiny* *moulú.*
Lohuhwim dialect group they PL.MIX-R-come they PL.MIX-R-do-poor quality it work

nanú *kopul* *h-a-kli.*
he and corporal they M.PL-R-say
'They said that those people from Bubuamo village did the work well – they did it very well, but those from the Lohuhwim dialect group did not. They came and did shoddy work. The patrol officer and the policeman whose rank was corporal said that.'

This is an Indirect Quote Sentence with Indirect Quote Base expounded by a Contrast Paragraph.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *h-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: Contrast Paragraph
Thesis: Conjunction Sentence
Base$_1$: Amplification Sentence
Remark: *o*
Statement: *Bubuamo ch-é-nekeny gut moulu.*
Amplification: *ch-é-nekeny ch-a-kukwiheny.*
Link$_2$: *oli*
Base$_2$: *Lohuhwim wok.*
Antithesis: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *Lohuhwim ch-a-naki,*
Base$_2$: *ch-e-ne-situsateiny moulú.*
Quotation Formula$_2$: *nanú kopul h-a-kli.*

Example (594) is a further example of the use of an Indirect Quote Sentence.

Examples encoding Speech wP∧Q in which the Indirect Quote Sentence is within a Direct Quote Sentence:

(687) NK 73
m-o-sahal *m-o-naki,* *Lomumbuli* *onok* *kw-a-kli* *ei* *kédak*
we PL-R-run we PL-R-come Lomumbuli his FEM she-R-say oh later

p-ú-gwat-anú *p-é-klip-anú* *n-i-bih* *n-u-wechik* *kar* *maket.*
you PL-IMP-find him you PL-IMP-tell-him he-IRR-go down he-IRR-stop car market
'We came quickly and Lomumbuli's wife said, "Oh, find him later and tell him that he should go down and stop the car at the market."'

This is a Narrative Sentence with Quote Base manifested by a Direct Quote Sentence with embedded Indirect Quote Sentence.

Base$_2$: *m-o-sahal m-o-naki,*
Quote Base: Direct Quote Sentence
Quotation Formula$_1$: *Lomumbuli onok kw-a-kli*
Quotation: Indirect Quote Sentence
Remark: *ei*
Quotation Formula$_1$: *kédak p-ú-gwat-anú p-é-klip-anú*
Indirect Quotation: *n-i-bih n-u-wechik kar maket.*

(688) XD 85
Anis *n-é-naki,* *n-a-klip-onú* *Halipeim* *ny-u-k-e* *utabal.* *ny-u-k-e*
Anis he-R-come he-R-tell-him Halipeim you-IMP-give-me money you-IMP-give-me

utabal, deke i-nak, i-klip-onú Parituwa n-ú-túk echah wah
money FUT I IRR-go I IRR-tell-him Parituwa he-IRR-stop rain sun

h-ú-tau. wah h-ú-tau, m-u-nek moul.
it (sun)-IRR-shine sun it (sun)-IRR-shine we PL-IRR-do work
'Anis came and he told Halipeim, "You give me some money and I will go and tell Parituwa he should stop the rain and make the sun shine. He should make the sun shine and we will do our work."'

This is a Narrative Sentence with Quote Base expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence in which the Quotation is expounded by a Narrative Paragraph in which BU_1 is expounded by an Imperative Clause, BU_2 by a Warning Sentence (with an embedded Narrative Paragraph). Note that each Narrative Paragraph is held together by repeated verbs. An Indirect Quote Sentence expounds the Quote Base of a Narrative Sentence which expounds $Base_2$ of the Warning Sentence expounding BU_2.

$Base_2$: *Anis n-é-naki,*
Quote Base: Direct Quote Sentence
  Quotation $Formula_1$: *n-a-klip-onú Halipeim*
  Quotation: Narrative Paragraph
    Build Up_1: *ny-u-k-e utabal.*
    Build Up_2: Warning Sentence
      $Base_1$: *ny-u-k-e utabal,*
      Link: *deke*
      $Base_2$: Narrative Sentence
        $Base_2$: *i-nak,*
        Quote Base: Indirect Quote Sentence
          Quotation $Formula_1$: *i-klip-onú Parituwa*
          Indirect Quotation: Narrative Paragraph
            Build Up_1: Narrative Sentence
              $Base_1$: *n-ú-túk echah*
              $Base_2$: *wah h-ú-tau.*
            Build Up_2: Narrative Sentence
              $Base_1$: *wah h-ú-tau,*
              $Base_2$: *m-u-nek moul.*

Examples encoding Intent or Desire $iP \wedge Q$:

Note that although Longacre (1970) relegates this deep structure to the Increment Calculus on the basis of typology of the majority of the world's languages with which he is familiar, it seems that it should be in the Statement Calculus in Bukiyip. This encoding is a reflection of the wide variety of the uses of the verb *-kli* 'to say, want, think, desire, know'.

(689) NK 19
n-a-kli m-o-nak.
he-R-say/want we PL-IRR-go
'He wanted to go with us.'

This minimal Indirect Quote Sentence occurs in a Conversation Paragraph of a Narrative Discourse.

Quotation $Formula_1$: *n-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: *m-o-nak.*

(690) XD 100

Halipeim	*n-a-kli*	*nú-salik*	*nebenali.*
Halipeim	he-R-say/want	he-IRR-ask	important man

'Halipeim wanted to ask God (to stop the rain).'

Quotation Formula$_1$: *Halipeim n-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: *nú-salik nebenali.*

(691) RJ 26

wakú	*wakú*	*wakú*	*wakú*	*ch-a-lak*	*nabel*
strengthen	strengthen	strengthen	strengthen	they PL.MIX-R-build	fence

ch-a-kli	*ch-e-geik*	*mamawegasibel.*
they PL.MIX-R-say/want	they PL.MIX-IRR-build	parent wood POSS fence

'They built the fence and continued to strengthen it – they wanted to build a parent type (very strong) fence.'

This is a Narrative Sentence with Quote Base manifested by an Indirect Quote Sentence.

Base$_1$: *wakú*
Base$_1$: *wakú*
Base$_1$: *wakú*
Base$_1$: *wakú*
Base$_2$: *ch-a-lak nabel*
Quote Base: Indirect Quote Sentence
  Quotation Formula$_1$: *ch-a-kli*
  Indirect Quotation: *ch-e-geik mamawegasibel.*

(692) RE 220

n-a-bih	*n-a-kli*	*n-u-bo*	*yeguh.*	*n-a-nak*	*n-o-gwatú*
he-R-go down	he-R-say/want	he-IRR-catch	fish	he-R-go	he-R-find

jogwaikwi.
old woman

'He went down and wanted to catch fish, and found an old woman.'

This is a Narrative Sentence with Base$_2$ expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence.

Base$_1$: *n-a-bih*
Base$_1$: Indirect Quote Sentence
  Quotation Formula$_1$: *n-a-kli*
  Indirect Quotation: *n-u-bo yeguh.*
Base$_2$: *n-a-nak n-o-gwatú jogwaikwi.*

(693) NM 124

y-a-kli	*ch-ú-túk*	*chookwinyi*	*yoopwinyi,*	*baweipiny.*
I-R-say/want	they PL.MIX-IRR-bring	very small	very good	baweipiny ring type

umu	*a*	*g-ú-kús.*
in order that	then	it (the trouble)-IRR-be

'I want them to bring a very small, very good *baweipiny* type ring in order that the trouble will end.'

This is an Indirect Quote Sentence with Indirect Quotation expounded by a Purpose Sentence.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *y-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: Purpose Sentence

Base$_1$: *ch-ú-túk chookwinyi yoopwinyi, baweipiny.*
Link: *umu*
Base$_2$: *a g-ú-kús.*

(694) RM 3

Ali	*y-a-kli*	*i-yaguleh*	*éneny*	*saki*	*namaitú*	*deke*	*ipak*	*wolobaipali*
and so	I-R-say/want	I IRR-tell	one	legend	now	FUT	you PL	all you PL

p-é-mének.
you PL-IRR-hear
'And so I want to tell a legend now and all of you must listen to it.'

This is a Warning Sentence with first base expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence. The entire sentence functions as part of the Discourse Aperture of a Legendary Narrative Discourse.

Sentence Conjunction: *ali*
Base$_1$: Indirect Quote Sentence
Quotation Formula$_1$: *y-a-kli*
Indirect Quotation: *i-yaguleh éneny saki namaitú*
Link: *deke*
Base$_2$: *ipak wolobaipali p-é-mének.*

7.3.7 Contrast Sentence

Contrast Sentence is a two-base structure identified by a negation and unreal aspect in the fillers of Base$_1$ and real or imperative aspect with the absence of negation in Base$_2$. This sentence type is used to express a contrast between two opposites, or to restate a similar statement using a negated antonym.

Contrast Sentence is similar in structure to Evaluation Sentence from which it is distinguished by the following contrastive features:

(1) Significant difference in fillers of respective bases: Contrast Sentence has Base$_1$ and Base$_2$ expounded by only an Indicative Clause of Narrative Sentence, while Evaluation Sentence has its first base expounded by a wide variety of phrases, clauses, and sentences. The second base of Evaluation Sentence can be expounded by a closed class of words or phrases, or by a Topic Comment clause.

(2) Contrast Sentence is a two-base structure while Evaluation Sentence is potentially a multi-base structure.

(3) Second base in Evaluation Sentence is often negated, while Base$_2$ in the Contrast Sentence never is.

(4) Exponents of first base in Evaluation Sentence can be in realis, irrealis or imperative mood, while those of Contrast Sentence must be in irrealis or imperative mood.

(5) Except for one example, all Contrast Sentences are linked by final intonation, while Evaluation Sentences are often linked by non-final intonation.

(6) Contrast Sentence occurs embedded in at least two other sentence types (Purpose Sentence and Conjunction Sentence). Evaluation Sentence occurs embedded only in Conditional Sentence.

Contrast Sentence:		+Base$_1$	+Link	+Base$_2$
		Indicative Clause Negation Sentence	. final intonation or , non-final intonation	Indicative Clause Narrative Sentence
Contrast	I	$\bar{P}(a)$	$\wedge$	$P'(b) \not\equiv P(b)$
	II	$\bar{P}a$	$\wedge$	Qb
	III	$\bar{P}ab$	$\wedge$	Qb
Paraphrase: Negated Antonym		$\bar{P}''(a)$	$\wedge$	$P(b)$
		$\bar{P}''a$	$\wedge$	Pa

Rules:

1. Base$_1$ must be expounded by a construction which has been negated and is in irrealis or imperative mood.

2. Base$_2$ must be positive and in real or imperative mood.

3. Bases can be permuted, particularly if embedded in another sentence type (see (697)).

4. If Base$_2$ is expounded by constructions in imperative aspect, Base$_1$ is expounded by a construction with the negative imperative *kobwi*.

5. If the verbs are identical, the verb in Base$_2$ can be deleted. Note that this is the case only when encoding type I contrast.

6. The Link is expounded by non-final intonation if the sentence has both bases in the imperative mood and encodes Negated Antonym Paraphrase with the same actor.

Examples encoding type I Contrast $\bar{P}(a) \wedge \bar{P}'(b) \not\equiv P(b)$:

(695) QA 20

wok	*ch-ú-nekeny*	*kélbúk*	*e*	.	*ipak*	*kélbúk*
PAST NEG	they PL.MIX-IRR-do it (work)	well	PAST NEG	FI	you PL	well

Bubuamo.
Bubuamo village
'They did not do the work well, but you all from Bubuamo village did.'
The verb in Base$_2$ is deleted according to rule 5.

Base$_1$: *wok ch-ú-nekeny kélbúk e*
Link: .
Base$_2$: *ipak kélbúk Bubuamo.*

(696) NN 113

wo	*h-ú-nali*	*wis*	*e*	.	*h-a-kumenali*
PAST NEG	they PL.M-IRR-come	hands	PAST NEG	FI	they PL.M-R-hit him come

wabúok.
black palm stick
'The men didn't come to fight him with their hands, but rather they came and hit him with a black palm stick.'

In this example the verbs are close synonyms but not identical.

Base$_1$: *wo h-ú-nali wis e*
Link: .
Base$_2$: *h-a-kumenali wabúok.*

(697) NS 4

élmagou	*w-o-nak*	*w-a-di*	*kopi*	*umu,*
women	they FEM-R-go	they PL.F-R-get	coffee	when

w-o-lecheny	*nalúh*	.	*ino*
they PL.F-R-remove hulls it (coffee)	teeth	FI	not

ch-u-kloecheny,	*masin.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-remove hulls it (coffee)	machine

'When the women went and got the coffee, they didn't remove the hulls with a coffee machine – they did it with their teeth.'

In this example the Contrast Sentence with identical verbs has the bases reversed and is embedded in the second base of a Purpose Sentence.

Base$_1$: *élmagou w-o-nak w-a-di kopi*
Link: *umu,*
Base$_2$: Contrast Sentence
  Base$_2$: *w-o-lecheny nalúh*
  Link: .
  Base$_2$: *ino ch-u-kloecheny, masin.*

(698) QB 29

olsem	*ino*	*ch-ú-namoli*	*echechiny*	*laïk*	.	*apakiny*	*laik*
like this	NEG	they PL.MIX-IRR-come	their PL.MIX	desire	FI	our PL	desire

kansolomi	*o*	*apak*	*buwul*	*nubat.*	*m-a-kli*
local government councillors those with him	and	we PL	pig	dog	we PL-R-say

orait	*ch-a-naki*	*ch-a-pwe*	*égúnú*	*pomalmal.*
ok	they PL.MIX-R-come	they PL.MIX-R-be	here	Four malmal hamlet

'In this way, they didn't come because of their own desire – but they came because of our desire – the local government councillors and we "ordinary" people, we said "OK" and they came and are here at Four Malmal hamlet.'

In this example with synonymous verbs meaning 'to come', the peripheral Remark tagmeme precedes Base$_1$, and Base$_2$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence of unique structure. The Narrative Sentence has a short embedded Direct Quote Sentence in Base$_2$ but it also has two peripheral tagmemes: a Remark tagmeme and a Sentence Topic tagmeme manifested by a Coordinate Noun Phrase.

Remark: *olsem*
Base$_1$: *ino ch-ú-namoli echechiny laik*
Link: .
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
  Remark: *apakiny laik*
  Sentence Topic: *kansolomi o apak buwul nubat.*
  Base$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
    Quotation Formula$_1$: *m-a-kli*
    Quotation: *orait*
  Base$_2$: *ch-a-naki ch-a-pwe égúnú pomalmal.*

Example encoding type II Contrast $\bar{P}a \wedge Qb$:

(699) NS 88

wok	*ny-u-gak*	*e*	.	*ch-a-lto.*
PAST NEG	it (cow)-IRR-die	PAST NEG	FI	they PL.MIX (cows)-R-go up

'The cow which they shot didn't die – it and the other cows went up the hill.'

The contrast between not dying and going up is extended to include other cows as well as the original one that was shot.

Base$_1$: *wok ny-u-gak e*
Link: .
Base$_2$: *ch-a-lto.*

Example encoding type III Contrast $\bar{P}ab \wedge Qb$:

(700) NM 134

oli	*wo*	*m-u-gabwe-yegas*	*e*	.	*wotak*	*ny-a-pwe.*
and	PAST NEG	we PL-IRR-fix-it (talk)	PAST NEG	FI	yet/more	it (talk)-R-be

'And we haven't made peace yet – the trouble is still with us.'

This example is a Conjunction Sentence with first base deleted and second base expounded by a Contrast Sentence.

Link: *oli*
Base$_2$: Contrast Sentence
  Base$_1$: *wo m-u-gabwe-yegas e*
  Link: .
  Base$_2$: *wotak ny-a-pwe.*

Example encoding Negated Antonym Paraphrase $\bar{P}''(a) \wedge P(b)$:

(701) NM 129

kobwi	*wotak*	*m-u-lpok.*	*kobwi*	*wotak*	*m-u-hlitak*	.	*aa*
FUT NEG	more	we PL-IRR-fight	FUT NEG	more	we PL-IRR-argue	FI	then

ny-u-núbú	*ny-u-kúsúk.*
it (talk)-IRR-every	it (talk)-IRR-be remain

'We will not fight any more, nor argue any more, but then we will really be at peace.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
  Base$_1$: *kobwi wotak m-u-lpok.*
  Base$_2$: *kobwi wotak m-u-hlitak*
  Link: .
  Base$_2$: *aa ny-u-núbú ny-u-kúsúk.*

This is the one example that does not quite fit the rules, in that Base$_2$ contains verbs in the irrealis aspect. It is a somewhat marginal example because of the fact that the irrealis and imperative aspect are homophonous in this particular construction. It is possible that this means 'Let us not fight any more, let us not argue any more, let the talk die completely.' This would be a use of first person plural and third person singular imperatives which are very rare and difficult to document.

Examples encoding Negated Antonym Paraphrase with same actor $\bar{P}''a \wedge Pa$:

(702)

Kobwi	*p-é-nek*	*yowenyi* ,	*p-u-pwe*	*kálbék.*
NEG IMP	you PL-IMP-do	bad	NFI you PL-IMP-be	well

'Do not do bad, do good!'

Base$_1$: *Kobwi p-é-nek yowenyi*
Link: ,
Base$_2$: *p-u-pwe kálbék.*

(703) NM 145

Yek	*y-a-kli,*	*kobwi*	*ny-u-lhwas*	,	*ny-u-naki,*	*ny-u-pwe.*
I	I-R-say	NEG IMP	you-IMP-run away afraid	NFI	you IMP-come	you-IMP-be

'I said, "Don't be afraid and run away, but come and stay here."'

This is a Direct Quote Sentence with embedded Contrast Sentence.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *Yek y-a-kli,*
Quotation: Contrast Sentence
Base$_1$: *Kobwi ny-u-lhwas*
Link: ,
Base$_2$: *ny-u-naki, ny-u-pwe.*

7.3.8 PARALLEL SENTENCE

The Parallel Sentence is a multi-base structure which links together by juxtaposition clauses and/or sentences with identical predication in which one corresponding term in each predication is changed. The clauses or sentences are either joined in temporal sequence or simply conjoined because of similar subject matter and roughly similar temporal setting. In this latter case the Parallel Sentence describes a series of events somehow unified without focusing on the temporal sequence. Unless there are specific lexical clues given (as is true in (709) and (710) encoding Succession), it is not possible to tell whether or not Succession or Conjoining is encoded. However, the author was an eyewitness to the events described in the (711) encoding Succession. So in that case, it is known that the order is significant – that is, it coincides with the chronological order.

This sentence type occurs embedded in several other sentence types: in Base$_1$ of Continuation Sentence, Base$_1$ of Narrative Sentence, Statement slot of Limitation Sentence, and the Topic slot of Evaluation Sentence.

See discussion under Amplification Sentence (7.2.8) for evidence for separating Parallel and Amplification Sentences as two distinct emic Surface structures.

Parallel Sentence:	$+(\text{Base}_1)^n$		$+\text{Base}_2$
	Indicative Clause		Indicative Clause
	Imperative Clause		Imperative Clause
	Simple Sentence		Evaluation Sentence
	Narrative Sentence		Narrative Sentence
Coupling	$P(a) \wedge P(b)...$	$\wedge$	$P(n)$
Succession: Event-Event	$\underset{\cdot}{P}a \wedge \underset{\cdot}{P}b...$	$\wedge$	$\underset{\cdot}{P}n$
Event-Span	$\underset{\cdot}{P}a$	$\wedge$	$\underline{P}'a$

Rules:

1. In $Base_1$, n varies from 1 to 6. (See (599) HN 20 encoding Generic-specific Paraphrase, Explanatory Sentence, for n=6.)

2. The actors are either the same or a subset of a larger well-defined set of actors.

3. Verb stems in each base are identical (or are sets from the same semantic domain in cases of embedding or in case n is more than 2) and in the same mood, but the verb in $Base_2$ can be deleted.

4. If the verb or verb set is transitive, each clause must have an additional slot present and manifested by different items from the same semantic domain. The one exception to this rule is if n is 3 or 5, this extra slot can be deleted in all the repetitions of $Base_1$.

5. If the verb or verb set is intransitive, rule 4 is optional. That is, the additional slot can be deleted in some clauses.

Examples encoding Coupling $P(a) \wedge P(b) ... \wedge P(n)$:

(704) NN 2

i-wu	*élalúh,*	*i-wu*	*núgau*	*i-wu*	*núgalúh.*
I IRR-plant	sugarcane	I IRR-plant	taro bud	I IRR-plant	taro type

'... I will plant sugarcane, *núgau* type taro buds, and *núgalúh* type taro.'

This example is extracted from its position embedded in a Narrative Sentence. $Base_1$ is repeated.

$Base_1$: *i-wu élalúh,*
$Base_1$: *i-wu núgau*
$Base_2$: *i-wu núgalúh.*

(705) NS 172

Jobeiwi	*ch-a-k-ana-gúk*	*ohwim*	*otum*	*m-a-nú*	*nyubel*
Jobeiwi	they PL.MIX-R-give-him-remain	hooves	only	them (hooves)-R-and	stomach

Lomwenyan	*n-a-nú*	*Kwipun*	*boglom*	*otum*	*echech*	*éménabich*
Lomwenyan	he-R-and	Kwipun	head	only	they PL.MIX	those of the ground

Kumunigúl.
Kumunigul totem

'As for Jobeiwi, they gave him only the hooves and the stomach, and Lomwenyan and Kwipun only the head, since they were those of that local area, with totemic clan name Kuminigul.'

This is an Evaluation Sentence with Topic expounded by a Parallel Sentence in which $Base_1$ is expounded by a Simple Sentence with Sentence Topic slot manifested by *Jobeiwi* a proper name. Note that the verb in $Base_2$ has been deleted.

Topic: Parallel Sentence
  $Base_1$: Simple Sentence
    Sentence Topic: *Jobeiwi*
    Nucleus: *ch-a-k-ana-gúk ohwim otum m-a-nú nyubel*
  $Base_2$: *Lomwenyan n-a-nú Kwipun boglom otum*
Evaluation: Simple Sentence
  Nucleus: *echech éménabich*
  Afterthought: *Kumunigúl.*

(706) NM 16

n-e-yak *suluh,* *n-é-gabwe* *Wiyaman.* *n-a-kú* *Wiyaman.* *n-e-yak*
he-R-bring rings he-R-fix Wiyaman he-R-give Wiyaman he-R-bring

chiknipwi. *n-a-kú* *Kilal.* *n-e-yak* *tékanipwi.* *n-a-kú* *Lowonem.*
full leaf he-R-give Kilal he-R-bring part leaf he-R-give Lowonem
'He brought rings, made peace with Wiyaman by giving them to her, brought two dollars and gave it to Kilal, one dollar and gave it to Lowonem.'

$Base_1$ is repeated in this example. Each base is expounded by a Narrative Sentence consisting of two bases. The first occurrence of $Base_1$ is further complicated because the embedded Narrative Sentence has its second base expounded by an Amplification Sentence. Note that the identical set of verbs, 'bring' and 'give' are repeated in each base.

$Base_1$: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *n-e-yak suluh,*
  $Base_2$: Amplification Sentence
    Statement: *n-é-gabwe Wiyaman.*
    Amplification: *n-a-kú Wiyaman.*
$Base_1$: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *n-e-yak chiknipwi.*
  $Base_2$: *n-a-kú Kilal.*
$Base_2$: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *n-e-yak tékanipwi.*
  $Base_2$: *n-a-kú Lowonem.*

Examples encoding Succession of Event-Span variety Ṗa∧P̲'a:

(707) HQ 52

p-u-wich *p-é-pwe-mu* *sugul* *p-ú-pwe* *p-ú-pwe*
you PL-IMP-enter you PL-IMP-be-BENEF school you PL-IMP-be you PL-IMP-be

p-ú-pwe *p-ú-pwe* *sugul.*
you PL-IMP-be you PL-IMP-be school
'You all go to school and stay until it's finished.' (Here the number of predications in the deep structure is not the same as the number of bases in the surface structure. However, the meaning of the repeated bases is continuous rather than punctiliar action.)

$Base_1$: *p-u-wich p-é-pwe-mu sugul*
$Base_1$: *p-ú-pwe*
$Base_1$: *p-ú-pwe*
$Base_1$: *p-ú-pwe*
$Base_2$: *p-ú-pwe sugul.*

(708) QA 165

ch-i-yalúb *nyumenah* *ch-i-yalúb* *ch-i-yalúb*
they PL.MIX-IRR-sing days they PL.MIX-IRR-sing they PL.MIX-IRR-sing

ch-i-yalúb *wab* *namudak* *ati.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-sing night like this only
'The men and women will sing during the day, they will sing and sing, and they will sing at night, just like this.'

This is a Parallel Sentence in which $Base_1$ occurs three times and which is embedded in a Limitation Sentence. This illustrates the exception to rule 4.

Statement: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *ch-i-yalúb nyumenah*
Base$_1$: *ch-i-yalúb*
Base$_1$: *ch-i-yalúb*
Base$_2$: *ch-i-yalúb wab*
Limitation: *namudak ati.*

Examples encoding Succession of Event-Event variety Ṗa∧Ṗb...∧Ṗn:

(709) QA 114

élabuk	*wabel*	*tunde*	*élabuk*	*wabel*	*trinde*	*élabuk*	*wabel*	*fonde*
that	village	Tuesday	that	village	Wednesday	that	village	Thursday

élabuk	*wabel*	*frainde*	*pinis*	*o*	*júlúg.*
that	village	Friday	finish	or	enough

'That village will work Tuesday, that one Wednesday, that one Thursday, that one Friday, and it will be enough – it will be finished.'

This is a Parallel Sentence embedded in an Evaluation Sentence. Base$_1$ occurs three times.

Topic: Parallel Sentence
Base$_1$: *élabuk wabel tunde*
Base$_1$: *élabuk wabel trinde*
Base$_1$: *élabuk wabel fonde*
Base$_2$: *élabuk wabel frainde*
Evaluation: *pinis o júlúg.*

(710) NM 118

éneny	*ny-é-naki,*	*éneny*	*nyé-nak.*	*éneny*	*ny-é-naki*	*y-e-galúk*	*éneny.*
one (ring)	it-R-come	one (ring)	it-R-go	one (ring)	it-R-come	I-R-reject	one (ring)

éneny	*ny-é-naki.*	*y-e-galúk*	*éneny.*
one (ring)	it-R-come	I-R-reject	one (ring)

'One ring came, and I rejected it; another one came, and I rejected it; another one came and I rejected it also.'

In this example, Base$_1$: is repeated and each base in the sentence is expounded by a Narrative Sentence sharing the set of verbs 'to come' and 'to go' or 'to reject'. Note that 'one ring went' and 'I rejected one ring' are considered paraphrases. In this context 'to go back' means that the speaker rejected the ring and it went back to its original owner.

Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *éneny ny-é-naki,*
Base$_2$: *éneny nyé-nak.*
Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *éneny ny-é-naki*
Base$_2$: *y-e-galúk éneny.*
Base$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *éneny ny-é-naki.*
Base$_2$: *y-e-galúk éneny.*

(711) NM 47

n-o-wachak-um-onú	*énas*	*wis.*	*Lowonem*	*n-o-wachak-um-onú*	
he-R-throw away-BENEF-him	one	hand	Lowonem	he-R-throw away-BENEF-him	

énas.	*Ahlechim*	*n-o-wachak-um-onú*	*énas.*	*Yek*	*Mosina*
one (hand)	Ahlechim	he-R-throw away-BENEF-him	one (hand)	me	Mosina

k-o-wachak *édagú.*
she-R-throw away mud stone
'Kilal hit him with one hand, Lowonem hit him with one hand, Alechim hit him with one hand, and, as for me, Mosina hit me with a mud stone.'

In that the author witnessed the event encoded in this example, it is known that this is also an encoding of Succession, even though there is no lexical marking of that fact.

Base$_1$: *n-o-wachak-um-onú énas wis.*
Base$_1$: *Lowonem n-o-wachak-um-onú énas.*
Base$_1$: *Ahlechim n-o-wachak-um-onú énas.*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Topic: *Yek*
Nucleus: *Mosina k-o-wachak édagú.*

7.3.9 Warning Sentence

The Warning Sentence is a two-base structure linked by *deke* 'future' or *eke* 'contrafactual'. It is a very versatile sentence type, encoding a wide variety of deep structures. It is used to express both simple Hypothetical Condition and Contrary to Fact Condition as well as Surprise, Warning, Succession, Contrast, and a particular subvariety of Final Cause (purpose). There are other sentence types to encode most of these deep structures. However, two of these, Warning and the type of Final Cause in which something was done lest something else happen, can be encoded only by this sentence type. It occurs in all discourse types and in most paragraph types. It occurs embedded in a few other sentence types: Negation Sentence, Narrative Sentence, Conditional Sentence, Contrary to Fact Condition Sentence, and Warning Sentence.

Warning Sentence	±Link$_1$	+Base$_1$	+Link$_2$	+Base$_2$
	eke 'contra-factual *	*namudak* 'like this' Conjunction Sentence Condition Sentence Completed Action Sentence Contrast Sentence Evaluation Sentence Narrative Sentence	*deke* 'future, lest, but' *eke* 'contra-factual, future, but'	Indicative Clause Conjunction Sentence Warning Sentence Direct Quote Sentence Narrative Sentence Simple Sentence
Conditional:				
Warning		$(P_\beta \supset Q) \wedge oP$	$\supset$	Q
Hypothetical		P	$\supset$	Q
Contrafactual		$P_\beta[P_\beta \supset Q_\beta] \wedge [P$	$\supset$	Q]
Frustration:				
Surprise		$(P \supset Q) \wedge P$	$\wedge$	R
Causation:				
Final Cause		$(P_\beta \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge [P$	$\supset$	pQ]
Succession:				
Event-Event		$\dot{P}a$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}a$
		$\dot{P}a$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}b$
Event-Span		$\dot{P}$	$\wedge$	$\underline{Q}$
Event-Speech		$\dot{P}$	$\wedge$	$wQ \wedge R$
Contrast		$\bar{P}(a)$	$\wedge$	P(b)

Rules:

1. $Base_1$ can be deleted if Warning Sentence is embedded in another Warning Sentence (see (726) NT 133 encoding Event-Speech) or if it is preceded in the same paragraph by another Warning Sentence with $Base_1$ present.

2. Bases can be permuted. (See (722) NS 140 encoding Warning and (727) HN 18 encoding Contrast.)

3. It is possible to have $Link_1$ expounded by *eke* and $Link_2$ by *deke* (see (717) SB 185 encoding Contrafactual). Co-occurrence of *eke* in $Link_1$ and *eke* in $Link_2$ has not been observed but presumably this is simply due to a lack of data.

4. $Base_2$ must be in irrealis mood.

5. $Base_1$ must be in realis mood just in case the sentence is encoding Surprise or Final Cause.

6. Narrative Sentence so far manifests $Base_1$ only if the sentence is encoding Warning. It is probably true that Narrative Sentences with verbs in imperative aspect, or with $Base_1$ manifested by Indirect Quote Sentence encoding desire, occur only if the sentence encodes warning. (See (712) HQ 85 encoding Warning.)

Examples encoding Warning $(P_\beta \supset Q) \wedge oP \supset Q$:

(712) HQ 85

y-a-kli *apak* *nebepali* *nagún* *p-é-taki* *m-u-pwemu*
I-R-say/desire we PL we older ones also you PL-IMP-get up come we PL-IRR-be for

sugul *m-u-pwemu* *ritrait.* *oli* *m-u-nedúkemu* *énégún*
school we PL-IRR-be for reading and writing and then we PL-IRR-understand some

chokugún *mweoh.* *deke* *m-u-pwe* *mweoh* *echúdak* *kandre*
small amount nothing lest we PL-IRR-be nothing these country

ch-ú-naki. *p-i-taki* *utabal* *wok* *énébel* *e.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-come you PL-IRR-get up come money not some (money) NEG

'I say that we older ones also should get up and come and be in school, be there to learn to read and write and then we will understand a little bit, lest we remain ignorant and "independence" will come and then you will get up and come and not have any money.'

$Base_1$ is expounded by a Conjunction Sentence in which the first base is expounded by a Narrative Sentence in which the first base is expounded by an Indirect Quote Sentence and the second by a Parallel Sentence, and $Base_2$ is expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

$Base_1$: Conjunction Sentence
  $Base_1$: Narrative Sentence
    $Base_1$: Indirect Quote Sentence
      Quotation $Formula_1$: *y-a-kli*
      Quotation: *apak nebepali nagún p-é-taki*
    $Base_2$: Parallel Sentence
      $Base_1$: *m-u-pwemu sugul*
      $Base_2$: *m-u-pwemu ritrait.*
  Link: *oli*
  $Base_2$: *m-u-nedúkemu énégún chokugún mweoh.*
$Link_2$: *deke*
$Base_2$: Narrative Sentence
  $Base_1$: *m-u-pwe mweoh*
  $Base_1$: *echúdak kandre ch-ú-naki.*

Base$_1$: *p-i-taki*
Base$_2$: *utabal wok énébel e.*

(713) HQ 103
deke n-i-tak n-ú-nak énebel wabel, n-ú-nak
lest he-IRR-get up he-IRR-go some other village he-IRR-go

n-i-gilapwechúk oli bihain apak m-u-pwe koulon.
he-IRR-teach them PL.MIX OBJ remain but/and later we PL we PL-IRR-be ignorant
'(We should go to school) lest he get up and go to some other village and teach the people there – but later we will be ignorant.'

Base$_1$ is deleted. It is obvious that the first base would be semantically equivalent to the Base$_1$ in the example (712) HQ 85. Base$_2$ is expounded by a Conjunction Sentence with first base expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: Conjunction Sentence
Base$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Base$_1$: *n-i-tak*
Base$_1$: *n-ú-nak énebel wabel,*
Base$_1$: *n-ú-nak*
Base$_2$: *n-i-gilapwechúk,*
Link: *oli*
Base$_2$: *bihain apak m-u-pwe koulon.*

Examples encoding Hypothetical P⊃Q:

(714) PA 144
wolobaichi deke bwiyas, bwiyas atup w-i-chú-lúh.
many they PL.MIX FUT two two one (pans) they PL.F-IRR-cook food
'If there are many people, the women will cook two or even three pans of food.'

Base$_2$ is expounded by a Simple Sentence with a Sentence Topic slot.

Base$_1$: *wolobaichi*
Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Topic: *bwiyas, bwiyas atup*
Nucleus: *w-i-chúlúh.*

(715) HN 17
namudak deke ch-u-law-ep-omu kotogw.
like this FUT they PL.MIX-IRR-take-you PL OBJ-to courts
'If you all do like this, they will take you to court.'

Base$_1$ is expounded by an anaphoric *namudak* 'like this' referring to doing various kinds of bad things such as stealing.

Base$_1$: *namudak*
Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: *ch-u-law-ep-omu kotogw.*

(716) RF 161
I-bih i-taglú énebel wabel eke i-wachak énom chulkum.
I IRR-go down I IRR-arrive some/one village FUT I IRR-throw away one seed
'I will go down and if I arrive at a village, I will throw a seed back up to you.'

This is a Narrative Sentence with a Warning Sentence expounding $Base_2$.

$Base_1$: *I-bih*
$Base_2$: Warning Sentence
  $Base_1$: *i-taglú énebel wabel*
  $Link_2$: *eke*
  $Base_2$: *i-wachak énom chulkum.*

Examples encoding Contrafactual $P_\beta[P_\beta \supset Q_\beta] \wedge [P \supset Q]$:

(717) SB 185

eke	*kagleiweli*	*umu,*	*deke*	*i-munek-eny.*
contrafactual	young person I	if	FUT	I IRR-understand-it (Tok Pisin)

'If I were a young person, I would understand Tok Pisin.'

In this example, $Link_1$ is expounded by *eke.*

$Link_1$: *eke*
$Base_1$: *kagleiweli umu,*
$Link_2$: *deke*
$Base_2$: *i-munek-eny.*

(718) PC 147

Ch-u-hwanú	*chokubel.*	*eke*	*wosik*	*ch-ú-pwe.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-hold him	gently	CFC	all right	they PL.MIX-IRR-be

'If they had held him gently, it would have been all right – they would have remained, and not died.'

$Base_2$ in this example is manifested by a Simple Sentence with peripheral Comment tagmeme.

$Base_1$: *Ch-u-hwanú chokubel.*
$Link_2$: *eke*
$Base_2$: Simple Sentence
  Comment: *wosik*
  Nucleus: *ch-ú-pwe.*

Example encoding Surprise $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge R$:

(719) QA 208

m-o-gahúl,	*deke*	*g-ú-bo*	*Teimini,*	*Chamaun*
we PL-R-stand up (rafters)	FUT	it (rafter)-IRR-hit/kill	Teimini	Chamaun dialect group

Kragumun.
Kragumun village
'We stood up the rafters and one nearly hit Teimini, from the Chamaun dialect group, from Kragumun village.'

This is a Warning Sentence in which $Base_2$ is manifested by a Simple Sentence with an Afterthought tagmeme expounded by an Apposition Noun Phrase. Note that the expected result would have been that the rafters would have stood up like they were supposed to. Expected result is symbolised by Q in the deep structure representation.

$Base_1$: *m-o-gahúl,*
$Link_2$: *deke*
$Base_2$: Simple Sentence
  Nucleus: *g-ú-bo Teimini,*
  Afterthought: *Chamaun Kragumun.*

Examples encoding Final Cause $(P_{\beta} \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge [P \supset p\overline{Q}]$. This particular type of final cause represents the encoding of a situation in which something was done for the purpose of preventing something else from happening.

(720) QA 213

énen n-a-hwogú dédag. deke g-é-ø-nú.
he he-R-hold-it (rafter) strongly lest it (rafter)-IRR-hit/kill-him
'He held the rafter strongly, lest it kill him.'

(Carrying on the story from QA 208 above, so you won't be kept in suspense as to what happened.)

Base$_1$: *énen n-a-hwogú dédag.*
Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: *g-é-ø-nú.*

(721) NB 26

n-o-wechikeny dou w-e-tegleh echédak, deke
he-R-stopped it (motorbike) and soon we DL-R-loosened it (stuff) these things lest

echah h-ú-lú h-ú-naki luhut n-ú-nak Yangoru-omu.
rain it (rain)-IRR-rain it (rain)-IRR-come later he-IRR-go Yangoru-when
'He stopped the motorbike and right away we loosened the things, lest the rain come later when he would want to go to Yangoru.'

Base$_1$ is manifested by a Completed Action Sentence and Base$_2$ is manifested by a Simple Sentence with a Temporal Margin marked by *umu,* realised here via morphophonemic rules as *omu.*

Base$_1$: Completed Action Sentence
  Base$_1$: *n-o-wechikeny*
  Link: *dou*
  Base$_2$: *w-e-tegleh echédak,*
Link$_2$: *deke*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
  Nucleus: *echah h-ú-lú h-ú-naki*
  Temporal Margin: *luhut n-ú-nak Yangor-omu.*

(722) NS 140

ch-a-kli deke ny-u-nak ny-u-wichúk.
they PL.MIX-R-say lest it (cow)-IRR-go it (cow)-IRR-be lost remain

ch-e-nyuhúl ch-e-nyubúk haus+kiap.
they PL.MIX-R-bring it they PL.MIX-R-bring it rest house
'They said, "Lest the cow go and be lost permanently." So for that reason they brought it and put it in the rest house.'

In this example the bases are permuted and Base$_2$ and Link$_2$ are in double function, serving both as the constituents of this Warning Sentence and as the exponent of the Quotation of a Direct Quote Sentence with Quotation Formula$_1$ expounded by *chakli* 'they said'. This might be called a Merged Quote Sentence.

Quotation Formula$_1$: *ch-a-kli*
Quotation: (also Link$_2$ and Base$_2$ of Warning Sentence)
  Link$_2$: *deke*
  Base$_2$: *ny-u-nak ny-u-wichúk.*
  Base$_1$: *ch-e-nyuhúl ch-e-nyubúk haus+kiap.*

Example encoding Event-Event Succession same actors Ṗa∧Q̣a:

(723) NT 161

Apak	*m-a-kli*	*moni*	*wosik*	*bai*	*apak*	*m-u-tal*	*bilas.*
we PL	we PL-R-say	money	all right	FUT	we PL	we PL-IRR-buy	decorations

'We want money, and then we will be all right and we will buy decorations.'

$Base_1$ in this example is expounded by an Evaluation Sentence and $Link_2$ by one of the translations of *deke* into Tok Pisin.

$Base_1$: Evaluation Sentence
  Topic: *Apak m-a-kli moni*
  Evaluation: *wosik*
$Link_2$: *bai*
$Base_2$: *Apak m-u-tal bilas.*

Example encoding Event-Event Succession with different actors Ṗa∧Q̣b:

(724) NN 111

Batowiny	*ny-a-pwe*	*ny-e-múnek*	*úli*	*,*	*ny-a-kli*
child	it (child)-R-be	it (child)-IRR-hear/obey	the one who	NFI	it (child)-R-say

wosik	*i-nak*	*i-lomoholi*	*énébal*	*ebal*	*deke*	*ny-u-nekemapú*
all right	I IRR-go	I IRR-bring	some	water	FUT	you-IRR-make for us OBJ

énech	*kakwich.*
some	food

'If the child is one who habitually obeys, it will say, "All right, I will go and bring some water and you will make some food for us."'

This is a Conditional Sentence with Result expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence in which the Quotation is expounded by a Warning Sentence with peripheral Comment tagmeme.

Condition: *Batowiny ny-a-pwe ny-e-múnek úli*
Result Marker: ,
Result: Direct Quote Sentence
  Quotation $Formula_1$: *ny-a-kli*
  Quotation: Warning Sentence
    Comment: *wosik*
    $Base_1$: *i-nak i-lomoholi énébal ebal*
    $Link_2$: *deke*
    $Base_2$: *ny-u-nekemapú énech kakwich*

Example encoding Event-Span Ṗ∧Q̲:

(725) NJ 4

wo	*ch-é-nek*	*moul*	*isinabúl*	*úli*	*,*	*moul*	*ny-u-pweik,*
PAST NEG	they PL.MIX-IRR-do	work	quickly	those who	NFI	work	it(work)-IRR-remain

deke	*bwi*	*ch-ú-nek*	*moul*	*isinabúl*	*ch-é-ne*	*inapim*
FUT	FUT NEG	they PL.MIX-IRR-do	work	rapidly	they PL.MIX-IRR-do	fill

bwiyog	*atúgú*	*nobatigú*	*orait*	*ch-i-yat-atú.*
two	one	four (weeks)	and then	they PL.MIX-IRR-finish-it (house)

'If they had not been the type of people who worked rapidly, the work would have remained unfinished and they would not have worked rapidly, but rather they would have worked for three or four weeks and then finally finished the house.'

This is a Conditional Sentence with a Warning Sentence embedded in the Result Base. The $Base_2$ of the Warning Sentence is expounded by a Conjunction Sentence which has a Contrast Sentence manifesting the first base.

Condition: *wo ch-é-nek moul isinabúl úli*
Result Marker: ,
Result: Warning Sentence
  $Base_1$: *moul ny-u-pweik,*
  $Link_2$: *deke*
  $Base_2$: Conjunction Sentence
    $Base_1$: Contrast Sentence
      $Base_1$: *bwi ch-ú-nek moul isinabúl*
      $Base_2$: *ch-é-ne inapim bwiyog atúgú nobatigú*
    Link: *orait*
    $Base_2$: *ch-i-yat-atú.*

Example encoding Event-Speech Pa∧wQ∧R:

(726) NT 133

na	*kobwi*	*ulkwip*	*p-é-lú*	*sisa.*	*deke*	*p-i-kli*	*o*
and	FUT NEG	hearts	they (hearts)-IMP-think	badly	lest	they (hearts)-IRR-say	oh

deke	*ch-e-ø-pú,*	*na*	*ch-ú-lawali*	*kipainyi*	*pasin*
FUT	they PL.MIX-IRR-kill us	and	they PL.MIX-IRR-bring	another	custom

ch-e-ø-pú,	*wak.*
they PL.MIX-IRR-kill us OBJ	no

'And don't think badly in your hearts, lest your hearts think, "Oh, they will kill us and bring another kind of custom and kill us", no!'

The $Base_1$ of this Negation Sentence is expounded by a Warning Sentence which has $Base_2$ expounded by a Quote Sentence which has its Quotation expounded by another Warning Sentence which has $Base_2$ expounded by a Narrative Sentence.

Sentence Conjunction: *na*
$Negation_1$: *kobwi*
$Base_1$: Warning Sentence
  $Base_1$: *ulkwip p-é-lú sisa.*
  Link: *deke*
  $Base_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
    $Quotation\ Formula_1$: *p-i-kli*
    Quotation: Warning Sentence
      Remark: *o*
      Link: *deke*
      $Base_2$: Narrative Sentence
        $Base_1$: *ch-e-ø-pú,*
        Link: *na*
        $Base_1$: *ch-ú-lawali kipainyi pasin*
        $Base_2$: *ch-e-ø-pú,*
  $Negation_3$: *wak.*

Example encoding Contrast $P(a) \wedge \bar{P}(b)$:

(727) HN 18

eke	*tuwagomi*	*omowmich*	*echédak.*	*wok*	*apakich*	*e.*
but	European men	their things	these	PAST NEG	our things	PAST NEG

'These things are not ours, but they belong to European men.'

This example has the bases permuted and $Base_1$ is manifested by a negated Topic Comment Clause. Although *eke* usually means contrafactual, in this example, it is best translated as 'but' or omitted entirely.

$Link_2$: *eke*
$Base_2$: *tuwagomi omomich echédak.*
$Base_1$: *wok apakich e.*

7.3.10 Completed Action Sentence

The Completed Action Sentence consists of two bases joined by the Link *wokúli* 'and, and then soon' or *nau* 'and then'. The Chamaun dialect group uses the form *wokli* for the Link. It is used to conjoin clauses in temporal succession, often with the focus on the fact that the action in the first base was completed before the action in the second base began. Often there is an additional meaning component 'soon, a short time later'. Frequently, the first base is manifested by a repeated verb or a repeated close synonymn of the last verb in the preceding sentence. This is an additional device to indicate completed action in the first base. See first (728) NB 050.

This sentence type has been observed embedded in only one other sentence type, the Succession Sentence.

Completed Action Sentence	$+Base_1$	+Link	$+Base_2$
	clause Conjunction Sentence Narrative Sentence	*wokúli* 'and, and then' *nau* 'and then'	clause Direct Quote Sentence Succession Sentence Narrative Sentence Simple Sentence
Temporal Succession:			
Event-Event	$\dot{P}$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}$
Span-Event	$\underline{P}$	$\wedge$	$\dot{Q}$

Rules:

1. The verbs in $Base_1$ and $Base_2$ must both be in realis aspect.
2. Frequently a non-final intonation occurs with *wokúli* or *nau*.
3. Neither base can be negated.

Examples illustrating Event-Event P̣∧Q̣:

(728) NB 050

m-e-yotu. *m-e-yotu* *wokúli,* *balus* *s-a-bih.*
we PL.SUBJ-R-stand we PL.SUBJ-R-stand and then plane cl.14 SG.SUBJ-R-go down
'We stood. Having stood, then soon the plane came.'

(Previous feature): *m-e-yotu.*
Base$_1$: *m-e-yotu*
Link: *wokúli,*
Base$_2$: *balus s-a-bih.*

(729) RH 014

nobati-gw *nobagw* *g-o-nak* *go-gakam-atú.* *wokúli*
four-cl.1 1 PL dogs cl.11 PL SUBJ-R-go cl.11 PL SUBJ-R-help-cl.11 OBJ and then

ehé-dak *oub* *g-o-bú-húl-i* *g-o-naki.*
cl.6 SG-DEM coconut cl.11 PL SUBJ-R-cl.6 SG OBJ-take-come cl.11 PL SUBJ-R-come
'Four dogs went and helped another dog and then, as for this coconut, they brought it and came.'

Note that the second base is manifested by a Simple Sentence.

Base$_1$: *nobati-gw nobagw g-o-nak go-gakam-atú.*
Link: *wokúli*
Base$_2$: Simple Sentence
Sentence Topic: *ehé-dak oub*
Nucleus: *g-o-bú-húl-i g-o-naki.*

(730) NI 011

Dugut *n-é-b-am* *nau* *h-a-lhwas.*
Dugut he SUBJ-R-revile-3PL.M OBJ and then they PL.M SUBJ-R-ran away
'Dugut reviled them and then they ran away.'

Base$_1$: *Dugut n-é-b-am*
Link: *nau*
Base$_2$: *h-a-lhwas.*

Example illustrating Span-Event P̲∧Q:

(731) NH 032

douk *m-a-pe* *m-a-pe-mu* *wokúli*
and now we PL SUBJ-R-be we PL SUBJ-R-be-BENEF and then

m-a-lto-wi, *taia* *ny-a-no-knich* *ny-a-wich*
we PL SUBJ-R-go up-come tyre cl.8 SG SUBJ-R-REFL-deflated cl.8 SG SUBJ-R-enter
'We rested and then when we went up, the tyre was deflated and had gone inside the rim.'

The entire example is a Simple Sentence in which the Temporal Margin is manifested by a Completed Action Sentence.

Sentence Conjunction: *douk*
Temporal Margin: Completed Action
Base$_1$: *m-a-pe m-a-pe-mu*
Link: *wokúli*
Base$_2$: *m-a-lto-wi,*
Nucleus: *taia ny-a-no-knich ny-a-wich.*

8. BUKIYIP PARAGRAPH

8.0 INTRODUCTION

Paragraphs are units composed of two or more tagmemes, at least one of which is obligatory. Paragraph level tagmemes are expounded by sentences, embedded paragraphs, and occasionally by clauses. Paragraphs manifest discourse level tagmemes and also other paragraph level tagmemes.

The description of each paragraph type consists of a general introduction, a bidimensional array, a listing of the contrastive features, any special rules, and finally the examples.

The most significant contrastive features are number and kind of tagmemes, subject change, mood change, type of linkage and occasionally the general deep structure and the degree of self embedding. Chronological order is non-contrastive. That is, within any given paragraph all the events are listed in chronological order. Flashbacks begin new paragraphs.

Paragraph peripheries are optional, non-contrastive tagmemes which precede or follow many paragraph nuclei. So far two paragraph periphrasis have been observed. Setting is preposed periphery which occurs most frequently in Narrative Paragraph but also occurs infrequently with Hortatory Paragraph, Dialogue Paragraph, Execution Paragraph, Contrast Paragraph, and Explanatory Paragraph. Setting introduces the participants and/or the temporal or spatial background of the nucleus by means of an Amplification Sentence, a Conjunction Sentence, a Continuation Sentence, an Evaluation Sentence, a Narrative Sentence, a Parallel Sentence, a Simple Sentence, or by a Narrative Paragraph. Often it is portmanteau with the first Build Up.

(732) RM 022: Narrative Paragraph with embedded Dialogue Paragraphs

Setting: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Completed Action Sentence
Eli hape wokúli nalikanú
and they male remained now he asked him
'And the men remained and now he asked him.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Nalikanú namaitú.
he asked him now
'Now he asked him.'

Terminus is a postposed periphery tagmeme which expresses a closing comment or explanation. It has been observed to occur with Narrative and Explanatory Paragraphs.

(733) RM 067: Explanatory Paragraph with embedded Narrative Paragraph

Terminus: Explanatory Paragraph
Text:
Ali douk nemaitú énech elpech wolobaichi chapwe egúdak nahabigú.
and of course now some people many they remain this garden
'And of course now many people remain in this part of Papua New Guinea.'
Note: garden used figuratively.

Elaboration: Contrary to Fact Condition Sentence
Ele seiwak nech nichah yúh niyatechúk yúh.
CFC long ago he kill he eat completely he finish completely
'If not, long ago he would have killed and eaten the people, completely finishing them to the last man.'

Reinforcement: Simple Sentence
Ali egúdak wohigali néhabigú gúpweik.
and so this bad garden it remain PERM
'And so this bad part of Papua New Guinea would have permanently remained empty.'

Comment: Topic Comment Clause
Enyudak atin.
this only
'The talk is only this.'

Comment: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up_1:
Yek, yek Duna yeyagwleh bolan.
I I Duna I talked talk

Build Up_2:
Enyudak saki echech echech bahlohwim yaih.
this knowledge they they ancestors finished
'I Duna, I talked this talk. This knowledge of the ancestors is finished.'

Finis:
Yopubwi ipak wolobaipali.
good night you all
'Good night, all of you.'

The paragraph types are summarised in Table 14 showing their nuclear tagmemes and basic contrastive features. Eight types are paired in terms of similar lexical and logical structure. Contrast Paragraph is extrasystemic.

TABLE 14: NUCLEAR TAGMEMES IN BUKIYIP PARAGRAPHS

Type	Narrative	Contrast	Hortatory	Reason	Explanatory	Execution	Dialogue	Procedural	Interrogative
Formula	Build Up_1 + Build Up^n	+Statement +Contrast ±Eventuation	±Motivation +Exhortation ±Elaboration ±Reason ±Reinforcement ±Result ±Warning ±Comment	+Reason +Result ±Reinforcement	+Text ±Elaboration ±Reinforcement ±Result ±Comment ±Reason	+$Speech^n$ +Result	+$Speech_1$ +(±$Speech_2$ ±$Speech_3{}^n$) ±Resolution	+$Step_1$ +$Step^n$	+Question +Answer
Subject	S/D; any	S/D	2nd; 1st plural	S/D; any	S/D; 1st or 3rd person	D; 3rd person	D; 3rd person	S; 3rd person, 2nd singular, or 1st plural	D; 3rd peson (usually)
Mood	R (usually)	R	IMP in Exhortation; R in Reason; IRR in Warning	R	R (usually)	IMP in Speech R in Result	R	IRR (usually)	IRR in Question R in Answer
Linkage	rv juxtaposition; parallelism; same participant	*éli* ; juxtaposition; temporal word or phrase	juxtaposition; *éli; eke*	*namudak+éli namudak dakio*	juxtaposition; *éli*	*éli* ; juxtaposition	Quote Formula + *éli* ; juxtaposition	rv; juxtaposition	juxtaposition; *éli*

Abbreviations, etc.: rv = repeated verb; S = same subject; D = different subject; S/D = same or different subject.
Vernacular links: *éli* 'and, but, therefore, so, and so'; *eke* 'future; lest'; *namudak* 'like that; therefore'; *dakio* 'therefore'.

8.1 NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

Narrative Paragraph is the most frequent type. It is used to present events in chronological order. It occurs in all discourse types except Hortatory Discourse, and is found embedded in Execution Paragraph, Dialogue Paragraph, Explanatory Paragraph, Contrast Paragraph, Narrative Paragraph, and Reason Paragraph.

Narrative Paragraph		
	+Build Up_1	±Build Up^n
	Conjunction Sentence	Alternative Sentence
	Continuation Sentence	Amplification Sentence
	Direct Quote Sentence	Conjunction Sentence
	Narrative Sentence	Direct Quote Sentence
	Simple Sentence	Succession Sentence
		Evaluation Sentence
		Narrative Sentence
		Parallel Sentence
		Simple Sentence
		Purpose Sentence
		Contrast Paragraph
		Dialogue Paragraph
		Execution Paragraph
		Narrative Paragraph
		Song

Rules:

1. The optional Build Up tagmeme can be repeated any number of times, the largest number so far observed being 13.

2. Subject may be same or different.

3. Mood is in general realis.

4. Linkage is by recapitulation, juxtaposition, anaphoric reference, parallelism, or continuity of participant. Recapitulation is quite common.

5. The deep structure encoded is Chronological Succession.

(734) NT 115: Narrative Paragraph with only one Build Up

Build Up_1:

Nameitú	*ipak*	*misin*	*panaki,*
now	you PL	missions	you PL came

Narrative Sentence:

pakapú		*yopinyi*	*bolany*	*God*	*ananiny.*
you PL	gave us	good	talk	God	his

'Now you people from the missions have come and have given us God's good talk.'

(735) XG 020: Narrative Paragraph with two Build Ups

Build Up$_1$: Simple Sentence
Monak.
we went
'We went.'

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence
Monak malib kipaigúnumu.
we went we cut bush another place
'We went and cut bush at another place.'

(736) RD 065: Self-embedded Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Simple Sentence
Nakihi, nawich kelobu Yebu.
he came up he entered spirit house Yebu ground name
'He came up and entered the spirit house at the ground named Yebu.'

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence
Nawich nape.
he entered he remained
'He entered and stayed.'

Build Up$_3$: Simple Sentence
Nape Yebu.
he remained Yebu ground name.
'He remained at the ground named Yebu.'

Build Up$_4$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Simple Sentence
Batowich chokwichi chanú jugaikwi chape.
children small ones they and old woman they remained
'Some small children and an old woman were there.'

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence
Chape chabilak.
they remained they played
'They continued to play.'

Build Up$_5$: Simple Sentence
Nabihi natúk eneny batowiny.
he came up he took one child
'He took one child.'

Build Up$_6$: Simple Sentence
Nanak nanyah.
he went he ate it
'He went and ate it.'

Build Up$_7$: Narrative Sentence
Nape gut chabilak.
he remained good they played
'He was satisfied and they played.'

Build Up$_8$: Simple Sentence
Nanaki natúk éneny batowiny.
he came he took one child
'He came and took another child.'

(737) RD 009: Narrative Paragraph with irrealis mood

Setting: Narrative Sentence

Mape *mape* *mape* *wolobaichi* *kwalahas.*
we remained we remained we remained many years
'We continued doing this work for many years.'

Build Up1: Conjunction Sentence

Chatúh *nau* *éli* *apak* *mape* *mémnek.*
they finished now and we we remained we heard
'Those years have finished now and we stayed and heard.'

Build Up2: Direct Quote Sentence

Naklipapú, *o* *chalpoki* *gani* *echechilúb* *walúb.* *Liklik* *taim*
he told us oh they remain they fight come their villages short time

chúnaki *chútaglalimapali.*
they IRR come they IRR appear come BENEF us
'He told us, "Oh, they are fighting there at their villages, and fight is coming in this direction. In a short time they will come and they will appear where we are."'

Build Up3: Conjunction Sentence

Mape *paipeleich* *kwalahas* *chatúh* *éli* *apak* *matúh* *makli*
we remained five years they finished and we we finished we wanted

múnaki *wabúl.*
we IRR come village
'We remained for five years and then we finished and wanted to return to the village.'

Build Up4: Amplification Sentence

Wotak *makli* *munak* *umu* *mune* *senis* *ume* *yohleguh*
not yet we wanted we IRR go in order to we do change for years

chahúl *jah.* *Chalhwas* *apakich* *tuagomi.* *Chalhwas*
they took cargo they ran away afraid our Europeans they went down

Sipig *atúgún.*
Sepik only
'When we had not yet changed work crews to replace those who had finished their yearly contract, the Europeans took their cargo and ran away. Our European "friends" ran away to the Sepik River.'

Build Up5: Narrative Sentence

Manamech *mabih* *Sipig* *manamech.* *Mabih*
we went with them we went down Sepik we went with them we went down

Sipig *anapu* *wotak* *malhwasia* *éli* *enech*
Sepik some of us not yet we ran away afraid came and some of them

cheilech.
they hung on them
'We went down to the Sepik River with them. We went down to the Sepik River with them and some of us still hadn't come, and some went with the Europeans.'

Build Up6:

Kapolis *nanamech* *chalhwas* *chanamu* *ohobuk* *yah* *Sipig*
Kapolis he went with them they ran away afraid they went to that road Sepik

umu *yek* *wak* *idúkemech* *e* *chanak* *chataglú*
that which I not I IRR understand not they went they arrived

Mospimu.
Port Moresby that which
'Kapolis went with them and they ran away afraid and went on that road to the Sepik River. I do not know the road by which they went and arrived at Port Moresby.'

(738) RM 022: Narrative Paragraph with embedded Dialogue Paragraphs

Setting: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Completed Action Sentence
Eli hape wokúli nalikanú.
and they male remained now he asked him
'And the men remained and now he asked him.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Naklipanú nameitú.
he asked him now
'Now he asked him.'

Build Up1: Execution Paragraph
Speech: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech1: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli chúke yeguh wotak idúkemoguh.
he said they IMP give me fish not yet I IRR understand them
'He said, "Give me the fish so I can have a look at them."'

Speech2: Direct Quote Sentence
Eli anan nowanomali yeham nalik Nyaguh nyokú omuni
and he he turned come tongue he asked you hit them you gave who

nyahoguh yeguh?
he held them fish
'You got them (the fish) and who did you give them to, anyway? Who held them?'

Action: Simple Sentence
Eli natúlúnú namudak nékégés anan Huhukwil yet nagimu wolúb.
and so he saw him like that he sent him Huhukwil himself he followed river
'And so, in this manner, the real man saw the spirit and sent him. Huhukwil himself followed along the river.'

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Nakih natupok Buboigú nagúsah.
he went up he crossed river name he carried it
'He went and crossed the Buboigú River and followed it.'

Build Up3: Simple Sentence
Nakih nechaglakúk olgeta wolúbihas.
he went up he crossed permanently all rivers
'He went up and passed up all the rivers.'

Build Up4: Simple Sentence
Nakih neotu gani iluh.
he went up he stood there above
'He went up and stood here, above.'

Build Up5: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech1: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli *agúnúdak.*
he said here
'He said, "Here?"'

Speech3:
Ee *gane*
no there (further on)
'No. Further on, there!'

Speech3:
Nakli *agúnúdak*
he said here
'He said, "Here?"'

Hortatory Paragraph
Exhort: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli *ganibuk* *nyigimoboguh* *chopuk* *gani* *ilihibemu.*
he said there you IMP follow hit them more there above that which

Éli *nyúpe* *nyúnemoguhwi.* *Yek* *ipe* *ijomoguh*
and then you IMP be you IMP look for them come I I IRR be I IRR kill them

agúnúdak.
here
'He said, "There, further on! Follow the river further upstream and kill the fish. And then keep looking for the fish while you are coming back. I will keep on killing the fish here."'

Build Up6: Conjunction Sentence
Eli *aliga* *natúlúnogu* *anan* *aliga* *pokolanaguk* *eli*
but until he saw him there he until disappeared he remain and then

nobechúkúk *yemegu* *yúh.*
he hid remain face finished
'But he kept looking at him until he disappeared and was hidden from sight.'

(739) RE 017: Self-embedded Narrative Paragraph

Build Up1:
Eli *natakeyoh;* *aliga* *nakli* *nibih* *nuhoh* *wak* *nabilokoh*
and he followed it until he wanted he go up he IRR hold it no he tried it

nati *wak.*
he saw no
'And he followed the catfish and kept on going until he wanted to go up and take it, but couldn't. He tried it but was not able.'

Build Up2: Amplification Sentence
Nabih *nawich.* *Nawich* *bulum.*
he went up he entered he entered hole
'He went up and went in. He went into a hole.'

Build Up3: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Continuation Sentence
Nawich *bulum* *aliga* *natakeoh* *nawich.*
he entered hole until he followed it he entered
'He went into the hole and kept going and followed the catfish.'

Build Up2:
Natakeoh *nawich.* *Aliga* *aliga* *chataglu* *olokohun.*
he followed he entered until until they arrived middle
'He followed it and it went into the hole and went on until they arrived at a place in the middle of the enclosure.'

Build Up4: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Chataglú *olokohun* *nameitú* *a* *kowechikúk* *yah.*
they arrived middle now PAST she blocked remain road
'Right now, as soon as they arrived in the middle of the enclosure, she blocked the road.'

Build Up2: Explanatory Sentence
Kowechikúk *yah,* *abal* *wak* *enebale,* *e.*
she blocked remain road water not some NEG
'She blocked the road and there was no water.'

Build Up3: Simple Sentence
Naitak *nakihúk* *bagigún* *umu.*
he got up he went up remain dry place
'He got up and went up and stayed at a dry place.'

Note: In this example, RE 017, the embedding is indicated by repeated verb at places where there must be a new paragraph because of a new location (first change of location is *bulum* 'hole' and the second is *olokohun* 'middle').

8.2 Contrast Paragraph

Contrast Paragraph is used to contrast two different times, locations, actors, goals, or actions. It is also often used to express causation. It occurs in nearly all discourse types and is found embedded in Narrative Paragraph. It also occurs self embedded, but only to the first level of embedding.

Contrast Paragraph		
+Statement	+Contrast	±Eventuation
Conditional Sentence	Conditional Sentence	Narrative Sentence
Contrast Sentence	Continuation Sentence	
Conjunction Sentence	Purpose Sentence	Narrative Paragraph
Narrative Sentence	Simple Sentence	
Parallel Sentence	Topic Comment Sentence	
Purpose Sentence		
Simple Sentence		
Contrast Paragraph		
Execution Paragraph		

Rules:

1. The only two obligatory tagmemes are Statement and Contrast. Neither of these or the concluding Eventuation tagmeme has been observed to occur more than once.

2. Subject may be same or different. If they are the same, then there will be another semantic contrast in times, or actions.

3. Mood is generally realis. The irrealis mood occurs only if there is a Conditional Sentence or a negated clause or sentence manifesting either Statement or Contrast.

4. Linkage may be by the sentence conjunction *eli* 'but, and, therefore', temporal word or phrase. Usually this link occurs sentence initial in the sentence manifesting the Contrast tagmeme. Occasionally the linkage is simple juxtaposition.

5. There are two general types of deep structure: contrast and efficient cause. Usually the contrast turns on two different actors, but can involve the same actors with contrastive times or actions. If the paragraph encodes efficient cause, the linkage will be by the conjunction *eli.* If the paragraph encodes cause, the linkage will be by the conjunction *eli.* If the paragraph encodes contrast, the linkage can be by any of the linkage possibilities, including the conjunction *eli.*

(740) RD 019: Contrast Paragraph (contrast is based on *owo* 'they female' vs *okok* 'she')

Setting: Evaluation Sentence
Kwakli kusahu, wak.
she wanted she put on no
'She wanted to put on a grass skirt, but wasn't able to.'

Statement: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up_1: Simple Sentence
Owo wosahu.
they they put them on
'The other women put them on.'

Build Up_2: Simple Sentence
Sanoknu
there were enough (grass skirts)
'There were enough skirts.'

Contrast: Evaluation Sentence
Okok wak.
she no
'But none for her.'

Eventuation: Simple Sentence
Eli konaki meoh.
so she came nothing
'So she came naked.'

(741) NK 045: Contrast Paragraph (contrast is based on *chokuh* 'small (road)' vs *nebehi* 'big road')

Statement:
Oh, wak, ahedak yah yoweh chokuh, hanak Kelahumak úli.
oh no this road bad small it goes Kelahu place that which
'Oh, no! This road, the one which goes to Kelahu, is a bad road, and it's narrow.'

Contrast: Simple Sentence
Púnak ahédak nebehi Ulupumak umu.
you go this big Ulupu place that which
'You go on this big road which goes to Ulupu.'

(742) NT 111: Contrast Paragraph (contrast is based on *seiwak* 'long ago' vs *nameitú* 'now')

Statement: Hortatory Paragraph
Exhortation: Simple Sentence
Maski namudak kobi seiwak umu.
forget like that like long ago like
'Forget about the customs of long ago.'

Reason: Simple Sentence
Mogúgakú.
we were ignorant
'We were ignorant.'

Contrast:
Nameitú mémnek na mape gutpela.
now we hear and we are good
'Now we have heard and obeyed and we are in a good situation.'

(743) NT 200: Contrast Paragraph (contrast turns on *Tuagomi* 'Europeans' and *apak* 'we')

Statement: Direct Quote Sentence
Tuagomi chakli kantri.
Europeans they say country
'The Europeans say "country".'

Contrast: Direct Quote Sentence
Apak makli awilas.
we we say extended family
'We say "extended family".'

Terminus: Conjunction Sentence
Aun nanak nakihimoli nanak nabih umu na gani iluh na gani
sun it go it come up it go it go down where and there above and there
atap.
below
'Where the sun comes up, and where it goes down, and in heaven and on earth.'

(744) RJ 002: Self-embedded Contrast Paragraph (contrast turns on *nyumenegwih* 'days' and *webus* 'nights' in both paragraphs. The embedding Contrast Paragraph has the additional contrast of 'they' vs *nubagw* 'dogs'.)

Statement: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Narrative Sentence
Nyumnegwih chénékech kakwich chachah, chénékech chachah, chachah,
days they cook it food they eat it they cook it they eat it they eat it
chachah.
they eat it
'In the day time they cooked food and ate it and kept on doing that.'

Contrast: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Webús abali chakih cheili gani oblihitog.
nights when they went up they hang there large breadfruit leaves
'At night they went up and hung up there among large breadfruit leaves.'

Elaboration$_1$:
Chenenemu oblihitog.
they turned into breadfruit leaves
'They turned into breadfruit leaves.'

Elaboration$_2$:
Omom owo batowich chekechi biog oblihitog.
they men they women children they gave them two breadfruit leaves
'They gave the men and women and children two leaves.'

Reinforcement:
Batowich úli biog otutu nubag.
children those who two one four
'Those with children got three or four leaves.'

Contrast: Reason Paragraph
Reason: Narrative Sentence
Webús abali nubag gwakihi golahe gonak atap
nights time dogs they came up they went around they went on ground
gwaulimu élpech
they look for people
'At night, dogs came up and went around on the ground looking for people.'

Result: Simple Sentence
Echech chakih cheiluk iluh oblihitog
they they went up they hang remain above breadfruit leaves
'They went up and kept hanging on up there in the breadfruit leaves.'

Eventuation:
Eli chape.
and so they remained
'And so they lived like that.'

(745) RC 039: Contrast Paragraph (contrast is based on *seiwak* 'long ago' vs *doumun* 'now')

Statement: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Simple Sentence
Seiwak apak chalpok wanoh ganagaih.
long ago we they fought ambush indigenous
'Long ago we fought by ambushing, the way the indigenes do.'

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Chanak kipailubi walúb chasah bulawas chenek enyudak moul.
they went other villages they carried spears they did this work
'When they went to other villages, they carried their spears and did that kind of work.'

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence
Chabo elpech, ino molahe, mape sili sili apakilúb
they hit people not we go around we were different different our

walúb.
villages
'They hit and killed people. We didn't go around to other places. We stayed in our separate villages.'

Contrast: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Doumun tuagomi chanaki molahe olgeta walúb.
today Europeans they came we go to all villages
'Now the Europeans have come and we go around to all the villages.'

Build Up1: Narrative Sentence
Monak bodeimak monak monaki mape apakibúl wabúl.
we go cities we go we come we stay our village
'We go to cities or plantations, we go and come back and stay at our village.'

Build Up2: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Simple Sentence
Monak walúb umu, keiwak wo chunak e ahlim bahlohim.
we go villages concerning long ago not they go not fathers grandfather
'Concerning our going to villages, long ago our ancestors didn't go.'

Contrast: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1:
Doumeh monak meatalúb
today we went we finished them
'Today we have gone to all of them.'

Build Up2:
Molahe monak lougunumu, monak yous
we go arond we go far we go ocean
'We go around, travel long distances, to the ocean.'

Build Up3:
Monak malib yawihas monek iheny moul apak.
we go we cut bush gardens we do all kinds work we
'We go and cut bush for gardens, we do all kinds of work.'

Build Up4:
Monek alagwilúh, chasuh bulguh chalak balitog menek enyudak
we do celebrations they hold pigs they make rows of rings we do this
moul apakiny ganagainy.
work our indigenous
'We have celebrations, they tie up pigs to give in exchange, they make rows of rings, we do our type of work.'

(746) RM 7: Self-embedded Contrast Paragraph (contrast turns on *yek* 'I' vs *nyak* 'you' in the embedded paragraph and on the group of two men vs Huhukwil in the embedding paragraph)

Statement: Conditional Sentence
Eli kamon yek ichuh, yek wotak ichuh umu nyak nyunaki
and tomorrow I I sleep I still I sleep if you you come
nyubal yek.
you awaken me
'And tomorrow, if I am still sleeping, you come and awaken me.'

Contrast: Purpose Sentence
Eli sapos nyak wotak nyichuh umu, yek inaku ibal nyak.
but if you still you sleep if I I will come I awaken you
'But if you are still sleeping, I will come and awaken you.'

Contrast: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Eli Huhukwil nakli a nanamoli núlú dewag.
but Huhukwil he wanted PAST he come he get faeces
'But Huhukwil, the spirit man, wanted to come and get faeces.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Olsem echechibal abal.
like their water
'Faeces is what the spirits use for water.'

Reason: Narrative Sentence
Éli nakli núlú dewag núnak núgelúh nugowah
so he wanted he get faeces he will go he will fill up a container he will eat it
umu kakwich.
with food
'So he wanted to get some faeces and go and fill up a container with it and eat it with his food.'

Eventuation: Simple Sentence
Eli neotu nagakomom.
and so he stood he helped them
'And so he stood and helped them.' (i.e. helped them to fulfil their plan)

Examples encoding efficient cause:

(747) Contrast Paragraph (contrast turns on *yek* 'I' vs *omom* 'them')

Statement: Simple Sentence
Omom hahumonú wabok.
they male they hit him black palm
'They hit him with a black palm stick.'

Contrast: Simple Sentence
Éli yek ikumonú wabok ananú.
so I I will hit him black palm one male
'So I will hit another man with a black palm stick in return.'

(748) NM 078: Contrast Paragraph

Statement: Parallel Sentence
Peilúg nalhwas Anis nalhwas.
Peilúg he ran away afraid Anis he ran away afraid
'Peilúg ran away in fear, and Anis ran away in fear.'

Contrast: Direct Quote Sentence
Eli yek yowakanú bolany Anis. Yakli Anis ehe! nyunaki
therefore I I sent him talk Anis I said Anis no you IMP come
nyupwe.
you IMP remain
'Therefore I sent talk to Anis. I said, "Anis! No! You come and stay here."'

(749) HO 014: Contrast Paragraph with Dialogue Paragraph manifesting Contrast tagmeme

Statement:

Eli yek yanú mohuninú Inaduwu douk yanak yohwalanu
and so I I and brother-in-law Inaduwu right away I went I called him

yakli, Inaduwu, kwayowi wotak a ubo bolany úmu echúdak
I said Inaduwu you come not yet and we will hit talk about these

tuagomi chúnapú chúpwe eke wok?
Europeans they with us they will remain or not

'And so, as for me and my brother-in-law, Inaduwu, right away I went and called him and I said, "Inaduwu, you come and we will decide about these Europeans – will they stay with us or not?"'

Contrast: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech$_1$: Conjunction Sentence

Douk Inanduwu nakihi éli yaklipanú Nyak echúdak o chanamoli
and Inanduwu he came up and I told him you these or they come to

chúlau apakiny bolany úli wosik chúnapú chúpe o?
they will get our talk those who O.K. they and us they will be or

'And then Inanduwu came up and I told him, "You, what do you think about these who have come to learn our language, is it O.K. for them to stay with us, or not?"'

Speech$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence

Eli nakli o wosik, wosik. Nyakiny moul.
and he said oh O.K. O.K. your work

'And he said, "Oh, it's O.K. It's up to you."'

Speech$_3$: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Direct Quote Sentence

O yek yakli wosik mulakúmech anatú wilpat chúpe agúnúdak
oh I I say O.K. we will build for them a house they will be here

chúlau bolany.
they will get talk

'Oh, I say it's O.K. We'll build them a house and they will stay here and learn our language.'

Elaboration:

O yohwalenyomu nyúnaki éli uhwalú
oh I called you in order to you will come and then we two will call

kansol núnaki na núkli.
local government councillor he will come and he will say

'Oh, I called you so you would come and we would call the local government councillor and he will come and advise us.'

Result: Execution Paragraph

Setting: Narrative Sentence

Eli douk wohawalú kansol nanaki
therefore now we two called local government councillor he came

womúnekanú.
we two heard him

'Therefore we called the local government councillor, he came, and we listened to him.'

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

Nakli	*o,*	*ipakiny*	*moul.*	*Ipak*	*nakli*	*o,*	*wosik*	*núnepú*	*núpwe.*
he said	oh	your	work	you	you say	oh	all right	he you	he will be

'He said, "Oh, it's up to you. If you like, he'll stay with you."'

Action: Narrative Sentence

Eli	*mapwe*	*chabih*	*chechuh*	*Walibak*	*saninú*	*ananitú*	*wilpat*
and so	we be	they went down	they slept	Walibak	older brother	his	house

gandak	*Golokwinyi.*
there	Golokwinyi

'And so we stayed and they went down and slept at my older brother Walibak's house there at Golokwinyi.'

8.3 Hortatory Paragraph

The Hortatory Paragraph encodes obligation along with optional associated warning, elaborations, and reasons. The speaker is exhorting or commanding the addressee(s) to do something.

The Hortatory Paragraph occurs in Explanatory, Hortatory and Epistolary discourse types and also occurs embedded in Dialogue Paragraph in other Hortatory Paragraphs.

Hortatory Paragraph

±Motivation	+Exhortation	±Elaboration^{n}
Purpose Sentence	Alternative Sentence	Amplification Sentence
Simple Sentence	Contrary to Fact Sentence	Conditional Sentence
Explanatory Paragraph	Conditional Sentence	Conjunction Sentence
Narrative Paragraph	Conjunction Sentence	Continuation Sentence
	Continuation Sentence	Explanatory Sentence
	Contrast Sentence	Narrative Sentence
	Narrative Sentence	Negation Sentence
	Negation Sentence	Parallel Sentence
	Simple Sentence	Simple Sentence
	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph

±Reason^{n}	±Reinforcement	±Result
Contrary to Fact Sentence	Contrary to Fact Sentence	Narrative Paragraph
Conditional Sentence	Conditional Sentence	
Continuation Sentence	Narrative Sentence	
Contrast Sentence	Parallel Sentence	
Evaluation Sentence	Simple Sentence	
Narrative Sentence		
Simple Sentence		
Warning Sentence		
Contrast Paragraph		
Explanatory Paragraph		
Interrogative Paragraph		
Narrative Paragraph		

±Warning	±Comment^{n}
Conditional Sentence	Conjunction Sentence
Warning Sentence	Narrative Sentence
	Simple Sentence
	Explanatory Paragraph

Rules:

1. Exhortation is the only obligatory tagmeme, but up to seven other optional nuclear tagmemes can occur with it. Elaboration and Reason are optional but frequent. All other optional tagmemes occur relatively infrequently.

2. Subject must be second person singular or plural, or else first person plural, in Exhortation and Elaboration tagmemes. Other tagmemes have no restrictions on subject.

3. In Exhortation and Elaboration, the verbs must be in irrealis mood. In Warning tagmeme, the verbs must be in realis mood.

4. Linkage between Motivation and Exhortation is usually by juxtaposition but occasionally by conjunction *eli* 'and, now, therefore'. Linkage between Exhortation and Elaboration is usually by repetition of the same person (second person or first person plural) as subject, and repetition of the imperative aspect, but occasionally linkage is by simple juxtaposition or by the generally anaphoric demonstrative *namudak* 'like that; like this' used cataphorically (see first example NT 101). Linkage between any preceding tagmeme and Warning is by conjunction *deke/eke* 'future; lest' or *namudak deke* '(if you do) like that, ...'. Result is linked to any preceding tagmeme by conjunction or juxtaposition. All linkage between other tagmemes is by juxtaposition.

5. Reason has been observed preceding Elaboration and one or more Comment tagmemes have been observed preceding Reason.

6. Elaboration has been observed repeated five times; Reason three times, and Comment twice.

7. Reinforcement tagmeme functions only as providing background information.

8. Interrogative clauses in Exhortation, Elaboration and Reinforcement function as rhetorical questions.

(750) NT 101: Hortatory Paragraph with two Elaboration tagmemes

Exhortation: Simple Sentence
Na kobi muhlitak.
and NEG IMP we IMP argue strongly
'And let us not argue strongly.'

Elaboration: Explanatory Sentence
Namudak bodeiny i+no+ken mune kros.
like this trade language NEG we IMP do angry
'Like this in Tok Pisin: "I no ken mune kros" (Let us not be angry).'

Elaboration: Explanatory Sentence
Ganagainy namudak. Kobi muhlitak kobi mulpak, wak.
vernacular like this NEG IMP we IMP argue strongly NEG IMP we IMP fight no
Mupe dadag, apakib amnab.
we be strong our ground
'Like this in the vernacular: "Kobi muhlitak" (Let us not argue strongly). Let us not fight, no! Let us be strong in the world below.'

Terminus: Simple Sentence
Ipak na apak. mupe atúgún.
you and us we be together
'You Europeans and us Papua New Guineans, we will be at peace.'

(751) NT 003: Hortatory Paragraph with eight tagmemes

Exhortation: Simple Sentence
Púnak lougúnumu, chúpe chibilak anagún umu, echudak kobi
you go far place they be they play some when these NEG IMP
puwolich tuagomi omomich.
you IMP break them European their
'When you go a long way, when they are playing somewhere, don't break the Europeans' things.'

Elaboration: Contrast Sentence
Tagas kobi puwolúgas púnak pibilak ati.
tanks NEG IMP you IMP break them you IMP go you IMP play only
'Don't break their water tanks; just go and play.'

Elaboration: Contrast Sentence
Kobi pinigagas umu mamachich. Púmnek mamachich
NEG IMP you IMP rebel against parents you IMP hear/obey parents
echechiny bolany chiagwleh umu.
their talk they will say which
'Don't rebel against your parents! Obey the talk which they will tell you!'

Elaboration: Conditional Sentence
Chiklipepamu moulú, ipak púnekeny.
they will tell you work you you IMP do it
'If they tell you to do some work, do it.'

Elaboration: Contrast Sentence
Kobi pinigagasumwech. púmnek echechiny bolany.
NEG IMP you IMP rebel against them you IMP obey their talk
'Do not rebel against them. Obey their talk!'

Elaboration: Contrast Sentence
Eli teleboguhas kobi púnek énech. Púpe kelbú.
and trouble NEG IMP you IMP do some you IMP be good
'And don't do any bad things. Be good.'

Warning: Warning Sentence
Namudak deke chulawepumu kotog.
like that FUT they will take you to courts
'If you do those things like that, they will take you to court.'

Reason: Amplification Sentence
Eke tuagomi omomich echúdak wok apakich e.
FUT Europeans their these not ours not
'Those are the Europeans' things; they are not ours.'

(752) HO 049: Hortatory Paragraph with involved Reason tagmeme

Exhortation: Simple Sentence
Echúdak énechi énech weya monokop awilop chúnakúk
these various kinds wire which family they will go remain

pi-chúhúl *púgabeyech* *púkech.*
you IMP then take you IMP fix them you IMP give to them
'The various kinds of things, including wire, which have been stolen, whoever took them, you take these things and fix them up and give them back to them.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Kobi *púsusuhech* *chokwipali.*
IMP NEG you IMP hold them young children
'You young children! Don't hold those things!'

Elaboration: Direct Quote Sentence
Yaniwas *umu* *púnaki* *eli* *púnekech* *eli* *púnekech* *echúdak*
I not like about you will come and you will come and you will do them these
énechi *énech* *anan* *napenyutali* *wilpat,* *wok.*
various kinds he he be that which house no
'I don't like it that you come and mess up the various kinds of things at the house in which he lives.'

Reason: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Conjunction Sentence
Eke *munú* *echúdak* *tuagomi* *mupe* *eli* *dodogowipúmi* *énechi*
FUT we and these Europeans we will be and strong we concerning various
énech *yegwih.*
kinds roads
'We and these Europeans will be together and will be strong and be able to do various kinds of things.'

Elaboration: Conjunction Sentence
Mulau *sigas* *éli* *tuag* *eke* *núlawapú* *núnak* *ausig.*
we will get sicknesses and European will he will take us he will go hospital
'We will get sick and the European will take us to the hospital.'

Reason: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Direct Quote Sentence
Núkli *wolowagahas* *umu* *apú* *nebegasi* *sigas* *umu.*
he will say sorry concerning us serious illnesses when
'He will be sorry for us when we have serious illnesses.'

Contrast: Conjunction Sentence
Chokugasi, *ananiny* *moul* *nugakamapú* *umu* *morasin* *eli* *núbo*
minor/small his work he will help us with medicine and he will hit
agúdak *sig.*
this illness
'When we have minor illnesses, it's up to him – he'll help us with medicine and cure the illness.'

(753) RJ 017: Hortatory Paragraph embedded in a Direct Quote Sentence embedded in a Dialogue Paragraph

Setting: Simple Sentence
Eli *nyúmnah* *wabigún*
and so day afternoon
'And so it was afternoon.'

Speech$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Quotation Formula:
Wabigún eli chakliponú,
afternoon and they told him
'It was afternoon and they told him,'

Quotation: Exhortation Paragraph
Exhortation: Simple Sentence
Keh, kedeke nyunú omuni nyunak?
hey later today you and who you will go
'Hey! What are you going to do? Better think of something!'

Reason: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Apak mape anim hape nyúbili ablúdak wabúl.
we we be enemies they be which this village
'We live in this village which has enemies living here.'

Elaboration: Contrast Sentence
Nyumnegwih abali mape wabús abali wak.
days time we be nights time no
'We stay here on the ground in the village during the daytime, but not at nights.'

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Apak monak iluh makih meil oblihitog.
we we go above we go up we hang breadfruit leaves
'We go up and hang in the breadfruit leaves.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Eli nyak deke nyúpe eli múnekenyú malmu?
and you FUT you will be and we will do to you what
'And you'll be here and what will we do with you?'

Warning: Warning Sentence
Deke nubag gunaki gutahenyú.
FUT dogs they will come they will bite you
'The dogs will come and bite you.'

Quotation Formula$_2$: Clause
Chaklipanú.
they told him
'They told him.'

(754) LC 15: Hortatory Paragraph with three Reason tagmemes

Motivation: Simple Sentence
Ulahiwu kwape wabúl.
Ulahiwu she be village
'Ulahiwu is in the village.'

Exhortation: Alternative Sentence
Ilanyu nyunaki nyutuluk.
Ilanyu you will come you will see her
'Ilanyu, will you come to see her, or not?' (i.e. 'You should come to see her.')

Reason: Simple Sentence
Mapil owawik.
sorry younger sister
'Be sorry for your younger sister!'

Reason: Amplification Sentence
Yek yape wak. yanúbo utabal. Nyúlúb.
I I be not I am very stones intestines
'I'm in a bad way. Really bad off. I'm hungry.'

Reason: Conditional Sentence
Elpen nyupe nyubilome, wosik. Ipe wabúl.
person he will be he will feed me good I will be village
'If there is a person to give food to me, good, I'll stay in the village. (But there isn't anyone.).'

(755) LC 2: Hortatory Paragraph

Motivation: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up_1: Narrative Sentence
Nabes sechúke yape wabúl.
eyes they close me I am village
'I am blind and I am in the village.'

Build Up_2: Simple Sentence
Nyugakome úli elpeny wak.
he will help me the one who person no
'I have no one to help me and care for me.'

Exhortation: Narrative Sentence
Nyúnú Yomuh pútali tiget yek inaku.
you and Yomuh you PL buy send ticket I I will come DISPLACED REF
'You and Yomuh buy a ticket and send it and I will come to where you are.'

8.4 Reason Paragraph

Reason Paragraph is used to express causation. It joins a reason to a result, occasionally followed by a reinforcement or repetition of the result. This paragraph type occurs in Epistolary, Explanatory, and Hortatory Discourse, and infrequently in Narrative Discourse. Usually it does not occur embedded but occasionally is found embedded in Hortatory or Narrative Paragraphs. It has not yet been observed self-embedded.

Reason Paragraph

+Reason	+Link	+Result	±Reinforcement
Conjunction Sentence	*namudak eli*	Completed Action Sentence	Direct Quote Sentence
Direct Quote Sentence	'like that	Direct Quote Sentence	Warning Sentence
Simple Sentence	therefore'	Simple Sentence	
Contrast Paragraph	*namudak*	Execution Paragraph	
Explanatory Paragraph	'like that'	Procedural Paragraph	
Narrative Paragraph			
Dialogue Paragraph			

Rules:

1. Each tagmeme has been observed to occur only once.

2. There are no restrictions on subject, except that second person has not yet been observed.

3. All verbs are in realis mood.

4. Linkage is by use of conjunctions. Either *namudak eli* 'like that therefore' or *namudak* 'like that' occurs. If *namudak* occurs without *eli* 'therefore', usually a verb of speaking or hearing precedes it. In the Buki dialect, particularly at Yabominu, *dakio* occasionally follows *namudak*. The basic meaning is still 'therefore'.

5. Deep structure is essentially Causation, of the type which Longacre (1970) calls Efficient Cause.

(756) QC 235: Reason Paragraph

Reason:

Enyudak elpen nyanaki susubati agúndak NuGini eli kwali
this elephant it came first time here Papua New Guinea and later

deke énech wok mudukemech e, kwali énech chúnaki o wak.
FUT some not we will understand not later some they will come or not

'This elephant came here to Papua New Guinea for the first time and we don't know if any more will come later or not.'

Link:

Namudak eli.
like that so

Result:

Monak matik elepen.
we went we saw elephant

'So we went and saw the elephant.'

(757) LD 40: Reason Paragraph

Reason:

Yek yakli mapil umu nyak hwahuninú.
I I say sorry for you mother's brother

'I am sorry for you, my mother's brother.'

Result: Conjunction Sentence

Namudak eli inaku itúlinyú.
like that so I will come I will see you

'So I will come and see you.'

Reinforcement: Warning Sentence

Deke ituklinyali.
FUT I will come and bring you

Terminus:

Yekinú nyakinú owaninú deke unaku. Eli tokohaiwe
your my younger brother FUT we two will come but I am short

umu utabal umu Manukwim.
concerning money for Manukwim

'Your and my younger brother and I will come, but I'm short of money for Manukwim to come.'

(758) NK 164: Reason Paragraph with Reason manifested by Explanatory Paragraph

Reason: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence

Enyudak bolany nyatúh. Nabatik monak Maprik umu.
this talk it finished yesterday we went Maprik that which
'This talk, concerning our going to Maprik yesterday, is finished.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence

Monak Maprik eli Heipiyal.
we went Maprik and Hayfield
'We went to Maprik and Hayfield.'

Result: Indirect Quote Sentence

Namudak eli Halipeim nakli yek iyagwleh rekot.
therefore and Halipeim he said I I will talk tape recorder
'Therefore Halipeim said I should talk on the tape recorder about the trip.'

(759) HP 033: Reason Paragraph with Reason manifested by Narrative Paragraph

Reason: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up1: Conjunction Sentence

Éli doumun wotak kwasuh buwul wokúli éli yanak yanú
and today not yet she tied up pig now and so I went I and

onowehasim mapwe.
enemies we were together
'And today she has tied up a pig and now I went and stayed with the people I call "enemies".'

Build Up2: Conjunction Sentence

Kwasuh buwul wotak kohwale éli yanaki éli konek yekiny
she tied up pig not yet she called me and so I came and she did my

yeul múkú buanyinú nutahal.
name we will give pig exchange partner he will cut it
'She tied up the pig and called me and I came and she and I gave it to my pig exchange partner in my behalf, mentioning my name, and he will cut it up and distribute it.'

Build Up3: Narrative Sentence

Senyúdak núgawik yopinyi mugu a kwasanúkapali.
this daughter good custom PAST she pulled us together
'This is a good custom. My daughter has pulled us together in reconciliation.'

Result: Narrative Sentence

A yemnek namudak a yekih opah yopuh yanúbú yanakliomu
PAST I heard therefore PAST my stomach good I very I be happy

umu núgawik.
about daughter
'I heard that and therefore I was pleased and very happy concerning my daughter.'

Reinforcement: Direct Quote Sentence

Yakli o keiwak chohwalok yowekwi chakli kwadúk
I said oh long ago they called her bad female they said she follows the customs

mamakik úli.
mother one who

'I said, "Oh, long ago they called her a bad woman and said she follows the bad ways of her mother." (But now she's generous).'

8.5 EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH

Explanatory Paragraph is used to explain a given statement by various elaborations, reinforcements, comments and reasons. It occurs in all discourse types except Conversational Discourse. It does not occur embedded in any other paragraph types except Narrative Paragraph and Explanatory Paragraph.

Explanatory Paragraph		
Text	+Elaboration^{n}	+Reinforcement
Amplification Sentence	Conjunction Sentence	Conjunction Sentence
	Continuation Sentence	Indirect Quote Sentence
Contrary to Fact	Contrast Sentence	Contrast Paragraph
Conditional Sentence	Direct Quote Sentence	
	Indirect Quote Sentence	
Conjunction Sentence	Narrative Sentence	
Continuation Sentence	Parallel Sentence	
Contrast Sentence	Simple Sentence	
Simple Sentence	Contrast Paragraph	
Contrast Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph	
	Narrative Paragraph	
+Comment^{n}	±Reason	±Result
Conjunction Sentence	Conjunction Sentence	Conjunction Sentence
Contrast Sentence	Direct Quote Sentence	Contrast Sentence
Direct Quote Sentence	Narrative Sentence	Simple Sentence
Indirect Quote Sentence	Narrative Paragraph	Contrast Paragraph
Simple Sentence		Execution Paragraph
Contrast Paragraph		Explanatory Paragraph
Explanatory Paragraph		Hortatory Paragraph
		Narrative Paragraph

Rules:

1. Elaboration can be repeated three times, Comment and Result can each be repeated twice, and a maximum number of seven tagmemes can occur in one paragraph. There are infrequent order variations in which Comment can follow Text.

2. Subject is specific, either first or third person. Infrequently, second person is used when the Explanatory Paragraph occurs in Explanatory or Epistolary Discourse.

3. Mood is predominantly realis, with the following exceptions: irrealis mood is generally used when the Explanatory Paragraph occurs in Procedural Discourse. Irrealis mood is also used as an obligatory grammatical feature in Conditional Sentences, and in the desiderative construction with the verb *-kli* 'to say, desire, want'. Irrealis mood can also occur in constructions manifesting the Quote tagmeme of Direct Quote Sentence or the Indirect Quote Sentence.

4. Linkage is predominantly by juxtaposition. Very infrequently the sentence conjunction *eli* 'and, therefore, so' is used to link Elaboration, Reason or Result with the preceding tagmeme.

5. Deep structure of Elaboration and Reinforcement are generally some type of paraphrase. The deep structure of Reason with respect to Text and Elaboration is efficient cause.

(760) RC 013: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence
Doumuh apak monak chagipech moulú okok konekeny úli.
today we PL we PL go they PL follow work she she do it that which
'Today we go and do this work which she did.'

Elaboration: Amplification Sentence
Chének enyudak moul chalib yawihas.
they do this work they cut bush gardens
'They do this work – they cut bush for gardens.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Chawech chawak kakwich núgalúh.
they plant them they eat garden food taro
'They plant garden food such as taro and they eat it.'

(761) RM 060: Explanatory Paragraph with self-embedded Contrast Paragraph manifesting Result.

Text: Contrary to Fact Condition Sentence
Anúdak Huhukwil núpe ele, kobi énech élpech chúlahe
this Huhukwil he IRR be CFC FUT NEG some people they IRR go around
deke nech nichah yúh eli agúdak nahabigú kobi
FUT he IRR kill them he IRR eat them finish and so this garden FUT NEG
énech nameitú.
some now
'If this man Huhukwil were still living, there would not be any people going around, as he would have killed and eaten them all, and so this portion of the world would not have any people now.'
Note: use of *nahabigú* 'garden plot' as a figurative expression for "this part of the world", or possibly all of it.

Elaboration:
Anúdak seiwakinali boglom magalúnali.
this long ago male head it (head) have hole male one who
'This man, the one of long ago, the one with the hole in his head, is the one I'm referring to.'

Result: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Conjunction Sentence
Taim chúkli chúnamu Kairiru o chúnohwalomogu eli
when they IRR want they IRR go to Kairiru oh they IRR REFL call there but
chúnak Nyumowegúnumu.
they IRR go Nyumowegunum place
'When they wanted to go to Kairiru, well, they themselves would call out, but they would go by the Nyumowegún path.'

Contrast: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Purpose Sentence
Eli Kairiru chúkli chúnaki Belegelumak umu chúkli o
but Kairiru they IRR want they IRR come Belegel village when they IRR say oh
apak deke monaku Nyúmowegúnumu.
we PL FUT we PL IRR come Nyumowegún place
'But if the Kairiru people wanted to come to Belegel village, they would say, "Oh, we will go on the Nyumowegún path."'

Build Up2: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Simple Sentence
Anan núnak núpeik Nyumowegún.
he he IRR go he IRR be remain Nyumowegún
'He would go and wait at the Nyumowegún path.'

Contrast: Simple Sentence
Echech chúnaki Kalautumamu Diwimumu.
they they IRR come Kalaut place Diwim place
'They would come by the Kalaut path, that is, via the Diwim path.'

Contrast: Conjunction Sentence
Eli anan núpeik Kalautumu eli chúnak Nyumowegúnumu.
but he he IRR be remain Kalaut place but they IRR go Nyumowegún place
'But if he would wait at the Kalaut path, they would go by the Nyumowegún path.'

Eventuation: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Conjunction Sentence
Eli chelahe namudak. aliga douk chanú chonoweh.
and so they went around like that until of course they killed him they burned him
eli douk nameitú énech élpech wolobaichi chape agúdak nahabigú.
and so of course now some people many they are this garden
'And so they went around like that until of course they killed him and burned him, and so, of course, now there are many people living in this part of the world.'

Contrast: Conjunction Sentence
Ele seiwak nech nichah yúh niatechúk
CFC long ago he IRR kill them he IRR eat them finish he IRR finish them remain
yúh eli agúdak wohigali nahabigú gupeik.
finish and this empty garden it IRR be remain
'If they hadn't, long ago he would have killed and eaten them all, finishing them all, and this empty part of the world would have remained without people.'

(762) SD 004: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence
Yek seiwak apak mape monekenyumu tuagomi hape gol.
I long ago we PL we PL were we did it for Europeans they M were gold
'Long ago, we did work for Europeans finding gold.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Apakinú tuag yeulinomu Masta Jek Tausen.
our European name he thing European Jack Tausen
'Our European supervisor's name was Mr Jack Tausen.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Nabawan gol seiwak.
number one gold long ago
'We worked at the place called "Number One Gold" long ago.'

Comment: Simple Sentence
Apak tuagomi wotak chúnaki e, agúndak.
we PL Europeans not yet they IRR come not here
'Europeans had not yet come here where we live.'

Result: Simple Sentence
Sechúdak Masta Jek Tausen nének gol nabawan gol.
these Europeans Jack Tausen he went down gold number one gold
'Those people, supervised by Mr Jack Tausen, went down and worked finding gold, at "Number One Gold".'

(763) NT 117: Explanatory Paragraph with Text manifested by Contrast Paragraph

Text: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Simple Sentence
Na gavman echech chene bosim umu egenyihw.
and government they they do boss concerning skin
'Now the government people supervise our bodies – our material existence.'

Contrast: Simple Sentence
Misin ipak péne bosim umu michich. apakich gani numun.
missions you PL you PL do boss concerning spirits our there inside

God natúlúgún umu.
God he looks there that which
'But you missionaries, you supervise our spirits, our inner beings which God looks at.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Na apakis nabes satúlúgúmúmu ohudak egenyihw.
and our eyes they see there where this skin
'The thing that our eyes see, that's the body!'

Elaboration: Contrast Sentence
Na apak wak mútúlúgún numun e. God natúlúgún.
and we PL not we PL IRR look there inside not God he sees there
'And we do not see inside, to understand our spirits; but God does.'

(764) LB 2: Explanatory Paragraph with seven tagmemes

Text: Direct Quote Sentence
Unabu okok kwakli wolwaigahas mamachich.
Unabu she she says sorry parents
'Unabu is sorry for her parents.'

Reason: Simple Sentence
Aninú yowenú mamakikw yowekw, wogijo.
father bad he mother bad she Wogijo
'Her father is ill; her mother, Wogijo, is ill also.'

Elaboration: Direct Quote Senence
Kwakli wolwaigahas mamachich. Deke yek inaku yekich mamachich
she says sorry parents FUT I I IRR come my parents

chúgak. *Yapis* *sénekech.*
they IRR die respiratory diseases they hit them
'She says, "I am sorry for my parents. If I would come to where you are, my parents would die. They have respiratory diseases."'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Okok *kupe* *wabul.*
she she IRR be village
'She will stay in the village.'

Comment: Simple Sentence
Nyak *nyunaki.*
you you IMP come
'You come here.'

Elaboration: Indirect Quote Sentence
Okok *kwakli* *wak* *umu* *kunaku.*
she she says no concerning she IRR come
'She refuses to come to where you are.'

Result: Simple Sentence
Kupe, *kugakomech* *umu* *abal,* *kunaku.*
she IRR be she IRR help them concerning water she IRR come
'She will stay and help them getting water and firewood.'

(765) XD 019: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence
Doumun *hakih* *hape* *Chaluwun.* *Ibul.*
now it (rain power) came up it is Chaluwun Ibul
'Now the rain power has come up and Chaluwun, his other name, Ibul, has it.'

Elaboration: Conjunction Sentence
Ibul *nahwah,* *nape.* *eli* *nukli* *echah* *atuh* *húlomu* *wale.*
Ibul he holds it he remains and he IRR want only only it IRR rain if spirit

nutiny *nyulagú* *abal.*
he IRR put it in it IRR be in water
'Ibul controls it and remains in control, and if he wants it to rain all the time, he controls that by a *wale* spirit which he puts in the water.'

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Conditional Sentence
Nyulú *abal* *atabal,* *húlú* *takúlih.*
it IRR be water only it (rain) IRR rain fine mist

Build Up2: Continuation Sentence
Húlú *takúlih,* *kukumigú* *utagú* *nebebehi* *echah* *húlú* *aligéli* *géli*
it IRR rain fine mist foggy clouds very big rain it IRR rain until until

géliga *selalúh* *hlútúk,* *orait* *chukwich* *chiklipanú*
until until landslides they IRR come down and then they IRR enter they IRR tell him

tékéleh.
finish it (rain)
'It will rain fine mist, there will be foggy clouds and a very big rain and it will rain and rain until there are landslides and then the people will go and tell him, "Stop the rain".'

Build Up3: Conjunction Sentence
Chúkanú *mahich,* *chúkanú* *utabal* *eli* *echah* *tékéleh,*
they IRR give him meat they IRR give him money and rain finish it
chuweh *nahabigas.*
they IRR burn gardens
'They will give him meat, money, and rings, and then the rain will stop and they will burn their garden areas.'

Build Up4: Continuation Sentence
Nukli *wah,* *wah* *atúh.* *aligéli* *géliga* *hadalugehuh.* *kakwich,*
he IRR want sun sun only until until it (sun) burn them food
négalúh, *echúdak* *yowech.* *Chibihúk* *apigú* *énechi* *énech.*
taro these bad they IRR go down remain greens various kinds
'If he wants sunshine, there will be sunshine only, until it burns the food, the taro, and these things will be bad and dry up – the greens and all kinds of food.'

Comment: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Ananiny *gogu* *yoweny.*
his custom bad
'He has bad customs.'

Elaboration: Conditional Sentence
Núkli *énechi* *énech,* *chúkli* *chúbihúk,*
he IRR want various kinds they IRR want they IRR go down
chúbihúk.
they IRR go down remain
'Whatever he desires, if he wants sunshine, only, the garden food will all wither and dry up.'

Reinforcement:
Wah *hech* *chúbihúk.*
sun it IRR hit them they IRR go down remain
'The sun will burn it and it will wither.'

Elaboration: Conditional Sentence
Núkli *echah,* *echah* *atúh.*
he IRR want rain rain only
'If he wants rain, there will be rain and nothing else.'

Comment: Simple Sentence
Doumun *douk* *gapemo* *anan.*
now of course it is with him
'Now, of course, this (power to control the rain) is his.'

8.6 Execution Paragraph

Execution Paragraph is used to encode the result of a certain speech act or acts. The result is a non-verbal response of some type to the preceding speech. Note that if the response is verbal, the resulting paragraph is analysed as a Dialogue Paragraph. Execution Paragraph occurs in Narrative, Hortatory and Procedural Discourse, and occurs embedded in Narrative, Explanatory and Dialogue Paragraphs.

Execution Paragraph		
	+Speech^{n}	+Result
	Conjunction Sentence	Conjunction Sentence
	Direct Quote Sentence	Indirect Quote Sentence
	Dialogue Paragraph	Narrative Sentence
	Explanatory Paragraph	Simple Sentence
		Narrative Paragraph

Rules:

1. Speech can be repeated once, but Result occurs only once. If Speech is manifested by a Conjunction Sentence, one base must be manifested by a Direct Quote Sentence. In the great majority of examples, Speech is manifested by some type of construction containing a verb in the imperative mood which is related to the response in Result.

2. Subject is third person.

3. Mood is always realis, except that the imperative constructions noted in Feature 1 are in the imperative mood.

4. Linkage is either by use of the sentence conjunction *eli* 'and, so, therefore' or by use of its Tok Pisin equivalent *orait* or by juxtaposition.

5. The deep structure encoded is Efficient Cause.

(766) RL 023: Execution Paragraph

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence
Kwakliponú, nabes sichúk.
she told him eyes they IMP close
'She told him, "Close your eyes".'

Result: Narrative Sentence
Nabes sechúk a neotu agúndak ulah.
eyes they closed PAST he stood here jungle
'He closed his eyes and then he found himself standing here in the jungle.'

(767) RD 010: Execution Paragraph

Setting: Simple Sentence
Onok élmatokw kwanahúl kwamah.
one woman she took REFL she ate it (fruit)
'A woman took one piece of fruit and ate it.'

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence
Orait kwakli yekinyu, yekinyamo, nyikeli anam alagún.
and then she said my my you IMP give me one also
'And then she said, "My friend, my friend, give me one more".'

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Simple Sentence
Orait, nekokwi anam.
and so he gave her come one
'And so he gave her one and it came down from the tree.'

Build Up2: Simple Sentence
Kwapah yahaloep.
she ate it yahalok fruit
'She ate a *yahalok* fruit.'

(768) RG 101: Execution Paragraph

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence
Eli kwaklipom, kwabihi kwabihi kwabihi!
and she told them IMP come down IMP come down IMP come down
'And she told them, "Come down! Come down! Come down!".'

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Naglúki saninú.
he came down older brother
'The older brother came down.'

Build Up2: Simple Sentence
Nabihi umu núnatúk nútemu elgeinu
he came down in order to he IRR REFL get out he IRR be on top of afraid he

nalhwas nalto.
he ran away he went up
'He came down in order that he would get out and be on top of the banana plant. He was afraid and ran away and went up.'

Build Up3: Narrative Sentence
Nakih nétemu nadi onom apam nabohom namah
he went up he was on top he took one banana he peeled it he ate it

nautuwi yohlabúl.
he throw come banana peel
'He went up and was on top of the banana plant, took a banana, peeled it, ate it, and threw down the peeling.'

(769) RE 069: Execution Paragraph

Speech: Explanation Paragraph
Text: Direct Quote Sentence
Chémnek chakli we, gani chealub anah wilúh úli buany.
they heard they said oh there they sing some one drum and flute
'They heard it and they said, "Oh, over there they are singing with a drum and a flute".'

Comment: Evaluation Sentence
Apak ihalúb walúb wak.
we PL all villages no
'None of our villages have any of these.'

Comment: Narrative Sentence
Wok mialúb anabúl e.
not we IRR sing one (village) not
'Not one of our villages sings like that.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
We yopugali nigú gagi.
oh good sound over there
'Oh, that's a good sound over there.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Chealubi buany uli wilúh.
they sing come flute and drum
'They sing with a flute and a drum.'

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Eli wolobailúbi bawichi.
and so many villages they came entered
'And so people from many villages came and entered that village.'

Build Up2: Simple Sentence
Bawichi bealúb abúdak wab.
they came entered they sang that night
'They came and entered and sang that night.'

(770) XM 006: Execution Paragraph

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence
Mamaliu wakli wak, kobi púnak wak púpe e.
mothers they said no NEG IMP you IMP go not you IRR be not
'Their mothers said, "No, don't go!" But you didn't stay here!'

Result: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
O chape cheagugakú.
oh they be they are irrational/foolish
'Oh, they continue to be foolish and rebellious.'

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Chanak chakú alúh o chanaki chének hwaloh chanigagas
they went they did stealing oh they came they did irregularly they were obstinate
mamaliu wak chúgakomu we wak.
mothers no they IRR help not no
'They went and stole things, oh, they came and did bad things, they were disobedient and didn't help their mothers, no.'

Elaboration: Execution Paragraph
Speech: Hortatory Paragraph
Exhortation: Direct Quote Sentence
Wanoklimech wakli e enyudak enyobuk kobi púmnek
they told BENEF them they said no this that NEG IMP you IMP hear obey
yopinyi.
good
'They told them. They said, "No! Don't hear and obey those bad things. Obey the good things!"'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Púmnek apakiny bolany umu muwu kakwich umu.
you IMP hear obey our talk about we IRR plant food concerning
'You hear and obey our talk about helping us with planting garden food, and building houses.'

Result: Conjunction Sentence
Énenyi éneny chékech yowenyi eli chagúgakú
various kinds they gave them bad and so they were irrational/rebellious

chokwichi. wo chumnek e.
small ones not they IRR hear obey NEG
'Others gave them various kinds of bad ideas and examples, and so the children are rebellious and disobedient – they don't hear and obey what we tell them.'

(771) RG 149: Execution Paragraph

Setting: Narrative Sentence
Gaglúk aun naklik nanaki, nohwalonogu owaninú.
it dawned sun it went up it came he called him there younger brother
'When it dawned and the sun came up, he called to his younger brother over there.'

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli kwitak kwulto babi búb wotak tik babisi búbús
he said IMP get up IMP go up that betel nut tree not yet see those betel nuts
dakia lomoholi énabús wotak uwanuh.
therefore IMP get BENEF us two come some not yet we 2 will chew them
'He said, "Get up and go up that betel nut tree and look for those betel nuts and get some for us and bring them and we will chew them".'

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Eli a nalto naitak nalto búb.
and so PAST he went up he got up he went up betel nut tree
'And so he went up. He got up and went up the betel nut tree.'

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Nalto nakih, nadalali anab nakli nuwalúb malun
he went up he arrived he took came one he wanted to he IRR split open it wasp
nanatukanagúk yaham.
it bit him PERM tongue
'He went up and arrived at the top and took a betel nut and wanted to split it open and a wasp bit his tongue.'

Build Up3: Simple Sentence
Malun nanatúkanagúk yaham.
wasp it bit him PERM tongue
'A wasp bit his tongue.'

Build Up4: Execution Paragraph
Speech: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech1: Direct Quote Sentence
Eli ananú bukiminú neotu nohwalonogú, kwautuwi
and them a Bukiyip speaker male he stood he called him IMP throw come
bai itúlúb. iwalúb. itúlúb.
FUT I IRR see it (betel nut) FUT I IRR split it open I IRR see it
'And then a Bukiyip speaker stood and called up there to him, "Throw down a betel nut and let me see it. I'll see it and split it open".'

Speech2: Direct Quote Sentence
Yemu. Kwachumacha yambu. yolpwech
yamu kwachumacha yambu ? said
"'*Yamu kwachumacha yambu*" he said, in the Ambulas language.'

Speech$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Kwautui *anab* *wotak* *itúlúb,* *búb.*
IMP throw down come one not yet I IRR see it betel nut
'Throw down one betel nut and I'll take a look at it.'

Speech$_2$: Simple Sentence
Yambu. machah. yolpwech.
yambu machah ? said
"'*Yambu machah*" he said (in the Ambulas language).'

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Keh nyaklipu omuni namudak? nyaklipu mamakikw?
hey you told who like that you told mother
'Hey, who are you talking to like that? Are you talking to your mother?'

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Nénékénú ananihw opahw nyihihichihw. kwil kwil nanamu wilpat.
he did him his stomach hot it ran ran he went to house
'He made him angry and he ran – he went to the house.'

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Anan glúlúg nawi natali sag.
he hurried he entered he got came spears
'He hurried and entered the house and got some spears and brought them.'

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence
Anan glúlúg. nabih natau nanak natali sag.
he hurried he went down he stood he went he got came spears
'The other brother hurried and went down and went to the house and brought some spears.'

Build Up$_4$: Narrative Sentence
Heotu hape honolulomu. Anan mek, anan anan mek, anan.
they stood they were they REFL fought he hit he he hit he
'They stood and fought each other. He hit him, and the other brother hit him.'

Build Up$_5$: Continuation Sentence
Anan mek anan. Aliga lupak.
he hit he until fought
'He hit him, and they continued and fought.'

Build Up$_6$: Narrative Sentence
Lupak lupak lupak lupak lupak lupak lupak.
fought fought fought fought fought fought fought
'They continued to fight very hard.'

Build Up$_7$: Narrative Sentence
Statement:
Eli oblominú naitak nalhwas.
and so Maprik language speaker male he got up he ran away afraid
'And so then the Maprik language speaker got up and ran away afraid.'

Contrast: Intransitive Clause
Bukiminú napweik.
Bukiyip language speaker male he be remain
'The brother who was a Bukiyip language speaker stayed and won the fight.'

8.7 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

Dialogue Paragraph is used to encode the deep structure of repartee involving two speakers. It occurs in Narrative, Explanatory and Procedural Discourse, and is found embedded in Execution and Narrative Paragraph types.

Dialogue Paragraph			
$+Speech_1$	$+(\pm Speech_2$	$\pm Speech_3)^n$	±Resolution
Direct Quote Sentence Narrative Sentence Purpose Sentence	Contrast Paragraph	Direct Quote Sentence Execution Paragraph Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph

Rules:

1. $Speech_1$ is obligatory. A minimum Dialogue Paragraph would involve a $Speech_1$ and at least one $Speech_2$ or $Speech_3$. $Speech_1$ consists of a question, command, or statement, but $Speech_2$ consists of a counter-question or statement which avoids the response normally expected from $Speech_1$. $Speech_3$ is an answer or response to or evaluation of $Speech_1$, $Speech_2$ or another $Speech_3$. That is, $Speech_3$ is the normally expected response. If $Speech_1$ is manifested by a Narrative Sentence, then one base must be manifested by a construction containing a verb of speech: either *-kli* 'to say', *-salik -lik* 'to ask' or *-klip* 'to tell'.

2. Subject is third person in all examples observed so far.

3. Mood is always realis.

4. Linkage is by quotation formula, juxtaposition, or by sentence conjunction *eli* 'and then' plus quotation formula. Usually at least the first occurrence of $Speech_2$ or $Speech_3$ is linked by the quotation formula. However, no recapitulation of the quotation formula has been observed. If there is no quotation formula, the dramatic effect seems increased.

5. Several of the Dialogue Paragraphs are Compound Dialogue Paragraphs, which are simply a series of two or more Dialogue Paragraphs, which are linked together as a series of exchanges by the sentence conjunction *eli* 'and so'. See example (778).

(772) RH 037: Dialogue Paragraph

$Speech_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Chaklipou, ménékech?
they told them female what
'They told them, "What's that?"'

$Speech_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli mawu makok chakohuli.
he said we planted makok they brought them that which
'He said, "We planted *makok* fruit, which they brought".'

(773) RG 010: Dialogue Paragraph

$Speech_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Kwakli ee, nyak kobi yekinyomu kobi yekinyomu.
she said oh no you like mine like like mine like

'She said, "Oh no! You are like my husband. I saw you coming – You are like my husband".'

Speech3: Direct Quote Sentence
Eli nakli dakia nyakinú?
and so he said therefore your male
'And so he said, "And where is your husband?"'

Speech3: Simple Sentence
Ee, nechuh.
no he sleeps
'No, he didn't come! He's sleeping.'

(774) XD 045: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech1: Hortatory Paragraph
Exhortation: Direct Quote Sentence
Anis nanaki naklipanú Halipeim, nyuke utabal.
Anis he came he told him Halipeim you IMP give me money
'Anis came and told him, "Halipeim, you give me some money".'

Elaboration: Warning Sentence
Nyuke utabal deke inek iklipanú Peritua nútúk echah.
you IMP give me money FUT I IRR go I IRR tell him Peritua he IRR take out rain
'You give me some money and I will go and tell Peritua and he will stop the rain.'

Reason: Simple Sentence
Wah hatau.
sun it shines

Reason: Narrative Sentence
Wah hatau munek moul.
sun it shines we PL IRR do work
'The sun will shine and we'll do our work.'

Speech3: Direct Quote Sentence
Halipeim naklipanú wak. Yek wak, utabal. Nubuakih naklipunagúk.
Halipeim he told him no I no money few days ago he told him
'Halipeim told him, "No. I don't have any money." Halipeim told him a few days ago.'

(775) RF 030: Compound Dialogue Paragraph

Exchange1: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech1: Direct Quote Sentence
Eli kwakli nyanaki ahumu?
and she said you came where
'And she said, "Where did you come from?"'

Speech3: Simple Sentence
Yok e.
I no
'Not I. I didn't do anything wrong.'

Exchange$_2$: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech$_1$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Chanak chauli chagadúk.
they went they look for they kill (pigs)
'They went looking for pigs to kill.'

Build Up$_1$: Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence
Chúpe eke, kedeke chugwatenyu deke chenyu.
they IRR be CFC lest they IRR find you FUT they IRR kill you
'If they were here, they would find you and kill you.'

Build Up$_3$: Simple Sentence
Nyanú omuni panaki?
you and who you PL came
'Who came with you?'

Build Up$_4$: Warning Sentence
Aninyu eke élganyu?
right (hand) you or left (hand) you
'Are you right handed or left handed?' (i.e. 'Are you a ghost or a real man?')

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli ee onue.
he said no right (hand) I
'He said, "No. I'm right-handed".' (i.e. 'I'm a real man.')

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Ue kedeke chenyu nyak. Douk kwakliponú namudak.
no FUT they IRR kill you you of course she told him like that
'"Oh no! They will kill you", she told him like that.'

(776) NK 021: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Ananú neotu haus lotu umu. néne pasim umu kar nakli
a male he stood church where he do block concerning car he said
nyunak agunumu?
you IRR go where
'A man stood near the church and flagged down the car and said, "Where are you going?"'

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Halipeim nakli yek inak Hefield. chúgabe kar.
Halipeim he said I I IRR go Hayfield they IRR fix car
'Halipeim said, "I'm going to Hayfield. They will fix the car".'

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli yek anagún?
he said I also
'He said, "May I go also?"'

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence
Naklipanú oo wak. Kar chikniny. Nyakatinyu o monak o wok o?
he told him oh no car full it you only or we go or not or
'He told him, "Oh, no. The car is full. Do you only want to go with us, or are there any more?"'

Resolution: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli monak.
he wanted we IRR go
'He wanted to go with us.'

Build Up2: Direct Quote Sentence
Halipeim nakli ah wak. Kar chikniny. apak atúpú monak.
Halipeim he said oh no car full it we PL only we PL we PL IRR go
'Halipeim said, "Oh no! The car is full. We only will go".'

(777) NK 044: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech1: Direct Quote Sentence
Naklipech orait, iken púhúlúk kopi na monak
he told them and so you can you PL IMP take remain coffee and we PL IRR go
ahúdah yah.
this road
'He told them, "So you can take the coffee out of the way and we will go on this road".'

Speech2: Contrast Paragraph
Statement: Direct Quote Sentence
Chaklipanú, oo, wak ahúdah yah yoweh chokuh hanak kalahumak
they told him oh no this road bad small it goes Kelahu village
uli.
the one which
'They told him, "Oh no! This is a bad road, the one to Kelahu. It's small".'

Contrast: Simple Sentence
Púnak ahúdak nebehi. Ulupumak umu.
you IMP go this big Ulupu village that which
'You go on this big road, the one that goes to Ulupu.'

Speech3: Direct Quote Sentence
Orait, nakli nogat nubuwakih yek yanak yatúluk pinis yopuh
and so he said no a few days ago I I went I saw remain PAST good
yah. Bai inak.
road FUT I IRR go
'And so he said, "No. A few days ago I went and I saw the road. It's good. I'll go on it".'

Resolution: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Narrative Sentence
Eli chanuhogamonú, chahúl kopi algas, apak monak.
and so they helped him they took coffee edge we PL we PL went
machaglekech.
we PL passed them
'They helped him and took the coffee and put it at the edge and we went and passed by them.'

(778) RE 026: Compound Dialogue Paragraph

Exchange$_1$: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence

Kopuhúl kwatúlúnú kwakli nyanaki ahumu?
she raised head she saw him she said you came where
'She raised her head and said, "Where did you come from?"'

Speech$_3$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence

Nakli ee, yatakeli nyumudahw wo.
he said no I followed came catfish of course
'He said, "I followed the catfish, of course".'

Build Up$_2$: Conjunction Sentence

Yatakeli nyumudahw yanaki eli yanaki kipaihi yah.
I followed came catfish I came but I came other road
'I followed the catfish, but I came by another road.'

Speech$_3$: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Negative Sentence

Wo nyunaki kipaihi yah e.
not you IRR come other road not
'You didn't come on another road.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence

O nyatukeli yek.
oh you followed me me
'Oh, you followed me.'

Elaboration: Conjunction Sentence

Nyatiweli umu yape yanamachik umu eli nyanaki nyataglome.
you saw me came when I am I tie net bag when and you came you appeared me

da nyanamoli ahudah.
so you came this (road)
'When you came and saw me, I was tying a net bag and then you came and appeared to me and so you came on this road.'

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence

Nyatiki yek umu yape yanamachik ichahw.
you saw came me when I was I tie string net bag
'When you came and saw me, I was tying string for a net bag.'

Comment: Amplification Sentence

A chanak yuh. Wolobachi chaitak chanak chogodumu bulguh.
PAST they went finished many they got up they went they hunt for pigs
'They all went – they got up and went to hunt pigs.'

Comment: Narrative Sentence

Chogodumu bulguh chanak a chanak ulah.
they hunted for pigs they went PAST they went jungle
'They went to hunt for pigs – they have gone to the jungle.'

Exchange$_2$: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech$_1$: Simple Sentence
Eli nyak atinyu nyape?
and so you only you remain
'And so you are the only one staying here?'

Speech$_3$: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Amplification Sentence
O yek otue yape, yek otue jugaiweli yapeik wabúl.
yes I only I remain I only old I I remain PERM village
'Yes, I'm the only one staying here. Just me. I'm old and I'm staying in the village.'

Reinforcement: Simple Sentence
Jugaiweli yapeik wabúl.
old I I remain PERM village
'I am old and I always stay at the village.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Chanatimaguk chanak yúh.
they all they went completed
'They have all gone.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Chanak chogodumu bulguh.
they went they hunt for pigs
'They went to hunt for pigs.'

Exchange$_3$: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech$_1$: Conjunction Sentence
Eli a doumun yanakahi yah wok enech e. eli yah
and so PAST today I came that which road not some not and so road
kobi anah.
NEG FUT one some
'And so, today the road that I came on isn't a road.'

8.8 Procedural Paragraph

Procedural Paragraph is used to encode the chronological ordering of the steps in a procedure. This paragraph type occurs in the Procedure tagmeme of Procedural Discourse and in the Build Up tagmeme of certain Narrative Paragraphs which manifest this same Procedure tagmeme.

Procedural Paragraph		
	+Step$_1$	+Step^n
	Simple Sentence Narrative Paragraph	Amplification Sentence Conditional Sentence Conjunction Sentence Continuation Sentence Direct Quote Sentence Parallel Senence Simple Sentence Narrative Paragraph

Rules:

1. The Step^{n} tagmeme can be repeated any number of times. So far it has been observed to occur from three to twelve times.

2. Subject is non-specific but must be the same throughout the entire paragraph. Subject can be either third person, first person plural or second person singular. If the subject is second person singular, then all verbs must be in the imperative mood.

3. Mood is usually irrealis. One example is in realis mood (see example (782)).

4. Linkage is either by juxtaposition or recapitulation, but usually the latter. Occasionally the linkage is by the sentence conjunction *eli* 'and, and so, and then'.

5. The deep structure encoded is Chronological Succession.

6. There is frequent use of the adverbial particle *julug* 'finished, enough' and the verb *-iatak* 'to finish'.

7. The steps are always in chronological order for the procedure described.

(779) XN 002: Procedural Paragraph

Step$_1$: Simple Sentence
Nyuhúli *metegas* *nyugoslú.*
you IMP take come vine you IMP it put on (feet)
'You bring the rope and put it on your feet.'

Step$_2$: Simple Sentence
Nyugoslú *nyulto.*
you IMP it put on (feet) you IMP go up
'You put it on and go up the coconut tree.'

Step$_3$: Simple Sentence
Nyulto, *nyukih* *nyunouh.* *nyupe* *dédag* *éhok*
you IMP go up you IMP arrive you IMP REFL hold you IMP be strong coconut tree
nyublomechab *oub.*
you IMP twist it coconut
'You go up and get to the top and hold yourself strongly in the tree and twist off the coconut.'

Step$_4$: Simple Sentence
Nyublomechab *búglúki* *nyubihi.*
you IMP twist it it IRR fall down you IMP go down come
'You twist it off and it will fall down and you come down.'

Step$_5$: Simple Sentence
Nyubihi *nyubihi* *nyubúhúl* *nyunekeb*
you IMP go down come you IMP go down come you IMP it take you IMP do it
nyuboho *nyuboho* *nyuluh* *yabigw.*
you IMP take out it you IMP take out it you IMP cook coconut soup
'You come down and take the coconut and cut it and take out the meat and cook coconut soup.'

(780) XF 029: Procedural Paragraph

Step1: Narrative Sentence

Wolobaichi *élmom* *élmagou* *chúnaki* *chuwachabal* *chúhúl*
many they men women they IRR come they IRR gather they IRR take

sukwachis *lohulúh* *chúlak* *wilpat.*
vines sago branches they IRR build house

'Many men and women will come and gather; they will take vine and sago branches and build the house.'

Step2: Conditional Sentence

Godwich, *chúlak* *woblatú* *atútú.*
few they they IRR build side it only

'If there are a few people, they will build only one side.'

Step3: Narrative Sentence

Chúlatú *chiatatú* *wobúl* *chuwak* *kakwich* *dodogowich.*
they IRR build it they IRR finish it side they IRR eat garden food strong they

'They will finish building one side and they will eat garden food and be strong.'

Step4: Narrative Sentence

Chichah *júlúg* *chitaki* *chuweh* *saukweny*
they IRR it eat finish they IRR get up come they IRR light tobacco

chuwanuh *chúlak* *woblatú.*
they IRR chew betel nut they IRR build side it

'They will finish eating and get up and come and light their tobacco and chew betel nut and build the other side.'

Step5: Continuation Sentence

Chúlak *woblatú* *aliga* *aliga* *chuklupatú,* *élmagou*
they IRR build side it until until they IRR put on ridge it women

ulúh *yabigw.*
they IRR cook coconut soup

'They will build one side and keep on building until they put on the ridge and then the women will cook coconut soup.'

Step6: Narrative Sentence

Chúklupatú *chibihi* *chúhúli* *yabigw*
they IRR put on ridge it they IRR come down they IRR bring come coconut soup

chúkú *élmom.*
they IRR give men

'They will put on the ridge and they will come down and others will bring coconut soup and give it to the men.'

Step7: Parallel Sentence

Chúkú *élmom* *hugwah* *chúkú* *élmagou* *ugwah.*
they IRR give men they IRR it eat they IRR give women they IRR it eat

'They will give it to the men and they will eat it and they will give it to the women and they will eat it.'

Step8: Conjunction Sentence

Eli *chútegleh* *saukweny* *chúnek* *chúlogom,* *hasuh*
and they IRR light tobacco they IRR do they IRR give them men they IRR hold

sukwanyip *úli* *eli* *chúlagou* *élmagou* *wautik* *nyih*
vine those who and they IRR give them women they found firewood

úli.
those who
'And then they will light tobacco and they will take off betel nuts and give them to the men who held the vines, and they will give them to the women who went and found the firewood.'

Step9: Simple Sentence
Chúpe *chiagwleh.*
they IRR stay they IRR talk
'They will stay and talk.'

Step10: Amplification Sentence
Chúpe *chiagwleh* *júlúg,* *wabigún* *senyobuk* *chututueh*
they IRR stay they IRR talk finish afternoon these they IRR disperse

chúnak *echech* *umu.* *Chúnak* *chúpe* *echech* *umu.*
they IRR go they place they IRR go they IRR remain they place
'They will stay and talk until they are finished, and then in the afternoon they will disperse and go to their villages – they will go and stay at their villages.'

(781) XF 010: Procedural Paragraph

Step1: Simple Sentence
Muwu *idúmelúh.*
we PL IRR set in main posts
'We will set in the main posts.'

Step2: Amplification Sentence
Mulú *wauligas.* *Mulú* *wauligas* *siotu.*
we PL IRR put up rafters we IRR put up rafters they IRR stand up
'We will put up the rafters – we will put them up and they will stand up.'

Step3: Narrative Sentence
Mugoslú *siotu* *supeli* *munak*
we PL IRR them put up they IRR stand they IRR be and we PL IRR go

mutimogas *mublowagasi.*
we PL IRR look for them we IRR cut them come
'We will put them up and they will stand up and we will go and look for more rafters and cut them and bring them.'

Step4: Narrative Sentence
Mublowagas *mukihi* *mugoslú* *miyatak,*
we PL IRR cut them we PL IRR come up we PL IRR them put up we PL IRR finish

munak *mutimu* *nyumatogw.*
we PL IRR go we PL IRR look for vines
'We will cut them, carry them and come, put them up, finish putting all of them up, and then we will go and look for vines.'

Step5: Narrative Sentence
Mukawehi *nyumatogw* *mukihi.*
we PL IRR cut get come vines we PL IRR come up
'We will cut the vines, bring them and come.'

(782) XG 026: Procedural Paragraph in realis mood

Setting: Explanatory Sentence
Namudak mogabuk.
like that we PL R garden
'We designated garden areas like that.'

Step1: Narrative Sentence
Mogabuk meatak, malib.
we PL R mark garden we PL R finish we PL R cut jungle
'We designated the garden area, finished and then cut the jungle.'

Step2: Narrative Sentence
Malib meatak, molu loas.
we PL R cut jungle we PL R finish we PL IRR cut trees
'We cut the jungle, finished and then cut down the trees.'

Step3: Narrative Sentence
Malu loas meatagas moguneh.
we PL R cut trees we PL R finish them we PL R it burn
'We cut the trees, finished and then burned the area.'

Step4: Narrative Sentence
Mogúneh meatagún, malak nalúb.
we PL R it burn we PL R finish it we PL R build fences
'We burned it, finished and then built fences.'

Step5: Narrative Sentence
Malak nalúb, mawu kakwich.
we PL R build fences we PL R plant garden food
'We built fences and then we planted garden food.'

Step6: Narrative Sentence
Mawu kakwich, mataglú monak.
we PL R plant garden food we PL R go we PL R go
'We planted garden food and then went out of the garden area and went on our way.'

(783) XV 002: Procedural Paragraph

Step1: Narrative Sentence
Chúnak chúhúsahi yous chúnaki.
they IRR go they IRR them carry come ocean they IRR come
'They will go and carry them from the ocean and come.' (Refers to giant clam shells for making clam shell rings.)

Step2: Narrative Sentence
Chúnaki chúnaki chúpe wabúl chuich
they IRR come they IRR come they IRR remain village they IRR enter

chúechikoh húpe wilagw chúneki diahes
they IRR tie up them they (shells) IRR remain houses they IRR do come bamboo saws

chútahoh.
they IRR cut them
'They will come and stay in the village, enter their houses, tie up the clam shells, and the shells will remain in their houses and then they will make bamboo saws and come and cut the shells.'

Step3: Continuation Sentence

Chútahoh *aliga* *aliga* *aliga* *aliga* *chiatoh* *chúgúdokoh*
they IRR cut them until until until until they IRR finish them they IRR bore them

húnak *húkús.*
they IRR go they IRR be
'They will cut them for a long time until they finish and then they will bore holes in them and then the clam shell slabs will remain in a separate place.'

Step4: Conjunction Sentence

Húkús *eli* *chúnek* *nogwas.*
they IRR be and they IRR do circular drills
'They will remain in a certain place and then they will make circular drills.

Step5: Narrative Sentence

Chúnek *nogwas* *chuwechikagas* *loas,* *chútúkoh.*
they IRR do circular drills they IRR tie them sticks they IRR bore out them
'They will make circular drills and then fasten them with sticks and bore out the centres of the shell slabs.'

Step6: Conjunction Sentence

Chútúkoh *chiatoh* *chútúk* *chuwaibisilúh*
they IRR bore out them they IRR finish them they IRR bore out centres

hlúnak *hlúkúsuk* *sik* *eli* *chútúk* *nebehwi* *súluhw*
they IRR go they IRR be remain different and they IRR bore out large rings

chuwatoh.
they IRR polish them
'They will finish boring them out; they will bore out the centres and then the centre discs will remain in a different place and in this manner they will bore out large rings and polish them.'

Step7: Continuation Sentence

Chuwatoh *aliga* *aliga* *aliga* *aliga* *chiatoh.*
they IRR polish them until until until until they IRR finish them
'They will polish them and continue for a long time until they finish.'

Step8: Narrative Sentence

Hwichlokuh, *chuhwauluk,* *chúgabe*
they (rings) IRR wash water they (people) IRR hang up them remain they IRR fix up

chuwaibisilúh.
centres
'They will wash the rings in water, hang them up and then the rings will remain and they will fix up the centre discs by the same process.'

8.9 Interrogative Paragraph

Interrogative Paragraph occurs relatively infrequently. It consists of a rhetorical question plus an answer and is used to make an intense statement and/or to provoke a response from the hearer. It is also used to explain a procedure involving quantification of participants. It occurs in Narrative, Hortatory, Epistolary, and Procedural Discourses and has been observed embedded in Explanatory, Hortatory and Dialogue Paragraphs.

Interrogative Paragraph		
	+Question	+Answer
	Alternative Sentence	*wak* 'no'
	Simple Sentence	Simple Sentence
	Explanatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph

Rules:

1. There are two obligatory and no optional tagmemes.

2. Subject is always different and usually third person, but can be first or second person.

3. Unless there are grammatical or semantic constraints to the contrary, Question is in irrealis mood and Answer is in realis mood. For the exceptions see (788) in which a "Why" question requires a realis mood in Question. See also example (789) where a "how much" question requires realis mood. See also example (787) in which a negation in Answer requires irrealis mood.

4. Linkage is by juxtaposition and rarely by use of the sentence conjunction *eli* 'and, and so, therefore'.

5. The deep structure encoded is generally the simple predication (statement) of the Predicate Calculus.

(784) SD 088: Interrogative Paragraph

Question: Simple Sentence
Omuni nyunekapú Halipeim.
who it (person) IRR help us Halipeim
'Who will help us, Halipeim?'

Answer: Narrative Sentence
Eli kwiktem ipak penaki palawapú apak mape kalbú.
but quickly you you R came you R took us we PL we PL R be good situation
'But quickly you American military forces came and saved us and we are in a good situation.'

(785) LB 60: Interrogative Paragraph

Question: Simple Sentence
Omuni nyunek moul umu kakwich?
who it (person) IRR do work for garden food
'Who will do the work for raising garden food?'

Answer: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Kipaihechi wak.
others they no
'Other people won't.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Bwi chúnekenyumohu moul umu ohwakich kakwich.
FUT NEG they IRR do BENEF us two work for our DL garden food
'They will not do work for us to help us raise our garden food.'

(786) LC 7: Interrogative Paragraph

Question: Conditional Sentence
Ipe wabul omuni nyubilome?
I IRR be village who it (person) IRR give food BENEF me
'If I stay in the village, who will give me food?'

Answer: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Lapepim wak.
Labepim no
'Not Labepim.'

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Nape Wiwaek.
he R be Wewak
'He lives in Wewak.'

Reinforcement: Negative Sentence
Wak nugakome ye.
not he IRR help me not
'He doesn't help me.'

(787) PS 047: Interrogative Paragraph

Question: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Continuation Sentence
Aliga aliga aliga munek malmu?
until until until we PL IRR do what
'We will continue on and on and then how will the situation be?'

Reinforcement: Alternative Sentence
Mupe yopuhi nyumnah o yowehi nyumnah o?
we PL IRR be good day or bad day or
'Will we be living in a good time or in a bad time?'

Answer: Simple Sentence
Wak mudúkemech e.
not we PL IRR understand not
'We don't know.'

(788) ND 003: Interrogative Paragraph

Question: Simple Sentence
Chanú chanomu méneken?
they R killed him they R killed him for why
'They killed him – but why did they kill him?'

Answer: Simple Sentence
Nasah apakich inahas.
he R carry our things which cause trouble
'He carried our bad things which we have done which cause trouble.'

(789) XS 015: Interrogative Paragraph embedded in Explanatory Paragraph embedded in Procedural Paragraph

Step13: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Apak *mupe* *mutalin* *utabal.*
we PL we PL IRR be we PL IRR count money
'We will stay and count the money.'

Elaboration: Interrogative Paragraph
Question: Amplification Sentence
Blataglú *makunibal?* *Makunigw* *handetogw?*
it R amount to how much how many hundreds (of kinas)
'It amounted to how much – how many hundred kinas?'

Answer: Alternative Sentence
O biogw o biogw otútú o nubatigw o onowipigw o.
or two or two one or four or six or
'Two hundred, or three hundred, or four hundred, or six hundred.'

Elaboration: Direct Quote Sentence
Chútaleyabal, *chúmnek,* *chúnak* *chúneklipomu,* *chúkli*
they IRR count it they IRR hear they IRR go they IRR REFL say about they IRR say

utabal *blataglú* *namudak.* *wolobaibali.*
money it R amount to like that much
'They will count it, they will hear how much it amounted to, they will go and talk about it among themselves and they will say, "The money amounted to this much".'

9. BUKIYIP DISCOURSE

9.0 INTRODUCTION

This analysis is based on 47 oral and written texts. Section 9.1 describes the six most common discourse genre. The analysis generally follows Longacre (1972).

Five discourse genre have been analysed: Narrative, Explanatory, Hortatory, Procedural and Epistolary. Narrative Discourse genre contains four subtypes: Contemporary, First Person Contemporary, Travel and Legendary. Procedural Discourse genre contains three subtypes, Autobiographical, General, and Specific. The relationships between these five genre as well as some of their characteristic features are summarised in Tables 15 and 16. Each genre presented will begin with a brief explanation of the function of the discourse type followed by a bidimensional array indicating the discourse tagmemes that occur. Following this is a listing of any notes concerning the tagmemes, subject, aspect, and linkage within and between paragraphs. Any other pertinent details precede the array which lists the tagmemes and exponents of the particular discourses which were analysed.

TABLE 15: DISCOURSE MATRIX 1

	Specific/non-prescriptive	Generic/prescriptive
Temporal Sequence	Narrative	Procedural
Logical	Explanatory	Hortatory
None	Epistolary	

TABLE 16: DISCOURSE MATRIX 2 – BUKIYIP DISCOURSE GENRE

	Narrative Contemporary	First Person Contemporary	Travel	Legendary	Explanatory	Hortatory	Procedural			Epistolary	Conversational
Purpose	tell a story	tell a story (person involved)	tell a travel story	tell a legend	explain an event or custom of significance	exhortation to influence others	explains a procedure			written message to another	speech interaction
							Auto-Biog Gen Sp				
Subject (person + number)	3rd	1st	1st pl or 3rd	3rd	3rd (or 1st pl 2nd pl)	2nd pl	1st sg	3rd pl mix 1 pl	1st pl/ 3	any	any
Mood	R	R	R	R	R	IMP	IRR	IRR	R	any	any
Inter-paragraph Linkage	lexical unity involving one spatial or temporal setting rv rv rv				lexical plane of overlay; rv	rv	rv	rv	rv	same person number aspect	participant switch (Dialogue P)
Intra-paragraph Linkage	temporal or locative word to begin a new paragraph *éli* *éli* rv with *monak aliga* 'we went until' *éli*				temporal/ locative; new plane of overlay	temporal; *éli; namudak* 'like that'	temporal or locative word for new paragraph *-atak* 'finished'			different person number aspect	*namudak* 'like that'

Abbreviations: R = realis; IRR = irrealis; IMP = imperative; rv = repeated verb; Auto-Biog = Autobiographical; Gen = General; Sp = Specific;
Meaning of Link: *éli* 'and, and then; and so'

9.1 Narrative Genre

The four subtypes of this genre are Contemporary, First Person Contemporary, Travel and Legendary. The function of this genre is to tell a story. The subject matter of the story is indicated in general by the subtype. Contemporary Narrative is used to tell stories about things that happened since European contact, and when the focus is not specifically on travel from one place to another nor on the participation of the speaker in the story. First Person Contemporary Narrative is used if focus is on the participation of the speaker and/or those with him. Travel Narrative is used if the focus is on travel from one place to another. Legendary Narrative is used if the story involves legends, some of which function as origin myths. The general characteristics common to this genre will be described first, followed by the specific differences involving each subtype.

Narrative Discourse			
±Aperture	±Stage	±Episode^{n}	±Closure
Formula Formula and Narrative Paragraph	Intransitive Clause Amplification Sentence	Contrast Paragraph Dialogue Paragraph Execution Paragraph Explanatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph Reason Paragraph	Equational Clause Simple Sentence Explanatory Paragraph
±Final Episode	±Finis	±Postscript	
Formula and Song	Formula	Clause Explanatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph	

Rule:

1. n = 2 to 20.

The Aperture is usually manifested by a Simple Sentence which is formulaic (790):

(790) NL 001
Yek Matias i-agwleh nau.
I Mathias I IRR-talk now
'I, Mathias, will talk now.'

The formulaic character is indicated by the first person singular, irrealis aspect, and usually the presence of the verb *-agwleh* 'to talk'. However, the Simple Sentence may be rather complex instead of the simple example above. If Stage is not present, Aperture may be portmanteau with part of Episode. Example:

(791) NU 001
Orait y-a-kli i-agwleh umu y-a-nú Halipeim w-a-tik
now I-R-want I IRR-talk about I-R-and Halipeim we-two-R-see
Siapan-i-pimi-nú gani Wiwek umu.
Japan-POSS-person him at Wewak the time when
'Now I want to talk about the time when Halipeim and I saw a Japanese man at Wewak.'

If Stage is not present, Aperture may be part of Episode$_1$. Stage is manifested by a variety of structures. These include intransitive clause, a Simple Sentence, Hortatory Paragraph, and Narrative Paragraph. Stage is often marked by a particle beginning the Nucleus (usually *eli* or *orait* 'and, then, and so, and now'). Often there is an addition, a time or location word or an introduction of participants by the use of Noun Phrases. Stage is often portmanteau with part of Episode$_1$.

(792) NM 001: Stage is manifested by Explanatory Paragraph with Elaboration Portmanteau with Episode$_1$.

Text:

Sabúl	*umu*	*enyudak*	*bolany,*	*ny-a-itak*	*umu,*	*ny-a-itak*	*umu*	*okudak*
first	time	this	problem	it-R-arise	about	it-R-arise	about	this

Semetokwa.	*Semetokwa.*	*Semetokwa.*
Semetokwa	Semetokwa	Semetokwa

Elaboration:

Orait	*Inanduwu*	*n-a-nú*	*nugamim,*	*Wiyal,*	*Lowonem,*	*Wiyaman,*	*ch-a-hlitak.*
and	Inanduwu	he-R-and	sons	Wiyal	Lowonem	Wiyaman	they-R-argue

'The first time this problem arose concerning this woman Semetokwa. And Inanduwu and his sons argued with Wiyal, Lowonem, and Wiyaman.'

(793) NL 002: Stage manifested by Hortatory Paragraph

Exhortation:

Ipak	*p-é-menek*	*aninú*	*ananiny*	*bolany.*
you PL	you PL-IMP-hear obey	father	his	talk

Elaboration:

I-klip-epú	*nau.*
I IRR-tell-you PL OBJ	now

'Hear and obey Father God's talk. Now I will tell it to you.'

The nucleus of Narrative Discourse consists of a series of Episodes which in general are in temporal sequence. Occasionally they are not overtly marked by grammatical features but only by lexical content. Often the Episodes are marked by a Narrative Paragraph which begins with an *eli* 'and, and then, and so, therefore' or the Tok Pisin equivalent *orait.* Occasionally the Episodes are marked by a Continuation Sentence which is linked by one or more repetitions of *aliga* 'until'. The presence of such a sentence encodes a change of location or time. In narratives involving travel, nearly every episode is so marked.

Other ways of marking Episodes are by introduction of a new character or participant with a Noun Phrase, a new time or location word. The new time word can signal an advance in time or a flashback.

Narrative Discourse is generally characterised by realis aspect, fairly long sentences, and extensive use of repeated verbs. The repeated verb is often used for paragraph cohesion rather than for transition to a new paragraph. Unless the narrative is a First Person Contemporary Narrative, the discourse is generally told in third person.

However, in Travel Narrative Discourse a repeated verb or repeated close synonymn of the verb is used to signal a new paragraph. Often the repeated verb or close synonymn coincides with the *aliga* 'until' of a Continuation Sentence. Unless the Narrative is a First Person Contemporary Narrative, the majority of the verbs are in third person.

In many of the Texts there is no observable marking of a climax. In certain narratives, however, there is a change from third to first person and a particle *eli* and some time words which mark the climax.

The optional Closure tagmeme can be signalled by *enyudak atiny* 'this talk only', which also is used for the formulaic Finis. Closure can be manifested by Narrative or Explanatory Paragraph, or even a clause. Often the entire narrative is summarised in the Closure.

(794) NK 123: Closure is manifested by Explanatory Paragraph Setting

Enyudak atiny.
this one
'This one talk only.'

Text:
Enyudak bolany ny-a-túh nabitik m-o-nak Maprik umu.
this talk it-R-finish yesterday we PL-R-go Maprik about
'This talk about our going to Maprik yesterday is finished.'

Reinforcement:
M-o-nak Maprik eli Heipiyal namudak.
we PL-R-go Maprik and then Hayfield like this
'We went to Maprik and then to Hayfield like that.'

Reason:
Eli Halipeim n-a-kli yek i-agwleh rekot.
and Halipeim he-R-say I I IRR-talk tape recorder
'And Halipeim wanted me to talk on the tape recorder.'

Another way of marking the Closure tagmeme is by an equational clause usually involving *bolany* 'talk', such as:

Aninu anani-ny bolany enyudak.
father his talk this
'This is Father God's talk.'

Narrative Discourse usually concludes with a rather formulaic Finis manifested by such things as:

(795) NS 192
Yek bolany enyudak atiny.
1 SG talk this one/only
'I (said) this one talk only.'

(796) NL 081
Y-e-negem-epú bai p-é-menek enyudak ny-a-túh.
I-R-tell-you FUT you PL-IMP-hear this it-R-finish
'I told you and you hear it. This talk is finished.'

(797) NM 150
Enyudak atiny bolany y-e-yat-eny.
this one talk I-R-finish-it
'I have finished this one talk.'

A few Narrative Discourses have a concluding Postscript manifested by a Topic Comment Clause, an Equational Clause, a Transitive Clause, identifying the speaker or by some comment about the present situation in relation to the narrative.

(798) NS 191
Yek Winyun Pol.
1 SG Winyun Paul
'I am Paul Winyun.'

(799) NL 081
Yek Matias i-agwleh.
I Mathias I IRR-talk
'I, Mathias, talked.'

(800) NM 151
Bolany wotak ny-a-pwe.
talk not yet it-R-be
'The problem is not solved yet.' OR 'The talk still remains.'

Contemporary Narrative Discourse shares all the general features that have been mentioned above. This type of Narrative Discourse is usually told in third person. An outline of two discourses of this type is shown in Table 17. This discourse type is used to tell a contemporary narrative in which the teller does not have an active part, or to tell a story in which the teller is de-emphasising the fact that he has had an active part in the narrative. Only two of this type of narrative were studied since they are very rare. The First Person Contemporary Narrative Discourse is much more common.

TABLE 17: ARRAY OF CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE DISCOURSES

	1	2
Code Name	NG	NF
Aperture	-	-
Stage	Explanatory Paragraph	intransitive clause
$Episode_1$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_2$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_3$	Narrative Paragraph	
$Episode_4$	Procedural Paragraph	
Closure	-	-
Finis	Formula	Formula
Postscript	Simple Sentence	-

First Person Contemporary Narrative is distinguished from Contemporary Narrative by the use of many verbs in first person, thereby involving the narrator as a participant. Usually these verbs are in first person plural. This type of text often has a more elaborate Stage and/or Aperture containing background information about the narrator. Note that this type of Narrative cannot use the device of switching to the first person plural as a climax. In fact, none of the texts of this type which have been analysed have a clearly marked climax. This is one of the most common types of text, seven of which have been analysed as indicated in Table 18.

TABLE 18: ARRAY OF FIRST PERSON CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Code Name	1 NE	2 NH	3 NI	4 NJ	5 NA	6 NS	7 NU
Aperture		Formula	Formula			Formula	Formula
Stage		Narrative P		Conjunction S	Explanatory P	Amplification S	Explanatory P
$Episode_1$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Dialogue P	Narrative P	Reason P	Explanatory P
$Episode_2$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Execution P	Explanatory P	Narrative P	Dialogue P
$Episode_3$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Explanatory P
$Episode_4$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P		Narrative P	Narrative P	Explanatory P
$Episode_5$		Narrative P	Contrast P		Explanatory P	Narrative P	Narrative P
$Episode_6$		Narrative P	Narrative P			Narrative P	Narrative P
$Episode_7$		Narrative P	Narrative P			Narrative P	Explanatory P
$Episode_8$		Narrative P	Narrative P			Narrative P	
$Episode_9$		Narrative P	Narrative P			Narrative P	
$Episode_{10}$		Narrative P				Narrative P	
$Episode_{11}$						Narrative P	
$Episode_{12}$						Narrative P	
$Episode_{13}$						Narrative P	
$Episode_{14}$						Narrative P	
$Episode_{15}$						Narrative P	
$Episode_{16}$						Reason P	
$Episode_{17}$							
$Episode_{18}$							
$Episode_{19}$							
Closure							
Final Episode						Formula & Song	
Finis	Formula				Formula	Formula	Formula
Postscript	Narrative P		Explanatory P			Topic Comment Clause	

Only two Travel Narrative Discourses were available for analysis. They have a number of features which may prove to be diagnostic of other narrative texts of this type which focus on movement from one place to another. The following criteria have been used for paragraph boundaries:

(1) Repeated verb or close synonym of verb, usually correlated with a change of scene or setting. (Note that in other discourse types this criterion is used for paragraph linkage instead of paragraph boundaries. Even in Travel Narrative Discourse, repeated verb without change of scene or setting is occasionally used for paragraph linkage.)

(2) The stereotyped phrase *monak aliga* 'we went until ...' or *wanak aliga* 'we two went until ...' is also used for marking paragraph boundaries. This criterion often coincides with number (1) above.

(3) Continuation Sentence.

(4) Flashback in time.

TABLE 19: ARRAY OF TRAVEL NARRATIVE DISCOURSES

	1	2
Code Name	NB	NK
Aperture**	Formula	
Stage	imperative Clause	Explanatory Paragraph
$Episode_1$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_2$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_3$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_4$	Narrative Paragraph	Execution Paragraph
$Episode_5$	Explanatory Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_6$	Narrative Paragraph	Dialogue Paragraph
$Episode_7$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_8$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_9$	Explanatory Paragraph	Contrast Paragraph
$Episode_{10}$	Narrative Paragraph	Execution Paragraph
$Episode_{11}$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_{12}$	Narrative Paragraph	Execution Paragraph
$Episode_{13}$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_{14}$	Dialogue Paragraph	Execution Paragraph
$Episode_{15}$	Explanatory Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_{16}$	Narrative Paragraph	Contrast Paragraph
$Episode_{17}$	Narrative Paragraph	Narrative Paragraph
$Episode_{18}$		Contrast Paragraph
$Episode_{19}$		Narrative Paragraph*
Closure		Explanatory Paragraph
Finis	*júlúg yek yakli* 'I've said enough'	Formula

* Discourse NK has Narrative Paragraph manifesting $Episode_{19}$ through $Episode_{31}$.

** Aperture and Stage are in reverse order in text NB.

Legendary Narrative is distinguished from other types of Narrative Discourse by the subject matter. It consists of generally well-known legends concerning the experiences of or accomplishments of certain heroes, animals, or other mythical characters. A number of this type

of texts function as origin myths in that they give an explanation for the existence of all things. Some give specific accounts of the origin of bamboo flutes and hand drums, or the source of coconuts. Nearly always the material is labelled *saki* 'legend; talk with knowledge' or *seiwakiny bolany* 'talk of long ago'. This label can appear either in the Aperture, the Stage, or the Closure or the Finis.

Examples:

(801) RF 064: Finis manifested by a Simple Sentence

Yek Peilúg bolany yekiny senyudak ny-a-túh seiwakiny.
I Peilug talk mine this (previously mentioned) it-R-finish old it
'I, Peilúg, my previously mentioned talk of long ago is finished.'

(802) RM 003: Aperture manifested by a Simple Sentence

Eli y-a-kli i-agwleh eneny saki nameitú deke ipak
and I-R-want I IRR-talk/say some one legend now FUT you PL

wolobai-pali p-ú-mnek.
all-you PL those who you PL-IMP-hear
'And now I want to tell a story containing knowledge and all of you must listen.'

One of the Legendary Narratives contains an Aperture consisting of identification of the speaker, his village, and the fact that he has taken his father's name. This identification of the speaker and village can be taken as part of the formulaic Aperture. The note on the name of his father is presumably extraneous material introduced because he was telling the story to the author, an outsider.

One other distinguishing feature of Legendary Narrative is that there is occasional use of a particularly rare type of verb called a reduced verb, which includes only the verb stem in most cases, repeated any number of times with an increasing intensity and unique intonation which is level and rises somewhat on each repetition. This feature often signals the climax or at least the pre-climax of the narrative. It also encodes repeated or continuous intense action.

(803) RM 043: Climax Episode containing reduced verbs *júgúl júgúl* 'push in repeatedly'

Ch-a-hlalagas-anú aliga aliga aliga júgúl júgúl belawag
they-R-shoot with spear-him until until until push in push in spear

g-a-glúg-anú chúkúninú wokúli ch-a-ø-nú ch-a-hwech-anú.
it (spear)-R-go down in-him full him and now soon they-R-kill-him they-R-hold-him
'They shot him with spears and continued until they pushed in the spear and continued to push it in hard and it went down into his body, and then they killed him and held him.'

(804) RJ 046: Climax Episode containing reduced verbs *glúg glúg* 'to cut intensely and repeatedly'

T-a-glúk glúlúg ehe, aliga glúg glúg glúg glúg ihanú t-a-húlkaok
it (dog)-R-go down first no until cut cut cut cut all him it-R-eat

t-a-húlkaok.
it-R-eat
'The dog went down first (no! - it may have been another one!) and continued to bite the man until it cut him all up and ate him.'

Legendary Narrative is almost always in third person and in realis mood. Paragraphs are in general well marked.

TABLE 20: ARRAY OF LEGENDARY NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Code Name	RC	RK	RF	RH	RJ	RL	RM
Aperture	Formula		Formula		Explanatory P	Formula	Narrative P
Stage	Narrative P	Simple S			Explanatory P		Simple S
$Episode_1$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Explanatory P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P
$Episode_2$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Dialogue P	Narrative P	Contrast P
$Episode_3$	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P
$Episode_4$	Explanatory P		Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P
$Episode_5$			Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P
$Episode_6$			Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Explanatory P	Narrative P
$Episode_7$			Narrative P				
$Episode_8$			Explanatory P				
$Episode_9$			Explanatory P				
Closure			Simple S		Formula	Explanatory P	Explanatory P
Finis	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula
Postscript						intransitive Clause	Explanatory P

9.2 EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE

Explanatory Discourse (sometimes called Expository) consists of either naming a problem and describing it or else describing an event and relating some of the implications or conclusions drawn from it.

A pure Explanatory Discourse is rare in this corpus. Most of the Explanatory Discourses consist of what might be technically called Explanatory-Narrative or Explanatory-Hortatory. Nevertheless the structure of some of these discourses is sufficiently different and sufficiently complex to warrant a separate analysis, as indicated in the following bi-dimensional array.

Explanatory Discourse			
±Aperture	±Stage	+Point^{n}	±Closure
Formula Hortatory Paragraph	intransitive Clause Direct Quote Sentence Simple Sentence Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph	Direct Quote Sentence Contrast Paragraph Dialogue Paragraph Execution Paragraph Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph Reason Paragraph Explanatory Discourse	Formula Simple Sentence Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph
±Summary Point	±Finis	±Postscript	
Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph	Formula	Formula + Greeting intransitive Clause Simple Sentence Explanatory Discourse	

Rules:

1. n = 2 to 28.

2. Postscript can be manifested by either a Formula, a Greeting, or both, in addition to the other fillers mentioned.

The general characteristics of Explanatory Discourse are: use of primarily third person and real aspect, paragraph linkage by repeated verb, and grammatical paragraphs marked by time or location words, *namudak* 'like that', introduction of new participants, and change of person from third person to second person (in Explanatory-Hortatory texts only). Although usually told in third person, this discourse type allows for a certain amount of first person and even some second person, particularly in the Explanatory-Hortatory texts.

TABLE 21: ARRAY OF EXPLANATORY DISCOURSES

Code Name	1 NC	2 ND	3 ND* ($Point_3$)	4 NG	5 NL	6 NM	7 NT
Aperture	Formula				Formula		Hortatory P
Stage	Explanatory P	Narrative P	Direct Quote S	Explanatory P	Hortatory P	Explanatory P	intransitive Clause
$Point_1$	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Narrative P	Narrative P	Narrative P
$Point_2$	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Narrative P	Explanatory P
$Point_3$		Explanatory D	Direct Quote S	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Dialogue P	Explanatory P
$Point_4$				Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Narrative P	Explanatory P
$Point_5$				Explanatory P	Execution P	Execution P	Explanatory P
$Point_6$					Result P	Contrast P	Explanatory P
$Point_7$					Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P
$Point_8$						Explanatory P	Explanatory P
$Point_9$							Hortatory P
$Point_{10}$							Explanatory P
$Point_{11}$							Explanatory P
$Point_{12}$							Hortatory P
$Point_{13}$							Explanatory P
$Point_{14}$							Explanatory P
...							**
$Point_{18}$							Hortatory P
$Point_{19}$					Hortatory P	Formula	Formula
Summary Point						Explanatory P	Explanatory P
Finis		Formula		Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula
Postscript		Explanatory D		Simple S	Formula	intransitive Clause	

*Explanatory Discourse manifesting $Point_3$ of ND; **Explanatory Paragraph through $Point_{17}$

TABLE 21: ARRAY OF EXPLANATORY DISCOURSES (cont'd)

Code Name	8 QA	9 QB	10 XD	11 RC	12 QC
Aperture		Formula	Formula		
Stage	Simple S				Explanatory P
$Point_1$	Narrative P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P
$Point_2$	Narrative P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Contrast P	Explanatory P
$Point_3$	Narrative P	Contrast P	Explanatory P	Contrast P	Explanatory P
$Point_4$	Narrative P	Hortatory P	Explanatory P	Contrast P	Explanatory P
$Point_5$	Execution P	Explanatory P	Explanatory P	Contrast P	Explanatory P
$Point_6$	Execution P		Dialogue P	Explanatory P	Narrative P
$Point_7$	Explanatory P		Explanatory P		Explanatory P
$Point_8$	Explanatory P		Explanatory P		Narrative P
$Point_9$	Execution P				Explanatory P
$Point_{10}$	Explanatory P				Explanatory P
$Point_{11}$	Hortatory P				Explanatory P
$Point_{12}$	Explanatory P*				Explanatory P
...					...
$Point_{14}$	Procedural P				Explanatory P
$Point_{15}$	Procedural P				Narrative P
$Point_{16}$	Explanatory P				Explanatory P
...					...
$Point_{20}$	Contrast P				Explanatory P
$Point_{21}$	Narrative P				Explanatory P
$Point_{22}$	Contrast P				Narrative P
$Point_{23}$	Narrative P				Explanatory P
$Point_{24}$	Execution P				Narrative P
$Point_{25}$	Hortatory P				Explanatory P**
Closure	Simple S			Formula	Explanatory P
Summary Point	Explanatory P			Hortatory P	
Finis	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula
Postscript		Greeting	intransitive Clause		Formula & Greeting

*Explanatory Paragraph in Points 13 and 17 through 19 in QA and QC; **Explanatory Paragraph in Points 26 and 27 in QC.

9.3 HORTATORY DISCOURSE

Hortatory Discourse involves exhortation for some individual or group to change their behaviour. The common features are second person plural verbs in the imperative aspect, rhetorical questions, extensive use of Conditional Sentence, Warning Sentence, Negative Sentence, Parallel Sentence, and a Motivation tagmeme near the end of the discourse. The paragraphs are marked by time words, *eli* 'and, then, and so, but', change of person and number in verbs, and *namudak* 'like that'. The surface structure of Hortatory Discourse is indicated in the following bi-dimensional array:

Hortatory Discourse					
±Aperture	±Stage	+Point^{n}	±Final Exhortation	+Finis	±Post Point
Formula; *yabilak klikli* 'I tried without success'	imperative Clause transitive Clause Amplification Sentence Explanatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Interrogative Paragraph	Formula	Hortatory Paragraph

Examples of peripheral tagmemes:

(805) HQ 001: Stage manifested by imperative Clause

Ipak *chokwi-pali* *welowelo* *ablúdak* *wabúl* *Bubuamo*
you PL young-you PL unmarried youths this village Bubuamo

p-ú-mnek *nau.*
you PL-IMP-hear obey now
'You young people, you unmarried people of this village Bubuamo, listen now and obey!'

(806) HQ 111: Closure manifested by Interrogative Paragraph

Question:
Orait *p-é-mnek?*
and now you PL-R-hear obey
'And now did you hear?'

Answer:
P-ú-mnek *enyudak* *yekiny* *bolany.*
you PL-IMP-hear obey this my talk
'You hear and obey this talk of mine.'

TABLE 22: ARRAY OF HORTATORY DISCOURSES

	1	2	3
Code Name	HQ	HN	HK
Aperture	*yabilak klikli* 'I tried unsuccessfully'	Formula	Formula
Stage	Amplification Sentence	transitive Clause	Explanatory Paragraph
$Point_1$	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph
$Point_2$	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph
$Point_3$	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph
$Point_4$	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	
$Point_5$	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	
$Point_6$	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	
$Point_7$	Hortatory Paragraph		
Final Exhortation	Interrogative Paragraph		
Finis	Formula	Formula	Formula
Post Point	Hortatory Paragraph		

9.4 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

Procedural Discourse is characterised by many repeated verb constructions, a Closure and Finis tagmeme, and a definite lack of internal structure. The only formal markings for internal structure other than the peripheral tagmemes of Aperture, Stage, Closure, and Finis are temporal words which correlate somewhat with the Continuation Sentences and also the verb *-atak* 'finish', which has been used as an indication of paragraph boundaries.

Procedural Discourse is used to describe a process either currently practiced or one which was practiced long ago and is presently practiced only infrequently or not at all. There are three subtypes depending on the type of process being described and also on the attitude of the narrator. These three subtypes are termed Autobiographical, General, and Specific.

In Autobiographical Procedural Discourse, the focus is on the narrator as a real or hypothetical participant. It is told in first person singular, irrealis mood.

General Procedural Discourse is used when the narrator is not necessarily involved in the procedure. This type occurs in irrealis mood, either first person plural or third person plural mixed gender. The procedures involving ancient customs, some of which are not currently practiced, are included in this subtype. They are almost always told in third person plural mixed gender.

Specific Procedural Discourse is used for many ordinary day to day procedures. They are told in first person plural or third person plural mixed gender using realis mood. These ordinary type procedures can also be told as General Procedural Discourses, using third person plural and irrealis mood. Apparently the distinctions involved in these three subtypes involve both speaker-hearer relationships and the attitude of the narrator to the particular procedure involved.

The structure for all three subtypes is indicated in the following bi-dimensional array:

Procedural Discourse					
±Aperture	±Stage	+Procedure^{n}	±Closure	±Final Procedure	±Finis
Formula	Topic Comment Clause	Explanatory Paragraph Procedural Paragraph	Formula *moul nyatúh* 'the work is finished'	Hortatory Paragraph *moul nyatúh* 'the work is finished'	Formula

Procedural Discourse NN is the result of a special situation in which a village elder is explaining a number of procedures to the author. Each Procedure discourse level tagmeme is manifested by a brief embedded discourse. This may explain why this text has one unique feature. The Procedure tagmemes are bordered by a stereotyped Equational Clause,

aneny *bolany* *namudak.*
some one talk like that
'One story is like that.'

This Equational Clause seems to serve a triple function. It is the conclusion of one Procedure, the Finis of the embedded discourse, and the Aperture of the following embedded discourse.

TABLE 23: ARRAY OF PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES

	1	2	3	4	5
Code Name	XC	XF	XG	NN	XV
Aperture	Formula			Formula	Formula
Stage	Topic Comment Clause				
Procedure$_1$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	Procedural Paragraph
Procedure$_2$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	Procedural Paragraph
Procedure$_3$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	Explanatory Paragraph
Procedure$_4$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	
Procedure$_5$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	
Procedure$_6$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	
Procedure$_7$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Explanatory Discourse	
Procedure$_8$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	
Procedure$_9$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Explanatory Discourse	
Procedure$_{10}$	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Hortatory Discourse	
Procedure$_{11}$		Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	
Procedure$_{12}$		Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse	

Procedure13		Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse
Procedure14		Explanatory Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse
Procedure15		Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse
Procedure16		Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Paragraph	Procedural Discourse
...		*		**
Closure	Formula	Formula 'work finished'	*moul nyatúh*	
Final Procedure		Hortatory Paragraph	*moul nyatúh*	
Finis	Formula	Formula	Formula	Formula

* Procedural Paragraph manifests Procedure 17-21 in XF
** Procedural Discourse manifests Procedure 17,19,20,30,31,32,35,38 in NN and Explanatory Discourse manifests Procedure 18,21-29,33,34,36,37,39 in NN.

9.5 EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE

Epistolary Discourse is used to convey a message to a person or persons remote from the sender. Five Discourses have been analysed. Four of these should technically be called Oral Epistolary Discourses, because they were told by individuals who cannot write and later transcribed. Only one is a letter written directly by a native speaker.

Epistolary Discourse is characterised by many Hortatory and Explanatory Paragraphs. It consists of an optional Salutation which identifies the author of the discourse, and optional Stage, any number of Message tagmemes, a formulaic Closure and an optional Signature which re-identifies the author. This structure is indicated in the following bi-dimensional array.

Epistolary Discourse				
±Salutation	±Stage	+Message^{n}	+(Closure	±Signature)
Formula	intransitive Clause	Explanatory Paragraph Hortatory Paragraph Narrative Paragraph	Formula	Formula Simple Sentence

Rules:

1. A range of n from 1 to 7 has been observed.
2. Stage is infrequent.
3. Either Closure or Signature must occur, but not necessarily both.
4. There are no restrictions on person and mood, other than those imposed by the particular paragraph types which occur.

TABLE 24: ARRAY OF EPISTOLARY DISCOURSES

	1	2	3	4	5
Code Name	LA	LE	LB	LC	LD
Salutation		Formula	Formula	Formula	
Stage		intransitive Clause			
$Message_1$	Hortatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph
$Message_2$		Hortatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph
$Message_3$			Narrative Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph
$Message_4$			Explanatory Paragraph	Hortatory Paragraph	Explanatory Paragraph
$Message_5$			Hortatory Paragraph		Narrative Paragraph
$Message_6$			Explanatory Paragraph		Explanatory Paragraph
$Message_7$			Explanatory Paragraph		
Closure	Formula		Formula		Formula
Signature	Simple Sentence	Formula			Formula

9.6 TEXTS

In this section on texts, the particular type of sentence or clause which occurs in the text will be designated by an abbreviation just above the tagmeme with which it is associated.

For example, in the first text NF, (807) the last item in $Episode_1$ is *mapil* 'sorry'. This form manifests the tagmeme Build Up_4 and is identified as a Response Sentence.

The texts analysed are Contemporary Narrative NF (807), First Person Narrative NA (808), Legendary Narrative RK (809), Explanatory Text NM (810), Contemporary Procedure XG (811), and Hortatory Text HQ (812).

Contemporary Narrative Discourse
(807) NF: The cat broke its leg

Stage: intransitive Clause
Pusi nyalto loag.
cat it R go up tree
'The cat went up a tree.'

$Episode_1$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up_1: intransitive Clause
Pusi nyagoul.
cat it R fall down

Build Up_2: transitive Clause
Nyechébúl aiyag.
it R break leg

Build Up3: Topic Comment Clause
Aiyag yowegú.
leg bad it

Build Up4: Response Sentence
Mapil.
sorry
'The cat fell down and broke its leg. The leg is injured. We are sorry.'

Episode2: Topic Comment Clause
Luhut aiyag yopugú.
later leg well it
'Later on the leg will get better.'

Finis:
Bolany yaih.
talk finished
'The talk is finished.'

First Person Narrative Discourse
(808) NA: Doing odd jobs at Bubuamo village

Aperture: Simple Sentence
Yakli iagwleh bolany. Yek Kepas.
I R want I IRR say talk I Kepas
'I, Kepas, want to say something.'

Stage: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Topical Comment
Yekibúl wabúl Bubuamo.
my village Bubuamo

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Yanaki yanu Halipeim wene moul.
I R come I and Halipeim we DL R do work
'My village is Bubuamo. I came and worked with Halipeim.'

Episode1: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Narrative Sentence
Yahúli nogotep yanak yablo loas. Ubo bet.
I R took come knife I R go I R cut trees/poles we two IRR make bed

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Yabih yablo biech atiny, wiakalú nyataglali húlúkati
I R go down I R cut two one poisonous lizard it R appear come nearly

mu nyubo yek.
BENEF it IRR kill me

Build Up3: intransitive Clause
Yek yalhwas.
I I R run away

Build Up4: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Narrative Sentence
Yek yalhwas, yek lougúnúmu yanak yalto kipainyi loag.
I I R run away I long distance place I R go I R go up other tree

Reason: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Negative Sentence
Ino chokwinyi wiakalú, nebenyi.
not small lizard large

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Húlúkati mu nye nau yanak kipaigúnúmu. yaulimu
nearly BENEF it IRR kill me now I R go other place I R look for

kipaigasi loas.
other poles

Build Up5: transitive Clause
Yablowi biech loas.
I R cut come two poles
'I brought a knife, came and went and cut poles to make a bed. While I went down and cut three poles, a poisonous lizard appeared and nearly killed me. I ran away. I ran a long way and went up another tree. It wasn't a small lizard – it was a large one. It nearly killed me and then I went to another place and looked for other poles. Then I cut two poles and brought them.'

Episode2: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Warning Sentence
Une banis élgas bet nogut Kevin nichuh nogoul bet.
we DL IRR make wall edge bed lest Kevin he IRR sleep he IRR fall down bed

Elaboration: intransitive Clause
Deke núgoul.
FUT he IRR fall down

Comment: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Purpose Sentence
Wabo biogw betogw, echechitú Kevin ananitú umu buk
we DL R made two beds theirs Kevin his for books

kotemomu.
they IRR be on top of for

Elaboration:
Núnúbúk echudak umu,
he IRR REFL put these for in order to

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Echech mamachich chúbúk echúdak sik. echechim rum.
they parents they IRR put these different their room
'We will make a wall along the edge of Kevin's bed, lest he to sleep and fall down. He could fall down. We made two shelves – theirs and Kevin's, to put books on, so that he himself will put these things on his shelf, and his parents will put their things on a different shelf in their room.'

Episode3: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Topic Comment Clause
Dua yowenyi mawich umu witú.
door bad it we PL R enter which door

Build Up2: Conjunction Sentence
Dua yowenyi, orait ugabeyeny.
door bad it and so we DL R fix it

Build Up3: Narrative Sentence
Yanú Halipeim ugabeyeny atap. Unenelim waia iluh
I R and Halipeim we DL R fix it below we DL R do nail wire above

wologweh pepa numun.
sago palm branches paper inside

Build Up4: Narrative Sentence
Une windoa, túkan, wolohu waia.
we DL R do make window part we DL R put on wire

Build Up5: Simple Sentence
Wologweh watukehek.
sago palm branches we DL R take off then remain
'The door was no good – the door by which we entered. It was no good, and so we fixed it. I and Halipeim fixed it. We nailed wire in the upper half, sago palm branches in the lower half, and paper on the inside. We made a window in part of the door and put on wire. As for the old sago palm branches, we took them off.'

Closure: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Clause
Yek Kepas yeagwleh.
I Kepas I R talk

Build Up2: Clause
Yek Kepas yeagwleh. Bubuamo.
I Kepas I R talk Bubuamo
'I, Kepas talked. I, Kepas, from Bubuamo village, talked.'

Episode4: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Narrative Sentence
Walik, wabo bet talik, umu chechuh umu.
we DL R first we DL R make bed it R be first for they PL R sleep that which

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Halipeim nanok élmatok. Chechuh umu bet walik
Halipeim he R and her woman they PL R sleep for bed we DL R be first

wabo talik.
we DL R make it R be first

Build Up3: Conjunction Sentence
Bet tatúh eli moul numun nyatúh, eli yene moul adúk.
bed it R finish and so work inside it R finish and so I R do work work outside
'We made a bed first – a bed for them to sleep on. First we made the bed for Halipeim and his wife to sleep in. When the bed was finished then my work was finished and so I worked outside.'

Episode5: Explanatory Paragraph
Text:
Misis kwakli umu yah gani towilet. umu kunak
white woman she R want about path there toilet in order to she IRR go

umu dewag umu.
BENEF toilet that which

Elaboration:
Yatupegún yének letehas deke echah húlali kugoul.
I R dig there I R do make steps lest rain it IRR rain she IRR fall down

Elaboration:
Yatupegún, itupok kwobiny numun.
I R dig there I IRR dig ditch inside

Elaboration:
Itupok kobiny umu abal blúteglogúk kaduk.
I IRR dig ditch for water it (water) IRR come out remain later
'The white woman wanted a path that goes to the outdoor toilet. I dug there and made steps, lest she fall down when the rain comes. I dug there and I will dig a ditch on the inside edge. Later I will dig a ditch for the water to come out and run off.'

Finis:
Orait, júlúg.
and so enough
'And that's enough.'

Travel Narrative Discourse
(809) NB: A trip to Yangoru

Stage: intransitive Clause
Púpe wahigún.
you PL IMP be quiet
'You all be quiet.'

Aperture:
Yakli iagwleh bolany.
I R want I IRR talk say talk
'I want to say something.'

Episode$_1$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Nabotik yasuhi sarep, yabihi yahlúhichegún.
yesterday I R hold come grass knife I R come down come I R it (grass) cut there

élgas. Umu gnúpe kalbú.
edge so that it (area) IRR be good

Build Up$_2$: Interrogative Paragraph
Question: intransitive Clause
Ipak patúlúgún wasik?
you PL you PL R see there all right

Answer:
Yabule utalúh, yebu sarep atap.
I R cut grass I R put grass knife below

Build Up$_3$: Interrogative Paragraph
Question: intransitive Clause
Ipak patúlúgún dúdúken?
you PL you PL R see there beautiful

Answer:
Lik chabol lobal.
before they PL R cut long
'Yesterday I brought a grass knife and came down and I cut the grass there, at the edge of the house, so it would look good. All of you look at it. Is it all right? I cut the grass, holding the grass knife right down on the ground. You saw it. Isn't it beautiful? Before they cut it too long.'

Episode$_2$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Namaitú yek yasuh sarep yene stat aglipil. Yabule utalúh.
now I I R hold grass knife I R do begin morning I R cut grass

Build Up$_2$: intransitive Clause

Yakihegún tru.
I R do well there very well

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence

Ipak wolobaipali iken pútúlúgún yek Kepas yene
you PL you PL all be able you PL IRR see there I Kepas I R do work

moul umu.
work where

'Now I took a grass knife and I began work in the morning. I cut the grass and did it very well. All of you can look there where I, Kepas, have worked.'

Episode$_3$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Continuation Sentence

Yabule utalúh aligali géliga oluh yaih.
I R cut grass until until noon finished

Build Up$_2$: Response Sentence

Yaih.
finished

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence

Yaih, yanak yéne yape.
finished I R go I R do I R be

Build Up$_4$: Narrative Sentence

Yéne yape, belo bek yanaki.
I R do I R be one o'clock I R come

Build Up$_5$: Execution Paragraph

Statement: Direct Quote Sentence

Yanaki, Misis kwakli Halipeim nechuh nau kwaklipe
I R come white woman she R say Halipeim he R sleep and she R tell me

wak. Kaman.
no tomorrow

Action: Simple Sentence

Nau yek yagimébúl.
and so I I R go up within village

Build Up$_6$: Narrative Sentence

Yanak nau wab. yechuh.
I R go and of course night I R sleep

'I cut grass and continued until I finished at noon. It was finished. When I had finished, I went and rested. I rested and at one o'clock I came. I came and the white woman said, "Halipeim is sleeping". And she told me, "No. Come tomorrow." And so I went back up within the same village. I went and, of course, at night I slept.'

Episode$_4$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: intransitive Clause

Gaglúk, aglipil, yawalebili,
it R dawn morning I R go down come within village

Build Up2: Direct Quote Sentence
Nakli *une* *moul.*
he R say we DL IRR do work

Build Up3: Narrative Sentence
Namaitu *nahúli* *moto+baik* *nalawenyi* *nanak* *nenyubuk* *omehw.*
now he R take come motorbike he R bring it he R go he R it put village square

Build Up4: Narrative Sentence
Yanak, *yabuleli* *éneny* *loag,*
I R go I R cut come one pole

Build Up5: Narrative Sentence
Yanaki *wautinyugunu* *nyagikukmogúk* *moto+baik.*
I R come we DL R put in it there it R go last remain motorbike

Build Up6: Narrative Sentence
Nyatakuk *nyape* *aiyanab* *walu* *taia.*
it (pole) R touch remain it R be iron we DL R put over outside tyre

Build Up7: Narrative Sentence
Walu *taia,* *nyatúh* *wahúl* *beg,* *wahúl* *dram,*
we DL R put over outside tyre it R finish we DL R take bag we DL R take drum

sowel, *tamiok,* *Wanguen* *ananich.*
shovel axe Wanguen his

Build Up8: Narrative Sentence
Wowechikech, *chape* *dadag,* *nau* *nanaki* *nabulegw* *hatogw*
we DL R tied them they PL R be strong and so he R come he brought them helmets

wogwemu, *wanatuwetemu* *moto+baik.*
we DL R put on we DL R REFL get on be on motorbike

Build Up9: transitive Clause
Misis *kolau* *poto,*
white woman she R take picture

Build Up10: Narrative Sentence
kolau *poto* *júlúg,* *wanak.* *Yanú* *Halipeim.*
she R take picture finish we DL R go I R and Halipeim

'It dawned and in the morning I came down,within the same village. He said, "We will work". Now he took the motorbike and brought it and went and put it on the village square. I went and cut one pole and brought it. I came and we put it in there at the back of the motorbike. The pole touched and stuck fast and was on the steel frame and then we put the tyre over the outside of the pole. We put the tyre over the outside of it, finished and then took a bag, a drum, a shovel and an axe, these things belonging to Wanguen. We tied them on and they were secure, and then he came and brought helmets. We put them on, went and got on the motorbike and sat on it. The white woman took a picture. When she had taken it, we went, I and Halipeim.'

Episode5: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Narrative Sentence
Wosahal *wowalúbúl,* *wanak* *walto*
we DL R run we DL R go down same village we DL R go we DL R go up

kumerik.
kumerik ground name

Elaboration: Topic Comment Clause
Gani nyalik umu, wasik.
there it R go first that which all right

Elaboration: Topic Comment Clause
Agúndak nyagikúkmogúk umu monoken?
here it R go last remain that which what

Reason: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Topic Comment Clause
Taia nyetemu émany.
tyre it R be heavy it

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Yek yetemu, taia, émany nyabih.
I I R be on top tyre heavy it it R go down

Build Up3: Narrative Sentence
Gani nyalik umu nyegeitú nyalto wagoul wabih
there it R go first thing it R lift up it R go up we DL R fall down we DL R go down
wakús atap.
we DL R be on the ground

Build Up4: Direct Quote Sentence
Wabih wakús atap, waitak na yakliponú,
we DL R go down we DL R be on the ground we DL R get up and I R tell him
atwigúnúmu abali, yek ibihi, nyakatinyu nyulto.
steep there place when I I IRR come down you only you IMP go up

Build Up5: Interrogative Paragraph
Question: Question Clause
umu monoken?
in order to what

Answer: Respective Sentence
taia émany.
tyre heavy it
'We ran and went down within the same village, went and went up to the ground named Kumerik. There the front of the motorbike was all right, but here, at the back, there was a problem. The tyre was on top and it was heavy. I sat on top of the tyre and it was heavy and went down. There, at the front, the motorbike was lifted up and went up and we fell down, went down and were on the ground. We went down and were on the ground.
We got up and I told him, "When we get to steep places, I will get down and you only go up. Why? Because the tyre is heavy".'

Episode6: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: intransitive Clause
Namaitú wanak.
now we DL R go
'Now we went.'

Episode7: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Continuation Sentence
Wanak aliga wabihi hyasugah masil. gnetalú.
we DL R go until we DL R go down hyasugah ground mud it R be muddy mushy

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Wene *pasimeny,* *wene* *pusimeny,* *nyanak.*
we DL R do stop it (motorbike) we DL R do push it it R go

Build Up$_3$: Continuation Sentence
Wene *pusimeny,* *nyanak,* *aliga,* *wechalúk* *agúnú,*
we DL R do push it it R go until we DL R passed remain here

wanak *walto.*
we DL R do we DL R go up

Build Up$_4$: Narrative Sentence
Wanak *walto,* *wosahal.*
we DL R go we DL R go up we DL R run
'We went until we got down at the ground named Hyasugah, where there was mud. It was very mushy. We stopped the motorbike and pushed it and it went. We pushed it and it went on until we passed the place and then we went and got up on the bike. We went and got up and went fast.'

Episode$_8$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Continuation Sentence
Wosahal *aligéli* *géliga,* *wabih* *yangoru.*
we DL R run until until we DL R go down yangoru

Build Up$_2$: Direct Quote Sentence
Wabih *yangoru,* *nau* *naklipe,* *upe,* *ubeyégún* *umu*
we DL R go down yangoru and he R tell me we DL IRR be we DL IRR wait for

balus.
aeroplane

Build Up$_3$: Complete Action Sentence
Nau *wape* *nau* *wabeyégún* *umu* *balus.*
and so we DL R be and we DL R wait for aeroplane

Build Up$_4$: Complete Action Sentence
Weotu *wokúli* *Wanguen* *nanú* *batowich* *chanaki.*
we DL R stand and soon Wanguen he R and children they PL R come

Build Up$_5$: Simple Sentence
Núgamim *biom,* *núgawikw* *otuk,* *anan,* *okok,* *chanaki* *trag.*
sons two daughter one he her they PL R come truck

Build Up$_6$: intransitive Clause
Echech, *chanaki,*
they they PL R come

Build Up$_7$: Complete Action Sentence
Chanaki *wokúli* *meotu.*
they PL R come and soon we PL R stand

Build Up$_8$: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Complete Action Sentence
Meotu *wokúli,* *balus* *sabih.*
we PL R stand and soon aeroplane it R go down

Elaboration: intransitive Clause
Sanaki *Ukarumpa.*
it R come Ukarumpa

Comment: Topic Comment Clause
Lougún *Ukarumpa.*
long distance Ukarumpa

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Nalawali *Wanguen* *énech* *echúdak.* *Tuag* *nape* *kapten* *uli.*
he R bring Wanguen some these things white man he R be pilot the one who

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Nebebesi *balus,* *sanaki* *Ukarumpa.*
large very aeroplane it R come Ukarumpa
'We went fast and continued until we went down to Yangoru. We went down to Yangoru and then he told me, "We will wait for the aeroplane."

And so we waited for the aeroplane. We waited and soon Wanguen and his children came: two sons, one daughter, he and she all came in a truck. They came. They came and we stood around.We stood around and soon the aeroplane came and landed. It came from Ukarumpa,which is far away. The white man, who was the pilot, brought some of Wanguen's things. It was a very large aeroplane and it came from Ukarumpa.'

Episode$_9$: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Narrative Sentence
Douk *meotu* *meagwleh* *meateny,* *Wanguen* *ananinú*
of course we PL R stand we PL R talk we PL R finish it (talk) Wanguen his

núganinú *nanak.*
son he R go

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Nanak *balus* *nanak* *nene* *skul* *Ukarumpa.* *Wanguen* *ananinú*
he R go aeroplane he R go he R do school Ukarumpa Wanguen his

núganinú.
son

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Nau, *meotu* *heagwleh* *heateny,* *chanak.*
and we PL R stand they M R talk they M R finish it (talk) they PL R go

Elaboration: Succession Sentence
Nene *kirapimas* *dou* *sénak,* *pe* *meotuk* *ples+balus* *Yangoru.*
he R do start it (plane) soon it R go be we PL R stand remain airstrip Yangoru.
'Of course we stood and talked, finished and then Wanguen's son went. Wanguen's son went by plane, back to school at Ukarumpa. We stood for a short time, the men talked, finished and then they went. The pilot started the plane and soon it went and we stayed, standing at the Yangoru airstrip.'

Episode$_{10}$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Namaitú, *ohwak* *unaki,* *Halipeim,* *naklipe,* *nyak* *nyiul*
now we DL we DL IRR come Halipeim he R tell me you you IMP go with

Wanguenomi *púnak* *trag.* *Yekotue* *inak* *moto+baik.*
Wanguen those with him you IMP go truck I only I IRR go motorbike

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence
Nau *Halipeim* *nanak* *moto+baik.*
and soon Halipeim he R go motorbike

Build Up3: intransitive Clause

Yek	*yelech*	*Wanguenomi*	*nanom*	*batowich.*
I	I R go with them	Wanguen those with him	he and	children

Build Up4: Narrative Sentence

Yelech	*monak*	*trag.*
I R go with them	we PL R go	truck

Build Up5: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Topic Comment Clause

Ananiny	*kar*	*dúdúkeny,*	*Wanguen*	*ananiny.*
his	truck	nice it	Wanguen	his

Elaboration: Topic Comment Clause

Namunyi.
new it

Build Up6: Narrative Sentence

Nau	*apak*	*malik*	*mowalubú.*	*yah*
and soon	we PL	we PL R go fast	we PL R follow river	road

howalúbúgúli.
it R follow river there the one which

'Now we came and Halipeim told me, "You go with Wanguen and those with him. You all go in the truck. I will go on the motorbike by myself." And then soon Halipeim went on the motorbike. I went with Wanguen and those with him – he and his children. I went with them and we went by truck. Wanguen's truck is nice. It's a new one. So we went first and followed the river, going on the road that follows the river.'

Episode11: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up1: intransitive Clause

Anan	*nanaki*	*ahúdak*	*bris*	*omu.*
he	he R come	this	bridge	that which

Build Up2: Purpose Sentence

Nanaki	*natali*	*sarep,*	*sowel,*	*Halipeim*	*natalich.*
he R come	he R buy come	grass knife	shovel	Halipeim	he R buy them

umu	*ine*	*moul*	*umu.*
in order that	I IRR do work	work	that which

Build Up3: intransitive Clause

Apak	*malik*	*mabih*	*wolúb.*
we PL	we PL R go first	we PL R go down	river

Build Up4: Simple Sentence

Anan	*nanak*	*nataglogu*	*Halipeim.*
he	he R go	he R arrive D.REF	Halipeim

Build Up5: Narrative Sentence

Nataglogu,	*neke*	*sarep,*	*sowel,*	*yichemu*	*kar.*
he R arrive D.REF	he R give me	grass knife	shovel	I R them put on top	truck

'He came on that road which has a bridge. He came and brought a grass knife and a shovel and brought them along. Halipeim bought these things in order that I can do work with them. We went first and went down to the river. He, Halipeim, went and arrived where we were. He arrived and gave me the grass knife and the shovel and I put them on top in the truck.'

Episode$_{12}$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Continuation Sentence

Anan	*nalik*	*apak*	*magikúk.*	*Monak*	*aligéli*	*géliga,*
he	he R go first	we PL	we PL R go last	we PL R go	until	until

Kwagwiyemak.
Kwahwi village

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence

Mape,	*moni*	*echédak*	*mahwech*	*monak*	*wilpat.*
we PL R be	we PL R take	these things	we PL R hold them	we PL R go	house

Build Up$_3$: Simple Sentence

Dou	*mape,*	*mowak*	*kopi,*	*abal.*
of course	we PL R be	we PL R drink	coffee	water

Build Up$_4$: Execution Paragraph

Speech: Direct Quote Sentence

Mechah	*chatúh,*	*naklipe,*	*une*	*moul.*
we PL R it ate	they (food) PL R finish	he R tell me	we DL IRR do	work

Wowechik	*echúdak*	*moto+baik.*
we DL IRR tie on	these things	motorbike

Result: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: intransitive Clause

Wenak.
we DL R go

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence

Namaitú	*wataglali*	*wowechik*	*echúdak*	*moto+baik.*
now	we DL R come out	we DL R tie on	these things	motorbike

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence

Wowechikech	*chatúh,*	*chape*	*dédag,*
we DL R tie on them	they (things) R finish	they R be	secure

Build Up$_4$: Narrative Sentence

Dou	*wowemu*	*hatogw*	*nyatúh,*	*wénaki.*	*wésahali*
of course	we DL R put on	helmets	it R finish	we DL R come	we DL R go fast

wataglali	*nebehi*	*rot+bum*	*Kwagwiya.*
we DL R come out	large (road)	road intersection	Kwahwi

Build Up$_5$: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence

Naklipe	*deke*	*unak*	*iwechik*	*moto+baik*	*nyutal*	*menekeny?*
he R tell me	FUT	we DL IRR go	I IRR stop	motorbike	you IRR buy	what

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence

Da	*yaklipanú,*	*ital*	*Kumas*	*ananiguh*	*mabeguh.*	*Doukwechuk*
so	I R tell him	I IRR buy	Kumas	his	marbles	recently

nekeli	*otum*	*utom.*
he R give me come	one	money

'He went first and we followed. We went and continued until we arrived at Kwahwi village. We continued to take these things, held them and went into the house. And of course we stayed and drank coffee.

We finished eating and he told me, "We will do some work. We will tie on these things on the motorbike."

So we went. Now we went out and tied these things on the motorbike. We tied them on, finished and they were secure. Of course we put on the helmets, finished, came, coming fast, and coming out at the main road, Kwahwi village intersection.

He told me, "We will go and I will stop the motorbike and what do you want to buy?"

So I told him, "I want to buy Kumas' marbles. Recently he gave me ten toea, and I brought it along with us".'

Episode$_{13}$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Simple Sentence

Namaitú,	*orait*	*unaki.*
now	so then	we DL IRR came

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence

Dou	*wahúli*	*wanak*	*wagliki,*	*yah*
of course	we DL R bring come	we DL R go	we DL R come down	road

hanak	*hataglú*	*Kwagwiyamak*	*uli.*	*Yah*	*yangoreih.*
it (road) R go	it R come out	Kwahwi village	that which	road	Yangoru POSS it

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence

Wanak	*wagliki,*	*wanaki*	*nau.*
we DL R go	we DL R come down	we DL R come	now

'So then we came and of course we went and came down the road that goes and comes out at Kwahwi village, the Yangoru road. We went and now we came down.'

Episode$_{14}$: Dialogue Paragraph

Speech$_1$: Continuation Sentence

Wanaki	*aligéli*	*géliga*	*wataglali*	*Telatela*	*stoa,*
we DL R come	until	until	we DL R come out come	protestant	store

nowechikeny	*moto+baik,*	*dou*	*yawich*	*yasalik*	*stopipak*	*umu*	*mabeguh.*
he R stop it	motorbike	of course	I R go in	I R ask	storekeeper	for	marbles

Speech$_3$: Direct Quote Sentence

Nakli	*mabeguh*	*wak.*
he R say	marbles	no

'We came and continued to come until we came out at the protestant mission store, and he stopped the motorbike. Of course I went in and asked the storekeeper for marbles. He said, "No marbles".'

Episode$_{15}$: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Direct Quote Sentence

Kumas	*ananim*	*utom*	*umu*	*italamonali*	*mabeguh.*	*Nakli*
Kumas	his	money	for	I IRR buy BENEF him come	marbles	he R say

mabeguh	*wak.*
marbles	no

Result: Complete Action Sentence

Namaitú	*yamolukwi*	*Kumas*	*ananim*	*utom.*	*Nau*	*wanaki.*
now	I R it put in come	Kumas	his	money	and soon	we DL R come

'Concerning Kumas' money for buying him marbles and bringing them back, the storekeeper said, "No marbles". So now I put Kumas' money in my pocket and brought it with us and soon we came.'

Episode$_{16}$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Continuation Sentence

Wanaki	*aligéli*	*géliga,*	*Matopi.*
we DL R come	until	until	Matopi

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence

Matopi,	*nowechikeny*	*moto+baik.*
Matopi	he R stop it	motorbike

Build Up$_3$: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Succession Sentence

Nowechikeny,	*dou*	*wetegleh*	*echúdak.*
he R stop it	of course	we DL R untie	these things

Reason: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Warning Sentence

Deke	*echah*	*húlú*	*húnaki.*	*Luhut*	*núnak*	*Yangoru*	*umu.*
lest	rain	it IRR rain	it IRR come	later	he IRR go	Yangoru	when

Reason: Narrative Sentence

Deke	*ulawenyi*	*nyunaki*	*nyukús*	*agúndak,*	*wakomu*	*wakomu*
FUT	we DL IRR bring it	it IRR come	it IRR be	here	whenever	whenever

núnak	*Yangoromu,*	*echah*	*húlomali.*
he IRR go	Yangoru place when	rain	it IRR come when

Comment: Topic Comment Clause

Hyasugah	*baret.*	*Yah*	*yoweh.*
Hyasugah	ditch	road	bad it

'We came and continued coming until we came to Matopi. At Matopi he stopped the motorbike. He stopped it and of course we untied the things. Lest it would rain at the later time when he will go to Yangoru, we brought the motorbike and it came and stayed here, in case it might rain whenever he will want to go to Yangoru. The road is bad at the ditch, at the ground named Hyasugah.'

Episode$_{17}$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Dou	*yek*	*yeotu*	*anan*	*nalau*	*moto+baik*	*nanak*	*Wilaru.*
of course	I	I R stand	he	he R take	motorbike	he R go	Wilaru

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence

Nanak	*napúbúkúk*	*nanaki,*	*yahúl*	*echúdak*	*yahwech*
he R go	he R it put remain	he R come	I R take	these things	I R take them

wanaki.
we DL R come

Build Up$_3$: Narrative Sentence

Wanaki	*wabihi*	*agúndak*	*oluh.*
we DL R come	we DL R come down	here	noon

'Of course I stood and he took the motorbike and went to Wilaru. He went, put the motorbike there and it remained and he came, and I took these things. I took them and we came. We came and came down to here at noon.'

Finis: Direct Quote Sentence

Júlúg,	*yek*	*yakli.*
enough	I	I R say

'I've said enough.'

Legendary Narrative Text
(810) RK: The Red-eyed Lizard

Aperture: Narrative Paragraph (Build Up_1 portmanteau with $Episode_1$)
Build Up_1: Narrative Sentence
Éli anabúl wabúl, ananú nalto nadi oub wabúl.
and one village one male he R go up he R get coconuts village

$Episode_1$: Narrative Paragraph (Build Up_1 is portmanteau with Aperture)
Build Up_2: Narrative Sentence
Nalto nadi oub batihanú banak
he R go up he R get coconuts they R go down him they R go (coconuts)

chabih chabúhúl nanú batowich élmatokw tolumu
they PL R go down they PL R them get he R and children wife look BENEF

tolumu tolumu cheatab.
look BENEF look BENEF they (PEOPLE) PL R finish them (coconuts)

Build Up_3: Conjunction Sentence
Cheatab, éli cheatak abédak oub éli atúb
they PL R finish them and they PL R finish these coconuts but one

bakúsúk ulah.
it R be remain jungle

Build Up_4: Narrative Sentence
Atúb bakúsúk ulah chabih chape
one it R be remain jungle they R go down they R be

chatimab.
they R look for BENEF it (coconut)

Build Up_5: Narrative Sentence
Timu timu timu anan nanak napolagab.
look BENEF look BENEF look BENEF he he R go he R find it (coconut)
'And in one certain village, a man went up and got coconuts at this village. He got up and got coconuts and the coconuts came down for him and fell down to the ground and the people, he and his wife and children went down and got them. They looked and looked for them and found them all. They found all these coconuts, to the very last one, but one coconut remained in the jungle and they went down and continued to look for it. They looked and looked and he went and found it.'

$Episode_2$: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up_1: Narrative Sentence
Nopalagab naltégehw hwalto hwetemu abédak oub.
he R find it red eyed lizard it R go up it R be on top this coconut

Build Up_2: Narrative Sentence
Naltégehw hwalto hwetemu nanak nopotich
lizard it R go up it R be on top he R go he R shoo away it

nowachohuk.
he R throw away it (lizard) remain

Build Up_3: Narrative Sentence
Nopotich nowachohuk, honak hwalto.
he R shoo away it he R throw away it remain it R go it R go up

Build Up4: Narrative Sentence

Nopotich	*nowachohuk*	*nébéhúl,*	*honak*
he R shoo away it	he R throw away it remain	he R it (coconut) take	it (lizard) R go up

hwalto.
it (lizard) R go up

Build Up5: Purpose Sentence

Nopotich	*nowachohuk*	*umu*	*núnak*
he R shoo away it	he R throw away it remain	in order to	he IRR go

núbéhúli.
he IRR it (coconut) take come

Build Up6: Limitation Sentence

Nopotich	*nowachohuk*	*umu*	*núnak*
he R shoo away it	he R throw away it remain	in order to	he IRR go

núbéhúli	*honak*	*hwalto.*	*Namudak*	*ati.*
he IRR it (coconut) get come	it (lizard) R go	it (lizard) R go up	like that	only

'He found the coconut and a red-eyed lizard went up and sat on top of this coconut. The lizard went up and sat on it and the man went and shooed it away and threw it away. He shooed it away and threw it away and it went and got up on the coconut again. He shooed it away and threw it away and took the coconut and the lizard went and got up on the coconut again. He shooed it away and threw it away in order to go and bring the coconut. He shooed it away and threw it away in order to go and get the coconut, and the lizard went and went up on the coconut again. It continued just like that.'

Episode3: Execution Paragraph

Statement: Conjunction Sentence

Chabilak	*chabilak*	*chabilak*	*eli*	*hwakliponú*	*wotak*
they R do try	they R do try	they R do try	and then	it (lizard) R tell him	not yet

kwabipe	*iklipenyu*	*eneny*	*bolany.*
IMP go down be	I IRR tell you SG	one	talk

Result: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up1: Conjunction Sentence

Éli	*nabih*	*nape*	*eli*	*honeyagumonú*	*enyudak*	*bolany.*
and so	he R go down	he R be	and then	it (lizard) R tell BENEF him	this	talk

Build Up2: Simple Sentence

Wokúli	*natukemogúk*	*oub*	*umu*	*naltégehw.*
now	he R leave remain	coconut	for	lizard

Build Up3: intransitive Clause

Naitak.
he R get up

'They tried it like that, and tried and tried and tried and tried and then the lizard told him, "Just sit down and I'll tell you something."

And so he went, sat down and the lizard told him this talk. And then he left the coconut for the lizard and got up and went away.'

Finis: Topic Comment Clause

Éli	*chadi*	*oub*	*úli*	*enyobuk.*
and	they R get	coconuts	those who	that (talk)

'And that is the story of those who went to get coconuts.'

Explanatory Text

(811) NM: The Reason for the Fight

Aperture: Simple Sentence (also portmanteau with Text tagmeme manifesting Explanatory Paragraph which manifests Point$_1$ of this discourse)

Sabúl umu enyudak bolany, nyaitak umu nyaitak umu okudak
first when this talk it R arise about it R arise about this F SG

Semetokwa.
Semetokwa (name)
'When this talk (problem) first arose, it was about this woman, Semetokwa.'

Point$_1$: Explanatory Paragraph

Text: Simple Sentence (see Aperture above)

Elaboration: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: Simple Sentence

Eli Inanduwu nanú núgamim, Wial, Lowonem, Wiaman,
and then Inanduwu he R and sons Wial Lowonem Wiaman

chahlitak.
they PL R argue

Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Chahlitak, apak maitak monak. yenamu yekibúl wabúl.
they PL R argue we PL we PL R arise we PL R go I R go to my village

Build Up$_2$: Evaluation Sentence

Yanak yabih yape wak, ulkum molú molali,
I R go I R go down I R be no heart it R think it (heart) R think come

wotak yaltowi.
again I R go up come

'And then Inanduwu and his sons Wial and Lowonem, and Wiaman argued. They argued and so we got up and went. I went to my village. I went and went down to my village and remained – no. I thought and my thoughts came back (to the former residence village) and I came up again.'

Point$_2$: Narrative Paragraph

Setting: transitive Clause

Meagwleh nameitú.
we PL R talk now

Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Meagwleh, Ogimailú neak súluhw.
we PL R talk Ogimailú he R bring/take out rings

Build Up$_2$: Parallel Sentence

Neak súluhw nagabe Wiaman, nakú Wiaman. Neak
he R bring out rings he R propitiate Wiaman he R give Wiaman he R bring

chiknipi nakú Kilal. Neak tékanipi, nakú Lowonem.
full it (leaf) he R give Kilal he R bring part it (leaf) he R give Lowonem

'We are talking about it now. We talked and Ogimailú (other name for Inanduwu) brought out rings. He took out rings and he propitiated Wiaman. He gave some to Wiaman. He took out a two kina bill and gave it to Kilal. He took out one kina and gave it to Lowonem.'

Point3: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Orait Ogimailú nape nagabeagas.
and so Ogimailú he R be he R fix up propitiate

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Nape nagabeagas, munagabe umu nubuakih Bubuamo.
he R be he R propitiate we PL R REFL propitiate about a few days ago Bubuamo village

Build Up3: transitive Clause
Hasuh bul.
they M PL R tie up pig
'And so, in this way Ogimailú continued to propitiate (the people who were angry). He continued to propitiate them – we were fixing up things among outselves a few days ago at Bubuamo village. The men tied up pigs (to give to their exchange partners).'

Point4: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Simple Sentence
Labepim. Labepim nasuh bulguh bioguh.
Labepim Labepim he R tie up pigs two

Build Up2: Simple Sentence
Mutahoguh, munagabemu umu
we PL IRR cut them (pigs) we PL IRR REFL propitiate concerning in order to

mabo enyudak bolany. Sabul umu nyaitak umu.
we PL R hit this talk first about it (talk) R arise about that which
'Labepim, he's the one who tied up two pigs. We will cut them up and fix up this among ourselves (propitiate those angered), in order to make peace concerning the problem which first arose.'

Point5: Dialogue Paragraph
Speech1: Narrative Sentence
Éli Winjú nataglali nalikanú, Wial yek monokeny bolany
and Wingu he R appear come he R ask him Wial I what talk

púklipe? Púke énébal utabal o wok o?
you PL IRR tell me you PL IRR give me some money or not or

Speech3: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Narrative Sentence
Orait yek opahw yowehw, yaitak yalikanú, nyak nyumnek.
therefore I stomach bad it I R arise I R ask him you you IMP hear

Mugabe enyudak bolany? Ogimailú nany. Nyanak
we PL IRR fix this talk Ogimailú he R hit it (talk) it (talk) IRR go

nyunakúk enyobuk élmatokwiny kédak piyagwlepeny.
it (talk) IRR go PERM that (talk) woman of it (talk) later you PL IMP talk it (talk)

Build Up2:
Éli yénaki, yalikanú.
like that I R come I R ask him
'And when Winjú appeared and he asked Wial, "As for me, what talk will you tell me? Will you give me some money, or not?" Therefore I was mad and I arose and I asked him, "You hear? We are about to fix up this problem. Ogimailú will settle it. When it is gone (settled) permanently, you all talk about that problem about the woman, a little later." So I came and asked him.'

Point$_6$: Narrative Paragraph

Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Wial nanaki, nowachakumonú anas wis.
Wial he R come he R hit BENEF him one hand

Build Up$_2$: Parallel Sentence

Lowenam nowachakumonú anas. Ahlechim nowachakumonú
Lowenam he R hit BENEF him one (hand) Ahlechim he R hit BENEF him

anas.
one (hand)

Build Up$_3$: Amplification Sentence

Yek Masina kowachak adagú. Kwechúliyeche, milbú.
I Masina she R throw mud stone she R hit me thigh

Build Up$_4$: Conjunction Sentence

Kwechúliyeche. éli Chinyamia nanaki. nakli
she R hit me and then Chinyamia he R come he R desire

núdúkanú tamiokw Lowenam.
he IRR hit/kill him axe Lowenam

Build Up$_5$: Narrative Sentence

Malpok. mabilak, monak, maluk, Kamujan.
we PL R fight we PL R do we PL R go we PL R go as far as Kamujan ground name

Build Up$_6$: Narrative Sentence

Wial neak chuwus. Peilug nowul witah.
Wial he R bring leaves Peilug he R break lime gourd

Build Up$_7$: Conjunction Sentence

Peilug nowul witah, éli mabilak, mowalabul
Peilug he R break lime gourd and then we PL R do we PL R go down in same village

malu Kamujan.
we PL R go as far as Kamujan ground

Build Up$_8$: Narrative Sentence

Malu Kamujan neak utabal.
we PL R go as far as Kamujan ground he R bring money

Build Up$_9$: Indirect Sentence

Nakli, munagabwemo, wak.
he R say we IRR fix no

Build Up$_{10}$: Conjunction Sentence

Chakli wak. Éli monak méneasu umu.
they R say no and therefore we R go we R go to our own places place

Build Up$_{11}$: Amplification Sentence

Monak mechuh. Apak mabih mechuh.
we R go we R sleep we we R go down we R sleep

'Wial came and he hit him with one hand. Lowenam hit him with one hand; Ahlechim hit him with one hand. As for me, Masina threw mud stone and hit me in the thigh. She hit me and then Chinyamia came and wanted to kill Lowenam with an axe. We fought. We continued fighting and went as far as the ground named Kamunjan. Wial took out money (to offer as a payment for peace). Peilug broke his lime gourd. He broke his lime gourd and then we fought and went down as far as the ground named Kamunjan. We went as

far as the ground named Kamunjan and he (Wial) took money out of his pocket. He wanted to fix up the trouble, but no. They said "No". And therefore we went to our own places. We went and slept. We went down and slept.'

Point7: Execution Paragraph
Setting: Simple Sentence
Wotak wabotug chénaki.
not yet night only they PL.MIX R come

Speech: Direct Sentence
Chaklipanú Wial. Nyulau ki, nyunak Suwawi.
they PL.MIX R tell him Wial you IMP take key you IMP go Suwawi (place)

Nyulau ki, nyunak Suwawi.
you IMP take key you IMP go Suwawi (place)

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Narrative Sentence
Nakih, nanú Peilúg. Hape heagwleh.
he R go up he R and Peilúg they M R be they M R talk

Build Up2: Narrative Sentence
Heagwleh, wanoh hwataglali.
they M R talk fight fight it (fight) R appear come
'While it was still night, they came. They told Wial, "You take the key (to the truck) and go to Suwawi. You take the key and go to Suwawi." He went up – he and Peilúg. They remained talking. They talked and the fight came (i.e. the fighters came).'

Point8: Contrast Paragraph
Setting: Amplification Sentence
Chaaanatimoli Bukinara, Himbru Kubuhun,
they PL.MIX R many all come Bukinara village Himbru village Kubuhun village

chulawali wanoh.
they R bring come fight

Statement: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up1: Continuation Sentence
Chúnaki, Aliwus, Parei, Towi hananú halpok Winjú
they PL.MIX R come Aliwus Parei Towi they M R and be they M R fight Winju

aligú, hakumanú, wabok. Tanio nakumonú
continue they M R hit BENEF him black palm stick Tanio he R hit BENEF him

wabok, nabih nakús.
black palm stick he R go down he R be

Build Up2: Conjunction Sentence
Nabih nakús. wolobaichi chéne bumimanú.
he R go down he R be many PL.MIX they PL.MIX R do surround him

Contrast: Execution Paragraph
Speech: Direct Quote Sentence
Oli Wagiku nakli mapil, júlúg. Aliwus, suh wabok.
but therefore Wagiku he R say sorry enough Aliwus hold black palm stick

Result: Simple Sentence
Oli Aliwus nahwokok.
therefore Aliwus he R hold it (black palm stick)

Eventuation: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Continuation Sentence
Oli *chahiahana,* *nahlwas* *naglúki.* *Aliga*
and so they PL.MIX R round up him he R go afraid he R go down come continue

botake, *botake,* *botake,* *aliga* *chabih* *gani*
hit continue hit continue hit continue until they PL.MIX R go down there

owiny.
down below

Build Up$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Chabih, *chalabulumonú,* *chanú,*
they PL.MIX R go down they PL.MIX R surround him they PL.MIX R hit him

nabih *nakús* *owiny,* *énan* *umu* *yawihas.*
he R go down he R be down below he place garden
'They came, very many of them – Bukinara, Himbru, Kubuhun, and they came and brought the fight. They came: Aliwus, Parei, Towi, and Winjú, they and he fought and continued fighting and hit him with a black palm stick. Tanio hit him with a black palm stick and he went down and stayed. He went down and stayed and many of them surrounded him. But Wagiku said, "Have pity. Enough. Aliwus, hold the black palm stick." Therefore Aliwus held it. And so they rounded him up, and he was afraid and went down and they continued hitting him repeatedly, until they went down there below. They went down and they surrounded him and hit him and he went down and stayed down there below, in some man's garden.'

Point$_9$: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Amplification Sentence
Oli *yek* *aninú* *Ibara* *yek* *yéne* *wari.* *Yek* *opahw* *nyihihichihw.*
therefore I father Ibara I I R do worry I stomach hot it (stomach)

Elaboration$_1$: Direct Quote Sentence
Yakli, *wotak* *ibo* *kipainali.*
I R say not yet I R hit another male

Elaboration$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Ibo *kipainali,* *idalob* *elab.*
I IRR hit another male I IRR pay back it sore

Reinforcement: Conjunction Sentence
Omom *hakumonú* *wabok,* *oli* *yek* *ikumonú* *wabok*
they M they M R hit him black palm stick so I I IRR hit him black palm stick

ananú. *enyudak* *nyunútakúmogúk.*
another male this (talk) it (talk) IRR REFL finish remain

Reason: Conjunction Sentence
Wo *húnali* *wis* *e,* *hakumenali* *wabok*
NEG they M IRR hit him come hands NEG they M R hit him come black palm stick

oli *yakli* *ikumonú* *wabok.* *a* *dakio*
therefore I R want I IRR hit BENEF him black palm stick and therefore

munegabemo.
we IRR REFL fix (make peace)

Result: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Simple Sentence
Éli *echech* *cheoki* *suluhw.*
therefore they PL.MIX they PL.MIX-R bring come rings

Elaboration: Parallel Sentence
Éneny *nyenaki,* *éneny* *nyenak.* *éneny* *nyenaki,*
one (ring) it (ring) R come one (ring) it (ring) R go one (ring) it (ring) R come

yégaluk *éneny,* *éneny* *nyenaki,* *yégalúk* *éneny.*
I R reject return one (ring) one (ring) it (ring) R come I R reject return one (ring)

Comment: Indirect Quote Sentence
Yakli, *chútúk* *chookwinyi* *yoopwinyi,* *bawepiny.*
I R want they PL.MIX IRR bring give very small very good ring name

umu *a* *gúkús.*
so that certainly it (talk) will be

Comment: Indirect Quote Sentence
Keiwakiny *súluhw.* *Éli* *gúkúsúk.*
old ring therefore it (talk) IRR be permanently

Point$_{10}$: Contrast Sentence (not a paragraph)
Kobwi *wata* *mulpak,* *kobwi* *wata* *muhlitak,* *aa*
FUT NEG again we PL IRR fight FUT NEG again we PL IRR argue and

nyunúbú *nyukúsúk.*
it (talk) IRR very it (talk) IRR be permanently
'Therefore I, Ibara, his father, was very concerned and felt bad. I was very angry. I wanted to hit another man. I will hit another man. I will hit another man and repay the wound. They hit him with a black palm stick and so I will hit another man with a black palm stick and the talk will finish as soon as I have hit him (because they hit him and I have repaid the wound). They didn't hit him with their hands. They hit him with a black palm stick. Therefore I want to hit another man with a black palm stick and therefore, in this manner, we will make peace. Therefore they brought rings. One came, and went back. One came, and I rejected it and returned it. Another one came and I rejected it and returned it. I want them to bring a very small, very good *bawepiny* type ring, in order that the quarrel will end. A very old ring, and therefore the quarrel will be settled. We will not fight or argue any more; the quarrel will be settled permanently.'

Closure: Explanatory Paragraph
Text: Conjunction Sentence
Bolany *enyudak,* *yaboyeny* *namudak.* *Éli* *wo* *mugabeagas* *e.*
talk this I R finish it (talk) like that and NEG we IRR fix it (talk) NEG

Wata *nyape.*
more it (talk) R remain

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Peilúg *nalhwas.*
Peilúg he R run away in fear

Elaboration: Conjunction Sentence
Anis *nalhwas* *éli* *yek* *yowakanú* *bolany* *Anis.*
Anis he R run away in fear therefore I I R send talk him talk Anis

Comment: Direct Quote Sentence
Yakli Anis, ehe, nyunaki nyupe.
I R say Anis no you IMP come you IMP be

Result: Narrative Paragraph
Build Up$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Peilúg nanúbú nanak, nakli nupe Bukinara.
Peilúg he R completely he R go he R want he IRR be Bukinara village

Build Up$_2$: Simple Sentence
Wabel atabel, buligún atúgún geneyotuwuk. nubat.
village only pig small only it (pig) R stand remain dog

Comment: Direct Quote Sentence
Yek yakli kobi nyulhwas, nyunaki, nyupe.
I I R say FUT NEG you IMP run away in fear you IMP come you IMP be

Énoh lehuhw nyiohw, nyugabenyuk.
one ring name you IMP bring it (ring) you IMP fix it (talk) permanently
'Concerning this talk, I finished it like that. We have not yet settled the problem. It still remains.

Peilúg ran away and Anis ran away. So I sent talk to him and said, "Anis, no, you come and stay here".

Peilúg went away permanently and wants to live at Bukinara village. Nothing remains in his hamlet, only a small pig and a dog.

I said, "Don't run away in fear, come and stay here and live. Just bring one *lehuw* type clam shell ring and settle the problem permanently".'

Finis: Simple Sentence
Enyedak atin bolany yeyaten.
this only talk I R finish it (talk)
'I finished this story.'

Postscript: Simple Sentence
Bolany wotak nyapwe.
talk more yet it (talk) R be
'The problem still remains.'

Contemporary Procedural Discourse
(812) XG

Procedure$_1$: Procedural Paragraph
Step$_1$: Simple Sentence
Susuboti mogabék.
first we PL R clear

Step$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Mogabék meyatak, malib.
we PL R clear we PL R finish we PL R cut
'First we clear the ground and jungle. We finish clearing it and then we cut the jungle growth.'

Procedure$_2$: Procedural Paragraph
Step$_1$: Continuational Sentence
Malib aliga aliga meyatak.
we PL R cut until until we PL R finish
'We cut the bush and keep on until we finish cutting it.'

Procedure3: Procedural Paragraph
Step1: Narrative Sentence
Meyatak, *wah* *hagún.*
we PL R finish sun it (sun) R burn it (area)

Step2: Narrative Sentence
Wah *hagún,* *molu* *lowas.*
sun it (sun) R burn it (area) we PL R cut branches trees
'We finish cutting the bush and then the sun dries it and we cut the tree branches.'

Procedure4: Procedural Paragraph
Step1: Narrative Sentence
Molu *lowas,* *meyatagas,* *lowas* *sétemu.*
we PL cut branches trees we PL finish them (trees) tree branches they R be on top

wah *hagas.*
sun it (sun) R burn dry them (branches)

Step2: Continuation Sentence
Wah *hagas.* *wah* *hagas,*
sun it (sun) R burn dry them (branches) sun it (sun) R burn dry them (branches)

aliga *aliga* *aliga* *mogúneh.*
until until until we PL R it (garden area) burn

Step3: Narrative Sentence
Mogúneh *húnúgún* *halak* *nalúb.*
we PL R it burn it (fire) R burn it (garden area) they PL.M build fence
'We finished cutting the tree branches, and they (the branches) were there on top of the underbrush, and the sun dried the branches. The sun dried the branches for a long time until we burn the garden area. We burned it and the fire burned the garden area and then the men build a fence.'

Procedure5: Procedural Paragraph
Step1: Narrative Sentence
Malak *nalúb* *élmagou* *wanublúgún.*
we PL R build fence women they F.PL R sweep it (garden area)
'We build fences and finish them and then the women sweep the garden area.'

Procedure6: Procedural Paragraph
Step1: Narrative Sentence
Wanublúgún *weatagún.* *mobani.*
they F.PL R sweep it (garden) they F.PL R finish it (garden area) we PL R plant

Step2: Continuation Sentence
Mobani, *aliga* *aliga* *aliga* *meyatagún.*
we PL R plant until until until we PL R finish garden area
'The women sweep the garden area and finish it and then we plant. We plant and keep on and on until we finish this area.'

Procedure7: Procedural Paragraph
Step1: transitive Clause
Mawu *kakwich.*
we R plant garden food
'We plant garden food.'

Procedure$_8$: Procedural Paragraph

Step$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Meyatech,	*owo*	*wawu*	*núgalúh.*
we finish planting	they F	they F plant	taro

Step$_2$: Narrative Sentence

Wawu	*núgalúh,*	*weyatalúh*	*meyatagún.*
they F R plant	taro	they F.PL R finish them (taro)	we PL R finish it (garden area)

'We finish planting and the women plant taro. They plant taro and finish planting it and so we finish the garden area.'

Procedure$_9$: Procedural Paragraph

Step$_1$: Narrative Sentence

Meyatagún,	*woblak*	*utalúh.*
we PL R finish it (garden area)	they F.PL R take out	grass

Step$_2$: Continuation Sentence

Woblak	*utalúh,*	*aliga*	*aliga*	*aliga*	*utalúh*	*aliga*
they F.PL R take out	grass	until	until	until	grass	until

weyatalúh,	*susubweilúh.*
they F.PL R finish it (grass)	first grass crop

'We finish the garden area and then the women pull out grass. They pull out grass and keep on until they finish taking out the first crop of grass.'

Procedure$_{10}$: Procedural Paragraph

Step$_1$: Continuation Sentence

Susubweilúh,	*aliga*	*ohlabuk.*
first grass crop	until	second grass crop

Step$_2$: Continuation Sentence

Ohlabuk	*aligas*	*olokohunilúh.*	*Aliga*	*ohlobuk*	*aliga*	*yopwich.*
second grass crop	until	middle grass crop	until	fourth grass crop	until	good

Step$_3$: Narrative Sentence

Yopwich,	*munekech,*	*wonekech*
good them (food)	we PL IRR get it (food)	they F.PL get it (food)

wechlúh,	*machah.*
they F.PL R it (food) cook	we PL R it (food) eat

Step$_4$: Continuation Sentence

Ali	*mechah,*	*aliga*	*meyatech.*	*egobuk*	*nahabigú,*
and so	we PL R it (food) eat	until	we PL R finish it (food)	this	garden

monak.
we PL R go

'The women pull out the first grass crop, and keep on until they pull out the second crop, the middle crop, and the fourth grass crop, continuing until the food is mature. When it is mature, we get it, the women fix it and cook it and we eat it. And so we eat it until we have finished the food in this garden and then we go in another place.'

Procedure$_{11}$: Procedural Paragraph

Step$_1$: Amplification Sentence

Monak.	*Monak*	*malib*	*kipaigúnúmu.*
we PL R go	we PL R go	we PL R cut	another place

Step$_2$: transitive Clause
Monek *nebenyi* *moul.*
we PL R do big work

Step$_3$: Conjunction Sentence
Monek *nebenyi* *moul,* *ali* *mawech* *machah.*
we PL R do big work and so we PL R plant we PL eat it (food)

Step$_4$: Narrative Sentence
Monak, *malib* *kipaigúnúmu.*
we PL R go we PL R cut bush another place

Step$_5$: Explanatory Sentence
Malib *kipaigúnúmu,* *mawech.* *Namudak* *mogabék.*
we PL R cut bush another place we PL R plant it (food) like this we PL R clear bush
'We go and having gone, we cut bush at another place. We do hard work and in this way we plant garden food and eat it. We go and cut bush at another place and plant food. We clear the bush like that.'

Procedure$_{12}$: Procedural Paragraph
Step$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Mogabék *meyatak* *malib.*
we PL R clear we PL R finish we PL R cut bush
'We clear a place, finish it, and cut bush.'

Procedure$_{13}$: Procedural Paragraph
Step$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Malib *meyatak,* *molu* *lowas.*
we PL R cut bush we PL R finish we PL R cut branches trees
'We cut bush, finish that, and then cut the branches of trees.'

Procedure$_{14}$: Procedural Paragraph
Step$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Molu *lowas* *meyatagas* *mogúneh.*
we PL R cut branches trees we PL R finish we PL R burn it (garden area)
'We cut branches from the trees, finish cutting them, and we burn the garden area.'

Procedure$_{15}$: Procedural Paragraph
Step$_1$: Narrative Sentence
Mogúneh *meyatagún* *malak* *nalúb.*
we PL R burn it (garden area) we PL R finish (garden area) we PL R build fences

Step$_2$: Narrative Sentence
Malak *nalúb,* *mawu* *kakwich.*
we PL R build fences we PL R plant garden food

Step$_3$:
Mawu *kakwich,* *mataglú* *monak.*
we PL R plant garden food we PL R come out we PL R go
'We burn the garden area, finish burning it, and build fences. Then we plant garden food and come outside and go.'

Closer: Topic Comment Clause
Moulu *nyatúh.*
work it (work) R finish
'The work is finished.'

Final Comment: Topic Comment Clause
Moulu nyatúh.
work it (work) R finish
'The work is finished.'

Finis: Simple Sentence
Bolany senyudak nyeyotu namudak yawihas.
talk this (talk) it (talk) R stand like this gardens
'The talk about making a garden is like this.'

Hortatory Text
(813) HQ: Exhortation to learn to read and work on coffee projects

Introduction: Simple Sentence
Eh yabilak klikli.
oh I did unsuccessfully
'I will try to succeed.' (meaning uncertain)

Stage: Amplification Sentence
Ipak chokwipali welowelo eblúdak wabel Bubuamo pémenek
you PL you small ones young men this village Bubuamo you IMP hear obey

nau. Pémenek éneny enyudak yopwinyi.
now you IMP hear obey some this good
'You small ones, you young men, men of this village Bubuamo, hear and obey now. Hear and obey some good talk.'

Exhortation$_1$: Hortatory Paragraph
Introduction: Simple Sentence
Éli tem chubo belo chuhwalú pénegeitak pénakúk.
and time they hit drum they call IRR you PL IMP get up quickly you PL IMP go

Exhortation: Conjunction Sentence
Pitak pénak pélpogech yah pének yahiny moul
you IMP get up you IMP go you IMP cut road you IMP do road work

mande. Pésuh saris pébo yah mandeih. ali tude
Monday you IMP hold grass knives you IMP hit road Mondays and Tuesday

trinde pének éneny kopiyiny moul.
Wednesday you IMP do some coffee work

Elaboration: Conjunction Sentence
Pilib énagas néhabigas. Pénou kopi pénou éneny
you IMP cut some gardens you IMP plant coffee you IMP plant some

kokou pénou énou ehemeb, ali piyagwleh umu senyudak.
cocoa you IMP plant some coconuts and you IMP talk about about this (work)

Elaboration: Conjunction Sentence
Pupwemu pitakumu piyagwleh enyudak atiny. ali ipak
you IRR sit when you IRR get up when you IMP talk this only and you

tem wabwigún aglúpil pitak pénamoli sugul chopuk.
time afternoon morning you IMP get up you IMP come school again

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Pénaki, apak muwich munek rit rait numun.
you IMP come we we IRR enter we IRR go read write inside

'And so when they beat the drum and call, you get up quickly and go. You get up and go and cut the grass on the road – do road work on Monday. Hold grass knives and work on the road on Mondays. And Tuesday and Wednesday do some work on coffee, cut some bush for gardens, plant coffee, plant some cocoa, plant some coconuts and you talk about this work.

When you are sitting down and when you get up, talk about this work only. And morning and afternoon get up and come to school again. You come and we will enter the school and go inside and do reading and writing.'

Exhortation2: Hortatory Paragraph

Exhortation: Conjunction Sentence

Chokwipali	*to*	*olsem*	*puwich,*	*pének*	*ritrait.*
younger children	also	the same	you IMP enter	you IMP do	reading and writing

ali	*sadehasih*	*mupwemu*	*beten*	*munek*	*beten.*
and	Sundays	we IRR sit for/about	praying	we IRR do	praying

Reason: Evaluation Sentence

eke	*munek*	*mulau*	*keiwakiny*	*sakimu*	*tingting,*	*doumun*	*júlúg.*
FUT	we IRR do	we IRR get	old	knowledge	thinking	today	enough

Reinforce: Narrative Sentence

eke	*wihluwehlu*	*pémenek*	*enyudak*	*pitak*	*pénak*	*pének*
FUT	every day	you IMP hear	this	you IMP get up	you IMP go	you IMP do

bisinis.
business

'You younger children also enter and do reading and writing, and on Sundays we will remain sitting for prayer, we will pray. We will get and use the old system of knowledge and thinking, until now. Today it's finished.

Every day you hear this talk, get up and go and do some business.'

Exhortation3: Hortatory Paragraph

Motivation: Conjunction Sentence

Nabotik	*komiti*	*nanaki*	*naklipapú*	*enyudak*	*bolany.*	*mémenek,*
yesterday	committee man	he R come	he R tell us	this	talk	we R heard

ali	*namaitú,*	*pichuh?*
and	now	you IRR sleep

Exhortation: Amplification Sentence

Pének	*tingting*	*umu*	*enyudak*	*moul.*	*pitak*	*pének*	*éneny*
you IMP do	think	about	this	work	you IMP get up	you IMP do	some

bisnisiny	*moul,*	*ali*	*eheh*	*nyumneh*	*nyumneh*	*pénamoli*	*sugul.*
business	work	and	every	days	days	you IMP come	school

Elaboration: Negative Sentence

Pénaki	*pének*	*sugul,*	*apakib*	*lainab*	*éhlim,*	*mamaliwu,*
you IMP come	you IMP do	school	our	age grade	fathers	mothers

inoken	*pének*	*bigihet,*	*wok.*
do not	you IMP do	stubbornly	no

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence

Ali	*ipak*	*chokwipali*	*welowelo*	*nagún*	*ipak*	*chokwipali*	*pitak*
and	you	young ones	unmarrieds	also	you	small ones you	you IMP get up

pénamoli *sugul.* *pénaki* *pupwe.*
you IMP come school you IMP come you IMP be

Reinforcement: Negative Sentence
Kobwi *peluk* *bagúl,* *pének* *énechi* *énech.* *piyagwleh* *wilpat,*
FUT NEG you IMP do playing you IMP do some some you IMP talk house

Piyakés *pének* *pani* *wok!*
you IMP laugh you IMP do funny thing no
'Yesterday the local committee man came and told us this talk. We heard it and now are you going to sleep? Think strongly about this work. Get up and do some work for growing cash crops. Come and go to school.

Our age grade also, fathers and mothers do not refuse stubbornly to come, no. And you young ones and unmarried people, you also get up and come to school. Come and remain there. Don't play around and do all kinds of things and talk inside the literacy building. Don't laugh and do funny things, no!'

Exhortation4: Hortatory Paragraph
Exhortation: Narrative Sentence
Puwich *pépwemu* *sugul,* *pupwe* *pupwe* *pupwe*
you IMP enter you IMP be BENEF school you IMP be you IMP be you IMP be

pupwe *sugul.*
you IMP be school

Comment: Simple Sentence
Nyutúh *pétaglú* *pénak.*
it (school) IRR finish you IMP go out you IMP go

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Pétaglú *pénak,* *pénetinyumu* *bisinis* *pénou*
you IMP go out you IMP go you IMP think about business you IMP plant

élokonihw *élmagou* *puwu* *aninyan* *tumato* *kapis,* *boboyah.*
sweet potatoes women you IMP plant onions tomatoes cabbage pawpaws

péne *ting.*
you IMP do think
'You enter for school and remain there in school. When it is finished, go out and go. Go out and go and think about cash crops. Plant sweet potatoes – you women, plant sweet potatoes. Plant onions, tomatoes, cabbage, and pawpaws and think about this.'

Exhortation5: Hortatory Paragraph
Motivation: Simple Sentence
Gavman *nawichi* *napwe* *apakip* *étap* *namaitú.*
government officer he enter he R be out ground now

Exhortation: Conjunction Sentence
Napwe *pomalmal,* *ali* *pénou* *echúdak.*
he R be four malmal and so you IMP plant these things

Exhortation: Narrative Sentence
Tem *yah* *hukli* *huwichi,* *na* *pébék* *maket.*
when road it IRR say it IRR enter and you IMP put market

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Pébék *pénosuh* *étum* *ati* *utabal.*
you IMP put you IMP REFL hold one each money

Elaboration: Simple Sentence
Na chabilomu lo, nyuwichi épúdak hap épakip.
and they R do law it (law) IRR come this place ours
'A government officer has come in and now lives on our ground. He lives at Four Malmal. So you plant these things I mentioned. When the road is finished and comes in there, build a market. You build it and each one of you will get some money. And they follow the law which has come into this place of ours.'

Exhortation6: Hortatory Paragraph
Motivation: Simple Sentence
Namaitú gavman nanú apak nape stret
now government officer he R and we he R live/remain right here
Bubuamo.
Bubuamo

Motivation: Narrative Sentence
na Halipeim nuhwalú nuhwalomu sugul.
and Halipeim he IRR call he IRR call for school

Exhortation: Narrative Sentence
Núbo belo inoken pének bighetumonú.
he IRR hit drum NEG IMP you IMP do refuse

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Pémenekúk étuk belo, pitak pénaki pénebumumu
you IMP hear PERM one drum you IMP get up you IMP come you IMP gather for
sugul.
school

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Pénaki pének sugul.
you IMP come you IMP do school

Elaboration: Narrative Sentence
Wabigún pénekeny, aglúpil pénekeny wab.
afternoon you IMP do it morning you IMP do it night
'Now a government officer is living with us, right here at Bubuamo. And Halipeim will hit the drum, don't refuse him. When you hear the first drum beat, get up and come and gather for school. Come and go to school. Do school afternoon, morning, and night.'

Exhortation7: Hortatory Paragraph
Introduction: Simple Sentence
Douk namaitú yekotuwe yanú chokwichi étich mape.
and of course now I only I R and young ones they only we R be

Exhortation: Conjunction Sentence
Yakli apak nebepali nagún pitaki. mupwemu sugul,
I R want us important ones us also you IMP come we IRR be for school
mupwemu rit/rait ali munedúkemú énégén chokugún
we IRR be for reading and writing and so we IRR understand some small part
meoh.
nothing

Warning: Warning Sentence
Deke *mupe* *meoh,* *echúdak* *kandre* *chúnaki.*
FUT we IRR be nothing these new country independence they IRR come

pitaki *utabal* *wok* *nebel* *e.*
you IRR get up come money not some not

Reinforcement: transitive Clause
bai *pebelúhúl* *égnúmu?*
FUT you IRR it (money) hold where

Comment: Amplification Sentence
Ipak *núgamim* *papwe* *júlúg,* *pechuh* *júlúg.*
you sons you R be enough you R sleep enough

Exhortation: Narrative Sentence
A *pitakúmu* *énen* *bisinis,* *namaitú* *pénekeny.*
PAST you IMP arise BENEF some business now you IMP do it

'Of course, now only I and the young ones we only are remaining in the class. I want us important ones (older men) to get up and come to sit for school and learn to read and write, and then we will understand some small part ourselves.

Lest we remain without this education, when these people come at independence you will get up and come, but won't have any money. Where will you get some money to hold, anyway? You young men, our sons, have done nothing for long enough. You have slept long enough. Get up and start some cash crop work – do it now.'

Exhortationg: Hortatory Paragraph

Exhortation: Conjunction Sentence
Yek *Ibara* *yeyagwleheny* *enyudak* *bolany.* *yaklipepú,* *ali*
I Ibara I R talk it this talk I R tell you PL and so

pémenek *yekinyumu,* *penenek* *moulú* *bisnis.*
you IMP hear my (talk) that which you IMP REFL do work business

Reason: Topic Comment Clause
Bisnisiny *bolany,* *apak* *munek* *ritrait.*
business talk/custom we we IRR do reading and writing

Reason: Warning Sentence
Deke *nitak* *núnak* *énabel* *wabel,* *núnak* *nigipwechúk,*
FUT he IRR get up he IRR go another village he IRR go he IRR show them remain

ali *bihain* *apak* *mupwe* *koulon.*
and later we we IRR be ignorant

Reason: Narrative Sentence
Apak *mulik* *nakli* *núgilapú* *apak* *mulik* *apak*
we we IRR be first he R desire he IRR teach us us we IRR be first we

éblúdak *wabilipe* *apak* *mulik* *mupwemu* *ritrait.*
this you of this village we we IRR be first we IRR be BENEF reading-writing

'I, Ibara, I talked this talk; I told you. So hear and obey my talk: do work for cash crops. The reason is that the customs and talk of business are that we do reading and writing. Lest he get up and go to another village and go and show them how to read and write and later we will be ignorant.

We will be first. He wants to teach us and we will be first – us the people of this village, we will be first to remain for the purpose of learning to read and write.'

Exhortation$_{10}$: Interrogative Paragraph
Question: transitive Clause
Orait, pémenek?
well you R hear obey

Summary: transitive Clause
Pémenek enyudak yekin bolany.
you IMP hear this my talk
'Well, did you hear? You all hear and obey this talk of mine.'

Finis: Simple Sentence
Yek enyudak yaklipepú nyatúh bolany.
I this I R tell you OBJ it R finish talk
'I have told you this talk and it's finished.'

Postscript: Hortatory Paragraph
Motivation: Narrative Sentence
O wosik wolobaipali yek yaklipepú wosik.
yes O.K. all of you I I R tell you OBJ thank you

Exhortation: transitive Clause
Pemenek gut umu yek.
you IMP hear/obey well about me
'Yes, thank you, all of you, I have told you and it's all right. Listen well to my talk and obey it.'

NOTE

1. During this research, considerable use was made of a concordance of 59,447 morphemes of text in Bukiyip (Mt Arapesh) made on the IBM 360/50 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 in part by Grant GS 1605 of the National Science Foundation.

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APPENDIX: Summary of Morphophonological Rules

Where V_r = *u, o* (rounded vowels)
V_c = *ú, é, a* (central unrounded vowels)
$V_u = V_c$ + *i, e, ae* (unrounded vowels)
C = any consonant
C_{alv} = *y, ny, ch, j* (alveopalatal consonants)
C_r = *m, b, h, w, p* (rounded consonants)
V_f = *i, e, ae* (front vowels)

1. $V_cC_{alv} \rightarrow V_fC_{alv}$
2. *w + ú → u*
   ú + w → uw
   i + ú → i (semivowel rule)
3. *ny + u → nyú*, unless another *u* occurs in the following syllable within the phonological word
4. *ú* + $C_rV_r \rightarrow$ *u*C_rV_r
   é + $C_rV_r \rightarrow$ *o*C_rV_r
5. *a* + $CV_c \rightarrow$ *é*CV_c
6. V_c + C + *w* → V_rCw, if V_c is not *a*
7. C*w* + $V_r \rightarrow CV_r$
8. *i# + i → i*
9. *#w + é → #wo*
10. *m# +ú → mu*, except when *mú* precedes the sequence voiced stop *+ ú; mén → mon*
11. #V_c + *t*V_r → *ot*V_r
12. *e# + úk → eik*
13. C# + $CV_c \rightarrow CV_cCV_c$ (V_c are same vowel)
    C# + C_{alv} + *i* → C_r*i*C_{alv}*i*
14. *ú* + C# + *u* → *u*C*u*
15. *ú#* + C + *#u* → *o*C*u#*
16. V_rC_r# + *ú* → V_rC_r*u*
17. *u# + ú→ uwu*
18. *ú# + u → o*
19. *w*- deletion: C(C)# + *w* → C(C)
20. *k* deletion: *k#* + C → C
21. *ú*- deletion: C_1*ú*C_2# + V → C_1C_2V
22. *lh* metathesis: *lh# → hl#*
23. semivowel insertion: V_r# + V → V_r*w*V; V_u# + V_r → V_u*w*V_r; V_u# + V_u → V_u*y*V_u
24. vowel insertion: (C_1)C_2# + C_3V_1 → (C_1)$C_2V_2C_3V_1$

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