SELEPET GRAMMAR

PART I: FROM ROOT TO PHRASE

by

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0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 GENERAL

This present paper represents a slight revision of chapters 4-7 of the writer's unpublished thesis *The Selepet Language within the Finisterre-Huon Phylum, New Guinea.* (Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U.) Canberra. 1970. The model applied to the analysis of the root, stem, word and phrase levels of the Selepet grammatical hierarchy is the tagmemic model as espoused by K.L. Pike (1967) and R.E. Longacre (1964). It is planned to publish a description of the higher grammatical levels of Selepet at a later date. Previous published studies of Selepet by the writer include vocoid clusters (McElhanon, 1967), kinship (1968), morphophonemics (1970d), phonology (1970a), pronominal elements (1970b), verb morphology (1970c) and a dictionary (McElhanon and McElhanon, 1970). For the relationship of Selepet to other non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea see McElhanon and Voorhoeve (1970), McElhanon (forthcoming), Wurm (forthcoming-a) and Wurm (forthcoming-b).

The Selepet people live on the northern slopes of the Saruwaged Mountains in the Morobe District, Papua New Guinea. There are two dialects of the language, 88% lexicostatistically related. The northern dialect is spoken by about 3,000 people living in ten villages (Domut, Hongo, Kabum, Kondolo, Konimdo, Nimbako, Pendeng, Satop, Sorong and Wap) located in the lower Pumune River valley and on the seaward side of the coastal ridge (see map). The southern dialect is spoken by about 2,500 people living in three villages (Indum, Wekae and Selepet) in the upper Pumune valley and three villages (Belombibi, Karangan and Kulawi) located near the coast. These latter three villages represent a migration from the upper Pumune valley about a century ago. Also as a result of this migration the speech of the people living in Domut, Satop, Pendeng and Hongo shows influence from the southern dialect. The southern dialect is also spoken by an undetermined number
of bilingual Komba people living in four villages (Erendengan, Gilang, Upat and Tipsit) with a total population of over 2,000. The data upon which this description is based were collected primarily in Indum village during 1964-69 while the writer was under the auspices of the Australian National University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Analysis of the data was facilitated by use of a concordance of 25,000 words of text in the southern dialect of Selepet. This concordance was made on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation.
0.2 ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations which occur frequently in this grammar are presented below. Other abbreviations are given in the text with the terms they represent.

ld  first person, dual number
lp  first person, plural number
ls  first person, singular number
2-3d second or third person, dual number
2-3p second or third person, plural number
2s  second person, singular number
3s  third person, singular number
Acc. Accompaniment tagmeme
acc. accompaniment enclitic
Acc.P. Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase
Act. Actor tagmeme of the Intransitive Clause
AddO-CoNP Additive Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
aj.  adjective class
ajct. adjunct class
ajH.  Head tagmeme of the Adjectival Phrase
ajzer.  adjectivizer
AltO-CoNP Alternative Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
ante. antecedent action
Att. Attributive tagmeme
auxH.  Head tagmeme of the Auxiliary Verb Phrase
auxP. auxiliary Predicate tagmeme
av.  adverb class
AVP. Auxiliary Verb Phrase
avzer.  adverbalizer
Ax.  Axis tagmeme of axis-releator phrases
Bene. Benefaction allotagma

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<td>demonstrative pronoun class</td>
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<td>Delayed Intensive Verb Phrase</td>
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<td>dp.cl.</td>
<td>dependent clause</td>
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<td>DVP.</td>
<td>Desiderative Verb Phrase</td>
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<td>GNP.</td>
<td>General Noun Phrase</td>
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<td>H.</td>
<td>Head tagmeme of the GNP.</td>
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<td>hab.</td>
<td>habituative mode</td>
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<td>hbt.</td>
<td>future tense, habituative mode</td>
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<td>hetero.</td>
<td>subject of following verb is hetero-personal (different)</td>
</tr>
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<td>homo.</td>
<td>subject of following verb is homo-personal (same)</td>
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<td>inceptive future tense</td>
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<td>ift.</td>
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<td>immediate past tense</td>
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<td>lit.</td>
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<td>loc.</td>
<td>locative enclitic</td>
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Loc.P.  Locative Axis-relator Phrase
M.  Manner tagmeme
man.  manner enclitic
Man.P.  Manner Axis-relator Phrase
div.  intransitive verb class
nomzer.  nominalizer
num.  numeral class
O.  Object tagmeme
oCH.  Head tagmeme of the Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
O-CoNP.  Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase
oH.  Head tagmeme of the ONP.
ONP.  Origin Noun Phrase
o.pr.  verbal object-marking affix
past.  past tense
per.  person
perm.  permissive mode
p.m.  nominal possession-marking suffix
Poss.  Possession tagmeme
poss.  possessive enclitic
Poss.P.  Possessive Axis-relator Phrase
pres.  present tense
proh.  prohibitive mode
punct.  punctiliar mode
Qual.  Qualifier tagmeme
Quant.  Quantifier tagmeme
r.  root
Rel.  Relator tagmeme
rft.  remote future tense
rpt.  remote past tense
S.  Subject tagmeme of the Transitive Clause
s.  stem
simul.  simultaneous action
s.m.  verbal subject-marking suffix
s.o.  someone
s.th.  something
sub.  subject enclitic
Sub.P.  Subject Axis-relator Phrase
T.  Time tagmeme
time (temporal) class
Transitive Clause
temporal suffix
Predicate tagmeme of the Transitive Clause
transitive verb class
transitive verb root, subclass I
transitive verb root, subclass II
transitive verb root, subclass III
verbalizer
Braces enclose a morpheme with allomorphic variants other than those based upon morphophonemic processes.
A colon in the formula means "is manifested by; is expounded by".
1. ROOTS

1.1 PROBLEMS IN CLASSIFICATION

Most, if not all, languages exhibit phenomena which render difficult the classification of the minimum free forms, whether these be called words, stems or roots. Often these phenomena may be explained in various ways, so that one may not say that one particular treatment is correct while another is incorrect. Rather, each treatment must be judged in terms of utility, economy and internal consistency.

Longacre (1964) states that both the level of word and the level of stem are said to be represented by syntagmemes, i.e., construction types. By so defining word and stem the problem of classification is removed to the level of the root. Whereas word and stem classes in general are definable according to structural (morphological) criteria, root classes are definable only according to distributional (syntactic) criteria. It is when one has to rely solely on distributional criteria that problems arise in the classification, for within a significantly large corpus of data one can expect forms to occur with distributional overlap.

The selected data given below serve to illustrate the problem of classifying roots in Selepet.

There are a few roots which occur only in single compounds. These forms are similar to the English form *cran-* in *cranberry*. The root *wārā* occurs only in the compound *wārā to ‘female siblings* in which the root *tou ‘elder sister* (male speaker) is identifiable. The root *nim* occurs only in the compound *nimnāom ‘children* in which the root *nāom ‘child* is identifiable.

There are other roots, primarily kinship terms and body parts, which occur only with nominal affixation or in compounds. The form *ata ‘elder brother* occurs with nominal affixation as in *atane ‘my elder brother* or in compounds as in *ata imi ‘male siblings*.
Some roots occur with optional nominal affixation, but occur un-
affixed as the first element of compounds or as free forms in certain
phrase and clause level tagmemes. The form lok man occurs with nominal
affixation as in lokənherhusband, without affixation in the Head (H.)
tagmeme of the General Noun Phrase (GNP.) with the meaningmen, without
affixation in the Qualifier (Qual.) tagmeme of the GNP. with the
meaningmaleor in the compoundlokibiadults, people from lok+ibiwomana.

A few roots occur with optional nominal affixation and also with an
adjectivizer suffix. For example, the form kut occurs optionally with
nominal affixation meaningnamebut also occurs with an adjectivizer
suffix-dâas in kutdâfamous.

Many roots occur with wide, but slightly variant, ranges of dis-
tribution in the nuclei of distinct word classes and as free forms in
certain higher level tagmemes. Often these roots also occur in the cores
of stem classes. The form bâleoccurs in compounds such as biwibâle
(lit. insides bad)sadness, in the Qual. tagmeme of the GNP. with the
suffix-ânase in bâlenèbad, in the Manner tagmeme with a suffix having
the same phonological shape and meaningbadly, in the core of a trans-
itive verb stem with a verbal object-marking suffix as in bâlenekdove
to me, in the nucleus of the intransitive verb as in bâleapit
turned out badly, or reduplicated and added to another root as in sen
bâle bâleaglare.

The form betoccurs without affixation in the Manner tagmeme aslater,
affected by reduplication in the Manner tagmeme as betbetbackwards or
in the Head tagmeme of the GNP. as kind of grub (which is reputed to
crawl upside down on its back), with nominal affixation as in betnè
its back, in the Complement (Com.) tagmeme of the Auxiliary Verb Phrase
(AVP.) as in bet yaphe followed, and in the core of the transitive
verb stem as in betnohoturn one's back on me.

A number of roots never occur as free forms but occur only in
compounds, as derived forms, or in the nuclei of particular word
classes. For example, the form âlipoccurs in compounds as in biwiaâliphappiness, with the suffix-âncestor Qual. tagmeme as
âlipnègood or in the Manner tagmeme as well, and reduplicated in the
Manner tagmeme as âlîwâlipexcellently.

The form arioccurs in the nucleus of the intransitive verb as in
ariaphe went or reduplicated in the Head tagmeme of the GNP. as in
ariari going.
Although the foregoing data by no means exhaust the possibilities of variant overlapping distributions of roots, they do serve to illustrate the complexity of root classification in Selepet.

1.2 STANDARD SOLUTIONS

Four possible solutions to positing classes on the basis of distribution are given by Bazell (1958:7) and discussed in reference to Rarotongan by Buse (1965). These solutions may be restated as follows:

1.2.1 The first is to state that word classes overlap so that the same root may share membership in more than one class. Thus lok, when manifesting the Qual. tagmeme, may be classified as an adjective male, but when manifesting the Head tagmeme of the GNP. may be classified as a noun man. This then is a distributional statement by which the root is identified according to the syntactic positions it manifests.

1.2.2 The second is to set up classes so that the functional range of one class may include all or part of another class. Presumably one would posit wârâ as class one because it occurs only as an element of a compound, ata as class two because it occurs as an element of a compound and in the nucleus of a word class with particular affixation, pato as class three because it has a broader distribution and so forth.

1.2.3 The third is to set up classes and then state the overlap in terms of total or partial homophoneity of the roots of the various classes. Thus lok man as a noun is simply homophonous with lok male as an adjective.

1.2.4 The fourth is to set up a single class of roots (bases) and then to posit gaps in the distribution of these bases in the syntactic positions (tagmemes). This distribution can be handled in a distributional paradigm.

1.2.5 The first solution is essentially that followed in the Selepet-English Dictionary (McElhanon and McElhanon, 1970), in which forms were classified (often in more than one class) largely on distributional criteria. That distributional criteria are important cannot be denied, but alone they are quite unsatisfactory for the analysis of Selepet.

Due to the extreme variability in the distributional patterns of the roots, the second solution soon leads to such a profusion of classes that the analysis becomes unmanageable and economy in the description is sacrificed.
The third solution is the mirror image of the first and subject to the same difficulties. Rather than assigning a multiplicity of class memberships to the roots, one posits a multiplicity of homophonous roots.

The fourth solution encounters difficulty in that the statement of the distributional paradigms is complex because of the variability in the distributional patterns. Moreover, some groups of semantically related forms occur with a limited distribution, e.g., demonstrative pronouns.

1.3 HIERARCHY OF CRITERIA

It is convenient to posit a hierarchy of criteria for the classification of roots, stems and words with the primary criterion at the top of the hierarchy. In the classification of Selepet roots, stems and words which follows, structural (morphological) criteria are given primary value. Word classes are set up on the basis of contrasting types of syntagmemes and the roots manifesting the nuclei are unambiguously identified if they occur in the nucleus of only one type of syntagmeme.

Syntactic (distributional) criteria are then used in assigning labels to these structural classes; e.g., a word may be assigned the label 'noun' because it manifests certain tagmemes which in turn are assigned such labels as 'Head' or 'Attributive'. Roots or stems are distinguished from words by the addition of 'root' or 'stem' following the syntactic label: thus transitive verb (tv.), transitive verb stem (tvs.), transitive verb root (tvr.).

There is little difficulty in assigning such syntactic labels to words because in general a particular word class manifests only one higher level tagmeme. On the level of stem, however, there are cases in which a stem may manifest more than one tagmeme and in these cases the label is assigned according to the tagmeme which is most often manifested by the stem class. That is, if the forms ending in -qe function primarily as adjectives and only a few of these function as adverbs, then the adjectival function is considered primary and the forms are classified as adjectives although a few of them also function as adverbs.

1.3.1 When it comes to the assignment of labels to roots (i.e., the classification of roots) it is more difficult because the assignment has to be done solely on distribution. The starting point for the
classification is with groups of semantically related items which alone manifest a single tagmeme. These semantically and functionally related groups are potential classes and once they are identified they are assigned a class label. Groups may be considered as etic and classes as emic.

If group $a$ alone manifests tagmeme $A$, then this group may be identified unambiguously as class $a$ on the basis of this unique relationship. In such cases it is convenient to give the tagmeme and class identical labels. An example of this is the Demonstrative tagmeme manifested by the class of demonstratives (Dem:dem).

Once a class is so identified it does not mean that the class has no further distribution. On the contrary, such a class may have quite a wide distribution but its classification is not based on this further distribution. This further distribution, however, does play an important role in the identification of other classes. Thus class $a$ may have a distribution which overlaps with that of other semantically related groups, for example group $b$. If group $b$ shares the manifestation of tagmeme $B$ with class $a$ only, then group $b$ can be identified as class $b$. That is to say, all the forms belonging to class $a$ may be omitted in the classification of the forms manifested in tagmeme $B$, so that theoretically group $b$ alone manifests tagmeme $B$. One may say that group $b$ is primary and class $a$ is secondary in the manifestation of tagmeme $B$. If class $a$ did not occur in tagmeme $B$, then group $b$ would have a unique relationship with tagmeme $B$. On the other hand, if group $b$ did not occur, then class $a$ would have to be redefined in terms of a wider distribution because it alone would manifest two tagmemes, or alternatively, the tagmemes $A$ and $B$ would have to be considered as allotagmemes. In assigning a label to class $b$, however, a label different from that for tagmeme $B$ should be used because the tagmeme in reality manifests two classes. It should perhaps be noted here that not all tagmemes will be significant in the classification of word or stem level syntagmemes or roots.

This process of classification is continued with groups of semantically related forms of ever wider distributions until all the groups are unambiguously identified or until the remaining forms show such a variety of distributions that they cannot be unambiguously classified. This process reduces the number of ambiguous roots and thereby simplifies the application of any of the four solutions outlined above.
1.3.2 In the process of classification it is advantageous to work down the grammatical hierarchy and to classify free forms on the basis of their distribution in clause level tagmemes. This is because very rarely do free forms occur manifesting more than one clause level tagmeme. That is to say, if mukan occurs in the Time tagmeme it is very unlikely that it will also manifest the Subject or Manner tagmemes. In lower levels, particularly that of the word, these root forms may occur in the nucleus of a single syntagmeme or in the nuclei of a variety of syntagmemes. For example, it has been noted that bet occurs in the nucleus of the noun as in betne his back and in the core of the transitive verb stem as in betnoho turn one's back on me. On the basis of this distribution the form bet cannot be unambiguously classified; i.e., it functions every bit as much as a verb root as it does as a noun root. But, because as a free form it manifests the clause level Manner tagmeme, it can be classified as an adverb. Similarly pato occurs as a free form in the Qual. tagmeme. Although it also occurs with nominal affixation, it may be classified as an adjective root.

The morpheme girin occurs as a free form in the Head and Attributive (Att.) tagmemes of the GNP, and can be classified as a noun, although it also occurs with verbal suffixation as in girinsan I laughed and with a derivational suffix -då as in girindå good natured, jolly.

1.3.3 Derivational processes involve reduplication and/or suffxation. Derivational suffixes differ from structural suffixes in that, with but one exception, they are not inflectional. Because structural suffixes are inflectional they are given primacy over the derivational suffixes in assigning class membership. Thus egat which occurs with nominal structural suffixes as in egatne my neck, egatge your neck, and with the adjectivizer -då as in egatdå mature is regarded as a noun root rather than as an adjective root or word base.

1.3.4 Reduplication as a derivational process also is given secondary status. In a case where a reduplicated form is derived from a root which occurs only in the nucleus of a word syntagmeme, the root may be classified according to the word nucleus tagmeme it manifests because structural suffixes are given primacy over derivational suffixes or processes. Thus in gare gure intertwined (adjunct stem) the root gare only occurs elsewhere in the core of the transitive verb stem and so may be classified as a transitive verb root.
1.3.5 When a root occurs only affected by derivational suffixes and reduplication, the derivational suffixes are given primacy over the reduplication. The root kält may be classified as a transitive verb root because its occurrence in the core of the transitive verb stem kält-ku to deceive s.o. has primacy over its occurrence in reduplicated forms kält kält deception (noun stem) and kält målt in a deceitful manner (adverb stem). Also lohot lohot weakly (adverb stem) is secondary to lohot-ñe weak (adjective stem) and lohot-e to weaken (intransitive verb stem).

1.3.6 If different derivational suffixes occur with a root and the resulting stems manifest tagmemes found at different levels of the grammatical hierarchy, the class is assigned on the basis of the highest tagmeme manifested. Thus in lohot-ñe weak and lohot-e to weaken the root lohot may be classified as an adjective root on the basis that lohotñe manifests a phrase level Qual. tagmeme but lohot-e manifests a word level verb nucleus tagmeme.

1.3.7 When a root occurs only in the core of a single derived stem class or as the base element of a reduplicated form, one may resort to analogical criteria in the classification. That is, if it can be shown, for example, that adjectives derived by the adjectivizer -dâ are always derived from noun roots in the unambiguous cases, then it may be posited that the ambiguous cases also represent derivation from a noun root. Thus derepda paralytic and derepku to paralyse s.th. may both be said to be derived from the posited noun root *derep paralysis. Inasmuch as such posited roots have not been observed occurring alone as free forms they are marked by an asterisk.

1.3.8 Moreover, analogical criteria are useful in determining the class of some roots which occur as free forms in more than one tagmeme at the same level. For example the following roots indicating colour occur as follows:

in the GNP. Head tag- in the Qual. tagmeme, in the core of the tvs.

helen firehood helen black helen-gu to blacken s.th
kuriŋ rust kuriŋ red kuriŋ-gu to ripen
kaok European kaok white kaok-gu to have dry rot

The roots kuriŋ rust and kaok European may be omitted in the considerations because these are obvious semantic extensions of the roots found
in the Qual. tagmeme as a result of the Europeans' arrival. Because of these gaps in the pre-European speech of the people, one may posit that all of these roots are adjective roots, and that the root *hele* evidences an extension of meaning to include the referent *firehood*.

1.3.9 In some cases it is necessary to posit an unclassified root which, although not occurring as a free form, is clearly isolatable due to its occurrence in compounds. Thus the unclassified root *wârâ* may be posited on the basis of its occurrence in the compound *wârâ tou* female siblings in which the root *tou* *elder sister* (male speaker) occurs. ³

1.4 THE CLASSIFICATION

This process of classification removes most of the ambiguities which would have occurred had the four possible solutions from Bazell (1958) been applied at the outset. Only a few remaining roots cannot be unambiguously identified. These may be grouped into a single class and labelled 'word bases'.

Applying this process of classification to Selepet roots yields the following syntactic classes of roots.

1.4.1 Adjective roots may be divided into a number of semantic subclasses on the basis of their post-Head order when differing members of the subclasses occur in repeated GNP. Qual. tagmemes. Some of the members of the subclass of quality also occur in the Att. tagmeme. Adjectives of quantity occur in the Quantifier (Quant.) tagmeme.

1.4.1.1 The adjective roots indicating colour form a closed subclass including the basic colours plus patterns describing hair, fur and feathers. Some examples are:

-hele black       kaok white       lebe ginger brown
-golá leaf green  kisi blue       kamatâ tawny

1.4.1.2 The adjective roots indicating sex are lok male and ibi female.

1.4.1.3 Some of the adjective roots indicating age are:

ago new, young    sihan youthful    sobo old

1.4.1.4 The adjective roots indicating quality include:

hulin wild       maren tame        kamen empty
-salek clean     tânât useless     lowut unripe
1.4.1.5 The adjective roots indicating size include:
- *pato* big
- *tilipâ* minute

1.4.1.6 The adjective roots indicating shape include:
- *kâlip* long
- *bawalan* thin

1.4.1.7 The adjective roots indicating quantity include:
- *sabe* plenty
- *nerek* all
- *amon* how many

1.4.2 Adjuncts are a class of roots which occur in the Com. tagmeme of
the AVP. Since they carry the meaning and the auxiliary verb serves to
manifest the verbal affixation both forms are given here. Only a few
verbs serve as auxiliary verbs so that a sub-classification on the basis
of the co-occurring auxiliary verb is useful. One subclass would occur
with *sâ-* to say and another with *ot-* to do. A limited number of other
verbs occur but they require listing and may be found in the Selepel-
English Dictionary (McElhanon and McElhanon, 1970). Some examples are:
- *putuk yap* it collapsed
- *âbu oap* it was inflamed
- *purik yap* it turned around
- *aman ek* to dream

Adjunct roots may be intensified by reduplication as in *purik yap it
turned around*, *purilrik yap it rotated*.

1.4.3 Adverb roots occur in the Manner tagmeme and include the
following:
- *haomâ* alway
- *dârek dârek* freely, additionally
- *bâsok* nearly
- *bâhâ* almost
- *iholok in spite of* in freely, just

Adverb roots may be intensified by reduplication or the addition of
the unrestricted suffix -âk only.

Reduplication:
- *ârâdândânâg* complete
- *âllogologo* very fruitful from *âllogo* well, healthy

Addition of suffix -âk:
- *ârâdânâgâk* completely sufficient from *ârâdân* sufficiently
- *getahâk* very shortly from *getek* soon

1.4.4 Demonstrative pronoun roots may be divided into two subclasses
on the basis of slightly different distribution: the regular demonstrative
pronoun roots and the interrogative demonstrative pronoun roots.
1.4.4.1 The regular demonstrative pronoun roots are fused forms which consist of formatives indicating position and distance relative to the speaker and hearer. The linear order of the vectors is position and distance. The position formatives are: $y$- this, that, $ed$- that over there, $eb$- that down below and $ew$- that up above. The distance formatives are: $-u$ near and $-a$ distant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$yu$</td>
<td>this, these (near the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ya$</td>
<td>that, those (near the hearer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$edu$</td>
<td>that, those over there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$eda$</td>
<td>that, those over there (distantly removed from both speaker and hearer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ewu$</td>
<td>that, those up there (near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ewa$</td>
<td>that, those up there (distant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ebu$</td>
<td>that, those down there (near)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$eba$</td>
<td>that, those down there (distant)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pronouns occur in a fourth order post-Head Demonstrative tagmeme of the GNP. and thus frequently qualify the indefinite pronoun roots.

kât pato $ya$ (H: stone, Qual: big, Dem: that) 'that big stone'

âlâ $ya$ (Ind: another, Dem: that) 'that other one'

1.4.4.2 Interrogative demonstrative pronouns. There are only two interrogative demonstrative pronouns: $wosa$ which one and $wuân$ what. $Wosa$ includes both animate and inanimate referents; $wuân$ includes inanimate referents as well as actions. $Wosa$ occurs in the same tagmeme as the regular demonstrative pronouns. $Wuân$ substitutes for the core of the GNP.

kaok $wosa$-$e$ kupekmâ (Qual: white, Dem: which-sub., tP: plucking) 'which white (man) plucked it...'

$wuân$ âlâ ekyongoai (GNP. core: what, Ind: another, tP: they told him) 'What else did they tell him?'

$wuân$ gogo $e$ (GNP. core: what, Qual: crooked) 'what crooked thing'

1.4.4.3 The various demonstrative pronoun roots have slightly different patterns of distribution in clause level and phrase level tagmemes. Note that the demonstratives $ewu$, $edu$ and $ebu$ occur only in the axis of a Locative Axis-relator Phrase (Loc.P.).
(a) Subject Axis-relator Phrase.

*bau ya-ŋe hobot kukum plīm gaop*
*pig that-sub. cane riding on casting it came*
*'That pig came crashing through the cane.'*

*wuān-ŋe ari edaken ṉerek tātuk tātuk yap*
*what-sub. go over there all it became rotten*
*'What has all gone over there and become rotten?'*

*lok wosa-ŋe gasam gowẹnẹ kupekmẹ golem arlap*
*man which-sub. cassowary its leg plucking carrying it went*
*'Which man plucked out the carrowary's leg and carried it away?'*

(b) Object tagmeme. All of the demonstratives except *ewu, edu* and *ebu* occur as objects.

*ya otnom (O: that, tP: we will do it) 'We will do that.'*

*wuān nemat (O: what, tP: you eat it) 'What do you usually eat?'*

*wosa sāmunjẹ (O: which, tP: we say it) 'Which (statement) shall we make?'*

(c) Locative Axis-relator Phrase. All of the demonstratives except the interrogative *ålẹ* occur in the axis of the Loc.P. The form *wuān* manifests vowel contraction to the form *won*. The relator clitic is *{-ān} at.*

*ya-ān (that-at) 'there'*

*won-ān (what-at) 'where?*

*wosa-ān (which-at) 'where?*

(d) Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase. All of the demonstratives except *wosa, ebu, edu* and *ewu* occur in the axis of this phrase. The relator clitic is *{-gāt} for.*

*ya-kāt sām katbi*
*that-for speaking they put it*
*'Speaking about that they put it.'*

*wuān-gāt glal*
*what-for they came down*
*'Why did they come down?*

(e) Possessive Axis-relator Phrase. The forms *wosa, ebu, edu* and *ewu* do not occur in the axis of this phrase.
âlâ-hât emet yu  
who-of house this  
'Whose house is this?'

muop ya-kât sumân arl  
he died that-of to the grave go  
'Going to the grave of him who died...'

(f) Instrument Axis-relator Phrase. There are two relators: the enclitic -ŋe and the root kâdâk.

pet ya-ŋe latbagiŋetâ  
loin cloth that-with they girded him  
'they girded him with a loin cloth...'

wuân-ŋe mem yahatnom  
what-with holding we will get up  
'With what shall we begin it (business),'

(g) Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. Only the regular demonstrative pronouns have been observed occurring in the axis of this phrase. The relator root is orop with.

ibiŋe ya orop madomawot  
his wife that with they(du.) will live  
'He will live with that wife of his.'

1.4.5 Indefinite pronoun roots. There are only two pronoun roots in this class and the plural number is formed by reduplication.

âlâ a, an, another  
âlâlâ others, some, a few

odop a, an, another  
ododop others, some, a few

These pronouns are semantically distinct in that âlâ generally refers to another of the same sort but odop refers to another of a different sort. Furthermore, âlâ occurs with the contrastive suffix {-ku}: lok âlâhu takap A different man came.

yâk muop yakât lâl âlâ mebom  
she she died therefore woman another I will get  
'She died. Therefore I will get another wife (no indication that she will be different).'</n

These pronouns occur in the third order post-Head Indefinite tagmeme of the GNP.

wahap bâleŋe âlâ (H: thing, Qual: bad, Ind: a) 'a bad thing'
konok álá (Num: one, Ind: another) 'another one'

When álá occurs alone (i.e., as the only item of the GNP.) in the axes of the Sub.P., the Bene./Cau.P. and the Poss.P., it has the meaning who? and refers only to human referents. 

1.4.5.1 Subject Axis-relator Phrase.

imîñe álá-ñe sâop
his younger brother another-sub. he said
'Another younger brother of his spoke.'

álâ-ñe mem yinglap
who-sub. holding he gave it to them
'Who gave it to them?'

1.4.5.2 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase.

hân álâ-gât mene sâm
ground another-for wanting to hold
'wanting to take over another country...'

álâ-gât sâwl
whom-for they spoke
'For whom did they speak?'

1.4.5.3 Possessive Axis-relator Phrase.

mesik álâ-gât sokl sokl
sickness another-of germs
'germs which cause another sickness'

álâ-gât hânângen
who-of to the ground
'to whose country'

The pronoun álá also occurs in the following tagmemes.

1.4.5.4 Object tagmeme.

álâ yat 'What did you say?'

1.4.5.5 Instrument Axis-relator Phrase with the relator root kâdâk.

bia bâgup álâ kâdâk kuop
no club another with he hit it
'No, he hit it with another club.'
1.4.5.6 Locative Axis-relator Phrase.

'al-a-engen sot bia-engen ariop
another-to food no-to it went
'It went to another place, to a place with no food.'

1.4.6 There are three noun root subclasses based upon distribution.

1.4.6.1 Noun root subclass I indicates kinship terms or body parts and occurs in the nucleus of subclass I nouns and so occur with both numerical suffixes and possessive suffixes. The kinship terms are described in McElhanon (1968).

1.4.6.2 Noun root subclass II includes the majority of the noun roots and occurs in the nucleus of subclass II nouns and so occur with possessive suffixes. Some examples are:
emet-ŋe his house kapai-ŋe his village to-ŋe its water
hän-ŋe his ground den-ŋe his voice tebe-ŋe his bow

1.4.6.3 Noun root subclass III includes a few noun roots which occur without structural affixes in phrase and clause level tagmemes. This subclass includes proper names. Some examples are:
mesik sickness bubum epidemic
Pawi a man's name Hetgät a place name

1.4.7 Numerical roots are limited to the numbers one to four: konok one, yâhâp two, kalibu three and ibât four. All other numerals are higher level constructions. Numerals occur in the Quantifier tagmem of the GNP.

1.4.8 Particle roots function primarily as connectors or subordinators at the clause and sentence levels. Most of the particles are either stem level constructions or enclitics. Three such roots are benŋe then, me or and yaŋak therefore.

1.4.9 Regular personal pronoun roots indicate seven distinctions of person and number: 1s, 1d, 1p, 2s, 2-3d, 2-3p and 3s. In some instances third person may be distinguished from second person in the dual and plural number by the compounding of the 3s form before the dual or plural form. The personal pronoun roots substitute for the core of the GNP. (Poss., Att., H.) and thus may be further qualified by the peripheral elements (Qual., Quant., Ind., Dem.).
The regular personal pronoun root is a person-number composite in which the formatives, vectors and categories are clearly distinguishable. These are presented in Matrix 1. The linear order of the vectors in the realized forms is person (indicated by the formatives n first, g/y second and y third), number (indicated by the formatives a singular and e non-singular) and number (indicated by the formatives k singular, t dual and n plural).\(^5\)

Matrix 1: Selepet regular personal pronoun roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.Sg.</th>
<th>Non-Sg. Du.</th>
<th>Non-Sg. Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(n) n â k</td>
<td>(e) n e t</td>
<td>(e) n e n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(g/y)g â k</td>
<td>y e t</td>
<td>y e n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(y) y â k</td>
<td>(yâk)y e t</td>
<td>yâk y e n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The formative k singular is lost in all the first and second person regular personal pronoun forms except when the contrastive suffix {-ku} is added (see 2.6 and 3.2.1.3). The distinction between second and third person is absent in the dual and plural forms but this lack of distinction is overcome by the compounding of the 3s form yâk with the dual and plural forms to specify third person. Context indicates in most cases whether second or third person is to be inferred in the use of the ambiguous forms. In the forms of address, commands, etc., the forms yet or yen refer only to the second person. In narrative structure, when yet or yen refer to the second person, these forms always occur within a quotative as the object of the verb nágâ- to think or sâ- to say. When the forms refer to the third person, the referent is clearly stated. Once the referent is stated, however, the ambiguous pronominal forms are used freely without further specification unless another referent intervenes. When another referent intervenes, the original referent is again brought into focus either by restating the referent or using the third person form yâk before the ambiguous forms are again used for indicating the third person.

sihàn yen nengâlân torokatnomal yawu sâm
young you with us you/they will join thus saying 'saying thus, "You young men must join us..."'

ataâlppâ kapam pato ahom tatmâ yenë ahom ba tatmâ
his elder brother stick big fighting staying you/they fighting go staying 'his elder brothers fought hard and stayed there, they fought and went and stayed...'
The 3s pronoun yâk occurs in the Actor or Object tagmemes without regard to number, the number of the actor or object being indicated in the verbal subject-marking or object-marking affixes respectively.

(a) Actor tagmeme.

yâk geñetâ yan yawu sâm yerakbl
they they came down when thus saying they shot each other
'When they came down, they (all) said like this and shot each other.'

(b) Object tagmeme.

yâk katyelekbom
them I will put them(du.)
'I will appoint the two of them.'

The regular personal pronoun roots substitute for the core (Possession, Attributive and Head tagmemes) of the GNP. As such they may be qualified by the adjectives, numerals, indefinite pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. They occur in the clause level object tagmeme and in the axes of most of the axis-relator phrases. They do not occur in the axis of the Instrument Axis-relator Phrase (Inst.P.). In the Object tagmeme these pronoun roots occur with no affixes but in the axes of the various axis-relator phrases they are followed by either a relator enclitic or relator root. In addition to occurring with the suffixal relator enclitics, they also occur with certain unrestricted suffixes: -âmâ however, on the other hand which indicates comparison, {-âk} only which indicates exclusion or emphasis and {-bân} too, also which indicates that the item so identified is one of a number of similar items or that the item includes a number of subcategorized items.

The regular personal pronoun roots have the following distribution in phrase and clause level tagmemes:

1.4.9.1 Object tagmeme. As already noted the pronouns occur with no affixation in the object tagmeme.

nen plri-nenek-op (O: us, iP: wash-us-he(rpt.)) 'He baptized us.'

1.4.9.2 Subject Axis-relator Phrase. When the regular personal pronouns occur in the axis of this phrase—they are suffixed by the relator enclitic -qe (sub.). The resultant forms are listed in Matrix 2.
Matrix 2: Regular personal pronouns as subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nâne</td>
<td>netne</td>
<td>nenye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>gâne</td>
<td>yetne</td>
<td>yene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>yâkne</td>
<td>(yâk)yetne</td>
<td>(yâk)yene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nen-ne hân-gât pâñ pâñ yawu mansin
we-sub. ground-for searching thus we live
'we live always searching for ground.'

1.4.9.3 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. The Acc.P. manifests the relator root orop with. The regular personal pronouns occur as free forms in the axis. Note that yak does not occur with yet or yen to distinguish third person.
nâ orop with me yen orop with you yâk orop with her/him/them

1.4.9.4 Benefactive/Causal and Possessive Axis-relator Phrases. These phrases both occur with the relator enclitic {-gât} but are distinguishable in that whereas the former is relevant to the clause level and is permutable, the latter is relevant to the phrase level and always precedes and qualifies the Head of a GNP. When the regular personal pronoun roots occur in the Bene./Cau.P. they agree in person and number with the benefactive-marking verbal suffixes.

ya ye-gât herone ot-yungi-mini-wi
those them-for friendliness did-for them-used to they(rpt.)
'They used to be well pleased with them.'

ya yet-gât herone ot-yiltkl-mini-wi
those them(du.)-for friendliness did-for them(du.)-used to-they(rpt.)
'They used to be well pleased with the two of them.'

When the regular personal pronoun roots occur in the axis of the Poss.P. with the enclitic {-gât} the resulting forms show normal possession. The regular personal pronoun roots agree in person and number with the nominal possession-marking suffixes (if any) on the noun qualified by the Poss.P. In this regard the pronominal forms duplicate much of the information given in the possession-marking suffixes but have the additional clarification of person when yak occurs before the forms yet or yen. The resultant forms are given in Matrix 3.
### Matrix 3: Regular personal pronouns showing possession

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nāhāt</td>
<td>netkāt</td>
<td>nengāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>gāhāt</td>
<td>yetkāt</td>
<td>yegāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>yākāt</td>
<td>(yāk)yetkāt</td>
<td>(yāk)yegāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compound personal pronoun forms yākyet and yākyen are usually used to distinguish third person. Occasionally, however, the personal pronouns yet and yen occur qualifying a noun or proper name and so third person is indicated without the occurrence of yāk.

yet-gāt emet (you(du.)-of, house) 'your(du.) house'
yākyet-gāt emet (them(du.)-of, house) 'their(du.) house'

Amerika yākye-gāt orotmeme (America, them-of, customs) 'the customs of those Americans'
Amerika ye-gāt åi (America, them-of, work) 'the work of those Americans'
atalipõe ye-gāt kāiyėn (his el.brs., them-of, on their legs) 'on his brothers' legs'

When occurring in the axis of the Poss.P. the morpheme yāk in the compound forms yākyet and yākyen is often replaced by the demonstrative pronouns yu this, these or ya that, those, particularly if the referent is non-human.

Amerika ya ye-gāt sum (America, those, them-of, graveyard) 'the graveyard of those Americans'
nak ya ye-gāt topyėn (trees, those, them-of, at their bases) 'at the bases of those trees'

Occasionally the regular personal pronoun roots occur alone in the Possession tagmeme with the nominal possession-marking suffixes occurring obligatorily on the possessed noun if it occurs in the Head of the GNP. The result is emphasis: nā emet-ne (Poss: me, H: house-my) 'MY house.'

### 1.4.9.5 Locative Axis-relator Phrase. The regular personal pronoun roots usually do not occur in the axis of the Loc.P. Rather, the Poss.P. manifesting the regular personal pronoun in its axis occurs embedded in the axis of the Loc.P.

nāhālān (nā-gāt-ān me-of-at) 'with me' (lit. at my (place))
nāhālāngen (nā-gāt-āngen me-of-towards) 'towards me'
1.4.10 Emphatic personal pronoun roots occur only in the singular number: nine I myself, my, mine, gike you yourself, your, yours and ikne he himself, she herself, his, her, hers, its. They have the following distribution:

1.4.10.1 Subject tagmeme. The emphatic pronouns occur in the subject tagmeme rather than in the axis of Sub.P.

nine topge sâmune någå
I-myself its basis I tell you listen
'Listen to ME as I tell about it!'

1.4.10.2 Object tagmeme.

gike kàit-gohom
you-yourself trioking-you
'trioking YOU'

1.4.10.3 Possession tagmeme. In the Possession tagmeme the emphatic pronoun substitutes for the Poss.P. and concord exists between person-number of the emphatic pronoun and the nominal possession-marking suffixes of the following noun if that noun occurs in the GNP. Head tagmeme.

nine emet-ne (Poss: MY, H: house-my) 'MY house'

If the following noun is in the GNP. Attributive tagmeme, then it does not occur with possession-marking suffixes.

nine emet gowetqan (Poss: MY, Att: house, H: its lower area-at) 'under neath MY house'

When the emphatic pronoun occurs in the Possession tagmeme all other units of the GNP. are frequently absent.

gokorok yu nerek gulip tuhum, nine nlap
chicken these all doing away with mine it ate it
'It (a dog) did away with all the chickens and ate MINE (too).'

1.4.10.4 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase.

ikne-gåt gàlakmå mem tiρl tiρl tuhum
himself-for cutting himself holding in small pieces doing
'He held and cut himself in small pieces to his own advantage...'
1.4.10.5 Locative Axis-relator Phrase.
Selepet iŋe-ān yanāmā Indumtheonlī
Selepet itself-at there-however Indum they stayed
'The Indum people stayed there at Selepet village itself.'

1.4.10.6 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.
yāk nine orop takawit
he me-myself with we(du.) came
'He came with me alone.'

1.4.11 Relators are a class of roots which occur as the final element in axis-relator phrases. These are orop with (accompaniment) and kādāk with (instrument). The remaining relators are enclitics.

1.4.12 Time roots are a class of roots which occur in the Time tagmeme at the clause level. Some of these are:
mukan yesterday halihu day after tomorrow  gāmālāk later

1.4.13 Intransitive verb roots occur in the nucleus of the verb syntagmeme and generally indicate an emotion, a state or condition, or movement. Some examples are:
ari to go tat to be situated āle to lust
yāhā to ascend blat to vanish āwihli to not germinate
ekte to flee ise to cry ketok to neglect a responsibility

1.4.14 Transitive verb roots occur in the core tagmeme of the transitive verb stem and generally indicate action. Some examples are:
man to live gāl to pour s.th. out kārā to cut s.th.
hāl to insult s.o. ai to dig kat to place s.th.

All mono-syllabic roots with the simple vowel nucleus e undergo the following root changes: e + i in the ipt., rpr. and 3s inch.; the roots add a root-final velar nasal ŋ if followed by the 2s object marker. In all future tenses the roots ne- to eat and me- to hold add a root-final N which assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant.
ne Eat! negekmap It might devour you.
se Burn it! seguekmap It might burn you.
me Hold it! megekmap It might grab you.
ge Come down! gewuwap It will come down.
He ate it.  
It burned it.  
He held it.

Two syllable roots ending in â undergo the root change â + a in the ipt.

kârâ + kara to cut it  
sâhâ + saha to bind it  
pilâ + pila to throw it  
hâgâ + haga to pick s.th. off a stalk

2. STEMS

The stem level is that level which is between the root and word levels in the grammatical hierarchy and involves derivational processes. These derivational processes include various forms of compounding, reduplication and/or occurrence of a derivational suffix.

It has already been noted (1.3.3) that derivational suffixes are non-inflectional but for one exception. The exception is that the verbal object-marking suffixes, which function as verbalizers, are inflected to show seven distinctions in person and number. Except for these object markers, derivational suffixes differ from word formation (structural) suffixes in that they do not involve inflection. They differ from enclitics in that the latter are phrase level suffixes.

The following stem classes have been observed and are labelled on the basis of their distribution in higher level tagmemes, primarily of the phrase and clause levels.

2.1 NOUN STEMS

These are formed by (1) the suffixation of the nominalizer -ŋe, (2) reduplication, or (3) compounding. They potentially manifest the Head tagmemes of the nominal phrases or the nucleus tagmemes of noun subclasses.

2.1.1 Nominalization by -ŋe. A variety of root classes or constructions manifest the core tagmeme.

2.1.1.1 Noun roots.

gilâ-ŋe mountain from gilâ ridge pole, roof
2.1.1.2 Adjective roots.
pare-ŋe stair tread from pare horizontal
hewuk-ŋe forest from hewuk thick, dense

2.1.1.3 Demonstrative pronoun roots.
wuân-ŋe which one from wuân what?
edâ-ŋe that one over there
ewâ-ŋe that one up there
ebâ-ŋe that one down there

The forms edâ-ŋe, ewâ-ŋe and ebâ-ŋe occur only in the axis of a Loc.P. followed by the clitic -ân at as in edâ-ân over there.

When the demonstrative pronoun roots qualify a time noun in the Head of the GNP, the derived noun may be regarded as a nominalized GNP. It occurs only with the locative clitic -ân at in the Time tagmeme.
Sande ebâ-ŋe-ân 'on Sunday before last' (lit. on that Sunday below)
Sande ewâ-ŋe-ân 'Sunday week, a week from Sunday' (lit. on that Sunday above)

2.1.1.4 Locative phrases.
betân-ŋe the one behind it from betân at its back
wosapâ-ŋe those from which place from wosapâ which way?

2.1.1.5 Transitive verb stem.
ahoak-ŋe junature, fork, joint from ahoak- to hit oneself.

2.1.1.6 Clitic. The noun gât-ŋe one from is derived from -gât for, the benefactive/causal or the possessive clitic. This noun only occurs as the final element in the Origin Noun Phrase as in Weke gât-ŋe one from Weke village.

2.1.1.7 That the nominalizer is different from the homophonous 3s nominal possession-marking suffix is evident from the fact that noun stems derived by -ŋe occur in the nucleus of noun words which manifest the possession-marking suffixes as in hewuk-ŋe-nenâ (forest-our) our forest and han gibâ-ŋe-nenâ (ground, mountain-our) our mountainous country.

2.1.1.8 That the nominalizer -ŋe is different from the homophonous relator clitic of the Subject Axis-relator Phrase (Sub.P.) is evident in that a Sub.P. does not occur embedded in the axis of a Loc.P. Thus such forms as Sande ebâ-ŋe Sunday before last are better regarded as
nominalized General Noun Phrases. Moreover, a Loc.P. does not occur in the axis of the Sub.P. so that betηan-ne the one behind it is better regarded as a nominalized Loc.P.

2.1.2 Nominalization by reduplication. Noun stems are derived from the following classes of roots or construction types by reduplication.

2.1.2.1 Verbs. When a noun is derived by reduplication from a verbal form, the verb nucleus, with or without the benefactive markers, is reduplicated. Derivation from a verbal form may in fact be regarded as derivation from a clause since the fillers of other clause level tagmemes have been frequently observed occurring with the reduplicated verb. Although generally no more than two other clause level tagmemes occur, there appears to be no steadfast rule which determines how many clause level tagmemes may be included. Rather it appears to be up to the competence of the individual speaker and the point at which he regards the construction type as overloaded. When the speaker feels that the construction type cannot adequately handle the amount of information, he shifts to either an embedded clause or a clause qualified by a pronoun.

In the following example the construction is overloaded (the superscript 2 indicates the word is to be reduplicated):

buku orop (Acc: friend, with) kalam-ʌn (Loc: garden-ʌ) kapam kʌdâk (Inst: stick, with) sot-γât (Bene: food-for) pawarâkmâ (tP: quarrelling) ahoaho (fighting from aho² tP: to fight) ya (Dem: that) bâleŋe (Qual: bad). 'Quarrelling in the garden with one's friends and fighting with sticks over food is bad.'

When this was presented to the informant he rejected it as too cumbersome and transformed it to the following construction qualified by the demonstrative pronoun ya that.

lok âlâ (S: man, a) bukuŋe orop (Acc: friend, with) kalam-ʌn (Loc: garden-ʌ) kîn mâ (iP: standing) sot-γât (Bene: food-for) sâm (tP: speaking) kapam kâdâk (Inst: stick, with) pawarâkmâ (tP: quarrelling) ahoesâm owot (tP: they went to fight) ya (Dem: that) bâleŋe (Qual: bad). 'This is bad: that a man will be in the garden with his friend (and) speaking about food will quarrel and fight with sticks.'

2.1.2.2 Intransitive verb roots (ivr.) alone.

kîn kîn standing from kîn to stand
mumu death from mu to die
existence from man to live
travelling from ari to go

2.1.2.3 The following clause level tagmemes have been observed occurring with the reduplicated ivr.

(a) Actor tagmeme with ivr.
gelâk ge\(^2\) (Act: rain, iP: to come) 'the coming of the rain'
emet kin\(^2\) (Act: place, iP: to stand) 'the dry season'

(b) Location tagmeme with ivr.
kakñan tat\(^2\) (Loc: on top of, iP: to stay) 'chair'
hâänân tat\(^2\) (Loc: on the ground, iP: to stay) 'relaxation'
semnjan ge\(^2\) (Loc: on his eyes, iP: to descend) 'teasing'

When the intransitive verb is a motion verb the locative clitic is frequently absent.
glop ari\(^2\) (Loc: road, iP: to go) 'travelling'

(c) Accompaniment tagmeme with ivr.
kahâñit ari\(^2\) (Acc: with sister-in-law, iP: to go) 'walking with one's sister-in-law'

(d) Accompaniment and Benefaction/Cause tagmemes with ivr.
buku orop (Acc: friend, with) ibl-gât (Bene: women-about) lse\(^2\) (iP: to weep) 'weeping over women with friends'

(e) Manner tagmeme with ivr.
suruuruk ari\(^2\) (M: quickly, iP: to go) 'hurriedness'
tihâk ari\(^2\) (M: secretly, iP: to go) 'stealth'

(f) Location and Manner tagmemes with ivr.
emetñan (Loc: into his house) in (M: just) yâhâ\(^2\) (iP: to ascend) 'ascending into a house for no reason'

2.1.2.4 Nouns are also regularly derived from transitive verbs with or without other clause level tagmemes. These nouns are derived from the transitive verb stem, i.e., the root plus the object-marking suffixes.

When the transitive verb root is \(\emptyset\), however, the third person singular object marker or the reflexive/reciprocal marker is reduplicated.
subclass I: ehek seeing from ek him, her, it class I object marker
subclass II: agl agl reciprocity, exchange from agl class II benefactive reciprocal object marker
subclass III: aho aho fighting from aho class III reflexive object marker

Nouns-derived from clauses manifesting subclass I transitive verbs. In the following examples the object pronoun is -§ it.

kâmet kâmet planting from kâmet to plant it
nene eating from nene to eat it
nâgâ nâgâ attention from nâgâ to listen to it

In the following examples the reciprocal object marker is included in the reduplication.

niak niak cannibalism from ne to eat and ak oneself
meduhuak meduhuak meeting from meduhu- to meet and ak oneself
nihak tuhuak self affliction from tuhu- to do and ak oneself
wangel akwangel point of passing from wangi- to pass by and ak oneself

The following clause level tagmemes have been observed occurring with the reduplicated subclass I verbal form.

(a) Manner tagmeme.11
ki nâgâ2 (M: not, TP: to hear) 'inattention'
biwi bâle nâgâ2 (M: insides, bad, TP: to know) 'sadness, pity'
biwi purlk pan2 (M: insides, turn, TP: to throw) '(act of) repentance'
konok tuhu2 (M: one, TP: to do) 'joining, collection'

(b) Object tagmeme.
kara tuhuak2 (O: sorcery, TP: to do to one another) 'self affliction by means of sorcery'
1bi miak2 (O: women, TP: to take for oneself) 'marriage'
den lou2 (O: words, TP: to carry) 'obedience'
den bâle ne sâ2 (O: words, bad, TP: to say) 'profanity'

(c) Object plus Manner tagmemes.
kalet ki me2 (O: generosity, M: not, TP: to hold) 'greed'
den hilâm konok sâ2 (O: words, M: quickly, TP: to say) 'speaking rapidly'
iholok maholok tep tet² (M: everywhere, O: dung, tP: to excrete) "promiscuous defecation"

den ki nāgā² (O: words, M: not, tP: to hear) 'inattention'

(d) Location tagmeme.
nekanan sā² (Loc: on his chin, tP: to speak) 'accusations'
seṣan tuhu² (Loc: on his eye, tP: to do) 'temptation to an individual'
seṣeyeṣan tuhu² (Loc: on their eyes, tP: to do) 'temptation to many persons'

(e) Dependent Clause. Expansion is also possible by including dependent clauses preposed to the reduplicated verbal form.
nepiholok maholok kārām kāmēt² (dp.cl: garden, anywhere, cutting, tP: to plant) 'the cutting and planting gardens anywhere'

ibē hākān otmā wayēk² (dp.cl: dislike, doing, tP: to chase them) 'disliking and chasing away women' (of a man who repeatedly rejects women after trial marriage)

bāt lotohom aho² (dp.cl: hand, folding, tP: to fight) 'fisticuffs, boxing'

(f) Accompaniment tagmeme.
buku orop pawarak² (Acc: friend, with, tP: to quarrel) 'quarrelling with friends'

(g) Object and Location tagmemes.
ålīwahap emet gowelān plālā² (O: rubbish, Loc: house, under, tP: to throw) 'throwing rubbish under the house'

(h) Instrument tagmeme.
sehe kādāk hāre² (Inst: saw, with, tP: to cut) 'cutting with a saw'
tewet kādāk karak² (Inst: knife, with, tP: to cut one another) 'cutting one another with knives'

(i) Subject tagmeme.
lōhibi sobo meduhuak² (S: people, old, tP: to meet together) 'an old people's meeting'

(j) Benefaction/Cause tagmeme.
sotgāt pawarak² (Bene: food-for, tP: to quarrel) 'quarrelling over food'
2.1.2.5 In the following examples the benefactive markers occurring in the transitive verb are included in the reduplication. When the benefactive markers are so included the verbal form is usually reduplicated with other clause level tagmemes.

(a) Manner tagmememe.
\( \text{kadi meagi}^2 \) (M: temporarily, TP: to hold for one another) 'borrowing from one another'

(b) Object tagmememe.
\( \text{kobo meagi}^2 \) (O: theft, TP: to hold for one another) 'stealing from each other'
\( \text{ibi meagi}^2 \) (O: woman, TP: to hold for one another) 'wife stealing'

2.1.2.6 Nouns derived from clauses manifesting subclass II transitive verbs in the transitive Predicate tagmememe.
\( \text{mabot mabot waiting from mabot- to await someone} \)
\( \text{mewale mewale cheating from mewale- to cheat someone} \)

In the following example the benefactive marker is also included in the reduplication.
\( \text{ihla-gl ihla gi biting (to death) of one another's domestic animals from } \emptyset-\text{ihia-agl bite-it-for one another} \)

2.1.2.7 Nouns derived from clauses manifesting subclass III transitive verbs in the predicate tagmememe. Generally the verbal form manifests the reflexive/reciprocal object marker.
\( \text{aho aho fighting from } \emptyset- \text{to hit and aho one another} \)
\( \text{tanano tanano self help from } \text{tan}- \text{to help and aho one another} \)
\( \text{hilwaho hilwaho self destruction from hilip to destroy and aho one another} \)

As in the case of subclass I verbal forms these constructions may also be expanded by the inclusion of other clause level tagmemes before the reduplicated verbal forms.

2.1.2.8 Nouns derived from the Auxiliary Verb Phrases. Only the auxiliary verbal form is reduplicated.
\( \text{hoŋ bawa servant from } \text{hoŋ ba- to serve, be a messenger} \)
\( \text{gulip orot disappearance from } \text{gulip ot- to disappear} \)
\( \text{gårʊŋ guruŋ orot dizziness from } \text{gårʊŋ guruŋ ot- to be dizzy} \)
\( \text{telan telan orot laziness from } \text{telan telan ot- to be lazy} \)
hutuk sâsâ silence from hutuk sâ- to be silent
orok sâsâ diminishing from orok sâ- to diminish

2.1.2.9 Such derived nouns may also be expanded by the inclusion of other clause level tagmemes before the Auxiliary Verb Phrase. Often such derived nouns are derived from idiomatic expressions, and the noun functioning as the actor in the idiomatic expression occurs without affixes.

(a) Actor.
emet han sâ² (Act: place, AVP: to dawn) 'daybreak'
nâgâ nâgâ pârâŋ sâ² (Act: thought, AVP: to be pierced) 'thinking clearly'

(b) Object.
den alahu golahu ot² (O: words, AVP: to converse) 'conversation'

2.1.2.10 Nouns may be derived from roots by reduplication.

(a) Adverb roots.
betbet k. of grub from bet later

(b) Noun roots. The resultant noun stem generally expresses diminu­
atation.
tebetebe play bows for children from tebe bow
bâtbat bough from bât hand, arm
loju to juice, serum from to water
lâmun lâmun snail from lâmun conch
hâpu(s) pu- larynx from hâpu bamboo
kulem melem designs from kulem mark
kawit tawit small insects from kawet insects (larger)

2.1.3 Compounding. Noun stems may be formed from the compounding of various root classes and construction types. Each element of the compound is said to manifest a core tagmeme.¹²

2.1.3.1 Noun root and noun root.
togelâk tempest from to water and gelâk rain
lohihi parents, adults from lok man and ibi woman
ata imi male siblings from ate elder brother and imi younger brother
kâi bêt (leg, hand) which occurs only in the construction lok kâi bêt
towetqe (Att: man, leg, hand, H: its appearance) 'a person's manners'
2.1.3.2 Unclassified root and noun root.

wârâwou female siblings from wârâ (?) and tou elder sister of male speaker
nimnaom children from nim (?) and naom child
âllwahap rubbish from âll (?) and wahap thing

2.1.3.3 Noun root and unclassified root. This compound differs from the above compound in that the unclassified root occurs as the second element and as a distinct phonological word.
bokosok bero kind of fish (carp?) from bokosok mud and bero eater (?)
hep bero soldier from hep blood and bero eater
wik bero worm eater (a vulgarism) from wik worm and bero eater

The compound bât kadi bero (hand, borrow, eater) a person who lives off others consists of noun root, adverb root and bero.
The compound sot pato bero (food, big, eater) glutton consists of a General Noun Phrase (H: noun, Qual: ajr.), plus bero.
The compound hâwurum bero scavenger consists of a dependent homopersonal verb hâwurum gathering and bero eater.

2.1.3.4 Noun root and adjective root.
biwi âlip happiness from biwi insides and âlip good
biwi âlale sadness from biwi insides and âlip bad

2.1.3.5 General Noun Phrase manifesting Attributive and Head tagmemes (cf. phrasal compounds in Hockett, 1958:243).
emesenqe moon from Att: place and H: its eye
emesâŋqe afternoon from Att: place and H: its time

2.1.3.6 Dependent homopersonal verb and adjunct. In these compounds the verb generally qualifies the adjunct by indicating a method. Note that these nominal constructions could be derived from clauses by the omission of the auxiliary in the Auxiliary Verb Phrase.

um kirîn pârôn sumptuousness from um cooking and kirîn pârôn the sound made by a splitting bamboo cooking-container
mem kîtîn kâtîn a kind of magic used for causing things to become invisible or to go unnoticed from mem holding and kîtîn kâtîn (?)

um pitirîn a kind of divination from um burning and pitirîn a noise. This noise is made by a bamboo blade which is bent under tension and burnt in half. As the tension is released the bamboo shoots away with a pitirîn noise.

nem ọtuk ọtuk- oesophagus from nem eating and ọtuk ọtuk the noise made by swallowing.
Adjunct roots which occur in the Com. tagmeme of the AVP. in unreduplicated forms occur with reduplication in this construction.

nâgâm gulip gulip forgetfulness from nâgâm thinking and gulip disappear
otmâ hîlip hîlip destruction from otmâ doing and hîlip ruin.

2.1.3.7 Two transitive verb roots.
kukumagan greetings from kuku to carry it and magan to shake someone in greeting

2.1.3.8 Noun root and adjunct root.
kin tâwôn kind of beetle from kun head and tâwôn ot to nod
âdâp bok pupa from âdâp ear and bok yap it became deaf

2.1.3.9 Noun root and adjective root.
hân heuwuk death adder from hân ground and heuwuk thick
awu kârik kind of herb from awu plant family and kârik strong
awu kook kind of herb from awu plant family and kook white

2.1.3.10 Noun root and relator.
awu bia kind of banana from awu banana blossom and bia without

2.1.3.11 Noun root and intransitive verb root.
den biat Black-throated Monarch from den talk and biat to disappear
hân tete plant from hân ground and tete to appear

2.1.3.12 Noun root and transitive verb stem.
hân tâmâtgu bandicoot from hân ground and tâmâtgu to root
nak âsit wood plane from nak wood and âsit to scratch, scrape it
hân kârâ hoe from hân ground and kârâ to cut it

2.1.3.13 Locative Axis-relator Phrase and adjective root.
künjân kûrîn Little Coronated Fruit Dove from künjân on its head and kûrîn red

2.1.3.14 Locative Axis-relator Phrase and adjunct root.
hâhân hâtîk pimple from hâhân on the skin and hâtîk crossing

2.1.3.15 Noun root and Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.
hâk kuñjâi cinnamon from hâk skin and kuñjâit (loss of a final t) with a fragrance
2.1.3.16 A large number of syntactic nouns consist of simple descriptions of referents. These nouns are generally other word or stem classes or larger constructions which simply function as nouns. Since they are descriptive in themselves there is little qualification of them. Some examples are:

(a) Homopersonal dependent verb.
ābākum necklace from ābāku to hang s.th. on the neck or arm

(b) Head plus Qualifier.
kaîne hibitdā Australian Brown Hawk (lit. its legs, with orchids)

(c) Locative Axis-relator Phrase.
barâhanân bracelet, armband (lit. at the upper arm)
hānângen kind of marsupial (lit. at the ground)
tâk pâñan kind of tree-climbing marsupial (lit. at the middle of the vine)

(d) Independent clause.
bekom arlap kind of cat’s cradle (lit. The flying fox went away.)
habe mohasap rainbow (lit. The snake vomits.)

(e) Attributive plus Head.
emet aboñe kind of lizard (lit. the owner of the place)

(f) Adjective stems derived by noun roots plus -dâ.
kâlâpdâ (fiery red) Stephan’s Bronze wing (?)
pigirâ (spiny) anteater
awurâ (coloured like a kind of red herb) red ochre

2.2 VERB STEMS

Three classes of verb stems occur: two derived and one compound.

2.2.1 Intransitive derived verb stems are formed from adjective roots by the addition of the intransitive verbalizer suffix -e. Some examples are:
lohot-e to weaken from lohot-ñe weak
hapak-e to remain unripe from hapak-ñe tough, hard
kârik-e to become strong from kârik-ñe strong

2.2.2 Transitive derived verb stems are formed by the addition of the object-marking suffixes to transitive verb roots as in the case of
subclassses I and II and to other root classes as well as in the case of subclass III. The verbalizing force of the object markers is most evident in the subclass III stems.

With the exception of a single verb root, -n to call someone, to name someone, all Selepet transitive verb roots occur with object-marking suffixes. The subclass III object-marking affixes which occur with the verb root -n, however, are clearly prefixal:

\[\text{n} \text{-no-} \text{n-sap (me-call-he}(\text{ipt.})') \text{He called me'}; \text{go} \text{-no-} \text{sap (you-call-he}(\text{ipt.})') \text{He called you'}.\]

There are three allomorph subclasses of the object-marking suffixes, and transitive verb roots filling the core are divided into three subclasses on the basis of their occurrence with one of the allomorph subclasses. The structure of the transitive verb stem is an obligatory core manifested by a root plus an obligatory object slot manifested by the object-marking suffixes.

It should be noted that each subclass of verb roots contains a verb root morpheme represented by zero and that these roots are distinguished by the allomorphs of the object-marking suffixes. Thus the zero morphemes mean to see with subclass I object-marking allomorphs, to give or to bite with subclass II allomorphs and to hit or to kill with subclass III allomorphs.

The object markers may be tentatively analyzed as composites having the structure: + person + number + subclass marker. The subclass marker may be analyzed as a velar stop phoneme plus a prosody of vowel quality. In subclass I the class marker is k plus vowel quality e, in subclass II it is g plus vowel quality i and in subclass III it is k/g plus vowel quality o/u.

2.2.2.1 The morphemes and formatives for subclass I object markers are given in Matrix 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>n-e-0-ek</td>
<td>n-e-1-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(g/y)</td>
<td>g-e-0-ek</td>
<td>y-e-1-ek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(o/y)</td>
<td>o-e-0-ek</td>
<td>y-e-1-ek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reflexive/reciprocal marker is -ak
The 3s object marker ek occurs only with the zero morpheme verb root with the meaning to see and has an allomorph -\( \circ \) occurring with all other verb roots. In the class marker indicating subclass I, the velar stop metathesized with the following vowel and then became voiceless in the word final position; thus ek rather than ge.

pilâ-nek-sap He dismissed me. pilâ-\( \circ \)-ap He cast it.
gâi-nek-sap He cut me. gâi-\( \circ \)-ap He cut it.
gâi-ak-sap He cut himself. yerâ-ak-sal They shot one another.
kâhâi-nek-sap He offended me. from kâhâi- temple (of the head)

When the reflexive/reciprocal form -ak occurs with the verb meaning to see the 3s object-marker occurs as the verb root: ek-ak-sap He saw himself, ek-ak-sawot They (du.) saw each other.

The morpheme -ak also occurs with the meaning for oneself and regularly functions as a benefactive reflexive marker when the subject is in the singular number.

puluhu-ak-buap He will buy it for himself.
kat-ak-sap He put it away for himself.

2.2.2.2 The morphemes and formatives for subclass II object markers are given in Matrix 5.

Matrix 5: Subclass II Object Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(( \circ ))</td>
<td>(t)</td>
<td>(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>n-1-( \circ )-gl</td>
<td>n-1-t-gli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(( \circ )/y)</td>
<td>g-1-( \circ )-gl</td>
<td>y-1-t-gli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(( \circ ))</td>
<td>( \circ )-1-( \circ )-gl</td>
<td>y-1-t-gli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reflexive/reciprocal marker is -agl

The 3s object marker lhi occurs only with the zero morpheme meaning to bite. An allomorph waq occurs only with the zero morpheme meaning to give. All other verb roots occur with a zero morpheme indicating 3s object marker. The subclass II object markers are obviously related to the benefactive markers and often it is difficult to decide whether a particular verb root occurs with the subclass II object markers or whether it occurs with the subclass I object marker 3s, \( \circ \), followed by the benefactive markers.

The benefactive markers occur as a first order verbal suffix and all forms are identical with the subclass II object markers except 3s which has the form -wagl.\(^\text{14}\) That the benefactive markers are distinct from the subclass II object markers is evident in the following example:
Ø- nhi- nhi- ap (bite-it-for-me-it(ipt.)) 'It chewed up it (my rooster) for me.'

(a) Subclass II object markers.
  mabot- nhi- ap He awaited me.  mabot- Ø- sap He awaited him.
  mewal e- nhi- ap He cheated me.  mewale- Ø- ap He cheated him.

(b) Benefactive markers.
  Ø- ku- nhi- ap (hit-it-for me-he(ipt.)) 'He killed it for me.'
  kat- Ø- yingi- ap (put-it-for them-he(ipt.)) 'He put it away for them.'

2.2.2.3 The morphemes and formatives for subclass III object markers are given in Matrix 6.

Matrix 6: Subclass III Object Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(Ø)</td>
<td>n-o-Ø-go</td>
<td>n-o-t-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(Ø/y)</td>
<td>g-o-Ø-go</td>
<td>y-o-t-go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(Ø)</td>
<td>Ø-Ø-ku</td>
<td>y-o-t-go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

reflective/reciprocal marker is -aho

When the zero morpheme root meaning to hit, kill occurs the 3s allomorph is -ku. The other allomorphs, -gu or -hu, occur with all the other verb roots.

When the subclass I reflexive/reciprocal form -ak occurs with the verb roots meaning to hit or to call someone, call someone's name, the verb roots are aho- and ahon- respectively: aho-ak- sap He hit himself, ahon-ak- sap He said his own name.15

The verbalizing force of the pronominal object markers is most evident in subclass III. Transitive verb stems are derived from the following classes of roots.

(a) Noun roots.
  lâm- gu to watch him from lâm hole
  kâláp- gu to arouse him from kâláp fire
  tân- gu to help him from tân bone
  kulem- gu to draw it from kulem mark
  hewum- gu to bundle it from hewum bundle

(b) Adjective roots.
  heleng- gu to blacken s.th. from heleng black
  kuriŋ- gu to ripen from kuriŋ red
(c) Adjunct roots. Only adjuncts occurring with the auxiliary ot to do have been observed as derived transitive verb stems.
gulp-gu to erase s.th. from gulp ot to disappear
hen-aho to play together from hen ot to play

(d) Transitive verb roots. The following roots have been observed only in the core of transitive verb stems.
ulit-gu to beg him
hegem-gu to decorate it
hawam-gu to encircle it

(e) Unclassified roots.
hilip-gu to destroy it from *hilip destruct
dirin-gu to put side by side from *dirin adjacent

2.2.3 Compounding. The following verb roots have been observed to occur in compounds: intransitive verb roots indicating motion, ari to go, ba to go, ga to come, ge to descend, yâhâ to ascend, taka to come (from a distance), toho to come (from a distance); intransitive verb roots indicating position, kin to be standing, tat to be here; transitive verb roots man to live, me to hold, ot to do, become. When manifesting a transitive verb root the compound functions as transitive. When the verb roots man and tat occur in isolation, root allomorphs m and t respectively may occur. The motion verb roots occur as either the first or the second root in a compound. Antonyms do not occur in the same compound.

2.2.3.1 Ari occurs principally as root one and occurs as root two only when ba occurs as root one.
ari kat to go and put it
ari man to go and live
ari me to go and hold it
ari kin to go and stand
ba ari to go

2.2.3.2 Ba occurs only as root one.
ba yâhâ to ascend
ba tat to go and stay
ba kin to go and stand
ba ari to go

2.2.3.3 Ga occurs only as root one.
ga taka to come
ga toho to come
ga tat to come and stay
ga kin to come and stand
2.2.3.4 Ge occurs only as root one.

- ge taka to come down
- ge toho to come down

2.2.3.5 Yåhâ occurs principally as root one and only occurs as root two when ba occurs as root one.

- ba yåhâ to ascend
- yåhâ tat to go up and stay
- yåhâ me to go up and get it

2.2.3.6 Taka occurs as root two only when it occurs with other verb roots expressing motion.

- ge taka to come down
- ga taka to come
- yåhâ taka to come up
- taka me to come and get it

2.2.3.7 Man occurs principally as root two and only occurs as root one when tat occurs as root two.

- aри man to go and live
- taka man to come and live

2.2.3.8 Kin occurs principally as root two and occurs only as root one when tat occurs as root two.

- aри kin to go and stand
- ba kin to go and stand
- ge kin to come down and stand
- ga kin to come and stand

2.2.3.9 Tat occurs only as root two

- aри tat to go and stay
- ba tat to go and stay
- ga tat to come and stay
- ge tat to sit down
- ot tat to do and stay

2.2.3.10 Me occurs principally as root two and occurs only as root one when man occurs as root two.

- aри me to go and get it
- ga me to come and get it
- taka me to come and get it
- me man to do and live
- yåhâ me to go up and get it
- ge me to come down and get it
2.2.3.11 Ot occurs only as root one when tat or man occurs as root two.
   ot tat to do and stay          ot man to do and live

2.2.3.12 One sequence of three roots occurs.
   ge taka kin to come down and stand

2.3 ADJECTIVE STEMS

Adjective stems may be derived from classes of roots or other constructions by the suffixation of the adjectivizers -ŋe or -dâ, compounding or reduplication.

2.3.1 Derivation by -ŋe. The formula is core + -ŋe + derived adjective stem. The core may manifest a variety of root classes and construction types.

2.3.1.1 Noun roots.
   kun-ŋe first born from kun head
   kâbuk-ŋe forbidden from kâbuk tabu
   bâlâp-ŋe cold from bâlâp wind

2.3.1.2 Adjective roots. This is simply to say that these roots occur only in the core of a derived adjective.
   hâgi-ŋe old           umat-ŋe heavy

2.3.1.3 Adverb roots.
   in-ŋe insignificant from in for no reason, just
   dodâ-ŋe large from dodâ hard, fiercely

2.3.1.4 Numerals. Adjectives derived from numerals are equivalent to English ordinal numerals.
   konok-ŋe first, yâhâp-ŋe second, kallbu-ŋe third, etc.

2.3.2 Reduplication of verbal forms plus the adjectivizer -ŋe. This derivation is similar to that for nouns derived from verbs (2.1.2.1) except that the adjectivizer -ŋe is suffixed to the reduplicated verbal form. There appears to be very little overlap, however, and only rarely do such derived nouns form adjectives by the addition of the adjectivizer. As in the case of nouns derived from verbs, other clause level tagmemes occur with the reduplicated verbal form. Some examples follow.
2.3.2.1 Intransitive verb root.
yâhâ yâhâ-ŋe arrogant from yâhâ to ascend
mumuŋe dead from mu to die
yahat yahat-ŋe high (of pay) from yahat to arise
irikeyrikey-ŋe buck (of teeth) from irike to protrude

2.3.2.2 Location tagmeme and intransitive verb root.
hânnântat^2 -ŋe (Loc: on the ground, iP: to be situated) 'which is on the ground'
hibiminster^2 -ŋe (Loc: in the sky, iP: to go) 'flying (of aeroplanes)'
saruântat^2 -ŋe (Loc: on the sea, iP: to go) 'sailing (of ships)'

2.3.2.3 Manner tagmeme and intransitive verb root.
kâditak^2 -ŋe (M: temporarily, iP: to come) 'temporarily resident'

2.3.2.4 Transitive verb stem.
ehek-ŋe visible from ð-ek see-it (subclass I)
ihihi-ŋe bitten from ð-ihibitae-it (subclass II)
golagu golagu-ŋe stirred from golagnu to stir it (subclass III)

When an adjective derived from a transitive verb stem occurs qualifying a noun, concord exists between the number expressed by the bound object marker in the verb stem underlying the derived adjective and the number expressed by the noun qualified by the derived adjective. In the following examples, the morphemes in concord are underlined.

naom-yâhât-ŋe (H: child-du.-his) me-yelek^2 -ŋe (tP: to hold them (du.)) 'his two initiated children'
naom-lip-ŋe (H: child-pl.-his) me-yek^2 -ŋe (tP: to hold them (pl.) 'his initiated children'

2.3.2.5 Object tagmeme and transitive verb stem.
den lou^2 -ŋe (O: words, tP: to carry it) 'obedient'
emet hahu^2 -ŋe (O: house, tP: to smash it) 'perverted'
kobo me^2 -ŋe (O: theft, tP: to hold it) 'thieving'
bibi ku^2 -ŋe (O: insides, tP: to hit it) 'angry'

2.3.2.6 Subject tagmeme and transitive verb stem.
weke allt^2 -ŋe (S: spirit, tP: to withhold) 'stunted'
gelak hih^2 -ŋe (S: rain, tP: to bite it) 'rain-washed'
turebe hlonâk^2 -ŋe (S: ditch, tP: to break oneself) 'fissured (of ground)'
2.3.2.7 Location tagmemes and transitive verb stem.

bitiñan ku\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Loc: on the trap, tP: to hit it) 'trapped'

iwân pan\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Loc: on the rope, tP: to throw) 'strung'

hâkñan sâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Loc: on his skin, tP: to speak) 'accused'

2.3.2.8 Location and Object tagmemes with transitive verb stem.

lohân dene sâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Loc: on a man, O: its word, tP: to speak) 'betrothed'

2.3.2.9 Manner tagmemes and transitive verb stem.

sen konok ek\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (M: eye, only, tP: to look at it) 'unhelpful'

ki ek\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (M: not, tP: to see it) 'invisible, not for viewing'

ki ne\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (M: not, tP: to eat it) 'inedible, not for eating'

2.3.2.10 Manner and Object tagmemes with transitive verb stem.

kâî bât towat\(\eta\) ki ek\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (O: leg, hand, appearance, M: not, tP: to see it) 'ill-mannered'

sâliku sâlishwât top\(\eta\) (O: basis of counting) ki nâgâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (M: not, tP: to know) 'illiterate'

2.3.2.11 Instrument tagmemes and transitive verb stem.

tewet kâdâk hâre\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Inst: knife, with, tP: to cut it) 'cut by a knife'

2.3.2.12 Dependent homopersonal clause and transitive verb stem.

den sâm pâmku\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (dp.cl: speaking words, tP: to err) 'asphasic'

2.3.2.13 Auxiliary Verb Phrases. In these the filler of the Com. tagmemes occurs with the reduplicated auxiliary verb root. When the auxiliary is sâ to say, the reduplication is optional. It appears that the auxiliary or to do does not enter into such derivation.

palatak sâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Com: slip, auxH: to say) 'slippery'

kugõn sâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Com: ripe, auxH: to say) 'ripe'

kododoñ sâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Com: cascade, auxH: to say) 'cascading'

tân tân sâ\(^2\) + -\(\eta\) (Com: swell, auxH: to say) 'swollen'

Adjective stems derived from the AVP. may be expanded by the inclusion of the Actor tagmemes. In such derivation the affixes on the noun filling the Actor tagmemes are deleted.
âdâp lak să₂ + -ñe (Act: ear, Com: full, auxH: to say) 'cauliflower-eared'
hâk orok să₂ + -ñe (Act: skin, Com: collapse, auxH: to say) 'skinny'
kâì tân tân să₂ + -ñe (Act: leg, Com: swell, auxH: to say) 'swollen-legged'

2.3.3 Adjective stems derived by reduplication. The following classes of roots may be reduplicated to form adjective stems.

2.3.3.1 Noun roots.
tewet tewet sharp (of a nose) from tewet knife
kubut mabut very knobby (of potatoes) from kubut knot, knob
yogo yogo sharp (of a nose, mountain ridge) from yogo corner
esen esen soft from esen leaf
piwot piwot stringy from piwot kind of vine
hâk(ñe) hâkñe ordinary from hâkñe its skin

2.3.3.2 Adjunct roots.
turuk baruk obese from turuk yap it swells up
bok bok smouldery from bok yap it dies (of a fire)
aman aman squint-eyed from aman i to sleep

2.3.3.3 Relator.
kâdâk kâdâk broad from kâdâk with (instrument relator)

2.3.4 Compounding.
2.3.4.1 Two adjectival forms (antonyms).
kâlîp tâlâwâk uneven from kâlîp long and tâlâwâk short
pato tipînê unequal sizes from pato big and tipînê small

2.3.4.2 Unclassified root and adjective root.
ikisobo senîle from *iki (?) and sobo old
wan sihan virginal from *wan (?) and sihan young

2.3.4.3 Unclassified root and noun root.
kâwâkoda promiscuous from kâwâ (?) and koda fornication

2.3.4.4 Noun root and numeral root.
pâŋ konok short from pâŋ middle and konok one
2.3.4.5 Noun root and compound adjective stem.

nelam pang konok forgetful from nelam mind and pang konok short

2.3.4.6 Two adverb roots of related meanings.

mian kadi of migrant standing from mian immigrate and kadi temporarily

2.3.4.7 Two verbal antonyms in the inchoative future tense.

yahawe gewe uneven (of countryside) (lit. I will go up, I will go down)

2.3.4.8 Unclassified root plus bero. Note that the root bero occurs in many compound nouns (2.1.3.3).

huq bero poor from huq (round worm?) and bero eater (?)

2.3.4.9 Adjective stems formed by compounding intransitive verb roots and an adjective root in reduplication.

gegogo gago gogo or bagogo gago gogo wriggly from ge to descend, ga to come, ba to go and gogo crooked

2.3.4.10 Adjective stems consisting of a phrasal compound formed from an Acc.P. The Axis tagmeme is manifested by nominal forms and the Relator tagmeme by orop with.

kubutq orop knotty
kuk qe orop fragrant

2.3.5 Derivation by the suffixation of -da. With but a single exception only noun roots occur in the core. The resultant stems indicate a quality which is a characteristic of the noun they qualify.

kigit da fearful from kigit fear
kut da famous from kut name
nep da industrious from nep work
derep da paralytic from *derep paralysis
egat da responsible from egat neck

One adjective of this type is derived from the instrument relator root kādāk with and -dā, viz., kādākdā whole.

2.3.6 Derivation by the suffixation of -āk. The relation of this suffix to the homophonous forms occurring as the adverbalizer (2.5.3), the relator of the Manner Axis-relator Phrase, or as the unrestricted suffix is not clear. Only two adjective stems of this type have been observed.
2.3.6.1 Adverb root plus -âk.
bâwâk plenty (= sesegât) from bâp tightly

2.3.6.2 Noun plus -âk.
tân̊gâk heavy set, stocky from tân̊gâ his bone.

2.3.7 Intensification of adjectival forms.

2.3.7.1 A number of adjective stems are intensified by an intensifier word occurring following the adjective. This construction is an Adjective Phrase and is described in 4.3.

2.3.7.2 A number of adjective stems are intensified by reduplication. In most cases this reduplication is a reduplication of the adjective with a heterophonic change of the first syllable to ma. Adjectives which already consist of a reduplicated form manifest the heterophonic change only.

herône friendly  herône marone very friendly
gogône crooked  gogône magon(e) very crooked
bâlene bad  bâlene malene very bad, wicked
lêlok ilêok matted  lêlok malok very matted
kârikne strong  kârik kârikne very strong
lohotne weak  lohot lohot(ne) very weak

A number of adjectives may be intensified by a partial reduplication of the root.

kâlip long  kâkâlip very long, slender
tâlâwâk short  tâtâlâp very short, stout

2.3.7.3 Adjective stems which are a phrasal compound of an Acc.P. may be intensified by several methods.

(a) If the noun in the axis is a count noun the phrase is intensified by a reduplication of the relator.
yâbâne orop (whiskers with) 'bearded'  yâbâne orop orop heavily bearded
kubutne orop (knots with) 'knotty'  kubutne orop orop very knotty
bâokne orop (crack with) 'cracked'  bâokne orop orop fractured

(b) If the noun in the axis is a mass noun the phrase is often intensified by pato big following the relator.
kukne orop (fragrance with) 'fragrant'  kukne orop pato very fragrant
korokne orop (stench with) 'smelly'  korokne orop pato very smelly
(c) Idioms which occur in the axis of the Acc.P. are intensified only by pato big following the relator. If the intensifier pato is included in the axis, the idiom loses its idiomatic meaning or the result is nonsense.

egat̄e pato orop (neck big with) '(one) with a big neck (goitre)'
egat̄e orop (neck with) 'mature' egat̄e orop pato very mature
hâmen̄e mumūne orop (nose dead with) 'disagreeable' hâmen̄e mumūne orop pato very disagreeable but hâmen̄e mumūne pato orop (one) with a big dead nose (nonsense).

These types of intensification do not occur if the Acc.P. rather than the adjective phrasal compound manifests the Qualifier tagmeme. Rather the noun or construction manifesting the axis of the phrase is further qualified.

mesik orop (Ax: sickness, Rel: with) 'sickly' becomes mesik pato orop very sickly (lit. with a big sickness)
nâgâ nâgâne orop (Ax: his thoughts, Rel: with) 'intelligent' becomes nâgâ nâgâne pato orop very intelligent (lit. with very big, important thoughts)

(d) If the relator in the Rel. of the Acc.P. is bia without, no intensification occurs; the result would be nonsensical, e.g., very greaseless.

2.3.7.4 A few adjectives which occur only in a reduplicated form are intensified by pato big.
turuk baruk obese turuk baruk pato extremely obese
den (words) gillân gillân (chatter) 'chatter' den gillân gillân pato much chatter

2.3.7.5 Adjectives which are derived from clauses by the reduplication of the verb root or stem usually are intensified by pato big following the reduplicated verb root. There are alternate methods of showing intensification and these apparently are used at random by different speakers. The following methods have been observed.

(a) Pato big or papato gigantic occurring as an intensifier after the reduplicated root:

palatak sâsâne pato very slippery
yahat yahatne pato very high (of pay)
yahat yahatne papato extremely high (of pay)
nepâ pâruŋ oron̄e pato full of freckles, very freckled
(b) Transforming the derived adjective to a homopersonal dependent clause and adding another verb which is then reduplicated.

huruṣ sāsā-ṅe sunken becomes huruṣ sām aři arjė (being sunken, gone on) 'sunk very deeply'

tāntān sāsā-ṅe swollen becomes tāntān sām tiṅtiṅ sāsā-ṅe (being swollen, stretched tightly) 'very swollen'

When a construction is regarded as overloaded, a speaker may transform it to a clause qualified by a demonstrative pronoun. The immediately preceding example, although grammatical, would be transformed by some speakers as the following:

hākṛṇ tāntān sām (his skin, having swollen) tiṅtiṅ yap (it became tight) ya (that) 'that skin which swelled and became tight'

(c) Suffixing the morpheme -āk only to the reduplicated verb root.

palatāk sāsā-ṅe slippery becomes palatāk sāsāñeāk very slippery.

(d) Adding a Loc.P. to the clause from which the adjective stem is derived.

hān (ground) turebe hioṅak hioṅak-ṅe (ditch, self-broken) 'fissured ground' becomes hān turebe amokjan hioṅak hioṅak-ṅe (ground, ditch, at-its-depth, self-broken) 'deeply fissured ground'

(e) Adding an adjective to the noun in the clause from which the adjective stem is derived.

bitiṅān (in the trap) kuhu-ṅe (struck) 'trapped' becomes bitiṅ kārikjan (in the strong trap) kuhu-ṅe (struck) 'firmly trapped'

(f) odop another occurs as an intensifier after the reduplicated root.

yāḥā yāḥā-ṅe arrogant yāḥā yāḥāṅe odop very arrogant

yahat yahat-ṅe high (of pay) yahat yahat-ṅe odop very high

(g) One adjective root occurs in the reduplicated form to indicate a lessening rather than an intensification.

seduk crazy seduk seduk foolish

The intensification is done by reduplication plus the heterophonic change: seduk maṅkne very crazy.

2.4 NUMERAL STEM S

The base numerals are the roots konok one, yāḥāp two, kalibi three and ibāt four. These roots occur in compound stems for many of the higher numerals.
2.4.1 **bâtnobot five.** This is a compound derived from the noun roots bât hand and nobot part, half, side.

2.4.2 Numerals six through nine are phrasal compounds consisting of a Loc.P. manifesting nobot in the axis and -ân at as a relator plus the base numerals.

- nobolân konok six (lit. one at the side)
- nobolân yâhâp seven (lit. two at the side)
- nobolân kalibu eight (lit. three at the side)
- nobolân ibât nine (lit. four at the side)

2.4.3 Numerals eleven through fourteen have the same structure but kâi foot replaces nobot. In **fifteen bâtnobot** serves as a base numeral.

- kâiân konok eleven (lit. one at the foot)
- kâiân yâhâp twelve (lit. two at the foot)
- kâiân kalibu thirt en (lit. three at the foot)
- kâiân ibât fourteen (lit. four at the foot)
- kâiân bâtnobot fifteen (lit. five at the foot)

2.4.4 Numerals sixteen through nineteen have the same structure but the axis of the Loc.P. is manifested by kâi nobot the other foot and the relator is manifested by -ân or -gen at.

- kâi nobolân konok sixteen (lit. one at the other foot)
- kâi nobolân yâhâp seventeen (lit. two at the other foot)
- kâi nobolân kalibu eighteen (lit. three at the other foot)
- kât nobolân ibât nineteen (lit. four at the other foot)

2.4.5 **bâlâk ñerek ten.** This compound consists of the noun root bât hand plus the unrestricted suffix -âk only plus the adjective ñerek all (lit. all of only the hands).

2.4.6 **lok konok ñerek twenty.** This is a phrasal compound derived from the GNP. manifesting the structure: H: man, Num: one to which the adjective ñerek all is compounded yielding all of one man. For multiples of twenty, the numeral one is replaced by two, three, etc. as in **lok yâhâp ñerek forty, lok kalibu ñerek sixty.**

2.4.7 For all numerals beyond twenty, except multiples of twenty, the lower multiple of twenty is followed by the Poss.P. manifesting lok âlâ in the axis and -gât as the possessive relator, viz., lok âlâhât another man's. To this is added the numerals for one to nineteen as in **lok yâhâp ñerek lok âlâhât ibât forty-four** (lit. all of two men, for another man, four).
2.5 ADVERB STEMS

This class of stems occurs in the Manner tagmeme of the clause level. Adverb stems may be derived from other classes of roots by the occurrence of adverbizer suffixes and/or reduplication. One adverbizer suffix, -âk, also functions as a relator clitic in the Manner Axis-relator Phrase (4.4.5). When it occurs on words, stems or roots, however, it is regarded as an adverbizer because many of such derived adverbs are intensified by the occurrence of pato big following the adverbizer. If these were axis-relator phrases the root pato would occur in the axis and be followed by the clitic. (See 2.3.7.3 for a similar treatment of phrasal compounds in adjective stems). The adverbizer -âk also occurs suffixed to reduplicated forms.

Note that all of these processes of derivation may work on the same root as in tik hidden area (noun root): tik tik, tikâk, tikâ tikâ, tikâlâk, all of which mean noiselessly, secretly.

2.5.1 Adverb stems derived by the adverbizer -wu are derived from the demonstrative pronoun roots: ya that, yu this, and the adverb gira how.

yawu thus, like that girawu in which manner
yuwu thus, like this

The stems yawu and yuwu also occur suffixed by -âk as in yawuâk just like that, yuwuâk just like this.

2.5.2 Adverb stems derived by reduplication are derived from the following classes of roots, stems or words.

2.5.2.1 Adjective roots.
tânât tânât babbling from tânât useless as in den tânât tânât yap he babbled
golâ golâek suddenly from golâ green, alive as in golâ golâek muop he died suddenly, without warning.

2.5.2.2 Adjective words.
herone marone in a pleasing manner from herone pleasant
bâlene malene badly from bâlene bad

2.5.2.3 Noun roots.
hohet guhet tuhu to mix, intermingle s.th. from hohet middle area
2.5.2.4 Noun words.

hâkge hâkge not well (of mediocre workmanship) from hâkge its skin

2.5.2.5 Number roots.

konok konok singly, one at a time from konok one
yâhâp yâhâp two at a time from yâhâp two

2.5.2.6 Time roots.

gâmâlâk gâmâlâk slowly from gâmâlâk later
getek getek quickly from getek soon

2.5.2.7 Adverb roots.

betbet backwards from bet later
inin superficially from in just

2.5.2.8 Verbs. As in the case of noun stems being derived from verbs, these derived forms are in fact derived from clauses since other clause level tagmemes or an adjunct always occur preceding the reduplicated form. Adverb stems derived from verbal forms by reduplication are derived by reduplicating the dependent homopersonal verb. This verb may also be an auxiliary verb with its attendant adjunct. The following preposed tagmemes have been observed.

(a) Manner and Complement tagmemes.

ki torok otmu otmu temporarily from ki torok oap it did not lengthen

(b) Object tagmeme.

biwi nágâm nágâm ek to self-examine from biwi- nágâ to think to one-self (lit. to feel one's insides)

(c) Location tagmeme.

den hohetnan hohetnan så to mix different languages in speaking from den hohetnan in the middle of the languages

(d) Adverbs formed by compounding intransitive verb roots with a transitive verb stem and reduplicating the homopersonal dependent form: gekum bakum careening downwards from ge to descend, ba to go and kum hitting up.

2.5.2.9 Predicateless Clause. Adverbs may be derived from predicateless clauses by the reduplication of the filler of the final tagmeme.

hâkge kou kou unwashed from hâkge kou your skin is ashen.
2.5.2.10 Adverbs may also be derived from Attributive-Head constructions by a reduplication of the root in the last element.

denerating with a sideways glance from flight the edge of one's eye.

2.5.2.11 In the following form the structure is adjunct root plus noun root plus reduplicated adjunct root: aman tan hutuk hutuk (sleep, bone, silent) 'deeply' (of sleep)

2.5.2.12 Adjunct roots.

hero hero well from hero kat- to be agreeable.

This form is intensified by heterophonlic reduplication as in hero maro very well.

2.5.3 Adverbs may be derived from the following root, stem and word classes by the suffixation of the adverbalizer/relator enclitic (-âk) -âk ~ -ek ~ -ok (cf. 4.3.5).

2.5.3.1 Adjective roots.
kuriqâk reddened from kuriq red
kerehâk completely from kerek all
patoâk only big from pato big

2.5.3.2 Adjective stems.
âlipâqâk well from âlipâq good
ukenâqâk pleasantly from ukenâq sweet

2.5.3.3 Adverb roots.
kiâq never from ki not
inâq without a purpose from in just

2.5.3.4 Emphatic pronoun roots.
ikiqâq alone from ikiâq he himself, she herself

2.5.3.5 Noun roots.
kigilâq fearfully from kigil fear

2.5.3.6 Noun words.
hodoâqâq fruitless from hodoâq its dry banana leaf
uwurupâqâq in a flood stage from uwurupâq its flood

Adverb stems derived from adjectival or nominal forms may be intensified by the occurrence of pato big following -âk.
hodoŋeak pato completely fruitless
kuriŋak pato very reddened
kigilak pato in great fear
uwurupŋeak pato in a state of enormous flood

2.5.3.7 Numeral roots.
konohak in common from konok one

2.5.3.8 Relators.
orowak also from orop with (accompaniment)

2.5.3.9 Intransitive verb roots.
teteŋak openly from tete to appear

2.5.3.10 Compound noun stem.
håk nelamak without affliction from håk skin, nelam mind

2.5.3.11 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.
topŋe biaek without a purpose from topŋe bia without its base

2.5.3.12 Unclassified roots.
bunewak completely from *bunep all(?)

2.5.4 Adverbs may be derived from the following root, stem and word classes by the suffixation of the adverbializer -ŋak together with reduplication. Both of these methods of derivation are essential.

2.5.4.1 Adjunct roots.
heŋak heŋak playfully from heŋ ot to play
tin tinŋak to the finish from tin yap it is used up, finished

2.5.4.2 Adjective roots.
ŋirik ŋiriŋhak pleasantly from ŋirik sweet

2.5.4.3 Noun words.
påŋiŋak påŋiŋak in part from påŋe its middle

2.5.4.4 Adverb roots.
båpbåwak in a continuous line from båp tightly

2.6 CONTRASTIVE PRONOUN STEMS
The regular personal pronoun roots and the indefinite pronoun root ala a, an, another, may be modified to indicate contrast by the suffixation of the morpheme {-ku} -ku ~ -gu ~ -hu. The resulting forms
emphasize that the person so identified is contrasted with other persons. For instance, when a host distributes food to a group of guests but omits one person, the omitted person could say nâku bla (I-contrastive morpheme, no) which, freely translated, means But what about me! The 3s form yâku is regularly used with inanimate referents and fulfills the semantic distinctions of the demonstrative pronouns which do not occur with the morpheme {-ku}. The resulting forms are given in Matrix 7.

Matrix 7: Contrastive pronoun stems from regular personal pronoun roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nâku</td>
<td>netku</td>
<td>nengu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>gâku</td>
<td>yetku</td>
<td>yengu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>yâku</td>
<td>yâ(yet)ku</td>
<td>yâku or yâkyengu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the indefinite pronoun root: âlâhu a, an, another

These pronoun stems occur mainly with future tense verbs and have a limited distribution:

2.6.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes.
nâku ariwom I will go (not anyone else).
nâku kuan I hit it (not anyone else).

2.6.2 Object tagmeme.
nâku nohowuap He will hit me (and no one else).

2.6.3 Possession tagmeme. When the pronouns showing contrast occur in the Possession tagmeme the nominal possession-marking suffixes also occur on the noun if it occurs in the Head of the GNP.
nâku emet-ne (my, house-my) 'my house and no one else's'

2.6.4 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase.
gâ nâku orop arirom you me with we(du.) will go 'You will go with me and no one else.'

The contrastive pronoun stems are intensified by the occurrence of the second element of the emphatic pronoun stems (see 2.10) in a post position

nâku niniâk tatom (I, myself, I will remain) 'I will remain alone by myself.'
2.7 COMPARATIVE PRONOUN STEMS

The regular personal pronoun roots, the demonstrative pronoun roots and the indefinite pronoun roots may occur with the unrestricted suffix -ämä however, on the other hand showing comparison. The resulting forms are given in Matrix 8.

Matrix 8: Comparative pronoun stems from regular personal pronoun roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nämä</td>
<td>nerämä</td>
<td>nenämä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>gämä</td>
<td>yerämä</td>
<td>yenämä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>yāhämä</td>
<td>yāhämä</td>
<td>yāhämä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the demonstrative pronoun roots:
yuämä this one, however yämä that one, however edämä or eduämä that one over there, however ewämä or ewuämä that one up there, however ebämä or ebuämä that one down there, however wuânämä what, however wosämä which one, however.

From the indefinite pronoun roots:
âlâmä another, however odowämä another (of a different sort), however

Comparative pronoun stems occur only in the Actor, Subject and Object tagmemes.

2.7.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes.
yen-ämä den waiialesiän agmai
you-however talk on radios you give one another
'You [Europeans], however, always talk to one another on the two-way radios.'

2.7.2 Object tagmememe.
hän ya-ämä ñerek mem pesuk pilañl
ground that-however all holding they did it completely
'They took all of that ground, however, . . .'

2.8 INCLUSIVE PRONOUN STEMS

The regular personal pronoun roots also occur with the inclusive (incl.) suffix (-bän) -bän ~ -wän too, also. When suffixed to nouns this suffix focuses attention on the items sub-classed under the noun,
and can best be translated as all kinds of or different kinds of. Thus lokbân (man-incl.) focuses attention on the various groups of people: Europeans, New Guineans, Chinese, Japanese, etc. and gokawân (sweet potato-incl.) focuses attention on all the various sweet potato cultigens. When the suffix occurs on the personal pronoun root the pronoun stem includes its referent plus someone else. The resulting forms are given in Matrix 9.

Matrix 9: Inclusive pronoun stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nàwân</td>
<td>netbân</td>
<td>nenbân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>gâwân</td>
<td>yetbân</td>
<td>yenbân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>yâkbân</td>
<td>yâk(yet)bân</td>
<td>yâk(yen)bân</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These pronoun stems have a very limited distribution.

2.8.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes. The pronouns occur both in the Actor tagmeme and in the axis of the Sub.P. The verbal subject-marking suffixes in the same clause occur in the plural number.

nâwân tatnom (I-also, we will remain) 'We will remain (you and I and a third party).'

2.8.2 Object tagmeme. The pronominal object-marking suffix of the verb in the same clause occurs in the plural number.

nâwân ningiwuap (I-also, he will give us) 'He will give it to us (you and I and a third party).'

nâwân orop netjâk piriînenehop (I-also, with, ourselves(du.), he washed us(pl.)) 'He baptized us, not only you but also me.'

2.9 EXCLUSIVE PRONOUN STEM

When the regular personal pronoun roots or the regular demonstrative pronoun roots (excluding ebu, edu, ewu) occur in the object tagmeme they are often suffixed by the unrestricted suffix {êk} -êk ~ -ek ~ -ok only and show emphasis or exclusion. The resulting forms are given in Matrix 10.

Matrix 10: Exclusive pronoun stems from regular personal pronoun roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>nâek</td>
<td>nelêk</td>
<td>nenêk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>gâek</td>
<td>yelêk</td>
<td>yenêk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>yâhêk</td>
<td>yâhêk</td>
<td>yâhêk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From regular demonstrative pronoun roots:

yuâk this alone  yaok that alone
edaek that one over there alone
ewaek that one up there alone
abaek that one down there alone
nâ-ek nohom arap (me-only, hitting me, he went away) 'He hit only me and went away.'
ya-ok hidâm (that-only, pulling out) 'Pulling out only that one.'

2.10 EMPHATIC PERSONAL PRONOUN STEMS

The emphatic personal pronoun roots (1.4.10) occur preceded by an optional regular personal pronoun root and suffixed by the unrestricted suffix {-âk} -âk -ek -ok only. In the dual and plural numbers, rather than the emphatic personal pronoun roots occurring, the forms netnê 1d, yetnê 2-3d, nenê 1p, and yenê 2-3p occur. The final vowels of the second form change from e to i when the suffix -âk is added. Some speakers, however, do not always make this vowel change in the dual and plural forms. Moreover, in the singular forms the final vowel e plus â may yield a as in ninak Is. When the optional regular personal pronoun occurs, the resulting composite form shows greater emphasis. These forms are given in Matrix 11.

Matrix 11: Emphatic personal pronoun stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(nâ) niniâk/ninak</td>
<td>(net) netnîâk</td>
<td>(nen) nenjîak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(gâ) gikiâk/gikak</td>
<td>(yet) yetnîâk</td>
<td>(yen) yenîâk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(yâk) ikijîâk/ikâk</td>
<td>(yâk) yetnîâk</td>
<td>(yâk) yenîâk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms have the following distribution:

2.10.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes. All the stems except ninak, gikak and ikjâk occur both in the Actor tagmeme and in the axis of Sub.P. with the enclitic -ê (sub.). The forms ninak, gikak and ikjâk occur in the Actor and Subject tagmemes (i.e., not marked by -ê).

nâ niniâk ariwom (I, myself, I will go) 'I myself will go.'
nâ niniâk-ê kuan (I, myself-sub., I killed it) 'I killed it myself.'
nâ ninak sogo kum takan (I myself animal killing I came) 'I myself killed the animal and came.'

2.10.2 Object tagmeme. In the Object tagmeme the emphatic pronoun usually occurs without the preposed regular personal pronoun roots.
gikiąk ge gohom negek mą yą refill (You yourself, descending, killing you, eating you, it will ascend) 'It will descend, kill and eat only you and go back up.'

2.10.3 Possession tagmeme. The emphatic personal pronoun stems do not occur in the Possession tagmeme; rather this distinction appears to be shown by the regular personal pronoun roots with the morpheme {-ku} showing contrast.

2.10.4 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase. The relator enclitic is {-gât}.
na niniąk-gât yap He spoke only about me.

2.10.5 Location tagmeme. This pronoun form does not occur in the Location tagmeme; see the emphatic personal pronoun roots (1.4.10).

2.10.6 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. When the emphatic personal pronoun stems occur in the axis, the relator word orop with is permuted to a pre-axis position.
orop netnįaks only with us (du.) only
orop yenįaks only with them

2.11 DERIVED DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN STEMS

These stems have the structure: + core + -wu like + -ya. The core manifests the regular demonstrative pronoun roots eba, eda, ewa, ya and yu or the adverb gira how.
ebawuya one like that down there
edawuya one like that over there
ewawuya one like that up there
yawuya one like that (one) near you
yuwuya one like this (one) near me
girawuya which kind of one?

These pronoun stems have the following distribution:

2.11.1 Actor and Subject tagmemes.
yuwuya kinmą nitkiap (One like this, standing, he gave us) 'One like this one stood and gave it to us (du.).'

2.11.2 Subject Axis-relator Phrase.
girawuya-ne kasai (What kind of one-sub., they put it) 'What kind of people put it.'
2.11.3 Object tagmeme.
yuwuya mem tohorâ (One like this, holding, you come) 'When you bring one like this...'

2.11.4 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase.
girawuya-kât nagat (What kind of thing-for, you thought) 'About which kind of thing did you think?'

2.11.5 Possessive Axis-relator Phrase.
girawuya-kât topê kl nagan (What kind of thing-poss., its essence, not, I know) 'Which kind of thing do I not know the meaning of?'

2.12 ADJUNCT STEMS
This class of stems occurs in the Complement tagmeme of the Auxiliary Verb Phrase.

2.12.1 They may be derived by reduplication from the following classes of roots.

2.12.1.1 Adjective roots.
kuririrîn yap to become reddened from kuri ng red

2.12.1.2 Adjunct roots. When an adjunct root is reduplicated the resultant form shows intensification.
dângâñåk ek to stare intently from dâñåk ek to stare
puririki yap it spins, rotates from purîk yap it turns
gileng belen yap it flashes from belen yap it reflects

2.12.1.3 Adverb roots.
bâp bâp oap it sticks from bâp tightly

2.12.1.4 Noun roots.
tâp tâp oap it is frothy from tâp- spittle
iwit iwit oap it is bleached from iwît white hair
belâm belâm oap it became whole again from belâm- place
kât kât yap it is stiff from kât stone

2.12.1.5 Intransitive verb roots including optional preposed clause level tagmemes.
yâhâ yâhâ ot to be arrogant from yâhâ to ascend
hâk gehe ot to be haggard from hâkne giap he is haggard (lit. his skin came down)
2.12.1.6 Transitive verb stems including optional preposed clause level tagmemes.

bât kuhu ot to marry from bâtye:\n kuawot they shook hands (lit. hit their hands)
gâre gure ot or hâre gâre ot to twine around s.th. from gâre to sew it
melon gulon ot to wallow from melon to stir it

2.12.1.7 A number of reduplicative adjuncts involve the antonyms ba, ari to go and ga to come in compounds with either ku hit it or -wa(?)
baku gaku ot or ariku gaku ot to sway back and forth
bawa gawa tuhu to slide s.th. back and forth

2.12.2 A number of adjunct stems are formed by compounding other roots.

2.12.2.1 Adjunct root and noun root.
aman nelâm i to sleep deeply from aman sleep and nelâm mind

2.12.2.2 Unclassified root and noun root.
olo gilâp tuhu to weep bitterly from *olo (?) and gilâp tear
on giri\n ot to be joyous from *on (?) giri\n laughter

2.13 TIME STEMS

The following stems occur in the Time tagmeme of the Transitive and Intransitive clauses.

2.13.1 kâdikum in the beginning. This is a fossilized form of a homopersonal dependent verb kâdikum starting out.

2.13.2 emelâk before. This is a phrasal compound derived from the Manner Axis-relator Phrase: emet-\æk place-only. This may vaguely refer to the time which predated settlement of the Pumune valley.

2.13.3 kâdikum emelâk in the very beginning. This is a compound of the previous two forms.

2.13.4 yâhâlân the day before yesterday. This is a compound formed from the dual marking first order nominal suffix yâhât two and the locative clitic -\an at.

2.13.5 edâ\nân beyond the day after tomorrow. This is a phrasal compound derived from the Loc.P. manifesting the nominalized demonstrative edâ\nge that beyond and the locative clitic -\an at.
2.13.6 *omoQänäk* morning. This is a phrasal compound derived from a Loc.P. embedded in the axis of a Man.P.: *omoQ-än-äk night-at-only*.

2.13.7 *hâdâhän* tomorrow. This is a phrasal compound derived from the Loc.P. with the root *hâdâk* manifesting the Axis and *-än at* manifesting the Relator. In the closely related Timbe language *hâdâk* means *night*.

2.13.8 *hâdâhän mukan* after tomorrow. This is a compound of the antonyms *hâdâhän* tomorrow and *mukan* yesterday.

2.13.9 A number of time stems are derived from noun roots by the suffixation of the time word derivative suffix *-dâñe at, in*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Selepet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in the daytime</td>
<td><em>hilâmdâñe</em> in the daytime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at night</td>
<td><em>omoQânägue</em> at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the evening</td>
<td><em>öjîdâñe</em> in the evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the time of rain</td>
<td><em>gelâkdâñe</em> in the time of rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in cloudy weather</td>
<td><em>elemdâñe</em> in cloudy weather</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.14 PARTICLE STEMS

Particle stems represent apparently fossilized forms which are derived from higher level syntagmemes or portions of higher level syntagmemes. Particular stems function as conjunctions at the clause and/or phrase levels. Some examples are given below.

2.14.1 *Otmu* and is a fossilized heteropersonal 3s verb *it happened* and...

2.14.2 *Yapa gâtñâge* as a consequence represents an apparent fossilization of a nominalized Origin Noun Phrase which literally means *that which came out of that*.

2.14.3 *Gârâmâ* however, furthermore is a compound of the bene./cau. *-gät for* and the unrestricted suffix *-ämâ however*.

3. WORDS

There are only two word classes in Selepet: the noun and the verb. These differ from each other in the filler classes manifesting the nuclei and their suffixal morphology.

3.1 NOUNS

The noun class may be divided into two subclasses on the basis of the number of obligatory suffixal tagmemes.
3.1.1 Subclass I nouns are obligatorily possessed and marked for number. This subclass includes fillers indicating two semantic categories: those indicating kinship relationships and those indicating body parts. The noun roots indicating kinship terms are regarded as obligatorily possessed in spite of the fact that they occur in unpossessed vocative forms. The kinship nouns include the usual kinship terms (see McElhanon, 1968) plus a few other nouns or larger constructions which denote social relationships.

The structure of subclass I nouns is: \( n_1 = \text{nucleus} + \text{number} + \text{possession} \).

3.1.1.1 The number tagmeme is manifested by a closed class of morphemes: -\( 0 \) sg., -\( y\alpha h:\) du. and -\( \text{-lip} \) pl. as in: ata-\( 0 \)-ne (elder brother-sg.-my) 'my elder brother', ata-\( y\alpha h:\)-ne (elder brother-du.-my) 'my two elder brothers' and ata-\( \text{-lip} \)-ne (elder brother-pl.-my) 'my elder brothers'.

3.1.1.2 The possession tagmeme is manifested by a closed class of seven possession-marking suffixes. These possession markers are similar in phonological shape to the regular personal pronoun roots (1.4.9). The suffixes and their formatives are given in Matrix 12.

Matrix 12: Nominal possession-marking suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>-( n ) e ( 0 )</td>
<td>-( n ) e t ( \eta e )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(g/y)</td>
<td>-( g ) e ( 0 )</td>
<td>-( g ) e t ( \eta e )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(( \theta /y ))</td>
<td>-( 0 )</td>
<td>-( \theta ) e ( \eta e )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis which is more apparent in diachronic studies is to regard the -\( \eta e \) as a fossilized adjectivizer. In an early stage of development the proto-structure was a noun plus an adjective which was derived from a regular personal pronoun root as in \( \text{em et \( y\eta e \) house their du} \). Later on fusion occurred and the derived adjective became a nominal suffix.

The formative \( \theta \) indicating third person with the singular number is also found in the singular forms of the subclass II verbal object-marking affixes occurring with the verb to bite: n-\( \text{-hi me} \), g-\( \text{-hi you} \) and \( \theta \)-\( \text{-hi him, her, it} \).

3.1.1.3 The nucleus may be manifested by:

(a) Subclass I noun roots (kin terms, titles, body parts).
ata-\( 0 \)-ne (elder brother-sg.-my) 'my elder brother'
barat-\( 0 \)-ne (daughter-sg.-my) 'my daughter'
Body parts rarely occur in the nucleus of subclass I nouns, and when they do so the reference is usually to a larger portion of the body which includes the named parts.

Inanimate nouns are regarded as having body parts.

Rarely a speaker will use roots referring to animals to express endearment or to speak facetiously. These occurrences may be regarded as special.

(b) Compound noun stems.

lok-ibi-lip-ŋe (man-woman-pl.-his) 'his people'

(c) General Noun Phrase. The most common manifestation is an optional H. plus Qual.

lok kutdâ-lip-ŋene (H: man, Qual: famous-pl.-our) 'our prestigious men'

lok pato-lip-ŋene (H: man, Qual: big-pl.-our) 'our leaders'

papato-lip-ŋene (Qual: very big-pl.-our) 'our great ancestors'

The GNP. may manifest the Att. and H. tagmemes. In this case the number is indicated in the noun manifesting the H. tagmeme.

kapai abo-lip-ŋe-ntenqe (Att: village, H: owner-pl.-its-ours) 'our native residents'

(d) In the following example the Att.-H. construction manifests the axis of a Loc.P. which in turn manifests the nucleus of the noun.

kâi-ge topgan-lip-ŋe (Loc: (Att: feet-your, H: at its base)-pl.-your) 'your descendents'

Note that concord (indicated by the solid line) exists between the possession markers of the noun in the Att. tagmeme and the possession markers modifying the noun nucleus.

(e) A noun derived from a clause by reduplication of the verbal form (see 2.1.2.4).

sâtnam meme-lip-ŋe (Loc: at his teeth, tP: to hold₂-pl.-his) 'his henchmen'
Note that concord exists between the possession markers of the noun in the Location tagmeme and the possession markers modifying the noun nucleus.

(f) A noun derived from an Auxiliary Verb Phrase.

hoŋ bawa-liŋ-ŋe (Com: inform, auxH: to go\(^2\)-pl.-his) 'his servants'

3.1.2 Subclass II nouns are of the same structure as subclass I except that the number tagmeme is absent and the possession tagmeme is optional: + nucleus ± possession. The nucleus is manifested by the majority of the noun roots.

emet-ŋe his house  tebe-ŋe his bow

The possession-marking suffixes may be permuted to the prenuclear position in the noun structure with the result indicating emphasis. Only dual and plural possession-marking suffixes have been observed exhibiting such permutation. The fact that singular forms do not so occur may indicate that the regular personal pronoun occurring in the Possession tagmeme (see 1.4.9.4) serves this function.

denenŋe (den-nenŋe language-our) 'our language'
nenŋer-en (nenŋe-den our-language) 'OUR language'

In narratives the noun root which manifests the possession-marking suffixes may be deleted if confusion is unlikely to result. Such deletion occurs only when the possessed noun occurs in the axis of an axis-relator phrase (usually a Loc.P.). The remaining possession-marking suffix and relator enclitic assume the phonological characteristics of a single word.

In the following example nenŋe-ān occurs rather than nen-gat-ān (see 1.4.9.5).

yakenāmâ  bau hulin sesegat nenŋe-ān yuan biatmu
over there-however pig wild many our-at here they disappeared
'Over there, however, are many wild pigs. Here at our (place) they disappeared...'

In the following example yeŋe-gat occurs rather than yeŋat (see 1.4.9.4).

yeŋe-gat nam nem im ådenētâ
their-of milk eating sleeping they continued
'they slept on drinking their (mother's milk...')
3.2 VERBS

The verbs may be divided into two subclasses, independent and dependent, on the basis of morphological differences and external distribution within the sentence. Paradigms are given in the Appendix.

3.2.1 The independent verbs may be divided into two subtypes on the basis of differing structures of the verb peripheral morphology. It must be noted, however, that these morphological variations have no distributional or functional relevance. Rather they seem to reflect a historical development which appears to be common to the languages of the Finisterre-Huon Phylum (see McElhanon, forthcoming).

3.2.1.1 The Non-immediate future verb has the suffixal structure as given in Table A. All tenses may be regarded as representing the indicative mode although there is no affix actually signifying the indicative mode.

Table A: Non-immediate future verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ nucleus</th>
<th>± bene.</th>
<th>+ mode</th>
<th>+ tense</th>
<th>+ person-number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tvs.</td>
<td>-nihil 1s</td>
<td>-minl hab.</td>
<td>-w n-o</td>
<td>1s 2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ivr.</td>
<td>-gihi 2s</td>
<td>-g punct.</td>
<td>rpt.</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ivs.</td>
<td>-bagi 3s</td>
<td>-m hab.</td>
<td>a n-g</td>
<td>t 3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-nitki 1d</td>
<td>-proh.</td>
<td>ipt.</td>
<td>-p 1d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yitki 2-3d</td>
<td>-an punct.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wot 2-3d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ningi lp</td>
<td>-g punct.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-in 1p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-yingi 2-3p</td>
<td>-bâ cft.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-l 2-3p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-bâsâ hbt.</td>
<td>-wio</td>
<td></td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chart above is intended to illustrate the co-occurrence restrictions amongst the suffixes. The allomorph -an 1s. occurs with past tenses; allomorph -m occurs elsewhere. The allomorph -t 2s. occurs with ipt. and cft. only; allomorph -n occurs elsewhere. Allomorphs -w n-o rpt. are phonologically conditioned: -w precedes vowels, -o precedes consonants. Allomorph -a ipt. occurs with all person-number
forms; -Ø occurs only with 1st person, dual and plural forms. The remaining person-number suffixes have no co-occurrence restrictions.

There is no occurrence of a tense morpheme with the ctf. Rather, time is indicated by the occurrence of a filler in the Time tagmeme of the clause.

mukan ari-bāp

yesterday go-ctf.-3s.
"He should have gone yesterday."

hādāhān ari-bā-p
tomorrow go-ctf.-3s.
"He might go tomorrow."

The second order suffixal tagmeme is manifested by morphemes indicating mode: -mini hab. (see the Appendix, §1), -m proh. or hab. (see §2). Other morphemes (with the exception of ctf.) indicating mode appear to be fused forms indicating both mode and tense.

The morphemes -wio rft. and -bisā hbt. are fused forms. To isolate a probable morpheme (-wi) -wi -bi indicating fut. would necessitate a tagmeme order of tense plus mode, the reverse of that posited for this type of verb periphery. Therefore, for the time being the writer prefers to treat these forms as being fused forms. Further research may yield evidence which would necessitate the division of the forms into morphemes indicating tense and mode.

3.2.1.2 The Immediate Future Verb has the structure as given in Table B.

Table B: Immediate Future Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ nucleus</th>
<th>± bene.</th>
<th>+ number</th>
<th>+ tense/mode (ift.)</th>
<th>+ person-number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As in Table A</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w sg.</td>
<td>-om</td>
<td>-Ø 1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-r du.</td>
<td>-ua</td>
<td>-t 2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-n pl.</td>
<td>-oma</td>
<td>-p 3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wot 2-3d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-i 2-3p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Co-occurrence restrictions are: -Ø 1st person occurs with -om; -t 2s. and -p 3s. occur with -ua; and -wot 2-3d. and -i 2-3p. occur with -oma. Concord exists between the number indicated in the number slot and the number indicated in the person-number composites.
3.2.1.3 A comparison of incl. (§10) and perm. (§11) forms with those of the ift. (§5) verb reveals some similarities but also some striking dissimilarities. The 1st person incl. forms resemble the 1st person ift. forms inasmuch as only the tense-mode marker -e is different. A comparison of the formatives indicating 2nd and 3rd person in incl. with the formatives of the regular personal pronoun roots is interesting. The formatives of the regular personal pronoun roots are given in Matrix 14.

Matrix 14: Regular personal pronoun formatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Non-Sg. Du.</th>
<th>Non-Sg. Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(n)</td>
<td>n â k</td>
<td>n e t</td>
<td>n e n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(g/y)</td>
<td>g â k</td>
<td>y e t</td>
<td>y e n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(y)</td>
<td>y â k</td>
<td>(yâk)y e t</td>
<td>(yâk)y e n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the formative k singular has an alloformative Ø which occurs in all the first and second person regular personal pronoun roots except when the contrastive suffix -ku is added (see 1.4.9 and 2.6).

The incl. suffixes (including person-number) are given in Matrix 15.

Matrix 15: Inchoative future tense suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>re</td>
<td>ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>ñet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>âk</td>
<td>yet</td>
<td>ñet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the incl. forms the formative ñ indicates plural (see 1.4.9.4, note 9 in which n plural assimilates to ñ). It may be posited that the formative y has lost any person-marking significance and taken on dual significance. The form âk, as in the case of the regular personal pronouns, indicates singular redundantly. According to this analysis the forms exhibit the structure of the Immediate Future Verb and the following morphemes may be added to the inventory: -Ø/-âk/-ek singular, -y dual, -ñ plural and -e inchoative future.19

3.2.1.4 The formatives of the permissive (§11) are not clearly discernible. Number is evident in the l of -welon dual. Perhaps a zero may be posited for plural as in -wi-Ø-on since zero may indicate plural in the person-number composites (see 3.2.1.5).
3.2.1.5 The person-number composites may be analyzed to indicate that
the person-marking formative precedes the number-marking formative.
This is immediately apparent in comparing -it ld. with -in lp. The t
marks dual and the n marks plural. One may posit that 0 marks singular.
The structure is + person + number and the formatives are given in
Matrix 16.

Matrix 16: Person-number formatives of verbal subject suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.(0)</th>
<th>Du.(t)</th>
<th>Pl.(n/0)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(an/i) -an-0</td>
<td>-i-t</td>
<td>-i-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(t/wo/i)-t-0</td>
<td>-wo-t</td>
<td>-i-0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(p/wo/i)-p-0</td>
<td>-wo-t</td>
<td>-i-0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that it is necessary to posit that the 0 indicating plural (see
1.4.9.2, note 7 for zero indicating plural in the regular personal
pronoun roots) also indicates 2nd and 3rd person. One may expect that
some of the complexities in the formative structure of the person-
number composites will be clarified when diachronic studies are
completed.

3.2.2 The dependent verbs may be divided into two subtypes on the basis
of differing peripheral morphologies.

3.2.2.1 The structure of the dependent homopersonal (i.e., same subject
as following verb) verb may be posited as follows: + nucleus ± benefac-
tive + identity + mode.20 The fillers of the nucleus and benefactive
tagmemes are the same as those of the independent verbs. The identity
tagmemes is manifested by the morpheme -m homopersonal. The mode tag-
meme is manifested by the morpheme {-a} -a ~ 0 punctiliar, in which -a
occurs when the preceding -m follows consonants and -0 occurs when it
follows vowels, and by the morpheme -a prolonged. Examples are:
sâ-m kinsap he stood and spoke
sâ-ma kinsap he stood and spoke for a prolonged time
ek-mâ kinsap he stood and watched it
ek-ma kinsap he stood and watched it for some time

3.2.2.2 The structure of the dependent heteropersonal (i.e., different
subject as following verb) verb may be posited as follows: + nucleus
± benefactive + identity + number + person. The nucleus and benefactive
tagmemes manifest the same fillers as those of the independent verbs.
The remainder of the periphery consists of fused forms indicating
identity, person and number. In paradigm §12, one may tentatively
isolate -mu heteropersonal as a second order suffix. This leaves the remaining forms indicating person-number. These are shown in Matrix 17.

Matrix 17: Heteropersonal subject-marking person-number composites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>-tne</td>
<td>-nne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-tâ</td>
<td>-netâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-tâ</td>
<td>-netâ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In accordance with the morphophonemic rules (V = any vowel), -V + d- + -Vr- and -t + d- + -t-, these forms may be rewritten and a zero morpheme indicating singular added to yield the forms of Matrix 18.

Matrix 18: Written heteropersonal person-number composites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>(ne/ße)</td>
<td>-e-ne</td>
<td>-t-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>(dâ)</td>
<td>-dâ</td>
<td>-t-dâ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>(e/dâ)</td>
<td>-e-Ø</td>
<td>-t-Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples follow:
ari-mu-t-dâ (go-hetero.-du.-2-3 per.) 'you/they (du.) went and...'
ari-mu-t-née (go-hetero.-du.-1 per.) 'we (du.) went and...'
ari-mu-n-nee (go-hetero.-pl.-1 per.) 'we (pl.) went and...'
ari-mu-ø-ø (go-hetero.-sg.-3 per.) 'he went and...'

4. PHRASES

Phrase syntagmemes constitute a level between the levels of clause syntagmemes and word syntagmemes. That is to say, phrases consist of tagmemes generally manifested by fillers from lower levels (word, stem, root) and they in turn generally manifest tagmemes of clause level syntagmemes.

There are four general types of phrases in Selepet: (a) verbal phrases which contain head tagmemes generally manifested by verbal classes, (b) endocentric nominal phrases which contain head tagmemes generally manifested by nominal classes, (c) adjectival phrases which contain head tagmemes generally manifested by adjectival classes, and (d) axis-relator phrases which consist of two tagmemes, axis and relator.
4.1 VERBAL PHRASES

There are two types of verbal phrases: the Auxiliary Verb Phrase and the close-knit verb phrases. These two types differ in that auxiliary phrases contain an initial Complement tagmeme which generally manifests root and stem classes but the initial constituent of the close-knit phrases manifests independent verbs (clauses). Moreover the close-knit phrases exhibit concord in number between the verbs occurring as the initial and final constituents.

4.1.1 Auxiliary Verb Phrase (AVP.). The AVP. has the structure + Complement + auxiliary Predicate. The Complement tagmeme (Com.) manifests adjuncts (1.4.2 and 2.12) and the auxiliary Predicate tagmeme manifests a limited number of intransitive or transitive verb roots/stems. The verbs most frequently occurring in the auxP. are *to become*, *do* and *så to say*. The AVP. occurs manifesting the intransitive Predicate tagmeme (iP.) of the Intransitive Clause (ICl.) and the transitive Predicate tagmeme (tP.) of the Transitive Clause (TCl.).

There are no formal features which can be correlated with the occurrence of any particular manifestation of the AVP. within either the iP. or tP. Rather the basis for the distribution of particular AVP. manifestations within the iP. or tP. tagmemes appears to be whether the Com. and auxP. fillers yield AVP.'s with transitivity or intransitivity; e.g., *håkãŋ ot to dislike* manifests the tP. and occurs with an Object as in *lok ya håkãŋ oan* (O: *man, that*, Com: *dislike*, auxP: *I do*) 'I dislike that man' but *gulip ot to disappear* manifests the iP.

The AVP. formally resembles the occurrence of an iP. with a Manner tagmeme or a tP. with a Manner or Object tagmeme if the filler of the predicate tagmemes is a verb which also functions as an auxiliary verb and if the Manner or Object tagmemes manifest adjectival, adverbial or nominal roots or stems and directly precedes the predicate tagmeme. These latter tagmeme collocations differ from an AVP. in the following ways:

(a) Adjuncts are inseparable from their auxiliary verb. Whereas the nominal, adjectival or adverbial root or stem manifesting the Object or Manner tagmeme is subject to clause level permutations, the adjunct manifesting the Com. is not.

(b) When the clause manifesting an AVP. in the predicate is transformed to a dependent clause the adjunct is repeated with the auxiliary verb in its dependent form. The occurrence of the Object or Manner tagmeme in the dependent transform, however, is optional.
(c) In the derivation of an adjective from an AVP, the adjunct occurs with the reduplicated root/stem of the auxiliary verb. The noun as Object or the adjective or adverb as Manner is separated from the verb in the predicate tagmeme and undergoes other derivational processes in the adjective derivation (cf. 2.3).

Some examples follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin kin kän kän oap it oozed</th>
<th>hatak oap he detected sorcery</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṇātāk oap he hiccupped</td>
<td>gulip oap he disappeared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitik patak yap it crackled</td>
<td>saŋ yap it dried up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirīk kārāk yap it rattled</td>
<td>putuk yap it collapsed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik bik giap it dripped</td>
<td>buk buk giap it swelled up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotok kunsap he coughed</td>
<td>asion kunsap he sneezed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bululuŋ pilap it exploded</td>
<td>kitin kātāŋ tuhuap he put it back together again</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AVP's which manifest ot (oap) or sā (yap) as the auxiliary verb and are intransitive may be made transitive by replacing the auxiliary verb by tuhu to do, pan or pilâ to throw or a limited number of other transitive verb stems and by preposing a dependent homopersonal verb. This dependent homopersonal verb generally specifies the manner in which the action was performed. For example, bāok yap it split may be made transitive as in the following: mem bāok tuhuap he held it and split it, liŋmā bāok tuhuap he trod on it and split it and kum bāok tuhuap he hit it and split it.

As a result of the influence of Neo-Melanesian the verb tuhu to do, build, make frequently occurs as the auxiliary when a Neo-Melanesian transitive verb ending in im occurs as the adjunct. Note that many Selepet homopersonal verbs end in m so that this type of AVP. is probably analogous to the Selepet sentence which consists of a dependent homopersonal verb immediately followed by an independent verb. draivim tuhuap he drives it stretim tuhuap he straightens it penim tuhuap he paints it subim tuhuap he shoves it

4.1.2 Close-knit verb phrases. There are three subtypes of close-knit verb phrases: the Desiderative Verb Phrase, the Immediate Intensive Verb Phrase and the Delayed Intensive Verb Phrase. Verb paradigms illustrating these three verb phrases are found in §8, §3 and §4 respectively in the Appendix. In all of the close-knit verb phrase subtypes the constituents are inseparable; i.e., no other tagmeme may intervene.
4.1.2.1 Desiderative Verb Phrase (DVP.). The DVP. has the structure: + inch. verb in first person + sâm speaking + ot- to do. Concord exists between the number indicated in the inch. verb and the number indicated in ot- to do. The inch. verb is an independent clause functioning as the object of the dependent verb sâm saying. The examples given below are written indicating grammatical structure rather than phonological unity as in paradigm §8.

ari-we sâm o-a-an (go-must I, say-ing, do-ipt.-I) 'I want to go.'
ari-re sâm o-a-it (go-must we(du.), say-ing, do-ipt.-we(du.)) 'We(du.) want to go.'
ari-re sâm o-a-wot (go-must we(du.), say-ing, do-ipt.-you/they(du.)) 'You/they(du.) want to go.'
ari-ne sâm o-a-in (go-must we(pl.), say-ing, do-ipt.-we(pl.)) 'We(pl.) want to go.'
ari-ne sâm o-a-i (go-must we(pl.), say-ing, do-ipt.-you/they(pl.)) 'You/they(pl.) want to go.'

When ot- occurs with ipt. suffixation the phrase has the phonological characteristics of a single word. When ot- occurs with rpt., dependent homo. or hetero., or when it is replaced by another verb, the inch. verb plus sâm constitute one phonological word and the following verb constitutes another phonological word. In over 25,000 words of text the phrase has been observed only with ot- manifesting ipt., rpt., homo. or hetero. suffixation. Informants have responded positively, however, to suggested forms with ot- manifesting ift., rft., hbt. or ctf. suffixation as in the following:

ariwe sâm otbom (I must go, speaking, I will do(ift.)) 'I will want to go.'
ariwe sâm otbiom (I must go, speaking, I will do(rft.)) 'After a long time I will want to go.'
ariwe sâm otbësâm (I must go, speaking, I will always do(hbt.)) 'I will always want to go.'
ariwe sâm otbâm (I must go, speaking, I should have done it(ctf.)) 'I should have wanted to go.'

4.1.2.2 Immediate Intensive Verb Phrase (iIVP.). The immediate Intensive Verb Phrase indicates action which is expected to occur immediately and has the structure: + ift. verb in first person + ot- to do.

When ot- occurs with ipt. suffixation the phrase has the phonological characteristics of a single word and ot- occurs in its contracted form o-.
In singular forms of paradigm §3 the o- is lost. In dual and plural forms the o- and the following tense marker -a contract to form á.

Some speakers, particularly younger people, replace 2nd and 3rd person, dual and plural forms with the corresponding ift. (§5) forms. The ift. verb functions as the object of ot- and concord exists between the number indicated in the ift. verb and the number indicated in ot-.

ari-wom o-a-an (go-I will, do-ipt.-I) 'I am about to go.'
ari-wom o-a-t (go-I will, do-ipt.-you) 'You are about to go.'
ari-rom o-a-it (go-we(du.) will, do-ipt.-we(du.)) 'We(du.) are about to go.'
ari-rom o-a-wot (go-we(du.) will, do-ipt.-you/they(du.)) 'You/they(du.) are about to go.'
ari-nom o-a-in (go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-we(pl.)) 'We(pl.) are about to go.'
ari-nom o-a-i (go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-you/they(pl.)) 'You/they(pl.) are about to go.'

4.1.2.3 Delayed Intensive Verb Phrase (dIVP.). The dIVP. has the same structure as the iIVP. except that the ot- occurs in a non-contracted form. Accordingly, the ipt. allomorph -sa, which follows consonants, occurs and the morphophonemic rule t + s + s yields the forms o-san 1s, o-sat 2s, ipt., o-sap 3s, ipt. etc. This construction is used to indicate intended action which will commence after a short delay.

Concord exists between the number indicated in the ift. verb and the number indicated in ot-.

ari-wom o-sa-an (go-I will, do-ipt.-I) 'I will soon go.'
ari-wom o-sa-t (go-I will, do-ipt.-you)
ari-rom o-sa-it (go-we(du.) will, do-ipt.-we(du.)) 'We(du.) will soon go.'
ari-nom o-sa-in (go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-we(pl.)) 'We(pl.) will soon go.'
ari-nom o-sa-i (go-we(pl.) will, do-ipt.-you/they(pl.)) 'You/they(pl.) will soon go.'

In investigating possible variations of intensive phrases the writer suggested to informants various combinations of tenses and modes for the two verbs in these phrase subtypes. In general the informants' responses were inconsistent so that no definitive statement can currently be made regarding the limitations except to note that all informants rejected any occurrence of the ctf. in the second verb and permitted ctf. in the first verb only if the second verb was in the rpt., ipt. or inch.
4.2 NOMINAL PHRASES

There are four nominal phrases: (a) the General Noun Phrase (GNP.) which is endocentric and single-centered, (b) the Closed Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (C-CoNP.) which is double-centered, (c) the Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (O-CoNP.) which is open ended and (d) the Origin Noun Phrase which is double-centered.

4.2.1 General Noun Phrase (GNP.). The GNP. is the most frequently occurring noun phrase. It occurs in the axes of all the axis-relator phrases, the Attributive (Att.) and Possession (Poss.) tagmemes of the GNP. (i.e., embedded in itself), the Actor and Object tagmemes of the ICl. and TCl. respectively.

The structure of the GNP. is +(± Poss. ± (± Att. + H.) ± Qual. ± Quant. ± Ind. ± Dem.). The GNP. consists of a Head tagmeme which typically manifests any of several nominal forms. The Head may be qualified in the following ways:

(a) the Attributive tagmeme manifesting a GNP. (usually Att.-H. or H.-Qual.), homopersonal dependent clause, names, or adjectival forms.

(b) the Possession tagmeme manifesting a Poss.P., regular or emphatic personal pronoun roots, or contrastive pronoun stems.

(c) the Qualifier tagmeme manifesting an adjectival form or a limited GNP. (usually H.-Qual.).

(d) the Quantifier tagmeme manifesting a numeral.

(e) the Indefinite (Qualifier) tagmeme manifesting indefinite pronouns.

(f) the Demonstrative tagmeme manifesting demonstrative pronouns, regular personal pronoun roots or contrastive pronoun stems.

Note that none of these tagmemes is obligatory, but of course at least one tagmeme must appear to have an occurrence of the phrase.

The GNP. tagmemes are so presented that the usual minimal manifestation of the GNP., i.e., the Head tagmeme, is described first and this is followed by the qualifying tagmemes.

4.2.1.1 Head tagmeme (H.). The Head tagmeme manifests a wide variety of nominal forms (see 1.4.6 and 2.1) as well as the interrogative demonstrative pronoun wun what. The noun in the Head tagmeme may occur reduplicated with the meaning each and every. When it is reduplicated the noun is marked by the suffix -ne occurring optionally on the initial occurrence of the noun and obligatorily on the latter occurrence. Such
a construction expresses plural number. It has been observed in the following phrase and clause level tagmemes:

Location:
kapaiñe kapaiñe ari kinbi 'They went and stayed at each and every village.'

Axis of Bene./Cau.P.:
sot topñe topña-hât (for every food) sâwi (they spoke) 'They called for each and every kind of food.'

Axis of Sub.P.: lok topñe topñañe (every sort of man) hawat ya me manbi (magic, that, hold, they lived) 'Every type of person practiced white magic.'

Attributive tagmeme:
kapaïñe kapaiñe abolipñe (every village, owners) 'the leaders of all the villages'

Actor:
lok topñe topñe gam têtbi 'Every kind of man came and stayed (here).'

Object:
denne denne nagap 'He knows every language.'

Manner:
nâ hilâm hilâmne manmâ gaman (I, every day, living, I always come) 'I come (here) continually, every day.'

4.2.1.2. Attributive tagmeme (Att.). The fillers of the Att. and H. tagmemes together bear a variety of semantic relationships. In most cases the filler of the Att. qualifies the filler of the H. but there are exceptions as noted below.

The occurrence of the Att. tagmeme is dependent upon that of the H. tagmeme; i.e., when the Att. occurs the H. occurs but not vice versa. It manifests a number of fillers and each of these fillers in combination with the filler of the H. expresses a particular relationship.

When a noun denoting a body part or location occurs in the H. its relation to the noun filling the Att. is one of inclusion; i.e., the noun filling the H. is a part of the noun filling the Att. Often the Att. manifests a GNP.

goka (Att. sweet potato) esen-ñe (H: leaf-ite) 'sweet potato leaf'
hâpu (Att. bamboo) papa-ñe (H: splinter-ites) 'bamboo splinter'
saru (Att. sea) sât-ñe (H: teeth-ite) 'seacoast'
tebe lok (Att: (Att: bow, H: man)) hohet-yeñe-ân (H: midst-their-at) 'among the policemen'
lok kaok (Att:(H: man, Qual: white)) tänâm-nenə-ever (H: midst-our-at)
'in the midst of us Europeans'
opon kalibu (Att:(H: men's house, Quant: three)) oset-yeə-ever (H: midst-
their-at) 'in the area between the three men's houses.'

When a personal name or a limited GNP. (manifesting an animate noun
in the H. and terminated by the Quant., Ind. or Dem.) occurs in the Att.,
the Att. indicates possession. There is concord between the number of
the filler of the Att. and the number indicated by the possession-
marking suffixes on the noun occurring in the H. (solid lines indicating
items in concord).

Proper name:

Pawi emt-ne (Att: Pawi, H: house-his) 'Pawi's house'
Adaria awâ-ne (Att: Adaria, H: father-his) 'Adaria's father'

Limited GNP.:

lok ála (Att:(H: man, Ind: a)) tebe-ne (H: bow-his) 'another man's bow'
lok yâhâp (Att:(H: man, Quant: two)) kut-yetne (H: name-their(du.))
'the names of the two men'
kiap ya (Att:(H: patrol officer, Dem: that)) emt-ne (H: house-his)
'the house of that patrol officer'
yâ (Att:(Dem: that)) bon-ne (H: truth-its) 'the truth of that'

When nouns derived from clauses by reduplication of the verb occur
in the Att. they qualify the filler of the H.
kalem meme (Att:(O: generosity, TP: hold2)) lok (H: man) 'a generous
man'
ki orot-ne tuhu tuhu (Att:(Qual:(M: not, TP: do2-ajzer.), TP: do2)) lok
(H: man) 'an ill-behaved man'
kâwi piri piri (Att:(O: floor, TP: wash2)) somot (H: hair) 'floor brush'
umut ehek (Att:(O: picture, TP: see it2)) emet (H: house) 'theatre'
gelâk gaha (Att:(Act: rain, IP: come2)) sâp-ne (H: time-its) 'rainy
season'

When an unpossessed noun with or without a Qual. tagmeme occurs in
the Att. it qualifies the noun in the H.
hat lok (Att: forest, H: man) 'a hunter'
saru mesik (Att: sea, H: sickness) 'malaria'
pet kulem (Att: H: loincloth, Qual: marked) emt-ne (H: house-its)
'gaol'
The Att. also qualifies the H. when it is manifested by a homopersonal dependent clause:

topirim (Att: (O: water, TP: washing it)) Kut-ŋe (H: name-its) 'baptismal name'

loum (Att: (TP: carrying it)) Kukumagan (H: greeting) 'greeting a person by wrapping one's arms around him'

Frequently adjective roots or stems occur in the Att. indicating emphasis or contrast as compared with their occurrence in the Qual. tagmeme.

hāgi den (Att: old, H: words) 'very useless outdated speech'
kopa den (Att: handicapped, H: words) 'very illogical speech'

perāk den (Att: deceitful, H: words) 'very deceitful talk'
kāwākoda lok (Att: promiscuous, H: man) 'a very promiscuous man'

kānīk den (Att: false, H: words) 'misrepresentations'

The Att. may be manifested in turn by a GNP. consisting of an Att. and a H. In this construction the first Att. qualifies the H. and then this embedded GNP. qualifies the following H.

sen-yene tebe-ŋe somot-ŋe (Att: (Att: eyes-their, H: bow-its), H: hair-its) 'eyebrows'

lok kāi bāt towat-ŋe (Att: (Att: man, H: leg, hand), H: appearance-its) 'a man's manners'

It should be noted that many Att. - H. collocations may be confused with a noun qualified by an adjective stem derived by the adjektivizer -ŋe because formally they may be the same.

bau (Att: pig) hape-ŋe (H: tail-its) 'a pig's tail'
lōk (H: man)bāle-ŋe (Qual: bad-ajzer.) 'a bad man'

The confusion arises from the similarity of the possession-marking suffix -ŋe his, hers, its and the adjektivizer -ŋe. The two examples above may be distinguished because in the example lok bāle-ŋe another adjective may be added between the H. manifested by lok and the Qual. manifested by bāle-ŋe as in lok kaok bāle-ŋe (man, white, bad) 'a bad European'. The order of these two adjectives may be permuted to read lok bāle-ŋe kaok with no change in the meaning since both qualify the H. If in the example bau hape-ŋe the adjective kaok is added between the Att. manifested by bau and the H. manifested by hape-ŋe the result is bau kaok hape-ŋe (pig, white, tail-its) 'a tail of a white pig'. If, however, the adjective kaok and the noun hape-ŋe are permuted to read bau hape-ŋe kaok the meaning is 'a white tail of a pig'. This difference of meaning reflects the fact that bāle-ŋe has an entirely
different relationship to lok than hāpene has to bau; namely that of Qual. to H. rather than H. to Att.

Furthermore, in the Att.-H. collocation concord exists between the number expressed by the filler of the Att. and the possession-marking suffixes of the noun in the H. The words naom kunqe may be either an Att.-H. collocation, a child's head, or a H.-Qual. collocation, a first-born (head) child. The concord which exists in the Att.-H. collocation but which of course does not exist in the H.-Qual. collocation becomes evident if the noun naom child is changed to the plural. If the construction represents an Att.-H. collocation the concord becomes evident (shown underlined).

naom-lip-yeqe kun-yeqe (Att: children-plural-their, H: heads-their) 'their children's heads'

If, however, the construction represents a H.-Qual. collocation there is no concord.

naom-lip-yeqe kun-yeqe (H: children-plural-their, Qual: first-born) 'their first-born children'

If the collocation is Att.-H., the filler of the H. may be repeated (cf. 4.2.1.1) meaning each and every or all as in manam hodone homone each and every dry banana leaf. If the collocation is H.-Qual., however, the filler of the Qual. is only infrequently repeated and then only to show intensification or diminuation (cf. 2.3.7).

4.2.1.3 Possession Tagmeme (Poss.). The Possession tagmeme is manifested by the Poss.P. (4.4.3), the emphatic personal pronoun roots (1.4.10), the regular personal pronoun roots (1.4.9), or the contrastive pronoun stems (2.6).

The filler of the Poss. and the filler of the H. of the GNP. express a number of relationships. The most frequent is that of possession which is expressed when the filler of the Poss. is animate or has an animate referent. The filler of the H. is apparently any noun root or word (not involving derivation).

nā-gat emet (me-of, house) 'my house' nine emet 'my own house'
Lumat-gat (Poss: Lumat-of) bau maren (H: pig, Qual: tame) 'Lumat's tame pig'
seduk baneara ye-gat (Poss: spirits, them-of) lām-yeqe (H: hole-their) 'the hole of the evil spirits'

A relationship of inclusion is shown when the noun in the H. denotes location or a body part.
mâmâ-ŋe-gât (Poss: mother-his-of) got-ŋe-ân (H: vicinity-her-at) 'near his mother'
kât kârlken top̓ən nak pato álə talop (indp.cl: stone, cave, at-its-base, tree, big, a, it stayed) ya-kât (Poss: that-of) hik̕iŋ-ŋe-ân (H: dry area-its-at) 'at the dry sheltered spot of that big tree which stands at the base of the cave'

When the noun in the H. is abstract or a verbal noun (i.e., a noun derived from a verb or a noun with action implicit in its meaning) the filler in the axis of the Poss.P. indicates the recipient or beneficiary of the action expressed by the filler of the H.

be-gât (Poss: taro-about) bem den̓e (H: story) 'the story about taro'
l̓ok-gât (Poss: man-for) den (H: message) 'a message for men (to come)'

When the axis of the Poss.P. is manifested by a place name or name of a ceremony, the filler of the Poss.P. axis indicates the origin of the filler of the H.

Pul̓eŋ-gât (Poss: Pul̓eŋ-for) mâmâ-ŋe (H: mother-its) 'the female ancestress from the Puleng valley'
Niu Gini-gât (Poss: New Guinea-for) kap̓am (H: stick) 'fighting which originates in New Guinea' (i.e., New Guinea style fighting)
Hae Oroŋ-gât (Poss: Hae Oroŋ ceremony-for) pat-ŋe (H: promises-its) 'the promises which originate with the Hae Oroŋ ceremony'

4.2.1.4 The Qualifier Tagmeme (Qual.). The filler of the H. may be qualified by a number of postposed adjectives occurring in the Qual. When the Qual. is repeated there is a preferred semantic ordering of adjectives. This ordering is: sex, colour, age, quality, shape, size, and quantity. This order indicates a preferred ordering of semantic categories, not construction types. Differing structural classes of adjectives generally are found in each semantic category so that any coincidence of structural classes and semantic categories is probably coincidental. This coincidence is illustrated by the category of quality which includes a variety of adjectival forms.

(a) roots:
kopa lame, handicapped golə living
kâsi childless maren tame

(b) stems derived by reduplication:
esen esen sofə aman aman squint-eyed
gare gare oilo
(c) stems derived by -ŋe:
ålip-ŋe good  bâle-ŋe bad

(d) stems derived by -dâ:
kuṭ-dâ famous  koda-dâ adulterous

(e) phrasal compounds derived from Acc.P.:
tonē orop juicy  gutŋe orop knotty

A sampling of 19,000 words of text was undertaken to determine the limits of post-Head qualification in the GNP. All GNP. constructions of more than one post-Head phrase level tagmeme were counted. The 19,000 words of text consisted of 13,400 words of descriptive narrative (des.), 3,100 of conversation (conv.) and 2,700 of mythology (myth.). The narrative text consisted mainly of narrative descriptions of the indigenous customs and history spoken for the benefit of Europeans. The conversational material consisted of conversations solely between indigenes. An examination of the use of the GNP. in the different types of text material yielded some interesting observations.

GNP.'s manifesting more than one post-Head Qual. are rare, representing only 13.8% of all occurring qualified GNP.'s. On the other hand, nouns qualified by a single Ind. or Dem. represent 35.5% of all occurring qualified GNP.'s. The myths show a very significant absence of derived adjectives or multiple qualification as well as a lower frequency of GNP. occurrence. This style undoubtedly reflects the fact that the stories were well known and concerned only the indigenous culture. In both the descriptive material and the conversational material there was need to keep the listener oriented to the subject matter; this was particularly true for the non-indigenous listener. The conversational material included one particularly long text concerning the need for economic development and thus involved a discussion of the culture of the Europeans. It is not surprising then that the descriptive and conversational materials contain substantially more derived adjectives and generally more complex GNP. constructions.

Table C provides a tabulation of the frequency of occurrence for differing GNP. constructions. The particular combinations of Head plus other tagmeme(s) are given in the left hand column. The next three columns list the frequency of occurrence for the particular construction per 1,000 words of text as the text has been divided into the three categories: Descriptive narrative (des.), Mythology (myth.) and Conversation (conv.). The right hand column gives the overall percentage of
occurrence for the construction within the total number of GNP constructions. Entry number (9) 'repeated phrases' indicates that rather than using two adjectives qualifying a single noun, the speaker has chosen to repeat the Head, each time with a different adjective: e.g., lok kaok (man, white), lok bâlene ya (man, bad, that) 'the white man, that bad man'.

Table C: GNP. Occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Head plus other Tagmeme</th>
<th>des.</th>
<th>myth.</th>
<th>conv.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ind.</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dem.</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Qual.</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Quant.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Qual. plus Ind.</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Qual:ajs.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Qual. plus Dem.</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ind. plus Dem.</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Repeated phrases</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Qual. plus Ind./Dem.</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Quant. plus Ind.</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Qual. plus Quant.</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Qual. repeated</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Qual. repeated (one manifesting lengthy derived filler)</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Qual. plus Quant. plus Ind./Dem.</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Quant. plus Dem.</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When multiple qualification is desired, often the GNP is repeated, the first being a H.-Dem. collocation and the second being a Qual.-Dem. collocation.

nane ya (H: my son, Dem: that) sîhan âllîpê (Qual: youthful, Qual: good) ya (Dem: that) 'that son of mine, that one in the prime of youth'

 latino ya (H: custom, Dem: that) bâlene dôdâ ya (Qual: bad, very, Dem: that) 'that custom, that very bad (one)'

hoñ bawa ya (H: servant, Dem: that) kaok ya (Qual: white, Dem: that) 'that servant, the European (one)'

manifesting lengthy derived filler)
Occasionally H.-Qual. collocations are repeated with the same filler in the H.
lok kudâ (H: man, Qual: famous) lok yahat yahatqe yu (H: man, Qual: important, Dem: this) 'this important and famous man'

Frequently the Qual. is repeated with the second filler expressing a meaning related to the first.
lok wawi (H: man, Qual: greedy) tepe umatqe ya (Qual: heavy stomach (selfish), Dem: that) 'that inhospitable greedy man'
waga pato (H: canoe, Qual: big) tipiñe bia (Qual: little not) 'a big canoe, not a little (one)'

In paragraph structure, apparently a H.-Qual. collocation is used initially and thereafter the Qual.-Dem. collocation is used; that is, the H. is deleted. This occurs very frequently when the noun in the H. is animate or human.
ibi yâhâp (H: women, Quant: two) Wiliki-hebâ takaowot (Loc: Wiliki-from, iP: they came 'Two women came from Wiliki village.'
Wiliki-hebâ taka taka-ŋe (Qual: (Loc: Wiliki-from, iP: come2-ajzer.)) ya (Dem: those) 'those who came from Wiliki village'
kadi taka taka-ŋe (M: temporarily, iP: (Qual: come2-ajzer.)) ya (Dem: those) 'those who came only (to stay) temporarily'

When an adjective stem which is a phrasal compound of an Acc.P. (cf. 2.3.4.10) occurs in the Qual. tagmeme, concord exists between the number expressed by the noun in the qualified H. tagmeme and the number expressed by the possession-marking suffixes on the noun in the axis of the Acc.P. from which the adjective stem was derived. In the following examples the morphemes in concord are shown underlined.
naom-yâhât-ne obe-yêtne bia
child-du.-my necks-their(du.) without
'my two irresponsible children
naom-lip-ne obe-yêne bia
child-pl.-my necks-their(pl.) without
'my irresponsible children'

The occurrence of this concord is probably related to the fact that there exists a transform relationship between the GNP. and the so-called predicateless clause. Note that a GNP. may be transformed into a predicateless clause by permuting the order of the tagmemes. lok sobo ya (H: man, Qual: old, Dem: that) 'that old man'
lok ya sobo (H: man, Dem: that, Qual: old) 'That man is old.'
Similarly:

naomlipne ya obeyene bia (H: my children, Dem: those, Qual: their necks, without) 'those children of mine are irresponsible'

Similarly concord exists between the number of the noun in the axis of the Acc.P. from which the adjective stem was derived and the number expressed by fillers of the Quant. tagmeme.

naom-lip-ne obe-ye'ne bia sesegât
child-pl.-my necks-their(pl.)without many
'my many irresponsible children'

An adjective stem derived by suffixation of the adjectivizer -ne to a reduplicated verb root/stem exhibits the same sort of concord. In the following example concord exists in number between the noun manifesting the Actor tagmeme underlying the derived adjective and the number of the fillers of the Quant. and the H. tagmemes.

buku-lip-ne hâme-ye'ne mumu'ne sesegât
friend-pl.-his noses-their(pl.) dead many
'his many unsociable friends'

4.2.1.5 Quantifier Tagmeme (Quant.). This tagmeme manifests the numerals (1.4.7, 2.4) or adjectival forms indicating quantity (1.4.1.7).

As a result of the influence of Neo-Melanesian, present day speakers rarely use a Selepet numeral higher than five in the Quant. tagmeme, and in isolated utterances they rarely use a numeral larger than ten, except perhaps for twenty or its multiples. Rather, Neo-Melanesian numerals are used or the speakers merely use an adjective meaning many, plenty.

Also, probably as a result of Neo-Melanesian influence, the numeral or adjective indicating quantity may be permuted to a position preceding the Att. tagmeme. Such usage is rare and does not occur when the GNP. manifests tagmemes other than the Att. and H.

nobolân konok kilok six o'clock
amon kilok otmu (how much, time, it happens) 'what time is it...'
kallbu wahap three things

4.2.1.6 Indefinite (qualifier) Tagmeme (Ind.). This tagmeme manifests the indefinite pronoun roots (1.4.5).

4.2.1.7 Demonstrative (qualifier) Tagmeme (Dem.). This tagmeme typically manifests the demonstrative pronoun (1.4.4, 2.11) and infrequently manifests the regular personal pronoun roots (1.4.9) or contrastive pronoun stems (2.6).
4.2.1.8 Core Substitutions. The core of the GNP. is here defined as the Poss., Att. and H. tagmemes. The regular personal pronoun roots, the interrogative demonstrative pronoun waun (1.4.4.2), Transitive or Intransitive clauses (and therefore certain sentence types) Co-ordinate Noun Phrases (4.2.3), and names substitute for the GNP. core. Rules indicating deletion and co-occurrence restrictions are necessary; e.g., one such rule would specify that when the regular personal pronoun occurs in the embedded Co-ordinate noun phrase it would not occur in the Dem. tagmemes.

nen kalibu (GNP.core: we, Quant: three) 'we three'
nen helen yu (GNP.core: we, Qual: black, Dem: these) 'we black people here'

waun gogoQe (GNP.core: what, Qual: bent) 'which bent thing'
emelak kara tuhuakminiwi (GNP.core: indp.cl.: long ago they used to do sorcery to one another) konok ya (Quant: one, Dem: that) baQeleyingimiQip (tp: it used to harm them) 'Long ago, that one practice of performing sorcery upon each other used to be harmful to them.'

O-CoNP: (kara otmu (sorcery, and) tebe ahominwi otmu (bow, they used to fight, and) tep teQeminiwi (excrement, they used to excrete)) kalibu ya (Quant: three, Dem: that) 'those three things of sorcery, battle with bows and arrows, and excretion'

When personal names occur in the GNP. core they are frequently qualified by a personal pronoun in the Dem.

MuneQ Yigua yet-Qat (Poss: MuneQ Yigua them(du.-for) lain pato (H: lineage, Qual: big) 'MuneQ and Yigua's large lineage'
Isa Kâte HuQinân Waporâ ya ye-Qat (Poss: Isa, Kâte, HuQinân, Waporâ their-for) opon (H: men's house) 'the men's houses of Isa, Kâte, HuQinân and Waporâ'

4.2.2 Origin Noun Phrase (ONP.). The ONP. is used exclusively to show origin of something in space or time. It is distinctive in that it has two obligatory tagmemes each manifested by a restricted range of fillers. The structure is + Origin Head^n + gânte^2 one for ± Ind. ± Dem.

The Origin Head (oH.) may be manifested only by words or constructions denoting time or location. Up to four repetitions of the oH. have been observed.

4.2.2.1 Time Expressions.
emelak (before) gânte one from out of the past, an aged person kâdikum (at first) gânte the one who started it
4.2.2.2 Locative Expressions. The locative expressions include place names, regular personal pronoun roots and Loc.P.

(a) Place names:
koba (Komba) gātņe a person from the Komba tribe
Gilaŋ (village name) gātņe a person from Gilaŋ

(b) Regular personal pronoun roots:
yāk (them) gātņe one from among them
nen (us) gātņe one from among us

(c) Locative Axis-relator Phrase:
kalam-ān (Loc: garden-in) gātņe 'garden produce'
nep hāgiņe-ān (Loc: garden, old-in) gātņe 'something (to plant) from the old garden'
Gātok-gāt tep-ņe-ān (Loc: Gātok-of, stomach-his-at) gātņe 'a descendant of Gātok'
māni yu-pa (Loc: money, this-out of) gātņe 'some (more) of this money'

4.2.2.3 Repetition of the tagmemes. The oH. tagmemes is repeated when the filler of the repeated oH. tagmemes is more general than that of the first oH.
nep-ābā (Loc: garden-out of) ya-pā (Loc: that-out of) gātņe 'something from that (place), from that garden'
patro post Wasu (Loc: Wasu patrol post) ya-pā (Loc: that-out of) gātņe 'the patrol officer from there, from Wasu'

When gātņe is repeated the meaning is each and every one from or all from as in yan gātņe gātņe all from over there.

4.2.2.4 Qualification of the ONP. The ONP. is qualified only by the Ind. and Dem. tagmemes. Adjectival and numeral qualification is shown by the phrase occurring in collocation with a GNP.
koba gātņe (Loc: Komba tribe; one for) lok sobo ya (H: man, Qual: old, Dem: that) 'that old man from Komba'
kādikum gātņe (T: starting out; one for) ataņe (his elder brother) 'his first-born brother'
hohetņe-ān gātņe (Loc: its midst-at; one for) gasumņe yu (H: his side, Dem: this) 'the rib from his side here'

4.2.3 Co-ordinate Noun Phrases. The GNP. may be conjoined to form two types of Co-ordinate Noun Phrases, the Closed Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (C-CoNP.) and the Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (O-CoNP.). These two phrases differ in the following ways:
(a) The C-CoNP. has no more than two Head tagmemes; the O-CoNP. is open ended and theoretically has an unlimited number.

(b) The C-CoNP. manifests the 2-3d regular personal pronoun root yet as connector; the O-CoNP. has the connectors otmu and and me or.

(c) The C-CoNP. may not be interrupted by a verb root, a Locative Axis-relator Phrase or the word mâne and so forth, etcetera; the O-CoNP. may be so interrupted.

(d) The C-CoNP. Head tagmemes manifest only unqualified nouns, names or pronouns; the O-CoNP. manifests the GNP. with no apparent restrictions as well as clauses and sentences.

(e) As a corollary to (d) deletion rules are not operative on the C-CoNP. but are operative on the O-CoNP.

4.2.3.1 Closed Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (C.CoNP.): + ccH.₁ + Connector (yet) + ccH.₂.

The C-CoNP. consists of two Head tagmemes each manifesting a nominal form, name or regular personal pronoun root joined by a Connective tagmememe manifesting the regular personal pronoun root yet 2-3d. The fillers of the two Head tagmemes must be of the same semantic category; e.g., gâ you does not occur with etem house; neither would bea kât taro cultigen occur with goka sweet potato (generic term).

When the Head tagmemes are manifested by names, the phrase usually occurs in substitution for the core of the GNP. and is qualified by the Dem. or it occurs in collocation with a GNP. in a repetition of the tagmememe it manifests. This is particularly the case when the phrase occurs in tagmemes other than Subject or Object. When nouns occur in the Head tagmemes, however, the phrase may or may not occur embedded in the core of the GNP. before occurring in clause level tagmememes. The C-CoNP. has been observed filling the following clause and phrase level tagmememes:

(a) Actor of ICl:
Idum yet Hulinân (Act: Idum and Hulinân) gəowot (P: they came) 'The inhabitants of the Idum and Hulinân men's houses came.'

(b) Subject of TCL:
Yawo yet Yemet yâk-ñe (S:(GNP.core: Yawo and Yemet, Dem: they)-sub.) kuowot (tP: they killed it) 'Yawo and Yemet killed it.'
(c) Object of TCI:

naom ya (S: boy, that) Yawo yet Yemet (O: Yawo and Yemet) ekyotkomu
(tP: he told them) 'that boy told Yawo and Yemet...'

(d) Attributive of GNP:

Porom yet Lâpio ya kut-yet'ge (Att:(GNP.core: Porom and Lâpio, Dem: that)) (H: names-their) Inân yet Wahapdâ (Inân and Wahapdâ) 'The names of Porom and Lâpio (are) also Inân and Wahapdâ.'

(e) Possession of GNP:

Inân yet Wahapdâ yâkyet-kâ (Poss:(GNP.core: Inân and Wahapdâ, Dem: them-)-for) sen pato (H: lineage, Qual: big) 'the big lineage of Inân and Wahapdâ'

(f) Locative Axis-relator Phrase:

Dumut yet Mâdi yâkyetkât-ân (Loc:(Poss:(GNP.core: Dumut and Mâdi, Dem: their)-for)-at) 'at Dumut and Mâdi's (place)'

(g) Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase:

Âni yet Tuman yâk orop (Acc:(GNP.core: Âni and Tuman, Dem: them)-with) 'with Âni and Tuman'

(h) Benefactive Causal Axis-relator Phrase:

Selepet yet Kawum ye-gât (Bene:(GNP.core: Selepet and Kawum (villages), Dem: them)-for) 'for (the inhabitants of) Selepet and Kawum villages'

4.2.3.2 Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (O-CoNP.). There are two sub-types of Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrases, the Additive Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (AddO-CoNP.) and the Alternative Open Co-ordinate Noun Phrase (AltO-CoNP.). Both types have the structure: + ocH. + (± ocH... [± connector (otmu or me)] ± ocH...). The O-CoNP. consists of two or more open co-ordinate Head tagmemes connected by either the connector otmu and or the connector me or.

No statement can be made regarding the regularity with which the connectors occur. Differing speakers insert or omit them at random.

Kaok, Amerika otmu Australia otmu Japan yen

White (people) Americans and Australians and Japanese you

Amerika Australia German otmu England otmu kaok toŋe toŋe

Americans, Australians, Germans and British and every nationality of Europeans
The two subtypes, AddO-CoNP. and AltO-CoNP., differ in that in the additive subtype the connector omu and is completely optional and so may not occur at all as in:

Pebun Peraru Kalasa Luam (village names) yane (they) gam (came and...)
'The people of Pebun, Peraru, Kalasa and Luam came and...'

In the alternative subtype the connector me or must occur at least once and in fact is rarely omitted.

lohibilippe me papatolippe awan mamane (his people, or, leaders, parents) ya yegat (those, theirs) '(that) which belongs to his people or leaders or parents...'

There appears to be no restriction as to the sorts of constructions which may be connected.

baratyete konok (GNP: (H: their-daughter, Quant: one)) omu (and) lohibiso bo bo yahap (GNP: (H: people, Qual: old, Quant: two)) ya (Dem: those)
'that one daughter (of theirs) and those two old people'

kara (H: sorcery) omu (and) tebe ahominwi (TCl: (O: bow, TP: they fought)) tep tetminiwi (TCl: (O: excrement, TP: they excreted)) ya (Dem: that) 'That sorcery and battle with bows and arrows and excretion...'

4.2.3.3 Interruptions. These phrases may be interrupted or terminated by the word mane and so forth, etcetera. When mane occurs, the connector is omitted at that point in the series.

lok topnenge (the origin of us men), Koba Tibe Selepet mane (Komba, Timbe, Selepet, etc.) Pinsapen pato (the big Finschhafen area) omu Siassi (and Siassi Islands) 'the origin of us men, (the men of) Komba, Timbe, Selepet etcetera - (including) the large Finschhafen area and the Siassi Islands...'

sogo, hanangen takaapan dehom bahan dia mane (kinds of animals)
'takaapan, dehom, bahan, dia, etc.'

Frequently the O-CoNP. is interrupted by a Loc.P. or verb roots indicating movement. These most often occur when a speaker is giving a list of place names.

Waku Peko Kabip mane ewaken Weke '(the places of) Waku, Peko, Kabip and others, up there (the place of) Weke...'

asawok gogone eda (kind of tree, crooked, that) omu yahap (and, going up) Hemnak (place name) omu yahap (and, going up) Wainep Balang (Wainep, Balang places) 'that crooked asawok tree over there are going on up, Hemnak, and going on further, Wainep and Balang...’
4.2.4 Co-ordination and Deletion. When noun phrases are joined in co-ordinate constructions the Possession, Attributive and Demonstrative tagmemes may be deleted if they manifest the same fillers and qualify differing fillers of the Head tagmemes.

In a series of Possession tagmemes all but the first are deleted:
na-gat awâne (Poss: me-of, H: my father) na-gat yâwutne (Poss: me-of, H: my uncle) na-gat seselipne (Poss: me-of, H: my grandfathers) becomes
na-gat awonne yâwutne seselipne (Poss: me-of, H: my father, H: my uncle, H: my grandfathers) 'my father, uncle and grandfathers'

In a series of Attributive tagmemes all but the first are deleted:
aom yio ge-gat (Bene:(Att: child, H: his-uncle)-for) naom awâne-gat (Bene:(Att: child, H: his-father)-for) naom mâmâne-gat (Bene:(Att: child, H: his-mother)-for) becomes naom yio ge-gat (Bene:(Att: child, H: his uncle)-for) awâne-gat (Bene: his father-for) mâmâne-gat (Bene: his mother-for) 'for the child's uncle, father and mother'

In a series of Demonstrative tagmemes all but the last are deleted:
Niu Gini siliŋ ya (H: P.N.G. shilling, Dem: that) otmu (Conn: and) Australia siliŋ ya (H: Australian shilling, Dem: that) becomes Niu Gini siliŋ otmu Australia siliŋ ya 'those New Guinea shillings and Australian shillings'

The Head tagmemes may be deleted when they manifest the same fillers, but the fillers of qualifying tagmemes are different.
egatyeqe-an-gat tihitne (Poss:(Loc: their necks-on)-for, H: health) buwuripyenye-gat tihitne (Poss: their napes-for, H: health) becomes
tagyeqe-an-gat (Poss:(Loc: their necks-on)-for) buwuripyenye-gat tihitne (Poss: their necks-for, H: health) 'healing for the front of their necks and the napes of their necks'
lok papato (H: man, Qual: very big) otmu (Conn: and) lok sihan (H: man, Qual: youthful) becomes lok papato (H: man, Qual: very big) otmu (Conn: and) sihan (Qual: youthful) 'big and young men'

4.3 THE ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

The Adjectival phrase is single-centered and consists of an adjective-Head tagmeme (ajH.) followed by an Intensifier tagmeme (Intens.). The function of the phrase is to show intensification of adjectival forms. The ajH. tagmeme manifests various adjective roots (1.4.1) and adjective stems derived by the adjectivizer -ne (2.3.1) or -dá (2.3.5).
The Intens. tagmeme manifests four adjectival forms: Ñlip̓ne good, bālene bad, pato big and dodā much, many. If the adjective to be intensified represents a generally desirable quality it occurs with Ñlip̓ne good as intensifier.

hikin̓ne Ñlip̓ne very dry (of firewood)
maren Ñlip̓ne very tame
salek Ñlip̓ne very clean
sihan Ñlip̓ne very young, youthful

If the adjective represents a generally undesirable quality it occurs with bālene bad.

kopa bālene very handicapped
seduk bālene very crazy

If the adjective represents a quality which in some cases may be considered good while in other cases it may be considered bad then either Ñlip̓ne good or bālene bad occurs depending upon which quality is in consideration.

kārik̓ne bālene very strong (of wild animals)
kārik̓ne Ñlip̓ne very strong (of strength as a virtue)
heuwēn bālene very light (of Japanese war currency)
heuwēn Ñlip̓ne very light (of a burden)

If neither the bad nor the good quality is in focus then the adjective may be intensified by either pato big or dodā many, much.

kālp dodā very hot umat̓ne dodā very heavy

When the adjectives Ñlip̓ne good and bālene bad occur in ajH. tagmeme, they are intensified by dodā much, many.

Ñlip̓ne dodā very good and bālene dodā very bad

When the noun occurring in the Head tagmeme of the GNP. is a plural count noun and is qualified by Ñlip̓ne, then Ñlip̓ne may be intensified by the suffix -âk only plus an optional occurrence of the adjective kerek all.

nimnaom Ñlip̓neâk kerek completely good children

4.4 AXIS-RELATOR PHRASES

All axis-relator phrases have the structure + Axis + Relator. The Axis tagmemes manifest nominal phrases, axis-relator phrases, clauses and sentences, as well as most root, stem and word classes. The Relator tagmemes manifest relator enclitics or roots which are generally diagnostic for the particular subtype of axis-relator phrase and which
correlate with the distribution of the phrases in clause level tagmemes. The following axis-relator phrases occur.


4.4.2 Benefactive/Causal Axis-relator Phrase. Bene./Cau.P. = Axis plus Relator: {-gât}. The Bene./Cau.P. occurs in the clause level Benefaction and Cause allotagmas. There are two allomorphic variants of the enclitic: -kât occurs suffixed to the demonstrative pronoun roots (1.4.4), and -gât, which has morphophonemic variants, occurs suffixed to other forms.

4.4.3 Possessive Axis-relator Phrase. Poss.P. = Axis plus Relator: {-gât}. This enclitic is the same as that of the Bene./Cau.P. The Poss.P. differs from the Bene./Cau.P. in that it is relevant to a lower level of the grammatical hierarchy; the Bene./Cau.P. occurs in the Benefaction or Cause allotagmas at the clause level but the Poss.P. occurs in the Possession tagmeme of the GNP. This relevancy is evidenced by the dependence of the Poss.P. upon a following element of the GNP. of which it is a part. The Poss.P. always immediately precedes another element of the GNP. and if the clause level tagmeme manifesting the GNP. is permuted to another position in the clause the position of the Poss.P. within the GNP. is not affected. The Bene./Cau.P. however, is subject to clause level tagmeme permutations and may precede any of the fillers of other clause level tagmemes. Some general features relating to the occurrence of expansions within the Axis of the Poss.P. may be noted. When the GNP. occurs in the Axis of a Poss.P. the GNP. normally does not manifest more than three tagmemes. The most commonly manifested tagmemes are Head, Qual. and Dem.

(a) Head and Ind.
mesik (H: sickness) ǝlǝ (Ind: another) -gât (for) sokı sokı (H: insects) 'germs which cause another illness'

(b) Head, Qual. and Dem.
lık (H: man) kudǝ (Qual: famous) ɣa (Dem: that) -kât (for) emet (H: house) 'the house of that famous man'
When a GNP. consisting of the Att. and H. tagmemes occurs in the Axis of the Poss.P. it usually occurs substituted for the GNP. core and qualified by Dem.

kapam abone (GNP.core:(Att: stick, H: its owner)) yâk (Dem: him) -gât (for) kapai (H: village) 'the village of the battle chief'

When a GNP. manifesting an embedded clause and a demonstrative pronoun occurs in the Axis of a Poss.P., ambiguity occurs with a construction consisting of two independent clauses conjoined by the conjunction yakât therefore.

lok kâbukâe hawat kâmelo (ya-kât delem âlâ hârewi man forbidden magic he planted it that-for shell another they cut it
This construction may be interpreted as two clauses: 'The practitioner planted the blessing. Therefore (yakat) they prepared the payment.'
Or it may be interpreted as a clause plus the demonstrative (ya) manifesting the axis of a Poss.P. marked by the clitic -kât of: 'They prepared the pay of the practitioner who planted a blessing.'
Phonological and grammatical features resolve the ambiguity. In order for the former interpretation to be correct, a potential pause point occurs following kâmelo and yakat is commutable with yaγak therefore.

The occurrence of multiple Poss.P.'s in succession is possible although in text material such occurrences are extremely rare. In a sequence of Poss.P.'s the first qualifies the second, etc.

The Poss.P., when manifesting regular personal pronoun roots in the Axis, serves the same purpose as the nominal possession-marking suffixes and is regularly used to show possession with those nouns which do not accept nominal possession-marking suffixes.

nen-gât den (us-for, language) = den-nemŋe (language-our) 'our language'
kaok ye-gât (white, them-for) meslk (sickness) takamu (it came) 'the European's sickness came... rather than *kaok meslk-yeŋe (white, sickness-their) takamu (it came)

4.4.4 Locative Axis-relator Phrase. Loc.P. = Axis plus Relator: {-ân} to, at, in, into, upon, {-âbâ} through, by way of, out of, from among, {-ângen} to, towards, into, on, at and {-ângebâ} from.

These enclitics may be divided into two groups: the first group contains only {-ân} and occurs with any verb manifesting the Predicate
tagmeme and the second group contains the remaining enclitics and generally occurs with verbs indicating motion. In addition to the verbs of motion given in 2.2.3 some other verbs which include the idea of motion are dâi to pull, hidâ to pull out, hangu to bury, descend, kion to fall over, wât to chase and yerâ to shoot. The enclitics have the following allomorphs.

4.4.4.1 {ân}: -ân follows consonants, vowels i, e, o, u and demonstrative pronoun root as in emetñe kamenân ki yâhâwuât you must not go into his empty house; kapalân to the place, yan there; -an follows emet house as in emetän in the house; -en follows a, â or o as in toen in the water, aban in the men's house, bâran in the bush.

These clitics rarely occur following place names or regular pronouns.

4.4.4.2 {âbâ}: -âbâ follows adjectival forms, demonstrative pronoun roots won- where, nouns, Poss.P. and clauses as in saru potoâbâ by way of the big sea, wonâbâ by which way, sumâbâ through the graveyard; -bâ follows demonstrative pronoun roots ebu, edu, ewu; -pâ follows demonstrative pronoun roots eba, eda, ewa, ya, yu, yi and wosa.

4.4.4.3 {ângen}: -ângen follows adjectival forms ending in e, unpossessed nouns and Poss.P. as in kalângen into the distance, howângen on the ripening rack, yelângen to their place; -engen follows âlâ another as in âlângen to another place; -gen follows nouns marked for possession, adjectival forms ending in e and names as in emetñehên in his house, bâleñehên at the bad (place), Bemtaggen at Bemtag; -ken follows demonstrative pronoun roots eba, eda, ewa, ya, yu, yi and wosa.

4.4.4.4 {ângebâ}: -ângebâ follows adjectival forms not ending in e, Poss.P. and clauses; -engebâ follows âlâ another, âlâengebâ from another place; -hebâ/-gebâ follows possessed nouns, ajs. ending in e and names as in to senñehêbâ from the spring, Lâwinebâ from Lâuin; kebâ follows demonstrative pronoun roots eda, eba, ewa, ya, yu, yi and wosa.

4.4.5 Manner Axis-relator Phrase. Man.P. = Axis plus Relator: {-âk}.

There are three allomorphs of {-âk}: -âk occurs following vowels i, e, o and u; -ok occurs following ya that; and -ek occurs following vowels a and â. The adverb stems of 2.5.3 may be regarded as simple Man.P.'s.
4.4.6 Accompaniment Axis-relator Phrase. Acc.P. = Axis plus Relator: -ŋaît with, or op with, bia without, or -dâ with. The suffix -dâ has morphophonemic variants. The relator bia follows all nominals; -ŋaît follows only animate nouns not marked by possessive suffixes; -dâ follows any noun not marked by possessive suffixes; and or op follows nouns which are marked by possessive suffixes. When -dâ occurs the phrase is usually embedded in the axis of the Man.P. as in itâ-dâek takap he came with a string bag (i.e., in the manner of carrying a string bag).

4.4.7 Instrument Axis-relator Phrase. Inst.P. = Axis plus Relator: kâdâk or -ŋe. The form kâdâk has not been observed following demonstratives and informants reject such constructions as not fully acceptable. The relator -ŋe on the other hand, follows demonstratives when they are preceded by a clause as in example 15e (following Table D). When -ŋe follows a noun root, the resulting Inst.P. usually occurs embedded in a Man.P. as in tebe-ŋak (i.e., -ŋe-âk) yerâwan with a bow I shot it.

4.4.8 There are certain limitations regarding the occurrence of particular subtypes of the higher level constructions in the axes of the axis-relator phrases and these limitations are summarized in Tables D and E. Because a wide range of root, stem and word classes, as well as construction types, occurs in the axes of many of these phrases, attention is given primarily to those combinations which involve other axis-relator phrases and clauses occurring in the axes of a particular phrase because these are the most interesting.

It should be noted that particular combinations of different modes and/or tenses of the clause embedded in the axes and of the clause manifesting these phrases yield syntagmeme which seem to parallel particular sentence syntagmeme as analyzed for other New Guinea non-Austronesian languages. For example, the structures of the reason sentence and the thematic sentence in Kewa (Franklin, 1971) seem parallel to those of examples 1g and 5g following Table D. A comparison of the treatment of such dependent clauses in Telefol (P.M. Healey, 1966), Kewa (Franklin, 1971) and Selepet in this grammar seems to reveal primarily different emphases. Healey focussed on the different types of linkages between clauses; Franklin focussed on the kinds of relationships expressed by the two conjoined clauses (e.g., reason-result, thesis-antithesis); and the present writer focuses on relationships expressed between various modes and/or tenses of the verbal forms of
embedded clauses and of the verbal forms occurring in the Predicate
tagmeme of the clause manifesting these embedded clauses. Whereas
Healey and Franklin treated these clausal relations as conjoining at
levels above that of clause, the present writer treats them as embedding
at the phrase level.
Table D: Clause manifestations in axis-relator phrases

The lettered columns represent the relators and the numbered rows represent tense and mode variations within the clauses manifesting the axes: (x = occurrence; --- = non-occurrence; other relevant information is given in an abbreviated form in the cells and commented on in the illustrative data). The number and letter combinations representing the cells of the table refer to the illustrative data.

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<td>2. rpt.</td>
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<td>3. rpt./ipt. hab.</td>
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<td>4. proh.</td>
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<td>ya-ŋe</td>
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<td>5. ctf.</td>
<td>sâp-âŋ</td>
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<td>x-aŋ</td>
<td>*</td>
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<td>6. inch.</td>
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<td>7. ift.</td>
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<td>8. rft.</td>
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<td>9. hbt.</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>ya-ŋe</td>
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<td>10. Dp.Cl.homo. punct.</td>
<td>ya-âŋ</td>
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<td>11. homo. prolonged</td>
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<td>12. hetero.</td>
<td>ya-âŋ</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>ya-ŋe</td>
<td>that- with</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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</table>

Verb Phrases

| 13. intent.           | x       | ---     | x       | x      | ---    | x      | x           | **   |
| 14. desid.            | x       | ---     | x       | x      | ---    | x      | x           | **   |

Predicate-less Clause

| 15. Predicate-less Clause | --- | x       | x       | ya/yâk | that/him | ya-ŋe | that- with | --- | x | ** |

* The clause occurs followed by either ya/yâk that/him or the nominalizer -ŋe.
** The clause occurs followed by ya which yields yakât of that.
Loc.P.

When clauses occur embedded in the axes of Loc.P.'s the various locative enclitics specify either the location in space or time of the action or event stated by the embedded clause or they specify that the action or event of the final independent clause occurs in spite of that of the embedded clause. These differences in meaning of the enclitic are determined by the context. The meanings attributed to the enclitics are: -ân indicates location in space or time; -ângen and -ângebâ seem to indicate only location in space; and -âbâ indicates location in space as well as action which occurred in spite of another action.

Note that the tenses of the verbs in the embedded clause and the independent clause are the same in examples 1a and 2a. Also note that the modes of the verbs in the embedded clause and the independent clause are the same in examples 10a and 11a and that the verb in the independent clause is in a future tense in example 13a.

(a) Time
1a. arian-ân muap (I went-at, he died) 'He died when I went (this morning).'
2a. ariwan-ân muop (I went-at, he died) 'He died when I went (yesterday).'
5a. tuhubâm sâp-ân (I should have built it, time-at) 'at the time (when) I should have built it'
7a. ariwuat-ân when you will go
8a. ariwiop-ân when he will go (next month)
10a. sâm kinmâ ya-ân yahalop (speaking, standing, that-at, he arose) 'As he spoke he got up.'
   sâm-ân kuk olop (speaking-at, anger, he did) 'When he spoke he was angry.'
11a. sâma ya-ân kuk otbisâp (speaking on and on, that-at, anger, he will always do) 'Whenever he will speak he will be angry.'
   sâmâ-ân kuk otmap (speaking on and on-at, anger he always does) 'He is always angry when he speaks.'
12a. arimune ya-ân (I went, that at) 'When I went...'
13a. ariwoman-ân welâmnan takawuap (I intend to go-at, to my place, he will come) 'When I am about to go, he will come to (take) my place.'
14a. ariwe sâm oan-ân takap (I will go, saying, I do-at, he came) 'As I wanted to go he came.'
(b) Location

1b. utun siap-ān ariwe (smoke, it burns-at, I must go) 'I must go to the smoke.'

2b. utun siap-ān ariwom (smoke, it burnt-at, I will go) 'I will go to the place where there was smoke.'

kadikum talon-ābā tohowi (at first, you stayed-through, they came) 'They came through the place where you first stayed (when you came to live among us).'

3b. sāp ārādānāk utun semap-ān ariwe (time, always, smoke, it always burns-at, I must go) 'I must go to the place where there is always smoke.'

3b. lok sobo ālāne lok ńerek neyekmap-ābā yet man old an-sub. men all he devours them-in spite of you(du.)
teteawot you were born 'You(du.) were born in spite of that old man eating up all the men.'

mesik takamap-āngen arimu benne mesik pato otmain sickness it comes-to it goes then sickness big we do 'Whenever it goes to a place where sickness comes we are very sick.'

5b. ples balusi tuhubāi ya-ān ariwom (place, aeroplane, they should have built it, that-at, I will go) 'I will go to the place where they should have built the airstrip.'

7b. soron unomai-ān ariwom (old garden, they will burn it-at, I will go) 'I will go to the old gardens which they will burn.'

8b. hobaŋ kaknān sītesa tuhuwioi-ān manbom (holiday, on top of it, European centre, they will build it-at, I will live) 'I will live at the European centre which they will build after Christmas.'

12b. kālāp huhumu ya-ān ariwom (firewood, he smashed it, that-at, I will go) 'I will go to where he is chopping firewood.'

15b. balusi ya bālege-ān ariwom (aeroplane, that, bad-on, I will g,) 'I will go on the aeroplane which is bad' (i.e., old and perhaps unreliable).

(c) Sub.P.

1c. yiwerenē takap-ņe arap (just now, he came-sub., he went) 'The man who just came went away.'
2c. mukan takaop-ŋe yuwu yap (yesterday, he came-sub., like this, he said) 'The man who came yesterday said this.'

3c. lok ya sāp ārādāŋák kuk otmap-ŋe gírawu tuhuap (man, that, time, always, anger, he always does-sub., like how, he did) 'How did that man who is angry all the time behave?'

5c. lok ya Lae arībāp-ŋe yiwereŋe tetem takap (man, that, Lae township, he should have gone-sub., just now, appearing, he came) 'That man who should have gone to Lae has just now arrived.'

7c. Lae arīwuap-ŋe taka den sām eknohom arap (Lae township, he will go-sub., come, words, speaking, telling me, he went) 'The man who will go to Lae came, talked to me and went away.'

8c. gānālāk ālāengen arīwlop-ŋe taka den sām eknohomu bia sāmune kuk otmā arap (later, at another (time), he will go-sub., come, words, speaking, he told me, no, I said, anger, doing, he went) 'The man who will go at a later time came and talked to me; I said no and he was angry as he went away.'

9c. bukune yuān ibisāp-ŋe sām kl eknohoap (my friend, here, he will always sleep-sub., speaking, not, he told me) 'My friend who will always sleep here did not tell me.'

13c. arīwomap-ŋe tap (he will go-sub., he is here) 'The one who will go is here.'

14c. arīwe sām oap-ŋe tap (I will go, saying, he did-sub., he is here) 'The one who wants to go is here.'

15c. ya tep korokŋe-ŋe yongominiop (that, dung, its odour-sub., it used to hit them) 'That (which was the) odour of excrement used to kill them.'

(d) Acc.P.

Note that when a clause occurs in the Axis of an Acc.P. it is always followed by a demonstrative or regular personal pronoun root or it occurs with the nominalizer -ŋe. The nominalizer -ŋe, when it occurs with clauses with the final verbal form in rpt. or ipt., is also acceptable to Selepet informants. Preference is shown, however, for the demonstrative ya that or the personal pronoun root yākk he, she following the clause. Note in examples 7d and 8d that the tenses of the verb in the embedded clause and the verb of the independent clause are the same.
1d. sot niap-ŋe orop arirom (food, he ate-nomzer., with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the one who ate the food.'

2d. mukan den kuop-ŋe orop arirom (yesterday, words, he hit-nomzer., with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the one who disobeyed the order yesterday.'

3d. den bâlene sâm ap ya orop arirom (words, bad, he always says, that, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with that one who always speaks vulgariams.'

5d. Pawiŋe mukan kaşâne kubâp yâk orop arirom (Pawi, yesterday, his enemy, he should have killed him, him, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with Pawi who should have killed his enemy yesterday.'

7d. ariwuap ya orop arirom (he will go, that, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the one who is going.'

8d. âlâenâmâ ariwíop ya orop arirom (at another (time)-however, he will go, that, with, we(du.) will go) 'Some other time (in the distant future) I will go with the one who is going.'

9d. yuân ibisâp ya orop arirom (here, he will always sleep, that, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with that one who always sleeps here.'

12d. arimu yâk orop arinom (he goes, him, with, we will go) 'We(du.) will go with the one who is going.'

13d. ariwomap ya orop arirom (he intends to go, that, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the one who is about ready to go.'

14d. ariwe sâm oap ya orop arirom (I will go, saying, he does, that, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the one who wants to go.'

15d. lok ya ītâsukumâe orop (man, that, wealthy) ya orop arirom (that, with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the man who is wealthy.'

(e) Inst.P.

Note that two relators are used: the relator root kâdâk as in examples 1-3e and the relator enclitic -ŋe which occurs suffixed to ya that as in examples 7-9e, 12e and 15e. The forms kâdâk and yaŋe are not fully commutable since the informants rejected kâdâk in examples 4e and 13e, but not in examples 7e or 15e. Nor was yaŋe rejected in examples 1-2e. The tense of the verb in the clause embedded in the Axis of the Inst.P. must not be future to that indicated by the verb in the independent clause.
1e. tebe yuān tap ya-ñe yerāwom (bow, here, it is, that-with, I will shoot it) 'I will shoot it with that bow there.'

2e. unam talop kādāk kārāwan (axe, it was here, with, I cut it) 'I cut it with the axe which was here.'

3e. tatmap kādāk kārāwan (it is always here, with, I cut it) 'I cut it with the one which remains here.'

4e. unam ya kārāhekmap ya-ñe kālāp huhuwom (axe, that, it must not cut you, that-with, firewood, I will break it) '(Careful) the axe with which I will chop firewood must not cut you.'

12e. hama yuān takamu ya-ñe kubom (hammer, here, it comes, that-with, I will hit it) 'I will hit it with that hammer which will come (i.e., be brought) here.'

15e. hama ya kānce kurīg ya-ñe kubom (hammer, that, handle, red, that-with, I will hit it) 'I will hit it with the hammer with the red handle.'

(f) Man.P.

The majority of the constructions consisting of an independent clause with its Manner tagmeme manifesting a Man.P. with another clause occurring in its Axis tagmeme yield interesting English glosses involving desire, cause and effect or indirect quote. With the exception of example 10f, all other final independent clauses manifest the verbs nāgā to think, know or sā to say in their Predicate tagmemes.

1f. Puketañ niap-āk nagan (Puketañ, she ate it-man., I thought) 'I was certain that Puketang ate it.'

2f. Lae ariop-āk nagan (Lae township, he went-man., I thought) 'I was certain that he went to Lae.'

3f. kīap ya takamap-āk nagan (patrol officer, that, he always comes-man., I thought) 'I thought that the patrol officer regularly comes here.'

4f. gohomap-āk nagan (it must not hit you-man., I think) 'I am concerned lest you fall down; I was concerned lest he kill you.'

mesi k otmā muman-āk nagan (sickness, doing, I must not die-man., I think) 'I am concerned that I might become sick and die.'

5f. mebāi-āk nagan (they should have held it-man., I think) 'I think that they should have got it.'
6f. When the first person inch. occurs in the embedded clause, provided the number shown in the inch. verb of the embedded clause and the verb of the independent clause are in concord, the result is either desire or else concern which is the result of intense desire.
nebeâk nagan (I must eat it-man., I think) 'I very much want to eat it; I worry about not being able to eat it.'

nedeâk nagait (we(du.) must eat it-man., we(du.) think) 'We(du.) very much want to eat it.'

When the person and number of the embedded inch. verb are different from the person and number of the independent verb the effect is that the subject of the independent verb wants the subject of the embedded inch. verb to perform the action denoted by the inch. verb.
ariqet-âk nagan (you must go-man., I think) 'I want you to go away.'

mem hilipkuâk-âk nagan (holding, let him ruin it-man., I think) 'I want him to ruin it.'

7f. ariwuar-âk nagan (he will go-man., I think) 'I am certain that he will go.'

8f. hobaQ kakân kârikne ariwiop-âk nagan (holiday, on top of it, strong, he will go-man., I think) 'I am certain that after Christmas he will go and never return.'

9f. yuân ibisân-âk nagan (here, you will always sleep-man., I think) 'I think that you will always sleep here.'

10f. to kârikne nem-âk tap (water, strong, drinking-man., he is here) 'He is only (here) drinking alcoholic beverages.'

12f. This construction is regularly used to show that one action in the past preceded another action.
ki takamune-âk muop (not, I come-man., he died) 'He died before I had come; when I had not yet come, he died.'

Note that this construction is used for past time and is equivalent to the use of irak not yet which only occurs with the future tense verbs as in irak ariwom I have not yet gone.

14f. ariwe sâm oap-âk nagan (I must go, saying, he does-man., I think) 'I think that he wants to go.'

15f. lok ya orotmemene âlipne dodâ-ek nagan (man, that, his manners, good, very-man., I think) 'I think that the manners of that man are very good.'
(g) Bene./Cau.P.
When 1-3g, 7-9g or 12-15g occur, the phrase expresses cause; when 4g occurs it expresses negative purpose lest; when 5g occurs it expresses condition; and when 6g occurs it expresses either purpose or cause.

1g. gelâk takap-gât ki arian (rain, it came-because, not, I went)
   'Because the rain came I did not go.'

4g. ahomai-gât klap takap (they must not fight-because, patrol officer, he came) 'The patrol officer came lest they fight.'

5g. When a verb with the ctf. mode occurs in the Bene./Cau.P. the verb in the final independent Predicate also occurs with ctf.
   tatbâm-gât ahoâlân (I should have been here-because, we should have fought) 'If I had been here we would have fought.'

6g. yege bonjanâk nâhâlân wahap bâleâk-gât otbl
   you truly to me thing let it turn out badly-for you did
   'Truly you did it in order that things would turn out badly for me.'
   klap yiken takam ehâk-gât goronihlap (patrol officer, here, coming, let him see it-because, it worries me) 'I am worried because the patrol officer plans to come here and see it.'

(h) Poss.P.
In all the occurrences of clauses within the Axis of the Poss.P. the clause is first embedded in the GNP. core and qualified by a demonstrative pronoun. The semantic relationship between the filler of the Poss. tagmeme and the filler of the following Head tagmeme is always possession. Some examples follow.

lok yañe tuhumi nop ya-kât opon-ân (man, that(sub.), he used to do it, that-of, men's house-at) 'At the men's house of that man who used to do it...'

lok muop ya-kât sum-ân (man, he died, that-of, grave-at) 'At the grave of that man who died...'
Table E: Embedding of axis-relator phrases

The numbers refer to illustrative data and/or comments which follow
(--- = non-occurrence)

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<td>Bene./Cau.P.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poss.P.</td>
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(1) emelâk yuân nengât-ân-ñe yawu sâminiwi (long ago, here, our (place)-at-sub., like that, they used to say) 'Long ago those from here used to speak like that.'

(2) emesën-ân-ak ekmâ tatminio (moon-towards-man., looking at it, he used to be here) 'He used to sit here with his eyes fixed upon the moon.'

(3) emet lohot-ân-gât sâm (place, weak-at-about, speaking) 'Speaking about the at-the-weak place (time) - i.e., the rainy season.'

(4) egatyene-ân-gât tihit-ñe (their necks-at-of, health) 'the sake (well-being) of their necks'

(5) lok pato mukan takaop-ñe orop arîrom (man, big, yesterday, he came-sub., with, we(du.) will go) 'I will go with the important man who came yesterday.'

(6) When -âk precedes orop or -gât or follows -ñe, it has been regarded as the unrestricted suffix meaning only. Whether or not this distinction between the two posited homophonic forms of -âk is fictitious is not clear at this stage of analysis.

(7) bukuñe orop-ân ariap (his friend, with-at, he went) 'He went to (the place where he had been) with his friend.'

(8) bukuñe orop-ñe takap (his friend, with-sub., he came) 'The one who has his friend (staying) with him came.'

(9) korokñe orop-âk giowân arigetâ (its stench, with-man., on the road, they went) 'As they travelled there was always a stench about them.'
(10) yawu-âk-ñe biwi katmu (like that-man.-sub., insides, he put)
'dThe one who (acted) in a manner like that made a decision.'
(Note: alternatively, the -ñe may be regarded as a nominalizer).

(11) See Origin Noun Phrase (4.2.2).

(12) sum-gât-âk kara tuhuyekminiwi (grave-for-man., sorcery, they used
to perform upon them) 'They used to perform sorcery upon them in
a deadly manner (i.e., for the purpose of (putting them in) the
grave).'

(13) yawu-gât-gât topñe (like that-for-of, its reason) 'The reason for
(their behaviour) with respect to (events which happened) like
that.'

(14) Indum nen-gât-ân (Indum village, we-of-at) 'at our (village of)
Indum'. 
NOTES

1. The idea of a hierarchy of criteria is taken from Newman (1967) and Van Wyk (1967).

2. This portion of the process of classification contrasts with the approaches 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 above which would simply list all the forms and posit classes on the basis of the extent of their distribution.

3. It is probable that the root wârâ is a noun root. One would expect that as the corpus of data is expanded such unclassified roots as this would be classified.

4. In narrative structure, however, the noun is frequently omitted from the GNP. when there is no confusion over the item under discussion. This omission frequently leaves álâ as the only remaining item.

5. To obtain the correct phonological realizations of the morphemes in the matrices and the morphemes marked by hyphens in the examples morphophonemic rules must be applied (see McElhanon 1970a:25-6). In the matrices the forms enclosed in parentheses are optional.
6. In early treatments of the noun morphologies of other languages of the Huon Peninsula Stock, Pilhofer (1926-27, 1927-28, 1933) and Wacke (1930-31) used the case system approach. Pilhofer (1926-27, 1933), in describing Kâte noun morphology, listed ten cases: indiff. (the ergative, i.e., intransitive actor and transitive object), nominativ agentis (transitive subject), destinativ (benefaction/cause, possession), adlativ (location), relativ (direction from, origin), adversiv (direction towards), deversiv (direction away from), komitativ (association), karitiv (lack of possession) and instrumentalis (instrument). Because these case markers are regarded as phrase level enclitics rather than word level affixes, the present writer has not applied the case system approach. The enclitics occur as relators in axis-relator phrases in which the axis may be manifested by a variety of constructions from various levels of the grammatical hierarchy.

7. The formative indicating plural number has two alloformatives in this matrix: n as in ne-n-ne and ø as in ye-ø-ne. For ø indicating plural number in the verbal subject-marking suffixes see 3.2.1.5.

8. There are three subclasses of Selepet nouns: those which occur with obligatory possession-marking suffixes, those which occur with optional possession-marking suffixes, and those which do not occur with possession-marking suffixes. All subclasses of nouns may occur qualified by the Poss.P. so that possession may be shown only by the phrases or the nominal suffixes or redundantly by both.

9. The n in yen assimilates to the point of articulation of the g in -gât for and then reduces before the prenasalization of the g yielding yegât rather than yengât.

10. The one exception is that the regular personal pronouns do occur in the Loc.P. when it occurs in the Head of the Origin Noun Phrase: nâ-en gâtne (me-at, one from) 'a member of my family'.

11. The forms ki agi agi not exchanging and ki aho aho not fighting do not occur; rather the nouns wawî greed and sådûk peace occur.

12. Compounds may be one or more phonological words. No systematic relationship between grammar and phonology has been observed at this level and so no further statement can be made at this stage of analysis.
13. An alternate solution would be to posit a discontinuous morpheme \( \emptyset \ldots n \).

14. An historical explanation of the similarity between the benefactive markers and the subclass II object markers as well as the development of the disparate forms waŋ, wagi and ihi for 3s is expected after diachronic studies are completed. The forms wagi and ihi may follow regular sound shifts. Note that the verb root to beg has two forms ulít- and welet-. The vowels u and i, moreover, often fluctuate. Thus as u is a correspondence of we so also i may be posited as a correspondence of wa. The form waŋ then may reflect a simple loss of the class marker gi.

15. It is apparent that the verb roots are related to the reflexive/ reciprocal marker -aho and may be derived from that form. Whether one should regard the forms aho- and ahon- as allomorphs of \( \emptyset \) and -n respectively or whether one should posit special derived verbal forms may become evident after diachronic studies are completed.

16. The suffix -dâengkap may be the ajzer. -dâ (2.3.5) plus the suffix -ẹ (nomzer.--2.1.1, or inst.--4.4.7).

17. The allomorphs indicating rpt., when given in a matrix (Matrix 13) indicating their co-occurrence with person-number formatives, reveal a clearly discernible L pattern opening to the lower left.

Matrix 13: Person-number composites
and allomorphs of rpt.

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<th>Sg.</th>
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<td>1st per.</td>
<td>w-an</td>
<td>w-it</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>o-n</td>
<td>o-wot</td>
<td>w-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>o-p</td>
<td>o-wot</td>
<td>w-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This raises the interesting question posited by Pike and Erickson (1964:212) "that emic matrices may prove to be subject to historical reconstruction and to occur in diachronic oscillation from approximations of simple toward ideal matrix, and from ideal toward simple matrix structures". As more data from languages related to Selepet become available, historical reconstructions of the phonological development of matrix patterns may indeed be possible.
18. This morpheme has an alternate form -sa following consonant-final fillers of the nucleus.

19. The designation 'inchoative future' is preferred over the designation 'imperative' because the idea of time is foremost. The English translation, however, is best represented by the English imperative. An alternative analysis would be to posit that the composite forms yet and qet indicate 'dual' and 'plural' respectively (see 3.2.2.2 for qet 'plural' in the heteropersonal person-number composites). To do so would necessitate a zero allomorph indicating 'inchoative future' with the dual and plural forms. Both analyses are very tentative in view of the apparent complexities involved. Because the structure of the inchoative future verb is similar in most of the languages of the Finisterre-Huon Phylum (see McElhanon, forthcoming) one may expect that diachronic study would clarify the apparent complexities.

20. The terms 'heteropersonal' and 'homopersonal' are adopted from P. Healey, 1965:7.

21. These present comments represent a preliminary attempt to formulate collocational rules.

22. This observation must be regarded as tentative inasmuch as paragraph structure has not been investigated in detail.

23. The construction which is referred to here as a 'predicateless clause' is usually assigned some label such as 'an Equational Clause' or 'Stative Clause'. However, in Selepet it appears that such constructions may be formed by tagmeme permutation or deletion.
APPENDIX: VERB PARADIGMS

The forms given in paradigms §3, §4 and §8 are analyzed in Section 4, Phrases.

§1 remote past tense (rpt.) I went a long time ago etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ari-wan</td>
<td>ari-wit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ari-on</td>
<td>ari-owot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ari-op</td>
<td>ari-owot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rpt. is made habituative by the occurrence of -mini preceding the above suffixes: ari-mini-wan I used to go etc.

§2 immediate past tense (ipt.) I recently went etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ari-an</td>
<td>ari-alet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ari-at</td>
<td>ari-awot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ari-ap</td>
<td>ari-awot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ipt. is made habituative or prohibitive by the occurrence of -m preceding the above suffixes: ari-m-ap He always goes or He should not go.

§3 inceptive future tense (icft.) I am about to go etc. These forms are analyzed as constituting an Intensive Verb Phrase (4.1.2.2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ari-woman</td>
<td>ari-romait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ari-womat</td>
<td>ari-romaiwot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ari-womap</td>
<td>ari-romaiwot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§4 delayed future tense (dft.) I will soon go etc. These forms are also analyzed as constituting an Intensive Verb Phrase (4.1.2.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>ari-womosan</td>
<td>ari-romosait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>ari-womosat</td>
<td>ari-romosawot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>ari-womosap</td>
<td>ari-romosawot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§5 immediate future tense (ift.) *I will go, you will go, you must go* etc.

1st per. ari-wom ari-rom ari-nom
2nd per. ari-wuat ari-romawot ari-nomaï
3rd per. ari-wuap ari-romawot ari-nomaï

§6 remote future tense (rft.) *I will go in the distant future* etc.

1st per. ari-wiom ari-wioit ari-wioin
2nd per. ari-wion ari-wiowot ari-wioi
3rd per. ari-wiop ari-wiowot ari-wioi

§7 future tense, habituative (hbt.) *I will always go* etc.

1st per. ari-bisâm ari-bisâit ari-bisâin
2nd per. ari-bisân ari-bisâwot ari-bisâi
3rd per. ari-bisâp ari-bisâwot ari-bisâi

§8 desiderative (desid.) *I want to go* etc. These forms are analyzed as constituting a Desiderative Verb Phrase (4.1.2.1)

1st per. ari-wesâman ari-resâmait ari-nesâmain
2nd per. ari-wesâmat ari-resâmawot ari-nesâmai
3rd per. ari-wesâmap ari-resâmawot ari-nesâmai

In addition to the above forms the desiderative may evidence labialization after the m: [a ribesomwan] etc.

§9 contrary-to-fact (ctf.) *I should have gone* or *I might go* etc.

1st per. ari-bâm ari-bâit ari-bâin
2nd per. ari-bât ari-bâwot ari-bâi
3rd per. ari-bâp ari-bâwot ari-bâi

§10 inchoative future (inch.) *I must go! You go! Let him go! etc.*

1st per. ari-we ari-re ari-ne
2nd per. ari-â ari-yet ari-âet
3rd per. ari-âk ari-yet ari-âet -ek

Allomorph -ek follows vowels a and â and allomorph -âk follows vowels i, e, o, u and consonants.

§11 permissive (perm.) *You may go* etc.

2nd per. ari-wot ari-welôg ari-wion

§12 dependent heteropersonal (hetero.) *I want and... (someone else)... etc.*

1st per. ari-mune ari-mutâge ari-munçe
2nd per. ari-râ ari-mutâ ari-ñetâ
3rd per. ari-mu ari-mutâ ari-ñetâ
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