HIGHER LEVELS OF FORE GRAMMAR

by

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This monograph, in spite of its undramatic title has an important moral for linguists in general. Part of the moral of the story is that routine papers of this sort can have such a moral – but more of that later. We might indeed speculate on ways to improve the title. We might for instance have entitled this monograph "Fore Sentence and Paragraph: Now we see you, now we don't" of if such a title is too frivolous, we might opt for "Sentence and Paragraph in the Fore Crucible". Or we might have entitled the monograph "Fore Sentence and Paragraph: Some Disturbing Data". Perhaps the best alternative title would be "Fore: A Grammar with a Moral".

The specific moral of this grammar (if we may so speak) is that stereotyped ideas of sentence and paragraph, especially those derived from our European linguistic background, are not adequate to describe similar units in New Guinea – and very probably in other parts of the world as well. In terms of the structure of discourse, the sentence is simply a way of combining predications into larger units. While clauses are the linguistic counterpart of the predicate calculus of formal logic, sentences are the linguistic counterpart of the statement or propositional calculus. Sentences in turn are organised into larger units which are discourse level chunks (i.e. surface level organisation of content structure) which we are used to calling paragraphs. Neither necessarily corresponds to our orthographic conventions within a given language. Within a given language there are not only grammatical sentences, there are also phonological sentences, and colligational groupings which might be called lexical sentences as well. One set of punctuation marks cannot do justice to the diversified and sometimes inconsistent groupings. Especially when phonology and grammar are askew within a given context, the punctuator must pay his money and take his choice. Sometimes, as Alan Healey has suggested, we combine into the same orthographic sentence in English what is really a short embedded
paragraph. For this purpose the semicolon is the most common punctuation mark. Similarly while indentation is the common orthographic indication of paragraph onset, it is customary in English to indent for every change of speaker in dialogue even though dialogues certainly constitute paragraphs unified internally by repartee.

In Indo-European contexts we are accustomed to associate a large measure of independence and closure with the sentence unit. Indeed Bloomfield's definition of the sentence as a maximally independent unit has left its mark so on twentieth century linguistics that even transformational-generative grammar has been largely unable to outgrow this point of view. For them as for previous structural linguistics, grammar amounts to the description of sentence structure. The paragraph has seemed by contrast a much vaguer structural unit. We do not expect within an Indo-European language to find any grammatical closure for the paragraph. This then is the moral of the present Fore monograph: we find here sentence with less closure than we would normally expect from the sentence unit (especially with our Bloomfieldian, transformational-generative bias). In fact, we find the sentence firmly bound into the larger linguistic context by affixes on the verb itself. We find, however, that the paragraph has grammatical closure of the sort which we are unaccustomed to find in Indo-European units larger than a sentence. In brief, the medial final chain so characteristic of New Guinea languages, here may best be correlated with the paragraph, while within that chain, change of subject bounds the sentence unit itself.

It could of course be objected that the terms paragraph and sentence are misappropriated in such a New Guinea language. However, we will find that to describe the hierarchical structure of such a language as Fore, we need to posit the following above the clause level. We need to posit not only a medial-final chain, but links within that chain which are same-subject domains. We could of course speak of subchains and full chains rather than of sentence and paragraph. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the subchain and full chains in regard to their hierarchical placement and approximate size level act much like the sentence and paragraph respectively of Indo-European languages. It seems that only our stereotyped Indo-European bias keeps us from applying "sentence" and "paragraph" to them. Maybe our old familiar units are there after all - although submerged in the depths of Fore structure where "Nothing of them that doth fade, but doth suffer a sea change into something rich and strange".

This then is the specific moral of Fore grammar. Stereotyped ideas of sentence and paragraph, based on Indo-European model, must here give way to other ideas based on a New Guinea model. The more general moral
is, of course, that data papers of this sort from all over the world will continue for a long time to be vital to the student of language. We do not yet begin to know the full range and variety of the surface structures of the world's languages - whatever we may be finding out of the universal deep structures. We are probably due yet for a few rude surprises of the sort found when Fore structure confronts Indo-European structure. A becoming humility before the fullness of variety of the world's languages might well characterise the modern linguist.

This paper was produced at a field workshop of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at the Ukarumpa base in the Eastern Highlands district of Papua New Guinea. This workshop and a similar workshop were held under the auspices of the United States Office of Education contract number 0-9-097756-4409 (014). As principal investigator under this contract, it was my privilege to direct researches into 32 languages of New Guinea and surrounding regions. The focus of the project was especially on higher levels of structure such as sentence, paragraph, and discourse. Ultimately the aim was to understand better, features of systematic surface hierarchy among the world's languages, face to face with other features such as are now called (universal) deep-structure categories by many contemporary linguists. The understanding of the function of Fore sentence and paragraph within discourse came early enough in the contract period to provide guidelines for the investigation of other languages.

While I have edited freely Graham Scott's monograph as it came from his hands, I have in no way changed the fundamental outlines of his solution of the problem of higher grammatical levels in Fore. Nor for that matter have I basically changed his manner of presenting that solution. For this very reason, however, I want to correlate here briefly some sections of the present monograph with remarks that I make concerning New Guinea languages in general and Fore in particular, in the final report on the New Guinea project - which is being published by Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. under the title Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents (New Guinea Languages).

(1) Thus what Scott refers to as shortened medial verb forms, I refer to in the report of the New Guinea project as reduced verbs, or even sometimes as "stripped down" verbs. I treat a string of such stripped down verbs, plus or minus accompanying nouns, as a merged sentence rather than a complex clause. Argument for this analysis is found in section 2.6, "Chains of Reduced Verbs", in the New Guinea report. This forms an interesting comparison with Scott's argument for analysing these strings as complex clauses as found in 2.4 and 3 of this present monograph.

(2) In section 1.4 of the New Guinea report, "Exceptions to Same-
Different Subject Marking", I discuss certain matters several of which are parallel to the materials presented in this Fore monograph. Thus, what I discuss as parallel constructions covers the same ground as Scott's Parallel sentence in Section 4.1 of the present monograph. I also here present evidence from several languages that sometimes temporal clauses are ignored for Same-Different Subject marking in the chaining process; this may possibly have some bearing on the analysis of the complicated construction in Text \textsubscript{A} Cl\textsubscript{23-25} in the present monograph. In the same section of the report I discuss partitioning of the participant set which corresponds to Scott's partial change of subject in 2.2 of this volume. (3) Under 1.2 of the report I discuss some useful distinctions in verb structure. Scott in this monograph in effect sets up independent final verbs and dependent medial verbs and has in sections 8.2 and 8.3 certain residues which do not fit in to the above two categories. The residue discussed in 8.2, "The Medially-adapted Final Verbs", may correspond to the dependent final verbs set up in some languages, e.g. Kanite. Similarly his "special medial forms" discussed in 8.3 are reminiscent of the independent medials that some investigators in New Guinea have proposed. Note that it is possible that Scott may have in essence a scheme embracing independent final, dependent medial, independent medial and dependent final somewhat similar to that set up in other languages with the usual vagaries and the structural peculiarities to which any given New Guinea language is entitled. (4) In 2.5 I discuss the first link of medial final chains. Whether the chains prove to be sentences or paragraphs (depending on the language being analysed), the first link of the chain although not differing grammatically from other non-final links in the chain, has the peculiarity of recapitulating something from the end of the preceding chain. In that this lexical peculiarity is linearly localised in the first link of the chain, it is probable that we have here a sentence or paragraph margin in which the surface grammar of the language marks by assigning this peculiar function to the first linear link in the chain (cf. Scott, section 6). (5) Scott's Text\textsubscript{C} and D in the present monograph are discussed in my report chapter 5.1.2.1 in which there also occurs a diagram of the structure of Text\textsubscript{D} the "Yam Origin Text".

Scott's approach is implicitly tagmemic while not parading much of the terminology of that theory. It lacks one of the newest additions to the tagmemic framework, the distinction between deep and surface grammar which has been popularised by exponents of transformational-generative grammar. Scott's work on the project was too early to feel the full impact of this addition to tagmemic theory, and at all events, he has not seemed to find it congenial. Notice however, that his
section 7 which deals with Universal Relationships (based on "The Sentence Neighborhood - A Universal Scheme" from the previous Philippine report) implicitly is on this ground. Notice that he is saying in this section that sequence may be encoded in Fore in either a Simultaneous or a Sequence sentence in the surface structure, while simultaneity may likewise be encoded in either a Simultaneous or a Sequence sentence. Obviously here we are really not concerned with whether or not two events in the real world are overlapping chronologically, or occur in succession, rather we are concerned with the way in which the speaker wants to encode and present those events to us. Two events quite overlapping may be presented as in sequence (by choice of surface structure Sequence Sentence) or two events which are really in succession may be presented as happening at about the same time by choice of the surface structure Simultaneous Sentence. Also some of the examples under 3.1 (b) and (c) invite fruitful comparison along these lines.

With a sense of genuine pleasure I present this volume not only to the specialist in New Guinea languages, but to the student of language in general.

R.E. Longacre
Ixmiquilpan, Mexico
February 1972
ORIENTATION

Fore is spoken by approximately 12,000 speakers in the Eastern Highlands District of New Guinea, with Okapa as their government centre. There are at least two dialects of Fore, north and south. This paper is based on the northern dialect. Fore belongs to the Gende-Siane-Gahuku-Kamano-Fore family of this district, as suggested by S.A. Wurm, "The Languages of the Eastern, Western, and Southern Highlands, Territory of Papua and New Guinea" in A. Capell Linguistic Survey of the southwestern Pacific, New and Revised Edition (Noumea, South Pacific Commission, 1962). Fore as an ethnic group has come to the attention of the world because of the occurrence of kuru, a rare latent virus disease with 100% fatality, restricted to the members of this speech community.

The phonemes of Fore are p,t,k,?,?,b,r,g,m,n,w,y,s,a,e,i,o,u,∧. The voiceless stops are unaspirated utterance initially and lengthened utterance medially. The vowels a and ∧ are both spelled as a in this monograph, and glottal stop ? is written as an apostrophe. There is a pitch stress phoneme which is written as acute accent over the vowel in the body of this paper but not indicated in the accompanying texts. For previous treatments of Fore phonemics, see Ray Nicholson, 1962; Pike and Scott, 1963. The Nicholson article adopts a slightly different interpretation of the consonantal stop phonemes. In the Pike and Scott article geminate vowel clusters are spelled for convenience in symbolising certain sequences of accented and unaccented vowels.

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University of Papua and New Guinea for producing a morpheme concordance from Fore text material collected by the author. The concordance was produced on an IBM 1130 computer, as programmed and directed by M.H. McKay, Professor of Mathematics.

Kenneth Wohlberg who spent his summer vacation from Primary School teaching in collecting and transcribing additional Fore text material for use in this project.
0. INTRODUCTION

Fore is characterised by an extreme development of features which are typical of languages throughout the whole highland region. Two of these features deserve special mention here. Firstly, no separate conjunctions exist. Instead, the relation of one action to another is indicated by means of verb suffixes. Secondly, long sequences of verbs occur, joined together according to their various relationships. Often the analyst wonders when such a sequence will end. Do such extravagant combinations really form one sentence unit?

It seems best to commence with an actual recorded text, showing some of the specific problems encountered. The simple Fore narrative that follows highlights a few of the intricacies of Fore speech. The following display anticipates the analysis which is to follow and is dependent on that analysis for its justification.

1. SAMPLE TEXT

NARRATIVE DISCOURSE\textsubscript{A}: 'A Dog Yelps in the Night.'

This short discourse consists of a STAGE, an EPISODE, and a CLOSURE. (Each Clause of DISCOURSE\textsubscript{A} is numbered A\textsubscript{1} A\textsubscript{2} A\textsubscript{3} etc., and relationship morphemes are underlined.)

STAGE: Simple Sentence

A\textsubscript{1} Sequence Cl: Ai atamaipa ma mima eri'ya

yesterday afternoon here I was and work

Yesterday afternoon while I was here working,

mae miyuwaginisi,

I got and I was, and

EPISODE: Major Portion of Narrative Paragraph

A\textsubscript{2} Compound Cl: nanogaige Karao'mage tumpa

my cousin and Karao'ma went down and

my cousin and Karao'ma came down and took me
nababurusugu,
they accompanied me, and
with them,

A₃ CompoundC₁: poya maete tumpa ikapurusugu,
tops got and went down and they sold, and
they brought down spinning tops to sell,

A₄ SimpleC₁: imagi,
we went up, and
and we went up,

A₅ SimpleC₁: wamagita, asenabinti,
we went, and in the night,
and we went (it was in the night),

A₆ SimpleC₁: Amorantaguti waawakini,
to Amorantaguti we went, and
and we went to Amorantaguti,

A₇ SimpleC₁: inaba na tamuguta,
palm-nut things they gave us, and
and they gave us clusters of palm-nuts,

A₈ SimpleC₁: natagi,
we ate, and
which we ate,

A₉ SimpleC₁: taraosisibinti ka kampa tanta inaba namuyu,
in trousers one not cooked nut they gave me, and
and they also gave me one uncooked palm-nut which I

A₁₀ SimpleC₁: ira'uritegi
I carried it, and
carried in my trousers,

A₁₁ SequenceC₁: yakupa pitasa, auka abokane,
fire from there it was a bamboo cooking container
and from there I got a light, it was a bamboo cooking container,

aiwapuma igi'ma igi'uritegi,
split it and lit it and carried the light, and
which I split and lit and carried,
Sequence Cl: ima Payampa ntamapinti asu miyu waginisi,
went up and into Payampa's house went up and I was, and
and I went up and stayed in Payampa's house,

Simple Cl: isigeba igasu sugu,
they two they went up, and
while the other two went up further,

Simple Cl: naeba migagataegi,
I I rested, and
and there I stayed a while,

Sequence Cl: ima Kasa'yabu ntamapinti asu
went up and into Kasa'yabu's house went up and
and then I went up and looked into Kasa'yabu's

agauwapa,
I looked, and
house,

Simple Cl: ago waitamintoga,
already he was asleep, and
and I saw that he was already asleep,

Compound Cl: asu agagategi
went up and I looked, and

Sequence Cl: ima iyoka,
went up and we went up, and
so I went up and we all went up,

Sequence Cl: masimabi mi ntamapi kamanapa uma
in the house where young men were talk said and
and we stayed in the house with the young men and
migagate waitamintokana,
stayed and we slept, and
talked and slept,

Simple Cl: karantoma agisara ta'wamagina,
little dog at its foot it burnt, and
and a little dog burnt its foot in the fire,

Simple Cl: kauguyegi,
it barked, and
and yelped
A22 Compound C1: a'ya'maba mesu a-e uwaetategi,
everyone went up and exclamation we called out, and
and everyone of us jumped up with fright,

A23 Simple C1: meru to waimarategina,
down there again we slept, and
and then we laid down again and slept,

A24 Compound C1: mesu maregi,
went up and it dawned, and
and when dawn came up,

CLOSURE: Sequence Clause

A25 Sequence C1: irosa'ma tumuwew.
went outside and I came down
I left and came down here.

1.1 CLAUSE ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE TEXT

At first glance, each predicate (verb) seems linked in some kind of
sequence to the one that follows. In actual fact they occur in group­
nings, and the first of these groupings (into clauses) has already been
indicated in the text. So in looking at the overall analysis, we shall
commence from the clause level. In the sample text given, the follow­
ing clause types appear:

a) Simple Clauses (numbers A4-10, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23). These
have only one predicate. Other slots vary.

b) Compound Clauses (A2, 17, 22, 24) have two predicates, each of
which is considered to indicate a part of one overall event. They are
joined in this compound relationship by the absence of any marker (-)
on the first of the two predicates. There is one Compound Clause in
this text that features recursion (A3). It embeds a Simultaneous Clause
(marker -te) as the first of the two bases of the Compound Clause.

c) Simultaneous Clauses are formed by using the Simultaneous marker
-te on the first of two predicates, showing that the two actions are
conceptualised as temporally overlapping. The only Simultaneous Clauses
in the sample text are embedded, one in a Compound Clause (A3), the other
in a Sequence Clause (A19).

d) Sequence Clauses (A11, 18, 25) are formed by using the sequence
relationship marker -ma on the first of two predicates, thus showing
that the two actions are considered to be in time sequence. Some of the
Sequence Clauses in this text feature recursion. Clauses A\textsubscript{1}, 12, 15 have an embedded Compound Clause as one of their Sequence bases, and A\textsubscript{19} has a Simultaneous Clause as its second base.

1.2 SENTENCE ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE TEXT

The next grouping in this text may be made by noting where specific grammatical changes of subject occur. When the subjects of consecutive clauses remain the same (as indicated in the verb structure), the clauses form part of one "sentence". When the subject changes, a new sentence begins. This deviates somewhat from the usual stereotyped notion of "sentence" in that such units do not stand on their own in Fore. It is the paragraph in Fore that may stand alone without alteration (cf. Longacre 1970, 1972).

Occasionally sentence breaks may occur within a string of same-subject verbs, but no such strings are found in this text. Such strings will be described and exemplified later.

In the sample text, changes of subject are grammatically indicated following clauses A\textsubscript{1}, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24. Here sentence breaks appear. Various relationship markers occur within the sentences thus indicated, linking the clauses together, and giving rise to various sentence types. Those occurring here are:

a) Simple Sentences (A\textsubscript{1}, 7, 8, 9, 13, 19), which consist of one clause only.

b) Simultaneous Sentences (combination of clauses A\textsubscript{10-11} + 12, 14 + 15-16, 17 + 18, 22 + 23, 22-24 + 25) are joined together using a same-subject Simultaneous marker -\textit{tegi}. This marker occurs in the last verb of the first base. That is, when A\textsubscript{10-11} + 12 form a Simultaneous Sentence, -\textit{tegi} occurs in A\textsubscript{11}. Occasionally, the forward reference of a same-subject or different-subject marker demands that a different-subject morpheme be interpreted as indicating simultaneity, in view of the non-specific nature of different subject coordination, as in clause A\textsubscript{24}. Here this allows the whole Parallel Sentence A\textsubscript{22-24} to be in Simultaneous relationship with clause A\textsubscript{25} (see chart, end of section 1.4).

c) Sequence Sentences (A\textsubscript{4} + 5 + 6, 20 + 21) are formed of clauses considered to be in time sequence. The same-subject Sequence marker -\textit{magi} occurs on the last verb of the first base.

d) Parallel Sentences (A\textsubscript{2} + 3, 10 + 11, 22-23 + 24) may have two or more bases. These may be clauses (A\textsubscript{24}) or embedded sentences (A\textsubscript{22-23}) in apposition. In terms of forward subject reference, each base refers
to what follows the whole, without cross-reference between the bases of
the Parallel Sentence. Any one base could be used on its own (omitting
all others), and the discourse would still proceed smoothly.

e) Focal Sentences \((A_{15} + 16)\) indicate neither same nor different
subjects. In this the Focal Sentence differs from the sentence types
already mentioned, where the forms within a sentence are specifically
same-subject. Usually the second base of such a sentence is an ampli-
ification or specification of the first base. The Focal marker \(-pa\) oc-
curs on the last verb of the first base.

1.3 PARAGRAPH ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE TEXT

In this discourse there is only one paragraph. All sentences here
are joined together using different-subject coordinate relationship
markers, and each sentence is analysed as filling a paragraph-level
BUILD-UP slot (BU). In such paragraph-level coordinate linkage neither
definite time sequence nor the lack of it is featured; rather, the
events indicated are non-committally conjoined.

Eight of a possible 21 different-subject coordinate markers occur
here in the sample material. These markers indicate various combina-
tions of person, number and tense as well as the overall relationship of
coordination. For simplicity, \(-og\) (third person singular, past tense
form) will be used to designate this whole set of markers. The marker
\(-og\) itself occurs once in the text, in \(A_{16}\). The other markers occur-
ring here are in \(A_{1}, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21, 24\). The
reader should note that the final verb in the whole discourse, \(tumwe\) in
\(A_{25}\), has no relationship marker, but simply closes the paragraph. More
will be said later about such final verbs.

This whole discourse is really a simple NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH.

1.4 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SAMPLE TEXT

In discourse analysis, except when a string of paragraphs constitutes
an embedded discourse, each paragraph is considered to be an EPISODE or
POINT. Thus, this one-paragraph discourse has only one episode. Here as
as in most Fore discourses, STAGE and CLOSURE are determined lexically -
grammatically they are simply part of the large overall paragraph.

Thus NARRATIVE DISCOURSE\(_A\) consists of a STAGE \((A_{1})\), one EPISODE
\((A_{2-24})\), and a CLOSURE \((A_{25})\).

The following tree graph summarises the DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH, Sen-
tence, and Clause analysis of the sample text:
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: "A Dog Yelled in the Night."

STAGE

EPISODE

BU_1 A_2
A_3 SimuCl
SCl

BU_2 A_4
A_5
A_6

BU_3 A_7

BU_4 A_8

BU_5 A_9

BU_6 A_10
A_11
A_12 SCl
CompCl

BU_7 A_13

BU_8 A_14
A_15 SCl
CompCl
A_16

BU_9 A_17
A_18

BU_10 A_19 SCl
SimuCl

BU_11 A_20
A_21

BU_n A_22
A_23
A_24

CLOSURE A_25
2. IMPORTANCE OF ACTION SLOT

The reader may have noted that in the above text, there were 43 predicate or "action" words, but only 37 non-predicate or "non-action" ones. Such is the preponderance of Fore verbs. If anything could be omitted and a discourse still be understandable, it would be the optional non-predicate items. Only predicate slots are obligatory, from the Clause-level on up. The fillers of these obligatory predicate slots (i.e. the verbs) contain, among other things, ALL the connectives of Fore. Consequently, this treatment of higher levels in referring to lower levels mentions only the fillers of the predicate slots. No attempt is made here to explain how the lower grammatical levels of morpheme, word or phrase function as such. Nevertheless a summary statement of the fillers of the predicate slot is needed to show where the connectives occur, and how they function.

While all connectives in Fore occur as suffixes on the verb, not all verbs contain connectives. Four different verb structures occur. These we label Final Verb, Equative, Medial Verb and Adapted Verb. The first and second contain no connectives, so show no relationship whatever to any verbs that follow. Medial and Adapted verbs on the other hand, use specific morphemes to show definite relationship to some succeeding verb. These distinctions are displayed in Table 1.

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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary forms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Equatives are formed from non-verb items, Adapted Verbs from Final or Medial Verbs.)

2.1 STRUCTURE OF THE VERB

Each verb in Fore has either a relationship or a mood marker as one
of its suffixes. Throughout this description, relationship markers are underlined for the reader's benefit. These occur on all Medial and Adapted verbs. Mood markers occur on Final verbs and Equatives.

The following notes on the structure of each of the verb types are by no means intended to be exhaustive, but are included to give the reader an understanding of Fore verb structure and of the function of the relationship markers within the verbs.

a) **Final Verbs** are formed from verb stems and have obligatory tense, subject, and mood morphemes. Thus the basic formula of a Final Verb is:

\[
\text{Final Verb} = + \text{Verb stem} + \text{Tense} + \text{Subject} + \text{Mood},
\]

in which + indicates an obligatory item. Two optional aspect slots with various fillers may also be added, one following the verb stem and the other following subject. Some transitive Final Verbs also have obligatory personal referent prefixes which indicate either a direct or an indirect object according to the particular verb stem. The various obligatory and optional affixes of the Final Verb, and the function auxiliary verbs, are described in Scott 1968.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{natáne} & \text{ 'you ate'} \\
& (\text{na-tá-an-e 'eat-past-you-indicative'})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{natáno} & \text{ 'Did you eat?'} \\
& (\text{na-tá-an-ó 'eat-past-you-interrogative'})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
imíwaegáitampéne & \text{ 'you really finished giving it all to him'} \\
& (i-mí-wae-gai-tá-ampé-n-e 'them-give-totality-completive-past-you-emphasis-indicative')
\end{align*}
\]

b) **Equatives** are formed from non-verb items, and have Predicate and Mood suffixes. These non-verb items may be simple non-verb stems, or may include any number of relevant affixes. Equatives act in the way Final Verbs do in higher-level structure, in that they conclude their portion of an utterance (thus ending a paragraph), and are not marked for specific relationship with what follows.

Their formula:

\[
\text{Equative} = + \text{Non-verb item} + \text{Predicate} + \text{Mood}.
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
namáne & \text{ 'it is a house'} \\
& (\text{namá-n-e 'house-predicate-indicative'})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
namánó & \text{ 'Is it a house?'} \\
& (\text{namá-n-ó 'house-predicate-interrogative'})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
namákapíntisawé & \text{ 'it is from inside your house'} \\
& (\text{namá-ka'-pinti-sa-w-e 'house-your-into-from-predicate-indicative'})
\end{align*}
\]
c) *Medial Verbs* have a simple formula, deceptively so in view of the difficulty foreign speakers have with them. The relationship markers that they contain indicate the type of relationship one predicate has to another. These verbs also indicate whether the subject of each predicate is the same (SS) or different (DS) from that of the following predicate. Some even indicate tense. Basic formula for the Medial Verb is:

\[ \text{Medial Verb} = \text{Verb stem} + \text{Relationship} + \text{Anticipatory Subject}, \]

where the relationship marker indicates what conjunctitional relationship this predicate has to a following predicate. The anticipatory subject tells what the subject of that following predicate is expected to be.

- **kanamagina** 'he came and he...'
  - (kana-magi-na 'come-same subject, sequence-he')
- **kanantana** 'he came and he...'
  - (kana-na-na 'come-same subject, coordinate-he')
- **kanaogâna** 'he came and (a different) he...'
  - (kana-oqâ-na 'come-different subject, coordinate, he, past-he')

Aspect fillers are optional, and occur following the verb stem. As with Final verbs, and also again with the Adapted verbs described next, some transitive Medial verbs obligatorily take a personal referent prefix.

- **imîwaegasôginî** 'he finished giving it all to them and they...'
  - (i-mf-wae-gas-oqî-ni 'them-give-totality-completive-different subject, coordinate, he, past-they')

Now take the first example given (kanamagina). Any such same subject Medial verb may be shortened by omission of part of the relationship marker and the anticipatory subject marker. The portion of the relationship marker that may be omitted (which is always -gi) could be considered to be a separate marker indicating general conjunctional linkage, but by this expedient more complications are introduced than are solved. More important than this consideration is the fact that the Anticipatory Subject is obligatorily omitted when such a verb is shortened.

- **asugina** 'he goes up and he...' may be shortened to asu_
  - (asu-gi-na' 'up towards-same subject, compound-he')
- **maetegina** 'he gets and he...' may be shortened to maete
  - (mae-tegi-na' 'get-same subject, simultaneous-he')
- **kanamagina** 'he comes and he...' may be shortened to kanama
  - (kana-magi-na' 'come-same subject, sequence-he')
In such shortening, any additional optional slots are retained:

imíwaegái tegina 'he gave it all to them completely and he...
may be shortened to imíwaegái

(i-mí-wae-gái-tegi-na' 'them-give-totality-completive-same subject,
simultaneous-he')

d) Adapted Verbs are formed from either Final or Medial verbs. Final verbs lose their last syllable (part of the second last morpheme along with the mood marker), which is replaced by a relationship marker. Different subject Medial verbs (same subject verbs are not used in this construction) lose part of their relationship marker along with the anticipatory subject and these elements are replaced by Adapted Verb's relationship marker.

The lost portion of the relationship morpheme, which is always -ga, -ka, -gi, -ki, -gu or -ku, could be considered to be the equal of the -gi lost from shortened same subject forms as mentioned above. Using elaborate rules, the -g to -k variation could be explained morphophonemically, and the vowel variants by vowel harmony. The remaining portion of the shortened suffix could then be considered to be the person/number morpheme proper.

Adapted Medial verbs are rare, and the reason for their occasional preferred use over adapted Final verbs has yet to be adequately determined. The basic formula for Adapted Verb forms is:

Adapted Verb = + Shortened Final/Medial verb + Relationship.

For Final Verbs, this means:

+ Verb stem + Tense + Subject + Relationship.

For Medial Verbs:

+ Verb stem + Relationship (person/number)

agatóné 'I really saw him', a Final Verb, may be adapted to
agatópa 'when I saw him...

(a-ga-t-ó'na 'him-see-past-I-emphasis-indicative';
\(a-ga-t-ó'pa 'him-see-past-I-focal')

agauwágana 'I saw him and he...

(a-ga-uwága-ná 'him-see-different subject, coordinate, I, past-he';
a-ga-uwá-pa 'him-see-different subject, coordinate, I, past-focal')

2.2 RELATIONSHIP IN MEDIAL VERBS

A display of the various conjunctural relationship markers in chart
form may help explain the variety of relationships marked in the Medial forms. This is set out in Table II.

### TABLE II

**CONJUNCTIONAL RELATIONSHIP MARKERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship marker</th>
<th>Same Subject anticipated (SS)</th>
<th>Different Subjects (DS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compound Action</td>
<td>Simultaneous Actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gi</td>
<td>-tegi</td>
<td>-magi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-te</td>
<td>-ma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(-ogá) represents a paradigm of markers, of which the very commonly used third person singular past tense form is -ogá.

These medial relationships are as follows:

a) **Compound** relationship markers relate two predicates as actions which together constitute one overall event. In many instances the verb in the first predicate slot, to which the marker is suffixed, is a directional verb.

  asugína máeye 'he went up and got it'
  (asu-qi-na' 'up towards-SS Compound-he';
   máe-ş-y-e 'get-present-he-indicative')

b) **Simultaneous** relationship markers relate two predicates as separate actions which are considered by the speaker to be temporally overlapping. In Fore, this means that the second action either immediately follows the first (begins as the other is ceasing), or occurs while the first is still in progress. The subjects of both predicates are the same.

  máetegína káньaye 'he got it and came (with it)'
  (máe-tegi-na' 'get-SS Simultaneous-he';
   kana-ş-y-e 'come-present-he-indicative')

c) **Sequence** relationship markers relate two predicates as the actions which are in some kind of time sequence. Again the subjects are identical.
d) Coordinate relationship, Same Subject markers are not as frequent as are the markers of the previous three relationships, and their usage seems more limited. They coordinate predicates without specifying any definite time or sequence relationship—though often such relationships are situationally present. They are used to break up paragraphs into sentences of desired length when the subject does not change.

```
kanantana máeye 'he came and he got it'
(kana-nta-na' 'come-SS Coordinate-he';
má-e-y-e 'get-present-he-indicative')
```

e) Coordinate relationship markers, Different Subjects, are used quite frequently, as these are the only Different Subject forms available to cover all the relationships specified separately by Same Subject markers, of which there are the four already mentioned.

It seems simplest to consider that these (-ogá) markers function in much the same way as -nta SS Coordinate marker in that they break up paragraphs into manageable sentence chunks. Just occasionally there is need to interpret them as being equivalent to a -magí (Sequence) or a -tegi (Simultaneous), in forming Parallel Sentences (cf. Section 4.1).

```
kanaogána watáye 'he came and she went'
(kana-ogá-na' 'come-DS Coordinate, he, past-she';
wa-tá'-y-e 'go-past-she-indicative'; in which 'he' and 'she' have been used to indicate the change of subject, although Fore shows no such distinction between masculine and feminine forms)
```

In this example, the relationship marker -ogá is a composite morpheme indicating that the subject of this verb is third person singular ('he, she, it'), that this verb is joined by coordinate relationship with one that follows, that there is a change of subject, and that the action is in a past tense (Final verbs, by contrast, mark two past tenses). As seen in Table III, there are three sets of (-ogá) markers which correspond to past, present, and future. However, further morphemes which specifically mark past or future, may be used in such verb forms—in which case the present composites are used.

```
kanaogána... 'he came and she...'
(kana-ogá-na' 'come-DS Coordinate, he, past-she')
kanaígína... 'he came and she...'
(kana-í-gí-na' 'come-past-DS Coordinate, he, present-she')
```

Table III shows the full range of the DS Coordinate morphemes.
Another thing that needs to be said about these DS and SS relationship markers concerns partial change of subject. What happens when there is a shift of subject from singular to plural or vice versa, and part of the subject changes, part remains? In Fore, either DS or SS forms may be used, depending on the speaker's viewpoint. DS forms are far more common in such contexts, but the choice is there. In the following examples this option is illustrated (there is, furthermore, a sentence boundary in the first example, but not in the second).

\[
\text{tumágarwa} \ \text{wàuse} \ \text{‘I came down - and then we went together’} \\
(\text{tum-ága-ra} \ \text{‘go down-DS Coordinate, I, present-we two’}; \\
\text{wa-ò-us-e} \ \text{‘go-present-we_2-indicative’})
\]

\[
\text{tumimagif wàuse ‘I came down and then we went together’} \\
(\text{tumi-magi-ò \ ‘go down-SS Sequence-I’}; \\
\text{wa-ò-us-e} \ \text{‘go-present-we_2-indicative’})
\]

In the former, the emphasis is on change of subject, to give:
‘I came down - and went along with him as he went’.

In the latter, emphasis is on keeping the same subject:
‘I came down and he came along with me as I went’.

Another question arises here. Why is the latter form tumimagi\text{} and not tumimagirá, since -rá ‘we_2’ is the anticipated subject? Actually, in such instances where there is such a partial change and a SS form is used, it seems a Fore wishes to emphasise specifically what the subject has been before he adds to or narrows down that subject. After all further verbs will tell what the new subject is. In all other instances, this anticipatory subject morpheme accurately predicts the subject of the next action to which it is related. The full range of anticipatory subject morphemes is set out in Table IV.
TABLE IV
ANTICIPATORY SUBJECT MARKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td>-rā</td>
<td>-∅ or -ta'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-nā</td>
<td>-risľ</td>
<td>-ri'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-na'</td>
<td>-nisľ</td>
<td>-ni'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the linkage of predicates within clauses, almost every linkage within sentences (by numerical count), and probably all links within paragraphs (but cf. 8.2), are by virtue of some kind of Medial marker. For special relationships, Adapted verbs are used to link sentence bases together. These are described in the following section.

2.3 RELATIONSHIP IN ADAPTED VERBS

Table V displays the variety of relationship markers which are found in Adapted Verbs, and gives a quick idea of the uses to which Adapted Verbs are put.

TABLE V
ADAPTED VERB RELATIONSHIP MARKERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focal</th>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Contrapositional</th>
<th>Comparison</th>
<th>Alternative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pa</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>-šintá</td>
<td>-sā</td>
<td>-péra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-pē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-paya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Limitations in the formation of these Adapted Verbs have not been fully understood to date, but they are not particularly relevant to the present study. Only those idiosyncrasies which bear on the relationships between verbs are given here:

a) *Focal* relationship marker *-pa* is akin to another morpheme, the normal focus morpheme *-pa* or *-ba* (morphophonemic variants) which may occur on any non-verb, and on any verb on which an Anticipatory Subject
occurs. Some English conjunctions which are used to gloss this relationship in Adapted Verbs are 'when, if, that, as for' depending on context. Further additional examples to those given below are found in section 4.2.

Final Verb agatóné 'I really saw him'
(\textit{a-ga-t-ô'-n-e} \textit{him-see-past-I-emphasis-indicative})
becomes \textit{agatópa}'When I saw him...'
(\textit{a-ga-t-ô'-på} \textit{him-see-past-I-focal})
as in \textit{agatópa} waitámítatáyé 'When I saw him he was asleep.'

Medial Verb agauwágana... 'I saw him and he...'
(\textit{a-ga-uwága-na} \textit{him-see-DS Coordinate, I, past-he'})
becomes agauwàpa... 'When I saw him...'
(\textit{a-ga-uwá-pa} \textit{him-see-DS Coordinate, I, past-focal})

b) \textit{Referent} relationship marker -\textit{ka} is the same as the normal referent morpheme -\textit{ka} or -\textit{ga} (morphophonemic variants) found on non-verbs. It means 'about, concerning', and refers to the action expressed in the predicate on which it occurs. Its particular idiosyncrasy is that it must obligatorily take an anticipatory subject following it, in the way that Medial verbs do. Possibly, then, the filler of the relationship slot in such Adapted Verbs should be listed as:

-\textit{ka} + Anticipatory Subject.

Final Verb agaoméne 'we both really saw him'
(\textit{a-ga-s-omé-n-e} \textit{him-see-present-we2-emphasis-indicative})
becomes agaómékanå... 'concerning our seeing him...'
(\textit{a-ga-s-omé-ka-na} \textit{him-see-present-we2-referent-he})
as in agaómékanå aogiyenaba piye 'We were watching and he worked well.'

It is interesting to note that this is the only Adapted Verb that MUST (or even may) take an Anticipatory Subject.

Neither the -\textit{ka} here, nor the -\textit{pa} above, can be exactly glossed with equivalent conjunctions in English. The use of Adapted Verbs with these morphemes must be understood in the light of Fore culture and thought patterns. For instance, the first verb in a simple sequence in English, such as 'I went down and saw him', may in Fore context need to be translated by an Adapted Verb with a Focal marker, or - if the going down was necessary to the seeing - by an Adapted Verb with the referent marker. In other situational and linguistic contexts, a Compound Medial verb form may be required.

c) \textit{Contra-factual} marker -\textit{sintá} is the Fore equivalent of the English
'if you had...'. Its idiosyncracy is that it often occurs with a special final verb form as its apodosis (the Improbable Aspect form, Scott 1963, 53).

Final Verb tumitóné 'I really went down'
(tumi-t-ó'-n-e 'go down-past-I-emphasis-indicative')
becomes tumitósintá... 'If I had gone down...'
(tumi-t-ó'-sintá 'go down-past-I-contrasfactual')
as in tumitósintá maetósiné 'If I had gone down, I would have got it.'

d) Comparison of actions is indicated through the usage of -sá. Again this is a verb usage of a non-verb suffix (-sá 'from'). English 'from' does not, however, fit here in the verb. Here -sá would be glossed 'AS (he does) SO (that other one does)', or 'in the manner that...'.

Final Verb pemísne 'he really does it'
(p-emí-n-e 'do-present-he-emphasis-indicative')
becomes pemí-sá 'as he does, so...'
(p-emí-sá 'do present-he-comparison')
as in pemí-sá puma piye 'As he does, so does that one.'

e) Alternative Adapted verbs use one of three markers, all of which are interrogative in nature. When a simple 'either...or' option is indicated, -pera (or -béra morphophonemically) is used on each alternative base except the last. This last base may have a verb of any form. Where there is more likelihood of the first of two actions occurring than the second, -pera (or -béra) is shortened to -pé (or -bé), and -paya (or -baya) is added to either the verb or a non-verb item in the second base. The suffix -paya expresses doubt, and has been previously described as the Alternative Aspect (Scott 1968, 53). Conversely, when the first action is the one more in doubt, then -paya is used as the Alternative marker on the first verb where it replaces -pera. Once again the second base may have a verb of any form.

Final Verb wakibene 'you will go'
(wa-kib-en-e 'go-future-you-indicative')
becomes wakibepera... 'will you go or...'
(wa-kib-e-pera 'go-future-you-alternative')
or wakibepé... 'will you go or possibly...'
(wa-kib-e-pé 'go-future-you-alternative')
or wakibe­paya... 'will you possibly go or...'
(wa-kib-e-paya 'go-future-you-alternative')
as in wakibepera mikibéné 'Will you go or stay?'
or wakibepé mikibepayawé 'Will you go or possibly stay?'
or wakibepaya mikibené 'Will you possibly go, or are you staying?'

2.4 POSTULATION OF LEVELS

A major problem centres around the postulation of levels. At first glance there seem to be three: Clause, Sentence, Discourse; in which relationship verbs (Medial and Adapted) join clauses into sentences (of considerable length) which conclude with non-relationship verbs (Final verbs, Equatives). These super-sentences then link together to form discourses without any intervening paragraph level. But is this really so? To begin with, how do we know that ALL relationship verbs really belong on the sentence level? Secondly, such an analysis certainly makes the sentence-level very heavy. So we shall look at the most numerous verbs, the Medials, to see if this is really the case. They will then be used to form the initial basis in postulating a different scheme of levels in Fure.

At first, usage of long versus shortened forms of the same subject Medial verbs seems optional. It is necessary, however, to consider the fact that relatively few non-verb items separate the shorter forms compared to the number that occur between longer forms. Is there a reason? To test this, a check chart was set up to study immediate constituent groupings. This was done by intuition rather than by stateable reasons. When a verb form was felt to be closely knit to another, and this close-knit grouping was considered to embed within a larger grouping, it was checked on the chart. A brief run through a few discourses produced the chart shown in Table VI. In this chart, each row and column is labelled with a relationship marker which indicates two conjoined predications which have this marker on the first verb. Constructions thus indicated on the vertical axis embed within constructions similarly indicated on the horizontal axis. Thus, at the intersection of the row labelled -te and the column labelled -magi a check mark indicates that predications conjoined with -te may embed as a base of a construction conjoined with -magi.

Why is there a big gap in the left-hand bottom quadrant? Obviously the set (-, -te, -ma) occurs within everything else, while the set (-gi, -tegi, -magi, -nta, -ogá) occurs within itself only (except for within -gi). The couple of blanks in the two groupings can be quickly filled with elicited examples. Thus the chart shows that -, -te, -ma, mark linkages in closer groupings than do -gi, -tegi, -magi, -nta, -ogá. Could one grouping then be indicative of clause, the other of sentence?
TABLE VI
VERB GROUPINGS WITHIN GROUPINGS (EMBEDDING)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-_</th>
<th>-te</th>
<th>-ma</th>
<th>-gi</th>
<th>-tegi</th>
<th>-magi</th>
<th>-nta</th>
<th>(-ogá)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-_</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-te</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-gi</td>
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<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-tegi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-magi</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>-nta</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(-ogá)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With this observation of immediate constituent groupings tallies the fact already stated that strings of shortened Medial verbs (linked internally with -_, -te, -ma) have fewer intervening non-verb items than do strings linked with the other conjunctional affixes. Furthermore, some of the nouns (especially Subject, Time, and Location) that occur initially in strings of shortened Medial verbs often pattern with the whole string instead of with just one of its predicates - although an individual predicate may have, e.g. its own Object or Location. For these reasons, then, it seems plausible to call the more closely-knit grouping a clause, and the looser grouping a sentence. We should expect clauses to be the building blocks of sentences.

Do we then, as previously suggested, have just the levels Clause, Sentence, and Discourse? With such an analysis there seems to be no end of embedding or recursion of the sentence-level constructions within each other, and only the use of a Final verb (or rarely, an Equative) concludes such a series. Yet such long Fore "sentences" carry many of the features of paragraph found in other languages. Nevertheless, at first glance, there seems no consistent grammatical way to distinguish between sentence and paragraph in Fore.
There is, however, an analytical problem centering around the SS Coordinate marker -nta. Why does -magi occur almost seven times more frequently than -nta, and yet so often seems interchangeable with it? In fact, why does the suffix -nta occur at all? On taking a closer look, -nta is seen to break long same-subject sequences into manageable chunks within the run-on chain. Could -nta then both mark sentence end and join sentences into paragraphs? And could the DS Coordinate (-ogá) markers have the same function? This reduces recursion by positing two levels. So now, at Longacre's suggestion (1970) both -nta and (-ogá) are analysed as sentence-final markers which also function as connectives within the paragraph level, i.e. the whole run-on chain.

This then helps explain why these general coordinate verbs have so much overlap with SS Sequence and even SS Simultaneous verbs. They are basically on different levels! Such an analysis also allows for the one or two occurrences of (-ogá), which in very special circumstances still need to be equated with Sequence or Simultaneous markers, and placed on sentence-level, either to produce Parallel sentences, or because of the closeness of speech-response combinations. See A23 and 24, C7 and 8, 13 and 14, etc.

Then too, where do adapted verbs fit? They are found to be associated with non-verb items in much the same way as verbs with -gi, -regi, -magi, and indicate other specific relationships. Hence they fit well as part of the sentence-level.

So Fore may be analysed as having the four frequently encountered higher levels: Clause, Sentence, PARAGRAPH, and DISCOURSE. We find, however, less grammatical closure in the Fore sentence than we are accustomed to find in the sentence and more grammatical closure than we might expect in the paragraph.

3. CLAUSE STRUCTURE

A quick look through the sample text gives the impression of almost no specific order of items within a clause. This is correct but for two rules. (1) Predicate regularly follows any other clause-level items that refer to it. (2) Simple Clauses embed within Complex Clauses. Take the first clause of the sample text. The order of items is:

Time  ai átámaipa 'yesterday afternoon'
Location ma 'here'
Predicate mima 'I was and'
Object éri'ya 'work'
Predicate mâé 'I got and'
Predicate miyuwáginisi 'I was, and'
Time relates to all three Predicates; Location could refer to all three, but more specifically relates to the first Predicate; Object refers to the Predicate immediately following it. Add to this the fact that the second and third Predicates are more closely knit, and instead of a linear T L P O P P clause, it is evident that we really have a nest of clauses:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
T \\
( \text{L P}) \\
( \text{O P}) \\
\end{array}
\]

On very rare occasions, one of the non-verb items follows the Predicate of a Simple Clause, either because the speaker forgot to include necessary information earlier (and makes a poorly formed clause), or for emphasis. I strongly suspect the former. Also, only the Predicate of a Simple Clause is obligatory. There seems to be a distinct preference for limiting the number of non-verb slots per clause (whether simple or complex), and one gets the distinct feeling that a speaker who needs to use a number of such items for clarity also increases the number of Predicates proportionally.

As mentioned previously, shortened forms of Medial verbs give close-knit combinations of Predicates. That these constructions are on the clause-level - although containing more than one Predicate - is reinforced by the way Time and Location (as above) typically refer to all Predicates in such a series. When more than one Predicate occurs, each may have its own additional slots (especially Object and Location) as well. In such cases, such additional slots immediately precede the Predicate to which they refer, as in the sample above.

3.1 CLAUSE TYPES

Usually a discussion of clause types centres around such relation as transitivity, benefaction, and so on. In Fore these are basically handled in the verb structure itself, even though free form Subject, Object, and Referent items may appear elsewhere in the clause. Neither these nor Time, Location, Manner, have any particular relevance to the immediate discussion concerning predicate relationships, so will not be dealt with further. (Scott 1968, pp. 46-49, 52-53, 57, deal with transitivity and benefaction.) Besides the Simple Clause (with one Predicate) the interrelation of Predicates in the same clause gives rise to several complex clause types. Fore clause types are as follows:

a) Simple Clauses (SC1), which have but one Predicate slot, have no related Predicates within the clause. This one Predicate then joins its clause to other clauses to form complex clauses or sentences. So many
examples, all marked SC1, occur in the appended texts, that none are specifically listed here.

b) Compound Clauses (CompCl) are formed using -gi (zero) relationship marker. This zero is the shortened form of sentence-level -gi.

asu-máeye 'he goes up and gets it'
(asu-gi 'up towards-SS Compound'; máeye 'he gets it')

kana_puntýé 'he was in the act of coming'
(kana-gi 'come-SS Compound'; puntýé 'he did it')

wa_kana_puntýé 'he was going and coming'
(wa-gi 'go-SS Compound'; kana-gi 'come-SS Compound'; puntýé 'he did it')

In the last example, each non-final Predicate is linked independently to the last Predicate. This gives a string of three elements with the last element as head.

In all examples in this section, only the Predicate that contains the relationship marker is broken down into its morphemes. The last Predicate is not relevant to the internal structure of Complex clause, but its total meaning needs be given to facilitate understanding.

Other examples of Compound Clauses, as found in the appendix of texts, are (where A2 is 2nd clause of Text_A, etc.):

A2,17,22,24
C6,16,20,23,40,41,69,78,85,91
D2,11,21,28,38,39,60,64,84,89,98
E4,6,7,9,14,22,29
F34,35,39,44,50
H15
K10
L8,12

c) Simultaneous Clauses (SimuCl) use -te, the shortened form of -tegi, as their relationship marker.

máete kanaye 'he gets it and comes (he brings it)'
(máe-te 'get-SS Simultaneous'; kanaye 'he comes')

kanate wate piye 'he is coming and going'
(kana-te 'come-SS Simultaneous'; wa-te 'go-SS Simultaneous'; piye 'he does it')
In this last example, each -te verb links independently with the last Predicate, so again we have a string of three elements, with the last element as head.

Other examples are:

B₈
C₇₉
D₃,₆,₁₅,₂₀,₂₂,₂₄,₃₀,₅₉,₆₃,₇₇,₇₉
E₂₅
J₁₂,₁₇

d) Sequence Clauses (SeqC₁) have the short -ma marker to indicate sequence relationship.

kanama année 'he came and is here'
(kana-ma 'come-SS Sequence'; année 'he is here')

waına mäeye 'he goes and gets it'
(wa-ma 'go-SS Sequence'; mäeye 'he gets it')

kanama mäema naye 'he comes and gets and eats it'
(kana-ma 'come-SS Sequence'; mäe-ma 'get-SS Sequence'; naye 'he eats it')

In the last example, kanama is linked in time sequence to mäema, and mäema to naye. This is normal multiple sequence linkage.

Further examples are:

A₁₁,₁₈,₂₅
B₃,₅,₉,₁₁,₁₈
C₄,₅,₂₁,₂₂,₆₅,₆₇
D₁₄,₄₆,₅₄,₅₅,₆₁,₇₁,₈₁,₈₅,₉₀,₁₀₁
E₃,₄₁
F₇,₈,₁₆,₁₇,₁₈,₂₂,₂₃,₂₈,₃₀,₃₇,₄₅,₄₇,₄₈,₄₉,₅₄,₅₅,₅₇,₆₀
G₂,₃,₄,₁₁,₁₂,₁₃,₁₅,₁₇,₁₉,₂₀,₂₁,₂₅,₂₆,₂₉
H₅,₆,₁₀
J₂,₁₀,₁₁,₁₃,₁₆,₂₀
K₆,₁₂
L₂,₄,₅

3.2 CLAUSE EMBEDDING

There seems to be no limit to recursion within these complex clause
types, provided that the speaker's mind is agile enough and the context conducive. A typical clause with a couple of layers of embedding is the following one taken from Text B (section 9.1):

Clause B_{15} SimuCl: karú'ena ago yagané uma ya

quickly already my pig to there and 'Ya'

surfte ampa iso'má amítátegi...

I called and over to there and I served it and I gave to it, and...

'I went quickly and called out to my pig and went and dished out and gave (food) to it and...'

The Predicates may be distinguished easily by the underlining of their relationship morphemes. Two manner items (karú'ena, ago), refer to all the Predicates; indirect object (yagané) refers to the two Predicates that have Simultaneous relationship (surfte, amítátegi); and object (ya) relates only to the one Predicate it immediately precedes (surfte).

Here uma and surfte are linked together, as are ampa and iso'má. The latter two then are further linked into amítátegi. Then the first grouping, ending in surfte joins to the second grouping. So we have a Simultaneous clause whose first base embeds a Compound clause, and whose latter base embeds a Sequence clause which in turn embeds a Compound clause.

Usually in such layering of clauses, Compound clauses embed within Simultaneous or Sequence clauses, and Simultaneous embeds within Sequence, but any combination is possible. Both lexical feasibility and the distribution of non-verb items give the clues for distinguishing layers of embedding in such examples.

The majority of clauses are Simple clauses, and most others have two Predicates. Nevertheless, some long complex clauses occur. The longest I have found to date is in Text G (section 9.6):

Clause G_{7} SeqCl: pigo to kankábepi mé arf’ma pipf

alright in another bowl down there pour and in that

tara kankabe wànipa ti’átama, ti’átama pipf pigo káyopa ká
two cups of water pour and pour and in that alright one of salt
Since ti'atóma (tenth word) was repeated while the speaker gathered his thoughts, only one occurrence of this word needs be accounted for as we look at the formal structure of this clause. Then also, the eighth Predicate and the three words that precede it (pigo a'aka kakága atama) are a self-correction on the part of the speaker - so by changing 'four of flour' from the previous part to 'three of flour', these extra words may be omitted. With these editorial emendations we have a Sequence clause of three bases, whose first base is a Sequence clause of six bases; whose second base is a Simultaneous clause which itself has a Simple and a Compound clause for its two bases; and whose third base is a Sequence clause of three bases. Note the accompanying tree diagram:

```
   SeqCl
   /    \
  SeqCl  SimuCl
 /  \   /  \    \  
SCI  SCI  SCI  SCI  SCI  SCI
```

A clause this length does not happen very often, and it is noticeable that the longest sequence clauses and the longest sequence sentences are both found in Procedural Discourse.

The following types of clause recursion are found in the text material in sections 1 and 9:

- **CompCl, with 1st base a SimuCl:** A₃
- **CompCl, with 2nd base a SeqCl:** C₁₉, F₄₃
- **SimuCl, with 1st base a CompCl and 2nd base a SeqCl:** part B₁₅
- **SimuCl, with 2nd base a CompCl:** J₈, part G₇
- **SeqCl, with 1st base a CompCl:** B₁₃, B₁₆, G₂₄, part B₁₅
- **SeqCl, with 1st and 2nd bases CompCl:** B₆
- **SeqCl, with 1st, 2nd and 3rd bases CompCl:** C₉
SeqCl, with 1st base a SimuCl: part G₂₈
SeqCl, with 1st, 2nd, and 3rd bases SeqCl: part G₂₈
SeqCl, with 1st and 3rd bases SeqCl, and 2nd base a SimuCl: part G₇
SeqCl, with 2nd base a CompCl: A₁, A₁₂, A₁₅, B₉₃, C₄₇, F₃₁
SeqCl, with 2nd base a SimuCl: A₁₉

Basically then, we have four such clause types, with multiple recursion. These clause types once again are: Simple, Compound (-g), Simultaneous (-te), Sequence (-ma).

4. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The next higher level, Sentence structure, involves the usage of the three longer forms of Medial verbs already outlined. The use of these and of Adapted verbs together gives a total of 10 sentence types. Once again recursion occurs, although more than three layers of recursion is unusual in that sentence-final -nta and (-ogá) actually function on the paragraph-level.

The ten sentence types are listed below. All the examples of the various sentence types that follow have been taken from actual discourses. Once again, indication such as A₁ shows that the sentence is located in discourse A, clause A₁. Where symbols such as A₁₀-¹₁ + 12 are used, this indicates that in discourse A, clauses A₁₀-¹₁ are linked by the relationship marker in A₁₁ to clause A₁₂, thus forming that particular sentence.

a) Simple Sentence (₃₃) has only one clause, which may contain any number of short form Medial verbs, as previously noted.

A₁ ₃₃: aí átámaipa ma mima éri'ya máe
          yesterday afternoon here I was and work I got and
          miyuwágínisi...
          I was there, and
          'Yesterday afternoon I was here working, when...'

Further examples of Simple sentences are found in:

A₁, A₇, A₈, A₉, A₁₉
B₁, B₅, B₆, B₇, B₈
C₃, C₄, C₉, C₁₅, C₂₈, C₂₉, C₃₆, C₄₁, C₄₄, C₄₉, C₅₄, C₆₃, C₆₆, C₇₃, C₇₄, C₇₅, C₈₁, C₈₆
D₃, D₄, D₉, D₁₂, D₂₂, D₂₃, D₂₆, D₂₉, D₃₃, D₄₂, D₄₆, D₄₇, D₄₈, D₅₈, D₆₁, D₆₂, D₆₇, D₇₀, D₇₁, D₇₇, D₇₈, D₈₂, D₈₅, D₈₆, D₈₇, D₉₂, D₉₈
4.1 SENTENCE TYPES FROM MEDIAL VERBS

b) Compound Sentences (CompS) are formed using the relationship marker -gi. The relationship indicated in these same subject sentences has already been described in section 2.2.

CompS: pabígo ká yágaraba tumpagina álrarí kaewantíyé.
complete on one man it fell down and covered him up
'Then it all fell down and covered one man completely.'

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

CompS: pabígo ká yágaraba tumpagina álrarí kaewantíyé.
complete on one man it fell down and covered him up
'Then it all fell down and covered one man completely.'

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

C10+11, 18+19, 45+46, 47+48, 60+61, 64+65, 68+69, 77+78
D68+69, 80+81
E34+35
F13+14
G16+17
K5+6
L6+7

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

C26+27 CompS: pabígo ká yágaraba tumpagina álrarí kaewantíyé.
complete on one man it fell down and covered him up
'Then it all fell down and covered one man completely.'

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

C26+27 CompS: pabígo ká yágaraba tumpagina álrarí kaewantíyé.
complete on one man it fell down and covered him up
'Then it all fell down and covered one man completely.'

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

Other Compound Sentences in the attached discourses are:

c) Simultaneous Sentences (SimuS) have for their relationship marker the long form of the same subject marker -tegi. Once again (cf. 2.2) this relationship indicates that the 2nd event either begins or takes place while the first is still in progress.

SimuS: áseka flíbu wátegira, tumima
in the night we hurried and went, and went down and
Aobakáumaenti ása yaku ká áinta mama ký
at Aobakáumaenti one "asa" tree I felled and one "mama"
áinta...
I felled, and...

In the night we hurried and went down and (in the morning) at Aobakáumaenti I felled one "asa" and one "mama" tree, and...'
Other Simultaneous Sentences are:

A10-11+12, 14+15-16, 17+18, 22+23, 22-24+25
C10-11+12, 16-17+18-19, 32+33, 37+38, 50+51, 55+56, 59+60-61, 87+88, 89+90-91, 92+93
D13+14, 15+16, 17+18, 30-31+32, 34-35+36, 37+38, 40+41, 43+44, 49+50+51, 52+53, 54+55, 72+73, 83+84, 94+95+96
E19-20+21, 24+25
H4+5

d) Sequence Sentences (SeqS) have the long form of the same subject marker -magi for their relationship morpheme. Again (cf. 2.2) the relationship indicated is chronological sequence.

B12+13+14 SeqS: ago kanamagi, yaga mantabasusu, already I came back, and for pig's food I went up and pa'ama yakupakaetamagi, taenairafkaetategfnchopped and a fire I burned, and ground-oven I covered, and...
'then I came back, and to prepare food for the pigs I went up and chopped wood and heated (the stones) and then covered up (the food in) the ground-oven and... '

Other occurrences of Sequence Sentences are:

A4+5+6, 20+21
B10+11, 17+18
D1+2, 5+6+7+8, 10+11, 19+20+21, 24+25, 27+28, 37-38+39, 43-44+45, 52-53+54-55, 56+57, 59+60, 63+64, 65+66, 75+76, 79+80-81, 88+89, 90+91, 93+94-96+97, 99+100+101, 102+103+104
E6+7, 9+10, 11-12+13+14, 17+18, 19+20, 24-25+26, 31+32+33, 34-35+36-37, 39+40
F1+2+3+4+5+6, 7+8+9+10+11+12+13-14+15+16+17+18+19+20+21, 23+24, 25+26+27+28, 29+30+31, 32+33+34, 36+37, 38+39+40+41, 42+43+44+45, 46+47+48+49+50+51, 52+53+54+55+56+57+58+59+60
G5+6, 9+10+11+12+13+14+15, 18+19, 20+21+22+23+24+25, 27+28
H2+3+4-5+6-8, 7+8, 9+10+11+12+13+14, 15+16
e) Parallel Sentences (ParalS) are formed when two clauses or sentences together refer to the same action further on, but are not overtly marked as related to each other. In such cases, either clause or sentence could have been omitted and the whole that remained would still have made grammatical and lexical sense. It is significant that a different subject verb (cf. the example below) in the first base of a Parallel sentence does not refer to the following clause - which as the second base of the Parallel Sentence has the same subject as its first base; rather different subject verbs in both bases refer to yet a following clause.

This occurs almost exclusively in the use of Medial verb forms, so has been included here. Only two examples of its usage with other than Medial forms have been noted to date, and both these have been included in the appended texts (C1+2, K2+3-4).

A2+3 ParalS: nanogáege Karao'máge tumpa_ nobaburusugú, my cousin and Karao'ma came down and accompanied me, and
poya máete tumpa_ ikapurusugú,...
tops got and came down and sold, and
'My cousin and Karao'ma came down to accompany me, they brought down spinning-tops to sell, and...'

In this extract we have two clauses, each of which is individually linked to the clauses that follow them both. Either could be omitted and the sense still remain.

Further occurrences of Parallel Sentences are:
A10+11, 22-23+24
B3+4, 9+10-11+12-14+15+16
C16+17, 79+80, 82+83, 89-91+92-93
D30+31, 34+35
E36+37
G3+4

4.2 SENTENCE TYPES FROM ADAPTED VERBS

The five sentence types which turn on the use of Adapted verbs are as follows:
f) **Focal Sentence** (FocS) has various uses and meaning. In some examples the second base seems to complement the first base:

```
asu_ Igáopa ago waitámintáwe.  
'I went up and looked and already they were asleep'  

Some examples are conditional, as in:

```
tumikibem pépa máekibene.  
'If you come down you will get it'  

Then too, in still other examples, Focal sentences seem to be the vehicle for simple time sequence, as in:

```
táena pépa ampa_ nawe.  
'cooking-oven they do and to there and they ate'  

'Should they made a feast and came and ate.' or 'When they made a feast they came and ate it.'
```

Since the morpheme -pa that is used to show this relationship is equivalent to the focus marker -pa or -ba on non-verbs, and since the feeling of focus rather than normal sequence relationship seems to be present when it occurs, this sentence type has been labelled as Focal. Examples of Focal Sentences are:

```
A15+16  
C52+53, 57+58, 76+77-78, 84+85  
D74+75-76  
E3+4, 27-28+29, 43+44  
H6+7-8  
K2-4+5-8  
L1-2+3
```

g) **Referent Sentence** (Re(S)) (for want of a better label) uses -ka as its morpheme. It has the idiosyncracy of requiring anticipatory subject morphemes to follow it, as Medial verbs do. In non-verbs, -ka (or -ga morphophonemically) indicates reference to something, as in pika yuwe 'I talk about that.' (pi 'that'; -ka 'about'). So in these sentences, reference is made to the action to which -ka is attached, though it does not seem quite as strong as the English 'about' or 'concerning'.
a:  mítoká iba  kanúwe.
yesterday I was, today I came
'Yesterday I was there and today I came here.' or 'Concerning my
being there yesterday, I was able to come today.'

Only two examples occur in the appended texts:

B9-16+17-18
E41+42

h) Contra-actual Sentence (ContraS) is formed using the relationship
marker -sintá. Here the verb to which it relates, when in a Final form,
occurs in the Improbable Aspect (Scott 1968, 53). This sentence form
does not occur in future tense. Where future time is envisaged, present
tense forms are used.

kanaósintá  maeyósíné
if I had come I would have got it
'If I had come I would have got it.'

tumítámpésintá  kamítósíné
if you had come down I would have given it to you
'If you had come down (yesterday) I would have given it to you.'

No examples occur in the appended texts.

1) Simile Sentence (SiméS) shows a comparison or similarity of action.
-sá is the relationship morpheme. A similar morpheme -sa in non-verbs
means 'from'. This particular sentence type refers only to similar ac-
tions. Similarity between non-verbs is expressed in a completely dif-
ferent way (by adding -kanta to the non-verb). Consequently, when one
is talking about someone being 'like a rat', a Fore must indicate ex-
plicitly whether he 'looks like a rat', or 'acts like a rat'. -sá indi-
cates the acts as being similar.

puntósá  pukuwe
as I did I will do
'I will do it like I did before.'

yémísá  pó
as he says you do!
'Do as he says!'  

Again, no examples occur in the appended texts.

j) Alternative Sentence (AltS) uses -pera, -pé, -paya markers to show
options or alternatives. -bera, -bé, -baya are morphophonemic varieties,
as mentioned previously in section 1.3. Two or more Alternative bases may occur.

-\textit{pera, -pé, -paya} are essentially question particles. Question words in Fore such as \textit{ayá 'How?' and naná 'Why?'} occur with verbs which use the indicative mood -\textit{e} in forming interrogative clauses. They add, however, a stress on the mood morpheme. -\textit{pera, -pé, -paya} act similarly.

\begin{quote}
\textit{mikibene. 'You will stay.'}
\textit{wakibepera mikibené? 'Will you go or stay?'}
\textit{'Will you go or will you stay?'}
\end{quote}

As already stated (1.3), relationship morpheme -\textit{pera} is shortened to -\textit{pé} when used in conjunction with -\textit{paya}, which seems to indicate less likelihood of the action to which it is attached taking place.

\begin{quote}
\textit{wakibepé mikibepayawé}
\textit{will you go or will you possibly stay}
\textit{'Will you go or will you possibly stay?'}
\end{quote}

When -\textit{paya} occurs on the first of two actions, no marker is used on the second. Here then the first action is the doubtful one:

\begin{quote}
\textit{wakibepaya mikibené}
\textit{will you possibly go or will you stay}
\textit{'Will you go, or do you prefer to stay?'}
\end{quote}

The only Alternative sentence in the text material is: \textit{E_{27+28}}.

In summary then, these variant verb forms give a total of 10 sentence types:

\begin{quote}
Simple S
by Medial verbs: Compound S
Simultaneous S
Sequence S
Parallel S
by Adapted verbs: Focal S
Referent S
Contrap-factual S
Simile S
Alternative S
\end{quote}

4.3 \textbf{SENTENCE EMBEDDING}

There is a certain amount of recursion within the sentence, as there is within the clause. With ten different sentence types, each of which (except necessarily the 44) seems to be able to embed the others, the
possible complexities are almost endless. Yet as mentioned previously, it is rare for more than three layers of embedding to occur. In time, some limitations on recursion may emerge. Thus, it is interesting to note in the data cited below that the compound sentence embeds within other types but does not embed other types. In the discourses given, the following patterns of recursion appear:

CompS within SimuS, in C10-12, 16-19, 59-61
   within SeqS, in C24-27, 67-69, D79-81, E34-37, F7-21, K5-8
   within FocS, in C76-78
SimuS within SeqS, in C30-33, 50-53, 55-62(2), D37-39, 43-45,
   52-55(2), 93-97, E24-26, H2-8
   within ParalS, in A22-24, C89-93(2)
SeqS within SimuS, in C89-91, 92-94, E19-21
   within SeqS, in C24-27, 70-72 (speech-response units)
   within ParalS, in B9-16, K2-4
   within FocS, in D74-77, H6-8, K2-8, L1-3
   within ReS, in B9-18
ParalS within SimuS, in A10-12, 22-25, B2-4, 9-18, C16-19,
   D30-32, 34-36
   within SeqS, in C89-94, E34-37
   within FocS, in K2-8
   within ReS, in B9-18
FocS within SimuS, in A14-16
   within SeqS, in C50-53, 55-62, H2-8
Alts within FocS, in E27-29

One word of caution is needed. While we may analyse groups of sentences as relating to other groups of sentences, the subject changes (either SS or DS) refer specifically to the progression of action from one verb to the next. Only in Parallel sentences may this rule be violated, simply because of the nature of that sentence type. Turning to the sample text again, we find that A2 does not relate to A3, or a same subject verb would have been used. Both A2 and A3 independently refer to A4. Then again with A23 and A24, both relate to A25. Yet even here,
where A23 uses a SS Simultaneous marker -tegi (of which the subject is first person), it adds -na to give the hearer a clue that the subject will indeed change in A24. The pattern of subject change from verb to verb is as strong as that!

5. PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

The Paragraph level of Fore has not been adequately explored as far as identifying and labelling separate types. For a long time we wondered whether such a level actually existed, but the alternative - an extremely full and complex sentence level - raised even more problems. Previously I analysed -nta and (-ogá) relationships as being sentence level coordinators, but this led to massive recursion. Then Longacre, noting that -nta was often used where a long string of same-subject verbs appeared, queried whether it might in fact be breaking such strings up into more manageable chunks (and thus paragraphs into sentences). Furthermore, could not (-ogá) markers, the DS equivalent of -nta, be considered to have the same function? This suggestion has proven feasible. It now seems much more elegant to analyse -nta (sometimes -nti to preserve vowel harmony) and -ogá markers as devices to link sentences within paragraphs (while at the same time indicating sentence end).

Actually (-ogá) is the source of considerable confusion. It occurs with great frequency - every time there is a change of subject in normal narrative and description. Take sample text A. Here there are only 13 main sentences and 4 that are embedded, yet a total of 13 (-ogá) links are used! One analytical alternative would be to analyse (-ogá) as occurring on both sentence and paragraph levels, but more confusion than clarity results in thus blurring the boundaries of the two levels. A more satisfying alternative is to analyse (-ogá) as marking paragraph-level linkage, except for two specific instances.

The first of these concerns Parallel sentences. Consider again the example in TextA, clauses 23 and 24. The relationship markers are -tegi (SS Simultaneous) and -egî (DS Coordinate of -ogá class), yet together they mark a Parallel sentence. (-egî is third singular present -agî form with vowel change caused by stem type - Scott, 1968, 52.) It is clear that -tegi, a same-subject marker, cannot refer to the subject of A24 but refers rather to the subject of A25. Since -tegi is a sentence-level link, -egî in the intervening clause also needs be interpreted as a sentence-level link. This interpretation of an (-ogá) marker as a sentence-level link is necessary only when an unambiguous sentence-level link is used to parallel such a marker in the same Parallel sentence. By contrast, note clauses 2 and 3 in the same text. Both these use
-usúgu (‘ogá class) to make a Parallel sentence, yet -usúgu is still a paragraph-level link which joins Parallel sentence A₂-₃ to the balance of the paragraph by telling us that the Sequence sentence A₄-₆ has a different subject.

The second interpretation of (‘ogá) as a sentence-level link is more tentative; it is concerned with speech-response units. There is no real need grammatically to interpret such units as sentences except that some of these units are very specific lexically (see Text_C clauses 7 and 8, 13 and 14, 24 and 25, 34 and 35, etc.). Maybe such speech-response units could better be interpreted as constituting a special variety of closely-knit paragraph. At any rate, less specific speech-response groupings have been left on paragraph-level (see Text_D clauses 4-6, 8-11, 23-28, etc.).

Since -nta and (‘ogá) are both Coordinate, they are included in the same grammatically-defined paragraph type which we shall label NARRATIVE. Thus Text_A consists of only one Narrative paragraph, which includes in this instance one EPISODE (12 BUs) along with both STAGE and CLOSURE.

The examples that follow are taken from Text_B, and show how BUs (cf. 1.3) are joined by a) -nta, and b) (‘ogá):

a) B₅ BU₂: potáma A’ogé Anerikoge yakupa
   I did that and for A’o and Aneriko a fire
   aobuwaistanta, B₆ BU₃: arisa puma arisa
   I lit for them, and shopping did and shopping
   puma arítanta...
   did and laid them side by side, and...

   'And when I had done that I lit a fire for A’o and Aneriko, and then chopped and chopped (the wood) and laid (the pieces) side by side, and...'

b) B₇ BU₄: Yampákaba: amápema méya p6, to Yampa, "Get them and like those down there do,"
   yuwágana, B₈ BU₅: mé kaité kanate pogá,
   I said, and down there putting them coming doing, and
   B₉ part of BU₇: náeba pigo ao’maema mënta
   I alright helped him and down there
   potáteji...
   I did it, and...

   'I said to Yampa, "Get them and put them like those down there," and he was coming and going doing it down there, and then I helped him do it down there...'
One further variety of internal paragraph linkage should be noted. This is juxtaposition, which may appear in one of two forms: (1) A final verb of the first base may be shortened as for an Adapted verb, but no relationship marker is added.

\[ \text{ago} \quad \text{kanantí} \quad \text{kampá mâye} \]
\[ \text{already he has come, not he got it} \]
\[ 'He has already come, but he didn't get it.' \]

Here, the final verb was kanantí 'he has come'.

Then (2), the word-final -e that marks indicative mood, may be changed to -a for juxtaposition. This usage seems much like intonation-raising in English, which is used to keep the listener's attention even though a sentence has ended.

\[ \text{ago} \quad \text{mintlyá, kampá bganó?} \]
\[ \text{already he is, not do you see?} \]
\[ 'He is here, don't you see him?' \]

Here, the final verb was mintlyá 'he is here'.

Juxtaposed paragraphs (i.e. paragraphs which link internally by juxta-position) occur in three places in the texts, the former type in \( C_{82-83+84-85} \), and the latter in \( E_{41-42+43-44} \) and \( F_{35+36-37} \).

It could well be that the first type of juxtaposition should be analysed as joining sentences into paragraphs, and the second as joining sub-paragraphs into larger paragraphs (recursion). However, pending further research, both types of juxtaposition are here lumped together. This then gives us 2 paragraph types: Narrative and Juxtaposed. We should add to these the SIMPLE paragraph.

Should the reader wish to work through the appended texts in an attempt to formulate further paragraph types, a double horizontal line has been drawn in the trees of each discourse, following all Final verbs (paragraph-ends).

One further item of interest centres around change of subject. Usually this marks off sentences within the paragraph, using (-ogá) markers. When, however, the speaker wants to keep the subject of the various sentences the same, he uses -nta as the marker of sentence-final and as coordinating link on the paragraph level. What then if he wishes to change the subject within a sentence? Fore allows for this also, by way of the Adapted verbs. These do not specify whether the subject will change or not, thus giving the speaker freedom to change the subject if he wishes. This could well account for the Focal sentence's prominence among sentences which use Adapted verbs: the Focal Sentence covers sequence
relationships (as already mentioned in section 4.2 (f)), but permits change of subject within the bounds of a single sentence.

This also raises the question of partial change of the subject already indicated in a text. For mechanisms for handling such partial change have already been given in section 2.2 (e).

6. DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

No clear-cut grammatical contrasts have yet been formulated to distinguish discourse types, but certain tendencies have been observed. Thus only a general outline of discourse structure can be given here, along with a discussion of the differences which have been observed.

Discourses have an optional APERTURE, a TEXT (or STAGE) which is always present, at least one POINT (or EPISODE), and must have either a CLOSURE or a FINIS, or both. Thus an overall formula is:

\[
\text{DISCOURSE} = \pm \text{APERTURE} \pm \text{TEXT/STAGE} \pm \text{POINT/EPISODE}^n \pm (\pm \text{CLOSURE} \pm \text{FINIS}).
\]

APERTURE is usually a paragraph, though may also be a sentence or clause. It is formulaic. The only one in the appended discourses is in Discourse \(_C\). Aperture, when it occurs, could be considered the title of the discourse.

TEXT/STAGE is usually a clause or sentence, though it may even be a paragraph. The fillers of Text/Stage must often be lexically determined. Grammatically they are part of the first Point/Episode, except on the rare occasions when they exist as full paragraphs.

Each POINT/EPISODE is filled by some type of paragraph. Occasionally one of these paragraphs could be split into two or more lexical Points/Episodes, but for the consistency of this analysis, lexical divisions such as this have been ignored.

In most discourses, a CLOSURE appears, and occasionally a FINIS. When Closure is absent, Finis must be present. Both may be full paragraphs, but are more usually sentences or clauses that are grammatically part of the last Point/Episode. As with Aperture, any Finis is formulaic. Finis occurs in Discourses \(_C,E,K,L\).

A bi-dimensional array of the tagmemes of the discourse is set out in Table VII.
One of the most interesting features of Fore discourses is the way in which the various Points/Episodes link together. There are four basic methods of linkage, which may be used separately or in combination. These are:

a) Repetition of the Final verb of one paragraph in Medial or Adapted form early in the next.

...kanatayé. Kanamagina... '...he came. He came and...'

Here kanamagina is the paragraph linkage. Other occurrences in the included texts are:

C21,28,41,49,63,75,79
D33,78,87,92
E31
F25,46

b) Use of a Synonym of the Final verb in an early part of the next paragraph, again in Medial or Adapted form.

...kanatayé. Ampimagina... '...he came. He was here and...'

Only one linkage of this type occurs in the texts: C40.

c) A General Reference to the previous paragraph by the initial verb, again in relationship form.

...kanatayé. Áibuntana... '...he came. He did that and...'
d) Reference to a Non-verb Item (which may even have been in Equative form), by some form of its repetition.

...aogi namane. Aogi nama kimagina...
'...a good house. He built a good house and...'

This linkage also occurs in:

- C4
- J2,21

Usually these linkages encode as a full clause, though they may be more or less than this. When they are a full clause or more, they have been indicated in the discourse trees on the paragraph-level as Setting (Stg). It should be noted though, that this is done from a purely lexical consideration, as grammatically the encoding is within the general clause and sentence system.

One further paragraph linkage exists. It is:

e) Use of a Paragraph marker. This is some form of the non-verbal exclamation pfgo 'alright'. The varieties of pfgo are encoded as Predicates, though I have wavered somewhat in their labelling. Throughout the texts, pfgoa (which I now analyse as a "frozen" Juxtaposed Paragraph form, in which the -e of the Equative has gone to -a) has been treated as a non-verbal exclamation, with the meaning 'alright'.

pfgoema (where the shortened Medial form -ma has been added to the Equative form) has been considered to be a shortened Medial verb in same-subject sequence relationship on the clause-level.

pfgoemagina (where the longer marker -magi is used) has been considered to be a Medial verb in same-subject sequence relationship on the sentence-level along with other verbs marked with -magi.

Where one of these forms occurs in the first clause of a new paragraph, it is the paragraph linkage. See in the texts:

- pfgoa: E1,5,8,9,11,16,19,27,39
- F1
- J1
pf gomye:\nJ_{16,20}
L_4

dp gomye\text{agina: } H_2

Where one of the varieties of pf go occurs within a paragraph, it generally marks the commencement of a BU. See:

PF gomye:\nF_{7,22,23,47,52}
J_{3,6,8,9,11,13}

The occurrences of pf go\text{ya in } H_6 \text{ and } K_{3}, \text{ and of pf gomyema in } F_{18,28,54,57} \text{ are a little harder to explain and have been passed over, as other factors have been more fruitful in the overall analysis.}

Combinations of the linkages given, which occur in the appended texts, are as follows:

a) + c) \text{Verb repetition + General reference:}\nC_{73}

a) + d) \text{Verb repetition + Non-verb repetition:}\nC_{45,89}
F_{29}

d) + e) \text{Non-verb repetition + pf gomyema:}\nJ_{20}
L_{4}

6.1 DISCOURSE TYPES

The discourses taken into account in this analysis are NARRATIVE, DESCRIPTIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPOSITIONAL, HORTATORY. Their characteristic features are as follows:

a) Narrative Discourse (NARR DISC). Here we find the notoriously long "sentences" of the New Guinea highland languages. These, however, are actually paragraphs in Fore. The longest such paragraph in the included texts is a chaining of 45 clauses, in D_{33-77}'. Verbs in Narrative discourse are characterised by both sequence and co-ordinate relationships. Linkage between paragraphs is mainly by some form of verb repetition. As would be expected, 1st and 3rd persons are the norm. The last Episodes of such a discourse may constitute a Dénouement (and pre- and post-dénouement where applicable). Around the dénouement there is occasional tense shift from Remote past to Past to Present, a crowded
stage, some repetition or elaboration of events, and thus a tendency to use some Adapted Verbs.

See Discourses_{A,B,C,D,E_2} (where E_2 is a NARR DISC embedded in Discourse_E).

b) Descriptive Discourse (DESC DISC). Paragraphs are generally long, but sentences are shorter. Usually the present tense is used, and the person is 3rd singular.

See Discourses_{E,J}.

c) Procedural Discourse (PROC DISC). Once again long paragraphs may occur. There is a definite tendency toward much longer clauses as well. The verbs typically are in sequence relationship, but the preferred between-paragraph linkage is by use of p'goyema. Again, present tense is used with 3rd plural.

See Discourses_{F,G}.

d) Expositional Discourse (EXPO DISC). While paragraphs and sentences tend to be shorter, clauses are often longer through more use of non-verb items. Verbs are characterised by co-ordinate rather than sequence relationships. The tense again is present and the person is usually 3rd singular.

See Discourse_L.

e) Hortatory Discourse (HORT DISC). There is a tendency towards shorter paragraphs, but sentences and clauses are usually longer. Again this is due to the more frequent use of non-verb items in the clauses. P'goyema is the preferred paragraph linkage. As would be expected, 2nd person is used.

See Discourses_{E_1,E_3,H,K}.

A chart summarising some of these features is given in Table VIII.

6.2 DISCOURSE EMBEDDING

As with clauses and sentences, discourses also embed within each other. In any type of discourse, any point or episode may be filled by an embedded discourse. The main differences between ordinary and embedded discourses are that embedded ones never have an aperture, and closure or finis are rare. The formula is:

\[
\text{EMBEDDED DISCOURSE} = + \text{TEXT/STAGE} + \text{POINT/EPISODE}^n \\
\text{+ CLOSURE} \pm \text{FINIS}
\]

The same notes previously given for discourse fillers apply here also, with Text/Stage, Closure, Finis being lexically determined.
Embedded Discourses in the appended material are to be found in Discourses D, E, L

TABLE VIII
TENDENCIES IN FORE DISCOURSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>NARR DISC</th>
<th>DESC DISC</th>
<th>PROC DISC</th>
<th>EXPO DISC</th>
<th>HORT DISC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Past, Present, Occasional shift</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraphs</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>short</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentences</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clauses</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long</td>
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<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>1st, 3rd</td>
<td>3rd Sing</td>
<td>3rd Plur</td>
<td>3rd Sing</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraph linkage</td>
<td>Repetition of verb</td>
<td>pf'goyema</td>
<td>pf'goyema</td>
<td>pf'goyema</td>
<td>pf'goyema</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. HANDLING OF UNIVERSAL RELATIONSHIPS

It is well at this stage to pause and see how some of the general lexical relationships, which are considered necessary for expression in any language, are handled in the Fore grammar mould. Below are listed various possible etic sentence types, with illustrative English examples and with indication of the emic sentence or paragraph type that Fore grammar would most probably use, depending on the circumstances.

Etic Sentence Types:

Alternation 'He is either coming or going.'
   Fore: Alternative S

Amplification 'I killed a pig; that was when the trouble started.'
   Fore: Focal, Referent, Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

Antithetical 'I came but he was not here.'
   Fore: Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

Benefaction 'I did it for him.'
   Fore: Handled within the verb itself.
Cause 'I caused him to go.'
  Fore: Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

Comparison 'It is better to die than to eat contaminated food.'
  Fore: JUSTTAPOSED, NARRATIVE, or separate Paras.

Concession 'Although he called I did not answer.'
  Fore: Referent, Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

Conditional 'If you go you will be pleased.'
  Fore: Focal S

ContraResult 'If you did go they would kill you.'
  Fore: Contrafactual, Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

Coordinate 'He got one and I got two.'
  Fore: Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

Equational 'That man is a good man.'
  Fore: Handled by Equative in Action slot.

Juxtaposed 'I am telling you. Listen.'
  Fore: JUSTTAPOSED, NARRATIVE Para., Separate Paras., Sequence S

Merged 'I saw him steal the sweet potato.'
  Fore: Sequence, Focal S, NARRATIVE Para.

Parallel 'She was sorry. He was glad.'
  Fore: Parallel S, NARRATIVE Para.

Paraphrase 'I was down in the nose, I was very cross at him.'
  Fore: Simultaneous, Sequence, Focal S, NARRATIVE Para.

Quote 'He said, "I am going to market."'
  Fore: Simple S (Speech is Object of the verb)

Reason 'I ate because I was hungry.'
  Fore: Sequence, Simple S (within action), NARRATIVE Para.

Result 'I called, so he came.'
  Fore: Sequence, Focal, Referent S, NARRATIVE Para.

Sequence 'I went and got it and brought it here.'
  Fore: Simultaneous, Sequence S

Simile [event] 'He eats like a rat.'
  Fore: Simile S

Simile [object] 'He looks like a fowl-eating possum.'
  Fore: Handled by non-verbs within clause

Simultaneity 'While I was saying that I hurried away.'
  Fore: Simultaneous, Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.
Warning: 'We should not walk alone or the demons will get us.'
Fore: Focal, Contrafactual, Sequence S, NARRATIVE Para.

8. SOME RESIDUE

Further work is needed to show the limitations and particular usages of certain verb forms. Since the inclusion of these data in the general body of the preceding sketch would have brought about considerable confusion, they are mentioned here in a separate section.

8.1 REDUPLICATION

Reduplication of the Predicate is done in various ways. These do not affect the basic analysis, and can be handled here by fairly simple statements.

a) Reduplication within the Verb. This may be done in two different ways. The Sequence relationship morpheme may be reduplicated:

\[\text{puma}'\text{magina}... \text{'he does and does it and...'}\]
\[\text{(pu-}\text{-ma-}'\text{magi-}\text{na} \text{'do-SS Sequence-SS Sequence-he'})\]

Other examples are: C4, 42, 58, D100

Or the Intensifier may be added to a Simultaneous Medial verb and reduplicated (more than once if necessary):

\[\text{ugagatégina}... \text{'he says and says and...'}\]
\[\text{(u-}\text{-gá-gá-tegi-}\text{na} \text{'say-Intensive-Intensive-SS Simu-he'})\]

Other examples are: C16, 17

b) Compound Reduplication is done on Clause-level only by repeating the shortened Medial verb marked for Compound relationship.

\[\text{napi}_\text{- napi}_\text{- pó. 'Be thinking/Think and think!'}\]
\[\text{(napi-}\text{-}\text{g} \text{'think-SS Compound'}\]
\[\text{pó} \text{'you do it!'}\]

Other examples are: C40, E6, 7, K10, L12

c) Simultaneous Reduplication repeats the shortened Medial verb, marked this time for the Simultaneous relationship. Most speakers change -e of the relationship marker -te to -a for euphony.

\[\text{kasata kasata píye. 'He is cutting and cutting.'}\]
\[\text{(kasa-}\text{-te} \text{'cut-SS Simultaneous'}\]
\[\text{píye} \text{'he does it'}\]

One example only is found: C45
d) **Sequence Reduplication** needs use a special form. What looks like reduplication in kanama kanama ampiye 'he comes and comes and is here', is simply a sequence of Predicates. Such sequences as B₆, D₉₀, F₄₃, G₁₇, 20, 26, 28 at first glance seem like reduplication, but this is deceptive. To give true reduplication, a special Reduplication morpheme -múta is added to the last verb in the series. Only the last verb (thus suffixed) is obligatory to a Sequence reduplication, though usually it is not alone:

\[\text{puma puma pumútabamigina... 'he does and does and does it'}\]

\[\text{(pu-ma 'do-SS Sequence')}\]

\[\text{pu-múta-magi-na 'do-reduplication-SS Sequence-he')}\]

Similar occurrences are found in: C₉, 11, 31, D₉₉, F₆, 8, 15, 29, G₂₄

### 8.2 Medially Adapted Final Verbs

When pfgoyema was being discussed in section 6(e), the reader may have wondered how a medial relationship marker could be added to an Equative. For some reason, it seems that complete paragraphs, and even occasionally DS Coordinated sentences, may be joined together in sequence by adding -ma or -magi. The reader will note this usage in Discourse L, where -ma is used to link together a series of short paragraphs dealing with the laws of Moses.

Maybe this morpheme (which by computer count occurred over 1200 times in only 50 full pages of text), has become so common, that it can now be used as a link in much the same way as na 'now, and' of Pidgin English. It does not seem to hold much weight when added in this way, and often the discourses act as though it were not even present.

Since it occurs on the last word of a quote when followed by 'to think think' or 'to ask', and often 'to tell', as in:

\[\text{wakuwema napiyúwe 'I will go,' I think.'}\]

one wonders whether it may even have come from uma 'say and' which has become merged with the quote. But all occurrences can not be explained in this way.

On the other hand, maybe -ma or -magi here determines one or more further paragraph types - especially when used to link together chains that end with final verbs.

### 8.3 Special Medial Verb Form

Mood normally occurs in Final verbs and Equatives. There is however an allowance made for the use of Imperative mood in Medial verbs. As far as I can ascertain, such Medial imperatives are only directed at
2nd person, although there is one Final construction not listed in "Fore Final Verbs" which gives 1st and 3rd "imperative" forms as well. These Medial imperatives, which are directed at 2nd person, show change of subject only when followed by 1st and 3rd persons. DS Coordinates, future tense (see Table III) are used, with imperative morpheme added. There are some morphophonemic changes in the anticipatory subject preceding the -ó of the imperative mood.

\[ \text{namegá nákuwe 'You will give me and I will eat.'} \]
\[ \text{becomes} \]
\[ \text{namegáňtó nákuwe 'Give me so I can eat.'} \]

Note how the unwritten glottal stop following -egá becomes -nt in the new form. Other anticipatory subjects change as follows (previous list is in Table IV):

In singular, 1st person -' becomes -nt, but
3rd person -na remains -na;

In dual, 1st person -ra remains -ra, but
3rd person -nisi becomes -nisiw;

In plural, 1st person -' or -ta becomes -r, and
3rd person -ni becomes -niw.

These are then all followed by -ó of the imperative mood. The relationship of the whole verb is still a DS Coordinate, thus they occur sentence-finally instead of Imperative's normal paragraph-final position.

9. APPENDIX OF TEXT MATERIAL

In the Discourses that follow, each Clause has been numbered for ease of cross-reference. Stress marks, which we omit from normal written Fore, have also been omitted from all text material.

At the end of each discourse, a partial tree graph displays relationships up through the sentence level. Information as to discourse-level slots and paragraph groupings is given in the left-hand margin of the (vertically-arranged) graphs. A single horizontal line indicates sentence boundary. A double horizontal line indicates paragraph boundary. To assist in referring from the trees to the text, all relationship morphemes in the text have been underlined. Abbreviations used are consistent with those used and indicated throughout this volume. All DISCOURSE items are in italic capitals, and all PARAGRAPH items are in heavy capitals. All of the Sentence items given are in lower case italics, and Clause items are in lower case heavy type.
9.1 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE_B: 'Getting Firewood'

This short NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists of a STAGE, an EPISODE, and a CLOSURE.

STAGE: Simple Sentence

B_1 SCl: Albayampa "Naonto yaku kaeyikara
Yesterday Yampa (said), "My sister-in-law's husband
parakuse," yogara,
said to, so let's chop firewood," (he) said, and

EPISODE: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH (less STAGE and CLOSURE)

B_2 SCl: asekaikebwategira,
in the night we hurried, and

B_3 SeqCl: tumima Aobakaumaentasa yaku ka
went down and at Aobakaumaent one "asa" firewood tree
ainta,
I felled, and

B_4 SCl: mama ka ainta,
one "mama" I felled, and

B_5 SeqCl: potama A'oge Anerikoge yakupa aobuwaisitanta,
I did it and for A'o and Aneriko a fire I lit for them, and

B_6 SeqCl: arisa puma arisa puma aritanta,
I chopped and did and chopped and did and chopped, and

B_7 SCl: Yampakaba "Ampana meya po," yuwagana,
to Yampa, "Get them and do the same down there," I said, and

B_8 SimuCl: me kaitekanatepoga,
don there taking them and coming back he was doing, and

B_9 SeqCl: naeba pigo ao'amaementapotategi,
I alright I helped him and down there I did it, and

B_10 SCl: ago karu'ena tumimagi, ya agaiyuyu metiba,
then quickly I went down, down where I felled the trees, and

B_11 SeqCl: naga ya agaiyuma meru atategi,
a "naga" tree I felled and down there I put it, and

B_12 SCl: ago kanamagi,
already I came back, and
B13 SeqCl: yaga mantaba asu pa'ma yakupa
for the pigs' food I went up and chopped and a fire
kaetamagi,
I burned, and

B14 SC1: taena airari kaetategi,
the ground-oven I covered up (to cook), and

B15 SimuCl: karu'ena ago yaga'ne uma "Ya" surite
quickly then to my pigs I went and called out "Ya," and
ampa iso'ma amitategi,
I went and dished it out and gave it to them, and

B16 SeqCl: Yampa pabigo yakupa ampa ao'maema
then Yampa with the firewood I went and helped him and
mare merunta potatomekara,
down there below we did (the firewood work), and

CLOSEURE: Embedded Sequence S

B17 SC1: iba abayara ampaemagira,
this morning we got (the firewood), and

B18 SeqCl: pinisi potama aepa maeruse.
we finished it and payment we got.

See tree graph on following page.
This NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, which is a folktale, consists of an APERTURE, a STAGE, 16 EPISODES (of which the last three could be considered as PRE-DENOUEMENT, DENOUEMENT, POST-DENOUEMENT), a CLOSURE, and a FINIS.

*In this folktale, each EPISODE (i.e. each Paragraph) is really a simple clause consisting of Object + Action, in which the Object is an embedded Paragraph, and the Action 'so they say'. The 'so they say' portion has been put aside as a peculiarity to this type of DISCOURSE, and the discourse analysed as though it did not appear (which is how it acts). FINIS is really another 'so they say', but adapted into a formulaic finishing section with added nonsense syllables. It has not been given a separate clause number as 'so they say' sections have been ignored, so is considered part of C94 in the tree diagram.
APERTURE: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH (handled as Parallel S in section 4.1(e))

C₁ SC1: Ka amanipa maya puntiye, iye.
One spirit-being like this did, so they say.

C₂ SC1: Agonamapine, iye.
(Here) is the gist of it, so they say.

STAGE: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

C₃ SC1: Yabu yugaba, pabita, agasiya yabu yuganamane,
A sugar garden, wait, it was an extreme sugar garden,
iye.
so they say.

EPISODE₁: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C₄ SeqCl: Agasiya yabu yuganamakana puma'ma mintogana,
An extreme sugar garden he did and did and was there,
ka yagarama,
C₅ SeqCl: kotupisa
one man (was), and out of a lake
awanama tara uma ba, pabita, agasiya
(a being with) two tusks was there and, wait, extremely
puma awa e'erantaga karinamampa imagina,
it did and the being with the very long tusks came up, and
C₆ CompCl: pinitabu yugaba kagisa awamora asu
at the fence-edge of that sugar garden it came up and
mintana
C₇ SC1: "Warara pe," yogana,
C₈ SC1: was there, and "Fall down," it said, and
pabigo kagisaba warara pawaogana,
C₉ SeqCl: pabigo
completely the fence fell down flat, and completely
yabuba asu maema asu maema asu
the sugarcane it went up and took and up and took and up and
maemutantana,
C₁₀ SC1: pabigo maegina,
C₁₁ SeqCl: took, and completely it took it, and
kotupintiya momo puma momo pumutategina,
into the lake down down it did and down down it did, and
C₁₂ SC1: pigo to tumigaintana,
allright again it went down completely, and
"Stand up," it said, and (the fence)
pujaewantiye, iye.
all stood up, so they say.

EPISODE₂: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

Like that it did, and he looked and looked and
pujagagatena,
"What is it doing?" he said and said, and
ampagina,
completely he came there, and
ka yagarama kabima mintantiye, iye.
(that) one man watched and was there, so they say.

EPISODE₃: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

A house in that sugar garden he went and built, and
he watched and was there, and it came up and
that being came up, and it went up and
mintana,
"Fall down," it said, and
completely the sugar-cane fell around, and
on that man it fell down, and covered him
up, so they say.

EPISODE₄: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

It covered him, and he peeped through at it, and
completely it piled up and piled up (the sugarcane), and
C31 SCI: pabigo kotupinti momo pumutamagina, completely into the lake down down it did (take) it, and
C32 SCI: pabigo maetegina, C33 SCI: tumigaintana, completely it got it, and went down completely, and
C34 SCI: "Ituru pe," yogana, C35 SCI: pabigo kaga "Stand up," it said, and completely as one

(iturupuwaewantiyat) all stood up, so they say.

EPISODE5: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C36 SCI: Aibogana, C37 SCI: pi kina'maga,
So it did this, and about that being,

"Pumiyempentarunaba kagamarauwema, kagamaarakanane," otategina, "That which you do I see you, I see you," he said, and
C38 SCI: pabigo wasana apapa aintiye, iye.
completely people gathered there, so they say.

EPISODE6: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C39 SCI: A'ya'ma kinapa kegal'e yogana, C40 CompCl:
To everyone he called out, and
kana_ kana_ kana_ puntiye, iye.
they came and came and came (they did), so they say.

EPISODE7: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C41 CompCl: Kana_ pogana, C42 SCI: pabigo
They came and did (come), and completely
taenabapumutamagina, C43 SCI: nantana,
a ground-oven feast they made and made, and
c44 SCI: irenabapuntiyat iye.
arrows they made (ready), so they say.

EPISODE8: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C45 SimuCl: Irenabaputa puta putagina, C46 SCI:
Arrows they made and made and made, and
waoogana, C47 SCI: aru'anto tara kampagina,
they were finished, and to two short people they did not
C_{48} SC1: ireba isimintawe, iye.
  arrows give those two, so they say.

EPISODE_{9}: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C_{49} SC1: Isimuginisi,
  They did (not) give them (any), and
C_{50} SC1: "Nanaga
  doing this," the two said, and
C_{51} SC1: ka aru'antomaba a'mo
  one small one a branch
pewe," ugategunisi,
C_{52} SC1: taebomepa,
  they cut down, and
C_{53} SC1: waresaena
  they heated it, and
C_{54} SC1: akaepa'magina
  arrow types
puwaewantaye, iye.
  they completely made, so they say.

EPISODE_{10}: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C_{55} SC1: "Pikena wanaga
  So he did that, and
C_{56} SC1: to ka aru'antomaba kagi
  and I do it," he said, and
C_{57} SC1: aebumaraomepa,
  the other small one a tree
C_{58} SC1:
  they both did that, and
C_{59} SC1: aebumamagina,
  about arrows they were working, and
C_{60} SC1: pabigo
  "I am a man who does that
pumarawe," otategunisi,
C_{61} SC1: ainkimagini,
  and I do it," they both said, and
C_{62} SC1: kabiwaentawe,
  completely
  they watched over it, so they say.

EPISODE_{11}: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C_{63} SC1: Kabiwaeyuguna,
  They were watching over it, and
C_{64} SC1: kana pi
  those two small
C_{65} SeqCl: tori tori puma mintantase,
  at the shore of that lake where it appeared
umaginisii,
  back and forth they did and were there,
  iye.
  so they say.
EPISODE 12: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C 66 SCl: Albushungu
They both did this, and completely that
C 67 SeqCl: pabigo pi
karanamampaba ima imagina
being came up and came up, and it went up, and
C 68 SCl: asugina,
C 69 CompCl: kaogisawara asumintana
at the fence it went up and was there, and
C 70 SCl: pabigo mo
"Warara pe," yogan,
C 71 SCl: pabigo mo
"Fall down," it said, and completely down there,
kana yabuba wararaparamagina
that sugarcane fell down flat all over, and
tunkaintantiye, iye.
it was (all) lying there, so they say.

EPISODE 13: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C 73 SCl: Albuwa yogan,
It was lying there, and completely down where
tagama momo pemita,
ka yagaramapabigo
it was getting and piling up (the sugarcane), one man completely
ireba pataye, iye.
with an arrow shot it, so they say.

PRE-DENOUEMENT (EPISODE 14): NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

C 75 SCl: Patagi,
He shot it, and another man shot it, and
C 76 SCl: to ka yagaramapataipa
C 77 SCl: uwa kampagina
C 78 CompCl: aupipaa kampa
C 79 SCl: to no effect they did not in its skin did not
aogima pawe, iye.
good shoot it, so they say.

DENOUEMENT (EPISODE 15): NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH (contains JUXTAPOSED PARAGRAPHC82-C85)

C 80 SCl: Paurite tumimintini,
They shot it and going down they were, and
tumi minkini,
C 81 SCl: kotumpo
go down they were, and down in the lake
Pi aru'anto taramisi tori tori mintametisa, ka'wainaba
from where those two small ones were going back and forth, one (of them)
ka agabara pagina, ka'waïna ka agabara
in one armpit shot it, and one in one armpit
pa, piya potamepa, shot it, and
pabigo tumpa ware'nye, iye.
completely down it tumbled, so they say.

POST-DENOUEMENT (EPISODE 16): NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Our man (being)," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
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kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

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Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irenaba pempene," you are you able to shoot well, or do you make arrows?"

"Waresimpagabe, "Our man (being),
Like that it did, and completely "Our man (being),
kaeba aogimagina pakenabe, irre"
NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: 'Small People can be Useful'

APERTURE
C₁ SC₁
C₂ SC₁

STAGE
C₃ SC₁

EPISODE₁
Stg C₄ SC₁
Bu₁ C₅ SC₁
Bu₂ C₆ SC₁
Bu₃ C₇ SC₁
Bu₄ C₈ SC₁
Bu₅ C₉ SC₁
Bu₆ C₁₀ SC₁

EPISODE₂
Stg C₁₁ SC₁
Bu₇ C₁₂ SC₁
C₁₃ SC₁

EPISODE₃
Stg C₁₄ SC₁
Bu₈ C₁₅ SC₁
C₁₆ SC₁
C₁₇ SC₁
C₁₈ SC₁
C₁₉ SC₁
C₂₀ SC₁

EPISODE₄
Stg C₂₁ SC₁
Bu₉ C₂₂ SC₁
Bu₁₀ C₂₃ SC₁
Bu₁₁ C₂₄ SC₁
Bu₁₂ C₂₅ SC₁
Bu₁₃ C₂₆ SC₁

EPISODE₅
Stg C₂₇ SC₁
Bu₁₄ C₂₈ SC₁
Bu₁₅ C₂₉ SC₁
Bu₁₆ C₃₀ SC₁
Bu₁₇ C₃₁ SC₁
Bu₁₈ C₃₂ SC₁
Bu₁₉ C₃₃ SC₁
Bu₂₀ C₃₄ SC₁

EPISODE₆
Stg C₃₅ SC₁
Bu₂₁ C₃₆ SC₁
Bu₂₂ C₃₇ SC₁
Bu₂₃ C₃₈ SC₁
Bu₂₄ C₃₉ SC₁
Bu₂₅ C₄₀ SC₁
Bu₂₆ C₄₁ SC₁
Bu₂₇ C₄₂ SC₁
Bu₂₈ C₄₃ SC₁
Bu₂₉ C₄₄ SC₁

continued on next page
9.3 NARRATIVE DISCOURSE : 'A Yam Origin'

This NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, which is another folktale, consists of a STAGE, four EPISODES (of which the third and fourth could be considered as PRE-DÉNOUEMENT and DÉNOUEMENT), and a CLOSURE.

STAGE: Simple Clause

D₁ SCL: Karagarisa ka aragawae namampa iro'magina,
   From Karagari a teenaged girl appeared, and

EPISODE₁: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

D₂ CompCl: kasabi tumpa... aetaogana,
   in a "kasa" tree she went down and shook with her foot, and

D₃ SimuCl: ka'yu iro'ute waogana,
   a possum appeared and went, and

"Maro nka'eri mba kampa abeno, kampa abeno ka'yu
"Over in that village, don't you know, don't you know, a possum
maro piye maro piye," yogan,
   is over there, is over there," she said, and a man
asimagina,

D₅ SCL: ka yagarama

D₆ SimuCl: "Mebiyé, mebiye," otate
   stood up, and "Watch out, watch out," he said and
kanamagina,

D₇ SCL: kanamagina,

D₈ SCL: "Mebega,
   came, and he came, and "Watch out,
kabagaitegi

I'll shoot you first (have relations with you) and then go up and
pakanemeno," yogan,
   spend it and give it you," he said, and "No, before
nabakibena, igaga asu panamite yo,'"
you shoot me, the possum go up and shoot for me, (please) say,"
yogana,

D₉ SCL: imagina

D₁₀ SCL: imagina

D₁₁ CompCl: pigó
   she said, and he went up, and alright
asu... pataogana,

D₁₂ SCL: tumogana,
   he went up and shot it, and it fell down, and

D₁₃ SCL: igawa maeritegina,
   her possum she got, and

D₁₄ SeqCl: kanuwa
   his arrow

akima... pabita atantana,

D₁₅ SimuCl: she pulled out and there she put it, and
"Kanu kanugapa mebiye," otate maeritegina, "Arrow, your arrow is there," she said and took (the possum), and
D_{16} SCI: wa'napinti pai'waogana, D_{17} SCI: mo ntagara into the bush path she fled, and that man
yaba atategina, D_{18} SCI: wa'eri umintogana, from the tree left there, and home went and stayed, and
D_{19} SCI: mo nkaragawae'ma to pabita asimagina, D_{20} SimuCl: that teenage girl again there stood, and
wa'napisa iro'ute imagina, D_{21} CompCl: from the bush path appeared and went up, and
pabi areba kasabi asu aetaogana, D_{22} SimuCl: that same "kasa" tree she went up and shook it, and
ka'yu iro'ute waogana, D_{23} SCI: "Maro nka'eriba a possum appeared and went, and "Over in that village,
kampa abeno, kampa abeno, ka'yu maro piye, don't you know, don't you know, a possum is over there,
maro piye," yogana, D_{24} SimuCl: mo ka yagarama is over there," she said, and that man
pabigo "Mebiye, mebiye," otate pabigo irebu completely, "Watch out, watch out," he said and completely a bow
maete kanamagina, D_{25} SCI: "Mebega, kabagaite he got and came, and "Watch out, I'll shoot you and
asu pagamene," yegana, then I'll go up and shoot and give it to you," he said, and
D_{26} SCI: "Kampaye, ma tumpa nabakibena,
"No, here you will come down and shoot me, but first
ima igaga asu panamite yo," go up and the possum go up and shoot and give me, so say,"
yegina, D_{27} SCI: imagina, D_{28} CompCl: pabigo she said, and he went up, and completely
asu pataogana, D_{29} SCI: tumogana, D_{30} SimuCl: he went up and shot it, and it fell down, and
maerite, "Kanu kanugapa mebiye," utegina, she got it and, "Arrow, your arrow is there," she said, and
D_{31} SCI: mo maeritegina, D_{32} SCI: wa'napinti down there she got it, and into the bush path
pai'wantiye.
she fled.

EPISODE 2: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

D33 SCl: Pai'waogana, D34 SCl: "Yakara," ugategina,
She fled, and "Well, well," he said, and
D35 SCl: kanuwa maeritegina, D36 SCl: umintogana,
his arrow he got, and went and was there, and
D37 SCl: arebapisa iro'utegina, D38 CompCl:
from the same place she appeared, and
arebata asu mimagina, D39 CompCl:
at the same place she went up and was there, and
areba kasantobi asu aetaogana,
that same little "kasa" (tree) she went up and shook it, and
D40 SCl: ka'yu iro'utegina, D41 SCl: iyogana, D42 SCl:
a possum appeared, and went up, and
"Maro nka'eriba kampa abeno, kampa abeno, ka'yu
"Over in that village, don't you know, don't you know, a possum
maro piye, maro piye," yogana, D43 SCl: pabigo
is there, is there," she said, and completely
areba ntagarama irebu me maeritegina, D44 SCl:
the same man his bow down there he got, and
kanamagina, D45 SCl: "Mebega, kabagaite asu
he came, and "Watch out, I'll shoot you and then go up and
pagameno," yogana, D46 SeqCl:
shoot it and give it to you," he said, and
"Marumpa nabakibena, asu panamo,
"Before you shoot me, go up and shoot and give it to me,"
uma aiyogana, D47 SeqCl: pabigo igasima
she said and she said, and completely he went up and
asu pataogana, D48 SCl: tumegina, D49 SCl:
up and shot it, and it fell down, and
"Kanu kanugapa mebiye," utegina, D50 SCl: aeba
"Arrow, your arrow is there," she said, and she
igawa maeritegina, D51 SCl: pabi wa'napinti pai'waogana
her possum got, and into that bush path she fled, and
D52 SCI: montagara "0we, awe," ugategina, that man "Well, well," he said, and
nekama aka ka agayumagina, a digging stick from a "nekama" (tree) he cut, and
aima uritegina, yakuta
he sharpened it and took it, and
metama mintogana, he put it and was there, and
asaogana, it dried, and
areba nkaragawae'ma iro'ute imagina, the same teenage girl appeared and went up, and
areba kasabi asu aetaogana, that same "kasa" (tree) she went up and shook it, and
ka'yu iro'ute waogana, "Maro nka'eri a possum appeared and went, and "Over in that village,
kampa abeno, kampa abeno, ka'yu maro piye, don't you know, don't you know, a possum is over there,
maro piye," yogana areba ntagara is over there," she said, and the same man
pi akage irebugeme maerite kanamagina, that stick and the bow there he got and came, and
pabi wa'napi kana akabaampa pitantana, in that bush path this stick he went over and stuck it in the ground,
iro'ma ibome kita, in the path where she was appearing, and
imagina, down there
he went up, and "Watch out, I'll shoot you and
yeno," yegina, that's what I say," he said, and
nabakibena, asugina panamite yo," yegina, shoot me, go up and shoot and give me, so say," she said, and
D58 SCI: asugina, he went up, and
D59 SimuCl: pataogana, he shot it, and
tumogana, completely his arrow she pulled and
amintana, D72 SC1: nagina'wa maeritegina, D73 SC1: gave it to him, and her possum she got, and areba wa'napinti mo pai'wanasuma, D74 SC1: mo down that same bush path she fled, and down there pasomepa, D75 SC1: pabigo ako awate puru'magina, ka she fled, and completely her genitals it tore out, all auka'isa, D76 SC1: awate puru'urogana, of one side, and her genitals it tore out, and D77 SimuCl: mopa ka'isaba urite pabi wa'napinti down there part she held and down that bush path pai'wantiye, iye. she fled, so they say.

EPISODE3 (PRE-DÉNOUEMENT): NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

D78 SC1: Pai'waogana, D79 SimuCl: pabi maerite She fled, and that (girl's flesh) he got and wamagina, D80 SC1: umagina, D81 SeqCl: yakuta went, and over there he was, and over the fire atama mintegina, D82 SC1: asawaiyegina, D83 SC1: he put it and was there, and it dried, and maetegina, D84 CompCl: yagabi uma atantiyey, he got it, and in the garden he went and put it there, iye. so they say.

EPISODE4 (DÉNOUEMENT): Embedded NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

STAGE: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

D85 SeqCl: Atama mintogana, D86 SC1: pigo He put it and was there, and alright pipisai gantama irantiye, iye. from there a "possum" yam grew up, so they say.

EPISODE1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

D87 SC1: Iraogana, D88 SC1: yanama agayumagina, It grew up, and a tree (stake) he felled, and D89 CompCl: ampa aetaogana, D90 SeqCl: he went there and drove it in, and
kima kima kimagina, D₉₁ SCI: abaanarakantama
it grew and grew and grew, and an enormous one
anosantiye, iye.
it grew big, so they say.

EPISODE₂: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH
D₉₂ SCI: Anosaogana, D₉₃ SCI: ku'magina, D₉₄ SCI:
It grew big, and he dug it up, and
agagategina,
D₉₅ SCI: "Nabinepa he looked and looked at it, and "It is not
kampa namana, agao," ugategina, D₉₆ SCI:
something I alone did, look," he said, and
yagi kawarupi mperu atamagina, D₉₇ SCI:
down where the feasting takes place he put it, and
kega'entaga'e yogana, D₉₈ CompCl: nanta kina
he called and called out, and those who ate it
asarampaka nogana, D₉₉ CompCl: arapo_
readied and came and did, and he chopped and
arapumutamagina, D₁₀₀ SCI: taetamagina, D₁₀₁ SeqCl:
chopped it, and he cooked it, and
a'ya'ma kina nawaema nantiye, iye.
everyone ate it all and ate it, so they say.

CLOSURE: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
D₁₀₂ SCI: "Piya punti amanine," umagini,
"A like that he did folktale," they say and
D₁₀₃ SCI: amuka amuka wari kasamagina,
around about on the mountains they cut "wari" cuttings, and
D₁₀₄ SCI: meguri mekuri punti nkamanine.
here and there they do it (as a memorial), that's the story.
continued on next page
EPISODE 2
(cont. )

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EPISODE 4 (DE.): NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

STAGE D1
D85 SeqCl  
D86 SCI  
D87 SCI  
D88 SCI  
D89 SCI  
D90 SCI  
D91 SCI  
D92 SCI  
D93 SCI  
D94 SCI  
D95 SCI  
D96 SCI  
D97 SCI  
D98 SCI  
D99 SCI  
D100 SCI  
D101 SeqCl  
D102 SCI  
D103 SCI  
D104 SCI  

CLOSURE
9.4 DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSE$^E$: 'Getting Married'

This DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, a POINT (which is filled by a HORT DISC$^E_1$), and a FINIS.

The embedded HORT DISC$^E_1$ consists of a TEXT, nine POINTS (of which the last three are embedded DISC$^E_2$, $E_3$, $E_4$), and a FINIS.

Embedded DISC$^E_2$ is a NARR DISC consisting of a STAGE, and two EPISODES.

Embedded DISC$^E_3$ is a HORT DISC consisting of a TEXT, and three POINTS.

Embedded DISC$^E_4$ is another HORT DISC consisting of a TEXT, and only one POINT.

TEXT: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

$E_1$ SC1: Pigoya, ka iba'ena pukena puntiniba,

Alright, (when) a wedding they are about to have, and

$E_2$ SC1: maya yewe.

like this they talk.

POINT$_1$: Embedded HORT DISC$^E_1$

TEXT$^E_1$: Sequence Clause

$E_3$ SeqCl: Kasama me katakanapa,

(When) they marry you and down put you (with your in-laws)

POINT$_1$: part of SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

$E_4$ CompCl: toba mata'iba wa'egati kano kabati

again to here to your home to your mother and father

kanakena kagiba antapi napi po.

coming do not think and think and do.

POINT$_2$: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

$E_5$ SC1: Pigoya, pipa araganto mintana,

Alright, there a little girl you are, and

napi napi pumagina, $E_6$ CompCl: kano

think and think and do (about it), and

kabake kaga kabage miken

your mother and father as one with your father you are,
kagipa napi napi pene.
you think and think (about it).

**POINT**

**POINT E1**

E8 SCl: Pigoya, ibaba waya'ena ago pene.
    Alright, today a woman already you become.

**POINT E1**

E9 CompCl: Pigoya, aentaga karenagampa ukibi kamana
    Alright, what your mother-in-law and father-in-law tell you
aogima aega'magina, E10 SCl: abo.
    well follow it, and heed it.

**POINT E1**

E11 SCl: Pigoya, kawae ukibi kamana aogimagina,
    Alright, what your husband tells you do well, and
E12 SCl: aega'magina, E13 SCl: abimagina, E14 CompCl:
    follow it, and heed it, and
kawaepa aogima kabitagana, E15 SCl:
    your husband do well and look after him, and
miyeno.
    he will be (there with you).

**POINT E1**

E16 SCl: Pigoya, kawae ata pasiniyena potakanaba,
    Alright, towards your husband badly if you do,
E17 SCl: kawaeba "Kamparaga waene," umagina,
    your husband "It is a bad woman," will say, and
E18 SCl: pabigo pntagata agi napigatakiye.
    completely on that day will think badly towards you.

**POINT E1**

**STAGE E2**

STAGE E2: Simple Clause

E19 SCl: Pigoya, aentaga karenagampaba kaga'maginaba,
    Alright, (when) your mother- and father-in-law see you, and
**EPISODE E₂**: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

E₂₀ SCl: kae pukibempe agokati
       kagateginaba,
       the basis of what you do (what you are like) they see,
E₂₁ SCl: pipa ata kinapi katakanai,
       for that among bad people they'll put you, and
E₂₂ CompCl: aintiba kampa aogima mikibene.
       later not do well you will be. (not be happy.)

**EPISODE E₂**: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

E₂₃ SCl: Pabigo "Kagasu kampa kagasu,"
       Completely "(when) I see you, I don't see you,"
pekana,
       he does (acts as though he is thinking),
E₂₄ SCl: atategina,
       you will leave him, and
E₂₅ SimuCl: "To mari marita misubera meta misubera,"
       "In one place or in another place will I stay here or there,"
uta nasimagina,
       you will say as you wander, and
E₂₆ SCl: pipa ata kipi
       there in the bad road
wakibene.
       you will go. (you will be miserable.)

**POINT E₁**: HORT DISC E₃

TEXT E₃: Alternate S

E₂₇ SCl: Pigoya, kawae kagisaena pukena pekanapera,
       Alright, (if) your husband a fence wants to do, or
E₂₈ SCl: yogena pukena pekanapera,
       gardening wants to do,

**POINT E₃**: part of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

E₂₉ CompCl: aogima aomaeyagarisi,
       do well and help him, and
E₃₀ SCl: miyiso.
       both be there (happily).

**POINT E₃**: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

E₃₁ SCl: Mimagima,
       Be there, and
E₃₂ SCl: pikana kagisaena yogenaarisipa
       so that fencing and gardening of yours
you both do, and both eat (of it).

**POINT 3: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH**

E₃₄ SCl: Kawaepa aogimagina E₃₅ SCl: kao'enapa
Your husband (look after) well, and a friend (to him)
pumagina, E₃₆ SCl: nakenaba amegana, E₃₇ SCl: aogi nakena
be, and food give to him, and good food
amegana, E₃₈ SCl: kawaepa nano.
give to him, and your husband will eat.

**POINT 1: part of JUXTAPOSED PARAGRAPH**

E₄₁ SeqCl: Kaeba pabigo kaeka ntabunto pabigo
You completely your own little sugar completely
naoma, kamikibe ntabu
eat (be satisfied with your own pleasures) and about the pleasures
ago abeka,
they will give you already you understand, and

**FINIS: Simple Clause (balance of Ref S)**

E₄₂ SCl: ma kamana ugamuwa,
this talk I was telling you (young lady),

**FINIS: balance of JUXTAPOSED PARAGRAPH; embedded NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH**

E₄₃ SCl: iba'ena puwaentantiniba,
(when) a wedding they do, and
E₄₄ SCl: piya uwaimewe.
like that they tell them.
9.5 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE: 'How to Build a House'

This PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, four POINTS, and a CLOSURE.

TEXT: part of Simple Clause

F₁ SC1: Pigoya, nama kikena,  
Alright, a house to build, (when building a house)

POINT₁: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

marupa maruntanaba pumagini,  
first the ground they do, and

F₂ SC1: aogi pugasimagini,  
well they prepare it, and

F₃ SC1: iyoba pimagini,  
with their eyes they line it up, and

agamagini,  
they look at it, and

F₅ SC1: "Piya puma namapa kikuna,"  
"That's how a house we will build,"

sumagini,  
they say, and

F₆ SC1: agamantantini,  
they look and look at it, and

pigoye kaba ku'magini,  
Alright a clearing they dig, and

F₇ SeqCl: aogi aogi puma  
good good they do and

pumutamagini,  
do (make it), and

F₉ SC1: pita pikana yaba ka'isa yaba  
there some timber for that (house)

maemagini,  
they get, and

F₁₀ SC1: atamagini,  
they put it there, and

arabamagini,  
they line up (the posts), and

F₁₂ SC1: nanta boa momo  
the house posts down down

potamagini,  
they do them, and

F₁₃ SC1: kana kabinti pabigo  
in that cleared place completely

mesugini,  
they go up, and

F₁₄ SC1: atapimagini,  
they drive them in, and

pumutamagini,  
they do it, and

F₁₆ SeqCl: aegara puma esegi  
they drive them in, and strong

pumugasimagini,  
they make them, and

F₁₇ SeqCl: aibuma tako yaba  
they do this and the side posts

esegi pumugasimagini,  
strong they do and do them, and

F₁₈ SeqCl: pigoye aintiba  
Alright, later

maemagini,  
they get (wood), and

F₁₉ SC1: pi taka e yaba marotamagini,  
those cross plates they put on, and
F20 SCl: pita'iga'nabakimagini, F21 SCl: esegi
there vines they tie on, and strong
potantini, F22 SeqCl: pigoyemaakapipa wae'gyababy they do it, and alright, in the middle the chief pole
mayotantini, F23 SeqCl: pita pigoyemaparamamaebea they put there, and there alright the rafters
mayotamagnini, F24 SCl: kiyewe. they put, and (so) they build it.

POINT2: SIMPLE PARAGRAPHER
F25 SCl: Kitamagnini,
F26 SCl: iga'nabatabeiga'na
They build it, and vines, big vines
kimaginigi F27 SCl: esegipugasimagnini, they tie on, and strong they do (make) it, and
F28 SeqCl: pigoyema aintiba pi kana para'mamaebea mayo mayo
alright later those rafters here and there pewe.
ye do.

POINT3: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHER (contains embedded JUXTAPOSED PARA. F35-F37)
F29 SCl: Mayo mayo pumutamagnini, F30 SeqCl: pigoyema
Here and there they do and do it, and alright
pita'i iga'nabakimagini, F31 SeqCl: esegipuma there vines they tie on, and strong they do it and
putatumintini, F32 SCl: pi ira'nubado it and go all the way down (the roof), and those battens
kimagini, F33 SCl: kibagutatumimagini, they tie on, and the battens they do (all the way) down, and
F34 CompCl: tumpaesegipumutantini, F35 CompCl: aintiba they go down strong making it, and later
a'no airariaekenanabakampa a'nopamarupathatch they cover it with, not thatch firstly
airariakaeyawa, they cover it (they don't put thatch on first, they do it later),
F36 SCl: maru'enaba ira'nu atamagnini, F37 SeqCl: firstly battens they put on, and
kibagum meru atantini, F_{38} SC1: pita
they batte it and down there they put them, and for there

kabibe wayape wayapa maemagi, F_{39} CompCl:
"kabi" and "waya" (pitpit) the women bring, and

ampa arabamagi, F_{40} SC1:
to there they line (the pitpit) up (on the roof), and

itamagi, F_{41} CompCl: itata_
they put it there, and they put and put it and

tumintini, F_{42} SC1: a'no ba pita atamagi, do it (all the way down), and thatch there they put, and

F_{43} CompCl: itata__ tumima tumimagi, they put and put and down and down they go, and

F_{44} CompCl: tumpa nagarigasimagi, F_{45} SeqCl: a'no pa
down they finish it completely, and thatch

airari kaema nagariyewe. they cover it with and finish it off.

**POINT 4: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH**

F_{46} SC1: Nagarigasimagi, F_{47} SeqCl: pigoyema asipaenaba
They finish it all, and alright plaiting

abe'isa asipaba pumagi, F_{48} SeqCl: nagarima
the outside plaiting they do, and they finish it, and

na'nagi pugasimagi, F_{49} SeqCl: aintiba pabigoyema straight they make it, and later completely

antaba pintisa asipaba pumagi, F_{50} CompCl: the inside plaiting (for the divisions) they do, and

pigo nagari na'nagi pugasimagi, F_{51} SC1: alright they finish it and straight they do it, and

pigo nama aukapa puwaiyegi, F_{52} SC1: pigoyemagi, alright like a true house they do it, and alright, and

F_{53} SC1: ao gi ao gi pugasimagi, F_{54} SeqCl: kabe nakipa
good good they make in it, and the door to the house

puma pigoyema marunta kipa pigo pumagi, they make and alright the door of the room alright they make, and

F_{55} SeqCl: ao gi ao gi pugasima waikena marunta kipa asipaba
good good they do it and the plaiting for the sleeping room
pumagini, \( F_{56} \text{ SCl: } \text{aogi potamagini,} \) \( F_{57} \text{ SeqCl: } \text{pigoyema} \) they do, and good they make it, and alright

tapa amagini, the fireplace they prepare, and

**CLOSURE:** part of **Sequence S**

\( F_{58} \text{ SCl: } \text{yakupa aobumagini,} \) \( F_{59} \text{ SCl: } \text{namapipa mimagini,} \) a fire they light, and in the house they stay, and

\( F_{60} \text{ SeqCl: } \text{aogi igapa} \) \( \text{puma} \) \( \text{miyewe.} \) good sweetness (look nice) they make it and (there) they stay.

See tree graph on following page.
PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE: 'How to Build a House'

POINT 1

POINT 2

POINT 3

POINT n

CLOSURE
9.6 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE$^G$: 'Making Bread'

This PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, one POINT, and a CLOSURE.

TEXT: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH (in which Action "I will tell you" is understood)

$G_1$ SC1: Pareti kaekena kamanapa.
  Bread cooking talk.

POINT: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

$G_2$ SeqCl: Marupa wani ka kankabe arima ti'atantana,
  First one cup of water he pours and pours it in, and

$G_3$ SeqCl: pipi uwaenanto yabu atama, uwaena sipunintorasa,
  into that a little sugar he puts in, just a little spoonful, and

pigo atama mintogana, $G_4$ SeqCl: isitiiba
  alright he puts it in and is there, and yeast

tara sipuni puma, naninta nakena sipunirasa, pabipi mpo
  two spoonsful he does and, spoons for eating food with, down in there

asunu kaetama atama yaku nkawamori atama
  he tips it and puts it and at the side of the fire he puts it and

mintogana, $G_5$ CompCl: mesu anosamagina, $G_6$ SC1: anosagi,
  is there, and up it rises, and it rises, and

$G_7$ SeqCl: pigo to kankabebi mpe arima pipi
  alright down into another bowl I pour it and in there

tara kankabe wanipa ti'atama, ti'atama pipi
  two cups of water I pour in and I pour it in and in there

pigo kayopa ka maema mo atama yabuba ka
  alright one of salt I get and down there I put it and one of sugar

atama parawapa tarawa tarawaki atama, pigo a'a
  I pour in and four of flour I put in and alright no,

kakaga atama, aibugaite a'wae'wae potama
  three (of flour) I put in and I do that and I stir it and

pigo apaba maema tara sipuni puma yakuta
  alright grease I get and two spoonsful I prepare and by the fire

ataokana, $G_8$ SC1: tarara puwaeyegi, $G_9$ SC1: maemagi,
  I put, and it melts and I get it, and

$G_{10}$ SC1: ati'magi, $G_{11}$ SeqCl: to kankabe tobingi
  I pour it in, and into another bowl
asunu kaetama parawapa tarawa tarawaki kankabe pumagi, I tip it and four cups of flour I do, and

G_{12} SeqCl: pipinti mo tu'ma asunu kaetamagi, G_{13} SeqCl: into that down I pour and tip it, and

a'wae'wae puma atamagi, G_{14} SCl: to kankabebi apa I stir it and put it aside, and into other bowls fat

maemagi, G_{15} SCl: yora potama pipi mpo asunu kaema I get, and

yaku nkawamontori atama mintogana, I put it and I was there,

pita'i, G_{16} SCl: ampagina, G_{17} SeqCl: there (where I put it), and it is there, and

anosama anosama pigo tabe puwaiyegi, G_{18} SCl: it rises and it rises and alright big it rises, and

maemagi, G_{19} SeqCl: amana kankabentonto ara puma I get it, and the little containers I line up and

atanta, G_{20} SeqCl: pita'i apa pae'ma put them there, and into these the grease I smear and

pae'ma atamagi, G_{21} SeqCl: to parawa'nama maema smear and put them there, and other flour I get and

yora puma atamagi, G_{22} SCl: maemagi, dust it and put them, and I get (the dough), and

G_{23} SCl: a'yigimpantonto atisa'magi G_{24} SeqCl: ka into little pieces I break it, and one

ata_ ka ata_ puma puma putamagi, G_{25} SeqCl: pabi I put and one I put and do and do and do, and

yakutintinti atama mintogana, at the little fires (side of stove) I put it and am there, and

G_{26} SeqCl: anosama anosama pumuwaiyegi, G_{27} SCl: it grows big and grows big and does this, and

pigo maemagi, G_{28} SeqCl: ka kaema iso'ma alright I get them, and one I cook and serve out and

maete ka kaema iso'ma maete puma get (another) one I cook and serve out and I get (them) and do and

puma isimoginisi, do it, and I give it to them, and
CLOSURE: Simple Sentence

C29 SeqCl: namu they both (my bosses) eat them and are there.

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSEG: 'Making Bread'

TEXT

POINTn

G1 SC1

G2 SeqCl

G3 SeqCl

G4 SeqCl

G5 CompCl

G6 SC1

G7 SeqCl

SimuCl

G8 SC1

G9 SC1

G10 SC1

G11 SeqCl

G12 SeqCl

G13 SeqCl

G14 SC1

G15 SeqCl

G16 SC1

G17 SeqCl

G18 SC1

G19 SeqCl

G20 SeqCl

G21 SeqCl

G22 SC1

G23 SC1

G24 CompCl

SC1

G25 SeqCl

G26 SeqCl

G27 SC1

G28 SeqCl

SimuCl

SC1

G29 SeqCl

CLOSURE

G29 SeqCl

---
9.7 HORTATORY DISCOURSE \( H \) : 'A Prayer'

This HORTATORY DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, two POINTS, and a CLOSURE.

TEXT: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

\( H_1 \) SCl: Koti, kaeba aogi yagaraga mantara miyene.  
God, you a good man in heaven are.

POINT \(_1\): SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

\( H_2 \) SCl: Pigoyemagita,  \( H_3 \) SCl: taeba kakaga kina  
Alright, and we three people  
menkaki pumagi,  \( H_4 \) SCl: ai yogare  
are gathered here below, and yesterday our work  
pumugategi,  \( H_5 \) SeqCl: aogaso atatompeta, pita  
we did and did, and at the new (work) we do, there  
agobima to kake mayenema abimagi,  \( H_6 \) SeqCl: piya  
we begin once more to work and we heed, and like that  
kae kagisabi parokaema pigoya kaeba a'ya'waemaena  
at your feet we bow and alright you everything  
agogapa,  \( H_7 \) SCl: mantara mimagina,  \( H_8 \) SCl:  
have seen the root of, and in heaven you are, and  
agabasasa yagara mintane.  
the all-seeing one you are.

POINT \(_n\): part of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

\( H_9 \) SCl: Pika kaeba agamagina,  \( H_{10} \) SeqCl: taete'ne  
About that (us) you know, and ourselves  
tagu tamankama esegi puma kunta  
and our insides and souls strong make (them) and the  
pukibintanaba maegasimagina,  \( H_{11} \) SCl: kaetisa  
heaviness we have throw it away, and from you  
e'wasaena aranta'enaga tamimagina,  \( H_{12} \) SCl: tao'maeyomagi,  
your shining brightness give to us, and help us, and  
\( H_{13} \) SCl: abimagita,  \( H_{14} \) SCl: nunamubisa  
we will know, and by prayer  
kagega'e yompeta, iba Aota Awamusa atagana,  
at where we call out to you, now the Holy Spirit send, and
CLOSURE: Sequence Sentence

H15 CompCl: tumpa_tamata he will come down and at our insides and souls
tumpimagina, H16 SC1: tao’mayeno. he will come down and be, and so will help us.

HORTATORY DISCOURSEH: 'A Prayer'

TEXT

POINT1
H2 SC1
H3 SC1
H4 SC1
H5 SeqCl
H6 SeqCl
H7 SC1
H8 SC1

SeqS

FocS

POINTn
H9 SC1
H10 SeqCl
H11 SC1
H12 SC1
H13 SC1
H14 SC1

SeqS

CLOSURE
H15 CompCl
H16 SC1

SeqS

9.8 DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSEJ: 'My Village'

This DESCRIPTIVE DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, three POINTS, and a CLOSURE.

TEXT: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

J1 SC1: Pigoya, ka kumaka ukuwe. Alright, about one village I will talk.

POINT1: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

J2 SeqCl: Kasoru'i esitiya kumapa In Kasoru (village) the S.D.A. village area,
ini namankaipa abibi puma amuta waintegina, J₃ SeqCl: the church lines up nicely on a hill sitting, and
pigoyema pikana namankana awariba kara yaba waimagina, J₄ SCL: ainki waintegina, J₅ SCL: ke'īsa au'īpa
alright, to the side of that house casuarina trees are there, and
kakaga kara asintegina, J₆ SeqCl: pigoyema
three casuarinas stand up, and alright,
mo nkau'isa ayatariba yogantagaba wairitegina, J₇ SCL: down on that (other) side gardens are, and
tumigaintegina, J₈ SeqCl: pigoyema ma nkau'isa ayatariba
they go down, and alright on this (other) side
yogantagaba wairite tumigasi puntegina, J₉ SeqCl: pigoyema
(more) gardens are and go right down, and alright,
aoriba wa'enta'eba wairitegina, J₁₀ SeqCl: tumima
in front of there homes are, and it goes down,
enontiba tumigaintegina, J₁₁ SeqCl: pigoyema
the ridge (with houses on) goes down, and alright
atiba wa'eba pabiymagina J₁₂ SimuCl: puma
up above homes likewise are, and they are there and
wairite tumigaintegina, J₁₃ SeqCl: pigoyema pi wa'e
are there and go right down, and alright, those homes
waimagina, J₁₄ SCL: tunkaintemi akā'ība ka anompantama
are there, and where (the houses) go down a river
tumintegina, J₁₅ SCL: wani abanamapa waintiye.
goes down, and a waterfall is there.

POINT₂: NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

J₁₆ SeqCl: Pigoyema aka'ība pabiymagina J₁₇ SimuCl: wa'enta'e
Alright, behind likewise homes
wairite tumintegina, J₁₈ SCL: aka'ība
are there and go down (the slope), and behind (there)
ka wani tumintegina, J₁₉ SCL: kotuntamapa ka waintiye.
a creek goes down, and a lake is there.

POINTₙ: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH
Alright, at the side of that lake one "kaunta" tree has grown up.

The report about that village area alright I have told you.

DESCRIPTION DISCOURSE: 'My Village'
9.9 HORTATORY DISCOURSE: 'Why We Lecture Brides'

The HORTATORY DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, two POINTS, and a FINIS.

TEXT: Simple Sentence

K₁ SCL: Pi iba'ena puntini,
(When) a marriage they have,

POINT₁: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

K₂ SCL: uwaimepa,
they lecture them, and
K₃ SCL: pigoya pi ke'isa yabuka
alright about the pleasures
K₄ SCL: omemipa,
of wandering (in sin) as you walk,
they lecture her, and
K₅ SCL: papa aepa aogimagina
about that she is to do well and
K₆ SeqCl: kanama
come and
K₇ SeqCl: abimagina,
what her husband says heed, and
K₈ SCL: miyemagina
be there, and
K₉ CompCl: omiyé.
(that's what) they tell her.

POINT₂: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

K₉ SCL: To wa uma paimu ampa paibuyenaga piyaenaba
Other men about playing up with them that sort of thing
K₁₀ CompCl: aogima_aebanapi
throw away, and do well and she think and think and
K₁₁ SCL: awaeke miyemagina,
she should, and about her husband she must be (conscious), and
K₁₂ SeqCl: pigoyema aepa sitareti pumagina,
alright her they set straight, and
K₁₃ SCL: miyemagina,
with her husband to be there, they tell her.

FINIS: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

K₁₅ SCL: Pi kamana pigo a'ya waye.
That talk alright is all gone.
9.10 EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE\textsubscript{L} : 'About the Law of Moses'

This EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE consists of a TEXT, one POINT, a CLOSURE, and a FINIS. The single POINT is in fact an embedded HORT DISC\textsubscript{L} made up of a TEXT and six POINTS.

TEXT : SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

L\textsubscript{1} SCL: Pï kamanapa pai Kotï Mosefè kaemagina, This talk a long time ago God, Moses wrote, and

L\textsubscript{2} SeqCl: naya tara'mu kamana amintemi, pi kamana pi the law (the ten talks) that he gave him, this talk this

uma igiyemipà L\textsubscript{3} SCL: abena. he spoke and lit up our path, and do you understand it?

POINT\textsubscript{n}: Embedded HORT DISC\textsubscript{L}

TEXT\textsubscript{L}: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

L\textsubscript{4} SeqCl: Pïgoyema pi naya tara'mu kamanapïpa Alright, in those ten commandments
Like this he did, and wrote and gave them to him.

**POINT 1: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L6 SCL: To waina nkae umagina

Another person's wife about going over and

paibisinema;

having illicit relations; (and)

**POINT 2: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L8 CompCl: To waina nkawae uma

Another person's husband about going over and

paibisinema;

having illicit relations; (and)

**POINT 3: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L9 SCL: To wainantanari kao aragasinema;

Another's belongings about coveting; (and)

**POINT 4: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L10 SCL: Umaekena kagi napiyisinema;

About getting it about thinking about it, and

**POINT 5: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L11 SCL: Pipa ae'eb a ae'enawanema;

That his is (all) his (alone); (and)

**POINT 6: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L12 CompCl: Asi nasiba kae'enagaka napi_

All the time about your own things thinking and

napi_ poma;

thinking be; (and)

**CLOSURE: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH**

L13 SCL: Piyamagina,

It is like that, and

L14 SCL: Kotiba Mosese

(The talk that) God to Moses
naya tara'mu kamana kaema amintemi, pi kamana
gave when writing the ten commandments, that talk
pikana kamana'amaba ubasiye.
the talk that has been mentioned is the core of it.

FINIS: SIMPLE PARAGRAPH

L₁₅ SCl: Pabigo pabi kamana'anto nagariwayne.
Completely that short talk is (now) finished.

EXPOSITORY DISCOURSEₗ: 'About the Law of Moses'

TEXT

POINTₙ TEXTₗ₁

POINTₗ₁

POINTₗ₁

POINTₗ₁

POINTₗ₁

POINTₗ₁

POINTₗ₁

CLOSURE

FINIS
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