THEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF WIK-MUNKAN DISCOURSE

by

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

In 1967, by this time a member of SIL myself, I went to Aurukun, in Cape York, and joined Miss Barbara Sayers in her work there on the Wik-Munkan language. I have loved being with the Wik-Munkan people. Without their encouragement and solid help — and indeed, at times, their hilarious laughter at my attempts — I would have found it very hard to continue with my goal of fluency, and analysis of the language. It is impossible to mention all who have helped and encouraged, but the following I would like to mention especially: Mrs Topsy Walmby, for her close friendship and her creative and imaginative approach to her language, and for sharing her insights with me; Kathleen and Ian Peinkinna, good friends and neighbours for several years, who have given willing help at many odd hours of the day and night; Mrs Louisa Go'olfree, my "mother" according to the kinship system and a dear friend, who has on several occasions foregone fishing to help with exhausting and uninspiring checking; and to my good friends Mrs Winnie Koongotema, Mrs Hazel Chevathan, Mrs Mabel Pamulkan, Mrs Geraldine Kawangka and Mrs Maud Yunkaporta who have all given substantial and valued help. Over thirty men and women have contributed to this analysis through the telling of one or more stories on tape.
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My interest in discourse analysis was quickened when I attended part of a linguistic workshop in Papua New Guinea, in 1970, which was conducted by Dr Robert Longacre, of SIL, under the auspices of the Papua New Guinea Branch of SIL. I would like to thank Dr Longacre and also Dr Phyllis Healey, both of whose help and ideas at that time helped shape the direction of my study later at ANU.

In March 1971, I joined the Department of Linguistics within the Institute of Advanced Studies at the Australian National University (ANU) in order to embark on a Ph.D. programme. The University's scholarship provision was most generous, and included funds for two field trips to Aurukun. I was grateful for Professor Stephen Wurm's encouragement and assistance in many administrative matters. Very special thanks go to my supervisors, Drs Donald Laycock and Darrell Tryon, who gave prompt and valued criticisms on my work. Dr Tom Dutton was one of my supervisors in the early part of my programme, and I would like to thank him for his help also. Others who have read portions of earlier drafts of this monograph (at the stage when it was prepared as a thesis), and from whose help I have benefited much, include Dr Warren Glover, Miss Ann Curnow and Dr Bruce Sommer.

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In early 1976 I decided to revise my Ph.D. thesis for publication as a monograph. I have benefited greatly from detailed comments prepared by Dr George Huttar of the Australian Aborigines Branch of SIL. In addition, the comments of two of my examiners, Professor John Platt
and Professor William E. Hoddinot, were made available to me by ANU, and I have found these very helpful. I would also like to thank Mr Ken McAulay for his advice concerning flow charts (see Figures 24, 28 and 31).

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ABREVIATIONS

In the setting out of the literal translation of examples, a full stop is written between two or more lexical items needed to represent the meaning of one Wik-Munkan morpheme (e.g. young.woman). Where more than one functional term is needed to represent the meaning of a morpheme, the relevant abbreviations (which begin with capitals or are numerals) are written contiguously without a full stop or space in between (e.g. 1PExclPsc).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ab</th>
<th>abundance</th>
<th>Excl</th>
<th>exclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>accusative case</td>
<td>Exclm</td>
<td>exclamation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accom</td>
<td>accompaniment case</td>
<td>Fig.</td>
<td>Figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjr</td>
<td>adjectivizer</td>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>far distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJ</td>
<td>adjunct form (of pronoun)</td>
<td>Fut</td>
<td>future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>consonant</td>
<td>G1</td>
<td>goal case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carb</td>
<td>carbohydrate food</td>
<td>Hab</td>
<td>habitual aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>close distance</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>indicative intonation-carrying clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co</td>
<td>co-ordinate</td>
<td>Inst</td>
<td>instrumental case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coll</td>
<td>collective</td>
<td>Int</td>
<td>interrogative intonation-carrying clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comp</td>
<td>compassionate particle</td>
<td>Ints</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cont</td>
<td>continued action intonation-carrying clitic</td>
<td>Itrz</td>
<td>intransitivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>dual number</td>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>stationary locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Def</td>
<td>definite</td>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>middle distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Des</td>
<td>desiderative intonation-carrying clitic</td>
<td>m.y.b</td>
<td>mother's younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emo</td>
<td>emotional</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emph</td>
<td>emphasis; emphasis intonation-carrying clitic</td>
<td>Nom</td>
<td>nominative case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg</td>
<td>ergative case</td>
<td>Nomz</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Onom</td>
<td>onomatopoeia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations (continued)

P       plural number
Par     paragraph
Pos     positive intensifier
Poss    possessive case
Pres    present tense
Pro     protein food
Prop    proposition
Pst     past tense
Punct   punctiliar
Ques    question
Rec     reciprocal
Ref     referent case
Refl    reflexive
Rd      reduplicated or partially reduplicated morpheme
Rhy     rhythmic suffix
S       syllable; singular number (following a numeral)
Sbj     subjunctive mood
Sec.    Section
Seq     sequential intonation-carrying clitic
Src     source case
Tag     tag question intonation-carrying clitic
Temp    temporal
V       indicates beginning of focal part of example, namely:

Sec. 6.5 refinement of global theme
Secs. 7.5, 7.6.1, 7.6.2.3. and 7.6.2.4 nucleus of paragraph
Secs. 8.4.1 and 8.4.2 setting clause
Sec. 8.4.3 temporal word
Sec. 8.5 nucleus of sentence
Sec. 9.4.1 phrase with -àn-a? fronting
Sec. 9.4.4 tagged phrase
Sec. 9.6 dependent clauses

marked only where relevant to discussion
ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

Chapter 4 is a description of some topicalization patterns which are relevant at more than one point in the grammar, such as fronting, rhetorical questions and cycling. Chapter 5 describes areas of information in discourse in which thematic choice is involved; namely, the nucleus, setting and periphery. It also introduces the concept of different levels of theme.
Chapter 6 describes five discourse genres for Wik-Munkan; namely narratives, travelogues, procedures, explanations, and exhortations. It then goes on to describe how the global theme and its refinement, and the global setting are conveyed. The way in which the global theme is restated throughout some discourses almost like a refrain, is also described. The relationship of participant identification to the global theme is discussed briefly.

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

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

Appendix A includes two tables which give phonological details of intonation-carrying clitics, and intonation patterns, and also includes some mingograph examples. Appendix B includes two sample texts.
CAPE YORK PENINSULA, SHOWING WIK-MUNKAN TRIBAL TERRITORY (adapted from Thomson 1972:vi)
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE WIK-MUNKAN PEOPLE

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

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

The Aurukun Reserve itself extends for about eighty-five miles from Pera Head to the Holroyd River, and is about thirty miles wide. The present area of the reserve is 2,610 square miles. Part of this area is used as a cattle station. Twenty-five miles north of the Mission

1
is a mining camp, and here employees of the H.A. Bauxite Company have carried out an exploratory project on bauxite mining possibilities during the past six years.

The mission began in 1904. Today the white population numbers between thirty and forty. Facilities at the Mission include a hospital, schools, a church, a store, and a mechanics workshop. Times have changed since 1967, when the majority of the population would turn out to enjoy the arrival of the fortnightly mail plane. Nowadays planes are almost a daily sight and travel arrangements far easier. And since more money is available, more and more Wik-Munkan people are having the opportunity to see something of the Western world. The number of visitors to the community has also increased. This means that the Aurukun people are very much exposed to two ways of life, and to both the enrichment and the confusion that can come from attempts to reconcile the two. There exists side by side at Aurukun both corroborees and the latest country and western hits; both the wallaby brought home over the shoulder, and tinned "Camp Pie" from the store; both the carefully made spear and the shotgun ordered from town; both strong home and family ties, and desires to get away and see the outside world.

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

1. **yuk ŋai-an-ak**
   *thing see-Nomz-G1*
   *spectacles*

2. **púŋi-pà·m-ţìm**
   *arm-wing-with*
   *aeroplane*

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

3. **readimpuŋ**
   *read*

Especially with children and young people, borrowing from English is not confined to words for which there are no Wik-Munkan equivalents. For example, one sometimes hears young children saying things like
And of course the Wik-Munkan have a perfectly good adjective meaning big, namely pi·?an.

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

1.2 LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION AND DIALECTS

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

O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin's original list of languages in the Middle-Pama Subgroup which includes Ombila, Kandju and Taior as well as the Wik languages, has been refined by Sommer (1969:12-5). He suggests that the Middle-Pama Subgroup should consist of the group of languages called Wik languages, including Wik-Munkan and Pakanha. In his 1972 list, Wurm follows this classification and lists the following languages as members of the Middle-Pama Subgroup (1972:143): Wik Munkan, Wik Muminh, Wik Mean, Wik Epa, Wik Ngatara (Wik Alkan) and Wik Ngandjara (these latter two are classified as dialects), and Pakanha.

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

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

1.3 HISTORY OF WIK-MUNKAN RESEARCH

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

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

The contributions of the principal researchers are described below.

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

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

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

d. Marie Godfrey of the SIL worked on Wik-Munkan between 1962-7. She has published two papers on Wik-Munkan. One of these (1970) is a thorough tagmemic study of Wik-Munkan verb morphology. The other paper (1964), which was co-authored by Harland Kerr, is an insightful study of Wik-Munkan personal pronouns. In addition to this, Godfrey has written drafts of a tagmemic analysis of Wik-Munkan grammar from the word level through to some notes on sentence level (1967).

e. Harland Kerr, also of the SIL, has produced an unpublished and undated manuscript on the specific and generic functions of the Wik-Munkan case system, basing his conclusions on data gleaned from Godfrey and Sayers in 1964 during consultation with them over Wik-Munkan analysis.
f. Barbara Sayers, of the SIL, worked on Wik-Munkan between 1962 and early 1977. She is the author of a number of thorough papers covering aspects of phonological and grammatical analysis of Wik-Munkan.

Her earlier publications include a tagmemic outline description of a dialect of Wik-Munkan spoken at Coen (1964), which was co-authored by Marie Godfrey; and an interesting account of locative, temporal and demonstrative pronouns (1964) which was co-authored by Harland Kerr. In an unpublished ten-page typescript manuscript (1970b) on discourse structure she gives some helpful preliminary notes on Wik-Munkan discourse genre. More recently, she has written two articles related to Bible translation and based on Wik-Munkan, one brief article on questions (1972) and another in which she discusses the application of discourse analysis to Bible translation (1974).

In addition to this, Sayers has recently published two major papers. One is a well documented monograph on Wik-Munkan sentences (1976b). In this study, which is written in the tagmemic model, she treats sentence and paragraph as one collapsed level, a position which I have not accepted (see Secs.3.10.2, 7.2.2 and 8.2). In her paper she concentrates on describing the internal grammatical structure of each sentence type, as well as the intonation pattern, and to some extent the underlying lexical relationship.

The other major paper is a most helpful study of the interpenetration of stress and pitch in Wik-Munkan grammar and phonology (1976a), which is concerned with the analysis of the phonological clause and sentence and with intonation patterns. A further paper is to follow, which will cover the levels of the phonological hierarchy from the word to the phoneme. In the meantime, Sayers has recently written a paper on Wik-Munkan syllable analysis (1975) and a further paper (1976c) which includes a description of the relevance of stress and pitch at the morpheme and word levels in Wik-Munkan. In an earlier draft (1970a) of a paper on Wik-Munkan phonology, Sayers included a section on consonant and vowel phonemes and another on syllable types.

g. Other Wik-Munkan material which is available, but currently unpublished, includes a Wik-Munkan-English dictionary of approximately 6000 entries. The dictionary has been added to over the years by Godfrey, Sayers, myself, and more recently by Ann Curnow. In addition, there are several hundred pages of transcribed text, and each of these people has made her contribution to the pile. Two selections of approximately twenty texts each were used for concordance projects, one of adult to adult speech (1967), and one of adults speaking to young children (1972).
1.4 DATA USED FOR THIS STUDY

While I have scanned most of the Wik-Munkan texts available to me in the process of checking hypotheses, I have selected forty texts for closer scrutiny. For this closer examination, I have confined myself to the following varieties of discourse, told orally onto the tape-recorder: 7 narratives, including both traditional and modern day stories; travelogues; hortatory texts where the speaker harangues his hearers or tries persuasion of a gentler type; procedures (steps in how to do something); and explanations. The shortest of these is two or three minutes on tape, while the longest is over half an hour. Some of these texts were recorded at the request of the linguist. Sometimes other Wik-Munkan speakers were present at the time of recording — but incidentally so, rather than being the audience the speaker was addressing. Some tapes, on the other hand, were made by informants when away from home, so they could send news to their relatives. Others were done for a live audience. All of the texts of adults talking to children fall into this latter category. A few of the hortatory texts were recorded in a natural setting when I "happened" to be there. Some were spoken on tape at my request to stimulate a situation in which someone was harangued or given advice. I am satisfied that these speakers gave a realistic performance.

As my fluency in the language must be described as moderate rather than native-like, I am relying more heavily on what I find in the above oral texts than on my own intuitions about the grammaticality of sentences, paragraphs, and discourse. I have, however, taken all of the texts selected to informants for closer scrutiny, wherever possible to the speakers of the texts themselves. In these sessions we went through the texts in detail, and where one or other of our intuitions were jarred, the informants were free to edit the texts, if this was necessary. In these cases (which happen to be relatively few) the edited texts have been used for purposes of analysis. However, comparison with the original versions also provides valuable insights into the performance of Wik-Munkan speakers.
NOTES

1. In February 1972 the official tribal allegiance of the Aboriginal population at Aurukun was as listed below. The names follow the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) conventions for representing language names.

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

2. Phonetically the name Wik-Munkan would be symbolized as wɪkmùŋkən.
   I have adhered to the official Queensland spelling of Wik-Munkan
   throughout this monograph, even though technically the more correct
   spelling would be Wik-Mungkan, because the sequences /ŋk/ and /ŋk/
   both occur. The reference number to Wik-Munkan in Oates (1970) is
   106.3.

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

4. When referring to the lists and judgments of others, I have re-
   tained their spelling of language names.
5. Pakanha, which Sommer (1969:15) classifies as belonging to the Middle-Pama Subgroup, has *wik* as its word for *word*, rather than *gugu*. (Michael Martin (Edward River): personal communication.)

6. I am indebted to the Rev. David Thompson (Lochhardt River), the Rev. Dr Allen Hall (Edward River), Hank and Ruth Hershberger (Bloomfield River) and Dr Bruce Sommer (Mitchell River) for providing information on Kuuku Ya?u, Kuuk Thaayorre, Gugu-Yalandji and Oykangand respectively.

7. At the time that this monograph was originally prepared (as a thesis in early 1974) a few letters and stories written in Wik-Munkan were available. However, those who wrote them were at that time not fully proficient in writing their own language with ease and speed. I felt that their judgments on sentence and paragraph breaks, for example, would change once they were less intent on struggling over the spelling of individual words. A corpus of written materials by Wik-Munkan writers is now growing, under the stimulation of the need of the Aurukun school to have Wik-Munkan reading material freely available for use in the vernacular reading programme. Some booklets were authored by Mr Frank Walmby and his wife Mrs Topsy Walmby at a Creative Writers' Workshop for Aboriginals held in Darwin in 1974 by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Since then six more Wik-Munkan people have authored booklets, and the work of others is in the process of being prepared for publication (see Huttar, George L. *et al.* 1975:15-7 for bibliographical details up until June 1975).
CHAPTER 2

THE TOPIC

2.1 THE TOPIC

2.1.1 THEMATIC ORGANIZATION OF WIK-MUNKAN DISCOURSE

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

By "theme" I mean both the starting point for what the speaker has to say, and the subject matter of the speaker, that is, what the speaker is talking about at any given moment in the sentence or discourse. These two are sometimes one and the same thing, sometimes not. The first is closer to the Prague School's definition of theme, and the second to Halliday's definition. Their respective views will be discussed in more detail in Section 2.2. Theme can be considered purely a starting point and no more, when a speaker repeats some old information as a setting for the next event. On the other hand, if the speaker starts a sentence by fronting or preposing a certain referent
and then goes on to comment about it, the fronted item would be both starting point and the subject of what the speaker is talking about.

In Section 2.2 where I discuss several theoretical viewpoints, it will be observed that the terms "theme" and "topic" are used by different writers for the same or similar phenomena. I am following Grimes (1975:324) using "theme" to refer to a speaker's semantic choice, and "topic" to refer to the manifestation of that choice in surface structure.

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

2.1.2 MARKED AND UNMARKED THEME

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

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

2.1.3 LEVELS OF THEME

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

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

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

2.1.5 SUMMARY OF DECISION MAKING OF SPEAKERS RE THEMATIC CHOICES

The way in which the word "choice" is used in this monograph can best be expressed in the words of Grimes (1975:114):

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

I take the position in this monograph that the speaker can exercise choices not only in the content of what he says, but also in what elements of the content he makes thematic.

The rich complexity of decision making involved for the Wik-Munkan speaker in the area of thematic choice may be summarized as follows:

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

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

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

2.1.6 REQUIREMENTS FOR A THEORY

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

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

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

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

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

2.2 STUDIES BY OTHERS

Studies written in a variety of theoretical persuasions have helped shape my thinking on the subject of discourse in general, and thematic organization in particular. There follows a summary and discussion of these. This summary is not meant to be a comprehensive survey of all that has been written on discourse in linguistics, but only the major contributions that have influenced this analysis. Little attention is paid to the viewpoint of the stratificationalists, although I am indirectly indebted to their work, as Grimes (1975:23) acknowledges that he has drawn heavily on their ideas with regard to the notion of different kinds of information. This I have used in turn (Section 5.2).

2.2.1 THE PRAGUE SCHOOL

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

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

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

Firbas has written several articles discussing, modifying and developing Matthesius' concept of FSP (in particular 1957, 1964a, 1964b, 1965, 1966).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Firbas insists however that theme is not consistently the first el-
ment in the sentence. Other means besides word order co-operate to bring
about FSP. These include intonation, the emotive attitude of the
speaker, context, and semantic structure. So then, in modifying
Mathesius' ideas, Firbas has gone beyond the simple theme-rheme div-
ision in FSP analysis. In a 1965 article he defined FSP as follows
(1965:170):

By FSP we understand the distribution of various degrees of communi-
cative dynamism (= CD) over the elements within the sentence, this
distribution being determined by the co-operation of the grammatical
and semantic structures of the sentence under certain conditions of
contextual dependence.

Emotive, agitated, or emphatic sentences in Czech follow the reverse
order of rheme-theme (1964a:117). Context operates by thematizing
some elements, such as pronouns and demonstratives, regardless of
their position in the sentence. As these usually refer to information
already given in the discourse, they are predisposed to be themes.
Semantic structure operates by virtue of the fact that the semantic
content of verbs, for instance, may differ from one another in the de-
gree of CD. Firbas concludes that FSP is an outcome of an interplay
or tension between the basic distribution of CD and the other means
(1966:241). He also notes that languages differ in their suscepti-
bility to FSP and the various means by which it operates (1957:75).
Daneš relates theme-rheme (which he calls thème-propos organization) to intonation. He recognizes both neutral intonation contours, and special foregrounding forms. He says that not only may the rheme (propos) be emphasized for contrast, but a special intonation contour may be used to single out theme (1960:45-8).

Daneš has also written on the subject of a three-level approach to successfully interpreting the function of the sentence in the act of communication (1964). The three levels are: grammatical structure, semantic structure, and the level of the organization of the utterance (FSP). The latter level is the key to understanding how the semantic and grammatical structures function in the act of communication. To it belong "...the extra-linguistic content of the message,... the context and situation and... the attitude of the speaker towards the message and towards the addressee" (1964:227). In addition, rhythm, intonation, and the order of words and clauses are considered to be "extra-grammatical means" of organizing the utterance, and so they are included in this level as well (1964:228).

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the proposed description the symbols on the "tectogrammatical" level are ordered from left to right (Sgall et al. 1969): this level corresponds to the basic generative component specifying the set of propositions (Sgall and Hajičová 1970). These symbols correspond to the order of lexemic units, where those on the right have a higher degree of CD than those on the left. For unmarked cases, the actual word order would be the same as the order of symbols. For marked cases, grammatical rules would be necessary to change the order. This proposal may work quite well for Czech, which is more sensitive to the ordering of words according to their degree of CD, than is, for example, English. However, Sgall et al. go on to say that so much else has to be considered besides just the scale of CD, that it is presumably not possible to account for all this in any description having the sentence as the main unit; only in a description working with units corresponding to text..., or regarding a proposition as a unit realized by a string of sentences, could functional sentence perspective... be modelled adequately. (1969:67)

In their 1970 article Sgall and Hajičová make another suggestion. The suggestion is a brief one but holds much promise. I quote (1970: 29):

Certainly, the relation of the topic to the other elements of a sentence does not equal to [sic] the relation between different elements of the comment. It would be possible to take structures as *He told me about John that* S (where John must be mentioned in S) as a starting point and to conceive the performativ matrix sentence as e.g. I declare to you about NP that S (where NP with an identical referential index is contained in S).

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

2.2.3 HALLIDAY

Halliday has drawn heavily on the work of the Prague School in his masterly study of thematic options in the English clause (1967). He differs from them however, in one important respect. He is careful to distinguish the functions "given" and "new" from the functions "theme" and "rheme". He says (1967:205):
The two are independently variable. But there is a relationship between them such that in the unmarked case the focus of information will fall on something other than the theme.

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

Halliday exemplifies marked and unmarked theme for clauses of different moods (1967:212-5, 219). He states the unmarked themes for moods as follows: the subject for declarative, the WH-item (interrogative word) for non-polar interrogative (content interrogatives), the modal constituent for the polar interrogative (yes-no interrogatives) and the predicator for imperative. In other words, the initial element is unmarked theme each time. Hope points out in his criticism of Halliday that this position means a question, such as "What did John see" would have one theme, the WH-item, and its corresponding answer, "John saw a platypus" would have the subject "John" as theme, which does not take account of the fact that questions and their answers share the same presuppositions (1974:9).

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.4 TRANSFORMATIONAL-GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

Chomsky suggests in a footnote (1965:221) that "Topic-Comment" could be considered "the basic grammatical relation of surface structure corresponding (roughly) to the fundamental Subject-Predicate relation of deep structure." He continues to say that "Topic-of-the-Sentence" could then be defined as the leftmost NP immediately dominated by S in the surface structure. "The-Comment-of-the-Sentence" would form the rest of the string. This solution would help account for cases where other than NP's occur in English subject position. Work by Gruber on child language (1969), together with his reference to data in languages other than English, suggests that the topic-comment construction is logically more fundamental than the subject-predicate construction. He suggests that the former underlies the latter, and that the "subject-predicate is merely a special case of the topic-comment construction" (1969:424).
In a later article (1970) Chomsky introduces the notions of focus and presupposition, which, he concludes, are determined at least in part by properties of surface structure (1970:86).

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

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

Dixon, discussing the Dyirbal language, describes topic chains. Two or more consecutive sentences are described as having a common topic "if they contain the same topic NP, with the same situational referent" (1972:67). Topic for Dixon is defined via syntactic terms. An NP can be identified as a topic if it is in nominative case. Dixon presents a very interesting account of how Dyirbal contrives to keep the common NP as topic in a topic chain. Regardless of whether the referent of the common NP is actor in one sentence, acted upon in the next, and the goal in the following, sentences undergo transformations so that the common NP remains in nominative case. He presents tree representations of topic-chains, and also of the syntactic means possible for showing transition from one topic chain to another. Apart from reference to a particle which introduces a new topic or compares the topic with some earlier stage of itself, and some affixes which have a comparative or emphatic effect (1972:117, 239-40), Dixon does not discuss whether Dyirbal has means for making theme prominent. He states that, apart from two types of restrictions, word order is exceptionally free (1972:291).

Huddleston (1971) does not commit himself as to whether semantics has a generative or interpretative role, but asserts strongly that the thematic dimension must be taken into account at the semantic level. He has not attempted to produce a formalization of how this should be done. Huddleston discusses aspects of thematic organization, using Halliday's concept as a starting point, but expands the concept into further areas. For example, the choice of the verb buy versus sell is considered a matter of thematic organization. Semantically reciprocal verbs such as differ, resemble, have two or more terms, and these may be either thematically differentiated, as in "Porpita differs from Velella", or thematically undifferentiated as in "Porpita and Velella differ" (1971:75).

Gruber (1969:438-41), on the other hand, has attempted formalization of some forms of topicalization, using the formal tools of Chomsky's
(1965) generative grammar. He suggests four alternatives for formalizing the generation of topic-comment expressions. The alternative he prefers is where (1969:439-40)

... a topic-comment expression consists of the juxtaposition of two types of sentence: the free noun phrase..., and a sentence of any type.... In other words, topicalization can be treated as some sort of conjunction between two underlying sentences.

One advantage of this formalization3 is being able to account for certain intonation patterns, such as declarative, which sometimes occur with topic-comment constructions. From his study, which involved only one child, Gruber notes that the child produced sentences suggesting a topic-comment interpretation before transferring to regular English subject-predicate usage. If further evidence supported this, then I would think Gruber would have a strong point in favour of his preferred formalization rather than extraposition.

2.2.5 GENERATIVE SEMANTICS

Generative semanticists as implied in name have given attention to the components of semantic deep structure. Some have considered whether thematization and focus require representation at this level.

Lakoff suggests at the beginning of one article (1971a:234) that the semantic representation of a sentence can be defined as SR = (P₁, PR, Top, F, ...). P₁ stands for phrase-marker, PR is a conjunction of presuppositions, while Top and F are respectively the topic and focus of the sentence. In the end, he puts forward the view that "topic" is maybe, after all, a special case of presupposition. For at least some topics in English he suggests the predicates "be about" and "concern". These would be two-place relations, "whose arguments are a description of a proposition or discourse and the item which is the topic of that proposition or discourse" (1971a:262).

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

a) The general acceptance of transformational theory is impossible.

b) The general acceptance of transformational theory is surprising.

Hornby also gives the results of a psycholinguistic experiment to test the subjects' recall of sentences. From this experiment, he concludes that
...at least two aspects of sentence structure, the topic-comment distinction and presupposition, are stored in memory independently of the particular surface structure that is used to represent them. (1971:451)

Hope (1974:11, 12) separates the notions of topic and presupposition in a different way for Lisu. While he feels that focus and presupposition are deep structure notions, he treats topic as a surface feature, which can be defined as the presupposition minus the verbal. Topic markers are assigned to NP's and sometimes to adverbs or subordinate clauses, in surface structure as a result of the presuppositions present in deep structure. Most of the examples of presuppositions given by Hope, apart from an occasional exception such as an additional presupposition to do with contrary-to-expected information are cognitive (1974:66-7). They have to do with content, and relate to what has preceded in the discourse, rather than to the speaker's perspective about that content.

Grimes (1975) distinguishes the terms "theme" and "topic". While theme reflects the speaker's semantic choice, topic is reserved for the way that choice is manifested in surface grammar. He asserts that the speaker's thematic decisions (which he prefers to call staging) should be a part of the semantic deep structure of discourse. He distinguishes staging from cohesion, another element of the semantic deep structure. Cohesion refers to the information structure of the discourse, given and new information, and so forth. Staging refers to the kind of perspective from which the speaker presents the information. Grimes follows Halliday in keeping the distinction of theme and rheme versus given and new.

There seem to be at least two issues in the various viewpoints and terminology expressed above. One is the old question of how much topic or theme is related to given information. Can they be considered as having a direct relationship, or are they essentially independent systems which nevertheless keep company quite frequently? The other issue is the use of the word presupposition. It seems to be used to refer not only to cognitive structure, but also to emotive slant, and to expectations about whether information is in line with prediction or not. Perhaps a clearer picture of where one linguist stands in respect to another would emerge if these different kinds of presupposition were distinguished more often.

Amongst generative semanticists who have been vocal about the need for a semantic deep structure of discourses, rather than just of sentences, are Dressler and Grimes. Dressler (1970) gives some examples of both semantic anaphora and elliptic anaphora from German which sentence grammar cannot handle. He suggests that modality, as well as
tense, aspect, word order, and intonation should all be predicted by the semantic deep structure of discourse. He also suggests that "the topics of all periods of a discourse could form its condensed communicative-semantic deep structure" (1970:207).

Part of Grimes' proposals regarding the semantic deep structure of discourse have already been given above. He further suggests that there are three major kinds of input to the transformational component: content, cohesion and staging (1975:196).

While Grimes does indeed propose a formalization of a semantic deep structure which can be used for the content of discourse, he says little about how staging and cohesion decisions are represented in the underlying structure. The formalization he suggests for content as being "... satisfactory for any scale of magnitude from sentence to discourse" (1975:186) is symbolized:

\[ F + P^*_1 A^*_0 \]

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

\[ A + 1 (:F) \]

i stands for referential index, and this may itself be the entire argument, or the argument may be expanded to a further proposition.

Grimes points out that this grammar of propositions is recursive in form, and there is therefore no limit to the size of trees implied by it (1975:188).

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

Setting predicates, namely those of location, time, and direction "are added in as extra arguments... to the proposition that dominates everything that goes on within a single setting." (1975:218)

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

For example, the decision to talk about a particular referent could be expressed by attaching a predicate *topic* to the index of that referent. (1975:334)
Whether this is the beginning of a workable solution remains to be seen. One thing such a representation would not show is the different kinds of prominence it is possible to give marked themes.4

Other papers relating to the subject of thematization and topicalization have been written under the guidance of Grimes, though not necessarily in a generative semantic framework. These include: Taylor (1976), Miller (1973), Hooker (1972), Wheatley (1973), Newman (1976), Gieser (1972) and Kroeker (1975). Relevant points from some of these papers will be referred to later in the thesis.

2.2.6 TAGMEMICS

Tagmemicists have been claiming for some years that linguists must look beyond the sentence (for example: Pike 1964a and 1964b). For several of them, this conclusion was reached in the midst of struggling to come to grips with the language in translation sessions. One of these, for instance, was Loriot who produced an unpublished paper in 1958 on inter-sentence ties (revised and published later in 1970 with Hollenbach).

The tagmemic position of hierarchical levels from stem to discourse and the trimodal structure involving the grammar, phonology, and lexicon, lends itself very well to discourse analysis. Quite a number of monographs and articles have appeared describing various aspects of discourse, written within the tagmemic mould. Up until the early 1970's most of these concentrated on the description of surface structure (for example: Becker 1965; Bridgeman 1966; Longacre 1968a, 1970b; Morgan 1967; Reid 1970; Rowan 1972). More recently, both Longacre and Pike have been paying more attention to the notion of deep structure and mapping onto surface structure (for example: Longacre 1972, 1976). Interestingly, Longacre's list of abstract relationships that can be expressed by sentences and paragraphs (1972:55ff.) is in places very similar to Grimes' list of rhetorical predicates.

In Longacre's 1976 volume he aims at cataloguing the deep structure categories that underlie surface structure categories from discourse down. For instance, he states plot as the deep structure relationship underlying narrative discourse. Climactic narratives, however, contrast with episodic narratives in the deep structure relations underlying them. The latter, for instance, can be said to have a low profile plot, where there is a string of episodes proceeding from episode 1 to episode n. Longacre looks also at the correlation of deep structure features with the surface structure. He finds that there are occasions when there is skewing, rather than a complete one-to-one mapping. In
addition to these matters, in his 1976 volume Longacre also pays attention to such subjects as repartee relations underlying dialogue, narrator viewpoint, the abstract performative verbs underlying various discourse genre, and so on.

Up until very recently most tagmemic work on the notion of topic has come from the Philippines or from other parts of the Malayo-Polynesian language area. Longacre states (1968:II:25) that previous to 1968 published analyses of Philippine languages handled what is now called the Sentence Topic as a clause level feature. It was either regarded as an emphasis tagmeme within the clause, or an emphasis transformation of the clause. More recent analyses (for example: Reid 1970:21; Elkins 1971:224; Glover 1974:157-9) have treated Sentence Topic as a sentence peripheral tagmeme, along with exlamations, vocatives, and responses.

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

This analysis seems to lack in two areas.

(1) The domain of prominence of the Sentence Topic is not indicated in any formal way. It seems that the generative semanticists' concept of "higher predicates" can better handle this.

(2) Secondly, Reid does not handle the pronominal cross-reference in his formalization, but does so only via a prose statement of rules.

Elkins (1971:224-7) delegates discourse and paragraph topics to the outer periphery of the sentence, and sentence topic to the inner periphery. The sentence topic is cross-referenced in the nucleus of the sentence by a pronoun, or by a verb if the sentence topic represents a process. I feel that this analysis fails to show the significance of discourse and paragraph topics to discourse and paragraph respectively; that is, their respective domains of relevance are not shown clearly.

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

Prentice (1971) discusses clauses which have a preposed topic, labelling them thematic. He considers them derived, that is, they can be described in terms of transformations from another clause type (1971:229-32). This treatment means that a definite relationship is shown between the preposed topic and the cross-referenced element in the clause.

Sneddon (1975:182-3) posits thematic sentences consisting of two tagmemes, Theme and Base. The Theme announces someone or something, while the Base makes a statement about that person or thing. In treating Theme as part of the nucleus of the sentence rather than the periphery, I feel Sneddon is closer to the significance of Theme. The very name periphery suggests something which is neither very important or vital to the sentence. I would agree that this is not the case with themes and topics.

Longacre has recently turned his attention to questions of prominence. At a discourse workshop which he led in Colombia in 1974, some of the participants wrote papers which were concerned with the identification of theme and/or topic, and which dealt also with a further type of prominence to do with marking the peak of the whole discourse.

Callow (1974) has used the insights of Longacre, Halliday, Grimes, and others, along with her own ideas, in her book on discourse and translation. She talks about four main categories which need consideration in the study of discourse: grouping, cohesion, information structure, and prominence. She distinguishes three main values of prominence in discourse: prominence with thematic significance, with focus significance, and with emphatic significance. The first refers to the subject matter of the speaker at any given moment, the "This is what I'm talking about". The second "picks out items of thematic material as being of particular interest or significance" (1974:52), while the third refers to highlighting and instances where the speaker's emotions are strongly involved. Callow stresses the importance of recognizing the domain over which prominence extends, and also that there are normally a number of devices signalling prominence in any one language. These may occur simultaneously, each with a different significance.

2.3 THEORETICAL MODEL

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

My general reason for working partly within generative semantics is that I agree with the emphasis on semantic structure. It is not enough to just describe topicalization patterns. The reason why they occur and their significance must also be accounted for.

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

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

2.4 ORGANIZATION

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

1. Grimes discusses this point. He also includes cohesion decisions, which I have not concentrated on at all. His use of the term 'staging decisions' is similar to what I have called 'thematic decisions'. I quote from Grimes (1975:196):

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

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

3. The free noun phrase is chosen without Pro from Gruber's R-6, which is

   \[ S \rightarrow (Pro) (NP) \]

   The sentence may be of any type generated by R-6. R-7 is

   \[ VP \rightarrow V \ NP \]

   (1969:440)

4. In a paper given at the LSA Meeting in 1972, Grimes suggested that features of known and unknown information could also be attached.

5. One such paper, for example, is Headland, P. and S. Levinsohn 'Prominence and Cohesion in Tunebo Discourse'. For this paper, the insights of both the Prague School and Grimes were helpful along with the insights of tagmemics. Since this monograph was prepared for publication, the papers from Longacre's Colombia workshop have been published in Longacre, Robert E., ed. and Frances Woods, asst ed. 1977 Discourse Grammar. Parts 1, 2 and 3. SIL PLRF 52.
CHAPTER 3

SURFACE SKETCH OF WIK-MUNKAN PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

3.1 OUTLINE OF PHONOLOGY

Most of what is written in this section is a summary of papers written on Wik-Munkan phonology by Sayers (1970a, 1976a). Specific acknowledgment is given where relevant.

3.1.1 PHONOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF WIK-MUNKAN

The following table sets out the symbols used for the segmental phonemes which are required by a surface phonological analysis of Wik-Munkan (Sayers 1970a:37-40, 42-3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Alveo-dental</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ʈ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tj</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nj</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Vibrant</td>
<td>ɭ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ɭ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>γ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Sayers (1970a:40-1, 43-6) has described allophonic variation for Wik-Munkan. The major variations are given in summary form here. Consonants are optionally lengthened when following a vowel with primary stress. When stops /p/ and /t/ occur between voiced consonants they may be voiced. The vibrant /r/ occurs as a voiced flap in intervocalic position, but as a voiced trill when in a consonant cluster. In extreme emphasis the semi-vowel /y/ may occur as [d̪] in intervocalic position following a vowel with primary stress. The vowel /a/ has a mid central allophone [ə] in nonstressed syllables. Under certain conditions in two-syllable words the allophone [ə] fluctuates with syllabicety of the following consonant. In words of more than two syllables, when nonstressed /a/ occurs between two stressed syllables, it may be actualized as length of the preceding consonant.

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

3.1.2 SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

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

5. pukam
   sit

6. waiaŋenjan
   cry

Sayers has recently been working on a revised analysis (1975) concerning syllable division of roots and words of more than one syllable.
The stress pattern of longer monomorphemic words is given in the next section.

3.1.3 WORD STRESS

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

7. gépan
   egg

8. wʊŋal‘nam
   night fish

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

9. yépën
   unlucky hunter

There are a few forms (about twenty) where the vowel /a/ occurring in a nonstress position receives secondary stress. It seems possible that these words were historically compounds, even though native speakers react unfavourably to the suggestion of breaks (Kilham 1974:58).

10. pātəm
    really

There are another twenty forms recorded which have primary stress occurring on other than the first syllable. Some of these are onomatopoetic words or exclamations. Others were likely historically compounds or phrases, as it is sometimes possible to isolate one morpheme. The timing is faster than in compounds or phrases, and there is sometimes evidence of phonological fusion, such as the elision of the glottal at the supposed morpheme boundaries (Kilham 1974:59, 60).

11. kutjék
    head

12. tjalúpam
    splash

There are categories of suffixes in Wik-Munkan according to how they fit into the common stress pattern (Sayers 1970a:11, 12; also 1976c). Class I suffixes receive either secondary stress or lack stress according to their environment, such as -ant, referent case suffix.

13. púk-ant
    child-Ref
    to/for the child
Class II suffixes have innate secondary stress, and retain it whatever the environment. An example is -àk, which indicates goal or purpose. Class III suffixes innately lack stress, such as -aŋ when it has co-ordinative function. Other suffixes again (Class IV) are a sequence of two syllables with a nonstress-secondary stress pattern, which is retained whatever the environment, such as -antam, the possessive case suffix.

3.1.4 RHYTHMIC JUNCTURE PHONEME -a

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

3.1.5 COMPOUNDS AND CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES

The phonological pattern of compounds varies from that of monomorphemic words in several ways (Kilham 1974). Firstly, compounds have the stress pattern of primary stress followed by secondary stress, while monomorphemic words normally receive nonstress on the second syllable. Secondly, at the boundary of the two morphemes of compounds, many consonant clusters occur which do not occur in monomorphemic words. Thirdly, the second stem of compounds may have a long vowel. Long vowels do not occur in the second syllable of monomorphemic words which have primary stress on the first syllable.

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

3.1.6 STRESS PATTERNS OF GRAMMATICAL PHRASES

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

15. nil ṵeʃkam mo?
   3S quickly run.3SPst
   He ran quickly.

16. wantj ᵱwik-atly
    woman word-Ab
    a talkative woman

3.1.7 THE PHONOLOGICAL CLAUSE

Sayers (1976a:34-42) has described the phonological clause in Wik-Munkan as composed of two sections, the body and the terminal. The body is the lexical part of the rhythm wave. The terminal is either an intonation-carrying clitic occurring as the last syllable of the rhythm wave, or pitch and/or loudness features of the last half of the last syllable if no intonation-carrying clitic occurs.

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

17. nil ᵱnat kenj mo?
   3S far high fly.3SPst
   He flew really high up.

18. puck ᵱʔonk wamp-in
    child tall come-3PPst
    Some tall children arrived.

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

Sayers lists a number of grammatical conditions under which the intonation centre occurs either on the verb itself, or else on a word
or phrase which does not immediately precede the verb. For instance, if a verb is preceded by only a subject pronoun and followed by only an object or indirect object pronoun, the verb takes the intonation centre of the clause (1976a:35).

19. nii pi 'k tan-æ
   3S hit.3SPst 3P-Acc

He hit them.

Again, the morphemes such as yaʔ (verbal intensifier), keʔ (verbal negative), and eʔep (positive intensifier) take the intonation centre regardless of where they occur in the clause. By contrast, I have observed that there are some Wik-Munkan words which never take the intonation centre regardless of where they occur in the clause even before the verb. These include kuyam used to, wey (compassionate particle) (Comp), naʔ maybe, ḥak and ḥamp also.

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

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

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

Sayers (1976a:51ff.) has described intonation patterns for Wik-Munkan, and the grammatical usages for each.

In discussing the contrastive features on which she has based her description of intonation, she claims (1976a:52):

There are two intonational features of the whole P-Clause which are phonologically contrastive:

(a) the general pitch level which may be neutral, elevated, or lowered, and
(b) the pitch range which may be neutral, expanded, or compressed.

The terminal of the intonation pattern has two features which are phonologically contrastive:

(a) the pitch level or glide of the terminal which may be low, mid, high, low-mid rise, or high-low fall; and
(b) the loudness shape (envelope) of the terminal which may be steady, crescendo, or crescendo-decrescendo.

Combinations of these features and choice of intonation-carrying clitic (Sec. 3.1.7) if present, yield twenty-six intonation patterns. Some intonation-carrying clitics occur with one pattern only, while others occur with three or four. Details of the twenty-six intonation patterns are given in Table 2 in Appendix A. Note, however, that there are restrictions on the combinations of pitch level and pitch range, for example, elevated pitch level only occurs with compressed pitch range.

I give here just two examples of intonation patterns. Pattern 3 has both neutral pitch level and neutral pitch range and occurs with the sequential intonation-carrying clitic -a?. It is often the intonation pattern for initial and medial clauses of sequential sentences. Its other uses include serial listing and content interrogatives. In the following example, which is taken from Sayers (1976a:58), the first two phonological clauses have this pattern:

20. /miŋ págk-àn tjiŋt-an-a? / ma·y-an-a? / PrO wailaby-Def speaIPExclPst-Seq pick.up-IPExclPst-Seq
   + ki·ŋk-an nun-an нул/ cook-IPExclPst 3S-Acc Temp
   We speared a wallaby, picked it up and then we cooked it.

The intonation-carrying clitic -a? also occurs with a contour which has elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range (Pattern 10). This pattern is used for the first clauses of sentences expressing simultaneity, condition, and concession. It is also used for sentence topic, introductory time clauses, and imperatives. Again, in the following example, which is also taken from Sayers (1976a:64), the first two clauses have this pattern:
   after that. Mid-Top-Seq Tairi that-Top-Seq
   † nil ñâñk min ya?
   3S heart good no
   After that, as for Tairi, he was not happy.

3.1.9 THE PHONOLOGICAL SENTENCE

Sayers (1976a:42) also describes phonological sentence (P-Sentence) for Wik-Munkan:

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

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

The first clause of the sentence is normally that which contains the intonation centre of the sentence. But again, as in the phonological clause, the placement of the intonation centre of the sentence is phonologically unpredictable, and determined by grammar (Sayers 1976a:42ff.). For example, in sentences where there is inverted sequence, the clause occurring second and giving the antecedent action is the one which takes the intonation centre of the sentence. An example of an inverted sequence sentence, and of other sentences where the intonation centre of the sentence occurs other than within the clause, are given in Section 8.2.1.

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

When sentence-stress occurs in the first P-clause in a sentence of two or more P-clauses, the P-sentence has an overall downdrift of pitch of successive P-clause stresses. (1976a:48)

Sayers does not distinguish sentence and paragraph either phonologically or grammatically, but treats them as one unit. I have not accepted this position and the matter is discussed further in Sections 3.10.2 and 7.2.2.

3.1.10 INFORMATION BLOCKS

The term information block will be used throughout this monograph. This term is taken from Grimes (1975:273-4) who uses information block in preference to Halliday's term for the same thing, information unit (1967:201). He does this because of the many uses for the term unit already in vogue and the consequent danger of the term being misunderstood. The use of the term information block recognizes that a speaker
is usually sensitive to how much a hearer can cope with at once, and thereby organizes his speech into packages of information. In English, as also in Wik-Munkan, an information block corresponds to a single intonation contour. One information block may correspond to one grammatical clause, or it may be greater than or less than one grammatical clause. The following examples from Wik-Munkan illustrate these three possibilities respectively.

22. /²i·y-anamp-a / *kámpan-antàn-àn wùn-àmp /
   go-IPInclHab-Ind relatives-Accom-Def live-IPInclPut
   We go to live with relatives.

23. /taŋ-antar *wantj-àŋ-an ŋul taŋ-antar-a? /
   see woman-Erg-Def Temp see-3PHab-Seq
   They see, the women see then...

24. /°mu·y kúntj-àŋ-iy-a? /°wik keʔ-an-am ²i·y-an /
   cousin own-Def-Top-Seq word VNeg-Nomz-Src go-3SHab
   As for his own cousin, he goes without speaking.

Halliday recognizes (1967:202) that there may be higher units of information structure realized intonationally. Nevertheless, for the purposes of his article he accepts the stand that the relation between information units is one of simple linear sequence. I do not accept this stand, and consider the phonological sentence as described by Sayers (1976a) as a higher unit of information structure. This will be demonstrated more clearly in Chapters 7 and 8 on Paragraph and Sentence respectively.

3.2 WORD CLASSES

For Wik-Munkan the following word classes are posited:

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

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

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

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

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

26. ?atjantaŋ ṭan
   high stand
   stand on tiptoe

Others do double duty as indefinite pronouns and temporals, for example, wiy meaning sometime or some(people).

3.2.1 NOUNS

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

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

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

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

There are some very restricted suffixes which apply to kinship nouns only. One example of these is -tjin-antjin, an optional pluralizer.
27. **wuŋ-tjin**
   *older brother-Plural*
   *older brothers*

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

28. **?atjỳ ũaw**
   *sneeze say*
   *sneeze*

29. **?apamp ţeʔ**
   *belch throw*
   *belch*

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

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

**FIGURE 2: ORDER OF ENCLITICS FOLLOWING A NOUN PHRASE**

### 3.2.2 ADJECTIVES

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

30. **ʔoŋk long, tall + -am intransitive verbalizer + ʔoŋkam grow long, tall**

31. **ʔoŋk + ąŋ transitive verbalizer + ʔoŋkąŋ stretch**

When there is ellipsis of a noun due to it being understood from previous context, an adjective may become the head of a noun phrase.

32. **yot kán-ān wep wun-in**
   *many Punct-Def sleep lie-3PPst*
   *Lots [of people] had already gone to sleep.*

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Incl</td>
<td>ŋaŋ</td>
<td>ŋamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excl</td>
<td>ŋay</td>
<td>ŋan</td>
<td>ŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>nint</td>
<td>nip</td>
<td>ni·ŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>puŋ</td>
<td>ṭan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 3: PRONOUN BASES FOR CENTRE CASES**

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

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

1st person ŋaŋ
2nd person нул
3rd person нун

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

Tense-subject person markers are obligatorily suffixed to the verb. There are also a limited set of abbreviated forms of pronouns in other cases which are optionally suffixed to the verb. These are as follows:
The free form of these pronouns may co-occur with the abbreviated form.

The first person possessive form -afəm may be suffixed to the adjective meng pretty to give an affectionate term mengaəm dear one.

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

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

The third person singular subject pronoun nil is sometimes used as a collective pronoun. This is most commonly found in narrative texts (Sec. 6.1.1).

34. nil-a keʔ-am ʔo-waŋt-in ya?
   3Coll-Rhy VNeg-Emph spread-3PPst no
   They don't spread the news, no.

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

35. ʔan piʔ-in nun-aŋ
   3P hit-3PPst 3S-Acc
   He got hit.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Close</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Far</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>?ilaŋan</td>
<td>nalaŋan</td>
<td>?alaŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>?il-?ilaŋ</td>
<td>nal-nalaŋ</td>
<td>?al-?alaŋan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>?inan</td>
<td>nanan</td>
<td>?anan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>?inaŋan</td>
<td>nanaŋan</td>
<td>?anaŋan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 5: DEMONSTRATIVES IN ERGATIVE AND NOMINATIVE CASE**

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

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

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

36. ?alaŋman

`that.FrErg.same`

`that same one`

Unlike some languages where demonstratives refer to third person only (see Sharpe 1972:5), close distance demonstratives in Wik-Munkan may be used in conjunction with first person pronouns. Also, demonstratives of all degrees of distance may be used with second person pronouns.
37.  ngaŋp ʔinaŋan koʔalam ŋul want
    IPIncl these.Nom three  Temp leave.3SPst
    She left us, we three.

38.  ni·y nanaŋan kom-koman we·p wún-àn-a?
    2P those.MidNom young.women sleep lie-2PFut-Seq
    You young women go to sleep!

3.2.5 INTENSIFIERS - DIMINUTIVES

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

39.  tjil min te·ʔ-in
    little good throw-3PPst
    They didn’t throw the spears too badly.

40.  wal koʔantj
    partly blind
    half blind

41.  mal ka·w
    side east
    to the east side

    Others intensify.

42.  wu·t pi·ʔan
    really big
    really big

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

3.2.6 VERBS

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

    Obligatory tense-person suffixes which occur with Wik-Munkan verb stems simultaneously indicate tense or mood, and the person and number of the subject. Three tenses are distinguished: present, past, and future, although the present tense form has more often the force of habitual aspect. Future tense suffixes differ from the corresponding past tense suffixes only by secondary stress on the vowel for first and some second persons. Subjunctive mood may also be distinguished. Figure 6, which is adapted from Godfrey (1970:745), shows the base forms of the tense-person suffixes.
Figure 7, also adapted from Godfrey (1970:750), shows the addition of the reciprocal suffixes. She states the rules for the reciprocal suffix as follows (1970:749):

The allomorphs of the reciprocal suffix, -wu (basic) ~ -w ~ -uw ~ ə, are conditioned by the tense-person suffixes following them, that is, -wu precedes /m, n, l/, -w precedes /a, l/, -uw precedes /p/, and -ə precedes /u/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bound Subject</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-anàmp</td>
<td>-amp</td>
<td>-àmp</td>
<td>-imp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-anàl</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>-àl</td>
<td>-il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>-añ</td>
<td>-iŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonsing.excl.</td>
<td>-anàn</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-àn</td>
<td>-in ~ -iyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-anàn</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-àn</td>
<td>-in ~ -iyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-anîy</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-àn</td>
<td>-in ~ -iyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-anîp</td>
<td>-uw</td>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>-iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-ə</td>
<td>-ow</td>
<td>-iy ~ -iw ~ in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-antån</td>
<td>-in ~ -iyin</td>
<td>-ayn ~ -iytàn</td>
<td>-iw ~ -iwpul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-anpul</td>
<td>-pul</td>
<td>-owpul</td>
<td>-iypul ~ -iwpul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 6: BASE FORMS OF WIK-MUNKAN TENSE-PERSON SUFFIXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past/Future</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Incl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-wunamp</td>
<td>-wump</td>
<td>-wimp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-wunal</td>
<td>-wul</td>
<td>-wil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Excl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonsing.</td>
<td>-wunan</td>
<td>-wun</td>
<td>-win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-wuniy</td>
<td>-wun</td>
<td>-win</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-wunip</td>
<td>-uw</td>
<td>-iw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>-wuntan</td>
<td>-wàyn (fut.)</td>
<td>-wiytàn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
<td>-wunpul</td>
<td>-uwü</td>
<td>-wiypul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 7: WIK-MUNKAN RECIPROCAL PLUS TENSE-PERSON SUFFIXATION**
It can be seen from Figures 6 and 7 that due to homophony of some suffixes, the bound person suffixes do not make as many distinctions as the free pronoun forms.

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

43. Ʝotan Ʝack + -àŋ + Ʝotanàŋ Ʝacken

44. wamp Ʝome + -àŋ + wàmpàŋ Ʝring

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

45. Ʝapentj Ʝrun away, escape but Ʝa Ʝrun away with, kidnap (literally pick up)

46. pentj burn (intransitive) but Ʝi Ʝook, Ʝurn (transitive)

There are at least four ditransitive verbs in Wik-Munkan (Godfrey 1970:748) which may take two external objects, such as wa Ʝname.

While transitive and ditransitive stems in Wik-Munkan may take the reciprocal suffixes, there are a few verbs which are always reciprocal in form, such as Ʝek- Ʝfight.

47. Ʝek-wun-tan
    Ʝight-Rec-3PPres
    They are fighting.

There are four verb-like words which are never conjugated: Ʝa Ʝlike, mak Ʝlet be, Ʝe Ʝloves, Ʝaw Ʝfond of. The first two are normally followed by another verb in future tense (gapping of the second verb sometimes occurs after Ʝa Ʝwhen understood from the context of the discourse).

48. Ʝil Ʝa Ʝlike Ʝi Ʝow
    Ʝhe Ʝlikes go-3SFut
    Ʝhe wants to go.

49. mak Ʝaw Ʝow
    Ʝet.be go-3SFut
    Ʝet him go!

The word Ʝa Ʝmay also be followed by a verb in past tense. The meaning of the sentence then is (he) had the pleasure of doing such-and-such.

Both Ʝe Ʝand Ʝaw follow the nouns or nominalized verbs which refer to the object of the person's love or taste. Ʝaw is a stronger word than Ʝe Ʝ, although both can have either good or bad connotation.
50. puk we·nt
children loves
fond of children

51. ?enk-an ?aw
ask-Nomz fond.of
an inquisitive person

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

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

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

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

53. nil ?enk-an-ak wamp
3S ask-Nomz-01 come.3SPst
He came to ask.

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

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

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

3.2.7 VERBAL AUXILIARIES

There are two verbal auxiliaries in Wik-Munkan, kan and ɳul, whose meanings and functions are best described in the section on the modal and aspectual system (Sec. 3.4).
3.2.8 ADVERBS

The term adverb here is used more narrowly than in traditional grammar, and reserved for adverbs of "manner" (Lyons 1968:326), such as ρeŋkam quickly. Adverbs normally precede the verbs they modify.

Onomatopoeic adverbs are not uncommon:

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

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

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

3.2.9 TEMPORALS AND LOCATIVES

Temporals are words indicating time. The specification of time is much less exact than in English: pe·tan yesterday, a few days ago, last week; ṇàŋ ṛím morning, tomorrow; ṭímnàŋ long time ago, and gives adjectival force.

58. ṭa·k nji·ŋk-anam
    place recent-Adjr
    recent days

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

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

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

59. ka·w-am
    east-towards
    in the east direction

When locatives occur in a clause in which the verb refers to a stationary action, -aŋk may be suffixed to locatives with the meaning of at (Godfrey 1967).
There are also several series of demonstratives which can have either
temporal or spatial meaning, and which can refer to circumstances as
well. The demonstrative ?án-pål-àn (there.(far).here-Def) can mean
after that (from that time), from there, or, from that reason. Like
the demonstratives described in 3.2.4, these are also marked for three
degrees of distance, close, mid, and far. These demonstratives have
been described in detail by Sayers and Kerr (1964).

3.2.10 PARTICLES

Wik-Munkan has a few forms which modify the meaning of a sentence,
rather than just the noun or verb. Those that are separate phonologi­
cal words I am calling particles. Some examples are: wey, an expres­
sion of compassion to another, or sensitivity towards oneself (Comp);
naŋ may be. Some, such as wey, never occur alone. In a clause or sen­
tence, particles never take the intonation centre.

3.2.11 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions have a co-ordinating or subordinating function. Some
have both. For example, puŋ has been described by Sayers (1976b:112)
as a broad spectrum conjunction, as it can variously mean and, but,
because, so, therefore.

yipam because and ?a? and then are other examples of Wik-Munkan
conjunctions.

3.2.12 INTERJECTIONS

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

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

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

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

The interrogatives with ḋe̱-n as stem may take the same case endings as inanimate nouns.

62. ḋe̱-n-aŋ
   what-Inst
   what with?

The interrogative ḋe̱-n when reduplicated has the meaning of how many?.

Questions with want- as stem include wàntsak what, how, and wantin where. When want- is reduplicated for these two interrogatives, the universal quantifiers of wànts-wàntsak whatever and wànts-wàntsak whichever result (Sayers: personal communication). There is also wànts-wàntsak, which is suffixed with the goal suffix -aŋ, meaning wherever.

3.3 LEXICAL CATEGORIES

Wik-Munkan, in common with some other Australian languages such as Dyirbal, which has been described by Dixon (1971), has a special "avoidance vocabulary". There are in fact three categories of words in Wik-Munkan in this respect. There are those which can be used with anybody such as ka-ŋ mother, poŋkok grasshopper, ḏonam one and ḋe-? yes. There are no alternative forms for words in this first category.

A second category includes words which cannot be used with certain relatives, especially a woman's brother's children. These words have alternative forms (Category 3) which can be used with anybody, but must be used with a woman's brother's children. Although these are not restricted in their use, they are rarely heard apart from the special context in which they must be used. Categories 2 and 3 are illustrated below:
FIGURE 8: VOCABULARY CATEGORIES 2 AND 3

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

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

3.4 MODAL AND ASPECTUAL SYSTEM

Some moods and aspects intersect with tense in Wik-Munkan. Present tense affixes also indicate habitual aspect; future tense affixes normally indicate imperative mood when used with first or second person. The imperative usage is accompanied by an elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range of the intonation contour, along with the sequence intonation-carrying clitic -a? (Sayers 1976a:63):

63. /tnint pu·y mọ?-ân-a?/
   2S for run-2SPut-Seq
   You run away!

64. /tnamp -ọ·y-âmp-a?/
   IFIncl go-IFIncl Fut-Seq
   Let’s go!

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

65. țan ọ·ntj-àyn
   3P enter-3PPut
   They should enter.

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

The verbal auxiliaries kan and ฎูล play a part in the formation of several moods and aspects as summarized in Figure 9. The following résumé draws heavily on the work of Godfrey (1967).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past tense</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kan</strong></td>
<td>Punctilier</td>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>a) Immediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>now, then</strong></td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kanam</strong></td>
<td>Completive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ฏูล</strong></td>
<td>a) Predictive</td>
<td>a) Temporal</td>
<td>Temporal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Temporal</td>
<td><strong>later on</strong></td>
<td><strong>later on</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>then</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c) Conjunction</td>
<td>b) Intentional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>so, so</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>then, well</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kan-ฎูล</strong></td>
<td>a) Inchoative</td>
<td>Near Future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b) Completive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>after</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 9:** kan and ฎูล INTERSECTING WITH VERBAL TENSES

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

66. **kan ṇay °David-ant wέnk- áll-a?**
   Punct IS David-Ref search-ISPut-Seq
   *I will look for David now!*

67. **kan ṇuk-a?**
   Punct descend-Seq
   *Get down at once!*

When the combination of kan and future is accompanied by elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range of the intonation contour, and the intonation-carrying clitic -a· or -e·, the mood is desiderative (Sayers 1976a:65).
68. kan °ʔi·y-àŋ-a.
Punct go-ISFut-Des
I wish I could go!

kan occurring with verbs in present tense has a temporal meaning of now, or then. Such occurrences are normally within the context of procedural discourse, where customary actions and ceremonies are described.

69. /kan ke·ʔ-ʔant-an/ qak kan ḫán-àŋ-antàn/
Punct dance-3PPres water Punct stand-Trz-3PPres
Then they dance. Then they stand the water [on the ground].

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

70. /kán-àn mu·ntj-ʔant-an-à/ ámb-àn kan ḥa·ʔ-ʔant-an/
Punct-Def bathe-3PPres-Seq food-Def Punct give-3PPres
After they bathe, then they give out the food.

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

71. ḥay ṣpāl-am ŋul ḥi·y-àŋ-a
IS here-towards Temp go-ISFut-Ind
I will come back later.

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

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

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

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

When ŋul is unstressed and occurs with verbs in past tense, the meaning is then.

74. pam ṣọnàŋan ŋul wamp
man another Temp come.3SPst
Then another man came.
75. \(\text{nil \, }^{\text{pe\text{	extasciitilde}y-}\text{pe\text{	extasciitilde}y} \, \text{\text{nul}}} \)
\(3S \, \text{cry-Rd.3SPst} \, \text{Temp}
\)
He cried and cried then.

\(\text{nul}\) occurring unstressed in clause initial position has the meaning of \textit{so, so then, well then}. When \(\text{nul}\) occurs in a separate information block, initially in a clause or sentence (or paragraph), the temporal meaning of \textit{then, after that} is dominant. In this situation, \(\text{nul}\) receives topicalization suffixation. It is suffixed by \(-an\) (definite), and sometimes also by \(-iy\) (topic), and finally by the sequence intonation-carrying clitic \(-a?\) (Sec. 4.2).

76. \(/\text{nul-}\text{-an-iy-a?} / \text{kutjam-}\text{a want} / \text{Temp-Def-Top-Seq} \text{wet.season two-Erg leave}
\)
And then, two years passed by.

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

77. \(\text{nil kan-}\text{nul} \, \text{\text{jaw}} \)
\(\text{he Punct-Temp say.3SPst}
\)
He began to speak.

3.4.2 OTHER MOODS AND ASPECTS

The unconjugated verbs ka-\(\text{\eta}\)k and mak, which express \textit{desiderative} and \textit{permissive} moods respectively, have been described in Section 3.2.6.

There are several other words which have a modal impact. There are the negatives: ke\(\text{?}\), verbal negative, ya\(\text{?a\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\eta}am} \text{to no avail} \text{and ya\text{?}?}, non-verbal negative. ke\(\text{?}\) may be compounded with the temporal \(\text{nul}\), with the meaning of \textit{never again}.

78. \(\text{nil \, }^{\text{ke\text{	extasciitilde}y-}\text{nul}} \, \text{\text{?i\text{	extasciitilde}y}} \)
\(\text{he VNeg-Temp go.3SPst}
\)
He never went again.

\(\text{?ep}\) expresses certainty, while na\(\text{\textcircled{a}}\) and ya-ka\(\text{?}\) express probability. pu\(\text{r}\) has the sense of \textit{hardly}. ya\(\text{?}a\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\eta}\text{\eta} has the meaning of \textit{just}. When the negative ya\(\text{?}\) is used immediately preceding a verb, it has an intensifying effect. The action of the verb actually takes place but the result of it is bad for the actor, or he has been frustrated in his goal.
79. *nil òya?
   3S Neg.Ints look.3Spst
   He looked to no avail.

80. mìî ngâ?-
   Pro fish-Def Neg.Ints fall.off.3Spst
   The fish slipped off [the line].

The adverbs muñkanam and noñkan keep on doing something and noñtan always, give iterative and durative aspects respectively.

3.5 CASE SYSTEM

3.5.1 SURFACE CASE SYSTEM

The surface case system of Wik-Munkan may be represented by Figure 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>NOMINATIVE 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Transitive Subject)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOMINATIVE</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ACCUSATIVE -aŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Intransitive Subject and Object)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOCATIVE</td>
<td>?àŋ (close)</td>
<td>?àŋ (2S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ey (mid)</td>
<td>-alàŋ (close)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-øy (far)</td>
<td>-aley (mid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-aløy (far)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including concomitant and means)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATIONARY LOCATIVE</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td>&lt;-antâŋ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEMPORAL</td>
<td>-aŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENT</td>
<td>-ant</td>
<td>&lt;-ant&gt;³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including Allative and Benefactive)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL</td>
<td>-àk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Purposive and Allative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCOMPANIMENT</td>
<td>-antâŋ</td>
<td>&lt;-antâŋ&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE</td>
<td>-antâm</td>
<td>&lt;-antâm&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(including Causal and Ablative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSIVE</td>
<td>-antâm</td>
<td>&lt;-antâm&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 10: WIK-MUNKAN CASE SUFFIXES
3.5.2 SYNTACTIC EVIDENCE FOR DISTINGUISHING CASES

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

Syntactic evidence supports the distinctions made for Wik-Munkan.

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

81. we'-?-an
    who-Erg
    who [did it]?

82. e?-n-an
    what-Inst
    What with?

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

83. ?ak ga?iy-an ?uwa qan-an
    water big-Erg find.3SPst IPExcl-Acc
    A big storm caught us.

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

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

84. `wantin` and `wantən` versus `ŋə·n-aŋ`
   `where` and `where in` versus `what-Inst`
   `what with`

85. `ʔaŋan` (and other locative series) versus `ʔaŋan`
   `there` versus `with that`

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

86. `/wunp-an  tan-aŋ / dinghy-aŋ ʔaŋ-am-an /
   put-IPExclPst 3P-Acc dinghy-Loc there-same-Def`
   We put them in the dinghy, in that same one.

87. `/pillow / ʔaŋan  nji·n-aŋ /`
   `pillow` with that
   `that's what I sat on`.

88. `ʔa·k`  *ŋe·n*
   `time/place what` when?

It is true that the word `ʔa·k` can mean `place` as well as `time`.

89. `ke? ye·tj-an ʔa·k-aŋ-an`
   VNeg vomit-2SFut ground-Loc-Def`
   Don't vomit on the ground!

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

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

88. `ʔa·k  *ŋe·n`
   `time/place what`

It is true that the word `ʔa·k` can mean `place` as well as `time`.

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

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

90. nil kə:t nuŋ-antam-antaŋ ?iŋ-y
   3S mother 3SAJ-Poss-Accom go.3SPst
   He accompanied his mother.

91. ŋaŋ piŋ-puŋ-antam-antam wīŋjāŋ moʔaŋ
   IS father 3SAJ-Poss-Src fright run-ISPst
   I was frightened of his father.

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

92. nan-a  káŋ ŋaŋ-aŋ-antam
   that. Mid-Rhy mother ISAJ-Poss-Poss
   That thing over there belongs to my mother.

3.5.3 FURTHER ON THE CASE SYSTEM

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

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

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

3.5.3.1 Ergative

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

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

94. pam wantj yot kunk mo?-in
   man woman lots north run-3PPst
   Lots of people flew north.

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

3.5.3.3 Vocative

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

96. kā’-aŋ
    mother-Voc
    Hey, mother!

97. niŋ-alō’-y
    2D-Voc.2Far.Dist
    Hey, you two over there!

3.5.3.4 Instrumental

Instrumental covers several closely related semantic concepts: instrumental, concomitant, means and even manner. I can find no syntactic evidence to separate these. They share the same demonstratives and interrogatives. Example 93 above shows a noun marked as instrument. In this example the word ṭalmŋ-aŋ-am could have been substituted with ṭalmŋ-aŋ ʧampaŋ or ṭalmŋ-aŋ ʧamp where the particle ʧampaŋ or its abbreviated form ʧamp would have an instrumental function.

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

98. pal-am wamp-antanka lṭal-i-yn-aŋ
    here-towards come-3PPres money big-Inst
    They come here with lots of money.
Two further usages of the particle ḏaman and its abbreviated forms ḏam and ḏam are relevant to this section. They can be used with a concomitant sense and also with the meaning of too, also. Both uses are illustrated in the following example.

99. /tān moʔ-ìn axe ḏam / knife ḏam móʔ-àʔ-ìn nuŋ-ant / 3P run-3PPst axe with knife also run-Trz-3PPst 3SAj-Ref

They ran with an axe, and they ran a knife to him also.

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

The suffix -aŋ can also express means.

100. /puk manj wiŋ-aŋ dinghy-āŋ moʔ-ìn / child small some-Seq dinghy-Inst run-3PPst

Some of the children travelled by means of the dinghy.

Animate nouns, such as animals, may be means.

101. nay ?ín-ʔūl-ân moʔ-āŋ yaʔaman-āŋ-iy-a IS this-Temp-Def run-ISPlst horse-Inst-Top-Ind

This is the first time I've ridden on a horse.

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

102. wump-āŋ ʔi'y hump-Inst go.3S.Pst

He walked hunched over.

3.5.3.5 Stationary Locative

The following example shows a noun in locative case.

103. maʔ-kutjam wun wukaʔ-āŋ hand-two lie-3SPst hole-Loc

He [the ghost] stays in the hole two days.

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

104. Lynette ʔinʔ-āŋ njiʾn 揿-ʔaʔ Lynette shoulder-Loc sit.3SPst ISAj-Accom

Lynette sat on my shoulder.
3.5.3.6 Temporal

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

105. tan nul wamp-in  qamp-aŋ / kintj ŋonam-anə ʔanən-ly
3P Temp come-3PPst IPIncl-Ref sum one-Temp that-Top
I predict they'll come to us on another day.

3.5.3.7 Referent

The referent enclitic -ant is used with animate nouns and pronouns to indicate indirect object, a locative to meaning, or a benefactive for meaning.

106. nil puŋ manj-ant ŋeʔ
3S child small-Ref gave.3SPst
He gave [it] to the child.

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

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

108. walmánt ka'ntj pént-âŋ
cheek bone come.out-Trz.3SPst 3P-Ref
Their cheekbones were sticking out.

3.5.3.8 Goal

The suffix -ək is normally suffixed to inanimate nouns, with the meaning of location "towards" or purpose. It may also be suffixed to nominalized verbs with the meaning of purpose.

109. mín-ək ʔí·y-əmp-aʔ
fish-Gl go-IPInclFut-Seq
Let's go fishing!

110. ʔan tu·t muŋk-an·ak pént-âŋ-ən ʔan-an ʔan-aŋ
IPExl milk drink-Nomz-Gl go.out-Trz-IPExlPst 3P-Acc
We sent them out to drink milk.

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

111. nint ʔí·y-ăn ŋtan-t wantjínŋ-ək-an pæl ʔí·y-áyn
2S go-2SPst 3P-Ref old.women-Gl-Def here go-3PFut
You go to those old women [and persuade them] to come here.
3.5.3.9 Accompaniment

Examples showing nouns and pronouns in accompaniment case follow. The accompaniment is sometimes close to means semantically, as in the following examples.

112. ñáy-än puŋ wik kutj-äŋ Benny-antæ
   IS-Def but word send-ISPst Benny-Accom
   But I sent word with Benny.

113. ñáŋ-äräŋ we·? ?i·y-ow
   ISAJ-Accomp who.Nom go-3SPut
   Who will go with me?

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

114. /pi·m ?anaŋan mo?-in ñan-t / puk manj ţam /
    men those run-3PPst źP-Ref child small also
    The men ran to them, and the children went too.

3.5.3.10 Source

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

115. nil wfnjän mo? nuŋ-antäm
    3S fright run.3SPst 3SAJ-Src
    He was frightened of him.

116. nil ţán-tâm mo?
    3S źP-Src run.3SPst
    He ran away from them.

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

117. /nil waŋk-am-an ma·y / kuntow-an /
    3S stringbag-from-Def take-3SPst stone-Def
    He took the stones from the stringbag.

118. ?in yi·ntj wun / ţak-am7
    this wet lie.3S water-Src
    This is wet because of the rain.

The suffix -am may be used with an animate noun to mean "location from", but in this case the noun assumes a more abstract status. For example puk-am (puk child) has the sense of from childhood, or from the time of being a child. Either -antäm or -am may be used with inanimate nouns with the meaning of original source. This should perhaps be considered possessive.
64

119. kaŋk banana-antâm
    leaf banana-Src
    leaves from the banana tree

    The suffix -antâm may also be used in the initial sentences of dis-
courses, where the speaker is announcing his topic. In these instances,
it may be glossed about, concerning.

120. ŋay wik kaj wâ·ʔ-âŋ wantj-antâm
    IS word old tell-ISFut woman-Src
    I'm going to tell you a story about a woman.

3.5.3.11 Possessive

    The possessive suffix -antâm may be used with both nouns and pro-
nouns.

121. puk pul-antâm nan-a
    child 3D-Poss there.Mid-Ind
    The child of those two is over there.

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

122. maʔ paj nun-âŋ ṭuŋ-k-aŋ-an
    hand bite.3SPst 3S-Acc snake-Erg-Def
    The snake bit his hand.

3.5.4 CASE RANKING AND WORD ORDER

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

    a) (S) 0 noun V
    b) (S) V 0 pronoun

S and 0 stand for free forms of the subject and object respectively.
The brackets show that the free form of the subject is by no means
obligatory, as suffixation on the verb shows person and number of sub-
ject. When the free form of the subject occurs, it typically occurs
initially in the clause, whether noun or pronoun. On the other hand,
the occurrence of the free form of the object is highly preferred to
suffixation on the verb, or to not occurring at all. It is important
to mention that the patterns shown above apply most to pronouns in
third person, as statistically first and second person pronouns occur
before the verb about 50% of the time.
There is some constraint as to how many clause constituents can occur before the verb. More than three is considered over-crowded. There is case ranking apparent in that subject and object (when identified by a noun) have prime right of way to occur preceding the verb. A noun marked with -ant, referent, has the next highest rank, while a pronoun in referent case follows the verb as does the object pronoun. If one or more of the above do not occur, then by default words or phrases marked for the more oblique cases, such as locative, source, and accompaniment, may occur preceding the verb.

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

3.5.5 UNDERLYING ERGATIVITY

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

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

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

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

125. /nil Marie-iy-a? / kutjam witj /
   3S Marie-Top-Seq two catch.3SPst
   As for Marie, she caught two fish.

126. /nil pam ȳum nuŋ-aŋ-am-aŋ tjint / Mittaboy-aŋ ?ey /
   3S man fire 2S-Poss-Erg spear.3SPst Mittaboy-Erg Ques
   Your husband, Mittaboy, speared it, did he?

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

127. /puk manj-àn-iy-a? / ka-t kuntj-âŋ pek kal-an
    child small-Def-Top-Seq mother own-Erg down carry.3SPst-3SAcc
    wo?uw-ak /punt-iy /?uk-?uk-a
    river-G1 creek-Loc descend-Rd.3SPst.Rhy water-G1
    As for the child, the mother carried him to the river, and she
    went down into the water.

    3S young mother small-Top-Seq work only go-Rd3SPst Comp
    may ka-kâ-mp yot-a /
    food bury. Rd3SPst lots-Ind
    As for the young mother, she only worked, and planted lots of
    food.

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

3.6 THE ENCLITIC -àn

The definite enclitic -àn and the topic enclitic -iy receive much
attention in this monograph, as both are related to thematicization.
The enclitic -àn in particular falls into the category of "Pesky lit-
tle Particles" (Grimes 1975:93), in that it is hard to pin down. It
has a variety of functions, and these are summarized here. Its most
common function is to indicate definiteness, and it has been labelled
accordingly. Moravcsik (1969:64) has defined definiteness as: "...a noun
is definite if it is the same as the one mentioned before; and defi-
niteness marking is an optional surface manifestation of 'sameness'."

3.6.1 -àn MARKING DEFINITENESS

When a participant or object enters a discourse for the first time,
the phrase referring to him or it is not normally suffixed with -àn.
An exception to this is if the participant or object is already known
to the listener, either from previous conversation, shared background,
or from being in the sight of both.
Demonstratives and personal pronouns are also considered definite and therefore relate to given information. -àn does not normally co-occur with demonstratives, but may do so with personal pronouns. Subsequent noun references to participants or objects are normally suffixed with -àn, or followed by a demonstrative, or preceded by a pronoun in apposition.

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

nou n, pronoun, zero, zero, zero....

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

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

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

3.6.2 -àn and TOPICALIZED CLAUSES

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

129. /mú·t-àn kuyam ge·y-in-a? / truck-antàm-àn-a? / noise-Def used.to hear-3PPst-Seq truck-Src-Def-Seq

When they used to hear the noise of the truck....
These clauses are dependent intonationally, and are often part of sentences expressing simultaneity or close sequence.

3.6.3 -àn MARKING RELATIVE CLAUSES

The definite enclitic -àn is suffixed to the first or sometimes second word of a relative clause. In a restrictive relative clause, the antecedent and the relative clause are in one information block, and the antecedent is not marked with -àn. ⁸

130. /?an-a tìn-am we·nt-an / ?a·k níl-àn mul wun / they-Rhy here.in-Emph turn-3SPres place 3S-Def dead lie-3SPst
   ?ánàn / there.in
   He goes round and round here, in the place where he died, there.

131. /míñ  الماضي -an -an / fišh IPExl night-Def find-IPExlPres
   the fish which we find at night

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

132.  tàn kon-aŋ-am pí·-àyn wik ?anan / tàn-àn vàw-in-ař
   3P ear-Loc-Emph keep-3PFut word that 3P-Def say-3PPst-ISRef
   They must keep that word, which they told me about.

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

3.6.4 -àn MARKING EMBEDDED COMPLEMENT CLAUSES AT THE BEGINNING OF DISCOURSES

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

133. ñay wik kàt ?inàr và·-àŋ-a / ñan kàŋk-aŋ-an
   IS word old this tell-ISPut-Ind IPExl bush-Loc-Def
   wun-wun-an / live-Rd-IPExlPst
   I'm going to tell you about how we lived in the bush.

134. ñay kan ?in và·-àŋ / may palow-àŋ yump-ànan
   IS Punct this tell-ISPut food damper-Def make-IPExlPres
   I'm about to tell you how we make damper.
3.6.5 -än and APPOSITION

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

135. min ka·t pi·ʔan tjint-an nun
   Prō mother big spear-3SPres 3SAcc
   He spears the mother [goose].

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

136. nil pi·k nun-än / puk mānj-än
   3S hit 3S-Acc child small-Def
   He hit him, that little child.

3.6.6 -än and EQUATIVE CLAUSES

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

137. Goroka-än ?a·k min
   Goroka-Def place good
   Goroka is a good place.

3.6.7 -än and -iy and THEME

The part -än and -iy play in topicalization patterns such as fronting and tagging is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.7 REDUPLICATION

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

138. min kaŋ-kāŋ
   Prō eagle’s cry
   eagle

139. kuŋ? kuŋ? ŋaw
   rumble rumble say
   [stomach] rumbling
Apart from this, reduplication has several semantic and grammatical functions, which are described below. For all functions described only the first syllable of words is reduplicated.

3.7.1 CONTINUOUS ASPECT

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

\[ C_1V C_2(C)_3(C)_4 \rightarrow C_1\theta-C_1V C_2(C)_3(C)_4 \]

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

140. ka-ká
   Rd-row.3SPst
   He rowed and rowed.

141. pé-y-pè-y
   cry-Rd.3SPst
   He kept on crying.

3.7.2 INTENSIFICATION

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

142. τεφκαμ fast
    \rightarrow τέφκ-τεφκαμ really fast

143. ηύταν night-time
    \rightarrow ηύτ-ηύταν in the dead of night

144. κέτj far
    \rightarrow κέτj-κέτj a really long distance

3.7.3 PLURALITY

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

145. ᾱαλαɲan that one (Erg)
    \rightarrow ᾱλ-ᾱαળαɲan those ones (Erg)

146. κόμαŋ young woman
    \rightarrow κόμ-κόμαŋ young women

147. we·? who (Sg.Nom)
    \rightarrow we·?-we·? who (Pl.Nom)

3.7.4 ALTERNATION

Numerals and maʔ hand may be reduplicated to express alternation.
148. ṭonam one ➔ ṭon-ṭonam one by one

149. ma? hand ➔ má?-mà?-aŋ (hand-Rd-Inst) to take in turns

3.7.5 EXCLUSION

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

150. nil he ➔ nil-nil-am he by himself

3.7.6 NON-CONFORMITY OR DIFFERENCE

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

151. nil he ➔ nil-nil different

152. pul those two ➔ pul-pól that's their way of doing it

3.8 COMPOUNDING AND PHRASES

3.8.1 COMPOUNDING AND CLOSE-KNIT PHRASES

Dixon (1972:17) has stated that "In Australian languages there are as a rule rather few compound nouns". Wik-Munkan is an exception, for it is rich in compounds and close-knit phrases for several word classes. I have described these in detail elsewhere (1974) and a summary only will be given here.

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

153. (miŋ) ká·l?-we?aŋ
    Pró ear-wide
    frilly necked lizard
Some compounds are metaphors which have become names of things.

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

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

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

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

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

161. may †po?al
   Carb fruit.species
   yellow fruit

In generic-specific phrases the first noun almost invariably has literal meaning, although the second noun sometimes has extended meaning.

162. kul †ka·?
   woomera nose
   hook on woomera (spear-thrower)

3.9 SYNTAXIC PHRASES

3.9.1 MODIFIED NOUN PHRASES

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

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

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

163. pam min †ana⁶anan
   men good those.Nom
   those good men

164. pinj naŋ-afam †ana⁶anan
   aunt ISÁj-Poss that.Erg
   that aunt of mine

165. wiŋ †ana⁶anan
   some those.Nom
   some of them

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

167. /tan-aŋ wiy ?anaŋan-iŋ táŋ-taŋ / ³P-Acc others those-Top see-Rd-3PPst ³P-Acc
   They saw those others.

168. /nil wantj 'kampan nuŋ-antam ?al-?aŋan-iŋ-a? / 3Coll woman relative 3SAJ-Poss Rd-that-Top-Seq
   yi?wáŋ ?oŋk wak-in nuŋ-ant /
   grass.skirt long sew-3PPst 3SAJ-Ref
   As for the female relatives of hers, they made her a long grass skirt.

169. /tan wiy ?anaŋan ⁴əw-an-tan / ³P others those.Nom say-3PPres
   Those others say...

170. /pal puŋ wént-áŋ-an nun puk máŋj-än-iŋ / here there turn-Trz-3SPres 3SAcc child small-Def-Top
   He turns the child around.

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

171. /nil-a? / wáŋtj-àn-a? / kamp mo? / 3S-Seq woman-Def-Seq fast run.3SPst
   As for the woman, she ran fast.

172. /nil pi-k nun-aŋ / puk máŋj-àŋ / 3S hit.3SPst 3S-Acc child small-Def
   He hit the little child.

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

dead-Def-Seq woman-Seq sit-Trz-3PPst 3SAcc
   As for the dead woman, they sat her up.

3.9.2 CO-ORDINATE NOUN PHRASES

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

174. ḡan Topsy-aŋ
IDExcl Topsy-Co
Topsy and I

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

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

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

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

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

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

179. waṭiy pul miŋ-aŋ
yam 3D fish-Co
yams and fish

When one of these co-ordinate phrases functions in one of the oblique cases such as referent or accompaniment, the pronoun is suffixed with the relevant case marker.

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

The particle ḡak etcetera also functions in co-ordinate phrases. One or more inanimate nouns are specified, and ḡak closes the phrase.
Co-ordination is also expressed by listing. Such listing is open-ended. In this case, each item except the last is suffixed by the sequence intonation-carrier -a?. There is a slight pause between each. We have here then several phonological phrases. Quite frequently a pronoun in the clause is cross-referenced to the group of listed items.

3.9.3 VERB PHRASES

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

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

3.9.4 TEMPORAL AND LOCATIVE PHRASES

Temporals and locatives may be modified by a small set of adjectives.
Another locative phrase construction is where demonstratives precede the locative or directional which they modify.

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

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

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

In Wik-Munkan there are formal linguistic signals for the beginnings and ends of discourses, and so a discourse can be considered a complete speech act. But from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, no discourse is complete in itself. Something happened, such as a conversation or an event, to provoke the discourse, and its completion may trigger something else again, such as an event or another discourse.
This definition of discourse does not exclude the possibility of discourses embedded within other discourses. An example of an embedded discourse in Wik-Munakan is where a speaker tells a gruesome story about a child who was eaten by a crocodile as an illustration of one of her points of advice in a hortatory discourse. The embedded discourse in this example does not have the normal signals for the beginning and end of a narrative.

I consider paragraphs to have the function of presenting and developing the discourse theme. They are generally combinations of sentences which group together, although paragraphs embedded within paragraphs are not excluded, nor are one-sentence paragraphs (see Sec. 3.10.2 for formal markers).

A sentence is far from Bloomfield's description of it (Bloomfield 1933:170):

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

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


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

Clauses may be either verbal or non-verbal in Wik-Munkan. Gapping of the verb in verbal clauses sometimes occurs where it is understood from preceding context.

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

Grimes (1975:207ff.), on the other hand, uses the term "rhetorical predicate" in contrast to "lexical predicate". Lexical predicates have semantic roles as their arguments, and are most often expressed by clauses in surface structure. Rhetorical predicates join lexical predicates together, and they may also join other rhetorical predicates together. Discourse, paragraphs and sentences normally have an
underlying representation organized by rhetorical predicates. Grimes has divided rhetorical predicates into paratactic (such as alternative and response), hypotactic (such as explanation and specific) and neutral (such as collection and covariance).

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

3.10.2 \textit{Formal Criteria for Distinguishing Sentence and Paragraph}

Sayers has stated that it proved impossible to find structural evidence for making a distinction between sentences and paragraphs in Wik-Munkan (1976a:49, 50).

Earlier in her paper, Sayers states that in most phonological sentences the sentence-stress (or intonation centre of the sentence) is on the first phonological clause (1976a:42). Exceptions to this are grammatically predictable. She further states (1976a:48):

\begin{quote}
When sentence-stress occurs in the first P-clause in a sentence of two or more P-clauses, the P-sentence has an overall downdrift of pitch of successive P-clause stresses.
\end{quote}

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

The major criteria I have used to distinguish paragraphs, on the other hand, are major time changes. The concept of "major" here is supported by grammatical features, which will be exemplified in Chapter 7. Another important criterion is the reorientation of participants. For hortatory discourse, rhetorical questions often correlate with the introduction of a new argument or illustration, and are considered a new paragraph. I have not been able to state clearly any predictable phonological characteristics of a paragraph, except that there tends to be a concentration of phrases and clauses with elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range and the sequence intonation-carrier -a? occurring at the beginning of some paragraphs.
Within paragraphs so defined, I can establish several units I call sentences. These are most often characterized by a rise of pitch on their first clause compared with the last clause of the preceding sentence, and thence a general downdrift of pitch of the intonation centres of each successive clause. The exceptions noted by Sayers concerning the grammatically predictable placement of stress within a sentence still hold. But they do not prevent the first clause of a sentence having a higher intonation centre than the last clause of the preceding sentence, even though that same first clause may not contain the intonation centre of the sentence. There are also one-clause sentences, which are terminated by specific intonation-carrying clitics (Sec. 8.2.4). The phonological criterion here is supported by a tendency for the subject of the sentence to be referred to by a noun or free form of the pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. There is also support from the aspect word Ꙋul, which helps indicate sentence boundaries when it occurs in clause initial position. Sentences defined phonologically do not match completely with those defined grammatically or semantically, but the correlation is nevertheless quite high.
NOTES

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

2. It is very probable that yaká:γ is not an original Wik-Munkan word, as it (or forms similar to it) is widespread throughout Australian Aboriginal languages.

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

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

5. However, it has been pointed out to my by Dr George Huttar (personal communication) that perhaps the phrase pillow ?ałañan is semantically a means of sitting.

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

7. The verb wun can mean lie down, live, or it can have a stative meaning of be, exist, in the state of. When the latter, it is not normally inflected for present tense.
8. This is in concord with Moravcsik's observations from a survey of a number of languages (1969:69). She notes that, apart from some dubious cases, definite noun phrases do not become the heads of restrictive relative clauses.

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

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

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

12. Grimes (1975:220) shows that the sentence is not necessarily the minimum expression of rhetorical predicates (although it mostly is). For example, he gives some examples of phrases which have the underlying representation of collection, which is one of his rhetorical predicates. Longacre (1972:86) likewise does not limit the Predicate Calculus to being encoded only by clauses, and the Statement Calculus only by sentences and paragraphs.
CHAPTER 4

TOPICALIZATION PATTERNS RELEVANT AT
MORE THAN ONE POINT IN THE GRAMMAR

4.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

4.2 FUNCTIONS OF -àn, -iy AND INTONATION PATTERNS IN RELATION TO TOPICALIZATION

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

A fronted phrase is often in a separate information block (Sec. 3.1.10) in front position in a grammatical clause, sentence or paragraph. It is usually suffixed with either or both -àn and -iy. The intonation contour is normally one of elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range, with the sequence intonation-carrying clitic -a?. Mingograph examples (a), (b) and (c) in Appendix A illustrate fronting.
192. /+ puk mánj-àn-iy-a? / pftj-àt-antàn nun / ohild small-Def-Top-Seq spotty-Trz-3PPres 3SAcc
   As for the child, they paint him.

A tagged phrase may also be in a separate information block at the end of a grammatical clause or sentence. It too may be suffixed with either or both -àn and -iy. The intonation contour is normally neutral in pitch range, but slightly lower in pitch level than the contour preceding it. There is either no intonation-carrying clitic, or else the clitic -án, which is lenis and low, occurs. Both -á and the absence of a clitic have indicative meaning (Sayers 1976a:56). Mingograph examples (e) and (g) in Appendix A illustrate tagging.

193. /?a? kan ke.?-antan / + pám-àn-iy /
   Cj Punct dance-3PPres man-Def-Top
   And then they dance, the men do.

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

194. /ooonut ?ek-àn-iy / ye·tj-a tan-àŋ / salt-àn /
   coconut shell-Inst-Def-Top pour.3SPst-Rhy 3P-Acc salt-Def
   With the coconut shell, he poured [water] on the salt.

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

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

195. /kemp nuŋk-àřam nan-iy-a? / pantj-ant tê·ʔ-àn nint-àŋ /
   flesh 2SAj-Poss that.Mid-Top-Seq bird-Ref throw-ISFut 2S-Acc
   As for that flesh of yours, I will throw it to the birds.

The enclitics -àn and -iy may also be suffixed to phrases which are implied information. In the following example, the characters have not been introduced before, but they are implied in the sense that in Aboriginal culture everyone is automatically expected to have special social roles in traditional life. For instance, some steps of a ceremony are carried out only by particular classes of relatives.
196. /nil wantj kampan nuŋ-ant am ?al-?alaŋan-iy-a? / yi?wáːŋ
3Coll woman relative 3SAj-Poss Rd-those. Erg-Top-Seq grass. skirt
?onk wak-in nuŋ-ant /
long sew-3PPst 3SAj-Ref
As for those female relatives of hers, they made her a long
grass skirt.

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

197. /?a? yúk-àn-a? / ma·y / nil maʔ-anâ kal /
Cj stick-Def-Seq pick. up. 3SPst 3S hand-Loc carry. 3SPst
staff-àn waʔ-antânt / yúk-ànt-a /
staff-Def call-3PPres stick-Def-Ind
And that stick, he picked it up. He carried it in his hand –
a staff they call it, that stick.

On the other hand, a fronted phrase which is new information may
occur without either -àn or -iy.

198. /?imp ŋənt-t-ə? / kaʔ Əamp-aʔ-a yimanaŋ nanaŋ
bark 3P-Ref-Seq like IPIncl-Ref-Rhy same manner those.
ŋənt-àn yaʔ /
3P-Ref-Def Neg
As for their bark, it's not like ours – those are not, no.

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

199. /yaʔm keʔ-àn-am-iy-aʔ / əŋaʔ ŋən-àn-iy-aʔ / wik
long VNeg-Noms-Src-Top-Seq day another-Def-Top-Seq word
ŋəʔ-y / David-əŋ-an /
hear-3SPst David-Erg-Def
Before much time elapsed, just the next day, David heard a
shout.

Fronted phrases, then, which are marked with -àn and -iy correlate
closely, but not completely, with known or implied information. New
information may be topicalized without -àn or -iy marking. Fronting
topicalization patterns then, cannot be tied to known and implied in-
formation.

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

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

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

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

4.3 FRONTING

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

Sgall's suggestion (1970:29) of representing the relationship between topic and comment in the performative is a good one (Sec. 2.2.2), and can be applied to the formalization of fronting. Foregrounding of theme could be represented as:
FIGURE 11: SUGGESTED FORMALIZATION OF FOREGROUNDING OF THEME

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

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

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

    child small-Def-Top-Seq lap-Loc mind-Rd.3SPst-Acc Comp
    As for the little child, she minded him in her lap.

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

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

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

203. /kenj-aŋk-an-iy-a? / k<káŋg> ŋe-n-antam /
    high-on-Def-Top-Seq leaves what-Src
    On the top, what were the leaves from?

204. /ŋáʔtìŋnam-àn-iy-a? / ɲutj-an ɲuŋ-ant ɲul /
    morning-Def-Top-Seq go.early-3SPst 3SAj-Ref Temp
    Early in the morning, he hurries to him.
Relative clauses, and verbs suffixed with participial, or purposive markers may also be included in fronted phrases.

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

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

207. /nil ʔa·ntamgè·y-an-àk-àn-iy-a? / kutjék-âŋ-am kaʔátam ya? /
3S think-Nomz-1l-Def-Top-Seq head-Loc-Emph first Neg
Thinking to do something doesn't begin from the head.

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

208. /ʔa·ʔ-am-a? / keʔ yíʔak ʔe·y-in /
3P-Seq VNeg yet hear-3PPst
As for them, they hadn't yet heard.

209. /nâmp-iy-a? / ?eʔ ké·nk-àn nâmp-aʔan-a /
ISIncl-Top-Seq alright long.time-Def ISIncl-Accom-Ind
As for us, it was alright here a long time ago.

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

3S bullet-Inst-Def-Seq father Lynette-Poss-Erg-Def-Seq man
ţum ʔaŋ-âfam-âŋ-an-a? / ʔonam ?eʔ puŋ-an
fire ISAj-Poss-Erg-Def-Seq one Poss shoot-3SPres
With a bullet [rather than pellets] Lynette's father, my husband, can shoot one bird.

In the next example the speaker is contrasting what is done with goose eggs at different stages of freshness. The surface case of both fronted items is object.
Those half bad ones, that were laid a long time ago, they put those on one side ... but as for the fresh ones, they put them on the bunks.

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

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

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

If one of an appositive pair is suffixed with -àn-iy-a?, and the other with -àn-a?, the former comes first in the sentence.

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

Other times the fronted items have different referents.

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

4.4 TAGGING

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

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

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

\[
\text{Prop} \\
/ \text{declare} \text{to} \\
/ \text{you} \text{that} \\
/ \text{Prop}
\]

\[
\text{I remind you about } X
\]

\[
(X)
\]

**Presupposition**: X is given information.

**Figure 12**: Suggested Formalization of reminding of Theme.

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

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

215. /puk mánj-àn wey kal-an/ pi·p kuntj-àn-an-iy/ child small-Def Comp carry.3SPst-Acc father own-Erg-Def-Top

He took the child, the father did.

In the following example, the tagged noun phrase is followed by a non-restrictive relative clause.

216. /nil-a? pe·y-pe·y/ puk mánj-àn-iy ma·nja·n-àn

3S-Seq cry-Rd.3SPst child small-Def-Top film-Loc-Def

ta·tat·an nun /

see-Rd-IPExclPst 3SAcc

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

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

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

217. me·ʔ yuk-aŋ-an ʔuʔ-an wey / púk-aŋ-iːy / eye stick-Inst-Def poke.3Spst-Acc Comp child-Def-Top
    He poked the child in the eye.

But whether or not there is cross-reference within the grammatical clause of which the tagged phrase is a part, for -aŋ-iːy tagging at least there is normally cross-reference to a noun phrase in the same sentence or group of sentences. The sentence or sentences normally describe a group of events or description in which the participant is prominent, and the first noun reference to him or it is at or near the beginning of the sentence or sentences. The example 216 can be seen in its larger setting in Appendix B.1.29-30.

More than one phrase can be tagged at once. The phrases may refer to the same referent (218), or to different ones (219).

218. níl-aŋ-iːʔ-a? / piʔ-an-a pam ¿alaŋan-iːy-a /
    3S-Def-Top-Seq keep-3SPres-Rhy man that.Erg-Top-Rhy
    ku·tan ¿alaŋan /
    godfather that.Erg
    As for him, he keeps it, that man does, the godfather.

219. tan-a komp wiį ¿anaŋan pal kal-iɣan / kaŋ-k-aŋ
    3P-Rhy young.men some those here come-3FSbj leaves-Inst
    pen-t-ʔiŋ-antän-a / pal-am-an-iːy-a kaŋk-aŋ
    go.out-Trz-3PPres-Ind here-Emph-Def-Top-Rhy leaves-Inst
    kal-antän / pam komp ¿anaŋan-iːy-a / wuʔ
carry-3PPres men young those-Top-Rhy male
    máŋtay-an-aŋ-an-iːy-a /
    elder-Erg-Def-Top-Ind

They would bring some of the young men here, they bring them out (covered) with leaves, to this place they bring them, those young men (covered) with leaves, those elders do.

4.5 REPRISE

Cross-referencing for tagging has already been described. This is a form of reprise, a term used by Halliday (1967:241) and also by Grimes (1975:342).
Fronted phrases may also be cross-referenced in the main body of the clause, normally by an anaphoric pronoun or demonstrative. In this way they are given further prominence.

In the coconut shell, there he put those ashes!

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

221. /nil Mary-àŋ-iy-a? / meŋ- ant / Mary-Def-Top-Seq eye juice break.3SPst-Ref
As for Mary, she wept.

As for them, we left them there.

Sometimes the cross-reference is to a noun or noun phrase (kemp manj-a in the following example) in the main body of the clause which specifies part of a whole.

223. /puŋ máŋ-àŋ-a? / kemp manj-a munŋk / child small-Def-Seq flesh small-Rhy eat.3SPst
Of the child, he ate a small amount.

It is also possible to have more than one phrase fronted with different referents, and to have cross-referencing in the main body of the clause to just one of these.

lat ?ump-ant / Auntie MaClure-ant-àn / letter write.3SPst-Ref Auntie MaClure-Ref-Def
This our friend, she wrote the bad news about our brother and sister dying in a letter to Auntie MaClure.

Examples such as 218, 220 and 224 show that combinations of fronting and tagging in the one grammatical clause are possible.
4.6 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Rhetorical questions have several functions in Wik-Munkan (Secs. 7.6.1, 7.6.2.2, 8.6.1.2, 8.6.2.2 and 9.4.2). Just one of these is introduced in this section.

Rhetorical questions may enter into a special kind of reprise construction, where a clause constituent, a clause, or even a sentence, may be cross-referenced to it. These can be considered thematically partitioned pseudo-cleft constructions, of the form "Q be A". The term "pseudo-cleft" is used as in transformational literature, e.g. Huddleston 1971:86, 211.

The significance of such rhetorical questions is to prepare the listener for some kind of surprise. It is as if the speaker is saying, "Wait for it. I have something surprising, perhaps even startling, coming up". The phrase or clause or sentence which is in cross-reference to the rhetorical question normally contains new information.

225. /wantin-ak ŋul teʔ? / yuk-aŋ wíp-át /
    where-01 Temp throw.3SPst tree-Loc stick-Trz.3SPst
    And where do you think she threw [the line] next? She got it
    caught in a tree!

226. /ʔa? Louisa-aŋ ŋeʔn want / koʔn want /
    Cj Louisa-aŋErg what leave.3SPst teeth leave.
    And what did Louisa leave behind? She left her teeth behind!

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

227. /kuʔtan ták-àŋ nil-am ?ump / øŋeʔn-aŋ-a øyuk-a
    cord etc-Def 3S-Emph cut.3SPst what-Inst-Rhy wood-Rhy
    piʔn-aŋ ?umpʔump-ant-an kuʔtan tán-tàm puk manj-ly
    bamboo-Inst cut-Rd-3PPres cord 3P-Poss child small-Top
    tán-tàm-àŋ ?ák-ŋeʔ-y-an-a /
    3P-Poss-Def place-hear-3PPres-Rhy
    She cut the cord herself. What with? They cut the cords with
    bamboo, of their children who are born.

The formalization of rhetorical questions in reprise constructions could be as follows:
4.7 CLAUSES WITH SEQUENCE INTONATION

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

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

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

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

4.8 CYCLING

In its simplest form, a cyclic construction in Wik-Munkan has the linear order A B A'. That is, a speaker recapitulates his starting point (Sayers 1976b:169). Both sentences and paragraphs are sometimes cyclic in Wik-Munkan (see Secs. 7.6.2.3, 7.7.2, 8.7.2, and 8.8). A speaker closes a cyclic sentence by paraphrasing the first clause.
A cyclic paragraph may have all or part of its initial sentence paraphrased at the close. In both cyclic sentences and paragraphs the speaker is at liberty to add some new information to the paraphrase.

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

The formalization of cycling would need to contain a presupposition to the effect that the information of the first proposition should be remembered by the listener, as follows:

![Presupposition Diagram]

Presupposition: Information of Proposition 1 should be remembered by the listener.

**FIGURE 14: SUGGESTED FORMALIZATION OF CYCLING**
NOTES

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

2. Labov (1969:738ff.) discusses this matter in some detail. Grimes discusses the idea of probability vectors to represent two alternative rules at some point in the grammar (1975:345ff.).
CHAPTER 5

AREAS AND LEVELS OF THEME

5.1 INTRODUCTION

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

5.2 THE CONCEPT OF AREAS OF A DISCOURSE

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.1 AREAS OF THEME IN WIK-MUNKAN

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

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

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

229. Periphery:
/kan ò-àñ-an-a?/ nil-nil-am pi·?-pi·?-an
Punct Rd·see·IPExclPst·Seq 3S·Rd·Empsh mind·Rd·3SPst·Acc
?áñmān-a?
there·same·Seq
We kept on watching her minding him all by herself, and the next day, as for the child, the mother took him to the river.

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

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

230. Setting:    Nucleus:
    nà·ʔ tōn-àn-iy-a? / puk mānj-àn-iy-a? / ka·ʔ
day another-Def-Top-Seq child small-Def-Top-Seq mother
    kuntj-aŋ-a? / pek kal-an wo?uw-ak /
own-Erg-Seq down carry.3Spst-Acc river-Gl
    We kept on watching her minding him all by herself, and the
next day, as for the child, the mother took him to the river.

231. /nī·a namanan
    waʔ·ʔ-wun-taŋ / nà·nwiʔ-àn-iy/
    for.that.purpose.Mid call-Rec-3Pres sacred-Def-Top
    For that reason, they call him by a sacred name amongst
    themselves.

5.2.1.1 Setting

The co-existence of themes from the setting and the nucleus areas of a text is not a new concept. Reid, for instance, distinguished two sets of relators marking Sentence Topic for Central Bontoc (1970:21-23). One set, the <as> class, occur with phrases which have to do with time or site, and the other, the <nan> class, occur with phrases which expound situational roles such as actor, goal, and instrument. He states that a sequence of two Sentence Topics may occur, one with an <as> class relator and the other with a <nan> class relator.
Setting themes in Wik-Munkan are a departure point and no more. That is, they are not normally the speaker's current subject matter. They provide a temporal or spatial orientation for that subject matter only, regardless of whether a following nucleus theme is marked or un-marked in surface structure.

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

232. **Setting:**

/W?à? nj?-?tìnàm-àn-iy-a? /
Cj early.morning-Def-Top-Seq go.early-3SPres 3SAj-Ref Temp

_Early in the morning he hurries to him._

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

233. **Setting:**

Punct-Def enter-3PPres-Seq IS-Def mind-ISPst 3P-Acc

_kà?átam-a /
Ind first-Ind

_After they used to enter school, I minded them at first._

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

234. **Setting:**

/Wà?w mo?-àn-a-? /
_east run-IPExclPst-Cont house big-Loc enter-IPExclPst

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

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

Temporal and locative demonstratives, which often occur as setting themes, must also be considered to have a low degree of communicative dynamism. They merely acknowledge that a span of time or space (or both) has passed.
Beneš has in fact made a distinction between "basis" and "theme". Firbas gives an English translation of Beneš' concept of basis (1964b: 276):

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

His concept of theme then would be the element from within the rest of the sentence which has the lowest amount of communicative dynamism. Beneš' definition of basis is very close to what I mean by setting theme, although his definition is broad enough to cover peripheral themes as well. I have chosen to retain the term theme to cover the three areas because of the similarity in surface topicalization patterns which are employed.

I doubt whether it is sound to push the idea of marked and unmarked themes for setting and periphery. It is true, for instance, that there is a choice between making a temporal change prominent or not, but the choice is rather one of making it thematic versus non-thematic, rather than marked theme versus unmarked theme. This idea is discussed and exemplified in Sec. 7.4.1.5 in relation to setting changes at paragraph boundaries. For the moment, an example of a temporal word, occurring at the beginning of a paragraph and without thematic suffixation, will be given.

Setting themes are further described in Chapters 6-9.
237. /ŋay ʔin wikt kət wáʔ-ʔâŋ-a / ke·nk-anam ʔânpâlân-a / IS this word old tell-ISPut-Ind long-ago-Adjr then-from-Ind
wu·t-a? wantjînt-a? mul ʔanaŋan wun-in ke·nk /
old-men-Seq old-women-Seq dead those live-3PPst long-ago
I'm telling you the story from a long time ago, from the ancestors who lived long ago.

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

238. Periphery: Nucleus:
/ŋan ma·nj-aŋ-an t̮at̮-an-a? / wantj ʔalaŋan-iy-a? / IPExcl film-Loc-Def see-IPExclPst-Seq woman that.Erg-Top-Seq
pul maŋ ma·ŋaŋ-iy-a? / ʔe·n wey / ʔi·p
young.mother small that-Erg-Top-Seq what Comp stomach
nuŋ-ant-akam-an ye·p pâŋk-pâŋk-âŋ / 3SAj-Ref-Ref1-Def lower.belly warm-Rd-Trz-3SPst fire-Loc
We watched the picture, and saw that woman, that young mother — what did she do? — she warmed her own belly by the fire.

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

239. /ŋan t̮at̮-t̮at̮-an nun ʔaʔ? ʔaŋ-atiy muŋk-muŋk
IPExcl see-Rd-IPExclPst 3SAcc mouth fat-Ab eat-Rd.3SPst
ma·nj-aŋ-an-iŋ /
film-Loc-Def-Top
We saw him eagerly drinking [his mother's milk] in the film.

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

240. Periphery: 3S-Seq cry-Rd.3SPst child small-Def-Top film-Loc-Def
/nil-a? pe·y-pe·y / puk maŋ maŋ-an / ma·nj-aŋ-an
3S-Seq cry-Rd.3SPst child small-Def-Top film-Loc-Def
ʔa·t̮at̮-an nun /
Rd-see-IPExclPst 3SAcc
He cried, that child did — the one we saw in the film.
5.3 THE CONCEPT OF LEVELS OF THEME

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

Like the concept of areas of theme, the concept of levels of theme is similarly not new. Elkins (1971:224-7), writing on Western Bukidnon Manobo, formally distinguished paragraph or discourse topic and sentence topic, and notes that paragraph topic may co-occur with sentence topic in the same sentence. Kroeker (1975) describes narrative themes in Nambiquara as being either global or local in scope. Miller (1973) distinguishes discourse, paragraph and clause themes for Mamanwa. She describes how the speaker can use special particles to implement his choice of discourse theme. On the other hand, a paragraph theme is represented as the goal of the first action of the initial sentence of the paragraph. A clause theme is preceded by a topic marker and also signalled by focus inflection in the verb. She also discusses sentence linkage which can be used as a thematic device. Taylor (1976) writing on Tamang, states that "In the development of the main topic of the narrative each hierarchical unit has its own topic". Halliday (1967: 219-21), discussing adjuncts in thematic position, distinguishes between sentence adjuncts and discourse adjuncts, and notes that the occurrence of a discourse adjunct does not preclude the occurrence of a sentence adjunct within the same sentence.

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

5.3.1 WIK-MUNKAN THEMATIC LEVELS

Thematic levels associated with the discourse, paragraph, sentence and clause respectively can be formally distinguished for Wik-Munkan. Thematic levels can be seen to intersect with areas of theme for nucleus and setting at least. Reference to the periphery occurs much more rarely, but it is still possible to obtain some idea of varying domains of prominence for peripheral themes. The topicalisation patterns reflecting thematic choices associated with each level are discussed in detail in Chapters 6-9.
It must be borne in mind that the word "associated" has been chosen deliberately. As stated earlier (Sec. 2.1.3) the ties with each grammatical level are loose rather than rigid. Each level can be considered a centre of thematic influence, rather than a strict setting of boundaries. These centres of thematic influence can be thought of as semantic units which do not always map onto the corresponding grammatical units in a one-to-one manner. In addition to this, they are conditioned by the discourses within which they occur. The prominence a certain topicalization pattern gives to a phrase may vary according to discourse genre. For instance, -ān-iy-a? fronting is very frequent in procedural discourse. One participant after another, marked with -ān-iy-a?, may come on the scene in quick succession to perform his role. On the other hand, -ān-iy-a? fronting is far less common in narrative discourse. This is discussed further in Section 10.3.

5.3.2 CO-OCCURRENCE OF MARKED THEMES FROM DIFFERENT LEVELS

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


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

5.4 -ān and -iy and AREAS AND LEVELS

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

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

On the other hand, topicalized clauses occurring at the beginning
of sentences frequently have a content word within them marked with
-àn, regardless of whether the word so marked is given or new infor-
mation. Mostly the word suffixed with -àn is a noun (see Sec. 8.6.2.1
for examples).

These points may be diagrammed as follows:

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

*FIGURE 15:* -àn and -iy and AREAS AND LEVELS
NOTES

1. By saying "typically" I do not mean to preclude the possibility of an adverb occasionally being new information in a sentence. Professor John Platt (personal communication) has pointed out to me, in sentences such as

John met Mary in London.

It was in London that John met Mary.

the speaker is telling the addressee that London was the place where John met Mary. Firbas (1964a:115) also comments on situations where the adverb can be interpreted as expressing other than a mere temporal setting.

CHAPTER 6

DISCOURSE AND GLOBAL THEME

6.1 DISCOURSE GENRE

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

6.1.1 NARRATIVES

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

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

Others who have applied Propp's work to linguistic analysis include Wise (1971:152), Grimes (1975:211) and Glover (1974:55-61). (See Sec. 7.3 for further discussion of rhetorical predicates.)

![Diagram of plot]

**FIGURE 16: UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF NARRATIVES**

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

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

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

...that part of the narrative which reveals the attitude of the narrator towards the narrative by emphasizing the relative importance of some narrative units as compared to others.

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

242. /kəw ka·w ka·w-aʔ / ʔaŋ-a pull-aŋ-ey / east east east-Seq see.3SPst-Rhy 3D-Acc-Tag
   He kept on going east, and then he saw them, did he?

243. /ʔaŋ-ʔaʔ-aʔ / ?in-am pek wun-ey / see-Rd.3SPst-Seq here-Emp down lie.3SPst-Tag
   He looked and looked — "He's down here, is he?" [he said].

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

244. /ʔaŋ-a koman ?in nji·n ʔaŋ / ʔaw-ey / ISÅJ-Rhy young woman here sit.3SPst ISÅJ say.3SPst-Tag
   "Here's my young woman sitting here!" he said, did he?

Grammatically, Wik-Munkan narratives are characterized by past tense forms of the verb except for embedded conversation and background material. Most narratives are told in third person; a few are first person accounts. Temporal sequence is in focus, and events are normally chronologically ordered. It is, however, possible to relate a strategic event or events involving one or more participants of the story, and then backtrack and relate what another participant has been doing meanwhile. Sometimes a speaker will shift the focus back and forth between two participants or two sets of participants, keeping some parallelism between what each is doing. On the other hand, sometimes one set does not realize the activity of the other until late in the story. In these instances, there may be two sub-plots, each with their own complication and mediation, which do not necessarily match chronologically.

Because narratives have temporal sequence in focus, they are characterized by the occurrence of temporal phrases and clauses, temporal demonstratives such as ?anpələn after that, kən and ȵul with their temporal usages (Sec. 3.4.1), and ?aʔ, a conjunction meaning and then. Setting clauses which repeat information about an event and note its completion, also occur. Spatial orientation is commonly established for narratives too.

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

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

6.1.2 TRAVELOGUES

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

Some of the texts which I am calling travelogues are hunting, fishing, or food gathering stories. Others involve trips to nearby towns or stations, and even to Papua New Guinea. They may be represented by the rhetorical predicate of collection, with the qualification that its arguments, namely episodes, are ordered in time.

\[ \text{TRAVELOGUE} \rightarrow \text{Collection, sequential} \]
\[ \quad \text{Episode} \]
\[ \quad \text{Episode} \]
\[ \quad \text{Episode} \]
\[ \quad \ldots \]

**FIGURE 17: UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF TRAVELOGUES**

Grammatically, travelogues have many of the same characteristics as narratives, excepting the tag question morpheme -ey occurring at tension points (except where there are embedded narratives). A further difference is that the great majority of travelogues are told in first person.

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

6.1.3 PROCEDURES

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

Procedures may be represented by the rhetorical predicate of result, with the arguments of antecedent and consequent. The antecedent in turn
is represented by a rhetorical predicate of collection, which has chronologically ordered arguments of procedures.

![Diagram](Diagram.png)

**FIGURE 18: UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF PROCEDURES**

Grammatically, procedures are characterized by verbs in present tense signifying habitual aspect. They are told in either first or third person, although occasionally a speaker will give specific instructions to his hearers on how to do something. In this case, the instructions are given in second person, and future tense is used with the verb, denoting imperative mood.

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

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

### 6.1.4 EXHORTATIONS

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

Exhortations can be represented by the rhetorical predicate of purpose, again with arguments of antecedent and consequent. As for procedures, the antecedent is represented by the rhetorical predicate of collection. However, this time the arguments of collection, called points, are not chronologically ordered. Time sequence is not in focus at all in hortatory discourses.
Grammatically, exhortations are characterized by the use of the future tense and subjunctive mood. Future tense indicates imperative mood when used with second person. Second person is used most frequently, but if the speaker chooses to include himself in a command, he uses first person inclusive plural. In this context, future tense has the effect of obligatory mood.

245. ᴻⁿᵃᵐᵖ-ᵃ  ᵁⁿᵃⁿ⁻ᵐᵃ⁻ʰᵃᵗ⁻ᵃⁿᵐᵖ /  
            IPIncl-Rhy  VNeg hand-steal-IPInclFut  
            We must not steal!

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

246. ᴷᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ᵗᵃʷ⁻ᵃⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ᵐᵃ⁻ʳᵃⁿ⁻ᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃⁿ⁻ⁿᵃaname  
            IS  this  say-IS.Emo  2SAj-Seq  2S  other-other-Accom-Def  
            I say strongly to you – don’t live with others [who are not your relatives].

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

247. 𝐍ⁱ−𝐲−ᵃ−�� /  kᵒᵐᵃ−なんです /  ṭⁱ−ᵗ鋆−ⁿ URLRequest key-request-url-Req-2PFut dance-Nomz-31-Def-Top  
      (?e·) /  nⁱ−𝐲−なんです URLRequest nᵘˡ− URLRequest key-request-url-Req-2PFut-Ind  2P Temp keep-2PFut  
      ?e· / (?e·) /  nⁱ−𝐲−なんです RequestId nᵘˡ− URLRequest key-request-url-Req-2PFut-Ind  2P Temp keep-2PFut  
      ?e· / (?e·) /  nⁱ−𝐲−なんです RequestId nᵘˡ− URLRequest key-request-url-Req-2PFut-Ind  2P Temp keep-2PFut  
      Ques  (yes)  2P Temp-Def go-2PFut women Temp-Def-Top-Seq  
      nⁱ−𝐲−なんです RequestId nᵘˡ− RequestContext  /  nᵃᵐᵖ−ᵃ /  pfgetsamp-a  /  (?e·) /  
      2P Temp dance-Rd-2PFut IPIncl-Rhy keep-IPInclFut-Seq (yes)  
As for you, you young women, you must learn to dance. (Yes)  
You maybe will dance later. You will retain it, won’t you? (Yes)  
Then when you are grown women, you will be dancers!  
We must keep [the dancing]! (Yes).
The example above also shows how the listeners will sometimes respond at challenge points of the exhortation. The word in brackets ‘e’ is a response indicating agreement by the hearers.

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

6.1.5 EXPLANATIONS

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

Explanations can be represented by an explanatory rhetorical predicate which is added in as an extra argument to a dominating proposition. It is a hypotactic proposition which is subordinate to the rest of the dominating proposition, and which supplements or supports it (see Grimes 1975:212). The supporting argument of explanation itself is represented by a rhetorical predicate of collection, with points as arguments.

![Figure 20: Underlying Representation of Explanations](image)

The main argument(s) of the dominating proposition may stand for either a proposition such as *why we make mats*, or a referential index such as *tape recorder* which terminates the recursion. Temporal sequence is not in focus for explanations, although some sections of explanations may have temporal orientation.

Grammatically, explanations tend to be characterized by verbs in habitual and subjunctive moods. There is no real restriction of person, although second person has not been found very often, and then not throughout the whole discourse.
Explanations tend to have a concentration of sentences expressing reason and result, and the conjunctions that go with them, such as yfŋməm because and namanam therefore. Sentences expressing contrast and negated antonyms also often occur. When descriptive material is involved, static and equative clauses are common. Manner words from the anaphoric series yimanaŋ like this (Sec. 3.2.8) and so on, also occur quite often in descriptive material.

6.2 GLOBAL THEME

In all the genres of discourse dealt with above, global themes may occur. A global theme provides the subject matter and the point of departure for the whole discourse. It is normally stated within the first one or two sentences of the discourse. It can even be said that being at the beginning of the discourse confers theme status, in accordance with the observation of Grimes that "the principle seems to be universal that topics are mentioned early within their constructions" (1975:358).

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

248. /ŋay ni·y-ant wá·ʔ-əŋ / manj-iy-a / IS 2P-Ref tell-ISFut small-Emph-Ind
I'm about to tell you, little ones, ...

249. /ŋay ?in wik kāŋ wá·ʔ-əŋ-a / IS this word old tell-ISFut-Ind
I'm going to tell you this story ...

250. /Chris-Seq / ?in-a ŋay nuŋk-af-a puŋam wik kāŋ wá·ʔ-əŋ / Chris-Seq here-Rhy IS 2S Aj-Ref-Rhy again word old tell-ISFut
kan ?in ŋę·y-əŋ-a? / Punct this near-2SFut-Seq
Chris! Here I am to tell you another story. Now you listen to this!

Following the performative comes the statement of the global theme. This may be either a proposition or a referential entity. The latter may be a participant, the name of a ceremony, an object, or a place name. It is normally suffixed with the source enclitic -antəm, or followed by a demonstrative in source case which in this context has the gloss about, concerning.

251. /wik kāŋ ?inan wá·ʔ-əŋ-a / pam kemp pąj-antəm-a
word old this tell-ISFut-Ind man flesh white-Src-Ind
I'm going to tell you this story about a white man.
Sometimes, however, the referential entity is simply the object of the verb wa·ʔ tell.

253. /kan train ?in wáʔ-ʔaŋ ni·y-ant/  
Punct train this tell-ISPut 2P-Ref  
Now I'm going to tell you about this train.

There is one text in the corpus of data which begins very elliptically, and without an overt performative. In this case the referential entity is a personified animal.

spear-bad-with-Seq man-Seq lots-Rhy come-3PPst  
There was a man, a porcupine, (and lots came to him).

When a global theme is a proposition, it is typically stated in an embedded complement clause, as a complement of the verb wa·ʔ tell (Sec. 3.6.4). The first phrase of the embedded clause is normally suffixed with the definite clitic -ʔān. The proposition in the embedded clause often contains reference to the main participants of the discourse as well as to the main activity.

255. /ŋay wik kaŋʔin nan wáʔ-ʔaŋ-a? / ŋan kaŋk-ʔaŋ-an  
IS word old this tell-ISPut-Seq IPExcl bush-Loc-Def  
wun-wun-ʔaŋ /  
live-Rd-IPExclPst  
I'm going to tell you this story about how we lived in the bush.

256. /ŋay ni·y-ant wáʔ-ʔaŋ / manj-ly-a / pátj-ʔaŋ / umpt-ant-an /  
IS 2P-Ref tell-ISPut small-Emph-Ind flower-Def make-3PPres  
I'm going to tell you little ones about how they make [feather] flowers.

Sometimes gapping of the verb wa·ʔ occurs.

257. /ʔin-an-iy-a / wik kaŋʔa / ku·ntj nát-afâm-ʔaŋ /apentj  
this-Top-Ind word old-Ind sibling ISAJ-Poss-Def disappear.3SPst  
wey / Maud / ʔan-ʔaŋ-a wenk-ʔaŋ  
Comp Maud IPExcl-Def-Rhy search-IPExcl 3SAJ-Ref  
Here's a story about how my sister Maud got lost, and about how we searched for her.

Hortatory discourses only occasionally begin with an overt performative. When they do, the verb used is ʔaw say, rather than wa·ʔ tell, relate. The global theme follows in an independent clause rather than in an embedded clause.
258. /kan qay ṭin ṭáw-àŋ ni·y-ant / ṣamp·iy-a? / wantjíng-a?
Punct IS this say-ISPut 2P-Ref IPIncl-Top-Seq old.woman-Seq
pam wu·t-a?
mín·min pf·?-àmp txn-aq /
man elderly.male-Seq good-Rd mind-IPInclPut 3P-Acc
I'm saying this to you — as for us, we must look after our old men and women very well.

More commonly, however, hortatory discourses plunge straight into the subject at hand with a command or an interrogative, which simultaneously announces the global theme. Sometimes phrases within the opening sentence are suffixed with either or both -àn (definite) and -iy (topic).

259. /nipa puk-a? / ?an-a ṇe·n-am-a? / pi-pí·k-wín-a? /
2D-Rhy child-Seq that-Rhy what-Src-Seq Rd-hit-2PRecSbj-Seq
You two children, what have you been hitting each other for?

2P-VocCl-Seq IP-Rhy VNeg leave-IPFut what-Def-Top-Seq
malp tàk-àn-iy-a? /
dance etc-Def-Top-Seq
Hey you people! Let's not abandon what? — our dances!

The use of the definite suffix in initial sentences of discourses is not peculiar to Wik-Munkan. Firbas (1966:248) gives examples of English sentences at the beginning of narratives where the definite article is used. He comments:

...the definite articles lower the amount of CD carried by the subjects, whereas the indefinite articles raise it. This is due to the fact that the former create the illusion that the notions expressed by the subjects are known, whereas the latter unmistakably present them as new.

Beneš (1968:268-9) also discusses introductory sentences of discourses. He feels that the speaker needs to establish a point of contact between himself and the hearer, and so he maintains the theme-rheme organization for the introductory sentence, even though all the information may be new. The theme of the utterance is simply presented as something given.

In Wik-Munkan, the use of the definite suffix with embedded complement clauses at the beginning of discourses seems akin to the idea of presenting the theme as something given. The use of -àn or a demonstrative following a referential entity which is global theme, or suffixed to a phrase within the opening sentence of a hortatory discourse, has a similar effect.

6.3 GLOBAL SETTING

So far discussion of the global theme has been mainly concerned with the nucleus area. When a discourse is temporally or spatially
oriented, the setting for the discourse as a whole may sometimes be stated within the first one or two sentences of the discourse.

261. /?inan-a wá-ʔ-àŋ / ni-ʔ-ant-a / wik kañ wantj ñónam-antâm-à / this-Rhy tell-ISFut 2P-Ref-Ind word old woman one-Src-Ind
a-ʔ-in jünjtjantâm-à / a-ʔ-yoyk ñátjantâm-àn
place this tribal.country-Src-Ind place hill high-Def
wúntàn / New Guinea woman /
eexit-3Pres New Guinea woman

I'm going to tell you a story about one woman from this country, where there are high mountains — she's a New Guinea woman.

262. /?inan-ça nanâ / Chris / nùŋk-àř-a wá-ʔ-àŋ / njí-ŋk-àŋ
this another Chris 2SAj-Ref-Rhy tell-ISFut recently-Def
nan-a ñi-ʔ-an / ñímanam-àŋ / nè-ŋk-àŋ / kulitj
IPEincl-Rhy go-IPEinclPst here.from-Def what-Ol-Seq clothes
nan-t ?inanâ wèy pùŋ-àŋ /
IPEincl-Ref these Comp wash-IPEinclPst 3P-Acc

This is another story I'm going to tell you now Chris. Today we went out from here, what for? — to wash our dirty clothes.

Sometimes a physical place is part of the nucleus information of the global theme, as can be seen from example 255. However, once the discourse gets underway, it becomes the setting for the activities which are carried out there.

Sometimes the setting is not stated until the refinement of the global theme, which is discussed in Section 6.5.

6.4 NON-INITIAL GLOBAL THEME

There are two exceptions to a global theme being stated initially in a discourse. One is where peripheral information (see Sec. 5.2.1.2) is given first in the discourse, and the other is where the speaker deliberately represses part of the global theme until later in the discourse, to give an air of mystery. These may both be considered instances of marked global theme.

In the following example, the speaker asserts initially in the discourse that her story is not only from the traditional past, but also that she as a child had been an eyewitness. This peripheral information is meant to communicate both respect for the story and authenticity. Only after this does she go on to say what the specific ceremony is that she describes in the discourse, namely, a mourning dance for a dead person.

263. /?inan-a wik kañ wá-ʔ-àŋ-a / a-ʔ-kañ ñamp-àřam
this-Rhy word old tell-ISFut-Ind time old IPIIncl-Poss
ke-ŋk-anam yump-amp-a // ñay puk manj-am-an
long.ago-Adjr make-IPIInclPst-Ind IS child small-Src-Def
(example continued on next page)
Another example of peripheral information coming first in a discourse establishes the story as coming from the Bible.

A traditional story about a man and a huge snake provides an example of deliberate repression of part of the global theme, in order to give an air of mystery. In the initial sentence of the discourse, there is no hint of what is going to happen or who the other main character is:

The story continues with the man going on and on until the cool of the day, and then trees begin falling down everywhere. He wonders what is happening.

It is only after this that the other main character, the snake, is brought in. Interestingly, the first noun reference to \( \text{snake} \) is suffixed with \(-a\n\text{-i}\).

6.5 REFINEMENT OF GLOBAL THEME

Very often following the initial sentence of a discourse, a sentence or paragraph follows which gives what can be called a\( ^9 \) refinement of the global theme. This is similar to what is called "restriction" by Becker (1965:238) in a tagmemic description of paragraphs. One of his paragraph types he posits as having a restriction slot, where the exponent has the function of narrowing down or defining the topic. Hooker (1972) applies the same term to Ivatan narrative discourses.
She says that the topic of the discourse is stated in the first one or two sentences in general terms. In the remainder of the introductory paragraph it is restated in more specific terms, and this restatement she calls the restriction. There are parallels to this in Wkh-Munkan in a number of texts. In the following examples the beginning of the refinement is marked by a triangle (V).

267. /wik kaŋ ?inan wâ·?-əŋ-a / pam Kemp patj-antam //
word old this tell-ISPut-Ind man flesh white-Src
Vpam nil ?á·k-min-a / nil pam wu·t law
man 3S place-good-Ind 3S man elderly.male silly
tam-a /
also-Ind

I'm going to tell you a story about a white man. He's a very funny man, and he is silly too.

The rest of the text from which this example comes is devoted to describing the humorous performances of the white man in question. In another text, which is about trains, the second sentence of the discourse describes the rattling of the train. This can be regarded as the refinement of the global theme, as a fair proportion of the rest of the text is concerned with the disruptive effect of the train's rattling.

268. /kan ˈtræn ?in wâ·?-əŋ ni·y-ant // Ṿnän ˈtræn-əŋ-an
Punct train this tell-ISPut 2P-Ref IPEExcl train-Ms-Def
pe·y-an-a? / ʔan-a yaʔ-im wûnjaŋ-an
travel-IPEExclPst-Seq that-Rhy NegInts-Emph shake-3SPres
nän-əŋ-a /
IPEExcl-Acc-Ind

Now I'll tell you all about this train. When we went in the train, it really shook us!

Sometimes the setting or the specification of main characters, or both, are not given until the refinement. In the following example, the statement of the temporal and spatial settings and the main characters are all reserved for the refinement.

269. /ʔin-a / ŋây wik kaŋ ˈtɔnaŋən nul wâ·?-əŋ-a / ?in-iy-a /
this IS word old another Temp tell-ISPut-Ind this-Top-Ind
ʔutjan-am-a? / wik kaŋ ʔutjanam ʔâlantam-əŋ // Wʔe·nk
initiation-Seq word old initiation that.Src-Def long.ago
ʔanəŋ-a? / puk komp ʔanəŋ ˈtɛŋj-in ʔən-əŋ-a /
that child young.man those hide-3PPst 3P-Acc-Ind
ʔa·k ˈtɛŋj-a ʔâyan-əŋ-a /
place sacred-Rhy strong-Loc-Ind

Here I am to tell you another story. This one is about the initiation ceremony. A long time ago, they used to hide those young men in a sacred place.
Sometimes the refinement is not so much a restatement, but an evalu-

ation.

270. /?inan-a wik kâ? wâ?-?â^n-a kû-tan-â^n-â^n ke-?-ant an
this-Rhy word old tell-ISPut-Ind cord-with-Def perform-3PPres
small-Top-Ind cord-with this-Seq this-Rhy sacred-Rhy
țayan puț gamp-ať-a ?inan-iy-a / 
strong CJ IPIncl-Ref-Rhy this-Top-Ind

This story I'm telling you is about how they perform the
ceremony concerning the umbilical cord. This cord ceremony
is very sacred to us here.

Sometimes the refinement is the first phase or first development of
the global theme, which gives way in time to a further development and
then perhaps to another. Thus, in one text about children entering
school for the first time, the refinement states that some children
are good, and some are bad. This in time gives way to another sub-
sidiary theme, this time concerning the value of school. The final
subsidiary theme is that all the children have settled down now and
all have "good heads".

6.6 RESTATEMENT OF GLOBAL THEME

The global theme and its refinement can be seen to affect the or-
ganization of explanatory and hortatory texts in a particular way.
There is typically repetition or paraphrase of the refinement several
times throughout the text. Such repetition or paraphrase may occur at
the end of a paragraph, almost like a summary; or at the beginning of
a paragraph, like a point of departure. Sometimes, phonologically at
least, the restatement has more the status of a refrain between para-
graphs. It may also occur in paragraph medial position.

The restatement of the global theme or its refinement does not oc-
cur neatly between every major activity, point or description which
illustrates the global theme, but sometimes it is "almost" like that.
Linguistically, the restatements are not just baldly stated, but are
often amplified structures, negated antonym paraphrases, cycling, or
contain a rhetorical question, command, or manner word.

In a short text about a train, the refinement, given in example 268,
is restated twice within the text.

271. /yimanaŋ-a? / yâ?-im wûnjâť-an ąn-an / 
like-this-Seq NegInts-Emph shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc
Like this it was! It really shook us!

272. /wûnjâť-an ąn-an-a? / kųņęntj ka-w-am ku-w-am //
shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc-Ind corner east-towards west-towards
(example continued on next page)
ya?-im wùnjàŋ-an ñan-aŋ / ñak-a ŋàm-àn /
NegInts-Emph shake.3SPres IPExcl-Acc water-Rhy also-Def
It shook us, and sent us to the east and west corners. It
really

In one hortatory text, where the refinement of the global theme can be translated as *Let's leave our anger behind*, several of the following paragraphs begin with a paraphrase of this refinement.

273. /kan-a? kul kan wànt-àmp-a? / ñamp yey-yey
Punct-Seq anger Punct leave-IPInclPut-Seq IPIncl never.again
pek-wump-a? /
fight-Rec.IPIncl-Seq
Enough! Let's leave our anger! Let's not fight for ever!

274. /né·y-àŋ-a? / ñy ay wíkumëŋkan ñòw-àŋ-a? / ñé·y-àŋ-a? /
hear-2Pfut-Seq IS Wik-Munkan say-ISFut-Seq hear-2Pfut-Seq
kan wànt-àmp-a? /
Punct leave-IPInclPut-Seq
Listen! I'm talking to you in Wik-Munkan! Listen! Let's leave it!

275. /ñamp in New Year ñul kan pey-an // ñay ?inan
IPIncl here New Year Temp Punct jump-3SPres IS this
ñòw-àŋ-a? / kan want-an-ak / kul kan wànt-àmp-a? /
say-ISFut-Seq Punct leave-Nomz-Gl anger Punct leave-IPInclPut-Seq
We've jumped into the New Year now, and I'm saying this. It
[fighting] is for leaving! Let's leave our anger!

6.7 PARTICIPANT IDENTIFICATION AND THE GLOBAL THEME

Main characters of discourses are normally stated within the global theme or refinement. If there is just one main third person character, or one who supersedes others in importance, there is a tendency for that character to be simply identified by *ni* he, she at some points of the discourse. This occurs despite the presence of other third person characters. In the context preceding the following example, the activity of a female relative has just been described, namely that of trimming a grass skirt for a pregnant woman. The sentence given below denotes a change of actor to the pregnant woman.

276. /niř-a wey work ñàmàn ?i·y-?i·y / may ka-ká·mp
3S-Rhy Comp work only go-Rd.3SPst Carb Rd-plant.3SPst
nuŋ-ant-akam-an-iy /
3SAj-Ref-Ref1-Def-Top
She only worked and worked, and planted food for herself.

This sentence is, in actual fact, a restatement of the refinement of the global theme, so there is no real danger of ambiguity. Nevertheless, because the pregnant woman is the highest ranked character in
the text, the speaker here felt no need to identify her by a noun, as is the normal procedure when there is switching from one third person character to another.

This tendency has parallels in the sociolinguistic situation of the Wik-Munkan community. For instance, when talking about her husband, a woman may refer to him simply by the pronoun nil, without giving any prior noun identification.

6.8 -iy and THE GLOBAL THEME

Another way in which the global theme affects the whole text is that there is a tendency for references to the main characters and main setting throughout the discourse to be suffixed with the enclitic -iy (topic). Mostly it follows the definite clitic -àn or a demonstrative. Thus in the text relating a film about a pregnant woman (see Appendix B.I) nearly every reference to the woman and the child she later bears, is suffixed with -iy. (This is with the exception of reference via the subject pronoun nil, which is mostly not marked with -iy in this text.) Suffixing with -iy is not confined to fronting and tagging positions.

277. /wantj kampan nuŋ-antam ɪqonam ke? nuŋ-antəŋ-àn-iy
    woman relative 3SAj-Poss one VNeg 3SAj-Accom-Def-Top
    ?i·y / ya? /
go.3SPst Neg
    Not one female relative accompanied her, no.

It will be recalled that -àn-iy-a? fronting normally gives a participant prominence over a sentence approximately (Sec. 5.4). But there is no conflict in Wik-Munkan for a referential entity which is part of the global theme to be marked with -iy within a sentence which begins with a different referent receiving -àn-iy-a? fronting.

In the following example, references to two participants who are not part of the global theme are fronted, the second one with -àn-iy-a? fronting. Later on in the sentence, a reference to the man who is part of the global theme is suffixed with -àn-iy. The global theme here is superimposed on the local sentence theme.

278. /nil kə·x ɪquntj-a? / wantj mántəyan-àn-iy-a? / ?ánmàn
    3S mother own-Seq woman elder-Def-Top-Seq only
    ?i·y-anpul nuŋ-antəŋ koy-koyuw pam ?a1antən mántəyan-antəŋ /
go-3DPres 3SAj-Accom Rd-behind man that.Ref elder-Accom
    kan wamp-anpul tınt-tınt nuľ / pám-àn-iy ?um kenj
    Punct come-3DPres close-Rd Temp man-Def-Top chest high
    ?ánmàn wun /
same.way lie.3SPst

(English translation on next page)
As for the mother, and the old woman, they just follow behind the male elder towards the man; they've come closer now, and the man is still lying there chest up.

In example 279 a minor character is the marked theme of the sentence, but in addition, later on in the sentence the locative ?iŋan in this (place) is suffixed with the topic clitic -iy. The locative here refers to the global setting.

279. /nil wantj kampaŋ nun-antam ʔonam-ʔan-ʔan-iy-a? / may piʔan
3S woman relative 3SAj-Poss one-Erg-Def-Top-Seq Carb big
ka·mp-ant-a / kaʔ ʔamp-ʔan ka·mp-anamp-a miŋ-a
bury.3SPst-Ref-Ind like IPIncl-Def bury-IPInclPres-Rhy Pro-Rhy
may-a? / yimanən-ʔan ʔan ?iŋan-iy ʔaʔ ka·mp-antan /
Carb-Seq same.manner-Def 3P this.in-Top place bury-3PPres
miŋ-a may /
Pro-Rhy Carb

One of her female relatives put lots of food in a ground oven for her, just as we put food in a ground oven, both meat and fruits, so they do it here in this place in the same way.
NOTES

1. Some songs, which are the indigenous Wik-Munkan counterpart to European country and western music, have been recorded and transcribed, but are outside the scope of this monograph.

2. For instance, one text, which relates the story of a traditional ceremony, begins in narrative style. About halfway through, the speaker changes to procedural style. Procedures and explanations in particular seem to merge together at times, if there is some temporal orientation necessary concerning what the speaker is explaining. The text in Appendix B.I is not a clear example of one discourse genre.

3. Longacre (1968a:160-188) has done detailed work on the internal relations of dialogue paragraphs reported within a discourse. Later (1972:78-9, also 1976) he develops the concept of the repartée calculus to represent the deep structure of dialogue. Clancy (1972) has worked on the analysis of a recorded conversation in which several people took part. Glover (1974:193-6) writing on Gurung, describes conversational discourse (involving two or more speakers) as a separate discourse type. He sees conversational discourse as an instance of the sememic relation of conjunction.

4. I am aware of the possibility of a collection of anecdotes which take place within an unchanging spatial setting. However, within the data I have in hand, collections of anecdotes involve situations where the character(s) is on the move, either for purposes of travel or for such purposes as hunting.

5. Glover (1974:188) on the other hand, declares that "the basic sememic relation encoded by procedural discourse is that of problem-solving". This relation has the arguments of conflict, mediation and
resolution. My choice of result is perhaps based on semantic reasons. Procedures normally relate culturally known and expected steps, which lead to a predetermined goal, or result. I find it hard to reconcile the idea of conflict with procedures.

6. Grimes (1975:223) prefers to collapse the relations of condition, result and purpose into a single relation called covariance. I have retained the more specific semantic terms. At the discourse level, the relations of purpose and result can be grammatically distinguished on the grounds of temporal relation. The rhetorical predicates of purpose have a future orientation, and in fact it is not known whether the purpose is achieved. Results have a non-future orientation, and the result is presented as something that is achieved. Bieri (1976) writing on Sunwar, has similarly found it useful to retain specific types of covariance rather than collapse them into one single relation. She distinguishes condition, result and reason according to four criteria, namely: different referential relationships between the two arguments of each type, different temporal relations, different marking in surface structure, and different functions in discourse.

7. The occurrence of -anâl indicating strong emotion is mostly found in hortatory discourses, but not confined to them.

8. In everyday conversation, it is very common to hear manj small or puk manj small child suffixed with -iy at the end of the phrase. This is an emphatic suffix, homophonous with the topic enclitic -iy. Grammatically, it occurs in a different position in the ordering of suffixes, occurring immediately after the stem, e.g. puk mânj-iy-antəm (child small-Emph-Poss) the child's. The topic enclitic -iy follows case suffixes and the definite enclitic -àn.

9. The words enclosed in brackets are not part of the global theme.

10. The suffix -a1 in this example is an abbreviated form of the close distance vocative suffix -alâŋ used with dual and plural second person pronouns.

11. This is not the typical order. Normally the participant receiving -ân-iy-a? fronting precedes one that has -àn-a? or -a? fronting (Sec. 5.3.2).
CHAPTER 7
PARAGRAPHS AND PARAGRAPH THEME

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The use of the word "paragraph" very quickly arouses suspicion amongst some linguists. Questions are often raised about the validity of the paragraph, and whether it is perhaps nothing more than a typographer's convention. In Section 7.2.2 I give the semantic, grammatical, and phonological criteria for establishing oral paragraphs in Wik-Munkan.

One cannot assume that oral paragraphs and written paragraphs would be identical for any given language in their boundary signals and internal structure. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note an experiment carried out at the University of Michigan which showed that students were able to restore paragraphing to written material.¹ To my knowledge no similar experiments have been carried out testing recognition of paragraphs in oral material.

7.2 WIK-MUNKAN PARAGRAPHS

Wik-Munkan paragraphs can be described as being combinations of sentences (and sometimes embedded paragraphs as well) which group together and which have the function of presenting and developing the global theme of the discourse. One-sentence paragraphs are also possible. Such groups of sentences or one-sentence paragraphs can be formally defined as paragraphs by semantic, grammatical, and phonological criteria (Sec. 7.2.2). In addition, paragraphs have as their underlying representation rhetorical predicates such as response, explanation and contrast (Sec. 7.3).
7.2.1 FUNCTION

In their function of presenting and developing the global theme, some paragraphs introduce that global theme; others conclude it. Some illustrate it, some elaborate upon it, some reinforce it via contrast or collateral information or restatement. Some consist of an aside which is necessary background material for the development of the global theme. Other paragraphs again are essentially a comment on the global theme, where the speaker gives an evaluation of his subject matter. Some paragraphs move the theme along (for example, chronologically) rather than reinforce, expand, or evaluate.

Certainly the functions listed above do not exclusively belong to paragraphs. For instance, a single sentence may introduce a global theme, and a single clause conclude it (and not necessarily form a separate paragraph). An illustration of a global theme may be several paragraphs in length. Nevertheless, such functions are more often performed by formally defined paragraphs in Wik-Munkan than by other linguistic units.

The way in which paragraphs develop the global theme differs for some discourse genres. For example, for hortatory discourses the functions of reinforcement, expansion and illustration are most prominent. The introduction of a new argument, or the illustration of an existing one, often coincides with grammatical and phonological signals of paragraphs. On the other hand, for narratives, a new development of the plot often coincides with a major setting change and a re-orientation of characters, which are both criteria for establishing paragraphs. Once a narrative gets underway, paragraphs have the function of moving the global theme along towards its resolution, rather than functions of restatement and reinforcement. Travelogues, similarly, have few paragraphs which reinforce or restate. As travelogues are anecdotal rather than plot centred, the paragraphs within them function basically as a loose, though chronologically ordered, collection of comments on the global theme. For example, for some travelogues, the next major sight or incident en route corresponds with formal criteria for establishing paragraphs.

As stated earlier (see Secs. 2.1.3 and 5.3.1) there are several thematic levels operating simultaneously in Wik-Munkan, which may be associated with discourses, paragraphs, sentences, and clauses respectively. Paragraphs, then, have their own themes. While these are sometimes reinforcements of the global theme, or of a phase of the global theme (see Sec. 6.5) more often paragraphs have their own subsidiary themes which relate to and develop the global theme. More is said on this in Section 7.9.
The way in which some texts are punctuated by the restatement of the global theme or its refinement was discussed in Section 6.6. In some texts, especially exhortations, this restatement of the global theme does indeed become the theme of some paragraphs within the text. But more often, the restatement is superimposed on the organization of the text, and occurs at the borders of paragraphs almost like a refrain.

7.2.2 CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING PARAGRAPHS

Grammatical, semantic and phonological features combine to help determine paragraph divisions in Wik-Munkan. We can, indeed, speak of semantic paragraphs (that is, those determined by semantic criteria alone) grammatical paragraphs, and phonological paragraphs, although I have not always found it easy to determine the latter clearly. When semantic, grammatical and phonological features indicating a new paragraph are all present, then a paragraph break is considered definable by criteria from all three modes.

Sometimes semantic, grammatical, and phonological paragraphs do not match, but most of the time they are co-terminus. In the discussion which follows in this section, it may appear that semantic criteria emerge as by far the strongest. This may be so; however, in the majority of cases semantic features have grammatical back-up, that is, they are realized partly or fully by one or more grammatical features. For instance, major temporal change, which is a very important semantic criterion, can be realized grammatically in several ways: by -ām-iy-aʔ fronting on temporal words; by temporal and punctiliar setting clauses which typically contain certain aspect words, special affixation, and sequence intonation; and by continuous setting clauses which have grammatical features distinguishing them from those used with sentences; and so on (see Sec. 7.4 for details).

The boundary criteria for signalling the beginning of paragraphs are often at one and the same time topicalization patterns which indicate setting or peripheral themes, or ways of foregrounding the theme of the nucleus of the paragraph (see Secs. 7.4 and 7.6). For instance, major temporal changes (such as referred to in the last paragraph) are normally the departure points of paragraphs, and so constitute setting themes. Similarly, the closure of a paragraph is sometimes obvious because there is a reminder of the paragraph theme. This is described in Section 7.7.

Criteria which are treated in depth in Sections 7.4, 7.6, and 7.7 are merely introduced in this section, whereas other criteria not treated elsewhere are described more fully. Criteria for identifying
paragraphs can be diagrammed as follows in Figure 21. The semantic criteria which are marked with an asterisk are those which can be said to have grammatical back-up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEMANTIC CRITERIA:</th>
<th>Major Temporal Change*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Major Spatial Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re-Orientation of Participants*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change in Kind of Information*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Closely Knit Semantic Domains</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA:</th>
<th>Rhetorical Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peripheral Information and Restatement of Discourse Theme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interjections and Conjunctions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA:</th>
<th>First sentence in paragraphs high in pitch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tendency for concentration of contours with elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range and sequence intonation carrier -a? initial in paragraph</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 21: CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING PARAGRAPHS**

Not one of these criteria can be said to always occur signalling a new paragraph, so that no single one gives unfailing guidance in indicating paragraphs. Rather, there is normally a combination of one or more features from either two or all three of the modes, semantic, grammatical, and phonological.

Some criteria are more characteristic of some discourse genres than others. On the other hand some criteria have not been found in some discourse genres. For instance, the continuous setting clause (Secs. 7.2.2.1 and 7.4.1.4) is mostly associated with travelogues, but also occurs in the mediation section of narratives. A few examples have also been found in procedural and explanatory texts, but none in hortatory texts. Details of occurrence in specific discourse genres are given with the description of each criterion where relevant.

7.2.2.1 Major Temporal Change

In narratives, procedures and travelogues an indication of a major time change emerges as the strongest criterion for indicating new paragraphs. This may be by temporal phrases or clauses, by setting clauses,
or by strategic positioning of the aspect words *kan* and *qu'il*. These are all described and discussed in Section 7.4, and there is also reference to *kan* in Section 7.2.2.2.

As paragraphs in several languages are the domain of a major setting change, temporal or spatial or both (Grimes 1975:358; Stokes 1971; Glover 1974:162) then it seems that setting should belong as a constituent of the deep structure of a paragraph rather than of a sentence. Extra mentions of the setting in the further sentences of a paragraph could then be thought of as optional agreement. This is further discussed in Section 11.5.

7.2.2.2 Major Spatial Change

Some temporal changes implicate spatial changes as well. For instance, continuous setting clauses indicate both the passing of time as well as movement from one place to another. When an aspect word such as *kan* occurs with temporal force and also with a motion verb such as *?i·y go*, changes of both time and place are indicated. In fact, in any temporally oriented text, a spatial change normally implicates a temporal change, although the reverse is not necessarily true. I say "normally" because sometimes a speaker may describe the simultaneous activities and spatial settings of two sets of participants in a sequence of two paragraphs. For instance, in one text, there is a paragraph describing a man going for goose eggs, while the next paragraph describes a group watching him from a good distance away.

In explanatory discourses, which are not basically temporally oriented, major spatial change is sometimes involved in indicating a new paragraph.

280. //a·k ?i·n-a ne·n-a? / wi·y-a kuŋk ?i·y-antan pam
   place this what-Seq some-Rhy north go-3PPres men
   ?imanam /
   here-from

   And what about this place? Men from here are going north.

The question may well be asked how one distinguishes major spatial changes from minor ones. In actual fact, spatial change is rarely a sole indicator of a new paragraph. For instance, a rhetorical question occurs as well in example 280. In the two paragraphs referred to from the text about goose eggs, there is also re-orientation of participants, as well as supporting criteria of changes in the kind of information, and the occurrence of the interjection *ya·well then* with one.
However, for some texts (mostly narratives) where the paragraphing can sometimes be described as less overtly marked, the combination of a locative or directional word with a motion verb does indicate a new paragraph. These are briefly described in Section 7.4.1.5 and discussed further in Section 10.2.

Sometimes the punctiliar aspect word kan occurs in conjunction with a motion verb as the last clause of a sentence. It has indicative intonation, and is lower in pitch than the preceding clause. Such clauses indicate that following events have shifted to a new location, and can be considered as indicating the close of a paragraph.

281. .../ʔaŋan nό-nįj-áŋ/ kan ?i:y/ that.in enter-Tzr.3SPst Punct go.3SPst
... he put [them] in there, and off he went.

7.2.2.3 Re-orientation of Participants

Re-orientation of participants is a cover term for a number of possible arrangements of participants in paragraphs. It may refer to the reshuffling of present participants, or to the introduction of an important new participant. It may also refer to complete switching to another participant or set of participants in a new paragraph. For instance, in one text there are four main characters: a blue-tongued lizard and his brown snake wife; a taipan snake (who abducts the lizard's wife); and a scrub turkey (who informs the lizard of the abduction). Some paragraphs are concerned with the relationship between the lizard and his wife, and others with that between the taipan and the lizard's wife. Others again involve conversations between the scrub turkey and the lizard, while some paragraphs concentrate on the thoughts or activities of the lizard alone. In another text, a travelogue describing a country show, the main characters remain fairly constant, but with each paragraph beginning with a setting clause indicating movement of time and space, something or someone new comes onto the scene — horses, a man with a snake, a merry-go-round, children playing in miniature dinghies and aeroplanes, and so on. This can also be thought of as re-orientation of participants.

When the re-orientation of participants becomes the marked theme of a paragraph, two or more contiguous phrases referring to participants may receive -àn-iy-a? or -àn-a? fronting at the beginning of a paragraph. These phrases may refer to the one participant and therefore be in apposition, or they may refer to different participants. Examples of double fronting are given in Section 7.6.1.

In a few texts which describe the procedure for a ceremony, the way participants enter and re-enter is significant for paragraphing
in a different way. The ceremony moves through several stages, and at each stage most of the participants have a part to play. So in each paragraph most of the participants enter, and their parts pertaining to that part of the ceremony are described. In the next paragraph, most of them enter again — and their parts pertaining to the next part of the ceremony are described, and so it goes on.

7.2.2.4 Change in Kind of Information

Change in information kind is a supporting criterion. It emerges quite strongly in some texts, and in others it is not relevant at all. In those in which it is relevant, we may go from description, to advice, to an evaluation, to an aside, and then to a dialogue block. Along with these changes in kind of information sometimes goes correlating tense changes. For instance, in one hortatory text, the speaker is bent on persuading two friends to go fishing for bonefish at night. The tense used is mostly future. In the second paragraph she gives an account of the procedure used for getting bonefish. The tense used is habitual. In the third paragraph she returns to persuasion, and this time mostly uses verbs in subjunctive mood.

7.2.2.5 Closely Knit Semantic Domains

Another supporting criterion found in some texts is the close-knit semantic cohesion of some paragraphs. These paragraphs normally have their main verbs all in one semantic domain, or in closely related semantic domains. The illustrations in the next paragraph come from a text about hunting for goose eggs.

In the following example (English translation only), the main verbs are in the closely related domains of calling and thinking about. But it is interesting that the verbs in the clauses which express result are all in the one semantic domain — verbs of collecting and heaping up.

282. Yes, and now they do not call the man's name, they only call him by a sacred name. If they were to call the name If they were to think about it then what [would happen] about the eggs? — the man would collect only a few, so therefore they only call him by a sacred name so that he will collect lots of eggs and heap up his canoe with them.
The next paragraph following this describes a sequence of actions and the main verbs in this paragraph are mostly motion or induced motion, e.g. set off, go early, push (the canoe), push (synonym) and so on.

A later paragraph again describes the sharing of the cooked geese, and other food. Most of the main verbs concern closely related notions such as sharing, giving, and partaking. Others are negated antonyms of these, e.g. do not go without.

283. After they cook those geese eggs, and take them out of the ground oven, they share the food amongst themselves, amongst the relatives. Not one goes without, they give to everyone. As for the man, they put food aside earlier for him, yams etc. When he comes, they put the food in front of him, for he's hungry, having got up early. He eats the food [yams etc.] and some eggs, and then they partake of the food, the other people do, the relatives. Not one goes without, they share it. This is the custom about the eggs, some can't eat them all by themselves, — this [custom] was left by the ancestors.

7.2.2.6 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions in Wik-Munkan can function on several grammatical levels, including paragraphs, sentences and even clauses. When a rhetorical question occurs by itself or just with a pronoun in a separate information block, it can be considered to be initiating a paragraph. Such rhetorical questions normally have an intonation contour which has elevated pitch level and the sequence intonation-carrier -a?. They usually pose a question which takes the speaker several sentences to answer. Rhetorical questions occurring within a clause with a verb such as ḫaj see may also take several sentences to answer. The way in which rhetorical questions foreground both propositions and references to participants is discussed and exemplified in Sections 7.6.1 and 7.6.2.2.

7.2.2.7 Peripheral Information and Restatement of Discourse Theme

Peripheral information has already been described as occurring at paragraph borders when it comes in the form of a clause with sequence
intonation (Sec. 5.2.1.2). The restatement of the discourse theme also typically occurs at paragraph borders (Sec. 6.6). These then can both be considered criteria which help indicate paragraphs.

Occasionally peripheral information occurring initially in a paragraph occurs in a clause with indicative intonation.

284. /?a·k ?inam wa·?anal ni·y·ant-a / Goroka-än ?a·k min-a /...
place this tell-ISEmo 2P-Ref-Ind Goroka-Def place good-Ind
I’m going to tell you about this place. Goroka is good place...

7.2.2.8 Interjections and Conjunctions

The interjection ya· yes, all right, well then and the conjunction ?a? and then can be considered supporting rather than defining criteria for indicating paragraphs, as both may occur within paragraphs as well. I mention them here because they occur at the beginning of paragraphs often enough not to be ignored.

285. /ya· ?ānpālan·iy·a? / ṭonam ṭul ṭaw /...
well then after.that-Tcp-Seq one Temp say.3SPst
Well then, after that, another spoke...

286. /?a? ḥā·?tanam·ān·iy·a? / ṭutj·an ṭus·ant ṭul /...
Cj morning-Def-Top-Seq go.early-3SPres 3SAdj-Ref Temp
And then the next morning he hurries to him...

7.2.2.9 Phonological Criteria

The intonation centre of the first sentence of a paragraph is generally considerably higher than the intonation centre of the last clause of the preceding paragraph. But I have not been able to detect a gradual run-down in pitch (and perhaps tempo as well) throughout a paragraph such as some have found (Morgan 1967:124; Hudson 1971:11). There may be a tendency for a longer pause at the end of paragraphs than at the end of sentences within paragraphs.²

Some paragraphs with foregrounded topics, however, begin with a concentration of intonation contours with elevated pitch level, compressed pitch range, and the sequence intonation-carrier clitic -a? closing each (see mingograph example (b) in Appendix A).

7.3 RHETORICAL PREDICATES UNDERLYING THE ORGANIZATION OF PARAGRAPHS AND SENTENCES

7.3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is not my intention³ in this monograph to give a complete listing and description of all the rhetorical predicates which organize the underlying representation of discourses, paragraphs, and sentences.
in Wik-Munkan (see Sec. 3.10.1). Discourses I have attempted to cover fairly fully in Sec. 6.1; and in fact, each of the rhetorical predicates there described sometimes organize the underlying representation of paragraphs and sentences as well. But there are several more rhetorical predicates as well which are more commonly associated with sentences and paragraphs, such as paraphrase and contrast.

7.3.2 WORK OF GRIMES AND LONGACRE RELATING TO RHETORICAL PREDICATES

Grimes and Longacre, from their vantage points of having served as consultants in the analysis of tribal languages in various parts of the globe, have both done work in depth on the subject of interrelations of propositions. Grimes has produced a list of rhetorical predicates, which he has divided into paratactic, hypotactic and neutral (1975:207ff.). The two paratactic rhetorical predicates are alternative and response. The latter includes relationships such as question and answer, remark and reply, and a problem and its solution which involve arguments such as complication and resolution (see Sec. 6.1.1 on narratives represented by the rhetorical predicate of response).

Hypotactic rhetorical predicates include supporting predicates such as attributive, equivalent, specific, explanation, and evidence; setting predicates that refer to space or time; and identification predicates such as representative and replacement. Grimes' present position (1975:212) is to add the hypotactic proposition as an extra argument to some other proposition, so that it is subordinated to it. This differs from his earlier position in which the dominating proposition had the arguments central and peripheral (1972b:514). (See Sec. 6.1.5 for explanatory discourse represented by the rhetorical predicate of explanation.) Grimes' neutral rhetorical predicates, which can map onto surface structure as either paratactic or hypotactic constructions, include collection (Sec. 6.1.2), adverative, and covariance. The latter includes relationships such as purpose (Sec. 6.1.4) and condition, which Grimes does not distinguish as separate rhetorical predicates (see footnote 6, Chapter 6).

Longacre (1972:52-78) has produced a taxonomy of the deep structure of inter-clausal relations. He makes this statement about these relations (1972:52):

...we may contend that there are a finite number of ways of combining clauses in inter-clausal relations in the deep structure, and that these encode into the surface grammar of sentence and paragraph units.

Longacre's taxonomy is very thorough and careful work, which is well documented with English examples and references to tribal languages. In developing his taxonomy, the main headings he gives are conjoining,
paraphrase, temporal, implication, alternation, deixis, reporting, and illustration. Under each main heading he lists several varieties. For instance, conjoining includes both coupling and contrast, while paraphrase includes relationships such as equivalence, negated antonym, generic-specific, and amplification.

Glover (1974:38-54) has used Longacre's work as a basis and applied it to the analysis of one language, Gurung, spoken in Nepal. In his statement level of sememic structure, he describes the interrelations of propositions under the main headings of conjunction, disjunction, implication, paraphrase, and temporal connection. He gives examples in this section of the mapping of these sememic relations onto grammatical levels from phrase to discourse. Sayers (1976b) who also follows Longacre, refers throughout her monograph on Wik-Munkan sentences to the deep structure relations encoded by various sentence types.

### 7.3.3 Examples of Rhetorical Predicates Underlying the Organization of Wik-Munkan Paragraphs

One of the problems I have encountered in both paragraph and sentence analysis is that it is not always clear to me which rhetorical predicate is relevant for a particular stretch of speech, which by semantic, grammatical, and/or phonological criteria is either a sentence or a paragraph. Wik-Munkan has some formal grammatical links such as yípmàn because and ka?pá'l therefore, but these are optional, and sentences and paragraphs without them may also encode reason or result. Sometimes only one semantic interpretation is possible for sentences and paragraphs without formal grammatical links, but other times it seems that a certain paragraph or sentence could be interpreted in different ways. The following example (which happens to be a sentence rather than a paragraph) could be interpreted as a coordinate relationship, or temporal sequence, or result, or even generic-specific.

287. /ŋul-ŋul-an-a? / ?ep kutjék ?anan wa·p-a kan kuyam
   Temp-Rd-Def-Seq Pos-head that brain-Rhy Punct used.to
   wun  ṭan-t-ǎ / ṭa·ntamne·y-in ya· ?a·k-a ?in-a
   lie-3SPst 3P-Ref-Tag thing-3PPst yes place-Rhy this-Rhy
   school yimanaŋ ?eŋ/ ě·y-in / popam njiñ-in /
   school like.this Ques think-3PPst still sit-3PPst

Later on, they came to their senses, and they thought, "Oh yes, school is like this, is it?" and they listened and sat quietly.

Glover (SIL Nepal: personal communication) has suggested that there may be a hierarchy of relationships, so that, for instance, result includes sequence, and sequence includes co-ordination (with time-indexing).
A comment of Grimes' follows on from that of Glover's. He feels that whether a neutral predicate maps onto surface structure in a hypotactic or paratactic form depends on decisions made in the area of staging (Sec. 2.2.5). He says (1975:226):

...relations of dominance and subordination have to do ultimately with the staging of parts of a discourse. The speaker imposes a perspective on the purely cognitive aspects of meaning.

The following two short paragraphs (288, 289) illustrate the underlying representation of the rhetorical predicates of result and illustration respectively. The sentences of the paragraphs are numbered (numbers in brackets).

288. (1) **pal-am** **pent-an-a?** / **?at-?anan ɲे-y-an**
   **here-towards go.out-IPExclPst-Seq bell that hear-IPExclPst**
   **small-Def hit-3Ppst-Seq school big-Loc that-Seq**
   **nān-ān-a?  puŋ yo-n kuyam pent-an-a may**
   **IPExcl-Def-Rhy so outside used.to go.out-IPExclPst-Rhy Carb**
   **nāk-āk-a? /  nāk-a puŋ-a mūŋk-āyn //** (2) **puŋ**
   **water-Gl-Seq water-Rhy so-Rhy drink-3Pfut so**
   **mānj-i-y-ŋ-ān-a? /  tūt munŋ-an ɲeŋ-t-āŋ-an**
   **small-Emph-Erg-Def-Seq milk drink-IPExclPst go.out-Trz-IPExclPst**
   **ʔan-āŋ / ʔa-wuj mānj-āk ʔam /**
   **3P-Acc house small-Gl also**

   When we came back here, at the time of hearing them ring the small bell in the big school, we used to go outside for a drink, so [the children] could have a drink, so we could send them out for the milk, and also to the toilet.

The rhetorical predicate underlying the organization of the nucleus of this paragraph is represented in Figure 22, using English translation. Setting predicates are discussed in Sec. 11.5. This paragraph contains the formal result marker puŋ which occurs (not once, but three times!) and so the result rhetorical predicate is added in as a hypotactic predicate. The example also shows recursive embedding of rhetorical predicates of paraphrase and specific and collection. Semantic roles, such as Agent and Patient, are discussed in Sec. 9.1.3.
FIGURE 22: UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF EXAMPLE 288.

The second paragraph (example 289) has the underlying representation of illustration, with an embedded rhetorical predicate of paraphrase, of the negated antonym variety.

289. (1) /tán-an ke? nul pe·y-in-a? / ne·n-a? / kutjék wa·p
   3P-Def VNeg Temp cry-3PPst-Seq what-Seq head brain
   min-a nul-a? / ?i·y-i·y-an // (2) ?át-án ne·y-in-a? /
   good-Rhy Temp-Seq go-Rd-3SPres bell-Def hear-3PPst-Seq
   pek / wik ke?-an-aŋ ?ánmán go·ntj-in kuyam wey
   inside word VNeg-Nomz-Temp only enter-3PPst used.to Comp
   tān-am-an /
   3P-Emph-Def

They didn't cry anymore - what? - they settled down. When the bell used to ring, they just used to go inside [school] without chattering.
The rhetorical predicate underlying the representation of this paragraph is illustrated in Figure 23. It will be noticed that I have put the adverbial element without chattering as a higher predicate. In this I am following the practice of Landerman and Frantz (1972:168-94).

![Diagram](image)

**FIGURE 23:** UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF EXAMPLE 289.

### 7.4 THE POINT OF DEPARTURE

Returning now to the subject of thematic organization, I first consider the departure points of paragraphs. I have already made a distinction between themes (Sec. 2.1.1) which are purely a starting point and no more, and which provide a setting for what follows, as against those which are the subject matter of a paragraph, sentence or clause and can be the starting point as well. Setting and peripheral themes belong to the former, and themes from the nucleus to the latter.

Some reference to setting as a point of departure for paragraphs has already been given in outline form in Sections 5.2.1.1 and 7.2.2.1. This is expanded and exemplified in Section 7.4.1. The way in which peripheral information may occur as a point of departure for paragraphs has been described in Section 5.2.1.2 and will not be referred to further here. In Section 6.6 the restatement of the discourse theme sometimes occurring at the beginning of a paragraph and acting like a point of departure, has been noted and exemplified and also will not be referred to further in this section. In Section 7.4.1.6 however, there is a brief discussion of how the restatement of a previous argument may act as "setting" for a new paragraph in hortatory discourse.
7.4.1 SETTING

7.4.1.1 Temporal Phrases

Mention has already been made (Sec. 5.4) of the fact that temporal words or phrases which receive -àn-iy-a? fronting have prominence over a whole paragraph. Temporal words such as ŋáʔ?tìʔam morning, temporal demonstratives such as ?ánpàlan after that and the aspect words kan and ŋul (or the two together compounded) may all receive -àniya? fronting (or -iy-a? fronting in the case of the demonstratives) and thereby provide the temporal setting for a paragraph. The aspect word ŋul may also occur initially in a phrase with a temporal demonstrative with -iy-a? fronting. Also a temporal phrase such as ɣa·m keʔanam (long without) before too long can receive -àn-iy-a? fronting.

In saying that such temporal phrases provide a temporal setting for the whole paragraph I do not mean to say that the time cannot change during that paragraph. It can. Temporal setting, rather, refers to spans of time which the speaker chooses how to partition. When a speaker decides to compress six events instead of three into one time span, beginning, say, with ?ánpàlan-iy-a? after that, this is a choice which partly relates to thematic organization.

Examples of temporal words and phrases receiving -àn-iy-a? or -iy-a? fronting follow. One example shows two such phrases occurring together. The full context of the rest of the paragraph following on from example 290 may be seen in Appendix B.I. 43-4.

290. /ʔánpàlan-iy-a? / puk mánj-àn-a pe·y-pe·y-a? / after.that-Top-Seq child small-Def-Rhy cry-Rd.3SPst-Seq
    wa·ŋk-am-an-iy-a? / witj-an / ...
    string.bag-Src-Def-Top-Seq take.out.3SPst-Acc
    After that, when the child cried, she took him out of the string bag...

    Temp after.that-Top-Seq man that-Top-Rhy say.3SPst child
    kuntj-ant / ...
    own-Ref
    Then after that, that man said to his child...

    next.day-Def-Top-Seq women those-Top-Seq sacred.dance Punct
    paʔ-antan / ...
    sing-3PPres
    The next day, as for those women, they sing the sacred dance.
Temporal words and phrases such as tomorrow, afternoon, the next day which are followed by the temporal aspect word ḳul with -ān-a? fronting also provide the temporal setting for a paragraph.

Reduplication within a time word is another way of indicating a major time change. It indicates that a relatively long time has passed as well as providing the temporal orientation for the paragraph. In the first example below, there is expanded pitch range on the first syllable (indicated by `'`) as well as reduplication of the aspect word ḳul. In these cases, -iy may occur but does not always.

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Temporals clauses also clauses referring to a specific time or period of time which provide the temporal orientation for a paragraph. These temporals clauses typically contain the punctiliar aspect word kan suf­fixed with the definite clitic -ān. Sometimes, however, the clause contains rather the temporal aspect word ḳul. Temporals clauses typi­cally have sequence intonation.
After the month was up, she began to feel [labour pains],
the woman did...

We kept on minding them, and meanwhile much time passed by
in that place, and then they began to think...

At the time of the next month, at that same time, when it
was time for her labour pains to begin...

Temporal words, phrases, and clauses do not have as low a degree of
communicative dynamism as do setting clauses (to be described in Secs.
7.4.1.3 and 7.4.1.4). While they relate to and depend on a previous
temporal orientation, they nevertheless are announcing a new time span
via what can be thought of as a temporal content phrase or clause.
That is, a word such as morning or afternoon or a clause such as when
the month was up conveys a temporal setting to the listener which he
is able to pinpoint far more than a demonstrative or aspect word which
merely says after that or and then, or a clause which merely repeats a
given event as setting for the next.

7.4.1.3 Punctiliar Setting Clauses

Punctiliar setting clauses restate an event or summarize a chain of
events already described and note their completion. They then become
the point of departure for the next event or series of events. They
are thus temporal in force, as they convey the impression of after he
had done such and such, he....

Punctiliar setting clauses may occur as points of departure for both
sentences and paragraphs. In both cases they have elevated pitch level,
compressed pitch range and the sequence intonation-carrying clitic -a?.
They also normally do not contain a free form of the subject. Those
that are the departure point for paragraphs not only summarize all or
most of the preceding paragraph, but they also typically contain an
aspect word, either kan or qul, which is suffixed with the definite
clitic -an.

The following example follows a paragraph which describes how young
children first enter school.
After they used to enter [school], I minded them at first.

The punctiliar setting clause in the next example summarizes part of the preceding paragraph, which describes how the woman cleared away the grass so she could make a hut for herself. The speaker digresses at the end of the paragraph and gives a description of the sort of grass used in that country for building material. Then follows the next paragraph with the speaker referring back to making the hut. In doing so, she is selecting what she needs to summarize out of the previous paragraph in order to go on with describing the woman's activities.

When she had finished making the hut, she worked on the inside then, and did a really good job.

The two paragraphs preceding the next example describe plans for leaving a sacred place in the bush, and how the group begin to emerge.

And when they've all come out, and left the place of the snake's stomach, they proceed to go back.

In connection with punctiliar setting clauses summarizing given information, it is interesting to compare what Hope has to say about Lisu (1974:65):

When commencing a new episode in a connected discourse it is common for the speaker to summarize those presuppositions of the preceding episode which have an immediate bearing on what is to follow. This summary is in the form of a series of topicalized sentences. Such summaries of presupposition mark the beginnings of new episodes in the discourse, roughly equivalent to new paragraphs.

Continuous Setting Clauses

Continuous setting clauses reaffirm the movement of the participant or participants in a story. They therefore mostly have both temporal and spatial force. They are most often found in travelogues, where the characters are either continually moving on, or else have phases of activity involving movement. They can be considered as points of departure as they are merely reiterating the already given direction or mode of travel.
Continuous setting clauses occur as points of departure for both sentences and paragraphs. Those which begin a paragraph typically have repetition of either the verb or a directional word and/or a long drawn out continuous intonation-carrier clitic -a·-. 

304. /tku·w ku·w mo?-an-a· / yoyk-am / ?atjantaŋ-im yoyk west west run-IPExclPst-Cont hill-Src high-Emph hill
?anan-i / pek-am-im ?uk-an / ... that-Top down-towards-Emph go.down-IPExclPst
We kept on going west, and came down from the hill, that high hill.

305. /tkoyam mo?-an mo?-an-a· / tjip ketj-an-im baak run-IPExclPst run-IPExclPst-Cont halfway far-Def-Emph
?uw-an ān-ŋ / ... find-IPExclPst 3P-Acc
We kept on driving back, and halfway back we found them.

Sometimes the directional is repeated several times and there is gapping of the verb. The continuous intonation-carrier -a·- sometimes occurs on the last repeat of the directional, as for repeats of verbs, as seen in example 307.

306. /tkaw kw kw kw kw kw / та? wee tj / east east east east east foot track.3Spst
He kept on going and going in the east direction, and followed the tracks.

307. /tkaw kw kw kw kw · / tonąŋ nul āŋ / ... east east east-Cont another Temp see.3Spst Temp
He kept on going east, and then he saw another [emu].

Occasionally a verb other than a motion verb occurs in a continuous setting clause. In one text, where the participants sit for quite some time watching a ring event at a show, two paragraphs begin with continuous setting clauses which have the verb nji·n sit.

308. /tja· nji·n-an nji·n-an ?aŋam-a? / nul Sissy yes sit-IDExclPst sit-IDExclPst there.in-Seq Temp Sissy
Marie āŋ / ...
Marie say.3Spst
Yes, we sat on and on there, and then Sissy Marie said...

7.4.1.5 Non-thematic Setting

Setting change may also be indicated initially in paragraphs by a clause which includes a motion verb and an aspect word (without -an) a directional, or a locative word. These are not setting clauses in the sense that they restate a previous action, or reaffirm constant movement. But they do indicate movement, and therefore spatial and
temporal change. Occasionally they have sequence intonation, but more often their intonation is indicative (see Appendix A).

309. /nil min wél-àn-a? / kan mat / may 3S Pro blue.tongued.lizard-Def-Seq Punct climb.3SPst food
    jàmp-àn-a / with-Def-Ind

The blue-tongued lizard climbed up then, with his food.

    nil-a komàg-an-a? pi-k-in nun-àŋ / ... 3S-Rhy young.woman-Def-Seq hit-3PPst 3S-Acc

They went back then. When they got back, they beat up the young woman...

311. /kan-a kal-a? / jum pup-àŋ-an-a? wupam Punct-Rhy carry.3SPst-Seq fire firestick-Inst-Def-Seq right.in
    ōntj / kóyam-àk-àn-ìy / hide.3SPst back-GL-Def-Top

Then he started back [with the heart], and put the firestick through [the string] so as to carry it back.

In selecting to indicate spatial and temporal change in this way, the speaker is not making setting change prominent. He is not using any of the surface patterns of topicalization. Not all clauses with sequence intonation are thematic, but only those which have elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range (Appendix A: Table 2). Therefore he has chosen to make setting non-thematic in such clauses. This choice is in fact conditioned by the discourse genre. Some discourses, notably narratives, show a less overtly marked partitioning of some sections of the text (Sec. 10.2).

7.4.1.6 Restatement as Departure Point

It has already been noted that the restatement of the discourse theme sometimes occurs at the beginning of a paragraph (Sec. 6.6) and in doing so, acts like a point of departure. In hortatory texts, sometimes a paraphrase of one of the points of a previous paragraph acts in a similar way and provides the ground, or "setting" for the next argument or illustration. In hortatory discourse this is not done, however, by clauses in sequence intonation which are lexically non-final in a sentence. Example 477 in Section 10.4 provides an example of new paragraphs being tied back to preceding paragraphs by an opening repetition or paraphrase of one or more of the main ideas in a previous paragraph.
7.5 UNMARKED THEME OF PARAGRAPH NUCLEUS

Some paragraphs reveal no particular attempt of the speaker to make the subject matter of the paragraph prominent. That is, he does not present his chosen theme via any of the topicalization patterns available to him such as -àn-iy-a? fronting, rhetorical questions, and cycling. In these instances, the nucleus of the paragraph has an unmarked theme. The unmarked theme of a paragraph is usually presented in the first sentence, following any setting or peripheral elements. This first sentence, then, forms the "what I am talking about now", and the point of departure of the nucleus information of the paragraph.

Some examples of unmarked paragraph theme follow. A triangle marks where the nucleus of the paragraph begins. Following the citing of the unmarked paragraph theme, an English translation or summary is given in parentheses of the content of the rest of the paragraph. The relation of the theme to the rest of the paragraph can thus be observed.

312. /ŋul ?amanam-iy-a? / ðaw puk Temp after.that-Top-Seq man that-Top-Rhy say.3SPst child
kuntj-ant / ŋal-a mîn-âk ?î·y-âl-a? /
own-Ref IDIncl-Rhy Pro-3GL go-IDPut-Seq

After that, that man said to his son, "Let's go hunting".
(They left the two women there, telling them to stay and mind the camp. The father took his son. They searched for game, but got none.)

The next example is preceded by a restatement of the first phase of the global theme (not included in the example).

313. /ŋay puk ?u·y-?u·y mà?-wàk-aŋ /
IS child many-Rd hand-chase-ISPst

I struggled with lots of children.
(They ran home to their mothers, and I chased them and found them on the road and brought them back to school, and to the teacher.)

314. /pá̂l pá̂l pá̂l tîn̂ tîn̂ ŋul-àn-iy-a? / ñonam wantj-aŋ
here here here close close Temp-Def-Top-Seq one woman-Erg
màntâyan-âŋ naŋ kùtj-an wantjîŋ mâŋk-aŋ wey /
der-Erg maybe send-3SPres old.woman elder-Erg Comp
tâŋ-àŋ-a? /
look-2SFut-Seq

He keeps on coming closer and closer, and then the old women maybe send one person [saying] "Look [out for him]!"
("Can you see the sacred man? Is he close yet, or still a bit far in the east?" "No he's close, he's rounded the corner!" (Orders for the ground oven to be lit follow. Then they all shout with excitement that the man is close now, and dance for joy at the thought of the food he is bringing back.))
Some unmarked themes are points of departure for the nucleus in the sense that they are the first of a sequence of events, such as in example 314. Others, such as example 313, form the subject matter of an explanation or description.

It may be wondered how it is possible to identify a paragraph which has an unmarked theme, apart from semantic cues. It is usually possible to put the horse before the cart in this matter; that is, identification can be made by phonological, semantic, and grammatical criteria as outlined earlier (Sec. 7.2.2). For instance, examples 312 and 314 begin with temporal phrases with -àn-iy-a? fronting (Secs. 7.2.2.1 and 7.4.1.1). Example 313 is preceded by a restatement of the discourse theme (Sec. 7.2.2.7) and also involves a change in the kind of information from a dialogue block to a chain of events (Sec. 7.2.2.4).

The choices available to a speaker regarding marked and unmarked theme of the nucleus of the paragraph are represented in a flow chart in Figure 24. (Marked paragraph theme is described in Sections 7.6 and 7.7.)

7.6 WAYS OF FOREGROUNDING PARAGRAPH THEME

This will be considered under two sections, foregrounding of references to participants, and the foregrounding of propositions.

7.6.1 PARTICIPANTS

The occurrence of -àn-iy-a? fronting has been mentioned elsewhere (Sec. 5.4) as giving a participant prominence over approximately a sentence. Sometimes such fronting of one participant occurs in the first sentence of a paragraph, and sometimes in sentences medial in a paragraph, or both. There is a tendency in some texts, especially procedures, for there to be double fronting of phrases referring to participants at or near the beginning of paragraphs. Sometimes both fronted phrases refer to the one participant, and the second phrase then clarifies the first in some way, or adds information. Such a participant then normally has prominence over most or all of the paragraph. While both appositive phrases may receive -àn-iy-a? fronting, sometimes one (or two if there are three fronted phrases, which is possible) may receive -àn-a? or -a? fronting only. Once again, the point at which the nucleus begins is marked with a triangle.

315. /àn ma'ñj-añ-an òañ-an-a? / \VNaj ?alañan-iy-a? /\nIPExcl film-Loc-Def see-IPExclPst-Seq woman that.Erg-Top-Seq

We were watching the picture, and that woman, the young mother, what did she do?...
FIGURE 24: MARKED AND UNMARKED PARAGRAPH THEMES

(Fg = Foregrounding, Rm = Reminder)
As for the umbilical cord of the child, that which is tied up in wax, he keeps it, that man does, the godfather.

Then he started back [with the heart] and put the firestick through [the string] so as to carry it back. The brown snake, the woman belonging to the blue-tongued lizard, his wife, she swore and swore at him.

Sometimes two fronted phrases at the beginning of a paragraph refer to different participants. In this case, the double fronting (except where simple listing is involved) brings the relationship of the two participants into prominence. The two participants typically have different roles, as can be seen from examples 318 and 319, where one phrase with -än-iy-a? fronting is in ergative case, and the other in nominative. The word participant here can be extended to include inanimate referents as well as animate ones. Sometimes one of the participants receives -än-ä? or -ä? fronting as can be seen in Appendix B.I. 29. However, in this instance, the participant with -än-iy-a? fronting is the more prominent one.

As for the godfather, concerning the child's cord, he takes it from his neck, that man does, the godfather...

As for this our friend, concerning the bad news about the loss of our brother and sister, she wrote it in a letter to Auntie McClure.
Another way of foregrounding a participant who is the theme of a paragraph is via rhetorical questions. In these instances, the rhetorical question carries with it the presupposition that the emergence of this particular participant is surprising or unusual. This use of rhetorical questions is found most often in travelogues.

320. /nul pek əntj-an-a? / ənəŋ taj-aŋ-a? / kutjam Temp inside enter-IDExclPst-Seq what see-ISpPst-Seq two
   manj monkey / ...
   small monkey

When we had entered inside, what did I see but two little monkeys!

The rest of this paragraph describes the antics of the monkeys.

sit-IDExclPst-Seq see-IDExclPst what-Seq first-Top-Seq
   pam /
   man

We kept sitting on, and then what did we see? A man at first.

The rest of the paragraph describes how the man was unusually dressed and how he rode several horses at once.

Sometimes two participants in the one sentence at the beginning of a paragraph are foregrounded via rhetorical questions. In its context, a restatement of the first phrase of the discourse theme precedes the following sentence.

322. /nil-a weʔ-an-a? / ənam nako ʔik-ant wey /
   3S-Rhy who-Erg-Seq one heart split.3SPst-Ref Comp
   petj-petj-ant / weʔ-an-ant / wel-ant-an-a /
   shout-Rd.3SPst-Ref who-Ref blue.tongued.lizard-Ref-Def-Ind

Now who? - one who had a funny feeling, he shouted and shouted to who? - the blue-tongued lizard.

The rest of the paragraph relates how the one who had the funny feeling (a scrub turkey) kept shouting in vain to the oblivious blue-tongued lizard.

7.6.2 PROPOSITIONS

As shown in Figure 24, propositions can be foregrounded in a number of ways at the beginning of paragraphs, thereby becoming the marked theme of the paragraph. Each grammatical or phonological device used is significant in a different way, and each conveys a different kind of prominence.

7.6.2.1 Double Clause Topicalization

Just as there can be double fronting of phrases referring to participants at the beginning of paragraphs, so there can be a double
occurrence of a topicalized clause (Sec. 4.7). The second topicalized clause is typically a paraphrase or parallel situation of the first, and the event(s) so foregrounded then has prominence over a paragraph, rather than a sentence. Single topicalized clauses normally have prominence over a sentence.

323. /ni:l-a kek-a ka? we:l-an-an
3S-Rhy spear-Rhy tried-to blue.tongued.lizard-Erg-Def
te\-?-iy nu:n-ant-a? / taypan-ant-a? / kek kemp-an-an
throw-3SSbj 3SAJ-Ref-Seq taipan-Ref-Seq spear flesh-Loc-Def
stick-3SFut spear 3SAJ-Poss-Seq middle-Loc break.3SPst-Src
talók /
Onom

The blue-tongued lizard tried to spear the taipan, he thought he'd stick his spear in his flesh — but his spear broke in half — Crack!

The rest of the paragraph talks about the spears of the two contestants, and how the lizard's spear broke because of its poor quality.

3S ant.species-Erg-Def bite.3SPst-Seq 3S ant.species-Erg-Def
pa:t-a? / nil yu:k manj-an ták tu?-a
bite.3SPst-Seq 3S stick small-Inst etc. poke.3SPst-Rhy
tan-an-a? / ?a-wul-an ?ánmàn te\-?-in / wu:\t
3P-Acc-Ind then perspiration-Inst only give-3PPst male
mántàyan-an / elder-Erg

If they get bitten with a green ant, or a beef ant, or if they get a poke from a sharp stick, the old men rub them with perspiration [as a cure].

The rest of the paragraph describes how it is necessary to be stoical under such adversities, as they (the young men) are in a sacred place.

7.6.2.2 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions at the beginning of paragraphs (see Sec. 7.2.2.6) are used to relate to propositions in two ways. In non-hortatory discourses, they are a means of giving prominence to an event or series of events. As for participants (Sec. 7.6.1), they signify that the event is unusual or surprising.

325. /ñe:n-à / kan-ñul-a / monkan kum-win-a? /
what-Tag Punct-Temp-Ind nape.of.neck ignorant-3PRecPst-Seq
pók-pókáp wun-in /
Rd-separate live-3PPst

And what now, [do you think?] They lived apart from each other, they lived separately.
The rest of the paragraph elaborates upon this, and gives the reasons for it.

326. /qe-n-a? / pip-aŋ mak-mak-in nun-aŋ / tım-aŋ what-Seq clay-Inst cover-Rd-3PPst 3S-Acc fire-Inst
      pók-pók-āt-īn / ...
      Rd-heat-Trz-3PPst

And what next ever? They covered her with clay, and heated her body by the fire.

The rest of the paragraph explains why this was done.

In hortatory texts, on the other hand, rhetorical questions at the beginning of paragraphs are used as a challenging device. For instance, the question may be asked, and the choice then posed.

327. /wāntāk-a? / ṇay ni-y-ant gāw-āŋ-a pam wantj-ant / what-Seq IS 2P-Ref say-ISPut-Ind man women-Ref
      ni-y wāntāk ga'ntame'y-ani'y / งแม่ง-a ya'-m what think-2PPres IPIncl-Rhy long
      pe-pék-wump ?ey / Rd-fight-IPInclRec Ques

What about it? I'm saying to you men and women — what do you think, shall we fight for ever?

7.6.2.3 Cycling of First Sentence of Paragraph

Cycling of sentences (see Sec. 4.8) more properly belongs in the next chapter on the sentence, as it is not confined to occurring initially in the paragraph, and is not different in its form initially in a paragraph than 'n other places.

Nevertheless, some initial sentences in paragraphs are structured cyclically, and the theme of the paragraph thereby gains more prominence, and also carries with it the presupposition that this is something the speaker wishes to impress upon his hearers. (Sec. 4.8.)

Two examples are given here.

328. /kān-ān mîntj-āŋ wuṟp-a? / ʷwuṟp pek-pek-aŋ Punct-Def finish-Trz.3SPst hut-Seq hut inside-Rd-Loc
      qūl-ān ?a-k yump min-mín / nīl-nil-am-a / Temp-Def place make.3SPst good-Rd 3S-Rd-Emph-Ind
      wantj-a kampan nun-antam ʔonam ke? nūŋ-antāŋ-ān-i'y woman-Rhy relative 3S-Poss one VNeg 3SAj-Accom-Def-Top
      ?i.y / ya?-'a / nil-nil-am pókāpaŋ /
      go.3SPst Neg-Ind 3S-Rd-Emph separate

Having finished making the hut, she then worked on the inside and did a really good job, all by herself. Not one female relative accompanied her, not one. She did it all by herself.

The rest of the paragraph describes activities following on from this which she carried out by herself.
After many years had passed by, we made plans. [We said,] "Let's have some policemen here. Can't we have two leaders for our place here so that they can keep the place strong?" Yes, we made plans.

The rest of the paragraph describes how they begin to implement the plans.

7.6.2.4 Negated Antonym and other Paraphrase in First Sentence of Paragraph

Negated antonym paraphrase, and also other forms of paraphrase and amplification (Sayers 1976b:11-28) are also not confined to occurring in the initial sentences of paragraphs. When they do, however, they give the theme of the paragraph more prominence than it would otherwise have.

In negated antonym paraphrase the speaker says what something is, and then says what it is not. Or, in the case of an event, he says what happened and then says what did not happen. The order of negative-positive may occur as well. Negated antonym paraphrases have a sharpening effect. The stating of what something is not defines more sharply what it is.
the first clause. The verbs of the two clauses are normally identical or else in the same semantic domain. Sometimes extra information is given in the second clause. The speaker's aim in using these constructions at the beginning of paragraphs seems to be to hold the theme before his hearers for a bit, and thereby give it more prominence. No special presuppositions, such as surprise, seem to be involved, so these constructions can perhaps be considered examples of unmarked prominence.

332. /ŋul ?á·k-ỳ·k-àn kaı̂-anan-a? / Vkuntjan-a? wayk
   Temp place-G1-Def carry-IPExclPres-Seq pandanus-Seq dye
   pul-an-an ŋan ki·ŋk-anan / ḟak-a? wayk-a? kuntjan
   3D-Acc-Def IPExcl cook-IPExclPres water-Seq dye-Seq pandanus
   kārp pentj-ant̃an /
   together cook-3PPres

   When we come back to the camp, we boil those two, the pandanus and the dye; the water and the dye and the pandanus all cook together.

333. /ŋul ?ánpál-án-iy-a? / Vpam  tônam wamp ka·aŋ âm
   Temp after.that-Top-Seq man one come.3SPst at.first
    tônam nil-nil-am wamp /
   one 3S-Rd-Emph come.3SPst

   Then after that, one man came; at first one man came by himself.

7.7 WAYS OF REMINDING OF PARAGRAPH THEME

Tagging has already been introduced in Section 4.4. It has been described as representing a reminder of the speaker's current theme. Just as double fronting sometimes occurs initially in paragraphs (Sec. 7.6.1) so double tagging, referring to participants, can occur finally in a paragraph. Cycling has also already been introduced (Sec. 4.8) and some discussion of cyclic sentences is given in Section 7.6.2.3. A cyclic paragraph represents another way of reminding the listener of the paragraph theme when propositions are involved. As for Section 7.6, this section also will be developed in two sub-sections, one relating to participants and one relating to propositions.

7.7.1 PARTICIPANTS

Double -àn-iy tagging at the end of paragraphs may involve apposition, or the phrases may have different referents.

The first example below involves two phrases in apposition. The content of the paragraph preceding the last clause has referred to a search for a young couple by the relatives of the girl. Their conversation along the way as they search includes vengeful mutterings about what they will do to the female relatives of the young man in return.
The clause in example 334 occurs at the close of one such muttering.

334. .../taw-in pam ?anaqan-iy kampan wantj \\
     say-3Pst men those-Top relative woman \\
     kóman-antám-àn-iy / \\
     young.woman-Poss-Def-Top \\
     ...they said, those men, the relatives of the young woman.

The next example, which is from the same text as example 334, involves phrases with different referents. The preceding part of the paragraph describes how the two young people are running away as fast as they can, in case they are found and beaten up and speared. In this example, the first of the two phrases actually has listing intonation (Sec. 3.9.2).

335. .../kek-an-an-a puñ-iytan-a / pám-an-iy-a? / \\
     spear-Inst-Def-Rhy spear-3PSbj-Ind man-Def-Top-Seq \\
     puñ koman-ani-y / \\
     and young.woman-Def-Top \\
     ...They might spear them, that is, the man and the young woman.

7.7.2 PROPOSITIONS

An example of a cyclic paragraph from a hortatory text follows. A paraphrase of part of the first sentence occurs at the end of the paragraph.

336. /nip puñ ?em-iw-an-a? / \\
     wántj-àkam-àn-a? / níp-àn-a \\
     2D for grow-2DSbj-Def-Seq woman-up.to Def-Seq 2D-Def-Rhy \\
     card weŋq ?i-ːy-ːy-iw kéʔ-ʔət-ʔət-ət-iw-a // níp-a \\
     card love go-Rd-2DSbj play-Rd-Trz-2DSbj-Ind 2D-Rhy \\
     nãntamã-yow-a? / wunj-a nãmp-aʔam-a / nil \\
     think-2DFut-Seq older.brother-Rhy IFIncl-Poss-Ind 3S \\
     keʔ-ʔat card-a / nil-a ?em-ʔem \\
     VNeg-Empf play-Trz.3SPst card-Ind 3S-Rhy grow-Rd.3SPst \\
     min-am ?ánumnà // níp-àn-a keʔ-ʔul kéʔ-ʔət-ʔət-ow \\
     well-Empf only 2D-Def-Rhy VNeg-Temp play-Trz-2SFut \\
     card-a / ?án-a wáy-wáj-am // níp-àn puñ puʔam kéʔ-ʔət-iw / \\
     card-Ind that-Rhy bad-Rd-Emph 2D-Def for again play-Trz-2DSbj \\
     card máń-pət-an kéʔ-ʔət-iw / \\
     card throat-bite-Nomz play-Trz-2DSbj \\

When you are older and are grown women, you might become lovers of playing cards. You two just think! Our elder brother [Christ], he didn't play cards. He grew up doing only good things. You two don't play cards anymore. It's very bad. For if you keep playing, cards might become attractive to you.

A further example comes from a narrative. A paraphrase of the first two clauses comes at the end of the paragraph, but this time extra information is included. The extra information is implicit in the first
two clauses, having already been given previously in the discourse.

337. /ni1-3-Rhy Comp ʔaŋam pek / 3S-Rhy Comp not.knowing there.in down
pa-amp-ʔuk / swamp-Loc go.down.3SPst Comp Carb waterlily.root.species
ʔaŋam wa-ʔ-antam-ʔ / kaʔ / may ?umpiy those call-3PPres-Ind like Carb waterlily.root.species
ʔaŋam-wa-ʔ-antam-ʔ / kaʔ / may ?umpiy those call-3PPres-Ind like Carb waterlily.root.species
wun-yinąŋ / ʔa-kanak-ʔ / kon-ʔuŋ lie.3SPst like those.for-Def swim.3SPst Comp ear dead
wey-ʔ / keʔ-ʔ / nəntam-ʔ / wantj nuŋ-antam-ʔ / Comp-Seq VNegEmp. think/know.3SPst woman 3SAj-Poss-Def-Seq
ʔiŋ-ʔ / yaʔ-a / close lie.3SPst Neg-Ind
He was ignorant, he didn't know [about it] down there. He'd gone down to the swamp to swim around looking for waterlily roots, those sweet ones, pa·yan they call them, they're like those other large waterlily roots. That's all he was thinking of, and he didn't know about his wife being close by, no.

7.8 COMBINATIONS

In Wik-Munkan, it is possible to give prominence to a paragraph theme in more than one way. A speaker may, in fact, make both participants and propositions prominent.

Some examples already given in this chapter exhibit combinations of ways of marking paragraph theme. Example 315, for instance, shows double -ʔ-iy-aʔ fronting and also a rhetorical question which applies to a proposition.

The following example also shows double fronting along with a rhetorical question. In this case, both fronted phrases and the rhetorical question apply to the one participant.

338. /ni1-3-Rhy Comp ʔin-an-iy-aʔ / paʔamp-an-ʔ / ʔaŋ-a kank-ʔuk / that-Rhy bush tree
manj-ʔ / nil-a neʔ-n-ʔ / ...
little-Ind 3S-Rhy what-Seq
As for this other, the dye, it's a small bush, what is it?...
The rest of the paragraph goes on to describe (in this case to an uninitiated listener) the bush and the way in which dye is extracted from it.

7.9 RELATION TO GLOBAL THEME

Halliday has said (1967:212):

thematisation takes a unit of sentence structure, the clause, and structures it in a way that is independent of what has gone before.

Halliday is talking about clauses here, but that does not particularly matter. The general assumption can be challenged. A comment of
Hope's is important for the point under consideration (1974:66):

In a discourse it would appear that there is an accumulation of presuppositions, each sentence adding to the presuppositions of the sentence to follow, and that periodically the speaker needs to select the pertinent ones from the accumulated mass, as some of the ones that have been accumulated are no longer relevant.

Some forms of topicalization, in particular punctililar setting clauses and to some extent fronting and tagging patterns, partly serve the function Hope is talking about. These are those which are most associated with given information. The other part that they, and other topicalization patterns, serve is discussed in Section 7.2.1, where I have striven to explain the function of paragraphs as presenting and developing the global theme. In that section, I have talked about paragraphs as whole units, and not singled out the themes for attention. Nevertheless, the paragraph theme is an essential jumping off point for the paragraph to fulfil its function within the discourse.

The fact that some or all information within a topicalization pattern may be new, does not necessarily mean it has been structured independently of what has gone before. Rhetorical questions, for instance, are often associated with new information. Topicalized clauses sometimes contain new information. Nevertheless, their occurrence is moulded by the rhetorical predicate which underlies the organization of the whole discourse. For instance, the information presented in example 325 is partly new, but it is part of the resolution of a narrative. This resolution came as a result of a mediation, which in turn was a response to a complication (see Sec. 6.1.1). The whole concept of a discourse having features of coherence and continuity (Sec. 3.10.1) demands that not only paragraph themes but also sentence and clause themes, are very much related to the global theme.
NOTES

1. The experiment referred to on paragraph recognition was carried out by the Center for Research on Language and Language Behavior, University of Michigan (Becker 1966:69-70). The researchers removed indentations from written material, and asked students to indicate where they thought paragraphs should be. In most cases, the students restored the original paragraph indentations of the author. Where they did not, they tended to agree with each other. Further tests indicated that students were reacting to grammatical cues as well as semantic ones.

2. While some mingograph studies were carried out on Wik-Munkan texts, the great majority of tapes collected in the field proved to be not good enough in technical standard to come out well on the mingograph. Consistent background noises, like the garrulous Aurukun roosters, did not help. Only two short texts came out clearly on the mingograph, and this is not sufficient to make authoritative statements about pause length between paragraphs.

3. Sayers (1976b) has already described in full the internal structure of Wik-Munkan sentence-paragraph (she does not distinguish the two) and the deep structure relations encoded by some types.

4. While I have accepted and used Grimes' term "rhetorical predicate", my terms for specific rhetorical predicates do not always coincide with his. He does not include "illustration", for example, although it could perhaps fit under his heading "specific". I have taken the term "illustration" from Longacre (1972:77) whose taxonomy of the deep structure of inter-clausal relations seems to be far more complete than Grimes' list of rhetorical predicates (1975:207ff.).
5. It may be observed that ku·tan has two glosses here. This is correct. The term is used for both the umbilical cord, and for the man who enters into a special relationship with the child after a ceremony concerning the umbilical cord. The English gloss godfather is not very appropriate, but is the nearest equivalent I can think of.
CHAPTER 8

SENTENCES AND SENTENCE THEME

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In Section 3.10.1 I defined Wik-Munkan sentences as combinations of clauses linked in a statable relationship, and also single clauses which are not dependent phonologically on other clauses. I also made the point that sentences are very much conditioned by the discourses in which they occur, rather than being the zenith of linguistic analysis, as is suggested by Bloomfield (1933:170).

In Section 8.2 I discuss the criteria for determining sentence boundaries, and in Section 8.3 I give examples of rhetorical predicates underlying the organization of sentences with two or more clauses. Such sentences are semantically combinations of propositions, which in their turn form other propositions, just as can be said for paragraphs and discourses.

Some general points need to be made before proceeding into a discussion of criteria. Grimes and Glock (1970:415), in their discussion of Saramaccan narrative patterns, treat sentences as part of the surface grammar. One of the points they make is the following:

Evidently the mapping relation between semantics and grammar has various ways of packaging information into chunks of limited size.

One of the choices that is involved here is how much to put in one sentence (or paragraph). A speaker may string six clauses together into one sentence, or he may break those six clauses into two or more sentences, providing semantic constraints allow this.

Longacre (1968a:II:1) also discusses this point. He says:

A G(rammatical)-sentence cannot be posited if it involves a pattern that regularly or obligatorily breaks into two P(honological)-sentences (i.e. has obligatory medial final juncture); but a G(rammatical)-sentence may be posited which optionally structures as one or two P(honological)-sentences (i.e. has optional medial final juncture).
For the instances where the option of final juncture is chosen between two clauses, I quote here the policy which Reid (1970:6) has followed for determining sentence boundaries.

Two clauses not phonologically bound (i.e., separated by final sentence intonation), form all or part of two grammatical sentences where no link is present, even though a link may be plausibly supplied.

I have followed the principle of this policy in Wik-Munkan sentence analysis, although the phonological details differ (see Sec. 8.2).

The determination of sentence boundaries in Wik-Munkan is not always completely clear, due to the tension sometimes evident between phonological signals, grammatical cues and semantic cohesion, in varying combinations. Longacre (1968a:II:3) has discussed this problem. He says:

Such a unit as a phonological sentence may be posited in any language. It has a characteristic sentence-final juncture and other unifying features as well (e.g. intonation contour). This phonological unit is not necessarily in one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical sentence. Nevertheless, the latter is not posited without consideration of the former.

Later (1968a:II:5) he goes on to talk about the lexical sentence, and how it, in turn, is subject to grammatical constraints. I have found Longacre's ideas useful in the determination of sentence boundaries in Wik-Munkan.

8.2 CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING SENTENCE BOUNDARIES

As is the case for paragraphs (Sec. 7.2.2) the boundary criteria for signalling the beginning of sentences are often at one and the same time topicalization patterns indicating setting themes and occurring as points of departure for sentences, or means of foregrounding referents and propositions that are the themes of the nucleus of the sentence. Similarly, the closure of a sentence is sometimes obvious because there is a reminder of the sentence theme. These are described in detail in section 8.4 (setting theme) and Sections 8.6 and 8.7 (nucleus themes), and merely introduced in this section.

The criteria for identifying sentences are diagrammed in Figure 25. As for paragraphs (Sec. 7.2.2), no single criterion always occurs. In addition, there is sometimes a combination of more than one criterion.

The first two phonological criteria have been stated in an over-simplified form for the sake of the diagram (Figure 25). Some of the conditions which accompany these rules as stated are explained in Sections 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 respectively.

8.2.1 RISE OF PITCH AND DOWNDRIFT

The phonological sentence in Wik-Munkan has already been described in Section 3.1.9 and referred to again in Section 3.10.2. To summarize,
it was described as one or more phonological clauses grouped together and sharing a single sentence stress (or sentence intonation centre). Typically, the intonation centre of the sentence co-occurs with the intonation centre of the first clause of the sentence. Where it occurs elsewhere, its placement is predictable grammatically. When the intonation centre occurs on the first clause of the sentence, from that point on there is an overall downdrift of the pitch of the intonation centres of successive clauses (Sayers 1976a:48). (See Mingograph examples (h) and (i) in Appendix A).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PHONOLOGICAL CRITERIA:</th>
<th>Rise of pitch of intonation centre of first clause of sentence compared with last clause of preceding sentence, and thence general downdrift till next rise.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clauses which have sequential intonation typically initiate sentences or are one-clause sentences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clauses which have continued action intonation initiate sentences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clauses which have Tag Question, Interrogative, Desiderative, or Extreme Emphasis intonation are normally one-clause sentences.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRAMMATICAL CRITERIA:</th>
<th>-àn-iy-a? fronting initiates a sentence.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-àn-iy tagging closes a sentence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tendency for the subject of a sentence to be referred to by noun or pronoun at the beginning of a sentence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some aspect words, conjunctions and interjections typically initiate or close a sentence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 25: CRITERIA FOR IDENTIFYING SENTENCES**

When segmenting a Wik-Munkan text into its component sentences, a rise of pitch of the intonation centre of a clause compared with the clause before it normally signifies the start of a new grammatical sentence. This rise is often quite marked. Typically, there is then a downdrift, as stated in the above paragraph, until the onset of the next rise in pitch, and so it goes on. Wik-Munkan does not have a distinctive sentence final intonation.\(^1\) The indicative intonation pattern often terminates sentences, but it is also found on non-final clauses in some instances. These are notably first or medial clauses.
of sentences expressing or including paraphrase, apposition or listing (Sayers 1976a:54-6). A clause following them which is the same or lower in the pitch of its intonation centre is considered part of the same sentence on both phonological and semantic grounds. (Mingograph examples (b) to (i) in Appendix A illustrate indicative intonation patterns.)

As stated in the first paragraph of this section and referred to in Section 3.1.9, sometimes the intonation centre of the sentence occurs on a clause which is other than the first clause of the sentence. These instances are in most cases grammatically predictable, and have been described in detail by Sayers (1976a:42ff.). For instance, the morphemes such as ya? (verbal intensifier), ke? (verbal negative), and ?ep (positive intensifier), which have been previously described as taking the intonation centre of the clause wherever they occur (Sec. 3.1.7) also normally take the intonation centre of the sentence wherever they occur. As they are often part of a combination of clauses expressing contrast, or negated antonym paraphrase, their occurrence in a later clause of such combinations is not considered a new sentence. In other words, semantic cohesion overrides phonological rules at such a point. In the following examples, sentence stress is represented by 00, following the practice of Sayers (1976a:42).

    pal-am-an-a ?ke?-?ul ?ntj-âmp
    here-towards-Def-Rhy VNeg-Temp enter-IPInclPut
    school-âk-?n-a /
    school-01-Def-Ind

    Now we're going out, we won't be coming back into school.

    An example of an inverted sequence sentence, given by Sayers (1976a:35) shows the intonation centre of the sentence occurring on the antecedent. Apart from the semantic cohesion evident in these two clauses also, the first clause has a sequence intonation pattern, which normally qualifies it to initiate a sentence (Sec. 8.2.2).

340. /nip ?i·y-uw-a? / ?kulijtj ka·?atam k?n-?an pu?-uw /
    2D go-2DPst-Seq clothes first Punct.Def wash-2DPst

    You two went after you had washed the clothes.

    Other exceptions to the first clause of a sentence taking the intonation centre include direct and indirect quotation sentences. The content of the quotation in both cases may begin with a clause which is higher in pitch than the preposed quote formula, such as nil ?aw he said. In cyclic sentences (see Sec. 4.8) the first clause of the sentence takes the intonation centre of the sentence, but shares it with
the final clause which has approximately the same pitch (Sayers 1976a: 47).

The exception which is the strongest of all, and which supersedes the others listed if occurring together with one of them, is a semantic factor rather than a grammatical one. When a word receives very heavy emphasis, it has not only high pitch and loudness, but is expanded in pitch range as well (indicated by ‘ ’). The following example shows the intonation centre of the sentence occurring on the emphasized word in the second clause. This has higher pitch than the verbal negative ke? in the first clause.

\[ \text{341. } /\text{ən-an } ?\text{a-k way } \text{ka-qk } 0\text{ke? } ?\text{an } \text{pek-àn } \text{nji-n-ayn} \]
\[ \text{3P-Def place bad like } \text{VNeg there down-Def sit-3PPut} \]
\[ \text{school-ay-an } / \text{jan-a } \text{ka-qk } 00\text{yo-h } ?\text{in } \text{ké-ʔ-àyn } / \]
\[ \text{school-Loc-Def 3P-Rhy like outside here play-3PPut} \]

They don’t like to sit in that bad place, in that school; they like to play outside [in the village].

Again, semantic cohesion overrides the general phonological rule.

A further example is provided by mingograph example (g) in Appendix A.

The point should be made again, however (Sec. 3.10.2) that the exceptions noted above do not prevent the first clause of such sentences having a higher intonation centre than the last clause of the preceding sentence. It typically does.

There is one exception, however, to the general rule of a rise in pitch signifying a new grammatical sentence. This concerns background information. A grammatical sentence giving background information may have overall lower pitch than the last clause of the preceding sentence.

\[ \text{342. } [\text{last clause of preceding sentence} ] /\text{nint-a kan } 0\text{pal } ?\text{ɪ-y-àn-a?} // \text{[background information]} \]
\[ \text{2S-Rhy Punct here go-2SPut-Seq information} \]
\[ \text{+puk } \text{mánj-àn } \text{wey } 00\text{kek wey yump-a / kek } \]
\[ \text{child small-Def Comp spear Comp make.3SPst-Ind spear} \]
\[ 0\text{manj yump } / \text{ké-ʔ-àg-an-àk-àn-a } / \]
\[ \text{small make.3SPst play-Trz-Nomz-Gr-Def-Ind} \]

[After that, his father said to him] "You come here!" [background information]: The little child was making a spear, he was making a little spear to play with.

8.2.2 SEQUENTIAL INTONATION

It can be seen from an examination of Table 2 in Appendix A (Nos. 3, 10, 16 and 21) that intonation contours which have the sequence intonation-carrying clitic as terminal have quite a number of grammatical usages. Some of these coincide with topicalization patterns such as setting clauses (Sec. 4.7), topicalized clauses (Sec. 4.7), and -àn-iy-a? fronting (Secs. 4.2 and 4.3), which are all to receive
further attention in this chapter (Secs. 8.4.1, 8.6.2.1 and 8.6.1.1 respectively). Each of these topicalized patterns have intonation contours of elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range. However, whether clauses in sequence intonation coincide with topicalization patterns or not, they typically initiate a sentence. An example of a sentence expressing temporal sequence follows, where the first clause has a sequence intonation pattern.

343. /we'nt-ąį-a? / ʔínman pi:k-an-a ńulgańk-am /
   turn-Trz.3SPst-Seq here hit.3SPst-Acc-Rhy forehead-Emph
   múl-ąkam /
   ċead-up.to

   He turned around, and then hit him here on the forehead, and killed him.

Exceptions to the rule stated above are possible when a clause with sequence intonation has a lowered pitch level. Such clauses may initiate sentences (see No. 16, Table 2, Appendix A), but where their intonation centres are lower than the clause preceding them, they can be considered sentence-medial clauses (see example 350).

It can be seen from previous discussion and examples (Secs. 7.6.2.1 and 7.6.1) that more than one clause with sequence intonation, and more than one phrase receiving -ąį-iy-a? fronting, or a combination of both, can occur at the beginning of sentences. Such sentences often are the initial sentences of paragraphs. Apart from most instances of imperative and interrogative usages of sequence intonation, a concentration of phrases and clauses in sequence intonation does not mean that each begins a new grammatical or phonological sentence. They are non-final in both respects, and the sentence is normally completed by one or more clauses in indicative intonation.

The content-interrogatives and imperative usages of sequential intonation are often one-clause sentences.

344. /wantin-ak ni:y ʔį:į-ąn-a? /
   where-G1 2P go-2DFut-Seq

   Where are you going?

345. /kăn mōʔ-ąn-a? /
   Punct run-2SPut-Seq

   Run away!

Occasionally, however, they form the final clause of a grammatical sentence.

346. /ąk-ąk wey pētį-ąyn wey-a? / mōʔ-ąn ŭan-t-a? /
   water-G1 Comp shout-3PPut Comp-Seq run-2PPut 3P-Ref-Seq

   If they [the old people] cry out for water, run to them!
Mingograph examples (a), (c), (d), (g) and (i) in Appendix A illustrate clauses with sequence intonation.

### 8.2.3 CONTINUED ACTION INTONATION

Phonological clauses which have the continuous action intonation-carrying clitic -a:· typically initiate a grammatical sentence. Such clauses are most often found as part of the initial sentences of paragraphs (Sec. 7.4.1.4), but are not confined to that position. Continuous setting clauses used with sentences are discussed in Section 8.4.2.

More than one such clause can occur at once, and there may even be combinations of these clauses with those having sequence intonation. As is the case for concentrations of clauses and phrases with sequence intonation, each clause is non-final, and the sentence is normally completed by a clause having indicative intonation. The following example occurs at the beginning of a paragraph.

347. /ku? / ?i·y-in-a:· / ka·l·kal-in-a:· / kungéntj-àn
like.(Cj) go-3PPst-Cont row-Rd-3PPst-Cont corner-Def
ηo·ntj-in-a? / pam ?uw-in /
enter-3PPst-Seq man find-3PPst

They kept struggling on, and rowing and rowing, and then they rounded the corner and found some men.

Example 361 provides an illustration of a similar combination occurring at the beginning of a sentence within a paragraph.

### 8.2.4 INTONATION PATTERNS AND ONE-CLAUSE SENTENCES

Clauses which have tag question, interrogative, desiderative, or extreme emphasis intonation-carrying clitics are typically one-clause sentences (intonation patterns 4, 6, 7, 11 and 23 in Table 2, Appendix A). This statement also applies to those intonation patterns without intonation-carrying clitics which are variants of interrogative and emphasis intonation (intonation patterns 5, 12 and 19 in Table 2, Appendix A).

Several of the above are illustrated in the following sentences which follow each other in sequence in a hortatory discourse.

348. /ni·y ʄul wántàk-a? / ni·y ʄul pek-wun / ?in-iy
2P Temp what-Int 2P Temp fight-Rec.2PPut here-Top
?ey // kan ni·y ʄaw·iy-e· // ni·y ʄul puk min-iy
Ques Punct 2P ʄay-2PSbj-Des 2P Temp child good-Top
?é·m-àn / ʄey / ke? ʄul pi·k-win ?ey / ni·y-a ko·n-aŋ
grow-2PPut Ques VNeg Temp hit-2PR rec Ques 2P-Rhy teeth-Inst
tak pa·t-wun ni·y ni·y·ant-akam kə? ku·ʔ-aŋ-à // kan
etc. bítə-Rec-2PPres 2P-Ref-Refl like dog-Erg-Tag Punct
ŋe·y-an ?ey // ni·y ʄaw·iy wik·e· [See next page for
hear-2PPst Ques 2P ʄay-2PSbj word-Des English Translation]
Now what about it? Are you going to fight some more here?
Come on, tell me! Are you going to grow up good children?
Do you think you might stop fighting? You bite each other
with your teeth like dogs, don't you? Have you been listen-
ing to me? Come on, answer me!

Such one-clause sentences in sequence may keep fairly similar in their
pitch level, although the speaker usually chooses to make some sen-
tences more emphatic than others and hence higher in pitch.

8.2.5 -àn-iy-a? FRONTING, -àn-iy TAGGING, AND -àn-a? FRONTING ON
TIME WORDS

When -àn-iy-a? fronting occurs, it typically initiates a sentence,
while -àn-iy tagging typically closes a sentence. These are discussed
and exemplified in Sections 8.6.1.1 and 8.7.1 respectively. When
-àn-a? fronting is used with time words or temporal demonstratives it
typically initiates a sentence (see Sec. 8.4.3).

8.2.6 FREE FORM OF SUBJECT AT BEGINNING OF SENTENCE

There is a tendency for sentences capable of phonological definition
(Sec. 8.2.1) to have their subjects identified by a noun phrase or free
form of the pronoun in the first clause of the sentence. (Sentences
occurring at the beginning of paragraphs, on the other hand, tend to be
the domain of reorientation of participants (Secs. 7.2.2.3 and 7.6.1).
Formally, this may involve fairly full reference to more than one par-
ticipant.) If subsequent clauses in a sentence share the same subject,
the reference to it is then normally via a bound form of the subject
affix on the verb only, although the final clause may contain a tagged
noun phrase giving a reminder of the subject.

The following example illustrates this tendency. The sentences are
numbered.

3S-Seq so-Seq teacher Gillan-Def-Seq here
?i-y-ař / taw-ař / kuyam // (2) /ñáy-àn put
come.3SPst-IsRef say.3SPst-IsRef used.to IS-Def so

taw-añ / ñañ-t / wík núñ-antàm-àn-iy wa-?-añ / ñañ-t //
say-ISPst 3P-Ref word 3SAJ-Poss-Def-Top tell-ISPst 3P-Ref
(3) /ñàn-tàn-am-àn kuyam ké-?-àñ-ìn-a / yo-n
3P-Rd-Emph-Def used.to play-Trz-3PPst 3P-Ref
ñañ-ñan kuyam pènt-àñ-àñ /
etc.-Def used.to go.out-Trz-IDFst 3P-Acc
(1) So she, teacher Gillan, used to come to me and talk to me.
(2) So I related the words she said to them.
(3) They used to play when we took them outside and so on.

This is, however, a tendency only. There are, for example, some
instances where a noun or pronoun reference to the subject occurs in
the second clause of a sentence as well as the first. In these cases there is normally the constraint that the second clause is in a paraphrase relationship to the first. The speaker may even wait until the second clause to clarify who the participants are, as in the example below.

350. /tan-a min ke?-an-aŋ wun-in-a / wantj kutjam-an-aŋ? /
3P-Rhy Pró VNeg-Nomz-Temp live-3PPst-Ind woman two-Def-Seq
puk manj-àn-aŋ / pám-àn-a min ke?-an-aŋ wun-in /
child small-Def-Seq man-Def-Rhy Pró VNeg-Nomz-Temp live-3PPst
kaŋk-aŋ-a wun-in /
bush-Loc-Rhy live-3PPst

They lived without meat, the two women, the child and the man lived without meat in the bush.

8.2.7 ASPECT WORDS, CONJUNCTIONS AND INTERJECTIONS

The temporal aspect word  naï is indicative of a new sentence when it occurs initially in a clause.

351. / naï-aŋ / pi-p kuntuŋ waw-ant / là-yàŋ kan nint-a pal
Temp-Seq father own say.3SPst-Ref 2S.Voc Punct 2S-Rhy here
là-yàŋ-aŋ? /
go-2SFut-Seq

Then his father said to him, "Hey you, come here!"

352. / naï pül-àn-a .timezone-pul / qal-a kan là-yàl wi?l-e /
Temp 2D-Def-Rhy say-3SPst ID-Rhy Punct go-IDFut younger.sister-Des

Then those two said [to each other] "Come on, younger sister, let's go!"

The punctiliar aspect word kan has already been mentioned as sometimes occurring with a motion verb at the end of a paragraph. If it occurs in a separate information block following a clause with a verb other than a motion verb, it may indicate the closure of sentences occurring within paragraphs. The following example is highly elliptical and depends on what has been given in previous context for understanding.

353. /wàl  timezone-àŋ tà?-iŋ-aŋ? / kan /
partly bad-Def see-3PPst-Seq Punct
They saw [those young men] pretty wretched physically, and then [they know it is time] to finish.

The interjection ya typically indicates a new grammatical sentence. The sentences are numbered for the following example.

354. (1) /?a? puk kuntuŋ-àŋ  timezone  Val-àŋ / nà?-aŋ-a
Cj child own-Def  say. 3SPst Val-Def ISÀj-Ref-Rhy
wànp-àn-aŋ-a? // (2) /ya. gà ya wunp-aŋ-ant / [See next page for put-2SFut-Seq yes IS put-ISPst-Ref English Translation]
(1) Then her child, Val, said, "Put [it] on for me!"
(2) Yes, so I put it on for her.

Some other conjunctions such as \(?a?\) then and pu\(\_\) but, so are capable of functioning on different levels and may occur sentence medially or sentence initially. Others however, such as \(\gamma'p\text{m}a\text{m} \text{because}\) never occur initially in a sentence.

8.3 SOME EXAMPLES OF RHETORICAL PREDICATES UNDERLYING THE ORGANIZATION OF SENTENCES

A discussion of rhetorical predicates is given in Section 7.3. Two examples are given below of rhetorical predicates underlying the organization of sentences. For the purposes of this chapter, tense is ignored in the representation.

355. /\(n\text{at}\) wamp-\(ow\) / \(n\text{at}\) ya?-\(a\) /
 maybe come-3SFut maybe Neg-Ind

\emph{Maybe he'll come, or maybe he won't.}

Example 355, which illustrates the paratactic rhetorical predicate of alternation, may be represented as follows.

356. /\(n\text{i}l\) tan-\(a\_n\) ka-\(n\text{k}-a\?) / tan pu\(\_\) ?e\(\text{f}\text{kam}\) mam-in
3S 3P-Acc like-Seq 3P because quickly learn-3PPst

\emph{He likes them, because they've learnt quickly how to do it like this [make fences].}

Example 356 illustrates the hypotactic rhetorical predicate of reason, and it may be represented as follows.
8.4 POINT OF DEPARTURE

Topicalization patterns indicating setting themes which may provide a departure point for paragraphs, have been described in Section 7.4.1. Sentences may also have initial phrases and clauses which provide a setting for what follows. These are similar to some of those used for paragraphs, though on a smaller scale. They can be formally distinguished. The three topicalization patterns used for setting themes whose domain of application is for approximately that of a sentence, are punctiliar setting clauses, continuous setting clauses, and temporal words and demonstratives with -a? fronting. These are described in Sections 8.4.1, 8.4.2 and 8.4.3 respectively.

8.4.1 PUNCTILIAR SETTING CLAUSES

Punctiliar setting clauses which act as a departure point for paragraphs (Sec. 7.4.1.3) typically contain an aspect word, either kan or nul, which is suffixed with the definite clitic -a? In addition to that, they are normally a summary of all or most of the preceding paragraph.
Punctiliar setting clauses which act as departure points for sentences, however, typically do not contain an aspect word. If the definite clitic -an occurs within the clause, it is suffixed to a noun or pronoun which is given information. Very often, though, the clauses consist of a verb only with the sequence intonation-carrying clitic -a?.

They normally summarize the information of part or all of the previous sentence only, and occasionally the material of a few short sentences. The examples below are given along with the sentences which precede them, so that they can be seen in context. The point at which the setting clause begins is marked with an asterisk, and a little of the rest of the sentence it begins is also given.

357. /kan múl-at-an wey-a / ?ompam ?ump-an
   Punct dead-Trz.3SPst-Acc Comp-Rhy waist cut.3SPst-Acc
   here.from C3 fire-Loc oook.3SPst-Acc fire-Loc-Def
   kiŋk-an-a? / kú-p-kú-p-ant nul puk manj-ant-an /...
   cook.3SPst-Acc-Seq wait-Rd.3SPst-Ref Temp child small-Ref-Def

Then he killed him, and cut him in half at the waist here, and put him in the fire for cooking. After he'd put him in the fire for cooking, he waited for the child [to be cooked].

358. /puk ni min-a / min ?em-a / pam we-n /
   child 3S good-Ind good grow.3SPst-Ind man become.3SPst
   komp-a // ?em-a? / min źák-àn pi.?-a? /
   young.man-Ind grow.3SPst-Seq Pró etc.-Def mind-3SPst-Seq
   min-min-akam pi.? /
   good-Rd-utmost mind.3SPst

He was a good child, and grew up good, and became a young man. Having grown up, he minded the animals, he minded them really well.

359. /?a? punêt ?um ?uw-a / kuntow ma-y // kuntow
   C3 river chest find.3SPst-Ind stone pick.up.3SPst stone
   those-Top-Seq five pick.up-3SPst-Ind hand these
   pick.up.3SPst pick.up.3SPst-Seq dilly.bat-Loc put.3SPst

He went straight to the river, and picked up some stones. As for those stones, there were five of them that he picked up, like the fingers of my hand here. After he'd picked them up, he put them in a dilly bag...

8.4.2 CONTINUOUS SETTING CLAUSES

Continuous setting clauses which reaffirm the movement of the participant(s) and which act as a departure point for paragraphs have been described in Section 7.4.1.4. Typically, they contain a repetition of a motion verb or a directional word, and/or a long drawn out continuous
action intonation carrying morpheme. Mostly they have both. They indicate a significant passing of time and change of spatial setting.

Occasionally the movement of participants is reaffirmed at the beginning of sentences within paragraphs also. In these cases, the clause consists of a verb only, or a verb and directional. It mostly has the sequence intonation-carrying clitic -a?, rather than the continuous action clitic -a·. Compared with the continuous setting clause at the beginning of the paragraph in which it occurs, it indicates a short duration of time and slight change of place (360), or a temporary continuing on of a minor phase of activity within the discourse (361). Two examples are given below. They begin with the paragraph in which the continuous setting clauses under attention occur. A triangle (▽) indicates these clauses.

360. /moʔ-an-a· /  
   puŋ-a tāk-ān-im-a?  
   drive-IPExclPst-Cont  
   river-Rhy etc.-Def-Emph-Seq here

   kēnjuw-im kaʔ  
   ɲeʔ-n yimaną-aʔ  
   high-Emph  
   like(Cj) what this.manner-Int bridge small-Top

   yu-yūmp-in-im  
   ▽moʔ-an-aʔ  
   Rd-make-3PPst-Emph drive-IPExclPst-Seq house one

   ?uʔw-an-an-aʔ  
   found-IPPst-Acc-Ind

We kept on driving and driving, and crossed creeks and so on, and then, close to us, high up, what was it like – they were making a little bridge! We went a little further, and found a house...

361. /kaʔ-w kaʔ-w kal-an-a· /  
   qaŋ-gul  
   east east east row-IPExclPst-Cont there-Temp

   ʨeʔ-an  
   ▽ʨeʔ-an-aʔ  
   ʨeʔ-aʔan  
   throw-IPExclPst  
   throw-IPExclPst-Cont throw-ISPres

   pātām-aʔ  
   ʔeʔkam pātām paʔ  
   really-Seq quickly really bite.3SPst ISAJ

We kept on and on, rowing in an easterly direction, and there we threw our lines in. We kept on throwing them in, and I was really throwing mine in, and I got a bite very quickly...

8.4.3 TEMPORAL WORDS WITH -ʔan-aʔ FRONTING

It has been stated in Section 7.2.2.1 that an indication of major time change is the strongest criterion for indicating new paragraphs. The idea has also been put forward that perhaps setting should belong as a constituent of the deep structure of a paragraph rather than of a sentence. References to time changes at the beginning of sentences within paragraphs are few and far between. Occasionally, however, one is found. These are typically temporal words or demonstratives with -ʔan-aʔ fronting, and their area of application is over a much shorter stretch than temporal words and phrases with -ʔan-iy-aʔ fronting. When
the aspect word ŋul occurs with -a? fronting at the beginning of a sentence it may either indicate a slight time change, with the meaning of and then, or else it can have more the dominant meaning of so as introducing a response to a previous action.

The first example below is introduced within the context of part of the paragraph it occurs in. Again, the focus point of the example is marked with a triangle.

362. /pu'ya-m mo?-mo?-an // ṣānpālan-a? kunķ further-towards fly-Rd-IPExclPst from.then-Seq north
   ?an ke:k-an / ūr? kunķ / Horn Island ?anān / there.on fall-IPExclPst Ints north Horn Island there.on
   ?an ūp-pātām / ūmanām-ān ?ek-an / that Pos-really from.then-Def rise-IPExclPst

We flew on further and further, and then we landed there in the north, really far north, at Horn Island. That was all right, and from there we flew on.

In a reported conversation within an explanatory discourse, the speaker refers to two time spans within two sentences. Both receive -ān-a? fronting, and one occurs as the second fronted item in the sentence it is in.

363. /ni'ya-kintj-wāy-ān-ān? / may palow-ān-ān? / ni'ya
   2P-Rhy sum-bad-Loc-Def-Seq Carb damper-Def-Seq 2P-Rhy
   / ?anām yo:n pā-nī-ān-a // ?āt-ān ŋey'ya-āmp-a? / there.in outside camp-2PPFut-Ind bell-Def hear-IPInclFut-Seq
   mé-?nutān-ām-ān? / ya/ ŋamp-a pal-am
eye-night-Emph-Def-Seq yes IPIncl-Rhy here-towards
   ŋōntj-āmp ʔan-i-y / enter-IPInclFut then-Top
This afternoon, when you get your damper, go to the village to your parents, and camp there. When we hear the bell early in the morning, yes, then we come back here then.

Sometimes -ān-a? fronting is found on time words which introduce a short stretch of background information. In the following example the previous sentence is given along with the sentence containing background information so the context can be seen.

364. /nin-iya-a / ūm ŋant ma:y ka? ʔu'tj ŋamp
   3S-Top-Seq fire light pick.up.3SPPst like bushlight IPIncl
   ʔan-an-a // ʔe:nk ʔan-an-a? / ʔu'tj / ʔajāt-in
   that-Ind long.time that-Seq bushlight light.3PPst
   ŋan-ṭa-a? / ka:t-in ylmanān-ān /
   IPExcl-Ref-Seq tīe-3PPst like.this-Def
As for her, she picked up a bush torch, like our bush torches.
A long time ago, they used to light bush torches in our place, and tie them up in the same way.
Example 351 in this chapter provides an example of \( \eta \)l with -a? fronting.

8.5 UNMARKED THEME OF SENTENCE

Unmarked themes of the paragraph nucleus have been described in Section 7.5. In a similar way, the speaker may choose not to make the subject matter of the sentence prominent. The unmarked theme of a sentence is usually presented in the first clause, following any setting topicalization patterns.

Some examples of unmarked sentence theme follow. A triangle marks where the nucleus of the sentence begins. An English translation of the rest of the sentence which follows the unmarked theme is given in parentheses following the translation of the first part of the sentence.

As is the case with paragraphs (Sec. 7.5) some unmarked themes of sentences are the first of a sequence of events, while others form the subject matter for description, explanation, or paraphrase.

365. /\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)w\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)y\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)Àn \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)w\(\text{\textasciitilde}\) ?ep /...  
\text{some-Def Comp Pos}  
Some were all right;  
(they sat quietly, and they laughed and they played also).

366. /ka\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)Ì\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)am-a? / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)ik-a  
\text{at.first-Seq bush.dish-Rhy pick.up-ISPst}  
At first, I picked up the bush dish,  
(then I got some flour and put just a little in, not a big bit).

367. /ka\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)w mo\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)an-a-. / \(\text{\textasciitilde}\)a\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)wutj pi\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)an-a\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)n\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)o-n\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)tj-an /  
east drive-IPExclPst-Cont house big-Loc enter-IPExclPst  
We kept on going east, and then we went inside a big house—  
(that's where we had our cup of tea).

The choice of unmarked theme may itself have been subject to decisions in the area of staging. For instance, the following example has an unmarked theme which is followed by a subordinate clause of reason.

368. /ni\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)m min-am ?ep Ò\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)? wantj\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)nt ?a\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)n\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)an / Ò\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)m\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)w put  
3S good-Emph Pos throw.3SPst old-lady that.Erg IS because  
kan mâ?-?a\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)Àn-a\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)n mâ?-y\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)t-am /  
Punct hand-give-ISPst-Acc hand-lot-Emph  
She threw her fishing line in really well, that old lady did,  
because I'd helped her lots of times [and she knows how now].

As result and reason are the converse of each other, this sentence could be transformed so that the subordinate clause becomes the independent clause, and vice versa. What the speaker chooses to put in
the independent clause is probably what he considers the most important as a starting point. Questions of given and new information are relevant too, as subordinate clauses of reason, at least, are perhaps more likely to refer to given information than independent clauses. This is far less likely to be true of result and purpose clauses.

The choices available to a speaker regarding marked and unmarked theme of the nucleus of the sentence are represented in a flow chart in Figure 28. Marked sentence theme is described in Sections 8.6 and 8.7.

8.6 FOREGROUNDING OF SENTENCE THEME

This will be considered under two sections, foregrounding of references to participants, and the foregrounding of propositions.

8.6.1 PARTICIPANTS

There are two ways of foregrounding references to participants for sentences. These are -àn-ìy-a? fronting and rhetorical questions.

8.6.1.1 -àn-ìy-a? Fronting

A reference to a participant which receives -àn-ìy-a? fronting or a pronoun which receives -ìy-a? fronting, are instances of marked sentence theme. They represent a foregrounding of the speaker's point of departure for the nucleus information of the sentence.

It cannot be said in any absolute way that the domain of prominence of a phrase from the nucleus with -àn-ìy-a? fronting is for an exact grammatical sentence. This is not so, but its main association is with a stretch of speech that is approximately a single sentence. Sometimes the domain of prominence is for two or even three grammatical sentences.

In some discourses, -àn-ìy-a? fronting does not occur at all. In others, it is very frequent, and some paragraphs may have several sentences within them beginning with a phrase with -àn-ìy-a? fronting.

In other discourses, -àn-ìy-a? fronting may be used but half-a-dozen times. It is very rare for two consecutive sentences to have phrases with -àn-ìy-a? fronting which refer to the same participant.

Much has already been said about the relationship of -àn-ìy-a? and -àn-a? fronting to given and new information, and also to the variety of phrases which can be fronted in these ways (Secs. 4.2 and 4.3). This section provides further statements concerning the application of -àn-ìy-a? fronting as it relates to the larger context of discourse. Each statement of the application of -àn-ìy-a? fronting is followed by a number in brackets referring to the example(s) which illustrate it.
FIGURE 28: MARKED AND UNMARKED THEMES OF SENTENCE NUCLEUS

(Fg = Foregrounding, Rm = Reminder)
The majority of phrases in a discourse which have -àn-iy-a? fronting refer to participants or objects which are part of the global theme. The phrase may initiate a description of the participant near the beginning of the discourse before events get underway (369). It may, on the other hand, initiate an event or a chain of events for which the main participant(s) is actor (370) or object (371).

On the other hand, -àn-iy-a? fronting may be used with phrases which refer to relatives of a main participant who perform special social roles in relation to him (372). It may also be used with phrases which refer to participants who come into major interaction with a main character (373). It can be used with phrases referring to body parts of a main character which come under attention (374), to the tools in his hand (375), or to objects which are the focus of his activity (376). It may also be used where contrast with the main character or his way of doing things, is involved (377). More will be said about the frequency of occurrence of -àn-iy-a? fronting in specific discourse genres in Section 10.3.

369. /David-àn-iy-a? / shepherd boy-a / min pi·?-pi·?-a / David-Def-Top-Seq shepherd boy-Ind Pro mind-Rd.3SPst-Ind

As for David, he was a shepherd boy, and he minded sheep.

370. /pám kú·tan-àn-iy-a? / wuri? ?ek-an / nji·n-an man godfather-Erg-Def-Top-Seq Onom get.up-3SPres sit-3SPres

As for the godfather, he raises himself quickly [from his prone position] and really sits up.


As for the man, they recognize his person, "There he goes, the sacred one!" some of them say who are sitting in the shade.
Those female relatives of hers made her a long grass skirt, and she tried it on round her waist, and it came down way below her knees.

373. /nil-a Philistine ?inan-iy-a? / múl-ąń-ąń nint-ąń-a? 3S-Rhy Philistine this-Top-Seq kill-Trz-ISPut 2S-Acc-Seq kemp nuŋ-aŋ nanan-a / David-ąń taw / flesh 2SAj-Poss that-Ind David-Def say.3SPst

As for this Philistine, David said to him, "I will kill you, and that flesh of yours".

374. /kutjék-ąń-iy-a? / ?olk-a wump-antan nuŋ-ant / or head-Def-Top-Seq headdress-Rhy put-3PPres 3SAj-Ref or patj / flowers

On his head, they put a headdress or flowers.

375. /kuntow ?anańan-iy-a? / five ma-ąy-a / ma? ?inańan stones those-Top-Seq five pick. up.3SPst-Ind hand these ma-ąy / pick.up.3SPst

As for those stones, he picked up five like the fingers on my hand here.


As for the grass, she cut it and cut it, and cleared the area herself, so that it would be a clean place for the child to be born.

For the next example, part of the previous sentence is given also.


She cut the cord herself, what with, with bamboo they cut the cords here.... As for us, in our place a long time ago they used to cut the cord with glass, or some with a mussel, that's how it used to be done for the cords of the children born a long time ago in our place.

When there is reprise, that is, cross reference to the fronted item in the main body of the clause via a noun phrase or free pronoun, there is perhaps more intensity of prominence (Sec. 4.5) than for fronting
with no cross-reference. Otherwise there do not seem to be any differences in function. Sometimes it is just for the sake of clarification. In the text which this example comes from, both the godfather and the umbilical cord are referred to by ku·tan, and so there is clarification in the body of the clause as to who the fronted phrase refers to.

378. /kú·tan-àŋ-àŋ-iý-a?/ pam nil kú·tan-àŋ-àŋ wa·nk godfather-Erg-Def-Top-Seq man 3S godfather-Erg-Def oblivious ?i·y-an nuŋ-antam-a / go-3SPres 3SAJ-Src-Ind

As for the ku·tan, the man that is, the godfather, he avoids him.

8.6.1.2 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Sometimes a participant or object which is the subject-matter of a sentence is made prominent by the use of a rhetorical question within the first clause. Formally, these are not very different from those used to foreground a participant who is the theme of a paragraph (Sec. 7.6.1). It seems, however, that those occurring in the first sentence of a paragraph give the participant they refer to more prominence (namely, over the paragraph) by virtue of their position. As is the case for paragraphs, rhetorical questions occurring with sentences carry the presupposition of surprise or unusualness.

379. /we·?-aŋ kal-a ŋan-aŋ-a' / lady ɻonam-a / Lorna who-Erg carry.3SPst-Rhy IPExcl-Acc-Int lady one-Ind Lorna ɭuff-a / ?alaŋan kal-a ŋan-aŋ / car Juff-Ind that.Erg carry.3SPst-Rhy IPExcl-Acc car nuŋ-antam-a móʔ-àŋ-ta ŋan-aŋ / 3SAJ-Poss-Loc drive-Trz.3SPst-Rhy IPExcl-Acc

Guess who took us? A lady, Lorna Luff, she took us, she drove us in her car.

380. /ʔa? Louisa-aŋ-a ɇe·n want-a' ko·ŋ-a Cj Louisa-Erg-Rhy what leave.3SPst-Int teeth-Rhy want-a kempan ɻam / ?aŋaman landing wun / leave.3SPst-Rhy basket also there.on landing lie.3SPst yu·ntj-a ɇe·n ɭิง-a ʔuŋan ɭิง-án-a wun / tree-Rhy what near-Rhy milkwood near-Def-Rhy lie.3SPst ko·ŋ / teeth

And what do you think Louisa left behind? She left her teeth behind, and her basket too, down there at the landing, near what tree, the milkwood tree. There she left her teeth.

The next sentence in the paragraph following this example describes how someone else left a billycan behind. The example 380 also has an example within it of a rhetorical question used within a clause. This is described in Section 9.4.2.
8.6.2 PROPOSITIONS

There are three ways of foregrounding the themes of sentences: topicallyized clauses, rhetorical questions, and lowered intonation of the first clause.

8.6.2.1 Topicallyized Clauses

Clauses which have elevated pitch level and compressed pitch range, and the sequence\(^3\) intonation-carrying morpheme -a?, have several grammatical usages. Included in these are the introductory clauses of simultaneous and condition sentences. For classificatory purposes, simultaneity is considered by Sayers to include close sequence (1976b: 55-7).

Two clauses in a simultaneous or close sequence relationship may be distinguished semantically depending on whether the event of the second clause happens as a result of the first. The next two examples illustrate simultaneous sentences where there is not necessarily any causal relationship between the two clauses.

381. \( /\mu \cdot \nu n t j - m u \cdot \nu n t j - p u l \ \dot { t } o n - i y - a ? \ / \ \ni l \ p i k u w - a \ \w o \? w o y a n \)
\( \text{swim-Rd.} 3 \text{DPst} \quad \text{other-Top-Seq} \ 3 \text{S crocodile-Rhy} \quad \text{other side} \)
\( ? a \gamma m a n \ \text{tjup-a \ \t a n p} / \)
\( \text{there.on} \ \text{Onom-Rhy} \quad \text{jump.} 3 \text{SPst} \)

When the two of them were swimming one day, a crocodile jumped into the water on the other side.

382. \( /\nu a y - a \ \k a t - k a t - a n - a ? \ / \ \ni l \ \gamma a y m a n \ \nu n i \cdot \nu n - a r - a \)
\( \text{IS-Rhy} \ \text{make-Rd-ISPst-Seq} \ 3 \text{S there.on sit.} 3 \text{SPst-ISRef-Rhy} \)
\( \text{tung \ \nu a g - a r a n} / \)
\( \text{close} \ \text{ISAj-Accom} \)

Yes, while I made [pandanus things] she sat there close beside me.

There are other sentences which demonstrate a semantically causal relationship, as well as one of simultaneity, or close sequence. Typically a noun phrase within these clauses is suffixed with the definite clitic -a?, regardless of whether the noun in question, or perhaps the content of the whole clause itself, is given or new information. These are the clauses I am calling topicallyized clauses. They present a foregrounding of a proposition of the nucleus of the sentence which is a departure point for the rest of the sentence. Alternative ways of presenting the same information could be via the first clause of a sequence sentence, which has neutral pitch level and pitch range, or via the subordinate clauses of reason sentences, or by dependent clauses with verbs which have present participial endings. None of these means would have given marked theme status to the same information.
Some examples of topicalized clauses follow. The nouns marked with 
-àn in the first clauses of examples 383 and 385 are new information.

noise-Def used.to hear-3PPst-Seq truck-Src-Def-Seq then-Rhy
wey we·nt-in / pal-am pu·y-am ñat-in
Comp went-silly-3PPst here-towards there-towards look-3PPst

When they used to hear the noise of the truck, they went silly, 
and looked round everywhere.

384. /ñan train-àn-an pe·y-an-a? / ?an-a ya?-im
IPExcl train-Ms-Def go-IPExclPst-Seq that-Rhy Neg.Ints-Emph
wunjat-an ñan-àn-a / tip ñak-im wunjat-an
shake-3SPres IPExcl-Acc-Ind stomach also-Emph shake-3SPres
ñan-àn /
IPExcl-Acc

When we travelled in the train, it really shook us, and it
shook our stomachs too.

385. /pam-àn-an ñañ-antam ñan-àn ting-am-a? / tjint-antam
men-Erg-Def see-3PPres 3P-Acc close-Emph-Seq spear-3PPres
ñan-àn /
3P-Acc

When the men see them [the fish] up close, they spear them.

Example 324 in Chapter 7 shows an example of topicalized clauses which 
are conditional.

8.6.2.2 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions may be used to give prominence to the propo­
station contained in the first clause of the sentence or a clause near the 
beginning of the sentence. Once again, the presupposition of surprise 
is involved. Each of the following examples could alternatively have 
presented the proposition in question via an unmarked equivalent. An 
English translation of the unmarked equivalents for each example would 
be:

(386) They cry and cry.
(387) He cooks the grass.
(388) She did some work.

386. /puŋ ñan ñe·n-am-a? / pé·y-pe·y-antàn / ñank ?entj
for 3P what-Src-Seq cry-Rd-3PPres heart become
want-a ñan-a /
leave.3SPst-Rhy 3P-Acc-Ind

For why do they cry and cry? They are broken hearted.
387. /?an-a ɲé·n-ák puŋ-a' / wák-án-iy  ki-kí·ŋk-a' /
noow-Rhy what-01 for-Int grass-Def-Top Rd-cook.3SPst-Int
puŋ salt ʔá·kanák-án-iy yump-ow-à / ɲuŋtam ?inagan-a /
for salt that.for-Def-Top make-3SFut-Tag salt  these-Ind

Now why did he cook that grass? It's for the purpose of
making salt, isn't it.

388. /nil-iy wantj wey-a? / ?i·mpan-aŋ / ñnil-a ɲe·n-a? /
3S-Top woman Comp-Seq stomach-with 3S-Rhy what-Seq
ʔa·k-a ŋak weʔ-a? / wak ʔák-àn ʔak-a? /
place-Rhy etc. dig.3SPst-Seq grass etc.-Def sweep.3SPst-Seq
ʔa·k tjil ɲúl-àn mítij-ât-a? / may ʔak-a
place sand Temp-Def soft-Trz.3SPst-Seq food also-Rhy
ka·mp-an nün-ant-akam-an /
plant.3SPst-Acc 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def

This woman was pregnant, but what did she do? She dug the
ground, she swept away the grass, she softened the soil then,
and planted food for herself.

8.6.2.3 Lowered Intonation

It sometimes happens that a clause, which by other criteria, is the
initial clause of a new sentence, has an intonation centre which is
actually lower than the clause which precedes it. Unless background
information is involved (Sec. 8.2.1) this lowered intonation carries
with it the presupposition that the material is of a serious or solemn
nature. It can also be considered a means of foregrounding the theme
of the sentence.

Example 389 follows the close of a conversation. The first clause
is the first of a chain of events, and in this way provides the departu­
re point of the nucleus information.

389. /ʔitʃj ?anan ma·y / ʧum pup-am-an  wiʃj /
bark that pick.up.3SPst fire firestick-Src-Def take.out.3SPst
ʔaʔ-an / wík-țaw-an-án ma·y kitj-am-an /
undo.3SPst-Acc word-speak-Nomz-Def pick.up.3SPst bark-Src-Def
kenj-am mé·ʔ-nát /
high-towards eye-give.3SPst

He picked up the bark, and drew the firestick out of it. He
undid it, and took out the heart [of their dead relative]
from the bark, and held it high for all to see.

8.7 REMINDING OF SENTENCE THEME

There are two ways of reminding the hearer of the sentence theme.
Tagging is used for reference to participants, and cycling is used for
reminders of propositions.
8.7.1 TAGGING

Tagging has already been described in some detail in Section 4.4. A phrase which receives -àn-iy tagging typically occurs in a separate information block at the end of a sentence. It normally acts as a reminder of the main participant or object, in the grammatical sentence in which it occurs, but sometimes it refers back to a previous sentence. It normally occurs at the end of a description or chain of events.

While -àn-iy-a? fronting and -àn-iy tagging may co-occur in the one sentence (see Sec. 8.8) it is not obligatory that the participant receiving -àn-iy tagging be marked theme at the beginning of the sentence. He may simply be part of the information of a clause at the beginning of a sentence which is unmarked theme. Some examples follow.


Our bodies were sore, [for] we'd driven from a far away place and were really knocked around, our bodies were.

The next example is interesting in that the embedded conversation has -àn-iy tagging as well as the events surrounding it.

391. /ŋa·tjan-a? / ?in-a ?aŋan-a / täw / ñay-a ke?-am feel.3SPst-Seq this-Rhy heavy-Ind say.3SPst IS-Rhy VNeg-Emph tì·tjan-a? ñinan-iy-a / tágàl koyam / know-ISPst-Rhy this-Top-Ind take.off.3SPst back David-aŋ-àn-iy / David-Erg-Def-Top

He felt [them on him], "This is heavy", he said, "I'm not used to these things", and he took them off again, David did.


What's happening to this place? It's completely changed, this place has.

The next example refers back to the previous sentence which describes how the grass is heaped on the fire.

393. /kan-a pentj-pentj-a? / lüm-a wu·t pi·?an-àŋ Punct-Rhy burn-Rd-3SPst-Seq fire-Rhy Ints big-Loc pentj-pentj-in / wák-àn-iy / burn-Rd-3PPst grass-Def-Top

It kept on burning and burning, and the fire that was burning it got really big, [that was burning] the grass.
8.7.2 CYCLING

Cycling has already been described in general in Section 4.8, and cyclic paragraphs are given some attention in Section 7.7.2. Cyclic sentences occurring at the beginning of paragraphs are discussed in Section 7.6.2.3.

The significance of cycling has been stated as the speaker's desire to impress a certain point onto the hearer's memory. It is therefore interesting to note the places within discourse where cyclic sentences most often occur. Cyclic sentences are sometimes used for description of places or objects (example 394), or the description of feelings (395). They are also sometimes used to impress a command (396) or a reason for doing something (397) on the hearer.

In cyclic sentences, the speaker gives the theme in the first clause, and then reminds the hearer of it again in the last clause of the sentence. Some examples follow.

394. /nil-a yuk ?oŋk ?anan / ʨan-iy wa-ʔ-antan ʧ-1 / 3S-Rhy stick long that 3P-Top call-3PPres long.pole
   wa-ʔ-antan / ?anan yuk ?oŋk ?anan / call-3PPres that stick long that
   It's a long stick, they call it a pole, that one, the long stick.

395. /pe-ˈy-pe-ˈy woyampiy nuŋ-antam / puŋ pam ʨantjiy min-am-a / cry-Rd.3SPst adulterer 3SAJ-Src for man handsome good-
min-am-a / ʧaypan ?anan / nuŋ-antam pe-ˈy-pe-ˈy / good-Emph-Rhy taipan.snake that 3SAJ-Src cry-Rd.3SPst
   She wept over her lover, for he was a really handsome man, that taipan snake, over him she wept.

   Listen! I'm talking to you in Wik-Munkan! Listen!

397. /nŋan puŋ ḥaw-an nuŋ-ant ?uk-ow / ʔan-a kuŋ ʧ-1 3IPExcl so say-IPExclPst 3SAJ-Ref get.down-3SFut bone Temp
   pip-ow nuŋ-ant-akam / ?an-a puŋ mūl-ʔ-akam ?untj-iy break-3SFut 3SAJ-Ref-Ref1 then-Rhy so dead.up.to fall-3SSbj
   nuŋ-ant-akam / nŋan-ʔ an kaʔpā-ˈl ʔaw-an nuŋ-ant 3SAJ-Ref-Ref1 3IPExcl-Def therefore say-IPExclPst 3SAJ-Ref
   ?uk-ow / go.down-3SFut
   We told him to get down, lest he break his bones, or fall and kill himself, therefore we told him to get down.

8.8 COMBINATIONS

As is the case with paragraphs (Sec. 7.8), a speaker is not bound to just one way of making a sentence theme from the nucleus prominent.
All kinds of combinations are possible. There may be both fronting and tagging (398), rhetorical questions and tagging (392), cycling and tagging (399) and fronting and rhetorical questions (Appendix B.I.33). Some of these combinations both refer to the participant (392, 398), whereas others refer to both the participant and the proposition (399).

   that.one.to-Seq Punct lie.3SPst chest down-Loc put-3PPres
   nun puk mânj-ân-iy /
   3SAcc child small-Def-Top

As for the child, he lies on the chest of that godfather; they put him down on his chest, the child, that is.

399. /?an-a ȵentj ŭayan / ku·tanj kuntj ?alantan / keʔ-a
   that-Rhy sacred strong godfather own that.to VNeg-Rhy
   wây-âŋ-an nun / waŋk-a / kayaman țâk-ân
   bad-Trz.3SPres 3SAcc dillybag-Ind spear.making.tool etc.-Def
   wûn-tân nun-ant / ku·y țâk-ân-a / ?aŋan wun
   live-3PPres 3SAJ-Ref string etc.-Def-Ind there.in lie.3SPst
   nun-ant / ?an-a puŋ ȵentj ŭayan-a / ku·tanj
   3SAJ-Ref that-Rhy for sacred strong-Ind godfather
   kuntj-ant-an-iy /
   own-Ref-Def-Top

[The umbilical cord] is sacred to the godfather. He doesn’t spoil it, but puts it in his dillybag along with his spear making tool for it’s sacred to him, to that godfather.
NOTES

1. Originally termination intonation was posited by Sayers, but she has now changed her analysis owing to informant reaction. If a tape recording of a text was stopped at the end of a first clause (of, say, a paraphrase sentence) with indicative intonation the informant did not recognize it as non-final (Sayers: personal communication).

2. Occasionally a speaker suffixes a verb in a supposedly punctiliar setting clause with -iy (topic). The data I have on this are too meagre to make assertive statements. It seems, that in these cases, the clause is a repetition of information given in the preceding sentence, but it then becomes a topicalized clause which provides the nucleus theme of the next paragraph. An example can be found in the text in Appendix B.II.11.

3. The sequence intonation-carrying clitic -a? used with simultaneous, conditional and concession sentences varies with the absence of a clitic, and also with the low, steady indicative clitic -a (see Table 2, Appendix A, Nos. 8-10). However, the occurrence of -a? is by far the most common.
CHAPTER 9

CLAUSES AND CLAUSE THEME

9.1 WIK-MUNKAN CLAUSES

9.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The definition I have accepted for clauses is given in Section 3.10.1. Typically a Wik-Munkan clause has a verb phrase with one or more noun phrases whose relationship to the action, process, or state expressed by the verb is shown by surface case markings. (Wik-Munkan verbs and case system have already been described in Sections 3.2.6 and 3.5 respectively.) There are also clauses which do not contain a verb. They have, rather, two (or more) noun phrases which are in an equational, attributive, possessive, or existential relationship to each other.

The minimal manifestation of a verbal clause is a verb. In a discourse, most clauses contain but one or two noun phrases,\(^1\) although certainly more are possible. The first clause of a sentence tends to contain more noun phrases than subsequent clauses in the sentence. In addition, there is a tendency for the first clauses of sentences and particularly of paragraphs to give fuller reference to participants than clauses occurring elsewhere. This is certainly no more than a tendency however.

9.1.2 GRAMMATICAL CLAUSE TYPES

In a preliminary tagmemic study of Wik-Munkan clauses, Godfrey (1967) suggested the following clause types for Wik-Munkan: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, reciprocal, complement, stative, equative and possessive. The latter three are non-verbal, while the others are verbal clauses. I have accepted this classification of the surface grammar of Wik-Munkan as it relates to clauses with the addition of one more non-verbal clause, existential. The distinctions have been made mainly on
the bases of different classes of verbs occurring in the clause (e.g. transitive versus intransitive), and on the occurrence or non-occurrence of noun phrases with certain functions within the clause (e.g. a complement clause has a noun phrase with the function of complement, and sometimes (as in example 407) has a noun phrase with the function of object as well, whereas an intransitive clause has neither).

Examples² of the clause types are given below.

400. **Intransitive**
/ŋan-a ʔeŋkam mó?|mó?|an /
IPExcl-Rhy fast run-Rd-IPExclPst
We ran very fast.

401. **Transitive**
/pam mántay-an-án kéʔ-at-an nun-a /
man elder-Erg play-Trz-3SPres 3SAcc-Ind
The old man plays with him.

402. **Transitive**
/min kaʔ-t-a piʔan kan tjint-an nun /
 pró mother-Rhy big Punct spear-3SPres 3SAcc
He spears the big mother [goose].

403. **Ditransitive**
/nöl pam-aŋ min naʔ táʔ-taʔ tán-aŋ /
3S man-Erg pró fish give-Rd.3SPst 3P-Acc
The man was giving them fish.

404. **Reciprocal**
/kek-aŋ-an pʊn-win /
spear-Inst-Def hit-3PRecPst

405. **Reciprocal**
/ŋamp-a kintj-aŋ yaʔkaʔ taʔ-wump /
IPIncl-Rhy sun-Loc maybe see-IPRecPut
Maybe we'll see each other at midday.

406. **Complement**
/?aŋ-a ʔew keʔ-an-aŋ weʔn /
that-Rhy air VNeg-Nomz-Temp become.3SPst
It became airless.

407. **Complement**
/wal wáy-ʔn taʔ-in tán-aŋ /
partly bad-Def see-3PPst 3P-Acc
They saw them beginning to get weaker.

408. **Existential**
/ŋak-a ʔaŋmán tán-t
water-Rhy there.on 3P-Ref
Water [was] there for them.

409. **Stative**
/?aŋ-a ʔentj-a tán-y-an-a /
that-Rhy sacred-Rhy strong-Ind
That thing is really sacred.
410. Equative
/ka·t ṯāt-aṯšm-ān Mary /
mother ISÆJ-Poss-Def Mary
My mother is Mary.

411. Possessive
/ŋay-a wukal pi·ʔan ŋul /
IS-Rhy money big Temp
I have lots of money now.

412. Possessive
/naŋ-a ka·t pi·p ḫamp-anŋ /
that.Mid-Rhy mother father with-Co
That person [over there] has parents.

All of the above clauses may occur as independent clauses and they also have distributional variants which occur as subordinate clauses. For example, most of the above could occur as clauses expressing result or reason (with adjustment of the tense of the verb in some cases).

9.1.3 LEXICAL PREDICATES AND ROLE RELATIONSHIPS

Grimes (1975:207) distinguishes lexical predicates from rhetorical predicates (Sec. 7.3.2). The former have semantic roles as their arguments. Several linguists have made lists of semantic roles, namely, the ways in which participants relate to the action or state expressed by the lexical predicates. Fillmore's list of cases (1968) is the most notable of these. Several others have used his work as a basis, and come up with slightly different lists, for example, Frantz (1971), Longacre (1974), and Grimes (1975). For the purposes of this discussion I am using Grimes' list. Figures 29 and 30 outline the system. He uses the term "role" rather than "case", so as to distinguish the semantic relationships from the surface case system.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>Position State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Motion Process</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 29: ORIENTATION AND PROCESS ROLES**

Grimes distinguishes orientation and process roles, both of which may be either static or dynamic. Orientation roles are defined in spatial terms, and involve position or motion. Grimes also says (1975:122):

They also have a nonspatial or metaphorical area of meaning in which the linguistic form is appropriate for movement but semantically nothing moves: this idea (O) came to me (G) from Austin Hale (S), the tune (O) kept running through his brain (R).
A verb like flow would be dynamic, as it involves change of position, whereas a verb like sit would be static.

Process roles, on the other hand, are, in Grimes' words (1975:123):

...independent of orientations to motion or position. Instead they have to do on the dynamic side with changes of state, and on the static side with stable states.

Figure 30 represents the orientation and process roles which Grimes proposes and the combinations possible where there are counterparts. The agentive complex, which is represented at the top of the diagram, is considered to be outside the orientation and process systems, as also is the benefactive role. The occurrence of force is incompatible with that of agent and instrument.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A Agent</th>
<th>Fc Force</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Instrument</td>
<td>Combined + Process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td>O Object + P Patient + P Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S Source + F Former + M Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G Goal + L Latter + Rs Result</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R Range + R Range + Rf Referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V Vehicle + V Vehicle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Benefactive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FIGURE 30: INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG ROLES
(adapted from Figure 8.3 of Grimes (1975:134))

A brief summary of Grimes' description (1975:119-33) of each role now follows. It should be said from the outset, however, that a specific argument in a proposition can have two roles simultaneously. For instance, when a person is commanded to listen or hear (both are translated by qe·ɣ in Wik-Munkan), his positive response means that he has both the role of Agent and that of Patient.

Agent (A) identifies the participant who is responsible for an action. Instrument (I) identifies the tool used by the agent to bring about an action or process. Both are causal elements, involved in a single chain of action. Force (F) or noninstigative cause "asserts a causal relation devoid of responsibility. It is incompatible with both agent and instrument" (Grimes 1975:131). An example is: Malaria (F) killed the girl (P).

The first orientation role, Object, has its orientation to its physical environment given to it by the predicate. In the dynamic instance,
it identifies the thing that is moving, and in the static, the thing that is in a particular position. Source (S) applies only to motions, and it "identifies the location of the object at the beginning of the motion, the initial boundary of the event" (Grimes 1975:120). Goal (G) also applies only to motions, and it, on the other hand, identifies the terminal boundary of the event. Range (R) "indicates the path or area traversed, as in the ball (O) rolled down the gutter (R). With position, Range indicates static location, as in his house (O) is situated on top of a hill (R)" (Grimes 1975:121). Grimes makes the point that Range is not to be confused with the notion of setting. Vehicle (V) refers to that which conveys the object and moves it along.

The first of the process roles, Patient (P) is defined by Grimes as "the relation between a thing that gets changed and the process that changes it, or in the static sense, between a thing that is in some state and the state it is in" (1975:123). He now includes his earlier notion of Experiencer (1972c:151) in the Patient role. Material (M) identifies the state of something before it undergoes a process, and Result (Rs) its state afterwards. Referent (Rf) identifies the limitation of a process to a certain field or object, where the latter undergoes no change as a result. An example is: We (A) talked about politics (Rf).

The Benefactive (B) role stands outside the orientation and process systems, in that it can seemingly be attached to almost anything. It identifies the participant on whom an action has a secondary effect, good or ill.

In his earlier work, Grimes (1972c:162) also distinguished Essive, the role used for identification, and associated with notions of "having" and "being" in English. The concept covered by Essive does not seem to be included in Grimes' 1975 list. It can be distinguished from other roles in that (Grimes 1972c:162-3):

It bestows a nominal status on the proposition to which it belongs, allowing it to be referenced as a quantifiable entity.... Essive may be the only case associated with a predicate....

Glover (1974:73 ff.) has described in detail the interrelationships of semantic roles and grammatical structure at clause level in Gurung, taking each clause pattern in turn. I shall be content with some examples.

The subject of Wik-Munkan intransitive clauses may have the semantic roles of Agent (as in 413), Object (414) or Patient (415). The semantic role is indicated at the end of the relevant phrase.

413. /puk manj-iy ?ana?an (A) mo?-mo?-in / child small-Emph those run-Rd-3PPst

Those little children ran.
414. /ŋak (O) ?uk-?uk /  
    water fall-Rd. 3SPst  
    It rained.

415. /tan-a (P) ŋaŋk-am njî-n-in /  
    3P-Rhy heart-Emph sit-3PPst  
    They were glad.

In Section 3.5.3.10 five examples are given of the surface case of Source. These represent a variety of semantic roles. In example 115 nunântam his could be an example of the role of Referent if the person concerned did nothing to provoke the fright. Examples 116 and 117 are examples of the Source role, while example 119 is an example of the Material role. The word ŋaŋk-am, on the other hand, in example 118 is an example of Force. The clause could, for instance be paraphrased as:

416. /ŋak-ŋ (Fc) yîntj-âŋ-a nun-ŋ /  
    water-Erg wet-Trz. 3SPst-Rhy 3S-Acc  
    The rain wet it.

While the surface case of Referent mostly has the semantic role of Benefactive, it can sometimes have a semantic role of Patient, as in example 417.

417. /ŋaŋ-ŋ (P) ŋaŋ pe̱y-an nun-ŋ /  
    ISAJ-Ref heart cry-3SPres 3SAj-Src  
    I'm sad about him.

A further example concerns the grammatical objects (nominative case) of transitive clauses. These can have the semantic roles of Object (as in 418), Patient (419) and Range (420).

418. /yûk-àŋ-a (O) ke? mó?-âŋ-âŋ-a? /  
    thing-Def-Rhy VNeg run-Trz-2SPut-Seq  
    Don't run away with that thing!

419. /niŋt-a wîntjâŋ-an nun-ŋ (P) /  
    2S-Rhy frighten-2SPst 3SAj-Acc  
    You've frightened him.

420. /ŋamp-a wo̱yan (R) ?in wák-âmp-a? /  
    IPIncl-Rhy road this follow-IPInclPut-Seq  
    Let's follow this road!

9.2 INTONATION CENTRES, WORD ORDER AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

In Section 3.1.7 the normal placement of the intonation centre of declarative clauses was described, namely, on the phrase preceding the verb. This can be considered the unmarked placement of the intonation centre. Some grammatical conditions were described under which the intonation centre occurred elsewhere.
The emotive or emphatic attitude of the speaker is sometimes a factor also in determining marked placement of the intonation centre in declarative clauses, as in examples 421 and 422.

421. /may ka-ká'mp oyot-a /
    Carb Rd-plant.3SPst lots-Ind
    She planted lots and lots of food!

422. /jesus o?u?am ñamp-ar /
    Jesus die.3SPst IPIncl-Ref
    Jesus died for us!

For non-verbal clauses, the intonation centre falls on the predicate, or on what is sometimes called the comment (Sayers 1976a:36).

423. /Goroka-àn ?a:k o?mina /
    Goroka-Def place good-Ind
    Goroka is a good place.

I have not observed any exceptions to this. Interrogatives, imperatives and clauses in desiderative mood which consist of one grammatical clause only have all been treated as one-clause sentences (Sec. 8.2.4). They also have a characteristic or unmarked placement of the intonation centre. For content interrogatives the intonation centre falls on the interrogative word (424), while for desiderative clauses it falls on the verb (425).

424. /nint o?wantin-ak ?f-y-àn-a? /
    2S where-G1 go-2SPut-Seq
    Where are you about to go?

425. /kan o?wà?-àn-è /
    Punct tell-2SPut-Des
    I wish you would tell me!

The verbs of imperative clauses normally receive the intonation centre (426). Instances of marked intonation centres have been observed where the aspect of the verb (427), or the subject (428) has been made emphatic.

426. /kan o?f-y-àn-a? /
    Punct go-2SPut-Seq
    Go away!

427. /kul o?kan wànt-àmp-a? /
    anger Punct leave-IPInclPut-Seq
    Let's leave our anger now!

428. /o?nì-y mi?-àn-a? /
    2P choose-2PFut-Seq
    You choose!
In general, it can be said that the phrase which takes the intonation centre conveys new information, particularly in declarative clauses, both verbal and non-verbal, and interrogative clauses. This may be something completely new, which has never been mentioned before. On the other hand, it may add colour or provide a different slant to something already given.

Some attention has already been given to preferred word order and case ranking (Sec. 3.5.4). It can be said that Subjects, whether identified by a noun or pronoun, and Objects, when identified by a noun, most often occur before the verb in declarative clauses. Ranking closely behind them are noun phrases in Referent case. Instrument comes next in rank. For other cases, such as Locative, Accompaniment, Source, and Goal, the unmarked positioning is following the verb. If none, or only one of the cases of Subject, Object, Referent or Instrument occur before the verb, then a phrase from the remaining cases may occur there by default. This is also considered unmarked.

The preferred word order and case ranking which has been outlined suggests that, given a choice of more than one new item in a clause, that with the higher rank will occur in the position immediately before the verb and take the intonation centre. If however, a phrase from a lower ranking case is new information, and a phrase from a higher ranking case is given or implied information, then the system of new information occurring before the verb and taking the intonation centre becomes the dominating factor. The co-ordinate instrument phrase in the next example is new information, whereas the object following the verb is shared background knowledge.

429. /ŋaʔaŋk-aŋ-aʔ wioundingBox-y-aʔ ʔotjaŋan-aŋ kuyam ʔump-in
    glass-Inst-Seq some-Seq mussel-Inst used.to cut-3PPst
    ku·tan puk manj-iɣ ŋamp-aŋ kę·ŋk-ʔan
    umbilical.cord child small-Emph IPIncl-Poss long.ago-Def
    ?a·k-ne-ne·ɣ-in-a /
    place-Rd-hear-3PPst-Ind

    With glass, or sometimes with a mussel, they used to cut the
    cords of the children who were born in our country.

If a noun phrase from a higher ranked case occurs together with one from a lower ranked case before the verb and given that one of the phrases contains new information, then that is the phrase that will occur immediately before the verb. The phrase yuk wu·yan-aŋ is new information in the following example.

430. /niŋʔo·nj wάy-ʔan ʔkeʔ yuk wu·yan-aŋ wun ŋan-t /
    3S spirit bad-Def VNeg thing cross.beam-Loc lie.3SPst IPExcl-Ref

    That bad spirit didn't go on the cross for us!
9.3 UNMARKED THEMES OF CLAUSES

In his study of thematization in relation to English clauses, Halliday (1967:212-4 and 218-21) has presented his views on the unmarked themes of clauses. He says that the unmarked theme differs according to the mood of the clause, but in each case it is the element which occurs in first position. For declarative clauses, then, the subject is the unmarked theme. For polar (yes-no) interrogatives, it is the modal element itself, as in did John see the play? On the other hand, the interrogative word is the unmarked theme for non-polar (content) interrogatives. (In Section 2.2.3 I have outlined Hope’s criticism of Halliday’s choice of the interrogative as unmarked theme.) For imperative clauses, he posits the verb as unmarked theme, and he suggests that the introductory conjunction in independent clauses may be unmarked theme.

While Halliday is careful to distinguish the given-new and theme-rheme systems, he recognizes that there is a relationship between them in cases of unmarked theme of clauses. For here, he says, the focus of information falls on something other than the theme (1967:205).

For Halliday, the focus of information "reflects the speaker's decision as to where the main burden of the message lies" (1967:204). Information focus is new information, either new in content, or cumulatively new in the sense that it adds a new slant, and is presented in a way that makes it not recoverable from the preceding discourse. Halliday recognizes that features of mood may be the focus of information as well as lexical items. For English the word or phrase which is the focus of information takes the intonation centre of the clause. Halliday has stated the typical position of the intonation centre for English clauses (1967:204):

It was very early observed that in many, perhaps a majority of, instances in English the tonic falls on the last accented syllable in the tone group.

By contrast with English, Wik-Munkan does not have any significant word order differences for clauses of different moods, except for one constraint involving content (or non-polar) interrogatives. The interrogative word, regardless of its surface case marking, occurs before the verb. This is in contrast to non-interrogative phrases in the lower-ranked cases, whose unmarked position is following the verb, but which sometimes occur before the verb.

I cannot, in fact, find any good reasons in Wik-Munkan for following Halliday’s idea of having different unmarked themes according to clause mood. Some of the Wik-Munkan counterparts to the elements he has chosen for unmarked themes in English, such as the interrogative
word for non-polar interrogatives, and the verb for imperative clauses, receive the intonation centre of the clause in Wik-Munkan. And in Wik-Munkan, as also in English, the intonation centre of the clause is generally associated with new information. If Halliday is right in his ideas about unmarked themes for English clauses in moods other than declarative, then there is a real difference evident between English and Wik-Munkan concerning what elements can occur as unmarked theme, and what can occur as the unmarked information focus. This subject needs study in many languages before we can approach anything like language universals.

My position concerning the unmarked themes of Wik-Munkan clauses is as follows. For intransitive and non-verbal clauses which match an information block, the unmarked theme is the grammatical or surface subject. For verbal clauses, if the subject is identified by a free form, it is usually referred to by a pronoun initially in the sentence, and sometimes by a noun phrase. The subject may also be identified simply by an affix on the verb. For non-verbal clauses, the surface subject typically occurs first. Transitive clauses often contain an object pronoun which refers to information given in a previous sentence or clause in the discourse. In these cases, I see no reason why the object pronoun cannot join with the subject as part of the unmarked theme. If interaction is what is involved and what is expected, then the object is as much a point of departure for the message of the clause as is the subject. Object pronouns most typically occur following the verb and the pitch level drops on them considerably from that of the verb.

In many cases the subject of a clause refers to given information. More often than not, a participant is introduced into a discourse in a case other than subject, either as object or in a more oblique case like accompaniment. He may later become the subject of an action or of a statement about him. There is no bar, however, to the subject of a clause referring to new information.

The choices available to a speaker regarding marked and unmarked theme of clauses is represented in a flow chart in Figure 31.

9.4 MARKED THEMES OF CLAUSES

There are ways, too, within clauses, of giving prominence to the theme. These are fronting, rhetorical questions, emphatic pronouns, and tagging. Some of these topicalization patterns are similar to those used with paragraphs and sentences (see Secs. 7.6, 7.7, 8.6 and 8.7), but those which mostly have application over just a clause can be distinguished on either grammatical or phonological grounds or both.
Is clause to have a marked theme

Select one or more marked participant themes

MARKED THEMES

MARKED THEMES

START

GRAMMATICAL REALIZATION

-ān fronting, also fronting not set off phonologically

-ān fronting

Rhetorical Questions

Emphatic pronoun

-ān tagging

NO

Grammatical or surface subject (and object pronoun)

YES

CONTINUE WITH CLAUSE

(Fg = Foregrounding, Rm = Reminder)
The marked theme of a clause may sometimes be the subject or object of the clause. In addition, fronting or rhetorical questions at least can be used with phrases of lower-ranked cases.

9.4.1 FRONTING

Fronted phrases which typically have a domain of prominence extending over just a clause, may or may not be in a separate information block from the rest of the grammatical clause to which they belong. Those which are in a separate information block typically receive -àn-a? fronting, and mostly -a? fronting if the phrase contains a pronoun. Noun phrases which are new information are more likely to receive -a? fronting also (Secs. 4.2 and 4.3). Generally speaking, the pause after -àn-a? and -a? fronting is much slighter than that following -àn-iy-a? fronting.

In the discussion concerning -àn-iy-a? fronting, (Sec. 8.6.1.1) it was stated that while the main association of -àn-iy-a? fronting is with a stretch of speech that is approximately a single sentence, this cannot be claimed in any absolute way. In a similar way, a phrase which receives -àn-a? fronting generally has prominence over one grammatical clause, but on occasions, the prominence extends for two or three clauses.

The following examples illustrate sentences which have two or more clauses within them beginning with -àn-a? fronting (431 and 432), or where the second clause of a sentence demonstrates a change of clause theme via fronting which is not in a separate information block (433). The whole sentence is given in each instance. A triangle (\( \triangledown \)) marks the beginning of each fronted phrase.

431. /ì:\'i\-'i\-'i\-\'a\-a/ \( \triangledown \)ì:\'i\-p-àn-a? tji1 pì\-\-an nul / go-Rd.3SPst-Cont stomach-Def-Seq little big Temp

\( \triangledown \)ì\-'k-àn-a? ti1\-\- kan-nul wamp-ant wey / time-Def-Seq close Punct-Temp come.3SPst-Ref Comp

púk-àn kal-ow / child-Def carry-3SPut

She kept on and on [working], and as for her stomach, it was getting bigger now, and her time was close for having the child.

432. /ì:\'anpà-làn-iy-a? / ì\( \phi \)philistine-àn-a? / ïm-\( a̰ \) from.then-Top-Seq Philistine-Def-Seq chest-with

\( \phi \)ì\-\-ant-a / ì\( \phi \)David ?in-a? / ma? ño\-\-ntj / go.3SPst-Ref-Ind David this-Seq hand enter.3SPst

\( \phi \)wa\-\-ñk-am-an-a? / ma\-'y / string.bag-Src-Def-Seq take.3SPst

After that, the Philistine came straight to him; David here, he put his hand [into his bag], and from his bag he took out [the stones].
433. /quivo'gintj-an-a? / me'apaq wunp pull-ant / 3nuw' / liver-Def-Seq middle put.3SPst 3D-Ref shark.flesh
wiya-qa kenj-ang ?anoan wun-in wonk-an tampana / some-Rhy top-side there.on stay-3PPst side-Loc also
The liver, he put in the middle of those two, and some shark flesh was lying up there on the sides too.

Phrases which have -an-a? fronting may have a variety of relationships to the verb. A speaker can choose as his marked theme not only intransitive subjects (432) and transitive subjects (434) but also items with other functions such as objects (433), the source from which something comes (432), a stationary location (corresponding to Range semantically) (435), instrument (436), possessed items (437). Examples will be given in the context of their sentences, so that the domain of prominence can be observed. A triangle marks the beginning of the phrase with -an-a? fronting.

434. /pi'p kundj-an-an-a? / tamp yuk manj-a / me' / father own-Erg-Def-Seq with stick small-Ind eye
pepan-ân-ân pl'i?-pl'i?-an / sharp-with-Def keep-Rd.3SPst-Acc
As for his father, he kept with him a small stick, with a sharp point.

wâmp-âจำนวน nun / yuk-am-an yump-in chair bring-3PPst 3SAcc tree-Src-Def make-3PPst chair
?anan-iy-a / that-Top-Rhy
They carried her a long way, and brought her to that hill, and made one of those chairs from wood [for her].

436. /yuk-an wip-âk tan-t / 3n-ang ?an pêk-ang-a? / tree-Loc stick-Trz.3SPst 3P-Ref water-Loc there down-Def-Seq
When their [fishing lines] got caught in snags down there in the water, I went down and loosened [the line] with my fish spear.

437. /ya' / 3an-a kúy-an tâpât-ang-a? / kítj-ân yes IPEExcl-Rhy string-Def take.off-IPEExclPst bark-Def
wa' te'-an / ?a? / 3min núäng-ang-a? / 3ompam Onom throw-IPEExclPst CJ, Pro 3SAj-Def-Seq waist
?umpt-an / out-IPEExclPst
Yes, we took off the string, and threw the bark away, and her fish we cut in half.

The next example shows a phrase which is new information with -a? fronting. The example is interesting in that there is also a marked
sentence theme with -àn-iy-a? fronting. The sentence theme, kurk ash, is also new information in a sense, although as there has just been a description of a fire, it is perhaps rather implied information.


And after that was over, he picked up the ashes, and put them in a coconut shell, those ashes.

The marked and unmarked themes of two non-verbal clauses are respectively illustrated by the following two examples.

439. /?a·k-an-a? / wak-atiy / place-Def-Seq grass-Ab
As for the place, it was grassy.

440. /Goroka-àn ?a·k min-a / Goroka-Def place good-Ind
Goroka is a good place.

Phrases containing relative clauses sometimes receive -àn-a? fronting.

441. /?a·wutj níl-àn wun / pik?an ?ánpàl-àn-a? / ?uk / house 3S-Def live-3SPst big from.that-Seq come.down.3SPst námp-af-àk-àn / wey / ma? yuk-an / IPlIncl-Ref-G1-Def Comp hand stick-with
From the big house where she lived, she came down to us with a stick in her hand.

In general, -àn-a? fronting refers to tools, locations, and objects, and so on, which are minor in relation to the mainstream of the story. This can be compared with the functions of -àn-iy-a? fronting (Sec. 8.6.1.1). When -àn-à? fronting is used with a main character or object, usually just an account of one action or item of description follows, rather than a chain of such.

Occasionally reprise (Sec. 4.5) is associated with -àn-a? fronting, such as in example 438, or example 223. This may give more intensity of prominence (rather than extend the domain, as in 438), or it may simply clarify or specify part of a whole (as in 223).

Example 212 shows -àn fronting occurring with indicative intonation rather than the sequence intonation of -àn-a? fronting. This is not very common, but when it does occur it is the marked theme of a clause which is a paraphrase of a previous clause.

Sometimes a fronted item is not followed by pause and so is not set off phonologically from the rest of the clause. In the case of pronouns which refer to grammatical objects or indirect objects, these normally
occur initially in the clause with the surface case of subject, and are cross-referenced to a further pronoun or abbreviated pronoun within the clause which is marked for the appropriate case (442, 443). Noun phrases referring to indirect objects sometimes similarly show lack of surface case agreement with the pronoun they are cross-referenced to (444).

442. /nip-a pu t Tariri-aŋ múl-å-t-iy nip-aŋ / 2D-Rhy but Tariri-Erg dead-Trz-3SSbj 2D-Acc
As for you two, Tariri might kill you.

443. /ŋay-a wey yuk kutjam ŋeʔ-ʔɑʔ / IS-Rhy Comp thing two give.3SPst-Ref
To me he gave two things.

444. /pam wiy naŋ keʔ taw-iw ŋaŋ-ʔey / men some maybe VNeg say-2DSbj 3P-Ref Ques
You wouldn't speak to those men about it, would you?

If a phrase from a lower ranked case occurs initially in a clause, not by default but despite the occurrence of other lexical items before the verb, this can also be considered an instance of marked theme.

445. /pɑl kenjuw-im kaʔ ne’n yimanaŋ / bridge manj-iy here top-Emph like(CJ) what manner bridge small-Emph
yu-yúm-p-i-n-im / Rd-make-3PPst-Emph
On top what was it like — they were making a small bridge.

446. /pun jtı̊-kam wák-åŋ we’nt-æn-åm tuŋ / everywhere grass-Def turn-Nomz-Src pull.3SPst
From everywhere around, she pulled out the grass.

9.4.2 RHETORICAL QUESTIONS

Rhetorical questions which refer to marked themes of clauses can be distinguished from those used within sentences and paragraphs (Secs. 8.6.1.2 and 7.6.1). The rhetorical question is in the same grammatical clause as the participant to which it refers. It is also sometimes within the same intonation contour as well, and may in fact form a complex intonation centre (Sec. 3.1.7) with the noun to which it refers (447). Once again, the presupposition of surprise or unusualness is involved.

ťán-t-äm puk manj-iy tťán-t-äm-ʔaʔ a’k-ŋeʔ-y-an-a / 3P-Poss child small-Emph 3P-Poss-Def place-hear-3CollPres-Ind
What with, with bamboo they cut the cords of their children who are born in this place.
In the following example, the rhetorical question cross-references with a demonstrative as well as with a noun phrase.

448. /yuk ɲɛ·n-ɑŋ-a'/ pukal-ɑʔɑŋ-kɑ / ɡaŋ ɡɑlɑŋmɑ mɑn thɑŋ what-Inst-Int bamboo-Rhy long-Ind water that.with-same
   /emp-emp/
draw.out-Rd.3SPst

With what, with a long bamboo pole, with that he drew out the water.

9.4.3 EMPHATIC PRONOUNS

Subjects of clauses may be made marked themes via the use of emphatic pronouns. These carry a certain air of exclusiveness, such as he was the one who.... The domain of prominence is usually over just one clause but sometimes extends over more than one. The examples below are given in the context of their sentences.

449. /yot-aw / ɡɑw-ɑn pɛm-ɑn / nil-am-an waʔ-ɑn / lots-Emph say-3SPres man-Def 3S-Emph-Def tell-3SPres
   "There's lots and lots!" says the man, he was the one saying it.

    3P-Emph here run-3PPst-Ref-Seq say-3PPst-Ref-Seq
    ʔeŋ-k-in-ɑf-ɑ / ɬan-ɑ ɲɛ·n-ɑk ʔaŋ-ɑ pɪ·k-a'/
    ask-3PPst-Ref-Ind that-Rhy what-01 bell-Rhy hit.3SPst-Int

They themselves ran to me, and said to me, and asked me,
"Why did the bell ring?"

9.4.4 TAGGING

Reminders of clause themes are also possible. These receive -ɑn tagging. As is the case for -ɑn-a? fronting, sometimes the domain of prominence extends beyond one clause, but not typically. It is possible for -ɑn tagging to occur at the end of clauses occurring medially in a sentence (as in 452). A triangle marks the tagged phrase within the following examples.

451. /teacher min-a / ɬan-an waʔ-ɑŋ-ɑn /
    teacher Gillan-ɑn / teacher good-Ind that tell.about-ISPst-Acc teacher Gillan-Def
    I was telling [them] about that good teacher, Teacher Gillan.

452. /min-min pɪ·ʔ-ɑn ɬan-ɑŋ / puk manj-ɑ mananɑŋ / ɲay
good-Rd mind-2FPut 3P-Acc child small-Rhy those IS
    yipam ʔu-w-ɑl ni·ɣ-ɑŋ-ɑ / naŋan wɑm-ɑŋ ni·ɣ-ɑnt-ɑ /
    so.that find-ISEm 2P-Acc-Ind there.Mid come-ISPst 2P-Ref-Ind

Look after them really well, those children, so that I'll find you all [there] when I come back there.
The next sentence (453) shows yi?wá:? grass skirt as part of the phrase which is the focus of information in the first clause, following the sentence theme which has -àn-iy-a? fronting. It becomes the subject of the last clause of the sentence, and receives -àn tagging as well.

yi?wá:?-ân / waist-Loc-Seq leg knee-Rhy down same go down. 3SPst-Ref grass. skirt-Def

As for her female relatives, they made a very long grass skirt, and she tried it on round her waist, and it came down past her knees, the grass skirt did.

9.4.5 COMBINATIONS

Various combinations of ways of marking clause theme are possible. Some examples are fronting and tagging (as in 454), -àn-a? fronting and a rhetorical question (455), and an emphatic pronoun receiving -àn tagging (456).

454. /mo'â? alantan-a? wa'î-in / King Saul-ant-an / boss that. Ref-Seq tell-3PPst King Saul-Ref-Def

They told that boss, King Saul.


As for that food, where did it stay – on the tables and bunks.

456. .../jiw-an wey / nil-am-an / say-3SPres Comp 3S-Emph-Def

He said it, he was the one.

9.5 TEMPORAL SETTING IN RELATION TO CLAUSES

Temporal setting has been stated as very important for paragraphs (Sec. 7.2.2.1) and as much less important for sentences (Sec. 8.4.3). There are even fewer instances of temporal words occurring within clauses which have application over a clause only.

Those that do occur sometimes occur initially in the clause (but not set off phonologically) and so can be considered as points of departure, as settings for the nucleus information of the clause (as in the second clause of 457). Other times the temporal word may occur medially in the clause (as in the first clause of 457).
Most commonly, temporal words which have application over just a clause refer to background information (457, 458). Sometimes they are simply repetitions of the time span already stated for the paragraph (459). Slight changes of the time span are usually indicated within clauses simply by the aspect word nul, which mostly has temporal force.

457. /nay njį:ŋk nul mo?-ataŋ / ka·?ątam ke?-am \taŋ-ataŋ IS recently Temp fly-ISPres earlier VNeg-Emph see-ISPres

This is the first time I've flown, I didn't ever see that place before.

458. /puŋ ké·nk-àn nay-a pam \taŋ nán-àn-iy for long.ago-Def IS-Rhy man fire with IDExcl-Def-Top

For a long time ago I had a husband and we went together.

An English translation of the paragraph initial clause which precedes example 459 is as follows: A long time ago, when a young man ran away with a girl, when they escaped in the night...

459. /ya·ka·t pi·?an puŋ wuŋ? ?ek-an naŋ nutaŋ-an / yes mother big-Def so Onom get.up-3SPres maybe night-Def

Well then, so the mother maybe rises quickly in the night.

9.6 DEPENDENT CLAUSES AND MARKED THEME

Halliday (1967:220) has made the interesting statement that while co-ordinating conjunctions such as and, or and but can be followed by the full range of thematic variation, subordinating conjunctions permit restricted variation only.

In Wik-Munkan, however, quite a range of variation of marked theme options is possible following subordinating conjunctions. The following examples illustrate fronting (460), rhetorical questions (461) and tagging (462). A triangle marks the beginning of the dependent clauses in examples 460-462.

460. /wunt-aŋ-àn ke? penj-ow-a? / V?an puŋ nínt-àn-a? wind-Erg-Def VNeg blow-3SPut-Seq that because 2S-Def-Seq

Don't let the wind blow it away, for as for you, you'd be sad.

461. /\nuŋkwoy nąŋ nø·n-a ma? wentj ?uw-atan-a? / even.though IDExcl what-Rhy hand sore find-IDExclPres-Seq

Even though we get what? — sore hands...
...and he bites him on the small of the back so that he'll walk for him and grow strong for him, that child will, and run fast for him [for the elder].

An example of fronting has also been found in an embedded complement clause.

463. /ke?-a m qän-tamqe:y wantj qün-antäm-an-a? / ¿ip¿ VNeg-Emph think/know.3SPst woman 3SAj-Poss-Def-Seq close
wun / ya?-a /
lit.3SPst Neg-Ind

He didn't realise that as for his wife, she was close by, no.

Halliday has also made the following statement about dependent clauses (1967:221):

...the interpretation of theme in this environment requires the recognition of it as secondary to the underlying theme of such a clause, its relation of dependence to another clause.

I find it hard to accept the idea of subordinating conjunctions such as because, even though being the theme of the nucleus information of the clause. Be that as it may, there is an area of thematic choice in dependent clauses involving the placement of the conjunction. It may come initially in the dependent clause, as in example 462, or it may be preceded by either a noun phrase (464), or a verb or a whole clause (465). In these cases, it appears that the speaker is giving more prominence to his clause theme in the case of the noun phrase, and more prominence to the proposition within the context of the sentence in the case of the verb or clause.

464. .../¿etj-aŋ yipam pük máŋj-àn ?á:k-ne:y-ow-ant-a / clean-Loc so.that child small-Def place-hear-3SPFut-Ref-Ind

...so that in a clean place the child would be born to her.

An English translation is given only of the clauses preceding the dependent clause given in example 465.

(Sam and I went first to mark for them, we just dug some holes partly for them.)

465. .../tät-án yipam /
see-3PPut so.that

...so they could see [where to go].
NOTES

1. In a count made in three texts, the number of noun phrases per clause averaged less than two.

2. Examples 403, 406, 408, 411 and 412 come from Godfrey's data (1967).

3. Longacre's work on semantic roles (1974) was not available to me at the time of analysis and writing. However, both his list and discussion of it are very useful indeed and worth serious consideration. His list of semantic roles is as follows: Experiencer, Patient, Agent, Range, Measure, Instrument, Locative, Source, Goal, and Path.

4. Normally when the subject and object occur together before a verb, the subject is a pronoun and occurs initially in the clause, and the object noun then immediately precedes the verb. It is extremely rare for a subject noun and an object noun to occur together before a verb in the one information block.

5. There are usually no more than two lexical items occurring before the verb in a clause when a grammatical clause matches an information block. The exceptions to this are very rare, and when they do occur, all the phrases are given information. The following example comes from a clause with sequence intonation which is part of a comparison.

466. /may waŋiy ʃák-àn waŋ-k-ə monkan-əŋ
Carb yama etc.-Def dilly.bag-Loc nape.of.neck-Loc
ʔuk-ʔuk-a? / ...
go.down-Rd.3SPst-Seq

She carries the yams in her dilly bag hanging from the back of her neck (in the same way as they do)....
6. Hope states (1974:12-5) that in Lisu a sentence may have a number of topics, but only one focus. There are two markers of topic in Lisu, one which indicates that the topic has remained unchanged, and another which introduces a new topic.

7. When the subject is referred to by a noun, and there is nothing intervening between it and the verb, it typically receives the intonation centre.

467. /ŋak-aŋ ?ep ŋan-aŋ wey /
    rain-Erg soak.3Pst IPExcl-Acc Comp

The rain soaked us.

Such nouns are sometimes new information and sometimes not. When a clause consists of a subject pronoun and verb only, the intonation centre falls sometimes on the pronoun and sometimes on the verb.

It is not possible, then, to keep a completely clear distinction between the focus of information and the unmarked theme.

8. While my study of thematic organization in Wik-Munkan stops at the clause, I do not believe thematic decisions end there. I believe the concept is valid also for studying phrases, and I am, for instance, curious to know why the Wik-Munkan sometimes vary their usually rigid order of noun followed by adjective for noun phrases, as in the following example:

468. //in tan-t vwi-ywiy-am ?imp /
    this 3P-Ref some-Rd-Emph bark

This bark of theirs is different.

Normally the adjective meaning different would follow the noun. Despite the variation of order, the adjective, which conveys new information and therefore the most communicative dynamism, still retains the intonation centre of the phrase and of the clause as well. It seems that thematic factors may enter in here as well.
CHAPTER 10

SOME THEMATIC DECISIONS CONDITIONED
BY CHOICE OF DISCOURSE GENRE

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Up to this point it has been noted here and there that some topicalization patterns are more characteristic of some discourse genres (Sec. 6.1) than others. Continuous setting clauses, for instance, have been described as mostly associated with travelogues (Sec. 6.1.2). The occurrence of -àn-iy-a? fronting was noted as being more frequent in procedural discourse (Sec. 6.1.3).

It is my intention in this chapter to focus in on the way in which the choice of discourse genre already conditions some decisions in the area of thematization or staging. In other words, there is a point to which the discourse genre chosen by the speaker limits the range of options concerning the use, or frequency of use, of the various topicalization patterns. It also affects whether the unmarked alternatives are more likely to be chosen in some places.

There are three areas where such conditioning is particularly obvious. One is the tendency towards less overtly marked segmentation of portions of narrative texts. Another is the frequency of use of -àn-iy-a? fronting in procedural texts, and finally there is the frequency of use of cycling and paraphrase in hortatory and explanatory texts. These three topics are discussed in Sections 10.2, 10.3 and 10.4 respectively.

10.2 SEGMENTATION OF NARRATIVES

Travel narratives and unit narratives (or anecdotes) are posited as two separate discourse types in Saramaccan by Grimes and Glock. They make an interesting distinction between the two, as follows (1970:421):
The travel narrative is an easily distinguished form among the discourse types of Saramaccan, being quite different from the UNIT NARRATIVE or anecdote. In the latter genre, paragraph organization is rudimentary or missing, and a larger proportion of the narrative is devoted to developing a single setting and to background information. Motion verbs appear only incidentally as pointers to the setting.

There is a somewhat parallel situation between Wik-Munkan narratives and texts from other discourse genres. My use of the term narrative, however, is different from that of Grimes and Glock. I have reserved it for stories which have a recognizable plot, and which typically go through the four stages of situation, complication, mediation, and resolution (Sec. 6.1.1).

The segmentation of portions of a Wik-Munkan narrative into paragraphs can be described as subtle or less overtly marked compared with that of other discourse genres. I consider it subtle, rather than rudimentary or missing, as it involves the choice of sentences initial in paragraphs where the setting is typically non-thematic and the nucleus information unmarked. This subject has already been introduced in Section 7.4.1.5 and some examples given.

At the beginning of a narrative, when a speaker is establishing the situation and then goes on to describe the complication (Sec. 6.1.1), paragraph boundaries are usually very obvious and easily identifiable. For example, -àn-iy-a? fronting on time words, and phrases referring to participants may be used, or there may be double clause topicalization. Similarly, towards the close of the narrative, particularly in those where the speaker describes the resolution in some detail and perhaps comments on it as well, paragraphs become easily identifiable once more.

But while the participants in the text are involved in the mediation, and things are moving on rapidly towards resolution, then the moving from one major lexical chunk of the discourse to another is not forced strongly upon the hearer's perception. The concentration, rather, is on the fast moving plot.

There is one qualification to this. Sometimes in the mediation section of a narrative, a participant has to move rapidly from point A to point B in order to catch up with the villain, and carry out the desired resolution. In these instances, the speaker may segment this portion of the text into paragraphs via continuous setting clauses. Nevertheless, the rest of the first sentence of the paragraph is typically an unmarked theme of the paragraph, or one with minimal paraphrase.
He kept on going east, and then he bent down to study the tracks.

He went further east, and then he saw another [dead emu], he was the one who saw it, the blue-tongued lizard was.

More typically, however, the boundaries of paragraphs within the mediation stage of the narrative are indicated simply by sentences where the first clause includes a motion verb and either an aspect word (kan or nul), a directional or a locative.

Some examples of such sentences have already been given in Section 7.4.1.5. Two further examples are given here. Both are from the mediation of the same text, which is moving towards the resolution.

They went straight towards each other, and began punching each other with their fists.

The taipan snake ran from there to him, and bit him round the waist, and he bit again, [but] he could hardly bite.

Sometimes a paragraph within the mediation stage of a narrative is indicated simply by a change of concentration from one group of participants to another. The following example follows a long description of the escape of two young people.

They followed those two, they just kept on walking behind them.

The rest of the paragraph goes on to describe how the group find the tracks of the young people, and the conversation that follows.

In one narrative text, one participant's resolution to the complication forms the complication for a second plot. A family are without food in the bush, so the father attempts to resolve the situation by going hunting. He takes his son. When no meat is found, he plots to kill his son. The section describing the child's suspicions and
resistance and the father's torture and then murder and cooking of the child moves swiftly. There is one clause midway with a motion verb and aspect word. The father then takes the body from the fire, eats a little, and carries the rest back to his two wives. They are incensed, and plot revenge. They contact the other relatives, and together kill the man in turn and burn his body. Interestingly, from the point where the man begins to return to his wives with the child's body, paragraph breaks are much more prominent than for other narratives. It is possibly because there is an early resolution of the first section of the story. The rest of the plot, the revenge killing, would be culturally expected, and so perhaps does not hold so much suspense.

10.3 THE FREQUENCY OF -àn-iy-a? FRONTING IN PROCEDURAL TEXTS

In most procedural texts which describe ceremonies, -àn-iy-a? fronting (Sec. 8.6.1.1) used with phrases referring to the participants is common. Its occurrence is significantly more frequent in procedures than in other discourse genres. While narratives are plot-centred, and travelogues are anecdote-centred, and hortatory and explanatory discourses are ideas- or description-centred, procedural texts which describe ceremonies are very much role-centred. That is, they are as much concerned with who in the kinship or social system performs a step in the procedure as with the step itself. Certain steps in procedures are performed only by or for specific relatives or people in a certain status in the social system. For instance, only a man's cousin can get water for him when he is going through initiation. And again, it is the child's godfather who keeps the umbilical cord of the child as a sacred possession.

In some procedural texts a reference to a participant may receive -àn-iy-a? fronting nearly every time he steps onto the stage to perform his part in a step of the ceremony or to be the focus of an action. If an inanimate object, such as the umbilical cord of the child, is very significant to the story also, phrases referring to it may also receive -àn-iy-a? fronting when it is central in a new activity of the procedure.

The following examples show concentrated patches of the use of -àn-iy-a? fronting. Both examples are from the same text.

pán-àn-iy // puk mánj-àn-iy-a? / mántày-an-àŋ kal-an man-Def-Top child small-Def-Top-Seq elder-Erg carry-3SPres
nun // ka- tà kúntj-àn-iy-a? koy-koyuw ?i·y-an yu'k way 3SAcc mother own-Def-Top-Seq Rd-behind go-3SPres things bad
min òmpan-àŋ / good with-Def

[See next page for English Translation.]
As for the godfather, he lies down chest up [ready for him], that man does. As for the child, the elder carries him. As for [the child's] own mother, she comes behind with the things.

475. /puk mânj-àn-iy-a? / pîtj-åt-antàn nun /
child small-Def-Top-Seq spotty-Trz-3PPres 3SAcc
white.clay-Inst-Seq red.clay-Inst head-Def-Top-Seq
wunп-antnan nuŋ-ant / or patj-a / man
headdress-Rhy put-3PPres 3SAj-Ref or flowers-Ind neck
?utj-aŋ wamp-an / wiy-a man ?uŋkam-aŋ
bead-with some-3SPres some-Rhy neck pearl.shell-with
wunп-an puk manj ?alantàn // ku-ʔtan nuŋ-antàm-àn-iy-a?
put-3SPres child small that.to cord 3SAj-Poss-Def-Top-Seq
man-aŋ kaj-antan //
neck-Loc tie-3PPres

As for the child, they decorate him with red clay and white clay. As for his head, they put a headdress on it, or maybe flowers. He comes with beads on his neck, sometimes it's pearl shells that they put on the child. As for his umbilical cord, they tie it around his neck.

10.4 CYCLING AND PARAPHRASE IN HORTATORY AND EXPLANATORY TEXTS

The close-knit semantic cohesion of some paragraphs has been discussed in Section 7.2.2.5. The examples in that section illustrate both cycling and paraphrase.

It is true that there is a certain amount of repetition or summary of given information in narratives, procedures, and travelogues. Punctiliar setting clauses feature in the former two, and continuous setting clauses in the latter in particular. It is also true that these discourse genres are not without their examples of cyclic sentences and paragraphs and of paraphrase. They are used at points such as descriptions of places or objects, and descriptions of feelings (see Sec. 8.7.2 for cyclic sentence examples). Paraphrase may occur at other places too; for instance, at the significant tension points in narratives, such as the informing of the complication (for example, abduction); the finding of the villain; the duel between the hero and the villain; and the climax, such as the death of the villain.

Generally speaking, however, narratives, procedures, and travelogues do not linger too long with a series of clauses with verbs in closely-knit semantic domains, or with an interplay of two domains as is shown in example 283 in Section 7.2.2.7. They are concerned primarily with bringing the global theme towards its resolution, or final result, or to the last anecdote of the travelling or hunting adventure.

Both cycling and paraphrase, on the other hand, are very characteristic of both explanatory and hortatory texts. The development of the
global theme seems to almost inch forward at times, as it were. There
may be sentences containing series of clauses which are paraphrases of
each other, but where each adds a little new information each time.
Sentence (1) in example 476 exhibits such. It can also be seen in ex-
ample 476 that each new sentence contains a paraphrase or summary of
part of a previous sentence, mostly of the sentence immediately prior
to it. Sentence (2) summarizes Sentence (1) with a setting clause, but
Sentences (3) and (4) paraphrase portions of Sentences (2) and (1) re-
spectively via result clauses. The following example is one complete
short text.

476. (1) /\tan ?iinan yuk ?ump-ant?an / \tan ?iinan work ?i'y-ant?an
          3P this tree cut-3PPres 3P this work go-3PPres
tree cut-3PPres all.the.time day another-Rd-Seq mango
          yuk ?iinanjan ?ump-ant?an \tan-an? / (2) /k?/k·-?i-ant?an
          tree these out-3PPres 3P-Acc fall-Trz-3PPres
          \tan-an? / ?e·n-am-a? / ?an-a pu?-a  yim-yiman?am  / 3P-Acc-Def what-Scr-Seq that-Rhy because-Rhy Rd-manner
          wantj ?alpan ?onam wa?am ma·k-an /   pu?-a  ?anan
          woman sick one almost tread.3SPst-Acc branch that
          pip / (3) /yuk-?an-a  ?apan may-a?-am  ?a?  
broke.3SPst  tree-Def-Rhy heavy food-Erg-Emph shwt.3SPst
          pu?-a / n?npa\l  ya·ka?  ?e·n  / yuk-?an-iy  tu/t /   for-Ind therefore maybe what tree-Def-Top broke.3SPst
          (4) /\tan pu?-n?npa?lan yuk ?iinanjan pup-ant?an \tan-an? / \a\a·?
          3P so therefore tree these out-3PPres 3P-Acc day
          ton-ton-an?-an-iy /  ?an-a pu?-a\k way yul ?e·n
          another-Rd-Temp-Def-Top that-Rhy so place bad Temp what
          ?alpan \a\k ma·k /  wun-an-an-an-iy /  n?npa?lan
          sick.ones etc. tread.3SPst lie-Nomz-Temp-Def-Top therefore
          ?ump-ant?an /
          cut-3PPres

(1) They are chopping trees here; this is the work they go to;
they cut down trees all the time; every day they cut down
these mango trees.
(2) They fell them, why? Because it was like this — one sick
person was almost crushed when that branch broke.
(3) The branch was heavy, and loaded with fruit, and so maybe
from what? — from that, the branch broke.
(4) Therefore they chop down these trees, every day, for other-
wise the place would be dangerous and sick people lying there
would be crushed. Therefore they cut them down.

Another text, which is on the subject of stopping fighting, is in-
teresting in that each new paragraph is tied back to the preceding one
by a repetition or paraphrase of at least one, sometimes more, of the
main ideas of the previous paragraph. This is sometimes the discourse
theme, but sometimes other points are paraphrased as well. An English
translation of the outline of the main point follows. (Each new idea
introduced into the discourse is labelled by a different letter of the alphabet, and each paraphrase or summary of a previous idea is labelled with the same letter plus an apostrophe.) Another point of interest about this text is that it contains no subordinate clauses of any kind, either grammatical or phonological. Most hortatory texts contain some subordinate clauses such as condition and reason, and explanatory texts are especially characterized by subordinate clauses of reason and result.

477. Par. 1. The Old Year has gone, and we've entered the New
   Let's forget our anger
   We're in the New Year
   Let's leave our anger behind
   We're in the New Year.

Par. 2. What [about it]? (Rhetorical question)
   I'm telling you, what do you think — shall we fight for ever?
   I'm telling you, let's leave it!
   We're in the New Year.

Par. 3. Let's leave our anger. Stop it!
   And the sorrow of last year (they've gone to heaven, let's not think about it).

Par. 4. Listen!
   Let's leave our anger
   Our children are starting to copy us.

Par. 5. We've entered the New Year now
   I'm saying to you, let's leave our anger
   Tonight let's think — who is it you love — God or the devil?
   The devil didn't die for us, or come as a child for us, Jesus did, not the devil.

Par. 6. Who is it you love?
   You must choose — no-one chooses for you — you choose yourselves
   Who is it you love?
   There are two, who do you love? Jesus died for us, not that devil.

Par. 7. I'm saying this to you
   You must choose — others won't choose for you
   Let's consider and go happily.
10.5 CONCLUSION

The suggestion of writing probability vectors into presuppositions where relevant was given in Section 4.3 as part of the discussion on fronting. This basically stems from ideas presented by Labov (1969). When one comes to analyse whole discourses, strong tendencies, such as have been discussed in this chapter, should not be ignored. While I have not applied the idea of probability weighting in this monograph beyond fronting, it could well become an important part of practical discourse analysis.
CHAPTER 11

THE SEMANTIC COMPONENT AND THEMATIC CHOICE

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Two assumptions underlie this chapter: that the semantic component should have discourses for starting points and not be restricted to sentences; and that thematic decisions need to be represented in the semantic component.

11.2 THE NEED FOR A SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF DISCOURSE

I have accepted the position of the generative semanticists that language is a system that maps from meaning to sound, or from content to form; and further that (Landerman and Frantz 1972:50):

...this assumes that there are formal objects (semantic structures) which directly represent at least those components of possible messages which are reflected in the corresponding expressions of those messages.

McCawley (for example 1971:285) and others have claimed that semantic structures have the same formal nature as syntactic structures, and so can be similarly represented by phrase structure trees. There has also been the recognition that semantic structure has correlates with logical rules, providing that logic is taken in a broad enough sense to include not only inference but also other relationships between sentences (McCawley 1971:285-6). Lakoff therefore proposed the term "logical structure" instead of semantic structure and this has been taken up by others such as Frantz (1973:6).

Further assumptions of generative semanticists which I have accepted include the claim that there is a single system of rules which relate semantic structures and surface structures via intermediate stages. (McCawley 1971:285). And further, in the words of Landerman and Frantz (1972:51):
It now is possible to define the grammar of a language as the set of constraints, or limitations, on what is a possible derivation from content (Logical Structure) to expression (Surface Structure) in that language.

However, while the theory of generative semantics probably displays no real in-built restriction to sentence grammar, in practice in their formalizations of semantic structure, most generative semanticists seem to have carried on the self-imposed restriction of generative grammar to sentences (for example Lakoff 1971a; McCawley 1968; Hope 1974). Certainly the dependencies obvious in sentences due to the context of surrounding sentences or the discourse as a whole have been recognized. But these dependencies have been handled mainly by including within the semantic representation of a sentence notions such as presupposition and focus (see summary of Lakoff’s proposals in Sec. 2.2.5).

Hendricks has made the following statement (1972:83-4):

A growing number of linguists are becoming convinced that the various strategies devised to handle (rather by-pass) dependencies result in a distortion or impoverishment of the phenomena in question. They are convinced that phenomena such as deixis, anaphora, pronominalization, etc. cannot adequately be dealt with unless linguistic analysis is extended beyond the sentence. They recognize interdependencies between sentence and discourse that justify such an extension.

I count myself amongst that growing number of linguists. For generative semanticists, this implies a semantic component which can handle the representation of whole discourses as well as sentences. Amongst those who have been vocal about this point are Dressler (1970) and Grimes (1968, 1972a, 1975). Dressler concentrates on illustrating how anaphora in dialogue cannot be handled by sentence grammar. He goes on to claim (1970:206-7) that modality should belong to the discourse level rather than to the sentence level. His proposed tree structure of discourse, reproduced below in Figure 32, shows units which he calls periods immediately dominated by discourse (although he recognizes that there are other large entities). He states that periods are held together by the same modality, and derived from the same abstract verb respectively. He claims further (1970:207):

These periods have other common features as well, such as in tense, aspect, word order, intonation, which should all be predicted by a full-fledged semantic deep structure.

Wik-Munkan provides several arguments which can be added to those of Dressler's to point out the need for a semantic representation which is not restricted to sentences. Firstly, there is the way in which, throughout the discourse, the topic suffix -iy is very often suffixed to phrases referring to participants or settings which are part of the global theme (Sec. 6.8). Secondly, there is the way in which the global theme or its refinement may be restated almost as a refrain between the
paragraphs of some discourses (Sec. 6.6). Neither of these two features makes any sense apart from reference to the global theme. Linguists who concentrated on sentence grammar have been criticized by Hendricks (1972:83) thus: "Their attitude was that beyond the sentence there were only other sentences." It is good that this attitude is on the wane. In a discourse the same weight cannot be given to all sentences. The sentence which contains the global theme in Wik-Munkan, for instance, obviously has a quite different status and communicative function than other sentences in the discourse. It holds the key to many of the dependencies of other sentences. The sentences which contain the restatements of the global theme or its refinement are of a different order again. They do not necessarily show any close semantic or grammatical cohesion with the sentences contiguous to them, but relate back to the global theme.

The fact that temporal words and phrases which receive -àn-iy-a? fronting in Wik-Munkan have application over a paragraph-like stretch (Sec. 7.4.1.1) is another argument in favour of a semantic component which extends beyond the sentence. Again, the tendency for sentences which convey background information to have lowered pitch level (Sec. 8.2.1) only makes sense in relation to the mainstream of the discourse, for a sentence describing events may be background information in an explanatory discourse, while on the other hand, a sentence conveying a description may be background information in a narrative discourse.

Wik-Munkan evidence also supports Dressler's arguments that modality, tense and aspect belong to the discourse level, or at least to larger entities than the sentence within the discourse. The dominating tense of narratives, for instance, is past (Sec. 6.1.1), while the dominating aspect of procedures is habitual (Sec. 6.1.3). Conversation, or background or collateral material embedded within a discourse (Sec.
5.2.1) may be in a different tense or aspect, but that should not prevent us making the dominating tense or aspect a higher predicate of the semantic representation of the discourse.

The formalization which Grimes (1975:186) has proposed as being equally adequate for discourses as well as sentences, and for any units which might lie in between, has been already outlined in Section 2.2.5. This is recaptured here briefly.

\[ F + \text{P} \text{F} \text{A} \text{x} \text{\text{A}o} \]

\[ A + \text{i} (\text{F}) \]

His distinction between lexical predicates and rhetorical predicates has also been mentioned in Section 2.2.5 and discussed further in Sections 7.3 and 9.1.3. Grimes includes setting and identificational predicates amongst his list of hypotactic rhetorical predicates (1975: 218).

I am accepting Grimes' formalization as a starting point for the discussion in the rest of this chapter.

11.3 THE NEED FOR THEMATIC DECISIONS TO BE REPRESENTED IN THE SEMANTIC COMPONENT

Let us look first at the following five examples which are similar in content.

478. /ka\text{t} kun tj-a\text{g}-an p\text{u}k ma\text{n}j p(\text{p}\text{i}\text{-}\text{p})\text{p}\text{-}\text{an} nu\text{n} /
   mother own-Erg-Def child small mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc
   The mother looks after the child.

479. /ka\text{t} kun tj-a\text{g}-an-iy-a\text{?} / p\text{u}k ma\text{n}j p(\text{p}\text{i}\text{-}\text{p})\text{p}\text{-}\text{an} nu\text{n} /
   mother own-Erg-Def-Top-Seq child small mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc
   As for the mother, she looks after the child.

480. /p\text{u}k ma\text{n}j-\text{a}\text{n}-iy-a\text{?} / ka\text{t} kun tj-a\text{g}-an p(\text{p}\text{i}\text{-}\text{p})\text{p}\text{-}\text{an} nu\text{n} /
   child small-Def-Top-Seq mother own-Erg-Def mind-Rd-3SPres
   3SAcc
   As for the child, the mother looks after him.

481. /ka\text{t} kun tj-a\text{g}-an p(\text{p}\text{i}\text{-}\text{p})\text{p}\text{-}\text{an} nu\text{n} / p\text{u}k ma\text{n}j-\text{a}\text{n}-iy /
   mother own-Erg-Def mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc child small-Def-Top
   The mother looks after him, that child.

482. /ka\text{t} kun tj-a\text{g}-an-iy p(\text{p}\text{i}\text{-}\text{p})\text{p}\text{-}\text{an} nu\text{n} / p\text{u}k ma\text{n}j-\text{a}\text{n} /
   mother own-Erg-Def-Top mind-Rd-3SPres 3SAcc child small-Def
   The mother looks after the child.

The content of these five examples could all be represented by the following underlying semantic structure:
This, however, does not account for at least three things. One is the relationship of these sentences to information already given in the discourse. In examples 478 and 479, pu\textit{k manj child} is most likely new information, as it lacks the definite suffix -\textit{an}. All other references to participants in the examples are most likely given information as they are suffixed for definiteness. These examples are of what Grimes has called the system of cohesion, which "has to do with the way information mentioned in speech relates to information that is already available" (Grimes 1975:272). The other two things not accounted for both relate to \textit{thematization} (called \textit{staging} by Grimes). The \textit{mother} is the unmarked clause theme of example 478, but the marked sentence theme of example 479. The \textit{child}, on the other hand, is marked sentence theme of examples 480 and 481, foregrounded in 480, and as a reminder in 481. In example 482 \textit{child} occurs again as a reminder, this time as marked clause theme. The third thing to notice is that in example 482, the phrase referring to \textit{mother} is suffixed with -\textit{iy}, but not set off in a separate information block. This is most likely an indication that the mother is part of the global theme, and therefore noun phrases referring to her may be suffixed with -\textit{iy} (topic) throughout the discourse, whether the phrase is in a separate information block or not (see Sec. 6.8).

These five examples, then, show the same semantic content organized differently in surface structure due to decisions concerning thematicization, and factors relating to cohesion. The latter is important, but is not discussed further, except as it relates to thematicization.

Grimes (1975:324) gives two English examples of a similar phenomenon:

\begin{itemize}
\item 483. \textit{My dog has fleas.}
\item 484. \textit{Fleas my dog has.}
\end{itemize}

He then goes on to say:

\begin{quote}
It is evident that thematic choice is independent of content structure; both the examples in the preceding paragraph have the same predicates and arguments.
\end{quote}
It is evident that somehow the speaker's thematic decisions need to be represented within, or superimposed upon, the semantic structure of the content of the discourse. Grimes' ideas (1975:334) about this are quoted below, although it must be remembered that to date they are programmatic and have not been worked out in practice.

It is quite possible that both cohesion and staging, though ultimately not dependent on content structure, are projected on it. For example, the decision to talk about a particular referent could be expressed by attaching a predicate \textit{topic} to the index of that referent. This then implies that the ordinary transformations of language operate on a representation of the result of linking content, cohesion, and staging together into a single structure, while an earlier set of transformations whose form has not yet even been sketched operates on the separate representations to link them.

Sgall (1967:210) also quotes pairs of sentences, this time from Czech, which differ only in functional sentence perspective (FSP) (for a discussion of FSP see Sec. 2.2.1).

485. "\textit{Na Moravě žijí Češi}
\textit{Moravia is inhabited by Czechs.}
486. \textit{Češi žijí na Moravě}
\textit{Czechs live in Moravia.}"

As a result of such pairs of sentences, Sgall goes on to assert (1967:211):

...FSP should be incorporated in the description of the competence of language users, for instance in a form making it possible to distinguish the position of a component in FSP in any case where there is an opportunity to choose the order of elements.

He also has suggestions concerning the process of generating propositions where FSP is taken into account. Talking of sentences, he says (1967:211) that rather than a proposition beginning with a symbol corresponding to the notion of sentence, it could begin with a lexeme which is chosen as the theme of the sentence. The derivation then proceeds with the attachment of another word to the phrase so derived. The former is then rhematic in respect to the first phrase. In a later article, Sgall and Hajčová (1970:29) suggest that the relationship between topic and comment can be formalized by means of the performative.

Certainly, the relation of the topic to the other elements of a sentence does not equal to [sic] the relation between different elements of the comment. It would be possible to take structures as \textit{He told me about John that S} (where John must be mentioned in S) as a starting point and to conceive the performative matrix sentence as e.g. \textit{I declare to you about NP that S} (where NP with an identical referential index is contained in S).

I have already used this idea to some extent in Chapter 4, where Figures 11, 12, 13, and 14 show some starting ideas for formalizing fronting, tagging, rhetorical questions and cycling respectively.
In Section 11.4 I discuss the representation of thematic choices involving information from the nucleus. The ideas of Grimes and Sgall are further used and discussed.

11.4 THE REPRESENTATION OF THEMATIC CHOICES FROM THE NUCLEUS

The quotation from Grimes given in Section 11.3 includes the suggestion that the feature *topic* could be attached to part of the content tree. In another paper (1972a:16) he illustrates this for a lexical predicate (here using the word "prominent" instead of "topic"), but implies that the prominence of an argument of a rhetorical predicate could be indicated in a similar or parallel fashion. His suggestion is reproduced below in Figure 34.

![Figure 34: Feature of prominent attached to an argument of a lexical predicate](image)

This would trigger a topicalization transformation which would yield, I presume, either of the following two sentences in surface structure:

- *With a knife I carved the roast* or
- *I used a knife to carve the roast.*

However, neither this formalization nor that of Sgall and Hajičová's given in Section 11.3 take account of the fact that there is not just one kind of prominence of theme. Throughout this monograph, I have asserted not only that themes have different domains of prominence (Sec. 5.3) but also that they have different kinds of prominence. Prominence, then, becomes a generic term, and the information that a phrase is prominent, or that something is a topic, is not sufficient for a transformation to operate upon. To mark a phrase referring to a participant or participants within a paragraph as prominent, for instance, would mean about six possibilities concerning the final representation in surface structure (Figure 24) and such a statement applies to sentences and clauses as well (Figures 28 and 31). In each of these three flow charts referred to, the presuppositions which accompany some surface structure manifestations of marked theme are summarized, some referring to participants, and others to propositions. Rhetorical questions, for instance, typically have the presupposition of surprise or unusualness.
Propositions which have lowered intonation (providing they do not refer to background information) have the presupposition of being material of a serious or solemn nature. Emphatic pronouns have the presupposition of giving a certain air of exclusiveness. These are just some examples. Not every choice represented in the flow charts is accompanied by a special presupposition. The choices which result in -àn-iy-a? and -àn-a? fronting, and double clause topicalization, for instance, are simply labelled "foregrounding". There is, then, both "ordinary" prominence as well as that which is of a special kind.

When it comes down to the essentials of formalization, I too have ideas which are little more than programmatic. I will start from the point at which there has already been a welding together of the speaker's content, thematic and cohesion decisions into a single representation on which the ordinary transformations of language (as referred to in the quote from Grimes in Sec. 11.3) can operate.

For a start, the global theme and its refinement (Secs. 6.2 and 6.5) are very often outside the main arguments of the rhetorical predicate which represents the underlying organization of a discourse. For instance, the global theme of a travelogue may state briefly who the participants are, and where they went to, but it is not itself an episode (see Figure 17 showing underlying representation of travelogues). Similarly, the global theme of a procedure (see example 252) is not itself one of the steps of the procedure (Sec. 6.1.3). For a narrative, the global theme mainly states who the characters are, and this is usually independent of the first argument (situation) of the response predicate as applied to plots.

The semantic content of the global theme and its refinement (if it has one) needs then to be represented at the top of the tree, as shown in Figure 35 for a narrative.

Each participant referred to within the global theme and its refinement can be indexed. This will indicate two things during the rest of the tree. Firstly, it will indicate that the participant is part of the global theme, and secondly, that he or she is given information. The second will trigger the transformation that suffixes -àn (definite) onto noun phrases, and the first that which may suffix -iy (topic) to phrases throughout the discourse referring to participants which are part of the global theme (Sec. 6.8).

Throughout the rest of the tree representing the semantic structure of the discourse, Sgall and Hajicová's method (Sec. 11.3) for showing the relationship of a topic or theme to the rest of the sentence by stating it within a performative sentence could be adopted for the representation of marked theme from the nucleus. It need not be restricted
to lexemes such as noun phrases, however, nor be restricted to showing the relationship of themes to clauses or sentences. The same mechanism could be used for indicating the prominence of both participants and propositions, either singly or together. It could also be used for a paragraph-like stretch as well as a sentence-like stretch of speech. For instance, example 316 is the beginning of the nucleus information of a paragraph which corresponds to the Consequent argument in the underlying representation of procedures (Figure 18). It is an instance of marked theme of a paragraph where double -àn-iy-a? fronting is the surface manifestation. It could be represented as in Figure 36. The rest of the content of the paragraph has just been represented very simply with approximate English translation, and without all the arguments spelled out. But because a main argument of the underlying representation of a discourse is often represented by a paragraph in surface structure (see Sec. 6.1.1) this representation would trigger a transformation which would bring about double fronting in the surface structure. Double fronting referring to two participants with different roles, on the other hand, could be represented as in Figure 37.

There is no reason why a proposition could not represent the argument of referent. For instance, example 395 could be represented as in Figure 38.
FIGURE 36: UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF DOUBLE -àn-iy-a? FRONTING IN SURFACE STRUCTURE
FIGURE 37: SUGGESTED UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF DOUBLE -àn-iy-a? FRONTING REFERRING TO DIFFERENT PARTICIPANTS

FIGURE 38: SUGGESTED UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF EXAMPLE 395
Because the presupposition of "impressive" has been added in to the argument of the performative predicate which refers to the proposition which is marked theme, this then triggers a transformation which would bring about cycling in the surface structure.

If a combination is involved, such as both a participant and a proposition becoming marked themes of a sentence or paragraph, then these could be shown together in the performative matrix proposition, with any appropriate presuppositions indicated, as in Figure 39 below.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 39: Suggested Underlying Representation of Combination of Participant and Proposition as Marked Theme**

This process may become particularly complicated at the beginning of paragraphs. If the paragraph begins with two foregrounded phrases, one of which has a domain of prominence over the paragraph and the other mainly over the first sentence of the paragraph, then ordering rules are necessary, as the former typically come first. These can be represented as below. I will assume that the transformational rules assigning -àn-iy-a? and -àn-a? suffixation have already taken place.

\[
\text{Paragraph} \rightarrow X \ NP-àn-iy-a? \ NP-àn-a? \ Y
\]

### 11.5 Setting and Periphery and the Semantic Component

Grimes has suggested (1975:218) the following solution for representing setting predicates in relation to the semantic structure of discourse:

- Setting predicates of LOCATION, TIME, and DIRECTION are added in as extra arguments, like any hypotactic predicate, to the proposition that dominates everything that goes on within a single setting.

This may be a good solution. However, I have some aversion to putting setting predicates in the same category formulation-wise as other
hypotactic predicates such as "specific" and "attributive" which belong to the nucleus area of information.

In Section 5.2.1 I have distinguished three kinds, or areas of information in Wik-Munkan texts, and stated that it is possible to distinguish themes operating in each of these areas. The way in which these are distinguished is discussed in Chapters 6-9.

I prefer to represent both setting themes and peripheral themes as higher predicates. Landerman and Frantz (1972:123 ff.) have treated negation, tense, and adverbials as higher predicates of what would be equivalent to Grimes' lexical predicates. The transformation of predicate raising brings about the correct surface structure. For instance, the following tree shows negation as a predicate which takes the whole proposition as its argument. The example is from Blackfoot, a language of North America (Landerman and Frantz 1972:124-5).

When the transformation of predicate raising is carried out, the following tree results:

The rationale behind this formalization is that negation, as well as tense, adverbials and perhaps mood also, say something about the whole utterance; that is, they have scope over the whole proposition. For tense, this refers to the time of the event; for mood, to the speaker's attitude about the event, and so on.

Landerman and Frantz also ask the question: "Given that both tense and negative are higher predicates, which of the two is higher?" (1972:158). They choose tense as the higher for the following reasons:
If tense is a relation of the time talked about to the time of the speech act, it would appear that tense tends to be more of a setting of the stage for that which is declared, while negation is an integral part of the declaration.

I have said earlier in this chapter (Sec. 11.2) that I agree with Dressler that tense and modality more properly belong to the discourse or large entities within it. Such a representation would achieve greater generality in comparison with attaching tense as the higher predicate of individual lexical predicates (unless these represent embedded information such as relative clauses or complements; or subordinate clauses, or such like). This does not destroy Landerman and Frantz' concept of higher predicates, however; it is rather a case of applying it to larger blocks of language than they have illustrated in their book.

It seems that setting and peripheral themes both fit into the concept of higher predicates. Peripheral themes would be the higher of the two, as they are the furthest removed from being an integral part of the content. Both could be represented, where relevant, as higher predicates of the global theme. Further references within a text to the periphery and a locative setting which may be constant for the whole discourse then become cases of agreement.

With temporal setting, however, and corresponding spatial setting, it is a different story. As stated earlier (Sec. 7.2.2.1) major temporal change is the most important indication of a new paragraph for some discourse genres, as its scope, or domain of prominence is relevant throughout a paragraph-like stretch. It then can be represented as a higher predicate over the rhetorical predicate which represents the underlying organization of a given stretch of speech which is most likely to correspond to a paragraph in surface structure. Temporal words and phrases which in surface structure have -àn-ìy-a? fronting (Sec. 7.4.1.1) as well as punctiliar and continuous setting clauses which have domain over paragraphs (Secs. 7.4.1.3 and 7.4.1.4) could be represented in this way. A paragraph which began with a punctiliar setting clause, and then went on to content organized by the rhetorical predicate of result, could have its setting represented as follows:

```
  Setting, Punctiliar       Prop

         Result
           
            Consequent

          Antecedent
```

**FIGURE 42:** UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION OF SETTING AS A HIGHER PREDICATE
Settings which are more minor in domain such as those punctiliar and continuous setting clauses and time words fronted with -àn-a? which have prominence over sentence-like stretches (Secs. 8.4.1, 8.4.2 and 8.4.3) also can be represented as higher predicates over the propositions to which they apply.

Non-thematic settings (Sec. 7.4.1.5) can be represented as higher predicates also, but in these cases the transformations concerned would incorporate the setting elements as part of the first clause of the sentence. Where setting and periphery are thematic, the following order obtains for a paragraph.

Paragraph + Periphery Setting Nucleus

Thematic peripheral elements typically do not occur with sentences and so the order for them is simply:

S + Setting Nucleus.
CONCLUSION

In this monograph I have demonstrated the means available to a Wik-Munkan speaker to present and develop the themes of a discourse. It has been asserted that themes operate in different areas of discourse, namely, the nucleus, setting and periphery. It has also been asserted that there are several thematic levels operating simultaneously, and these have been illustrated from the global themes of discourses through to themes of clauses. Both marked and unmarked themes at each level have been described; it has also been shown that there is not just one kind of prominence available to the speaker via marked themes, but several. The conclusions drawn from Wik-Munkan have been related to the Prague School ideas on theme and rheme, illustrated mainly by Czech; Halliday's work on theme in English clauses; and Grimes' and Longacre's ideas about discourse from their studies of several languages in different parts of the world. Some programmatic ideas have been given on formalization.

This monograph has also shown however that a great deal more work needs to be done on the topic of thematic organization. It is my hope that this study will contribute something to the still insufficiently charted seas of this subject, and also provide a useful stimulus for further studies on Australian Aboriginal languages relating to discourse and theme.

In Prague School terminology, I have concentrated on theme, but said very little about the other side of the coin, namely, rheme. Studies on the relationship of these two as applied to discourse would be most valuable.

Also, a great deal more work needs to be carried out concerning formalization of the underlying representation of both the content and thematic decisions of discourse. Studies relating to this are likely to form a major part of future analyses of discourse.
APPENDIX A: INTONATION PATTERNS AND OSCILLOGRAPH EXAMPLES

This appendix includes two tables, giving details of intonation-carrying clitics and intonation patterns respectively. Both tables represent summaries of the work of Sayers (1976a). Some oscillograph examples of intonation patterns follow the tables. The full line represents pitch variation, and the dotted line intensity variation of utterances. A base line has been drawn in to aid interpretation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation Carrier</th>
<th>Pitch Level or Glide</th>
<th>Loudness Shape</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Abbreviations Used</th>
<th>Simplified Symbols used throughout monograph</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. -a (^1) (\approx #1)</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>steady</td>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>Ind</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. -à(?^3)</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>steady</td>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td>Seq</td>
<td>-à?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3. -à\(^3\) \& -ey\(^3\) | high-low | crescendo-decrescendo | Tag Question | Tag | -à  
| | high-low | crescendo-decrescendo | -ey |
| 4. -a\(^2\) \(\approx \#2\) | mid | steady | Interrogative | Int | -a' |
| 5. -è: \(^3\) \& -à: \(^3\) | high-low | crescendo-decrescendo | Fleading or Desiderative | Des | -è  
| | high-low | crescendo-decrescendo | -à |
| 6. -à: : \(^3\) | high | steady | Continued Action | Cont | -a'' |
| 7. -àw\(^3\) | high-low | crescendo | Extreme Emphasis | Emph | -aw |

**TABLE 1: INTONATION-CARRYING CLITICS**

(Note: \# etc. refers to variation with absence of clitic)
# A. NEUTRAL PITCH LEVEL AND NEUTRAL PITCH RANGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.                 | #¹       | a) Termination of Sentences  
b) Non-final clause in paraphrase sentence  
c) Non-final clause preceding appositional phrase  
d) Listing following verb |
| 2.                 | -a       | same usages as for 1 |
| 3.                 | -a?      | a) Non-final clauses of sequence sentences  
b) Listing  
c) Content-interrogatives |
| 4.                 | -à       | Tag questions  
-ey |
| 5.                 | #²       | a) Yes/No questions  
b) Content-interrogatives |
| 6.                 | -a’      | same usages as for 5 |
| 7.                 | #¹² used with question particle ?ey | a) Yes/No questions  
b) Polite questions |

**TABLE 2: INTONATION PATTERNS**

(continued on next page)
B. ELEVATED PITCH LEVEL AND COMPRESSED PITCH RANGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>#¹</td>
<td>a) Simultaneous Sentences (including Topicalized Clauses*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Conditional Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Concession Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Same usages as for 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>-a?</td>
<td>a) Same usages as for 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Sentence Topic (-àn-ìy-a? fronting*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) Imperative Sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) Introductory time clauses (including Setting Clauses*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>(-ê· -a·)</td>
<td>Pleading or desiderative one-clause sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>#²</td>
<td>Polite questions (optionally followed by question particle ?ey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>-a··</td>
<td>Used with non-final clauses indicating continuous action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* represents terminology used in this monograph

Table 2 Continued

(continued on next page)
C. LOWERED PITCH LEVEL AND NEUTRAL PITCH RANGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>#(^1)</td>
<td>a) Relative Clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b) Used for an aside which is within or follows another clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c) May be used on preposed and postposed quote formulas of quotation sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d) Final Clause of sentences where first clause indicates continuous action (see 13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Same usages as for 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>-a(^?)</td>
<td>May occur on initial quote formulas providing following quote is emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>#(^2)</td>
<td>Used for embedded rhetorical question clauses which have non-co-ordinative and non-sequential relationship to preceding clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>#(^{12}) used with question particle ?ey</td>
<td>May occur following rhetorical question clause as described for 17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Continued

(continued on next page)
### D. NEUTRAL PITCH LEVEL AND EXPANDED PITCH RANGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intonation pattern</th>
<th>Terminal</th>
<th>Major Grammatical Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>#1</td>
<td>Used on phonological clauses conveying extreme emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>Same usages as for 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>-a?</td>
<td>Same usages as for 3 (Figure 2) but conveys extreme emphasis also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>-(\lambda)</td>
<td>Emphatic Tag Questions (compare 4, Figure 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>-aw</td>
<td>Same usages as for 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>#2</td>
<td>Same usages as for 5 (Figure 2) but conveys extreme emphasis also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>-a(^3)</td>
<td>Same usages as for 6 (Figure 2) but conveys extreme emphasis also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>#3 ((\text{high and steady}))</td>
<td>Negative emphatic statements</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2 Continued*
Yes, and after that, I said to her, "You stand here still, and watch!"

Illustrates (1) -àn-iy-a? fronting on a temporal demonstrative
(2) Sequence intonation used with an imperative clause
(3) First clause with indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
As for that other bad one, the one who'd drunk beer, that man, that driver, he had his nose cut with glass.

Illustrates (1) Concentration of fronting at the beginning of a paragraph
(2) Sentence closing with indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
As for that other driver, he had drunk beer.

Illustrates -àn-iy-a? fronting

As we were driving along the road, those two cars ran into each other.

Illustrates (1) Topicalized clause

(2) Sentence closing with indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
e) For the truck will crush them to death.

Illustrates (1) -an-iy tagging
(2) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
(3) Phrase before verb taking intonation centre of clause

f) And what happened to those two [cars]? Those cars got smashed, in the front.

Illustrates (1) A rhetorical question
(2) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
But when we came, they opened their mouths wide in astonishment at us, our relatives did.

Illustrates (1) Emphatic word taking intonation centre of sentence (ţa·ʔ-am)
(2) -án tagging
(3) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)

And then he really came with the plane, Michael came.

Illustrates (1) Downdrift in pitch of clauses in sequence
(2) First clause with secondary intonation centre (pa·m)
(3) Indicative intonation (absence of clitic)
I lived in the bush, at the place called Kencharang, Michael came in the plane and flew high above us, and dropped a message to us by means of a bottle.

Illustrates (1) Clauses in sequence, each slightly lower in pitch
(2) Topicalized clause (first clause)
(3) Intonation centre of clause occurring on phrase immediately before verb
(4) Secondary intonation centre of clause (kenj)
Two texts are included in this Appendix. The first (B.I.) "New Guinea Film Review", was told by Mrs Topsy Walmby, a middle-aged Wik-Munkan speaker. The story was told when Mrs Walmby was in Papua New Guinea in 1970, assisting at a linguistic workshop. While there, she saw a film one evening which pictured one tribe's method of preparing for childbirth and of caring for the child afterwards. This text was told on tape for the purpose of telling her relatives back home about the film. The text is an example of a "mixture" (Sec. 6.1) – that is, it does not clearly belong to just one discourse genre. It shows some features of both procedures and explanations, although the tense is past, as is common for both narratives and travelogues.

The second text (B.II.) "The Snake", was told some years ago by Desmond Kawangka to one of the linguists at Aurukun. Mr Kawangka is also a middle-aged Wik-Munkan speaker. The text is a narrative, and is a traditional story.

The alphabetical letters convey the start of a new paragraph, while the numerals indicate sentences.
B.I. NEW GUINEA FILM REVIEW

A. (1) ?inan-a wâ-'aŋ ni-y-ant-a / wik kaṭ wantj-a thia-Rhy tell-ISPut 2P-Ref-Ind word old woman-Rhy
țonam-antâm-a // a-k ?in pûnjtjan-antâm-a / a-k one-Src-Ind place this tribal.country-Src-Ind place-Rhy
yoyk ?atăjantân-ân wûn-tân // New Guinea woman //
mountain high-Def live-3PPres New Guinea woman

B. (2) nil-iý wantj wey-a? ?i·mpan-aŋ // nil-a ɲe·n-a? / a-k-a 3S-Top woman Comp-Seq belly-with 3S-Rhy what-Seq place-Rhy
țak we?-a? / wak-a țák-ân țak-a? / a-k-a etc. dig.3SPst-Seq grass-Rhy also-Def òwsep.3SPst-Seq place-Rhy
tjil ɲûl-ân mítj-ât-a? / may țak ka-kâ·mp
sand Temp-Def soft-Trz-Seq Carb etc. Rd-plant.3SPst
nuŋ-ant-akam-an // (3) nil nuŋkwey ?i·mpan-aŋ-a? / nil-a 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def 3S even.though belly-with-Seq 3S-Rhy
kankânam work ?i·y-?i·y / keʔ-am nji-nji·n / muńkanim ?ànmâń
truly work go-Rd.3SPst VNeg-Emph Rd-sit-3SPst always only
?i·y-?i·y wey //
go-Rd.3SPst Comp

C. (4) ?i·y-?i·y-a· / țîp-ân-a? tjil piʔan ɲul / a-k-ân-a?
go-Rd.3SPst-Cont belly-Seq little big Temp time-Def-Seq
țîŋ kan-ɲul wamp-ânt wey / pûk-ânt kal-ow //
close Punct-Temp come-3SPst-Ref Comp child-Def bear-3SPst

moon one-Temp Temp-Ind thrw.3SPst-Seq same.time-Seq
kan-ɲul ?i·mpan pek-ow-an // (6) nil-a wantj-a kampan
Punct-Temp belly pain-3SPst-Def 3Coll-Rhy woman-Rhy relative
3SAj-Poss Rd-that.Erg-Top Long-sew 3PPst 3SAj-Ref
CJ try.3SPst-Seq waist-Loc-Seq leg knee-Rhy down just
?uk-ant yîiwâ-ʈ-ân // (7) nil țon kampan
desendir.3SPst-Ref grass.kirt-Def 3S another relative
3SAj-Poss woman-Rhy one-Erg-Def-Seq cut-Rd.3SPst-Ref knee-Loc-Emph
?ânmâń / we nt- an-am ì ta-a? min-min ?ump-ant / ʔa? kan
there same turn-Nomz-Src Ìnts good-Rd out.3SPst-Ref CJ Punct
wun-ant ɲul // (8) nil-a wey work ?ánmâń ?i·y-ʔi·y / may
lie.3SPst-Ref Temp 3S-Rhy Comp work only go-Rd.3SPst Carb
ka-kâ·mp
nuŋ-ant-akam-an-iy //
Rd-plant.3SPst 3SAj-Ref-Refl-Def-Top

E. (9) kep kân-ân țeʔ-ʔa? / ?an-a kan-ɲul ɲe·tjan
moon Punct-Def thrw.3SPst-Seq then-Rhy Punct-Temp feel.3SPst
nil-âń-iy wantj-ân / ?i·mpan pe-pek-an manj-manj //
3S-Def-Top woman-Def belly Rd-pain.3SPst-Acc small-Def
(10) nil yîpâk-a? / work ?ánmâń ?i·y-ʔi·y // (11) piʔan-aŋ
3S yet-Seq work only go-Rd.3SPst big-Erg
pul  maiden い- a? / ね- な- a? / tip
wom an small い- a? / 3SPst
nun あ- a- an- a- / ？あんま- an- a / ？あん
IPExclPst 3SAcc film-Loc-Def-Ind there.same Comp mind-Rd.3SPst

pul  maiden い- a? / ね- な- a? / tip
wom an small い- a? / 3SPst
nun あ- a- an- a- / ？あんま- an- a / ？あん
IPExclPst 3SAcc film-Loc-Def-Ind there.same Comp mind-Rd.3SPst
I. (31) ka·t-a  kuntj-an iy mú·ntj-mú·ntj-àt-an-a?
      mother-Rhy own-Erg-Def-Top wash-Rd-Trz. 3SPst-Acc-Seq
pá·tj-àt-an-a?  kan·nul  koyam kal-an
      clean-Trz. 3SPst-Acc-Seq Punct-Temp back carry. 3SPst-Acc
go·kal manj-a núng-ant-am·àk  tà·kanak-àn // (32) nil
      wantj kampan nun-antam tãoam-àn-àn iy-a? / may pi·?an
      woman relative 3SAJ-Poss one-Erg-Def-Top-Seq Carb big
kà·mp-ant-a /  ka?  ngàmp-àn  kà·mp-anamp-a
      plant. 3SPst-Ref-Ind like(CJ) IPIncl-Def bury-IPInclPres-Rhy
mi·n-a may-a? / yìmânan-àn  tàn ?iğan iy  ?a·k
      Prô-Rhy Carb-Seq like. this-Def 3P there. in-Top place
kà·mp-ant-an / mi·n-a may // (33) kenj-àŋ·k-an-iy-a?
      bury-3PPres Prô-Rhy Carb high-at-Def-Top-Seq
kàŋ̄k  nën-antam-a' / may bânana-ant àn kàŋ/k
      leaves what-Src-Int Carb bânana-Src leaves put-3PPres
kà·mp-ant-an kann-ant-an / ka?  ngàmp  ?ànmann  ?a·k
      bury-3PPres cover-3PPres like(CJ) IPIncl same. way place
wùn  yìmânan-àn // (34) may yot-a  kàl-ant
      lie. 3SPst like. this-Def Carb lots-Rhy carry. 3SPst-Ref
pùl  manj ?álantan-iy-a / pùt me·tj  njì-njì'n
      young. mother small that. Ref-Top-Ind for hungry Rd-sit. 3SPst
wey-a // (35) pùk  mánj-àn  kàl-a?  pa·l
      Comp-Ind child small-Def carry. 3SPst-Seq therefore
ní·l-àn me·tj // (36) mày-àn-a  munk-munk  tà·? a·n-ànnam
      3S-Def hungry food-Def-Rhy eat-Rd. 3SPst Ìnts Rd-there
kùyam pi·?  wey munk-munk / me·tj-a //
      used. to. mind. 3SPst Comp eat-Rd. 3SPst hungry-Ind
J. (37) ?ànplàñ-an-iy-a?  wa·ŋk-an  tèntj-an-a?
      from. there-Top-Seq string. bag-Loc hide. 3SPst-Acc-Seq
kan·nul  kàl-òw-an  koyam pì·p·iy-ant-àn-a
      Punct-Temp carry-3SPt-Def back father-Empth-Ref-Def-Rhy
tà·k-àk-àn // (38) wa·ŋk-an  wùn-wùn-a?  mònkàn-àn
      place-GL-Def string. bag-Loc lie-Rd. 3SPst-Seq nape. of. neck-
      wa·ntj / ke?  way min ke·nk  wantjìnt  ngàmp-àfàm-àn
      Loc hang. 3SPst like(CJ) bad good long. ago old. lady IPIncl-Poss-Def
kàl-ìn-a? / may wàtiy tàk-àn  wa·ŋk-an  mònkàn-àn
      carry-3PPst-Seq Carb yams etc.-Def string. bag-Loc nape. of. neck-Loc
?ùk·?ùk-a  yìmânan-àn // (39) tàn-t pùt ?a·k  ?iğan
      descend-Rd. 3SPst-Rhy this. manner-Def 3P-Ref for arrange. place. there.
wùn New Guinea-àŋ·iy wantj-àŋ-a / pùk  manj-a  tàn·tàn-àn
      in là New Guinea-Loc woman- Erg-Rhy child small-Rhy 3P-Poss-Def
tà·k-òg·y-ant-àn-a? / tàn ?ùm-àŋ  ke?  kàl-ant an  ka?
      place-hear-3PPres-Seq 3P chest-Loc VNeg carry-3PPres like(CJ)
ngàmp-àn-a /  tàn-a wa·ŋk-an  tèntj-ant an mònkàn-àn
      IPIncl-Def-Ind 3P-Rhy string. bag-Loc hide-3PPres nape. of. neck-Loc
wa·ntj-ant-an // (40) mà?  ka·?  min·am  pùt kal ant-àn
      hang-3PPres hand nose good-Emph for carry-3PPres
wa·ŋk-an·i-iy-a? /  ke?  ke·k·ant-an-a  pùk  manj-a
      string. bag-Loc-Def-Top-Seq VNeg fall-3PPres-Rhy child small-Rhy
ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

A. (1) I'm going to tell you a story about one woman from this country, where there are high mountains — she's a New Guinean woman.

B. (2) This woman was pregnant, but what did she do? She dug the ground, she swept away the grass, she softened the soil then, and planted food for herself. (3) Even though she was pregnant, she really worked and worked, she didn't sit down, she was always working.

C. (4) She kept on and on [working], and as for her belly, it was getting bigger now, and her time was close for having the child.

D. (5) Then the next month came around, and that was the time for her labour pains to begin. (6) As for those female relatives of hers, they made her a long grass skirt, and she tried it on round her waist, and it came down way below her knees. (7) As for another one of her female relatives, she trimmed it for her, going round at knee level; she trimmed it really evenly, and there it was [ready] for her. (8) She [the woman] only worked and worked, and planted food for herself.

E. (9) After the month was up, she began to feel [labour pains], the woman did, just small labour pains. (10) But she still did nothing but work. (11) Then really big pains came in the middle of the night; those others were all asleep, including her husband. (12) As for her, she picked up a bush torch, like our bush torches. A long time ago, they used to light bush torches in our place, and tie them up in the same way. (13) She went down off by herself with the bush light, for the child to be born to her; she went down close to a valley, where there is a river flowing, there beside that. (14) This place is grassy; we saw it in the film. (15) As for the grass, she cut it and cut it, and cleared the area herself, so that it would be a clean place for the child to be born. (16) She went round pulling up the grass from everywhere, and then she made a hut, covering the top with grass. (17) Their grass here is good, they make huts and small houses like this with grass. (18) They call it kunai grass. We don't have grass like this growing, no; this grass grows in their place.

F. (19) When she had finished making the hut, she worked on the inside then, and did a really good job, all by herself. Not one female relative accompanied her, not one; she did it all by herself. (20) She took a lighted firestick, and gathered [firewood], and
lit a fire; it got hot quickly. (21) Then she sat down alone to have that child. (22) The labour pains came, and then the child was born to her. (23) He was a big male child! — she had a boy — a really handsome child! (24) We saw him in the film — he had big hands and big feet, and she minded him in that same place.

G. (25) We were watching the picture, and that woman, that young mother, what did she do? — she warmed her own belly by the fire, like in the old days in our place, the old women who are now dead — they used to do the same. (26) As for the little child, she minded him in her lap. (27) She cut the cord herself. What with? They cut the cords with bamboo, of their children who are born, — oh yes, that's it, they cut [them] with that bamboo. (28) As for us, in our place a long time ago they used to cut the cords with glass, or some with a mussel, that's how it used to be done for the cords of the children born a long time ago in our place; here they cut the cords of children with bamboo.

H. (29) We kept on watching her minding him all by herself, and the next day, as for the child, the mother took him to the river, and she went down into the water, and there in that really cold water she washed the child, the little boy. (30) He cried and cried, the little child did, the one we saw in the film, that big child, with really fair skin.

I. (31) His mother washed and washed him, and cleaned him, and then she took him back, to her little hut there. (32) One of her female relatives put lots of food in a ground oven for her, just as we put food in a ground oven, both meat and fruits, so they do it here in this place in the same way, for both meat and fruits. (33) On the top, what were the leaves from — they put the leaves of a banana tree there. They put [the food] in, and then cover it, like we do in our place. (34) She carried lots of food to the young mother, for she was hungry. (35) She had borne a child, and therefore she was hungry. (36) She ate and ate that food, she just kept on eating and eating, for she was hungry.

J. (37) After that, she put the child in her stringbag, and went back then to the father [of the child], to the camp. (38) The child was lying in the stringbag, and she hung the bag on her back, like the old women in our place used to carry their things, they used to carry yams etc. in stringbags hanging from their backs in the same way. (39) The women have this custom here in New Guinea. When their children are born, they don't carry them in front like
we do, they put them inside stringbags and carry them behind their back. (40) They carry them cleverly in the stringbags; their children don't fall out from the stringbags, no. (41) She came back to the camp to the child's father, and then she left there. (42) That young mother, she only worked, and planted lots of food.

K. (43) After that, when the child cried, she pulled him up from [inside] the stringbag, and offered him her breast. (44) She didn't take him right out of the stringbag, she just opened the mouth of the bag, and held her breast close to the top of the bag, and the nipple to the child's mouth, and he drank and drank then.

L. (45) We saw him eagerly drinking his mother's milk in the film. (46) After that she hung the bag on her back again and got absorbed in her work, and planted food. (47) As for their bark, it's not like ours — those are not, no. Our bark is hard, we cut it from the messmate tree. (48) Theirs is different. (49) They belt it with stones, and bend it, and then do the other side, like gathering up the sides of a bush dish, — they gather it up, and put it over their heads, and tie it with string, firmly, so that the rain won't wet their children.

M. (50) That's all, that's the end of the story of that child.
B.II. THE SNAKE

A. (1) /pan ke·nk-a ?a·k ?e·p-an-aŋ i·y-i·y / man long.ago-Rhy place crouch-Nomz-Temp go-Rd.3SPst 
knowing-Ind

B. (2) ?i·y-a i·y-a i·y-a i·y-a / ka·ŋentj go.3SPst-Rhy go.3SPst-Rhy go.3SPst-Rhy go.3SPst westely.wind 
put.3SPst westely.wind put.3SPst-Seq cold go-Rd.3SPst

C. (4) ?i·y-y-y-y-y i·y-y-y-a / yuk-a go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst go.3SPst-Seq tree-Rhy 
west-Emph leave.3SPst-Ind place-Def-Top find.3SPst

D. (8) ?i·y-a· ·i· y-a· ·i· y-a· ·i· y-a· · / oppam-amp am ?uw // (9) oppam am ?uw-a? / go.3SPst-Cont middle-Emph find.3SPst middle find.3SPst-Seq 
run-Emph run.3SPst

E. (10) pu·tjam gül ?i·y-a· · / man-a taτ-ey // (11) nį·l-ąn-a? pip pokan paą // (12) máń-ąn 3SPst颈-Def over cover.3SPst neck-Def 
run-Emph run.3SPst-Ind find.3SPst-Top-Seq IS Punct again just run-ISFut-Ind Ints 
say // say.3SPst

F. (13) mo? mo?-a mo?-a? / ke·nk gül-ąn-iį-a? run.3SPst run.3SPst-Rhy run.3SPst-Seq front Temp-Def-Top-Seq 
stand.3SPst Punct-Rhy stand.3SPst somewhere-also hear.3SPst hear.3SPst head-Def-Rhy hear.3SPst also hear.3SPst

(14) yam-pal mut taτ / stand.3SPst Punct-Rhy stand.3SPst somewhere-also noise 
ŋe·y wu............. ŋe·y // (15) kutįk-ąn-a kon tąm-ąn hear.3SPst Onom hear.3SPst head-Def-Rhy ear also-Def 
look.3SPst-Ind Onom-Rd Rdy-Rd say.3SPst head-Def 

(16) kek-a man / look.3SPst-Seq yes here Rd-lie.3S spear-Rhy take.3SPst 
kek way ṭi·n-e·y // (17) kek tɔn mam / spear bad this-Tag another take.3SPst this-Rhy 
way mitj // (18) tɔn mam / spear bad another take.3SPst this bad soft 

(19) tόn-ąn mam-aʔ / ʔaʔ ʔi·n-ąŋ pūŋ-ąn-aŋ-a? / another-Def take.3SPst-Seq CJ this.Inst thrust-ISFut-Seq
yikan-ən-ən / yikan
strong.wattle.spear-Inst-Def strong.wattle.spear Onom

ma·y // (20) tāt-tāt-an-a? / kutjék wa·p ?an
pīck.up.3SPst see-Rd-3SPst-Acc-Seq head brain that

to?anat-an // (21) tā·kaŋ puŋ //
pieree.3SPst-Acc Onom thrust.3SPst

G. (22) nil kan yalam / wu······ / nāt-pāl-ān-ə yāl-ylālam //
3S Punct coil.3SPst Onom far-here-Def-Rhy Rd-coil.3SPst

(23) yalam yalam yalam-a··· / wump nāt-a
coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst-Cont heap far-Rhy
kenj-a··· / nāt kenj-a wun // (24) wun-wun-a / popam
high-Cont far high-Rhy lie.3SPst lie-Rd.3SPst-Seq still
yipakk wun // me·? tjal ?ik / pal pu·y tāt /
yet lie.3SPst eye half.open split.3SPst here there see.3SPst

(25) kan ?onkař-a / kenj ?anan-iy // (26) man-a kan
Punct stretch.3SPst-Ind high that-Top neck-Rhy Punct

(27) pal pu·y-a tāt // there high-Def find.3SPst here there-Rhy look.3SPst

(28) wantj-a pam nāt-ān tāt-a? / ?an mīŋ-āk ?i·y-an //
women-Rhy men far-Def see.3SPst-Seq that PrO-G1 go-3SPFres

(29) ton kuyam tāt / ?an-a we·p wun // (30) ton
another used.to. see.3SPst that-Rhy sleep lie.3SPst another

(30) kuyam tāt / ?an-a may ka?ař inŋ-an-ey //
used.to see.3SPst that-Rhy Carb yam squeeze-3SPst-Tag

(31) gōn-ān tāt-a? / pal pu·y tāt-a? / ?a·kanak
another-Def see.3SPst-Seq here there see.3SPst-Seq there.G1
nāt-ān-iy tāt / popam yīpāk tān yīpāk // (32) me·?
far-Def-Top see.3SPst still yet stand.3SPst yet eye

ka? pek-a? / ?ep-am tāt // (33) ?an / nil pī·m-ān-a
like(CJ) down-CJ Pos-Emph see.3SPst Exclm 3S man-Def-Rhy

(34) tāt tāt-a? / ?inam pek-a wun-ey //
look.3SPst look.3SPst-Seq here.in down-Rhy lie.3SPst-Tag

Punct stretch.3SPst-Ind high that-Top neck-Rhy Punct

(27) pal pu·y-a tāt // there high-Def find.3SPst here there-Rhy look.3SPst

I. (35) kan-a yalam pal-am / yu······ / pal-am
Punct-Rhy coil.3SPst here-towards Onom here-towards

yalam yalam yalam-a? / pek //
coil.3SPst coil.3SPst coil.3SPst-Seq down

(36) yā·?yā·?an-aŋ tū·tj yam-aŋ-a? / tū·tj
Rd-just-Manner crawl.3SPst somewhere-Loc-Seq crawl.3SPst
A. (1) A long time ago a man went out hunting; he didn't know what would happen that day.
B. (2) He kept on going and going, and the westerly wind was blowing. (3) The westerly wind was blowing, and it became cool.
C. (4) He kept on and on and on and on, and then trees began falling down everywhere in pieces, crashing to the ground. (5) "Goodness! What's this crawling along?" he said to himself. (6) And then it was like this, he looked hard, and saw a snake; he found the tail. (7) "I'll follow it!" [he said].
D. (8) He kept on going, and he found the middle part [of the snake]. (9) After he'd found the middle part, he ran on further.
E. (10) He went on again, and he saw the neck, did he? (11) He plastered himself with clay. (12) After he'd found the neck, [he said] "I'll just run on again!" he said to himself.
F. (13) He kept on running, round from the front [from the other direction] and there he stood. (14) From somewhere he heard a noise, "Wooooooooooooo!" he heard; he saw the head, and it had ears too, and it [the snake] was saying "Mal-mal mal-mal!" (15) After he'd seen the head, he thought, "Oh yes, it's here." (16) He grabbed a spear - "This is a spear of poor quality, is it?" [he thought]. (17) He grabbed another [spear] - "This one's no good, it's soft" [he said]. (18) He grabbed another - "This one's no good, it's soft" [he said]. (19) He grabbed another, [and said] "I'll thrust him with this, with this strong wattle spear!" and he picked up the wattle spear swiftly. (20) He steadied his aim [he threw the spear] and made a hole in [the snake's] brain. (21) He pierced it [his brain].
G. (22) [The snake] coiled into a heap, making a noise like "Woooooooooo..."; from a long distance he coiled into a heap. (23) He kept on coiling and coiling and coiling, till there was a
Really high heap, up there high up. (24) He stayed up there, and he just stayed still, and half opened his eyes, and looked all around, he looked and looked.

H. (25) Then he stretched himself, really high up. (26) He stretched his neck, higher and higher and higher, till he reached the clouds. (27) He looked round everywhere. (28) He saw people far down; one was going hunting; one was food gathering; one was calling to his dog, calling "Ow!" to his dog; that snake watched them. (29) Then he saw another sleeping. (30) He saw another, "He's straining yams, is he?" [he said]. (31) He saw others, and he looked round everywhere, he looked far around all over the place, and he was still standing there very still. (32) He just lowered his eyes to look down, and he saw [him]. (33) "Hello, what's this!" [he said]. That man scrambled into a hollow log, and went right inside, and lay there. (34) [The snake] kept looking, "This is where he is, is he?" [he said].

I. (35) He started to coil down again, making the noise of "Yooooo.."; he coiled down and down and down, right down. (36) He just crawled around somewhere near the man [but a little bit away to trick him], he just crawled along like this, he was just crawling near him, and "Crunch! Crunch!" the snake bit the man in two.

J. (37) That's the end of the story, isn't it, that old custom that they used to tell, that I've told you about, haven't I?
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AIAS  Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies
AnL  Anthropological Linguistics
BSE  Brno Studies in English
BUFFSP Brno Universita Filosofická Faculta Sborník Prací
CCC  College Composition and Communication
CLS-RM Papers from the Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society
Fol  Foundations of Language
GUM  Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics, Georgetown University School of Languages and Linguistics, Washington, D.C.
IJAL  International Journal of American Linguistics
Lg   Language
NoT  Notes on Translation
OL   Oceanic Linguistics
PL   Pacific Linguistics
PLRF Publications in Linguistics and Related Fields, SIL of the University of Oklahoma, Norman
SIL  Summer Institute of Linguistics
TLP  Travaux Linguistiques de Prague
WPLO Working Papers in Linguistics, Computer and Information Science Research Centre, Ohio State University
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